

# THE ODEION IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 16-80)

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### *Exploration*<sup>1</sup>

### INTRODUCTION

THE CAMPAIGN of 1934 brought to light near the middle of the Agora the southwest corner of a building which, judged by the massive proportions and good workmanship of its foundations, had obviously been of some consequence (Pl. 24). By the end of the season, however, only two angular sections of foundation,

<sup>1</sup> In the course of this study I have incurred deep obligations to several colleagues: to Dorothy Burr Thompson, Margaret Crosby and Eugene Vanderpool who excavated the building and left

*Hesperia*, XIX, 2

the one inside the other, had appeared; between them lay a firm earth floor from which rose the stumps of four marble columns. A vast mass of burnt debris overlying the floor proved clearly that the building had been destroyed by fire, probably in the third century of our era, but its scheme and its identification remained obscure.

In the campaign of 1935 practically all the rest of the building was cleared (Pls. 22, 23). The appearance of an orchestra and marble benches together with traces of a stage and scene building left no doubt that we had to do with a theatre; the presence of broken roof tiles throughout the area showed that the building had been roofed. Its identification with "the theatre called the Odeion" mentioned by Pausanias in his account of the Agora (I, 8, 6; 14, 1) was now proposed. In 1936 the removal of the deep accumulation over and around the building was completed. In 1939 and 1946 supplementary digging was carried out to permit its closer study. The whole area has now been explored to bedrock with the exception of the northern parts of the east and west corridors. Some additional information on the setting and on the approaches to the building may be expected from the final exploration of the environs to north, east and west. More fragments of its superstructure may also come to light in the demolition of late walls in the area.<sup>1</sup>

### *Identification of the Building*

The identification of the building follows easily and certainly from Pausanias' account of the Agora (I, 8-14).<sup>2</sup> Immediately after his reference to the Temple of Ares and the adjacent statues he names the "theatre which they call the Odeion"; after discussing the statues that stood in front of the building and inside it, he notes that near by is the "fountain called Enneakrounos." The identification of the Temple of Ares may now be regarded as certain;<sup>3</sup> this temple stood some thirty metres to the northwest of our building. At the southwest corner of the Agora, some seventy-

useful records of their findings; to Alison Frantz who produced most of the photographs; to Marian Welker who made the rendered restorations of the capitals (Pls. 30b, 34b) and did the drawings of the orchestra floor (Pl. 43a and b) and of the stucco (Pl. 56); to Lucy Talcott who smoothed the way at every turn. Mr. Gorham Phillips Stevens by his lively interest and acute observations has helped in solving many problems in the restoration. I owe most, however, to John Travlos, for only by the alchemy of his skill, architectural feeling and patience has the design of a great building been won back from a few dozen shattered blocks. His signature on the drawings implies his fullest cooperation in every stage of the study and only his own modesty has kept his name from the title page.

<sup>1</sup> For the excavation reports cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 362 f.; V, 1936, pp. 6-14; VI, 1937, p. 352; IX, 1940, pp. 304 f.; XVI, 1947, pp. 200 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For a general discussion of Pausanias' route through the Agora see E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 128-137 (for the Odeion, p. 133). Dörpfeld's contention that our building is to be identified with the true "Theseion" is too fantastic to merit discussion (*Alt-Athen und seine Agora*, Berlin, 1937 and 1939, *passim*). On the arbitrary handling of the problem by Carlo Anti (*Teatri greci arcaici*, Padua, 1947, pp. 192 ff.) cf. my review in *A.J.P.*, LXIX, 1948, pp. 451 ff.

<sup>3</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 1-52.

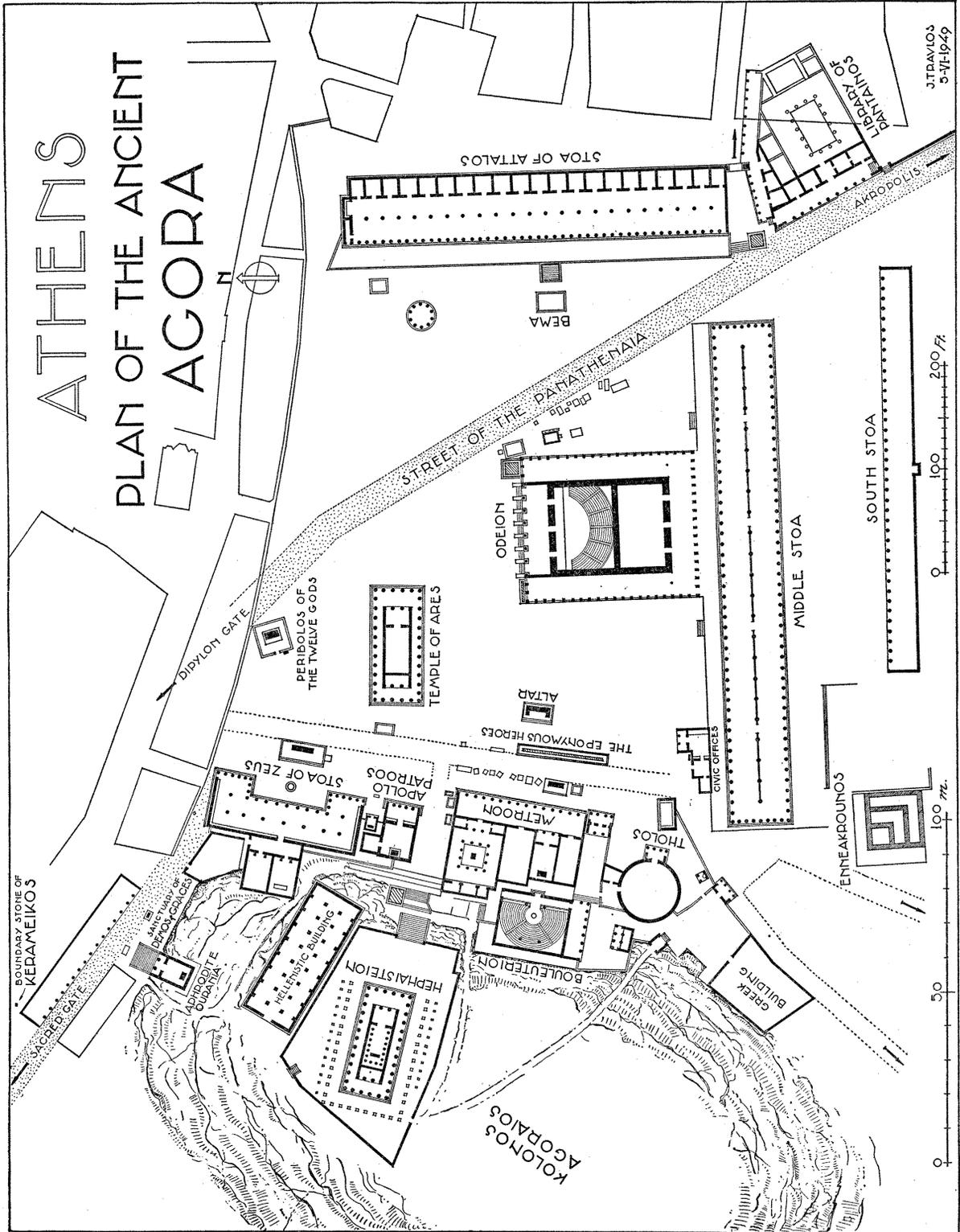


Fig. 1. Plan of the Agora in the Second Century after Christ, Restored

five metres to the southwest of our building, have appeared the foundations and scattered blocks of a structure that was certainly a large fountain house of the late archaic period; that this was the fountain house referred to by Pausanias as the Enneakrounos may be taken as virtually certain. Between the Temple of Ares and this fountain house the only theatre-like building is the structure under discussion.

It has generally been assumed that the building referred to by Pausanias is identical with "the theatre in the Kerameikos called the Agrippeion" which is twice given as the locale for rhetorical displays of about the middle of the second century after Christ by Philostratos in his *Lives of the Sophists* (II, 5, 4; II, 8, 4). The identification, on the face of it, seems reasonable. The name Agrippeion, however, implies that Agrippa had to do with the erection of the building; this too had been assumed by scholars both before and since the discovery of the building in the Agora.<sup>1</sup> It remains to be seen whether the evidence now available for dating the Odeion will permit of this association (see below, p. 89).

### *Present State of the Building*

The collapse of the building in consequence of the fire in the third century after Christ sealed under and so preserved for the excavators many fragmentary blocks from the superstructure and much evidence of value for its reconstruction (Pl. 16). Soon after the fire, however, the ruinous building was stripped of the great bulk of its stone and marble which was immediately incorporated in the new fortifications, the so-called "Valerian Wall," to the east; many remnants of these blocks have been recovered from the "Valerian Wall" in the course of the current excavations. Certain material did not readily lend itself to re-use, a consideration which will account for the survival on the spot of a comparatively large number of great column capitals, and of the colossal marble sculpture that had adorned the façade of the Odeion. These marbles came to light about the year 400 when a large gymnasium was erected above the ruins of the Odeion (Fig. 21). Four of the colossal statues were re-used by the gymnasium builders to decorate the façade of the new building and several of the capitals were imbedded in the concrete of its foundations. Between the destruction of the Odeion and the erection of the Gymnasium the ground level in the area had risen from one to three metres. The Gymnasium flourished for somewhat over a century; thereafter it was abandoned and gradually went to pieces. In the period of desolation that followed, silt again began to wash down, raising the ground level still higher. House builders of the Byzantine period thoroughly pillaged the ruins of the Gymnasium but seldom intruded into the depths of the Odeion.

<sup>1</sup> See especially W. Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pp. 252-260; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, Cairo, 1927, p. 180; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, Munich, 1931, p. 350; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 51 and *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 383 f.

The distribution of those elements of the Odeion that were found *in situ* by the excavators will be clear from the plan of the actual state (Pl. 16). On this plan have also been indicated the places of finding of the more important loose lying blocks from the superstructure.

The walls are best preserved in the southeast part of the building where the foundations are intact and the outer wall still rises to a height of two courses above floor level (Pl. 27a). The preservation of this part of the building is due to the great depth to which it was set, for this led to its early silting. Many blocks remain in position in the line of the north wall of the building, which still rises to a maximum height of two courses above ground level at either extremity. The lowest foundation course of the scaenae frons has survived intact, thanks again to its great depth. The small-stone packing for the original cross-wall between lobby and auditorium could be traced throughout the width of the building while many blocks of a later cross-wall were preserved by the overlying concrete foundation of the Gymnasium.

Most of the marble paving of the orchestra and a little of that of the scene building were found in place, albeit badly shattered, and enough of the benches, stairs and stage front remain to permit the reconstruction of those parts. The packed earth floor of the outer corridor is well preserved over most of its length and of an original total of 23 small columns that stood in the corridor nine are now represented by stumps, eight others by bedding blocks.

Across the north front of the building enough blocks and foundation beddings remain to permit the restoration of an original small porch on the axis while scattered blocks survive from seven marble stairways flanked by statue bases which subsequently took the place of the porch.

One well preserved pilaster capital was found imbedded in the late Roman foundations near the northwest corner of the Odeion. Three or possibly four round capitals from the main order have survived, one in a late Roman foundation near the northeast corner of the Odeion, the others in the destruction debris of the building in its south central part. Small fragments from the bases of both round columns and pilasters were found incorporated in the concrete foundations of the Gymnasium at various points. The best preserved of several fragmentary round column drums lay in late Roman accumulation to the north of the northeast corner of the Odeion. One large and one small fragment from the main architrave of the building lay on the floor of the outer corridor near the southwest corner. The best preserved cornice block appeared in the same area. Vast masses of broken terracotta roof tiles overlay the whole area of the building while a number of marble tiles, several of them complete though broken, lay in the burnt debris across its south end.

Enough of the decorative sculpture of the stage front was recovered from the debris above the orchestra floor to indicate the original scheme. The excavation also yielded a number of new and useful fragments of the colossal marble figures.

*The Pre-Odeion History of the Area*

The Odeion was planted in the very middle of the ancient square and against the terrace wall of the Middle Stoa, a building of the second century B.C. The state of the terrain before the erection of the Odeion has been made clear by the excavation, particularly in the mid part of the area where a considerable stretch of the pre-Odeion floor of the square has been swept clear (Pl. 26a). This early floor slopes gently upward from north to south, rising somewhat more abruptly in the width of the terrace of the Middle Stoa (Pl. 18). In order that the gradient might be uniform and the surface smooth, the bedrock had been trimmed down in places; elsewhere hollows were filled with earth. Everywhere the surface was gravelly and very hard packed.

Very few remains of earlier structures have come to light in the area of the Odeion. The most considerable lies in the southwest corner and consists of a foundation for a rectangular structure together with short lengths of what would appear to have been enclosing walls to north and east (Pls. 16, 26b).

Both the central part of the monument and its peribolos have been cut away to west and south by the builders of the inner rectangle of Odeion foundations. The principal element in the early foundation is made up of a single course of heavy conglomerate blocks set well down in the bedrock; a still lower course of stretchers beneath the north edge of the monument suggests that the greatest weight fell there. Although the north edge is now overlaid by the foundation for the original cross-wall of the Odeion, it may be examined in section toward the west; the north-to-south dimension is 3.10 m. The west end was cut away by the Odeion builders, who left an east to west length of only 3.75 m. From the configuration of bedrock, however, it is clear that the west end must have fallen within the width of the inner foundation of the Odeion. Restored within these limits and with a symmetrical arrangement of blocks, the foundation would have measured originally about 5 m. in length from east to west.

From the southeast corner of this rectangular foundation a wall bedding *ca.* 0.80 m. wide extends southward only to be cut away after a course of 2.75 m. by the Odeion foundation trench. In the small area that remains in the angle between the rectangular foundation and the wall bedding, the rock was dressed, but was left at a comparatively high level, perhaps to carry stone flagging; a similar bedding *ca.* 1.10 m. wide along the east side of both rectangle and wall bedding may have served the same purpose.

The peribolos wall consisted of a socle 0.45 m. thick, *ca.* 0.35 m. high, made of field stone and re-used building blocks, including a fragment of a marble Doric column capital; on top of this socle remain traces of sun-dried brick. The north wall lay parallel to the rectangular foundation at an interval of 3.40 m.; the east wall does

not quite align with the interior foundations, lying at a maximum interval of 1.60 m. at the north, less toward the south.

Although late disturbance has removed practically all the evidence, there is nothing to suggest that the monument with which we are here concerned ever extended as far south as the terrace wall of the Middle Stoa.

The excavation yielded no specific evidence for the date of the monument. The free use of conglomerate in its foundations, however, would preclude a date earlier than the late fifth or early fourth century B.C.; it was obviously dismantled by the Odeion builders in the time of Augustus. The purpose of the monument is obscure.

Another tantalizing remnant of a pre-Odeion monument lies beneath the west part of the orchestra (Pl. 16). All that remains is a single large block of hard, cream-colored poros measuring  $1.60 \times 0.95$  m. with a preserved height of 0.35 m. Its top, however, had been cut down an undeterminable amount by those who laid the orchestra floor. In the footing trench at the side of the block lay a few working chips of white marble, probably Parian, of good quality, deriving no doubt from the preparation of the plinth that must have rested on the massive bedding block. The material of the large block would suggest a date in the archaic period. Another slight indication of an early date is given by the orientation of the block which diverges slightly from that of the Odeion, approximating rather that of the Altar of the Twelve Gods and of the Panathenaic Way.

The prominence of the site suggests that the monument was of some importance. It may have been carried off by the Persians or, if still standing when work began on the Odeion, it may have been removed and set up again elsewhere by the Odeion builders.

Deep exploration beneath the central part of the Odeion revealed abundant evidence of early habitation: scattered sherds of the Middle Helladic period, a shallow well of the time transitional between the submycenaean and protogeometric periods, a pit packed with broken pottery of the eighth century B.C. and a well of the seventh century. The latest regular deposit of a household nature dated from the early sixth century B.C.; soon after that time, presumably, the area began to be used for public purposes.<sup>1</sup>

#### FIRST PERIOD

##### *General Scheme of the Building* (Pl. 20)

The diagrammatic plan of the foundations brings out at once the curiously dual nature of the building (Fig. 2). It consists first of a central core comprising the auditorium, dressing room and lobby essential to a theatre. Flanking the core to east,

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 202. On the plan (Pl. 16) the submycenaean well is marked "a," the eighth century pit "b" and the seventh century well "c."

west and south is a second element that has been interpreted as an outward-looking balcony supported on a basement storey. Since the floor of the balcony lay at the same level as the terrace of the Middle Stoa, the balcony might be regarded simply as an extension of that terrace. The principal entrance to the auditorium would seem to have led in from the south via the balcony and the lobby. There was originally a small porch on the axis of the north façade; this was intended no doubt for the performers, perhaps also for distinguished visitors.

The foundations of the inner rectangle are markedly heavier than those of the outer. They carried the massive wall that enclosed the auditorium proper and retained the earth filling beneath its benches. These are the only foundations in the building of sufficient width to receive the three series of large columns which are attested by surviving fragments. We have accordingly incorporated these large columns in a second storey rising above the auditorium in the core of the building, two series of them in the periphery of the inner rectangle, one on the dividing line between auditorium proper and lobby.

The outer rectangle of foundations, as we know from the remains at the south-east corner of the building, carried a comparatively light wall of limestone blocks; since the foundation is uniform in width and of the same strength on all four sides, this wall is presumably to be carried all round the building. A study of the cross section (Pl. 19) will show that the balcony together with its basement rose only to the same height as the lower storey of the central core, allowing the upper storey of the mid part to stand clear.

The layout of the building is based on the column spacing of the main order. Although no column base remains in place and no architrave is preserved to its full length, the spacing may be recovered on the assumption that the cross-wall and the line of columns dividing auditorium from lobby aligned with pilasters in the side walls; the general proportions of the order show clearly that the breadth of the lobby comprised two column spaces, each of 3.83 metres. This spacing results in eight pilasters across the ends of the building, ten on the long sides, the interval being equal on all four sides. In Pl. 17, it will be seen that the auditorium proper forms a square of seven spaces to the side; the stage is one space wide; the orchestra measures two by five spaces; the north porch measured on its stylobate is two spaces wide; the balcony, from centre to centre of its foundations, was intended to be two spaces in width but, in consequence of a change of plan during construction, was slightly widened. It is to be noted further that the two middle stairways on either side of the axis of the auditorium are directed toward a pilaster in each case, although this meant laying out the stairways from a centre different from that employed for the benches. Even the altar in the orchestra would seem to have been placed with respect to the pilasters rather than at the mid point between stage front and first bench.



The north-to-south section (Pl. 18) will show how skilfully the levels of the building were adjusted so that the top of the cavea, the floors of the lobby and of the balcony corresponded with the terrace of the Middle Stoa while the floor of the north porch was reached by the canonical three steps from the undisturbed floor of the square. The earth scooped out in sinking the orchestra and the basement of the balcony was employed directly for the support of the seats in the cavea and the floor of the lobby.

### *Foundations and Walls*

The inner rectangular foundation enclosing the auditorium and lobby is of exceedingly massive construction (Pls. 27a, 42b). It consists throughout of solid limestone masonry in blocks that vary considerably in shape and size. The courses normally alternate between headers and stretchers, each course being either of headers or of stretchers; in the south foundation, however, near its east end a change occurs within the same course, in consequence, it would seem, of two groups of workmen coming together from opposite directions. Everywhere the masonry is set down in the bedrock, along the south side to a depth of one or two courses, at the north to a maximum of three or four courses. The north and south foundations are appreciably wider than the east and west. This is clear from a glance at the plan (Pl. 16), but, more specifically, the guide lines which were incised on top of each course to assist in the laying of the next course are 1.78 m. apart on the east and west, 2.08 m. apart on the north and south. There is nothing to suggest, however, that the walls varied in thickness above floor level; the heavier foundations to north and south may have been intended to take the extra weight of the tympana at the gable ends of the building.

The east to west cross wall between auditorium proper and lobby was more lightly founded. The foundation trench was cut in bedrock, to be sure, but its bottom lies some 0.60 m. above that of the trenches for the east and west foundations of the rectangle. The lower 0.60 m. of the trench was filled with a packing of field stones bedded in clay on which the lowest course of blocks was laid (Pl. 26b). The levels were arranged so as to permit bonding between the cross wall and the east and west walls. The trench and the stone packing are 2.00 m. wide and could thus have supported a wall equal in width to the other walls of the inner rectangle. Not a block of the cross wall was found in place. The excavation showed clearly that the blocks had been systematically removed in antiquity and the resulting trench filled with a firm packed mass of gray clay. We shall find reason to believe that in the later history of the building this wall was shifted northward a distance of two column spaces; the new foundation will be described below (pp. 99 ff.).

In the inner rectangle of the building no wall blocks remain above floor level nor have any loose blocks been recognized. The outer face of the wall, i. e. the face

toward the corridor, in the lower storey would undoubtedly have resembled in construction the outer wall of the building; it would have consisted, that is, of heavy poros blocks with plastered faces.

The foundations for the outer wall of the building in their lowest parts are 1.75-2.00 m. in thickness (Pls. 27b, 50b). In the south side and over much of the east and west sides the massive limestone blocks were set down in the bedrock to a depth of one course below the floor level of the corridor. Across the north and in the northern part of the west side the foundation trench, cut down in the bedrock to a depth of as much as 1.50 m., was filled in its lower 1.20 m. with a packing of field stones bedded in clay identical with that used below the cross wall between auditorium and lobby. On top of this packing were laid the first squared blocks of limestone. The blocks were laid in alternate courses as headers and as stretchers, but the masonry is not massive. In the stretcher courses there is a continuous row of blocks on either side, the space between being packed with broken stone, while in the header courses the dressed headers alternate with transverse masses of similar packing. At ground level the construction changes to massive masonry.

The foundations for the porch set against the north façade are identical in construction with those for the north wall of the main building, comprising both squared blocks and packing of broken stone (Pl. 29a). The contemporaneity of porch and north wall is confirmed by the fact that they interlock.

Over most of the south side of the building and for some distance along its east side the first visible course of wall blocks remains *in situ*, while at the southeast corner four blocks of the second course are also in place (Pls. 27a, 50b). The wall here consists of a single row of limestone blocks laid as stretchers.<sup>1</sup> Most of the joints in the first course along the south side and one in the east side are secured by means of  clamps (cf. below p. 83); there are no clamps in the surviving blocks of the second course and no trace whatever of dowels. The inner face of the wall is covered with plain stucco.<sup>2</sup>

The plan (Pl. 16) and the cross-sections (Pls. 18, 19) will reveal evidence for a significant change of design during the construction of the outer wall of the building. As already noted, the foundations for this wall are 1.75-2.00 m. thick and on the east side, near the southeast corner, the guide lines incised on top of the lowest course are 1.54 m. apart. The wall proper, however, as we have seen, measured only 0.78 m. thick and rests on the extreme outer edge of the foundation, leaving the inner half

<sup>1</sup> Height of first course, 0.40 m.; of second course, 0.46 m. Thickness of blocks without stucco, 0.73 m.; with stucco, 0.78 m. Length of blocks, 1.20-1.50 m.

<sup>2</sup> The stucco consists of two layers with a total thickness of *ca.* 0.05 m. The undercoat contains sand, gravel and pounded tile; the finishing coat consists largely of coarsely ground marble. The surface was smoothed but not polished; it is plain white in color and shows no trace of decoration either moulded or painted.

of the foundation unused. The blocks of the upper wall that remain in the south and east sides are unquestionably in place and show no sign of disturbance. The floor packing of firm earth 0.10-0.15 m. thick that overlies dressed bedrock runs unbroken above the unused inner portion of the foundation, making contact with the lower edge of the stucco on the face of the wall. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that the excessive width of foundation was intended, or at any rate used, for the support of buttresses, benches or the like. It seems probable, therefore, that the upper wall was originally intended to have the thickness of two rows of stretchers, i. e. 1.54 m. It is to be noted that had this design been carried out the interval from centre to centre of the walls on the inner and outer rectangles of the building would have been 7.57 m. on east and west, 7.66 m. on the north and 7.87 m. on the south, thus approximating very closely the sum of two column spaces of the main order of the building ( $2 \times 3.83 \text{ m.} = 7.66 \text{ m.}$ ). The change in plan occurred just as the foundations reached ground level, and certainly before the bases were laid for the small columns in the basement of the balcony since those bases are centred not between the lower foundations that bordered the basement but between the faces of the upper walls.

The significance of the change of design for the outer wall can only be a matter for conjecture. It is conceivable, for instance, that the original plan envisaged the use of columns or an arcade supported on one or more steps around the basement storey of the balcony, as in the theatre of Marcellus or the Colosseum at Rome.

A second, though less significant, change occurred during construction in the placing of the south foundation of the building. The plan (Pl. 16) and photograph (Pl. 24) will show that at the southwest corner of the building the trench for its south foundation was originally carried up to the very face of the terrace wall of the Middle Stoa over a length of 7.70 m. from the corner, whereas the south edge of the foundation was actually kept 0.50 m. north of the terrace wall. The excess cutting was never used. It may have been intended to receive a drain like that which was actually inserted at the southeast corner of the building (cf. pp. 77 f.). More probably the architect originally intended to lay his south foundation close against the face of the terrace wall, but, on running into ground water at the southeast corner, decided to insert a drain there, and, in consequence, to avoid undermining the terrace wall, shifted his whole building 0.50 m. northward. It is to be noted that this shift aggravated the intrusion of the northeast corner of the Odeion on the earlier monument in that area; the foundation blocks of the monument had to be cut back to admit the corner of the Odeion foundation. To assure more space between the superstructures of the two buildings, the Odeion was then shifted westward 0.40 m.; so much is indicated by an unused and a used setting line on the tops of the lowest blocks of the Odeion foundation at the north end of its east side.

*Superstructure of the Central Part*

## Columns

The evidence for the restoration of the shell of the building is derived chiefly from the few surviving marbles, above all from the fragmentary remains of a series of square pilasters with curtain wall between them and two series of free-standing round columns. Despite slight differences in dimensions and style, all three series undoubtedly derive from the main order of the Odeion.

The pilaster capitals are represented by a single well preserved specimen (A 599) which was discovered incorporated in the concrete foundations of the Gymnasium at a point 4 metres north of the Odeion near its northwest corner (Pls. 30, 31). It is a corner capital, its height 1.073 m., the breadth of its resting surface 0.92 m. The design is simple and bold; the tendrils spring from two series of acanthus leaves; the central floral motif is broken away but may be restored from a better preserved capital of the second series. The dressed beddings on the top of the capital indicate that the architrave was cut in two blocks, each 0.49 m. in thickness. The top exhibits neither dowel nor lewis cutting and only a single pry hole. Two adjacent faces of the capital were of normal design; the other two faces retain, both of them, the starts of curtain walls set at right angles to one another.<sup>1</sup> The projection of the pilaster from the face of the wall was 0.10 m. greater on the outside than on the inside of the building (0.265 : 0.165 m.).

Several scraps of the pilaster bases were recovered from the concrete foundations of the Gymnasium; the two most significant appear in Pl. 33b, the larger (A 1152 *a*) from near the northwest corner of the Odeion, the smaller (A 1152 *b*) from the south central part. The profile of the larger is shown in Fig. 3, left. The weathered state of its surface shows clearly that A 1152 *a* comes from the exterior face of the pilaster while the fresh, though broken, surface of A 1152 *b* marks it as from an interior face. On each of the fragments there remains the spring of a return which indicates that the base mouldings were carried along the orthostates of the curtain wall between the pilasters both inside and outside the building. The return is also invaluable in that it indicates the projection of the pilaster from the face of the wall at its base. It will be noted that the projection outward was 0.32 m. as compared with 0.22 m. inward, the difference corresponding precisely with that attested by the capital.

Of the pilaster shafts no remains have been certainly identified, although two or three small fragments found near the southeast corner of the building may come from this member.

<sup>1</sup> In one case the projecting spur carries down to the bottom of the capital with a thickness of 0.44 m.; the other spur, 0.39 m. thick, stops short of the bottom and is replaced in the lower part by a joint surface 0.49 m. wide worked on the face of the capital. We have taken 0.49 m. to be the normal thickness of the wall.

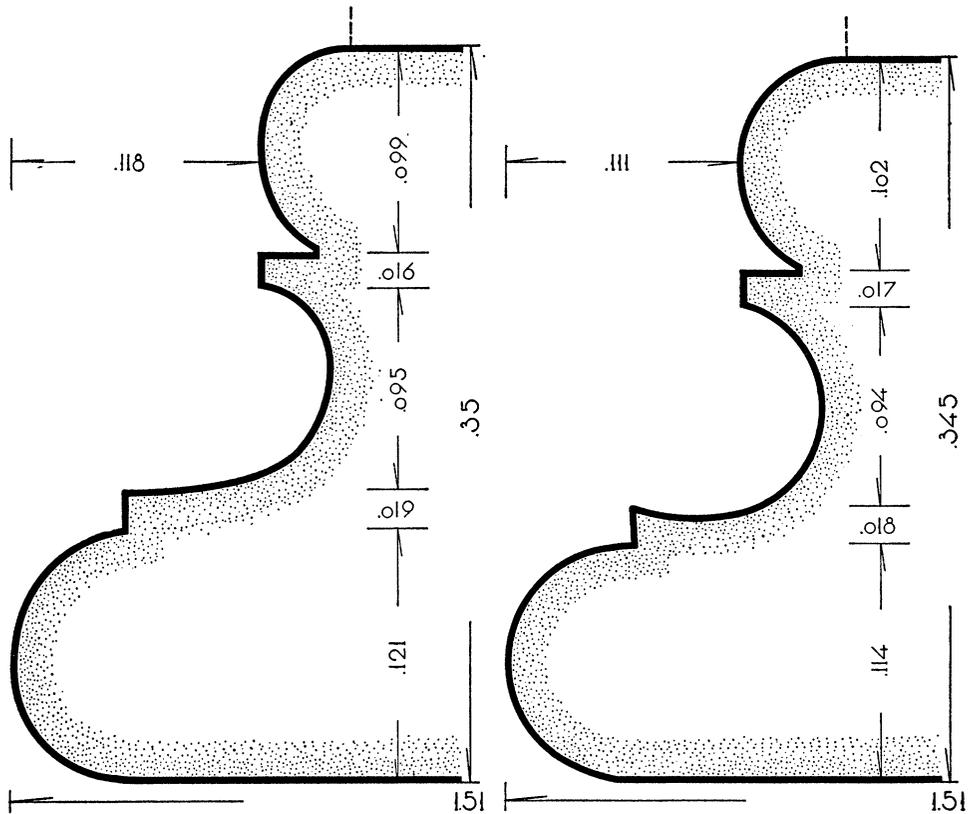


Fig. 3. Profiles of Bases: Left, from the Outside of a Pilaster (A 1152 a); Right, from an Inner Round Column (A 1150-1151)

The scheme of the pilasters and intervening curtain wall is illustrated in Fig. 4, together with the architrave as its disposition may be read from the top of the capital. It will be observed that the architrave was centred on the wall rather than on the pilasters, the interval between the two axes being 0.05 m.

Of the second series of large capitals no example has yet been found in the current excavations. We must depend instead on a specimen that came to light in 1890/91 in the cutting of the trench for the Athens-Piraeus Electric Railway (Pls. 32, 33a). This capital was removed to the National Museum and its missing parts restored in plaster.<sup>1</sup> Its height is 1.075 m., the diameter of its resting surface, 0.91 m.

<sup>1</sup> National Museum Inv. No. 1469. V. Staïs, *Guide illustré du Musée national: marbres et bronzes*, Ed. 2, Athens, 1910, p. 254; *Jahrbuch*, XXXVI, 1921, pp. 72 f., Beiblatt III, 8. For permission and facilities to photograph the capital I am indebted to Mr. Christos Karouzos, Director of the Museum. On top are the lightly trimmed beddings for an architrave cut in two blocks with a combined thickness of 0.96 m. At the very middle of the top surface are two lewis cuttings, one narrow and one wide, set across each other at right angles so as to form a Maltese cross; the duplication suggests a re-setting of the capital in antiquity. Two other lifting holes have been cut in modern times at some distance from the mid point.

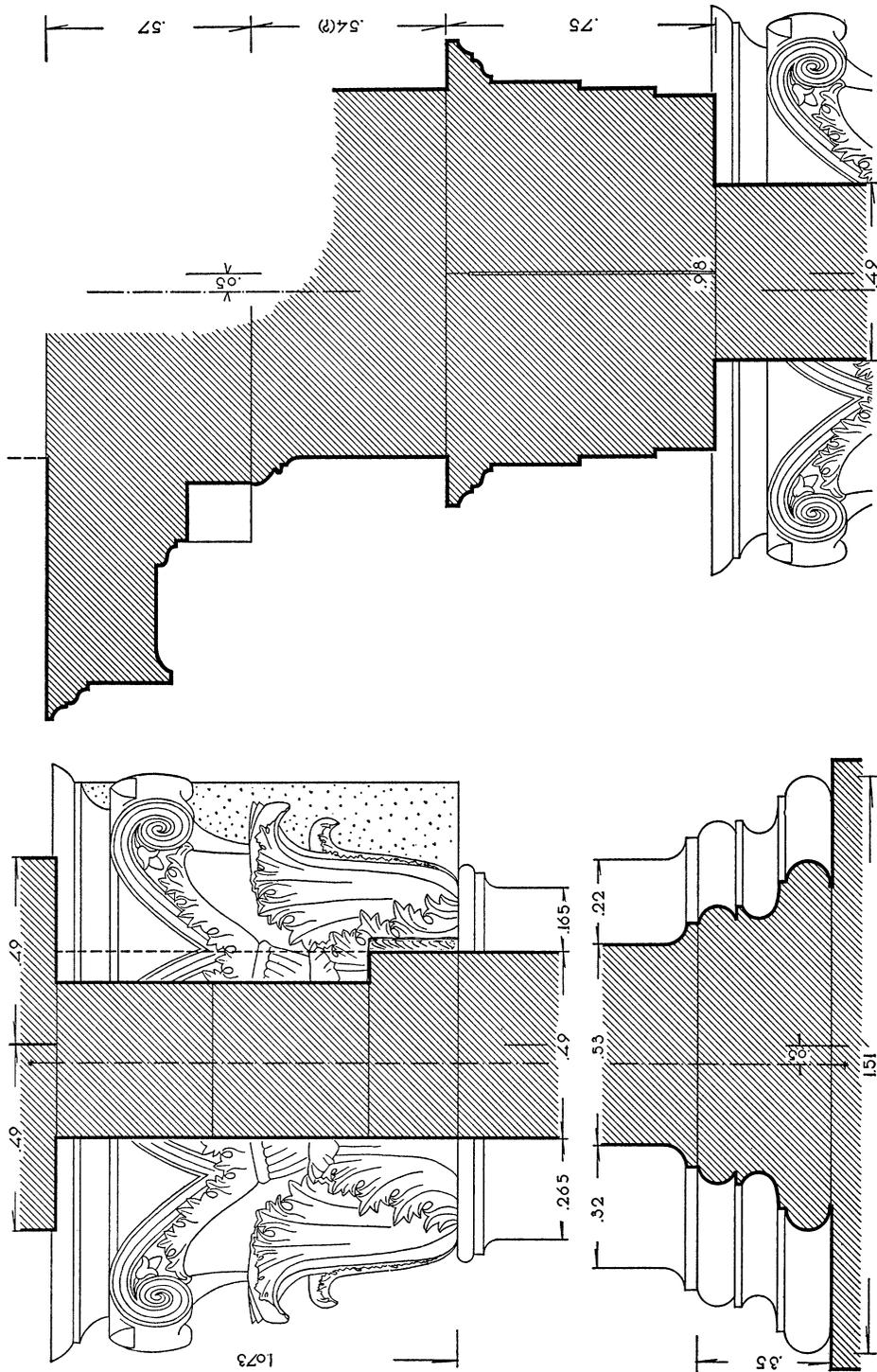


Fig. 4. Outer Main Order, Restored

This capital rested on a free-standing round column. Its close correspondence in dimensions and in design with the capital of the square pilaster, combined with the fact that it is weathered on one side but fresh on the other, indicates that the capital was very closely associated with the square capital and stood in the periphery of the building.

With the round capital is to be associated a fragment of a round Ionic base (A 1396) found near the southwest corner of the Odeion (Pl. 35e, left).<sup>1</sup> Heavy weathering shows that the base too was exposed.

Of the third series of capitals three large fragments (A 471, A 536 and A 1154; the two last possibly from one and the same capital) were found in the destruction debris of the Odeion in the mid part of its south corridor; a fourth large piece (A 1153) lay beneath the concrete foundations of the Gymnasium in the bottom of the plundered trench for the east wall of the Odeion near its north end (Pls. 34, 35a and b). Smaller fragments, including several pieces of the mouldings from around the top of the capital, were found in various parts of the area, some lying loose in the earth, others imbedded in late Roman concrete. Many small scraps have also come to light in the area of the Stoa of Attalos whither they had been carried, no doubt, by the builders of the "Valerian Wall" in the third century after Christ. The combined evidence of these fragments permits the complete restoration shown in Pl. 34b. The diameter of the resting surface of A 536 may be measured as 1.00 m. from the scratched lines on two diameters of its underside. The overall height of A 1153 is 1.05 m., that of A 471, 1.15 m. The bell of the capital is decorated with lotus leaves springing from behind a single series of acanthus leaves. Although the scheme of decoration thus differs markedly from that of the pilaster capital, workmanship and style are very similar. One of the most characteristic of the minor differences between the series lies in the treatment of the central rib of the acanthus which is well rounded on the pilaster capital, flattened toward the bottom on the surviving round capitals.<sup>2</sup>

Of the bases to be associated with these round capitals many small fragments were found imbedded in the foundations of the Gymnasium. Two of the largest pieces (A 1150, 1151) are illustrated in Pl. 35e, middle and right, and serve as the basis for the restoration of the profile in Fig. 3, right. The overall diameter of the base may be calculated as *ca.* 1.51 m., its height as *ca.* 0.345 m. In profile the base of the round column is very close to that of the outer side of the pilaster, the only significant difference being that the lower lip of the scotia turns up in the case of the column, down in the case of the pilaster. The obvious reason was to prevent water lying in

<sup>1</sup> The fragment comes from the outer edge of the lower torus. Height of torus, 0.12 m.; estimated diameter, 1.51 m.

<sup>2</sup> At the middle of the underside of the capital A 536 there remains a fragment of a small iron dowel with leading; in the undersides of A 471 and A 1153 are cuttings for similar dowels (0.08 × 0.04 × 0.06 m. deep).

the pilaster base, one more indication that the pilasters stood in the outer wall of the building while the columns represented by the third series of capitals were inside.

The essential features of the round column shafts may be recovered from the surviving fragments. Several small pieces were found imbedded in the late Roman concrete foundations above the south central part of the Odeion; a large part of a drum, broken away at one end, lay near the middle of the west side of the Odeion (A 1146), while the best preserved piece came out of late foundations near the north-east corner of the Odeion (A 1145; Pl. 35d). This last piece is preserved to its full height of 0.91 m.; one side is broken away but the diameter of its top may be calculated as 0.974 m. from a measuring point at its centre. The drums were secured to one another by means of two iron dowels between each pair; there remain the rectangular sinkings and the pour channels which run obliquely to the radii. The smooth dressed joint surface forms a band *ca.* 0.20 m. wide around the rough-picked central area. The shaft was unfluted, its outer surface hammer dressed.

A very small fragment (A 1149) gives the profile of the roundel at the top of the shaft and another small scrap survives from the apophyge at the bottom of the shaft (A 1147).<sup>1</sup>

With the available material it is impossible to establish by direct measurement either the upper or the lower diameter of the round shafts. Calculations, however, based on the measurement of small scraps from the top and bottom of the shafts, the resting surfaces of the capitals and the column bases indicate that the shafts of the round columns approximated closely those of the pilasters with a lower diameter of *ca.* 1.07 m. and upper of *ca.* 0.92 m. In our restorations we have adopted a scheme of proportions appropriate to the period of our building, viz. a column height equal to  $9\frac{1}{2}$  times the lower diameter of the shaft, i. e.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times ca. 1.07 = ca. 10.16$  m. The total height of the main order would then have been *ca.* 12.02 m.

Among the known fragments of round shafts it has been impossible to distinguish between those that might derive from the south end of the building and those from the interior cross colonnade. One might have expected the outside columns to be fluted but that this was actually the case appears improbable since no fragment of an appropriate shaft with fluting has come to light.

### Stylobate

Fragmentary blocks of Hymettian marble that may come from the stylobate of the main order have been found at various points around the building, both lying in the earth and imbedded in the concrete foundations of the Gymnasium. The largest and most characteristic piece (A 1164) measures 1.00 m. in width and is finished

<sup>1</sup> A rectangular sinking in the side of one of the surviving fragments of drum (A 1146) may have served to secure a metal grill between the columns. It measures  $0.06 \times 0.03 \times 0.06$  m. deep.

with anathyrosis on each of its long sides. The height is 0.435 m. Both ends are broken away so that the original length of the block must have been considerably greater than its preserved length of 1.26 m., and may well have been as much as the  $\pm$  1.60 m. required by the base of the pilasters and columns.

### Architrave

Three large fragments from the architrave of the main order have been found, one (A 326) resting on the floor near the southwest corner of the building (Pl. 36e), the second (A 278) from a point to the west of the southern part of the building, the third (A 1382) from between the north end of the Odeion and the colossal figures. The architrave was made up of two blocks set back to back, each 0.49 m. thick on the soffit. In no case is the block preserved to its full height but very little will be missing from the top of A 326 inasmuch as the bottom of a clamp cutting is visible at one end of its broken top; the preserved height being 0.71 m., the original height will have been *ca.* 0.75 m. The face of the architrave is divided into three fasciae and crowned by the normal combination of cyma reversa and cavetto. Several fragments of the moulding have been found at various points around the building (Pl. 36b). On the top of the architrave is a setting line for the outer face of the frieze, indicating that the face of the frieze was in the same plane as the middle fascia of the architrave.

Fragment A 1382 of the architrave has anathyrosis along the lower edge of its back to assure a tight joint with the other half of the architrave; it may therefore be assigned to the freestanding columns. Block A 326 shows an open joint in the corresponding position and so must come from above the outer wall. The third piece (A 278) is broken at the crucial point.

### Frieze

Two small fragments may be assigned with fair assurance to the frieze of the main order (A 1383 *a* and *b*; Pl. 36a). They were found along the north front of the Odeion. Both come from near the top of the block and preserve a half round surmounted by an ovolo of a scale compatible with the mouldings of the architrave. They exhibit the characteristic tooling and anathyrosis of the Odeion marbles. The full height of the member is not known; it has been restored in Fig. 4 as *ca.* 0.54 m.

### Cornice

The best preserved piece of the cornice of the main order is shown in Pl. 36c; Fig. 5.<sup>1</sup> The top of this block is flat and weathered, hence it must come from the

<sup>1</sup> A 308. From the burnt debris overlying the floor of the building near its southwest corner. Length, 1.055 m.; height, 0.55 m. Broken away front and back. On the top toward the front a cutting for a  clamp, perhaps never used; farther back a cutting for a  clamp; in the middle of the top a cutting for a lewis. In the joint surface across the top of one end a mason's mark: A.

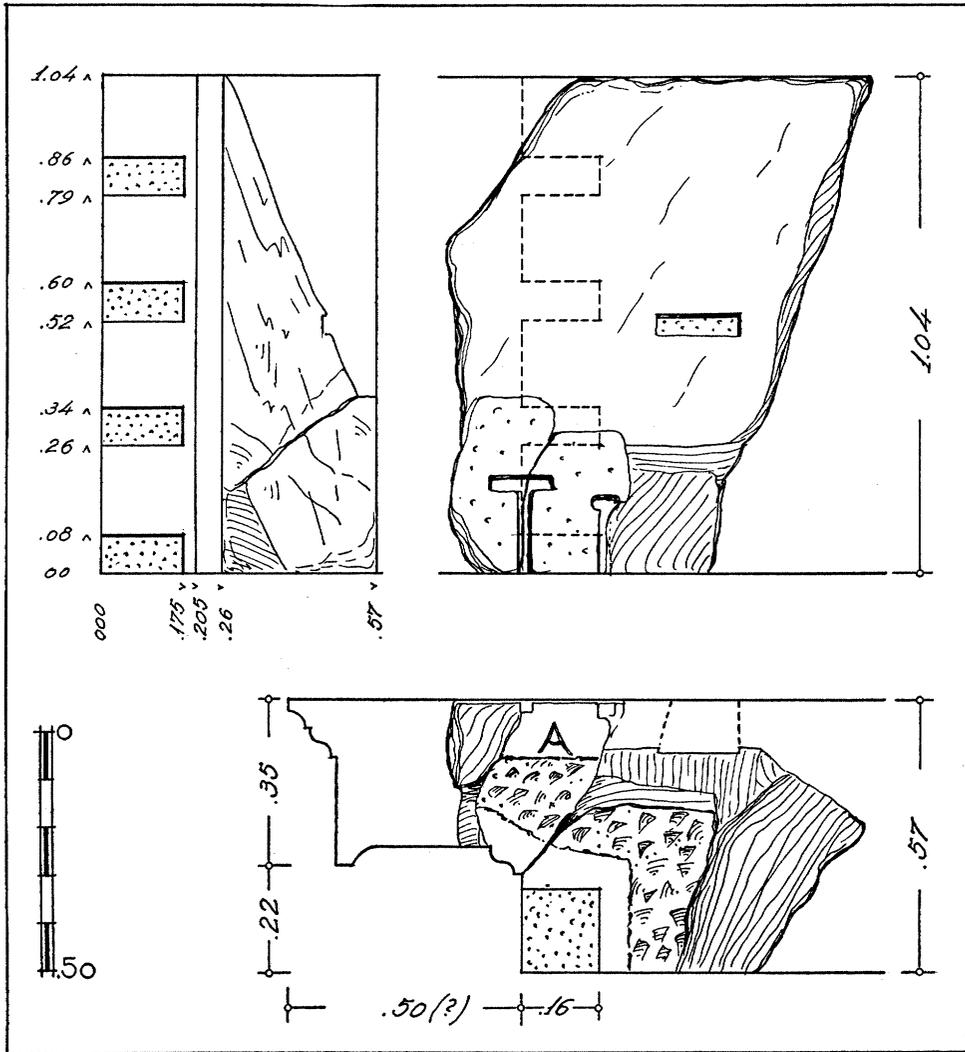


Fig. 5. Cornice Block from the Main Order (A 308)

horizontal cornice below a pediment. Another very small fragment (A 1196) found in the "Valerian Wall," has a sloping top, and so derives from a lateral cornice. Various small fragments, especially A 1163 and A 1302, preserve the crowning moulding and the beak of the corona. None of the pieces so far discovered gives the full projection of the corona, which has been arbitrarily restored in Figs. 4 and 5.

#### Roofing

Great quantities of broken roof tiles were found in the course of the excavation throughout the whole area of the building, leaving no doubt that the entire structure, both the central core and the surrounding part, was roofed. The central part was

certainly covered with terracotta tiles; there is reason to believe that the outer part was roofed with marble at least toward the south in the later history of the building, possibly throughout in the original scheme. The broken tiles were found for the most part in the mass of burnt debris that immediately overlay the ancient floors. It is clear that the ruins of the building had been thoroughly ransacked for tiles after its collapse; not a single unbroken tile was found during the excavation. All the pieces of one eave cover tile have been recovered and put together, but of the terracotta pan tiles we have no complete specimen. From the fragments, however, it is possible to recover the scheme and dimensions of all the elements (Pl. 37; Fig. 6).

The terracotta pan tiles (Pl. 37b) were of a familiar type, with high lateral flanges, and a low water stop near the upper end of the top surface. The dimensions, as recovered from a combination of fragments, were *ca.*  $0.67 \times 0.56$  m. The cover tiles were gabled, *ca.* 0.19 to 0.22 m. wide, and presumably of the same length as the pan tiles. The antefixes show some variety in design, the principal variants being those illustrated in Pl. 37a. Their width is 0.23 m., their height 0.365-0.375 m. The clay of these tiles varies from buff to brown to brick red; it was tempered with coarse grit, and shows no trace of surfacing.

The following stamps occur on terracotta roof tiles found either in or immediately overlying the destruction debris of the Odeion and all may safely be associated with the building.

#### TILE STAMPS

##### 1. Α ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΙ. Fig. 7, 1; Pl. 38a.

The stamp is enclosed in a rectangular frame ( $0.025 \times 0.10$  m.) and is normally clear and bold. The letters are sunken. The clay tends to be brick red in color and coarse in texture. This is by all odds the largest series from the Odeion; over one hundred examples have been catalogued and there are several hundred besides. Tiles so stamped have been found in all parts of the building. Several tiles bearing the same stamp have appeared at random in late contexts in other parts of the Agora excavations, salvaged no doubt from the ruins of the Odeion.

##### 2. Α ΔΙΟΔΩΡ[ΟΥ. Fig. 7, 2; Pl. 38b.

The stamp was shaped as a *tabella ansata* (0.032 m. high); the letters are raised but the stamp was very lightly impressed. Warm buff clay containing much coarse grit. A single fragmentary example (A 552) of a pan tile

was found near the middle of the auditorium; no other examples have yet been found in the Agora.

##### 3. ΑΙΓΙΤΥΡΟΥ. Fig. 7, 3; Pl. 38c.

The stamp was trapezoidal ( $0.038 \times 0.195$  m.); the letters raised but retrograde, engraved in the stamp by a wavering hand. All the impressions are faint. The clay is buff or light yellow in color and somewhat finer than that of the Dionysios series.

Fourteen examples of this series come from the debris of the Odeion (A 478, 504, 507, 541, 1384-1393); twelve of them from the southeast corner of the building, two from near the southwest corner. A pan tile bearing the same stamp was found in a context of the 3rd-4th century after Christ along the east front of the Metroon (A 415), and three small antefixes with the same name have come to light elsewhere in the Agora (A 1073, 1357, 1358). Pape (*Wörter-*

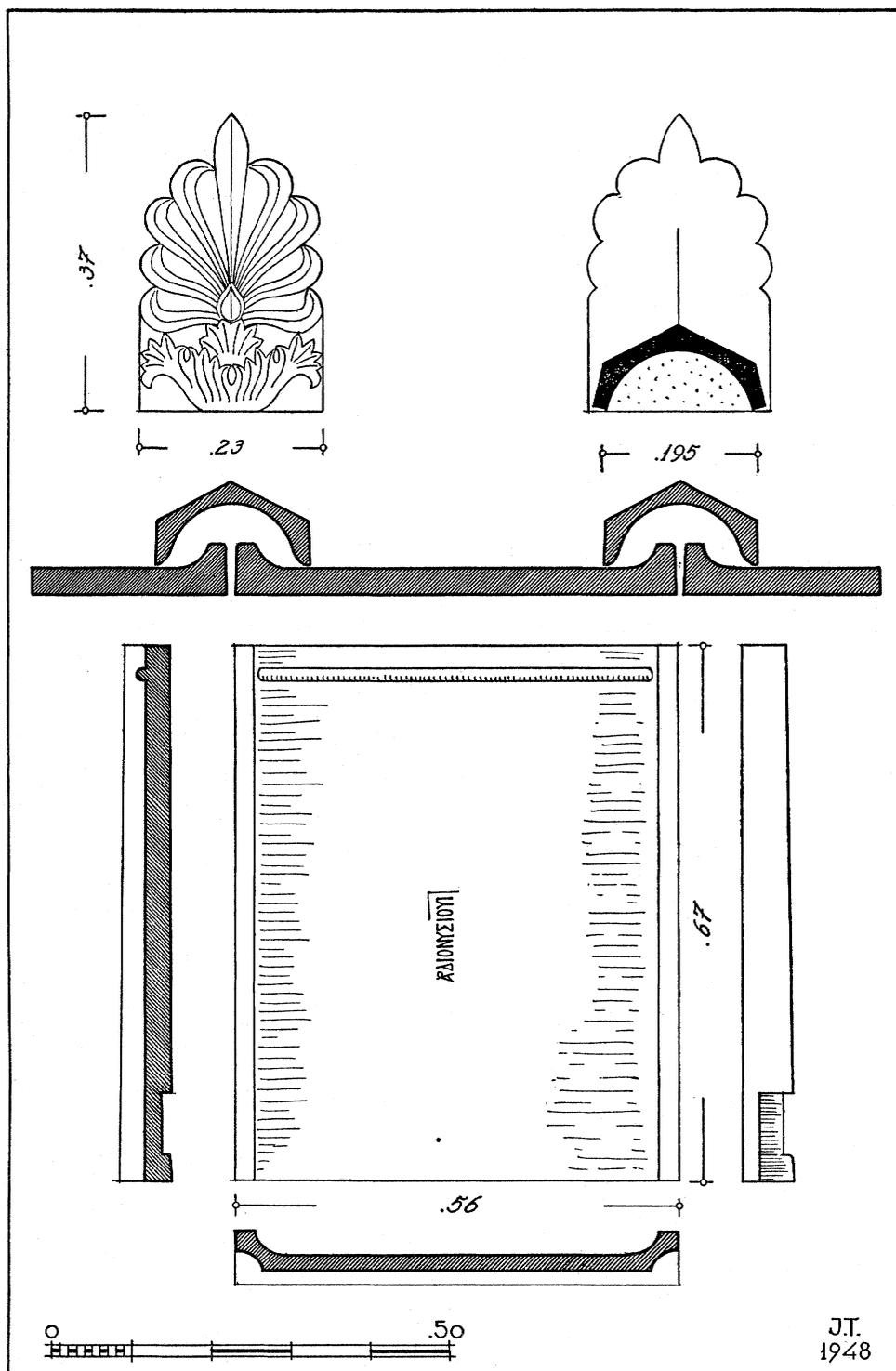


Fig. 6. Terracotta Roof Tiles

*buch der griechischen Eigennamen*, s. v. Αιγίπυρος) records another antefix with this name in the collection of the Greek Archaeological Society.

4. ΜΗΔΕΙΟΥ. Fig. 7, 4; Pl. 38d.

The stamp (0.03 × 0.19 m.) was very carefully made and firmly impressed; the letters are sunken and retrograde. The clay is close to that of the Aigipyros series: buff and comparatively fine.

Two pan tiles of this series come from near the southeast corner of the Odeion (A 540, 544). Another tile of the series was once in the possession of the French consul Fauvel whose house and garden lay immediately to the east of the southeast corner of the Odeion. (*C.I.G.*, 542 a; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, Pl. 10. I owe the reference to Eugene Vanderpool).

Marble pan tiles were found exclusively in the south corridor of the building, most of them imbedded in the upper part of the mass of destruction debris that overlay the floor. No fewer than fourteen more or less complete examples, all broken, were found in this area, scattered across the whole width of the building (A 472, 473, 1183-1194). The marble tiles are of the same scheme as the terracotta, with lateral flanges and low water checks across the top (Pl. 39; Fig. 8). The dimensions vary slightly, the width being normally 0.60 m., the length 0.79 to 0.83 m. There is also a striking difference in workmanship. Some tiles show the characteristic plain but honest craftsmanship of the original Odeion construction; others are much coarser. These discrepancies may be accounted for in part by repairs and replacements, which are clearly indicated also by the presence of clamp cuttings in one (A 1183) and a mason's mark on the underside of another (A 1184; Pl. 39c: ΔΙΓ in letters 0.02 m. high).

Of the marble cover tiles two fragments have come to light, one (A 1195) actually found in the "Valerian Wall" just south of the Stoa of Attalos, the other (A 1440) picked up in the area of the Stoa of Attalos where it too, no doubt, had been re-used in the "Valerian Wall." Their association with the Odeion is indicated by identity of marble and workmanship and by their precise correspondence with the weather stains on the pan tiles. The better preserved piece (A 1440) is illustrated in Pl. 39b, right, and in Fig. 8. It is gabled in section and 0.25 m. wide; the top surface is hammer-dressed and edged with a smooth band. The only remarkable feature about the cover tile is the presence in its lower end of a vertical slot, swallow-tailed in plan, clearly intended for securing an antefix.

5. Ἴερὰν Μητρὶ Θεῶν / Διονύσιος καὶ Ἀρμόνιος. Fig. 7, 5; Pl. 38f.

The rectangular stamp measures 0.038 × 0.188 m. The letters, sunken, are carefully formed, though somewhat irregular in shape and size on account of the exigencies of spacing. The clay is buff or pale yellow.

Two examples come from the debris of the Odeion (A 329, 545), one from its southeast part and one from the southwest. A number of other tiles of the same series have been found elsewhere in the excavations, particularly in the area of the Metroon for which building they were obviously intended (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 191 f.; Supplement IV, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors*, pp. 150 f.). Tiles of this series also, reported to be from a grave on the Mouseion Hill, were owned by Fauvel (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4870; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. 10).



Fig. 7. Stamps on Terracotta Roof Tiles, Scale *ca.* 1 to 2

A whole series of marble antefixes of appropriate scheme is in fact available (A 170, 183, 553, 1012, 1182, 1405, 1406, 1420, 1421, 1427, 1435 and 1439; Pl. 39a and b). One of these pieces (A 1182), small but unmistakable, was found immediately to the north of the western part of the north façade of the Odeion in a level to be associated with a reconstruction of the Odeion in the second century after Christ. A second (A 553) came to light near the northeast corner of the Odeion, while the remainder have been found in the line of the "Valerian Wall" either within the

Stoa of Attalos or to the south of the Stoa. Apart from the evidence of provenance the association of these antefixes with the above-mentioned cover tiles is indubitably established by swallow-tailed keys in the backs of the antefixes which fit neatly into the slots in the lower ends of the cover tiles. The additional marble cutting involved in this unusual procedure was presumably more than compensated for by the saving

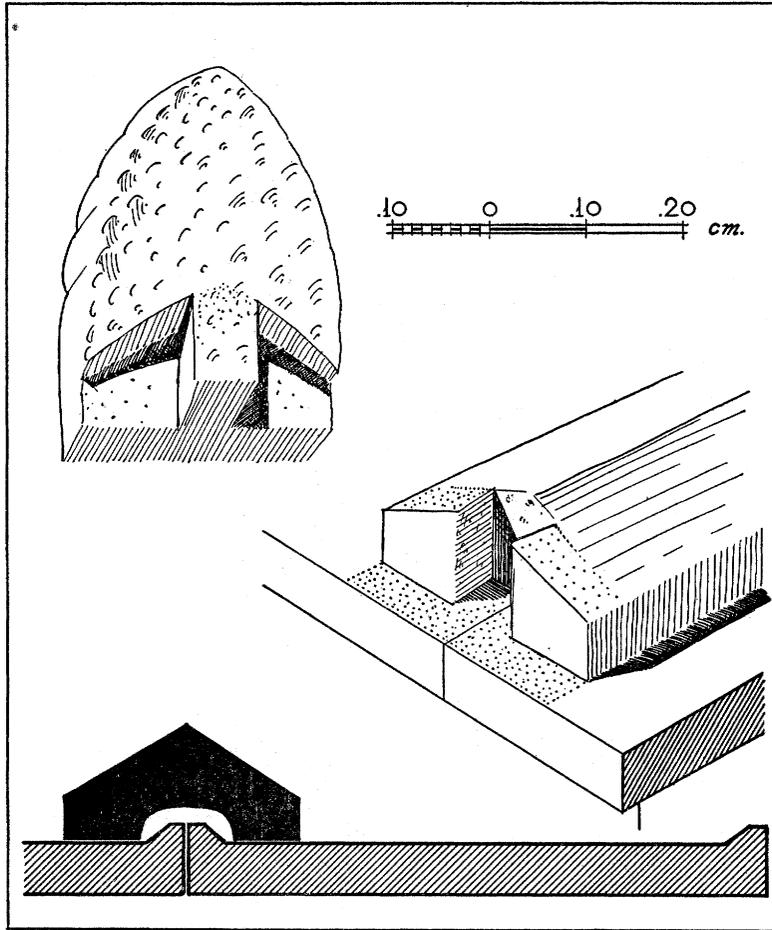


Fig. 8. Marble Roof Tiles

of marble and the greater ease of handling. The plastic palmette-and-acanthus design on the faces of the marble antefixes is basically identical with that on the terracotta antefixes, though many minor variations occur within the marble as within the terracotta series; the principal variants are illustrated in Pl. 39a.

As for the distribution of the terracotta and marble series, the vast number of the terracotta tiles found throughout the central part of the building makes it abundantly clear that the main structure was roofed with terracotta at the time when the

building was finally destroyed. The presence of the thirteen Aigipyros tiles which, as we shall see below, are contemporary with the original construction of the building, renders it virtually certain that terracotta was used on this roof in the first as well as in the latest period. Since the marble pan tiles were found exclusively in the basement of the south balcony we may with assurance assign them to a position directly overhead. That the balcony on all four sides was roofed with marble in the final period is unlikely. The one small fragment of marble antefix found just to the north of the Odeion undoubtedly derives from the original period but was discarded in the course of a reconstruction. However this may be, the well attested combination of marble and terracotta suggests that an effort was made to assimilate the Odeion to both its older neighbours, for the Middle Stoa was roofed with terracotta, the Stoa of Attalos, at least above its west façade, with marble.

For the most vital question connected with the roofing we have little evidence: how was the roof supported above the central part of the building over an open span of *ca.* 25 metres with no trace of interior columns? The quantity of charcoal and charred wood found among the debris from the final destruction, coupled with the fact that a building with stone walls and seats was susceptible of being burned, points to the presence of a great deal of timber in the roofing. The most probable solution is the use of the self-supporting triangular truss which appears to have been known to Vitruvius, a practising architect of the period of our building.<sup>1</sup> We may perhaps assume the employment of a horizontal wooden ceiling.

### Disposition of the Main Order

It will be well to pause for a moment to establish in somewhat greater detail the distribution of the various elements in the main order of the building as represented especially by the three series of capitals.

The columns are large, the lower diameter of the shaft being *ca.* 1.07 m., the diameter of the base *ca.* 1.51 m. This consideration alone at once rules out many of the available foundations. We have already seen that of the outer foundations the southern, the eastern and so, by inference, the western also supported walls only 0.78 m. thick which could not possibly have sustained such heavy columns. The north outer foundation, to be sure, is 1.95 m. thick at ground level and we have no direct evidence for the thickness of the upper wall. We have a satisfactory indirect indica-

<sup>1</sup> The technical terms used by Vitruvius are *transtra* (cross beams) and *capreoli* (braces). In his general note on roofing Vitruvius recommended the use of this combination where the span was considerable (*de Architectura*, IV, 2, 1: *sub tectis, si maiora spatia sunt, et transtra et capreoli, si commoda, columen, et cantherii prominentes ad extremam suggrundationem*) and he himself employed the same design in his basilica at Fano in which the nave had a span of 60 feet (V, 1, 9: *quibus insuper transtra cum capreolis columnarum contra corpora et antas et parietes pronai conlocata sustinent unum culmen perpetuae basilicae*).

tion, however, from the carefully laid marble floor in the scaena; the symmetrical restoration of this floor shows at once that the original north wall must have been of the same thickness as the south, east and west outer walls, i. e. *ca.* 0.78 m., so that from this position too the heavy columns are excluded.

We are thus left with the inner rectangle and the two cross walls as possible places for the large columns. The fortunate preservation of the great square pilaster capital (A 599) helps tremendously in the problem. It is a corner block and its place of finding assigns it immediately to the northwest corner of the building. The spurs cut on the sides of this capital show, moreover, that the north and west sides of the main part of the building were closed with walls, undoubtedly strengthened at intervals by other pilasters. Considerations of symmetry leave no doubt that the east side also was similarly closed. The argument from symmetry, however, does not apply to the south side so that we are free to place there the second set of capitals, viz. those with the normal acanthus decoration, uniform in design with the square capital and, like the square capital, weathered from outside exposure, but intended for round, free-standing columns. By a simple process of elimination the third series, which comprises the capitals with the combination of acanthus and lotus, must be assigned to one of the interior transverse foundations; it will be remembered, moreover, that these capitals are fresh and show no sign of weathering. Inasmuch as the southern of the two transverse foundations is undoubtedly an integral part of the original design and was subsequently replaced by the northern foundation, we may assume that the third set of columns stood first on the south and then on the north transverse foundation. The significance of this shift for the history of the building will be considered below.

We may take it as established, therefore, that the central core of the building was enclosed on the north, east and west sides by a thin wall reinforced at intervals with Corinthian pilasters projecting both inward and outward. On the south side an open Corinthian colonnade admitted light which found ready access into the auditorium through the second transverse row of columns that separated the lobby from the auditorium (Pl. 20b). This flood of light from the south was supplemented, no doubt, by windows set between the pilasters in the other three walls. Apart from some very small scraps of mouldings that may derive from the enframement of these windows, we have found no positive evidence either for their existence or their placing. Our restoration is based on the parallels provided by the west end of the Erechtheion in its later form<sup>1</sup> and the Odeion of Termessos,<sup>2</sup> in both of which the windows are preserved, as also by the Bouleuterion of Miletos<sup>3</sup> where windows have

<sup>1</sup> G. P. Stevens and J. M. Paton, *The Erechtheum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1927, pls. IV and XXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> Graf K. Lanckoroński, G. Niemann and E. Petersen, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, II, Vienna, 1892, pls. I and XIV, figs. 56-58.

<sup>3</sup> H. Knackfuss, *Milet*, I, ii, *Das Rathaus*, Berlin, 1908, pls. IV, V, VI and XIV.

been restored on good evidence (Pls. 40, 41). This scheme of lighting, simple as it may seem, must have been very effective, inasmuch as the light came chiefly from behind the spectators and fell full on the stage. In summer when the sun was in the north the direct rays would not have penetrated the south side of the building even at midday, while the winter sun, coming more from the south, would have afforded welcome warmth as well as light.

We may assume that the pediments, the existence of one of which is attested by the cornice block noted above (A 308), rose above the north and south ends of the central core of the building; the additional weight imposed by the tympana may indeed account for the greater width of the north and south as compared with the east and west foundations.

Another major problem in the reconstruction concerns the height at which the columns of the main order rested. At first glance one might have expected them to rise immediately from the level of the top of the cavea as in the Bouleuterion of Miletos. The evidence, however, precludes this solution. As we shall see below, the level of the top of the cavea can be calculated closely from the surviving seats; it rose only to the height of the basement storey of the surrounding balcony, a step above the level of the terrace of the Middle Stoa. Above this level rose the balcony proper which was certainly roofed as shown by the discovery of its marble roof tiles distinct from the terracotta tiles of the central core of the building. In order to assure the admission of as much light as possible through the southern colonnade, and also to protect the audience from both draft and noise, it would clearly have been desirable to insert a wall of sufficient height to carry the bases of the main columns above the roof of the balcony. That this was actually done is shown by the weathering on the bases both of the square pilasters and of the round columns from the south end of the building.

For the more precise determination of the height at which the columns of the main order rested the evidence is indirect. The analogy of the best preserved comparable buildings, viz. the Bouleuterion of Miletos and the Odeion of Termessos, suggests that the upper and lower storeys should be restored approximately equal in height. In the building at Miletos, for instance, the height from the ground level in front of the building to the top of the stylobate of the upper order is equal to the full height of the upper order measured from the top of its stylobate to the top of its horizontal cornice. We have followed the same proportions in the restoration of the Odeion as illustrated in the section (Pl. 19). In the Odeion of Termessos, where the pilasters of the upper order stand on bases as in the Odeion, the height of the pilaster (shaft, base and capital) equals the height between the sills of the main entrance doors and the underside of the upper stylobate. This proportion also has been employed in our restoration.

Such a restoration meets the obvious requirements of our building. It permits of columns *ca.* 3.10 m. high in the balcony, i. e. of the same height as those in the upper storey of the Stoa of Attalos which undoubtedly served much the same purpose as our balcony. It allows of doorways *ca.* 3.50 m. high in the lobby of the Odeion (the comparable doorways in the Stoa of Attalos are 3.44 m.; at Miletos 3.00 m. and at Termessos 3.40 m.). And, finally, with a lower storey of such a height the cornice of the balcony just rises above the roof ridge of a north porch of reasonable proportions, a relationship which existed also in the Erechtheion between the main block and the north porch.

### *Auditorium*

#### General

In its original form the auditorium proper was square in plan, measuring almost exactly 25 m. to the side internally at the level of the top of the cavea. A long narrow stage, *ca.* 3 m. wide, carried across the full width of the auditorium. The orchestra was delimited by the arc of a circle with a radius of 10.17 m. drawn with centre at the intersection of the north-south axis of the building and the scaenae frons; the area of the orchestra was therefore less than a semicircle by the width of the stage. A small monument, probably an altar, rose near the middle of the orchestra. The cavea may be satisfactorily restored with eighteen rows of benches capable of seating approximately 1,000 persons. The seats were served by seven stairways, two of which ran parallel to the stage front while the remaining five were laid out on the radii of a circle with centre at the intersection of the axis of the building and the northern edge of the foundation for the scaenae frons. There is nothing to suggest a diazoma, and the comparatively large number of stairways was probably intended to obviate the need of such. The cross-section (Pl. 18) will show that the cavea had a remarkably gentle slope ( $3\frac{3}{4}$  in 10): dictated no doubt by the desire to have its top on a level with the terrace of the Middle Stoa, but at the same time to avoid sinking the orchestra to an excessive depth in the floor of the square.

#### Orchestra

Very considerable pains were taken in the construction of the marble floor of the orchestra. Over the whole area the soft bedrock was scooped out to a depth 0.25 m. below the intended level of the floor (Fig. 9). On the bottom of this shallow pit was thrown a layer of field stones of the size of a man's fist. Next came a layer of tough gray mortar, another layer of stones, another layer of mortar, and in the surface of this mortar were bedded the marble slabs.<sup>1</sup> The completed floor has a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the specifications for flooring given by Vitruvius (VII, 1) and by Pliny (*N.H.*, XXXVI, 25, 186 f.) and the discussion by M. E. Blake (*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, VIII, 1930, pp. 17 f.).

gentle inclination (*ca.* 0.02 m.) toward a drain hole at its northwest corner; otherwise, and apart from the violent disturbances of later times, the floor has remained beautifully true and level.<sup>1</sup>

The floor slabs were cut with the saw to a thickness of 0.01 to 0.03 m. To assist in the bedding of the marble, potsherds were first set in the surface of the soft mortar; these are clearly visible in the strip from which the marble slabs have been

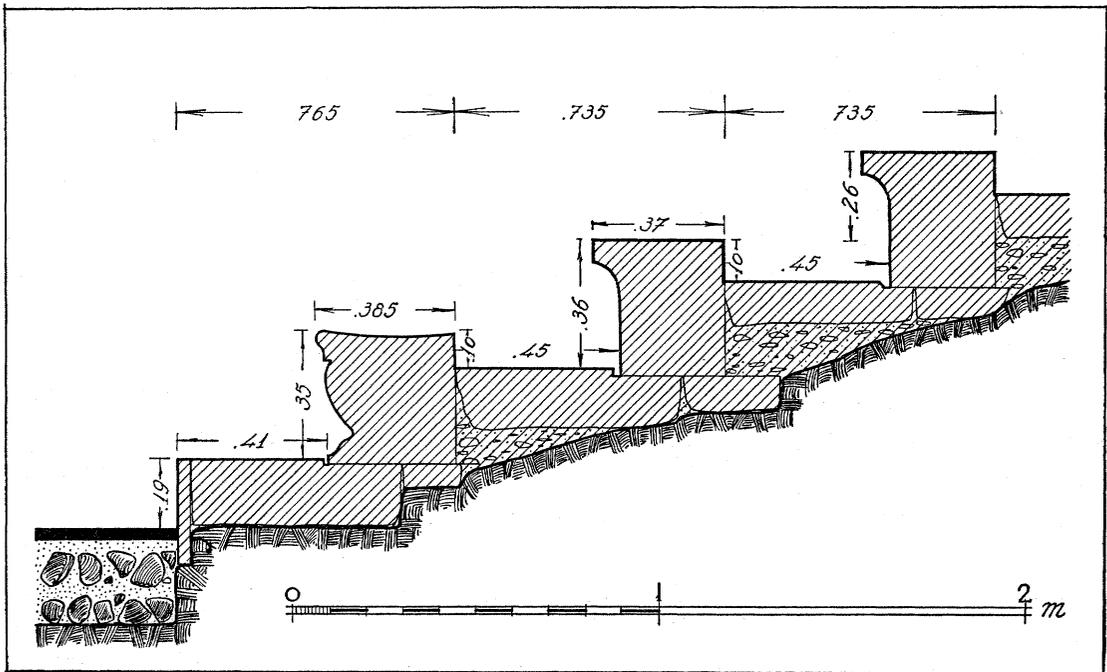


Fig. 9. Restored Section of Orchestra Floor and Benches

temporarily removed in Pl. 42a. The letter *alpha* was found incised on the underside of one of the small marble plaques of the original floor when it was lifted in the course of conservation (Fig. 10).

The orchestra floor was laid after the first row of benches and the stage front had been put in place. It will be clear from the section (Fig. 9) that the floor was carried up against a revetment of Pentelic marble slabs on the face of the step which carried the front benches. The revetment was then secured by bronze straps spaced at intervals of *ca.* 0.90 m.; their upper ends were hooked into the top of the step, their lower ends were set into the edge of the floor and both extremities were then fixed firmly with lead.

<sup>1</sup> Several of the marble plaques that were found in place by the excavators disappeared during the war years despite the fact that the floor had been roofed over. In the summer of 1946 many of the loose pieces were re-set and cemented in place by the skilful technician, John Bakoulis.

A wide variety of stone was used in the paving: white Pentelic marble; a gray-blue marble veined with white (probably Hymettian); green marble with white veining (probably from Karystos on Euboea); purple and white, pink and white marbles from the islands (Skyros or Salamis?); red and yellow limestones and a black, slate-like stone said to be found at Vytina in Arcadia and on Mt. Taygetos.



Fig. 10. Letter incised on Under-side of Orchestra Floor Slab

For the study of the design of the floor we have endeavored to make the evidence available in Pl. 43a which is based on a water-color rendering of the actual remains by Marian Welker. This is to be read in conjunction with the restoration of the original scheme as presented in Pl. 43b. It will be apparent at once that the floor was divided into three principal areas: a central rectangle flanked

on either side by a triangle. These principal areas were outlined and separated from each other by a broad band of veined green marble. Each of the main areas corresponded to two of the six cunei of the cavea and the cardinal points of the design were very carefully related to the stairways.

The central rectangle of the floor was bisected longitudinally and each half was then treated in quite a different fashion. In the half toward the stage a square at either end was delimited by circles of plum-colored marble set at its corners while its mid part was filled by a panel of chevrons designed to suggest cubes. The colors of the chevrons are black, white, green and purple. The rectangular space between the two squares was devoted to the monument that formed the focal point of the whole orchestra. This monument was not centred on the floor; its axis falls some 0.30 m. to the east of the axis of the building.

The place of the monument is now marked by a horse-shoe shaped gap in the marble floor measuring  $1.10 \times 1.13$  m. (Pl. 42b). In the area of the gap the packing of small stones and mortar found elsewhere beneath the floor is replaced by a rough foundation made of irregular masses of Hymettian marble similar to those used beneath the benches. Traces of fine mortar on top of the marble floor along the west edge of the opening indicate that the monument extended some 0.07 m. beyond the cutting in this direction.

Almost certainly to be associated with the monument, presumably as the trim of its base, are several fragments of a delicately carved moulding of Pentelic marble (A 594; Pl. 47c). These were found among the burnt debris over the western part of the orchestra. The resting surface of the moulded member is preserved but not its top; the interaxial spacing of the ornament is *ca.* 0.117 m. The profile is a cyma recta and the face was decorated with an elaborate palmette design. Over part of its circumference the plan of the marble forms the arc of a circle with an outer diameter slightly greater than one metre. One of the fragments, however, preserves a trace of a corner which indicates that the curved side was adjoined by a straight side so

that the plan of the whole would have been semicircular. This moulded member may therefore have occupied the side toward the cavea while the remainder of the horse-shoe shaped space on the side toward the stage would have been filled with a plinth or a step.<sup>1</sup>

The position of the monument would be thoroughly appropriate, of course, to an altar. Its shape, on the other hand, would be unusual in an altar. We have thought it best, therefore, to indicate the existence of the monument on the general plans in a purely schematic way by means of a circle.<sup>2</sup>

In the half of the rectangle that lies on the side toward the cavea a central feature was provided in the shape of a rectangular panel set transversely. The panel was made up of paired slabs of veined, plum-colored marble sawn from the same block and opened like the facing pages of a book so that their veining forms a symmetrical pattern. To east and west the panel is bordered by a row of lozenges alternately black and white, to the north by a band of black and white triangles. The small lateral rectangles to either side of the panel have been disturbed by late replacements to such an extent that the restoration suggested in Pl. 43b cannot be regarded as quite certain. It appears highly probable, however, that the motif of three squares set diagonally within each other forms part of the original design here as elsewhere in the floor. The only plausible restoration that does not violate this evidence calls for the use of the inset-square motif throughout each of the lateral rectangles. It may be noted that the color scheme of the inset squares is based on an alternation of brown and drab.

Each of the lateral triangles was bordered on the two sides of the angle that pointed toward the cavea by a single line of the inset-square motif with the same color scheme as in the central rectangle. In the right-angled corner of each triangle was set a rectangle, and each of these rectangles was filled in turn by a cross worked out in mottled marbles against a white marble ground.

Extensive replacements were made in antiquity particularly in the middle and southern half of the central rectangle where the design consisted so largely of intricate motifs executed in small thin plaques and where traffic was heavier than on the stage side of the orchestra floor. By comparing Pl. 43a with Pl. 43b one will note at once

<sup>1</sup> A very similar base moulding appears on a neo-Attic altar in Naples (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 139 f., pl. 34, 3). Cf. also the grave altar of Publius Aelius Demetrius, probably of the second century after Christ, from Athens (J. Stuart and N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, III, London, 1794, p. 25; A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, IV, Berlin and Leipzig, 1911-22, 2154, pl. CCCCLXXIII).

<sup>2</sup> In the middle of the floor design in the orchestra of the theatre of Dionysos lies a large marble slab with a round sinking, 0.505 m. in diameter, in its surface; this would seem small for an altar (E. Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen*, I: *Die Ruine*, Stuttgart, 1935, p. 57, pl. 9). The familiar round block in the orchestra at Epidauros on which an altar is commonly restored measures 0.71 m. in diameter (W. Dörpfeld and E. Reisch, *Das griechische Theater*, Athens, 1896, p. 124).

that two of the small circles to the west of the central monument were replaced with panels of chevrons and squares. It will also be apparent that the lateral rectangles of the southern half of the principal rectangle came to be filled with a disagreeable hodgepodge of remnants of the old inset-square motif supplemented by intrusive chevrons and squares. Prominent among the replacements are limestone plaques of a deep brick-red color that seems not to occur in the original parts.

The replacements that we have noted above were probably necessitated by normal wear and tear. The excavation, however, revealed large gaps in the floor where the slabs had been either broken or entirely removed. The mortar bedding thus exposed, as also the edges of the marble slabs around the gaps, had been worn smooth by traffic. This condition would seem to have been caused by some violent damage, most likely the collapse of the roof, after which the floor had remained unrepaired but had continued in use until the final destruction of the whole building by fire.

### Cavea

The greater part of two sections of the front bench were found in place at the east side, a small fragment of one section toward the west (Pls. 44, 45a). A scrap from the lower part of a bench of the second row remains in place in the west side, and enough fragments of another bench from one of the back rows were found to permit a complete restoration (Pl. 45a and b). Impressions in the earth left by benches and steps carried up in places to the fifth row (Pls. 22, 23).

The scheme of the benches will be clear from Fig. 9. All the seats, both front and back, were cut from solid blocks of Hymettian marble. The first row had a pleasing moulded profile in front and a comfortably scooped top; the upper rows had a much simpler profile and a flat top. The three surviving blocks of the front row measure 0.35 m. in clear height above the level of the footrest; the one surviving complete example of the back benches (A 1294) measures 0.36 m. and, since this agrees closely with the impressions left in the earth by other missing benches, the figure has been used for the restoration of the upper part of the auditorium.

The massive marble benches rested on marble slabs irregular in length, width and thickness; these in turn were bedded on the soft rock in the lower part of the cavea (the first four or five benches), on a packing of firm gray clay in the upper part. It will be noted in the section (Fig. 9) that the benches were set down in the marble underpinning a depth of one or two centimetres to prevent their slipping forward. The bedding blocks, which in their front parts served also as footrests, lay 0.10 m. below the top of the next lower bench, an arrangement which kept down the slope of the cavea and at the same time protected the backs of spectators from the feet of those behind them.

In all seven stairways only two step blocks remain in place, viz. the two lowest in the easternmost stair (Pl. 44b). These blocks are massive pieces of Hymettian

marble, laid with their tops level; the width of this stair was 2.50 m. The five middle stairs are now attested only by the impressions left in the earth and bedrock on their removal. The steps in these middle stairs were of thinner slabs, laid in such a way that one step corresponded to one bench.<sup>1</sup> The width of the third stairway from the west side may be measured with fair precision, *ca.* 0.75 m., from the dressings for the flanking benches of the first row as preserved on the top of the bedding block. The much greater width of the stairways adjacent to the stage suggests that they led directly to lateral entrances which, we have assumed, were reached from the north porch via the dressing room and the basements of the balconies.

On top of the footrest for the second row of benches, immediately to the right of one ascending the third stairway from the west, a large *beta* is roughly cut, clearly designating the second row (Pl. 45a).

The front edges and corners of the one surviving and tolerably complete example of a back bench (A 1294) show traces of breakage which had been smoothed off in antiquity so as not to chafe the legs of the sitters (Pl. 45b).

As a moulded plinth course to encircle the auditorium and lobby just above the level of the top of the seating space we have used an element now represented by a couple of fragments found between the north end of the Odeion and the colossal figures (Pl. 45c). The moulding consists of a cymatium with ovolo above and fascia below; the workmanship is characteristic of the first period of the Odeion.<sup>2</sup>

It is probable that the tremendously massive walls needed to support the columns of the main order were lightened by niches which would have been eminently suitable for statuary. We have restored such around both auditorium and lobby in the intervals between columns. A large corner orthostate block of Pentelic marble (Pl. 36d) found near the northeast corner of the Odeion in a much mutilated state may be interpreted as coming from the angle of such a niche and we have used it as the basis of our restorations in the sections (Pls. 18, 19).<sup>3</sup>

### *Lobby*

The long narrow room (*ca.* 5.60 × 25 m.) at the back of the auditorium may be thought of as a lobby or foyer, a convenient arrangement for the control of admission and a protection against the noise of traffic from the terrace of the Middle Stoa; a similar arrangement was employed in the Basilica of Pompeii. Since its walls have

<sup>1</sup> Slight indications in the clay bedding when first excavated suggest that the steps were not laid level as shown in the section (Fig. 9) but with a slope which would have reduced the height of the riser. Such a scheme was employed in the Theatre of Dionysos.

<sup>2</sup> A 1407. Height, 0.235 m. Neither the length nor width of the block is preserved.

<sup>3</sup> A 1168. Preserved height, 1.56 m. (top cut away). Width, 1.01 m.; thickness (giving depth of niche), *ca.* 0.95 m. A half successful attempt had been made by late vandals to cut the great block in two.

been stripped down to their lowest foundations and the earth filling that supported its floor has been removed to a level over 2.00 m. beneath its floor, the scheme of the room can be recovered only through indirect evidence (Pl. 17).

We have seen that the *cavea* as restored on the basis of surviving blocks and beddings rose to the level of the terrace in front of the Middle Stoa. Since this resulted in an auditorium of exceptionally gentle slope, the coincidence will not have been accidental. This consideration, combined with the limited capacity of the entrance from the north in the original period and the complete lack of evidence for any entrance from the sides, leaves no doubt that the principal entrance was intended to be from the south, i. e. from the terrace of the Middle Stoa, through the balcony, through the lobby and so into the auditorium. The distribution of the stairways in the auditorium calls for three doorways between auditorium and lobby. It will be observed that each doorway would have pierced the wall beneath an intercolumnar space of the main order, thus not interfering with the support of the columns. We have arbitrarily restored three corresponding doorways in the opposite wall, i. e. between lobby and balcony.

The analogy of the west end of the Erechtheion in its original form suggests that a low parapet ran between the round columns in the south end of the building. A fragment from such a parapet may be recognized in a small piece of marble found during the current excavations near the northeast corner of the Odeion (Pl. 45d).<sup>1</sup> It comes from the upper left corner of a slab the end of which was jointed to fit around the shaft of a smooth round column *ca.* 1.00 m. in diameter and was cut wedge-shaped so that it could be thrust firmly into place from inside the building. Against the column the parapet slab was finished with a slender pilaster crowned by a neatly profiled capital; the slab itself was capped by a low cornice with dentils. The outer face of the parapet is carved in a reticulate pattern and is heavily weathered.

### *Stage and Stage Front*

Since no trace of bedding for stone or marble slabs was found in the area of the stage, it may be assumed that the stage was floored, as usual, with wooden planks. It is assumed that this floor lay on a level with that of the dressing room, i. e. *ca.* 1.20 m. above the orchestra.

Of the socle for the stage front the easternmost block remains in place: a piece of gray-blue Hymettian marble moulded in front (Pls. 42b, 44b; Fig. 11). Much of the underpinning for the remainder of the socle has survived: small blocks of poros beneath the joints in the socle course, elsewhere a packing of field stones. In the tops of the poros bedding blocks are pry-holes but no dowel-holes.

<sup>1</sup> A 1404. Overall thickness, 0.14 m.; preserved length, 0.28 m.; preserved height, 0.165 m. The parapet has been indicated in the north-south section (Pl. 18) but not in the east-west section (Pl. 19) for fear of confusing the main lines of the restoration.

In the line of the stage front, in the extreme northeastern corner of the orchestra, is a re-used block of dark gray Eleusinian limestone with a sinking in its top for the reception of a marble statue that would have faced in slightly toward the axis of the auditorium. It will be observed from Pl. 44b that the bedding extends beyond the block of Eleusinian limestone into the first block of the plinth for the stage front so that one would be inclined to regard the statue and its base as a late insertion. Since,

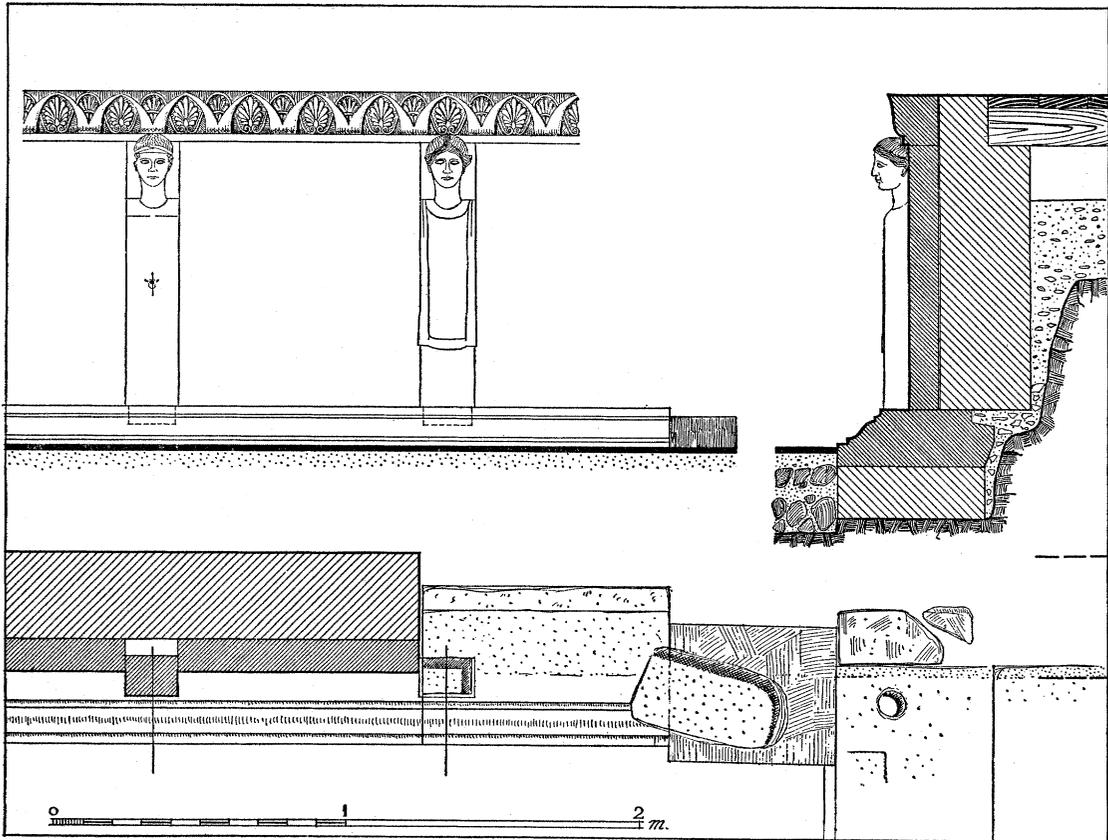


Fig. 11. Stage Front: Plan of Actual State, Restored Elevation and Section

however, there is no trace of disturbance in the orchestra floor, the arrangement may be taken as original. At the opposite (west) end of the stage front, an impression in the mortar bedding for the orchestra floor attests a corresponding statue base; this one, however, was cut from a single block.

The scheme of the stage front proper may be recovered from a few surviving marbles found chiefly in the debris that overlay the orchestra and from the cuttings in the one surviving block of the plinth. The outer ends of the joists for the stage

floor would seem to have been carried on a fairly heavy wall of rough masonry which was faced with a marble screen panelled with herms.<sup>1</sup>

Of the heavy wall nothing remains but traces of mortar on the back part of the top of the plinth, together with a little packing of broken stone behind the plinth. It will be observed in the section (Fig. 11) that the back of the plinth is rebated; it is quite possible that the lower ends of the wall blocks were cut with a corresponding notch which would have prevented them from being thrust forward by the pressure of the earth filling behind; a similar device has been noted in the seats of the auditorium.

Of the marble screen the essential elements are now available. No complete herm has come to light but one fragment from the upper part of the shaft was found in the area of the orchestra (S 1213) and one fragment from the bottom of the shaft in the Stoa of Attalos whither it had been taken, no doubt, by the builders of the "Valerian Wall" (S 1391; Fig. 11; Pls. 46, 47b). The shaft is of greenish white Karystian marble, dressed smooth on front and sides, rough behind, 0.185 m. wide, 0.14 m. thick. The lower end of the shaft is cut with a short tenon which fits neatly into a rectangular sinking in the top of the plinth; along the front and the two sides of this sinking is a setting line to mark the outer limit of the shaft proper. In the upper of the two fragments from the shaft is a socket for the reception of the pudenda which were presumably of bronze.

A shallow socket in the top of the shaft shows that the head was cut separately and attached. Three heads in a tolerably complete state and a fragment of a fourth are available for association with the herms (Pls. 46-49). All were carved from brilliant white Pentelic marble, at a scale of about three quarters life; two are female and two male. The two female heads (S 553 and S 554; Pls. 46, 48) were found among the burnt debris overlying the orchestra; the more complete male head (S 558; Pl. 49 a-c) comes from a level of the late Roman period some 15 metres to the east of the Odeion while the fragment (S 597; Pl. 49d) came to light in the area of the stage. Both female heads are heavily stained but not burned; the male head is deeply calcined; the fragment is fresh and crisp. The two female heads are of the same ideal, fifth-century, type: beautifully clean in design, utterly without expression, the hair parted in the middle and carried back in a wavy mass over either ear. The male heads also, so far as one may judge from their present condition, are of one type, with short flame-shaped locks and an encircling ribbon drawn low across the forehead (the more fragmentary head was jointed on the line of the lower edge of the ribbon); these two are clearly based on a fifth-century athlete type.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in general the "Phaidros Bema" in the Theatre of Dionysos, described in detail by Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen*, I: *Die Ruine*, pp. 41 ff. Perhaps also pertinent is Pollux, IV, 124: τὸ δ' ἵποσκήμιον κίονι καὶ ἀγαλματίους ἐκεκόσμητο πρὸς τὸ θέατρον τετραμμένους, ὑπὸ τὸ λογεῖον κείμενον.

The heads were cut in high relief against a rectangular plaque of marble of the same width as the shaft of the herm. The top of the plaque together with the back part of the top of the head were cut down in such a way as to form a ledge for the support of a horizontal member. In the top of the plaque are cuttings for two iron clamps of  $\Gamma$  shape, one leading off to either side, clearly intended to secure the herms to an adjacent member.<sup>1</sup>

These clamp cuttings in the tops of the herms have permitted the certain identification of one fragmentary example of the intervening slabs (A 1174; Pl. 46). The slab was cut from greenish white marble of Karystos like that of the shaft, smooth in front, rough behind. Only the upper left corner of the orthostate remains.<sup>2</sup> In the top of the slab is a clamp cutting that corresponds precisely in shape and placing with those in the tops of the herms and shows that the edge of the slab abutted directly on the side of the herm in such a way that the shaft of the herm projected about 0.08 m. beyond the face of the slab.

The crowning horizontal member above herms and slabs is represented by several fragments found among the debris above the orchestra (A 586; Pls. 46, 47a). The member had a sima-like profile richly and delicately carved with an interlacing lotus and palmette design. Neither the original height nor width is preserved. If, however, a plain fascia be restored below, it will fit satisfactorily on the ledge in the tops of the herm heads. That little is missing from the back of the block is shown by the presence of a clamp cutting near the preserved back edge, intended presumably to secure the moulded member to the substantial backing wall. The top of the moulded member is slightly worn by traffic. We have assumed that the top of this member represented the floor level of the stage.

There is no direct evidence for the height of the stage. It may be taken as virtually certain, however, that the floor of the stage lay at the same level as that of the dressing room, which would mean that it rose *ca.* 1.20 m. above the orchestra floor. Such a solution would accord well with the slight indication given by the mass of packing in the area of the stage and would also result in satisfactory proportions for the herms.

Nor have we direct evidence for the spacing of the herms. In view of the thinness of the marble orthostates, however, the interaxial space could not have been great. We have restored the unit as 1.00 m., which permits of a panel almost square (0.82 m. wide, 0.89 m. high) and brings the heads into a satisfactory relationship with the

<sup>1</sup> The height of the heads from crown to chin is 0.18 m. in S 553, 0.17 m. in S 554 and 0.175 m. in S 558. The preserved height of the fragment (S 597) is 0.09 m., but its scale is identical with that of the other heads. The thickness of the plaque is 0.07 m. in S 553, 0.08 m. in S 554 and 0.045 m. in S 558.

<sup>2</sup> Thickness, 0.115 m.; preserved height, 0.46 m.; preserved width, 0.345 m. Found above the orchestra.

elements of the carved moulding above. This spacing also allows a herm to stand on the axis of the building, others to be centred on the principal north to south bands in the orchestra floor. Such a restoration would call for a total of 17 herms.

The restored drawings of Fig. 11 will make clear the syntax of the composition of the stage front; they will not, however, bring out the effect produced by the combination of various marbles: blue in the plinth, greenish white in the herm shafts and intervening orthostates, brilliant white in the heads and the carved crowning member.

The decorated part of the stage front may be assumed to have been bounded to right and left by the statues, the bases for which have been discussed above. Beddings and traffic-worn surfaces on the tops of the two surviving steps of the stairway in the east wing suggest that the marble facing, probably without herms, continued beyond the statues to the very corners of the stage, flanking the stairways. These stairways were so arranged as to permit communication between orchestra and stage as well as between orchestra and corridor. There is no trace, and little possibility, of there having been any other stone stairway between orchestra and stage although there may well have been moveable wooden stairs of the kind illustrated in the wall paintings of Pompeii.<sup>1</sup>

Of the scaenae frons nothing remains in place above the lowest foundations nor has anything from its superstructure been recognized. On the analogy of the Roofed Theatre at Pompeii, however, we may assume a modest treatment probably with painted rather than sculptural or architectural decoration.

### *Scaena*

The scaena or dressing room consisted of a single long room measuring internally about 26.60 × 6.70 m. (Pl. 17). It was floored with marble slabs of which a few were found in place near the east end;<sup>2</sup> elsewhere the mortar bedding retains the impressions of the missing slabs and permits the recovery of the scheme of the floor. The major part of the floor was of white Pentelic marble but in either half of the long room a rectangle was outlined in blue. This floor resembles closely that of the orchestra in material and construction but is less solidly founded and less elaborately patterned.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, Princeton, 1939, p. 342. In the top of the first step of the stairway in the east wing, just to the east of the bedding for the statue, is a sinking in which some object was leaded and subsequently removed by careful chiselling (Fig. 11). Since there is no pour channel this must have been some comparatively small free-standing object rather than a dowel in a block. Its purpose is not apparent.

<sup>2</sup> These slabs were pulled out and scattered during World War II.

<sup>3</sup> Above the pre-Odeion surface of the square was thrown a packing, 0.20 to 0.50 m. thick, of working chips and gray clay. On the levelled top of this packing was laid a course of field stones the size of a man's hand and over these was poured the mortar bedding for the slabs.

A glance at the plans (Pl. 17) will show that the tripartite division of the floor would have corresponded with the conventional three doors leading to the stage. A comparison of the plans shown in Pl. 17, centre and right, will demonstrate further that doorways centred on the axis of the building and on the lateral panels in the floor of the scene building would in each case have been centred also between pilasters of the main order of the building, again a satisfactory correspondence. In our restored plan we have suggested a doorway in either end of the long room permitting communication with the lateral corridors and through them with the auditorium; for this, however, there is no positive evidence.

Near the southeast corner of the scaena are traces of a large pedestal that must have risen against the south wall of the room. The underpinning consisted of two rough pieces of marble set down in the bedding for the marble floor. Low vertical slabs of a white marble facing for the plinth were found in place by the excavators. The identity in material and workmanship between this base and the orchestra, and the absence of any sign of later disturbance, prove that the pedestal was part of the original construction. The overall dimensions of the base were about  $1.50 \times 1.80$  m. No trace of a corresponding pedestal was found at the other end of the room although the underpinning for the marble floor is sufficiently well preserved at the crucial point. The pedestal presumably carried a large statue, conceivably that which is now represented by fragments to be discussed below (pp. 79 f.).

The dimensions of the room and its marble floor suggest that it was regarded as a place of some importance beyond mere utility. It is to be noted also that the small columns which supported the balcony in the corresponding spaces on the other three sides of the building do not occur in the north chamber. We have therefore assumed that the balcony did not carry across the north front of the building but that the scaena rose through the full height of the balcony and its basement. Such a restoration would accord well with the presence of a porch against the north façade (to be described below) and with the scale of the statue to be restored in the southeast corner of the room.

#### *North Porch and Monument Bases*

On the axis of the Odeion and adjacent to its north façade are the foundations of a small rectangular structure that can scarcely be interpreted as anything other than a porch (Pl. 29a). The overall width of the foundation was 7.60 m., its projection from the face of the wall 5.40 m. In material and construction the foundation is identical with that of the north wall of the Odeion and since, moreover, the two foundations interlock, there can be no doubt of their contemporaneity. At some time in the history of the Odeion the porch was dismantled and most of its material was removed, including even some of the lowest foundation blocks. The pits left by their

removal were filled with firm packed gravel and with working chips from the construction of a series of seven stairways that replaced the porch. There remain in place, therefore, only some ten blocks of the lowest foundation course and the trenches which give us the complete outline of the structure.

A consideration of the section (Pl. 18) indicates that the difference in level between the area to the north of the porch and the floor of the scaena could have been made good by a euthynteria and three steps around the porch together with an additional single step between porch and scaena. Since the foundation is of the same width on front and sides, a prostyle arrangement is indicated, undoubtedly with four columns. In our restoration (Pl. 59) we have had in mind the porches on the Tower of the Winds.

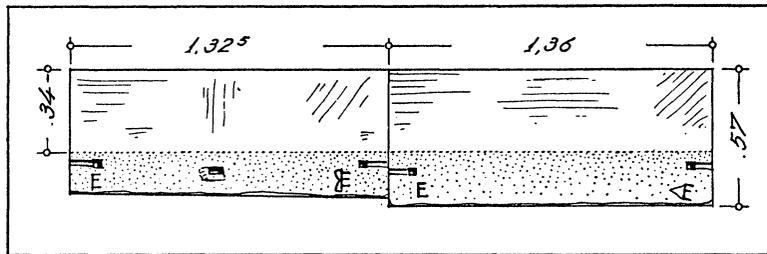


Fig. 12. Re-used Step Blocks, Perhaps from the North Porch

Nothing of the stonework of the porch from above ground level has been found unless it be several blocks that were re-used in a series of statue bases set against the north façade in conjunction with the seven stairways that took the place of the porch. Among this material are five blocks of poros which were employed as orthostates in the second from the east of the series of statue bases and a sixth in the westernmost pedestal of the same series. The most characteristic piece is that which now forms the north end of the second pedestal from the east (Pl. 28b).<sup>1</sup> In its material, in the shape of its clamp cutting and in the narrow *Werkzoll* along the outer edge of its original top surface this block is identical with the blocks in the euthynteria course of the large monument base at the northeast corner of the Odeion which is certainly an integral part of the original construction. It is tempting therefore to regard the block of Pl. 28b as from the euthynteria of the original north porch of the Odeion.

Two of the marble step blocks of the original north porch may be recognized with some degree of probability in the lowest step of the first stairway from the east

<sup>1</sup> The block is of gray-brown poros, and measures  $1.125 \times 0.67 \times 0.29$  m. A clamp, a dowel and a pry cutting in its original top all date from the original use. A mason's mark in the shape of a large gamma was cut by the re-users in the same surface. Another block of the same original series re-used in the same pedestal is marked with a rho.

in the series of seven later stairways (Fig. 12). The blocks are of Hymettian marble and well worked. Each has a clamp cutting at either end, one a dowel cutting in the middle, all from the original use. Each block is lettered at either end, a clear indication of re-use. In their original, as in their secondary, position these blocks served as steps. The width of the tread in the original use, as shown by the positions of the cuttings and by the tooling, was *ca.* 0.32 m., the height 0.29 m.<sup>1</sup>

It seems probable, therefore, that when the original small porch on the axis of the building was removed to make way for the series of seven stairways with flanking statue bases the material from the porch was re-used in the construction of the new stairs and the pedestals.

At either extremity of the north façade of the building are foundations for large monuments, undoubtedly contemporary with the original construction. The monuments, like the columnar porch, must have enlivened the otherwise dull expanse of the wall.

The eastern monument base was clearly intended to be a square, 5.73 m. to the side, but the necessity of avoiding the northwest corner of a large earlier monument that flanked the Panathenaic Way obliged the architect to swing the north end of the new base slightly in toward the axis of the Odeion (Pls. 16, 17, 28a); the aberration would scarcely have been perceptible in antiquity.

Of this eastern base there remain *in situ* two courses of heavy poros blocks, apparently continuous throughout the area of the base; several blocks of the upper of these two courses have been removed from near the middle in late times (Pl. 28a). The upper course is bounded on the three exposed faces of the foundation by a row of poros blocks, the outer faces of which were finished to be visible over their full height. Two pairs of these blocks in the north front of the base are bound to one another by clamps. The third (now missing) course was set back, as shown by weathering lines, about 0.16 m. from the edge of the second course on the north side where the evidence is accessible and presumably also on the east and west sides where the second course is now overlaid by late Roman concrete foundations. The careful dressing of the top of the second course suggests that the third was of marble, i. e. part of the marble facing around a core of cheaper material.

That base and Odeion are contemporary is shown clearly not only by similarity in material and workmanship but also by the bonding of their foundations which may be observed at the southwest corner of the base.

The size, the shape and the massive construction of the foundation at once suggest a chariot group which would have shown to splendid advantage rising

<sup>1</sup> Three marble step blocks remain in the sixth and seventh from the east of the series of seven late stairways along the north façade of the building; all of these are re-used blocks but none is of the same series as those illustrated in Fig. 12 and none can be associated with the porch.

against the front of the Odeion in clear view of those coming up the Panathenaic Way.<sup>1</sup>

A fountain flowed from the north face of the pedestal for the quadriga (Pl. 28a). Two rectangular beddings at the edge of the top of the second course of the foundation for the quadriga presumably carried supports for a pair of spouts which poured their water into a shallow basin measuring  $1.70 \times 3.30$  m. The floor of the basin pitched steeply from east to west toward a small drain hole at the middle of the west end; the depth at the east was 0.24 m. increasing to 0.35 m. at the west. The entire floor, the east wall and half the west wall of the basin remain, all roughly put together of re-used marble blocks. The basin was waterproofed by means of hydraulic cement of lime and pounded tile applied to the inner faces of the walls and to the junction of walls and floor. No trace has yet been found of the source of the water; it was brought, presumably, in lead pipes which normally vanish.

No specific evidence is available as to the time when the fountain was installed. Its rough construction would argue against its contemporaneity with the original period of the Odeion yet its symmetrical relationship with the quadriga base clearly implies that the fountain was erected while the monument was still intact. It may therefore be associated with the second period of the building.

The monument base at the west end of the north façade has fared worse than the eastern. All the blocks have disappeared, leaving only an impression in the earth. Since the pottery and coins found in the bottom of the pillaged foundation trench are of the fourth century after Christ, it appears probable that the last foundation blocks of the monument base were removed by the builders of the great Gymnasium about A.D. 400.

<sup>1</sup> The plinth beneath the actual statues of chariot groups in Athens normally measures about 3 metres across the front and a little more from front to back. When the group stood on a high pedestal the stepping of the courses meant that the lower foundations considerably exceeded these dimensions. One of the most pertinent parallels is provided by the tall "Monument of Agrippa," in front of the Propylaea; its lowest foundations measure  $5.23 \times 5.29$  m., its plinth  $3.095 \times 3.580$  m. (R. Bohn, *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin and Stuttgart, 1882, pls. II, XXI; W. B. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXIV, 1920, p. 83). The chariot group erected on the Acropolis to commemorate a victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidians has been restored in its second position, with a pedestal two courses high, the lower course measuring *ca.*  $3.40 \times 3.60$  m., the upper course or plinth *ca.*  $2.95 \times 3.20$  m. (G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 504 ff.; A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 158; *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, Nos. 168 and 173). The front of the plinth for a bronze quadriga dedicated by Pisonapes in the middle of the fifth century has been restored with a width of 3.00 m. (Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 158; *Dedications*, No. 174). Two other near-by foundations in the Agora probably carried quadrigae, one projecting from the mid point of the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos (measuring  $5.70 \times 6.20$  m. on its lowest foundations), the other at the east edge of the Panathenaic Way between the Stoa of Attalos and the Library of Pantainos ( $5.20$  m. square measured on its foundations). Still another quadriga base may be recognized at the north edge of the great stairway by which one ascended from the Agora to the Hephaisteion ( $4.90 \times 5.80$  m. on its lowest foundations; *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 219, fig. 126, p. 221).

The impression left by the blocks shows that the monument base was set close against the face of the north wall of the building, and that it had an overall north-to-south width of 2.40 m. The western end of the base would seem to have been aligned with the west side of the building. Eastward the end of the base is obscured by a late Roman foundation. It seems probable, however, that the long base, like the quadriga base, was placed symmetrically with respect to the balcony. On this assumption the base would have had an overall length of *ca.* 7.00 m.

We have no indication from the excavation as to the nature of the monument that stood on this base. The long narrow proportions of the base would suggest a row of statues, conceivably those of Philip, Alexander and the Epigonoi seen by Pausanias in front of the building (I, 8, 6 and 9, 4) but for this there is no direct evidence.

A narrow foundation consisting of a single row of heavy poros blocks may be traced along the foot of the outer face of the north wall of the Odeion between the central porch and the lateral monument bases and also along the foot of the east and west walls near their northern ends (Pl. 16). Identity of material and workmanship and the way in which the blocks are set against the main foundations of the building show clearly that they are part of the original construction. Those along the north façade were subsequently overlaid by the marble stairways and statue bases that were built here at a later date.

Between the columnar porch and the eastern base three blocks remain in place.<sup>1</sup> They rest on the dressed bedrock, but are not laid as deep as the lowest blocks of the main foundation nor do they course with that foundation. Eastward of the surviving pair of blocks there would appear to have been one more, but the line seems certainly to have stopped short of the great eastern monument base. Along the west side of the building a single block remains in position very near the northwest corner,<sup>2</sup> and a bedding for the southward continuation of the line of blocks extended 6.40 m. from the corner. On the east side advantage was taken of two blocks that had apparently been laid in error for the main foundation of the building (p. 42). Southward of these two blocks the bedding for the supplementary foundation could be traced, its maximum possible length being 8.00 m., its probable length being *ca.* 6.50 m., corresponding closely, that is, with the bedding on the west side of the building. The pottery from the trench left by the removal of the row of blocks on the east side would suggest that they were pulled out at the same time as the blocks along the north façade were overlaid by marble steps and monument bases.

There is no clear indication of the purpose of this foundation. Its comparatively

<sup>1</sup> They are of gray poros. The two eastern blocks, the tops of which have been cut down, measure 0.45 m. high, 0.48 m. wide, 1.24 and 1.18 m. long. The third, of which one end is missing, measures, 0.43 m. high, 0.48 m. wide, 0.78 m. long.

<sup>2</sup> The block measures  $0.97 \times 0.56 \times 0.33$  m. high.

shallow bedding shows that it carried nothing of great weight, certainly no structural part of the building. Perhaps the most plausible explanation is that it supported benches—very welcome in this busy part of the square.

### *Balcony*

We now turn from the central core of the building to consider the lesser elements to east, west and south. As noted above, we have proposed to restore here an outward-looking balcony or loggia supported on a basement storey (Pls. 19, 20).

The plan of the basement was simple and may be recovered with assurance. Along all three sides ran an open corridor, 6.67 m. wide on the east and west, 6.82 m. on the south, with a plain wall on either side. The inner face of the outer wall was covered with white stucco, and the opposite wall on the inner side, of which nothing now remains above ground level, was doubtless finished in the same way. Apart from the indirect access through the north porch and scaena hypothecated above (p. 69) no trace has yet been found of an entrance to the basement, although the more thorough exploration of the areas to east and west of the Odeion may reveal such.

On the mid line of the corridor stood a row of small columns for the support of the floor above, seven across the south, nine in each of the long sides. These columns rested on blocks of limestone or marble, rough and irregular in outline but concealed originally by the earthen floor. Although no complete shaft has been found, the stumps of nine still stand in place and the upper part of one came to light on the floor of the corridor near the southeast corner of the building (Pls. 24, 27a, 50a). The shafts are of coarse Pentelic marble, unfluted and hammer dressed. Their lower diameter is 0.40 m., the upper diameter 0.36 m.; they were probably monolithic.<sup>1</sup> No capital has been found suitable to these shafts.

Although the spacing of the columns varies as between the south side and the long sides and even within each of the sides, the second column from the south on both the east and west side was placed with great precision so as to align with the north wall of the south corridor. This was so arranged, no doubt, in order that a heavy beam might be carried across both the east and west corridors on this line, permitting the series of transverse joists to continue unbroken throughout the whole length of the south corridor. North of the same line both the east and west corridors would also have been overlaid by unbroken series of transverse joists. In all three corridors these joists would have been supported at their mid points by the continuous longitudinal beam carried by the small columns.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is no trace of dowels in either top or bottom of the shaft; in the centre of each of these surfaces, however, is a mark for compasses.

<sup>2</sup> A similar scheme was followed in the South Basilica at Corinth (*A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, pp. 60 f.; *Ancient Corinth, A Guide to the Excavations*, ed. 4, Athens, 1947, p. 65; *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 153 ff.).

We have no direct evidence for the height of the basement storey of the balcony. It would be clearly desirable, however, to have the floor of the upper storey on a level with the top of the cavea and hence with the floor of the lobby, as also with the terrace of the Middle Stoa. We have therefore restored it in our sections exactly on a level with the floor of the lobby and one step higher than the terrace of the Middle Stoa. This restoration puts the floor of the upper storey 3.55 m. above that of the basement, a dimension thoroughly appropriate to the scale of the basement columns and very close to that of the comparable basement storey around the South Basilica in Corinth.

The existence of a second storey in this part of the building is indicated both by the general desirability of having the balcony roofed and by the following specific evidence. On the floor of the east corridor, between the second and third columns from the south, was found the curious marble member (A 1158) that appears on the extreme left in Pl. 50a. A fragment of a second specimen came to light in the debris overlying the southwest corner of the building (A 1159). The complete example has the appearance of a plain square capital, its top projecting uniformly on all four sides. In plan it measures 0.49 m. square on top, 0.423 m. square on the bottom; its height is 0.345 m. The surfaces are all hammer dressed and exceedingly fresh. The key to the interpretation is given by the better preserved remains of the Abaton at Epidauros.<sup>1</sup> On the analogy of that building we are to restore on top of the round shaft of our column a capital of such generous breadth as to support on the middle of its top the square capital-like member and also to carry alongside that member the heavy beams that bore the joists. The purpose of the surviving member was to carry the marble column of a second storey without the intervention of wood between marble and marble. It is probable that there was only one column near the southeast corner and one near the southwest corner of the upper storey; elsewhere the full width of the corridor could easily have been spanned by joists unsupported in the middle and strong enough to carry a light wooden ceiling. This arrangement would have guaranteed the maximum freedom of movement and of view in the upper storey.

Since nothing beyond the roof tiles of the upper storey or balcony proper has yet been recognized, its restoration must depend largely on our conception of its function. Various possibilities may be considered. Were the balcony and the basement below intended to facilitate communications within the building? Only, it would seem, to a limited extent, viz. between scaena and orchestra on the ground floor and in the approach to the lobby on the upper floor level; neither in itself was enough to justify the construction of the balcony or its basement. Again, the balcony might be regarded

<sup>1</sup> Kavvadias, *Πρακτικά*, 1905, pp. 74 ff., fig. 17, pl. Z'. The two-storeyed addition to the Abaton in which this construction occurs is dated by Kavvadias simply "to the Roman period." It has much in common with our Odeion corridors.

as an additional foyer or promenade for the concert-goers, i. e. the equivalent of the colonnades which Vitruvius (V, 9) recommended to be placed within reach of the open-air theatre. For our building, however, the promenade space would have been inordinately large and in any case a promenade was already at hand in the Middle Stoa.

It seems preferable, therefore, to dissociate the balcony in function from the concert hall. If now we assume that the balcony looked outward rather than inward we may regard it as an extension of the terraces of the Middle Stoa and suppose that it was intended primarily for the same purpose as that terrace, viz. to provide a vantage ground from which great numbers of people might look down on spectacles, above all on the Panathenaic Procession as it made its way diagonally across the square immediately to the east of the Odeion. On this assumption we have restored an open colonnade to east, west and south and have carried it around the northeast and northwest corners up to the ends of the scaena. There must have been a parapet, of course, between the columns, and on the south side some means of controlling admission since, as one may infer from Vitruvius (V, 1, 2), the charge for admission to such desirable places on festival days was likely to yield a considerable revenue. The shape and spacing of the columns as shown in the restored drawings is purely schematic. The height of the order must have been great enough to permit doorways of appropriate height, say *ca.* 3.50 metres, between balcony and lobby. On the assumption that the roof of the balcony carried unbroken over the scene building its cornice was presumably high enough to run above the ridge of the north porch in somewhat the same relation as that between the central core of the Erechtheion and its north porch. To meet these conditions the total height of the order of the balcony (and of its ceiling) must have been about 4.00 metres. This is approximately the same scale as the upper storey of the Stoa of Attalos, a satisfactory correspondence.

What now was the function of the basement storey beneath the balcony? The breadth of the outer foundations suggests, as we have seen, that the original intention was to have an open colonnade at ground level as well as above. As actually carried out, however, the lower storey was very much of a basement, plainly finished and with only limited means of access. Such space could have served admirably for the storage of supplies against an impending siege, a possibility that must have occurred to the elder citizens who could recall the horrors of famine induced by Sulla's siege some 70 years before.<sup>1</sup> Or the basement may conceivably have been employed for commercial purposes as in the Building of Eumachia in Pompeii.<sup>2</sup> Actually, however, the very freshness of its floor, walls and columns indicates that this part of the building was very little used and it may well be that in the design of the Odeion as finally conceived it was regarded primarily as underpinning for the open gallery above. A

<sup>1</sup> On the question of making provision against siege cf. Vitruvius, V, 9, 8.

<sup>2</sup> A. Mau and F. W. Kelsey, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, New York, 1899, pp. 110-118.

similar purpose was served by the cryptoporticus beneath the outer aisles of the Julian and South Basilicas at Corinth which are a few years later in date but very similar in dimensions and construction.<sup>1</sup> The principle was commonly employed also in the Campanian villas, e. g. the "Villa of Diomedes"<sup>2</sup> and the Villa of the Mysteries.<sup>3</sup> A similar combination of a closed lower storey and an upper storey is to be noted also in the addition made in the Roman period to the Abaton at Epidauros.<sup>4</sup>

It is an interesting indication of the curiously dual nature of the Odeion in the Agora (inside auditorium, outside loggia) that in more normal buildings the corresponding cryptoporticus underlay the outer edge of the auditorium proper. Such an arrangement may be observed both in rectangular buildings, such as the "Gerontikon" at Nysa on the Maeander<sup>5</sup> and at Anemurium in Cilicia<sup>6</sup> and in semicircular buildings such as the Odeum at Corinth.<sup>7</sup>

### *Drainage*

A capacious terracotta drain protected the building from groundwater around its southeast corner where the foundations and even the floor of the corridor were set down deep below the surrounding ground level and where the soil tends to be soggy even today in the winter months.

This drain has its beginning along the south side of the Odeion, some 1.80 m. west of the southeast corner; after turning the corner in a right angle, it hugs closely the east foundation of the Odeion, running north to a point 9.00 m. south of the northeast corner of the building (Pl. 16). Here the drain now stops abruptly and no further trace of it has as yet been found. Further exploration may someday show that it turned eastward to avoid the large earlier monument adjoining the Odeion farther north; but it is quite possible that it never continued beyond its present end.

The stratification (Pl. 50b) shows that provision for the drain was made in cutting the bedding for the east wall of the Odeion. The tiles would seem to have been inserted between the laying of the second and third courses of the east wall; layers of working chips from the dressing of three successive courses of the wall still lie undisturbed above the drain at one point.

<sup>1</sup> *Art and Archaeology*, XIV, 1922, pp. 207-209; *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, pp. 60 f.; XLI, 1937, p. 549; *Corinth, Guide*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 51 f., 65; *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 153 ff. The cryptoporticus beneath the South Basilica was abandoned after a few years and filled with earth, which suggests that it was regarded as of no great practical value.

<sup>2</sup> Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, pp. 349-354.

<sup>3</sup> A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri*, Rome, 1931, pp. 46 ff., 86 ff., Pl. D, figs. 36-38.

<sup>4</sup> Kavvadias, *Πρακτικά*, 1905, pp. 63-89.

<sup>5</sup> W. v. Diest, *Jahrbuch*, Ergänzungsheft X, 1913, *Nysa ad Maeandrum*, pp. 36-40; K. Kourouniotes, *Ἄρχ. Δελτίον*, VII, 1921-22, pp. 1-68, 227-241; W. A. McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*, Baltimore, 1943, pp. 219-224.

<sup>6</sup> F. Mazois and M. Gau, *Les ruines de Pompéi*, IV, Paris, 1839, pl. XXVIII.

<sup>7</sup> O. Broneer, *Corinth, X, The Odeum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932.

The drain channel is oval in cross-section and is made up of pairs of massive tiles, with a packing of field stones between them and the wall foundations.<sup>1</sup>

Another drain led northward out of the west end of the orchestra, apparently to provide for the convenient disposal of the water used in scrubbing the interior of the building; the capacity of the drain is too small to support any argument for an hypaethral auditorium (Pls. 16, 22).

This drain had its beginning 1.60 m. east of the west extremity of the orchestra and doubtless received its water through a small aperture cut in the socle of the stage front. The marble floor of the orchestra pitches toward this point with a scarcely perceptible slope (0.02 m. in the length and *ca.* 0.01 m. in the breadth of the floor). Between the line of the stage front and that of the north wall of the Odeion the drain was oval in cross-section, like that along the east side of the building. Beyond the north wall, where the ground level slopes downward, the large oval channel gives way to a small trough rectangular in section and covered with flat terracotta tiles.<sup>2</sup> The joints between the tiles, both the oval and the rectangular, are carefully sealed with hard white lime mortar. Alongside the oval tiles and above them is a packing of field stones imbedded in soft lime mortar. The drain can now be traced to a point some 30 m. north of the Odeion; it no doubt emptied into some large drain beneath the Panathenaic Way.

### *Incidental Sculpture*

As a prominent theatrical building of its period the Odeion must have been richly adorned with sculpture. We have already found some evidence of this in the sculptural decoration of the stage front; it remains to examine a number of incidental pieces.

A possible candidate for one of the bases at the ends of the stage front is a life-sized marble statue of Dionysos, found in 1935 built into a late wall some 27 metres to the northeast (Pl. 51).<sup>3</sup> The youthful god wore long locks, and over his left shoulder a skin clearly marked as that of a goat by the one surviving horn. The left arm is to be restored as resting on a support, doubtless a tree stump, the position of which is attested by the scar of a strut on the thigh and an imperfectly finished area on the hip. The right arm rose abruptly; its root is pressed so close to the neck as to suggest that the right hand rested languidly on the god's head: a common attitude with this divinity,<sup>4</sup> and one thoroughly appropriate to the situation.

<sup>1</sup> Interior measurements: 0.40 × 0.90 m. The tiles are 0.59 m. (two feet) long. Each pair was baked together in the kiln so as to ensure proper matching. The fall in the drain from south to north is 0.80 m. in a distance of 43 m.

<sup>2</sup> The sections of rectangular channel measure 0.64 m. long, 0.20 m. wide and 0.20 m. deep inside. The cover tiles are 0.21 × 0.34 × 0.04 m. thick.

<sup>3</sup> S 531. Cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 12 ff. Preserved height, 1.10 m.

<sup>4</sup> Compare, for example, a small marble statue of Dionysos in this pose found in the German excavations on the west slope of the Acropolis (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, p. 269).

Three fragments of a colossal marble statue found in the course of the current excavations around the north front of the Odeion may be associated with each other and may be assigned a place in the building with some plausibility. All are of Pentelic marble.

1. Part of a Foot (S 1220). Pl. 52b.

Found above the westernmost of the marble stairs in the north façade along with many chips from the breaking up of the architectural members of the Odeion. Maximum dimension of fragment, 0.31 m.; width of first three toes, 0.11 m.; width of great toe, 0.075 m.; thickness of plinth, 0.14 m.

There remains part of the first three toes of a left foot. The modelling is competent, precise, dry. The surface is so fresh as to indicate that the statue stood indoors. Its scale may be reckoned as approximately  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times life, its standing height, therefore, as about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  metres.

2. Fragment with Drapery (S 1305). Pl. 52c, lower.

Found *ca.* 10 m. north of the middle of the north façade of the Odeion. Maximum dimension of fragment, 0.94 m.

This is merely a flake from a rounded part, probably the hip, of a very large figure. None of the preserved surface, apparently, was intended to be visible: it is dressed in part with a point, in part with a narrow gouge and elsewhere is summarily smoothed. In the area finished with the gouge is a puntillo or measuring point.

3. Fragment with Drapery (S 1343). Pl. 52c, upper.

Found in the current excavations *ca.* 15 m. northwest of the northwest corner of the Odeion. Maximum dimension of the fragment, 1.00 m. Most of the surface is finished with a narrow gouge; some of it is summarily smoothed; the tooling is identical with that of fragment No. 2. The three holes near the middle of the marble mark the beginning of an attempt to break it up into smaller fragments.

In view of its rough surface the fragment must come from the back of the figure. It is perhaps most easily interpreted as from the back of the right shoulder with the stump of the right arm thrust well out.

The discovery of the two "flakes" of the statue in the vicinity of the north front of the Odeion points to that area as the place where the statue stood. These fragments presumably broke off when the statue first fell; that they were moved far in later times is improbable since they show no trace of re-use and each of them is a full burden for four men. The fresh condition of the foot, as already noted, makes it practically certain that the statue stood indoors. The only suitable bedding known

within the building is the rectangular base toward the east end of the scaena. The dimensions of this base ( $1.50 \times 1.80$  m. at floor level) would be appropriate to a standing figure of the scale of ours, i. e.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times life size, and such a position, in which the statue would have been backed close against a wall, would account satisfactorily for the rough state of the surface of our two large fragments.

As for the identification of the figure, it is tempting to regard it as "the statue of Dionysos worth seeing" noted by Pausanias inside the Odeion (I, 14, 1). It might then be restored as a heavily draped Dionysos of the "Sardanapalos" type.<sup>1</sup>

A small piece of marble sculpture that may be attributed with fair assurance to the original decoration of the building is illustrated in Pl. 52a: a fragment from the head of a helmeted Athena that was found on the floor of the basement under the west balcony near the southwest corner of the building and beneath its destruction debris. The scale is about one half life.<sup>2</sup> At the top edge is a trace of a raised cheek-plate: hence the piece is to be regarded as a copy or adaptation of the Athena Parthenos of somewhat the same order as the Varvakeion Statuette. The fresh state of the surface implies that the sculpture stood indoors rather than outdoors, but beyond that it would be rash to speculate. The competent dry style of the head is reminiscent of the heads from the stage front, although the Athena can scarcely be by the same hand.

Undoubtedly to be regarded as part of the original decoration of the building are two interesting bases of Pentelic marble intended for the support of bronze statues. The first base (S 1212) was found in a fairly complete state at a point due east of the east end of the foundation for the scaenae frons where it was overlaid by the concrete foundation of the easternmost wall of the Gymnasium (Pl. 53a and b; Fig. 13). The base is semicircular in plan with a height of 0.815 m.; a resting surface 0.90 m. long and 0.40 m. wide; a top 0.74 m. in diameter. Its front is decorated with two round shields resting on edge, the top by a third shield lying flat. In the middle of the front lower edge a cutting marks the place of a dowel intended to fix the base to the floor. In the top are cuttings for three dowels suitable for the attachment of a bronze statue and a clamp leading back obviously to secure the base to a wall. The feet of the statue were placed well apart, the left was set back, the right thrust far forward. Two of the dowels have been laboriously chiseled out, the third broken off, from which we may infer that after the final destruction of the building the statue was salvaged for its own sake. The front edge of the top shield would seem to have been damaged and

<sup>1</sup> A statue of this type stood also in the Theatre of Dionysos at Athens (B. Ashmole, *B.S.A.*, XXIV, 1919-21, pp. 78-87; figs. 4 and 5 illustrate a statuette of the same type found in Knossos). Cf. also L. Curtius, *Jahrbuch*, XLIII, 1928, pp. 281-297 (for the significance of the name and type); F. P. Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, *Sculpture*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, pp. 33 f., No. 27 (for a head of this type found in Corinth).

<sup>2</sup> S 481. Preserved height, 0.095 m. Pentelic marble. Rasp marks here and there on the surface.

then smoothed off in antiquity. The surface in general is lightly weathered so that the base may be thought of as standing outdoors but in a sheltered position.

Of the companion base only a small fragment has come to light and that in the area of the Stoa of Attalos; it bears the characteristic mortar of the "Valerian Wall" (S 1422; Pl. 53c). The fragment retains a little of the resting surface and a small segment of a shield; the workmanship is identical with that of the other base and their association is unmistakable. The surface of the second base shows light weathering, enough to suggest that this pedestal also stood outdoors, but not fully exposed to the weather.

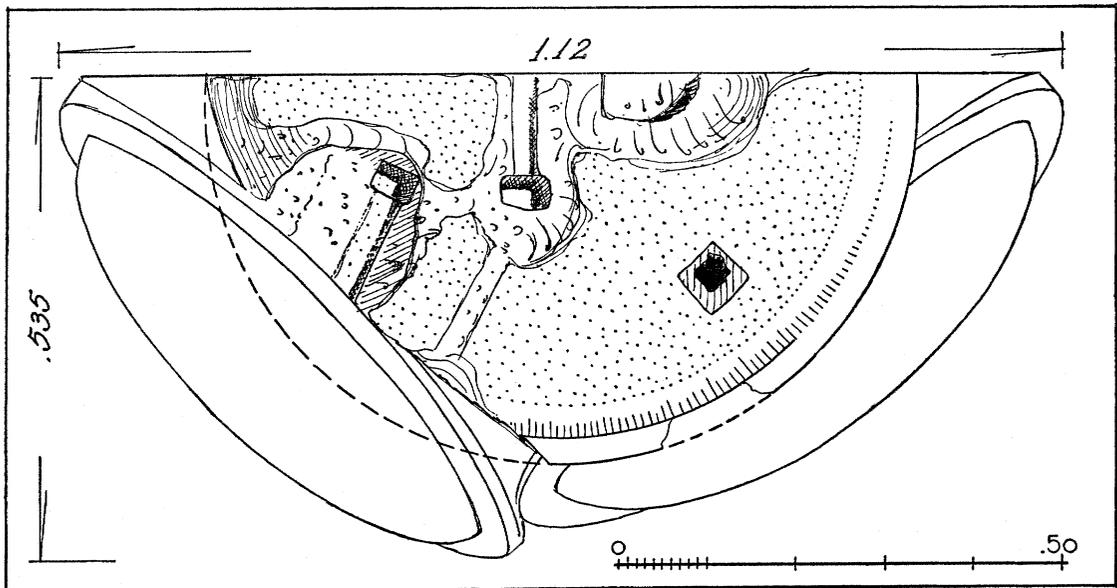


Fig. 13. Top of Base for a Bronze Statue

As for the placing of the shield bases, one might be inclined to attribute them to the scaenae frons. The scheme of the bases, however, is not suitable to a niche, nor is there any trace of underpinning for protruding bases in connection with the scaenae frons. In addition, the weathered surfaces point to an outside position. On the exterior of the building perhaps the most likely spot is the ledge formed by the stylobate of the main order between the great pilasters. Since the stylobate projected at least 0.60 m. beyond the face of the wall, it would have provided ample room for our bases, which had a resting surface only 0.40 m. wide. One is reminded of the prominence of shields in the decoration of the corresponding spaces in the Bouleuterion of Miletos (Pl. 41a). The general effect of the statues thus set between pilasters at a considerable height might be paralleled at Athens in the Monument of Philopappos and in the Arch of Hadrian, at Rome in the Colosseum where the archways in the second and third storeys of the façade were filled each with a statue. On the analogy

of the Bouleuterion at Miletos one might place statues in those spaces that had no windows, i. e. most likely the spaces at the corners. Their exact placing, however, was regarded as too problematic to justify any indication in the drawings of the restored elevation, Pls. 59, 60, or in the model, Pl. 20.

There can be no doubt that bronze statues were actually standing in the building at the time of its final collapse. Numerous fragments of a nude male figure approximately 1½ times life size were found in the destruction debris overlying the basement floor of the west balcony toward its south end (B 163; Pl. 54a). Some of the more distinctive pieces are illustrated: an open right hand with no trace of attribute, a fragment from the junction of abdomen and thigh, several scraps of hair and a loop of loose-hanging drapery.<sup>1</sup> From the basement of the south balcony, toward its east end, and again from the destruction debris come two fragments of a second statue (B 589, 591; Pl. 54b). Of this there remain only the lower tip of an ear and part of the calf of a leg. The scale appears to be uniform with that of the first statue and the workmanship is of the same good quality. These statues would have been appropriate in scale both to the shield bases and to the building; the circumstances of their finding would also accord well with the assumption that they were set against the outer faces of the main walls of the building toward its corners.<sup>2</sup>

### *Materials and Technical Details*

The foundations of the building consist for the most part of large squared blocks of a very soft, pale cream-colored, poros. A good deal of second-hand material was incorporated in the foundations. This is especially evident at the northwest corner of the building where one may distinguish a series of blocks taken from a wall 0.56 m. thick with two visible faces and light drafting along the horizontal joints. The admirable workmanship of these suggest that they were cut in the fifth or fourth century B.C. Several blocks of the same series appear in the foundations of the original porch on the north front of the Odeion.

Above ground level the outer wall of the building (which alone is preserved so high) was built of a harder poros, gray or buff in color, occasionally fossiliferous.

<sup>1</sup> Width of wrist, 0.115 m.; width of hand across knuckles, 0.14 m.; average thickness of bronze, 0.005 m. Numerous flaws in the casting have been made good by means of carefully fitted patches.

<sup>2</sup> A massive marble base for the support of a bronze statue, inscribed with a dedication to Zeus Olympios, was found as left by previous excavators some nine metres north of the northwest corner of the Odeion (I 4188. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 352 ff., figs. 16, 17). The bulk and comparative freshness of the marble suggest that it had not been removed far from its original position, which may therefore have been related to the Odeion. The cuttings in the top of the block are clearly for the support of a bronze rather than a marble statue; the round dowel beneath the heel of the foot was carefully chipped free by those who removed the statue. This base, accordingly, cannot be associated with the marble Hadrian found to the east of the Metroon (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 178 ff.). For other dedications to Hadrian, including two from the general area of the Odeion, see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 249 ff., Nos. 49-52. Cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3324-3368, 3367 a.

We have no direct evidence for the material of the walls that enclosed the central core of the building in its upper storey.

The marble used in the columns and entablature of the main order, as well as in the roof of the balcony, is Pentelic, for the most part of inferior grades containing many blue streaks and heavy veins of impurities. Blue Hymettian marble would seem to have been employed for the stylobate of the main order.

The one wall block that remains in position with an originally visible outer surface exposed exhibits a very matter-of-fact hammer-finished treatment; the same finish occurs on the one surviving and originally visible course of the great monument base to the north of the northeast corner of the Odeion. No evidence is available for the treatment of the outer wall surfaces in their upper parts. The plane surfaces of the marble were normally hammer-dressed and edged with a smooth band 0.02 m. wide; the mouldings were finished smooth.

Clamps were used sparingly in the lower parts of the walls, apparently only where special stress was expected. In the euthyneria of the great monument base to the north of the northeast corner of the Odeion occur cuttings for long  clamps (0.02 × 0.25 m.), flaring slightly toward the ends. This, of course, is the type of clamp that one would expect to find in a building of the date of the Odeion. It was not a little startling, therefore, to discover in the first course above floor level in the south and east outer walls of the building clamps of  shape (0.25 × 0.06 m., the iron *ca.* 0.003 m. thick). One actual clamp of this type with its iron and lead complete remains in place in the east wall (Pl. 55a); cuttings for similar clamps occur in most but certainly not all the joints of the corresponding course in the south wall. These clamps would seem to represent a direct revival of the familiar fifth-century type, and it is tempting to suppose that the architect of the Odeion had been inspired by the technique of the Temple of Ares which was being transplanted at the very time when the Odeion was under construction.<sup>1</sup> There is no trace of dowels in the walls of the Odeion.

Both architrave and cornice blocks retain cuttings for clamps of normal  shape, a characteristic specimen of which is illustrated in Pl. 55c.<sup>2</sup>

The best preserved of the surviving drums from the round columns of the main order was joined to each of its neighbors by two dowels, leaded through pour channels. The under sides of those capitals that can be examined show cuttings for single dowels at their mid-points.

Typical examples of the hardware found in the debris on the floor of the building are shown in Pl. 55c. Among the fittings from timber work is the bent iron bar,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this connection it may be worth noting that  clamps also occur in the east porch of the Market of Caesar and Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> IL 687. Length, 0.29 m.

<sup>3</sup> IL 846. Length, 0.40 m.; width, 0.04-0.05 m.

probably broken away at both ends, with a heavy spike set through it; the flat bar <sup>1</sup> and the spikes.<sup>2</sup>

Reference has already been made to the plain white stucco on the walls of the basement beneath the balcony (p. 41).

Many small fragments of painted stucco were found to the north of the Odeion in a layer of earth and rubbish that was thrown out above the ground level to be associated with the series of marble stairways. Its quantity and its proximity to the building leave little doubt that it comes from some repair of the Odeion, and may well represent the original wall surface of the interior of the auditorium or scaena. Characteristic fragments are shown in Pl. 56.

Too little remains to permit the recovery of the scheme of treatment of the wall surface; it is clear, however, that it was rendered in a simple imitation of ashlar masonry with drafted margins around the blocks. There are a few fragments of stucco moulding of cyma reversa and cavetto profile with a total height of 0.08 m. The colors represented among the fragments are solid black, red, yellow, green, white and various marbled effects. Particularly interesting is a scrap which had been decorated in the first place with daubs of black and red on a white ground and had subsequently been re-stuccoed in yellow.<sup>3</sup>

The foundation trenches of the building were set out with quite exceptional precision and the courses of blocks as far as preserved were laid with very great exactitude so that the width of the building from one end to the other shows no measurable variation and the angles between the walls are exactly right angles, a remarkable achievement in a structure of this size. To assure the correct alignment of successive courses, guide lines were deeply incised on the top of each course, one toward either edge of the foundation. In the north and south walls of the inner rectangle these lines are 2.08 m. apart, in the east and west walls of the inner rectangle 1.78 m., in the east wall of the outer rectangle 1.54 m. The guide lines were intended not to fix the extreme margins of the succeeding course but to correspond to a pair of similar guide lines incised on the top and side of each block of the next course. An example of this painstaking but effectual procedure is illustrated in Fig. 14 and Pl. 55b.

### *Date of the Original Construction*

Evidence for dating the original construction of the Odeion may be derived from the stratification in and around the building, from the style of its architecture and from the style of its sculpture.

<sup>1</sup> IL 688. Length, 0.44 m.; width, 0.08 m.

<sup>2</sup> IL 164 (0.073 m.); IL 174 (0.07 m.); IL 175 (0.11 m.); IL 775 (0.16 m.) and IL 776 (0.12 m.).

<sup>3</sup> The stucco is of good quality and closely comparable with that on the inner face of the outer wall of the building near its southeast corner. The first coat is *ca.* 0.02 m. thick, of lime mortar and fine gravel; the finishing coat *ca.* 0.003 m.-0.01 m. thick, of lime and marble dust.

The evidence from stratification is slight in bulk but clear and decisive. A considerable mass of the filling thrown in to support the seats and the floor of the lobby has been examined. Since most of this material was spoil from digging the foundation

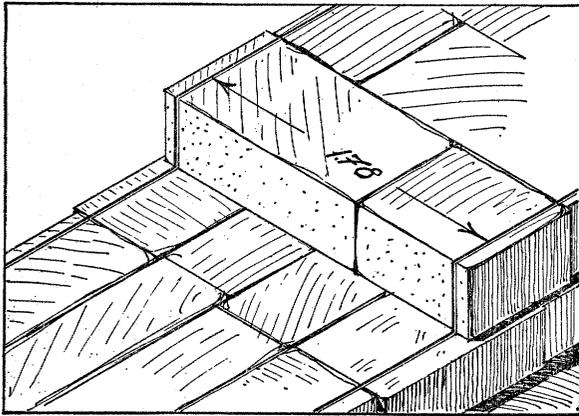


Fig. 14. Sketch of East Foundation of Auditorium to Illustrate Setting Lines

trenches of the Odeion and from scooping out the orchestra, it yielded chiefly early pottery, but at many points it produced fragments of late Hellenistic wares running well down into the first century B.C. Along the north façade of the building the stratification was found in large part undisturbed and from it the history of the building could be read from beginning to end. Certain pits and hollows that were filled up by the builders of the Odeion contained scraps of plain pottery dateable from evidence found elsewhere in the Agora to the early Augustan period; frag-

mentary lamps of Broneer's Type XVIII of the late varieties that were in use in Athens as in Corinth soon after the refounding of Corinth in 44 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and one scrap of Arretine ware that is not likely to have reached Athens before the closing decades of the first century B.C.<sup>2</sup> In the first thin layer of gravel that gathered above the original ground level of the Odeion in this area were found numerous pieces of Arretine ware, scraps of moulded glass bowls, plain pottery and lamps of the advanced Augustan period. The sum of this evidence, therefore, indicates a date in the mid-Augustan age.

Of the surviving architectural members the large capitals are the most distinctive and most helpful for dating. The one well preserved example of the round exterior capitals, identical in scheme with the square outer capitals, was submitted to a penetrating stylistic analysis by Margarete Gütschow long before its connection with the Odeion had been suspected.<sup>3</sup> On the ground of its position in the sequence of development of the Corinthian capital in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, in particular because of the slight advance which it shows beyond the stage attested by the Inner Propylaia of Eleusis (begun 50-48 B.C.),<sup>4</sup> the capital was dated to the second half of the first century B.C.

<sup>1</sup> O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930, pp. 65 f.

<sup>2</sup> F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, London, 1920, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Jahrbuch*, XXXVI, 1921, pp. 72 f., Beilage III, 8.

<sup>4</sup> H. Hörmann, *Die inneren Propyläen von Eleusis*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1932, Pls. 47-49.

The acanthus and lotus capitals of the free-standing interior series belong to a type of which the full development has not yet been worked out.<sup>1</sup> Its germ is already discernible, however, in the Monument of Lysikrates (335/4 B.C.) where the acanthus springs from the lotus.<sup>2</sup> The combination of acanthus and lotus in a scheme more closely resembling that of our capital was popular in the minor arts in the early part of the first century B.C.<sup>3</sup> The further development of the capital type, in particular the elimination of the projecting angles from the scheme of decoration of the kalathos, was no doubt influenced by such Egyptianizing capitals as those employed in the stoas of Eumenes and Attalos.<sup>4</sup> The type appears fully developed in the porches of the Tower of the Winds, a building that was mentioned by Varro in 37 B.C. and that was probably erected very shortly before that date.<sup>5</sup> The Odeion capitals are identical in scheme with those from the Tower of the Winds. The slightly more massive proportions and the greater salience of the leaf tips on the Odeion capitals may be accounted for by their larger scale and the height at which they were to be seen. These slight variations, therefore, need imply no great difference in date. In sheer beauty of design and quality of workmanship the Odeion series is easily superior to the other known examples of the type in Athens.<sup>6</sup>

For the mouldings of the architrave, frieze and cornice of the main order of the Odeion close parallels are to be found in the Tower of the Winds and in the Market of Caesar and Augustus, the construction of which was initiated probably in 47 B.C. and completed about 10 B.C.<sup>7</sup> Relevant too is the close similarity in technical details between the Odeion and the Market of Caesar and Augustus: in the cutting of anathyrosis, in the combination of hammer-dressed plane surfaces with smooth-dressed mouldings, in the use of  clamps supplemented here and there by  clamps of classical form.<sup>8</sup> These technical similarities are so close, indeed, as to leave little

<sup>1</sup> On the type in general cf. J. Durm, *Die Baukunst der Griechen*<sup>3</sup>, Leipzig, 1910, p. 347; F. Winter, *Griechische Kunst*, in Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertums-Wissenschaft*<sup>3</sup>, II, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, I, London, 1762, ch. IV, pl. VI.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 406 ff., E 79.

<sup>4</sup> Durm, *Die Baukunst der Griechen*<sup>3</sup>, p. 350, figs. 337-339.

<sup>5</sup> Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, I, ch. III, pl. VII; Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 178 f.; Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 374 f.; H. S. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 291-305; Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 383 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Six specimens, perhaps from columns carrying dedications, lie in the Theatre of Dionysos (Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen*, I: *Die Ruine*, Abb. 54; III: *Einzelheiten und Baugeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1936, p. 40, fig. 20, Taf. 14.). Another capital of this type lies near the corner of the peribolos of Olympian Zeus. For the type in Corinth cf. R. Stillwell, *Corinth*, I, ii, *Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass., 1941, pp. 124 f., figs. 82, 83.

<sup>7</sup> On the vexed question of the dating see G. Bagnani, *Bolletino d'Arte Cronaca*, I, 1921, pp. 531 ff.; Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 184-198; Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, p. 371; Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 291-305; Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 383 f. Neither the early dating by Robinson nor the late dating by Bagnani seems tenable.

<sup>8</sup> Clamp cuttings of  shape are to be seen in the north wall of the east propylon of the Market.

doubt that the two building programs were in progress at the same time and were being carried out by workmen thoroughly familiar with each other's methods.

A date in the Augustan period would be most compatible with still another feature of the architectural style of the Odeion, viz. the classicizing flavour evident in the purity of the moulded profiles of its entablature and still more in the carved decoration of the "altar" and of the crowning moulding from the stage front. The same tendency is prominent in the previously known buildings of the Augustan period in Athens: the columns of the Temple of Rome and Augustus on the Acropolis being adaptations of those of the Erechtheion, the west propylon of the Market of Caesar and Augustus smacking of the fifth century both in its general scheme and in its details.

A still more significant instance of the influence of a fifth-century building on the Odeion is to be detected in the handling of its south end. The scheme whereby the interior of the building was illuminated in large part by light from a lobby that was itself lighted through a colonnade is identical with that employed in the west part of the Erechtheion in its original form (Pl. 57).<sup>1</sup> Similar too is the relation in the two buildings between the height at which the light entered and the floor inside, as also the insertion of doorways in both the outer and the inner walls. Subsequently, it will be recalled, the west end of the Erechtheion was closed by a screen wall supported by attached half columns and broken only by three large windows set between the half columns (Pl. 40b). This later arrangement may well have inspired such windows as we have restored in the other three sides of the Odeion. The one time in antiquity when such dual inspiration could have been derived from the Erechtheion was the occasion of the thorough remodelling after a fire in the late Greek period. This reconstruction has been dated toward the end of the first century B.C., in part because one of the original cornice blocks of the Erechtheion was re-used in the foundations of the Temple of Rome and Augustus which was itself built after, and probably soon after, 27 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

For the orchestra floor little comparative material is available in Greek lands. In Italy, and especially in the Campanian cities, on the other hand, there are abundant parallels for technique, motifs and syntax.<sup>3</sup> If one may employ this Italian evidence, the combination of motifs (lozenges, triangles, inset squares), the common use of narrow border stripes of contrasting material, the free employment of marble would accord best with a date in the Augustan period for the Odeion paving.

Our floor takes its place as one of the earliest and most elaborate examples of *opus sectile* known in Greece. This type of flooring, involving the use of marble slabs

<sup>1</sup> Stevens and Paton, *The Erechtheum*, pls. XIII and XV.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 178-180, 478 f.

<sup>3</sup> The material is readily accessible in the study by M. E. Blake in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, VIII, 1930, pp. 35-49.

laid in patterns, appeared late in Greece and met with little favor in competition with the older, more familiar techniques of mortar reinforced with pebbles (*tarazzo*) and mosaic composed of pebbles, *tesserae* or marble chips. It does not figure among the rich series of paved floors on Delos, which runs down into the first century B.C.; nor does it occur at Priene; nor have examples earlier than the time of Augustus been found in the Athenian Agora.<sup>1</sup> Inasmuch as *opus sectile*, and in particular the *opus scutulatum* or lozenge pattern which is prominent in our floor, would seem to have come into use in Italy already in the second century B.C. and remained popular throughout the first century, we may suggest that the orchestra flooring is one of several elements in our building which show direct influence from the side of Italy.<sup>2</sup>

The decorative sculpture of the Odeion is pervaded, like its architecture, with a classicistic atmosphere. The marble façade of the stage front in which human forms are used as supports in combination with richly carved mouldings reminds one inevitably of the Porch of the Maidens; comparison of the female heads from the stage front with the heads of the Caryatids will reinforce the suspicion of a connection. The male heads are no less clearly derived from fifth-century prototypes, most likely from one or other of the *diadoumenoi*. The skill with which these various elements were selected and combined, the sure taste with which the modelling of the heads was simplified to suit their architectural setting, the exquisite craftsmanship, all represent hall marks of the developed Augustan style.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Opus sectile* laid in a lozenge pattern occurs in a room of the House of the Consul Attalos at Pergamon (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, p. 184). Accepting the opinion of the excavators that this floor dated from the time of the kings (i. e. before 133 B. C.), Miss Blake (*ibid.*, p. 37) was tempted to suggest a Pergamene origin for the type. In view of its striking isolation at such an early period one might, however, question the dating of the floor. The house, though dating from the regal period, certainly continued in use and underwent many alterations in the Roman period. Is it not possible that the *opus sectile* which is enframed in mosaic represents a late replacement of an original mosaic panel? An *opus sectile* floor that has much in common with our orchestra floor is known from a house on Thera (F. Hiller von Gaertringen and P. Wilski, *Thera*, III, Berlin, 1904, p. 187, pl. I). The excavators have not ventured on a date for the house; its walls, however, are painted in a style that is familiar in Athens after rather than before the time of Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> It may be symptomatic of the alien inspiration of our floor that the later marble orchestra pavings in Athens, viz. that in the Theatre of Dionysos which is attributed to the time of Nero (Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen*, I: *Die Ruine*, pp. 57 ff.: the horse-shoe shaped area of the orchestra is reduced to a rectangle in which is inscribed a rhomb) and that in the Odeion of Herodes Atticus (W. P. Tuckermann, *Das Odeum des Herodes Atticus und der Regilla*, Bonn, 1868, pl. 1: an overall checkerboard design) of the mid second century, are much simpler, much less studied in design, while the elaborate and attractive floor in the Odeion of Epidauros (later second century ?) shows a reversion to the older and more familiar technique of mosaic (Πρακτικά, 1904 (1906), pl. A'; Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, fig. 432: overall scale pattern for the semicircle of the orchestra proper, a broad band of elaborate geometric design between this and the stage front).

<sup>3</sup> On the classicistic sculpture of Athens in this period cf. G. Becatti, *Rivista del r. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte*, VII, 1940, p. 86.

It is now apparent that the internal evidence permits, indeed requires a date of construction consonant with the attribution of the Odeion to M. Vipsanius Agrippa. Admitting this association we may place the initiation of the project within the period from 23 to 13 B.C. when Agrippa held the governorship of Syria and probably a still wider command in the east. A more precise occasion may be found in Agrippa's visit to Athens which has been dated variously in 16 or 14 B.C.<sup>1</sup> A firm *terminus ante quem* is afforded by Agrippa's death in 12 B.C. There can be little doubt that the construction of the Odeion was one and perhaps the principal reason for the people of Athens naming Agrippa their benefactor in the inscriptions on their various dedications to him, above all the bronze chariot group on the tall pedestal in front of the Propylaea.<sup>2</sup>

A word regarding the need for the new building. Inasmuch as the Odeion of Perikles had been rebuilt just before the middle of the century, why was a second concert hall required? The old Odeion was regarded by the pseudo-Dikaiarchos, writing in the fourth or the third century B.C., as the finest in the world,<sup>3</sup> and it was still numbered by Strabo among the famous places of Athens.<sup>4</sup> By the time of Augustus, however, Perikles' building must have appeared very old-fashioned and awkward, having been rebuilt, as it seems, on the original lines. Although we are still woefully ignorant of the details of its arrangements, literary references to its use as a place for doling out grain, for bivouacking cavalry and for the convenience of lounging philosophers indicate clearly that there could have been little in the way of permanent sloping seats.<sup>5</sup> The building was notorious, moreover, for the number of its interior columns which must have seriously interfered with the view.<sup>6</sup> By the middle of the second century after Christ the Perikleian building had become so obsolete that Pausanias referred to it not as an Odeion but as "a structure made in imitation of the tent of Xerxes" (I, 20, 4).

The architect of the Agrippaion clearly aimed to correct the shortcomings of the Odeion of Perikles. In the new building the whole seating floor was given an adequate slope; it was generously provided with stairways and with entrances. Above all, the auditorium was completely free of interior supports so that there was not a "blind spot" in the house.

<sup>1</sup> For the date of the visit cf. M. Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa*, Geneva, N. Y., 1933, pp. 106-110; Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 49; Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 51 and *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 383 f.

<sup>2</sup> Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXIV, 1920, p. 83; Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 48 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Frag. Hist. Gr.*, II, p. 254.

<sup>4</sup> *Geography*, IX, 1, 17. The first edition of the *Geography* is now believed to have been written about 7 B.C. Cf. H. L. Jones, *Geography of Strabo*, Loeb Classical Library, I, pp. xxv f.

<sup>5</sup> For the references cf. J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, ed. 2, London, 1913, pp. 219 f.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *Pericles*, 13: τὸ δ' ᾠδεῖον, τῇ μὲν ἐντὸς διαθέσει πολύεδρον καὶ πολύστυλον. Theophrastus, *Characters*, 3: περὶ ἀδολεσχίας· πόσοι εἰσὶ κίονες τοῦ ᾠδεῖου — —;

*Architectural Design of the Original Building*

In considering the basic design of the Odeion we may start with the central core, the theatre proper. The type of roofed auditorium which had been employed in a "primitive" form in Greek lands from an early date (e. g. the Telesterion at Eleusis, the Odeion of Perikles, the Thersilion at Megalopolis) was highly developed in the Hellenistic period, especially for the meeting places of political bodies.<sup>1</sup> This stage of evolution is most splendidly illustrated by the Bouleuterion of Miletos (175-164 B.C.) (Pl. 41). Here already we find a large rectangular hall covered by means of a gabled roof and provided with a conveniently sloping auditorium. In contrast to the forest of interior supports in the earlier buildings, the Milesian building is restored with only four interior columns. It is to be noted, moreover, that in Miletos the division into two storeys was clearly marked both internally and externally. The lower storey contained the cavea; externally its wall was plain. The upper storey rose in its full height above the cavea and was enclosed by means of a thin wall which was both strengthened and enlivened by Doric half columns outside and corresponding pilasters inside; light was admitted through windows set between the half columns.

The Odeion in the Agora represents a further advance in the development of this type, notably in respect of the reduction in the relative size of the orchestra, in the drastic truncation of the curvilinear scheme of the cavea, in the provision of a well defined lobby at the back of the auditorium, and in the complete elimination of interior supports despite the very impressive dimensions of the hall. In view of the paucity of our evidence it would be rash to dogmatize on exactly where and when the intervening development occurred.

It is worth noting, however, that most of the distinctive elements of our Odeion are to be found already in the earlier periods of the small or "Roofed Theatre" of Pompeii, built soon after 80 B.C. (Pl. 58b).<sup>2</sup> In Pompeii the interior of the auditorium approximated a square (*ca.* 29.30 × 27.60 m.); the semicircular plan of the cavea was truncated as in our Odeion; the scaena comprised a single long narrow room; the scaenae frons had no architectural decoration but was painted in the Second Style; back of the cavea was a lobby (its floor to be sure at a much lower level than the top of the auditorium); the building was flanked on either side by colonnades which must have been covered with lean-to roofs as in the Odeion; despite the very great span between the walls and the absence of interior supports the building was described in the dedicatory inscription as roofed. In its original form, the Pompeian building apparently had no stage and its orchestra was much larger than that of our Odeion.

<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive study of the type cf. W. A. McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*, Baltimore, 1943.

<sup>2</sup> Mazois and Gau, *Les ruines de Pompéi*, IV, pls. XXVII-XXIX; H. Bulle, *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern*, Munich, 1928, pp. 205 f., pl. 46; Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, pp. 328-331.

Subsequently, however, the orchestra was scooped out, permitting the insertion of four additional rows of seats and the erection of a stage. Still later the parodoi were vaulted so as to support tribunalia presumably for the seating of dignitaries. Satisfactory evidence has not yet been adduced for the absolute dating of these alterations at Pompeii.<sup>1</sup> The similarity between the Odeion of the Agora and the Roofed Theatre of Pompeii in its intermediate form is so striking, however, as to suggest that the Pompeian building was known to the designers of our Odeion, but the exact relationship must depend on the closer dating of the adjustments at Pompeii.<sup>2</sup>

Among the later buildings on which our Odeion may have exercised some influence may be numbered the Odeion of Termessos in Pisidia (finished by the end of the first century after Christ) (Pl. 40a).<sup>3</sup> This building, like our Odeion, was set against rising land so that it had an entrance from the rear at the level of the top of the cavea; its division into storeys and the pilastered treatment of its upper wall would also appear to have been similar to the Athenian building.

The "Gerontikon" or council house of Nysa on the Maeander (Antonine period) also had much in common with the Agora building, notably in the scheme of lighting through an open colonnade on the side opposite the stage.<sup>4</sup> In the same general category may be placed the Odeion that was set down in the old Gymnasium at Epidauros, perhaps in the second century after Christ, but profitable comparison must await the closer study of that building.<sup>5</sup>

Odeia of the rectangular type, however, were comparatively rare. It is significant that the concert halls which were counted the finest in Greece in the second century after Christ, viz. the Odeion of Herodes Atticus in Athens, the Odeion of Corinth as remodelled by Herodes, and the Odeion of Patrae all have semicircular auditoria.<sup>6</sup> The roofing problems raised by the curvilinear plan would seem to have been outweighed by the greater convenience and beauty of the semicircular seating area.

In the scheme of its central part, i. e. the theatre proper, our building fits fairly easily into a line of development. Complications are raised, however, by the com-

<sup>1</sup> For the relative sequence cf. Bulle, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> The closest parallel in Greece proper for the Odeion of the Agora is the "Synedrion" of Messene, but no fruitful comparison can be drawn until the scheme and date of that building have been more thoroughly established. Cf. G. Oikonomos, *Πρακτικά*, 1909, pp. 201-205; 1925/6, pp. 55-64; *B.C.H.*, XLIX, 1925, pp. 453 f.; *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, pp. 360 f.; McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*, pp. 204-211.

<sup>3</sup> Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, II, pp. 99 f., pls. I and XIV, fig. 30. Cf. also the smaller odeion with the same general scheme at Kretopolis (*ibid.*, p. 101, fig. 59).

<sup>4</sup> For the references cf. p. 77, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> Kavvadias, *Πρακτικά*, 1901, pp. 49-51, pl. A; 1904, pl. A'; Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, p. 331, p. 381, note 34.

<sup>6</sup> On the reputation of the odeia of Athens, Corinth and Patrae cf. Pausanias, VII, 20, 6; Philostratos, *Vitae Soph.*, II, 551. Cf. also the handsome odeion at Ephesos (mid second century after Christ): J. Keil, *Ephesos, ein Führer durch die Ruinenstätte und ihre Geschichte*, Vienna, 1930, pp. 91 ff.

bination of theatre and balcony. The idea of adding the balcony may, indeed, have been suggested by the two-storeyed stoas that had long been familiar in Athens: the larger Stoa in the Asklepion, the Stoa of Eumenes, the Stoa of Attalos, to name only those that we know. In all these cases the upper storey faced outward through an open colonnade, the height assuring a good view and fresher air. In the Stoa of Attalos, this open and outward-looking balcony was combined as in the case of the Odeion with a closed building (a series of shops).

It would be well, however, to consider the possibility of influence from another direction, viz. from the basilica. In its design our building shows certain fundamental similarities with such early basilicas as those of Pompeii,<sup>1</sup> Ardea,<sup>2</sup> Fano<sup>3</sup> and that on the Lechaem Road in the Roman colony of Corinth.<sup>4</sup> In the Odeion as in these basilicas the ground plan comprised a principal central area free of supports and surrounded on all four sides by narrow aisles open for communication. In our building as in the basilicas the roof of the central part was carried higher than that of the surrounding corridors and the central hall was lighted through openings in the height of wall between the two roofs. In his general specifications for the design of the basilica Vitruvius (V, 1, 5) implied that there would normally be an upper floor above the side aisles, and he included such a floor in the basilica which he himself designed for Fano. Normally, no doubt, the upper floor of the aisles would have been bordered on the inner side by a low parapet over which people could have looked down into the great central hall; this is specifically attested for the Basilica Julia in Rome.<sup>5</sup> Vitruvius, on the other hand, prescribed that "the parapet between the upper and lower columns ought to be one fourth less than the upper columns, so that people walking on the first (i. e. upper) floor may not be seen by persons engaged in business."<sup>6</sup> In a basilica thus designed the upper floor of the surrounding part for all practical purposes would have been as completely divorced from the central hall as was our balcony. Vitruvius does not inform us, however, whether those on the upper floor above the aisles could have looked outward.

In the bold use of balconies in combination with terraces our Odeion recalls the villa architecture of Campania, as represented in such surviving examples as the Villa of the Mysteries and, still more, in the wall paintings. Terraces and balconies were used in this region with extraordinary freedom and variety, frequently around

<sup>1</sup> R. Schultze, *Basilika*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1928, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Bolletino dell' associazione internazionale degli studi mediterranei*, V, 1934, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Vitruvius, *de Arch.*, V, 1, 6 ff.

<sup>4</sup> H. N. Fowler and R. Stillwell, *Corinth*, I, *Introduction, Topography, Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, pp. 193 ff., fig. 131. The Julian and the South Basilicas at Corinth show striking similarities with the Odeion in the disposition of their basement storeys; the definitive study of these two interesting buildings may be expected to shed further light on their relationship with the Odeion.

<sup>5</sup> Pliny, *Epistulae*, VI, 33.

<sup>6</sup> *de Arch.*, V, 1, 5. Trans. F. Granger in Loeb Classical Library.

lofty buildings the central parts of which towered high above the surrounding elements as in our Odeion (Pl. 58a).<sup>1</sup>

Since it is in Campania that we find the earliest well developed example of the type of basilica with which the Odeion has so much in common, and since Campania also affords the best parallels for the balconies of our building, it is tempting to believe that the unique combination of elements represented by the Odeion was propounded by someone thoroughly familiar with Campania.

Another possible contact with South Italy is represented by the design of our stage front. The most cogent parallels for the Odeion stage are to be found in the representations of theatre stages on the Phlyakes vases of South Italy.<sup>2</sup> These stages, so far as one may trust the sketches, would seem to have been low, normally perhaps half the height of a man; they were supported along the front by a series of posts with or without capitals; the material of both posts and decking was wood so that we need not hope for surviving examples. Our stage front might well be regarded as a translation into marble of a late development of such a design.

The daring and the technical skill required to roof the central part of our building with its formidable span may also have come from Italy. To our knowledge no building in the Greek east had involved the roofing of a span that even approached the 25 metres of the Odeion. The nave of the Parthenon measured only 9.82 m. between the inner colonnades; the Bouleuterion of Miletos, with a span of 22.165 m. between its side walls, has been restored with four interior columns which reduce the open span to 15 m.;<sup>3</sup> the span in the Ekklesiasterion of Priene, originally 14.50 m., was reduced in a later period to 10.65 m.<sup>4</sup> In Italy, on the other hand, we can point to the Roofed Theatre of Pompeii that would seem to have been roofed with timber without benefit of interior supports, despite an open span of *ca.* 27.60 m.; the central nave of the Basilica Aemilia on the Forum Romanum measuring 27 m. in width was re-roofed with timber in the time of Augustus and it was to be followed in the Flavian period by the Basilica Ulpia with a span of *ca.* 25 m. which was likewise roofed with timber. The Romans took pride in the engineering feats involved in the construction of such prodigious roofs and it may well have been their accumulation of technical skill that led to the selection of a Roman architect, Cossutius by name, to resume the construction of the Temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens under Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.),<sup>5</sup> as also to the inclusion of two Romans on the team

<sup>1</sup> The literature has been conveniently assembled by Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, pp. 220 ff. Our Pl. 58a is taken from *Röm. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1911, pl. VII.

<sup>2</sup> Dörpfeld-Reisch, *Das griechische Theater*, figs. 74-79; M. Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1920, pp. 138 ff., pls. 76-86; *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, pp. 258 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Knackfuss, *Milet*, I, ii, *Das Rathaus*, pp. 53 ff.

<sup>4</sup> T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904, pp. 226 f.

<sup>5</sup> Vitruvius, *de Arch.*, VII, *praef.*, 15: *Itaque circiter annis quadringentis post Antiochus rex*

of three architects who rebuilt the Odeion of Perikles in the middle of the first century B.C. In both the Olympieion and the Odeion of Perikles the most difficult problem was undoubtedly the roofing of great spans.

### *Choice and Handling of the Site*

Granted the need of a new building in the Augustan age, the choice of site seems at first glance preposterous. Why was the new concert hall planted in the middle of the busy market square instead of being placed, let us say, on the south slope of the Acropolis where the natural configuration would have provided a ready-made slope and where the building might have shared with the Theatre of Dionysos the use of the Stoa of Eumenes as a promenade? Why, in other words, was the Agrippieion not placed where the Odeion of Herodes was erected some 175 years later?

The actual choice of site would seem to have been determined by several considerations, the first of which was perhaps the proximity of the ancient Orchestra, the dancing place that had served for dramatic performances before the construction of the Theatre of Dionysos.<sup>1</sup> The position of the Orchestra may now be fixed with fair assurance by combining the literary references with the results of the current excavations. Timaeus (third century after Christ?) in his *Lexicon Platonicum s.v. Orchestra*, described the Orchestra as "a place in clear view for festive gatherings, in which are the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton."<sup>2</sup> Of these statues Arrian, writing in the second century after Christ, reported (*Anab.*, III, 16, 8): "they now stand at Athens in the Kerameikos where we go up to the Acropolis, about opposite the Metroon, not far from the Altar of the Eudanemoi."<sup>3</sup> The Altar of the Eudanemoi still awaits identification. The statues of the Tyrannicides, however, may be placed from Pausanias' mention of them (I, 8, 5) between the Temple of Ares and the Odeion; an inscribed fragment from one of their pedestals has actually been found to the east of the Temple, to the north of the Odeion.<sup>4</sup> The way to the Acropolis from the Agora was certainly the Panathenaic Road, now securely identified, which skirted the northeast corner of the Odeion.<sup>5</sup> The Metroon of Arrian's day was undoubtedly the great building on the west side of the square directly opposite the Odeion.

*cum in id opus impensam esset pollicitus cellae magnitudinem et columnarum circa dipteron conlocationem epistyliorumque et caeterorum ornamentorum ad symmetriam distributionem magna sollertia scientiaque summa civis Romanus Cossutius nobiliter est architectatus.*

<sup>1</sup> Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Ὀρχήστρα· τὸ τοῦ θεάτρου μέσον χωρίον, καὶ τόπος ἐπιφανῆς εἰς πανήγυριν, ἔνθα Ἄρμодиῶν καὶ Ἀριστογείτωνος εἰκόνες. The adjective ἐπιφανῆς means simply "in clear view," whether because of prominence as in the case of Dekeleia in relation to Athens (Thuc. VII, 19, 2) or because of being visible from surrounding heights as was Amphipolis (Thuc. V, 10, 1); the second connotation is the one obviously intended in reference to an assembly place.

<sup>3</sup> Καὶ νῦν κείνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ αἱ εἰκόνες ἧ ἄνιμεν ἐς πόλιν καταντικρὸν μάλιστα τοῦ Μητρόφου οὐ μακρὰν τῶν Εὐδανέμων τοῦ βωμοῦ.

<sup>4</sup> I 3872. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 355 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207, 223; XII, 1943, p. 238; XV, 1946, p. 85; XVIII, 1949, pp. 134 f.

We can thus delimit the place in which the Tyrannicides stood, i. e. the Orchestra, to north, east and west. This space in Arrian's day was largely overlaid by the Odeion, and it is undoubtedly significant that neither Arrian nor his close contemporary Pausanias in their references to the Tyrannicides mentioned the Orchestra; Timaeus, probably drawing on a much earlier literary source, did employ it as a natural point of reference. The current excavations, as we have seen above (p. 36), have shown that the Odeion was set down on a broad smooth area that sloped gently upward from north to south. Before the erection of the Middle Stoa in the second century B.C. this area was bounded on the south by a more abrupt slope; afterwards it was overlooked from the south by the terrace of the Stoa. The area would seem to have become a public place in the early sixth century and it was kept remarkably clear and free of monuments until the Odeion was built. The more precise delimitation of the area and a closer knowledge of its configuration may be expected from further exploration around the Odeion, but it is already evident that the place suits admirably all the known data regarding the site of the Orchestra. We may imagine that in early days the temporary wooden bleachers, the collapse of which on one occasion led to the abandonment of the site for dramatic performances, were erected chiefly on the steeper ground to the south so that the majority of the spectators faced north, precisely as in the Odeion. Such correspondence can scarcely be fortuitous; we may regard the choice of site as one more indication of the reverence for the past that has already been observed in the architectural forms and the sculptural decoration of the building.<sup>1</sup>

We have argued above that an important secondary function of the Odeion was to provide good standing room from which to view passing processions or ceremonies. Since the floor of the balcony was to lie high above the floor of the market square it was desirable to have some ready means of access to it, a problem which was very effectively solved by setting the new building against the terrace of the Middle Stoa and keeping the floor of the balcony on the same level as the terrace.

The general plan (Fig. 1) makes clear that the Odeion split the southern part of the old market square into two lesser areas. This adjustment served the practical needs envisaged in the recommendations of the contemporary architect Vitruvius in his section on the design of public squares (V, 1, 2): "The dimensions of the forum ought to be adjusted to the audience lest the space be cramped for use, or else, owing to a scanty attendance, the forum should seem too large. Now let the breadth be so determined that when the length is divided into three parts, two are assigned to the

<sup>1</sup> This hypothesis makes intelligible the confusion in the late lexicographer Hesychios (5th century after Christ?), *s. v.* ὠδείον· τόπος ἐν ᾧ πρὶν τὸ θέατρον κατασκευασθῆναι οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ κιθαρῳδοὶ ἄγωνίζοντο. In the present state of our knowledge it would be idle to review the long controversies over the position and nature of the Orchestra and the relation between it and the Odeion; the literature is conveniently assembled in Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 340 f., 350.

breadth. For so the plan will be oblong, and the arrangement will be adapted to the purpose of the spectacles.”<sup>1</sup>

In the Forum Romanum a similar provision for the convenience of spectators watching ceremonies and games in the square was made in the balconies at the level of the second storey in the façades of the great basilicas to north and south, viz. the Aemilia and the Julia. It may be significant that both these structures were worked on in the time of Augustus; the Aemilia was rebuilt at the expense of Augustus after a fire in 14 B.C. while the Julia, which had been dedicated incomplete in 46 B.C., was finished by Augustus and then, having soon afterwards been burned, was rebuilt by Augustus in time to be dedicated in 12 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

Another glance at the general plan (Fig. 1) will show that our Odeion was centred precisely between the west and east sides of the Agora, i. e. between the front of the Metroon and the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos. The architect's insistence on the axial position is emphasized by the attendant difficulties which he was prepared to face at the northeast corner of his building: the new structure was jammed all too close against an earlier monument that flanked the Panathenaic Way while the quadriga base projecting from the north façade of the Odeion was swung appreciably out of line to avoid the same monument.

Clearly, therefore, our architect was very conscious of the relation between his building and its setting, so that we too should give some thought to the ensemble: a large and lofty building placed at the back and on the axis of a colonnaded square. The design which we have recovered stands out as a bold example of the type of planning that culminated in and is most familiar from the Roman imperial fora.<sup>3</sup> Prototypes, to be sure, are not lacking in the Hellenistic cities of Asia Minor: the Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Mamurt-Kaleh, the Sanctuary of Zeus at Priene, the western part of the upper marketplace at Pergamon, the North Market of Miletos, the Agora of Assos. Our designer may well have had such precedents in mind. But other sources are to be sought for certain elements of the design particularly for the mechanical axiality in the setting and for the towering mass

<sup>1</sup> Translation by F. Granger, Loeb Classical Library.

<sup>2</sup> S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford, 1929, s. v. Basilica Aemilia and Basilica Julia; Schultze, *Basilika*, pp. 34 ff.; G. Lugli, *Roma Antica*, Rome, 1946, pp. 172 ff. In the case of the Aemilia, stairs led up at either end to a second floor above the portico and the row of rooms that flanked the south side of the basilica. In the Julia the second floor above the aisles is restored with an open arcade toward the outside as well as toward the central hall. (Cf. the restoration in C. Huelsen, *The Forum and the Palatine*, New York, 1928, p. 17, fig. 7).

<sup>3</sup> The development of the type has recently been traced by Einar Gjerstad in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, III, 1944, pp. 40-72: “Die Ursprungsgeschichte der römischen Kaiserfora,” with a good series of plans and abundant references to the literature. Cf. also A. Boëthius, “Roman and Greek Town Architecture,” *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, LIV, 3, 1948, p. 5.

of the building that was so aggressively to dominate the whole square through the remainder of antiquity. For these features more likely prototypes are to be found in Rome: in the Forum Romanum as it was after the construction of the Temple of the Deified Julius Caesar, above all in the early imperial fora of Julius and Augustus. In all these cases a large building set high on the axis at one end of the square was designed deliberately to dominate the colonnaded area in front. For the possibility of interrelationship the chronology is of importance. The Temple of the Deified Julius was authorized by the Triumvirs in 42 B.C. but was actually built by Augustus alone and dedicated in 29 B.C. The Forum Julii was apparently begun in 51 B.C.; the Temple of Venus that formed its focal point was vowed at the Battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.); temple and forum were dedicated in 46 B.C. but the forum remained to be finished by Octavian after the death of Julius. The Temple of Mars Ultor, which was to be the central element in the Forum Augusti, was vowed by Octavian at Philippi (42 B.C.); work on the forum dragged but both forum and temple are reported to have been dedicated in 2 B.C.<sup>1</sup> In view of the evident similarity in basic design between the Athenian project and the fora in Rome and having regard for the chronological priority of the fora, we infer that our architect was aware of and influenced by the developments in the Capital.

A word on the relationship between the Odeion and two of its contemporary neighbors. Dinsmoor has shown that the Temple of Ares, built in the third quarter of the fifth century B.C., was transplanted to the Agora in the time of Augustus and re-erected near the middle of the west side of the square.<sup>2</sup> The rear end of the temple was kept as far to the west as the line of monuments along the Great Drain would permit; its front faced eastward across an open stretch of the square. Some regard was shown for the venerable Stoa of Zeus, the façade of which was left unobstructed, and likewise the approach to the broad thoroughfare that led up the hill to the Hephaisteion was kept clear. The chief motive behind the choice of site for the temple would seem to have been similar to that which played so large a part in the placing of the Odeion, viz. a desire to have a building of dominant scale on the axis of an open area. This hypothesis cannot be checked until such time as the northern limit of the Agora has been fixed, but we may one day discover that the east front of the Temple of Ares was centred between the façade of the Odeion on the south and the Stoa Poikile on the north. Such a disposition would, of course, imply the priority of the Odeion: something which is already implicit in the fact that the temple agrees more closely in orientation with the Odeion than with its older neighbors to the west.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, s.v. Julius, Divus, Aedes; Forum Julium; Forum Augustum.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 1-52.

<sup>3</sup> Dinsmoor had already argued for the earlier date of the Odeion (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 51).

The great marble altar that lies between the northwest corner of the Odeion and the Metroon is another late intruder in the old square.<sup>1</sup> Built in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. apparently as the principal altar and the focal point of the great Lycurgan design for assembly place and colonnades on the Pnyx,<sup>2</sup> the altar lost its *raison d'être* on the hilltop as the Pnyx was abandoned by the Assembly in favor of the Theatre of Dionysos. In order that its usefulness might be retained and its beauty displayed the altar was then brought down to the Agora and re-erected in the southwest quadrant of the square, i. e. in the very midst of the civic establishments (*τὰ ἀρχαία*) and, more precisely, on the very axis of the Metroon-Bouleuterion complex. The letters cut on the marble blocks by the masons who moved the altar indicate a date in the first century B.C. for the operation. The transplanting of the altar would seem to have preceded the erection of the Odeion inasmuch as the altar appears to be sited without respect for the Odeion whereas the west balcony of the Odeion may be thought to have been designed in part at least to accommodate spectators who would view the ceremonies that must have centred about the altar.

One practical point remains. The Odeion took up a large proportion of the open space in the old square, space that had undoubtedly been used not only on the festal occasions proper to the Orchestra but also for other public purposes such as the selection of jurymen and perhaps even for the more mundane activities of a market place. Such an intrusion, however, would have been made tolerable and may, indeed, have been suggested by the previous provision of additional space in the Market of Caesar and Augustus, which was begun with funds made available by Julius Caesar presumably after Pharsalus (47 B.C.), completed with the help of supplementary grants from Augustus and dedicated probably *ca.* 10 B.C.<sup>3</sup> Both building programs were doubtless motivated by the need for more up-to-date and convenient accommodation, in the one case for purely market purposes, in the other for musical performances.

As to the sequence of events, it may be worth while to note a precise parallel in the city of Rome. About the year 54 B.C. Julius Caesar conceived the idea of building a new forum to supplement the old Forum Romanum. Work was probably begun on the new forum in 51 B.C. but in 42 B.C., long before that work was completed, the Triumvirs authorized the erection of a temple to the deified Julius Caesar. The great new temple, set at the east end of the Forum Romanum, at once filled up a not inconsiderable part of the old square.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. Stillwell, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 140-148.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 299 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, s. v. Forum Julii and Julius, Divus, Aedes.

## SECOND PERIOD

The original scheme of the building underwent several radical alterations, probably all related to each other: the auditorium was greatly reduced in size by the shifting of its south wall toward the north; the small north porch was demolished; the scaena was turned into a long porch facing north, its entablature supported by a series of square piers adorned with colossal figures in high relief; the new porch was made accessible from the north by means of seven flights of marble stairs separated from each other and flanked by eight long pedestals apparently for statues of seated figures; the building was re-roofed, for the most part with new tiles. These various changes may now be dealt with *seriatim*.

*Shifting of the Cross Wall*

The most striking structural change of which we have knowledge in the later history of the Odeion was the shifting northward of the transverse wall between auditorium and lobby by some 7.66 m. The excavation revealed the small-stone packing for the foundation of the original cross-wall throughout the breadth of the building (Pl. 16). Not a block of the wall itself remained in place, but here and there a shred of poros from the bottom of a squared block was detected on top of the packing, enough to show that blocks had once rested there. After the removal of the blocks the trench left in the earth had been carefully filled with hard packed clay, obviously to prevent the settling of the floor.

The line of the new wall is attested by many of its surviving blocks, which owe their preservation largely to the fact that they were overlaid by one of the concrete foundation walls of the Gymnasium (Pl. 26a). The new foundation was only 1.30 m. wide as compared with the 2.00 m. of its predecessor and was of quite different construction, consisting in its surviving part of two rows of re-used poros blocks of random size and shape, resting directly on the surface of the bedrock.<sup>1</sup> Against the north face of the foundation toward its west end are indications of two buttress-like projections each *ca.* 1.00 × 1.20 m. in outline and separated from each other by an interval of *ca.* 3.10 m. One poros block remains in place in the western of the two beddings. Elsewhere to the north of the wall the bedrock has been too much disturbed to allow one to say whether or not the series continued. The purpose of the beddings is not clear, but it is conceivable that they carried additional underpinning for the interior columns in their new position. This would obviously imply some irregularity in the column spacing such as might have been necessitated by breakage of members of the entablature.

<sup>1</sup> The most characteristic of the re-used material is a series of three wall blocks of gray poros with sockets for horizontal beams cut in their upper corners. The blocks measure 0.59-0.60 m. in height, 0.45-0.46 m. in thickness and 1.12-1.23 m. in length. That these blocks derive from the original fabric of the Odeion itself is made improbable by the complete absence of stucco.

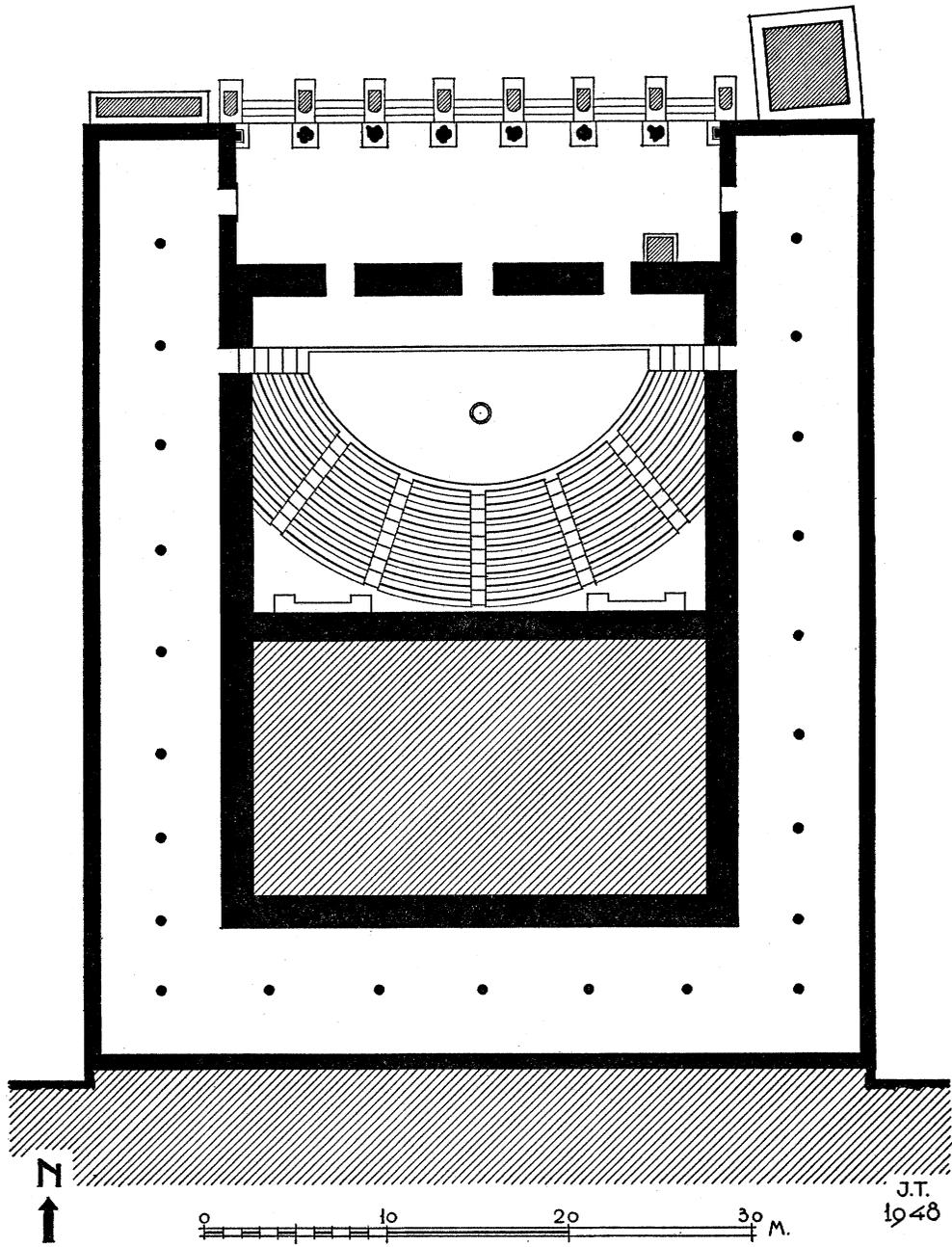


Fig. 15. Plan of the Odeion, Period II, Restored

That some at least of the free-standing round columns of the building were dismantled and re-set in antiquity is indicated by the presence of a mason's mark on the underside of a fragmentary capital (A 1138; Pl. 35c). Roughly cut are the letters  $\text{K H O } \Theta \text{ C [ } \cdot$ , varying in height from 0.012 to 0.035 m. There remains only a small fragment from the outer edge of the underside of the column. Its curvature and the flat treatment of the main rib of the acanthus mark it clearly as from one of the round columns; it might have come either from the south end of the building or from the transverse colonnade.

The place of finding of the surviving capitals of the interior series agrees well with the supposition that in their second period of use they rose above the later transverse foundation (Pl. 16). Three of the largest fragments (A 471, 536 and 1154) lay in the south central part of the Odeion, some 17 m. to the south of that foundation; one almost complete capital (A 1153) lay near the northeast corner of the Odeion, some 19 m. to the north of the line of the wall, while a sizeable fragment (A 1155) was found in the southeastern part of the later auditorium, 4 m. to the north of the foundation.

It may be assumed that the material from the upper part of the original cross wall and the stylobate for its columns were re-used in the new position. It seems probable that the area between the new transverse wall and the original lobby was filled up to the level of the floor of the lobby, so as to form one large hall. From the cross section (Pl. 18) it will appear that the floor level of such a room would have been considerably higher than the back of the surviving part of the auditorium; no trace of a connecting stairway has come to light.

The shifting of the cross-wall, so troublesome and costly in itself, had as an immediate consequence the reduction of the seating capacity of the auditorium by one half, i. e. from about 1,000 to about 500. The move, therefore, demands justification. The most probable explanation is that the change was necessitated by the collapse of the roof. Of the resultant damage several indications have already been noted. A large proportion of the marble floor of the orchestra had been destroyed long before the final abandonment of the building (p. 62). One of the marble benches of the auditorium had been badly chipped and then roughly smoothed (p. 63). Similar damage and rough repair have been observed on a pedestal for a bronze statue (pp. 80 f.). Additional evidence is given by the mason's marks noted above on the cornice block (p. 48, note 1) and on one of the round capitals (see above); both of these heavy members had been re-set in antiquity.

Since there is nothing to suggest that the damage to the building was caused either by fire or by hostile action, we may suppose that it came about through the collapse of the wooden framing of the roof. The intention behind the subsequent

shifting of the cross-wall was evidently to reduce the maximum span above the auditorium, and this it did by the length of two bays, i. e.  $2 \times 3.83 \text{ m.} = 7.66 \text{ m.}$ <sup>1</sup>

### *Stairs in the North Façade*

The place of the original porch in the north façade of the Odeion was taken by a series of seven marble stairways that were separated from one another and flanked by long monument bases projecting from the front of the building (Pls. 23, 28b, 29; Fig. 15). Such an arrangement implies that the north façade of the building was opened up, either by inserting a corresponding series of seven doorways or, more likely, by replacing the wall with a series of isolated supports. It will be observed that the projecting bases, and so presumably the supports in the line of the façade behind them, corresponded with the pilasters in the upper storey of the central core of the building.

In preparation for the laying of the new stairs, the sloping ground immediately in front of the façade was planed down about 0.30 m. so that the difference in level between this new surface and the floor of the scaena (some 0.80 m.) required probably four steps.

Of the stairs there remain in position the lowest steps in the easternmost and westernmost places, two small pieces of the first step of the second stair from the west and the impression in the earth left by the bottom step of the third stairway from the east. Elsewhere late disturbances have obliterated all traces. Of the flanking monument bases, the second and third from the east, the first and second from the west are now represented by blocks *in situ*, the first from the east and the third from the west by impressions in the soft bedrock. The easternmost stairway measured 2.69 m. wide, the second from the east *ca.* 2.40 m., the westernmost 2.90 m. and the second from the west 2.40 m. The precise widths of the remaining stairways are no longer determinable. In the restored plan (Fig. 15) we have suggested that the middle stair was slightly wider than its neighbors, a scheme that would result in wide stairs on the axis and at either extremity where traffic was probably heaviest.

The two surviving blocks in the first step of the easternmost stairway are both re-used, and both, as noted above, probably derive from the original north porch. The height of the riser is 0.29 m.; the width of the tread of the first step in the second period is 0.45 m. as shown by a setting line for the second step (in the first period the tread measured *ca.* 0.32 m.). The two blocks from the first step of the westernmost stairway are likewise second-hand but from elsewhere. The riser is again 0.29 m. high.<sup>2</sup> Re-used also are the one complete and one fragmentary block in the second

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the reduction in the span of the Ekklesiasterion of Priene effected by shifting the interior columns closer to the middle of the building (Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 226 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Both blocks are of Hymettian marble and both show good Hellenistic workmanship from their original use. The one (0.48 × 1.73 × 0.29 m. high) probably comes from a monument base;

stairway from the west. The riser here is only 0.222 m., the tread of the first step 0.42 m. as given by a setting line.<sup>1</sup>

The projecting monument bases between the stairways consisted in their lowest parts of hollow shells built up of thin orthostates (Pl. 28b). The projection from the face of the original north wall of the Odeion is regularly 2.40 m.; the width of the two bases that can now be measured with precision is 1.10 m. for the second from the east and 1.20 m. for the second from the west; the height of the orthostates is 0.72 m. It would seem probable that the crowning block of the base was on a level with the second step from the top in the adjoining stairways. The outer faces of the pedestals as preserved are rough and unsightly and the junction between stairs and pedestals is by no means precise; yet there is no trace of the use of either stucco or marble veneer.<sup>2</sup>

At some late date in the history of the Odeion the easternmost stairway was dismantled in order to make room for a large monument, the concrete foundation of which alone survives (Pls. 23, 28b). All the marble steps save the lowest were removed and concrete was poured in to the full width between the pedestals and was carried out 0.60 m. beyond the ends of the pedestals so that the overall dimensions of the new foundation were  $2.75 \times 3.00$  m. To the north of the surviving marble step the concrete was set down 0.50 m. in the bedrock, suggesting that the monument to be supported was of very considerable weight; we have no further indication of its nature.

### *Colossal Figures*<sup>3</sup>

#### Sculpture

The colossal marble figures, i. e. the "Giants" that have for long been numbered among the familiar landmarks of Athens, seem certainly to have been carved originally for the decoration of the Odeion in its second period and to have been re-used in the great Gymnasium that was erected above the ruins of the Odeion about A.D. 400. That the statues had been re-set already in antiquity is shown clearly by two series of setting

the lower edge of its one long finished face is neatly drafted with a cymation at one end, the other end having anathyrosis; the next course above was set back *ca.* 0.18 m. from the face of the preserved block. The other block is broken away at one end; it now measures  $0.73 \times 1.12 \times 0.26$  m. high; the one remaining long side has anathyrosis; the two short ends have finished surfaces.

<sup>1</sup> The eastern piece of Hymettian marble retains its original dimensions:  $0.48 \times 0.21 \times 0.222$  m. high. Both ends show anathyrosis. The western piece is a mere scrap of Hymettian marble.

<sup>2</sup> As noted above (p. 70), the blocks in the second pedestal from the east and in the first from the west were probably taken from the original north porch. The one remaining large rough porous block in the third pedestal from the east is likewise re-used.

<sup>3</sup> The most comprehensive previous study of the "Stoa of the Giants" is that by Ch. van Essen, "Le Monument dit Portique des Géants à Athènes," *B.C.H.*, L, 1926, pp. 183-212. For the bibliography cf. also C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*, II, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 526 f.; Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, p. 330.

marks on the tops of their pedestals. That they antedate the Gymnasium on the site is indicated by the fact that a hand from one of the figures (No. 13, p. 108) and at least one fragment from one of their pedestals (No. 5, pp. 106 f.) had been incorporated in the concrete foundation of the Gymnasium. Three of the figures now stand in the places assigned to them in the Gymnasium; several fragments came to light in the area of the Odeion in the course of the current excavations, while two of the heads which had made their way to Eleusis have been brought back and re-attached to their appropriate shoulders.

The colossal figures were carved in high relief against the faces of square piers. The faces of the piers, insofar as they were not covered by the monstrous forms, were panelled, the depressed area being bordered by a cyma reversa moulding. A certain unity both aesthetic and practical was assured by the way in which the creatures wrapped their tails around the piers. The human heads stopped well short of the capitals but the space between shoulder and capital was filled by one of the arms raised and bent inward in a dramatic gesture.

Two breeds of monster are represented, viz. Tritons of heavy build with bearded faces and fishy extremities, and Giants proper with more youthful proportions, un-bearded, their legs ending in snakes.

A brief catalogue of the known material is here appended. The marble in all cases is Pentelic marred by occasional veins of foreign matter.

#### COLOSSAL FIGURES: SCULPTURE

1. Triton now standing in westernmost position of Gymnasium Series. Pls. 61-63; Fig. 16.

Both the figure and the square pier are preserved to full height. Height of figure, 2.76 m.; height of pier, 3.09 m. The figure lacks its arms and the tail has been almost entirely broken away from the back of the pier.

This figure, like the Giant No. 9, came to light during the War of Independence and is referred to by Pittakis in 1835.<sup>1</sup> It was re-

erected on its pedestal on June 24, 1858.<sup>2</sup> The head had made its way to Eleusis where it was recorded in 1852 in a sketch by the English traveller Wickenden; it then lay on the floor of the church of Saint Zacharias.<sup>3</sup> By 1888 the head was in the National Museum in Athens and tentatively identified as of Poseidon.<sup>4</sup> In the year 1896 the technician P. Kaloudis recognized the relation between head and torso and set the head in place.<sup>5</sup> Although doubt has been

<sup>1</sup> *L'ancienne Athènes*, Athens, 1835, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Πρακτικά, 1858-59, pp. 14 ff. An inscription on the back of the pedestal reads: ἀνεγέρθη τῷ 1858 Ἰουνίου 24.

<sup>3</sup> J. Frederic Wickenden, *Seven Days in Attica in the Summer of 1852*, London, 1857, p. 31, pl. 21. I owe the reference to John Travlos.

<sup>4</sup> Kavvadias, Δελτ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 178, No. 15; Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἑθνικοῦ Μουσείου, I, Athens, 1890-92, No. 374.

<sup>5</sup> P. Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, p. 109. For subsequent discussion of the head cf. Ch. van Essen, *B.C.H.*, L, 1926, pp. 207 f., 212; G. Lippold, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1937, pp. 254 f.; G. Becatti, *Rivista del R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, VII, 1940, p. 92.

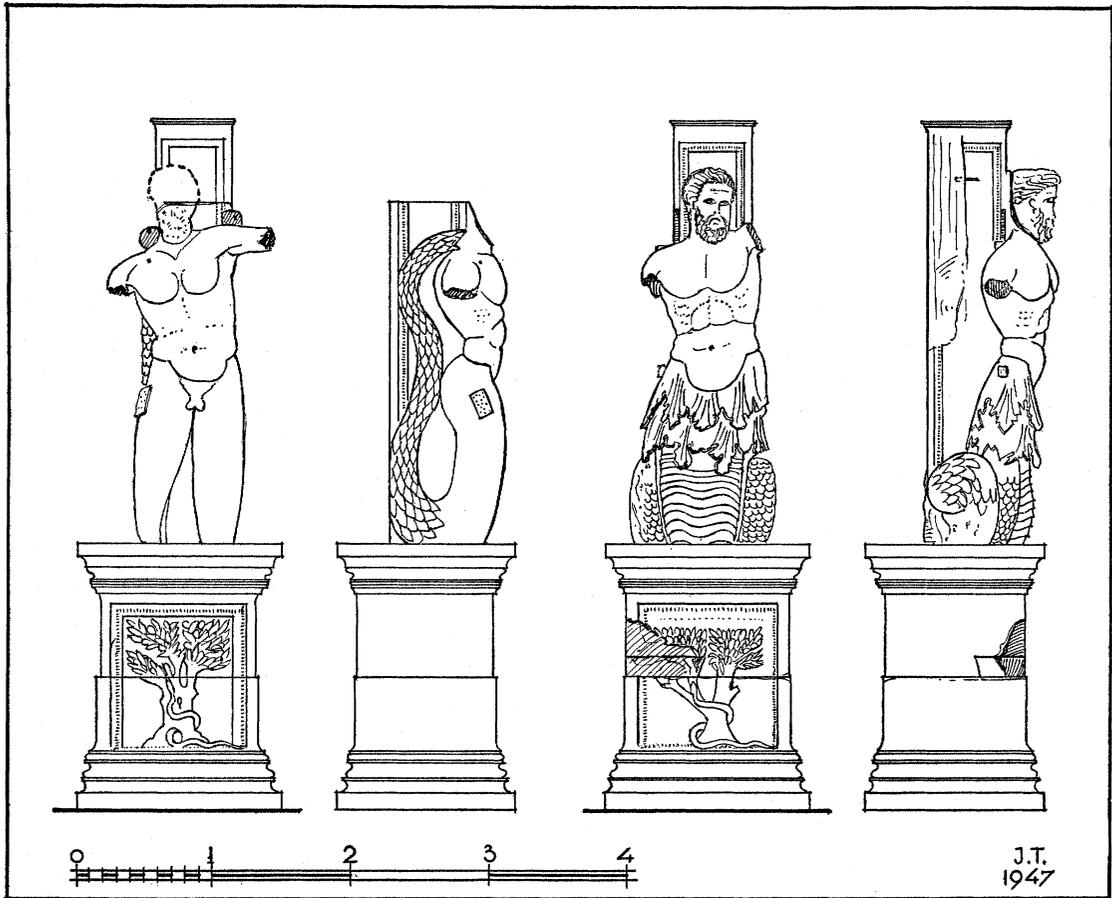


Fig. 16. Giant (No. 9) and Triton (No. 1)

repeatedly cast on their association, a careful examination in 1946 put the matter beyond question: the head actually joins with neck and pier over a large area.

The pier measures 0.56 m. square on top without the crowning moulding. In the middle of its top is a square cutting for a dowel together with a pour channel. On the east side of the pier near the top is a cutting for a clamp, which was intended to check the progress of a vertical crack in the marble and which may have been inserted when the figure was set up by the builders of the Gymnasium.

The figure looks to the proper left; its left arm was raised high; its right hung close by its side as shown by the stump of a strut on

the thigh ( $0.08 \times 0.09$  m. at the base, diminishing in size outward). The transition from the human to the piscine form is concealed by a double band of acanthus leaves. The fishy tails performed one complete spiral on either side of the pier, then came together at the middle of the back of the pier and rose, intertwined, to shoulder height; thence they were brought forward close along the proper right side of the human head, supported on a strut that has left its mark on the back of the shoulder. The actual tail was probably cut from a separate piece of marble and pinned in place, gaining further support from a neat rectangular cutting in the corner of the pier.

The surface is smooth but not polished; rasp marks remain here and there. The running drill has been used fairly freely in hair and beard.

**2.** Triton standing upright, second from the East in the Gymnasium Series. Pl. 64.

Both figure and pier still stand to their original heights of 2.70 m. and 3.09 m. respectively. Practically the whole surface has been very much battered. The head, however, has never been detached, and the tail is better preserved than on No. 1. In the top of the pier is a square dowel hole with a deeper sinking in its middle which suggests a second use.

This, the third figure of the series to make its reappearance in modern times, was mentioned in 1853 as a new discovery.<sup>1</sup> After being more completely exposed by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1858/59, it was re-erected on a modern pedestal built on the ancient foundation at some time between 1890 and 1905, perhaps when the area was put in shape by the Archaeological Society in 1895.<sup>2</sup>

The figure is of precisely the same type as No. 1 and, like No. 1, had its head turned slightly toward the proper left. The left arm was certainly raised; the right, as shown by the stance of the figure, must have been lowered. The point on the thigh where a strut to support the hand might be expected on the analogy of No. 1 has on No. 2 been broken or cut away. The intertwining fishy tails were carried up the back of the pier and brought forward over the right shoulder as in No. 1.

**3.** Head and Neck of a Triton (S 1214). Pl. 65.

The head is reported to have been found at Eleusis in the region of the Frankish Tower in excavations conducted by Philios between

1882 and 1895; while it remained in the Eleusis Museum it bore the inventory number 72.<sup>3</sup> On July 5, 1949, the head was brought to Athens and deposited in the Agora Museum, through the kind offices of Mr. John Papadimitriou, Ephor of Attica. The neck and shoulders were found in the current excavations between the north front of the Odeion and the present pedestals of the colossal figures. The area of contact between the two marbles is confined to the region of the chin. Apart from a mass of whisker and the tip of the nose the front part of the head is well preserved; it shows only slight weathering. The neck retains a trace of the pilaster on the proper right side. Only the spring of the shoulders remains. The head was turned slightly to the proper right.

Total height, 0.70 m.; height of head including hair and beard, 0.57 m.; height of face from middle of mouth to hair line, 0.21 m.; width of face at level of eyes, 0.24 m.

**4.** Lower part of a Triton (S 1215). Pl. 66a.

Found in the current excavations in the area of the second pedestal from the west in the Gymnasium series. Height, *ca.* 1.00 m.

There remains a fragment from the lower proper right side of a Triton, showing the paunch, the upsweep of the tail and the acanthus leaves. A small area of the original resting surface is preserved. The modelled surface is but roughly worked toward the bottom.

The subsequent argument will show that No. 4 must derive from the same figure as No. 3.

**5.** Fragment from the lower part of a Triton (S 1216). Pl. 66b. Provenance as of No. 4. Maximum dimension, 0.65 m.

The piece comes from the back of the proper right lower part of a Triton, and retains the

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Anz. zur Arch. Zeit.*, XI, 1853, cols. 296, 361.

<sup>2</sup> Jane Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, London, 1890, p. 20, fig. 5, shows only the westernmost (No. 1) and easternmost (No. 9) figures in place. Baedeker, *Greece*<sup>3</sup>, 1905, p. 64, refers to the three figures as though standing. *Πρακτικά*, 1912, pp. 91 ff., figs. 1 and 2, show the three statues on their bases.

<sup>3</sup> Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, p. 109; Ch. van Essen, *B.C.H.*, L, 1926, pp. 207 f.

upward sweep of one of the fishy tails, as also a little of the resting surface. Up to a height of 0.18 m. the surface is very roughly finished and was clearly not meant to be seen.

The similarity in tooling suggests that No. 5 is to be associated with No. 4.

**6.** Right Hand of a Triton (S 599). Pl. 67a and b.

Found in modern levels in the area of the westernmost Triton of the Gymnasium series. Maximum preserved dimension, 0.315 m. There remains part of a right hand clasping a conch shell, much weathered and battered. The stump of a rectangular strut overlaps the outer edge of the palm and the shell. The strut measures in cross-section 0.045 m. square.

This hand might derive from one or other of the Tritons that still stand in the Gymnasium series, i. e. No. 1 or 2; the association with No. 1, however, is probable since the strut in both No. 1 and No. 6 is very close to a square in section. In view of the heavy weathering, it is probable that this hand survived the disaster of A.D. 267 and was still attached to the Triton in the Gymnasium.

**7.** Right Hand of a Triton (S 596). Pl. 67c and d.

Removed from a Byzantine foundation on the surface of the burnt debris above the east end of the orchestra. Maximum preserved dimension, 0.425 m.; girth at wrist, 0.42 m. A right hand clasping a conch shell; heavily weathered on the side of the thumb, fresh on the other side. On the outer edge of the back of the hand is the stump of a rectangular strut 0.045 × 0.065 m. in cross-section.

This hand also might be associated with either No. 1 or No. 2; its place of finding points rather to No. 2. It is probable that this hand was broken off when the Odeion burned in A.D. 267 and that the Triton was set up in the Gymnasium minus its right hand.

**8.** Fragment from the Tail of a Triton (S 1344). Pl. 66c.

Found in the current excavations between the north front of the Odeion and the colossal figures in their present positions. Preserved length, 0.19 m.; maximum girth, 0.465 m. Broken at both ends. Surface roughly tooled and moderately weathered on one side only.

The fragment must come from just above the tail proper and will have formed part of the loop in which the fishy extremity of the Triton was carried from the back of the pier to the Triton's shoulder. There are no scales on this part but a low spine runs down its back.

**9.** Giant standing in the easternmost position of the Gymnasium Series. Pls. 68, 69; Fig. 16.

The Giant lacks his human head and arms and the heads of his snaky extremities. The pier of this figure, unlike those of Nos. 1 and 2, was not monolithic; its upper part was cut in a separate piece and fastened to the lower by means of two dowels of which the cuttings remain. Height of figure and pier as preserved, 2.47 m.

The Giant looked toward his proper left; the left arm was raised; the right hung close by the side as indicated by the stump of a strut on the thigh measuring 0.11 × 0.17 m. at its root. The snaky extension of either thigh makes its sinuous way up the side of the pier and thrusts forward above the shoulder. Each snake head was cut in a separate piece and attached by means of one dowel in the snake's neck and another in the human shoulder; only the dowel holes remain.

This figure must be the colossus referred to by Pittakis as standing on its pedestal in 1835.<sup>1</sup> It had shortly before that time been disengaged from modern construction and may indeed have stood upright in its present position since late antiquity.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 95. Gerhard's drawing in *Annali dell' Istituto*, IX, 1837, pl. G shows the Giant erect on his pedestal; on the same plate is illustrated also the pedestal of No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, I, Leipzig, 1855, p. 259.

**10.** Fragment from the Head of a Giant (?) (S 1367). Pl. 70a.

Found in the Stoa of Attalos whither it had been carried, presumably, by the builders of the "Valerian Wall." Preserved height, 0.26 m. Part of the upper proper left side of the head remains. The flesh surfaces show rasp marks; the hair is heavily drilled; the eyebrows are rendered plastically. Moderately heavy weathering.

This head is appreciably smaller in scale than the heads of the Tritons. In No. 10, for instance, the distance from the middle of the bridge of the nose to the outer extremity of the iris is 0.087 m. whereas in No. 3 the corresponding dimension is 0.105 m. The close similarity in modelling, technique and surface condition makes it very probable, however, that No. 10 derives from the same series. The possibility of its coming from a Triton is ruled out by the striking difference in the hair between No. 10 and Nos. 1-3. It may, however, belong to one of the Giants which were more youthful, unbearded and so presumably slighter than the Tritons in the details of the head.

**11.** Lower part of a Giant (S 1303). Pl. 66d.

Found in the current excavations to the north of the Temple of Ares. Preserved height, 0.57 m. The fragment comes from near the bottom of the proper right back corner, preserving a little of the snaky body and the beginning of the moulded back of the pier. Both body and pier are rough and unsightly toward the bottom where they were obviously not intended to be seen.

Since the corresponding part on No. 9 is preserved, fragment No. 11 must represent a second giant. Inasmuch as the projection of the scaly body from the pier is slight and identical with that on the proper left but much less than that on the proper right side of No. 9, the present fragment must derive from a figure in the opposite stance, i. e. with the right arm up and the left arm down.

**12.** Fragment from the Tail of a Giant (S 1390). Pl. 66f.

Found in the current excavations some 25 m. to the west of the northwest corner of the Odeion. Preserved height, 0.52 m. The fragment comes from midway up the proper left back corner of a pier and retains a short length of a body with pointed scales, hence of a Giant rather than a Triton.

The height of the relief makes it probable that No. 12 derives from a figure in the same stance as No. 11.

**13.** Left Hand of a Giant (S 1202). Pl. 71a and b.

Recovered from the concrete foundations of the Gymnasium in the southwest part of the Odeion. Preserved length, 0.22 m.; width of wrist, 0.15 m. Heavily weathered on the thumb side, fresh on the other side.

The hand clasps a leafy branch. The stump of a rectangular strut ( $0.06 \times 0.08$  m. in section) protrudes from the junction of the outer edge of palm and wrist. This hand, therefore, must come from a figure in the stance of No. 11.

**14.** Left Arm of a Colossal Figure (S 369). Pl. 70b and c.

Found in the current excavations in a level of the late Roman period *ca.* 44 m. southwest of the northwest corner of the Odeion. Preserved length, 0.715 m.; girth just below elbow, 0.58 m., at wrist, 0.39 m. Broken off just above the elbow; the tips of all four fingers missing.

The fragment is a left forearm bent upward at the elbow at a right angle. The hand is open in a dramatic gesture and obviously held nothing. The forearm and part of the upper arm were cut in a separate piece and attached to the stump of the upper arm by means of a bar set in a channel measuring  $0.035 \times 0.05$  m. in section. The bar was secured by a small pin set vertically down through the arm just above the inside angle formed by upper arm and forearm. Stains indicate that both bar and pin were of iron. The surface is rasped, rather rougher above than below, and quite fresh throughout. The veins are carefully indicated.

**15.** Right Hand of a Colossal Figure (S 1221). Pl. 71c and d.

Found in the current excavations near the westernmost Triton of the Gymnasium series. Maximum preserved dimension, 0.22 m. About one half of the hand remains, the thumb and fingers being broken away.

The interpretation is difficult and uncertain. The heavy weathering indicates that the hand was exposed, hence probably down by the side or hip and presumably attached to the body by a strut. A line of breakage running diagonally across the palm suggests that the hand held some straight attribute.

**16.** Left Elbow of a Colossal Figure (S 1218). Pl. 71e.

Found in the current excavations between the north front of the Odeion and the line of the colossal figures in their present position. Maximum preserved dimension, 0.20 m.; girth just above elbow, 0.56 m. Slightly weathered.

The elbow was bent sharply as in No. 14.

**17.** Forearm of a Colossal Figure (S 1219). Pl. 71f.

Provenance as of No. 16. Preserved length, 0.38 m.; girth just below elbow, 0.56 m., just above wrist, 0.38 m. The forearm is preserved from elbow to wrist. The marble is heavily weathered on its original surface and on the break at the wrist; the upper break is comparatively fresh. The hand, therefore, may already have been broken away when the figure to which the arm belonged was re-set in the Gymnasium.

**18.** Fragment of a Scaly Creature (S 1217). Pl. 66e.

Found in the current excavations near the northwest corner of the Odeion. Maximum preserved dimension, 0.25 m. Only a small part of a scaly surface remains. The somewhat pointed shape of the scales suggests a Giant rather than a Triton.

The evidence now available permits of the reasonably certain restoration of the arms of the colossal figures together with their attributes. The three figures that are still tolerably complete had each one arm hanging with the hand close by the thigh, the other arm raised high to assure a counterpoise. In the case of the three hands bearing attributes that are well enough preserved at the significant points to permit a decision, we have seen that the hand was close by the body, that it was supported by a strut and that it hung low enough to be exposed to heavy weathering (Nos. 6, 7, 13). The one surviving hand that is shown by its attitude and fresh state to have been raised carries no attribute (No. 14). In view of the serious technical difficulties involved in supporting a great weight in a hand thus raised, this solution was evidently prudent, and it may be assumed to have been employed in all the figures.

As for the attributes, the conch shells of Nos. 6 and 7 may be assigned without question to the Tritons, since the conch is one of the most common pieces of equipment carried by these creatures of the sea. The leafy branch of the hand No. 13 may be recognized at once as the primitive weapon of one of the earth-born Giants. The obscure attribute of the hand No. 15 may also have been a branch or club.

Pedestals, Capitals and Entablature associated with the Colossal Figures.

Both the westernmost and the easternmost of the colossal figures now standing have beneath them pedestals that were put together by the builders of the Gymnasium

from earlier materials. The third figure now erect stands on a purely modern base built on top of a foundation that dates from the time of the Gymnasium. The current and earlier excavations have brought to light several other pieces of the original pedestals. This material may be presented in catalogue form as follows.

#### COLOSSAL FIGURES: PEDESTALS

1. Pedestal beneath the westernmost Standing Figure in the Gymnasium Series. Pls. 61, 72a; Figs. 16, 17, 18.

The pedestal is made up of two massive blocks of Pentelic marble resting one on top of the other and rising to a total height of 1.91 m. Base and crown mouldings are completely worked on all four sides. It will be observed in the drawings that the pedestal is not square in plan but appreciably wider in the plane of the front of the figure than it is deep. In the lower northeast corner of the upper block there is a large ancient patch secured by an iron dowel. The principal surfaces of both blocks are hammer-dressed; the crowning mouldings have a smooth finish, whereas the base mouldings are marked by prominent ridges left by a straight-faced chisel *ca.* 0.01 m. wide driven in parallel lines the whole length of the block, a finish that occurs also on the Arch of Hadrian in Athens.

In the top of the pedestal a roughly rectangular depression *ca.* 0.05 m. deep was scooped out for the setting of the Triton in its present position. Toward the front of the top are two square sinkings for dowels which cannot be associated with the figure as it now stands and so must derive from an earlier use. Toward the southwest corner of the block there remains a pour channel with the edge of a third dowel hole which has been partly cut away by and so must antedate the shallow depression of the second period. Toward the northeast corner is a pry-hole which must also have served in the first rather than the second period. The placing of the front pair of early dowels indicates that the original occupant of this pedestal was a Giant rather than a Triton.

If now we climb down from the top and examine the sides of the pedestal, we shall again find ample evidence for two periods of use. The lower of the two blocks is about 0.01 m. larger than the upper in both the east-west and north-south dimensions; the northwest corner of the lower block has been chamfered to make the discrepancy less conspicuous from the front; elsewhere the lower block simply projects beyond the upper. It is clear, therefore, that these two blocks were not originally in immediate conjunction with each other.

The front of the pedestal is decorated with a gnarled olive tree entwined by a serpent carved in relief within a panel. Here again two periods are to be distinguished. The carving of the tree and of the panel moulding on the upper block is identical with that on the colossal figures and on the main crowning moulding of the pedestal respectively; there can be no doubt as to their contemporaneity. The carving on the face of the lower block is different in technique (the surface stippled with a single point rather than smoothed) and appreciably inferior in quality to that on the upper. Yet the upper and lower parts of the representation agree satisfactorily in outline.

The explanation would seem to be that although both the upper and lower blocks derive from the original construction, the lower part of the carved panel in the first period was cut on an intermediate block that had disappeared before the reconstruction so that when the upper and lower blocks had been brought into immediate contact the missing part of the panel had to be carved anew on the previously plain face of the lower block. It is understandable that the intermediate block, not being encumbered with heavy mouldings, was more

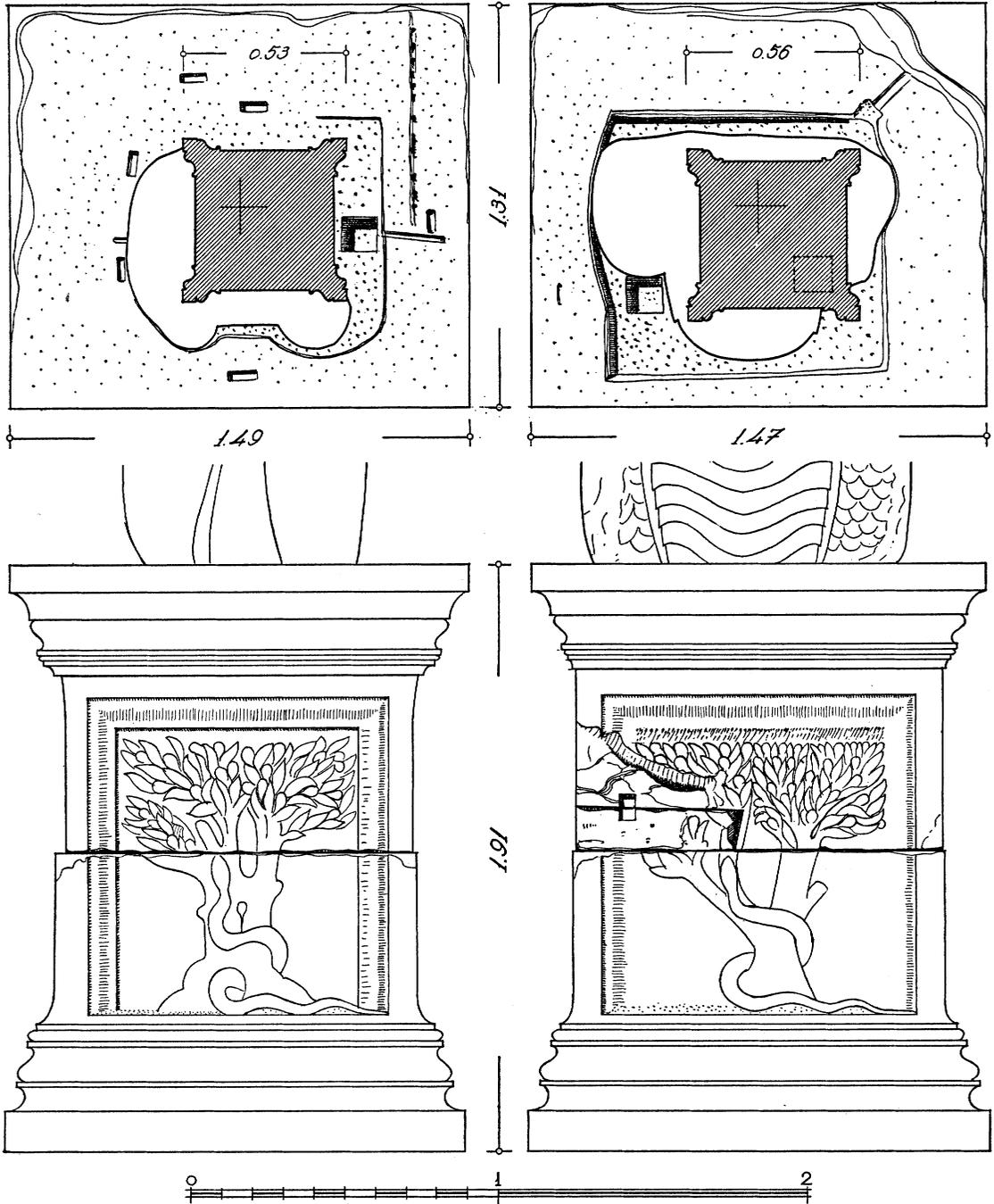


Fig. 17. Pedestals Now Beneath Giant No. 9 and Triton No. 1

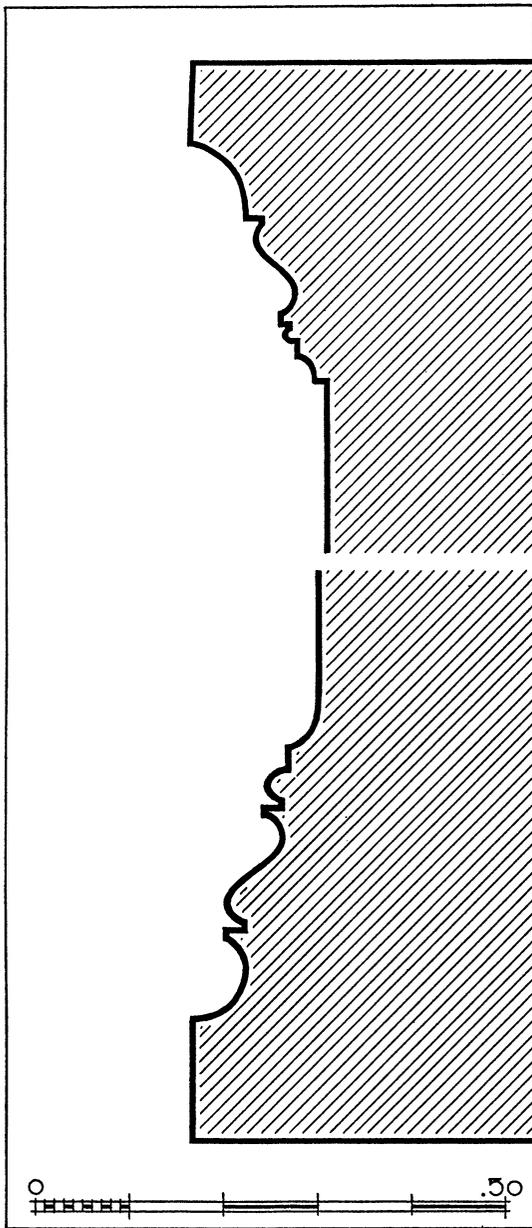


Fig. 18. Mouldings from the Top and Bottom of Pedestals for Colossal Figures

adaptable for re-use and so more likely to be carried away between the destruction of the Odeion and the building of the Gymnasium.<sup>1</sup>

**2.** Pedestal beneath the easternmost Colossal Figure in the Gymnasium Series. Pls. 68, 72b; Figs. 16, 17.

This pedestal agrees closely in dimensions, scheme of construction and history with that beneath the westernmost figure.

For the setting of the Giant in his present position a depression was worked in the top of the base, 0.05 m. deep on the west side, rising to zero toward the east. Near the middle of the west side of the top is a square dowel hole with pour channel, while the end of a corresponding pour channel projects from beneath the east edge of the present figure; these cuttings clearly date from the first period of use and by their position suggest that the present Giant had been preceded by a Triton on this pedestal. Several pry-holes around the figure may have been employed in either period.

The discrepancy in size between the upper and lower blocks of the pedestal is even greater here than in the westernmost pedestal, the difference in width and depth being 0.04 m. Here again it is quite clear that the carving of the panel on the upper block dates from the first period and that the scene had been completed on the lower block by the authors of the second period.

**3.** Fragmentary Pedestal in second position from west in Gymnasium Series (A 1176). Pl. 73a; Fig. 19.

Three joining but much battered fragments from an upper block probably of this pedestal were found at the beginning of the current excavations lying on its foundations. The dimensions and scheme of the block are closely similar to those of the two pedestals already

<sup>1</sup> Failure to observe the differences between the upper and lower parts of the panels has misled scholars in interpreting the history of the monument. Ch. van Essen, for instance, regarding the reliefs as not earlier than the time of Diocletian or Constantine, supposed that the pedestals were later than the colossal figures (*B.C.H.*, L, 1926, pp. 199 ff.).

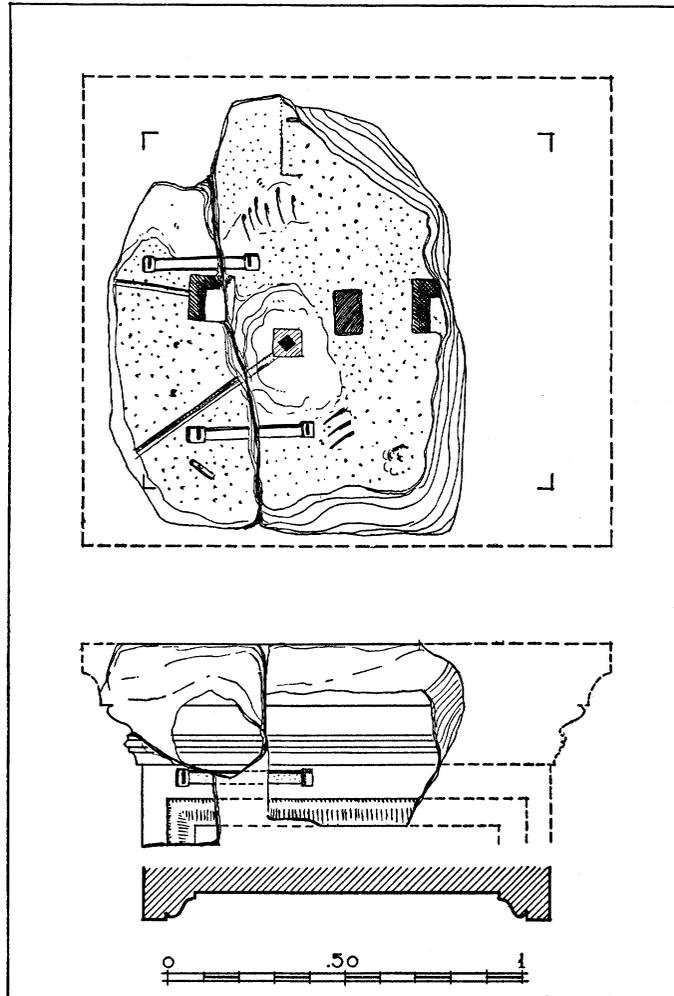


Fig. 19. Fragmentary Top of Pedestal for a Colossal Figure

described, but the cuttings in the top, unobscured by any statue, are particularly illuminating for its history.

To the first period may be assigned the deep lewis hole at the middle of the block, a square dowel hole with pour channel and the edge of a second dowel hole, probably also some if not all of the shallow shift holes. Of the second period will be the deep dowel hole near the middle of the top with its very long pour channel for the fastening of the statue, two

┌ clamp cuttings in the top of the block and one near the top of the principal vertical face of the pedestal, clearly intended for the repair of damage that had occurred between the first and second periods.

Enough of the principal vertical face of the pedestal remains to show that it was panelled like Nos. 1 and 2, but of the panel only the moulding has survived. The placing of the original pair of dowels suggests that the first occupant of the block was a Triton, as on No. 2.

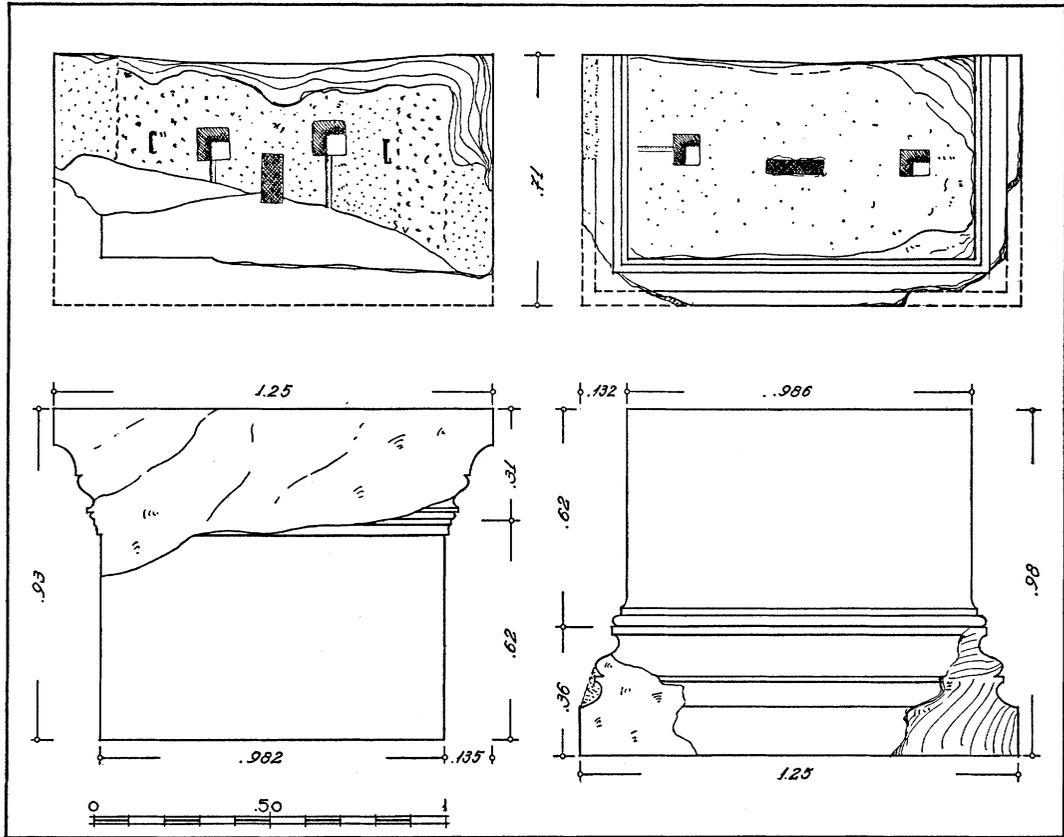


Fig. 20. Top and Bottom Blocks from the Pedestal of an Anta

4. Fragmentary lower block of Pedestal (A 1175). Pl. 73b.

Two joining fragments found in the current excavations to the north of the second colossal figure from the east with which it may be associated. Parts of the top and bottom surfaces and of one vertical face remain, together with a small length of the base moulding. One quadrant of the block has been cut away in late times. In the top of the block are cuttings for a lewis and a dowel. Height, 0.96 m.

5. Fragment of Pedestal with Relief (S 1348). Pl. 73c.

Found in the current excavations to the west of the Odeion. Traces of mortar indicate that it had at one time been incorporated in the foundations of the Gymnasium. Maximum

preserved dimension, 0.37 m. Broken all around and behind.

On the face of the block is the upper part of the trunk of an olive tree encircled by a serpent, whose body has narrowed to a neck at the upper fracture. To the right is a trace probably of the second trunk of a gnarled tree, like that of No. 2 above. The leaves are just beginning at the edge of the upper fracture.

The disposition of tree and serpent indicates that this fragment does not come from a top block. In the quality of its carving and the finish of its background, on the other hand, the fragment is identical with the upper blocks of Pedestals Nos. 1 and 2, but quite different from the lower blocks of those bases. We must, therefore, assign the piece to one of the intermediate blocks hypothesized above.

6. Lower block of a Pedestal for an Anta (A 1398). Fig. 20.

Found in the second position from the west in the Gymnasium series, where it may have been employed as part of the pedestal for a (now missing) colossal figure.

This block agrees closely in height and width and in its mouldings with the lower blocks of Nos. 1 and 2 above, but it has only half their thickness. The base mouldings carry round one long and two short sides; at the left end, however, the mouldings are unfinished toward the back. In the middle of the top is a lewis cutting and at either end a square dowel cutting with pour channel. The back of the block shows anathyrosis. The surface finish is closely similar to that on Nos. 1 and 2 above.

7. Upper block of a Pedestal for an Anta (A 1177). Pl. 73d; Fig. 20.

Found in the current excavations in a modern cellar wall immediately to the north of the northwest corner of the Odeion. Traces of mortar on the block suggest that it had at one

time been incorporated in the foundations of the Gymnasium. Much of the crowning moulding has been broken away from the long side of the block. As will be seen from the drawings, Fig. 20, this block agrees closely in dimensions with No. 6 above and may well come from the same pedestal. The slight excess of the lower over the upper block is comparable with that noted in the case of the full pedestals, Nos. 1 and 2 above.

The heavy crowning mouldings run around the long and the two short sides of the top, but are unfinished toward the back on each of the short ends. The back is finished with anathyrosis. In the middle of the top is a lewis cutting flanked on either side by a square dowel hole with pour channel. Outside the dowel holes are pry-holes with a shallow cutting for a shifting movement of a bar alongside each pry-hole. The pry-holes are centred 0.67 m. apart and so are suitably spaced for the manipulation of an anta shaft of the same thickness as the piers with which the colossal figures are conjoined, viz. 0.56 m.

Several smaller fragments of pedestals from this series came to light along the north front of the Odeion and others in the Stoa of Attalos where they had no doubt been re-used in the "Valerian Wall."

The capitals from above the piers behind the colossal figures may be recognized with virtual certainty in a number of fragments, six of which came to light in the excavations in the area around the figures, while two have been found in the Stoa of Attalos, where they were obviously *detritus* from the "Valerian Wall" (Pl. 74a). The resting surface of the capital that may be restored from these fragments measures *ca.* 0.57 m. square, a figure which corresponds satisfactorily with the dimensions of the piers. A further bond is provided by the similarity between the capital and the colossal figures in the drilling of the acanthus and in the predilection for a rasped surface finish. The capital was of a composite type with a band of egg and dart (three units) at the base of each face between acanthus leaves at the angles. The middle part of the face of the capital is not represented among the known fragments so that the details of its treatment are not certain. They may be restored, however, on the analogy of the closely similar pilaster capitals on the Arch of Hadrian at Athens, one of which is illustrated in Pl. 74b.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, III, ch. III, pl. VIII.

No part of the architrave or frieze from above the colossal figures has yet been recognized. Several of the cornice blocks, however, appear to have survived, three of them incorporated in the foundation beneath the pedestal for the westernmost Triton of the Gymnasium series, two in the corresponding foundation beneath the easternmost Giant and one from the current excavations to the south of the second figure from the east (A 1303-1308). All are of Pentelic marble. Their original length was 1.92 m., i. e. exactly one half the interaxial spacing of the main order and presumably also of the order above the colossal figures. The width of the resting surface of the cornice blocks, *ca.* 0.54 m., is appropriate to the architrave that must have been carried by the square piers behind the colossal figures. The tops of the blocks are flat, their height, 0.28 m. The workmanship is summary, some of the mouldings being only roughly blocked out while in two cases the soffit was not undercut. In the coarseness of their execution the series is comparable with the intermediate cornice on the east end of the Library of Hadrian.

#### Arrangement and Origin of the Colossal Figures

Granted, as the circumstances of finding prove, that the colossal figures were originally part of the Odeion, where did they stand? The fact that practically all the fragments, both those that were re-used in the Gymnasium and the others, were found along the north front of the Odeion points clearly to that part of the building. The enormous bulk of the pedestals and figures calls for very substantial underpinning, certainly something much more solid than the eight long hollow bases that were thrust out from the north façade of the building in the second period. Since there is no trace of other suitable foundations added to the Odeion, we are driven to assume that some of the original wall foundations were made available for the reception of the figures. The heavy weathering on the hands would seem to have occurred while the figures were in their original positions and indicates that they were at least partially exposed to the elements; the fresh state of the heads, Nos. 1 and 3, may be attributed to the protection of an overhanging cornice.

A knowledge of the original number of the colossal figures would obviously help in placing them. A recapitulation of the catalogue of surviving material (pp. 104 ff.) will show positive evidence for a minimum of five figures, of which three were Tritons and two Giants. It is to be noted, further, that of the surviving five, three looked toward their proper left, two toward their proper right. In a composition based on figures of such monumental scale and formal design we may safely hypothecate some such bilateral symmetry as exists in the Porch of the Maidens on the Erechtheion. We are justified, therefore, in restoring a sixth figure with head turned right. Six, then, becomes our new minimum figure. Supposing now we wish to consider the possibility of additional statues, we should again have to observe the laws of symmetry and add not one but two, making eight. If, however, there were originally

eight statues, three must have completely, or almost completely, vanished. This, to be sure, is possible but, in view of the great bulk of the colossal figures and their unsuitability for ordinary re-use, the disappearance of so many is unlikely. We conclude that there were probably six colossal figures in the original scheme.

Turning now to the pedestals, we recall that in addition to the full bases for the colossal figures we have pieces from the bottom and from the top of a half base, clearly intended to support a pilaster to correspond with the piers behind the figures. It is to be remembered also that the colossal figures in combination with the piers, although obviously designed to be viewed chiefly from the front, are also well finished and of some interest behind.

If all the above evidence be taken into account, the most likely position for the colossal figures would appear to be in the line of the north wall of the Odeion, in the central part of the façade that is already seen to have been adorned with the eight long projecting bases and that was not obscured by the monuments that stood on the great bases toward the east and west extremities of the façade. Here, in fact, six free-standing supports were required to fill the intervals between the seven flights of stairs and to carry the entablature of the façade. Pilasters set against the wall in the way indicated by the surviving half pedestal would appropriately close the series to east and west.

A glance at the restored elevation of the north façade (Pl. 60) will show at once that six colossal figures in combination with piers, flanked by pilasters, if evenly spaced in the mid part of the façade, would correspond precisely with the pilasters of the second storey, a most satisfactory correspondence.<sup>1</sup>

The original height of the pedestals beneath the colossal figures is a matter for debate. As pointed out above (pp. 110 ff.), the history of the reliefs on their fronts proves the original existence of at least one intermediate member between the two surviving blocks. That the pedestals were originally high is suggested also by the fact that in the case of both the full pedestals that survive as well as of the half pedestal the lower member is wider than the upper, a discrepancy which could have been taken up in a slight taper in the die of the pedestal. A third piece of evidence pointing in the same direction is the roughly finished state of the lower parts of some of the figures, especially marked in Nos. 4, 5 and 11 (pp. 106 f., 108); this condition indicates that the tops of the pedestals were well above eye level.

In our restored elevation (Pl. 60) we have proposed the insertion of one intermediate block between the surviving upper and lower members; all three blocks being of approximately the same height give a total height of *ca.* 2.86 m. The same drawing

<sup>1</sup> On the restored plan (Fig. 15) it will be observed that the correspondence between the colossal figures thus spaced and the long projecting bases would not be precise on account of the irregular spacing of the long bases. It is probable that in actual fact these discrepancies were largely concealed by the placing of the statues on the long bases.

will show how the plain lower parts of the great pedestals would have served as an effective background for the seated figures on the long projecting bases; it will show also why the relief panels on the pedestals were originally kept toward the top. The piers back of the colossal figures, supported on pedestals of this height, would have carried their entablature at the same level as that around the outer part of the building. In our restoration we have suggested that in this period the north ends of the flanking parts of the building were treated as units, each crowned by a pediment: a scheme reminiscent of the Stoa of Zeus in the Agora. Some such treatment of the north façade in the second period is indicated by the insertion of the antae which call for a pronounced break on the line of the flanks of the main core of the building.

A serious practical difficulty must be recognized in the restoration of the porch of the colossal figures. The evidence as presented above makes it very probable that the piers with the attached figures were placed at the same intervals as the columns of the main order, i. e. with an intercolumniation of 3.83 m. In the main order this very considerable span was bridged by an architrave 0.98 m. thick and 0.75 m. high. The architrave above the sculptured piers, on the other hand, is not likely to have exceeded 0.60 m. in thickness; its height is unknown. On purely technical grounds, however, an acceptable solution is possible. Whereas in the main order the architrave was built up of two beams set side by side and the frieze was cut separately from the architrave, we may suppose that above the sculptured piers architrave and frieze were cut all from a single block.<sup>1</sup> It is conceivable that the advisability of reducing to a minimum the load to be carried above this span induced the architect of the second period to use terracotta rather than marble tiles on the porch, whereas, as we have seen, there is reason to believe that marble tiles were employed in the first period at both the north and the south ends of the building, in the second period only above the south end.

The alternative solution of restoring arches above the sculptured piers is unacceptable on at least two counts: no trace of suitable voussoirs has come to light either in the area of the Odeion or in the "Valerian Wall" and, furthermore, the insertion of arches would raise the entablature so high as to cause serious difficulties in the roofing. That the sculptured piers did not support a roof but formed a free-standing screen is altogether improbable, for all the corollary evidence suggests that a true porch was intended by the remodellers.

We have still to consider the syntax of composition of the colossal figures. It may be assumed that the original three doors in the scaenae frons were retained in the second period of the building. When the north wall was opened these doorways must have been fully visible and very prominent; it is reasonable to suppose, there-

<sup>1</sup> Precisely the same difficulty arose in the Façade of the Colossal Figures at Corinth. There an epistyle bridging a span of 3.04 m. above the corresponding sculptured piers measured only 0.425 m. in width, 0.642 m. in height. Stillwell, *Corinth*, I, ii, *Architecture*, pls. IV and VII.

fore, that the colossal figures were placed in some relation to them and we have accordingly grouped the figures in three pairs, one pair to each doorway. Inasmuch as the attitude of the figures indicates clearly that the theme was one of contest or opposition between Tritons and Giants, it would appear only fair to admit equal numbers of the two breeds. Since we have parts of three Tritons but of only two Giants, we have restored the sixth figure as a Giant; and we suggest that this restored Giant be made to face to his proper right.

With these elements at our disposal we have composed each pair, Triton and Giant, so that both figures appear to be moving away from the axis, while both turn their gaze toward the axis, a scheme thoroughly characteristic of Greek art. Now it will be seen that the restoration according to which two Tritons raise the left hand, one Triton the right, and two Giants the right hand, one Giant the left, permits of an agreeably varied and interlocked composition. This arrangement at the same time possesses a certain practical logic inasmuch as the second and third figures from either extremity have their *latera aperta* covered by creatures of their own kind.

Such a disposition of the colossal figures is confirmed in some measure by the circumstances of their origin. The classicizing style of the sculpture has been pointed out repeatedly by earlier students, but it seems not to have been observed that in their human parts both Tritons and Giants derive directly from the pediments of the Parthenon. To start with the Tritons: for the stance and the lift of the arms one has but to compare the best preserved of our figures with the drawing of Poseidon in the west pediment made by "Carrey" in 1674 (Pl. 75a),<sup>1</sup> or with the same figure as reproduced on the familiar Kertsch hydria (Pl. 76a).<sup>2</sup> For the details of the modelling one must go rather to the fragments of the original torso that are now divided between the British Museum and the Acropolis Museum (Pl. 75c).<sup>3</sup> It will be seen that the modelling corresponds down to the last detail even to the curious deep crater at the base of the breast bone, a feature highly characteristic of the pedimental figures. The prominent veining, in which the Parthenon masters took a naive delight, has been almost obliterated from our torso No. 1 by weathering but is still clearly legible on the neck of No. 3 and on the great arm No. 14. Careful measure-

<sup>1</sup> The best reproduction, from which our plate is taken, is in H. Omont, *Athènes au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Paris, 1898, Pl. II. Cf. also L. de Laborde, *Le Parthénon*, Paris, 1848, Pl. 9; *Antike Denkmäler*, I, Pl. VI, 2; A. H. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London, 1910, Fig. 27. Within a few years of being set up in his pediment Poseidon had already inspired the designer of the Boreas akroterion on the Temple of the Athenians on Delos (F. Courby, *Délos*, XII: *Les Temples d'Apollon*, Paris, 1931, p. 240).

<sup>2</sup> *Comptes-rendus de la Commission impériale archéologique*, 1872, Pl. I; *J.H.S.*, III, 1882, p. 245; K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, No. 161, pp. 132 f.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, Pl. X. For the new photograph by Alison Frantz used in Pl. 75c, we are indebted to Mr. John Threpsiades, Acting Ephor of the Acropolis in 1948, who made the photography possible despite the present sad state of the Acropolis Museum.

ment shows, moreover, that the Triton has precisely the same dimensions as the Poseidon. The stance, to be sure, has been brought somewhat closer to the vertical to facilitate the combination of figure and pier, and it will be realized that two out of the three Tritons were mirror images of the original.

That the head as well as the torso of the Triton derives from the Poseidon is made amply clear by setting it alongside the "Carrey" drawing and the Kertsch hydria. Comparison with the heads on the Parthenon frieze will also reveal that the design of our head is Periklean not only in general but in detail: in the single horizontal furrow across the brow, the wide open eye with well rounded ball and heavy lids, the slightly opened mouth and the thick lips.<sup>1</sup>

The pedigree of our Giants is somewhat more difficult to trace. They are so close to the Tritons, however, in scale, in frontality and in their heroic build that one can scarcely question their derivation from the same milieu. In the west pediment of the Parthenon we shall look in vain for a prototype; Poseidon is there opposed by Athena and there is no other male figure of appropriate scale and stance. We are therefore driven to search in the east pediment. The most plausible restoration of the central group (with which alone we are here concerned) is that developed by Rhys Carpenter largely on the basis of the neo-attic adaptation on the Madrid Puteal (Pl. 76b).<sup>2</sup> According to this restoration Zeus sat on the axis of the gable facing right; the newborn Athena moved away toward the right looking backward the while toward her father; Hephaistos hastened to the left but cast a backward glance at the fruits of his midwifery. In the flanking figures of the east pediment, therefore, we have exactly the same kind of formal opposition as in the west pediment, Zeus replacing the olive tree as the central element. The male figure to the left of the axis in the east pediment was clearly the logical choice for a prototype to correspond with the male figure to the right of the axis in the west pediment. On this supposition our Giant should correspond with the Hephaistos of the Madrid Puteal and this he does in a most convincing fashion. If one will but think away the distortion caused to the thighs of our figure by their adaptation to serpentine extremities and their new architectural background, he must admit that in stance, turn of head, proportions and modelling the two figures are exceedingly close. Some discrepancy is to be noted in the disposition of the arms; if a common prototype be admitted, both adapters may have modified the original to meet their respective needs. A final point in common

<sup>1</sup> For details of the heads on the frieze cf. the excellent plates in W. Hege and G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Akropolis*, Berlin, 1930, and the photographs reproduced by W. Schuchhardt in *Jahrbuch*, XLV, 1930, pp. 247 ff., Abb. 29-89. Another pertinent parallel is the head of Perikles (A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, New York, 1912, pl. 4).

<sup>2</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXIX, 1925, pp. 117 ff.; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 1 ff. For criticisms of Carpenter's restoration cf., *inter alia*, E. Pfuhl, *Jahrbuch*, XLI, 1926, pp. 166 ff.; M. Wegner, *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, pp. 92 ff.; Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque: La sculpture*, II, Paris, 1939, p. 487.

is the smooth face and short hair that may safely be inferred from the present state both of our Giant and of the Hephaistos on the Puteal. But what shall we say of the front of the head, entirely broken away from the Puteal and preserved only in one problematical scrap in the series of our Giants? For help we must go to Rome.

Long ago Furtwängler demonstrated the ultimately Pheidian origin of the Horse Tamers or Dioscuri that now dominate the Piazza del Quirinale (Pl. 77),<sup>1</sup> and more recently Carpenter pointed out the striking similarity between the Horse Tamers and the Hephaistos of the Puteal.<sup>2</sup> The addition of our Giants as a third member in the series enormously strengthens the general argument in favor of the derivation of all three from a common source; the matter may be clinched by a consideration of two specific points. The height of the Horse Tamers is given as 5.51 m. and 5.56 m., i. e. twice the height of our best preserved Triton (No. 1: 2.76 m.) with which our Giants appear to have been uniform in scale. The author of the Horse Tamers, having presumably a larger building to decorate, decided to make his adaptation at twice the scale of the original. In the second place the well preserved heads of the Horse Tamers prove to be set at exactly the same angle as that demanded by the traces on the Puteal and by the broken neck of our best preserved Giant (No. 9); furthermore, they agree satisfactorily with our fragmentary head No. 10 in the treatment of the hair and in the modelling (Pl. 77a). The relatively small scale of the heads of the Horse Tamers has long been a matter for comment: it comes now as a welcome justification for the disparity in scale between the heads of our Giants and Tritons.

Our conclusion must be that the Giants, the Horse Tamers and the Hephaistos of the Puteal all derive from a common prototype. Since all three are in the style of the Parthenon pediments, since our Giants are associated with Tritons which are demonstrably derived from a figure of the west pediment and since the theme of the Puteal is identical with that of the east pediment, we are driven to the further conclusion that the prototype is to be found in the Parthenon pediments, where the only suitable candidate is the Hephaistos of the east gable.

Additional confirmation of a Parthenonian origin may be drawn from the horses of the Quirinale group. Comparison between them and the horses of Athena of the Parthenon west pediment as drawn by "Carrey" (Pls. 75a, 77b) will immediately

<sup>1</sup> *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, London, 1895, pp. 95 ff.; *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur* (Handausgabe), ed. 3, Munich, 1911, pp. 36 ff. Of the earlier literature on the Horse Tamers cf. especially F. Matz and F. von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, I, Leipzig, 1881, pp. 260 ff., No. 959; C. Friederichs and P. Wolters, *Die Gipsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke*, Berlin, 1885, Nos. 1270 and 1271, pp. 453 ff.; A. Michaelis, *Röm. Mitt.*, XIII, 1898, pp. 248 ff.; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I, Paris, 1897, p. 485. For more recent discussion cf. A. della Seta, *Il Nudo nell' Arte*, I, Milan and Rome, 1930, pp. 180 ff. (with good illustrations in figs. 78 and 79); Picard, *La Sculpture*, II, p. 310; L. Curtius, *Das antike Rom*, Vienna, 1944, p. 57, Abb. 151-153; Vagn Poulsen, *Fidias*, Stockholm, 1949, pp. 92 f., fig. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXIX, 1925, p. 129.

make clear that the Horse Tamers, though themselves derived from the east gable, were provided with mounts from the west gable. The relation in scale between the horses and the Horse Tamers of Monte Cavallo proves that the animals, like the human figures, were doubled in size by the adapter.

The penetrating study of the Horse Tamers made by the Swedish sculptor Fogelberg in 1842 demonstrated that the two groups, mirror images with inconsequential variations of a common prototype, were used to adorn opposite sides of an entrance to some great building, presumably the Baths of Constantine beside the ruins of which they have stood for at least a thousand years.<sup>1</sup> Since each of the Tamers forms an angle of 90° with his horse, the human figure presumably stood against the outer face of the jamb while the horse, facing outward, stood parallel to the reveal of the doorway. The arrangement of the Horse Tamers, therefore, had much in common with that of our colossal figures, not least in their antithetical grouping. The two artists, faced with similar problems, both resorted to the Parthenon, though it is possible, in view of their relative dates, that the idea of the Horse Tamers was inspired by our figures.

Having established the connection of the colossal figures with the Parthenon pediments, we need look no further for the source of the olive tree and serpent on the pedestal. This was undoubtedly inspired by the serpent-entwined olive tree, the token of Athena, that formed the central motive of the west pediment and that is now represented by a couple of fragments in the Acropolis Museum and by the drawing on the Kertsch hydria (Pl. 76a). The Odeion master used the tree and serpent as a pendant to his principal figure in much the same way as a contemporary designer of sarcophagi might have represented on the end panels subordinate elements of the main design that he had worked out on the front.<sup>2</sup>

One would gladly know whether any specific symbolism motivated the design of our porch. That our Tritons should be derived from Poseidon is indeed logical inasmuch as Triton was accounted the son of Poseidon and Amphitrite. The Giants were the children of Ge and Ouranos, and hence had something in common with Hephaistos whose chthonic interests extended at least to volcanoes. It is conceivable, however, that our artist was of the school that made Prometheus rather than Hephaistos the midwife in the delivery of Athena; Prometheus was commonly numbered among the Titans and in later times the line of division between Titans and Giants became very faint.

Whether or not there exists any iconographical relationship between our Tritons

<sup>1</sup> *Annali dell' Istituto*, XIV, 1842, pp. 194 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In the Façade of the Colossal Figures at Corinth the fronts of the pedestals are decorated with small-scale scenes showing the decking of trophies and sorrowing prisoners, themes obviously related to the monumental representations of captives that stood on the pedestals. (Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, *Sculpture*, pp. 101-107; Stillwell, *Corinth*, I, ii, *Architecture*, pp. 72-76).

and Giants on the one hand and their prototypes in the Parthenon pediments on the other, the general theme of the new composition, as of the old, is obviously a strife between forces of the land and of the sea. Even here, however, the considerations of mythological symbolism were doubtless outweighed by the need of a framework for an effective design.

This is not the place to discuss in detail the mechanics of the adaptation. Attention may be drawn, however, to two other closely related instances. Among the many marble reliefs dredged out of Piraeus Harbor in 1930/31, Schrader recognized a series decorated with two-figure extracts from the Amazonomachy on the shield of Athena Parthenos.<sup>1</sup> These adaptations, like the Odeion figures, have been shown to be of the same scale as the originals;<sup>2</sup> the mouldings that enframe the panels are very close to those on the pedestals of our colossal figures; the quality of workmanship in the two cases is of the same order. A date in the middle or second half of the second century was long ago proposed by Karo for the Peiraeus reliefs.<sup>3</sup> It would seem clear that both the colossal figures and the reliefs are products of the same school, in the one case intended for a local need, in the other for the export trade.

The other relevant instance of adaptation from the Parthenon sculptures occurs on several series of Athenian coins. In one series Athena and Poseidon appear in evident opposition on either side of a snake-entwined olive tree: the design would seem certainly to have been inspired by the central group in the west pediment of the Parthenon. In a second series Zeus and Athena are again represented with olive tree and snake between, but here the divinities are engaged in quiet colloquy: scholars have, perhaps rightly, associated this design with the free-standing group of Athena, Poseidon and their respective tokens seen on the Acropolis by Pausanias (I, 24, 3). In a third series Athena alone stands quietly beside her olive tree, her snake below, her owl in the branches. Yet a fourth series shows Athena, armed, starting swiftly to the right away from her olive tree: this almost certainly echoes the east pediment.<sup>4</sup> A clue to the dating of these series is given by a coin of Marcus Aurelius showing the peaceful Athena and Poseidon<sup>5</sup> and by a medallion of Commodus that bears an Athena and olive tree of the pedimental type.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1931, cols. 224-227, figs. 8-10 (Karo), cols. 387-393 (Schrader); *Corolla Ludwig Curtius*, Stuttgart, 1937, pp. 81-88, pls. 17-21 (Schrader); *Jahrbuch*, LV, 1940, pp. 198-200 (Schweitzer); *B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-45, pp. 163 ff. (Ras).

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1931, col. 392.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1931, col. 224.

<sup>4</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of the Greek Coins, Attica-Megaris-Aegina*, London, 1888, pp. 93 ff., pls. XVI f.; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pl. Z, pp. 129-131; J. N. Svoronos, *Trésor des monnaies d'Athènes*, Munich, 1923-26, pls. 84, 85, 87, 89; Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 422, 442; Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. II, pp. 300 f., 310; J. P. Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 296, fig. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *op. cit.*, pl. Z, XV.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. Z, XIII. Mrs. Shear has proposed a date in the Augustan period for the earliest coins showing Athena and Poseidon in opposition (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 296).

It is clear that in the Antonine period a very lively interest was revived in the sculptures of the Parthenon (as in many other of the famous works of the fifth century). The adaptation of the pedimental figures in the Odeion may have been in part the cause and in part the result of this contemporary interest.<sup>1</sup>

### *Seated Statues*

Probable candidates for the positions on the long bases that rose between the marble stairways along the north façade are to be found in a series of three seated figures in Pentelic marble of which two are fairly complete, the third fragmentary. The better preserved pieces were found in late Roman levels at the edge of the Panathenaic Way, one (S 930) some 16 m. to the east of the mid part of the Odeion, the other (S 826) 46 m. to the east of the southeast corner of the building. In neither case was there any adequate base for the statue at the place of finding, and both must have been brought from elsewhere in late Roman times. A clue to their association with the Odeion is given by the third piece (S 1304), a mere fragment, which turned up just to the north of the mid part of the north façade of the Odeion. The design of the figures indicates that they were to be viewed primarily from the front and sides, little from the rear; hence they were well suited to our pedestals.

#### SEATED FIGURES FROM THE NORTH FRONT

1. Seated, draped, male Figure (S 930). Pl. 79a and b.

Height, 1.24 m.; width, 0.58 m.; length, 0.655 m. The head was inset and is now missing. The left hand, clenched, rested on the thigh; the right forearm (cut in a separate piece and now missing) was thrust forward. The left foot was drawn back, the right set well forward. The sides of the throne terminated toward the front in grotesque figures: body, legs and wings of an eagle, a feline head and ram's horns. Two dowel holes indicate that the back of the chair was cut in a separate piece and pinned in place. The back of the lower part of the chair is but roughly finished. The weathered surface indicates long exposure.

Very close parallels for the handling of the drapery and for the quality of the work are to be found among the statues from the Exedra of Herodes Atticus in Olympia.<sup>2</sup>

2. Seated, draped, male Figure (S 826). Pl. 78.

Height, 1.242 m.; width, 0.66 m.; length, 0.712 m. There remains only the middle part of a heavily cloaked figure seated in an arm-chair. The left arm, wrapped in the cloak, was drawn across the front of the body; the forearm was cut in a separate piece, now missing. The right upper arm lay close against the body and the breakage suggests that the elbow rested toward its middle. From the breakage again one may infer that the right foot was thrust forward, the left drawn in and under. The

<sup>1</sup> The mechanical precision of the copying suggests that the sculptors of our colossal figures had at their disposal casts of the pedimental figures. In the *Jupiter Tragoedus* of Lucian (33), written about the time of the rebuilding of the Odeion, it is observed that the famous old bronze statue of Hermes Agoraios was covered with pitch from being cast every day by the sculptors.

<sup>2</sup> G. Treu, *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, III: *Die Bildwerke*, Berlin, 1897, pl. LXVI; *Die Antike*, X, 1934, p. 111, figs. 14 and 15.

throne was carved in one piece with the figure; its sides began in front in feline heads with long twisted horns and swept up to a curved back; there is a scar of a protuberance near the middle of the top of the side wall. The drapery is handled in a vigorous style and the carving is competent. The surface is quite heavily weathered, enough to prove that the statue stood outdoors.

In pose, drapery and chair this statue conforms closely to the type of a statue of Epicurus, the fame of which is attested by the existence of at least four other copies.<sup>1</sup> Our

figure may accordingly be restored with the right elbow resting on the left wrist and with the right hand supporting the chin.

### 3. Fragment of a Marble Chair (S 1304). Pl. 79c.

Maximum dimension, 0.35 m.

The fragment comes from the proper left side of a throne decorated with a monstrous form: a winged body probably terminating above in a lion's head and below in a lion's leg. Comparable both in conception and workmanship with Nos. 1 and 2.<sup>2</sup>

### *History of the Second Period*

We must now consider the evidence for dating the various alterations in the fabric of the building that have already been described. It will be convenient to start with the roof tiles since they give the most specific indication.

The history of the roofing may be worked out from the tile stamps as recorded above (Pl. 38; Fig. 7). The Aigipyros series of tiles is clearly distinguished from the more numerous Dionysios series both by its clay and its letter forms. The lettering is thoroughly characteristic of the Augustan period.<sup>3</sup> It may be noted also that the antefixes bearing the name Aigipyros and found elsewhere in the Agora are decorated in a classicistic style comparable with the marble antefixes of the Market of Caesar and Augustus. Since the thirteen examples of the Aigipyros stamp found in the Odeion undoubtedly represent only a small proportion of the original total, it is a fair inference that they are remnants from the original roofing, either re-used or perhaps never disturbed over some part of the southeast corner of the building. In the absence of any indication to the contrary we may assume that Aigipyros was the fabricant.

The Medeios series is probably closely contemporary with that of Aigipyros, its letter forms representing the classicistic tendency of the Augustan period as contrasted with the popular flavor of Aigipyros' stamp.<sup>4</sup> Medeios, too, may best be

<sup>1</sup> A. Hekler, *Bildnisse berühmter Griechen*, Berlin, 1939, pp. 48, 57; K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Kenner*, Basel, 1943, p. 120, no. 1 and p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> On the type of chair decorated with animal forms cf. G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 10 f., 119 f.

<sup>3</sup> Significant are the alpha with broken bar, the small-bowed rho, the pi with one hasta slightly shorter than the other, the small omicron, the tall-stemmed upsilon. As a typical parallel cf. P. Graindor, *Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale*, Gand, 1924, No. 2 ( $\pm$  38/37–18/7 B.C.).

<sup>4</sup> A good parallel for this more formal script is the dedicatory inscription of the Temple of Rome and Augustus on the Acropolis, to be dated between 27 and 18/7 B.C. Graindor, *Album*, No. 4.

regarded as a tile-maker. Whether he shared the contract for the original roofing with Aigipyros, or whether his two surviving pieces are chance intruders would be difficult to decide.

The Mother of the Gods series, as noted above, is undoubtedly to be associated with the Metroon. Its letter forms are distinctly earlier than those of the Aigipyros and Medeios series; they find their parallels rather in the stamped tiles from the Arsenals of Pergamon that date from the period of the kings prior to 133 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and in the Hellenistic tiles from Sparta.<sup>2</sup> How a few of them chanced to be employed in the roofing of the Odeion, whether in the original construction or in a subsequent repair, may be due to some adventitious circumstance which we can scarcely hope to control.<sup>3</sup>

The lettering of the Dionysios and Diodoros series is best, and indeed very closely paralleled in the middle of the second century after Christ.<sup>4</sup> The initial ligature in both cases is undoubtedly to be restored as ἄρχοντος, and in the case of the Dionysios stamp the final iota in all probability denotes the tenth prytany of the year.<sup>5</sup> The dating of roof tiles by an eponym was, of course, a common practice in both Greek and Roman lands;<sup>6</sup> the insistence on still more precise dating is paralleled, *inter alia*, on Athenian tetradrachms of the New Style and on the stamps of Rhodian amphora handles. In all these cases, presumably, the precision was intended to facilitate official control.

The archon Dionysios has been assigned to one of the years A.D. 148-150.<sup>7</sup> In view of the very large number of tiles that bear his name, we may be sure that the Odeion was in large part re-roofed within that period. The archon Diodoros cannot be placed with such precision. He may well, however, belong in one of several gaps

<sup>1</sup> A. von Szalay and E. Boehringer, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, X, *Die hellenistische Arsenalen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1937, pp. 39 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. B. Wace, *B.S.A.*, XII, 1905-06, pp. 344-350; XIII, 1906-07, pp. 17-43.

<sup>3</sup> A pertinent parallel might be adduced from Sparta where two tiles stamped as for the city walls have turned up in the Amyklaion (Wace, *B.S.A.*, XIII, 1906-07, pp. 21 f., No. 29).

<sup>4</sup> For the Dionysios series cf. Graindor, *Album*, No. 59 (A.D. 148/9), No. 63 (A.D. 153/4) and No. 64 (A.D. 153/4). For the general flavor of the Diodoros stamp and particularly for its characteristic omega cf. Graindor, *op. cit.*, No. 59 (A.D. 148/9).

<sup>5</sup> I find no direct parallel for the use of these ligatures for ἄρχοντος. The occurrence of the two initial letters of γραμματεὺς and γυμνασίαρχος in ligature is frequent, however, in the middle of the second century, a period notorious for its epigraphic compendia. Cf. W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der attischen Inschriften*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 534. For the designation of the prytany by letter, *ibid.*, pp. 548 f.

<sup>6</sup> For the Greek material see especially Wace's studies of the rich collection of stamped tiles from Sparta in *B.S.A.*, XII, 1905-06, pp. 344-350; XIII, 1906-07, pp. 17-43 with references to the earlier literature on p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Kirchner, *I.G.*, II-III<sup>2</sup>, *pars altera, fasc. posterior*, 1931, p. 794 (with testimonia); Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 87.

in the archon list of the mid-second century as now known.<sup>1</sup> The isolated tile bearing his name may therefore be assigned either to the extensive program of the very middle of the century or to some minor repair of a slightly later date.

The design of the antefixes raises a special problem. Despite minor variations among the surviving examples, it is clear that they all, both the marble and the terracotta, are based on one design. The terracotta antefixes that have been found so closely resemble the Dionysios tiles in clay and technique that they may be supposed to derive from the second period. The carving of some at any rate of the marble antefixes exhibits the same smooth competent quality that marks all the marble carving of the original building. We may safely assume, therefore, that the design of the antefixes as set in the first period was closely copied in the second.

The decorative scheme of our antefixes differs radically, however, from that commonly current in Athens in the latter part of the first century B.C. as represented by the marble antefixes of the Market of Caesar and Augustus and by terracotta antefixes found in the Agora Excavations in contexts of the same period: these are based on a revival of the florid style of the 5-4th centuries with elaborately spiralled acanthus tendrils surmounted by an open palmette of the classical type. The architect of the Odeion, in diverging from the contemporary practice, was perhaps influenced by a desire to assimilate his antefixes on the one hand to the antefixes of the adjacent building, viz. the Middle Stoa, on the other hand to the capitals of the Odeion which were presumably being carved or already finished when the roofing was begun. Comparison with the antefix from the Middle Stoa (A 211; Pl. 37c) will show that it inspired the general scheme of the Odeion antefix and the form of its palmette. The acanthus of the Odeion antefixes, however, in particular the placing of the middle leaf behind the lateral leaves and the manner of serration, is clearly patterned on the capitals of the great Odeion pilasters (Pl. 30).

We must return to the problem of dating the alterations that marked the second period of our building, and we may consider next the transformation of the scaena into a porch. The record of a major adjustment in this part of the Odeion can be read from the stratification in the area to the north. Close above the original ground level of the Odeion the excavators encountered a layer of gravel interspersed with many fragments of stucco identical in quality with that still in place on the walls of the building (cf. p. 41 above). This layer yielded also the fragment of a marble antefix already considered (p. 53), which would seem to derive from the original con-

<sup>1</sup> Gaps exist for the years 144/5; 148/9 and 149/50 (one to be filled by Dionysios); 151/2; 152/3; 153/4; one between 156/7 and 157/8; 164/5. Cf. Oliver, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 ff. and J. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 1-57. From elsewhere in the Agora come two other fragmentary pan tiles stamped **ΑΜΕ** [.. in lettering characteristic of the mid second century (A 451 and A 1058; Pl. 38e). Possible identifications are with the Memmius archon in 127/8 and with the Memmius of 161/2; the letter forms favor the later date.

struction and which was presumably damaged in the collapse of the building at the end of the first period. The gravelly layer containing this debris filled the lower parts of several large shallow pits for the slaking of lime intended no doubt for the wall plaster required in the restoration of the building. The top of the gravelly layer was brought to a smooth firm surface which was carried up to the face of the lowest of the newly laid marble steps in the north façade of the building. Pottery, lamps and blown glass from the gravelly layer date from the first and the early part of the second century after Christ, thus providing a *terminus post quem* for the alterations.

Some assistance in dating may be derived from the architectural details of the porch of the colossal figures. The piers behind the figures resemble in the panelled treatment of their faces the pilasters of the Monument of Philopappos (A.D. 114-116).<sup>1</sup> But a closer, indeed a precise, parallel for our free-standing piers square in plan and with panelled faces is provided by the Arch of Hadrian in Athens (Pl. 80a).<sup>2</sup> The exact date of the arch is not known, but it is to be placed either late in the reign of Hadrian after the project for the new suburb, "the city of Hadrian" as it is called on the arch, was at least well advanced, or perhaps more likely, in view of Hadrian's aversion to having his name appear on his buildings, to the beginning of his successor's regime.<sup>3</sup>

The type of composite capital associated with our square piers does not occur on the Monument of Philopappos nor on the surviving parts of the Library of Hadrian. We have, however, observed its use on the Arch of Hadrian (above, p. 115). The type was employed in several variant forms in the Exedra of Herodes Atticus at Olympia (dating from the 50's of the second century),<sup>4</sup> and in the Odeion of Herodes in Athens (dedicated to the memory of Regilla d. ca. A.D. 160).<sup>5</sup> In one characteristic detail, viz. the feathered edge of the principal tendril, our capital differs from those of the Arch of Hadrian and resembles those from the Exedra at Olympia.

The elaborate base mouldings on the pedestals of our colossal figures are closely paralleled on the scaenae frons and the stage front of the Odeion of Herodes.<sup>6</sup> The distinctive tooling on these mouldings, as noted above, is identical with that on the Arch of Hadrian.

<sup>1</sup> Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, III, ch. V, pls. I ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. III, pls. I ff.

<sup>3</sup> On the date of the arch cf. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 123, 381; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo, 1934, pp. 228 f. Two replicas of the arch were erected before the Great Propylaea at Eleusis in the reign of Antoninus Pius (K. Kourouniotes and O. Broneer, *Eleusis*, Athens, 1936, pp. 38 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, II: *Die Baudenkmäler*, Berlin, 1892, pl. LXXXVI. On the date cf. P. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus et sa famille*, Cairo, 1930, pp. 87 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1912, p. 164, fig. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Tuckermann, *Das Odeum des Herodes Atticus und der Regilla*, p. 7, pl. IV; *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1912, pl. 10.

As for the colossal figures themselves, a date in the early Antonine period is indicated by the nature of the drill work in the hair (slightly more advanced than on the latest portraits of Hadrian<sup>1</sup> but less free than in later Antonine work), and by a suggestion of the brooding vacuous expression that was in evidence already in the portraiture of Antinous (d. A.D. 130) and that was to mark so much of the sculpture of the Antonine period.<sup>2</sup>

Close comparison with the sarcophagi would undoubtedly confirm the early Antonine dating of the colossal figures. For a single parallel one might quote the magnificent Gigantomachy Sarcophagus in the Galleria delle Statue of the Vatican.<sup>3</sup> In technical aspects (height of relief, drillwork, surface finish) the sarcophagus is close to our figures. More significant is the resemblance in composition. The front of the sarcophagus is dominated by six great battling figures, each with one arm up and one down, alternately bearded and smooth-faced, arranged in cleverly interlocking pairs; the panels on the ends of the sarcophagus form pendants to the main composition in much the same way as the reliefs on our pedestals are related to the figures above. The sarcophagus is reported by Robert to be of Greek marble and it is tempting to regard it, like many other of the monumental sarcophagi of the period, as a product of the same milieu as the Odeion figures.

In the field of architectural sculpture one of the closest parallels is to be found in the figures of the Provinces from the Hadrianeum in Rome, dedicated by Antoninus Pius in A.D. 145.<sup>4</sup> Similarity is to be noted in the technical treatment of the heads, in the height of the relief, in the marked isolation of the figures and in the combination of principal figures (personifications of the provinces) with pendants (trophies). The Façade of the Colossal Figures in Corinth, shown by its bolder drilling, more open mouths and smoother surfaces to be slightly later than the Athenian work, has been dated about the middle of the second century.<sup>5</sup> Later monuments of the same general order are the so-called Incantada from Thessalonika, now in the

<sup>1</sup> Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, p. xxxvii, pl. 258a (from the Olympieion in Athens).

<sup>2</sup> van Essen had argued for a date in the time of Antoninus Pius (*B.C.H.*, L, 1926, pp. 199 f.); Becatti placed the heads between the Antonine and Severan periods (*Rivista del r. Istituto d'Archæologia e Storia dell' Arte*, VII, 1940, p. 92). From the same school must come the heads of Athenian kosmetai discussed by Graindor in *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, p. 311, No. 6 (Fig. 13) and p. 313, No. 7 (Pl. XVII). Graindor proposed a date within the reign of Hadrian, but, in the absence of compelling external evidence, an early Antonine date would seem equally possible.

<sup>3</sup> C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-reliefs*, III, Berlin, 1897, pp. 113-114, Pl. XXVI; W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, II, Berlin, 1908, pp. 643 ff., No. 414a, Pl. 53; J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, Cambridge, 1934, pp. 193 ff., Pl. XL, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, p. 250; Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, pp. 152-159.

<sup>5</sup> R. Carpenter, *Guide to the Excavations of Ancient Corinth*, Athens, 1928, pp. 67-70; ed. 4, 1947, pp. 39 f.; Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, *Sculpture*, pp. 101-107; Stillwell, *Corinth*, I, ii, *Architecture*, pp. 55-88.

Louvre<sup>1</sup> and Les Tutelles, that stood in Bordeaux until its demolition in 1677.<sup>2</sup> Both these structures included architectural screens in which a row of piers was decorated with figures in high relief; in the Incantada the piers supported a straight architrave, in Les Tutelles a series of arches.<sup>3</sup>

The seated statues from the façade of the Odeion are other and no less characteristic products of the same school as the colossal figures that towered above them. For their style comparison has already been made with the sculpture from the Exedra of Herodes Atticus at Olympia to be dated in the 50's of the second century. For the placing of such seated figures against tall piers a satisfactory parallel is at hand in the arched entrance to an estate of Herodes Atticus at Marathon (Pl. 80b).<sup>4</sup> Fragmentary seated statues, one male and one female, the throne of one decorated in the manner of ours, have been restored by Le Bas' artist to either side of the "Gateway of Eternal Harmony."

The chronological evidence may be summed up thus: the Odeion was re-roofed, as shown by its tile stamps, in the very middle of the second century after Christ; this re-roofing may with great probability be supposed to have followed on the collapse of the original roof that is attested by damage to floors, benches, statue bases, etc.; with the re-roofing may logically be associated the reduction in the size of the auditorium since this would have facilitated the re-roofing; the stratification to the north of the building indicates that extensive adjustments were carried out in the building at some time toward the middle of the second century after Christ; the style both of architectural detail and of sculpture points to a date in the middle of the second century after Christ for the insertion of the colossal standing figures and seated statues in the north façade; their insertion implies the previous demolition of the original small north porch and the conversion of the scaena into an open colonnade. In view of this concatenation of evidence we have felt justified in assuming that all

<sup>1</sup> Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, III, ch. IX, pl. II; Ch. van Essen, *B.C.H.*, L, 1926, pp. 203 ff.; P. Perdrizet, *Monuments Piot*, XXXI, 1930, pp. 51-90.

<sup>2</sup> van Essen, *op. cit.*, pp. 205 ff.; Perdrizet, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Probably contemporary with our figures is the colossal Satyr-Atlas and perhaps other of the large-scale statues found in the Theatre of Dionysos (R. Herbig, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen*, II, *Die Skulpturen vom Bühnenhaus*, Stuttgart, 1935, pp. 34 ff.). In the same vein are the pair of Pans from the Theatre of Pompey in Rome (H. S. Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures . . . of Rome: The Museo Capitolino*, Oxford, 1912, Cortile 5 and 23, pp. 22 and 25, pl. 2; Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, p. 333, fig. 437). To be compared also is the series of "Caryatids" from the Via Appia which are probably to be associated with a memorial to Regilla built by Herodes Atticus; two replicas of this series have been found in Athens near the Metropolis (H. Bulle, *Röm. Mitt.*, IX, 1894, pp. 134-161; Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, pp. 214 ff.; A. Neugebauer, *Die Antike*, X, 1934, pp. 112 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Philippe Le Bas and S. Reinach, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1888, pp. 90 f., pl. 90. For the bibliography cf. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, p. 185, note 1. Cf. also Neugebauer, *Die Antike*, X, 1934, p. 96, fig. 3.

these alterations formed part of one program of rehabilitation that was occasioned by the accidental collapse of the original roof and that introduced the second period of the building.

It is perhaps worth noting that to this same period has been attributed an alteration in the scaena of the Theatre of Dionysos of much the same import as that which occurred in our building. There is reason to believe that the scaena in the theatre was now made readily accessible through arched openings in its ends while the removal of its interior supports and the erection of statuary within the chamber suggest that the room was no longer reserved for the actors but was open to the public.<sup>1</sup> In the theatres of North Africa built in the Antonine and Severan periods (Timgad, Djemila, Dugga and Sabratha) such an arrangement is an organic part of the original design; the doors in the scaenae frons lead not into a closed room but into an open colonnade, and the dressing rooms, etc. are contained in deep *paraskenia* at the ends of the stage.<sup>2</sup> Our porch, regarded as a vestibule to the building behind it, may be paralleled in contemporary buildings of other types, e. g. the propylon to the court of the great temple at Baalbek<sup>3</sup> and Bath C at Antioch.<sup>4</sup> In both these buildings a long columnar porch approached by steps is flanked on either side as in the Odeion by a tower-like element with solid front wall.

In what state did Pausanias find our building? He referred to it first (I, 8, 6) as "the theatre which they call the Odeion," and later (I, 14, 1) simply as "the Odeion at Athens." In the second passage, moreover, he observed that "on entering the Odeion one finds other statues and in particular a statue of Dionysos worth seeing."<sup>5</sup> We have noted above (pp. 79 f.) fragments of a colossal statue that may with probability be regarded as parts of this figure. Pausanias, therefore, would seem to have found the building still a normal odeion with this great statue still within it. The probability is that his visit to Athens falls between A.D. 143 and the early 60's.<sup>6</sup> This argument, which accords well with the other evidence, would appear to fix the time of the collapse and rehabilitation late in the period between A.D. 143 and 150, the *terminus ante quem* given by the stamped roof tiles.

The reduction in the seating capacity of the building, combined with the trans-

<sup>1</sup> Bulle, *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern*, p. 19; E. Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen*, III: *Einzelheiten und Baugeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1936, pp. 36 f.

<sup>2</sup> The material is conveniently assembled by Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, pp. 358 ff.

<sup>3</sup> T. Wiegand, *Baalbek*, I, Berlin and Leipzig, 1921, pls. 14, 41; D. S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*<sup>2</sup>, Cambridge, 1943, figs. 95, 97.

<sup>4</sup> G. Elderkin, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, I, Princeton, 1934, pp. 19 ff., pl. V (Fisher); C. R. Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch*, New York, 1938, p. 11, restored plan p. 12; D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 289 ff., fig. 118.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἐσελθοῦσιν Ὀιδεῖον ἄλλα τε καὶ Διόνυσος κείται θεᾶς ἄξιος.

<sup>6</sup> On the dating cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, I, pp. xvi f.; Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, p. 13.

formation of the scaena into a portico open to the public, unfitted the building for its original function as a concert hall. In this connection it is significant that our next literary source, Philostratos, does not refer to it as an odeion but in one instance as "the theatre in the Kerameikos which is called the Agrippeion" (II, 5, 4), elsewhere simply as "the Agrippeion" (II, 8, 4). He mentions it as the locale of two famous rhetorical displays, one given by Alexander of Seleucia while on his way to assume the "Imperial Secretaryship for the Greeks" in connection with the Pannonian Wars and at the bidding of Marcus Aurelius probably between A.D. 173 and 175;<sup>1</sup> the other by Philagros of Cilicia at a time when Herodes Atticus was still active, i. e. before ca. A.D. 180.<sup>2</sup>

It would appear, therefore, that after its remodelling the Odeion no longer served as a concert hall but rather as a lecture hall for the use of the sophists, i. e. for university purposes.

The new colonnade now available in the north part of the building would have provided the sort of strolling place in which Athenian teachers had long been accustomed to converse with their students whether in the older colonnades around the market square (Stoa Poikile, Stoa of Zeus) or in the great gymnasia. Sheltered from the sun yet open to the breeze, the north porch would have been ideal for this purpose, especially in summer.

We have no evidence, unfortunately, as to how the part of the building to the south of the auditorium was treated in the remodelling. This area may well have been divided into small classrooms for the use of individual teachers, while the auditorium proper would have accommodated the larger crowds that flocked to the public recitations either of local or of visiting sophists.<sup>3</sup>

The seated figures which we have found reason to place on the long pedestals between the stairways of the north façade would be thoroughly appropriate to the use of the building for academic purposes. One of the sitters, as we have seen, is of the type of Epicurus and may, indeed, have represented Epicurus himself. The second, though no specific identification has been established, also conforms to the type of the seated philosopher which remained constant in essential features throughout antiquity. The eight bases call for eight statues. If, as would seem probable, all were philosophers, one is tempted to restore two representatives of each of the great Schools: the Stoic, Academic, Peripatetic and Epicurean.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the date cf. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, p. 139, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 5, 4; II, 8, 4.

<sup>3</sup> On the question of rooms see J. W. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, New York, 1909, pp. 266-269.

<sup>4</sup> Professor A. M. Friend has shown that the seated portraits of the Evangelists in the Gospel books of the Macedonian Renaissance of the 10th and 11th centuries may be traced back to prototypes among the sculptured portraits of ancient philosophers and men of letters. (*Art Studies*,

The history of our building as thus interpreted accords well with what was already known from literary sources as to the development of higher education in the second century. Hadrian, in addition to his deep interest in Greek culture, had concerned himself in various practical ways with arrangements for higher education in Athens, as also in Alexandria and Rome. It was Antoninus Pius, however, who co-ordinated and systematized the existing regulations for the whole Empire, prescribing the number of professors in the various subjects according to the size and importance of the cities, fixing also their privileges and their salaries. Marcus Aurelius added to the establishment a new chair of sophistic or rhetoric, and two chairs, with state salaries, for each of the great philosophical schools, i. e. the Stoic, Academic, Peripatetic and Epicurean. With such encouragement and facilities Athens recovered her old rank among the very first intellectual centres of the world and, incidentally, built up in her academic reputation her most fruitful source of revenue.<sup>1</sup>

For our present purpose it is to be remembered that in the Antonine period the most distinguished sophist in Athens was Herodes Atticus, so much so that Marcus Aurelius, an old pupil of Herodes, when announcing his arrangement for academic chairs in Athens specified that the candidate for the newly created chair of rhetoric should be selected by the Emperor, but that the chairs for the four philosophic schools should be filled at the discretion of Herodes.<sup>2</sup> We may be sure, therefore, that Herodes was very much concerned about the provision of adequate physical facilities for the use of these teachers. It will not have been by mere coincidence that the splendid new concert hall on the south slope of the Acropolis which was very evidently designed to assume the original function of the Odeion in the Agora was built by Herodes himself in memory of his wife Regilla who died in or about A.D. 160, i. e. within ten years of the remodelling of our building.<sup>3</sup>

1927, pp. 115-147). The series of seated portraits, he has argued, was taken over from the pagan by the Christian illuminators in the late second or early third century after Christ in one of the great book-producing centres of the Greek world, most likely Ephesos. There can be no mistaking the derivation of St. Matthew from the Epicurus type represented in our series. A striking though not equally cogent parallelism may be noted between St. Mark and our first seated figure. In view of these correspondences, the congruity of dates, and the great prominence of our statues, Athens might venture to rival Ephesos for the claim to being the place of transfer. In some of the gospel pictures architectural backgrounds drawn from the theatre and the market place are prominent; in this respect also the case of Athens might be sustained.

<sup>1</sup> On the development of higher education in Athens in the second century see especially Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 686-703; Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, pp. 83-96; Oliver, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 191-196.

<sup>2</sup> Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 2.

<sup>3</sup> It is conceivable that Herodes financed the reconstruction of our Odeion, although there is no specific evidence to this effect in our sources. On the other hand an obscure passage in Aristeides' *Panathenaikos* might be construed to indicate the activity of the Emperor (p. 289 Dindorf: ἡ τε νῦν ἀρχὴ γῆς τε καὶ θαλάττης, εἴη δὲ ἀθάνατος, οὐκ ἀναίεται τὰς Ἀθήνας μὴ οὐκ ἐν διδασκάλων καὶ τροφῶν μέρει

## LATER HISTORY OF THE AREA

In its remodelled form the Odeion was to continue in use for little more than a century. As noted above, the end came with fire. The coins that were sealed under by the falling debris of the building run down into the reign of Gallienus (A.D. 253-268) and there break off abruptly. We may be sure, therefore, that the catastrophe occurred when the Herulians sacked this part of Athens in A.D. 267.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the stonework of the building was removed soon after the fire to be incorporated in the new fortifications, the so-called "Valerian Wall" that was thrown around the Acropolis and a comparatively small area to the north.<sup>2</sup> Fragments of the Odeion's columns, its capitals, cornice and a piece of a marble roof tile have been recovered from a tower of that wall immediately to the south of the Stoa of Attalos, while numerous other fragments, among which are represented the round capitals, the capitals from above the colossal figures, the walls of the basement of the gallery, the cornice of the main order, marble roof tiles and a herm from the stage front, have come to light in the Stoa of Attalos whither they were carried, no doubt, by the builders of the "Valerian Wall."<sup>3</sup> All the roof tiles of the building that came to the ground intact were also carefully salvaged from the ruins. For somewhat over a century the skeleton of the building continued to be used sporadically as a quarry, the quarrymen leaving behind them heaps of marble chips from the breaking up of the great blocks and the sculpture. At the same time the area was used as a dumping ground; although no house walls of the period have been recognized, great quantities of broken pottery of the later third and fourth centuries were discovered in the pillaged foundation trenches and a deep layer of cattle bones covered much of the southeast part of the area.

At some time in the neighborhood of A. D. 400, when the Athenians had again ventured out beyond the narrow confines of the "Valerian Wall," the entire area of the Odeion and much ground besides was overlaid by an enormous building complex (Fig. 21). The overall limits of this structure have not yet been fixed nor has it yet received even a preliminary study. This much, however, may be derived from the ground plan of the actual state. The establishment comprised a great rectangular

κοσμεῖν ἀλλὰ τοσαύτη τῶν τιμῶν ἐστὶ ἡ περιουσία ὥστε τοσοῦτον ἐτέρως ἢ πόλις πράττει τὰ νῦν ὅσον οὐ πραγματεύεται).

<sup>1</sup> Zosimus, I, 39; Synkellos, p. 382 D; Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 706 ff.; *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 76; XVII, 1948, pp. 169 f., 192; Supplement IV: *The Tholos*, 1940, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> For the date cf. Shear, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> Other buildings of the Agora are represented in the "Valerian Wall": Stoa of Zeus (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 23: cornice); Temple of Zeus and Athena Phratrios (*ibid.*, p. 106: altar); Metroon (*ibid.*, p. 185: epistyle); Temple of Ares (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 39 ff.: ceiling members); Middle Stoa (many column drums, architrave blocks, etc.); Library of Pantainos (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 294 f.: foundation and many members of the superstructure).

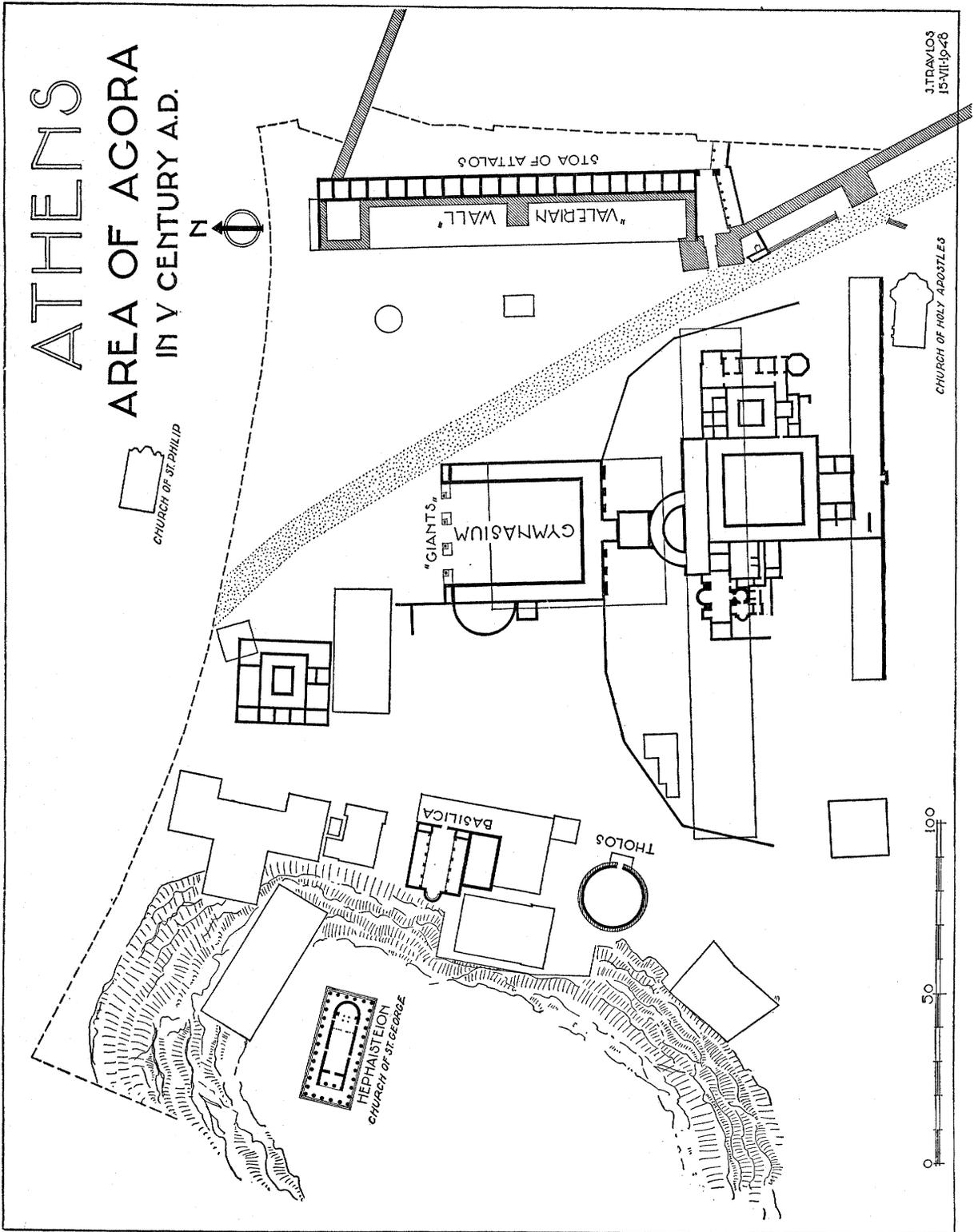


Fig. 21. Area of the Agora in the Fifth Century after Christ, Restored Plan

cloistered court, with a monumental entrance in its north side. From this court one proceeded south up a broad stairway through a square hall into a semicircular corridor that gave access to the southern elements of the complex, viz. another cloistered court which was flanked on the east by a lesser court surrounded by rooms and on the west by a bath. To the east of the central part of the whole complex a considerable area was enclosed by a field wall and a still larger area was similarly enclosed to the west. A large rectangular building to the northwest, i. e. to the east of the ruins of the Stoa of Zeus, is identical in date and in technique of construction with the great complex and may be related to it in function. Whether any of the late Roman buildings that have appeared to the south of the main complex are to be connected with it in any way can only be decided by further excavation.

It is to be noted that the north cloister of the late complex is strikingly similar in dimensions and proportions to the Odeion; the late structure, however, was set some 13.50 m. farther north. A still more striking correspondence marks the handling of the north façade. In the late complex, as in the second period of the Odeion, great emphasis was put on this part of the building. Entrance was gained through three broad openings (as in the scaenae frons of the Odeion) and these openings were flanked by four of the colossal figures recovered from the debris of the Odeion.<sup>1</sup> The very massive foundations to east and west of the outermost figures suggest that they, or rather the piers behind them, were now made to support an arcuated entablature. The narrow compartments in the northwest and northeast corners of the court may well have accommodated stairways leading to a second storey of the cloister (reminiscent of the two-storeyed balcony of the earlier building).

The great complex, with its extensive courtyards, bath and enclosed areas, has the scheme of an ancient gymnasium, and, indeed, a re-used columnar grave monument bearing the inscription ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΟΝ which was found by Pittakis in 1848 alongside the colossal figures ("Erichthonios" and "Phorbas") may well be a boundary-stone of the establishment.<sup>2</sup>

The coincidence of position between the new building and the old, and the very evident imitation in the treatment of the north façade, suggest continuity of function between the two establishments. Until the later building has been more thoroughly

<sup>1</sup> Other antiquities in this area fared less well in the same period. Bishop Synesius, visiting Athens in A.D. 402, reports (as if a recent event) the removal of paintings from the Stoa Poikile by a proconsul (*Epist.* 54 and 136). Many fragments apparently from the superstructure of the Poikile were found in 1949 to the west of the Stoa of Attalos where they had been incorporated in a wall of the 5th century A.D. The Emperor Theodosius II (A.D. 408-450) carried off certain elephants from the Temple of Ares to adorn the Golden Gate of Constantinople (Georg. Kodin, *de Constant. sign.*, p. 47, 14). These works may well have come to light in the building operations for the great complex above the Odeion.

<sup>2</sup> Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1855, p. 1261, No. 2557; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 11030. Hymettian marble. Height, 0.64 m.; diameter, 0.25 m. The stone also bears a Christian cross.

explored and studied such conclusions must remain tentative, but it may already be proposed with fair assurance that this great complex was one and perhaps the principal seat of higher education in Athens in the fifth and sixth centuries. The tremendous extent of the establishment is readily understandable in view of the very great importance of the University in the economy of Athens at this time. It is likewise symptomatic of changing values that the ancient centre of civic life should have been overlaid by this sprawling seat of academic learning.

There is nothing to suggest that the Gymnasium flourished for any great length of time; there is, indeed, reason to believe that it went out of use and fell into decay as early as the sixth century.<sup>1</sup> If the identification with the University be admitted, this early decline may be attributed in part to the well known edict of A.D. 529 by which Justinian closed the schools of Athens. A few years thereafter, as we learn from the contemporary historian Agathias (II, 30), seven philosophers, "the flower of our age," departed from Athens and took up an unhappy residence in Persia. The complete abandonment of the great complex may have been due to the danger of incursions from the bands of barbarians known to have been moving about Greece in the sixth century.<sup>2</sup>

Between the sixth century and the tenth there is practically no evidence for habitation in this area and very little before the eleventh. A considerable number of coins and pottery of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, found in association with tenuous remains of house foundations, indicate that habitation had been resumed; the parish church of that period, the Church of the Holy Apostles, still stands some seventy-five metres to the southeast of the Odeion.<sup>3</sup> Thenceforward there is evidence for more or less continuous habitation until the beginning of the current excavations.

The colossal figures make a shadowy first appearance in modern literature in the fifteenth century. The anonymous Greek author of a tract appropriately entitled "The Theatres and Schools of Athens" (dateable about the middle of the fifteenth century), refers to "statues of Zeus standing" in an area that can be fixed with fair assurance between the Tower of the Winds and the Hephaisteion.<sup>4</sup> A few years later, perhaps in 1466, the north Italian who now passes under the name of the "Milan Anonymus" wrote "*non molto lunta(no) dal detto aedificio* [the Hephaisteion]

<sup>1</sup> Compare the history of the water-mill immediately to the east of the Gymnasium (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 70-90). Built probably in the third quarter of the fifth century after Christ, it was destroyed by fire and abandoned about one hundred years later.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this observation to Professor Kenneth M. Setton who will develop the theme further in his forthcoming book on the history of Athens in the mediaeval period.

<sup>3</sup> A. Xyngopoulos, *Εὑρετήριον τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, I, B, Athens, 1929, pp. 77 ff.

<sup>4</sup> L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, I, p. 251; Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, p. 732; Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, p. 17.

*andando in athene apresso la via è un ho(mo) integro di fino marmoro di grande statura.”*<sup>1</sup>

Thereafter the statues became immured in house walls from which they emerged only in consequence of the destruction that occurred in this part of the town in the War of Independence.<sup>2</sup> Two statues are mentioned as early as 1835: the standing Giant at the extreme east of the Gymnasium series (our No. 9), and a fallen Triton (our No. 1). By 1853 one could see a third figure, a second Triton (our No. 2) in a dark house cellar.

The area of the colossal figures was one of the first to receive attention from the newly revived Archaeological Society in 1858. Excavations conducted in that year led to the complete exposure of all three figures and the discovery of the base for a fourth. The westernmost Triton was re-erected and the area was fenced.<sup>3</sup> The excavation was resumed but not completed by the Archaeological Society in 1870 and a first plan of the area was published.<sup>4</sup> In 1895/96 the Society once more cleaned up and fenced the area; in the latter year the westernmost Triton (our No. 1) recovered his head which had some years before been brought back from Eleusis.<sup>5</sup> Then or soon thereafter the third figure, the second Triton (our No. 2), was re-erected. The Society took up the excavation for the last time in 1912. The chief result of the work of that year was the exposure of the northeast corner of the Gymnasium. The scheme of the north façade of the building with its three entrance ways flanked by four colossal figures was thus established, but the purpose of the structure remained obscure.<sup>6</sup> No further field work was done until the whole area was opened up in the Agora campaigns of 1934 and 1935.

It would be of little profit in the present state of our knowledge to review all the speculations of earlier scholars as to the identification of the colossal figures and the nature of the building or buildings with which they were associated. It may be observed, however, that everyone who has concerned himself seriously with the matter has recognized that the statues are not now in their original position but that they must derive from a building earlier than that in which they at present stand.<sup>7</sup> As to the dates of the two periods there has also been a fair degree of unanimity,

*Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, 1899, p. 77; Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 259; *Das Theseion und der Tempel des Ares*, Halle, 1852, p. 65. A documented account of the history of the "Giants" in the nineteenth century is given by Ch. van Essen in *B.C.H.*, L, 1926, pp. 210-212. Cf. also Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 158 ff.; II, pp. 526 f.; Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 330 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Συνοπτικὴ Ἐκθεσις τῶν Πράξεων τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας*, 1859, pp. 14 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Πρακτικά*, 1870/71, pp. 12 ff., 33 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Πρακτικά*, 1895, p. 19; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, p. 109.

<sup>6</sup> *Πρακτικά*, 1912, pp. 91-99.

<sup>7</sup> The distinction goes back at least to 1841 (H. N. Ulrichs, *Annali dell' Istituto*, XIII, 1841, p. 75 = *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, II, Berlin, 1863, p. 136).

for the carving of the figures has been attributed to the period of Hadrian or the Antonines<sup>1</sup> while the pedestals and the related foundations have been regarded as of late imperial times.

Opinions have differed more widely on the significance of the figures. Some scholars, including Gerhard in 1837<sup>2</sup> and Wachsmuth in 1874,<sup>3</sup> have maintained that the statues were merely Telamones, i. e. sculptural supports beneath the architrave of a colonnade. Ludwig Ross, on the other hand, who had interested himself in the statues since their earliest reappearance, argued vigorously for their identification with the Eponymous Heroes of Attica mentioned by Pausanias (I, 5, 1), the snaky extremities marking Kekrops and Erechtheus, the fishy tails indicating Hippothoon or Aigeus.<sup>4</sup> This more picturesque explanation was recorded in the name of the street that ran past the west side of the monument: the Street of the Eponymoi, which, alas, has been cut away in the course of the current excavations, all save a few metres of its north extremity between the Athens-Peiraeus Railway and Hadrian Street.

Equally divergent have been the views as to the scheme and function of the building to which the colossal figures belonged. In 1872 Stark expressed the belief that the statues had adorned a colonnade of the time of Hadrian or the Antonines.<sup>5</sup> Equally happy was Milchhöfer's conjecture that the colossal figures came from some theatre-like building.<sup>6</sup> Less well grounded has proven Adler's hypothesis that the statues were originally designed for a "Festhalle" connected with the Gymnasium of Ptolemy and intended for the celebration of the Ptolemaia when Ptolemy became one of the Eponymoi; the curious scheme of the building would have been derived from the royal tent of the Egyptian king.<sup>7</sup> Nor did the latest and most detailed study of the whole problem prior to the beginning of the current excavations lead to satisfactory conclusions. Ch. van Essen, writing in 1926, argued that the colossal figures had been designed originally as parts of a monumental screen like the Incantada of Thessalonika and that the building in which they were eventually incorporated was a basilica lying in an east to west direction across the middle of the Agora.<sup>8</sup>

#### SUMMARY

The large building the ruins of which have come to light in the current excavations at the very middle of the ancient Agora may be recognized with certainty as the "theatre called the Odeion" mentioned by Pausanias in his account of the Agora;

<sup>1</sup> As early as 1837 an Antonine date was proposed by Raoul Rochette (*Nouv. Annal. de l'Inst. Arch.*, I, ii, Paris, 1837, pp. 313 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *Annali dell' Istituto*, IX, 1837, pp. 109 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 158 f., II, pp. 526 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Das Theseion und der Tempel des Ares*, pp. 65 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Allg. Zeit.*, 1872, p. 5432 (quoted by Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, p. 159).

<sup>6</sup> A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, Munich and Leipzig, 1885, p. 168.

<sup>7</sup> *Die Stoa des König Attalos, Winkelmannsprogramm*, Berlin, 1874, pp. 18 f.

<sup>8</sup> *B.C.H.*, L, 1926, pp. 183-212.

the same building was referred to a few years later by Philostratos as the Agrippeion. It was erected about the year 15 B.C., apparently by Agrippa the minister of Augustus, and was intended to provide the Athenians with an up-to-date concert hall.

The site is remarkable in two respects. The building was placed, deliberately no doubt, in an area which, as there is good reason to believe, had been the "orchestra in the Agora," the scene of dramatic and musical events before the construction of the Theatre of Dionysos. More precisely the Odeion was set on the very axis of the square in such a way that it dominated the area in a fashion best paralleled in the imperial fora of Rome.

The scheme of the building comprises two almost completely distinct elements: in the middle a roofed theatre flanked to east, west and south by a continuous narrow appendage which may best be interpreted as a balcony or loggia for the convenience of spectators viewing the Panathenaic Procession and other ceremonies. The roof of the central core rose high above that of the surrounding balcony and permitted a basilica-like scheme of lighting, through an open colonnade on the south, probably through windows in the other three sides. The balcony was supported on a basement-like storey which would seem to have been otherwise little used.

The history of the Odeion falls into two periods. The original auditorium was a perfect square in plan, some 25 metres to the side and without a trace of interior supports for the roof. Its eighteen rows of marble benches might have seated 1,000 people. The orchestra, well under a semicircle in area, was paved with *opus sectile* of marble and stone in various colors. The long narrow stage was remarkable chiefly for the marble screen panelled with herms that adorned its front. Back of the scaenae frons lay the scaena consisting of a single room also floored with marble. The scaena was accessible from outside through a small columnar porch that rose against the north façade on the axis of the building. General admission was probably from the south, i. e. from the terrace of the Middle Stoa, through the south balcony and a lobby.

From the striking combination of elements drawn both from the familiar type of Hellenistic roofed auditorium as exemplified by the Bouleuterion of Miletos and from the Roman basilica, as well as from the mixture of local interest and Roman formal design evident in the choice of site, the Odeion would seem to have been the creation of someone thoroughly familiar with the architecture both of Old Greece and of Italy, or, perhaps more likely, the joint product of a team of architects comprising both Greeks and Romans.

About the middle of the second century after Christ a collapse of the roof led to a remodelling which we have designated as the beginning of a second period. The principal alterations affected the auditorium and the north façade. The cross-wall between auditorium and lobby was shifted northward 7.66 m., whereby the seating capacity was reduced by one half. This change was presumably intended to reduce the difficulty and the hazard of roofing. The small north porch was now demolished

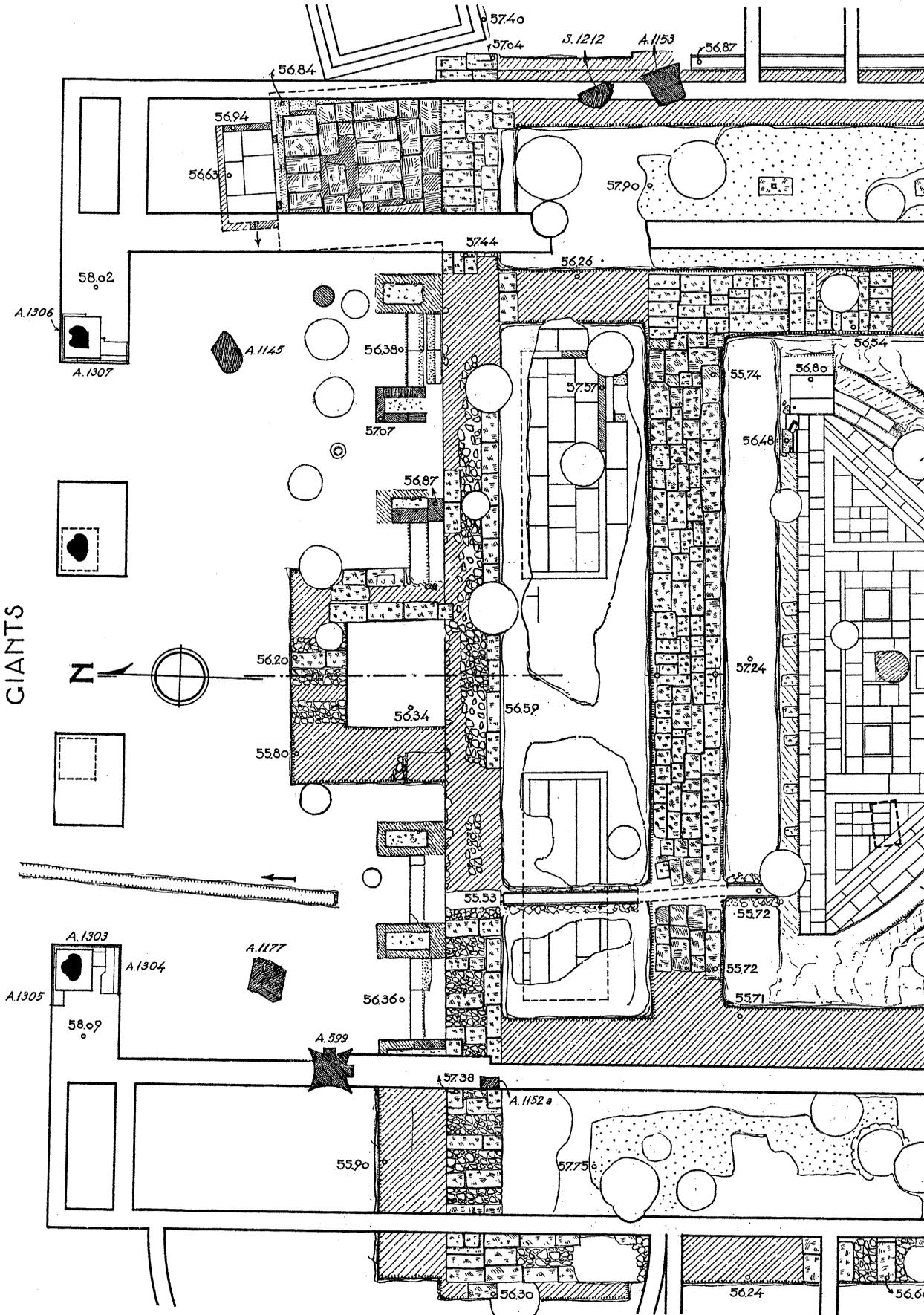
and the whole north wall of the central core of the building was opened up in such a way as to convert the scaena into an open colonnade. The entablature of this new porch was supported by six square piers adorned on their outer faces with representations in high relief of Tritons and Giants which prove to be adaptations of the Poseidon in the west pediment of the Parthenon and the Hephaistos in the east pediment respectively. Access to the porch from the north was made easy by means of seven flights of marble steps separated and flanked by long pedestals suitable for the support of seated statues of life size. Two seated statues found in the vicinity are of suitable scale and date; the figures are of philosopher types.

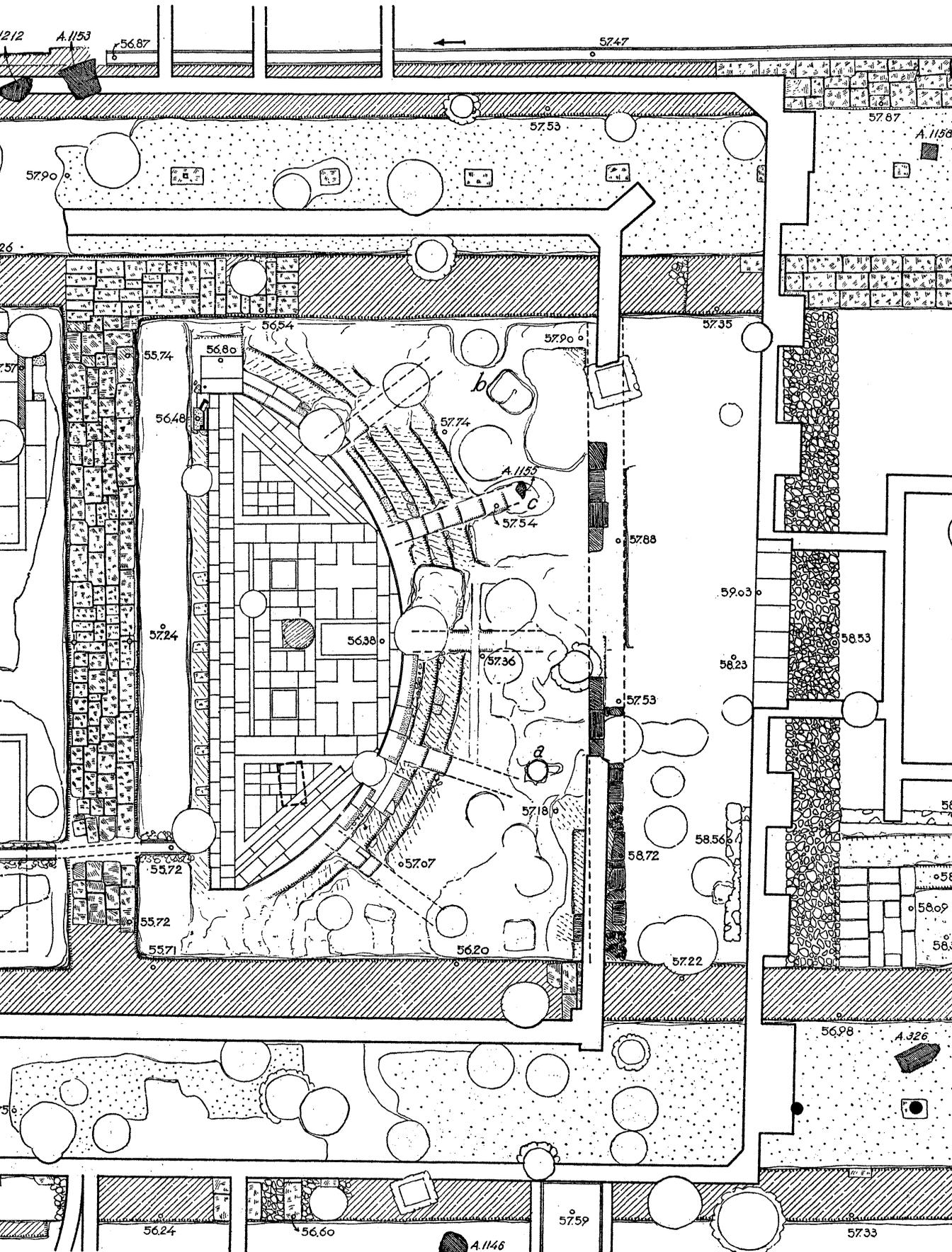
The reduction in the size of the auditorium and the conversion of the scaena into a porch accord well with the fact that Philostratos mentions the building only as the scene of rhetorical displays by sophists. It may be inferred that the building in its second period served chiefly as a lecture hall and that its place as a concert hall was taken by the Odeion built by Herodes son of Atticus to the south of the Acropolis and dedicated to the memory of his wife Regilla who died *ca.* A.D. 160. The decision may have been inspired by the far-reaching changes in university education that are known to have been carried out under Antoninus Pius and in which Herodes, as the leading sophist of his day, was directly interested. It may be observed that the sculptural decoration of the new porch was entirely in the spirit of the "New Sophistic," consisting as it did of a painstaking mechanical adaptation of a classical theme.

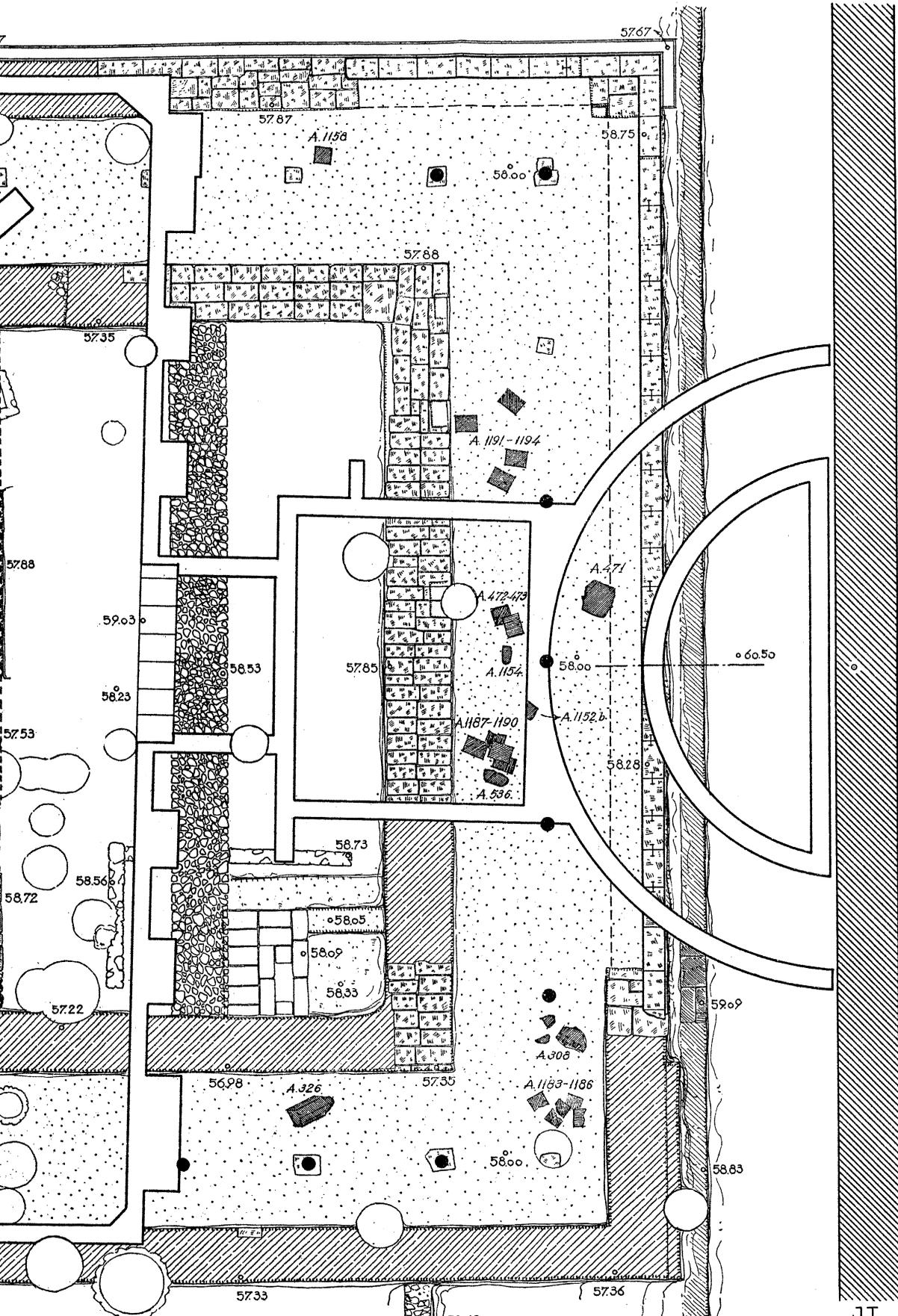
In its new form the building stood until A.D. 267 in which year it was destroyed by fire in the sack of the Agora by the Herulians. Most of its stone work was soon thereafter stripped away for re-use in the new fortifications, the so-called "Valerian Wall." The area lay desolate until *ca.* A.D. 400. Then a very large building complex that has the essential features of a gymnasium was laid over and around the site of the old building. Four of the colossal marble figures were plucked out of the ruins of the Odeion and set up to adorn the northern entrance of the new building. This fact, coupled with various other correspondences, suggests some continuity in function between the old and the new. It appears likely, in other words, that the Gymnasium also served educational purposes; it may well, indeed, have been one of the principal university buildings in this Indian summer of Athens when her schools were the chief glory of the ancient city and at the same time her principal source of revenue. The university of Athens was closed by decree of Justinian in A.D. 529. The excavation has shown that the Gymnasium was abandoned in the course of the sixth century and soon thereafter buried in silt.

HOMER A. THOMPSON

GIANTS

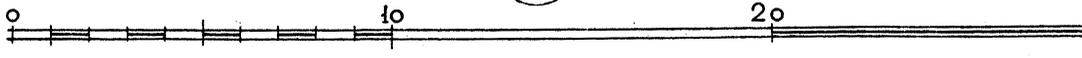
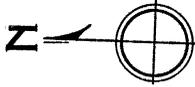
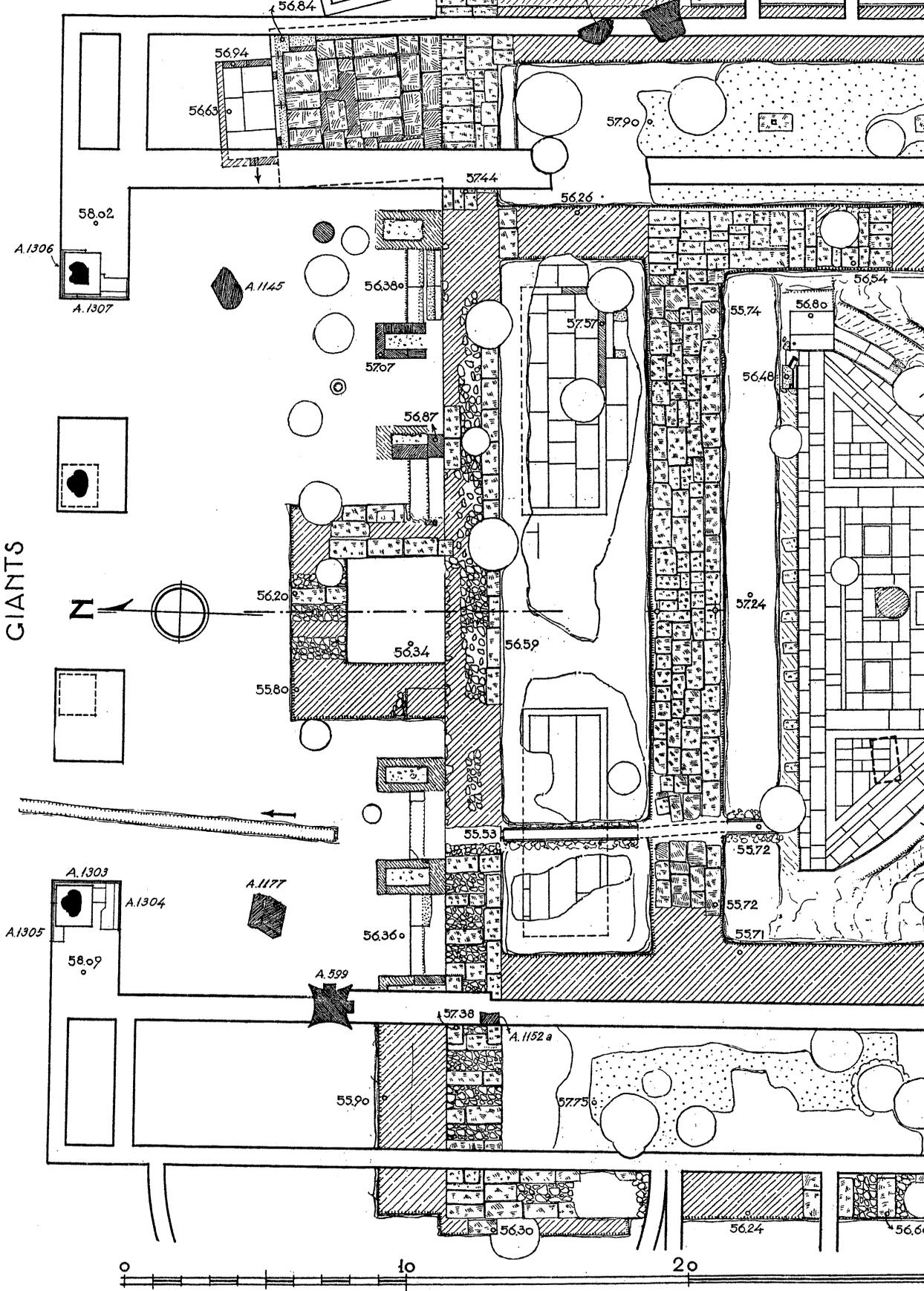




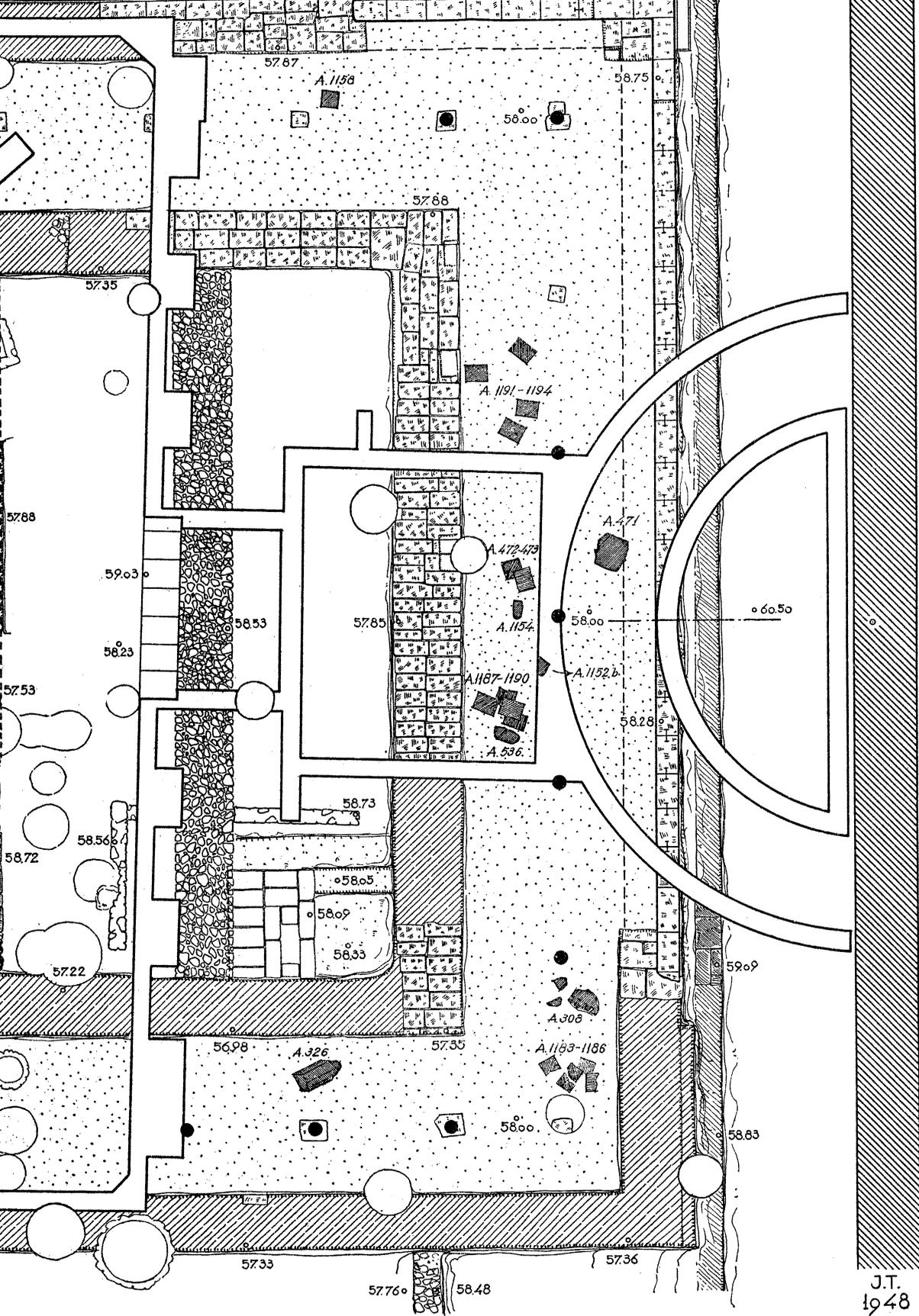


NORTH COLONNADE OF MIDDLE STOA

GIANTS

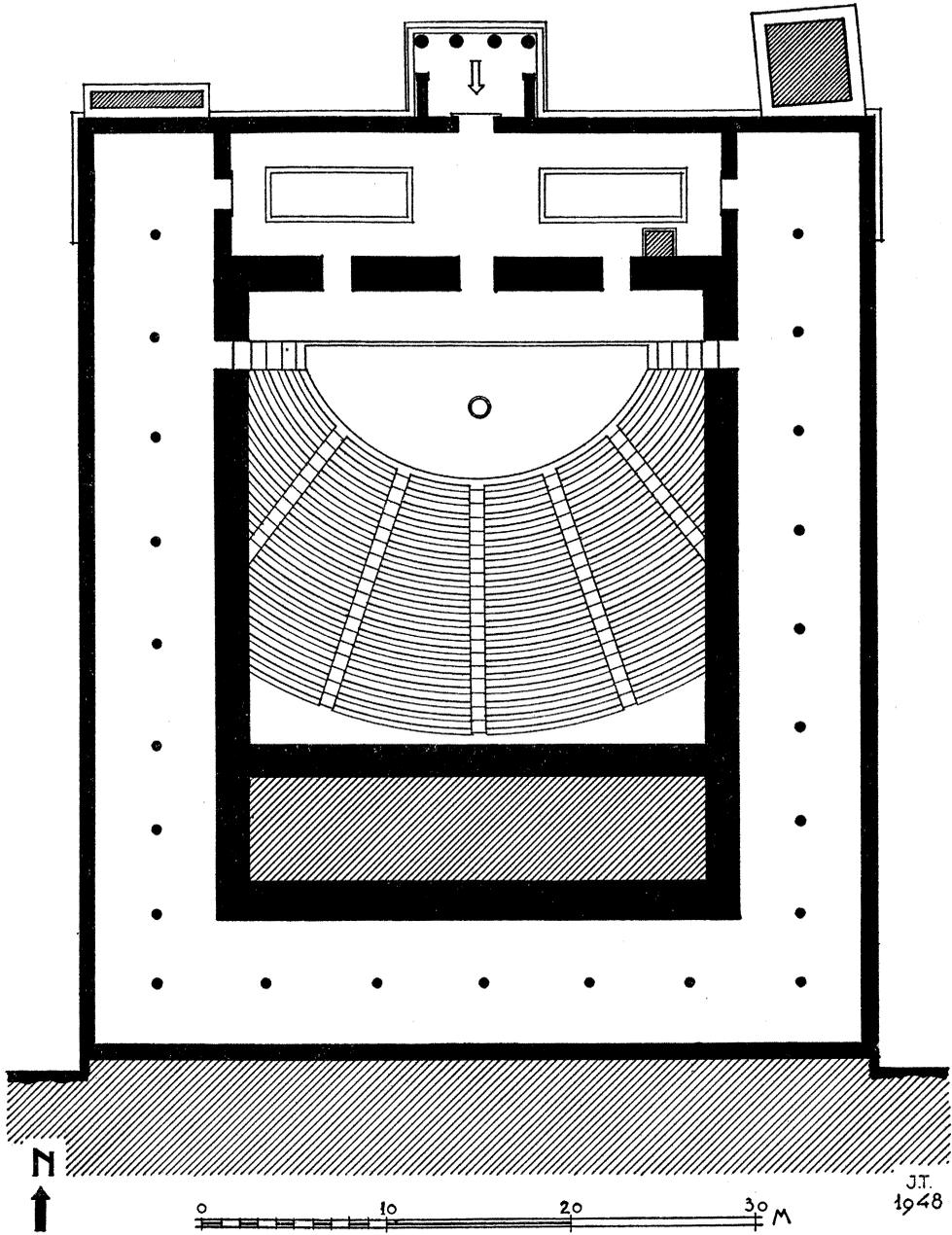






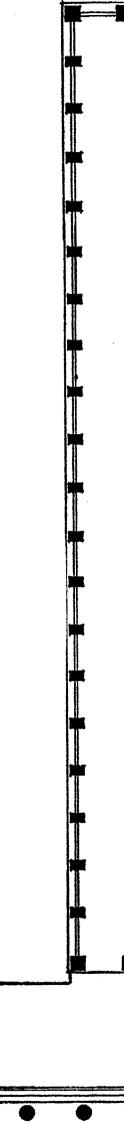
NORTH COLONNADE OF MIDDLE STOA

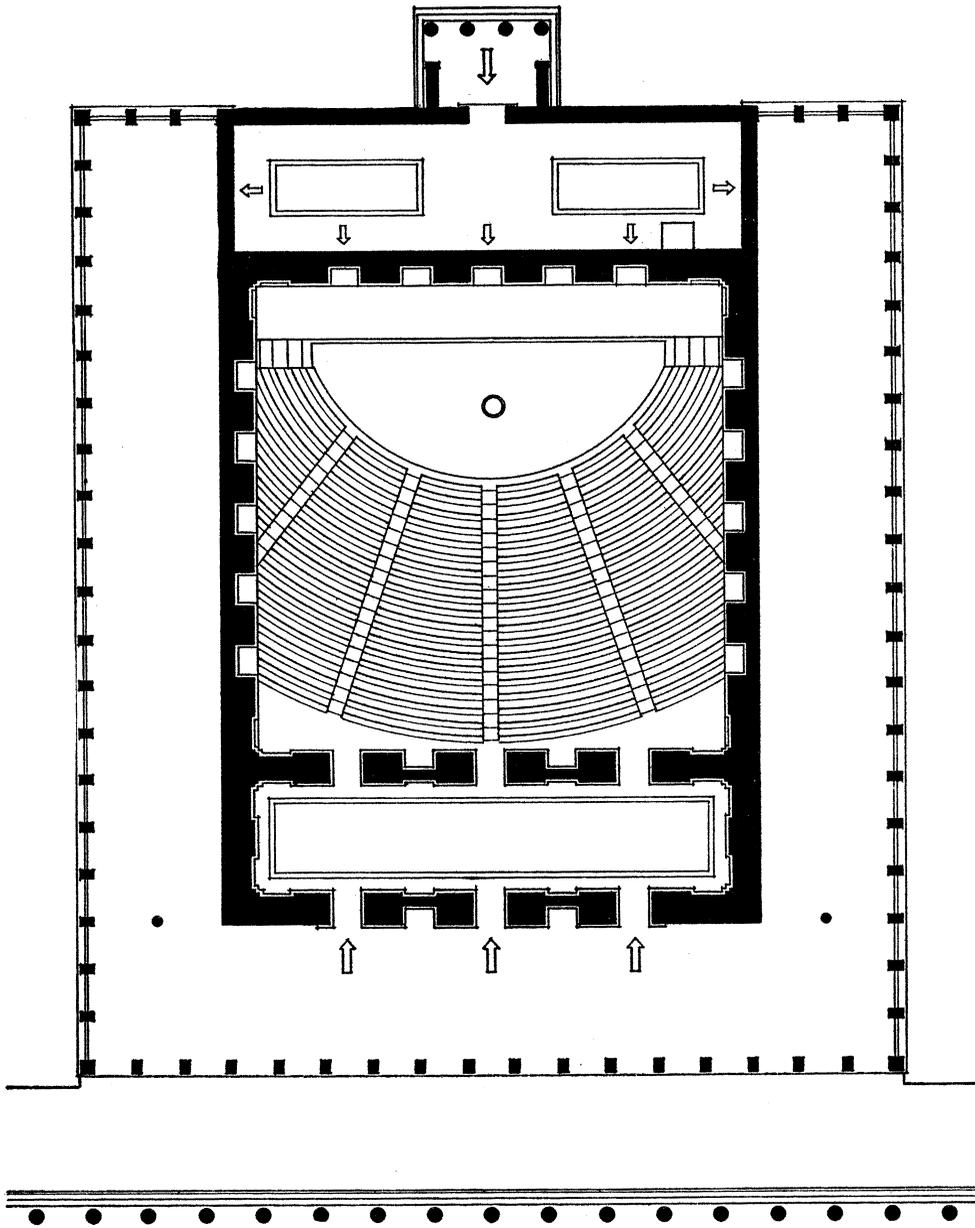
J.T.  
1948



Ground Level

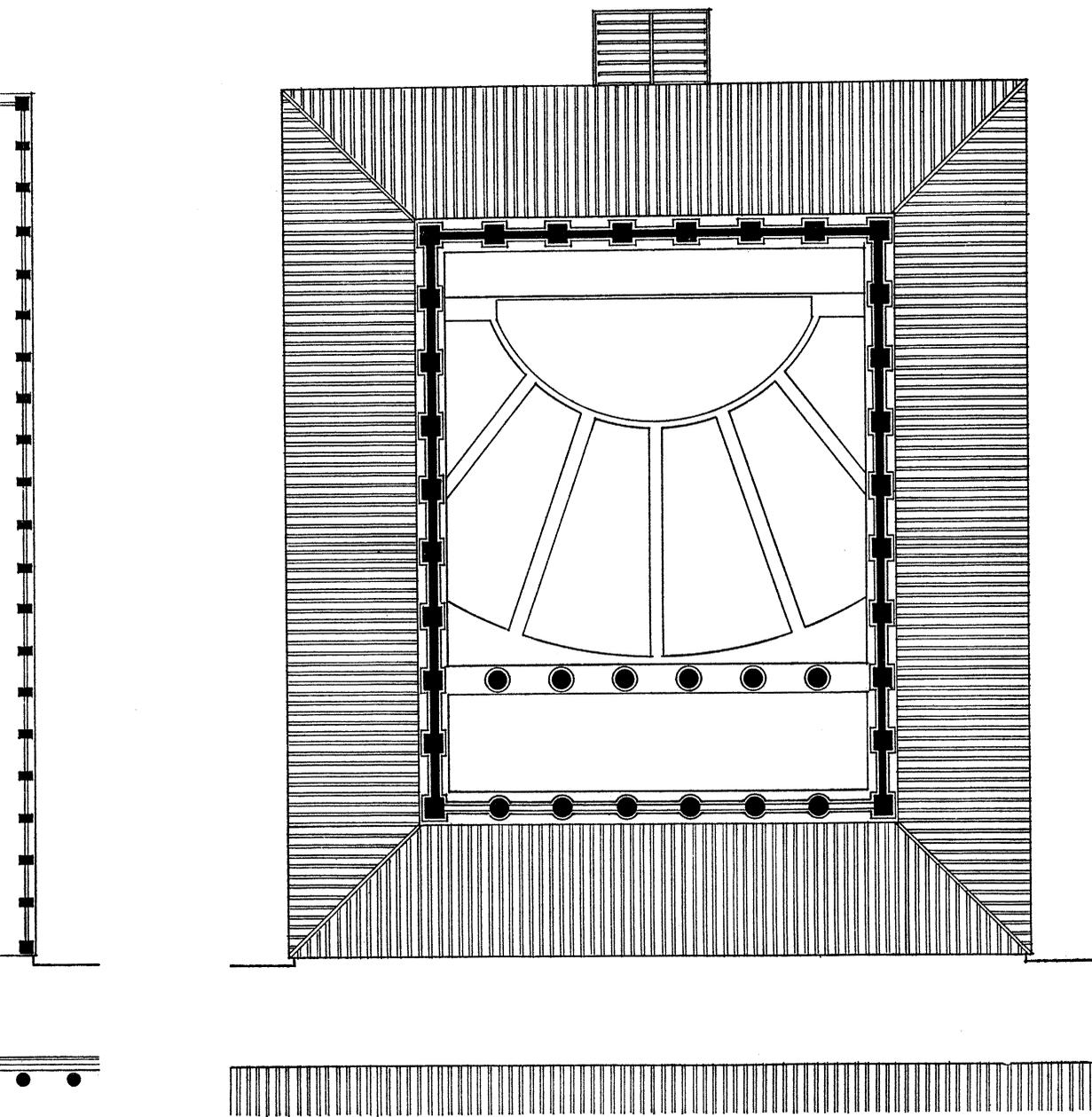
J.T.  
1948



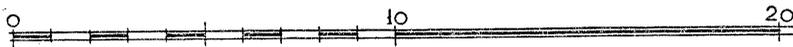
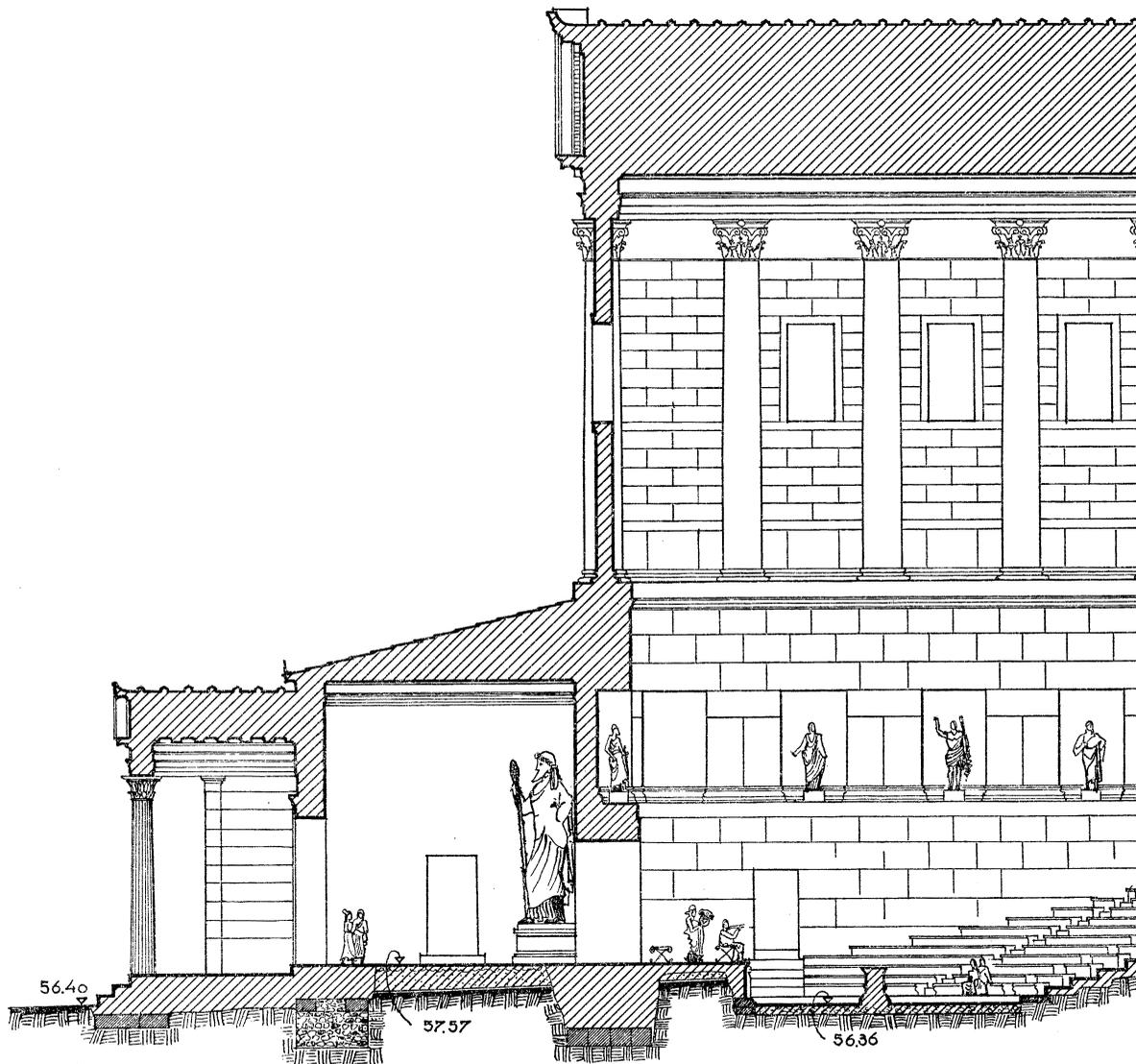


Level of the Top of the Cavea

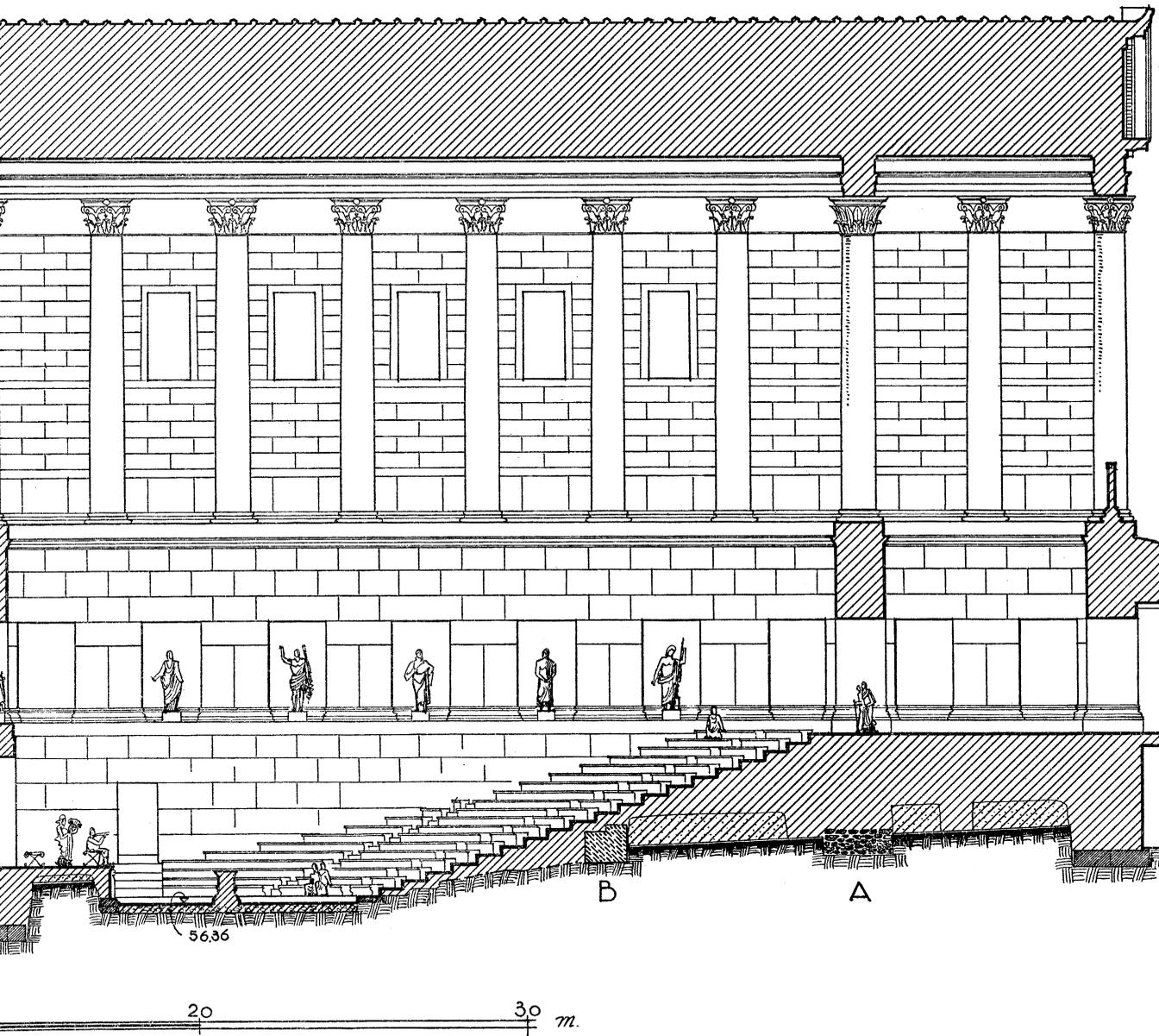
Plans of the Odeion, Period I, Restored



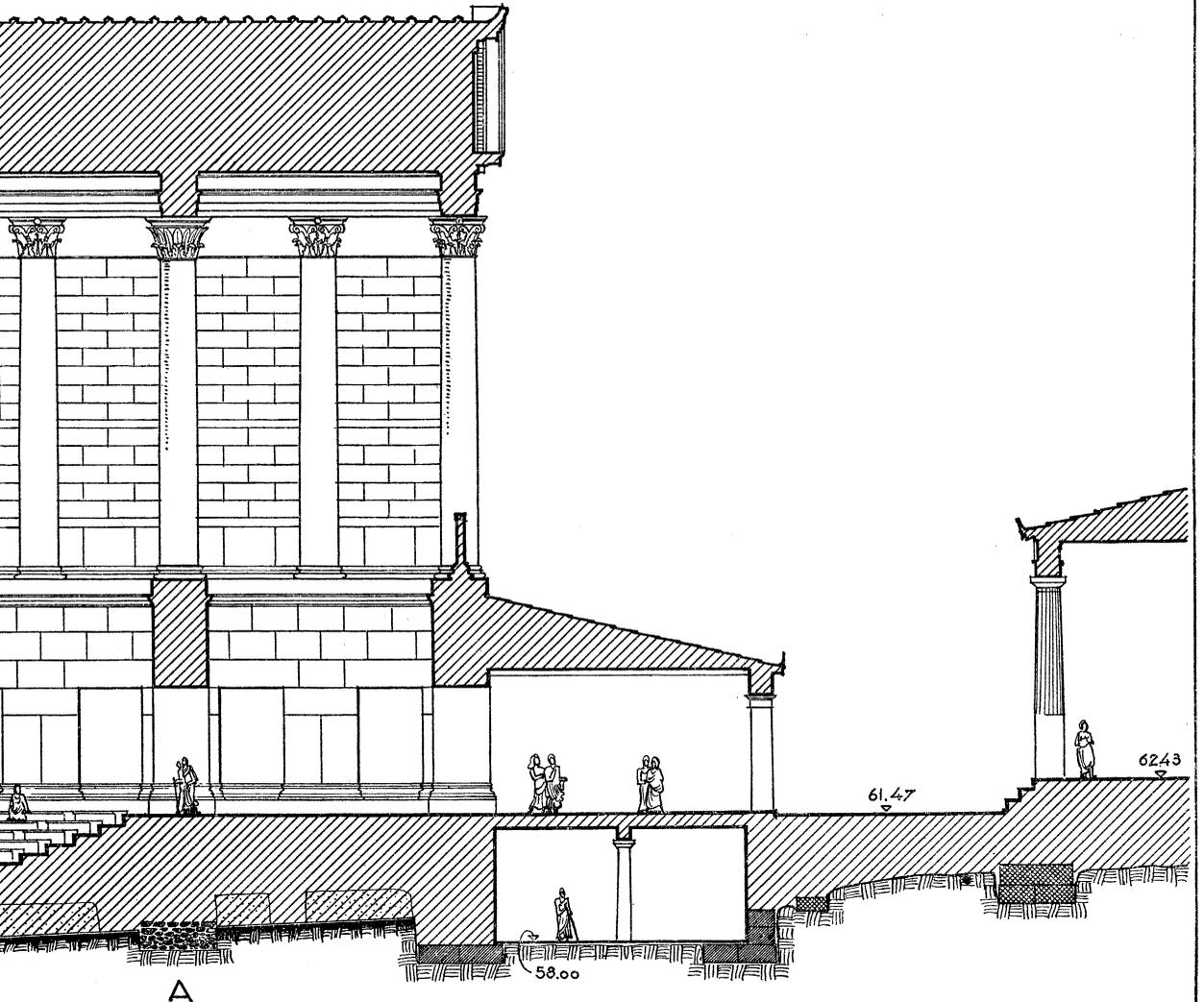
Level of the Second Storey



Restored Sect



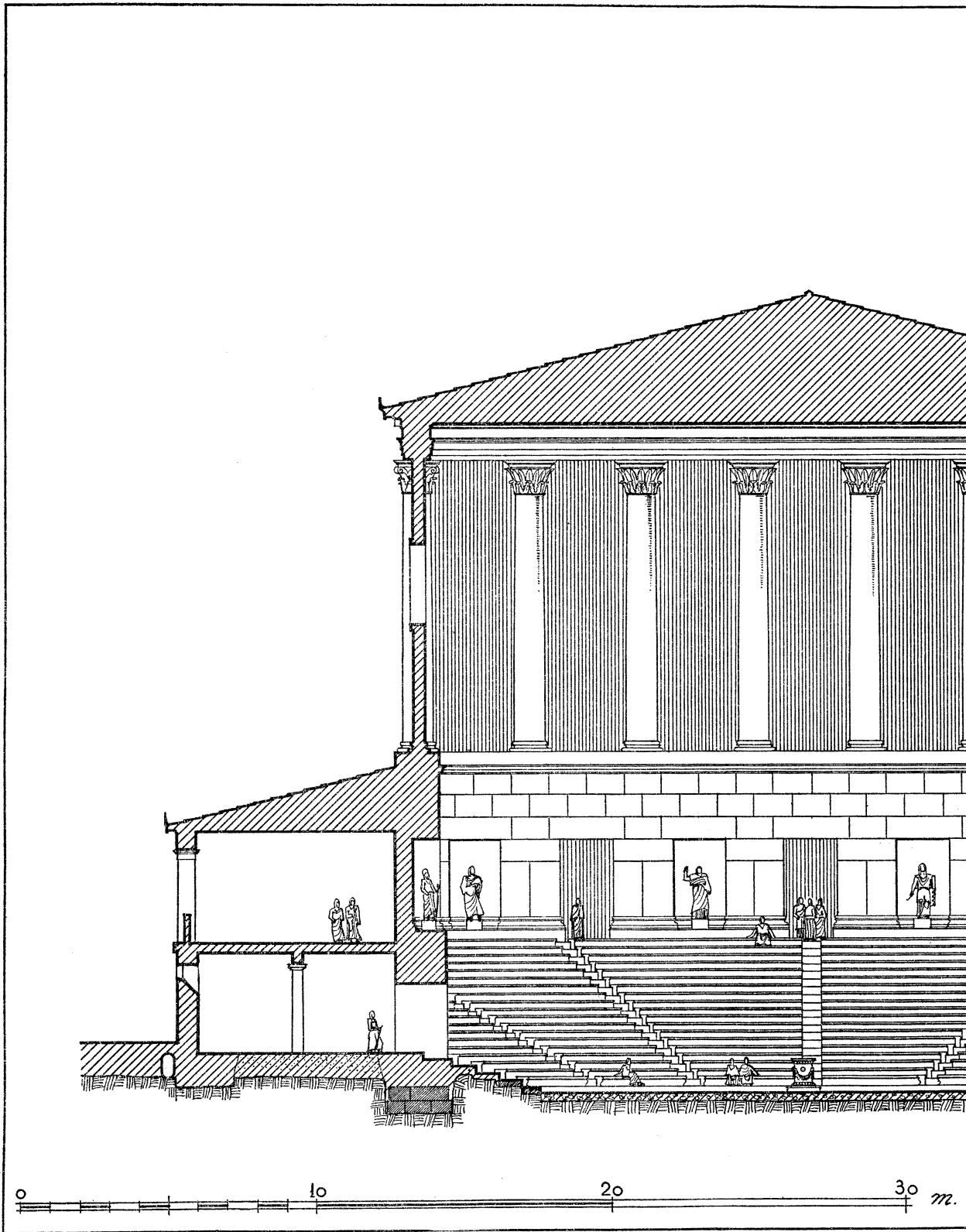
Restored Section through Odeion, Looking East



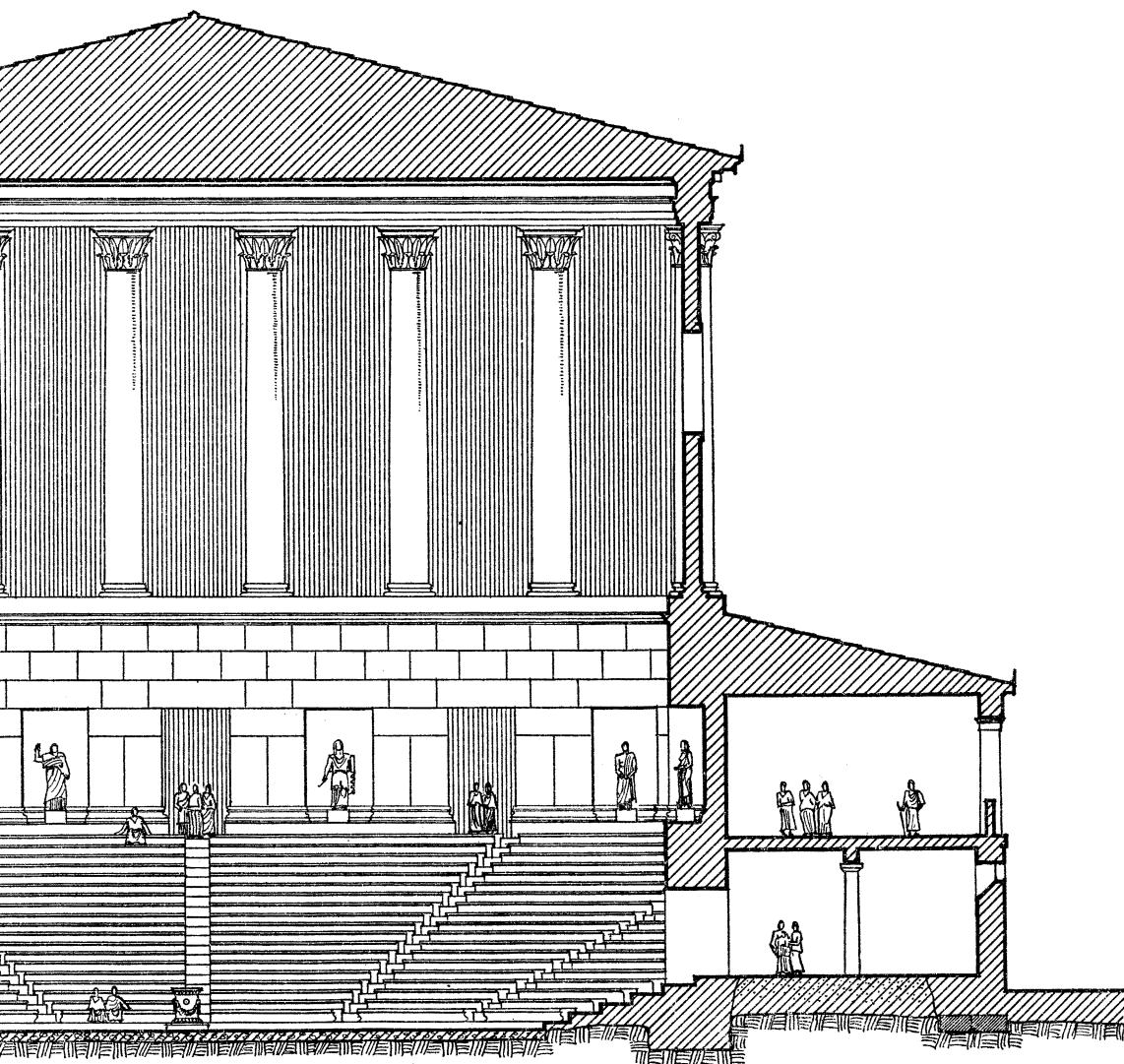
A

J.T.  
1948

Looking East



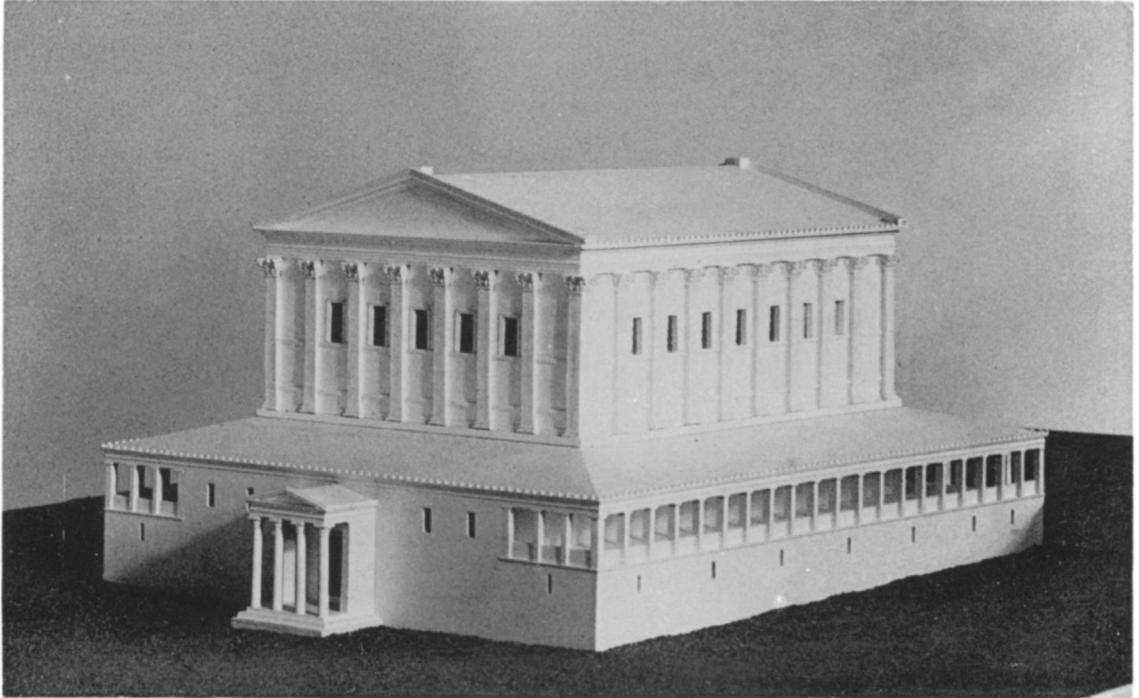
Restored Section through Odeion, Look



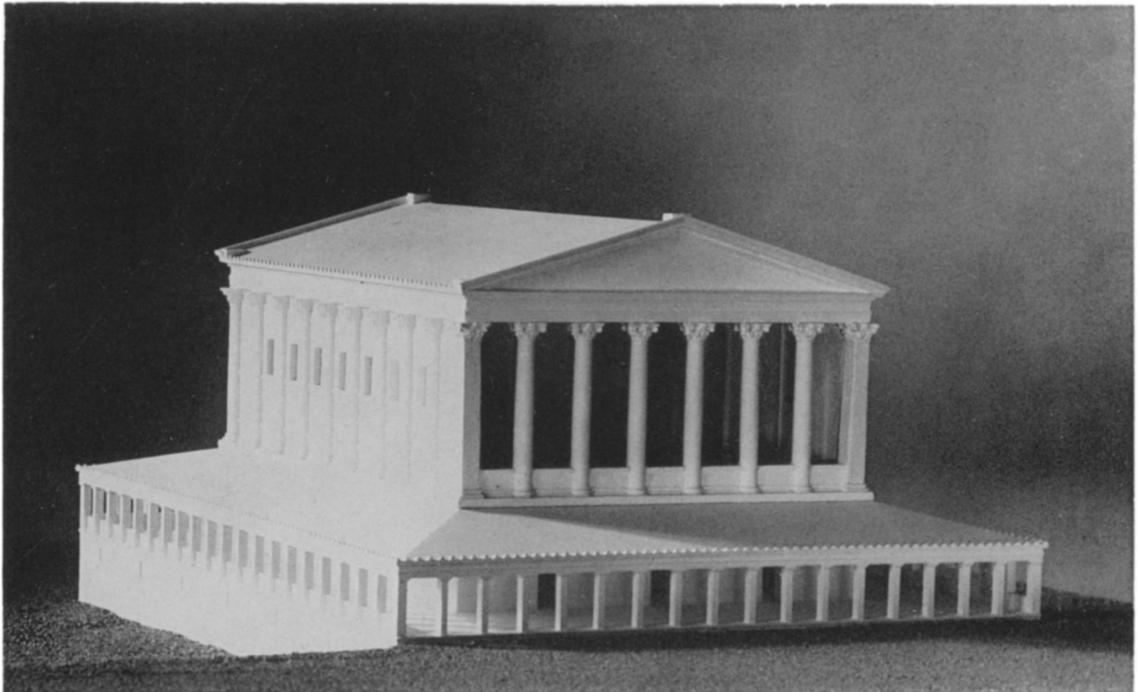
30  
+  
m.

J.T.  
1948

Section through Odeion, Looking South



a. Model of the Odeion from the Northwest



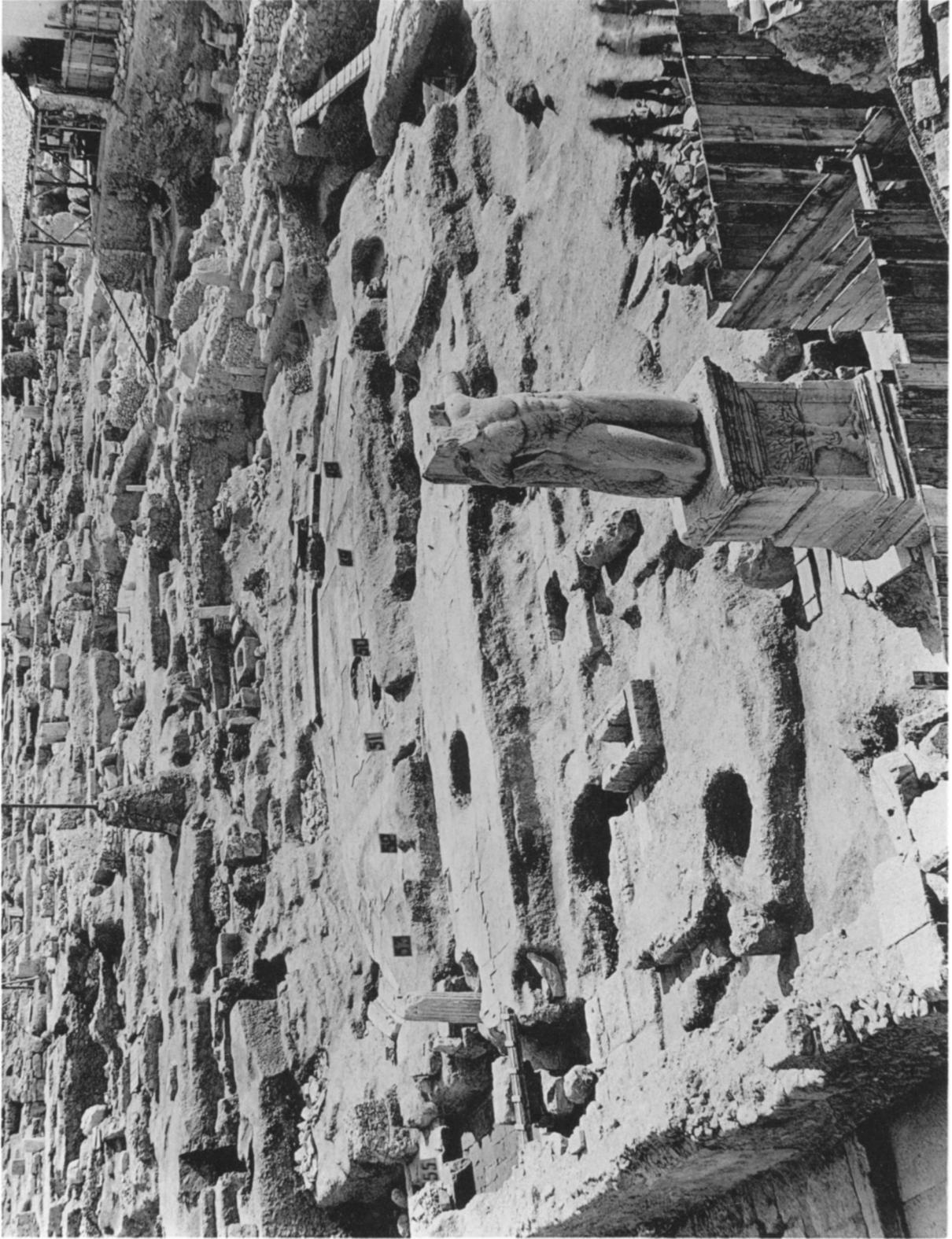
b. Model of the Odeion from the Southwest



General View of the Odeion from the North (1947)



Orchestra, Stage and Scaena from the South (1935)



Site of the Odeion from the Northeast (1935)



Southwest Corner of the Odeion from the Northwest (1935)



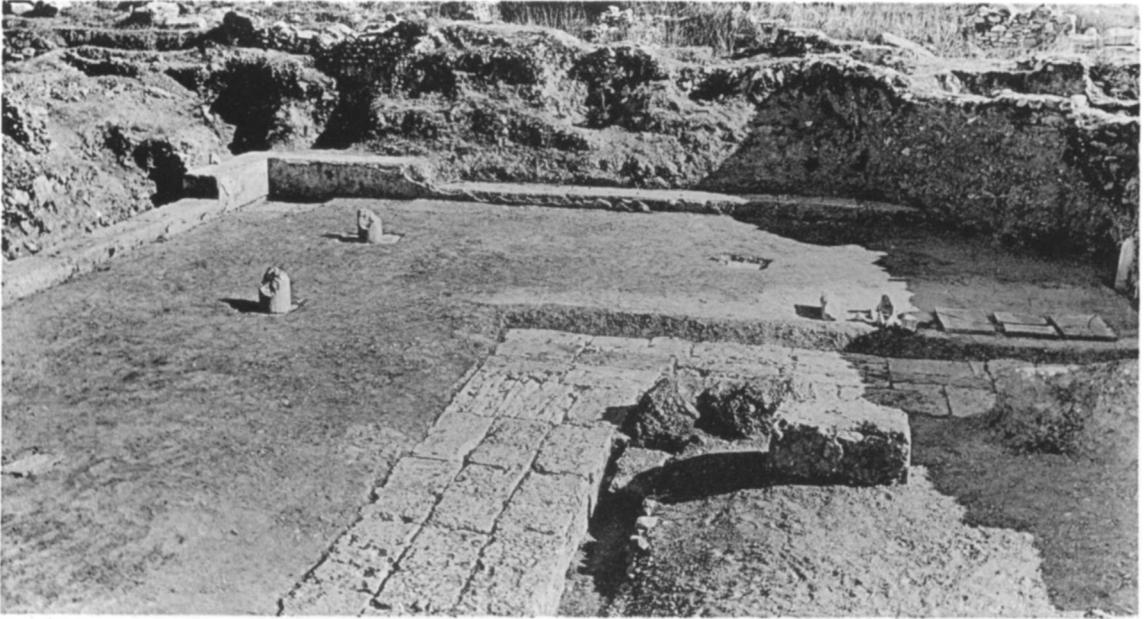
Debris Overlying Odeion Floor in Southwest Corner (1934)



a. Central Part of Odeion from the East, Showing in the Middle the Pre-Odeion Floor of the Square



b. Pre-Odeion Foundation Near Southwest Corner of Odeion from the West



a. Southeast Corner of Odeion from the Northwest



b. North Foundation of Odeion from the East



a. Northeast Corner of Odeion from the North



b. North Foundation of Odeion from the North  
(In the lower left the northwest corner of the quadriga base)



a. Foundations for North Porch from the North



b. Northwest Corner of Odeion from the Northeast



a. Pilaster Capital (A 599), Side View



b. Pilaster Capital (A 599), Side View, Restored

PLATE 31



a. Pilaster Capital (A 599), Outer Angle



b. Pilaster Capital (A 599), Inner Angle



a. Corinthian Capital Found in 1890/91, Side View



b. Corinthian Capital Found in 1890/91, Angle View



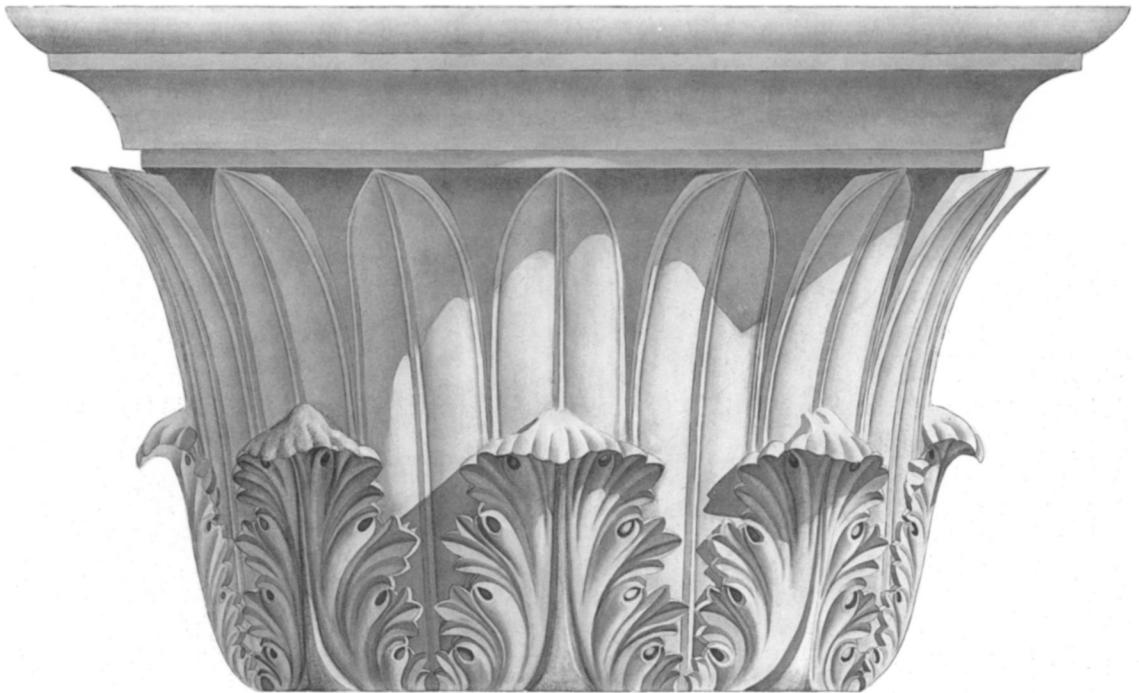
a. Corinthian Capital Found in 1890/91, Detail of Acanthus



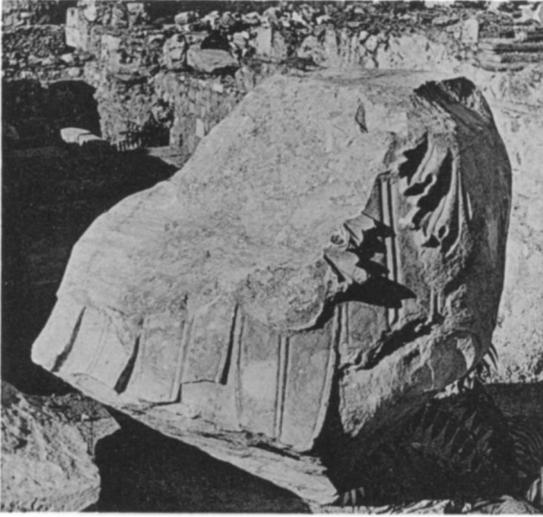
b. Pilaster Base (Fragments A 1152 *a* and *b*)



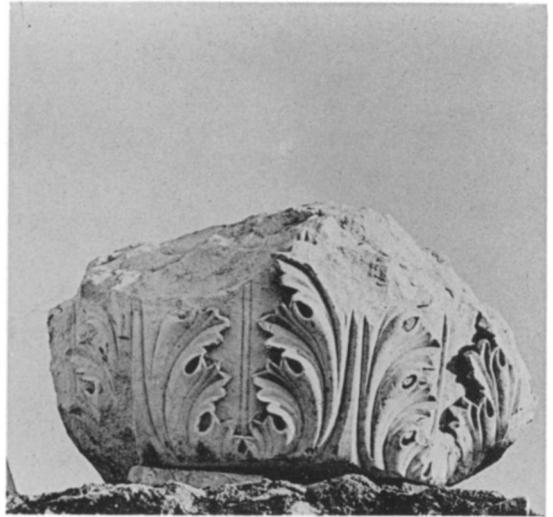
a. Acanthus and Lotus Capitals (A 471, 1154)



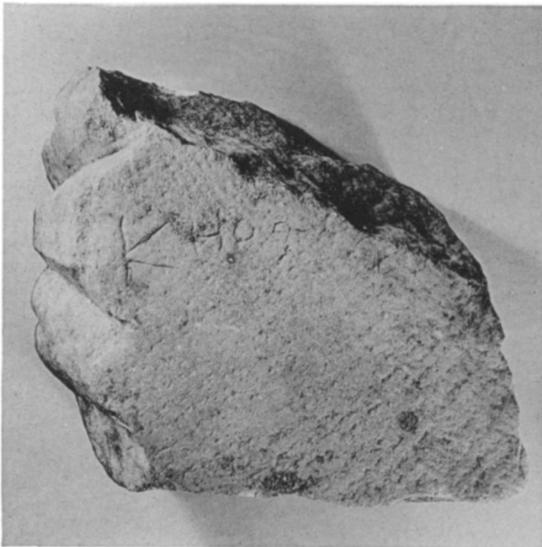
b. Acanthus and Lotus Capital, Restored



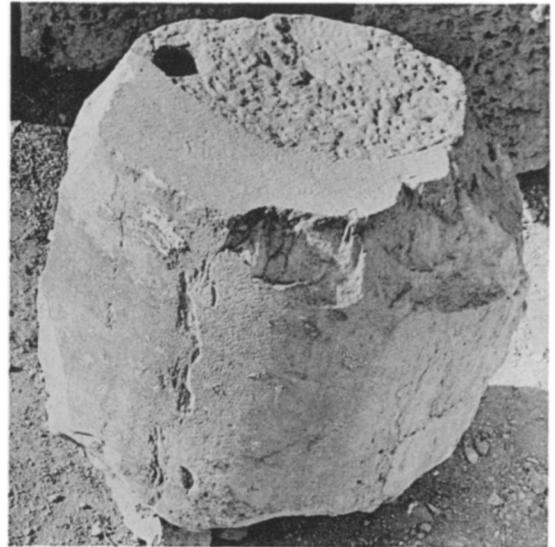
a. Acanthus and Lotus Capital (A 1153)



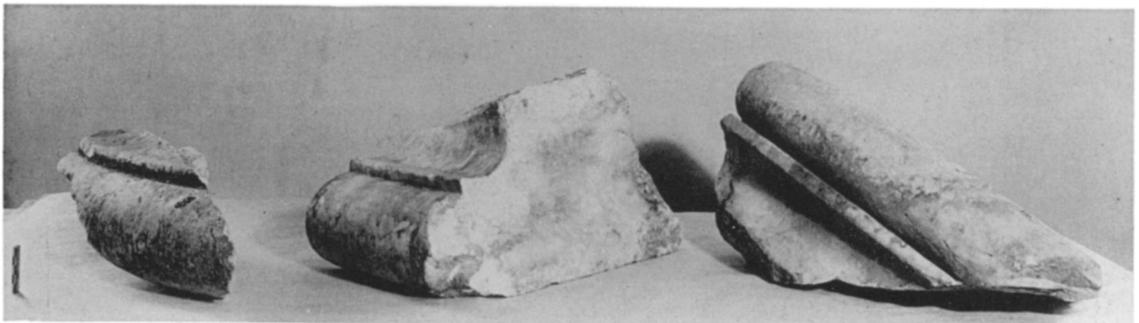
b. Acanthus and Lotus Capital (A 536)



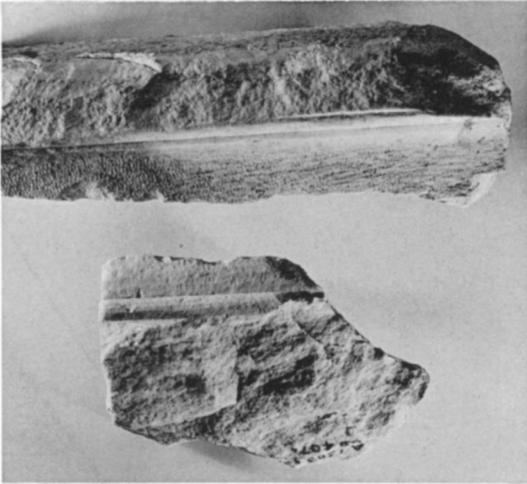
c. Mason's Mark on Underside of Capital (A 1138)



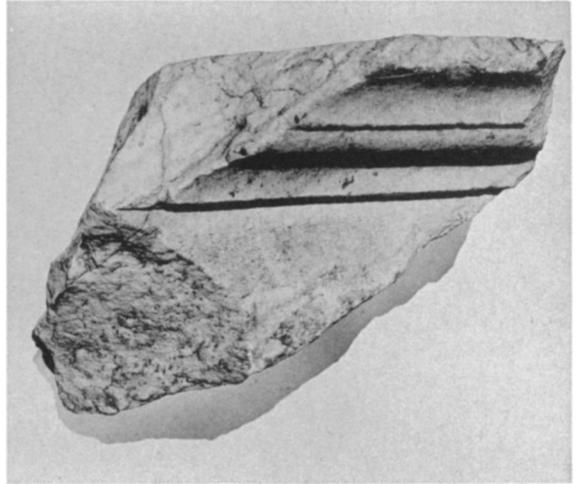
d. Column Drum (A 1145)



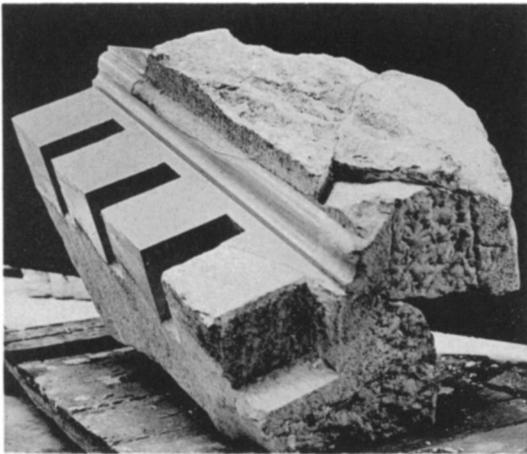
e. Bases of Round Columns (A 1396, 1150, 1151)



a. Crowning Moulding of Frieze (A 1383)



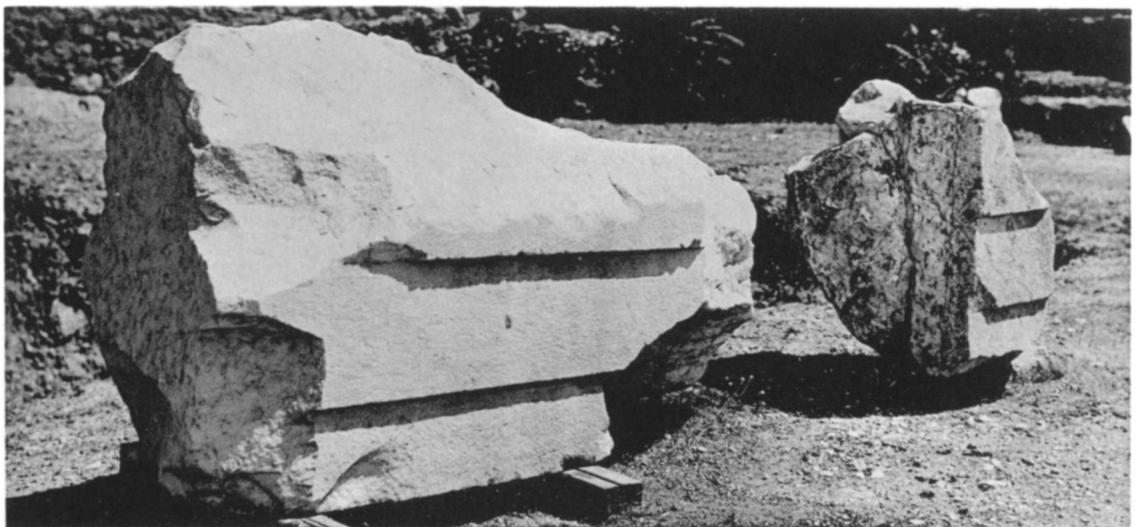
b. Crowning Moulding of Architrave (A 1241)



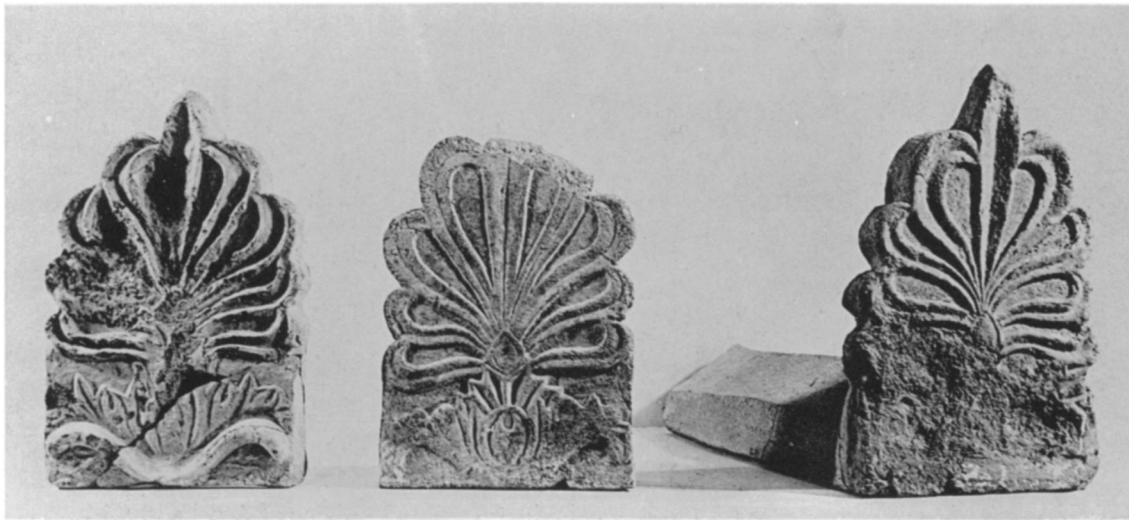
c. Cornice Block from Main Order (A 308)



d. Orthostate from Wall of Auditorium (A 1168)



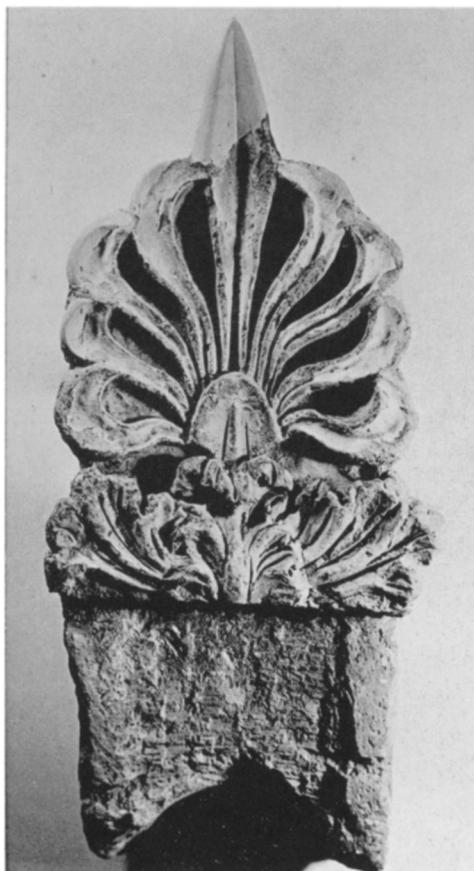
e. Architrave of Main Order (A 326, 278)



a. Terracotta Antefixes (A 1197, 479, 562)



b. Terracotta Roof Tiles (A 1178-1181)



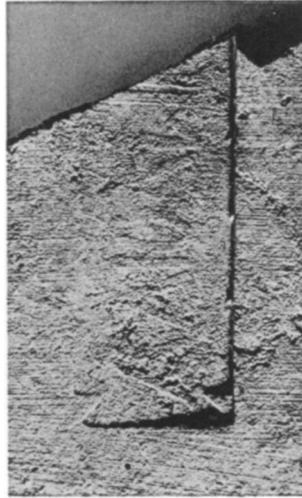
c. Terracotta Antefix from Middle Stoa (A 211)



a. Tile Stamp, Dionysios Series



d. Tile Stamp, Medeios Series



b. Tile Stamp, Diodoros Series



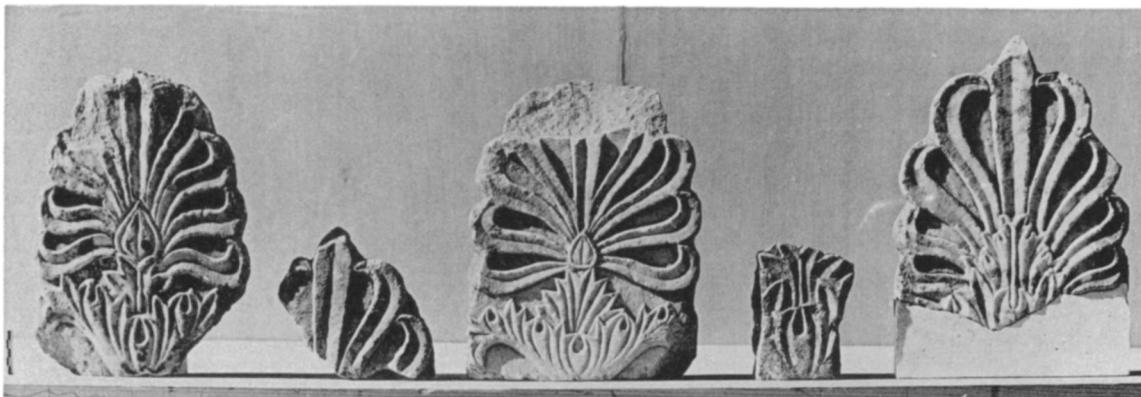
e. Tile Stamp, Me(.....) Series  
(Not from Odeion)



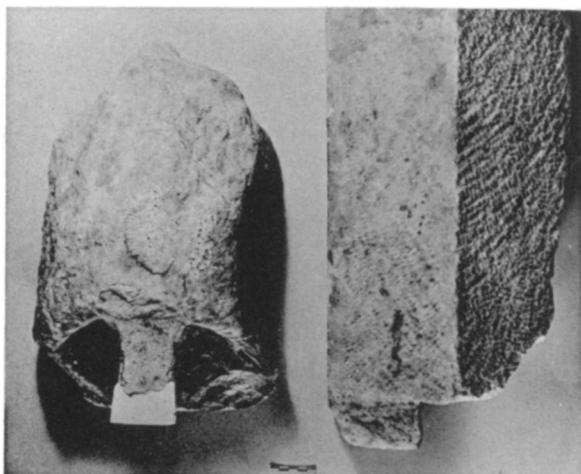
c. Tile Stamp, Aigipyos Series



f. Tile Stamp, Mother of the Gods Series



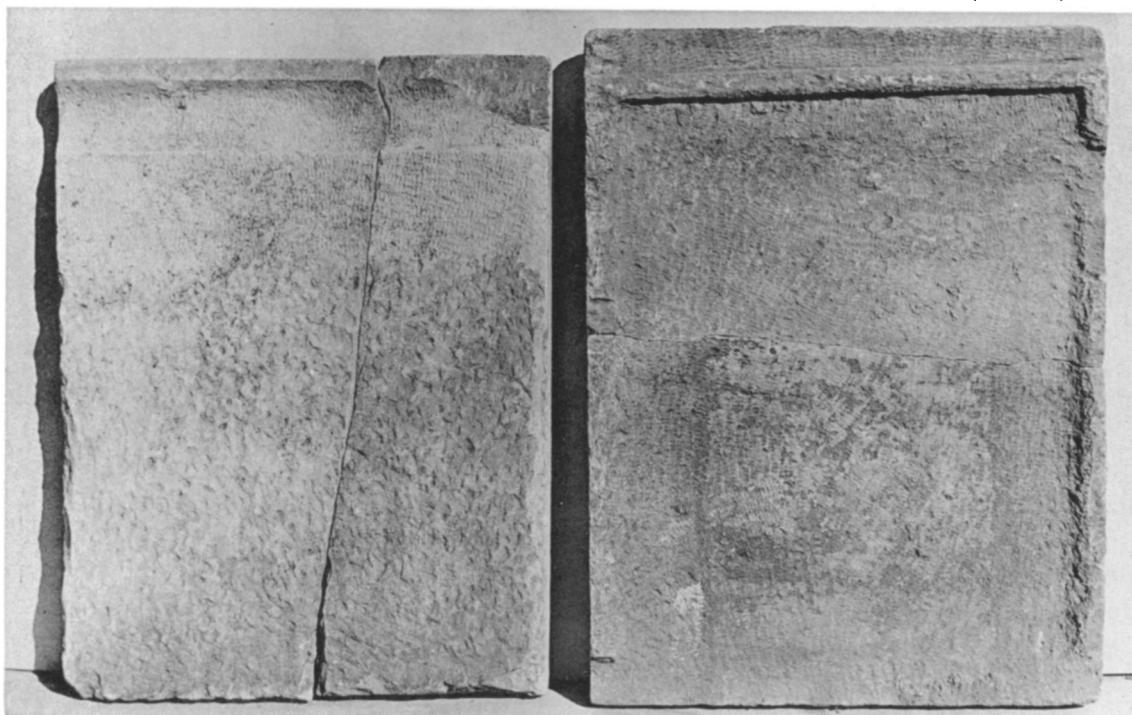
a. Marble Antefixes (A 1421, 553, 1406, 1182, 1420)



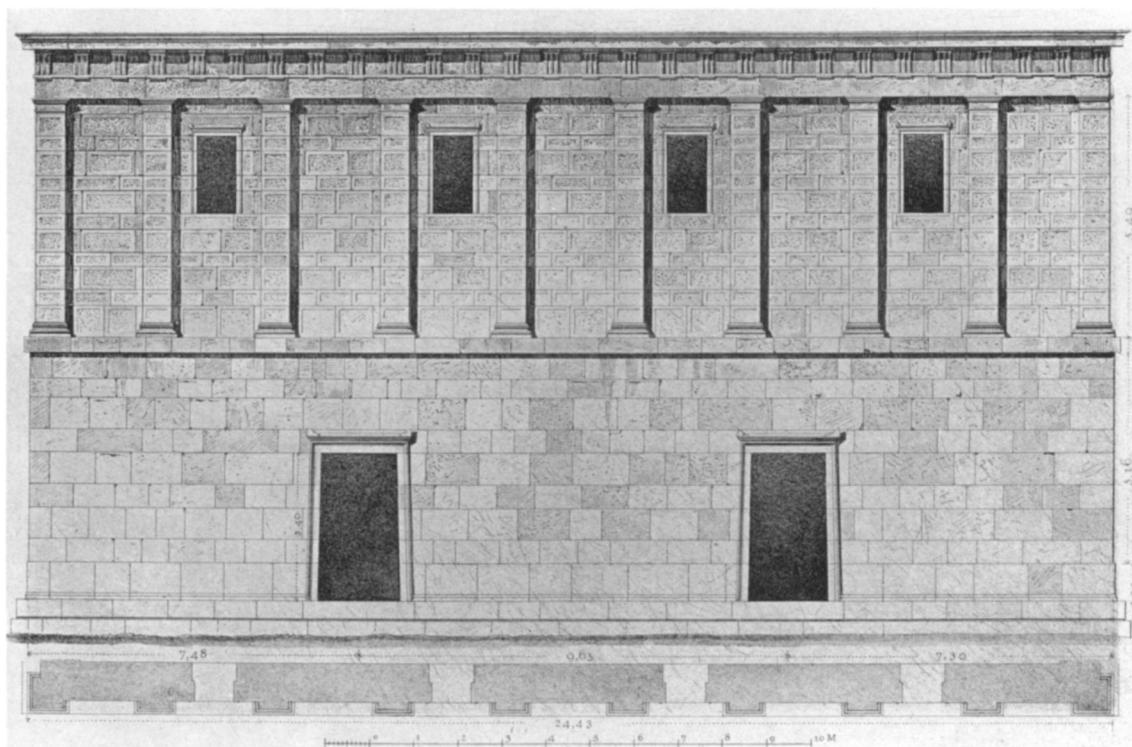
b. Marble Antefix and Cover Tile (A 170, 1440)



c. Marble Pan Tile with Mason's Mark (A 1184)



d. Marble Pan Tiles (A 472, 473)

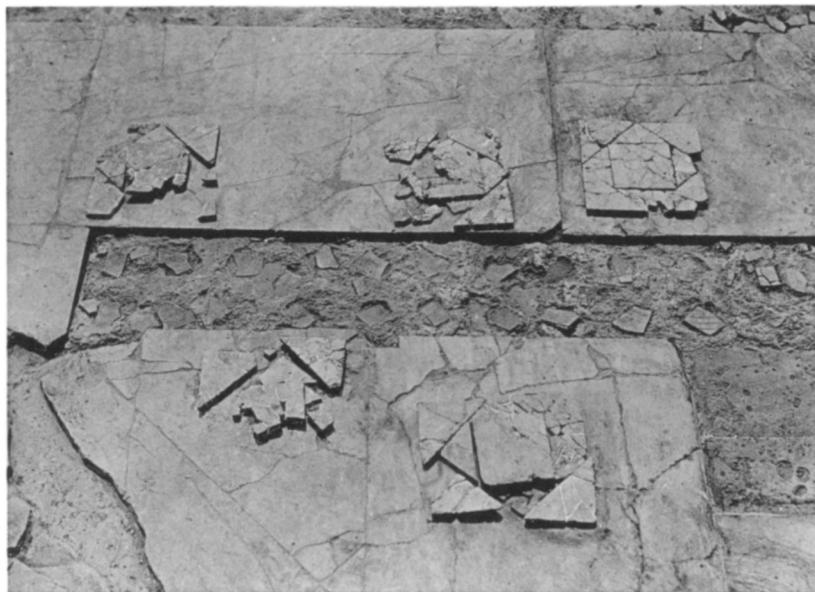


a. Odeion of Termessos, Elevation  
 (Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, II, pl. XIV)

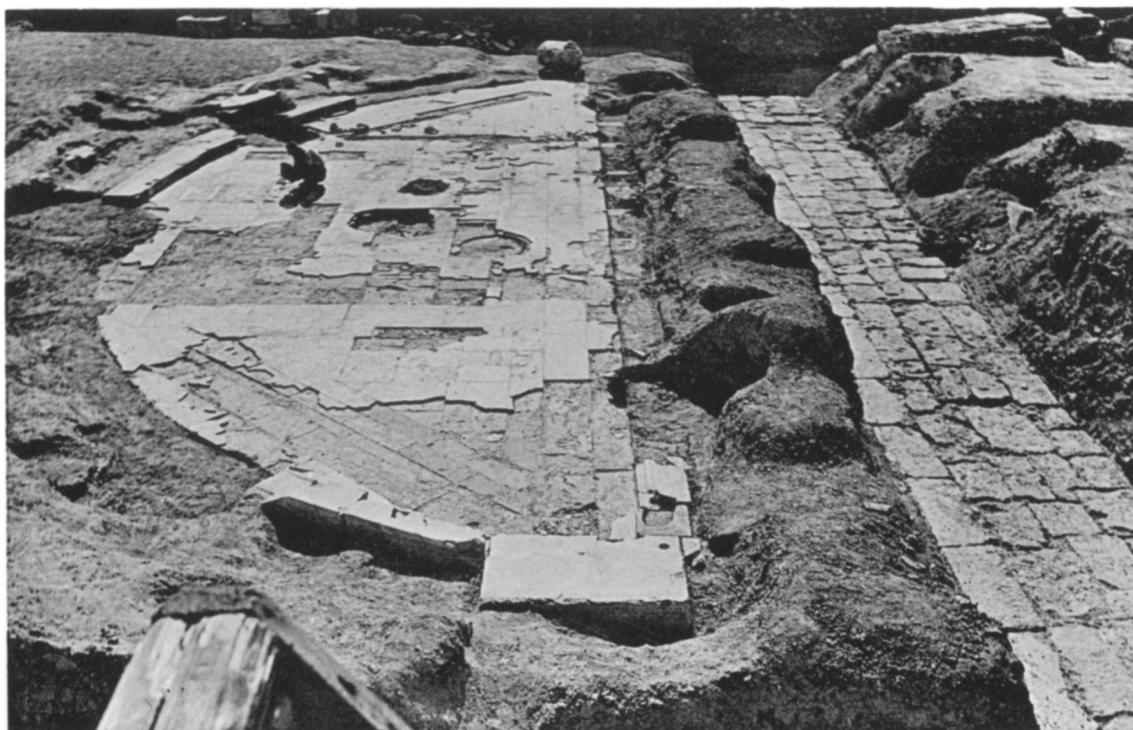


b. Erechtheion, from the West

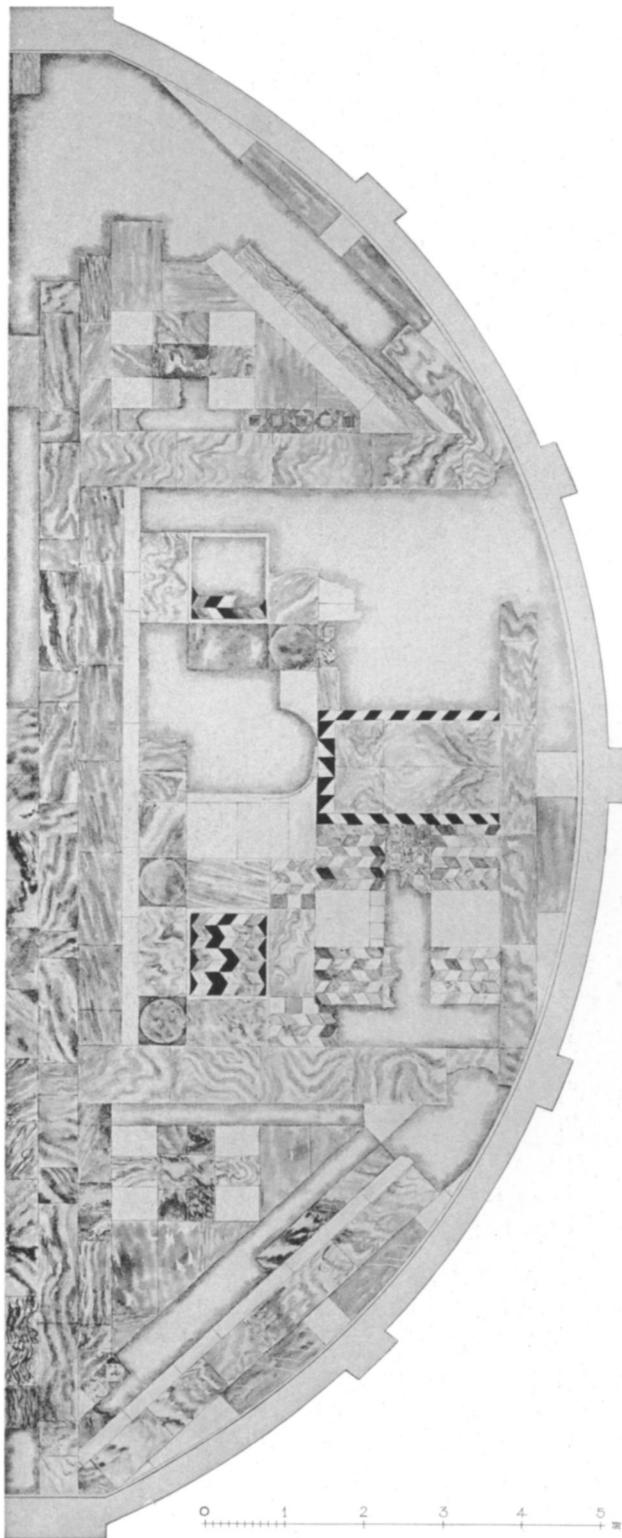




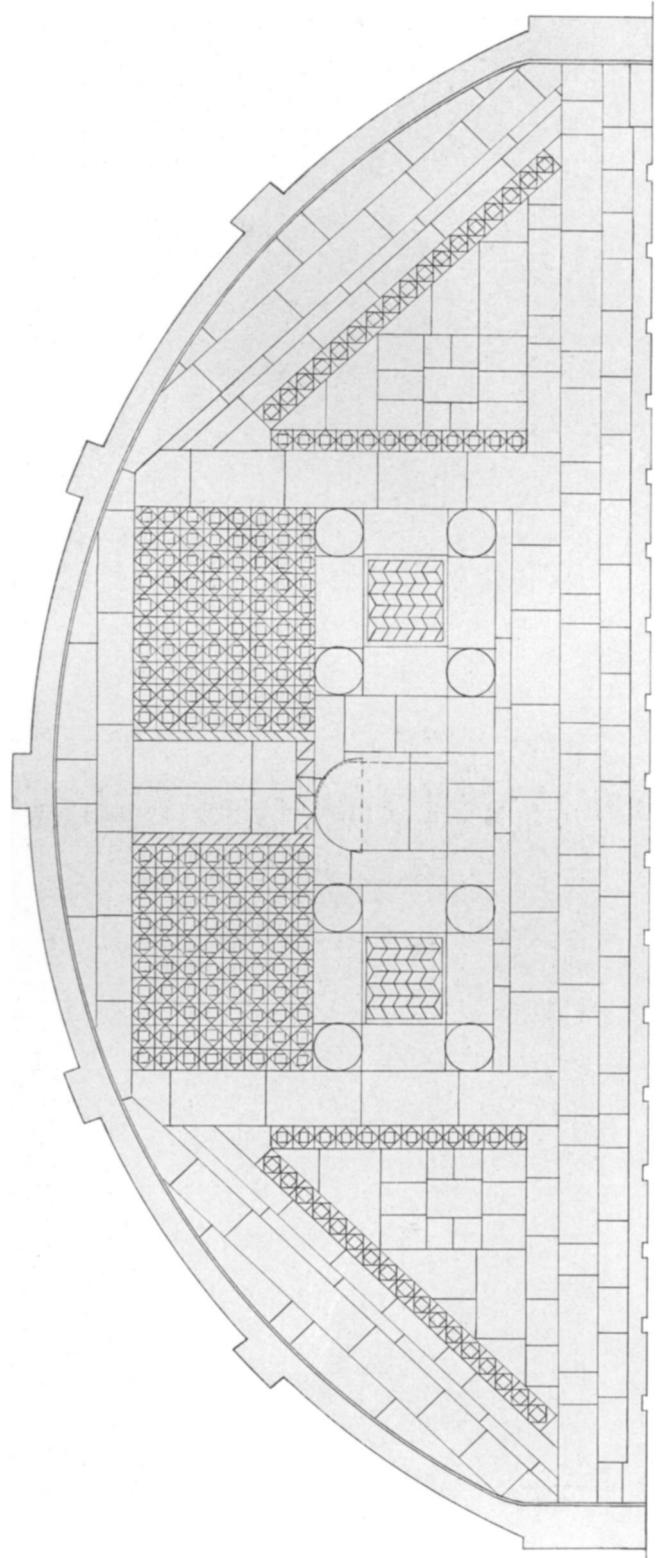
a. Orchestra Floor under Repair



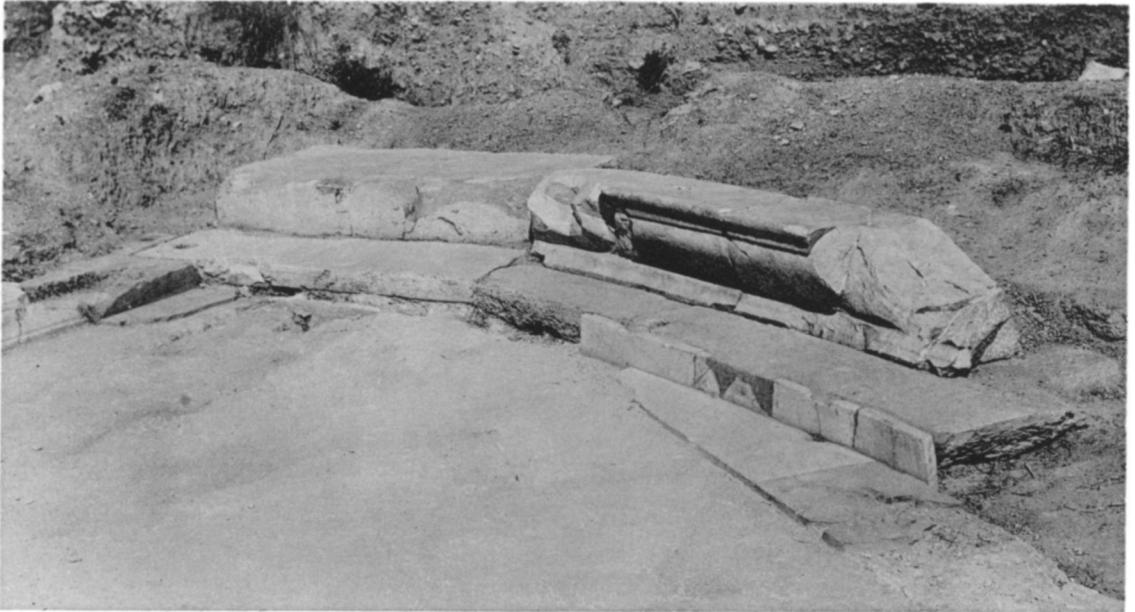
b. Orchestra and Stage from the East



a. Orchestra Floor, Actual State (Water-color)



b. Orchestra Floor, Restored



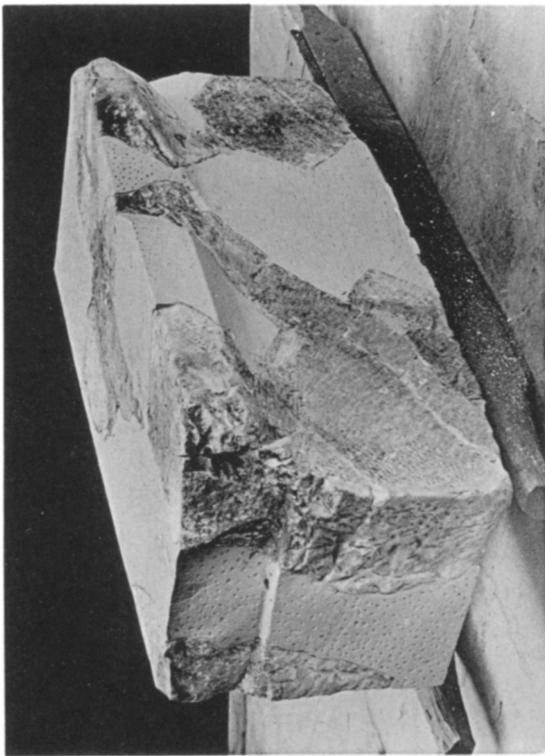
a. Marble Bench Near East End of Orchestra



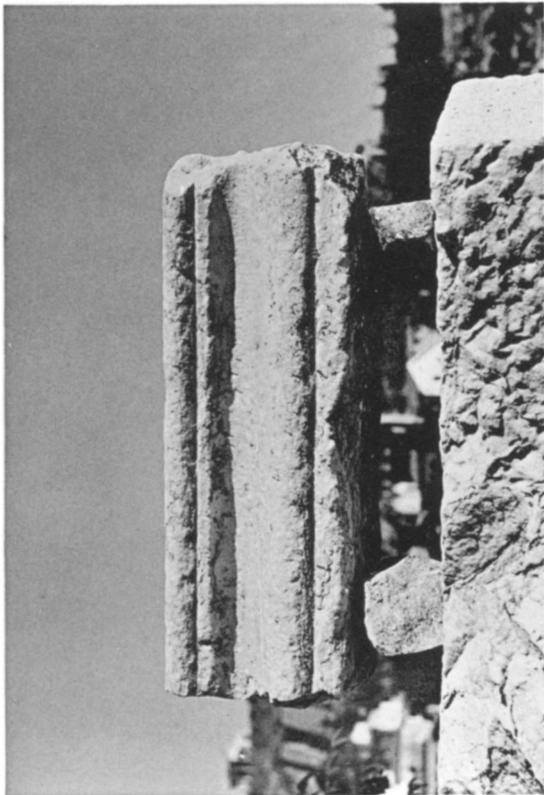
b. Northeast Corner of Orchestra, from the South



a. Remains of Marble Benches in West Part of Cavea



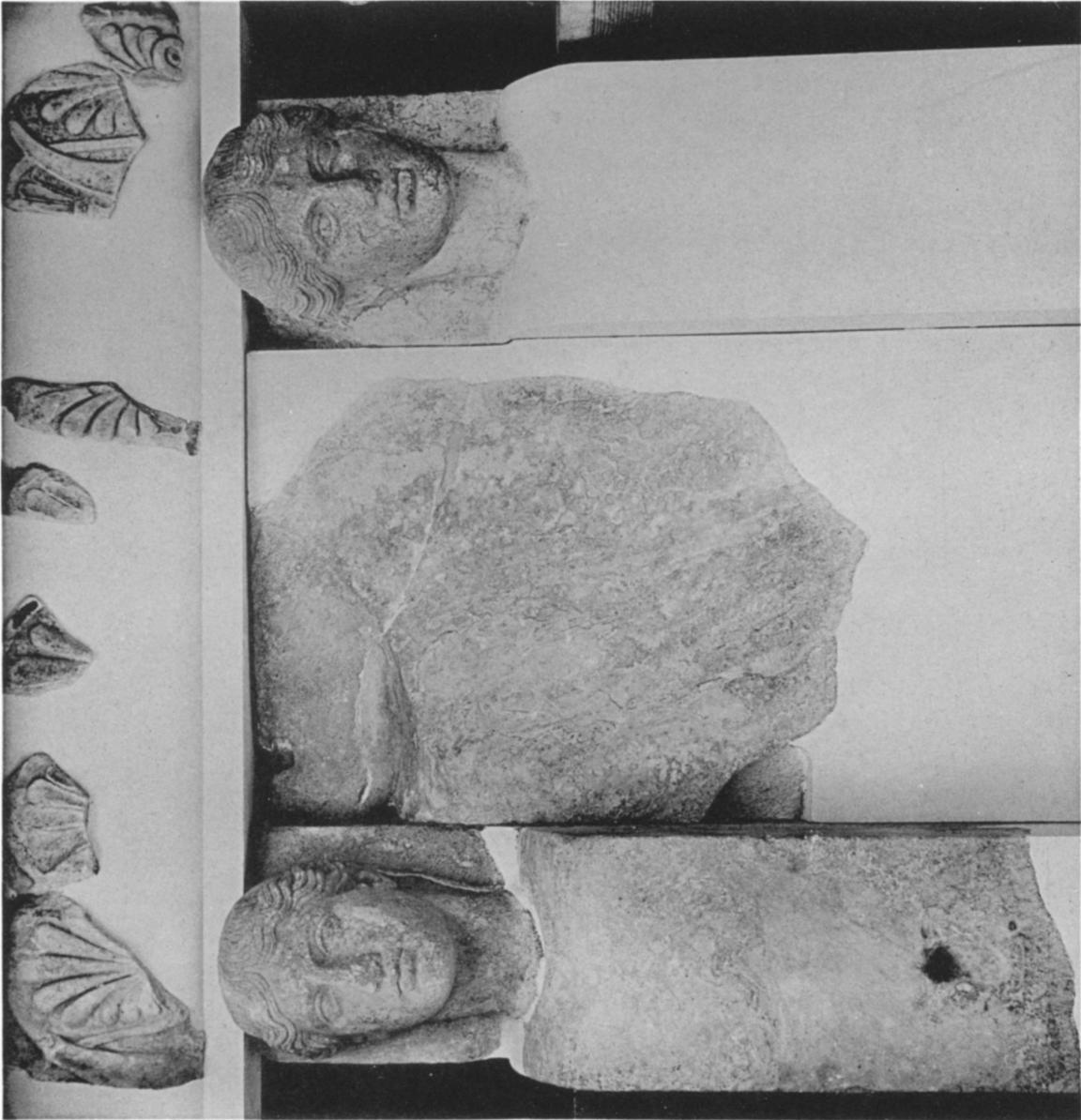
b. Marble Bench (A 1294)



c. Moulded Plinth, Perhaps from Auditorium (A 1407)



d. Fragment of Marble Parapet (A 1404)



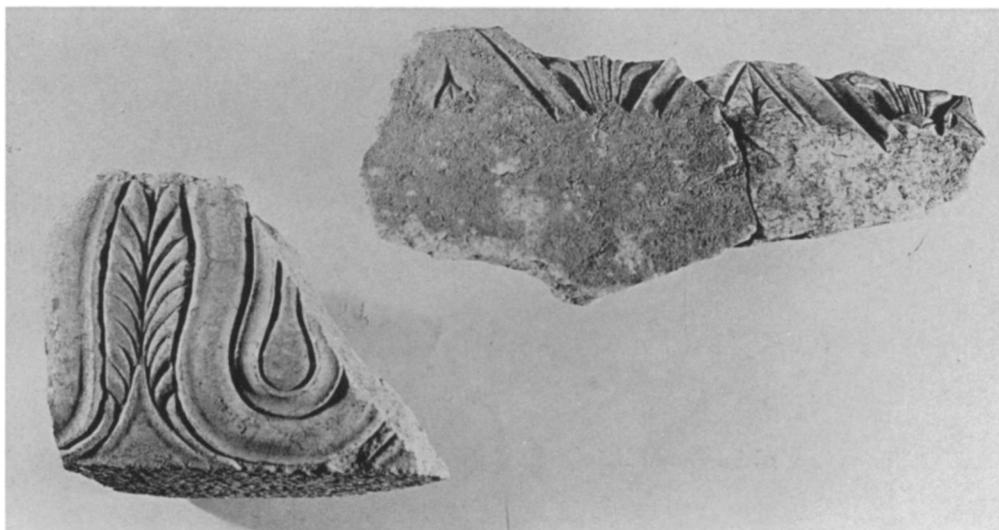
Elements of Stage Front



a. Moulding from Front Edge of Stage (A 586)



b. Lower End of Herm Shaft (S 1391)



c. Carved Moulding from Base of Altar (?) (A 594)



b



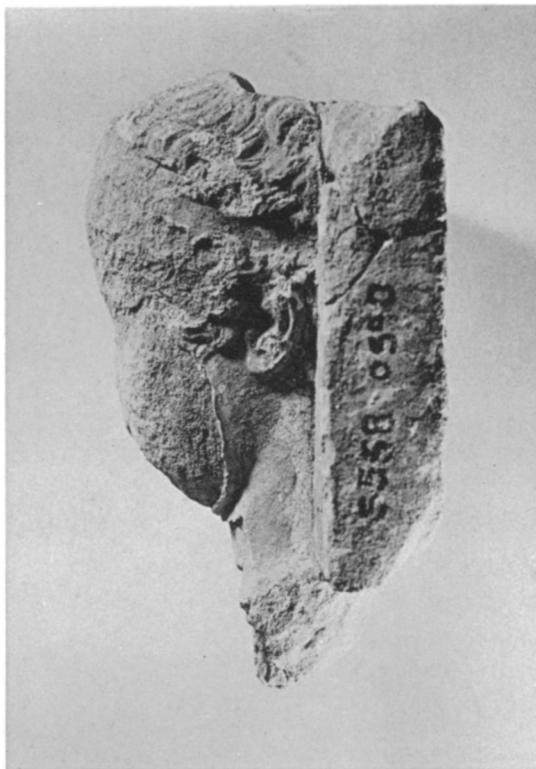
a

Female Head from Herrm (S 553)

PLATE 49



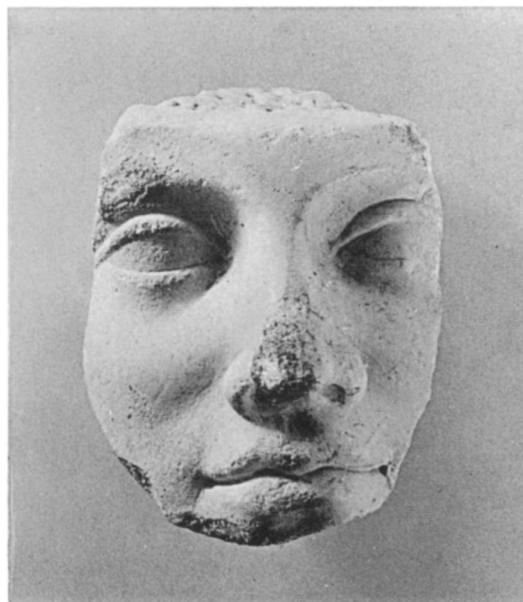
a. Male Head from Herm (S 558), Front



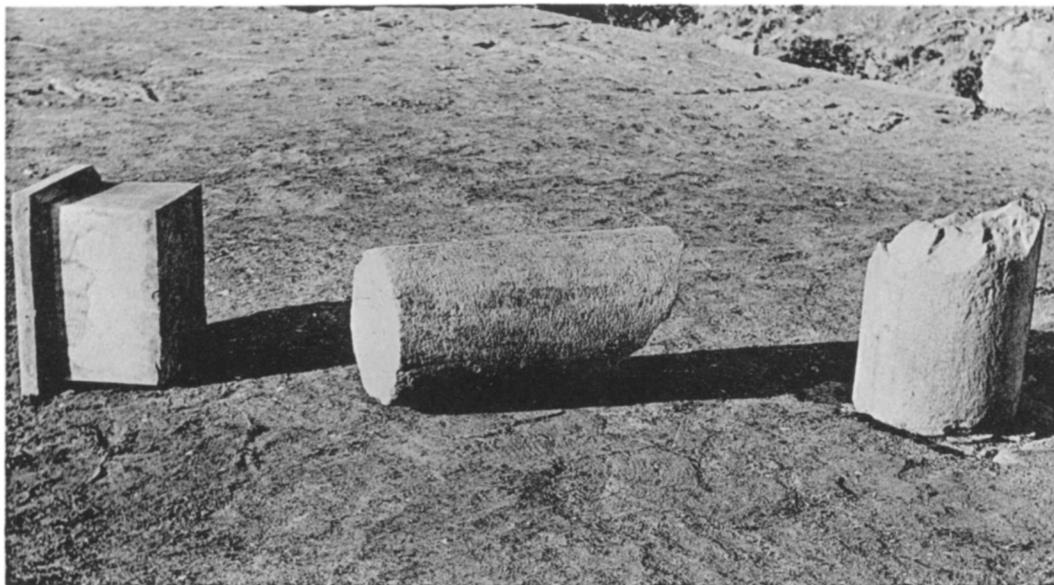
b. Male Head from Herm (S 558), Side



c. Male Head from Herm (S 558), Top



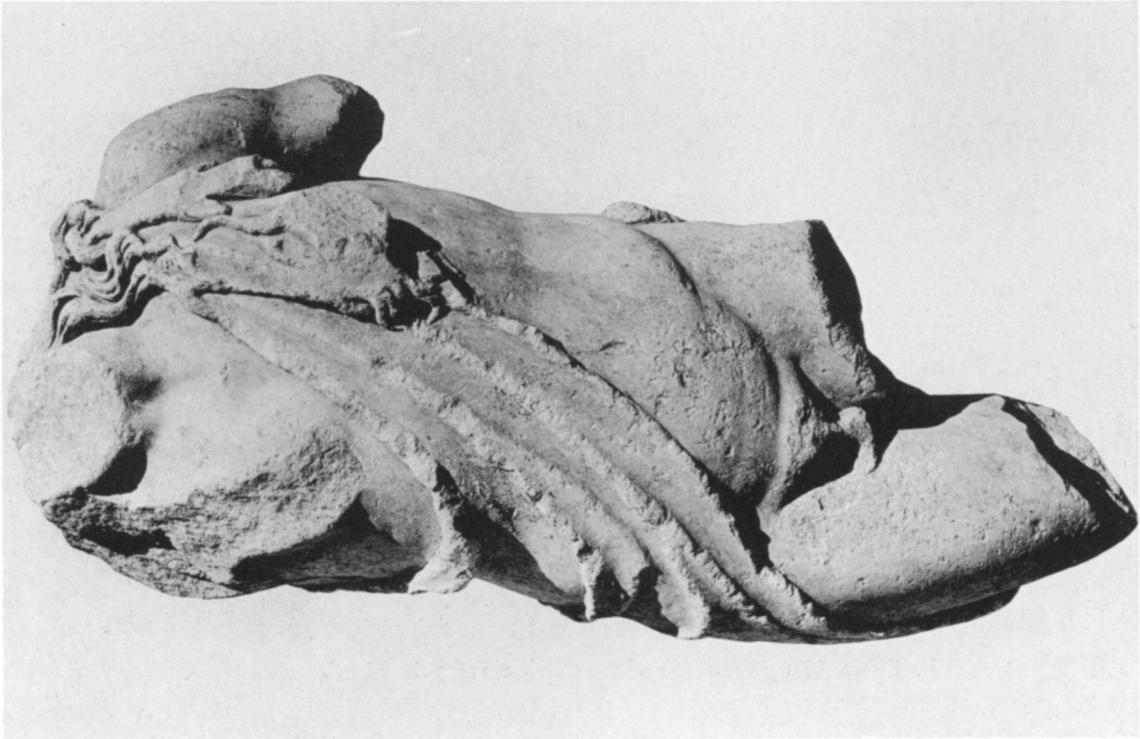
d. Male Head from Herm (S 597), Front



a. Fragmentary Column and Bearing Block in Basement of Balcony



b. Drain Along East Side of the Odeion, from the North



a

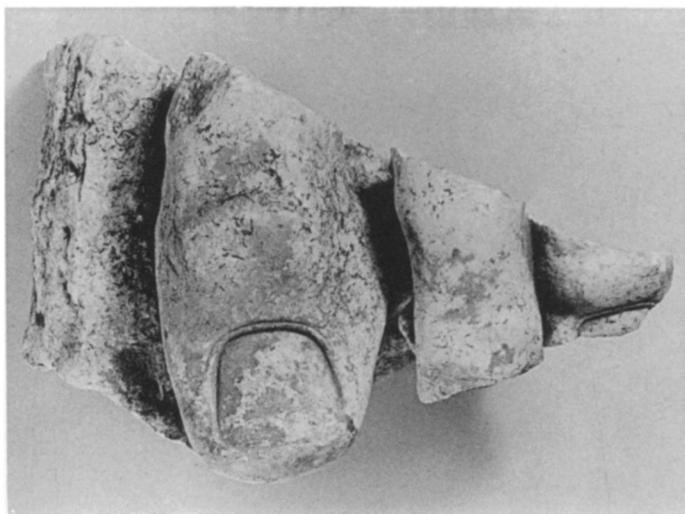


b

Statue of Dionysos Found Northeast of the Odeion (S 531)



a. Head of Athena from Debris of Odeion (S 481)



b. Fragment of Foot from North of Odeion (S 1220)



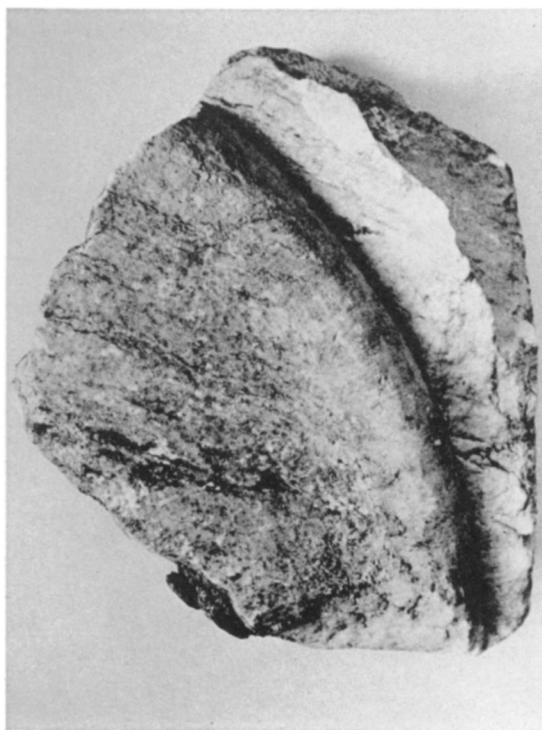
c. Fragments of Colossal Statue from North of Odeion (S 1305, 1343)



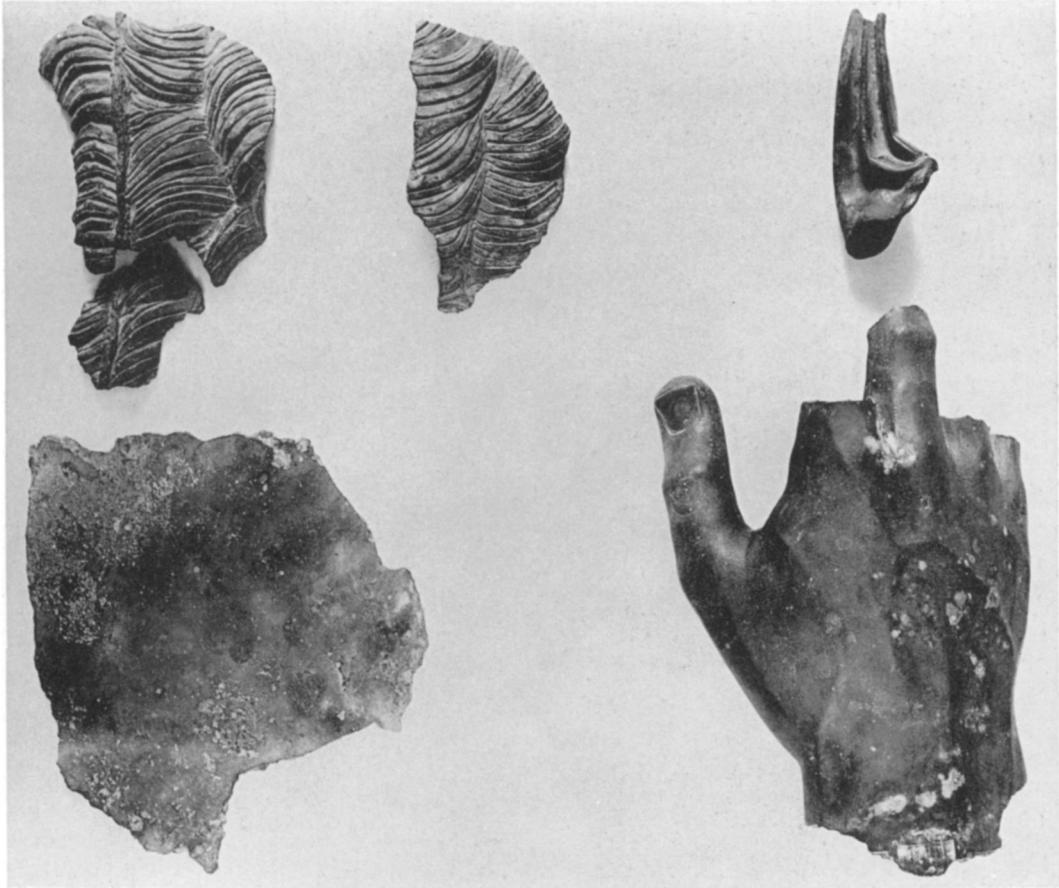
b. Base for Bronze Statue (S 1212), Top



a. Base for Bronze Statue (S 1212)



c. Fragment of Statue Base (S 1422)



a. Fragments of Bronze Statue from Debris of Odeion (B 163)



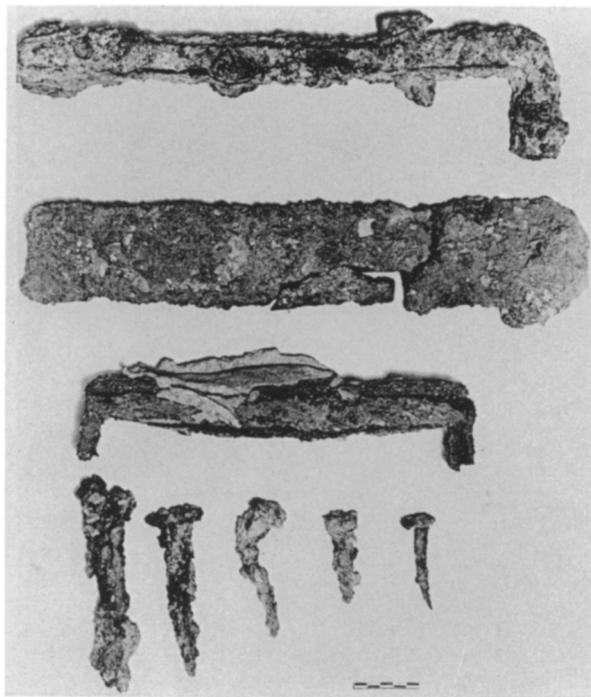
b. Fragments of Bronze Statue from Debris of Odeion (B 589, 591)



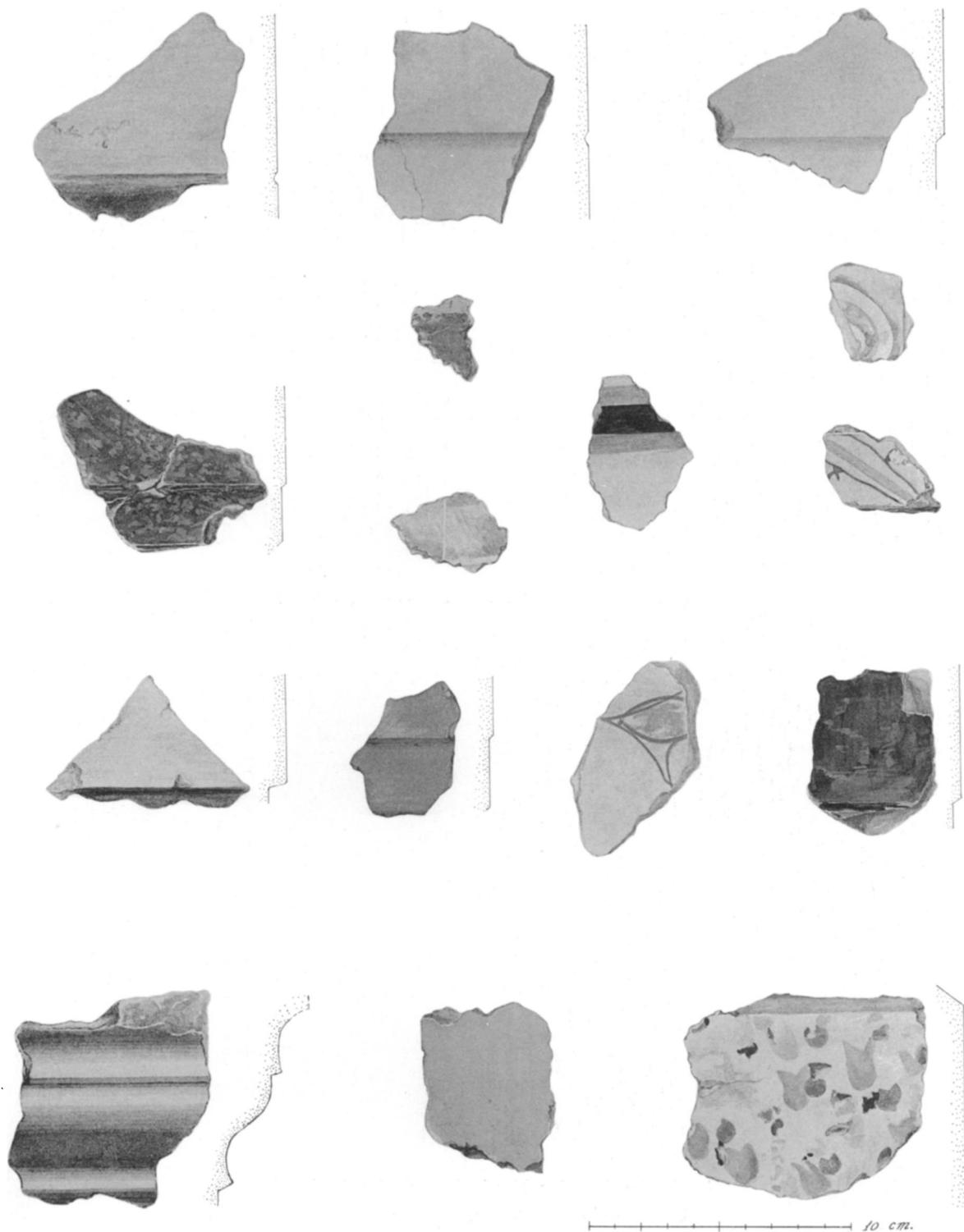
a. Clamp in East Wall of Odeion



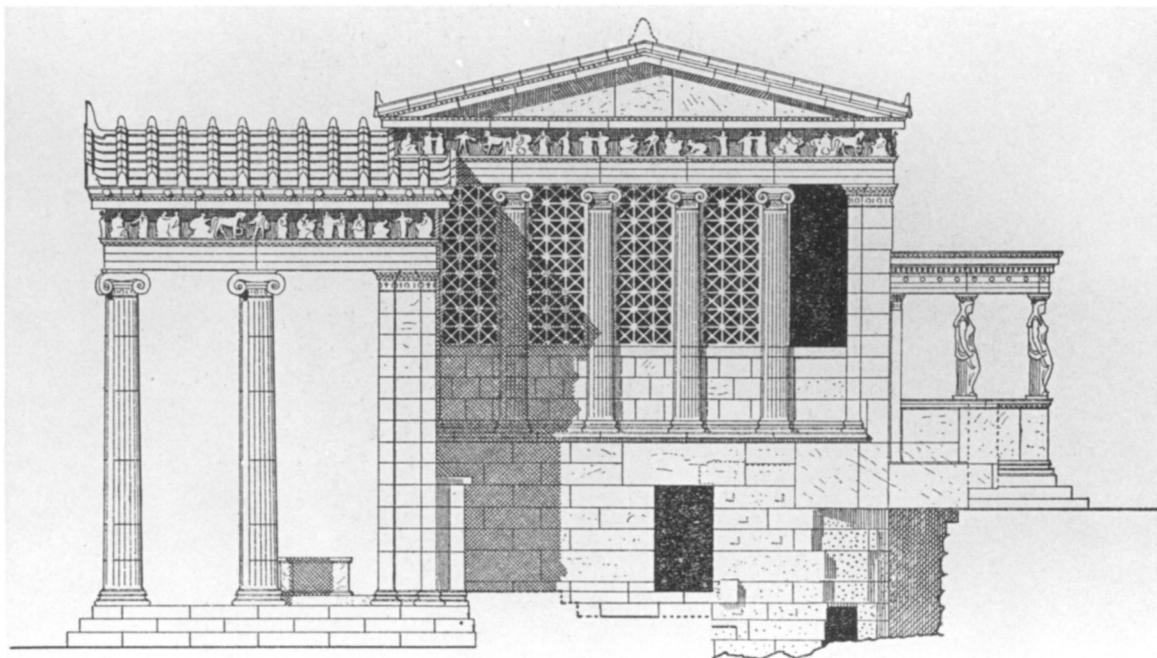
b. Guide Lines in East Foundation of Auditorium



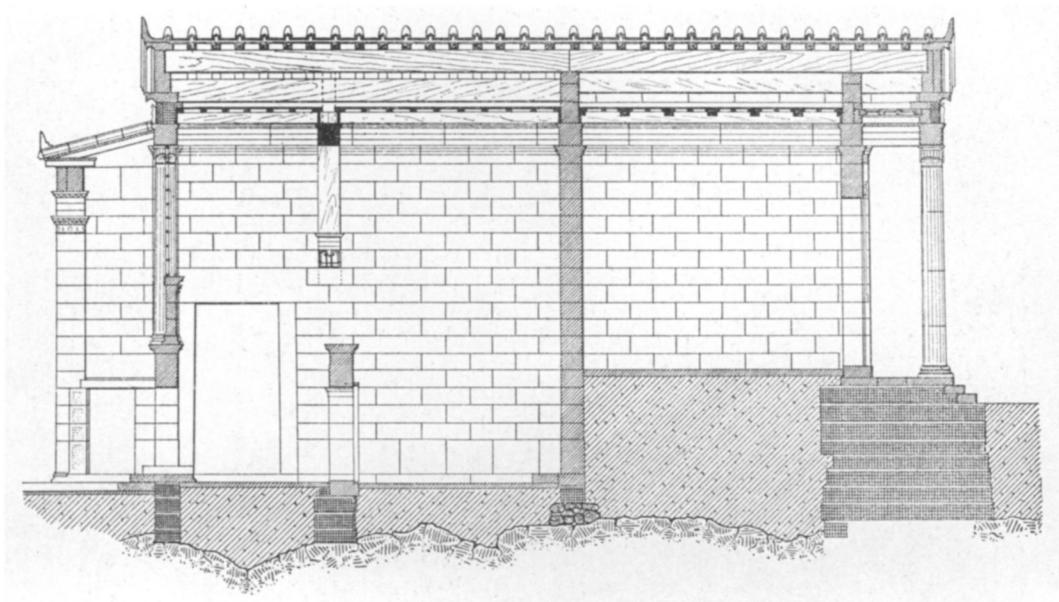
c. Iron Fittings from Debris of Odeion



Stucco Fragments Found to North of Odeion



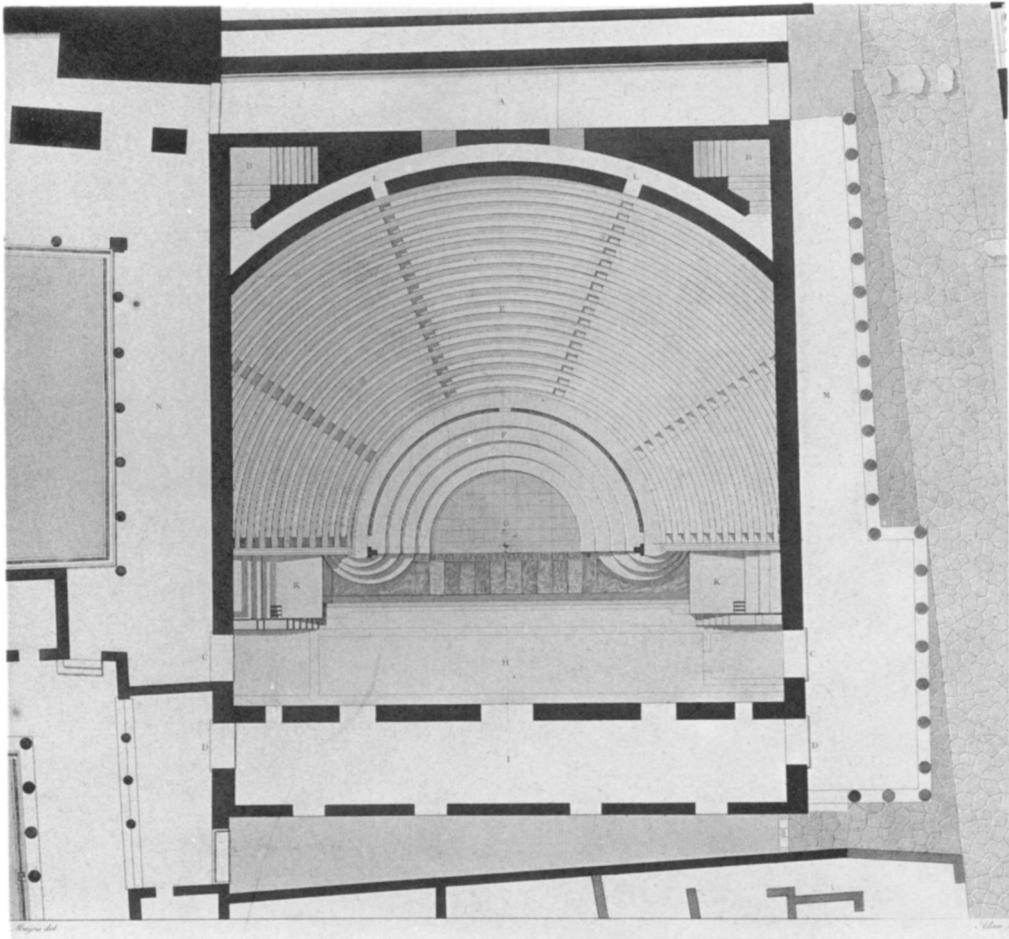
a. West Facade of the Erechtheion (Original Form)  
(Stevens and Paton, *The Erechtheum*, pl. XIII)



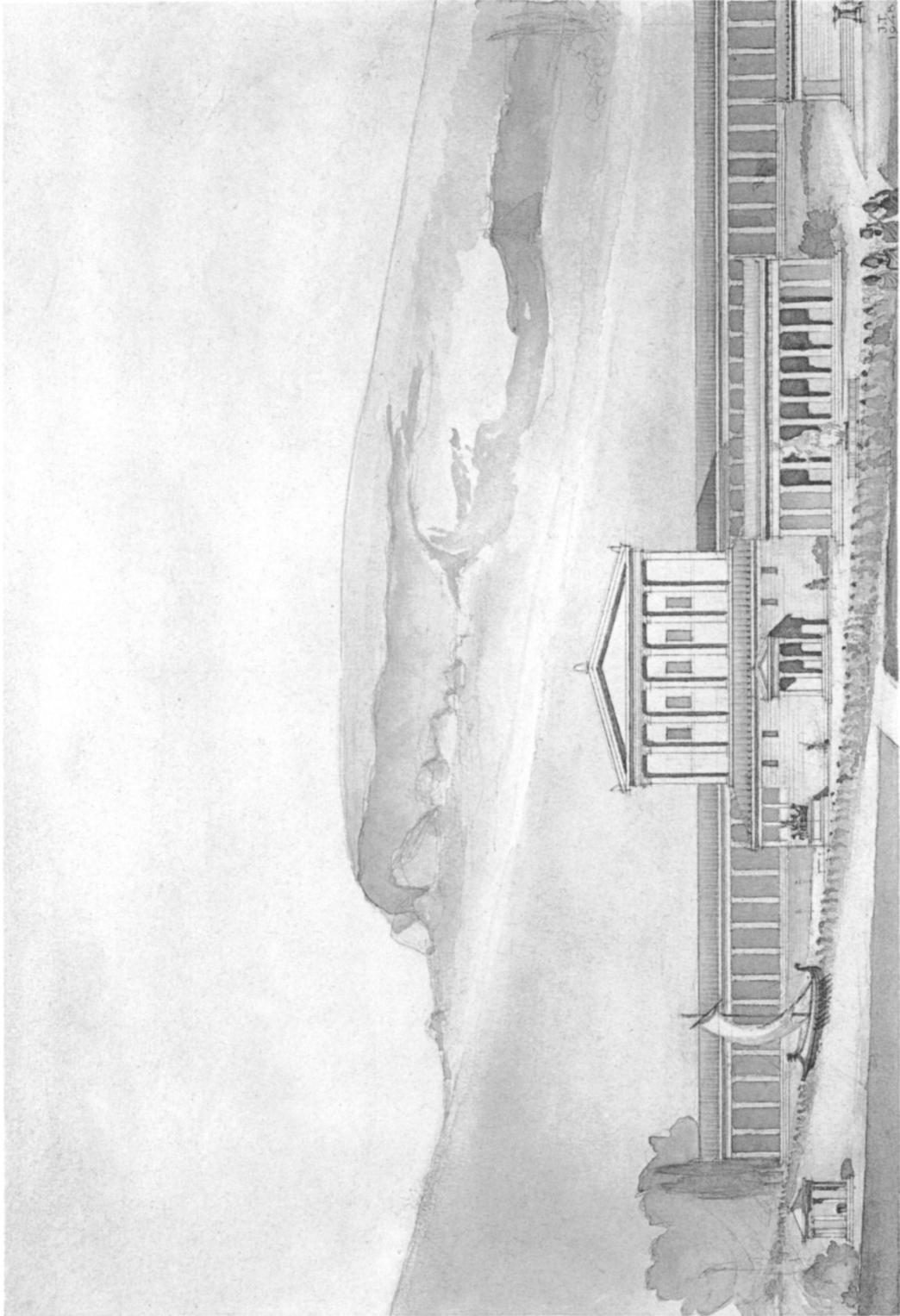
b. Section Looking North through the Erechtheion  
(Stevens and Paton, *The Erechtheum*, pl. XV)



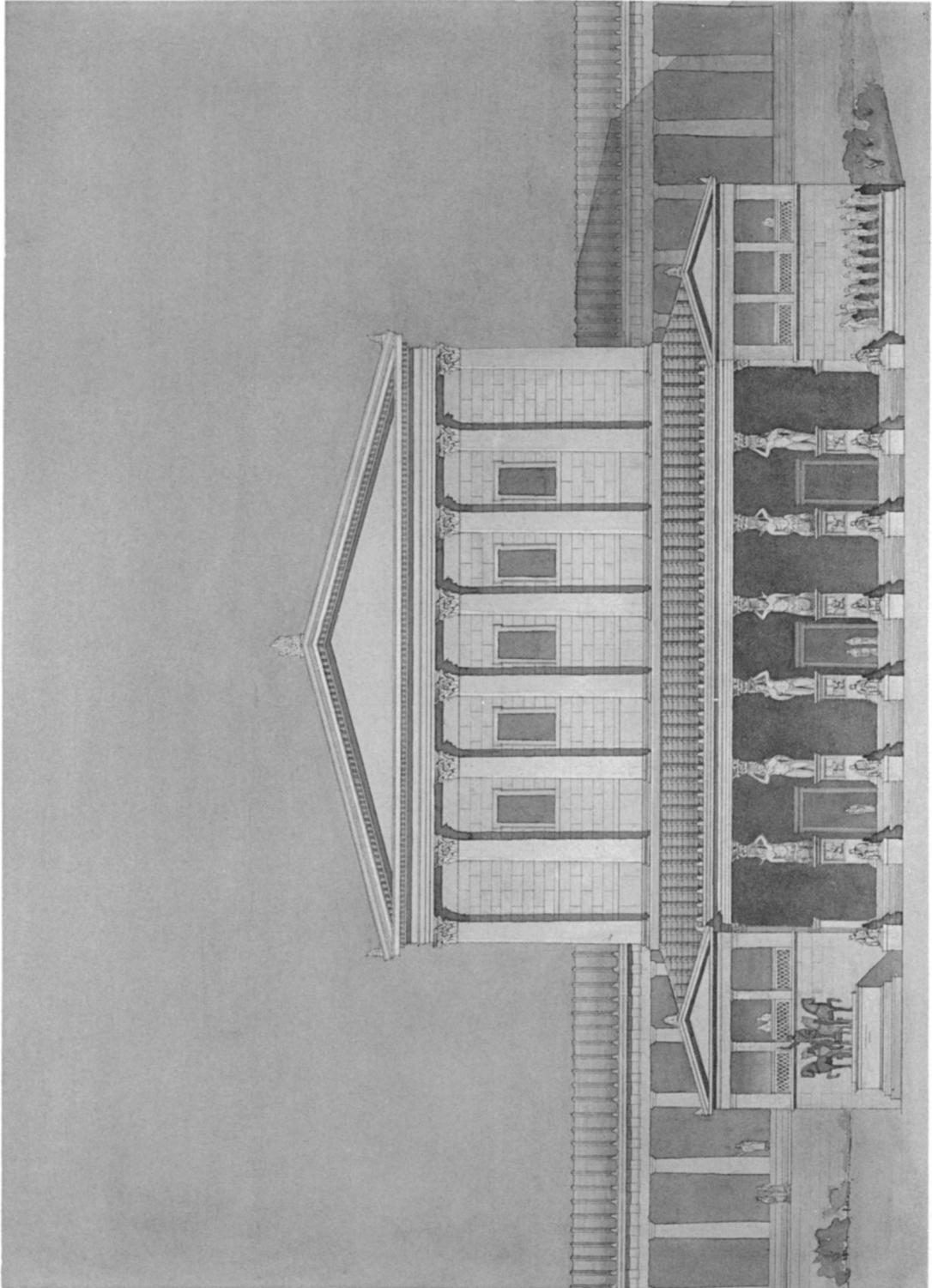
a. Wall Painting from Stabiae  
(*Röm. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1911, pl. VII, 2)



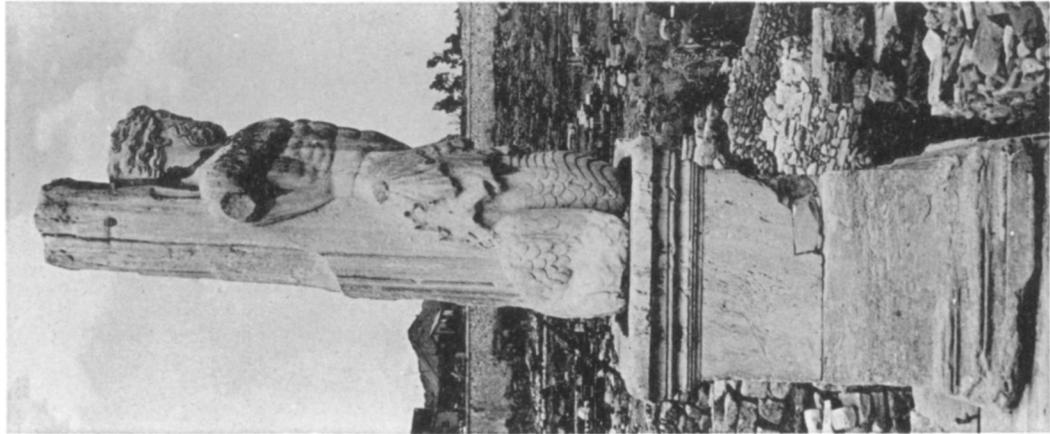
b. Roofed Theatre of Pompeii, Plan  
(Mazois and Gau, *Les Ruines de Pompéi*, IV, pl. XXVIII)



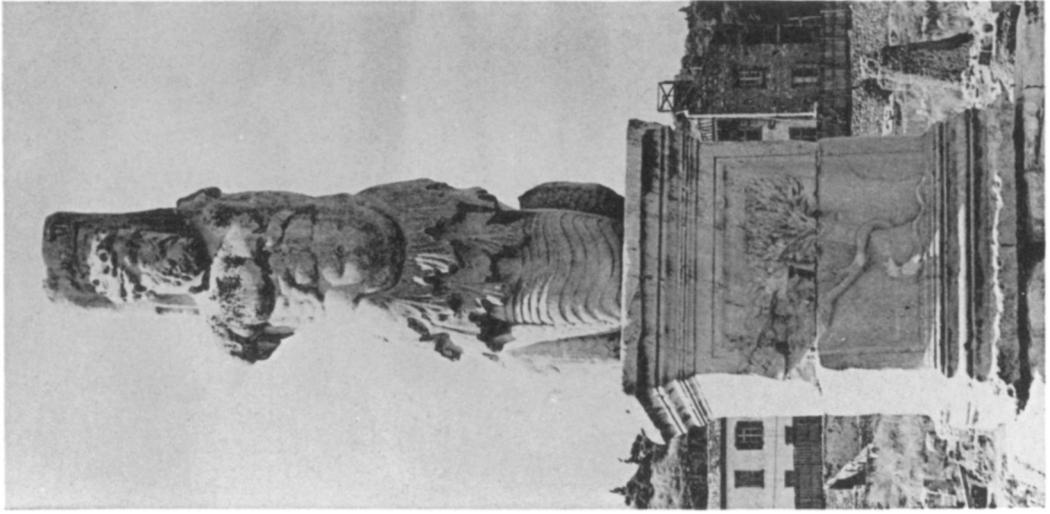
The Odeion in its Setting, Period I, from the North, Restored  
(Immediately to the right of the Odeion is the Temple of Ares)



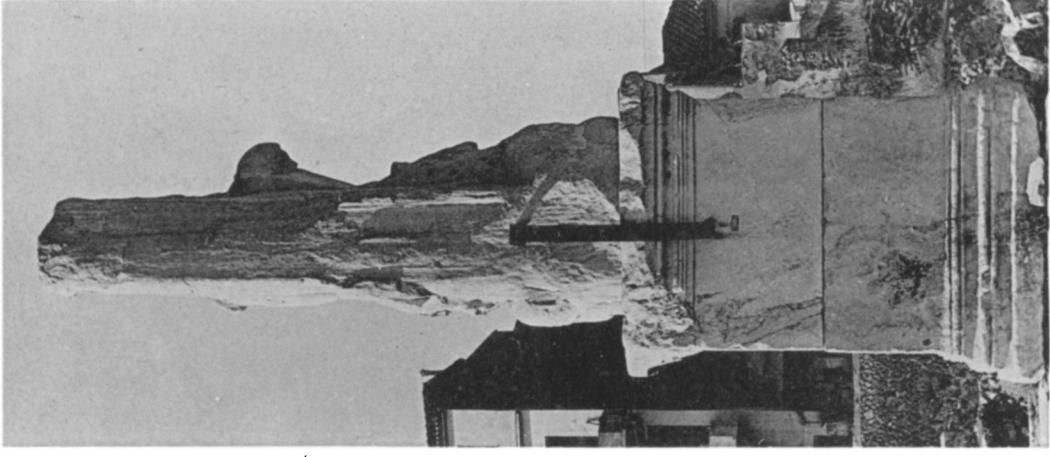
North Facade of the Odeion, Period II, Restored



a



b



c

Westernmost Triton in Gymnasium Series (Figure and Pedestal)



Westernmost Triton in Gymnasium Series (Figure)

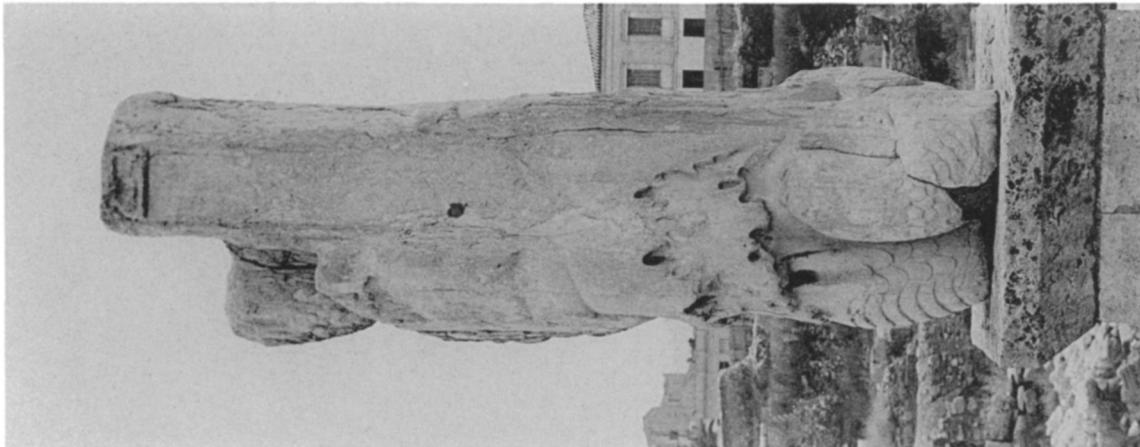


b

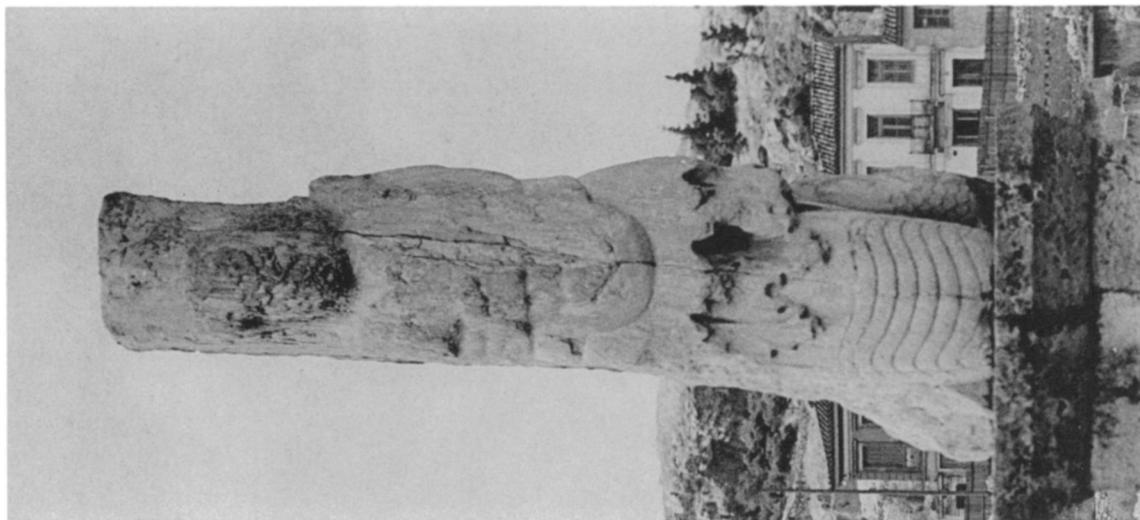


a

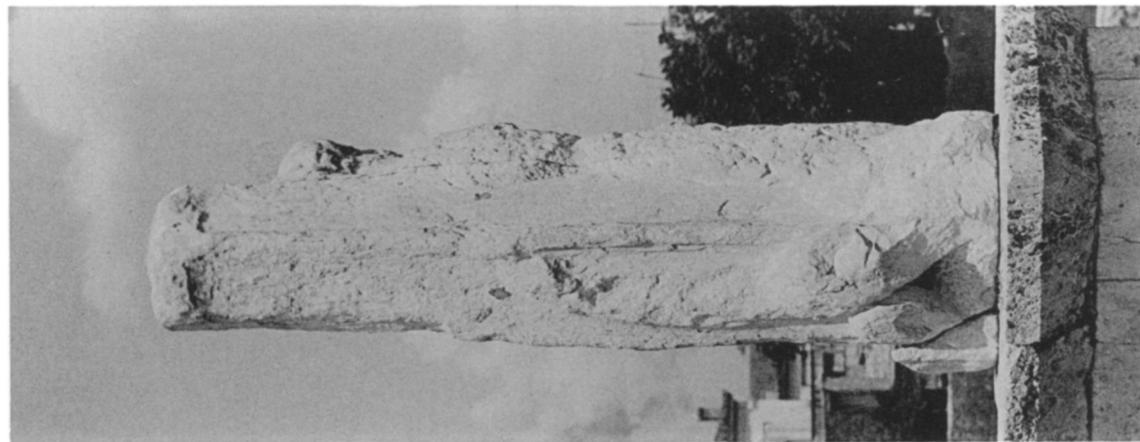
Westernmost Triton in Gymnasium Series (Bust)



c



b

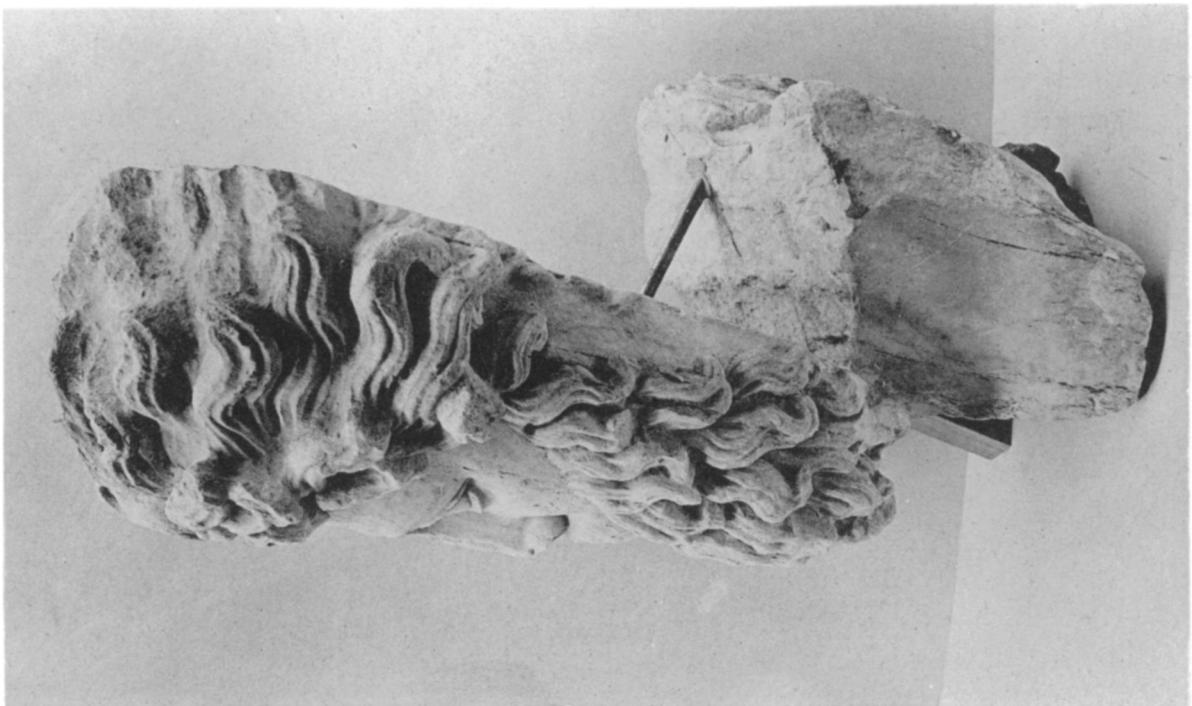


a

Triton Second from the East in Gymnasium Series



a



b

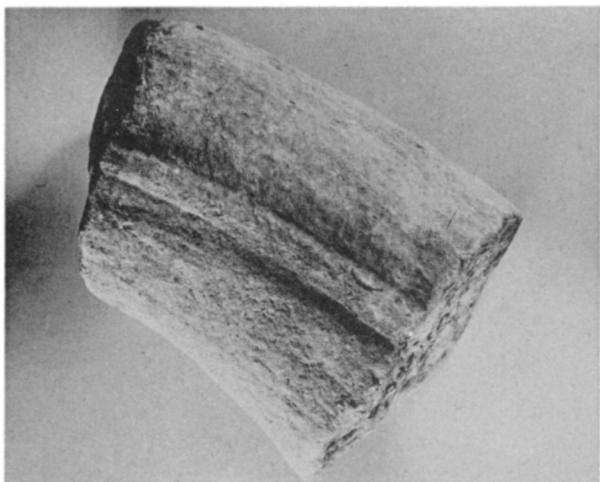
Triton's Head (S 1214)



a. Lower Part of a Triton (S 1215)



b. Lower Part of a Triton (S 1216)



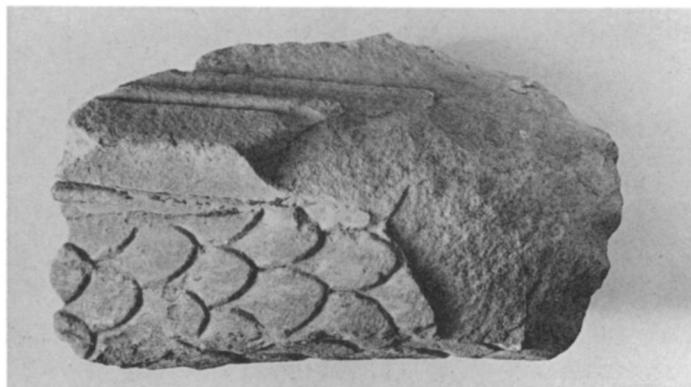
c. Triton's Tail (S 1344)



d. Giant's Tail (S 1303)



e. Fragment of a Scaly Creature (S 1217)



f. Giant's Tail (S 1390)



a. Right Hand of a Triton (S 599), Front



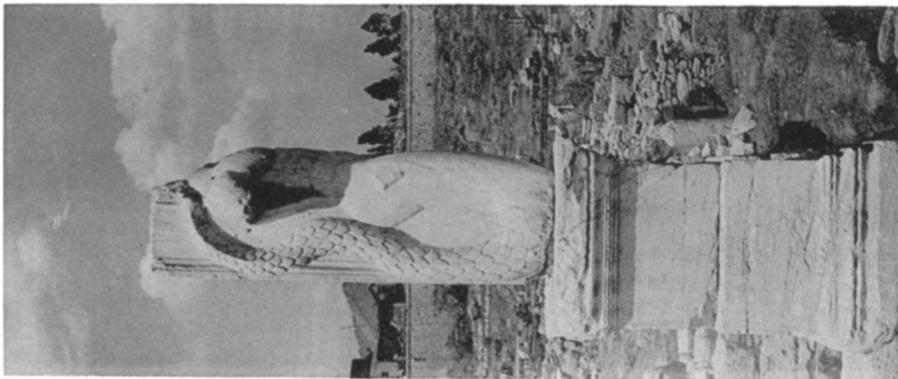
b. Right Hand of a Triton (S 599), Back



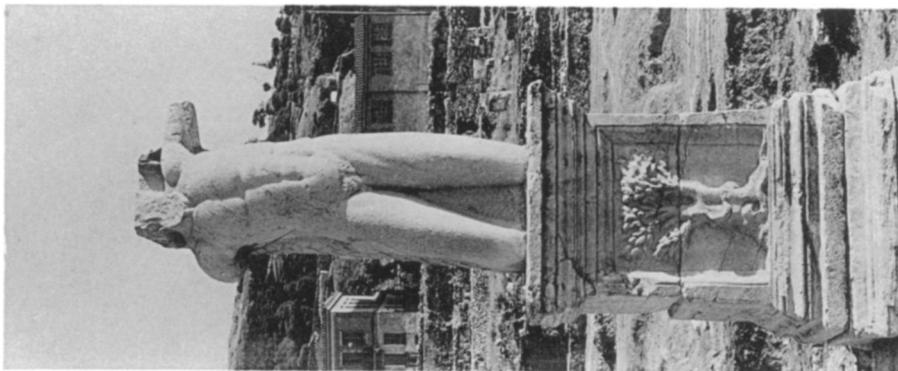
c. Right Hand of a Triton (S 596), Front



d. Right Hand of a Triton (S 596), Back



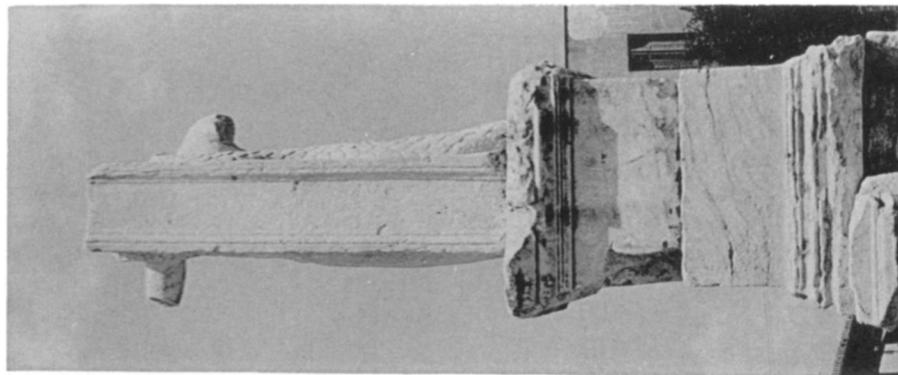
a



b

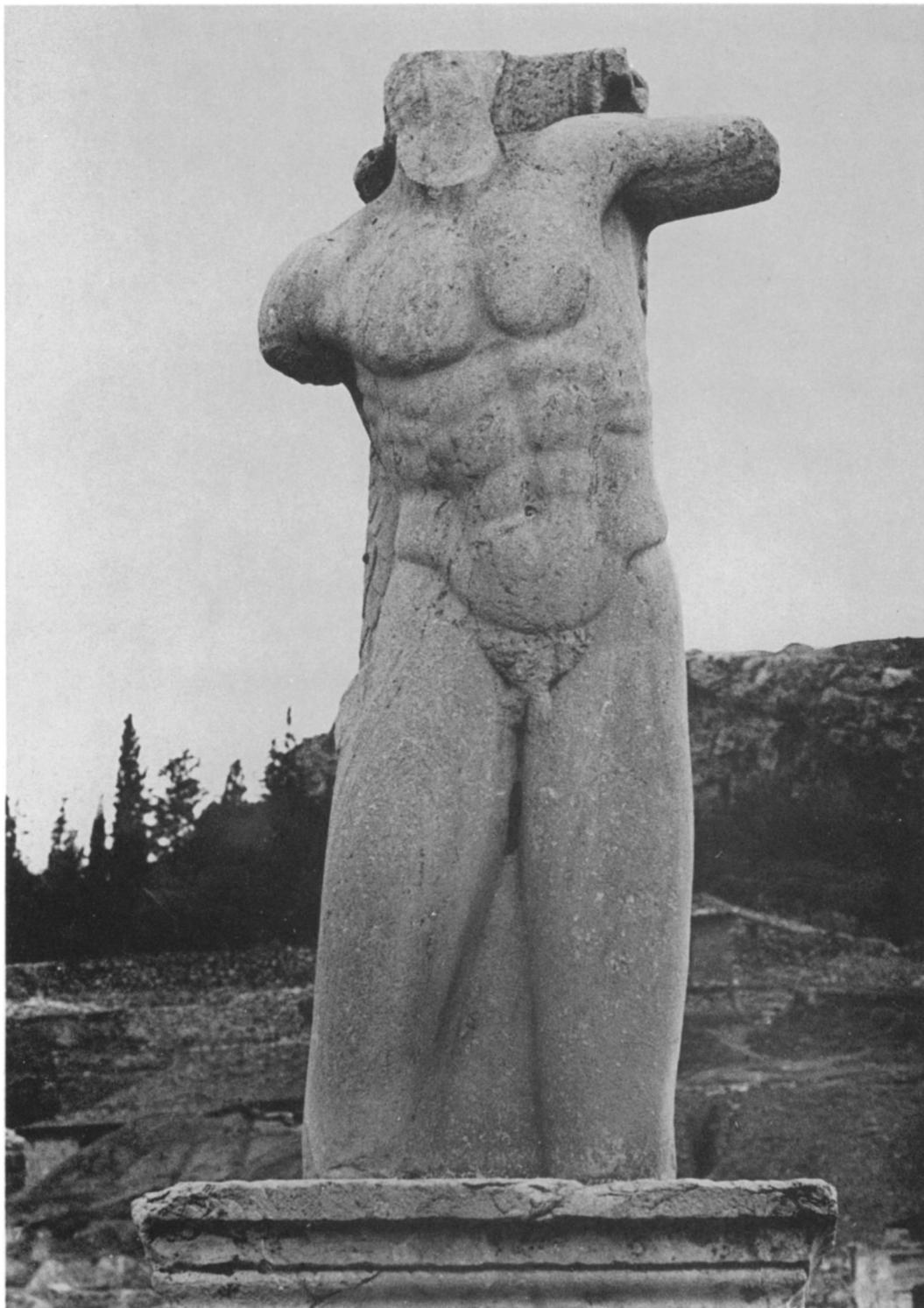


c



d

Giant in Easternmost Position of Gymnasium Series (Figure and Pedestal)



Giant in Easternmost Position of Gymnasium Series (Figure)



a. Giant's Head (?) (S 1367)

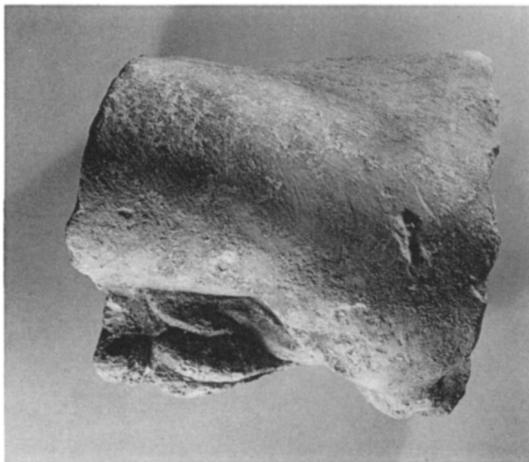


b



c

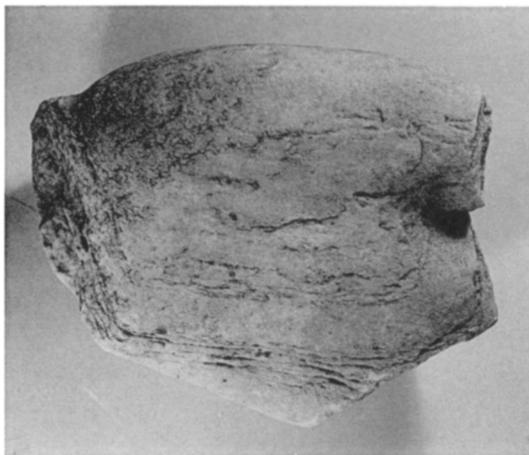
Left Arm of a Colossal Figure (S 369)



a. Left Hand of a Giant (S 1202), Back



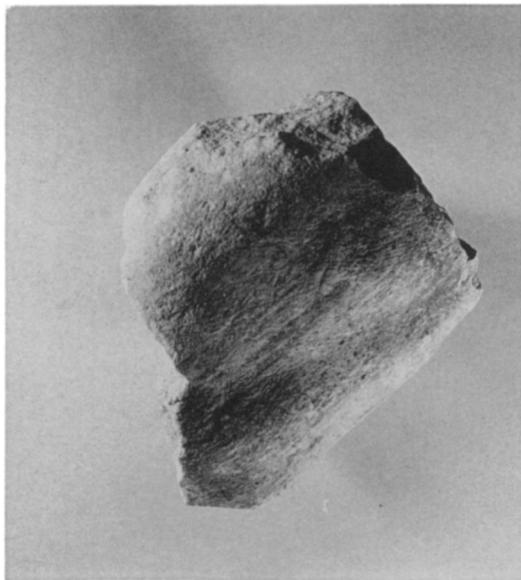
b. Left Hand of a Giant (S 1202), Front



c. Right Hand of a Colossal Figure (S 1221), Back



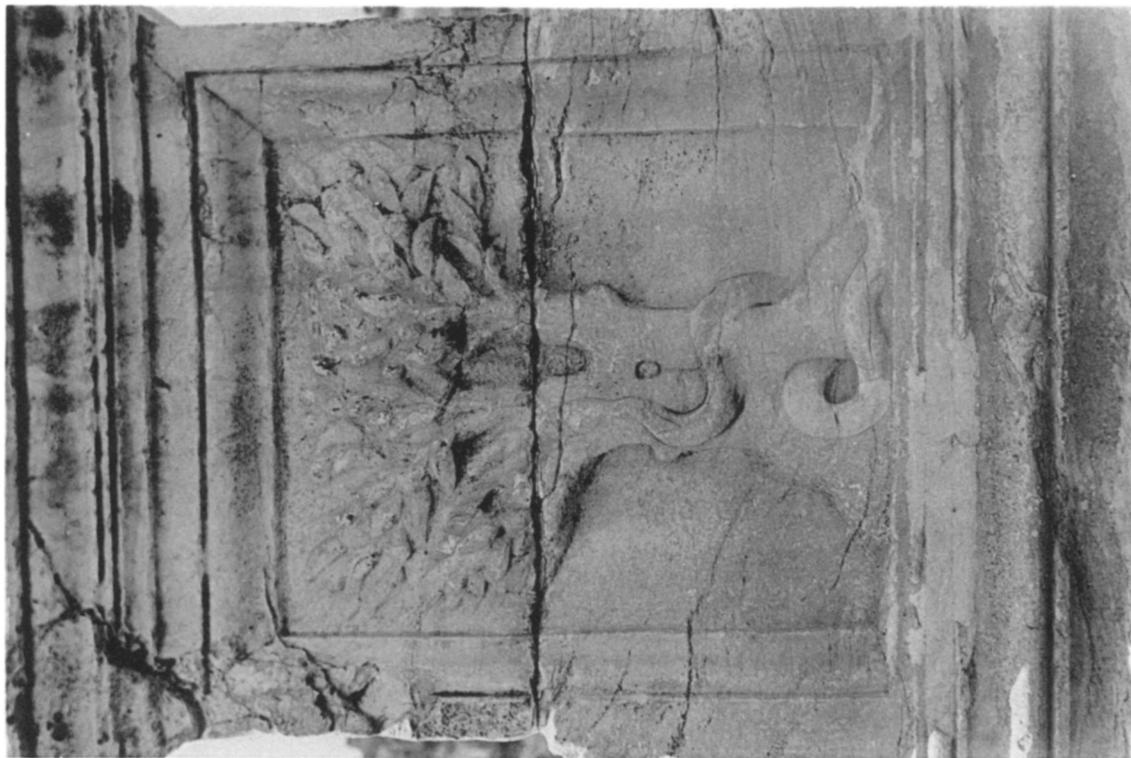
d. Right Hand of a Colossal Figure (S 1221), Front



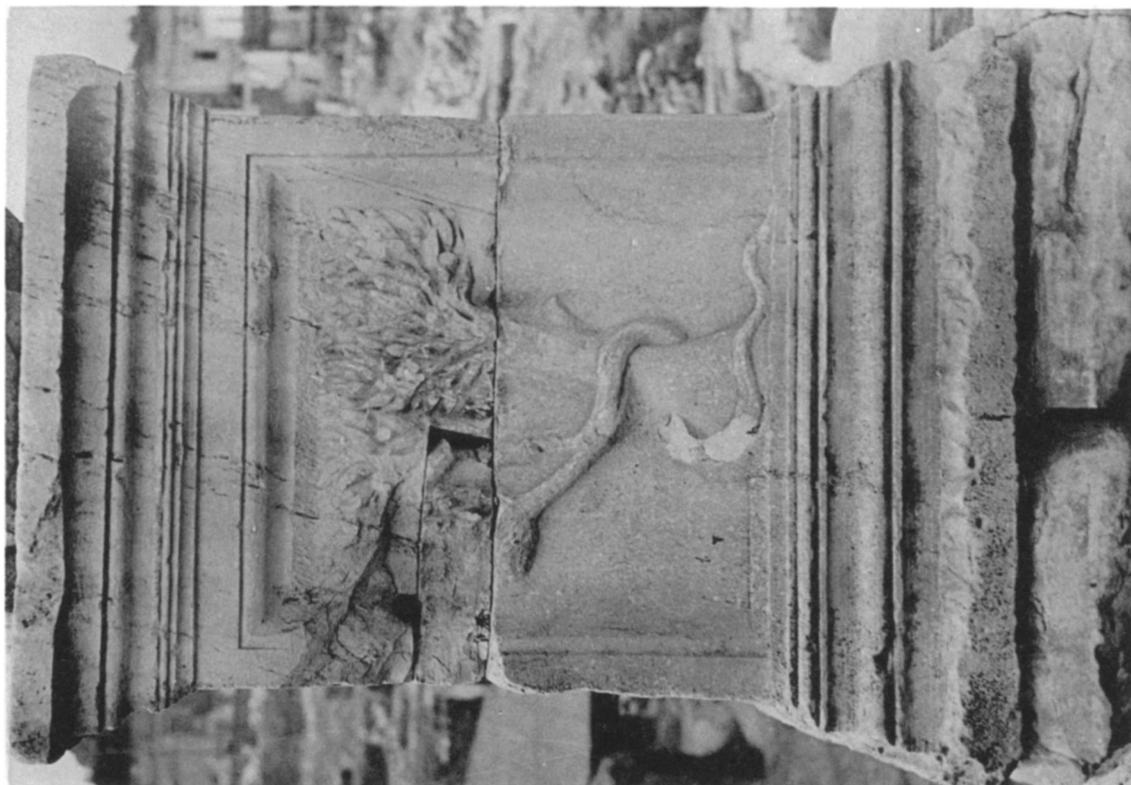
e. Left Elbow of a Colossal Figure (S 1218)



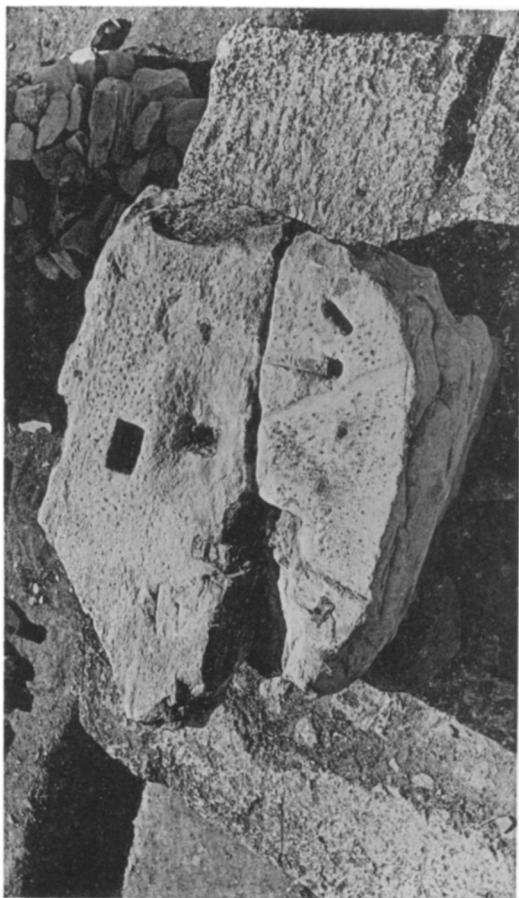
f. Forearm of a Colossal Figure (S 1219)



b. Relief Panel on Pedestal of Easternmost Giant



a. Relief Panel on Pedestal of Westernmost Triton



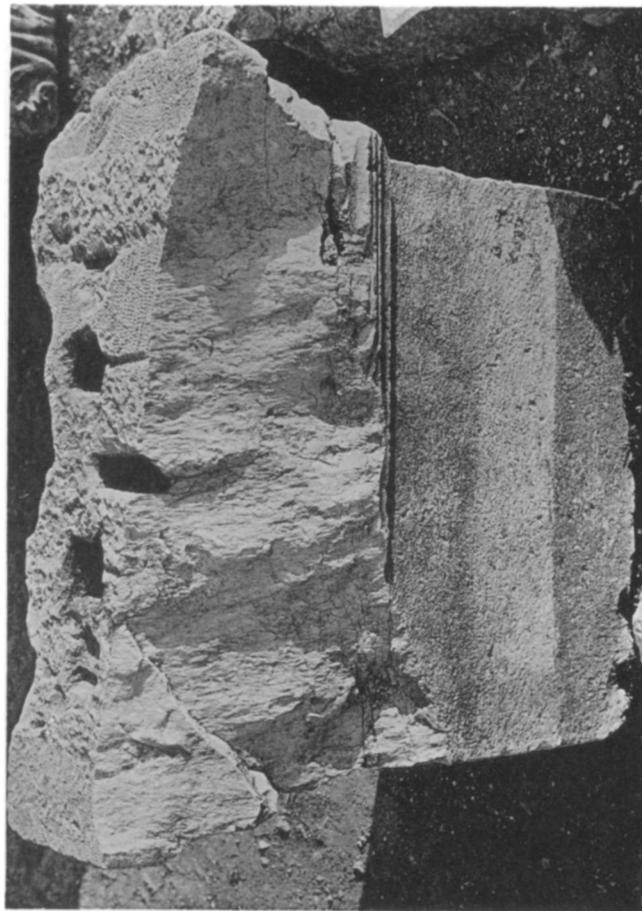
a. Top of Fragmentary Pedestal (A 1176)



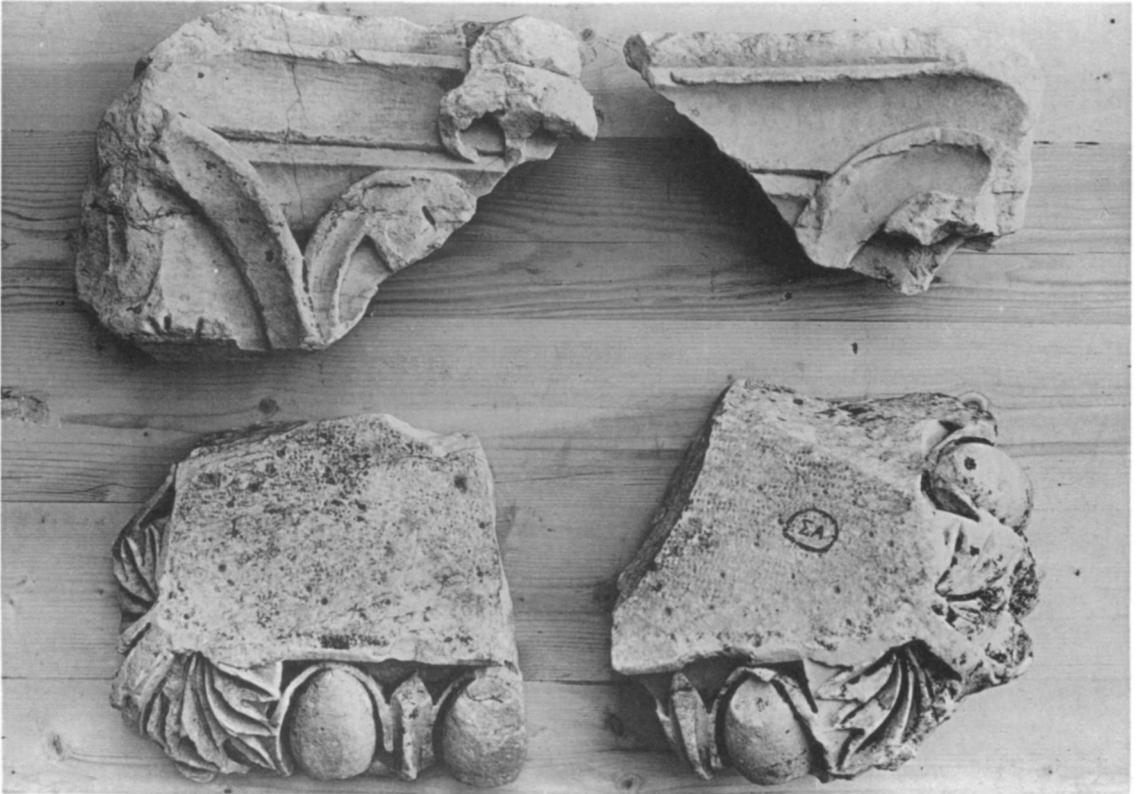
b. Lower Part of Pedestal (A 1175)



c. Fragment of Pedestal with Relief (S 1348)



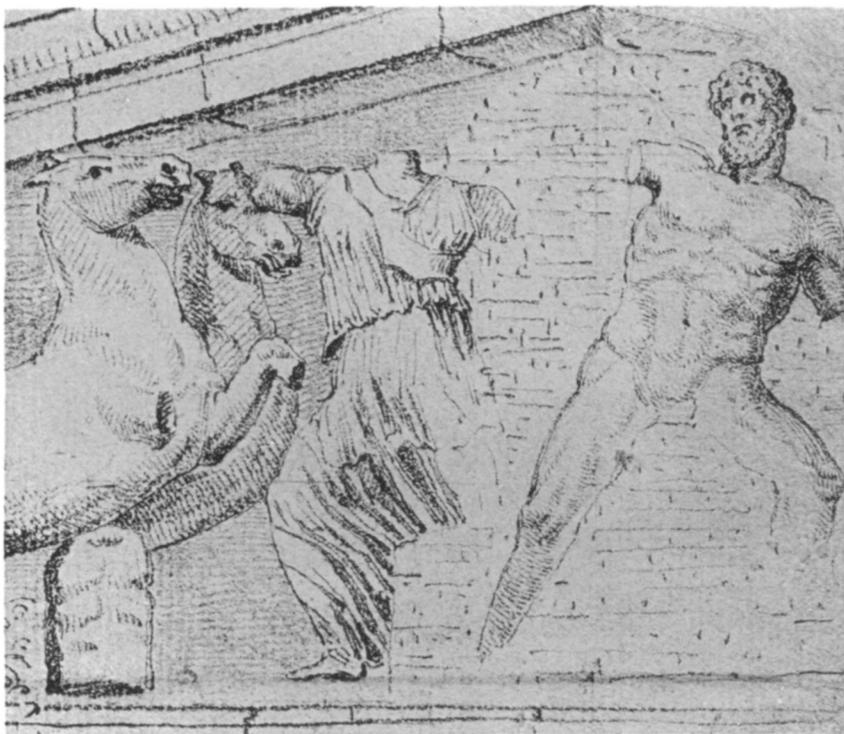
d. Upper Block of Pedestal for a Pilaster (A 1177)



a. Fragments of Capitals from Above the Colossal Figures (A 1491)



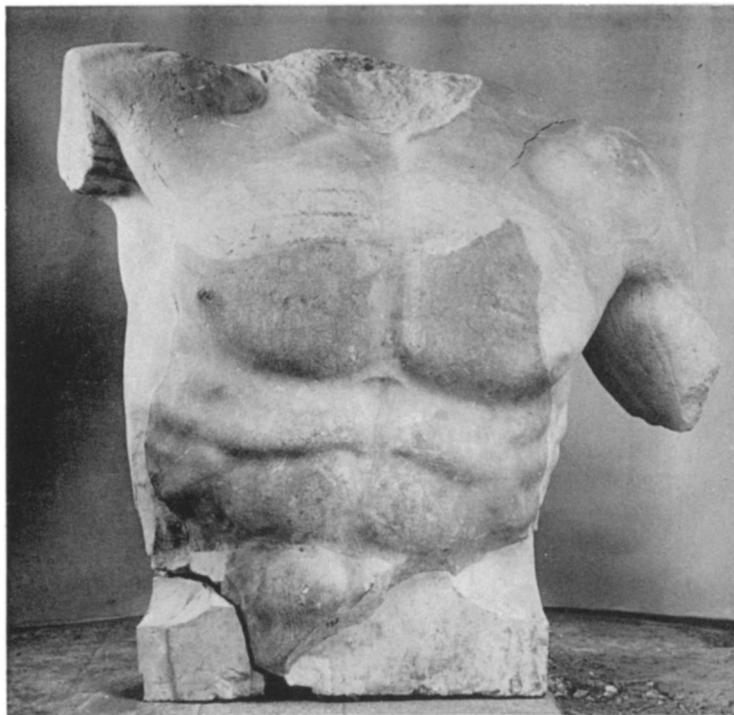
b. Capital of Pilaster on Arch of Hadrian  
(Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, III, ch. III, pl. VIII)



a. "Carrey's" Drawing of Central Group in Parthenon West Pediment  
(Omont, *Athènes au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, pl. II)



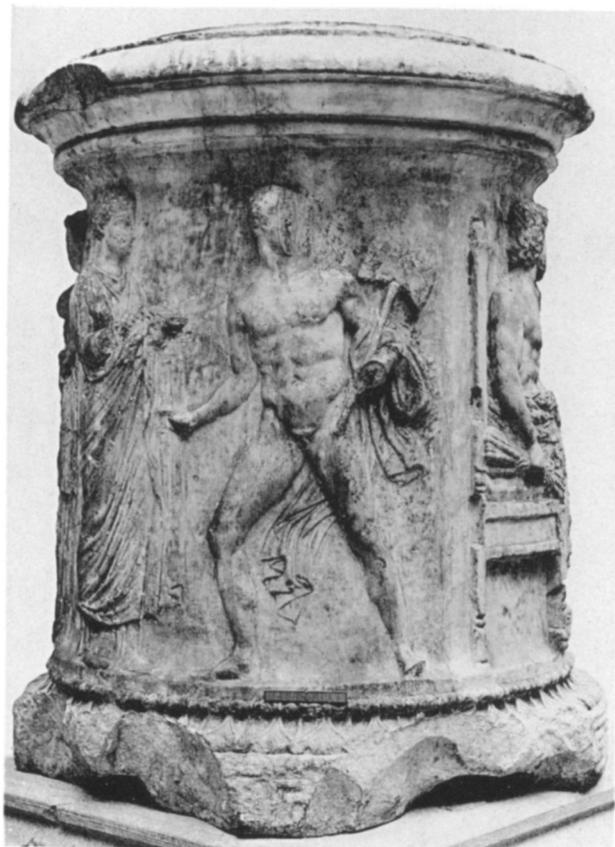
b. Westernmost Triton in Gymnasium Series (Reversed)



c. Poseidon from Parthenon West Pediment



a. Athena and Poseidon on a Kertsch Hydria  
(*Comptes-rendu*, 1872, pl. I, 1)



b. Hephaistos on the Madrid Putael  
(*Einzelaufnahme* 1729)



c. Easternmost Giant in the Gymnasium Series



a. Horse Tamers of Monte Cavallo, Heads



b. Horse Tamers of Monte Cavallo

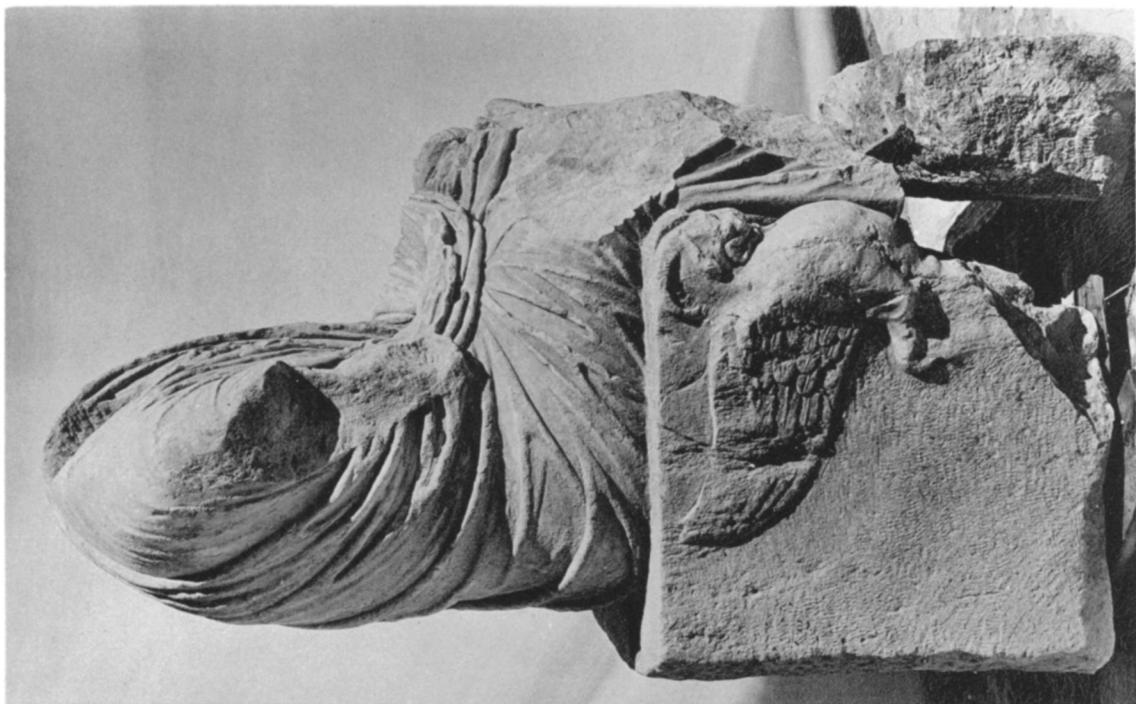


b



a

Seated Figure (S 826)



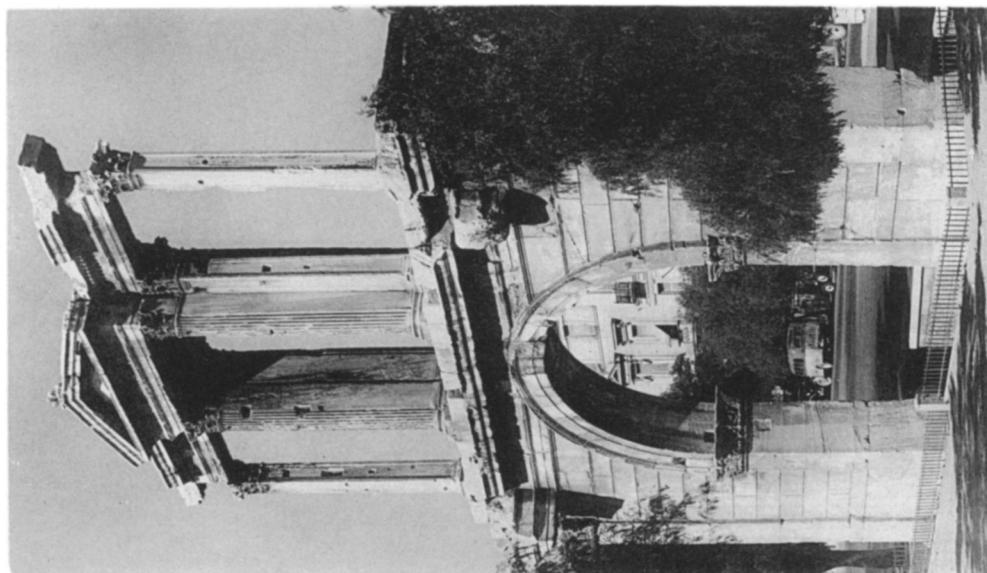
a. Seated Figure (S 930), Right Side



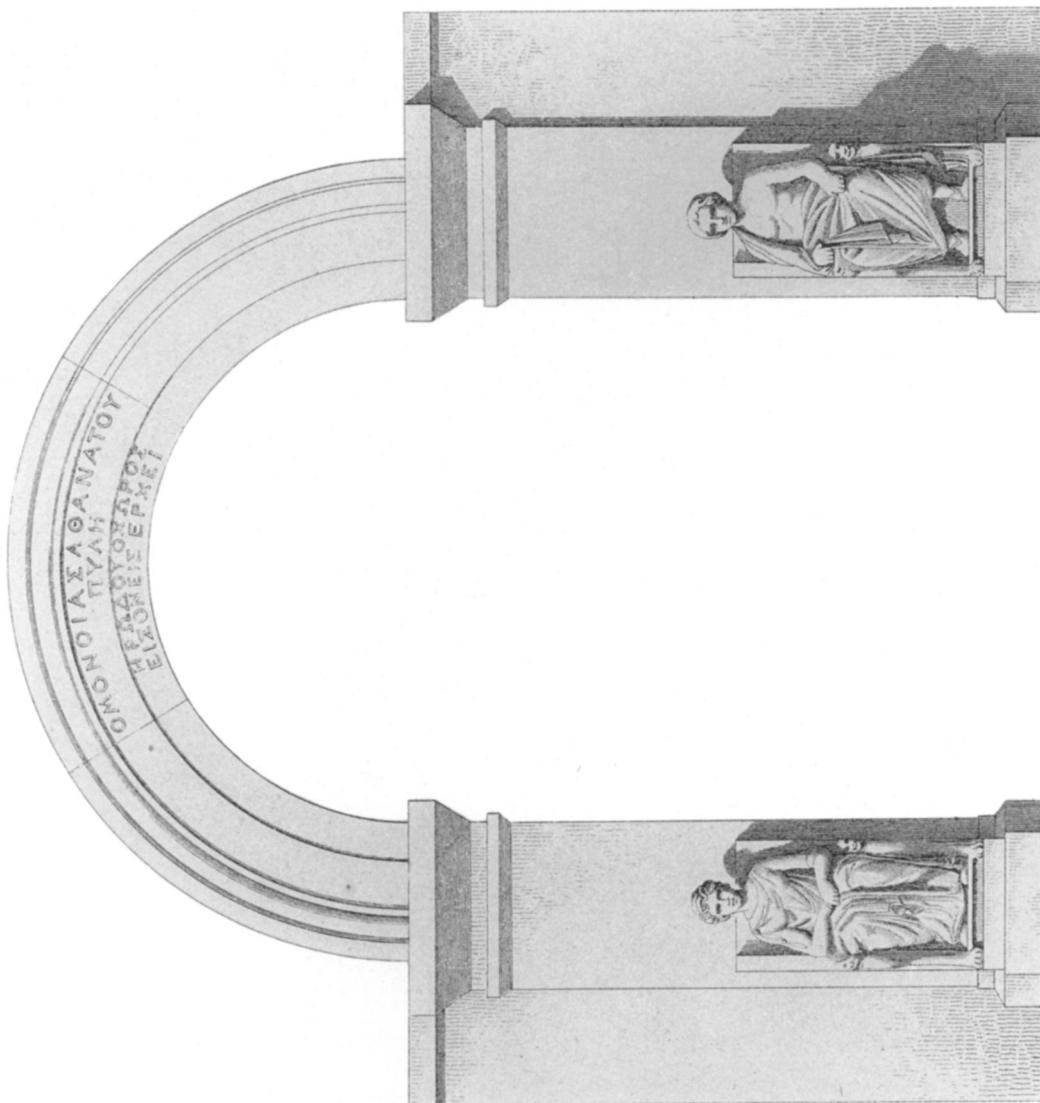
b. Seated Figure (S 930), Front



c. Fragment of Marble Chair (S 1304)



a. Arch of Hadrian in Athens



b. "Gateway of Eternal Harmony" at Marathon  
(Le Bas-Reinach, *Voyage Archéologique*, pl. 90)