

# THE ATHENIAN AGORA: EXCAVATIONS OF 1980–1982

(PLATES 1–16)

IN MID-SUMMER of 1980, the American School of Classical Studies resumed excavations on a large scale on the northern side of the Athenian Agora. During the three seasons of field work here under review, it was possible to conduct systematic exploration of an extensive piece of property, located at 13 Hadrian Street, and formerly occupied by a great flour mill of the late 19th century. As in the case of earlier excavations along the southern side of Hadrian Street, so once again the School owes a debt of gratitude to the Greek Archaeological Service, which had undertaken to expropriate the mill from its former owners at the expense of the Greek Government and had arranged for its demolition in 1979/80. The site of the flour mill provided 1,145 square meters of archaeologically virgin terrain, and its location proved exceptionally fortunate because the property spanned the full width of a city block, from Hadrian to Hastings Streets, and thus offered by far the northernmost archaeological thrust in the area of the ancient civic center. Since modern buildings still crowd in upon the site both to east and west (Pl. 1), the area available for excavation was sharply constrained by the irregular shape of the property. As a result, although the corners of several buildings and monuments chanced to lie within the excavation, none of the major structures could be revealed in its entirety. Nevertheless, by good luck, the random relation of modern property to ancient monuments allowed the excavators to examine a critical spot which adds much to our knowledge of the topography of Classical Athens.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The excavations of the past three seasons were made possible by generous grants from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the David and Lucile Packard Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Humanities, to all of which most grateful acknowledgement is hereby made. For continuing assistance and support, we are especially indebted to successive Directors of the Akropolis, G. Dontas and E. Touloupa, who have official oversight of the excavations for the Greek Archaeological Service. During his tenure as Inspector General of Antiquities, N. Yalouris was tireless in his efforts to acquire and make available for excavation the site of the flour mill. Without his help, the work could not have begun.

The results of the field work here presented are due in large measure to the skill and dedication of the excavation staff, to whose labors both in the field and in the laboratory I am enormously indebted. During the three seasons 1980–1982, the field work was supervised by John McK. Camp II, Ione M. Shear, Alison Adams, and Margaret M. Miles. The architectural work was done by William B. Dinsmoor, Jr. and photography by Robert K. Vincent, Jr. and Craig A. Mauzy, who are responsible among them for all the drawings and photographs accompanying this report, except the aerial photograph (Pl. 1) which I owe to J. Wilson Myers. Other members of the staff were Alan S. Walker (numismatics); Margot C. Camp, Helen H. Townsend, and Charles M. Edwards (records); Stephen P. Koob and Alice Paterakis (conservation). The excavating staff consisted of S. Alcock, C. Antonaccio, I. Arthy, S. Babcock, M. Balding, L. Barnett, E. Bartman, S. Bear, J. A. Billingsley, V. A. Bok, A. J. Bozorth, E. Cline, P. Coravos, E. Czapo, F. A. DeMita, L. A. DeRensis, K. A. Donahue, K. P. Donovan, C. Dufner, C. Eberly, D. Ellestad, E. A. Farlie, E. S. Flood, M. D. Fullerton, C. M. Gabriel, P. Goldstein, F. E. Goodman, L. A. Grant, B. L. Griffin, C. Griffin, D. Haggis, B. L. Hamann, R. A. Hamblen, C. B. Havers, C. W. Hedrick, M. C. Hoff, K. Hutchinson, J. L. C. Ibáñez, L. C. Ike, L. L. Johnson, J. D. Jones, A. Kenner, C. King, L. A. LaFollette, G. V. Leftwich, R. F. Liebhart, W. T. MacCary, R. R. Maginnis, J. Magness, B. E. McConnell, N. L. McGann, E. P. McGowan, M. L. McGraw, J. L. Melander, E. A. Meyer, A. Mickens, N. J. Moore, P. T. Nychis, C. G. Orr, R. W. Parker, M. J.

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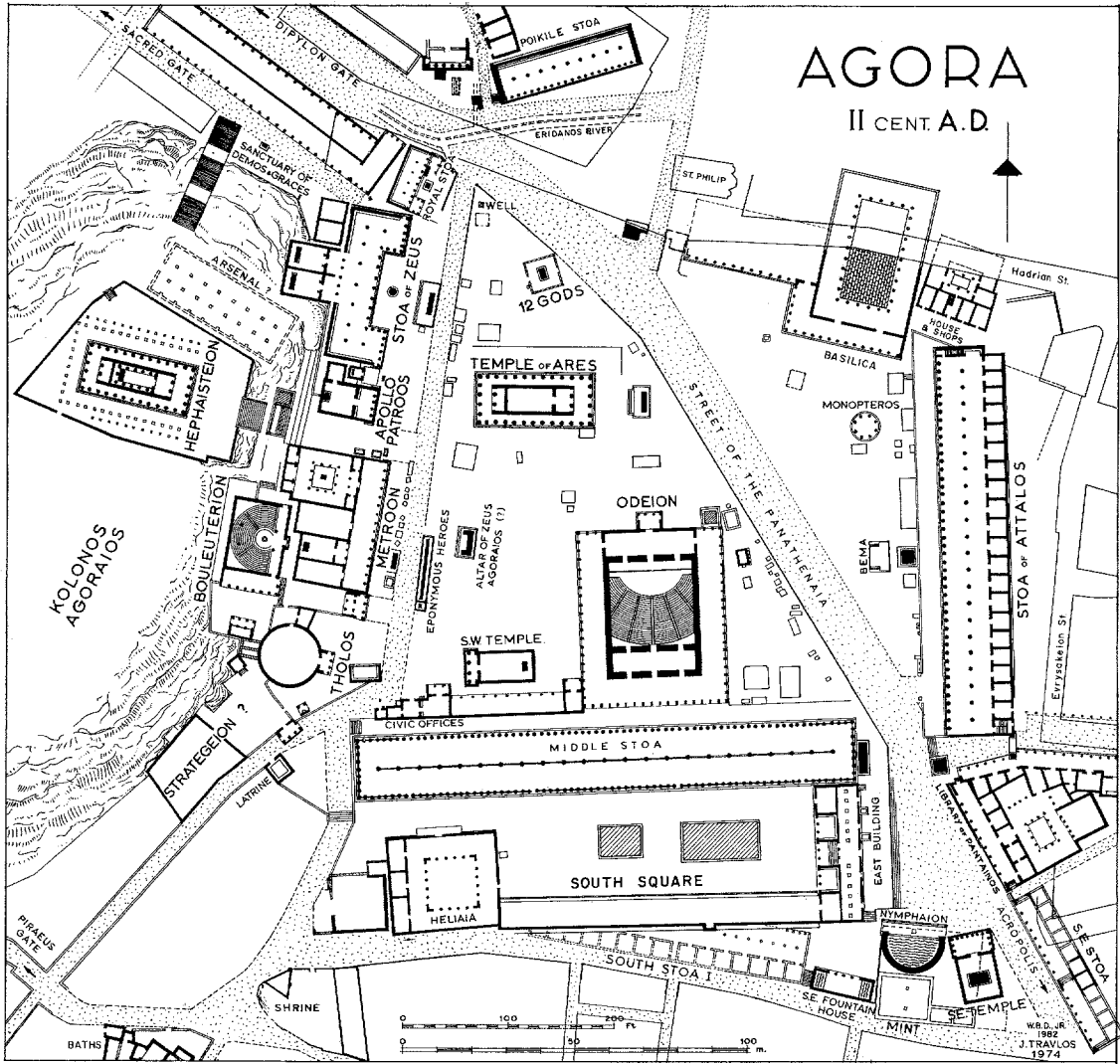


FIG. 1. Restored plan of the Agora, 2nd century after Christ

Payne, M. H. Pershan, M. Perstedt, V. Petsas, C. D. Politis, P. E. Posey, J. S. Purinton, A. H. Rawn, C. Renaud, T. C. Roby, G. M. Rogers, K. E. Ros, M. L. Ross, A. A. Sax, A. P. Schelpert, L. Schwartz, N. J. Serwint, J. L. Shear, A. N. Sherwood, M. Smiles, K. D. H. Smith, C. Smitter, S. R. Stocker, M. Taylor, A. Trimpi, G. Umholtz, J. vander Leest, W. P. Wagner, J. R. Weinstein, A. Weiss, P. J. Wheaton, G. L. Wilcox, A. Woolf, C. A. Zimmerman, P. C. Zimmerman.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

*The Athenian Agora*

*Agora III* = R. E. Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton 1957

*Agora IV* = R. H. Howland, *Greek Lamps and Their Survivals*, Princeton 1958

*Agora V* = H. S. Robinson, *Pottery of the Roman Period: Chronology*, Princeton 1959

*Agora VII* = J. Perlzweig, *Lamps of the Roman Period*, Princeton 1961

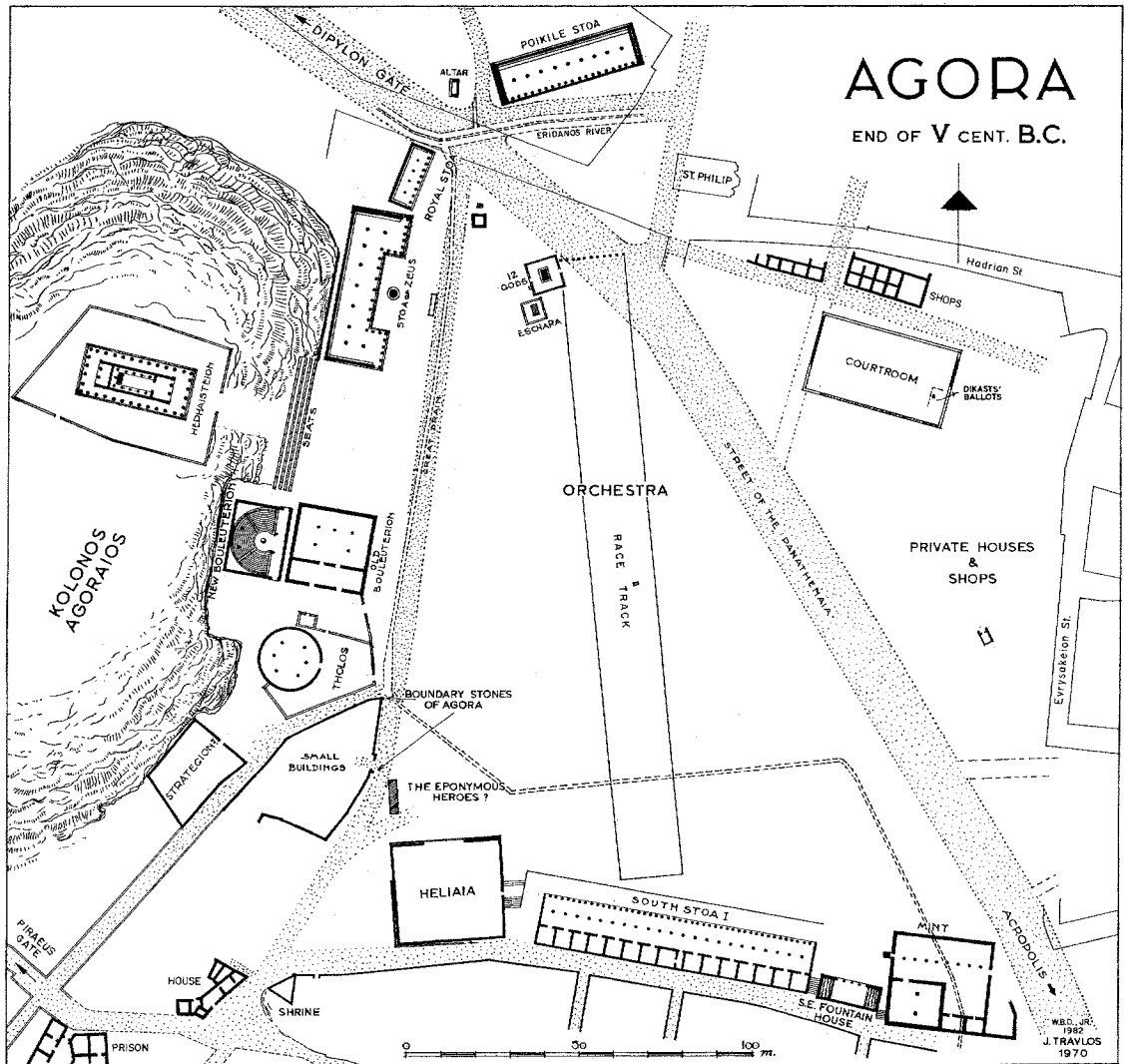


FIG. 2. Restored plan of the Agora, ca. 400 B.C.

- Agora XI = E. B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton 1965  
 Agora XII = B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery*, Princeton 1970  
 Agora XIV = H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972  
 Agora XV = B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *Inscriptions: The Councillors*, Princeton 1974  
 Agora XXII = S. I. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery*, Princeton 1982  
 Corinth XI = C. H. Morgan, *Corinth, XI, The Byzantine Pottery*, Cambridge 1942  
 DOC = A. R. Bellinger and P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection I-III*, Washington 1966-73  
 Frantz = M. A. Frantz, "Middle Byzantine Pottery in Athens," *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 429-467  
 Hayes, *LRP* = J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, London 1972  
 Young = R. S. Young, "Sepulturae Intra Urbem," *Hesperia* 20, 1951, pp. 67-134

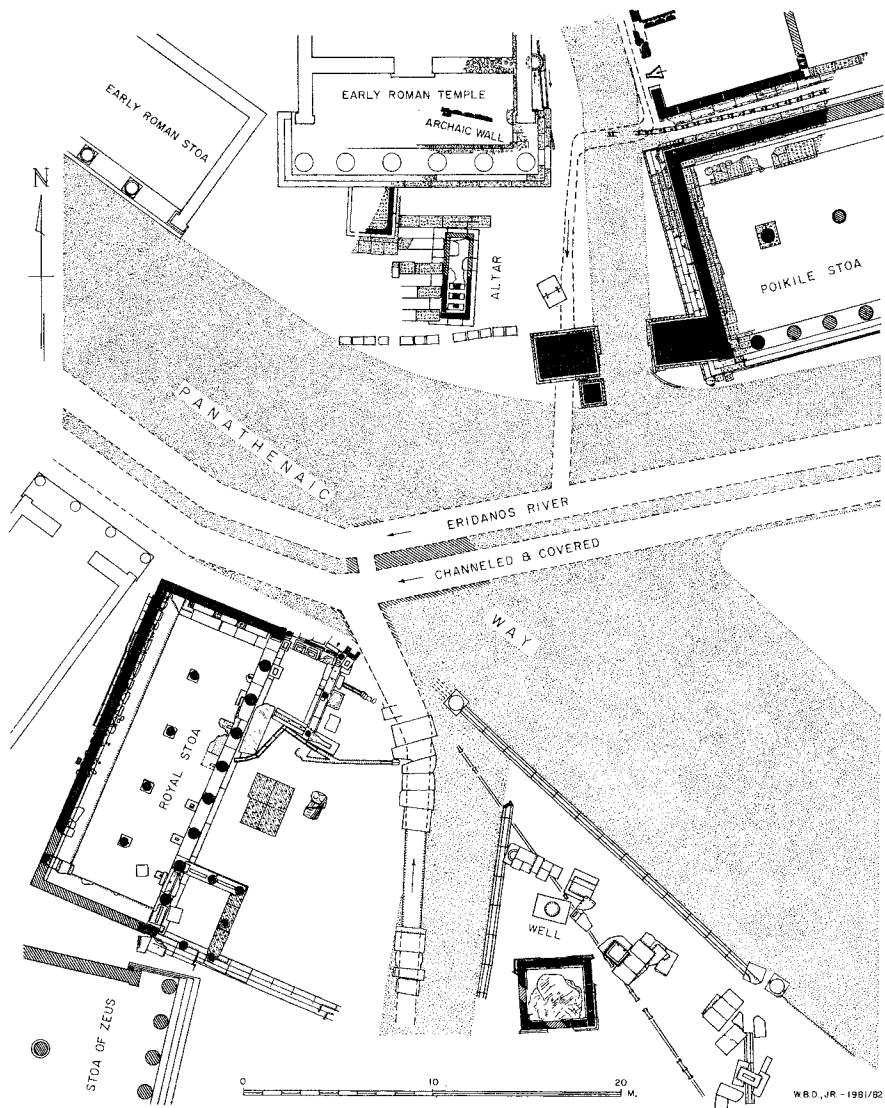


FIG. 3. Restored plan, northwest corner of the Agora

In terms of the ancient city, the site of the flour mill happened to cover the northwestern corner of the Agora, at just the point where the Panathenaic Way, proceeding in a southeasterly direction from the Dipylon Gate, passed into the open square of the market place.<sup>2</sup> The northern limit of the ancient street was encountered along the edge of the excavated area, and the newly uncovered remains lie directly opposite the Stoa Basileios which borders the processional way immediately to the south (Figs. 1–3). Another topographical

<sup>2</sup> The site of the flour mill was excavated as Section BE. In terms of the coordinates of the over-all grid of the Agora, almost the entire excavated area is located in squares J 2 and J 3. The northern limit falls in squares K 1 and K 2. See the published grid plans, e.g. *Agora XV*, pl. 2.

feature, which was actually the first to emerge as excavation proceeded, and which affected the entire history of the site, is a second street bisecting the larger southern part of the property from corner to corner and entering the Agora from the north, whence it continued southward to pass before all the public buildings along the west side of the square.<sup>3</sup> This north-south street narrowed and widened in different periods; its line crept slightly westwards over the centuries, and its course came to be laced with drains and water pipes. Nevertheless, it forms a constant feature in the topography of the area. Except for one period of possible interruption, the thoroughfare continued to bear traffic from the mid-5th century B.C. to the 15th century after Christ. In every period it determined the limits of all buildings that bordered its right of way; in its 35 superimposed layers of gravel thus far examined, there was preserved the most graphic record of the archaeological sequence on the site. As we shall see presently, the history of grading and filling along the north-south street helps greatly to establish the chronology of the monuments on either side.

## THE STOA POIKILE

### ARCHITECTURE

Throughout most of Classical antiquity, the principal building on the site lay just to the east of the north-south street where the massive foundations for one end of the structure have come to light.<sup>4</sup> Preserved within the excavated area are its western foundations, measuring 12.60 m. overall from corner to corner and 2.68 m. in width, in several courses of masonry. Two corners of the building have been uncovered together with a considerable length (10.40 m.) of its northern foundations and the base for its westernmost interior column. Along the west end, parts of three steps stand in their original positions (Pl. 2). Cut from hard, fine-grained poros stone, the blocks exhibit the finest quality of Classical workmanship. The original polished surface of the treads and risers has been rubbed to a high sheen by subsequent centuries of foot wear. All three steps are articulated by a decorative rebate along the bottom of the riser; and the blocks are finished with careful anathyrosis at the ends, which allowed them to be set with such perfectly closed joints that only a hair line is visible between them to this day. The joints of the step blocks were fastened with double-T clamps, of which a number of the original iron clamps set in lead remain in place along the south half of the west steps. The two rows of backing blocks of softer, yellow poros were set without clamps, as were both the euthynteria course and all the blocks of the north foundations. The extant step blocks were cut with great precision to a nearly uniform length of 0.999 m., with a variation of only a few millimeters, and their placement was measured just as accurately with the aid of incised setting lines which assured a uniform width for the treads of 0.317 m. and a uniform height for the risers of 0.245 m.

<sup>3</sup> Another section of the street further to the northwest was excavated in 1958 by the Greek Archaeological Service; E. Vanderpool and J. Threpsiades, "Roads at the Northwest Corner of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 295–297. For the continuation of the street and the gate by which it passed through the city wall, D. Schilardi, «Τοπογραφικά προβλήματα τῆς περὶ τὰς Ἡρίας Πύλας περιοχῆς», *Ἀρχ'Ἐφ*, 1968, *Χρονικά*, pp. 44–50; O. Alexandri, *Δελτ* 24, 1969, B' [1970], *Χρονικά*, pp. 41–45.

<sup>4</sup> Excavation of the building was carried out under the supervision of Ione M. Shear and Margaret M. Miles in 1981. Further work was done in the area in 1982 by John McK. Camp II.

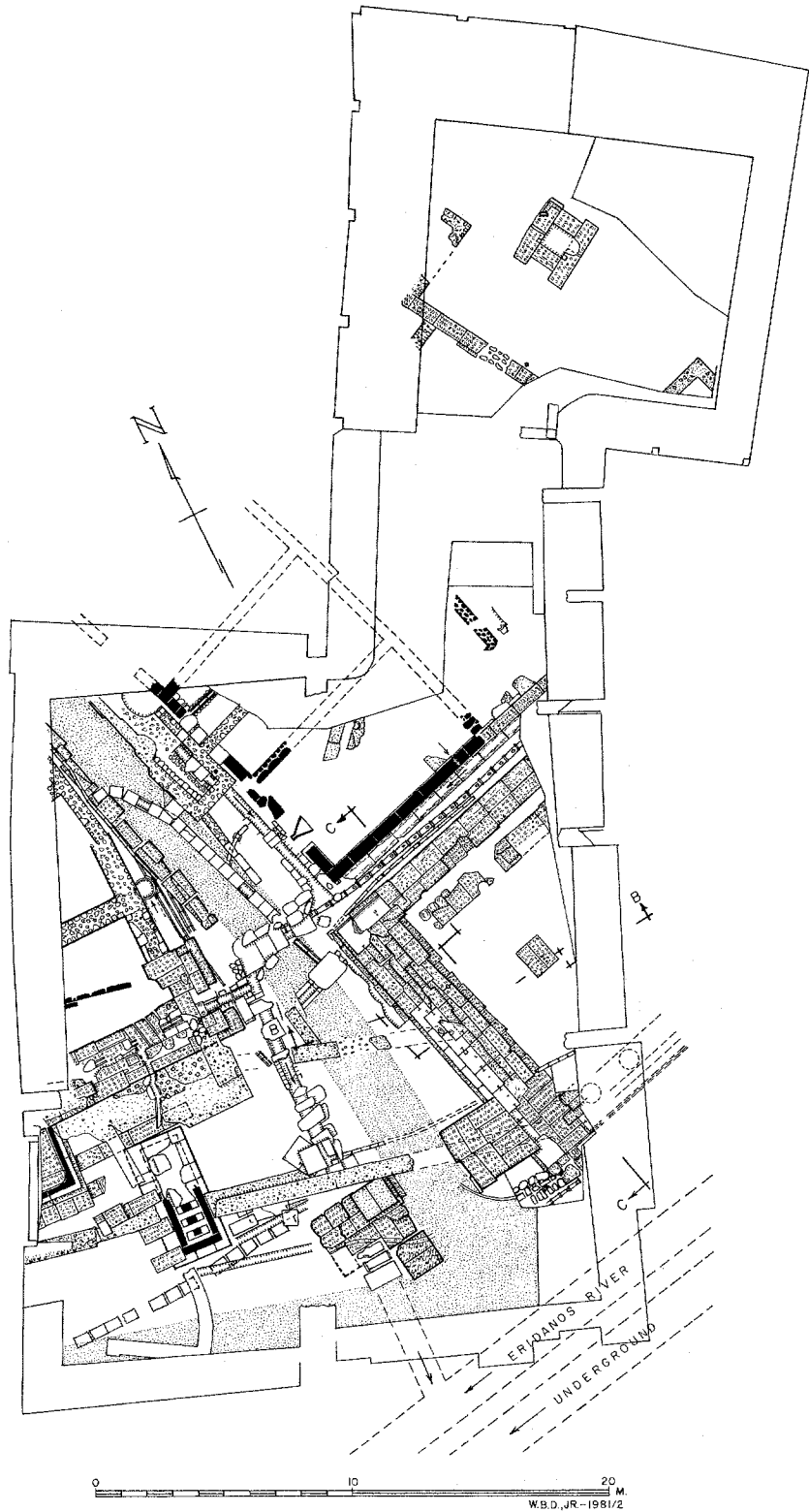


FIG. 4. Plan of area excavated 1980-82, actual state, Classical levels

Although only a fraction of the great building has been cleared thus far, and the heavy construction of its foundations suggests a structure of great size indeed, nevertheless the visible remains can be recognized at once as one end of a long stoa, oriented with its long axis in a northeast-to-southwest direction, and with its principal façade turned southward onto the open square of the Agora.<sup>5</sup> A number of details make plain the nature of the building. The northern foundations differ significantly from those at the west and south in that they are narrower (1.40 m. wide) and consist of three courses of alternating headers and stretchers, of which the latter correspond in level with the highest preserved step on the west. The material is a slightly coarser grade of poros, and the blocks were cut to more irregular dimensions and set without clamps. Along the exposed surface of the upper course a heavily weathered line, about 0.32 m. from the outer edge of the blocks, indicates the position of the next higher course (Pls. 2:a, c; 14:a), which is certainly to be restored as the *toichobate* for the blank, back wall of the stoa. Since the north wall was separated from the next neighboring building only by a narrow alley (1.35 m. in width), little attention was paid to the appearance of its substructure; thus the beautifully dressed steps at the west were carried around the corner only far enough to present a finished western façade to those who approached the building along the street from the north. At the northwest corner the steps rose to abut against the more roughly finished blocks of the north foundation only 2.85 m. from the corner of the lowest step.

By contrast, the remains at the southwest corner leave no doubt that the stepped *crepidoma* of the west end continued around the corner and along what must surely be restored as the main façade of the building. The wide southern foundation and backing blocks in stepped courses of soft, yellow poros are closely analogous to those at the west. Moreover, a single step block of hard, tan poros, equal in level to the second step on the west side, was partially uncovered at the very edge of the excavated area (Pl. 3:a, b). Close examination of this block reveals the well-worn tread of a step measuring 0.317 m. in width to the scored line for the setting of the next higher riser, while its south face is a riser 0.245 m. in height and finished with the same decorative rebate at the bottom as appears on the western steps. The stepped backing blocks preserved behind it show that another step of identical height and width originally stood above the existing step block. This evidence makes it clear that the long south side of the building had steps of the same dimensions as those at the west end.

One anomaly in the design of the *crepidoma* should, however, be noticed. The lowest step exists on the west end only, and it had no functional tread on either the north or the south sides of the building, where it projects only 0.072 m. beyond the riser of the second step. Along the south side, this course was treated as the *euthynteria*, as can best be seen by

<sup>5</sup> The orientation of the building evidently followed closely the line of the Eridanos River, which passes beneath modern Hadrian Street just south of the excavation and continues northeastward under the remaining modern buildings of the block (Figs. 3, 4). Only a small portion of its great stone-built channel was penetrated in 1971 by way of the great drain in front of the Royal Stoa. The river was possibly first canalized in connection with the construction of this newly found building. Before it was completely silted up, the underground channel was explored in the early 19th century by the German scholars Ross and Forchhammer with several architects. They noted 32 fluted Doric column drums of yellow poros built into a repaired section of the wall, as it passed near St. Philip's Church; B. Schmidt, *Die Thorfrage in der Topographie Athens*, Freiburg 1879, pp. 36-37 with earlier references.

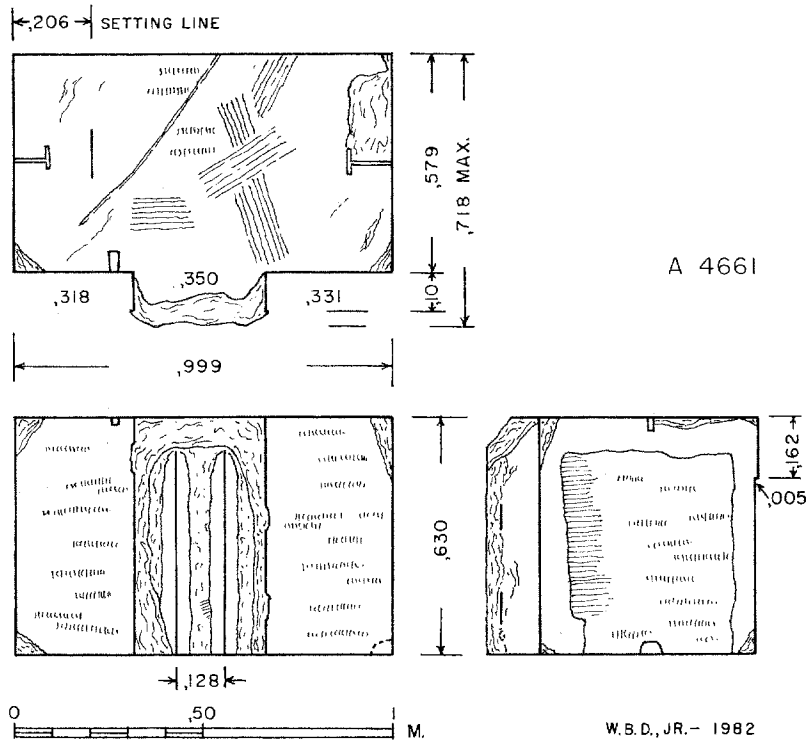


FIG. 5. Doric frieze block of Stoa Poikile

the change of materials at the southwest corner (Pl. 3:a), where the hard, tan poros of the lowest step on the west is set side by side with the coarser, brown poros used only in the euthynteria on both sides of the building. Thus the lowest of three steps on the front corresponded to the second of four steps at the west end, where a weathered line on the single surviving block of the third step shows that it carried a fourth step course above it, equal in level to the missing stylobate on the front. This arrangement was probably adopted because the ground level at the west end of the building was lower than at the east. The architect, mindful of the unusually prominent view of the west end, which would have been seen by everyone entering the square, carried the stepped crepidoma across the end of the stoa and added one step to its height. That the western steps did in fact become an attractive resting place for passers-by is attested by the wear which they show to this day.

For the general appearance of the building that stood on these foundations a good deal of evidence has come to light. The excavators extracted numerous architectural fragments from the walls of later Byzantine houses in the area. Among these were many pieces from the superstructure of a large Doric building: broken bits from the shafts of Doric columns, several fragmentary triglyphs, and some small pieces of Doric mutular cornice. Although most of the fragments were too small to be assigned with any certainty to the preserved foundations, a few pieces yield vital information for the building's architectural reconstruction.



A complete block of the triglyph frieze,<sup>6</sup> found just outside the northwest corner of the foundations, is made of the same hard, tan poros as the western steps and has the same length, 0.999 m., as the step blocks, a dimension which can thus be recognized as a basic module in the design of the building. The block (Fig. 5, Pl. 3:c) preserves a single triglyph and the backing for part of a metope panel on either side, the missing metopes themselves being thin slabs of marble which slid into the slots on each side of the triglyph. Since the upper edge of the back is finished with a decorative fascia, the block comprised the full thickness of the frieze, 0.718 m. Although the edges of the triglyph are now badly battered, it is apparent that it belonged to a frieze in which poros triglyphs, 0.384 m. wide, alternated with marble metopes measuring 0.615 m. in width.<sup>7</sup> The block also requires a spacing for the columns beneath it of 1.998 m. on centers, exactly twice its over-all length.

The newly excavated building was clearly designed to carry frieze blocks of precisely these dimensions, and exact correspondence between the surviving specimen and the foundations emerges in two ways. Centered on the axis of the building is a pair of poros blocks forming a square base (1.10 × 1.30 m.) to support the westernmost interior column, which in a normal Doric stoa of the Classical period should be aligned with the second exterior column from the end. The joint between the base blocks lies 4.25 m. from the western edge of the stylobate, as measured by its setting line preserved on the top step. At the level of the triglyph frieze, the distance from the corner of the building to the axis of the second column requires 4½ triglyphs and 4 metopes (Figs. 8, 12). If the frieze is restored with blocks of the dimensions described above, this distance measures 4.188 m., which allows the face of the west wall to be set back from the edge of the stylobate 0.062 m., in conformity with normal Greek architectural practice. The dimensions of the preserved frieze block also agree well with the over-all width of the stoa from back to front, if the triglyph frieze is carried around the west end, as restored in Figure 8. In this case a frieze composed of 12 triglyphs and 11 metopes would measure 11.373 m., while at the level of the stylobate the width of the building was 11.515 m., as computed from measurement of the existing foundations. On the basis of this evidence, there can be little doubt that an exterior Doric colonnade should be reconstructed on the long southern façade, with the triglyph frieze returning across the short ends of the building.<sup>8</sup>

Among the architectural fragments found in the immediate vicinity were six pieces from the unfluted shafts of poros Ionic columns<sup>9</sup> and four pieces of marble Ionic capitals (Fig. 6,

<sup>6</sup> A 4661: H. 0.630 m., W. 0.999 m., Th. 0.718 m., Th. of backer 0.579 m. On top, cuttings for double-T clamps at each end; setting line for geison 0.206 m. from left end. Fascia on back at top (0.162 m. high). Both ends worked with anathyrosis. Claw-tooth chisel marks on top.

<sup>7</sup> The width between the glyphs (0.128 m.) is one third the original width of the finished triglyph:  $0.128 \times 3 = 0.384$  (triglyph);  $0.999 - 0.384 = 0.615$  (metope).

<sup>8</sup> The Doric entablature and other architectural members associated with the Stoa Poikile by L. S. Meritt, "The Stoa Poikile," *Hesperia* 39, 1970, pp. 233–264, do not belong to the same frieze as our block. The width of the triglyph is greater, 0.48 m., and the pier capital A 1559 (pp. 247–248) requires a screen wall only 0.372 m. in thickness. These blocks cannot be accommodated on the new foundations.

<sup>9</sup> Fragmentary unfluted shafts: A 4664: p.H. 0.749 m., p.W. 0.497 m.; A 4665: p.H. 0.285 m., p.W. 0.445 m., p.Th. 0.247 m.; A 4666: p.H. 0.328 m., diam. 0.515 m.; A 4679: p.H. 0.374 m., p.W. 0.354 m., p.Th. 0.141 m. Part of one resting surface preserved. See also footnote 10 below.

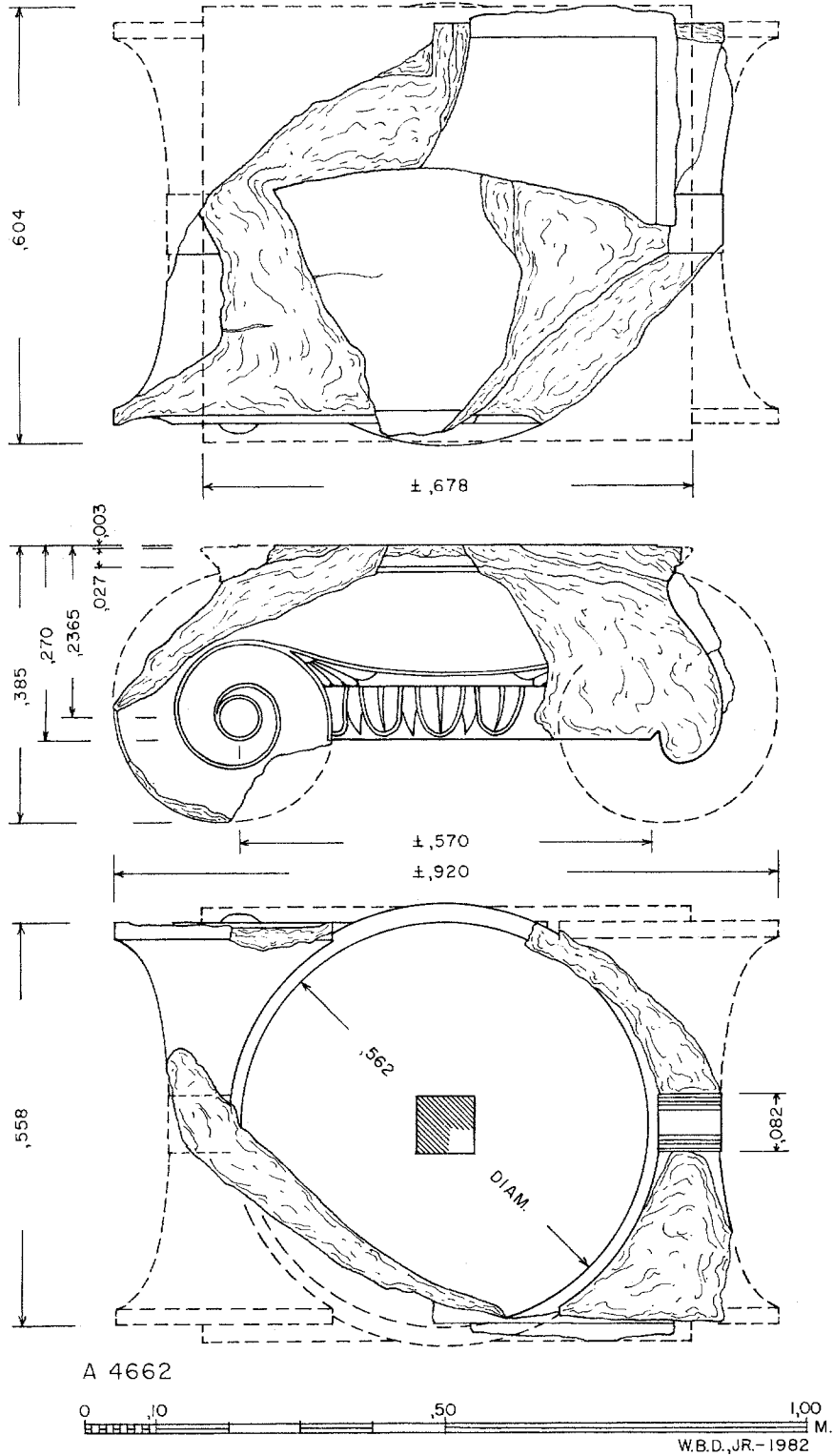


FIG. 6. Interior Ionic capital of Stoa Poikile

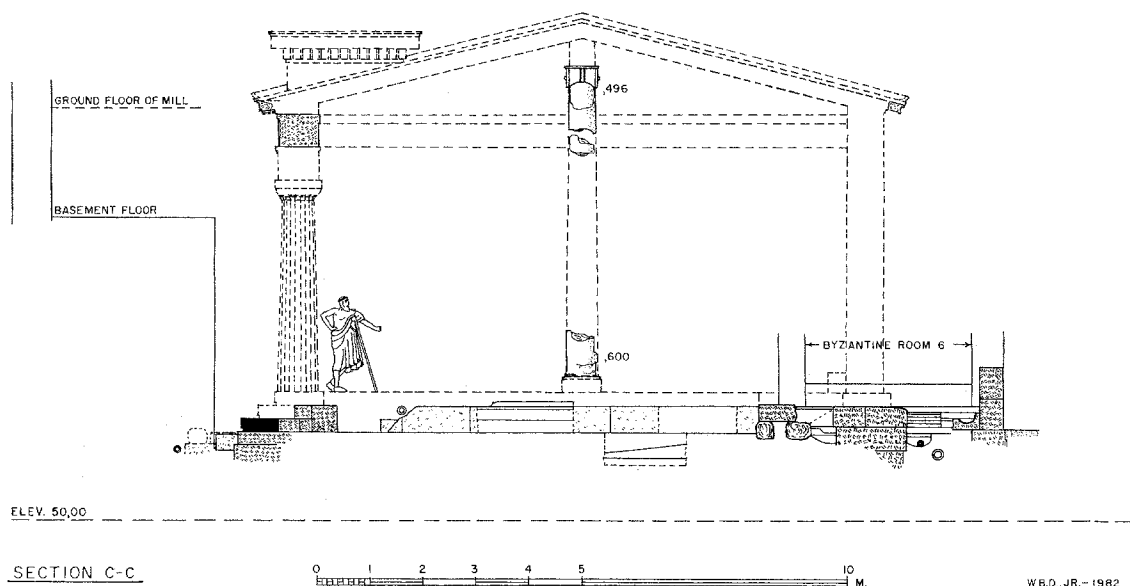


FIG. 7. Restored section of Stoa Poikile, looking west

Pl. 3:d). Two of the capitals are sufficiently well preserved that the smaller fragments must belong to at least one other, different capital of the same series. Their original surfaces show no trace of long exposure to the weather, and this, taken together with the unusual abundance of Ionic superstructure in so small an area, suggests that they should be recognized as the interior columns of the stoa. One piece of shaft preserves the flaring apophyge at the bottom of the column, while another must be placed near the top of a shaft, although all but the slightest trace of the upper apophyge is now broken away.<sup>10</sup> That the poros columns and the marble capitals should be combined with each other in the same order may be regarded as nearly certain from the dimensions, and those pieces which preserve the full diameter of the shaft have been restored in their proper relative positions in Figure 7.

The Ionic capitals are exceptionally important for our understanding of the development of the Ionic order in Athenian architecture.<sup>11</sup> The design of the capital represents a

<sup>10</sup> A 4660: p.H. 0.867 m., p.W. 0.305 m., p. diam. (at bottom) 0.625 m. Original diameter preserved above bottom, 0.600 m. Flaring apophyge at bottom. On resting surface, cutting for empolion.

A 4663: p.H. 0.507 m., p.W. (at top) 0.485 m. Original diameter preserved below top, 0.496 m. Traces of flaring apophyge.

<sup>11</sup> A 4662: H. 0.270 m., H. (including volute) 0.385 m., p.L. 0.864 m., W. (abacus) 0.604 m., diam. (below echinus) 0.562 m. One volute, part of one bolster preserved. Four-petaled palmette in corner of volute. On echinus, traces of painted egg-and-dart ornament. Resting surface, with cutting for empolion, finished with fine-toothed chisel; outer surfaces polished; relieving edge for architrave on top.

A 4688: p.H. 0.27 m., p.L. 0.74 m., p.W. 0.53 m. Large fragment of same series, preserving most of one side with upper half of volutes and most of cushion, most of one bolster.

A 4667: p.H. 0.31 m., p.L. 0.407 m., p.W. 0.295 m. Fragment preserving part of one volute and bolster, part of bottom of echinus.

A 4685: p.L. 0.165 m., p.Th. 0.095 m. Fragment preserving part of one volute.

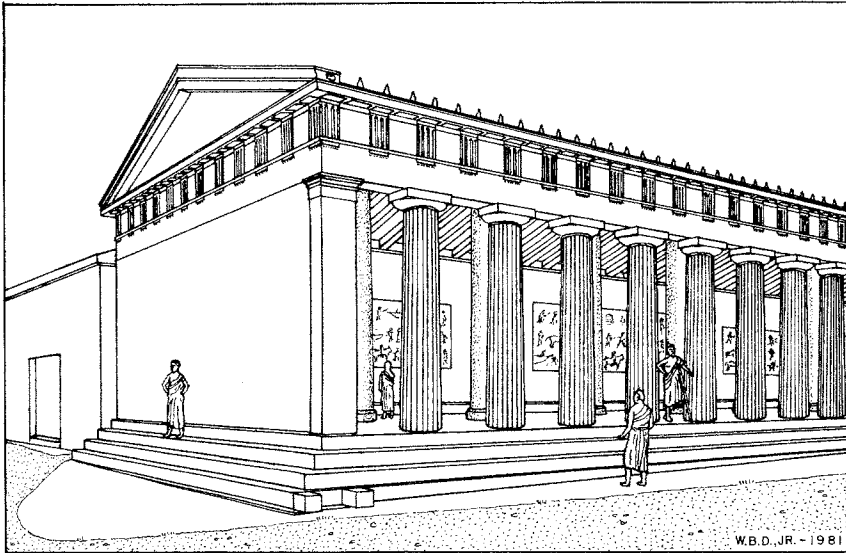


FIG. 8. Restored view of Stoa Poikile, from southwest

quite different tradition from the familiar buildings on the Akropolis. The carving of the palmettes and the traces of painted egg-and-dart ornament on the echinus show that the new capitals are most closely related to the series of unassigned Ionic columns from the Agora and to the capitals from the temple of Athena at Sounion.<sup>12</sup> Unlike the latter two examples, however, the vertical painted fascia separating the echinus from the volute cushion has here been omitted, which causes the over-all height of the capital to be reduced and the carved palmettes to be more compressed. The proportions of the new capitals are generally closest to the unassigned Agora columns, as is also the ovolo profile of the painted echinus. In this respect, too, it differs from the Sounion capitals and the very fragmentary earlier capital from the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi, both of which have the cyma-reversa profile for the echinus.<sup>13</sup> Because the new stoa can be securely dated to the generation before the great Perikleian buildings, it now takes its place as the earliest extant building at Athens to combine the two major Classical orders and to employ so felicitously the naturally taller proportions of the Ionic order for the necessarily taller interior supports of a Greek stoa.<sup>14</sup>

Only one other interior appointment calls for comment. Along the north foundations of the stoa, and parallel to them, is a row of roughly worked poros blocks. These form a single course set exactly level with the top of the north foundations and supported by small, irregular

<sup>12</sup> For the unassigned Ionic order, H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 351–356, pls. 76, 77; *Agora* XIV, p. 166, pl. 84. For the Ionic order of the temple of Athena at Sounion, W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., “Anchoring Two Floating Temples,” *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 429–431, fig. 13; A. K. Orlandos, *Ἀρχαῖα Ἐφ.*, 1917, pp. 183–187; cf. Travlos, figs. 151–153.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. P. Amandry, *FdD*, II, *La colonne des Naxiens et le portique des Athéniens*, Paris 1953, pp. 98–101, pls. 29, 30, 40.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, Oxford 1976, pp. 40–41.

pieces of limestone. A light foundation such as this is likely to have borne no more than a row of poros paving slabs, which probably carried a bench along the back wall of the stoa, on the analogy of both the earlier Stoa Basileios and the later Stoa of Zeus.<sup>15</sup> At the floor level of the stoa, the supporting slabs for the bench would have rested partly on the existing poros blocks and partly on the inner edge of the north foundations. It is to be noticed also that at the northwest corner the top course of foundations for the west wall projects 0.25 m. inside its normal line for a distance of 1.85 m. south of the corner. This adjustment to the foundations created a ledge which would have provided bearing for the end of the bench supports above.

### CHRONOLOGY

It is necessary to emphasize that the west end of the stoa was nowhere preserved as high as the level of the original ancient floor of the building. Just as the stonework had been entirely removed above the level of the third step on the west and north, and above the first step at the southwest corner, so also the earth fill within the foundations showed signs of extensive disturbance down to a level just below the highest preserved masonry. Nevertheless, in three areas the excavators were able to isolate small masses of the original foundation packing associated with the construction of the stoa. This consisted of compacted poros chips mixed with very small amounts of earth, the characteristic debris left by the masons from the cutting of stone, which had been gathered up in the stoneyard and dumped within the foundations to level the floor of the building. Layers of such poros chips were found along the inside of the west foundations, and in the narrow space between the north foundations and the interior bench supports. Although there can be no doubt that the packing was deposited in connection with the building's construction, it produced rather little archaeological material susceptible of close dating. Fortunately, however, the builders also availed themselves of cartloads of red earth from some other source to help with the massive task of filling in the foundations, and this fill, which was encountered sometimes beside and sometimes beneath the poros packing, contained a fair quantity of broken pottery.

The groups of sherds recovered from layers of poros chips and red-earth fill must have been manufactured, used, broken, and discarded prior to construction of the stoa, and in no event can this material have been buried after the building's completion. The pottery was exceptionally homogeneous and could be securely dated to the decade 470-460 B.C. Included in the material were fragments of black-glazed stemless cups, lekythoi, plates, and lamps of this period.<sup>16</sup> Especially useful, however, were the pieces of at least 17 different skyphoi of

<sup>15</sup> H. A. Thompson, "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia* 6, 1937, p. 23; T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 40, 1971, p. 244.

<sup>16</sup> Pottery from layers of poros chips and construction debris along inside of west foundations (Fig. 19), Lots BE 659, 660, 662-665. Characteristic pieces in Lot BE 665: foot of black-glazed skyphos, Attic type, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 340 (480-470 B.C.); plate rim, cf. *ibid.*, no. 1008 (480-450 B.C.). Pottery from layers of poros chips between north foundations and bench supports (Fig. 7), Lots BE 507-510, 512-514. Characteristic fragments: Lot BE 507: stemless Rheneia cup, cf. *ibid.*, no. 456 (480-470 B.C.); Lot BE 508: lekythos rim, cf. C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, Paris 1936, Appendix XVII, no. 1, p. 171, pl. 50:2 (ca. 470 B.C.); Lot BE 510: stemless cup, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 469 (480-470 B.C.); lamp, type 21 B, cf. *Agora* IV, no. 165 (490-460 B.C.); Lot BE 514: lekanis rim, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1218 (480-450 B.C.). Pottery from red-earth fills be-

Attic type and five of Corinthian type, because the chronology of these vessels is now highly refined on the basis of many excellent deposits of the first half of the 5th century in the Agora.<sup>17</sup>

Similar results came from exploration of the street just outside the northwest corner. Here, the builders of the stoa came upon an early stone water channel running westward precisely in line with the back wall of the building. The footing trench for the west foundation shows that the stone channel was cut by the builders, who doubtless removed everything to the east of the one surviving cover slab. To the west, only the cover had been removed from the drain, and pottery dating to the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. was found within the channel itself. Since sherds of similar date came also from the narrow footing trench, it seems likely that all this material was deposited in connection with the building of the stoa and helps to corroborate the date of its construction.<sup>18</sup>

When the blocks of the euthynteria were exposed to view, it became clear from the dimensions and treatment of the various faces that several had been re-used from earlier structures. The clearest case is the fourth block from the corner which bears on its outer surface several lightly scratched graffiti. Since the words run from bottom to top of the euthynteria, they were plainly incised before the block was set in its present position, while it lay about awaiting re-use. A facsimile drawing of the graffiti is shown in Figure 9.

Inv. I 7554	Σικέον καλός Ἡερμκ Λοκρίον μαυλλ (retrograde) καλός
-------------	--

All the letters except line 5 appear to be cut by the same hand, and the words seem to express the author's opinion that a certain Sikeon and Lokrion were handsome young men. He was evidently distracted while scratching line 3, which is obviously incomplete. Line 5, written retrograde in much smaller, crudely formed letters, is an afterthought in a different hand. It may possibly represent a semiliterate attempt to write *μαυλῖς*, thus expressing the writer's rude, conflicting view of Lokrion's character.<sup>19</sup>

tween north foundations and bench supports, Lots BE 511, 669, 670. Characteristic fragments: Lot BE 511: stemless cup, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 469 (480–470 B.C.); lamp, type 21 B, cf. *Agora* IV, no. 164 (480–450 B.C.); lekythos rim, cf. Haspels, *loc. cit.*; Lot BE 669: lekanis rim, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1218 (480–450 B.C.); lamp, type 21 D, cf. *Agora* IV, no. 180 (480–450 B.C.).

<sup>17</sup> Skyphoi, Attic type: P 31226, P 31227, P 31228, all closely similar to *Agora* XII, no. 342 (470–460 B.C.); smaller fragments of the same type in Lots BE 507, 508, 510 (3 fragments), 511 (3 fragments), 514 (2 fragments), 663, 669 (3 fragments). Fragments of skyphoi, Corinthian type in Lots BE 511 (2 fragments), 514, 669 (2 fragments), all closely similar to *Agora* XII, no. 314 (470–460 B.C.).

<sup>18</sup> Pottery within early stone drain: Lot 1002, especially datable pieces: L 5908, lamp, type 20, cf. *Agora* IV, no. 149 (500 into 460's B.C.); skyphos rims and handles, Attic type, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 342 (470–460 B.C.); lekanis rim, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1218 (480–450 B.C.); lykinic lekanis foot, earlier than *Agora* XII, no. 1242 (450–425 B.C.). Pottery from footing trench along euthynteria at west end of stoa: Lots BE 1009, 1010: P 31406, black-glazed saltcellar, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 901 (500–480 B.C.); lekanis rim, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1217 (500–480 B.C.).

<sup>19</sup> I 7554: L. 1.51 m., W. 0.54 m., Th. 0.56 m. Height of letters (lines 1–4, 6) 0.045–0.075 m., (line 5)

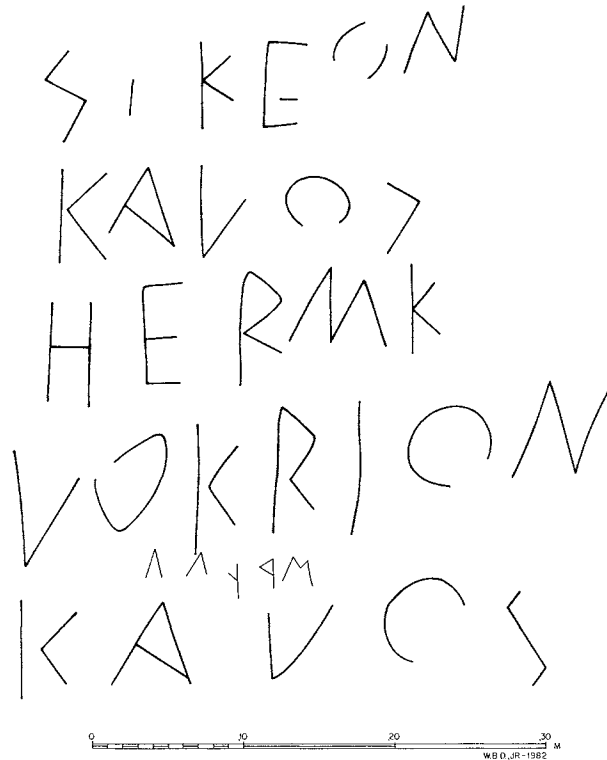


FIG. 9. Graffito on euthynteria of Stoa Poikile, I 7554

From the date of its construction in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C., the stoa continued to occupy the site and was no doubt in use for nearly a millennium. Since no part of the building is preserved above the level of its steps, no stratigraphic evidence has yet come to light pertaining to its long subsequent history of use. A clue to the building's architectural longevity can, however, be deduced from the late Roman transformation of the site in the 5th century after Christ; for it is clear that a neighboring structure of that period bore a close architectural relation to the old Classical stoa which would not have been possible unless the walls of the stoa had been standing at that time also. The evidence is provided by a pair of heavy concrete foundations for a street colonnade of late Roman date, found stretching across much of the area west of the Classical stoa (Figs. 4, 10, Pl. 4:a).<sup>20</sup> The east end of the late colonnade seems to have been erected against the standing west wall of the

0.021 m. Carved on west face of euthynteria block with bottoms of letters toward south. Fascia 0.058 m. wide along upper edge of block.

Sikeon (line 1) does not appear elsewhere in this form as a Greek personal name. It may be a variant spelling for Sikyon, the eponymous founder of the Peloponnesian city, which is attested in Attic heroic prosopography, Pausanias, II.1.1, 6.5. Lokrion (line 4) is attested at Athens once in the late 4th century, Kirchner, *PA*, no. 9185. I owe the suggested interpretation of line 5 to A. N. Dinsmoor.

<sup>20</sup> The building cannot be dated with any precision, but a few small groups of sherds attributable to the 5th century after Christ were found around the southern concrete foundation, Lots BE 378, 379, 961, while a similar group, Lot BE 431, was found beneath a small patch of cement floor packing within the stoa (Fig. 19).

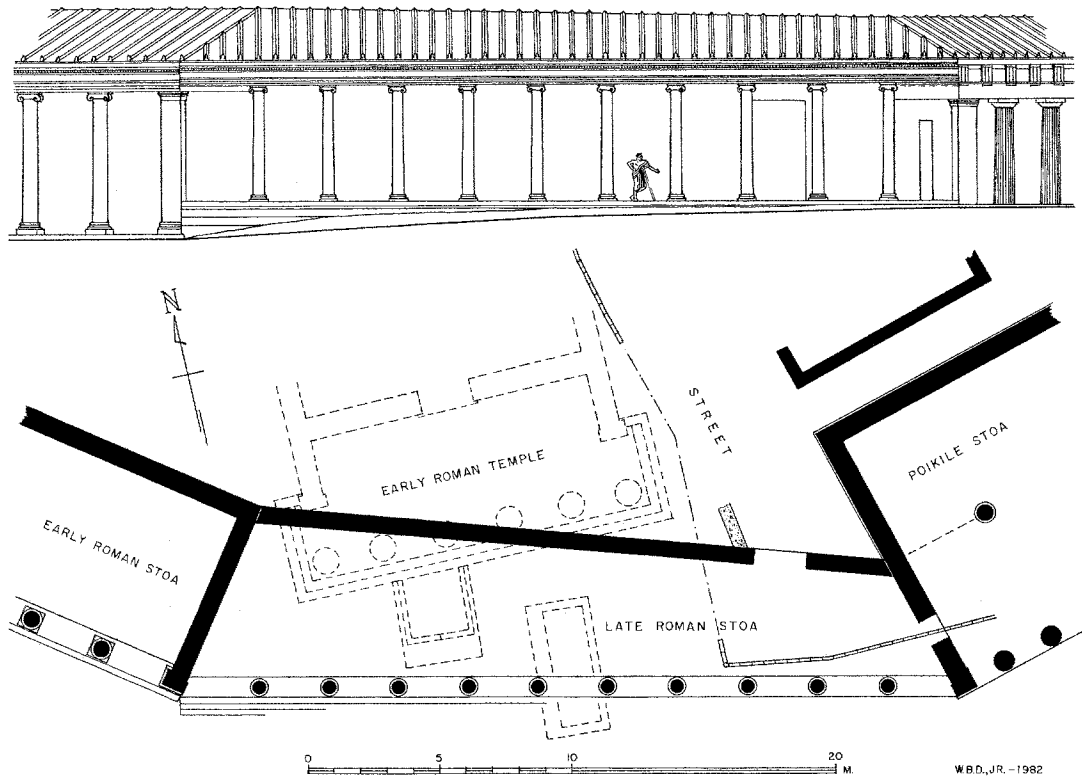


FIG. 10. Restored plan and elevation, Late Roman Stoa

Classical building. This is indicated by the exact alignment of the southern concrete foundation, which supported the columns, with the corner anta of the old stoa, while the narrower underpinning for the back of the late building was made to abut the exact mid-point of the west wall. Moreover, the hard lime mortar of the Roman concrete was found to overlie the Classical steps, but the cement stopped abruptly on the top step just at the setting line for the toichobate beneath the wall, and no trace of the concrete foundation was found further east within the old stoa.

Exactly when the stoa was finally destroyed is not yet certain. The preserved foundations everywhere appeared beneath layers of debris dating to the late 6th century after Christ, although in places the lowest walls for the first phase of middle Byzantine habitation were set down through the 6th-century debris to rest on the stripped Classical foundations (Fig. 19).<sup>21</sup> The stratigraphy preserved no distinction between the actual destruction of the

<sup>21</sup> Among masses of pottery from numerous layers of destruction debris (Figs. 18, 19, hatched layers), the most characteristic datable material is in Lots BE 469, 600, 607, 608, 650, 651, 657, 1078. All produced fragments of bowl rims, "Late Roman C" ware, cf. Hayes, *LRP*, Form 3 F, pp. 329-338, or Form 10 B and C, pp. 343-346. Lots BE 467, 471 contained specimens of "Late Roman C", Hayes, *LRP*, Form 3 C, pp. 330, 333. Also immediately above the preserved foundations were found coins BE-270 and BE-307, both AE nummus, Justinian I (A.D. 527-565). Bust r./A. Cf. Bellinger, *DOC I*, p. 82, no. 36.



building and the pillaging of its walls, and this suggests that the stoa was demolished at the time it went out of use, without being allowed to stand in ruins for a long period. There can be no doubt that the stoa was extensively ransacked in the 6th century when its ruins were quarried for building stone. The scavengers were particularly destructive near the north-west corner where blocks of the steps were removed down to the euthynteria. Among the rubble which covered this part of the building were many chunks of poros from the breaking of blocks, and one backing block was dragged out of place but left tumbled above the euthynteria. In this connection it should be noticed that the presence of the late Roman colonnade evidently protected the old steps along the south half of the west side, for the single surviving block of the third step, on which the concrete foundation rested, was roughly hacked off in a line parallel to the late Roman wall.

#### IDENTIFICATION

All the architectural, topographical, and chronological evidence available points to the identification of the new building as the famous Stoa Poikile, or Painted Stoa, mentioned in as many as fifty passages of ancient literature and inscriptions, and plainly one of the great landmarks of Classical Athens.<sup>22</sup> It was celebrated first for its splendid paintings from which the stoa took its name, but no less as a favorite haunt of philosophers of which one group, the followers of Zenon, called themselves Stoics because of the building where they gathered. Of the two Classical stoas known to have stood on the north side of the Athenian Agora, the Stoa of the Herms<sup>23</sup> and the Stoa Poikile, only the latter thus far has shown a perfect correspondence between the archaeological and the literary evidence.

The newly excavated building is plainly a monument of great size and prominence; its foundations are unusually heavy, and the quality of its construction is unusually good. If we may judge from its scale, position, and orientation, it must have been one of the principal early Classical buildings in the market square. Since the depth of the new stoa from front to back can be measured as 11.51 m. at the stylobate, its over-all scale is closely comparable with the Stoa of Zeus, which measures 10.73 m. in depth without the projecting wings. The total length of the new building is, of course, impossible to establish on the present evidence, but it should probably approximate 46 meters like the Stoa of Zeus.<sup>24</sup> The restored length of the stoa is limited on the east, however, by another north-south street under modern St. Philip Street. The line of the ancient road has been fixed in two places: on the south at its juncture with the Panathenaic Way, and further north near the intersection of St. Philip and Hermes Streets.<sup>25</sup> Since this ancient street is thus known to pass barely 55 meters to the

<sup>22</sup> The testimonia are conveniently collected in *Agora* III, pp. 31–45, and discussed in *Agora* XIV, pp. 90–94; R. E. Wycherley, "The Painted Stoa," *Phoenix* 7, 1953, pp. 20–35.

<sup>23</sup> See below, pp. 40–41.

<sup>24</sup> Dimensions of the Stoa of Zeus, Thompson, *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pl. II. The new building is likely to have had either 9 or 11 interior columns, and its over-all length on the first step would thus have been 42.37 m. (as in Figs. 1 and 2) or 50.362 m. The interior axial spacing should be  $4 \times 0.999 = 3.996$  m. Distance from first interior axis to west edge of toichobate is  $4.25 + 3 \text{ steps } (0.317) = 5.201$  m. Thus the over-all length should be  $8(3.996) + 2(5.201) = 42.37$  m. or  $10(3.996) + 2(5.201) = 50.362$  m.

<sup>25</sup> For the ancient street under St. Philip Street, O. Alexandri, *Δελτ* 22, 1967, Β' 1[1968], *Χρονικά*, pp. 43–44; for a neighboring sanctuary of Herakles with its boundary stone near the road, Stavropoulos, *Δελτ*

east of our excavations, it will be obvious that the new stoa occupied the entire block bounded by the two ancient north-south streets (Figs. 1, 2).

That the Stoa Poikile should be sought near the northwest corner of the Agora is the clear implication of Pausanias. In a passage (1.14.6–15.1) to which we shall return again shortly, the Roman traveler located the stoa with reference to the Stoa Basileios, or Royal Stoa, which was evidently in close proximity. It is important to emphasize also that at the time of Pausanias' visit the northeastern part of the Agora was crowded with buildings of Roman date (Fig. 1). The large Northeast Basilica, built in the Hadrianic period, and the colonnade of an earlier Roman building to the west of it occupied the entire area from the northeast corner of the square westwards as far as the north-south street beneath St. Philip Street. Moreover, excavation below the Roman remains has revealed that this same area was occupied by private commercial buildings which bordered the north side of the square from the 6th century B.C. until early Roman times.<sup>26</sup> This means that in the 2nd century after Christ Pausanias could only have seen the Painted Stoa further to the northwest on precisely the site where the new stoa has come to light.

Literary testimonia indicate a date for the Stoa Poikile between 470 and 460 B.C., as is suggested by many references to people associated with its construction and decoration. Peisianax, after whom the building was originally named, was a brother of Isodike, the wife of Kimon.<sup>27</sup> Born probably between 510 and 500 B.C., he would have been active in the second quarter of the 5th century, and he seems to have been in some way responsible for the construction of the stoa. Moreover, Kimon's sister Elpinike was said to have been depicted as Laodike in one of the paintings in the stoa by Polygnotos of Thasos.<sup>28</sup> This painter together with Mikon and Panainos of Athens, the three artists cited most often in reference to the paintings in the stoa, first received important commissions in the 470's, and all were active through the middle years of the century.<sup>29</sup> These chronological indications will now be seen to coincide perfectly with the archaeological evidence already adduced for the date of the newly found building.

On the back wall of the stoa, above the bench of which the foundations have been found, we can restore the great series of painted panels depicting glorious deeds of the past: a battle

20, 1965, B' 1[1967], *Χρονικά*, pp. 52–55. Cf. the plan, Y. Nikopoulou, «Τοπογραφικά Ἀθηνῶν», *ΑΑΑ* 4, 1971, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 261–266; *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 138–144 (fig. 3).

<sup>27</sup> For its first name the "Peisianakteion", Diogenes Laertius, VII.1.5: ἀνακάμπτων δὲ ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ στοᾷ τῇ καὶ Πεισιανακτίῳ καλουμένῃ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς Πολυγνώτου ποικίλη; the Suda, s.v. Ζήνων: ἐπεκλήθη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Στωικός διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ ἐν Ἀθήναις διδάξαι αὐτόν, ἥτις πρῶην μὲν Πεισιανάκειος, ὕστερον δὲ ζωγραφηθείσα Ποικίλη ἐκλήθη. Cf. also Plutarch, *Kimon*, 4.5; Schol. Demosthenes, xx.112; Harpokration, s.v. βασιλείος στοά; Isidore, *Origines* VIII.6.8. For his relationship with Isodike and the dates, Kirchner, *PA*, no. 7712; J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford 1971, pp. 376–378. For literary evidence bearing on the date of the stoa, L. H. Jeffery, "The *Battle of Oinoe* in the Stoa Poikile," *BSA* 60, 1965, pp. 41–42.

<sup>28</sup> Plutarch, *Kimon*, 4.5. Elpinike may have been the slightly older sister or half-sister of Kimon, who was himself born close to 510 B.C.; Davies, *op. cit.*, pp. 302–303.

<sup>29</sup> For complete testimonia on the painters, J. Overbeck, *Antiken Schriftquellen*, Leipzig 1868, nos. 1042–1079 (Polygnotos), 1080–1093 (Mikon), 1094–1108 (Panainos); for their careers and dates, A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich 1953, pp. 91–103; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art*, Cambridge 1975, pp. 241–245, 322–324.

at Oinoe, where Athenians were shown fighting against Spartans, the battle of the Athenians and Amazons, the Sack of Troy, and the battle of Marathon.<sup>30</sup> This juxtaposition of themes, in which actual historical battles were set beside familiar mythological subjects, had important consequences for the history of Greek art and later influenced the sculptural programs of the Parthenon and other temples of the Periklean period. Orators of the 4th century B.C. were fond of pointing to the pictures as paradigms of past Athenian valor;<sup>31</sup> and Pausanias and other writers later described them in some detail. The excavations have naturally yielded no new evidence whatever to add to our sketchy knowledge of these lost masterpieces; but the fate of the paintings, as it is known from the literary record, does bear on the chronology of the stoa. The Christian Bishop Synesios, who visited Athens about A.D. 400, remarks that the painted panels had only recently been removed from the building.<sup>32</sup> From this statement it is surely correct to infer that the stoa stood with the paintings intact until at least this late date. Once again ancient accounts of the Painted Stoa reflect exactly the archaeological history of our site, for as we have seen the disposition of the remains suggests that the Classical stoa was still standing in the 5th century after Christ, when the late colonnade was built against its west wall. There is thus every reason to believe that the excavations have revealed at last the ruins of the famous old stoa which guarded the northern border of the Agora for a thousand years.

### THE HELLENISTIC GATE

A glance at the southwest corner of the stoa reveals at once a great rectangular foundation of roughly worked poros blocks. In the visible course, eight blocks are laid half as headers and half as stretchers, and excavation around the base showed that they rest on a similar course beneath (Figs. 4, 11, Pl. 4:b). The blocks are carefully fitted over the first western step of the stoa so that they abut cleanly against the face of the second step, with the top of which they were precisely leveled. The foundation is not, however, aligned with the corner of the crepidoma but is set back 0.85 m. from the end of the first step, with the result that the south face of any superstructure built on this foundation would have aligned perfectly with the corner anta of the stoa. At a distance of 2.50 m. to the west an identical foundation appeared, composed of similar poros blocks, likewise laid some as headers and some as stretchers. Half of the upper course is now missing, and at its southwest corner two blocks of the lower course were removed in late antiquity, in order to effect repairs on a drain which passed awkwardly beneath the base. Resting on one corner of these foundations is a pair of poros blocks of finer grade and finish (Pl. 5:a). Dressed as they are with a smooth face on the east and anathyrosis on their ends, and set in 0.15 m. from the edge of the foundation, these

<sup>30</sup> The order of the pictures given by Pausanias, 1.15.1–16.1; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv.57, 59. For discussion of the paintings: Battle of Oinoe, Jeffery, *op. cit.* (footnote 27 above), pp. 41–57; Battle of the Amazons, D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford 1957, pp. 163–174; Sack of Troy, C. Robert, *Die Iliupersis des Polygnot*, Halle 1893; Battle of Marathon, E. B. Harrison, “The South Frieze of the Nike Temple and the Marathon Painting in the Painted Stoa,” *AJA* 76, 1972, pp. 353–378.

<sup>31</sup> Aischines, III.186.

<sup>32</sup> Synesios, *Epist.*, 54, 135; cf. also Sopatros, *Διαιρέσεις Ζητημάτων*, 340ff. See the remarks of Wycherley, *Agora III*, nos. 89, 93, 94; *idem*, *Phoenix* 7, 1953, p. 24; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, London 1898, II, pp. 135–136.

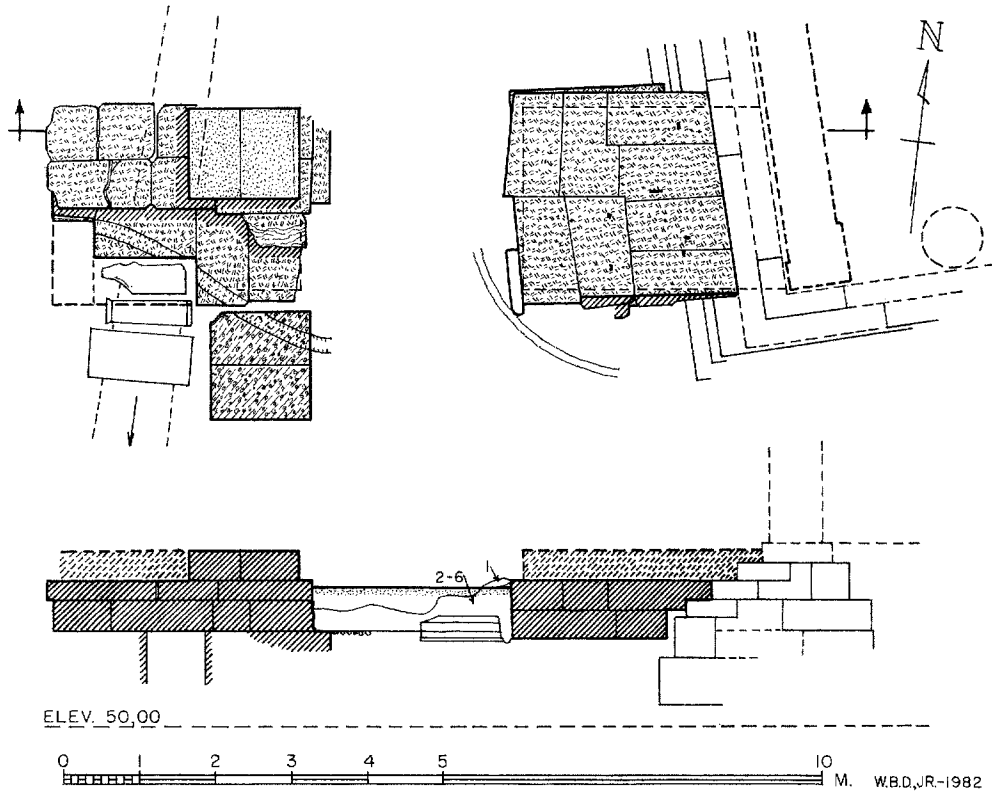


FIG. 11. Plan and section of poros bases at southwest corner of Stoa Poikile

blocks are the only surviving part of the superstructure preserved *in situ*. The large Ionic column base which stands so prominently on them today is not, of course, part of the original monument. It came to rest here in late Roman times and probably supported a columnar monument erected in front of the street colonnade, whose foundation passes immediately to the north. Just south of the western base a pair of conglomerate blocks, obviously set in relation to the base itself, probably served as the foundation for a later monument or statue.

Similarities in size, material, and method of construction relate the two rectangular foundations to each other. More important, their upper courses rest at exactly the same elevation, and they are closely aligned with each other, although their orientation is slightly different from the stoa to which one of them is attached. It will be observed that the western base is some 0.60 m. longer than the eastern, but if a superstructure of identical dimensions (3.15 × 2.40 m.) be erected on both foundations, that on the east will perfectly abut the wall of the Classical stoa. These considerations make it virtually certain that the bases were both parts of a single monument and in fact carried the two piers of a large gateway, placed astride the north-south street at just the point where it met the Panathenaic Way and entered the market square. Indeed, the hard-packed gravel surface of the street itself was

found to pass between the two foundations, and a curbstone was later installed at the corner of the eastern base to prevent wheeled traffic from damaging the monument as it turned eastward in front of the stoa (Pl. 4:a, b).

Construction of the poros foundations for the gateway was clearly reflected in the stratigraphy of the street as far north as it has been possible to examine it. Investigation of the stratified layers just west of the stoa showed that the early cobbled surface of the mid-5th century B.C. was maintained level with the euthyteria of the stoa throughout the Classical period (Fig. 19: Roads H, I). Then at the end of the 4th century B.C. an artificial filling raised the surface of the entire street as much as 0.35 m. to 0.40 m. in several layers, but all as parts of a single major grading operation. Between the poros bases much of the early road gravel was dug away by the builders of the gate when they laid the foundations, but the artificial filling brought the surface of the street back to the top of the new bases (Fig. 11: Layer 2). Grading of the street established the same level west of the stoa, and the new road surface sloped gently up further to the north. This artificial filling contained quantities of broken pottery dating to the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., while the latest pieces belong in the last decade and may descend a few years into the 3rd century B.C.<sup>33</sup> The ceramic evidence provides a reliable date for the construction of the foundations against the corner of the stoa.

In order to understand the monument built on the poros bases, we must consider again Pausanias' account of the Painted Stoa to which reference has already been made. He introduced his description of the stoa in the following way:

ἰοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοάν, ἣν Πουκίλην ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἔστιν Ἑρμῆς χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος καὶ πύλη πλησίον ἔπεστι δὲ οἱ τρόπαιον Ἀθηναίων ἵππομαχία κρατησάντων Πλειστάρχου, ὃς τῆς ἵππου Κασσάνδρου καὶ τοῦ ξενικοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδελφὸς ὧν ἐπετέτραπτο.  
(I.15.1)

On his way to the stoa, Pausanias saw a statue of Hermes Agoraios and near by a gate which carried a trophy set up by the Athenians to celebrate a cavalry victory over Pleistarchos, brother of Kassandros. It is worth noting that the gate is separated a short distance from the statue of Hermes by the word *πλησίον*, a standard locution which Pausanias regularly employs to indicate that he has passed on from one monument to the next. But no such phrase separates the gate from the stoa at the beginning of the following sentence, and this may imply a close physical proximity between the two which could not, in fact, be more accurately reflected in the surviving foundations, built as they are virtually onto the corner of the Classical stoa.

<sup>33</sup> The artificial filling at the end of the 4th century B.C. appears as Road Layers F and G (Figs. 18, 19), Lots BE 985, 986, 994, 995: latest pieces include 14 fragments of ribbed and plain kantharoi with molded feet, cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 704, 714; 4 fragments, lamps, type 25 A, cf. *Agora* IV, no. 271; 3 kantharos rims with West Slope decoration, cf. Stella G. Miller, "Menon's Cistern," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, p. 230, nos. 10, 13, 14; bottom of hemispherical bowl with incised net pattern, cf. Rotroff, *Agora* XXII, p. 39 and note 107. Pottery from same fill between bases of gate, Layer 2 (Fig. 11), Lot BE 1052: latest fragments, kantharoi, cf. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 229, no. 4. The same filling in the street further north was excavated as Layers 14–16, pottery, Lots BE 918, 920–923: latest pieces include kantharos bowl and handle, cf. *ibid.*, no. 10; kantharos upper wall with West Slope decoration, cf. *ibid.*, no. 7. Excavation of the stratigraphy around the Hellenistic gate and in the street was conducted by John McK. Camp II in 1982.

The gate commemorated a military victory which is not otherwise attested in the historical sources, but Pausanias was just sufficiently explicit about the circumstances to suggest a likely date for the engagement. An Athenian defeat of forces belonging to Kassandros can hardly have been celebrated in this way during the rule at Athens of his designated regent, Demetrios of Phaleron, between 317 and 307; nor for that matter is the battle likely to have been fought prior to 317, since the trophy survived so conspicuously into later times. The cavalry battle mentioned by Pausanias finds its place most naturally during the Four Years' War and its aftermath, in the period between the liberation of Athens in 307/6 at the hands of Demetrios Poliorkêtes, and Pleistarchos' departure for Asia in 302/1.<sup>34</sup> In 303/2 Athenian forces are known to have campaigned victoriously in the Peloponnese under Demetrios, and at least two units, the "picked volunteers" and the tribesmen of Akamantis, celebrated their return to Athens with sacrifices and extravagant honors for Demetrios himself.<sup>35</sup> That the Athenian cavalry saw active service in the field as a part of this campaign is evident from a reference to knights who had been captured as prisoners of war.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, the decree of Akamantis of 303/2 preserves the name of Pleistarchos in a tantalizing passage which is too mutilated to yield a text, but may possibly refer to the same engagement mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>37</sup> For our present purpose, what needs to be emphasized once again is the striking synchronism between the historical and the archaeological evidence. The ceramic material recovered from the ancient street suggests that a great gateway was erected against the corner of the Stoa Poikile at the very end of the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., while at the same time Pausanias records in just such a position a gate which commemorated a battle evidently fought in or about 303 B.C. There can be little room for doubt that the foundations discovered in the excavations carried the gate seen by Pausanias beside the Stoa Poikile, and its presence here adds important confirmation to the identification of the stoa itself.

It is greatly to be regretted that not a single architectural fragment can be assigned to the superstructure of the gate. The restored drawing (Fig. 12) is thus entirely conjectural and is intended only to convey an impression of the general scheme of the monument. It

<sup>34</sup> The date of the battle has been most recently discussed by S. M. Burstein ("The Date of the Athenian Victory over Pleistarchus," *CW* 71, 1977, pp. 128–129) who argues convincingly against a date as early as 319 B.C., sometimes accepted by others (see A. J. Reinach, "Trophées macédoniens," *REG* 26, 1913, p. 397; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed., Munich 1931, p. 89; G. C. Picard, *Les trophées romains*, Paris 1957, p. 92; M. Fortina, *Cassandro, re di Macedonia*, Turin, etc. 1965, p. 32, note 1). For the rule of Demetrios of Phaleron, W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London 1911, pp. 38–94. For the Four Years' War, *ibid.*, pp. 112–118; Fortina, *op. cit.*, pp. 91ff., 97–99; and for its aftermath, Ferguson, "Demetrius Poliorketes and the Hellenic League," *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 112–136. For Pleistarchos' departure for Asia, Diodoros, xx.112.1.

<sup>35</sup> The decrees of these two military units are published by N. Kyparissis and W. Peek, "Attische Urkunden," *AthMitt* 66, 1941, p. 221, no. 3 (with the greatly improved text of A. Wilhelm, "Beschluss zu Ehren des Demetrios ὁ μέγας," *ÖJh* 35, 1943, pp. 157ff.); and Ferguson, *Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 114, no. 68 (with textual improvements by J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," *REG* 62, 1949, p. 111, no. 51); for the date, Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–123, 129.

<sup>36</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 558, lines 33–34. Oxythemis of Larissa, a friend of Demetrios, is here honored for services rendered to Athens, the captured cavalrymen being among those whom he helped.

<sup>37</sup> Ferguson, *Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 114, line 6, and cf. pp. 128–129.

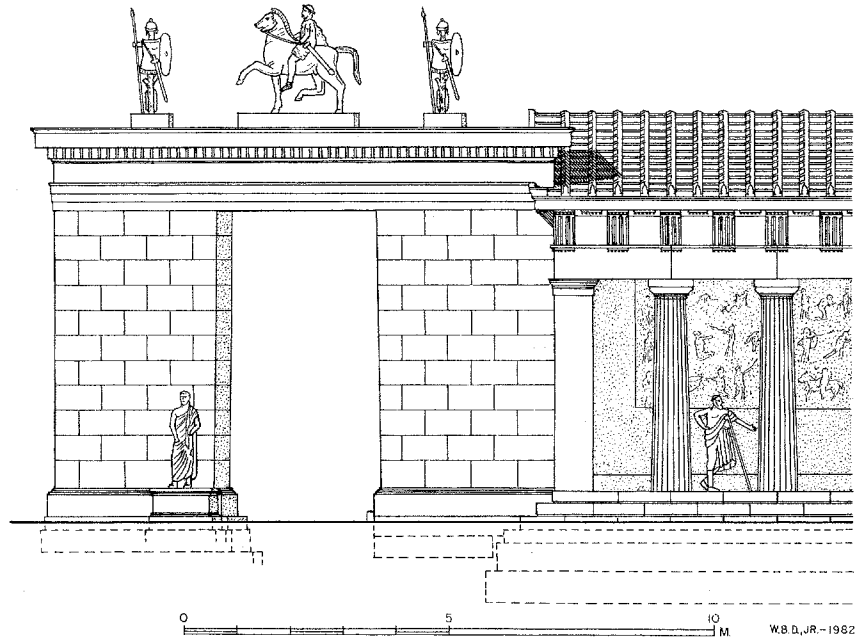


FIG. 12. Elevation of Hellenistic gate, conjectural restoration

seems useful to include it here, however, because it draws particular attention to the imposing scale of the structure that must have stood on the existing foundations. Whatever its exact appearance, the gate was a monument of unusual importance and occupied a position of extraordinary prominence at the principal entrance to the Agora. The gate seen by Pausanias was also an unusual monument. He calls it a *πύλη*, a word which he uses rarely in the singular and almost always applies to city gates in fortification walls. In fact, Pausanias mentions only one other analogous gate, that at Patras (VII.20.7) which marked one entrance to the agora and carried a series of gilded statues. In Pausanias' time the gate at Athens carried only a trophy; but since he could identify the battle thus commemorated, one infers that it was inscribed with some sort of dedication. It is just possible that the battle itself might even have been depicted in a sculptured frieze; for one is reminded of the marble cenotaph in the agora at Argos, which the Argives inaccurately called a "trophy" of their victory over Pyrrhos of Epeiros. According to Pausanias (II.21.4) on that structure "were sculptured in relief the elephants and everything that Pyrrhos used in battle."

In the light of this discussion, the gate beside the Painted Stoa may seem a singularly grandiose monument for a victory about which the historical record is otherwise entirely silent. One is tempted to wonder, too, whether something more imposing than a single military trophy may not once have adorned the broad space above the gateway. Pausanias says that the Athenians themselves were victorious over Pleistarchos; but both battle and monument belong to an epoch when Athenian troops marched beneath the banner of Demetrios Poliorketes, and if they were victorious, it was because he led them to victory. It was an epoch, too, when Athenians were moved to indulge their most extravagant flights of fancy in

order to flatter the Macedonian Demetrios and his father Antigonos. They erected a gilded quadriga in the Agora, together with sacrificial altars and bronze equestrian statues; they added portraits of the Macedonians to the monument of the Eponymous Heroes and wove their images into the peplos of Athena.<sup>38</sup> It is easy to imagine that the Hellenistic gate finds its proper context among such monuments as these, with which it was not only exactly contemporary but also may have been closely akin in spirit. To speculate further about the embellishment of the gate may be thought entirely fanciful, but the temptation proves irresistible to observe that the most appropriate sculptural fragments from the Agora with which to decorate a cavalry monument were found in a public well barely 28 meters distant from the gate, on the south side of the Panathenaic Way (Fig. 3). The fragments consist of one leg, the sword, drapery, and trappings belonging to a life-size equestrian statue of gilded bronze, found in 1971.<sup>39</sup> The horseman may possibly have represented Demetrios Poliorketes himself and, in any event, was probably thrown down in the *damnatio memoriae* of the Macedonians in 200 B.C.,<sup>40</sup> that being the date of the archaeological context in which the pieces came to light. If this association be thought possible, it may help to explain why only a trophy survived on so massive a monument in the time of Pausanias.

## THE SANCTUARY OF APHRODITE OURANIA

### THE EARLY ALTAR

The north-south street that passed through the Hellenistic gate separated the Stoa Poikile from a quite different sort of monument lying a short distance to the west. Here the principal structure is a monumental altar which proved to be the best preserved of the Classical remains in the excavated area. From its size, position, and early date, the altar indicated at the moment of its discovery that it must belong to one of the major religious shrines of the Agora, and this is borne out by the evidence, presently to be adduced, for the continuity of the sanctuary into later periods of antiquity.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Literary accounts of the decree of Stratokles of Diomeia honoring Demetrios (Diodoros, xx.46.2-3; Plutarch, *Demetrios*, 10-12) speak of the golden quadriga, golden crowns, an altar (where Antigonos and Demetrios were to be worshiped as the Savior Gods with sacrifices, games, and a procession), their images in the peplos of Athena, the royal titles, and the new tribes named for them. See Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 63-64, 96. For the equestrian statue offered by the "picked volunteers", Kyparissis and Peek, *op. cit.* (footnote 35 above), p. 221, no. 3, lines 11-15. For alterations to the monument of the Eponymous Heroes, T. L. Shear, Jr., "The Monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 39, 1970, pp. 196-199. Statues of the Macedonian kings were even added to the Athenian monument at Delphi commemorating the battle of Marathon, Pausanias, x.10.2.

<sup>39</sup> *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 165-168. A definitive study of the bronze fragments is being prepared by C. Hauser. The theme of an equestrian statue between two trophies (Fig. 12) seems already to have joined the repertory of triumphal art before the 2nd century B.C., see Picard, *op. cit.* (footnote 34 above), pp. 79-81, and the use of the motif on Roman triumphal arches of the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54) has been thought to reflect Hellenistic artistic prototypes. For the coins depicting the statuary, H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage* I, London 1923, p. 125, nos. 8, 16-18, pl. V: 86, 87; p. 129, nos. 62, 63, pl. VIII: 126; p. 131, nos. 75, 76, pl. V: 94; and cf. Picard, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-333. For discussion of Hellenistic trophies, A. J. Reinach, *op. cit.* (footnote 34 above), pp. 347-398; A. J. Janssen, *Het antieke Trophaion*, Gent 1957; Picard, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-100.

<sup>40</sup> Livy, xxxi.14.16-18.

<sup>41</sup> The sanctuary area, the altar, and the temple to the north were excavated under the supervision of John McK. Camp II and Alison Adams during the seasons of 1981 and 1982.



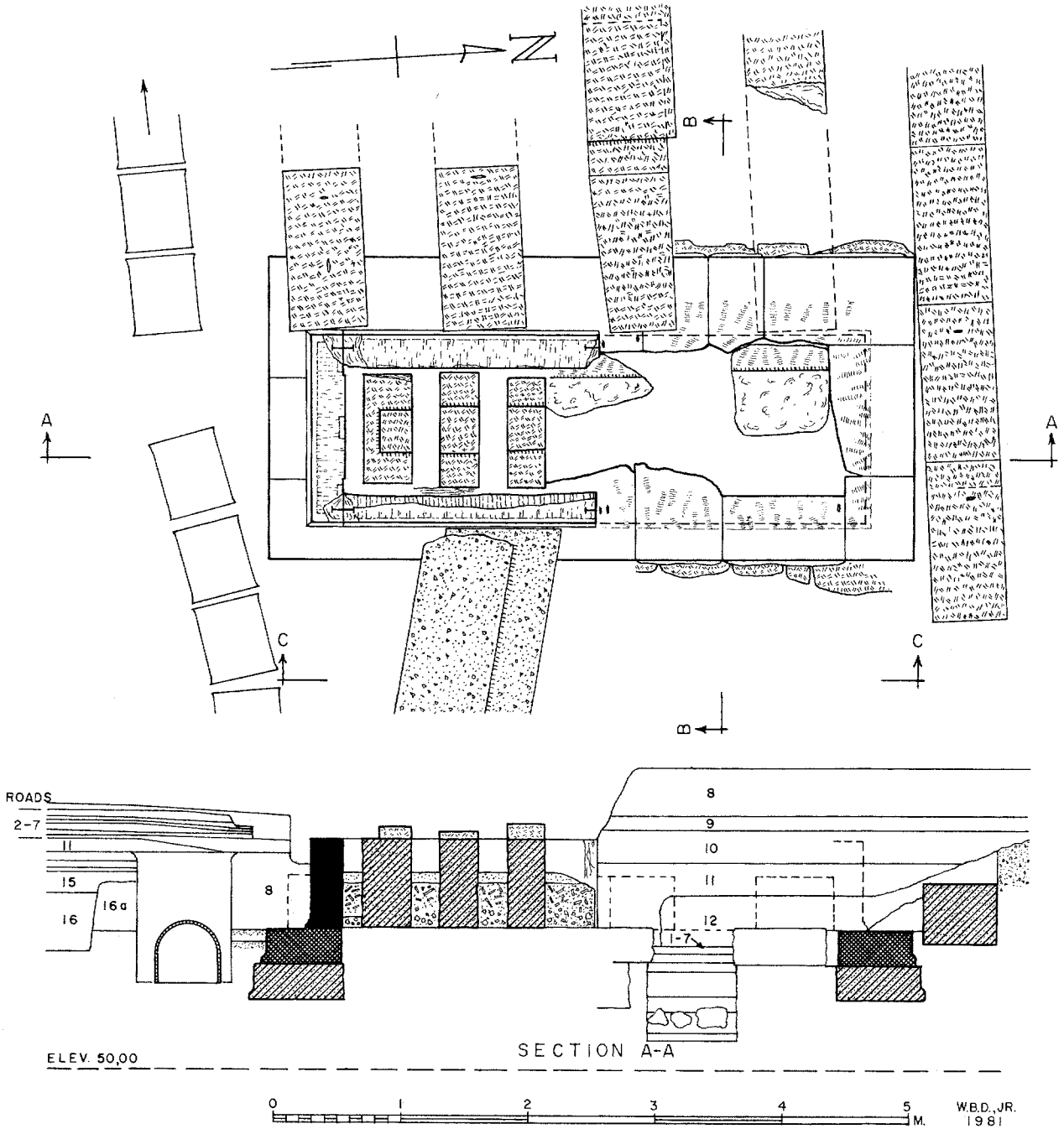


FIG. 13. Early altar, plan, actual state, and section looking west

Preserved in their original positions are the entire base and three of the six marble orthostates of the altar itself (Figs. 4, 13, 14, Pls. 6, 7:a). The platform, measuring 5.08 m. by 2.40 m., is oriented almost precisely with the points of the compass, so that the officiating

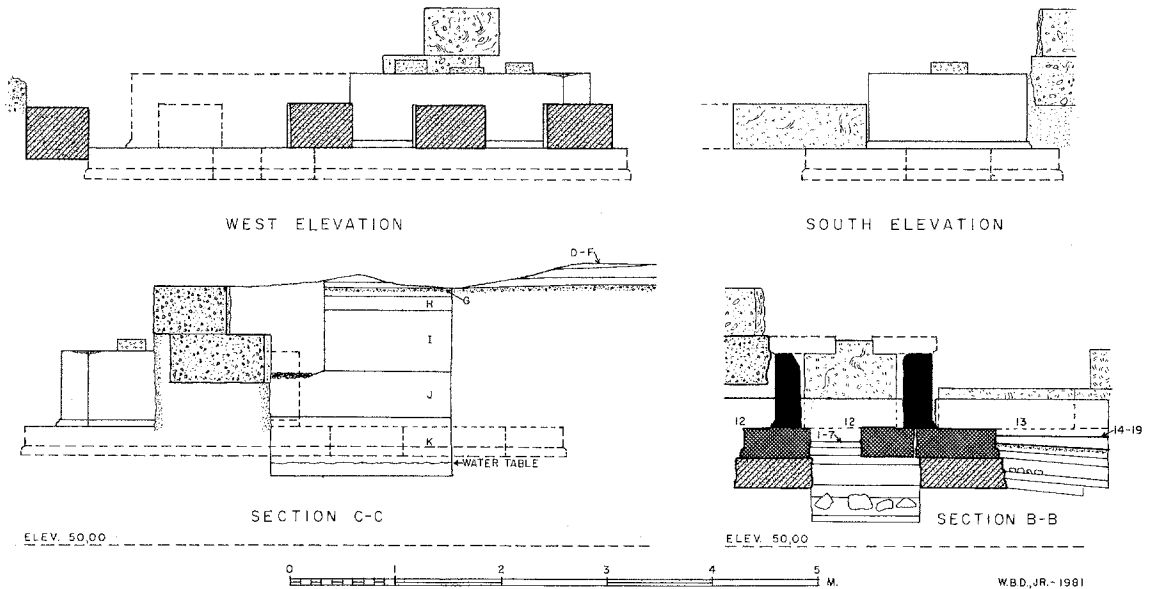


FIG. 14. Early altar, elevations and sections

priest faced due east. A single course of hard, bluish limestone blocks forms a sill, 0.27 m. high, of which the outer vertical face is lightly stippled, while a narrow band of rough stone projects along the bottom at the original ground level around the monument. The individual blocks are carefully squared and set with rectilinear joints where they were exposed to view, but their inner edges are rough and irregular where they were covered by the superstructure of the altar. Beneath the limestone sill a single course of roughly shaped poros and limestone blocks served as the foundation for the base.

One half of the superstructure chanced to survive in place on the southern part of the sill, and in accordance with normal Greek architectural practice, it was set off-center toward the east so as to leave a broader platform (0.58 m. wide) along the west side for the sacrificing priest. The orthostates, fashioned of white island marble with large crystals, have beautifully smoothed outer faces, finished with a rasp and highly polished. A delicate base molding in the cyma-reversa profile adorns the bottom of the orthostates along the three preserved sides (Pl. 7:b).<sup>42</sup> All the joint surfaces were finished with anathyrosis and the blocks were carefully fastened to one another by means of an iron double-T clamp at each joint. The heavily foot-worn surface and lines of weathering on the sill indicate the positions occupied by the missing orthostates, so that the original length of the altar can be ascertained as

<sup>42</sup> The missing orthostate from the north end had an ancient repair of the molding at its northwest corner, which was found in place surrounded by the late pillaging fill.

A 4634: H. 0.071 m., L. 0.268 m., D. (upper) 0.025 m., D. (lower) 0.066 m. Complete patch molding worked on all sides; cyma-reversa profile on front and left end; anathyrosis on back and right end; top smooth, flat. Iron pins inserted 0.047 m. from each end: two horizontal set from back, two vertical set from top. Right pins *in situ*; left end preserves drilled holes only. Patch must have been doweled to orthostate before block was set. White island marble with large crystals.

ca. 4.42 m., while its width at the south end is 1.585 m., including the projection of the molding. Within the frame of the marble orthostates stand three upright slabs of yellow poros set side by side, some 0.22 m. apart. The tops of all three blocks have been cut down on each side in such a way as to leave rectangular protuberances in the centers. As many as four similar poros slabs probably once stood within the missing orthostates for the north half of the altar.

It should be noted that the sides of the poros slabs have been worked down to exactly the same level as the tops of the adjacent orthostates, while the latter are dressed with anathyrosis like the vertical joints. This suggests that another row of marble blocks once rested above them, forming the crowning course on top of the altar, which would have been supported by the poros slabs on the inside and on the outside by the marble orthostates (Fig. 14: Section B–B). Further evidence for the altar crown is preserved at the east where the concrete foundation for the late Roman street stoa abutted the upper part of the altar. The crowning course was seemingly still in place when the concrete was poured; for the semi-liquid material hardened in a clean, sharp line 0.05 m. beyond the face of the orthostate, thus preserving a permanent negative imprint of the vertical face of the crowning course, which was itself removed at some later date. Since the vertical plane in the concrete rises about 0.16 m. above the orthostate, or slightly above the highest of the three poros slabs, this dimension must give the approximate height of the altar crown, which can then be restored on all four sides of the altar with a projection about equal to the molded base. A very close analogy to the crowning course here restored is to be found in the well-known inscribed molding which once crowned the altar of Pythian Apollo.<sup>43</sup> That block forming one end of the altar crown requires an arrangement of orthostates precisely like those preserved in our monument, and in a closely similar scale; but there is, of course, no suggestion that our slightly lower crowning course carried the same elaborately carved leaf molding below the fascia.

Although not a single fragment of such a crowning course has been recovered from the excavations, two other architectural pieces belong in all probability to the upper part of the marble altar. These are a matched pair of pedimental barriers found together some years ago in the debris beneath a modern basement wall, just 26 meters due south of the altar (Fig. 15, Pl. 8:a). Both pieces preserve the apex of the pedimental triangle to its full height, crowned by central palmette akroteria, one of which at the time of its discovery showed faint traces of the original painted petals and spiral tendrils.<sup>44</sup> Since the preserved right end of

<sup>43</sup> See Travlos, p. 100 and figs. 132–134. The dimensions (L. 1.82 m., W. 0.59 m., H. 0.185 m.) show that it formed the end crown of an altar only slightly wider than ours, W. (bottom) 1.585 m. For the dedication, *IG I<sup>2</sup>*, 761, quoted by Thucydides, vi.54.6.

<sup>44</sup> A 3774 a: H. 0.717 m., p.W. 0.60 m., D. 0.18 m., H. of pediment 0.355 m., H. of akroterion 0.362 m. Anathyrosis on right end; joint surface on bottom with dowel cutting (W. 0.034 m., D. 0.063 m.) set in two periods; ancient break at left with dowel cutting (p.L. 0.066 m., W. 0.024 m., D. 0.069 m.) and pour channel (0.045 × 0.012 m.) from back. Pediment with cyma-reversa crown; on raking geison, three fascias formed by incised lines.

A 3774 b: H. 0.723 m., p.W. 0.42 m., D. 0.20 m., H. of pediment 0.362 m., H. of akroterion 0.361 m. Broken on both ends. Anathyrosis on back; joint surface on bottom with dowel cutting (L. 0.062 m., W. 0.014 m., D. 0.039 m.). On geison, faintly incised lines; on akroterion, faint imprint of palmette and spirals.

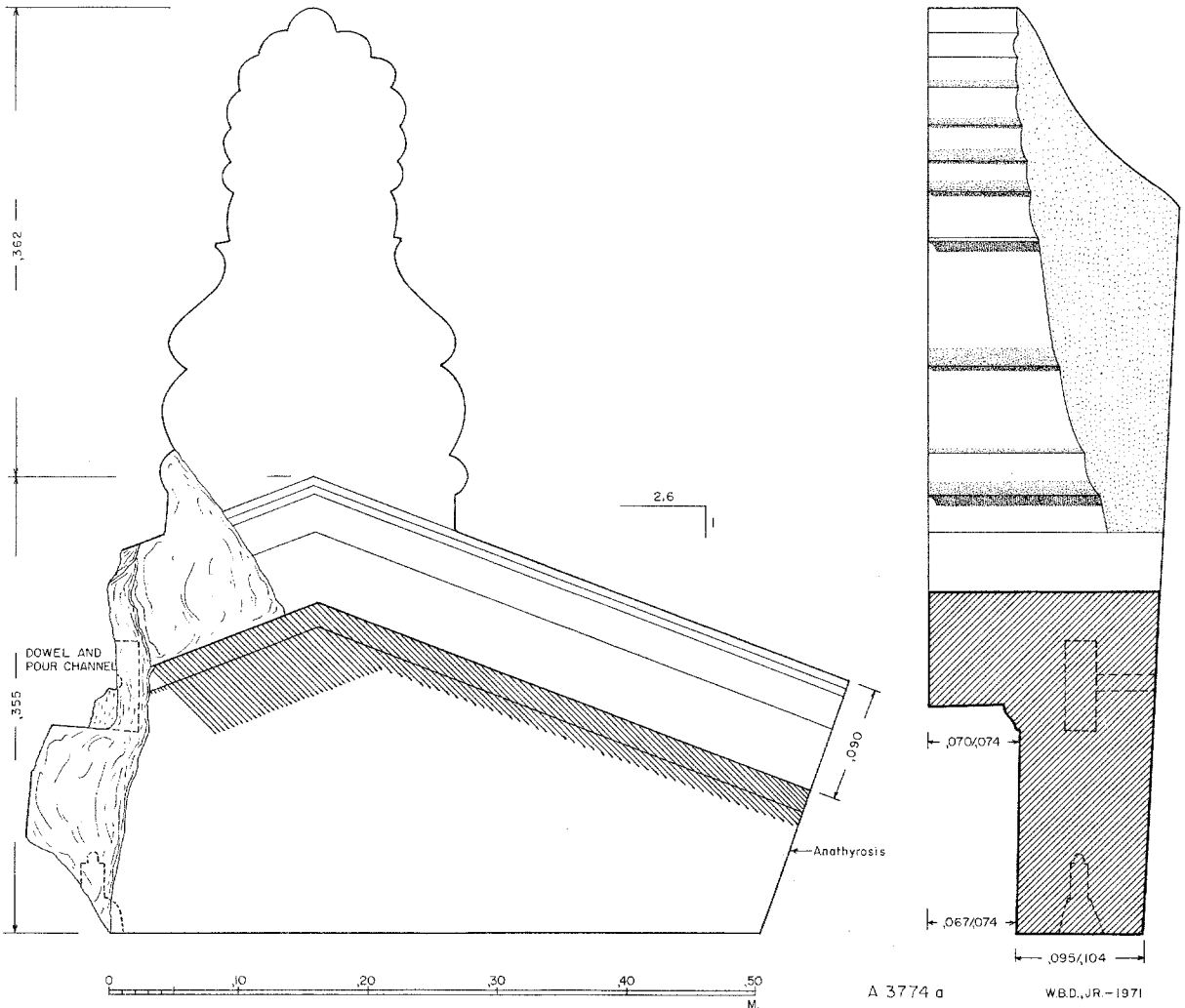


FIG. 15a. Pedimental barrier of altar: A 3774 a

one block is dressed with anathyrosis, the triangle of each pediment would have been completed in three pieces. Restoration of the full triangular barrier on the basis of the preserved height and slope reveals that the original base of the triangle corresponded exactly with the width of the altar, if allowance be made for the projection of the crowning course and moldings (Fig. 16). In addition to this coincidence of dimensions, the pedimental barriers share with the orthostates of the altar both the type of island marble and the quality of workmanship, and these considerations combine to strengthen their association with each other.

#### CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY PHASES

A glance at the actual state of the remains about the altar reveals at once that only part of the sanctuary lies within the new excavation, and even that part came to be crowded with

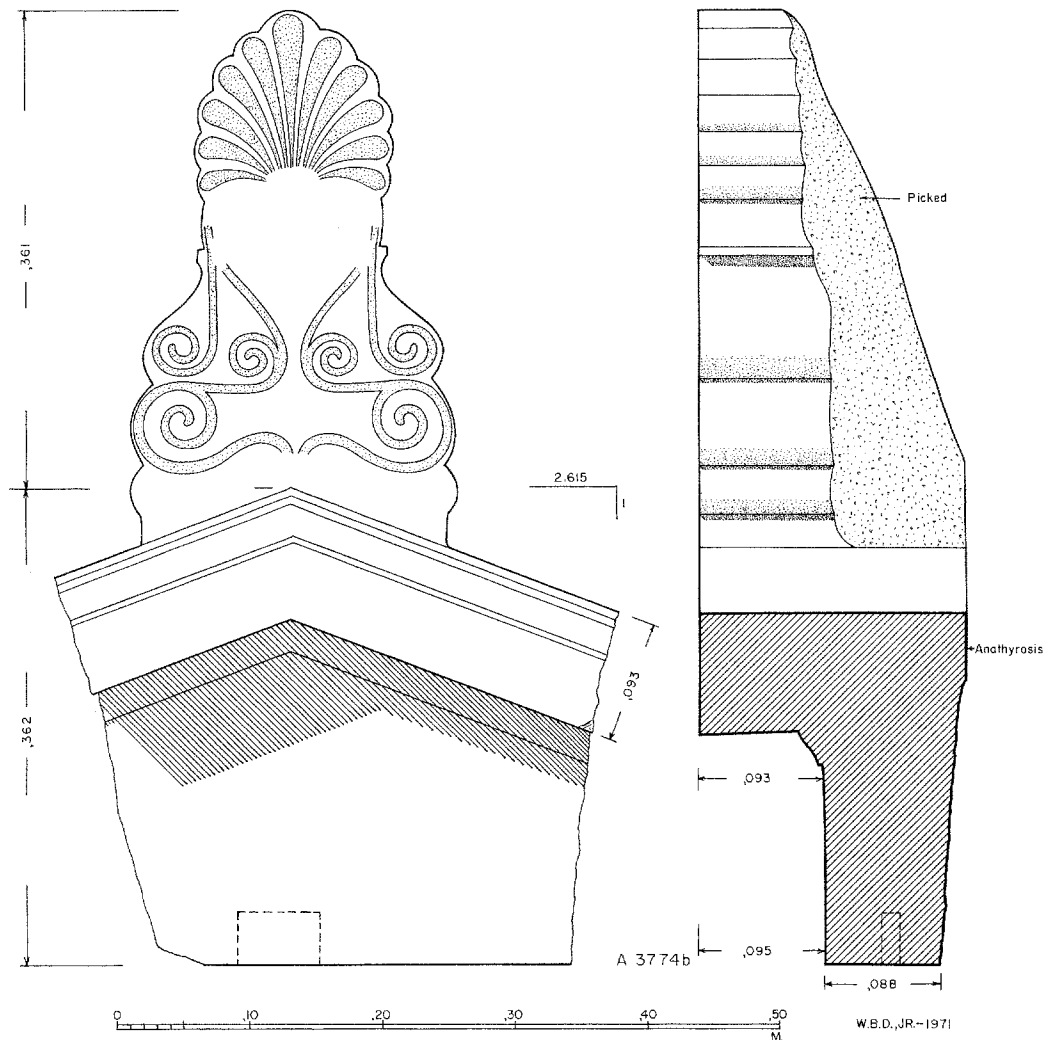


FIG. 15b. Pedimental barrier of altar: A 3774 b

foundations and monuments of later periods, with the result that only small areas preserved the stratified deposits necessary for a reconstruction of its history. Nevertheless, careful investigation of the stratigraphy enabled the excavators to identify several major phases in the life of the sanctuary, even though some of the details remain uncertain. That the altar should prove to be the earliest structure uncovered thus far in the area will cause little surprise, for a late Archaic date is suggested both by the hard, blue limestone used for its base and by the deep level of the base itself, which lies 0.32 m. lower than the euthynteria of the Painted Stoa.

In two places it was possible to test the layers of fill against the west side of the altar base, and the earth and stone packing within the rectangle of the sill were partially removed at the north end where the superstructure is now missing (Fig. 14: Section B-B). Along the west side, the ground surface associated with the initial use of the altar was found to be a

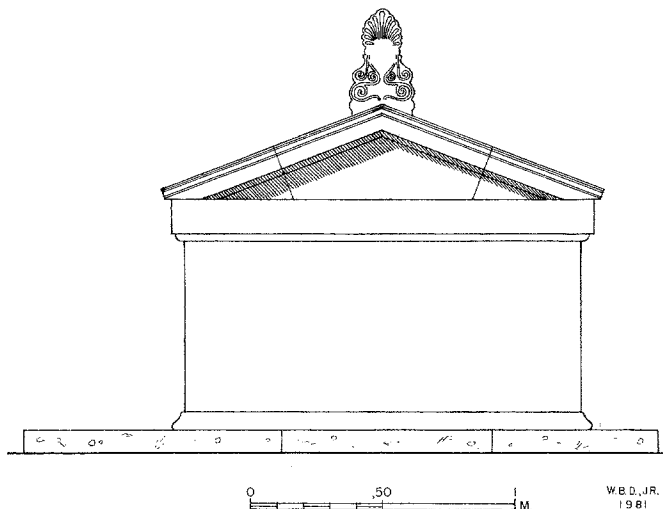


FIG. 16. Restored elevation of altar, from south

thin layer of compacted poros chips mixed with earth, which met the stippled face of the sill just above the rough band along its bottom. Beneath this, a layer of crushed bedrock had been spread over the area to establish the appropriate ground level upon the completion of construction and to cover two layers of construction debris which included hunks of worked poros and limestone from the cutting of blocks for the altar base. The fragmentary pottery from all these layers could be dated to the closing years of the 6th century B.C. and suggests a date about 500 B.C. for the construction of the altar.<sup>45</sup> The same date is indicated by the sherds recovered from within the base, where several layers of gravel and stone packing were removed to a depth lower than the foundation.<sup>46</sup> Within the first quarter century after the altar's construction, the ground level at the west was raised to just below the edge of the sill where the excavator encountered a later surface formed of compacted poros chips like the original. Pottery of the first quarter of the 5th century B.C. was found beneath this surface, and the latest pieces suggest that the ground level was adjusted shortly before 480 B.C.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Pottery from layers associated with the construction of the altar base (Fig. 14): Layer 15, first surface of poros chips, Lots BE 232–234; Layer 16, crushed bedrock, Lots BE 235–237; Layer 17, red earth with poros working chips, Lots BE 238, 239; Layer 18, limestone working chips, Lot BE 240. Very fragmentary sherds of the 6th century B.C. were found in all layers. Among the latest pieces: (Layer 15) lekythos rim, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1115 (ca. 500 B.C.); rim of banded one-handler, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 733 (ca. 500 B.C.); (Layer 17) rim of stemmed dish, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 968 (ca. 500 B.C.).

<sup>46</sup> Pottery from Layers 1–7 (Figs. 13, 14) within the altar base, Lots BE 243–249, all dated to the 6th century B.C. Characteristic pieces: (Layer 1) lekane rim, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1784 (ca. 520–490 B.C.); (Layer 4) rim of cup, type C, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 406 (ca. 500 B.C.); (Layer 6) foot of cup, type C, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 398 (ca. 525 B.C.); foot of skyphos, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 564 (ca. 520 B.C.).

<sup>47</sup> Pottery from Layer 14 (Fig. 14), second surface of poros chips, Lots BE 230, 231. Characteristic pieces: P 31243, banded one-handler, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 732 (ca. 500 B.C.); foot of banded one-handler, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 726 (520–500 B.C.); one-handler rim, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 728 (520–500 B.C.); foot of cup, type C, cf. *Agora*

A second major phase in the history of the altar is indicated by the packing found within the preserved marble orthostates and between the three poros slabs. The packing itself was composed largely of ash and great quantities of burnt animal bones from the sacrifices offered at the altar. This material is of fundamental importance for the interpretation of the cult, and we shall consider it in due course. Much less abundant was the datable evidence found in the packing, and the small amounts of pottery were extremely fragmentary. Although many of the sherds belonged in the first half of the 5th century, the latest pieces were characteristic of the decade 430–420 B.C.<sup>48</sup> This somewhat surprisingly late date is fully corroborated by a pair of silver Athenian coins which seem to have been deliberately deposited in the fill of the altar. The smaller is an obol and the larger a triobol (Pl. 8:b, c), both of which were struck in the third quarter of the 5th century B.C.; the latter was buried after a very short period of circulation.<sup>49</sup>

The stratigraphic evidence thus appears to indicate a period of nearly 75 years between the date of the altar and the date of its platform; but this is difficult to reconcile with the architecture of the monument. For the lines of weathering on the north half of the sill and the pry-holes for maneuvering the blocks into place give no suggestion that any earlier superstructure, contemporary with the limestone base, ever stood in the positions now occupied by the marble orthostates. Equally difficult to square with the evidence of the architecture is the nature of the packing within the altar. The masses of ash and burnt bones are surely the remains of sacrifices on the altar itself, but restoration of the marble crowning course and pedimental barriers on top of the existing orthostates would appear to exclude the introduction of such material as late as the third quarter of the 5th century B.C.

Two pieces of evidence may provide an explanation for this seeming anomaly in that they suggest damage and extensive repair to the upper part of the altar. One of the gabled barriers preserves on its broken left edge a deep cutting for a horizontal dowel and a pour channel to permit the dowel to be leaded inconspicuously from the rear of the block. Another dowel cutting is found in the bottom surface, just at the line of fracture, where a vertical dowel fastened the block to the altar crown beneath. It will be observed that this dowel cutting is wider, deeper, and more irregular than the one preserved in the bottom of the second barrier block because the dowel was set twice. Furthermore, it is placed off center in clear relation to the broken edge of the block. These cuttings are unmistakable signs of ancient repair, and their meaning is unequivocal: one of the barriers was broken, its pieces were carefully fitted back together, and it was reset in its place at one end of the altar. Much the same conclusion is to be drawn from the three upright poros slabs standing between the orthostates. All surfaces of these slabs are roughly worked with a drove, except at the top

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XII, no. 411 (ca. 480 B.C.); foot of cup, type C, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 420 (500–480 B.C.); rim of stemmed dish, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 960 (500–480 B.C.).

<sup>48</sup> Pottery from lower fill between poros slabs and marble orthostates (Fig. 13: Section A–A), Lots BE 276, 278, 280–282. Latest pieces: two fragments of bolsals, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 540 (ca. 420 B.C.); saltcellar, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 895 (ca. 425 B.C.).

<sup>49</sup> Coin BE-337: AR obol, Athens (ca. 449–430 B.C.), Head of Athena/AΘE owl l., cf. J. N. Svoronos, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, Munich 1923–1926, pl. 9: 33–46. Coin BE-325: AR triobol, Athens (third quarter 5th century B.C.). Head of Athena/owl facing between olive branches, cf. *ibid.*, pls. 11:27–34; 12:29, 30.

where they were cut down to carry the altar crown; the ledges thus formed are smoothly finished with a claw chisel. There is indication that the tops of the slabs were dressed down while they stood in their present positions, for a layer of fine poros chips from working the stone was found in the fill between the slabs and about 0.10 m. above their bottoms. The inclusion of this material in a filling datable to about 430–420 B.C. shows that the poros slabs must have been inserted in the altar and trimmed at that time. Since the slabs themselves are without parallel in ceremonial altars of this type, which would normally be filled with rubble and earth packing,<sup>50</sup> we may suppose that they were installed to provide additional support for the crowning course, of which some blocks may have been broken and mended like the pedimental barrier.

On the basis of the evidence here assembled, we may reconstruct the early history of the altar in the following manner. About 500 B.C. the structure was originally built, with its limestone base, marble orthostates and crowning course, and pedimental barriers at each end. Shortly before 480 B.C. the ground level to the west was raised to the top of the sill. Sometime thereafter the altar sustained serious damage to its upper parts; like so many other buildings and monuments of Archaic Athens, it may well have fallen victim to the Persian sack of 480 B.C. When the superstructure was eventually repaired, the damage was found to be extensive enough so that one barrier and at least the south half of the altar crown had to be removed, and poros slabs were installed inside to strengthen the structure. During the interval between the Persian destruction and the repair of the altar, refuse from the sacrifices may gradually have gathered within the orthostates, especially if they were stripped of their crowning blocks for much of that period. The possibility cannot be excluded entirely, however, that all the ash and burnt bone were brought in as fill from a nearby sanctuary dump when the repairs were undertaken between 430 and 420 B.C. If the early phases of the altar are correctly interpreted, its history will be seen to bear striking resemblance to that of its neighbor, the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods, located across the Panathenaic Way to the southeast. Like the new altar, the Archaic Altar of the Twelve Gods seems to have been damaged by the Persians, and the entire peribolos was rebuilt anew at about the same time as our monument was being repaired.<sup>51</sup>

Aside from the altar itself no other architectural remains of the Archaic or Classical periods can be associated with the sanctuary. If there was a temple or other cult building in the early period, its remains must be sought to the west of the altar, outside the excavated area; but here the northward bend of the Panathenaic Way precludes the location of anything but a simple *naïskos* or similar small structure. Even within the excavation the original limits of the *temenos* are difficult to establish. The clearest indication may be seen in a

<sup>50</sup> For discussion of ceremonial altars, C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949, pp. 95–96. For rubble and earth filling of large altars, *ibid.*, p. 115 (Corfu, Temple of Artemis), p. 204 (Megalopolis; Perachora, Temple of Hera Akraia); D. W. Rupp, *Greek Altars of the Northeastern Peloponnese*, diss. Bryn Mawr 1974, p. 85 (Nemea, Sanctuary of Zeus), p. 256 (Troizen, Asklepieion), p. 265 (Halieis, Sanctuary of Apollo).

<sup>51</sup> In the case of the Altar of the Twelve Gods, a second sill for the peribolos was actually placed on top of the original, and Thucydides (vi.54.6–7) says that the dedicatory inscription was obscured when the altar was later lengthened. See M. Crosby, "The Altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 82–103; H. A. Thompson, "The Altar of Pity in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 21, 1952, pp. 47–82; Travlos, pp. 458–461; *Agora XIV*, pp. 129–136.



short section of wall lying deep beneath a Roman building about six meters north of the altar (Figs. 3, 4). A row of limestone blocks in polygonal masonry rests on a low socle made of the same material and set at about the same level as the base of the altar. Since only the south side of this wall exhibits a finished face, it evidently separated the low-lying area around the altar from a higher terrace to the north; but there is no way of knowing whether it formed the northern boundary of the sanctuary. To the east, the sacred area was limited by the public thoroughfare passing between it and the Stoa Poikile; but no trace of a peribolos wall has survived the building activities of later periods. The western edge of the street in the Classical period is established by the line of an open poros water channel (Fig. 3, Pl. 9:b), which is placed at precisely the same level as the euthynteria of the stoa and probably functioned until the grading operations at the end of the 4th century B.C. Although even the blocks of this gutter have disappeared further to the south, its existence provides a useful reminder that from the mid-5th century onwards the cobbled surface of the street was constantly maintained at a higher level than the floor of the adjacent sanctuary. This helps to explain how it happened that, during the last quarter of the 5th century B.C., earth was allowed to accumulate on the west side of the altar to a depth of some 0.35 m. above the sill.<sup>52</sup>

#### THE ROMAN TEMPLE

It is something of a paradox that the third major phase of the sanctuary served both to confound most of the earlier stratigraphy and at the same time to preserve the early altar itself so that it survived in such good condition. Immediately north of the altar, the entire area between the ancient street and the limit of the excavation is occupied by the massive foundations for a large structure, the interpretation of which is rendered difficult by the facts that only its southeast corner has been exposed and that its fabric was pillaged and rebuilt at least twice in late Roman times and twice again in the Byzantine period (Fig. 4, Pls. 5:b, 9:a). What survived these later depredations is a solidly built corner of re-used poros blocks forming a foundation about 2.15 m. wide. Four courses of masonry have been exposed to a depth of 1.55 m., and the stonework was probably founded on bedrock, although clearance of the area was not continued below the modern water table.

These deep foundations carried the front steps of the building. The heavy foot wear along the edge of the highest course shows that it is the first of three steps and had a tread 0.35 m. wide. The lowest step is preserved along most of the south side and returns on the east for a distance of 2.05 m., whereupon it terminates against the east wall of the building. Several blocks of the second step also survive *in situ*, one of which at the southeast corner displays the clear lines of weathering left by a missing third step (Pl. 9:b). Since the steps themselves occupy only the outer half of the wide foundation, it is likely that they carried above them a columnar façade across the south side of the building. A similar conclusion is indicated by the disposition of the poros masonry itself, which underlies only that part of the

<sup>52</sup> Pottery between poros foundations west of altar, above sill, Layer 13 (Fig. 13), Lots BE 227–229. Latest fragments: bowl, convex-concave profile, cf. *Agora XII*, no. 821 (425–400 B.C.); olpe rim, cf. *Agora XII*, no. 279 (ca. 420 B.C.); stemless cup rim, cf. *Agora XII*, no. 487 (ca. 430 B.C.).

building fronted by the steps; for the east wall continued northwards on a foundation of heavy rubble, measuring 1.00 m. in thickness. A slightly narrower wall, 0.90 m. thick, also based on rubble foundations, lies parallel to the poros masonry and 6.00 m. behind the edge of the first step. It will be observed that the eastern return of the poros steps projects beyond the line of the east wall, and this suggests that they stopped at a point where the wall itself terminated in an anta behind a prostyle colonnade. The configuration of the plan, the scale of the steps and foundations, and the distribution of materials all enable the building to be recognized as a temple of Roman podium type, with steps and prostyle porch facing southwards toward the early altar and the Panathenaic Way (Fig. 3).

Not much more can usefully be said about the temple's architecture on the basis of the present evidence, for no architectural blocks attributable to the superstructure or columnar order have yet come to light. The over-all width of the temple façade can, however, be estimated within narrow limits, as a result of a peculiar feature of the late Roman street colonnade, which succeeded the temple on the site. We have seen that the concrete foundations for the latter structure abutted the west wall of the Stoa Poikile at the exact mid-point and at the southwest anta. As they proceed westwards, however, the late Roman foundations will be seen to diverge sharply from each other (Fig. 10). This seeming perversity is not due to sheer carelessness of construction, but rather to the fact that the late Roman building was apparently designed specifically to fill the awkward space between two pre-existing stoas of different interior depth and orientation. On the one hand, the Painted Stoa, measuring 11.51 m. from front to back, was oriented northeast to southwest, while on the other hand, a stoa of early Roman date, with a depth of only 7.80 m., is known to have bordered the Panathenaic Way from northwest to southeast.<sup>53</sup> The late Roman colonnade was intended to form a transition between these two divergent façades, and its rear wall evidently connected the mid-point of the Painted Stoa to the northeast corner of the stoa on the Panathenaic Way. If this reconstruction is correct, the earlier Roman temple on our site cannot have exceeded *ca.* 14.50 m. in over-all width. That dimension allows the building to be restored with a porch of six columns on its prostyle podium and makes its general scale closely similar to both the Southeast and Southwest Temples, the other podium temples in the area of the Agora.<sup>54</sup>

It is necessary to emphasize that the lowest step of the temple lies 1.37 m. higher than the base of the early altar, immediately to the south and only 2.20 m. distant. This means that the builders of the temple brought about a major change in the grading of the terrain west of the Painted Stoa when they established a new ground level just 0.08 m. below the top of the first step. The excavator encountered the hard cobbled surface of this level in the open area to the south of the temple and east of the altar (Fig. 14: Section C-C, Layer G), and here excavation of the deeper deposits revealed that the Roman builders had dumped a

<sup>53</sup> A section of this building was uncovered by the Greek Archaeological Service in excavations at the corner of Hadrian and Theseion Streets; Y. Nikopoulou, *op. cit.* (footnote 25 above), pp. 1-9.

<sup>54</sup> See Dinsmoor, *op. cit.* (footnote 12 above), pp. 410-452; *Agora XIV*, pp. 165-168; Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 21, 1952, pp. 90-91; *idem*, "Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1959," *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 341-343, 350-356; *idem*, "Itinerant Temples of Attica" (abstract), *AJA* 66, 1962, p. 200.

massive artificial filling over the whole area of the early altar in order to create a level forecourt south of the new temple. This grading operation is of special interest because it provides specific architectural evidence which shows that the Roman temple was in fact related to the Archaic altar.

To the west and north of the altar, the extant remains preserve parts of five rows of poros blocks, set end to end so as to form bands of foundations, which bear an obvious relation to the altar itself (Figs. 13, 14, Pls. 6:a, b; 7:a). Three blocks were placed with great care so that they rest on the wide western sill, and they were gently pushed against the marble orthostate so that they touched, but did not damage, its bottom molding. Part of a fourth band of foundations was later removed from an identical position, while a fifth row of blocks lies adjacent to the altar base at its north end. The five bands of foundation thus formed are parallel to each other and spaced uniformly 0.60 m. apart; but it will be noticed that they are also precisely parallel to the front of the Roman temple and have, in fact, a slightly different orientation from the early altar which they so plainly surround. The dimensions and careful spacing of the blocks suggest that they once supported a paved platform before the temple, of which the surviving remains are for the most part only the lowest foundation. One block of a second course remains in place on the middle band, and a negative impression of the second course was observed in a mass of later concrete which incorporated the northernmost row of poros blocks. This second course brought the foundation to the top of the altar crown, but a third course of blocks together with thinner paving slabs, possibly of marble, would have been needed to bring the top of the platform just above the newly established ground level, as it was preserved a short distance east of the altar. There can be no question of the platform extending further east than the end of the northern foundation, for the deep earth fill of the Roman builders was found pressed close against the east face of the orthostate for its entire height. This evidence, taken together with the careful placement of blocks on the west side and with the oddly asymmetric length of the north row, suggests that the platform was specifically designed to cover the altar and to incorporate the earlier structure intact beneath the later. The upper part of the pavement may even have rested directly on the crowning course of the altar, thus completing the rectangle of the platform; but in that case the original pedimental barriers would have to have been removed and possibly buried within. It is reasonable to suppose that the platform was symmetrically located on the axis of the temple, but that cannot be verified with certainty. Its position just 1.50 m. in front of the steps makes it an obvious spot for the placement of an altar in association with the new temple. Whether the new altar was erected directly above the old, or possibly further to the west, there is no way of knowing; but as so often happened with Greek religious monuments, the later structure by physical contact with its predecessor preserved the sanctity of the spot, made sacred by the early altar in Archaic times. Constructed as it was, the platform maintained the architectural continuity of the site, just as the new temple and altar provided a more grandiose setting for the ritual of the cult.

#### CHRONOLOGY OF THE ROMAN PHASES

In several places around the temple and the altar, the excavators were able to explore portions of the deep earth filling brought in by the builders to level the sanctuary. It has

already been noted that the full original depth of the fill was found just east of the altar where five layers of red earth and clay were deposited to a depth of about 1.40 m. as a part of one operation. Everywhere south of the early altar along the Panathenaic Way, the same fill was preserved to a level higher than the marble orthostates, while similar layers were found within the southeast corner of the temple itself and along its east side. Considerable quantities of broken pottery were recovered from excavation of these layers, and the various groups of sherds agreed closely in date. The great bulk of the ceramic material could be placed late in the 1st century B.C., although the latest pieces descended into the early years of the 1st century after Christ.<sup>55</sup> A date in the first half of the century for the construction of the temple and refurbishing of the sanctuary seems most compatible with the evidence, and that brings the new temple into relation with the considerable number of temples and shrines now known to have been erected or rebuilt in the Agora during the early Roman period.<sup>56</sup>

On the west side of the altar, the Roman builders evidently began their work by setting down the lowest poros blocks for the platform into a layer of Classical fill, which had been allowed to rise to a depth of 0.35 m. above the altar base.<sup>57</sup> This will explain the heavy admixture of Classical pottery in the Roman fill and the almost total lack of Roman pottery in the narrow strips of earth between the poros foundations, despite the fact that poros chips from working the blocks themselves were found in abundance.

A later addition to the altar platform was a large monument of which the poros foundation and one marble course were found at the western edge of the excavation (Fig. 4, Pls. 4:a, 6:a, 9:a). Traces of weathering on the preserved marble blocks indicate the placement of a second marble course above. That the monument is certainly later than the temple and the platform is clear from its architectural relation to them, for it was set against the podium of the temple with no marble block returning along its north side; and at the same time the poros foundations for the platform extended beneath the monument and were actually cut down to carry its substructure. No ceramic evidence came to light which could define its date of construction more precisely; nor is it easy to explain why the lowest visible marble work of the base should have been set at such a low level, 0.52 m. below the first step of the adjacent temple podium.

Although nothing in the stratigraphy could be described as destruction debris, it is apparent that the temple was completely rebuilt at the beginning of the 5th century after

<sup>55</sup> Pottery from the stratified filling east of the altar, Layers G–K (Fig. 14), Lots BE 364–368. Latest pieces: Eastern Sigillata A (Pergamene) plate with stamped palmette, cf. *Agora V*, no. F2; hemispherical cup rim, cf. *Agora V*, no. F6. Pottery from south of altar, Layers 2–16 (Fig. 13: Section A–A), Lots BE 294–312. Latest pieces: Eastern Sigillata A (Pergamene) plate rims, cf. *Agora V*, no. F1. Pottery from the construction filling inside temple, Lots BE 186, 189, 190, and outside east foundation, Lot BE 885: P 31388, rim of Arretine plate with applied mask and swag, cf. Hayes, “Roman Pottery from the South Stoa at Corinth,” *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 428, no. 30. P 31386, red-ware bowl, semiglazed; horizontal ridging on wall; three concentric grooves on floor; for the shape, cf. *Agora V*, no. G185. Among latest sherds: Eastern Sigillata A (Pergamene) bell-cup rim, cf. *Agora V*, no. F14; plate foot, cf. *Agora V*, no. G9; Eastern Sigillata B II (Samian A) bowl rim, cf. *Agora V*, no. G169; slip-coated bi-conical jug rim, cf. *Agora V*, no. F44.

<sup>56</sup> Thompson, *AJA* 66, 1962, p. 200; *idem*, “The Annex to the Stoa of Zeus. . .,” *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 171–187; T. L. Shear, Jr., “Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town,” *Hesperia* 50, 1981, pp. 360–365.

<sup>57</sup> See footnote 52 above.

Christ. At that time, an enormously deep and solid foundation of concrete was erected along the front of the temple and more than doubled the width of the original poros podium (Fig. 4). The concrete was found to cover the steps on the south side, so that the entire superstructure of the earlier building must have been demolished to that level. Whether the reconstructed building continued to function as a temple at this late date cannot be ascertained, but the date of the building operations could be fixed on the basis of pottery and coins of the late 4th century after Christ, some of which were found embedded in the concrete itself, and others were recovered from an associated layer of fill within the corner of the building.<sup>58</sup> Whatever the nature of the reconstructed building, it stood for only a short time before being completely dismantled once again; for the late Roman street stoa, to which reference has already been made (pp. 15, 34 above), succeeded it on the site sometime still within the first half of the 5th century after Christ. We have already seen that the concrete foundation for its colonnade was laid directly above the early altar, and its rear wall crossed the late concrete podium and poros steps of the Roman temple. It was probably in connection with this construction that some of the poros blocks were stripped from the altar platform, but the northern half of the early altar itself seems to have been left intact at this time. For the earth that filled the pillaging trench after removal of the blocks stopped along a straight line exactly where the marble orthostates would have stood, while the north half of the altar base, east of this line, was covered with rubble and debris left by scavengers of the 6th or 7th centuries.<sup>59</sup>

#### IDENTIFICATION

One is drawn irresistibly to the question, which deity was honored in so prominent a sanctuary, and the conviction grows that a cult which flourished from the 5th century B.C. to the 4th century after Christ, beside the principal entrance to the Agora, can hardly have passed from antiquity in total anonymity. But still it has to be conceded that the independent archaeological evidence for its identification is more tantalizing than definitive. For, alas, the early altar bears no dedicatory inscription, and no cache of votive offerings has come to light intact. That offerings were once dedicated in the sanctuary, there can be no doubt; for throughout the stratified deposits of all periods about the altar, there was found a scattering of objects seldom encountered in the public areas of the Agora. These pieces are better regarded as votive gifts which found their way into various layers as a result of the digging and pillaging of later times. Among them may be noted especially several fragments of

<sup>58</sup> Pottery from the aggregate of the concrete foundation, Lots BE 175, 176. Latest fragments: flat-bottomed, wheel-ridged jug, cf. *Agora V*, no. M271; stamped plate, local "Late Roman D", cf. F. O. Waagé, "The Roman and Byzantine Pottery," *Hesperia* 2, 1933, p. 306, fig. 6. Pottery from layers within foundations, Lots BE 178, 180–183. Latest fragments: African red-slip dishes, cf. Hayes, *LRP*, Form 61 A, 63, pp. 100ff., 109; African red-slip bowl, cf. Hayes, *LRP*, Form 53 A14, p. 80; "Late Roman C" rim, cf. Hayes, *LRP*, Form 1 A, pp. 325ff.; bowl rims, local "Late Roman D", cf. Waagé, *op. cit.*, p. 305, no. 243; lamp disk, cf. *Agora VII*, no. 1871. Coins BE-225: AE, Arcadius (A.D. 383–408). Bust r./VOT/V in wreath, uncertain mint, cf. R. A. G. Carson, P. V. Hill, J. P. C. Kent, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage*, London 1965, p. 89, nos. 2161–2163; BE-227: AE, Valentinian I (A.D. 364–375). Bust r./effaced.

<sup>59</sup> Pottery from pillaging fill at north end of altar, Layers 11, 12 (Figs. 13, 14), Lots BE 219, 220. Latest fragments: "Late Roman C" bowl rims, cf. Hayes, *LRP*, Form 10 A, B, p. 343.

black-figured lekythoi (Pl. 8:e, g, h),<sup>60</sup> some pieces of miniature black-glazed pyxides (Pl. 8:i),<sup>61</sup> and a black-glazed spindle whorl with delicate impressed decoration (Pl. 8:j).<sup>62</sup> An iron finger ring (Pl. 8:d)<sup>63</sup> was found, like the silver coins mentioned earlier (p. 31 and footnote 49 above), in the actual ash deposit within the altar, where it had no doubt been deliberately buried, and from the same context came a pair of polished knucklebones, one inscribed with the letter epsilon (Pl. 20:f), which had been dedicated as gaming pieces rather than as parts of sacrificial animals. A few scraps of terracotta animal figurines were certainly dedicatory, and among them the greatest interest attaches to the miniature figurine of a dove (Pl. 8:f) which was found in the original construction packing west of the altar base.<sup>64</sup>

By far the most informative dedication thus far discovered is a fragmentary votive relief (Pl. 17:a). Even though its two pieces were found in late levels some 10 meters east of the altar, there can be little doubt that it was originally offered in our sanctuary. The relief depicts a veiled female figure descending the rungs of a ladder and extending in her right hand a vase which appears to be a thurible or incense burner. The subject matter of the scene enables the figure to be identified as Aphrodite in her cult role as the Heavenly goddess, or Aphrodite Ourania. Because of its unusual iconography, and because of its importance for the identification of the sanctuary, the relief has been made the subject of a detailed study which appears below.<sup>65</sup>

So scattered and fragmentary was the votive material from the sanctuary that one would be reluctant to base any but the most tentative conclusions upon it, if it were not for the fact that it finds striking confirmation in a totally different body of evidence. In the course of excavating the early altar, the packing enclosed by the marble orthostates and between the poros slabs proved to be largely composed of ash and burnt bone, the remains of actual sacrifices performed at the altar. The entire deposit was sifted by flotation, and from this

<sup>60</sup> e) P 31208: p.H. 0.033 m., p.W. 0.05 m. Part of shoulder and upper body. On shoulder, ends of petals of palmette; on upper body, at junction with shoulder, meander between two bands; narrow band below. Top of kithara pointed right. Cf. Haspels, *op. cit.* (footnote 16 above), pls. 19:1, 20:6.

g) P 31206: p.H. 0.069 m., p.W. 0.033 m. Wall nearly vertical. At junction with shoulder, two rows of dots above two bands; below figures, wide band between two narrow bands. Figured zone: foreparts of horses of four-horse chariot facing right. Incised details; added red for manes and trappings. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 233, no. 34 and pl. 38:2 b.

h) P 31202: p.H. 0.046 m., max. p. diam. 0.03 m. Lower body glazed. Reserved zone above narrow glazed band with parts of pattern. For the shape, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1115.

<sup>61</sup> P 31203: p.H. 0.035 m., est. diam. 0.06 m. Type B. Small, low ring foot. Deep wall, inset. Reserved: resting surface and whole underside, inside floor. Reserved band on wall outside and two inside. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1292.

<sup>62</sup> MC 1319: p.H. 0.025 m., diam. 0.035 m. Ring foot, convex lower wall, concave above. Impressed pattern, ovules, on bottom of and within foot, and middle of upper wall. Pierced vertically through center. Glazed all over.

<sup>63</sup> IL 1776: diam. 0.02 m., L. of bezel 0.015 m., W. of bezel 0.01 m. Intact but corroded. Oval bezel.

<sup>64</sup> T 4176: H. 0.048 m., p.L. 0.049 m. Beak, tips of tail, and parts of feet broken. Handmade. Wings articulated only by bulge on either side of body. Tail pinched at base, flattened near end. Orange buff clay, covered with thin white wash, traces of red preserved over white.

Other figurine fragments are legs of animals: T 4181, T 4182.

<sup>65</sup> S 3344: votive relief of Aphrodite Ourania. The identification of the relief I owe to C. M. Edwards, for whose discussion of its iconography, see below, pp. 59–72 (Pls. 17–19).

process many thousands of fragmentary animal bones were recovered. A detailed analysis of this skeletal material is likewise presented below in a separate study,<sup>66</sup> the principal conclusions of which may be summarized here because of their bearing on the identification of the cult. Although most of the bones were too fragmentary, or too damaged by fire, to permit accurate identification, a total of 1,369 pieces could be recognized. The bones fell into two major classes, 1088 fragments (80.1%) from goats, and 264 fragments (19.7%) from birds, while a scattering of 7 fragments (0.5%) were identified as being from cows. Among the bird bones it was possible to distinguish two different species: 175 fragments (81.0%) of doves and 41 fragments (16.2%) of chickens. Among the goat bones, the great preponderance probably belonged to very young female kids.

Comparison of this information with the known instances in which specific animals were offered to the various Greek deities will reveal at once that birds of any kind were a great rarity as victims. Moreover, the altar deposit shows three characteristics which are especially distinctive: the large percentage of doves, the inclusion of more than one species of birds, and most particularly the combination of these with female goats or kids. To the extent that Greek sacrificial practice is known to us from literary and epigraphical sources, this specific combination of victims can be said to characterize the cult of only one deity, Aphrodite. Occasional references occur to the sacrifice of cocks for other divinities, but Aphrodite alone received the dove.<sup>67</sup> Her sacred bird was the legacy of oriental forebears, and an Athenian decree specifically mentions the sacrifice of a dove to her as Pandemos.<sup>68</sup> The same birds adorn the sculptured frieze of her naïskos on the slope of the Akropolis; and they fly through her firmament as Ourania on the silver votive disk from the Kerameikos.<sup>69</sup> The goat, on the other hand, was equally Aphrodite's special animal, and a third of the references to her sacrifices prescribe goats or kids. The goddess was frequently shown riding a goat both in art and in the votives of her cult, and some reliefs include the young kids

<sup>66</sup> Analysis of the skeletal material from the altar was undertaken by G. V. Foster, to whose report I am indebted for the information summarized here. His study is published below, pp. 73–82 (Pl. 20).

<sup>67</sup> Ancient testimonia for sacrificial victims are conveniently collected by E. Kadletz, *Animal Sacrifice in Greek and Roman Religion*, diss. University of Washington 1976. See especially pp. 10–25, 274–277 for Aphrodite. It is of interest to compare the statistics represented by the skeletal material with those preserved in the literary record. In 33 references to sacrifices for Aphrodite, the following victims occur: goats or kids (11, 33.3%), birds (6, 18.2%), cows (5, 15.3%), swine (4, 12.2%), sheep (3, 9%), unspecified victim (3, 9%), hare (1, 3%). Sacrifices of the following birds are each mentioned once: cock, dove, goose, partridge, thrush, any bird. For cocks sacrificed to other divinities: Plutarch, *Moralia*, 238 F (Ares); *IG IV<sup>2</sup>*, 40, lines 5–6 (Artemis and Leto); *IG IV<sup>2</sup>*, 41, lines 5–6; Plato, *Phaedo*, 118 (Asklepios); *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1367, lines 26–27 (Herakles).

<sup>68</sup> For the dove as the special bird of Aphrodite, Roscher, *Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* I, Leipzig 1884–1890, cols. 404, 409f.; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, pp. 215–216; J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*, Plymouth 1977, pp. 16, 146. For the sacrifice of doves to Aphrodite, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 659, lines 23ff.; cf. Propertius, iv. 5.65–66; Ovid, *Fasti* i. 451–452. Both species of birds sacrificed at the altar in the Agora had specifically erotic associations: doves were favorite lovers' gifts and symbolized affection, Theokritos, v.96.133; cocks were considered lecherous, Aristotle, *de gen. anim.*, 749 B.

<sup>69</sup> For the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos, L. Beschi, *ASAtene*, n.s. 29–30, 1967–1968, pp. 517–528; the sculptured frieze, p. 523, fig. 7. For the disk from the Kerameikos, U. Knigge, «'Ο ἀστὴρ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης», *AthMitt* 97, 1982, pp. 153–170, pl. 31. For interpretation of the goddess as Ourania instead of Pandemos, see the discussion of Edwards, below, p. 69.

gamboling beneath her steed or about her altar.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, on the disk from the Kerameikos, we find the same unusual combination of elements graphically depicted, Aphrodite riding through the heavens on her goat together with a dove and kids, in a perfect iconographical statement of the physical remains from the altar in the Agora.

The archaeological evidence from the excavations must also be considered in close relation to the topographical evidence of Pausanias' description; for the only ancient reference to the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania at Athens occurs in the traveler's account of the northwest corner of the Agora. Immediately prior to the passage quoted above, concerning the Hellenistic gate and the Painted Stoa, Pausanias re-oriented his reader with reference to the Stoa Basileios at the entrance to the square:

ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην Βασιλείου ναὸς ἔστιν Ἑφαιστου . . . πλησίον δὲ ἱερόν ἔστιν Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας . . . τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι ἄγαλμα λίθου Παρίου καὶ ἔργον Φειδίου . . . ἰοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοάν, ἣν Ποικίλην ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἔστιν Ἑρμῆς χαλκῶς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος καὶ πύλη πλησίον. (1.14.6,7; 15.1).

After mention both of the Hephaisteion on the hill above the market square and of the Royal Stoa, he proceeded to describe the neighboring monuments: the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania, a statue of Hermes Agoraios,<sup>71</sup> a gate near by, and then the Stoa Poikile. It is important to emphasize that Pausanias' sequence is precisely analogous to that which the excavations have now revealed. The closely confined area of the new excavation lies directly across the Panathenaic Way from the Royal Stoa (Fig. 3), whence the visitor enjoys the most effective view of the Hephaisteion on the hill beyond. Here a venerable altar and sanctuary have come to light, immediately adjacent to a gate of the early Hellenistic period, which was virtually built onto the corner of a great Classical stoa toward the east. The very juxtaposition of these monuments, sanctuary, gate, and stoa, in such close proximity to each other adds vital confirmation to their identifications. Once again the ruinous stones exposed by excavation are found to be in perfect conformity with the topography of the northwest corner of the Agora as described by Pausanias.

## HERMS

The recent field work has provided no new information about the other Classical stoa which is known from ancient authors and inscriptions to have stood somewhere near the northwest part of the Agora. The Stoa of the Herms still remains as elusive a structure as ever, although it is now likely that the building should be sought further to the northwest. Indeed, it was in this direction that there came to light the single inscription which says that it was to be displayed "in the Stoa of the Herms."<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, these characteristically Athenian

<sup>70</sup> Pausanias, vi.25.1, Skopas' famous statue at Elis; cf. A. Schober, "Zu den elischen Bildwerken der Aphrodite," *ÖJh* 21–22, 1922–1924, pp. 222–228. E. Mitropoulou (*Aphrodite auf der Ziege*, Athens 1975), has collected the examples of votives. See also below, Edwards, pp. 69–71, Pls. 17:b, 18.

<sup>71</sup> Hermes Agoraios is eliminated as a candidate for the deity honored by the new altar and sanctuary, because an altar dedicated to him is said to have been given by Kallistratos of Aphidna, the famous orator of the 4th century B.C., [Plutarch], *Moralia*, 844 b; Kirchner, *PA*, no. 8157; Davies, *op. cit.* (footnote 27 above), p. 278, note 1. This cannot be reconciled with the archaeological evidence for the dates of our sanctuary, which indicates no trace of activity around the altar during the 4th century.

<sup>72</sup> J. Threpsiades and E. Vanderpool, «Πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς», *Δελτ* 18, 1963, pp. 99–114. The phrase ἐν [τῆ]



dedications, the Herms themselves, add support to the topographical interpretation proposed above. In such profusion did they come to stand about this part of the Agora that the area was called “The Herms” both in common parlance and in the language of official documents.<sup>73</sup> That the monuments so called were ranged along the Panathenaic Way emerges from a reference to a certain Demetrios who, as Hipparch, set up a special grandstand for his mistress to view the Panathenaia “by the Herms and higher than the Herms themselves.”<sup>74</sup> Moreover, they are specifically located with reference to the Royal Stoa and the Poikile; for Harpokration quotes Menekles or Kallikrates as saying, “From the Poikile and the Stoa of the King extend the so-called Herms.”<sup>75</sup> One infers from this statement that the two stoas lay close together with numerous herms in the immediate vicinity.

The herms themselves first emerged in large numbers during the early 1970’s when excavations both east and west of the Stoa Basileios produced fragments and bases of some two dozen.<sup>76</sup> Their appearance in association with the Royal Stoa has thus borne out the topographical indications in the literary sources. In the light of this, it is particularly interesting that more pieces of herms should be found in the area immediately across the Panathenaic Way to the north. The new group includes four shafts,<sup>77</sup> three fragments broken from the hair and beards of herms,<sup>78</sup> and one nearly complete head. In addition, two

σ]τοᾶι τῶν Ἑρμῶν occurs p. 105, lines 43–44. Cf. Aischines, III.183; Harpokration, s.v. Ἑρμαῖ. Other inscriptions from the same area were to be erected πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς, “near the Herms”, Thepsiades and Vanderpool, *op. cit.*, p. 110, line 9; C. Habicht, “Neue Inschriften aus dem Kerameikos,” *AthMitt* 76, 1961, pp. 127ff., 140. For discussion of the Herms, E. B. Harrison, *Agora XI*, pp. 108–117.

<sup>73</sup> *Agora III*, pp. 103–108 and references cited in footnote 72 above.

<sup>74</sup> Athenaios, IV.167 F.

<sup>75</sup> Harpokration, s.v. Ἑρμαῖ, and cf. Wycherley, “Pausanias in the Agora of Athens,” *GRBS* 2, 1959, pp. 39–40.

<sup>76</sup> T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 255–259; *idem*, *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 164–165, 406–407.

<sup>77</sup> S 3355: p.H. 0.336 m., W. 0.17 m., Th. 0.14 m. Found in removal of Byzantine walls of East Room 1 (Fig. 17), J 3. Broken at top and bottom. Rough picked on back; front and sides smooth and polished. White marble.

S 3380: p.H. 0.27 m., W. 0.10–0.11 m., D. 0.10 m. Found below modern mill floor, K 2. Broken at top and neck. Tapering shaft, rough picked on back; front and sides smooth. On sides, near top, roughly cut square sockets for attachment of arms. White marble.

I 7519: p.H. 0.13 m., p.W. 0.09 m., p.D. 0.048 m. Found in Byzantine West Room 7 (Fig. 17), J 3. Inscribed fragment preserving part of front, right side, and shoulder. White marble. Fragments of three lines of text:

]υρκαρ  
]ρου ἀχαρ  
]λου

I 7537: p.H. 0.37 m., p.W. 0.18 m., p.Th. 0.20 m. Found in modern fill, J 3. Broken at top, bottom, right, and behind. Front and left side smoothed; at top traces of three letters. Pentelic marble.

]ολα[

<sup>78</sup> S 3340: p.L. 0.07 m., max. diam. 0.028 m. Found in Byzantine levels, West Room 9, J 3. Fragment of single lock, broken at both ends. Thin, straight strands of hair from side lock of archaic herm. White marble. Cf. *Agora XI*, no. 163, pl. 44.

S 3346: p.H. 0.141 m., p.W. 0.088 m., p.D. 0.056 m. Found in Byzantine levels above southeast corner of temple, J 3. Fragment of beard, broken at back, top, bottom. Ends of short, wavy strands of hair terminating in tight curls. Gray-white marble. Cf. *Agora XI*, no. 176, pl. 49.

S 3379: p.H. 0.087 m., p.W. 0.055 m., p.Th. 0.03 m. Found over late Roman east-west drain, J 3. Fragment, broken all around, preserving several strands of wavy hair. Pentelic marble.

small square bases built against the corner of the stoa may have supported small herms (Fig. 8). The discovery of a second concentration of these monuments beside another Classical stoa provides yet one more piece of corroborative evidence in favor of the identification of that building as the Stoa Poikile.

By far the most interesting of the new pieces is the life-size head of white marble, which chanced to be found just above the western steps of the stoa (Pl. 10).<sup>79</sup> The symmetrical structure of the head and block-like planes of the face leave no doubt that it belongs to a herm and not to a statue. Long, wavy strands of hair, now heavily worn, radiate from the center of the skull and are combed forward in front beneath the three flat ridges of a broad fillet. The locks end in a double row of tight snail-shell curls forming a high arch over the forehead, while thick side locks fall behind the ear and probably descended to the shoulder. The coiffure is not preserved in back where the head was later cut away to form a flat surface. By contrast with the luxuriant hair of the head, the beard is represented as long parallel zigzags forming thin strands which cling closely to the side planes of the cheeks, and the low drooping mustache is rendered in the same manner. Wherever the original surface is preserved the cheeks and forehead retain a high polish which contrasts with the rougher texture of hair and beard. The nose was once broad and short but is now almost entirely broken away. Better preserved are the slightly bulging eyes, distinctly almond-shaped, with their heavy lids and carefully indicated tear ducts. The lips are full and curve slightly upwards into the deep-set corners of the mouth, so that a trace of the Archaic smile lingers on, and an expression of unusual liveliness plays about the face.

The new herm head is one of the finest and earliest of its type to be found in the Agora; for all the details of style and modeling place it among sculptures which are dated about 510 to 500 B.C. The distinctive zigzag strands of the beard and contrasting heavy curls around the forehead compare closely with the stele of Aristion, where, too, the same characteristic shape of eyes and eyelids may be seen.<sup>80</sup> Much the same treatment of beard and mouth also appears on the head of a mounted warrior from the Akropolis.<sup>81</sup> Especially noticeable on our herm is the unusually large and deeply carved ear with a long, fleshy lobe. The herm from the Akropolis has an ear of similar shape but more crudely rendered, while both the details and proportions closely approximate the more delicate ear on the statue of Aristodikos.<sup>82</sup> Placed thus in the context of its sculptural relations, the herm emerges as a work of

<sup>79</sup> S 3347: p.H. 0.31 m., p.W. 0.205 m., p.Th. 0.17 m. Found in earliest Byzantine level, east end of East Room 3 (Fig. 17), J 3. Broken at neck. Back and left ear cut away to form flat surface. Heavy encrustation on hair above forehead and in patches on face and beard.

<sup>80</sup> Athens, N.M., inv. no. 29, see G. M. A. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, London 1961, p. 47, figs. 157, 158. Especially similar to the Agora herm is the sharply defined ridge along the top of the beard, separating the hair from the plane of the cheek. Cf. also the herm head, R. Lullies, *Die Typen der griechischen Herme*, Königsberg 1931, p. 11, no. 1, pl. 1. The over-all effect of the snail-shell curls over the forehead was originally closer to ours on the herm Akropolis, no. 642; H. Schrader, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*, Frankfurt 1939, pp. 336-337, pl. 163; H. Payne and G. M. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, London [1936], pl. 104.

<sup>81</sup> Akropolis, no. 621; Schrader, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-233, pl. 142; Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, pl. 103. Cf. also the treatment of the beard on the Dionysos mask, Akropolis, no. 1323; Schrader, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-249; Payne and Young, *loc. cit.*

<sup>82</sup> Akropolis, no. 642; see Payne and Young, *op. cit.* (footnote 80 above), pl. 104:3. For Aristodikos, G. M.

excellent quality, and this impression combined with its large size suggests that it came from a prominent early dedication in this part of the Agora.

### CLASSICAL COMMERCIAL BUILDING

Wherever the excavations have been carried beyond the open area of the Agora and the public buildings which bordered the sides of the square, the character of the monuments has been found to change abruptly. Narrow streets angled away from the market place in all directions. Rambling private structures, cluttered with the small rooms of shops, dwellings, and industrial establishments, crowded against the edges of the square. The remains of such neighborhoods have been extensively explored in the narrow valley beyond the southwest corner of the Agora and on the slopes which rise southwards to the Areiopagos.<sup>83</sup> In the Classical period, buildings of a specifically commercial nature bordered the northeast corner of the square itself and lined the street leading to the eastern quarter of the city.<sup>84</sup> The same pattern of habitation was naturally to be expected in the northwestern sector and can now be documented from the results of the new excavations; for in the small irregular area immediately behind the Stoa Poikile, the excavators were able to clear part of the first such private structure beyond the periphery of the civic center.<sup>85</sup> This in itself is of some interest because it is the first point at which the northern limit of the Classical public buildings has been precisely fixed anywhere along the north side of the Agora.

The building in question (Figs. 3, 4, Pls. 12, 13) fronted on the east side of the street that proceeds northward from the corner of the square. The plan reveals at once that it was built in specific relation to the Painted Stoa: its south wall was made parallel to the back of the stoa and placed so as to leave only a narrow alley (1.35 m. in width) between the two buildings; its street front was oriented on the west end of the stoa and carefully aligned not with the poros steps but with the outer face of the wall. Parts of two rooms have been cleared, one of which lay sufficiently within the excavation so as to preserve its original dimensions (7.45 m. long and 4.38 m. wide). The second room, of identical width, could only be investigated at its west end, and beyond its northwest corner the street wall continued into the scarp far enough to indicate the existence of a third room outside the excavated area. The most prominent feature of the building today is its south wall which stands to a height of 1.20 m. in two courses of ashlar masonry. The blocks of hard, tan poros are carefully set without clamps on a foundation course which projects slightly at the level of the original floor (Pl. 13:a). The level height of the stonework suggests that the wall was carried up in mud brick above the preserved masonry.

A. Richter, *Kouroi*, 3rd ed., London 1970, p. 139, fig. 489; cf. C. I. Karousos, *Aristodikos*, Stuttgart 1961, pp. 6–9, pl. 9.

<sup>83</sup> The industrial district southwest of the Agora, R. S. Young, "An Industrial District of Ancient Athens," *Hesperia* 20, 1951, pp. 135–288; houses on the slopes of the Areiopagos, Thompson, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 98–105; Shear, *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 383–394; *idem*, *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 146–156. See generally *Agora XIV*, pp. 173–185; Travlos, pp. 392–401.

<sup>84</sup> Shops and houses at the northeast corner, Shear, *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 138–144; east of the Agora, *idem*, *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 346–361.

<sup>85</sup> Excavations in this area were conducted during the season of 1982 under the supervision of Margaret M. Miles and Alison Adams.

Along the front of the building, the west wall shows signs of heavy reconstruction on two occasions in the Roman period, and its original ashlar stonework has thus survived in much worse condition. In the first room, a wide gap in the foundation indicates the position of a great central door measuring about 1.89 m. in width. In the second room, although the ashlar blocks have been shifted in rebuilding, and the space between them is filled with later rubble, an original doorway of similar width can still be discerned. A pair of matching threshold blocks found near by exactly fits the available space for the doorway of the southern room, and these blocks are surely to be restored there in their first period of use. The threshold was subsequently raised to serve the higher floor of the early Roman period, from which one of the blocks was removed to facilitate excavation of the stratigraphy. When the second block was re-used again in the Byzantine period, it was shifted to the southwest corner of the room, where it still rests on the first ashlar course of the wall (Pls. 12:b, 13:a).

A partially preserved interior partition separates the two rooms, but unlike the ashlar masonry of the exterior walls, it was built of small stones laid in polygonal ladder-work (Pl. 12:a, b). There is no indication of an interior doorway giving access from one room to the other, and indeed, the wide exterior doors and the different stratigraphy of the floors in the two rooms suggest that they were isolated commercial units approached only from the street. The original east wall of the south room seems to have been removed in some late remodeling of the building, so that only a few flat stones of its foundation course are preserved in place at the southeast corner of the room (Pl. 13:b). From these it appears that the back wall was built of small stones like the interior partition, so that the more elaborate ashlar masonry was employed only in the visible parts of the exterior walls.

Evidence for the history and function of this building is provided by a series of clay floors which came to be repeatedly renewed over several centuries of its occupation. During this period, the level of the south room was allowed to rise no more than 0.32 m., but the excavators were able to differentiate no less than ten separate floors within this shallow depth. Although the chronology is based on small amounts of very fragmentary pottery embedded in each floor, the sequence seemed fairly well defined, and the dates of the earliest and latest floors are quite certain. The building was built and its first floor laid early in the 4th century B.C. Thereafter, the floor was resurfaced twice in the 4th century, three times in the 3rd century, twice in late Hellenistic times, and twice in the 1st century after Christ.<sup>86</sup> The date of the highest floor but one is fixed by a coin struck at Tanagra in the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37), while the latest floor yielded fragments of lamps in use from the mid-1st century onward.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>86</sup> The stratigraphy may be summarized as follows: Floors 1, 2 (1st century after Christ), Lots BE 797, 798; Floors 3, 4 (late Hellenistic), Lots BE 799, 800; Floors 5–7 (3rd century B.C.), Lots BE 801–804; Floor 8 (late 4th century B.C.), Lot BE 805; Floor 9 (4th century B.C.), Lot BE 806; Floor 10, original period of use (early 4th century B.C.), Lots BE 807, 808. The latest fragments found below Floor 10: saltcellar, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 913 (430–400 B.C.); lekane rim, cf. Shear, *Hesperia* 44, 1975, p. 357, note 50, pl. 81:i (context of 400–380 B.C.); *Agora* XII, no. 1809 (420–400 B.C.).

<sup>87</sup> Coin BE-541: Tanagra. Tiberius. Obv. TIBEPI – OC KAICAP, Head of Tiberius r., bare. Rev. [TANA/ΓΠΑΙ]Ω[N], Tripod; counterpunched with tripod in circle. Cf. *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, Central Greece*, London 1884, p. 65, no. 55. Pottery Lot BE 797, latest fragments: alpha globule lamp, cf. *Agora* VII, nos. 418–422 (mid-1st century).

Most of the floors were made of compacted red clay, some of which was so smooth and its surface so hard that it appeared to have been rolled. In some cases very thin layers of greenish white clay had been spread over the red-clay packing to form the actual surface of the floor. The room had obviously been thoroughly cleaned whenever its floor was resurfaced, but a few slight traces survived to give evidence of the industrial purposes for which successive tenants had used it. Several floors had shallow pits in which bits of iron and bronze slag had occasionally been overlooked. Two successive floors of the 4th century produced patches of pure pigments of various colors, blue, pink, red, and ochre, while one floor had several small vertical holes filled with shavings from filing bronze. Two later floors were covered with marble dust and fine chips of white marble, which suggest that marble workers had supplanted the metal smiths as tenants in our building by the late 3rd century B.C. Also suggestive of industrial activities were the careful provisions for drainage beneath the threshold of the doorway. Embedded in the original floor was a specially designed drain tile, in the shape of the letter Y, which was set at a sharply downward angle with its wider end toward the inside of the building (Pl. 13:a).<sup>88</sup> This drain allowed the floor within to be washed down with buckets of water, and it carried off the water into the street drain which ran along the front of the building throughout its history. A similar but less elegant arrangement was installed in the Roman period when a stone-built channel, stuccoed with hydraulic plaster, carried off water from the highest floor beneath the raised threshold. Another hydraulic installation was also added to the room in connection with its highest floor. A rectangular basin or tank was built in the southeast corner where patches of its floor of hydraulic cement chanced to be preserved (Pl. 13:b), and the ashlar masonry of the wall was plastered with the same cement for a distance of 1.78 m. from the corner. The broken edge of the plaster shows that it also once covered a low parapet separating the tank from the rest of the room. Its liquid contents could be drained through a small hole which pierced the entire thickness of the ashlar wall at floor level and emptied into an open stone water channel in the alley outside the building.

It is characteristic of a commercial building of this sort that the second room should reveal a rather different history in the stratigraphy of its floors. Although its upper levels were much disturbed by the late Roman reconstruction and two Byzantine pithoi, only a single earth floor of the 3rd century B.C. overlay the original floor of the building, and this appeared to correspond both in date and level with the fourth renewal of the floor in the southern room.<sup>89</sup> Both rooms produced a feature of some interest in the small sacrificial pyres of a type which has frequently come to light in private dwellings and shops but not in the public buildings of the Agora.<sup>90</sup> The earlier and better preserved was set in a shallow pit

<sup>88</sup> A 4722: L. 0.788 m., max. W. 0.69 m., min. W. 0.172 m., H. of rim 0.075 m., Th. 0.035 m. Flat floor; vertical rim on two flaring sides; open at wide and narrow ends. Coarse, dark buff clay.

<sup>89</sup> Pottery from beneath this floor, Lot BE 876, latest pieces: West Slope ware; cf. H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3, 1934, pp. 335-336, nos. B3, B4, B8 (with the chronology of *Agora* XXII, p. 108: context closed ca. 240 B.C.). Pottery from beneath original floor, Lot BE 877, latest fragment: lamp, type 23 C; cf. *Agora* IV, nos. 228-233 (first half 4th century B.C.).

<sup>90</sup> This type of sacrificial pyre has been studied in detail and 14 such deposits published by Young, pp. 110-130. There is no longer any reason to think that they were infant burials, but rather that they represent the sacrifice of a small animal or bird, cf. Shear, *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 151, note 68.

beneath the original floor of the northern room. A bed of cinders and charcoal gave evidence of the small fire, and scattered about the area of the pyre were tiny slivers of calcined bones, too damaged to be identified. A group of 16 small pots was then buried as offerings, some of them plainly broken into small pieces on top of the pyre, and others placed intact in the pit (Pl. 11:d). As usual in such deposits, the pots were miniature vessels, too small for common use, and they conformed to a limited repertory of types, familiar from many similar pyre burials. The group included several cooking pots (Pl. 11:c, f, g),<sup>91</sup> black-glazed plates and bowls (Pl. 11:e, h),<sup>92</sup> a pair of drinking cups (Pl. 11:i, j), and some miniature saucers,<sup>93</sup> all of which could be dated to the first half of the 4th century B.C. and were probably buried together about 350 B.C. Since the pyre was set down through the original floor of the room, laid possibly as much as a generation earlier, we may surmise that it represents some sort of purificatory ritual perhaps conducted when the old floor was raised or when old tenants departed and new people occupied the premises. A similar pyre buried in the southwest corner of the southern room was evidently disturbed by the early Roman alterations. Only two complete pots survived (Pl. 11:a, b), while two others were fragmentary and the burnt material of the pyre itself was scattered. The miniature Hellenistic kantharos and rilled-rim saucer are typical offerings at sacrificial pyres of this type.<sup>94</sup> They suggest that the pyre was

<sup>91</sup> Deposit J 2:3. (c) P 31357: chytra. H. 0.059 m., diam. 0.085 m. Round body, rounded bottom, out-turned rim, vertical handle. Household ware. Cf. Young, p. 115, no. 1.7 (ca. 350 B.C.).

(f) P 31359: chytra. H. 0.089 m., diam. 0.154 m. Parts of rim and body missing. Globular body, rounded bottom, slightly out-turned rim. Red wash glaze inside and on band at maximum diameter. Attic clay.

(g) P 31355: lopadion and lid. H. 0.039 m., diam. 0.108 m., diam. of lid 0.086 m. Rounded bottom; single loop handle; flange for lid inside. Rounded knob on lid. Household ware. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1975 (ca. 375–350 B.C.). Similar lid: P 31356.

<sup>92</sup> (e) P 31363: small bowl. H. 0.038 m., diam. 0.096 m. Ring foot. Stamped decoration inside: nine palmettes around ring of ovules. Glazed inside and out. Reserved: resting surface with groove; scraped groove at junction of foot and wall. Nipple on underside. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 828 (375–350 B.C.).

(h) P 31368: plate. H. 0.025 m., diam. 0.15 m. Ring foot. Thickened rolled rim; groove and fillet on underside. Stamped decoration on floor: nine linked palmettes within ring of rouletting. Totally glazed. Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 1048, 1049 (ca. 375 B.C.). Similar plates: P 31369, P 31370, P 31371.

<sup>93</sup> (i) P 31362: skyphos, Corinthian type. H. 0.08 m., diam. 0.09 m. Flaring ring foot; horseshoe handles. Reserved: underside with two circles and dot; zone above foot, decorated with crosshatching; handle panels; inside of rim. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 323 (ca. 380 B.C.).

(j) P 31353: cup-skyphos. H. 0.046 m., diam. 0.086 m. Molded ring foot; rim out-turned. Reserved: resting surface and underside with two glazed bands, two circles, and dot. Stamped decoration inside: ring of palmettes around central circle. Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 603 (early 4th century B.C.).

(k) P 31354: covered bowl, pyre type. H. 0.065 m., diam. 0.064 m. Ring foot, with broad resting surface; nipple on underside; rim flanged inside for lid. Convex lid, molded knob. Thin glaze all over. Cf. Young, p. 114, no. 1.2 (first half 4th century B.C.).

Also in deposit: P 31358: ribbon-handled plate; cf. *ibid.*, p. 114, nos. 1:5, 6. P 31360, P 31361, P 31362: miniature saucers; cf. *ibid.*, p. 115, nos. 1:9–14.

<sup>94</sup> Deposit J 3:2. (a) P 31334: West Slope kantharos. H. 0.088 m., diam. 0.079 m. Ring foot; high ribbon handles decorated with ivy-leaf thumb rests. Around upper wall, a wreath in thinned clay paint. Scraped groove below handle attachments. Cf. Young, p. 129, no. 13.3 (first quarter 3rd century B.C.).

(b) P 31335: rilled-rim saucer. H. 0.022 m., diam. 0.117 m. Ring foot; out-turned rim, flat on top, with two concentric grooves. Thin wash glaze inside. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 126, nos. 10.5–8. Similar plate without rilled rim: P 31337.

Also in deposit: miniature saucer: P 31336.

burned about 280 B.C., and that the sacrifice may have been offered when the third renewal of the original floor went out of use.

At the time of the early Roman alterations, noted above in connection with the latest preserved floor, the entire building underwent extensive remodeling and enlargement. Its south ashlar wall was at this time extended eastward along the alley, evidently because additional rooms were built behind the original workshops of the old building. Evidence for the extension of the south wall is best seen at the old southeast corner (Pl. 13:b), where the tops of the last ashlar blocks were trimmed down and new blocks of roughly worked conglomerate were laid above them. In this way the new masonry was bonded with the old and also simulated the original stonework in material which was cheaper and easier to work. The reconstructed wall continued into the earth scarp at the edge of the site, and no indication of the eastern or northern limit of the Roman annex has yet been found within the excavated area. That construction of the annex is linked chronologically with other alterations of the early Roman period is shown by the hydraulic installation built at that time into the old southeast corner; for the plaster lining of the tank covered both the old poros blocks and the new courses of conglomerate. Inside the wall of the Roman addition, a small area of hard plaster floor dated to the 1st century after Christ and was probably laid for the annex.<sup>95</sup> Since its level was about two steps (0.48 m.) higher than the latest floor in the southern room, we must suppose that the old east wall remained in place at this time.

The building was heavily rebuilt again along much the same lines as the original during the late Roman period, as we learn from brick and rubble concrete masonry built above the lines of the earlier walls. This was best preserved at the north edge of the excavation (Fig. 4, Pl. 9:b) where shallow foundations for a long, narrow structure extended the west side of the building 2.30 m. into the street. The light construction and narrow plan suggest the addition of a columnar porch along the west façade. At this time the interior division of rooms was changed, as is made clear by the late Roman partition which cut the old northern room almost exactly in half. No stratified floors, associated with this phase of building, survived the later disturbances in both rooms, and the date of the late Roman reconstruction can best be ascertained from the stratification of the street immediately to the west, where a layer datable to the 5th century after Christ probably established the new ground level outside the building.<sup>96</sup> On the other hand, there can be no doubt about the date of its final destruction. A deep layer of rubble and debris of the late 6th century after Christ covered the street in places to a depth of 0.80 m., and great pits in the floor of the southern room signaled the destruction and abandonment of the building at that time.<sup>97</sup> Like so many buildings of late Roman date in the area of the Agora, all structures in the newly excavated sector seem

<sup>95</sup> Pottery from beneath the plaster floor: Lot BE 843. The most characteristic pieces were fragments of a brittle-ware cup, cf. *Agora V*, nos. G 42, G 43.

<sup>96</sup> In the road west of the late Roman structure, the graveled surface of a street, heavily scored by wheeled traffic, was found at the appropriate level, Layer 10, above a fill which raised the street 0.30–0.40 m. Pottery from beneath this street: Lot BE 908.

<sup>97</sup> Pottery from destruction debris in the street: Lots BE 903, 904; from northern room, Lot BE 858; from pits in southern room, Lot BE 793. Characteristic fragments include “Late Roman C” ware bowl rims, cf. Hayes, *LRP*, Form 3 H, pp. 335–336, Form 10 A and B, p. 343; lamp, cf. *Agora VII*, no. 2735; deeply combed coarse wares.

to have succumbed to the Slavic invasions of the 580's. The ruins of our building were later found by Byzantine builders of the 9th century, who used the Classical walls as foundations for their own and dug away the late Roman floors so as to place their own floor some 0.28 m. below the level established by the Roman builders and directly above the earlier stratigraphy mentioned above.

The narrow alley separating the Classical shops from the Painted Stoa had been a public thoroughfare at least from the time when the great stoa had first defined its southern side. We have seen that the commercial building of the early 4th century B.C. was designed in relation to the earlier stoa, but traces of earlier remains show that its site had also been occupied by small private structures from the mid-5th century B.C. onwards. Two scraps of rubble wall beneath the Roman annex are of interest in this connection. One of them was found under the conglomerate masonry and on precisely the same line as the extended south wall, while the second lies exactly perpendicular to it, a short distance to the north (Fig. 4). These remains show that the private buildings of the 5th century had already adopted the orientation of the stoa, and moreover, the alley behind it was no wider then than it was in later times. Like so many streets of the ancient city, the alley behind the Poikile offered the path of least resistance to the builders of drains, water channels, and pipelines, which were intended to carry off rain water from the neighboring roofs and to distribute clean water from its source to various parts of the city.

The most interesting of these hydraulic installations were two terracotta water pipes, of the kind laid in cylindrical sections of convenient length, and fashioned with a flange and projecting collar at one end to fit tightly in the slightly wider mouth of the next pipe (Pl. 14). The later and narrower pipe was laid close to the back wall of the stoa and ran westward to the corner of the building where it turned at right angles, heading southward along the street. At the east end of the alley and along the west steps of the stoa, no trace of this pipeline was found because of later disturbances. The ten continuous sections<sup>98</sup> of pipe were set down in a shallow trench and packed with clean red clay. The joints of the individual sections were then sealed with pitch to prevent leakage, and two had small holes fitted with knobbed lids that were likewise sealed in place with pitch (Pl. 14:b). Since these holes fell some distance apart and were too small to accommodate the human hand, they possibly enabled the pipe to be probed with a wire or stick, if some obstruction had blocked the flow within. A date for its installation was provided by the fragmentary pottery gathered from the trench along the pipe, which indicated that it was laid in the middle years of the 4th century B.C.<sup>99</sup>

The second pipeline, larger and earlier than the first, was found beneath the original grade level behind the stoa, where it was preserved intact running along the center of the

<sup>98</sup> Inventoried sections: A 4718: L. 0.674 m., diam. (exterior) 0.114 m., diam. (interior) 0.092 m., diam. at collar (interior) 0.065 m. At each end, two light grooves around circumference. Pitch adhering to joints. Similar are A 4656, A 4719, A 4720, A 4721 (with oval service hole and knobbed lid).

A 4657: elbow section. Diam. (exterior) 0.114 m., max. diam. (at angle) 0.131 m., L. (side A) 0.303 m., L. (side B) 0.287 m. Right-angled section broken at both ends.

<sup>99</sup> Pottery from setting trench for smaller pipe (Figs. 7, 18), Lots BE 1015, 1016. Latest fragments: molded kantharos rim, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 698 (375-350 B.C.); molded kantharos foot, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 699; rilled-rim saucer, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1572 (mid-4th century B.C.).



alley. Twenty cylindrical sections were exposed covering a length of some 12 meters, from the east edge of the excavation to the mid-point of the north-south street. The individual sections, bulging slightly near the center, measure 0.25 m. in diameter and 0.65 m. in length.<sup>100</sup> The collars at the joint are thickened, and the pipes are decorated with bands of brown glaze wash at the collars and in the middle. Each section of pipe has a large oval access hole near the upstream (eastern) end, designed to facilitate sealing of the joints on the inside and to permit subsequent cleaning of the line if necessary. At the eastern end of the exposed length, where the pipeline was covered by undisturbed original fill, the ceramic evidence provided a date in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. for the laying of the pipe.<sup>101</sup> It will thus be seen to be closely contemporary with the Painted Stoa itself, and in fact, the level at which the pipe was set shows its specific relation to the grading about the stoa. Within the narrow alley, the easternmost section was laid just below the highest foundation course for the back wall; but the pipeline slopes down sharply to the west so that it passes into the street beyond the alley 0.50 m. deeper, and it crosses the street just under the original grade established for the euthynteria of the stoa. As it approaches the corner of the building, the line curves slightly so as to cross the street in a due westerly direction, and in order to protect the pipe at the street crossing, it was laid in a neat stone-built channel covered with hard limestone slabs (Fig. 4). Another long section, probably of the same pipeline, was discovered in excavations of the Greek Archaeological Service several dozen meters further west at the corner of Hadrian and Thesion Streets.<sup>102</sup> Here the pipe was running in a straight line northwestwards in the direction of the Dipylon Gate and the Kerameikos.<sup>103</sup> We have emphasized the early date of the pipe and its association with the Stoa Poikile, and these, taken together with its direction of flow towards the Dipylon Gate, call to mind the landscaping operations undertaken by Kimon at about the time or soon after the construction of the stoa. Plutarch (*Kimon*, 13.8) speaks of the general's public benefactions after his victory at the Eurymedon: "He was the first to beautify the city with the so-called 'liberal' and elegant resorts of which they were so excessively fond a little later; for the Agora he planted with plane trees, and the Academy he converted from a waterless and arid spot to a well-watered grove, equipped with clear running-tracks and shady walks." This can only mean that Kimon installed an aqueduct or pipeline to carry water from the center of the city out to the Academy in its northwestern suburbs, and in the light of

<sup>100</sup> For discussion of the type, see *Agora* XIV, p. 199. Closely contemporary with ours was the original drain of the Tholos. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors*, Princeton 1940, p. 88 and fig. 67.

<sup>101</sup> The pipe was set down into red clay which produced pottery of the early 5th century B.C., Lot BE 785. Datable fragments included: skyphos rim, Attic type, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 338 (500–480 B.C.); cup foot, type C, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 407 (500–480 B.C.). Pottery from fill over the pipe, Lot BE 783. Datable pieces: rim and wall fragments, skyphoi, Attic type; cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 340–342.

<sup>102</sup> See Nikopoulou, *op. cit.* (footnote 25 above), p. 2 and plan 2, fig. 3. The pipe was datable by the stratigraphy of the Panathenaic Way to the mid-5th century B.C., which makes its association with ours almost certain.

<sup>103</sup> A long section of identical pipeline was found along the northeast wall of the Dipylon Gate, where it passed westwards through the city wall, G. Gruben, "Die Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos," *AA (JdI 79)* 1964, pp. 403–407, fig. 12. The excavators report a date in the third quarter of the 5th century B.C., which seems a little later than the other two sections, although this can hardly be anything but the continuation of our pipe.

the excavations, there seems good reason to believe that sections of this pipe can now be recognized.

### MIDDLE BYZANTINE HOUSES

In the entire area of the excavation, the remains of Classical and later antiquity lay buried beneath deep layers of fill, the accumulated remains of mediaeval occupation and abandonment, and the debris of modern disturbance and construction. This overburden of earth ranged from three to five and a half meters depending on the depth of the modern basements, and the sections (Figs. 18, 19) show only those layers which preserved stratified deposits or the remains of architecture. Directly above the pillaged foundations of the ancient monuments, a layer of Byzantine habitation, varying from one to three meters in depth, preserved the remains of several small private dwellings.<sup>104</sup> Their walls were of rubble construction, the masonry composed for the most part of rough field stones and tiles set in mud, but they included large numbers of ancient marbles and architectural blocks broken up to convenient size for re-use.

The irregular, tangled rooms of these structures crowded along both sides of the north-south street (Fig. 17), and it is apparent that this district of the Byzantine town was heavily occupied for most of the period from the 9th to the 12th centuries after Christ. Although parts of nearly two dozen rooms were explored, the complete plan of no single house happened to fall within the excavation. As is often the case with domestic architecture, the interpretation of the remains was further complicated by frequent structural modifications, for three major phases could be distinguished, each of which comprised several stratigraphic subdivisions.

The excavated rooms belonged to at least three separate houses which could be differentiated by their open central courtyards, these being readily identifiable in two cases by their wells (East Rooms 2, 9) and in two cases by their numerous hard clay floors (West Room 1, East Room 2). On the west side of the street all the rooms, with the possible exception of Rooms 9 and 10, seem to be part of one house and were grouped about the courtyard (Room 1) with which several of them communicated. On the east side of the street Rooms 1 to 7 (Pl. 15:a) probably all belonged to the same house in at least some phase, while Rooms 8 to 12 certainly formed part of a second house. In the latest period of occupation, the latter structure had its entrance directly from the street into Room 11, and thence into the courtyard by way of Room 10. The well in Room 9, as yet unexcavated because of its awkward position in the side of the scarp, can be seen in Plate 12:a, where its re-used ancient well-head and puteal are still in place, although the associated walls of the Byzantine period have here been removed. The southernmost of the two houses on the east side is the better preserved, although numerous details of its history cannot be resolved without further excavation. It seems always to have had a door or gateway leading from the street into its courtyard, Room 2, which was probably no more than a narrow alley between two separate dwellings at the

<sup>104</sup> The Byzantine houses and higher levels of fill were excavated under the supervision of John McK. Camp II, Ione M. Shear, Alison Adams, and Margaret Miles. The 1980 season was devoted exclusively to these levels, and Byzantine remains were explored in different parts of the area in both 1981 and 1982.

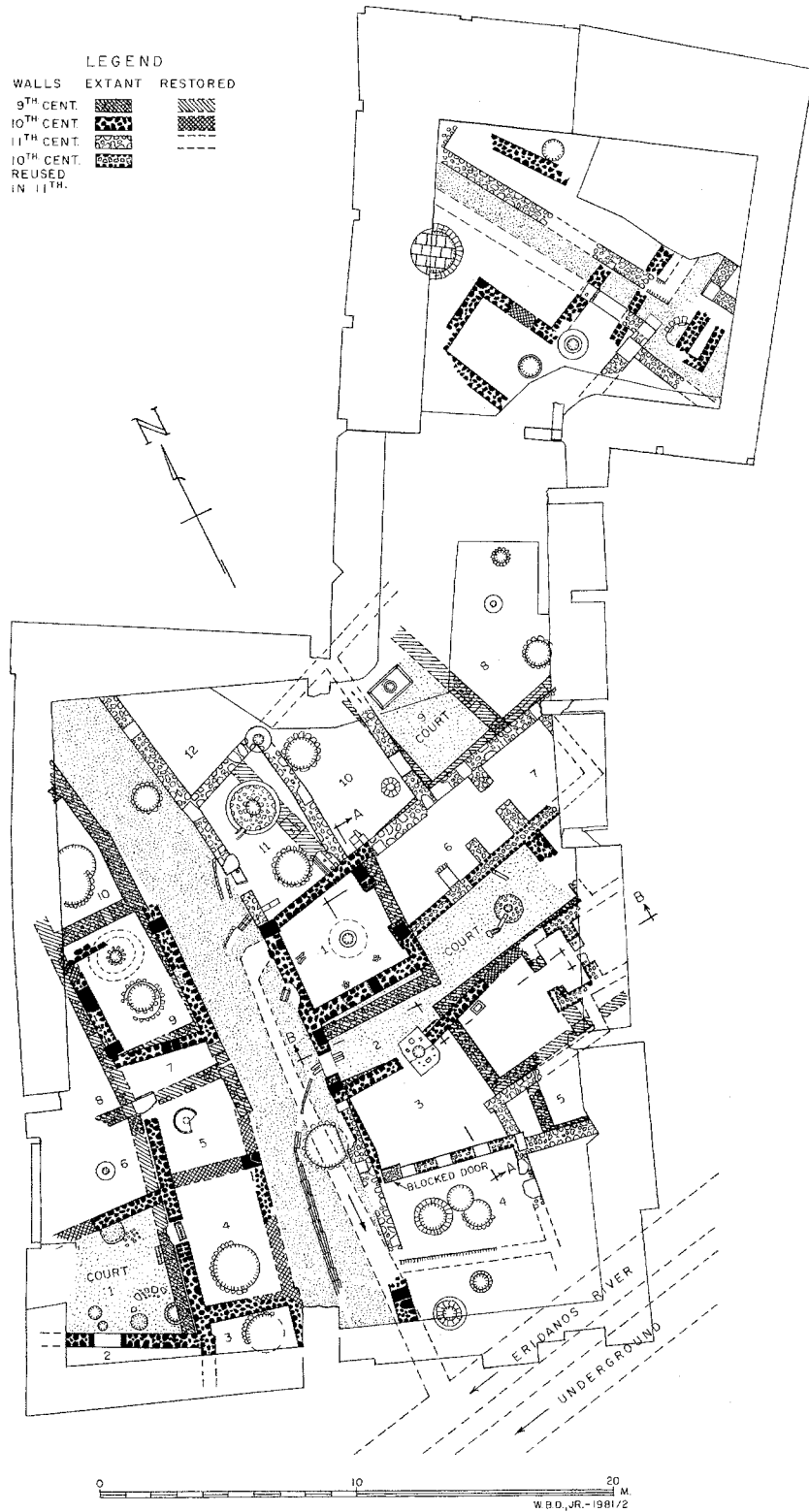


FIG. 17. Plan of area excavated 1980-82, actual state, Byzantine levels

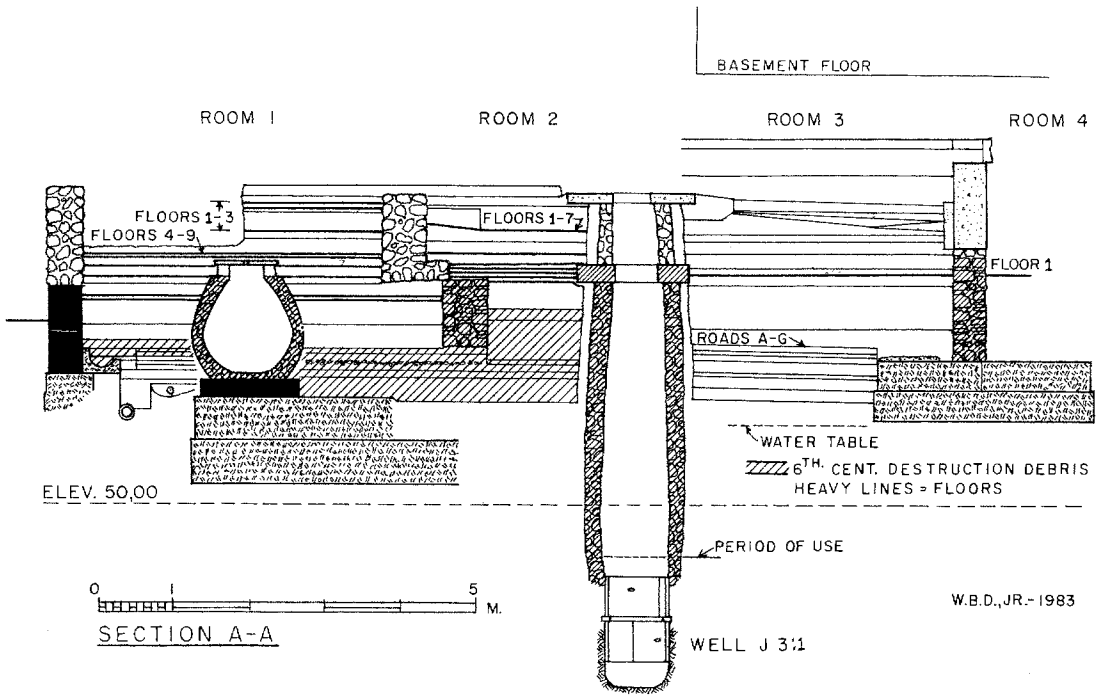


FIG. 18. Section, looking east, showing Byzantine and Classical stratigraphy

earliest period. Thereafter Rooms 1, 6, and 3 probably had access from the courtyard; but how this was effected after the door to Room 6 was blocked, we have no way of knowing. A door at the southwest corner of Room 3 gave access to Room 4 during the second principal phase, while doorways of the second and third phases led eastward from Room 3 beyond the excavation.

Both the stratigraphy and the architectural phases were well preserved in Rooms 1, 2, and 3 (Figs. 18, 19). In the first period, the lowest walls of Room 1 and beneath the east end of Room 3 probably belonged to separate houses. Wherever possible the builders based their construction on the stripped foundations of the Classical monuments, and along the north side of Rooms 1 and 6 they actually made use of the preserved Classical masonry. The two lowest surviving floors in Room 1 were in use at this time (Fig. 18: Floors 8, 9). In the second major phase, walls were rebuilt at a higher level, and some of the lines changed. In Room 1 a large storage pithos was sunk beneath the floor, its sides built of bricks and stones, set in mortar and covered with hard, pink cement. The builders happened to place its bottom on the lowest step at the northwest corner of the Painted Stoa. The condition of the room at this time appears in Plate 15:b where the pithos can be seen with a later raised collar projecting above the lowest floor of Period II in order to adjust it for use with the next higher floor of the same phase. The remains of a cooking hearth of this period can also be seen against the west wall of the room. The stratigraphy showed that the floor in Room 1

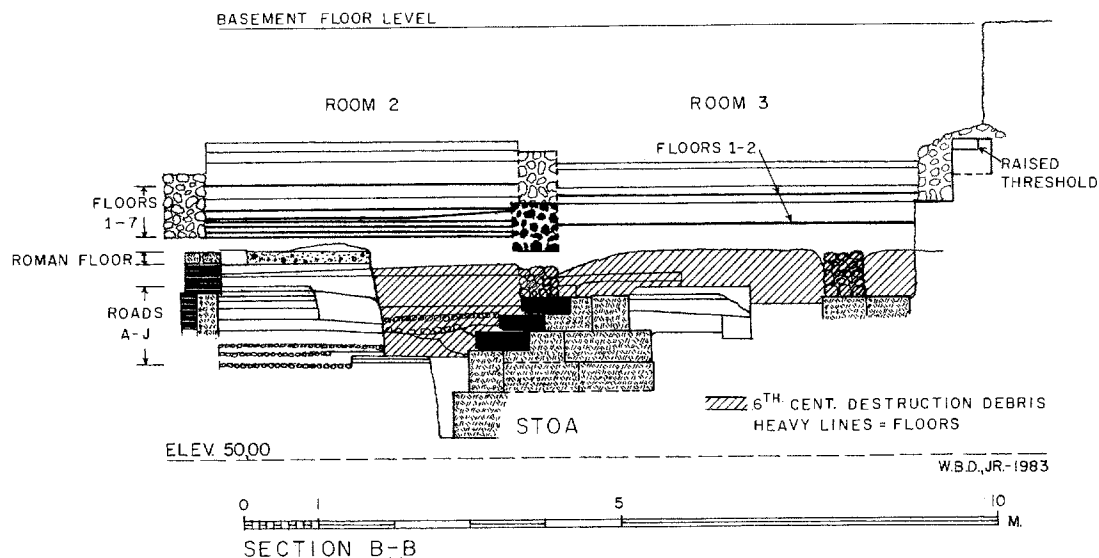


FIG. 19. Section, looking north, showing Byzantine and Classical stratigraphy

was raised three times during this phase of the building, and later it completely covered the pithos which was capped with a flat square tile.<sup>105</sup>

The second period of Rooms 2 and 3 is complicated by the history of the courtyard well which was first dug to serve this phase of the house. Its stone-built shaft was sunk just beside the western foundation of the Stoa Poikile, and its builders were plainly responsible for some of the damage to the Classical building, for the four stones supporting the well-head in its original position (Pl. 15:a) form together a complete step block from the southwest corner of the stoa.<sup>106</sup> As originally planned, Rooms 2 and 3 were separated by walls which met the well-head on either side, so that the well seems to have been usable from both rooms. How these walls were carried up in superstructure is by no means clear, and they may even have formed only a low socle for a row of posts to support a shed roof. But since the stratification was quite different in the two rooms, they were certainly separate; no less than five floors of this period were found in Room 2 (Figs. 18, 19: Floors 3-7), while only one was in use in Room 3. After the house had been used in this condition for a considerable time, it was badly damaged and partly demolished, perhaps as the result of an accidental fire. Thereafter, the well seems to have been filled in, and a new wall at a higher level was carried directly across the well-head to enclose the courtyard on the south side. The projection of this wall onto the stones of the original well-head can be seen in Plate 15:a together with the raised floor on

<sup>105</sup> Fig. 18, Floor 7 is the original floor of Period II. It was raised three times, Floors 4-6, of which the last two covered the pithos.

<sup>106</sup> A 4648: H. 0.245 m., W. 0.770 m., L. 1.082 m. Adjacent exterior faces have rebate, 0.055 m., at bottom. On top, weathered line 0.31 m. in from adjacent faces gives position of next higher step. At adjacent interior joints, cuttings for double-T clamps. Hard, tan poros.

the east side of Room 3, which represents the last phase of the second period (Fig. 19: Floor 1). This corresponded with the highest preserved floor in Room 2 and a floor at about the same level in Room 1 (Fig. 18: Floor 3).

During the third and last architectural period, many of the walls were simply carried higher along existing lines and the floors were raised accordingly. The upper part of the wall between Rooms 3 and 4 shows this most graphically (Fig. 18, Pl. 15:a, foreground). Except for two phases of the latest floor in Room 1, the stratigraphy of this period was not well preserved; but the level of the highest floors is indicated by the tops of pithoi in several rooms (East Room 11, West Rooms 6, 9), by corresponding thresholds (East Rooms 3, 10, 11), and especially by the two courtyard wells (East Rooms 2, 9). During this period, the wall between Rooms 2 and 3 was pulled down, and the whole area seems to have been thrown together into one large, open court. Now, too, the old well was cleaned out and put back to use, as is clearly indicated by the fact that its ancient marble well-head was raised 0.95 m. above its original supporting blocks and reset on a ring of new masonry (Fig. 18).

Although the house on the west side of the street was far more disturbed by the deep basement and foundations of the modern flour mill, nevertheless the same three periods of occupation were also discernible here. Earlier and later phases of the architecture were readily visible in the different lines of the walls (Fig. 17), and these correspond respectively with the first and second periods of the house across the street. The best section of the stratigraphy was preserved in West Room 1 where the excavators were able to distinguish a sequence of ten superimposed floor levels. Of these, the six lowest were used with the earlier phase in the east wall of the courtyard, while the four upper layers formed floors of the second period and served the reconstructed wall, together with both phases of its raised threshold. In the west house, the existence of the third and latest period is to be inferred only from the preserved tops of pithoi lying at a somewhat higher level in West Rooms 6 and 9, the former of which, however, provides some valuable evidence for the date of that phase.

It will be clear from the foregoing account that the relative sequence of Byzantine occupation on the site can be recovered from the structural remains, but despite the satisfactory stratification in several rooms, the absolute chronology of the houses is difficult to determine. Very few coins were found in appropriate layers, and with the exception of one deposit, the pottery was uniformly fragmentary and difficult to date with any precision. The first two periods seem clearly to fall toward the end of the Dark Ages, well after the end of the 7th century, with its recognizable red wares and combed coarse wares, of which rather few pieces were found. On the other hand, much of the history of these buildings must come before the 11th century, for not a scrap of green and brown painted ware was found in the earlier levels. Characteristic of most layers was the early brown-glazed ware, and many pieces were decorated with merely the slightest dribbles or spatters of glaze, as if the earliest introduction of lead glaze to Athens were not long in the past. In the courtyard of the west house (Room 1), a single coin of the Emperor Leo VI (A.D. 886–912) helps to define the entire sequence of floors.<sup>107</sup> Found beneath the third highest floor, it suggests that the

<sup>107</sup> Coin BE-21: AE follis, Leo VI (A.D. 886–912), class 3. Illegible (facing bust)/Inscription. Cf. *DOC* III, pp. 518–521, no. 8.

second architectural phase should be dated to the late 9th or early 10th centuries, while the six superimposed floors of Period I must stretch backwards through the 9th century if not earlier. About contemporary with the coin is the bronze tankard (Pl. 16:h) found imbedded in a floor of the same phase in West Room 4.<sup>108</sup>

Evidence for the chronology of the houses on the east side of the street is equally scarce, but what little there is agrees well with the situation in the west house. The second period of occupation is represented by only two floors in East Room 3 and one in Room 4, and below that floor in the latter room was found another coin of Leo VI.<sup>109</sup> In the fill covering the lower floor at the east end of Room 3, there came to light a coin of Constantine VII (A.D. 913–959);<sup>110</sup> since this was struck near the end of his reign, the first part of Period II should be dated within the first half of the 10th century. It was at that time that the courtyard well was first dug, and between then and the mid-11th century five floors of Room 2 and four floors in Room 1 were laid down and used.<sup>111</sup> Among the destruction debris covering the next highest floor in Room 2 (Floor 2) was an anonymous bronze coin of the type datable to the period 1042–1050, while the fill beneath the renewed latest floor in Room 2 (Floor 1) produced the first green and brown painted ware to be found in the sequence.<sup>112</sup> The short period, represented by only one floor, when the well was filled up and covered by the wall between Rooms 2 and 3, should therefore be placed in the middle years of the 11th century.

The third and final architectural phase is also the best defined chronologically, because the entire contents of the courtyard well must be assigned to this period, when the well was evidently cleaned out and re-used with its well-head removed to the higher level of the later floor. The lowest part of the shaft, 1.60 m. from the bottom, contained the materials which found their way into the well during its second period of use. The character of the fill was easily recognizable from the water jars (Pl. 16:e, f) which had accidentally fallen intact to the bottom;<sup>113</sup> and the date could be fixed with considerable precision by a handful of seven coins, all of which are datable to the quarter century 1065–1092.<sup>114</sup> Among the objects at

<sup>108</sup> B 1797: H. 0.135 m., diam. (body) 0.10 m., diam. (rim) 0.095 m. Three quarters preserved and restored. Round globular body; high flaring neck; slightly thickened rim. Solid vertical handle from body to rim; attached with rivet at rim only. Very thin bronze much corroded.

<sup>109</sup> Coin BE-135: AE follis, Leo VI (A.D. 886–912), class 3. Bust of Leo facing/Inscription. Cf. *DOC III*, pp. 518–521, no. 8.

<sup>110</sup> Fig. 19: above Floor 2. Coin BE-120: AE follis, Constantine VII (A.D. 913–959), class 6, struck ca. A.D. 950–959. To l. bust of Constantine VII facing; to r. smaller bust of Romanus II, facing/Inscription. Cf. *DOC III*, pp. 568–569, no. 27.

<sup>111</sup> Fig. 18: Room 1, Floors 4–7; Room 2, Floors 3–7.

<sup>112</sup> Coin BE-59: AE follis, Byzantine Anonymous Bronze, class C (A.D. 1042?–ca.1050). Christ/Cross. Cf. *DOC III*, pp. 681–684. Pottery from beneath Floor 1 (Layer 4), Lot BE 419. For discussion of the characteristic local green and brown painted wares, Frantz, pp. 430–431; *Corinth XI*, pp. 70–83.

<sup>113</sup> Deposit J 3:1. (e) P 31260: H. 0.299 m., diam. 0.239 m., diam. (mouth) 0.076 m. Intact. Globular body, rounded at bottom with dimple at center. Neck wheel ridged; two vertical loop handles. Coarse brown clay.

(f) P 31259: H. 0.238 m., diam. 0.152 m., diam. (mouth) 0.061 m., diam. of bottom 0.093 m. Intact. Flat bottom; high, narrow neck; two vertical handles. At base of handles, five incised grooves around body. Coarse brown clay. Similar coarse-ware jars: P 31256, P 31258, P 31261–P 31264, P 31267.

<sup>114</sup> Coins BE-104, BE-335, BE-336: AE folles, Byzantine Anonymous Bronze, class G (ca. A.D. 1065–1070). Bust of Christ facing/Bust of Virgin facing. Cf. *DOC III*, pp. 692–694. Coin BE-94: AE follis, Contemporary

the bottom of the well was the finely carved wooden comb (Pl. 16:g)<sup>115</sup> which chanced to be preserved in good condition. On the basis of this evidence, we may place the re-use of the well and the third architectural phase of the house in the last quarter of the 11th century, and this date is corroborated by the bowl of green and brown painted ware (Pl. 16:i),<sup>116</sup> datable to the late 11th or early 12th century, which had been broken and its sherds plastered as a packing around the pithos of Period III in West Room 6. During the first part of the 12th century, the courtyard well in East Room 2 came to be used as a refuse pit, for the upper part of its shaft was found filled with great quantities of broken and often incomplete pottery. Since fragments of the same pots came from all levels in the upper fill, the accumulated refuse seems to have been dumped into the well shaft at one time, when it was disused and abandoned. By far the greater part of the ceramic material was coarse household ware, especially cooking pots (Pl. 16:c) and storage or water jars (Pl. 16:d).<sup>117</sup> A few fragmentary pieces of decorated tableware are helpful in establishing the date when the deposit was closed, although no chronological precision is really possible. The dump included pieces of several painted-ware bowls (Pl. 16:b),<sup>118</sup> and a few bowls with sgraffito decoration of the style which has been found in contexts of the first half of the 12th century at both Athens and Corinth (Pl. 16:a).<sup>119</sup> Unsatisfactory as the evidence is, it nevertheless suggests that the well was filled in the years before 1150.

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Imitation, Byzantine Anonymous Bronze, class G. Cf. *DOC, loc. cit.* Coins BE-103, BE-112: AE folles, Nicephoros III (A.D. 1078–1081). Christ/Cross. Cf. *DOC III*, pp. 831–832, no. 9. Coin BE-111: AE follis, Byzantine Anonymous Bronze, class K (ca. A.D. 1085–1092). Bust of Christ facing/Virgin facing, dot border. Cf. *DOC III*, pp. 702–704.

<sup>115</sup> W 47: p.L. 0.076 m., p.W. 0.044 m., max. Th. 0.022 m. Broken at one side and along tops of tines. Originally rectangular in shape, flattened oval in section. Preserved outer edge 0.008 m. wide. On one end, thick, widely spaced tines (ca. 0.0015 m.); on other, narrow, closely spaced tines (ca. 0.0005 m.). Inner ends of tines decorated with three incised grooves.

<sup>116</sup> P 31159: H. 0.113 m., diam. (rim) 0.286 m., diam. (foot) 0.12 m. Ring foot; flaring, straight-walled body; nearly vertical out-turned rim, flattened on top; sharp ridge at junction of rim and lower wall. Decoration: on rim, groups of brown stripes; inside rim, green band between brown bands. Central circular medallion, surrounded by green and brown bands, quartered with alternating green and brown spirals in quadrants. Slip and white glaze. Cf. for profile, Frantz, p. 442, fig. 32, no. A 18; *Corinth XI*, no. 401; for decoration *Corinth XI*, nos. 440, 453.

<sup>117</sup> (c) P 31268: p.H. 0.158 m., diam. 0.208 m., diam. (mouth) 0.131 m. Bottom partly restored. Rounded bottom; low vertical rim, sloping inward; two vertical loop handles. Four shallow wheel ridges around point of greatest diameter. Gritty red brown clay. Cf. Frantz, p. 461, B 6. Similar cooking pots: P 31253–P 31255.

(d) P 31266: p.H. 0.262 m., diam. 0.297 m., (mouth) 0.067 m. Ovoid body, wheel-ridged; low narrow neck with out-turned rim; high vertical loop handles. Gritty gray-buff clay.

<sup>118</sup> P 31248: p.H. 0.077 m., p.L. 0.189 m., p.W. 0.88 m. Rim and upper wall of low bowl. Decoration: brown circles and dots, surrounded by linked green semicircles rising to rim; green band on rim. Slip and pale green glaze on interior; red clay. Cf. for decoration, *Corinth XI*, nos. 604, 620, 632, there classified as imitation lusterware, pp. 86–90.

Also in deposit, P 31249, P 31250: bowls of green and brown painted ware with crosshatched lozenges; cf. Frantz, p. 439, no. A 6.

<sup>119</sup> P 31246: p.H. 0.057 m., diam. 0.178 m. Rim and upper wall of shallow bowl. Sgraffito decoration: band of running spirals on interior below rim. Slip and cream glaze, dripped over rim on exterior. Red clay. Cf. *Corinth XI*, nos. 1004, 1007; and for discussion of sgraffito ware, group II, spiral style, *Corinth XI*, pp. 120–123; Frantz, p. 447, no. A 41.

Also in deposit, P 31244, P 31245: sgraffito-ware bowls, spiral style.



It is greatly to be regretted that this final phase of occupation that can be documented with any assurance must in the event be left open-ended. Since none of the rooms preserved floors or stratified deposits contemporary with the contents of the well, there is no way of knowing if the filling of its shaft also signaled the destruction and abandonment of the houses. The picture of Byzantine Athens which emerges from the new excavations cannot be said to have come into sharp focus. Fragmentary as the information may be, however, it enables us to sketch in broad outline the archaeological history of one small neighborhood over a period of nearly two hundred years, from the second half of the 9th to the middle of the 12th centuries. Since these are among the darkest centuries in the whole history of human occupation at Athens, one is inclined to welcome what little we now know of the mediaeval Athenians whose humble dwellings have come to light, even though their remains have survived at the expense of earlier monuments from which their builders stripped the stones to make their walls.

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Aerial view, northwest corner of the Agora

T. LESLIE SHEAR, JR.: THE ATHENIAN AGORA: EXCAVATIONS OF 1980-1982

PLATE 2



a. Foundations from northwest



b. West steps from southwest

Stoa Poikile



c. Foundations from north,  
commercial building in  
foreground



a. Detail of southwest corner, from west



b. Detail of first step of south crepidoma, from west



c. Block of Doric frieze, A 4661



d. Interior Ionic capital, A 4662

Stoa Poikile

PLATE 4



a. Street and sanctuary, from east, showing Hellenistic gate (left) and late Roman stoa (center)



b. Bases for Hellenistic gate and street beyond, from south



a. Detail of west base, from southeast, showing blocks of superstructure in place



b. North-south street from north:  
A. Stoa Poikile  
B. altar  
C. Roman temple  
D. commercial building



a. Altar of Aphrodite, from northwest



b. Altar of Aphrodite, from southeast

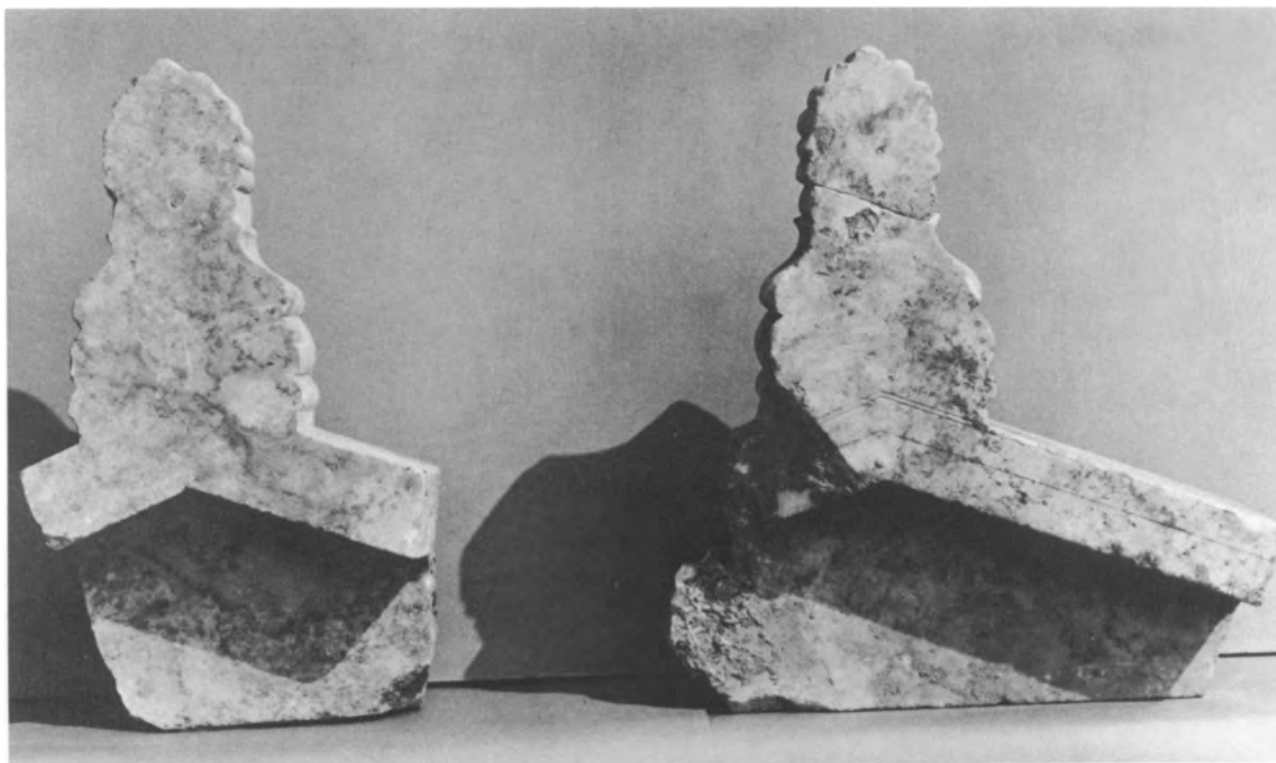


a. Altar of Aphrodite, from west



b. Detail of orthostates at southeast corner





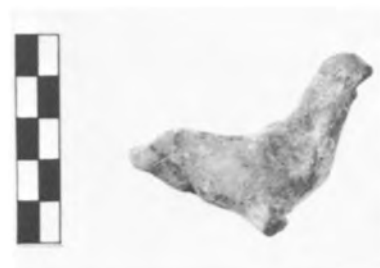
a. Pedimental barriers, A 3774 a, b



b. Triobol BE-325  
c. Obol BE-337  
(Obverses above)



d. Finger ring IL 1776



f. Dove figurine T 4176



e. Lekythos fragment P 31208

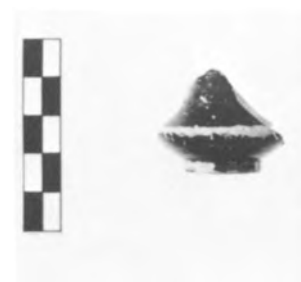
b-j. Votive offerings from altar area



h. Lekythos fragment P 31202  
g. Lekythos fragment P 31206



i. Pyxis P 31203



j. Spindle-whorl MC 1319



a. Steps at southeast corner, from east



b. Southeast corner, from northeast, showing altar beyond

Roman temple



b. Herm head, profile



a. Herm head, S 3347



a. Miniature kantharos P 31334



b. Rilled-rim saucer P 31335

Sacrificial pyre J 3:2



c. Chytra P 31357



d. Sacrificial pyre J 2:3 with pots *in situ*



e. Bowl P 31363



f. Chytra P 31359



g. Lopadion and lid, P 31355



h. Plate P 31368



i. Skyphos P 31362



j. Cup-skyphos P 31353



k. Covered bowl P 31354

Sacrificial pyre J 2:3



a. Commercial building from east



b. Commercial building from northeast



a. Detail of south wall of south room, from northwest, showing original doorway

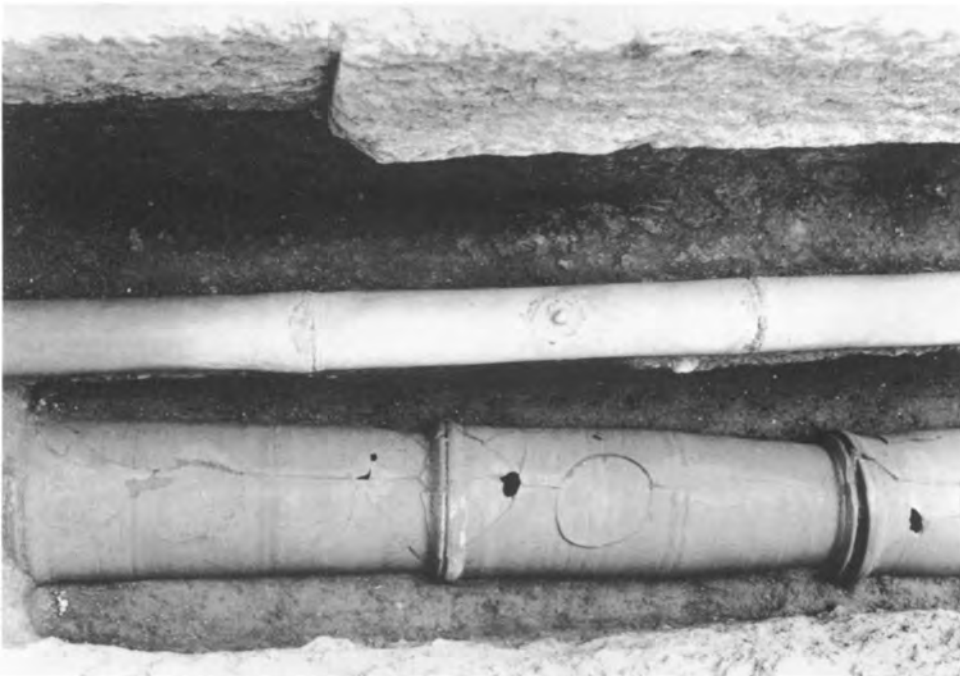


b. Southeast corner of south room, from north, showing added Roman masonry

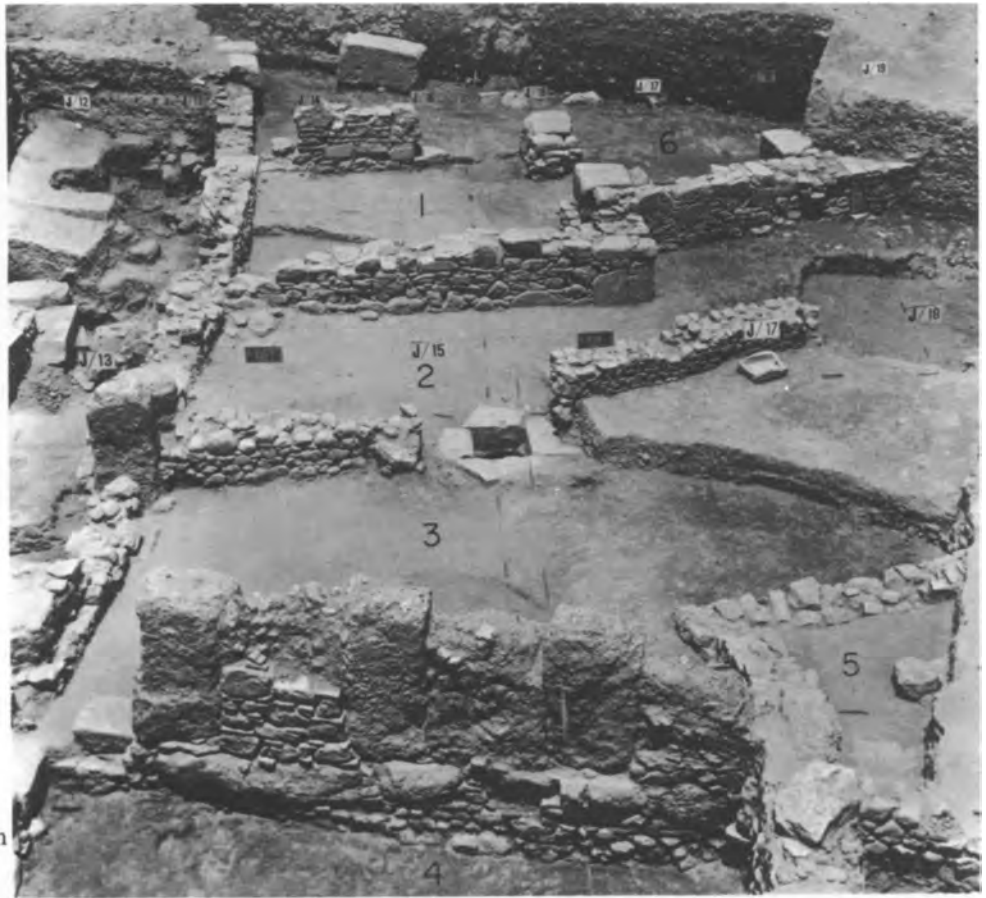
PLATE 14



a. Alley behind Stoa Poikile, from east, showing pipe lines



b. Detail of later and earlier water pipes in alley



a. Byzantine house from south, street at left



b. Byzantine house, East Room 1, from northeast



PLATE 16



a. Bowl with sgraffito decoration, P 31246



b. Painted-ware bowl P 31248



c. Cooking pot P 31268



d. Jar P 31266



e. Water jar P 31260



f. Water jar P 31259

a-g. Byzantine well J 3:1



g. Wooden comb W 47



h. Tankard B 1797



i. Painted-ware bowl P 31159