

GLEANINGS FROM THE WEST SIDE OF THE AGORA

Spring of 1935

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STOA OF ZEUS ELEUTHERIOS AND VICINITY

A. Pre-Persian

The third pier from the south of the Stoa was set down through the little that remains of an earlier building: its foundation beddings and a few masses of the broken stone on which the first blocks rested. From these traces may be restored a rectangular building, ca. 5.20 m. wide over all, with an east-west length of over 6.90 m., facing east. Its east front has been broken away by the foundations of the Stoa colonnade. Within the building, in its back part is a base of poros, probably square, ca. 1.30 m. to the side. The building dates from the late sixth century, was destroyed in all probability by the Persians and never rebuilt.

Its shape, orientation and the presence of a base for a cult statue (?) suggest that we have to do with a temple. Granted this, we might associate with the building the remains of what may well be a large altar lying a few metres to the east. The altar (?) may be older than the temple but probably shared the same fate.

The deity with the best claim to the sanctuary is Zeus. After 480/79 the worship presumably continued around

the statue of Zeus which Pausanias saw. The city could never again afford a temple for the cult, but it did, years later, name the Stoa after the God.

B. Post Persian

After the Persian destruction private tradesmen intruded on the site. One of their homes or shops stood until demolished by the builders of the Stoa and the stone-and-brick walls of its southeast corner still lie toward the back of the Stoa just south of the railway. The area of the old temple became the yard of an iron-working establishment and the accumulation which gradually formed here in the second and third quarter of the fifth century yielded not a little slag and waste. Much more of the same material came from the filling of a well which had been sunk through the floor of the ruined temple in a vain search for water, probably in the 60's of the fifth century. Behind the retaining wall to the west of the Stoa was found a corner of a potter's works, established after the Persians' passing and demolished, save for these few square metres, by the builders of the Stoa. In the floor of the yard is preserved a tub for the working of clay and in it the last lot of red clay. Over the floor lay much broken pottery, probably from the demolished shop itself. Since the water main which had previously watered the district did not survive the Persian destruction, and since the well had proved

a failure, the residents built themselves cisterns. The lower parts of two remain, one beneath the south, the other beneath the east foundations of the Stoa.

### C. The Stoa

Of the Stoa the plan is apparent from the accompanying sketch. It is now clear that the south end was intended from the beginning to be closed by a solid wall. The northern limit of the building may be closely fixed from the lines of two main thoroughfares and two large drains. The steps of the colonnade were of Hymettus marble, the columns of Pentelic and likewise the entablature save for the triglyphs which were of poros.

The ceramic evidence suggests a date ca. 430 B.C. for the commencement of construction and in this it agrees with the style of the architectural mouldings. That construction dragged somewhat is shown by the wearing on one of the marble steps of the south side which could have occurred only while the building was incomplete. But the Stoa must have been finished or nearly so by 409/8 B.C., (I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 115). The retaining wall was erected perhaps fifty years later, conceivably when the paintings were put on the walls of the Stoa. The annex to the west seems to be not earlier than the second century B.C. In the second century A.D. a large exhedra was set in front of the colonnade, combining, probably, a podium for sculpture and a bench. The whole building was destroyed at the sack of

the city by the Herulians in 267 A.D.; the Stoa was never rebuilt; over the annex a structure of uncertain plan was erected perhaps in the fifth century A.D.

The convergence of roads and drains fixes not only the northern end of the Stoa but also the entrance to the market square from the Dipylon. We may confidently suppose that the north side of the square was closed by one or more buildings of which the south front or fronts lay in an east-west line just north of Hadrian Street. In front of them passed the great drain indicated on Judeich's plan ( and recently examined by us ) which would thus correspond with our main drain in front of the buildings of the west side. It should now be clear that the Stoa in Section A was the first building to one's right on entering the Agora from the Dipylon and the <sup>is</sup> building Pausanias called the Stoa Basileios. A few sentences below, and without any indication that he had moved to another building, Pausanias noted a statue of Zeus Eleutherios. We know that this statue gave its name to the Stoa in front of which it stood. Hence we have two names applied to the same building, in the case of Pausanias one directly and one by inference. In the classical authors and in classical inscriptions the two names also appear. The simplest explanation would seem to be that the north wing of the building was known as the

Stoa Basileios (a name which may on occasion have been loosely applied to the whole building) and the southern wing as the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. [Might we hope to find the ruins of an earlier 'Stoa Basileios' beneath the north part of our building, corresponding with the traces of an earlier 'Temple of Zeus' beneath the south part? Such a union of a sacred and a civic establishment beneath a common roof would, of course, find its parallel in the Hellenistic Metroon. Cf. p.17 below.]

#### SANCTUARY OF APOLLO PATROOS

##### Identification.

The identification may be taken as established from the satisfactory way in which the site fits with the account of Pausanias, the Tholos serving as the key. On the site is a series of three successive buildings, the first in all probability, the last two certainly temples. The latest building would seem to have been the largest actual temple bordering on the market square in Pausanias' day. That he should have failed to mention it is incredible; from its position in relation to his obvious route it can clearly belong to none other than Apollo Patroos.

##### The First Temple.

Of the earliest building there remain, beneath the southern part of the latest temple, part of the foundation bedding and of the foundation packing of broken stone intended

for the apsidal west wall. Within the apse is a small square base, probably a bedding for an interior column. We may most easily restore the structure as a single room with an apsidal back, facing east, and fronted, presumably, by a porch, tristyle in antis. Its width would be ca. 9.20 m.; its length, as fixed by the water main which was later carried across its front, not more than 13 m.

Post-Persian.

During the years following the withdrawal of the Persians, the resources of the city were devoted to the rehabilitation of her defences and of the buildings on the Acropolis. Apollo had to be satisfied with an open sanctuary but the worship continued and Kalamis was commissioned to do the new cult statue, the Apollo Alexikakos which Pausanias saw. [Did the god win the epithet, as his neighbor Zeus won his, from his share in the repulse of the barbarians?]

Water Basin.

After the construction of the Stoa of Zeus, when it was proposed to reconstruct the old water main destroyed by the Persians in 480/79 B.C., a round water basin was set down in the north part of the sanctuary. This was intended to serve as a settling basin, as a draw basin to water this part of the square and as a means of lowering the level of

the pipe sufficiently to permit its being carried on toward the Dipylon in a tunnel beneath the floor of the Stoa. But the scheme was abandoned, the water basin was never used as such and shortly afterwards it was completely covered over by the Second Temple.

#### The Second Temple.

This new building was a simple cella facing east, approached by three steps and through a door in its east wall. The heavy bedding block of conglomerate in the rear part of the cella and the large solitary block of poros which lies a few metres to the east of the building and precisely on its axis are both in position and parts of the original plan. A porch, of which the complete restoration is not yet certain, was subsequently added to the front of the building. A considerable mass of pottery found within the original foundations suggest for them a date around the middle of the fourth century B.C. The porch is not earlier than the second century B.C. In view of its plan, orientation and provision for cult statue and altar one would have courage in doubting that this too was a temple, the Second Temple of Apollo.



#### The Third Temple.

The latest and largest building on the site consists of an almost square cella fronted toward the east by a deep porch, Ionic, hexastyle, prostyle. A smaller room



was set against the north side of the larger in order to utilize the otherwise waste space behind the Second Temple. Access to it was gained through a door in the north wall of the main cella. The way in which their foundations interlock leaves no doubt that the north room is contemporary with the rest of the building. One poros slab, obviously part of a statue base, still lies in position against the back foundation of the main cella and its fellow lies out of position, but nearby. Fragments of three of the steps of Hymettus marble (one of them a stylobate block), were built into the foundations of a late structure just to the south of the building. One end of the threshold block of the main door lies in the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon and an Ionic geison block of Pentelic marble found by us as left by previous excavators in the northeast corner of the same room may also come from the building. The attribution of a set of six Ionic columns found in the core of the 'Valerian Wall' is questionable.

This third building is certainly later than the second inasmuch as its construction involved the raising of the ground level along the south side of the small building and the covering up of some of its wall blocks which were worked in a way that proves they were intended to be seen. We thus gain for the later building an upper limit somewhat lower than the mid fourth century. Actually, the combination

of  and  clamps in its undisturbed foundations would suggest a date well along in the third quarter of the century.

Once more the temple-like character of the building is obvious and there can be no reasonable doubt that this is the temple for which Euphranor made the cult statue of Apollo Patroos, the statue which was perhaps found in a fragmentary state in the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon. The earlier statues which had stood in the open sanctuary were of course crowded out by the large new temple but provision for them was made in the porch of the temple in the shape of bench-like pedestals which formed an integral part of the east wall. It was here undoubtedly that Pausanias saw the Apollo Alexikakos of Kalamis and the other Apollo by Leochares. A large poros block which lies between the front of the Third Temple and the Great Drain may be part of a bedding for a new altar, or, since that position would seem to lie outside the sanctuary, the little old altar of the Second Temple may have continued to serve the cult.

SANCTUARY OF THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

The site has been identified with assurance by

- a. its relation to the Tholos.
- b. the discovery around it of numerous roof tiles inscribed as sacred to the Mother.
- c. the discovery on the spot by the Greek Archaeological Society of a statue base of a priest of the Mother and of an inscription which, according to its own preamble, was to be set up in front of the Metroon.
- d. The finding of a dedicatory marble plaque bearing the name of the Mother re-used in the foundations of a Hellenistic building on the site.

In considering the sanctuary we must bear in mind that it comprised at least three parts:

1. The cult place proper
2. The Bouleuterion
3. The State archives

1. The Cult Place

This seems always to have occupied the north part of the area. Substantial remains exist of a small temple facing east, its north side lying in the line of the north wall of the great Hellenistic building. The temple may be reconstructed with an overall width of ca. 6.80 m. and a

total length greater than 16.30 m. It consisted of a long cella with a deep front porch, probably distyle in antis and of the Doric order. The foundations are of granular poros resting on polygonal subfoundations of 'Acropolis limestone'. Its orientation, ground level and style of construction suggest that the temple is later but very slightly later than the square Bouleuterion, that it may date, that is, ca. 500 B.C.

Beneath lie scanty traces, not yet completely exposed, of an earlier building with a slightly different orientation. This too may have been a temple. It was already ruinous by the middle to the sixth century.

The temple of ca. 500 B.C. would seem to have been destroyed by the Persians and not rebuilt. It is not mentioned by classical authors. The cult statue made by Phidias ( or by Agorakritos ) may have stood on a separate base in the open or in a small naiskos somewhere in the area. No certain traces of such has been found but it is perhaps worth noting the large rectangular foundation of breccia which underlies, and so must antedate, the north wall of the Hellenistic building at the northeast corner of the north room.

In the great Hellenistic building, of ca. the mid second century B.C. the northernmost room was reserved for the cult. The statue presumably occupied the central part of the niche provided for by the narrow western part

of the room; a small altar may have stood in the middle of the open central court. Stairways in the front corners of the room led to an upper floor. At a later date, perhaps not earlier than the second century A.D., the present marble-chip mosaic and the rectangular base in its middle were laid; the cult statue was removed from its niche and its place taken by a marble exhedra of the second century B.C. brought from elsewhere. What became of the original statue we cannot say nor whether an altar or a statue stood on the central base. The building suffered severely in 267 A.D. Subsequently the peristyle of the north room was opened out and the stylobates carried straight through to the west side of the room, producing a three-aisled effect, this in the fourth century A.D. We do not know whether the worship of the Mother was resumed. The great statue of Apollo Patroos appears to have been found in this room; Apollo's omphaloi were placed at the northeast corner of the building in late Roman times and the threshold of his third temple was found inside the north room. This suggests that after his own temple had been abandoned the cult of Apollo was introduced into this reconditioned part of the Metroon.

## 2. The Bouleuterion.

The earlier council houses lay to the south of the cult place proper. The first of which the plan is reasonably clear was the square building, <sup>23.30 x 23.80 m.</sup> (ca. m. to the side over all), its south foundation overlaid by the south

wall of the Hellenistic building. Its outer foundations are of Acropolis limestone, laid with polygonal joints; the inner of soft poros, mostly re-used. The building faced south. Its roof was carried on eight interior columns or piers arranged in an inner square. Only five of these supports stood independent, the three of the south row fell in the line of the east-west wall which separated the lobby from the auditorium proper. The seats were prebably laid out on a rectangular plan, - of them nothing has been found. This auditorium might easily have accommodated over 600 persons. In date the building is certainly later than the Great Drain (of ca. 527-510 B.C.), though its style of masonry will scarcely allow it to be later than the end of the sixth century. It conceivably belongs at the very end of the century after the reforms of Kleisthenes, was probably damaged by the Persians but immediately repaired.

Traces remain of an earlier building beneath, lying on a terrace supported along its east side by a retaining wall. This building faced south though its complete plan is not yet certain. The terrace was subsequently enlarged by a new retaining wall which ran much farther toward the south. Though the building itself probably continued to face south it was now approached also by a stairway set in the eastern retaining wall. The

earlier retaining wall, judged by the style of its masonry and by the pottery associated with it, may well be as early as the mid seventh century B.C. The alteration occurred around the middle of the sixth century or a little later. Since a council undoubtedly existed before the end of the sixth century, since it must have had a meeting place and since we have no reason to believe that it ever met elsewhere than here, we are entitled to suppose that these remains belong to an earlier Bouleuterion.

A building program was undertaken in the last quarter of the fifth century but never completed. Certain changes seem to have been made in the square Bouleuterion (as shown by working chips of poros and Eleusinian limestone found in the appropriate layer to the south of the building) and a new building was planned, to be set toward the west. Its site was prepared in part by rock cutting, in part by an earth filling. Before the building was actually begun these plans were interrupted, probably by the war.

A century or more later a new Bouleuterion was actually erected on the site already prepared. Site and building do not match and were evidently not intended for one another. The filling, moreover, in some of the deeper cuttings in the upper plateia is of the late fifth century. Like its predecessors, the new building faced south; unlike the old, it had a porch, probably of six Ionic columns. The

spacious lobby was repeated and the auditorium was likewise rectangular in outline. Three blocks which come in all probability from this building show a slight curve and suggest that the benches themselves formed arcs of circles. It will be noted that the area of the new auditorium is somewhat less than that of the old.

The new building was approached from the market square by a small propylon set at the southeast corner of the square Bouleuterion. The Propylon was Ionic in order, its east porch tetrastyle prostyle, its west distyle in antis. Two marble steps beneath the east colonnade, another beneath the interior cross wall provided for the difference in level. From the south anta of the west porch a low enclosure wall ran westward to a point near the foot of a broad flight of steps which led up to the plateia and the porch of the New Bouleuterion.

The New Bouleuterion, the Propylon and the low enclosure wall are parts of a single building program carried out in the opening years of the third century. This date is arrived at by using as an upper limit the pottery and coins found around the foundations and in wells filled up at the time of building and as a lower the paintings seen by Pausanias in the building. Certain archaistic features of the architecture (choice of foundation material,



use of (clamps) were possibly dictated by partial adherence to the old plans.

Definite proof is lacking, but the assumption is strong that the Bouleuterion, like the other buildings of the west side, was destroyed in 267 A.D. Certain late walls in the area suggest that it was partially rebuilt. The screen wall around its plateia dates in all probability from after the general destruction and this in itself implies a rebuilding of the Bouleuterion.

### 3. The Archives.

In early times a certain number of records were kept in the Bouleuterion. Space here was limited and the building program of the late fifth century was probably intended, among other things, to provide additional facilities for storage. From around the middle of the fourth century onwards we read constantly of documents deposited simply 'in the Metroon' (ἐν τῷ Μητροῶν). These may have been kept in the lobby of the square Bouleuterion where the necessary adjustments might have been made in the late fifth century or they may have been placed in some other building of a temporary character erected in the sanctuary at that time of which nothing has survived. After the construction of the New Bouleuterion the old was undoubtedly given over to the storage of records. Around the middle of

the second century B.C. the bold move was made of putting under one roof the combined area of this Old Bouleuterion and of the cult place proper. Yet a careful distinction was still observed for the three southern rooms in which we may place the archives, do not extend beyond the limits of the Old Bouleuterion and the north room of the new building, obviously the sanctuary, completely overlies the old temple site. The inclusion of a porch in the plan of the Hellenistic building considerably reduced the floor area available for the archives, although the loss in area was doubtless more than made up by the convenience of rooms specially designed for the purpose.

It is not impossible that one of the three southern rooms, perhaps the central one, was reserved especially for military records and served as a sort of war office: the

στρατηγείον (?).

The Hellenistic building would seem to have gone down in 267 A.D. One of its epistyle blocks was found beside the 'Valerian Wall'; its broken roof tiles have been found in deposits dating from the late third century A.D. The third room from the south was subsequently rebuilt; its floor level was lowered and a coarse marble mosaic laid in the early fifth century A.D. In all likelihood it no longer served its old purpose. We have observed that the northern, cult room was likewise rebuilt; whether the same is true of the two southern rooms we do not know.

### THE GREAT DRAIN

The Great Drain is obviously but one part of an extensive program of improvements in the market square in the second half of the sixth century. Contemporary with the building of the drain, a great mass of earth filling was thrown in to the west of it providing space for large new buildings in that region: the square Bouleuterion and the Temple of the Mother of the Gods. The southeast branch of the drain as now exposed may be closely contemporary with the north-south stretch in Sections E and H. It was clearly intended to provide for the drainage of a large square. Since no corresponding southwest branch of an equally early period has come to light one might well consider the possibility that originally the main north-south line continued south and received the overflow from the early fountain house.

A good deal of pottery which has now been examined both from the earlier accumulation on which the Great Drain was laid and from the contemporary filling suggests for the undertaking a date in the third quarter of the sixth century. The style of its masonry agrees admirably. We need not hesitate to attribute the drain to the younger tyrants nor perhaps to associate it with their transference of Kalirrhoe into Enneakrounos.

The drain became choked with gravel in the latter part of the third century A.D. undoubtedly as a result of the desolation in the district caused by the sack of 267 A.D.

Subsequently the northern part, i.e. below a point opposite the southeast corner of the Hellenistic Metroon, was cleared and continued in use, receiving tributaries from both sides, until the end of the fourth century when it was allowed to fill up.

#### Pre-Persian Water Main

Through all antiquity water was piped from the springs that issue at the foot of the Areopagus out to the region of the Dipylon and beyond. Parts of one of the earliest of the conducting pipes have been found lying on a southeast-northwest line which runs diagonally beneath the northeast corner of the Hellenistic Metroon, in front of the Third Temple of Apollo and beneath the Stoa of Zeus. A stretch of similar pipe long since exposed to the east of the Dipylon may well belong to the same system. It consists of carefully jointed round terracotta pipes, glazed inside and in bands on the outside and provided with clean-out holes. Their minimum interior diameter is 0.159 m. Since it is laid in the filling contemporary with the Great Drain the pipe line must be later than the drain, and since its direction seems to have been influenced by the presence of the archaic Temple of the Mother it must be later also than that building. It can therefore not be earlier

than the turn of the sixth and the fifth centuries. In the large vases of just this period one finds close parallels for the fabric and the joint profiles of the pipes. The evidence from the area of the Stoa of Zeus and from the few sherds found in the gravel with which the pipe had become choked suggest that it went out of use in 480/79 B.C. Such a short life is in keeping with the uncoated state of the interior of the pipes.

*H. A. Thompson,*  
*July 1935.*