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Author(s): T. Leslie Shear Jr.

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THE ATHENIAN AGORA: EXCAVATIONS OF 1971

(PLATES 25–39)

THE exploration of the ancient market place of Athens progressed during the spring and summer of 1971 in another campaign of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies.¹ Operations advanced on different fronts in four widely separated sectors; and the results served to emphasize once again the impressive continuum of history in the city's life, where a single season's excavation can bring forth monuments of different epochs removed from each other in time by as much as a millennium. Our principal efforts were concentrated in the northern sectors bordering modern Hadrian Street where the general clearing of the area, begun in the spring of 1970, was carried forward. At the conclusion of the previous campaign large portions of the northern zone had been excavated only to the level of the Middle Ages, and foundations of houses of the Byzantine and Turkish periods had been left exposed. These were now recorded and demolished, and some two meters of accumulated debris was cleared from beneath them in order to reduce the whole area to the general level of the classical Agora.

In addition to the northern front, two other areas engaged our attention. Excavation was brought virtually to completion in the district of private houses which covers the slopes of the Areopagus overlooking the market square from the south. Finally, on the eastern flank of the archaeological zone, another city block composed of seven large properties became available for excavation in the late spring. As in

¹ It is once again a pleasure to acknowledge our deep debt to our colleagues of the Greek Service of Antiquities and Restoration. Professor Spyridon Marinatos, Inspector General of Antiquities, and the members of his staff made a contribution of fundamental importance to the success of the enterprise in that they turned over to the School for excavation the block of properties in the eastern zone which had been expropriated by the Greek Government. In addition, we are grateful to the Archaeological Service, and especially to Mr. George Dontas, Ephor of the first archaeological district, for kind assistance and sympathetic advice on innumerable occasions.

The excavations of 1971 were financed entirely by the grant made to the School by the Ford Foundation in 1965. Without this generous support the new phase of the excavations would not have been possible.

The Agora staff remained in 1971 substantially the same as in the previous year. The field work of the season was conducted by Stella Grobel Miller, Stephen G. Miller, and John McK. Camp, II. John Travlos was again in charge of the architectural department. All plans of the excavations and all the drawings here illustrated were prepared by William B. Dinsmoor, Jr. John H. Kroll continued to have charge of numismatics, and Eugene Vanderpool, Jr. was responsible for all the photographic work of the excavation, some of which illustrates this report. In the records department, Poly Demoulini, Effi Sakellaraki, Susan I. Rotroff, and Ellen D. Reeder were, between them, responsible for cataloguing the 2010 new objects entered in the Agora inventory.

Hesperia, XLII, 2

the case of the northern sections, this block also had been acquired by expropriation from its owners at the expense of the Greek Government. After the demolition of modern buildings, we were able to make an initial thrust into this large area of archaeologically unknown terrain, which lies between the excavated zone of the classical Agora and the Roman market of Caesar and Augustus further to the east.

THE PANATHENAIC WAY

Throughout antiquity one of the principal entrances to the market square was at the northwestern corner. Here the broad avenue of the Panathenaic Way entered the Agora on its course from the Dipylon Gate and traversed the square diagonally until it gradually ascended the slopes of the Acropolis to the gates of the Propylaia. It was the processional street of the Great Panathenaia, the route by which the Panathenaic ship voyaged on its way to the Acropolis.² It was also the natural approach to the Agora for any traveler who had entered the city at the Dipylon Gate, and as such it was traveled by Pausanias in the 2nd century after Christ.³ Indeed, the great street itself is a remarkable monument to the long archaeological history of Athens; for excavation has shown that it continued to traverse its ancient course from the time of the first Panathenaic procession in the 6th century B.C. down to the beginning of the American excavations in 1931. Throughout these many centuries its level rose in places as much as 6 m., in 34 superimposed layers of gravel, but the old diagonal course of the street across the area of the ancient market was never wholly interrupted.

The Panathenaic Way cuts a broad swath across the new northern sections, and here excavations under the supervision of Stella Grobel Miller revealed the full archaeological history of the ancient street. The excavator encountered the earliest layers in small tests, so that only tentative conclusions, based on small amounts of evidence, can be drawn at this time. The earliest metaled surface of the road seems, however, to have been laid down in the 6th century B.C., above 6 layers which receded in date through the geometric period to prehistoric times. But these latter showed no signs of having borne traffic. It is, thus, likely that the street was laid out at the time of the establishment of the Panathenaic festival by the tyrant Peisistratos in 560 B.C., although the ceramic evidence is not yet sufficient to allow for such precision.⁴

During the classical period the street was often resurfaced, so that no less than ten layers spanned the period from the Persian Wars to the second half of the 4th century B.C. But there was little accumulation of fill with each repair, and the level of the street rose only very gradually. Two striking gaps in the chronological sequence

² Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.*, II, 1, 7; Himerios, *Orat.*, III, 12; Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 566. See the general plan, *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pl. 45.

³ Pausanias, I, 2, 4-5.

⁴ Pottery from beneath the earliest road level: Lot BΓ 322.

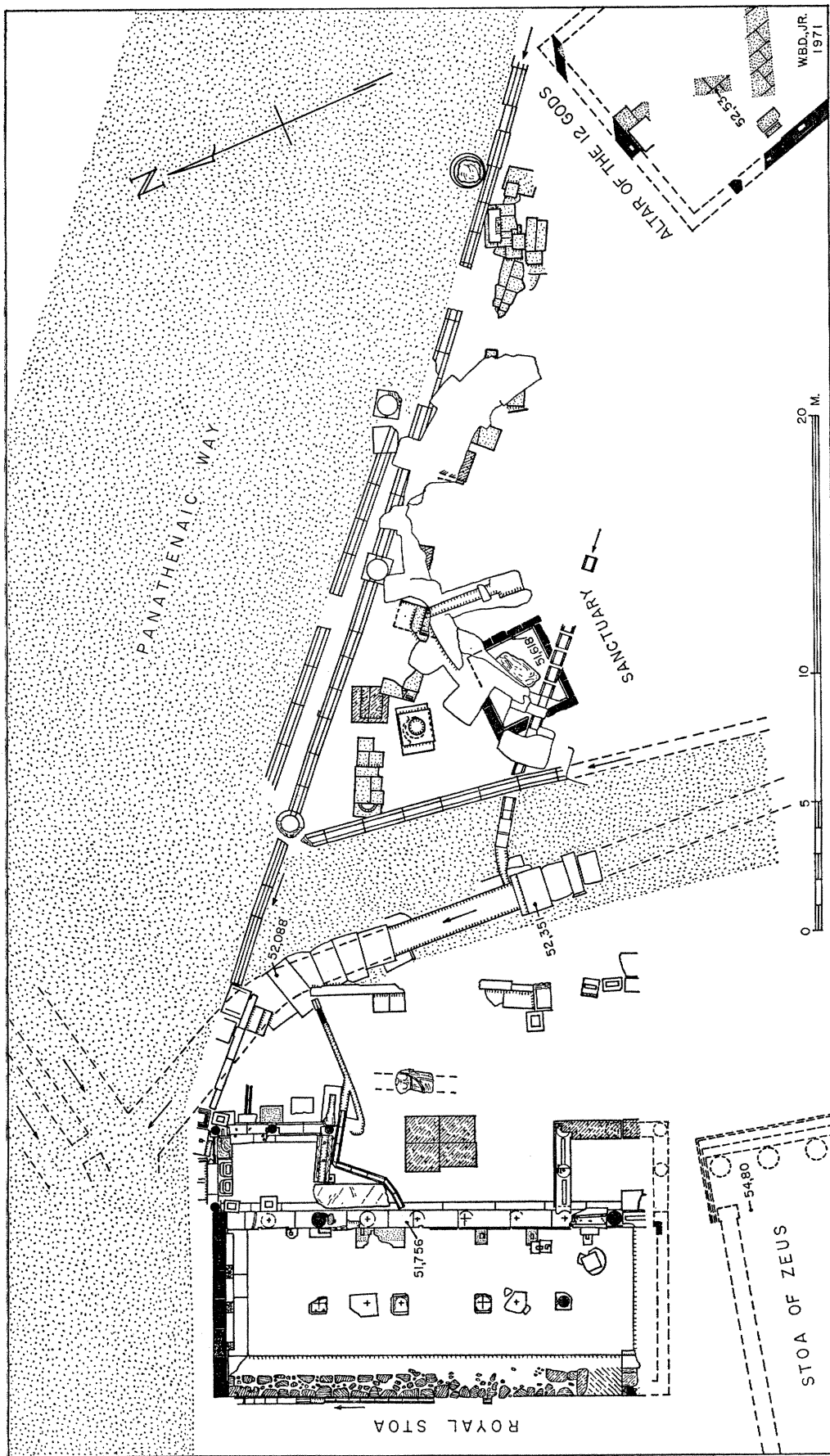


FIG. 1. Plan of the Northwest Corner of the Agora.

of the stratigraphy, in early Hellenistic and again in early Roman times, give evidence of general downward grading of the street in these periods. With each of these grading operations there is to be associated the installation of a stone gutter along the southwestern edge of the street (Fig. 1, Pl. 25, a). The gutters are composed of poros blocks, 0.50 m. wide and of varying lengths, with a channel 0.25 m. wide cut in their upper surfaces. The blocks are laid end to end with circular settling basins placed at intervals. Of the earlier and more northerly gutter only a length of 16 m. is now preserved. A date for its construction in the latter part of the 2nd century B.C. is indicated by pottery and one coin recovered from the first layer of gravel to gather against it.⁵ We should no doubt interpret the grading of the Panathenaic Way and the setting of its gutter as part of the general landscaping at the end of the great Hellenistic building program which saw the construction of the Stoa of Attalos, the South Square, and the Hellenistic Metroon.

The poros gutter was moved southward in the 1st century after Christ, and no doubt many blocks of the earlier line were lifted and re-used in the later construction. In this form, long stretches of the channel can be traced along the right side of the Panathenaic Way as it proceeds southeastward across the square.⁶ The grading operations of this period kept the level of the street to within 0.15 m. of that which had been in use in the 2nd century B.C., as is apparent from the very slight difference in elevation between the two lines of the gutter. Once again this seems to be only part of a widespread program of landscaping which has been detected in the stratigraphy in many places about the northeast corner of the Agora and is perhaps to be associated with the construction of the great Roman buildings in this area.

At the end of antiquity, the newly excavated section of the Panathenaic Way shows signs of still further grading operations which reduced its level at least half a meter at the east end of the section and considerably more as it sloped down toward the northwest. The evidence for this is clearest in the hydraulic installations set beneath the graveled surface of the road. The great street came naturally to be laced with drains and water pipes of every description. But while several of these were well preserved toward the east, their condition deteriorated as they proceeded westward, until only the trenches in which they were laid gave evidence of their course; and these too disappeared entirely toward the northwest.⁷ The twelfth road

⁵ Pottery associated with the laying of the gutter: Lot BΓ 332; coin BΓ 465, Athenian New Style bronze, end of the 2nd century to 86 B.C.

⁶ The soft sandy fill in which the later line of the gutter was laid was tested at several points and yielded pottery of which the latest pieces dated to the 1st century after Christ: Lot BΓ 335. For other sections of the gutter, cf. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 97, pl. 22, a; for the history of the southern sections of the street, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 93-95; XXIX, 1960, pp. 328-333.

⁷ The best evidence for the late Roman grading came from the long water-mill drain, which served a grist mill at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos (A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 70-90; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 327). The drain has been traced northward

level from the bottom could easily be recognized as that which was in use at the time of the Slavic invasions of the 580's, for in this layer was found a hoard of 341 bronze coins which had been buried in the road about A.D. 582 or shortly thereafter.⁸ The next higher level was a heavily rutted road covering all of the damaged water works with a uniform surface. It yielded quantities of pottery and scattered coins of the late 6th and early 7th centuries after Christ,⁹ and this evidence suggests that the late grading of the Panathenaic Way should be related to the wholesale pillaging of the classical buildings and monuments which characterized that period.

NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE MARKET SQUARE

In the classical period, another street bordered the western side of the square and joined the Panathenaic Way at the northwest entrance of the Agora. Here, just in front of the Stoa Basileios, there came to light the actual corner of the market square itself (Fig. 1, Pl. 25, a). The edges of the square are clearly defined by the poros water channels which still line the two streets and form a sharply acute angle at the point of intersection. Because this corner of the square greeted the visitor first as he approached along the Panathenaic Way, it came understandably to be thronged with monuments, as men vied with each other for the most prominent places for the erection of statuary. The foundations of some 16 monuments were found thrust cheek by jowl into the small triangular area at the corner of the square. In all but two cases these had been stripped to their lowest foundations, so that it was impossible to form any impression of the nature of the monuments. Moreover, as a result of the late Roman grading operations and further pillaging in the 9th and 10th centuries, there was little original stratified fill surrounding the bases. Evidence for the date of their construction was, therefore, regrettably lacking.

Much of the triangular area at the northwest corner of the Agora came to be occupied in late antiquity by a great circular structure measuring some 18 m. in diameter. Its remains survive today in exceedingly ruinous condition, for the building suffered grievous damage in both ancient and modern times. It was evidently demolished before the end of antiquity to a level well below the ancient floor, and only

across the Agora until it turns westward at a sharp angle just north of the railroad, and it appears on the plan, *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pl. 46. At the point of its westward turning, it is preserved intact, but 50 m. further west it had been entirely removed leaving only a shallow trench. The drain and the mill which it served were in use from the third quarter of the 5th century after Christ to the Slavic invasions of the 580's, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 88.

⁸ Deposit J 4: 1; the latest coins in the hoard included 6 (BΓ 526-531) datable to the 13th year of Justin II (A.D. 577/8), 2 (BΓ 549-550) belonging to the 5th year of Tiberius II (A.D. 579), and two coins of Tiberius II which may date a year or two later (BΓ 551-552). The hoard will be published in detail by John H. Kroll in a forthcoming article.

⁹ Pottery from the road level covering the various destroyed drains: Lot BΓ 306. Among the many coins is one (BΓ 381) assigned to the 21st or 23rd year of Heraclius, A.D. 630/1 or 632/3.

the rough concrete substructure is now preserved. The plan was then partially obliterated by the construction of the Athens-Piraeus electric railway in 1891, so that something under half of a circular arc now survives (Fig. 1). Although a small segment of the foundations was found in the excavation of the railroad cut and recorded by Dörpfeld, it is no longer possible to determine with certainty whether the building was originally round or semicircular. Apart from its curvilinear plan, only two other architectural features can be observed from the shattered ruin. Around the circumference of the foundations is a series of spurs projecting radially from 0.75 m. to 1.30 m. They measure approximately 1.50 m. in width and are set about 1.80 m. to 2.00 m. apart. We may suppose that the spurs were designed to support buttresses in the superstructure; and these combined with the great thickness of the circular foundation, 1.85 m., suggest that the building was a domed or semidomed structure. One corner of a concrete pool equipped with a capacious drain, also disposed radially, may be taken to indicate the hydraulic nature of the building. It should possibly be restored as a great semicircular, semidomed nymphaeum, not unlike the similar building of earlier date which stood at the southeast corner of the Agora.¹⁰

Our evidence for the chronology of the building is as fragmentary as for its architecture, and thus far it has only been possible to establish a *terminus post quem* for its date of construction. This is provided by the inscribed shaft of a herm which was found built into the westernmost buttress. The herm bears inscriptions honoring prytaneis who served in the first quarter of the 3rd century after Christ.¹¹ The fabric of the foundation itself, however, is perhaps more informative, for the concrete of the substructure proves to be composed largely of marble architectural fragments, statue bases, and inscribed stelai, all re-used at second hand. This wholesale quarrying of earlier monuments for building stone points clearly to a date after the Herulian raid of A.D. 267, and it seems unlikely that the structure was built before the 4th century after Christ.

To the excavator of classical Athens, however, this late Roman building, whatever its nature and date, has done worthy service; for its concrete substructure, set at a high level, sealed and protected the earlier stratified deposits beneath it. As chance would have it, the late Roman foundations were laid directly above a much more venerable monument whose remains were thus preserved without disturbance until their discovery in the closing days of last season. This was a tiny sanctuary of the classical period, a wayside shrine which, together with its remarkable group of dedications, gives us a fascinating glimpse at Athenian popular religion (Fig. 1, Pl. 25).

The sanctuary itself was of the simplest construction and of a type which must

¹⁰ Cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 57-59; *Agora Guide*, pp. 95-96. It appears on the plan, *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pl. 45.

¹¹ Inv. I 7179, see J. S. Traill, *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pp. 315-329, pl. 64.

recede far into the mists of primitive religious practice. There was no canonical altar of the sort familiar from many classical sanctuaries, but simply a sacred spot, in this case a great, rough boulder of unworked limestone, left in its natural form (Pl. 26, a), to which some immemorial ritual or a belief only dimly recollected had attached the sanctity of worship. Around this sacred altar-stone there was placed in the classical period a small square enclosure, measuring 2.75 m. by 2.94 m. A row of thin slabs of poros, forming orthostates 1.22 m. in height, was set along a poros sill which was allowed to project inwards 0.06 m. to 0.10 m. as a toichobate or euthynteria (Pl. 25, b). The orthostates are of varying widths and so disposed that there are four or five slabs along each side of the enclosure. It has only been possible thus far to see their interior face, but this displays joints which are carefully closed; and the blocks are set with their faces flush to form a neat and true line (Fig. 1). It seems likely that the orthostates are preserved in places to their original height, but they were probably crowned by a stone coping, one fragment of which was found in the filling of the enclosure. They formed thus a low parapet designed to prevent the pedestrian from walking unawares upon the holy stone. Over the years, the ground level of the Agora rose gradually around the little enclosure, so that by the late classical period the hard graveled surface of the market square had reached nearly the top of the parapet and the sanctuary appeared, as it does today, to be a square pit sunk deep below the level of the ground (Pl. 25, b). Much of the original coping must also have been lost or removed while the sanctuary still functioned; for the tops of the poros slabs are worn smooth where people stood too near the edge. They are weathered by the drip of rain water and scored in places by the inadvertent passage of wheeled traffic.¹²

It should be emphasized that it was impossible to clear more than half of the sanctuary in 1971 because of the late Roman foundations which neatly bisect the square of the enclosure from corner to corner (Pl. 26, a). Furthermore, its late discovery in the last days of the season precluded testing of the stratified fill surrounding the sanctuary. Thus the account of its history given here should be considered only most tentative and subject to substantial modification in the light of further excavation during 1972. Nevertheless, from the stratigraphy within the enclosure and from the dozens of objects recovered in its filling, there emerges a clear picture of the nature of the little cult, which may still be partial but is indeed intriguing.

As early as the close of the 5th century B.C., the old sacred stone within the enclosure had been covered by a hard earth floor, which was laid level with the poros

¹² For similar small sanctuaries or *abata*, though not of square plan like ours, cf. the triangular temenos at the southwest corner of the Agora, G. V. Lalonde, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 123-133. Three others are known from Delos, F. Courby, *Délos*, V, *Le portique d'Antigone*, Paris, 1912, pp. 97-102; E. Lapalus, *Délos*, XIX, *L'Agora des Italiens*, Paris, 1939, p. 105; R. Vallois, *L'Architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos*, I, Paris, 1944, p. 69.

sill beneath the orthostates and probably left only the highest part of the stone exposed to view. This floor seemed to mark a deliberate epoch in the life of the sanctuary, for there was, at least, no subsequent attempt to raise the level of the floor within the enclosure. Above the floor, earth was allowed to gather only to a depth of 0.38 m. in three thin layers during the first part of the 4th century B.C.¹³ Although these layers contained some admixture of material from sacrifices, such as animal bones, burnt matter, and a few votive offerings, the bulk of the accumulation seems to have been soft natural silt, such as gathers inevitably in any deep pit left open to the weather. The rest of the enclosure to the top of the orthostates was filled with the same kind of silt without further stratigraphic subdivision. The latest pottery recovered from the upper filling of the sanctuary could be dated to the late 4th century B.C.¹⁴ and suggests that the sanctuary was allowed to fall into disuse during the early Hellenistic period. It had clearly been long forgotten and covered over by the 1st century after Christ when a tile-lined drain (Pl. 26, a) disturbed its southwestern corner.¹⁵

In striking contrast with the upper filling of the enclosure, excavation beneath the floor of the 5th century B.C. revealed the ancient altar-stone covered with masses of pottery (Pl. 26, b).¹⁶ These were votive gifts dedicated to the deity, hurled by their donors according to the sanction of some unknown ritual, and left to lie where they had shattered upon the sacred stone. Because much of the votive deposit still remains to be explored only a general description of its contents can be offered at this time, but the unusual combination of votive offerings will emerge at once. Several pieces of evidence suggest that the sanctuary may have been patronized chiefly by women, and that the deity to whom it was sacred might also be female. Among the dedications were numerous terracotta loomweights and spindle whorls. In addition there were some pieces of women's jewelry, several baby's feeding cups, and innumerable polished knuckle-bones of the kind which served as dice in the games of children and young girls. Several black-glazed amphoriskoi and a group of pyxides and lids will surely have reached the sanctuary by way of the dressing table of a lady's boudoir. By far the majority of the pottery, however, consisted of lekythoi and assorted vessels for pouring and drinking. Among the latter skyphoi predominated, both the Corinthian and the Attic types being represented in all sizes.¹⁷ Ribbed mugs of the Pheidias shape were also found in some numbers, along with a few stemless

¹³ Pottery from the three stratified layers above the floor: Lots BΓ 358, 359, 360.

¹⁴ Pottery from the deep upper filling of the enclosure: Lot BΓ 357.

¹⁵ Pottery from the trench dug through the west street for laying of the drain: Lot BΓ 275. The first gravel gathered over the drain in the 1st century after Christ also (Lot BΓ 278).

¹⁶ Deposit J 5 : 2.

¹⁷ Closely similar examples will be found in B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Athenian Agora*, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery*, Princeton, 1971, pp. 257-259, pls. 15-16, nos. 319-322, 347-348.

cups, bolsal bowls and one-handlers.¹⁸ Perhaps the single object of greatest interest is the marble head of a herm which can be seen on Plate 26, b as it was found among the broken pottery on the altar-stone.¹⁹

In general the pottery from the votive deposit is of remarkably good quality and includes an unusually high percentage of red-figured vases and black-glazed ware with fine stamped decoration. A few of the figured pieces are illustrated here to give an impression of the quality of the dedications and of the date at which the deposit was closed. Of particular interest is a red-figured stemless cup (Pl. 27, a)²⁰ which depicts appropriately a nude youth, perhaps to be interpreted as Apollo, in the act of sacrificing at an altar. He is drawn frontally with his head turned to his right and in his right hand, which he extends toward the altar, he holds a phiale or patera as if about to pour a libation, while in his lowered left hand he grasps a lyre. More representative are the four squat lekythoi (Pl. 27, b-e) decorated with scenes which become commonplace in the vase-painters' repertory during the last quarter of the 5th century B.C.²¹ The winged Nike (Pl. 27, d) finds close parallel both in subject and in its date, *ca.* 420 B.C., with a group of red-figured lekythoi found in a well south of the Tholos,²² while the female head (Pl. 27, e) shows more routine work of the same period.²³ The other two pieces in our group (Pl. 27, b, c) were probably made at

¹⁸ For close parallels for the Pheidias mugs, cf. *Agora*, XII, pp. 251-252, pl. 11, nos. 214, 215, 224, 230; for bolsals, *ibid.*, p. 274, pl. 24, nos. 548-550; for one-handlers, *ibid.*, p. 289, pl. 30, nos. 741-742.

¹⁹ See *infra*, p. 164 f., Pl. 35, a, b.

²⁰ Inv. P 29372: H. to rim 0.029 m.; Diam. of rim 0.163 m.; Diam. of foot 0.035 m. Plain rim; shallow bowl on small delicate ring foot. Reserved: resting surface, underside with two circles and dot. For the shape, cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 268, fig. 5, no. 466.

²¹ Inv. P 29368 (Pl. 27, d): Pres. H. 0.099 m.; Diam. 0.08 m. Ring foot with concave moulding on inner face. Neck offset from shoulder. Reserved: under foot, outer face of foot. Winged, draped Nike wearing crown, flying right over altar, holding open box from which she removes crown with right hand. Dull black glaze mottled red in places.

Inv. P 29369 (Pl. 27, e): Pres. H. 0.101 m.; Diam. 0.081 m. Ring foot; neck offset from shoulder. Reserved: under foot, outer face of foot. Female head to right wearing ornamented headband wrapped several times around head, in front a conventionalized plant. Dull black glaze.

Inv. P 29370 (Pl. 27, c): Pres. H. 0.121 m.; Diam. 0.081 m. Ring foot with concave moulding on inner face; neck offset from shoulder. Reserved: under foot, outer face of foot. Beardless man to left wearing himation and holding staff, standing on reserved ground line. Dull red glaze mottled black in places.

Inv. P 29371 (Pl. 27, b): Pres. H. 0.123 m.; Diam. 0.08 m. Ring foot with concave moulding on inner face; neck offset from shoulder. Reserved: under foot, outer face of foot. Draped woman, seen frontally, head to left, standing on reserved ground line; in raised left hand a box; outstretched right hand holds mirror. Dull red glaze mottled black in places. By same hand as P 29370 above.

²² Deposit G 12: 21, dating to the second half of the 5th century and closed near 400 B.C. Three squat lekythoi assigned to the Well Painter, P 5262, P 5264, P 5265; *A.R.V.*², p. 1220; L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 493, fig. 15.

²³ Cf. P 10547, P. E. Corbett, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 313, pl. 81, no. 9; Würzburg 582, E. Langlotz, *Würzburg, Griechische Vasen*, Würzburg, 1932, p. 116, pl. 209 dated *ca.* 420 B.C.

approximately the same time; but the deposit as a whole does not seem to have been closed until the last decade, although it contains much earlier material.

Offering at the sanctuary evidently involved the pouring of libations of wine and perhaps also of oil, if we may judge by the large numbers of lekythoi. One doubtless poured his libation directly upon the sacred stone, and the pot itself was then thrown after its contents. In many instances, the worshipper dedicated the wine jar as well as the cup, for at least one whole amphora and coarse fragments from many more were included in the votive deposit. Burnt sacrifice seems also to have formed a part of the ritual, since animal bones and bits of burnt matter were found frequently in the earth filling of the enclosure. But there was no significant accumulation of ash or burnt bones to suggest that sacrifices were ever fired within the enclosure itself.

After our deposit had been sealed by the earth floor near the end of the 5th century B.C., votive offerings were not allowed to accumulate in great numbers as they had previously. The layers of silt which gradually built up over the floor during the 4th century contained few dedications. It seems likely that the votives of the 4th century and of the early Hellenistic period were gathered up from time to time and removed from the sanctuary for deposit elsewhere, lest the sacred enclosure be filled completely within a brief span of years. By a happy chance, we were able to learn something of these later dedications in the excavation of a public well which came to light just 3 m. north of the sanctuary and whose square, stone wellhead is clearly visible in Plates 25, a, 26, a and on the plan, Figure 1.

The well had a long and interesting history, and it yielded to the excavator several hundred objects, the vast majority of which may well have been dedicated originally at the neighboring sanctuary. Indeed, the history of these two monuments may prove to have been closely interrelated. The well had been sunk to a depth of 13.40 m. in bedrock, and only the upper part of the shaft had originally been lined with a collar of poros masonry. That it provided an excellent supply of water will be obvious from the fact that it is to this day full to the brim and had to be pumped continuously during the excavation. Sometime in the early 4th century B.C. a wellhead of Hymettian marble was placed over the top of the shaft; and subsequently in the second half of the century the square poros wellhead, came to rest above the earlier marble curb, perhaps in response to a general rise in the ground level round about.²⁴ The upper part of the shaft to a depth of 5.40 m. had been cleaned out for re-use in early Byzantine times and yielded a heavy concentration of water jars of the 9th and 10th centuries after Christ. During these operations, the original masonry lining of the upper shaft seems to have collapsed, thus perhaps discouraging deeper digging at that time. From below the fallen masonry to the bottom of the well, we

²⁴ Pottery extending in date to the mid 4th century B.C. was found in two layers resting on top of the earlier wellhead and around the later: Lots ΒΓ 340-341.

encountered a series of fillings which appeared to have been dumped over a period of two centuries or more, extending from the late 5th to the early 2nd centuries B.C.

The lower filling of the well produced literally hundreds of pots and other objects which seem to have been dumps from two distinct sources: one a sanctuary and the other a public office.²⁵ It is a striking coincidence that the vast majority of the material comprises vessels and other dedications of precisely the same types as those found in the neighboring sanctuary, although chiefly of later date. Especially noteworthy is the extraordinarily large collection of loomweights, spindle whorls, and polished knuckle-bones, combined with masses of animal bones both large and small. The sacred character of the material is indicated by the large numbers of miniature votives, including some 24 plain and glazed cups (Pl. 28, b-d)²⁶ and 18 unguentaria in the later levels. No less than 177 squat lekythoi (Pl. 28, e-g) and fragments of many more were also found, a great proportion of which are decorated with a single palmette in red figure.²⁷ Once again one notes the preponderance of vessels for drinking and pouring; some 59 kantharoi of all types, 24 skyphoi, and 43 black-glazed olpai are in more or less complete condition. Mixed with these was the familiar sprinkling of articles for exclusively feminine use, such as a black-glazed pyxis (Pl. 28, 1),²⁸ a bronze mirror, and a few pieces of jewelry.

Among the latter may be noted elements of at least three gold necklaces (Pl. 27, f), one composed of hollow tubular beads and another of hollow biconical beads.²⁹ The third necklace, represented by only one piece, was far more elaborate. It consisted of a chain of Herakles knots, the interlocking loops of which are fashioned

²⁵ Deposit J 5: 1. For the public antiquities, see *infra*, pp. 176-179, Pl. 39.

²⁶ (b) Inv. P 28801: H. 0.025 m.; Diam. 0.037 m.; (c) Inv. P 28886: H. 0.022 m.; Diam. 0.04 m.; (d) Inv. P 28800: H. 0.025 m.; Diam. 0.043 m. Everted rim, two vertical handles, unglazed. Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 85, 104, pl. 18, nos. 13, 15, 16.

²⁷ (e) Inv. P 28828: H. 0.055 m.; Diam. 0.03 m.; (f) Inv. P 29141: H. 0.077 m.; Diam. 0.044 m.; (g) Inv. P 29143: H. 0.06 m.; Diam. 0.034 m. Low ring foot, offset inside; plump body decorated with single red-figured palmette; tall neck with flaring rim. For dating in the first and chiefly the second quarters of the 4th century B.C., cf. similar lekythoi from the Kerameikos and Olynthos, B. Schlörb-Vierneisel, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXXI, 1966, pp. 60-61 (graves 110-111); 64-65 (graves 120, 122); 66 (grave 124); 67 (grave 126); 72 (grave 137); pls. 46-47; D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIII, Baltimore, 1950, pp. 146 ff., pls. 103-106.

²⁸ Inv. P 29224: Pyxis, Type B. Total H. 0.085 m.; H. of bowl 0.075 m.; Diam. of lid 0.135 m. High ring foot; deep wall inset. Lid has round projecting edge and inset slightly convex top; groove on top at outer edge and surrounding hole for bronze knob. Reserved: resting surface, underside of foot with two bands around circle and dot, resting surface of lid and rim of bowl. Dull black glaze.

²⁹ Tubular beads: Inv. J 162 a-e: L. 0.018 m.; Diam. 0.005 m. Hollow cylinder slightly widened at each end and grooved around outside. At one end a leaf pattern in filigree. Cf. a necklace of closely similar beads in the Stathatos Collection, P. Amandry, *Collection Hélène Stathatos*, I, *les bijoux antiques*, Strasbourg, 1953, p. 85, fig. 50, pl. XXXIII, no. 227. Biconical beads: Inv. J 161 a-c: L. 0.011 m.; Diam. 0.011 m. Hollow bead formed in two pieces soldered at middle. Around hole at each end a twisted gold wire in filigree. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 85, pl. XXXIII, no. 226.

from thin, hollow tubes of gold; and the four ends of the knot terminate in tiny lion's heads. On the back are soldered two small tubes of gold for threading the ornament on a double string.³⁰ A more virtuoso example of the goldsmith's art is a lovely earring of polished gold in a miniature representation of Eros (Pl. 27, h).³¹ The god is depicted as a nude, winged youth with long strands of hair falling about his shoulders. In his outstretched hands he holds a ribbon, decorated in a chevron pattern and terminating in a tiny ball at each end. The delicate feathering of the wings, now slightly bent, and the finely studied musculature and features of the miniature sculpture leave no doubt that the piece is the work of a master craftsman. The context in which the jewelry was found in the well indicates a date in the second half of the 4th century B.C. To the later Hellenistic period belongs the pendant of another gold earring which was found just outside the well at the edge of the Panathenaic Way. This also takes the form of a winged Eros (Pl. 27, g),³² but here the wings are a far more stunted growth than on the companion piece. He flies with his left leg advanced well ahead of his right, and he wears only a scarf flung round his shoulders, one end of which is visible under his right arm. In his hands he carries the tools of his trade, the cithara and plectrum, to charm the unsuspecting victims to his thrall.

A small selection of the most characteristic pottery from the well will indicate the chronological range of the deposit. From near the very bottom of the shaft came a red-figured oinochoe (Pl. 28, a)³³ which is among the earliest pieces in the group. The vase depicts a spirited Komos on horseback led by a nude youth, who carries a hamper on his back and a torch in his hand. He runs to the right and looks back over his shoulder at his two companions. The first is on horseback riding at a gallop, his himation wrapped around his shoulders and arms. He sits his mount easily and keeps

³⁰ Inv. J 163: L. 0.019 m.; W. 0.01 m.; Th. 0.007 m. For rather more elaborate versions of the Herakles knot, but with the same lion's head terminations, Amandry, *op. cit.*, p. 84, figs. 49-50, pl. XXXII, no. 223; cf. S. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, Paris, 1892, pl. IX, 3; H. Hoffman and P. F. Davidson, *Greek Gold*, Mainz, 1965, p. 216, no. 86. For general discussion of the ornament, *ibid.*, pp. 30 f. All three elements may possibly belong to one necklace like that from Tzagezi, Amandry, *Collection Stathatos*, III, *objects antiques*, Strasbourg, 1963, p. 248, fig. 148.

³¹ Inv. J 160: H. (head to foot) 0.03 m.; W. (hand to hand) 0.012 m. Attachment loop on top of head bent and partly missing; left wing bent back out of position. For winged Eros used as an earring pendant with slightly different pose and attributes, cf. F. H. Marshall, *British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery*, London, 1911, p. 207, pl. XXXII, no. 1899; Hoffman and Davidson, *Greek Gold*, pp. 86-87, no. 14.

³² Inv. J 154: H. 0.02 m.; W. 0.013 m.; Th. 0.006 m. For similar chubby, childish appearance of Eros and the same attributes, cithara and plectrum, *British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery*, p. 206, pl. XXXII, no. 1891.

³³ Inv. P 29390: H. 0.188 m.; Diam. 0.154 m. Ring foot; mouth flat on top; low strap handle with central rib. Around neck, a spray of olive; beneath figured scene, a band of ovules and dots. Added white for fillets. Partial relief contours on all three figures. For the shape, cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 244, pl. 6, nos. 117-118.

a tight grip on the rein. Behind runs a third youth, only partly preserved, who also carries a hamper on his back and like the others is crowned with a wreath and fillet. Comparison with other choes of the same type, which are decorated with similar or related scenes suggests a date for our piece *ca.* 420 B.C.³⁴ The great bulk of the material belongs to the following century. Some two meters above the bottom of the well were found the cup-kanthaloi,³⁵ the palmette lekythoi, and the black-glazed pyxis illustrated on Plate 28. They find good parallels in the middle years of the 4th century B.C.; for similar pieces were in use at the time of the destruction of Olynthos in 348 B.C., and the types appear frequently in Athenian deposits of the same period.³⁶ Another large group of pottery, from a level a meter higher in the shaft, is represented by the three kanthaloi and the bowl with West Slope decoration (Pl. 28, h-k), all of which fit comfortably in the last quarter of the 4th century.³⁷ The pottery from the upper part of the well, belonging to the 3rd and early 2nd centuries B.C.,

³⁴ Our piece is close in style to P 18799, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 187, pl. LXVII, 1, but seems a little later in date. For similar subject of Komos on horseback, cf. the very fragmentary chous, Boston 01.8255, G. Van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leiden, 1951, p. 113, fig. 112, no. 380, there dated to the late 5th century.

³⁵ Inv. P 29110 (Pl. 28, m): H. 0.07 m.; Diam. of rim 0.10 m. Moulded foot concave beneath, in three degrees, with reserved resting surface. Scraped line just above junction of lower wall and foot. Decoration inside: four palmettes within rings and rouletting.

Inv. P 29185 (Pl. 28, n): H. 0.103 m.; Diam. of rim 0.101 m. Moulded foot, concave beneath, in three degrees, with reserved groove in resting surface; scraped groove at junction of foot and lower body. Ribbed lower body, pointed; flaring rim.

Inv. P 29109 (Pl. 28, o): H. 0.08 m.; Diam. of rim 0.10 m. Moulded foot, concave beneath, scraped grooves at junction of moulding and in resting surface. Moulded rim. Decoration within: linked palmettes within rouletting.

³⁶ Very close to P 29110 is P 16600, *Agora*, XII, p. 284, pl. 28, no. 683, dated 350-340 B.C. For close parallel to P 29185, cf. Brussels A 1713, *C.V.A.*, III L, pl. 3 (138), no. 17, and the more fragmentary example P 8286, *Agora*, XII, p. 284, pl. 28, no. 679, dated *ca.* 350 B.C. Cup-kanthaloi from Olynthos offer close parallels to P 29109, cf. *Olynthus*, XIII, pp. 286-287, pls. 82, 183, 187, nos. 504, 505, 509. Similar examples come from Agora deposits of the third quarter of the 4th century, cf. *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 115, pl. 50, b, *Pyre* 2, 4 and *Agora*, XII, p. 283, pl. 28, no. 661.

³⁷ (h) Inv. P 28743: H. 0.08 m.; Diam. 0.13 m. Moulded foot, scraped groove at junction of mouldings and on resting surface; two grooves below rim on outside. Pierced, horizontal bolster handles. Between handles on both sides, an ivy garland in thinned white clay. Closely similar to P 7760 found in deposit E 3: 1, dated 325-290 B.C.

(i) Inv. P 28705: H. 0.098 m.; Diam. of rim 0.086 m. Moulded foot, concave beneath, with groove in resting surface. Scraped groove at junction of mouldings on foot. Plain rim; spurs rise slightly above rim and are long and blunt. For the date, cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 287, pl. 29, nos. 712-713, *ca.* 325 B.C.

(j) Inv. P 29129: H. 0.094 m.; Diam. of rim 0.088 m. Moulded foot, concave beneath, scraped groove in resting surface. Plain rim; double rope handles knotted near rim, with shouldering. Closely similar, *Agora*, XII, p. 287, pl. 29, no. 717, dated 325-310 B.C.

(k) Inv. P 29107: H. 0.095 m.; Diam. of rim 0.086 m. Turned foot; strap handles with ivy-leaf thumb-rests above; plain rim. Cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 287, pl. 29, no. 721, dated 325-310 B.C., which differs only in its West Slope decoration.

was very much more fragmentary. There were markedly fewer whole pieces and there seemed no reason to believe that the material included dedications from the sanctuary. Indeed, a close study of the stratigraphy in the well may make it possible to determine with some precision just when the neighboring sanctuary ceased to be used.

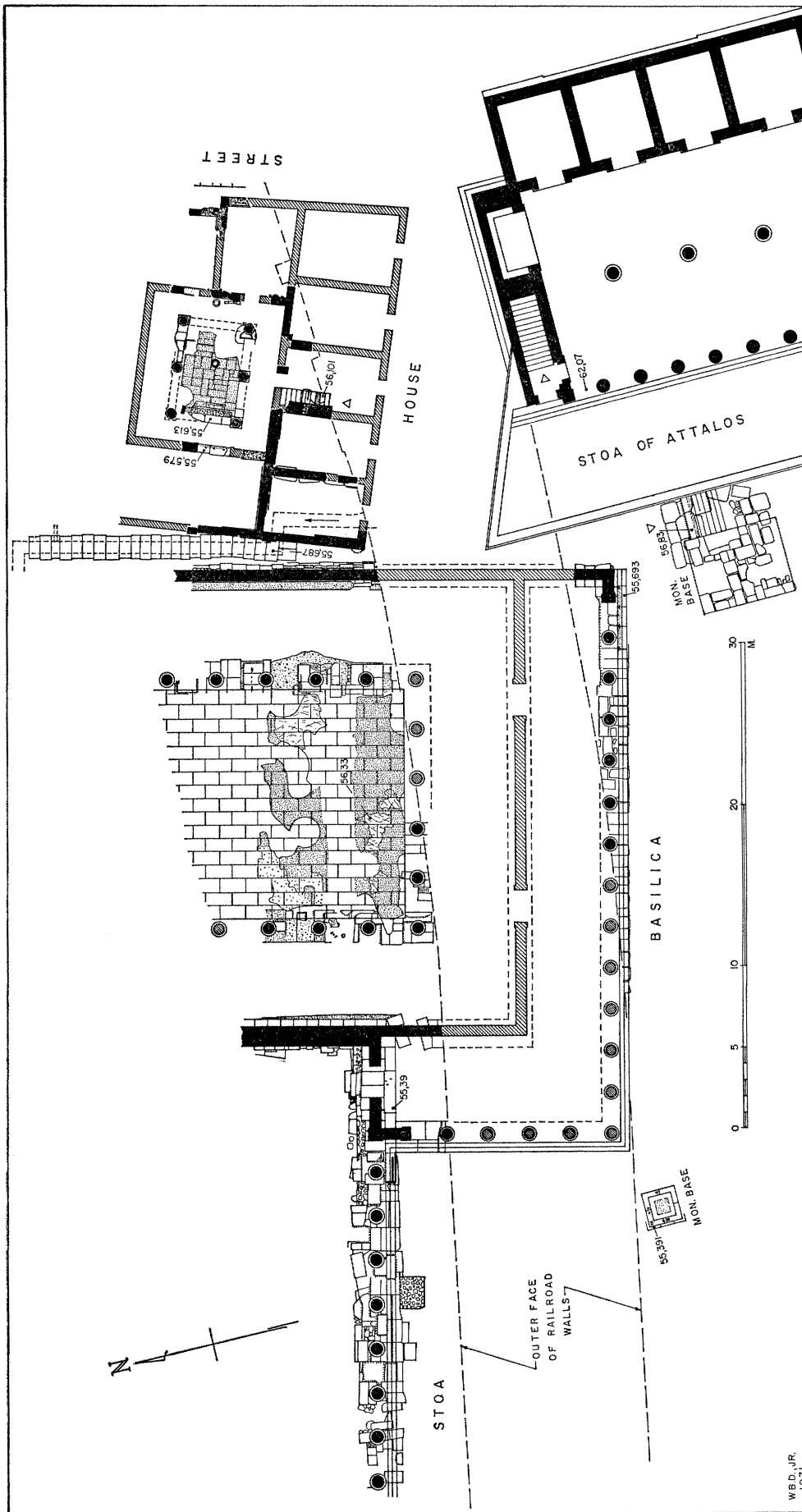
With respect to the identification of the little sanctuary, no specific evidence in the form of dedicatory inscriptions has yet been found, either from the votive deposit itself or from the well. Thus any attempt to discover the identity of the deity or hero has at present to be based wholly upon circumstantial evidence. We have already observed the unusually high proportion of dedications which seem to be associated specifically with women, and from these it may not be rash to infer that the deity was female. To tread further than this on the basis of the present evidence would seem hazardous and unwise. Moreover, the relatively short history of the sanctuary and the early date at which the enclosure was filled and forgotten combine to suggest that it was not one of the major cult places of the Agora. One is thus inclined to fear that it may never have acquired specific notice in the literary tradition which belongs so largely to the later periods of antiquity.

NORTHEAST BASILICA

A second season of excavations among the tangled ruins at the northeast corner of the Agora was conducted under the supervision of Stephen G. Miller. Enough of this complex of Roman buildings had been cleared during 1970 to recognize in the foundations the plan of an enormous basilica, of which only the southern portion falls within the excavated area (Fig. 2). The past season was devoted to clearing the eastern aisle of the great interior peristyle and to exploring the area beyond the building to the east. This work has substantially verified the architectural description of the basilica put forth at the end of the previous campaign,⁸⁸ and has enabled us to understand both the architecture and the history of the building in greater detail.

The foundations of the exterior east wall were laid bare for a length of 12.50 m. across the whole width of the section (Pl. 29, a) and they were found to lie at exactly the same distance from the central peristyle as the foundations of the west wall, so that together they form matching side aisles, measuring 5.70 m. from column to wall. The east wall of the basilica also proves to align perfectly with the corner of the so-called "Northeast Stoa" south of the railway (Fig. 2), thus confirming the relation proposed last year between this structure and our building. The eastern foundations for the basilica, like those at the west, rest on a deep substructure of rubble and concrete. The foundations themselves are composed of carefully jointed blocks of yellow poros (Pl. 29, a), preserved in places to a height of three courses and with a

⁸⁸ *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pp. 261-264.



W.B.D., JR.
1971

FIG. 2. Plan of the Northeast Basilica and Adjacent Buildings, showing the Preserved Remains with Restorations.

maximum thickness of 1.65 m. Along the inner face of the wall is a narrow auxiliary foundation entirely of concrete, which was intended in part to carry the marble revetment of the east wall. A fragment of veneer was preserved at one point in the proper position to form a toichobate of gray marble 0.17 m. wide. Above this will have risen the elaborate fluted Corinthian pilasters of which so many fragments have been found in the debris from the building's final destruction.

Our picture of the Northeast Basilica has to be amended in one respect. As exposed thus far, the foundations for the east wall give no evidence that there was ever an entrance to the building on that side. We can now be certain, at least, that the long eastern façade was not treated with any special architectural embellishment. Indeed, a glance at the plan, Figure 2, will reveal at once that the neighboring building to the east, a private dwelling (see *infra*, pp. 142-144), was thrust close against the wall of the basilica and separated from it only by a narrow drainage alley, which left at one point scarcely 1.20 m. between the two buildings. The principal entrance to the basilica is now surely to be found at the south end where the broad columnar porch opened on the market square.

Perhaps the chief addition to our knowledge of the basilica is the more secure evidence for its date of construction, which can now be ascertained with greater accuracy on the basis of a considerable body of material associated with the building operations. Beneath the floors of the east aisle and the central peristyle, there came to light abundant debris from the demolition of earlier structures, probably small shops and private dwellings (see *infra*, pp. 138-142), which seem to have been expropriated and dismantled in order to make way for the construction of the basilica. The walls of the earlier buildings were reduced to a fairly uniform level; a deep trench was excavated for the massive foundations of the east wall, and several great pits were filled with fallen plaster, burnt wood, nails, discarded household utensils, and other debris, probably in order to level the site before construction commenced. In addition, layers of cement from the mixing of mortar and of working chips from the dressing of poros blocks were found to cover much of the area, and these layers clearly resulted from construction work on the basilica.

The various layers of construction filling yielded several groups of ceramic material of which those from the pits of demolition debris are most numerous. Particularly rich in pottery and lamps were one pit beneath the central peristyle and another just outside the east wall of the basilica.³⁹ The latter was filled with masses of fallen wall plaster, painted a brilliant red and decorated with fantastic architectural

³⁹ Deposit P 6: 2 includes material from a pit in the second shop from the west in the building under the basilica (Fig. 3). Deposit Q 6: 2 is a pit found beneath the floor of the west room of the house east of the basilica. See *infra*, note 40. Three other such pits were also found: two in the rooms behind the second and third shops (Lots BA 152, 153; Deposit P 6: 3, Lot BA 212); and another in the large east room of the building under the basilica (Lots BA 242, 243).

motifs, which are reminiscent of Pompeian wall paintings of the fourth style. The great bulk of the pottery is to be dated in the 1st century after Christ and the latest pieces extend into the early years of the 2nd century.⁴⁰ The Samian wares are well represented, along with fewer pieces of imported western sigillata wares, while the lamps are predominantly of the alpha globule type. To the last quarter of the 1st century may be dated a series of amphoras which were dumped in to close the drain running along the south wall of the earlier building beneath the basilica.⁴¹ The mass of more fragmentary pottery from the filling of the foundation trenches along the east wall tells the same story, and here also only a few of the latest pieces belong to the early years of the 2nd century after Christ.⁴²

The numismatic evidence corresponds closely with the ceramic, for most of the coins also are of much earlier date. The latest belong to the series of Athenian coins which was struck in the reign of Augustus and circulated until the time of Hadrian. Of the 24 coins found in fillings associated with the construction of the basilica, 13 were sufficiently well preserved to be identified. Nine of these coins are of Augustan date, while the remainder belong to the 1st century B.C. before Augustus;⁴³ but the heavy wear that nearly all of them have in common bears eloquent testimony to the many hands through which they have passed. We may well believe that they continued to circulate as currency for as much as a century. In fact, it may be significant that no coins of the Athenian imperial series have been found in the building fill of the basilica. Although their absence may be entirely accidental, it suggests that the basilica was built in the early years of the reign of Hadrian, before the new Athenian imperial coinage went into circulation. Indeed, the chronological evidence, taken as

⁴⁰ Among the latest pieces of Deposit P 6: 2 are P 28481, a fragmentary amphora with horned handles, very similar to H. S. Robinson, *Athenian Agora*, V, *Roman Pottery*, Princeton, 1959, p. 43, G 198; p. 89, M 54; P 28749, Samian gray-ware bowl, close in shape to *ibid.*, p. 87, M 31. Both pieces should be dated to the late 1st or early 2nd centuries after Christ. In Deposit Q 6: 2 the obviously derivative relation of the painted plaster to Pompeian painting of the fourth style suggests a date in the last quarter of the 1st century. The latest pottery is P 28988, Samian A cup, very close to *ibid.*, p. 87, M 33; L 5717, L 5718, alpha globule lamps, the former of early 2nd century type, cf. J. Perlzweig, *Athenian Agora*, VII, *Roman Lamps*, Princeton, 1961, p. 107, no. 433, the latter a bit earlier in the series, cf. *loc. cit.*, no. 426.

⁴¹ For the date in the last quarter of the 1st century, P 28555, amphora with horned handles and shape similar to the Koan type, cf. *Agora*, V, p. 43, G 198; p. 89, M 54.

⁴² The latest pieces from the building fill are P 28977, fragmentary round-mouth jug, which falls somewhere between *Agora*, V, p. 32, G 103 and p. 55, J 43, probably in the early 2nd century; P 29083, flanged rim of bell-cup, similar in shape, glaze, and clay to *ibid.*, p. 47, H 6, H 7, dated in the first half of the 2nd century.

⁴³ Found in Deposit P 6: 2 were coins ΕΔ 361, 365, 366, 413; in Deposit Q 6: 2 were coins ΒΔ 463, 464, 471; and from other layers associated with the construction of the building were coins ΒΔ 439, 476. All belong to the late series of bronze coins of the Athenian New Style, which are dated from the time of Sulla through the reign of Augustus, and they fall near the end of the series. The precise chronology of the series will be treated in detail in a forthcoming study by J. H. Kroll, Δελατ., XXVII, 1972, to whom I am indebted for the chronological evidence cited here.

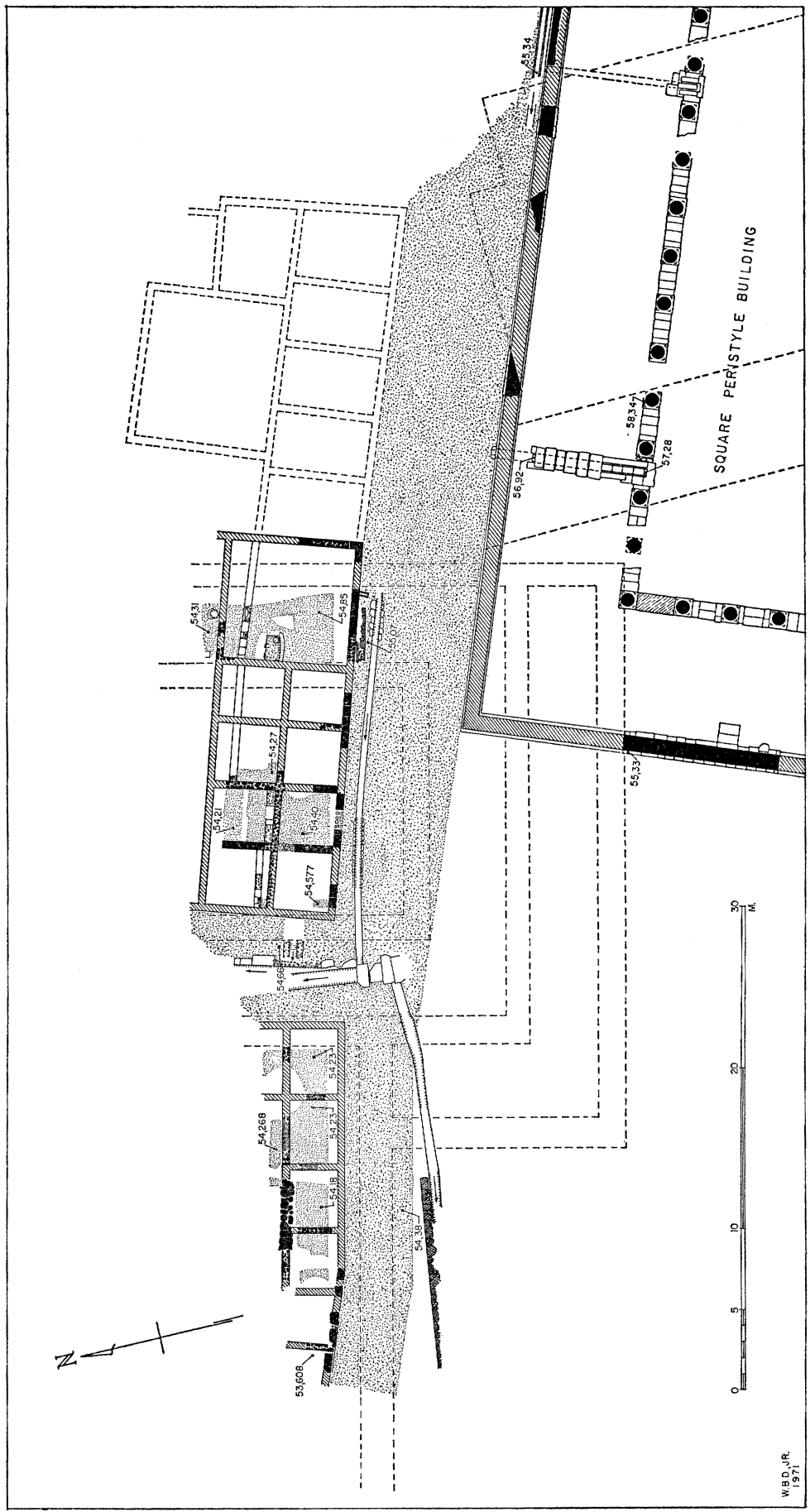
a whole, would seem to support a rather earlier date than had at first been thought likely for the construction of the basilica. The great building should perhaps be recognized as one of the earliest elements in the extravagant program of public works with which that most profoundly philhellenic of Roman emperors so changed the face of the city of Athens that he dubbed it his New City.

SHOPS AND HOUSES ON THE NORTH SIDE

Although the builders of the basilica destroyed everything they found on the site, the structure they built proved a boon to the excavator; for it protected from later disturbance the stratified remains of the classical and Hellenistic periods which had accumulated deep beneath the Roman building. Careful probing of these earlier deposits has revealed substantial remains of small classical buildings. A portion of one such structure was unearthed in 1970 beneath the Augustan colonnade of the Northeast Complex.⁴⁴ This building, doubtless of private nature, was found to lie at the intersection of two principal early thoroughfares, one bordering the north side of the market square, and the other leading northward out of the Agora (Fig. 3). A second, similar building, lying on the east side of the same intersection, came to light during the past season. Since its remains are almost entirely covered by the basilica, it was only possible to explore the structure by means of a series of small trenches excavated in the east aisle and central peristyle of the basilica. From these isolated probes, however, the general outlines of the plan could be pieced together with reasonable certainty (Fig. 3).

The building comprised a double row of small rooms facing southward on to the street and the market square. The eastern and southern limits of the building are clear, while the northern lies beyond the excavated area. All trace of its western wall has been completely obliterated by the foundations for the peristyle of the basilica which chanced to follow almost precisely the same line on the west side. Of the rooms along the street, only one, the second from the southwest corner (Fig. 3, Pl. 29, b), could be explored to its full extent. The room was very nearly square, measuring 3.30 m. by 3.40 m. A doorway to the south, now blocked by later alteration, gave direct access from the street, and another in the northwest corner communicated with the adjacent room to the west. The surviving traces of walls and floors in other parts of the area justify the restoration of four such rooms along the south side of the building with a series of four identical rooms behind these to the north. At the southeast corner, occupying the space of just four of the smaller rooms, was a large area, measuring 7.30 × 7.70 m., which may possibly have been an open court in the original period of the building. This restoration of the excavated part of the structure enables us to estimate its overall frontage on the street as between 23 and 24 m.

⁴⁴ *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pp. 265 f.



W.B.O., JR.
1971

FIG. 3. Plan of the Classical Buildings beneath the Northeast Complex, showing the Preserved Remains with Restorations.

The southern wall, which formed the building's principal façade, has been exposed in four segments, and exhibits the fine ashlar masonry of the archaic and early classical periods. Orthostates of soft yellow poros are laid on a toichobate of the same material, and they form a socle, uniformly 0.65 m. high, which will originally have carried a superstructure of mud brick. The internal walls of the building are constructed in a different style of closely jointed polygonal masonry, the face of which has been dressed with the neat vertical strokes of a single point.

The general character of the architecture suggests that the building was private and commercial. The rooms along the street would likely have been rented to shopkeepers and artisans by a householder who had his residence further to the north in the unexcavated portion of the building; such shops were ideally situated to attract customers from the open square of the Agora just across the street to the south. Indeed, we learn from the refuse left on the floors that the shops had many tenants over the years: marble workers, ironmongers, and doubtless others whose trades have left behind them less explicit signs of their occupancy. It is perhaps significant that all the deposits of marble working chips, miltos, iron slag, and debris from metal casting should have been found exclusively in layers of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, while the classical layers showed no signs of industrial activity. We may suspect that during the classical period shops as prominently located as these might deal in retail merchandise or luxury goods of which naturally no trace survives.

Although evidence is lacking for the specific function of each room, the architecture itself gives obvious indication of the building's long and checkered history. Characteristic of such unpretentious private structures are the innumerable signs of later modifications: partitions thrown up, doors blocked, floors raised. In some rooms, the clay floors proved to have been raised and renewed as often as five or six times. Sufficient areas of the original floors could be excavated to be sure that the building was built near the end of the 6th century B.C. The southern exterior wall,⁴⁵ the northwest corner of the large east room,⁴⁶ and one of the interior partitions⁴⁷ were all associated with floors of that period, and we may conclude from this that the essential outlines of the plan all belong to the late archaic period.

Although it is a reasonable presumption that our building, like most of its contemporaries in Athens, suffered at the hands of the Persians in 480 B.C. and was subsequently re-inhabited, only slight traces of this phase could be recovered, because most of the earlier stratigraphy was disturbed by the extensive remodeling at the

⁴⁵ Pottery datable to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. was found outside the wall in its foundation trench (Lot BΔ 277) and in the next higher layer (Lot BΔ 276). In the large east room, there were clear floor levels which produced pottery of the same date, Lots BΔ 251, 252.

⁴⁶ A small section of stratified floors was preserved against the corner of the room. Pottery beneath the lowest floor: Lot BΔ 233, late 6th century B.C.

⁴⁷ Against the west wall of the room behind the third shop from the west (Fig. 3) were preserved three stratified floors of the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. (Lots BΔ 225, 226, 227).

end of the 5th century B.C. This was most clearly observed in the second room from the west end (Fig. 3, Pl. 29, b) where the lowest preserved floor was laid over a deep filling, which yielded a large quantity of archaic pottery together with a few fragments belonging to the late years of the 5th century B.C.⁴⁸ To this period belong several interior partitions of polygonal masonry which probably followed the lines of earlier walls, and in addition many of the original archaic walls remained in use. The steady renewal of floors charts the continued occupation of the building into the 3rd century B.C., at which time it would seem that some of the shops fell into disrepair or were actually abandoned. A dump of broken amphoras and roof tiles in the second shop from the west end provides clear indication of disrupted activity,⁴⁹ and the presence of sacrificial pyres of the first and third quarters of the 3rd century B.C. in three rooms is perhaps to be interpreted in the same way.⁵⁰ It is, at any rate, tempting to think that the seeming abandonment in this period of such prominently located commercial buildings may reflect the generally depressed economic conditions which beset the city throughout much of the 3rd century B.C.

The structure entered a period of marked revival in the third quarter of the 2nd century B.C.; and this coincides strikingly in date with the construction of the great Hellenistic buildings elsewhere in the Agora, most particularly the Stoa of Attalos, which was rising in these years across the street from our building. Evidence for the reconstruction of the shops at this time is most vividly seen in the one completely excavated room (Pl. 29, b). Now the earlier walls were uniformly raised by the addition of a second course of orthostates above the archaic socle; and the rubble stonework added to the interior partitions is readily distinguishable from the earlier polygonal masonry. The associated stratigraphy of the floors makes it clear that the rebuilding should be dated in the third quarter of the 2nd century B.C.⁵¹ While some of the shops were simply rebuilt, others were more extensively changed. A new north wall was erected in the large east room, thus reducing the depth of the

⁴⁸ Pottery from the lowest preserved floor: Lot BA 206; pottery from the deep fill under the floor: Lot BA 207.

⁴⁹ Deposit P 6: 7 consists of eight more or less complete amphoras of the mid 3rd century B.C., P 29276–P 29283, Lot BA 195.

⁵⁰ In the second shop from the west, Deposit P 6: 5, dated to the third quarter of the 3rd century by P 28581, P 28582, West Slope kantharoi; L 5667, lamp of Type 46 E, cf. R. H. Howland, *Athenian Agora*, IV, *Greek Lamps*, Princeton, 1958, p. 153, no. 609. In the large east room Deposit P 6: 6, dated to the third quarter of the 3rd century by L 5713, lamp of Type 43 B, cf. *ibid.*, p. 135, no. 548; L 5714, lamp of Type 46 B, *ibid.*, p. 150, no. 597. In the room behind the third shop, Deposit P 6: 4, belonging probably to the early years of the 3rd century; P 28560, P 28561, lopadia, P 28562, covered bowl (pyre type), all seem more developed than those found in the late 4th century pyres.

⁵¹ Pottery from the trench associated with rebuilding the north wall of the shop (Lot BA 190) and from beneath the renewed floor (Lot BA 191) dated to the second half of the 2nd century B.C.

room by 1.35 m.⁵² More important, there is reason to believe that this new wall was carried some 21 m. beyond the original east wall to serve as the back wall of five additional shops, erected at this time as an eastward extension of the building. No full plan of the extension could be recovered, but the later Roman house which occupied the site just east of the basilica (Fig. 2) clearly incorporated some walls of the 2nd century B.C. For beneath the Roman floors the excavator encountered small areas of stratified deposit of the Hellenistic and earlier periods.

The final phase of our building spans the early Roman period from the time of Sulla to the beginning of work on the great basilica. In every room which could be explored, a heavy layer of debris attested the passage of the Roman legions in 86 B.C.⁵³ It seems also that some considerable time elapsed before any attempt was made to repair the damage of Sulla's sack; for the ceramic evidence associated with the various repairs suggests a date near the end of the 1st century B.C. or slightly later for the refurbishing of the shops and the rooms behind them,⁵⁴ and new floors paved with tile chips set in mortar are probably also to be assigned to this phase. It was this building, as remodeled in the Augustan period, and with a few minor alterations in the 1st century after Christ, which was leveled to the ground to make way for the Northeast Basilica. Thus from the 6th century B.C. until Roman times, through refurbishing and rebuilding, destruction and renewal, this little structure had continued to guard the northern border of the market square; and it was not until the reign of Hadrian that private commerce and industry at last yielded up this site to great public buildings.

Even after the construction of the Northeast Basilica, the adjacent property to the east remained in private hands. The Hellenistic extension of the classical building under the basilica was later rebuilt as a private house with shops along the street, and the lines of the later plan probably did not differ greatly from those of its predecessor on the site. The house (Fig. 2) is dominated by a central peristyle court into which open several rooms to east and west, and one to the south, while the north side of the building lies outside the excavated area. The peristyle originally had three columns, spaced 2.95 m. apart, on each of its long sides; but this arrangement was

⁵² That this construction is associated with the Hellenistic phase is indicated by pottery of the second half of the 2nd century from the footing trench on the north side of the new wall and from beneath the new floor, which also passed over the demolished old wall further north (Lots BA 229, 230).

⁵³ Pottery of the late 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C. found in layers of destruction debris in the various rooms: Lots BA 156, 168-170, 188-189, 214-215. Particularly informative was the destruction layer in the east room which produced, in addition to pottery (Lots BA 237-238), five coins (BA 449-453), all Athenian New Style bronzes of the series dating from the 2nd century down to 86 B.C.

⁵⁴ Pottery associated with rebuilding these partitions: Lot BA 143, second half of the 1st century B.C.; Lot BA 187, early 1st century after Christ.

later altered when a well was installed at the southeast corner, and the eastern columns were shifted 1.60 m. westward, thus reducing the spacing to 2.25 m. In the latest phase the court was paved with marble slabs of which the surviving cement bedding preserves the imprint. In places where this bedding has been broken away, there can be seen two earlier pavements, one of tile chips and the lowest of pebbles set in mortar. In contrast with the open court the aisle surrounding the peristyle had a simple clay floor. The peristyle is likely to have been composed of Ionic columns of which one capital (A 4241) was found in the destruction debris of the house and a fragment of another (A 4281) came from the well. On the west side of the peristyle there lies a large room, measuring 4.50 m. by at least 5.50 m., although the north wall was not found. One entered through a broad doorway whose jambs were sheathed with marble antae, as we learn from the moulded base of one preserved *in situ*. The plastered walls of this room still retain their painted decoration. This consists of panels, 0.52 m. high and 1.55 m. wide, framed by red bands against a white background and set above a yellow base, 0.22 m. high, which is separated from the panels by a broad black band. The vertical bands of the panels are further emphasized by two green and two black stripes. A different kind of painted plaster was found on the walls of the very ruinous room to the east of the peristyle. Here were two coats of plaster exhibiting two different but equally garish marbled patterns, which would presumably have been applied only to the lower dado of the wall.

A series of five rooms, measuring about 3.40×5.75 m., is ranged along the south side of the peristyle. Only the central one communicates with the peristyle and the rest of the house, and this should undoubtedly be recognized as the principal entrance from the street which once existed to the south. Against the west wall is the foundation for a stairway leading up to a second story above the peristyle. A single, well-worn stone tread has chanced to survive in such a position that we may restore a flight of ten steps, each measuring 0.30 m. in width and with a riser of similar height. The remaining rooms on the south side of the building are clearly to be understood as independent shops, not unlike their predecessors on the site. That these did not have access to the rest of the house is apparent from the level of their floors, which was found to be some 0.40 m. higher than in the surrounding rooms. Clearly the shops opened directly to the narrow square which was bordered by the Stoa of Attalos on the south, the basilica on the west, and the Roman house itself on the north.

It is apparent that the house must have been built just after the completion of the neighboring basilica. In the room west of the peristyle, a layer of stone working chips and a floor, both of the first half of the 2nd century after Christ,⁵⁵ were found directly above the pit of debris from buildings demolished on the site of the basilica.

⁵⁵ Pottery from the building layer: Lot BΔ 315; from beneath the next higher floor: Lot BΔ 314.

The architectural arrangements described above, however, belong to the final remodeling of the house, which occurred at the middle of the 3rd century after Christ. The pottery found beneath the latest floors, wherever they were preserved, dated to the first half of the 3rd century, and from the west aisle of the peristyle came a coin of Gordion III, dated to A.D. 239.⁵⁶ This date is confirmed by the large deposit of pottery accumulated in the well during its use, near the bottom of which was found another coin of Gordion III belonging to the period A.D. 242 to 244.⁵⁷ Taken together the evidence of the pottery and of the coins points to a date near the middle of the century for the final remodeling. But in this form the building enjoyed only a brief span of life, for it clearly met with violent destruction at the hands of the Herulii in A.D. 267. A thick layer of debris lay over the whole area, and this showed all the unmistakable signs of having gathered at the time of the destruction: masses of stones and bricks from the collapsing superstructure, tiles fallen from the roof, and plaster and marble revetment which shattered into small fragments as it fell from the walls. The excavator encountered two meters of such debris in the well at the corner of the peristyle, together with a considerable quantity of pottery datable to the second half of the 3rd century after Christ.⁵⁸ All of this evidence leaves no possible room for doubt about the final fate of the building.

THE EASTERN ZONE

A major new sector of the excavation was opened in 1971 with the acquisition of a block of properties lying to the east of the Stoa of Attalos and extending as far as the gate to the Roman market. The initial clearing of the area was undertaken during the summer months by John McK. Camp, II, whose work was concentrated in the western part of the section, where there was hope of finding the continuation

⁵⁶ The clearest evidence was found under the floors in the aisles of the peristyle (Lots BΔ 364-368), and in the room to the west of it (Lot BΔ 314). The stratification in the west aisle of the peristyle showed that a floor was laid in the mid 3rd century (Lot BΔ 373; coin BΔ 487). This was subsequently resurfaced twice with very thin layers of clay in a short period of time (Lots BΔ 371-372).

⁵⁷ Deposit Q 6: 4. Coin BΔ 496. Among the 29 pots and two lamps recovered from the period of use filling, some of the most characteristic pieces are: L 5723, lamp close to *Agora*, VII, p. 145, no. 1506; P 28997, jug with painted inscription, cf. *Agora*, V, p. 97, M 147; P 29018, amphora, cf. *ibid.*, p. 56, J 48; P 29010, water jar with basket handle, cf. *ibid.*, p. 55, J 44; P 29000, round-mouth jug, wheel ridged, cf. *ibid.*, p. 65, K 62.

⁵⁸ The clearest layers of destruction debris lay over the peristyle and the rooms to east and west of it. Pottery from these layers: Lots BΔ 361, 357, 313. Smaller amounts of pottery from similar layers were gathered in two of the southern rooms: Lots BΔ 332, 346. The pottery from the destruction debris in the well could only be distinguished from that of the period of use by the nature of the fill and by the fact that there were many more pitchers and water jars found in the period of use filling. Among the latest pieces is P 29077, storage amphora, cf. *Agora*, V, p. 106, M 236, found in a context of the early 4th century after Christ.

of known monuments at the southeast edge of the old archaeological zone. Because of the depth of the remains and the shortness of time, only a fraction of the area could be cleared to ancient levels during the season of 1971. Accordingly, only a most cursory account of the work can be offered at this time until after the major campaign of excavation and detailed stratigraphic digging, planned for 1972, clarifies the topography and history of the area.

The section cleared last season is separated from the main excavated area of the Agora only by the narrow strip of Brysakiou Street (Pl. 30, a, upper right). Thus it is not surprising that we should come down first upon part of a complex of buildings long familiar from the old excavations. From the southern end of the Stoa of Attalos, a broad colonnaded street of the Roman period led the pedestrian eastward through a marble arch to the Gate of Athena and the Market of Caesar and Augustus. On the corner of this street, facing westward on the Panathenaic Way, stood the public library which was built for the city, about A.D. 100, through the private munificence of T. Flavius Pantainos.⁵⁹ The western part of the library and its façade along the Panathenaic Way were uncovered in the 1930's, and our first penetration into the eastern block enabled us to explore the eastern half of the same building (Pl. 30, a). Since the library was stripped to the ground in order to provide building stone for the Late Roman Fortification Wall which rests on its western stylobate, one could anticipate the ruinous state of its remains; but these take on an appearance of even greater disarray because many later disturbances of Byzantine and Turkish times still await removal. Nevertheless, the basic features of the building have begun to emerge in recognizable if dilapidated form.

The inscription of dedication carved on the marble lintel of the great portal mentions specifically the various parts of the building which Pantainos contributed from his own resources:⁶⁰ *τὰς ἔξω στοάς, τὸ περίστυλον, τὴν βιβλιοθήκην μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων, τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα κόσμον.* Along the street leading from the Agora to the Roman market lay one portico of Pantainos' outer stoas (Pl. 30, a). Some 20 m. of its length were uncovered, and the stylobate and single marble step of the colonnade proved to be preserved for a length of 12 m. The columns were supported on Ionic bases set upon low plinths, of which two have chanced to survive in their original positions. At the extreme northern edge of the section there came to light a narrow strip of marble pavement bordered by a marble gutter which runs below the step of the stoa. This is the edge of the ancient street itself, and it indicates that the whole length of the street from the library to the Roman Agora may be expected to be paved in the same elegant manner. The rear wall of the stoa, set 3.30 m. behind

⁵⁹ For the western part of the library, see T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 293-295; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 202-203; *Agora Guide*, pp. 85 f.; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London, 1971, pp. 432-435.

⁶⁰ See B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 233, no. 64.

the colonnade, is well preserved and stands in places to a height of 1.85 m. Its fabric, composed of rubble stonework, bricks, and many re-used architectural blocks, leaves no doubt that it was heavily rebuilt in late antiquity.

Behind the porch of the stoa to the south is a row of rooms occupying the space between the colonnade and the main block of the library. Parts of three such rooms have been cleared (Pl. 30, b), of which the central one measures 5.95 m. by 6.60 m. All the rooms were entered from the stoa, and there is as yet no evidence to indicate whether any of them also communicated with the peristyle of the library. The easternmost of the rooms excavated last season was equipped with a marble pavement and revetment on its walls as we learn from the surviving cement bedding for the marble slabs. This might be thought to suggest that the rooms were too sumptuously appointed to have served as ordinary shops or offices, but no indication of their actual function has yet come to light.

In the southern part of the excavated area, there emerged a single great hall disposed at an oddly oblique angle to the outer stoa (Pl. 30, b). The room is nearly square, measuring 9.75 m. by 10.75 m., and its peculiar orientation came about because it was laid out with relation to the peristyle of the library and the façade on the Panathenaic Way. The room seems to have opened directly on to the peristyle of the library, probably by way of a colonnade on its southwest side. Both its size and position indicate clearly that we have here the principal apartment of the building, and it may prove upon further investigation to have served as the main reading room of the library. Traces of its marble pavement and indications that its walls were revetted with marble veneer impart, even in their ruinous condition, an impression of the building's original elegance. Pantainos' proud mention of all the embellishments for which he paid is now seen to be no idle boast.

The work of 1971 in the Library of Pantainos was limited to preliminary clearing of the area, and it was impossible at any point to dig beneath the highest preserved level of the Roman floor. As a result no new evidence bearing on the date of the building's construction has yet come to light, and there is no reason to modify in any way the date about A.D. 100 proposed long ago on epigraphical grounds.⁶¹ What is apparent from the architecture alone, however, is the far longer and more complicated history of repair and reconstruction than had formerly been known; but before this history can be understood in all its phases a significant amount of further exploration will be necessary during the campaign of 1972.

CLASSICAL HOUSES ON THE AREOPAGUS

On the northeastern slopes of the Areopagus, the excavations of 1970 had revealed about half of a large and elegant private house, of the late Roman period, the remainder of which awaited excavation during the season of 1971. Under the

⁶¹ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 331, and cf. *ibid.*, IX, 1940, p. 295.

supervision of John McK. Camp, II, the definitive exploration of this structure was carried out, and this work yielded fresh evidence for the interpretation of the house and its occupants. But more than that it brought life to much of the earlier history of the site; for beneath the late Roman remains there emerged scraps of walls and floors, one or two rain-water cisterns, and household wells belonging to much earlier houses.

The airy and tree-lined slopes of the Areopagus had attracted householders as early as the late archaic period. The excavator encountered clear evidence that the earliest dwellings on the site were destroyed, and in one instance a well was filled with debris, at the time of the Persian sack of Athens in 480 B.C. During the classical period, the area seems to have developed rapidly into a popular residential district; for it lay within a few minutes' walk of the market square, but at the same time it was set high enough on the slope of the hill to enjoy a splendid vista of the city (Pl. 31, a) and to catch the cool north winds of summer. A broad terrace was gradually quarried out of the hillside as local residents sought more space for their houses, and in all periods the southernmost walls of the buildings were terrace walls set flush against the quarried scarp of the Areopagus which rises steeply to the south (Figs. 4, 5). The plan, Figure 4, shows the area explored in 1971 as it appeared at the end of the 4th century B.C. It was possible to recover the plans, and some information about the history, of three classical houses, although a glance at the actual state of the remains, as illustrated on the plan, Figure 5, will provide salutary warning that the state of our knowledge is at best fragmentary.

The earliest of the three houses was the westernmost of the group (Fig. 4) which was partially uncovered by Margaret Crosby in 1938 and subsequently re-examined in 1969. Only the rooms on the east side of the structure could be restored with any degree of certainty. Here, enough survives of the original period of construction to show that the walls were built of fine polygonal masonry and the floors were surfaced with hard-packed clay. The dwelling was clearly small and of irregular plan, consisting of a few rooms clustered about an open courtyard, which could easily be recognized because of the presence of a stone-lined well in its south-east corner. The only other room whose function could be guessed from the architectural design was the central one on the east side. Its doorway from the courtyard was placed off center to the south, and on the lowest clay floor in the center of the room was a mudbrick hearth, measuring 0.82 m. by 0.57 m. and rising 0.095 m. above the floor. The dimensions of the room, 2.70 m. by 4.30 m., would allow it to accommodate comfortably five dining couches of reasonable size (0.70 m. by 1.80 m.) arranged in the proper positions. While this may be coincidental, it seems possible to recognize in this room the *andron*, or dining room, of the house.

The house seems to have been built in the early years of the 5th century B.C.,

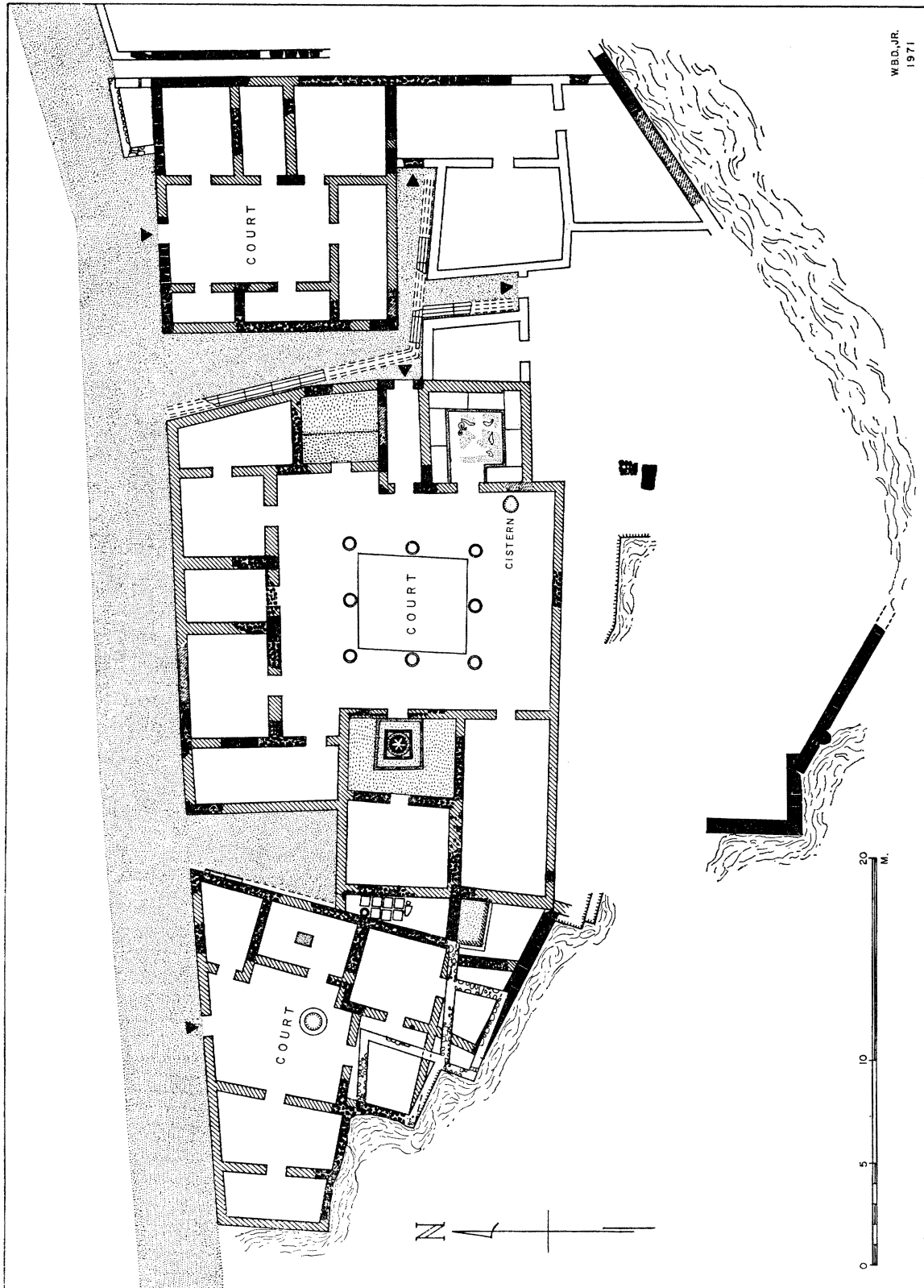


FIG. 4. Plan of the Classical Houses on the Areopagus, restored as of the Late 4th Century B.C.

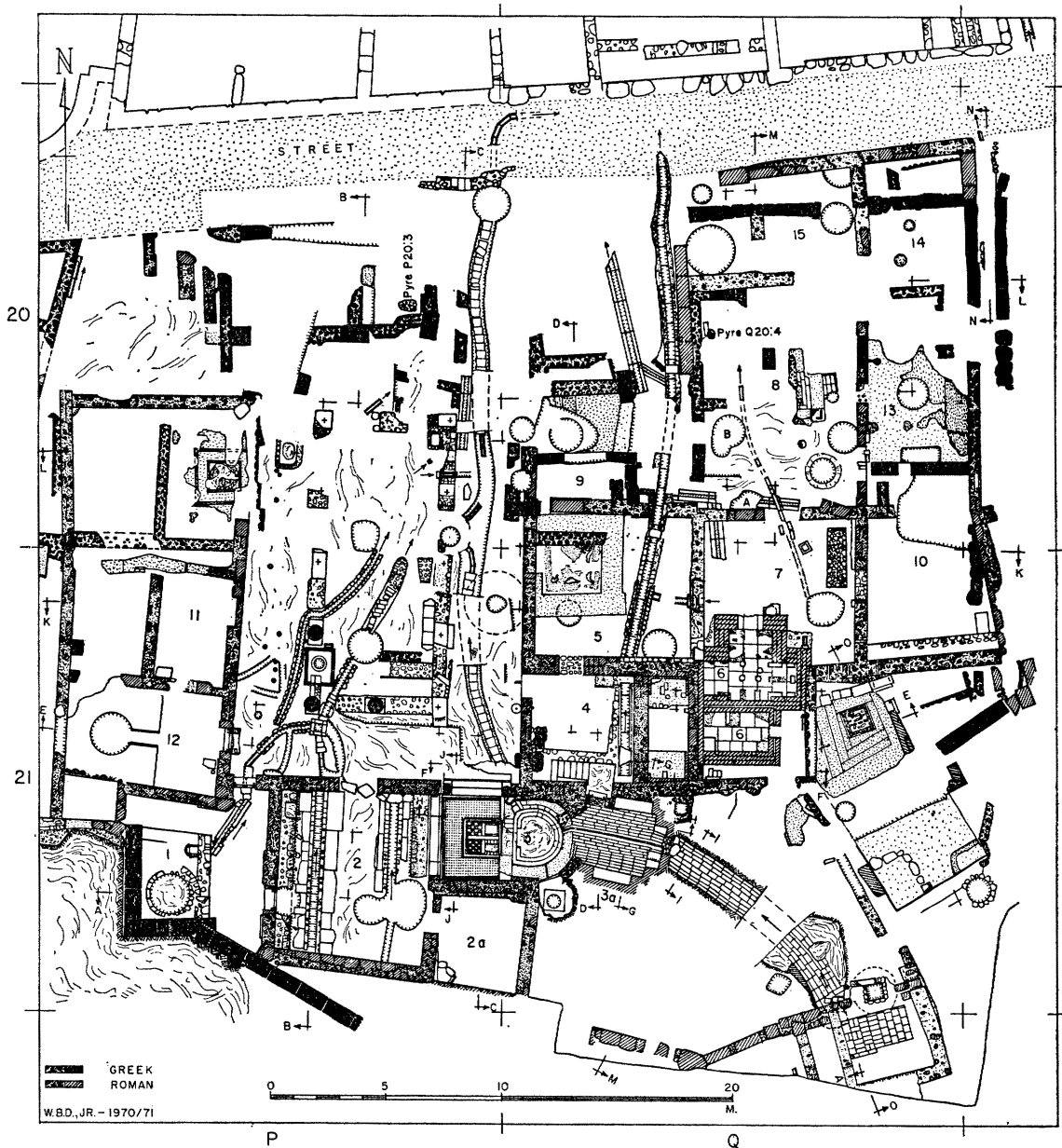


FIG. 5. Plan of the Area on the Slopes of the Areopagus, Actual State.

for pottery of this date was found beneath the earliest floors in the northeast corner.⁶² The stratification also suggested that the structure was partly destroyed in the Persian sack, and subsequently rebuilt along the general lines of its original plan. Extensive remodeling took place in the last years of the 5th century B.C. At this time the hillside was quarried away for several meters further to the south, and a new terrace wall of fine poros blocks now formed the southern limit of the house.⁶³ The debris from quarrying the hill was then spread over the north half of the property in a thick layer of crushed bedrock which raised the floors considerably in most of the rooms. In the southeast corner room, a large stucco-lined tank, measuring 2.13 m. by 1.32 m. and at least 0.45 m. deep, was installed at this time, perhaps to facilitate the workings of some home industry. During the 4th century, two further remodelings left their mark upon the house: several interior partitions at the southwest corner were rebuilt in the second quarter of the century,⁶⁴ and some of the floors were substantially raised about a generation later. But it was impossible to estimate the extent of the building activities at either of these times.

The same general chronological outline is reflected in the remains of the two other classical houses investigated in 1971. Both showed some slight traces of pre-Persian occupation, and a substantial period of construction in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. While the traces of this period in the area of the central house (Fig. 4) are far too ruinous to afford any restoration of the plan, we were able to recover the plan of the east house with greater assurance, because its original walls apparently continued in use with only slight modification for about a century and a half. This house lies beneath the northeast corner of the late Roman building (Fig. 5), and its almost perfectly square plan, measuring *ca.* 12.10 m. from north to south and 12.60 m. from east to west, betrays at once a more deliberate architectural design than either of its neighbors. All four of the exterior walls are extant and some small scraps of wall suggest the arrangement of interior partitions which appears in Figure 4. In the design of its central court surrounded by small regular rooms, the house bears striking resemblance to another block of classical houses which was explored some years ago on the lower slopes of the Areopagus.⁶⁵

The building gives evidence of two principal periods in the construction of its walls. The original period is represented by the blue limestone of the Acropolis laid in large blocks of fine polygonal masonry in the north and east walls; and this construction is to be dated to the second quarter of the 5th century B.C., on the basis of

⁶² Pottery from beneath the lowest floors in the two northeast corner rooms: Lots Ω 362, 363.

⁶³ Beneath the lowest floor along the new south wall was nearly 0.50 m. of filling in four layers, all of which produced pottery running down to the end of the 5th century: Lots Ω 352-356.

⁶⁴ The latest pottery from beneath the later floor associated with these walls dated to the second quarter of the 4th century: Lot Ω 351.

⁶⁵ H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 100-101, pls. 16-17. Our house corresponds closely in both plan and dimensions with the northeast unit of the block there described.

pottery found beneath the original floor along the north wall.⁶⁶ At a later time, the house underwent a considerable reconstruction though its plan seems to have been changed only slightly. The polygonal masonry of the early period no doubt formed a low socle to support simple mudbrick walls. This construction was now altered by the installation of ashlar orthostates, some of poros and some of conglomerate, which increased the height of the socle below the mudbrick superstructure. It was probably also in connection with this reconstruction that a small room was added at the northeast corner which now encroached slightly on the street to the north. The date of the rebuilding is difficult to ascertain with precision for the floors of this period were almost entirely destroyed by the later Roman builders or by more recent disturbances. A small deposit of pottery found outside the northeast corner of the house is possibly to be associated with the northward extension of the east wall, and this would suggest a date in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C.⁶⁷ Just inside the west wall of the house, there came to light a small sacrificial pyre containing twelve pots and a coin which may be dated to the last decade of the 4th century B.C.⁶⁸ Although pyres of this type have frequently been found in similar circumstances in private houses, their significance is still problematic, and it is thus not possible to determine exactly what relation the pyre bears to the history of the house. Unsatisfactory as this evidence may be, we shall perhaps not be far wrong in placing the later period of construction near the end of the 4th century B.C.

The latest and most commodious was the central house of the three (Fig. 4), which in the period of its fullest development was separated from its eastern neighbor by a narrow alley lined with a poros gutter along its west side. The house had not

⁶⁶ The houses lower on the Areopagus display a closely similar style of masonry, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 20, a, b; and these were built at precisely the same time as our house. Other examples of polygonal masonry of this type have been found in the industrial district around the hill to the southwest, cf. R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pls. 63, b; 75, c; 76, b. The pottery from beneath the preserved sections of the original floor along the north wall all dated within the first half of the 5th century B.C.: Lots Ω : 511, 517.

⁶⁷ Deposit Q 20: 5. Most indicative of the date are: P 28604, black-glaze skyphos, similar to *Agora*, XII, p. 260, no. 352, dated ca. 330 B.C.; P 28605, black-glaze plate, cf. *ibid.*, p. 310, nos. 1059, 1060, dated 325-310 B.C.

⁶⁸ Deposit Q 20: 4. For the date: P 28488, covered bowl, cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 326, no. 1282, last quarter of the 4th century B.C.; P 28492, black-glaze skyphos, cf. *ibid.*, p. 260, no. 353, ca. 320 B.C.; P 28496, lopadion, cf. *ibid.*, p. 346, no. 1562, end of the 4th century B.C.; coin Ω 556, Athenian bronze of the period 307-300 B.C. Sacrificial pyres of this type have been discussed by R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 110-114, and cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 45. It should be noted that with this pyre and another in the neighboring house (P 20:3, *infra*, note 73) were found bones clearly belonging to a small animal or fowl. There was no evidence whatever to suggest that they were child burials. In the case of P 20:3, the fact that the contemporary floor was not broken by the pyre but laid over it might suggest a sacrifice pertaining to the construction or remodeling of the house itself, a practice perhaps not unlike that of modern Greek builders who slaughter a cock before commencing construction.

always been so extensive a property, however; for the appearance of another stone gutter bordering an early bit of wall beneath the courtyard (Fig. 5) indicates that the alley had earlier passed 7.00 m. further to the west. Its line had been shifted eastward, and two smaller lots were doubtless thrown together when the later house was built. As a result, the overall dimensions of the house in the period of its greatest extent were *ca.* 25 m. from east to west and 19 m. from north to south. Enough foundations are preserved to indicate the arrangement of three rooms on the north side, three on the east, and two on the west side of the house although only the slightest traces of the exterior walls have survived. The construction is closely similar to the later period of its eastern neighbor: ashlar orthostates of conglomerate rest on a low footing of rubble.

Most readily recognizable of the rooms is the *andron* which lies in the southeast corner of the house (Fig. 4, Pl. 31, b). Of the walls of the room, only a single conglomerate block remains in its original position at the northwest corner, but the characteristic floor has survived intact. The dining room measures 4.40 m. on each side and exhibits a raised cement border, 0.92 m. wide, lining all four sides of the room, except on the west where it stops short of the doorway, placed off center toward the north. The room was thus designed to accommodate seven couches, measuring 0.80 m. by 1.80 m., and arranged with one against the west wall and two along each of the other three.⁶⁹ The central square of the *andron* was at first paved with a plain cement floor like the surrounding border. A more fashionable owner later laid above the original cement a mosaic pavement depicting a fanciful composition of dolphins and other marine creatures, which survives today only in patches. The designs were done in flat round pebbles of various colors against a background of small dark gray and blue pebbles, chosen no doubt to suggest the sea. Along the south side there is a dolphin done in yellow pebbles, with its beak, eye, and dorsal fin in contrasting purple. On the north, one can decipher the head and long, undulating tail of a sea monster, likewise in yellow picked out with purple details. Part of a large fish, done in white with red and blue details, can be seen along the east side; and even more elusive traces of another sea creature are visible at the west near the door.⁷⁰ The mosaic evidently

⁶⁹ On the characteristic features of the *andron*, see D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Olynthus*, VIII, *The Hellenic House*, Baltimore, 1938, pp. 171-178. Ours corresponds closely in size with the average Olynthian examples, although it lacks the anteroom which is so frequent a part of Olynthian *androne*s. The size of the couches in our dining room would have been closely comparable to those in the stoa at Brauron, of which the exact dimensions (0.80 × 1.77 m.) can be measured from the cuttings in the floor, see Ch. Bouras, *Ἡ Ἀναστήλωσις τῆς Στοᾶς τῆς Βραυρῶνος*, Athens, 1967, pp. 74, 92, fig. 67.

⁷⁰ The mosaic pavement is also a frequent part of the decoration of *androne*s at Olynthos (cf. *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 175). Indeed, more than half of the mosaics found at Olynthos were in dining rooms, *ibid.*, p. 284. Although our mosaic is in too ruinous a condition to allow a very precise statement about its scene, the sea creatures have much the same spirit as those in the Nereid mosaic from Olynthos, D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, V, p. 2, pls. II, XI. The color

fell into disrepair before the destruction of the house for a layer of stucco was later laid over it obliterating most of the design.

North of the *andron* a small narrow room should no doubt be recognized as the entrance corridor leading from the alley on the east into the courtyard of the house. The evidence of this room, combined with the placement of the door of the *andron* and the presence of a cistern just beyond, makes it certain that the courtyard lay in the area west of the *andron*, where the natural bedrock had been dressed down at an early date to carry the floors of the house. It is also evident from the level of the floors that the *andron* on the east side of the court and the large room with mosaic pavement on the west side of the house (Figs. 4, 5, Pl. 32, a) belong to the same building. The whole of the intervening space has thus been restored as a large courtyard, measuring 13.40 m. from north to south and 10.60 m. from east to west. It is interesting to note that on the north side the court seems to have been made somewhat wider, as if to form a *pastas* like those of the Olynthian houses. It is likely that the courtyard was occupied by a columnar peristyle of eight columns disposed with three on each side. This is suggested both by the large size of the court and also by foundations which may be assigned to two of the columns. A glance at the plan, Figure 5, will show that this whole area came to be occupied by the great peristyle of the late Roman house, but the single poros blocks which formed the foundations for the northeast and northwest columns of the Roman peristyle both lie exactly 0.20 m. below the surviving Ionic column bases at the southwest corner. Since the level of these foundations is close to the floors of the classical house, it seems possible that they originally supported columns of the classical peristyle and, like so many other parts of the classical building, were later incorporated into the Roman house, to which they gave the spacing of the peristyle.

On the western side of the court, a large room opposite the entrance must have been one of the principal living rooms of the house, for here also the usual clay floor was replaced with a mosaic pavement, which has survived in somewhat dilapidated condition (Pl. 32, a). The pavement was formed of white marble chips set in mortar with a single decorated panel probably before the door. A band of terracotta tile chips frames the central motif composed of a rosette of six petals in white marble chips against a background of gray limestone chips, and surrounded by a circular band of tile chips set tangent to another square band of gray limestone chips.⁷¹ A similar marble chip floor, though without the decorative mosaic panel, also paved another room next to the entrance corridor on the east side of the house.

scheme and technique are also closely similar (cf. *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 285 f.). There is, however, no trace of human figures among the marine creatures of our mosaic.

⁷¹ Such circular motifs framed by squares were also popular at Olynthos, where, however, they were usually part of a more elaborate composition often consisting of wheels, or radiating rays, or palmettes surrounded by wave pattern or meander, cf. *Olynthus*, V, pls. 14-16.

With regard to chronology, the excavator was able to recover very little secure evidence for the date of construction of the house in its most developed stage, as described above. Many of the floors had been dug away by the Roman builders, and indeed many of its walls were simply incorporated in the fabric of later Roman walls following the same lines. Some information, however, comes from the small central room on the north side of the court. Here at a low level there came to light some of the extensive filling of crushed bedrock from the quarrying of the hillside at the end of the 5th century B.C. Above this there lay a single hard earth floor at the same level as the mosaic pavements in the *andron* and the room north of it. The small amount of ceramic material from beneath the floor could be dated in the second half of the 4th century B.C.⁷² But the floor also covered another sacrificial pyre which produced twelve miniature pots and a lamp. The latest datable pieces among these could be placed about 325 B.C.⁷³ If this evidence may be applied to the whole structure, it seems likely that the remodeling which brought the house to its fullest development must have occurred about that time.

For the date at which the house was destroyed and abandoned the evidence permits us to form a somewhat more certain conclusion. Reference has already been made to a cistern which came to light in the southeast corner of the courtyard just outside the *andron*. This was of the bottle-shaped variety typical of the Hellenistic period, measuring 3.95 m. in depth, flaring to a diameter of 2.73 m. at the bottom, and its walls lined with hard hydraulic cement. The cistern was found packed with fine pottery and tableware from the china cupboard of the dining room next door.⁷⁴ Altogether some 140 pieces were recovered, including a series of thirty Megarian bowls. A small sampling of these, together with two of the kantharoi and an amphora, is illustrated on Plate 33. It is apparent that the furnishings of the household were gathered together over a considerable period of time. While the bulk of the deposit was probably manufactured within the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C., a few pieces seem slightly earlier and some of the material descends well into the first half of the 2nd century. Particularly noteworthy are the Megarian bowls which are, for the most part, of excellent quality and range widely in the motifs of their decoration. Among the earlier pieces from the cistern is the bowl (Pl. 33, a) with alternating petals and lily-like plants between flowering tendrils.⁷⁵ More frequent are bowls com-

⁷² Pottery from beneath the floor: Lot Ω 462; pottery from the layer of crushed bedrock fill below: Lot Ω 464.

⁷³ Deposit P 20: 3. For the date: P 28509, skyphos, cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 258, no. 326, dated 350-330 B.C.; P 28510, skyphos, cf. *loc. cit.*, no. 327, dated ca. 325 B.C.; L 5665, lamp Type 24 C Prime, cf. *Agora*, IV, p. 67, no. 263, dated second quarter of the 4th century; P 28511, covered bowl, cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 326, no. 1278, first half of the 4th century.

⁷⁴ Deposit P 21: 4.

⁷⁵ Inv. P 28543: H. 0.087 m.; Diam. 0.161 m. Medallion: eighteen-petalled rosette of lozenge-shaped leaves against background of dots; encircled by band of birds flanking palmettes, from which

binning foliate decoration with figured scenes. Hunters stalk assorted animals among the stylized foliage (Pl. 33, c); and antithetical pairs of satyrs or goats or Nikai peer at each other across the rims of kraters and kantharoi or uphold bearded masks (Pl. 33, c, d).⁷⁶ An especially fine specimen is the bowl (Pl. 33, b) depicting various, apparently unrelated, groups of larger figures: a scene of rape involving a male deity and a young girl, a draped woman clutching a child under her right arm, a dancing satyr, an old man with a staff, and others.⁷⁷

Along with the Megarian bowls, there were many pots with West Slope decoration of which an amphora (Pl. 33, e) was among the most characteristic and should be closely contemporary with the Megarian bowls.⁷⁸ The kantharoi (Pl. 33, f, g), on the other hand, display an especially elongated profile and very cursory West Slope decoration, which makes them more developed than other kantharoi in groups of the

springs a row of small leaves. From medallion spring tall petals alternating with feathered leaves between tendrils. Rim zone: simplified guilloche between beaded lines, row of double spirals, and a row of alternating birds and palmettes. Closely similar to P 4099, H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 351, fig. 34, C 16; and cf. G. R. Edwards, *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, p. 100, pl. 45, no. 67.

⁷⁶ (c) Inv. P 28535: H. 0.083 m.; Diam. 0.141 m. Medallion: eight-petalled rosette surrounded by scraped groove and circle of dots from which springs a row of short pointed leaves. Middle zone: between six long palm fronds, panthers leaping right alternating with warriors facing left, armed with spear, oblong shield, and helmet with horsehair plume. Above, six pairs of winged Nikai flank bearded masks; between the groups, single bearded masks. Rim pattern: rows of ribbed leaves, dots, double spirals; palmettes above alternate spirals. For the masks and Nikai, though in different arrangement, cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 356, fig. 40, C 22; for the warriors, *ibid.*, p. 353, fig. 38, C 20.

(d) Inv. P 28540: H. 0.11 m.; Diam. 0.172 m. Acanthus leaves spring from rosette medallion. Middle zone: antithetical pairs of satyrs flank kraters; rearing goats flank kraters; kneeling satyrs hold krater or mask. Rim pattern: band of egg and dart, row of dots, row of dolphins. For the kneeling satyrs and kraters, cf. Edwards, *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, p. 97, pl. 40, no. 32b; for the dancing satyrs and kraters, cf. W. Schwabacher, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 198, pl. II, A, 2; for the goats and kraters, cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 357, fig. 41, C 23; p. 379, fig. 66 a, D 35; U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher aus attischen und böotischen Werkstätten*, Stuttgart, 1959, pl. 5, 2.

⁷⁷ Inv. P 28588: H. 0.151 m.; Diam. 0.083 m. Medallion: rosette from which spring two rows of small ribbed leaves and a third row of small lotus leaves. Rim pattern: simplified guilloche surmounted by alternating palmettes. The rape scene has been identified as Herakles and Auge, Schwabacher, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 193 ff., pl. II, B, 5; cf. the bowl very similar to ours, Athens N. M. E 1091, Hausmann, *Reliefbecher*, pl. 7, 2; cf. also Agora P 20269, *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, pl. 50, B.

⁷⁸ Inv. P 29344: H. 0.223 m.; Diam. 0.186 m. Profiled ring foot, squat body, high neck with flaring rim. Broad strap handles with masks at roots, rolls of clay on upper loop, face in relief and lug between. Between handles, on neck, from top to bottom: a cornucopia with fillets, floral pattern, and torches, all done in white and added clay; a band in relief painted with clay, a lug at either end; dolphins in added clay sporting over a wave pattern, resting on two lines and row of dots. On shoulder: alternating checkerboards and diminishing rectangles. For the shape and decoration, cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 374, fig. 59, D 25. Similar handles occur on P 18697, West Slope kantharos, found in the Komos Cistern, Deposit M 21: 1, dated to the end of the 3rd century B.C.; on the date, cf. D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 276 and note 3.

late 3rd century from the Agora.⁷⁹ They, together with a few of the lamps,⁸⁰ ought probably to be dated in the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C. This is of particular interest in view of the numismatic evidence from the cistern which has to be brought into relation with the ceramic material. Of the 21 coins recovered, the majority proved to be illegible or else disintegrated in cleaning, and a few pieces were too early to be useful. But a group of six bronze coins formed a homogeneous context; ⁸¹ all were of the Athenian New Style and of types which date well into the first half of the 2nd century B.C. The cistern cannot have been closed before that time since the coins were found at all levels in its filling. Indeed, it was clear that the whole filling was dumped in at one time; and the presence of broken roof tiles, combined with traces of burning on some of the pottery, suggests that the cistern was filled when the house was destroyed. This conclusion is corroborated by the fill found over the floor of the *andron* which yielded pottery similar to that from the cistern.⁸² On the basis of this evidence, we may date the destruction of the house by fire to the years between 180 and 160 B.C.

LATE ROMAN HOUSE ON THE AREOPAGUS

Between the Hellenistic period and the late Roman occupation of the site, there is rather little evidence for the history of the area. The Herulian raid of A.D. 267 evidently brought destruction to the houses which lined the hillside at that time. At the extreme southeast corner of the excavated area (Fig. 5) there was found a group of rooms belonging to two small houses on a higher terrace of the hill. Debris of the late 3rd century after Christ found over their floors suggested a destruction at the hands of the Herulii, and the buildings were evidently left in a state of abandonment thereafter. On the lower terrace, with which we are chiefly concerned, the late Roman builders evidently cleared away the wreckage of their predecessors, for in only one room was earlier Roman construction incorporated into the later house. The great mansion which arose on the site in the late years of the 4th century after Christ has left its monumental remains over the whole area, and it is to these that we should now turn our attention.

The campaign of 1970 had laid bare the western part of the structure surrounding the principal peristyle,⁸³ but the house now proves to be considerably larger and more

⁷⁹ (f) Inv. P 28526: H. 0.17 m.; Diam. of body 0.11 m. (g) Inv. P 28523: H. 0.18 m.; Diam. of body 0.11 m. Moulded ring foot. Vertical strap handles from shoulder to rim, applied masks on thumb-rests. Between handles, two scraped grooves framing wave pattern in incised lines and added white.

⁸⁰ Among the latest of the lamps are L 5672, L 5676, Type 43 D, dated to the last quarter of the 3rd and first half of the 2nd centuries B.C.; cf. *Agora*, IV, p. 137, no. 556.

⁸¹ Coins Ω 529, 536, 540 belong to the Athenian New Style series with Athena head/Fulminating Zeus; Ω 524, 535, 541 are of the type Cicada/Amphora.

⁸² Pottery on the floor of the *andron*; Lot Ω. 422, late 3rd and early 2nd centuries B.C.

⁸³ See *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pp. 266-270.

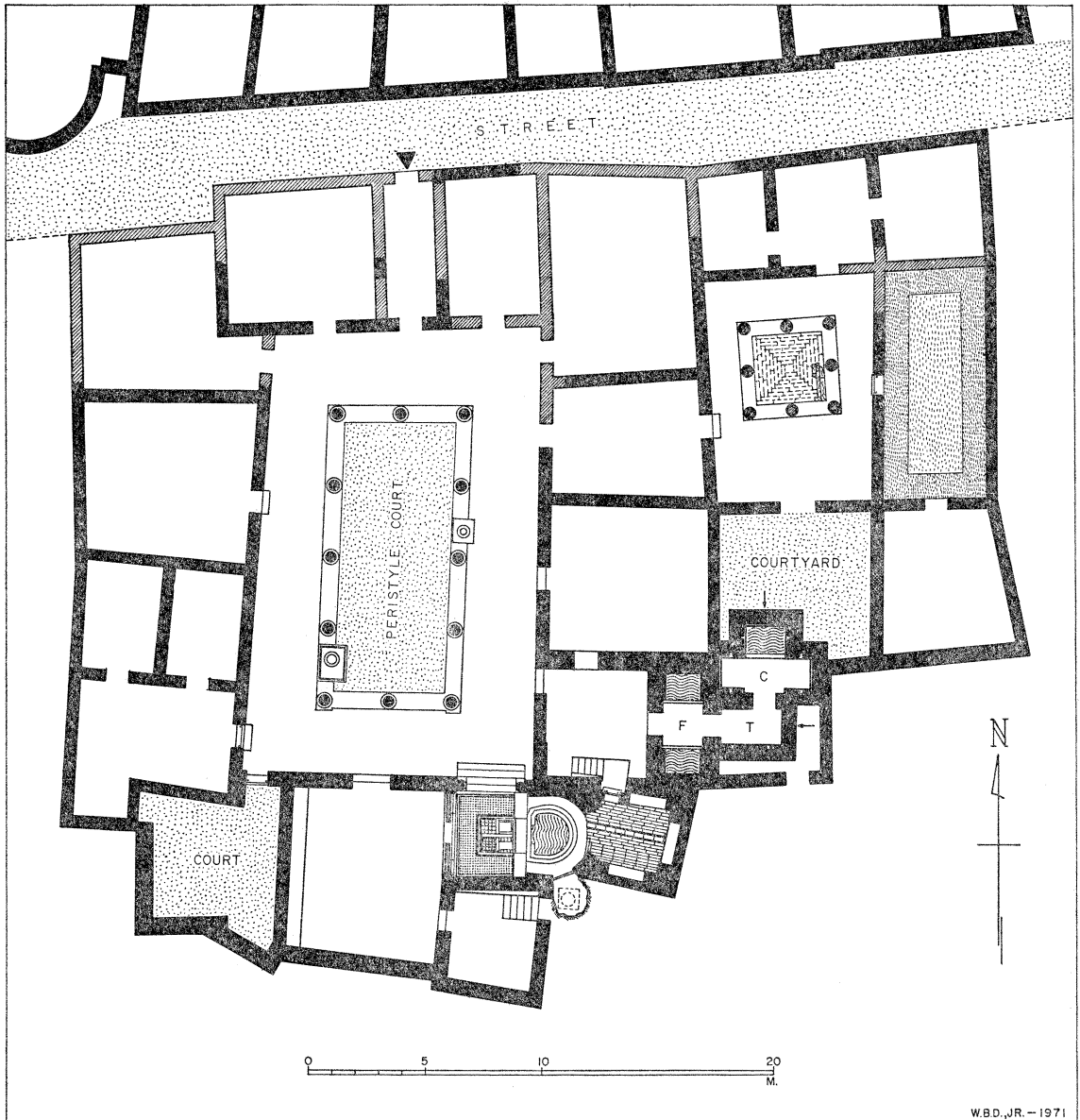


FIG. 6. Restored Plan of the Late Roman House.

elaborate than had at first been thought likely (Figs. 5, 6, Pl. 31, a). It consists of 24 rooms, many of substantial size, ranged about two peristyle courts and two smaller service courts. The overall dimensions of the building are about 35.50 m. from north to south and 41 m. from east to west. The largest of the rooms all open from the great central peristyle, as does the elegant apsidal suite with its pool, likewise discovered in 1970. The newly excavated eastern wing of the house, despite its more ruinous condition, gives evidence of less spacious rooms grouped together in apartments about a smaller peristyle. Of the peristyle itself only the slightest traces have survived (Fig. 5, Room 8). Several poros blocks forming the southeast angle of the stylobate remain *in situ*, and within the angle is part of the marble pavement of the open court, which consisted of narrow strips of marble veneer forming a pattern of diminishing squares. The western limit of the court is indicated by an open terracotta drain channel which lies 3 m. distant from the edge of the marble pavement. A door leading eastward from the peristyle gives access to the principal chamber of the east wing, a long narrow room which is one of the few to have been provided with a floor of more than hard-packed earth. It seems originally to have had a plain stucco floor; but this was replaced by a border of brick chips, *ca.* 1.00 m. wide, running around all four sides of the room, while the center of the floor was paved with contrasting white marble chips likewise set in mortar. The elegant flooring in this room, together with the adjoining marble-paved peristyle, suggests that the eastern wing was no less sumptuously appointed than other parts of the house. From the smaller size of the rooms, however, and from their more secluded arrangement, we may suppose that the private residential quarters lay in this section.

At the southeast corner of the house there came to light a suite of three bathrooms (Fig. 5, Room 6; Pl. 34), fitted out in miniature with all the accouterments of Roman public baths. Entrance into the bath was by way of the square chamber at the southeast corner of the great peristyle (Fig. 5, Room 4). This led into a tiny room, scarcely more than a passage 1.80 m. wide, flanked to north and south by two small plunge pools, which could be easily recognized by the heavy coat of hydraulic cement on their floors. Since there was no provision for heating these pools, the room is clearly to be identified as the frigidarium of the bath. One passed thence into two heated chambers, of which the innermost was evidently equipped with a pool of hot water on its north side, for the bather who preferred the luxury of less bracing ablutions (Fig. 6, C; Pl. 34, b). These rooms formed the tepidarium and caldarium of the bath; and they were heated in the usual manner with hot air, which was conducted from two furnaces on the north and east respectively, through the hollow space of the hypocaust beneath the floor, and upwards in vertical flues behind the marble revetment of the walls. Only the lower tiled pavement of the hypocaust has survived, and there is no evidence of the exact level of the proper floor above. In the tepidarium, the upper floor was supported by six square brick piers, one in

each corner and one midway along the longer walls (Fig. 5, Room 6). The floor of the caldarium was carried on four brick columns at the center of the room, supplemented by piers or spur walls around the sides and beneath the pool. The walls of the bath are of solid brick construction with narrow vertical flues let into them: a pair in the north and south walls of the caldarium, one on either side of the pool, and two more in the south wall of the tepidarium. There was no precise indication of the source of water for the pools, but all three were provided with drains which emptied into a very capacious tile-lined drain, 0.34 m. wide and 0.64 m. deep, running across the full width of the house from the south end of the frigidarium to the street at the north edge of the terrace (Fig. 5).

The excavations of the past season have added even more to our knowledge of the building's history than they have to its architecture. It was surmised at the close of the 1970 season that this palatial establishment had undergone substantial remodeling in the first quarter of the 6th century after Christ, and the inference was that some parts of its structure might be a good deal earlier. This conclusion is strongly supported by the investigations of 1971. The earliest surviving element in the building is the brick vaulted chamber east of the apsidal room and the rock-cut tunnel which leads from it (Fig. 5, Room 3a; Pl. 32, b).⁸⁴ The tunnel, originally entered by the small doorway now walled up at the east end of the room, runs in a curving southeasterly course for some 10 m. to a point where another doorway, also blocked, once gave access to a great rock-cut shaft serving as a combined well and cistern. Measuring 2.40 m. in height and 1.10 m. in width, the tunnel was hewn out of the natural bedrock, and only its roof was vaulted with brickwork, which survives in part around a square open manhole at each end (Pl. 32, b). The floor was paved throughout with rectangular tiles, and sealed beneath them, for the whole length of the tunnel, ran the water channel which continued westward across the vaulted room to supply the apsidal pool in its later period.

Before its incorporation in the Roman house, the vaulted room and tunnel seem to have formed a small fountain house, doubtless subterranean and approached by the stairway along its north wall (Fig. 5). The fountain will have been chiefly supplied by the rock-cut shaft, from which water was carried in the channel under the floor of the tunnel. The original spring house must have had a basin or fountain at its west end, now completely obliterated by the later construction of the apsidal room and pool. For nine or ten months of the year, the level of the water in the rock-cut shaft remains sufficiently high to insure that water flows continuously through the channel. In the late months of summer when the water level fell and the channel was dry, one had simply to walk through the tunnel and draw water directly from the shaft as from an ordinary well. A supplementary source of water

⁸⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pls. 53, b; 54, a.

was also at hand in another rock-cut shaft just south of the apsidal pool (Fig. 5), which also came later to be incorporated in the structure of the Roman house but began as part of the fountain.

This latter shaft or well provides the best evidence for the chronology of the springhouse, for it produced a stratified deposit of pottery extending from the first half of the 2nd century after Christ to the second half of the 4th century.⁸⁵ The earlier pieces from the well suggest that the fountain was already in use in the 2nd century, and the latest pieces seem to indicate the time at which it ceased to function. This should also be interpreted as a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the house. It must remain, however, an odd fact that although the presence of this well is clearly reflected in the architecture of the apsidal chamber, and although it continued to serve as a supplementary source of water for the pool, no later pottery from the period when the house was in use ever found its way into the well. If it is clear that the early springhouse functioned at least from the 2nd century to the 4th, it is equally certain that it did not do so intact. From large deposits of pottery found over the floor of the rock-cut tunnel, we learn that it had collapsed and gone out of use by the 3rd century after Christ. Indeed, masses of the soft bedrock had fallen onto the floor by this time; and some quantities of burnt debris and pottery of the late 3rd and early 4th centuries, found beneath the manholes and 0.50 m. above the floor, suggest the cleaning-up operations after the sack of A.D. 267.⁸⁶

The great house of the late Roman period came to be built on the site not long after the demise of the old fountain house, in the second half of the 4th century after Christ. Three independent groups of ceramic material may be associated with the construction of the building, and all serve to support the date indicated by the latest pottery from the well in the apsidal room. Two of the rooms on the east side of the great peristyle (Fig. 5, Rooms 4, 5) preserved stratified floors, of which the lowest belonging to the Roman period could be dated to the late 4th century by the pottery found beneath them. Even more telling is the third group of material extracted from the fill which the builders dumped behind the high south terrace wall of the house at the time of construction.⁸⁷ This pottery also fully confirms the date of construction in the late 4th century.

⁸⁵ Deposit Q 21 : 5. Among some 25 complete pots recovered from the well, the most characteristic pieces of the lower filling are: P 29059, globular jug, cf. *Agora*, V, p. 41, G 182; P 29067, round-mouth jug, cf. *ibid.*, p. 55, J 43; L 5730, alpha globule lamp, cf. *Agora*, VII, p. 107, no. 427, all belonging to the first half of the 2nd century. Some of the latest pieces from the upper filling are: P 29069, flanged-rim bowl with painted decoration, cf. *Agora*, V, p. 76, L 22; P 28931, P 28932, decanters with painted decoration, cf. *loc. cit.*, L 24, L 25; P 28928, round-mouth jug, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 104-105, M 218, M 219, all dating to the mid 4th century.

⁸⁶ Pottery above the floor of the tunnel: Lots Ω 423, 424. The material found on the floor itself ran down to the middle of the 3rd century: Lots Ω 425, 426.

⁸⁷ Pottery from beneath the lowest Roman floor of Room 4: Lot Ω 439; beneath the lowest Roman floor of Room 5: Lot Ω 421. The latest pottery found behind the south terrace wall (Fig. 5, Room 2) could be dated in the second half of the 4th century: Lot Ω 418.

At some time in the early years of the 6th century after Christ the house underwent considerable renovations. The clay floors were either raised or relaid in three rooms, in the peristyle, and in the small southwest service court. At the same time the large drain which carried off the overflow from the apsidal pool was dug up and its course diverted slightly so that the overflow from the pool was thereafter collected in a well in the east colonnade of the peristyle.⁸⁸ The most important change of this period, however, is the addition of the bath which was now constructed for the first time. This fact emerges from the relation of the walls of the bath to the terrace wall just to the east, which quite clearly stood before the brickwork of the bath was built up against it. The date at which this took place can be determined by the history of the large drain which served all three pools of the bath. The drain flowed northward across the two rooms west of the bath (Fig. 5, Rooms 4, 5). In the first of these the top of the drain was 0.40 m. above the original floor of the room; and in the neighboring room a clear trench had been dug through the original floor for the installation of the drain. In both rooms the floors were then raised 0.40 m. and 0.30 m. respectively in order to cover the newly installed drain, an alteration which took place, as we have seen, in the early 6th century after Christ.

Other minor modifications may also be observed here and there in the building. The thresholds were raised in the two doorways at the southwest corner of the peristyle, and before one of them a small marble statue of Athena was laid face down as a step. The stucco work of the apsidal pool was repaired and patched about the northwest corner. More interesting, perhaps, is the alteration to the mosaic pavement of the apsidal room, for the original mosaic emblema seems to have been removed and replaced with the cruciform pattern of marble *opus sectile* that survives today.⁸⁹ Although there is no independent evidence for the date of these minor renovations, it is not unreasonable to associate them with the other more securely dated signs of remodeling.

One other striking bit of evidence may have some bearing upon the possible function and identification of the building. When the bath was constructed by the later owners, its north wall partially covered and apparently put out of use a well in the service court, which was found covered by a marble slab (Pl. 34, b, foreground). At the very bottom of the well, the excavator came upon a group of marble sculptures: two life-size portrait busts of women (Pls. 37, b, 38, a), a small statue of Herakles (Pl. 38, b), and a fine imperial portrait of Antoninus Pius (Pl. 37, a). This group calls to mind at once another series of three marble heads unearthed in 1970, in similar circumstances, from the well in the east aisle of the great peristyle.⁹⁰ Taken

⁸⁸ The latest pottery from beneath the raised floors and the redug drain channel dated uniformly to the early 6th century: in Room 1, Lot Ω 413; Room 2a, Lot Ω 392; Room 4, Lot Ω 404; Room 5, Lot Ω 420; Peristyle, Lot Ω 388; drain channel, Lots Ω 449, 450.

⁸⁹ See *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pl. 55, b.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 273-275, pls. 58-59.

as a whole, these sculptures form a remarkable assemblage, for no less than twelve pieces of marble statuary have been found in the wells and rooms of this single building. Two facts of interest at once present themselves: all the sculptures are much older than the building in which they stood; and many of them were apparently laid away with care at the bottoms of wells before the remodeling of the house. The splendid condition of the sculptures from the two wells strongly suggests that they were deliberately hidden by the departing owners.

They must be understood as a collection of antiques gathered together in the late Roman period by the first owners of our house. They range widely in date from the 4th century B.C. to the 3rd century after Christ; some pieces are in relief, others sculpture in the round; some are copies of venerable Greek originals, others portraits of unknown men and women of Roman Athens. Together they give us an unusually vivid glimpse at the tastes and interests of these late Roman collectors of art. Their feeling for fine quality and their rather eclectic antiquarian fervor come across to us, and both perfectly bespeak the intellectual spirit of Athens in the late 4th century after Christ.

With its marble peristyles and spacious rooms, its elaborate apsidal suite and abundant statuary, the house presents a picture of exceptional size and elegance for a private residence. In both scale and architectural form it bears close resemblance to the two nearly contemporary establishments which lie on the next lower terrace of the hill to the north.⁹¹ Like them, our building is organized around a greater and a lesser peristyle. Adjoining the greater peristyle are several large rooms clearly of a more public nature, while other parts of the house are disposed in suites of smaller chambers more suitable for domestic purposes. In view of these similarities, both architectural and chronological, it is tempting to think of our building as one more element in the growing academic community which flourished in Athens in the second half of the 4th century after Christ.⁹² The buildings on the lower slopes have been plausibly identified as the houses of prosperous sophists, some of whom are known to have held classes in their own houses. We may well suppose that our building also sheltered a sophist and a few favorite pupils in a private school of philosophy. While none of the rooms of our house corresponds exactly with Eunapius' description of these private schools, with lecture rooms modeled on the public auditoria,⁹³ the series of large apartments ranged about the great peristyle would have offered ample accommodation for small classes.

The later history of the building provides considerable evidence to strengthen the suggestion that we have here to do with one of the philosophical schools. Mention

⁹¹ See H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 104-105, fig. 1.

⁹² For discussion of Athens as a university town of the late Roman period, see C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen in Alterthum*, I, Leipzig, 1874, pp. 709-713.

⁹³ Eunapius, *Life of Julian*, p. 483, 5; and cf. Himerios, *Orat.*, XVIII, 3.

has already been made of the extensive remodeling in the early years of the 6th century after Christ, when the house seems to have changed hands. The date itself is suggestive, for it calls to mind at once the epochal year A.D. 529, when the edict of Justinian closed the schools of philosophy at Athens, that last bulwark of pagan culture in a Christian empire. The shift from the long tradition of pagan antiquity to the new world of Christianity is vividly evident in the archaeological history of our building. At about the time of the remodeling, seven pieces of sculpture were dropped into wells in the peristyle and service court. We have already remarked upon their excellent state of preservation and have inferred from this that the sculptures were purposefully deposited. Indeed, their condition contrasts markedly with the fate which befell two other pieces of the collection after they came into the hands of the later owners. The little statue of Athena,⁹⁴ found in 1970, was decapitated and re-used as a doorstep in the peristyle; and similar damage was done to a fine dedicatory relief (Pl. 35, c; *infra*, pp. 168-170). On this latter piece, the earliest of the collection, the mutilation was clearly deliberate; for every figure has had the features of its face crudely hacked away. Here we may read unmistakably the handwriting of the early Christians, who sought in their intolerant zeal to obliterate such offensive pagan monuments of the Greek past.

No doubt the repair of the mosaic in the apsidal room should also be interpreted as giving evidence of Christian activity. The central panel is likely to have been stripped away and replaced with marble plaques because it originally depicted some objectionable pagan scene. We may, then, well suppose that the prominent cruciform pattern worked out in red stone in the later panel is not a fortuitous design, but in fact the Christian symbol. Other indications of Christian occupation were found in the debris from the final destruction of the house, which yielded several Christian lamps and, more important, large fragments of a ritual sigma table.⁹⁵ This specifically Christian piece of furniture was found on the floor of the large room at the south end of the peristyle. Its presence, taken together with the other evidence adduced above, points clearly to the conclusion that our building passed into the hands of a Christian owner, and no doubt of a prominent member of the local Christian community. The school of sophists, which we have seen reason to believe had occupied the house from the second half of the 4th century, was doubtless forced to abandon the premises in A.D. 529 in the face of the imperial edict. The Christian owners will

⁹⁴ *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pl. 59, b.

⁹⁵ Inv. L 5628, L 5630, cf. *Agora*, VII, p. 198, no. 2921. Inv. A 3869: Est. W. ca. 1.20-1.30 m.; Est. L. ca. 1.25-1.30 m. Horseshoe-shaped slab of polished white marble about half preserved. A broad raised border around the edge into which are sunk small horseshoe-shaped depressions with their rounded part pointing outward. Smooth on bottom, rough-picked on all sides. Cf. R. L. Scranton, *Corinth*, XVI, *Mediaeval Architecture*, Princeton, 1957, pp. 139-140, pl. 36, b, c, d.

then have been responsible for the remodeling and will have continued to use the building until its final destruction in the Slavic invasion of the 580's.

SCULPTURE

The excavation of 1971 produced several significant additions to the collection of sculptures from the Agora, which is displayed in the colonnades of the Stoa of Attalos. Of the 60 new pieces of sculpture entered in the Agora inventory, some half dozen are of particular interest and deserve individual comment.

Among the votive offerings in the little sanctuary at the northwest corner of the market square (*supra*, pp. 128-129), there came to light the head of a small marble herm (Pl. 35, a, b).⁹⁶ This formed a part of the votive deposit over the sacred stone, and it can be seen as it was found in Plate 26, b. The head is broken from its shaft at the base of the neck; the tip of the nose, the hair and end of the beard are chipped; but it is otherwise in an excellent state of preservation. Familiar at once are the perfectly idealized features which characterize the closing decades of the 5th century B.C. The crisp line of the brow, the low forehead, the symmetrical almond-shaped eyes with projecting lids and carefully articulated tear-ducts, all reflect, in a minor work, the great developments in sculpture at the hands of the major artists during the third quarter of the 5th century. The hair radiates from the crown and is bound with a broad flat fillet, the ends of which are tied together at the back by a fine string. Beneath the fillet, a wavy mass of hair falls to just below the shoulder, the individual strands being indicated by incised grooves in an archaistic manner which harks back to the early classical period.⁹⁷ In front, the hair is brushed back in short twisted locks above the temples and partly over the ears; and the formal pattern of the beard and moustache is relieved by a similar use of twisted locks which, in their slightly asymmetrical arrangement, lend a touch of naturalism to the composition.

Of particular interest is the way in which our piece differs from the more monumental types of herms which were so profusely copied in later times. While the face bears closer resemblance to the short-haired herms, it is noticeable that the characteristic shoulder locks of the long-haired types are here completely omitted.⁹⁸ While

⁹⁶ Inv. S 2452: Pres. H. 0.23 m.; Pres. W. at neck 0.175 m.; W. of face 0.095 m. Part of socket for right arm preserved at break. White marble with large crystals. The lower lip is a separate insert, probably used to repair a fault in the marble or a mistaken stroke on the part of the sculptor while he was carving the head. It is clearly not to be thought of as a later repair of damage.

⁹⁷ Cf. the treatment of the beard on Athens N. M. 96, S. Karousou, *Collection of Sculpture*, Athens, 1968, p. 39; E. B. Harrison, *Athenian Agora*, XI, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton, 1965, pl. 65, b. Both beard and hair are rendered in this manner on Agora S 211, *ibid.*, pp. 142 ff., pl. 40, no. 156.

⁹⁸ For similar facial type and treatment of the hair over the temples, cf. the herm in the Villa Albani, L. Curtius, *Zeus und Hermes*, Munich, 1931, p. 50, pl. 13, A 13. Curtius' Type B, with

there is nothing archaistic about the features, the treatment of the hair in back and the strongly rectangular structure of the head, perfectly answering the shaft beneath it, both reflect the conventions of long tradition in the design of these monuments. The new herm is a product of fine craftsmanship rather than great art, and in this respect it is undoubtedly typical of the many dozens of herms which thronged the shrines and public buildings of Athens.

There is no trace of weathering on the surface of the marble, and it can scarcely have stood for long in the open before the head was rudely knocked from its shaft and buried in the sanctuary. The circumstances of its finding show, as we have seen, that this must have happened before the end of the 5th century B.C. In view of the chronological evidence, the historical occasion at once suggests itself, for the mutilation of the herms in 415 B.C. was one of the most infamous escapades of the classical period. Thucydides and Andokides give vivid accounts of the commotion which ensued.⁹⁹ Coming as it did shortly before the Athenian armada sailed on the ill-fated expedition to Sicily, it was interpreted by many people as a signal for political conspiracy and revolution; the soothsayers read it as an event of ominous portent for the future of the naval campaign. We may recognize in the herm before us one of the casualties of that fateful night. It had stood no doubt among the other herms at the northwest corner of the Agora, and on the morrow of its mutilation we may guess that it found its way into the neighboring sanctuary at the hands of some frightened citizen who dropped it with a silent prayer of *absit omen*.

We turn from a broken head to the opposite end of a statue, and from marble to bronze; for the public well beside the sanctuary (*supra*, pp. 130-134) produced among many dozens of other objects various *membra disjecta* of a life-size equestrian statue of bronze (Pl. 36).¹⁰⁰ The most imposing piece is the left leg of the horseman, while the sword and two pieces of drapery indicate that the rider was depicted armed for battle. The leg is bent sharply at the knee to grip the horse's flank; and the powerful modeling of the musculature of calf and thigh leave no doubt that the whole statue must have been a major work of a first-rate artist. The leg is bare except for the sandal on the foot which is rendered in great detail. It consists of a stout leather sole with marked incurving beneath the toes. To this is attached a network of leather thongs which encases the heel and is laced closed over the instep with cross straps. The straps pass two or three times around the ankle and there are knotted together.

similar features but long hair has regularly the long shoulder locks, *ibid.*, pp. 54 ff. For recent discussion of the various types of herm heads, Harrison, *Agora*, XI, pp. 129-134.

⁹⁹ Thucydides, VI, 27-29; 60-61; Andokides, I, 34-70.

¹⁰⁰ Inv. B 1384: bronze leg, L. 0.87 m.; W. of thigh 0.23 m.; L. of foot 0.255 m. Inv. B 1382: bronze sword and scabbard, L. 0.88 m.; W. 0.055 m.; Th. 0.015 m. Inv. B 1383: section of bronze drapery, L. 0.41 m.; W. 0.21 m. Possibly intended to fit against shoulder as part of short cloak; small spherical weights at corners of cloth. Inv. B 1385: section of bronze drapery, L. 0.555 m.; W. 0.10 m. Perhaps intended to hang free from arm or shoulder.

A long tapering tongue rises in back from the heel to the straps above the ankle, but there is no tongue over the instep. In addition, a short sharp spur is mounted on a separate, slightly wider strap which passes around the heel.

This elegant type of shoe-sandal, properly called a *krepis*,¹⁰¹ invites comparison with similar footwear which is frequently depicted in statuary from the 4th century through the Hellenistic period. The portrait statues of Mausolos and Demosthenes wear sandals similar to ours, as does the figure of Hades on one of the column drums from the Artemision at Ephesos.¹⁰² Aischines and the Apollo Belvedere wear a slightly more elaborate version of the same shoe,¹⁰³ while the long tongue rising at the back of the heel finds close parallel on the Ephebe from Tralles.¹⁰⁴ In its fragmentary state, our piece is difficult to date with precision, although both the elaborate form of the sandal and the modeling of the leg suggest the early Hellenistic period. The circumstances of finding, however, provide a firm *terminus ante quem*, for the bronzes were discovered in a layer of the well which contained pottery of about 200 B.C.

One of the most interesting aspects of these fragments is the information they give about the manufacture of large bronze statuary; for it should be stressed that all four pieces are complete castings preserved intact. The leg was cast hollow, of bronze ranging in thickness from 0.0075 m. to 0.01 m. The inside of the thigh and knee, down to the mid-calf, is left open where the horse's body would conceal that part of the leg, thus greatly facilitating removal of the core after casting. Around the top of the thigh is a projecting flange intended to anchor the next higher part of the statue; and the larger of the two pieces of drapery is cast so that its edges bend round sharply in back forming a slot which would fit over just such projecting flanges elsewhere on the statue. The sword is cast solid in one piece and was mounted against the torso by a series of rivets running down the center of the scabbard. On the outside these rivets would have held the bronze straps and trappings by which the rider slung his sword at his side. The sword also helps to confirm a date in the early Hellenistic period, for two closely similar examples were found among the bronzes from the Antikythera wreck.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ K. Erbacher, *Griechisches Schuhwerk*, Würzburg, 1914, pp. 39 ff.

¹⁰² For Mausolos, A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the British Museum*, II, London, 1900, p. 91, no. 1000; G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, London, 1965, II, p. 161, fig. 902. For Demosthenes, W. Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des vaticanischen Museums*, I, p. 80, pl. 11, no. 62; Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 216, fig. 1397. For the column drum from Ephesos, Smith, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 174 ff., no. 1206; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1961, fig. 67.

¹⁰³ Both of these have a decorated tongue which folds back over the instep. For Aischines, Richter, *Portraits*, p. 212, fig. 1369. For the Apollo Belvedere, Amelung, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 256 ff., pl. 12, no. 92; Bieber, *Sculpture*, fig. 200.

¹⁰⁴ Though only the back part of the feet are preserved, this example has the closest similarity to the Agora bronze, H. Sichtermann, *Antike Plastik*, IV, pp. 71-84, and see especially, pl. 40.

¹⁰⁵ J. N. Svoronos, *Tò ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικὸν Μουσεῖον*, Athens, 1903, p. 38, nos. 14, 15; pl. V, 6, 7. The better preserved of these, no. 14, has a more elaborately decorated scabbard, but was not gilded.

All four of our bronzes were originally covered over their entire exposed surface with gold foil. That is to say that what we possess today is in reality only the bronze core of a gilded statue. This is immediately apparent because some bits of the original gold plating still adhere to the bronze, especially of the sword (Pl. 36, a). The method of attaching the gold plates to the core is precisely analogous to that used on the bronze Nike head from the Agora.¹⁰⁶ Sheets of gold foil, the thickness of which can still be measured in places as close to half a millimeter, were carefully hammered around the bronze core; and their edges were then bent down to fit into narrow slots, 0.002 m. wide, which had been chiseled in the cold bronze especially to fasten the plates. The edges of two adjacent plates would be bent into the same slot and locked in place by a strip of gold wire, measuring 0.0015 m. to 0.0025 m. in width and 0.0015 m. in thickness. Much of this wire remains in place in the channels and can be seen most clearly around the ankle (Pl. 36, d) and along the edges of the sword (Pl. 36, a). The arrangement of the channels and wire seams enables us to determine the number of separate gold plates used to cover each piece: 9 for the leg, 5 and 6 respectively for the smaller and larger pieces of drapery, and no less than 23 for the sword. The size and shape of the plates seem to have been determined largely for technical reasons. While two large plates sufficed to cover the nearly cylindrical mass of the lower leg, four smaller plates of irregular shapes were used to gild the more complex modeling about the thigh and the bend of the knee. In the case of the sword, not only the surface of each face but the narrow edges as well were sheathed with separate plates often of very small size. Three or four of the actual plates are preserved intact along the edges of the hilt.

It is precisely in the number and design of the plates that the new pieces differ markedly from the Nike. There the artist exercised great economy in the arrangement of the plates and great skill in concealing the channels, for the very reason that the plates were intended to be removable. They were indeed removed on at least one occasion, and care was taken that their absence would not detract too greatly from the bronze sculpture beneath.¹⁰⁷ Our bronzes, on the other hand, were clearly not supposed to be divested of their golden sheathing; and in fact, when they were at last stripped of their plates, no special effort was made to remove every scrap of precious metal from the statue. For this reason, the size, shape, and number of the gold plates seem to have been determined entirely by the artist's convenience.

See now P. C. Bol, *Die Skulpturen des Schiffsfundes von Antikythera*, Berlin, 1972, p. 37, pls. 18, 3; 19, 1-2. An identical sword is depicted on the sculptured column drum from the Artemision at Ephesos, Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 3 ed., New Haven, 1962, fig. 705.

¹⁰⁶ Inv. B 30, T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 519-527; H. A. Thompson, *Harvard Studies*, Suppl. I, 1940, pp. 186-192, has analyzed in detail the method of fastening the gold plates to the bronze core.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 193-194. The careful placement of the channels around the hair line and down the neck at side and back can be seen best in *ibid.*, figs. 2, 3, 5-7.

With regard to the identification of the statue very little can usefully be said on the basis of so few fragments. On the whole, it seems most likely that it belonged to the large class of honorary statues erected by the city to commemorate the good services of some worthy citizen or foreign benefactor. But among the statues known from ancient authors or recorded in surviving honorific decrees, it will be noted that equestrian statues are exceedingly rare and must have represented a signal honor for an exceptional personage. In 314/3 B.C., the Macedonian Asandros was allowed to erect such a statue of himself. The Demos granted an equestrian statue to Audoleon, king of the Paionians, and the volunteer picked troops paid the same honor to Demetrios Poliorketes.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, honorary statues are regularly designated as bronze in the inscriptions, whereas our pieces surely belonged to a "gold" statue. Perhaps the most that can be said with certainty is that the new fragments must have come from one of the major Hellenistic monuments of the Agora. Although we shall probably never be able to offer a more precise identification than this, one's thoughts are drawn irresistibly to the extravagant honors which the Athenians bestowed upon the Macedonian kings, Antigonos and Demetrios, in 307 B.C. This, too, is one of the rare instances in which our sources report honorary statues of gold.¹⁰⁹ If it is possible that the bronzes came from a statue of one of the Macedonian kings, we might also more readily understand how they came to be flung down a public well at the end of the 3rd century B.C., at just the time when the Athenians were trying to obliterate the memory of the hated Macedonians.

The collection of sculptures which was assembled in the late Roman house on the Areopagus has already been mentioned (*supra*, pp. 161-162) in connection with the history of the building itself, but we should now pass in review the individual pieces added to the collection during the last season. The earliest piece of the group is a large dedicatory relief which depicts nine figures watching or participating in a sacrifice set in a rocky cave (Pl. 35, c).¹¹⁰ The type of dedication to which the relief belongs is readily recognizable from the three draped figures of Nymphs on the right side of the cave. One of these assists Hermes in a sacrifice on a rock altar at the center of the cave, while her sisters look on. The small figure of Pan reclines in the lower right corner and it is probably to him that the relief was dedicated. The

¹⁰⁸ For the equestrian statue of Asandros, *I.G.*, II², 450 b, lines 7-12; Audoleon, *I.G.*, II², 654, lines 57-58; Demetrios Poliorketes, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 221, no. 3, lines 11-15. The first two are specified as bronze and the third is so restored. The evidence for honorary statues is conveniently assembled by R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, Princeton, 1957, pp. 207-217.

¹⁰⁹ Diodorus, XX, 46, 2.

¹¹⁰ Inv. I 7154: H. 0.645 m.; W. 0.82 m.; Th. 0.235 m. At bottom, traces of tenon broken away. Faces of all figures, some limbs and attributes in high relief now broken off. Traces of mask of Acheloos at right edge of cave. Pentelic marble. See *Opuscula Romana*, IX, 1973, pp. 183-192.

figures of Pan, Hermes, and three Nymphs are found grouped together in various scenes in a whole class of reliefs which have come to light in caves and sanctuaries sacred to these rustic deities.¹¹¹ In our relief, however, the scene has been greatly enriched by the addition of various other deities. A stately bearded figure, wearing a himation and seated on a rocky eminence at the top of the cave, is surely to be identified as Zeus. On the left a group of three figures forms a neat compositional pendant to the three Nymphs on the right. Seated on an outcropping of rock is another major god draped in himation. The long locks of his hair and the laurel branch raised in his left hand suggest that he is Apollo. Before him a female figure in Ionic chiton can be identified as Artemis, for the strap of her quiver is clearly to be seen passing over her right shoulder and diagonally across her breast. Her relation to the seated god is also suggested by the way in which she turns away from the sacrifice and inclines her head slightly toward Apollo. Framing the composition on the left is another matronly goddess, facing right, and dressed in Ionic chiton and himation. In a gesture answering that of Apollo, she raises in her left hand what appears to be an ear of grain, and she holds another in her lowered right hand. Her attributes, her dress, and her dignified carriage all point to her identification as Demeter. Among the dedicatory reliefs of Pan and the Nymphs, the new piece stands out at once. Although parallels can be found for a somewhat similar grouping together of other deities,¹¹² it is the quality of our relief, both in the design of the composition and in the rendering of the individual figures, which makes it one of the fine examples of this class. Noticeable also is the omission of some of the more rustic features of the iconography, such as the goats which are frequently represented among the rockery of the cave in many similar reliefs.¹¹³ The lack of these elements, which are chiefly intended to suggest a pastoral setting for the scene, can be easily understood if our relief was originally dedicated in the cave of Pan on the north side of the Acropolis, a mere 150 m. up the hill from the spot where it was found.

A interesting aspect of the relief is the inscription across the bottom which records simply the name of the donor *Νεοπτόλεμο[ς Ἄν]τικλέους Μελιτεύς*. He is a well-known contemporary of Demosthenes and Lykourgos, who evidently took an interest in making dedications at various sanctuaries and is known also for his generous contributions to public works.¹¹⁴ Although few events in his career are

¹¹¹ These dedicatory reliefs have been studied by R. Feubel, *Die Attischen Nymphenreliefs*, Heidelberg, 1935; reliefs dealing specifically with Pan are listed by F. Brommer, *R.E.*, Suppl. VIII, 1956, cols. 981-982.

¹¹² Cf. e.g. Berlin 679: C. Blümel, *Die klassisch-griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1966, p. 63, fig. 103, no. 71.

¹¹³ See e.g. Athens N. M. 1445, 1859, 2008, 2012: Svoronos, *Ἐθνικὸν Μουσεῖον*, pls. LXXIII, XCVI, XCVIII, XCIX.

¹¹⁴ Kirchner, *P.A.*, no. 10652; see also D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 35; *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 224, lines 216-217, 232; J. Threpsiades and E. Vanderpool, *Δελτ.*, XIX, 1964, pp. 31-32.

precisely dated, the period of his major activities seems to fall in the 330's B.C. For our purposes, Neoptolemos' inscription of dedication provides secure evidence for the date of the relief *ca.* 330 B.C.

The remaining sculptures from the late Roman house were found together at the bottom of a well in the service court north of the bath (Pl. 34, b). The group comprises three portrait busts and a small statue, all of which emerged from the murky depths of the well in excellent condition. By far the most important piece is the splendid imperial portrait (Pl. 37, a) in which we recognize at once the stately features of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161).¹¹⁵ The imposing head, carved larger than life, is turned to his left and tilts slightly forward. His hair is cropped fairly short and crowns the head in a thick mass which is rendered with delicate chiseling and engraving, especially in the beard, and shows a more sparing use of the drill in the curls falling about his forehead and temples. The planes of the face are only very gently modeled so as to reveal the light furrowing of the brow, the tiny wrinkles at the corners of the eyes, and the prominent creases on either side of the nose, which are such characteristic features of Antoninus' portraits. The slightly projecting eyebrows have neat, fine incisions to render the hairs; and the irises of the rather deep-set eyes are lightly engraved and show drilled pupils high under the upper lids.

Several details in the rendering of the new bust may help to place it among the many known portraits of this emperor from various parts of the empire. Especially noticeable are the two curls of hair which break the line of the forehead in parallel waves directly above the bridge of the nose. In combination with this detail, we note too the rather symmetrical pattern formed by the hairline and beard. The arrangement of drapery on the bust is also characteristic. The heavy folds of the *paludamentum* cover the left shoulder and most of the front, so that only the upper edge of the tunic is visible around the neck and the fringed leather straps of the epaulette protecting the right shoulder. No trace of the cuirass is here to be seen. These elements in the composition of the portrait, and especially the details of the hair, enable us to associate the Agora bust with the head in the Vatican¹¹⁶ which has been assigned to the later years of the reign, if indeed some of the many copies of this type are not actually posthumous.

All the technical characteristics of the Antonine style are here well developed. The surfaces of the face and neck are polished ever so lightly to bring out the sharp

¹¹⁵ Inv. S 2436: Pres. H. 0.75 m.; W. of bust 0.63 m. Hollow behind; at bottom, round tenon for insertion into turned circular base has been chiseled away. White marble with very large crystals.

¹¹⁶ Vatican, Croce Greca 595: M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit*, Berlin, 1939, p. 145, pl. 4, a. The distinguishing features of this type and its date in the latter half of the reign have been discussed, *ibid.*, pp. 22-24. For the treatment of the drapery on the bust, cf. Munich, Glyptothek 337, *ibid.*, p. 134, pl. 2.

contrast between the smooth flesh and the rough masses of hair and beard; and these in turn are carefully distinguished from the heavy woolen texture of the *paludamentum*. The baroque quality of Antonine art here emerges most clearly; and although a host of other examples of this portrait are known, the new piece from the Agora can take its place among the finest. As a portrait, it is, moreover, an admirable symbol of the age which created it, a vision of the imperial office in its most benign manifestation. The founder of the Antonine dynasty indeed marks in many ways the zenith of the Roman Empire. His were the deep years of peace before the great edifice of Rome began, ever so slowly, to crack and split apart at the seams. In our portrait, the arrogant majesty of the imperial insignia is softened by the gentleness of the man who wears them. We sense in his fatherly gaze, in the kindly tilt of his head, a quality of paternal concern for all he beholds which perfectly expresses the essence of the *Pax Romana*.

Among the other contents of the same well were found two life-size portrait busts of unknown Athenian ladies. In the first (Pl. 37, b),¹¹⁷ we see a powerful, if not particularly flattering, portrait of an elderly woman whom we should probably identify as a priestess because of the heavy rolled fillet and olive wreath tied about her head. The face is dominated by the stern, staring eyes above the hard line of the mouth and the receding chin. The artist has vividly caught the signs of advancing age in the wrinkles beside the nose and between the brows, which have hardened into a frowning expression of perpetual displeasure. There is an uncompromising realism in both the modeling of the features and the characterization of the person, so that one is made aware not only of the lady's plainness of face, but also of her dignity and shrewdness and the force of her personality. In keeping with this is the severe coiffure: the long straight strands of her hair, parted in the middle, are drawn down and back over the ears so as to reveal only the lobes, while in back the hair is braided and coiled into a large chignon placed high on the back of the head. Both the style of the hair and the realistic rendering of the portrait point to a date in the first quarter of the 3rd century after Christ. The coiffure of our portrait is essentially the same as that worn by Julia Maesa, the grandmother of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, as can best be seen on her coins dating to the period A.D. 218-222.¹¹⁸ Although it should be noted that the lady before us wears the braided chignon higher on her head than appears in the portraits of Julia Maesa, there is no great difference in the setting of the hair and the two portraits cannot be far apart in date.

Her companion (Pl. 38, a)¹¹⁹ is both younger in age and slightly earlier in date, displaying the graceful features of an attractive young woman, altogether more

¹¹⁷ Inv. S 2435: H. 0.795 m.; W. of bust 0.425 m.; W. of base 0.35 m. Intact. Not completely finished. Rectangular base moulded on three sides. White marble.

¹¹⁸ H. Mattingly, *B.M.C., Empire*, V, London, 1950, pl. 95, 1, 2, 5.

¹¹⁹ Inv. S 2437: H. 0.50 m.; W. of bust 0.425 m. Hollow behind; at bottom rectangular tenon for insertion in base. White small-crystalled marble.

appealing than the grim-faced matron at whom we have just been looking. Her face is oval, her eyes small, her lips thin; and there is a softness about the modeling which seems to portray a delicate and gentle personality. The head, turned to her right, is inclined slightly downwards and her glance follows the direction of her movement. This gives to her expression a certain quality of pensiveness, which is further emphasized by the compression of her lips, so that the face takes on almost a look of sadness. Her hair is combed back away from the face in symmetrical waves which leave the ears fully exposed, and her long braid is bound up as a thick chignon at the back. The coiffure finds good parallel in the portraits of Crispina, the wife of Commodus, which appear on her coins in the first years of the reign.¹²⁰ These must belong after A.D. 177, the year of her marriage, while they should be dated prior to her death or disgrace, which seems to have taken place about A.D. 187. On the basis of this comparison we shall not be far wrong in assigning the new portrait from the Agora to the last quarter of the 2nd century after Christ.

Entirely different in spirit is the small statue of Herakles (Pl. 38, b) which completes the group of sculptures found in the well of the late Roman House. Carved about two-thirds life size, the statue¹²¹ is complete save for the left hand, the right hand and forearm, and the upper part of the club. The hero is here depicted as a beardless youth standing with his weight on his left leg, his right leg slightly forward and bent at the knee. Flung over his left arm is the lion skin which falls nearly to the ground, largely concealing the tree trunk beneath it. His right arm rested originally on the club of which only the lower end is preserved. The young hero is entirely nude except for the fillet bound about his short curly hair. We see at once, in the strongly classicizing modeling of the head and torso and in the familiar stance of the statue, a facile adaptation of the classical style. The pose goes back to the mid 5th century B.C. and was often reproduced, while the youthful representation of the hero, reminiscent of the Lansdowne Herakles, must surely originate in the 4th century.¹²² Our piece may indeed be a distant reflection of the same classical statue which inspired the colossal bronze Herakles in the Vatican.¹²³ Despite its noble pedigree and the good quality of the workmanship, it is rendered in a dry and mechanical style which almost hints at mass production, and we may suppose that it was made sometime in

¹²⁰ Mattingly, *B.M.C., Empire*, IV, London, 1940, pl. 92, 2-4, 6, and for the chronology, *ibid.*, Introduction, pp. cxxix, cliv. A similar coiffure appears as early as the period of Faustina the Younger, though not on all of her portraits, cf. *ibid.*, pl. 52, 3, 4, 7; Wegner, *Herrscherbildnisse*, pl. 63, d, h.

¹²¹ Inv. S 2438: H. 1.25 m.; H. of figure 1.19 m.; W. at shoulders 0.33 m.; Th. at chest 0.19 m. White marble with blue-gray veins.

¹²² For a copy of the 5th century version of the pose, cf. the statuette in Boston, Inv. 14.733: L. D. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 1925, pp. 133-135, no. 64. For the youthful Herakles, S. Howard, *The Lansdowne Herakles*, 1966.

¹²³ G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des vaticanischen Museums*, III, 1, pp. 121 ff., pl. 37, no. 544.

the 2nd century after Christ. The new statue is closely akin in spirit to the small statue of Hermes¹²⁴ which was likewise found in the well of a late Roman house on the lower slopes of the Areopagus. They share in common not only their style and scale, but also their similar treatment of a familiar classical theme.

INSCRIPTIONS

In the course of 1971, some 120 inscriptions on stone were uncovered and a like number on other materials. These ranged from a complete stele to tiny fragments preserving only a few letters, and as is only natural, the historical interest of these new epigraphical documents also varies greatly. The more important texts deserve detailed technical studies which are now in the course of preparation, and they need receive only brief mention in this general account. Two of the smaller fragments are of exceptional interest in that they form welcome additions to two long-familiar monuments. One belongs to the great First Stele of the Athenian tribute quota lists.¹²⁵ The new fragment preserves the rough top of the stele, a few letters from three lines of the prescript, and the names of 17 cities in column III of the first year, 454/3 B.C. Of special interest is the fact that several letters of the archon's name Ariston are preserved, now for the first time. The second piece of a well-known inscription belongs to the series of Attic Stelai and preserves the lower left-hand corner of the second stele, thus adding to the text of the document some 13 lines at the bottom of the first column and ten at the bottom of the second.¹²⁶ In addition to these a few other inscriptions of some interest may be considered here in more detail.

1. Inv. I 7352 (Fig. 7). Column drum of Pentelic marble found in the basement of 3 Poikile Street during demolition (U 13). The upper drum of the shaft is preserved, with 24 Ionic flutes which terminate well below the top. The crowning member of the drum flares to a slightly larger diameter and is decorated with three indistinct ornaments, eggs or leaves, suitably placed to fall beneath the feet of a tripod. The upper part of the shaft and the top are heavily worn from re-use as a millstone. The inscription runs horizontally across the flutes with two letters in each channel.

Height 0.85 m.; diameter of shaft 0.95 m.

Height of the letters 0.03–0.034 m.

¹²⁴ Inv. S 1054: T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 236, 238, fig. 6.

¹²⁵ Inv. I 7300. The fragment has been transferred to the Epigraphical Museum for placement in the reconstructed stele and now also bears the number E.M. 13444. The text is published *in extenso* by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, pp. 403–417.

¹²⁶ Inv. I 7307. The new fragment fills most of the space available at the lower left corner of the stone, see W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pl. 6.

Ἀριστοκράτης
 Σκελίω
 ἀνέθηκεν
 νικήσα[ς]
 5 Κεκροπ[ίδι]
 Ἐρεχθ[ηίδι]

The inscription has been known from the time of Pittakys who reported the existence of the column near the Gate of Athena,¹²⁷ but it has not been seen since his

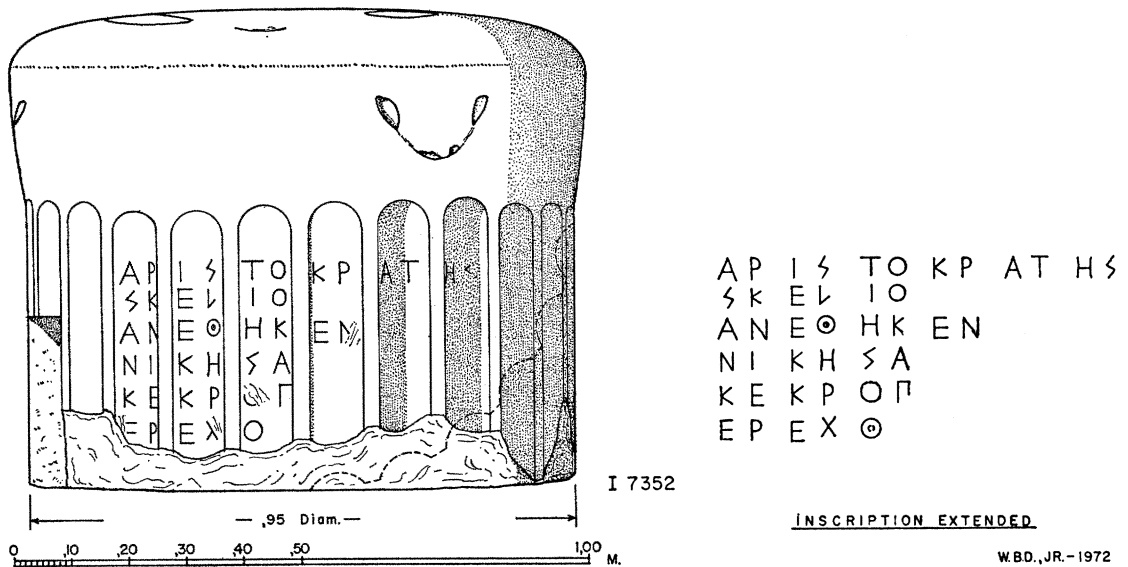


FIG. 7. Choregic Dedication of Aristokrates (I 7352).

day. Its rediscovery within 50 m. of the place where Pittakys saw it suggests that it has not moved far. Some of the letters recorded by Pittakys and published in the *Corpus* are no longer visible; but there is no reason to suppose that the text is not substantially complete as we have it, for it seems to have been deliberately arranged on the stone with only one word in each line. Recent discussion of the dedication has focused on the forms of the letters and the date of the inscription.¹²⁸ The alphabet shows a curious combination of the Attic lambda and three-bar sigma with the Ionic eta, and there is the additional eccentricity that the eta is cut with slightly curving vertical strokes. There is nothing archaic in the forms of the other letters, for the alpha with sloping cross-bar reported in *I.G.*, I², 772 is nowhere to be found. Indeed,

¹²⁷ K. S. Pittakys, *L'ancienne Athènes*, Athens, 1835, p. 122. The text is published as *I.G.*, I², 772.

¹²⁸ See H. Mattingly, *Historia*, X, 1961, pp. 149-150; B. D. Meritt and H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LXXXIII, 1963, p. 115 and note 82; D. M. Lewis, *J.H.S.*, LXXXIV, 1964, pp. 156-157.

were it not for the three-bar sigma, the inscription might date anywhere in the second half of the 5th century B.C. In view of the fact that all of Aristokrates' known activities fall in the last quarter of the century,¹²⁹ it seems preferable to place his choregic victory no earlier than the 420's. In this case, we shall be driven to explain the forms of the sigma and eta, perhaps also the anomalous spelling of the patronymic with only one lambda,¹³⁰ either as conscious archaism or personal idiosyncrasy on the part of the stone cutter. Since it is now clear that Aristokrates was acting as choregos for two tribes instead of one, the dedication must commemorate a victory at the Thargelia¹³¹ and should have been erected originally in the Pythion along with the numerous other monuments of this class which have come to light.¹³² There then appears to be no good reason for doubt that the beautiful dedication of Aristokrates, son of Skellias, to which Plato refers in *Gorgias*, 472a, stood in fact on the very column which has now at last been recovered.

2. Inv. I 7353 (Pl. 39, h). Statue base of blue-gray Hymettian marble built into the reconstructed rear wall of the stoa along the street north of the Library of Pantainos (S 13). Rectangular base left rough-picked on top, perhaps to receive another block. There is no trace of a cutting for the statue.

Height 0.365 m.; length 0.97 m.; width 0.70 m.

Height of the letters 0.03–0.035 m.

ca. A.D. 100

Ἀυτοκράτορα Νέρβαν Τραϊανὸν

Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν

ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτοῦ Τιβ Κλα ἼΑτ

τικὸς Ἡρώδης Μαραθῶνιος

This is the base for a statue of the Emperor Trajan dedicated by Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, the father of the well-known politician, millionaire, and benefactor of the city of Athens, Herodes Atticus.¹³³ The inscription should be

¹²⁹ For Aristokrates, Kirchner, *P.A.*, no. 1904; cf. A. Andrewes and D. M. Lewis, *J.H.S.*, LXXVII, 1957, pp. 179-180.

¹³⁰ D. M. Lewis, *J.H.S.*, LXXXIV, 1964, pp. 156-157, has drawn attention to the spelling of the patronymic which is regularly with double lambda in the literary sources. Lewis also kindly points out to me the similar combination of curved eta and three-bar sigma in *I.G.*, I², 571; A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications on the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, p. 47, no. 46; p. 174, no. 157; D. K. Hill, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 259, fig. 7, all three of which must be at least a generation older than Aristokrates' dedication.

¹³¹ Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 56, 3; Antiphon, VI, 11.

¹³² Photius, Suidas, *s.v.* Πύθιον, state that tripods for choregic victories in the Thargelia were dedicated in the Pythion. For similar choregic monuments, *I.G.*, I², 770; II², 3063-3072; Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, p. 100.

¹³³ See P. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, Cairo, 1930, pp. 19 ff.; *I.G.*, II², 3594-3595 with commentary and stemma.

brought into relation with the inscribed lintel of the Library of Pantainos,¹³⁴ which dedicated that building to Trajan, as well as to Athena and the city of Athens. Like the dedication of the library, the new base is to be dated before A.D. 102 because the imperial title lacks the cognomen *Dacicus*. No doubt the building and the statue were dedicated at the same time and we may well suppose that Atticus' contribution to Pantainos' library was one of its principal sculptural adornments. Another statue of Trajan, also dedicated at this time by Claudius Atticus, may perhaps be associated with the library. Its inscription is nearly identical to ours and it was found near the Gate of Athena.^{134a} In both texts Atticus styles himself high priest of the emperor; indeed he is later known to have held the imperial priesthood for life with the title ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν διὰ βίου.¹³⁵ It should be noted, however, that these are the earliest references to his tenure of this office and the only evidence that his appointment went back to the beginning of the reign of Trajan, for the other inscriptions referring to Atticus' priesthood belong without exception to the reign of Hadrian. It was perhaps because he served as high priest of the emperor that it seemed appropriate for him to dedicate the imperial statue in a building which had otherwise been entirely donated by Pantainos.

Some of the most interesting documents found in the season of 1971 were written not upon stone but upon lead, and they form a group of about a hundred lead tablets recovered from the public well at the northwest corner of the Agora (*supra*, pp. 130-134).¹³⁶ All the tablets were rolled or folded at the time of their discovery (Pl. 39, a) and were inscribed on the outside with a man's name in the genitive case. On the inside the name was repeated, frequently accompanied by a demotic, and in addition the texts included the designations of a color and a symbol, followed by the word *τίμημα* and a sum of money in even hundreds of drachmas or minae. The colors provided the first clue to the interpretation of the inscriptions; for they are limited to a very few and some of them, such as *πυρρός* (red or chestnut), *παρώας* (brown or bay), *ποικίλος* (dappled) are chiefly used to describe horses. It thus became clear at once that the tablets concerned horses and that the symbols following the colors must therefore describe the horses' brands. This inference could also be drawn from the fact that many of the tablets have the word *ἄσημος* (unmarked or unbranded) in place of the usual designation of a symbol. There was great variety in the symbols used for the brands, and we may note, among many others, axe, eagle, serpent, caduceus, and Nike. Three of the opened tablets are illustrated here by way of example and to show the components of the text.

¹³⁴ B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 233, no. 64; cf. *ibid.*, IV, 1935, p. 332, fig. 19.

^{134a} N. M. Verdalis, *B.C.H.*, LXXI-LXXII, 1947-48, pp. 42-46.

¹³⁵ *I.G.*, II², 3595-3599; and cf. the dedications to Hadrian in A.D. 132 which are dated to the priesthood of Atticus, *I.G.*, II², 3295-3298. On the high priests see J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, Baltimore, 1950, pp. 73-101.

¹³⁶ A detailed study of the tablets will be published by J. H. Kroll, who deciphered the texts and to whom I am indebted for the information reported here.

IL 1541 (Pl. 39, c). Length 0.095 m.; width 0.018 m.

- a) Διοσκουρίδ(ου)
 b) Διοσκουρίδου Εὐώνυμ(έως)
 πυρρ(ὸς) λύρα τίμη(μα) ΧΗΗ

IL 1543 (Pl. 39, d). Length 0.084 m.; width 0.021 m.

- a) Δρομο(κλέους)
 b) Δρομοκλέο(υς) Κηφισι(έως)
 πυρρὸ(ς) Κέρβερ(ος) τίμη(μα) ΗΗΗ

IL 1545 (Pl. 39, e). Length 0.141 m.; width 0.045 m.

- a) Ἀριστίων(ος)
 b) Ἀριστίωνος λευκὸς ἄσημος
 τίμημα ΓΗΗ

Palimpsest. First use of side a) Εὐκτιμένου.

The men whose names are recorded at the head of each document and on the outside were certainly the owners of the horses which are described and evaluated. These are no ordinary horsemen, but Athenian Knights; and there is evidence that our tablets form part of the official records of the cavalry. One of the men is specifically described as a *πρόδρομος*, a member of the corps of mounted scouts to whom Xenophon and Aristotle make reference.¹⁸⁷ Moreover, the evaluation of the horses, which is clearly the crucial piece of information recorded on the tablets, should no doubt be understood as part of the elaborate system of inspection by the Council and the cavalry officers through which the men and their mounts had annually to pass. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 49, 1) describes the inspection in detail, and we learn of the evaluation from a decree of the Knights honoring the hipparchs and phylarchs of 282/1 B.C.¹⁸⁸ This contains the significant passage (lines 14-17): *ἐπιμεμέληνται δὲ καὶ τῶν [τι]μήσεων καὶ τῶν δοκιμασιῶν, ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων δοκιμασίαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς*. Surely these evaluations for which the cavalry officers are praised must be brought into relation with the evaluations inscribed on the lead tablets. Indeed, there can be little doubt that the tablets are actually the official records of these annual proceedings.

The tablets form two distinct groups, found at different levels in the well. The smaller group consisting of about 25 tablets was stratified with pottery of the second half of the 4th century B.C., and it is interesting that these earlier tablets have a simpler format and less informative texts. The larger group, about 80 in number, was found at a higher level together with pottery of the 3rd century and several coins

¹⁸⁷ Xenophon, *Hipparch.*, IV, 5; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 49, 1.

¹⁸⁸ J. Threpsiades and E. Vanderpool, *Δελτ.*, XVIII, 1963, pp. 104-105.

of Antigonos Gonatas. These indicate that the tablets were thrown into the well about the middle of the 3rd century. It is to this later group that all the tablets illustrated in Plate 39 belong. These new documents from the Agora are not, however, the first such lead cavalry tablets to come to light. A few years ago, the German excavators of the Kerameikos recovered no less than 575 similar tablets from a well within the court of the Dipylon Gate.¹³⁹ Preliminary comparison of the two groups reveals that the tablets from the Kerameikos belong to the same archive as the later tablets from the Agora. The same cavalrymen and many of the same horses recorded in our texts also appear in the tablets from the Kerameikos, and it is clear that detailed study of the two groups in conjunction with each other is likely to yield rich results. Indeed, we may expect these documents to furnish us with a whole new chapter in the history of Athenian institutions and in the tribal organization and administration of the cavalry corps.

The lead tablets are not the only documents related to the Athenian cavalry which found their way into the well at the northwest corner of the market square. At a level dating to the second half of the 4th century B.C., there came to light some 30 clay sealings (Pl. 39, b) bearing the name and title of a hipparch in command of the cavalry corps of the Athenian cleruchs on the island of Lemnos. The sealings are thin, roughly ovoid pads of baked clay which had been pressed against a wooden board so that the grain was visible on the backs. They are stamped with what must be the official seal of the officer named, but there was no indication that they had been attached in any way to some other object; and it would perhaps be best to regard them as some kind of tokens.¹⁴⁰ The impressions were produced by two different seals with slight variations in the text. One reads (Pl. 39, f)¹⁴¹: ἵππαρχος εἰς Λήμνον Φεῖδωνα Θρι(άσιος). The other seal has the title in the accusative case (Pl. 39, g)¹⁴²: ἵππαρχον εἰς Λήμνον Φεῖδωνα: Θρι(άσιος). At this time in the 4th century, the hipparch for Lemnos was not only one of the principal officers of the cavalry, but also the ranking Athenian official on the island, charged with many tasks in the administration of the cleruchy and the island towns, as well as his strictly military duties.¹⁴³ In the case of Pheidon, the sealings give us one more vivid glimpse into the personnel of the cavalry, for he is surely to be identified with the man of the same name mentioned

¹³⁹ Only brief notice of the discovery has been published, see M. Ervin, *A.J.A.*, LXXI, 1967, pp. 294-295; G. Daux, *B.C.H.*, XC, 1966, p. 737, and we must await the forthcoming detailed publication by Karin Braun.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. the similar seal of the peripolarchos Xenokles (Inv. SS 8080), *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 216, fig. 13.

¹⁴¹ Inv. MC 1189: H. 0.028 m.; W. 0.034 m.; Th. 0.009 m.

¹⁴² Inv. MC 1177: H. 0.022 m.; W. 0.026 m.; Th. 0.006 m.

¹⁴³ For the hipparch for Lemnos, Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 61, 6; Demosthenes, IV, 27. *I.G.*, II², 672, a decree honoring a certain Komeas for his good services in this office, gives some impression of the administrative side of this important Athenian colonial post.

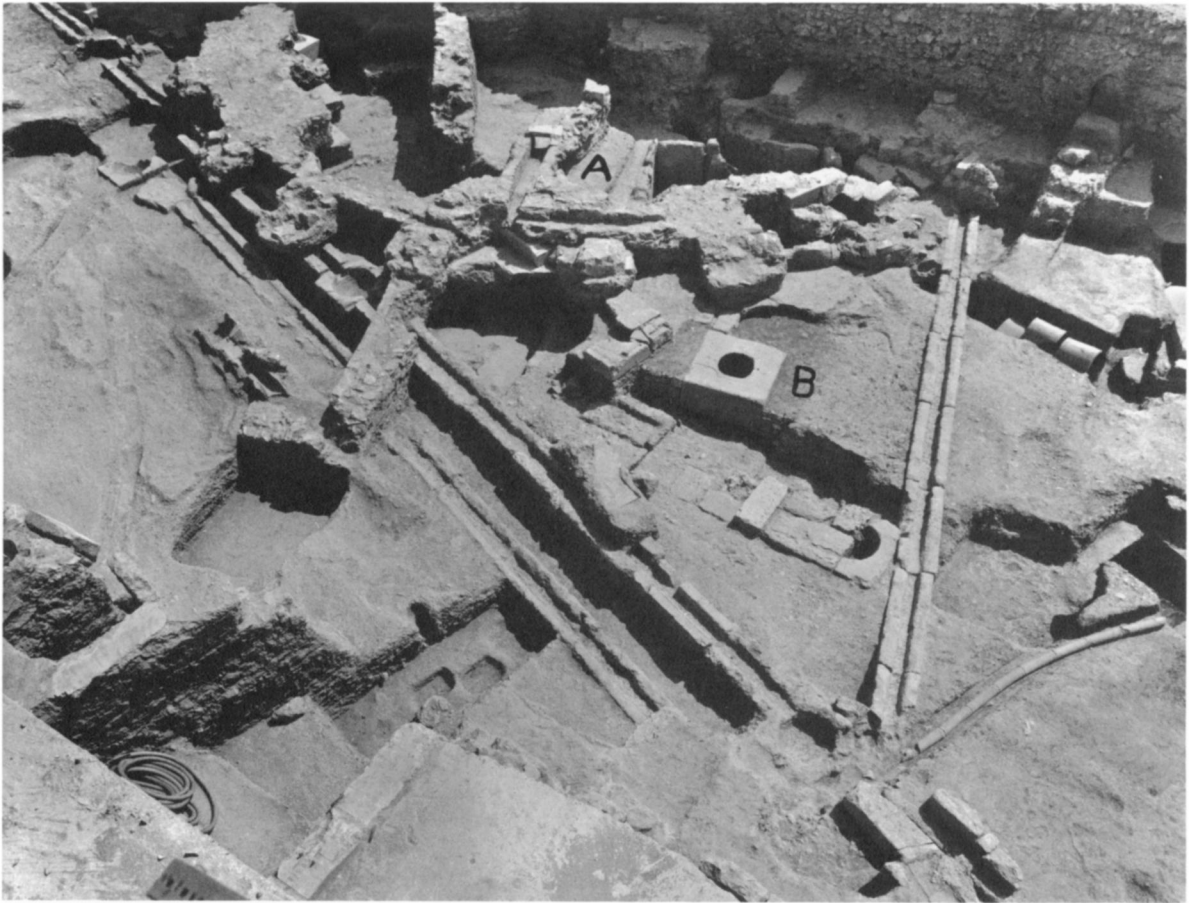
by the comic poet Mnesimachos in his play *The Horse-Breeder*, "Come forth, Manes, from chambers cypress-roofed; go to the Agora, near the Herms, the place that the phylarchs frequent, and accost the handsome pupils whom Pheidon trains to mount their horses and dismount."¹⁴⁴ This lively passage is of special interest for our collection of cavalry documents. It not only tells us something of Pheidon, whose sealings have now been found, but more than that, it associates both Pheidon and his fellow cavalry officers with a particular spot in the market square, the Herms at the northwest corner. The discovery of the clay sealings and the lead tablets together in a public well at the northwest corner of the Agora, and very near the Herms,¹⁴⁵ thus takes on particular significance. It may well be that the headquarters of the cavalry was located in the near vicinity and still lurks beneath the modern buildings, awaiting future discovery on the north side of the Panathenaic Way.

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¹⁴⁴ Athenaeus, IX, 402 f. For Mnesimachos, see J. M. Edmonds, *Fragments of Attic Comedy*, II, pp. 360-369; for Pheidon, Kirchner, *P.A.*, no. 14178.

¹⁴⁵ For the location of the Herms at the northwest corner of the Agora, see E. B. Harrison, *Agora*, XI, pp. 108-117; and cf. *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pp. 255-259. It is also interesting that two tribal dedications for victories by their cavalry squadrons in the anthippasia have been found in this same area, *ibid.*, pp. 271-272.



a. Northwest Corner of the Agora, from North.
A = Classical Sanctuary; B = Public Well



b. Classical Sanctuary, from Southwest.

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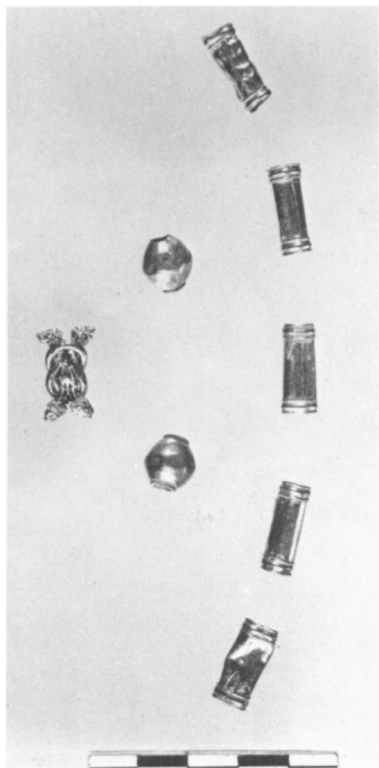
a. Classical Sanctuary, from South, showing Public Well beyond.

b. Votive Deposit as found in the Enclosure.

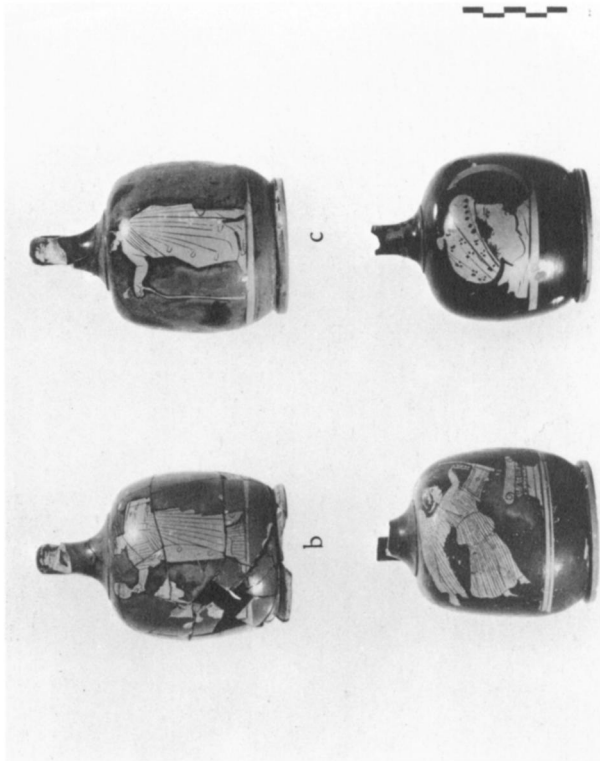
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a



f

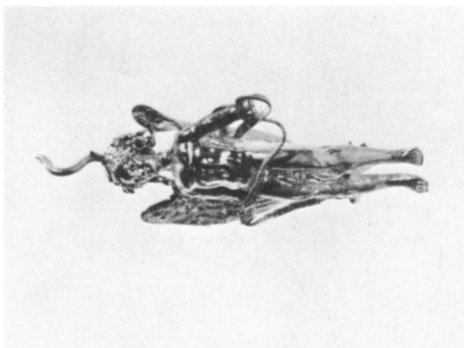


b

c

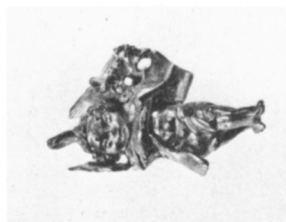
d

e



h

1½ : 1



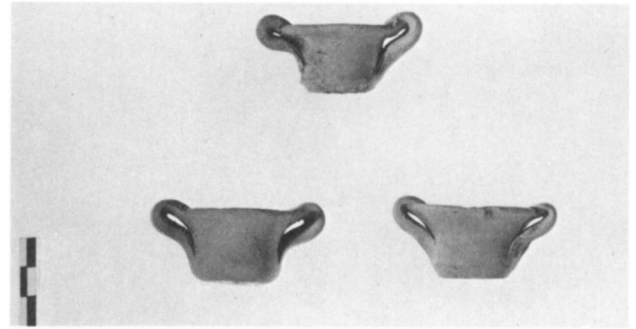
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1½ : 1

Pottery and Gold Jewelry from the Sanctuary and Well.
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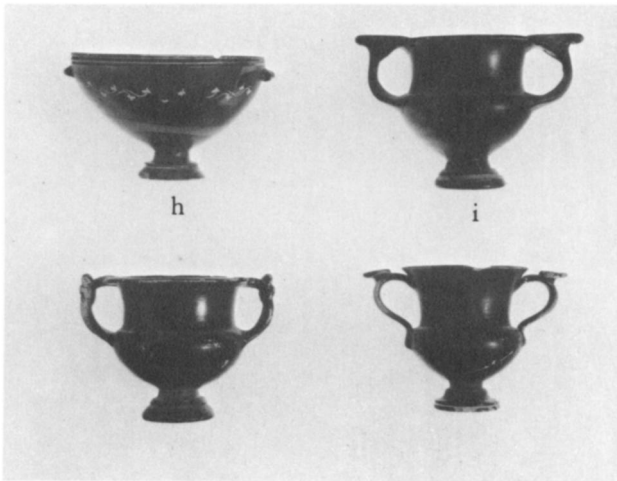
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b c d



e f g



h i j k



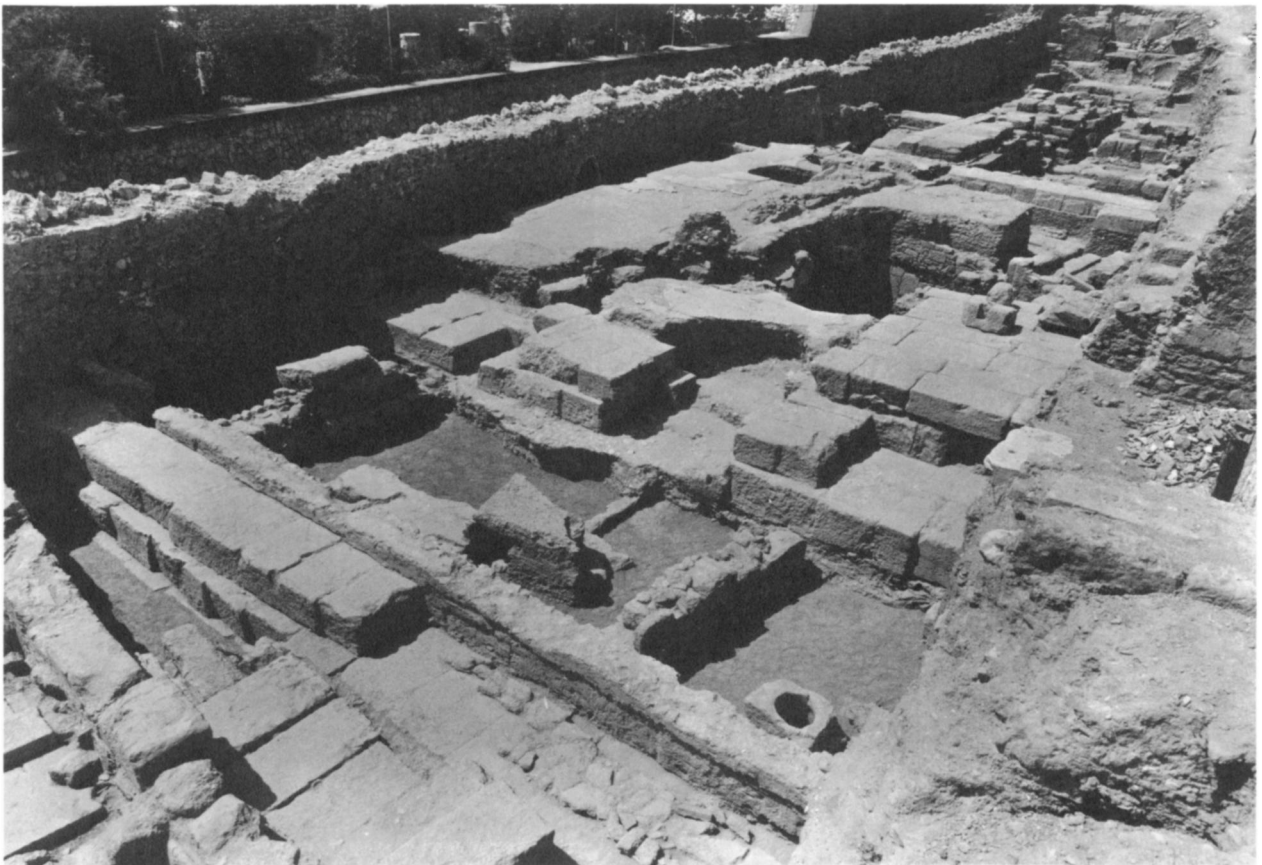
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m n o

Pottery from the Public Well.

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a. Northeast Basilica, from Northeast.



b. Classical Building beneath the Basilica, from North, showing Third Shop.

A = Archaic Orthostates; B = Lowest Preserved Floor, late 5th century B.C.;



a. Street Stoa, from East.



b. Street Stoa and Library of Pantainos, from North.

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a. Late Roman House on the Areopagus, from Southwest.



b. *Andron* of Greek House, from South, showing Cistern in Courtyard, lower left.

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b. Tunnel East of Early Roman Springhouse, from East.



a. Mosaic Floor in West Room of Greek House.

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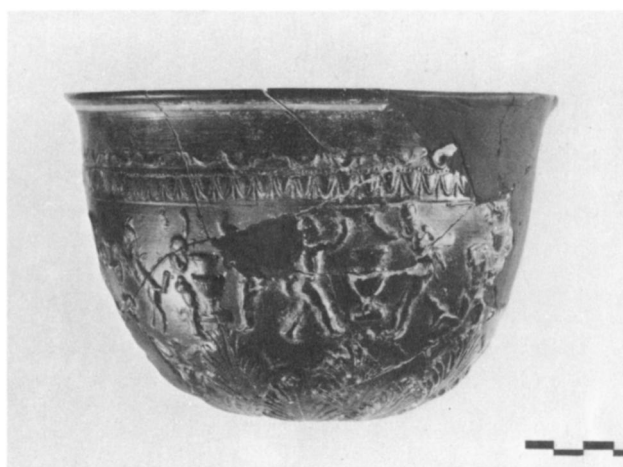
a



b



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e



f

g

Pottery from Cistern in Courtyard of Greek House.

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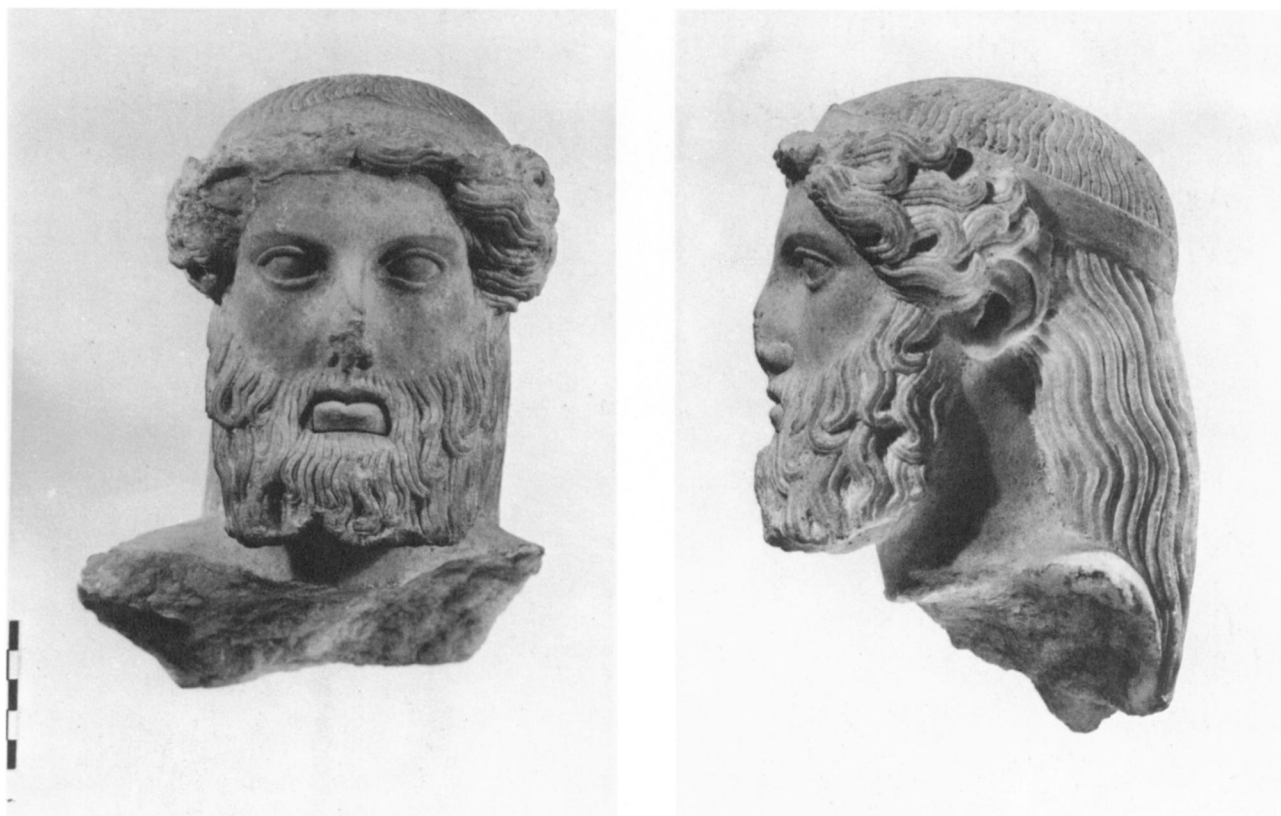


a. Bath of Late Roman House, from East.



b. Bath, from North, showing Earlier Well covered by Slab, foreground.

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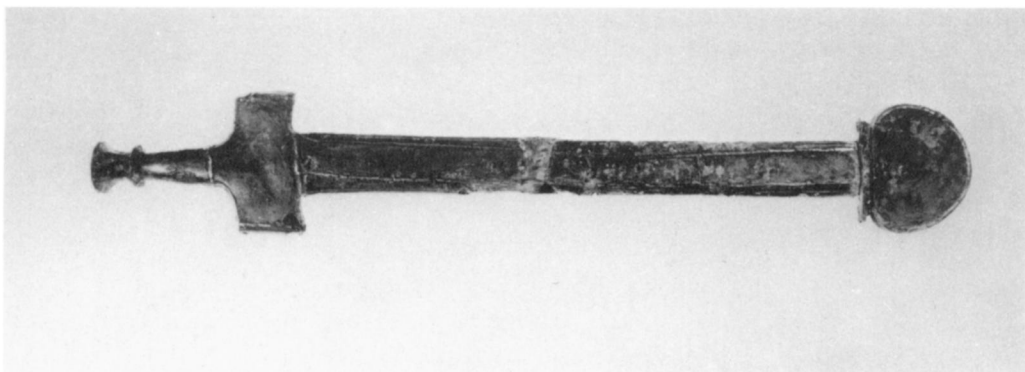


a. and b. Head of Herm (S 2452), Front and Profile.



c. Relief Dedicated by Neoptolemos (I 7154).

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a. Sword and Scabbard (B 1382).



b. Left Leg (B 1384).



c. Pieces of Drapery (B 1385, B 1383).



d. Detail of Sandal.

Pieces of Gilded Bronze Equestrian Statue.

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a. Portrait of Antoninus Pius (S 2436).



b. Portrait of Unknown Woman (S 2435).

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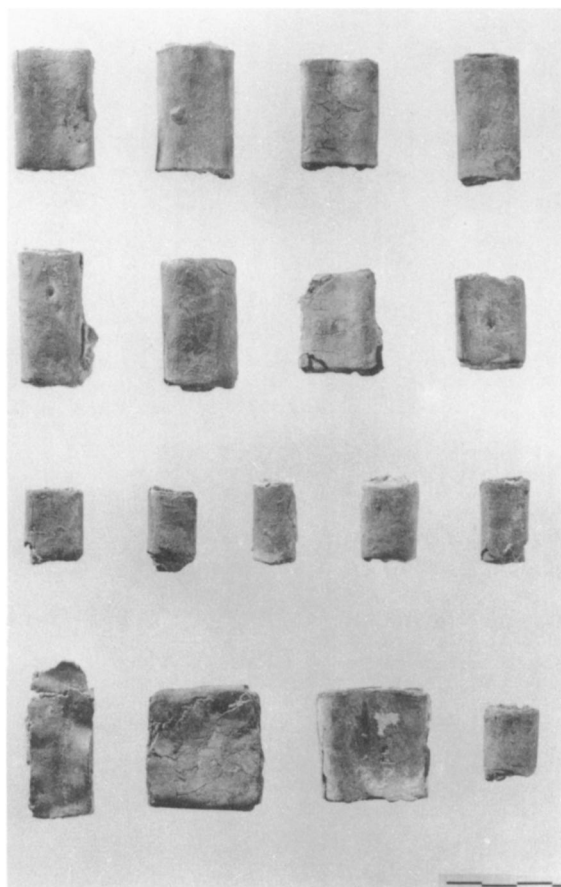


b. Statue of Herakles (S 2438).

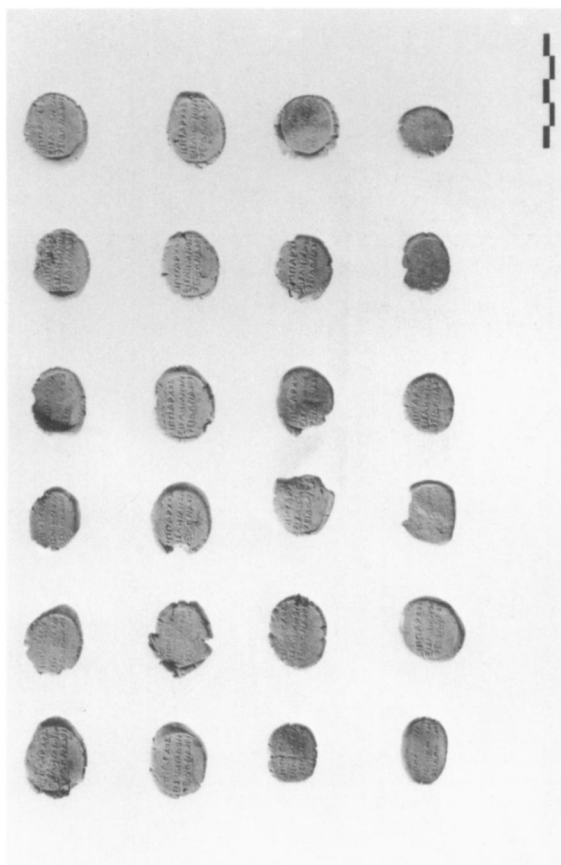


a. Portrait of Unknown Woman (S 2437).

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a. Lead Cavalry Tablets, rolled as found.



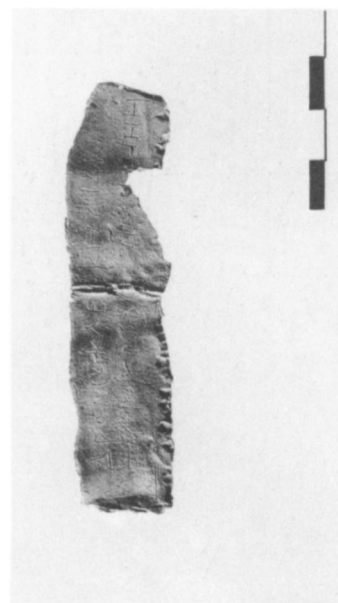
b. Clay Sealings of Pheidon.



c. Cavalry Tablet IL 1541.



e. Cavalry Tablet IL 1545.



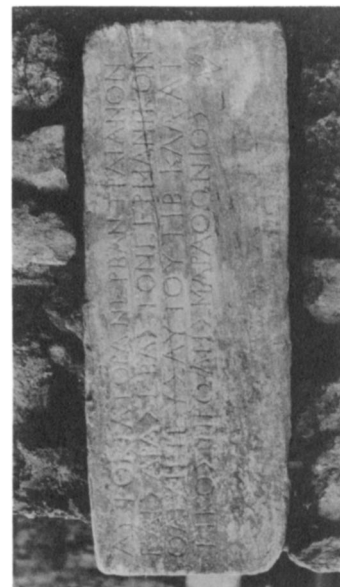
d. Cavalry Tablet IL 1543.



f. Clay Sealing MC 1189.



g. Clay Sealing MC 1177.



h. Statue Base of Trajan (I 7353).

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