

ἐπιδόσεις, τώρα μᾶς συνδέουν καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν. Συμφώνως πρὸς τὰ καθιερωμένα σᾶς περιβάλλω μὲ τὸ μέγα διάσημον τῆς Ἀκαδημίας. Τὸ ἔμβλημα τοῦτο συμβολίζει ἀγαγώρισιν ἔργον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπόσχεσιν διὰ τὸ μέλλον. Σᾶς εὐχομαι νὰ φέρετε ὑπερηφάνως τὸ μέγα τοῦτο διάσημον ἐπὶ μακρὸν καὶ ἐν Τύχῃ Ἀγαθῇ.

Συνάδελφε Κύριε Homer Thompson καλῶς ὠρίσατε εἰς τὸν οἶκον Σας.

Ὁ καθηγητὴς κ. Thomson ἀπαντῶν ἑλληνιστὶ ἠδ' χαρίστησε θερμῶς τὸν κ. Πρόεδρον καὶ τὴν Ὀλομέλειαν διὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν του ὡς Ξένου Ἐταίρου τῆς Ἀκαδημίας καὶ ἐν συνεχείᾳ παρουσίασεν ὀμιλίαν τιτλοφορομένην :

SOKRATES IN THE AGORA

The Agora, the part of Athens with which the name of Sokrates is most obsely associated, has been brought to light through the excavations conducted since 1931 by the American School of Classical Studies¹. For a very long time, from the 6th century before Christ until the 3rd century after Christ, this area at the north foot of the Acropolis was the focal point of community life: the center of civic administration, the chief scene of business and commercial life, a place for religious, dramatic and athletic

1. For a general account of the excavation and its results cf. H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens: the History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center (The Athenian Agora, Vol. XIV, published by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, 1972)*. For a shorter account cf. H. A. Thompson and others, *The Athenian Agora: a Guide to the Excavation and Museum*. 3rd edition, Athens, 1976. For the ancient written records cf. R. E. Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia. (Agora, Vol. III)* Princeton, 1957. The subject of the present paper is dealt with in somewhat greater detail by Mabel L. Lang, *Sokrates in the Agora (Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book No. 17)*, Princeton, 1978. For brief accounts of the individual monuments with excellent illustrations cf. John Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London, 1971.

I owe the illustrations for the present article to the Agora Excavation, American School of Classical Studies.

events, and a "national gallery" replete with fine architecture, sculpture and painting (Fig. 1).

There is still another, and very important way in which the Agora contributed to the life of the community. The Apostle Paul, visiting Athens in the middle of the 1st century, is reported to have discoursed with those whom he met in the Agora, among them certain adherents of the Epicurean and Stoic sects². Hearing him talk about a strange god, and about a strange religious idea, they took him before the Council of the Areopagus for examination. There he expounded his views as recorded in a memorable passage of the *Acts*.

In Paul's day, to be sure, there were also other centers of intellectual life in Athens³. The old schools of philosophy had well established bases with libraries, classrooms, colonnades and gardens. The schools for the most part were associated with the gymnasia, both the old foundations, the Academy, the Lyceum and Kynosarges in the suburbs, and the newer, especially the Ptolemaion and the Diogeneion, near the middle of the city. But Paul, wishing to meet with the local intellectuals, nevertheless went as a matter of course to the Agora. There was, in fact, an old and strong tradition of intellectual discourse in that part of the city, so much so that this small area may justly be regarded as the birthplace of western philosophy.

One of the buildings of the Agora in which Paul undoubtedly conversed with the local people was the two-storeyed colonnade erected on the

2. *Acts of the Apostles* 17, 15 - 34.

3. On the setting of higher education and philosophical discourse in Athens see especially a series of articles by R. E. Wycherley: "The Painted Stoa", *Phoenix* VII (1953) pp. 20 - 35; "The Garden of Epicurus", *Phoenix* 13 (1959) pp. 73 - 77; "Peripatos: the Athenian Philosophical Scene", *Greece and Rome* VIII (1961) pp. 152 - 163 and IX (1962) pp. 2 - 21; "The Scene of Plato's *Phaidros*," *Phoenix* 17 (1963) pp. 88 - 98. The subject is treated in a more summary way by R. E. Wycherley in *The Stones of Athens*, Princeton, 1978, Ch. IX: "Gymnasia and Philosophical Schools". Cf. also J. P. Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, University of California Press, 1972, especially Ch. II: "The origins of higher education at Athens, the Lyceum and Athenian education before Aristotle".

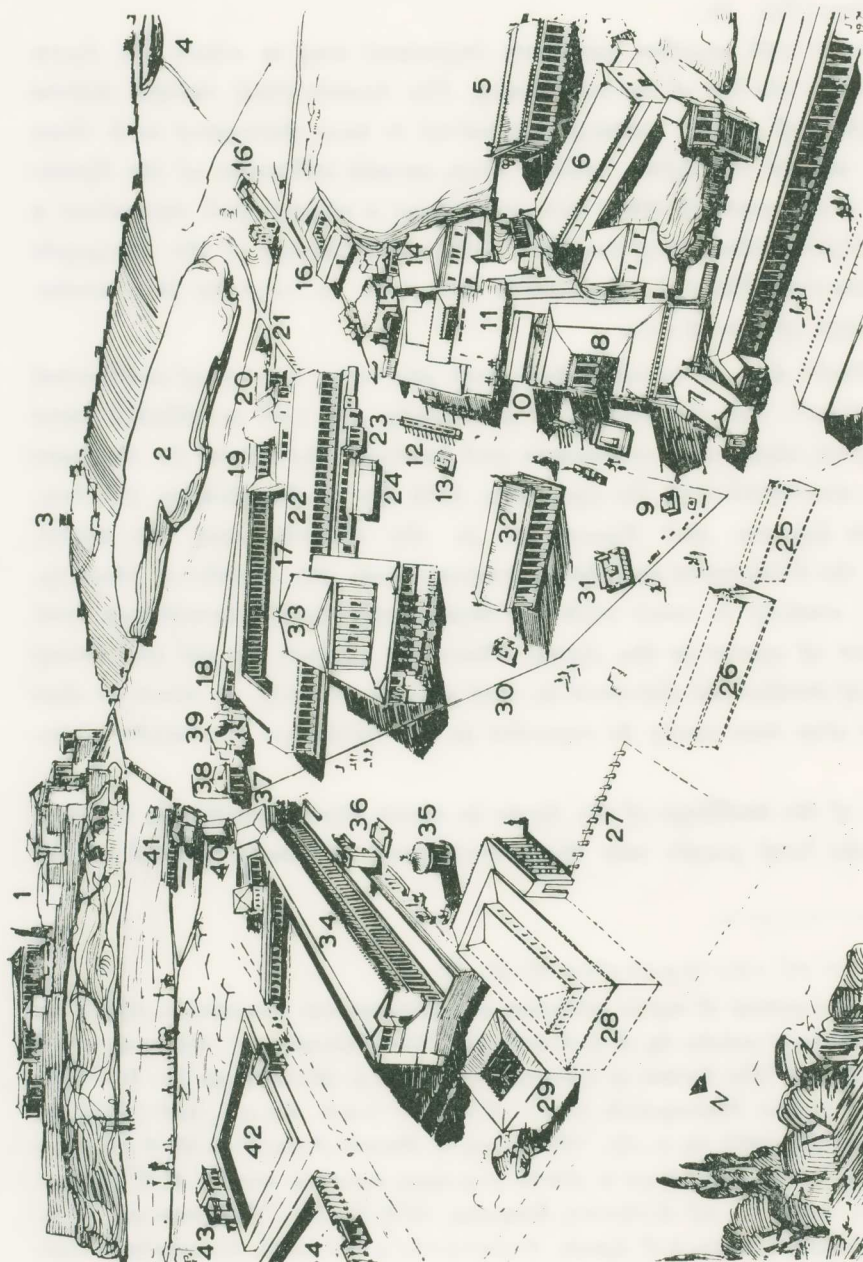


Fig. 1.

(1) Acropolis, (2) Areopagus, (4) Pnyx, (5) Temple of Hephaistos (= "Theseion"), (7) Stoa Basileios, (8) Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, (9) Leokorion, (15) Tholos, (16) State Prison, (19) Heliata (?), (26) Stoa Poikile (?), (30) Panathenaic Way, (31) Altar of the 12 Gods, (34) Stoa of Attalos. Drawing by J. Travlos.

east side of the square by Attalos II, King of Pergamon 159 - 138 B.C. (Fig. 1)⁴. The building has been reconstructed in the 1950's on the original foundations, primarily to serve as a museum to house the finds from the excavations. The reconstruction also helps us to visualize one of the most characteristic types of Greek civic architecture. With its deep and shady colonnades the stoa was an ideal place in which to stroll and talk. No wonder that the stoas of the Agora became favorite resorts of the philosophers.

Among those who had frequented the Stoa of Attalos long before the Apostle Paul may be reckoned Karneades, founder of the New Academy and head of that school through much of the second century B.C. As the first important Greek philosopher to visit Rome he also made a great impact on the intellectual life of that city. Among the ruins of the Stoa has been found a marble base for a seated bronze statue of Karneades⁵. The inscription on the front of the base, now exhibited in the Stoa, informs us that the statue was set up by two honorary citizens of Athens who are also known as monarchs: Attalos, the builder of the Stoa, and his brother-in-law Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia. It appears that these two in their youth had sat at the feet of the famous philosopher, and later, after the construction of the Stoa, had joined in honoring their old teacher by setting up his portrait. The statue was seen and admired by Cicero when he visited Athens a century later (*de Finibus* V, 2, 4). The bronze original has perished, but a couple of good copies of the Roman period exist.

In the fourth and third centuries B.C. an older and more famous stoa was favored by the philosophers. This was the Stoa Poikile, the Painted Stoa that took its name from a series of great battle murals on its walls. There are scores of references to this building in the ancient authors some of which point to a location on the north side of the Agora. The Stoa would thus have faced south across the square, an ideal exposure for the Mediterranean cli-

4. H. A. Thompson, *The Stoa of Attalos II in Athens* (Agora Picture Book No. 2), Princeton, 1959.

5. Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, II, London, 1965, p. 250, no. 8. Short accounts and good photographs of the portraits of the principal philosophers are to be found also in Karl Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter Redner und Denker*, Basel, 1943.

mate, assuring warmth in winter and coolness in summer. In the summer of 1980 excavation began in the area to the north of the Athens - Peiraeus Railway where there is good reason to believe that the Stoa had stood. (Fig. 1). While awaiting the appearance of the foundations of the Stoa we must be satisfied with a few fragments from its superstructure which were found nearby many years ago. These tantalizing scraps, glowing with color, attest the high quality of the building; they indicate a date just before the middle of the fifth century B.C.⁶

The Stoa Poikile was famous in antiquity for its paintings, but today we think of it chiefly as the place where Zeno in the years around 300 B.C. established a school of philosophy that took its name from the building and came to be called "the Stoa". This proved to be the most influential school of philosophy in the Classical world, both Greek and Roman. The memory of the great founder lived on in Athens. The excavations have yielded a brilliant little portrait worked in relief on the floor of a terracotta bowl of the third century of our era which corresponds well with the reference in Zeno's biography to his "morose and bitter expression, and pinched face"⁷. He was much esteemed by the Athenians because by his own life he had set a pattern for virtue and temperance.

Zeno's features are obviously Semitic, and he was in fact a native of Kition, a Phoenician colony in eastern Cyprus. Karneades, whom I have mentioned above, came from Cyrene in North Africa. The Apostle Paul proudly proclaimed himself "a Jew of Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city". (Acts 21. 39). A surprisingly large proportion of the famous philosophers who are closely associated with Athens were in fact immigrants, attracted to Athens by its fame as an intellectual center. They were all powerful and charismatic personalities. One is reminded of a similar phenomenon in the great universities of our time.

6. R. E. Wycherley, "The Painted Stoa", *Phoenix* 7 (1953) pp. 20 - 35; L. S. Meritt, *Hesperia* 39 (1970) 233 - 264; *Agora* III, nos. 31 - 45; XIV, pp. 90 - 94.

7. *Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers*, VII, 16. On the portraits cf. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, II, pp. 186 - 189; E. B. Harrison, *Ancient Portraits from the Athenian Agora* (*Agora Picture Book* No. 5) Princeton, 1960, fig. 5.

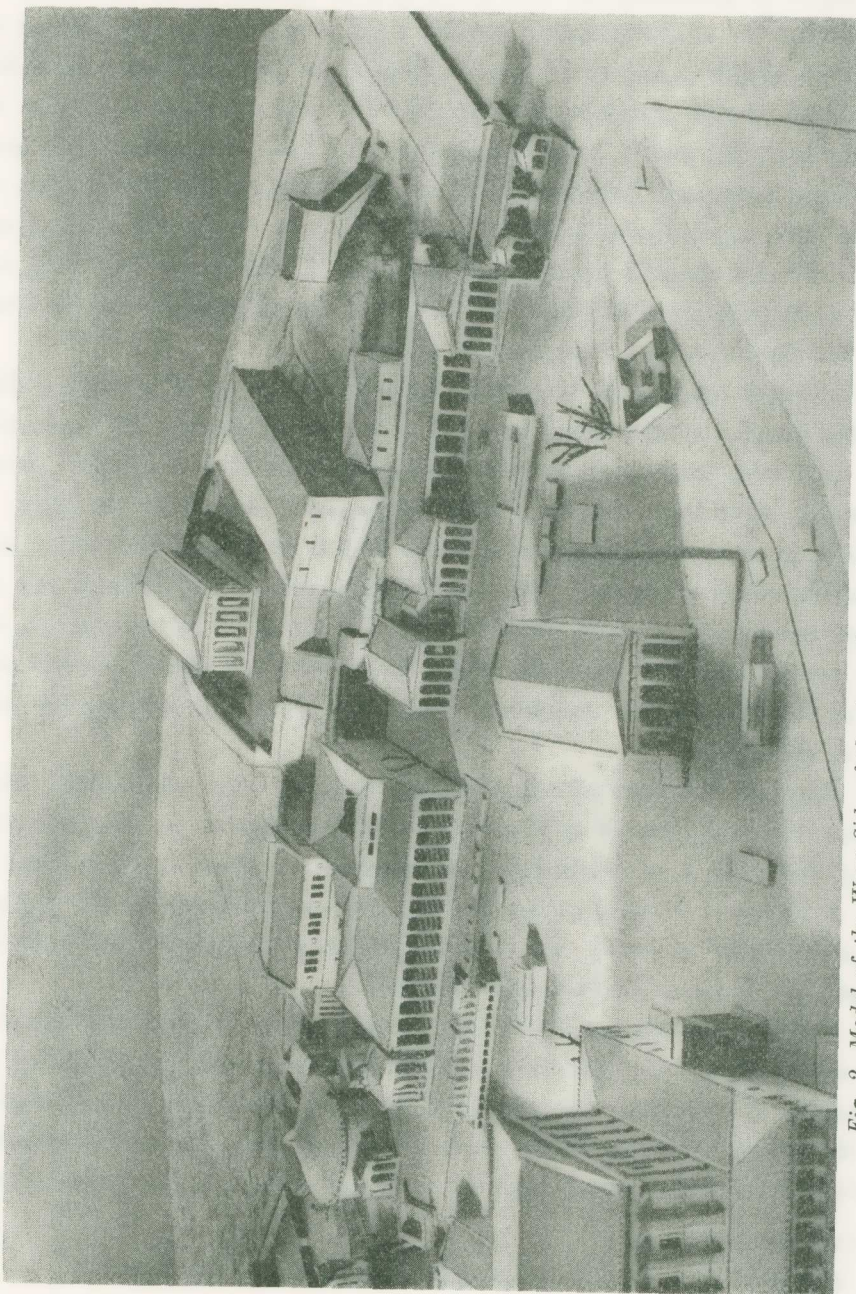


Fig. 2. Model of the West Side of the Agora in the 2nd Century after Christ. View from the East. The Tholos on the left; the Stoa Basileios on the right.

Before propounding his own philosophical system, Zeno had sampled the offerings of earlier schools, notably Cynicism as then represented in Athens by Krates, a native of Thebes. Krates, we are told, was a firm believer in the frugal existence advocated by the Cynics, so much so that he and his beautiful young wife, Hipparchia, sold their belongings and, having neither house nor furniture, spent day and night in the public stoas at Athens. The consequences could be embarrassing for the pupils of the great teacher. Krates' conduct became notorious, not to say scandalous. It is believed to have inspired a lively little picture of the philosopher and his bride from the Garden of the Farnesina in Rome⁸.

Diogenes, who came to Athens from Sinope in the 4th century B.C. was the founder of the Cynic sect and a teacher of Krates. He was satisfied with even more modest living accommodation than his pupil. Among the many picturesque touches in the biographical notices is the story of his living in a pithos or large storage jar. This is illustrated time after time in marble reliefs and gems⁹. The Cynic philosopher is recognizable by his shaggy beard, ragged cloak, crooked staff and his constant companion, the dog: mascot and eponym of the Cynic sect. Diogenes' pithos, we are told, was in the Metroon, the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods on the west side of the Agora.

Diogenes had been strongly influenced by an older philosopher, Antisthenes, the real founder of the Cynic sect. Antisthenes in turn had been one of the most devoted followers of Sokrates, to whom we now turn.

In Sokrates we have at last a native Athenian. His father was Sophroniskos a worker in stone, his mother Phainarete a midwife, his township (*demos*) Alopeke; he lived 469 - 399 B.C.¹⁰

I cannot and do not claim that the new archaeological evidence from the excavation of the Agora has added anything to our knowledge of the substance of Sokrates' thought. For that we must continue to depend on the ancient authors, above all on those who knew him at first-hand: Aristophanes, Plato and Xenophon; to some extent also on Aristotle who

8. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, II, p. 186, fig. 1079.

9. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, II, pp. 181 - 185, figs. 1057 - 1070.

10. Schefold, *Bildnisse*, pp. 68 - 69, 82 - 85; Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, I, pp. 109 - 119, figs. 456 - 573.

is however a second-hand witness. Most of the few factual details that we possess about the life of Sokrates have been preserved by Diogenes Laertius, the industrious but not very discriminating compiler of *The Lives of Eminent Philosophers*. He lived in the 3rd century after Christ but drew his material from a great variety of earlier authors both good and bad¹¹.

What we can draw from the excavations is help in visualizing the circumstances under which Sokrates carried on much of his discourse, the quality of the people with whom he associated and the atmosphere of the place in which he certainly spent a large part of his time.

Sokrates left behind no professional writing, and he probably never produced any; had the rule "publish or perish" existed in the 5th century B.C., Sokrates would never have received tenure. Furthermore he stoutly denied being a teacher in the formal sense of the term, and, unlike the professional sophists, he did not accept money for his efforts to improve mankind. Despite his own protestations he proved, however, to be one of the world's most effective teachers¹². Those of us who are interested in the processes of education as well as in the history of ideas should welcome any new evidence regarding the way in which Sokrates came to exercise such great influence over his own and later generations.

I have said above that Sokrates spent much of his time in the Agora. There is abundant literary evidence to this effect. In a passage near the beginning of Plato's *Apology* (17c) Sokrates asks the jurors not to be surprised if they hear him using the words which he had been in the habit of using in the Agora, at the tables of the money-changers or anywhere else. This, one infers, had become his normal manner of speech. Xenophon described Sokrates' daily habits thus: "Sokrates lived always out of doors,

11. For a concise evaluation of the literary sources cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, Vol. III, Cambridge, 1969, pp. 325 - 377.

12. On Sokrates as teacher cf. W. Jaeger, *Paideia: the Ideals of Greek Culture*, Vol. II, New York, 1943, bk. 3, ch. 2; F. A. G. Beck, *Greek Education 450 - 350 B. C.*, London, 1964, pp. 188 - 198; H. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, 6th edition, Paris 1965, Chs. IV and V; W. K. C. Guthrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 321 - 507; M. L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World*, London, 1971, pp. 57 - 59.

for early in the morning he would go to the public promenades and the gymnasia; at the busiest shopping time he was to be seen in the Agora, and for the rest of the day he was wherever most people were to be met. (*Memoria I, i, 10*). Aelius Aristides, writing in the 2nd century after Christ, observed of Sokrates that "more than any other Athenian he talked with both citizens and foreigners at the tables and shops". (*XLVI, 134*).

It is also clear from many scattered references in the ancient authors that Sokrates frequented the workshops (*ergasteria*), many of which, as the excavations have shown, stood on the roads just outside the Agora proper¹³. We may start again with Plato's *Apology* (22). When Sokrates was bent on checking the statement of the Delphic oracle to the effect that there was no man wiser than Sokrates, he went first to the politicians, then to the poets and finally to the artisans (*demiourgoi*). It was to the artisans that Sokrates gave highest marks. Even they, however, did not receive a perfect score. Of the three accusers at the trial Meletos was said to have represented the poets, Lykon the rhetoricians, Anytos the craftsmen and politicians, "all of whom had suffered from Sokrates' lash" (*Diogenes Laertius, Lives II, 39*). In the dialogues, of course, Sokrates is constantly drawing lessons from the handicrafts, so much so that his old pupil Kritias, when he found himself momentarily in a position of authority late in the life of the philosopher, warned Sokrates that henceforth "You will have to avoid your favorite topic,— the cobblers, builders and metal-workers, for that subject is already in my opinion worn to rags by you". (*Xenophon, Memoria I, ii, 37*).

Sokrates was equally at home in the studios and workshops of practising artists. In Xenophon's lively account of the philosopher's interviews with Parrhasios the painter, Kleiton the sculptor and Pistias the maker of fine armor it is clear that his questions were based on close observation at first-hand. (*Xenophon, Memoria III, X, 1 - 15*).

We may now try to relate some of the archaeological evidence to the literary, starting with Sokrates' contacts with artists and artisans. Sokrates' father, Sophroniskos, was described by Diogenes Laertius, we have seen, as a worker in stone. The word used is *lithourgos* which may mean either "mason" or "sculptor". Diogenes (*II, 19*) also reports a liter-

13. *Agora XIV, pp. 185 - 191.*

ary tradition connecting Sokrates himself with the working of stone¹⁴. This tradition goes back as far at least as the 4th or 3rd century B.C.: the historian Douris (ca. 340 - 260 B.C.) and the sceptical philosopher Timon (ca. 320 - 230 B.C.). Pausanias in the 2nd century after Christ accepted without question the attribution to Sokrates the philosopher of a group of three draped Charites (Graces) seen by him at the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis (I.22.8; IX.35.7). But references in both Diogenes (1.c.) and in Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* XXXVI.32) indicate that the attribution was far from unanimous¹⁵. Moreover, the style of the Charites, at least as far as it can be recovered from some eleven known copies of a 5th century prototype that was in all likelihood the group in question points to a time close to the date of Sokrates' birth. It may therefore be more prudent to dissociate our Sokrates from the Charites and to suppose that they may have been the work of a Theban sculptor, with the same name but of a more appropriate date (Pausanias IX.25.3). However the problem of the

14. For the literary testimonia cf. J. Overbeck, *Antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*, Leipzig, 1868, nos. 907 - 916. In addition to the authors one must take into account a series of Athenian silver tetradrachms of the 2nd century B.C.: F. W. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, London, 1885 - 1887, pl. EE VI; M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York, 1961, pp. 196 - 199, pls. 51, 52. The series, assigned by Miss Thompson to 154/3 B.C., bears the names of the magistrates Eurykleides and Ariarathes and has as symbol a group of three draped female figures which closely resemble the marble copies of the Charites. Miss Thompson is undoubtedly right in recognizing in this Eurykleides a grandson of the Eurykleides who had been instrumental in founding the sanctuary of Demos and the Graces near the northwest corner of the Agora (pp. 604, 725). But the name of Sokrates appears on several numbers of the issue as a "Third magistrate"; in view of the tradition connecting Sokrates with the Charites, albeit in another sanctuary of the same divinities, this seems unlikely to be a fortuitous conjunction.

15. The authorship of the Charites has been discussed frequently: W. Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, Berlin, 1959, pp. 59ff. and in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die Öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed., Tübingen, 1963, pp. 266 f.; E. B. Harrison, *Agora XI: Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton, 1965, p. 122; B. S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton, 1970, pp. 114 - 121; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art*, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 314, 671.

*Charites is to be resolved, the Athenian tradition connecting the philosopher with the working of stone is strong enough to call for some kernel of truth. The truth may be that Sokrates as a boy had helped his father whether in stone masonry or in the making of marble sculpture. In view of the frequency with which son followed father in artistic circles in Athens, one can envisage the origin, and eventual distortion, of such a tradition*¹⁶.

*In the belief that Sophroniskos and probably also his youthful son were engaged in the working of stone or marble (the generic word *lithos* might denote either common stone or marble) we may pause for a moment over a district on the borders of the Agora and at the west foot of the Areopagus where marble was worked in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. The area was excavated in the 1950's¹⁷. Here sculptors working in marble were busily engaged in their little shops throughout the period covered by the lives of Sokrates and his father. This is much the most active area of marble-working known from the Classical period in the ancient city. The buildings, most of which probably served both as dwellings and as workplaces, were irregular in plan, consisting usually of several rooms grouped around an unroofed courtyard in which was a well or cistern. The earthen floors of some of the rooms were overlaid with layer upon layer of marble chips and dust from the polishing of marble. Of the sculptors' tools there remain only an occasional polishing stone of Naxian emery. Among the ruins have also been found a few pieces of unfinished marble sculpture.*

This district of marble-workers at the west foot of the Areopagus and within a stone's throw of the Agora was surely familiar ground to Sokrates. It is quite possible that in one of these modest establishments the youthful Sokrates had assisted his father in the carving of marble; and we may be sure that it was in such shops that the mature Sokrates put his searching questions about their art to professional sculptors.

16. In his *Somnium* (A Chapter of Autobiography) Lucian recalls his painful apprenticeship, which lasted but a single day, with his sculptor-uncle. In the dream that follows he is reminded by Paideia that Sokrates himself had suffered in a somewhat similar way: having been brought up by Hermoglyphike, he had soon realized his mistake, deserted to Paideia and achieved universal fame.

17. *Hesperia* 20 (1951) pp. 135 - 288 (R. S. Young); 38 (1969) pp. 383 - 394 (T. L. Shear, Jr.); 43 (1974) pp. 194 ff. (Stella G. Miller); *Agora* XIV, pp. 177, 187.

In addition to the shops where statues were carved from marble the recent excavations have brought to light a number of establishments where statues of bronze were cast¹⁸. These range in date from the 6th century before Christ to the 5th century after Christ. Most of the shops were on the slopes of Kolonos Agoraios, the low hill to the west of the Agora, and within sight of the Temple of Hephaistos, patron god of metal-workers. Little remains of the establishments except the deep pits in bedrock in which were planted the clay moulds ready to receive the molten bronze from a nearby furnace. But for the procedure and for the atmosphere we are fortunate in being able to consult a number of red-figure vase paintings of the 5th century B.C. These little pictures were drawn by vase-painters who also lived and worked on the borders of the Agora; they are obviously based on first-hand observation. The most informative of the pictures is a series on a kylix of 480 - 470 B.C., a work of the "Foundry Painter", now in Berlin¹⁹. In the floor medallion of the cup sits Hephaistos, the divine smith. He is putting the finishing touches on a set of armour while Thetis stands by ready to carry the armor to her son, Achilles. In the two panels on the outside of the cup are scenes in human bronze-working establishments. On the one side is shown a furnace and a statue of a running figure which is being assembled from newly cast parts. On the other side of the cup another statue is receiving its final polish: the subject is a warrior armed with a huge spear. Both these statues evidently represent the same heroic figure, Achilles, in the two roles in which he most commonly appears in the *Iliad*. Thus the series of three pictures provides a nice illustration of the typically Greek conception of artistic creation as something bordering on the divine.

For our immediate purpose, however, interest focuses on the scene in which the statue of the runner is being finished. The polishing is done

18. *Agora XIV*, pp. 188 - 190; Carol Mattusch, *Hesperia* 46 (1977) pp. 340 - 379.

19. *Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Inv. F 2204*; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*², p. 400, no. 1; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red-Figure Vases*, London, 1975, p. 221, fig. 262; *Hesperia* 46 (1977) pl. 98. For the identification of the statues on the exterior of the Foundry Painter's cup cf. H. A. Thompson in *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1965*, pp. 323 - 328. For other relevant vase paintings cf. *Hesperia* 46 (1977) p. 378, n. 86.

by a couple of assistants under the watchful eye of the master who is no doubt both the artist and the head of the establishment. On the other side a guest looks on attentively. Both artist and guest are tall, dignified, well dressed; they stand leaning on walking sticks. In these tiny sketches the Foundry Painter has conveyed a vivid impression of the competent organization, the technical skill, the professional dignity to be observed in one of the establishments that were producing some of the greatest sculptures of ancient Greece here on the borders of the Agora. If the vase-painter found so much of interest in the scene, need we wonder that Sokrates also found it profitable to observe the artists and artisans at work, and to talk with them? Xenophon (*Memorabilia* III.10.6) reports Sokrates' comment on one such occasion: "Kleiton, I see and know that your statues of runners, wrestlers, boxers and fighters are beautiful. But how do you produce in them that illusion of life which is their most alluring charm to the beholder?"

On the same hillslopes where fine vases and bronze statues were produced also stood the shops of armor-makers. Of the armor made here in the time of Sokrates virtually nothing survives. But the excavations have yielded some curious records of a few pieces of outstanding quality²⁰. These consist of impressions taken in soft clay from the figures worked in high relief on bronze helmets and belt buckles datable to the late 5th and early 4th century. The scale is miniature, but the technical virtuosity is breathtaking, and the depiction of feeling is beyond praise. Once again we feel the presence of superb craftsmen, men worthy of Sokrates' company. And here too we may recall the passage in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* in which Sokrates, who had served in three strenuous military campaigns, persuaded Pistias, the maker of armor, to agree that a breastplate, no matter how ornate and gilded it might be, was a poor thing unless it fitted the body.

We turn next to a more modest establishment that came to light in 1953 at the extreme southwest corner of the Agora²¹. The building stood

20. *Agora* XIV, pp. 81, 187 with reference to many special articles by D. B. Thompson. Cf. also E. R. Williams, "Ancient Clay Impressions from Greek Metalwork", *Hesperia* 45 (1976) pp. 41 - 66.

21. *Hesperia* 23 (1954) pp. 51ff.; D. B. Thompson, "The House of Simon the Shoemaker", *Archaeology* 13 (1960) pp. 234 - 240; *Agora* XIV, pp. 173f.; R. F. Hock, "Simon the Shoemaker as an Ideal Cynic", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 17 (1976) pp. 41 - 53.

in the angle between two roads that issued from the square. It fell just outside the official limits of the Agora: a marble pillar set against the wall of the shop reads, in characters of about 500 B.C., "I am a boundary marker of the Agora" (Fig. 3). The establishment consisted of several rooms grouped around a courtyard in which opened a well. Its history could be traced from the late 6th into the 4th century B.C. The material recovered from the well included many domestic articles, enough to show that people had lived here. In the second half of the 5th century a shoemaker had been active. The clay floors of that period were sprinkled with large-headed iron hobnails of a kind suitable for heavy boots.

In the roadway in front of this establishment, at the level of the third quarter of the 5th century, was found the foot of a broken wine cup in which was scratched the name of its owner: Simon (Fig. 4). This, we may assume, was also the name of the proprietor of the shop. Diogenes Laertius in his *Lives of the Philosophers* (II.13.122) gives a short notice of a shoemaker, Simon by name, on whom Sokrates liked to call, and who published a volume of Sokratic dialogues on philosophical themes: "Of Virtue, that it cannot be taught", "On Demagogy", "On Good Eating", "On the Beautiful", etc. Diogenes goes on to report that Perikles once offered Simon support if Simon would join him. "No thank you", replied the shoemaker, "I will not give up my freedom of speech for money". We may with some confidence identify the shop beside the boundary-marker as that of the historical Simon. And Simon in turn might well be the prototype of the shoemaker who figures in an incident reported by Aelian (*Varia Historia* II, 1). Sokrates, accompanied by Alkibiades, calls on a shoemaker. When the fastidious Alkibiades hesitates at the door Sokrates asks, "Do you despise that shoemaker there?". When Alkibiades admits as much, Sokrates replies "The people of Athens are just such people; if you despise this one, you despise all".

In view of his well known habits of dress Sokrates is not likely to have given the shoemaker much business, but he undoubtedly found the shop a good place in which to study human nature. So too did the painters of vases, both black figure and red figure²². In one case a boy, in another a

22. Among the most interesting are a black-figured amphora in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford Inv. No. 563 and another in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Inv. No. 01.8035); both are illustrated in *Archaeology* 13 (1960) p. 239.



Fig. 3. Ruins of the Shop of Simon the Shoemaker. View from the East. The marble pillar in the center foreground is the boundary marker (horos) of the Agora; it was set against one corner of Simon's Shop.

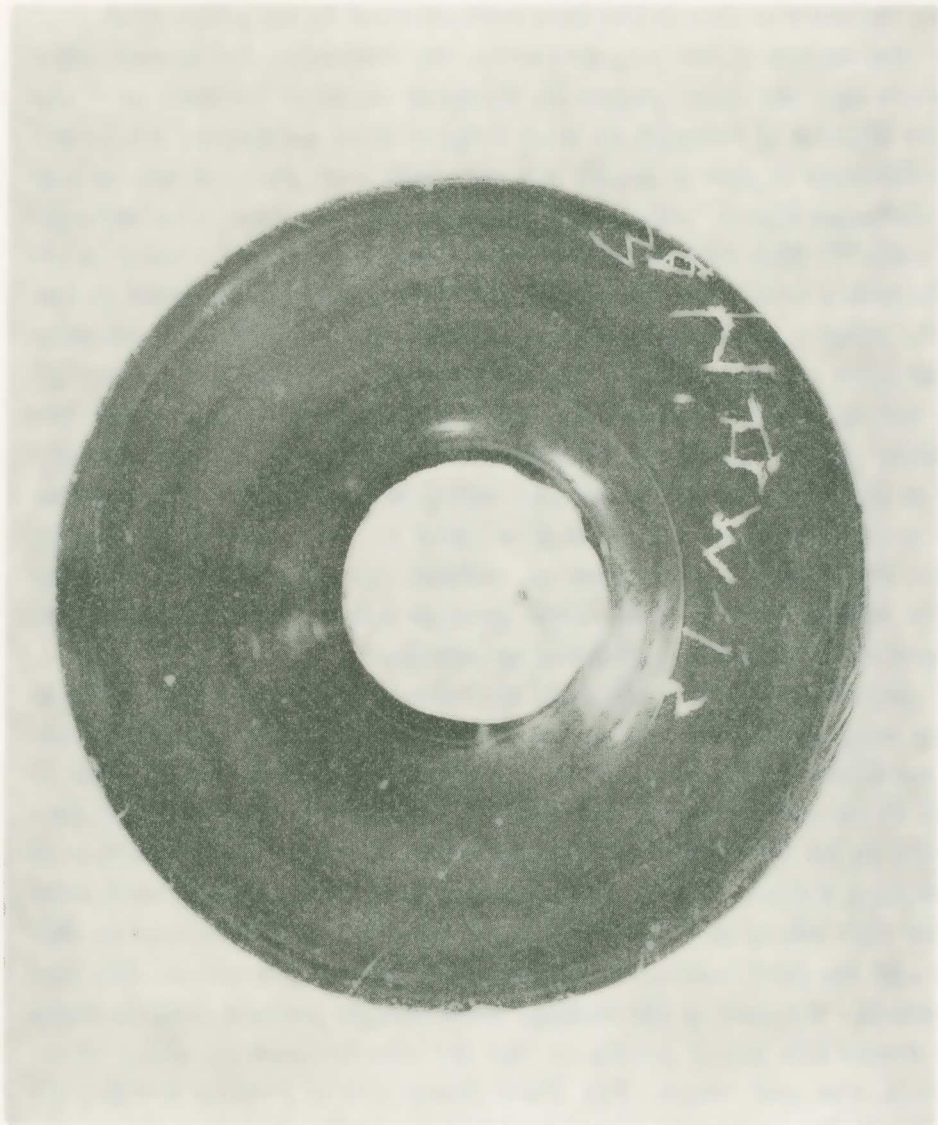


Fig. 4. Base of a Kylix inscribed with the name of Simon.

girl has been brought to the shop by an aged paedagogue for a fitting. The tensions that develop in the course of the fitting are as sensitively recorded by the artist as they might have been observed by the philosopher.

But enough of the *ergasteria*, the workshops. Let us now follow Sokrates into the Agora proper. In trying to visualize the place as it was in the lifetime of Sokrates we must keep in mind an element that is seldom indicated in plan or model, viz. the shade trees. Plutarch tells us that the statesman Kimon "Adorned the Agora by planting plane trees and making walks"²³. This must have been done when Sokrates was a child; in the philosopher's later years the planes, full grown, would have added greatly to the pleasure of life in the square. A later and more affluent generation added stoas or colonnades for the shelter of the habitues of the place. By the end of the 5th century the Agora was bordered by four if not five buildings of this type: the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios on the west side, the Stoa Poikile and Stoa of the Herms on the north. The great building on the south side which we know only by its modern name, South Stoa I, dates from ca. 400 B.C. Although all these buildings served various civic purposes, their specious colonnades were open to the citizens at most times as sheltered promenades.

In the 4th century and later the stoa most favored by the philosophers was, as we have seen above, the Poikile, naturally enough because its southward exposure made it a comfortable place in which to sit or stroll at all seasons and all hours of the day. Sokrates too may well have strolled in its shade. But the literary tradition is curiously unanimous in associating Sokrates with the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios which closed much of the west side of the square and faced east (Fig. 2)²⁴. Discovered in 1931 this was the first building to emerge in the recent excavations. The plan is unusual: the ends of the building were brought forward at right angles and treated like temple facades so that the structure partook of the nature of both stoa and temple. The Doric facade was of Pentelic marble; the angles of the pediments were adorned with marble Nikai; a continuous

23. *Præcepta gerendae reipublicae* 24 (818d); cf. also Plutarch, *Kimón* 13, 8 and *Demosthenes* 31, 1.

24. *Agora* III, pp. 25-31, nos. 24-46 (literary and epigraphic testimonia); *Agora* XIV (design and history).

bench ran at the foot of the wall around three sides of the two-aisled interior. The workmanship, in the Periclean tradition, is of a very high order. The building was completed in the late 5th century, i.e. in time for Sokrates' enjoyment in the last decade or so of his life. Here then was a very pleasant place to stroll, especially in the afternoon hours, or to sit and look out through the marble colonnades on the busy life of the Agora.

Its location made the Stoa a convenient rendezvous whether with fellow townsmen or with visitors coming into the city from the country or from abroad. There are repeated references in the ancient authors to Sokrates meeting with friends in the Stoa of Zeus. It was the setting for Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, that long discourse on how to manage a household and a wife. In two of the pseudo-Platonic dialogues, the *Eryxias* and *Theages*, Sokrates strolls here with friends. A scrap of papyrus from *Oxyrhynchus* in Egypt, recently published, preserves a fragment of a Socratic dialogue, *Miltiades*, by Aeschines Socraticus, one of the philosopher's most devoted followers²⁵. The text runs like this, Sokrates speaking: "It happened to be the time of the Panathenaic procession. I was sitting in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios together with Hagnon the father of Theramenes and Euripides the poet when Miltiades passed close by us". The Stoa of Zeus, we may be sure, was the scene of some of the pleasantest hours of Sokrates' later years: here he found himself among agreeable companions, in a comfortable, indeed a gracious setting, in full view of all that was going on in the Agora.

Less pleasant were the hours spent in the Agora by Sokrates on the two occasions when he was involved in civic service. The first came after the sea battle of Arginusae in 406 B.C.²⁶. Although the Athenians were victorious, they suffered a great loss of life, and the people were enraged with the commanding officers, accusing them of negligence in the rescue of survivors. So impetuous were the citizens that they insisted on trying all of the generals together rather than singly as required by law. Sokrates happened at this time to be a member of the Council of Five Hundred, and furthermore a member of the presiding panel of prytaneis whose duty it was to prepare the agenda for the meetings of the Assembly. He alone,

25. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 39 (1972) nos. 2889, 2890.

26. Plato, *Apology* 32b; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, I.i.18.

at peril of his life, opposed putting the illegal motion before the Assembly. The Assembly presumably met in its usual place on the nearby Pnyx, but the panel of prytaneis took their meals and discussed their duties in the small round building, the Tholos, which stood at the southwest corner of the square²⁷. The remains of this building, which dates from ca. 460 B.C., came to light in 1934. It proves to have been utterly simple in plan, circular with six interior columns; a porch was added in the early Roman period (Fig. 2).

Two years later Sokrates again found himself in the Tholos²⁸. On this occasion the building was occupied by the "Thirty Tyrants" who had begun to abuse their power, arresting and executing honest but well-to-do citizens not for political reasons but in order to get hold of their property. In one such case Sokrates along with four others was summoned to the Tholos by the Thirty and ordered by them to make the arrest of one Leon of Salamis. The others proceeded to Salamis but, as Sokrates proudly reminded the jury in the *Apology*, he went quietly home; he did so again at great peril of life.

Little remains of the Tholos apart from a few of its wall blocks, the stumps of its columns and a late floor,— enough, however, to enable us once more to visualize the physical setting of specific episodes in Sokrates' life.

We are now nearing the final chapter in the story of that life. The crushing military defeat with which the Peloponnesian War came to an end in 404 B.C., together with the socio-political convulsions that preceded and followed, left the Athenians in a tumultuous emotional state. By his ill-concealed contempt for many aspects of democracy, his association with such brilliant but calamitous characters as Alkibiades and Kritias and by his frequently fatuous appearance of self-righteousness, Sokrates had aroused so much resentment that he was a natural choice for a scapegoat. A formal charge was laid against him in 399 B.C. The accusation was two-fold. He was accused of "refusing to recognize the gods acknowledged by the state and introducing other new divinities. He is also guilty of cor-

27. *Agora* III, pp. 179 - 184, nos. 589 - 609 (literary and epigraphic testimonia); *Agora* XIV, pp. 41 - 46 (design and history).

28. Plato, *Apology* 32 c, d; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* IV. iV. 3.

rupting the youth. The penalty demanded is death"²⁹. Since impiety was involved, any court proceedings had to come under the oversight of the *Archon Basileus*, the Royal Archon. This official, one of the three senior magistrates of Athens, had his seat in the *Stoa Basileios*, the Royal Stoa. Sokrates was therefore required to take himself to this building and to appear before the Archon Basileus for a preliminary hearing. This is stated explicitly in two of the Platonic dialogues, the *Euthyphro* and the *Theaetetus*.

Pausanias, the "Baekeker" of the 2nd century after Christ on whom we depend for most of our identifications, referred to the *Stoa Basileios* as the first on the right as one entered the Agora coming from the principal gate of Athens, the *Dipylon* (I. 3, 1). The American excavators of the Agora began their search for this building in their first season, 1931; the Stoa appeared in 1970 exactly at the spot indicated by Pausanias³⁰. It is a small structure, only 17.72 m. long, set at the foot of *Kolonos Agoraios* close against its larger neighbor, the *Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios* (Fig. 5). Enough remains of foundations and of the super-structure to permit a restoration on paper. The "mini-stoa" is simple in plan: solid back and end walls with a row of eight Doric columns in front and an inner of four. A series of stone bedding blocks with sockets in their tops for wooden posts indicate that the southern third of the interior could be screened off, presumably for the convenience of the archon. A stone platform at the foot of the walls may have held the tablets (*axones*) bearing the laws of Solon which, according to Aristotle, had been placed in the *Stoa Basileios*. Aristotle also informs us that each year the nine annual magistrates of the city came to the Stoa to take their oath of office. As they swore to preserve the laws they stood on a stone (*lithos*). This object came to light in the excavation. It is a massive block of limestone (2.95×0.95×0.40 m.) set directly in front of the building. Its shape, size and workmanship have suggested that it was salvaged from the lintel of a ruinous tholos tomb of the Mycenaean period which, of course, would have been a royal burial

29. Xenophon, *Memorabilia* I.i.1; Diogenes Laertius, (quoting Favorinus) 2.40. Cf. also Plato, *Apology* 24 b, *Euthyphro* 3 b; Xenophon, *Apology* 10.

30. T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 40 (1971) pp. 243 - 255; 44 (1975) pp. 365 - 374; *Agora III*, pp. 20 - 25; XIV, pp. 83 - 90.

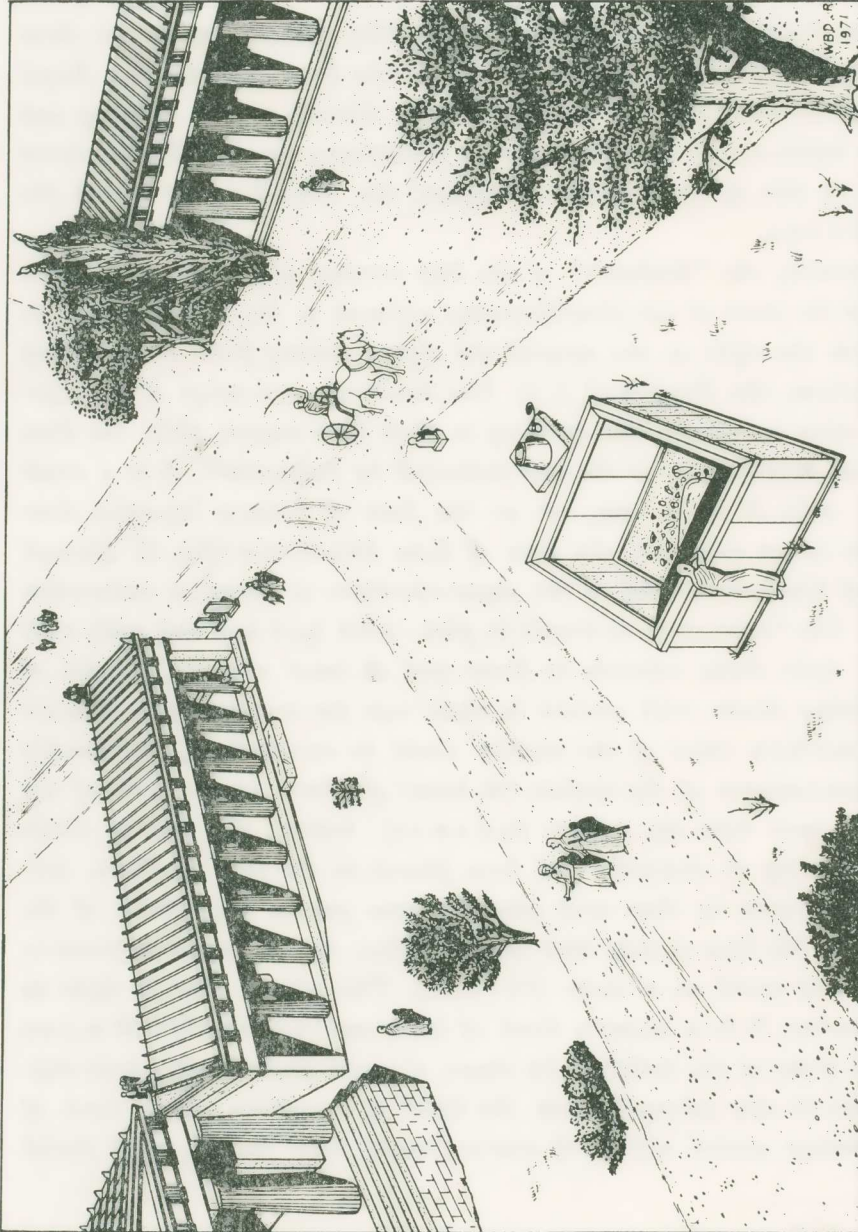


Fig. 5. The Northwest Corner of the Agora seen from inside the square, as it was about 400 B.C. From left to right: Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, Stoa Basileios, Shrine of the daughter of Leos (Leokorion); Stoa Poikile(?). Drawing by W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr.

place. The Stoa dates from about the middle of the 5th century. Columnar porches were added to the facade at its north and south ends in the 4th century B.C. The Stoa continued in use as one of the principal civic buildings of Athens until destroyed in the Gothic invasion of 396 after Christ.

It was then to this venerable building that Sokrates came to answer the formal questions of the Archon and to be informed of his impending trial. While he waited for the magistrate he chatted with the soothsayer Euthyphro who had also to appear before the Archon regarding a charge of murder which he was bringing against his father. Since the Stoa Basileios is known to have been used as a meeting place by the Council of the Areopagus, it was probably the place to which the Apostle Paul also was brought when he was required to appear before the Areopagus some four and one half centuries later.

Several ancient authors refer to the images of the god Hermes that stood close to the Stoa Basileios³¹. These images were surely of the characteristic Athenian type in which the trunk was rendered schematically in the shape of a pillar, and attention was concentrated on the vital parts. The original function of these figures was undoubtedly religious. Hermes was the god of travel and of commerce; he was also the guardian of entrances. It was therefore appropriate that he should be represented at the main entrance to the Agora as market place. The excavators of the Stoa Basileios did in fact come on the remains of about a score of Hermes, several of them on the steps of the building.

These Herms concern our present theme in two ways. We are told that Sokrates was criticized for spending too much time "by the tables and the Herms"³². The tables (*trapezai*) were undoubtedly the desks of the money-changers or bankers. In the *Apology* (17) Sokrates himself admits that his way of speaking has been influenced by his frequent-

31. For the Herms in the Agora cf. *Agora III*, pp. 103 - 108, nos. 301 - 313; E. B. Harrison, *Agora XI: Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton, 1965, pp. 108 - 117. For the recent discovery of fragmentary Herms in the area of the Stoa Basileios cf. T. Leslie Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 40 (1971), pp. 255 - 259; 42 (1973), pp. 164 f.; pp. 380, 406 f.

32. Theodoretos, *Therapeutika* XII.175.17. Cf. *Agora III*, nos. 311, 628, 629, 630.

ing the Agora and the tables. The location of the Herms, as we have seen, is now fixed. In 1970 an inscription of 375/4 B.C. was found in front of the Stoa Basileios³³. The text is a law of the Nomothetai regarding the control of silver currency in Athens. According to its own text the stele was to be set up "among the tables". No trace of the tables has yet been found, and they may indeed have been of wood. It is probable, however, that the inscription has stood near the place where it was found, and certainly a location near the entrance to the Agora would have been suitable for the money-changers. We may safely conclude that both the Herms and the tables stood near the Stoa Basileios at the northwest entrance to the Agora. In frequenting this area Sokrates had ample opportunity to meet and talk with the money-changers and bankers, as also with people from out-of-town who stopped to change money as they entered the Agora.

My second reason for mentioning the Herms in connection with Sokrates is not hard to guess. Among the Herms that suffered mutilation on that fateful summer night in 415 B.C. the most conspicuous were undoubtedly the group in the Agora³⁴. It was the time when the great Athenian expedition was about to sail for Sicily, and the emotions of the people were already feverish. The abuse of the sacred images was regarded as a deliberate and impious act that was likely to bring disaster on the city. Political overtones were also suspected. The matter became a *cause célèbre*, and eventually led to the execution of a number of distinguished citizens and to the banishment of others. Closely coupled with the mutilation of the Herms was the parodying of the Mysteries of Demeter. Alkibiades was accused of complicity, and rather than face the charge he went over to the enemy. He had been the most vigorous advocate and the ab-

33. Ronald S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 43 (1974), pp. 157 - 188.

34. The basic texts regarding the mutilation of the Herms and the profanation of the mysteries of Demeter are Thucydides VI, 27 - 29; Andokides I (*de Mysteriis*); Plutarch, *Alkibiades*; the inscriptions recording the sale of the confiscated property of the condemned (W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 22 (1953), pp. 225 - 299; 25 (1956), pp. 178 - 317; 30 (1961), pp. 23 - 29; D. A. Amyx, *Hesperia* 27 (1958), pp. 163 - 310); R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1969, no. 79). For a detailed discussion of the two episodes cf. A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes and K. J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, Vol. IV, Oxford, 1970, pp. 264 - 288.

lest leader of the Sicilian Expedition; his defection sealed the fate of the Expedition and changed the course of history.

Alkibiades, as one of the most prominent of the youthful associates of Sokrates, was pointed to as a prime example of the way Sokrates had corrupted the youth. We may assume that the memory of this particularly flagrant episode of 415 B.C. strongly affected popular opinion as late as 399 B.C. Among the fragmentary Herms found in front of the Stoa Basileios was the head of a figure datable from its style to ca. 420 B.C.³⁵ (Fig. 6). It must therefore have been standing here in 415 B.C., and the head in fact was found in a closed deposit along with ostraka and pottery of the end of the 5th century B.C. This figure had suffered so severely that it was not thought worth restoring. But another head found elsewhere in the excavations shows signs of repair: the nose had been replaced, and the new member had been fastened with a metal pin³⁶. Since this Herm was carved in the early 5th century B.C. it too must have suffered in 415 B.C. After conservation it presumably continued to stand in the Agora, nor is its history likely to have been unique. Such silent witnesses, standing in one of the most frequented parts of the city, were constant reminders of the shocking events of 415 B.C. and of their perpetrators.

The same may be said of the record of the sale of the property of those condemned for profaning the Mysteries of Demeter. The lists, headed by the names of the condemned, were engraved on ten or more large marble stelai which stood for centuries for all to see in the Sanctuary of Demeter, the Eleusinion. Many fragments of the inscription have been found in the excavation³⁷.

We move on to the trial. It is generally agreed that Sokrates was tried before a dikastic court of 501 jurors under the presidency of the Archon Basileus. The trial took place not in the Stoa Basileios which could not have held so many people, but in one or other of the several courthouses that stood on or close to the Agora. Beyond that we shall probably never be able to go with certainty. Buildings identifiable as lawcourts have come

35. *Hesperia* 42 (1973), pp. 164 f.

36. E. B. Harrison, *Agora XI*, no. 156.

37. See above, n. 34.

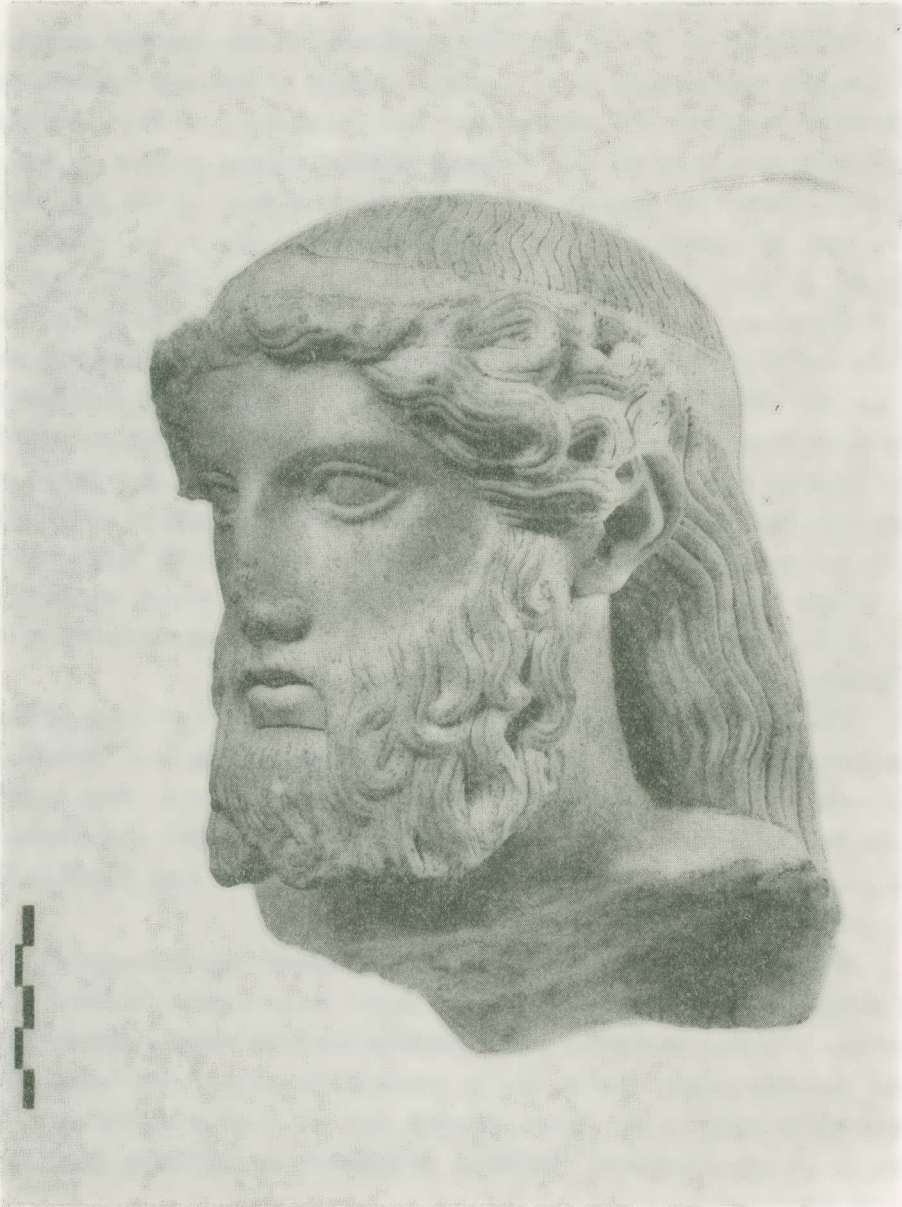


Fig. 6. Marble head of a Herm found in front of the Stoa Basileios. Carved about 420 B.C. the Herm was among those mutilated in 415 B.C.

to light near both the northeast and southwest corners of the Agora³⁸. The most likely candidate for the court used in the trial of Sokrates now appears to be a large, rectangular, unroofed enclosure near the southwest corner of the square which we have tentatively identified as the court called the *Heliaia* (Fig. 1, 19). The size is certainly adequate. The date too is suitable: the building was erected early in the 5th century B.C., and it continued in use for centuries.

In the course of the excavations examples of most of the types of equipment known to have been used in the lawcourts have been recovered: allotment machines (*kleroteria*) for selecting jurors, bronze identification cards (*pinakia*), bronze ballots (*psophoi*), the bronze tokens (*symbola*) required of the members of the jury to receive their pay at the end of the day³⁹. Perhaps most interesting of all is a unique specimen of a water-clock (*klepsydra* = literally "water-thief"), used for measuring the speeches at a trial⁴⁰. This was the very symbol of a lawcourt. In Aristophanes' *Wasps* (422 B.C.), when the aged juror Philokleon dreams in his troubled sleep, "his mind goes fluttering round the waterclock". The object is of terracotta, and has the shape of a modern flower pot. Near the top of the wall is a hole which ensured that the vessel could be filled to the same level for each speaker. A very small bronze-lined aperture at the bottom could be stoppered and then opened as the speaker began. The speaker could talk as long as the water ran,—in this case for six minutes. It would have been necessary to refill the vessel a number of times for a speech as long as Plato's *Apology* which would have taken upwards of an hour to deliver. The *klepsydra* was found a few meters to the north of the *Heliaia* in a well in a context of ca. 400 B.C., that is precisely the time of Sokrates' trial.

At the first session of the court Sokrates was found guilty by a vote of 280 to 220. The penalty called for by the prosecution was death. When asked what he would propose as a reasonable alternative Sokrates said that

38. *Agora* III, pp. 144 - 150; XIV, pp. 52 - 72.

39. M. Lang, *The Athenian Citizen* (Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book No. 4), Princeton, 1960.

40. S. H. Young, "An Athenian Clepsydra", *Hesperia* VIII (1939), pp. 274 - 284; M. Lang, *The Athenian Citizen*, figs. 25 f.; *Agora* XIV, p. 55.

as a public benefactor he regarded himself worthy of maintenance in the Town Hall (*Prýtaneion*) at the public charge⁴¹. Because of this and other indications of complete intransigence, the court at its final session voted with a still greater majority for the death penalty.

Contrary to normal custom the execution did not take place immediately. Religious scruples required a postponement until the annual sacred mission returned from Delos. Sokrates was therefore taken to the State Prison (*desmoterion*)⁴² where he spent the last month of his life, engaging in conversation with some of his closest friends as recorded by Plato in the *Krito* and *Phaedo*. The prison is said to have been close to the courthouse where the trial took place. It faced on an important thoroughfare. There were some facilities for bathing, and accommodation for the prison staff. The room in which the prisoner was incarcerated was large enough to accommodate his visitors who, if the *Phaedo* is to be taken at all literally, might number as many as eighteen at one time. There is no need to look for a large building since imprisonment was not a normal form of punishment, and prisoners were usually kept only for short periods before and after trial.

A building that meets the above criteria was excavated in the 1950's at a point outside the southwest corner of the Agora at a distance of about 100 meters from the structure which we believe to be the *Heliaia*, the probable scene of the trial (Figs. 1, 7)⁴³. In plan the building does not conform to any known pattern for sanctuary, dwelling, workshop or civic establishment. But it would meet the needs of the State Prison insofar as they can be visualized from the admittedly scanty literary evidence. The structure dates from about the middle of the 5th century B.C. It faced on an important street. The central part of the plan comprised eight rooms each about

41. Plato, *Apology* 36 e.

42. The Literary references are collected in *Agora III*, pp. 149 f.

43. For the excavation and inconclusive identification eg. M. Crosby, "The Poros Building", *Hesperia* 20 (1951), pp. 168 - 187. The identification as the State Prison was arrived at by Eugene Vanderpool in 1975 through the collation of the literary with the archaeological evidence: definitive exploration and conservation were carried out by John Camp in 1977. Publication by Eugene Vanderpool is imminent. Meanwhile cf. M. Lang, *Picture Book No. 17: Sokrates in the Agora*, figs. 24 - 29.

1. *The Agora in the 2nd Century after Christ. View from the Northwest.*

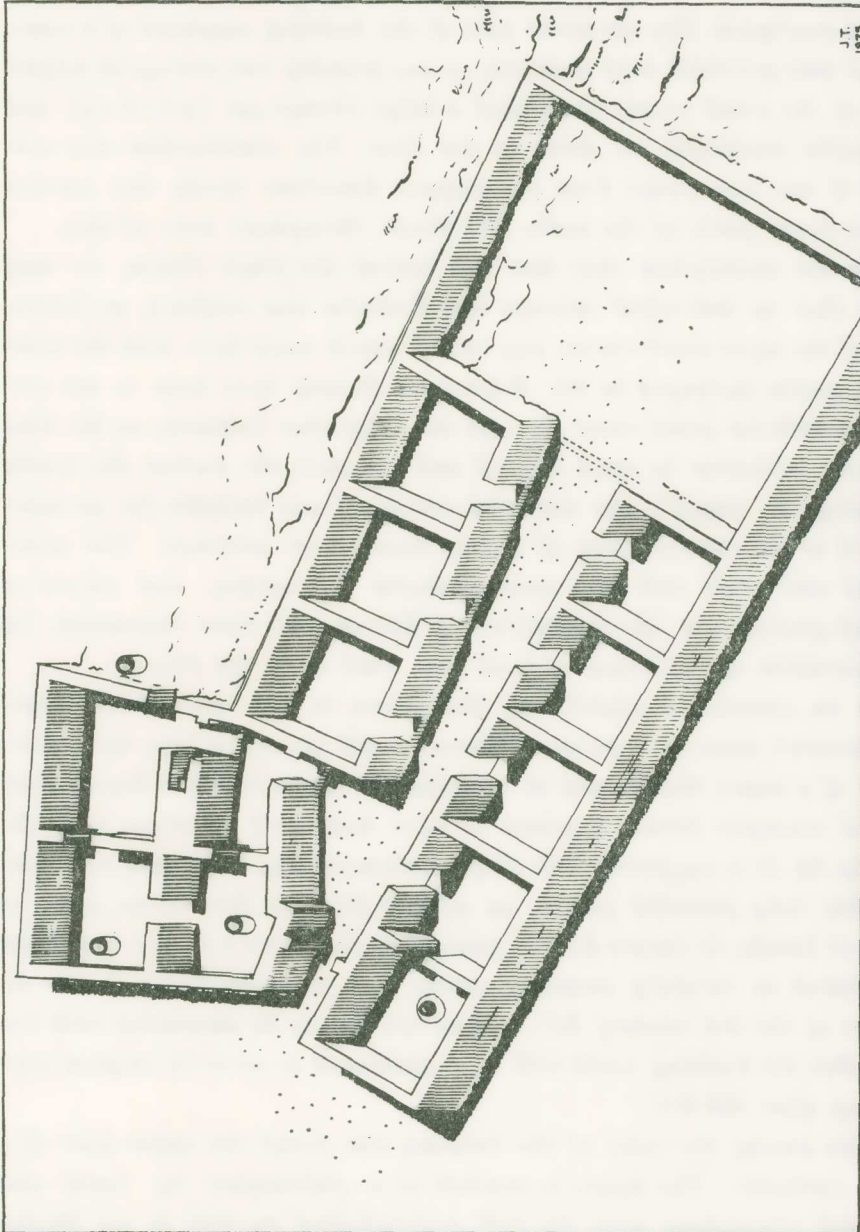


Fig. 7. The State Prison (Desmoterion). Drawing by J. Travlos.

4.5 m. square. They were ranged in two rows, one of five, the other of three units, and between the rows a passage led back from the street to a large unroofed courtyard. The northeast part of the building consisted of a semi-detached unit provided with a cistern; it was possibly two storeys in height. In one of the small rooms was found a large storage jar (*pitchos*) and a terracotta washbasin set down in the floor. The construction was substantial if one may judge from the massive limestone blocks that survive from the lower parts of the walls. The floors throughout were of clay.

On the assumption that this was indeed the State Prison, we may suppose that an individual prisoner like Sokrates was confined, in fetters, to one of the eight small rooms, any one of which could have held the company of guests envisaged in the *Phaedo*. It may have been to the corner room with its great water jar and its basin that Sokrates, as his time drew near, withdrew to wash himself and "to save the women the trouble of washing the corpse". The unroofed courtyard was suitable for an exercise yard or for the reception of a large number of prisoners. The semi-detached unit could well have accommodated the warden, and served as the head-quarters for the Committee of Eleven who were responsible for the supervision of the Prison and all that went on in the Prison.

In an abandoned chamber of the cistern in the semi-detached unit the excavators came on a group of thirteen small terracotta jars, each about the size of a man's thumb, and of a distinctive shape which is known from inscribed examples found elsewhere to have been used for drugs or medicine (Fig. 8). It is suggested that these containers may have held the hemlock. This very powerful poison, an extract from an herbaceous plant of the carrot family, is known from a passage in the *Phaedo* to have been administered in carefully measured doses. The examples found in the cistern are of the 3rd century B.C. and so too late to be associated with Sokrates. But the building could well have continued to serve its original purpose long after 399 B.C.

Also among the ruins of the building was found the upper part of a marble statuette. The figure is marked as a philosopher by beard and cloak, and comparison with the well authenticated portrait in the British Museum leaves no real doubt that our piece also represented Sokrates. In that case what was it doing here? Reference to the biographical sketch in Diogenes Laertius (II.43) may give the clue. There was a speedy and vio-

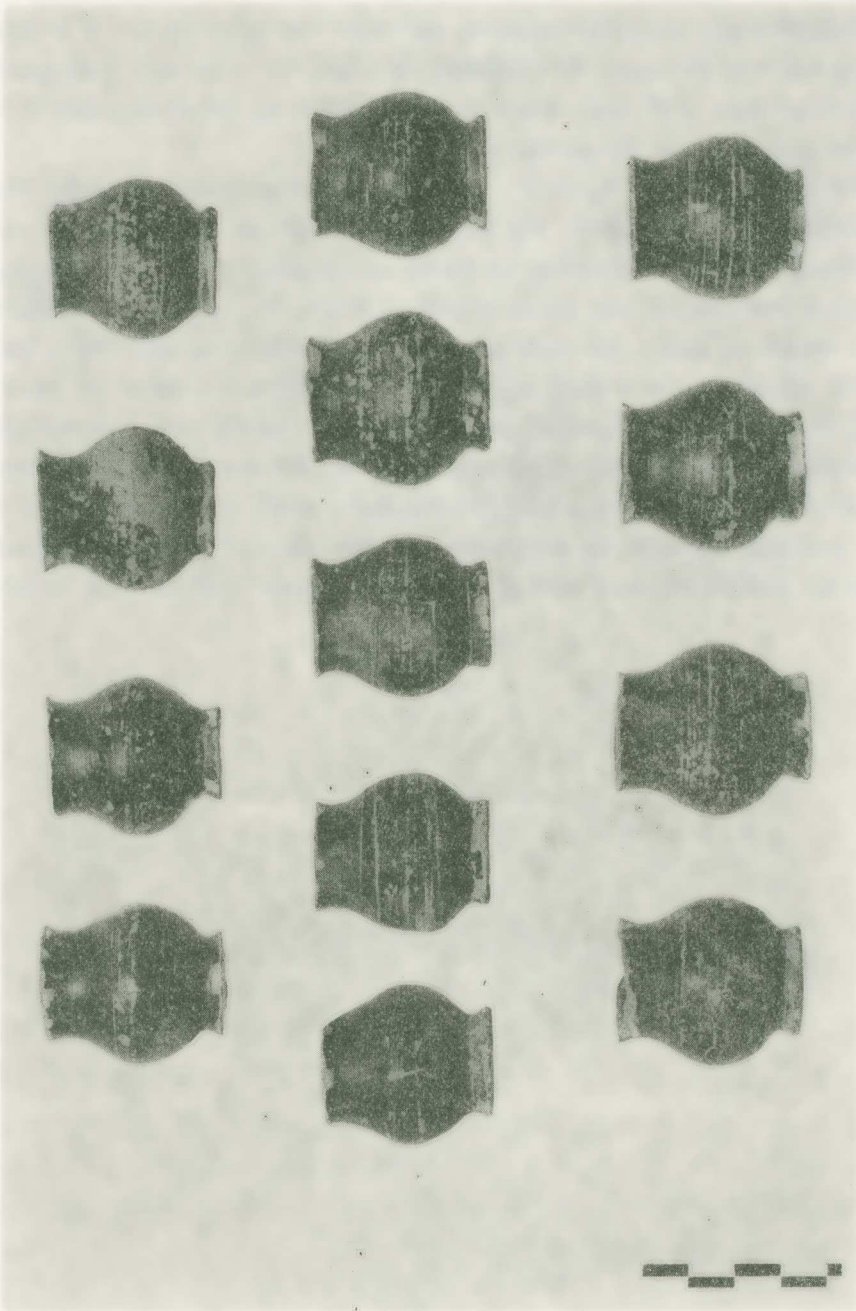


Fig. 8 Terracotta Jars found in the Ruins of the State Prison.

lent repentance on the part of the Athenian people. They put Meletos to death, banished the two other accusers, and soon thereafter erected a bronze statue in honor of Sokrates. The building in which the great man had spent his last days may well have come to be regarded by his friends and followers as something in the nature of a shrine.

We began our *peripatos* with the youthful Sokrates among the marble-working shops outside the southwest corner of the Agora. In our course around the Agora we have been able to visualize the setting of many of the joys and sorrows and perils of Sokrates' life. We have seen evidence also by which to judge the kind of people with whom he had consorted, and from whom, as he himself might have said, he had learned so much. Finally, we have found reason to believe that the ruinous structure outside the southwest corner of the Agora and close by the marble-working shops where we began is the place where Phaedo and a small company of devoted friends watched through the final hours of one whom Phaedo pronounced "the wisest and justest and best of all we had known", (*Phaedo* 117d-118).
