

This pdf of your paper in *Autopsy in Athens* belongs to the publishers Oxbow Books and it is their copyright.

As author you are licenced to make up to 50 offprints from it, but beyond that you may not publish it on the World Wide Web until three years from publication (June 2018), unless the site is a limited access intranet (password protected). If you have queries about this please contact the editorial department at Oxbow Books (editorial@oxbowbooks.com).

AUTOPSY IN ATHENS

An offprint from

AUTOPSY IN ATHENS

RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH
ON ATHENS AND ATTICA

Hardcover Edition: ISBN 978-1-78297-856-5

Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78297-857-2

Edited by

MARGARET M. MILES



© Oxbow Books 2015
Oxford & Philadelphia

www.oxbowbooks.com

Published in the United Kingdom in 2015 by
OXBOW BOOKS
10 Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford OX1 2EW

and in the United States by
OXBOW BOOKS
908 Darby Road, Havertown, PA 19083

© Oxbow Books and the individual authors 2015

Hardcover Edition: ISBN 978-1-78297-856-5
Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78297-857-2

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Autopsy in Athens : recent archaeological research on Athens and Attica / edited by Margaret M. Miles.
pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-78297-856-5 (hardcover) -- ISBN 978-1-78297-857-2 (digital) 1. Athens (Greece)--Antiquities. 2. Attike (Greece)--Antiquities. 3. Excavations (Archaeology)--Greece--Athens. 4. Excavations (Archaeology)--Greece--Attike. 5. Salvage archaeology--Greece--Athens. 6. Salvage archaeology--Greece--Attike. 7. Social archaeology--Greece--Athens. 8. Social archaeology--Greece--Attike. I. Miles, Margaret M.

DF275.A88 2015
938'.5--dc23

2015014203

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission from the publisher in writing.

Printed in the Malta by Melita

For a complete list of Oxbow titles, please contact:

UNITED KINGDOM
Oxbow Books
Telephone (01865) 241249, Fax (01865) 794449
Email: oxbow@oxbowbooks.com
www.oxbowbooks.com

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Oxbow Books
Telephone (800) 791-9354, Fax (610) 853-9146
Email: queries@casemateacademic.com
www.casemateacademic.com/oxbow

Oxbow Books is part of the Casemate Group

Front cover: Temple of Poseidon, Sounion. (Photograph: M. M. Miles)

Back cover: Votive relief from Piraeus Asklepieion, ca. 350 BC. Piraeus Archaeological Museum Inv. 405.
(Photograph © Piraeus Museum, Piraeus)

Contents

<i>List of Contributors</i>	vi
<i>Introduction</i> (Margaret M. Miles)	viii
1. Architectural Repairs of the Small Limestone Buildings on the Athenian Acropolis in the Archaic Period <i>Nancy L. Klein</i>	1
2. Tools From the House of Mikion and Menon <i>Barbara Tsakirgis</i>	9
3. More Than the Time of Day: Helios to the Rescue <i>Jenifer Neils, Rachel Sternberg and Derek Reinbold</i>	18
4. Asklepios and Hygieia in the City Eleusinion <i>Carol L. Lawton</i>	25
5. Asklepios in the Piraeus and the Mechanisms of Cult Appropriation <i>Jessica Lamont</i>	37
6. Sarapis as Healer in Roman Athens: Reconsidering the Identity of Agora S 1068 <i>Brian A. Martens</i>	51
7. The Experience of Greek Sacrifice: Investigating Fat-Wrapped Thigh Bones <i>Jacob Morton</i>	66
8. The Mutilation of the Herms: Violence toward Images in the late 5th century BC <i>Rachel Kousser</i>	76
9. Funerals for Statues? The Case of Phrasikleia and her “Brother” <i>Angele Rosenberg-Dimitracopoulou</i>	85
10. Roadside Assistance: Religious Spaces and Personal Experience in Athens <i>Johanna Best</i>	100
11. The Monumental Definition of Attica in the Early Democratic Period <i>Jessica Paga</i>	108
12. Triremes on Land: First-fruits for the Battle of Salamis <i>Kristian Lorenzo</i>	126
13. Routes out of Attica <i>Sylvian Fachard and Daniele Pirisino</i>	139
14. How to Look at a Non-Peripteral Temple <i>Marya Fisher</i>	154
15. The Vanishing Double Stoa at Thorikos and its Afterlives <i>Margaret M. Miles</i>	163
Inscriptions Cited	181
Index	183

List of Contributors

JOHANNA BEST is a Fellow at the American School of Classical Studies, Athens, where she is writing a dissertation for Bryn Mawr College. Her research focuses on the roadside religious sites in Athens and Attica, landscape, and the history of religion. She has excavated at Nemea and Despotiko in Greece.

SYLVIAN FACHARD is a Swiss National Science Foundation Senior Research Associate at the University of Geneva. He was the Assistant director of the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece (2002–2011) and a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Center for Hellenic Studies and the Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology & the Ancient World (Brown University). He has conducted extensive research in Eretria and its territory, and published *Eretria XXI* (2012), which focuses on the defense of the *chora*. His current research project is about the Attic borderlands.

MARYA FISHER is a Ph.D. candidate at the Institute of Fine Arts, NYU and a Regular Member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, writing a dissertation which examines the intersection of architecture and cult in the non-peripteral temples of South Italy and Sicily. She is currently involved in field projects in Selinunte, Sicily, and Samothrace, Greece, working on architectural documentation and analysis.

NANCY KLEIN is Associate Professor in the Department of Architecture at Texas A&M University. Her research explores the relationship of architecture and society in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Crete, the development of the Doric order, and the architecture of the Athenian Acropolis in the Archaic and early Classical periods.

RACHEL KOUSSER is Professor at the City University of New York, Brooklyn College and the Graduate Center. Her first book, *Hellenistic and Roman ideal sculpture: The allure of the Classical* was published by Cambridge University

Press in 2008. Her current monograph, *The afterlives of monumental sculptures in Classical and Hellenistic Greece: Interaction, transformation, destruction* is forthcoming from Cambridge University Press.

JESSICA LAMONT is completing a Ph.D. at the Johns Hopkins University. Her dissertation focuses on healing cults in Athens in the late 5th century BC. She has held fellowships from the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the Alexander Onassis Public Benefit Foundation. She has taught at the College Year in Athens (CYA), and has excavated at Pylos-Iklaina, the Athenian Agora, Corinth, and Molyvoti (Thrace).

CAROL LAWTON is Professor of Art History and Classical Studies at Lawrence University. She is the author of *Attic Document Reliefs: Art and Politics in Ancient Athens* (Oxford 1995) and articles on document and votive reliefs. Her volume on the votive reliefs from the excavations of the Athenian Agora is forthcoming.

KRISTIAN LORENZO is a Visiting Lecturer at the University of Richmond. He held an ACM-Mellon Post-doctoral fellowship in Classical Archaeology at Monmouth College. His research focuses on dedications for victories at sea, the cross-cultural adaptation of victory imagery, and early imperial usage of traditional commemorative practices for propagandistic purposes. He has excavated at Old Fort Niagara in western New York, the town of Salemi, Sicily, the Athenian Agora and ancient Corinth.

BRIAN A. MARTENS is a DPhil candidate in classical archaeology at the University of Oxford. His research focuses on the production, uses, and reuses of marble divine statuettes in Roman and late antique Greece, with materials from the Athenian Agora as a case study for understanding wider regional practices. He is a supervisor at the Agora Excavations, where he has worked since 2008.

MARGARET M. MILES is Professor of Art History and Classics at the University of California, Irvine. She served as the Andrew W. Mellon Professor of Classical Studies at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens during 2008–2014. Her publications include a study of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous (*Hesperia* 1989), *The Athenian Agora XXXI: The City Eleusinion* (1998), *Art as Plunder: the Ancient Origins of Debate about Cultural Property* (Cambridge, 2008), and (as Editor) *Cleopatra: A Sphinx Revisited* (2011).

JACOB MORTON is a PhD candidate in the Graduate Group in Ancient History at the University of Pennsylvania and a Fellow at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. He is currently writing his dissertation, which explores the effects of the initial Roman military presence in Greece, while continuing research on the practicalities of Greek religion.

JENIFER NEILS is the Ruth Coulter Heede Professor of Art History and Classics at Case Western Reserve University, and currently the Chair of the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. She has written extensively on Attic art and archaeology, including *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (1992), *The Parthenon Frieze* (2001) and *The Parthenon from Antiquity to the Present* (co-author and editor, 2005).

JESSICA PAGA is an Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow at Washington University in St. Louis, where she is appointed in the Interdisciplinary Project in the Humanities as well as the Classics Department. Her research focuses on Greek architecture, particularly of the Archaic and Classical periods, and ritual theory and democratic theory. She is a Senior Archaeologist with the Samothrace Excavations, where she has worked since 2012. She joins the Department of Classics at The College of William & Mary in 2015.

DANIELE PIRISINO is a PhD student in archaeology at Durham University. He is writing a dissertation on the overland sacred route from Athens to Delphi, with a focus on its course across Attica. He has taken part in excavations of Prehistoric, Phoenician, Greek, and Roman sites. He is a supervisor at the Athenian Agora, where he also conducts the 3D modeling survey of the excavations.

DEREK REINBOLD received his Bachelors in Art History, International Studies, and Political Science at Case Western Reserve University in 2014. His honors thesis in Art History examined the interplay of Helios, the Greek god of the sun and Hephaistos, the Greek god of fire and the forge, on the Parthenon's east metopes.

ANGELE ROSENBERG-DIMITRACOPOULOU is a PhD candidate in the Department of Art History at the University of Chicago. Her dissertation examines the cultural meanings of youth and nudity in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE and the relationship between personal and period style. She has excavated at Corinth and Pylos.

RACHEL STERNBERG is Associate Professor of Classics and History at Case Western Reserve University. She studies compassion. Her edited volume, *Pity and Power in Ancient Athens*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2005; her monograph, *Tragedy Offstage: Suffering and Sympathy in Ancient Athens*, by University of Texas Press in 2006.

BARBARA TSAKIRGIS is Associate Professor of Classics and Art History at Vanderbilt University. She studies ancient Greek houses and households around the Mediterranean world and is the author of several articles and a forthcoming book on the Hellenistic and Roman houses at Morgantina. Currently she is completing a synthetic study of Greek houses around the Mediterranean and the final publication of the houses excavated around the Athenian Agora.

Introduction

Autopsy has long been a driving force for people interested in ancient Athens: already in the Hellenistic period, Attalid princes came to Athens for polish, as did notables from Rome (Cicero and Aulus Gellius are among the better known students who flourished as a result). Everyone wanted to see the famous city for himself, bask in its glory, and perhaps eventually contribute to it. In the early modern era, Athens and Attica came under a new, antiquarian and archaeological eye when Cyriacus of Ancona traveled to Athens in the 1430s, copied many ancient inscriptions, and kept extensive diaries of his visits to Greece and the eastern Mediterranean. His efforts and observations in effect founded the study of Athens and Attica, and the new field of archaeology.

A small but ever-increasing number of intrepid early travelers from western Europe braved the difficult conditions and political obstacles to travel in the eastern Mediterranean then under Ottoman rule. Jacob Spon and his fellow traveler Sir George Wheeler published accounts of their travels in 1675, but two of their traveling party did not survive.¹ In the eighteenth century, David Le Roy and the British team James Stuart and Nicholas Revett traveled with the goal of understanding and documenting ancient Greek architecture. Up until then, Greek architecture in Italy provided exemplars for students of architecture, particularly the temples at Paestum and in Sicily, but even those temples had not yet been fully explored and documented.

In the coffee houses of Rome, Stuart and Revett eagerly talked about going to Athens. Le Roy's account was published first, much to the chagrin of Stuart and Revett, but it caused great excitement in France. His book and a few years later, Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, were read avidly in western Europe and their drawings much admired. *The Antiquities of Athens* has gone through many printings since the initial volume of 1762 and is still in print. Their work had a huge influence on contemporary architecture, as the authors and their sponsor the Society of Dilettanti hoped. Above all, Stuart and Revett took pride in accuracy of measurement and recording, and their drawings were useful to practicing architects of their time, and are

still useful to archaeologists today. They set a new standard of representation for ancient buildings and monuments.²

The ongoing Napoleonic Wars made Greece an attractive alternative destination to the more typical Grand Tour of Italy that was so popular for gentlemen of means in the 18th century. The British artist Edward Dodwell and his Italian assistant Simone Pomardi made numerous watercolors during his travels in Greece beginning in 1805, many of them based on views provided by a *camera obscura*; hence they provide accurate rather than merely impressionistic views of sites and monuments. In the years leading up to the Greek War of Independence, Col. Martin Leake walked or rode much of the Greek countryside and brought extensive military experience and acumen in his observations as a topographer. Like Dodwell, he was steeped in ancient texts and a keen student of Pausanias. A more scholarly view of Greece's past was emerging and is noticeable, for example, in C. R. Cockerell's account of his work at Aigina and Bassai in 1811 (published in 1860), which could be regarded as one of the earliest proper excavation reports.³

With the founding of the new modern state of Greece, interest in archaeology intensified. This era saw increasing diligence in recording, salvaging, protecting and collecting antiquities, with the island of Aigina initially serving as a depository for a new national collection, founded under the initiative of Ioannis Kapodistrias, the first Governor of the new Greek state. The choice of Athens, rather than Nafplion, as the capital resulted in an extensive program of building within the city and at Piraeus, and soon the population of Athens doubled and tripled.

After 1832, the young new King Otto, son of the philhellenic King Ludwig I of Bavaria, attracted German architects to Athens, and one result was renewed attention to the Akropolis. Karl Friedrich Schinkel developed plans for a palace on the Akropolis (fortunately not carried out!). A style modeled on ancient Greek buildings influenced much of his other work in Berlin and elsewhere. Among important early studies of the time was that of the Temple of Athena Nike; it had been dismantled by the Ottomans and

incorporated into a fortification wall, but now Ludwig Ross, Eduard Schaubert and Christian Hansen measured and drew it so that it could be set up again.⁴ This work gave them the opportunity to study ancient construction and sculpting methods in detail.

The Greek Archaeological Service was formed in 1833 as the first such national body in Europe, and became responsible for management of the whole of the archaeological heritage of Greece. Greek scholars such as K. S. Pittakys undertook to document as many inscriptions as possible, laying part of the groundwork for epigraphical volumes to come later in the century. In 1848, he became General Ephor of Antiquities, thus head of the Greek Archaeological Service. A new Archaeological Society at Athens, founded in 1837 by Greek scholars and politicians, took a very active role in encouraging the study, collection and restoration of monuments and antiquities of all sorts. With private funding, the Society sponsored excavations and accomplished important archaeological documentation which continues today.⁵ A third interested body was the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, officially founded on April 14th, 1837. It was the first university founded in the Balkan peninsula and the Eastern Mediterranean. The study of the classical heritage of Greece, and efforts to protect and conserve it, were underway.

After the foundation of modern Greece, the physical remains of the Greek past were becoming more a matter for scholarship than ownership: the era of widespread “collecting” of antiquities did not start with Lord Elgin but certainly was punctuated by his depredations, and now was coming to a close.⁶ While looting continued, and occasionally still does, more effort was made to halt it. The new government bodies were organizing the various aspects of archaeological heritage with control over ownership, excavation and study. The Parthenon itself was becoming a focal point and symbol for ancient Greek achievement.

Western European governments sponsored schools or institutes of archaeology in Athens: the first was the French School of Archaeology (1846), followed by the German Institute of Archaeology (1872), and the British School at Athens (1886). These institutes, largely funded by their respective governments, sponsored excavations with permission from the Greek government, founded libraries, and served as a base to connect the countries’ home universities with research in Greece. They were founded at a time when everyone regarded Greek history and ancient Greek culture as the fundamental underpinning of western civilization. The significance and importance of Greek history and Greek archaeology were unquestioned, and it was felt that all of Europe was the heir of Greece: a general sense of philhellenism had fostered European intervention in the Greek War of Independence. Today there are seventeen foreign Schools of archaeology in Athens.

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, founded in 1881 as the third of the foreign schools in Greece, is exceptional among the seventeen in two ways: it was founded by private donors committed to Classical Studies, and continues to be funded with its endowment and donations, plus occasional grants; and it sought from the beginning to provide an academic program for graduate students in Greece. This was felt to be especially important for North American students, who live at a much greater distance from Greece compared to their European counterparts, who could easily journey there when they wished.

A year abroad at “the School” (as its denizens refer to it) was soon regarded as a necessity for any young American scholar wishing to study Greek history, literature, or archaeology, as it continues to be today. It was believed then, and we still do, that there is no substitute for personal autopsy: to understand the literature, history, and material culture of ancient Greece, one must experience the landscape, walk through the mountains, sail on the seas, visit its museums. Today the School provides an intensive, year-long academic program for North American graduate students, houses two superb research libraries, sponsors excavations in the Athenian Agora and ancient Corinth, supports other excavations and affiliated research projects, and houses the Weiner Lab for archaeological scientific study.

In the course of the 20th century, archaeological research contributed by members and faculty of the School expanded enormously our knowledge of Athens and Attica. The excavations of the Athenian Agora were inaugurated in May, 1931, and since then have revealed the very heart of the ancient city, a whole complex of civic and sacred buildings, law courts, monuments, and roadways. The Stoa of Attalos was reconstructed as authentically as modern engineering standards allowed to serve as a museum for the public, under the leadership of Homer A. Thompson.⁷ Excavations are still ongoing, and the excavated ancient site is now a shady archaeological park, replanted with trees and shrubs known to have been part of ancient landscapes, and a major attraction for birds, as well as modern visitors. Some 60 books and more than 400 articles have been published on the results of the excavations.

The rural demes and countryside of Attica were thoroughly explored by Eugene Vanderpool during his many years as Professor of Archaeology at the School; he published extensively on the plain and topography of Marathon and its environs, and the northwestern areas of Attica, including border forts. William B. Dinsmoor, Jr. also took on many topics of architectural interest both within the Agora and outside it, such as a major study of the Temple of Athena Sounias at Sounion.⁸ Merle Langdon has contributed extensive studies of mountaintop sanctuaries in Attica, and the rupestral inscriptions he found on the slopes

of Hymettos and in the area of Laurion. John Camp, Josiah Ober and Mark Munn have elucidated further the border defenses of Attica, not only through excavation, but also extensive hiking and personal observation, a strong tradition in the School.

As we move forward in the 21st century, fresh examination of old material in Athens and Attica brings new perspectives and answers. One approach is to take on a specific, knotty chronological problem and bring every shred of known evidence to elucidate it, such as Andrew Stewart's close reading of the chronology for art production around the time of the Persian Wars.⁹ Another approach is to make good use of previously published data that is quite scattered and difficult of access: examples of recent articles that follow this method with great success are Merle Langdon's study of the quarries in Piraeus, Nathan Arrington's location of the *demosion sema*, and Anna Theodoraki's thorough investigation of the walls of Athens.¹⁰ Another project gathers a research team of scholars to tackle a large body of material: thus John Travlos's now classic *Pictorial Dictionary of Athens* (1971) is being supplemented by an ambitious eight-volume series on the topography of Athens, led by Emanuele Greco of the Italian School of Archaeology in Athens, with thorough coverage of each area of the ancient city.¹¹ Perhaps the most vigorous area within Classical Archaeology is the study of ceramics, with ongoing new interpretations in types, sources, production and distribution, uses and iconography. Chronologies established by ceramics are essential for the study of everything else, and continue apace with important results. An example is the refined dating for the beginning of Athenian Red-figure pottery, argued by Ulf Kenzler and Susan Rotroff.¹²

Other new directions have resulted from changes in the scholarly consensus formed in the previous generation: an example is the now dropped "rule of the three-barred sigma," a shorthand description for overly prescriptive dating of inscriptions by letter forms. Those rules had developed over the course of decades of study of the inscribed lists of *aparchai* offered to Athena (the "Athenian tribute quota lists") that had emerged in the course of excavations of the Agora and environs, and other Athenian inscriptions. The history of Athenian *arche* in the 5th century BC, a seemingly closed subject until recently, attracts fresh interpretation from every direction, especially when inscriptions from elsewhere, as from Delos, are brought into the discussion.¹³

What finally persuaded everyone in the early 1990s to take a less rigid view of letter forms was the application of new laser technologies that enhance autopsy and enable new ways of viewing.¹⁴ New technologies continue to enhance interpretations in Classical studies; all of ancient Greek literature may be searched digitally on the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG). Laser scanning has wonderful applications for architecture and architectural terracottas, as we may see in the digital reconstructions by Philip

Saperstein. In Athens, new interpretations of the sculpture of the Parthenon and its visibility have been undertaken by Jenifer Neils and Bonna Wescoat, and like the TLG, are easily available on the internet.¹⁵ These supplement fresh studies of the details of the Parthenon's frieze, and other new studies of Athenian sculptural production.¹⁶

While students of Athens and Attica are eager to apply new technologies, we still are in frequent dialogue with earlier travelers. Thanks to Cyriacus' close observation and careful records of his visit in 1436, for example, it was possible in a study published in 2005 to redate and reinterpret the significance of the Little Metropolitan church (Panagia Gorgoepikoos) in the center of Athens. Bente Küllerich shows that Cyriacus saw an inscription in the area of the ancient Agora, which later was moved and built into the south wall of the church, along with many other spolia.¹⁷ Rather than viewing the small church as typical of late 12th century Byzantine plans, whose builders used large quantities of old marble blocks because it was cheap and convenient, we now see that the church was carefully constructed of ancient material with new meanings attached to their imagery, probably around 1460. The Parthenon (then known as the Panagia Athenotissa) had just been converted from a Christian church to a mosque after the Ottoman capture of Athens in 1458. Under the new Ottoman regime, Greek Orthodoxy was nonetheless able to make a public statement about inherited traditions by virtue of the recycled blocks. Thus fresh research, based on Cyriacus' record of his own autopsy, has added a new layer to Athens' history.

Why focus on classical Athens and Attica, and why now, after so many centuries? Philhellenism, of course, is still alive and flourishing. The large body of prestigious literature written in antiquity encourages further exploration. The enormous amount of information available about ancient Athens and Attica may be paralleled only in the study of ancient Rome, so that many historical questions may be posed, and have the potential for satisfactory answers. The excavation of the Athenian Agora, and other sites in Athens and Attica, have yielded a large corpus of inscriptions that are critical for understanding details of ancient religion, social institutions, political history, and daily life. Despite the ongoing tensions between the needs of a modern city situated over the ancient remains of interest to archaeologists, much material of all sorts is available for fresh study, and older finds may be further elucidated by younger eyes.

The "rescue" excavations of recent years, conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service during construction of the Metro system, of the highway known as the Attiki Odos, and of other sites in anticipation of the 2004 Olympics, have also contributed significant new finds. These excavations have added greatly to our knowledge of mortuary practices and ancient populations, about houses, and road networks. The ongoing, meticulous restoration projects on the Akropolis

have yielded much new information about its architecture, some of it surprising, such as the windows in the Parthenon.¹⁸ Faculty and visitors at the seventeen foreign schools, plus the staff of the Greek Archaeological Service, the members of the Archaeological Society of Athens, and the faculty of the University of Athens fill the year with lectures, symposia, and conferences: an energetic and effervescent international community of persons interested in antiquity has fully superceded the lone pioneering travelers of centuries ago. This is an exciting time to study in Athens.

The authors in this volume have all had some association with the American School, and several “generations” of students are represented here, as well as many decades’ experience in Athens. The papers, while brief, contribute new findings that result from intensive, first-hand examinations of the archaeological and epigraphical evidence. They illustrate how much may be gained by re-examining material from older excavations, and from the methodological shift from documenting information to closer analysis and larger historical reflection. Several of the papers were given in an earlier form at the annual meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America, held in Chicago in January, 2014.

The papers here offer a variety of perspectives on a range of issues: the ambience of the ancient city for passers-by, filled with roadside shrines, is discussed by Johanna Best. The metopes on the east front of its major temple, the Parthenon, are elucidated by Jenifer Neils, Rachel Sternberg, and Derek Reinbold. Techniques of construction and of sculpting are discussed by Nancy Klein and Barbara Tsakirgis. Aspects of religious expression in Athens include cults of Asklepios and Serapis, investigated here by Jessica Lamont, Carol Lawton, and Brian Martens, and the precise procedures for Greek sacrifice are explained by Jake Morton, based on practical experiments. How damaged statuary could be treated reverently or not is investigated by Angele Rosenberg-Dimitracopoulou and Rachel Kousser. Jessica Paga looks outward to the borders of Attica and how they were defined over time, and its road-system has been walked by Sylvian Fachard and Daniele Pirisino. In the deme sites, a stoa at Thorikos is treated by Margaret Miles, and a spectacular dedication at Sounion by Kristian Lorenzo. With a broad perspective, Marya Fisher urges us not to be overly fascinated by columnar orders if we want to understand better the purposes of Greek architecture.

Collectively, the authors of this volume owe warm thanks to the American School of Classical Studies, for fostering and nourishing our scholarship. We are also grateful to our Greek hosts who generously share access to ancient material so that we may study it. On behalf of the authors, I thank in particular past Director of the School Jack Davis and current Director James Wright, and the staff at the School for making our studies possible and encouraging them over the past few years when the work presented here took shape. I myself as Editor add personal thanks to the many friends

and colleagues who were willing to drop everything to read drafts of these papers, often at very short notice, so that this could be a peer-reviewed volume. You know who you are, and I thank you so much for improving our work and helping us move it forward. As the School continues to train younger generations of scholars, the tradition of autopsy pioneered by Cyriacus of Ancona is thriving.

Margaret M. Miles

Andrew W. Mellon Professor of Classical Studies
American School of Classical Studies, Athens

June 2, 2014

Notes

- 1 Spon 1678, Wheeler 1682; one man became ill and died near Delphi, and a second was captured by pirates, enslaved, and later murdered (Arbuthnott 2006, 68).
- 2 Middleton 2004, Le Roy 2004 [1770], Stuart and Revett 1762–1812, Watkin 2006.
- 3 Dodwell 1819, 1834, Leake 1821, Cockerell 1860, Eisner 1993, Camp 2013.
- 4 On the initial archaeological work on the Akropolis and the ideological views then at play, see Hamilakis 2007, pp. 85–99.
- 5 Petrakos 2007.
- 6 Miles 2008, pp. 307–319.
- 7 For an illustrated overview of the excavations, see Mauzy and Camp 2006.
- 8 His manuscript is soon to be published by Barbara Barletta, with her additional observations.
- 9 Stewart 2008a, 2008b.
- 10 Langdon 2000[2004], Arrington 2010, Theodorakis 2012.
- 11 Greco 2010, 2011.
- 12 Kenzler 2007, Rotroff 2009.
- 13 Warnings had been sounded early on by H. Mattingly (papers collected in 1996). See the essays in Ma, Papazarkadas, Parker 2009; Marginesu 2010; Delos: Chankowski 2008; overview on the stelai with *aparchai*: Miles 2011.
- 14 Chambers, Galluci, Spanos 1990.
- 15 TLG: <http://www.tlg.uci.edu>; Saperstein: <http://sites.museum.upenn.edu/monrepos/>; Neils: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hUZhApnYbGc>; Wescoat: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RauBAZYLJ2A>; see also Wescoat <http://www.samothrace.emory.edu/visualizing-the-sanctuary/>
- 16 Neils 2001, Marconi 2009, Palagia 2006, 2009.
- 17 Kiilerich 2005.
- 18 Korres 1984.

References

- Arbuthnott, C. 2006. “The Life of James “Athenian” Stuart, 1713–1788,” in *James “Athenian” Stuart, 1713–1788. The Rediscovery of Antiquity*, ed. S. Soros, 59–101. New Haven.
- Arrington, N. 2010. “Topographic Semantics. The Location of the Athenian Public Cemetery and Its Significance for the Nascent Democracy,” *Hesperia* 79, pp. 499–539.
- Berger, E., ed. 1984. *Parthenon-Kongress Basel: Referate und Berichte*, Mainz.

- Camp, J. McK., II. 2013. *In search of Greece: Catalogue of an exhibit of drawings at the British Museum by Edward Dodwell and Simone Pomardi from the Collection of the Packard Humanities Institute*, Los Altos, CA.
- Chambers, M., R. Galluci, and M. Spanos. 1990. "Athens' Alliance with Egesta in the Year of Antiphon," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 83, pp. 38–60.
- Chankowski, V. 2008. *Athènes et Délos à l'époque classique: recherches sur l'administration du sanctuaire d'Apollon délien*, Athens.
- Cockerell, C. R. 1860. *The Temples of Jupiter Panhellenius at Aegina, and of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae near Phigaleia in Arcadia*, 4 vols., London.
- Dodwell, E. 1819. *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece: 1801, 05, 06*, London.
- Dodwell, E. 1834. *Views and Descriptions of Cyclopiian or Pelasgic Remains in Italy and Greece*, London and Paris.
- Eisner, R. 1993. *Travelers to an Antique Land: The History and Literature of Travel to Greece*, Ann Arbor.
- Greco, E. 2010. *Topografia di Atene: Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d. C.* Vol 1, *Acropoli, Areopago, Tra Acropoli e Pnice*, Athens and Paestum.
- Greco, E. 2011. *Topografia di Atene: Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d. C.* Vol 2, *Colline sud-occidentali ed valle dell'Ilisso*, Athens and Paestum.
- Hamilakis, Y. 2007. *The Nation and Its Ruins. Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece*, Oxford.
- Kelly, J. 2009. *The Society of the Dilettanti. Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment*, New Haven and London.
- Kenzler, U. 2007. "Hoplitenehre: ein Beitrag zur absoluten Chronologie attischer Vasen der spätarchaischen Zeit," *Hephaistos* 25, pp. 179–207.
- Kiilerich, B. 2005. "Making Sense of the *Spolia* in the Little Metropolis in Athens," *Arte medievale* 4, pp. 95–114.
- Korres, M. 1984. "Der Pronaos und die Fenster des Parthenon," in *Parthenon-Kongress Basel*, ed. E. Berger, Mainz, pp. 47–54.
- Langdon, M. 2000 [2004]. "The Quarries of Peiraieus," *Archaiologikon Deltion* 55, A': 35–250.
- Le Roy, Julien-David. 2004 [1770]. *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments in Greece*, introduction by Robin Middleton, trans. David Britt, Los Angeles.
- Leake, W. M. 1821. *Topography of Athens*, London.
- Ma, J., N. Papazarkadas, and R. Parker, eds. 2009. *Interpreting the Athenian Empire*, London.
- Marconi, C. 2009. "The Parthenon Frieze: Degrees of Visibility," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 55/56, pp. 156–173.
- Marginesu, G. 2010. *Gli epistati dell'Acropoli. Edilizia sacra nella città di Pericle 447/6–433/2 a.C.*, Athens and Paestum.
- Mattingly, H. 1996. *The Athenian empire restored. Epigraphic and historical studies*, Ann Arbor.
- Mauzy, C. and J. Camp. 2006. *Agora Excavations, 1931–2006. A Pictorial History*, Athens.
- Middleton, R. 2004. "Introduction," in Le Roy, Julien-David. 2004 [1770], *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments in Greece*, Los Angeles, pp. 1–199.
- Miles, M. M. 2008. *Art as Plunder. The Ancient Origins of Debate about Cultural Property*, Cambridge.
- Miles, M. M. 2011. "The *Lapis Primus* and the Older Parthenon," *Hesperia* 80, pp. 657–675.
- Neils, J. 2001. *The Parthenon Frieze*, Cambridge.
- Palagia, O., ed. 2006. *Greek Sculpture. Function, materials, and techniques in the archaic and classical periods*, Cambridge.
- Palagia, O., ed. 2009. *Art in Athens during the Peloponnesian War*, Cambridge.
- Petrakos, B. 2007. *Τα 170 χρόνια της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, 1837–2007*, Athens.
- Pittakys, K. S. 1835. *L'ancienne Athènes, ou, La description des antiquités d'Athènes et ses environs*, Athens.
- Rotroff, S. 2009. "Early Red-figure in Context," in *Athenian Potters and Painters II*, ed. J. Oakley and O. Palagia, Oxford, pp. 250–260.
- Soros, S. W., ed. 2006. *James "Athenian" Stuart 1713–1788. The Rediscovery of Antiquity*, New Haven and London.
- Spon, Jacob. 1678. *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie de Grece et du Levant fait 1675*, Lyon.
- Stewart, A. 2008a. "The Persian Invasions of Greece and the Beginning of the Classical Style: Part 1, The Stratigraphy, Chronology, and Significance of the Acropolis Deposits," *American Journal of Archaeology* 112, pp. 377–412.
- Stewart, A. 2008b. "The Persian and Carthaginian Invasions of 480 B.C.E. and the Beginning of the Classical Style, Part 2, The Finds from Athens, Attic and Elsewhere in Greece, and on Sicily, Part 3, The Severe Style: Motivations and Meaning," *American Journal of Archaeology* 112, pp. 581–615.
- Stuart, J. and N. Revett. 1762–1812. *The Antiquities of Athens*, London.
- Theocharaki, A. M. 2011. "The Ancient Circuit Wall of Athens: Its Changing Course and the Phases of Construction," *Hesperia* 80, pp. 71–156.
- Tsigakou, F.-M. 1981. *The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters of the Romantic Era*, Athens.
- Watkin, D. 2006. "Stuart and Revett: The Myth of Greece and Its Afterlife," in *James "Athenian" Stuart, 1713–1788. The Rediscovery of Antiquity*, ed. S. Soros, New Haven, pp. 19–57.
- Weber, S. H. 1952–1953. *Voyages and travels in Greece, the Near East, and adjacent regions: made previous to the year 1801; being a part of a larger catalogue of works on geography, cartography, voyages and travels, in the Gennadius Library in Athens*, Princeton.
- Wheler, George. 1682. *A Journey to Greece*, London.

The Vanishing Double Stoa at Thorikos and its Afterlives

Margaret M. Miles

The focus of this paper is the modern commentary on an unusual double stoa at Thorikos in Attica, built in the late 5th century BC. Although it was first discovered in 1754, its plan was not fully revealed until excavations by the Greek Archaeological Society in the mid-1990s. Modified drawings are presented here with a new detail reconstructed: a central doorway in the crosswall. Parts of the stoa taken into the Agora of Athens and re-used in a Roman temple provide architectural details of the original building. The double stoa is then considered within the development of ancient Greek stoas.

The Initial Discovery at Thorikos

As Julien-David Le Roy was sailing in the Aegean Sea toward Istanbul in 1754, the wind suddenly shifted and his ship was forced to put into a small harbor some eight miles north of Sounion, on the east coast of Attica. For two weeks Le Roy and his crew explored the nearby site of Thorikos, where a few columns from a Doric building stood partly concealed behind thick, woody brush. Le Roy used the ship's marines as workmen to clear the brush and dig around the drums so that he could see them more closely and even measure some of them. The men uncovered what Le Roy took to be the remains of the colonnade of a classical temple, built of marble. Le Roy comments that although its remnants did not indicate it was a beautiful building, "I can attest that I took more pleasure in it than in many others more magnificent" (Figure 15.1).¹ It was the first ancient building he studied in Greece, and although he had not yet become a careful observer, his comments and illustrations are a valuable documentary record of early western European interest in the archaeology of Greece.

The colonnaded building at Thorikos first uncovered by Le Roy is remarkable for its innovative, double-faced plan, now much better documented thanks to the excavation of the mid-1990s carried out by the Greek Archaeological Society, which revealed the foundations for a long, central crosswall.² In this paper I trace the history of modern views about the

building, and I propose a significant modification to the most recent reconstruction of the original stoa, a central doorway; this structure likely served both as a stoa and a propylon. Also of interest is the later re-use of some of its superstructure in the Roman imperial period for a temple in the Athenian Agora: the stoa had an after-life providing a Classical aura for the imperial cult in the central city. It was recycled yet again in the Post-Herulian fortification wall of Athens. The original building dates to the last quarter of the 5th century BC, but its plan anticipates more sophisticated designs that reappear later in the Hellenistic period. The double stoa illustrates the great creativity in the architecture of the later 5th century BC in Athens, and subsequent creative use of this period's architecture in the later era. The history of investigation of the stoa provides a cross-section of the varying approaches and interpretations of ancient buildings over two and a half centuries, and the challenges that students have faced (and still face!) in interpreting them.

The marble Stoa at Thorikos was built just below the Velatouri hill, on an alluvial plain created by rivershed from the Adami and Potami rivers: today olive orchards, market gardens and beehives flourish on the good soil. Thorikos was a wealthy community in antiquity, thanks to the silver mines that fueled Athenian *arche* in the 5th century BC and her sometime hegemony in the following century. The



Figure 15.1 Le Roy, view of Stoa. (*Le Roy 1758, Vol. I, Pl. 2*)

theater of the ancient deme of Thorikos and the industrial quarter that grew up around the entrances to silver mines are located above the stoa on somewhat higher ground, on the southern shoulders of the Velatouri hill. Since 1963, the the Belgian School at Athens has conducted excavations and study of the deme site, theater, industrial quarter and Bronze Age tombs of Thorikos.³ The stoa, however, received systematic attention only in the mid 1990s, by the Greek Archaeological Society.

Early Modern Exploration of the Stoa

After LeRoy's initial discovery, his excavation of the stoa must have remained somewhat visible for some decades. The tops of some of the drums he exposed were defaced with graffitied names and dates, a record of a succession of visitors in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when the drums stayed visible; these visitors no doubt learned of the stoa's existence from Le Roy's successful publication. Le Roy's romantic view of the site at Thorikos is attractive (Figure 15.1), but the scale of the human figures is wrong

(they make the columns look much larger than they actually are, and must have been added later).⁴ His text, *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*, appeared in print in 1758, four years before that of his rivals James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, and it won a wide readership in Europe. But Le Roy's book and especially his drawings were criticized for inaccuracy by Stuart and Revett, and other contemporaries.

Most significantly for documenting the Stoa at Thorikos, Le Roy missed some upper drums of the columns and reconstructs the colonnade with a shortened height, and he had not recognized that the columns were unfinished and their fluting not completed. Le Roy assumed the building was a temple, with six by thirteen columns, and he did not notice the widened intercolumniation on the long facades. The various oversights led him to suppose that the stoa was a very early temple in his posited history of Greek architecture, because of what he thought were short, stumpy, rough columns. Le Roy's purpose was to construct a narrative about the history of Greek architecture, and his approach had been to put things in order, from simple to complex, rough to polished. As an early pioneer in



Figure 15.2 View of Stoa at Thorikos, 1805, drawn by Simone Pomardi. (Dodwell, 1834)

the creation of an architectural history based on autopsy, inference, analogy and assumption (the tools we all use), he was misled by lack of comparanda and his own assumptions.

On September 5, 1805, Edward Dodwell, a scholarly-minded and careful recorder, traveled to Thorikos with artist Simone Pomardi.⁵ Dodwell drew a fortified signal tower that stands still today on the southwest slope of the Velatouri hill, while Pomardi sketched the scene of their joint work at the stoa. His drawing, later engraved and published in 1834, shows that most of the stoa was covered by fill and bushes, but some of the drums and capitals were still accessible (Figure 15.2). In his publication and travel account of 1819, Dodwell illustrates a surface of one drum with guide-lines radiating from the center to the flutes, and he rather sharply corrects some of LeRoy's errors in his commentary on the site, in particular the assumption that the building was a hexastyle temple, with thirteen columns on the flanks.⁶ Dodwell also mentions an entablature with a "ditriglyph," but it is not clear from his text whether he actually saw such a block, or, more likely, is simply suggesting how it should be reconstructed, based on subsequent fieldwork and publication by the Society of Dilettanti.

Dodwell regrets that he could not excavate, and he only illustrates what was visible when he visited in 1805. LeRoy's efforts to excavate at Thorikos were pursued further during

1813 by a party sent by the Society of Dilettanti, with strong financial backing. Sir William Gell led the party that included Francis O. Bedford and John P. Gandy (later Deering) as draughtsmen. The group traveled to Thorikos to study buildings that had not been drawn earlier by Stuart and Revett; they visited Eleusis, Rhamnous, Sounion and Thorikos.⁷ Their fieldwork contributed three plates and commentary on the Stoa at Thorikos to the Society's *Unedited Antiquities of Athens* (1817).⁸ Bedford dug under mastic bushes and fill five to six feet deep to locate as much as he could of the perimeter of the building, and he found 16 columns with lower drums in situ. He presents a plan of the building with 7 by 14 columns, and shows accurately the widened intercolumniation on the two long sides.

As archaeological documents, Bedford's precise drawings are far superior to Le Roy's: they provide an accurate and meticulous record of details of the blocks and of its Doric order, the best we have today. Bedford's plan of the "temple" at Thorikos (as it was generally called then) was unusual, as its 1:2 proportion and short facades with seven columns had no parallel.⁹ Odd numbers of columns on facades are rare in Greek architecture, since ancient Greek architects preferred an intercolumnar space to a column in the center of a side peristyle. Bedford corrects Le Roy's assumption that the building was a temple, and states instead



Figure 15.3 View of excavated Stoa at Thorikos, 1893. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens

that it must have been a stoa, with no walls (because none were then visible). Bedford, a well-informed architect, knew that ancient architects of the classical period did not typically use an odd number of columns on a side.¹⁰ He provides an accurate reconstruction and excellent observations of details, such as capitals with differing annulets, and the elegant elevation of the columns. He had no information about the interior of the building, and simply presented what he was confident about, including the wider intercolumniation in the center of each long façade. The two studies, only 60 years apart, illustrate how quickly careful autopsy had improved the understanding and representation of Greek architecture. Interpretations could be built upon comparanda offered by actual examples, then being compiled with fieldwork and first-hand documentation, apart from the stale guidance of Vitruvius.

More Recent Excavation

After Bedford's visit in 1813, topsoil soon completely buried the stoa and it was lost to view until it was relocated again in 1893 by Valerios Staïs on behalf of the Greek

Archaeological Society. His brief and partial excavation revealed more of its stepped crepidoma, and yielded a good documentary photograph (Figure 15.3). He dates the building to the beginning of the 5th century BC, and reports its dimensions as 14.70 × 31.96 m. Staïs mentions an inscription he observed on one of the two bases on the southeast side, placed on either side of the wider intercolumniation: “ἀνέθεκεν,” and near the other was found a fragment of an Archaic statue of a female, “similar to the korai from the Akropolis.”¹¹ Staïs notes also the existence of a *horos* inscription, brought to his attention by a local landowner.¹² He concludes that this must be a “sacred” building – because of the quality of the workmanship, the dedication and sculpture – and he suggests that the building was probably a temple or sanctuary to Demeter and Kore. This suggestion was amplified further in W.B. Dinsmoor's handbook of Greek architecture (1950), where the building is interpreted as a “telesterion.”¹³

Since Bedford's visit in 1813 seventy years earlier, at least six and likely seven of sixteen lowermost drums had been lost: the fourth from the south corner; five along the northeast side, and (perhaps) on the north east side, the

sixth drum from the west corner. Petrakos remarks that in connection with the re-opening of mines in the area during the later 19th century, material was scavenged from the ancient site for local building, and even earlier, lead and iron clamps likely were robbed out from the blocks.¹⁴ No doubt many of the marble blocks were lost then. Once again soil washing in from the riversheds and brought by rain from the Velatouri hill covered the whole building.

In 1964, excavators from the Belgian School sank a small test trench, 2 × 4 m, and relocated the stoa under some 2 m of alluvial fill. R. Paepe, the geologist of the team, conducted a geophysical survey of the area and concluded that the sea levels nearby had fluctuated since antiquity: the ancient harbor might have reached somewhat closer to the stoa.¹⁵ Because of its rectangular shape, and the high quality of the marble carving, the Belgian investigators left open the question of the buildings' function: a portico? a temple? a telesterion?¹⁶

Like Brigadoon, the stoa disappeared yet again after the Belgians dug their test-trench, until thirty years later a larger-scale excavation was carried out by the Greek Archaeological Society, under the direction of Basileios Petrakos and Maria Oikononakou.¹⁷ Their results are a wonderful surprise. At last, the whole plan of the building was revealed when workers exposed the foundations for a central cross-wall that divided the length of the building into two equal halves, so that we now know the stoa had two long outer faces with a shared central wall as the spine of the building. This excavation must have been arduous, as a massive amount of fill over the foundations had to be removed, and repeated rains during the excavation brought more mud, along with flooding from the adjacent stream-bed.¹⁸ On a visit in 2014, I could see the active landscape still at work, already beginning to cover over the stoa yet again.

Roman Re-use of Building Parts from Thorikos

Interest in the building at Thorikos had intensified from 1959 onward when excavations in the ancient Agora in downtown Athens uncovered blocks of its superstructure in the Post-Herulian wall in the Agora, and nearby.¹⁹ This wall, built soon after the Herulian sack of Athens in 267 AD, consists of two outer faces made of ancient blocks re-used from many buildings, with a variety of material as packing between them; the faces are set parallel to create a wall 2.50–3.5 m thick.²⁰ The wall was built hastily yet with some care after the sack, and just as for the Themistoklean Wall – built in an emergency some seven centuries earlier – many older buildings and monuments were dismantled to be re-used in the wall.

Many drums, set on their sides, comprised up to four columns brought from Thorikos, and at least ten wall blocks were set in the facings (Figure 15.4). Nearby were found eight triglyphs, epistyle blocks, and a backer block for an

epistyle that have nearly identical heights, and altogether belong to a reconstructed, Roman-period temple. W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr. determined that these blocks, assigned to the entablature of the Roman temple, derive from at least four other buildings, and the anta capital likely used for the Roman temple was probably made specifically for it, but was closely modeled on some other classical-period anta capital (Figure 15.5).

The blocks are distinctive for their marble and workmanship, and their identity as part of the building at Thorikos was recognized immediately. Many of them have masons' marks inscribed on joining surfaces, with letter forms that suggest they were carved in the Roman period, and keyed to their position. Eventually enough blocks emerged to provide the basis for a reconstruction, made initially (and mistakenly) with a hexastyle prostyle plan: it was called the "Southeast Temple." Meanwhile other architectural blocks from the Post-Herulian Wall were identified as belonging to the Temple of Athena Sounias at Sounion, yet another example of re-used 5th century BC material in a Roman temple, and they were reconstructed on foundations excavated on the opposite side the Agora, called the "Southwest Temple."²¹

The number of buildings (and one altar) transferred in whole or in part to the Agora from other locations during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD was growing in 1960: earlier studies of the Temple of Ares, moved from a deme in Attica to central Athens, had already been published. The transfer of temples, in part or whole, is now much better documented. Excavations at Pallene more recently uncovered the original foundations for the temple-blocks re-used in the Temple of Ares – the blocks were made originally for the Temple of Athena Pallenis.²²

Thompson's interpretation for the blocks from the Post-Herulian Wall in the Agora stood for some years until Dinsmoor, Jr. restudied the attribution of the two sets of blocks to the two sets of foundations, and he demonstrated on the basis of careful measurements and a thorough review of the stratigraphy that the blocks from Thorikos belong to the temple on the west side, and the blocks from Sounion belong to the temple on the east side.²³ The blocks from Thorikos fit only the foundations of the Southwest Temple on the opposite corner of the Agora, and could not have been used for the Southeast Temple. Moreover Dinsmoor, Jr. clarifies the confusion surrounding the horos of the temenos of the Two Goddesses, for it cannot be associated with the marble building at Thorikos with any confidence: its findspot is unknown, and it dates to the 4th century BC. He thereby eliminates the association with Demeter (which was tenuous at best), and argues that instead the two Roman temples more likely were used for cults of the imperial family. He dates the Southwest temple to the first half of the 1st century AD, likely in the Augustan period, along with the Temple of Ares.²⁴ Dinsmoor, Jr.'s convincing interpretation of the blocks from Thorikos has not been superseded (Figure



Figure 15.4 Post-Herulian Wall in the Athenian Agora, from west, with column drums from Thorikos visible at right. Photo M. M. Miles



Figure 15.5 Capital, drums and anta capital from Thorikos, now in the Athenian Agora. Photo M. M. Miles

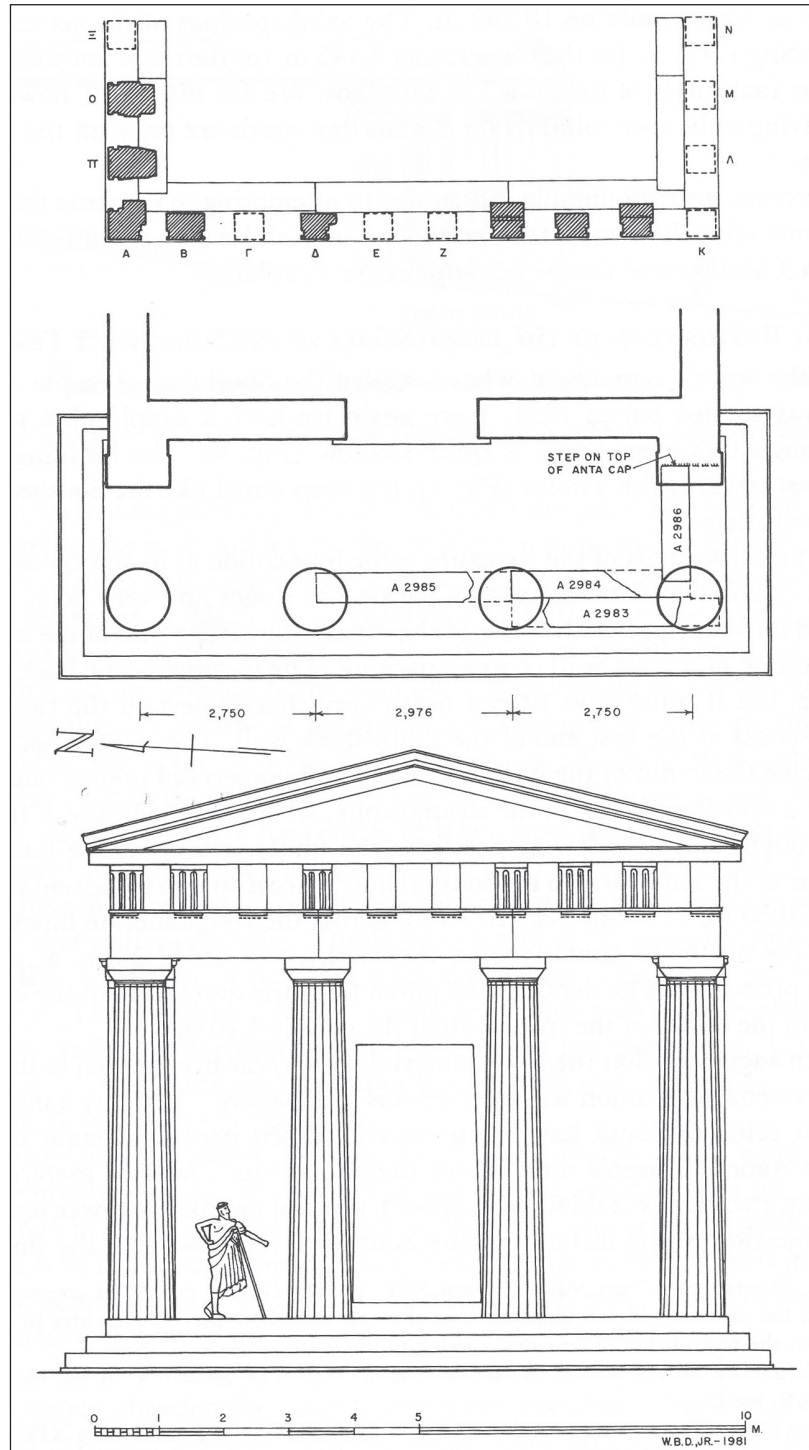


Figure 15.6 Southwest Temple in the Athenian Agora, drawn by W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr. Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations

15.6). His study, and the subsequent discovery in the deme of Pallene of the original foundations for the Temple of Athena (whose blocks were re-used as the Temple of Ares) show that deities did not necessarily travel with blocks.

In the scholarly discussions of the transfers of the Roman imperial period, a general assumption prevails that the 5th century BC buildings were re-used simply out of economy or in desperation for building material, that is, what is referred

to in discussions of spolia in later periods as the “discount solution.” Instead, we should see the re-use of classical building-blocks as part of a nascent, deliberate classicism in the Augustan period, the roots of what becomes the Second Sophistic in Greece in the next century. Certainly it was not from ineptitude that blocks from buildings in Attica were re-used, for the masons of the Roman period were quite capable of imitating the original mouldings, as they did for the anta capital of the Southwest temple, to go with the columns from Thorikos.²⁵ Augustan-period masons in Athens were highly capable of creating new classicizing buildings too, such as the Temple of Roma and Augustus, and the Gate of Athena Archegetis, with columns modeled after the Propylaia and a classicizing sima.

The Double Stoa at Thorikos

As revealed by Bedford and again by Staïs, and confirmed in 1996/7, the columnar building has a rectangular plan, with a stylobate 14.70×31.96 m, and a two-step crepidoma.²⁶ The drawings of Bedford show a stylobate block still preserved in 1813 to the east of the southwest corner column, hence it is possible to restore two columns on each inner corner as part of the return on the two shorter façades.²⁷ A crosswall along the center of the building supported the pitched roof. The wall returns at both ends and provides a sheltered enclosure on both sides. Thus the overall plan of the building is now established. The stoa is noted briefly and illustrated with Petrakos’ drawings by Goette, Hellmann, and Lippolis in their handbooks published since the excavation of its central wall.²⁸

The marble fabric of the steps and columns has been described as “Agrileza” marble, quarried nearby in the Agrileza valley, or even closer to the building site. Vanhove suggests that a more particular quarry at Stephani, fairly close to the site of the stoa, was used as a quarry; she notes many small quarries throughout the length of the Agrileza valley and Souriza area.²⁹ The use of local stone for the stoa is paralleled by the use of Agrileza marble for the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion (from quarries at the southern end of the Agrileza valley), local marble from Agia Marina for the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, Eleusinian limestone in various structures at Eleusis, and Pentelic marble for the Archaic statue of Dionysos at Ikarion (on the east slope of Mt. Pentele).

A notable feature of the plan is the widened intercolumniation in the center of the two longer facades, given by Staïs as 2.37 m. This was observed by earlier investigators, but puzzled them, since they assumed the structure was a temple, or a typical stoa, and such a wider intercolumniation seemed most unusual, in fact, unparalleled in that period except for the Athenian Propylaia.³⁰ Now that a central wall is established by the excavations of the 1990s, it becomes clear that the two widened intercolumniations

must frame a passageway through the central wall. Thus I reconstruct a doorway in the elevation (Figure 15.7).

The existence of a doorway is corroborated further by the vertical surface treatment of the stylobate blocks on the east center, both north and south sides, and the west center, south side. They indicate that no joining blocks were set there: they were intended to be finished, visible surfaces, and do not have anathyrosis.³¹ Finally, the two bases originally found by Staïs on either side of the center intercolumniation on the east side also make sense as supports for objects that once framed the entranceway when the building was used. The doorway in the center provided convenient access to the other side of the double stoa, for if it had not existed, there would be no communication except by walking the length all the way around the end to the other side.

This unusual building served both as a stoa and perhaps also as a propylon, as its plan anticipates the much later (and more complex) propylaia to the Sanctuary of Athena at Lindos. It might have been intended to shelter paintings, dedications and other votives (Figure 15.8). We do not yet know what lay to the east or west of this stoa in antiquity, as all around it are unexcavated fields and orchards. Today the alluvial fill rises close to 2.5 m above the 5th century level on its west side, and about 1.5–2 m on the east. Like the earlier investigators of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, I also assume that the monumental nature and overall high quality of the building indicate it was built for a religious or at least commemorative setting. The agora of Thorikos has not yet been found, and one possibility is that this stoa formed a part of it, analogous to its contemporary, the Stoa of Zeus in the central agora of Athens.

Beginning in the 20th century, the building has been dated consistently to the late 5th century BC, or last quarter of the 5th century BC.³² Such a date is in keeping with its overall appearance and proportions, with the profiles of the echinos on the capitals, and the high quality of the precise tooling and workmanship of the building³³ (Figure 15.9). Numerous technical setting lines and guidelines are preserved on various blocks of the building and on the stylobate, and they illustrate the careful, practical application of geometry (rule, compass and chisel) used to set the columns precisely. Besides carefully chiselled guidelines for the preliminary fluting on a lowermost drum illustrated by Dodwell, guidelines for the fluting are partially preserved on the soffit of one the capitals brought into the Agora in the Roman period (Figure 15.9).

The construction of the double Stoa at Thorikos in the last quarter of the 5th century is yet another example of the continuation of construction in Attica even during the years of the Peloponnesian War.³⁴ Thucydides reports that the Spartans stopped at the Isthmos in the summer of 426 BC because of earthquakes, and decided not to continue on to ravage Attica (3.89.1). While that halt could have been temporary, the capture of 292 hoplites (120 of whom were

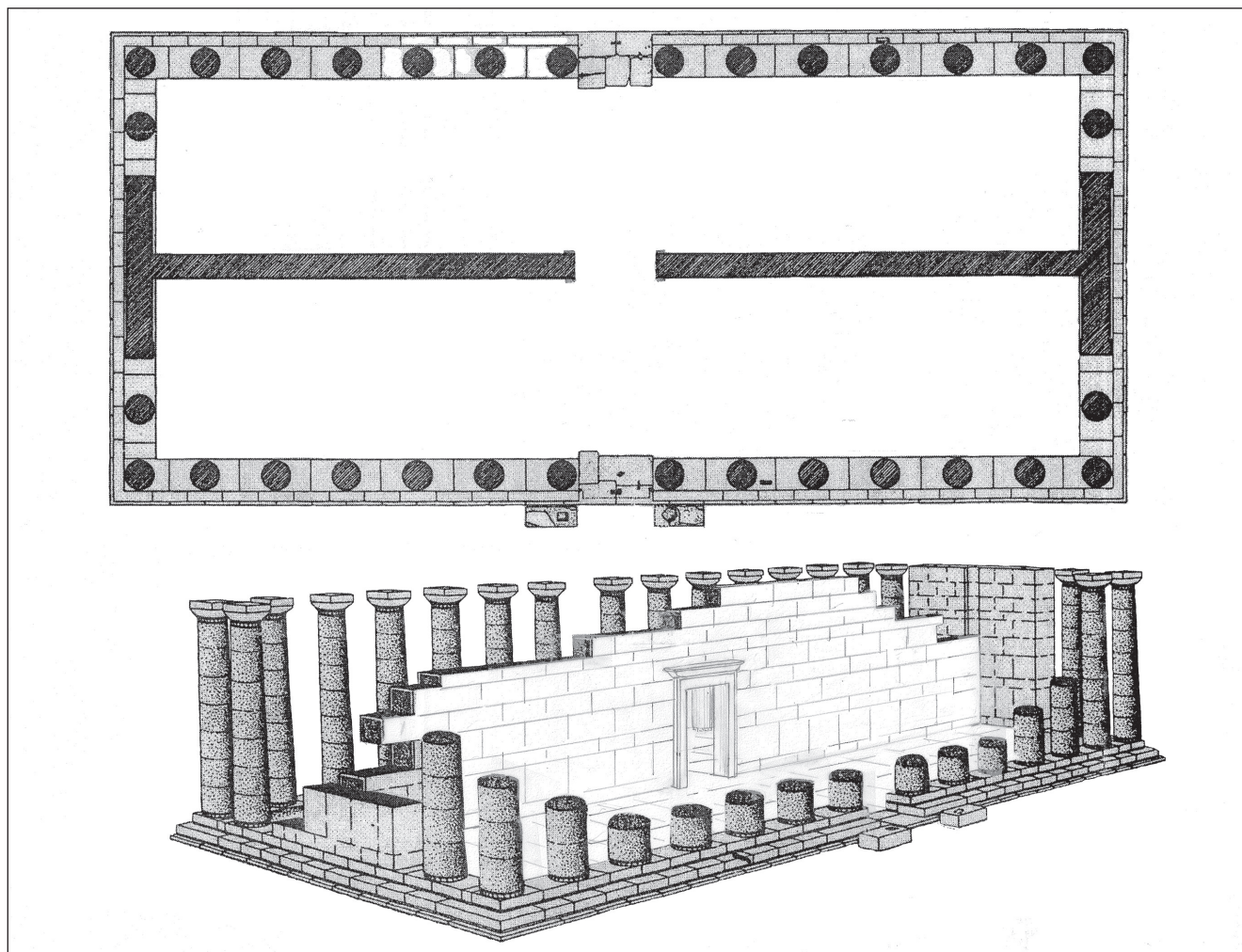


Figure 15.7 Plan of stoa, modified to include doorway (after Petrakos 1997)

full Spartan citizens) at Sphacteria in the following summer also was cause to suspend any further damaging invasions into Attica. The captives were held as prisoners, and the Athenians threatened to kill them if the Spartans invaded Attica again (Thuc. 4.41.1). Apart from those specific events that kept the Spartans from Attica from the summer of 426 BC onward until the occupation of Dekeleia, throughout the Peloponnesian War sanctuaries were generally respected by belligerents, and the contents of temples were not plundered.³⁵ Such pervasive, enduring respect for sanctuaries evidently permitted building construction in Athens and Attica to go on as usual during the last quarter of the 5th century BC.

Nonetheless the double stoa was left without full polish: the front and top surfaces of the stylobate still have protective panels and lifting bosses, and the columns were left unfluted for most of their height (in keeping with standard practice, the flutes were finished for a few centimeters on the lowermost drum, before the drums were

set, and just below the annulets of the capitals). In these details, the condition of the stoa is much like the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous. That temple was fully constructed in every other aspect, however, and received painted ornament, a cult image, and was fully used well into the Roman period as attested by both archaeological and epigraphical evidence. The incompleteness did not at all prevent the use of the buildings, and they may not have seemed conspicuous or bothersome. The stoa-complex at Brauron in the Sanctuary of Artemis was also left incomplete with two sides unbuilt of a planned three for the colonnade, but the one completely constructed side was heavily used.³⁶

At Thorikos there is no evidence for the upper entablature of the stoa. The top surface of the best preserved Doric capital from the stoa brought into the Athenian Agora is not completely smoothed to receive marble epistylia (although it is smooth enough to have satisfied the builders of the Roman period), nor were any identifiable pieces of the original

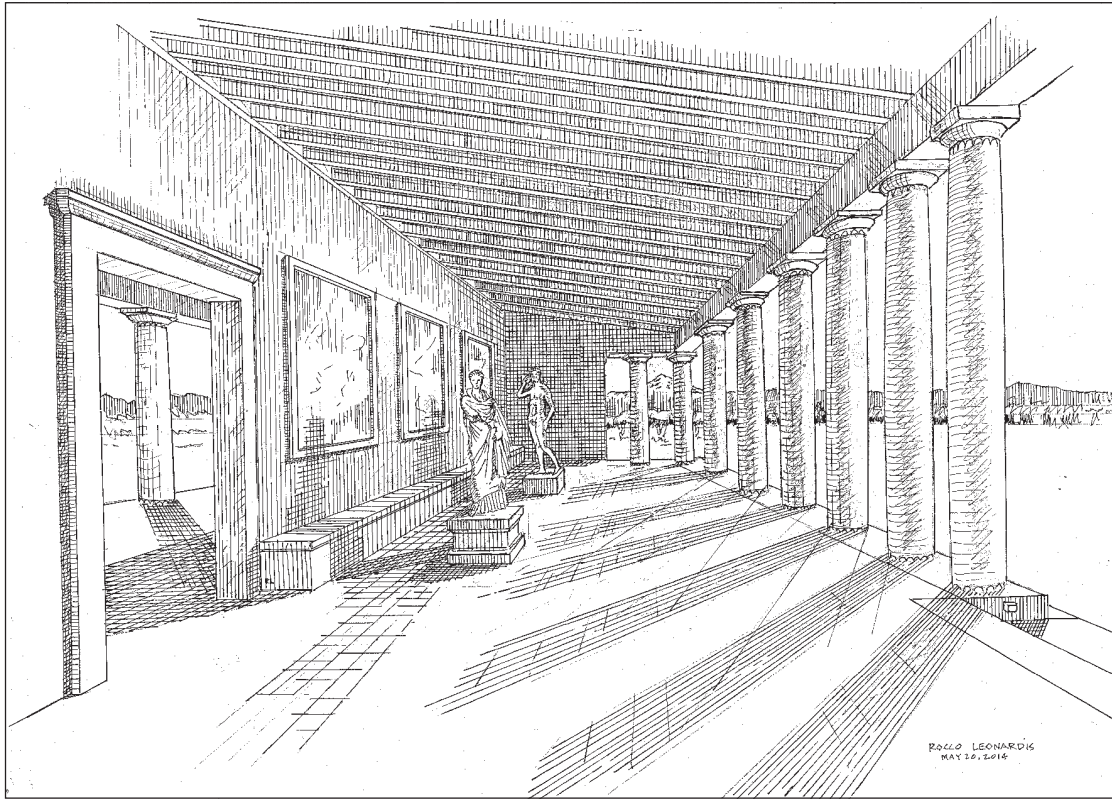


Figure 15.8 Perspective view of the Stoa at Thorikos (reconstructed with central door), drawn by Rocco Leonardis (2014).

entablature found in the Athenian Agora: this could indicate that there was no marble entablature to scavenge.³⁷ That the columns were fully standing is indicated by the series of Roman-period masons' marks, keyed to the proper position of each drum when they were disassembled; moreover, Le Roy reports finding a wooden empolion still preserved, after he pried apart two drums. From Staïs's observation of a dedicatory inscription on a base set against the steps, and a fragment of sculpture found quite nearby, it appears the building was in fact used in antiquity. A wooden entablature and wooden roofing support should be reconstructed; the superstructure of the entablature, even if wooden, helped to secure the overall framing of the building, and rendered it quite useable. The roof offered protection to its contents and visitors.³⁸

Dinsmoor, Jr. was uncertain about the original use of the wall blocks still in the Post-Herulian Wall in the Agora, since he did not know about the stoa's interior wall, but we may now assign them to the stoa; they provide the width of the interior wall as 0.625 m (with protective surface) (Figure 15.10). The other blocks may be constructed in pairs for the side walls of the stoa to a maximum width of ca. 0.993, equivalent to the average bottom diameter of the columns.³⁹ The height of the columns of the stoa was 5.616 m, and on top of them in the Athenian Agora the Roman rebuilders

used an epistyle with an average height of 0.766 m, and a frieze with an average height of triglyphs 0.696 m.⁴⁰

The precise drawings of columns left unfluted (because they were unfinished) provided inspiration to architects as late as the 19th century (Figure 15.11). The unfinished columns of the Stoa at Thorikos as drawn by Bedford, of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous as drawn by Gandy, and of the Temple of Apollo on Delos (drawn by both Le Roy and Stuart and Revett) became models in the Classical Revival period of building in England, Scotland and Ireland where they were used for churches, private houses, and public monuments.⁴¹ Architects could express the academic detail of the beginning of the flutes at the bottom and under the capital, but retain the convenience and reduced expense of unfluted columns, as they were following such notable ancient exemplars. One such Greek Revival example is the Presbyterian Church in Portaferry, County Down (1841). With hexastyle amphiprostyle facades, the architect John Millar recalled the three unfinished Doric buildings, known so well through published drawings.⁴² He included Ionic columns in the interior, on the model of Iktinos' complete Temple of Apollo at Bassai: thus in one church, the visual essence of four monuments of the 5th century BC are used to express a subtle theological statement (Figure 15.12).

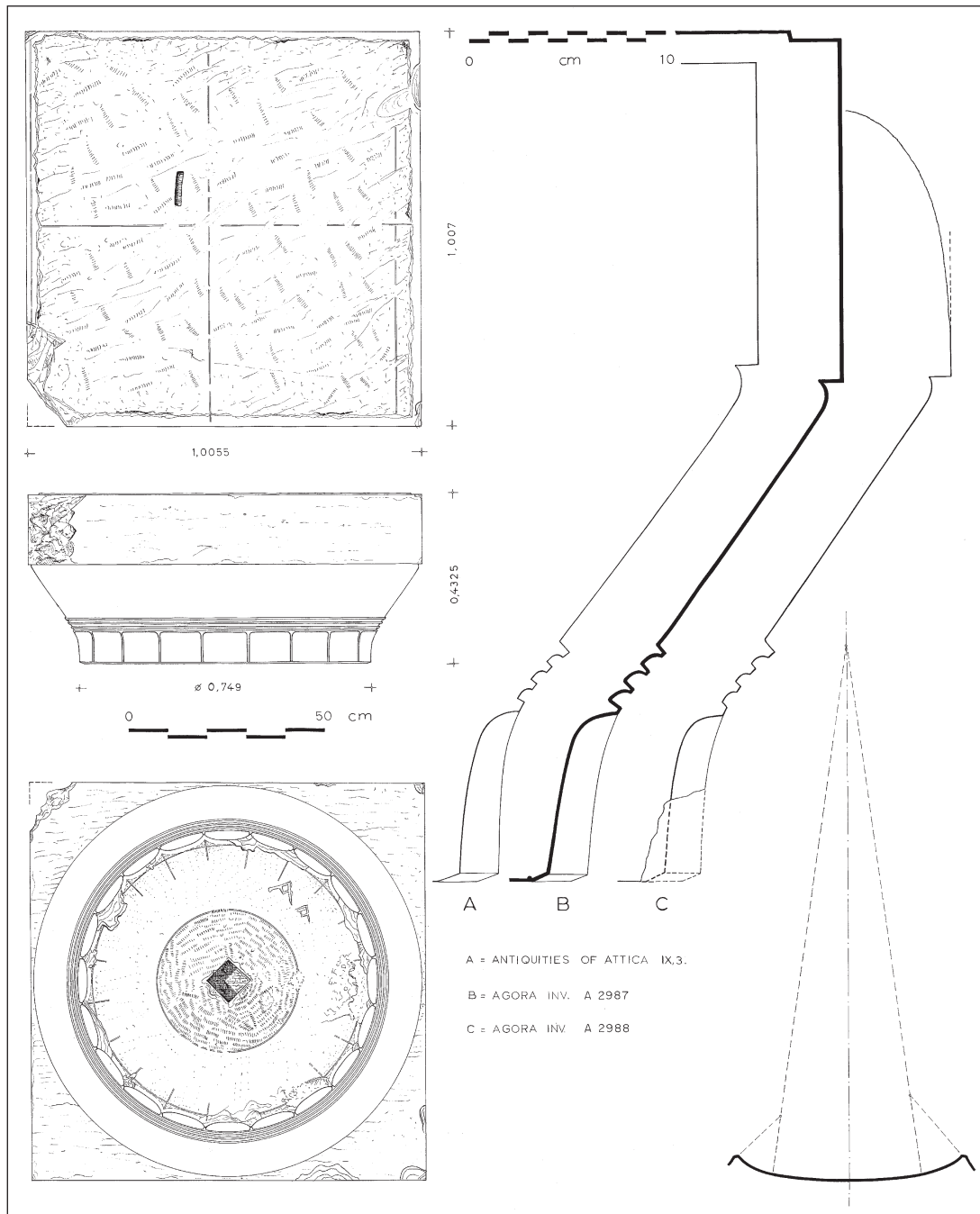


Figure 15.9 Capital from the Stoa at Thorikos, now in the Athenian Agora, drawn by A. Petronotis. Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations

How Distinctive is the Design of the Stoa at Thorikos?

By the later 5th century BC, the versatility of stoas as a building type had long been exploited, and stoas were prominent in sanctuaries and agoras in many Greek cities.⁴³ I discuss here only the most obvious examples suitable for comparison with the Stoa at Thorikos. In central Athens,

the closest *comparandum* in date and likely function is the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora. Built ca. 425–410 BC and dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios, the plan of the Stoa of Zeus is strikingly innovative, with two temple-like facades on each end, complete with pediments, the first Greek stoa to have two symmetrical projecting “wings” in front. In his analysis of the design, J. Coulton remarks upon the

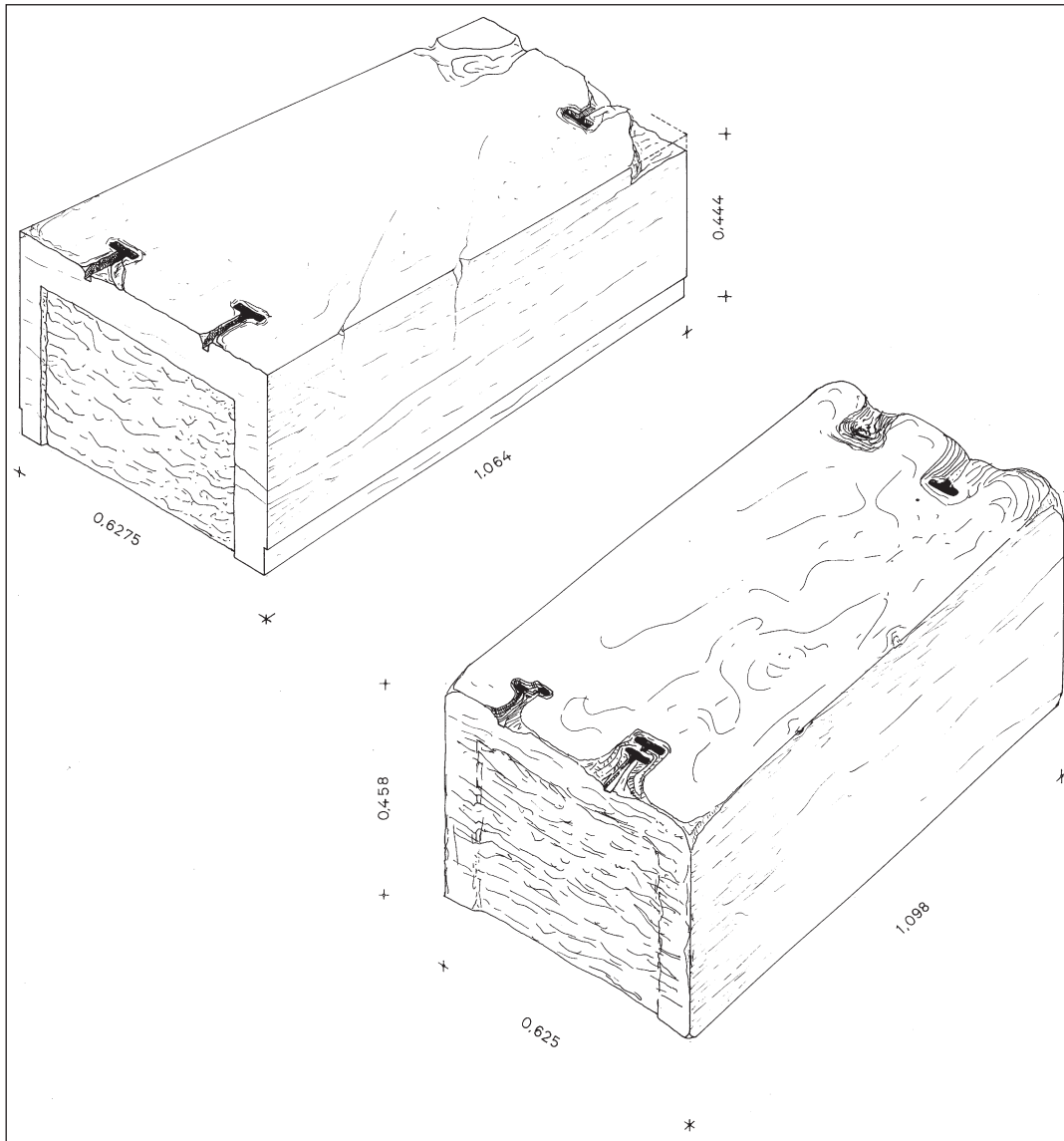


Figure 15.10 Two uninventoryed wall blocks from the Post-Herulian Wall in the Athenian Agora, drawn by A. Petronotis. Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations

careful solutions to the problems posed by the unusual plan: two wings treated as hexastyle facades; precise, related proportions of its various parts; unfluted Ionic columns used for the interior; a three-metope span for the center front; a re-entrant design for the Doric frieze in the interior corners of the wings, with a geison above it with a square mutule bearing nine mutules at the corners.⁴⁴ The overall length of the stoa is 43.56 m.

The excavator Thompson, Coulton, Camp and others have commented on the salient religious quality evoked by the temple-like wings, with a statue of Zeus Eleutherios immediately in front; when viewed at some distance, the wings echo the façade of the Hephaisteion on the hill above and behind the stoa. The stoa replaced a small Archaic

temple likely destroyed by the Persians, but its altar continued to be used even in the lifetime of the stoa.⁴⁵ I suggest the new stoa likely was palliative for the treatment of Plataians, just besieged by Spartans (429–427 BC, Thuc. 2.71–78, 3.52–68); Athenians shamefully did not support them as they had sworn to do. The temple-like stoa recalled the oaths to Zeus Eleutherios all participating Greeks swore at Plataia at the time of the Persian invasion. It also provided a ceremonial focal-point for Plataian refugees, who were granted *isopoliteia*.⁴⁶

The Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios demonstrates the ingenuity and creativity of the architect, who saw the potential of merging two genres, temple and stoa, into a successful hybrid. The design, with forward-facing side wings, lived

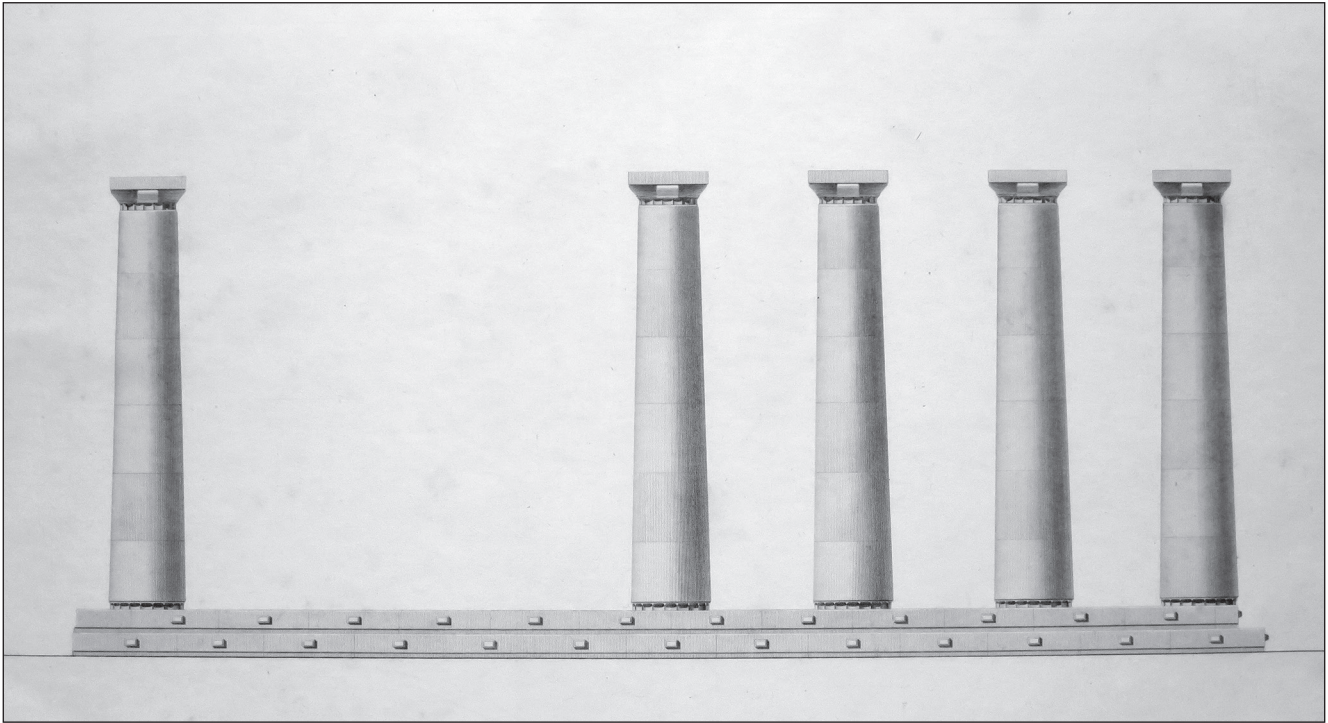


Figure 15.11 Elevation of the Stoa at Thorikos, drawn by Francis Bedford (*Unedited Antiquities of Athens 1817, Ch. 9, Pl. II*)

on in many stoas built later, although not at this scale or with the great depth of the wings in the Stoa of Zeus. The stoa had an interior bench, was decorated with paintings by Euphranor, received dedicated armor and other memorabilia, had statues and inscriptions set up in front of it, and was a setting for Socratic dialogues.⁴⁷ As a commemorative monument dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios, it provided a shady retreat in a conspicuous and central part of the Agora, and attracted passers-by at leisure. Documentation for the function of the double Stoa at Thorikos is lacking, but likely it served the public in very similar ways.

In Attica, the stoa-complex in the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, built ca. 420 BC, offers structural points of comparison to the double Stoa at Thorikos. Although intended as a three-sided complex, the one side that was fully constructed has at its core a double-sided arrangement much like that at Thorikos.⁴⁸ The outer Doric façade faces an open square on the side opposite the Temple of Artemis, with a pitched roof that rises to a central wall. The wall is pierced with six doors leading to a series of six dining rooms, in turn backed by a solid wall of the same height as the outer façade (rather than a second colonnade as at Thorikos). The back wall of the dining room on its outer, northern side forms one side of a long open-air corridor, enclosed with doors at both ends. The corridor was used to display votive offerings under a partially roofed section parallel to the back wall of the dining rooms. In the center of the stoa, a small passageway between two dining rooms

and through the supporting cross wall permitted direct access to the corridor. The critical structural element in this complex is the central wall that supports a pitched roof, supported by the outer Doric façade on one side, and the back wall of the dining rooms on the other. This structural core is much like that of the double Stoa at Thorikos. The reconstructed height of the Doric column of the façade at Brauron, built in a mixture of local limestone and marble (for metopes and capitals), is about 29% smaller than that of the Stoa at Thorikos. The length of the stylobate of the façade is ca. 29.19 m.

While the two contemporary stoas in Athens and Brauron offer parallels in date, likely function, structural support and notably innovative design, outside Attica the double design is not used until the mid 4th century BC, at Molykreion (near Antirrhion, west of Nafpaktos), where a simple double stoa, ca. 11.40 × 38.80 m, was built without actual columns, instead with wooden posts on stone bases 0.60 m square, spaced ca. 2.55 m apart within the side walls. The stoa was set adjacent and parallel to the Temple of Poseidon on the acropolis of Molykreion, with one side facing the temple, and the other out toward Naupaktos.⁴⁹ The original excavator A. Orlandos opines that the slight walls and general quality of the remains of the structure indicate it may have been built as a temporary workshop while the temple was under construction, analogous to the workshop of Pheidias at Olympia. If he is correct, the stoa provided shade for workmen in both morning and evening light,



Figure 15.12 Presbyterian Church, Portaferry, County Down. Photo M. M. Miles

given its northwest-southeast orientation. The sanctuary's perimeter around the temple commands extraordinary views both eastward into the Gulf of Corinth and westward toward the Gulf of Patras; today trees block a potential viewshed south over the Antirrhion-Rhion crossing. The temple and the double stoa, even if intended as a temporary building, were positioned in a highly visible location.

Elsewhere beyond Attica the most striking comparison for the double stoa is the Corcyraean Stoa in the agora of Elis, described by Pausanias with unusual (for him) attention to its design (6.24.4):

Near the stoa where the Hellanodikai spend the day is another stoa; between them is a street. This one the Eleans call the Corcyraean stoa, for they say the Corcyraeans came by ship to their land . . . and carried off a share of booty, but they themselves took many times as much booty from the Corcyraeans and built the stoa out of a tenth of the spoils. The construction of the stoa is Doric and double, with columns on one side facing the agora, and on the other, the far side of the agora. In the middle of it are not columns, but there is a wall

supporting its roof, and there are statues dedicated along the wall on each side. In the stoa on the side that faces the agora stands a statue of Pyrrho, son of Pistokrates, a sophist who did not adopt a fixed position on any topic.

Excavations at Elis have uncovered exiguous remains of this double stoa, some 30×99 m overall, with a central wall and two colonnaded sides.⁵⁰ What has been excavated seems to date mostly to a Roman-era rebuilding (1st century BC/AD), but traces of an earlier structure have been noted by the excavators, and are dated to the last third of the 5th century BC. The occasion of the dedication noted by Pausanias (acquisition of spoils from Corcyra) is assumed to be a series of confrontations in the late 430s BC between Elis and Corcyra described by Thucydides (3.29.2, 3.79–80). Likely the original name and occasion was retained for a later rebuilding of this stoa; we cannot know whether the original stoa also had the same double design.

The convenience for agoras of the double design was already recognized at Mantinea in the late 4th century BC;

on the side of its agora a double stoa with two shallow “wings” on the side facing inward to the agora was backed with an Ionic colonnade. The two sides are linked by a room that crosses both at one side, rather than a doorway through the cross-wall.⁵¹ The Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora (2nd century BC), some 147 m long, features the convenient double design, but with columns as center supports rather than a cross-wall as at Thorikos and Elis; screen walls between columns were used to block off areas with the huge stoa.

A double design was created in secondary construction at Delos in the tight setting of its agora, in the 71.08 m long Stoa of Philip V, dated to his ascendancy ca. 210 BC. The stoa was originally an ordinary one-aisled single stoa, but a second colonnade was added about three decades later on the opposite side to form a double stoa with an exedra on its north end.⁵² Like the double stoas at Elis and Molykreion, the double design suits its topographical position very well: in the agora of Delos, the original stoa faces the main foot traffic passing through the agora to the Sanctuary of Apollo, while the later addition faces the sea and harbor.

At Lindos on Rhodes we find the potential of a double stoa brilliantly expressed within the elaborate propylaia (or upper stoa) to the acropolis, where it provides a dramatic entrance to the Sanctuary of Athena Lindia. A fire in 392/1 BC had destroyed the temple and after it was rebuilt, in the Hellenistic period a series of terraces with monumental steps and stoas completed the whole complex.⁵³ The propylaia or upper stoa is a double stoa in plan, with five doors reconstructed through a central cross wall, recalling Mnesikles’ Propylaia to the Athenian akropolis.⁵⁴ On each end of the propylaia are two symmetrical projecting wings (as in the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian agora). Their scale, Doric order and tetrastyle prostyle plan anticipate the design of the façade of the Temple of Athena within the sanctuary for the visitor walking up toward the top level; the total length is 36.20 m. The colonnade on the inner side of the door wall forms one side of a surrounding open courtyard, with the temple at the opposite end. As any visitor to the akropolis of Lindos will attest, walking up and into the sanctuary still induces awe, even today when the experience is inevitably shaped by the happenstance of preservation or restoration. The magnificence of the framing of spectacular landscape by serried Doric columns, with contrasting shaded and open passageways offered in the double stoa, on a high akropolis rising from the sea, make the complex at Lindos one of the great achievements of Greek architecture.

Conclusion

Within its historical context, we see that the double Stoa at Thorikos was unusual for its time, and remained so: even though there are points of similarity with other stoas, the design itself, a discrete building with a central doorway, was

not repeated. The columns of the stoa had great longevity since they were re-used for a Roman temple in Athens, and again in the Post-Herulian Wall. Because they were drawn faithfully by Bedford, along with other unfinished columns at Rhamnous and Delos they became models for still-living buildings.

The double design at Thorikos is ingenious, but it only becomes compelling when there is a reason to have a janiform passageway, as at Lindos, where it serves also as propylon, marking the transition in a liminal zone. We cannot appreciate fully how it suited its setting until further excavation is carried out in adjacent areas to reveal what lead to and away from the stoa – this will be left to a future generation. Today it remains a lone monument in a pastoral landscape, much as Le Roy first found it.

Notes

- 1 Le Roy 2004 [1770], pp. 238–240, quotation p. 240; he traveled in the suite of Antonio Donà, the Venetian ambassador to the Sublime Porte. Le Roy had the men pry apart two of the drums that were in situ, and discovered perfectly preserved wooden empolia in their centers, “of some red wood, quite hard and well preserved,” p. 240. This essay is based on study of published information, and autopsy at Thorikos and in the Athenian Agora. Translations below are my own. I thank Rocco Leonardis for drawing the perspectival reconstruction of the stoa (Figure 15.8), based on published measurements.
- 2 Petrakos 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997; Goette 2001, pp. 216–219; Hellmann 2006, pp. 248–249; Lippolis et al. 2007, p. 607.
- 3 Their earlier publications were under the name Belgian Archaeological Mission; see *Thorikos* I–X (1964–2011); specifically on the stoa, Mussche 1967, Paepe 1968, Vanhove 1994, p. 44. For the theater at Thorikos, Paga 2010, pp. 355–356.
- 4 Middleton (2004, p. 11) quotes a contemporary of Le Roy who remarks on the employment of the artist Louis-Joseph Le Lorrain in Paris to redraw Le Roy’s sketches before they were engraved; the human figures may have been added then.
- 5 On Dodwell and his visits to Greece, Camp 2013, p. 7; I thank J. Camp for the specific information about the visit to Thorikos.
- 6 Dodwell 1819, pp. 535–536. He describes the site as “covered with dense and almost impenetrable foliage of the lentiscus” (p. 535, and Dodwell 1834, p. 15).
- 7 This party had originally intended to travel within Ionia, but were forestalled at times by the threat of pirates near Asia Minor, and outbreaks of plague near some intended sites there; during two lengthy delays, they went first to Eleusis (1812), and then to Rhamnous, Sounion, and Thorikos (1813): details in Cust and Colvin 1914, pp. 149–164. The work they did accomplish in Asia Minor was published in 1840 (*Antiquities of Ionia*).
- 8 Chapter 9, pp. 57–59 and plates I–III, referred to here and below as Bedford 1817.
- 9 The plan of the building at Thorikos as drawn by Bedford

- had great longevity: its outline was repeated as recently as Dinsmoor, Jr. (1982, fig. 6) and Travlos (1988, fig. 561), since no new knowledge about it had yet been added. Dinsmoor, Jr. states that the building is a stoa (p. 415), while Travlos describes the building as a temple.
- 10 Bedford could have known about the enneastyle Archaic Temple of Hera I (then called the “Basilica”) at Paestum. Writing after Bedford’s publication, Col. Leake refers to the building simply as a “quadrangular colonnade,” and notes that the length of the building compares to the width of the Parthenon; he says it is a *ἑκατόμπεδος στοά* (Hekatompedos Stoa) and may have been a stoa in the agora of Thorikos (Leake 1841, pp. 69–70 [first edition, 1821]). For his comparison with the Parthenon, he uses Stuart’s measurements of the Parthenon and Bedford’s of the stoa.
 - 11 Staïs 1893, p. 17, 1895, pp. 221–234.
 - 12 Staïs 1893, p. 17. It reads: *ἄρορος|τεμένων|τοιῶν θεῶν* (“boundary of the temenos of the Two Goddesses”) = *IG I² 869* [and *IG II² 2600*], cf. *IG I³*, p. 972. The inscription, now in the Louvre, Paris, is excluded from *IG I³* as it is dated to the 4th century BC; there are duplicate entries in the older epigraphical references. Staïs transcribed it incorrectly as one line, with three-barred sigmas. See Dinsmoor, Jr. 1982, pp. 451–452, for a summary of the circumstance of its finding, and a photograph of a squeeze of the inscription on pl. 95; the finding place of the inscription in or near Thorikos is not known (= *SEG XXXII.231*).
 - 13 Dinsmoor 1950, p. 196; Boersma (1970, pp. 78–80, 188) discusses and catalogues the building as a Temple of Demeter and Kore.
 - 14 Petrakos 1995, p. 21, 1997; Dinsmoor, Jr. remarks that the ground around the area at Thorikos “is covered with fragments of this material [marble],” which also suggests later breaking-up of the blocks (1982, footnote 14 on p. 418).
 - 15 Paepé 1963[1968], 1966/1967[1969], 1968[1971].
 - 16 Mussche 1964[1967], pp. 73–76.
 - 17 Petrakos 1994, 1996, 1997.
 - 18 Petrakos 1995, p. 21, 1996, pp. 19–20; Petrakos suggests the building might have been abandoned even in antiquity as the unsuitability of the site was realized.
 - 19 Thompson 1960, p. 342, Thompson and Wycherley 1972, p. 167.
 - 20 Detailed description in Frantz 1988, pp. 125–141; updated finds in Athens and plan in Theocharaki 2011. The fill of the wall included many smaller architectural pieces, such as ceiling coffers from the Temple of Ares, stray capitals, bases, working chips, and earth. Its circuit tightly enclosed the ancient city on the north side of the Akropolis, with part of its northern line founded along the south side of the Library of Hadrian (Frantz 1988, pl. 5).
 - 21 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, pp. 167–168. Thompson associated the temple with Demeter because of its position on the Panathenaic Way, below the City Eleusinion, and because he believed the cult of the deity would be transferred along with the blocks; cf. Miles 1998, p. 49.
 - 22 Dinsmoor 1939, McAllister 1959, Dinsmoor, Jr. 1974, Miles 1989, *passim*; moved from Attica: the original suggestion was that it was moved from Acharnai, because there was a cult of Ares there, but its foundations were uncovered at Pallene, as demonstrated by Korres 1992–1998; for an Archaic temple moved into Thessaloniki in the Roman period, Grammenos 2003, pp. 80–82; for other examples of transferred buildings known from epigraphical or archaeological evidence, Petronotis 1980; Hellmann 2006, pp. 108–111.
 - 23 Dinsmoor, Jr. 1982.
 - 24 Evidence for date: Dinsmoor 1982, p. 434; attributions: Dinsmoor (1982, pp. 437–438) considers attributions to Athena or an imperial cult; discussed further in Baldassarri 1998, pp. 202–208. A sanctuary possibly associated with Demeter has been excavated by M. Oikonomakou (1994) at Agios Georgios near Thorikos (ca. 1.5 km distant from the stoa).
 - 25 Careful imitations were also made for repairs to the east front of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous: Miles 1989, pp. 235–239.
 - 26 Bedford 1817 (in feet and inches); Staïs 1893, 17; Petrakos 1994, 24; Lippolis et al. 2007, p. 607: 14.70 × 32 m.
 - 27 Petrakos 1996, p. 22. The stylobate block drawn by Bedford no longer exists.
 - 28 Goette 2001, pp. 216–219; Hellmann 2006, pp. 108–111, 248–249; Lippolis et al. 2007, 607.
 - 29 Goette 1991, p. 213, 2001, p. 217–219; Vanhove 1994, p. 44. Goette (1991, p. 213) notes that it is difficult to differentiate between “Thorikos” marble and “Agrileza” marble (visually), and that there are quarry marks within 150 m of the building site. Dinsmoor, Jr. (1982, p. 418) refers to the stone as “Thorikos” marble.
 - 30 Dinsmoor 1950, 196.
 - 31 See Figure 15.3 for the lifting bosses in the intercolumniation on the east flank.
 - 32 Lippolis et al. 2007, p. 607, with earlier bibliography. No ceramic evidence for the date has been published.
 - 33 The following proportions compare the height of the Doric column to its expression in lower diameters, a proportion that changes over time, and is an element of design prescribed by Vitruvius (4.3.4); Le Roy himself attempts this (the figures are derived from Dinsmoor 1950, pp. 337–339; Miles 1989, p. 223; for the Stoa at Brauron, Bouras 1967, p. 35, 45–46; for the stoa at Thorikos, Dinsmoor 1982):

Olympia, Temple of Zeus	1:4.635, 1:4.719
Bassai, Temple of Apollo	1:5.13, 1:5.31
Propylaea, west wing	1:5.4483
Parthenon	1:5.476
Delos, Temple of Apollo	1:5.50
Hephaisteion	1:5.611
Propylaea, central building	1:5.6636
Temple of Ares (estimate)	1:5.7045
Double Stoa, Thorikos	1:5.6129, 1:5.7099
Delos, Temple of Athenians	1:5.7125
Temple of Nemesis	1:5.7422
Temple of Poseidon	1:5.7756
Stoa at Brauron (reconstructed)	1:5.946
Nemea, Temple of Zeus	1:6.3607
 - 34 For discussion and a survey of construction both in the city and in Attica during the war, see Miles 1989, pp. 227–235; earlier views in Boersma 1970, p. 80.
 - 35 Miles 1989, p. 229, Miles 2008, p. 36–37.
 - 36 For other unfinished buildings, Kalpaxis 1986.

- 37 Dinsmoor, Jr. 1982, p. 416, footnote 9. The ever-increasing evidence for reusing architectural blocks on other sites should teach us caution about assuming this; possibly the entablature, if it existed, was used elsewhere.
- 38 Le Roy was the first to suggest a wooden entablature, which he regarded as an indication of an early date (2004 [1770], p. 240).
- 39 Dinsmoor, Jr. 1982, p. 418 (origin of wall blocks), pp. 450–451 (catalogue; five are in the wall, three were in a tower of the wall, and other are in fragments). The two preserved bottom drums are A 3010d (l.d. 0.984 m) and A 3011d (l.d. 1.001 m).
- 40 The dimensions of the entablature selected for the Roman rebuilding yield a proportion identical to that of the Temple of Zeus at Nemea (H. of epistyle : H. of frieze, 0.909 in both). My figures are based on the blocks brought into the Agora and studied by Dinsmoor, Jr. (1982).
- 41 A selection is conveniently illustrated in Watkin 2006, pp. 46–50.
- 42 Brett 2002, pp. 62–63.
- 43 Coulton notes that war booty is known to have financed some 5th century stoas, notably the Stoa Persiki at Spartan, described by Pausanias (3.11.3), and the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi (1976, pp. 39–41).
- 44 Coulton 1976, pp. 41–42, 222 (date for Stoa of Zeus on p. 222); excavation of the Stoa: Thompson 1937, pp. 5–77, 225–6; description of stoa: Thompson and Wycherley 1972, pp. 96–103; Camp 2010, pp. 73–75.
- 45 Persian destruction debris: Thompson 1937, pp. 12–14.
- 46 On the issue of *isopoliteia*, Hornblower 1991, pp. 448–450 (commenting on Thuc. 3.55.3)
- 47 Testimonia in Wycherley 1959, pp. 25–30.
- 48 Bouras 1967, fold-out sections 7, 8.
- 49 Orlandos 1924–25, p. 63; Coulton 1976, p. 261, fig. 88 on p. 262; temple: Knell 1973; topography: Freitag 1999, pp. 58–67; sources for Molykreion and further bibliography in Hansen and Nielsen 2004, p. 385.
- 50 Coulton 1976, pp. 14, 45, 79, 237; Mitsopoulos Leon 1983, 1990; Pochmarski 1990 (with full earlier bibliography); Lippolis et al. 2007, pp. 650–651. Pochmarski argues for the earlier phase of the building and retains its identification with the “Corcyraean” stoa described by Pausanias. The remains consist of robbing trenches, parts of foundations, fragments of the superstructure, and elements of its terracotta roof.
- 51 Formerly this stoa was considered to have been built in two phases, with the back added as a much later afterthought, but a restudy of its foundations shows that it more likely was built all at once, in the late 4th century BC, with a deliberately planned double design: Lauter 1986, pp. 116–121; Lauter et al. 2004.
- 52 Coulton 1976, pp. 60, 233–234; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, pp. 165–167.
- 53 Dyggve 1960, pp. 180–184, 247–258, dates the construction of the lower stoa later than the upper stoa/propylaia of ca. 300 BC; Lippolis (1988–89), and Pakkanen (1988) argue the entire complex was planned together, whereas Winter (2006, pp. 217–218) and Hollinshead (2012, p. 40) see an evolving plan. For the fire, Higbie 2003, pp. 256–258.
- 54 The features recalling Mnesikles’ Propylaia should be seen as

a deliberate homage; earlier observers thought they indicated a date in the 5th century for at least parts of the propylaia at Lindos, discussed by Dyggve (Dyggve 1960, pp. 180–184).

References

- Baldassari, P. 1998. *Σεβαστοί σωτήρι : edilizia monumentale ad Atene durante il saeculum Augustum*, Rome.
- Bedford, F. O. 1817. Drawings and commentary in *The Unedited Antiquities of Athens, comprising the architectural remains of Eleusis, Rhamnus, Sunium, and Thoricus*, Chapter 9. Published by The Society of Dilettanti, London.
- Boersma, J. 1970. *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.*, Groningen.
- Bouras, Ch. 1967. *Η αναστήλωση της στοάς της Βραυρώνος. τα αρχιτεκτονικά προβλήματα*. Athens.
- Brett, C. E. B. 2002. *Buildings of North County Down*, Ulster Architectural Heritage Society. Belfast.
- Bruneau, P. and J. Ducat. 2005. *Guide de Délos*. Paris.
- Camp, J. M. 2001. *The Archaeology of Athens*, London.
- Camp, J. McK. 2010. *The Athenian Agora. Site Guide*, 5th ed., Princeton.
- Camp, J. McK., II. 2013. *In Search of Greece. Catalogue of an Exhibit of Drawings at the British Museum by Edward Dodwell and Simone Pomardi*, Los Altos, Cal.
- Coulton, J. J. 1976. *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, Oxford.
- Cust, L. and S. Colvin. 1898. *History of the Society of Dilettanti*, London.
- Dinsmoor, W. B. 1940. “The Temple of Ares,” *Hesperia* 9, pp. 1–52.
- Dinsmoor, W. B. 1950. *Ancient Greek Architecture*, 3rd ed., New York.
- Dinsmoor, W. B., Jr. 1974. “The Temple of Poseidon: A Missing Sima and Other Matters,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 78, pp. 211–238.
- Dinsmoor, W. B., Jr. 1982. “Anchoring Two Floating Temples,” *Hesperia* 51, pp. 410–452.
- Dodwell, E. 1819. *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the years 1801, 1805, and 1806*. London.
- Dyggve, E. 1960. *Fouilles de l’Acropole, 1902–1914 et 1952*. Vol. III.2. *Le sanctuaire d’Athana Lindia et l’architecture lindienne*, Berlin.
- Frantz, A. 1988. *The Athenian Agora*, XXIV. *Late antiquity, A.D. 267–700*, Princeton.
- Freitag, K. 1999. *Der Golf von Korinth: historisch-topographische Untersuchungen von der Archaik bis in das 1. Jh. v. Chr.*, Munich.
- Goette, H. R. 1991. “Die Steinbrüche von Sounion im Agrileza-Tal,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 106, pp. 201–222.
- Goette, H. R. 2001. *Athens, Attica and the Megarid: An Archaeological Guide*, London.
- Grammenos, D.V., ed. 2003. *Roman Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki.
- Gruben, G. 2001. *Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer*, Munich.
- Hansen, M. H. and R. H. Nielsen. 2004. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Oxford.
- Hellmann, M.-C. 2006. *L’architecture grecque*, Vol. 2, Paris.
- Higbie, C. 2003. *The Lindian Chronicle and the Greek creation of their past*, Oxford.

- Hollinshead, M. 2012. "Monumental Steps and the Shaping of Ceremony," in *Architecture of the Sacred. Space, Ritual and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*, ed. B. Wescoat and R. Ousterhout, Cambridge, pp. 27–65.
- Hornblower, S. 1991. *A Commentary on Thucydides, I, Books I–III*, Oxford.
- Humphreys, S. 2004. *Strangeness of the Gods*, Oxford.
- Kalpaxis, T. E. 1986. *Hemiteles: akzidentelle Unfertigkeit und "Bossen-Stil" in der griechischen Baukunst*, Mainz am Rhein.
- Knell, Heiner. 1973. "Der Artemistempel in Kalydon und der Poseidontempel in Molykreion," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, pp. 448–461.
- Korres, M. 1992–1998. "Από Σταυρό στην αρχαία Αγορά," *Horos* 10–12, pp. 83–104.
- Lauter, H. 1986. *Die Architektur des Hellenismus*, Darmstadt.
- Lauter, H., H. Lauter-Bufe, and P. Becker. 2004. "Die reifklassische Doppelstoa in Mantinea. Neue Daten," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 119, pp. 317–338.
- Leake, W. 1841. *The Topography of Athens and The Demi. II: The Demi of Attica*. 2nd ed. London.
- Le Roy, Julien-David. 2004 [1770]. *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments in Greece*, introduction by Robin Middleton, trans. David Britt, Los Angeles.
- Lethaby, W. 1908. *Greek Buildings Represented by Fragments in the British Museum*, London.
- Lippolis, E. 1988–1989. "Il santuario di Athana a Lindo," *Annuario della Scuola archaeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente* 48–49, pp. 97–157.
- Lippolis, E., M. Livadiotti, and G. Rocco. 2007. *Architettura greca. Storia e monumenti del mondo della polis dalle origini al V secolo*, Milan.
- Lupu, E. 2009. *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents*, Leiden.
- McAllister, M. H. 1959. "The Temple of Ares at Athens: A Review of the Evidence," *Hesperia* 28, pp. 1–64.
- Middleton, R. 2004. "Introduction," in Le Roy, Julien-David. 2004 [1770], *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments in Greece*, Los Angeles, pp. 1–199.
- Miles, M. M. 1989. "A Reconstruction of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous," *Hesperia* 58, pp. 131–249.
- Miles, M. M. 1998. *The Athenian Agora, XXXI. The City Eleusinion*, Princeton.
- Miles, M. M. 2008. *Art as Plunder. The Ancient Origins of Debate about Cultural Property*, Cambridge.
- Mitsopoulou Leon, V. 1983. "Die Südhalle von Elis," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 54: pp. 41–102. Mussche, H. F. 1964 [1967]. "Le Batiment dorique," in *Thorikos II*, ed. H. F. Mussche, Brussels, pp. 73–76.
- Mussche, H. F. 1994. "Thorikos During the Last Years of the 6th c. B.C." in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*, ed. W. Coulson et al., Oxbow Monograph 37, Exeter, pp. 211–215.
- Oikonomakou, M. 1994. "Άγιος Γεώργιος Θορικού (οικόπεδο Χρυσ. Ρώμα)." *Αρχαιολογικών Δελτίων* 49, pp. 64–66.
- Orlandos, A. 1924–25. "Μολύκρειον." *Αρχαιολογικών Δελτίων* 9, p. 63.
- Paepe, R. 1963 [1968]. "Le Cadre régional du site de Thorikos," in *Thorikos I*, ed. H. F. Mussche, Brussels, pp. 11–26.
- Paepe, R. 1966/67[1969]. "Geomorphic Surfaces and Quaternary Deposits of the Adami Area (S-E Attica)," in *Thorikos IV*, ed. H. F. Mussche, Brussels, pp. 7–52.
- Paepe, R. 1968[1971]. "Geo-electrical Prospection of the Temple Site Area in the Adami Plain," in *Thorikos V*, ed. H. F. Mussche, Brussels, pp. 9–16.
- Paga, J. 2010. "Deme Theaters in Attica and the Trittys System," *Hesperia* 79, pp. 351–384.
- Pakkanen, J. 1988. "The Column Shafts of the Propylaia and Stoa in the Sanctuary of Athena at Lindos," *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 2, pp. 147–159.
- Petrakos, B. 1994 [1995] "Θορικός," *To Ergon tes Archaialogikes Etaireias*, pp. 22–27.
- Petrakos, B. 1995 [1996] "Θορικός," *To Ergon tes Archaialogikes Etaireias*, pp. 20–23.
- Petrakos, B. 1996 [1997] "Θορικός," *To Ergon tes Archaialogikes Etaireias*, pp. 19–23.
- Petrakos, B. 1997 [1998] "Θορικός," *To Ergon tes Archaialogikes Etaireias*, pp. 23–34.
- Petronotis, A. 1980. "'Wandernde' Tempel I," in *ΣΤΗΛΗ, τόμος εις μνήμην Νικόλαου Κοντολέοντος*, ed. V. Lambrinoudakis, Athens, pp. 328–330.
- Pochmarski, E. 1990. "Zur Chronologie der S.-Stoa in Elis," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 60, pp. 7–17.
- Redford, B. 2008. *Dilettanti: The Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-century England*. Los Angeles.
- Shear, T. L. 1981. "Athens: from City-state to Provincial Town," *Hesperia* 51, pp. 356–377.
- Staïs, B. 1893. "Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Θορικῷ," *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaialogikes Etaireias*, pp. 12–17.
- Theocharaki, A. M. 2011. "The Ancient Circuit Wall of Athens: Its Changing Course and the Phases of Construction," *Hesperia* 80, pp. 71–156.
- Thompson, H. A. 1937. "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia* 6, pp. 1–226.
- Thompson, H. A. 1951. "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1951," *Hesperia* 21, pp. 83–113.
- Thompson, H. A. 1960. "Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1959," *Hesperia* 29, pp. 327–368.
- Thompson, H. A. 1981. "Athens Faces Adversity," *Hesperia* 50, pp. 343–355.
- Thompson, H. A. and R. E. Wycherley. 1972. *The Athenian Agora, XIV. The Agora of Athens*, Princeton.
- Travlos, J. 1988. *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika*, Tübingen.
- The Unedited Antiquities of Athens, comprising the architectural remains of Eleusis, Rhamnus, Sunium, and Thoricus*. 1817. London.
- Vanhove, D. 1994. "The Laurion Revisited," in *Studies in South Attica II*, ed. H. F. Mussche, Gent, pp. 30–75.
- Watkin, D. 2006. "Stuart and Revett: The Myth of Greece and Its Afterlife," in *James "Athenian" Stuart, 1713–1788. The Rediscovery of Antiquity*, ed. S. Soros, New Haven, pp. 19–57.
- Winter, F. 2006. *Studies in Hellenistic Architecture*, Toronto.