# THE STOA POIKILE 

(Plates 61-65)

## INTRODUCTION

IIN April 1949 there was found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora a group of fragments of poros architectural pieces which held considerably more than usual interest. ${ }^{1}$ There ran in a northwesterly direction across the east side of the Agora, in front (west) of the Stoa of Attalos and along the east side of the Panathenaic Way, a wall (P1. 61, a) constructed in late Roman times against the west face of which had been built some time later the aqueduct to carry off water from the mill higher up (south) on the slope toward the Acropolis. When it was decided to demolish a part of this wall (O 9 on the Agora grid) to facilitate access to the Stoa of Attalos, the aqueduct was removed first and then the wall, of which the lower part had been built into a trench below ground level. In this lower part these pieces of poros began to appear, with the color of their painted decoration quite fresh in places. Because of their unusual interest more of the wall was demolished toward the north, which yielded further pieces, and later toward the south as far as on line with the third column from the south of the Stoa of Attalos (P 11) where three fragments of geison of this series were found. The first and most nearly complete block found, the pier capital (A 1559, Fig. 5, Pls. 63, 64), was clearly broken up for use on the spot. Undoubtedly this was done with many other blocks, so that of the rubble pieces in the wall only those with distinctive elements can be identified. Many of the pieces of the same material without recognizable surface or detail are no doubt parts of the whole blocks brought to the line of the wall for breaking up and use in the wall. ${ }^{2}$

[^0]Hesperia, XXXIX, 4

The aqueduct has been dated from the evidence of the mill to the third quarter of the 5 th century after Christ. ${ }^{3}$ The wall it abuts must predate it though probably not by long. Most of the archaeological material built into the wall, other than the pieces from the building with which we are here concerned, was epigraphical of all periods from the 4th century b.c. to the 2nd century after Christ. The sherds of pottery and the lamps found in the wall date from the late 4th to the early 5th century after Christ. Further, two lamps found in cleaning along the wall ${ }^{4}$ are dated to the second half of the 4th century. It is likely, then, that the building from which our blocks come was standing in some considerable state of repair until late in the 4th or early in the 5 th century after Christ.

## MATERIAL

The pieces with which we are concerned are chiefly of brown Aeginetan poros, but there were found closely associated with them pieces of at least three architectural members which are of the harder and whiter poros of Peiraeus. It is reasonable to assume that both were used in the same building, ${ }^{5}$ and the assumption becomes a virtual certainty when it is observed that the regula length of the Peiraeus poros epistyle fragments matches that of the Aeginetan poros triglyphs and the mutules on the geisa. Some fragments of the Peiraeus stone which may come from a stylobate and krepidoma are therefore likely to belong, as well as the pieces of a cyma reversa crowning moulding and two geison fragments. Of the Aeginetan stone there are a pier capital almost complete, and numerous fragments of the geisa, the triglyphs, the epikranitis, and wall blocks and tiny bits of a Doric column drum, an unfluted drum, and an Ionic base.

## TECHNIQUE

The tooling on the blocks varies somewhat but in general the bottom surfaces are carefully smoothed with a fine toothed chisel to a very even surface (e.g. A 1729, Pl. 64). The tops of the Aeginetan blocks, on the other hand, are much more roughly finished (e.g. A 1709, Pl. 62; A 1730, Pl. 65), with coarse uneven striations, some of noticeable depth, from a chisel almost like a rasp (cf. Isthmia, 5th century Temple of Poseidon, tops of the foundation course). The Peiraeus stone top surfaces, however, are more evenly treated with a fine toothed chisel (e.g. A 3315, Pl. 63). The

[^1]vertical joints usually have some kind of anathyrosis, the band very finely smoothed on the Aeginetan pieces with the same fine toothed chisel used on the face of the blocks (e. g. A 1560, Pl. 65), about 0.06 m . and 0.075 m . wide at the sides of geisa (A 1693, Pl. 61) and epikranitis blocks, 0.11 m . at the top of the epikranitis, as much as 0.10 m . wide at the sides of wall blocks. Within the band the surface is picked with a broad chisel. The Peiraeus wall blocks have a band 0.07 m . wide at top and 0.105 m . wide at the sides finished with a broader toothed chisel than the Aeginetan pieces and the surface within sunk appreciably and cut with a broad chisel. The faces of the blocks, whether to be left plain, painted or stuccoed, are smoothed with a fine toothed chisel (e. g. A 1710, Pl. 62; A 1560, 1720-1722, 1732, 1733, all on Pl. 65).

Cuttings for lifting tongs, $0.06-0.07 \mathrm{~m}$. wide, occur on three fragments of Peiraeus stone wall blocks (A 1736, Pl. 65; A 1738, A 3788), as well as 0.12 m . wide on the Aeginetan stone pier capital (Fig. 5). Dowels are conspicuous by their absence and only an occasional clamp cutting appears. None are complete nor very clear, but the double T form seems to have been employed (A 1730, Pl. 65; A 1731, Pl. 62) and the length of the half of the clamp in A 1731 is 0.10 m . They seem not to have been in general use. One pry hole appears on a piece of Peiraeus stone (A 3315, Pl. 63). Only a few top surfaces are preserved over any considerable extent of their area, so the accident of preservation may account for the apparently infrequent use of metal fastenings. Rectangular cuttings set into the face of some of the wall blocks (A 1720, Pl. 65; A 1744) at irregular angles may indicate use of wooden dowels in connection with the iron pins (below, p. 249) to attach some framework, or where carefully finished are more likely for patches as on the pier capital (see below) ; such cuttings at regular angles to the blocks or cut on the top surfaces (A 1560, A 1728, A 1742) seem to suggest wooden beams such as appear in some other buildings for the attachment of wooden pinakes (below, p. 258).

Relieving surfaces are carefully left at the edges of both top and bottom of the triglyphs, 0.01 m . and 0.015 m . wide respectively. On the top of the pier capital a relieving band 0.10 m . wide occurs on all the moulded sides, deeper where the epistyle rested above it. In the Peiraeus stone epistyle there is a very smooth band 0.077 m . wide along the front, keeping the weight above from bearing directly on the projecting moulding. The strongly projecting cyma reversa on several blocks (A 1714, $1716, \mathrm{Pl} .62$ ) is protected by a deep relieving surface $0.06-0.09 \mathrm{~m}$. wide.

The carving of the mouldings and the triglyphs is sharp, precise and carefully uniform. In short, the workmanship throughout may be characterized as careful and fine. Yet accidents or faults in the stone will occur even with the most careful workmanship, so it is not surprising to find cuttings which can only be explained as repairs carried out at the time of construction. The rabbet on the top of the outside of the wall tongue of the anta or pier capital must have been made to receive a patch (Fig. 5, Pl. 63, a).

## DECORATION

Color painted directly on the stone was found in an unusually good state of preservation on all members of the entablature, the pier capital and the epikranitis. The hawksbeak of the geison (A 1693-A 1695) carries traces of the alternately red and blue Doric leaf $c a .0 .05 \mathrm{~m}$. wide; the fasciae both above and below the mutules as well as the via (A 1693-A 1695) are red, and traces of blue remain on the mutules (A 1694, 1696), both face and soffit. The blue on the triglyphs (A 1698A 1699) is well preserved and on one fragment seems in fact at some time to have been refreshed after the tiny crowning ovolo was worn, for it carries right over the damaged portion (A 1698). On the epistyle there are traces of the Doric leaf, red and blue, spacing ca. 0.06 m . on the crowning hawksbeak (A 1704-A 1705); the taenia is red on the face and soffit (A 1704-A1706), and the regulae preserve bits of blue (A 1705). The epikranitis fascia is blue with a pattern of lotus and palmette (Pl. 64, b) now reserved against the blue (A 1710, Pl. 62). On the mortar against which this fragment was set in the late Roman wall (A 1711, Pl. 62) are traces of the green of the calyx and a red outline of the petals of the lotus. On the pier capital (Pls. 63, b, 64, a, c), in addition to the alternately red and blue Doric leaf on the hawksbeak and the double lotus and palmette pattern on the deep fascia below the fillet, there is a band of green between the half round at the base of the hawksbeak and the fillet above the lotus and palmette band. On the inside face of the wall tongue the blue continues the full height of a deep fascia (Pl. 63, b).

Too little remains of the Doric leaf in any case to recover its complete pattern exactly, now some years after discovery, but there is little possibility of variation and the reconstruction in the drawing of the capital made at the time of discovery of the piece (Pl. 64, c) can be accepted as accurate. Traces of the pattern on the geison, epistyle and capital hawksbeaks suggest a proportion of unit spacing of the ornament to height of the hawksbeak of $5: 4,5: 3,5: 4$. These approach the proportions of the drawings offered by Penrose for hawksbeaks of the Parthenon (anta capital 5:3) and of the Propylaia (anta capital 3:2) and by Koch for the Hephaisteion (epikranitis $3: 2$ ) as well as the known proportion on the epikranitis of the Temple of Apollo on Delos (5:3). ${ }^{6}$ The proportion shown by traces of the pattern still visible today at Rhamnous and Sounion is $8: 7$ and 8:5 for epikranitis beaks (the archaic profile at Rhamnous explains the 8:7).

The meander pattern of which traces were clear on both the crowning fascia of the pier capital (but not indicated on Pl. 64, c) and the base fascia of the geison (A 1718) appears to have been a simple design of the general character of the meander

[^2]on the taenia of the epistyle and the base fascia of the geison of the Parthenon ${ }^{7}$ and the crowning fascia of the interior epistyle of the Hephaisteion. ${ }^{8}$

The lotus and palmette pattern on the epikranitis (Pl. 64, b) is a single design with encircled palmettes of 9 rounded end petals linked at the bottom by reversed spirals to 3-petal lotus flowers very narrow in calyx but widely flaring at the top. The design is hard to parallel exactly in all its details. Encircled palmettes are not uncommon on vases of the decade $460-450$ в.с. ${ }^{9}$ as well as both earlier and later and pointed encircling similar to that of our design appears on coffers of the Propylaia, ${ }^{10}$ but the combination with a slender lotus as on our epikranitis is hard to find either on vases or in stone or terracotta architectural members. The closest parallel to the slender flaring petals of the lotus is to be found in the lotus designs on the coffers of the Propylaia. ${ }^{11}$ The green calyx and red border of the lotus petals enliven the design of white against a blue ground. The pattern on the pier capital has very similar palmettes (note that the petals are all round ended, not pointed as are some in the restored drawing), though not encircled, and the lotus flowers are only slightly less spreading at the top. But the link here is not from lotus to palmette, but from palmette to palmette, the lotus being tucked in between, with its stem curling over to the adjacent palmette above the base; they appear to spring from both sides of every other palmette, the intermediate palmette without any. ${ }^{12}$ The double reversed spirals join the palmettes not only horizontally but vertically, with the inverted pattern below. In the space at the open end of the spiral pattern is a red pointed dot set horizontally.
${ }^{7}$ Penrose, op. cit., chap. VIII, p. 55, pl. XXII, p. 56, pl. I.
${ }^{8}$ Koch, op. cit., pp. 100-101, 199, 200, figs. 93, 94, pl. 56, 1.
${ }^{9}$ Among many examples one of the closest for the encircling of the palmettes and turning back of the spiral at the bottom (although the palmettes are not similar and no lotus appears) is the white-ground pyxis lid by the Penthesileia Painter dated 465-460 b.c. (G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1936, pp. 101-102, pl. 77).

Some may question whether the patterns existing on the blocks at the time they were put into the late Roman wall in the late 4th or early 5 th century after Christ may be accepted as the patterns of the original painting of about 460 b.c. There is every reason to suppose that, even though the building must have been repainted several times in all these centuries, the original patterns were faithfully renewed each time by means of stencils. The recent (1969) repainting of the patterns on the University of Athens affords a useful parallel. Stencils made from the patterns existing before the repainting were used for the new painting.
${ }^{10}$ Penrose, op. cit., chap. IX, pl. XXV, 3.
${ }^{11}$ Penrose, op. cit., chap. IX, pl. XXV, 2.
${ }^{12}$ This system is used on the sima (A 439, A 394) attributed by W. B. Dinsmoor to the Temple of Ares, Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 32, figs. 11, 12, where the palmettes are of a later design than here and the lotus much less flaring (this sima is now, unpublished, attributed to the Hephaisteion), and on a terracotta sima from the Acropolis (E. Buschor, Die Tondächer der Akropolis, Berlin, 1929, no. XVII, pp. 36-38, fig. 41, pl. 7, dated to the mid 5th century).

In addition to the painting directly on the stone, some surfaces were provided with an extremely fine-grained, smooth, thin stucco of which traces remain on the face and soffit of what is probably the lower part of an epistyle block (A 1739) and on the fragment of Doric column drum (A 1707, P1. 62).

A thicker ( 0.003 m .) but still fine stucco appears in two small patches on fragments apparently of wall blocks (A 1732, A 1733). The scored horizontal line on A 1732 (Pl. 65) divides the patch into two bands of which the lower seems to have been painted yellow, the upper left white. The scrap on A 1733 (P1. 65) is white and had a scored line along the bottom.

## ARCHITECTURAL MEMBERS

From the fragments it is evident that we have to do with a Doric building, constructed of two kinds of poros, which made use of a Doric column and entablature, a Doric pier capital attached to a wall tongue too narrow for a regular wall, an unfluted Ionic column, and numerous wall blocks with attachment pins and cuttings perhaps for something wooden, as well as an epikranitis. Of the Doric order the height of only one member, the geison, can be recovered from the fragments, but other details of the order may be reconstructed on the analogy of the proportions of buildings of roughly contemporary date.

The date of our fragments is suggested by the form of the mouldings, particularly the hawksbeaks of the geison, epistyle and pier capital (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5; Pls. 61, A 1693-1694; 62, A 1704; 63-64, A 1559). The geison profile (Fig. 1, a) has no very close parallel in all its parts. The bottom depth of the shallow but well rounded ovolo (which is without any top depth) comes between the depths of the comparable profiles of the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina (P.G.M., ${ }^{18}$ pl. LIII, 12, 13) and of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi (pl. LIII, 15, 16) on the one hand and those of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (pl. LIII, 19) and the Parthenon and Hephaisteion (pl. LIII, 20,21) on the other. The undercut still has the diagonal curve at the bottom which is characteristic of the earlier half and the middle of the 5th century (pl. LIII, 12-16), but the lesser depth of the undercut than in some of the pieces of the early second half of the 5th century (Parthenon and Hephaisteion, pl. LIII, 20, 21) shows that our piece must date not long before the mid 5th century.

The hawksbeak of the pier capital (Fig. 1, d) has some affinities to those of the Hephaisteion, Parthenon, and Temple of Ares (P.G.M., pl. LVII, 9, 7; Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, p. 36, fig. 20) in its ovolo but the sloping diagonal curve of its under-

[^3]

Fig. 1. Profiles. a. Geison Crown; b. Triglyph Crown; c. Epistyle Crown; d. Pier Capital; e. Epistyle Backer Crown; f. Ionic Column Base.
cut has more connections before the middle of the century, notably with the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi (pl. LVII, 6). The ovolo crown of the fascia over the hawksbeak, paralleled in the Hephaisteion and Temple of Ares, is a mid 5th century characteristic which does not continue much later. The unique hawksbeak crown (Fig. 1, c) of the epistyle has no parallels in its position. It is akin to the geison profile but with a somewhat greater bottom depth of the ovolo portion, still however not as great as most hawksbeaks of the third quarter of the century; the undercut compares favorably with that of the epikranitis of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (P.G.M., pl. LX, 19). The hawksbeaks, then, suggest a date a few years before 450 в.с.

The cyma reversa (Fig. 1, e), probably from the epistyle backer, is another unparalleled profile in its absence of the usual crowning fascia or cavetto to finish the profile and to protect the thin projecting point of the cyma. Clearly whatever rested on the 0.17 m . wide bedding on the top gave the necessary finish to the look of the moulding. The depth of the cyma is slightly greater than in the comparable pronaos epistyle of the Hephaisteion (P.G.M., pl. XXVII, 2).

In attempting to reconstruct the order one turns, then, for the probable dimensions that are missing to a comparison of these blocks with those of roughly the same period. The Temple of Zeus at Olympia is likely to have been fairly close in date and so in proportions, although on a much greater scale. The Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, of poros like our building, is close in style and has been dated contemporary with the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. ${ }^{14}$ One thinks also of those Athenian buildings which date from about the middle of the 5th century, even though they are probably a decade or so later than ours and are of marble while ours is of poros. The Hephaisteion in Athens and the Temple of Apollo at Delos (those parts which date from the original construction) are of similar size, and the proportions, where they can be tested, are sufficiently close to justify using other proportions from those buildings in reconstrucing the lost dimensions of our order. The Parthenon, although on a larger scale, may also offer some evidence for the probable proportions.

## Geison (Fig. 2)

Of the six fragments of geison four (A 1693-A 1696, Pl. 61) are of Aeginetan poros and give all dimensions except the overall height, the width of the mutule, the front to back spacing of the guttae, the height of the base fascia, and the profile of the drip which gives the corona height. Of the two other pieces, of Peiraeus stone, one (A 1718, Pl. 62) gives the base fascia as 0.09 m . high. If it is used with the dimensions of the Aeginetan pieces and the slope of the mutule extended to make the mutule width 0.33 m . on the basis of the Aigina proportions, the height would be 0.252 m . at the top of the beak, if 0.34 m . following the Delos Temple of Apollo, the

[^4]height would be 0.247 m . Calculated from the proportions of mutule to height in the Olympia Temple of Zeus, the height should be 0.258 m ., and from the Hephaisteion 0.28 m . Yet the fifth piece of geison (A 1697), of Peiraeus stone, is 0.285 m . high

$0.10 \quad .20$


Fig. 2. Reconstructed Geison
with the base fascia broken. If the broken fascia is restored to a height of 0.09 m ., the block would be 0.327 m . high. It is to be noted that the top surface of the block carries traces of weathering at the front with a toothed chiseled surface behind on which something rested; this suggests that this is an end geison on which the tym-
panon slabs rested. ${ }^{15}$ Although several horizontal geisa under pediments have an additional 0.03 m . (Hephaisteion) or 0.04 m . (Aphaia Temple at Aigina) or even 0.06 m . (Temple of Ares) of height over the height of the side geisa, a difference of 0.075 m . or 0.08 m . may be excessive for a building of this size, although the difference is as much as 0.10 m . at the Isthmian Temple of Poseidon.

A mutule width of 0.341 m . gives a front to back spacing of the guttae of 0.095 m. , equal to that at Aigina where the spacing along the length is 0.055 m . ; here it is 0.06 m . At Olympia the front to back spacing is almost twice that along the length; 0.095 m. , then, should hardly be less in relation to 0.06 m .

The traces of the Doric leaf pattern on the hawksbeak (Fig. 1, a) show the unit spacing ( 0.05 m .) to have been about one and a quarter times the height of the beak, nearer the usual proportion for the mid 5th century, as noted above (p.236) than in the later Temple of the Athenians at Delos (5:2).

## Frieze (Fig. 3)

Eight fragments of Aeginetan poros triglyphs (Pl. 61) include one (A 1700) of which the width is complete except for a small fragment of the left glyph which can be securely restored to give a triglyph width of 0.48 m . Other pieces (A 1698, A 1699, Pl. 61) preserve the upper part of the triglyph with a crowning fascia 0.093 m . high, finished with an ovolo of 0.017 m ., giving a total height of 0.11 m . The Delian Temple of Apollo has triglyphs of the same width, of which the height is $0.744 \mathrm{~m} .-0.75 \mathrm{~m}$. Estimated on the basis of the proportions of Aigina our frieze height would be 0.787 m ., of Zeus at Olympia 0.797 m ., of the Hephaisteion 0.779 m ., of the Parthenon 0.767 m . We must therefore estimate a frieze height of between 0.75 m . and 0.78 m ., probably closer to 0.78 m . The metope width must also be estimated. Following the proportions of Aigina it would be 0.72 m ., of Zeus at Olympia 0.70 m ., of Apollo at Delos 0.735 m ., of the Hephaisteion 0.72 m .; the probable width was therefore between 0.70 m . and 0.735 m . The height of the fascia crown of the metope is given by the slot cut into the side of a triglyph fragment (A 1699) as 0.10 m . The presence of slots for the metope slabs on several of the triglyph fragments (e.g. A 1702, Pl. 61) shows that the metopes were made separately, perhaps of a different material (possibly the harder poros of Peiraeus, but more probably marble ${ }^{16}$ ), the thickness being slightly less than the 0.108 m . width of the slot.

[^5]The ovolo (Fig. 1, b) crowning the fascia of the triglyph appears to be the earliest example preserved to us of this elaboration. An astragal had been used on the Treasury of Sikyon at Olympia ${ }^{17}$ in the third quarter of the 6th century and was to be repeated in the Parthenon and in the southwest wing of the Propylaia, but the other examples of an ovolo begin with the main building of the Propylaia


Fig. 3. Triglyph (above) and Epistyle Crown (below)
and continue with the Argive Heraion and then sporadically in the 4th to 2nd centuries. ${ }^{18}$ It will be seen below (pp. 244, 250-251, 253) that this is not the only detail in the building which appears to be an innovation.

It is also worth noting that the refinement at the top of the frieze became battered and damaged at some time when the blocks were still in place in their building, for the blue paint of which considerable remains are preserved on the fragments carries

[^6]right over the broken ovolo at one point (A 1698; see also above, p. 236). Presumably the building was in use for some considerable length of time and repainting was required.

## Epistyle (Fig. 3)

Three fragments of the upper portion of the epistyle (A 1704-A 1706, Pl. 62) are of Peiraeus poros. Enough of the regula is preserved to assure that the length of the full regula would equal that of the triglyphs of Aeginetan poros. The relations between taenia, regula, and guttae heights (taenia to regula $c a .4: 3$, taenia to gutta $c a .3: 1$ ) are about normal for the mid 5th century, but there is a unique element in the hawksbeak (Fig. 1, c) crowning of the taenia. Any embellishment in this position is rare, ${ }^{19}$ and in the two cases previously known where a profile was added to a taenia (both later in the 5th or early 4th century) it was a tiny ovolo, about a third of the height of the taenia. ${ }^{20}$ The large hawksbeak, more than half as high as the taenia, gives a most unusual emphasis to the epistyle, setting it off more markedly from the frieze above than is normally felt desirable in the Doric order.

It is noteworthy, further, that the profile of the hawksbeak here is deeper for its height than that of the beak crowning the geison. It has, rather, the proportions of an epikranitis hawksbeak of the mid 5th century and slightly later. ${ }^{21}$ On the other hand, the profile is sufficiently like that of the pier capital of this set of blocks to be associated with it without difficulty.

The epistyle height must be estimated. It would be normal for the period for the epistyle to be 0.01 m . to 0.02 m . higher than the frieze, ${ }^{22}$ so we may suggest 0.77 m . if the frieze is 0.75 m ., or 0.80 m . if the frieze is 0.78 m .

Weathering on top of the pier capital block indicates that the bottom width of the epistyle totalled 0.768 m ., composed of one block 0.33 m . wide and the other, probably the backer, up to approximately 0.43 m .

There are traces of the alternating red and blue Doric leaf (spacing 0.06 m .) on the hawksbeak over the regular red of the taenia and blue of the regula, both well preserved on the fragments. As noted above (p. 236) this 5:3 proportion of Doric leaf spacing to hawksbeak height is normal for mid 5th century.

## Columns (Fig. 4)

Of the supports which carried the entablature the fragments are tantalizingly few and small, leaving much to conjecture. There is one small and battered piece of a Doric drum with parts of two flutes and with traces of fine white stucco (A 1707, Fig. 4, Pl. 62). Since neither flute is preserved complete, it is impossible to estimate a
${ }^{19}$ P.G.M., p. 170.
${ }^{20}$ P.G.M., p. 50, pl. XXIII, 2, 5: Athens (Stoa of Zeus) and Oropos (Temple of Amphiaraos).
${ }^{21}$ P.G.M., pl. LX, 21-23, the Parthenon.
${ }^{22}$ Aigina 0.02 m .; Zeus at Olympia 0.04 m . (about twice the size of Aigina and Apollo at Delos) ; Apollo at Delos $0.02 \mathrm{~m} .-0.03 \mathrm{~m}$.; Hephaisteion 0.008 m . and Parthenon 0.003 m .


Fig. 4. Fragments of Doric Column Drum (A 1707), Ionic Column Drum (A 1709) and Ionic Column Base (A 1708)
diameter with even approximation to precision, but it is possible to know that the fragment could come from a drum of a column with a lower diameter of 0.78 m . as indicated by the pier capital (below, p. 248). There is also a small bit of a circular torus with fillet above (A 1708, Figs. 1, f, 4, Pl. 62) which must represent an Ionic column base. So little of the circumference is preserved that it is impossible to calculate the greatest diameter with precision, but it may be estimated as $c a .1 .10 \mathrm{~m}$. This base fragment apparently belongs with an equally small piece of an unfluted column drum (A 1709, Fig. 4, Pl. 62). Of this too it is difficult to estimate the diameter with any degree of accuracy, but $0.64-0.68 \mathrm{~m}$. at a point 0.04 m . below the top surface seems indicated. It is of some interest to note the similarity of figures between the exterior Doric and the interior Ionic columns of the later Stoa of Zeus and the comparable ones of our fragments. The lower diameter of the Stoa of Zeus Doric column is given as 0.786 m ., the upper 0.599 m ., and the Ionic lower diameter as 0.686 m ., the upper as $0.566 \mathrm{~m} .^{23}$ Since there is no way of telling from what height in the column our Ionic piece came, it is all but impossible to guess what our lower diameter should be and from that figure what dimension remains by which to suggest a reconstruction of the base. That A 1709 was higher than the bottom of the column is suggested by the two iron pins, 0.005 m . and 0.015 m . in diameter, driven into the top 0.04 m . and 0.055 m . from the surface of the drum. Whatever was hung from these pins is likely to have been above the height of the frequenters of the stoa (below, p. 258).

Whether the base torus (A 1708) is to be restored with any other profile above it before the apophyge at the base of the column shaft must, with our present lack of information, remain uncertain. If the 0.68 m . were the bottom diameter of the column and 1.10 m . that of the torus, the difference of 0.42 m . divided into the two sides would give 0.21 m . for the width from greatest diameter of the torus to the lower diameter of the shaft. That 0.21 m . must include the 0.055 m . width of the torus plus perhaps as much as 0.045 m . width of the apophyge (based on the Stoa of Zeus column), leaving 0.11 m . for a possible upper portion of the base. This would allow for another torus 0.055 m . wide and the same for an intervening scotia. The likelihood, however, is that the fragment of drum we have comes from much nearer the upper than the lower diameter and hence that the lower diameter was probably larger. If so, it is not likely that there was room in the base for more than the single torus we have.

It is particularly tantalizing that it is impossible to estimate the difference between the lower diameter of the column shaft and the diameter of the preserved torus, for it is of prime significance for the history of Ionic in Athens to know whether the tripartite Attic base had been developed and used at the time of this building. The only evidence for a regular Attic Ionic base before its appearance in

[^7]the Propylaia is the unfinished anta base of the Older Parthenon. ${ }^{24}$ If this is to be dated to the 460 's, as Rhys Carpenter proposes, ${ }^{25}$ a building in the Agora of about 460 в.с. might surely have made use of this profile. The evidence from our tiny fragments is not enough, however, to prove or to disprove the possibility.


| $0 \quad 20 \quad 30 \quad 40$ |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |

Fig. 5. Pier Capital
For a simpler base of a single torus under a plain unfluted Ionic shaft evidence was discovered in the 1890's in the earliest of the stoai at Kalaureia. ${ }^{26}$ This stoa was dated by the excavators to about 470 b.c. but is clearly later, as Welter recognized. ${ }^{27}$ Some such base, however, seems most likely to have been used in the building from which our fragments come, either the preserved torus alone or with a vertical plinth below (as at Kalaureia) representing the lower element of the two-part Ionic base of Samian type which seems to have been the inspiration for Attic Ionic. ${ }^{28}$

Pier Capital (Fig. 5)
One of the most important as well as the most beautiful of the pieces from this set of blocks is the capital (A 1559, Pls. 63, a, b, 64, a, c) of an anta or pier to which is attached, on one side, a narrow tongue of wall about half the width of the capital. This pier, then, was not the normal anta ending a wall of nearly the same thickness

[^8]it appears to have been a pier on line with columns, the wall, only 0.372 m . thick, ${ }^{29}$ serving probably as a screen wall between the pier and some other support, most likely a side wall of the building. The pier was 0.465 m . wide, 0.78 m . front to back.

The main element of the capital is its hawksbeak with ovolo-crowned fascia above and terminated below with an astragal, a band, and a fillet over a high fascia (Fig. 1, d). The painted decoration on the numerous pieces which fit together to make this capital is especially rich (Pl. 64, c). No trace remains on the tiny ovolo but it may have carried the usual egg and dart. On the fascia there are clear indications that a meander pattern was painted, and on the hawksbeak remain bits of color from the Doric leaf, of about 0.07 m . unit spacing, which ornamented it. The band between the astragal and fillet was painted solid green, of which much remains, and on the high fascia below against a well preserved blue ground is an elaborate lotus and palmette pattern with the main design repeated below inverted and the connecting spirals filled with pointed drops (see above, p. 237).

## Wall Blocks

Both materials, the Aeginetan and the Peiraeus stone, are represented among the fragments which carry no distinguishing characteristics by which to identify them as columns or members of the entablature.

Three pieces of Peiraeus stone are severely weathered in a manner strongly suggesting that they served as stylobate or stereobate. It is reasonable to find the stronger material used for these courses.

Two pieces have a band of anathyrosis at the front only of the joint, the face and the top (where preserved) severely weathered, the bottom finished with a broad chisel. On one (A 1735, Pl. 63) the anathyrosis is 0.07 m . wide and on the face the top 0.115 m . is more weathered than below and an irregular ground line is indicated by stain. On the other (A 1743) the anathyrosis is only 0.04 m . wide and 0.155 below the battered top on the badly weathered face a line of demarcation is visible. The third piece (A 1740) is apparently from the stylobate; both the face of the step and a narrow space at the front of the top are heavily weathered. In some lights the weathering on the top appears to show the dripping down along column flutes onto the stylobate behind which a smoother portion might once have been covered by a column, but it seems more probable that the weathering of the top of the fragment, although of varying severity, is all that of the open top of the stylobate.

Three other fragments of Peiraeus stone (A 1736-A 1738) are the only ones from the building which preserve their complete width, 0.31 m . ( Pl .65 ). The backs are roughly finished with a broad chisel; they were not visible and other blocks may have been set against them. If these blocks, the tallest of which is preserved to a

[^9]height of 0.42 m ., were half the width of a wall, 0.62 m . would make a reasonable width of wall for a course over 0.42 m . high. It is not wide enough, however, to be the epistyle which was of this material, and another indication also prevents assignment to the epistyle, namely, a band 0.065 m . wide at the front of the top surface which is clearly weathered (A 1736, Pl. 65), combined with the absence of any taenia and regula. That amount of weathering would be expected at the top of the front of the epistyle, but the backer without any crown should not show such weathering. Finally, two of the three fragments have lifting tong cuttings in the top (A 1736, Pl. 65). These do suggest a position higher than the krepidoma. That the main wall courses were of the other material, the Aeginetan poros, will be shown below. If neither main wall nor epistyle is possible, where might these pieces, all of which have weathered front surfaces, have been set? The band of weathering on the top demands that the next higher course be set back from an outside surface exposed to weathering. In spite of the lifting cuttings, then, a position near the bottom of the exterior wall appears to be required, and orthostates suggest themselves.

A piece (A 1741) with two adjoining surfaces both roughly chiseled and a corner angle adjoining one appears to be the back and unseen top of a corner piece of krepidoma.

A fragment preserving only the top surface with a pry hole (A 3315, P1. 63) might belong to any of the members we have established were of Peiraeus stone. Its preserved width of 0.35 m . would allow it to be from an epistyle or epistyle backer, but krepidoma blocks are equally possible.

The majority of the fragments are of Aeginetan poros and are characterized by holes drilled into the face of the blocks at irregular intervals, in some of which there are still preserved iron pins leaded fast. The holes are in general of two sizes, the smaller ranging from 0.003 m . to 0.007 m . in diameter, the larger from 0.01 m . to 0.015 m . Whether they were used concurrently is impossible to know. In some cases they appear to be in about the same general position. In one case (A 1723) two small pins remain preserved while the larger holes near by are empty; in other cases pins remain in the larger holes (A 1560, A 1721, Pl. 65; A 1724). It is impossible to work out any pattern for the holes. In one block (A 1721, Pl. 65) there are four spaced approximately in a square, 0.15 m . apart; in another (A 1724) there are three holes in a row, 0.033 m . and 0.05 m . apart, then a smaller hole 0.065 m . away and a little out of line. At right angles to the two, at 0.10 m . from the center of the three, is one with the pin preserved. Some pins were driven into joints between the blocks as evidenced by the fragments of two pins remaining in the anathyrosis band of the joint surface of a top left corner (A 1722, Pl. 65). Most of our fragments are quite small so that there is no way of judging the largest spaces between pin holes, but one of the largest fragments preserved (A 1725) has as much as 0.375 in one direction and 0.180.20 m . in another from the hole without further pin holes. Most of these fragments are broken so as to leave a very shallow width, but one piece (A 1729, Pl. 64), broken
on the face but with the inside part of a hole remaining, has a preserved width of 0.40 m ., so we may assume that some at least of the blocks with holes were somewhat more than 0.40 m . wide. The maximum height preserved on any of the fragments with face preserved is 0.46 m . (A 1724). A block with its back preserved (1734) is 0.465 high and carries on top a cutting extending 0.138 m . back from the surface (preserved height 0.035 m .) evidently for an inset horizontal beam or a patch.

It is evident that many wall blocks had nailed to them something, presumably wooden boarding or framework of some kind. The puzzling cuttings, some 0.035 m . deep, in the face of several of the fragments (A 1720, Pl. 65; A 1744) suggest that some of the boards may have been set back partially into the face of the blocks in some cases, or fastened with wooden dowels as well as with iron pins.

On other fragments (A 1732, A 1733, Pl. 65) without holes there remain small patches of plaster, scored with parallel lines, evidently from stuccoed wall decoration.

We have to do, then, with walls treated in two ways: (1) plastered and (2) fitted with something nailed to them. Considering the tiny amount of the whole building represented by our fragments, conclusions from proportions seem precarious, but it is a fact that there are numerous fragments with nail holes compared to two only with plaster. It is at least possible and even probable that the plastered pieces come from courses below those courses on which some framework was attached.

## Epikranitis

The interior crown of these walls is represented among the preserved fragments by one piece (A 1710, Pl. 62) plus three pieces (A 1711, Pl. 62; A 1712, and one unnumbered) of the rubble mortar against which A 1710 was found and to which the color and pattern of the painted decoration had adhered. The general form is canonical for the epikranitis of a Doric building, namely, a moulding over a high ( 0.13 m .) fascia. But details are not regulation Doric of the 5th century, which should have a hawksbeak moulding over a fascia decorated with a meander. The crowning moulding is, unluckily, broken, but enough projection remains near the bottom to make it extremely unlikely that any hawksbeak of the period of those of the geison and epistyle could have been carved here. Further, the height ( 0.032 m .) is less than that of the hawksbeaks on those other members ( 0.04 m . on the geison and $0.036 \mathrm{~m} .-0.04 \mathrm{~m}$. on the epistyle), and such a relationship in heights of hawksbeak would not be normal. ${ }^{30}$ There is every reason to suppose that the Ionic moulding

| sо | Geison Hazeksbeak |  | Epikranitis Hawksbeak |  |
| :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Height | P.G.M. pl. | Height | P.G.M. pl. |
| Aigina, Temple of Aphaia | 0.075 | LIII, 12, 13 | $0.114,0.126$ | LX, 16, 15 |
| Olympia, Temple of Zeus | 0.09 | LIII, 19 | 0.105 | LX, 19 |
| Athens, Parthenon | 0.045 | LIII, 20 | 0.057 | LX, 21 |
| " Hephaisteion | 0.037 | LIII, 21 | 0.04 | LXI, 1 |
| Sounion, Temple of Poseidon | 0.043 | LIV, 3 | 0.05 | LXI, 5 |
| Delos, Temple of Athenians | 0.04 | LIV, 5 | 0.052 | LXI, 11 |

which appears at least by mid 5th century on ceiling beams in Doric buildings, the ovolo, was used here. ${ }^{31}$ If so, the use of the lotus and palmette ornament instead of the meander on the fascia below is readily understandable. Although only the stencil of the pattern remains in the blue ground on the stone (A 1710) much of the color went onto the mortar (A 1711, A 1712) which preserved the red and green and white of the original design as discussed above ( p .237 ). The use of the interior Ionic columns obviously inspired the architect to consider the interior of the building an Ionic area and so to design an Ionic wall crown. Further confirmation of this piece as from the interior of a wall is offered by the two pin holes in the anathyrosis of the joint; compare other pin holes in joints on wall block A 1722 (Pl. 65) and Ionic column drum A 1709 (Pl. 62).

## Cyma Reversa Crowned Course

Several fragments (A 1714-A 1717, Pl. 62, A 2008, A 2204) are preserved of an architectural member in Peiraeus stone which is crowned with a striking moulding (Fig. 1, e), a deep cyma reversa with a projecting fillet at the bottom but with nothing above the outer curve of the cyma. This projects with a sharp point at the front of the upper surface of the block which is treated with a bearing surface which slopes back some $0.17 \mathrm{~m} .-0.19 \mathrm{~m}$. to a depth of 0.013 m .; the outer 0.06 m .0.09 m . of this cutting is a smoothed relieving surface. The greatest preserved height of any of the fragments is 0.37 m .; the blocks, then, must have been of more than string course height. Of prime importance too for the interpretation of these blocks is the fact that one piece has an interior corner angle at the right end of the fragment.

Another course or beam of some kind had to rest on top of these pieces; both the treatment of the top surface and the incomplete state of the moulding demand it. It is all but unparalleled to use a cyma reversa as a crowning moulding in the 5th century or later without a fascia or cavetto crown projecting slightly in front of it. The one exception, the epistyle crown of the Temple of Athena at Sounion (P.G.M., p. 59, pl. XXVII, 1 and Agora A 2004), has the upper outer curve turn back in at the top so that, practically, it would not be easily chipped and aesthetically a line of shadow would crown it. The profile here is very different and demands a protecting and finishing band above. Whether that which the cutting on the top provided for was of stone, either the same Peiraeus or the contrasting Aeginetan, or of wood or other material can hardly be determined positively from the evidence, but wood seems most probable. It may have been a string course of wood and the cyma reversa may have been thus precariously carved without its crown because the crown needed to be of wood to serve as a shelf for something to rest on, something such as

[^10]wooden panel paintings which would be attached to the wooden framework fastened to the walls; the cyma reversa crowned member would then serve as the top of the dado of the wall. The material, the stronger of the two in use in the building, might reasonably have been chosen for the orthostates below the Aeginetan courses above, with the wooden string course in between. Such a string course would have had only the depth of the $0.17 \mathrm{~m} .-0.19 \mathrm{~m}$. cutting, and presumably the Aeginetan block above it would have been directly on the Peiraeus block for the principal width of the block, extending to the outside of the wall. An ell-shaped stone course would have had to be fitted over the wooden string course. This solution is awkward construction and unlikely.

Recalling that the epistyle of the main order of the building was of the same material, the Peiraeus stone, one might think of the interior epistyle carried by the Ionic columns as a possibility for these blocks, since a cyma reversa is the appropriate crown for an Ionic epistyle. The cuttings on the top would then receive wooden ceiling beams and fillers between them. Without any evidence for the spacing of the interior columns, attested only by the single tiny fragment of shaft and another of base, the span is completely hypothetical. Considering, however, the date of the building, it is impossible to guess whether the interior epistyle would have been of stone or wood; the latter seems to most who have considered the question more likely.

The top course of the walls of the building might also be thought to have been treated with the alternate material, not so much for strength as for decorative effect, but it has already been shown that what is quite clearly an epikranitis exists in the beautifully painted course of Aeginetan stone with its Ionic crowning moulding and Ionic ornament.

There remains in the hypothetical stoa to which all this material appears to belong one further position to which these cyma reversa crowned blocks may be assigned. We go back to the fundamental fact that the one member known positively to be of Peiraeus stone is the epistyle of the Doric order (above, p. 244). The other most significant fact about that epistyle is its unparalleled elaboration, the hawksbeak added to the top of the taenia. Is it possible, then, that the cyma reversa crowned the epistyle backer which would certainly have been of the same material as the epistyle itself? In a normal Doric order of the period of this building the backer would have been crowned merely by a very slightly projecting fillet. But here we have what must be one of the earliest cases in which an Athenian architect had experimented with a combination of the two orders, one of the first attempts to put Ionic columns inside a Doric façade. There was no precedent (so far as we know) for the treatment of those other elements of the building which would be visible with the interior Ionic columns. The epikranitis of the wall of the stoa we have seen combined the Doric high fascia with an Ionic ovolo (above, pp. 250-251). There may have been a temptation on the part of a man who was such an innovator as to use Ionic columns to think of the space inside the outer Doric columns between them
and the interior Ionic columns as not Doric; he may have wanted to tie the back of the exterior order to the interior columns by more than the ceiling beams which ran between them; he may have wished to have the spectator who walked down that aisle look up on one side to an Ionic capital and on the other to an Ionic moulding, as he did if he walked between Ionic column and back wall.

On the technical side we note that the top surface of these fragments with its cutting 0.19 m . wide and 0.013 m . deep at the back suggests that wooden beams rested on it. I am reminded by Oscar Broneer that the back of the frieze blocks of the South Stoa at Corinth ${ }^{32}$ had a cutting on top to allow for the insertion of a thin strip of wood which would take care of the sagging of the wooden ceiling beams set on it. The ceiling beams and interbeams here may have rested on the epistyle rather than on the frieze, as is in fact common in most stoai, ${ }^{33}$ and if so a very thin piece of wood may have crowned the cyma reversa and on that wood the wooden beams or rafters might have rested.

Innovator we have seen this man to be in several respects already (above, pp. $243,244,250-251$ ), and innovator he most certainly was in creating this moulding. Compared to the proportions of late 6th century cyma reversas this is strikingly deep for its height; it is not nearly so close to earlier cyma reversa profiles as were those created by the architects of the Parthenon and Propylaia and Erechtheion some time later. It was devised by our architect quite independently and for a quite new purpose. Not only are the proportions unparalleled for many years to come but a new element has been added at the base of the profile, a strongly projecting base fillet. We now know that this element which we once called " Periklean base fillet" because it seemed to have been invented for the Periklean buildings of Athens had been used if not actually introduced a decade or so earlier by the designer of the building to which these fragments belong.

It is at least worth recalling that in another ten to fifteen years this moulding, with its profile refined and a crowning fascia added, is used not only to crown the Doric epistyle of the pronaos of both Hephaisteion and Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, ${ }^{34}$ under the sculptured frieze, but also for the epistyle backer across the peristyle and along the sides as far as the pronaos columns. What connection, if any, our architect had with the " Theseion architect" merits consideration.

## IDENTIFICATION

These fragments appear to belong to a building of the Doric order (Fig. 6) with interior Ionic columns, with decorated walls (presumably the interior faces of them),

[^11]

Fig. 6. Reconstructed Entablature


Fig. 7. Proposed Plan of End of Façade
and with a screen wall extending from a pier capital. The conclusion is inescapable that the building was a stoa with the ends of the colonnade enclosed with a screen wall from the end walls to piers set in the line of the colonnade (Fig. 7). Whether this screen wall extended further than a single intercolumniation, presumably at each end, is impossible to determine. ${ }^{35}$

Is there any possibility of identifying a stoa with interior decoration, built in the years just before the middle of the 5 th century b.c., which was still standing but ready to be dismantled and broken up for use in a wall of the early 5th century after Christ, a wall which ran southward from the north side of the Agora?

One of the earliest stoai known from our literary sources ${ }^{36}$ to have been built in the Agora was the one called Peisianakteios, according to Diogenes Laertius (VII, 1, 5), Isidore (Origines, VIII, 6, 8), Plutarch (Cimon, IV, 5-6), and Suidas, (s.v. Zq́v $\nu \omega \nu$ ). Diogenes and Suidas make clear that it was called Poikile from the paintings in it, but whether the paintings were added after the original construction or not (and if so, how long after) is not indicated. ${ }^{37}$ As the Stoa Poikile, its official name from at least the 4th century в.c., ${ }^{38}$ this stoa became one of the most famous buildings in Athens, both for its paintings and for its association with philosophy. The date of its building is nowhere given in ancient sources. A Scholiast on Demosthenes, ${ }^{39}$ XX, 112 says that Peisianax built the stoa. Unfortunately, too little is known of Peisianax to help much with a date; it is only clear that he was a contemporary

[^12]and associate of Perikles and Alkibiades and probably also of Kimon to whom he may have been related. ${ }^{40}$

A general ante quem is established by the paintings. Since the paintings represented great events in Greek history and legend, the battle of Greeks and Amazons, the fall of Troy, the battle of Marathon, as well as a battle of Oinoe and perhaps others, they are frequently mentioned by ancient authors, ${ }^{41}$ unfortunately, however, not with complete unanimity of opinion as to the painters of each picture. Regardless, however, of individual attribution, ${ }^{42}$ the weight of evidence seems to agree that both Polygnotos and Mikon worked on the paintings in the Stoa; some sources add Panainos the brother (or nephew) of Pheidias. The activity of Polygnotos and Mikon seems to have extended over the second quarter of the 5th century, but no exact dates can be fixed for any of their works. ${ }^{43}$ Polygnotos had painted the Theseion, which must have been built soon after the bones of Theseus were brought from Skyros in 474 b.c. If a date in the 60's as usually given for his paintings in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi is correct, ${ }^{44}$ he may also have completed these before he returned to Athens to work in the Poikile. Perhaps the reputation gained from these paintings accounted for the invitation, so warmly appreciated, if we are to believe Pliny (N.H., XXXV, 59) and Plutarch (Cimon, IV, 5-6), quoting the 5th century Melanthios, that he executed the paintings without pay. This may suggest that he was by then a well-established artist who could easily afford this tribute to the city. Perhaps, too, we may assume that his reputation was already secure if we are to credit Plutarch's account (Cimon, IV, 5-6) that "Polygnotos made the face of Laodike in the fall of Troy in the likeness of Elpinike," the sister of Kimon, because of an affair between them. It is not easy to guess, however, whether this would have been done more easily when Kimon was still in power or during his ostracism, when Perikles, the friend of Peisianax, was leader of Athens. If Panainos did work on the paintings, a date nearer the middle of the century is better for his work than earlier. But there is nothing to prove that the paintings were necessarily done immediately after the stoa was built. As far then as ancient sources indicate, the date we have assigned to the architectural fragments studied above would fit the date of the building of the Stoa Poikile, which Wycherley put about 460 b.c. ${ }^{45}$ and L. H.
${ }^{40}$ Ibid., p. 45, note 2.
${ }^{41}$ Ibid., pp. 31-45.
${ }^{42}$ Wycherley, Phoenix, VII, 1953, pp. 27-28; L. H. Jeffery, B.S.A., LX, 1965, pp. 41-57.
${ }^{43}$ A. Rumpf, Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen (Handbuch der Archäologie, VI, 1953, 4, 1), pp. 92, 94.
${ }^{44}$ M. H. Swindler, Ancient Painting, New Haven, 1929, p. 202 and note 20; M. Robertson, Greek Painting, 1959, p. 122.
${ }^{45}$ Phoenix, VII, 1953, p. 23 ; Athenian Agora, III, p. 45, note 2.

Jeffery ${ }^{46}$ and R. Meiggs ${ }^{47}$ both consider completed by $462 / 1$, when Kimon was ostracized.

If our ancient testimony is weak concerning the date of erection of the Stoa, it is stronger for its later history. It is clear from references throughout the imperial period that the Stoa retained its high place in Athenian affection, continuing to house the now famous paintings and the philosophers who from the 4th century в.c. had made it their haunt. Only at the end of the 4th century or early in the 5th century after Christ do we hear that the Stoa is no longer $\pi о \iota \kappa i \lambda \eta$ because " the proconsul had taken away the boards to which Polygnotos of Thasos commited his art." Since Synesios ${ }^{48}$ found it denuded of its glory, both its philosophers and its paintings, by about 400, it may not be taking too great liberties to assume that it stood ready to be demolished and its blocks broken up for a wall built just about this time or a little later (above, p. 234).

Where was it standing, however, ready for this wall? Presumably, close at hand. The recent excavations of the Athenian Agora have now cleared three sides of the square without revealing, among the stoai on all three sides, any that can possibly be identified with the Poikile. That fact, strengthened by Pausanias' description (I, 15, 1) which has been clarified by the excavators, must mean that the stoa stood on the north side of the Agora, north and east of the recently discovered Stoa Basileios. The late Roman wall in which the fragments were found had begun well up on the slopes to the south. It ran along the Panathenaic Way in a northwesterly direction and probably continued beyond the old excavated area across the railway and beyond (although no trace of it has yet been discovered to the north of the tracks). This line would quite possibly actually have run across the line of the Stoa. Pieces of architecture were found concentrated in more than one place in the part of the wall in front of the Stoa of Attalos as this wall was demolished in 1949 with some sections between in which they did not appear. It is entirely possible that the reason we do not have more fragments is that most of them were used in the part of the wall farther north, nearer the site of the Stoa, in the section of wall presumably destroyed when the railway was built and perhaps still existing to the north of it. The location of the finding place of the fragments, then, would fit the position the Stoa Poikile must have occupied and both their original date and the date of their destruction would fit what we know of its history.

Finally, what of the paintings? There has been considerable difference of opinion

[^13]among scholars ${ }^{49}$ as to whether the paintings were frescoes painted directly on the walls or panel pictures attached to the walls. The testimony of Synesios (above, p. 257), however, should be strong support (especially in the absence of any ancient testimony to the contrary and with the positive evidence of other panel paintings by Polygnotos) to the contention that they were removable panel pictures. The Old Propylon on the Acropolis had wooden wall linings which may have been painted by Polygnotos after their restoration after 479 в.c., according to W. B. Dinsmoor, ${ }^{50}$ and it is assumed that the pictures in the Northwest Wing, the Pinakotheke, of the later Propylaia were also panel pictures, ${ }^{51}$ in spite of the fact that the room has seemed to some, from the Eleusinian string course, to have been designed to receive frescoes directly on the wall above. There are absolutely no traces of such frescoes; nor are there, to be sure, indications of how the panel pictures were fastened to the walls. The much later Stoa of Attalos at Delphi, on the other hand, does have provision for wooden panel pictures. ${ }^{52}$ The few cuttings on our wall blocks evidently intended to receive wooden beams (e.g. A 1560, A 1728, A 1742) seem to indicate that a similar method of attachment was used in our stoa. In addition our wall fragments show a different kind of evidence for the attachment of something (above, p. 249). The conclusion that the iron nails in our wall blocks were driven through wooden scaffolding to hold it to the walls also seems possible. The " boards" of Synesios, then, could easily have been hung on a framework and all too easily taken away by the proconsul. Some, at least, of the nails in our wall blocks, however, may have been for the attachment of something other than paintings. We know ${ }^{53}$ that the shields of the Scionians and those captured from the Lakedaimonians at Sphakteria were displayed in the Stoa Poikile and it is tempting to visualize some at least hung on the interior columns, as the pin holes in the Ionic column fragment (above, p. 246) suggest; others may have hung on pins on the walls. But it is also possible that, in addition to the method of attachment used in the roughly contemporary rebuilt Old Propylon and the much later Stoa of Attalos at Delphi, some of the holes fit the need for attaching the panel pictures of the Poikile and with the evidence of the cuttings and of the chronology and topography noted above strengthen to a point beyond reasonable doubt the conclusion that these battered fragments are indeed all that remains to us (so far as present discovery has revealed) of one of the oldest of Athenian stoai, with one of the longest histories, which gave its name not only to a philosophy but to a character in many tongues today.

[^14]
## CATALOGUE

## All measurements are in meters.

Geison. Aeginetan poros.
A 1693 (Pl. 61). Fragment of front with corona and via.
P. H. 0.195, P. L. 0.13, P. W. 0.145.

Left joint preserved. Doric leaf, alternately blue and red, W. 0.05 , on crowning hawksbeak, H. 0.04 ; red on face and soffit of via, W. 0.085.

On top a hole for sima attachment, 0.003 diam., set 0.038 from front and 0.047 from end, with lead.

A 1694 (Pl. 61). Fragment of front with corona, fascia, and mutule.
P. H. 0.24, P. L. 0.375, P. W. 0.165.

Back half of mutule and fascia below missing. Red and blue on undercut of hawksbeak, H . 0.04 ; red on front and soffit of via, H. 0.047 ; traces of blue on front and soffit of mutule, H . 0.035 .

On top a hole for sima attachment, 0.004 diam., set 0.04 from front, with lead. Two guttae preserved (traces of two more), H . 0.014 , diam. 0.03, 0.06 apart.

A 1695 Fragment of crowning hawksbeak.
P. H. 0.038, P. L. 0.125, P. W. 0.025 .

Front half only. Traces of red on face and in undercut.

A 1696 (Pl. 61). Fragment of mutule. P. H. 0.06, P. L., 0.18, P. W. 0.19 .

Traces of blue on soffit. One gutta preserved.
A 1697 Fragment of geison over ends. Peiraeus stone.
P. H. 0.285, P. L. 0.38, P. W. 0.33.

Red on base fascia, extending 0.005 onto soffit of mutule on which are traces of blue and cuttings for insertion of guttae, center to center 0.093-0.095, 0.045 from back. Base fascia P. H. 0.05. Front of top weathered; tooth chiselled surface behind on which tympanon slabs presumably rested.

A 1718 (Pl. 62). Fragment of base fascia. Peiraeus stone.
P. H. 0.22, P. L. 0.248, P. W. 0.102.

Fascia, H. 0.09, with traces of meander pattern ; indication of projection above now broken away.

Frieze, Triglyphis. Aeginetan poros.
A 1698 (Pl. 61). Fragment of crowning fascia and left glyph.
P. H. 0.275, P. L. 0.41, P. W. 0.16.

Four pieces join. Blue on all parts, even over damaged crowning ovolo. Smooth relieving surface at front of top 0.01 wide measured from face of fascia, 0.013 + with ovolo. Fascia H. 0.107-0.109 including ovolo H. 0.016.

A 1699 (Pl. 61). Fragment of crowning fascia and right glyph.
P. H. 0.28, P. L. 0.15, P. W. 0.195.

Two pieces join. Fascia H. 0.093 plus crowning ovolo 0.017, total 0.11. Blue on fascia and glyph. Slot for metope, W. 0.127, gives 0.10 as metope fascia height, 0.01 thicker than metope.

A 1700 (Pl.61). Fragment of lower part with 3 glyphs.
P. H. 0.49, P. L. 0.465 , P. W. 0.215 .

Center and right glyphs complete, half of left glyph. W. of glyph 0.16, depth of slot for metope 0.138 to break, cut in 0.042 from end of glyph.

## A 1701 Corner fragment.

P. H. 0.21, P. L. 0.285, P. W. 0.20 .

Part of one corner and one central glyph preserved on two adjoining surfaces. Joint on one side.

A 1702 (Pl. 61). Fragment of bottom of right glyph.
P. H. 0.13, P. L. 0.165, P. W. 0.26 .

Relieving surface on bottom $0.01-0.015$ wide. Metope slot complete, W. 0.105-0.11, cut in 0.018 from edge of triglyph.

A 1703 Fragment.
P. H. 0.205, P. L. 0.11, P. W. 0.165.

Metope joint 0.115 to break, cut in 0.026 from edge of glyph.

A 1713 Fragment of top.
P. H. 0.12, P. L. 0.18, P. W. 0.32.

Back of metope joint cut in 0.025 from right joint, P. W. 0.04.

A 3782 Fragment of glyph.
P. H. 0.375, P. L. 0.25, P. W. 0.185.

Parts of all three sides of one glyph, W.0.16, preserved, otherwise broken all round.

Epistyle. Peiraeus stone.
A 1704 (Pl. 62). Fragment of crowning hawksbeak, taenia, regula, guttae.
P. H. 0.165, P. L. 0.40, P. W. 0.12 .

Two pieces join. Traces of red and blue Doric leaf, probable spacing 0.06, on hawksbeak; red on face and soffit of taenia; blue on soffit of regula. Hawksbeak H. 0.036, projects from face of taenia 0.04 ; taenia H. 0.063 , W. 0.041 (bottom), 0.042 (top) ; regula H. 0.045, W. 0.037 (bottom), 0.038 (top), P. L. 0.26; guttae H. 0.02, bottom diam. 0.035, set 0.054 apart at bottom, 0.057 at top. Setting line on top 0.077 from front of beak.

A 1705 (Pl. 62). Fragment of top with crowning hawksbeak, taenia, regula, guttae.
P. H. 0.24, P. L. 0.148, P. W. 0.13 .

Right joint. Red and blue traces on hawksbeak, red on taenia, blue on face and soffit of regula.

A 1706 Fragment of top with taenia (hawksbeak broken away).
P. H. 0.12, P. L. 0.34, P. W. 0.11 .

Red on soffit of taenia.
A 1739 Fragment of lower part of epistyle.
P. H. 0.245, P. L. 0.40, P. W. 0.215.

Face and bottom both have traces of fine stucco; bottom smoothed and weathered, face also slightly weathered.

A 3315 (Pl. 63). Fragment of top, with pry hole.
P. H. 0.315, P. L. 0.36, P. W. 0.35 .

Pry hole H. 0.02, L. 0.06, W. 0.015-0.02.
Pier Capital. Aeginetan poros.
A 1559 (Pls. 63, a, b, 64, a, c). Moulded on four sides, wall tongue projects from one long side.
H. 0.402, top overall $0.968 \times 0.957$, bottom overall $0.78 \times 0.86$, top of capital $0.968 \times 0.642$, bottom of capital $0.78 \times 0.465$. Assembled from 36 pieces.

Blue on crowning fascia with traces of meander pattern ca. 0.03 square; on hawksbeak alternately red and blue Doric leaf, spacing 0.07 ; green on fascia between astragal and fillet; on high fascia, H. 0.157, against blue ground a doubled lotus and palmette pattern, spacing 0.085-0.095 (Pl. 64, c).

On top, at front setting line 0.10 back from front, along long side relieving surface W. 0.10 , H. 0.003. In center, set diagonally, cutting for lifting tongs W. 0.12 , L. 0.48 , broken at bottom. Trace of setting line for back of epistyle 0.42 from front end.

Wall tongue, set back from front of capital 0.01 at bottom, 0.11 at top, bottom L. 0.395, W. 0.372, top L. 0.315, W. 0.395. On outside at top a rabbet H. 0.071 , W. 0.15, the full length. On inside fasciae $H$., from top to bottom, $0.135,0.232,0.036$, top set 0.006 in front of center, center set 0.016 in front of lowest. Inside line of wall tongue 0.505 from front of capital (including moulding), 0.405 from front of pier.

Columns. Aeginetan poros.
Exterior Doric
A 1707 (Pl. 62). Fragments of parts of two flutes.
P. H. 0.31, P. L. 0.33, P. W. 0.14 .

Badly battered, only one arris preserved. Traces of stucco. W. of flute est. ca. 0.125.

## Interior Ionic

A 1708 (P1.62). Fragment of base torus with crowning fillet.
P. H. 0.128, P. L. 0.16, P. W. 0.08 .

Est. max. diam. ca. 1.10.
A 1709 (P1.62). Fragment of top surface and segment of unfluted drum.
P. H. 0.13, P. L. 0.175, P. W. 0.12.

In top, cut in from circular surface, two horizontal pin holes, 1) diam. 0.015 , L. $0.055,2$ ) diam. 0.005 , L. 0.04, both with remnants of iron pin (no longer visible in 1970). Est. diam. at $c a .0 .04$ below top $c a .0 .65$.

Cyma Reversa Crowned Blocks. Peiraeus poros.

A 1714 (Pl. 62). Fragment of top, with interior angle at right.
P. H. 0.18, P. L. 0.475, P. W. 0.33 .

Two pieces join. Moulding, H. 0.093. Anathyrosis 0.05 wide, on angle joint. On top a cutting 0.17 wide slopes down from the front to a height of 0.013 at the 0.17 distance. The front 0.06 of this cutting is finished as a smooth relieving surface. At the right end of the block for a length of at least 0.187 from the joint the relieving surface is 0.10 wide and behind it the surface remains level ; the cutting further along on the block does not exist. Unfortunately the break in the block came just about where the cutting ended so it is not possible to measure exactly the length of the uncut portion, but traces of a rise above the cutting occur at 0.14.

A 1715 (Pl. 62). Fragment with top.
P. H. 0.30, P. L. 0.25, P. W. 0.29 .

Est. W. of cutting on top (front of moulding battered) 0.195, H. at back of cutting 0.013 .

A 1716 (Pl.62). Fragment of crowning cyma reversa.
P. H. 0.105, P. L. 0.215, P. W. 0.17.

Smoothed relieving surface 0.06 W . on top, broad chisel behind.

A 1717 Fragment of crowning cyma reversa.
P. H. 0.11, P. L. 0.125, P. W. 0.15 .

A 2008 Fragment of block with crowning cyma reversa.
P. H. 0.24, P. L. 0.145, P. W. 0.25.

Left joint preserved. Anathyrosis W. 0.105. Cutting on top W. 0.18.
A 2204 Fragment of block with crowning cyma reversa.
P. H. 0.37 , P. L. 0.26, P. W. 0.32 .

Width of cutting on top 0.175 as preserved (cf. A 1715), H. at back 0.01.

Epikranitis. Aeginetan poros.
A 1710 (Pls. 62, 64, b). Fragment of top of epikranitis with crown and fascia.
P. H. 0.235, P. L. 0.22, P. W. 0.12.

Left joint preserved. Crowning moulding battered. Blue on fascia with stencil of lotus and encircled palmette design, spacing 0.081 .

Anathyrosis W. 0.11 at top, 0.075 at front. Crowning moulding H. 0.032, fascia H. 0.13. Two " holes" on anathyrosis from face in, 0.04 and $0.035+$, directly and 0.04 below fascia, $c a$. 0.01 diam. Top treated with crossed chisel strokes.

A 1711, A 1712 and unnumbered piece (Pls. 62, 64, b). Fragments of rubble wall with mortar to which blue color and pattern from epikranitis blocks re-used against them has adhered.

A 1711 shows lotus and palmette, L. 0.16, H. 0.12 ; traces of red on edges of lotus petals and green on calyx of lotus, background blue; A 1710 was found against A 1711.

A 1712 had, when found, white encircled palmette with green stripe in central petal, against blue ground.

Unnumbered piece has small bits of blue ground with red on petal.

Krepidoma. Peiraeus poros.
A 1735 (Pl. 63). Fragment of bottom step with top, face, bottom and left joint.
P. H. 0.23 , P. L. 0.43 , P. W. 0.153 .

Anathyrosis band, W. 0.07, at front only of left joint, cut back 0.009 behind. Face weathered for 0.115 from top, broad chisel finish below and mark of irregular ground line. Top strongly weathered. Bottom finished with broad chisel.

A 1743 Fragment of step with face, bottom and right joint.
P. H. 0.31, P. L. 0.515, P. W. 0.23.

Anathyrosis band, W. 0.04, at front only of right joint, cut back 0.005 behind. Face badly weathered to line 0.155 below present broken top. Bottom finished with broad chisel.

A 1741 Fragment of krepidoma block, inside corner angle.
P. H. 0.24, P. L. 0.34, P. W. 0.255 .

Both surfaces (at right angles) roughly finished with broad chisel. At right end final 0.06 cut back at obtuse angle 0.06 as preserved. Might also be a block of the epistyle. Both preserved surfaces were unseen.

A 1740 (Pl. 65). Fragment of stylobate with top and face.
P. H. 0.285, P. L. 0.35, P. W. 0.22 .

Top badly weathered; face somewhat weathered.

Material different; may not belong to the Stoa.

Wall Blocks. Aeginetan poros.
A 1560 (Pl. 65). Fragment with face, with one pin in place and two pin holes, right joint and top, with cutting.
P. H. 0.275, P. L. 0.26, P. W. 0.125.

At left broken edge of face, 0.074 from top, iron pin, diam. $0.013,0.04$ deep in stone, projects 0.005 to break. At 0.022 to right of pin and at 0.045 and 0.06 from top two pin holes, diam. 0.003 and 0.007 , depth 0.019 . On top a broad chiselled cutting, H. 0.035, P. L. on face
0.022 , cut in 0.093 from face. More roughly cut rebate, W. 0.10, at top.

Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p. 328, pl. 103, c.
Ill. London News, Jan. 7, 1950, p. 26, figs. 2, 4.

A 1720 (Pl. 65). Fragment with face, with three pin holes and cutting, and bottom.
P. H. 0.205, P. L. 0.18, P. W. 0.11.

Three pin holes: diam. a) 0.003 , b) 0.005 , c) 0.006 ; depth a) 0.029 , b) 0.037 , c) 0.117 ; from a) to b) horizontally 0.12 , from b) to c) vertically 0.08 . Cutting in face 0.13 from bottom, H. 0.07, L. 0.025, depth 0.04 .

A 1721 (Pl. 65). Fragment with face, with five pin holes, and bottom.
P. H. 0.38, P. L. 0.31, P. W. 0.16.

At 0.025 and 0.013 from bottom, two pin holes 0.15 apart, diam. 0.006-0.01, depth 0.05, in bottom of right hole bits of iron pin. At 0.267 and 0.272 from bottom two pin holes 0.155 apart, diam. 0.01 , depth 0.05 , in left one iron pin in place. At 0.322 a similar slightly smaller hole only 0.01 to left of the one 0.272 from bottom.

A 1722 (Pl. 65). Fragment of upper left corner with face, with three pin holes, top and left joint.
P. H. 0.14, P. L. 0.21, P. W. 0.145.

In left joint remains of pins in two grooves 0.055 and 0.08 from top, diam. 0.005 , depth 0.094 and 0.043 . In face 0.075 from joint, 0.029 from top, pin hole diam. 0.008 .

A 1723 Fragment with face, with two pins in place and two pin holes, and left joint.
P. H. 0.19, P. L. 0.115, P. W. 0.10.

At 0.08 and 0.06 from left joint, 0.055 apart vertically, two pin holes diam. 0.01 and 0.015 , depth 0.04 and 0.045 . Between these at 0.057 and 0.097 from joint, 0.015 apart vertically, two pins in place, diam. 0.007 .

A 1724 Fragment with face, with one pin and four pin holes, and small bit of bottom.
P. H. 0.46, P. L. 0.46, P. W. 0.32.

Vertical row of pin holes at $0.062,0.133$,
0.191 and 0.23 from bottom, lowest slightly out of line to left and only 0.005 in diam. and 0.006 deep, probably never finished, others diam. ca. 0.007 for pin 0.005 , depth 0.05 . At 0.10 to left of row and 0.19 from bottom iron pin in place (in present broken left edge of stone), diam. 0.01-0.015, depth 0.055 .

A 1725 Fragment with face, with two pin holes.
P. H. 0.41, P. L. 0.47 , P. W. 0.23 .

Two pin holes, one 0.055 from second in present break of block, diam. 0.007 , depth 0.034 .

A 1726 Fragment with face, with two pin holes.
P. H. 0.31, P. L. 0.375, P. W. 0.22 .

Two pin holes 0.05 apart, diam. 0.01 , complete hole depth 0.065 , hole broken by break of block depth 0.123.

A 1727 Fragment with face, with one pin hole, and bottom.
P. H. 0.32, P. L. 0.22, P. W. 0.13.

At 0.265 from bottom one pin hole, diam. 0.01 , depth 0.028 .

A 1728 Fragment with face, with one pin hole, left joint with cutting and bottom.
P. H. 0.26, P. L. 0.42, P. W. 0.33 .

Pin hole at 0.065 from bottom, diam. 0.0150.02 , depth more than 0.18 . Cutting on left side cut in 0.10 from face, 0.03 high.

A 1729 (Pl. 64). Fragment with one pin hole in broken face and bottom.
P. H. 0.225, P. L. 0.41, P. W. 0.40.

Pin hole 0.075 from bottom, diam. 0.017, depth 0.02 as preserved in broken front. This is the widest preserved wall block fragment.

A 1742 Fragment of block with face, cutting on top, and right end.
P. H. 0.30, P. L. 0.47 , P. W. 0.32 .

Top broken but at right end a cutting P. H. 0.06 , L. 0.235 , the full preserved width of the fragment.

A 3314 Fragment with face, with one pin hole, left joint and bottom.
P. H. 0.168, P. L. 0.265, P. W. 0.18.

Pin hole at 0.043 from left joint and 0.065 from bottom, diam. 0.013, depth 0.035 .

A 3316 Fragment with top and face. P. H. 0.185, P. L. 0.31, P. W. 0.185 .

A 3317 Fragment of face, with one pin hole, left joint and bottom.
P. H. 0.275, P. L. 0.23, P. W. 0.12 .

Pin hole at 0.03 from left joint and 0.055 from bottom, diam. 0.01, depth 0.047.

A 3783 Fragment with face, with one pin hole, and bottom.
P. H. 0.105, P. L. 0.20, P. W. 0.06.

Pin hole at break at top, diam. 0.015, depth 0.03.

A 3784 Fragment of face, with one pin hole.
P. H. 0.24, P. L. 0.15, P. W. 0.13.

Pin hole in face diam. 0.01 , depth 0.035 .
A 3785 Fragment of face, with one pin hole. P. H. 0.12, P. L. 0.23, P. W. 0.207.

Pin hole at break at left edge, diam. 0.01, depth 0.05.

A 3786 Fragment of face, with one pin hole.
P. H. 0.28, P. L. 0.39, P. W. 0.28 .

Pin hole at break, diam. 0.008, depth 0.055 .
A 1730 (P1.65). Fragment of top, with double T clamp cutting.
P. H. 0.16, P. L. 0.17 , P. W. 0.21 .

Clamp cutting L. 0.07 , W. 0.018 , depth 0.05 .
A 1731 (Pl. 62). Fragment with top, with part of clamp cutting, and right joint.
P. H. 0.15, P. L. 0.16, P. W. 0.105.

Cutting W. 0.015, depth 0.015 , P. L. 0.025 with lead at end. Rough cutting 0.095 from joint.
A 1732 (Pl. 65). Fragment with face, with patch of plaster, right joint, and bottom. P. H. 0.295, P. L. 0.27, P. W. 0.195.

At 0.03 from the bottom, on the face a patch
of white plaster, P. H. 0.087, P. L. 0.15, Th. 0.0035 , with a horizontal incised dividing line 0.06 from the bottom surface and 0.057 from the top of the preserved piece of plaster which is broken along the top as if another similar line had been there. The lower band painted yellow.

A 1733 (Pl. 65). Fragment of face, with patch of plaster.
P. H. 0.30, P. L. 0.30, P. W. 0.245.

Patch of plaster P. H. 0.067, P. L. 0.08, Th. 0.003 , with trace of incised line at bottom. Surface finished with claw chisel.

A 1734 Fragment with top, with cutting, and back.
P. H. 0.465, P. L. 0.21, P. W. 0.305.

Back surface with broad irregular chisel marks, not to be seen. On top cutting, P. H. 0.035 , cut in 0.138 from back.

A 1744 Fragment with face, with cuttings, and bottom.
P. H. 0.315, P. L. 0.38 , P. W. 0.215 .

At 0.10 from bottom at left end as preserved cutting P. H. 0.028, P. L. 0.05, W. (depth) 0.028. Near right break cutting H. 0.04, L. $0.02-0.04$, W. 0.025 at no apparently reasonable angle with other cutting.

A 3318 Fragment of Corner Block with two faces and bottom.

$$
\text { P. H. 0.23, P. L. } 0.258, \text { P. W. } 0.186 .
$$

Front smoothed and weathered with traces of fine stucco; bottom smoothed with crossed fine tooth chisel.

A 3787 Fragment with one surface, finished with broad rough chisel.
$0.15 \times 0.27 \times 0.255 \mathrm{~W}$.

One preserved surface not to be seen.
Peiraeus poros (? Orthostates).
A 1736 (P1. 65). Fragment with top, with lifting tong cutting, face, right joint, and back.
P. H. 0.26, P. L. 0.26 , W. complete 0.31 .

Right half of lifting tong cutting 0.135 from front, 0.115 from back, W. 0.06, P. L. 0.12, max. depth 0.088 . Anathyrosis at front of right joint W. 0.10 , cut back 0.018 deep behind. Face smoothed; top finished with tooth chisel; back finished with broad chisel, not to be seen.

A 1737 Fragment with trace of top, face, left joint, and back.
P. H. 0.42, P. L. 0.17, W. complete 0.31 .

Anathyrosis at front of left joint, W. 0.1050.12 , at top P. W. 0.07. Face somewhat smoothed and weathered, back finished with broad chisel, not to be seen.

A 1738 Fragment with top, with lifting tong cutting, face, and back.
P. H. 0.35, P. L. 0.30 , W. complete 0.31 .

Lifting tong cutting 0.115 from face, 0.125 from back, W. at bottom 0.067, max. depth 0.11. Face smoothed and weathered; top finished with toothed chisel ; back finished with broad chisel, not to be seen.

A 3788 Fragment with top, with part of lifting tong.
P. H. 0.30, P. L. 0.30, P. W. 0.295.

Part of cutting for lifting tong in top.
A 3789 Fragment with one surface (? top).
P. H. 0.29 , P. L. 0.25, P. W. 0.255 .

One preserved surface, finished with broad tooth chisel.

Lucy Shoe Meritt



PLATE 62


A 1704 Epistyle Crown


A 1714 Epistyle Backer Crown


A 1715 Epistyle Backer Crown


A 1709 Ionic Column Drum


A 1708 Ionic Column Base


A 1718 Geison, Base Fascia


A 1710 Epikranitis
1:5


A 1705 Epistyle Crown


A 1716 Epistyle Backer Crown


A 1707 Doric Column Drum

A 1731 Wall Block, Top with Clamp Cutting


A 1711 Pattern of Epikranitis

a. A 1559 Pier Capital and Wall Tongue, Outside

b. A 1559 Pier Capital and Wall Tongue, Inside


A 1735 Step, Top and Face (1:5)


A 3315 Epistyle (?) Fragment, Top with Pry Hole (1:5)

a. A 1559 Pier Capital, Restored, Side

b. Painted Ornament on Epikranitis, Restored Drawing


A 1729 Wall Block, Bottom (1:5)


A 1560 Face with Iron Pin in Place (1:3)


A 1732 With Plaster


A 1722 Joint and Face with Pin Holes and Top


A 1721 Face with Pin Holes


A 1730 Top with Clamp Cutting


A 1720 Face with Pin Holes and Cutting

A 1733 With Plaster


A 1740 Stylobate, Top Wall Blocks (1:5)


A 1736 With Lifting Tong Cutting


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ H. A. Thompson, Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pp. 327-329, pl. 103; R. E. Wycherley, Phoenix, VII, 1953, pp. 22-24. It is a pleasure to record my gratitude to Homer A. Thompson, then Director of the Excavations in the Athenian Agora, for asking me to make a study of this material, for patience during the long delay in its completion, and for stimulating encouragement and assistance of many kinds. It is a further pleasure to note my appreciation of the interest and assistance of John Travlos and Charles K. Williams II, and of William B. Dinsmoor, Jr. who made the drawings for Figures 2-6. I also acknowledge with gratitude my indebtedness to the American Philosophical Society for a grant from the Penrose Fund which made possible the study of the material.
    ${ }^{2}$ It must be emphasized that such dimensions and other details of reconstruction as are only estimated in the following pages as well as the plan of the building must remain tentative until the foundations and more elements of the superstructure are found. Since, however, the renewed excavations in the Athenian Agora, along the north side, have not yet, during the 1970 season, revealed the foundations or any further members of the building represented by these fragments, it has seemed advisable to present without waiting longer these fragments and such conclusions as may be drawn from them; their intrinsic interest justifies making them available to scholars.

[^1]:    ${ }^{3}$ A. W. Parsons, Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 88.
    ${ }^{4}$ J. Perlzweig, Athenian Agora, VII, Roman Lamps, Princeton, 1961, nos. 1330, 1747.
    ${ }^{5}$ Comparable use of two materials occurs, among many other examples, in two stoai of the Athenian Agora of later periods. In the late 5th century Stoa of Zeus poros for walls and triglyphs is combined with marble for krepidoma, columns, epistyle, metopes and geisa (Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 21-31). In the Middle Stoa of the first half of the 2nd century the same two materials as in our fragments are used with the same distinction: Peiraeus poros for krepidoma and epistyle with Aeginetan poros for all other members except marble for metopes.

[^2]:    ${ }^{6}$ F. C. Penrose, Principles of Athenian Architecture, London, 1851, chap. VIII, pl. XXIII, chap. IX, pl. XXVI; H. Koch, Studien zum Theseustempel in Athen, Berlin, 1955, pls. 56, 2, 57, 4, 5 .

[^3]:    ${ }^{13}$ P. G. M. $=$ Lucy T. Shoe, Profiles of Greek Mouldings, Cambridge, Mass., 1936.

[^4]:    ${ }^{14}$ Oscar Broneer, Isthmia, I, Temple of Poseidon, Princeton, 1971, p. 81.

[^5]:    ${ }^{15}$ It is conceivable that these two pieces of geison are not to be associated with the others. Since, however, they were found in close association with the Aeginetan pieces and no other buildings are represented among the fragments in the wall, it has seemed advisable to present a possible connection. The height of the base fascia is paralleled proportionately in an apparently contemporary building in Argos.
    ${ }^{16}$ Note that marble metopes had already been used in the otherwise poros Old Athena Temple on the Acropolis in the third quarter of the 6th century (Th. Wiegand, Die Porosarchitektur der Akropolis zu Athen, Cassel, 1904, pp. 9-11, fig. 14) and would be used with poros triglyphs in the late 5th century Stoa of Zeus (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 28, fig. 18) and again in the otherwise all poros Middle Stoa of the Agora in the first half of the 2nd century.

[^6]:    ${ }^{17}$ The date once given for this building in the mid 5th century (E. Curtius, Olympia, II, Berlin, 1892, p. 43) has been shown by its mouldings and clamps to be too late (P.G.M., pp. 106, 127; L. Drees, Olympia, Stuttgart, 1967, p. 142).
    ${ }^{18}$ P.G.M., pp. 50-51, 169, pl. XXIII, 1, 3, 4, 6-13.

[^7]:    ${ }^{23}$ Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 25-27, figs. 12, 15, 22.

[^8]:    ${ }^{24}$ P.G.M., p. 148, pl. LXVII, 1 ; Hesperia, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 188, fig. 2, b, pl. 49, e.
    ${ }^{25}$ Rhys Carpenter, The Architects of the Parthenon, Penguin Book, 1970, pp. 45, 54, 67.
    ${ }^{26}$ S. Wide and L. Kjellberg, Ath. Mitt., XX, 1895, pp. 275-276, fig. 9.
    ${ }^{27}$ G. Welter, Troizen und Kalaureia, Berlin, 1937, p. 46, pls. 36, b, c, 38, a.
    ${ }^{28}$ Hesperia, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 187-188.

[^9]:    ${ }^{29}$ It will be noted below that fragments of the regular wall blocks have a preserved thickness of at least 0.40 m .; the wall thickness must have exceeded that figure.

[^10]:    ${ }^{31}$ P.G.M., p. 45, pl. XXI, 22, 23, Hephaisteion and Parthenon; Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 38-39. fig. 22 (where A 388 should read A 2388) Temple of Ares. Cf. the ovolo epikranitis in the Ionic interior of the main building of the Propylaia, P.G.M., p. 27, pl. XV, 14.

[^11]:    ${ }^{32}$ Corinth, I, iv, The South Stoa, Princeton, 1954, p. 35, figs. 12, 13, Frontispiece.
    ${ }^{33}$ Note, most conveniently, the Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian Agora as rebuilt following the evidence of the original building, The Stoa of Attalos II in Athens (Picture Book, No. 2), Princeton, 1959, figs. 6, 7, 28, 30.
    ${ }^{34}$ P.G.M., p. 59, pl. XXVII, 2, 3.

[^12]:    ${ }^{35}$ For stoai with screen walls at the ends of the front colonnade see Portico of Philip at Delos, Délos, VII, 1, figs. 99, 100, pls. IV, V, VII and the other examples cited on pp. 61-62, notably the East Stoa of the Asklepieion at Athens ('E $\phi$. 'A $\rho_{\chi}$., 1908, p. 265, pl. 9, 1, 2), Stoa of the Theater of Dionysos at Athens (Dörpfeld-Reisch, Das griechische Theater, p. 13), Stoa of the Amphiaraion of Oropos (B.S.A., LXIII, 1968, pp. 148, 156, pls. 45-50), Stoa at Assos (Clarke, Bacon and Koldewey, Investigations at Assos, I, 1902, pp. 27-31, 35-49), South Stoa at Priene (Th. Wiegand, Priene, pp. 191-192, figs. 184-185), Northwest Stoa in the Agora at Thasos (R. Martin, Etudes Thasiennes, VI, L'Agora, Paris, 1959, pp. 20, 52-53, fig. 4, plans C-E), all of considerably later date than our stoa. If the restoration of the Stoa of Brauronian Artemis on the Acropolis at Athens and its date are correct, it offers a roughly contemporary example (G. P. Stevens, Hesperia, V, 1936, pp. 466, 470, figs. 18-22) in the last years of Kimonian administration. J. Travlos has suggested that our pier capital comes from the left rather than the right end of the stoa, that the deeper part (P1. 63, b) is the front corresponding to half the diameter of the columns and that half columns were attached to the front of the screen wall (H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, Athenian Agora, XIV, Topography and Monuments, in press). One would welcome positive evidence of the use of attached half columns as early as the decade before the middle of the 5th century b.c.
    ${ }^{36}$ The date of the Stoa Basileios in the Athenian Agora has never been clear from the sources, but discovery of the Basileios in June 1970 has shown that it preceded the Poikile by nearly a century.
    ${ }^{37}$ R. E. Wycherley, Phoenix, VII, 1953, p. 24.
    ${ }^{38}$ R. E. Wycherley, Athenian Agora, III, Testimonia, Princeton, 1957, p. 45, note 1.
    ${ }^{39}$ A. Reinach, Recueil Milliet, Paris, 1921, p. 154, no. 148; Wycherley, Athenian Agora, III, p. 23, no. 10.

[^13]:    ${ }^{46}$ B.S.A., LX, 1965, pp. 41-42.
    ${ }^{47}$ Parthenos and Parthenon, p. 44, where the Stoa Peisianaktos is noted as an example of a building associated with an individual, the kind of patronage impossible after the reforms of Ephialtes in 462.
    ${ }^{48}$ Epist., 54 and 135.

[^14]:    ${ }^{49}$ Swindler, op. cit., pp. 216 and note 59, 424 ; Wycherley, Phoenix, VII, 1953, p. 24.
    ${ }^{50}$ Swindler, op. cit., p. 424, note 14a.
    ${ }^{51}$ W. Judeich, Topographie von Athen ${ }^{2}$, Munich, 1930, pp. 230-231.
    ${ }^{52}$ G. Roux, B. C. H., LXXVI, 1952, pp. 180-183, fig. 25.
    ${ }^{53}$ Pausanias, I, 15, 5.

