

BUILDINGS ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE AGORA

PLATES I-VIII

INTRODUCTION¹

The region to the north of the Areopagus and to the east of Kolonos Agoraios had many natural advantages to recommend it as the site for the central public place of the community (Fig. 1). It was the most open and level area of any extent beneath the immediate shelter of the Acropolis. Along its southern edge a series of springs bubbled out from the foot of the Areopagus, so abundant as to have formed the principal source of drinking water in the city throughout antiquity. A gentle slope toward the north guaranteed adequate natural drainage, desirable for private habitation and essential for the construction of large public buildings. The region lay, moreover, on the direct route between the Acropolis and the Dipylon, the principal gate of the city, and so was conveniently situated alike for residents and visitors.

Actual habitation in the area can now be shown to extend at least well back into the second millennium B.C. Scattered fragments of household pottery of typical Middle Helladic types, Gray Minyan and Matt-painted wares, have appeared above bedrock along the north foot of the Areopagus, along the east slope and foot of Kolonos and even at the north foot of Kolonos. A simple shaft burial not later than this period was made near the mid point of the east foot of the latter hill ² (Fig. 64, Section C-C). Practically no household pottery of Late Helladic times has been found in the area so that there is no direct evidence for habitation in this period. Graves of the time, however, have come to light: two in the middle of the area that was to be the market square,³ traces of another on the east slope of Kolonos (p. 167 below).

The following period, the eleventh through the eighth centuries, is abundantly represented by deposits of household pottery found close above bedrock and in contemporary wells, sufficient in bulk and in distribution to indicate that much if not all of the area of the later square was then inhabited. The dead of this age were buried on the slopes of the adjacent hills, the Areopagus and Kolonos.

¹ This paper owes much to my colleagues: to John Travlos all its plans and architectural drawings (save the colored restorations done by Piet de Jong for Figs. 23 and 26) and infinite help in the working out of the architectural restorations; to Lucy Talcott the study of all the fifth-century pottery used as chronological evidence, particularly that discussed on pp. 47 ff., and to my wife innumerable suggestive ideas.

² *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 20 ff.

³ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 318 ff.; V, pp. 21 f.

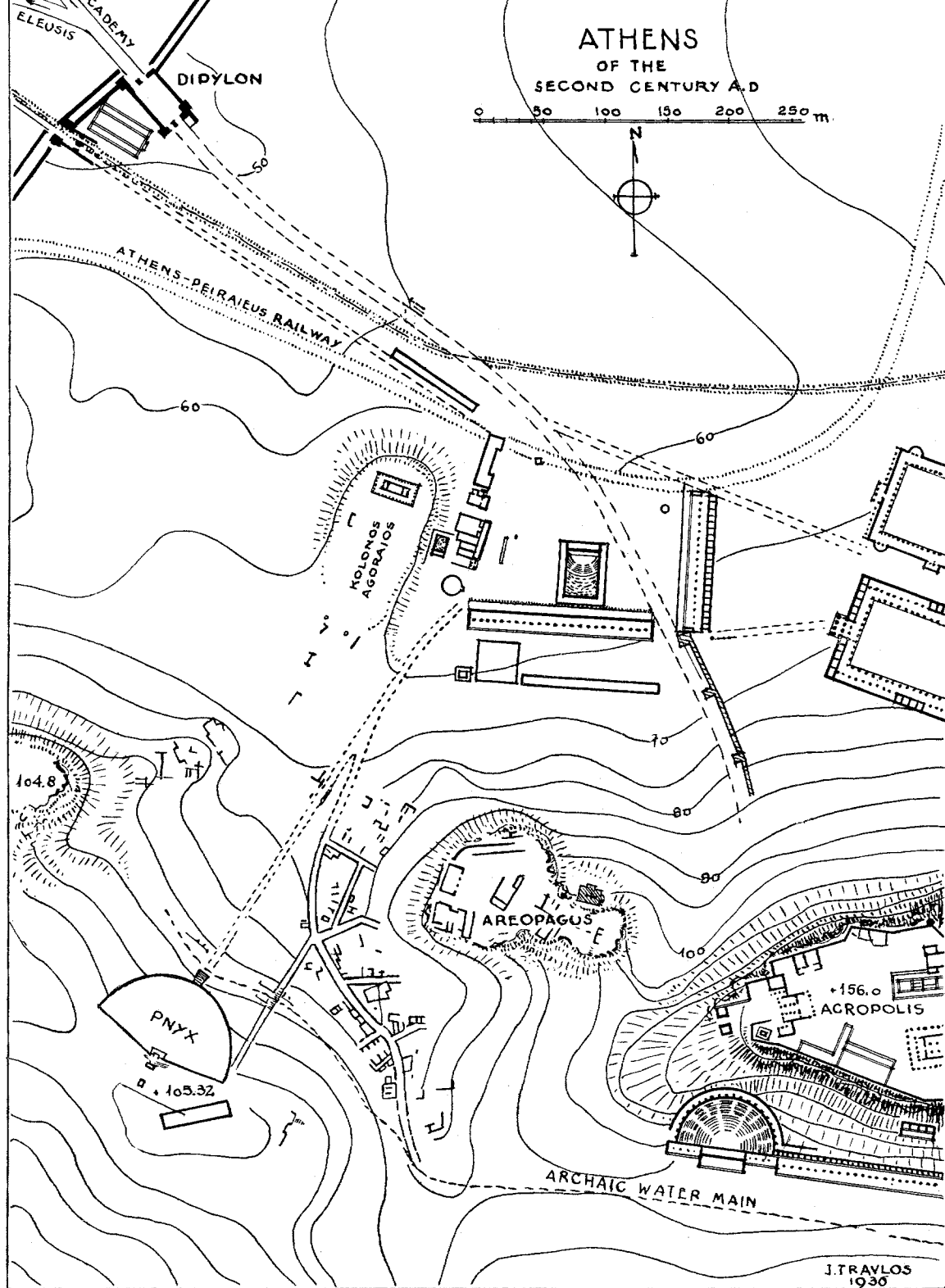


Fig. 1. The Agora and its Environs in the Second Century A.D.
A length of the "Valerian Wall" and the Beulé Gate have been added

The latest regular burials thus far found within the area are graves that have appeared to the south of the later Tholos. They run down into the early part of the seventh century.¹ That habitation continued and indeed became more intense through this century is sufficiently shown not only by the cessation of burial but also by growing masses of pottery found, again, in wells and scattered among the lower layers of earth accumulation. To about the middle of the century may be dated a mass of votive objects found at the foot of the Areopagus, our earliest evidence for a regular place of worship in the region.² And in the course of the present study we shall find reason to trace back the beginnings of the Council House, situated at the foot of Kolonos Agoraios, to about the same time (p. 124 below).

But as yet the actual buildings in the area, whether public, private or sacred, must have been extremely slight and it is not until well along in the following century that the site and the buildings around it began to assume a monumental character. One of the primary needs of the area was the proper organization of the water supply. This was provided for on a magnificent scale by the square fountain house set close in by the north foot of the Areopagus.³ To its basin was led in stone channels the combined yield of several of the springs that break out to the east and southeast of the building. The site for the fountain house was well chosen at the southern edge of the comparatively level area and the building seems to have fixed for all time the line of the southern limit of the market square.

The next most obvious want to be met was adequate drainage, a channel which would provide not only for the waste from the new fountain house but also for the wash from the slopes of the adjacent hills and for the large volume of water from the south of the Areopagus which found its natural outlet through the Agora region. The need was met by the great stone drain, found early in the current excavations, which made its way north in an almost straight line following in general the bottom of the valley.⁴ This original channel has been exposed toward the south only to a point opposite the Tholos. But that it was designed to take the waste from the fountain house and that it did originally carry through to that building is sufficiently shown by the fact that its line, projected southward, strikes the fountain house near its northwest corner precisely at the point where a large stone drain leaves that building. Subsequently a branch was carried in a southeastern direction from a point opposite the Tholos so as to intercept the drainage along the south side of the area, and (probably somewhat later still) a corresponding arm was carried from the same point along the bottom of the hollow which leads around the west end of the Areopagus. These channels continued always to be the main veins for the drainage of the region. The main north-south line fixed the orientation of the public and sacred buildings that were subsequently to spring up along the west side of the square as also of the innumerable monuments that eventually formed a continuous row on either side of it.

¹ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 24 ff.

² *Ibid.*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, 1935, p. 360.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 1933, pp. 103 ff.

A glance at the plans (Figs. 72 and Pl. VI) will show the striking difference in orientation between the pre-drain and post-drain buildings on the west side.

The laying of the earliest part of the Great Drain was accompanied by another step essential for the preparation of the area as a public square. This was the levelling of the adjoining terrain. As was necessary for a channel of such proportions, a gradient was established as uniform as possible throughout its course and this involved the filling of extensive areas. Exploration thus far has illustrated this procedure most clearly in the region to the east of the later Metroon and Tholos. Here the pre-existing ground level to either side of the drain was raised as much as two meters by a filling of earth and broken bedrock demonstrably brought in during the construction of the drain (Fig. 64). In the northern part of our area a lesser filling was required; the region between Tholos and fountain house remains to be explored.

From the same springs that fed the fountain house water was carried to the lower town in terracotta pipes, one running east past the south end of the later Stoa of Attalos,¹ another diagonally across the square toward the northwest and the Dipylon (Fig. 72). This second pipe line we shall meet again in the following pages. Its relation to the Great Drain shows that it is younger than the drain; the fabric and shape of its sections prove it to be not later than the late sixth century.

The style of the polygonal masonry employed in the original line of the Great Drain, combined with the evidence of pottery gathered from several exploratory trenches cut across its line, indicates that the drain is to be dated toward the end of the third or the beginning of the last quarter of the sixth century. The same date may therefore be accepted with assurance for the fountain house and the levelling of the square. It is clear, then, that Athens owed to the Peisistratids not only the fountain house, which we may now call the Enneakrounos, but also the inception of a program for the organization of her chief public square on a monumental scale.

A word about the road system of the region. The most direct route from the Dipylon to the entrance of the Acropolis must always have passed diagonally through the area of the market square. Its course has now been established with certainty between a point 125 m. to the southeast of the Stoa of Attalos and the modern railway cutting which appears to skirt the northern edge of the square. Between the railway cutting and the Dipylon a section of it was exposed long ago by Dörpfeld² so that its line in this area can be fixed within a very few meters. This thoroughfare would seem to have formed a triple fork immediately on entering the square. One branch continued in a direction slightly south of east and left the square at its northeast corner. The line of this road is confirmed by the orientation of a large building the foundations of which were overlaid by the Stoa of Attalos.³ From the fork a second branch led south and followed closely the line of the Great Drain

¹ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 334 ff.

² For the plan see *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 413, fig. 10.

³ *Ant. Denk.*, II, 1899–1901, pl. XXXVII.

along the west side of the square, out through its southwest corner and so on around the west end of the Areopagus toward the Pnyx. At the fork, in the angle between the south branch and the main road, the younger Peisistratos dedicated an altar to the Twelve Gods, which from its prominent position at the crossroads came to be something of the *miliarium aureum* of Attica.¹

The excavation in the spring of 1936 of a small area to the north of the railway and due north of the Hephaisteion laid bare a section of another ancient street that entered the square at its northwest corner (Fig. 126). On its north side the street is bordered by a long narrow colonnade dating from about the turn of the era and on the south by a contemporary building of uncertain plan. It will be recalled that the Sanctuary of Demos and the Graces with the large altar of Aphrodite Hegemone was exposed in the railway cutting just to the south of the line of this street at a point due north of the east end of the Hephaisteion.² One may conjecture that the street led up from the Sacred Gate in a line parallel to that of the main road from the Dipylon.

We are particularly interested at the moment in the thoroughfare that ran south along the west side of the square. Numerous exploratory trenches have shown how it gradually rose with the accumulation of rubbish from neighboring habitations and with the deposition of gravel by the winter torrents. The lowest hard packed road metal is to be dated, from the pottery found in it, as early as the eighth century B.C. and it is clear that from this time onward the roadway carried continuous and heavy traffic. Naturally enough, for the road served a series of buildings to the west of it that included among them the principal administrative centres and several of the more important sanctuaries of the city. These together formed the west side of the market square, their fronts turned toward the east and the morning light, their backs sheltered by the hill behind from the hot afternoon sun. In the following pages we shall look into the history of the separate buildings, dividing them into the three groups or complexes into which they naturally fall.

STOA OF ZEUS ELEUTHERIOS

PLATES I AND II, FIGURE 34

POSITION

Our individual studies may commence appropriately with the first large public building seen in the market square by the visitor who entered from the Dipylon, and one of the first to appear in the current excavations. This is the Stoa that lay close in by the northeast foot of Kolonos Agoraios and presented to the square a short central colonnade flanked on the north and south by a pedimented façade (Fig. 2). The building will be shown to date from the late fifth century B.C. We shall find that in early Roman times a two-roomed structure was set symmetrically behind it so as to be approached through the back wall

¹ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 355 ff.

² Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², Munich, 1931, p. 363.

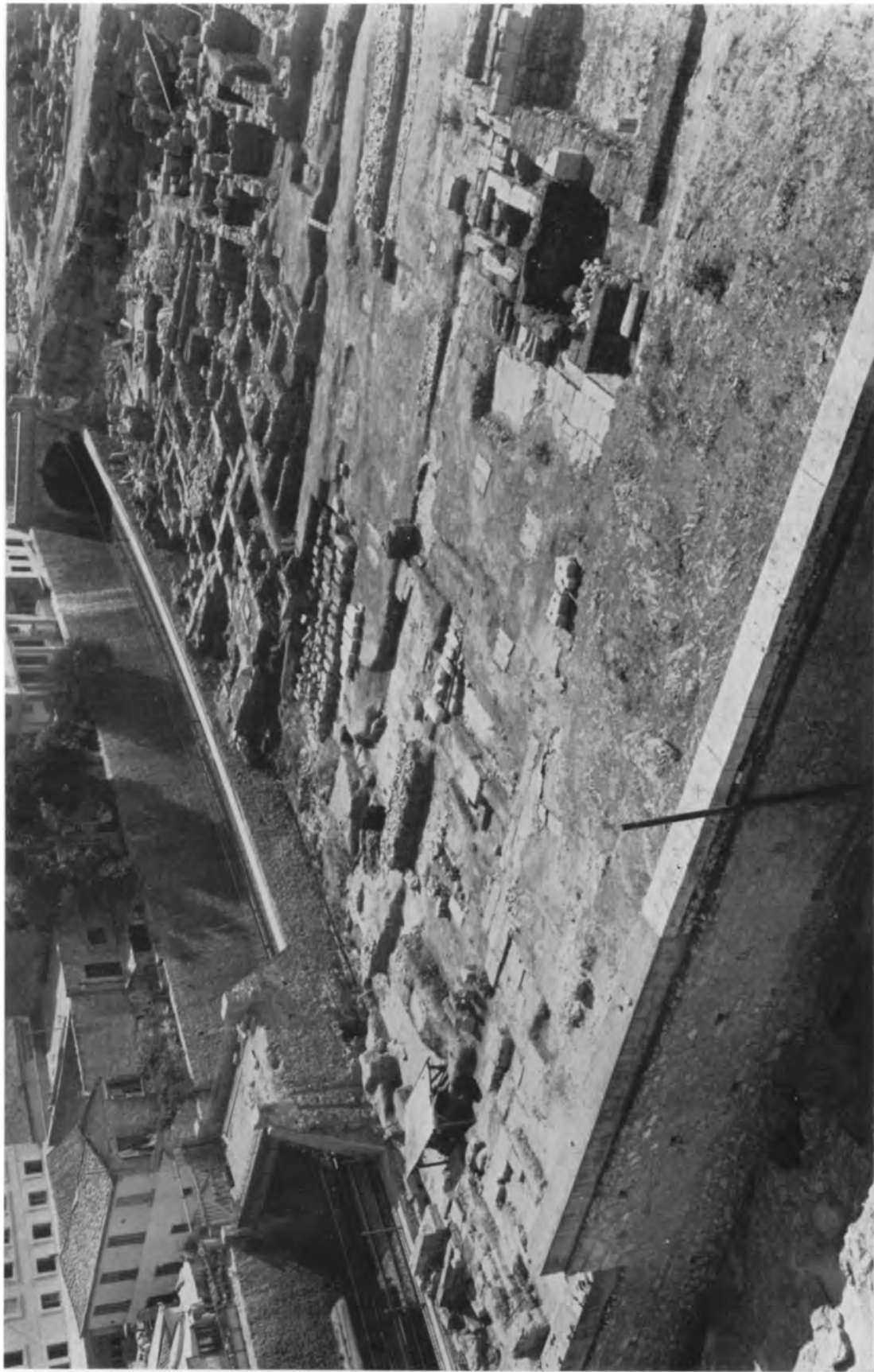


Fig. 2. Stoa of Zeus as seen from East Pediment of Hephaisteion, August, 1936

of the Stoa. This addition we shall call the Stoa Annex. The area between the projecting wings of the Stoa was eventually occupied by monuments. In the limited area of undisturbed earlier levels overlaid by the Stoa have appeared traces of a small sanctuary that was disturbed in the early fifth century, after which the area was largely occupied by industrial establishments of various sorts. These flourished until the construction of the Stoa.

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

The first discovery of the building dates back to the spring of 1891 when the greater part of the north wing of the Stoa was exposed in the cut made for the Athens-Peiraeus electric railway. Measured sketches made at that time show the details of a short section of the back wall near its north end and of the northwest interior pier.¹ These drawings are the basis of all that appears on our plan within the lines of the railway cutting. That the building ends beneath the railway was proved by the discovery, at the same time, of the sculptured base signed by Bryaxis. This was found *in situ* just to the north of an ancient foundation wall which now appears to have been the north wall of the Stoa.² The heavy wear on all sides of the base shows clearly that it stood in the middle of the ancient thoroughfare of which the northwestern continuation has been exposed in the excavations of the past year (p. 5). The southwest corner of the building appeared just forty years later, June 18, 1931. The excavations of that season exposed practically all the back part of the main building that is preserved to the south of the tracks. In the following season the Stoa Annex and the adjoining hill-side were cleared. The eastern limit of the south wing was excavated in the spring of 1933, as also much of the line of the east colonnade and of the monument bases in front. The south part of the north wing still lay hidden beneath a mass of earth which had been left for practical reasons along the railway retaining wall. The removal of this earth in 1936, together with the exploration of the ancient road to the northwest showed clearly the extent of the building and made intelligible the otherwise cryptic indications on the sketches of 1891.

A study of the building as it appeared after the excavations of 1932 has been made by Richard Stillwell and published in an earlier number of this Journal.³ The reader is

¹ They are filed in the German Archaeological Institute under *Zeichnung Inv. Nr.* 880 b, c, e, g and 887. We are grateful to the officers of the Institute for the free use of them. These records were apparently used by Dörpfeld for the construction of the large plan in *Ant. Denk.*, II, 1899–1901, pl. XXXVII, and the same details appear on Judeich's plan, *Topographie*², pl. I.

² *Arch. Delt.*, 1891, pp. 34 ff. (Kavvadias), 55 ff. (Lolling); *B.C.H.*, XV, 1891, pp. 369 ff. (Homolle); XVI, 1892, pp. 550 ff. (Couve); *Eph. Arch.*, 1893, cols. 39 ff. (Kavvadias). The indications on the sketches preserved in the Institute permit the base to be located with a margin of error of a few centimeters. A diagonal passed through the square of the base lay almost exactly on a north-south line. The inscribed face of the pedestal looked toward the northwest, *i.e.* the line of the ancient road. It will be recalled that a horseman and a tripod in low relief adorn each of the remaining three sides.

³ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 110–129, pls. IV, V. Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 107 ff., 451 ff.; IV, 1935, pp. 313 f., 354 f.; V, 1936, pp. 2 ff.

referred to it, particularly for details regarding the foundations of Stoa and Annex, the retaining wall that runs behind the Stoa, and the cisterns that were broken into by the Stoa Annex.

PRE-STOA REMAINS

SANCTUARY

The architect of the Stoa was faced with a problem that constantly recurred along the west side of the Agora: how to adjust his building to a terrain that sloped steeply from west to east and likewise from south to north. He overcame the difficulty by setting the south end of the Stoa deep down into the soft bedrock, at the same time using the material which he found there to fill in the area to the north. Hence the entire area of the south wing of the Stoa is denuded of earlier remains, whereas in the north part of the building ancient filling is preserved to a maximum depth of *ca.* 1.50 m. (Fig. 3, Section A—A). The Annex, the site of which was almost entirely hewn from the rock, overlies earlier remains only along its north side.

A few sherds of advanced Geometric, Protocorinthian and Proto-Attic styles found scattered over bedrock suggest that the area was inhabited at least from the eighth century onward. But the earliest recognizable structure must date from a later time. The central feature of this earlier establishment is a rectangular bedding of poros (*ca.* 1.78×2.00 m.) that was cut through and largely destroyed by an interior pier of the Stoa, the third from the south (Fig. 4). The surviving part consists of a single course of slabs of soft yellow poros of random size, *ca.* 0.24 m. thick, set down for the most part to their full depth in the soft bedrock. As the plan makes clear, the base differs slightly in orientation from the Stoa but agrees closely with dressed beddings for foundations to the south and west. Of these outer beddings, the southwest corner remains; the south side is preserved to a length of 7.00 m. beyond which it is broken away by the Stoa foundations; the west side (5.30 m. long) is entire and shows a short return toward the east. No trace has been found of an eastward continuation of this north side nor is it likely that the north side was ever as long even as the preserved part of the south side, for its course would have been cut by the terracotta water pipe that ran diagonally through the area and that was probably in use at the same time as the structure in question (cf. p. 4). We may restore on the lightly cut beddings low retaining walls designed to protect the rectangular base from the higher earth to south and west. It is not certain whether the masses of Acropolis limestone and fragments of early poros column drums that lie on the beddings toward the southwest angle belong to the original walls or to some later, though pre-Stoa structure. Just outside the northwest corner of the area is a block of soft yellow poros set carefully on bedrock, in the top of which is a circular sinking to receive a monument.¹

The remains, slight though they now are, suggest something more than a private habitation. The carefully prepared stele bedding would seem rather to have been intended for

¹ The block measures 0.64 m. square, 0.50 m. deep; the sinking in its top 0.355 m. in diameter, 0.06 m. deep. Lead still clings to the inside of the cutting.

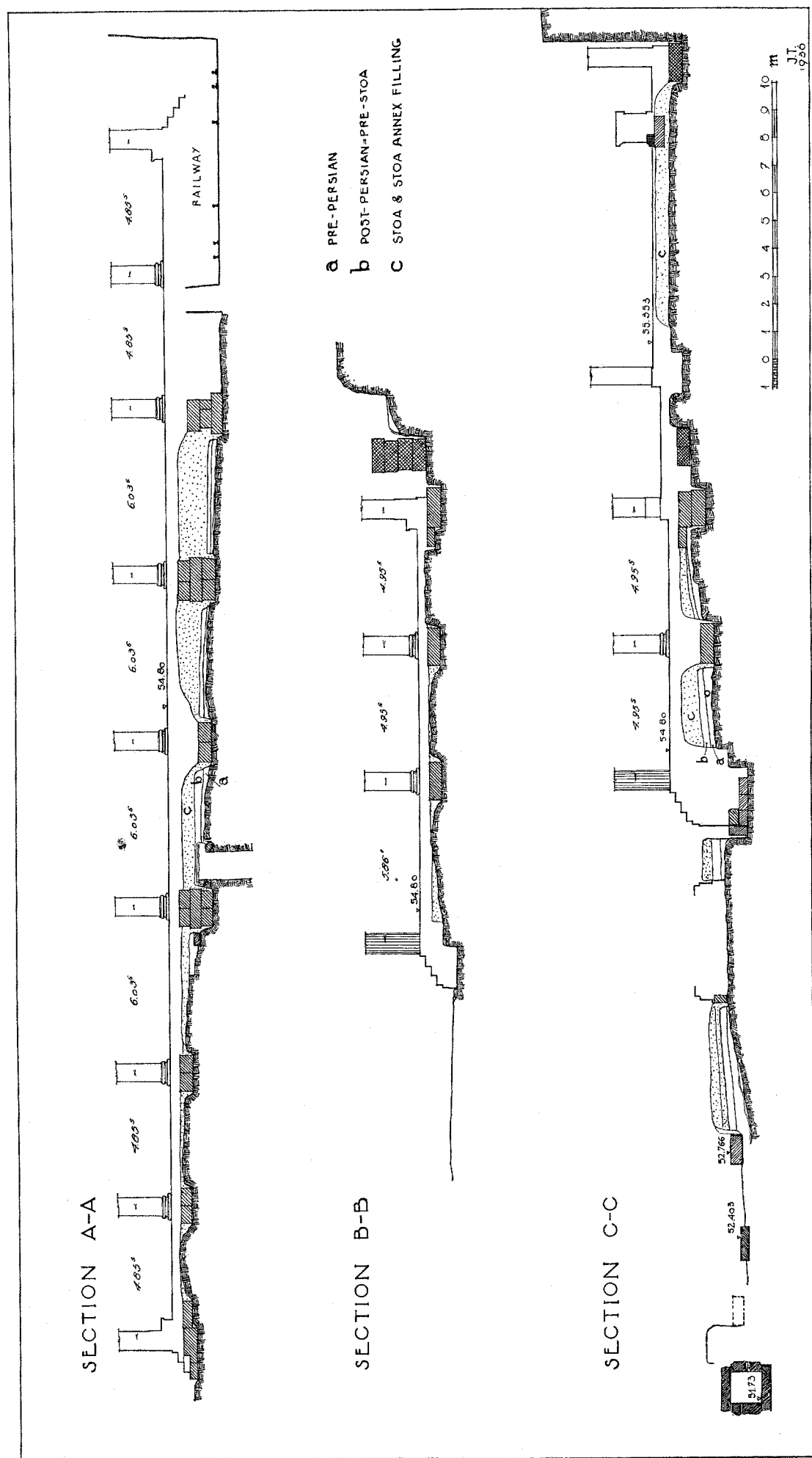


Fig. 3. Sections through Stoa of Zeus (cf. Pl. I)

a dedication, public or sacred. The large rectangular base may appropriately have held a statue, conceivably the statue of a divinity that dominated this tiny sanctuary.

For the date of the rectangular bedding and its retaining walls no exact evidence exists. Their ruined tops in any case were overlaid by a layer so early as to indicate clearly that the Persians had been responsible for their destruction.



Fig. 4. Pre-Stoa Sanctuary from West
a = Poros Base; *b* = Stele Bedding; *c* = Well; *d* = Stoa Pier, third from South

If we accept the identification of the area as a sanctuary, we find an excellent candidate for the associated altar in an early structure that lies *ca.* 25 m. to the east of the rectangular base, deep beneath the level of the classical floor (Figs. 5, 126). Of it there remains only the southwest corner. Its original north-south length is given by a cutting in bedrock as *ca.* 3.65 m. A width of 1.22 m. is preserved but later disturbance has made indeterminable the original dimension. The surviving part consists of a single course of blocks, 0.28 m. thick, of irregular size and outline. The material is Kará limestone save for one small piece of Acropolis limestone. The blocks rest in part on bedrock, in part on the gravel

which here overlies the rock. The outer 0.32 m. along the south side, a strip slightly narrower along the west, was dressed smooth as a step. At its inner edge one may trace the line of a bedding especially worked for orthostates 0.30–0.40 m. thick and on its surface the pry holes for adjusting those blocks. Working chips of Pentelic marble found in the footing trench indicate that the superstructure was of that material. The arrangement may most simply be restored as an archaic altar, comparable in size and construction, for



Fig. 5. Archaic Altar and Section through filling to East of Stoa, from the East

instance, to that of Apollo Zoster at Vouliagmeni or of Nemesis at Rhamnous. On this hypothesis, a thin film of ash and charcoal overlying the contemporary ground level to the west finds a ready explanation.

Everything points to an early date for the construction. Its ground level to the west, which left but 0.03 m. of the lowest course exposed, rests almost directly on the virgin bedrock and this alone suggests that the monument is among the earliest remains in this region. Its low level indicates that it antedates the Great Drain which was built, as we have seen, in the third or last quarter of the sixth century (Fig. 3, Section C–C). A handful of potsherds removed from beneath the ground level of the structure along its west side

provides a *terminus post quem*. They extend from the late Geometric period into the early sixth century B.C. The use of Pentelic rather than island marble suggests that we should keep the date as low as is consistent with the other evidence, perhaps in the third quarter of the sixth century. We cannot say whether the monument suffered at the hands of the Persians. In any case, the first layer to accumulate above its original ground level included pottery of the period of destruction (see below) and a fragment of the large round water pipe for whose untimely end the Persians were undoubtedly responsible (see p. 4). But whether or not it suffered in 480 B.C., the altar very probably continued in use until its place was taken and its foundations overlaid by a more pretentious monument to which we must now turn (Fig. 126).

The new monument on its lowest foundations measured 13.25 m. from north to south, 7.20 m. from east to west. It was supported on a single row of blocks on all four sides and by a central north-south row. Of these blocks, six in the first course remain in position along the west side, one of the first and one of the second course at the northeast corner, while blocks of the second course set on edge were left clinging to the south side of the pit by the removal of the blocks of the underlying course. The surviving bit of the old foundation was utilized in the central bedding and was supplemented toward the south by two new blocks which have survived. The remaining blocks are all of soft white poros, well worked and well set. Indeed, the care with which they were prepared would appear extravagant for blocks so deep beneath the ground level. But they are clearly re-used, as shown best by the fact that the top outer edges of the blocks now in the bottom course of the west side are drafted in the style of a euthynteria, though they were separated by at least one course from the euthynteria of the present structure. Of the superstructure nothing has been identified with certainty.

The enlargement of the altar must postdate the construction of a neighboring monument to the south, which, from its material (conglomerate, Hymettian marble) and its workmanship may be placed in the fourth century. Scattered sherds gathered from various significant points around the new foundations are as late as of the third and second centuries B.C. Nothing would suggest for the reconstruction a date lower than the second century.

The destruction of the early sanctuary was thoroughgoing. To the north of its site the ground level was actually cut down, as is shown best by the condition of the large water pipe. Through most of this area the pipe was reduced to small sherds. Where any of it has remained in position, it is only the lower half and above this the new ground level formed. The first layer to gather at this level consisted largely of ashes and charcoal and crumbled mud brick, coming, presumably, from the destruction of adjoining earlier structures. In places the ashes lay 0.10 m. deep. This destruction layer was found over the entire area explored beneath the Stoa between the second and fifth piers from the south and its eastward continuation was revealed by an east-west exploratory trench cut between the Stoa and the Great Drain.

Imbedded in the layer were many pieces of the broken water pipe and not a few small scraps of black-figured pottery. Deep beneath the ashes lay the fragments of the red-

figured and the white-ground kylikes already published by Miss Talcott, the one done under the influence of the Brygos Painter, the other probably to be associated with the workshop of Euphronios.¹ Other objects coming from the same accumulation are illustrated in Fig. 6. Since some of these have actually suffered from fire and since all that did not share the same fate must have arrived shortly after the disaster, they are of interest for fixing the date of the event.

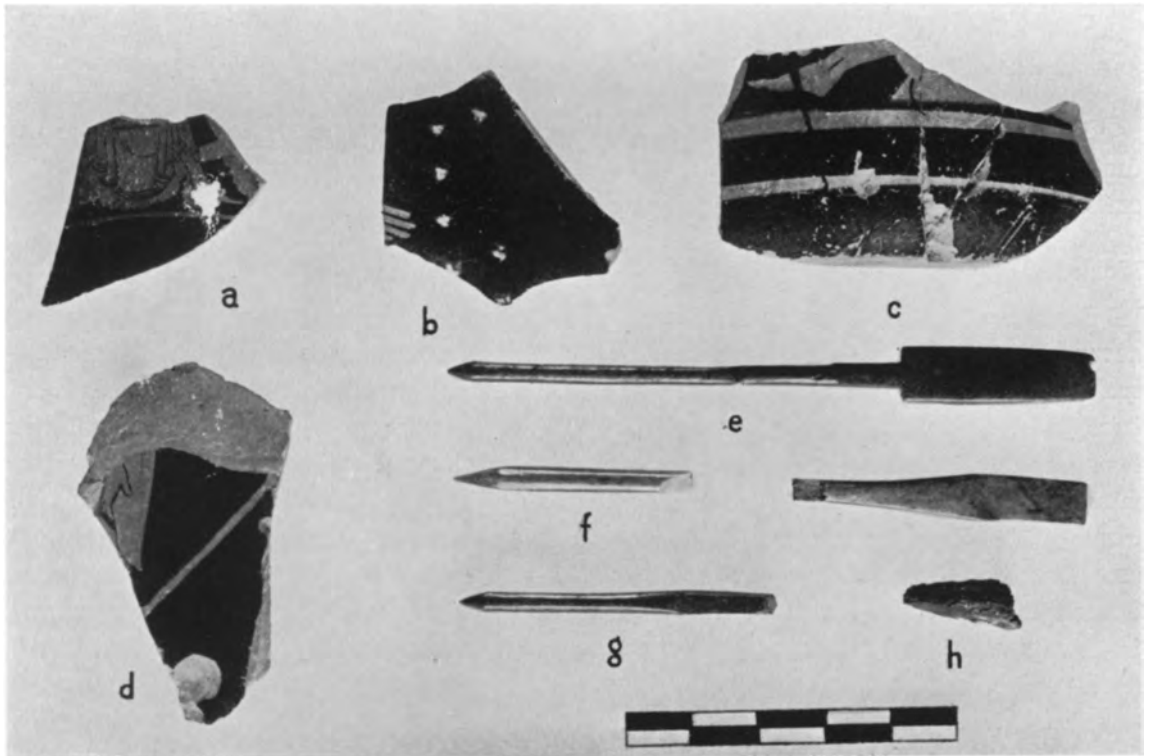


Fig. 6. Objects from *Perserschutt* beneath Stoa

- a. P 5749. Fragment from the floor of a kylix. On the inside, plain black glaze, on the outside, running women. Fine relief lines throughout. Alike in quality and in style the figures recall the two running girls on the Antaios krater signed by Euphronios (E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, III, fig. 392). Our fragment should be of about the same date.
- b. P 2231. Fragment from the wall of a squat lekythos (?). At the left, the extended finger tips of a left hand. In the field, ΑΛΚΜΕ[ΟΝ] ΚΑΛΟ[Σ]. This *καλός* name occurs also on a lekythos by the Brygos Painter in the British Museum. (See Dickson, *J.H.S.*, XIX, 1899, pp. 202 ff.; Beazley, *Att. Vas.*, p. 182, no. 93; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 230.
- c. P 2230. Fragment from the lower wall of a flat-bottomed drinking-cup. Above the upper of the reserved bands, the extended foot and bent knee of a crouching warrior (?). No relief lines. The

¹ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 217 ff. Cf. H. Diepolder, *Der Penthesilea-Maler*, pp. 8 f., pl. 12.

shape (Beazley's Oinochoe, Shape VIII A) points to the early fifth century and the style of the drawing agrees. See Beazley, *Att. Vas.*, pp. 3 and 47; *Greek Vases in Poland*, pp. 15 and 59; *C.V.A.*, Oxford, II, pl. 62, nos. 3 and 6; Richter-Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, fig. 186.

- d. P 5748. Fragment from the medallion of a kylix. Youth putting on greave. Careful relief contours; brown inner drawing in the greave. This bit recalls the many scenes of warlike preparation which enjoyed such a vogue between 490 and 480 B.C.
- e g. BI 61-63. Bone styli, one complete and two fragmentary. Blackened as though by fire. Similar writing implements appear in the school scenes by Euphronios and Douris. Other specimens have been found in the Agora in contexts of the early fifth century.
- h. B 126. Bronze arrow tip. Socketed; three flanges. Many arrow heads of similar type have been found on the north slope of the Acropolis in contexts which suggest that they were used by or against the Persians. See Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 342, fig. 13, nos. a-d; IV, 1935, pp. 113 ff., fig. 4.

Since the combined evidence of these various objects points clearly to a date late in the first quarter of the fifth century B.C., we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that our area suffered in the devastation wrought by the Persians in 480-479 B.C.

WORKSHOPS

Beneath the Stoa, between its second and fifth piers from the south, some 0.50 m. of accumulation gathered above this first post-destruction layer before the whole area was sealed over by the Stoa filling proper (Fig. 7). This half meter of deposit as dug divided itself into some five layers, each with a well defined, tramped surface. All these lesser layers were of much the same consistency: made up largely of ashes and charcoal intermingled with some earth and surfaced each with a firm packed layer of red clay, one to three centimeters in thickness. Imbedded in these layers were many scraps of iron and amorphous masses of slag apparently from the working of iron. Elsewhere in the same deposit lay scattered lumps of fine clay of various colors: red, yellow and brown and fragments of crude brick fused on the surface. The area would seem to have formed the back yard of neighboring shops both of iron workers and of potters who threw out masses of rubbish from time to time and as often, in order to make the area presentable again, spread and tramped clean clay over its surface. This very characteristic deposit is confined within the limits of the Stoa. The area to the east of the front line of that building would seem even at this time to have been a public thoroughfare, or rather, the edge of the public square, for, though its level rose simultaneously layer by layer, those layers consist of extremely hard packed gravel, obviously road metal.

The activities implied by the presence of the workshops required water. A cistern was built just on the line on which the colonnade of the Stoa was to fall (Pl. I). Its floor was made of rectangular poros slabs of irregular size, set so deeply that their surface lay 1.00 m. below the surface of the bedrock to the east as it then was. This floor measures 1.40×1.77 m. and these constitute the inside dimensions of the cistern, for its walls were set independently on the bedrock so that their inner faces rose flush with the edge of the floor. The walls were 0.30-0.42 m. thick, built in a polygonal style of Acropolis and Kará limestone. Walls and floor were coated with waterproof stucco. The builders of the Stoa broke away the upper walls and laid the lowest blocks of their foundations in the floor of the old cistern.

The east wall of the cistern, the best preserved, now stands to a height of only 0.50 m. Another contemporary cistern or water basin of similar construction but slightly larger was demolished and overlaid by the south foundations of the Stoa. This basin has already been described by Stillwell.¹

In an attempt to improve their water supply the residents dug a well whose mouth opens just at the northeast corner of the third pier from the south of the Stoa (Fig. 4). The well was sunk after the first three layers of post-Persian refuse had



Fig. 7. East-west Section in Mid Part of Stoa, looking South
 a = Pre-Persian; b = Post-Persian = Pre-Stoa; c = Stoa Filling

gathered. In its lower part it is a round shaft *ca.* 1.00 m. in diameter cut through the soft bedrock. Above bedrock, it was curbed with re-used blocks of limestone and yellow poros. The total depth of the well, measured from the present top of its curbing, is 4.00 m. The venture proved a failure. When cleared in 1935, even in late winter when

¹ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 114 f. The erroneous impression that the cistern continued in use after the construction of the Stoa arose from the fact that the destruction debris which overlay the floor of the Stoa also filled the basin. This situation is to be explained rather by the fact that the builders of the Stoa levelled off the lower part of the cistern with blocks, which were removed at the same time as the adjoining foundations of the Stoa.

water is most abundant, it yielded only a trickle. That it was used but little if at all is indicated by the absence of water jars at the bottom, for these are invariably found in ancient wells that continued in use for long. The shaft was soon abandoned and filled level with its top. The two uppermost layers of pre-Stoa deposit gathered over its top and its curbing was subsequently disturbed by the construction of a foundation wall of crude brick, belonging to a later house or shop. The ancient filling of the well yielded many fragments of black volcanic stone of various sizes up to 0.30 m. in length but with



Fig. 8. Pre-Stoa Pit in Line of Front Colonnade,
from East

wall still stands to a height of 1.10 m., and this probably indicates closely the contemporary ground level. The lower part of the pit, so far as it had not been demolished by the builders of the Stoa, contained much fine ash and charcoal and its walls showed traces of burning. This pit is undoubtedly to be associated with the metal-working establishment, though its precise purpose is not apparent. Its date is approximately that

a uniform thickness of 0.09 m. These, undoubtedly, had been employed for the construction of kilns or hearths in the neighboring works.¹ From the well, too, came perhaps a bushel of iron slag in masses the size of a man's head, similar to the smaller fragments found in the earth filling around the mouth of the well.²

Close by the southwest corner of the first cistern are the remains of a pit of horseshoe shape measuring 1.70×1.30 m. (Fig. 8). Its north, straight wall was the most substantial, resting on a course of (undoubtedly re-used) blocks of poros and of Acropolis limestone. In the upper part of the same wall was incorporated a battered fragment of a poros column drum similar to the pieces imbedded in the foundations to the south of the rectangular base. The curved wall was built up of field stones set in clay. The floor was formed of flat terracotta tiles laid on the bedrock. The west

¹ The brick-like blocks may be distinguished in a heap beside one of the Stoa piers in Fig. 4. Similar stone was used for the same purpose in the metal-working establishments of Laurion.

² It is hoped that at some later time a special study may be made of this material and of other evidence of metal-working found in the Agora.

of the well, for, like the well, the pit was sunk down through at least the two lower layers of post-Persian accumulation but was overlaid by the upper two or three.

The fragmentary pottery from the successive layers of accumulation around well and pit grows progressively later toward the top and suggests that those layers gathered during the second and the early third quarters of the fifth century. The pottery from the corresponding layers exposed in the trench to the east of the Stoa agrees. The more



Fig. 9. Pre-Stoa House beneath North End of Stoa, from Northwest

abundant evidence provided by the filling of the well affords another welcome fixed point in the chronology. The filling was uniform from top to bottom and had evidently been thrown in at one and the same time. The mass of pottery which it yielded has already been the subject of a special study by Miss Talcott, who has established for its dating a lower limit around 460 B.C.¹ Such a date agrees admirably with the position which the stratigraphical evidence has assigned to the well in the post-Persian history of the area.

¹ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 333 ff.

Farther to the north are preserved more substantial remains of another pre-Stoa building (Fig. 9). Its southeast corner was broken away by the foundations for the west wall of the Stoa at a point just opposite the fifth pier from the south. The building shows an orientation quite different from that of the later Stoa but close to that of the rectangular base and its retaining walls to the south. The east wall is preserved to a length of 6.50 m., beyond which distance it has been broken away by a late pit. The south wall may be traced for a length of 3.00 m. and it too has suffered from later construction. The beginning of an east-west cross wall remains, suggesting a south room with a breadth of 2.40 m. The inside floor of tramped dirt lies 2.00 m. below the floor level of the Stoa. The outside ground level toward the east was some 0.20 m. higher. Here too, as was the case farther south, the ground level had gradually risen with the deposition of successive layers of debris covered over from time to time by a film of red clay. This material, when well tramped, provided an excellent floor: smooth, hard and impervious.

The walls of the house consisted of a stone socle supporting an upper part of crude brick.¹ The socle is built of blocks of Acropolis limestone and of soft yellow poros in random sizes. Two blocks ordinarily constitute the thickness of the wall. The jointing in general is polygonal and the fitting neatly but not exactly done. For the outer face of the east wall larger blocks were chosen and the horizontal line was more emphasized in the jointing. The walls of the south room were covered with a fine coat of brown clay *ca.* 0.02 m. thick, which apparently received neither lime plaster nor color.

Along the foot of the east wall of the second room from the south, as far as it is preserved, a bench had been built: 0.80 m. wide, preserved to a maximum height of *ca.* 0.60 m. This bench consisted of a solid mass of crude brick provided with a stone socle along its face to a height of 0.20 m. The bench would seem to have returned along the south wall of the same room, in a width of only 0.60 m. and without the stone socle.²

The building may best be regarded as the home or workshop of some of the artisans of whose activities we have already noted evidence. The brick bench will have served them as a worktable. In the little undisturbed part that has been examined of the accumulation above bedrock to the east of the building nothing later than late black-figured pottery was found. We may suppose that the building was erected soon after the passing of the Persians. It was demolished by the builders of the Stoa. A great mass of its fallen brick overlay the contemporary ground level to the east. In the surviving corner

¹ In the north part of the east wall the socle rose to a height of 0.70 m., in the east wall of the south room to 0.40 m. and in the cross wall 0.18 m. above the inside floor. The walls have a uniform thickness of 0.42 m.

² The bricks measure $0.40 \times 0.22 \times 0.10$ m. and are separated both horizontally and vertically by layers of clay 0.01 to 0.02 m. thick. The bricks themselves are of gravelly brown earth containing pebbles up to the size of a child's hand, while the clay used for mortar is firm and more viscous, a deep brown in color. Toward the north end of the east wall a slit 0.20 m. wide, 0.48 m. high was left, running down to floor level. This opening was apparently closed by the bench so that the latter may be regarded as a later addition to the room. Since the ground level is higher outside than the floor inside, the aperture could scarcely have been intended for drainage, nor is there any trace of a water pipe.

of the south room we found that the Stoa workmen had thrown up on the floor broken bedrock from the new foundation trench and had later tumbled down more of the crude brick. Some of the broken pottery found among and beneath these fallen bricks is as late as any included in the filling brought in for the Stoa.

An exploratory pit dug behind the retaining wall to the west of the Stoa near its south end exposed the one surviving corner of another little industrial establishment (Figs. 10



Fig. 10. Exploratory Pit behind Retaining Wall of Stoa
Note Cornice Blocks of Stoa and clay-working Basin

and 11). The earlier ground level in this area, as already noted, lay well above the floor level of the new Stoa and hence nothing of the old establishment survives to the east of the retaining wall. The early occupants had cut back the slope of Kolonos so that the west boundary of their lot was marked by a vertical scarp *ca.* 2.00 m. high. The old floor was surfaced with stone flags, small pebbles and in part with firm packed brown clay. The southwest corner of this floor was shut off by means of a low east-west wall of rough blocks of Acropolis limestone. Behind the wall, a terracotta basin (0.53 m. in diameter, 0.42 m. in depth) with heavy rim was set down to its full depth in the floor. This pit was found half

full of viscous clay, buff to cinnamon brown in color and containing not a little grit. The clay is identical in color and texture with the "red earth of Chalandri" still used by the Attic potters in their works near the northwest foot of Hymettos and there can be no question that this clay-working pit formed part of an ancient potter's shop.

A little broken pottery from beneath the floor of the establishment, fine black glaze, early red-figure, suggests that the shop was established here some time in the first half of the fifth century B.C. It was obviously put out of commission by the builders of the Stoa. The Stoa workmen, in cutting away the eastern part of the shop floor, had shovelled much

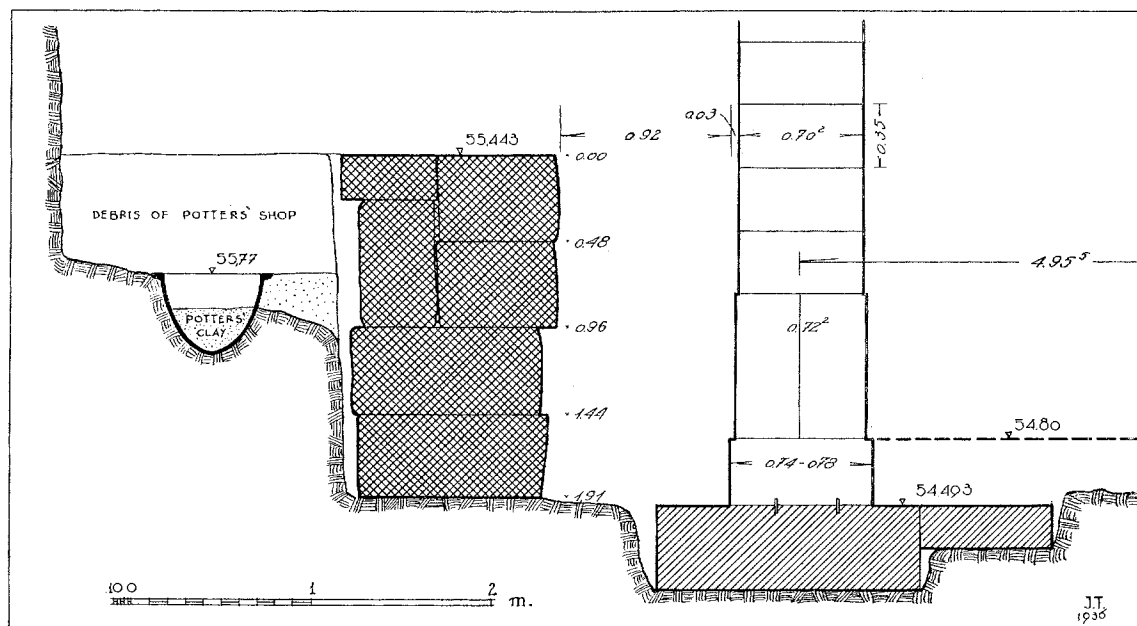


Fig. 11. Section through Potter's Shop, Retaining Wall and Back Wall of Stoa

of the rubbish which they found there over the remaining west part of the old floor. Here we found it: basketsful of broken pottery, both fine and coarse, masses of fine purple and bright yellow earth, fragments of crude brick with fused surfaces, doubtless from the kiln, a broken bowl containing red milto.¹ Mingled with this refuse were many working chips of Pentelic marble and of Aeginetan poros certainly from the construction of the Stoa. At a later date the floor of the shop and the rubbish now overlying it were cut still farther back to permit of the laying of the retaining wall behind the Stoa.

If one may judge from modern practice, the potters did not abandon their shop until the week before work began on the Stoa. Since the pottery found in the surviving corner of their ruined establishment forms a homogeneous mass and undoubtedly includes the last

¹ The milto may have been left by the potters; it may also have been used by the masons in finishing the blocks of the Stoa.

wasters left in and about the shop, it should be decisive for fixing the date of the destruction of the shop and likewise of the commencement of work on the Stoa. A representative group, including the obviously latest pieces, is described below (p. 47).

THE STOA

FOUNDATIONS

The foundations of the south wall of the Stoa and of its back wall to the south of the railway cutting have already been described in detail by Stillwell.¹ It will be recalled that over much of the length of the back wall the foundations are preserved up to and including the course which carried the toichobate, and that along the south side there remain in position five marble blocks of a step. We may note further from the sketches of 1891 that the rear foundation was exposed by the railway builders within the area of their cut still preserved to a height of at least five courses, as it was also in the northernmost part of the excavated area. The coursing continued uniform and it was observed at the time that the two uppermost surviving courses in the railway cut (as to the south) were finished in such a way as to suggest that they were to be visible. At the time when the sketch was made, the northeast corner of the building was concealed beneath the narrow-gauge working railway. The sketcher merely observed, "die Mauer dehnte sich über die Bahnlinie aus," and he apparently was never able to complete his drawing. On the sketches, the northwestern interior pier is carefully indicated so that it could be placed with precision on our plan.

The foundations of the front of the building, as exposed by subsequent excavation, have been found to be in a sadly pillaged state. A few blocks remain in the mid part of the front, at one point to a height of two courses, and enough fragmentary blocks have survived *in situ* to define the angles of the projecting wings. These foundations, like all the others in the building, were carried down to the carefully dressed bedrock. In the mid part and in the north wing, the cuttings are broad enough to receive two rows of blocks laid both as headers. Around the south wing, where the bedrock rises and the foundations were correspondingly more shallow, their width was reduced to one row of headers and one of stretchers. The surviving parts of the front foundations are of the same soft white poros that is found throughout the building in places that were not to be exposed.

In the first preliminary report it was suggested that only one additional step was to be restored above the surviving marble step along the south side of the building.² From the plan, however, it will be observed that the next course above the surviving step consisted of a single row of stones, shown by their two rows of dowel cuttings to have been *ca.* 1.15 m. wide. Such a width is unnecessarily great to have been intended only for a wall of the thickness indicated by the surviving wall blocks (0.702 m.), but it would comfortably accommodate both the toichobate for a wall of that thickness together with another step of

¹ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 115 ff.

² *Ibid.*, II, 1933, p. 119.

the same width as that below (*i. e.* 0.35 m.). It is only by the insertion of this second step, moreover, that the interaxial spacing of the south wall and first interior column is made equal to that of the first and second interior columns, a correspondence highly desirable for the working out of the interior arrangement.

From the plan again, it is clear that the cutting for the front foundations of the building is wider than that for its south side.¹ In the case of the middle front colonnade and of the north wing, the greater width is readily explained by the increasing depth of masonry demanded by the falling ground level. But even along the front and the north side of the south wing, where no greater depth of foundation was necessary, the trench at its narrowest is 0.40 m. wider than that on the south side. The difference is just equal to the width of another step of 0.35 m. together with the usual projection of a poros euthynteria beyond an overlying marble course. The insertion of a fourth step along the front will permit, moreover, of a more symmetrical placing of the steps and stylobate in relation to the foundation trench, the position of the stylobate being fixed by the demands of the frieze. A widening of the trench for the south foundation toward the southeast corner of the building suggests that this lowest step was returned only a short distance along the south side. The ancient ground level indicated by the better preserved façade of the Temple of Apollo to the south and especially by the altar base in front of the small Temple of Zeus and Athena (Fig. 41) would have concealed the two lower steps of the Stoa at its southeast corner. The slope of the ground level is such, however, that at the mid point of the Stoa front not only all four steps but also the euthynteria to its full depth must have been visible. We have been unable to measure directly the ancient ground level around the north end of the Stoa. From the levels of the ancient street that led up from the Sacred Gate, however, we may conclude that it was so low as certainly to have required the return of all four steps across the entire north end of the building.

Both white and blue (presumably Hymettian) marbles were used in the steps of the Stoa. It was observed in the first report that of the step blocks preserved *in situ* along the south side of the building, the first four from the southwest corner are of blue marble, the fifth of white. Since then small fragments of step blocks both white and blue have been found in the pillaged foundation trenches along the front of the building and working chips of both marbles appear together in the Stoa filling behind the line of the front foundations and in the filling that was used to raise the ground level to the east immediately after construction. We may conjecture that the dark stone was used in the lowest, *i. e.* the first step along the front of the building. In the northern part of the front, where the poros euthynteria must have been visible, the blue step would have maintained a horizontal base line for the white marble above.²

¹ The apparent width of the south foundation is to be reduced by the width of the bench bedding; see below p. 23.

² The lowest step along the front was presumably the first marble work to be done in the building. It seems not unlikely that at least some of the four blocks of blue marble which remain in the south foundation were discards from the first step on the front and were utilized in that inconspicuous place. The

The floor level inside the building demanded by the restoration of two additional steps along the south side must have lain at *ca.* 54.86 m., *i. e.* 0.228 m. above the highest preserved point in the floor area (toward the southwest corner) and *ca.* 0.40 m. above the generally preserved level. It would seem unlikely that, had the Stoa floor been exclusively of packed earth, so great a depth of it should have disappeared. We may with some probability restore a flagging of stone, perhaps marble slabs. This would account for the careful way in which the old water basin toward the south end of the building was filled with blocks and for the manner in which a natural depression in the bedrock at the northeast corner of the south wing was likewise made good with masonry. The convenient size of the paving slabs will adequately explain their complete disappearance.¹

Just inside the foundations for the west and south walls of the building runs a continuous line of blocks, thinner than those of the main foundations and more irregular in size (Fig. 11). They are in fact probably discards from the main construction. This bedding would serve admirably to carry a bench of massive construction, the whole of each section, that is, cut from a single block.

SUPERSTRUCTURE

Before discussing the plan of the building, we may note the new material from the superstructure that has come to light since the first report. It is now clear that, shortly after its destruction in late Roman times, the building was almost completely dismantled to its lowest foundations. The wall blocks and others of convenient size were carried off entire; larger members were broken up on the spot and removed piecemeal. There remained on the site, therefore, only a few pieces, whose irregular shape made them unsuitable for re-use, and chips from the dismemberment. This material has been found, in loose earth accumulation of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., above the floor of the Stoa and along the line of its east front. It has seemed not unreasonable to hope that some better preserved pieces might eventually be found in the "Valerian Wall" to the construction of which many of the blocks of the old buildings of the square were undoubtedly devoted. Thus far, however, only a single stone from the Stoa, a battered piece of cornice, has come to light in the line of the wall at a point about 90 m. to the south of the Stoa of Attalos.

WALLS

Of the upper walls we may recognize blocks in three slabs which were re-used in the toichobate for the middle wall of the Annex and two others which likewise served a second

hypothesis is strengthened by the motley appearance of the faces of the blocks (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 116, fig. 5) and by the occurrence in a couple of them of blemishes which could not have been economically worked out. From the fifth block on, this course was probably all of white marble.

¹ Stillwell had supposed that the floor of the Stoa was of packed earth (*l. c.*, p. 119).

use as beddings for the piers which flanked the entrance to the north room of the Annex. Their material (Aeginetan poros) and workmanship suggest that they were removed from the back wall of the Stoa when doorways were cut through to the Annex. They measure $1.023 \times 0.702 \times 0.351$ m. One face is smooth dressed, the other lightly stippled. Each was secured to its neighbor by a single \perp clamp in either end. In one of the end joint

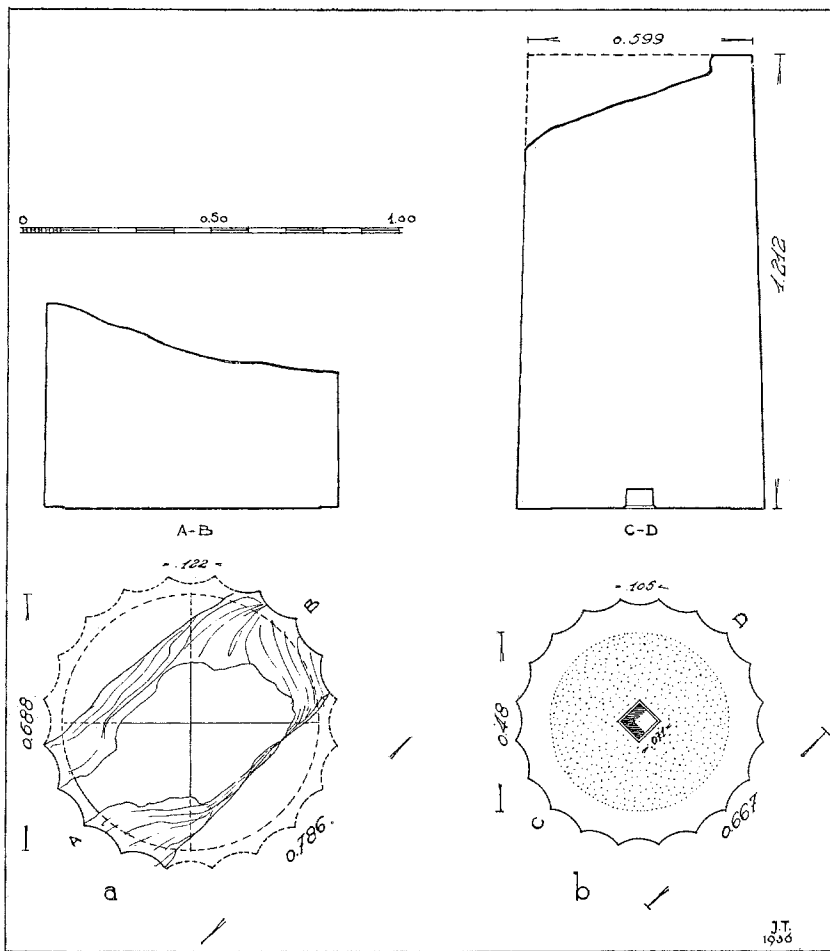


Fig. 12. (A 225, 150) Base and Top Drums of Doric Columns of Stoa

surfaces is a shallow V-shaped channel which was probably intended to receive poured lead for the waterproofing of the wall.¹

The scratched setting line for the back edge of the toichobate may be traced along much of the length of the building in the top of the highest foundation course. From this

¹ For a similar technique in the Hephaisteion, see *Arch. Anz.*, 1928, col. 719.

line and from the two rows of cuttings for the dowels which held the blocks of the toichobate, one may fix its width between 0.74 and 0.78 m. It was probably irregular in width. Its height across the ends of the building was that of the stylobate, presumably *ca.* 0.206 m., along the back, *ca.* 0.367 m. The break in the coursing in the preserved part occurs just north of the southwest corner of the building. Of the orthostates no block has been found. One might suspect, however, that they were of Hymettian marble.¹

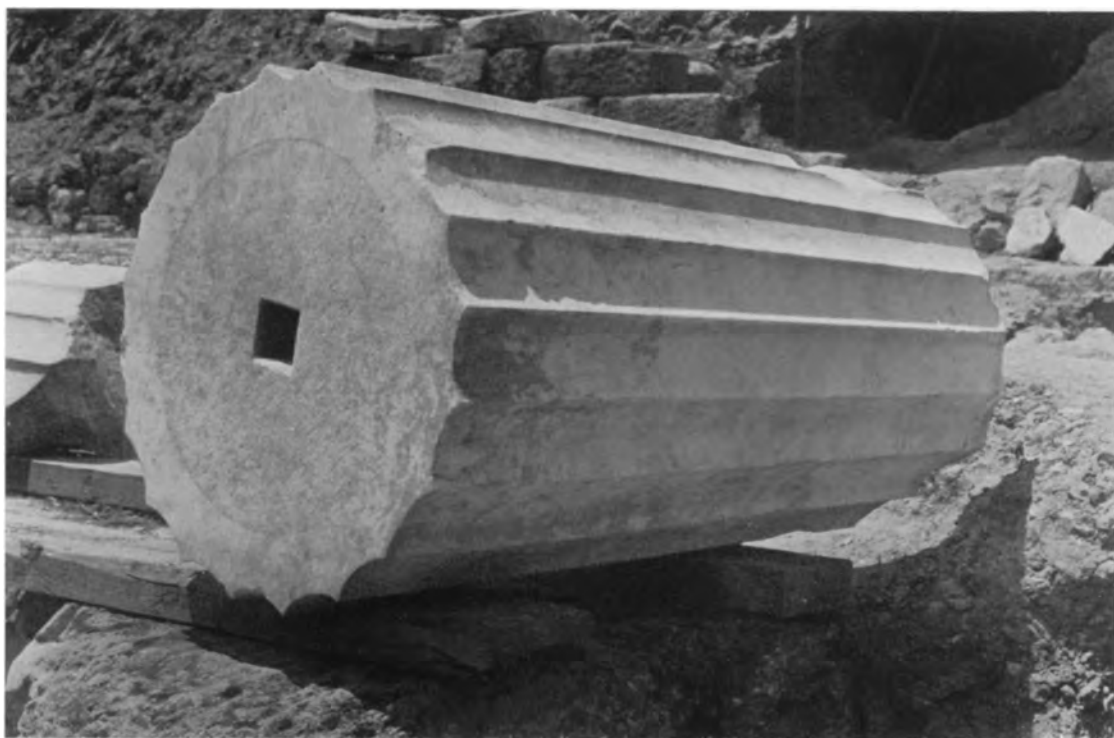


Fig. 13. (A 150) Top Drum from Doric Column of Stoa

COLUMNS

A fragmentary base drum of Pentellic marble from one of the outer Doric columns was found in the angle between the south wing and the middle front (Fig. 12). It shows a lower diameter of 0.786 m. and is preserved to a height of only 0.63 m. Within the relieving surface, the resting surface is finished with a toothed chisel and crossed by two lightly incised lines. A top drum, found in front of the south wing, is illustrated in Figs. 12 and 13. It is preserved to its original height of 1.212 m. and indicates an upper diameter of 0.599 m.

¹ Working chips of Hymettian marble found in the ancient filling along the inner edge of the bedding for the bench may come either from the orthostates or from the bench. It is quite possible that a string course of Pentellic marble separated the orthostates from the regular courses above, as in the Pompeion.

workmanship may be certainly assigned to the Stoa, show a smooth surface finished with the toothed chisel, we may suppose that the interior columns were unfluted to their full height.¹ Several more small scraps of the Ionic capitals, combined with those discussed in the earlier report, permit of the partial restoration indicated in Fig. 15. It will be recalled that the egg-and-dart was not carved but was incised and painted, an economical method satisfactory enough on interior capitals which were protected from the weather and not so

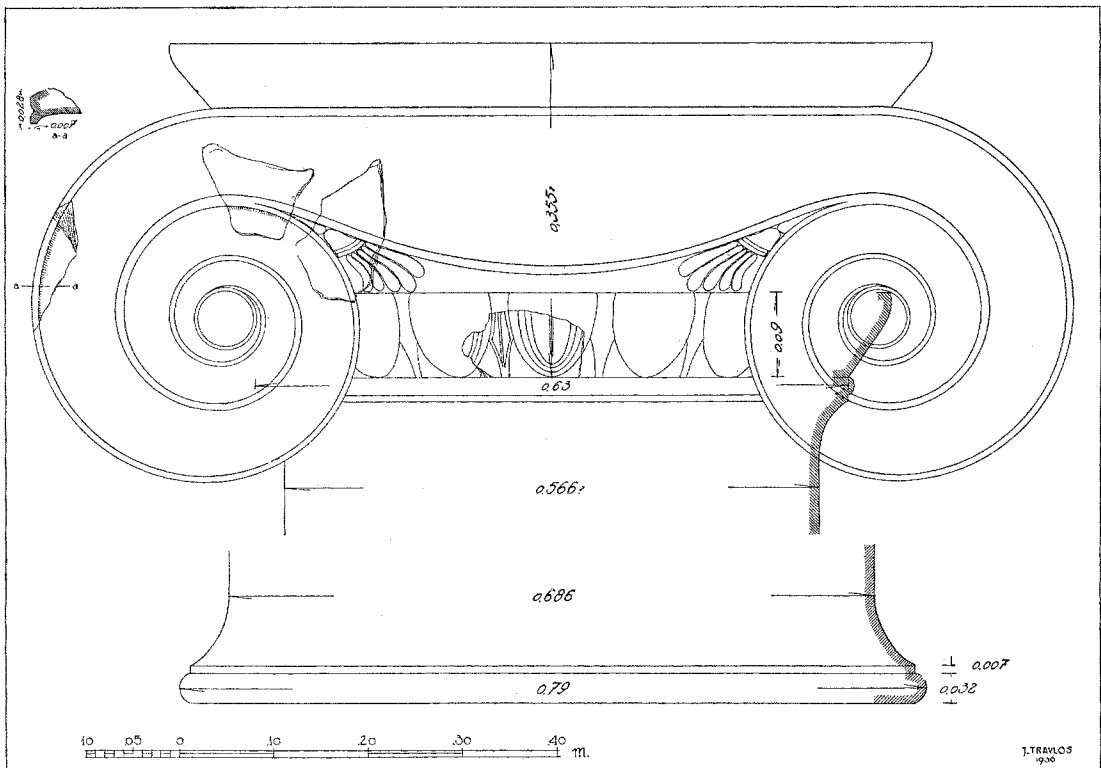


Fig. 15. (A 420) Ionic Column of Stoa, Restored

strongly lighted as exterior members. From the fragments of the capitals we may calculate the upper diameter of the column as *ca.* 0.566 m.

A small piece of an anta capital preserves the profile shown in Fig. 16, *a*. From another scrap, less severely weathered, Piet de Jong has been able to recover the tongue-and-dart pattern illustrated in Fig. 23. Only the stain of the color remains and the extremely shallow incised guide lines. In Fig. 16, *b* is shown the profile of a fragment from the top of a frieze (?) backer, which has lost most of the projection of its hawk's beak.

¹ Stillwell had conjectured that these columns were fluted in their upper parts on the basis of a small fragment from the top of an upper drum (*l.c.*, p. 123). But the inferior quality of the workmanship on this piece, when compared with the many fragments since found, is against its attribution to the Stoa.

Very slight paint stains and incisions show that it too was decorated with a tongue pattern similar to that of the anta capital.

ARCHITRAVE

We must still lament the lack of any part of the architrave larger than the piece of Pentelic marble illustrated in Fig. 17. Taenia and regula were painted red. In Fig. 22 we have restored the height of the architrave as equal to that of the frieze, a common contemporary proportion.

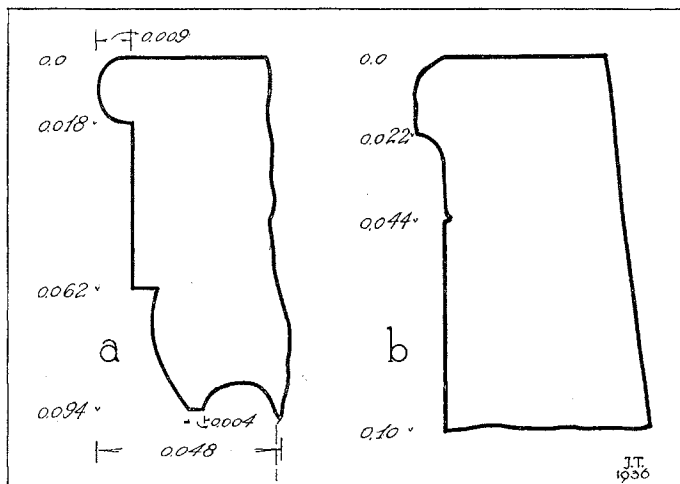


Fig. 16. *a* (A 371) Anta Capital, *b* (A 372) Antithema Crown of Stoa

illustrated in Fig. 18, *a-c*, in partially restored front and side elevations and as seen from below. It will be observed that the head band is crowned with a delicate half round.¹ The whole was painted blue.

From the treatment of the triglyphs, it is obvious that the metopes were separate slabs inset. A small fragment from the upper left hand corner of such a metope, of Pentelic marble, was found near the southeast corner of the Stoa and is illustrated in Fig. 18, *d*. Its workmanship is typical of the Stoa and its dimensions comply with the demands of the cuttings in the triglyphs. So far as preserved, its face is plain and retains no trace of paint.² In our restoration, Fig. 22, we have made the height of the frieze slightly greater than the width of the metope.

CORNICE

Reference has already been made in the earlier report to the cornice (*l. c.*, pp. 119 ff.). The block from the interior angle between the middle front of the building and its south wing

¹ Not indicated on the restoration proposed in the earlier report (*l. c.*, p. 121, fig. 9).

² This piece corresponds much more closely in workmanship to that of the Stoa than does a fragment mentioned by Stillwell, *l. c.*, p. 121.

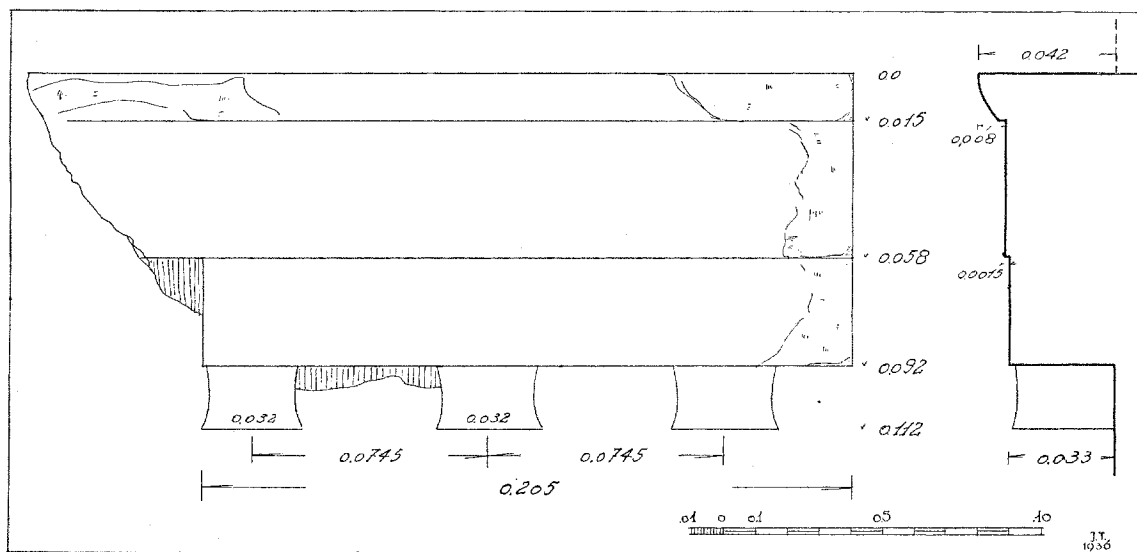


Fig. 17. (A 42) Fragment of Architrave of Stoa

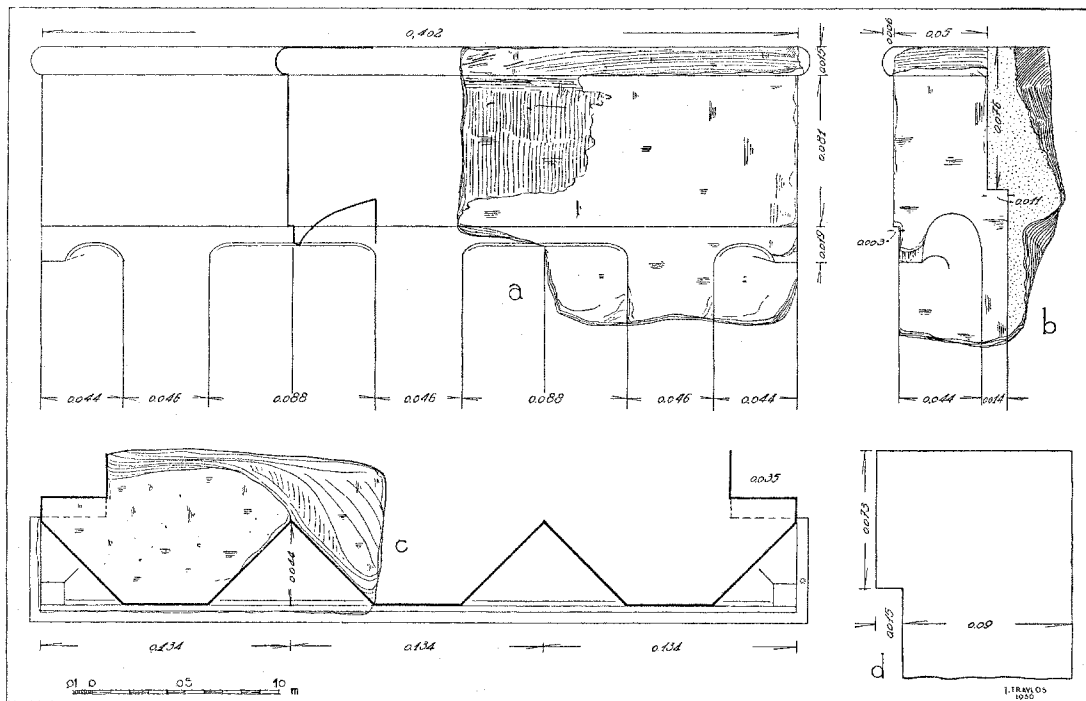


Fig. 18. (A 608) Triglyph and (A 672) Metope of Stoa

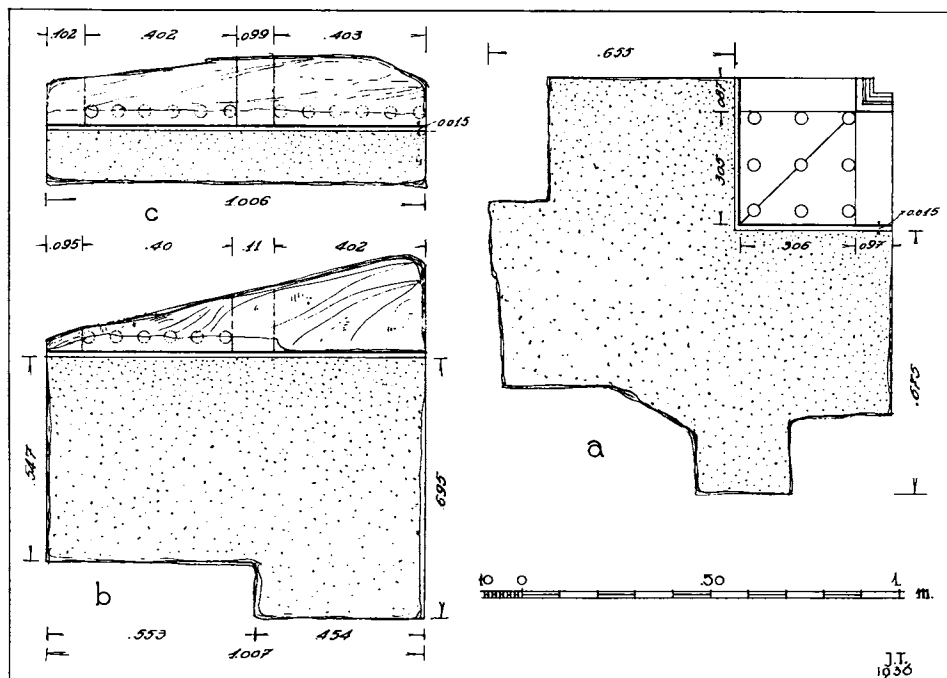


Fig. 19. (A 49, 44, 45) Undersides of Cornice Blocks of Stoa



Fig. 20. (A 49) Angle Cornice Block from Stoa

is now illustrated in Figs. 19, *a*, 20 and 26. From Fig. 19 it will be clear how the width of the mutule had to be reduced to permit the corner to be turned without contraction. On the basis of this block and of other fragments the profile of the horizontal cornice may now be restored complete (Fig. 22). The Lesbian leaf on the bed moulding and the tongue pattern on the beak are sufficiently illustrated in Fig. 26. The anthemias which decorate the viae show slight variations at the heart; the two variants found on the corner block have been worked out by Piet de Jong in Fig. 26.

In addition to the corner block, three other less complete but large fragments have been found, all lying within a limited area close by the corner block on the floor of the building near the angle between its south wing and middle front. All of these pieces come from the lateral horizontal cornice. The most significant dimensions preserved by them are the widths of mutules and viae which show the slight variations illustrated in Fig. 19. Of the raking cornice only very small scraps have been found, one of which preserves the profile of the beak (Fig. 21, *e*), another of the drip (Fig. 21, *f*). It will be observed in Fig. 21, where a fragment (*c*) of the horizontal geison has been included for comparison, that the moulding of the raking member is slightly higher than that of the horizontal. The two are decorated with a similar incised and painted tongue pattern.

A small fragment from a front horizontal cornice illustrated in Fig. 21, *d* must come from near one corner of a pediment (actually from the south side of the south wing), for the top of the block has been cut down at the pedimental angle as deep as the top of its crowning hawk's beak. It is clear, therefore, that the horizontal and raking geisa were not cut from the same block at the corner, as they are, for instance, in the Hephaisteion, the Erechtheion, at Aegina and Bassae. The top of the horizontal geison was carried level to the corner and the start of the raking geison together with the sima and the bedding for the akroterion were cut from another single block. This solution is found also on the Propylaea and at Sounion.¹

PLAN

As a basis for the restoration of the plan we have fixed the normal width of the triglyph at 0.402 m. and of the metope at 0.604 m., taking the mean of the slightly variant dimensions shown by the surviving cornice blocks (Fig. 19) and the fragmentary triglyphs. Six times their combined width (6×1.006 m. equals 6.036 m.) corresponds precisely with the mean interaxial spacing of the five interior piers. The reduced spacing of the outermost interior piers permits of a hexastyle front for the façade of each wing with a normal intercolumniation of 2×1.006 m. = 2.012 m. We have restored a prostyle arrangement, using as evidence the fact that the bedding for the bench at the foot of the south wall stops toward the east one intercolumniation short of the front of the wing. The solid wall, presumably, likewise ended at this point in an anta. The inner side of the wing is satis-

¹ *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, p. 152; *Arch. Delt.*, I, 1915, p. 21.

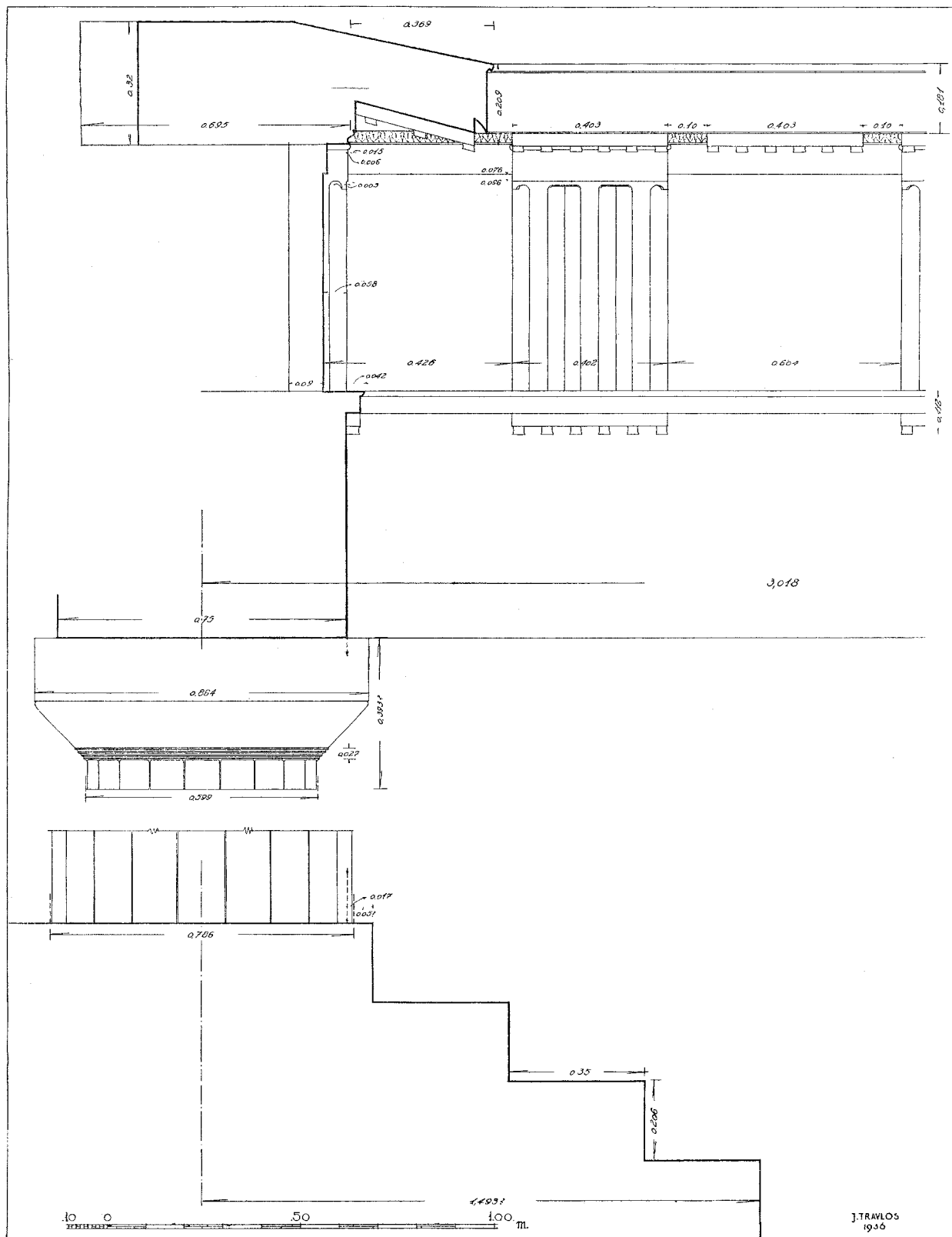


Fig. 22. Doric Order of the Stoa

factorily filled with the two normal intercolumniations of 2.012 m. and a contracted intercolumniation at the outer corner measuring 1.837 m.

The normal two-metope spacing that is demanded by the wing façades would seem much too compact for the mid part of the front, which was obviously intended to be as open and accessible as possible. We have, therefore, thought best to restore this part of the front colonnade with the system commonly found in later stoas, *i. e.* with two exterior to one interior intercolumniation and with a three-metope arrangement in the frieze. In the absence of architrave blocks we can point to no actual proof of the correctness of this restoration, but we would suggest that the extremely light Aeginetan poros was chosen for the frieze in order to reduce the weight on exterior architraves of abnormal length. Actually, this stone, with a specific gravity of *ca.* 1.81, is only two-thirds as heavy as Pentelic marble (sp. gr. 2.75), so that, even after making allowance for the thin metope slabs of marble, we may reckon that the scheme which we have suggested represented a very considerable reduction in weight as against a frieze of solid marble.¹ Some such explanation is necessary for the use at this period of an inferior stone which was not only to be exposed (though painted) but which also required not a little delicate cutting. Economy alone is not sufficient justification.

In restoring the depth of the building, we have assumed that the triglyph frieze returned with normal dimensions across its end, both above the intercolumniation and the solid wall. An approximate calculation at once fixes the requisite number of metopes at sixteen and of triglyphs at seventeen. The length of the frieze across the end of the building was therefore $(16 \times 0.604 \text{ m.}) + (17 \times 0.402 \text{ m.}) = 16.498 \text{ m.}$ To this we may add the width of three steps $(3 \times 0.35 \text{ m.} = 1.05 \text{ m.})$; the interval between the periphery of the column and the edge of the stylobate (*ca.* 0.05 m.), the interval between the periphery of the base of the column and the line of the face of the frieze (*ca.* 0.017 m.; Fig. 22), and the outward projection of orthostate and toichobate in the back wall (*ca.* 0.01 m. + 0.02 m. = 0.03 m.), making a total of *ca.* 17.645 m. Now the measured distance between the setting line for the outer face of the toichobate of the rear wall and the outer effective edge of a preserved block of the lowest course of the foundation in front of the south wing is 17.75 m. This leaves only 0.105 m. for the projection of the euthynteria and lowest course along the front of the wing, a possible margin but small in comparison with that found elsewhere in the building. It will be observed that the margin is even less at the southeast corner of the north wing where one block of the lowest course remains in position (Pl. II).

Several explanations are possible. The dimensions of the triglyphs or metopes may have been slightly reduced across the ends of the building. Some of the steps across the front may have been narrower than the 0.35 m. of the preserved step at the south end. It is possible, too, that in the northern end of the building, by error, the colonnades were set slightly closer to the back wall. Thus on the restored plan, where the interior columns have been

¹ One might conjecture that the frieze blocks were set as cantilevers balanced above the columns as over the middle intercolumniations of the main façades of the Propylaia (Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, p. 146). But this the low tensile strength of the Aeginetan poros would scarcely permit.

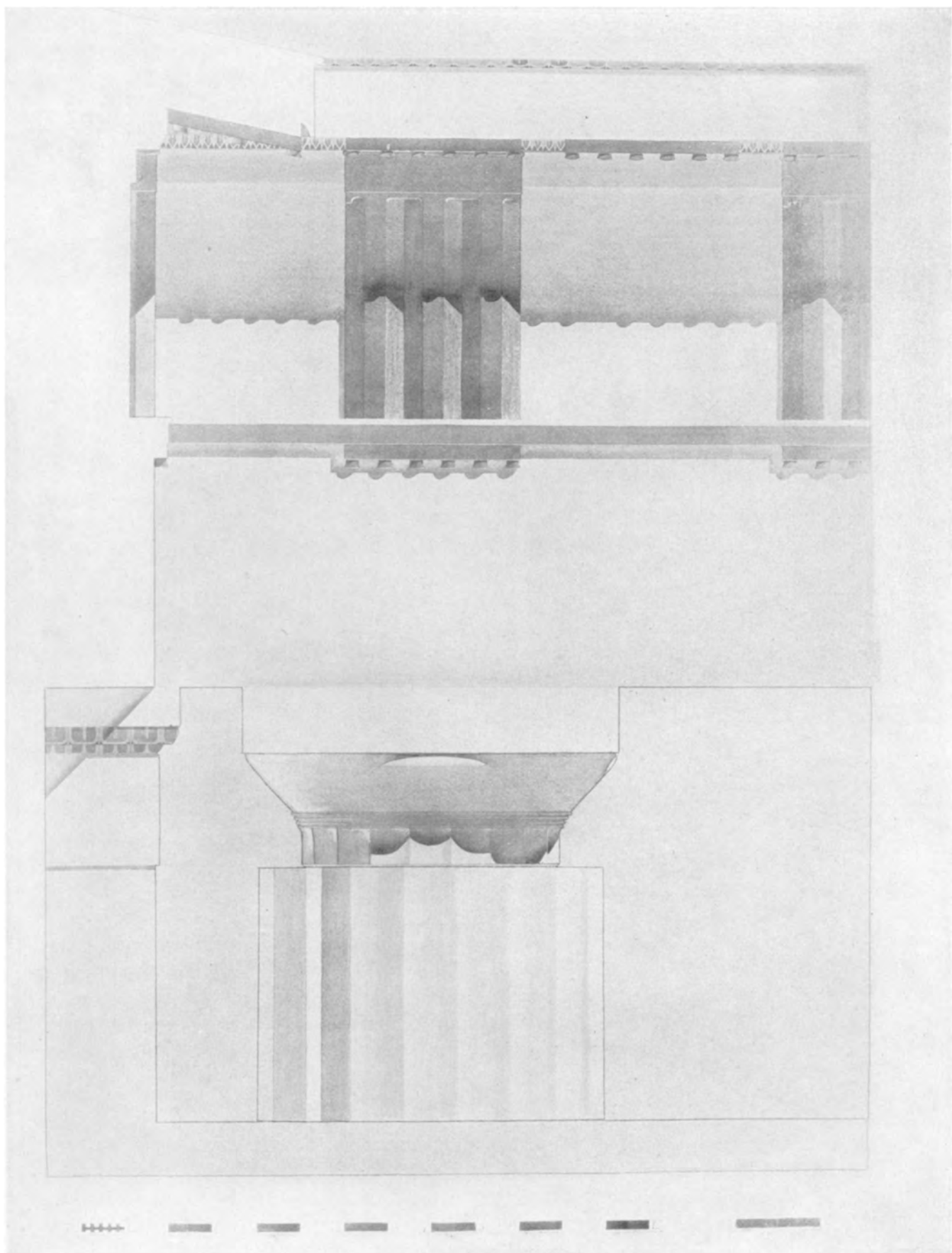


Fig. 23. Doric Order of Stoa with Colored Ornament Restored

Note the omission of the Half-round from the Anta Capital and the free rendering of the Column Capital, the Drip of the Cornice, the Guttae.
For these details see Figs. 17, 18, 21, 22

placed in a line perfectly parallel to the straight setting line for the back wall of the building, they fall toward the east edge of the piers. For lack, however, of more specific evidence, and merely for the purposes of demonstration, we have adhered in our restored plan to a perfectly regular and symmetrical solution.

It will be observed that the width of the wings differs so little from the depth of the mid part of the building (0.138 m.) as to have occasioned no perceptible difference in the pitch of the roof above the different parts.

ROOF AND CEILING

The pitch of the roof, as closely as one can measure it from the cornice blocks, was *ca.* 12° to the horizontal, *i.e.* *ca.* 1 in 4.7. Such an angle would give a pediment 1.20 m.

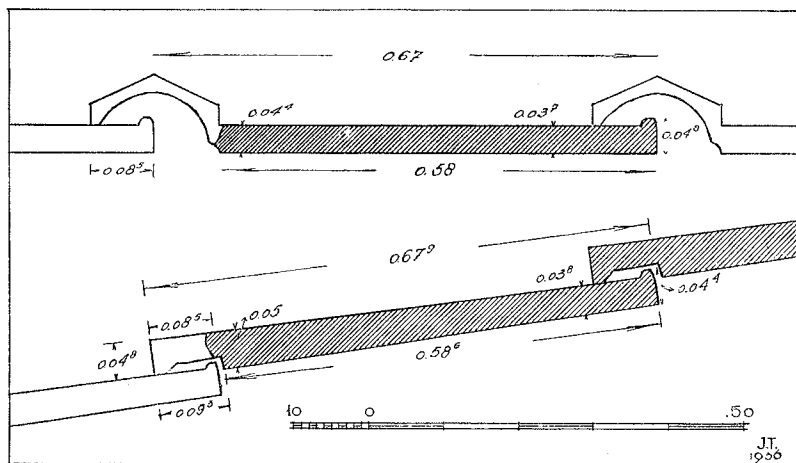


Fig. 24. (A 498, 499) Restored Scheme of Roof Tiles of Stoa

high exclusive of the sima. The cuttings in the backs of the preserved cornice blocks are so rough and irregular as to suggest that they were intended not to receive the ends of the rafters but rather to facilitate the setting of the rafters at a lower level, how low we cannot say. A simple calculation will show that a horizontal ceiling is out of the question. If we restore the Doric columns with a height of five and a half lower diameters (a maximum height in view of their marked diminution), we have a column height of 4.323 m., to which must be added the combined height of architrave and frieze, *ca.* 1.28 m., making *ca.* 5.603 m. in all. The interior columns may be given a minimum height of nine lower diameters (the Ionic columns of the Propylaia are over ten lower diameters in height), which will result in a column height of 6.174 m. to be increased by the height of a wooden architrave of at least 0.50 m., to 6.674 m. It is obvious, therefore, that horizontal beams, even if laid on top of the Doric frieze, could not have made proper contact with the interior supports. We must then suppose that the ceiling was inclined. It was presumably of wood, coffered

between the rafters. That such a solution was not repugnant to the fifth century is shown by its use in a closely contemporary building, the Temple of the Athenians on Delos.¹ The same practice was commonly followed in the great Hellenistic stoas, as that of Antigonos on Delos,² those around the Agora of Magnesia,³ and the Sacred Stoa of Priene.⁴

The building was roofed with terracotta tiles of which a very few fragments remain. Several pieces of tegulae and imbrex tiles found behind the top of the retaining wall toward the south end of the building permit the restoration illustrated in Fig. 24. It will be observed that the width of the tegula, 0.67 m., is one-third of the normal intercolumniation of 2.012 m.⁵

AKROTERIA

The sculptural decoration of the Stoa was probably confined to the akroteria that crowned the façades of its projecting wings. Fragments of two of the figures from the south wing were found in a context of late Roman times along the east front of that wing. These have been published in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 374 ff. Both are of Pentelic marble. The better preserved statue represents a winged Nike flying to the left and it undoubtedly rose above the southeast corner of the building. The few surviving fragments of the companion piece suggest that it was a figure of the same type which would have adorned the north angle of the façade.⁶ More recently small fragments of a left foot and ankle have been found in accumulations of the late Roman period above the southeast angle of the north wing (S 795). Identity of material, scale and style show that the pieces come from one of the corresponding figures of the north wing.

In the mass of sculptural fragments found in front of the south wing at least three members are duplicated: head, right shoulder and right wrist. Since, however, there is no demonstrable instance of triplication, we have no certain remains of a third akroterion in marble from that wing.

Actually the central akroterion would seem to have been a group in terracotta of which several small fragments have been found in the accumulation of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. that filled the plundered foundation trenches in the west side of the Stoa Annex (Fig. 25).⁷

¹ F. Courby, *Délos*, XII, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 186 ff.

² F. Courby, *Délos*, *Le Portique d'Antigone*, pp. 35 ff.

³ *Magnesia*, p. 122, fig. 120.

⁴ M. Schede, *Die Ruinen von Priene*, fig. 63. Cf. F. Courby, *Le Portique d'Antigone*, p. 35, n. 3 (Poulsen).

⁵ The tiles are made of light yellow, apparently Attic clay, containing many particles of dark grit; the exposed surfaces were given a thin slip of fine clay, bright yellow in color.

⁶ A fragment from the right shoulder of the less well preserved figure shows that her right upper arm was level while her left was presumably raised to correspond with the pose of the other statue.

⁷ The clay is greenish yellow in color and contains many small grains of black grit, so that it closely resembles the fabric of Corinthian roof tiles. The flesh parts were covered with a layer of very fine clay ca. 1 mm. thick and were polished, whereas the drapery was merely slipped, a differentiation which resulted in a realistic contrast of surfaces. The wall varies in thickness from 0.015 m. to 0.03 m. and is roughly shaped by hand on the inside. There is nothing to suggest the use of moulds.

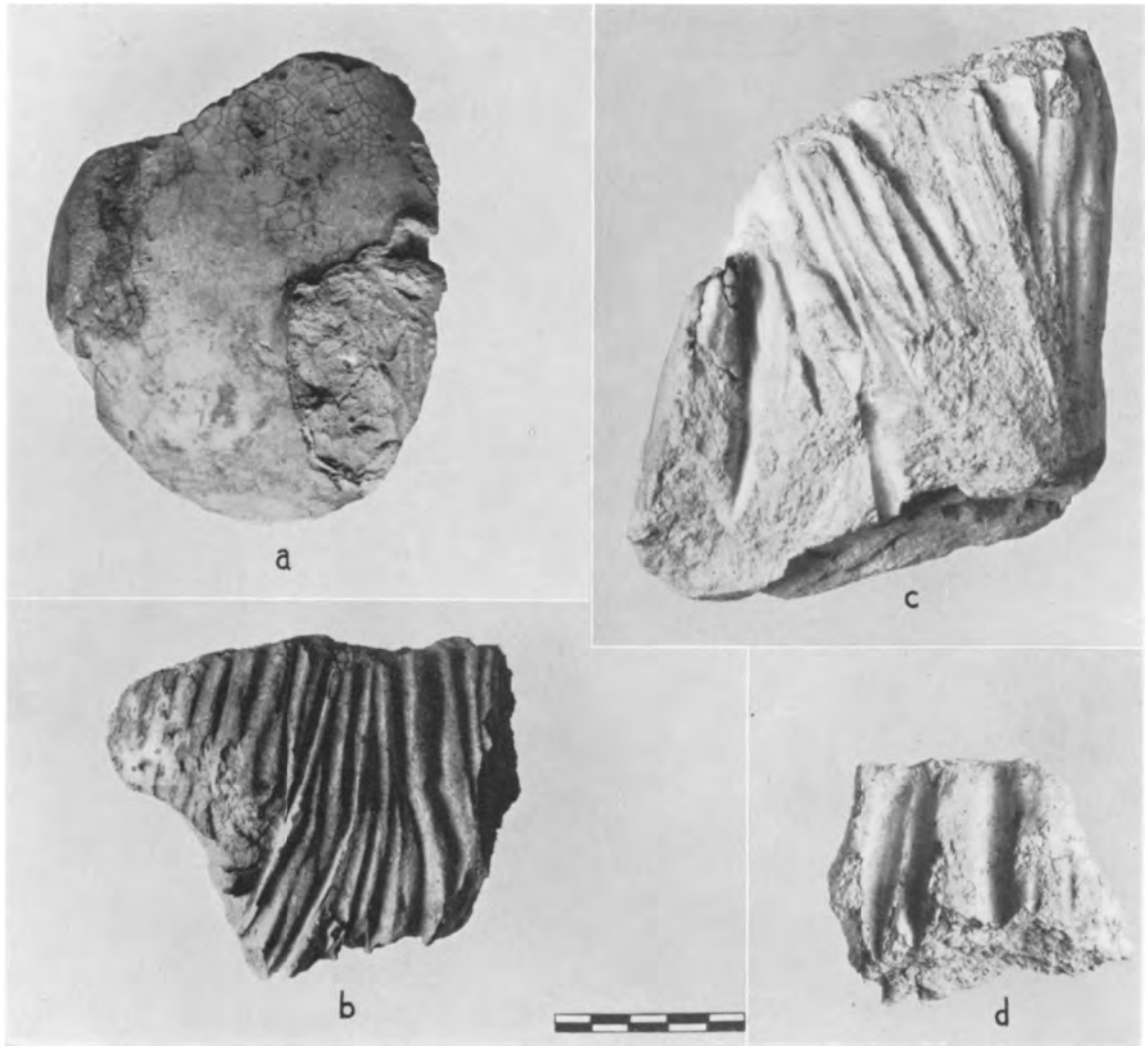


Fig. 25. (T 1261) Fragments of Terracotta Akroterion from Stoa

- a. Part of the right hip of a nude figure, seated and facing right, that was supported from beneath by the left hand of another figure. Traces of the hand show that it effectively gripped the thigh just over the tip of the femur. The nudity and the musculature of the figure that was carried leave no doubt that it was male. Surface weathered. Max. dim. 0.125 m.
- b. Part of the right breast of a draped woman, compressed by something held close against it. The contact is indicated by the working of the preserved piece in its lower left part. Surface much weathered. W. 0.105 m.
- c. Fragment from a draped figure in swift motion. The round projection may represent the point of the right hip. The drapery has been swept back around the projecting part. From either side start out heavy masses of the garment. At one end of the fragment are two drilled holes, 0.007 m.

in diameter, set at a slight angle to the outer face. They presumably held metal pins and suggest that the figure was repaired in antiquity. The original outer surface is fresh and unweathered and was obviously sheltered by something above. H. 0.15 m.

- d. Fragment of drapery from the back of the figure at the point where it escaped below the girdle. Surface slightly weathered. H. 0.055 m.

The scheme of the group is indicated by the preserved fragments: a draped female figure in swift motion carries in front of her a nude youth whom she supports beneath the thighs with her left arm while with her right she holds his upper body close to her bosom. The scale and the weathered state of the pieces prove that they come from the akroterion of a large building. The thinness of the engobe excludes a date in the archaic period. The delicate and reserved modelling (the pressure of the hand on the flesh is barely indicated) will scarcely permit of a date later than the fifth century. Actually, the scale indicated by the fragments (rather under life size) approximates that of the marble Nike and the quality of the drapery on the terracotta, both front and back, can be paralleled on the marble. It would be raising a gratuitous difficulty to dissociate the terracotta group from the building in which it was found, since the building is of appropriate date and still wants for the apices of its pediments just such groups as this.

We must admit that no fragment of terracotta was found, or recognized, in front of the south wing which has now been completely excavated. But it is worth observing that in front of the mid part of the façade, in the same late Roman layer that yielded the marble Nikai, there came to light a bronze rod 0.975 m. long, 0.01 m. in diameter at one end, tapering to 0.008 m. at the other (B 123). Either end had been roughly trimmed with a stroke of the chisel. The piece had obviously known an earlier use, when, to judge from its nodulated appearance, it had been intended to represent a reed. Such a piece would have served admirably as a strong but inconspicuous support which may well have been introduced at the time of repair suggested by the drilled holes in fragment c. It would be difficult, indeed, to suggest an alternative use for the piece in view of the context in which it was found.

STYLE AND DATE

a. *Proportions and Architectural Ornament*

The proportions of the architectural members of the Stoa so far as they are preserved, the disposition and the profiles of its mouldings and the quality of its workmanship find their best parallels in Attic buildings of the second half of the fifth century and especially in the marble buildings of Athens itself.

The diminution of the Doric columns (close to one quarter of their lower diameter) is rather less marked than that of the Parthenon but is equal to that of the Hephaisteion and is more pronounced than that of the Propylaia, Sounion, Rhamnous, the Temple of the Athenians on Delos, and the fourth century examples. The profile of the flutes is comparable with that of the best period. Their accentuated cusps give a more striking

chiaroscuro than appears in the columns of the Propylaia, the flutes of which were laid out from a single centre. In the uniformity of their depth from top to bottom they resemble those of the Propylaia and Hephaisteion.¹ The extremely gentle bulge suggested by the surviving bit of the echinus of the Doric capital is rather closer to that of the Parthenon than of the Propylaia, while the way in which the upper curve of the echinus is carried out to the line of the face of the abacus is typologically more archaic than anything to be found even in the Hephaisteion. The anta capital resembles that of the Hephaisteion in its vertical upper fascia, those of the Parthenon and Propylaia being inclined. The half-round which crowns the cap of the Stoa is also closer to the ovolo of the Hephaisteion than to the cyma reversa of Parthenon and Propylaia. The Ionic capitals of the Stoa, though executed in a simpler and more economical way than those of the Propylaia, would appear to have resembled them very closely in the profile of the echinus, the position of the eyes and the scheme of the filling ornament used in the angles of the volutes.

The frieze, which at this period, as noted above, may be taken as equal to or slightly greater than the width of the metope, would seem in the Stoa to be relatively high, and in proportion to the lower diameter finds again a close parallel in the Hephaisteion, exceeding in this proportion the friezes of the other Attic buildings of the late fifth century and, naturally, those of the fourth. The relative length of the guttae of the regulae, as also of the mutules, and the gentle concavity of their profiles make them comparable with those of the Parthenon and Propylaia rather than with anything of the fourth century.

The triglyph slightly exceeds in width one-half of the lower diameter, a proportion found also in the Hephaisteion, Parthenon and Propylaia. The undercutting of the head of the channels shows the same delicate inner curve as that of the Parthenon, the bevelled outer edge recurs in the Propylaia and the crowning half-round is paralleled on both Parthenon and Propylaia (Southwest Wing), but, to my knowledge, in no later building.

The relative height of the Stoa cornice, rather more than one quarter of the lower diameter, is thoroughly typical of the second half of the fifth century and exceeds that usual in the fourth century. At Tegea and Stratos, for instance, the proportion is less than one-fifth.

Our cornice would appear to represent an experimental stage in the elimination of the old-fashioned simple fascia beneath the mutule block, a design that still prevailed in the time of the Parthenon. The solution here adopted involved the cutting of a cymatium below the vertical fascia. A comparable method was followed in the Temple of the Athenians on Delos, where, however, the moulding was cut on a separate member inserted between frieze and cornice.² In the horizontal cornice of the Propylaia, on the other hand, the moulding is cut on the cornice block directly beneath the mutule, and is separated from the frieze only by the narrow inclined fillet which belongs properly to the moulding itself.

¹ In the Parthenon the relative depth of the flute is increased in the top drum while in Sounion and Aegina it is reduced toward the top.

² F. Courby, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 122 ff.

But on the raking cornice of the southwest wing of the same building a vertical fascia appears beneath the cymatium and its offset.¹ This solution became regular in the fourth century both for the horizontal and raking cornice and persisted throughout the Hellenistic period.²

The hawk's beak crowning moulding of the cornice, as also that of the antithema (Fig. 16, *b*), closely resemble those of the Parthenon and Propylaia in their profiles and in the narrow fillet at the lower extremity of the beak. The cyma reversa used for the bed mould of the cornice is almost identical in profile with those of the Parthenon which excited the admiration of Penrose.³ The Stoa moulding shows the projecting fillet at the bottom which is characteristic of the Periclean buildings and which seems not to occur later than the fifth century. The cyma reversa of the Stoa, moreover, shows the same excess of vertical height over horizontal projection that is found in the Parthenon and Propylaia, a proportion that is reversed in the following century.⁴

An additional criterion for the date of the building is provided by the decoration on the viae of the cornice blocks (Fig. 26). From the obvious difficulty of executing this delicate design in the narrow channel one might suppose that it was done on the ground before the block was placed. Once in position, there was no fear of damage to the painting. Proof that this was the procedure followed has already been pointed out by Stillwell (*l.c.*, p. 120), who observed that one side of the ornament in one of the viae in the corner geison had been trimmed away, a condition which he rightly explained by supposing that after the block had been finished and the design applied, the one leg was found too long for its place and was accordingly cut back. Since there is no trace of re-incising or re-painting, we must regard the preserved ornament as an integral and contemporary element of the Stoa.

The distinctive form of the palmette permits it to be placed with some precision in a line of development. In the third quarter of the fifth century, a tendency developed to break up the compact unity of the palmette, to emphasize the central leaf and to make the lateral groups of leaves distinct from the central leaf and from one another. The most radical innovation devised for the attainment of this effect was the flame palmette, with its lateral leaves turned in toward the middle. It may reasonably be presumed that the earliest examples of the new style of palmette retained something of the well rounded out-

¹ *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, p. 179, fig. 13.

² The scheme employed in the Stoa recurs in the horizontal geisa of the Monument of Nikias (Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, p. 463, fig. 3). It will be observed, however, that on the later building the guttae are shorter in comparison with the depth of the mutule and the slight offset at the lower edge of the cymatium is lacking. The choice of this design for its cornice may be included among the archaic mannerisms evident in the choregic monument: in its anta capital, based on that of the smaller order of the Propylaia or of the Stoa (?) (Dinsmoor, *l.c.*, p. 461); in its poros triglyphs; in the Acropolis limestone of its euthynteria; in its \vdash clamps.

³ *Principles*², p. 53, pl. XX, fig. 27, *a*.

⁴ I must here acknowledge my indebtedness to Miss Lucy T. Shoe for her illuminating comments on the mouldings of the Stoa, as of our other buildings.

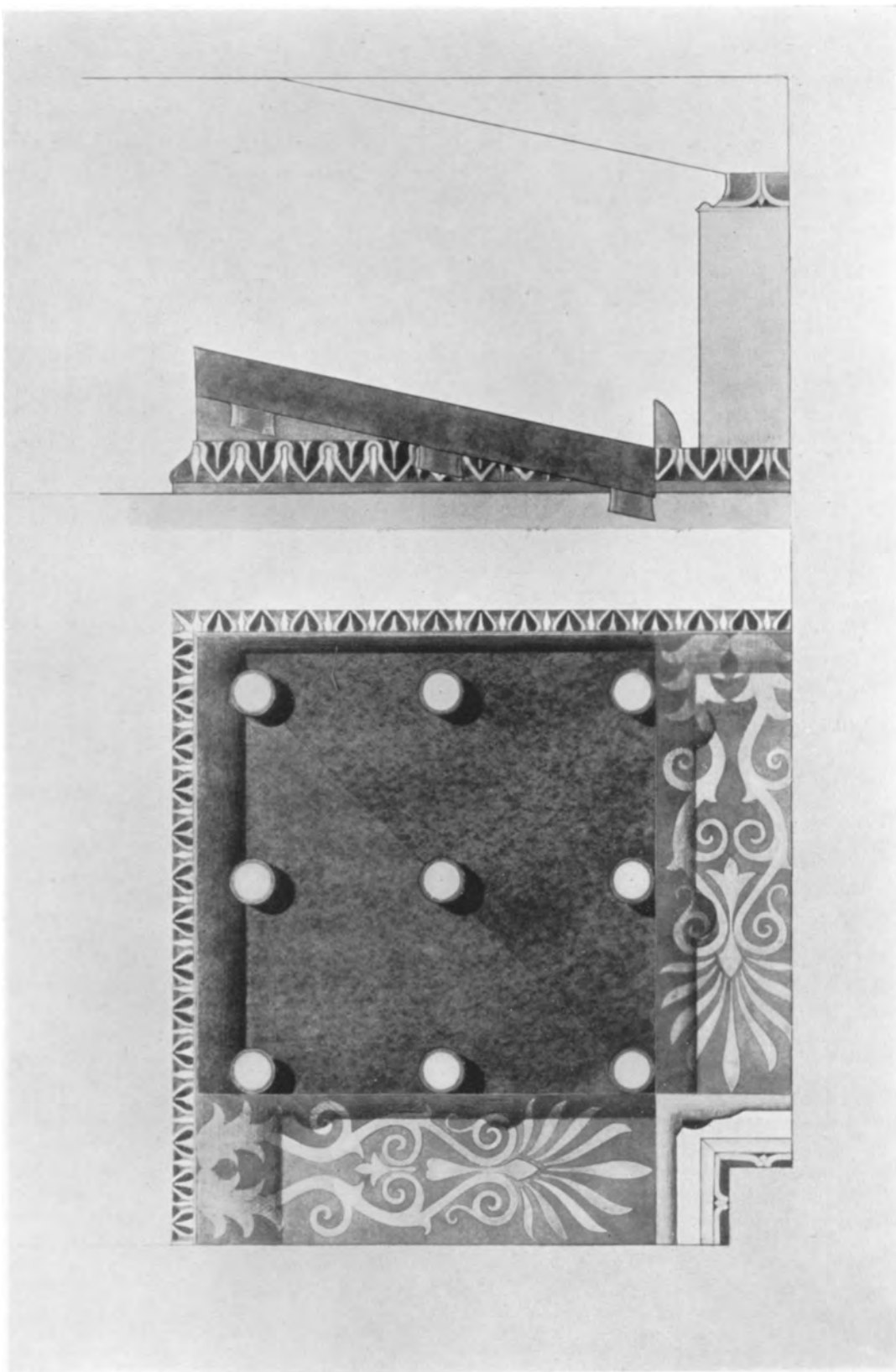


Fig. 26. (A 49) Angle Cornice Block of Stoa, Section and Underside
 For the Drip, here incorrectly restored, see Fig. 21, b

line of the older type and that their leaves showed but a gentle inward curve. Good instances of the sort are to be found on the Cat Stele from Salamis,¹ on the inner palmette of Agamemnon's grave stele on the younger version of the Orestes Melian relief² and on the corner akroteria of the Satrap's sarcophagus,³ all of which have been dated from their sculptural style to *ca.* 430 B.C. or the years immediately following. The next step is well illustrated by the sima of the Temple of the Athenians on Delos, dated from its architectural style and from epigraphic evidence to the years 425–417 B.C.⁴ Here the inward curvature of the lateral petals is still gentle. The division of the halves, however, is marked, not by the elongation of the central petal but by its omission. The same stage of development is shown by the small filling palmettes in the lintel of the north door of the Erechtheion⁵ and by the ornament on the sima of the Second Temple of Hera at the Argive Heraion.⁶ Both buildings may be placed around 420 B.C.⁷ For the succeeding two decades we lack well dated documents but the rapid development that must have occurred in these years is illustrated by the ornamental crowning member of the tomb of those who fell near Corinth in 394 B.C.⁸ The halves of the palmette are now violently pulled apart and the intervening space is occupied, in this particular instance, by four subordinate petals, elsewhere by a flower or a formal rosette or a lesser palmette. The further development of the motive does not immediately concern us.

It should now be clear that our palmette, typologically speaking, may be placed among the very earliest of its kind. Its petals are more gently incurved than those of the flame palmettes on the anta capitals and ceiling coffers of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous,⁹

¹ Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, II, no. 1032, pl. CCIV; H. Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen*, pl. 5, b, p. 17; P. Jacobsthal, *Die Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, p. 146, n. 274; H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, pl. 6.

² Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs*, no. 94.

³ O. Hamdy Bey-T. Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon*, pl. XIX, 4; Möbius, *op. cit.*, pl. I, c.

⁴ The sima is best illustrated in Möbius, *op. cit.*, pl. 5, a. For the dating see F. Courby, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 204 f., 220 ff.

⁵ The surviving lintel, as is well known, must be a restoration, probably of early Roman times. But Stevens (*Erechtheum*, p. 102) rightly pointed out that the later copy may well be taken as trustworthy. Möbius has since gathered together several other instances of the copying of this lintel ornament on independent monuments, including a sepulchral lekythos of indubitably fourth century date (*Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, pp. 178 ff.). On those copies which include the filling palmettes, they are of the flame variety and of a sober type much more appropriate to the late fifth century than to the period when the lintel was restored. We are therefore justified in supposing that the flame palmettes were included in the original scheme. A palmette of the same stage of development is indicated for the akroteria of the Erechtheion. See C. Praschniker, *Zur Geschichte des Akroters*, pp. 15 ff., fig. 7.

⁶ *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, Beilage, XXI, 6.

⁷ A flame palmette (though the details of its form are not recoverable) appears on the terracotta sima that has been assigned to the Periclean Telesterion at Eleusis (M. Schede, *Antikes Traufleisten-Ornament*, pp. 36 ff., pl. III, 21, IV, 22; Noack, *Eleusis*, p. 164, 169, n. 1, 173). The sima is regarded by Schede and Noack as contemporary with that of the Argive temple.

⁸ Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, III, no. 1529, p. 325, pl. 317; Möbius, *Die Ornamente der gr. Grabstelen*, pl. 9, d.

⁹ *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, London, 1817, Ch. VI, pl. 6.

more gently too than those on the central and lateral akroteria of the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion.¹ One might, however, object that flame palmettes of the same general type as ours do recur on monuments of a later date, as the Temple of Athena at Tegea, the Tholoi at Delphi and at Epidauros.² But a second glance will show that the earlier dating of the Athenian palmette is confirmed by the more gentle curvature of its petals, by the lack of emphasis on the mid-ribs and more especially by its well rounded outline, a detail particularly significant in view of the narrowness of the available field.

An early date is indicated also by the accompanying *akanthos*. From its simplicity and lack of characterization and from the obviously primitive, inorganic way in which the leaves are wrapped about the roots of the tendrils we may regard this as one of the earliest appearances of the *akanthos* in this use. Close parallels are to be found on the akroteria of grave stelai whose sculptural style is close to that of the Parthenon and which have accordingly been placed in the decade 440–430 B.C.³

In origin, the *via* design would seem to be an adaptation of a scheme that had been developed for akroteria, as found, for instance, on the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina and on a marble from Apollonia in Epiros,⁴ and also on the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion. To meet the special requirements of the *via*, the lower part of the old design was compressed, its upper part expanded. The slight traces that have been observed in the *viae* of the Propylaia suggest that Mnesikles there employed the old open palmette.⁵ The effect is not happy, for the palmette reaches out into space and struggles against its bounds. The closed palmette as found on our cornice admits of a more self-contained and altogether more satisfactory design. One is perhaps entitled to suspect that the flame palmette was first devised to meet this special need and for this very building.⁶ The prominent position and the fame of our Stoa would sufficiently account for the speedy adoption of the design in other buildings that were then being built or planned. And likewise to the sculptors of Attic grave stelai, who must have worked nearby, the Stoa furnished a ready pattern.⁷

¹ For the central akroterion see *Aegina*, I, p. 293, fig. 248; Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 133, *a*; for the lateral, *Arch. Delt.*, I, 1915, p. 24, fig. 18.

² Schede, *op. cit.*, pl. V, 29–31.

³ Stele Giustiniani and a stele from Karystos now in Berlin. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 139, *a, b*, p. 166, n. 315, 195; Möbius, *Die Ornamente der gr. Grabstelen*, pl. 2, *a*, pp. 11 f.

⁴ *Aegina*, I, p. 294, fig. 249; Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 132 (mid fifth century); Heuzey, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*, pl. 34, 1.

⁵ Penrose, *Principles*², p. 64, pl. 31.

⁶ The use of the open palmette in the *viae* of a building as late as the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros will not tell against a much earlier date for our building (Defrasse-Lechat, *Épidaure*, p. 58). The architect of the Temple of Asklepios may well have based his design on an older and more conservative model, just as Polykleitos in designing the sculptured frieze band for the wall of the neighboring Tholos would seem to have had in mind the design on the north door of the Erechtheion. See Möbius, *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, p. 181.

⁷ It was probably a proper feeling for spatial effect that kept the flame palmette out of the vase painter's repertoire until late in the century and restrained its popularity among the vase painters thereafter. See Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, p. 177.

If our argument is trustworthy, the ornament on the *via* would suggest that the designing of the Stoa occurred after that of the Propylaia, but still in the neighborhood of 430.

It may be objected that the irregularities and variations in dimensions noted in the cornice and frieze of the Stoa would not have been tolerated in the Periclean buildings on the Acropolis. This is quite true. But the comparison should be drawn not with those examples of extravagant perfection but with less pretentious structures such as the Pompeion of the early fourth century and the small west Stoa in the Asklepieion which is probably to be dated shortly after the establishment of the sanctuary in 420 B.C.¹ Beside these, our Stoa will rank high in the substantial and painstaking quality of its construction.

b. *Building Material*

The kinds and combination of stone used in the building call for some comment. We have already noted that a soft whitish poros is found in the inner and lower foundations. Harder poros of darker color occurs in those parts of the foundation that were to be exposed. The same varieties of poros are found in the same relationship in the Hephaisteion, the Erechtheion and in those parts of the Propylaia where old material was not exclusively employed and in the Pompeion which appears to be contemporary with or but little later than the Wall of Konon.² The similarity between the stone used in our building and in the Erechtheion is sufficiently close to suggest that it came from the same quarry. Conglomerate does not appear in the foundations of the Stoa proper, though it forms part of the (later) retaining wall to the west. This stone had begun to be used in Athens as early at least as the beginning of the fourth century, for it occurs in the Monument of Dexileos, who fell at Corinth in 394 B.C.³ By the middle of the century it would seem to have been in common use for it is found in the monument of Lysikrates (335/4 B.C.) and in the small rectangular building to the south of the Stoa which we shall find reason to date somewhat earlier.

The extremely light brownish poros used for the upper walls and the triglyphs was probably brought from Aegina, as noted above. This particular variety of poros, among others, is found on the island and it was used there in the Temple of Aphaia (*Aegina*, p. 21). In the building accounts of the Erechtheion Aeginetan stone is specified for the frieze backers. Though none of the actual members has survived, we may suspect that the

¹ The current dating of this building in late Hellenistic times is palpably wrong. This small simple Stoa is obviously earlier than the great fourth century building in the east part of the area and it may some day be shown to be the earliest building in the sanctuary.

² K. Kübler, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, pp. 174 ff.

³ Wrede, *Attische Mauerwerk*, no. 56. Travlos warns me that the conglomerate wall in Eleusis assigned by Noack (Taf. 16 M4, M5), and Wrede (*op. cit.*, p. 52) to the Periclean period, is probably part of a later re-building. Outside of Athens, conglomerate was used as underpinning for the floor slabs of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, ca. 430 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, p. 318). In the Theatre of Dionysos breccia is found in walls now dated in the late sixth century and Periclean period (E. Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen*, III, pp. 58 ff., 68 f., 72 ff.).

material was the same as that found in the Stoa and that it was employed for the same reasons: economy and lightness.¹

The use of Hymettian marble at a time as early as that indicated for our building by the other evidence may seem surprising. The earliest well established occurrence hitherto recorded of the familiar gray-blue "upper" Hymettian marble in the monumental buildings of Athens would seem to be in the "Kononian" Pompeion.² Yet the stone was employed earlier for inscriptions and sepulchral monuments. An honorary decree of 410/9 B.C. (*I. G.*, I², 110) was engraved in Hymettian marble, as also records of the treasures in the Parthenon published *ca.* 400 B.C. (*I. G.*, II², 1373, 1379). Of Hymettian marble too is the string course which received the inscription in the monument erected outside the Dipylon to the Lacedaemonians who fell at Peiraeus in 403 B.C.³ The same marble was used occasionally for inscriptions both public and private in the first half of the fourth century, after which it becomes comparatively common. Its occurrence in sepulchral monuments follows a similar course. It is found in a few grave stones which can be dated from the style of their ornament or of their lettering to a time around 400 B.C.⁴ Thereafter it became increasingly popular, particularly for small and simple stones or for those on which the principal decoration was to be painted rather than carved.⁵ It is, however, improbable that the use of the new stone for such minor objects should have antedated its employment on a more extensive scale. The slab required for an inscribed stele of standard size was not only a big block but one of select quality. Such could not readily be gotten by casual cutting on the rugged slopes of Mt. Hymettos, but it could be chosen from the walls of a large quarry pit already opened for architectural marble. We are therefore driven to suppose that Hymettian marble had been employed on a large scale in some Athenian building already before the end of the fifth century. With the doubtful exception of the Theatre of Dionysos and the Stoa below it, our Stoa in the Agora is the only known candidate.

Its use having been pushed back thus far, Hymettian marble becomes the direct successor of gray Eleusinian limestone as a device for gaining color contrast in buildings made largely of white marble or of poros covered with white stucco. Outside of Eleusis itself, Eleusinian stone enjoyed but a brief popularity for architectural purposes: the frame

¹ *Erechtheum*, pp. 181, 350 f. The use of Aeginetan poros at Eleusis in the fifth and fourth centuries is attested by the building accounts. See Caskey, *Erechtheum*, p. 350, n. 2 and Noack, *Eleusis*, pp. 118, 199.

² For Hymettian marble used in a fifth-century drain in the Theatre of Dionysos see Bulle (Wrede), *Untersuchungen an gr. Theatern*, pp. 55 ff.

³ *Arch. Anz.*, 1930, col. 90; *A. J. A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 290 ff. The plinths that supported the bronze knights in front of the Propylaia, dedicated *ca.* 440 B.C., are said to be of Hymettian marble (*I. G.*, I², 400). Yet the marble is not of the blue variety with which we are here concerned and, in any case, one at least of the bases appears to be a later replacement.

⁴ Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, III, 1492, dated by Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, p. 146, to *ca.* 400 B.C.; *I. G.*, I², 907, 1004.

⁵ Of the latter type one may note the stele of Melitta, sister of the Dexileos who died in 394 B.C. (Conze, *op. cit.*, III, no. 1467) and a large monument with painted figures of about the mid fourth century (*ibid.*, no. 1443).

around the base of the Pheidian Zeus at Olympia; steps, orthostates and string courses in the Athenian Propylaea; the curved base for the cult statue that antedates but was re-used in the Temple of the Athenians on Delos; the backing of the sculptured frieze of the Erechtheion and some other unspecified part of that building.¹ Its abandonment in favor of the blue marble is understandable, for the Hymettian stone is more readily quarried in large masses, more easily worked afterwards and, for buildings in Athens, it had to be carried rather less than half as far.² And though the marble is not so intense in color as the limestone, its surface is susceptible of a more uniform polish and does not acquire the gray film which suggested to early travellers that the background of the frieze of the Erechtheion had been stuccoed.³ The Eleusinian stone did, however, continue to be used for statue bases even into the Roman period. But the practice of combining blue Hymettian marble with the white Pentelic in buildings, a combination that was to be regular through the fourth century and Hellenistic times, may now be traced back with assurance to the fifth century and with some probability to our Stoa in the Agora.

c. Pottery

We may look for help for the more precise dating of the building to the mass of débris that was found on the floor of the pottery works destroyed when the Stoa was begun and to the pottery that was found in the filling thrown in to carry the Stoa floor (see above, pp. 8, 20). This material must clearly antedate the building and that from the potter's shop especially may be taken as providing a rather close *terminus post quem* for the beginning of construction. A representative group, including the obviously latest pieces, is discussed below by an impartial judge.

- a. P 44. Two fragments from a calyx krater decorated in two zones (Figs. 27 and 28). From the contemporary packing beneath the floor of the Stoa. Diam. at lip calculated, 0.37 m.; H. pres., 0.12 m. and 0.07 m.

Upper zone: return of Hephaistos. On the larger fragment, Dionysos leading the mule of Hephaistos; revellers before and behind. On the smaller fragment (which should be set to the right of the larger) parts of the drapery, footstool and sceptre of the waiting Hera. Lower zone: a youth, right, looking back; on the wall a lyre.

Partial relief contours. The glaze used for drawing has fired red, the background glaze a deep chocolate brown. Thick white, washed over with glaze thinned to yellow, for the berries of the border, the fillets, the reins, and the names of the two gods written above their heads. Leaf stems of the border painted in thinned clay.

The profile of rim and wall is close to that of the Nekyia krater (P. Jacobsthal, "The Nekyia Krater in New York," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V, 1934, pp. 117 ff.; cf. G. M. A. Richter and

¹ *Erechtheum*, Inscr. V A, I, 26, pp. 181, 319. Since no Eleusinian stone is now to be found in the fabric of the building, save in the frieze, we may suspect that the two blocks here mentioned were to be used in connection with the base of the cult statue, which has completely disappeared.

² The ancient quarries on the west slopes of Mt. Hymettos have been recently identified (S. Dow, *A. J. A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 268).

³ *Erechtheum*, p. 181.

M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, figs. 55–59). Good parallels for the fillets in the work of the same painter. With the ivy border compare a bell krater in Vienna (G. von Lücken, *Greek Vase Paintings*, pl. 116). The use of thinned clay in such patterns appears at least no later than the decade 440–430 (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 501, fig. 19). With Dionysos' drapery compare the frontwards fall of the himation end on the Eretria painter's Oxford amphoriskos (*Att. Vas.*, p. 430, 7; *C. V. A.*, Oxford 1, pl. 40, 4). White leading reins for Hephaistos' mule recur on the well-known oinochoe in New York (F. R., pl. 120, 1; J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland* [*V. Pol.*], p. 61, n. 4).



Fig. 27. Fragments of a Krater from the Stoa Filling

Representations of Hephaistos' return have recently been discussed by Karl Schefold (*Ath. Mitt.*, LIX, 1934, pp. 137 ff.; p. 140, note 2, gives the earlier literature). Our fragments provide an addition to the relatively small group of vases on which Hera as well as Hephaistos is represented. Add also a calyx krater in Agrigentum (E. Gabrici, *Vasi Greci dei Musei di Palermo e Agrigento*, p. 20 and fig. 7; no. 23 in Jacobsthal's list of calyx kraters with two zone decoration, *op. cit.*, p. 140). Gabrici notes the conservative treatment of the figure of Dionysos, understandable if the painter, working in the vicinity of 400, followed the same monumental original as did many artists of a generation and more earlier. In seeking an explanation for the popularity of this subject during the third quarter of the fifth century it is perhaps permissible to consider not only the existence of a famous wall-painting, but also the craftsman's interest in the building of Hephaistos' temple, in progress on the hilltop above the potters' quarter.

What scene was represented in the lower register, is uncertain. On the krater in Agrigentum, mentioned above, the adventures of Theseus occupy this position; possibly also on our vase. But

the boy suggests rather Ganymede or Tithonos; thus, a series of pursuit scenes. The object which the boy is holding might be a bow, or part of a broken lyre.

The elaboration of this vase, with its profusion of near-gilding, may at first sight suggest a date near the end of the century. We have seen, however, that parallels for its details appear in the thirties, and it would be difficult to associate the drapery of Dionysos with any much later time. The style of the figure in the lower zone is moreover contemporary with that of the earlier works of the Eretria painter: cf. *Monumenti Lincei*, XXIV, 1916, pl. 6 and p. 884; *V. Pol.*, p. 61, n. 4. ca. 430.

- b. P 5105. Fragment of a black-glazed amphoriskos with stamped decoration (Fig. 29). Provenience as a. H. pres., 0.063 m.; the upper half and the tip missing.

For the ornament above the tip, the maker has used a different palmette stamp than for that around the middle of the vase. Both decoration and scale are midway between the large early stamped amphoriskoi with sprawling ornament (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 490, fig. 12) and the small examples, closely decorated, of the end of the century (Richter and Milne, *op. cit.*, fig. 31). The palmette stamps are crisp; only the glassy glaze, and a certain crowding of the ornament, suggest that the high point of the stamped style (compare no. g, below) has been passed. ca. 430-420.

- c. P 4843. Upper part of red-figured kantharos (Fig. 30). From the exploratory pit behind the retaining wall of the Stoa, with nos. d-i, below. H. pres., 0.07 m.; diam. at lip, 0.095 m. Most of one handle and parts of rim and walls restored. A boy on either side, in dancing pose; on A, a goal post. No relief contours; brown inner drawing; the fillet white. Metallic glaze; the fabric extremely thin and hard.

Whether a stemmed kantharos of form B (*V. Pol.*, p. 32, n. 1 and pl. 29, 3; L. D. Caskey, *Attic Vase Paintings*, p. 17, fig. 16) or the stemless shape more commonly stamped or patterned than figured, is uncertain from our fragment. A figured example of the stemless sort, to be seen in the National Museum, Athens (N.M. 1436), belongs to the years between 440 and 430. The few analogies for the stemmed shape come from the vicinity of the mid-century; ours would be one of the latest of the series, for pose, hair-dress and drawing alike suggest a date well into the thirties. The artist resembles the Calliope painter (*Att. Vas.*, pp. 427, 428).

- d. P 4859. Black-glazed kantharos (Fig. 31). Provenience as c. H. at lip, 0.082 m.; diam., 0.109 m. Much of both handles, including all of the upper parts, restored.

The shape is like that of a red-figured kantharos in the National Museum (N. M. 1236), decorated in a manner recalling the Eretria painter; cf. Oxford *C.V.A.*, 1, pl. 48, 34, and 2, pl. 52, 12; also Caskey, *op. cit.*, p. 16, fig. 15. The foot of our piece is exactly like that of the patterned example in London, *C.V.A.*, III Ic, pl. 32, 15.



Fig. 28. Detail from the Krater of Fig. 27

- e. P 4860. Black-glazed mug (Fig. 31). Provenience as c. H. as restored, 0.115 m.; diam. at lip, 0.096 m. The base as restored is perhaps a trifle too high.

Compare the Euaion painter's mugs (Caskey, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43, figs. 30, 31); these have a better swing to the lip and curve to the body than ours.

- f. P 4858. Black-glazed squat ribbed cup (Fig. 31). Provenience as c. H., 0.062 m.; diam., 0.116 m. Low ring foot; black beneath.

The shape appears to be characteristic of the third quarter of the century (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 508, no. 49), a variant on the better known mugs or jugs with reeded bodies (oinochoe form 8) many of which were found in this deposit.

- g. P 4848. Black-glazed stemless cup, stamped and incised decoration (Figs. 31 and 32). Provenience as c. H., 0.049 m.; diam., 0.166 m.; much of the rim and walls, and most of both handles, restored. The rim lightly offset inside only; the foot moulded without, and lightly beneath where it is black save for a central reserved spot decorated with circle and dot. Extraordinarily thin hard fabric, excellent glaze; the finest of many stamped kylikes, the drinking cup characteristic of this deposit. Another is illustrated in *Hesperia* IV, 1935, p. 519, no. 102.

The elements of the unusually elaborate pattern are all familiar in the third quarter of the century: the central star elaborates upon the motif earliest employed in incised decoration; the meander appears occasionally on cups; the linked palmettes compare favorably with those of Athens N.M. 1573 (*J.H.S.*, LVI, 1936, p. 213, fig. 17); the criss-cross lines recall those often painted on skyphoi of this time. For their use on other stamped cups, compare *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 295, fig. 42, no. 177, and B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, II, pl. 90, no. 1272.

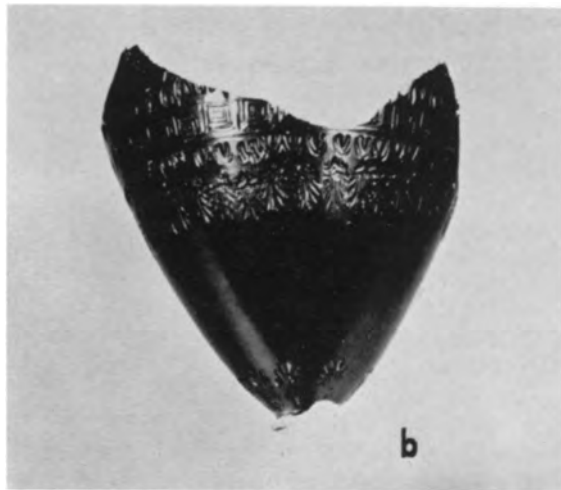


Fig. 29. Stamped Amphoriskos from Stoa Filling

- h. P 4876. Black-glazed mug with horizontal ribbing (Fig. 31). Provenience as c. H. as restored, 0.065 m.; diam. at lip, 0.084 m. Nothing of the base remains. Thin fabric; excellent glaze.

The shape refines upon that of no. e, above. The deep wheel-run grooves and sharp ribs are of the sort seen on phialai (Richter and Milne, *op. cit.*, fig. 181), but rarely in Attica on other shapes. A fragment in the National Museum, from the Theban Kabeirion but possibly Attic, comes from a mug similar to ours, but larger. On it, rows of stamped palmettes with crisp straight petals ornament the concavities.

- i. P 4870. Small mixing bowl on stand (Fig. 33). Provenience as c. H., 0.104 m.; diam., 0.246 m. One handle and parts of the bowl and stand restored. Gritty brown clay, unglazed.

Firm brown clay clinging to the interior of this and other such bowls from the same deposit suggests that they were used by the potter for mixing clay. Similar shapes, in groups of household pottery, often show traces of burning and appear to have been braziers (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 515, fig. 27), but here the shallow bowl suited no less well the purpose of the potter who for vases of the quality of those illustrated from his shop must have mixed his clay in small quantities and with extraordinary care.



Fig. 30. Kantharos from behind Retaining Wall of Stoa



Fig. 31. Black-glazed Vases from behind Retaining Wall of Stoa



Fig. 32. Interior of Black-glazed Cup from behind Retaining Wall of Stoa



Fig. 33. Mixing Bowl from behind Retaining Wall of Stoa

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that a lower limit for the two groups of pottery might be placed somewhere toward the end of the third quarter of the fifth century and consequently the beginning of the construction on the building should not be far removed from that time.¹

We may here recapitulate the archaeological evidence bearing on the date of the building. The proportions of its members and the general quality of its workmanship indicate that it follows closely the full tradition of Periclean architecture. The decoration of its cornice is of a style appropriate to the late '30s. The pottery from around its foundations breaks off in the late third quarter of the century. That the Stoa was designed after the Propylaia (which was actually built between 437 and 432 B.C.) seems certain from the appearance in it of Hymettian marble rather than Eleusinian limestone² and from the more advanced type of palmette used on its cornice. A date between 421 and 415 B.C. has been suggested for its marble akroteria which were presumably among the last touches applied to the building.³ Other evidence will be considered below (p. 73).

d. *Design of the Building*

In this building we have recovered not only one of the earliest known independent colonnades on a monumental scale but also one of the most interesting and satisfying schemes to be employed in such buildings (Fig. 34). The beauty of its design may best be appreciated through comparison with earlier or contemporary colonnades such as the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi, the Stoa that bordered the north side of the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion,⁴ the Stoa Poikile at Olympia, all of which are in plan simple rectangles with one or two rows of columns and with straight fronts. The more elaborate plan of the Athenian building may have been devised for the fuller utilization of the available space and also with the object of presenting a more interesting façade to the market square. Such an innovation in the accepted plan for a stoa is paralleled in the development shown by the Propylaia of the Acropolis beyond the simple traditional scheme for monumental entrance ways. The use of the outthrust wings with a difference in the colonnades of central and lateral parts adds further point to the comparison between the two buildings.⁵ We have found reason to believe that the Stoa is later but only slightly later than the Propylaia. One is tempted to suppose that the design of the building in the market place, if it was not directly due to Mnesikles, was at any rate influenced by the free and ingenious spirit evident in the works of that master on the hill above.

¹ The description of the pottery and the conclusion regarding its date are by Miss Lucy Talcott.

² That the dark gray limestone was used also in the Erechtheion does not prove that the Stoa was designed after that building as well, for in the Erechtheion the dark stone is more intimately associated with the sculpture than with the architectural scheme of the building.

³ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 376 ff.

⁴ *Arch. Eph.*, 1900, cols. 120 ff., pl. VI.

⁵ The similarity, to be sure, is more apparent in the plan than in the elevation. Comparison has been drawn also between the Propylaia and the scene building of the Theatre of Dionysos. E. Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen*, III, pp. 73 f.

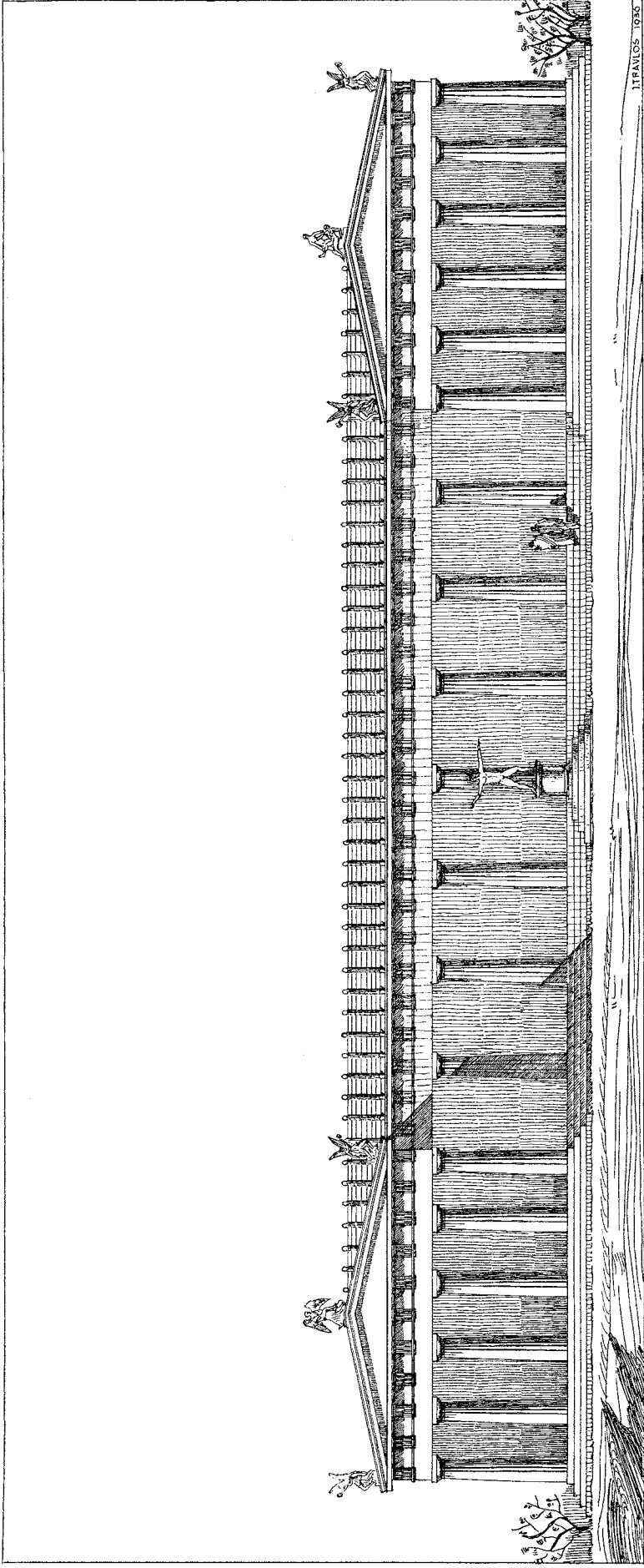


Fig. 34. Front Elevation of Stoa of Zeus, restored.
The ancient ground level probably covered the two lower steps toward the south (left) end
of the building

The winged scheme is found occasionally in later stoas. At Lindos on Rhodes the lofty Sanctuary of Athena was approached through a monumental entrance way that combines elements of both the Athenian Propylaia and our Stoa.¹ Its single colonnade and the tetrastyle fronts of its wings give an effect of meager proportions in comparison with the Agora Stoa. The Stoa of Antigonos on Delos, of the later third century B.C., was in all probability inspired by the Athenian building.² In its greater length (19 interior columns) and in the free way in which the width of the metope is altered to suit the different column spacing of the middle and lateral parts, the Delian building provides a striking contrast with the moderate scale and the severe regularity of the Athenian Stoa. The rarity of the winged design in later times may be attributed to the increasing popularity of the type of Agora that was colonnaded as a single square unit, exemplified especially by the late fourth-century and Hellenistic foundations of Asia Minor.

Another feature in the plan of the building that reminds one of the Propylaia and Mnesiklean freedom is the introduction of the fourth step. This is paralleled in another closely contemporary building of Athenian design, viz. the Temple of the Athenians on Delos.³ In all three instances, the additional step was a reasonable device for the adjustment of difficult ground levels.

The use of the three-metope arrangement of the frieze which has been restored in the mid part of our building is another bold departure from the strict Doric canon which may well have been suggested for the Stoa by its more limited application above the broad central passage-way in the main façades of the Propylaia.⁴ The greater openness which it permitted recommended the scheme and resulted in its general use in later stoas.

THE RETAINING WALL

Reference has already been made to the retaining wall that borders the Stoa on the west and south. Its purpose was to support the steep face of the scarp cut in the foot of Kolonos Agoraios by the builders of the Stoa and so to prevent the very friable rock of the hill from eroding and washing down. Such protection was especially desirable behind the back wall of the Stoa which was to be painted on its inner face. It was, moreover, clearly the wish of the architect of the Stoa that the area immediately to the south of the building should remain open at least to the level of the foot of the south wall of his building.

The situation and construction of the wall have already been described by Stillwell (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 115) and need be but briefly reviewed here. The wall runs closely parallel to the back wall of the Stoa at a distance of 1.10 m. from it. At a point 11 m. south of the southwest corner of that building it turns at right angles toward the east and its

¹ C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, pl. I; *Arch. Anz.*, 1904, cols. 210 f.

² F. Courby, *Délos, Le Portique d'Antigone*; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 113.

³ F. Courby, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 111 f., 204.

⁴ The same device was employed in the Propylon of the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion, which appears to be contemporary with the Second Temple of Poseidon. *Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, Ch. VIII, pl. 2, pp. 53 f.

course in this direction can be traced some 15 m. beneath the superimposed foundations of the later Temple of Apollo. Its easternmost extremity as preserved lies within the porch of the temple and the falling ground level to the south of its line suggests that it never extended much farther. Behind the Stoa, as one might expect, the construction is more substantial than in the southern part. Commencing at a point approximately in line with the outer face of the Stoa's south wall, the retaining wall was carried north in squared blocks laid in regular courses for a distance of some 26 m. It continued north with reduced thickness, the courses consisting of only a single row of stretchers, for the hill sloping rapidly down toward the north no longer required a wall of such great height or solidity. In this section behind the Stoa the retaining wall is built for the most part of soft creamy poros identical with that used in the foundation of the Stoa, but it includes also a number of blocks of conglomerate.

Beyond the south end of the Stoa and in its east-west part the wall was built of broken limestone, laid loose and without any binding medium. At its southwest corner, and again near the corner of the Stoa, there are incorporated in it broken blocks of soft creamy poros.

The greater part of the excavation at the foot of the hill was obviously made by the builders of the Stoa. One might ask whether the southern part was contemporary with that immediately occupied by the Stoa. The fact that both the northern and southern parts of the western cutting are in line suggests that they are contemporary. The same argument points to the contemporaneity of the two sections of wall. The architect of the Stoa probably had the retaining wall in mind from the beginning. In any case the crumbly nature of the hillslope must soon have made evident the necessity for such a wall. That the interval between the construction of the Stoa and of the retaining wall is not too great is shown by the presence in the wall of blocks probably discarded by the Stoa builders because of miscutting or breakage. The presence of blocks of the same poros in the southern part of the wall provides additional evidence of the contemporaneity of the two parts. In the area to the south, which must have been under the charge of another board and where no large building yet stood, a temporary retaining wall of cheaper material was deemed sufficient. The subsequent construction of the later Temple of Apollo at a higher level involved the burying of the lower part of the light retaining wall and the higher level of the new building rendered unnecessary any new wall.

The exploratory pit opened behind the retaining wall (see above, p. 20) produced from its footing trench pottery of the early fourth century. The wall must therefore be at least that late. A closer date will be suggested below (p. 69).

MONUMENTS IN FRONT OF THE STOA

The monuments of which traces remain in front of the middle colonnade and between the projecting wings of the Stoa are of interest both in themselves and because of their relation to the building (Fig. 35, Pl. I).

First in the series is undoubtedly the round foundation that lies in the middle of the area. Its shape and its maximum diameter (*ca.* 4.20 m.) are given by the foundation pit



Fig. 35. Area in Front of Stoa from Northeast

a = Southeast Corner of North Wing; *b* = Bedding for Round Base; *c* = Area of Exedra; *d* = Octagonal Base

and by fragments of three of the outermost blocks that still lie in position. These stones are of soft, creamy poros and they are cut wedge-shaped so as to fit into the periphery of a circle. Of the superstructure nothing has been identified with certainty. The stratification indicates that the Stoa and base are closely contemporary (the building presumably being slightly earlier) and that the new and higher ground level was established at the same time in relation to the two. An intimate relationship between base and building is suggested further by the fact that the centre of the circle falls precisely on the east-west axis of the Stoa and in the line of the front columns of the Stoa wings.

Immediately to the north, or rather, northwest of the round base, is a rectangular bedding cut in the soft rock. It measures *ca.* 1.40 m. square. Absolutely nothing of the structure itself remains, but its position indicates that in date, as in place, it falls between the round monument and the octagon to the north.

Between the round monument and the south wing of the Stoa, there remain in position blocks of the two lowest courses of an exedra-like structure that faced toward the market square. The foundation has maximum dimensions of *ca.* 4.60×7.90 m. The surviving blocks are of hard, gray poros roughly worked. The angle blocks of the second course, which would seem to have been the euthynteria, were secured by small \neg clamps set shallow. Numerous working chips found in the footing trenches show that the superstructure was of Pentelic marble. We may restore the monument with a pedestal for sculpture along the back, a bench at the foot of the pedestal, and, across the front, two or three steps. A mass of lamps and pottery found in the contemporary packing between the Exedra and the Stoa front is to be dated in the second century A.D. The size, the irregular dimensions, the workmanship of the blocks would be appropriate to the time of Hadrian.

Immediately beneath the Exedra is a packing of small field stones and broken marble set in soft brown mortar which contains a little pounded tile. This packing would seem to have no immediate connection with the Exedra, inasmuch as it extends some 0.50 m. beyond the western limit of the Exedra foundation and was in places cut away to make room for the blocks of the Exedra. In width the bedding measures 4.95 m. and in length it appears to have occupied all the available space between the south wing of the Stoa and the round monument. Its north end, indeed, is crescent-shaped, following the curve of the earlier monument base. A few scraps of lamps and vases found around the packing are datable to the early part of the first century A.D. The monument accordingly must be as late as that time; it need not be later.

The corresponding area between the round base and the north wing of the Stoa was occupied by a monument of peculiar shape: an irregular octagon with a fan-like projection toward the north. The rectangular cutting along the south side of the octagon may be earlier than the main monument but it contained, *in situ*, some of the characteristic foundation packing of the monument. The octagon measures *ca.* 4.20 m. from side to side. For the central part of the monument, an octagonal pit was sunk to a depth of 1.00 m. in bedrock and was filled with a solid mass of concrete: soft brown mortar, including a little

pounded tile, field stones and broken marbles both architectural and sculptural. Individual beddings for a few of the squared upper blocks may be distinguished about at the level of the surface of bedrock. The packing for the north and south extensions, though of similar material, is not so deep as that for the core. Of the superstructure we have as yet found nothing. The mortar used is so similar to that of the bedding that was overlaid by the Exedra as to suggest that the two monuments were closely contemporary. The broken marbles incorporated in both foundations may well date from the Sullan sack of 86 B.C.

STOA ANNEX

A few supplementary observations may be added to the account that appeared in the earlier report on the Hellenistic Building which we shall now call the Stoa Annex. It was there noted that this rectangular, two-roomed structure had been set down immediately behind the Stoa on a site hewn for the most part from the foot of Kolonos Agoraios (Fig. 36). From the plan of the Stoa as now established, it is clear that the Annex was intended to be placed symmetrically on the axis of the other building. Actually the axes of the two lie 0.94 m. apart. That the Stoa and Annex were very intimately associated is shown by the fact that the Annex, so far as can now be made out, was approached only through openings cut in the back wall of the older building. Each room of the Annex, moreover, would seem to have had its own independent entrance. It will be observed in the plans that the north, south and middle walls of the Annex were carried eastward to the back wall of the Stoa. We may presume that the intervening sections of the old retaining wall were now dismantled so that each of the new rooms was provided with a spacious forehall. The existence of an eastern doorway in each of the two rooms is indicated further by the pair of rectangular piers set against the inner face of the east wall of each. In the north room the lowest blocks are preserved, in the south room there remain only the dressed beddings. Corresponding foundations do not appear along the other walls of either room so that we may perhaps restore in front of either entrance a pair of columns with an ornamental lintel or arch. The two rooms would seem not to have communicated directly with each other, for the foundation that flanks the median wall on either side and which in all probability supported a bench, carries unbroken along the middle part of the wall where a doorway, had such existed, might reasonably have been placed.

In considering the interior arrangement of the rooms, we may restore a bench along either foot of the median wall on the evidence of the bedding blocks which are there preserved. In the south room, however, the bench would seem to have terminated originally where the line of blocks now breaks off, *i. e.* near the corner of the rectangular base. That a corresponding bench existed along the south wall of the room is shown by a dressed surface for the necessary line of bedding blocks inside the main wall foundation. And it will be observed that the symmetrical restoration of the paving in the adjoining room suggests a bench along its north side.



Fig. 36. West Side of Agora from North, 1934

Of the flooring of Pentelic marble, blocks remain only in the north room. They rest on a packing *ca.* 0.50 m. thick made up largely of working chips, and these from re-used material. Numerous fragments of building blocks in marble and poros show that more than one earlier building contributed to the construction of the Annex. Some of the small bits of poros as also four fragmentary tubular water spouts of island marble must come from an archaic building, whereas the profile of the mouldings and the indifferent workmanship to be noted on certain of the marbles prove them to be from one or more Hellenistic structures. Among the débris, moreover, were found fragments of a base of Eleusinian limestone that bore an honorary decree in lettering of the late fourth century B.C.

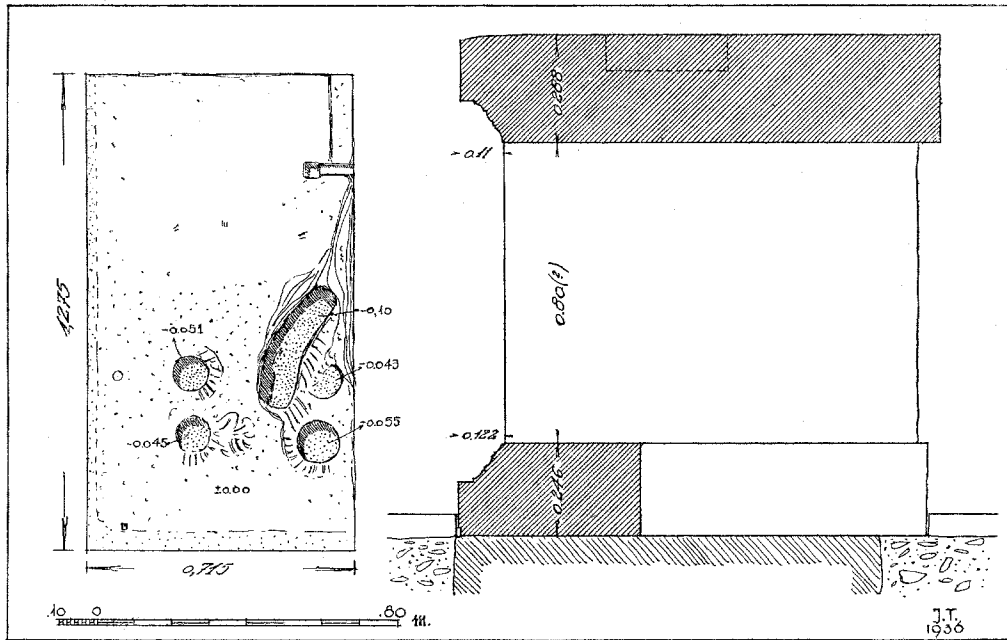


Fig. 37. Plan of Capping Block and Restored Section of Monument Base in Stoa Annex

(I 4265). The packing that overlies bedrock in the south room is of the same character as that in the north and rises to the same level, suggesting that the south room also was flagged with marble slabs.

In the western part of the south room there remain the foundations of a large monument base. The first marble course rested on a single row of blocks of soft yellow poros which were set down into the packing beneath the floor but which do not reach to bedrock. Of the plinth of Pentelic marble two blocks remain in position and a third was found built into the late Roman wall nearby. Their profile is illustrated in Fig. 38. They were secured to one another by \neg clamps and their tops were worked to receive orthostates of which the corner blocks only were dowelled. Nothing of the orthostates has been found. But the capping block from the south end of the base had been incorporated into the same late Roman wall (Fig. 37). Its profile differs but slightly from that of the plinth. Only

the front and side faces of the capping block have mouldings, its back is left quite rough and was certainly not intended as a joint surface. Hence the length of this block gives us the width of the monument: 1.275 m. Assuming that the base was set symmetrically in the

room, we may calculate its length at 3.98 m. The capping stone was secured to its neighbor by a \neg clamp set toward the back. Toward the front a second clamp was rendered unnecessary by a large bronze statue which stood with its right foot on the surviving block, its left on the missing neighbor. The cutting for the tenon that supported the foot is 0.34 m. long and suggests that the statue was well over life size. Four large round dowel holes secured some object above the right foot of the figure. Two smaller cuttings toward the outer edge of the block must have supported attributes, one probably a spear grasped in the right hand of the figure. The entire base might have supported two other statues of similar scale.

The preserved capping block is uninscribed. But a small scrap that would seem certainly from its profile and workmanship to come from one of the other capping stones was found incorporated in the late Roman wall (I 4268). It bears an inscription in lettering of the early first century A.D. which records a dedication by the Demos in honor of some Roman:

$\delta \delta \eta \mu [\alpha \varsigma . . | . . . \sigma \nu \nu \iota \alpha \nu . . .$

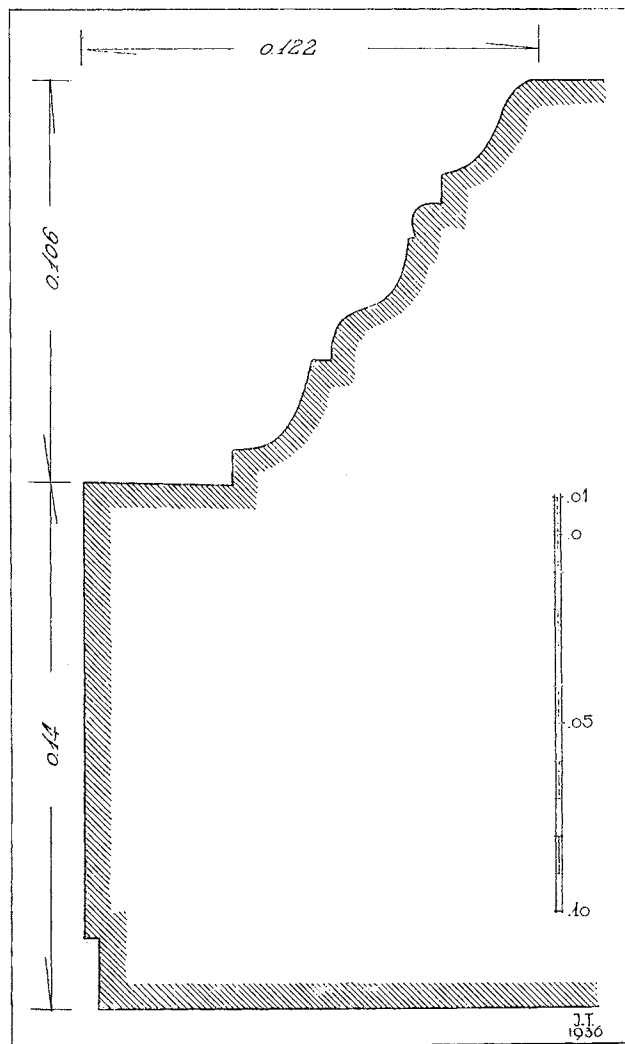


Fig. 38. Profile of Base Moulding of Monument in Stoa Annex

The monument in its present state is probably contemporary with the Stoa Annex. The poros bedding blocks on which it stands, themselves re-used, resemble closely other blocks in the wall foundations of the Annex and there was nothing in the filling round the poros blocks of the monument to suggest that they were introduced at a later time.

But the blocks of the marble plinth were brought from elsewhere, as shown by dowel cuttings in their undersides for which no corresponding cuttings exist in the poros blocks

on which they now rest. The original clamp and dowel cuttings in the tops of the two blocks that were found undisturbed in their second position must have been re-used. The third of the old plinth blocks, however, was used in the back row of the course and was turned upside down so as to give a broader bearing surface for the orthostates of the new base. New cuttings were made in its top for clamp and dowel. The surviving capping block would seem to have been cut when the base was set in its present position for its mouldings are worked more carelessly than those of the old plinth blocks and the clamp cutting in its top resembles that newly made in the upturned plinth block rather than the original cuttings in the plinth.

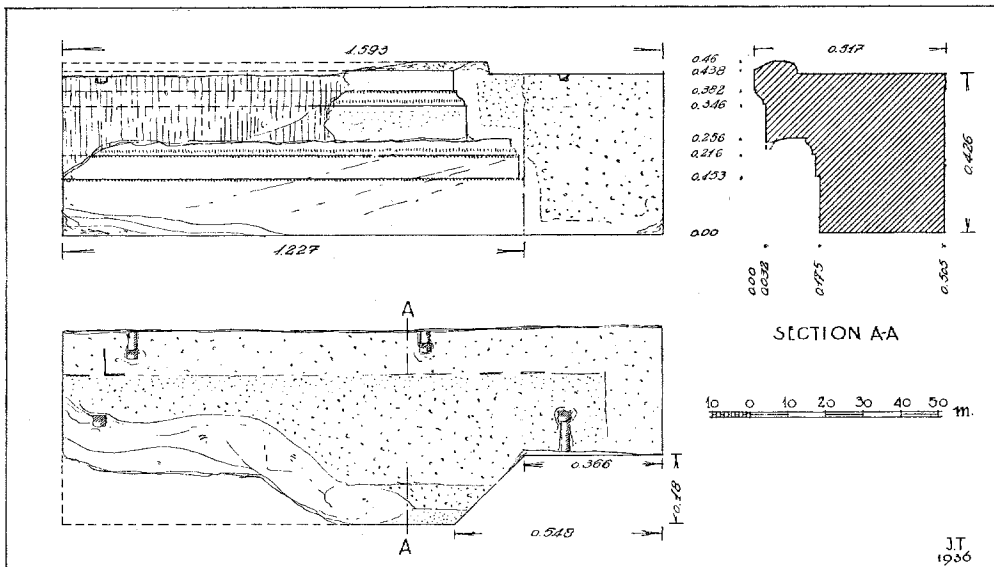


Fig. 39. (A 107) Interior Cornice of Stoa Annex

The workmanship of the plinth blocks would suggest for the original construction a date in the late Hellenistic period. Actually the profile of their mouldings finds close parallels in a group of Delian monuments dated epigraphically between *ca.* 130 and 90 B.C.¹

Some information about the upper walls of the rooms is provided by a block of Pentelic marble found in the pillaged foundation trench at the southwest corner of the building (Fig. 39). It is obviously an interior cornice block, presumably from that corner. The top of the corona was left rough and irregular. Cuttings in its top show that the block was secured to its neighbors and to its backer by \neg clamps. That the wall continued above, but with reduced thickness, is indicated by a setting line on the top of the block.²

¹ F. Courby, *Le Portique d'Antigone*, p. 87, figs. 61, 117–119.

² It is worth observing that the back face of the block and the end which shows no joint surface were cut with the saw. The exposed faces were dressed with the toothed chisel and edged with a smooth band.

We may, then, restore an interior cornice at a level presumably somewhat above the lintels of the doors, so that it could have been projected inward above each entrance, and supported there by flanking columns. A comparable cornice is to be found in the Tower of the Winds, where it effectively breaks the monotony of an otherwise high plain wall.

In the earlier reports it has been suggested that the Annex in its original form dates from the third century B.C. and that the marble floor was added in Roman times. The evidence invoked was the material from the well and the two cisterns whose lower parts were overlaid by the foundations of the building. Further examination has shown, however, that only one period is to be recognized. No satisfactory earlier floor has come to light beneath the level of the marble flagging. In the filling that was thrown in to receive the marble floor has been found a piece of Arretine ware and fragments of lamps that can scarcely be earlier than the time of Augustus. We must, therefore, place the construction of the Annex at least that late. The fragments of earlier buildings found in that same filling, the scrap of inscribed base of Eleusinian stone, the old blocks re-used for the rectangular foundation in the south room, all these may most conveniently be derived from the Sullan disturbance of 86 B.C. That so much of such material was still lying about suggests for the Annex a date as soon after the siege as is consistent with the other evidence. We may, accordingly, place the construction around the turn of the era. The filling of the well and cisterns may have been necessitated by some earlier building activity in the neighborhood, conceivably by the erection of the great Hellenistic building, the foundations of which appeared in 1936 between the Stoa Annex and the Hephaisteion.

IDENTIFICATION AND HISTORY

Τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὃ Κεραμεικὸς τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἔχει ἀπὸ ἥρωος Κεράμουν πρώτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλείος, ἔνθα καθίζει βασιλεὺς ἐνιαυσίαν ἔρχων ἀρχὴν καλουμένην βασιλείαν. ταύτης ἔπεται τῷ κεράμῳ τῆς στοᾶς ἀγάλματα δαπνῆς γῆς, ἀφιεῖς Θησεύς ἐς θάλασσαν Σκίρωνα καὶ φέρουσα Ἡμέρα Κέφαλον Πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς Κόνων ἔστηκε καὶ Τιμόθεος υἱὸς Κόνωνος καὶ βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων Εὐαγόρας Ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός στοὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ὠκοδόμηται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς (τοὺς) δώδεκα καλουμένους· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τοίχῳ τῷ πέραν Θησεύς ἐστὶ γεγραμμένος καὶ Δημοκρατία τε καὶ Αἴμος Ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ γεγραμμένον καὶ τὸ περὶ Μαντίνειαν Ἀθηναίων ἔργον, οὗ βοηθήσοντες Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπέμφθησαν ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς Εὐφράνῳ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναῖος καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα παιρῶν ἐπίκλησιν. Pausanias, I, 3, 1-4.

ὕπερ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην βασιλείον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἡφαίστιον.

Idem, I, 14, 6.

Our most straightforward and trustworthy evidence for the identification of the building is contained in the passages from Pausanias quoted above.¹ For their application it would

¹ On the identification, see Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 108, 451 (Stoa Basileios); IV, 1935, pp. 354, 376 (Stoa of Zeus); Stillwell, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 110 (Stoa Basileios); Valmin, *Bull. de la soc. royale des lettres de Lund*, 1933-34, pp. 1 ff. (Stoa Basileios = Stoa of Zeus); Picard, *Rev. arch.*, 1934, pp. 96 f. (Stoa Basileios = Stoa of Zeus); Walter, *Jahreshefte*, XXX, 1936, cols. 95 ff. (Stoa of Zeus). See p. 224.

be highly desirable to have exposed the actual point where the main road coming up from the Dipylon entered the market square. But, as shown above, the line of this road and its mouth have now been fixed within narrow limits. It is clear that the road passed the north end of the Stoa at a distance of not more than 30 m. From this interval we must deduct the width of the lesser street which skirted the Stoa on the north. Now the normal width of this street is *ca.* 6.50 m.; at its mouth it may well have been wider. The remaining space between our building and the main road is obviously too limited to accommodate a colonnade of any considerable size or importance that would face on the square. It is perfectly clear, moreover, from Pausanias' description that the Stoa Basileios was distinct from the colonnades which bordered the road from the Dipylon; it definitely belonged to the Kerameikos, which for Pausanias meant the market square.¹ There seems to be little doubt, therefore, that our Stoa is the "first on the right" as one entered the square, and that it was accordingly the building which Pausanias called the Stoa Basileios.

This conclusion is strengthened by the second passage from Pausanias. It becomes increasingly clear that the so-called Theseion is to be identified as the Temple of Hephaistos seen by Pausanias. The "Theseion" lies on his route between the Enneakrounos and the Stoa Poikile and in that line it is the only temple which could appropriately be described as "above the market place," certainly the only building which could both meet that requirement and at the same time be worthy of the statues by Alkamenes (?). We know, moreover, from literary references that the Hephaisteion stood high in the metal-working region.² The excavations of the past two years have brought to light abundant remains of metal-working establishments which date from the sixth century B.C. into the fourth century A.D. and lie to the east, north, west and southwest of the temple. Further justification is scarcely needed for calling the "Theseion" the Hephaisteion.³

Since we may now take the Hephaisteion as a fixed point, we shall find that our building is an excellent candidate for the Stoa Basileios of Pausanias' second passage. It is, in the first place, the only building on the west side of the square, so far exposed, that could be described as an independent stoa. Since, moreover, it was but a single story in height, its roof lay well below the level of the Hephaisteion. The traveller naturally chose the Stoa as a point of reference (rather than, say, the neighboring Temple of Apollo) because it was the most impressive of the large buildings that he had noted on the west side and that were in clear view from the temple above. If we suppose for a moment that the Stoa Basileios lay farther north, beyond our building, its very remoteness would seem to render Pausanias' remark pointless. If we place the Stoa to the northwest

¹ On the restricted significance of the word in Pausanias, see Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, p. 56.

² Andok. I, 40: ἰδὼν δὲ Εὐφημον τὸν Καλλίου τοῦ Τηλοκλέους ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῷ χαλκίῳ καθήμενον, ἀναγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Ἡφαιστεῖον,

Bekker, *Anecd.*, I, 316, 23, χαλκῷ: ὕψωμα τόπον, ὅπου δὲ χαλκὸς πηράσκειται δὲ ὅπου τὸ Ἡφαιστεῖον.

³ M. Picard has recently proposed to identify the "Theseion" with the Eleusinion (*Rev. arch.*, 1936, pp. 119 f.). If the argument depends on the identification of the "South" Stoa as the Stoa Poikile, the attempt is foredoomed to failure. The "South" Stoa is certainly not older than the second century B.C.

of our building, the reference again loses point, for any structure in that position must have been separated from the Hephaisteion by the sanctuary of Demos and the Graces, by the street to the Sacred Gate and by the late colonnade along the north side of that street.¹

Were further confirmation needed for this identification, it might be found in the terracotta akroterion discovered in the Stoa Annex. This group has been identified as a woman bearing off a youth. It would be strange indeed if this were other than Pausanias' group of Hemera and Kephalos. We may safely identify them as such and place them over the south wing of the Stoa (since they are mentioned second) and assign the corresponding group of Theseus and Skiron to the apex of the north wing. It would be difficult to imagine a more satisfactory setting for the groups described by Pausanias. They were obviously akroteria and clearly, from the very fact of their being groups, central akroteria, each demanding a pediment. A stoa of ordinary shape with its long side to the square will not serve. Did we not have the present building, we should be driven to restore a structure of just its shape so that the two pediments and the monumental groups above them might face the square.

The identification of the terracotta groups does not, however, lessen the strangeness of their combination with lateral figures of marble. Pausanias evidently thought them striking, for it is seldom that he lingers over akroteria, yet to these he has devoted rather more space than he gave to the entire pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon. And surely monumental akroteria of terracotta are an anachronism in Athens of the late fifth century. One is reminded of Pausanias' account of the statue of Olympian Zeus at Megara:

I, 40, 3 (Frazer's translation): "The image of Zeus was not finished in consequence of the outbreak of the war of the Peloponnesians with Athens, in which the Athenians annually ravaged the Megarian territory by sea and land, thereby crippling the public revenues and reducing private families to the lowest depths of penury. The face of the image of Zeus is of ivory and gold, but the rest is of clay and gypsum. They say that it was made by Theocosmus, a native artist, assisted by Phidias."

There can be no doubt that the plans of the artist in Athens were disturbed by the counter activities of the Megarians and their allies. We may surmise, however, that the Athenians blushed to admit to the visitor a national humiliation such as that which cost his Megarian informant such pangs in the telling.²

Now that their date has been fixed within narrow limits, it is possible to assign the two groups to their proper places in the long series of monuments based on the same themes. Theseus' combat with Skiron had already been illustrated sculpturally on two important

¹ There is some reason to believe that the Hellenistic Building to the northeast of the Hephaisteion was destroyed by Sulla and was not rebuilt.

² It is tempting, but fanciful, to suspect that the choice of Theseus and Skiron as a subject was directed against Megara in a gesture of derisive imperialism conceived about the same time as the Megarian decree of 432 B.C. Megarian historians, as we know, championed their respectable fellow countryman Skiron against the infamous libels devised by the Athenians to glorify their national hero Theseus (Plutarch, *Theseus*, X).

Athenian buildings, the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi and the Hephaisteion on the hilltop. It had, moreover, been the subject of numerous vase paintings, particularly since the revival of the interest in Theseus as a national hero inspired by Kimon's recovery of his remains.¹ Hence the designer of our group was working on familiar ground. How well he succeeded we shall probably never know.

As for Eos (*i.e.* Hemera) and Kephalos, it will be recalled that they had appeared together already in the sixth century on a central akroterion at Caere² and on an antefix of slightly later date at Curti near Capua.³ In Attica, throughout the earlier fifth century, the scene had been repeatedly used by vase painters with ever increasing freedom.⁴ The pyramidal scheme to which the group lends itself is obviously suitable for an akroterion, but whether or not the Attic vase painters had any local architectural prototype before the erection of the Stoa, we cannot say. In any case, our terracotta group must now be regarded, not as the germ of a long line of development, but more nearly its flower.

If one wishes help in the appreciation of our battered fragments, he may turn to the lovely medallion of the closely contemporary cup by the Kodros Painter⁵ (Fig. 40). He must alter the pose by reversing the position of the boy but he may safely believe that the artist in clay attained at least equal skill in composition and grace of movement. For a slightly later sculptural rendering of the same theme we have the central akroterion of the main façade of the Temple of the Athenians on Delos. The man who designed the Delian group perhaps had the Athenian in mind, but if so he seems deliberately to have avoided copying: the Delian Eos bears her "victim" high on her left shoulder in a bolder but scarcely a happier composition.⁶



Fig. 40. Hemera and Kephalos from a red-figure Kylix

¹ Roscher, *Gr. und röm. Mythologie*, IV, cols. 1009 ff.

² Photograph in E. Douglas Van Buren, *Terra-cotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium*, pl. XVIII, 2, p. 40.

³ Best illustrated in H. Koch, *Dachterrakotten aus Campanien*, pl. XVII, 1, p. 67.

⁴ For the material see the early list by Stephani in *Compte-Rendu*, 1872, pp. 180 ff.; Roscher, *Gr. und röm. Mythologie*, I, cols. 1272 ff.; P. Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs*, no. 75 and note by Beazley on p. 57.

⁵ Beazley, *Att. Vas.*, p. 426, 6; *Mon. Ined.*, X, 1877, pl. 39; Roscher, *Gr. und röm. Mythologie*, I, cols. 1275/6.

⁶ *Arch. Zeit.*, XL, 1882, pp. 349 ff.; F. Courby, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 237 ff.

The Delian temple, moreover, furnishes the best parallel in this period for the combination of a central group with single lateral figures above a pediment. On Delos, Eos and Kephalos of the main front are flanked on either side by a solitary Nike, while Boreas and Oreithyia of the west pediment are likewise set off by single Nikai.¹

The monument bases that are to be related to our Stoa were carefully confined to the space between its wings so that the area between the wing fronts and the long line of monuments that bordered the drain might be left open to traffic. Hence the statues seen by Pausanias "near the Stoa" are undoubtedly to be thought of as standing in front of the middle colonnade between the wings. Of the foundations for monuments discovered there, we may unhesitatingly assign the oldest and most advantageously placed, the round base, to Zeus Eleutherios. References to it in literature and inscriptions indicate that this statue was one of the landmarks of the Agora. The carefully chosen position and the size of the round base make it worthy of such a monument. Of the remaining foundations we may attribute that of the exedra which stood between the round base and the south wing to Hadrian. Its date, as already observed, is suitable, and its massive foundations were undoubtedly intended to carry the bulk of one or more large statues. The statue of Hadrian may well be represented by the armored torso found in the first season of excavation to the east of the Metroon.² We shall discover that after the general destruction of the late third century A.D. our Stoa was never rebuilt. The north part of the Metroon was, however, rehabilitated, in part with material gathered from the neighboring ruins. At this time, then, *i.e.* the fifth century A.D., Hadrian may have been dragged from his original standing place and re-erected in front of the Metroon.³

From the literary references we gather that Konon, Timotheos and Evagoras must have stood very close to one another and to Zeus.⁴ Since they are mentioned by Pausanias before Zeus, we may venture to give them places between the round base and the north wing of the Stoa. Of the two foundations discovered in that area, the date of one is unknown, of the other early Roman. We need not, however, be dismayed, for monuments and their bases were constantly damaged and renewed. In Pausanias' day two or even all three of the fourth-century statues may have stood on the octagonal base.

¹ Another, slightly earlier parallel for a (marble) group possibly used as a central akroterion is provided by a representation of ephedrimos, the torsos of which were found to the east of the Hephaisteion in 1934, one of the heads to the south of that temple in 1936. Style, material and scale suggest the association of the group with the Hephaisteion. Cf. *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 407 ff., figs. 3 and 4.

² *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 178 ff.

³ A splendid marble head of Antoninus Pius was found by the Germans in their early excavations around the Temple of Apollo Patroos and has been resurrected recently from the magazines of the National Museum by Hekler (*Arch. Anz.*, 1935, col. 404, figs. 7, 8).

The head may come from the colossal statue mentioned in *I.G.*, III², 1081/5. The name of the Emperor cannot be read with certainty, but Antoninus will fit. The recipient of the statue is identified with Zeus Eleutherios and where could his figure more appropriately have been placed than beside the god (on the Hadrianic exedra?)?

⁴ Isokrates, IX, 57; Dem. XX, 70; Cornelius Nepos, *Timotheus*, II.

"Behind is a colonnade," continues Pausanias, "with paintings of the Twelve Gods, as they are called." Pausanias' point of reference is obviously the group of statues which he has been discussing at length. It follows that by the colonnade he meant the mid-part of our building on the back wall of which we may therefore place the Twelve Gods.¹ From this point of vantage, they had a clear view across the square to their altar, less than 60 m. to the east. "On the wall beyond are depicted Theseus and Democracy and Demos." These figures we may accordingly assign to the south wall of the stoa. There remains, then, the north wall for "the deeds of the Athenians near Mantinea when they were sent to help the Lacedaemonians."²

The paintings, as Pausanias and others inform us, were done by Euphranor. That part of them which dealt with the cavalry engagement near Mantinea must have been executed while the event was still fresh in men's minds, that is, soon after the battle in 362 B.C. Since Euphranor was apparently responsible for all the paintings in the Stoa, we may suppose that the rest were done about the same time. The provision for leading the wall blocks at the back of the Stoa suggests that the wall was originally intended to receive paintings. That they were not applied immediately after the completion of the building was probably due to the same financial stress which resulted in the central akroteria being left in clay. The retaining wall to the west of the Stoa, which has been shown by the conglomerate stone used in it and by the pottery found behind it to be somewhat later than the Stoa, may well have been built when the paintings were done to assure them greater protection.

Pausanias now continues southward to the sanctuary of Apollo Patroos, leaving us to consider, without his help, several puzzling problems connected with the Stoa. And first, its relation to the Stoa Poikile. There is good reason to believe that the older Stoa closed, in whole or in part, the north side of the market square and that it extended westward to the point where the main road from the Dipylon entered the Agora.³ From a quotation in Harpokration (s. v. *Ἐκραι*) we gather that the area between the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa Poikile had been chosen for the setting up of so many herms that it came to be called "The Herms." This implies that the mouth of the road where it debouched on the square was abundantly wide, and this it would be if we suppose that no other large building lay immediately north of our Stoa. We know, moreover, that "The Herms" were closely associated with the cavalry displays which formed a part of the Panathenaic procession as it made its way from the Pompeion through the Agora toward the Acropolis. It was by

¹ There is no need to suppose that by *στοά* in this sentence Pausanias passes to another independent building. He may well use the word here, as elsewhere, to denote merely a colonnade of which a building might have several. Of the Library of Hadrian, for instance, he observes (I, 18, 9): *πεποληνται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ ἀντὰ οἱ τοῖχοι*. And in the dedicatory inscription of a library, recently found in the "Valerian Wall," the donor is said to have given "the outer stoas, the peristyle, the library with all its books and all the decorations in the building" (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 330 f.).

² On the paintings, see also Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 11, 25; Plutarch, *de gloria Athen.*, 2; Valer. Max. VIII, 11, 5; Eustathios, *ad Iliadem*, A 529.

³ Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 336.

"The Herms" that the phylarchs coached the young knights in rehearsing for the event.¹ It was in the same place that one Demetrios, a descendant of Demetrios of Phaleron, when hipparch for the Panathenaia, set up bleachers higher even than the herms.² And Xenophon, in discussing the part of the cavalry in the procession, suggests that the knights should start from "The Herms," make the round of the Agora, paying their respects to all the divinities and then, forming again by "The Herms," dash up to the Eleusinion.³

We must now turn for a moment to the base sculptured by Bryaxis which was found *in situ*, as noted above, within 4.00 m. of the north wall of our Stoa. It will be recalled that this monument was erected by a father and two sons, each of whom, in turn, as phylarch had won in the cavalry display called the Anthippasia, which would seem to have formed part of the Panathenaic procession. We can scarcely doubt that the victors erected their joint monument on the site of their triumph.⁴ It follows that the area known as "The Herms" lay immediately north of our building and we have already observed that the Herms stood between the Stoa Poikile and the Stoa Basileios.⁵

What, now, is the relation between the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios? The two names have been constantly associated both in ancient and modern times. Numerous literary references leave no doubt that the Stoa of Zeus took its name from the divinity represented by a statue that stood beside the building. Pausanias saw this statue and observed that it stood in the same place as three other statues which he had already described as close to the Stoa Basileios, a stoa which we have found, I think, good reason to identify with our building. And we have already noted that the one base suitable by reason of its date, size and position to receive the statue of Zeus, is the round foundation in front of our building. But this base, hemmed in by the wings, could not conceivably be placed with reference to any building but this of ours. It would seem that our building was known under two names, of which Pausanias used only the more common, the Stoa Basileios.⁶

The situation is puzzling but not impossible. Pausanias elsewhere referred to the Stoa of Zeus without comment on the name (X, 21, 6; cf. I, 26, 2). One might therefore have expected him to make some explanation on his first mention of the building, yet his silence here is paralleled by his failure to inform us of the other names of the Tholos, of the Stoa Poikile, perhaps too of the Odeion in the Agora, and of the earlier name of the fountain

¹ Mnesimachos *apud* Athen. IX, 67, p. 402 F.

² Athen. IV, 64, p. 167 F.

³ *Hipp.* III, 2. Cf. also Demosth. IV, 26.

⁴ The bronze horse dedicated by Simon in the Eleusinion and accompanied by an account of Simon's exploits was doubtless a similar monument set at the other end of the course (Xenoph., *de re equestri*, I, 1).

⁵ In the foregoing paragraphs I have merely reviewed the argument by which Lolling, immediately after the discovery of the base in 1891, correctly and brilliantly placed it (*Arch. Delt.*, VII, 1891, pp. 55 ff.).

⁶ In fairness to the other members of the Agora Staff and to the Agora Commission, I wish to make it clear that the theory here developed of the identity of the Stoas represents my personal opinion on the matter.

ERROR'S NOTE: Since the identification of the building as the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios is well established while its association with the Stoa Basileios is still hypothetical, the name "Stoa of Zeus" has been used throughout this article and will be retained on the official plan of the area. T. L. Shear, Director of Agora Excavations.

Enneakrounos. And, indeed, Pausanias' neglect to mention the alternative name of the one stoa is less surprising than would have been his entire failure to record the name of a second (had it existed), and it is an omission less reprehensible in a conscientious topographer.

The two names both appear in early inscriptions. The stele *I. G.*, I², 115 of 409/8 B.C. was, according to its preamble, to be set up in front of the Stoa Basileios, whereas two other stelai (*I. G.*, II², 689, 690), one of the year 262/1 B.C. and the other not far removed in date, were officially ordered to be placed near the Stoa of Zeus. Classical authors likewise refer to the Stoa of Zeus and to the Stoa Basileios: Xenophon in the *Oeconomicus* (VII, 1), the authors of [Plato] *Eryxias* (p. 392 a) and [Plato] *Theages* (p. 121 a) to the former, Plato in the *Euthyphro* (2 a) and the author of [Demosthenes] XXV, 23 to the latter. This loose usage merely serves to remind us that the ancients were far from precise in their references to their public buildings. We have accustomed ourselves to their practice of referring to another building of the Agora in their literary references as the Tholos, in their inscriptions as the Skias,¹ and we have now learned that they called the same building with its precinct the Prytanikon.² Further on we shall find reason to believe that the meeting place of the Boule, commonly referred to as the Bouleuterion, might also be designated officially as the Synedrion (see below, p. 215). It has recently been shown that a building on the Acropolis to which Herodotos referred as the Erechtheion was at the same time known officially as either the "temple in which is the Ancient Image" or the "Ancient Temple."³ Colonnades, because of their less distinctive character, suffered especially in this regard. There can be no question, for instance, that the Stoa Poikile continued to be called also the Stoa Peisianakteios long after it was painted, nor does the appearance of the designation Poikile in but a single inscription (*I. G.*, II², 1641, 29) suffice to establish that as the only "official" name. Nor should we forget that Pausanias, in front of the Stoa Poikile at Olympia, remarked that "some name it the Colonnade of Echo" (V, 21, 17).⁴

No inscription nor original literary authority, so far as I am aware, refers to the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus as separate buildings. Several late writers, however, refer to them as two stoas and indeed state specifically that they lay alongside one another or that the one was close to the other.

Harpokration (Suidas), *s.v.* βασιλειος στοά: δύο εἰςὶ στοαὶ παρ' ἀλλήλας ἢ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἡ βασιλείος.

Hesychios, *s.v.* βασιλειος στοά: δύο εἰσὶν Ἀθήνησιν βασιλείοι στοαί, ἦτε τοῦ λεγομένου βασιλέως Διὸς, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου.

Eustathios, *ad Od.* α 395: καὶ βασιλείος ἐκεῖ (Ἀθήνησιν) στοὰ πλησίον τῆς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς στοᾶς.

¹ Yet even the epigraphic practice was not constant for in an unpublished Agora inscription of Roman imperial date, as Professor Meritt informs me, the building is referred to as the Tholos. Cf. also *I. G.*, III², 3735.

² *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 470 ff.

³ Dinsmoor in *A. J. A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 324.

⁴ It is commonly supposed, though it would be difficult to prove, that the Long Stoa and the Stoa Alipitopolis of Athens were one and the same building. See Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 364 f.

Yet even Harpokration, probably the earliest of the lot, may be quoting at second or third hand and in no case can we control the original sources. It is quite possible, indeed, that all these quotations go back to a single source, in itself ambiguous. So much one might infer from a comparison of the passages and particularly from the garbled version given by Hesychios. It is scarcely necessary to point out the ready cause for confusion in the very scheme of our building, consisting as it did of two wings, each of which a Greek might have called a "stoa," lying "close to" and "alongside one another."¹

Aristophanes, in the *Ekklesiazousai* of 393 B.C., refers to the Stoa Basileios in the passage in which Praxagora explains how she would distribute her "dining panels":

Line 683: καὶ κηρύξει τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ θῆτ' ἐπὶ τὴν στοιὰν ἀκολουθεῖν
τὴν βασιλείον δειπνήσοντας· τὸ δὲ θῆτ' ἐς τὴν παρὰ ταύτην,
τοὺς δ' ἐκ τοῦ καππ' ἐς τὴν στοιὰν χωρεῖν τὴν ἀλφειτόπωλιν.

The Scholiast comments on ἐς τὴν παρὰ ταύτην: τοὺς θῆτας, τοὺς μισθωτοὺς εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον· ἐπεὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θῆτα ἄρχεται. Van Leeuwen, in his edition of the *Ekklesiazousai* (note to lines 684 sq.), accepts the Scholiast's suggestion and sees in it, as in the passage of the play, a reference to the painting of Theseus which Pausanias noted "after his account of the Stoa Basileios." The Dutch scholar infers further, on the sole evidence of this passage, that in Aristophanes' day the building that sheltered this painting was called the "Stoa of Theseus"! The Scholiast's interpretation is very plausible, for the play on words between "Theta" and "Theseus" produces a joke of the same kind, and calibre, as those which precede and follow. But Van Leeuwen's inferences are vitiated by a serious anachronism. The Theseus to whom he refers was painted, according to the express testimony of Pausanias (I, 3, 4), Pliny (*N.H.*, XXXV, 129) and Plutarch (*de gloria Atheniensium*, 2), by Euphranor, undoubtedly at the same time as the Cavalry Battle near Mantinea, i.e. not before the occurrence of the battle in 362 B.C., a full thirty years after the production of the *Ekklesiazousai*. In any case, Euphranor's active career can scarcely be stretched to cover a major commission so early as 393 B.C. Nor, if we separate the stoas and so eliminate the akroterion, have we knowledge of any other association (let alone the very familiar association demanded by the nature of the passage) between Theseus and the "Stoa of Zeus."

But a moment's reflection will suggest another painting of Theseus, this time in combat with the Amazons, a painting by Mikon on the walls of the nearby Stoa Poikile (Paus. I, 15, 2). This painting must surely have been one of the glories of Athens in the time of the *Ekklesiazousai*. Aristophanes, indeed, refers to it elsewhere as a thoroughly well known work (*Lys.* 678 and Scholiast; Arrian, *Anab.*, VII, 13, 5) and he had, we may suspect,

¹ In this instance the lexicographers would seem to have effected the divorce of two members that were really one; it has lately been demonstrated how writers of the same class united in unholy wedlock two other widely separated buildings of the Agora: the Tholos and Prytaneion. See E. Vanderpool in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 470 ff.

a particular fondness for an old fashioned painting done by a contemporary of Aischylos. It may be objected that *παρὰ* with the accusative could scarcely be applied with precision to the relation between our building and the Stoa Poikile in the position to which we have assigned it. Yet it is perhaps fairer to the poet to suppose, not that he had a ground plan in mind, but that his lively imagination had carried him to the side of Praxagora by the statue of Harmodios, from which she would direct the outgoing panels and from where our building and the Stoa Poikile undoubtedly appeared to lie side by side. In any event, with our present knowledge of the roadway that must have separated our building from any neighbor to the north and because of the irregularity of the site there available, one must admit that the expression can scarcely be applied with any greater precision to the relative position of our building and such a (hypothetical) neighbor.

Hence if one would use the passage from the *Ekklesiastousai* in the argument, he must in all honesty take it to refer not to a Stoa of Zeus distinct from the Stoa Basileios but rather to the well known and well authenticated Stoa Poikile. And it follows as a corollary that in the time of the *Ekklesiastousai* the Stoa Poikile was the only other prominent stoa in the immediate vicinity of the Stoa Basileios, for otherwise the point of the passage would be blunted by its ambiguity.

The theory that the two names, Stoa Basileios and Stoa of Zeus, may have been applied to one and the same building will conveniently account for the fact that the two first appear in literature and inscriptions simultaneously toward the end of the fifth century B.C. The first unquestionable reference to the Stoa Basileios is found in the above noted inscription of 409/8 B.C. (*I. G.*, I², 115), and the first authentic appearance of the Stoa of Zeus is in the *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon, where it forms the setting for the dialogue.¹ It is not likely that the building is much older than these earliest references to it, for its prominence and importance would surely have guaranteed its appearance in our literary and epigraphic sources soon after its completion. Combining, now, our internal and external evidence, we may suggest that the Stoa was designed about 430 B.C. and that it was complete for all practical purposes by 409/8 B.C. Whether construction actually began in the early years of the war or only after the declaration of peace in 421 B.C. we shall probably never be able to say with assurance. The uncertainty that still prevails regarding the history of the Erechtheion, despite its more abundant documentation, warns one against undue precision. But we may be permitted the conjecture that Demosthenes had our building in mind among the Propylaia, the Parthenon, the stoas and ship-sheds in his catalogue of the "everlasting monuments" left by the Periclean democracy.²

We may now turn back for a moment to consider the earlier remains beneath the Stoa and particularly those that were identified above as of a sanctuary. According to the most credible account, Zeus got the name of Eleutherios from having delivered the Athenians

¹ It may well be that the actual composition of that dialogue is to be placed after Leuktra, yet we shall scarcely venture to accuse its learned author of such a palpable anachronism as placing Socrates in a building that was not erected until after his death in 399 B.C.

² XXII, 76; cf. [Demosthenes] XIII, 28.

from the Persian menace.¹ This implies that the cult of the god existed before the Persian troubles. We are told by a scholiast on Aristophanes that there was an actual sanctuary of the god in the city.² Hence we are justified in assuming that the area had of old been sacred to the same divinity and we may with confidence place a statue of Zeus on the rectangular poros base and assign to him the early altar to the east. The image is not likely to have survived the sack of 480/79 B.C. In the years that followed, squatters intruded and set up their little industrial establishments in the area of the old sanctuary. But we may be sure that, as soon as the city could afford it, another statue was erected and inscribed with the name of the god and his new-won epithet. Precisely where this statue stood we cannot say, presumably to the east of the old and closer to the altar. Around image and altar, then, the worship continued until the construction of the Stoa. The contemporaneity of the round base and the Stoa shows that the architect had the statue very definitely in mind in planning his building, suggests indeed that respect for the existing statue may well have influenced the design of the new Stoa. The magnificent composition that resulted inevitably led to the designation of the Stoa, in both popular and official parlance, by the name of the god, and this designation persisted alongside the more prosaic name based on the use of the building.³

Having gone thus far, we may suggest that the early altar to the east of the sanctuary is to be identified with the stone on which the archons annually took their oath of office. From numerous literary references we gather that this object stood in the Agora near the Stoa Basileios and, since sacrifices were made on it, we may suppose that it differed little from an ordinary altar.⁴ The early date and the position of our monument make it a likely candidate.

The primary purpose of the Stoa is indicated by Pausanias: it was the seat of the Archon Basileus during his one-year term of office. From Plato's *Euthyphro* (2a) we gather also that in the Stoa itself the Archon presided over the lawsuits that came under his jurisdiction. Since that jurisdiction covered cases of impiety, we may suppose that the trial of Socrates took place here. It would seem too that the Council of the Areopagus met here at times.⁵ The fact that they had to rope themselves about to secure privacy suggests

¹ Harpokration, s. v. Ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς: Ὑπερείδης: "τῷ μὲν τοίνυν Αἰῷ, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἡ ἐπωνυμία γέγονε τοῦ Ἐλευθέριον προσαγορεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τὴν στοὰν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ." ὁ δὲ Αἰδουμὸς φησὶν ἀμαρτάνειν τὸν ῥήτορα· ἐκλήθη γὰρ Ἐλευθέριος διὰ τὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὅτι δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν σωτήρ, ὀνομάζεται δὲ καὶ Ἐλευθέριος, δηλοῖ καὶ Μένανδρος.

² *ad Plutarchum* 1175: τοῦ σωτήρος: ἐν ᾧσται Δία σωτήρα τιμῶσιν, ἐνθα καὶ σωτήρος Διὸς ἐστὶν ἱερόν· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ ἔνιοι καὶ Ἐλευθερίον φασί. The priest of Zeus Soter (= Eleutherios) is mentioned in *I. G.*, II², 689, 690; III², 1352, 1990.

³ For the statue we should expect a work of monumental character, in date a little later than the Persian retreat, and, as an outside statue of that period, undoubtedly in bronze. The requirements are perfectly met by the Zeus of Artemision (*Arch. Delt.*, XIII, 1930-31, pp. 41 ff.). The spread of his arms would demand a pedestal of something like the dimensions of our round base.

⁴ Aristot., *Ath. Pol.*, VII, 1; LV, 5; Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 235 D; Demos., LIV, 26; Plutarch, *Solon*, 25; Pollux, VIII, 86; Harpokration, s. v. λῆθος.

⁵ [Demosthenes] XXV, 23: τὸ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου βουλὴν, ὅταν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ στοᾷ καθεζομένη περισχοινίσηται, κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς εἶναι καὶ ἅπαντας ἐκποδῶν ἀποχωρεῖν.

that, in early times at any rate, there was no closed meeting place in the Stoa. The Annex, built in the first century A.D., was undoubtedly intended to correct this primitive simplicity and to facilitate the work of Court and Council. Its two large rooms would be adequate as offices or court-rooms.¹

The Stoa, when not engaged for public business, provided a roomy and elegant shelter for the transaction of private business and gossip. The continuous bench, for which the bedding blocks remain along the foot of the walls, added to its convenience. Among its earliest and most regular habitués we may number Socrates.²

The prominent position of the Stoa by the side of the market square and near the approach from the principal gate of the city made it a suitable place for the setting up of public documents on stone. According to Aelian (*Var. Hist.*, VI, 1) the rents due on the Athenian cleruchies in the Lelantian plain were recorded on stelai which stood near the Stoa Basileios.³ The revised codes of their ancient laws, the preparation of which had so much occupied and agitated the Athenians in the closing years of the fifth century, when finally put on stone were set up in and before the Stoa Basileios. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, VII, 1) says specifically of the laws of Solon (and he is unquestionably referring to the revision) that they were written on *kurbeis* and set up in the Stoa Basileios. Andokides (I, 85), speaking of the laws both of Solon and of Drakon and having in mind especially the later program of revision which began in 403 B.C., observes that the revised codes when approved were written up in the Stoa. We can scarcely doubt that Andokides refers to the same building as Aristotle. Of the actual stones which bore the revised laws more than one fragment has survived.⁴

The building, as the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, also became a popular place for the erection of public documents and exhibits, particularly those commemorating some act of liberation or preservation. It is significant that the earliest document which we know to have been set up here was the charter of the new naval confederacy of 377 B.C. (*I. G.*, II², 43). Konon, Timotheos and Evagoras would seem to have been assigned their positions by virtue of the parts they had severally played in warding off the last Persian threat to Greek liberty. In 323 and again in 318 B.C. Euphron of Sikyon was honored by decrees of the Athenian people recording the services he had rendered in recent wars in defending

¹ The existence of the Annex, so perfectly compatible with the functions of the "Stoa Basileios," would be difficult to explain if one were to persist in regarding our building exclusively as the "Stoa of Zeus." All references to the "Stoa of Zeus" if taken independently would indicate that it was nothing more than an open lounging place.

² Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, VII, 1; [Plato], *Eryxias*, 392 a; [Plato], *Theages*, 121 a.

³ The historical significance of the reference is too uncertain to permit one to draw from it any useful conclusions as to the stelai or the building. Thus we cannot say whether the 2000 allotments mentioned by Aelian are to be equated with the 4000 allotment holders among whom, according to Herodotos (V, 77), the Athenians divided the lands of the Chalcidians after crushing them in 506 B.C., or whether we have to do with cleruchies established after the subjugation of Euboea in 446 B.C. (See Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², I, 1, p. 401, n. 3.) In neither case could we say with certainty whether the rentals were published in this form immediately on their establishment or long afterwards.

⁴ *I. G.*, I², 115 (409/8 B.C., Law of Drakon); *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 1 ff. (Laws of Solon, etc.).

the liberties of Greece and of Athens. A copy of the decree was to be placed on the Acropolis and another beside Zeus or Zeus Soter.¹ The second of the two stelai was found in 1891 in the cutting for the Athens-Peiraeus railway where it had been used as a covering for an ancient drain, doubtless the Great Drain, which here passed close in front of the Stoa. The importance of the administration of the grain supply in the troublous years of the third century is well illustrated by a decree of 276 B.C. passed in honor of the grain officials. Significantly enough, the document was to be set up "in the Agora where is the statue of Zeus."² When the Emperor Hadrian was honored by the city, it was as her guarantor of freedom, Eleutherios; his statue was erected before the Stoa of Zeus and an honorary decree was set up in the same region.³ So too the Stoa of Zeus was the natural place in which to hang the shield of Leokritos, who had been the most courageous in freeing the city of Macedonians in 289/8 B.C. and likewise that of the Athenian Kydias who fought bravely in the Greek defence against the Gauls in 279 B.C.⁴ These shields were pulled down by Sulla's soldiers in 86 B.C.⁵

DESTRUCTION

The original plan of the Stoa seems always to have been respected and we can detect no alterations in the building proper. The addition of the Annex would scarcely have affected the appearance of the building as seen from the market square. We have already observed that Sulla carried off the shields that had been dedicated in the Stoa and we have reason to believe that his soldiery damaged certain of the nearby monuments.

The final destruction came in late Roman times. The scattered architectural fragments and the whole floor of the building were overlaid by a deep deposit of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. A more precise clue to the date of its collapse is given by the fragment of its cornice that was found by the "Valerian Wall" (see p. 23). Several stelai that had once stood by Zeus or in front of his Stoa have also been found in the line of the wall.⁶ There is now good reason to date that fortification in the late third century A.D. and to associate it with the sack of the city by the Herulians in 267 A.D.⁷ We may be certain

¹ *I.G.*, II², 448. Note especially 1, 47: *καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθ[ερώσας]*. Cf. Lolling, *Arch. Delt.*, VIII, 1892, pp. 56 ff.; Dow, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 429, n. 3.

² *I.G.*, II², 792. For the date see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 564, n. 1. Professor Meritt has kindly supplied the following note: *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 416, no. 13 is a decree praising an archon and his two paredroi and was to be set up in front of the Stoa of Zeus ([ἐμπεροσ]θεν τῆς τοῦ Ἀ[ιδος στοᾶς]). But the inscription is too fragmentary to enable us to decide whether the archon honored was the archon Eponymous or the archon Basileus.

³ *I.G.*, III², 1075.

⁴ Paus. I, 26, 2; X, 21, 5-6.

⁵ Paus. X, 21, 3.

⁶ *I.G.*, II², 43, 448, 689, 690, 792.

⁷ Cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 332. For the literature on the Herulians see Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 104. An actual sack is clearly indicated by the historians: Zosimos, I, 39: *τῶν Σκνυθῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα κάκιστα διαθέντων καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὰς ἐκπολιορκήσαντων*; Synkellos, p. 382 D: *εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν φθάσαντες ἐμπιπρῶσι τὰς Ἀθήνας, Κόρωνθόν τε καὶ Σπάρτην*; and, despite the scepticism of Judeich (*l. c.*) and Wachsmuth (*Stadt*

that the Stoa suffered in the capture of the city and that it was soon after stripped to provide the necessary building material for the new fortifications.

The Stoa was never rebuilt. A vast quantity of broken household pottery, lamps and coins, dating from the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., proves that in this period the area was occupied by private houses, the walls of which, save for an occasional ruinous fragment, have entirely disappeared. Above the stripped west foundation of the Stoa was laid a rectangular water channel which may be followed southward around the back of the Temple of Apollo, along the front of the Metroon to a point opposite the Propylon (Fig. 126). It doubtless carried water from the fountain house toward the region of the Dipylon. Within the limits of the Stoa Annex, in a level of the fourth century A.D., have been found traces of a bronze-working establishment of that period. Among the broken moulds and ash and charcoal lay a few scraps from a bronze statue. We may suspect that these late refugees had settled on the spot like ghouls to strip and melt down the statues that had once stood on the pedestal in the south room. In the fifth century we may date two thin walls of re-used ancient blocks that run east and west across the area of the Annex. But we can make out neither the full plan nor the purpose of the building. The area lay somewhat apart from the main settlement of Byzantine times, and this circumstance, coupled with the speedy inhumation of the remaining stones by the wash from the adjacent hillslope, has preserved enough to make this tale possible.

SANCTUARY OF APOLLO PATROOS

PLATES III—V

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

Trial excavations conducted in the winter of 1895–96 by the German archaeological Institute under the direction of Dr. W. Dörpfeld revealed the northern end of an ancient building at the foot of Kolonos Agoraios due east of the Hephaisteion¹ (Fig. 41). The excavations of the following season, continued under the same auspices, exposed enough of the structure to make certain its plan: a temple-like building facing east, with a small room set against its northern side and with a porch across its front.² The Greek Archaeological Society, which resumed the exploration of this region in 1907 and 1908, uncovered little or no more of the building and the heavy stone enclosure wall erected at the close of the campaign in 1908 concealed again part of the foundations of the porch.³

At the beginning of the current excavations, ancient filling was found overlying the northern walls of the northern room of the main building and of the small rectangular build-

Athen, I, pp. 706 ff.), there can be no longer any question that the entire region of the Agora, as well as the Dipylon, was laid waste at this time. For the destruction of the Pompeion, see Kübler, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, p. 182.

¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, pp. 107 f.

² *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p. 225; *Ant. Denk.*, II, 1899–1901, p. 1, pl. 37.

³ *Praktika*, 1907, pp. 54 ff.; 1908, p. 59.

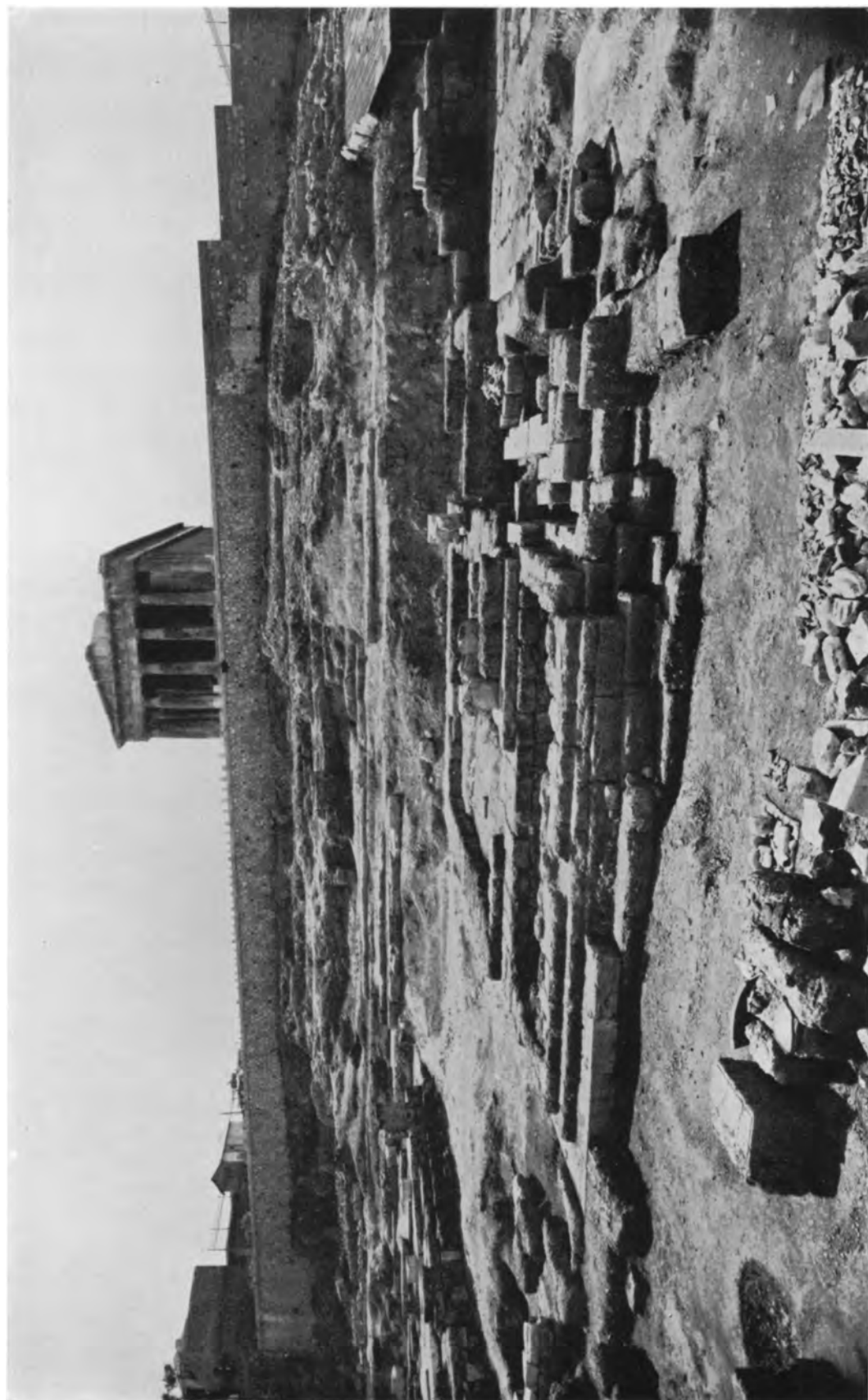


Fig. 41. Sanctuary of Apollo from the East

ing at its northeast corner as well as over the mid-part of the foundation for the colonnade of the main structure. This filling has been removed and the building further examined in the successive seasons from 1931 to 1935. The original earth filling beneath the floor level of the main room, the north room and the porch had been completely removed prior to the present excavations and of the evidence which it might have furnished for the study of the building no record is forthcoming. Much of the original filling within the foundations of the smaller building and between the two buildings did, however, remain and its evidence will be considered below. The foundations of still another building have been recognized within the limits of the first.

Since the plan and orientation of these three buildings suggest their identification as temples and since they fall into a chronological sequence, we may refer to them as the First, Second and Third Temples. The First was a small building set in the south part of the sanctuary. Of it there remain the foundation for a curved west wall and an interior base. The Second Temple stood in the northeast part of the area. It was smaller than the first, was rectangular in plan and survives in its foundations. The tetrastyle temple, long known, forms the third of the series. Its lower foundations are practically intact; a few meters of its euthynteria remain in position; some of its wall blocks still stand in place and several step blocks, re-used in nearby structures, have been identified. A round water basin which lies beneath the Second Temple will require a word of notice later.

FIRST TEMPLE

In the soft bedrock of the southern part of the cella of the Third Temple one may trace a shallow trench, 0.75 m. wide, *ca.* 0.20 m. deep (Fig. 42, Pl. III). The preserved part lies on the arc of a circle with a diameter of *ca.* 8.50 m. Toward the north its continuation was cut away by the builders of the east-west retaining wall which bisects the area of the later cella; toward the south it extends beneath the foundations of the Third Temple and reappears outside. Here the line of its outer edge may be traced for *ca.* 2.00 m., its inner edge having been cut away when the Third Temple was built. Farther east the surface of the bedrock has suffered so much in later times that nothing more of the trench can be detected. The cutting was obviously intended to receive a foundation, of which the lowest part consisted of field stones bedded in clay. A few of these remain undisturbed in the trench. Their state of preservation suggests that this packing had just filled the trench so that the bottom of the first wall course proper would in this part have lain about at the level of the surface of bedrock. Within the curve of the foundation bedding lies a block of gray poros, 0.53 m. square, 0.19 m. high, which, from its level and from the absence of any apparent connection with the Third Temple, may be assigned to the First Temple, either as the base for an interior column or, more probably, for a statue.

The fact that the interior base does not fall on the centre from which the arc was described, though it does lie on the east-west axis of the structure, indicates that the building is to be restored not as circular but as apsidal. That it faced east is shown by

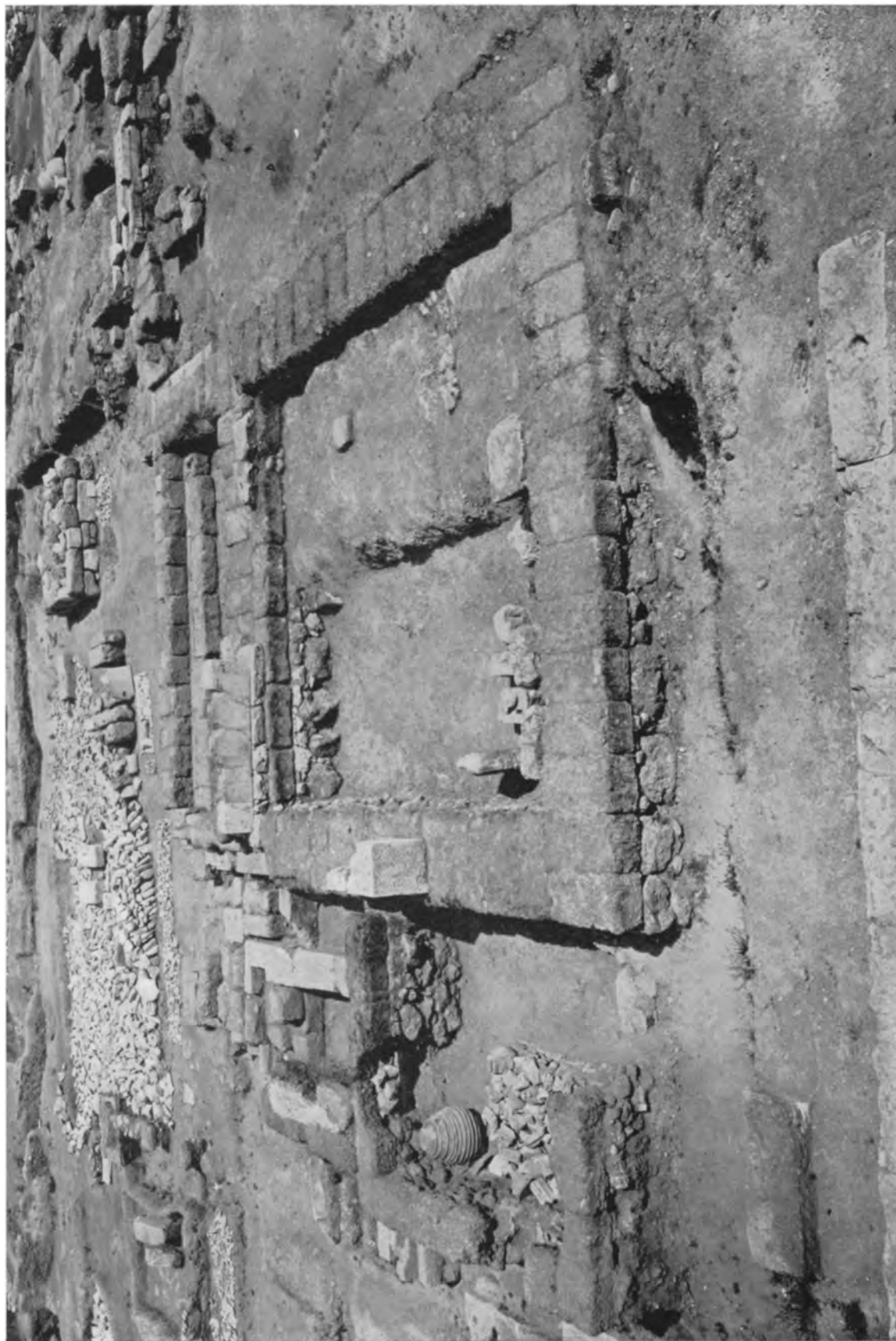


Fig. 42. Sanctuary of Apollo from the West

the lack of any trace of an entrance from the west and by the fact that Kolonos Agoraios begins to rise steeply immediately to the west of the curved bedding. Hence the building may take its place in the series of archaic apsidal temples represented already on the Acropolis of Athens,¹ at Delphi,² and at Corinth,³ and in the Kabeirion near Thebes⁴ (Fig. 72).

Of the superstructure nothing has been identified with certainty. A couple of poros wall blocks finished in an archaic style which were found in the area of the sanctuary and parts of an early Doric column with its capital found deep beneath the Stoa of Zeus may belong. Their discussion will be reserved for the final publication.

AREA TO THE SOUTH (Plate VI)

The clearing of bedrock immediately to the south of the First Temple, *i.e.* between it and the archaic Temple of the Mother, gave some indication of the situation before and after the construction of the two temples. The soft bedrock had been worked down to a fairly smooth and level surface in the western part of the area. In connection with this levelling a wall had been carried along the western edge of the space, skirting the front of the remaining steep part of the hill. The northern end of this wall has been obliterated by the later building operations in the Sanctuary of Apollo. Toward the south the wall extends under the northwestern corner of the early Temple of the Mother and then turns east at right angles. Its eastern limit, again, has been destroyed by later buildings. But at a distance of 11 m. from the angle just noted, a wall of lesser thickness ran north at right angles to the main wall. It too has disappeared beneath subsequent constructions. Of these walls nothing remains for the most part save a shallow bedding trench cut in the bedrock or in the firm earth overlying bedrock. Here and there masses of the lowest packing remain: a single thickness of field stones bedded in clay, with a width of *ca.* 0.65 m. in the main wall, of *ca.* 0.50 m. in the lesser. The extent of the area involved, compared with the flimsiness of the wall construction, and the break in the line of the wall at the foot of the hill suggest that we have to do with an unroofed enclosure rather than with a building. For its date of construction there is no real evidence. It had long been ruinous when the archaic Temple of the Mother was erected above its southern part. Presumably it had been dismantled before or at the time of the construction of the First Temple of Apollo. The fact that it overlaps the areas of the two sanctuaries would argue against its association with either. It might well be regarded as a private establishment antedating the foundation of the cults in this area.

The character of the foundations of the First Temple of Apollo, particularly of the inner square bedding block, suggests that the contemporary ground level to the south of it lay close above bedrock. When the archaic Temple of the Mother was built, on the

¹ Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, pp. 155 ff.; Carl Weickert, *Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, pp. 125 f.

² *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, 2, p. 186, fig. 142; Weickert, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 f.

³ Weickert, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

⁴ *Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 1888, p. 88, fig. 1, pl. II; Weickert, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 f.

other hand, the ground level in the area had risen by *ca.* 0.70 m. Hence we are justified in associating with the First Temple of Apollo a ground level formed above a few centimeters of hard packed earth that overlies the dressed bedrock to the south of the Temple. We may safely assign to the construction of the same building a few chips from the working of island, probably Parian, marble that were found scattered through this earth packing and imbedded in its surface.

With this same ground level is to be associated a peculiar pit cut down in the bedrock toward the middle of the area under discussion. The walls of the pit showed abundant

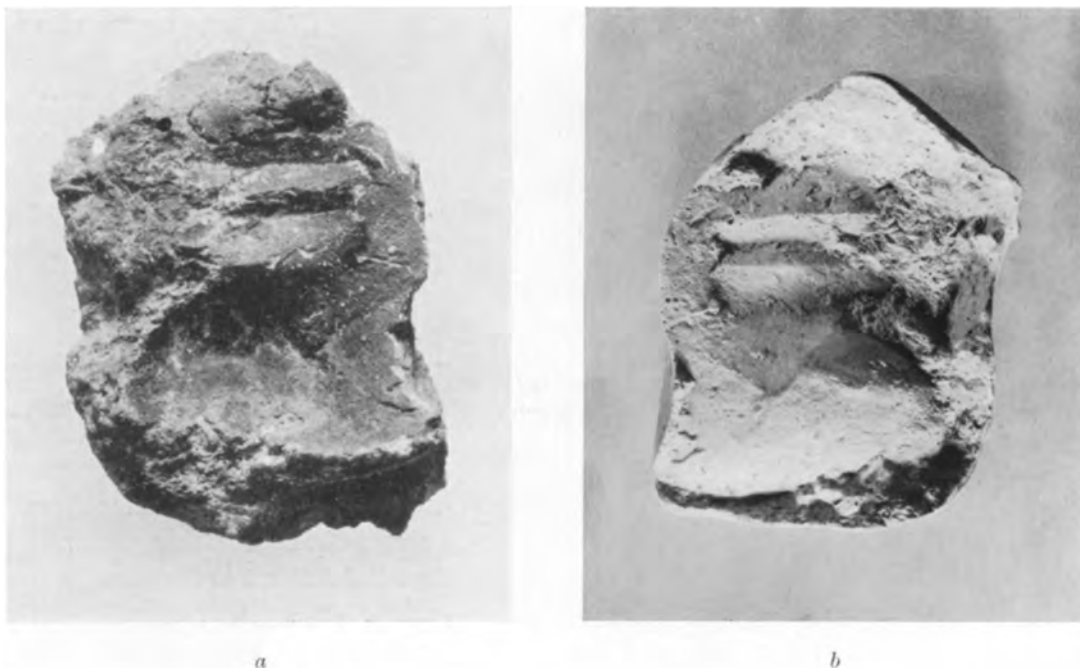


Fig. 43. (a) Fragment of a Mould for a Bronze Statue and (b) Modern Impression from the Same

traces of burning. In a deeper part at one end were found numerous fragments from an outer mould of terracotta that had been used for casting a bronze statue of about two-thirds life size. One small fragment preserves part of the mouth, chin and nose (Fig. 43). Enough remains for the restoration of the lower limbs to a point above the hips and other non-joining scraps come from the back of the figure. The pose is typically Apolline: the two legs close together, the left foot thrust well forward. The base of the mould agrees in shape and dimensions with the cutting in the lower part of the pit so that we may well believe that the finished mould stood in the pit and received molten metal from the furnace immediately adjacent. After the casting, the outer mould was stripped from the figure and thrown into the pit. At the time of use, the mouth of the pit must have been at the level of the surface of bedrock or a little higher. It was completely closed and

filled by the mass of earth that was brought in perhaps shortly after the construction of the First Temple of Apollo. In the corresponding layer, *i.e.* the layer overlying bedrock, in the area enclosed by the later Metroon, fragments have been found of another mould for the casting of a head of the same period and scale but with variations in the features. That both moulds had actually been used is shown by the bits of bronze that still cling to their inner surfaces. One might suspect the existence here of a metal-working establishment or a sculptor's workshop. Yet experience has shown that the sites of such regular establishments are marked by traces of repeated firings, by scattered masses of ash and metal waste. Here, on the other hand, the traces of burning and the fragments of mould and metal waste are concentrated. The bedrock and the contemporary ground level round about are clean and free of such rubbish. It would seem quite possible that both moulds are to be connected with the one statue, on the supposition that on the first casting the head was defective. It is, then, perhaps not unduly rash to conjecture that the statue was intended for the new temple adjoining. We might, indeed, go further and presume that the working chips of island marble found around the mouth of the pit come from the working of the marble base that carried the figure and that stood probably on the poros bedding block within the apsidal temple.¹



Fig. 44. (P 5112) Sherd from Foundation Packing of First Temple

DATING

For the date of the First Temple the evidence is almost confined to a handful of potsherds extracted from the original clay packing found in the bottom of the foundation trench and among its broken rock. These sherds obviously provide a *terminus post quem* for its construction. The only figured piece among them is illustrated in Fig. 44.² Its unglazed inner surface, gently concave vertical profile and calculated diameter of *ca.* 0.19 m. suggest that it came from the neck of a large amphora of the Vurva type. Various parts of a lion, a boar and a goose are preserved. One

¹ The detailed study of this material may be expected to throw light on the technique of bronze working at a time but little removed from the traditional date of the invention of casting in Greece. It is hoped that this new evidence may be combined with that from numerous other remains of metal working of various periods recently found in different parts of the excavation, when it will be published in a separate article with adequate illustrations.

² Preserved height 0.08 m.; fairly careful incision; purple on the chest of the lion and in his mane.

might place it little if at all later than the first quarter of the sixth century.¹ I note also a scrap from a Protocorinthian skyphos, linear style; small pieces from the base and wall of early Attic skyphoi of the thin-walled Corinthian style; a fragment from the lip of a seventh-century bowl with groups of parallel bars on its rim, a broad wavy line around the top of its outer wall,² and fragmentary bases from typical seventh, or early sixth, century cups. A limited amount of pottery found in the lowest layer above bedrock to the south of the Temple and in association with the statue moulds runs down to the middle of the sixth century. The Temple must be equally late but it is not necessarily later.

The First Temple was obviously ruinous at the time when the north part of the sanctuary was cut down, *i. e.*, when work began on the Stoa of Zeus. Only a serious disaster will account for the complete destruction and abandonment of the building. We need scarcely doubt that the disaster occurred in 480/79 B.C.

SECOND TEMPLE

The remains of the Second Temple, as already noted, lie in the northern part of the area. Its foundations are parallel to the south side of the Stoa and the two foundations were separated by an interval of *ca.* 0.40 m. The subfoundations of the Temple are of coarse conglomerate, in blocks measuring $1.35 \times 0.65 \times 0.40$ m. laid as stretchers in single rows save along the east front where there are two rows laid side by side. Beneath the east and north sides only two courses of such blocks were used, for the west and south sides as many as five courses were necessitated by the earlier water basin, of which more below.

The first course intended to be visible still remains in position on the south side: three blocks of hard gray poros (0.318 m. high, 0.67–0.74 m. wide), the outer faces smooth-dressed for their full height, the inner side left rough (Fig. 50). The joint surfaces show well worked anathyrosis and the joints were secured by clamps of \vdash shape. Rust stains prove the use of iron clamps. There is no trace of dowelling between this course and those above or below.

Setting lines show that the next course was set back from the edge of this one 0.023 m. on the flanks and the rear. Across the front, however, it was withdrawn the width of a step, perhaps 0.30 m., as shown by the dressing on the surface of the surviving block and by the fact that the clamp for one of the now missing front blocks of the first poros course was necessarily placed off centre so as not to be exposed. We may restore not one but two such steps across the front, their height, combined with that of a *toichobate*, giving a level suitable to that of the floor inside. The front wall and the threshold would

¹ See Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, § 121, 123; Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 344 ff. Cf. also a piece newly found in the Athenian Kerameikos, *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, cols. 203, 207, fig. 7.

² Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 582 ff., nos. 172–194.

thus have rested directly above the inner of the two rows of conglomerate blocks which constitute the eastern foundation.

The plan indicates a simple cella with front wall and door, there being no room for columns. Its outside dimensions, measured on the euthynteria, would be 5.20 m. east to west, *ca.* 3.65 m. north to south. Of the original superstructure nothing has been identified. In the northwest corner of the cella, however, a block of conglomerate ($1.15 \times 0.65 \times 0.34$ m.) still lies in its original place, imbedded to its full depth in the earth filling. Its position clearly indicates that this block, together with its now missing fellows, formed the bedding for the cult statue, the plinth for which must have been *ca.* 1.50 m. long.

At a later date a porch was added to the building. For this addition a massive foundation was built, extending some 4.00 m. beyond the front line of the original building. It consists of large blocks of conglomerate, together with several re-used poros blocks resting in part on the bedrock, in part on a packing of broken stone (Figs. 41, 50, Pl. III). So confined was the space that the builders of the extension were obliged to cut away the projecting ends of the conglomerate foundation blocks of the porch of the Third Temple up to the very edge of the euthynteria of that building and the relations of the new structure with the Stoa to the north must have been equally intimate. The width of the porch can be fixed at *ca.* 4.80 m. from the cuttings made in the foundations of the Third Temple to receive it and from the three dowel holes that remain in the underpinning for its stylobate on the south side. The stylobate of the porch rested approximately at the same level as the second step of the original structure so that the old threshold continued in use and no change in the floor level inside was required. This arrangement, however, excluded the possibility of steps on the flanks of the porch, which would in any case have been rendered useless by the proximity of the neighboring buildings. We may suppose, and indeed the remains require, that the flanking walls of the porch were set against the outer faces of the side walls of the original structure, a solution which appears startling on the plan but which would not have been apparent from the front of the building. The massive underpinning suggests that the porch was paved with marble slabs. The number of steps required to make up the difference in height between the stylobate and the ground level in front as indicated by the base of the altar would appear to be four or five.

A few small fragments of a Doric order were found in late Roman levels in front of the building and they may well come from its porch. They include a column and a regula of Pentelic marble, a triglyph and a geison of hard gray poros. But since their dimensions are not commensurable with those of the porch in any canonical relation, we can scarcely hope to recover the arrangement.

Of a cella flooring of Greek times, perhaps the original flooring, a little remains: a thin layer of brown mortar immediately overlying the earth filling, its surface loosely studded with water-washed pebbles and painted red. Its level was such that it just overlay the conglomerate slab of the statue base. A few square centimeters of this flooring still remain on the top of the northern part of this stone, enough to show that the pedestal proper

reached only to within *ca.* 0.27 m. of the northern edge of the block. In later times another floor was laid over the earlier. It consists of chips of Pentelic marble of irregular size imbedded, with large interstices, in a layer of crumbly lime mortar *ca.* 0.05 m. thick. This second floor also overlay much of the conglomerate block.

About 4.50 m. to the east of the original front of the Second Temple and precisely on its axis, the bedding block of its altar still rests in place. The block is a re-used foundation stone of poros ($1.21 \times 0.81 \times 0.41$ m.). The workmen who laid the foundations for the later porch of the Temple carefully cut down to the west without disturbing it.

WATER BASIN

For the round basin that underlies the Second Temple a rectangular pit measuring 4.10×4.70 m. had been cut in bedrock to a depth of 2.10 m. immediately to the south of the Stoa (Pl. IV, Fig. 45). In the middle of the pit six blocks of conglomerate 0.435 m. high were placed so as to enclose a square 1.17 m. to the side. On top of these rested a second course 0.64 m. high consisting of eleven blocks of soft white poros set radially. Their inner ends were trimmed with the adze so as to form a circle 1.44 m. in diameter at the top, 1.30 m. at the bottom. A gallery with a curved top (0.39 m. wide, 0.43 m. high) was let through this course above the northwest corner of the square beneath. It leads off in a northwesterly direction, but investigation showed that the channel did not continue in any form beyond the wall of the pit. Tumbled in the mouth of the basin were found four complete and a couple of fragmentary blocks from the curbing, cut from the same soft poros as the second course. They stand 0.40 m. high and, with their missing neighbors, would have enclosed a circle *ca.* 1.55 m. in diameter. Their joint ends are neatly cut with anathyrosis and a thin collar projects from the upper wall. Such treatment suggests that the upper part at least of these stones was intended to be visible. Since the contemporary ground level around the basin lay *ca.* 1.20 m. above the top of the radially set poros blocks, we may restore one or two courses between them and the curbing. The floor of the pit was paved with 0.10 m. of firm mortar made of sand, gravel and lime and a little broken tile. The interstices between the ends of the large radial blocks were carefully walled with field stones and broken tiles set in clay and plastered on the outside with hydraulic cement. On the inside there is no trace of plaster.

The use of hydraulic cement and the precautions taken to waterproof the outside of the basin indicate that it was intended to do with water. Yet the absence of water deposit and of any trace of wear may be taken as proof that the construction was never used, in all probability never finished. That such was the case is suggested also by the pottery gathered from the undisturbed contemporary filling between the walls of the round basin and of the rectangular pit into which it was set. The material is identical with that found in the filling thrown into the round pit by the builders of the little temple. We may conclude that the construction of the temple prevented the completion of the basin.

The purpose of the peculiar structure is not obvious. It would seem, as already observed, to have been intended for water. But that it was not a drain hole of any sort is



Fig. 45. Round Pit beneath Temple II.
The curb stones found in the pit have been placed on the
temple foundation above

shown clearly by the pains taken to waterproof it and by the fact that its outlet leads directly away from the Great Drain. If a conjecture is permissible where evidence is so slight, we might suggest that the pit was intended as part of a fresh water pipe line leading from the springs at the foot of the Areopagus toward the Dipylon. The pit would have served as a settling basin and for this the outlet is properly placed well above the floor. From its neatly curbed mouth water might have been drawn in this otherwise unwatered part of the square. And here too the pipe line might have been lowered sufficiently in level to be carried in a tunnel beneath the floor of the Stoa. The carefully plastered floor and outside wall would have prevented ground water from contaminating the pure.

DATING

The architectural character of the Second Temple is too slight and the building itself too ill preserved to afford evidence for precise dating. The combination of conglomerate and hard poros, the good if economical workmanship, the use of \vdash clamps taken together would merely suggest a date in the fourth century. The material from the undisturbed filling removed from within the foundations is more helpful. The round pit had clearly been filled in with earth by the builders of the Second Temple and some of its curb-stones, which would have been of little use elsewhere, were thrown into its mouth. Precisely the same sort of earth was used as filling inside the tiny cella as its foundation walls were carried up. Working chips from the conglomerate and poros blocks were found scattered through the earth. Datable objects from the filling will, then, provide a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the Temple.

Lodged in the mouth of the aperture in the round basin was found a small and mutilated stone that had marked the boundary of a mortgaged house (I 1888). The character of the document and of its lettering are appropriate to the second quarter of the fourth century.

A considerable quantity of broken household pottery, both coarse and fine, came from the filling. It included several small fragments of red-figured ware of the first half of the fourth century. More abundant was the black-glazed ware of which a representative selection is illustrated in Fig. 46.

- a. P 3706. Cup-kantharos. H., 0.084 m. Tall loop handles bent back on themselves. Firm black glaze, scratched from the bottoms of two grooves at the junction of body and base and from one on the underside of the base.
- b. P 3710. Cup-kantharos. H., 0.085 m. Similar to the preceding in shape, but with reeded side-wall. Glossy black glaze much flaked.
- c. P 3709. Cup-kantharos. H., 0.075 m. Massive moulded rim. Vertical handles flat on top, spurred. Firm black glaze. Stamped on floor, four double horseshoes surrounded by a rouletted spiral.
- d. P 3714. Skyphos. H., 0.083 m. Horizontal loop handles of squarish outline. Firm black glaze. Bottom reserved save for two black circles.
- e. L 1507. Lamp, Type VII. H., 0.035 m. A horizontal band handle has been broken away. Firm black glaze inside and outside. Also a small fragment from a lamp of similar shape glazed only on the inside, its outside polished.

- f. P 3720. Fragment of plastic vase. Preserved H., 0.061 m. There remains part of a draped figure seated on a cushioned stool. The entire modelled surface was covered with soft white paint; on the drapery are traces of pink overlying the white. The flat back was covered with black glaze. On the underside of a base (P 3721) which probably goes with this fragment is the graffito: ..]ημορος.

For the dating of the pottery one must turn to Olynthos (destroyed in 348 B.C.). Among the mass of black-glazed ware found in the houses of that site, much of which was imported from Athens, one may find exact parallels for our kantharoi and skyphoi. Our lamps also



Fig. 46. Pottery from Filling of Temple II

are of types that were the last used in the Macedonian town before its destruction and they are identical in shape with the very latest found on that site. The plastic vase is of a type common in Athens in the first half of the fourth century. Many specimens (as yet unpublished) have been found on the Pnyx in association with red-figured pottery of that period. They were imported and copied by the Olynthians. On the analogy of the Olynthian finds, it appears that our pottery is typical of that in use in the second quarter of the fourth century.¹ Confirmation of this dating is given by comparison with objects of the same

¹ For the kantharoi see *Olynthus*, V, pls. 148–150, especially nos. 507, 524, 526; for the skyphoi, *ibidem*, pls. 183–185, especially no. 971; for the lamp see *Olynthus*, II, p. 141, Series 7, figs. 305–307; V, p. 279, Group 8, pl. 200; O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, 2, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 45 ff.; for the lamp with unglazed

types found in the earliest Alexandrian cemetery at Chatby. The development which took place in the quarter century between the latest Olynthian and the earliest Alexandrian objects is apparent in the growing stems of the kantharoi, in the more attenuated forms of the skyphoi and in the pierced knobs which appear on the lamps from Chatby.¹

The pottery, then, provides for the building a *terminus post quem* at about the middle of the fourth century. It is sufficient in bulk and is homogeneous enough in point of date to suggest that the construction took place not long after that time. With such a date would agree the character of the marble inscription and the graffito on the base of the plastic vase.

For the dating of the porch of the Second Temple the evidence is confined to a handful of sherds removed from its foundation packing. This pottery runs down certainly into the second century B.C. but not necessarily later. We may well believe that the porch was added shortly after the reconstruction of the neighboring Metroon in order to give a more uniform appearance to the west side of the square. A date in the second half of the second century B.C. is indicated. The flooring of marble chips is undoubtedly of the Roman period but how late we cannot say.

THIRD TEMPLE

FOUNDATIONS

The preparation of the foundations for the temple was made difficult in the first place by the decided northward slope of the bedrock along its front and again by the cutting made to the south of the Stoa by the builders of the Stoa. And so, while a single course of squared blocks laid directly on bedrock sufficed for most of the foundation of the south part of the cella, a deeper underpinning was required toward the north. From the character of the foundation used in this northern part, it is clear that now, if not earlier, a great mass of earth filling had been thrown in to the excavated area south of the Stoa, sufficient indeed to raise the ground level *ca.* 1.00 m. above the toichobate of the Stoa. Through this earth filling trenches were cut down to bedrock and were filled with broken masses of Acropolis limestone (Figs. 42 and 47). The top of the rock filling was finished with smaller stones at a level high enough to receive the single course of squared blocks of red conglomerate which in the side and back walls of the main cella and in all three walls of the north room served as euthynteria and toichobate. The seeming inadequacy of the method is sufficiently refuted by the present condition of the foundations. The top of the course of conglomerate does not vary by more than 0.01 m. in level from corner to corner.

The use of broken-rock filling was confined to the foundations of the cella and the north room. For the front colonnade, an underpinning of squared blocks was required. These are of coarse red conglomerate, measuring on the average $1.35 \times 0.65 \times 0.40$ m. At the

exterior cf. *Olynthus*, II, p. 143, Series 8, fig. 307; V, p. 282, Group 9, pl. 201; for the plastic vases, *Olynthus*, VII, pp. 13 ff., nos. 386 ff., especially no. 389 which is undoubtedly Attic and identical in technique and in the profile of its base with our fragment.

¹ For the kantharoi cf. E. Breccia, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes, La nécropole de Sciatbi*, II, pls. LIII–LV; for the skyphoi *ibidem*, pl. LVI, 120; for the lamps, *ibidem*, pl. LVII, 125 and 126.



Fig. 47. Northeast Corner of Cella of Temple III from Southwest



Fig. 48. Southeast Corner of Temple III

northeast corner they extend down to a depth of four courses, of which the uppermost consists of headers, the lower of stretchers.

The euthynteria of the porch, preserved along the south side, along the south half of the front and along part of its north side is of poros: hard, gray Peiraic limestone. Its blocks are 0.40 m. high and of random length: 0.665–1.30 m. Their outer faces are smooth dressed over their full height. Their breadth is irregular and was adjusted to suit the irregularities in the face of the conglomerate course behind (Fig. 48). The inner faces of the blocks of the euthynteria are, accordingly, for the most part quite rough and the spaces between poros and conglomerate were freely packed with broken limestone. Incorporated in this packing along the south side of the porch are two fragments from the poros crown of a wall. The base of the block measured *ca.* 0.46 m. across, its apex is broken away. These blocks may well have been removed from that part of the retaining wall which must have been broken away by the builders of the Third Temple. The blocks of the euthynteria proper were tied to one another by clamps of \vdash shape. In the surviving part of the euthynteria of the north side of the porch, however, iron clamps of \neg shape were used. Two of them remain in place, covered with lead. There is no reason to suspect repair or replacement here and indeed in an undisturbed block of the next course overlying the euthynteria at this point one may see a cutting for a \vdash clamp.

Setting and weathering lines show that the face of the lowest step was set back from the edge of the euthynteria 0.064 m. along the sides, 0.058 m. along the front. No blocks of this course remain. Their length, however, is given by cuttings in the euthynteria for the dowels which had been set one in one end of each block. The exposed end of the return of this step along the south side was secured by a dowel leaded through a pour-channel.

For the second step a rabbet was cut in the face of the topmost course of conglomerate blocks. From this step we have perhaps two fragmentary blocks which have been re-used in a late foundation to the south of the Temple (Fig. 49, *a*). They are of Hymettian marble with a drafted band along the lower edge of the face and with carefully worked anathyrosis. One is a corner block, preserved in its original length and width; the other is only the end of the neighboring block. They are excluded from the stylobate by their narrowness and from the first step by their height (0.226 m.) which is 0.01 m. greater than that indicated by the cuttings for the first step. Their other dimensions would suggest for them a place in the north flank of the building. It will be observed that the back part of both blocks has been cut away, that of the corner piece on a curved line. With the period of this trimming are to be associated also the cuttings for \neg clamps, dowels and prys in the tops of the blocks and the mason's marks on their faces: an *alpha* on either side of the joint between the two, a *gamma* ($=\gamma[\alpha\upsilon\iota\alpha]$?) by the other joint surface of the larger piece. These cuttings are too careful to have been done by the late Roman builders of the foundation in which the blocks now lie. They resemble rather the cuttings in the porch of Temple II. We may suspect that some alteration in the steps of Temple III was occasioned by the addition of the porch to the neighboring building.

For the stylobate, another broad ledge was cut in the top of the topmost course of conglomerate. The cuttings in the subfoundations and the requirements of the plan suggest for it a width of *ca.* 0.95 m. across the front, *ca.* 0.78 m. on the flanks. This would leave a width of *ca.* 0.62 m. to be divided (about equally) between the two steps, both front and

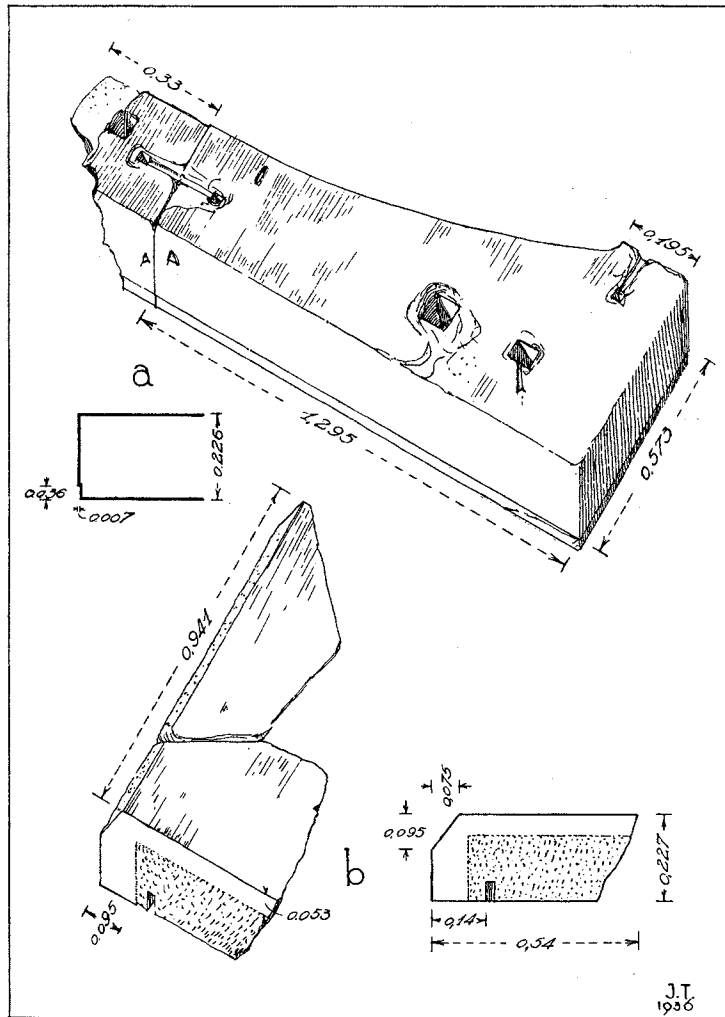


Fig. 49. Step and Stylobate Blocks of Temple III

flank. One end of each block of the stylobate was secured by two dowels similar to those used in the first step. The outer dowel in each case was set in the top of the second step; for the inner, which must otherwise have been imbedded in the coarse and friable conglomerate, a special bedding was prepared by setting into the top of the conglomerate block a small slab of poros cut from the wall crown, other fragments of which appear, as

already noted, in the packing behind the euthynteria. This procedure was apparently a measure of economy intended to obviate the use of a complete *Ausgleichsschicht* of poros between conglomerate and marble, the common solution.¹ The joints in the stylobate corresponded precisely with those of the first step.

Of the stylobate one fragmentary block was found close by the late Roman foundation at the southeast corner of the Temple into which it had doubtless been incorporated



Fig. 50. Temples II and III from the Northeast

(Fig. 49, *b*). The front of the block is completely broken away, but it preserves its original length of 0.941 m. and height of 0.227 m. The dowel cuttings indicate that the other blocks of the stylobate varied in length from 0.94 m. to 1.00 m. The upper back corner of the block was roughly chiselled away so that the exposed edge of the upper surface fell a full 0.07 m. inside the actual rear face of the block. The inner of the two dowel cuttings is preserved, in the "south" end of the block, and enables us to fix the original place of the stone.

¹ For a somewhat similar procedure in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, see *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, II, p. 12. At Olympia the peculiar arrangement is attributed to a subsequent adjustment.

The southeast corner block of the stylobate was the first block laid in its course and it was dowelled in its north end. Continuing north, the workmen laid the succeeding single blocks, dowelling each in its north end. They had, indeed, laid an eighth block, as shown by the pry hole at its north end, but they then lifted it from its place for the time being and started from the north end. They then laid three blocks from the north, dowelling them in their south ends.¹ We are left with neither dowel nor pry holes for the fourth block from the north. It was simply thrust in from behind between its two neighbors and for this reason the underlying course was dressed down to its full width at this point only.² Our preserved block was not intended for a corner; it bears no trace of a column on its top; its back edge is worn by traffic; the iron rust in its cutting shows that it was actually dowelled. It belongs, therefore, in the second place from the north on the façade.

The builders of the Third Temple fixed the ground level around the cella of their building at a height almost 1.00 m. above that of the Second, although the ground level around the porch of the Third was to be about the same as that in front of the Second. The nature of the subfoundations of the Third Temple therefore required that between the Second Temple and the back part of the new building a filling of earth should be made. In order to keep this earth filling from washing out toward the front, a screen of well-dressed poros blocks was built between the Second Temple and the northern wall of the Third, striking the latter just west of the line of the front wall of its cella (Fig. 50). A rabbet cut in the top of the projecting ends of the conglomerate euthynteria blocks of the Third Temple suggests that the thin crowning course of this barrier was carried westward *ca.* 1.70 m. beyond the east face of the screen, its top about on a level with that of the stylobate of the Third Temple.

PLAN

The plan of the building is clearly that of a temple with a single porch toward the east. The width of the cella inside may be fixed, from the surviving bit of north wall and from the cutting for the southeast corner in the euthynteria, at *ca.* 8.64 m. To determine the length of the room we may measure from the line of the inner face of the preserved east wall to the back edge of a cutting in the top of the western euthynteria, which, to judge from the analogy of similar cuttings in the north euthynteria must have extended to the very face of the wall. Thus measured, the cella had an interior length of *ca.* 9.285 m.

In the back part of the cella, set indeed close against the euthynteria, lies a heavy poros slab ($1.05 \times 0.78 \times 0.30$ m.), smooth on top but roughly dressed on the sides (Fig. 42, Pl. III). Its top rises slightly higher than the euthynteria. That the block is a re-used stele

¹ That the third block from the north was dowelled in its south end is shown by the cuttings made by those who later removed the dowel in destroying the building.

² On the practice of starting from both corners in laying a course see *Erechtheum*, p. 190. It assured greater precision and obviated the necessity of exposing a dowel or of using a pour-channel. In a wall, the last block could be dropped in from above with tongs, a procedure obviously impossible in a stylobate.

bedding is shown by a cutting ($0.10 \times 0.15 \times 0.10$ m.) on its present under side. Since the treatment of the euthynteria and the foot of the wall precludes the possibility of a stone paving in the cella, we can only suppose that this block formed part of the underpinning for a statue base. As such it is correctly placed. Another block from the same foundation was found lying nearby: an equally rough slab of poros ($1.10 \times 0.94 \times 0.35$ m.) which also had originally served as a stele bedding. The cutting in its surface measures $0.72 \times 0.18 \times$



Fig. 51. Southeast Corner of North Room of Temple III, from Northwest

0.10 m. Apparently the under foundation comprised four such blocks which would have permitted the statue itself to stand well in front of the back wall.¹

That the north room is part of the original scheme is unquestionable. Its foundations are of exactly the same construction as those of the north part of the cella and actually

¹ At various points in the top of the euthynteria course as it projected inside the wall are shallow beddings carried up to the line of the wall face (Pl. III). Since one of them intrudes on the north door, it seems probable that they served some purpose during the construction of the building rather than that they were intended to receive dedications set against the walls.

the two interlock (Fig. 51). The trenches intended to receive the packing of broken rock must all have been opened at one and the same time. The north door, which is certainly not an afterthought, likewise points clearly to the contemporaneity of the two rooms. To include the north room in the plan was a reasonable way of utilizing the otherwise waste space behind the Second Temple which was already standing. The room measured inside *ca.* 4.40 m. from north to south, 4.56 m. from east to west. It would seem to have been entered only through the door in the north wall of the cella. As for its purpose we can only conjecture that it served as a storeroom or treasury of the sanctuary.

The lack of provision for angle contraction in the stylobate excludes the Doric order. We have restored an *in antis* rather than a prostyle arrangement. Such a scheme is made probable by the shortness of the returns of the steps on the flanks and is shown to be the only possible plan by a consideration of the beddings cut in the top of the uppermost course of conglomerate on the sides of the porch. These beddings are barely wide enough to accommodate a toichobate of sufficient width for a wall *ca.* 0.56 m. thick (considerably thinner, that is, than the walls of the cella) and they do not show the necessary widening at the point where an anta might have been expected to fall. The fact that the stylobate of the façade is divided into eleven units calls for four columns between antae. We have given them a lower diameter of 0.58 m. which is compatible both with the thickness of the side walls and with the width of the stylobate. The intercolumniation will be 1.914 m.¹

WALLS

Of the cella walls there remain in position the lower part of the front wall to the north of the doorway and a section of the north wall including the block which adjoined the northern doorway. From these remains it is clear that the walls were built of a double thickness of limestone blocks, irregular in their coursing and indiscriminately rectangular or polygonal in elevation. The joint surfaces were carefully prepared, those toward the inside being finished with a smooth-faced chisel, those toward the outside with a toothed. The block which supported the east jamb of the door leading into the north room stands 0.91 m. high and rests on the single course of conglomerate (Fig. 52). Its neighbor to the east, however, and probably the rest of the wall in general, were carried on a toichobate, 0.18 m. high, consisting of limestone slabs, the outer faces of which are quite rough. A similar toichobate 0.23–0.25 m. high lies also beneath the preserved portion of the front wall. Here it comprises two rows of slabs, that toward the porch being of squared stretchers

¹ Within the foundations for the porch lies part of a bedding-block for a stele. Its northern end was cut away, obviously by the workmen who laid the north foundation of the porch. The block is of soft creamy poros, 0.14 m. wide, 0.23 m. high and is preserved to a length of 0.53 m. In its top is the bedding for the stele, 0.17 m. wide, 0.08 m. deep and, as preserved, 0.35 m. long. Originally cut too long, it had been shortened 0.08 m. to fit the stele by the insertion of a small block of poros at its south end. Much of the poured lead remains in the bottom of the channel. The block rests on bedrock and was obviously placed after the construction of the Stoa and the levelling operations to the south of that building.

of gray poros, that toward the cella of rough limestone slabs. The thickness of the stonework in the north wall of the cella is fixed at 0.745 m. by the block adjoining the north door. The block adjoining the north side of the east doorway is only 0.70 m. thick and this represents the thickness of the front wall proper. The figure is confirmed by the dimensions of the threshold block to be discussed below. Yet a glance at the plan makes



Fig. 52. Block adjoining Doorway of North Room of Temple III, from Southwest

it evident that the cross foundation was intended to support something more than a simple wall of that weight. Actually, there remain in position two heavy conglomerate blocks in front of the inner row of preserved orthostates of the east wall (Fig. 50). The eastern side also of these blocks must of course have been concealed and an iron dowel which secured part of the plinth beneath the screening orthostates still rises from the toichobate near its north end. The position of the dowel suggests that the total thickness of the wall in its lower part was *ca.* 1.39 m. If we deduct 0.70 m. for the thickness of the wall proper

we are left with *ca.* 0.69 m. which may well have been occupied by a bench of a width sufficient to carry sculpture (Pl. IV, Section C—C).¹

The insertion of these pedestals will perhaps account for the remarkable width of the subfoundations beneath the colonnade. Immediately behind the row of blocks that carried the stylobate and one course lower, lies another series of blocks, carefully laid, their tops dressed smooth and level as if to receive other stones. But it is difficult to understand what purpose could have been served by such a foundation directly behind the columns, and the possibility that it actually was used is practically excluded by the fact that the back part of the blocks which carried the stylobate, on both the façade and the flanks, was never dressed down so that no row of blocks could ever have been laid behind and contiguous to the stylobate. We may rather suppose that during construction a change of plan was made that involved drawing forward the porch by the width of one course of foundation slabs, *i. e.* *ca.* 0.65 m. This hypothesis is strengthened by the faulty coursing in the front part of these same foundations and by the observation that the front of the temple, as, presumably, it was planned originally, would have lined perfectly with the front of the Stoa to the north. Nor have we far to look for a plausible ground for the alteration in the plan. The 0.65 m. by which the colonnade would seem to have been drawn eastward closely approximates the width of the statue bases which have been restored at the foot of the front wall of the cella. We may suspect that it was the tardily conceived idea of including these benches in the plan that led to the necessity of extending the foundations of the porch eastward so that it might retain the same east-west width measured on the floor.

More than one variety of limestone was used in the construction of the walls. Three of the orthostates which still stand in the east wall of the cella are of hard creamy Kará limestone. Of the same stone are three slabs of the toichobate beneath this wall and the slab remaining in the corresponding position in the north wall. A few fragments of this stone were thrown into the packing of the subfoundation of the cella walls. Elsewhere, with the exception of the conglomerate slabs above mentioned, the material of the wall where preserved is Acropolis limestone. The inner surface was carefully picked with a single point for the reception of stucco, of which very slight traces survive. The outer surface of the surviving part of the north wall which looked into the north room was left in a rougher state. It retains no trace of stucco. That it was stuccoed, however, is made probable by the certainty that the other walls of the north room were so treated: a narrow band of good marble-dust stucco may still be traced along the top edge of the conglomerate euthynteria in the east wall of that room. Beyond this, nothing remains of the walls of the north room.

¹ The same solution has been suggested by Keramopoulos for a similar thickening of the foundation for the east wall of the cella of the third temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes (*Arch. Delt.*, 3, 1917, pp. 40 f.). A similar purpose was perhaps served by the broad foundation along the sides of the pronaos of the stone temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi (A. D. Keramopoulos, *Τοπογραφία τῶν Ἀελφῶν*, pp. 86 f.). Cf. also the bench for statuary set against the wall inside the Sanctuary of Demeter at Priene (*Priene*, pp. 152 f.).

FLOOR

In the cella there is nothing to suggest that the floor was other than of packed earth or of some simple mosaic like that employed originally in the Second Temple. The inner edges of the slabs of the toichobate are so irregular as to preclude the possibility of stone flooring of any sort. The rough way in which the inner edge of the top of the stylobate was finished shows that the floor of the porch was of the same material as that of the cella. Of the north room also the floor was of packed earth (or plaster) and lay at a level *ca.* 0.14 m. higher than that of the cella.

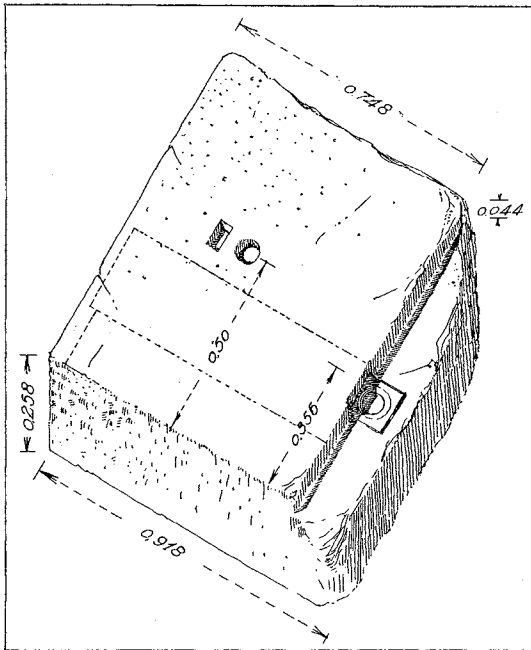


Fig. 53. Threshold of Temple III

Doors

The backing block for the north jamb of the east door, as noted above, remains in position and, on the presumption that the door was placed in the middle of the front wall, indicates for it a width of *ca.* 2.18 m. to be reduced by the thickness of the two jambs (Fig. 47). The absence of any rabbeting for wood and the fact that the stippling on the inner surface of the block runs to its very edge show that the jambs were of marble. The inner face of the adjoining wall block was deeply undercut to receive the end of the threshold and was subsequently much mutilated to permit of the removal of that stone. The northern end of the threshold block of Hymettian marble was found lying in the north room

of the Metroon, where it had doubtless been re-used in some late reconstruction (Fig. 53). It may be identified with assurance from its height (0.255 m.) and from the undercutting of its end, both of which agree with the cutting in the underside of the block in the east wall of the temple. The bronze socket in which the lower pivot of the heavy main door turned still remains imbedded in lead in a rectangular cutting in the rabbet along the inner edge of the block. A lighter door, or, more probably, a gate of metal grill-work, was set farther forward on the threshold, and of it there remain two cuttings, one rectangular and intended to receive the lower end of the supporting post, the other a round socket for the door pivot. From the position of the sockets and from weathering marks on the threshold we may infer that the door jamb was *ca.* 0.22 m. thick, and from this it follows that the clear opening of the doorway was only 1.74 m.

The northern doorway, if centred on the north room, measured *ca.* 1.24 m. without its jambs. The face of the adjoining wall block to the east is finished to receive a marble threshold 0.21 m. high (Fig. 52). Here too the jambs were undoubtedly of marble.

DRAIN PIT TO SOUTH OF TEMPLE

Immediately to the south of the porch of the Temple is a shallow well cut down in the bedrock to a depth 1.44 m. below the euthynteria of the building (Figs. 54 and 126). It



Fig. 54. Drain Pit at Southeast Corner of Temple III, from South

was lined with a curbing of field stones set in clay of which only the lower part remains. The inside diameter is *ca.* 0.75 m. From the bottom of the well a drain channel, 0.40 m. wide, leads off in a northeasterly direction to join the Great Drain. The bottom, both of the well and channel, was filled with water-washed gravel which yielded pottery of the first half of the fourth century B.C. The arrangement had obviously served to receive the rain water from the steep hill slope to the west and to deliver it to the Great Drain without damage to the surface of the square. From the fact that the corner of the Temple

just overlies the drain channel it is clear that the channel is the earlier and it would seem further that the drain was filled up and abandoned on the construction of the Temple.






DATING

We have already observed that the difference in ground level between the Second and Third Temples and the way in which the difference was adjusted indicate that the Third is certainly the later. Yet the fact that the small building was crowded to the very north edge of the area suggests that the Third Temple was already in prospect when the Second was built. How great the interval was we cannot say. In any case, the date about the middle of the fourth century that we have established for the Second Temple serves as a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the Third.

As noted above, we found the Third Temple almost completely excavated so that we were able to examine practically nothing of the original filling which might have been useful for fixing its date. A few small pockets of this filling found undisturbed in and about the foundations produced only a handful of non-committal sherds of the fourth century; small scraps of red figure and of black glaze.

The variety of building stone employed in the Temple is suggestive in a general way. Acropolis limestone, for instance, is found again as a toichobate above conglomerate in the Monument of Nikias (320/19 B.C. or shortly thereafter).¹ Kará limestone appears together with conglomerate and poros in the small temple in the west part of the Athenian Asklepieion, a building that is probably closely contemporary with our Temple.²

One might at first glance be tempted to compare the walls of our building with those of such an early structure as the older temple at Rhamnous.³ The principle of construction is, indeed, identical, but the absence of curves and the emphasis on the horizontal line dispel any impression of archaism in the Athenian walls. Actually, the best Athenian parallels, in respect both of material and workmanship, are to be found in connection with certain tombs outside the Dipylon and in a house to the south of the Areopagus, all dated in the second half of the fourth century B.C.⁴

The combination of  and  clamps, which seems to mark the transition from the one to the other variety, recurs in a number of other buildings which are known to date from the years immediately after Chaironeia. In the foundations of the Stoa of Philip II at Megalopolis the two varieties appear in precisely the same relation as in our Third Temple, *i. e.*, the  form above the .⁵ In the Philippeion at Olympia only  clamps

¹ W. B. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, pp. 474 ff.

² Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 323. The blocks of Kará limestone used in this building were clearly cut for their present position. Their dimensions and their style of workmanship are all against Versakis' belief that they were removed from the early Temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus (*Arch. Eph.*, 1908, cols. 277 f.; 1913, col. 72).

³ W. Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, no. 18.

⁴ W. Wrede, *op. cit.*, nos. 94, 100–103.

⁵ *J. H. S., Supplementary Papers I: Excavations at Megalopolis*, London, 1892, pp. 59 f.

were used in the structural parts, \vdash clamps in the statue base.¹ In the Temple of Zeus at Stratos \vdash clamps appear in the foundations, \neg clamps in the superstructure.² The transition is well illustrated elsewhere in Athens by the monuments of Nikias and of Thrasyllus, both erected to commemorate choregic victories won in 320/19 B.C. In the surviving parts of the first one finds only \vdash clamps, in the second both \vdash and \neg clamps.³ The exposed ends of steps in the Philonian Portico (in construction dating perhaps close around 330 B.C.) were secured by dowels leaded through pour-channels in precisely the same way as ours.⁴ The restrained use of pour-channels has been observed also in the Temple of Zeus at Stratos,⁵ and in the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene (*ca.* 335 B.C.),⁶ even in the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (*ca.* 355 B.C.).⁷

By a slight anticipation we may avail ourselves at this point of one more bit of evidence for the date of the building. From Pausanias' notice (I, 3, 4) it is clear that the cult statue of Apollo Patroos was made by Euphranor. We shall find reason to believe that the statue was intended for the Third Temple. Pliny (*N.H.*, XXXIV, 50) tells us that the *floruit* of Euphranor fell in Olympiad 104 (364–361 B.C.). We have already seen that it was he who painted in the Stoa of Zeus the scenes from the cavalry engagement at Mantinea, presumably soon after the event in 362 B.C. His latest works for which we have any adequate chronological data were statues of Philip and Alexander in quadrigae (Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIV, 78) and colossal figures of "Valor" and "Greece" commonly thought to be due to Philip II and to date after Chaironeia (Pliny, *l.c.*). In order to secure so important a public commission as the decoration of the Stoa of Zeus Euphranor must already have been an artist of established reputation *ca.* 360 B.C. It is obvious, then, that his active career could not have extended much beyond those works for Philip and Alexander, in all probability not beyond the third quarter of the century.⁸

For the construction of the Third Temple we now have an upper limit around the middle of the fourth century fixed by the date of the Second Temple. The system of clamping and dowelling employed finds excellent parallels in the period just after 338 B.C. The cult statue intended for the temple can scarcely have been executed after 325 B.C.

¹ *Olympia*, II, pp. 128 ff., p. 133, fig. 7.

² F. Courby and Ch. Picard, *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Acarnanie*, pp. 83 f.

³ Only \vdash clamps were used in the frieze of the Philonian portico at Eleusis, a part of the structure which probably dates from the time of Demetrios of Phaleron (317–307 B.C.). But, as Noack has suggested, the form of clamp may have been fixed by regulations drawn up as early as 330 B.C. F. Noack, *Eleusis*, pp. 117, 121, 129.

⁴ Cf. Noack, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁵ *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos*, p. 84.

⁶ *Priene*, p. 119.

⁷ C. Dugas, J. Berchmans, M. Clemmensen, *Le Sanctuaire d'Alea Athéna à Tégée*, p. 56.

⁸ For a recent study of the chronology of Euphranor see F. Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 41. An Attic pelike, decorated with a figure of Apollo Kitharoidos obviously based on a cult statue and inspired in all probability by the work of Euphranor newly set up in the Athenian Kerameikos has been dated from the ceramic side at *ca.* 335 B.C. Karl Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, pl. 18, b, p. 22; *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, no. 370, p. 142.

The conclusion would seem inevitable that the building should be dated late in the third quarter of the fourth century. Since the temple was presumably erected at the public expense we are perhaps justified in surmising that it was part of the extensive building program for which the orator Lykourgos won renown during the time that he controlled the finances of the city (338–326 B.C.).

IDENTIFICATION AND HISTORY

Τάυτας τὰς γραφὰς (in the Stoa of Zeus) *Εὐφράνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρώον ἐπὶ κλήσιν· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεῶ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαις ἐποίησε. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν λοιμώδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοποννησίων πολέμῳ πύζουσαν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσε(ν ἔκ) Λελῶν.*

Ἰσοδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρόδος θεῶν ἱερόν, . . .

Pausanias, I, 3, 4.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the Third Temple is the building in which Pausanias saw Euphranor's statue. He described the temple as close by the Stoa in which he had seen Euphranor's paintings and immediately afterwards he mentioned the Metroon. We have found reason to identify the Stoa of Zeus with assurance. The identification of the Metroon, as we shall see, may be taken as certain. The sanctuary in question lies midway between the two. No other suitable candidate for the Temple of Apollo Patroos has come to light in the immediate area. The Hephaisteion has been suggested as a rival. If we admit its claim for a moment, then we still have the ruins just described to account for, and we shall be hard put to explain Pausanias' failure to mention a building that occupied a very prominent position adjoining his route and that was obviously a temple, probably the largest to face on the Market square.¹

The small apsidal building immediately beneath the later temple of Apollo is sufficiently shown by its very position to belong to the same divinity. We may, then, speak with propriety of the bronze *kouros* whose mould was found nearby as an archaic Apollo.

The identification of the Second Temple is not so simple. Inasmuch as it bridges part of the chronological gap between the First and the Third Temples, one might be tempted to regard the Second also as of Apollo. But in this case why should the small building, along with its altar, have been left standing to obstruct the site for the larger temple that was to follow so shortly? It seems probable, indeed, as already observed that the Second Temple was crowded close against the Stoa in order to leave as much space as possible for the (already contemplated) Third. The way in which the northern part of the area was

¹ Dr. Dörpfeld, since the first appearance of the building, has insisted on its connection with the Stoa Basileios (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, pp. 107 ff.; XXII, 1897, p. 225; *Ant. Denk.*, II, 1899–1901, Tafel 37; see also B. Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion*, pp. 259 f.). Judeich did not admit this identification and on his restored sketch of the Agora named the building the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (*Topographie*², p. 331, fig. 43). For the view that the "Theseion" is the Temple of Apollo Patroos see Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 345, n. 4; 365, n. 2.

invaded and its level reduced by the builders of the Stoa further suggests that Apollo was not sole proprietor.

If we cast about for possible associates, we shall find that the choice is limited. The most probable combination is with Zeus or Athena, or rather, with both. In Demosthenes' speech against Meidias (XXI, 198) an oath is taken by Zeus, Apollo, and Athena and the scholiasts on the Iliad B, 371¹ inform us that this oath was peculiar to the Athenians for to them these three gods were paternal. The same three divinities are again closely associated in Plato's *Euthydemos* (302 c) and here it is Zeus Phratrios (or Herkeios) and Athena Phratría who are coupled with Apollo Patroos.² Such an association is readily intelligible. Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratría were, naturally, the principal divinities of the phratry. But Apollo Patroos also had intimate connections with the fraternal organization. A client of Demosthenes, when being enrolled in his phratry, was presented to the members of the phratry and was taken to the sanctuary of Apollo Patroos and "to the other sanctuaries," which, presumably, included that of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratría.³ Apollo Patroos was associated also with Zeus Herkeios,⁴ but the cults of Zeus Herkeios and of Zeus Phratrios were very close, the one domestic, the other fraternal.⁵ That a state as well as a fraternal cult of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratría existed is sufficiently attested by the appearance of the couple in the sacred calendar recently found in the Agora.⁶

The hypothesis that Apollo shared the sanctuary with Zeus and Athena will account, moreover, for other circumstances otherwise difficult to explain. It has been shown that the southern part of the area occupied by the adjoining stoa had been, probably always was, sacred to Zeus. If we grant further that Zeus had a claim also to the area in which the Second Temple was subsequently built, the incursion made by the architect of the Stoa of Zeus will not seem so intolerable. In the second place, the statue base within the Second Temple must be restored, as indicated above, to a width unreasonably great for a single figure of a scale appropriate to the building. It would comfortably accommodate two figures of that scale.

¹ Quoted by A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, i, p. 730.

² *Εἴτα τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἔφη, Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἔστιν Ζεὺς ὁ πατρῴος; — Οὐκ ἔστιν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, αὐτὴ ἡ ἐπωνυμία Ἰώνων οὐδενί, οὐθ' ὅσοι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἀπωκισμένοι εἰσὶν οὐθ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ Ἀπόλλων πατρῴος διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἰωνος γένεσιν. Ζεὺς δ' ἡμῖν πατρῴος μὲν οὐ καλεῖται, ἐρκεῖος δὲ καὶ φράτριος, καὶ Ἀθηναία φρατρία. — Ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖ γ', ἔφη ὁ Διονυσόδωρος, ἔστι γάρ σοι, ὡς ἔοικεν, Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ.*

³ LVII, 54: παιδίον ὄντα με εὐθέως ἤγον εἰς τοὺς φράτριος, εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῴου ἤγον, εἰς τὰλλα ἱερά.

⁴ Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 55, 3: ἐπερωτῶσιν δ' ὅταν δοκιμάζωσιν [τοὺς ἀρχοντας]... εἰ ἔστιν αὐτῷ Ἀπόλλων πατρῴος καὶ Ζεὺς ἐρκεῖος καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἱερά ἐστίν.

Demosthenes, LVII, 67: 'οἰκεῖοί τινες εἶναι μαρτυροῦσιν αὐτῷ;' πάνν γε, φράτερες, εἴτα Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῴου καὶ Διὸς ἐρκεῖου γεννῆται, κτλ.

Harpokration, s.v. 'Ερκεῖος Ζεὺς': Δεῖναρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μοσχίωνος· εἰ φράτερες αὐτῷ καὶ βωμοὶ Διὸς ἐρκεῖου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῴου εἰσὶν. ἐρκεῖος Ζεὺς, ᾧ βωμὸς ἐντὸς ἔρκους ἐν τῇ ἀλλῇ ὑδρῦται — ὅτι δὲ τοῦτοις μετὴν τῆς πολιτείας οἷς εἴη Ζεὺς ἐρκεῖος, δεδήλωκε καὶ Ὑπερείδης.

⁵ See Plato, *Euthydemos*, 302 C cited above and *C. A. F.*, II, 291, 9 (Kratinos the Younger): Ζεὺς ἔστι μοι ἐρκεῖος, ἔστι φράτριος, τὰ τέλη τελεῶ.

⁶ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 21, l. 48 ff.

A bit of evidence that amounts almost to a formal proof of the suggested identification is provided by an altar of Hymettian marble (I 3706) found in the spring of 1936 in the upper levels in front of the northern part of the Stoa of Attalos (Fig. 55). Though the back part of the block is broken away, its original width may be restored on the supposition that the sinking in the top, intended to secure the metal fire-pan, was centred transversely as it was longitudinally. In plan, then, the block measured 0.60×0.75 m. The three preserved faces of the altar are lightly stippled save for an edging band finished with the toothed



Fig. 55. Altar of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia

chisel and for a panel across the front that bears, in characters lightly and carelessly cut, the inscription:

ΔΙΟΣ ΦΑΤΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΦΑΤΡΙΑΞ

The workings on top of the large poros block that rests in position in front of the Second Temple and that has been referred to above as an altar base suggest two periods of use. In the first the superimposed block was 0.91 m. long and was fastened by a dowel set in the round sinking that is centred in relation to the earlier arrangement. In the second period, the preserved stone carried another block with a length of *ca.* 0.78 m. and width of *ca.* 0.65 m. Around this block occurred most of the heavy wear which appears in Fig. 41. It will be observed that the disparity in dimensions between the plan of the newly found

altar and the later traces on top of the poros base will admit of a plinth of appropriate size between the two. One might be further encouraged to associate the pieces by the discovery in the packing under the poros block of working chips of marble identical with that of the altar. Nor need he be discouraged by the apparent remoteness of the place of finding of the altar stone. This block of convenient size may very well have been carried off by the builders of the Valerian Wall (to the point in the wall closest to its original position). In recent centuries, when the Wall in turn became the quarry of block hunters, the marble must have been removed and incorporated into a house foundation then being built at a distance of a few meters from the Wall.

As for the date of the altar, one might be tempted by the forms of the *alpha* and the *nu* in its inscription to place it in the fifth century B.C. But the use of Hymettian marble and the general carelessness in the working both of stone and inscription make improbable a date so early. As Meritt suggests, a group of Attic boundary stones, chiefly from mortgaged properties, provide adequate parallels in point of material, quality of workmanship, and archaic appearance.¹ From external evidence, the boundary stones may be dated to the middle and second half of the fourth century. The altar, then, may well be contemporary with the temple to which we have ventured to assign it. This represents the sum of our knowledge regarding the sanctuary and cult of Zeus and Athena.

We may now consider some of the dedications made to Apollo, and, first, the statues mentioned by Pausanias. In 1907, while uniting the two deep pits that had previously been opened in this area by Dörpfeld, the Greek Archaeological Society discovered the fragments of a statue of heroic size which was recognized as being of the type of Apollo Kitharoidos and which has been described indeed as Apollo Patroos (Fig. 56). It is said to have lain some 20 m. to the south of the building which we have identified as the later Temple of Apollo, that is within the north room of what has now proved to be the Metroon.² The bulk of the statue and the freshness of its surfaces leave no doubt that it originally stood somewhere nearby. Its type excludes it from the Metroon in which it was found and likewise from the Hephaisteion from which it might be thought to have rolled down. We are left with the nearby sanctuary of Apollo, and the scale of the statue further limits the choice to the Third Temple. That the piece stood under cover is shown by its unweathered surface. Its size and its pose would be perfectly appropriate to the cult statue designed for a cella of the size of that in the Third Temple and its style and admirable workmanship proclaim it an original of the fourth century B.C. The probability, then, becomes very strong that we have to do with Euphranor's Apollo Patroos.³

¹ *I. G.*, II², 2642 ff.

² Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 333. On the statue itself see the brief note by Kourouniotes in *Arch. Delt.*, 1916, Parart., p. 80 and the reference to it by Keramopoulos, *ibidem*, 1929, p. 95, n. 1.

³ It is not impossible that the statue of Apollo actually stood for a time in the north room of the Metroon where it was found. We shall show presently that in late times this part of the Metroon was extensively restored. The Temple of Apollo, on the other hand, would seem not to have been reconditioned after the sack of 267 A.D. The probability is perhaps strengthened by the discovery of the threshold block



Fig. 56. Statue of Apollo Patroos. National Museum, Athens

With the statues by Kalamis and Leochares mentioned by Pausanias the case is not so clear. We cannot fix the date of Kalamis' work more closely than within the limits of the active career of the artist, *i. e. ca.* 470–440 B.C.¹ If the tradition reported by Pausanias is correct, we must presume that the divinity represented by the statue was without attribute until it came to be called "Averter of Evil" from assistance rendered in stemming the plague of 430–427 B.C.² In view of what we now know of the history of the sanctuary, an alternative theory, long since proposed, becomes more attractive. Pausanias' informant may have been in error and the title may really have originated with the repulse of the Persians.³ If this is so, then we may suppose that the youthful Kalamis was commissioned to do a new cult statue for the pillaged sanctuary and that Apollo had for long to be satisfied with this statue before the city could afford to rebuild his temple.⁴ The figure was probably done in bronze, Kalamis' favorite medium and a sufficient guarantee of its disappearance.

Nor can we speak with more precision of Leochares' work. The artist's *floruit* is placed by Pliny (*N. H.*, XXXIV, 50) in Olympiad 102 (372–368 B.C.), but the artist could still assist in the dedication made at Delphi by Krateros after Alexander's death (*ca.* 320 B.C.?). We have no certain clue as to where in Leochares' career the Athenian work falls. The probability, however, is that Leochares' statue antedates the Third Temple and Euphranor's Apollo. Both statues were, presumably, dedications made at the expense of the state and it is difficult to conceive of an occasion for ordering a new and expensive statue at a time necessarily very shortly after the completion of the Third Temple and the dedication of its cult statue proper.⁵

The statue by Kalamis, then, was certainly, that by Leochares probably earlier than the Third Temple. The building commission must have found them standing in the open sanctuary, and naturally felt obliged to make adequate provision for them. The benches which have been restored as original features structurally incorporated in the front wall of the cella would have provided a sheltered and honorable new home for the earlier figures and there they undoubtedly stood when Pausanias passed.⁶

from Apollo's temple in the same room of the Metroon and the presence of the two omphaloi, which were undoubtedly Apollo's, at the northeast corner of the Metroon (below, pp. 110 ff.). Consider also the fate of the statue of Hadrian (above, p. 68).

¹ F. Studniczka, *Kalamis*, p. 81.

² This is the view of Studniczka, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.

³ A comparable error would seem to be involved in a scholion to Aristophanes *Ranae* 501 according to which a statue of Herakles Alexikakos by Ageladas, the Argive teacher of Pheidias, was dedicated on the occasion of the Great Plague. See the discussion by Studniczka, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.

⁴ Reisch's attribution of the statue to his younger Kalamis, the beginning of whose active career he fixed *ca.* 385 B.C., is invalidated by the long interval between the occasion and the expression of the gratitude. *Jahreshefte*, IX, 1906, pp. 232 ff. On the attempt to identify copies see Studniczka, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 ff.

⁵ On the suggestion that the Apollo Belvedere may be derived from this Apollo by Leochares see Lippold in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencycl.*, XII, 1925, col. 1996.

⁶ The perigete's language would seem to suggest as much. Note his use of the Attic genitive in the second case: ἐν τῷ ναῷ but πρὸ τοῦ νεώ. We should probably translate "in the temple" but "in front

In the Epigraphical Museum lies a slab of Pentelic marble which undoubtedly comes from the same sanctuary though it was actually found by the Varvakeion where it too had served a second use (Figs. 57, 58).¹ Something was trimmed from its lower part by its re-users. Its one face is smooth dressed and bears the inscription *Ἀπόλλωνος Πατρῶον*. At either end a joint surface is worked to receive the end of a similar slab set at right angles. The piece obviously comes from the front of an altar that consisted of four marble slabs set on edge with a cover slab on which the offerings were made.² The style of lettering and the workmanship of the block would fit well in the late fourth or early third century. We may take it then as altogether probable that the inscribed slab formed the front of the altar erected for the Third Temple.³

Among the dedications to Apollo we may safely include two omphaloi which were found together in a late Roman level at the northeast corner of the Metroon (Figs. 59, 101). The two are identical in material (Hymettian marble) and in workmanship but slightly different in dimensions and profile. Their walls are finished with a toothed chisel; a band 0.01 m. wide around the lower edge is smooth dressed; the undersides are roughly dressed with the toothed hammer. On the tip of each is a small sinking, worn smooth by the tramping which occurred after the omphaloi reached the place where they were now found, deep enough originally perhaps to retain a metal attachment. Alongside this sinking in the top of each is a cutting for a lewis.⁴ The weathering on the surface of the omphaloi, which certainly predates their removal, suggests that they stood originally in an exposed position, conceivably between the front columns of the temple. Since there is no trace of fillets worked

of the cella." The statues of Athena and Hermes called the Pronaoi seen by the same traveller at the Temple of Ismenian Apollo by Thebes undoubtedly occupied a similar position (Paus. IX, 10, 2: *πρῶτα μὲν δὴ λίθου κατὰ τὴν ἑσθρόν ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἑρμῆς, ὀνομαζόμενοι πρόναοι· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν Φειδίας, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν λέγεται Σκόπας· μετὰ δὲ ὁ ναὸς ῥυκοδόμηται*). We have already observed that the remains on the Theban site suggested the restoration of benches like those proposed for the Athenian temple. Does Hesychius' *πρόνεως Προειδῶν* refer to still another statue similarly placed?

In clearing the ruinous front steps of the Third Temple we found a basketful of slivers of Pentelic marble from the drapery of a large statue. The workmanship is excellent, the finish somewhat smoother than that of the statue found in the Metroon. Repeated efforts have failed to establish any join between the slivers and that statue. The fragments, then, must come from another large statue of the classical period which may very well have stood in the porch of the temple.

Soteriou, in exploring the ruins of the Church of St. Dionysios on the north slope of the Areopagus, found a rectangular base of white marble inscribed with a dedication to Apollo Patroos in lettering of the fourth century B.C.: . . . Θ|εοδώρου | Ἀπόλλωνι πατρῶ[ω] | ἀνέθηκεν (*Arch. Delt.*, 1916, p. 143). This base presumably bore an offering and stood in our sanctuary, from which it was carried off as a building stone of convenient size and shape.

¹ *I.G.*, II², 4984; *Ath. Mitt.*, II, 1877, p. 187.

² For this style of construction one finds a ready parallel in the fifth-century altar of Athena Hygieia at the southeast corner of the Propylaia (Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 242 f.).

³ This altar may be the "Altar of Apollo in the Agora" that was gilded in the time of Lykourgos (Ps. Plut., X. *Orat.*, 843 F).

⁴ The lewis holes need not be taken to imply that the objects were set at a height, which indeed would be out of keeping with the essential nature of an omphalos. The lewis was the convenient means of handling an otherwise awkward mass in the workshop and between workshop and sanctuary.



Fig. 57. Front Slab of Altar of Apollo Patroos (*I.G.*, II², 4984)

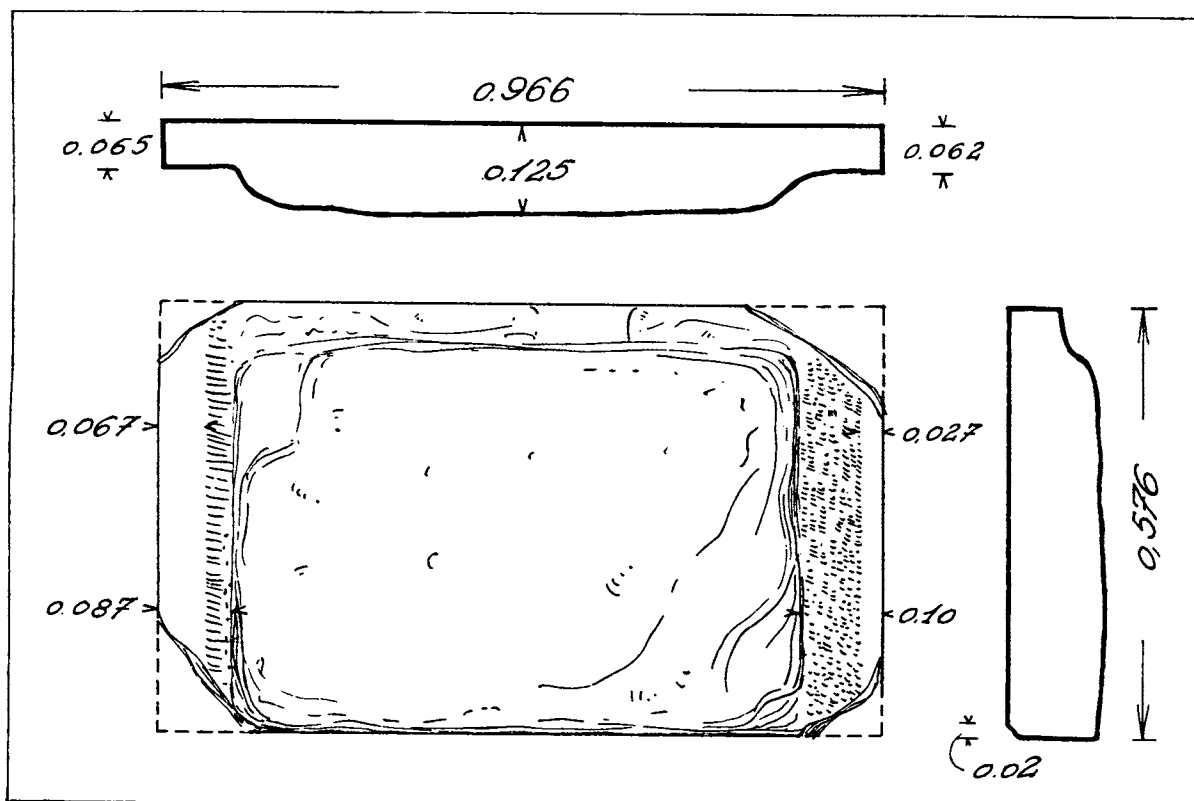


Fig. 58. Slab from Altar of Apollo Patroos; Elevation of Back, Horizontal and Vertical Sections

in relief on the surface of the marble we may suppose that these, like the older omphalos at Delphi, were decked on occasion with actual fillets.¹

That omphaloi, copies, that is, of the original at Delphi, were set up in Apollo's sanctuaries elsewhere may be inferred from an Argive inscription of the third century B.C. which records the establishment of an omphalos in accordance with an oracle (undoubtedly in the sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo at Argos).² At Athens, too, one would have expected the sacred symbols in the sanctuary of the Pythian rather than of the Patroon cult. But that the two aspects of the divinity were closely associated in the minds of Athenians

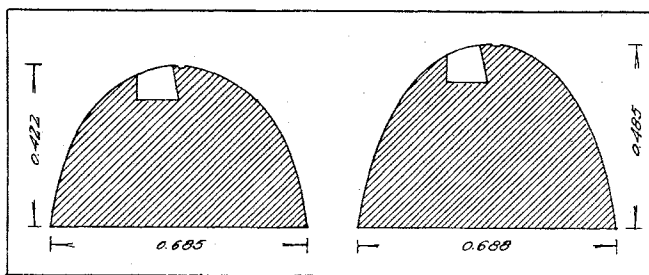


Fig. 59. Omphaloi, Vertical Sections

appears, for instance, from Demosthenes' appeal in *de Corona* 141 to τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει. The association is illustrated too by the inscription on an altar found at Athens: Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγνιεύς προστατερί[ον] πατρῷον πυθίου κλαρίον πανιώνιον.³

¹ The omphalos is frequently represented in ancient works of art of which a selection is given by J. H. Middleton in *J.H.S.*, IX, 1888, pp. 294 ff. For more complete references see the excellent article by G. Karo in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. *omphalos*. Yet very few actual specimens have been found. Three are known from Delphi: (1) of poros, without fillets, found probably within the foundations of the fourth-century temple of Apollo (F. Courby, *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, *La Terrasse du Temple*, pp. 69 ff.; Holland, *A.J.A.*, XXVII, 1933, pp. 212 ff.); (2) of marble with fillets worked in relief, found to the east of the temple (Courby, *l. c.*, pp. 70 ff., fig. 63, p. 266, fig. 209); (3) of a more slender conical shape, without fillets, found to the south of the Treasury of the Athenians (Courby, *l. c.*, p. 70, n. 4; E. Bourguet, *Les Ruines de Delphes*, p. 248, n. 1, fig. 31). Another was found in the sanctuary of the Amarysian Artemis between Chalkis and Eretria. It is of marble, covered with fillets in relief, and rests on a massive base worked in one piece with the cone (*Arch. Eph.*, 1900, cols. 19 ff., fig. 1). Within the cella of the Temple of Apollo at Pompeii rests an omphalos of tufa on the surface of which are traces of fillets worked in relief (Pierre Gusman, *Pompeii*, pp. 80 ff.; Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 81). To these may be added the marble statue base in shape of an omphalos, fillet bound, found in the west parodos of the Theatre of Dionysos at Athens (A. Conze, *Beiträge zur Geschichte griechischer Plastik*, pl. V; C. Waldstein, *J.H.S.*, I, 1880, pp. 179 f.). Fragments of a large marble omphalos, fillet bound, have been found to the east of the Metroon.

² *B.C.H.*, XXVII, 1903, pp. 270 ff.

³ Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, I, p. 25; Jane Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. 35, fig. 7; *I.G.*, III², 4995. *I.G.*, III², 3630 had been restored by Dittenberger to attest a joint priesthood of the Patroon and Pythian cults. Graindor (*Rev. Arch.*, 1917, p. 27), by adding a new fragment, showed that the cult was only of Apollo Patroos of the *genos* of the Gephyraioi.

The list of offerings and dedications is not long, nor is there reason to suppose that the cult ever became very popular. It has been suggested that it may have been established and supported by the state of the Athenians to lend color to their contention that Attica was the home of the Ionian race.¹ Certainly the cult always retained a civic, official character. A client of Demosthenes, on being enrolled in his phratry apparently in the regular manner, was taken to the sanctuary of Apollo Patroos.² The archons in Aristotle's day on undergoing the preliminary scrutiny were asked whether they had altars of Zeus Herkeios and Apollo Patroos and if so where.³ The jurymen in the court on Ardettos took their oath by Apollo Patroos, Demeter and Zeus Basileus.⁴

From other sources we learn little to supplement what has already been gathered from its stones about the history of the sanctuary. It may be that the Patroon is comparatively youthful among the Apolline sanctuaries of Athens. One would be inclined, for instance, *ipso facto* to assign priority to the god's rude sanctuary in the cave *ἐντὸς Μακράς*. The folk stories which associated Theseus with the Delphinion suggest for that dwelling of Apollo in Athens a very considerable antiquity.⁵ If the Pythion owed not only the altar of which Thucydides wrote but also its foundation to the house of the tyrants as we are told, then the Agora sanctuary may well vie with it in age.⁶ Neither in literature nor in the preserved inscriptions is there anything to suggest for the sanctuary in the Agora a date earlier than that of the statue by Kalamis, and yet the present exploration has pushed its foundation well back beyond the time of Kalamis. The fortunes of the sanctuary through the fifth and the fourth centuries have been illustrated from the ruins and need not be reviewed here.⁷ For the Hellenistic period we learn nothing from outside sources and for the Roman period practically nothing. We know where the priest of Apollo Patroos sat in the Theatre

¹ Cf. J. A. R. Munro, *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, pp. 116 ff., especially p. 118.

² *Demosthenes*, LVII, 54. As Wachsmuth observes, *Die Stadt Athen*, II, p. 418, n. 4, the sanctuary in question may have been that of the phratry rather than that of the state in the Agora.

³ Aristotle, *Ath. Polit.*, 55, 3 and further references quoted by Sandys *ad loc.* Keramopoulos has suggested that the stone by which the archons took their oath of office was the altar of Apollo (*Arch. Delt.*, XII, 1929, pp. 92 ff.). Another candidate for the "stone" has been noted above (p. 74).

⁴ Pollux, VIII, 122.

⁵ Plutarch, *Theseus*, 14 and 18.

⁶ Thuc. VI, 54; Suidas, s. v. *πόθιον*; Photios, *Lexikon*, s. v. *πόθιον*; Hesychios, s. v. *ἐν πυθίῳ χεῖσαι*.

⁷ It would seem not impossible that the inscription *I.G.*, I², 79, of the late fifth century, should be referred to this sanctuary. Provision is made for an annual levy of 2 drachmas from each knight, one from each hoplite, 3 obols from each bowman. The boule is instructed to appoint from its own number two treasurers to administer these funds of Apollo and these treasurers, together with the priest of Apollo, are to concern themselves in some way with the sanctuary of the God; lines 15 ff.: τ[ὸ] δὲ ταμῆα μετὰ [τῷ] ἡμ[ε]ρ[ε]ῖ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ τε | μένος τῷ Ἀπόλλωνο[ς] ἐπιμετέσθον, ὅπως ἐν κάλλισ | τα θειραπεύεται . . . One might date the document to a time immediately after the completion of the adjoining Stoa and suppose that temporary provision was made for the rearrangement of the sanctuary necessitated by the disruption caused by the construction of the Stoa and that the sacred fund and its board of treasurers looked forward to the construction of a new temple for the god, a plan which was long delayed by financial exigencies. Such a restoration would suit admirably the evidence yielded by the site, but the inscription in itself contains nothing to connect it definitely with this particular sanctuary of Apollo.

of Dionysos (*I. G.*, III², 5061) and we know the names of two late incumbents of that office, one probably of the late second century A.D. (*I. G.*, III², 3630), the other of the third century (*I. G.*, III², 3697).

ABANDONMENT OF THE SANCTUARY

For the actual destruction of the Second and Third Temples we have no precise evidence. We may suppose however that they shared the fate of the Stoa to the north and of the



Fig. 60. Front of Later Temple of Apollo from the South, during Excavation

Metroon to the south and that they were seriously damaged in the sack of 267 A.D. There is nothing to suggest the repair of either building after that time. The area would seem to have lain desolate for at least a couple of generations thereafter. It was perhaps at this time that much of the ancient ground level was torn away in front of the temples, particularly around the northeast corner of the sanctuary. The resulting appearance of this region is well illustrated by Fig. 41 in which the level that appears along the front of the Third Temple is the first solid floor reached by the excavators. Yet this level is lower than the bottom of the bedding block for the altar of the Second Temple and that block must have been practically covered by earth when the area was in order.

This damage may well have been done by winter torrents after the Great Drain became blocked in the period of desolation following the sack of the area.

Around the middle of the fourth century A.D. this area, like that farther north, began to be inhabited once more. The ground level now rose quickly in front of the Temple and the advancing years could be followed with the help of the many coins, lamps and broken pots found in the stratified accumulation. By the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries the level had risen again to the top of the euthynteria. Above this level lay great masses of ash and charcoal, intermingled with soft earth and broken pottery. The layer of burnt matter lay deepest above the euthynteria of the Third Temple, where it reached a depth of 0.70 m., and thinned out to nothing at a point 10 m. east of the Temple front. Toward the north it continued to about the middle of the front of the southern wing of the Stoa. Apparently the rubbish was thrown out of some neighboring factory or workshop. The coins and pottery found in it show that it was gathering in the first half of the fifth century A.D. From Fig. 60 it will be clear that the layer of burning, marked by the white lines in the earth filling, extended unbroken above the conglomerate subfoundations of the colonnade and from this it follows that the marble steps had already been removed. Practically the entire remaining part of the building must now have been concealed and forgotten. Habitation would seem to have ceased again in this region in the latter part of the fifth or in the sixth century A.D. and when straggling settlers returned in the tenth century they could scarcely have suspected the existence of the Temple.

METROON-BOULEUTERION COMPLEX

POSITION

In the next place toward the south, and again set in close by the foot of Kolonos, lies a group of buildings which we may call the Metroon-Bouleuterion complex (Fig. 61). About two-thirds of the total area is now overlaid by the massive foundations of a building which we shall come to know as the Hellenistic Metroon. The northern part of this structure overlies the ruinous foundations of a small temple, probably the first Temple of the Mother of the Gods. Beneath the southern part of the Hellenistic foundations we shall recover the scheme of a large square building, the Old Bouleuterion. To the west of the Hellenistic Metroon are the rock-cut beddings and the few surviving blocks of the New Bouleuterion. The porch that was later added to the New Bouleuterion is to be noted along its southern side, and the Propylon, contemporary with the porch, through which the New Bouleuterion was approached from the market square, may be made out at the southeastern corner of the Hellenistic Metroon. Deep beneath the foundations of the Old Bouleuterion and in the areas immediately north and south of it, lie fragmentary earlier walls, some of which conceivably supported a Primitive Bouleuterion. The complex is bordered on the south by the Tholos.



Fig. 61. Metroon-Bouleuterion Complex from East Pediment of Hephaisteion. 1936

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

The northern end of the Hellenistic Metroon was brought to light by the German Archaeological Institute in the winter of 1895–96 in the campaign which produced also the neighboring Temple of Apollo. About one-half of the great north room, together with its share of the eastern porch, appears on the sketch accompanying the report of the first excavation.¹ The Greek Archaeological Society, continuing in 1907 and 1908 the work begun by the Germans, not only removed the bank of earth between this building and the Temple of Apollo but also cleared all four rooms of the Metroon. Though its width had been fixed at the northern end, most of the eastern porch still lay deep beneath the modern Poseidon Street.² Much of the porch was cleared in the first season (1931) of the current excavations and in each succeeding season some time has been devoted to the further clearing and study of the building.³

Most of the area occupied by the New Bouleuterion was exposed by the Greek Archaeological Society in the years 1907–1908. In the spring of 1934 the Porch of the building was freed of its deep covering and the connection was definitely established between the council house proper and its Propylon which had already been excavated in the previous season. Supplementary digging was done in the spring of 1935 around the Propylon and between the Propylon and the main building.

EARLIEST BUILDINGS

We may now attempt to disentangle the various foundations and to restore the buildings as far as possible, commencing with the lowest and earliest. In all periods, the architects working in this area were faced with the inevitable difficulties of the site: a gentle slope from south to north and an abrupt, irregular drop from west to east. The difficulties are especially apparent in the earlier periods, *i. e.* in the Old Bouleuterion and the buildings whose foundations now lie beneath it. These earliest remains indicate two periods of construction, in each of which the most substantial element was an eastern retaining wall that supported a terrace at the foot of Kolonos, the building or buildings proper rising on the terrace.

FIRST PERIOD

Of the terrace wall to be associated with the first period, the front line may be traced beneath and within the limits of the porch of the Hellenistic Metroon (Pl. VI, Figs. 62, 63). This front has a length of 14.56 m. and is oriented not quite north-south. At its northern end, the wall turns at right angles toward the west and runs back a distance of 15.00 m.

¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, pp. 107 ff.; *Ant. Denk.*, II, 1899–1901, p. 1, pl. 37.

² *Praktika*, 1907, pp. 54 ff.; 1908, p. 59; Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 331 ff., fig. 42.

³ A preliminary architectural study of the building by Richard Stillwell has appeared in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 131 ff. Cf. also *ibidem*, pp. 105 f., 461.

The northwestern corner likewise forms a right angle. The west wall may be traced southward a distance of *ca.* 9.00 m. beyond which all trace of it has been destroyed by the subsequent cutting down of bedrock. At its southern end, the front wall of the terrace turns westward at an obtuse angle and apparently terminates against the rising bedrock beneath the foundations of the front wall of the Hellenistic building. Of these walls the eastern, in its lower part, was obviously a retaining wall serving to support the filling which



Fig. 62. Foundations beneath Porch of Hellenistic Metroon, from North

carried the floor of the building. The original ground level of the roadway in front of the wall at its northern end was 52.88 m., whereas the floor level of the building was 54.30 m. At the southern end of the eastern wall the original street level rose to a height of 53.60 m. In the northwestern corner, the bedrock was cut down to a depth of at least 1.60 m. to accommodate the building so that the western wall and the northern wall toward the northwestern corner were set against the face of a rock-cut scarp.

The building proper may be supposed to have been confined to the northern part of the terrace, the eastern retaining wall rising to serve as a free standing wall. It would then have opened on the free southern part of the terrace which was presumably approached

from the south. No trace remains of an entrance from the east. In the absence of all remains of the south wall, we cannot fix the north-south dimension of the building.

The eastern wall is preserved to a height of 2.00 m. at its northern end (Fig. 63) whereas toward the south it has been broken away to its lowest blocks. It is built of masses of Acropolis limestone in a primitive polygonal style. The blocks vary greatly in size, attaining a maximum length of 1.00 m. The interstices between the larger blocks were filled in



Fig. 63. Northeast Corner of Terrace Wall of First Period overlaid by Foundations of Hellenistic Metroon

with smaller fragments so that a minimum working was necessary for the joints. The exposed faces were sometimes left as they had broken in the quarry, elsewhere they were finished with the toothed hammer. No mortar of any kind was used. In the whole of its preserved height the wall served to retain an earth filling so that it has naturally only one finished face. The inner part was carried up in smaller stones less carefully placed making up a total thickness of *ca.* 0.70 m. The same style of construction was followed in the other walls of the building though rather less care was taken to bring their inner faces to a smooth surface. We may suppose that the upper walls were of unbaked brick. A few shattered bits of the bricks still cling to the ruinous top of the terrace wall at its north end,

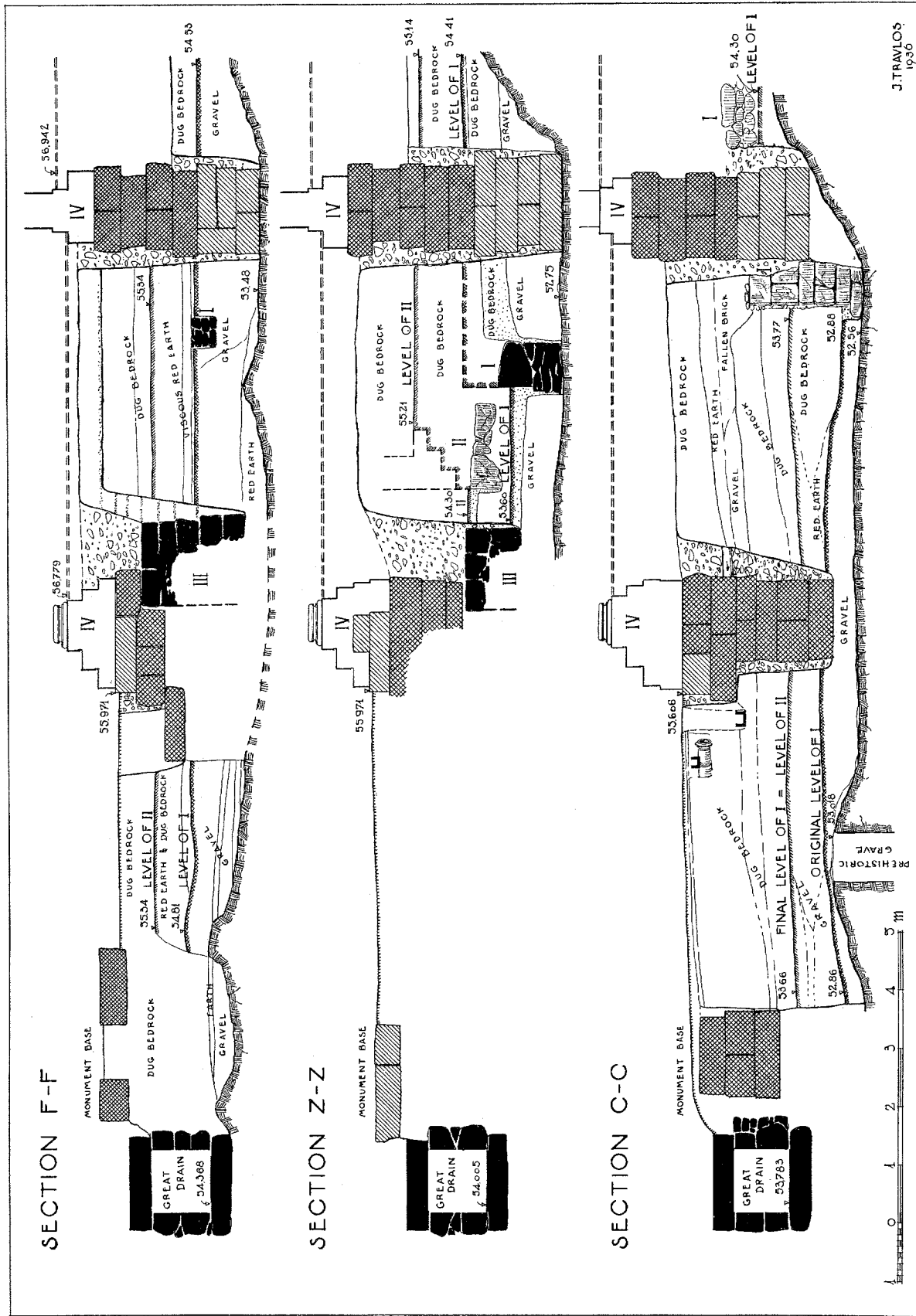


Fig. 64. Sections through Porch of Hellenistic Metroon. See Plate VI

and disintegrated masses of them filled the trench of the north-south retaining wall and overlay the dirt floors of the rooms.

Another contemporary building of similar construction and ground level and with approximately the same orientation lay to the south. No trace of a terrace wall has been found in connection with it, and the rising ground level would have rendered such a wall unnecessary. The northwest corner of the foundations of the building remains and parts



Fig. 65. Earliest Foundations and Pier of Old Bouleuterion in Second Room from South of Hellenistic Metroon

of its north and east walls (Fig. 65). The east-west dimension is fixed at 7.72 m.; of the north-south length only 5.20 m. remain. In its north wall the traces of a doorway are preserved. The foundation walls as preserved are of Acropolis limestone in big and little pieces, the joint surfaces for the most part unworked, but the exposed faces neatly aligned and dressed with the hammer. The wall thickness varies from 0.50 m. to 0.53 m., the preserved height is nowhere greater than 0.55 m. Numerous fragments of sun-dried brick found along the foundations indicate that the upper walls were made of that material. An annex had subsequently been erected against the west side of the building. The lowest

course of stones for its north wall and part of its west wall remain. They were laid in a more careless style than those of the main building. The floors of the building and annex were of packed clay.

To the north of this building and separated from it by an alley 1.20 m. wide, rose another structure of which only the southwest corner is preserved in its lowest foundations (Fig. 65). Later foundations have obscured or destroyed all but 1.20 m. of its west wall, 2.30 m. of its south wall. In construction it resembles the main building, but its stone socle is only 0.40 m. thick.

A deep cut sunk to the south of the Metroon, between its south wall and the polygonal wall that runs west from the Propylon, revealed scanty remains of another similar building in the same series (Pl. VI, Fig. 97). Later building operations have left us *ca.* 2.65 m. of a north-south retaining wall built of big and little blocks of Acropolis limestone. Only the lowest row of stones remains. The total thickness of the wall with its backing is 0.60 m. Set against the east face of the wall is a small L-shaped structure of similar construction (2.10×1.42 m.) intended doubtless to support a few steps leading up to the terrace above, the steps to be approachable from the north. Subsequent builders have cut down the terrace behind so that we can hope for no more of the walls of the building proper nor even of its floor. A slightly defined cutting in the bedrock beneath the south room of the Hellenistic Metroon suggests that the terrace wall originally extended north through the width of that room at least.

For the dating of the principal retaining wall, we may consult two groups of pottery, the one from the surface of the pre-existing accumulation into which the wall was set, the other from the filling that was thrown in behind the wall to form the terrace. In Fig. 66 are illustrated representative pieces, including those apparently latest in date, Nos. *c-e*, *g-j* from the upper gravelly layer through which the wall was set, the rest from the filling behind the wall.

- a. P 6094. From the upper wall of a krater. Diam. of lip *ca.* 0.31 m. In a handle zone the animal-headed prow of a long galley crossed by the vertical bars which closed the zone toward the handle. On top of the rim, groups of transverse bars. Flaky brown glaze.

The shape of the vase and the boat find close parallels in a large krater in Toronto, recently attributed to the Protocorinthian school (Robinson, Hareum, and Iliffe, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, no. 113; Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, pp. 9 ff., pl. 3). The fabric of our piece is identical with that of numerous other similar kraters from the same layer and seems undoubtedly to be Attic.

- b. P 6093. From the upper wall of a krater. Diam. of lip *ca.* 0.23 m. In a lip zone, a row of water birds stand stiffly to attention. Flaky brown glaze.

The treatment of the water birds is again reminiscent of Protocorinthian. Cf. *inter alia*, Johansen, *Les Vases sicyoniens*, pl. XI, 2 = Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 4, 3.

- c. P 6087. From the upper wall of a krater with everted rim. Diam. at lip *ca.* 0.39 m. In a handle zone a warrior with plumed helmet, round-topped shield and two spears in hand faces right toward another warrior of whom only the spear-points remain. Groups of transverse bars on top of rim. Flaky brown glaze.
- d. P 6083. From the shoulder of a similar krater. A figure seated to right with outstretched left arm. In the field a butterfly filler. Brown glaze.

- e. P 6082. From the upper wall of a deep bowl. Diam. at lip *ca.* 0.15 m. A horse with a bristly mane to right. Brown glaze.
- f. P 6095. From the lip of a large amphora. Diam. of lip *ca.* 0.17 m. Note the tips of the two wavy lines beside the handle attachment. Brown glaze for these, for the root of the handle and for the lip on the outside.

On this type of amphora see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 570 ff. The fabric of this piece suggests for it a date in the seventh century rather than in the Geometric period proper.

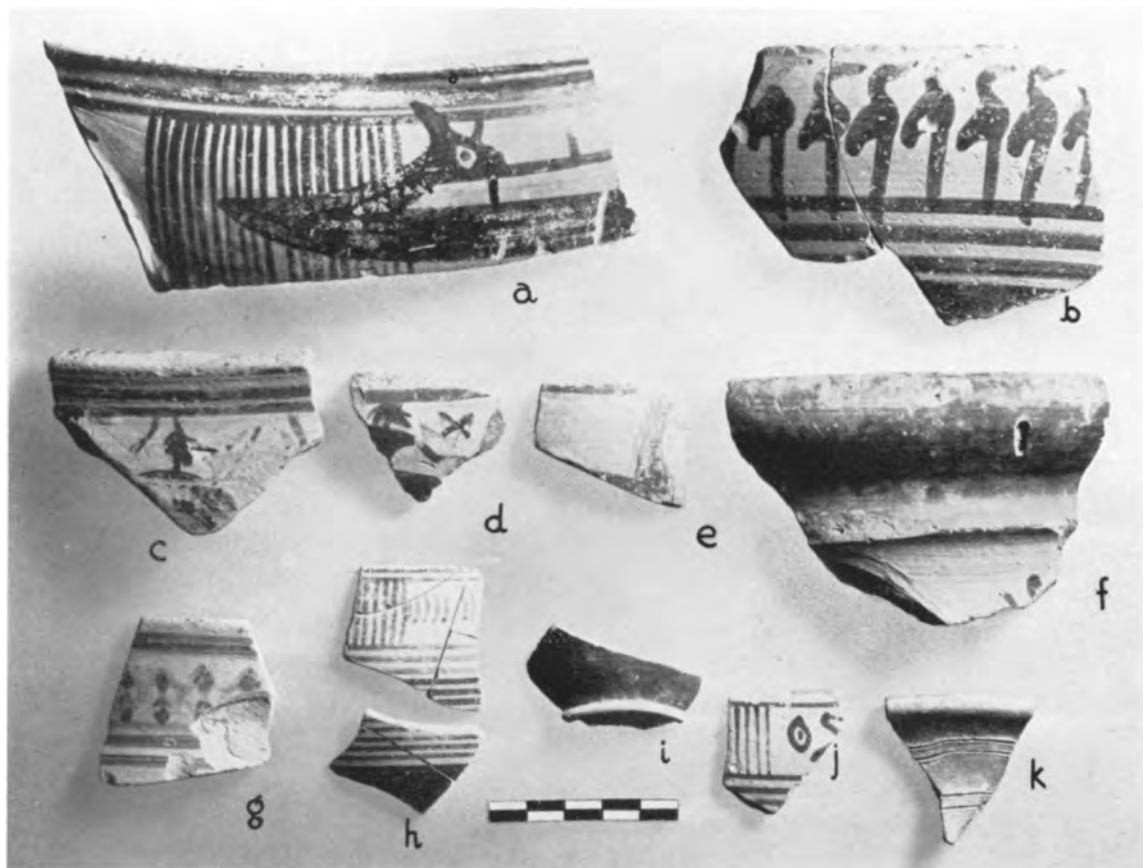


Fig. 66. Sherds associated with Construction of Earliest Period

- g. P 6085. From the upper wall of a kantharos. Diam. at lip *ca.* 0.16 m. The upper wall is slightly inset and occupied by interlacing zigzag lines, their angles filled with diamonds. Two broad glazed bands on the upper part of the otherwise reserved inside. Brown glaze.

This type of kantharos, common in Athens in the early seventh century, is well illustrated in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 585 ff. For the pattern cf. *ibidem*, p. 591, fig. 55.

- h. P 6088 a, b. Protocorinthian skyphos. Two fragments from the wall. Diam. at lip *ca.* 0.15 m.

On this type of skyphos, see Johansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff., pl. IX, 5, 6; Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 10, 4.

- i. P 6086. Protocorinthian skyphos. From its base. Diam. of foot-ring *ca.* 0.045 m. Foot-ring and underside unglazed.

Among the other fragmentary Protocorinthian skyphoi are three certainly of the same type, none with rays.

- j. P 6084. From the lip of an Attic skyphos. Diam. of lip *ca.* 0.10 m. In the handle zone a water bird to right with a dotted oval in the field. Horizontal line above and below, vertical bars breaking the zone. A reserved line on outside just below lip. Brown glaze.

Skyphoi like *h* and *i* were the vases most commonly brought from Corinth to Athens at this period and the typically Protocorinthian shape and decoration were freely copied by the Attic potters. See also *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 568 ff.

- k. P 6096. From the flaring lip of a water jar with incised decoration. Diam. of lip *ca.* 0.16 m. Micaceous, russet clay.

Jars of similar fabric and decoration are found together with late Geometric vases (*Praktika*, 1911, pp. 126 f., figs. 24–29), but the ware continued to be popular well down into the seventh century and the thinness of the wall of this bit shows it to be of the seventh rather than of the eighth century. See *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 597 ff.

There are besides numerous small fragments of late Geometric and Protocorinthian vases; nothing of Orientalizing style.

The pottery, then, from significant places around the wall is as late as the early seventh century but not later. The wall itself and the building which it represents must be equally late, though they are probably not much later. In style the wall is like enough to walls at Eleusis dated in the late eighth and seventh centuries B.C.¹

SECOND PERIOD

The buildings just described were short-lived. Whether they were wilfully or accidentally ruined we cannot say. Ashes and charcoal were found here and there overlying the floors, but scarcely in sufficient quantity to suggest a general conflagration. The following building period involved the eastward and southward extension of the old building and the raising of its level.

A new terrace wall was built, leaving the old at a point about 7.50 m. from its north-east corner (Fig. 62). The new wall swung out in a gentle curve so as to pass the south-east corner of the old wall at a distance of 1.80 m. About 2.50 m. beyond this point the second wall was in turn cut by the foundations of the Old Bouleuterion and, since those foundations overlie the continuation of the second wall we cannot fix its further course with assurance. But since the distinctive filling of broken bedrock to be associated with this reconstruction and the thin film of burnt matter which overlies the filling continue beyond the southern limits of the Hellenistic Metroon and appear beneath the (much later) Propylon, we may suppose that the north-south terrace wall also continued at least that

¹ With the outer face of our retaining wall compare the Eleusinian walls dated in the eighth and seventh centuries (Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, nos. 3–5) and with the inner face of the north wall of our structure compare an Eleusinian wall soe of the Geometric period (*op. cit.*, no. 2). In the case of such utterly simple construction arguments from style alone would not be conclusive.

far.¹ At a point almost opposite to the south end of the old terrace a gap 1.92 m. wide was left in the new wall and the ends of the wall were turned in a distance of 1.45 m. This gap was obviously intended to receive a flight of steps leading up to the terrace from the east, an arrangement which has effectively been destroyed by a Byzantine well.

The new wall is built in a more "refined" style of polygonal masonry than the old (Fig. 67). In the best preserved part the outer face is built up of a series of orthostates as much as 0.54 m. high, above which the blocks are smaller. Even in this remnant one may trace the long, swinging curved lines of the genuine archaic style. Face and joint surfaces are finished alike with a single point. The jointing, though not precise, is neat. The back face of the wall is built more loosely and with smaller stones to make a total



Fig. 67. Terrace Wall of Second Period of "Bouleuterion" from Northeast

thickness of *ca.* 0.55 m. Adjoining the stairway the blocks are larger, one measuring 1.15 m. in length. The face of the wall is inclined inward *ca.* one centimeter in 60.

In the course of the history of the earlier terrace the ground level in front of it had risen 0.40 to 0.50 m. (Fig. 64). The builders of the new wall accepted this as their ground level and set their foundations down through it, though they did not carry them to bedrock. The level of the area behind the retaining wall was raised by a filling of earth and bedrock, the surface of which lies some 0.25 m. above the original ground level connected with the earlier buildings at the southern limit of the area, as much as 0.80 m. at the north. This new filling completely overlay the ruinous wall tops of the small early buildings toward the south. In the north it occasioned serious alterations in the principal early structure.

¹ The southern limit of the terrace may be given by an east-west limestone polygonal wall that has been shown by a couple of late pits to pass just to the south of the Propylon. This area will be investigated further at a later date.

We have supposed that in the earlier period the east retaining wall served also as a free standing wall in its upper part. The way in which the junction was effected between the old and the new walls makes it clear that the old wall was broken down. That the new retaining wall did not serve the same double purpose is shown by the stairway let into its face and by the fact that it was not carried down to bedrock. It is possible that the east side of the building was now carried back to the line of a north-south wall, the northern 4.70 m. of which remains. The treatment of the faces of this wall indicates that it goes not with the floor of the first period but with a floor which lay somewhat higher than the earlier in the northwest corner of the building. The wall itself is built of Acropolis limestone in a rude polygonal style. It is 0.50 m. thick in its upper part. The southern limit of the building is still unknown.

There is no trace of further building to be associated with this alteration of the terrace. The extent of the enlargement would seem to imply that some more considerable undertaking was contemplated. Plans may have been interrupted for reasons unknown and then in a few years completely upset by the decision to erect the Old Bouleuterion.

The pottery found in the filling thrown in to raise the level of the terrace behind the new retaining wall provides a decisive *terminus post quem* for this reorganization. Amongst this pottery are to be noted not a few fragments of late Corinthian, especially of skyphoi, one piece of a Naukratite goblet, at least one bit of an East Greek coarse jar. Of the figured pieces, however, the most common are in Attic black figure, of the developed animal-frieze style. There are, besides, several fragments from early Little Master cups. Nothing need be later than the specimens illustrated in Fig. 68.

- a. P 2397. From the neck of an amphora. Bearded male head to right. H., 0.067 m. Purple paint for the flesh of face and neck, for the headband and for the bounding line below. At the base of the neck, a moulded ridge. Black glaze on upper part inside.

The fragment comes from one of a small group of amphorae marked, many of them, by a male head on the neck, bounded by one or two vertical wavy lines at either side; by heraldically opposed animals or birds on one or both sides of the wall and by base rays. For the literature, see Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, I, p. 252, "Weiterer Kreis"; *C.V.A.*, Musée Scheurleer, III E, F, pl. I, 1 and 2, Pays-Bas 19. Their place of origin has been much disputed. Style and fabric leave little doubt that our fragment was made in Athens.

- b. P 6089. From the wall of a Little Master kylix. H., 0.029 m. In a handle zone, a panther to right. Purple paint on chest and ears; white dots on neck.

The bit comes from a "band-cup" with a "brief-picture" including perhaps three animals standing peaceably together,—a type of kylix discussed by Beazley in *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 187 ff. and sufficiently illustrated by specimens in the British Museum (*C.V.A.*, Br. Mus., III He, pl. 16, 9 and 10, Gr. Brit. 74) and in the Louvre (Louvre III He, pl. 75, 3 and 4, France 507).

- c. P 2398(a). Fragment from the wall of a closed vase. H., 0.061 m. A man, wearing a short cloak, stands behind his horse. Purple paint for the stripes on the cloak and for two horizontal lines below the panel; white for embroidered dots on the cloak.

The three pieces illustrated extend over a period of perhaps 50 years; *a* falling well back in the second quarter of the sixth century, *b* in the third quarter and *c* probably toward the end of that quarter. Since this pottery, with a quantity of other similar

fragments, came from many significant places around the reconstructed terrace and since its chronological sequence breaks off suddenly at the time of *c*, we may suppose that this sherd affords a close indication of the date of the reconstruction.

The style of the wall, if one may judge from the little that remains, is obviously more studied and refined than that of the earliest terrace and, since the two were intended to serve the same purpose, we are entitled to argue that they must therefore be the products of two different ages. Actually, the second wall finds satisfactory parallels in the socle of a fortification wall at Eleusis assigned to the late Peisistratid period.¹ A date early in the last quarter of the sixth century for this reconstruction of the terrace agrees well with the

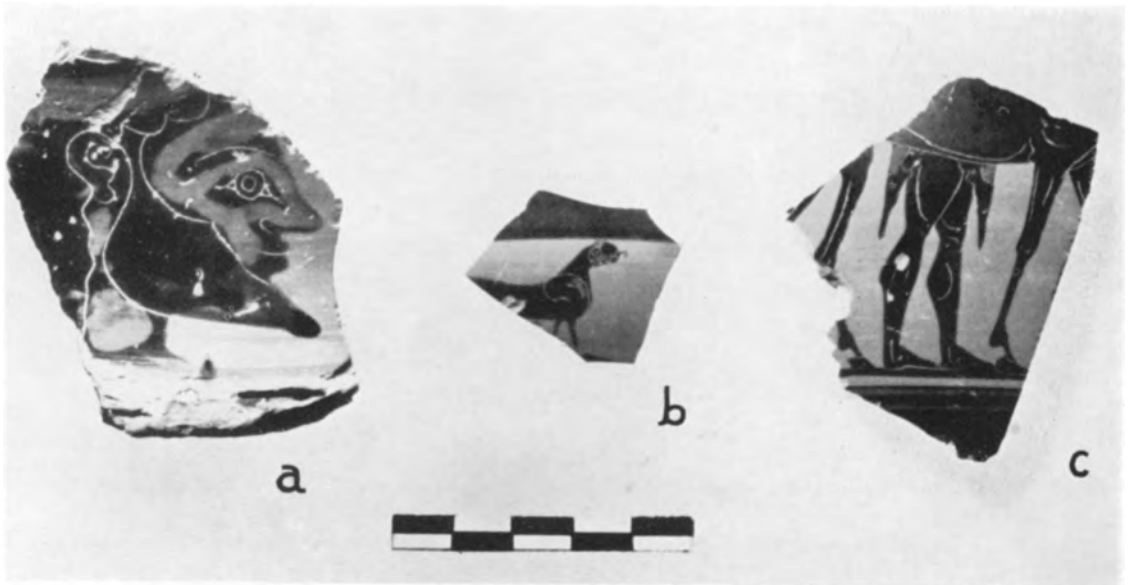


Fig. 68. Sherds associated with Second Period of "Bouleuterion"

other evidence bearing on the preceding and succeeding periods. It means for the original terrace a life of over 100 years, sufficient, that is, for the accumulation of earth and rubbish in front of its retaining wall and for the wearing and weathering apparent on its exposed surfaces. It will also leave, as we shall see, a very short life for the reconstructed terrace and this will explain the lack of accumulation in front of its wall before the construction of the Great Drain and of the accompanying terrace.

OLD BOULEUTERION

PRESERVATION (Plates VI, VII; Fig. 72)

Of the substantial building which next occupied the site nothing remains in position but the lower foundations of the outer walls and of the interior supports. These were almost

¹ Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, nos. 10–13.

completely overlaid by the Hellenistic walls. But even the foundations have suffered grievously, parts of them having been removed and re-used apparently by the Hellenistic builders, others, when exposed, by mediaeval residents.



Fig. 69. Foundations of Old and New Bouleuterion from the Southeast

a = West Foundation of Old Bouleuterion; *b* = East Foundation of New Bouleuterion; *c* = Packing for Floor in Old Bouleuterion;
d = Foundations of Hellenistic Metroon

OUTER FOUNDATIONS

The foundations form a rectangle approaching very closely a square, 23.30 m. from east to west, 23.80 m. from north to south measured on the outside. The marked downward slope of the site toward the east required that the foundations should be much deeper on the east than on the west side. On the west, indeed, a channel was cut in bedrock to receive the second course beneath the euthynteria (Fig. 69). Along the south side the foundations were carried down to bedrock and likewise in the southern part of the east side. At the northeast corner, however, they do not quite reach bedrock but rest rather

on the very firm ancient earth filling. Of the north foundation, the eastern part rested on the same earth filling, the western 4.00 m. on bedrock; the intermediate section has completely disappeared.



Fig. 70. Foundations of Old Bouleuterion, overlaid by Colonnade of Hellenistic Metroon, from the Northwest

The foundation is massively built of blocks of irregular size. Along the east side some effort was made at horizontal coursing from the bottom (Fig. 70). Toward the top, greater care was taken with the coursing and on the whole smaller blocks were used. Thus in the lower part of this section, blocks as much as 0.60 m. in height are found, whereas those of the topmost preserved course measure *ca.* 0.30 m. The two courses that remain along the west side show very careful horizontal jointing (Fig. 69). In both, the vertical jointing within the thickness of the wall is polygonal and painstakingly executed. At this point the lowest course measures 1.10 m. in width. The second course from the bottom in the northern part of the east side, where it may be measured beneath the Hellenistic colonnade, has a width of 1.50 m., the difference being due to the greater depth of the foundation in this place. The upper wall in both cases was undoubtedly of the same thickness.

The material of the upper walls was a granular yellow poros as shown by the working chips inside the southeast corner of the building. An exploratory trench cut down through the whole width of the porch of the Hellenistic Metroon near this point exposed the procedure in the construction of the Old Bouleuterion (Fig. 64, Section F-F, cf. Pl. VII, Section B-B). In the footing trench along the west face of its east foundation a layer of working chips is preserved at the bottom of each course. These chips are of Acropolis limestone up to the ground level as it was when work began on the building. Overlying this earlier ground level and in the footing trench at the same height the first chips of poros were found. We may suppose, therefore, that the bottom of the first poros course lay a few centimeters higher. The way in which the surface of the highest preserved course of limestone on the west side is finished would suggest that it was intended to receive the first course of squared poros blocks, which would thus begin one course higher in the west than in the east side, a reasonable arrangement in view of the higher ground level toward the west.

FLOOR LEVELS

The most precise clue to the floor level inside the building is given by the small area of packing for a mosaic floor just inside the well preserved stretch of polygonal foundation on the west side (Fig. 69, Pl. VII, Section B-B). The mosaic and its packing probably date from a reorganization of the building (see p. 209) but there is no reason to suppose that the floor level was altered in the reconstruction. The surface of this packing lies at a level of 56.846 m., so that, with the mosaic proper rising another 0.05 m., the floor would have covered practically the entire height of the first poros course which we have restored.¹ The original ground level outside the building and to the south of it was exposed in an exploratory pit sunk in that region (Fig. 71, Section H-H). There we found a firm, smooth and level floor of packed earth immediately overlying a layer (No. 12) that contained working chips of the distinctive yellow poros. This surface, lying at 56.34 m., would have been *ca.* 0.50 m. lower than the floor level of the building. We must, therefore, restore a couple of steps in front of the entrances which, as we shall find reason to believe, opened through the south wall. The ground level to the south of the building gradually rose so that in the latest days of the building it lay some 0.50 m. above the level of the floor inside. It appears that in this period the stairs had been reversed and that one stepped down to enter the building as one must do today in visiting the mediaeval churches of Athens.

INTERIOR FOUNDATIONS

Of the interior foundations enough remains to make their plan reasonably certain. A continuous line of bedding runs east and west across the building, centred *ca.* 6.20 m.

¹ It will be observed that the ancient earth filling inside the building is preserved almost to its original height in the southeast corner and that the builders of the Hellenistic porch had to bring in a minimum of new filling.

SECTION H-H

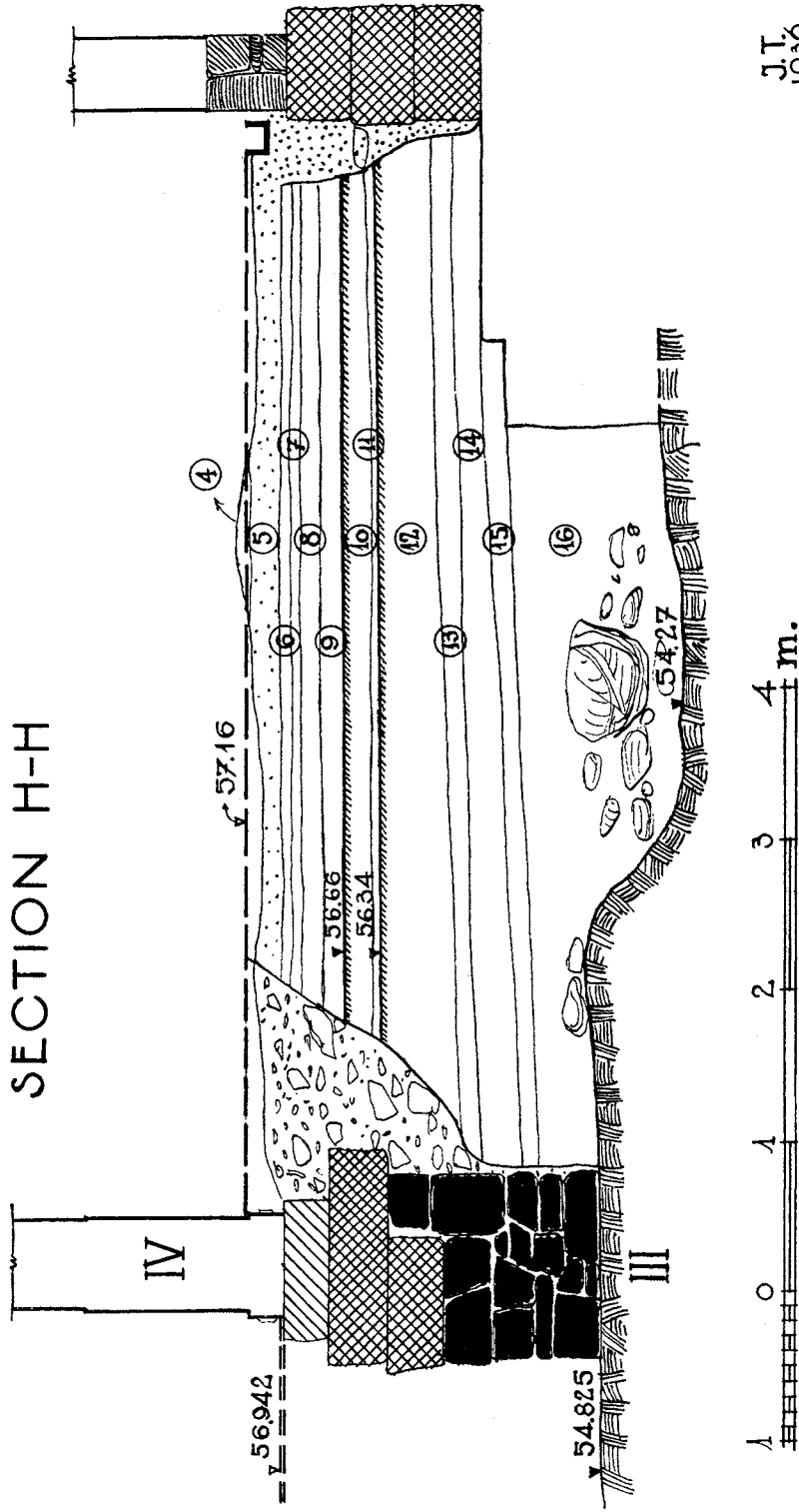


Fig. 71. Stratification to South of Metroon. See Plate VI

Layers [1-3: III-II cent. B.C.; see Pl. VII, Section A-A]

Layer 4: late IV cent.

5: late IV cent.; working chips of Pentelic marble; coin of Salamis (350-318 B.C.)

6: mid IV cent.

7: mid IV cent.

8: chiefly first half IV cent.; coin of Cassander (?) (316-297 B.C.)

9: late V cent.

Layer 10: Third quarter of V cent.; working chips of Pentelic marble and Eleusian limestone; ostrakon of Habron

11: late VI-early V cent.; ostrakon of Habron

12: late VI cent.; working chips of soft yellow poros

13: mid VI cent.

14: first half VI cent.

15: late VII-early VI cent.

16: prehistoric-geometric; gravel

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from the south wall. In the rectangle left to the north of this cross wall, individual beddings for interior supports form a Π -shaped scheme, with three bases in line toward the north, two toward the east and west. The lowest stones of the middle piers on the west (Fig. 65) and north sides remain in position as also a tiny scrap of the northwest pier. The line of the east piers falls beneath the front wall of the Hellenistic Metroon by which they have been completely destroyed or concealed.

The east-west cross foundation also was much disturbed by the superimposed Hellenistic wall, so that only scattered blocks of the lowest course remain. These are bedded in part on the rock, in part on the earth, a circumstance which will sufficiently explain the complete disappearance of the continuation of the foundation within the porch of the Hellenistic building. The material consists for the most part of re-used wall blocks of granular poros, much recut for their second use and laid in a most haphazard way. The four surviving blocks at the west end of the foundation, of soft gray poros, would seem to have been cut for their present position. The two better preserved piers are likewise made of re-used poros blocks of various sizes, resting on bedrock. The middle pier of the west side measures 1.06×1.26 m. The corresponding pier of the north series, now much disturbed by a mediaeval pit, measured originally *ca.* 1.40 m. square.

In view of the striking difference in material and workmanship, one might reasonably question the association of these inner foundations with the outer foundations of polygonal limestone work. Yet if one denies the connection, he will look in vain for any other trace of interior supports for the great square building and he will be hard put to explain the remains just described. But the combination of limestone and soft poros is not without parallel in the foundations of the archaic buildings of Attica, and indeed, we shall shortly note the same phenomenon in the Temple of the Mother within this same sanctuary.

SUPERSTRUCTURE

Of the superstructure of the building nothing has so far been identified with certainty. Some of the re-used blocks to be seen in the foundations of the overlying Hellenistic building probably come from the early Bouleuterion, from its walls and perhaps from its interior columns. But it has thus far been impossible to assign any of these pieces with assurance and their description will be deferred until the final publication.

RESTORATION

A restoration of the ground plan is suggested in Fig. 72. The continuous east-west inner foundation obviously divides the interior into an auditorium and a spacious forehall, an arrangement which requires that the building should face south. This orientation agrees with the results of the exploration to the south of the building where, as noted above, a firm and much tramped floor of packed earth came to light at the

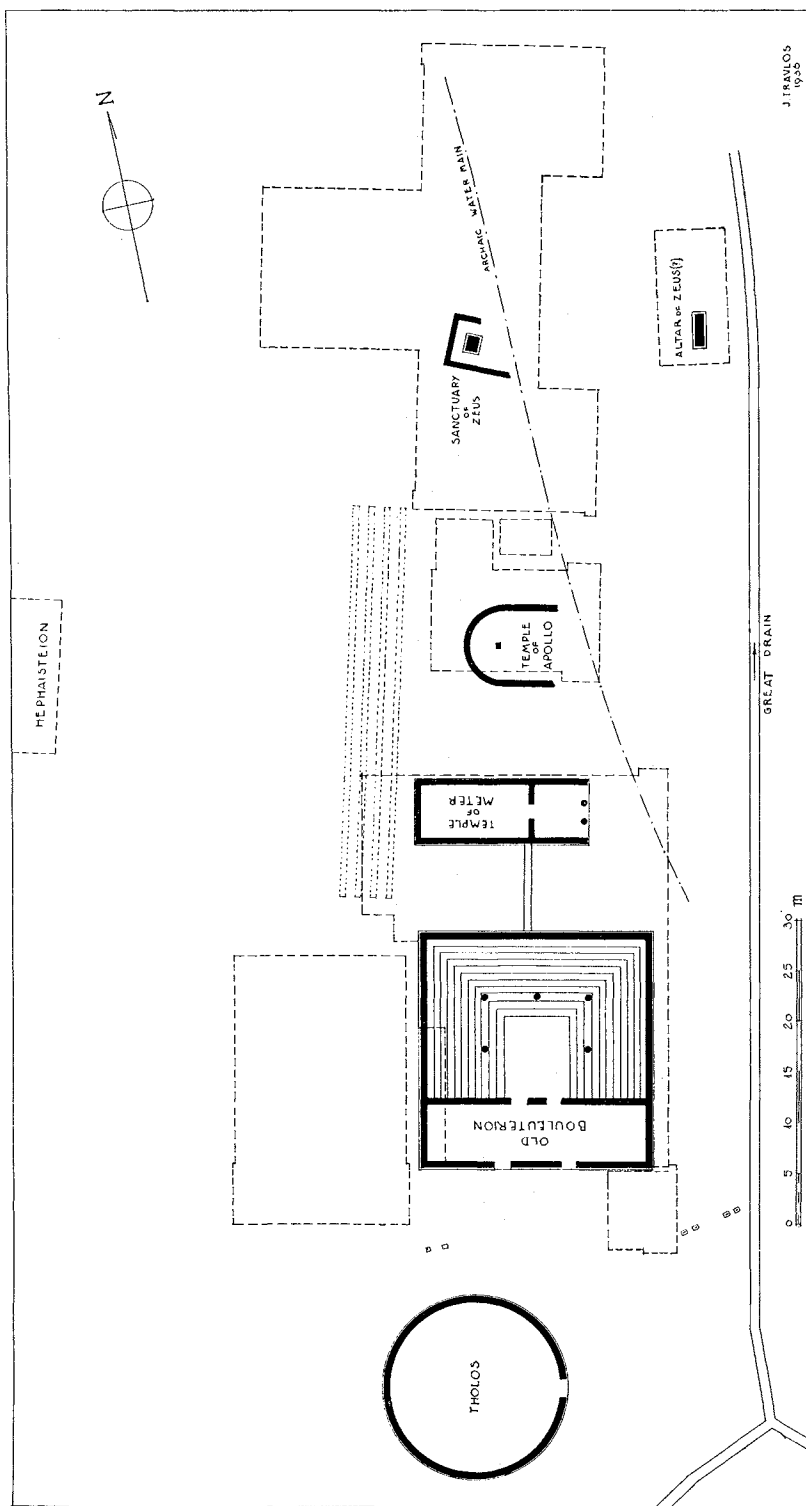


Fig. 72. Pre-Persian Buildings of the West Side

appropriate level.¹ The absence of any trace of beddings in the region of the seats suggests that they were not of stone but of wood and, this being the case, they may better be restored on a rectilinear rather than a curved scheme. Laid out as suggested in the sketch, the auditorium might have accommodated about seven hundred persons.

With the entrance to the building may be associated a line of post beddings which must originally have extended across its south front at an interval of perhaps 8.00 m. They probably fell precisely on the line occupied by the later retaining wall which would seem to have assumed their function in marking the southern limit of the property that went with the Bouleuterion. Four of the blocks remain in a diagonal line to the east of the Propylon of the New Bouleuterion, two others due south of the southwest corner of the Old Bouleuterion (Pl. VI, Figs. 72, 126). All are of soft yellow poros similar to that used in the building itself. In their tops are rectangular sinkings with the poured lead that held the posts. The eastern group is arranged in two pairs, so placed that the cuttings in the tops of each outer pair are centred 1.14 m. from one another, those in the two inner blocks 1.32 m. apart. We may suspect that the posts supported a railing and gates by which admission to the building could be controlled. (Cf. below, p. 213.)

DATING

For the dating of this Old Bouleuterion there is little precise external evidence. Its construction obviously involved the destruction of the second polygonal terrace wall which apparently was not built before the third quarter of the sixth century. The Old Bouleuterion is certainly later, moreover, than the Great Drain, inasmuch as its foundations are set down in the filling that is contemporary with the Drain. Since the drain may be dated with great probability in the period 527–510 B.C. (p. 4) the date of the square building is pushed close to the end of the sixth century.

Very little pottery has been found in direct association with the foundations of the building. A few potsherds have been gathered from the actual footing trenches where they have been explored along the inside of the east wall and along the outside of the south wall. But in both cases the trenches had been refilled with the earth removed from them so that the pottery was not later than that of the fillings already examined. Of the little additional filling that was required to raise the floor level of the building inside, only a few square meters in the southeast corner remained undisturbed and the filling here consisted almost exclusively of broken bedrock yielding pottery of the eighth and seventh centuries.

The combination of hard limestone in the outer foundations with soft poros in the inner recurs in several buildings of the Peisistratid period: the Temple of Athena Polias on the

¹ Of actual doorways no trace remains. It is conceivable that the lobby could be entered through doors in its east and west ends as well as from the south. This might account for the cutting away of a great mass of bedrock around the southwest corner of the building in the area later occupied by the New Bouleuterion.

Acropolis,¹ in the archaic Telesterion in Eleusis,² and in the Peisistratid Olympieion in Athens.³ In those three buildings the outer foundations are exclusively of Kará limestone (save for a certain amount of Acropolis limestone in the case of the Olympieion), whereas the amount of that stone used in the Bouleuterion is negligible. This difference in material might be taken as proof of a new set of architects or of a new régime which refused patronage to the quarrymen and contractors who had supplied the Peisistratids with so many cubic meters of Kará stone. Yet the point cannot be pressed, for Kará limestone reappears in the lower steps of the earlier Parthenon,⁴ and sporadically also in the fourth century B.C. as we have observed in the later Temple of Apollo Patroos.

In the irregularity of their coursing and in the angularity of their horizontal joints, in the working of both horizontal and vertical joints, even in the use of the little casual pry holes, the outer foundations of the Bouleuterion find a close parallel in the inner foundations of the Temple of Athena Polias.⁵ The jointing in the Bouleuterion is on the whole not so close as that of the outer foundations of the Athena temple, nor of the Olympieion nor of the Telesterion, but it is superior to that of the Older Temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus. It would, perhaps, be dangerous in this period to attempt to determine any slight differences in date on the evidence of material and workmanship alone, but we are probably justified in concluding that the Bouleuterion stands closer in point of date to the group of buildings with which comparisons have already been drawn than to buildings such as the earlier Parthenon and the later Temple of Aphaia on Aegina, the foundations of which were built of the more tractable poros laid in more regular courses. This consideration would set a lower limit for the Bouleuterion, around the turn of the century, a point close to which we have already been driven by the relation of the Bouleuterion to the earlier buildings on the site and to the Great Drain.

TEMPLE OF THE MOTHER

FOUNDATIONS

North of the Old Bouleuterion and separated from it by an interval of 8.50 m. lie the scanty remains of a small early temple (Pl. VI, Fig. 72). The north foundation of the early building lies precisely beneath the line of the north wall of the Hellenistic; its south wall may be traced beneath the mid-part of the north room of the later building; the line of its west wall falls toward the back of the same room; the line of the front wall of its cella

¹ Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XI, 1886, p. 344.

² Noack, *Eleusis*, pp. 48 and 54.

³ Welter, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, p. 62.

⁴ On the date see Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 447; Kolbe, *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, LI, 1936, pp. 1 ff.

⁵ This striking similarity between the inner foundations of the Temple of Athena Polias and those of a building which is undoubtedly as late and probably some years later than the accepted date of the outside foundations of that temple should be borne in mind in the consideration of the relative dates of those inner and outer foundations. The earlier date of the inner has recently been defended by Noack (*Eleusis*, p. 57, n. 2); it continues to be questioned by Wolters (Springer-Wolters, *Die Kunst des Altertums*¹², pp. 196 f.).

is given with certainty by a worked surface in the south side of its north foundation (Fig. 73) and by a corresponding bedding in the rock along the north side of its south foundation. Measured on its lowest foundations, the early building had a width of 6.90 m., a length of at least 16.50 m. and probably not more than 18.00 m. The cella measured about 5.00×10.50 m. inside its foundations, slightly more inside its upper wall.



Fig. 73. North Foundation of Temple of Mother beneath North Foundation of Hellenistic Metroon.
Arrows indicate Bedding for Front Wall of Cella

Foundation blocks remain in position in the eastern parts of the north and south walls and in the line of the west wall. On these three sides the foundations were carried down to bedrock. A length of 2.00 m. in the north foundation is preserved to the level at which the euthynteria rested (Fig. 73). Here the foundation shows a width of 1.15 m., a depth of *ca.* 1.40 m. Its lower part consists of a loose packing of field stones (including also a small fragment of a stuccoed poros building block) capped by a course of larger masses of Acropolis limestone. These were fitted together but they can scarcely be described as jointed, the interstices being filled by smaller fragments. The bearing surface for the euthynteria

(presumably of poros) was prepared with a single point. The joint surface for the transverse wall already noted was worked to a width of 0.70 m. and a depth of 0.25 m. on the inner face of this top course of stones. Of the west foundation, there remains in position much of the lowest course, 1.00 m. wide, 0.25 m. high, consisting again of irregular masses of Acropolis limestone loosely fitted together, their tops picked to a level bearing surface



Fig. 74. South Foundation of Temple of the Mother, from the Southeast

to receive the course above (Fig. 116). Of this second course, one small block (0.20 m. high) remains at the northwest corner. No block is left in place in the western part of the south foundation. In its eastern part, on the other hand, are preserved blocks of two courses of granular, brown poros: four and a fragmentary fifth of a first course, two fragmentary blocks of a second (Fig. 74). The lowest course rests for the most part on bedrock, elsewhere on a bedding formed of masses of Acropolis limestone laid in the same style as that of the west foundation of the building. The blocks of the first poros course are irregular in length and width but show a uniform height of *ca.* 0.25 m. Their vertical joints were prepared with no great care; their outer faces were finished with the adze;

their tops dressed with the toothed chisel for the reception of the next course above. This next course is 0.315 m. high; of its two surviving blocks one is 0.66 m. wide, the other is 0.82 m. Of neither is the full length preserved. A fragmentary block of the first poros course and another of the second were built into the north foundation of the Hellenistic building. The blocks of the second course were set back 0.10–0.15 m. from the outer edge of the first. On the top of that first course a deeply incised longitudinal setting line may be traced in places and one transverse line; on the top of the second course, one transverse line but no longitudinal line. The outer faces of the blocks of the second course were surrounded by a shallow drafted band 0.05 m. wide, within which the surface was smoothed



Fig. 75. Stylobate Block from Temple of the Mother(?) imbedded in Hellenistic Foundations

with a broad chisel. The joints were worked with broad but very low anathyrosis along the edges; the top surface again shows the marks of the toothed chisel. There is no trace of either clamps or dowels. Between the top of the second poros course on the south side and the level of the top of the limestone foundation on the north there is room for an additional course 0.205 m. high.

A stylobate block built into the north foundation of the Hellenistic building probably comes from the early temple (Fig. 75). It is of an extremely hard gray poros, many working chips of which appear along the west foundation of the temple at a level which suggests that they came from the toichobate. The stylobate block shows a width of 0.825 m., height of 0.28 m. and a measurable length of at least 0.47 m. Of the front face, only the lower 0.105 m. was finished. The upper part of the face is merely picked and projects *ca.* 0.007 m. beyond the finished face. This projecting band is neatly bevelled at the joint edge. The exposed end of the block is finished with well cut anathyrosis. Its top is considerably

worn. Another more fragmentary block of the same series was built into the interior foundations of the north room of the Hellenistic building.¹

RESTORATION

The restoration of the plan is certain within narrow limits. The foundations for the colonnade of the early building must have lain directly beneath the line of the front wall of the Hellenistic structure, for, though the ancient filling is preserved to a sufficient height, no trace of the earlier foundation has survived either to the east or west of the Hellenistic. One may, therefore, suppose that the euthyn-teria on the south side of the temple originally extended eastward by the length of one more slab, giving an east-west over all length of *ca.* 18.00 m. The absence of any widening in the eastern part of the south foundation to accommodate the return of steps along the side excludes the possibility of a prostyle arrangement and requires a porch *in antis*, undoubtedly distyle, of unknown order.

No trace remains of the base for the cult statue which must have stood within the cella. But some centimeters of the original earth filling of the cella at the critical point have disappeared, and, since the earth packing is extremely hard, there is no reason to believe that the foundation for the statue reached beneath the present surface level.

The striking difference in the appearance of the north and south foundations of the building is obviously due to a difference of ground level on the two sides: the north side being covered at least to the level of the toichobate, the south only to the bottom of the lowest step. We cannot say how the levels were adjusted around the northeast corner of the building. To the south of the Temple, a lower front area would seem to have been cut off from a higher back area by a retaining wall running between Temple and Bouleuterion, almost in line with the front cella wall of the Temple. A couple of rough limestone blocks from the lowest foundation of the wall remain in place close against the south side of the Temple and a slight cutting in bedrock

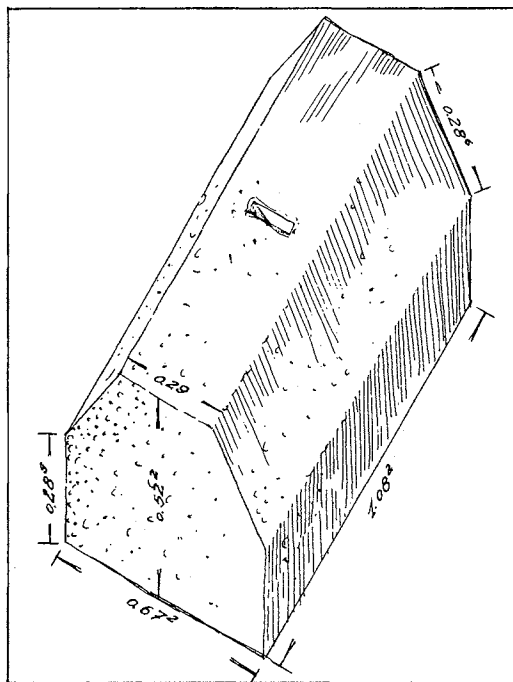


Fig. 76. Capping Block of Wall between Old Bouleuterion and Temple of the Mother (?)

¹ A few working chips of island marble along the outside of the south foundation would seem not to be derived from the temple since they are imbedded in the earth beneath the lowest foundation stones. They may come, rather, from the Old Bouleuterion or from the First Temple of Apollo.

indicates the further course of the wall (Pl. VI). From the way in which the blocks are set, one may conclude that the wall is contemporary with the Temple. We should, perhaps, attribute to this wall a massive capping block of hard yellow fossiliferous poros that was found, as left by the previous excavators, in the southeast corner of the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon (Figs. 63, 76). It may well at one time have been incorporated in these Hellenistic foundations. In its top is a lewis hole, undercut on one side only.

DATING

The foundations of the building were set down through an earth filling that had accumulated in three distinct layers. The pottery from the lowest of these layers, immediately overlying bedrock, was as late as the mid sixth century; that from the topmost would run down perhaps into the final quarter of that century. The precise position, orientation, and level of the building would seem to have been fixed with respect to the great square building, the Old Bouleuterion, to the south. The limestone foundations of the small building, though less carefully prepared, resemble in character those of the larger. These considerations suggest for the smaller building a date after, but very shortly after, the construction of the larger, a time, perhaps, at the very turn of the sixth and the fifth centuries.

The building would seem not to have been long lived. The Hellenistic architect must have found the greater part of the north foundation completely ruinous, otherwise he would have incorporated the whole of it in his new foundation. He apparently removed some stones from the west foundation for we found earth filling of Hellenistic times immediately overlying the remaining blocks of that foundation. An exploratory pit sunk through a damaged part of the late mosaic floor exposed the cutting, in which the blocks remained, of the south foundation. Now this cutting had become filled with firm packed earth which showed a much tramped surface obviously formed a good while before the Hellenistic reconstruction. A few sherds gathered from this earth packing appear not to be later than of the early fifth century. We need scarcely doubt that the destruction occurred in the year 480 B.C. The Temple, as such, was never rebuilt.

NEW BOULEUTERION

POSITION (Plates VI–VIII)

Immediately to the west of the Old Bouleuterion, parts remain of another, later building which may be best regarded as its successor (Fig. 77). Two periods are to be distinguished in this later structure. Its architectural scheme, taken together with literary references, proves beyond question that the building in its later period was a council house. This consideration in itself is a strong argument for supposing that the structure served the same purpose in the beginning, and the architectural remains of the earlier period tend to confirm this conclusion. We shall, therefore, refer to the building as the New Bouleuterion.



Fig. 77. Metroon-Bouleuterion Complex from the Southwest

The New Bouleuterion was set down in the shoulder of Kolonos Agoraios and an open area almost equal in size to the building itself was hewn from the same rock to the south. This space we shall refer to henceforth as the Bouleuterion Square. A broad space was left between the north wall of the building and the scarp, and a passage of lesser width along the west side of the building afforded communication between this northern area and the Square to the south. At the foot of the scarp adjoining the western passage-way a broad bench of living rock was never removed. Traces of large rectangular cisterns antedating the building may be observed in both the western and the northern scarps. The entire southeast corner of the area to be occupied by the new auditorium had already been cut down in an irregular way to the level of the Old Bouleuterion, perhaps, as noted above, to facilitate entrance to the older building. The amount of the rock to be quarried away was much reduced by the decision to establish the floor level of the new building well above that of the old. The resulting difference in levels was adjusted by a stairway that ran south from the southeast corner of the new building along the east side of the Bouleuterion Square and so facilitated communication between the Bouleuterion, the Tholos and the market square. Economy, one might have thought, would have suggested that a core of living rock could be left within the building to assist in supporting the seats. The way in which the north and west foundation trenches were cut and the way in which interior beddings to be noted below were laid indicate that little or no core was left. Its removal may have been due to the consideration that the bedrock was already much disturbed by earlier cuttings and that the seats were to be supported on wooden beams. In any case, the bedrock in this region is little harder than firm clay and is readily cut with the pick.

FOUNDATIONS

The foundation cuttings indicate for the building proper an over all north-south length of 22.50 m. and an east-west width of 17.50 m. The stairway bordering the Square extended some 10.50 m. south of the south line of the building. Of the structure itself, the foundations are preserved to a height of two courses in parts of the lines of the east wall, the south wall and the stairway; many of the lower blocks of the interior foundations remain in position and a few scattered blocks from the upper walls have been found nearby. Everywhere the foundations were carried down to bedrock and in most places were set down to about the depth of the first course in the soft rock. Because of the earlier cutting that had already been done, the bottom of the east foundation, and of the eastern part of the south foundation rested some 2.20 m. below that of the west and north walls. This difference in height will explain the discrepancy in width among the foundations. It is to be noted that the foundation trench for the west wall of the building was carried south to a point approximately opposite the south end of the stairway and an eastward return started. This may point to some change of plan during construction; more probably it was due to a simple blunder. In any case, the trench was not used by the builders of the New Bouleuterion who filled it with their working chips of poros and marble and in part with a large unfinished orthostate.

Turning now to the actual construction of the foundations, we may note that the eastern shows a thickness of 1.85–2.00 m., made up of one row of headers and one of stretchers in each course (Fig. 69). The lowest course consists largely of re-used wall blocks of hard, granular poros with a reddish tinge. The blocks that were cut for this place are of soft creamy poros well squared and carefully jointed with broad, shallow anathyrosis on two or three sides of each face. A carefully scratched setting line on the top of the block of the second course, 0.12 m. in from its outer end, marked the outer face of the next course, probably the euthynteria. The projecting ends of a couple of blocks of the lowest course, together with an appropriate bedding cut in the rock beyond, suggest that the



Fig. 78. Wall Block from New Bouleuterion

east foundation wall of the building continued beyond its northeast corner a distance of perhaps 4.00 m., presumably in order to serve as a retaining wall for the eastern end of the area to the north of the building. This projecting wall was subsequently disturbed and its function taken over by the back wall of the Hellenistic Metroon. The south foundation, as shown by its preserved middle part, was identical in width and construction with the east. Its surviving blocks are all of soft creamy poros, carefully set. Of the north and west foundations nothing is left but the shallow bedding trenches, 1.40 m. wide.

Of the stairway that led up to the Square a few blocks remain in the lowest course. They agree closely in material, size and workmanship with those of the east and south foundations of the building proper. A fortunate chance has also preserved in position one fragmentary block of the euthynteria so that the setting line for the next course,

0.09 m. from its outer edge, fixes the face of the first step. The euthynteria, because of its more exposed position, was cut from a poros slightly harder and more durable than that used in the lower foundations. The contemporaneity of the building proper and the stairway is indicated not only by the identity of material and workmanship but also by the precise correspondence in coursing.

OUTER WALLS

To the outer walls of the original building a few blocks may be assigned. Four headers and six stretchers of hard gray poros were found, some lying loose along the east

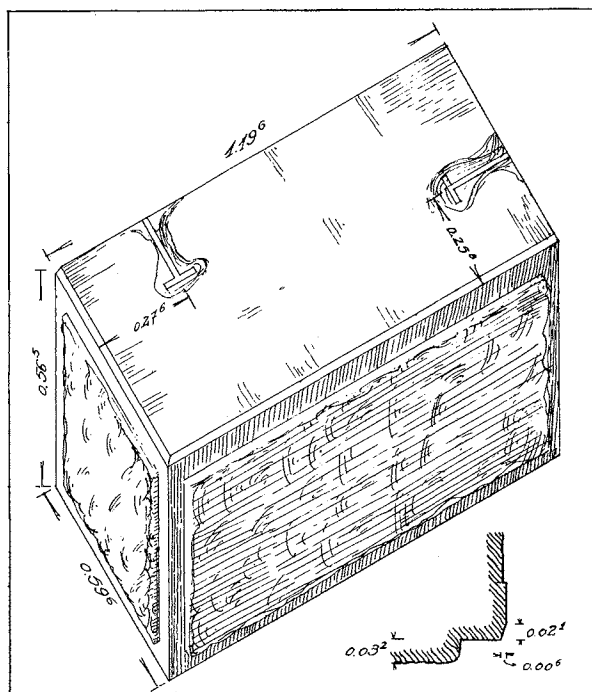


Fig. 79. Wall Block of New Bouleuterion

side of the building, most of them incorporated in mediaeval house walls in the third room from the south of the Hellenistic Metroon (Figs. 78, 79, 116). They show a uniform height of 0.565 m. The headers are approximately square in vertical section (0.565×0.615 m.) and the length of the stretchers (1.20–1.35 m.) is twice the width of the headers. The depth of a stretcher from front to back is 0.55–0.60 m., of a header, 0.895 m. It may be estimated that the total thickness of the wall was at least 1.50 m. The face of each block is surrounded with a drafted band, 0.06 m. wide, leaving a rough picked middle field with a projection of 0.03–0.06 m. Each joint surface was cut with a carefully worked band of anathyrosis across its top and down its outer edge, and each was secured to its neighbor by a \vdash clamp of iron on either side. Great caution

against chipping in setting was taken by the bevelling of necessary edges. One of the blocks found in the third room from the south of the Hellenistic Metroon is a corner piece, probably from the southeast corner of the building. It exhibits the same heavy rustication on both side and end. That these blocks come from the lower part of the east wall is shown by their close agreement in height with the blocks of the inner foundations. Enough survives to prove that inner and outer foundations coursed together, in fact were bonded together. The subfoundations of the east side, moreover, are amply wide to have carried a wall of the thickness indicated by the blocks just examined.

The unfinished orthostate (Figs. 80, 99) already referred to is of the same material and workmanship as the blocks described above and its dimensions are suitable for its association with them. One finished edge, with anathyrosis along front and top, remains, the other having been trimmed away by the third-century builders. Neither top nor bottom was finished. The face of the block was smooth dressed up to a narrow protecting surface along the vertical joint.

In the bedding for the north foundation, though not in their original position, lie two other blocks of similar stone and workmanship, illustrated in Fig. 81. Both have been split by their re-users, presumably down the middle. Since on one block the wedge mark of the re-users can be detected 0.61 m. from the preserved face, and since at the end of the other the split fell on the line of a clamp 0.58 m. from the preserved face, we may restore the original width as *ca.* 1.20 m. The preserved face of one of the pieces, presumably an outside face, is picked; the original face of the other is quite irregular. Both blocks had been joined to their neighbors with \vdash clamps, the first presumably having two in each end, the other one. These pieces may well have come from the second course beneath the orthostates.¹

INTERIOR FOUNDATIONS

For the restoration of the interior, the evidence is almost confined to the few surviving blocks of the lowest foundations and to a few stripped beddings. Two square beddings deeply cut in the bedrock in the western part of the building were obviously intended to carry interior columns. Blocks remain of the bases for a corresponding pair of columns symmetrically placed toward the east wall. The position of the southeast column is definitely fixed by an exceptionally massive pier that still stands to the height of four courses. Only here among the surviving interior foundations is there evidence of clamps: cuttings for two of \vdash shape in the top of the highest surviving block. Of the pier for the northeast column, one block remains in position. It will be observed on the plan that running north and south from the piers for the north-

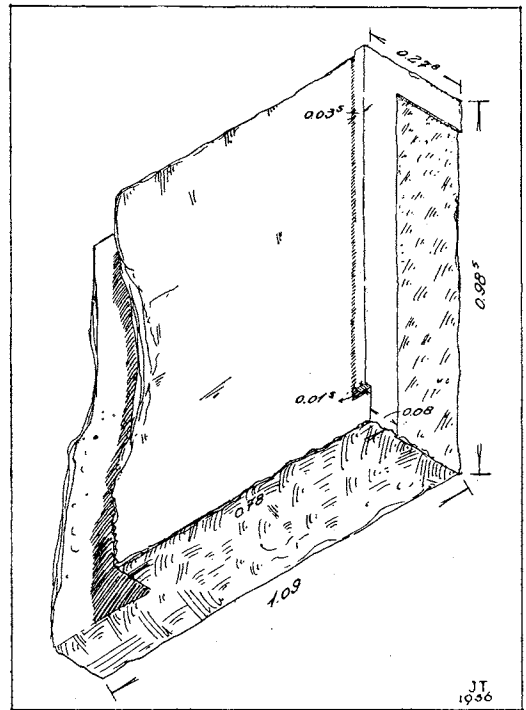


Fig. 80. Unfinished Orthostate of New Bouleuterion

¹ Further proof that these pieces actually came from the outer walls of this building is given by the working chips of the same distinctive poros found along the edges of the north and west foundation trenches.

east and southeast columns respectively a continuous foundation bedding was prepared that would seem to have added close on 2.00 m. to the thickness of the eastern outer wall.

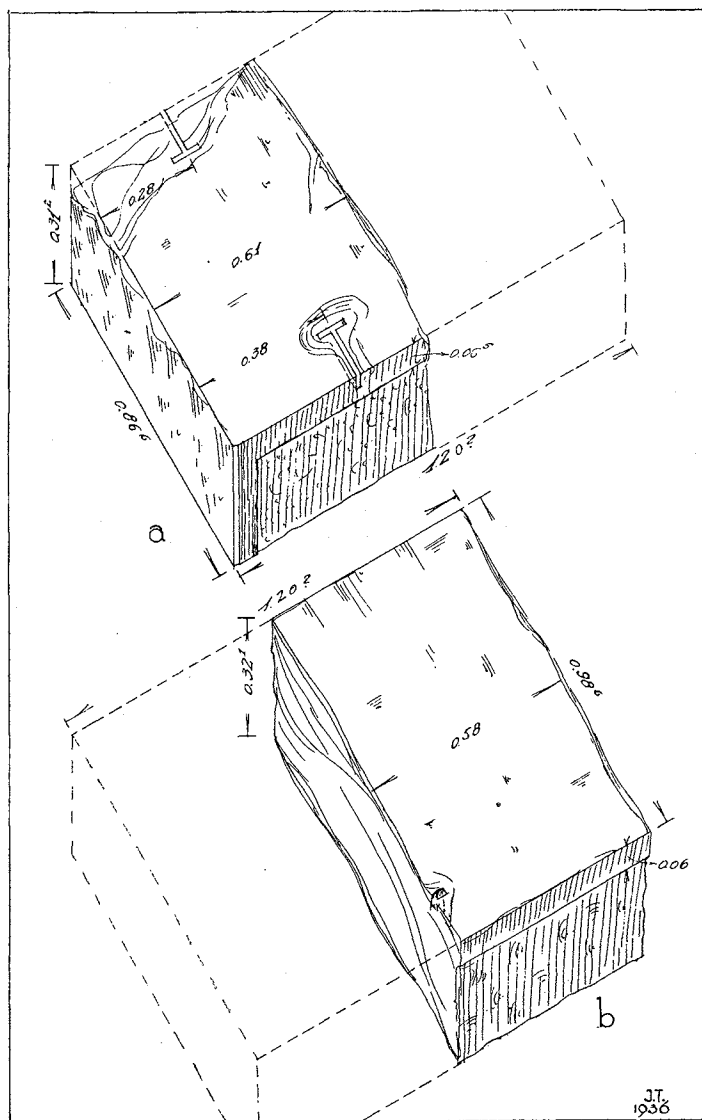


Fig. 81. Wall Blocks of New Bouleuterion

Only a couple of blocks remain in position in the northeast corner. This inner bedding in the northern part where it had to be especially prepared, is shallower by one course than that for the main wall and it is not so carefully cut. We may, therefore, conclude that it was not designed to carry so great a weight as the outer. Those parts of the interior foundations that lie toward the middle of the rectangle are still more lightly founded, resting for the most part on earth or on a loose packing of broken stone. In the northeast corner of the inner rectangle a large block ($1.23 \times 0.66 \times 0.38$ m.) lies bedded to its full depth in the rock at an angle to the north wall. Toward the northwest corner of the room only the bedding remains for a corresponding block.

These interior foundations as preserved are of the same soft creamy poros as that used in the outer foundations and the style of working and of jointing is similar. The contemporaneity of inner and

outer parts is further confirmed by the precise correspondence in the levels of courses and by the evidence of bonding where both are preserved at a point of junction.

As additional material for the reconstruction of the building we may note here two step blocks that were found by us, as left by previous excavators, in its mid eastern part (Fig. 82). They are of hard gray poros, similar to that of the blocks already assigned

to the upper walls. This identity of material, combined with close similarity in workmanship, makes reasonably probable their association with the building. Their precise position, however, is uncertain.¹

COLUMNS

Of the interior columns we have, perhaps, something in three fragments found by the earlier excavators and left in the area of the building (A 259). The shafts are of Pentelic marble, unfluted and finished with a toothed chisel. The lower diameter of the shaft may be reckoned at *ca.* 0.624 m. The largest fragment now stands only 1.00 m. high. The workmanship is excellent.

A tiny scrap from the echinus of an Ionic capital of Pentelic marble (A 279) found in a mediaeval pit just to the west of the later Propylon may conceivably come from one of these columns. The egg-and-dart was not carved but was first lightly incised and then painted on the curved surface in much the same way and style as on the interior capital of the Stoa of Zeus. The echinus exhibits a lower diameter of *ca.* 0.50 m.²

CORNICE AND EPISTYLE

There may be assigned to the building a fragmentary Ionic cornice block that now lies in the northeast corner of the Hellenistic Metroon where, pre-

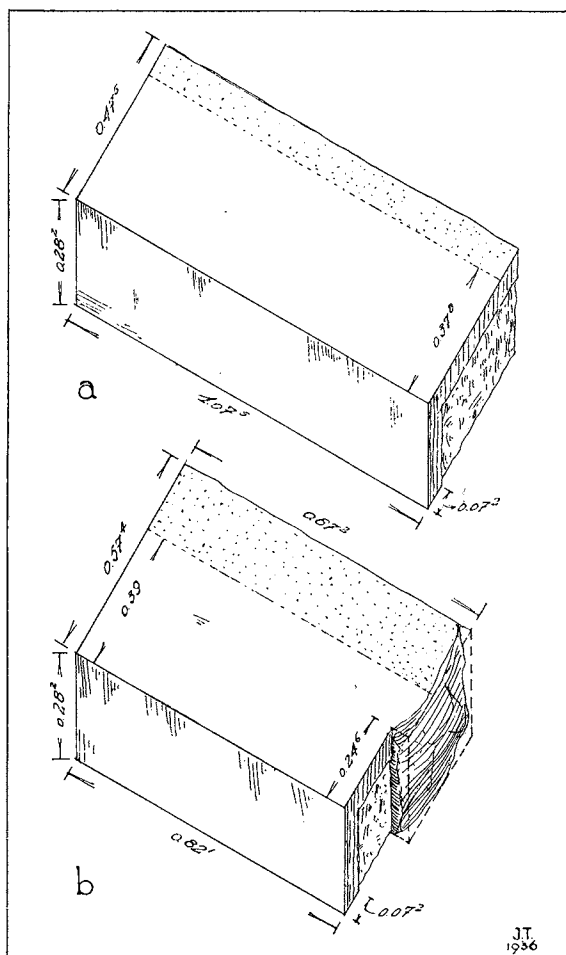


Fig. 82. Step Blocks found in Area of New Bouleuterion

¹ The one-block shows a tread 0.378 m. wide, much worn. Its two ends are finished with well cut anathyrosis; its back face shows no anathyrosis but a flat picked surface. The other piece had a tread *ca.* 0.39 m. wide which exhibits little or no wear. Its back face and one end are finished throughout with anathyrosis. Its other end was brought to a joint surface only over the front 0.246 m., the remaining part projecting some 0.07 m. Despite the slight differences in the width of the tread and the height of the blocks, it is probable that the two come from different parts of the same course.

² Mention may also be made of a poros block that was found in the third room from the south of the Hellenistic Metroon (Fig. 83). Its distinctive gray poros and its workmanship associate it too with the large wall blocks. Its back face is straight, its front marked by a slight concavity. The front face is rough save for a drafted band along the upper edge; the back is rough picked, the ends finished with anathyrosis, the top smooth dressed and marked by two pry holes.

sumably, it had been found by the earlier excavators (Figs. 84, 85). The block is of Pentelic marble and comes from a horizontal lateral cornice. In its top are two beddings for rafters. The preserved end retains in its top two cuttings for \vdash clamps, and in its lower edge a dowel hole. The workmanship is excellent. Of the associated epistyle a few scraps have been found along the front of the Metroon. The most significant part preserved is the double moulding between architrave and frieze (Fig. 86).

The attribution of these members to the Bouleuterion is admittedly not certain, but it may be regarded as highly probable. In the first place, the exterior order of the building

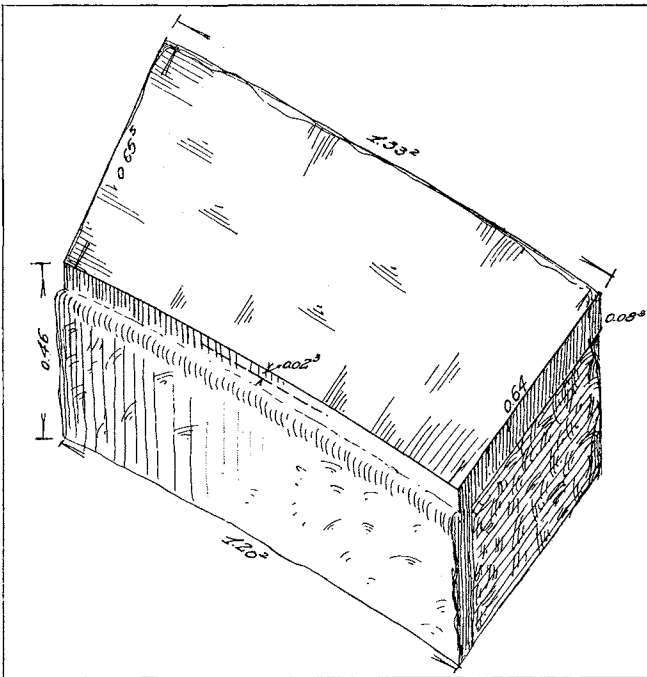


Fig. 83. Curved Block from New Bouleuterion(?)

determined. A glance at the plan will show that the whole structure is symmetrical toward the east side only, for here alone do we have the supplementary bedding inside the outer wall and the interior foundations that extend on either side of the piers for the interior columns. One may note further that the dressed bedrock within the area of the building shows a gentle but regular inclination from the south, west, and north toward a point in the mid eastern part of the rectangle. This point should then fall within the "orchestra" and it results that the seats of the auditorium faced east. This established, it follows that the additional broad beddings within the eastern wall underlay the parodoi and the retaining walls that supported the wings of the auditorium. The eastern pair of interior columns will fall conveniently in the line of these retaining walls while the western, placed near the periphery of the auditorium, will cause a minimum of obstruction.

was in all likelihood Ionic, inasmuch as the Porch that was later added to it and the Propylon that is closely associated with it were both of that order. And secondly, the quality of workmanship shown in the pieces and the profile of their mouldings are more appropriate to the period to which the Bouleuterion must be assigned than to that of the only possible rival claimant, the later Temple of Apollo. The cornice block was probably dragged off in the fifth century A.D. by the late rebuilders of the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon.

RESTORATION OF PLAN

In restoring the interior arrangement of the building its orientation must first of all be



Fig. 84. (A 256) Cornice Block from New Bouleuterion (?)

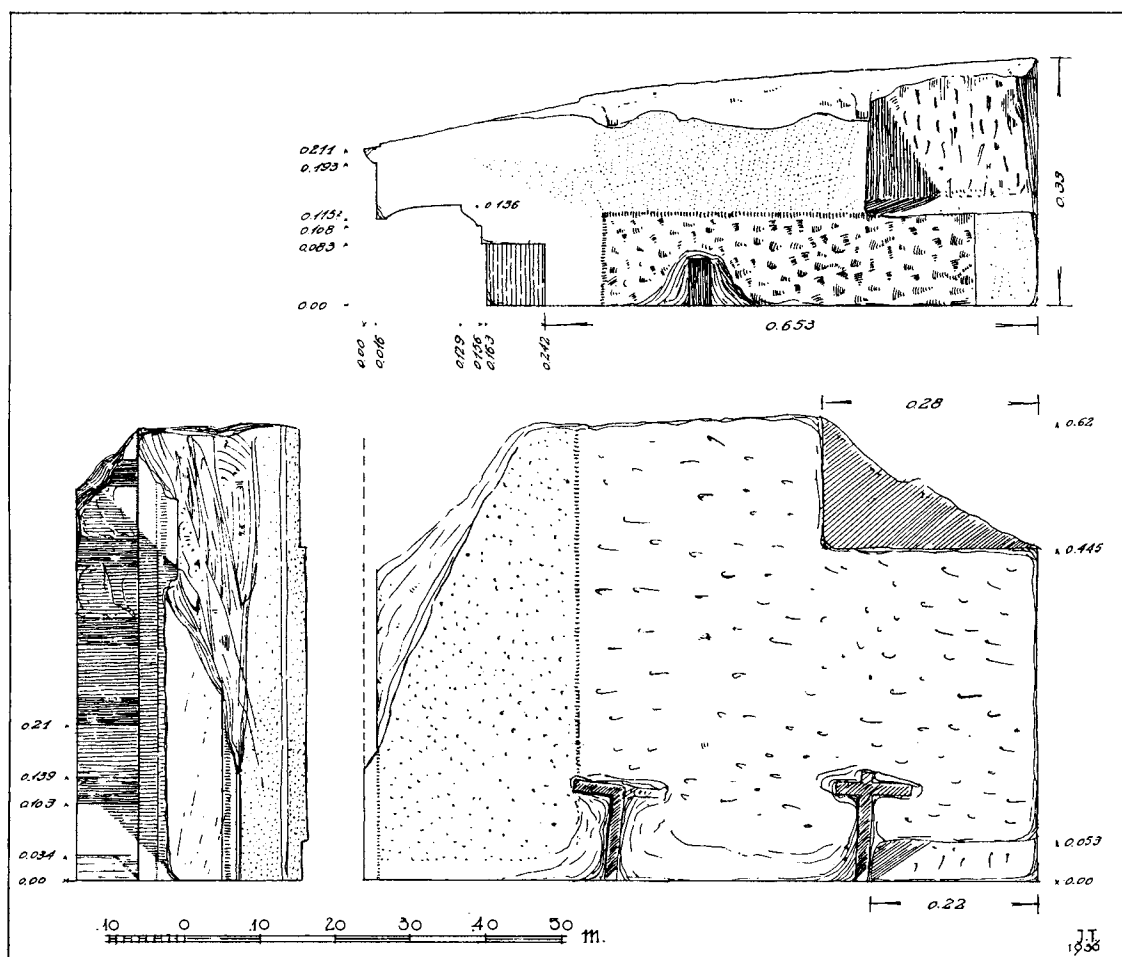


Fig. 85. (A 256) Cornice Block from New Bouleuterion (?)

One might have looked for the main entrance in the east wall directly opposite the "orchestra," and the scheme of the Hellenistic Metroon, as will be seen, suggests that from the second century onward, at any rate, there was an important entrance from this side. In the fifth century, too, some provision may have been made here for direct communication between the New Bouleuterion and its predecessor. But it is clear that in the earlier period of the new building its principal entrances opened at the ends of the parodoi in the northeast and southeast corners of the building. The existence of the northeast entrance is confirmed by the presence of the broad open area along the north side of the building, which involved an otherwise inexplicable amount of quarrying. The organic

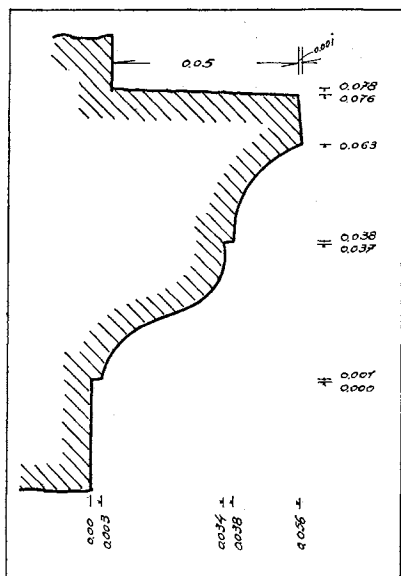


Fig. 86. (A 391) Moulding from Epistyle of New Bouleuterion (?)

association of the area with the building is indicated by the peculiar northward extension of the east wall for the entrance. That this entrance continued in use throughout the history of the building we may infer from the accommodating jog in the back wall of the Hellenistic Metroon and also from the stairway that was carried down in still later times over the northern scarp. In the beginning, the actual doorway might have been approached either by the passage-way that led around the west and north sides of the building, or from the north, over the poros benches on the hill side, of which more will be said below. The importance of the south entrance is sufficiently emphasized by the broad flight of stairs that led up to the Square and to the entrance.

For the original seating arrangement little evidence exists. It seems probable, however, that in the beginning the seats were of wood and were supported on wooden beams. So much may be inferred from the fact that in the course of a careful cleaning of the surface of the dressed bedrock within the building during the present excavation, scattered pottery was found in certain undisturbed pockets of earth filling of the date to which we must assign the re-organization of the building. Had the original seats been of stone, they must have been carried on a contemporary earth filling which would have protected the bedrock from subsequent disturbance. Not a few pieces of stone seats have been found on the spot, but from their workmanship it is clear that they belong together and to a period much later than the time to which the original building must be assigned. We may presume that if the seats were of wood they were laid out on a rectilinear, possibly a polygonal scheme.¹

¹ The restoration outlined above does not take into consideration the two diagonal blocks in the northern part of the building. These blocks assume a symmetrical relation to the building only if one

ALTAR

One would expect an altar in the middle of the "orchestra" to serve as the focal point of the auditorium. We may well recognize this altar in a large fragment of Pentelic marble found just south of the southwest corner of the Old Bouleuterion (Fig. 87). The drum shows a diameter of 0.855 m. and a preserved height of 0.79 m. Though the top is



Fig. 87. (ST 71) Altar from New Bouleuterion (?)

broken away all around, the altar cannot have been much higher, for the bottom of the cutting for the fire pan is preserved at a height of 0.70 m. The base moulding is a well cut cyma reversa. In order to reduce its weight, the underside of the block was hollowed out to a height of 0.30 m. Two large shifting bosses were left on the periphery of the drum.

thinks away the inner foundation along its east side. But it seems certain that the latter foundation is contemporary with the adjacent east wall. Their material and position tell against assigning the two blocks to a later period. They conceivably indicate some change of plan in the early stages of construction or they may have served as beddings for scaffolding or cranes used in the actual construction.

Around the upper wall runs a simple but well carved wreath of laurel leaves and berries. The inscription, which presumably named the divinity, is entirely broken away, and there is left only a poor graffito scratched in the lower wall: **ZHC**. The block is large and heavy and, though sadly broken, its surfaces are fresh. Hence we may suppose that it comes from close by and that its bulk, as well as its unsatisfactory shape, discouraged late vandals. Both New Bouleuterion and Tholos may be regarded as claimants. The claim of the Bouleuterion is somewhat stronger inasmuch as the floor of its "orchestra" lies considerably higher than the place of finding, the floor of the Tholos as much lower. If it be assigned to the New Bouleuterion we are still at a loss as to which period it may belong. Its workmanship is not unworthy of the earlier period.

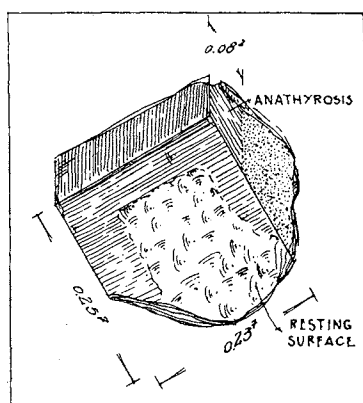


Fig. 88. (A 669) Fragmentary Orthostate of Eleusinian Limestone from remodelled Old Bouleuterion (?)

CONTEMPORARY ALTERATIONS IN THE OLD BOULEUTERION

On the completion of the New Bouleuterion, its predecessor was naturally converted to other uses which will be discussed later. Some record of the necessary alterations was left in the stratification to the south of the Old Bouleuterion where it was read in the exploratory pit to which reference has been made. Above the firm, smooth floor which has been taken to be the original ground level to the south of the Old Bouleuterion in its earliest days, a gradual accumulation of hard packed earth and clay was found lying in innumerable thin layers to a total depth of 0.10 to 0.20 m. (Layer 11 in Fig. 71). The next layer above (10) was rather deeper and of quite a different character: masses of dug bedrock, soft earth, working chips, broken roof tiles, all obviously deposited here at one and the same time. The new floor was surfaced with

a film of clay packed smooth and level. The fragmentary roof tiles found in this layer are identical with those that came to light around the foundations of the New Bouleuterion, and the marble working chips here, as there, are exclusively of Pentelic marble. The construction débris in Layer 10 is clearly distinguished, however, by the presence of numerous working chips of gray Eleusinian limestone. Chips of this stone have not been found around the New Bouleuterion or around the Tholos. Since the level at which they lie precludes their association with the later Porch and Propylon of the New Bouleuterion, we may safely attribute them and the accompanying débris to the reorganization of the Old Bouleuterion.

It is not impossible that a fragment of one of the blocks of Eleusinian limestone from which the working chips are derived is to be recognized in a piece found by us, as left by previous excavators, at the southwest corner of the Old Bouleuterion (Fig. 88). The piece would seem to come from an orthostate of which the one narrow face preserved and one

of the broad faces were exposed; the other broad face is finished with anathyrosis along its front edge. Despite its battered and weathered condition, the fragment is evidently of excellent workmanship and its tooling recalls the worked surfaces preserved on some of the chips.

For the date of the construction or reconstruction represented by this material, we must turn to the pottery found in association with it in Layer 10. This agrees so precisely with that gathered from around the foundations of the New Bouleuterion as to indicate that both undertakings were parts of a common program. We shall, then, consider together the evidence bearing on the date of the whole program.

DATING

In considering the date of the program, it may be noted that the combination of soft and hard poros observed in the foundations of the New Bouleuterion, the style of the jointing and setting, the sparing use of \vdash clamps, all find close parallels in the Stoa of Zeus and in contemporary buildings of the late fifth and early fourth centuries. The treatment of the faces and joints of the wall blocks of the Bouleuterion is likewise best paralleled in Attic walls of the same period.¹ The profile of the mouldings and the quality of workmanship observed in the Ionic cornice block, which has been tentatively assigned to the building, are also worthy of a place in the late fifth century. And finally, the use of Eleusinian limestone, when finished in the admirable technique exhibited by the chips and the block associated with the reorganization of the New Bouleuterion, may safely be attributed to the time of the Propylaia and the Erechtheion.

Confirmation of such a date and somewhat greater precision may be secured from the pottery and small objects found among the débris of construction. In this respect, the most fruitful locality was the unused foundation trench running south from the southwest corner of the New Bouleuterion, that part of it, naturally, which was not utilized in the construction of the later porch. In this channel were found masses of working chips and dust of both hard gray poros and of Pentelic marble; the bottom of a coarse pot still containing a little of the red milto used by the workmen for daubing their straight-edges and their setting lines; fragments of the roof tiles that were broken in transport or laying; the ashes of the fires on which the workmen had heated their lunches; the broken jars in which they had kept their drinking water and the plain little dishes in which they carried their midday beans and olives. The filling of the trench proper was readily distinguishable from the overlying accumulation so that it may be regarded as sealed and safe evidence. A certain amount of broken pottery was extracted also from the foundation filling in the angle formed by the south wall of the building and the stairway, here too in association with working chips of Pentelic marble and poros. A little undisturbed filling left by the

¹ Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, no. 49: retaining wall of the Tomb of the Lacedaemonians by the Dipylon, 403 B.C.; no. 50: a tower by the Sacred Gate, assigned to the time of Konon. For the jointing, see Noack, *Eleusis*, p. 185, pl. 12: Round Tower M 1 of the Periclean peribolos.

mediaeval plunderers and modern excavators around the foundations at the northeast corner of the building produced more broken pottery and roof tiles. We have already referred to the material found in Layer 10 to the south of the Old Bouleuterion. The simple pottery found in these places, some of the pieces, as has been suggested above, having been used by the workmen during the actual construction, may be regarded as precisely contemporary with the work or as very slightly earlier. Since the vases, lamps, etc., from the various deposits are closely similar, we may regard all the material as of one group and shall illustrate only a few of the representative and obviously latest pieces (Figs. 89, 90).

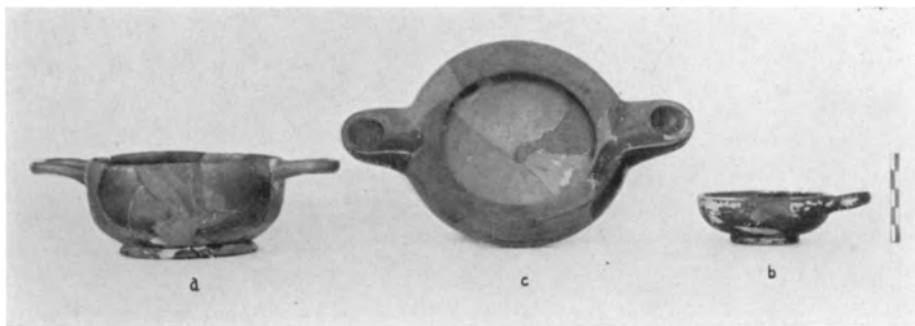


Fig. 89. Vases associated with Construction of New Bouleuterion

- a. P 8092. Cup-kotyle. From the unused foundation trench. H., 0.051 m.; diam., 0.105 m. The horizontal loop handles have parallel sides. On the underside of the floor, dot and ring pattern. Glaze mottled black and brown, somewhat flaky. Cf. Talcott, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 503, nos. 13–16, p. 520, no. 105, fig. 22.
- b. P 7217. One handled cup. From the same place. H., 0.028 m.; diam., 0.074 m. The handle has parallel sides and rises slightly toward the outside. Covered all over with flaky black glaze. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 507, nos. 37–42, fig. 1.
- c. L 1874. Lamp. From the same place. H., 0.035 m.; diam., 0.129 m. Very low base ring rising slightly in the middle. Flat rim, down turned. Rich glaze fired partly black, partly red. On the type, see Broncer, *Corinth*, IV, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 43 ff.
- d. P 5924. Stamped base of a cup-kotyle. From the same place. Diam. of base, 0.074 m. On the floor, palmettes rest on a circle of meander. On underside, dot and circle pattern. Rich black glaze. Talcott, *op. cit.*, p. 503, no. 16, fig. 21.
- e. P 8094. Stamped base of a stemless cup. From the same place. Diam. of base ca. 0.05 m. On the floor, looped palmettes between bands of ovules. Covered all over with firm black glaze. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 501, no. 10, fig. 5.
- f. P 8091. Stamped base of a cup-kotyle. From the foundation filling at the southeast corner of the New Bouleuterion. Diam. of base, 0.058 m. On the floor, four palmettes grouped around a small circle. Dot and ring pattern on the underside. Good black glaze. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 503, no. 12, fig. 21; p. 521, no. 110, fig. 10.
- g. P 8096. Wall fragment from a lekythos with stamped ornament. Exploratory pit to south of Old Bouleuterion, Layer 10. Diam. ca. 0.08 m. Around the wall, a band of looped palmettes between two bands of ovules. A trace of another loop above. Metallic black glaze. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 517 f., nos. 96, 97, fig. 12.

It will be clear from the references given under the separate pieces that the pottery illustrated here is closely contemporary with or very slightly later than the group from a fifth-century well published by Miss Talcott in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 476 ff. That group was securely dated in the third quarter of the fifth century. Broneer (*op. cit.*, p. 44) concluded that lamps of the type represented by our *c* were in most common use in the second and third quarters of the fifth century, and his dating has been borne out by the



Fig. 90. Sherds associated with Construction of New Bouleuterion

evidence of Agora groups. A few scraps of red figure found among the construction debris will date, some of them from the third quarter of the century, others probably from the early part of the last quarter.

Another suggestive bit of evidence is furnished by ostraka bearing the name of Habron, son of Patrokles. One of these (P 8097) was found among the working chips in Layer 10 to the south of the Old Bouleuterion, another (P 5879) in the surface of the layer beneath. One is perhaps entitled to suppose that the reorganization of the Old Bouleuterion occurred shortly after an occasion when the name of Habron figured in an ostrakophoria and when the ballots were still lying about the market place.¹ Neither the man nor the occasion can be

¹ A third piece (P 3586), which may be restored H]ABPO[N] MA]PAΘ[ONIOΣ, came from the footing trench of a Hellenistic foundation that was set down on the line of the east-west cross wall of the Old Bouleuterion. Its lettering looks earlier than that of the other two. If the third piece is really

identified with certainty. From Diodoros (XI, 79), however, we learn that the archon of 458/7 was one Habron, conceivably the same man as the one under discussion.¹ In any case, the ostraka must antedate the cessation of the practice of ostracism in 417 B.C.

The combined archaeological evidence would suggest that the building program falls in the last quarter of the fifth century.

ALTERATIONS IN THE NEW BOULEUTERION

At a later date, a porch was set against the south end of the New Bouleuterion and a monumental propylon was erected at the southeast corner of the Old Bouleuterion building. On passing through this Propylon, one made his way along a broad passage, flanked

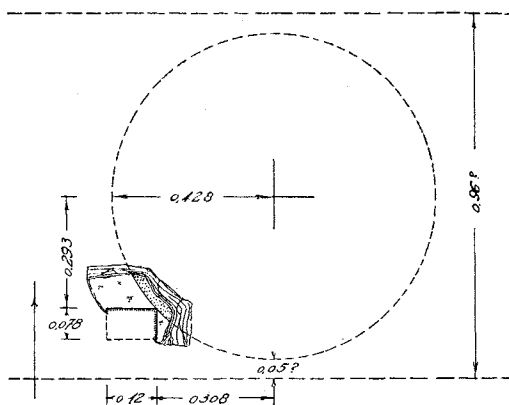


Fig. 91. (A 670) Fragment of Stylobate of Porch of New Bouleuterion (?)

on the north by that archaic building, on the south by a free standing wall, to the foot of the stairway that now gave access both to the Square alongside the Bouleuterion and to the new porch of the building. These additions were undoubtedly accompanied by certain changes in the entrance to the Tholos which will be discussed in the study of that building. However fine the new structures may have been in themselves, they destroyed the effective simplicity of the old layout. Yet the result may appear more disturbing when seen in the horizontal plane of the paper plan than it did in the three-dimensional effect of stone and marble.

PORCH

In constructing the porch, the architect utilized the unused foundation trench in the line of the west wall of the Bouleuterion and for its other end, a part of the old stairway that led up to the Square. He joined the two by a new foundation trench in which there still remain numerous blocks of the lowest course. They are chiefly of hard gray poros,

a ballot and if it was cast on the same occasion as the others (both doubtful points) we may suppose that some alteration was made in the cross wall at the time of the reorganization of the building.

¹ The name also occurs twice on sepulchral monuments of the late fifth century: *I.G.*, I², 951, col. I, 17; 964, col. I, 14.

but include also a few pieces of conglomerate.¹ The restoration of a colonnade rather than a solid wall on this foundation is probable on general grounds, especially as it would permit of freer communication with the auditorium from the side of the Tholos and the new Propylon. The floor of packed earth, much of which remains within the line of the foundation, would also be more appropriate to an open porch than to a closed room. The jog at the junction of Porch and building, occasioned by the utilization of the old stairway, need have caused no serious difficulty in the superstructure. The Porch was undoubtedly covered with a single-pitched roof set against the south wall of the main building at such a height as not to interfere with the windows lighting the auditorium. The narrowness

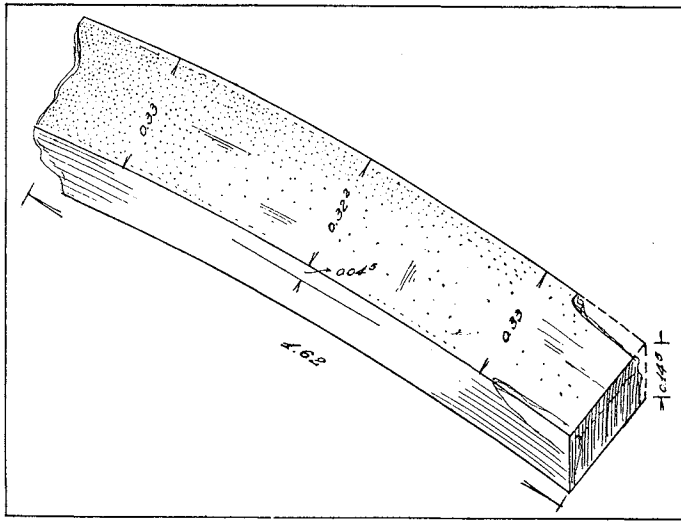


Fig. 92. Marble Bench from New Bouleuterion

of the available space and the height of the dirt floor inside combine to suggest that only one additional course, the stylobate, rested on top of the preserved blocks. Eight Ionic supports across the front, two on the side, would permit of satisfactory proportions. One may conjecture that the west side, looking toward the rough scarp, was closed by a solid wall. A square pier might perhaps appropriately replace the column at the south-east corner. Working chips found along its course show that the stylobate was of Pentelic marble. Part of it may be recognized in a small fragment of a well worked block of Pentelic marble found in a marble dump left by previous excavators in the southeast corner of the building (Fig. 91). On its surface is the scratched setting line for an Ionic base with a diameter of *ca.* 0.856 m. Close against the line of the base is a cutting for a post. The post had subsequently been removed and the mouth of the cutting was worn

¹ Two rows of blocks, 0.25 m. high, varying greatly in size, make up a mean width of 1.32 m. Their tops are carefully dressed but devoid of any trace of clamps or dowels. The pry holes for the succeeding course are irregularly spaced.

smooth by traffic. One will understand that it may have been found advisable to close some of the intercolumniations of the Porch with grillwork. We have supposed that in this period a bench was placed at the foot of the walls of the Porch.

That the Porch is not part of the original building but a later addition is perhaps sufficiently indicated by its unsatisfactory junction with the side walls of the building and by the disturbing manner in which it breaks the line of the old stairway. The dissociation of the two is further confirmed by the use of conglomerate in the Porch, a stone which does not appear elsewhere in the building, and by the inferior workmanship of the Porch. Additional

proof may also be derived from the observation that the surface of bedrock both inside the Porch and to the south of it is worn by traffic to a uniform smoothness and this worn surface was cut through by the foundation trench of the colonnade. No corresponding wear is to be noted within the area of the building proper. Hence this wear must have occurred at a time when the open square ran right up to the south wall of the building. Two periods of construction are also clearly indicated by the manner in which the unfinished orthostate block that must be assigned to the building proper was found buried in earth and was trimmed away by the builders of the Porch.

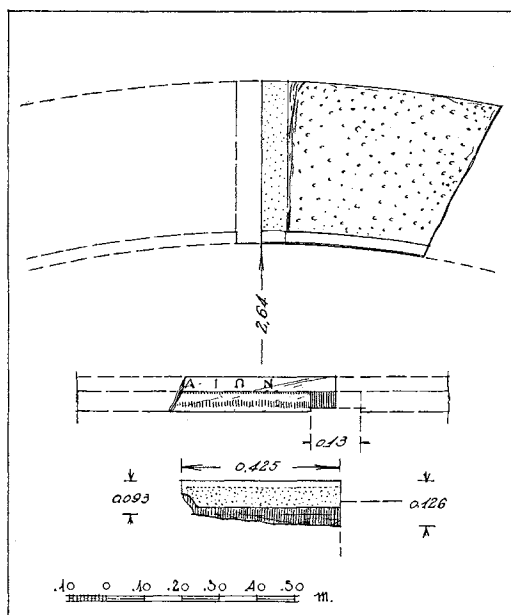


Fig. 93. (I 638) Marble Bench from New Bouleuterion (?); Plan of Underside, Front and End Elevations

MARBLE BENCHES

A number of fragmentary curved stone benches found, chiefly by earlier excavators, within the area of the building and its immediate vicinity prove that in its later days

the seats of the auditorium were laid out on a curved scheme and that they were of marble. The workmanship of the pieces makes quite impossible their attribution to the first period of the building. It is perhaps reasonable to suppose that the alteration in the auditorium was contemporary with the addition of the porch, but this does not necessarily follow and the surviving stone benches may well be of a still later date.

A score of fragmentary benches were found, of the sort illustrated in Fig. 92. These are all of Hymettian marble, finished with the claw hammer on top and edges. The piece illustrated shows the normal width of $0.32 +$ m. (*i.e.* 1 foot). Its preserved end has been trimmed on the underside to rest on an upright support which it shared with its neighbor. Its front face was covered with a slab of veneer, secured by iron pins, small holes for

which appear not on this but on most of the fragments. A similar hole in the end of one piece indicates that the ends of the benches adjacent to the stairways were likewise veneered. The back edges of the slabs, especially those from near stairways, show a certain amount of wear. In these pieces we clearly have to do with the actual seats, behind which presumably lay other slabs to facilitate passage and to receive the feet of those sitting above. For the detailed restoration other evidence is lacking, but such simple and economical seating arrangements are familiar from other sites.¹

The diameter of the "orchestra" has been fixed on the basis of a fragmentary marble bench which may with some plausibility be assigned to the Bouleuterion. The piece was found in the Great Drain at a point just opposite the Temple of Apollo Patroos, imbedded in a gravelly filling of the fourth to fifth centuries A.D. It had presumably been used as a cover slab by some late repairer and had subsequently broken and fallen in. There remains only a fragment of a seat slab of Pentelic marble with the dimensions and profile shown in Fig. 93. The inner face forms the arc of a circle with a radius of *ca.* 2.64 m. The underside is quite rough save for a length at the preserved end which had been dressed as a bearing surface to rest on a foot. The end itself is finished with careful anathyrosis. On the front edge is preserved the end of a neatly lettered inscription:]αιων, and on the top a roughly cut graffito: MAP. One might suspect that the bench belonged to some simple exedra. But the back edge is not jointed in the manner commonly employed for such seats. Rather, it has no proper joint surface, but shows not a little wear that would seem to have occurred while the block lay in its original position. Hence we may with more probability regard it as from the first bench of an auditorium. The only building in the vicinity of suitable type and date is the New Bouleuterion.

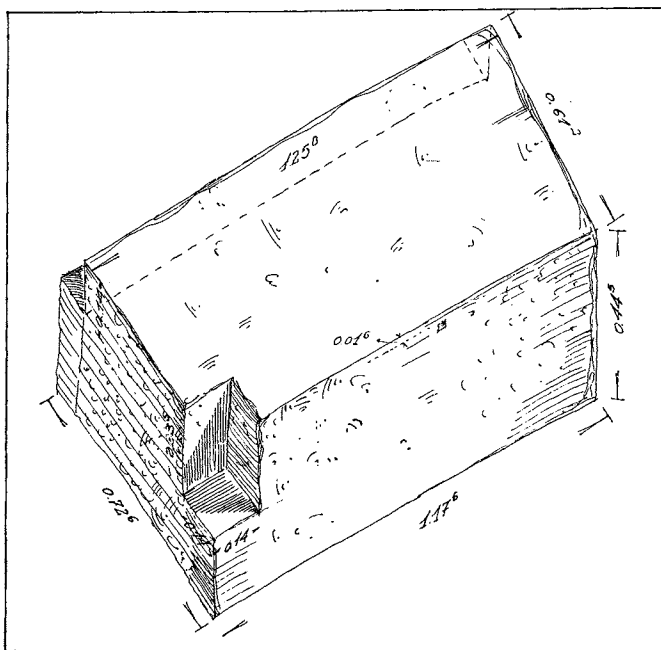


Fig. 94. Bedding Block for Bench and Stair of New Bouleuterion

¹ Theatre of Magnesia (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, p. 71); of Thera (*Thera*, III, p. 256, fig. 243); of Priene (A. v. Gerkan, *Das Theater von Priene*, p. 30, pls. IX, XIV, 1, 2, 4).

The poros block illustrated in Fig. 94 now lies, as it was found, in the first room from the south of the Hellenistic Metroon. We may suppose that it supported the topmost row of seats, that the rabbet in its back upper edge was intended to receive the stone flagging of the back corners of the auditorium and that the cutting in its front end held a step block. A pin hole near the top of its front face suggests that it too was veneered. A couple of other blocks of similar material and concavity but without the rabbet in their backs were found in the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon. They may have served a similar purpose toward the wings of the auditorium.

Supposing that the parodos walls and interior columns remained in their original places throughout the history of the building, and fixing the "orchestra" on the basis of the marble bench described above, we have proposed for the later period of the Bouleuterion the restoration illustrated on Pl. VIII. This plan will admit of 12 ranges of benches with an average width of *ca.* 0.62 m., than which they could not be less. If we assign 0.50 m. of bench to each senator, again an irreducible minimum, there will be room for just over five hundred.¹

PROPYLON

EXISTING REMAINS

The remains that lie at the southeast corner of the Old Bouleuterion lend themselves to no satisfactory restoration as a building with an independent existence, but their plan and situation alike suggest that the building which they supported served an obvious need of the New Bouleuterion, *i. e.* provided it with a monumental approach from the market square (Fig. 95). The identification is put beyond question by the polygonal wall which runs westward from the southwest corner of the foundations in question and which, together with the south wall of the Old Bouleuterion, forms a broad passage-way clearly leading back from the Propylon to the New Bouleuterion.

There remain in position much of the subfoundations and the northeast corner block of the first step. The foundations beneath the east front of the structure are the most carefully built. One course of headers of soft white poros was set down to its full depth of 0.45 m. in the existing ground level and at either end the course was returned toward the west by the width of two blocks. On top of this first course was laid the euthynteria. Along the south side the lowest course was continued westward by a ruder packing which includes a couple of conglomerate blocks, a fragment of a poros column drum and irregular masses of Acropolis limestone.² The western foundation in its lowest part consists of roughly jointed masses of Acropolis limestone making up a thickness of *ca.* 0.35 m. Only

¹ One might place additional seats in the upper corners. But such an arrangement would be unsatisfactory since the corner seats would be far removed from the speaker and would involve a very considerable increase in the height of the ceiling. The sharp angles, moreover, would mean much waste space.

² Two conglomerate blocks in the eastern part may well have formed a monument base of an earlier period, a circumstance which will account for their level, 0.05 m. below that of the poros blocks to the east of them, and also for the slightly irregular orientation of the south foundation.

the southern 2.80 m. of the west foundation remain. On the north side, to the west of the massive poros blocks of the lowest course, only enough survives to show that the back part, as on the south side, was made up of an inferior packing.¹ Only the outer foundation of the Propylon was set below the pre-existing ground level. Enough remains to suggest that inside the building a solid bedding was prepared of blocks resting on that earlier



Fig. 95. Propylon from East. Arrows indicate its Northeast and Southeast Corners

ground level. The material of the inner foundation is conglomerate supplemented with Acropolis limestone.

The euthynteria course, 0.41 m. high, preserved only across the front, consisted of two rows of stretchers, of which three in each row remain in position. The inner row was of

¹ It will appear from the plan that the north foundation of the new building must have slightly overlaid the south foundation of the Old Bouleuterion at least back to the east anta in the north wall of the Propylon. Just within the northeast corner of the outer foundations of the Propylon there remains undisturbed the lowest course, consisting of two blocks of soft white poros laid side by side, of another earlier monument base.

soft creamy poros, the outer of hard gray poros. The outer blocks were jointed carefully but without clamps or dowels. The width of the building across the east front measured on the euthynteria was *ca.* 8.50 m.

The first step was of Hymettian marble 0.225 m. in height. Setting and weathering lines on top of the surviving corner block indicate a width of 0.326 m. for the tread, both

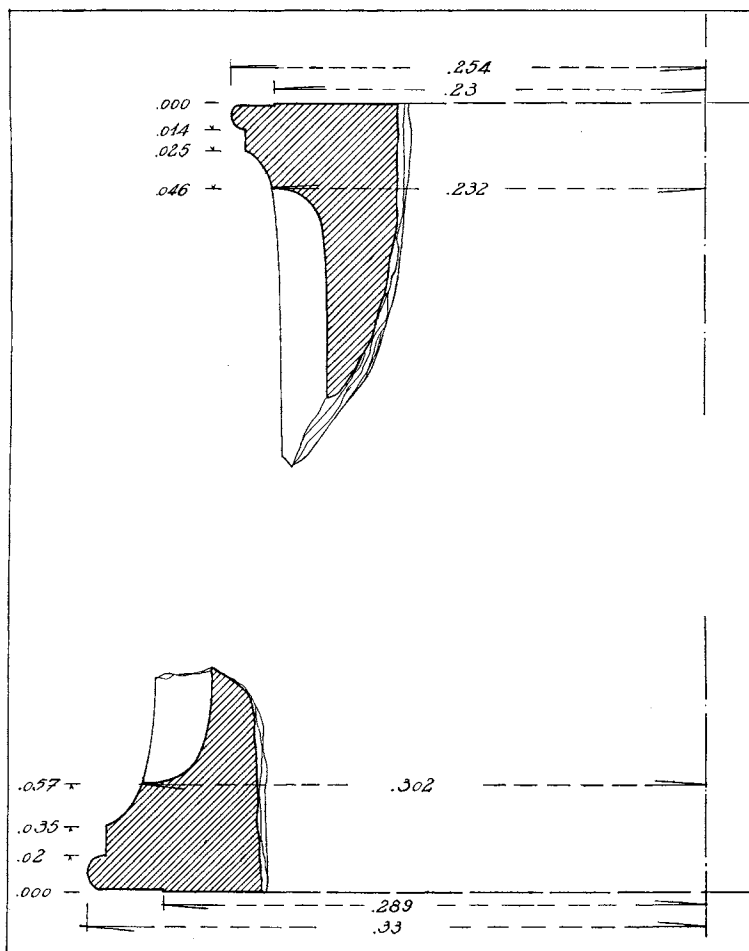


Fig. 96. (A 673) Fragments from Columns of Propylon

on the east and north sides. The lower edge of the face of the step is marked by a band of drafting, finished with a plain stop at the corner. Weathering lines show that the second step was treated in the same way. A protecting band was never removed from the outer edge of the tread. The step blocks were secured to one another and to their backers by means of \perp clamps. Dowels were not used in setting the blocks of the first step (Figs. 107, 108).

Of the columns many small fragments were found lying on the ancient ground level to the east of the building where they had been broken up (Fig. 96). They were of Pentelic marble of a fine quality with a lower diameter of 0.604 m., an upper of 0.464 m. and were decorated with 24 flutings. The bearing surfaces toward stylobate and capital were finished with a toothed chisel and encircled by a smooth dressed relieving surface. A few scraps from the volutes of one of the Ionic capitals have also been found. The small surviving fragments of the epistyle preserve no significant dimension. Epistyle and frieze were presumably cut from a single block. The crowning moulding of the frieze, of which several fragments were found, consisted of a simple ovolo and cavetto.

RESTORATION OF PLAN

The plan of the surviving foundations shows clearly that the eastern porch was tetrastyle prostyle, the western distyle *in antis*. The eastern foundation, moreover, is wide enough to accommodate only two steps.¹ The remaining difference in level may have been provided for by a third step in the line of the cross wall (Pl. VII, Section A-A). Pry holes in the surface of the euthynteria, which indicate the position of the blocks of the steps and so presumably of the stylobate, suggest that the central intercolumniation was slightly wider than its neighbors, a reasonable arrangement for a propylon. The precise position of the cross wall is the only doubtful point in the restoration, for the continuous inner foundation is not helpful in placing it. The unhappy proximity of the Propylon to both its earlier and later neighbor to the north will be apparent from the plan. The barbarous way in which the architect of the great second-century building cut away the northern foundations of the Propylon is shown by Fig. 107.

WALL OF PASSAGE LEADING TO BOULEUTERION

The wall that runs westward from the southwest corner of the Propylon served not only to bound the passage-way leading to the New Bouleuterion but also, in its lower part as a terrace wall, to adjust the difference in ground level between that passage and the Tholos (Fig. 97). Its subfoundations are of conglomerate blocks laid as stretchers in single rows. Above the conglomerate rise orthostates of Acropolis limestone 0.59 m. high, worked so as to face toward the north. In places a single block makes up the entire thickness of the wall (0.50 m.); elsewhere the orthostate was supplemented with a packing of smaller stones set against its south face. At the eastern end of the wall as preserved are two blocks of soft white poros which appear to belong to the original construction. Between the limestone blocks the joints are cut invariably as straight lines and tend to be vertical or horizontal without ever being truly so. The top line shows the use of small triangular fillers already observed in the cella wall of the Temple of Apollo. The joint surfaces are

¹ At some later date, probably because of changing ground levels, an additional step was set against the face of the euthynteria in the mid-part of the front. The bedding blocks for this step may be distinguished in Fig. 95. Still later a fountain was erected on this step.

prepared with a rough sort of anathyrosis worked usually with a toothed, sometimes with a smooth chisel. The north face of the orthostates was finished with a single point. It retains no trace of stucco. The stratification against the north face of the wall shows clearly that the bottom line of the orthostates was set down approximately to the ground level existing when the wall was built. But it is equally clear from the stratification that the ground level was then immediately raised by 0.20–0.30 m. and that it actually remained at that height



Fig. 97. Polygonal Retaining Wall to South of Metroon, from the North

throughout classical antiquity is sufficiently proved by the marked line of weathering about half way up the faces of the orthostates. Of the upper part of the wall nothing remains.

The restored plan of the Propylon shows clearly that the polygonal wall aligns with the south wall of the building. At the west end of the wall one bedding block *ca.* 1.20 m. long is now missing. With this block the wall would seem originally to have come to an abrupt end so that one approaching from the Propylon, on reaching this point, might have continued westward to ascend the steps which led up to the Square and the Porch of the Bouleuterion or he might have turned south to enter the Tholos through a north door which we may hypothecate for that building.

DATING

The pottery found in numerous exploratory trenches and pits leaves no doubt that the Porch of the Bouleuterion, the Propylon and the limestone wall which runs westward from the Propylon are closely contemporary, parts, that is, of a single building program. The potsherds found in the filling inside the foundations of the Propylon, in the footing trench



Fig. 98. Vases associated with Construction of Porch and Propylon

of the limestone wall, among the working chips from Propylon and Porch found to the south of the Old Bouleuterion and in the recess in the bedrock along the west side of the Square; the few fragments found in undisturbed earth in the foundation trench of the Porch and in the earth filling inside the Porch,—these various groups are completely consistent with each other. They also agree precisely with a great mass of pottery found in a well at the west side of the Square, in a connected well farther south and in a man-hole to the west of the Tholos, all of which were undoubtedly filled in on the occasion of the new building program. A few representative pieces are illustrated in Fig. 98.

- a. P 2404. Black-glazed kantharos. H., 0.13 m. The high loop handles are broken away. The glaze has been scratched from the upper and underside of the foot, exposing the miltos-covered clay.
- b. P 3559. Public Measure. Cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 347. H., 0.132 m.; diam., 0.152 m. In black glaze around the upper wall: $\Delta HMO\Xi ION$. The vessel was stamped on its outside, while the clay was still soft, with two of the official seals of the city; one representing the head of Athena in Attic helmet, to right, the other a double-bodied owl with $E^A \odot$ and two sprays of olive in the field. Close parallels for both the Athena head and the owl occur in a series of silver coins dated to the period 365–359 B.C.¹ Numerous other fragments of similar measures were found in the neighboring wells and in the earth packing of the Square. They doubtless came from the nearby Tholos where a set of official weights and measures was kept.
- c. P 4443. Black-glazed kantharos with flat-topped, spurred handles. H., 0.095 m. Glaze scratched from a groove round the foot. More than a score of similar kantharoi, whole or fragmentary, came from the well, others from the footing trench of the limestone wall. Cf. E. Breccia, *La necropoli di Sciatbi*, II, pl. LIII, 103; LIV, 109.
- d. P 3507. Black-glazed plate. Diam., 0.123 m. On floor, six stamped palmettes joined by loops and surrounded by a rouletted band. Numerous other such plates were found in the wells and, in fragments, in the exploratory trenches. For the fabric, cf. *Sciatbi*, II, pl. LVI, 121, 123.
- e. P 3556. Red-figured lid of lekanis. Diam., 0.138 m. On the top, two pairs of female heads, sakkos bound, facing, with tendrils between. Around the downturned rim and on top of handle, egg-and-dot pattern. Thin red wash on the reserved parts.
- f. L 1426. Lamp, Broneer's Type VII. L., 0.087 m. A pierced knob on the left side has been broken away. Covered inside and out with thin brown glaze. Cf. *Sciatbi*, II, pl. LVII, 125.
- g. L 1521. Lamp, ca. Broneer's Type VII a. L., 0.10 m. Vertical side wall, flat top surrounded by two shallow grooves. Flaky black glaze inside and outside. This and the preceding are the dominant types of lamps found in the wells and trenches. A few fragments similar to *f* in profile but unglazed on the outside came from lamps of Type VII b, on which see *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 460 f.

It is apparent that the pottery approximates very closely to that of the first two groups published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 313 ff. For those groups a date at the turn of the fourth and third centuries was established through comparison with the earliest Attic pottery found in Alexandria. The same date may confidently be assigned as a lower limit for the mass of pottery here considered. This date may then be considered as an upper limit for the building program and, in view of the quantity of the pottery and its consistency, it may be taken as affording a rather close *terminus post quem* for that construction.


A number of coins were found in places which make them of significance for the dating of the construction. Among the marble chips found in the trench to the south of the Old Bouleuterion and to be associated with the construction of the Propylon (Fig. 71, Layer 5) lay a coin of Salamis dated in the period 350–318 B.C.² From a lower stratum (Layer 8) separated by about 0.20 m. from those working chips, comes a Macedonian coin, possibly of Cassander (316–297 B.C.).³ The well at the west side of the Square yielded a number

¹ J. Svoronos, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. 17, nos. 34–36. For the data regarding the coins considered in this section I am much indebted to Mrs. Shear.

² *B.M. Catalogue of Coins, Attica*, etc., pl. XX, nos. 8 and 9.

³ See S. W. Grose, *Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean Collection of Greek Coins*, II, no. 3562, pl. 132, 17.

of coins. The one foreign piece among them is a coin of Larissa, dated to 305–197 B.C.¹ The earliest Athenian piece is a silver tetradrachma of a type assigned by Svoronos to the period 365–359 B.C.² Two bronze pieces bearing Eleusinian symbols and the name of Eleusis may be dated to the second half of the fourth century.³ Another bronze Athenian piece falls in a class assigned by Svoronos to 297–255 B.C.⁴ There are four other coins of a different type assigned by the same authority to the same period.⁵ Four others, according to Svoronos' classification, should fall between 255 and 229 B.C.,⁶ but it has been shown by Mrs. Shear (*loc. cit.*) that this group should be dated in 307–283. The coins, therefore, would permit of a date consistent with that suggested by the pottery, *viz.* the beginning of the third century.

The admirable workmanship of the Propylon and the use of hard and soft poros and of  clasps might suggest for it an earlier date. But the free use of conglomerate in its foundations will warn us to be on our guard and will suggest that we have to do rather with an example of conservative, perhaps archaizing construction. However this may be, the evidence of the pottery and coins found around their foundations will push the date of the Bouleuterion Porch, Propylon and limestone wall as late at least as the beginning of the third century. Additional evidence is considered below (pp. 213 f.).

THE PRECINCT OF THE NEW BOULEUTERION

The entire area of the Square to the south of the Bouleuterion would seem to have been prepared at the time of the construction of the original building. At any rate, no line of division can be detected between hypothetical earlier and later parts. In the southeast corner, to be sure, no actual rock cutting was necessary and the configuration of the hill side preserved scattered masses of earlier accumulation. Hence, in clearing the area, despite the disturbance caused by innumerable pits and foundations of mediaeval times, we found a certain amount of Corinthian and Attic pottery of the sixth century, a little Geometric and a few scraps of hand-made prehistoric ware. A fragmentary bronze sword (B 252) and a scrap from a Mycenaean goblet (P 5887) found in the lowest filling above bedrock, suggest that a burial had been made here in Late Helladic times.

A rectangular pit (4.00 m. north to south, 3.00 m. east to west) that opens off the west side of the Square may date from the time of the addition of the porch to the Bouleuterion (Fig. 126). Its rock-cut floor was covered with chips and dust from the working of Pentelic

¹ See E. Rogers, *The Copper Coinage of Thessaly*, p. 101, fig. 153. The series is conjectured to have commenced "after Demetrius Poliorcetes had proclaimed the freedom of the Greek cities" (p. 93).

² *Monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. 17, nos. 19 and 20.

³ *B.M. Catalogue of Coins, Attica*, etc., pl. XX, nos. 1 and 2; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 103, no. 20.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pl. 22, nos. 85–88. Dated in 330–307 by J. P. Shear in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 123.

⁵ The precise parallels are *op. cit.*, pl. 22, nos. 35–45. These are dated in 330–300 B.C. or later by Mrs. Shear, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pl. 24, nos. 34–57.

marble and a meter of ancient earth filling that overlay the chips yielded pottery of the fourth and early third centuries identical with that elsewhere associated with the same period of construction. The back part of the pit was subsequently closed off with a light wall of stones set in clay. We have no clue to the purpose of the cutting.

The surface of bedrock, especially in the south part of the area, was left rough and irregular by the quarrymen (Fig. 77). It never received a more pretentious paving than a thin covering of firm packed earth, which, as we learn from the sherds that it yielded, began to accumulate in the late fifth century B.C. and continued to rise down into the third century A.D. reaching a depth of 0.20–0.30 m.

For long after its cutting, the scarp both to the north and to the west of the building as well as on the west and south sides of the Square would seem to have been exposed in all its roughness. Subsequently, however, a screen wall was erected along the two scarped sides of the Square. It was, perhaps, at this same time that the passage around the Bouleuterion was closed by a cross wall at the southwest corner of the building and by another between the north wall of the building and the scarp. And with this blocking of the passage may be associated the stairway that led down over the north scarp from the north. The need for some such improvement in the approach to the north end of the building must have been felt from the time of the construction of the Hellenistic Metroon which somewhat obstructed the old entrance way. The conglomerate blocks that presumably carried the topmost marble step blocks remain in position, bedded in mortar on the shoulder of the scarp. The positions of the lower steps are indicated by slight cuttings in the living rock (Pl. VII, Section D–D). A stairway *ca.* 4.50 m. wide will centre on the end of the building and it will be observed from the plan that the uppermost of the poros benches on the hill side might well have served as a foundation for the eastern retaining wall of a broad passage which presumably led north to a monumental stairway on the axis of the Hephaisteion.

The screen wall in the Square is built of re-used blocks of Acropolis limestone, poros and conglomerate supplemented by smaller fragments of marble and poros blocks and by field stones, the whole bedded in a crumbly gray lime mortar containing a little pounded tile. Similar mortar is found in the stairway to the north of the Bouleuterion. Of the crumbly lime plaster that covered the face of the screen wall small patches remain. There is no trace of revetment. The wall still rises in places to a height of 1.50 m. above the dirt floor of the Square and must originally have been somewhat higher.

For the dating of the wall the objects found imbedded in it are of interest. Among them was a quantity of broken sculpture representing seven or eight statues, three of which, though much broken, are fairly complete.¹ Big and little fragments of perhaps seventeen different marble inscriptions had also been built into the wall.² None of these would seem to be later than of the second century B.C. A basketful of nondescript potsherds found in the fabric of the wall and behind it are, none of them, later than of the first

¹ S 462, 463, 466, 473–476, 591.

² I 1261, 1462, 1749, 1799, 1804 + 1870, 1858–60, 1864–69, 1960, 1997, 2014.

century B.C. These lower limits for both the inscriptions and the pottery become more significant in view of the quantities of fragmentary inscriptions and vases of a later date found in the débris overlying the Square. The probability, therefore, is great that the damage represented was done by Sulla's soldiery in 86 B.C. Yet several considerations suggest that the wall was built considerably later than 86 B.C. Some of the sculpture found in it is not only broken but battered and worn as though it had lain loose for some time. The south screen wall, moreover, overlies the foundation and implies the previous dis-



Fig. 99. Southwest Corner of Porch of New Bouleuterion. Note unfinished Orthostate and Statue Base

mantling of a large monument base which, from the style of its construction and from the inclusion in its foundations of broken inscriptions, would itself appear to postdate the Sullan sack (see below, p. 170). If the screen wall is really contemporary with the stairway to the north of the Bouleuterion and with the monumental stairway that led up to the Hephaisteion, its date will fall well along in the first century A.D., for the monumental stairway would seem to be that late (see below, p. 221).

That the Square to the south of the Bouleuterion was never popular as a place for erecting monuments is shown by the paucity of such that have come to light. The unsuitability of the area for the purpose is evidently due to its being remote from the market square and frequented by few but officials. A single statue base remains, immediately

south of the southwest corner of the Bouleuterion (Fig. 99). It is a block of Hymettian marble, stepped, that rests (now slightly askew) on an underpinning of two blocks reaching down to the bottom of the old unused foundation trench. The top of the base measures 0.605×0.573 m. and is marked by two square dowel holes with pour channels intended for the fastening of the plinth proper which carried the statue (?). At the time when the monument was erected, some 0.20 m. of earth and rubbish had already gathered above the original ground level. The pottery from this layer extends through the third and



Fig. 100. Southeast Corner of Bouleuterion Square, from the North

second centuries B.C. and, since the foundation for the monument was clearly set down through it, the monument will not be earlier than the second century. Its workmanship suggests that it is not much later. In the absence of the inscription, we cannot say who or what was commemorated.

In the southeast part of the Square are remains of a larger monument, measuring *ca.* 6.10×7.10 m. (Fig. 100). A solid bedding was prepared in the south part of the rectangle while its northern side would seem to have been closed by a single line of blocks less firmly bedded. The foundations, so far as they are preserved, consist entirely of re-used blocks of marble, poros and conglomerate. These are bedded in and their joints are closed by crumbly lime mortar. Fragments of two inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. (I 1750, 2968) imbedded in the foundation packing suggest a date after some disturbance.

presumably Sulla's visit in 86 B.C. A few scraps of pottery and a bit of blown glass likewise extracted from the foundation packing will be little if at all earlier than the beginning of our era. We have already observed that the screen wall of the Square was carried over the dismantled foundations of the monument, which would seem, therefore, to have been short-lived. Of the precise form or purpose of the monument we can say nothing.

The stripping of this large monument must have preceded also the construction of the rectangular room to the west of the Tholos, for this structure overlies the southeast corner of the foundation of the monument (Fig. 100). The later building measured 5.00×5.50 m. over all. Of its foundations there remain only a couple of stones of the north and west sides. These are clearly re-used and that the structure was made in whole or in great part of second-hand material is shown by the many large fragments of old blocks of poros and of Hymettian marble included among the working chips which lay in great heaps to the north and the west of the building. Its floor level inside, as indicated by a mass of the original filling which still remains, lay high above that of the Tholos. The ground level of the terrace to the north was raised accordingly, chiefly by the mass of working chips from its construction. The room was approached probably from the side of the terrace only. Direct communication with the Tholos is precluded by the absence of any trace of steps against the inner face of the wall of the Tholos, one block of which remains in position at the critical point. One might have supposed from the relation of this building with the screen wall that the building was either contemporary with or earlier than the wall. Yet it would seem necessary to accept the *terminus post quem* given by the objects found among the working chips of the building. These included an Athenian coin of the Roman Imperial period, perhaps of the time of Augustus, and fragmentary pottery as late at least as of the third century A.D. A late date is indicated also by the height of the contemporary ground level to the north. We have thus far gotten no clue to the name or purpose of the structure.¹

DESTRUCTION OF THE BOULEUTERION

We have no precise evidence for the date of the destruction of the building. We shall, however, find reason to believe that the neighboring Metroon suffered severely in the Herulian sack of 267 A.D. and it would seem unlikely that the Bouleuterion should have been spared. A loose accumulation of earth containing much household pottery and lamps of the third century A.D. overlay the classical floor of the Square to the south of the Bouleuterion and clearly implies that the area was abandoned as a public place during that century. The building was later reconstructed in part at least. To this reconstruction we may assign the two split wall blocks as they now lie in the foundation trench of the north wall, and two broken lengths of north-south wall in the northeast corner of the building. These late walls include, among other re-used ancient blocks, one of the curved

¹ The elaborate arrangements around Bouleuterion and Metroon for both running and stored water will be discussed elsewhere.

marble benches of the auditorium. They are bonded with the hard gray lime mortar characteristic of the buildings of the late fourth and fifth centuries A.D. We may suspect that the reconstruction of the Bouleuterion is contemporary with that of the north room of the Metroon, for one branch of the drain that took the water from the central court of that room was carried on to the northeast corner of the Bouleuterion. The archaeological evidence supplies no clue to the function of the building in this its last period nor to the date of its final abandonment.

HELLENISTIC METROON

SITUATION AND PRESERVATION

We have already observed that the massive red foundations which now form so prominent a part of the west side of the market square belong to a great building of the second century B.C. that completely overlay the area once occupied by the early Temple of the Mother and by the Old Bouleuterion. It will be noted on the plans that the building consisted of four rooms set side by side and fronted by a porch of generous width that presented to the square a façade of fourteen Ionic columns standing between antae. The three southern rooms, together with their share of the porch, coincide almost exactly with the outlines of the Old Bouleuterion, whereas the great north room represents an addition. The peculiar jogs in the back wall of the building must have caused the architect serious difficulties in roofing and so require adequate justification. The explanation, as already noted, is to be found in the needs of the pre-existing New Bouleuterion. Thus the back wall of the two southernmost rooms was withdrawn from the line of the archaic foundations obviously so as to leave a passage-way between Metroon and Bouleuterion, a passage which could communicate only with an entrance in the middle of the east wall of the Bouleuterion. It will further be noted that the second room from the south is centred on the axis of the Bouleuterion and on its (hypothetical) east entrance. The peculiar plan, moreover, of the second room, which seems to have had its own inner porch, suggests that it served as a sort of propylon, providing a new and more direct monumental approach to the Bouleuterion from the market square. The jog in the southwest corner of the north room may likewise be explained by the necessity of respecting the old north entrance of the Bouleuterion. The third-century Propylon at the southeast corner of the Old Bouleuterion still stood and the second-century architect, wishing to utilize the south foundation of the archaic building and requiring more space for his anta, was forced to trim away much of the euthynteria and first step of the Propylon. The north wall of the Hellenistic building overlies the line of the north wall of the early Temple of the Mother, so that the architect of the new building had clearly been commissioned to utilize all the area belonging to the Mother. Hence we may suspect that the round bedding with the rectangular cutting shown on the plan at the northeast corner of the building may have supported a boundary stone of the sanctuary (Fig. 101). The foundations of the new building were carried up so as actually to touch the circular bedding; the stele was then removed and the round block

was covered over by the construction débris when the new and higher ground level was established here immediately after the completion of the building.¹

Of the Hellenistic building the lowest foundations are preserved throughout save for a few short gaps. In the main part of the structure, the course beneath the toichobate and the toichobate itself are preserved here and there, and in the north wall two orthostates stand in their original positions. Much of the stylobate for the inner colonnade of the



Fig. 101. Northeast Corner of Hellenistic Metroon. Note Omphaloi

north room remains in position or close by. One-half the threshold block of the south room has survived *in situ*. The base of one column of the front porch still lies in place on the one remaining block of the stylobate. Two blocks of the second step have been spared *in situ* and several more of the first have been found nearby. The southern half of the euthynteria course beneath the porch has suffered little; the northern half has disappeared,

¹ A small boundary stone of Pentelic marble (I 2472) found in modern filling in the middle of the market square reads $\mathcal{E}[\rho]o\varsigma \mid M]ητρώ(v)$. From the style of the lettering and the tooling of the stone one might associate it with the Hellenistic building.

exposing the poros course beneath. For the restoration of the columns only small scraps of shafts are preserved; not a single capital has so far been identified. Of the superstructure we have recovered three epistyle and two fragmentary geison blocks and for the roof there are a few battered tiles of terracotta.

FOUNDATIONS

The Hellenistic builders availed themselves as far as possible of the foundations of the earlier structures on the site. Thus the south, north and west foundation walls of the Old Bouleuterion underlie in whole or in part Hellenistic walls. The foundations of the Hellenistic colonnade rest on the eastern half of the east foundation of the same early building and the division wall between the first and second Hellenistic rooms partially overlay its cross wall. A little of the north foundation of the early Temple of the Mother remained to be incorporated in the north foundation of its Hellenistic successor. And it will be observed from the plan that the outer line of orthostates in the north half of the western wall of the north room must have rested on the still surviving blocks of one of the old poros benches. The top of the foundations of the Old Bouleuterion as preserved beneath the later building are quite irregular in height and it is not clear whether more blocks were removed in some places than in others by the Hellenistic builders or whether the abstractions occurred during some interval between the destruction of the earlier and the construction of the later building.

The new material used in the Hellenistic foundations is a coarse conglomerate which contains masses of limestone imbedded in reddish sand. The blocks were cut to an average size of $0.40 \times 0.70 \times 1.40$ m. and were laid in alternating courses of headers and stretchers. Numerous re-used blocks from earlier buildings, both of poros and of Acropolis limestone, appear in the Hellenistic foundations, especially deep beneath the front wall and in the interior foundations of the north room.¹ The foundations for the walls were regularly carried down to bedrock save at the north end of the front wall where a great depth of very firm earth was encountered. Beneath the colonnade, only four courses of conglomerate were carried unbroken throughout the length of the building but beneath each column a square pier was carried deeper, in the north part to bedrock, in the south to the top of the earlier foundations (Fig. 102).

WALLS

The construction of the walls, apart from the front wall, seems to have been uniform both around and between the rooms. On top of the conglomerate subfoundations rests a course of hard gray poros, 0.30–0.33 m. high, the blocks measuring on the average 0.88 m. in width. Their length varies from 0.85 to 1.55 m. They are very roughly jointed and their faces both inside and out are quite irregular. For the most part

¹ The description and discussion of these, so far as they have not been referred to in connection with the earlier buildings on the site, will be deferred to the final publication.

this course consisted of a single row of stretchers. Across the back of the south room, however, the blocks were laid as headers. Certain of the surviving blocks, and notably those near the intersections of walls, show cuttings for large dove-tailed clamps. On top of this course rested the toichobate proper, 0.25–0.265 m. high. So far as preserved, the toichobate consists of a single row of stretchers. The width of this course, where it is finished on both sides, is *ca.* 0.69 m., though along the north side and



Fig. 102. Foundations for Colonnade of Hellenistic Metroon, North Part, from West

the west, where the earth filling rose high, the outer face was left rough. The surviving blocks are of random length: 0.98–1.35 m. They are carefully jointed, their ends finished with anathyrosis on both sides and across the top. The floor levels show that this course was intended to be fully exposed within the building. In the north room, where several blocks of the course are preserved, their inner faces are hammer dressed and retain their shifting bosses. The surviving blocks of the first and third rooms from the south present a picked surface toward the interior. In the top of the underlying poros course, so far as preserved, there are dowel cuttings for the toichobate only between the first and second



Fig. 103. North Wall of Hellenistic Metroon, from the Southwest

rooms from the south and across the back of the second room. These cuttings are exclusively for dowels to be leaded through pour-channels. They show great irregularity in placing; some blocks had two dowels, both on the same side, others had two dowels set on opposite sides, others were held by a single dowel, and still others, in the same wall, by none at all.

The disposition of the orthostates is well illustrated by the surviving blocks in the north wall shown in Figs. 103 and 105. Two slabs of hard gray poros set face to face



Fig. 104. Front Corner of a Shop in Stoa of Attalos

gave a wall thickness of *ca.* 0.58 m.¹ At this point, the outer face of the outer block was left quite rough, save for a drafted band on all four sides to facilitate the working and setting of the stone. The inner face of the wall was picked to receive stucco, which has completely vanished. Dove-tailed cuttings in their tops show that the two surviving blocks were secured to each other by two clamps and each to each of its now missing neighbors by a single clamp. There is no clue to the coursing of the upper wall. Slight as the wall

¹ The worked bedding on the toichobate shows that the thickness of the outer west wall of the north room was less, *ca.* 0.48 m.

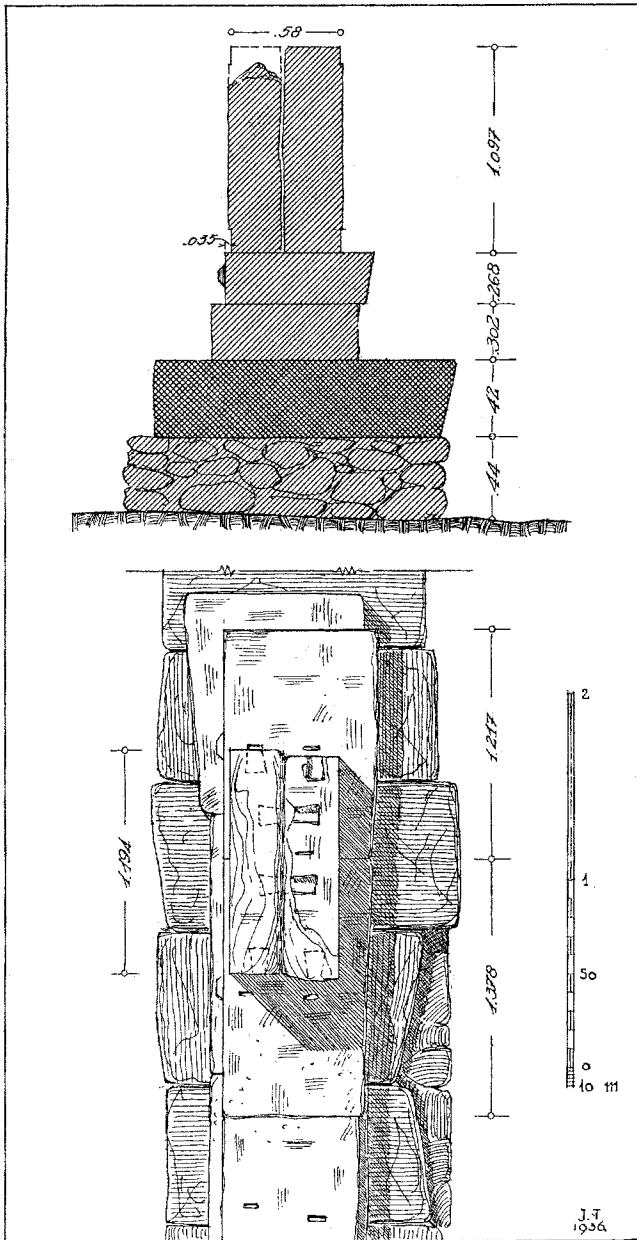


Fig. 105. Detail of North Wall of Hellenistic Metroon

seems at its base, its thickness was still less at the top, as shown by the epistyle blocks to be discussed below. The change in thickness presumably occurred between the lower and upper story.

The conglomerate subfoundations for the front wall were topped with a course of hard gray poros, *ca.* 0.43 m. thick, the blocks of random size being laid irregularly as headers and stretchers. They were carefully jointed and secured to one another by \neg clamps. On top of this course rests the toichobate of Hymettian marble, 0.235–0.24 m. in height.¹ The three southernmost blocks of this course (including half the threshold for the door of the first room) remain in position, and in the cuttings on their tops they have preserved some useful information regarding the wall and doorway (Fig. 106). Here too the double row of orthostates rested on the toichobate, forming a wall 0.638 m. thick at its base. The setting lines for the one orthostate of full size in this section indicate a width of 1.418 m. The outer face of the orthostates rose 0.04 m. from the edge of the toichobate. Its setting lines indicate for the door jamb a thickness of 0.365 m. and a width of 0.676 m. and show that it projected 0.038 m. beyond the outer face of

¹ The one complete block of the toichobate which remains has a length of 1.615 m. and a width of 0.84 m., its outer face being finished smooth with a toothed chisel, the shifting bosses carefully removed. Its inner face was left quite rough. Cuttings in the surface of the preserved blocks of the underlying course indicate that some at least of the blocks of the toichobate were double dowelled, *i.e.* from the end and through a channel.

the wall, the inner faces of wall and jamb being flush. On the analogy of the Stoas of Eumenes and of Attalos we might restore the front wall with a double course of orthostates of Hymettian marble capped by a string course of the same material on which would have rested the courses of poros with stuccoed surfaces.

The surviving threshold block has the same height as the adjoining toichobate but is 0.98 m. wide. Both its inner and outer faces are smooth dressed. The doorway, if centred



Fig. 106. Southeast Corner of South Room of Hellenistic Metroon, from the East

on the front of the room, must have had a clear width of *ca.* 1.90 m. A similar doorway may be restored for the third room from the south. No symmetrical relation exists between the columns of the porch and the front entrances of the rooms.¹

¹ A slight miscalculation on the part of the architect is betrayed by a double group of setting lines on the surviving threshold and the toichobate to the south of it. The lines which were not used would have meant placing the door jamb 0.12 m. to the south of the position which it actually occupied as proved by the dressed bedding and pry holes. His mistake cost him the trouble of cutting another dowel hole and pour channel for one of the orthostates.

The toichobate for the wall that closed the south end of the porch has completely disappeared, but its width is fixed at *ca.* 1.30 m. by the cutting in the foundations of the Propylon on the one side and the cuttings for the dowels and their pour-channels on the other.¹ Hence the toichobate was sufficiently wide to have carried not only the wall but also a bench set at its foot. At the north end of the porch, although nothing remains above the conglomerate subfoundations, a similar arrangement may be restored.



Fig. 107. Junction of Propylon and Hellenistic Metroon, from the Northeast

COLONNADE²

In planning the foundations for his colonnade, the architect was faced with the problem that constantly arose in this part of the Agora, *viz.* how to adjust his building to a marked

¹ In the restoration we have suggested for this place a wall of the same thickness as that indicated by the surviving orthostates in the north wall of the building, *i.e.* 0.58 m., measured through the orthostates. We shall discover that this dimension exceeds by *ca.* 0.018 m. the lower diameter of the column with which, hypothetically, the anta should have agreed. It is possible, therefore, that the thickness of the side wall between front wall and anta was actually somewhat reduced.

² For an earlier discussion of this part of the building, see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 131 ff.

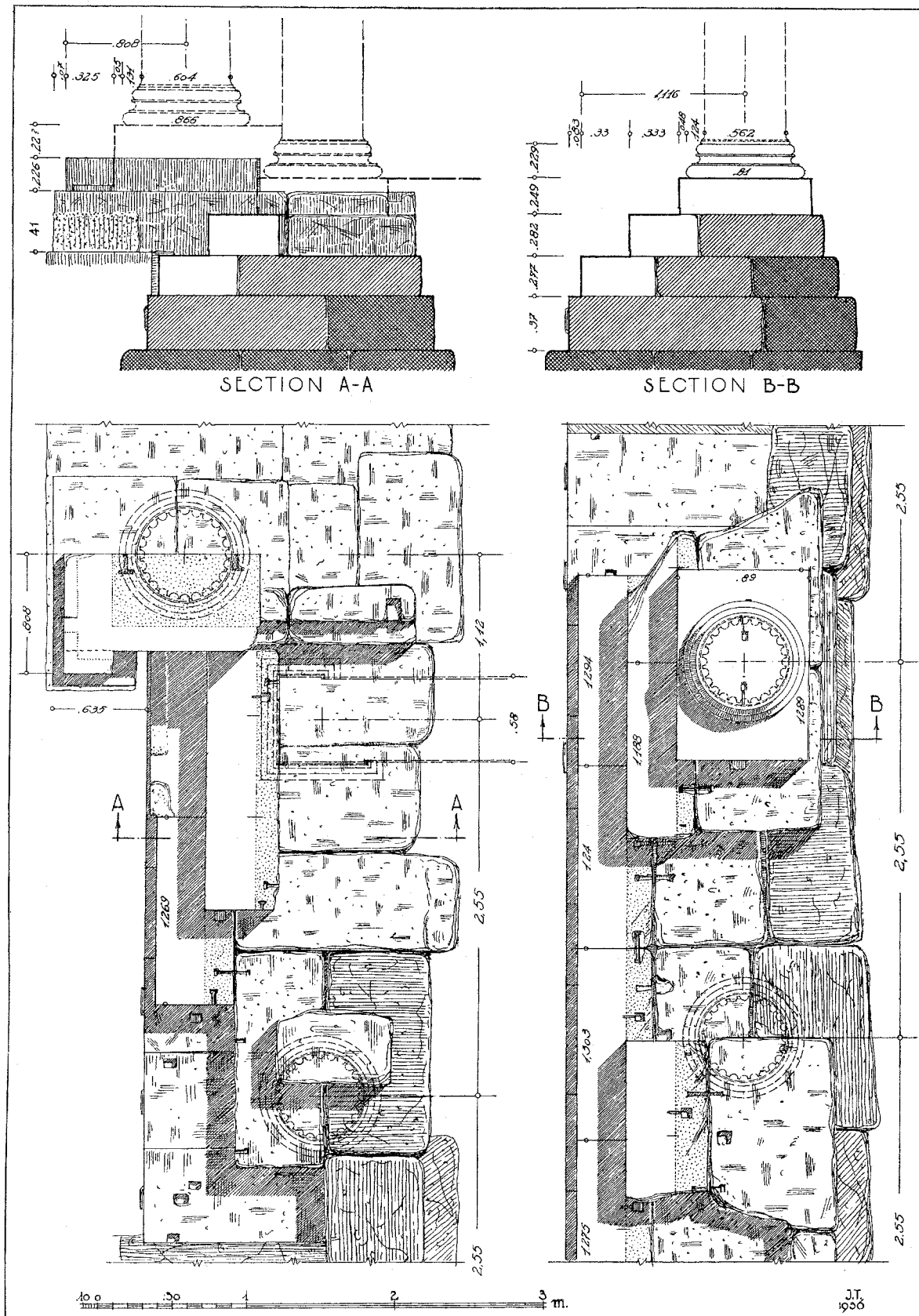



Fig. 108. Details of Colonnade of Hellenistic Metroon and Propylon

slope in ground level from south to north. He solved the problem in the usual way, by a compromise: the euthynteria at the south end of the building was set at a lower level than that suggested by the contemporary ground level; at the north end an extra course of poros blocks was inserted below the euthynteria proper and its face was dressed so as to be presentable. It will be clear from Figs. 107 and 108 that the first step of the new colonnade was set *ca.* 0.71 m. lower than the first step of the adjoining Propylon. Instead of inserting a terrace wall, as he might have done, the Hellenistic architect simply allowed his entire first marble step and much of his second to be buried in earth for a short distance at their south ends. That he did so deliberately is shown by the unfinished condition of both the face and tread of the first step at this point.

The euthynteria is of hard gray poros cut in blocks 0.37 m. high, laid as headers. The additional visible course introduced in the north part of the foundation is of the same material but 0.47 m. high. On the outer faces of many blocks of both these courses, large shifting bosses were left. No clamps or dowels appear at this level. As in the walls, poros regularly intervenes between conglomerate and marble so that the first two marble steps have each a backer of that material. The steps themselves are of Hymettian marble with the dimensions, as taken where all three survive together, shown in Fig. 108. Variations of some millimeters occur both in height and in breadth. The columns stood each in the middle of its stylobate block. A close but not precise correspondence is to be noted in the jointing of stylobate and steps, the individual blocks varying several centimeters in length. The steps were secured with great care. Every step block was bound to its backer by two  clamps and to each of its marble neighbors by a single clamp. And each marble block was double dowelled to the stone beneath: once from the open end and again by an inside dowel leaded through a pour-channel running back from the face of the block.

The one column base that remains in position (the only one thus far found) is secured to the stylobate by means of two dowels leaded through pour-channels and the base drum of the column was likewise secured by two dowels. The dimensions and the profile of the base are illustrated in Fig. 108, where the lower part of the column is restored on the basis of a few small scraps found nearby. Its lower diameter was 0.562 m. and it was cut with 24 flutings. Both base and shaft are of Pentelic marble, carefully worked.

The number of intercolumniations is fixed at 15 by the spacing of the deep foundation piers. The irregularity in the lengths of the preserved step and stylobate blocks suggests that there may have been corresponding anomalies in the actual column spacing. On our restored plan, however, we have used an ideal intercolumniation of 2.55 m. calculated from the actual distance of 38.25 m. between the axes of the north and south walls of the building. A comparison of the intercolumniation with the length of the return of the euthynteria along the north side will at once show that an *in antis* rather than a prostyle arrangement is demanded at the north end of the porch, and a symmetrical arrangement may be assumed at the south end.

The crude manner in which the first step and the euthynteria of the Propylon were cut away to accommodate the wall and steps of the new building is adequately illustrated in

Figs. 107 and 108.¹ From the deep wear on the corner of the abbreviated step one may conclude that not a little traffic chose this awkward but direct passage between Propylon and Metroon. The rough trimmed rear edge of the stylobate indicates that the floor of the porch was either of packed earth or of plaster.

EPISTYLE

Of the epistyle, three blocks have so far come to light, all of them shown, by their shortness and by the finish of their undersides and by their preserved angles, to have rested



Fig. 109. (A 264) Epistyle from the Hellenistic Metroon

above outside walls. The material is Pentelic marble. The workmanship, of its period, is good: the exposed plain faces are finished with a toothed chisel but edged with a smooth band *ca.* 0.01 m. wide. The surfaces of the mouldings too are smooth dressed. The vertical joints are finished with well cut anathyrosis, the horizontal with bearing and relieving

¹ The northeast corner of the first step of the Propylon was saved, apparently only by an afterthought, for the scratched guide line for its cutting was carried out to the east face of the step.

surfaces. The face of the architrave toward both the inside and outside was cut with three fasciae and the architrave divided from the frieze by a simple moulding consisting of a cavetto above an ovolo. Toward the outside, the face of the frieze is smooth; toward the inside it is unfinished and was obviously concealed by the ceiling. Nothing remains of the crowning moulding of the frieze. The surviving blocks are of two thicknesses and it may be presumed that the thicker come from those walls which were left heavier in their upper parts in order to bear a greater share of the weight of the roof. No dentils appear on the

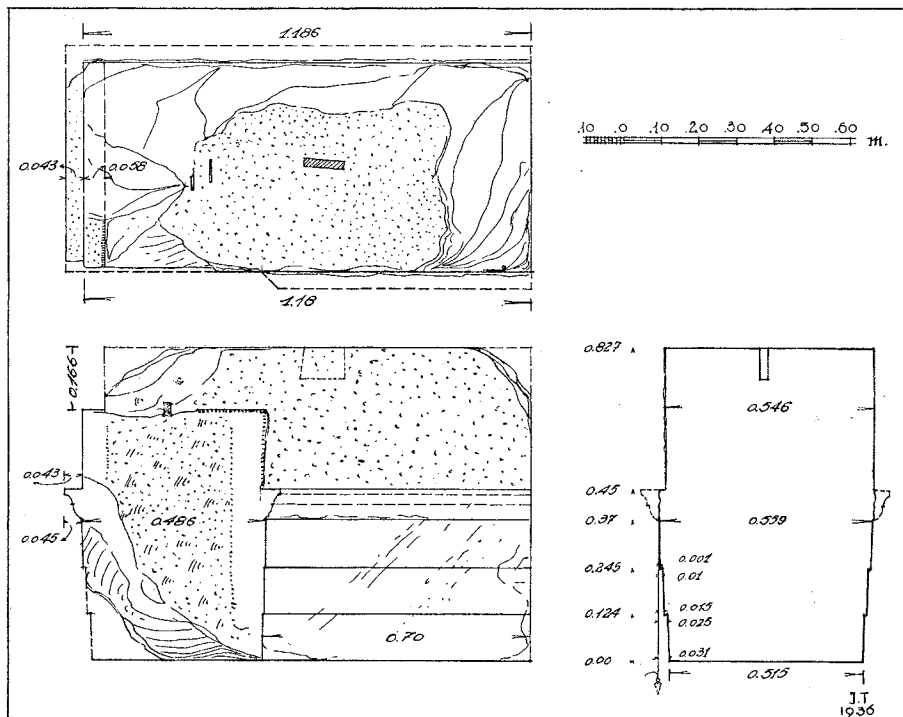


Fig. 110. (A 264) Epistyle of Hellenistic Metroon

cornice, though pieces exist from both front and lateral horizontal geisa. That dentils were used is suggested by the width of the anathyrosis on that part of the cornice which must have rested above them. Presumably they were cut in separate blocks to be inserted between epistyle and cornice. In the case of the thinner epistyle blocks, the crowning moulding of the frieze was apparently cut in the same piece with the dentils.

Epistyle blocks:

1. A 264. Figs. 109, 110.

Found by us, as left by previous excavators, toward the middle of the south side of the third room from the south of the Hellenistic Metroon. Original length preserved. A corner block, 0.515 m. on under surface, cut to receive a neighboring block 0.468 m. thick. On the long side, the crowning moulding of the frieze was cut in one piece with the block but has been completely broken away; on the short side this moulding was cut on a thin facing strip and inserted in a rabbet. On the neigh-

boring block the same moulding and presumably also the dentils were cut from a separate block. The two main blocks were held together by a single clamp, the cutting for which runs down at a steep angle into the joint face of the preserved stone. In the middle of the top of the block a lewis cutting, slightly undercut on one side only. Pry holes for the next member. This block may come from the southwest corner of the room in which it was found, possibly from the northwest corner of the north room.

2. A 271. Fig. 111.

Found in a mediaeval foundation wall in front of the Propylon of the Bouleuterion. Original length preserved. The top surface is broken away, but the original height may be calculated as *ca.* 0.815 m., from the lower part of a lewis cutting that remains in the middle of the top. Calculated width of the underside, 0.52 m. Crowning moulding of frieze on outer face broken away. Inside face of frieze unfinished. In the top surface, to either side of the lewis cutting, is a trace of a broad transverse cutting, sunk in one case as deep as the lewis hole, in the other not so deep. Probably from the south side of the main building.

3. A 208. Fig. 112.


Found in a modern foundation just south of the Stoa of Attalos, immediately east of the "Valerian Wall." One end is broken away, but the original length is fixed at *ca.* 1.00 m. by the lewis cutting (similar to that in Block 1) in the top surface. A corner block, 0.449 m. wide on its underside, cut to receive a neighboring block 0.519 m. wide. Its height (0.682 m.) is approximately equal to that of the (missing) thin neighbor of Block 1. The final dressing was not completed toward the preserved end of the long side. On the inner face is a beam cutting, its bottom at the level of the top moulding between architrave and frieze. Across the top of the block, in line with the beam cutting, is a transverse channel 0.026 m. deep, preserved to a width of 0.12 m., reminiscent of the cuttings in the top of Block 2. One might assign this piece to the southwest corner of the building where its unfinished face would have been screened by the neighboring Bouleuterion.

CORNICE


Two large and several smaller fragments of cornice found in or near the building may, from their correspondence in dimensions and workmanship, be associated with the epistyle blocks of the Hellenistic Metroon. The material, again, is Pentelic marble, the jointing and surface finish are, for the period, good.

Cornice blocks:

1. A 257. Figs. 113, 114.

Found by us, as left by previous excavators, near the southwest corner of the Hellenistic Metroon. One end and back broken away. The end block of a horizontal front cornice preserving the spring of a tympanum. A cyma reversa for bed moulding and the same, surmounted by an ovolo (?), for the nosing of the corona. Two  clamps held the block to its neighbor of the front horizontal cornice, one of the same kind to the first block of the tympanum proper. It will be noted that the joint surface looking toward the first tympanum block has been roughly cut back 0.022 m., presumably to make room for that block which may have been cut too long on the ground. The faulty joint would not, of course, have been visible from below. The block is too small and too readily transportable for its place of finding to be taken as decisive for its position in the building.

2. A 671. Fig. 115.

Found in a mediaeval foundation above the Bouleuterion Propylon. One end and most of the corona missing. From a horizontal lateral geison. In the back are two cuttings for rafters. The block was secured to its neighbor by a  clamp. Top deeply weathered. The position of this block in the building depends, naturally, on the scheme of roofing, which is quite uncertain.

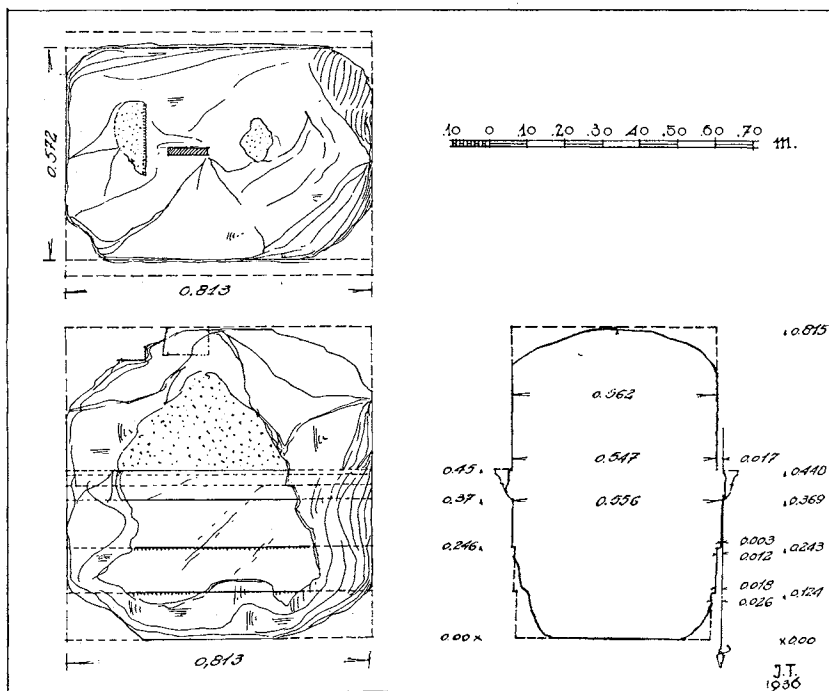


Fig. 111. (A 271) Epistyle of Hellenistic Metroon

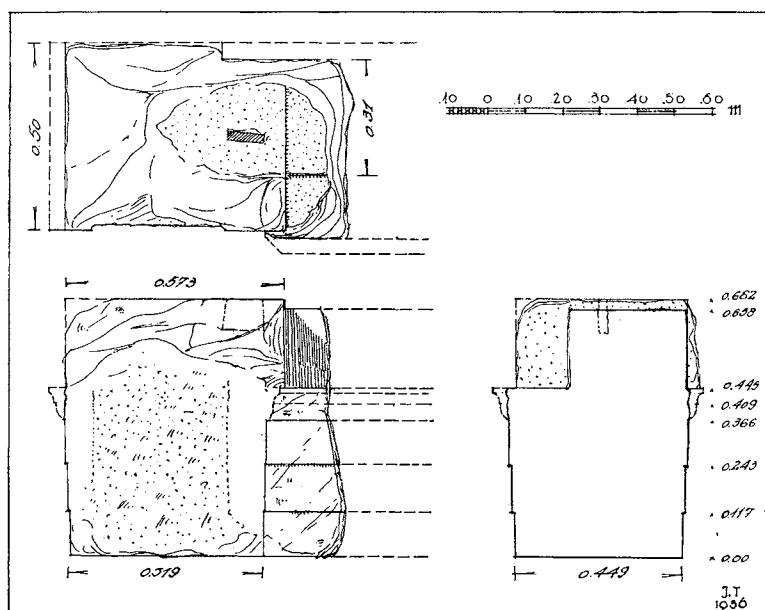


Fig. 112. (A 208) Epistyle of Hellenistic Metroon



Fig. 113. (A 257) Cornice Block from the Hellenistic Metroon

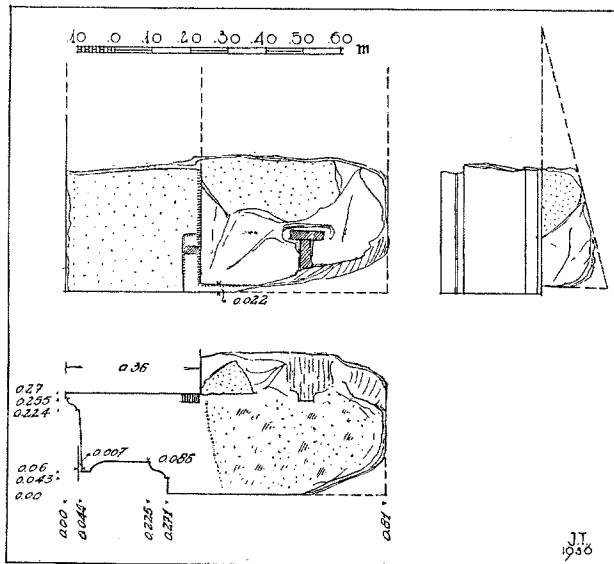


Fig. 114. (A 257) Cornice Block of Hellenistic Metroon

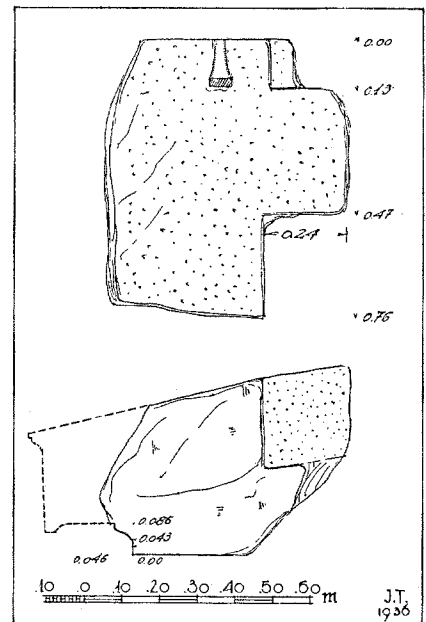


Fig. 115. (A 671) Cornice Block of Hellenistic Metroon

PLAN OF INTERIOR

We have already observed that the whole architectural scheme and the relationship between the Hellenistic Metroon and the New Bouleuterion point to the second room from the south of the Metroon as a new approach to the Bouleuterion. And this restoration provides the simplest explanation for the interior cross foundation in the room: shown by the bonding of its blocks to be an original part of the structure. If we place the front wall of the room on this line, we shall greatly add to the monumentality of the scheme by setting a pair of columns *in antis* in the line of the main front of the building. This consideration alone must justify our restoration, for a glance at the plan will show that nothing remains of columns, stylobate or thresholds.

There is no clue to the original interior arrangement of the adjoining rooms. It is perhaps reasonable to suppose that these three small rooms rose to a height of two stories as the north room certainly did. The walls of all four are of the same thickness. Stairways of wood may have completely disappeared.

That the restoration of the interior of the north room suggested in Pl. VIII represents the original arrangement may be taken as reasonably certain. This is best demonstrated by the interlocking of inner and outer foundations at one point in the northeast corner of the room (Pl. VI, Fig. 116). The particular section of the interior foundations here involved is thoroughly typical of the rest in its free use of earlier material (poros and limestone blocks) supplemented by large chips and even field stones.

We have, then, in the original arrangement a central peristyle court, a colonnaded entrance with a stairway on either side leading up to the second story, and a series of three small rooms set against the west side. Despite the impression that one might gather from the plan alone, the precise correspondence in material, workmanship and coursing leaves no doubt that this annex-like projection is contemporary with the rest of the building.

For the restoration of the entrance the evidence is scanty, but the small compartments in the front corners of the room, because of their limited size and the thinness of their walls, suggest nothing if not stairways. The existence of the inner transverse wall that joins the extremities of the stairways is demanded by a few surviving stones and by considerations of symmetry. This established, we can scarcely do other than place columns in the line of the main front wall. Some additional color is lent to such a restoration by the close correspondence in width between the front of the second room from the south and the interval between the stairways in the north room. Precisely the same arrangement of columns could have been used in both.

Of the stylobate for the peristyle some ten blocks remain, both whole and fragmentary. Many of them have been shifted and re-used in a late Roman reconstruction but two remain in position in the north side. One of these preserves the setting marks of a column from which we may gather that the peristyle numbered four columns to the side with an interaxial spacing of 2.40 m. on the north and south, 2.52 m. on the east and west. The stylobate blocks are all of Hymettian marble and resemble in their workmanship those of

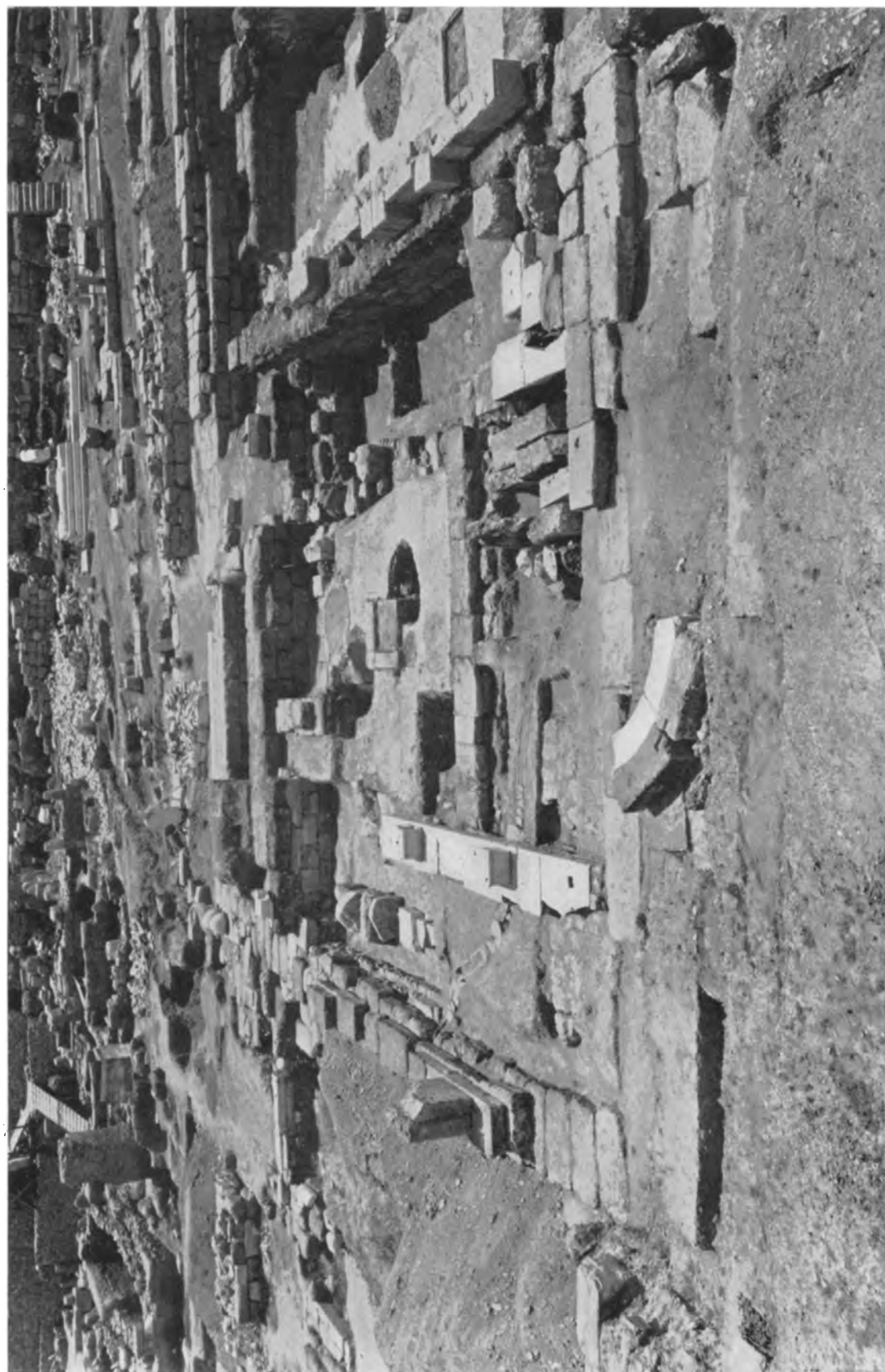


Fig. 116. North Room of Hellenistic Metroon, from the West

the front colonnade of the building.¹ Two corner blocks may be distinguished, both mutilated. They show, however, that the corners were turned in one piece and that both broad and narrow stylobate blocks belong to the same system, since both widths are combined in one block.² For the setting of the columns, a centre point was punched in the top of the stylobate and four short radial marks were incised in the line of the periphery. The column was secured to the stylobate by means of two dowels set in square cuttings and leaded through pour-channels with curved bottoms. The outer, exposed ends of the channels were carefully turned away from the court so as not to be visible from there. From the setting and pressure lines on the stylobate we may reckon the lower diameter of the columns at *ca.* 0.64 m. and presume that they were Doric, without bases, and unfluted at least in their lower parts. Small fragments of unfluted shafts of Hymettian marble have been found in the neighborhood but no certainly recognizable capitals nor parts of the entablature.

In the middle of the central court is a rectangular foundation (1.30×1.67 m.) consisting of a single course of three poros blocks of irregular size. The area between the rectangular base and the stylobate is floored with mosaic made, like the late floor in the temple of Zeus and Athena, from chips of Pentelic marble of an average length of 0.05 m. They are packed in and rest on a thin bedding of crumbly lime mortar, which, in turn, overlies a packing of stone chips. From its style and comparative freshness this mosaic would seem certainly not to be the original flooring. Of an earlier floor, however, nothing has been detected. Yet the existing mosaic must antedate the destruction of the building and its reconstruction in late Roman times, for in this last period the colonnaded court was carried farther west, but no trace of the chip mosaic is found outside the original square. The space between stylobate and outer wall must have been floored always with packed earth or possibly with a simple layer of plaster studded with pebbles. In the underside of one of the stylobate blocks that remains in position in the north side, a channel was cut, 0.15 m. wide, 0.09 m. high, with an arched top. The precision and care with which the cutting was done would seem to dissociate it from the late Roman reconstruction and the terracotta drain pipe that was then laid up to the same point in the stylobate. We may suppose, therefore, that the neatly cut opening served for the drainage of the court in its original period. Of the earlier drain pipe, however, nothing has been found.

In restoring the plan of the western part of the north room, we have in position a couple of the poros blocks of the foundation for the cross wall between the middle and

¹ In height they vary from 0.225 m. to 0.245 m., in length from 0.99 m. to something over 2.00 m. One group was finished on top to a width of 0.70 m., the others were not finished along their back edges and they vary in width from 0.80 to 0.93 m. Their fronts are hammer dressed above and edged below by a drafted band, 0.03 to 0.045 m. wide. The tops, especially of those that carried columns, are carelessly dressed, the hammer marks showing prominently.

² We may infer, in view of the width of those blocks that remain *in situ*, that the blocks only of the east and west sides were trimmed along their back edges, obviously because they were the more conspicuous to one traversing the room from front to back.

northern compartments, the cutting in bedrock for the corresponding wall between the middle and southern divisions. These small cells were approached from the main north room over two steps. Of these, the lower was of poros, as shown by three surviving blocks. The step was 0.285 m. high, 0.29 m. wide. From the position of the surviving blocks and from the uniformity of the subfoundation, it appears that this lower step was carried across the entire west end of the main north room. The upper step, as shown by the level of the top of the surviving block of the north division wall, must have been *ca.* 0.235 m. high, *i.e.* approximately of the same height as the stylobate of the court. Presumably it too was of Hymettian marble. The exact arrangement of the fronts of the small rooms must remain conjectural. The presence of the continuous step would suggest, however, that they were left as open as was consistent with the necessity of supporting the main west wall of the building on this line.

We have thus far taken it for granted that the central area was a court, open to the sky. The presumption would seem to be justified by the difference in level between the middle and lateral parts of the room, which would be difficult otherwise to explain, and still more by the drain channel beneath the stylobate. Satisfactory parallels for the whole scheme can be found among the contemporary houses of Delos. Our north room, indeed, with its peristyle court and its "exedrae" facing in from one side looks very much like a section lifted out of one of the more pretentious island dwellings. On Delos too one will find the most suggestive parallels for the disposition of the upper story. Definite evidence from the building itself is completely lacking. We may presume, however, from the thinness of its walls that the west part of the north room was but a single story in height and was covered with a lean-to roof set against the main west wall of the building. We may also suppose that the floor of the second story extended over the area occupied by the forehall below. It was perhaps omitted above the corresponding area to the west, *i.e.* between the west colonnade and the main west wall, so that spectators in the gallery might have an unobstructed view into the central exedra which would seem to have been the focal point of the whole scheme.

ROOFING

A series of stamped roof tiles, of which sixteen have thus far been recognized from their inscriptions, may be assigned to the building under discussion by reason of their collective provenance. Five have been found in the area between the front of the building and the Great Drain; one at the southeast corner of the Temple of Apollo; one above the Great Drain due east of the Bouleuterion Propylon; one in the gravel filling of the Great Drain to the southeast of the Propylon; three on the Square of the New Bouleuterion; one near the northwest corner of the "South Stoa"; one in the area of the "Fountain House" and two among the burnt debris of the Odeion. It will be apparent that our present building may well have been the centre of distribution and it is the only structure in the area indicated which could possibly answer to the description on the tiles.

None of the tiles preserves its dimensions complete. The largest fragment, from a tegula, shows a length of over 0.475 m. and width of over 0.30 m. The fragments, especially of tegulae, vary greatly in thickness: 0.02–0.04 m. A cross section of tegula and imbrex is shown in Fig. 117. The clay is either buff or pale yellow in color and contains much grit. One of the fragments shows a surfacing of fine yellow clay. The rectangular stamp (0.188×0.038 m.) was regularly impressed lengthwise of the tile on its upper, exposed surface (Fig. 118). The inscription, *ἱερὸν Μητρὶ Θεῶν | Διονύσιος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος*, presumably furnishes us with the names of the tile-makers.¹

The evidence so far available is insufficient to enable us to speak with any assurance about the roofing scheme of the building. It would seem obvious, however, that the front colonnade, which was lower certainly than the north room, should have been covered as

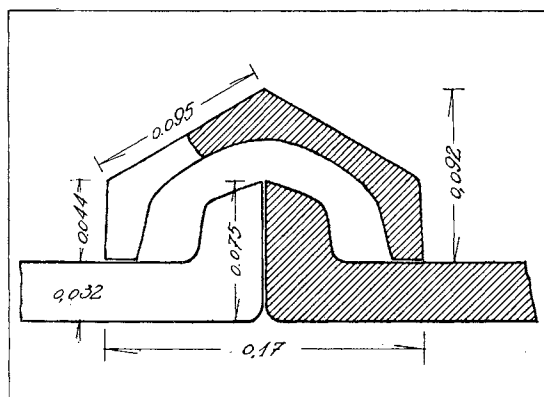


Fig. 117. (A 164, 187) Scheme of Tiles of Hellenistic Metroon

a separate unit with a lean-to roof. The western part of the north room, as noted above, would have been treated in a similar way. The main part of the north room, again, was presumably regarded as a separate unit, with a single-pitched roof sloping in from each of the four sides. We may infer from the cornice block with the spring of a tympanum that a gabled front rose above some remaining part of the building, but just where we cannot say.

DATING

The study of the plan, as already observed, shows that the Hellenistic Metroon postdates both the New Bouleuterion and its Propylon and cannot therefore be earlier than the early third century. Actually, in point of construction, the building finds its closest parallel in the Stoa of Attalos II (159–138 B.C.).² With that building it shares the typically Hellenistic choice and disposition of material: conglomerate, hard gray poros, Hymettian and Pentelic marble. The two buildings show close similarity, moreover, in the working of the material: in both, marble faces are finished with a fine-toothed chisel and edged with a smooth band; the poros faces of both are picked in much the same way for the reception of stucco; lifting bosses are left in both buildings in conspicuous places; in both, horizontal

¹ Two tiles bearing the same inscription were found long ago above a burial on the Mouseion Hill (*I. G.*, III², 4870). We cannot say whether these were taken from the sanctuary in the Agora or from another property of the Mother marked by a rock-cut inscription on the west slope of that hill. Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 398. The name of Dionysios recurs on the tiles of the Odeion in the Agora. The discovery of a couple of the Mother's tiles in the débris of the Odeion would further suggest that the two buildings were being roofed or re-roofed at approximately the same time.

² Cf. Stillwell, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 137.

joint surfaces are finished with broad, shallow anathyrosis (cf. Figs. 103 and 104). The clamping and dowelling of the steps and columns are almost identical in the two buildings. One may note especially the use of face and channel dowels to secure the opposite ends of the blocks and the characteristic slightly dove-tailed cuttings for the hook clamps.¹ In both buildings much the same system of setting lines and of dowels was used in placing column bases and columns and the surviving threshold of the Metroon resembles in shape and workmanship those of the Stoa. The mouldings of the Metroon, though by no means



Fig. 118. (A 304) Inscribed Roof Tile from Hellenistic Metroon

identical with those of the Stoa in profile, exhibit, like those, a certain harsh angularity and slackness commonly found in the second century.

Comparison with the Tower of the Winds of the mid first century B.C. and the Market of Caesar and Augustus of the late first century will show that the Metroon, in the simplicity of its mouldings and in the quality of its workmanship is closer than they to the old classical tradition.

¹ Clamps were more freely used in the steps of the Metroon than in those of the Stoa and, in contrast with those of the Metroon, the Stoa walls are unclamped. In the surviving parts of the original Metroon I find no parallels for the cuttings for \rightarrow dowels to be noted in the Stoa of Attalos. In the Stoa they alternate with regular dowels in the blocks of the front steps and stylobate and they occur throughout the entablature. The dove-tailed cuttings, without vertical sinkings at the extremities, which are numerous in the poros parts of the Metroon, do not appear in the Stoa, but they are found in the marble wall blocks of the Tower of the Winds.

Further help in dating is available from the objects extracted from about the foundations of the building. The material, however, is limited in amount, since the new foundations were, for the most part, simply set down in narrow trenches cut through the existing ground level, and little or no additional filling was required. The foundations have been exposed in various exploratory trenches cut along the south and north sides of the building, along the inner side of the colonnade, and on either side of its front wall. Two Athenian bronze coins have been found in significant places which they must have reached during the construction. One is dated before 261 B.C., the other is assigned by Mrs. Shear to the period 339–297 B.C. A Knidian amphora handle (SS 5527) bears the name of a fabricant who was active during the second half of the second and early first centuries B.C.¹ The other pottery from these

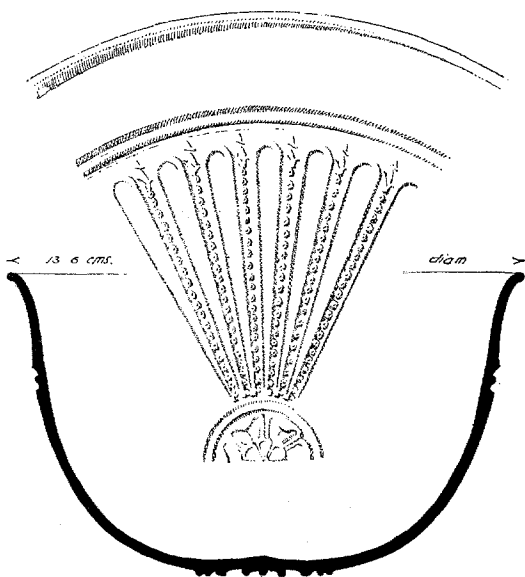


Fig. 119. Megarian Bowl from Footing Trench of Hellenistic Metroon

exploratory trenches has been of two kinds. Most of it, naturally, is early, chiefly of the sixth century, from the earlier filling which was dug up and then thrown back into the footing trenches by the later builders. But scattered pieces of Hellenistic pottery also occur. Since there were no private houses in the immediate vicinity and since the city scavengers would presumably have regularly cleared away any accumulation of such rubbish as broken pottery, we may presume that the Hellenistic vases represented by our sherds came from the lunch kits of the workmen engaged on the building. Actually, the fragments from the various trenches agree precisely in fabric and profile and they come exclusively from plain plates and bowls and water jars such as those from which the modern Greek workman takes his midday

lunch and his water. Could we date this pottery with precision, we should have excellent evidence for the time of construction. In general, the material would seem to fall between Groups D and E published in a previous number of this Journal.² A Megarian bowl is illustrated in Fig. 119 as one of the latest pieces to be associated with the building.³

¹ ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀναξάνδρου, Κνιδίου (club). Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 259, nos. 164–167, p. 241. Further evidence for the dating of Anaxandros which has accumulated since 1934 has been kindly communicated to me by Miss Grace.

² *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 369 ff., 392 ff.

³ P 3661. In the medallion a double rosette from which radiate long petals separated by jewelled lines tipped with conventionalized flowers. Upper zone replaced by two grooves. No groove beneath rim. Glaze thin and metallic. Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 383, D 40.

A date around the middle of the second century B.C. was proposed for Group D referred to above, while Group E would appear to date from the end of the second and the early first century. The material from the Metroon may safely be placed in the second half of the second century. It seems to be slightly later than the pottery that has been found in extensive soundings made in the Stoa of Attalos. No fragment of a Megarian bowl of the long-petalled variety has yet come from the Stoa.

Combining the architectural evidence with that derived from the foundation filling, we may place the construction of the building in the third quarter of the second century B.C.¹

It would seem impossible to say whether the tiles that bear the name of the Mother come from the original construction or from a repair. Neither the scheme of the tiles nor the style of lettering affords a close chronological criterion. The mosaic floor in the north room is shown, by a few sherds found in the packing beneath it, to be not earlier than the second century A.D.

For the date of the destruction of the building little evidence on the site itself has survived the residence of late Roman and mediaeval people and the activities of previous excavators. It is significant, however, that several of the roof tiles stamped with the name of the Mother have been found in the lowest débris above the old classical floor of the market place, in contexts as early as of the third century A.D. We have already observed that an epistyle block from the building has been found to the south of the Stoa of Attalos along the line of the "Valerian" wall. Beyond any reasonable doubt, it was carried off by the builders of that wall, which, as noted above, appears to date from the late third or early fourth century A.D. We may, then, safely infer that the Metroon too suffered from the Herulians in 267 A.D. and thereafter contributed its quota of blocks to the construction of the new city wall. That the damage then inflicted on the building was severe is to be inferred not only from the loss of a main epistyle block but also from the peculiar way in which subsequent rebuilders made good the lack of wall material in one of the rooms (p. 197).

LATE ROMAN RECONSTRUCTION

In various parts of the building are traces of repairs and rearrangements which bear the stamp of late Roman times, and which probably occurred within a fairly short space of time during the late renaissance of this part of the city.

In the north room (Fig. 116), the rebuilders opened the original square of the peristyle on its west side and carried the north and south sides westward to the wall of the main room. For these extensions they laid foundations of broken stone and old building blocks and tiles bedded in lime mortar. The old stylobate blocks were rudely trimmed to fit the new space. That the north and south foundations were now carried eastward as well is doubtful, for no trace of concrete work remains in that region. The west part of the north

¹ A post-Sullan date is made improbable by the almost complete absence of broken sculpture, inscriptions, etc. elsewhere observed in the foundations of structures erected soon after the sack of 86 B.C.

room would seem not to have been rebuilt. In its middle compartment, however, a series of Hellenistic exedra benches of Hymettian marble was set down and was made to open through the back wall into the central court. Of the exedra there remain two blocks of the marble bench and two of the heavy backing blocks of poros (Fig. 120).¹

The precise arrangement of the interior colonnade in this period can no longer be determined. The columns would seem to have stood on top of old bases gathered from



Fig. 120. Marble Bench in North Room of Reconstructed Metroon, from the Southwest

¹ The bench proper was made in six sections, each of which had its own profiled foot at either end. The marble blocks rest partly on a ledge cut in the top of the bedding blocks of the old cross wall, partly on earth. The backers were cut from re-used building blocks. The two which remain were fastened to each other by means of a large dove-tailed clamp. For the setting of these backers the inner orthostate of the old west wall was partly broken away and pushed out of alignment. Nothing remains to show how the exedra was incorporated into the west wall of the room. Their workmanship and cuttings in their undersides for \rightarrow dowels very much like those in the Stoa of Attalos suggest that the benches in their original use were perhaps contemporary with the Stoa. That the seats were not prepared for their present position is made obvious by the fact that there can have been no underlying block to support the dowel in the north end of one of the benches.

elsewhere for the purpose. Of the two that remain, one was a statue base of Hymettian marble. Across one face of the block, in letters of the second century B.C. runs the artist's signature: ΕΡΜΙΠΠΟΞ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥ ΞΟΥΝΙΕΥΞ ΕΡΟΗΞΕΝ. This block is in position as laid by the rebuilders, for it is cemented to the stylobate by a thin layer of crumbly mortar. Its centre lies 2.80 m. from the east face of the toichobate of the main west wall of the room. The other base was found displaced.

That the central part of the room in its latest period was open to the sky is sufficiently proven by the provision for its drainage. Beneath the stylobate of the north side a drain hole was cut in the euthynteria immediately below the original drain channel and a rectangular terracotta pipe was thrust into it from the outside. This pipe made its exit from the building through a channel cut in the first course of conglomerate blocks in the north wall. As it leaves the wall it swings toward the northeast, undoubtedly to join the larger terracotta drain which ran eastward to the great stone drain (Fig. 126). Just before passing through the outer wall, the rectangular pipe is joined by another of similar size and shape of which the course may be traced through the west part of the north room to a point in the passage between the Metroon and New Bouleuterion. It was undoubtedly intended for the drainage of the late Roman reconstruction of the latter building. The way in which the pipe is carried under the lines of the late marble stylobate shows it to be contemporary with that construction.¹

In the third room from the south enough remains to tell us something of its later history. In the general destruction of the building, the walls of this room too would seem to have gone down and much of their material to have disappeared. Those who came later to recondition the room, instead of providing new material to make good all their losses, found it easier to lower the floor level inside the room by 1.42 m. toward the west, 1.63 m. in the eastern part, and so to use that much of the old foundations as side walls. Toward the south edge of the room two long channels were cut side by side, partly in the soft bedrock, partly in the ancient earth filling (Pl. VI). They are *ca.* 0.55 m. wide and have a maximum depth of *ca.* 0.35 m. The southern of the two is *ca.* 6.70 m. long and the northern *ca.* 7.20 m. The walls of the trenches were covered with a crumbly lime plaster which served to bind the earth and soft stone. The westernmost 0.62 m. of the northern channel is slightly wider than the remaining part from which it is cut off by a fragment of roofing tile set on edge. The bottom and side walls of both trenches were blackened by fire. On the floor of the northern lay a mass of firm, red-burned earth. Above this came a layer of loose rubbish containing charcoal and ashes and many bones from chickens or other large birds. This in turn was overlaid by a little fire-reddened earth and the whole

¹ Where it passes under the northern of the two stylobates, the drain channel was protected by a tall stele of Hymettian marble (I 4266) laid lengthwise of the drain, its lettered face down and so perfectly preserved. The slab bears an honorary decree of the third century B.C., which, according to its text, was to be set up "in front of the Synhedrion." The size and perfect preservation of the stone make it probable that it was not carried far from its original place. Nor, indeed, at the time to which we must assign this late repair, would there have been any dearth of such material in the immediate vicinity.

was covered by the packing for the mosaic. The rectangular compartment at the west end showed no trace of burning on its floor but was filled with fire-reddened earth.

The simplest explanation of this arrangement would appear to be that the ruinous building had been reconditioned to accommodate a tavern or cheap eating place, the meat for which would have been broiled on spits above the long fireplaces. Comparable arrangements are common in modern Greece.



Fig. 121. Mosaic in Reconstructed Metroon, from the West

The room was subsequently improved by the laying of a mosaic floor which covered over and so put out of use the long fireplaces (Figs. 121, 122). The central part of the mosaic is a broad panel running east and west but not on the axis of the room. Quatre-foils formed by interlacing circles and punctuated by small squares fill the panel. Along its north and west sides the central panel is bordered by a band of ivy-leaf pattern and by a second band of solid circles joined by a line passing through their centres. These borders are separated from each other and from the central panel by narrow stripes. At its east end, the central panel terminated at the foot of a broad stairway which, so far as

one can now determine, provided the sole entrance to the room. Nothing remains of the stairway save a little of its mortar bedding. To the south of the stairway only the packing for the mosaic was found. At the west end the two border designs apparently continued south across the end of the room. For a distance of several meters the mosaic shows an original edge close along the south side of its broad central panel and from what remains toward the east it is clear that there was no mosaic over a space 0.55 m. wide. No satisfactory bedding for a wall remains nor is there any trace of the return of a wall either at



Fig. 122. Mosaic in Third Room from South of Reconstructed Metroon

the east or the west end. We may restore rather a long stone bench or something of the sort which could be explained only in relation to what occupied the south part of the room, now completely destroyed. The space between the central panel, the stairway and the east end of this hypothetical bench was filled by a panel of straight lines crossing diagonally with small squares set in the resulting large squares and small triangles in the lateral triangles.¹

¹ It is obvious from the plan (Pl. VI) that the principal designs of the mosaic are far from lining with the sides of the room, nor can the divergence be justified by the irregularities of the walls. The individual tesserae vary greatly in shape and size; on an average they will be about 0.025 m. square. They are bedded in crumbly lime mortar containing much pounded brick. The ground of the mosaic is

Adequate drainage was provided by a terracotta channel leading out of the northeast corner, the point toward which the entire floor sloped. This channel, on leaving the northeast corner of the room, swerving north, passed through the limestone foundation of the sixth century Metroon (which must then have stood considerably higher than it now does) and thence made its way in a northeasterly direction through the foundations of the Hellenistic porch of the Metroon toward the great drain of the Agora.

The irregularities in the faces of the foundations, now forming the lower side walls of the rooms, were made good by stones set in mortar and the whole was covered with coarse plaster of which traces remain.

The interiors of the first and second rooms from the south have been too much disturbed for us to trace their history subsequent to the disaster of the third century A.D. That they too were reconditioned is made probable by the survival of many blocks of the toichobate and underlying course which would presumably otherwise have been removed for the reconstruction of the northern rooms. The condition of the front porch of the building in the period of these interior rearrangements is also problematic. For the tile drain which served the room with the mosaic floor, a tunnel was painstakingly pierced through the Hellenistic foundations of the colonnade. That the blocks were not rather pulled out suggests that the marble steps were still in position, but whether they continued to carry their columns or now served merely to support a terrace in front of the four rooms is uncertain.

For the date of the reconstruction the best evidence consists of a group of fourteen coins found in the red earth filling of the northern of the two channels in the third room from the south. All are of the fourth or fifth century A.D., and of those that could be identified with certainty, one bears the name of Constantius II (323–361 A.D.), one of Valens (364–378 A.D.), two of Valentinianus II (383–392 A.D.), four of Theodosius I (379–395 A.D.) and one of Arcadius (395–408 A.D.). These coins may be taken to afford a fairly close *terminus post quem* for the laying of the mosaic floor which sealed them under. Hence we may assign the laying of that floor and, in all probability, the reorganization of the north room also to the early fifth century A.D. Such a date would suit well the mosaic. Its technique and the choice and distribution of motives are typical of that century while its unpretentious simplicity and adherence to classical forms would suggest a date before the intrusion of the more ornate eastern style and motives to be noted in floors of the later fifth and early sixth centuries in Greece.¹

white and is formed of Pentelic marble. All the designs are outlined with limestone, gray-blue, almost black in color and the same stone was used for the lines joining the circles in the outer border and for the stems of ivy. Blue Hymettian marble and pinkish limestone appear alternately as filling for the designs.

¹ For the general style and technique compare the fifth-century mosaics of St. Isidore in Chios (A. C. Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins de Chios*, pt. II, pls. I ff.) and those of the Basilica of Eresos on Lesbos, dated from the donor's inscription to the first half of the fifth century (Orlandos, *Arch. Delt.*, XII, 1929, pp. 32 ff.). The floor of the Basilica by the Ilissos, which is to be dated probably in the second quarter of the fifth century and in which the eastern influence of Antioch has been detected, provides a striking contrast with the severe simplicity of our piece (Soteriou, *Arch. Eph.*, 1919, pp. 17 ff.). In the Basilica of St. Doumetios at Nikopolis, one will find an arrangement similar to that of ours and the same continuous

The history of the third room from the south may be traced one stage further. Interior walls were built of ancient blocks (mostly wall blocks from the New Bouleuterion) to divide the one room into three (Fig. 123). The eastern stairway would seem no longer to have existed, at any rate in its original width. The mosaic floor apparently remained in use.

The most interesting feature of this reconstruction was a press, probably for the making of olive oil, that stood in the corner of the southwest room. Most of the base stone of the press remains, though split and wrenched apart by those who in still later times dug a well in this area. It rested on an ancient building block of poros. The press stone, likewise of poros, was circular with a diameter of *ca.* 1.10 m. The middle part of its top was left flat, the outer part cut down so that a rim encircled the top. The bag containing the olives, already crushed somewhere in a mill, was placed on the middle of the stone and pressed either by a screw or, since there is no trace of supports for such a device, more probably by the dead weight of another stone set on top. The oil flowed toward the periphery where it gathered in a rill cut for the purpose and passed through a spout to drip into a circular basin with plastered walls, just a trace of which remains beneath the spout. To the north of the press a rectangular basin was built against the face of the east wall of the room, its floor formed of broken marble blocks plastered, its three independent walls of roughly worked marble slabs set on edge. Its depth, as given by the western side slab, was 0.40 m., its bottom lying 0.10 m. below the level of the mosaic. Little of it was left by the well builders. This pit presumably held the olives waiting to be pressed or perhaps the pressed pulp.

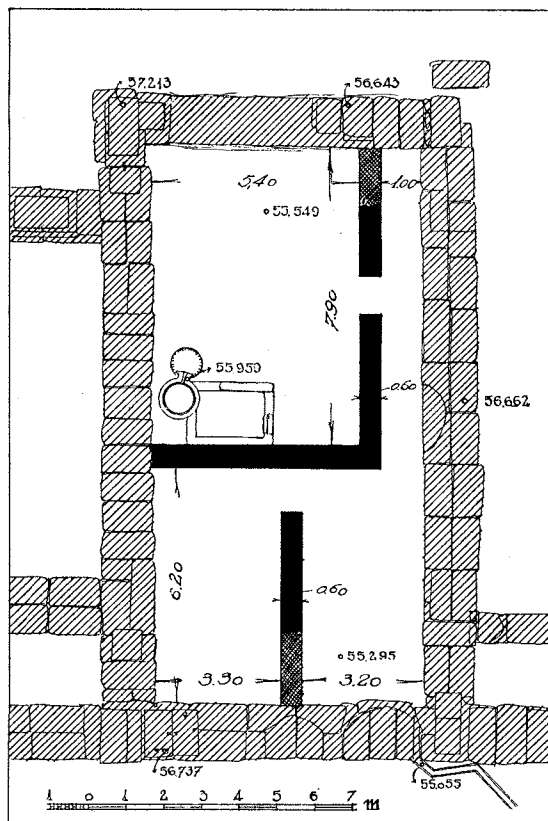


Fig. 123. Third Room from South of Reconstructed Metroon, Last Period

There is no precise evidence for fixing the time when the original room of the mosaic floor was subdivided. But that the mosaic could continue in use shows that no great

ivy tendrils and quatrefoils. But the whole effect has become more crowded and carpet-like. If the dedicatory inscription has been correctly interpreted, the mosaic is to be dated in 509 A.D. (Soteriou, *Ἱεροδ. Σύνδεσμος*, 1915, pp. 21 ff.; Philadelphiaus, *Arch. Eph.*, 1917, pp. 48 ff.).

change in ground level had occurred and would accordingly suggest that the first period of use of the mosaic floor was brief.

Various scraps of foundation walls, built almost entirely of blocks torn from the earlier foundations beneath were found in the area of the north room and in the porch. None of these walls can be earlier than very late Roman or Byzantine times and, since nothing can be restored on the basis of them, they need delay us no longer. Nor is there anything else to suggest that the site was occupied by any building of importance in mediaeval times.

We have already noted the damage done by a late well in the third room. Other wells of the Turkish period were set down through the mosaic of the north room and in the northeast corner of the porch. Yet another late well was found to have been dug within the limits of the Hellenistic porch, in front of the third room from the south. In its curbing were incorporated many fragments of the great marble altar, the podium for which lies 30 m. to the east; literally scores of fragments, big and little, from an inscribed monument of Trebellius Rufus (1849), as well as ancient poros building blocks and many limestone blocks from the sixth-century foundation adjoining. The period of use of this well was distinctly earlier than that of the others mentioned. Its filling produced an enormous quantity of coarse Byzantine pottery and several coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Traces were found of innumerable other storage pits of various sorts which served the mediaeval residents of the site and contributed to the very thorough destruction of the ancient remains.

LATE MONUMENT BASES

With the late reconstruction of the north room of the Metroon we may associate a group of carelessly built monument bases around its northeast corner (Pl. VI). The largest (*ca.* 1.40×4.88 m.) lies midway between the Metroon and the southeast corner of the Temple of Apollo, in a line not quite north and south. The foundation was rudely put together of re-used conglomerate and poros blocks capped by marble step and stylobate blocks removed from the nearby Temple of Apollo (see p. 92). Since the base was laid over the rectangular water channel which itself runs over the ruins of the Stoa of Zeus (p. 77) and since the large terracotta channel which drained the rehabilitated Metroon was carried beneath it, we may date the base somewhere in the fourth century A.D.

The space between this long base and the Temple of Apollo was occupied by a smaller square base made of re-used conglomerate blocks bedded on typical late Roman concrete. And to the south of the long base is another foundation (1.30×2.20 m.) of conglomerate blocks bedded on earth, perhaps slightly earlier in date.

Still another rectangular bedding of re-used conglomerate blocks (1.30×2.30 m.) will be noted just north of the northeasternmost corner of the Metroon (Fig. 101). Its builders ruthlessly broke away the late Roman rectangular water line but carefully respected the Metroon drain. This monument, then, is to be dated after the reconstruction of the

Metroon, perhaps early in the fifth century A.D. Around these monuments and stretching away to the east, was a hard packed road surface, the gravel of which yielded many coins of the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D., the latest recognizable being of Honorius (395–423 A.D.).

These large, if shoddy, monument bases are of interest in connection with the late renaissance of the Agora. One would gladly know what they carried. It seems not improbable that their statues as well as their foundation material were plucked from the débris of other parts of the market square. We have already noted that the great statue of Apollo, certainly from the nearby temple, was found in the north room of the Metroon (p. 107), and we have suggested that Hadrian, whose torso was found in the Great Drain just to the east and Antoninus Pius whose head came to light in the excavation of the Temple of Apollo, may have migrated from an original station in front of the Stoa of Zeus (p. 68).¹

IDENTIFICATION AND HISTORY FROM EXTERNAL SOURCES

(After the Sanctuary of Apollo Patroos) *ῥκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρὸς Θεῶν ἱερὸν, ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων καλουμένων Βουλευτηρίον, οὗ βουλευούσιν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναῖοις. Βουλαίου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ξόανον Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλων τέχνη Πεισίου καὶ Ἀῆμος ἔργον Ἀίσωνος. τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας ἔγραψε Πρωτογένης Καύνιος, Ὀλβιάδης δὲ Κάλλιππον, ὃς Ἀθηναίους ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἤγαγε φυλάσσοντας τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Γαλατῶν ἐσβολήν . . . Τοῦ Βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων πλησίον Θόλος ἐστί.*

Pausanias, I, 3, 5.

IDENTIFICATION

The identification of the Metroon and of the Bouleuterion that is known to have been closely associated with it may now be taken as certainly established. Convincing evidence is furnished by the roof tiles, marked as sacred to the Mother, that have been found, as noted above, to the east, north and south of the building.

Further and more specific evidence is provided by an engraved stele, of which the greater part remains, that was found on the spot in 1907 during the excavations by the Greek Archaeological Society (*I.G.*, II², 140). The inscription preserves a decree of 353/2 B.C. that regulated the disposal of the first fruits offered to the Eleusinian divinities. In the document it is specified that "the secretary of the Council shall inscribe this law beside the earlier one of Chairemonides on the stele in front of the Metroon." The "law of Chairemonides" probably dates from 403/2 B.C. and in that year presumably, the stele was first set up. The same excavations yielded, in the same place, a pedestal which, according to its inscription, had carried a statue of a priest of the Mother of the Gods.²

¹ Another instance of damaged sculpture being moved and re-erected is provided by the tripod base found in the middle of the floor of a room (probably post-Herulian in date) to the north of the "South Stoa" (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 324, 387 ff.).

² *Arch. Eph.*, 1910, cols. 16 ff.

Finally, in the season of 1935, there was found imbedded deep down in the foundations of the southeast corner of the third room from the south of the second-century building, a fragmentary marble plaque (Fig. 124). Only the polos-crowned head of the goddess remains, framed in a naiskos, the architrave of which is inscribed in letters of the fourth century B.C.: *Κρίτων Μητρὶ Θεῶν* [. . . .].¹



Fig. 124. Votive Relief from the Metroon

¹ I 2669. Pentelic marble. Preserved height, 0.164 m.; width, 0.182 m. Traces of red paint on hair, of yellow on polos. Cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 2.

The relief was doubtless of the same type as numerous other pieces, mostly later and uninscribed, which have been found in the present excavations and earlier. Cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 400 f. It is quite possible that many of the uninscribed images come from private houses rather than from the great sanctuary. Of the marble votives, some 36 in addition to the inscribed piece have been found in various parts of the excavation. In this connection we may note also the head of a small Hellenistic figurine of terracotta (T 1004) found in a cistern on Kolonos, above the New Bouleuterion. From its top rises a narrow plaque that shows in relief the Mother seated, her lion by her left side, an attendant to her right, holding a tympanon in her left hand, a phiale in her right. A similar plaque exhibiting the goddess in

None of the objects noted above has been found strictly *in situ* and they are all so small that any of them might have been transported far from its original position. But that they should all have been gathered to this one spot at widely different times and from a distance is quite incredible. Their combined evidence may be regarded as conclusive.

For the identification of the New Bouleuterion, granted that the building is to be sought near the Metroon, sufficient evidence is provided through the discovery in and around the building, by the unsuspecting earlier excavators, of the numerous fragments of curved marble benches described above.

The account of Pausanias agrees perfectly with these identifications. He describes the Metroon immediately after the Temple of Apollo Patroos, though without any indication of the relative position of the two, then notes that the Bouleuterion stood close to the Metroon, the Tholos close to the Bouleuterion. The Tholos may now be taken as a fixed point. In its vicinity there are only two possible candidates for the other two buildings. Remembering that Pausanias was coming down from the north and that he was writing in the second century A.D., we may be certain that for him the Metroon was the great four-roomed building of the second century B.C., the Bouleuterion the building to the west of it which we have called the New Bouleuterion.

The identification of the square archaic building as the Old Bouleuterion follows inevitably, since it is the only earlier structure of suitable plan in the vicinity. Inasmuch as there is good reason to suppose that a council house had been needed in Athens long before the date to which we have assigned the Old Bouleuterion, we are probably justified in attributing the earlier foundations beneath that building to a Primitive Bouleuterion. As for the early "Temple of the Mother," we need scarcely search farther for the name of a temple-like structure immediately underlying a later building that was unquestionably a sanctuary of the Mother.

We may now consider how much additional information about these buildings and their history is to be gotten from literary and epigraphic sources. From this material it is clear, in the first place, that we have to do not with two institutions but with three: the cult place of the goddess, the meeting place of the Council of Five Hundred and the state archives.

A legend about the establishment of the Metroon has come down to us in several versions: in Julian (*Or.*, V, p. 159), in Suidas (*s.v.* Μητρώον), in scholia on Aischines (III, 187) and Aristophanes (*Plut.*, 431). But the account is so garbled that we dare not trust it for details. From a combination of the various versions we may, however, infer first that sanctuary, bouleuterion and archives were closely associated from an early date and secondly, that the divinity in the beginning was identical with Demeter. The legend

the same pose (T 892) has been found on the Bouleuterion Square. These comparatively early representations should be of value in fixing the original sculptural type.

would seem to be an aetiological explanation for the association of sanctuary and Bouleuterion. If we do not take the story too seriously, we may suspect that the combination was based originally on practical convenience: the large hall needed to shelter the sacred rites of the goddess that were celebrated but once a year was perhaps utilized as well for the more frequent meetings of the Boule. One is struck by the similarity in shape and plan between the archaic Bouleuterion and the closely contemporary Hall of the Mysteries at Eleusis. The public records were naturally kept as close as possible to the seat of the executive body. That they should have been placed specifically under the guardianship of the goddess is no more surprising than that the state monies should have been entrusted to Athena's keeping.

We get no clue from the legend as to the actual date of the establishment. Thucydides, however, in a well known passage referred the foundation of the state bouleuterion to Theseus and hence we may conclude that already in the fifth century B.C. the institution was regarded as very old.¹ And actually, though the archaeological evidence collated above would not indicate a date beyond the seventh century for the earliest structural remains on the site, yet these foundations represent the earliest substantial buildings thus far discovered in the Agora.

THE CULT PLACE

If we turn now to the external evidence bearing on the cult place proper, we shall find no mention in ancient authors of an actual temple (*ναός*). This is not surprising. The little structure of the late sixth century the plan of which so clearly proclaims it a temple, was undoubtedly another of the many sacred buildings fired in 480 B.C. and left in ruins thereafter, either through lack of means for rebuilding or that they might serve as memorials. But the cult persisted and, just as in the neighboring sanctuaries of Zeus and Apollo, it centred about a statue, a seated image assigned on the evidence of Pausanias (I, 3, 5) and Arrian (*Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 9) to Pheidias, though Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI, 17) attributes the work to Pheidias' pupil, Agorakritos. The general features of the statue are undoubtedly preserved for us in the numerous marble and terracotta *ex votos* which represent the goddess seated with the tympanon and phiale in her hands, the lion by her side. From the style indicated by these versions of the subject, the latest student of the problem has agreed with Pliny and has assigned the original to Agorakritos.² When this cult image was designed it is clear that the goddess had already assumed the attributes of her Anatolian counterpart, Kybele. But still she retained many points in common with the Greek Demeter. The inscription already cited (*I. G.*, II², 140) which had to do with the first fruits offered to the Eleusinian divinities, but which was actually set up before the Metroon, shows that the Mother retained her official connection with Eleusis. The

¹ II, 15, 2. Plutarch, *Theseus*, XXIV is based on the Thucydidean notice.

² A. von Salis, "Die Göttermutter von Agorakritos," *Jahrbuch*, XXVIII, 1913, pp. 1-26.

continuance of this association is suggested also by the presence in the neighborhood of the Metroon of the Altar of the Heudanemoi, an heroic family with Eleusinian relations.¹ On the other side, evidence of the close relations between Demeter and Kybele is given by numbers of the small marble naiskoi with the seated Kybele, similar to those described above, that have been found in the Eleusinian sanctuary. This intimate relationship persisted to the very end, for the latest figured documents bearing on the cult of the Mother in Athens, two altars, the one dedicated in 387 A.D., the other a little earlier, show the two matronly figures seated side by side.²

By virtue of these Demeter-like qualities, the Mother becomes the most suitable, indeed the only possible divinity with which to associate a mass of rubbish gathered up from a sanctuary and deposited in a large cistern to the west of the Stoa of Zeus where it was

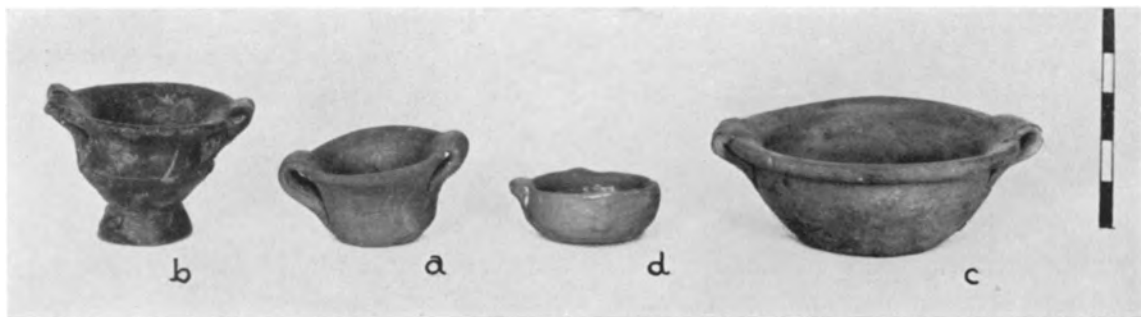


Fig. 125. Miniature Vases from a Sanctuary Dump

discovered in 1931.³ The cistern had gone out of use as a water container in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. and at this time the rubbish was thrown down through its mouth. The cone, 1.75 m. high, that had formed within a short time on the floor of the reservoir consisted largely of ash and charcoal, presumably from an altar, and of quantities of tiny cups. These fall into four types of which specimens are illustrated in Fig. 125.

- a. Kantharoi. Average height, 0.023 m.; diameter, 0.035 m. Roughly turned; unglazed. Complete specimens ca. 3,240; fragmentary ca. 3,850.
- b. Kraters. Average height, 0.03 m.; diameter, 0.036 m. Covered inside and out with thin black varnish. Complete specimens 91; fragmentary 102.

¹ Arrian, *Anab.*, III, 16, 8: καὶ νῦν κεῖνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμειῶν αἱ εἰκόνες (of the Tyrannicides) ἧ ἄνιμεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καταντικρὺ μάλιστα τοῦ Μητροῦ, οὐ μακρὰν τῶν Εὐδανέμων τοῦ βωμοῦ. ὅστις δὲ μεμύηται ταῖν θεαῖν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, οἶδε τὸν Εὐδανέμον βωμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου ὕντα. It is quite possible that the remains of this altar are to be recognized in the splendid marble podium unearthed in 1931 some 30 m. to the east of the Metroon (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 140 ff.).

² *I.G.*, III², 4841, 4842, with citation of literature. For illustrations, see Svoronos, *Τὸ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἑθνικὸν Μουσεῖον*, Athens, 1904, pl. LXXX.

³ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 128.

- c. Open Bowls. Average height, 0.025 m.; diameter, 0.065 m. Roughly turned; unglazed. Complete specimens 32; fragmentary *ca.* 450.
- d. Flat Bowls. Average height, 0.013 m.; diameter, 0.03 m. A lug-like handle on one side. Unvarnished. Complete specimens 14.

Apart from these miniature vases, the only object from the deposit that could be held to have ritual significance was a fragmentary kernos of the simple sort. A few pieces of black-glazed domestic ware and of degenerate red figure serve to fix the dump in the second half of the fourth century.

In Greece at this period the kernos was probably peculiar to the worship of Demeter, and that chiefly in her Eleusinian aspect.¹ At Eleusis, moreover, quantities of miniature vases similar to those here illustrated have been found in dumps from the sanctuary and more recently not a few have come to light on the crest of the Pnyx Hill in a sanctuary which, on other evidence, appears to be that of Demeter Thesmophoros.² Hence this material from the cistern deposit would be peculiarly appropriate to the Demeter-Mother and this dumping place the nearest available to her sanctuary.

Where did the statue stand? In the votive reliefs from all parts of the Greek world, even the earliest of them, the goddess is commonly represented in a naiskos, a tradition that may perhaps be due to her predilection for caves with rock-cut façades in her Phrygian homeland. There is reason to believe that the statue, probably naiskos and all, stood within a building. We are informed by a scholiast on Aischines' speech against Ktesiphon (187) that the Athenians made a part of the Bouleuterion the Metroon, though at the same time the Bouleuterion is described as in the sanctuary:

ἔγνωμεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς δι᾽ μέρος τοῦ Βουλευτηρίου ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Μητροῶν. ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ Βουλευτήριον ἐστίν, ἀνάκεινται γεγραμμένοι κ.τ.λ.

Aischines in this same speech described the Metroon as alongside the Bouleuterion:

§ 187. *ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητροῶ παρὰ τὸ Βουλευτήριον, ἣν ἔδοτε δωρεὰν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγούσιν, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν.*³

Close proximity is suggested also by the notice of Lykourgos' dying wish, *viz.* that he be carried into the Metroon and the Bouleuterion there to give an account of his political activity:

[Plut.] *Vit. X Or.*, 842 E: (Lykourgos) *μέλλων δὲ τελευτήσειν, εἰς τὸ Μητροῶν καὶ τὸ Βουλευτήριον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν κομισθῆναι, βουλόμενος εὐθύνας δοῦναι τῶν πεπολιτευμένων.*

From a passage in Deinarchos' speech against Demosthenes we gather, moreover, that the association of the goddess with the archives was very intimate:

I, 86: *ἔθετο συνθήκας μετὰ τοῦ δήμου, γράψας τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ἑαυτοῦ, παρὰ τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν, ἣ πάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι δικαίων φύλαξ τῇ πόλει καθέστηκε.*

¹ Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 447 ff. for a discussion of the type and of the literature on it.

² *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 179 f.

³ Such, at any rate, is the reading of one respectable manuscript (C), questioned by some editors but defended by Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, p. 324, n. 3.

The earliest surviving reference to the Metroon as such carries us back to the flourishing days of the Athenian Empire, to a time when Alcibiades was influential in the city, *i. e.* to the latter part of the fifth century but before 405 B.C. When appealed to for help in a law suit by an islander, Alcibiades, with characteristic energy, strode into the Metroon where the records of accusations were kept and, licking his finger, he erased the charge against the man.¹ References to the Metroon become frequent thereafter in both authors and inscriptions.

In the light of our present knowledge of the site, these literary references and indeed the whole concatenation of events become clear, clearer to us actually than to the ancient scholiast on Aischines. He had but a single building in mind and so was obviously puzzled as to how, if a part of the Bouleuterion had been made the Metroon, the Bouleuterion could still be described as in the sanctuary. The dedication of the famous statue by Agorakritos (?), the first reference to the Metroon as the place for the storage of public records, the construction of the New Bouleuterion, all three events are datable on independent evidence to one and the same time: the latter part of the fifth century. The synchronism is obviously significant. The new building is shown by its plan to have been intended as a new home for the Boule, the statue was established in a part of the Old Bouleuterion which accordingly became the "Mother's Place" and the public files were installed "beside her" in the adjoining parts of the building. The fame of the statue gave added prestige to the term "Metroon," which must soon have been applied to the entire old building and was simply handed on to its Hellenistic successor. The unqualified term "Bouleuterion" could thus be applied without possibility of confusion to the building which we have called the New Bouleuterion.

In our ignorance of just what was done in the reorganization of the Old Bouleuterion after the construction of the New, we cannot hope to say precisely how the available space was divided between the sanctuary proper and the archives. It is, however, worth recalling that a quantity of working chips of Eleusinian limestone were found to the south of the building in the layer to be associated with the reorganization. The chips were too few in quantity to suggest that the stone had been used to any extent in the architecture proper, nor could the preserved fragment of a block be fitted conveniently into the building. Both, however, may well be derived from the statue base of the goddess. One will recall that the same stone was used to set off the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias and the frieze sculptures of the Erechtheion and that it served for the orthostates and the crowning plinth of the curved base in the Temple of the Athenians on Delos.²

An altar, of course, stood in the sanctuary, and we are told that one Pittalakos about the middle of the fourth century sought refuge on it from his political foes.³ It has not been identified. No more can we place the pithos of Diogenes the Cynic,⁴ nor shall

¹ Chamaileon of Pontos in Athenaeus, IX, 407 C.

² Courby, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 189 ff.

³ Aischines, *contra Timarch.*, 60.

⁴ Diog. Laert., VI, 2, 23; Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, p. 328.

we ever know precisely where that other fourth-century philosopher, the garlic-eating Stilpon, lay.¹

We have no useful information regarding the cult place or the statue of the goddess, nor have we any reason to suspect any important change in either, between the installation of the statue and the construction of the great four-roomed building in the second century. But what of the disposition of space in the Hellenistic building? A glance at the plan, as already noted, suggests that the second room from the south was intended primarily, if not exclusively, as a monumental approach to the New Bouleuterion. We are thus left with three rooms to be distributed between the archives, which, as we shall see, must have been accommodated in this building, and the cult place. Pausanias, in his reference to the building, noted only the cult place and the statue; he made no special reference to the archives. We shall probably do well, therefore, to assign the two less conspicuous rooms, which have no peculiar character, to the state records, and reserve the north room for the cult place. Thus, if our reasoning is correct, the sanctuary proper returned in the Hellenistic period to its original position.

As to the precise arrangement within this north room, we have little but internal evidence. For the cult statue, two places are available: the rectangular base in the middle of the peristyle and the central "exedra" at the back of the room. The first is recommended by its substantial construction but by little else. Its shape is inappropriate. If we suppose that the goddess was flanked by a lion, then the breadth of her image must have equalled and probably surpassed its depth. She would of course have faced toward the east and the entrance. But the east-west axis of the base in question is markedly longer than the north-south. Nor in this age, any more than in the fifth century, is it likely that such a statue would have been exposed to the weather, even in a court. The "exedra," on the other hand, would be admirably suited to the pose of the enthroned goddess which, as one may judge from the surviving replicas both large and small, was obviously calculated for a frontal view.² The architectural frame would, moreover, give the effect suggested by many of the small *ex votos* which represent the goddess seated in a naiskos.³ We must

¹ Athenaeus, X, 422 D.

² Cf. A. von Salis, *Jahrbuch*, XXVIII, 1913, p. 8.

³ If this feature of the *ex votos* is really significant and not merely a stereotyped formula, we should have to suppose that the naiskos existed both before and after the Hellenistic reconstruction of the Metroon, since it appears in both the early and the late reliefs.

In the Temple of Kybele dedicated by Philetairos on Mamurt-Kaleh near Pergamon, the remains suggest that the cult statue was covered by a naiskos set close up against the back wall of the cella; or, rather, since the statue and its base were earlier, the back wall of the temple was brought close up to the statue. *Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft*, IX, 1911, pp. 28 ff., fig. 7, pl. IX, 2 and frontispiece. An arrangement comparable with ours is to be found in a building of Roman date identified, though without conclusive evidence, as the Temple of the Mother Plastene on Mt. Sipylus, mentioned by Pausanias, V, 13, 7. See Frazer's commentary *ad loc.* and also *Rev. arch.*, 16, 1890, pp. 390 ff., plan p. 393. In her temple on the Palatine the goddess, enthroned between lions, was set close against the back wall of the cella. *Jahrbuch*, XXVIII, 1913, p. 13; Platner-Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, s.v. Magna Mater, aedes. For a naiskos enclosing the cult statue in a temple, one might also compare the Gymnasium Temple of the second century at Pergamon. *Pergamon*, VI, pp. 73, 77, pls. XXIV, XXVI.

admit the lack of any special cutting in the bedrock within the "exedra" for a statue base. But this negative evidence can scarcely be regarded as conclusive in view of the equally unsubstantial character of the underpinning for the colossal statue of Apollo in the neighboring temple. Here, in the Metroon, the plinth for the throne may well have rested directly on bedrock as it now appears.¹

As to the purpose of the rooms that adjoin the central "exedra" we can say nothing with certainty. Apart from her relations with Demeter and Kore which we have already discussed, and the inevitable Attis, we have no certain knowledge of any associated cult.² Pausanias noted only the one cult statue.

The altar of the goddess may have been conveniently accommodated on the rectangular base in the middle of the court. The gallery, so readily accessible by the two stairways, must have increased materially the space available for those who participated in the Mysteries.³

We shall once more consult the literary and epigraphic sources in vain for help in determining the use of the building as reconstructed in late Roman times. From the altars of the fourth century A.D., to which reference has already been made, we know that the cult of the Mother was flourishing in Athens and that her Mysteries had just been enriched by the addition of the rite of the Taurobolion. But it seems more than doubtful that the old sanctuary by the market place should still have been used in her service. The Emperor Julian, who had known Athens as a University student, writes of it in the past tense.⁴ The insertion of the marble benches in the central "exedra" shows clearly that the cult statue had disappeared, not to be replaced. The discovery of the great statue of Apollo in the north room would likewise argue against the resumption there of the worship of the Mother. We may conjecture rather that the old building had been patched up to become the residence of some citizen of the fifth century, a professor, shall we say, in the neighboring University whose interest in the past prompted him to rescue Apollo from his ruined

¹ A somewhat comparable architectural scheme is to be observed in the late Hellenistic Heroon at Kalydon. Dyggve, Poulsen, Rhomaios, *Das Heroon von Kalydon*. The cult place proper is situated in an exedra that was raised above the tomb. Across the back of the exedra extended a pedestal for statues and in front of the pedestal stood the cult table. The exedra opened through an antechamber, equipped with benches along its walls, on a peristyle court. See Dyggve's discussion of this type of sanctuary in relation to earlier and later sacred buildings, *op. cit.*, pp. 118 ff.

A similar disposition is suggested by the *templum a solo cum sancto suo, quod est a tergo* in an inscription from Thubursicum. Cf. Carcopino, *Rendiconti pontif. Accad. di Archeologia*, IV, 1926, pp. 238 ff. (not accessible to me); Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*⁴, p. 48, n. 17.

² *I.G.*, III², 5015 which couples the Mother of the Gods and Artemis and which comes in all probability from our sanctuary, suggests that Artemis had some place there. This Artemis perhaps is to be equated with the Artemis Boulaia of an Agora inscription (I 2361). See p. 213, n. 3.

³ On the Mysteries of Kybele and Attis, see Frazer, *The Golden Bough*³, IV, 1, pp. 266 ff.; Cumont, *Les Religions orientales*⁴, p. 48, n. 17. In the sanctuary of Men near Antioch of Pisidia, a divinity closely related to Kybele and who in this place actually shared his sanctuary with the goddess, a special building was apparently designed for the performance of the Mysteries. *B.S.A.*, XVIII, 1911-1912, pp. 39 ff.

⁴ *Or.*, V, p. 159B: καὶ ἀνέστη, φασίν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ Μητροῶν οὗ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δημοσίᾳ πάντα ἐφολάττετο τὰ γράμματα.

shrine, perhaps also to re-erect in his front garden the battered statue of Hadrian that had once stood by Zeus Eleutherios. He or his family, as indeed the whole city, shortly after fell on evil days and the once splendid building passes out of history as an untidy farm house on the edge of a straggling village.¹

THE BOULEUTERION

As for the Bouleuterion, we find no reference to it either in authors or in inscriptions between the above cited passage of Thucydides regarding its foundation and the middle of the fifth century B.C. Even later the references are scattered and afford very little information about the building or its history.

We may suppose that a Boule of some sort had existed in Athens and had required a formal meeting place from the earliest times; according to Thucydides, as we have seen, from the time of Theseus. And, although the evidence is slight, there is no reason to suppose that this institution was done away with by the Tyrants. The archaeological evidence, as already observed, indicates some alteration in the earlier building about the middle of the sixth century. This activity would therefore fall within the time of the elder Peisistratos, but whether it involved an enlargement or a repair we cannot say.

The next activity on the site, the construction of the great square building, has been shown by the results of the excavation to date from the very late sixth century, in all probability from a time after the expulsion of the Tyrants. Nor indeed should we have expected, even though they had tolerated the Boule, that they would have provided it with such generous accommodation. This move we should more naturally expect to have followed on the restoration of the democracy under Kleisthenes. In the absence of more specific external evidence and in harmony with the archaeological findings, we may, then, place its construction in the closing years of the sixth century.

For the fate of the building in 480-479 B.C. there is no evidence. Nothing has been found on the site to suggest a conflagration. This may well have been one of the few buildings that were spared by the invaders for their own accommodation that winter. But even in that case they would scarcely have left it intact on their departure if we may trust the notices in Herodotos (IX, 13) and Thucydides (I, 89, 3) regarding the thoroughness of the sack. In any event, it must be assumed that the building was afterwards recon-ditioned and that it continued to serve the needs of the Boule for two generations longer.

Literary and epigraphic sources would seem to provide little more specific information regarding the date or the occasion of the New Bouleuterion. We can only accept the archaeological evidence, which suggests a date in the last quarter of the fifth century, and marvel once more at the courage and resources of the city in those troubled years. One is tempted to associate the building with some one of the constitutional changes of the time,

¹ The plan of the north room as reconstructed suggests a Christian basilica in reverse, but there is nothing to indicate that the building ever served the Christian church.

but the surprising history of the assembly place on the Pnyx, rebuilt by the Thirty in 404/3 B.C., will counsel caution where external evidence is so scanty.

There was, of course, a speaker's platform (*βῆμα*) in the auditorium (Antiphon, VI, 40). Special seats would seem to have been set apart for the prytaneis (Lysias, XIII, 36 f.). After 410/09 B.C. the councillors sat by letter fixed by lot, but the precise arrangement is not clear from literary references, nor do the existing remains help.¹ Admission to the building was controlled by railings (*κυκλίδες*) and gates (*δέρνρακτοι*) and non-members were not allowed freely to enter the auditorium.² It is quite possible that we have the bedding blocks for the posts of the railing in the poros slabs with cuttings in their tops to the south of the Old Bouleuterion (p. 134). The same purpose may have been served at a later time by the grillwork between the columns of the porch of the New Bouleuterion, of which one post hole has survived (p. 157). That seating accommodation was provided for visitors in the auditorium would seem impossible in view of the limited size of the auditorium and the close correspondence between its capacity and the numbers of the Boule. Antiphon, writing probably *ca.* 412 B.C. (VI, 45), mentions a sanctuary of Zeus Boulaïos and Athena Boulaia in the Bouleuterion where the councillors worshipped as they entered. The altar of Zeus would seem to have been the central altar of the Bouleuterion, and of this, in all probability, the battered marble still exists (p. 151). Pausanias, in the passage quoted above, speaks also of a wooden statue of the god.³ Of the Apollo by Peisias and the Demos by Lyson, also mentioned by Pausanias, we know nothing more.⁴

For the addition of the Porch to the Bouleuterion and for the construction of the Propylon, a *terminus post quem* at the beginning of the third century has already been fixed by the archaeological evidence. Given this, one would be inclined to associate the undertaking with the enlargement of the Boule by the addition of the two new tribes of Antigonis and Demetrias in 307 B.C. and would naturally wish to keep back the date of construction as close as possible to that event. It is not known who was directly responsible for the inception of the work. Demetrios Poliorketes himself spent relatively little

¹ Schol. Aristoph., *Plut.*, 972; Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, p. 322.

² Aristoph., *Equit.*, 640 f., 675 and schol.; Xenophon, *Hell.*, II, 3, 55; Ps. Dem., XXV, 23.

³ On the sanctuary, its altar, priests and priestesses, see Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, p. 320.

A fragmentary Hellenistic decree (I 2361) which was to be set up *ἐν ἀγορῇ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμι[δ]ος βουλαίας* has been found where re-used as a cover slab of the Great Drain to the southeast of the Tholos. Presumably the altar stood near the Bouleuterion. The prytaneis sacrificed to Artemis Boulaia and to Apollo Prostater before the meetings of the assembly (*I.G.*, II², 916, 16; 917, 10 f.). Livia, the wife of Augustus, was also given the epithet Boulaia, as is stated on the inscribed base of a bronze statue dedicated to her by the Council of the Areopagus and found to the east of the Propylon of the Bouleuterion just beyond the Great Drain, where it was incorporated in a mediaeval wall (I 4012).

⁴ It has been inferred that the "Fountain in the Osiers" was close by the Bouleuterion from the references to the assassination of Phrynichos in Thucydides (VIII, 92, 2) and Lykourgos (*contra Leocratem*, 112). Thucydides reports that he was murdered at the time of full market, not far from the Bouleuterion and that the assassin escaped. According to Lykourgos, he was cut down by night near the Fountain in the Osiers and his murderers, Apollodoros and Thrasyboulos, were captured. Since the two accounts differ in every other detail, we are not justified in making the equation "by the Fountain in the Osiers" equals "not far from the Bouleuterion."

time in Athens and of that time the major portion was devoted either to preparation for wars abroad or to matters less serious than public building. Nor indeed, if one may trust Plutarch's picture of Demetrios' character, would such an undertaking have appealed to the prince. The city itself, on the other hand, in the quarter century that followed on the first coming of Demetrios and Antigonos, was so pre-occupied and its treasury was so harried by the constantly recurring hostilities that it is not likely to have undertaken such a purely ornamental piece of work within that period. The earliest probable date is perhaps *ca.* 280 B.C., when Athens was cheered by the friendly gestures of the powerful Seleukos, by the discomfiture of her enemies the Macedonians and by the recovery of her island cleruchies.¹ The fresh outbreak of troubles in 274 B.C. makes improbable a date after that year.

A date between those two *termini* is indicated, moreover, by the painting of Olbiades' picture of Kallippos, the hero of 279 B.C., seen by Pausanias. This picture, together with the "Thesmothetes" by Protogenes, was the last thing noted by the traveller as he left the Bouleuterion to visit the Tholos. From the order of his description his route is now clear. On passing the Temple of Apollo he looked into the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon for a glance at the famous image of the Mother. Without concerning himself about the archives, he took the most direct path to the Bouleuterion, *i. e.* through the second room of the Metroon. Within the building (*ἐν αὐτῷ*) he noted the statues of Zeus, Apollo and Demos. As he left the door at the southeast corner, he turned to admire the paintings on the outside of the south wall of the building and then he found himself "close to the Tholos." A moment's reflection will convince one that no part of the building save this was suitable for a monumental painting, nor could the painting have been placed there without the protection of the Porch. Such a tribute to their general would naturally have been paid by the Athenians as soon as possible after the event. It may appropriately have been tendered in 275 or 274 B.C. when the Soteria were established to commemorate the delivery of Greece from the Gauls. Athens, justifiably, took a particular interest in the celebration of the first games.²

A later date would seem to be excluded also by the participation of Protogenes the Caunian in the decoration of (undoubtedly) the same wall. Protogenes was a contemporary, though perhaps a younger contemporary of Apelles, the painter of Alexander. Already at the time of the siege of Rhodes (306–304 B.C.) he was a famous man so that he is not likely to have been executing large commissions in foreign cities after the first quarter of the following century. We may suspect, then, that the Porch was newly finished and awaiting its decoration in the years *ca.* 280–275 B.C., if indeed it was not specially designed to receive these very pictures. Such a date fits perfectly the archaeological evidence already collated, which further indicates the contemporaneity of Porch and Propylon.

¹ Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 155 ff.

² Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 f.

THE ARCHIVES

There remains the problem of precisely where records were kept in the various periods indicated by the structural remains.¹ We know that during the second half of the fifth century important documents inscribed on marble stelai or on tablets of other material were occasionally set up in the Bouleuterion.² In the fourth century, moreover, a few inscribed stelai were set up, as we gather from their preambles, in front of the Bouleuterion³ and of the Metroon.⁴ Finally, it is worth noting that again in the first century B.C. an occasional inscription, as stated in its preamble, was placed in the Bouleuterion. Among such were three honorary decrees that accompanied painted portraits of prytaneis.⁵

But only a small proportion even of public documents required to be published in stone. The great majority never got beyond the papyrus sheet but these nevertheless had to be preserved and filed so as to be available for reference. We know that such papers were deposited in the Bouleuterion itself during the third quarter of the fifth century and somewhat later.⁶ The latest document of this sort that we know to have been deposited in the Bouleuterion was the copy of the law granting *adeia* to Andokides, passed in 415 B.C. According to the orator the record was still to be seen there in 411 B.C.⁷ Subsequently the Metroon replaces the Bouleuterion as the filing place. The earliest reference to the Metroon as such is that quoted above (p. 209) in which Alcibiades appears as the hero. The

¹ For the actual procedure in the publication and recording of documents in antiquity, see the valuable essay by Wilhelm in his *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, pp. 227–299.

² *I.G.*, I², 23, 7–8 (450/49 B.C.?). 63, 22 ff. (425/4 B.C.); 76, 26 ff. (ca. 423/2 B.C.); 87, 40 ff. (*ante aetatem* a. 418 B.C.); 171 (ca. 446/5–405/4 B.C.). The law directed against anyone attempting to destroy the democracy which was passed immediately after the deposition of the Thirty was said by Andokides (I, 95) to have been set in front of the Bouleuterion; by Lykourgos (*contra Leocratem*, 124 ff.) in the Bouleuterion. The stele may have been shifted in the interval or it may have been placed in the lobby of the building, in which case either statement would be applicable.

³ *I.G.*, II², 298 (*ante* a. 336/5 B.C.); 487 (ca. 304/3 B.C.).

⁴ *I.G.*, II², 140 (353/2 B.C.). A couple of stelai bearing honorary decrees of the third century B.C. were to be set up, the one (I 3238, l. 12) *πρὸς τῷ συνεδρίῳ*, the other (I 4266) *ἐμπροσθε τοῦ συνεδρίου*. It would seem possible that the term *συνέδριον* when used thus without further definition, referred to the Bouleuterion. In Xenophon, *Hell.*, II, 4, 23, the Thirty, after their encounter with Thrasybulos, met *ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ*, i.e. apparently in the Bouleuterion for we gather that the Bouleuterion was their regular place of meeting (Lysias, XIII, 37; *οἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐκάστηντο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων, οὗ νῦν οἱ πρυτάνεις καθέζονται*). The place of finding of I 4266, a complete stele, would favor this identification,—it was re-used as a drain cover in the fifth century A.D. in the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon (see above, p. 197). I 3238, a fragmentary stone, was found in a late Roman wall in the middle of the square.

⁵ *I.G.*, II², 1048–50; 1055; 1061.

⁶ The deposit of a paper document in the Bouleuterion seems certain in the case of *I.G.*, I², 27, a proxy decree of 448 B.C. (cf. Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 236) and reasonably probable for *I.G.*, I², 65, 54 ff. (425/4 B.C.); 85, 9 ff. (*ante* a. ca. 420 B.C.). The practice of filing documents in the Bouleuterion is attested also for Delos and Minoa on Amorgos (Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 237 f.).

⁷ Andok. II, 23: *τὸ ψήφισμα δὲ Μενέππον εἰπόντος ἐψηφίσασθε, εἶναι μοι ἄδειαν, πάλιν ἀπόδοτε*. . . . *ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἐγγέγραπται ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ*. Cf. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, p. 325; Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 237. The language is not decisive for the document's having been on paper rather than on stone, but this is the natural assumption since the measure apparently affected only a single individual.

event must have occurred before 405 B.C.¹ In inscriptions and authors of the fourth and later centuries, down at least into the first century A.D., the Metroon is referred to as the regular place of deposit for all public documents: copies of decrees, of the charges laid in law suits (the charge against Socrates was on record here), building accounts, records of weights and measures, official correspondence, lists of ephebes, etc. Even the will of Epicurus, which one might have regarded as a private document, reached the Metroon. There all was tended and produced on demand by a public slave (*δημόσιος*).²

The change from the Bouleuterion to the Metroon as the depository of the archives would seem, then, to fall between 411 and 405 B.C. Such a date, it will be recalled, corresponds closely with that established on archaeological evidence for the construction of the New Bouleuterion. In those years too, Agorakritos, the pupil of Pheidias, might well have been intrusted by the city with a commission so important as the statue of the Mother. There would therefore appear to be some reason for believing that the actual transfer of the meeting place to the New Bouleuterion and the conversion of the Old Bouleuterion to cult place and archives occurred at this time.

As observed above, there is no clue to the precise interior arrangement of the Old Bouleuterion, or rather, as it must now be called, the Metroon, for the following period. We can only reiterate the supposition that when the great four-roomed building was erected in the second half of the second century B.C., the archives were transferred to the first and third rooms from the south where they might still be regarded as under the protection of the goddess in the north room.

The scheme of the building as reorganized is essentially similar to the structure that has been identified with great probability as the famous Library of Pergamon.³ In Pergamon, too, a series of three small rooms and one large rectangular room were entered through colonnaded doorways from (the upper story of) a broad porch. The ruinous state of the building has left uncertain the interior arrangement of the lesser rooms. But along the back wall and the rear parts of the side walls of the large room remain the lower foundations of a continuous pedestal. A projecting part at the middle of the back wall has been shown to be the right size to accommodate the colossal statue of Athena, a copy of the Parthenos, that was found in front of the room. It will be recalled that the Library and the Stoa in front of it immediately adjoin, indeed would seem to be included within the Sanctuary of Athena Polias Nikephoros. And yet it was deemed proper and in keeping with the tradition of libraries that a special statue of the goddess should have been placed in a still more intimate relation with the books as their guardian. One is inevitably reminded of the

¹ It may be objected that Chamaileon, the author of the story, writing in the third or fourth century B.C. could well be guilty of an anachronism in the use of terms. But the circumstantial details of the anecdote make it ring true.

² The references are conveniently assembled by Kroll in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencycl.*, XV, 1932, cols. 1489 f. On the Metroon as the archives, cf. also Wilamowitz, *Philologische Untersuchungen*, I, 205; Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, p. 326; Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 237.

³ R. Bohn, *Pergamon*, II, 1885, pp. 56 ff., pls. XXXII ff.

references quoted above which name the Mother of the Gods the protectress of the Athenian records.¹

The similarity between the Pergamene and the Athenian buildings, not only in the disposition of space, but in the provision of a statue of the goddess, is sufficiently striking to suggest some interdependence. The Library in Pergamon is attributed to Eumenes the Second (197–159 B.C.). We may then conjecture that the Athenian Metroon, for which a later date is indicated by the archaeological evidence, was modelled on the earlier building. It is tempting to suppose that some Pergamene prince had assisted the Athenians in their undertaking. The probability is strengthened by the consideration that the rebuilding of the Metroon is complementary to the construction of the great stoas along the south and east sides of the market square. With their erection, three sides of the square presented colonnaded fronts; the north side, we may suspect, was already from the fifth century, occupied by the Stoa Poikile. It is certain that the east stoa was built by Attalos II (159–138 B.C.). It is not impossible that the stoas on the south and the Hellenistic Metroon were other units of a single scheme and that they too bear witness to the beneficence of a prince.²

Yet we must not exclude the possibility that the undertaking was conceived and executed by Athens or Athenians. A date in the second half of the second century as suggested by the archaeological evidence provides favorable circumstances. Athens may well have felt some influence from eastern cults that were either introduced or that increased greatly in wealth and power on Delos after that island came under Athenian control in 166 B.C.³ The acquisition of a dominating position on the island of Delos, combined with the greater security of the period, resulted, moreover, in a marked increase in wealth, not so much of the state as of individuals. But the tolls and liturgies expected of or exacted from wealthy holders of office made the means of individuals available for public enterprises, and inscriptions of just this time record a number of reconstructions and repairs carried out on sanctuaries and public buildings.⁴

No further alteration in the general arrangement of the building is attested before the disaster of 267 A.D. The Emperor Julian, writing in 362 A.D., referred to the Metroon as the place "where the Athenians used to keep all their public documents" (*Or.*, V, p. 159). We may infer that the archives, if indeed they survived the sack, were transferred from the old building in 267 A.D. and were never replaced.⁵

¹ A series of three small rooms set against the back of a large room so as to communicate directly with it, *i.e.* an arrangement closely similar to that of the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon, appears in the Library associated with the Temple of the Deified Augustus in Rome. See C. Huelsen, *The Forum and the Palatine*, p. 40, fig. 20; Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Augustus, Divus, Templum.

² In this connection one might recall that the Pergamene dynasty showed particular interest in the worship of Kybele and established sanctuaries in her honor both in the capital and in dependent cities. See *Realencycl.*, XI, 2, 1922, col. 2266 (s.v. Kybele).

³ P. Roussel, *Délos, Colonie athénienne*, pp. 200 f., 250, 252, 271 ff.

⁴ Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 369.

⁵ Where the records were kept henceforth we do not know. M. A. Sisson, in his study of the Library of Hadrian, concluded that the building was designed not exclusively as a library, but also as a record

EAST SLOPE OF KOLONOS AGORAIOI

BENCHES

Among the earliest and most conspicuous remains on the eastern slope of Kolonos Agoraios are the surviving blocks of four long rows of stone slabs which run north and south and cover in step-like formation the lower slopes of the hill in the area behind the Sanctuary of Apollo Patroos and the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon (Figs. 36, 41 and 126). The blocks were carefully laid on the bedrock, in places set down into it for some depth. An east-west cross section shows that they are laid like broad steps, 1.55 to 1.60 m. from centre to centre, and are so arranged that the top of each row rises to the level of the bottom of the dressed (exposed) face of the row above. The configuration of the rock surface above and below the preserved blocks makes it improbable that there ever existed more than these four rows. Toward the south the end of the uppermost row is preserved, falling about 4 m. short of the northwest corner of the Old Bouleuterion. The end of the worked bedding for the second row may be detected almost directly behind the corner of that building. The rock cutting done by the Hellenistic builders of the Metroon has obliterated all trace of the lower two rows in their southern part. Toward the north the two middle rows can be followed by their beddings at least as far as the line of the south foundation of the Stoa of Zeus. Farther north the cutting away of the hillside in later times has removed all trace of the benches did they ever exist there. Much of the lowest row must have been broken away when the foot of Kolonos was cut down by the builders of the Stoa. Presumably at the time when the blocks were laid the ground level sloped down gently to the eastward from the face of the lowest row. Its approximate level farther east is given by the top of the polygonal foundation for the north wall of the Temple of the Mother.¹

These stone benches were undoubtedly intended to serve a variety of purposes. Kolonos Agoraios in this part is a mass of soft and friable sedimentary rock, in places no more than partially solidified clay. Where otherwise unprotected the sloping surface has suffered and still suffers from natural erosion. In the area covered by them, however, the stone benches have effectively retarded this destructive process. But the careful jointing and the well

office for the Province of Achaia and that it continued to serve the second purpose until the beginning of the fourth century (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, XI, 1929, pp. 64 ff.). If this duality of purpose could be proven, the Library might be supposed to have housed the Athenian records as well after 267 A.D. But the evidence is far from conclusive. See P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, pp. 241 ff.

¹ The material of the benches is a soft gray poros which has suffered much from weathering even since it was exposed in the '90s of the last century. Its individual blocks are of random length, varying from 0.965 to 2.275 m. In width they are more uniform, most of them measuring 0.59 m. with a range from 0.56 to 0.74 m. In thickness they range from 0.33 to 0.50 m. Their faces are smooth dressed to a depth of 0.25 to 0.30 m. from the top, i.e. as noted above, to the ground level in front of them. All were carefully jointed, the joint surfaces when exposed showing a well worked band of anathyrosis 0.06 to 0.08 m. wide across the top and down both sides.

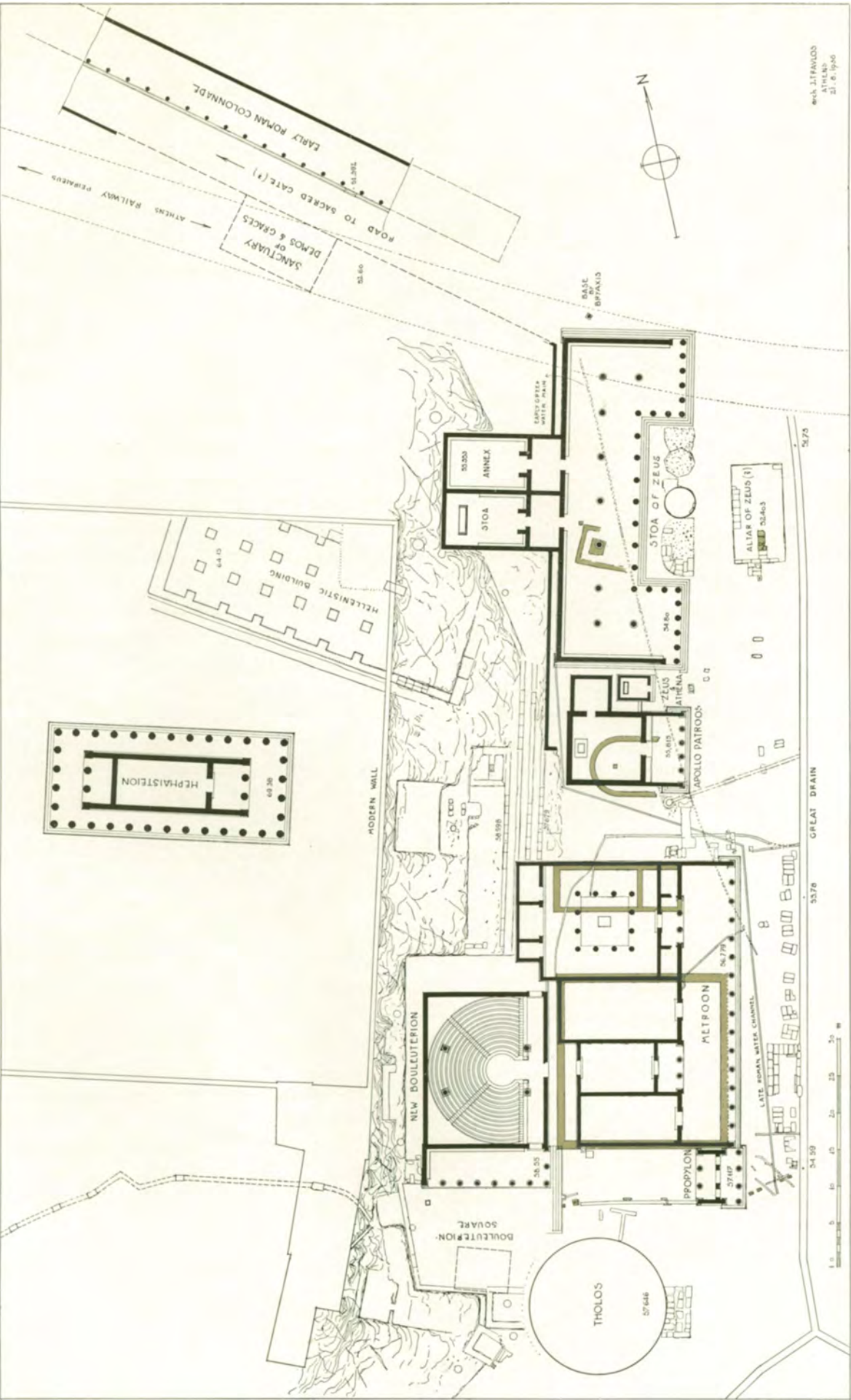


Fig. 126. The West Side of the Agora, Restored Plan

finished faces suggest that their builders had some further purpose in mind. The blocks are of the right height and width to provide comfortable seats. In early times, before the buildings in front of them were constructed, they commanded a splendid view across the market square. From them, we may imagine, the councillors looked down on the Pan-athenaic procession as it made its way through the square. It is possible that the benches were intended furthermore to facilitate the ascent from the market place to the top of Kolonos and the region of the Hephaisteion. But that they were intended primarily as steps is impossible: for this purpose a more durable stone would have been chosen. The fact that they did not continue higher up the slope and the irregularities in bedrock above are additional and obvious arguments against their exclusive use as steps.

The benches must clearly antedate the Hellenistic Metroon, the fourth century Temple of Apollo and the Stoa of Zeus, for these buildings both disturbed the benches and obscured the view from them. The builders of the New Bouleuterion in cutting their north scarp would seem deliberately to have respected their south ends and we have already observed that the northeast entrance to that building provided ready communication between it and the benches. The fact that the benches carry across unbroken behind the site of the Temple of the Mother indicates that the Temple was no longer standing when they were laid. It is equally clear that the southern limit of the benches was fixed by the northwest corner of the Old Bouleuterion. A glance at the general plan (Pl. VI) will show, however, that they differ in orientation from that building by several degrees. And Fig. 126 shows that they line more closely, almost exactly, in fact, with the east front of the Hephaisteion. So far as one can make out from their present state of preservation, they may well have been placed symmetrically in the north-south line with respect to the front of that building. It is tempting to suppose that the benches were set shortly after the temple was built or laid out and that they were placed in definite relation to it.

The pottery from the undisturbed filling behind the benches runs down through the second quarter of the fifth century, making them at least equally late. Their material and workmanship would agree well with a date not far removed from the middle of the century.

Back of the topmost bench the rock had at some time been cut down in an irregular fashion a width of some 4.50 m. from east to west and 28 m. from north to south so that the floor of the cutting lay slightly higher than the top of that bench and was bounded on the west by a scarp as much as 1.50 m. high. Neither the date nor the purpose of this cutting is apparent.

The north end of the cutting, however, shows special beddings for the reception of a monument that required a massive foundation measuring 5.10 m. from north to south, possibly as much as 5.50 m. from east to west. Of this foundation but a single block remains in position: of soft gray poros, 0.70 m. wide, 0.45 m. high and 1.20 m. long, though broken away at one end. The nature of the monument is not clear nor is it certain whether it faced east or west. The material of the surviving block and the quality of the workmanship on it and in the cuttings would permit a date in the fifth or fourth century B.C.

STAIRWAY

At some later date a mass of earth filling was thrown into the large cutting behind the topmost bench to support a foundation of which several blocks remain in position.¹ At the same time a considerable area of the rock surface farther up and to the west was dressed obviously to receive the continuation of that same structure. The dressed surface has a north-south width of 10.50 m. and appears to be centred precisely on the axis of the passage-way between the fourth-century Temple of Apollo and the Hellenistic Metroon. It may be traced westward to a line 15 m. back of the topmost bench. The surviving blocks appear to be all re-used, of conglomerate and poros, bedded partly on the rock, partly on earth filling, the interstices between them being packed with small stones. A cross section shows clearly that they fell into four north-south rows placed in step-like sequence.

We may restore on this basis a monumental stairway leading from the market square to the top of Kolonos and the temenos of Hephaistos. This would presuppose a very considerable mass of earth filling between the Temple of Apollo and the Metroon and above the old poros benches. Though little or nothing of such a filling remained in the area as it was found at the beginning of the current excavations, yet its original existence is suggested both by the rough finish on the outside of the surviving orthostate in the north wall of the Hellenistic Metroon and from the fact that in just this area the poros benches have suffered least from wear and the zeal of late stone seekers. Had not the hypothetical earth filling shielded them, these blocks would have been in a most vulnerable position. Beyond the remains thus far described, there is little evidence to assist in the restoration which may be best left to the imagination. One may picture the stairway, about 10 m. in width, ascending in short flights of marble steps separated by broad landings. From the working of the steps many chips of marble, both Pentelic and Hymettian, remain among the surviving foundation blocks.

A broad horizontal passage would seem to have led from the south side of the monumental stairway to the lesser flight of steps that passed down over the north scarp of the New Bouleuterion on the axis of that building. Of this there remain only the few blocks on the shoulder of the scarp which have already been discussed in connection with the Bouleuterion (p. 168).

For the dating of the great stairway a *terminus post quem* is given by a few scraps of Arretine ware and other fabrics of about the Augustan period found in the earth packing beneath its surviving blocks. Greater precision is made possible by a well cut down in the bedrock within the area of the stairway. The character of the lettering on the curbing tiles of the well and the fact that much broken sculpture had been used as packing behind the curbing suggest that the well was dug shortly after the Sullan sack of 86 B.C. It continued

¹ A short length of rudely built polygonal wall just to the south of the foundation blocks has probably no significant connection with them. It seems to be earlier and to have been covered over by the later structure. Two meters farther south is another length of wall with a slightly different orientation, built of re-used conglomerate blocks bedded in lime mortar. Its relation to the monument in question is not clear.

in use but a limited time, for, from the Arretine vases and lamps found in the filling, one may conclude that it was filled up well on in the first half of the first century A.D. The obvious occasion for its abandonment is the construction of the great stairway, which may accordingly be placed about that time. And one may, therefore, compare the Agora stairway with that which led up to the Propylaea, built perhaps in the time of Claudius¹ and the principal approach to the assembly place on the Pnyx as rebuilt in the second century A.D., probably by Hadrian.²

SUMMARY

Among the monumental buildings of the area, the Bouleuterion would seem to have a good claim to the greatest antiquity. Evidence has been presented for pushing well back into the seventh century its earliest period, a large building the precise plan of which still remains obscure. This primitive Council House was altered toward the middle of the sixth century, though again we are ignorant of details. In this time, too, may well fall the establishment of the worship of Zeus in the area that was later to be overlaid by his Stoa; perhaps also the construction of the first, the apsidal Temple of Apollo. Apart from these activities, the first three quarters of the sixth century are void of building in this part of the city. Solon and the elder Peisistratos were apparently too deeply engrossed in establishing the economic stability of the country to concern themselves with its appurtenances. The younger members of the tyrant's family had at their disposal the accumulation of a generation of peaceful prosperity and they were doubtless spurred also by emulation of their fellow tyrants and the older cities of Ionia to initiate a program for the development of her public square on a scale worthy of their city. To them we may attribute with certainty the nine-spouted fountain house, the Great Drain, the Altar of the Twelve Gods. It is not impossible that they were responsible as well for the design of the Old Bouleuterion. But since the archaeological evidence pushes the date of the building very close to the end of the century, we have preferred to associate it with the reforms of Kleisthenes. The little Temple of the Mother to the north of the Bouleuterion must closely follow its neighbor. The temple is the earliest tangible evidence for the worship of the goddess on the spot. The Old Bouleuterion, facing south, calls for a contemporary Tholos. And a sixth-century Tholos may well evolve with further exploration.

The ashes of the Persian sack lay thick in the north part of the area. The three sanctuaries of the west side, of Zeus, Apollo and the Mother were undoubtedly destroyed; that of the Twelve Gods probably suffered as well. The ruined buildings were left as memorials of the disaster and the city, overjoyed at having gotten rid of the foe even at such a cost, set up statues to Apollo, the Warder off of Evil, and to Zeus, the Saviour. What damage the Bouleuterion suffered at this time we cannot say. It did, in any case, continue in use.

¹ Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 215.

² *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 174 ff.

For long after 479 the market square must have presented a sadly desolate appearance. Nor was its dignity or beauty enhanced by the intrusion of petty workshops of potters and of smiths in and about the ruinous sanctuary of Zeus. But the industry of these craftsmen doubtless contributed largely to the recovery of prosperity. In honor of their patron deities, Hephaistos and Athena, the magnificent marble temple on the hilltop was begun sometime shortly after the middle of the century. About at the same time the councillors were provided with seats on the hill slope below the new temple from whence they might watch the processions pass through the square. With the growing press of administrative duties the Archon Basileus required roomier accommodation. He was handsomely provided for in the new Stoa that was to bear his name, a building designed probably in the late '30s, completed certainly by 409/8 B.C. The Stoa was erected in the closest available area in the vicinity of the administrative centre, *i.e.* the Bouleuterion and archives. Zeus Eleutherios, on whose sanctuary the new building intruded, must have been more than placated by having his statue set off to such advantage as perhaps none other in the market square and by having his name also attached to the Stoa. Now too the Boule felt the need of a more modern council house and before the end of the century they were meeting in a New Bouleuterion set close against the Old. The old building was now given over to the state archives, and the Mother of the Gods, represented by a statue, the work of Agorakritos, or perhaps of his master, was placed in the building as guardian of the records.

A long gap in building activity followed the War. Around 360 B.C. the city was able at last to have the walls of the Stoa painted, and that by a leading artist of the day, Euphranor. About the same time, or a few years later, Zeus Phratrios and Athena PhratRIA were honored with a tiny temple set at the northern edge of the Sanctuary of Apollo. And within the next quarter of a century, thanks no doubt to the economical administration of Lykourgos, it was found possible to house Apollo himself, his old statue by Kalamis and a new one by Euphranor, in a worthy temple.

A porch along the south side of the New Bouleuterion, intended no doubt to shelter some new paintings, and an ornamental Propylon to the same building are among the very few examples of monumental building in Athens, attributable to the war-torn third century.

In the following century, reviving prosperity and the assistance of foreign princes permitted of the reorganization and modernization of the market square. It was undoubtedly as part of this program that the archives and the sanctuary of the Mother were provided with a new building which presented a colonnaded front to the square; this in the second half of the century. To the same time, conceivably, may be attributed the porch of the Temple of Zeus and Athena.

Early on the morning of March 1, 86 B.C., Sulla's forces broke through the city wall just to the west of the Agora, and the soldiers, infuriated by the long resistance, spared neither the citizens nor their monuments. Whether anything more than statues suffered in our particular region we cannot yet say with certainty. But we do know that for generations after that day masses of shattered sculpture and blocks from ruined buildings were available for re-use in new construction.

At about the same time, fortunately, cultured Romans began to take an active interest in the welfare of the city. We know of benefactions made by Cicero's friend Atticus, by Pompey, Caesar and Augustus. It may be that we should attribute to some lesser benefactors of the same race such undertakings of the first century A.D. as the Stoa Annex, the monumental stairway on Kolonos, the screen wall around the Bouleuterion Square. And some of the large bases datable to that time may well have carried honorary statues, the gratitude of the city. Hadrian, too, in return for his many gifts to Athens was given a place beside Zeus Eleutherios and a few years later Antoninus joined the group of "Saviours."

We know nothing more of the history of our buildings until the year 267 A.D. when a swift moving band of Germanic barbarians captured and sacked the city. It seems certain that all the buildings of the west side were damaged at the time and shortly afterward much of their material was carried off for the construction of the new defences to the east. For a century and more thereafter the old market place was occupied only by the miserable hovels of refugees who have left no monument but their broken dinner plates and clay lamps and bronze coins. Early in the fifth century the Bouleuterion and the Metroon were partially rehabilitated (though they probably no longer served their old uses) and shared the brief afterglow of the Athenian Agora. But as early, probably, as the sixth century, darkness settled again and reigned almost complete for 400 years. From the tenth through the twelfth centuries a new suburb grew up and flourished around the north foot of Kolonos and along the north edge of the old square. But by this time our buildings lay deep beneath the protecting soil.

HOMER A. THOMPSON

ADDENDUM
ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE STOA OF ZEUS

While the above was in the press, there appeared Dr. Otto Walter's "Zeus und Königshalle der Athener Agora" in *Jahreshefte*, XXX, 1936, cols. 95–100, in which the independence of the two stoas is maintained. Dr. Walter argues that the passage of Pausanias quoted above (p. 64) is split in two by the expression *στοὰ δὲ ὑπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται* which, according to Pausanias' usage, should introduce a new building. It should, however, be borne in mind that the entire passage, both in its content and order, is such as Pausanias might be reasonably expected to apply to a single prominent building: a brief indication of the name and purpose of the building, followed by mention of striking statuary on its roof (or in its pediments), enumeration of remarkable monuments immediately in front, and finally by a description of the more noteworthy features of the interior, paintings or sculpture (cf. *inter alia*, Pausanias' description of the Propylaia, I, 22, 4 ff.; of the Sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmos, I, 1, 7 ff.). The colorless character of the verb *ᾠκοδόμηται* is well illustrated elsewhere by its use in Pausanias' account of the Sanctuary of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes (IX, 10, 2 ff.). After mention of the name, of the hill which the sanctuary occupied, of the river which flowed by and of the statues by the entrance, the temple itself is introduced: *μετὰ (i. e. after the statues) ὁ ναὸς ᾠκοδόμηται*. Then follows an account of the sculpture within the temple.

As a conclusive argument in favor of the duality of the stoas, Dr. Walter adduces Pausanias' reference to the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in his mention, at Delphi, of the shield of Kydias (X, 21, 5 f.). But the account of the shield, together with the long digression on the Gauls in which it is imbedded, was clearly taken by Pausanias from a literary source. Pausanias himself had not seen the shields (which were removed by Sulla) and consequently he cannot here be regarded as a primary source. Nor can the passage be placed in the same category as its author's specific cross references in later books to Athenian buildings such as the Odeion of Herodes (VII, 20, 6) and the Bouleuterion (X, 19, 5). And certainly it cannot compensate for the periegetes' failure to name the "second" stoa on his first mention of the building.

A further argument against the combination of the two stoas is held to be a discrepancy in the data bearing on their chronology. The Stoa Basileios is arbitrarily assigned to the early fifth or possibly the sixth century on the sole evidence of the terracotta akroteria, known to Dr. Walter only from Pausanias' reference. The stoa whose remains have been described above is identified by Dr. Walter with the Stoa of Zeus and is dated by him on the evidence of the cornice and of the marble akroteria to a time shortly before 400 B.C.¹

¹ This dating is supported by supposing that the battle scene represented the earlier Battle of Mantinea (418 B.C.) rather than the engagement of 362 B.C. But attention is called to Pausanias' reference to Epaminondas and Xenophon's son Gryllos in the painting. And we should be given the reasons for placing Euphranor's *floruit* "around the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries," i.e. a generation earlier than the date suggested by the evidence indicated on p. 103 above.

Now that the terracotta akroteria may be dated on the more tangible evidence of fabric and style the exponent of the "separatist" theory may well be embarrassed by the close chronological agreement between them and the stoa already discovered (cf. above, p. 73).

Dr. Walter rightly insists that Pausanias' *ἄνισθεν* should be taken in reference to the statues just described. The implications of this interpretation for the identification of our building have been pointed out above (pp. 68-70).

In choosing the site for a separate Stoa Basileios, Dr. Walter notes two possibilities: either the building lay in a north-south line to the north of our Stoa, or else it had an east-west orientation and presented only a short end to the market square, its long front presumably facing on the road from the Dipylon. Dr. Walter rightly ruled out the first alternative because the remoteness from the Hephaisteion which it implied for the Stoa rendered Pausanias' second reference unintelligible. He failed to observe, however, that the second alternative is equally in conflict with the whole order of Pausanias' description. After passing through the Dipylon, the traveller described three clearly separate groups of buildings and monuments: first, those in the immediate vicinity of the Gate, second, those bordering the road from the Gate to the Kerameikos, and, third, those belonging to the Kerameikos, *i.e.* the market square proper. From Pausanias' account it is obvious that the Stoa Basileios fell definitely in the third group which must surely mean that it presented its main front (in the case of a stoa one of its long sides) to the square rather than the road.

Dr. Walter's closing comment deals with Aristophanes' reference (*Eccl.* 684 ff.) to a second stoa alongside the Stoa Basileios. Walter would see in the poet's *theta* a reference to the Thesmothetion to be associated, conceivably, with the Metroon, Bouleuterion and Sanctuary of Apollo Patroos. But it is now clear that at the time of the Ekklesiastousai no colonnade existed in connection with those buildings and that sanctuary.

Hence, while admitting that an element of uncertainty must persist so long as the area to the north of our Stoa remains unexcavated, I can only reiterate my impression that the balance of the combined literary and archaeological evidence would seem to favor the identity of the Stoa.

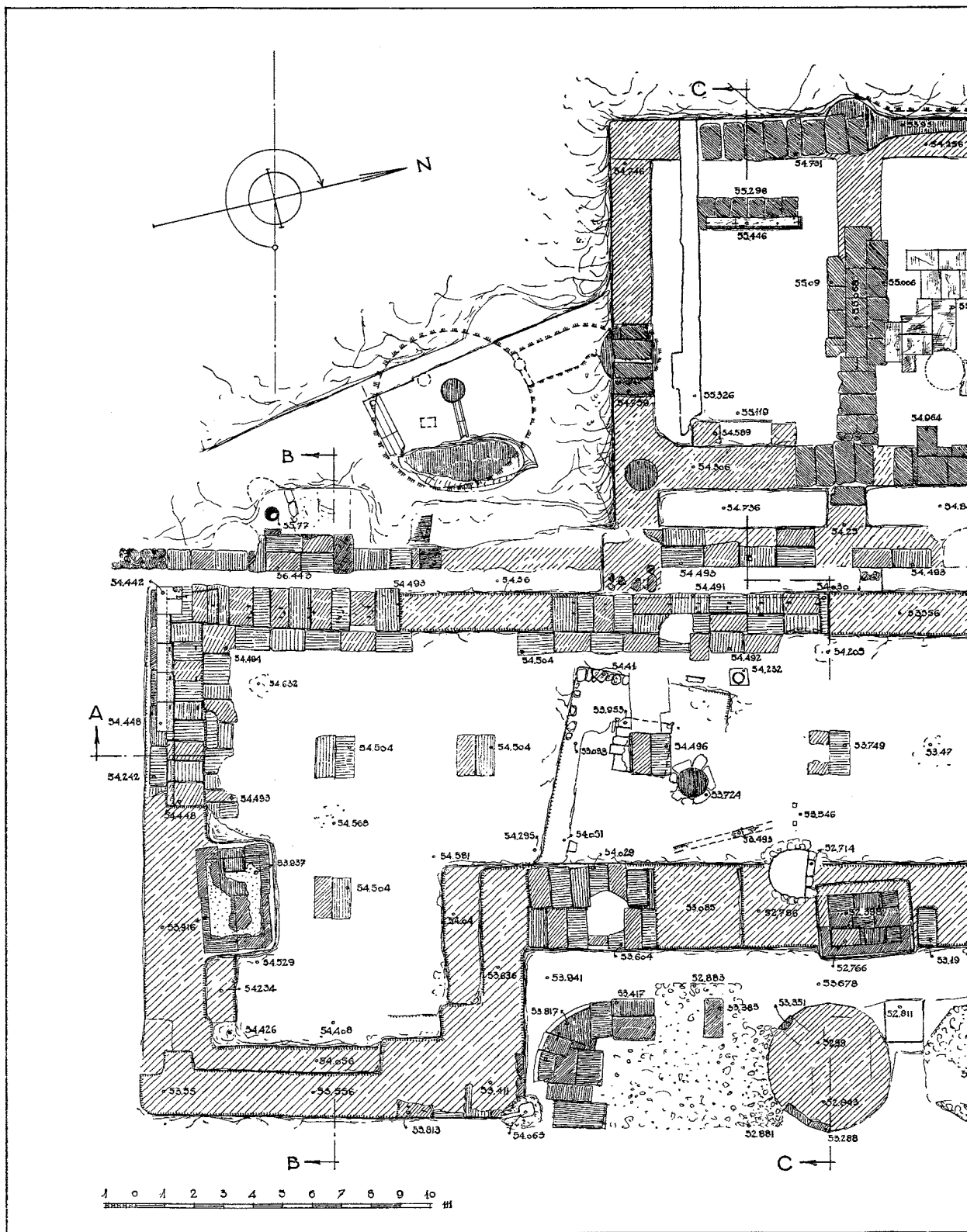
Communications bearing on the material presented here and likely to be of service in the preparation of the final publication will be welcomed by the undersigned. They may be addressed to him between January and August at

The American School of Classical Studies, Athens;

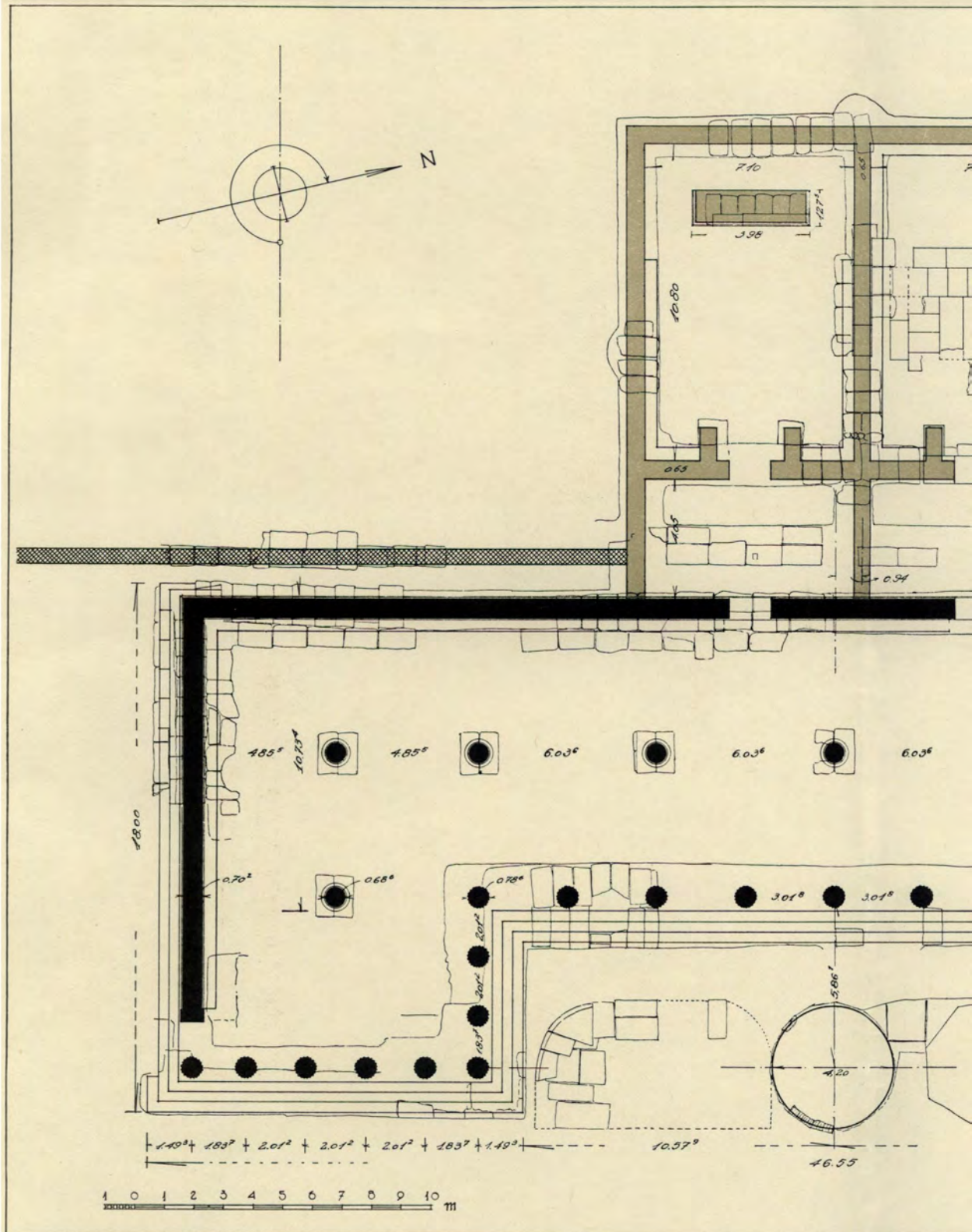
between September and December at

The University of Toronto, Toronto 5, Canada.

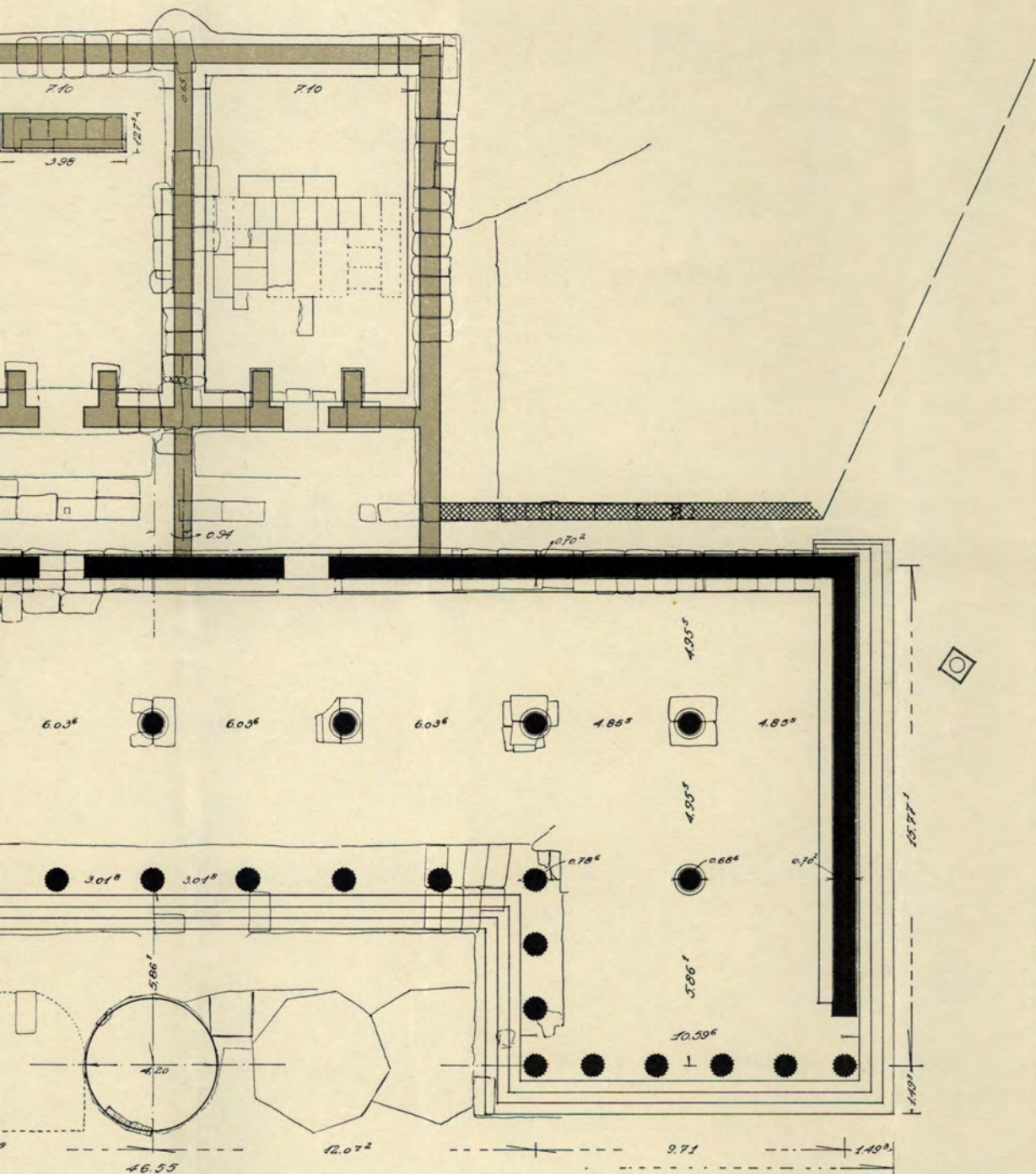
HOMER A. THOMPSON



Stoa of Zeus. Actual State



Stoa of Zeus. Restored Plan

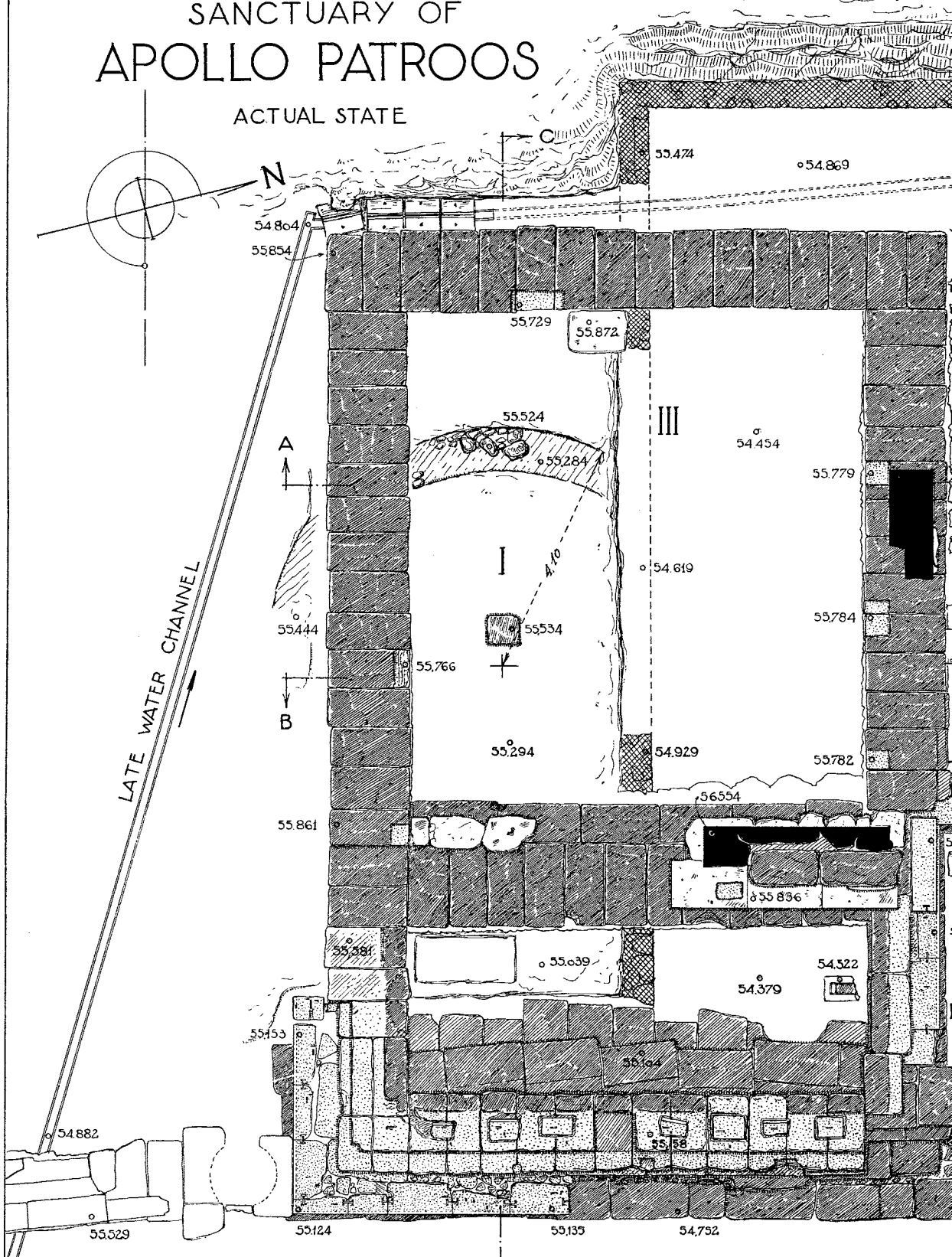


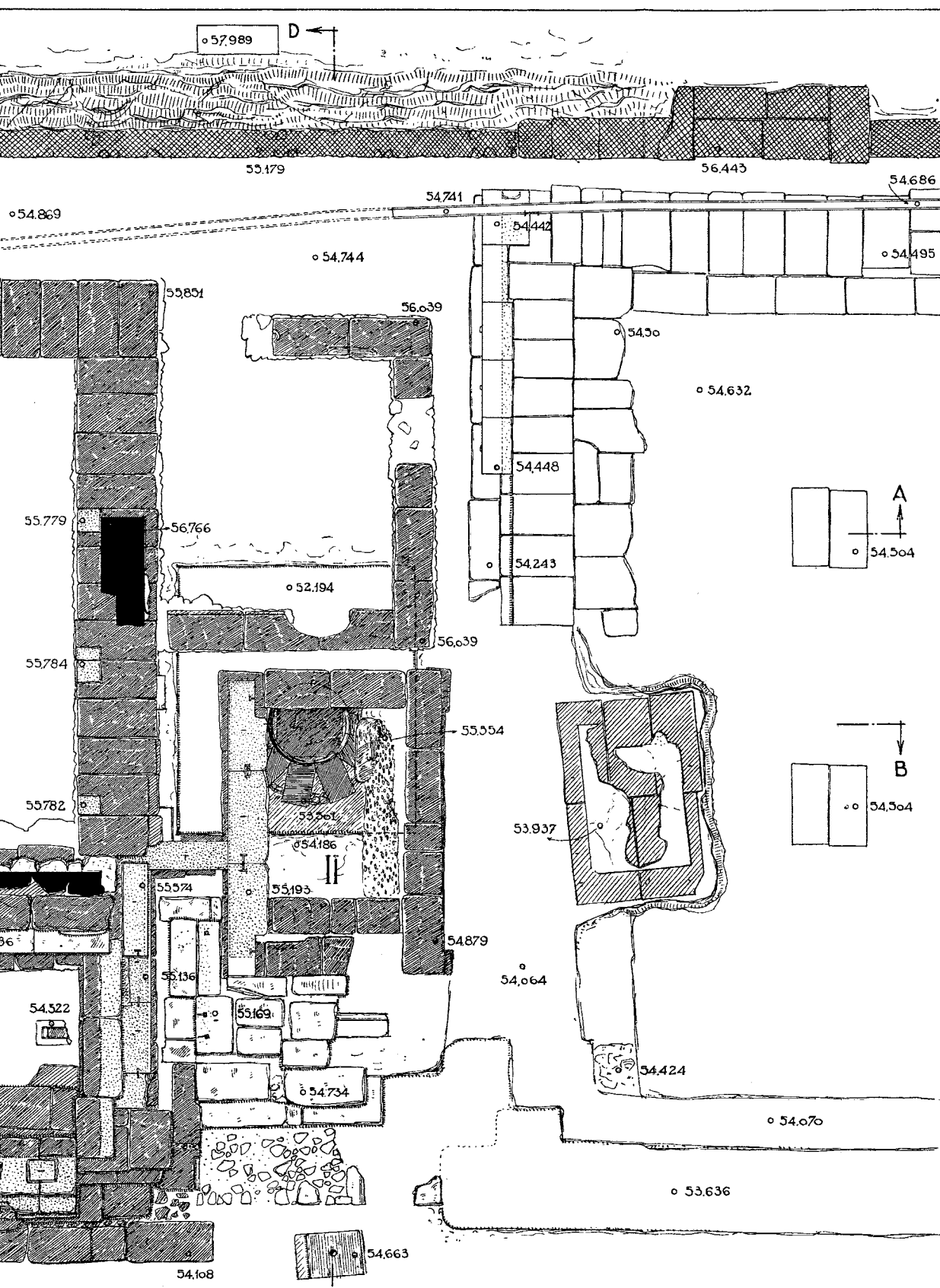
J. TRAVLOS
1926

Stoa of Zeus. Restored Plan

SANCTUARY OF APOLLO PATROOS

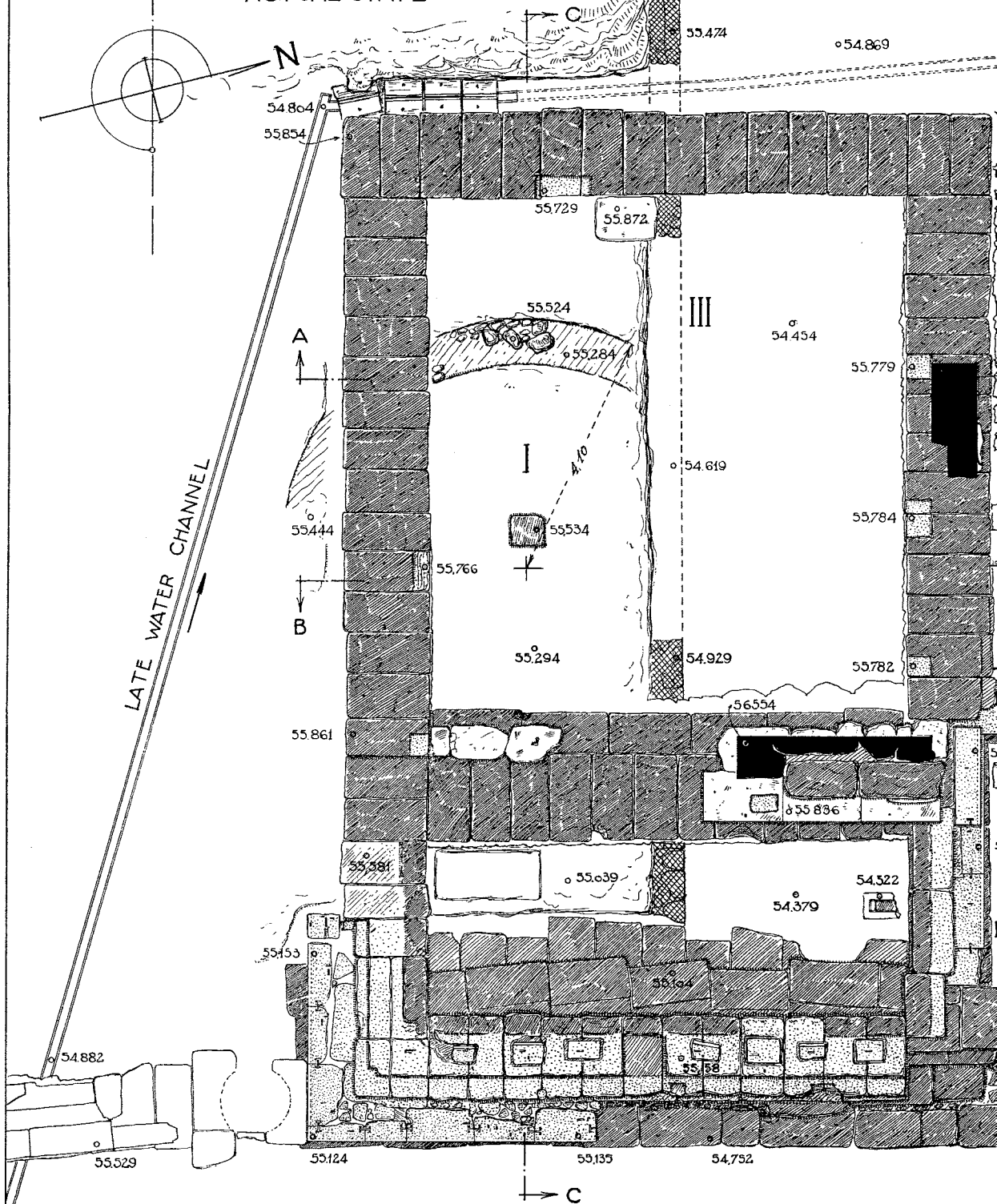
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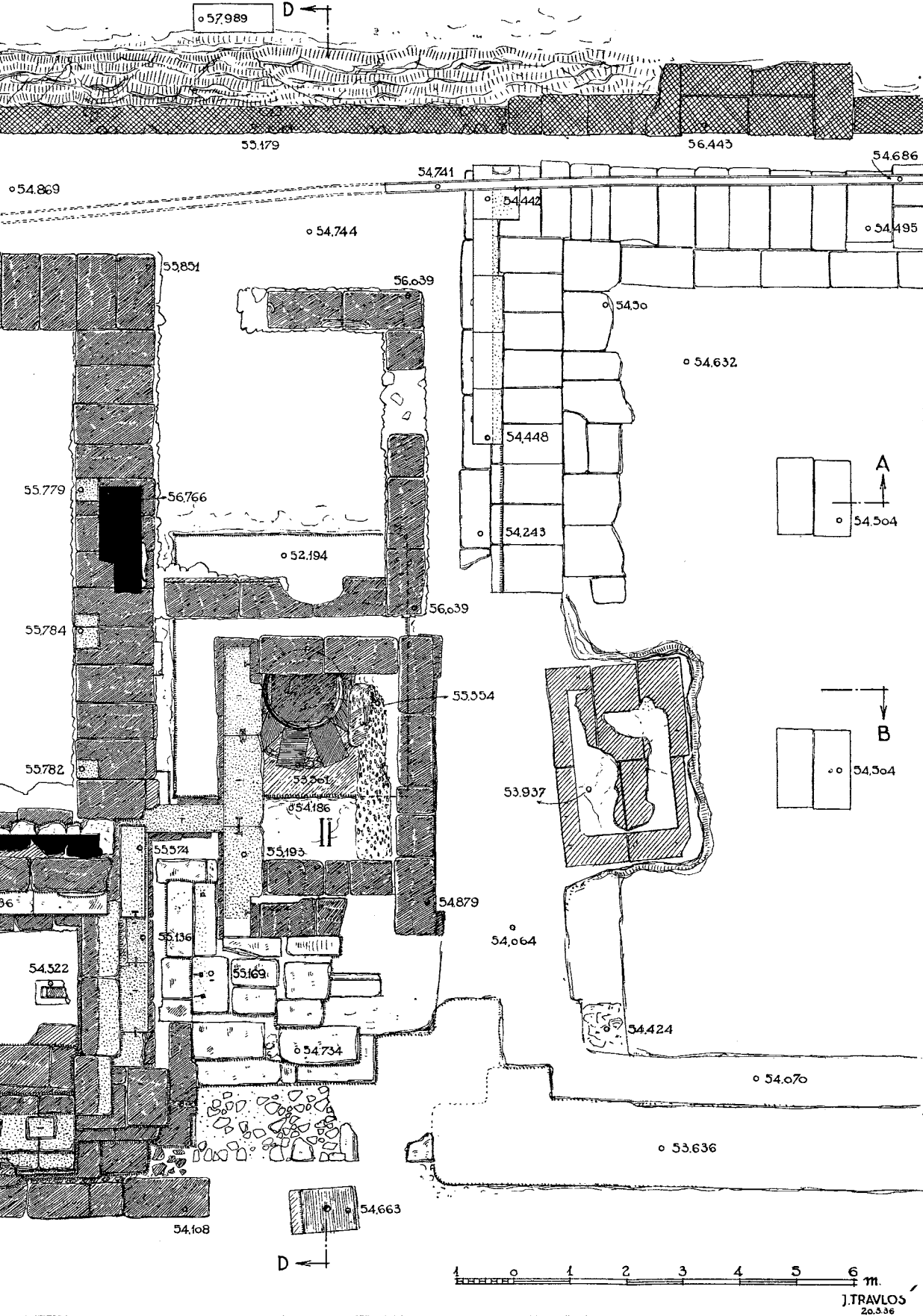


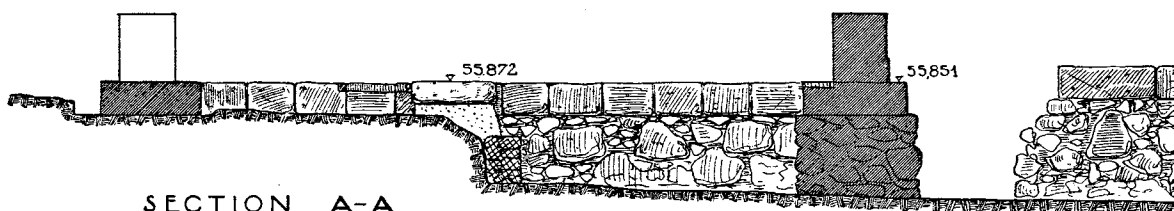


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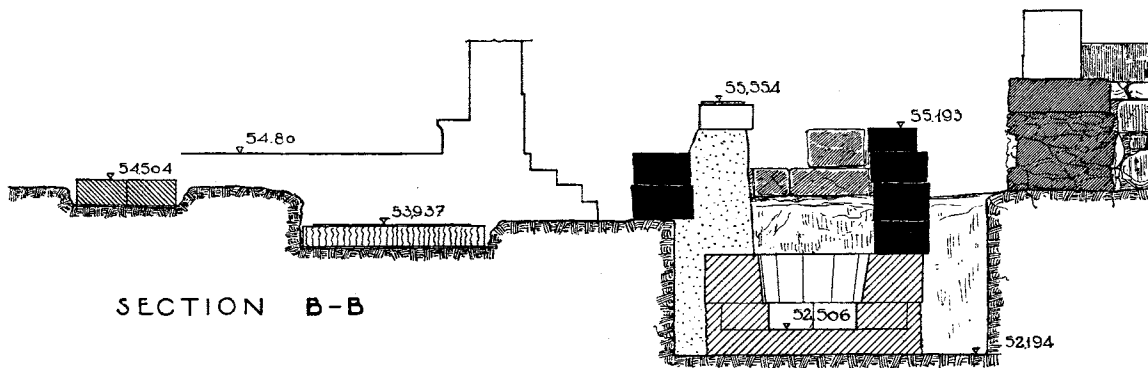
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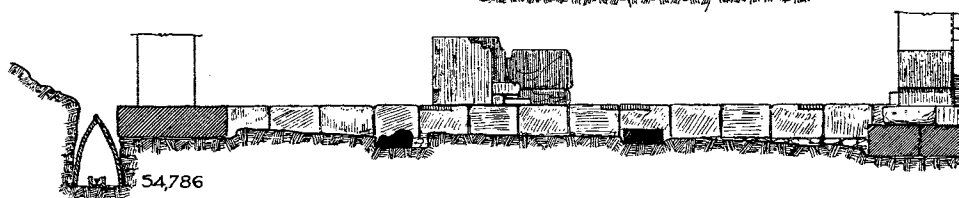




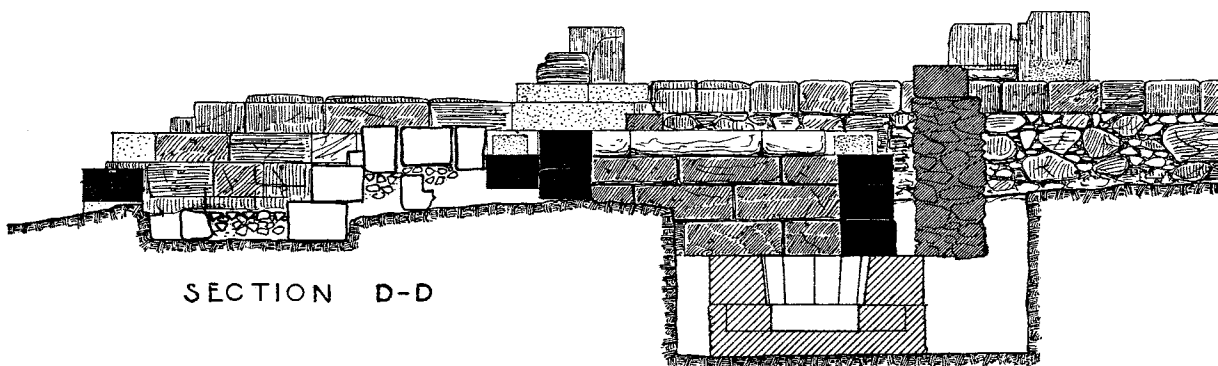
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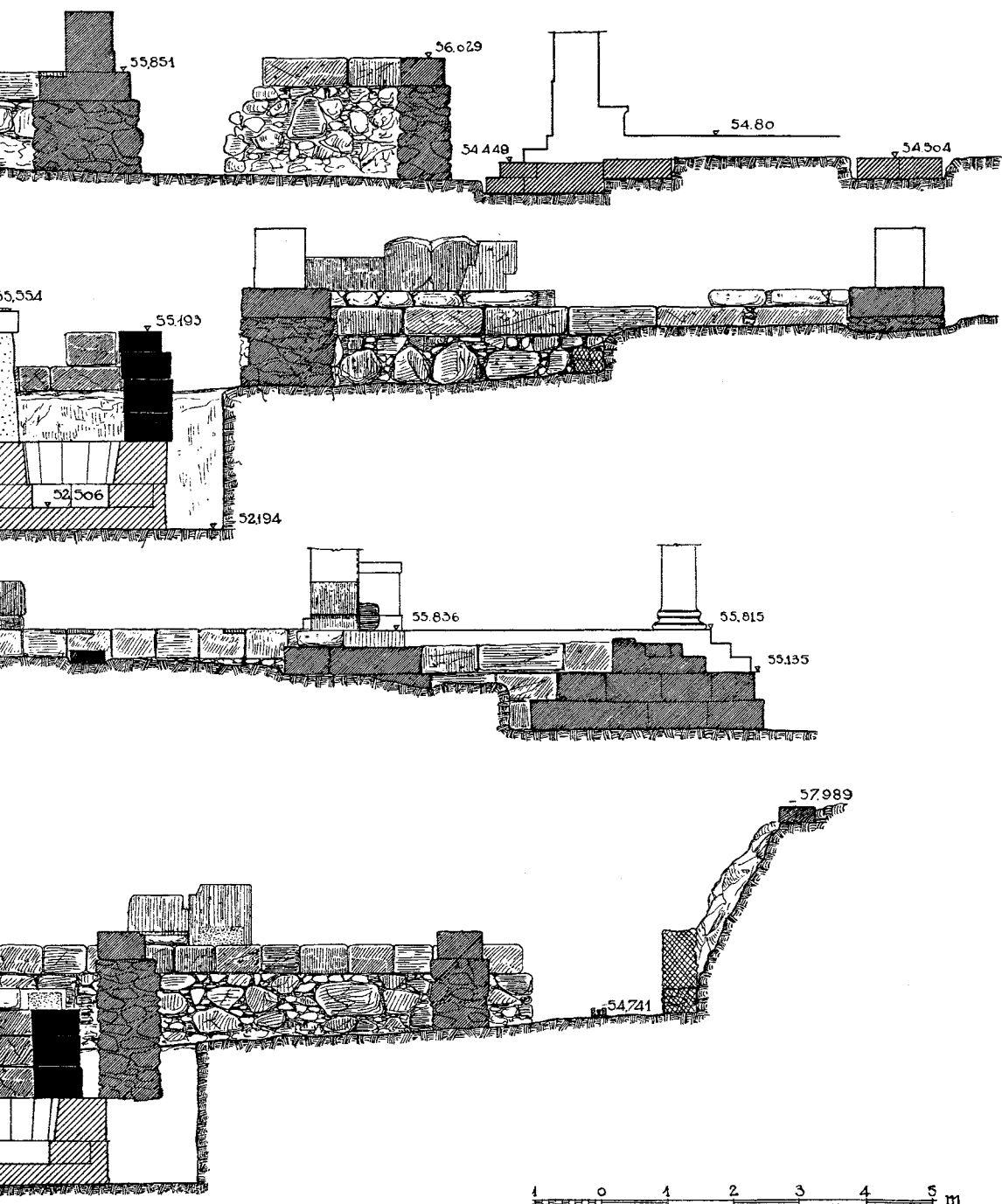
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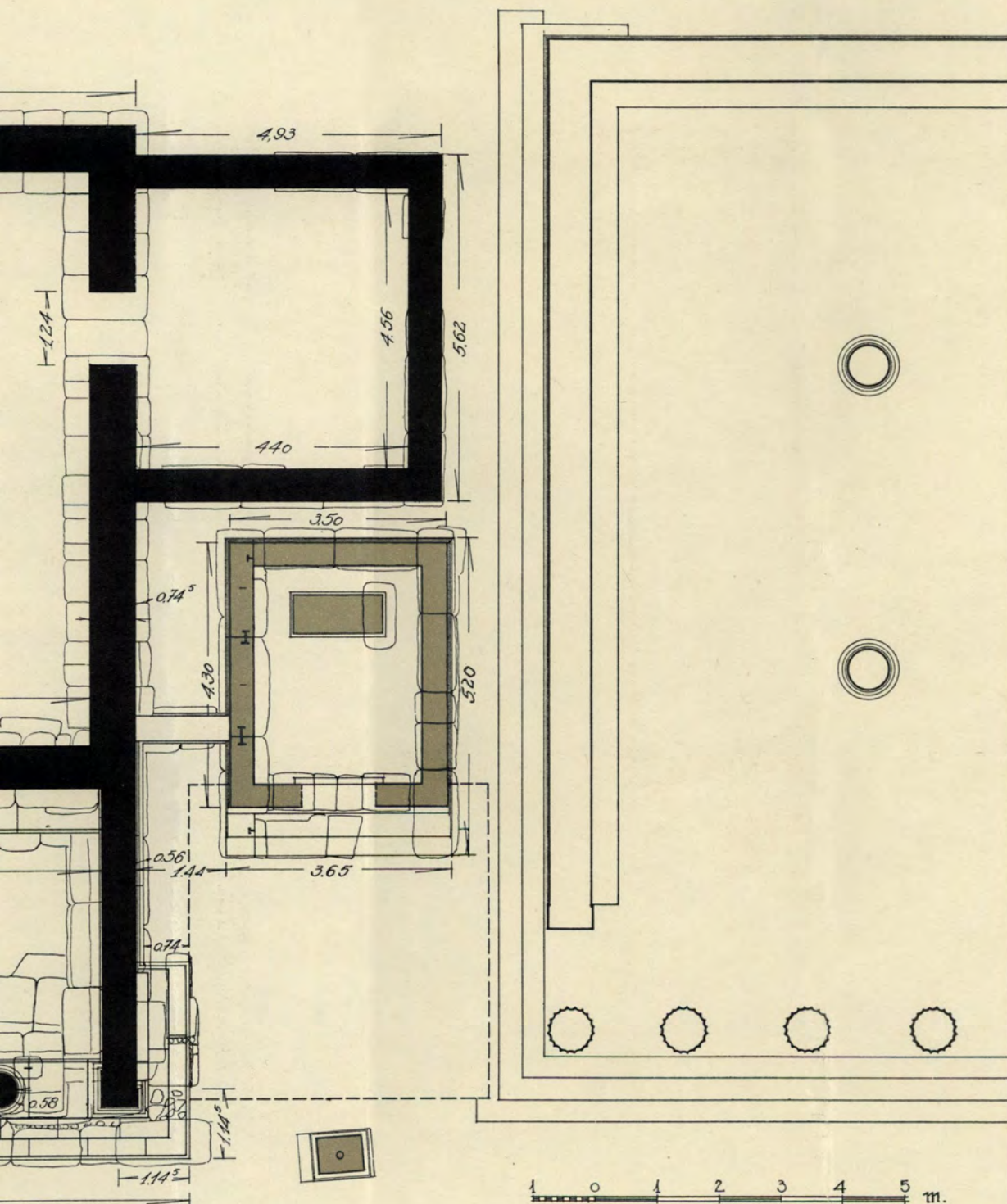


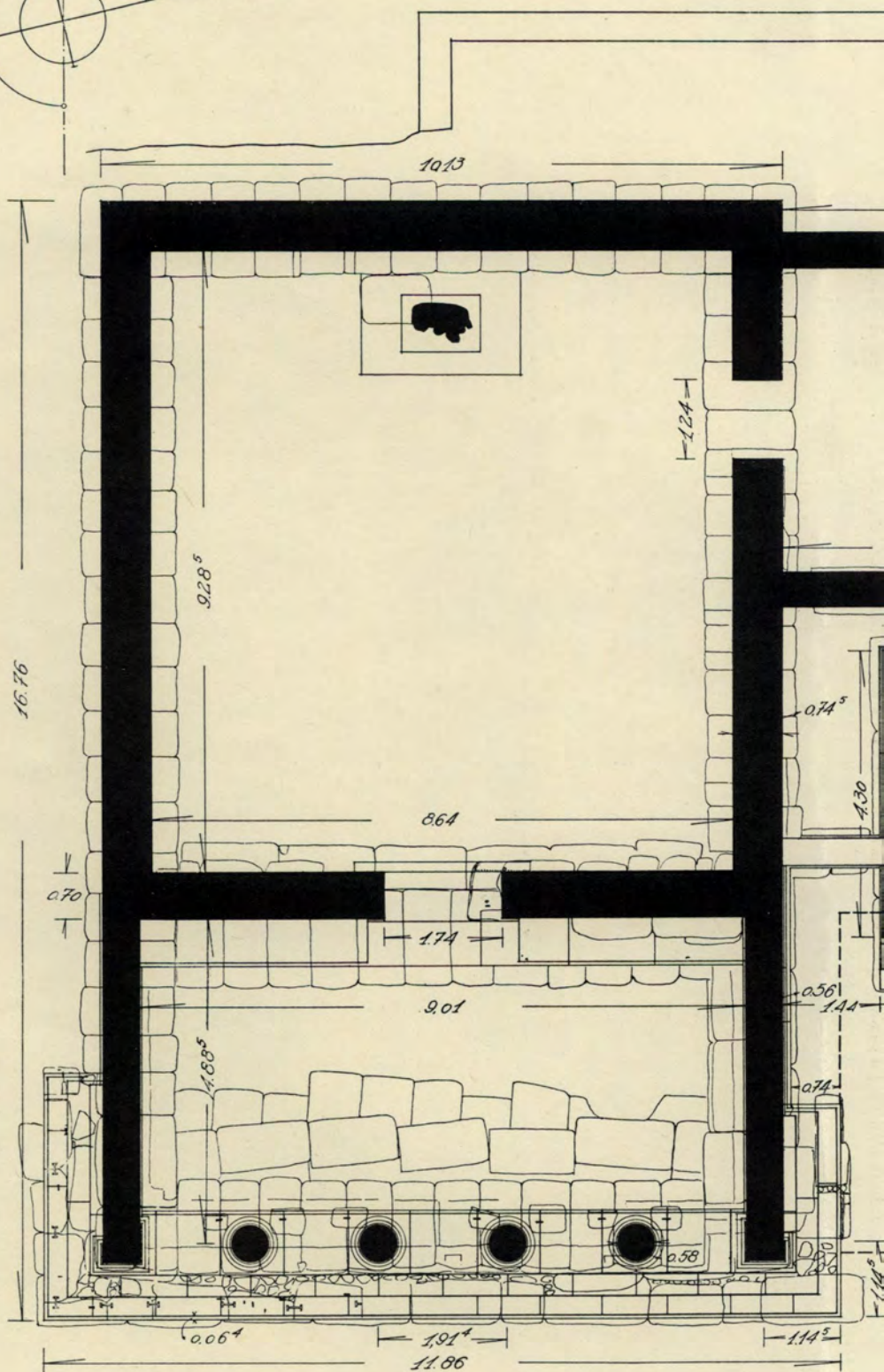
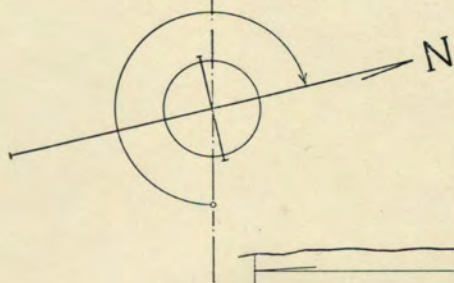
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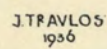
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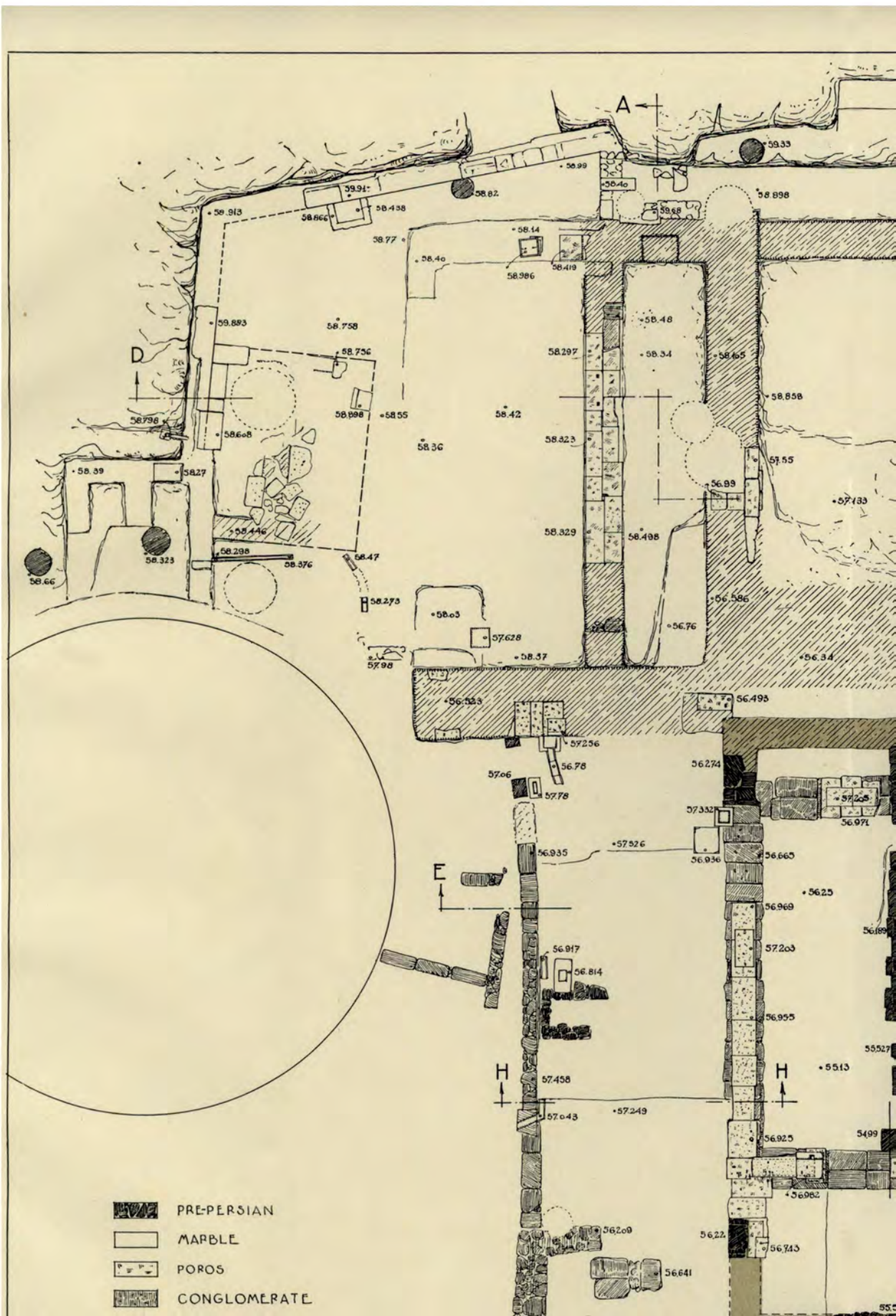








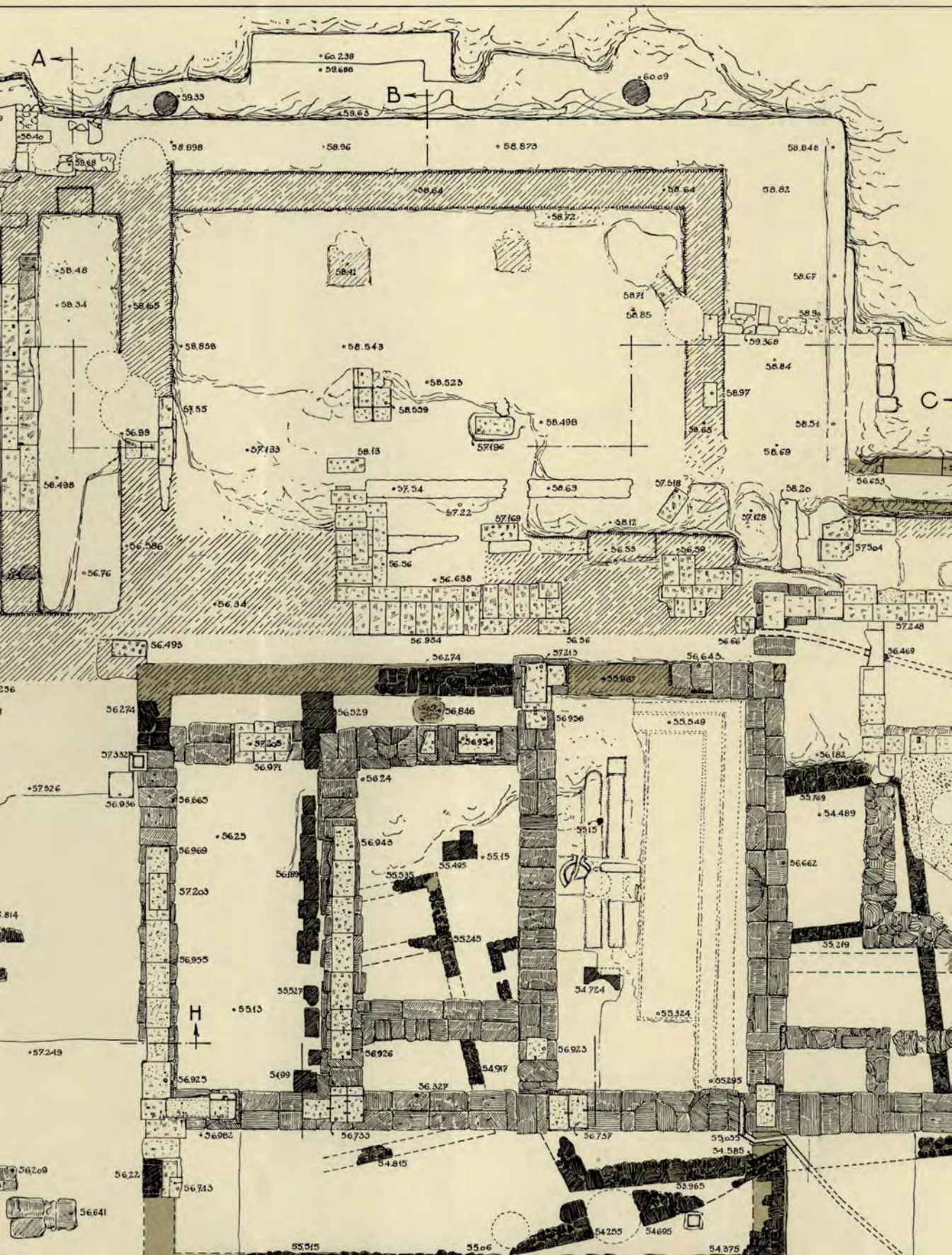


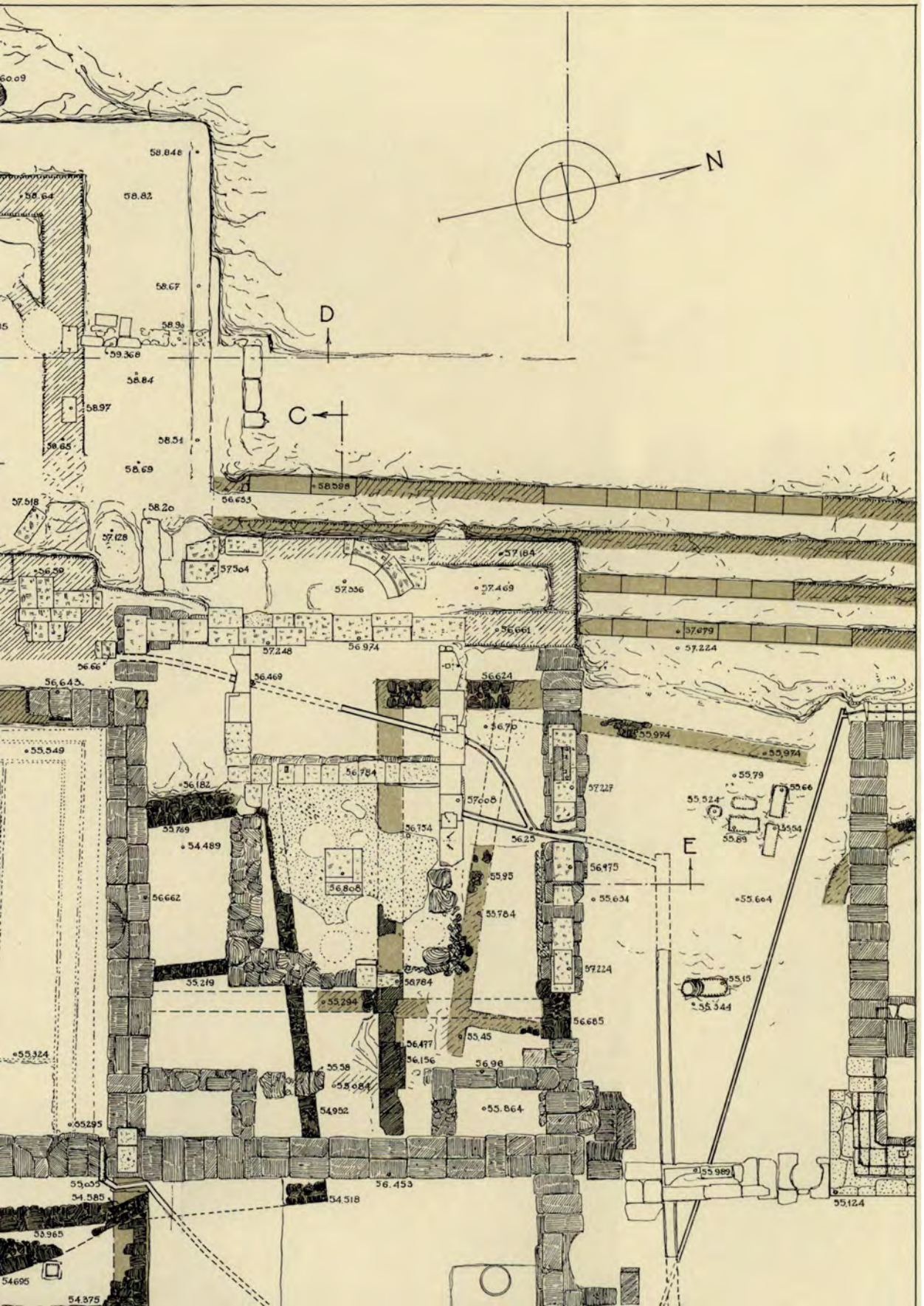
Temples of Apollo Patroos, Zeus and Ath



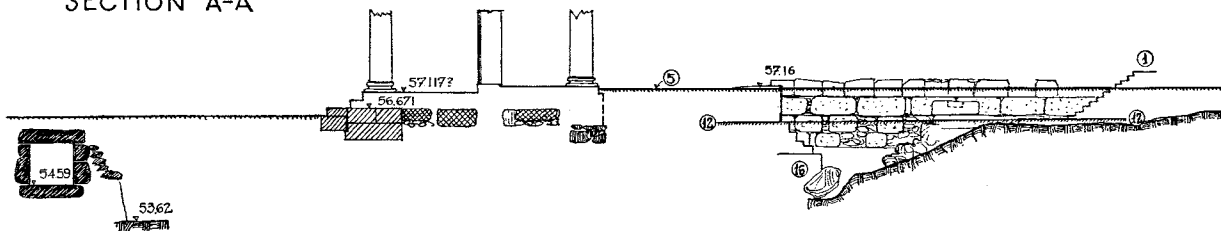


-  PRE-PERSIAN
-  MARBLE
-  POROS
-  CONGLOMERATE

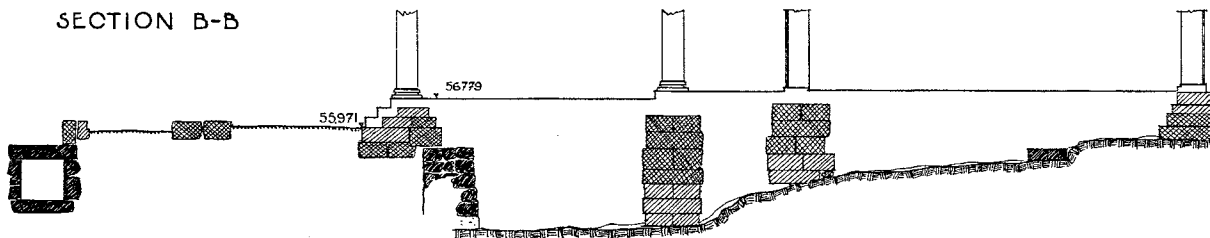




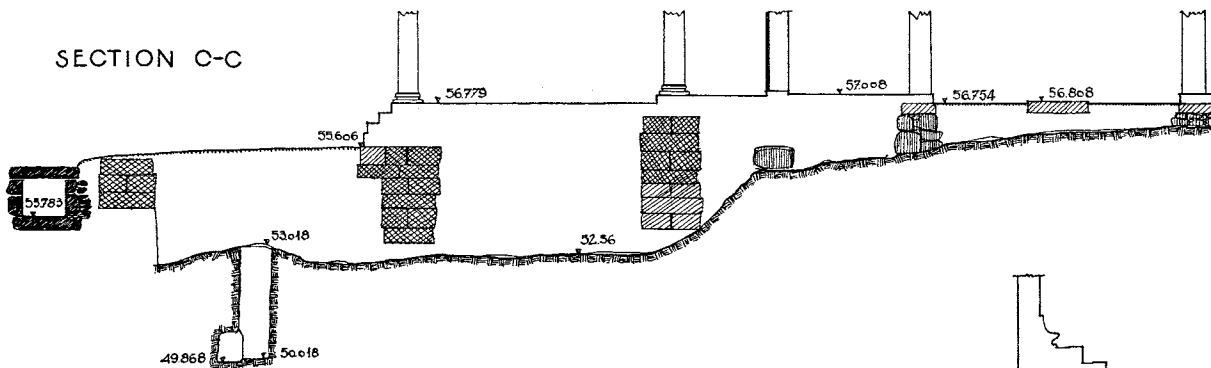
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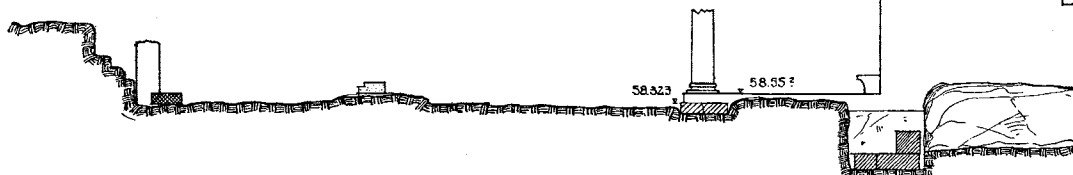
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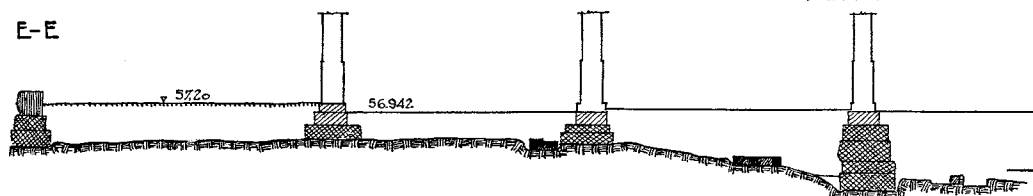
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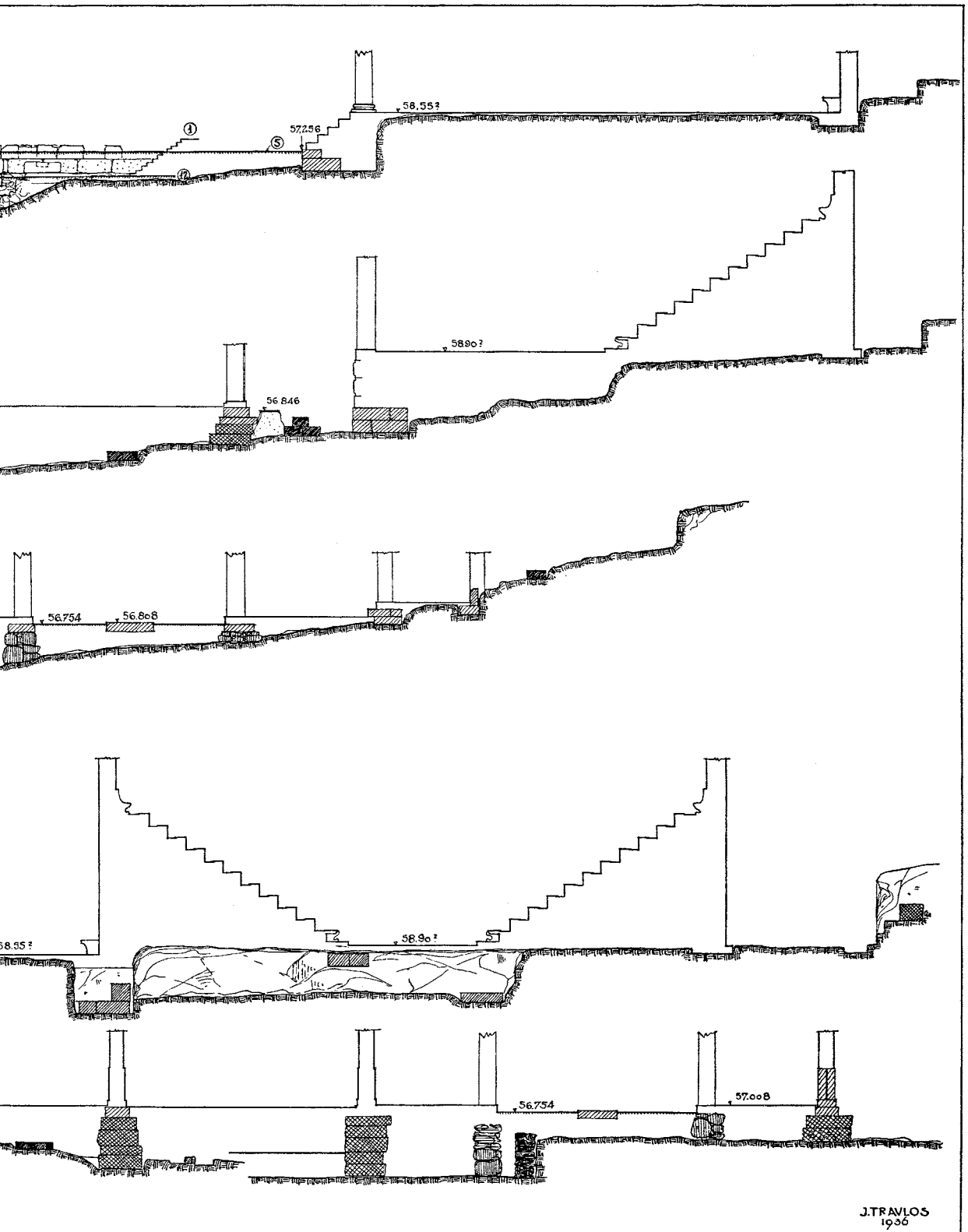
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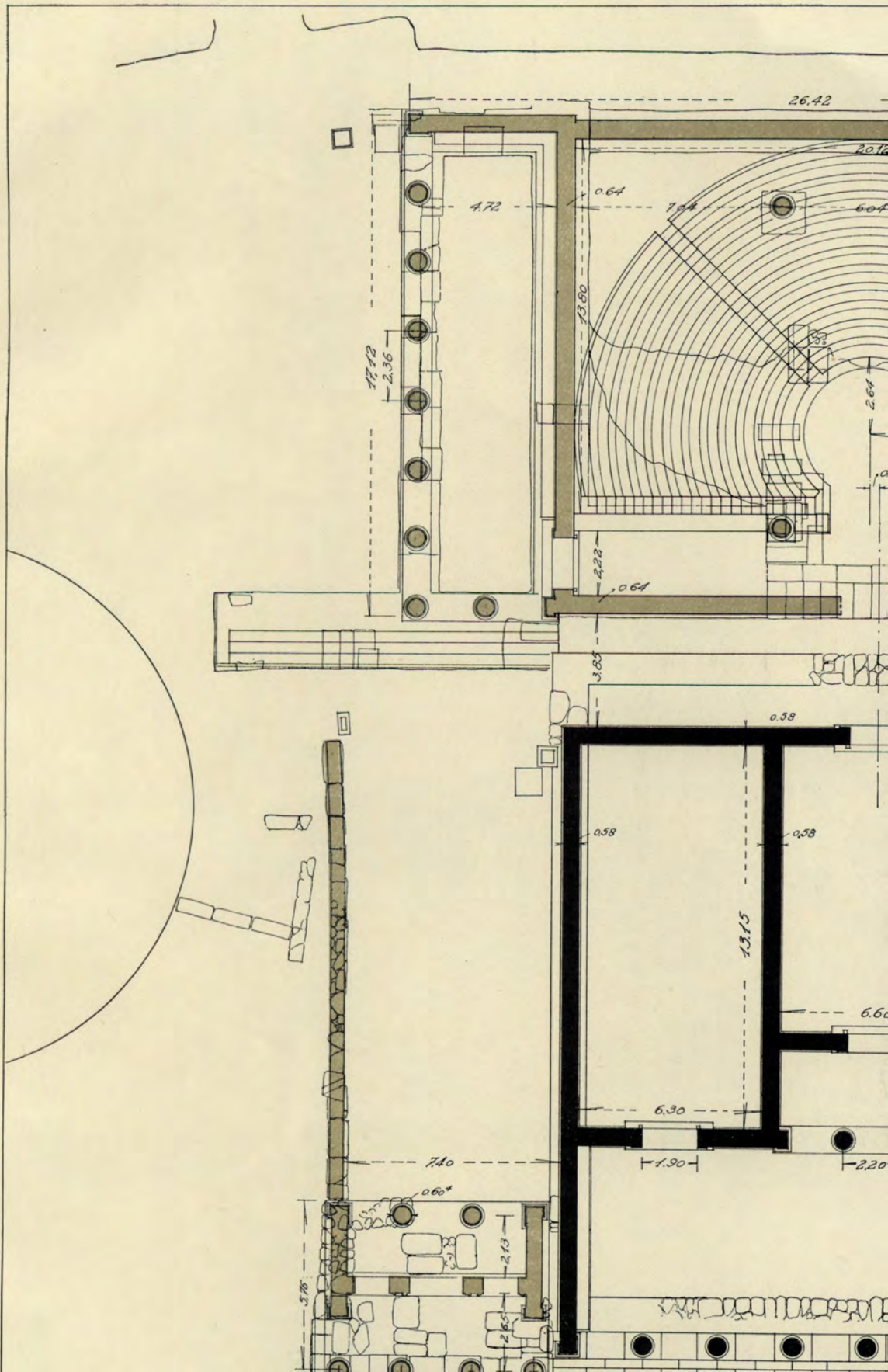
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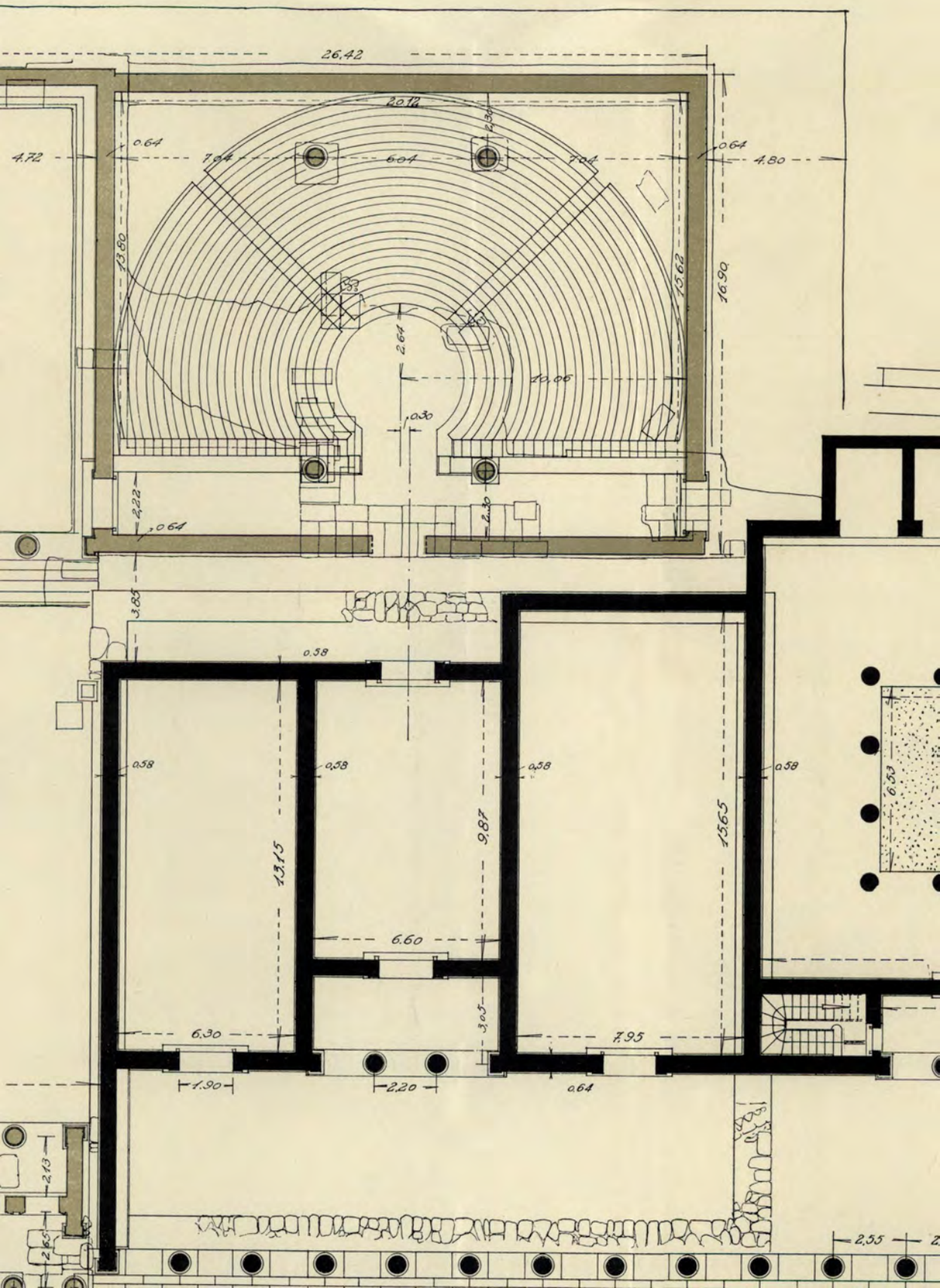


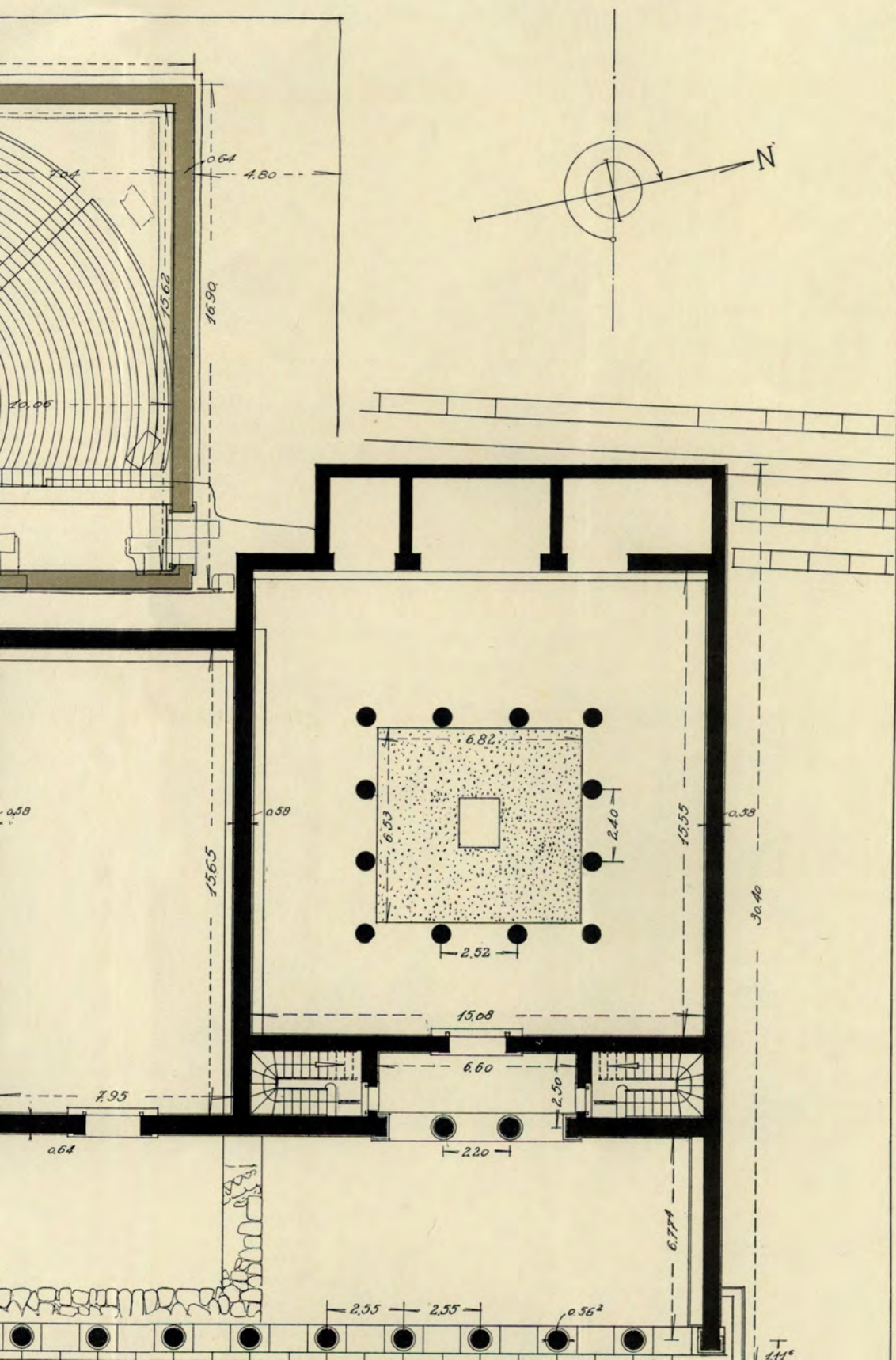
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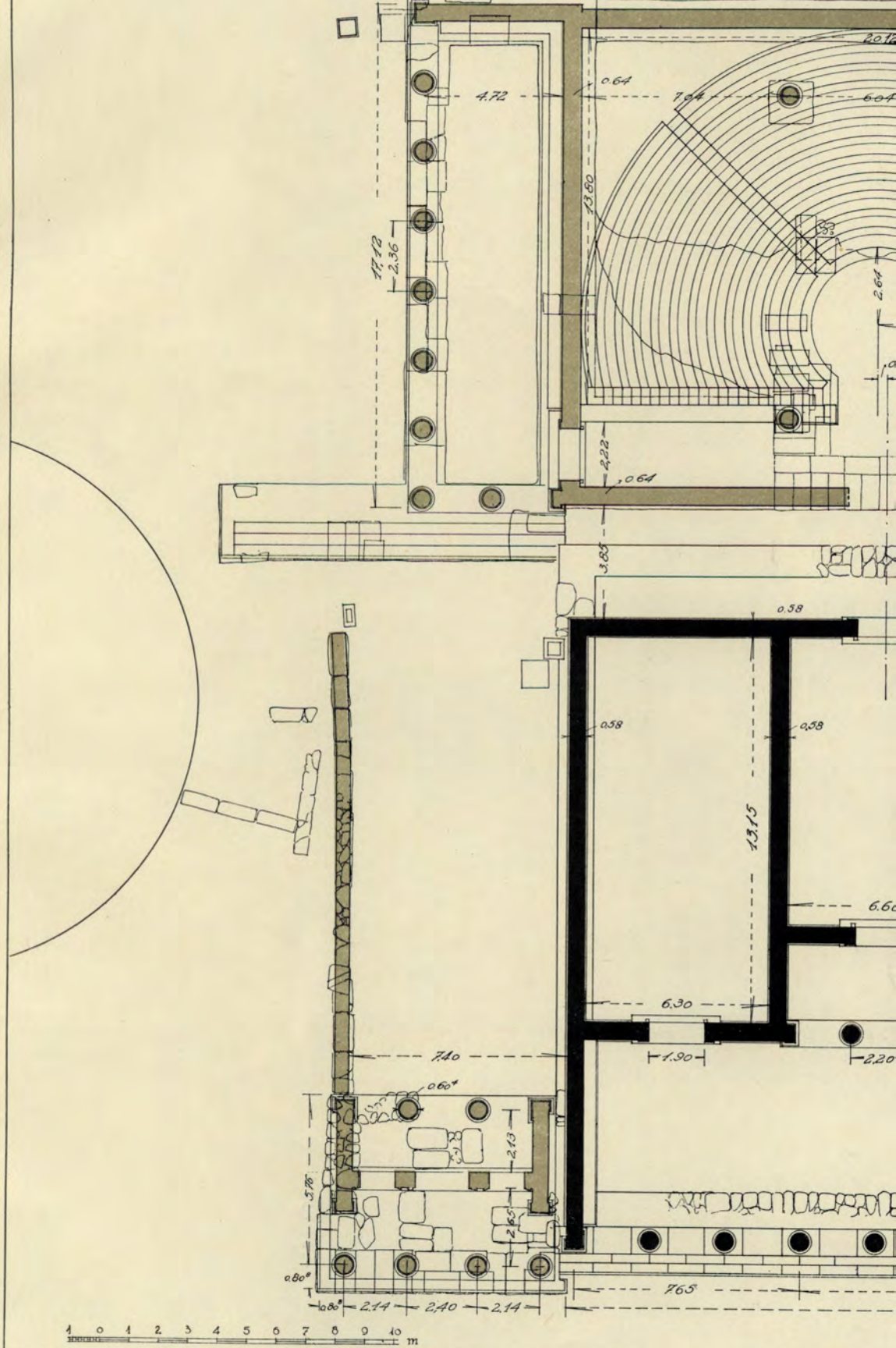


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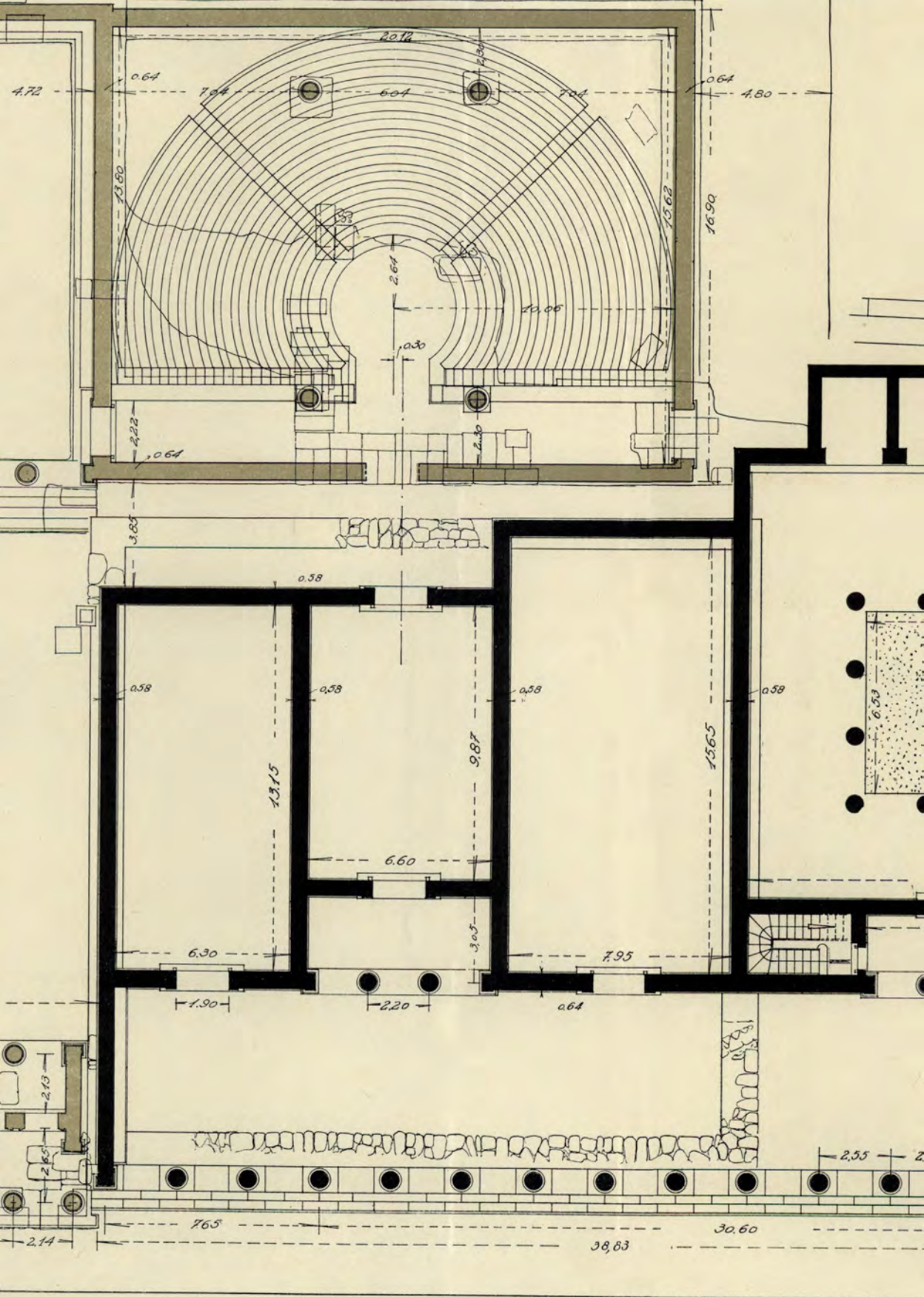




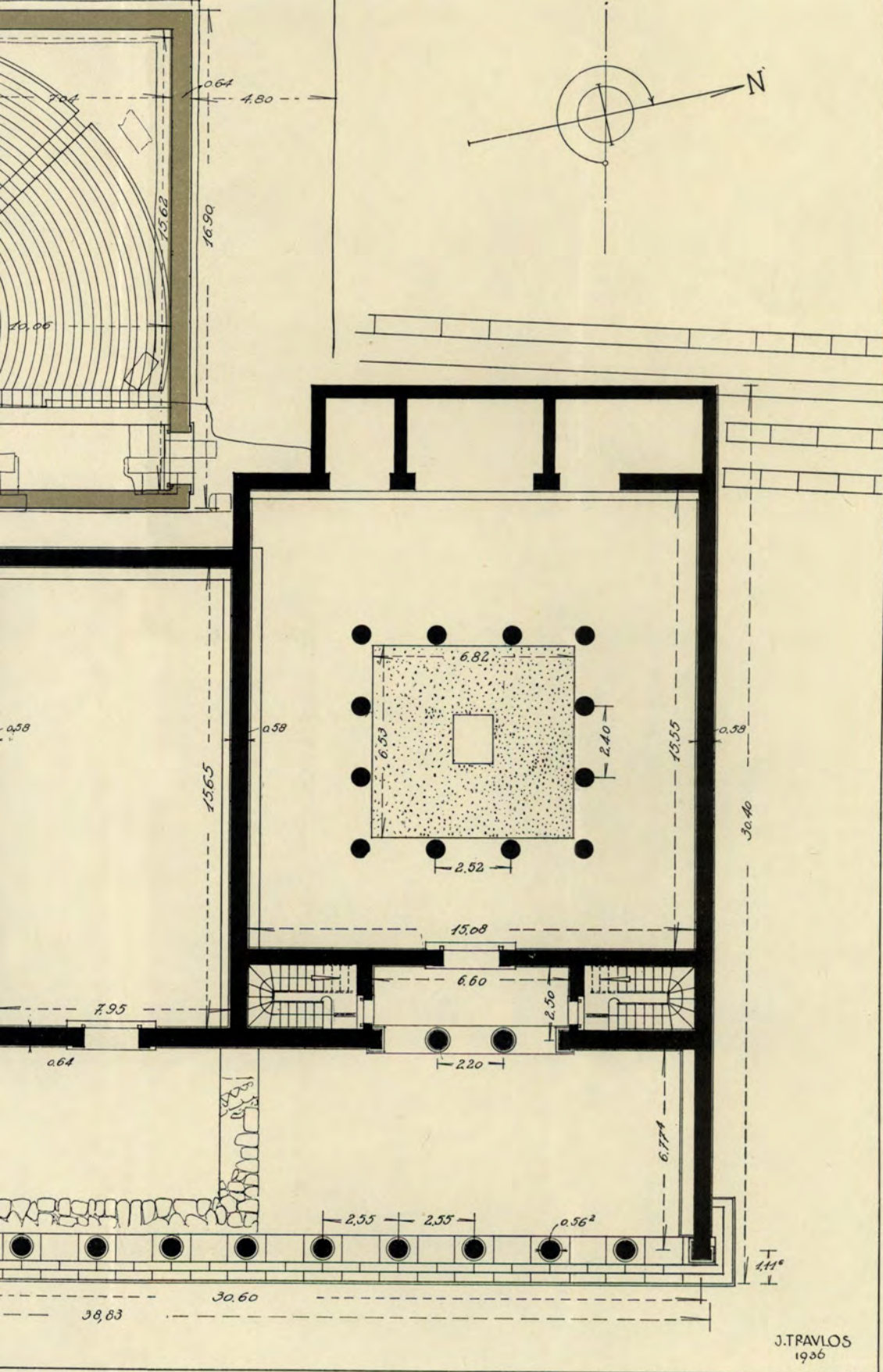




New Bouleuterion, Propylon



New Bouleuterion, Propylon, Hellenistic Metroon. Restored Plan



J. TRAVLOS
1936