

THE OLDEST ORIGINAL SYNAGOGUE BUILDING IN THE DIASPORA

THE DELOS SYNAGOGUE RECONSIDERED

ABSTRACT

The original function of the synagogue on Delos has long been contested, and can be determined only through analysis of the architectural history of the building. In this article, the author reconsiders the history of the building's construction on the basis of fieldwork to date. Five phases of construction are distinguished: two predate 88 B.C. and the remaining three date between 88 and the end of the second century A.D. The structure's most characteristic features—a large hall, a water reservoir, orientation toward the east, and an isolated location on the eastern seashore—are not consistent with those of a private house, a meeting place for an association, or a pagan cult building, but rather confirm its function as a synagogue from the earliest phase onward.

INTRODUCTION

The synagogue on Delos is the earliest known to date, either in the Diaspora or in Palestine.¹ Its identification has long been the subject of heated debate. During the last 30 years or so a consensus has emerged that the building was an assembly hall for Jews or Samaritans, but this consensus pertains only to the building's very last phase of use. In several recent publications it is argued that the building was first erected either as a private house or as a pagan meeting place for an association. It is argued here,

1. This article is based on fieldwork carried out on Delos during the summers of 2000 and 2003. First I want to express appreciation to the directors of the *École française d'Athènes*, Roland Étienne and Dominique Mulliez, and to Panayotis Chatzidakis of the 21st Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, who helped make the necessary research on the site possible. Furthermore, I enjoyed and very much profited from the hospitality generously

accorded to me in the excavation house of the *École française*. A debt of gratitude is owed to several persons for inspiring discussions, helpful suggestions, and critical comments: Angelos Chaniotis, Veronique Chankowski, Jens-Arne Dickmann, Jean-Charles Moretti, Anders Runesson, and the anonymous *Hesperia* reviewers. Anders Runesson also generously and kindly provided me with his recently published thesis and his latest article on the

synagogue in Ostia, neither of which was available in any German library during the preparation of this article.

Numbers such as *GD* (*Guide de Délos*) 79, 80, and so on, refer to building, not page, numbers unless otherwise indicated; see also Moretti 2001.

All drawings and photographs are by the author. The scales in Figs. 23 and 44 are 1.00 m in length; those in all other photographs are 0.50 m in length.

however, that the building was conceived and used as a synagogue from the beginning, that is, from the time of its initial construction, in the period before 88 B.C.

The building in question, *GD* 80, is situated on what was the eastern side of the city of Delos, far from the main harbor and the city center with its sanctuaries, public places, and commercial areas. It now belongs to the area known as the Quartier du stade (Fig. 1), which is largely unexcavated and, today, comprises mostly residential buildings, a building that was used as a meeting place for an association (*GD* 79a), and an important complex of agonistic buildings (gymnasium, *xyste*, stadium, *GD* 76–78). In contrast to all these constructions, *GD* 80 is located immediately on the shore, at the southern end of a large bay that served in antiquity as a small, well-protected harbor, accessible even during rough weather.² The maximum exterior dimensions of the rectangular structure are now 28.30 m (N–S) × 30.70 m (E–W), the full eastern extent being unknown. *GD* 80 consists of three parts (Fig. 2): two large rooms, A and B, similarly equipped with marble benches, in addition to a throne in room A (a lime kiln was installed in room A in a later phase); area C, essentially the east half of the building, which includes a marble stylobate running north–south, marble benches preserved in the northwest corner, and an entrance in the south wall; and the D-complex, consisting of several small rooms (D1–D7), one of which (D1) gave access to a large water reservoir.

Although the stadium was established in the period of Delian independence (314–167/6 B.C.), the major development of the Quartier du stade dates to the following period, after the Romans conquered the island, declared it a free port, and gave control to the Athenians. Delos soon became a booming cosmopolitan trade center, and the city grew considerably in order to house the numerous merchants from across the Mediterranean world who established themselves in the tax-free port. Even though the island was sacked twice, in 88 B.C. and 69 B.C. by, respectively, the troops of Mithridates VI and then pirates under Athenodoros, its abandonment and decline during the first century B.C. can be attributed more to the influence of increasingly successful Roman ports such as Puteoli and Ostia.

After André Plassart excavated *GD* 80 in 1912–1913, he published only a short report accompanied by a schematic plan.³ Some 50 years later, Philippe Bruneau dedicated a much more detailed study to the building, providing an accurate plan, sectional drawings, and an epigraphic register.⁴ Recently, L. Michael White and Donald D. Binder have offered new theories regarding the history and function of *GD* 80, based on their own

2. The small mole at Ghourna, which serves today for anchorage during stormy weather, is situated farther north than the remains that are identified as those of an ancient eastern harbor; see Papageorgiou-Venetas 1981, pp. 105–106, fig. 85; *Delos* XXXIX, pp. 122–123, documents VI, XXXIII.

For the historical development and

the buildings of the Quartier du stade, see *GD*, pp. 200–208, plan III.

3. Plassart 1913, republished as Plassart 1914. A plan is published only in Plassart 1914, but this is not the original plan that Plassart had drafted in 1913 and sent to *Revue biblique* as an illustration of his text. The editors of the journal lost the plan and, in lieu of

it, printed a rough drawing. Plassart's original plan is not stored in the archives of the École française d'Athènes and could not be consulted. I am indebted to Kalliopi Christofi for this information.

4. Bruneau 1970, pp. 480–493; see also Bruneau 1982, 1988.

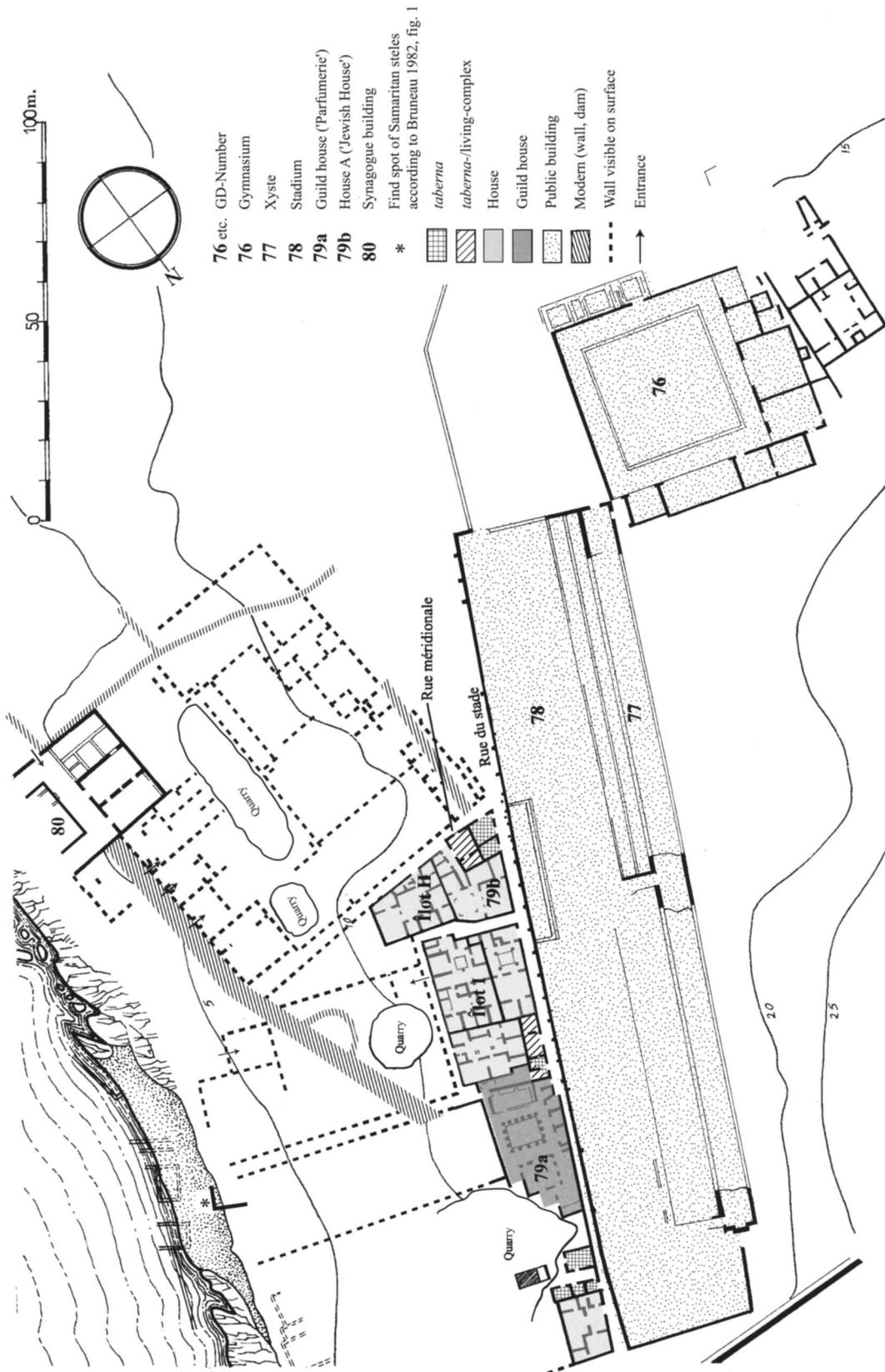


Figure 1. Delos, plan of the Quartier du stade. After GD, plan III

examinations of the archaeological remains.⁵ In addition, *GD 80* is addressed to a greater or lesser degree in all studies on ancient synagogues, especially in works on early examples and the evidence from the Diaspora.⁶

Despite its importance and early date, however, *GD 80* has yet to be published comprehensively. Therefore, much information has been unavailable until now, including, for example, an extensive record of all the architectural elements of the building; a catalogue of all material discovered; a detailed reconstruction of the construction history based on the architecture itself and on excavations since 1913; extensive documentation with photographs and drawings; and an examination of the immediate surroundings and the quarter in which the building is situated.

Ideally, such documentation should be accomplished by an interdisciplinary team consisting of scholars familiar with the specific architecture and archaeology of Delos and specialists in Jewish culture and history. As the completion and publication of such a comprehensive study seems still to be well in the future, however, the only alternative is to pursue research more limited in scope and with more modest goals. In this article, therefore, I address just one major issue not resolved in previous studies: the history of the edifice according to the evidence visible above ground, and the building's nature and probable function in the different phases of that history. It is by examining principally the extant remains of *GD 80* in Delos that I hope to provide new information and insights for the ongoing study of early synagogues.

As the precise function and use of early synagogues in the Diaspora and in Palestine remain the subject of much controversy,⁷ treatment of the architecture and the development of *GD 80* should be independent of the issues of its identification and function. Consequently, the first section of this article is limited to an examination of the architectural remains. On the basis of the materials, building techniques, and types of bonding used in the construction of the walls and rooms,⁸ different complexes of walls can be identified, each of which distinguishes particular parts of the building.

Whether these wall systems correspond to single phases, and whether the sequence of such phases can be established with any degree of certainty, is discussed in the second section, which is not limited to the reconstruction of the architectural development, but also includes reflections on the character of each phase and the possible function of the building at that time. In order to make clear to what extent my reconstruction of the history of the building differs from those previously published, these two sections are preceded by a short summary of the most important reconstructions to date, those submitted by Bruneau, White, and Binder.⁹

In the last major section, I address the question of when the building was first considered a synagogue and used as such—whether from the beginning or only in a later phase—and what criteria allow us to determine its function in the different phases. The value of the available information (from the architecture, equipment, comparanda from other synagogue buildings, and literary and epigraphic sources) is discussed briefly in this context. A short summary and suggestions for further research conclude the article.

5. White 1987; 1990, pp. 64–67 (reprinted in 1996); 1997a, pp. 332–342; Binder 1999, pp. 297–317.

6. It is not possible to list them all, but for an extensive survey of earlier literature, see White 1987; Binder 1999, pp. 297–317. Recent works include Kraabel 1995, pp. 109–112 (an unrevised reprint of Kraabel 1979); McLean 1996, pp. 192–195; Richardson 1996, p. 97; Rutgers 1996; Hachlili 1998, pp. 35–39; Levine 2000, pp. 100–105; Runesson 2001a, pp. 185–189; Claußen 2002, pp. 192–194; Gruen 2002, pp. 110–111, n. 41.

7. Cf. the different points of view in the most recent comprehensive studies: Binder 1999; Levine 2000; Runesson 2001a; Claußen 2002. For an excellent analysis of the history of research, see Runesson 2001a, pp. 67–168.

8. For an extensive discussion of the criteria relevant to the discernment of building phases, see Trümper 1998, pp. 158–165.

9. This short summary certainly cannot do full justice to the extensive and complex argumentation in each of these studies. Important points will be treated in detail during discussion of the respective issues.

PREVIOUS RECONSTRUCTIONS OF *GD 80*

In his first study of *GD 80*, Bruneau distinguished two phases, the second comprising only the division of the main hall into two rooms (A and B).¹⁰ He submits that, in light of the fact that three inscribed statue bases and one block with a dedication and a graffito, all from the nearby gymnasium (*GD 76*), were integrated into the east wall of the main hall (A/B), the building could have been erected only after the destruction of the gymnasium by the troops of Mithridates VI in 88 B.C. From the beginning, it could have been conceived as a Jewish assembly hall.

This view is amended slightly in Bruneau's later article with the insertion of an intermediary phase consisting of the reconstruction of the east wall of rooms A and B with the reused material from the gymnasium.¹¹ Accordingly, the original building can be dated to the period before 88 B.C., that is, sometime in the second century B.C. Although clear evidence for its original function is conspicuous in its absence, the measures taken in the second phase, after 88 B.C., most probably corresponded with the structure's use as a synagogue, either refurbished or otherwise transformed from a predecessor of unknown nature into a Jewish building. The last discernible alteration of the architecture (the third phase, involving the division of the hall) could have been realized at any time until the end of the second century A.D., when *GD 80* fell out of use.

White argued that the building was originally a private house, erected in the second century B.C. and defined by gneiss walls that delimited the large hall (A/B) and the complex of rooms to its south (D).¹² Renovations of this dwelling then occurred in two stages, in the late-second and mid-first centuries B.C. The first renovation, the conversion of the house into a synagogue edifice, included the modification of the portico in area C to create a three-winged portico entrance on the side that fronts the sea, and perhaps the partitioning that resulted in rooms A and B. In the second stage of renovation, dated to after the Mithridatic destruction of 88 B.C., the east wall of rooms A and B was rebuilt with reused blocks and the rooms themselves may have been refurbished. Even though White's description is extensive and illustrated by a plan indicating four different types of walls, some questions concerning the construction history remain.¹³

10. Bruneau 1970, pp. 480–493, pls. B–H, with an excellent field plan, detailed plans, sections, and other drawings (see Fig. 2 here).

11. In Bruneau 1982, plans indicating the different phases are absent, as they are in the former publication; in addition, the sequence of the three phases is not clearly described in the text and can be divined only in general terms.

12. White 1987. White 1990, pp. 64–67, is a summary of White 1987, but both include the same plan

indicating the different walls and phases. Because the plan in White 1987 (p. 157, fig. 2) has no scale or north arrow, however, it is advisable to consult White 1990, p. 65, fig. 10.

13. First, the embellishment of the portico to create a “tristoa” (for discussion of this and related terms, see n. 74) suggests the existence of a simpler predecessor (a single colonnade at the west?) that is neither described in the text nor indicated on the plan. Binder (1999, p. 308, n. 160) has interpreted this situation as follows: “We should

note that White believes that the porticus was a later addition, though one added before the second phase when the dividing wall was placed between Room A/B.”

Second, can two completely different wall types, gneiss/granite and White's (1987, p. 148) composite “SR” (consisting of mixed gneiss and granite with some marble and spoil material), be assigned to one phase without further comment? This probably induced McLean (1996, p. 195) to suggest a merging of White's phases 2 and 3 into

White was not the first to identify the original building as a domestic residence, but he was “the most vigorous proponent of this viewpoint.”¹⁴ It is interesting to note, however, that most scholars writing about synagogues after the publication of White’s article in 1987 follow his hypotheses, and usually reprint his schematic plan instead of Bruneau’s much more detailed field plan.¹⁵

Both Bruneau and White agree that *GD* 80 is situated in what was a residential quarter and was surrounded by buildings, but they do not try to establish a relative chronology between the building and its neighbors.¹⁶ They also agree that a thin wall in D (Fig. 3, “Predecessor(?) granite wall”), which was made entirely of granite and is now razed to the ground, does not fit into any phase of the building’s history and must, therefore, belong to an earlier structure that stood on the same site.

Recently, Binder has tried to rehabilitate the construction history proposed by Belle D. Mazur in 1935, which was challenged by Bruneau in 1970 and again in 1982, and successfully, as no one has supported Mazur’s ideas since then.¹⁷ Mazur came to the conclusion that the building as she reconstructed it could never have functioned as a synagogue, yet Binder has no problem identifying it as a Jewish, or rather Samaritan, assembly hall, at least in its second phase. According to him, following Mazur, the original building comprised the large hall A/B, the D-complex, and a courtyard of enormous size (28 × 28 m) with a full peristyle of eight columns on a side. He then conjectures that rooms to the north and to the south of the courtyard, which are not yet excavated, also could have been part of the building. Later changes (second phase) consisted of some additions in the D-complex and, primarily, the division of the large hall and the renovation of its east wall (both incorporating reused marble blocks from the gymnasium and, therefore, dating after 88 B.C.). Although Binder does not completely reject the hypothesis that the building was constructed as a synagogue, he favors an alternative scenario: the building was erected as a cultic hall by a pagan association in the second century B.C., but after 88 B.C. it was taken over by Jews (or rather Samaritans) who renovated it and transformed it into a synagogue.¹⁸

one, thus combining three different wall systems. The plan and the reconstruction of the history as presented by Hachlili (1998, pp. 37–38, fig. 36) are confusing and will, therefore, not be discussed in detail.

14. Binder 1999, p. 307, n. 155, with further references.

15. Those who follow White include Rutgers (1996, p. 94); McLean (1996, pp. 192–195); Richardson (1996, p. 97); Hachlili (1998, pp. 35–39); Levine (2000, pp. 100–105); and Clausen (2002, pp. 192–194). Two exceptions are Binder (1999, pp. 297–317) and Runesson (2001a, pp. 185–189).

16. As the bonding and abutment of walls is not marked on White’s plan (1987, p. 157, fig. 2), it suggests an extension of the first building to the west and an extension or contemporary building to the north in his second phase. Bruneau’s much more detailed plan (1970, pl. B) shows no wall at the west, but one abutting and one bonding wall each to the north.

17. Binder 1999, pp. 297–317; I have had no access to Mazur’s book (Mazur 1935), but her ideas seem to be fully and clearly summarized by Binder, who also reprints her restored plan as fig. 15. In addition, Binder reprints Bruneau’s plan (1970, pl. B) but pro-

vides no plans of his own of the different phases. The “field plan” published by Foerster (1981, p. 166, no source given) might have been taken from Mazur’s publication as well: it shows a platform in the middle of hall A/B that was observed and mentioned only by Mazur; see Bruneau 1970, p. 481. Mazur’s plan could be based on Plas-sart’s original plan, now lost (see above, n. 3).

18. For the identification as a Samaritan rather than a Jewish synagogue, which is not relevant to the construction history, see below in detail, n. 123.

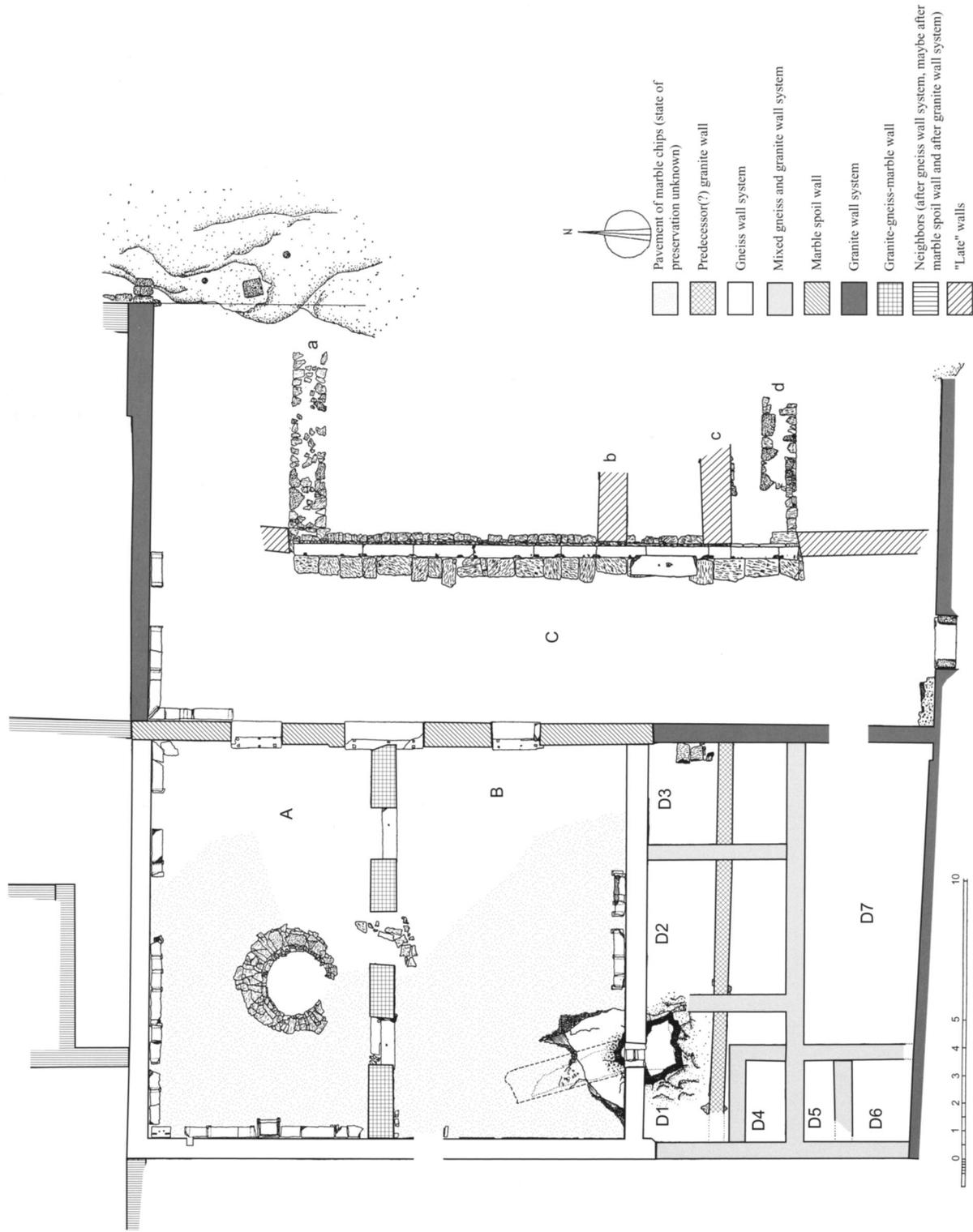


Figure 3. GD 80, plan showing different wall systems. After Bruneau 1970, pl. B

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA FROM GD 80

The field plan (Fig. 2) and sectional drawings published by Bruneau provide much useful information for the reconstruction of the building's architectural development, such as the materials used, sizes of the walls, wall joints, preserved stucco decoration, and elevation drawings. Some important details are missing, however, and others do not correspond to the archaeological evidence;¹⁹ since the documentation of neither White nor Binder (including plans and photographs) supplies the missing data, a close examination of the actual remains is indispensable.

Five wall systems, which denote different parts of the building, are distinguished here, and special attention is given to the walls of neighboring edifices and to the features of Binder's "courtyard" C.²⁰ It is of paramount importance to distinguish clearly between the different wall systems and to determine which walls are to be associated with one another. Furthermore, in each case it must be carefully considered which criterion is the more important and revealing: the material and the technique used to build the wall, or how it was bonded (joined) to another wall. Even though the analysis of wall bonding is, in general, a valuable criterion in the study of architecture, bonding must be evaluated with caution, because walls of different phases can be joined without leaving evidence of their different ages.²¹ The disregard of wall systems has led to misinterpretations in previous publications, as will be demonstrated with relevant examples.

GNEISS WALLS

Solid thick walls made of regular gneiss blocks delimited a large hall (A/B) that measured 16.80 m (N-S) × 14.40 m (E-W),²² with three entrances in the east wall (Figs. 2, 3) that were, from the beginning, provided with marble thresholds (see below). The exterior of the north facade was covered with red, waterproof stucco, but the external face of the east wall may have been decorated with finer white stucco (see below). The floor of the hall

19. Bruneau 1970, pl. B: the pavement of marble chips described in the text and in *Délos* XXIX, p. 197, no. 134, is completely absent in room A and is only summarily shown in room B, with no indication of the extent to which it is actually preserved. Surprisingly, Bruneau does not interpret the most obvious facts of his excellent plan, such as walls abutting the stucco of neighboring walls; he assigns them all to a single phase.

20. Because the reconstruction and function of area C cannot be determined with certainty, it is not possible to identify it clearly as a courtyard, an area with a colonnade or a pi-shaped

entrance portico, or another feature (see below, pp. 542–554). It was certainly only partly covered and, thus, served as a light source for hall A/B and at least part of the D-complex, but for convenience it will hereafter be referred to as courtyard C, or the courtyard, or simply C.

21. This holds especially true for the exterior corners of buildings (see below). With regard to the conditions under which the walls on Delos were examined, and the criteria that were applied while examining them, see Trümper 1998, pp. 158–165.

22. Measurements do not include wall thicknesses.



Figure 4. Room A, southwest corner: two layers of finishing plaster on west wall, and gap between marble chip floor and partition wall A/B; from east

was probably surfaced with a simple waterproof pavement of marble chips that was not subdivided or decorated in any way. The interior walls were covered with stucco most likely in “Masonry Style,” of which only the red plinth course is preserved (Figs. 4, 5).²³

23. See *Délos* XXIX, p. 197, no. 134; a patterned pavement could have provided some hints as to the use of the room, e.g., borders along the walls suggesting the placement of couches and therefore use as a dining room. For such a composition in a simple pavement of marble chips, see the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos* (*GD* 57), room E, in *Délos* VI, pp. 79–80, pl. I (and cf. Fig. 35, below). Unfortunately, it is nowhere stated whether the partition wall between rooms A and B is set on the marble chip floor; if it is set on the floor, the latter would clearly be assigned to the large undivided hall. According to Bruneau 1970, pl. C, the partition wall was neither set on the pavement nor equipped with a proper foundation; Bruneau (1970, pl. D) provides a detailed plan and elevation of this wall, but with no indication of the pavement.

Cleaning at some points along the bottom of the partition wall has shown

that the wall was not set on the marble chip floor. Further, in both rooms the marble chip floor does not neatly abut the partition wall. On the contrary, there are quite large, irregular gaps (0.05–0.25 m) between the wall and the remnants of the marble chip floor (especially in the southwest corner of room A, the northwest corner of room B [Figs. 4, 5], and in front of all three doorways). The small gaps were filled with earth, the larger ones with stones. In and around the central doorway several marble and gneiss blocks are spread irregularly (cf. Bruneau 1970, pl. B), and although these blocks between the two sections of wall could have formed a kind of foundation for the threshold, which is missing today, those north and south of these wall sections could date to a crude repair of the damaged marble chip floor. In aggregate, this evidence suggests that the marble chip floor was deliberately

destroyed in part when the partition wall was built. Therefore, the erection of the partition wall serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the installation of the marble chip floor. A trial trench in the central doorway could reveal whether the partition wall has a proper foundation there, and if so, how deep it is. Because architectural elements are stored in both rooms, a lime kiln was installed in room A, and large parts of both rooms are filled with earth or plants, the marble chip floor is not fully visible today, nor is its preservation and extent indicated on the older plans (see above, n. 19). But according to the areas that were already visible and to those exposed by partial cleaning, this floor seems to be well preserved in both rooms.

The character and preservation of the stucco on *GD* 80 are neither described by Bruneau (1970) nor correctly indicated on his plan (pl. B), which

Figure 5. Room B, northwest corner: gap between marble chip floor and partition wall A/B, filled with stones; from south



shows traces only on the west wall of B, the north walls of D2 and D3, and the east wall of D3. Even without extensive cleaning, however, remains of stucco are also visible on the west wall of A (remnants of two colored finishing coats; see below), the south wall of B (undercoat), the west wall of D1 (undercoat), and the east face of the east wall of D3 (undercoat). The evidence in the southwest corner of room A (Fig. 4) allows us to reconstruct the chronology of the application of the stucco and the construction of the partition wall of A/B. On the west wall of A is a layer of red finishing plaster that continues behind the partition wall, but from the very bottom of the west wall up to only ca. 0.10–0.20 m above the floor; above this no stucco can be seen on the west wall behind the partition wall. Therefore, the stucco could have been partly destroyed deliberately, as was the marble chip floor, when the

partition wall was erected. A second layer of a less fine, simple white finishing plaster covers the red finishing plaster, but only in the southwest corner for ca. 0.54 m north from the partition wall, i.e., in the gap between the corner and the first bench (Fig. 4). Under the benches along the west wall of A only the layer of red finishing plaster is visible. The second layer (of white plaster) does not clearly continue behind the partition wall and so could have been added together with this wall as a repair of the older, probably partially damaged plaster. Elsewhere, no repair of the first stucco layer seems to have been deemed necessary after the installation of the partition wall.

The application of the first layer of finishing plaster and the laying of the marble chip floor were certainly done at approximately the same time and in the following sequence: (1) the undercoats of the stucco, which reach as deep as

0.20 m below the marble chip floor, were applied; (2) the marble chip floor was laid; (3) the finishing plaster layer of the stucco, which overlaps the marble chip floor, was then added. Because only the lowest parts of the stucco are preserved (i.e., those near the level of the floor), the quality of the stucco (relief stucco or stucco with incised lines, partially or fully polychrome) and the style of the wall system (e.g., “Masonry Style” or “First Pompeian Style,” which is usual on Delos) cannot be reconstructed with certainty; since an undivided red wall would be without parallel on Delos, however, a wall in “Masonry Style” with a red plinth course seems most likely. Although it cannot be ruled out that a complete renovation of *GD* 80 left no traces of earlier decorations, it seems more likely that the visible marble chip floor and stucco of A/B were installed at the beginning and were never renewed in later phases.



Figure 6. Room D1, northwest corner: change of wall system in west wall, just south of joint with north wall; from southeast

sky, that is, built as a rather expensive, luxurious courtyard.²⁴ The roofing was presumably realized as a simple ridged roof with the ridge beam oriented north–south. Sufficient lighting of the hall would have been admitted by the three doorways and could have been ameliorated with additional windows in the north and west walls, as neighboring buildings had yet to be constructed.

The nature of the extension of the gneiss building to the south and east is unknown. The west wall of D1 becomes considerably thinner some 0.30 m south of the northwest corner, and although no clear joint can be discerned, the material and construction technique change visibly (Fig. 6). In addition, traces of stucco with a white finishing plaster are preserved on the south face of the north wall, in the joint with the west wall. Since this stucco begins at a height of about 1.40 m above today's floor level, origi-

24. Mazur (1935) was the first to challenge the idea that the large hall A/B was roofed; because of its considerable dimensions, and with the example of the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes* (*GD* 57), room E (see Fig. 35, below), to consider, she reconstructed it as a courtyard. Bruneau (1970, p. 481, n. 3) states that “on ne peut décider si, dans le premier état du monument, la salle était couverte; mais après sa division en deux salles A et B, la couverture était sûrement possible du point de vue technique et son existence est assurée par les données de la fouille.” Binder (1999, p. 313) cites Mazur 1935 at length but does not comment on this point; instead, he refers repeatedly to

the (covered) hall A/B of the first phase, and elaborates (Binder 1999, pp. 307–308) in detail on its enormous size without discussing the roofing. White (1987) does not mention this problem either.

Similar problems were discussed for the large room E (15.80 × 13.37 m) of the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes* (*Délos* VI, pp. 77–81). Picard reconstructed it as an open courtyard, the third one of the building, but I am convinced that this huge banquet or assembly room was roofed and, most likely, without supports, because no traces of such have been found on the pavement. (The full argumentation cannot be given here; it will be included

in a study of all buildings for the meetings of associations of Delos, which I am currently preparing.) Precise, reliable information regarding the spans that could be roofed without supports in the Hellenistic period is rarely supplied in the scholarly literature. According to Müller-Wiener (1988, pp. 100–101, fig. 5), this was possible for rooms with a width of 8–12 m, at most 15 m. Lauter (1986, pp. 236–238), however, enumerates several Hellenistic examples with spans of up to 18 m. Coulton (1976, p. 79) cites the *Portique de Philippe* (*GD* 3) in Delos, over 11 m wide, and North Stoa B4 at Cyrene, 14.7 m wide, which were both roofed in a single span.

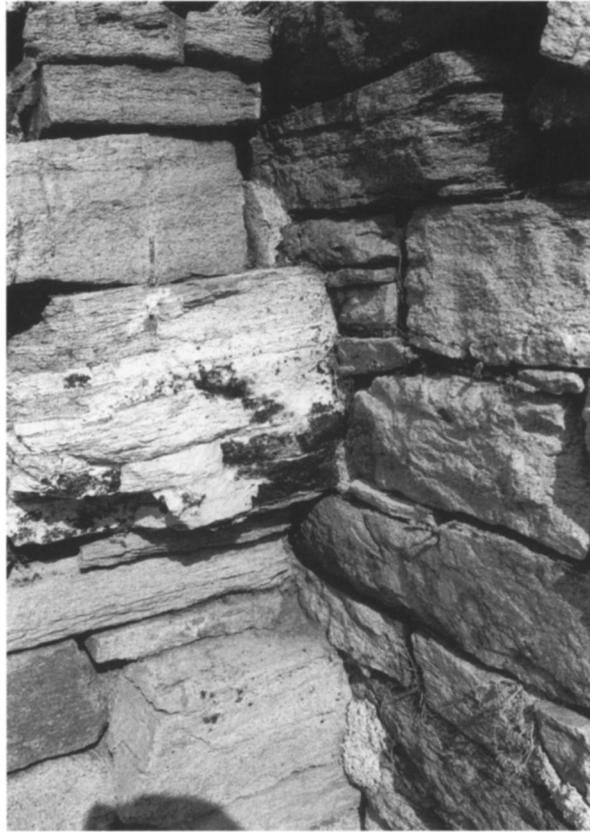


Figure 7. Detail of Figure 6 showing, in the wall joint (*upper middle*), remains of stucco of a subsequently blocked window jamb on the north wall; from southeast

nally it must have decorated the jamb of a window in the west wall whose dimensions cannot be reconstructed (Fig. 7). Both the change in building technique and the blocking of the window are, most probably, due to the renovation of the west wall in a later phase, when the building was extended to the south. Because the window was blocked, it does not seem likely that mere technical reasons were responsible for the reduction of the thickness of the west wall of D1.²⁵ This view is confirmed by the character of the east wall of D3, which also becomes thinner and was, judging from the material used and the construction technique, certainly remodeled at some point, though not at the same time as the west wall (see below, pp. 534–535).

In short, even if issues involving the extension and layout of the southern part of the building remain open, it is certain at least that the building continued farther south and thus included the water reservoir under rooms B and D1.²⁶ In addition to the foregoing evidence, expansion is

25. Among the technical reasons that could be cited is the fact that parts of the D-complex might not have been covered; alternatively, its roof may have been lower than the roof of A/B, and/or supported by internal partition walls. For an elevation of the west wall of D1, see Bruneau 1970, pl. C.

26. Contrary to statements in most previous publications (e.g., Bruneau 1970, p. 482, “cistern”), this feature is not a cistern. Its walls and floor were not entirely covered with waterproof stucco and therefore were not impermeable, nor was it filled with collected rainwater; instead, it was (and still is)

filled by groundwater, like many other small wells and large reservoirs on Delos. The relieving arch of this reservoir was certainly not visible from room B, as assumed by Binder (1999, p. 301), but was blocked and covered with stucco (see below, pp. 575–576).



Figure 8. Partition wall of rooms D2 and D3 abutting stucco on south face of north wall; from south

suggested by more fine white stucco on the exterior face of the south wall of B;²⁷ most probably this decoration dates to the first phase of use or at least to an early phase, because the later partition wall of D2/D3 abuts it (Fig. 8).

The position of the reservoir, partly under hall A/B and partly under D1, is quite unusual. Whether the location was a deliberate choice with regard to a specific function of the reservoir or was selected for merely practical reasons²⁸ cannot be determined with certainty, particularly because the exact size and layout of the original building and the possible influence of external factors²⁹ are unknown. In theory, the foundation of the predecessor wall in D1–D3, situated immediately south of the reservoir, might be identified as remnants of the original south facade; but given the reduced width, different material (granite), and the fact that the wall was not parallel to the north wall, such a reconstruction would hardly be convincing.³⁰

The matter of the expansion of the building to the east is also open to speculation. It seems rather unlikely that the large hall was entered directly from some public space, street, or place. The idea of a colonnade in front of the building finds many parallels in Delos, but none involves such a long portico or is equipped with a stylobate, and certainly not a stylobate of marble.³¹ A courtyard belonging to the building must have been de-

27. On Delos, the exterior faces of walls are usually covered with a coarse, red, waterproof stucco.

28. A natural gap in the rocks was exploited for this reservoir; this might have been just a cost-reducing measure, or due to the fact that farther south and east no groundwater was available.

29. Such factors include the urban

development of the area, the size of the plot of land, the nature of the terrain, and especially the presence or absence of groundwater.

30. This wall (see above, Fig. 3; also Fig. 9) predates all visible walls of the D-complex: the partition walls of D1/D2 and of D2/D3, as well as the east wall of D3/D7. As only further

excavation might clarify whether this wall belongs to the gneiss wall system or to an earlier building, the wall is omitted from the following discussion.

31. See Bruneau 1978; most of the columns of the “rues à colonnes” are of granite, and the few preserved marble columns are mostly unpolished (see below, p. 557 and n. 98, for details).

fined and closed off by walls, but as the preserved north and south walls of courtyard C were certainly established in a later phase, only further excavation can clarify whether they simply replaced predecessors or were part of a later enlargement of the building.

MIXED GNEISS AND GRANITE WALLS

According to the relative chronology, two different sets of walls, or wall systems, were added to the first gneiss configuration. One consisted of mixed gneiss and granite walls that were thinner than those of the large hall but strictly parallel and orthogonal to them (Fig. 3). They define large parts of the visible D-complex, which was extended to the south and divided into several rooms when it was completely remodeled in a second phase.

The inner partition walls of the D-complex (Fig. 9) are not sufficiently preserved to permit the identification of entrances or establish their relationships in all cases.³² The west facade (of D1, D4–D6) is certainly bonded with the north wall of D5/D7, which itself, running east–west, divides the entire D-complex. The wall between D1 and D2 is bonded with this major east–west wall, but the corresponding wall between D2 and D3 abuts the east–west wall at its south end and, as noted above, the stucco on the north wall of D1–D3 (Fig. 8).

Other walls that were not bonded with neighboring walls also suggest that a differentiation of the D-complex took place after its extension south.³³ It is certain that the south and east facades of the D-complex were renovated in a later phase, because they differ in material and orientation from the mixed gneiss and granite walls and are not bonded with them (see below, under “Granite Walls,” and Figs. 18, 19). Yet the original accessibility of this sector cannot be determined with certainty, and any discussion of it must be limited to the visible remains of the remodeled building:

32. Contra Binder (1999, p. 301), this certainly does not suggest “that they were accessed from the roof or through a second story that is no longer extant. If this was the case, then the chambers may have served as storage compartments.” Similarly White (1987, p. 148), cited by McLean (1996, p. 194), had proposed that the “internal partitions may have served as storage or as structural components for access stairs,” but he does not elaborate on what might have been accessed by these stairs, nor does Binder discuss the function of upper-story rooms.

Although the elevations in Bruneau (1970, pl. B) are not abundant (at least not for all walls; see Fig. 2, above), it becomes quite clear that many wall crests are on a level similar to that of the pavement in A/B; and that the

levels of the floors in the rooms differ markedly, most probably because the original surfaces of the earthen floors were not recognized in the early excavations or because their levels have changed considerably since 1912/1913. There certainly were doorways at ground level between the rooms; they were presumably quite simple, without elaborate thresholds and doorposts, and positioned slightly higher than the doorways in the east wall of rooms A and B. This could be the result of the renovation of this complex in a later phase, one that might have included raising the floor levels. In any case, nothing (staircase, finds, structure) attests the existence of a second story for this complex. Furthermore, in the Delian houses known to have had two stories, the ground-floor rooms are

always accessible from the ground floor only, never from above.

It should be noted that the dividing walls of this complex are much more poorly preserved than all the other walls. Were they deliberately demolished, destroyed by fire, or were they made of a perishable material such as earth, which was quite often used in Delos, especially in private architecture? See *Délos* VIII, p. 241; *Délos* XXVII, p. 6.

33. The D5/D6 space was certainly divided in a later phase. The general layout suggests that rooms D4 and D6 were likewise created at a later time, and that the first plan comprised a large corridor/courtyard, D7, and three rooms of fairly equal size, D1–D3. This cannot be proven with the available data, however.



Figure 9. D-complex: general view of partition walls, and water reservoir at lower left; from west

today, there is no doorway in the south wall and only a gap in the east wall leading from courtyard C to the largest room of the complex, D7. Although a threshold, well-made jambs (i.e., those built with larger, well-cut stones), doorposts (independent elements fitted against the jambs as parts of a door frame), and any other evidence for such features are missing, this gap probably corresponds to an ancient entrance.³⁴ According to this hypothesis, the D-complex would have been quite a secluded area with highly restricted accessibility. It is open to speculation whether the original east wall of D3/D7 was provided with more or larger doorways. As far as can be determined from its current state, room D7 must have functioned as a distributional space, probably giving access to D1–D3 and D6. If the wall between D1 and D2 continued to the north wall, access to D1 might have been limited to a kind of narrow corridor that remained after the (subsequent?) creation of D4 (Fig. 9).

Without the—entirely hypothetical—reconstruction of windows in the external and partition walls, the lighting of the D-complex seems problematic, because one single doorway to courtyard C would not have provided sufficient light for all the rooms. One of the rooms could have served as a courtyard or a light well, but clear indications (e.g., waterproof pavement, drain) of such a function are absent.

The possible expansion of the building to the south will have had implications for any construction to the east, but, as stated above, all discussion of the latter remains hypothetical.

34. Part of the gap extends down to the floor level of room D7 and that of courtyard C east of the south portion of the east wall of D7, and part to the surface level of the thresholds of rooms A and B and the crests of the partition walls of the D-complex. At the lower level it is only 0.40 m wide, at the upper 1.30–1.40 m. North and south of this break, the walls are preserved to a height of ca. 0.90 m above the floor level of the courtyard.

WALL WITH MARBLE SPOIL MATERIAL

The second wall system to be added to the gneiss complex comprised only a single wall, the east wall of the large hall A/B (Fig. 10). It was made of gneiss and marble spoils, including inscribed blocks (statue bases and an inscribed dedication base) and plain blocks.³⁵ Both Bruneau and White ascribed the visible state of the wall to a renovation after 88 B.C., but Bruneau forthrightly admits that his hypothesis is fragile, “née moins d’un réexamen de la ruine que d’un souci de vraisemblance historique, celui d’accorder la date de l’implantation des Juifs à Délos et celle de leur Synagogue.”³⁶

In theory, the east wall could have been conceived as an imposing facade distinguished by its remarkable size and the decorative integration of marble blocks employed in its initial construction. The fact that an arch in the south wall of room B, which served as a relieving arch for the water reservoir, is made of reused marble blocks seems to support this possibility because the arch certainly dates to the first building. Evidence contradicting this view, however, is provided by the marble thresholds (Figs. 11–13). Plassart alone noticed that the steps of all three thresholds are each equipped with two sets of pivot and bolt holes. According to his hypothesis the inner, or east, sets of holes were carved when the threshold blocks (whose original contexts are unknown) were reused, in the first phase of GD 80’s history.³⁷ The reuse of all three threshold blocks seems quite reasonable because, in Plassart’s opinion, this wall of gneiss and marble spoils belongs to the first phase of the building’s life, which would mean that there was no remodeling of the east wall, but an extensive integration of reused material from the outset.

On the other hand, the prospect that there were two successive east walls suggests that the two sets of pivot and bolt holes—which, it should be noted, are remarkably similar—in each threshold step correspond with two phases of the wall’s history, or that they testify specifically to the existence of two successive versions of this wall. But a detailed analysis of the threshold blocks shows that they had to be adapted to an enlarged east wall and that, in opposition to Plassart, the outer, or west, sets of holes are later than the inner sets.

The majority of known Delian threshold blocks are laid out in such a way that the pivot and bolt holes do not lie within the thickness of the wall, or between the planes of the doorjambs, but just outside both in the interior, lower step of the threshold itself, so that the leaves of the door would not abut the doorjambs but the wall instead.³⁸ Whereas the inner, east holes of the threshold blocks in question are situated between the planes of the jambs, the outer, west ones correspond to the usual arrangement, being positioned just west of the wall (Figs. 11–13). In addition, parts of the visible wall cover some of the inner pivot holes. Finally, the outer holes are more crudely cut than the inner ones and are carved right next to or even into the west edge of the interior step of the threshold. Given the considerable depth of the thresholds, this seems unnecessary and puzzling as an original arrangement.³⁹

For these reasons, the inner, east set of holes must belong to a previous phase of use, the outer set having been used together with the wall visible

35. See Bruneau 1970, pl. E, with plan and elevation.

36. Bruneau 1982, p. 497. White (1987, p. 148, n. 63) cites Bruneau’s hypothesis as evidence without commenting on the problems or delivering further convincing proof. Like Bruneau, White notices that the east wall bonds with the north and south walls of the large hall; the marble spoil materials are the only signs of remodeling. This is one of the rare cases in which both Bruneau and White willingly acknowledge that a wall, though bonding with neighbors of an earlier phase, was remodeled in a secondary phase, thus giving priority to the differences in wall systems and not, as usual, to the question of bonding. Binder (1999, pp. 299–300) does not discuss these problems, but merely states that the east wall of A/B was rebuilt.

37. Plassart 1914, pp. 523–524.

38. *Délos* VI, fig. 65; *Délos* VIII, pp. 261–286; Ginouvès 1992, pls. 22–24.

39. For a deep step below the threshold and the positions of pivot and bolt holes in the step, see the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes* (GD 57), room E, in *Délos* VI, fig. 65.



Figure 10. Rooms A and B (*right*), their common east wall with reused marble blocks and thresholds (*center*), and courtyard C (*left*); from north

today.⁴⁰ Two conclusions can be drawn from this evidence. First, the elaborate marble thresholds were originally set in a wall of lesser thickness, the later thickening of the wall (Fig. 10) with massive marble blocks requiring a shift of the pivot and bolt holes as far west as possible.⁴¹ Second, the central threshold (Fig. 12) must have been conceived as passable like the other two and used for some time before being blocked by the partition wall of A/B; therefore, this partition wall could not have been built either before or at the same time that the east wall was renovated.⁴²

Yet to what extent, and why, exactly, was the east wall remodeled? The nature of the wall's construction might answer both questions, or at least the first. That the marble spoils were conceived as a deliberate embellishment (which might provide evidence for a new function, or at least a

40. The inconvenient gap thus created between the tread of the threshold and the outer set of holes was probably bridged with a wooden frame or platform.

41. Marks created by the sliding of the valves that pivoted in the inner holes are visible on the north and cen-

tral thresholds (Figs. 11, 12), testifying to a longer first phase or to intensive use. Moreover (Bruneau 1970, pl. E), contrary to the general custom in Delos, the left (here south), not the right, leaf of the north door seems to have been used much more intensively; as the outer, west sets of holes are near the

edges of the lower steps of the thresholds, sliding valves hardly could have left marks, thus providing hints about the primary direction of circulation.

42. As proposed by White (1987) and his followers; see McLean 1996, p. 195; Hachlili 1998, pp. 37–38; also Binder 1999, pp. 299–300.



Figure 11 (*above, left*). Room A, east wall, marble threshold; from south

Figure 12 (*above, right*). Rooms A and B, east wall, central marble threshold; from south

Figure 13 (*right*). Room B, east wall, marble threshold; from north





Figure 14. Courtyard C, northwest corner: north wall (*right*) abutting stucco on west (marble spoil) wall; from southeast

heightened importance, of the building) is unlikely for several reasons. The spoil material is not distributed merely for ease of incorporation or for maximum decorative effect; on the contrary, it is used with great care to stabilize the wall as much as possible. The first visible layer or course consists almost entirely of marble slabs laid as headers that span the entire thickness of the wall. In this way they form a kind of euthyteria for the wall. In the following layers or courses the reused marble blocks are set up vertically and cover only about half the thickness of the wall. The remaining spoil blocks are concentrated in the central part of the wall, framing and stabilizing its critical areas—the doorways. In short, the wall is built with a kind of framework, the marble spoil material serving as frame and studs, and the gneiss blocks as infill. The wall was not simply repaired in its upper parts, but completely remodeled down to its foundations.

To stabilize the wall further, fine white stucco was probably applied, which would have rendered the marble blocks invisible. This supposition depends on the extent of remodeling ascribed to this phase, however, as stucco is preserved only in the joint between the east face of this wall and the abutting north wall of courtyard C (Figs. 14, 15). This exterior corner of the building is only partially excavated; the exposed area includes two marble blocks, separated vertically by an intervening stone, that clearly served to stabilize the outer corner (Fig. 16). But did these blocks belong to the first building, constituting anomalies in the homogenous gneiss walls,⁴³ or to the renovation? Was the first gneiss facade or the marble

43. The exterior northwest corner of A is still under earth and the original southeast and southwest corners of the gneiss building are not preserved. So it cannot be ruled out that one of the other corners, or even all four, included stabilizing marble blocks as well.

Figure 15. Room A, northeast corner: marble block of east (marble spoil) wall with stucco on exterior; from south



Figure 16. Courtyard C, northwest corner: north (granite) wall abutting west (marble spoil) wall, with remains of stucco in joint; from southeast



44. The field plan in Bruneau 1970 (pl. B) shows the east wall of A/B with northern and southern portions that are not as thick as the central portion, suggesting that the former are older than the latter. Elsewhere in Bruneau 1970 (pl. E), however, a detailed plan and elevation of the same wall does not reflect this arrangement, nor does the archaeological evidence.

45. This base was slightly shifted after its excavation and, by 1913, was situated directly in front of the wall; see Plassart 1914, p. 525, for the photograph taken in 1913.

spoil wall revetted with stucco? Neither the interior northeast corner of room A nor the southeast corner of room B provides clear evidence for either possibility. The bonding of the north wall of A with the east wall could have been effected easily during the remodeling, but, alternatively, the interior faces of the north and east walls of A might have been retained, the renovation being limited to that outer corner (Fig. 10).⁴⁴ The southeast corner of B and the northeast corner of D3 are not preserved sufficiently to permit a determination of how the three walls meeting there were bonded to one another (Fig. 17). Since a large marble statue base of Sosilos (*IG XI iv, 1087*) occupied the exact point at which the three walls intersect, the remodeling of the east wall was certainly extended to the corner of room B;⁴⁵ accordingly, the remodeling might have included the northeast corner of room A, which, as just mentioned, was stabilized with marble blocks like the rest of the east wall. The date of the latter is of major importance with regard to the construction sequence of the whole, as is demonstrated below.



Figure 17. Intersection of three wall systems (*left to right*: granite, gneiss, marble spoil) at east end of partition wall D1–D3/B, with marble statue base of Sosilos in foreground; from east

But why was the east wall remodeled in such a careful manner? With its three doorways it was certainly the most fragile wall of A/B and, therefore, most prone to collapse. Obviously, the enlargement of the wall is a response to this danger and not the result of a change in roofing—the other walls were not reinforced at the same time, so the roof could not have been raised appreciably. It is equally unlikely that the addition of a roofed portico required the enlargement of the east wall, for such a portico would have extended farther south (see below, pp. 562, 564) to front the D-complex, the east wall of which seems not to have been enlarged at the same time. It is usually assumed that the wall was destroyed, for example, during the Mithridatic raids and, therefore, needed repair. But this cannot be proven because further evidence for destruction is missing, and the extent of the devastation effected by Mithridates' troops in Delos is unknown.⁴⁶ Thus, the reason for the remodeling must remain uncertain; only its date and the manner in which it was done can be determined.

GRANITE WALLS

The granite wall system comprised several walls that were almost entirely composed of irregular large granite blocks:

1. The north wall of courtyard C, which abuts stucco at the northeast corner of A (Figs. 14–16).⁴⁷ If this corner belongs to the first gneiss building, the north wall could have been added in a second phase; otherwise, it must have been built after the installation of the marble spoil wall.

2. The east wall of the D-complex (D3/D7), which seems to have been completely rebuilt (Fig. 18).⁴⁸ Even though it is clearly bonded with the south wall of D7, the way in which it was joined with the southeast corner of B cannot be judged (as above, Fig. 17). As in the case of the north wall of courtyard C, whether this wall was established before or after the remodeling of the east wall of A/B remains an open question. The north wall of D7, which is bonded with the west facade of the D-complex, abuts

46. See in detail Bruneau 1968, pp. 683–691.

47. See Bruneau 1970, pl. VIII:1, 2.

48. See Bruneau 1970, pl. VIII:1.



Figure 18. D-complex: east and north walls; from southeast

the east wall, but not the stucco that is preserved on the west face of that wall in D3. Therefore, the north wall of D7 is not later than the east wall, but contemporaneous or—because the two walls are not bonded—earlier.

3. The south wall of the D-complex (D6/D7). The wall is bonded with the south wall of courtyard C and the east wall of D7, but seems to be abutted by the west wall of D6 (Figs. 19, 20).⁴⁹ That its orientation differs considerably from that of the other walls can only be noted, not explained.⁵⁰

4. The south wall of courtyard C, including an entrance that was flanked by two monolithic granite jambs (Figs. 20, 21).⁵¹ The granite threshold is barely visible today because one of the jambs has collapsed and now blocks the doorway. Two shallow cuttings on its north edge suggest that a block was added to form a lower step that would have had a set of pivot and bolt holes. In this way, the door could have been closed properly from the courtyard, clearly indicating that the wall was the south limit of the building. This was doubtless an entrance from the outside, from some public space

49. This corner cannot be judged with certainty because its exterior is not visible (see following note). The remarkable difference between the two wall systems that meet at the southwest corner of D6 speaks for itself, however; these walls certainly do not belong to the same phase, as stated by Binder (1999, p. 308, n. 160). His view leads him to a quite desperate conclusion: Since he has noted that, in contrast to the south wall of the D-complex and courtyard C, the north wall of C is not bonded to the original shell of the building, he must assume some later damage to that end of the building, which suggests repairs at the point at

which the walls intersected. Obviously, he did not notice the stucco in the joint between the intersecting walls at the northwest corner of C, nor the remarkable similarity of the south and north walls of C.

50. Today this wall is not visible from the exterior, being completely covered by a modern wall that is built in a technique similar to that of the granite wall system. The modern wall seems to predate the excavation, for it was partially destroyed during the excavations in 1912 and rebuilt in 1913; see Plassart 1914, pp. 524–525, with photographs taken in 1912 and 1913.

51. See Bruneau 1970, pl. C.



Figure 19. Room D6, southwest corner: west (mixed gneiss and granite) wall abutting south (granite) wall; from northeast



Figure 20. Courtyard C, southwest corner: three to four courses of bonded south and west granite walls, with upper portion of south wall poorly built up in modern times; from northeast



Figure 21. Courtyard C, south wall with entrance; from northwest

into the building.⁵² Yet its modest construction suggests that this was only a side entrance, conveniently placed in proximity to the possible “service” area D1–D7. A carefully planned hierarchy of doorways within this building is attested by the fact that the only two preserved posts of the doorways to A/B and between A and B are of marble.⁵³

Despite their modest construction, the granite walls are of paramount importance to our understanding of the building because they define its actual form, especially that of the courtyard in the east. While they can safely be dated later than the first gneiss wall and the mixed gneiss and granite walls, establishing the sequence of the granite walls and the marble spoil wall is highly problematic.

GRANITE-GNEISS-MARBLE WALL

The last wall system to be discussed involves only the partition wall A/B, which divided the hall into two separate rooms of virtually equal size. Its remains are even thicker than those of the east wall of A/B and consist primarily of large regular granite blocks, small gneiss blocks, and reused marble blocks.⁵⁴ Its remarkable thickness might have been associated with an alteration of the roof and ceiling, or it could be attributable simply to the apparent absence of a proper foundation, and to the fact that it is not bonded with the adjoining walls. Of the three doorways, two are still equipped with a marble threshold; the better preserved of the two shows pivot and bolt holes for a door, thus confirming that the entrances between A and B could have been closed by double-leaf doors. Whereas the central entrance in the east wall of A/B was certainly blocked by this huge partition wall, the north entrance, which gave access to room A and was found blocked at the time of excavation, could have been walled up at any time.⁵⁵ Once closed to courtyard C, room A was accessible only from

52. If “additional rooms were connected to the south wall of the building in a (still) unexcavated area,” as hypothesized by Binder (1999, p. 312), following Mazur (though without a page reference), the pivot and bolt holes would have been placed on the south side of this threshold: the normal direction of circulation requires a movement from the central distributional area, the courtyard, into the surrounding rooms. Yet this threshold is clearly planned for movement from south to north, from the outside of the building to the inside. In short, this is an entrance to the building and not to a room that was part of it. Since the visible south wall of the building displays no other doorways or evidence for them, the idea of an extension of this building to the south can be dismissed with certainty.

53. These are the south doorpost of the doorway into B—the only doorway

of the three entrances to A/B that was used until the end of the building’s life—and the east doorpost of the west doorway between A and B; see Bruneau 1970, pls. D, E.

54. See Bruneau 1970, pls. C, D, with plan and elevation. Contrary to White 1987, p. 152, n. 76, no inscribed stone of the gymnasium (*GD 76*) was incorporated into this wall. White probably meant the stone bearing *IG XI iv 1152*, which is now situated immediately south of this wall, though its exact findspot and original position are unknown; see Bruneau 1982, p. 496, fig. 11. Binder (1999, pp. 299–300, n. 131), probably following White, also states that “this wall incorporates elements from the nearby gymnasium” and would, therefore, date to the period after 88 B.C.

55. That it was blocked is mentioned by Plassart (1914, p. 523). In

theory, this could have occurred any time after the installation of the marble spoil wall, but despite its importance for the accessibility to and the use of room A, this fact is often overlooked, probably because today no traces of such blocking remain. See, e.g., Binder 1999, pp. 300, 308; Hachlili 1998, p. 38; McLean 1996, p. 195; Runesson 2001a, p. 187. White (1987, p. 148) does not discuss the accessibility of A and B, but he expressly points out that the throne in A (see below, p. 584) is opposite the north doorway in the spoil wall, which suggests that he took the doorway to be passable; in any case, his conjectured restoration (1987, p. 160, fig. 5) does not show a blocked doorway. Clearly, the blocking was removed during the excavation, as revealed by a photograph taken in 1912 (see Plassart 1914, p. 524) that does not show it.

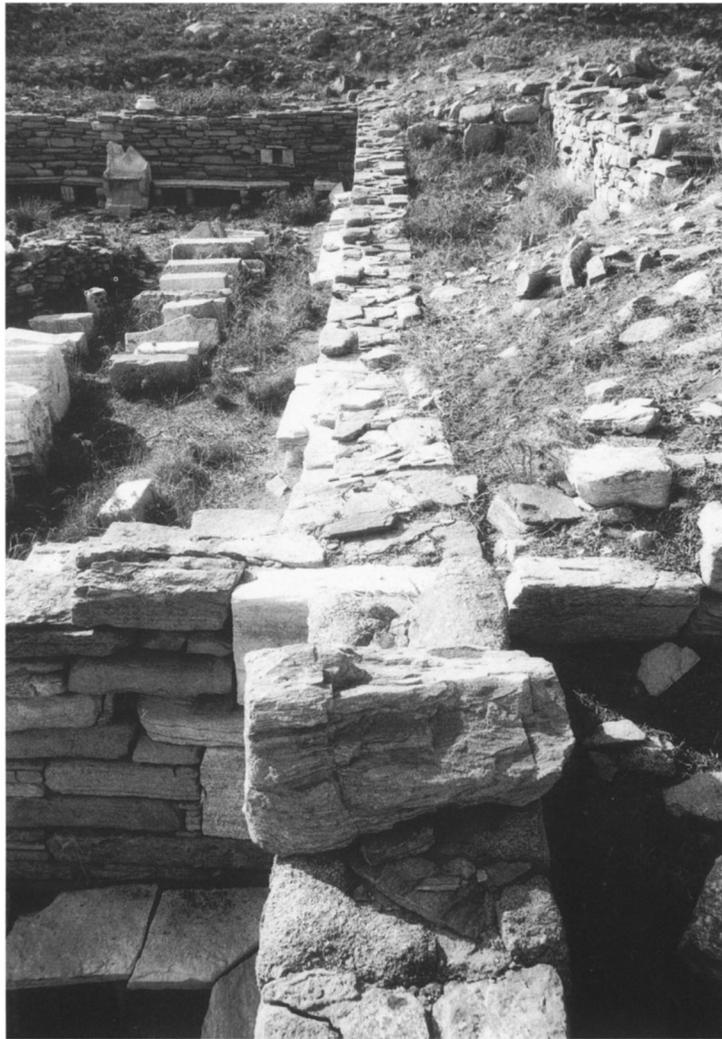


Figure 22. North wall (*center*) of room A (*upper left*) and courtyard C (*lower left*), niche in west wall of A and throne in front of west wall, and walls of adjacent building to north (*right*); from east

room B, which certainly would have had consequences for its use and lighting. Indeed, without additional windows⁵⁶ room A would have been rather somber, in any case darker than B and the former hall A/B. The small niche in the west wall of A might have been created for this reason; its reduced size, low position above the floor, and modest, improvised construction with spoil material suggest a function as a lamp niche (Fig. 22). Contrary to White's view, the off-center position of this niche with regard to room A does not prove that it belonged to an earlier phase; its position is equally off-center with regard to the large hall, the size and lighting of which did not require a lamp or a lamp niche.⁵⁷

Even if the arrangement of the visible equipment with marble benches and a marble throne (see below) is clearly dependent on the establishment

56. Windows cannot be reconstructed in any of the walls with certainty, given the nature of the neighboring buildings and doorways.

57. White 1987, p. 148; see Bruneau 1970, pl. C. The dimensions of the niche are W. 0.18 m, H. 0.25 m,

and it is 0.80 m above the floor. For the average dimensions, positions, and functions of the many niches in Delian walls, see Trümper 1998, pp. 68–76. In the large undivided hall one would have expected, at most, a set of symmetrically arranged decorative niches

high up in the wall. The fact that many lamps have been found in the building might further support the identification as a lamp niche; see Plassart 1914, pp. 532–533; Bruneau 1970, pp. 484–485.

of the separate rooms A and B, it cannot be disproved that the furniture had been used in an earlier phase and was adapted to the new situation.⁵⁸ The benches (and especially their supports) are partially made of reused material, which could have been integrated from the beginning or added after a destruction or rearrangement of the building. Similarly, there is no evidence that the famous marble throne was carved specially for this edifice and not taken from another building; indeed, several scholars are convinced that this throne was originally set up in the theater, which is a considerable distance from *GD* 80.⁵⁹ The current arrangement of the benches along the north and west walls of A and the south wall of B need not necessarily correspond to the original layout; according to Plassart, the visible marble benches, and several inscribed marble blocks found on and under the benches or at the bottoms of walls, escaped the lime kiln that was later installed in room A only because the neighboring walls had collapsed and covered them completely. Therefore, benches could also have been set up against other walls, for example the west wall of B or even walls with doorways.⁶⁰ As previously mentioned, the pavement with marble chips and the stuccoed wall with its red plinth course that certainly served to decorate the large hall by this time were partly destroyed and crudely repaired for the installation of the partition wall, but otherwise were used continuously after the subdivision of the hall.

It is unlikely that the partition wall was inserted for purely practical or technical reasons, because, for example, pillars or columns would have sufficed to support a roof in danger of collapse. The intent must have been to differentiate space or create more rooms, which could be used separately. This view is supported by the fact that benches were set up not only in rooms A and B, but also in courtyard C. As all three spaces were equipped in the same way in this regard, the possible activities performed in them might have been limited and required primarily seating. But the spaces were probably used for different occasions or by different groups.

58. In contrast to White (1987, p. 148), I have not observed that the “benches in the southwest corner of A (at point S) neatly abut the partition wall,” which is suggested by White’s schematic reconstructed plan (p. 157, fig. 2). See the actual situation in Bruneau 1970, pls. B, C, and Fig. 2 here.

59. This marble throne has been compared to the throne of the priest in the Theater of Dionysos Eleutherios in Athens; the date of the latter has been much discussed, but an attribution to the first century B.C. seems most likely. The simpler Delian version was dated accordingly; see Risom 1913; *Délos* XVIII, pp. 7–9, fig. 5, pl. 49; Richter 1966, pp. 31–32, figs. 150–153; Bruneau 1970, pp. 481, 492; Hachlili 1998, pp. 80–81.

According to Deonna (*Délos* XVIII, p. 9), the Delians “ont assurément pris au théâtre ce beau fauteuil”; the caption

in Richter 1966, fig. 153, reads as follows: “Marble throne in the theatre of Delos.” I am much indebted to Jean-Charles Moretti, who is preparing the publication of the Delian theater and has kindly given me his opinion; he too is convinced that this throne belonged to the theater because, among other reasons, it is a simplified copy of the aforementioned throne in the Athenian theater.

Some scholars are of the opinion that the throne was made expressly for Jewish use in *GD* 80 (see Hachlili 1998, pp. 37–38, 80, with further literature). Others, e.g., Bruneau (1970, pp. 480–493) and White (1987), do not discuss the question of “spoil or not.” Binder (1999, p. 301 with n. 132) points out that “it cannot be determined with any degree of certainty if the throne and the benches also belonged to the earlier stage. If so,

then they would have been arranged in a different fashion within the unsectioned room A/B.” But later he identifies the palmette on the back of the throne as typical “artistic embellishment” that would suggest a Jewish (Samaritan) influence (Binder 1999, p. 306), and favors a non-Jewish ownership of the first building (pp. 314–316).

60. E.g., the east walls of B and A(?), the north wall of B, and even the south wall of A, because the valves of the doors opened against the jambs (probably because of the enormous thickness of these walls). The small column drum inscribed with *ID* 2328 (see n. 122, below) was found at the bottom of the west wall of B, however, where no benches are preserved; see Plassart 1914, p. 526; Bruneau 1970, p. 484.



Figure 23. Room A, northwest exterior corner abutted by wall extending west (*lower right foreground*); from northwest

NEIGHBORING STRUCTURES

Although the immediate surroundings of the edifice have not been excavated, the remnants of many walls belonging to neighboring buildings are visible (Figs. 1, 2). No plan has ever been drafted that shows all the visible walls, which would allow us to reconstruct the layout of the Quartier du stade much more precisely than has been possible to date, so only the immediate neighboring walls of *GD* 80 can be taken into account here:

1. A wall that abuts the northwest corner of room A and extends west (Fig. 23). This wall was certainly erected after the construction of *GD* 80, perhaps even as soon as the first phase, with gneiss walls, was completed.⁶¹ The size, extent, and position of the building to which it belonged, however, are unknown.

2. A wall that is set against the stucco on the north exterior surface of the northeast corner of room A and leads north (Figs. 15, 22). Its course can be followed for about 45–50 m, to the hypothetical prolongation of the Rue méridionale, which is the southernmost visible east–west road of the Quartier du stade (Fig. 1). This wall formed the east facade of an insula and was equipped with three, probably four, entrances. The entrances corresponded with three or four plots of fairly equal (north–south) extent, which suggests a preconceived layout and a simultaneous execution.

3. Several walls north of room A. One is parallel to the north wall of A, defining a corridor about 2 m wide between the two walls that is blocked by a wall at the west abutting the north wall of room A (Fig. 22). A third wall seems to abut the east end of the east–west wall and extend north from it.

4. A wall that leads north from, and forms a right angle with, the preserved east end of the north wall of C (Fig. 24, foreground). Although the interior corner of the two walls was covered with stucco (Fig. 24, right

61. Contra White (1987, p. 147, n. 62, fig. 2), who states “that there is evidence of other construction integral to the building, esp. in the areas to the north and west. Thus, note the bonded corner at Q and the wall extension (unbonded) at P.”



Figure 24. Courtyard C: overview of the eastern part with north wall in foreground; from north

foreground), it is not clear whether these walls are bonded and therefore might have been built at the same time.⁶² If they were erected simultaneously, this would mean that *GD* 80 extended farther north, or that its extension to the east was effected together with a transformation (e.g., enlargement) of the northern neighbor. Furthermore, it would suggest that this corner marked the east limit of *GD* 80. But only further investigation and excavation can clarify whether these walls are really bonded and corresponded with the seaward facade of the respective buildings.

In short, *GD* 80 was obviously integrated into an extended insula, probably marking its south end and serving as the starting point for the development of its eastern part. There was, most probably, no neighbor to the south, at least not south of courtyard C. As there are no doorways in the extant west and north facades of the building, the walls to its west and north certainly did not define rooms that belonged to it,⁶³ but in all likelihood were constructed for separate neighboring edifices.

Even though the orientation of the building differs considerably from that of all fully excavated buildings in the *Quartier du stade*, it corresponds with the layout of the *Rue méridionale* and the many walls visible south of that street, that is, to the south of *Îlot II* (see above, Fig. 1). Because the

62. According to Bruneau (1970, pl. B), these walls are bonded. The north wall of C, the east wall of the neighbor to the north, and a third wall, leading from the north end of the latter to the west, must have been visible quite early because they appear on plans from 1907/1908 onward (*Délos* XXXIX, document VI; Vallois 1953, pl. I; Bruneau 1970, pl. A; Papageorgiou-Venetas 1981, p. 105, fig. 85; *GD*, plan III). Today only the north wall of C and a small part of

the east wall of the northern neighbor are clearly visible, but neither their relationship nor the extension of the north wall of C to the east can be reconstructed with certainty because these walls are not fully excavated. The fact that the easternmost 3.70-m stretch of the preserved north wall of C is remarkably thicker (0.90 m) than the remaining portion to the west (0.60 m; Fig. 2 here and Bruneau 1970, pl. B) suggests that this wall did not continue

much farther east, because the reinforcement of walls is a typical feature of outer corners or heads of walls. Nothing similar can be observed for the south wall of C. There is, however, no evidence of an outer corner or clear terminus for either the north or the south wall of C (Fig. 24, and see Fig. 28, below).

63. As conjectured by White (1987, p. 147, n. 62) and Binder (1999, p. 312, n. 168).

history and urban development of this quarter have not been examined to date, it must remain open whether its construction proceeded from south to north or vice versa; whether *GD* 80 influenced the orientation of its immediate surroundings or was itself conditioned by a preconceived urban layout for this quarter; and whether the building had neighbors to the west and southwest.⁶⁴

COURTYARD C

Although the visible form and extent of courtyard C can be assigned safely to the granite wall system, the constructions within it could have been established independently, that is, together with another wall complex or even several wall complexes. As mentioned previously, the reconstruction of the eastern part of *GD* 80 is highly problematic, starting with the first gneiss building.

From the existing evidence, one is moved to reconstruct a courtyard bounded by at least three porticoes. Foundations a and d on Bruneau's plan (see Figs. 2, 3) are so wide and so clearly parallel to, and equal distances from, the north and south walls, respectively, that they must have delimited corridors or ambulatories. These spaces were nearly as wide as the distance between the existing north-south stylobate and the west wall, and had to be roofed as well because the benches along the north wall of C continue east of the line of the stylobate and were, most probably, not exposed to the open sky.⁶⁵

Yet two details seem to defy such a reconstruction: (1) the northernmost block of the marble step below the west stylobate is worked on its east face with the intention that it should be seen, and (2) it displays on its north face an anathyrosis that extends from the west and bottom edges of the block over most of the block's width and height (Figs. 25, 26). These points suggest that the west colonnade continued north and that the abutment of a north colonnade with the west colonnade would not have been planned.⁶⁶ Two explanations can be offered for this phenomenon. First, the northernmost slab of the marble step is just spoil: the anathyrosis on

64. As suggested by plan III in *GD*, which shows a wall ca. 60 m west of *GD* 80 running parallel to it but proceeding farther south. This wall could have formed the west facade of the insula to which the building belongs, or that of a separate insula. In any case, the two parts of this one large insula or two separate insulae were separated by two quarries and were laid out on several terraces sloping downward from west to east (Fig. 1). As already mentioned, at least the eastern area or insula was positioned according to a preconceived plan, but such a plan cannot be reconstructed for the western area or insula due to insufficient evidence.

In *GD*, pp. 207–208, few constructions south of *GD* 80 are mentioned: a possible lighthouse on the small cape immediately to its south, and a “fabrique de pourpre” (*GD* 80.1) quite far to the south. By comparison, the remains of several walls on the shore and submerged in the sea testify that the area immediately north of the building was quite densely built up. As early as 1907/1908, this area was identified as a small harbor with moles and quays; see *Délos* XXXIX, pp. 122–123, documents VI, XXXIII; Vallois 1953, pl. I; Bruneau 1970, pl. A; Papageorgiou-Venetas 1981, pp. 105–106, fig. 85; *GD*, plan III.

65. Many tile fragments found during excavation of the site are testimony to the existence of sloped roofs; see Plassart 1914, pp. 524–525; Bruneau 1970, p. 483. Such tiles could have covered the porticoes and rooms. Note that henceforth the terms “west stylobate” and “west portico” will be applied to the north-south stylobate and the associated portico (which is normally referred to as “portico C” in the literature), west in relation to the north and south porticoes that are reconstructed here (see below).

66. Bruneau 1970, p. 483.



Figure 25. Courtyard C, marble step east of west stylobate: well-worked east face of northernmost block; from east



Figure 26. Courtyard C, marble step east of west stylobate: north face of northernmost block, with anathyrosis; from northeast



Figure 27. Courtyard C, marble step east of west stylobate: south face of southernmost block, with walls d (lower right) and c (upper right) abutting on the east; from south

its north face would not have been visible in another context, such as a peristyle with three (or four) wings, and its east face had been fully worked for the original context but was only partly visible when reused here.⁶⁷ Second, the block in question testifies to two phases in the history of the west colonnade: the colonnade originally continued farther north—and maybe also farther south (Fig. 27)—and was only subsequently incorporated into a three- or four-winged peristyle, such a transformation requiring that it be shortened to join with the new north and south colonnades. Further excavation might reveal whether one of these two solutions is correct, or if there could be others.⁶⁸

If a layout with porticoes at the north, west, and south seems possible (indeed, quite likely),⁶⁹ it remains to be considered whether the following

67. This might equally hold true for the southernmost block of the marble step, which is either crudely worked or broken (Fig. 27), so that if there was any anathyrosis, it is no longer evident. Its east face is completely worked, like that of its counterpart at the north.

68. As the remains of the “late” walls crossing the north and south porticoes at the west, and roughly aligned with the line of the west stylobate, are above the level of the foundation of the west stylobate (see Bruneau 1970, pls. B, C, F), it seems unlikely that the excavators failed to notice aligned foundations to the north and south of the stylobate; therefore, such foundations must have been completely destroyed in the remodeling phase. At best, one could search for predecessors of the north and south

walls of the courtyard and try to define their possible extent. If nothing were found, both solutions would still be possible in theory, even if not provable.

69. The reconstruction of porticoes in the north and south was also proposed by Mazur (1935), White (1987, pp. 150–152, n. 78), and Binder (1999, pp. 308–314, fig. 15), but neither White nor Binder takes into account Bruneau’s arguments against this reconstruction.

Bruneau (1970, p. 483) suggests a single colonnade running north–south, but gives no reconstruction. According to him, the interruption of this colonnade ca. 5 m short of the north and south walls of the courtyard might be explained by reconstructing closing walls that framed the colonnade. Traces of such a wall (classified as a “late” wall on Fig. 3) are preserved in a founda-

tion south of the stylobate, but this foundation is considerably to the east (0.40 m) and differs in orientation from that of the stylobate. Therefore, the architrave could not have extended to and rested properly upon such a wall (the stoas *GD* 3, 98, and 100 are flanked by long or short walls that were aligned with the columns). The same problems arise with the modest traces of a corresponding foundation north of the stylobate. Furthermore, if the colonnade was indeed flanked by walls, it would be incomprehensible that the north and south walls of the courtyard continued east. Bruneau argues that all walls abutting the stylobate (foundations a–d) were added subsequently, but does not suppose a similar process for the corresponding north and south facades of the courtyard.

can be reconstructed more precisely: (1) the extension of the courtyard toward the east; (2) the design of the east facade; and (3) the design of the porticoes (the number of columns, their height, and order).

1. The nature of the extension of the building to the east cannot be determined with any degree of certainty, and the formation of the east limit of the building is entirely open to speculation. Foundation A extends about 6.5 m to the east, and the corresponding north wall of C continues for another 1.7 m (Fig. 2). At present, it seems most likely that the east limit of the building was aligned with the east facade of the neighbor to the north. There is no evidence for the reconstruction of a significantly extended courtyard, although for neither the north nor south wall of C is an outer corner or a clear terminus preserved (Figs. 24, 28).⁷⁰ It is equally unlikely that three cuttings in the natural rock at the east end of the north portico, just east of the supposed east limit of the building, are to be associated with the facade of the building (Figs. 24, 29). The largest cutting, which is rectangular, is not symmetrically situated in relation to the north

70. As proposed by Binder (1999, pp. 297–317) and Mazur (1935). Reliable evidence for their reconstruction of a square courtyard with dimensions of 28 × 28 m and eight columns on a side would be furnished by Plassart's original plan, which has never been published but which Mazur obtained from Plassart. On Bruneau's plan the walls of the courtyard measure only 15 m (north) and 12.6 m (south), but Plassart's plan would give measurements of 28 m and 15 m, respectively; the 13 m of the north wall and 2.4 m of the south wall that are missing on Bruneau's plan would have deteriorated through erosion and would have been submerged between 1912/1913 and the 1960s.

Because Plassart's original plan is not available (see above, n. 3), its merits cannot be judged. In Mazur's reconstruction, drafted in 1935 at the latest, the preserved walls are shown in black and the restored ones in white, and, remarkably, only 15 m of the north wall and ca. 12.5 m of the south wall are black. If this reconstruction is not based on Plassart's plan but on Mazur's observations before 1935, then within ca. 20 years the walls must have been destroyed to the extent that is evident today, and therefore have not suffered further damage in the nearly 70 years since. Today the north and south walls do not differ considerably in length and the sea is equidistant from both, but somehow, during those 20 years or so of

heavy deterioration, the sea succeeded in destroying 13 m of the north wall but only 2.4 m of the south. The likelihood that a wall 28 m in length ever existed is further undermined by an extensive analysis of different plans. Binder argues (1999, p. 311, n. 165) that the rough drawing in the *Revue biblique* of 1914 indicates that "the beach was 26 m distant from the N–S stylobate . . . considerably further out than when Bruneau drafted his plan (less than 15 m from the stylobate according to Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos*, pl. A)." Apart from the fact that the distance on Bruneau's plan is actually 22–25 m and not less than 15 m, this plan was drafted by J. Replat in 1914–1918 (and only slightly modified later), as is indicated on the plan itself. The north and south walls of the courtyard are shown with the same lengths that were preserved in the 1960s and that are visible today. Exactly the same dimensions are to be found in Vallois 1953, pl. I; the plan presents the "état de 1919, partiellement complété en 1938." Therefore, it need not be discussed further whether a wall 13 m long can have been submerged within five years; indeed, a plan drafted by L. A. Bringuier in 1907/1908 (*Délos XXXIX*, document VI), before the excavation of GD 80, shows the north wall of the courtyard and the east facade of the northern neighbor. This means that both walls were visible before the excavation, and, furthermore, that they

have precisely the same dimensions that they have on all later plans.

It should be noted that (1) according to recent investigations, the level of the sea has risen 2–2.5 m since antiquity (*Délos XXXIX*, pp. 165–176); and (2) quite a dramatic and sudden rise in sea level was observed on the west side of the island, at the Pointe des pilastres, the Magasin des colonnes, and at the Magasin à la baignoire (GD 122), during the early excavations. The first observation suggests that the shoreline was probably farther east than it is today, meaning that there could have been space for, e.g., a road, promenade, or beach—or for an extension of GD 80 eastward. Yet in many cases the submerged constructions are still visible in the shallow water along the shoreline, as are, e.g., the walls just north of GD 80 (see above, n. 64). Given that on old maps and plans no walls are indicated just east of the building, it seems unlikely that much has vanished into the sea. The sudden rise of the sea in modern times has been due either to heavy winter storms in 1907, well before the excavation of the building, or perhaps to the fact that the rubble and debris of the early extensive excavations was thrown into the sea at the ancient Port sacré (thus forming the modern mole) and considerably altered the configuration of the western shore. Nothing similar was reported for the eastern shoreline. See *Délos XXXIX*, pp. 97–98, 168–169.



Figure 28. Courtyard C, east end of south wall; from northeast



Figure 29. Natural rock adjacent to probable northeast corner of courtyard C, with cuttings; from north

portico and it has a different orientation. The layout of the two flanking round cuttings confirms that whatever they accommodated, on either a fixed or a temporary basis, would not have been oriented either parallel or perpendicular to the building. Therefore, the cuttings certainly were not intended for use associated with a column or supports for a railing that belonged to the building.⁷¹ A satisfactory explanation of these cuttings must await further investigation and excavation.⁷²

71. As proposed by White (1987, pp. 150–152, n. 78, fig. 5). A column would not have been necessary because the east end of the portico could have been roofed without further supports (see Binder 1999, p. 310, n. 163). An extensive railing, on the other hand, probably would have left more evidence in the rock. The square bases with pylons that White cites as evidence for his theory are neither to be found in

situ nor mentioned in any publication. Moreover, White provides no detailed description or photograph of these bases with pylons, he does not cite his source of information, and the bases and pylons do not appear in his conjectured restoration, fig. 5. Does he mean the “deux piliers de granit carrés, assez minces” (see Plassart 1914, p. 523), which are the jambs of the doorway in the south wall of C?

72. Contrary to Binder 1999, p. 310, n. 163, these cuttings were neither observed by White nor are they “putative”; they are prominent on Bruneau’s field plan (Bruneau 1970, pl. B), but Bruneau does not mention or explain them in his text. Today these cuttings are clearly visible because they were carved into rock that is slightly raised above the surroundings, thus not completely covered by pebbles and stones,

Since the supposed east limit of courtyard C was only 15 m from its west wall, the restoration of a fourth colonnade at the east is impossible. The restoration of a courtyard bounded by three porticoes is then the only plausible solution.⁷³

2. Three configurations of the east facade can be posited: (a) the north and south porticoes ended in columns, were completely open and freely accessible, and with the west portico, formed a three-winged portico (see Fig. 38:a, below);⁷⁴ (b) the north and south porticoes were terminated by walls at the east (with or without doorways) and still formed, with the west portico, a fully visible and accessible three-winged portico (Fig. 38:b, below); or (c) the entire complex was closed off by a wall running from the northeast corner to the southeast corner of the courtyard, with access via doorways, or no access at all (Fig. 38:c, below).⁷⁵ In the latter case, the colonnades would have defined a truncated three-winged peristyle inside the building and within an actual closed courtyard.

It need not be stressed that the form of the east facade is most important for the reconstruction of the accessibility, openness, and visibility of the complex and the amount of privacy it afforded its users. There might have been a promenade, quay, beach, or path in front of the east facade, because in antiquity the sea was farther east than it is today.⁷⁶ Could such a feature have been closed off efficiently and legally and restricted to private use?⁷⁷ Could anyone passing by cast a glance at the three-winged portico, or were they confronted with a high, blind wall and diverted to the south facade to find the only, and rather modest, entrance to the building?

and could be cleared easily (Figs. 24, 29). Farther south, the sea has buried everything with a thick layer of rocks and debris; therefore, no traces of an east facade, the limit of the building, or other cuttings in the rock can be detected. The function and context of the visible cuttings cannot be reconstructed, either. The central, rectangular cutting measures 0.56 m (E–W) × 0.58 m (N–S) and is ca. 0.05–0.06 m deep; the lateral round cuttings have diameters of 0.20 m (north) and 0.25 m (south) and are only 0.02–0.03 m deep. A small round hole with a diameter of 0.05 m lies 0.19 m east of the southeast corner of the rectangular cutting. All in all, the dimensions of the cuttings suggest that large, heavy objects could not have been fixed in them securely.

73. The 1.70-m difference between the lengths of the remains of foundation a and the north wall of C does not allow for the installation of an east stylobate, portico, and facade. Without overemphasizing the matter of proportion it might, nonetheless, be mentioned that at 15 m, the courtyard (including a possible east wall) would

have had a width equal to that of the western room complex (including the east wall but excluding the west; see the dimensions of Bruneau's plan [1970, pl. B]), a total of ca. 30.60 m, including all walls. Given that the building is ca. 29.20 m long (including walls), it would have been nearly square after the addition of the courtyard with three porticoes.

74. Different terms are used to designate a stoa or portico with three wings. White (1987, pp. 149–151) speaks of a “tristoa,” a word seldom used in ancient or modern literature. More often, scholars use “porticus triplex,” which is also rarely mentioned by ancient writers; this term is formed and used on analogy with the better-known “porticus duplex,” or the $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\acute{\alpha}$, the exact meaning of which, however, is contested (is it a stoa/portico with two aisles, two stories, or two wings?). Porticus triplex is usually applied to a free-standing portico with three long wings that frame a temple or a space. See Coulton 1971; 1976, pp. 3–4; *LTUR* 2, pp. 55–56, s.v. Domus Aurea: Porticus triplices

miliariae (E. Papi); Gros 1996, pp. 95–97.

To avoid confusion, only the following undisputed descriptive term is used, the three-winged, or pi-shaped, portico—as opposed to the truncated three-winged peristyle, which is closed by a wall on the fourth side.

75. In this case the “side” entrance in the south wall of C would have been the only entrance. Support for alternative c is that this entrance could be closed, suggesting that accessibility to the building was restricted and could be controlled.

76. See above, n. 70.

77. On the western shore of the island numerous shops, buildings, and magazines were put up in a row, one next to the other; the beach and quays, paths, and roads in front of them were certainly not reserved for private use and secluded from the neighbors, but formed important arterial routes for commerce (*Délos XXXIX*, pp. 111–112). The eastern shore was assuredly less frequented and less important, but its beach and pathways could also have been public.

Did the owners and users of the building seek complete privacy and seclusion or were they, on the contrary, interested in presenting to the public their ambitious, extended, three-winged portico as proof of their wealth and social standing? Or did they just desire a pleasant view of, or direct access to, the sea?

3. The number and sizes of the slabs of the west stylobate can be fairly well determined on the basis of cuttings in the marble step below (which is completely preserved) for vertical dowels, and according to pry cuttings in the gneiss foundation west of this step that were used to position the stylobate blocks. According to these cuttings, the stylobate comprised 10 or 11 slabs that were joined to the step with dowels (Fig. 30).⁷⁸

The number of columns to be restored depends on the bottom diameter and axial span, and in many cases, evidence on the stylobate gives clear indications of these dimensions. However, the single preserved block of the stylobate (L. 2.40 m, W. 0.725 m; block 4 in Fig. 30) exhibits no clear marks for the setting of a column, except for two rectangular sockets with pour-channels that could have served to anchor a column with a bottom diameter of at least 0.45 m and at most 0.725 m, but probably about 0.60 m (Fig. 31).⁷⁹ If no column was fixed on that block, the shortest

78. The external blocks of walls and stylobates were usually set first, with the work then proceeding inward. Normally, then, one of the central slabs would have been the last of a row of stylobate blocks to be installed; see Hansen 1991, figs. 1, 2. Because there are only a few pry cuttings preserved and visible here, it cannot be determined which of the slabs was the last one to be set. It is assumed that it was one of blocks 6–8/9, and the pry cuttings are counted accordingly. The conjectured south–north sequence of the known stylobate blocks, by length, is therefore as follows:

1. At least 1.00–1.15 m (or even more, see below); pry cutting, one socket in the central/southern portion.
2. 1.00 m; pry cutting, one socket at the north.
3. 1.58 m; pry cutting(?), two sockets at both south and north.
4. Preserved block: 2.40 m; pry cutting, two sockets at both south and north.
5. 1.56 m; pry cutting, two sockets at both south and north.
6. 2.46 m; two sockets at both south and north.
7. The following 4.90 m could have been filled with two or perhaps three slabs, as there are no pry cuttings and the sockets no longer appear in pairs to

indicate clearly the joints between two blocks. With three slabs the arrangement could be as follows: block 7, ca. 1.80 m, one socket at the south; block 8, ca. 1.00 m, one socket at the south; block 9, ca. 2.10 m, one socket at the south. With two slabs: block 7, ca. 2.45 m, two sockets at both south and north; block 8, ca. 2.45 m, one socket near the south end.

9/10. 1.34 m; pry cutting, one socket at the north.

10/11. 1.70 m or perhaps more (see below); pry cutting, one socket either centrally located or near the north end.

79. According to White (1987, p. 152, n. 78), these two sockets were not “meant to anchor a column (which typically on Delos uses a different type of stud),” but rather some sort of a base or a closure for a gate. Although on Delos many bottom surfaces of columns display central round sockets, there were other ways to anchor columns on the stylobate—if they were fixed at all. Among other arrangements, two rectangular sockets situated near the outer edge of a column can be found in several cases; see the *Établissement des Poseidonias* (GD 57) in *Delos VI*, pp. 90–94, figs. 71, 72, esp. fig. 72:A (different forms of sockets in the same building are illustrated, including two rectangular lateral sock-

ets); the *Agora des Italiens* (GD 52), *Delos XIX*, pp. 13, 16, fig. 14 (a stylobate slab with two lateral sockets, and a column with two rectangular lateral sockets with pour-channels); and private houses, *Delos VIII*, pp. 250–256 (few stylobate blocks of private peristyles are provided with sockets). See also the prominent *Maison de l’Hermès* (GD 89) with several stories in Delorme 1953, pp. 460–463, 478–479, fig. 12 (the columns on the ground floor were not doweled to the stylobate, but the upper-floor stylobate shows central round sockets without pour-channels); the *Maison des comédiens* (GD 59B), *Delos XXVII*, pp. 19–21, pl. 4 (columns with one central and one lateral round socket, not all of them equipped with pour-channels); the gymnasium (GD 76), *Delos XXVIII*, p. 19, figs. 6, 7 (the bases of the Ionic columns are fixed on the stylobate with two lateral rectangular sockets with pour-channels). For the different types of dowels and the existence of pour-channels, see Müller-Wiener 1988, p. 86.

If only the ends of the pour-channels (which do not appear in Bruneau 1970, pl. F) were to be seen (for a distance of ca. 0.02 m, see *Delos XXVIII*, p. 20), the column would have had a lower diameter of ca. 0.60 m.

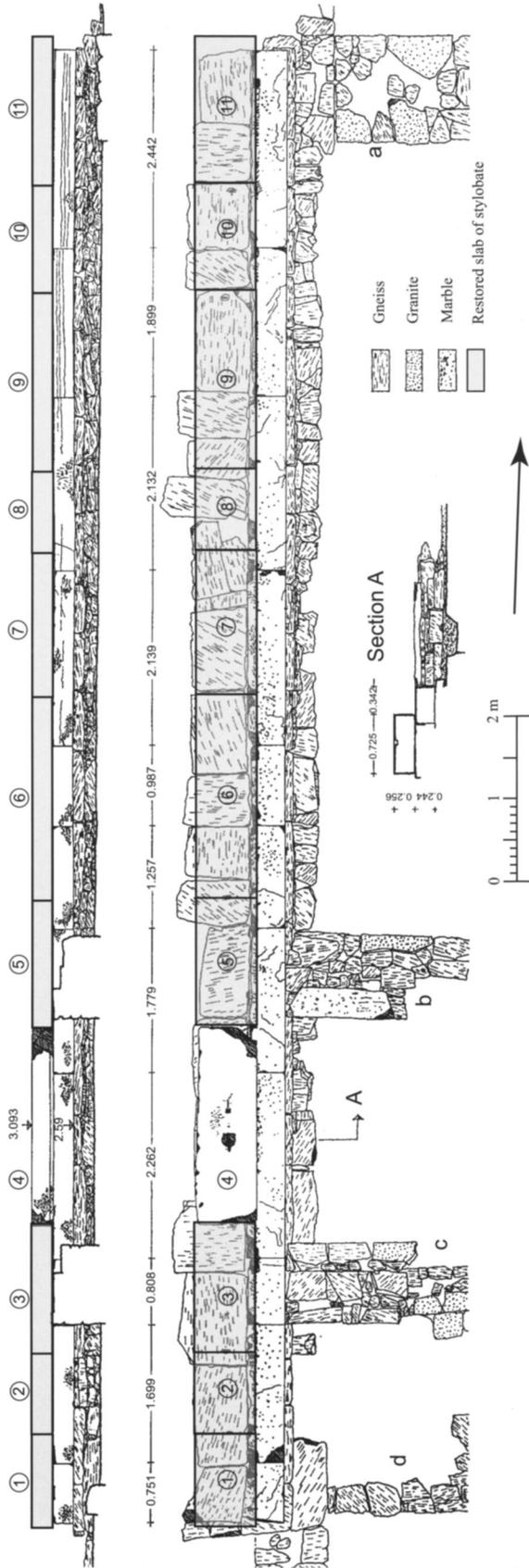


Figure 30. Courtyard C, restoration of the west stylobate slabs; east elevation (*above*) and plan (*below*). After Bruneau 1970, pl. F

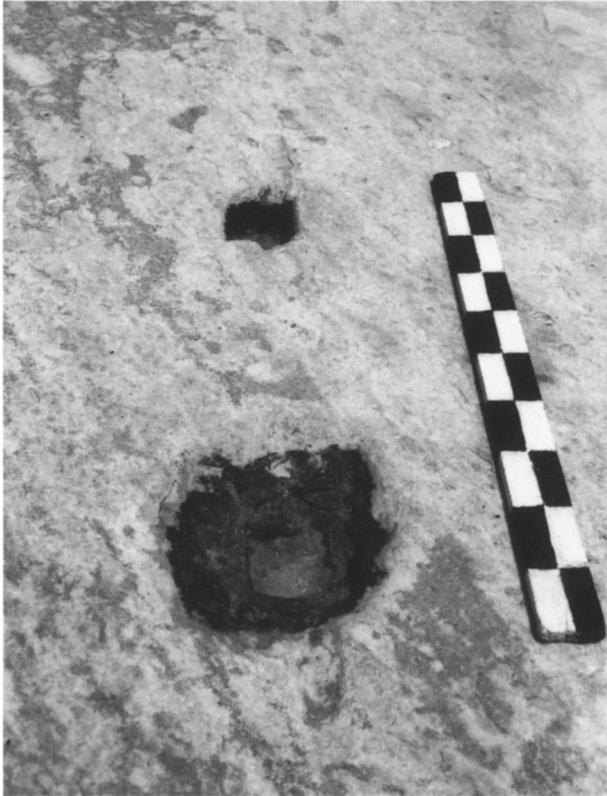


Figure 31. Courtyard C, preserved block of stylobate with sockets and pour-channels; from south

possible axial span would have exceeded about 3.10 m.⁸⁰ A comparison of the colonnades of private and public buildings in Delos demonstrates that such a span was very rarely achieved. Table 1 presents the dimensions of some four-winged peristyles and porticoes.

According to this comparative table, it seems necessary to restore a column on the stylobate block mentioned above, which was neither worked with much care nor very expensive.⁸¹ Since the axial distance between a column positioned on this slab according to the evidence of the pour-channels and the conjectured position of a column on the southernmost block of the stylobate measures about 4.55 m, another column must be inserted between them, which creates an interaxial distance of 2.275 m. To the north, the axial space between the same restored column and the conjectured northernmost column measures about 13.20 m, which could be divided into six intercolumniations of 2.20 m. This would accommodate a total of nine columns, all set up somewhere near, or at, the midlength of the slabs of the stylobate (Fig. 32). Even if the stylobate was not extended

80. 2.40 m (= length of block) plus half the bottom diameter of two columns (most probably = 0.60 m), plus a short distance between the columns and the joints of the stylobate blocks, for a total of 0.10 m or a little more.

81. The presence or absence of assembly marks and details such as set-

ting lines, worked surfaces, and cuttings that were used for the positioning and fixing of columns and blocks, and the quality of execution can be indicators of the quality of the construction of a building. Often enough in the private buildings of Delos, these elements are either completely missing or are

executed without much care. Cf., e.g., the colonnade in the small courtyard of the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes* (GD 57; *Délos* VI, pl. II). For assembly marks, see *Délos* XIX, pp. 34–37). In Table 1, for the *Portique de Philippe* and the *Portique d'Antigone*, see *Délos* VII.1 and *Délos* V, respectively.

TABLE 1. DIMENSIONS OF COLONNADES OF PORTICOES AND PERISTYLES

<i>Building</i>	<i>Bottom Diameter of Columns (m)</i>	<i>Height of Columns Including Capital (m)</i>	<i>Interaxial Span (m)</i>
Portique de Philippe (GD 3)	0.91	5.92	3.35
Portique d'Antigone (GD 29)	0.71	?	2.53–2.92
Agora des Italiens (GD 52)	0.57–0.59	3.86	2.11–2.15?
Établissement des Poseidoniastes (GD 57)	0.64–0.66	4.96	2.31–2.85
Maison des comédiens (GD 59B)	0.46	3.87	2.00–2.25
Maison de la colline (GD 60)	0.53–0.55	3.85 (without capital)	2.40–2.53
Maison des dauphins (GD 111)	0.52–0.55	4.08	2.15–2.24
Maison du trident	0.52–0.53	3.85?	2.04–2.23
(Rhodian peristyle, GD 118)	0.57–0.66	5.39?	1.85–2.19 (on elevated east side)
Maison de Cléopâtre* (GD 119)	0.48	3.78	1.69, long sides 1.81, short sides
Maison du Dionysos (GD 120)	0.60–0.63	5.60	3.05–3.08, long sides 3.01–3.15, short sides

* Peristyle subsequently added to existing courtyard.

0.25–0.30 m to the north, as hereby proposed, a reduction of the number of columns to eight, with an axial spacing of approximately 2.60 m between the five northern columns, is highly unlikely because, in that case, four columns would have rested directly on the joints between the stylobate blocks, which was usually avoided.⁸²

If the north stylobate continued to the supposed east limit of courtyard C, it would have measured about 9.70 m from the northwest corner to the east end; if it abutted an east wall it would have been about 0.60 m shorter. The longer stylobate would have offered space for five columns with an axial spacing of about 2.25 m and the shorter one for four columns with similar placement, as the east wall would have taken the place of the fifth column.⁸³

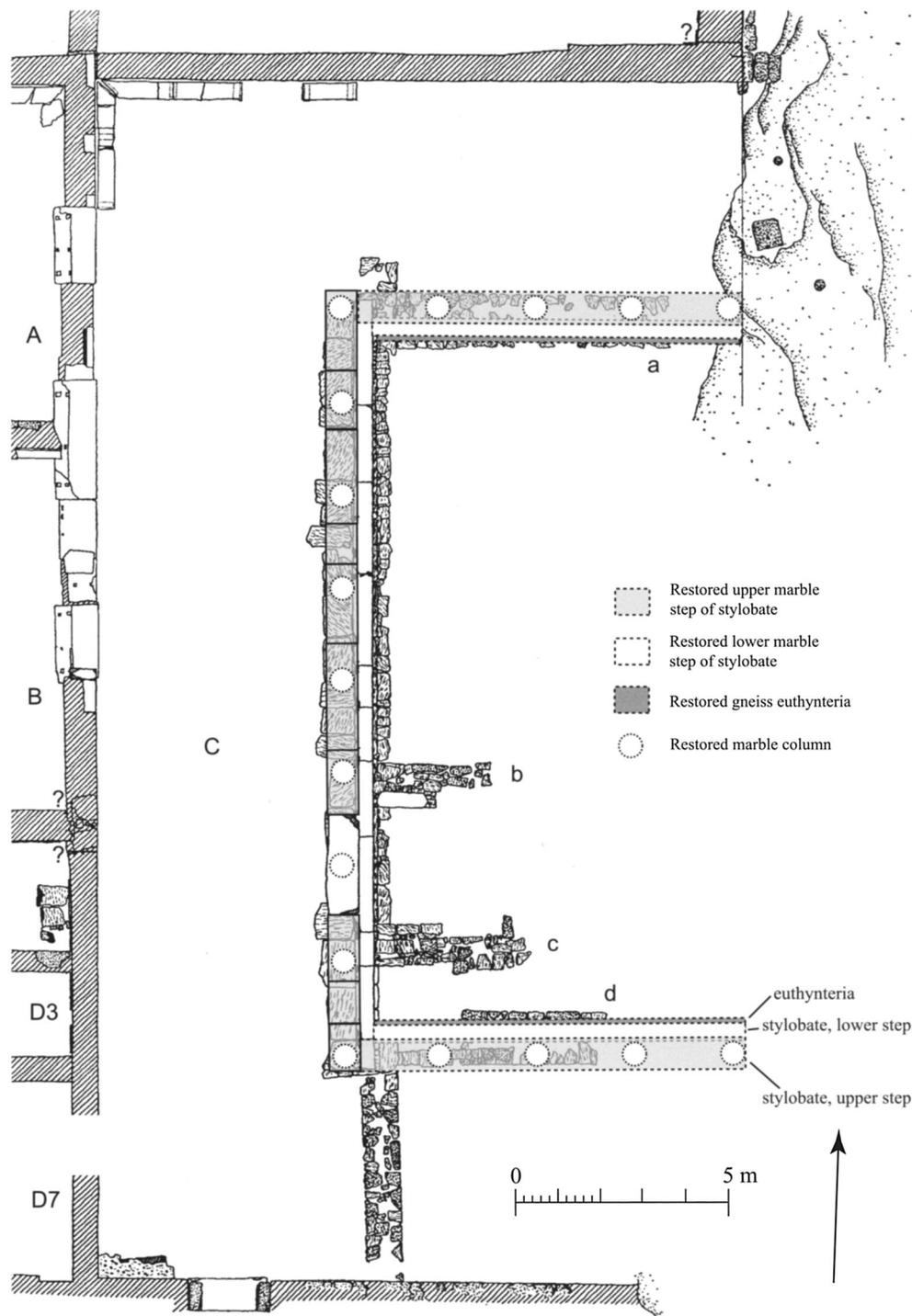
82. The calculation of the axial spans and number of columns is, in principle, independent of the lower diameter of the columns. If the sockets in the stylobate were conceived for the fixing of a column, then all measurements depended on them. And if the intercolumniations to the north and south of the preserved stylobate block should not vary too much, nine columns must be restored. If the columns are restored independently of the sockets in the stylobate block, the preserved 18.08 m (minus one column diameter = the half-column diameters of the northernmost and southernmost columns, and a few centimeters for the space between the edge of the stylobate and the column at each end) could be divided into seven intercolumniations

of at least 2.47 m, framed by eight columns of an optional diameter (at most 0.725 m = the width of the stylobate), as conjectured by Mazur (1935) and Binder (1999, fig. 15) without reference to the visible remains. But then, the third column from the south would have rested immediately north of the cuttings in the preserved stylobate slab, upon which no traces of any column are evident.

White's conjectured restoration (1987, fig. 5) shows three columns on the west stylobate and two each at the north and south; on his schematic plan (fig. 2) columns are missing, but on McLean's plan (1996, fig. 11:1) there are three columns on the west and two at both north and south—obviously in adaptation of White's conjectural

restoration. Given the length of the west stylobate (preserved for 18.08 m), three columns (and thus architraves) would have to be restored with axial spacings of nearly 9.00 m, which is absolutely impossible.

83. With regard to the longer stylobate, on each end at least half of a column diameter and a few centimeters for the space between the edge and the column must be subtracted: 9.70 m minus ca. 0.70 m (or a little more for columns with a diameter of 0.60 m). Similarly for the shorter stylobate, at one end 9.10 m minus ca. 0.40 m (or a little more), the intercolumniation would have measured slightly less, 2.175 m. The wall could have been decorated with a pilaster aligned with the colonnade.



Today several column drums and capitals are to be found in *GD 80*. The five fluted drums in room A and the Corinthian capital in courtyard C (Figs. 10, 22) were most probably stored here to feed the later lime kiln in room A; they could not have been set up on the stylobate because the lower diameter of the only preserved bottom drum is about 0.90 m, which exceeds by far the width of the preserved stylobate block (0.725 m). In

Figure 32. Courtyard C, restoration of stylobates and column positions.
After Bruneau 1970, pls. B, F

addition, one plain column drum of white marble is today situated near the stylobate in the west portico. Its dimensions, with a lower diameter of 0.58–0.60 m, would allow it to be set up on the stylobate.⁸⁴ A plain Doric capital of white marble is just north of this drum, suggesting that the two belonged to the same column (Fig. 25). A more elaborate Doric capital of white marble, with flutes on the necking, is stored west of the building, to the west of the marble throne in room A (Fig. 22).⁸⁵

Clearly, the restoration of the colonnades remains hypothetical. In theory, the columns could have had a bottom diameter of 0.45–0.725 m,

84. The plain marble drum has only one (central) socket, so it could not have been fixed on the preserved stylobate slab; its preserved height is 0.56–0.60 m, the upper portion is broken, and the shaft is not very well finished. A photograph taken in 1913 shows this drum set up (by the excavators) on the step beneath the stylobate, and Binder (1999, p. 308, n. 161) conjectured that this was its findspot; see Plassart 1914, p. 525. In Bruneau 1970, pl. VIII, it is lying to the west of the stylobate.

The fluted marble drums were already visible in 1700; see Plassart's comment and the photograph taken in 1912 (Plassart 1914, pp. 523, 524, respectively). White (1987, p. 150) states that fluted marble columns stood on the stylobate, and that "according to drums found in excavation, these columns would have measured ca. 45–55 cm. in diameter." It is not clear to which drums he refers: the fluted Corinthian drums, which are much larger, or the plain drum, which is definitely not fluted but is also larger than his supposed 0.45–0.55 m. In any case, White's reference (1987, p. 150) to Plassart 1914, p. 525, is incorrect, as has been observed also by Binder (1999, p. 308, n. 161).

It is surprising that standard handbooks on Delian architecture, such as *AHD* and *Délos XXXVI*, do not discuss the Corinthian order and therefore the elements in question. According to Vitruvian standards, the column in *GD* 80 with a lower diameter of 0.82–0.90 m would have had a considerable height of 8–9 m, including capital (Vitr. 4.1.1, 8). Such a column cannot reasonably be assigned to any part of *GD* 80. At most, one might suggest a support in the large hall, A/B, but then there remains the question of what

happened to this support when the hall was divided in the last phase, before the installation of the lime kiln. Below, data for each drum are given in the following order: preserved height; lower diameter; upper diameter; features on the lower surface, from the center outward; and features on the upper surface, also from the center outward. Measurements are approximate, as they exclude the flutes, which are heavily damaged; in addition, not all drums are fully exposed and accessible.

Drums:

1. 1.23 m; 0.82 m (0.90 m with flutes, each terminating in an apophyge at the bottom); 0.75 m (0.82 m with flutes); socket, anathyrosis; socket, pour-channel, anathyrosis.

2. 1.09 m; 0.76 m; 0.74 m; socket, anathyrosis; socket, pour-channel, anathyrosis.

3. 1.41 m; 0.74 m; 0.725 m; socket, anathyrosis; socket, pour-channel, anathyrosis.

4. 0.97 m; 0.72 m; 0.69 m; socket, anathyrosis; socket, pour-channel, anathyrosis.

5. 1.03 m; 0.69 m; 0.66 m; socket, anathyrosis; socket, pour-channel, anathyrosis.

These drums could have belonged to a single column. The Corinthian capital is heavily damaged. Its height is ca. 0.87 m; its lower diameter is not fully preserved but could have measured 0.64–0.72 m.

In addition to the components of the Corinthian columns, several other architectural elements are stored in the building, such as fragments of an entablature with dentils and a lintel of white marble. The latter is situated in the west portico, in front of the D-complex; if this really functioned as a lintel and not as a crown above the

lintel (see *Délos* VIII, figs. 134, 135), its length (1.68 m on the lower surface, 1.87 m on the upper) would allow a restoration not only above the marble jambs of one of the east doorways of hall A/B, but also above one of the lateral doorways between rooms A and B. Yet only a detailed architectural study might show which of the numerous marble blocks and other architectural elements could have belonged to the building and which were just stored there, to be burned in the lime kiln.

85. Dimensions of the plain Doric capital are as follows: Diam. lower 0.45 m; H. 0.32 m; abacus in plan 0.59 × 0.59 m; H. abacus 0.10 m. The capital is much more smoothed overall than the plain white marble drum just south of it, and its diameter is probably too small in comparison to that of the drum for the two to be identified with the same column. The Doric capital with 20 flutes on the necking has a lower diameter of 0.33 m, and in the bottom surface is a socket containing bronze; the abacus measures 0.38 × 0.38 m in plan and is 0.05 m high; the height of the entire capital is 0.15 m. This capital cannot be associated with the plain marble drum because of its size and the flutes on the necking. Perhaps one of the two capitals is to be identified with the Doric capital that, according to Plassart (1914, p. 526), was used to support marble benches. It is not clear, however, whether Plassart actually found the capital in such a position; today, no capital functions as a support for the benches (see Bruneau 1970, pls. C, E). Therefore, the precise provenances and functions of the two Doric capitals found in this building (parts of colonnades, supports for benches, or material for the lime kiln?) must remain indeterminate.

but probably it was about 0.60 m.⁸⁶ According to Vitruvian standards (Vitr. 4.1.8, 4.3.4), (Doric) columns would have measured between 3.15 m and 5.075 m in height (4.20 m for a bottom diameter of 0.60 m), including the capital. For columns with these diameters in diastyle (Vitr. 3.3.1, 4), the intercolumniation would have measured between 1.80 m and 2.90 m (2.40 m for a bottom diameter of 0.60 m). Vitruvius's rules, however, are rarely found to have been applied precisely in Delian architecture and cannot, therefore, be used as reliable guides for reconstruction.⁸⁷

Having outlined the conditions that a reconstruction of courtyard C must take into account, can we cite any parallels to support one of the alternative conjectured restorations? For a truncated peristyle closed on its fourth side, parallels can be found in some private houses in Delos, but none involves a space as large as courtyard C. In addition, their builders were operating under certain restrictions: most were additions to existing courtyards with dimensions that were not convenient for the construction of a peristyle.⁸⁸

The symmetrically arranged, open, pi-shaped portico (see Figs. 38, 39, below) would be unique in Delos, as was correctly emphasized by Binder.⁸⁹ Neither the porticoes with short projecting wings, such as the Portique d'Antigone (*GD* 29), which opens onto a large public/sacred space, nor the large pi-shaped portico in the Sanctuaire des Dieux syriens (*GD* 98), which frames the cult theater, nor the large pi-shaped portico to the south of the Samothrakeion (*GD* 93), can really serve for comparison. Such a structure as part of *GD* 80 would have been a rather ambitious monumental entrance with three wings, for which, even outside of Delos, exact parallels are scarce. One could, however, compare it with similar arrangements in some of the Hellenistic sanctuaries that are laid out on several terraces, such as the sanctuaries of Athena on Lindos, Asklepios on Kos, or Fortuna in Palestrina.⁹⁰ In addition, the scheme of a three-winged portico recalls the many coastal porticoed villas that appear on small square or horizontal oblong panels in Roman wall painting.⁹¹

86. Binder (1999, p. 308) concludes from the width of the stylobate (0.725 m) that the diameter of the columns at the bottom was no less than 0.65 m and that the height exceeded 5 m. Yet because the slabs of stylobates usually vary slightly or even considerably in width, it is difficult to determine the bottom diameter of the columns on the basis of the stylobate (see *Délos* VIII, p. 246; *Délos* XXVII, p. 19). Nor is the Établissement des Poseidonias (*GD* 57), as cited by Binder (1999, pp. 308–309, n. 162, fig. 14), a good example on which to base his conclusion, since not even a quarter of that stylobate is preserved, and even the 10 existing slabs vary in width (*Délos*

VI, pp. 90–91, pl. I). Furthermore, his statement (Binder 1999, p. 308) that “columns in Delian private homes—even the grandest of them” did not reach heights of over 5 m is not correct: the columns of the Maison du Dionysos (*GD* 120) measured 5.60 m, and the larger ones of the Maison du trident (*GD* 118), 5.39 m (*Délos* VIII, pp. 146–149, 247–255, fig. 67, pl. XXVII).

87. See Rowland and Noble Howe 1999, pp. 196, 226, figs. 41, 66; for the realization of Vitruvian rules in Delos, see in detail *Délos* VIII, pp. 245–260, esp. pp. 257–260.

88. Trümper 1998, pp. 40–50, fig. 80:c.

89. Binder 1999, pp. 310–311, n. 163.

90. Lauter 1986, pp. 105–109, 119–121, pl. 45.

91. Rostovtzeff 1904; Förtsch 1993, pp. 60–65, 85–92, pls. 11:1, 2; 12; 17:1, 2; 22:3; 32:5; 33:1, 3; see also Pensa 1999. These freestanding porticoes are usually depicted with double-pitched roofs, which form gables at the front. This configuration is certainly excluded for *GD* 80 because the west portico had to be roofed with a single-pitched roof, and consequently the north and south porticoes as well. Even the less attractive roofing of a pi-shaped portico has parallels in Roman villas (see Förtsch 1993, pl. 13:1–3).

The architectural repertoire of the Hellenistic and Roman periods provided an extensive spectrum of colonnades, stoas, and porticoes that was drawn on with great variety: some were pi-shaped, some had short projecting wings, some framed open spaces, some served as vestibules or entrances to buildings, some (except colonnades) were freestanding buildings, and so on.⁹² But with regard to *GD* 80, the absence of precise local parallels might be attributed to the late date of this pi-shaped portico, which was probably constructed in Roman times, more precisely in the Imperial period (see below, p. 565). Perhaps this would also explain the discrepancy between the portico's apparent aspirations to monumentality and the modest quality of the entire C-complex.

In the space within the colonnades, no pavement has survived and it is likely that it never existed (Fig. 2). Since a waterproof pavement with drain may be considered standard equipment for courtyards of even very modest houses,⁹³ its absence here requires explanation: (1) it is simply not preserved; (2) the modest construction of complex C could not include such an expense; (3) it was not necessary, because the open space bordered by the colonnades never functioned as a courtyard, but was freely accessible from a similarly unpaved path on the side adjacent to the sea, which would have allowed rainwater to be drained easily toward the sea; or (4) vegetation was planted in the space, forming a kind of garden.⁹⁴ None of these solutions requires a grand staircase with three steps leading from the courtyard into the west portico.⁹⁵ Although the original level of the space is unknown, it seems unlikely that the foundation (or even perhaps the euthynteria) of the stylobate was visible. Therefore, the lower step of the two-step stylobate was entirely sufficient if one wanted to enter the portico directly from the open space of C.⁹⁶

To sum up, together with the granite wall system, which defines courtyard C in its visible limits at the north, south, and southwest, a three-winged portico or peristyle was established within its confines (Figs. 3 and 38, 39, below). On the basis of an architectural analysis, restoration of the following elements is proposed: nine columns on the west with an axial spacing of 2.20–2.275 m; four or five columns each on the north and south with an axial spacing of 2.175–2.25 m (Fig. 32); and possibly plain marble columns of the Doric order with a bottom diameter of 0.60 m and a height of about 4.20 m.

92. Coulton 1976, pp. 55–98, figs. 20–25; Lauter 1986, pp. 113–132; Förtsch 1993, pp. 60–65, 85–92.

93. Trümper 1998, pp. 28–30.

94. Garden peristyles are not at all common in Delian private or public architecture, but usually are taken to be a typical Roman feature (Dickmann 1997). Yet in some very late peristyles without pavement in the courtyard, planting might have been done or at least planned, e.g., in the Quartier du

théâtre, Îlot II, Maisons E and F (*GD* 117); the Quartier du stade, Îlot I, Maison B (the “Parfumerie,” *GD* 79); and in the Maison de Fourni (*GD* 124). This topic will be discussed elsewhere.

95. White (1987, pp. 150–151, fig. 5) conjectured that there was a stair structure on foundations b and c (Fig. 2) that served as a “grand entrance to the Portico from the seaward approach to the building,” and is supported by Binder (1999, p. 310, n. 163).

96. Several public porticoes, and even peristyles of private houses such as that in the Maison des dauphins (*GD* 111), have one or more steps below the stylobate. Since the function of these steps certainly was access, there was no need for additional staircases; see, e.g., *GD* 4, 5, 29, 111. Bruneau (1970, p. 483) was correct in dismissing foundations b and c (Fig. 2) as secondary construction, their date and function being—again—unknown.

The design of the east facade is unknown, but it involved either (1) a rather ambitious monumental exposure with a pi-shaped portico that opened onto the sea and framed an open, freely accessible space; or (2) a simple blind wall that concealed a three-winged peristyle within a closed courtyard. The pi-shaped portico or three-winged peristyle might have been built as part of a single construction project that included the integration of reused material, or perhaps it was merely an ornamental enlargement of the complex. In the latter case, the north and south colonnades would have been added to the existing west colonnade, which in turn would have to have been shortened in order to accommodate the new layout. The added colonnades could have been constructed using material of lower quality, in correspondence with the north, south, and southwest walls of courtyard C, and therefore might not have been preserved as well as the west colonnade.

REUSE OF THE BUILDING

A lime kiln was installed in room A in an unknown period (Figs. 2, 3). Its position in the middle of the room seems strange, but the room was probably already largely destroyed and filled with debris by the time the kiln was built. In fact, rubble might have served as support for the structure; lime kilns were ideally built into slopes “in order to take advantage of an efficient constant temperature and easy access to the lower part for the fire and to the upper part for loading and unloading.”⁹⁷ If the doorway between room A and courtyard C, which was found blocked when excavated, had been blocked before the installation of the lime kiln, the latter must have been loaded and fired from room B. In any case, the kiln’s position suggests that the building was a convenient source of marble that could be extracted from the building itself and the surrounding area. The fact that almost nothing is left of the colonnades clearly supports this suggestion.

Several walls cannot be ascribed to any of the described wall systems, nor can their functions be ascertained, namely the “late” walls built at what had been the west ends of the north and south porticoes, and the walls on foundations b and c, whose west ends rested on the euthynteria of the west colonnade (Figs. 2, 3). All four were certainly erected after the installation of the colonnades and could well have been part of one program, the precise nature and date of which is unknown, however. Whereas the walls in the north and south porticoes seem to have blocked traffic to and from the west portico, the function of walls b and c cannot be determined. They might have flanked a kind of ramp that facilitated the transport of heavy items (to feed the lime kiln?), but such a ramp would not have ended opposite the door to room B. Moreover, even the installation of a mere ramp may be considered an unlikely expense in association with a simple lime kiln.

In conclusion, the last use of *GD* 80 can be only partly reconstructed. Whereas the kiln was operated in a period when the building was certainly abandoned, walls b and c, and the “late” walls that extended north and south from the west stylobate, could mark a phase when the building was reduced in size—the eastern part no longer being in use—but still quite intact and inhabitable.

97. Adam 1999, p. 67; see also pp. 66–73.

CONSTRUCTION HISTORY OF *GD 80*

The different wall systems and the constructions to which they belong have been defined and described, but they have not yet been assigned to specific phases. This is the objective of the following section, which is not limited to a mere enumeration of the separate measures: the character and purpose of each phase, as well as the possible function of the building, are analyzed and discussed.

FIRST PHASE: MONUMENTAL HALL

The gneiss wall system can be attributed safely to the first phase; it formed the original nucleus of the building to which all further wall systems were added (Fig. 33). This edifice was conceived as a freestanding building and comprised the large undivided hall A/B, with three doorways equipped with marble thresholds, and the large water reservoir, which was accessible from the south. Although the building was without doubt extended to the south, the exact limit and structure of this southern part (the number and character of the rooms) cannot be reconstructed. The reservoir, however, was most probably integrated into the building. With regard to the eastern part, we can only speculate. Given the monumental size of the hall and the fine quality of its construction, one would expect a courtyard, a monumental entrance, an elaborate facade, or some combination of such elements. Several alternatives are possible:

a. A “public” colonnade, freely accessible from all sides and opening onto public space (Fig. 34:a). Initially, this reminds one of the numerous public *rues à colonnes* in Delos, but their function as support for a projecting upper floor and their modest character (mostly granite columns, without stylobates) differ considerably from the visible remains of the north-south colonnade of *GD 80*.⁹⁸ An open marble colonnade in front of a building that is raised above the walking level of the corresponding street or space would be unique in Delos but is, nevertheless, conceivable as a slightly simpler version of the following alternative.

b. A colonnade closed off at the south and north ends that clearly would have belonged to the building, decorating its facade and serving to create a kind of vestibule (Fig. 34:b). It would, nevertheless, have been easily accessible from the public space to the east. The preserved north-south colonnade is conceivable in such a context, with an extension toward the north corresponding with the north wall of A and an unknown extension at the south. Yet it must be stressed that nothing remains of a north wall that is to be associated with this colonnade. On the contrary, the visible stuccoed exterior northeast corner of room A clearly speaks against such a possibility if this corner really was part of the first building.⁹⁹ Comparable colonnade-vestibules are found in several public and sacred buildings, opening into a space within a *temenos* or a public space.¹⁰⁰ In either case, such a colonnade would have distinguished the building as public or sacred.

c. A simple courtyard without a colonnade and with unknown extent and accessibility (Fig. 34:c). This alternative requires a predecessor of the visible north wall, which creates the same problems encountered in

98. See Bruneau 1978; and n. 31, above. The search for buildings that might be compared to the different restorations proposed here was limited to the Delian context, but naturally could be expanded at will.

99. For this highly problematic corner, see above under “Wall with Marble Spoil Material.”

100. Cf. the Prytaneion (*GD 22*), with a two-story colonnade according to Lauter (1986, fig. 37), or a one-story colonnade according to Étienne (1997, figs. 13, 14); cf. also the one-story Samothrakeion (*GD 93*; *Délos XVI*, figs. 106, 108). Both buildings are provided with Doric colonnades.

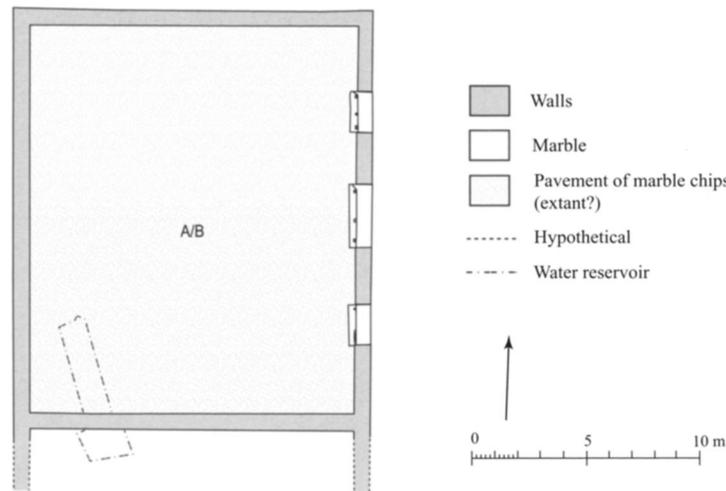


Figure 33. *GD 80*, plan of the first phase (extant walls)

alternative b. Given the size of the hall, for which parallels are cited below, such a plain courtyard is very unlikely.

d. A courtyard with a single colonnade in front of the western rooms (Fig. 34:d). As this is a modified version of alternative b, with an extension of the framing walls eastward, the pros and cons need not be discussed again. As with alternative c, however, convincing comparisons for the combination of such a large hall and a courtyard with a single colonnade are missing in the Delian record.

Since important objections have been raised to each of these alternatives, none of them can be safely and convincingly supported. Despite all the factors that weigh against it, it cannot even be entirely ruled out that the large hall was entered directly from public space. For now, alternative a is perhaps the most plausible and attractive one. This choice is supported by the fact that the long wall that later abutted the north face of the northeast corner of *GD 80*, and acted as the east facade of an insula, is aligned with the east wall of the large hall. Therefore, the latter could indeed have been the first facade of the building, distinguished at most by a colonnade in front of it. Both *GD 80* and its northern neighbor later would have been extended eastward in correspondence with each other.¹⁰¹

Regardless of how the eastern part is reconstructed, the features that are safely assignable to the first building clearly exclude it from identification as a private house, which has, only recently, also been argued extensively and compellingly by Binder.¹⁰² Even though all Delian houses include one large room, an *oecus maior*, that could have been equipped with three doorways, the dimensions of the hall of *GD 80* far exceed the

101. See below for details. Several Delian parallels can be cited for such a practice, e.g., the Maison du Diadumène (*GD 61*) and the eastern part of the Établissement des Poseidoniastes (*GD 57*) were both extended to the east, obviously in correspondence with one another; and the magazines on the

western shore (*GD 122*) were enlarged several times, likewise in correspondence with each other (*Délös XXXIX*, pp. 111–112, document XXX).

102. Binder 1999, pp. 307–314, although with a quite different reconstruction of the original building. See also Runesson 2001a, pp. 186–187.

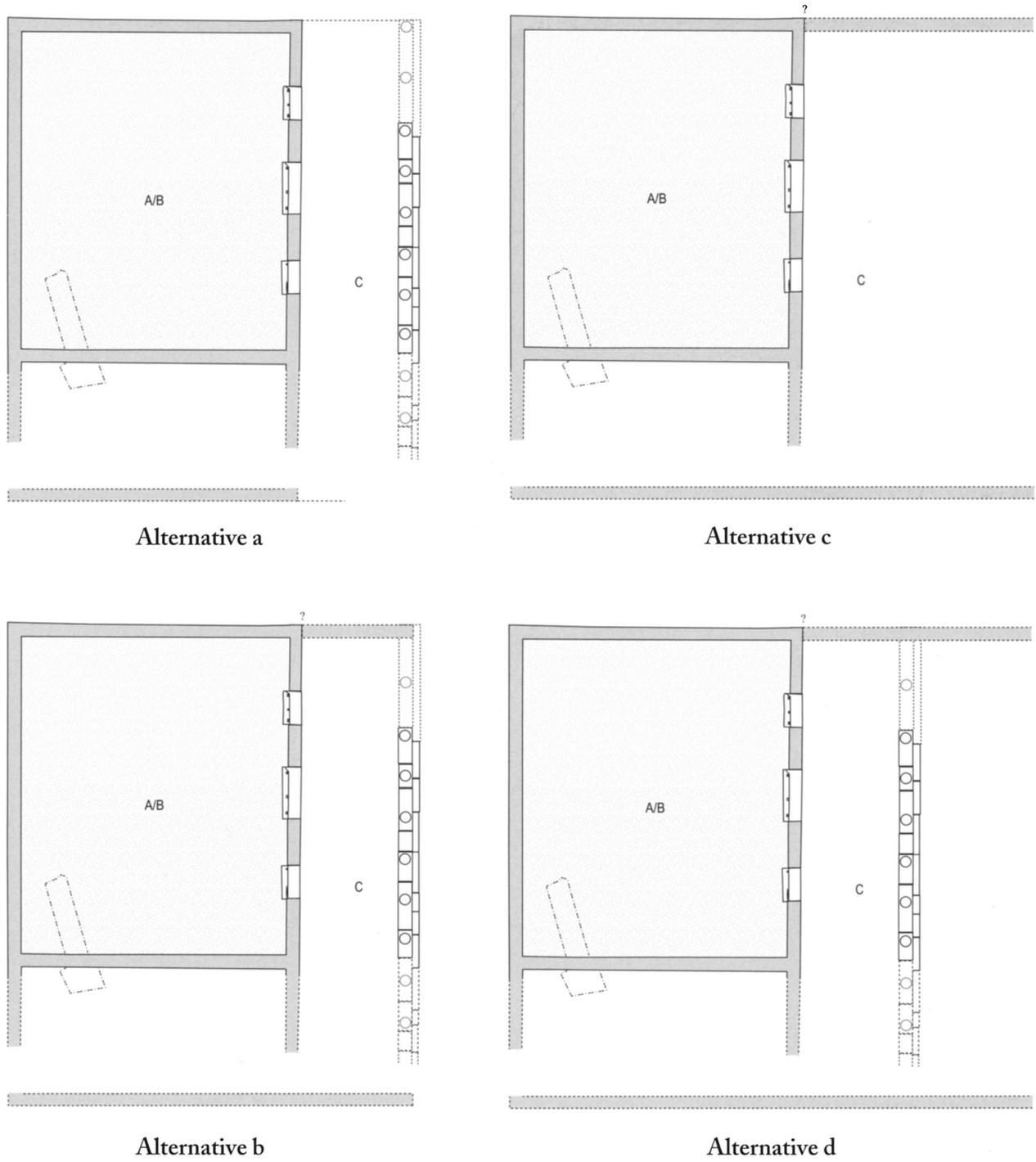
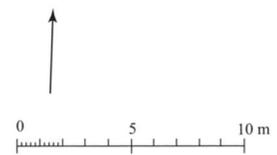


Figure 34. *GD 80*, plans of alternative restorations a–d of the eastern part in the first phase



standards of private dwellings.¹⁰³ Further, the private *oeci maiores* are all integrated in a well-defined domestic context: they open onto a courtyard, usually provide access to one or two annex rooms, and are surrounded by additional living and service rooms.¹⁰⁴ By contrast, the large hall of *GD 80* has convincing parallels in the large assembly rooms of buildings that served for the meetings of associations, such as the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes* (*GD 57*, Fig. 35). These are also accessible via three doorways, have no annex rooms, open onto large peristyle-courtyards, and were clearly conceived to meet all the needs of the particular association, including assemblies and banquets (or symposia).¹⁰⁵ *GD 80*, however, lacks some features that have been identified as essential components of meeting places in Delos (none of which is situated on the shore): a large peristyle-courtyard; a latrine; commercial space such as shops, magazines, or workshops; and “sacred” space or objects such as shrines, niches, altars, stelai, and figurines that attest the veneration of gods.¹⁰⁶ In addition, the orientation of the large hall under discussion is remarkable because it does not open to the south, as is usual in Delos and elsewhere.¹⁰⁷ In comparable cases a differing orientation is due primarily to external factors, which seem to be missing here, since the building was established before its neighbors and without visible constraints regarding urban layout or topography.¹⁰⁸

The urban layout being unknown, it is, moreover, difficult to determine whether the large hall was deliberately erected over the natural gap in the rock that was transformed into a water reservoir. Is this arrangement—clearly unfavorable within the Delian context—attributable only to the predefined position of the plot of land?

103. *GD 80* hall A/B = 16.80 × 14.40 m. Cf. the dimensions of the largest private *oeci maiores*: the Maison de l’Hermès (*GD 89*), room D with one doorway and two windows, 11 × 6 m; the Maison des dauphins (*GD 111*), room h with three doorways, 10 × 6.8 m; the Maison du Dionysos (*GD 120*), room f with three doorways, 10 × 5.5 m; the Quartier du théâtre, Îlot II, Maison F (*GD 117*), room l with three doorways, 9.4 × 6.2 m; the Maison des masques (*GD 112*), room g with one doorway, no windows preserved, 9.2 × 7 m; and the Maison des comédiens (*GD 59B*), room N with one doorway, no windows preserved, 9.2 × 5.5 m.

104. See Trümper 1998, pp. 81–115.

105. The *Établissement des Poseidoniastes* (*GD 57*), room E, 15.80 × 13.37 m; the Maison du Diadumène (*GD 61*), room e, 15.00 × 7.40 m; the Maison de Fourni (*GD 124*), room h, 10.40 × 7.40 m; Quartier du stade,

Îlot I, Maison B (*GD 79a*), room m (the “Parfumerie”; here Fig. 1), 8.40/13.40 × 7.20 m. Nearly all large rooms in private houses and buildings for the meetings of associations are broad rooms (*Breiträume*), i.e., more extended in length than in width; the width does not or barely reaches 7 m, so the rooms easily could have been roofed (with the exception of room E of the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes*, see n. 24, above). Contrary to White (1987, p. 152), the Maison des comédiens (*GD 59B*) certainly was not a building used for the meetings of associations, but was a private house. For the selection of buildings for the meetings of associations here, see in detail below, pp. 579–581.

106. See Trümper 2002; in addition, as mentioned in n. 24 above, I am preparing a study of all buildings used for the meetings of associations in Delos.

107. Trümper 1998, pp. 81–87, 106–

115; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, pp. 318–320.

108. The plot of land upon which the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes* (*GD 57*) was built had an unfavorable form and required a lateral western positioning of the large hall with regard to the peristyle-courtyard. The Maison de Fourni (*GD 124*) was constructed on several terraces with an axial arrangement, the clear intent of which was to provide a view of the sea to the west (the large hall opens to the west). The large halls of the other two meeting places mentioned above (n. 105) open to the south, as do the large majority of Delian *oeci maiores*. The assembly hall of a fifth meeting place, the Monument de Granit (*GD 54*), cannot be reconstructed because it was situated on the upper story of a complex of tabernae and is not sufficiently preserved. According to finds, it was subdivided by Ionic colonnades.

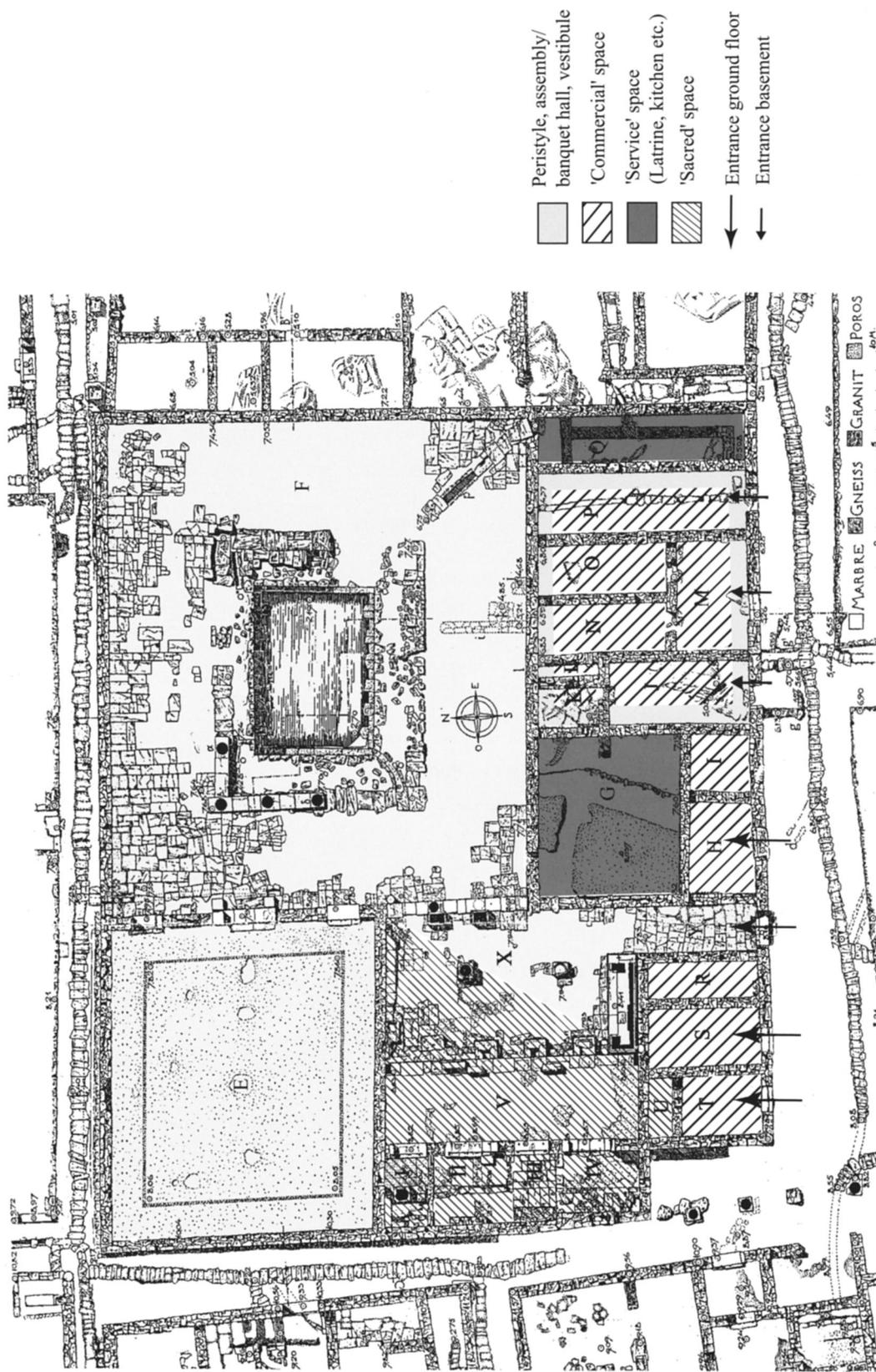


Figure 35. Établissement des Posidoniastes de Bérytos (GD 57), with characteristic structure and elements of a Delian building for the meetings of associations. After *Délos VI*, pl. I

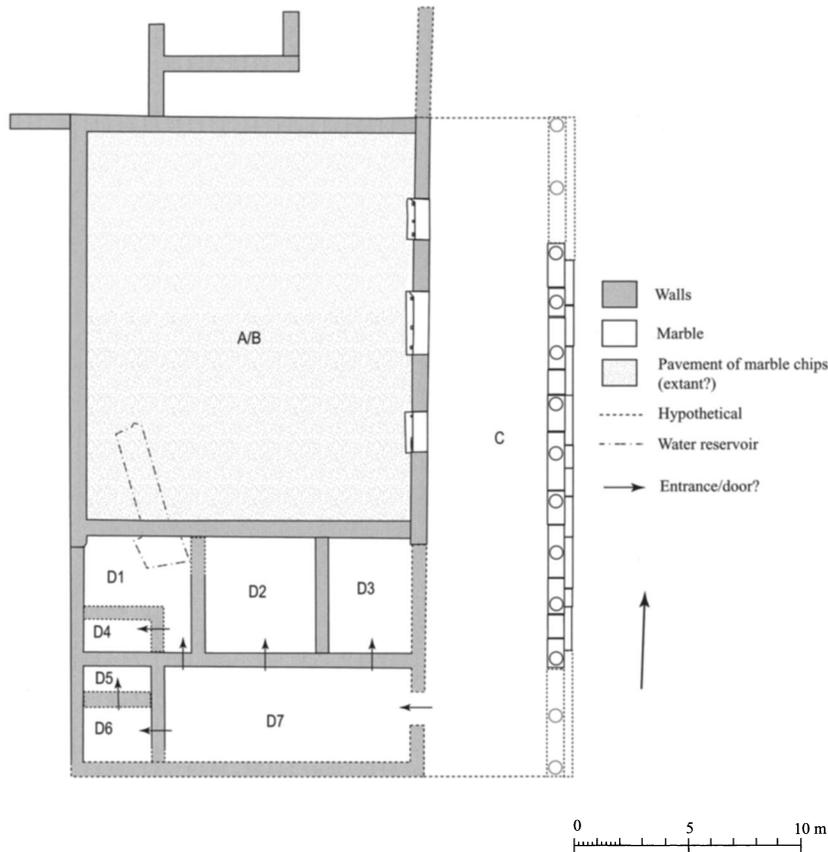


Figure 36. *GD 80*, plan of the second phase, with alternative a for the eastern part (see Fig. 34:a)

SECOND PHASE: EXTENSION TO THE SOUTH

Two wall systems were added to the first gneiss building, the mixed granite and gneiss walls and the marble spoil wall (Fig. 3). One of them may belong to the second phase of reconstruction. The mixed granite and gneiss wall system is identified here with the second phase because it is the most similar in technique, material, and quality to the gneiss wall complex (Fig. 36).

This phase probably comprised an extension of the building to the south and the installation of several rooms, some of which seem to have been subdivided subsequently, thus providing more rooms that could be used separately. As none of the features of these rooms (pavements, stucco coating, drains, installations) or finds are preserved, it is impossible to judge their purpose and character—service rooms, storerooms, or simple living quarters? Because of their sizes, forms, and positions, especially in comparison with the large hall A/B, the possibility that they functioned as luxurious assembly or banquet rooms can be largely ruled out.

The reconstruction of the area to the east remains problematic, as discussed with regard to the first phase (Fig. 34). In theory, a colonnade could have been added at this point. If such a colonnade existed from the first phase onward, it would have to have been extended farther south during the second phase, in correspondence with the conjectured extension of the south room complex.

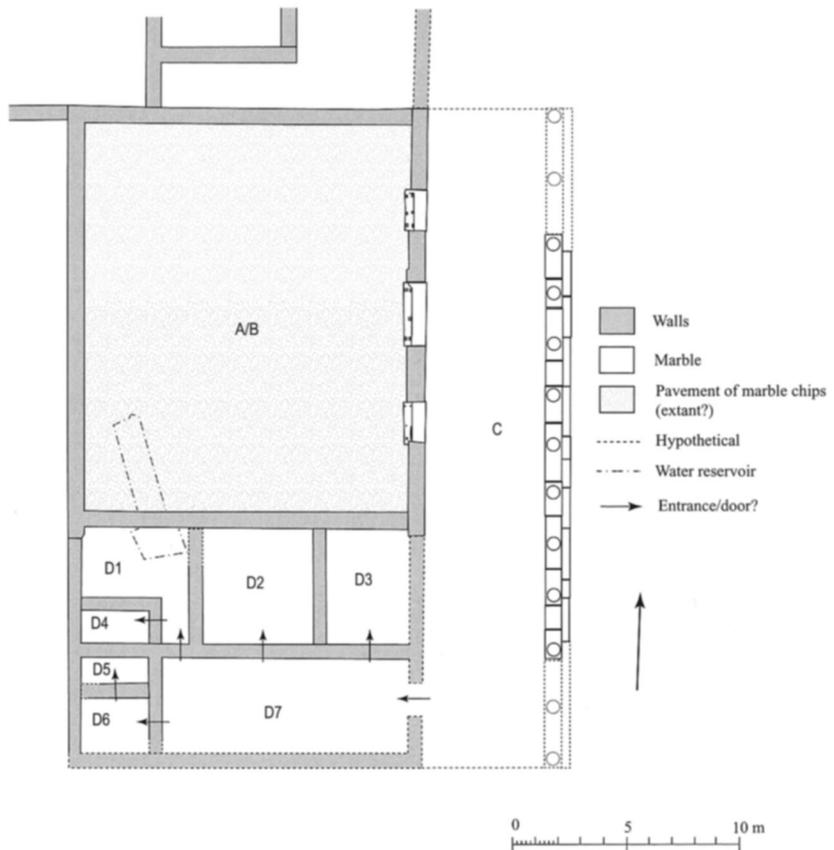


Figure 37. *GD 80*, plan of the third phase, with alternative a for the eastern part (see Fig. 34:a)

109. See below for the fourth phase.

110. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the domestic architecture of Delos. According to Bruneau (1968, p. 666), several facades of houses were deliberately modeled after walls of public buildings. Yet some of these facades were clearly covered with stucco, and thus were not perceivable by outsiders as prestige-seeking imitations; cf. Trümper 1998, p. 31, n. 168. It is not surprising that none of the stucco has been preserved on the visible wall, because this wall was especially exposed to wind and weather. On the whole, very little of the stucco revetment of this building is preserved, most probably because it is exposed to the ravages of the sea; see n. 23, above.

THIRD PHASE: RENOVATION OF THE HALL

In the sequence proposed here, remodeling the east wall of hall A/B by integrating reused marble material is assigned to the third phase of the building's history (Fig. 37). In theory this modification could be assigned to the second phase, but the remarkable differences between the respective wall systems do not support such a possibility. Whereas the renovation of the east wall undoubtedly took place after the installation of the gneiss wall system (the first phase), establishing the sequence in which the marble spoil wall and the granite wall system appeared has proven to be particularly difficult, as described above. Both features are of paramount importance to our understanding of the construction history, the spoil wall because of a *terminus post quem* of 88 B.C. for its realization, the granite system because it—finally—clearly defines the problematic eastern part of the complex. Since the alternative favored here is that the renovation of the east wall of A/B involved the entirety of the wall, from the northeast corner to the southeast, the granite wall system is assigned to a later phase.¹⁰⁹

The marble spoil material was distributed with great care and consideration, in such a way that it formed a kind of stabilizing framework for the new wall. In addition, the wall was probably completely covered with stucco, which would have rendered the supposedly precious and prestigious reused marble material invisible.¹¹⁰ Therefore, the intention in this

phase was not to embellish the building¹¹¹ and increase its prestige, but merely to rebuild and carefully stabilize a wall that was probably destroyed or partly collapsed, perhaps as a consequence of the Mithridatic raids in 88 B.C. Nor did this measure alter the essential character and appearance of the building.

Again, nothing can be said with any degree of certainty about the eastern area. The north–south colonnade may also have been erected during this phase, but, in contrast to the remodeling of the east wall, this clearly would have been a result of the desire to embellish the building and enhance its prestige, and the problems with this possibility have already been discussed with regard to the first and second phases. Additionally, since the stuccoed exterior northeast corner of room A is attributed to this third phase, the reconstruction of a wall bounding the west portico at the north (Fig. 34:b–d) certainly must be excluded.¹¹²

FOURTH PHASE: EXTENSION TO THE EAST

The chronological sequence of the wall systems again offers two alternatives, because both the granite wall system and the huge granite–gneiss–marble wall that divides hall A/B into two separate rooms were built after the marble spoil wall had been completed. The remarkable difference between them speaks against a contemporaneous realization of the two, but there is little evidence for giving primacy to either one. The granite wall system is chosen here because the similar furnishing of A, B, and C with benches is dependent on, and therefore subsequent to, the bisection of hall A/B, and presupposes the existence of courtyard C in its visible form (Fig. 38:a–c).¹¹³

This phase involved minor changes in the south, conceivably as part of the renovation of the south and east walls of the D-complex that was presumably motivated by a partial collapse of the respective walls or rooms. The principal result of the measures taken in this phase was, however, an enlargement of the building to the east. This comprised either the complete installation of a pi-shaped portico or a three-winged peristyle, or the transformation of a preexisting north–south colonnade into a pi-shaped portico or a three-winged peristyle. Since at present it seems most likely that the tripartite structure was not closed by an east wall but opened onto the sea, allowing free access to, and a view toward, the building, it must have served as a monumental, grand facade and thus certainly increased the building's prestige.

Despite this considerable change in appearance, the general function and character of the building were not fundamentally altered. The large hall and the southern room complex still could have been used as they had been in the previous three phases. In addition, numerous activities could have taken place within the porticoes, such as shaded promenades, the gathering of small assemblies, outdoor relaxation (possibly with a view of the sea), the setting up of votives and basins, and washing. Whereas the terrain north of GD 80 was certainly built up and still in use in this phase, the entrance in the new south wall of the courtyard suggests that there were no neighbors immediately to the south.

111. As has been proposed by White (1987, p. 150) and Bruneau (1982, pp. 499–500).

112. Any wall that might have existed previously must have been destroyed in this phase.

113. This is, admittedly, a rather feeble argument, because courtyard C could have been added after the division of the large hall and then equipped with benches, following the examples of rooms A and B.

Since the third phase occurred sometime after 88 B.C., the fourth phase must be dated accordingly, and could be assigned either to the last days of the Roman Republic or to the Imperial period. A late, Imperial, date might be supported by three antefixes with palmettes that were found in the water reservoir.¹¹⁴ Bruneau compares them to examples of the first half of the first century A.D., and even to some from the middle of the third century. If they belonged to this building, the earlier date is more likely,¹¹⁵ and they would testify either to a repair of the existing roof or to the construction of a new roof, for example, for the porticoes, in this period.

According to current research, Delos was largely abandoned in the Imperial period and was reduced to a small settlement that occupied only a minor part of the former Hellenistic city—the western coast and the quarters immediately south and north of the Sanctuary of Apollo.¹¹⁶ The Quartier du stade is usually thought to have been destroyed and deserted after 88 B.C. and, accordingly, must have been completely isolated by the end of that century. Therefore, the people who frequented *GD* 80 would not have lived nearby, but instead somewhere in the western part of the island.

This supposition requires comment. Two possible patterns of use can be conjectured. The first is that the users of the building in this phase (and probably in the previous phase) had owned it before 88 B.C., even from the beginning, and continued to frequent it because of its special importance and function. The second is that the original owners abandoned the building after its partial destruction or the decline of the quarter, the new proprietors choosing it deliberately because of its isolated location and transforming it according to their needs. It must be stressed, however, that some construction took place in the area to the north at the time of or after the completion of the granite walls. Also, the small harbor immediately north of *GD* 80 still could have been in use. One of the buildings on the shore might even have been fronted by a colonnade with a purely functional or decorative character.¹¹⁷ For these reasons, the vision of a vast deserted quarter on the eastern shore of Delos must be considered with caution, as it may be attributable to the limited excavation of this quarter or to the modern interpretation of the archaeological evidence, or both, and need not fully correspond with the ancient reality.

Although building activities in Imperial Delos were largely confined to the reoccupation and remodeling of extant buildings, some new buildings were constructed, at least two Roman baths, for example.¹¹⁸ Even if, as the finds suggest, commerce in Imperial Delos was mainly oriented toward the eastern Mediterranean,¹¹⁹ there must have been some Roman influence, tangible for example in the presence of Roman thermal edifices and associated bathing customs. Within this larger context, the ongoing construction at *GD* 80 is more easily comprehensible, especially the strange amalgam of ambitious scale and modest construction that characterizes this phase. For the persons who owned and used this building it still must have been worthwhile to establish a three-winged peristyle or a monumental pi-shaped portico that dominated the small harbor. The unusual form of the three-winged portico might have been a result of Roman influence.

114. Bruneau 1970, p. 485, pl. IX:3.

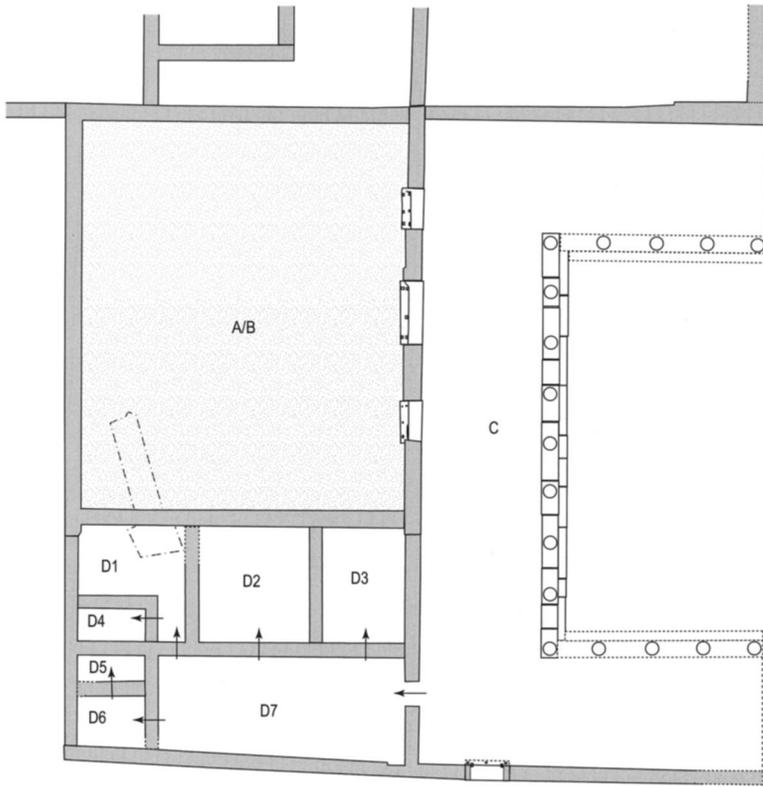
115. The building was abandoned at the end of the second century A.D.

116. See Bruneau 1968, pp. 691–708; *GD*, pp. 28–30.

117. The eastern coast of Delos has never been the object of a thorough study. The remains along the coastline and in the shallow water usually have been interpreted as parts of a small harbor with quays and a lighthouse, but it cannot be ascertained when and for how long this harbor was used. The eastern coast is, still today, used as an alternate landing area for small boats when rough weather makes the main port inaccessible. See *Délos* XXXIX, pp. 122–123, and n. 2 above.

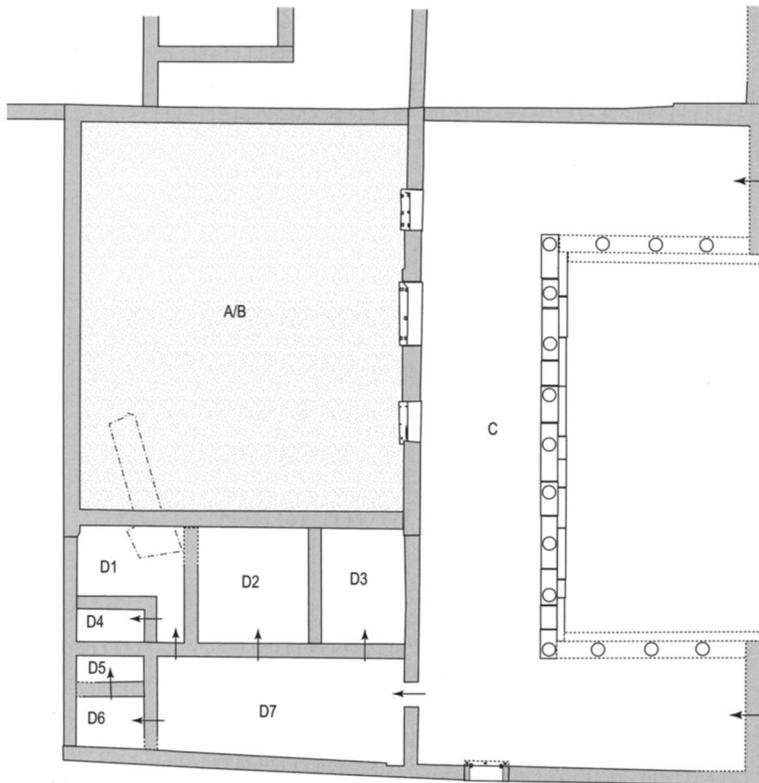
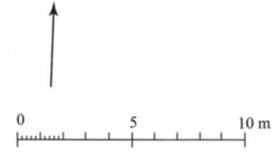
118. Bruneau 1968, pp. 700, 703. Both buildings included a great amount of reused material.

119. Bruneau 1968, p. 697, n. 3.



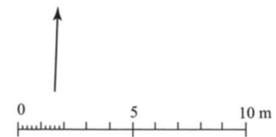
Alternative a

-  Walls
-  Marble
-  Pavement of marble chips
-  Hypothetical
-  Water reservoir
-  Entrance/door?



Alternative b

-  Walls
-  Marble
-  Pavement of marble chips
-  Hypothetical
-  Water reservoir
-  Entrance/door?



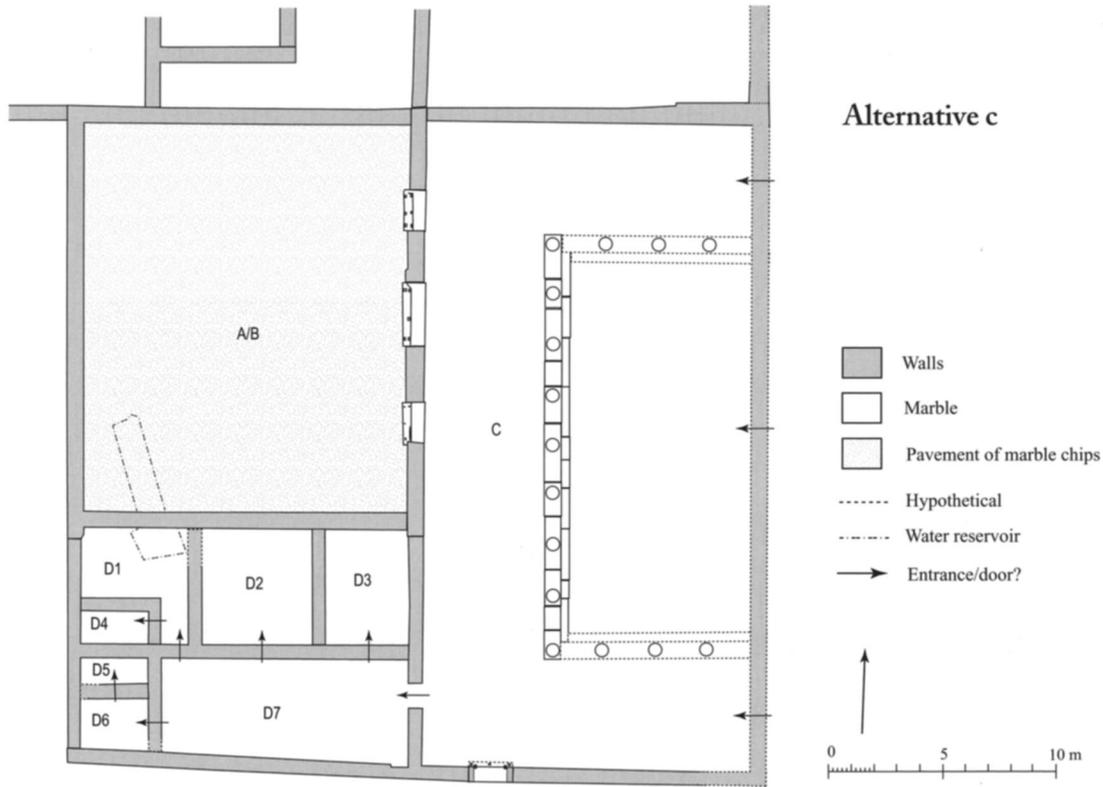


Figure 38 (*opposite and above*). GD 80, plan of the fourth phase, with alternatives a–c for the eastern part

FIFTH PHASE: SUBDIVISION OF THE HALL

The last appreciable alteration of the still fully usable building was the division of the large hall into two rooms by means of the large granite-gneiss-marble wall (Fig. 39). The consequences of this measure have already been discussed, but it should be emphasized again that the differentiation of the space did not necessarily provide two rooms that could be used entirely separately with the mere closing of the connecting doors. After the doorway between the west portico and room A had been blocked—either at the same time as the installation of the dividing wall or at some later date—room A was accessible only from room B. The two rooms would have formed a kind of interconnected room-suite, with B as a better-lighted large vestibule or front room and A as a darker, more secluded back room.

Such a layout suggests a clear hierarchy of use that is further supported by the presence of the marble throne in room A. Since the furnishing of the two rooms seems to have been identical, with the only apparent exception being the marble throne, the activities performed in these rooms cannot have differed considerably. Even if it cannot be ruled out that the visible furniture was introduced in one of the previous phases of use, it is evident that part of the furniture consisted of reused material and that not all of it was carved specially for this building—including the marble throne, which is likely to have originally been set up in the theater.

This conclusion is supported by historical circumstance: although all phases after 88 B.C. (third through fifth) could have followed shortly one after the other, the fifth phase can quite safely be assigned to the period after 69 B.C. (or to a much later date), when heavy reuse of marble elements

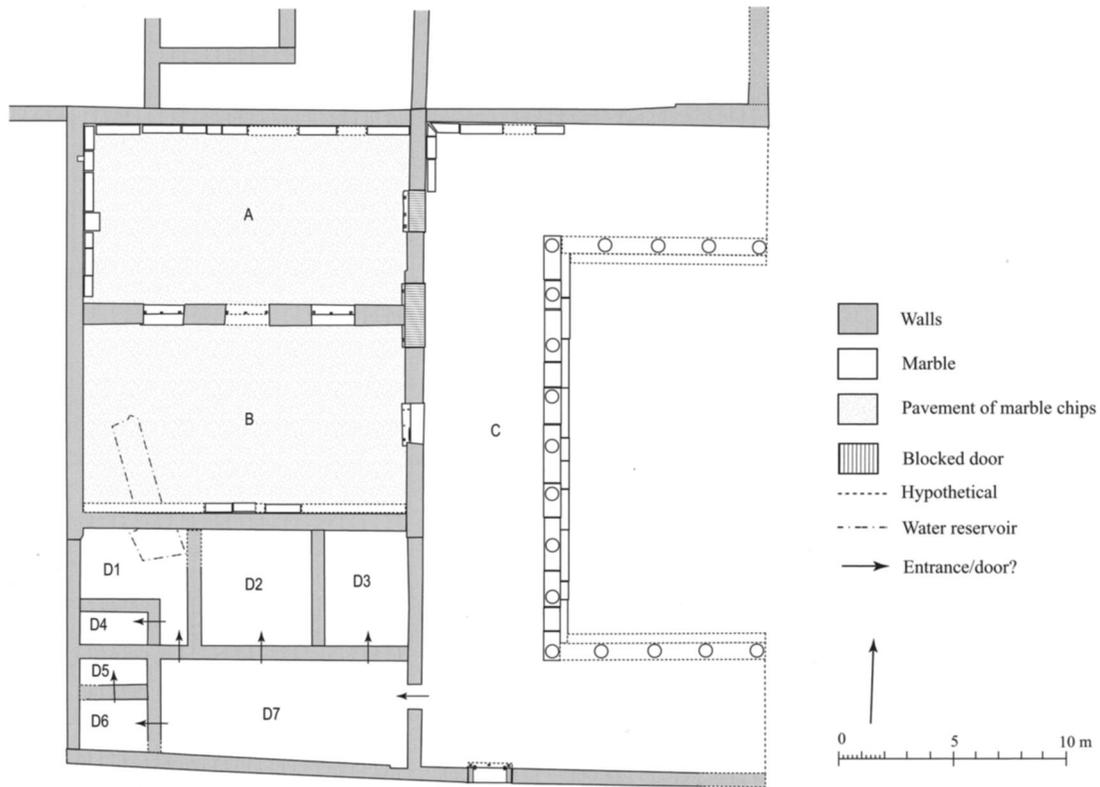


Figure 39. *GD 80*, plan of the fifth phase, with alternative a for the eastern part (see Fig. 38:a)

was normal in Delos. It would be interesting to know when the owners of *GD 80* obtained permission or could simply remove the furniture of such a prominent public building as the theater; in any case, they put considerable effort into transferring this throne from its original location, in the Quartier du théâtre south of the city center, to their edifice on the eastern coast, presumably because they had designated it for a special purpose.

The remaining materials that have been found in this building, such as votives, a sundial, basins, lamps, and other finds, could have been used in the last phase. Yet some objects date from the end of the second century B.C. through the first century B.C., and therefore might have been used in previous phases or transferred from elsewhere and reused.

SIXTH PHASE: REUSE OF THE BUILDING

Some constructions, such as foundations b and c in courtyard C and the “late” walls crossing the north and south porticoes at their west ends, could have been effected before the abandonment of the building and, presumably, would have altered the nature and use of the courtyard. For example, the north and south porticoes were blocked and an installation was constructed within courtyard C that abutted the west stylobate. Alternatively, some of these walls may have been erected in association with the installation of the lime kiln in room A, which was certainly added after the abandonment and partial decline of the building. Hereafter, this last, heterogeneous, phase will not be taken into account.

As a result of the foregoing reconstruction of the history of *GD* 80, some major points and problems have emerged:

1. The details of the extension eastward, the formation of the east facade, and the matter of accessibility (with regard to a main entrance), cannot be determined with any degree of certainty for any of the five phases (Figs. 34, 38, 39).

2. The edifice was conceived as a freestanding complex, but was successively surrounded by buildings in the north and west, the construction of which could have begun shortly after the first phase and continued into the fourth phase, at least.

3. The two most characteristic features of the building are the large hall, which dominated the building from the first through the fourth phases, and the water reservoir, which was extant and usable in all phases.

4. Two fixed points help determine the absolute chronology of the phases. The first two phases can be assigned to the period before 88 B.C., the third through fifth phases occurring sometime between 88 B.C. and the end of the second century A.D., when the building was abandoned. Without further research, however, it cannot be determined when exactly the building was constructed, nor how long each phase lasted. Does the important and formative fourth phase, for example, date to the first century B.C., the first century A.D., or to the second century A.D.?

To this point, the building's construction history has been described and analyzed without reference to its possible owners and users. Even if it is now generally agreed that the visible building, that is, the building of the fifth phase, was used as a Jewish or Samaritan assembly hall, it remains to be discussed when this function was assigned to the building. Was the edifice constructed as a synagogue or was it transformed into one, and, if the latter, when?

USE OF *GD* 80 AS A SYNAGOGUE

The identification of a Jewish or Samaritan use for *GD* 80 is based on epigraphic and architectural evidence.¹²⁰ However, Table 2 clearly demonstrates that inscriptions and furniture have always been given priority over the architectural elements and design. It is sufficient to cite the opinions of just three scholars—Bruneau, White, and Binder—because no other substantially differing views have been presented in the literature.¹²¹ If the informational value of these respective criteria—inscriptions, furniture, and architecture—is examined, however, it becomes apparent that their order of importance must be changed.

Five small inscribed votives were found within the building. Four of them include vows to a Θεὸς Ὑψίστος, a “God Most High.” Although the identity of *theos hypsistos* and the nature of his cult are still discussed, it is generally agreed that this epithet was certainly, though not exclusively, used by Diaspora Jews (and also Samaritans) to refer to their god. These inscriptions are regarded as primary evidence for the identification of

120. Clearly set out by Bruneau (1970, pp. 486–491); for a similarly comprehensive and clearly organized list of criteria, see Runesson 2001b, pp. 83–84.

121. Except by the early opponents of the identification of *GD* 80 as a synagogue, who can be ignored here.

TABLE 2. PREVIOUS RECONSTRUCTIONS OF GD 80 BY PHASE

<i>Author</i>	<i>Number of Phases</i>	<i>First Phase: Date, Function, Arguments</i>	<i>Second Phase: Date, Function, Arguments</i>	<i>Third Phase: Date, Function, Arguments</i>
Bruneau (1982)	3	second century B.C.; synagogue questionable, no alternative proposed; none in favor of or against synagogue	after 88 B.C.; Jewish synagogue; inscriptions and architecture (hall with three doorways, location, orientation of hall toward east/Palestine in general, reservoir as ritual bath)	after 88 B.C./second phase; Jewish synagogue; like those of second phase and, in addition, architecture (partition wall again, with three doorways, benches, and throne in A and B, orientation of A toward south/Jerusalem)
White (1987)	3	second century B.C.; domestic building; none	before 88 B.C.; Jewish (or Samaritan?) synagogue; mainly inscriptions, furnishing with benches and throne	after 88 B.C./second phase; Jewish (or Samaritan?) synagogue; like those of second phase
Binder (1999)	2	second century B.C.; cultic hall of pagan association; architecture (large hall, peristyle-courtyard) in comparison to meeting places such as the Établissement des Poseidoniastes (GD 57)	after 88 B.C.; Samaritan (rather than Jewish) synagogue; mainly inscriptions (not before first century B.C.), benches in A and B, typical Jewish or Samaritan ornaments on furniture and architectural elements, throne, location by sea, and equipment with water basin for ritual washing, subdivision of large hall for segregation of sexes	

GD 80 as a synagogue.¹²² Even though the earliest two votives are dated to the first century B.C., they cannot testify with certainty to such an early Jewish or Samaritan use of the building because they, like the other three, are small and movable and might easily have been transported from one building to another. Therefore, the possibility that the two oldest votives were first set up in another building and were transferred to GD 80 only in the last (fifth) phase of its use cannot be ruled out.

122. The following descriptions of the votives are based on Bruneau 1970, p. 484, with additions from *ID*:

1. *ID* 2328; on small column drum of blue marble without flutes but with a cutting in the top; drum H. 0.865 m, lower/upper Diam. 0.21/0.18 m; first century B.C.; found at the foot of the west wall of room B; no photograph published; inscription: Λυσίμαχος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ Ἐεῶν Ὑψίστῳ ἱεροιστήριον.

2. *ID* 2330; on rectangular marble base with profiles at bottom and top,

except at the back; base H. 0.25 m, L. 0.165 m, W. 0.12 m; first century B.C.; found on a bench in the western part of room A; inscription: Λαοδίκη Θεῶν ἱεροιστῶν σωθεῖσα ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θαλαπῆλαις. ἱεροιστήριον.

3. *ID* 2331; on a small marble base of slightly pyramidal form, with profiles at bottom and top and a small bowl-shaped cutting in the upper surface; base H. 0.18 m, L. and W. 0.10 m at the bottom to 0.085 m at the top; first or second century A.D.; found on a bench in the western part of room A;

for photograph see Bruneau 1970, pl. IX:5; inscription: Ζωσᾶς ἱεροιστῶν Ἐεῶν Ὑψίστῳ ἱεροιστήριον.

4. *ID* 2332; on small base of marble of the type bearing *ID* 2331; base H. 0.17 m, L. and W. 0.10 m at the bottom to 0.08 m at the top; later than *ID* 2328 and 2330, i.e., later than the first century B.C.; found on a bench in the western part of room A; inscription: Ὑψίστῳ ἱεροιστήριον Μιχαῖλα.

5. *ID* 2333; on a small rectangular base of marble of slightly pyramidal form, with profiles at bottom and top;

There is, indeed, an ongoing discussion about three other Jewish and Samaritan inscriptions. One was discovered in a private house nearby, in the Quartier du stade, and the other two, on two stelai, were found in an unexcavated area some 90 m north of *GD* 80. Did these inscriptions originally belong to *GD* 80, being displaced in a later period, or were they discovered in their original contexts, thus bearing witness to Jewish or Samaritan ownership of the respective buildings?¹²³

base H. 0.33 m, L. 0.26 m at the bottom to 0.24 m at the top, W. 0.20 m at the bottom to 0.18 m at the top; first or second century A.D.; found in the southeast corner of room B; inscription: - - - - I . / - - - - | γενόμενος | ἐλεύθερος.

For the contested identification of *theos hypsistos*, see most recently Mitchell 1999 and Stein 2001a, 2001b. According to Mitchell, the abundant testimony to Zeus Hypsistos, Theos Hypsistos, and Hypsistos, which up to now has been interpreted as evidence of different religious beliefs, belonged to one single widespread cult of pagan-Jewish character. The worshipers of Theos Hypsistos were strongly influenced by Jews and “acquired many Jewish characteristics but did not contemplate full conversion” (Mitchell 1999, p. 127). But Mitchell’s interpretation of *GD* 80 remains somewhat ambiguous: “On the strength of the last text [*ID* 2329, see following note] the structure has been interpreted as a synagogue used by the Jews on Delos. This is undoubtedly correct, but we should not neglect the point that the sanctuary is also a Greek one, containing dedications set up by persons with Greek names for Theos Hypsistos” (Mitchell 1999, p. 98). The theory of a general pagan-Jewish cult was strongly questioned by Stein (2001a, 2001b), who does not mention *GD* 80.

123. The first is *ID* 2329; on a rectangular base of white marble without profile at bottom or top, but with a cutting in the top; base H. 0.345 m, L. 0.185 m, W. 0.17 m; first century B.C.; found in a house of the Quartier du stade (Îlot II, Maison A, *GD* 79b; see Fig. 1); for photographs see Bruneau 1970, pl. IX:4, and Bruneau 1982, p. 499, fig. 13; inscription: Ἀγαθοκλῆς | καὶ Λυσίμαχος ἐπὶ | προσευχῆμ. According to Plassart (1916, p. 242) and McLean (1996, p. 193), this marble

base was originally situated in *GD* 80, but Bruneau (1982, pp. 499–502) argues that it was set up in this house, whose owners were Jewish.

The two stelai, dedicated by Samaritans to their benefactors, were found ca. 90 m north of *GD* 80, in an unexcavated area of the shoreline at the bottom of the outer face of a facade wall; they were published by Bruneau (1982, pp. 467–485):

1. Stele of white marble; upper part not preserved, back not smoothed; wreath in upper part; stele H. 0.48 m, W. 0.405 m at the bottom to 0.33 m at the top, Th. 0.11–0.075 m; 150–50 B.C.; inscription:

Οἱ ἐν Δῆλῳ Ἰσραελεῖται οἱ ἀπαρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν Ἀργαριζεῖν στεφανοῦσιν χρυσοῦ στεφάνῳ Σαραπίωνα Ἰάσωνος Κνώσιον εὐεργεσίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς.

Translation (Bruneau 1982, p. 471): “The Israelites of Delos who make contributions to sacred Garizim crown with a gold crown Sarapion, son of Jason, from Knossos, for his benefactions toward them.”

2. Stele of white marble; lower and upper parts not preserved, i.e., heavily mutilated, back not smoothed; wreath in upper part; stele H. 0.70 m, W. 0.56 m at the bottom to 0.53 m at the top; Th. 0.095–0.06 m; 250–175 B.C.; inscription:

0 [Οἱ ἐν Δῆλῳ] Ἰσραηλιταὶ οἱ ἀπαρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν ἅγιον Ἀργαριζεῖν ἐτίμησαν *vac.* Μένιπτον Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἡράκλειον αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ κατασκευ-
4 ἀσαντα καὶ ἀναθέντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπὶ προσευχῆ τοῦ θε[οῦ] ΤΟΝ[- - - - -] ΟΛΟΝΚΑΙΤΟ[- - - - -] ca. 6–8 - - - καὶ ἐστεφάνωσαν] χρυσοῦ στε[φά-]

νω καὶ [- - - - -]
8 KA - -
T - -

Translation (Bruneau 1982, p. 474): “[The] Israelites [of Delos] who make contributions to sacred and holy Garizim have honored Menippos, son of Artemidoros, from Herakleia, himself and his descendants, for having constructed and dedicated from his own funds as ex-voto [to God], the [- - - - -] and the [- - - - -] and have crowned] with a gold crown and [- - -].”

Because the plan indicating the exact findspot of these stelai (Bruneau 1982, fig. 1) is simplified, does not show all walls that are visible on the surface, and does not fully correspond with the more detailed plan III in *GD*, it is difficult to determine the findspot in relation to the surrounding walls (see Fig. 1). In any case, the wall corner where the stelai were found differs remarkably in orientation from the remaining neighboring walls as shown in *GD*, plan III. The situation as presented here in Fig. 1 (a compilation of the two plans) is certainly impossible and might be clarified only by further research and excavation. According to Bruneau, the stelai were probably incorporated into this facade and would, therefore, allow us to identify the respective building as a second, Samaritan, synagogue. In opposition to this, several scholars have proposed to identify *GD* 80 as a Samaritan synagogue, which suggests that the two stelai were simply displaced ca. 90 m, having been set up originally in *GD* 80; see Kraabel 1984, pp. 45–46; White 1987, p. 154, n. 84; McLean 1996, pp. 191–195; Binder 1999, pp. 305, 315, n. 175, pp. 472–474. For a short summary and cautious judgment of both views, see Levine 2000, pp. 102–103; Runesson 2001a, pp. 185–186, n. 68; and below.



Figure 40. Room A, southwest corner: fragments of two rectangular marble basins

Similarly, the use of the benches and throne in the last phase can be proved, but remains hypothetical for all previous phases. This holds equally true for all other movable furniture that has been found in the building, for example several water basins (Figs. 40–42).¹²⁴ According to the construction history proposed here, the fifth phase does not correspond with a formative restoration after a possible destruction in 88 B.C., but follows much later in the construction sequence.

124. If the furniture was not found in situ, i.e., not in a position that might reasonably correspond with its use within this building, it simply may have been stored here to be burned in the lime kiln. Consider especially the following fragments of several marble water basins:

Fragments of two basins of different size that both belong to the type “vasques rectangulaires à deux pieds en dalles,” following the classification in *Délos XVIII*, pp. 78–80, seem to have been found in room B and in the water reservoir (Plassart 1914, p. 531; Bruneau 1970, p. 485 [though without mentioning the form of the marble basin found in the water reservoir]; Moretti 1997, pp. 138–139, figs. 11–13). Today they are stored in the southwest corner of room A and consist of (a) a large fragment of a large rectangular basin of whitish blue marble (cf. Moretti 1997, figs. 11, 12; here Fig. 40, right); (b) five adjoining fragments of a smaller rectangular basin of bluish marble (cf. Moretti 1997, fig. 13; here

Fig. 40, left, with only two of the five fragments). This type of basin was often used in agonistic buildings in Delos and elsewhere; in Delos it was also found in a small public bath (Quartier du théâtre, Îlot III, Maison N), in several buildings used for the meetings of associations (Maison de Fourni, *GD* 124; Quartier du stade, Îlot I, Maison B, *GD* 79a), and in some private houses (see *Délos XVIII*, pp. 78–80). The examples in *GD* 80 might have been taken from the nearby gymnasium, as were the marble bases and blocks integrated into the east wall of A/B.

Two joining fragments of a third basin of bluish marble are situated between the benches on the north wall of C (Diam. inside ca. 0.39 m, D. inside ca. 0.37 m; here Fig. 41). This basin is not mentioned in the French publications, so neither its findspot nor its original position can be reconstructed. It is visible in some photographs in Bruneau (1970, pl. VIII:1, 2) but is not on his plan (Bruneau 1970, pl. B). It represents a type that is classified as a

“mortier profond, tronconique, sans base, mais avec tenons” in *Délos XVIII*, p. 105. Because mortars could also be used for liquids (see *Délos XVIII*, p. 103), this one might have been used or reused as a basin. Binder (1999, pp. 303, 306, 395) takes its present location as its original position, near the main entrance. Apart from the fact that the main entrance to the building is not known and that the main entrance to room A was, most probably, via room B, this position is rather unusual; it is more likely that the gap between the benches was filled by another bench, the support for which is set up on the neighboring bench to the east.

A round altar of white marble that was reused as a mortar (according to *Délos XVIII*, p. 104), and so could have been reused as a basin as well, is located in room B just east of the relieving arch of the water reservoir (Diam. of surface with rim ca. 0.38 m, H. 0.37; here Figs. 42, 44). However, the cavity (with two diameters) that was carved into the upper surface

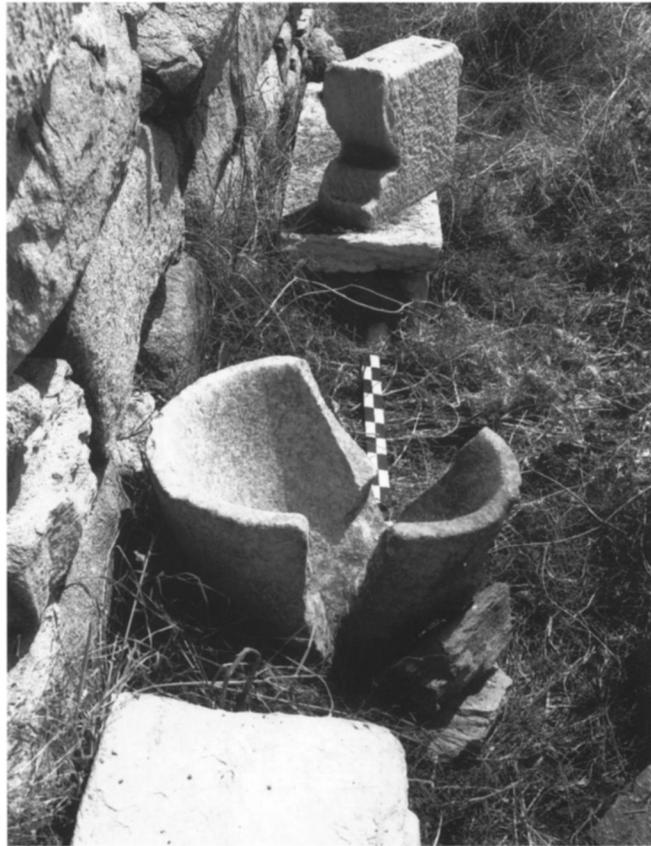


Figure 41. Courtyard C, north wall: marble basin (mortar type) between benches; from west

of the altar is not very deep (ca. 0.14 m total) and shows two cuttings at its bottom (for dowels or clamps?) that are unusual and inconvenient for a mortar, and therefore were probably cut to affix something in them. The findspot of this reused altar is nowhere mentioned in the literature; photographs in Plassart 1913 (pl. V) and Plassart 1914 (p. 524) show it in room B, facing the door to this room and arranged in a line with other marble elements; in contrast, Bruneau's photograph (1970, pl. VIII:2) presents it in its position today.

If neither the water reservoir, nor the closed room B, nor the current location between the benches in C can be regarded as a favorable position for a water basin, we must ask where the different marble basins were set up and used if they really belonged to *GD* 80. Levine (2000, p. 308) states, with regard to the placement of water basins in synagogues, that they were "in the middle of the courtyard (atrium), just outside the main entrance to the synagogue, or in the hall, or narthex, leading from the street into the synagogue sanctuary." Basins of different shapes,

sizes, and quality have been found in various Delian contexts, e.g., in sanctuaries, houses, and agonistic establishments (see *Délos* XVIII, pp. 73–82). Consider also, e.g., the house for the meetings of associations, the *Maison de Fourni* (*GD* 124), where three basins (two rectangular ones and a large circular one) on high supports were found in the courtyard.

125. As Binder (1999, pp. 168–169, nn. 23, 24, p. 306) has argued.

126. See *Der Neue Pauly* 9, 2000, cols. 33–44, s.v. Ornament (D. Willers).

The artistic embellishment suggesting a Jewish or Samaritan provenance is to be regarded with extreme caution. Palmettes, which appear on the marble throne, on antefixes, and on a marble lintel (of the third century A.D.), and rosettes, which decorate an inscribed votive offering, might be among the most prominent motifs of Jewish and Samaritan art,¹²⁵ but they were certainly no less prominent in non-Jewish and non-Samaritan pagan art.¹²⁶ Therefore, it is difficult to decide whether the decorated objects were, at least to some degree, specially made for Jewish or Samaritan use, whether they were deliberately chosen out of a large stock of spoil



Figure 42. Room B, reused round marble altar

material for Jewish or Samaritan reuse, or whether no special meaning can be assigned to their presence in this building because of the extensive diffusion of these motifs throughout the ancient world.

For Binder, the major architectural change that marked the transformation of the building into a synagogue, after 88 B.C., is the subdivision of the large hall, probably to create two rooms for the segregation of the sexes.¹²⁷ That this occurred, most probably, in the very last phase need hardly be drawn to our attention. Contrary to Binder and White, Bruneau's decisive dating of the architectural alteration to some time after 88 B.C. involves only the embellishment of the east wall of the large hall, leaving the latter's bisection (and characteristic furnishing) to an even later date. But if the architecture did not change at all during Bruneau's first and second phases, why then could the original building not have been conceived as a synagogue? In other words, what exactly identifies the building of the second phase as a synagogue?

Such uncertainty with regard to the original edifice is even more surprising because Bruneau argues compellingly and extensively that the water reservoir was conceived and used for ritual bathing. Since this reservoir, with its remarkable design, belongs most certainly to the very first phase, its identification as a Jewish ritual bath necessarily requires Jewish ownership and use of the building in the first phase.¹²⁸ Clearly, before discussing further evidence for the identification of the building in its first four phases, it must be determined whether the hypothesis of a ritual bath can be supported.

127. Plassart (1914, p. 531) was the first to suggest that room B was reserved for women; similarly, Binder (1999, pp. 300, 306) and Runesson (2001a, p. 187) support the idea of a separation of the sexes. But Mazur rejected this hypothesis in 1935, remarking that room B served only as access to room A (see also Bruneau 1970, p. 489). Yet women (and children?) could have been placed in room B and men in room A. The separation would not have been complete with regard to accessibility and visibility, but the arrangement still would have allowed a strict physical segregation during activities in the different rooms.

128. This compelling argument has been overlooked or underestimated by all researchers, supporters as well as opponents of the ritual bath theory; see below, n. 137.

FUNCTION OF THE WATER RESERVOIR

What requirements had to be met by a Jewish ritual bath, and how can a potential installation for ritual bathing be recognized? The Jewish laws provide an elaborate system of regulations regarding ritual purity. The required state of purity could be obtained by immersion in a natural body of water—a spring, river, lake, or the sea—or in a pool specially designed for this purpose. Only the latter, which had to be carved into the bedrock or built directly into the ground, was called a *miqveh*; it had to be filled with at least 40 *se'ab* (250–1000 liters, according to various calculations) of undrawn water, which was either collected rain water or spring water delivered by an aqueduct. Steps occupying the entire width of the *miqveh*, or narrow staircases on one or two sides of the basin, led down into the pool.¹²⁹ To date, the earliest known *miqva'ot* are located in the palaces of the Hasmoneans in Jericho, on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, and in synagogues in Jericho and at Gamala, Masada, and Herodion. Reich, the authority on *miqva'ot*, has stated that, “frequently used in the Second Temple period in Judea (Judah) and Galilee, *miqva'ot* were absent from the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman world.”¹³⁰ Therefore, if the water reservoir in question was a *miqveh* of some kind, it would be one of the earliest examples in the world, the earliest associated with a synagogue building, and the only one outside Palestine.

How, then, was the water reservoir of *GD* 80 constructed, and how is it to be judged within its local context? In Delian architecture, wells, cisterns, and large water reservoirs were usually located in a courtyard. Small ordinary wells were carved into the natural rock, built up to the sufficient height with gneiss or granite blocks, and had a small opening that was framed by a stone border or curb (*puteal*). Larger reservoirs and cisterns were also cut into the rock and built up, but had to be roofed with the aid of arches or beams. Whereas the arches were made of poros or granite, the beams were wood or stone. The walls of cisterns and larger reservoirs were covered with waterproof stucco, which was not deemed necessary for the narrow wells. It is self-evident that, for reasons of stability, the placement of walls or stylobates and colonnades on top of the arches or beams was avoided.¹³¹

Within this context, the water reservoir of *GD* 80 has both normal and abnormal characteristics. (1) A natural gap in the rock with a total length of 6.08 m was partly built up and roofed with a poros vault that extended 4.00 m beneath the floor of room B. According to Bruneau, the remaining 2.08 m, visible in room D1 (Fig. 43), was open to the sky and freely accessible, and the marble arch in the south wall of B would have been constructed intentionally for this purpose (Fig. 44). However, this arch was necessary because of the enormous size of the large hall A/B and the weight of its roof, which rested on the walls, among them the south wall of B; thus, it served simply as a relieving arch. Furthermore, it certainly would have been walled up and covered with stucco in room B and, most probably, also in D1, and thus would not have been visible at all.¹³² (2) The large opening in D1 is framed by the natural rock, which forms a completely irregular border. This border would have been highly

129. A good summary regarding *miqvehs* in general is provided by Reich (1997); his thesis on *miqva'ot* (1990) was not available to me; see further Reich 1988; 1993; 1995; Wright 1997, with critical remarks on the identification and use of *miqva'ot*; Binder 1999, pp. 391–399; Eshel 2000; Meyers 2000; Runesson 2001c.

130. Reich 1997, p. 431.

131. For the water management of the domestic architecture of Delos, see *Délos* VIII, pp. 323–351.

132. Water certainly could not have been drawn from room B because the poros vault of the reservoir has no opening (see Bruneau 1970, pp. 481–482, 490–491). Whereas the face of the marble relieving arch is smooth in room B and therefore could have been covered with stucco easily, it is very uneven in D1 and would have to have been concealed under several thick layers of plaster, as some of the blocks project beyond the south face of the wall.



Figure 43. Water reservoir in room D1 at north wall; from southeast

inconvenient for any use of the reservoir, either the drawing of water or bathing, which suggests that the opening was originally stabilized and framed by walls and probably even covered with beams of stone, or, more preferably, wood. Like the floor on top of the vault in room B, this construction could have collapsed or, if it was wooden, even burned.¹³³ (3) Finally, there are no steps leading down into the reservoir, the walls of which are very steep and high. Bruneau imagines a wooden ladder or stairs, which would have been quite a simple and makeshift arrangement, especially when compared with the elaborate and costly construction of the poros vault and the marble relieving arch. If human access to the water reservoir was intended from the beginning, or in one of the subsequent phases, it would not have caused too many problems either to cut steps into the rock or to build a simple staircase of stone.¹³⁴ On the whole, the regular and frequent use of the water reservoir for bathing or immersion is to be seriously doubted.

By Jewish standards, the Delian water reservoir would not have qualified as a *miqveh*; it could, at best, have served as natural body of water

133. Abundant evidence of fire was found during excavation of the fill of the water reservoir; see Bruneau 1970, pp. 481–482.

134. The discrepancy between the elaborate nature of the vault and a makeshift provision such as the imagined wooden ladder becomes even more obvious if this installation is compared with several water installations in Delos that are equipped with steps for human access. Cf. (a) the crypts in

Sarapieion A and Sarapieion B (Siard 1998); (b) the Fontaine Minoé (*GD* 30); (c) the round fountain with six steps leading downward that was excavated under the courtyard of the Prytaneion (*GD* 22; Étienne and Farnoux 1988, figs. 4, 5, 8); and especially (d) the reservoir in a nearby house (Quartier du stade, Îlot II, Maison A, *GD* 79b; see Fig. 1, above), where an elaborate staircase with 22 steps leads down into a round reservoir with a

diameter of 4.3 m and a depth of 6.2 m, which was roofed by means of three poros arches. Bruneau (1982, pp. 499–502) has identified this reservoir as a pool for ritual bathing and the house as a Jewish residence; however, the construction history of this house comprises two major phases that cannot both be easily reconciled with Jewish ownership (see Trümper 1998, pp. 222–223, fig. 24, and in detail in a work in preparation).



Figure 44. Water reservoir in room B at south wall, with reused round marble altar; from northeast

because it was filled by groundwater like a well.¹³⁵ Given the proximity to the sea, which could have served the same function, the identification of the water reservoir as a bathing pool becomes even more questionable. It is more likely that the water was used like it was in many other buildings, that is, for all activities that required fresh water: drinking, cooking, washing, cleaning, and so on. Moreover, the several marble basins that were found in the building, and that might have formed part of its furnishings in the last phase and perhaps even in previous phases, could have held water for ritual ablutions.¹³⁶

In sum, to base the identification of the entire building on the possible function of this water reservoir is not particularly convincing, and might easily provoke quite justified protest. It is strange that this water reservoir and its conjectured purpose have gone largely unaddressed, and that even those scholars who have identified it as a *miqveh*¹³⁷ have never

135. Therefore, the only objection that Bruneau (1970, p. 491) brings forth against his own hypothesis is not relevant: a drain is not necessary in connection with a natural pool, but only with a real *miqveh*.

136. See above, n. 124.

137. White (1987) and all the followers of the private house idea must necessarily dismiss the water reservoir as an ordinary cistern: Kraabel (1995, p. 110), McLean (1996, p. 194, with the incorrect statement that the cistern “could also be reached from room B”), Hachlili (1998, p. 38), and Claußen (2002, pp. 193, 220).

In opposition to these, Runesson (2001c, p. 124, n. 84) advances the idea of a ritual bathing pool, citing on p. 84, n. 302, further supporters of this theory; he also suggests (Runesson 2001a, p. 187, n. 72) that in the first phase the cistern was used by members of some non-Jewish cult. Indeed, the Jews might well have chosen the building because of this unique cistern, which provided immediate access to water for ritual purposes. Levine (2000, p. 101) states that “the cistern found there might have functioned as a *miqveh*.” Binder (1999, p. 306) remarks that “although there is no proper *mik-*

veh associated with the building, its location near the ocean parallels the placement of other synagogues near bodies of water.” Binder (1999, pp. 314–317) goes on to propose two possible patterns of occupation of *GD* 80: in the first scenario a pagan cultic building was transformed into a synagogue, in the second the building was originally built as a synagogue. Although the unusual design of the reservoir would support his second scenario, as he correctly observes (Binder 1999, pp. 314–315), he seems to favor scenario number one (pp. 314–317).

discussed it in full detail. If the reservoir was not conceived as a special facility for a specific function, its strange position might simply be due to geologic and topographic circumstance. In addition, the area around its opening could have formed a small courtyard in all phases.¹³⁸ In conclusion, the water reservoir of *GD* 80 is not considered here to have been a *miqveh*.

SPECIFIC ARCHITECTURE AND LOCATION OF *GD* 80

Another element that can be assigned to the original building with certainty is the large hall. Its size speaks of public, but not necessarily Jewish or Samaritan, use. Its three doorways might be typical of synagogue architecture, as argued by Bruneau, but since many large rooms in Delian architecture—in private domestic buildings as well in those of a “semipublic” nature used for the meetings of associations—are provided with three entrances, this arrangement can hardly be regarded as decisive evidence for the identification of Jewish or Samaritan use. A large room requires a large number of openings, preferably more than one doorway and windows, for technical reasons such as lighting and easy access for possibly numerous users,¹³⁹ and for symbolic reasons such as the need or desire to mark its importance and prestige.

Even though the orientation of the large hall toward the east is remarkable, it need not necessarily have been chosen with regard to specific cultic practices or requirements, for example as an intentional imitation of the inner court of the Temple at Jerusalem or of that at Gerizim, or “to direct focus in the general direction of the Orient.”¹⁴⁰ It might be attributed merely to the wish to have a pleasant view of the sea or to present a prestigious facade to the sea.¹⁴¹

Whereas the design of the large hall speaks clearly neither for nor against Jewish or Samaritan use, two other factors do seem to testify to Jewish or Samaritan initiative with regard to the original purpose of building: (1) the overall plan, structure, and elements of the edifice, and (2) its location on the seashore. The opponents of the domestic use theory have compared the original building with buildings used for the meetings of

138. This area might have served as a light source for the surrounding rooms of the D-complex, at least from the second phase onward; or as a courtyard, especially in the first three phases—when the building might not have included a courtyard in the east—but even in the fourth and fifth phases, because the possible three-winged portico presumably did not frame a simple courtyard that functioned as a service area.

139. See above, nn. 103, 105; Bruneau 1970, pp. 488–489. According to Bruneau (1982, p. 490), the fact that

the east wall of A/B, and again the later partitioned hall of A and B, were both equipped with three doorways testifies to the special meaning of this arrangement. But in both phases the three entrances simply might have been installed for access and lighting.

140. Binder 1999, p. 316; see also Bruneau 1970, p. 490; 1982, p. 490.

141. Cf. the *Maison de Fourni* (*GD* 124) facing west, toward the sea, and see above, n. 108; Binder’s statement (1999, p. 316) cannot be confirmed: “However, since the façades of many temples on the island (as well

as the House of the Poseidoniastes) face east, the design may reflect adherence to local cultic practices.” The majority of Delian temples face west and south, few face east, and even fewer north. For those facing west, see *GD* 6, 11, 12, 13, 81, 91, 98, 100, 103, 104, 106?, 126; south, *GD* 53, 68, 74, 88, 96, 100, 101, 105, 123; east, *GD* 46, 51, 57, 72, 93, 125; north, *GD* 100, 116. For most of the examples facing east, the size and shape of the available plot of land, rather than local cultic practices, might have been responsible for the orientation.

associations and, indeed, identify it as the cultic hall of a pagan association.¹⁴² Yet there were different kinds of associations in Delos; the fact that the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes* (*GD 57*, Fig. 35) is cited as the only architectural parallel makes clear which type of association the supporters of the meeting-place theory have in mind: not one connected with the cultic thiasoi, which gathered mainly for the veneration of their gods, but one of foreign merchants with a broad range of common interests involving commercial, national, cultic, and social aspects.¹⁴³

A comprehensive comparison of *GD 80* with all constructions in Delos that might be attributed to use by an association is beyond the scope of this article. The following comparison is limited to meeting places that are similar to the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes* and might, therefore, have been built and used by a similar association. A comparison with such buildings has been presented above and has shown that *GD 80* lacks some features characteristic of this type of structure in Delos: commercial space (shops, workshops, magazines), sacred space (chapels, niches) and specific equipment,¹⁴⁴ a latrine, and, most probably, a large peristyle-courtyard with a proper vestibule.

As the fittings (such as pavements, stucco, drains or other installations, furniture, equipment, and small finds) of *GD 80* in its first phase cannot be reconstructed, comparisons must be restricted to the architecture. Common traits shared by meeting places and *GD 80* are limited to a large hall, a water supply, and some additional rooms; a colonnade might have embellished the facade of the building but certainly would not have compensated for a closed, fully usable peristyle-courtyard.

If the original hall A/B, whose fittings and decoration are only partly known,¹⁴⁵ was used in a way similar to that of its counterparts in pagan

142. Binder 1999, pp. 314–317, following Mazur 1935; Runesson 2001a, pp. 186–187, following Binder 1999. Binder (1999, p. 474) strains this comparison severely by stating that “if there is anything historical about there being a link between the Samaritans and the Sidonians, as Josephus also asserts, then this may help to explain why the synagogue so closely resembles the House of the Poseidoniastes, a cultic house erected by merchants from the region of Sidon.”

143. To date, a comprehensive study dedicated to all associations in Delos is lacking; see Roussel 1916, p. 12, n. 5, pp. 73–74; Laidlaw 1933, pp. 201–231; Bruneau 1970, pp. 465, 472, 585–589, 621–633; and McLean 1996, p. 189, where it is stated without precise reference that “the epigraphical evidence on Delos documents over twenty-four voluntary associations.” For a recent

study of the collegia of the Italikoi, see Hasenohr 2001. For the inscriptions see *ID* 1519–1523, 1528, 1529, 1543, 1711–1714, 1730–1800, 2222–2225, 2227, 2229, 2231, 2234, 2237, 2240–2244, 2250–2253, 2323–2327, 2611, 2628, 2629.

144. This is most evident when the building is compared to the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes* (*GD 57*), with its series of cellas, cult statues, and three altars; see Trümper 2002. In the other meeting places religious needs were similarly met either by specific architectural arrangements (niches, nymphaea) or by cultic equipment, with altars, statues, votives, and basins that were, e.g., set up in the courtyard.

145. It was probably equipped with three marble thresholds, an undecorated pavement of marble chips, and stucco with a red plinth course; see above, pp. 521–523 and n. 23.

meeting places, it was multifunctional and could have served for banquets, symposia, and assembly meetings, but nothing hints at a pagan cultic use of this room.¹⁴⁶ With its unusual size, it must have been conceived for large meetings from the beginning; it easily could have offered, for example, space for 20–22 or even more couches set up on the north, west, and south walls, and it certainly could have accommodated many more than 40–44 symposiasts stretched out on couches, if gatherings included seating on benches.¹⁴⁷

The limited repertoire of separately usable rooms in *GD* 80 did not change considerably in phases 2–4 if these phases involved only the addition of some small rooms in the south and an open three-winged portico in the east (Figs. 36, 37, 38:a, b). But with the possible addition of a closed peristyle-courtyard in the fourth phase (Fig. 38:c), the building would have become similar to local meeting places for associations and would have offered space for a new range of activities.

In sum, before the fourth or even the fifth phase, there is no evidence for a remarkable alteration of the building that would clearly attest a change of ownership or use.¹⁴⁸ Further, the architecture suggests that this edifice was erected by a group whose needs were different from those of the associations that used the known association buildings in Delos. This view is supported by the unusual location of *GD* 80.

Although the position on the shore has often been noted and claimed as specifically apt for Jewish or Samaritan use, nobody has explained it with regard to the supposed non-Jewish or non-Samaritan, or private or

146. Pagan cults engaged in the offering of sacrifices. The necessary altars were usually set up under the open sky, i.e., in courtyards, open spaces, streets in front of houses, etc. In houses, where modest sacrifices of vegetables and incense will have prevailed, altars were also placed in rooms (see *Délos* VI, pp. 22–25; *Délos* VIII, p. 201; *Délos* IX, pp. 28–35, 64–69, 76–85, 88–102, 105–110, 112–149, 152–189; *GD* 124). The honorary decree *ID* 1520, which was found in the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes* (*GD* 57), attests a clear differentiation between sacred and profane spaces within this meeting place: the honored person, the Roman banker M. Minatius Sexti f., is allowed to choose any (profane) place within the building for the erection of his statue, with the exception of the sanctuary with its *prostoa* and *naoi* (line 25). Contrary to Binder 1999, p. 314, n. 174, the term “*temenos*” does not refer to the “sacred” hall E, but to the piece of land on which the house was built. For the restoration and interpre-

tation of this inscription see Bruneau 1970, pp. 623–626; for the first translation see Tod 1934, which differs in several points with the recent (and less convincing) translation by McLean (1996, pp. 197–200).

The situation might have been slightly different in sanctuaries, which often included banquet rooms or halls as well (Roux 1973; McLean 1996). The latter were spatially and probably functionally more closely linked to the cult than was the case in the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes*. A notably suggestive comparison may be drawn between *GD* 80 and the *Samothrakeion* (*GD* 93), which comprised a large broad hall with a colonnade in front and a floor with raised borders inside; originally interpreted as a temple (*Délos* XVI), it has been convincingly identified as a banquet hall (Roux 1973, pp. 548–554). At least in its second phase, however, the building was equipped with a niche (for a votive or cult statue?), and an *ἑσχαῖρα* (altar) was constructed in front of it. A com-

prehensive comparison between other sanctuaries with or without banquet halls and *GD* 80 would show that the latter lacks essential features of pagan sacred precincts (such as altars, temples, shrines, cult statues).

147. Given couches with a uniform size of 1.80 × 0.90 m, eight on the west wall and seven each on the north and south walls (including enough space for tables in front of each *kline*), there would have been 22 couches; with couches measuring 2.00 × 1.00 m, thus eight on the west wall and six each on the north and south walls, there would have been space for 20. The large room E in the *Établissement des Poseidoniastes* (*GD* 57) offered space for 19–20 couches.

148. Runesson (2001b, p. 90) points out that the large hall of the synagogue in Ostia never changed its form and function, and concludes that “similarity in plan is also one of the main arguments for the continuous use of the building as a synagogue for several scholars.”

semipublic, use of the first building.¹⁴⁹ The adherents of the private house theory could find some parallels on the western coastline, but the supporters of the meeting-place theory would have considerable difficulty in finding convincing comparisons.¹⁵⁰ Given the clearly commercial aspects of the cited association meeting places, the remote position of *GD* 80 in a mainly residential, noncommercial quarter does not support the thesis that a pagan association with commercial interests deliberately chose this place for its meeting place.¹⁵¹ Therefore, it seems most likely that the building was planned and realized by a group that gathered neither because of common commercial interests nor in order to venerate pagan gods in temples or chapels and with sacrifices—and this very well could have been a Jewish or Samaritan group.

Indeed, three arguments have been advanced for a specific Jewish or Samaritan choice of the location on the seashore: (1) the proximity of water for ritual ablutions; (2) the proximity of water for reasons of purity (worship near water ensures the necessary purity of the land); and (3) the marginalization of Jews and Samaritans in the society, which meant that a location far from the city center was required.¹⁵² The third argument can be ruled out because there is no evidence for an intentional official separation of the Jews or Samaritans within Delian society, or for a restriction of Jewish and Samaritan rights before the 40s B.C.;¹⁵³ moreover, the structure's integration into an insula within a larger urban plan might have been intended from the beginning, even if it was realized only subsequently. But the first two arguments could well have induced a Jewish or Samaritan group to build its synagogue in this place, which, in addition, was probably much quieter than the commerce-oriented western shore and in an "idol-free" quarter with no pagan sanctuaries.¹⁵⁴

The preceding analysis of *GD* 80 has shown that it was, in all probability, a synagogue from the time of its construction in the second century B.C. until its abandonment at the end of the second century A.D. But three questions remain: (1) Can a comparison with the structure and function of other, safely identified synagogues further strengthen this theory? (2) To what extent are the surviving fittings specifically Jewish or Samaritan? (3) Does the archaeological evidence, that is, the construction history of the building, correspond to the history of the Jews and Samaritans in Delos as understood from the literary sources?

149. Bruneau 1970, p. 489; Binder 1999, pp. 306, 339–340; Levine 2000, pp. 100, 122; and esp. Runesson 2001c.

150. For private houses on the western coast, see *Delos* XXXIX, pp. 63–85.

151. The nearby meeting place in the Quartier du stade (*GD* 79a) included no shops, but there was a room/workshop for the large-scale production of perfume; see Brun 1999, 2000. Although the Maison de Fourni (*GD* 124) has, to date, an astonishingly remote position in the largely

unexcavated southern part of the island, it is, nevertheless, provided with a series of shops, workshops, and cellars/magazines.

152. For an extensive discussion of the location of synagogues near water, see Runesson 2001c, pp. 119–129.

153. See below, nn. 192, 193.

154. Until now, at least, no sanctuaries have been excavated in the Quartier du stade. Some pagan sacred precincts are positioned in equally remote places, but on the southern part of the

western coast (*GD* 123, 125, 126). It is not clear, however, whether idol-free zones were really necessary or desirable for Jewish or Samaritan assembly halls in the Diaspora, so this argument does not necessarily support the identification of *GD* 80 as a synagogue. But see the extensive discussion in Runesson 2001c of the impurity of non-Jewish land, of idols, and their significance with regard to the place where Jewish communication—in the Diaspora—with God is to take place.

COMPARISON WITH THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF OTHER SYNAGOGUES

Since the synagogue of Delos has always been regarded as the oldest known example of a synagogue, no precedents or precise models can be cited or compared with it. The shift of the date of its original construction from the first century B.C. to the second now distances it even further than before from other examples.¹⁵⁵ To further complicate matters, the existence and the function of synagogue buildings before the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in A.D. 70 have remained the subjects of controversy in recent scholarship.¹⁵⁶

A consensus has finally emerged, however, that synagogues certainly did exist before A.D. 70 in Palestine and the Diaspora, and that they were multifunctional, serving both sacred and profane needs. They accommodated all the different aspects of Jewish communal life—political, liturgical, social, educational, judicial, and spiritual—within their walls. Consequently, the buildings were used for various activities, such as ritual washing; the teaching and study of scripture, especially the communal reading of the Torah and the expounding upon and study of it; corporate prayer and worship; customary feasts and communal dining; storage of sacred funds and writings; the exhibition of votive offerings and dedicatory and honorific inscriptions; archiving legal transactions and decrees; court proceedings; meetings addressing community needs; and housing guests.¹⁵⁷

Whereas the synagogues in Palestine are usually identified on the basis of characteristic architectural features (first and foremost a large hall with columns or pillars as roof supports, benches along the walls, often a miqveh next to or near the hall, and sometimes a niche or a room for the storage of sacred scriptures), Diaspora synagogues can be recognized only if they are provided with specific Jewish (or Samaritan) symbols, elements, and inscriptions, because their forms are thought to have been shaped more by local architectural customs and influences than by Palestinian concepts of synagogues. In this sense Diaspora synagogues form a heterogeneous group,¹⁵⁸ but they nevertheless served to house all activities that “declared the distinctiveness of the Jewish community and the adherence to its traditions,” as well as “to entrench a sense of collective identity.”¹⁵⁹

155. The example closest in date is the building that Netzer has recently excavated in Jericho and identified as a synagogue. It was probably built between 75 and 50 B.C. and destroyed by an earthquake in 31 B.C., but the identification as a synagogue is still much contested (see Netzer 1999, 2000a, 2000b; Ma'oz 1999; Shanks 2001; Schwarzer and Japp 2002). In recent books on early synagogues it is cited as such with varying degrees of confidence: Levine 2000, pp. 68–69; Runesson 2001a, pp. 181–182; Claußen 2002, pp. 185–186. Safely identified

synagogues date to the first century A.D. in Palestine and to the second half of the first century A.D. (most likely the late Julio-Claudian period) in the Diaspora (Ostia); see Binder 1999, pp. 155–341; Levine 2000, pp. 42–123; Runesson 1999; 2001a, pp. 174–189; 2001b; 2002; Claußen 2002, pp. 166–208.

156. For comprehensive, clear, and critical summaries of the most recent research and challenging theories on early synagogues, see Runesson 2001a, pp. 67–168; Levine 2001.

157. See Rutgers 1996; Binder 1999, pp. 389–450; Levine 2000,

pp. 124–159; Runesson 2001a, pp. 193–234; Claußen 2002, pp. 209–223; Gruen 2002, pp. 115–119.

158. Rutgers (1996, p. 95), however, emphasizes that “structurally and functionally these buildings [the Diaspora synagogues] have surprisingly much in common,” referring mostly to the later examples. Against a standardization and a uniform pattern prevailing across the Mediterranean, see, e.g., Gruen 2002, pp. 113–115 with further literature in n. 54. Further supporters and opponents need not be cited here.

159. Gruen 2002, pp. 118, 131.

As in synagogues in Palestine, the dominating feature of the building in Delos is the large hall, which might even have included supports for the roof and could have served most of the functions enumerated above; it was presumably used in a more flexible way, however, with moveable furniture, as there is no evidence for benches built along the walls. Therefore, those participating in common meals could have reclined on couches according to local customs, whereas for more religious/liturgical activities such as prayer or reading the Torah, and for larger civic meetings, benches could have been set up in the hall. The secondary rooms in the south might have been conceived, and indeed enlarged and partitioned, to meet additional needs such as the storing of sacred funds, scriptures, archives, and furniture, or the preparation of communal feasts, or the lodging of guests.¹⁶⁰ Votive offerings and dedicatory or honorific inscriptions were set up by preference within courtyards and in close proximity to shrines, altars, or cult images; by contrast, large assembly halls, without specific features such as niches, apses, or podia, offered no suitable space for such activity. Therefore it must remain uncertain whether, and if so how and where, the first users of *GD* 80 honored their god and benefactors with offerings.

The best parallel for *GD* 80 from the Diaspora is furnished by the synagogue of Ostia, which was situated outside the city and in proximity to the sea, was conceived as a monumental synagogue from the beginning, and was remodeled several times during its use from early in the second half of the first century A.D. until the fifth century.¹⁶¹ The original building comprised a large assembly hall with benches, a podium, and an entrance construction that was square with a column at each corner; a separate, unusually large triclinium with built benches; and water facilities. It is worth noting, however, that the permanent furnishings for specific functions and the strict spatial differentiation between prayer hall and dining room might be attributed to the date of origin—about 200 years later than that of *GD* 80 in Delos. In the second half of the first century A.D. the functions and importance of synagogues might have changed or shifted slightly, for example, from being multifunctional community centers to promoting a sharper focus on religious aspects and activities, which would be reflected in the permanent equipment of the large hall in Ostia. In addition, the design of the synagogue in Ostia might have been inspired predominantly by local architectural styles, but despite some general similarities with meeting places, there is no exact parallel in any part of Ostia, and the synagogue does not fit into the known typology of such meeting places. Most interestingly, the original synagogue buildings in Delos and Ostia both lack the peristyle-courtyard that was obligatory for the larger meeting places in Ostia and the cited examples in Delos.¹⁶²

Although the architecture of each of these synagogues is fairly comprehensible within the larger local context, it is at the same time notably different and without precise parallel. Given the remarkably monumental scale of both buildings, the absence of features such as a courtyard or shops was, most probably, not due to a shortage of money or to external factors such as the limited size of the building plots, but to an intentional adaptation to the needs of a specific group, the respective Jewish or Samaritan

160. Although the lodging of guests seems rather unlikely, because the rooms of the south complex resemble much more those of service than those of proper or even luxurious living.

161. For the synagogue in Ostia, its identification as a synagogue, construction history, function, and equipment, see Runesson 1999, 2001b, and 2002 (with convincing refutation of White's theories as set out in White 1997b and 1999).

162. For the comparison with buildings for the meetings of associations, see Runesson 1999; 2001b, pp. 90–91. Common features consisted of spaces for cultic/religious activities and for common meals, but large or monumental meeting places with separate rooms for the veneration of gods and dining or meetings usually included a peristyle-courtyard; in addition, many were provided with tabernae, which could be profitably let (Bollmann 1998, pp. 58–103). By far, the majority of known meeting places in Ostia consisted of a single more or less monumentally designed room (*Saalbauten*) that was often equipped with an apse, niche, or podium for a cult statue, and that was used indiscriminately to fulfill the various needs of the community, such as cultic activities, meetings, banquets, and so on (Bollmann 1998, pp. 103–122).

community. One might extend this comparison to the question of the extent to which Jewish or Samaritan communities resembled voluntary associations in the Graeco-Roman world, and to what degree differences and similarities in the organization and structure of these communities were reflected in the form and function of the respective synagogues and meeting places, but such a comprehensive sociohistorical study is beyond the scope of this article.¹⁶³

According to the interpretation of *GD* 80 presented here, the small Aegean island of Delos provides a second, and even earlier (than that at Ostia), example of a Diaspora synagogue that was originally constructed as such, thereby offering the rare opportunity to study the design and development of an early synagogue. Its design corresponds to the specific nature of Jewish life in the Diaspora as recently described by Gruen: The building could well be interpreted as a negotiation between integration and segregation, between adaptation of local customs and consideration of Jewish needs. With their synagogue the Delian Jews or Samaritans might well have fitted within the world of Hellenistic and Imperial Delos while expressing and maintaining their own distinctiveness.¹⁶⁴

FITTINGS OF *GD* 80

It is generally agreed that for Second Temple synagogues no specific fittings with Jewish symbols or elements are to be expected, especially not in the Diaspora, where Jews adapted to the regional and local culture, customs, and language.¹⁶⁵ Some features of *GD* 80, however, have always attracted special attention from supporters as well as opponents of its identification as a synagogue, namely the throne, the niche in room A, the votive offerings, and small finds such as lamps.

The marble throne (Fig. 22) is usually identified as the Cathedra of Moses; its importance would have been emphasized by placing it in the center of the west wall of A, facing the single east entrance (and Palestine).¹⁶⁶ If, however, the doorway between A and courtyard C was blocked from the beginning of the fifth phase, this privileged position never would have been visible from the outside (the courtyard) and probably would not have been readily evident from the interior of B, as none of the entrances to A from B offered a direct axial view of the throne. Yet regardless of its position, the probably prominent provenance of this throne, the distant theater, suggests that it was intended to serve a special function.¹⁶⁷

163. Voluntary associations and synagogues (as communities) have been compared and contrasted by several scholars, most compellingly and extensively only recently, by Richardson (1996) and Runesson (2001a). For a critical approach, see Levine 2000, pp. 118–123; 2001, pp. 27–28; he stresses the differences between these communities and the specific Jewish

character of synagogues. See also Gruen 2002, pp. 121–123; Robinson 2002.

164. Gruen 2002, pp. 122–123.

165. See, e.g., Bruneau 1970, pp. 487–488; 1982, pp. 491–495; Levine 2000, pp. 118–123, 285; 2001, p. 29.

166. See, e.g., Bruneau 1970, pp. 489–490; White 1987, p. 148;

Hachlili 1998, pp. 79–81; Binder 1999, pp. 301, 306, 316; Levine 2000, pp. 120, 325–327.

167. The Delian inventories mention several thrones, referring to examples in different sanctuaries, but archaeological evidence is rather scarce. The throne in *GD* 80 is certainly the most prominent example (see *Délös* XVIII, pp. 5–12).

The small niche in the west wall of A, 2.20 m north of the throne's current position (Fig. 22), is rarely mentioned in the literature. Binder conjectures that it might have served to store the sacred scrolls used in Sabbath services.¹⁶⁸ Within the Delian context, however, this niche, which was obviously created subsequent to the construction of the wall and is rather crudely made, is best explained as a place for a lamp. Since the lighting of this room could have been problematic in the evening and during the darker seasons, this function seems reasonable.¹⁶⁹

Because of the concentration on the interpretation of the previously mentioned inscriptions, the function or functions of the votives and honorific bases that bear them has often been neglected. Two of the six bases that were either found in or attributed to *GD* 80 were discussed by Mazur as evidence against the synagogue theory. They show cuttings and the remains of lead in the top surface that might have served for the soldering of bronze figurines ("idols"), except that their form and size do not correspond to the usual bases for statuettes in Delos; both are much higher than the average bases for votives and statuettes and could, therefore, have supported larger objects, such as basins or tables.¹⁷⁰

Three of the remaining four small votives resemble strongly the numerous "altar-incense burners" known from Delos, were certainly modeled after them and, most probably, were used accordingly.¹⁷¹ This is quite remarkable because it is usually thought that the sacrifice of animals and

168. White (1987, p. 148) cites this niche only as evidence for his construction history. The identification as a Torah niche is not in Binder 1999, but only on his Web site (www.pohick.org/sts/delos.html), which provides a detailed photograph of the niche with a descriptive caption. Bruneau (1970, pl. C) illustrates the niche, but on p. 489 he states expressly that a niche for the sacred books is missing above the throne. This niche is similarly not cited in special publications on Torah shrines; see, e.g., Hachlili 2000.

169. See above, n. 57. Comparable Torah niches in early synagogues are much larger. The one at Gamala, according to drawings (e.g., Binder 1999, p. 165, fig. 3), was ca. 1.20 × 1.20 m and at floor level; cf. the strange niche in the supposed synagogue in Jericho that was 1.55 × 1.20 m and took the form of an elevated compartment at the level of the benches (Netzer 1999, p. 213). The niche in *GD* 80 certainly could not have been closed like the many Torah shrines represented, for example, in mosaic pavements, artifacts, and funerary art.

170. For the column drum bearing *ID* 2328, see n. 122, above; its dimensions (H. 0.865 m, lower/upper Diam. 0.21/0.18 m) correspond quite well with those of column-drum supports for circular tables, but it lacks the usual profiles at top and bottom; perhaps its presumably late date is responsible for the rudimentary form (see *Délos* XVIII, pp. 48–53). Nonfluted archaic columns without base and capital that served as bases for statues display either two holes for the tenons protruding from the feet of bronze statues, or large, deep cuttings for marble statues (Kissas 2000, pp. 231–235). Neither Schmidt (1995) nor Jordan-Ruwe (1995) discusses small column bases. For the base with *ID* 2329, see n. 123, above.

For bases for statuettes found in situ in Delian niches, see Kreeb 1988, pp. 43–46, 196–197, no. 21 (H. 0.25, L. 0.30, W. ca. 0.18 m); 1988, pp. 250–251, no. 36 (H. 0.065, L. 0.27, W. 0.26 m); also Kreeb 1984, pp. 328–329, figs. 12, 13.

For "autels brûle-parfumes" that might have functioned as bases for votives, see, e.g., *Délos* XVIII, p. 383,

n. 13, and p. 384, no. A 1366, which is a rectangular base of white marble measuring 0.12 m high and 0.07–0.09 m wide, with profiles at bottom and top and a cutting in the top surface.

171. *ID* 2330, 2331, 2332 (the fourth, *ID* 2333, may also have functioned similarly); see n. 122, above. Also for *ID* 2331 and 2332, see Deonna 1934, p. 425, no. 167, p. 447, no. 183, fig. 52; *Délos* XVIII, p. 388, no. A 3049, p. 389, no. A 3050. *ID* 2330 is described as the same type in Bruneau 1970, p. 484, but is indeed larger (H. 0.25 m vs. 0.17–0.18 m). Deonna cites an uninscribed, very large example that was found in *GD* 80 but is nowhere else mentioned (Deonna 1934, p. 424, no. 166, figs. 31, 32; *Délos* XVIII, p. 388). According to Deonna, all examples show eastern, specifically Syro-Phoenician, influence. Remarkably, Deonna is never cited with regard to the function of these objects. Levine (2000, p. 101) describes *ID* 2330–2332 incorrectly as "column bases," and "votive/votive offering" does not appear in his extensive subject index (pp. 715–748).

the offering of vegetables and incense was confined mainly to the Temple in Jerusalem. In addition, such sacrifices were part of the sacred rituals in some early temple-synagogues in the Diaspora, where a gradual shift from animal sacrifice to the offering of vegetable and incense took place in the Hellenistic period. But the synagogue in Delos is normally counted among the examples with a more recent history of Jewish presence that focused from the beginning on the reading of the Torah and other synagogue rituals.¹⁷² The evidence for possible incense offerings allows the synagogue building in Delos to modify this picture slightly, the more so because the votives were obviously kept—and presumably used—until the abandonment of the building. The burning of incense conforms to local practice because the required items have been found in large numbers in sanctuaries and houses all over Delos.

Unlike the votives, the two inscribed Samaritan stelai¹⁷³ that were found north of the synagogue, but that might originally have been set up in the building, had the function of only documenting and perpetuating the honors that a grateful group of Samaritans bestowed on their benefactors.

It remains to be considered where and how the different votives and honorific bases were presented within the context of the building. Some bases and stelai were not worked on the back and were, therefore, clearly conceived for a position in front of a wall or column.¹⁷⁴ They could have been set up along the walls without benches in rooms A and B, or in the porticoes. This holds true also for the freestanding examples that are worked on all sides, because a position in the middle of A or B does not seem very practical for circulation within, and the regular use of, these rooms.

According to Bruneau, the two Samaritan stelai were inserted into a wall and faced the interior of a second synagogue, but this hypothesis is not very convincing. In such a case the stelai, of remarkably different ages (250–175 B.C. and 150–50 B.C.), either must have been integrated into the wall when it was built, and/or the wall must have been partly demolished before it could receive them. If both stelai were integrated into the wall at the same time, then the earlier one must have been set up elsewhere originally, and thus could not be used to date the wall or the building where it was found. If they were not integrated at the same time, the later one must have been inserted subsequently, requiring a partial destruction and rebuilding of the wall. The parallel that Bruneau cites as evidence for incorporation into a wall was certainly an instance of subsequent and rather crude insertion.¹⁷⁵ Therefore the possibility cannot be ruled out—and seems,

172. For sacrifices in synagogues see in detail Runesson 2001a, pp. 426–454, 473–474; see also Binder 1999, pp. 226, 235, 337–338.

173. Bruneau 1982, pp. 467–485; see above, n. 123.

174. This applies to the bases with *ID* 2329, 2330, and the two Samaritan stelai already mentioned (nn. 122 and 123, above); the column drum with *ID* 2328 was worked all around. For the altars or incense burners with *ID* 2331, 2332, and 2333, such informa-

tion concerning the lateral and back faces is missing in all publications.

175. See Bruneau 1982 (pp. 486–487, n. 50, fig. 8) and Moretti 1996 (pp. 621, 631, fig. 3) for the stele of the gymnasiarch Pausanias, which is located in exedra E2 of the Palestre du lac (*GD* 67). This stele definitely has a tenon in its bottom surface and is well worked on both lateral faces; therefore it was certainly intended to be set up on a base. Moreover, it is placed asymmetrically between two niches of a

series of at least ten niches that were distributed symmetrically within one large room, E2–E5. This large room was subdivided subsequently and the stele in question was obviously placed in correspondence with one of the secondary partition walls. The idea of a secondary integration of this stele is supported by Charneux and Treheux (1997, pp. 171–172, n. 105), but they provide no new observations concerning its character and placement.

indeed, more likely—that the stelai in question were set up in front of a wall, with or without bases.¹⁷⁶

A complete list of the small finds is not available and probably could never be compiled now, given that the excavation was conducted so long ago. According to the first excavator, “les menus objets recueillis parmi les ruines sont ceux-là mêmes qu’on pouvait s’attendre à rencontrer.”¹⁷⁷ For the selected objects that are listed in the publications, no exact findspots are given. It is therefore difficult to use the finds to reconstruct the precise use of the building and its rooms, or the process of abandonment and later reuse. Parts of the building seem to have been destroyed by fire, but the extent and impact of such a catastrophe cannot be determined.¹⁷⁸

Numerous lamps were collected near the walls and mostly from under the marble benches; these positions could correspond with the actual use of the lamps, in which case the synagogue would have been abandoned during an instance of use,¹⁷⁹ or they could be the result of a subsequent shifting of the debris, for example when the lime kiln was built. It has often been observed that the Jewish community clearly obtained its lamps exclusively from Roman merchants, and that it was not particular about the decorative motifs on them.¹⁸⁰

If the seventeen fragments of fine glass dating to the Imperial period belonged to the equipment of the synagogue, perhaps there was a set of luxurious tableware for feasts or other occasions; in any case, this equipment would testify to a certain affluence and standing of the Jewish or Samaritan community.¹⁸¹

In conclusion, there is nothing specifically Jewish or Samaritan about the fittings of *GD* 80 except the wording of the Greek inscriptions on the votives. Even the arrangement of benches along the walls finds several parallels within the Delian context, for example in the nearby gymnasium (*GD* 76), in private houses, in sanctuaries and public buildings, and in the Agora des Italiens (*GD* 52).¹⁸² It is instead the remarkable combination of the throne with the architectural layout that distinguishes *GD* 80 from other constructions in Delos.

176. Although the first stele (no. 1 in n. 123, above) has no tenon, its bottom seems not very well worked (Bruneau 1982, pp. 467–471 and fig. 2) and perhaps was inserted into a base or opening in the natural rock. The lower portion of the second stele (no. 2 in n. 123, above) is not preserved (Bruneau 1982, pp. 471–475). If both were set up in front of a wall, their findspots, outside the building, would not correspond with their original position. None of the scholars who supports the identification of *GD* 80 as a Samaritan synagogue discusses Bruneau’s theory regarding the placement of these stelai (see above, n. 123).

177. Plassart 1914, p. 531.

178. Bruneau 1970, pp. 482, 492; the fire might have been limited to the

southern part, which would explain the complete destruction of its rooms; Plassart (1914) does not mention evidence of fire.

179. For none of the 644 lamps or fragments of lamps excavated in the Îlot de la Maison des comédiens (*GD* 59B) is the findspot (room, exact position in room, etc.) listed (*Délos* XXVII, pp. 263–265). Similarly, in *Délos* XXVI only buildings, not rooms, are mentioned as finding places. Under these circumstances it is impossible to determine by comprehensive comparisons which type of findspot corresponds to which type of abandonment.

180. See Bruneau 1970, pp. 484–485, 492. In *Délos* XXVI see for Attic and Delian lamps: undecorated, 290,

333; bearded mask, 2494. For Corinthian lamps: ornamental decoration, 4660. For Roman lamps: trophy, 4574; nike, 4576; centaur, 4578; two horses with jockey, 4579; griffon, 4581; vase with tendrils, 4582; garland, 4583; hind, 4584; rosette, 4586; wine branches, 4587; bull, 4588; Zeus with eagle, 4589; boxer(?), 4590; erotic group (from water reservoir), 4591; vegetal decoration, 4592, 4594; maenad(?), 4598, 4599; Athena, 4600, 4601; lion ravaging donkey, 4603; shell, 4609, 4641; rosette, 4610, 4618, 4619, 4622, 4627, 4647; undecorated, 4626, 4636, 4645, 4646, 4648, 4649, 4650, 4653, 4654; nude man reclining, 4642; mammal, 4651.

181. *Délos* XXXVII, pp. 115, 199.

182. *Délos* XVIII, pp. 12–14.

JEWES AND SAMARITANS IN DELOS

As several authors have already extensively discussed the history of the Jews and Samaritans in Delos,¹⁸³ only the most important facts with regard to the construction history of building *GD* 80 will be summarized here.

The earliest document attesting the presence of Samaritans in Delos is an inscription in honor of their benefactor Menippos from Herakleia, which is dated to the period 250–175 B.C. on the basis of paleography.¹⁸⁴ While the translation of the clausula ἐπὶ προσευχῆι is contested, it is agreed that this inscription testifies to the existence of a Samaritan synagogue well before 167/6 B.C.¹⁸⁵ Yet several problems arise: Were there two synagogues on Delos, one for the Orthodox Jews and one for the Samaritans? Did these two buildings exist contemporaneously? Did these two hostile groups really build their assembly houses in close proximity to each other (see Fig. 1)? Or was the Samaritan synagogue already out of use when the Jews constructed their synagogue, *GD* 80? Or was *GD* 80 not the Jewish synagogue but rather a Samaritan building? And if so, did the Orthodox Jews, whose presence on the island is attested in the literature, have a synagogue of their own at all, and, if so, where?¹⁸⁶

At the present time, none of these questions can be answered with any degree of certainty. Two remarks will be made, however. First, it does not seem very likely that the two Samaritan stelai were ever integrated into a wall; rather, they were just stored coincidentally at their findspot, that is, they were probably displaced.¹⁸⁷ In this case, there would be no evidence that the wall adjacent to the stelai belonged to a synagogue. A trial trench might finally resolve this issue. Second, if *GD* 80 is identified with a Samaritan building, the Samaritan inscription honoring Menippos might have implications for the date of construction. The original building is usually dated to the second century B.C., regardless of its supposed function, but it is not specified anywhere whether this means before or after 167/6 B.C.¹⁸⁸ Most buildings in Delos, and the development of the Quartier du stade, are usually attributed to the period of the free port, so the existence of a synagogue in this quarter before or around 175 B.C. would be surprising, but not impossible. Again, only further excavation and investigation might clarify the absolute chronology of *GD* 80.

183. Bruneau 1970, pp. 484–486; 1982; White 1987, pp. 136–147; Levine 2000, pp. 100–105.

184. Bruneau 1982, pp. 471–475, 483–484; see above, n. 123, stele no. 2. I am much indebted to Angelos Chaniotis and Veronique Chankowski for the discussion of this inscription, especially regarding its date, which both confirm.

185. Bruneau (1982, pp. 474–475) translates “en ex-voto [à Dieu]” because the building would have been designated as ἐπὶ τῆς προσευχῆς, but he

(p. 486) interprets κατασκευάσαντα as referring to “une installation, meuble ou immeuble, dont les Israélites étaient redevables à Ménippos: dès lors, qu’il ait payé ‘à ses frais’ le bâtiment tout entier, une de ses parties ou un quelconque aménagement, ces trois possibilités ont pour commune conséquence que nos Israélites avaient un local à eux.” White (1987, p. 144) translates “to the proseeche of God” and concludes with more certainty that Menippos has “given the funds for construction of the place of meeting for

the Samaritan community on Delos.”

186. For different opinions regarding Jewish or Samaritan ownership of *GD* 80, see n. 123; see also Pummer 1999, pp. 120–121.

187. As was probably also the case for the marble base with *ID* 2329; see n. 123, above.

188. Gruen (2002, p. 110) states that the first phase of the building was “placed by excavators in the early second century BCE” but I do not find this date in Plassart 1913 or 1914, or in Bruneau 1970 or 1982.

In light of the uncertainty of ownership—either Jewish or Samaritan—it is not possible to link safely the diverse historical data with building *GD* 80. Accordingly, the following discussion of the available historical and archaeological data is to be understood as a distinctly hypothetical exercise.¹⁸⁹

In 139 B.C. the Roman consul Lucius sent a letter of friendship on behalf of the Jewish people to different addresses, among them Delos.¹⁹⁰ The Jewish community was obviously important enough to be included on the list and might already have built its first synagogue. It is likely that Jews and Samaritans frequented the island or even lived on it for the same reasons that many other foreigners from all over the Mediterranean world did: for profitable commerce in the booming cosmopolitan trade center. Inscriptions show that Jews participated in Delian life at the end of the second century B.C. and the beginning of the first, but nothing is known of the years around 88 B.C., when the synagogue was perhaps partly destroyed.¹⁹¹

Two decrees of the 40s B.C. testify to privileges and rights granted to the Jews in Delos and eventually Paros. The first, issued in 49 B.C., provided an exemption from military service for Jews who were Roman citizens.¹⁹² The second, promulgated at about the same time, was written in response to complaints from the Delian Jews about restrictions on their ritual practices. It specifies that Jews should be allowed “to live in accordance with their customs and to contribute money to common meals and sacred rites.”¹⁹³ This decree conveys several points: (1) it attests the presence of a Jewish community on the island—which must have been quite important and active—defending the interests and rights of Jews in a period when Delos was already in full decline; (2) Jewish religious activity had obviously been limited for some time (but why and for how long cannot be determined); and (3) the Jews in question held common meals, probably regular banquets and/or special feasts.

According to Binder, the third point “suggests the existence on Delos of a synagogue with an ancillary banquet hall used to hold feasts on sacred days.”¹⁹⁴ But it is far from certain that this decree was referring to the Jews in Delos. It is addressed to the “magistrates, council, and people of Parium,” and mentions οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν Δήλῳ καὶ τινες τῶν παροίκων Ἰουδαίων.

189. Only much later, from the third century A.D. onward, can Samaritan synagogues be distinguished from Jewish ones, and mainly on the basis of specific symbols, inscriptions, and the presence of a miqveh; see Pummer 1998, 1999.

190. 1 Macc. 15.

191. But see *ID* 2616, a “liste des souscripteurs” from Sarapieion C (*GD* 100), and *ID* 2532, two epitaphs from Rheneia. The later Samaritan stele is dated to 150–50 B.C. (no. 1 in n. 123 above; Bruneau 1982, pp. 483–485).

192. Joseph, *AJ* 14.231–232; for an English translation, see Binder 1999, p. 298.

193. Joseph, *AJ* 14.213–215; for English translations, see Binder 1999, pp. 298–299; Levine 2000, p. 104.

194. Binder 1999, p. 299; elsewhere (pp. 314, 316) he attempts to place this separate ancillary banquet hall in room B of *GD* 80 or in an unexcavated part of the building—without success, as room B was furnished with benches like room A and no other rooms belonged to this building.

Parium is usually identified with the island of Paros and not with the city of Parium in the Troad, but this does not explain if and why the regional magistrates in Parium were responsible for the Delian Jews.¹⁹⁵ Regardless of the location of the privileged Jews, it seems fairly safe to imagine that sacred rites and customs of Jews on neighboring Cycladic islands did not differ considerably, and that common dining played an important role in all of them.

Because the bisection of the large hall (fifth phase) and the permanent furnishing of the resulting new rooms, A and B, were most likely not realized as early as 50–40 B.C. but instead much later, there is no need to search for a separate dining room in *GD* 80. The undivided hall could well have served for common meals, with its participants seated on benches or resting on couches. It is readily conceivable that the Jewish community, as attested in the 40s B.C., still needed an assembly hall that they maintained, repaired, and adorned with care. The partial, stabilizing rebuilding sometime after 88 B.C. (third phase) and the embellishment and enlargement (fourth phase) of *GD* 80 would fit well in this picture.

Despite the information provided by literary evidence, a number of questions remain unanswered. Why did the Jews stay on Delos when the profitable international trade had shifted to successful rival ports such as Puteoli and Ostia? How did they earn their living, and where did they obtain the means to repair and sustain their synagogue and finance the different aspects of communal life, for example the common meals? Did they enlarge their synagogue (fourth phase) in connection with the confirmation of their rights, or later? In other words, was their social and financial position stable over decades or even centuries, thus enabling them to initiate major building activities as late as the first or second century A.D.? Or did the Delian Jewish community consist mostly of people of modest

195. Plassart (1914, p. 533) argued that the letter could not refer to the Jews in Delos because “ceux-ci ne pouvaient dépendre que des autorités athéniennes de Délos; s’ils sont intervenus au bénéfice de leurs coreligionnaires molestés, c’est que le magistrat romain se trouvait alors à Délos, où précisément des députés pariens s’étaient rendus auprès de lui.” The close connection between the Jews in Delos and Paros is attested in *ID* 2331 (see n. 122, above), the votive of a Parian Jew to the synagogue in Delos. Bruneau (1982, p. 498) specifies in his translation that the decree referred to the Jews in Delos and “quelque-uns des Juifs domiciliés chez vous” (which means in Paros); he furthermore assumes either that the Delian, as well as the Parian, Jews were being harassed and therefore took the initiative to complain in Rome, or, more probably, that the De-

lian Jews had, thanks to the Romans, a strong and favorable position that enabled them to intercede in Rome on behalf of the Jews in Paros. According to White (1987, p. 137, n. 14), the decree pertained to the rights of Jews on Delos. He discusses (1987, pp. 146–147) this decree extensively as referring to two different groups of Jews on Delos itself (“the Jews in Delos and some other Jews sojourning there”) without mentioning the problematic identity of the addressee(s) of this decree. Binder (1999, p. 298) seems to suppose that the regional magistrates in Parium were responsible for the Delian Jews. Levine (2000, p. 104) concludes that the Jews in Delos obviously had encountered considerable difficulties with their neighbors: “The Jews were forced to appeal to Rome because Delian authorities were perceived to be undermining Jewish communal life.” Both Binder

and Levine translate “the Jews in Delos and some of the neighboring Jews”; Claußen (2002, p. 248) does not mention the addressee at all and speaks of “die Juden von Delos . . . und einige jüdische[r] Nachbarn aus derselben Gegend.” Most recently, Pucci Ben Zeev (1996) has discussed the disputed identity of the Roman magistrate who wrote the decree (Octavian in 43 B.C., during his consulship, according to her); although she briefly comments on the identity of the addressee (Troad Parium or Cycladic Paros, p. 238, n. 3), she does not discuss the relationship between Parian authorities and Delian Jews. The title of her article and the abstract make it clear that she takes the decree as confirming the rights of Delian Jews. A good summary with further literature is provided in Gruen 2002, pp. 92–93, n. 52.

means who eked out a living on a nearly deserted island?¹⁹⁶ If a dedication by the Athenian people and the inhabitants of Delos in honor of Herodes, tetrarch of Galilee, in A.D. 6 was really motivated by the presence of Jews, the latter must have had at least a modest number of influential, wealthy patrons.¹⁹⁷

Further epigraphic and literary evidence is limited to what is found on a few modest votive offerings, the lettering of which suggests a date late in the first or even in the second century A.D.; these could have been offered by either Jews or Samaritans.¹⁹⁸ The five inscriptions found in *GD* 80 itself imply an active use and votive praxis for two or even three centuries; if the other inscriptions, especially the two rather early Samaritan ones, really referred and belonged to this building, such a period could have been even longer.¹⁹⁹ The extent of the votive and honorific activities performed by Delian Jews and the location and arrangement of the respective objects cannot be determined due to the scarce evidence and, presumably, to the installation of the lime kiln in their synagogue.

No sources give any hints with regard to the possible date and historical background of what is here termed the fifth phase, which had considerable consequences for the use of the rooms and for the entire building. The changes might reflect a shift in the activities performed in the building, for example the abandonment of dining (or at least a change in the dining customs) in favor of liturgical tasks such as teaching, reading, and studying the sacred texts. The setting up of benches in rooms A and B and in the west portico suggests that the community was still quite large,²⁰⁰ but it is uncertain whether the use of spoil material for the furniture indicates the community's impoverishment.

Since it is much contested whether the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in A.D. 70 had a major impact on the evolution and function of synagogues, especially in the Diaspora,²⁰¹ it is neither safe nor necessary to date any of the phases of the synagogue in Delos in accordance with this catastrophe. With regard to function, it is interesting to note that the synagogue of Ostia was not provided with a separate triclinium with built benches during its second phase (the first half of the second century A.D., probably in the Hadrianic period). The demolition of the first large triclinium, and the reinstallation of a triclinium in the third phase (not before A.D. 306), in a different setting and with a different design, were

196. Roussel (1916, p. 95) states that "comme les communautés juives qui s'établirent en Grèce et dans l'Occident, celle de Délos devait être composée surtout de petites gens, adonnés à d'infimes négoce," and in n. 3 that "toutefois les privilèges qu'obtiennent les Juifs de Délos indiquent que la colonie comptait des personnages influents." Durrbach (1922, p. 265) wrote that "on doit croire cependant qu'elle (la colonie juive) était surtout composée de gens

modestes à qui suffisaient de petits bénéfices; et c'est pourquoi peut-être elle a gardé la place que d'autres ne pouvaient plus tenir." See also Bruneau 1970, p. 493, n. 1.

197. *ID* 1586; Plassart 1914, p. 534; Bruneau 1970, p. 486.

198. *ID* 2331, 2333 (n. 122, above).

199. *ID* 2329 (n. 123, above), and especially Bruneau 1982, pp. 467–485.

200. If benches are restored on the west and north walls of room A and on the south and west walls of

room B, ca. 84 persons would have found a seat (of 0.50-m width) on the benches, in addition to one person on the throne. The preserved benches in courtyard C offer space for another 16 persons.

201. Opposing a significant impact on the experience of Diaspora Jews after A.D. 70 are Runesson (2001a, p. 485) and Robinson (2002); favoring such an impact are Klinghardt (1996) and Gruen (2002).

certainly both intentional measures taken to meet the changing needs of the Jewish community.²⁰² A provocative explanation for this archaeological evidence is offered by Klinghardt, who argues for a significant shift of activities performed in synagogues after A.D. 70 that included, in part, a distinct separation of prayer and communal dining.²⁰³

SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The main objective of this study has been to elucidate the construction history of building *GD 80* and to ascertain whether in its initial phase it was used as a synagogue or served some other function. The results can be summarized as follows:

1. Building *GD 80* has a complex construction history that comprises five phases of active use and later reuse.

2. Its most characteristic features are a large hall, A/B, a large water reservoir, orientation toward the east and the sea, and an isolated location on the eastern shore of the island, far from the main harbor and the city center. All these features are constitutive, that is, they were integral to the design of the original building. Furthermore, there was a remarkable continuity in design and—most likely—in the use of space from the first through the fourth phases.

3. *GD 80* was conceived as a freestanding building and was only subsequently surrounded by neighbors to the north and west. Thus, it was probably the southeast starting point for the development of an insula.

4. The first two phases can be dated to the period before 88 B.C., that is, before the raids of Mithridates' troops, and phases 3–5 to between 88 B.C. and the end of the second century A.D.

5. The division of the large hall A/B into two rooms was not part of any formative restoration phase immediately following the events of 88 B.C., but occurred only later, either in the fourth or—as favored here—the fifth phase.

6. Because a lime kiln was installed in room A in a later period, it is not possible to determine which of the numerous marble objects found in this building were originally part of it or its equipment, and which were merely stored there to be burned in the kiln. Even finds and furniture that probably belonged to *GD 80* can be assigned to and interpreted within the context of only the very last use of the building, before its abandonment at the end of the second century A.D. This applies to the characteristic furnishing of rooms A and B, which is dependent upon, and therefore secondary to, the renovated bisected hall. Consequently, in trying to identify the use of the original building, priority must be given to the architecture.

7. The building was certainly never conceived and used as a domestic dwelling, nor, most likely, as a meeting place of a pagan association; its original form has nothing in common with the many private houses in

202. For Ostia see above, n. 161.

203. Klinghardt 1996, pp. 265–266; but for the discussion of the meaning and relevance of the date of A.D. 70, see above, n. 201.

Delos and only very little with the known meeting places. Function as a cultic pagan banquet hall seems similarly excluded as a possibility because clear indications of a pagan sacred precinct (e.g., altars, temples, shrines, cult images, or votives) are missing.

Several issues remain open and might be resolved only by further excavation:

1. The nature of the extension of the building to the east and the design of the entire eastern area (courtyard C) cannot be determined with any certainty. Although three porticoes (west, north, and south) can be reconstructed for phases 4 and/or 5, the matter of the design of the east facade, and with it the important question of accessibility and visibility, is problematic. It is equally uncertain whether the building was fronted by a single marble colonnade in any or all of the first three phases.

2. There is no evidence for the reconstruction of the fittings and, therefore, the precise use of the building in its first three phases. Permanent features such as built benches are missing. In theory, hall A/B already could have been furnished with the marble benches and throne, which were later adapted to the bisected hall, or flexibly with wooden furniture such as couches, tables, and seats.

3. The exact date of the initial construction of this building—for example, before or after 167/6 B.C.—cannot be determined. Not even the vague date of the “second century B.C.” given in the literature need necessarily be correct, because the durations of the individual phases are unknown. In theory, a date in the third century B.C. or at the very beginning of the first century B.C. cannot be excluded.

4. Similarly, a date more precise than simply after 88 B.C. cannot be given for phases 3–5. It is uncertain whether, for example, the important fourth phase of embellishment and enlargement is dated somewhere around 50–40 B.C., when literary sources attest a certain influence and standing of Delian Jews, or whether, for example, the differentiation of space in the fifth phase occurred after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in A.D. 70, in accordance with possible changes in liturgy and the function of synagogues.

5. Even though the third phase is safely dated to later than 88 B.C. on the basis of the integration of marble spoil material from the nearby gymnasium (*GD* 76), and although its purpose and character can be fairly well described (i.e., to stabilize and restore the east facade of A/B), it cannot be ascertained exactly when and why this wall was rebuilt. Had the building simply collapsed or was it damaged by Mithridates’ troops, and if so, to what extent?

6. Since the urban development and history of the Quartier du stade have to date not been examined, the possible influence of a preconceived urban layout, as well as the extension, design, and character of the surrounding buildings, remains unknown.

7. It cannot currently be proven whether *GD* 80 was constructed and used by Orthodox Jews or by Samaritans; the presence of both groups in Delos is known from literary sources and inscriptions.

Nevertheless, none of these objections and restrictions seriously challenge the primary hypothesis advanced here, that building *GD* 80 was conceived and used as a synagogue from its initial construction at an unknown date, and then continuously used as such until its abandonment at the end of the second century A.D. Indeed, strong arguments support this view: the characteristic constitutive architectural features; the continuity of design; the absence of convincing alternative functions, especially for the original building; the lack of exact parallels in Delos for any of the phases of modification and use; and the history of Samaritans and Jews in Delos according to the written sources.

Further research might support and complete or challenge my conclusions and views. In light of the importance of *GD* 80, such research is in any case imperative and should comprise the following measures:

1. The complete excavation of the surroundings of the building, including the use of trial trenches to clarify the absolute chronology and the history of construction; a full study of the extant architecture and all architectural elements found and stored in the building, including conjectural reconstructions; and thorough publication of the building and all associated artifacts.

2. A trial trench at the findspot of the two Samaritan stelai to address the question of a possible second synagogue.

3. A full study of the supposed Jewish house (Quartier du stade, Îlot I, Maison A) with its possible miqveh, in order to further sustain, or weaken, the vision of a “concentration juive” in the Quartier du stade.²⁰⁴

4. A detailed study of the development and history of the Quartier du stade, including the creation of a plan of the whole quarter with all walls visible on the surface and in the sea. Such a study could help us determine the positions of and importance assigned to Jewish or Samaritan buildings in the quarter; better understand the organization and structure of the quarter; and ascertain the period of its use.

5. Finally, the construction history of *GD* 80, with its remarkably long and “late” use, might encourage a reassessment of Imperial Delos and perhaps even a comprehensive study of this largely neglected period.

204. See Bruneau 1982, p. 503. Even though the preceding two measures would require substantial financial resources and organizational and physical effort, the scope of this third measure is clearly limited. Indeed, I have examined this house and its history and will soon present my findings elsewhere.

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