

# THE ATHENIAN AGORA: EXCAVATIONS OF 1970

(PLATES 45–59)

THE excavation of the Athenian Agora entered a new phase in the spring of 1970, when the American School of Classical Studies commenced a major campaign to explore the northern side of the ancient market square of Athens. This resumption of excavations on an extensive scale follows upon eight years of preparatory negotiations, a fact which serves to underscore the many complex problems confronting the excavator in the heart of a modern city. That the project came to fruition at all is a tribute to the vision and courage of its two principal supporters: the Government of Greece, which undertook to acquire the land for excavation at its own cost, and the Ford Foundation, which provided funds to finance the archaeological work. Their joint investment in the advancement of archaeology has begun already to yield a rich return both in the material remains of Greek antiquity and in our increased knowledge of classical Athens.

The first thrust of the campaign was directed at two long and narrow blocks of buildings bordering modern Hadrian Street to the north and separated from the archaeological zone to the south by the tracks of the Athens-Piraeus Electric Railway (Pl. 51, a). These blocks of land comprising 19 private properties had been acquired by expropriation in the summer of 1969, whereupon the systematic demolition of some 23 shops and houses reduced the whole area to the level of the modern basements, in readiness for the beginning of archaeological work. The area thus cleared included some 2700 square meters of land forming a narrow strip which measured the full width of the ancient square from the foot of the Kolonos Agoraios at the west to the Stoa of Attalos at the east. In the course of five months of continuous excavations during the spring and summer of 1970, the two northern blocks were explored to the general level of the classical period.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The field work of the 1970 season was supervised by Stella Grobel Miller and Stephen G. Miller, each in charge of one of the northern sectors, and by John McK. Camp, II, in charge of the excavations on the slopes of the Areopagus. John Travlos was engaged in various architectural studies and prepared the new series of general plans two of which accompany this report. William B. Dinsmoor, Jr., prepared all the actual state plans of the excavations as well as many other drawings, some of which are published herein. John H. Kroll was in charge of numismatics, and the photography was undertaken by Eugene Vanderpool, Jr. Cataloguing and processing of finds was handled by Poly Demoulini assisted by Susan Rotroff and Ellen Reeder.

It is a pleasure to express here our gratitude to our colleagues of the Greek Service of Antiquities and Restoration, and most particularly to the Inspector General of Antiquities, Professor Spyridon Marinatos, whose enthusiastic interest in the Agora has been largely responsible for bringing about his government's active support of the project. We are also indebted to Mr. George

*Hesperia*, XL, 3



Remains of the classical monuments proved to lie in some places nearly 6.00 m. below the level of the modern street. This was particularly true at the western end of the area where the natural declivity of the ancient terrain toward the northwest corner of the Agora had caused a deep accumulation of silt and debris to gather over the ruins of the ancient buildings. Toward the east the levels rose more gradually so that there was no great change in the level of the ground between Roman and Turkish times, and the greatest accumulation seems to have taken place during the last century. This deep covering of earth along the north side of the Agora had two fortunate results: it protected the classical remains so that their state of preservation is often far better than elsewhere in the Agora; and in addition it enabled the excavators to test a complete vertical slice of the archaeological history of Athens from archaic times virtually to the present.

Above the classical levels was a deep layer of Byzantine habitation, for this whole area of the city was occupied by close-packed blocks of houses and industrial establishments whose floors and thresholds lay some 2.50 m. above the classical remains (Pl. 51, a). Although there was some evidence of activity as early as the 10th and 11th centuries after Christ, most of the buildings in this part of Byzantine Athens seem to have been built about A.D. 1100. The Byzantine community flourished for about a century and suffered various vicissitudes to which rebuilt walls, raised floors and thresholds, and re-used pithoi bear ample witness. After extensive destruction at the beginning of the 13th century, the area seems to have been largely abandoned except for a few squatters, until the partial reconstruction and remodelling of some buildings in the Turkish period. Some of the earlier Byzantine structures were rebuilt to serve as private dwellings, but one of the largest was converted into a great olive pressing establishment, containing as many as four presses. This industrial activity is probably to be dated to the late 16th or early 17th century, but the remains were too close beneath the modern basements to preserve any evidence of the time at which the presses ceased to be used. A neighboring oil press at a slightly higher level was probably built in the 18th century and certainly continued in use into the 19th century. The latest archaeological layer of habitation survived chiefly in the eastern section, where a maze of foundations of small houses, dating to the 18th and early 19th centuries, came to light early in the season. Masses of debris overlying the floors and walls of these structures left no doubt that they had been violently destroyed during the Greek War of Independence; and iron cannon balls recovered in the debris are surely relics of the siege of the Acropolis in 1827. It was only after the excavation and recording of these successive layers of occupation, and after the removal of the Byzantine foundations, that the excavators were able to explore the classical levels of the Agora.

Dontas, ephor of the first archaeological district, whose cordial and helpful cooperation has assisted us in many ways.

## THE STOA BASILEIOS

A new chapter in the history of Athenian archaeology can now be written as a result of the discovery in early June of one of the most venerable public buildings of classical Athens. This is the famous Stoa Basileios, the Royal Stoa or Stoa of the King, whose existence and functions are well attested in ancient literature,<sup>2</sup> but whose location and identification have repeatedly eluded the most determined efforts of archaeological science. At the western end of the newly expropriated area, excavations conducted under the supervision of Stella Grobel Miller brought to light the northwestern corner of the market square, where the confluence of several major streets formed the principal entrance into the Agora (Pl. 45). Here at the intersection of the Panathenaic Way and the street bordering the western side of the square lay the ruins of a small building in the form of a miniature stoa. The new building proved to be immediately adjacent to the familiar Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios,<sup>3</sup> from which it was separated in antiquity by a narrow alley not more than 1.00 m. in width, although this close juxtaposition of the two buildings is obscured today by the right of way of the electric railroad which crosses the Agora at this critical point. The little stoa is thus the northernmost of the great row of public buildings along the west side of the Agora, and like its neighbors it faced eastward on to the open square.

The newly discovered stoa is one of the smallest and simplest examples of this ubiquitous type of Greek civic architecture (Figs. 1-3, Pls. 47, 48, a). Its principal eastern façade consisted of a colonnade of eight Doric columns between antae, while the other three sides of the building were enclosed by walls of solid masonry, forming a modest open portico without interior divisions. Although the modern retaining wall for the railway cut has obliterated the foundations of the south wall, the precise arrangement of the colonnade enables the overall dimensions to be recovered with accuracy. The building was originally 17.72 m. in exterior length and it measures 7.18 m. from the rear wall to the exterior face of the anta; it is thus so small that it would fit comfortably between the projecting wings of its neighbor, the Stoa of Zeus.

The stylobate and the single step beneath it are preserved intact along the east façade, and the battered stumps of two Doric columns still stand in their original positions. Traces of weathering and setting lines along the stylobate indicate the exact positions of the other six columns, which had been removed in the pillaging of the building in late antiquity (Fig. 1). The columns were fashioned of a soft yellow poros originally coated with fine hard stucco and were channeled with only 16 shallow flutes instead of the canonical 20 of the classical period.<sup>4</sup> The short north

<sup>2</sup> The ancient testimonia are conveniently assembled in R. E. Wycherley, *Agora*, III, pp. 21-25.

<sup>3</sup> On the Stoa of Zeus see H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 21-77; *Agora Guide*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 61-64.

<sup>4</sup> Lower diam. of columns 0.58 m.; set with an interaxial spacing of 1.9205 m. In addition to

wall survives to a height of 1.20 m. in three courses of beautifully dressed ashlar blocks (Pl. 48, b). Although the wall blocks were carefully cut and laid, they were not clamped to each other except at the joint adjacent to the anta, where the exposed surface of the highest preserved course reveals a Z-clamp in place with most of its lead still around it. The foundations for the west wall are preserved for nearly the full length of the building in a broad but shallow band of neat polygonal masonry which measures *ca.* 0.75 m. in width but only 0.52 m. in depth. This polygonal foundation along the back of the building probably stepped up to a higher level toward the south end, in response to the rapid rise of the ground level in that direction. This is suggested by a single polygonal block near the southwest corner which rises 0.61 m. above the general level of the foundation course for the north half of the building.

The interior appointments were as simple as the exterior. As originally constructed the stoa had only two internal columns placed along its central axis to support the ridge pole of the roof. The lowest foundations for these columns still survive, a rough stone packing and a square poros block, aligned respectively with the third and sixth columns of the façade. A subsequent remodelling of the building brought about a reorganization of the interior colonnade which later consisted of four columns instead of two. Like their predecessors these also were based upon isolated poros blocks, all four of which remain in their original positions. A stump of the southernmost column found standing in place indicates that the interior colonnade, like the exterior, was of the Doric order. But the reduced proportions of the interior columns<sup>5</sup> suggest that two stories would have been necessary to reach the height of the ridge beam. Incised lines to guide the setting of the shafts can be observed on the second and fourth of the interior foundations (Fig. 1). These show that the internal columns were equally spaced 3.20 m. on centers; and the foundations are so disposed that the two outermost would align respectively with the second and seventh columns of the exterior façade, while the two intermediate columns would fall irregularly opposite the fourth and sixth intercolumniations.

Around three sides of the interior there ran a light foundation consisting of thin poros slabs, 0.79 m. in width, evidently designed to carry the supports for a bench or seats, which would have occupied all the available space along the walls. This band of foundations was found preserved intact along the base of the north wall, and two fragmentary slabs remain in place at the rear corners. Along the west and south walls the poros blocks are missing; but their removal in late antiquity left a clear trench in the hard clay packing of the floor, and excavation of this trench yielded

the two still *in situ*, numerous fragments of Doric column drums were found in the heavy deposit of debris which overlay the ruins of the building.

<sup>5</sup> Preserved interior column 0.42 m. in lower diam. It is made of the same material as the exterior shafts and likewise is worked with only 16 flutes.

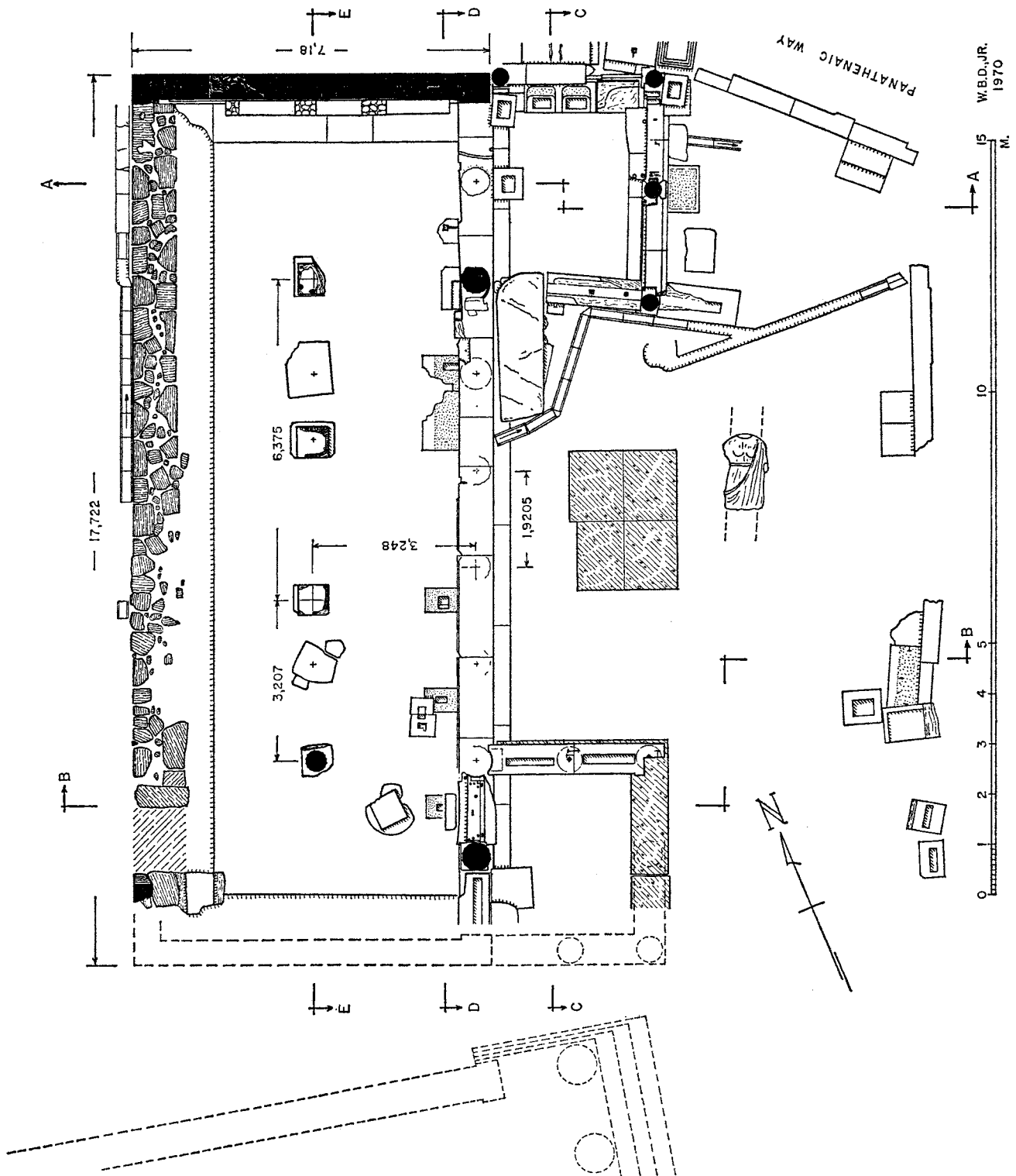


FIG. 1. Stoa Basileios, Actual State.

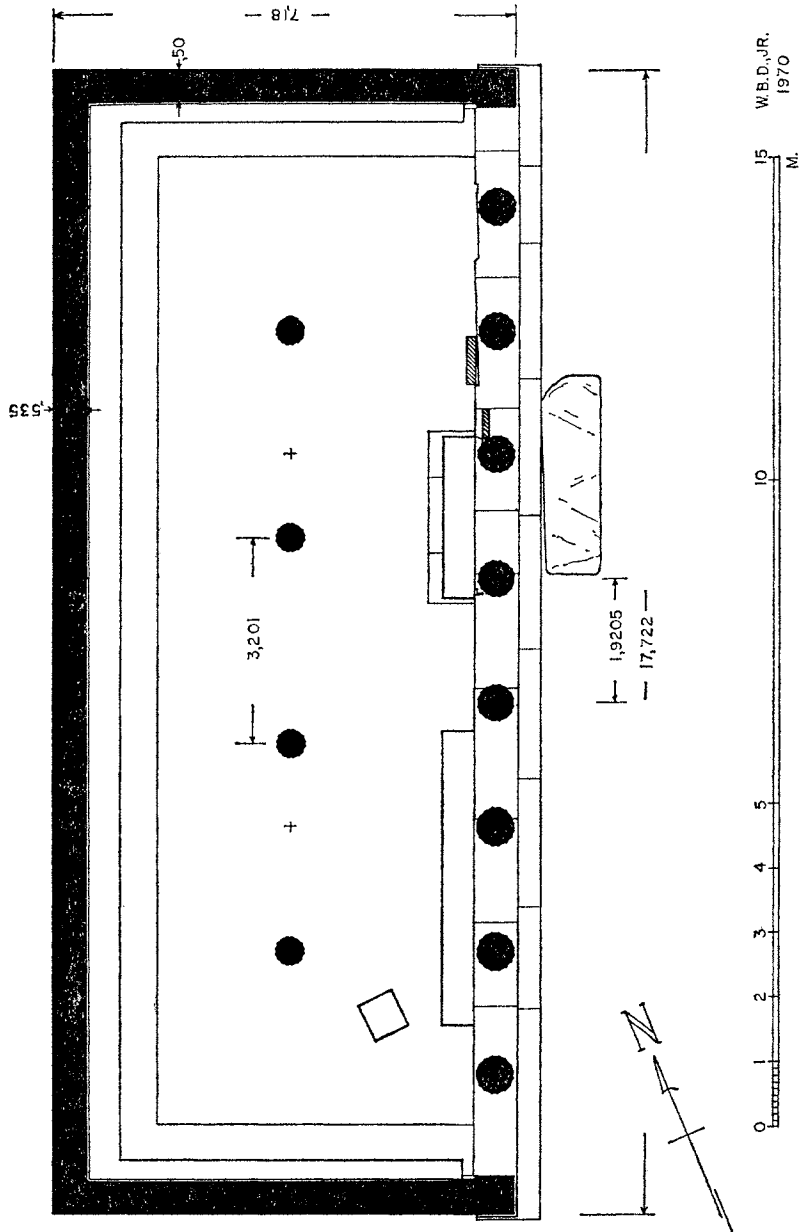


FIG. 2. Stoa Basileios, Restored Plan, mid-5th century B.C.

W.B.D., JR.  
1970

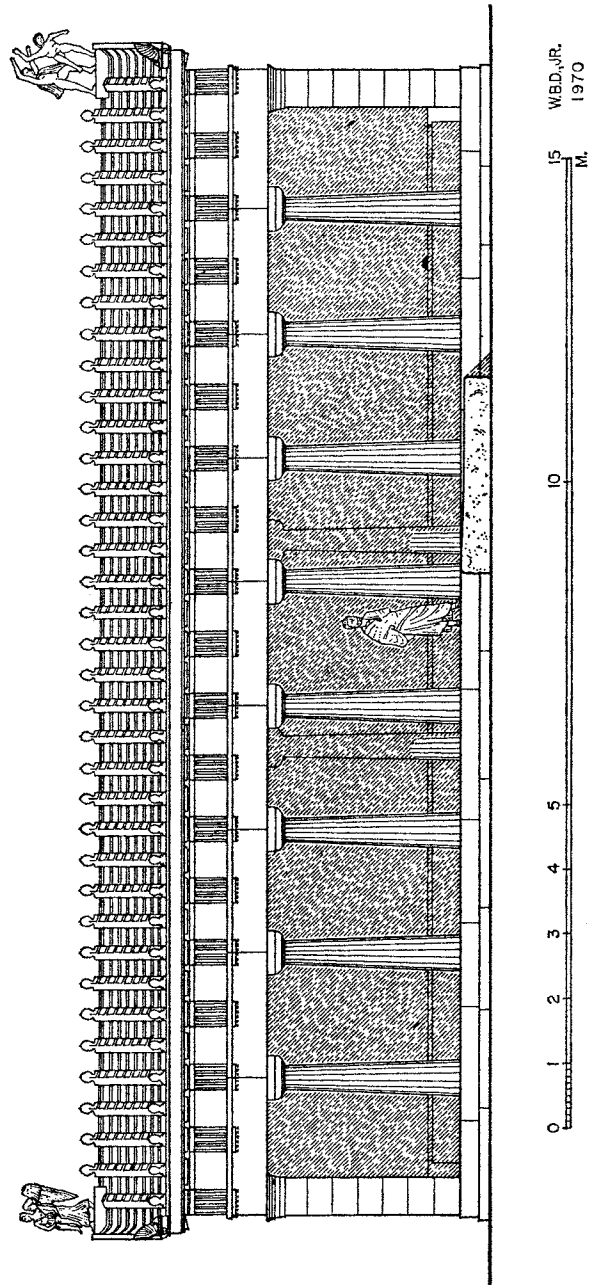


FIG. 3. Stoa Basileios, Restored Elevation, mid-5th century B.C.

many fragments of soft poros broken from the blocks in the course of their removal. Three poros blocks serving as supports for the bench itself are preserved *in situ* along the north wall (Pl. 48, b). These are not to be thought of as part of the original installation, but rather a later remodelling clearly carried out with a view to economy. The existing blocks are separated from each other by some 0.40 to 0.45 m. and the space between is packed with small chips of marble and poros laid in clay and presumably intended to be concealed with a coat of stucco. Along the inner face of the stylobate there came to light a series of stone bases equipped with cuttings for anchoring some sort of interior furnishings which stood just inside the colonnade. The bases are of various periods and may have carried additional benches to supplement the seating capacity of the little building. The floor of the stoa seems always to have been simply hard-packed clay, and there is evidence that it was renewed and raised several times in the history of the building.

Sufficient fragments of the superstructure were found in the accumulated debris overlying the stoa or were built into late walls in its vicinity to permit a reconstruction of the façade (Fig. 3). A fragmentary Doric capital<sup>6</sup> found in 1935 some 15 m. southwest of our building came almost certainly from its outer order (Fig. 4). Made of the same soft poros, its dimensions are suitable to associate it with the columns whose remains still stand on the stylobate, and it also was prepared to fit a shaft with only 16 flutes. Another Doric capital<sup>7</sup> of similar style and material, but of much smaller dimensions, was discovered just west of the stoa and is probably to be assigned to the second story of its interior order (Fig. 4). A poros triglyph<sup>8</sup> provided the crucial dimensions for the spacing of the frieze. It is worked as a separate block of the same material as the walls and columns, and slots are cut in both sides for the insertion of metopes of a different stone, most probably marble. A number of terracotta tiles gives evidence about the disposition of the roof. The cornice would have been crowned with projecting eaves tiles which carried a painted maeander along the face of the corona and a painted pattern of alternating lotus and palmette on the soffit.<sup>9</sup> A series of antefixes decorated with palmettes ran along both the eaves and the ridge of the building,<sup>10</sup> while the raking cornice carried a terracotta sima.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Inv. A 485: restored W. of abacus 0.702 m.; pres. H. of abacus 0.118 m.; H. of echinus 0.121 m.; upper diam. of shaft 0.368 m.

<sup>7</sup> Inv. A 3846: W. of abacus 0.4895 m. (0.483); pres. H. of abacus 0.106 m.; H. of echinus 0.084 m.; upper diam. of shaft 0.239 m. This capital also was cut with the tops of only 16 flutes.

<sup>8</sup> Inv. A 3845: est. W. 0.385 m.; W. between centers of glyphs 0.129 m.; pres. H. 0.34 m.; est. H. 0.578 m. The heads of the glyphs are markedly rounded and deeply undercut. Inv. A 4024 preserves a fragment from the bottom of a triglyph of the same series.

<sup>9</sup> Fragmentary eaves tiles: Inv. A 3849, A 3850, A 3851, A 3872, A 4021, A 4022.

<sup>10</sup> Antefixes from the eaves: Inv. A 3871, A 3946, A 3947. Another of the same series (A 103) was found south of the railway cut in 1931. Inv. A 3870, A 4023 are ridge antefixes decorated with closely similar pattern and with the same dimensions as the others of the series.

<sup>11</sup> Inv. A 3848: H. 0.115 m.; ovolo surmounted by a fascia and decorated with lotus and



Several features of its architecture suggest the high antiquity which must be ascribed to the new stoa. The small scale of the building, the consistent use of soft friable poros throughout its fabric, the Z-clamp in the north wall, the polygonal foundation for the west wall, all these details point to the archaic period. But the most useful evidence for the date of the building is provided by the two surviving

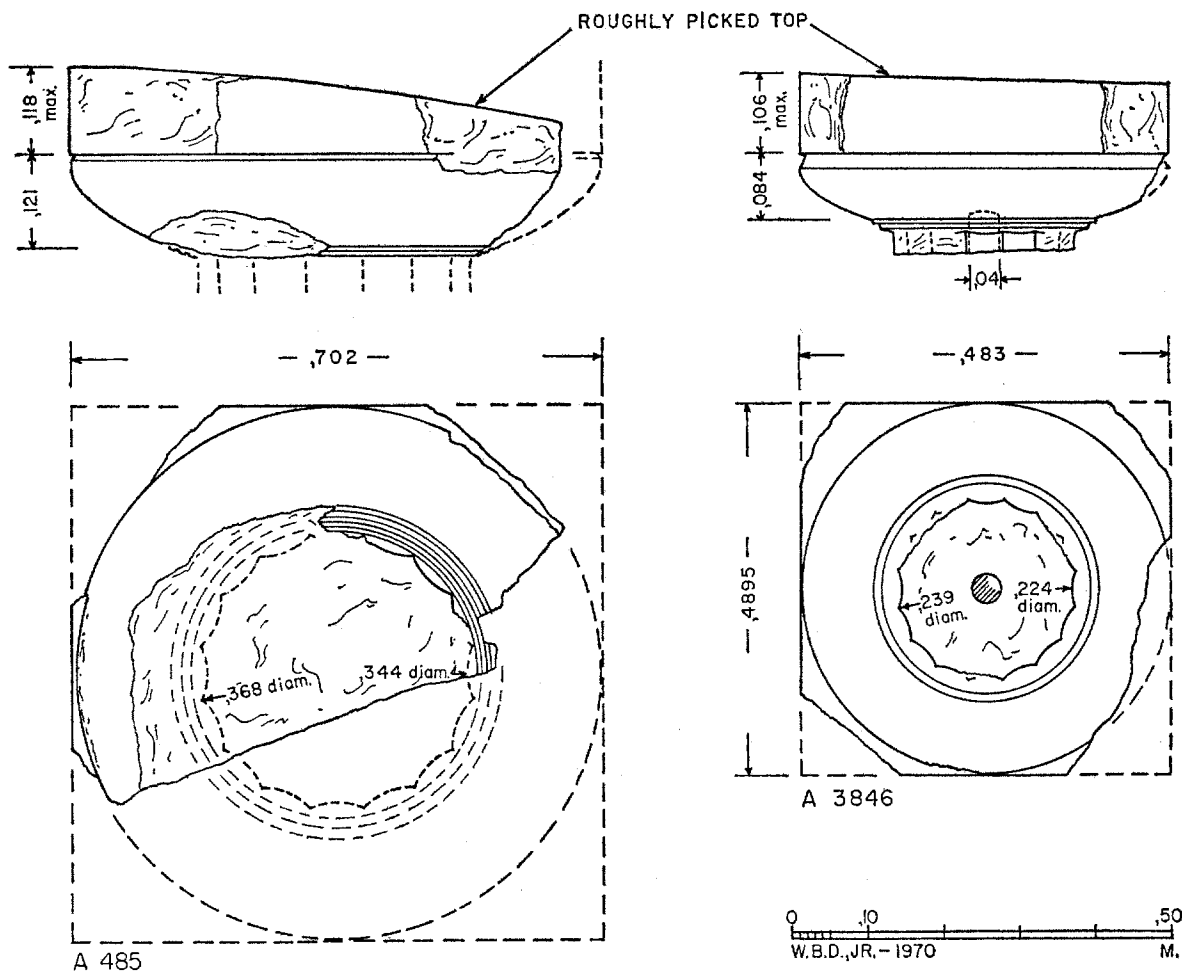


FIG. 4. Doric Capitals from the Stoa Basileios.

Doric capitals (Fig. 4). Both of these display a broad swelling echinus separated from the abacus by a pronounced V-shaped notch, characteristic details which find frequent parallels in the middle years of the 6th century B.C. The capitals of the Hekatompedon on the Acropolis and of the Temple of Apollo at Corinth are closely palmette pattern; below is a recessed fascia with traces of painted maeander. Two fragmentary terracotta lion's head spouts (A 3813, A 3814) are of appropriate dimensions and material to be assigned to the corner tiles of the sima.

comparable to our pieces, which probably fall somewhere between these two temples in date.<sup>12</sup> This early date for the construction of the stoa is likewise suggested by the fragments of pottery found in the lowest foundation packing beneath the floor. The latest pieces could be dated to the second quarter of the 6th century, and these will furnish a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the building.<sup>13</sup>

The surviving remains of the stoa show signs of numerous repairs and alterations, all of which bear witness to the building's long and complex history. The remodelling of the interior colonnade has already been mentioned. It is clear that this took place sometime after the Persian Wars, although there is no way of determining the amount of damage to the building during the sack of Athens in 480 B.C. All four of the poros blocks which supported the later internal columns are re-used material. While the northernmost seems originally to have been the base for a monument, the other three foundations are all archaic Doric capitals cut down for re-use here. The blocks had been abandoned in an unfinished state with their echini only roughly blocked out; and we may suppose that they were salvaged from some neighboring building whose construction had been interrupted by the invasion of Xerxes. It is apparent that they formed part of a general refurbishing of the stoa after the middle of the 5th century B.C., for at the time when these re-used blocks were installed the whole clay floor was renewed. The latest pottery recovered from beneath the floor could be dated in the third quarter of the 5th century B.C.<sup>14</sup> Since many of the decorated terracotta tiles belong to the same period, it seems likely that the roof also was extensively repaired at this time.

The most thorough-going change in the plan and appearance of the stoa came in the closing years of the 5th century B.C. when two small columnar porches were added, one at each end projecting eastward from the early colonnade. The disposition of the new wings shows clearly in Plates 47, 49, and on the plan, Figure 1. In both cases the porches consisted of three columns across their façades and a return of one column on each side against the old Doric portico of the stoa. While in general lines the new wings give a certain aspect of symmetry to the façade, their construction is quite different in detail. The columns of the north annex are slender unfluted shafts of hard poros, of which stumps remain standing on isolated square bases like

<sup>12</sup> T. Wiegand, *Archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis*, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 20-21, fig. 23; R. Stillwell, *Corinth*, I, pp. 121, 124, fig. 88. Cf. also the early capitals from the Argive Heraion which likewise appear to date somewhat earlier and later than ours, P. Amandry, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 234 f., 244 f., figs. 4, 5, 9. Another similar capital from the Agora, Inv. A 137, E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 407, no. 55, provides by the circumstances of its finding a useful *terminus ante quem* of about 540 B.C.

<sup>13</sup> Pottery from the construction filling of the stoa: Lots BF 1, 9 and P 28349, fragment of a lid with concentric procession of birds in Corinthianizing style.

<sup>14</sup> Pottery from beneath the renewed floor: Lots BF 2-4, and P 28350, fragment from the rim of a red-figured skyphos; P 28351, fragment from foot of a black-glazed stemless with incised decoration; P 28352, fragment from foot of a ribbed mug; P 28353, fragment of a squat lekythos.

those of the interior colonnade of the stoa.<sup>15</sup> The sills between the columns, and indeed all of the other preserved installations in the north porch, must be attributed to a series of later modifications. By contrast the columns of the south annex were supported by a continuous stylobate of poros, of which the north side has survived resting on its foundation of conglomerate blocks. The end block of the stylobate was cut in a circular arc to fit closely against the second column of the old east façade, but more curious is the high level at which the stylobate of the annex was set, 0.58 m. above the original stylobate of the stoa. On the preserved section of the stylobate, the circular imprint of two columns can still be seen with square cuttings for empolia marking their centers.<sup>16</sup> These provide the only evidence for the order of the columns and the use of empolia suggests that the porch may have been Ionic. One can also observe the traces left by a small anta set against the second column of the stoa to mask the awkward junction of the new wing and the old façade. A large thin slab of gray marble spans the second intercolumniation and served presumably as a threshold giving access to the annex from the main aisles of the stoa (Pl. 49, b). It rests 0.35 m. above the old stylobate and marks the level of the original floor of the south annex. A second threshold, superimposed on the first, should no doubt be associated with the re-occupation of the building in late Roman times.

The intended purpose of the two annexes emerges more clearly perhaps from the remains of the south porch, for the north porch has undergone many more subsequent alterations. On the stylobate of the south porch, however, the intercolumniations are fully occupied by long rectangular slots suitable for the insertion of great marble stelai, and the base for a similar stele was installed between the south anta of the old stoa and its first column. The unusually large size of the stelai, as indicated by the cuttings,<sup>17</sup> suggests that documents of extreme importance were displayed here. Similar inscribed marble stelai were also erected in the north annex, though here the arrangement was somewhat different. The stelai were not set up singly between the columns, but were placed edge to edge, three or four in number, and dowelled into a single base. One of the long bases for contiguous stelai is preserved on the south side of the north annex (Fig. 1, Pl. 49, a), but it has been reduced in length and is much recut in its present position.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Columns 0.33 m. in diam.; placed irregularly so that the interaxial spacing from the south column to the central column is 2.267 m. while from the central column to the north column it is 2.163 m.

<sup>16</sup> Lower diameter of the columns, or of their bases if they were Ionic, would have been *ca.* 0.50 m. and their interaxial spacing 1.587 m.

<sup>17</sup> The two measurable slots for stelai measure respectively: L. 1.03 m.; W. 0.18 m.; D. 0.14 m., and L. 0.95 m.; W. 0.15 m.; D. 0.14 m.

<sup>18</sup> Preserved L. of base 1.90 m., W. 0.54 m. The slot (0.10 m. deep) in which the stelai were dowelled was originally intended to accommodate a series of stelai *ca.* 0.72 m. wide and *ca.* 0.19 m. thick. Cf. the base for a similar series of stelai, the casualty lists of the battle of Koroneia, D. Bradeen, *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 25-29, figs. 1-2, pl. 3, d-g. Here the stelai were dowelled directly to the marble base without being leaded into a slot.

It is not likely that the two wings were added at precisely the same time, if only on the basis of their architectural differences. On the other hand, the pottery found beneath their original floors suggests that very little time elapsed between their construction. The layer of poros and marble working chips under the floor of the north porch yielded pottery which dates well into the fourth quarter of the 5th century,<sup>19</sup> while the latest pieces under the floor of the south annex date to the turn of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.<sup>20</sup>

In later times the old building was tended with a care which approaches religious veneration. As the level of the streets outside crept gradually higher with the passage of time, a light wall was erected to enclose a small precinct in front of the stoa (Fig. 1); and here the old, low ground level of the classical period was maintained throughout antiquity. Monuments were thrown up all about the building and the bases of many can still be seen in place, especially those clustered about the north annex (Pls. 47, 49, a). At the time of the Roman conquest, when in 86 B.C. the legions of Sulla burst into Athens leaving fire and rampage in their wake, our building seems to have been severely damaged by fire as were many of its neighbors along the west side of the Agora. The soft stone of the north wall is still scorched and calcined by the action of flames, but more impressive is the care with which the damage was repaired. Bad spots were patched with new stonework and the whole surface of the wall was covered with a coat of stucco to conceal the damage. The building clearly continued to be used for public business until the middle of the 3rd century after Christ, but its long career of public service no doubt came to an end with the invasion of the Herulians in A.D. 267.

Concerning the identification of the new stoa at the northwestern corner of the Agora, there is likely to be little disagreement among students of Athenian topography. That it is indeed the Stoa Basileios, well known to every ancient Athenian, mentioned repeatedly in literature, seen and described by Pausanias, can now be stated with complete certainty. Pausanias provides the most exact description of the building's topographical position. The Roman traveler made his way into the city at the Dipylon Gate and proceeded along the broad avenue of the Panathenaic Way until he came to the Agora, to which he regularly refers as the Kerameikos.<sup>21</sup> He noted particularly that the street was lined with stoas from the gates to the market. The eastern limits of these long colonnades,<sup>22</sup> flanking the street to both north and south, were uncovered during the excavations of 1970, thus defining exactly the route by which Pausanias reached the Agora. Pausanias (I, 3, 1-3) begins his long account of the monuments in the market square in the following manner: Τὸ δὲ χωρίον

<sup>19</sup> Pottery from the working layers of the north annex: Lots BF 92, 93, 101.

<sup>20</sup> Pottery beneath the original floor of the south annex: Lots BF 116, 117, 128.

<sup>21</sup> Pausanias, I, 2, 4-5.

<sup>22</sup> *Infra*, pp. 32-34; Plates 45, 51, b.

ὁ Κεραμεικὸς τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἔχει ἀπὸ ἥρωος Κεράμου, Διονύσου τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀριάδνης καὶ τούτου λεγομένου πρώτη δέ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλείος, ἔνθα καθίζει βασιλεὺς ἐνιαυσίαν ἀρχὴν ἀρχὴν καλουμένην βασιλείαν. ταύτης ἔπεστι τῷ κεράμῳ τῆς στοᾶς ἀγάλματα ὀπτῆς γῆς, ἀφιεὶς Θησεὺς ἐς θάλασσαν Σκίρωνα καὶ φέρουσα Ἡμέρα Κέφαλον, ὃν κάλλιστον γενόμενόν φασι ὑπὸ Ἡμέρας ἐρασθείσης ἀρπασθῆναι . . . πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς Κόνων ἐστήκε καὶ Τιμόθεος υἱὸς Κόνωνος καὶ βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων Εὐαγόρας . . . ἐνταῦθα ἐστήκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός . . . στοὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς τοὺς δώδεκα καλουμένους.

We could scarcely ask for a clearer or more concise description of the buildings at the northwestern entrance to the Agora, as they have now been revealed to their full extent by the excavations. A glance at the plan, Plate 45, will show that the first building on the right of one entering the square by the Panathenaic Way can be none other than our newly discovered stoa. It was the kind of early monument which particularly appealed to Pausanias' antiquarian tastes, and he took special note of the unusual "statues of baked clay" on the roof (Fig. 3). Fragments of these remarkable terracotta akroteria have come to light in the excavations: four pieces were found in 1936 in a late Roman context behind the Stoa of Zeus,<sup>23</sup> and another piece was recovered from the destruction debris just west of the new building.<sup>24</sup> Since the sculptures are to be dated on stylistic grounds to the 440's B.C.,<sup>25</sup> some years prior to the construction of the Stoa of Zeus, it is clear that they should now be assigned to the older of the two stoas. They undoubtedly formed a part of the general repair of the roof in the third quarter of the 5th century, to which reference has already been made.

Pausanias then moved on<sup>26</sup> to enumerate some of the statuary which clustered on both sides of the street just to the south in front of the neighboring Stoa of Zeus. The critical words are *πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς*, one of the standard formulae by which he relates one monument to the next and marks the stages of his gradual progress

<sup>23</sup> H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 37-39, 64-67, fig. 25; R. Nicholls, *Hesperia*, XXXIX, 1970, pp. 120-123, 135, pl. 35.

<sup>24</sup> Inv. T 3987. Terracotta arm. Pres. L. 0.122 m.; W. (below elbow) 0.053 m. Preserved is section of forearm and elbow with arm slightly bent; rather pudgy in appearance as indicated by folds of flesh at bend of elbow. At upper end is a deep hole left by armature. Pale yellow clay core with some grit coated with fine surface of beige clay, highly polished, though now chipped and flaked in places.

<sup>25</sup> The date has been proposed by E. B. Harrison on the basis of comparison between the terracotta fragments and figures copied from the shield of Athena Parthenos. Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXIX, 1970, p. 123.

<sup>26</sup> Pace R. E. Wycherley, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, II, 1959, pp. 37-38. For earlier bibliography on the theory that the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus were the same building, see N. Valmin, *Bull. de la soc. royale des lettres de Lund*, 1933-34, pp. 1-7, who initially proposed the theory; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 64-76, 225-226; and the convenient summary of the ensuing debate, R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque*, Paris, 1951, pp. 319-322.

about a site. Having noticed the monuments in front of the next building, he then refers to the building itself, "Behind is built a stoa with paintings of the gods called twelve." This, of course, is the building which we now know to have been the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, a separate and distinct entity, unrelated to the Stoa Basileios except by topographical proximity. Indeed, this close proximity of the two stoas helps to confirm the identity of the new building; for the literary sources, especially those of late antiquity, mention chiefly the fact that the two stoas stood side by side.<sup>27</sup> At a later point, Pausanias (I, 14, 6) relates the Royal Stoa to the other most prominent monument in its vicinity, the Hephaisteion on the brow of the Kolonos Agoraios. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην βασιλείου ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἡφαίστου. He has already traversed the Agora by two of its three principal streets, the west street and the Panathenaic Way, and described the monuments along them. But before proceeding along the north side of the square, he relates the temple on the Kolonos to the Royal Stoa at the northwestern entrance, which serves as the author's point of departure for his three walks about the Agora. That it should occur to him to locate the Hephaisteion by reference to the Royal Stoa will not seem surprising to anyone who stands before the ruins of the little stoa and enjoys the magnificent view of the Hephaisteion which the new excavations have opened up. It is particularly satisfactory to observe here as so often the close interrelation of the archaeological and the literary evidence in our understanding of Athenian topography. While the ancient authors help us with the identification of the architectural remains, the extension of our archaeological knowledge has once again dramatically verified the essential accuracy of the literary sources.

It is clear, then, that we have before us for the first time the ruins of a building which served as seat and office for one of the three chief archons of Athens, the Basileus, who gave his name to the stoa. In the Royal Stoa the King, accompanied by his two assessors (πάρεδροι), transacted the manifold duties of his office. Here he arranged the religious festivals, the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Lenaian festival of Dionysos. He administered all the ancestral sacrifices of the Athenian state calendar, and he heard the preliminary indictments in law suits which fell under his jurisdiction.<sup>28</sup> The literary testimonia also bring out another important function of the Royal Stoa as the repository from early times of legal archives pertaining to the work of the King. Here were kept the old kyrbeis and axones on which the laws of Solon and the statutes of Drakon were written,<sup>29</sup> and in the last decade of the 5th

<sup>27</sup> Their close juxtaposition was already alluded to in the classical period, Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, lines 684-686. The stoas are described as παρ' ἀλλήλας and πλησίον by Harpokration, *s. v.* βασιλείου στοά; Suidas, *s. v.* βασιλείου; Eustathius, *ad Odys.*, I, 395. Cf. *Agora*, III, nos. 7, 12, 13, 22.

<sup>28</sup> On the duties of the Basileus, Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 57; G. Busolt, H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, pp. 1089-1093.

<sup>29</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 7, 1.

century B.C., when the Athenians undertook a general revision of the laws of Solon, these too were to be recorded in the Royal Stoa.<sup>30</sup> At this time, some legislation was simply republished without change, the archaic texts being transcribed from the axones and carved on marble stelai. The new edition, published in 409/8 B.C., of Drakon's law on homicide<sup>31</sup> was a part of this legal reform, and the text specifically directs the Recorders (*ἀναγραφεῖς*) to erect the new stone stele in front of the Stoa Basileios. Once again the literary and epigraphical sources may help us to interpret the monuments more exactly. We recall at once the two annexes of the Royal Stoa equipped so prominently with sockets for the erection of numerous inscribed stelai. Indeed, we may well suppose that the annexes were designed to serve this specific purpose. When we consider in addition the close synchronism between the program of legal reform and the construction of the annexes, both of which took place in the closing decade of the 5th century, it is tempting to believe that the two events were intimately related.

### THE HERMS

Our identification of the newly discovered stoa as the Stoa Basileios does not depend solely upon the literary descriptions of its topographical position. A wholly independent line of evidence assures the correctness of the identification. Ancient writers as early as Xenophon and Lysias<sup>32</sup> refer to an area of the Agora which was known as "the Herms," taking its name from the three famous herms dedicated by Kimon and his colleagues after the victory at Eion in 476/5 B.C.<sup>33</sup> Over the years, other herms came to be dedicated in large numbers so that together they became something of a landmark at the edge of the market square. One book on Athens of the late Hellenistic age is quoted as saying,<sup>34</sup> ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς Ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως στοᾶς εἰσὶν οἱ Ἑρμαὶ καλούμενοι. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλοὺς κείσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν εἰληφέναι συμβέβηκεν. From this description we get the impression that large numbers of these peculiarly Athenian dedications clustered about the northwestern entrance to the square extending from the Royal Stoa on the west and the Painted Stoa on the north.<sup>35</sup> In view of this explicit association between the Herms and the Stoa Basileios, it is particularly significant that within the ruins of the new building and its immediate vicinity fragments of no less than 19 herms came to light. Some were represented by broken bits of their sculptured heads or of their characteristic shafts; others have left only their bases, simple

<sup>30</sup> Andokides, I, 82, 84, 85; cf. Wycherley, *Agora*, III, pp. 22.

<sup>31</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 115 and cf. R. S. Stroud, *Drakon's Law on Homicide*, *University of California Classical Studies*, III, 1968.

<sup>32</sup> Xenophon, *Hipparchicus*, III, 2; Lysias, XXIII, 2-3.

<sup>33</sup> Aischines, III, 183-185; Plutarch, *Kimon*, 7, 3-5; 8, 1. See Wycherley, *Agora*, III, p. 104.

<sup>34</sup> Harpokration, *s. v.* Ἑρμαί, quoting Menekles or Kallikrates.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Wycherley, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, II, 1959, pp. 39-40.

blocks of marble with a square cutting on top, suitable for the installation of the shaft. These bases are especially important for our purposes because three of them still stand in the positions where their dedicators originally placed them. Two of these are on the very step of the stoa and one was set against the northeast column of the north annex. A fourth base was discovered in the precinct before the stoa and cannot have moved far from its original position. The herm bases can be readily recognized in Plates 47, 49, a and Figure 1. These bases also bear inscriptions naming the dedicator and in one instance the circumstances of their dedication. From these we learn that the herms were given by Kings; they were dedicated in the term of their magistracy and erected in the precinct of their office.<sup>86</sup>

4. Inv. I 7168 (Pl. 50, a). Herm base of Pentelic marble found *in situ* on the step of the Stoa Basileios, set against the northernmost column of the stoa (I 4). The top of the base is broken away at the back. On top is a rectangular socket (length 0.34 m.; width 0.267 m.; depth 0.06 m.) with a circular dowel cutting in its floor (diameter 0.073 m.).

Height 0.325 m.; width 0.63 m.; depth 0.61 m.

Height of the letters 0.012-0.014 m.

*init. saec.* IV a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Ὀνήσιππος Αἰτίο Κηφισιεὺς βασιλεὺς ἀνέθηκε[ν]

ο[ἶδ]ε Ὀνησίππο βασιλεύοντος χορηγῶντες ἐνίκων

κωμωιδῶν

τραγωιδῶν

Σωσικράτης ἐχορήγε χαλκοπώλης

Στρατόνικος ἐχορήγε Σπράτωνος

Νικοχάρης ἐδίδασκε

Μεγακλείδης ἐδίδασκε

The occasion for Onesippos' dedication was almost certainly the festival of the Dionysia Epilenaia, which with its dramatic contests was assigned to the King to organize and administer.<sup>37</sup> Upon completion of this important task, Onesippos donated a herm to commemorate the sacred event and the victors in the dramatic competitions of his year. The victors in tragedy and comedy, together with Onesippos himself, are otherwise unknown to us with the exception of Nikochares, the comic poet. He is in all probability identical with Nikochares, son of Philonides, of Kydathenaion, the

<sup>86</sup> The numbers continue the consecutive numbering of inscriptions from the Athenian Agora in this volume (XL) of *Hesperia*, begun above pp. 96-108, Nos. 1-3. In addition to the three bases described below, two others with very fragmentary inscriptions are likely to have been dedicated by royal archons, as is suggested by the characteristic arrangement of the lines: Inv. I 7170, I 7243, of which the latter is *in situ* at the northeast corner of the north annex of the stoa (Fig. 1, Pl. 49, a). A third base, Inv. I 7171, is a fragmentary herm base dedicated by the Polemarch Charias, son of Euktemon, of Louisa; cf. Kirchner, *P. A.*, no. 15350.

<sup>37</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 57, 1; on the dramatic contests at the Lenaia see A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*<sup>2</sup>, Oxford, 1968, pp. 40-42.



contemporary of Aristophanes, who competed unsuccessfully against the *Ploutos* in 388 B.C., and who may have won a victory at the Lenaia as early as about 412/1 B.C.<sup>88</sup> These dates will provide the proper chronological framework for the dedication of Onesippos' herm.

5. Inv. I 7185 (Pl. 50, c). Herm base of gray Hymettian marble found *in situ* on the step of the Stoa Basileios, set against the northeast anta of the stoa (I 4). On top is a rectangular socket for insertion of the herm shaft (length 0.335 m.; width 0.265 m.; depth 0.075 m.). The back of the base is left rough-picked. The right half of the inscription is partially obscured by late Roman cement.

Height 0.50 m.; width 0.63 m.; depth 0.47 m.

Height of the letters 0.017-0.019 m.

*fin. saec. IV a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Ε]ξηκεστίδης [Νικοκρ]άτους Ἀλοπεκῆθεν  
 [β]ασιλεύσας ἀν[έθηκεν]  
 πάρεδ[ροι]  
 Νικοκράτης Ἐξηκεσ[τίδου] Ἀλοπεκῆθεν]  
 Κλαίνετος Μένω[νος - -]

In this instance the King was joined in making the dedication by his two assessors (*πάρεδροι*), and we may suppose that the herm was set up after the successful completion of their term of office. None of the men is otherwise known to us. The *paredroi* are the magistrate's two deputies whom each of the three chief archons was permitted to select of his own choice.<sup>89</sup> It is interesting to observe that nepotism was freely tolerated in these appointments, for the Basileus Exekestides, son of Nikokrates, is surely the father of the *paredros* Nikokrates, son of Exekestides.

6. Inv. I 7186 (Pl. 50, b). Herm base of gray Hymettian marble found at the southeast corner of the precinct before the Royal Stoa apparently removed from, but near, its original position (I 5). The top of the base is broken away and restored at the front. The front and sides are moulded with a fascia and cyma reversa along the bottom and an ovolo surmounted by a fascia around the top. On top is a rectangular socket (length 0.47 m.; width 0.35 m.; depth 0.12 m.). The back is rough-picked.

Height 0.421 m.; width 0.805 m.; depth 0.703 m.

Height of the letters 0.020-0.025 m.; last line 0.008 m.

<sup>88</sup> Kirchner, *P.A.*, no. 11083. Suidas, *s.v.* Νικοχάρης; Aristophanes, *Plutus*, Argum. IV; cf. J. M. Edmonds, *Fragments of Attic Comedy*, I, pp. 927-935. On Nikochares' possible victory at the Lenaia *ca.* 412/1 B.C. see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2325, line 134 and commentary.

<sup>89</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 56, 1.

*med saec.* II *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Μιλτιάδης [Ζωΐλου Μαραθώνιο]ς  
 βασιλεύς [ας ἀνέθηκ]εν  
 πάρεδροι  
 Διονύσιος Ζωΐλου Μαραθώνιος  
 Νικόμαχος Ἀπολλοδώρου Περιθοΐδης  
 ἡ βουλή ὁ δῆμος ἡ βουλή

Miltiades, son of Zoilos, of Marathon is the well known public figure and benefactor of Athens in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. He was repeatedly honored by his fellow citizens for his private munificence in the staging of religious festivals, and he is known to have served as *agonothetes* of both the Panathenaia and the Theseia. In addition he was honored for undertaking various public works and the repair of public buildings at his own expense.<sup>40</sup> Miltiades was not previously known to have held the office of *Basileus*, and his *paredros*, Dionysios, almost certainly his brother, appears here for the first time. The second assessor, Nikomachos, son of Apollodoros, is likely to have been a prominent man in his own right since he was listed among the *hieropoioi* of the festival of the Ptolemaia about 150 B.C.<sup>41</sup>

With these simple monuments, Athenian citizens, most of them unknown to us, whom the chance of the lot had elevated to high office for a single year, contrived to preserve for all posterity their names and the record of their public service; and they succeeded far better than they ever knew. For nearly 2400 years two of these modest bases have stood unmoved, and for a third of that time exposed to view, on the step of the stoa. They came to be joined by similar monuments, no doubt dedicated in similar circumstances by other royal archons of Athens; but of these, alas, it is chiefly the foundations that have survived. Taken together the herms provide us with welcome corroborative evidence, and the weight of their testimony is authoritative. Though dedicated first as adornments to a famous building which every Athenian knew and recognized, they become for us signposts to the correct interpretation of an anonymous ruin.

The herms give us also a vivid glimpse of the great longevity of the Royal Stoa, and not only of the structure itself but also of the civic institutions whose functions it always served. The latest of the herms<sup>42</sup> discovered in the vicinity of the stoa is a

<sup>40</sup> Kirchner, *P. A.*, no. 10215. Concerning Miltiades' excellent management of the Theseia and the gold crown which he received for it, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 958; honorific decrees for his *agonothesia* of the Panathenaia, public works, and other activities, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 968. It is possible that the very fragmentary lines 32-35 of the latter text refer to his performing the duties of *Basileus*, the occasion for the dedication of our herm. On some other occasion, the Boule and the Demos erected a statue of Miltiades of which the base survives, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3867.

<sup>41</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1938, line 15; his gravestone is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7222.

<sup>42</sup> The herm is published with texts and detailed commentaries on the inscriptions by John S. Traill, *infra*, Nos. 12-14, pp. 315-329, Plate 64.

shaft bearing a dedicatory decree and the names of the prytaneis of the tribe Leontis in the archonship of Pompeios Hegias of Phaleron, probably Hegias the Younger, at the beginning of the 3rd century after Christ. After the herm had stood about a quarter of a century, its two sides were inscribed with similar decrees and lists of prytaneis for two tribes in the year of Mounatios Themison, *ca.* A.D. 226. It is impressive to observe that in these autumnal years of Athens' political history her civic officials were still erecting monuments to their public service according to their ancient traditions, and they were still dedicating herms around the little stoa which had stood for nearly eight centuries at the northwestern corner of the Agora.

### THE LITHOS

One of the most curious and interesting monuments associated with the Stoa Basileios is a great flat stone which lies on the step of the building just south of its northern annex (Fig. 1, Pl. 47). It is a single slab of hard, tan limestone, measuring 2.95 m. in length and 0.95 m. in width. Upon closer examination (Pl. 50, d), the stone gives ample evidence of a long and strange history. Its four sides have been left rough with the ragged cutting of its original quarrying, while the flat top has been smoothed to an almost polished surface, not artificially but by the passage of human feet. There is reason to believe that the stone has occupied its present position since the classical period. The earth behind it over the stylobate of the stoa and beneath its north end over the step cannot have been disturbed after the end of the 5th century B.C., and the stone must have been placed in position before that time.<sup>43</sup> Now the stylobate of the stoa is conspicuously worn and broken toward the central intercolumniations where visitors would have made their way into the building, but by exception the edge of the stylobate directly behind the stone is sharp and crisp, scarcely chipped and without the slightest trace of wear. It seems clear that the great stone has protected the steps of the stoa from the time of its original construction. But careful probing around the stone revealed that it now rests in part on a large piece of the same hard limestone, which must at some time have been broken from the stone itself (Pl. 50, d). This can be easily recognized because it has the same rough cutting around the sides, and the same smooth surface on top. It suggests that the great stone may have been raised or shifted slightly from its original position, perhaps in connection with the building of the two porches; for in its present position the stone is almost precisely level with the stylobate of the south annex. We may perhaps suppose that in the process of raising the stone, the masons broke off one end which they then pushed underneath to help wedge it into its new position.

<sup>43</sup> The latest pottery found in the earth fill over the stylobate behind the stone descended into the fourth quarter of the 5th century B.C.: Lots BF 10, 11, 13. Pottery found underneath the northwest corner of the stone had the same date: Lots BF 85, 86, 87.

What, we may ask, was the purpose of this great stone which so obviously obstructs the façade of the stoa and partially impedes entry into one of Athens' most important civic offices? The answer is to be sought in a passage of Pollux (VIII, 86) where he says of the nine archons ὄμνον δ' οἷτοι πρὸς τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ, ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ τόμια, φυλάξουσιν τοὺς νόμους. Aristotle also speaks of the archons taking their oath "on the stone" which he places in relation to the Stoa Basileios; while in another passage he says that various arbitrators and witnesses also swore on it.<sup>44</sup> Plutarch in his life of Solon says that the Thesmothetai took their oaths ἐν ἀγορᾷ πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ,<sup>45</sup> and it is noteworthy that all the authors refer to the stone with the definite article as if it were a unique and familiar spot. Aristotle<sup>46</sup> goes on to describe the ceremony by which the nine archons entered office, "When their qualifications for office have been checked in this way, they go to the stone on which are the victims cut up for sacrifice . . . , and mounting this stone they swear that they will govern justly and according to the laws, and will not take presents on account of their office, and that if they take anything they will set up a golden statue." The stone at the Royal Stoa is perfectly suited to function as a primitive altar in this constitutional ritual which recedes to immemorial antiquity. Indeed both in its appearance and in the references to its function, it calls to mind the "unworked stones" on which plaintiffs and defendants stood when pleading on the Areopagus.<sup>47</sup> It is tempting to suppose that on this very stone before the Royal Stoa the nine archons of Athens were officially sworn into office in each succeeding year, century upon century until the end of antiquity.

### STOAS ON THE PANATHENAIC WAY

Two ancient accounts have survived which describe the great street of the Panathenaia leading from the Dipylon Gate to the Acropolis, and both mention specifically that the street was flanked by long colonnades. Pausanias (I, 2, 4) reports that stoas ran all the way from the gate to the Agora. Himerios (*Orat.*, III, 12) speaks of the Dromos "which . . . divides the stoas extending along it on either side, in which the Athenians and others buy and sell." Tangible remains of these buildings have now come to light, and once again it is gratifying to see that the archaeological evidence verifies the literary statements.

The principal entrance to the market square, as has already been noted, lay at the northwest corner where the Stoa Basileios was built. Immediately behind that stoa and to the west, the eastern extremity of another long colonnade was cleared in the excavations of 1970. This building was oriented differently, running southeast

<sup>44</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 7, 1; 55, 5.

<sup>45</sup> Plutarch, *Solon*, 25, 2; Harpokration and Suidas, *s.v. λίθος*. Cf. Wycherley, *Agora*, III, p. 23.

<sup>46</sup> *Ath. Pol.*, 55, 5.

<sup>47</sup> Pausanias, I, 28, 5.

to northwest, so as to border the Panathenaic street (Pls. 45, 51, b). The street stoa was a simple structure designed largely to provide a covered walk for pedestrians. It consisted of two long colonnades in the Doric order arranged back to back with a solid dividing wall between them and a single roof above them. One colonnade faced north on the Panathenaic Way while the other faced south on to another street parallel to the main avenue. At its east end the stoa terminated in a simple propylon which allowed pedestrians to communicate freely between the two streets. Although only 17.50 m. of the building's length were included in the area excavated in 1970, a section of the south aisle, 46 m. long, was unearthed further to the northwest in 1936, so that the stoa can now be restored with a minimum length of about 75 m.<sup>48</sup> Both aisles of the stoa and the east propylon measure 6.00 m. deep. At the termination of the south aisle, two Doric columns were found standing in place on the stylobate, where a late Roman wall had been built between the columns to enclose the southern colonnade (Pl. 51, b). The same fate befell the south end of the propylon, so that stumps of its two columns between antae are also preserved.

Our findings in 1970 corroborated those of the earlier excavations with respect to the date of the building, which seems to have been erected during the reign of Augustus. It is apparent, however, that the building was very extensively rebuilt in the late Roman period; and it is to be hoped that a more detailed architectural history of the stoa can be reconstructed after excavation of another section of the building in the season of 1972.

### THE NORTHEAST COMPLEX

Excavations in the eastern half of the expropriated area were supervised by Stephen G. Miller who succeeded in clearing a narrow strip extending from the Panathenaic Way to the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (Pls. 45, 52, a). Most of the area proved to be occupied by the heavy foundations for two great Roman buildings whose façades bordered the north side of the Agora. Since only a small part of these structures fell within the excavated area, no very full description or very precise identification of the buildings can be attempted at this time. The rather anonymous designation Northeast Complex will emphasize the tentative state of our knowledge and will at the same time suggest the complicated interrelation of the two buildings whose histories were closely intertwined with each other.

In the western half of the section there came to light the southeast corner of one large building (Pl. 52, a, A) of which the south side was exposed for a length

<sup>48</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 338-339, pl. IX. The remains of the stoa have appeared on all subsequent general plans of the Agora, most recently *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pl. 15. A section of a parallel stoa bordering the Panathenaic street to the north and facing south was also found in 1970 in excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service in a lot at the corner of modern Hadrian and Theseion Streets; Y. Nikopoulou, *A.A.A.*, IV, 1971, pp. 1-9. This appears on the plan, Plate 45.

of 29 m. and the east side for 9.50 m. Clearing around the exposed corner made it plain that the building was set at the intersection of two streets, one bordering the north side of the square and the other, at right angles to the first, leading northward out of the Agora along the east side of our building. The building is preserved only in its foundations of conglomerate stone, but along its southern side part of the euthynteria course remains in place. The foundations for the east wall are built of solid masonry, but the southern foundation consists of a series of solid piers about 1.80 m. in width and with an axial spacing between them varying from 2.65 to 2.80 m. The spaces between these piers are filled with smaller blocks and stones to a lesser depth than the piers which descend to bedrock. From the nature of the foundations, it is evident that a columnar façade should be restored along the south side of the building (Pl. 45). Its columns, based upon the piers of the south foundations, will have had an interaxial spacing of approximately 2.73 m.; and the great thickness of the foundations, 2.80 m. to 3.00 m., suggests that the colonnade stood on a krepidoma of three steps. Since the spacing of the foundation piers is not contracted at the east end, it seems likely that the façade should be restored in the Ionic rather than the Doric order.

Within the foundations of the building, considerable quantities of the original earth filling thrown in at the time of construction were excavated. The pottery recovered from this filling dated largely to the 1st century B.C., while a few pieces descended into the early years of the 1st century after Christ.<sup>49</sup> The construction of the building should then be placed in the last years of the reign of Augustus.

The building stood in its original form for not more than a century and a quarter, when its eastern end was incorporated in an enormous building of the Hadrianic period which occupied all the available space between the Augustan building and the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos (Pl. 45). The central element of the later structure is the heavy foundation for an internal peristyle of which the southwest corner and east side have been cleared. The foundation, 2.00 m. thick, is composed of two courses of re-used poros blocks set on a deep substructure of rubble concrete. The upper course of the foundation was worked down slightly at intervals to receive a series of bases 1.65 m. square. These bases will have supported columns with an interaxial spacing of about 3.05 m. The breadth of the peristyle measured 15.30 m. between the axes of the colonnades, and some 11.00 m. of its length from north to south have been exposed. The peristyle was surrounded by a broad aisle 5.70 m. in width. Because of the limited space available, the western aisle of the new building fell directly above the line of the old north-south street along the east side of the neigh-

<sup>49</sup> The latest objects from the building fill are: L 5615, L 5637, lamps of Type 54 A, very close to *Agora*, IV, p. 197, nos. 768, 770; SS 14716, stamped amphora handle to be dated in the period from ca. 78 B.C. to ca. 30 B.C.; P 28391, globular jug close in shape and fabric to *Agora*, V, p. 30, nos. G 85, G 87.

boring Augustan building. Indeed, that street was now closed and the east wall of the earlier building was now rebuilt and strengthened to serve also as the west wall of the peristyle.

The Hadrianic building was lavishly adorned with marble revetment. The central section of the peristyle and the aisles about it were paved with thin slabs of marble laid on a heavy bed of rubble and mortar. Much of the concrete bedding and some of the marble pavement itself survive in the central part of the peristyle (Pl. 52, b). The imprint of the slabs in the mortar indicates that they measured 1.65 m. x 0.82 m. and were laid in regular rows with neatly alternating joints. The solid wall behind the colonnades also carried elaborate marble revetment, fragments of which were recovered in great quantities in the destruction debris over the west wall. The panels of the revetment comprised many different types and colors of marble, some plain and others decorated with carved floral designs and mouldings of various kinds.

A colonnaded porch, 4.50 m. deep, was thrown up against the south wall of the building and around its southwest corner to mask the awkward junction with the older Augustan building next door (Pl. 45). This would also have formed the building's façade toward the Agora. The foundations for the southern arm of this colonnade were discovered many years ago on the south side of the railroad cut, and they have been depicted on earlier plans and described in publications of the Agora Excavations as the Northeast Stoa.<sup>50</sup> That this structure should be recognized as merely the façade of our much larger building is now abundantly clear. The orientation of the foundations, the elevation of the floor, the methods of construction, and the extensive use of the same kind of marble revetment, all point to this inevitable conclusion. The northward return of the colonnade where it abutted the façade of the Augustan building was found during the current campaign. This great Roman structure now emerging at the northeast corner of the Agora suffered perhaps more than any other building in the excavation for the railroad in 1891 which cut a broad swathe across its south end. Much of the east wall, the south side of the peristyle, and the southwest corner of the exterior porch were lost. There is good reason to believe, however, that these foundations were observed and recorded at the time of excavation; and they actually appear on a plan of the area published by Dörpfeld,<sup>51</sup> thus filling in most of the major gaps in our plan of the building's south end.

On the basis of the architectural evidence now at our disposal, it seems likely that we have to do with one end of a great basilica consisting of a central nave and two side aisles. The building was fitted in between the existing structures at the

<sup>50</sup> For exploration of the colonnade formerly known as the Northeast Stoa, see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 213; XX, 1951, pp. 53-56. It appears first on the general plan, *ibid.*, p. 47, fig. 1. The destruction debris over the west wall of the basilica further north produced masses of marble fragments of the same types as those illustrated, *ibid.*, pl. 27, b.

<sup>51</sup> W. Dörpfeld, *Antike Denkmäler*, II, pl. 37.

northeast corner of the square in such a way that it occupied all the available space and blocked all routes of access to the Agora from the northeast, except through the basilica itself.<sup>52</sup> Although there is yet no way of determining the length of the building from north to south, the south façade with its colonnaded porch toward the Agora is likely to have been the short end of a much longer building. We may suspect that its principal aspect was a long eastern façade forming a monumental pendant to the front of the Library of Hadrian which lies some 165 m. to the east and enjoys a closely similar orientation.

The best evidence for the date of construction of the basilica is provided by a large stone-built drain found beneath the north-south street upon which the basilica encroached. Like the street itself, the drain ceased to be used when the west aisle of the basilica was constructed. In fact, the builders of the basilica broke into the drain in places and removed some of its covering slabs. The pottery found among the debris which the builders left behind them ran well into the first half of the 2nd century after Christ and suggests that our building should belong to the latter years of Hadrian.<sup>53</sup>

The Northeast Complex in its final form remained standing for another century and a quarter, until the raid of the Herulians in A.D. 267 when its life certainly came to an end. Whether the building owed more of its destruction to the Herulians or to Athenian scavengers for building stone during the subsequent centuries is not altogether clear. In whatever state the Herulians may have left it, there can be no doubt that the Athenians pillaged the wreckage with ruthless thoroughness. The foundations for the western colonnade of the peristyle were stripped in places of all their blocks down to the lowest concrete substructure. The trenches left by the pillagers of the building's foundations produced masses of broken pottery, of which the latest could be dated in the middle years of the 5th century after Christ.<sup>54</sup>

One other structure in the area of the Northeast Complex deserves mention, although it came to occupy this ground only two centuries after the demise of the Roman buildings. This structure consisted only of two long foundations set exactly

<sup>52</sup> For the placement of our building with its short end facing on the Agora, good parallels are to be found in the much earlier basilica at Pompeii and in the North Basilica at Corinth, both of which gave on to the open square only through their short ends. On the basilica at Pompeii see R. Schultze, *Basilika*, Berlin, 1928, pp. 1-34, pls. 1-6; on the North Basilica at Corinth see R. Stillwell, *Corinth*, I, pp. 193-211, fig. 131. The Julian Basilica at Corinth is also comparable to our building in the way in which it was fitted into the east end of the square thus obstructing access to the Agora from that direction; S. S. Weinberg, *Corinth*, I, v, pp. 39-57, 78-109, and the general plan, pl. X.

<sup>53</sup> Pottery from the stone-built drain and one of its principal tributaries: Lots BA 74, 75, 79. Among the latest objects in the fill were L 5587, L 5598, alpha globule lamps of the early 2nd century; cf. *Agora*, VII, pp. 106-107.

<sup>54</sup> Pottery from pillaging of the west wall of the building and the west foundation of the peristyle: Lots BA 124, 128.



parallel to one another and about 5.70 m. apart (Pls. 46, 52, a, C-C). The foundations were oriented east to west and covered the full length of the excavated area. The northern wall has been exposed for a length of 49 m., while the southern continued eastward for 26.50 m. until its course was interrupted by the retaining wall of the railway cut. The walls were of rubble construction, consisting of masses of broken marble architectural pieces set in lime mortar. The southern wall was the lighter, measuring about 0.80 m. in thickness, while its northern counterpart reached a thickness of 1.55 m. in its upper parts, which would correspond to the original ground level of the building. This consistent difference in thickness, combined with the fact that the two foundations are so exactly parallel, suggests that they carried the colonnade and rear wall of a long stoa bordering the south side of a street. The line of this colonnade, if projected eastward, leads directly to the main entrance of the Library of Hadrian; and we may perhaps suppose that a broad colonnaded street formed the approach to that great building in the 5th and 6th centuries after Christ.

#### CLASSICAL TOPOGRAPHY ON THE NORTH SIDE

Although our knowledge of the buildings along the north side of the Agora is still confined chiefly to the Roman period, it is possible to make one general observation, even if only negative in nature, concerning the topography of the classical period. The excavation of the Northeast Complex in 1970 has made it apparent that the principal public buildings of classical times, especially the Stoa Poikile and the Stoa of the Herms, must now be sought further to the north and further to the west than had formerly seemed likely.<sup>65</sup> That this conclusion is now beyond doubt results from careful probing of the classical levels wherever the disposition of the Roman remains made it possible to do so.

Deep beneath the Augustan colonnade of the Northeast Complex were preserved in very ruinous condition the walls and floors of a small classical building (Pl. 52, a, D). This proved to lie at the intersection of the same two streets which later flanked the Augustan building at a much higher level. The location is particularly significant, for the street running east to west in front of these buildings is one of the most ancient thoroughfares of Athens. Although its line changed slightly over the centuries, it continued to be traveled from prehistoric times to the Roman period. Any classical building along this street certainly stood at the northern edge of the market square. Equally significant is the nature of the building itself which was quite unmistakably private and industrial.

The earliest traces of architecture in the area could be assigned to the second quarter of the 6th century B.C., but the principal remains were of a building erected after the Persian destruction of 480 B.C. All that could be recovered of the plan was

<sup>65</sup> The general plan (Pl. 45) shows dotted outlines of these two buildings in the positions where they now seem most likely to be found.

a row of square rooms, measuring between 3.50 m. and 4.00 m. in width, forming a line along the north side of the street. There was no evidence of communication between any of these rooms, and we may well suppose that they served as small shops, ideally situated to attract the trade of citizens who thronged the Agora. The stratified clay floors revealed that by the second half of the 4th century B.C. the little building had become thoroughly industrial, and clear traces of metal working came to light in several of the rooms. This private building continued to stand in substantially the same form, but with fairly extensive architectural renovations, until the end of the Hellenistic period when it succumbed to the destruction of Sulla in 86 B.C.

Scant as the remains of this classical building are, they provide us with important topographical information; for it is clear that we have here come down upon the edge of the first block of private properties north of the Agora. On the basis of this evidence, the conclusion emerges that the northern public buildings of the classical period clustered about the northwestern entrance to the square.

#### LATE ROMAN HOUSE ON THE AREOPAGUS

The third principal area to be explored during the campaign of 1970 lies on the northeastern slope of the Areopagus, where a sizable piece of land remained undug from the earlier excavations in this part of the Agora. Under the direction of John McK. Camp, II, this area was cleared of a deep layer of modern debris, and the remains of a large and sumptuously appointed private house of the late Roman period were uncovered. Since nearly half of the structure still remains to be explored in the season of 1971, our present conclusions should be regarded as tentative.

The remains of the building lie some 50 m. west of the Panathenaic Way at the point where it begins to rise steeply toward the Acropolis. It is thus part of the group of large houses which clustered about the terraced slopes of the Areopagus during the 5th and 6th centuries after Christ.<sup>56</sup> The house consists of large rooms grouped somewhat irregularly about a central peristyle court (Pl. 53, a, b). Foundations are preserved for a peristyle of five columns in length and three columns in width, which gives this element of the plan a width of 12.35 m. and a length of approximately 18 m. Three marble bases for Ionic columns remain *in situ* about the southwest angle of the court, while the disposition of the colonnades on the north and east sides is indicated by a series of isolated conglomerate blocks serving as foundations for the columns. Large fragments of the columns themselves, consisting of unfluted shafts of gray Hymettian marble, were recovered from one of the wells in the courtyard and from the destruction debris overlying the peristyle. The columns were crowned with Ionic capitals of Pentelic marble of which one complete example (Inv. A 3866) was also discovered in the well. The peristyle was equipped with two

<sup>56</sup> H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 104-105; cf. J. Travlos, *Πολεοδομικὴ Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, pp. 130-133.

wells: one on the east side which was filled with broken architecture and sculpture<sup>57</sup> at the time of the destruction of the house, and one at the southwest corner which was covered by a fine marble wellhead worked with an elaborately moulded collar and border (Pl. 53, a). The marble architecture, as is characteristic of the period, was all borrowed from earlier buildings and re-used at second hand in the house.

Adjoining the peristyle on the west are a large square room, measuring about 7.00 m. by 6.50 m., and a suite of four smaller rooms, the original plan of which has been considerably obscured by the construction of two kilns and other industrial installations in the 7th century after Christ, some time after the destruction and abandonment of the house itself. To the south of the peristyle, and arranged roughly on its axis, lies another commodious chamber (6.40 m. by 6.80 m.) entered through a broad doorway from the south aisle of the peristyle.<sup>58</sup> Foundations for a bench line the west wall of the room, while half of the east wall seems to have been closed only with a marble railing,<sup>59</sup> which thus allowed visual access into an extraordinary suite of rooms set at a lower level in the southeast corner of the house.

By far the most elegant apartment of the whole establishment is this suite of two vaulted chambers, whose walls have chanced to survive to a height of 4.50 m., and in the case of the smaller room to the original height of the vault (Pls. 53, b, 54, a). This unusually good state of preservation is due in part to the lower floor level of the rooms (1.30 m. below the floor of the peristyle), and in part to the fact that the whole southern section of the house is hewn out of the hillside of the Areopagus. The principal chamber is apsidal in plan, measuring 5.80 m. by 3.65 m., with the apse oriented toward the east. It was approached from the southeast corner of the peristyle by a flight of four marble steps, descending between a pair of Ionic columns. One of the columns was found standing in place, tilted about 25 degrees off its base, while its mate was recovered in pieces from the walls of a Turkish pit, which chanced to be sunk where the column had once rested. Both columns are made of extremely friable gray marble with prominent green veins. They measure 0.31 m. in diameter and the shafts stand 2.31 m. in height.

The walls of the apsidal chamber, as indeed throughout the building, show characteristic construction of the late Roman period. They are composed chiefly of rubble stonework, bound with lime mortar, with an occasional string-course of brick. Solid brickwork was used for exposed corners and door jambs, as well as for the arches and vaults, of which masses of the latter were found fallen in another room. In the apsidal room the walls were once fully coated with marble revetment which

<sup>57</sup> *Infra*, pp. 273-274.

<sup>58</sup> This room appears in Plate 53, b in the upper left corner.

<sup>59</sup> The supports for the railing may have been sculptural, for a small marble figure of Silenus (Inv. S 2363) with a narrow pier at its back was found in an adjoining room. This is an appropriate scale to fit with two marble coping blocks, one found in the room and the other elsewhere in the house.

has survived intact on the west wall and in fragmentary panels elsewhere (Pls. 54, a, 55, a). The floor in the western half of the room is richly paved in mosaic (Pl. 55, b). A diamond pattern formed of alternating squares of red, white, blue, and yellow surrounds on three sides a central panel of *opus sectile*, worked out in small plaques of various colored marbles, and set off by a guilloche border in mosaic. The *opus sectile* of the central panel has been somewhat inexpertly added on some later occasion.

The chief architectural element in the room is a prominent semicircular pool occupying all of the apse except for a narrow marble-paved border around it (Pl. 54, a). The pool is equipped with two descending steps around its circumference. These are covered with waterproof cement and painted turquoise blue with dark red bands along the edges of the treads. It drew its supply of water in part from a lead pipe, now largely missing, which ran beneath the floor of the adjoining room and emptied into the pool at its lip.<sup>60</sup> The water must have come ultimately from some natural source near the base of the Acropolis, for a steady trickle still flows through the channel from which the pipe was removed. A supplementary supply of water was at hand in a deep rock-cut well contained behind an open arched doorway to the right of the pool (Pl. 54, a). The water seems to have drained from the pool through an arched opening in its straight west side which allowed it to flow into an ancient well beneath the mosaic pavement.

An open arch preserved intact gives access from the apsidal room to a small vaulted chamber beyond. We pass through into the little inner room of the suite, and the complicated architectural history of the building at once obtrudes itself. The room has an appreciably different orientation and style of construction (Pl. 53, b), and it can easily be recognized as part of some earlier structure which was later incorporated in our building. Walls of fine solid brickwork enclose a small space, measuring only 3.00 m. by 2.75 m., but the original dimensions of the earlier structure will have been larger, since its west wall was clearly demolished by the builders of the apse. The structure was originally approached by a stepped entrance descending along its north wall to a small arched doorway in the present northwest corner of the room (Pl. 54, b). This stairway continued to provide an alternate entrance to the room after it was incorporated into the later house, for the crude stone blocking of the door probably dates from the re-occupation of the building after its destruction.

Let into the north and south walls of the room are low brick-vaulted niches each lined with a bench.<sup>61</sup> A similar niche in the east wall displays still another small arched doorway, now walled up with carefully laid stone masonry, a portion of which has become dislodged from the upper part of the arch (Pl. 54, a). It seems

<sup>60</sup> The channel from which the pipe has been removed appears in Plate 54, a at the point where it empties into the pool.

<sup>61</sup> The niche in the north wall is visible in Plate 54, a. They measure: H. 1.50 m.; W. 1.65 m.; D. 0.48 m. The floor of the niches is raised 0.40 m. above the floor of the room so as to form benches.

likely that this opening in the east wall served the room only in its previous function and was blocked up as carefully as possible when the earlier structure was remodelled as a room of the house. Beyond to the east lies a vaulted and brick-lined tunnel, 1.10 m. wide and 2.40 m. high, hewn out of the soft bedrock. Only a small portion of this was explored at the very end of the season, but enough to be reasonably certain that it is the earliest element in our complex structure.<sup>62</sup> The presence of a square manhole set in the brick vault of the tunnel suggests that the structure formed part of an elaborate series of waterworks. It may well be that the tunnel was related in some way to the similar network of brick-lined passages excavated some 85 m. further east in 1938 and 1939.<sup>63</sup> Further exploration of the tunnel, as well as the clearing of the whole east side of the house, must await the next campaign of excavations in the spring of 1971.

With regard to the chronology of the Roman house, it should be emphasized that systematic investigation of the stratigraphy beneath the late Roman floors had to be postponed until the season of 1971. It would thus be premature to offer any chronological conclusions for the earlier architectural phases. The only evidence available at the present writing pertains to the latest period of the building, and even this is sufficiently meager to justify some caution in its use. Only two groups of pottery can be associated with the construction of the house in its final remodelled form. One of these was recovered from beneath the earth floor of the peristyle, and the other came from under the floor of a small room immediately south of the apsidal suite.<sup>64</sup> Both of these groups could be dated to the late 5th century after Christ with the latest pieces belonging to the early years of the 6th century. This suggests a date for the final remodelling of the house as late as the first quarter of the 6th century.

In the form in which we have found it, the house did not survive for more than two generations. Masses of debris from its destruction came to light in every room, but the room just north of the apsidal suite (Pl. 53, b) provided the best evidence for the later history of the building. Here the stairwell descending to the apsidal suite (Pl. 54, b) was found full of destruction debris, including a very casually and hastily buried human skeleton, perhaps one of the victims of the destruction itself. Among the debris were several readily datable objects<sup>65</sup> which suggest that the filling took place in the very late years of the 6th century after Christ. Such a date leads one to suppose that the house was destroyed during the Slavic invasions of the 580's. After the stairwell had been filled in with debris, the floor level of the whole room rose *ca.*

<sup>62</sup> The concrete covering of the vaulted tunnel appears at the very bottom of Plate 53, b.

<sup>63</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 220-221; IX, 1940, pp. 295-296.

<sup>64</sup> Pottery from the peristyle: Lot  $\Omega$  388; pottery from the room south of the apsidal suite: Lot  $\Omega$  392.

<sup>65</sup> The latest objects in the debris filling the stairwell were P 28346, a plain single-handled jug; L 5628, a lamp closely similar to *Agora*, VII, p. 198, no. 2921; L 5630, another lamp of the same period. Pottery from the stairwell: Lot  $\Omega$  405.

0.70 m. At this higher level a crude structure of rubble in the southwest corner gave evidence of subsequent re-occupation of a rather squalid sort. A coin of Heraclius found in association with this structure provides a *terminus post quem* for the re-use of the building at A.D. 629. It was at a still later date that the brick-vaulted ceiling of the room collapsed leaving masses of fallen masonry in the upper levels of the room.

### SCULPTURE

The excavations of 1970 yielded a particularly rich group of sculptural finds; and indeed no less than 116 pieces of sculpture, ranging from small fragments to nearly complete statuary, have been added to the collections in the Stoa of Attalos since the beginning of the demolition of modern buildings in the northern sections.

Largest and most striking of the sculptural finds is the draped torso of a colossal female statue<sup>66</sup> (Pl. 56), which was found lying on its back in the lowest foundations of a Byzantine wall immediately in front of the Royal Stoa. Now midway between the two projecting wings of the stoa, there lies a prominent foundation composed of four blocks of conglomerate stone (Fig. 1, Pl. 47). The base is precisely centered on the axis of the stoa and is placed to align with the front colonnades of its wings. Both its position and its size combine to suggest that it carried a large and imposing monument. A few fragments of pottery which may be associated with the erection of the monument place its date in the second half of the 4th century B.C. In view of the fact that the great marble statue came to light directly in front of this base, and only about 1.00 m. removed from it, there can be little doubt that it stood originally on the base in front of the Royal Stoa. It is plain that we owe its preservation to the huge size and weight of the sculpture which precluded its being carried farther afield.

We have before us the statue of a woman, broken just above the knees; the left forearm and the whole right arm are broken, and the head which was carved in a separate piece is missing. In its present state the statue stands about 1.54 m. high and it would have been nearly 3 m. when complete. She wears an Ionic chiton girded high over the waist but well below the bust. Her himation was thrown over her left shoulder, drawn round the body in a dramatic fall of drapery over the right hip, and carried over the bent left forearm. The massive rendering of the female form, her stately carriage, and matronly dress all suggest that she represents a personification of a kind much favored by the sculptors of the late 4th century. Two details may help us to recognize her identity: on the left forearm and the left shoulder are two small dowel holes well suited for the attachment of a bronze attribute. The placement of the dowels would be appropriate for a bronze cornucopia, of which she would have

<sup>66</sup> Inv. S 2370: pres. H. ca. 1.54 m.; W. across the shoulders 0.82 m.; W. across the hips, 0.66 m. White Pentelic marble. The position in which the statue was found is indicated on the plan, Figure 1.

carried the narrow tail in her left hand and the flaring horn would have rested against her shoulder. We may then recognize the figure as a personification of Good Fortune, Agathe Tyche, of a type strikingly similar to another statue of that goddess which has survived in twelve Roman copies.<sup>67</sup> There can be no question, however, of our piece being the original on which the existing copies were based. While the two types are closely similar in spirit, stance, and general treatment, they differ in important details of the drapery. The Agora torso almost certainly lacked the conspicuous triangular overfold common to all the copies, and we should restore the missing lower part of the figure rather more along the lines of the Themis from Rhamnous.<sup>68</sup>

Sadly truncated though our figure may be, a second glance serves to assure us that we are in the presence of a masterpiece. Most striking is the sculptor's strong feeling for the composition of surfaces, his keen eye for the rhythm of drapery, his sensitive differentiation of texture. In a brilliant passage, he has rendered the soft, crinkly pleats of the linen chiton which stretch and cling to reveal the anatomy of the female body beneath. By contrast the opaque fabric of the cloak envelops the figure in its heavy folds, concealing rather than revealing. Especially impressive is the way in which the massive volume and imposing dignity of the figure are conceived as a foil to the elegant delicacy of the drapery. There can be little doubt that the statue is the work of a major sculptor of the second half of the 4th century B.C. The style suggests a date closer to the Artemisia from Halikarnassos, *ca.* 330, than to the Themis of the early 3rd century;<sup>69</sup> and our statue forms an important addition to the repertory of Greek art in this transitional period between the classical and the Hellenistic age.

Another fine piece of classical sculpture was discovered in the removal of late walls just to the west of the Royal Stoa. This is a large fragment of relief<sup>70</sup> (Pl. 57, c) depicting serried ranks of Athenian cavalry galloping in formation from left to right. Parts of five horsemen are preserved with the bodies of their mounts overlapping each other in high relief. At left is a bearded and helmeted cavalryman shown

<sup>67</sup> The most faithful of these copies is the figure of Tyche in Paris, Collection Sambon; C. Picard, *Gallia*, V, 1947, pp. 259-270; R. Kabus-Jahn, *Studien zu Frauenfiguren des Vierten Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Darmstadt, 1963, pl. 7; this forms the best parallel for our piece. For discussion of the type, *ibid.*, pp. 33-38.

<sup>68</sup> Athens N. M. 231. Cf. G. M. A. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*<sup>4</sup>, fig. 348; S. Karousou, *National Archaeological Museum, Collection of Sculpture*, Athens, 1968, p. 167, pl. 56.

<sup>69</sup> A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, II, p. 92, no. 1001. Cf. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*<sup>3</sup>, fig. 313 and the discussion of Kabus-Jahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff. The crinkled drapery of the chiton on the Agora piece should be thought of as the forerunner of this characteristic style at the beginning of the 3rd century, a good example of which is the statue of a young girl, Athens, N.M. 693, Karousou, *op. cit.*, p. 134, pl. 43.

<sup>70</sup> Inv. I 7167: pres. H. 0.48 m.; pres. W. 0.61.; Th. at pilaster 0.157 m.; Th. of relief background 0.111 m.

emerging from behind a square pilaster which forms the left hand frame for the relief. Next are two youthful riders whose heads are shown in profile between the heads of their horses. Only the left hand of the fourth rider is visible, while the torso of the fifth man can be seen as he pulls his horse ahead of the others. The horsemen sit their mounts with the ease and grace of perfect drill, and the sculptor has admirably caught the regular precision of the cavalry charge. Tiny holes are drilled at the animals' necks and the riders' hands for the attachment of reins in bronze. The style and quality of the carving suggest a date for the relief in the early years of the 4th century B.C., but the composition betrays its direct descent from the great cavalry reliefs of the Parthenon frieze.<sup>71</sup>

The back gives more information about the nature and purpose of the monument. At the left, just where the piece is broken, is the edge of another relief panel depicting the hind foot and tail of a lion in large scale. To the right of the relief are inscribed the words *Λεοντίς ἐνίκα*. We may suppose then that the monument was set up to commemorate a victory won by the tribe Leontis in the anthippasia, the cavalry contests of the Panathenaic festival.<sup>72</sup> It is of particular interest to note that our relief was discovered only 7.00 m. distant from the spot in the railway cutting where a similar tribal dedication, the well known sculptured base signed by Bryaxis,<sup>73</sup> was found *in situ* in 1891. The winning cavalry squadron of Leontis no doubt erected its victory monument somewhere near the entrance to the Agora where some of the cavalry maneuvers of the Panathenaic festival may possibly have taken place.<sup>74</sup>

The clearing of late walls in the northern sections also produced two fine female heads of the classical period. The first<sup>75</sup> (Pl. 57, a) has curiously asymmetrical features clearly designed to be seen chiefly, if not only, in three-quarter view. The head is tilted slightly to her right; and she wears an enigmatic expression on her face, with lips parted as if in smile or grimace and the tips of her teeth showing. Her hair, bound with a fillet, is gathered at the nape of the neck; and her earlobes were pierced for the insertion of metal earrings. On the basis of its scale, the style of the features, and the quality of the carving, the head may be assigned to the group of

<sup>71</sup> Cf. especially the horsemen from the south side, A. H. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London, 1910, pls. 77-78. The similar passage on the north frieze shows the horsemen more widely spaced than on our relief, *ibid.*, pls. 56-57.

<sup>72</sup> On the anthippasia see Reisch, *R. E.*, I, cols. 2378-2379, *s.v.* Ἀνθιππασία; A. Martin, *Les cavaliers athéniens*, Paris, 1886, pp. 196-199. Other dedicatory inscriptions commemorate similar victories, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3079, 3130; and a tribal decree honors a phylarch whose corps was victorious in the anthippasia at the Olympic games, W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 111-112, no. 21.

<sup>73</sup> For the Bryaxis base, Athens N. M. 1733, see Kavvadias, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1883, pp. 39 ff., pls. 6-7; Karousou, *Collection of Sculpture*, pp. 159 f.; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*<sup>4</sup>, figs. 770-771; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3130.

<sup>74</sup> Xenophon, *Hipparch.*, III, 2. The anthippasia itself, however, took place in the hippodrome according to Xenophon (*ibid.*, III, 11).

<sup>75</sup> Inv. S 2331: pres. H. 0.14 m.; W. of face 0.115 m.



fragmentary sculptures which have been attributed to the frieze of the Temple of Ares.<sup>76</sup> The second head<sup>77</sup> (Pl. 57, b) is of identical scale and of high quality although much more battered and worn. It is certainly broken from a high relief sculpture; and its carving, especially the treatment of the facial planes and the regularity of the features, suggests a date in the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. It too may prove to come from some part of the sculptural program of the Temple of Ares.

The late Roman house on the Areopagus (*supra*, pp. 266-270) was at one time richly adorned with marble sculpture of which we get a vivid impression from the surviving pieces. Excavation of one of the wells in the peristyle yielded the magnificent trio of life-size heads illustrated on Plates 58-59. All three show the carving of the Antonine period at its very best and were probably made about the middle of the 2nd century after Christ, although two of them are faithful replicas of Greek originals of the classical period. In the first (Pl. 58, a) we see the head of Nike,<sup>78</sup> rather rounded of face, her brow sharply defined, and the full bow of her lips slightly parted. Her hair is parted in the center and pulled back in waves over the ears. Her hairdo is held in place by a headband wrapped three times around the head, the ends of which are allowed to fall down behind her ears. In every line of her face we can detect the cool aloofness, the idealized features, and the utterly expressionless gaze which is so characteristic of the late 5th century B.C. Moreover, our head betrays an extraordinarily close relationship to the famous Nike of Paionios at Olympia. This similarity emerges most strikingly if the Agora head be compared with the replicas of the Nike's head: the Hertz head in the Palazzo Venezia and the head of the same type in the Vatican.<sup>79</sup> It should be observed, however, that the Agora Nike holds her head erect and gazes straight ahead, while the flying Nike of Paionios bends her head forward and looks down as she alights.

In the second head (Pl. 58, b), we recognize the young but powerful face and leonine mane of Alexander the Great.<sup>80</sup> He wears an exuberant mass of hair about

<sup>76</sup> H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 57 f., pls. 29, b, c, 30, a; XXI, 1952, pp. 94 f., pls. 22, b, 23.

<sup>77</sup> Inv. S 2345: pres. H. 0.14 m.; pres. W. of face 0.105 m.; pres. Th. 0.068 m. Original surface, where preserved unweathered, smoothly polished. Well defined eyelids and brows; wrinkles indicated in flesh of neck. Hair, bound with fillet, drawn back quite tightly over crown of head, loose and wavy over brow. Pentelic marble.

<sup>78</sup> Inv. S 2354: H. 0.417 m.; H. of face *ca.* 0.221 m.; W. of face 0.176 m. Made to be set into herm shaft; two round dowel holes in bottom for attachment. Pentelic marble, greenish vein along left side.

<sup>79</sup> Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*<sup>4</sup>, figs. 684-686. For the Hertz head, W. Amelung, *Röm. Mitt.*, IX, 1894, pp. 162-169; for the Vatican copy, G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculpture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, pp. 29 ff., pl. XV, no. 47. On the fragment of the original head see the discussion of Furtwängler, *Olympia*, III, text, pp. 190 ff.

<sup>80</sup> Inv. S 2356: H. 0.523 h.; H. of face 0.215 m.; W. of face 0.16 m.; max. W. of head 0.27 m.; Th. of base 0.19 m. Left shoulder missing. Nose inserted separately. Sides roughly bevelled to flat, rough-picked back. Pentelic marble slightly stained in places.

his face and his long flowing locks curl halfway down his neck. Across the crown of his head are drilled fifteen small holes for the attachment of a wreath or crown, no doubt in gilded bronze. Beneath the prominent brow are deep, narrow eyes with engraved irises; the thin lips are slightly parted; the musculature of the neck is richly modelled. The head is set at an angle common to many of the Alexander portraits: cocked sharply to his right with the face and gaze of the eyes turned back slightly to his left. On the right shoulder and across the chest, the copyist has faithfully reproduced the upper edge of the chiton which the original statue must have worn.

Our head shows clear affinities to a whole group of portraits associated with the so-called "Eubouleus" from Eleusis and recognized as replicas of an original 4th century portrait of the young Alexander.<sup>81</sup> Among the more familiar portraits of the Macedonian prince, the head from Alexandria in the British Museum forms the closest parallel to our piece.<sup>82</sup> But the new head from the Agora has about it a slightly different spirit from the "Eubouleus" type or the Alexander in London. The engaging romantic quality of these portraits and their slight softening of the features is here quite lacking; and instead the observer feels more keenly the strength of that dynamic personality which has been implanted in the stone. There is in the set of his jaw the cruel toughness of the Macedonian soldier. The familiar tilt of the head, here sharply accentuated, and the powerful musculature of the neck express the drive of the conqueror. In his deep-set eyes there burns the fire of genius and not the melancholy gaze of the romantic.

A third head (Pl. 59, a) is a portrait of a bearded man,<sup>83</sup> of middle age, with bushy beard and masses of curly hair on his head and neck, leaving only the lower parts of his ears visible. His low brow is carefully modelled and conspicuously furrowed. We note the almond shape of his eyes with their prominent eyelids and engraved irises. The drilled pupils are set close under the eyelids, which gives the face a lowering expression. The free use of drillwork in the hair and beard creates a pleasing chiaroscuro in contrast to the polished surfaces of the face and features. That this portrait of an unknown Athenian is to be dated to the early Antonine period can be seen by comparison of our head with a fine contemporary portrait in the Agora, which shows marked stylistic similarities.<sup>84</sup>

Finally from the southwest corner of the peristyle in the late Roman house, there

<sup>81</sup> For the "Eubouleus," Athens N. M. 181, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1886, pp. 257 ff., pl. 10; a recent photograph in Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art*, p. 135, fig. 193. For discussion of the type and another example in the Agora (Inv. S 2089), E. B. Harrison, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 382-389, pl. 85, c, d; she has associated the type with the Alexander portraits.

<sup>82</sup> Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, III, pp. 142 f., no. 1857; M. Bieber, *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, XCIII, 1949, p. 409, fig. 46; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*<sup>4</sup>, p. 229, fig. 797.

<sup>83</sup> Inv. S 2355: pres. H. 0.335 m.; W. 0.25 m.; W. of face 0.157 m. Broken at neck, possibly from the shaft of a herm. White Pentelic marble.

<sup>84</sup> Inv. S 335; E. B. Harrison, *Agora*, I, pp. 38-41, pl. 19, no. 28.

came a diminutive statue of the goddess Athena<sup>85</sup> (Pl. 59, b). She stands garbed in the robes of earlier classical tradition: a peplos with a long overfold and buttoned sleeves, and the aegis with small dowel holes for the attachment of metal snakes. Her stance with the left knee bent descends across the centuries from the caryatids of the Erechtheion. By the Roman period, to which she belongs, the pose is stereotyped, so often reproduced as to become a cliché of the classical past. It is a slight piece, rendered with only cursory attention to sculptural detail and with no more than moderate craft; and yet for all the statue's artistic frailty, she is still appealing. Moreover, it is profoundly moving to discover the city goddess of Athens still adorning the house of some unknown Athenian of the late Roman age, who in a Christian empire still looked to the ancient pagan deity if only with nostalgia.

### ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS

During the course of the excavations of 1970, a number of architectural blocks came to light which are worthy of individual mention, despite their fragmentary state, because they proved to belong to various well known buildings. In some cases the new pieces add significantly to our knowledge of these familiar monuments. Most important is a group of 32 marble fragments all of which had been built into the long late Roman foundations overlying the Northeast Complex (*supra*, pp. 264-265). A close examination of the minute dimensions preserved by these fragments has revealed that all belong to the Parthenon. These interesting pieces will form the subject of a special study now being prepared by William B. Dinsmoor, Jr. for publication in a forthcoming number of this journal. Thus only brief mention will be devoted to them here. The most numerous group of 18 pieces proves to be fragments of ceiling coffers of which our collection contains three different sizes: the largest from the ceiling of the pteroma on the two flanks,<sup>86</sup> an intermediate size from the ceiling above one end of the temple,<sup>87</sup> and the smallest size from either the pronaos or the opisthodomos.<sup>88</sup> Most of our pieces preserve sections of the mouldings of the coffer or of the bead and reel which separates the individual coffers. Only one fragment (A 3889) belongs to the cap of a coffer and shows traces of the painted palmette pattern. Of still greater interest is another group of fragments which Dinsmoor has been able to assign to the interior Doric colonnades of the Parthenon. This is of particular importance inasmuch as these are the first fragments of the original interior order to come to light. Ten pieces of Doric column drums belong to the lower order<sup>89</sup> and two

<sup>85</sup> Inv. S. 2337: pres. H. 1.14 m.; pres. W. *ca.* 0.39 m.; Th. *ca.* 0.25 m. Missing are head, both arms, ends of feet. Foot wear on back from re-use as step block. Pentelic marble.

<sup>86</sup> Eleven fragments of the flank coffers: Inv. A 3890-A 3894, A 3896, A 3899-A 3903.

<sup>87</sup> Four fragments of this series: Inv. A 3895, A 3898, A 3906, A 3907.

<sup>88</sup> Three pieces of this series: Inv. A 3889, A 3904, A 3905.

<sup>89</sup> Column fragments: Inv. A 3911-A 3917, A 3920-A 3922.

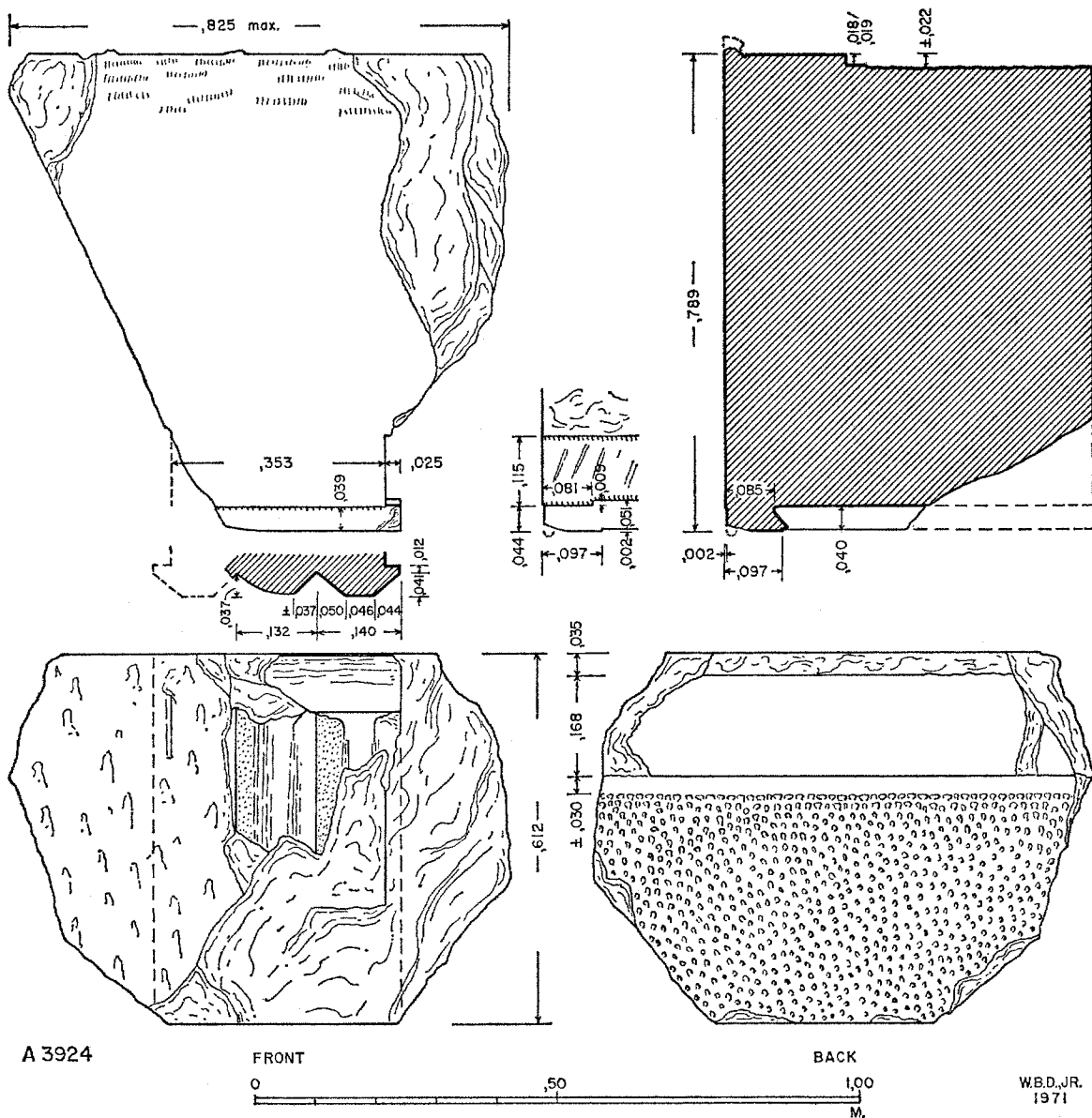


FIG. 5. Frieze Block from the Stoa of Zeus.

(A 3962, A 3963) can only be assigned to the upper order, while a bit of a Doric capital (A 3923) is too small to occupy any place on the exterior of the building and should come from the lower interior colonnade.

Less peripatetic are two blocks removed from Byzantine walls in the vicinity of the Royal Stoa, both of which belong to the neighboring Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios.

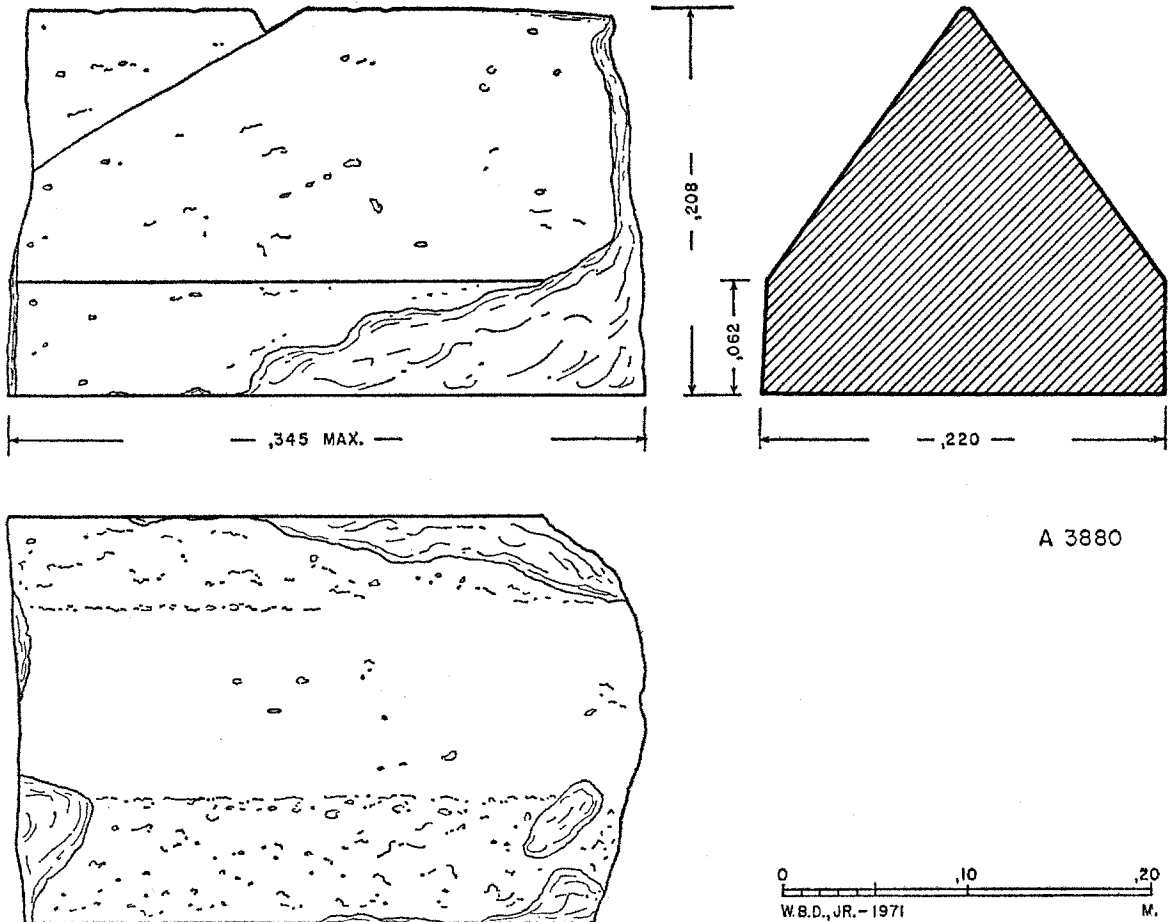


FIG. 6. Parapet Coping from the Altar of the Twelve Gods.

A Doric column drum, preserved intact, forms a mate for the single drum recovered in the excavation of that building.<sup>90</sup> Since the dimensions are virtually identical, our piece can be assigned to the topmost position on one of the exterior shafts. Much more informative, however, is a fairly well preserved block of the Doric frieze (A 3924). The block, of brown Aiginetan poros, preserves for the first time the full

<sup>90</sup> Inv. A 3925: H. 1.3605 m.; upper diam. 0.600 m.; lower diam. 0.689 m. For the earlier matching drum (A 150), H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 25-26, figs. 12-13.

height and thickness of the frieze (Fig. 5). On the front is part of the triglyph with its adjoining slot for the insertion of a thin marble metope. Of special interest is the treatment of the back with its fine stippled surface, which has been observed on other blocks of the wall.<sup>91</sup> Along the top of the back is a smooth projecting fascia; and we can detect also the spring of a crowning moulding, undoubtedly to be restored as a hawkbeak, which formed the epikranitis. This characteristic treatment of the back of our block helps to assign it to its proper place on the building. The stippled surface surely represents the upper part of the interior wall, treated here in the same way as in the Hephaisteion, and we should place the block not above the colonnade but over a solid wall at one end or at the back of the stoa.

Another architectural fragment removed from a late Roman wall in the Royal Stoa can be assigned to yet another familiar monument at the northwest corner of the Agora. This is a fragmentary coping block (A 3880) of hard tan poros, triangular in section with truncated sides (Fig. 6). The piece bears striking resemblance to the poros fence caps from the Peribolos of the Eponymous Heroes.<sup>92</sup> But closer inspection will reveal that it is smaller in every dimension than the coping blocks from that monument. Our piece measures only 0.22 m. in width and 0.208 m. in height, while the coping of the Peribolos of the Eponymoi measures close to 0.240 m. in both width and height. Furthermore, traces of weathering on the soffit indicate that our piece crowned a solid panel of a parapet slightly less than 0.10 m. in thickness. The block may then be recognized as belonging to the parapet about the Altar of the Twelve Gods in its second period; and it is indeed the first fragment of superstructure for that monument which has yet come to light.<sup>93</sup>

### INSCRIPTIONS AND OSTRAKA

As a result of last season's excavations, the epigraphical collection in the Stoa of Attalos was augmented by the addition of 141 new documents inscribed on stone. The great majority of these consisted of small fragments bearing only a few lines or even a few words each, but these are balanced by three complete stelai which add important new texts to the corpus of Athenian inscriptions. Some of the most interesting of these documents have been studied by Ronald S. Stroud, John S. Traill, and John McK. Camp, II, whose publication of the texts is presented together with this report (below, pp. 280-329).

In addition to the inscriptions on stone, three other documents of a more informal nature are worthy of brief notice here. Two are ostraka, the only examples of these

<sup>91</sup> For evidence of the frieze prior to the discovery of this block, *ibid.*, p. 28. Some of the wall blocks survive, re-used as the toichobate for the central wall of the annex west of the stoa, *ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXIX, 1970, pp. 156-158, fig. 7.

<sup>93</sup> The new piece offers striking corroboration for the restoration of the parapet suggested by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 58 ff., figs. 8-9 on the basis of the fence about the monument of the Eponymoi.

ballots discovered during the season. A wall fragment from a plain amphora<sup>94</sup> bears a vote against Kimon son of Miltiades and brings to five the number of ostraka in the Agora inscribed with the name of this famous statesman. The context in which it was found suggests that it was cast in the year of Kimon's ostracism, 461 B.C. The second ostrakon carries the name of Phaiax, son of Erasistratos, of Acharnai which is painted in black letters on a plain sherd from the body of an amphora.<sup>95</sup> He is, of course, the well known political adversary of Alkibiades and Nikias, who was evidently deeply involved in the intrigues which resulted in the ostracism of Hyperbolos in 417 B.C.<sup>96</sup> No doubt this vote, as well as the other three ostraka from the Agora which bear his name, were all cast against him on that notorious occasion.

A final epigraphical find of some interest is an extremely well preserved juror's allotment ticket of bronze which was found in a late context in front of the Royal Stoa. The new pinakion<sup>97</sup> saw hard service in the allotment of Athenian jurors, for traces of no less than six different owners' names could be deciphered. The last owner, and the man who lost his ticket, was a certain Philomnestos of Ikaria, an otherwise unknown Athenian of the mid 4th century. The date is suggested by the penultimate owner Kichonides, son of Diogeiton, of Gargettos whose name appears in the records of the Poletai for 367/6 B.C.<sup>98</sup> Only isolated letters betrayed the existence of the four earlier owners. In addition to the names, the pinakion is also stamped with three official seals. In the lower left corner is a triobol seal consisting of a facing owl surrounded by an olive wreath and the letters ΑΘΗ. At right is a gorgoneion and at lower right a double-bodied owl with a tilted alpha in the upper left and right corners. Various letters indicating the jury sections can also be read.

This trio of minor documents may be thought typical of democratic Athens, spanning as it does the whole spectrum of Athenian citizenry from greatest to least, from the most illustrious statesman to the most ordinary juror. But these humble antiquities serve to remind us once again of the ever-present hand of politics and civic government in the life of ancient Athens. Indeed, it is just this aspect of Athenian life which the excavations of 1970 have done much to elucidate.

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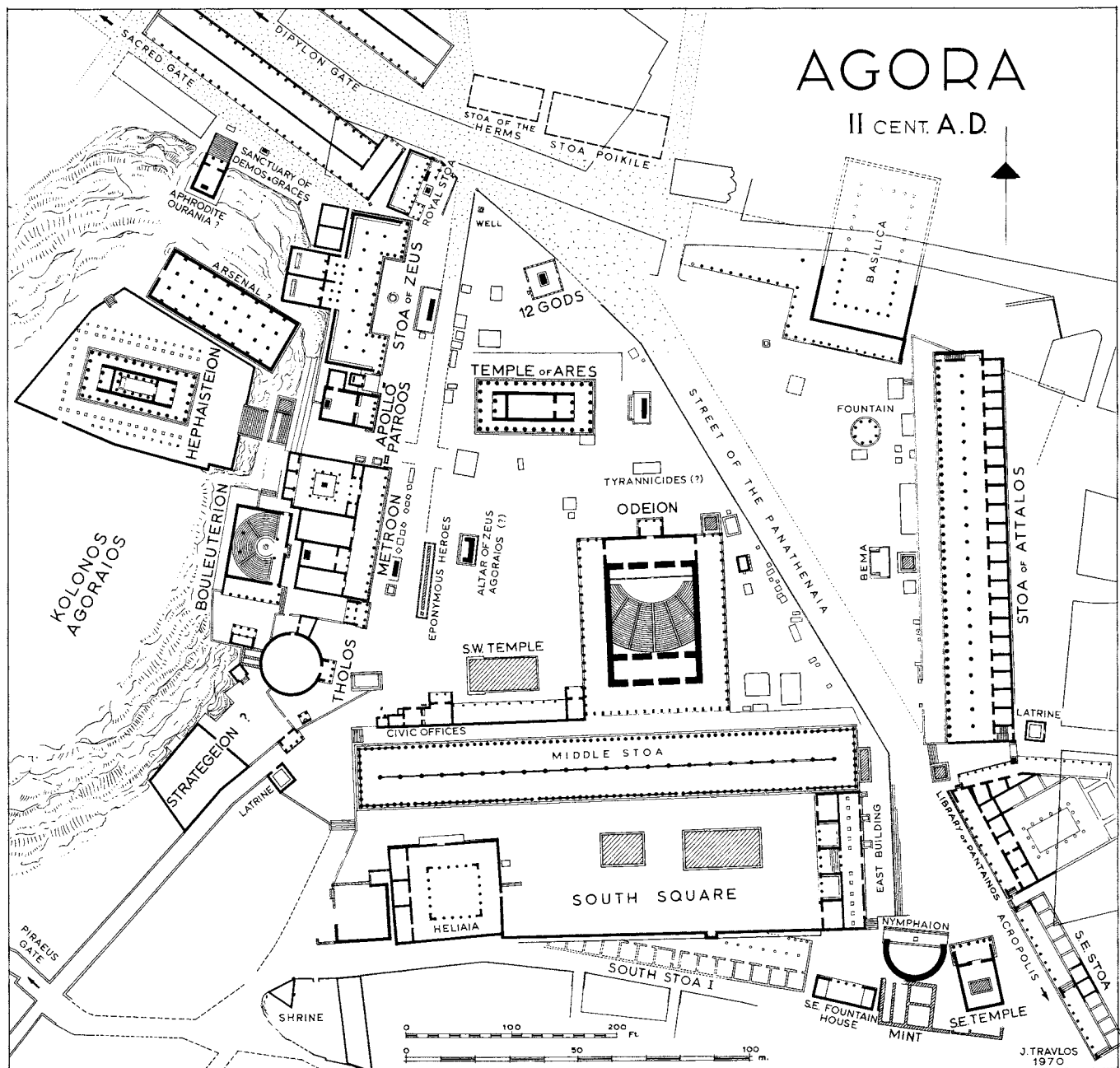
<sup>94</sup> Inv. P 28360: pres. H. 0.08 m.; pres. W. 0.095 m.; Th. 0.009 m. Incised ostrakon bearing inscription: KIMON | MIATIAΔO. Hard red-brown clay.

<sup>95</sup> Inv. P 28320: pres. H. 0.061 m.; pres. W. 0.086 m.; Th. 0.009 m. Dipinto ostrakon: ΦΑΙΑΞ | ΕΡΑΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟ | ΑΧΑΡΝΕΥΞ. Note misspelling of the patronymic. Reddish buff clay.

<sup>96</sup> Kirchner, *P.A.*, no. 13921; concerning his part in the political machinations of 417 B.C., Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 13; *Nicias*, 11.

<sup>97</sup> Inv. B 1352: L. (straightened) 0.139 m.; W. 0.021-0.025 m. Ends curve forward due to heavier erasure in middle. Notches in each end apparently for fitting nails in workbench to hold plate firmly during erasure or inscribing. The pinakion will be published *in extenso* by J. H. Kroll in his forthcoming study *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates*, and I am indebted to him for his observations which form the basis of this brief note.

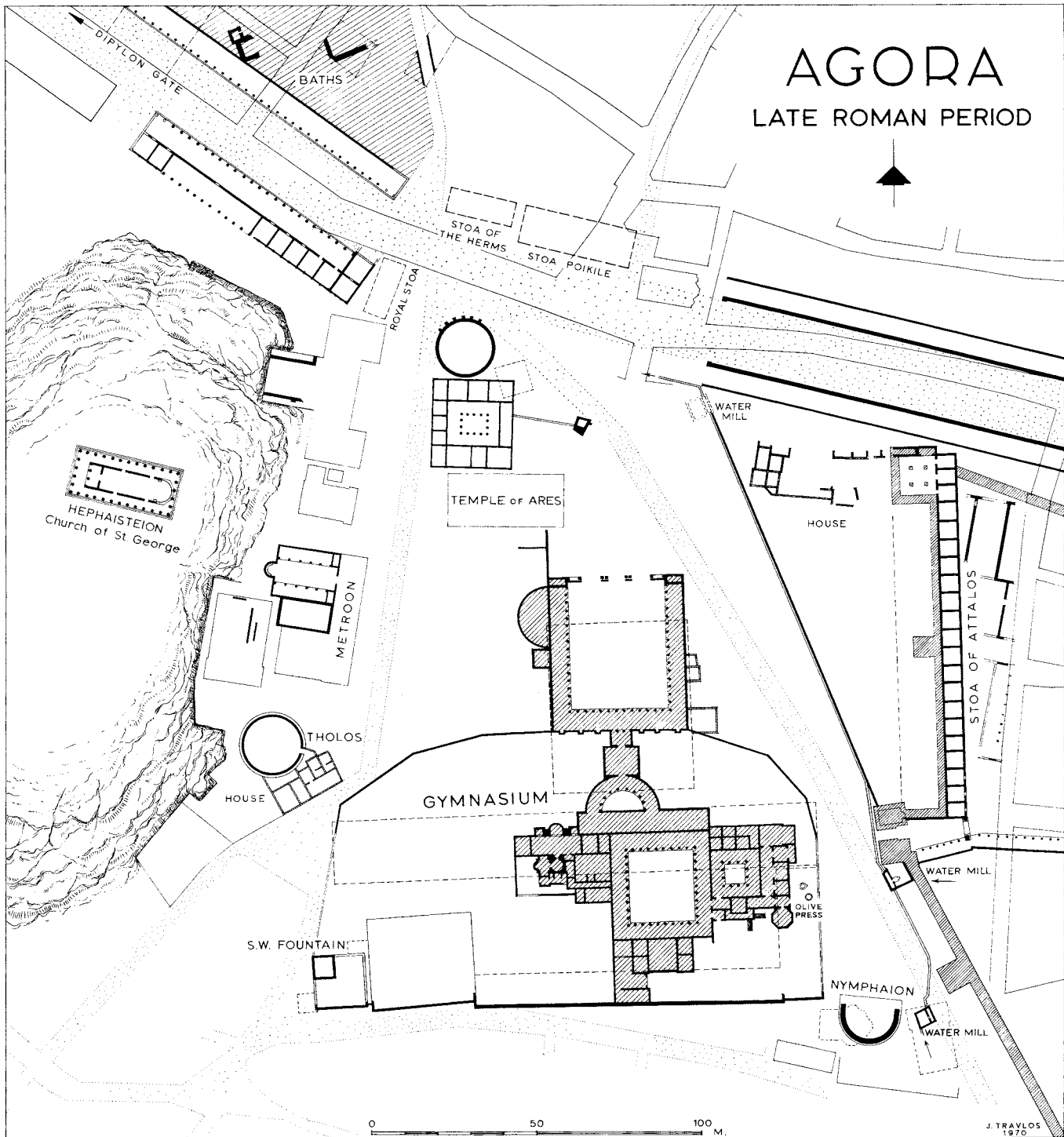
<sup>98</sup> M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 16, no. 1, lines 16-17.



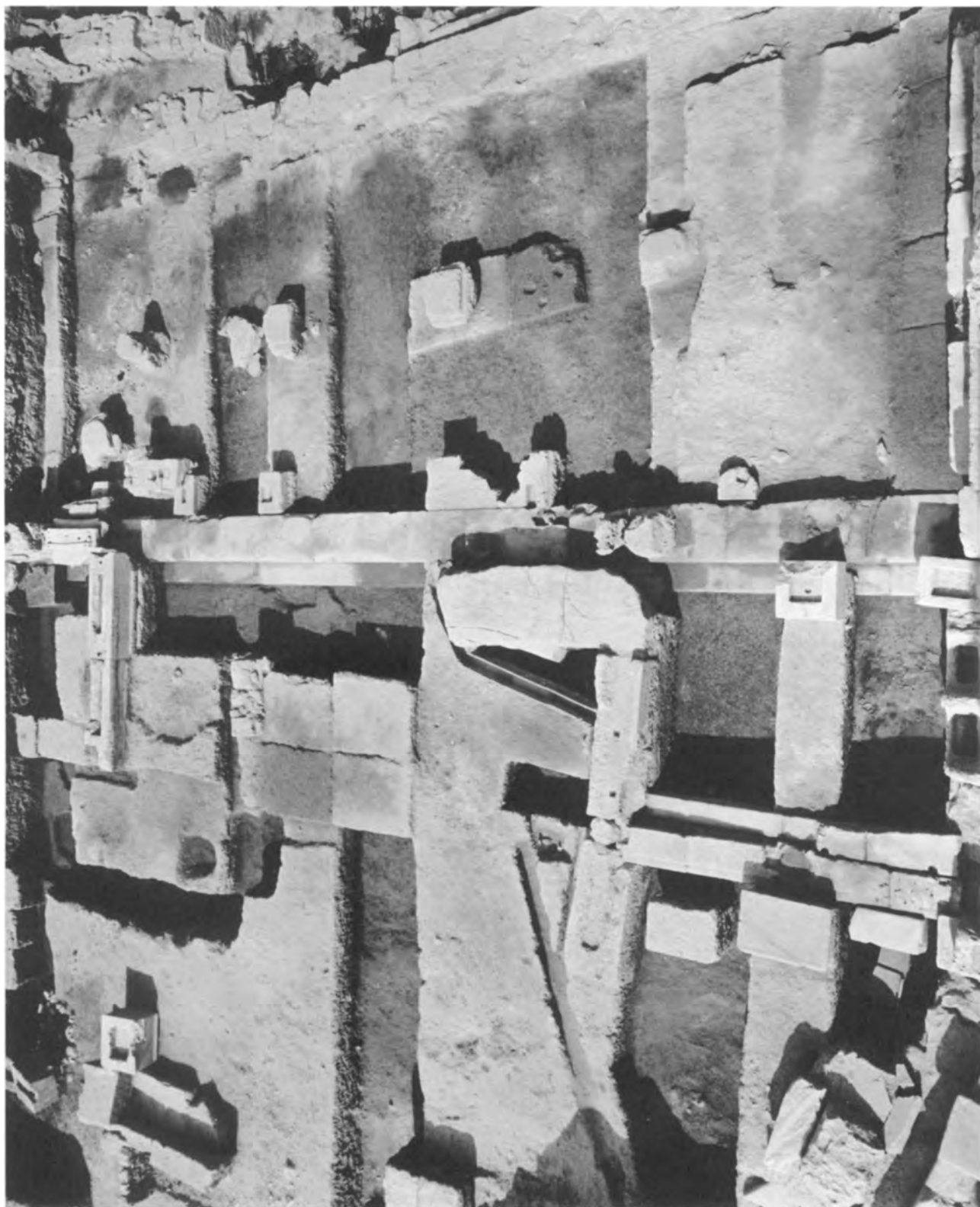
Restored Plan of the Agora. Second Century after Christ

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Restored Plan of the Agora. Late Roman Period



Stoa Basiléios, General View from North

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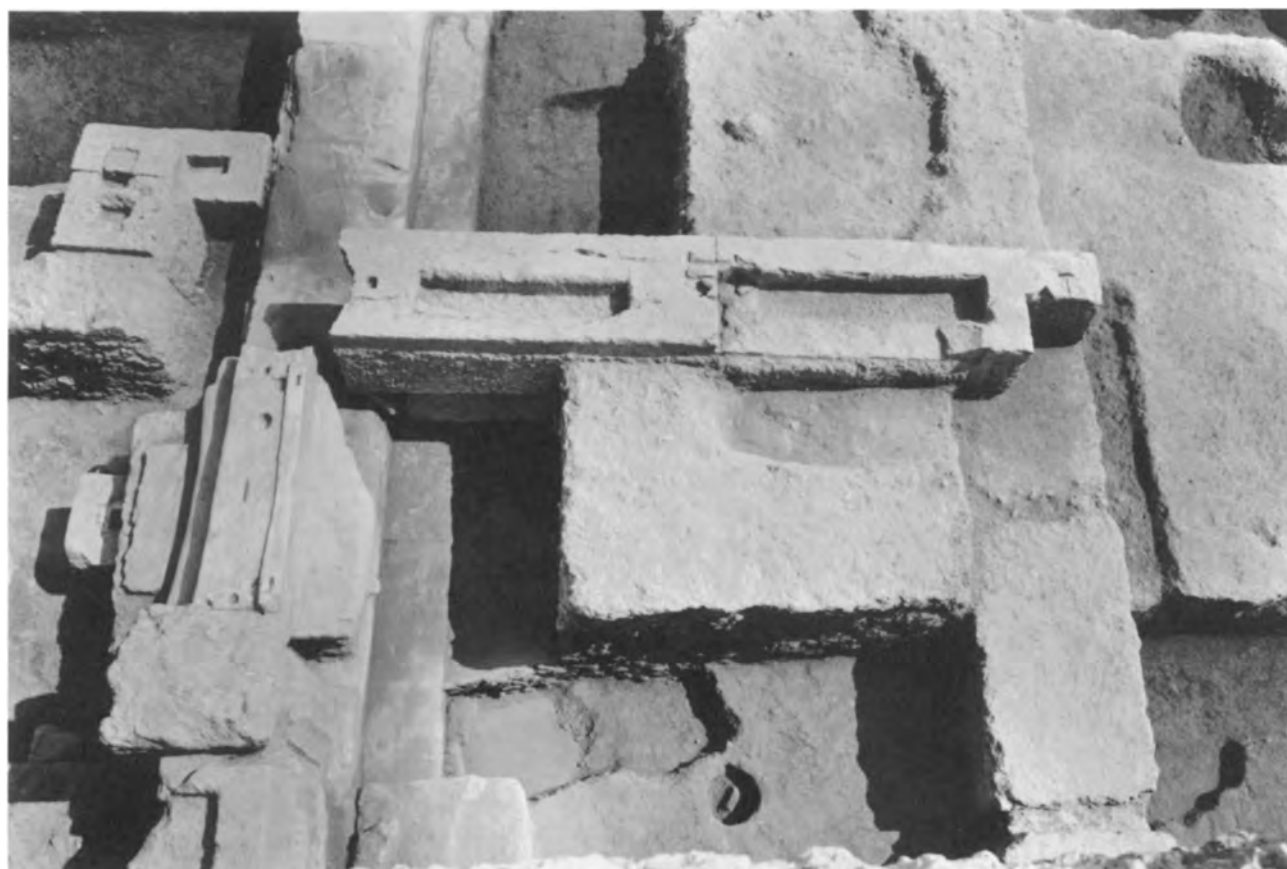
a. Stoa Basileios, from South



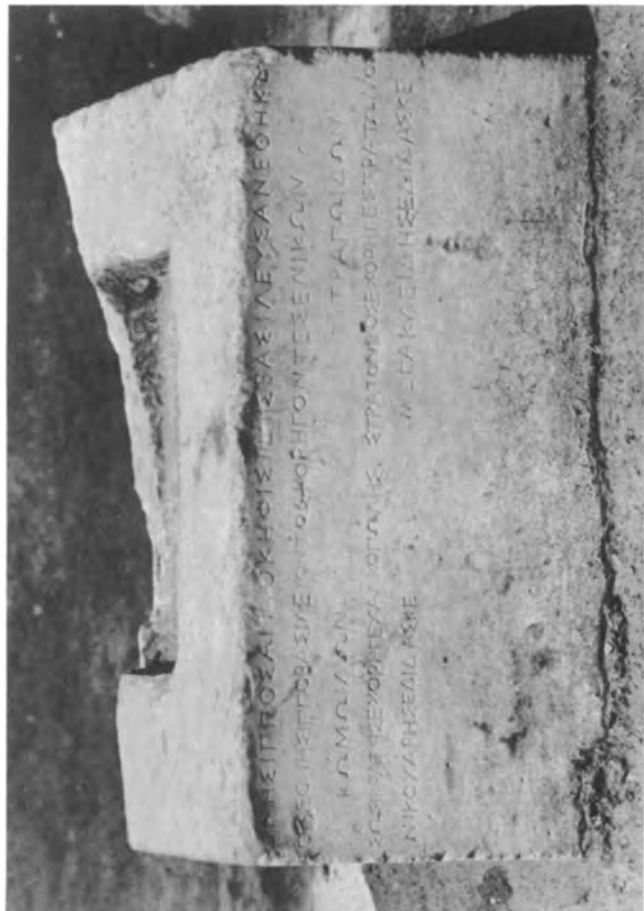
b. Stoa Basileios, showing North Wall and Bench Supports, from Southeast



a. North Annex of Stoa, from East



b. South Annex of Stoa, from South



a. No. 4. Herm Base of Onesippos (I 7168)



b. No. 6. Herm Base of Miltiades (I 7186)



c. No. 5. Herm Base of Exekestides (I 7185)



d. The Lithos, from Northeast



a. Northwest Corner of Agora, from North, showing Byzantine Houses above Classical Levels



b. East End of Roman Street Stoa and Propylon, from North



A = Southeast Corner of Augustan Stoa

B = Peristyle of Hadrianic Basilica

C = Late Roman Foundations

D = Classical Remains

a. Northeast Complex, from West.



b. Peristyle of Basilica, from North, showing Marble Pavement



a. Late Roman House, from Southwest, showing Peristyle and Adjoining Rooms



b. Late Roman House, from Southeast, showing Peristyle and Apsidal Suite

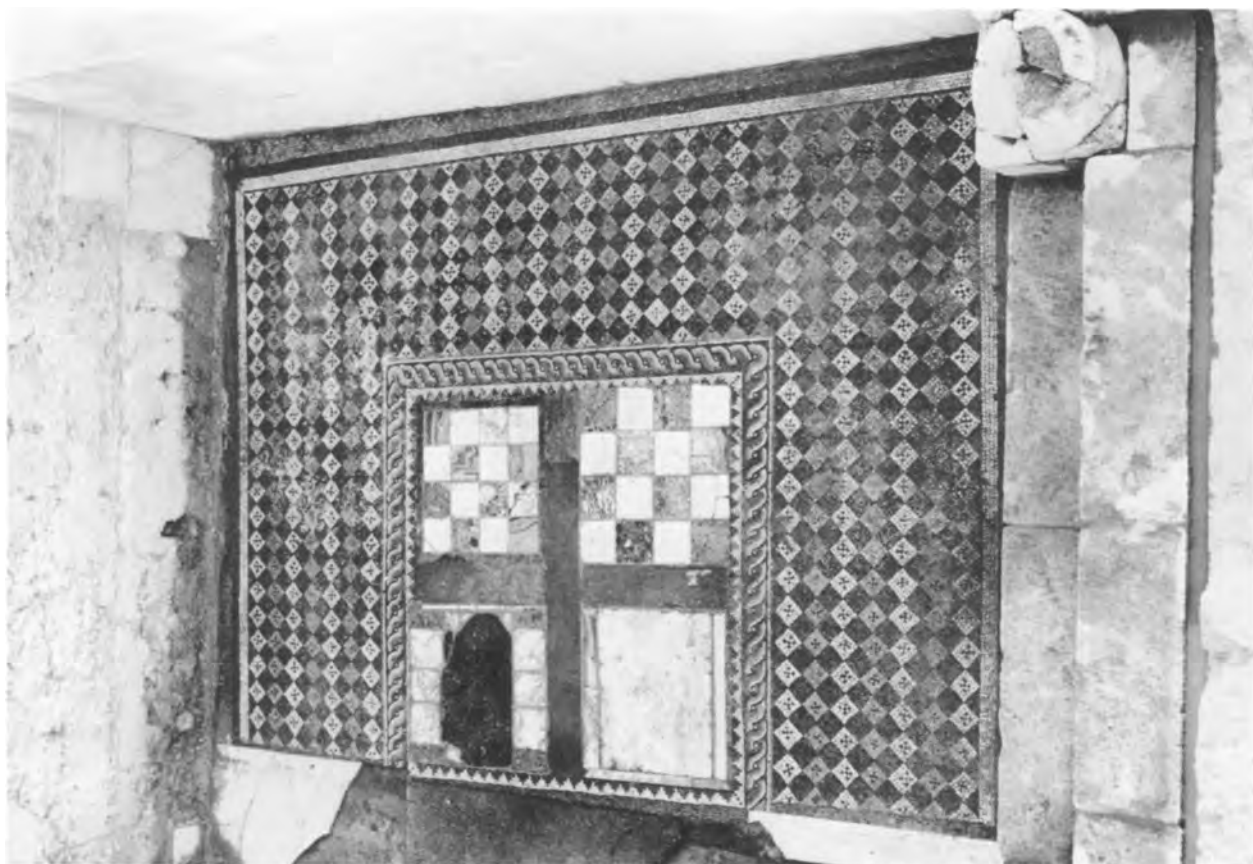




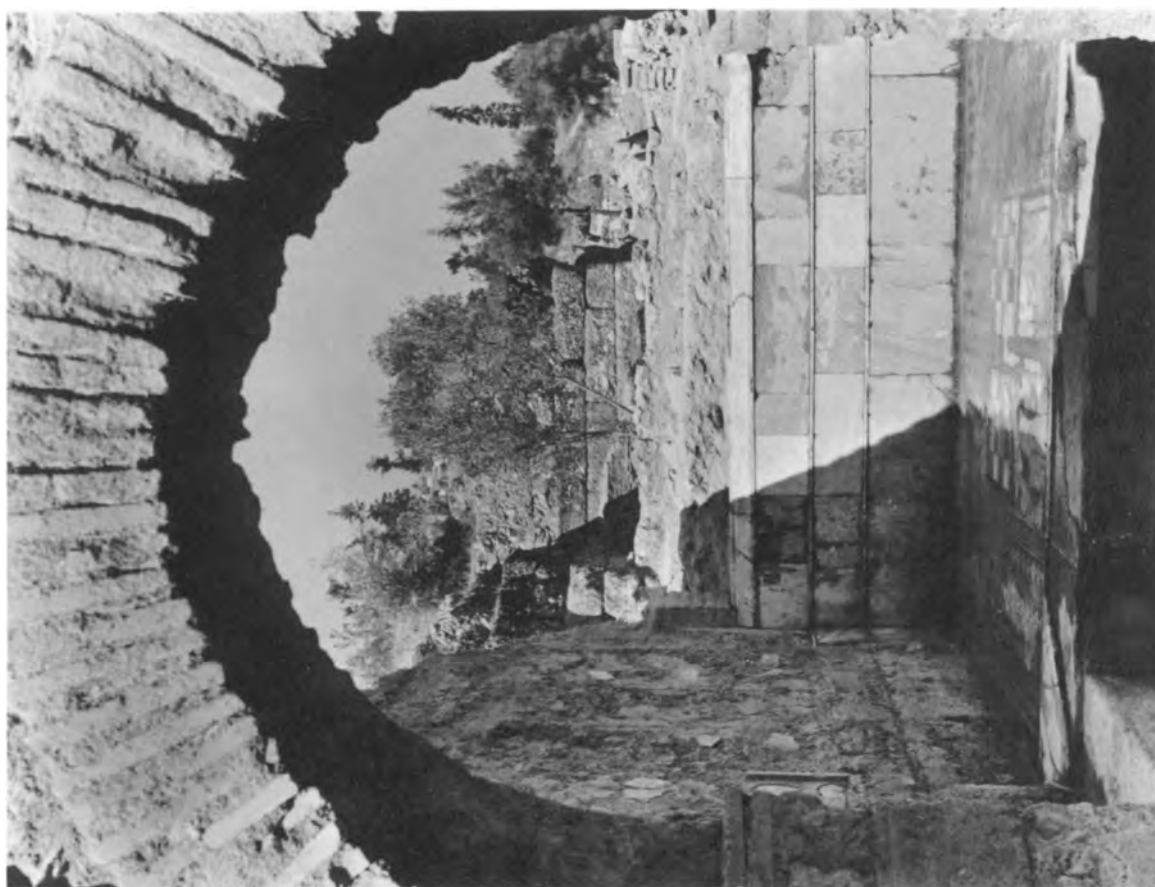
a. Apsidal Suite from Southwest, showing Pool and Inner Vaulted Chamber



b. Original Stepped Entrance to Apsidal Suite, from Northeast



b. Apsidal Suite, Mosaic Pavement, from North



a. Apsidal Suite, from East, showing Arch and West Wall with Marble Revetment



Colossal Female Statue (S 2370)



a. Female Head (S 2331)



b. Female Head (S 2345)



c. Cavalry Relief dedicated by Leontis (I 7167)



a. Head of Nike (S 2354)

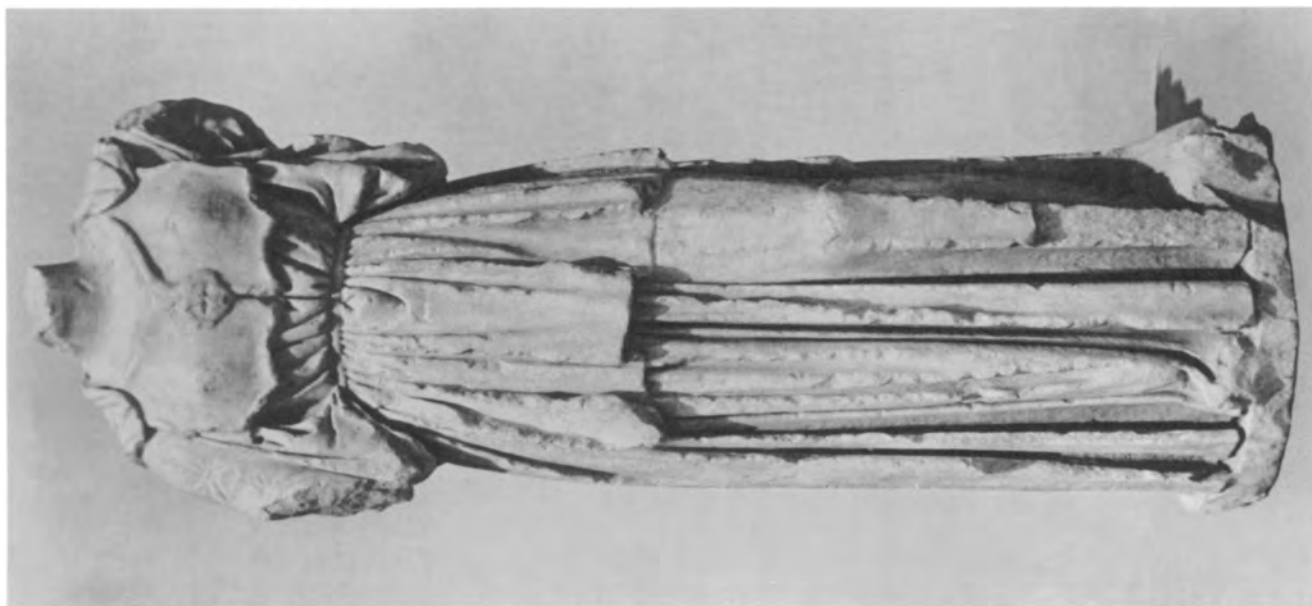


b. Portrait Head of Alexander the Great (S 2356)

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a. Male Portrait Head (S 2355)



b. Statue of Athena (S 2337)

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