

THE THOLOS

A brief sketch of the history of the building as revealed by the excavations of 1934.

I. Documentary evidence:

- a. Ancient authors
- b. Lexicographers and scholiasts
- c. Inscriptions
 - s.v. Θόλος
 - s.v. σκιάς
 - s.v. Πρυτανικόν
- d. Modern writers

II. Archaeological evidence:

The five building periods

III. Structural considerations:

- a. Rubble packing in foundation trench at front
- b. Arrangement of interior columns

I.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

a. Ancient Authors:

Most modern commentators seem to feel the need for a Tholos in connection with the reforms of Kleisthenes at the end of the sixth century B.C.¹ The earliest reference in literature however is to be found in the speech of the orator Andocides, On the Mysteries (I 45), where, in telling the story of the mutilation of the Herms in 415 B.C. the speaker mentions the Tholos. Although the speech was delivered in 399, the Tholos is clearly spoken of as existing in 415.

The next reference is in Plato, Apology, 32, c, d, which was presumably written shortly after the death of Socrates in 399 B.C. Socrates tells how he was summoned to appear before the Thirty Tyrants in the Tholos in 405-4 B.C. Demosthenes in the oration De falsa legatione (XIX, 249 and 314 - cf. also 190) which was delivered in the summer of 343 B.C., and Aristotle in the Constitution of Athens (43, 3 and 44, 1) which was written before 325 B.C. also mention the Tholos.

Pausanias (I.5.1) who visited Athens about the middle of the second century A.D. saw it. Sextus Empiricus² has a note on the gender of the word. These are the only ancient authors who mention the building.

b. Lexicographers and Scholiasts:

The Tholos is frequently mentioned by lexicographers and scholiasts. In general they supply the information that it was also called Skias and Prytanikon,³ and that it was a round building in which the Prytaneis dined. Several of them also comment on the form of the roof, a subject which may be more conveniently treated later (p. 96f.).

Below is a list, arranged roughly in chronological order of the pertinent passages:

Harpocration, Lexicon, s.v. Θόλος. He quotes from the fourth book of Ammonias' work "On Altars," which is thus the earliest text which explains the word Θόλος⁴

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s.v. σκιάς
s.v. πρυτανεῖον 5

Pollux, Onomasticon, VIII, 155

Timaeus, Lexicon Platonicum, s.v. Θόλος

Photios, Λέξεις, s.v. Θόλος 1 and 2
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s.v. πρυτανεῖον

Etymologicon Magnum, s.v. Θόλος 1 and 2; cf. also
s.v. σκιάς

Bekker, Anecdota Graeca, p. 264, s.v. Θόλος

Scholiast on Demosthenes, XIX, 249 and 314

Scholiast on Aristophanes' Peace, 1183⁶

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The Tholos is mentioned under all three of its names in inscriptions. As Θόλος it appears in two inscriptions of the Roman period, I.G., III, 764⁷, and I.G., II², 1799, the latter mentioning some attendants, called οἰκέται τῆς Θόλου, not otherwise known. As σκιάς it appears in I.G., II², 957, l. 12 and 1013, ll. 1, 39, 56, and 65 (weights and measures), both of the second century B.C. Officials connected with the Tholos (ἐπι σκιάδος) are frequently mentioned in decrees of the second century A.D. honoring Prytaneis.⁸ Many decrees of the third and second centuries B.C. honoring Prytaneis were to be set up in the Πρυτανικόν.⁹

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Judeich's Topographie von Athen², p. 346 ff. gives references to ancient authors and modern articles. Wachsmuth in Stadt Athen, II, pp. 315 ff. quotes many of the pertinent ancient texts. Milchhoefer's Schriftquellen in Curtius' Stadtgeschichte von Athen is inadequate and inaccurate.

II.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

During the campaign of 1933 the porch of the Tholos, which lies almost entirely in Section Z was partially cleared (called Building B). It was not, however, until the campaign of 1934 that the main circular part of the building was discovered in Section B and recognized as the Tholos. During this campaign the whole building was cleared of the late fill and débris that covered it, and several exploratory trenches were dug near its center where the deep cellar of a modern house, number 631b,₂ 28 Poseidon Street, cut through the floor. The building thus lies completely exposed.

Five principal building periods can be recognized in the nine hundred years of the building's life.

Period I (ca. 500 B.C.)

To the first (earliest) period belong the porous blocks at the back of the building, well cut, carefully jointed, and with a thin layer of good stucco on their inner faces. These rest on bed rock, which has been carefully dressed to receive them. The isolated wall blocks on the N. and SE. certainly belong to the same series, but there is no conclusive evidence to show whether, as they now lie, they belong to the first or to the last period (Period V),-the two alternatives, I think.

To the first period also belong the three interior poros columns. One of these with its two course, square poros base is largely exposed at the SW. corner of the break in the floor made by the cellar of the modern house. The second, equidistant from the center of the building with the first, is partly exposed in the side of the late well at 17:18^B. Its single square poros base rests on bed-rock. Of the third column which is equidistant from the first two but slightly nearer the center of the building, and about on its axis, only a part of the top is exposed. Possible arrangements of these and the other interior columns which must have existed are discussed below, p. 13

Date of Period I

As noted above, p. 2 most modern commentators connect the building of the Tholos with the reforms of Kleisthenes. Archaeological evidence, as far as we have investigated this year, is in agreement with this conclusion. Although it is not yet certain, it is altogether likely that the sixth century B.C. fill which we dug in the modern cellar belongs with the first period, and lay beneath its floor. (No certain trace of the floor of the first period has yet been found however). If this is the case, then the building must be later than the latest sherd from this filling. B 822 (= P 3988, B.F. Skyphos fragment. *Female figure* Gorgon fleeing right) is one of the latest fragments. It together with two or three pieces of similar style ^{in box 5} can scarcely be much



before 500 B.C. and might be rather later. The fact, however, that not a scrap of red-figured pottery was found in this fill argues against the lower date. Thus, if this filling can be associated with the first period, we may say that the Tholos was surely conceived at the time of Kleisthenes' reforms, although it was perhaps not completed until a decade or so later. Further investigations must be made, however, and the pottery more closely studied.

We found no sign of a Persian destruction, but this is not surprising. The invaders probably contented themselves with burning whatever was burnable and perhaps knocking down some of the superstructure, but one would scarcely expect to find traces of their work in the lowest courses and in the foundations. It is possible, too, that the Tholos was one of the buildings that the Persian leaders took over for their quarters (Thucy., I, 89, 3). There is no trace of Persian destruction either in Period III of the Metroön, just to the North, which was also standing when they came.

Period II (end of IV century B.C.)

To period II belongs the floor of small irregularly shaped white marble tesserae, which is to be seen beneath the floor of Period IV at all points where the latter is broken. It lies at a considerably higher level than the original floor must have lain. The interior columns continued to support the roof in this period for the "mosaic" floor runs up to them but not over them. This

floor is probably to be associated with the burnt fill of the end of the fourth century B.C. which was the uppermost layer in the cellar (Boxes 1+2). It cannot be stated definitely that the floor actually rested on this fill, for the top of the fill in the cellar was 0.10 - 0.15 m. below the level of the bottom of the floor. It is altogether likely however, that this fill did originally reach up to the bottom of the floor, and that it was cut away by the diggers of the cellar. Immediately S. of the cellar the "mosaic" floor actually does rest on fill of the late IV century B.C., in which are traces of burning (Box 3, cf. below p. 17⁴). Other examples of this type of floor in the Agora are of the Roman period (Metroön, north room; section ΣΤ', with coins of late third century A.D.).

In the Tholos, however, this floor is covered by the marble paved floor of Period IV which is probably Hadrianic. It may be that this floor was put in at the time the porch was added (see below, Period III) but the possibility that it is of the fourth century is fairly strong. The pebble mosaics of Olynthus must have given much the same effect as ours. If pebbles at Olynthus, why not Pentelic marble at Athens?

Period III (2nd century B.C.)

The porch of the Tholos seems to have been added in the third building period. We have seen reason to date this in the second century B.C. ¹⁰ and to connect it with

the general remodeling of the Agora which seems to have taken place about the middle of that century. There is no trace of an earlier porch, nor any indication as to what sort of entrance the building had in the earlier periods.

If the marble "mosaic" floor cannot, on stylistic grounds, be assigned to the IV century, then it was probably put in when the porch was added, it being necessary at that time to raise the floor level.

Period IV - Hadrianic

The fourth period was one of great changes. The interior columns were cut off at floor level. The marble "mosaic" floor and the column tops were covered with a layer of cement in which were bedded large slabs of marble, white and blue; the white forming a cross on the main axes of the building, the blue filling the corners. The walls were strengthened on the outside with a packing of stones and cement which may be seen at various points but is best preserved at the back.

The cutting off of the columns and the "buttressing" probably mean that the building was roofed with a dome in this period, and it is to this dome that the late lexicographers doubtless refer when they say ¹¹ ὀροφὴν εἶχε περιφερῆ οἰκοδομητὴν οὐχὶ ξυλίνην ὡς τὰ ἄλλα οἰκοδομήματα."

Earlier references to the same thing, but more difficult of interpretation are Hesychius' two definitions of θόλος

1. στρογγυλοειδῆς οἶκος, δι' ὀστράκων εἰλη[μ]μένος
2. κυρίως μὲν καμάρα; καταχρηστικῶς δὲ οἶκος εἰς ὄξυ ἀπολήγουσαν ἔχων τὴν στέγην κατεσκευασμένος.

δι' ὀστράκων εἰλη[μ]μένος means on the face of it "covered (i.e. roofed) with tiles." But that is the normal method of roofing, and should hardly call for comment. εἰλη[μ]μένος probably means "^{domed}vaulted" - compare meanings III and IV of the derivative word εἶλημα in the new edition of Liddell and Scott. We may therefore render "^{domed}vaulted with tiles", and interpret "^{domed}vaulted, (and covered) with tiles" or "^{domed}vaulted with bricks." Κατεσκευασμένος appears to have the same force as οἰκοδομητήν in the later writers.

The passages in Hesychius are of further interest because of their probable date. As Hesychius says in his introduction, his work is based on a similar work by Diogenianus, with the addition of words from other lexicographers. Diogenianus flourished in the time of Hadrian. ¹² As the additions to his work by Hesychius were chiefly Homeric words we are fairly safe in assuming that the definitions of θόλος go back to the first half of the second century A.D.

Period V (Fourth century A.D.)

When the "Valerian Wall" was built toward the end of the third century A.D., the Tholos was left outside the city, and judging from the almost complete lack of superstruc-

ture in its immediate vicinity (or anywhere else for that matter) we may assume that it suffered the same fate as the other buildings of this part of the Agora - it was dismantled, and the blocks were carted off for use elsewhere, perhaps in the wall itself. Period V of which there are but few traces, appears to have been a cheap, shoddy rebuilding which lasted but a short time. To this period may be assigned the rubble construction on top of the isolated wall block on the SE side of the building, together with the plaster (with imprint of marble revetment slabs) on its inner face; the plaster on the inner face of the second course wall block at the back of the building; and the "mosaic" patch in the paving slabs, also toward the back. The mass of rough tiles (samples in tins) found in the fill of the late fourth century A.D. which lay on the floor of the building, are probably from the roof of this last period. The question as to whether the packing of stones in the wall trench belongs to this period or to the first, is discussed below, p. 12 The final destruction at the end of the fourth century A.D., at which time most of the marble paving slabs were ripped up, did not end the building's vicissitudes. A wall of the late Roman building in section Z (VI century A.D. ?) cut across the porch; the wall trench on the NE was pillaged in the tenth century; sherds of Turkish times tell us that the missing wall blocks at the back were pulled out in that period; the several pits and wells in the floor and wall trench are

also of Turkish times; and finally in the last century the builders of house $\frac{631b}{2}$ cut out a large square of the floor in digging their cellar.

III

STRUCTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

a. Rubble Packing in Foundation Trench at Front:

The foundations of the Tholos were in all cases carried down to bed-rock.¹⁵ At the back the rock was cut down somewhat to receive them, but toward the front (east) where it drops off sharply, a trench over 2.00 m. deep had to be cut. The foundations in this trench, as we found them, are not built as one would expect of large ashlar blocks. The trench was simply filled with a packing of rough, unworked field stones and earth and on this packing the isolated poros wall blocks on the N and SE rest.

What is the date of this packing? It must belong, I think, either to the first or to the last period. If the foundations were originally ashlar, one would not expect that they would be pulled out until the building was dismantled at the end of period IV, in which case the rubble belongs to period V. If they were originally of rubble, however, they probably remained unchanged throughout the building's life.

Rubble foundations would be most unusual in an important building of Greek times. The few sherds from

the packing are, however, certainly Greek and all that are definitely recognizable are of the sixth century B.C. Also, if the foundations were originally ashlar, it is hard to explain the complete disappearance of all the blocks in the deep foundation trench, whereas those at the back, at and above floor level, were untouched. Rubble construction in Greek times is strange, but rubble construction in Roman times without concrete is equally strange.

The evidence now available points to Period I as the date of these foundations, but it is not decisive. The question had best be left open pending further investigation.

b. Arrangement of Interior Columns:

Three interior columns have thus far come to light. As they are not equidistant from the center of the building, we cannot assume the simple ring of columns which we might expect, and some other arrangement must be sought. Nothing satisfactory has yet been found, and further investigations must be made. A few notes, however, may not be out of place. A circle drawn through the three exposed columns falls just at the edge of the floor of the building directly behind the porch. If we are to assume that the three columns are in position and formed part of an inner circle, ~~then we must assume~~, then we must assume a different and larger circle for the outer wall - for which there is absolutely no evidence. In this scheme also, two of the columns should fall just behind the porch, and there should be some trace of them on the inner edge of the foundation trench.

The fill here, however, appears undisturbed.

There is no reason at present to suppose that the outer wall of the building was ever anywhere other than where it now is. We must therefore seek some symmetrical arrangement of the columns within this circle. The only scheme which we have thus far tested was one which assumed that the middle column of the three (the one nearer the center) was not in position (I now feel convinced, however, that it is). We then placed two columns at equal intervals between the remaining two and thus obtained a circle of ten equally spaced. One of these should have fallen in a break in the floor just south of the cellar. We dug here but found none - only undisturbed fill of the fourth century B.C. on which the marble "mosaic" floor rested (cf. above, p. 8).

Eugene Vanderpool
Athens, October 1934.

N O T E S

1. cf. Judeich, Topographie von Athen², p. 68; Charbonneaux, B.C.H., 1925, p. 172, argues for a Tholos as early as the Solonian period.
2. Adversus Grammaticos, 148 (Bekker's edition, 1842, p. 633, l. 12)
3. This can be quite certainly proved. See accompanying note "Tholos and Prytanikon."
4. Charbonneaux, l.c. p. 161
5. cf. Tholos and Prytanikon, note 12
6. ibid., p. 1
7. Better text in 'Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1883, pp. 102-3
8. I.G., III, 2, indices p. 311, s.v. λειτουργός. Now published in I.G., II², Part II, Fasc. II. cf. comparatio numerorum, p. 831. Add Hesperia, III, 1, no. 43
9. cf. "Tholos and Prytanikon" where references to Corpus and Agora inscriptions are given.
10. Notebook, section B, p. 590. Re-used material; second century lamp fragment in earth packing between blocks
11. Etymologicum Magnum, s.v. θόλος 2 = Bekker, Anec. Graeca, p. 264 s.v. θόλος. cf. also Photios, Λέξεις s.v. θόλος 2
12. Schmid-Stahlin, Griechische Litteraturgeschichte, II, p. 874
13. Toward front they rest on ca. 0.15 m. of very hard sandy Geometric fill

extra

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SECTION B 1934

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(except those connected with the Tholos)

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E.V.

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skias

prytaneion

To the definition of prytaneion the word prytanikon must be added.

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Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll s.v. Tholos (1936)

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break in the floor made by the cellar of the modern house. The second, equidistant from the centre of the building with the first, is partly exposed in the side of the late well at 17/IB. Its single square poros base rests on bedrock. Of the third column which is equidistant from the first two but slightly nearer the centre of the building and about on its axis, only a part of the top is exposed. Possible arrangements of these and the other interior columns which must have existed are discussed below (p. 12).

Date of Period I :As noted above, p. 1, most modern commentators connect the building of the Tholos with the reforms of Kleisthenes. Archaeological evidence, as far as we have investigated this year, is in agreement with this conclusion. Although it is not yet certain, it is altogether likely that the sixth century B.C. fill which we dug in the modern cellar belongs with the first period and lay beneath its floor.

(No certain trace of the floor of the first period has yet been found, however). If this is the case, then the building must be later than the latest sherd from this filling. B 822 (P 3988) is one of the latest fragments. It, together with two or three pieces of similar style, can scarcely be much before 500 B.C. and might be rather later. The fact, however, that not a scrap of redfigured pottery was found in this fill argues against the lower date. Thus, if this can be associated with the first period, we may say that the Tholos was surely conceived at the time of Kleisthenes' reforms, although it was

perhaps not completed until a decade or so later. Further investigations must be made, however, and the pottery more closely studied.

We found no sign of a Persian destruction, but this is not surprising. The invaders probably contented themselves with burning whatever was burnable, and perhaps knocking down some of the superstructure, but one would scarcely expect to find traces of their work in the lowest courses, beneath the floor, and in the foundations. It is possible, too, that the Tholos was one of the buildings that the Persian leaders took over for their quarters (Thuc. I 89,c). There is no trace of Persian destruction, either, in Period III of the Metroon just to the north, which was also standing when they came.

Period II (End of Fourth Cent. B.C.)

To period II belongs the floor of small irregularly shaped white marble tesserae, which is to be seen beneath the floor of Period IV at all points where the latter is broken. It lies at a considerably higher level than the original floor must have laid. The interior columns continued to support the roof in this period, for the 'mosaic' floor runs up to them, but not over them. This floor is probably to be associated with the burnt fill of the end of the fourth century B.C. which was the uppermost layer in the cellar. (Boxes 1 and 2). It cannot be stated definitely

that the floor actually rested on this fill, for the top of the fill in the cellar was 0.10 - 0.15 below the level of the bottom of the floor. It is altogether likely, however, that this fill did originally reach up to the bottom of the floor and that it was cut down by the diggers of the cellar. Immediately south of the cellar the mosaic floor actually does rest on fill of the late fourth century B.C. in which are traces of burning. (Box 3; cf. p. 13).

Other examples of this type of floor in the Agora are of the Roman period. (Metroon, north room; section ΣΤ' with coins of the late third century A.D.) In the Tholos, however, this floor is covered by the marble paved floor of Period IV, which is probably Hadrianic. It may be that this floor was put in at the time the porch was added (see below, Period III) but the possibility that it is of the fourth century is fairly strong. The pebble mosaics of Olynthus must have given much the same effect as ours. If pebbles at Olynthus, why not Pentelic marble at Athens?

Period III (mid. Second Century B.C.)

The porch of the Tholos appears to have been added in a third building period. We have reason to date this in the second century B.C. (notebook, p. 590: reused material; second century lamp fragment in earth packing between blocks), and to connect it with the general remodeling of the Agora about the middle of that century. There is no trace of an

earlier porch, nor any indication as to what sort of an entrance the building had in the earlier periods.

If the marble 'mosaic' floor cannot on stylistic grounds be assigned to the fourth century, then it was probably put in when the porch was added, it being necessary at that time to raise the floor level.

Period IV (Hadrianic)

The fourth period was one of great changes. The interior columns were cut off at floor level. The marble mosaic floor and the column tops were covered with a layer of cement in which were bedded large slabs of marble, white and blue: the white forming a cross on the main axes of the building, the blue filling the corners. The walls were strengthened on the outside with a packing of stones and cement which may be seen at various points, but is best preserved at the back.

The cutting off of the columns, and the buttressing probably mean that the building was roofed with a dome in this period, and it is to this dome that the late lexicographers doubtless refer when they say ὀροφὴν εἶχε περιφερῆ οἰκοδομητὴν οὐχὶ ξυλίνην ὡς τὰ ἄλλα οἰκοδομήματα.

(Etym. Mag. s.v. tholos, 2 = Bekker, Anec. Graeca, p. 264 s.v. tholos. cf. also Photias, s.v. tholos, 2)

Earlier references to the same thing, but more difficult of interpretation are Hesychius' two definitions of Tholos:

1. στρογγυλοειδῆς οἶκος, δι' ὀστράκων εἰλη[μ]μένος :
2. κυρίως μὲν καμάρα: καταχρηστικῶς δὲ οἶκος εἰς ὃ ξύ ἀπολήγουσαν ἔχων τὴν στέγην κατεσκευασμένος.

δι' ὀστράκων εἰλη[μ]μένος means on the face of it 'covered (i.e. roofed) with tiles'. But that is the normal method of roofing, and should hardly call for comment. εἰλη[μ]μένος probably means 'domed'; compare meanings III and IV of the derivative word εἰλημα in the new edition of Liddell and Scott (a vault). We may therefore render 'domed with tiles' and interpret 'domed, (and covered) with tiles', or 'domed with bricks'. κατασκευασμένος seems to have the same force as the οἰκοδομητήν of the later writers.

The passages in Hesychius are of further interest because of their probable date. As Hesychius says in his introduction, his work is based on a similar work by Diogenianus, with the addition of words from other lexicographers. Diogenianus flourished in the time of Hadrian. (Schmid-Stählin, Gr. Litteratur-gesch. II, p. 874). As the additions to his work by Hesychius were chiefly Homeric words, we are fairly safe in assuming that the definitions of tholos go back to the first half of the second century A.D.

Period V (Fourth cent. A. D.)

When the "Valerian Wall" was built toward the end of the third century A. D., ~~and~~ the Tholos was left outside the city, and, judging from the almost complete lack of superstructure in its immediate vicinity (or anywhere else for that matter) we may assume that it suffered the same fate as the other buildings in this part of the Agora : it was dismantled and the blocks were carted off for use elsewhere,

perhaps in the wall itself.

Period V, of which there are but few traces, appears to have been a cheap shoddy rebuilding which lasted but a short time. To this period may be assigned the rubble construction on top of the isolated wall block on the southeast side of the building, together with the plaster (with imprint of marble revetment slabs) on its inner face; the plaster on the inner face of the second course wall block at the back of the building; and the 'mosaic' patch in the paving slabs, also toward the back. The mass of rough tiles (samples in tins 15-16) found in the fill of the late fourth century A.D. which lay on the floor of the building, is probably from the roof of this last period. The question as to whether the packing of stones in the wall trench belongs to this period or to the first is discussed below, p. 11 .

The final destruction at the end of the fourth century A. D., at which time most of the marble paving slabs were ripped up, did not end the building's vicissitudes. A wall of the late Roman building of section Z (sixth century A.D.?) cut across the porch; the wall trench on the northeast was pillaged in the tenth century; sherds of Turkish times tell us that the missing wall blocks at the back were pulled out in that period; the several pits and walls in the floor and wall trench are also of Turkish times; and finally in the last century the builders of house 63lb/2 cut out a large square of the floor in digging their cellar.

III. Structural Considerations.

a. Rubble Packing in Foundation Trench at Front.

The foundations of the Tholos were in all cases carried down to bed-rock. (Toward the front the rest on ca. 0.15m of very hard, sandy Geometric fill.) At the back the rock was cut down somewhat to receive them, but toward the front (east) where it drops off sharply a trench over 2.m deep had to be cut. The foundations in this trench, as we found them, are not built, as one would expect, of large ashlar blocks. The trench was simply filled with a packing of rough unworked field stones and earth, and on this packing the isolated poros wall blocks on the north and southeast rest.

What is the date of this packing? It must belong, I think, either to the first, or to the last, period. If the foundations were originally ashlar, one would not expect that they would be pulled out until the building was dismantled at the end of Period IV, in which case the rubble belongs to Period V. If they were originally rubble, however, they probably remained unchanged throughout the building's life.

Rubble foundations would be most unusual in an important building of Greek times. (cf. Heraion and some of the Treasuries at Olympia; also Dorpfeld's remarks on this kind of construction, Olympia, text, II, p. 28.) The few sherds from the packing are however certainly Greek, and all that are

definitely recognizable are of the sixth century B.C. Also, if the foundations were originally ashlar, it is hard to explain the complete disappearance of all the blocks in the deep foundation trench, whereas those at the back, at and above floor level, were untouched. Rubble construction in Greek times is strange, but rubble construction in Roman times without concrete is equally strange.

The evidence now available points to Period I as the date of these foundations, but it is not decisive. The question had best be left open pending further investigation.

b. Arrangement of Interior Columns.

Three interior columns have thus far come to light. As they are not equidistant from the centre of the building, we cannot assume the simple ring of columns which we might expect, and some other arrangement must be sought. Nothing satisfactory has yet been found, and further investigations must be made. A few notes, however, may not be out of place. A circle drawn through the three exposed columns falls just at the edge of the floor of the building, directly behind the porch. If we are to assume that the three columns are in position, and formed part of an inner circle, then we must assume a different and larger circle for the outer wall - for which there is absolutely no evidence. In this scheme also, two of the columns should fall just behind the porch, and there

should be some trace of them, on the inner edge of the foundation trench. The fill here, however, appears undisturbed.

There is no reason at present to suppose that the outer wall of the building was ever other than where it now is. We must therefore seek some symmetrical arrangement of columns within this circle. The only scheme which we have thus far tested was one which assumed that the middle column of the three (the one nearest the centre) was not in position. (I now feel convinced, however, that it is.) We then placed two columns at equal intervals between the remaining two and thus obtained a circle of ten equally spaced. One of these should have fallen in a break in the floor just south of the cellar. We dug here, but found none - only undisturbed fill of the fourth century B. C. on which the marble 'mosaic' floor rested (above, p. 7)/

IV Tholos and Prytanikon

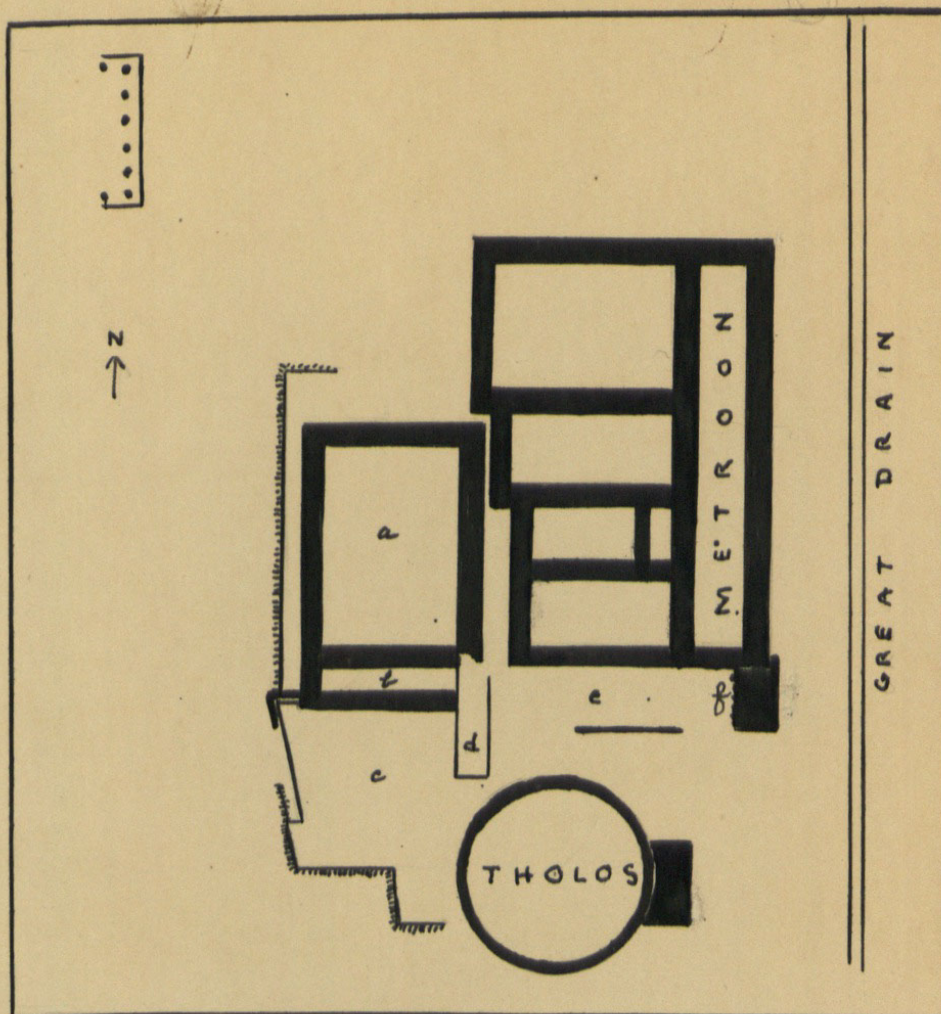
It has been suggested, but never adequately proved, that the prytanikon where decrees of the third and second centuries B.C., honoring Prytaneis were set up, was the Tholos, and its precinct (Köhler, Hermes, V, p. 340).
Judeich,^{2, p} p.304, note 7, rejects this. The 'identity' can be proved, however. Lexicographers and scholiasts frequently identify the Tholos with the Prytaneion, (the lexica of Timaeus, Photios and Suidas, s.v. tholos; Hesychius sv.

skias; Scholiast, Aristophanes, Peace, 1183). This is obviously untrue and has caused confusion. If, however, we substitute the rare word prytanikon for prytaneion in each case, the difficulties clear up at once.

The finding place of inscriptions which were to be set up in the prytanikon bears this out. They have been found in the neighborhood of the "Valerian Wall" and in the southwest corner of the Agora (i.e. near the Tholos). The latter are the significant ones. They are as follows:

Section OE	I.G. II ² , 674, 913, 918 (Oikonomos)
Section E	I 77, 165, 220
Section Z	I 247, 1024

Thus Kühler's suggestion can be proved both by a simple emendation and by the finding places of the pertinent inscriptions. (I have worked this out more fully elsewhere.)



SKETCH PLAN
(very sketchy)

SHOWING THE BOULEUTERION, ITS
APPROACH AND ITS RELATION TO
THE THOLOS AND THE METROON.

SCALE ROUGHLY 1:1000

Autumn 1934

THE BOULEUTERION

Section B (1934)
Vol. VI
p. 1165

I. Identification

In describing the buildings on the west side of the Agora, Pausanias is moving from north to south. After the temple of Apollo Patroos in I,3,4, he mentions the Metroon, (I,3,5) and near it, $\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$, the Bouleuterion. In I, 5,1 he says that near the Bouleuterion is the Tholos. Immediately after the Tholos he mentions the statues of the Eponymous Heroes, and then (I, 8,2 ff.) a number of other statues, the sanctuary of Ares, and an Odeum. Thus in the immediate vicinity of the Tholos he mentions but two important public buildings and these, judging from his description should lie to the north of it, between it and the Apollo Temple.

The Tholos was discovered in the campaign of 1934 in the northeastern part of Section B (notebook pp. 959 ff). Its shape leaves no doubt as to its identity. East of it lies the open square of the market place; south of it lies a small area bounded by the street and drain leading up toward the Pnyx and by the slopes of Kolonos Agoraios; to the southwest and west the hillside shows no trace of any large buildings which could be described as lying 'near' the Tholos. The area to the south has not yet been completely cleared, but enough has been done to show that it is not

large and contains only small foundations. To the northwest and north, however, are two large buildings one of which, accordingly, will be the Bouleuterion, the other the Metroon. They lie between the Tholos and the small prostyle temple at the north end of Section OE which is surely the Apollo Temple.

The Metroon will be the large building directly north of the Tholos in Sections OE and E, with a long porch facing the Agora square and four rooms of varying size behind (Cf. notebook OE p. 288 ff and E p. 718 ff). The Bouleuterion will be the building which lies northwest of the Tholos, mostly in the southwest corner of section OE, partly in the northwest corner of section B. There are no rival candidates which can claim these names, nor can one suggest any other identification for the buildings in question.

Roof tiles stamped with the name of the "Mother of the Gods" were found in the earliest destruction fill on the floor of the Bouleuterion, hence probably belonged to it, (B 497,498,504 - A 302-304). Others have been found in this general region (sections E,Z,H' and K), but nowhere else. This gives further indication that the precinct of the Mother of the Gods is to be sought in this neighborhood. That the Bouleuterion was closely connected with the Mother of the Gods has been inferred from literary sources.

These identifications then can be regarded as certain.

II. Description

The sketch plan (notebook, p. 1169) should make clear the various parts of the Bouleuterion and their relation to the Metroon and the Tholos.

The assembly hall (a) lies behind, (west), the Metroon, in Section OE, on a terrace formed mostly by cutting away the rock of the hillside, but partly by building up with porous blocks. It was a rectangular room, roughly 18.50 m. from north to south and 14.50 (?) from east to west. Its entrance was on the south, where a porch (b) doubtless with columns opened onto a large court (c). The court lies in section B. It too is cut back into the rock of the hill, from which it is separated by a retaining wall ('Heavy Roman Wall'). The approach to the court was from the east by a broad flight of steps of which only the foundation trench 2.70 m. wide remains (d) (North-south wall trench). To reach these steps from the main Agora square, one passed through a small gateway or propylon (f) (Building A of section Z) and through a passage (e) bounded on the north by the Metroon and on the south by a light polygonal wall.

III. Chronology

a. Construction

H.A.T. believes that in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., Period III of the Metroon (the great square limestone building), one building served both as Metroon and Bouleuterion, and that the Bouleuterion which has just been described was not

built until the second half of the fourth century B.C., possibly in the regime of the orator Lycurgus.

Archaeological evidence for the date of the building is in agreement with this theory:

- 1) The deep fill resting on the thick layer of marble dust in the 'pocket behind the heavy Roman wall' is of the second half of the fourth century B.C.
- 2) We may assume that the cistern project of which the wells at 15/Λ and 33/ΚΔ were a part was abandoned because of the building of the Bouleuterion. The fill in both these wells is of the second half of the fourth century B.C.
- 3) Building A of section Z, which is a part of the Bouleuterion complex (its only entrance from the square) appears to have been built in the second half of the fourth century B.C. (cf. the kantharos, Z 767-P 2404).
- 4) The style of construction of both the Bouleuterion proper and of the propylon fit the period.
- 5) Both the Bouleuterion and the propylon must have been standing in the second century B.C., when period IV of the Metroon was built (the period to which the most extensive remains belong) for the line of the back wall of the Metroon is not straight, but is accommodated to the wall of the Bouleuterion; and the north side of the propylon was cut back some 0.20m by the builders of period IV of the Metroon, so that the south wall of their building might rest on the full width of the existing foundations of period III.

III. Chronology
b. Repairs

The retaining wall about the court (Heavy Roman Wall) dates in its present form from the first century B.C. Whether or not it had a predecessor in Greek times cannot be said as yet, but it is likely that it did. The amount of broken up material in it (statues, inscriptions, etc.) suggests that it was built at a time when there was a mass of such material available, as there would have been after Sulla's sack of the city in 86 B.C. The Greek predecessor of the Heavy Roman Wall, whatever form it may have had, was destroyed in the sack, and replaced by the present wall. What happened to the Bouleuterion itself, we have no way of knowing. It was standing in Pausanias' time.

c. Destruction

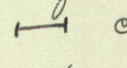
The Bouleuterion appears to have been destroyed in the third century A.D. The evidence for this is the fill on the floor of the court. For the building proper there is no evidence, as all the fill had been removed by the earlier excavators.

The earliest loose (destruction) fill on the floor of the court contains pottery of the second and third centuries A.D. Some of this fill comes from a significant place - against the face of the Heavy Roman Wall, where the original face is preserved (e.g. in the northwest angle). Where the

face of the wall has been destroyed as at the southwest angle the fill is of the fourth century A.D. This suggests that the building was destroyed or went out of use in the third century A.D., at which time fill began to accumulate in the court, (the presence of roof tiles, "Mother of the Gods", favors destruction). People of the fourth century A.D. in their search for building material took stone from the southwest angle of the wall and stirred things up generally in the court. The large number of late pits and cesspools, most of which rested on the floor of the court, stirred things up still more.

Coin associated with the construction of the New Bouleuterion.

The coins from the enclosed slip came from a well at the west edge of the Plateia in front of the new Bouleuterion which seems certainly to have been filled up at the time of construction of that building. They should, therefore, be not later than the building and should also agree with the other evidence bearing on ^{the date of that building} that date. The other evidence is as follows:

1. The style of construction of the Bouleuterion, its Propylon and the polygonal retaining wall which runs west from the Propylon, all parts of a single building program, suggests a date little if at all later than the end of the fourth century. In the Propylon, for instance, sporos was used for the foundations and the slip blocks were secured with  clamps; — ~~later on we find features which would be very exceptional at a later date.~~
2. The press of pottery found in the well along with the coins and in two other wells of the same system which were closed up at the same time agrees perfectly with that gathered from and significant places around the foundations of Bouleuterion, Propylon and retaining wall and is sufficient in bulk and consistency to provide very satisfactory evidence for the date of the building program. This pottery is somewhat later than that found in the houses of Olynthus, destroyed in 348 B.C., and finds close parallels in the earliest pottery from the cemeteries of Alexandria, founded in 332 B.C. The bulk of it may be dated with

assurance in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. and little if any need be later than the turn of the century.

3. The new Bouleuterion is the one which Pausanias saw and described. In it he noted a painting by Prologus the Samian. Prologus was a contemporary of Apelles which alone would suggest that his activity did not continue far into the fourth century. Demetrios Poliorchetes had met him in Rhodes during the winter of 305/4 B.C. and we may reasonably suppose that it was the friendship and influence of Demetrios that brought P. to Athens, perhaps in the following year, and found him this important commission and another in the Propylaea on the Acropolis. On the walls of the same building Pausanias saw also ^{the picture} ~~a picture~~ of Kallippos who led the Athenians against the Gauls in 279 B.C. We are entitled to assume that the Bouleuterion was completed by that date.

4. If we look for an historical occasion to justify about this time with which to associate the construction of the new Bouleuterion we find it in the formation of the two new tribes, ~~Antigonis~~ Antigonis and Demetrios in 307 B.C. The consequent addition to the number of councillors may well have necessitated a new building.

All these lines of reasoning point ~~very~~ clearly to the turn of the fourth and the third centuries as the date of construction of the new Bouleuterion and of the filling up of the well in which the coins in question were found. If the current chronology of the series of coins there represented is not in agreement, it might perhaps bear re-examination.

Sectum B. 1934.

Do not enter these in ink in notebook

B.M.C. xx, No. 192;
Svoronos, 103, 20

April	5	#1	15/AD, well to 2.00.	- Eleusis, struck in name of Eleusis. B.M.C. (attica) date 350-300 BC
"	"	#2	" " " "	Disintegrated
"	"	#3	" " " "	- Eleusis, struck in name of Eleusis. B.M.C. (attica) date 350-300 BC
"	"	#4	" " " "	Athens, 255-229 B.C. pl. 24, 34-57
"	9	#1	15/AD, well, dump. Dry upper earth.	Disintegrated
"	"	#2	" " " " " " " "	- Athens 297-255 B.C.? 23, 50-52
"	"	#3	" " " " " " " "	- Larissa 305-197 B.C. Rogers, p. 101, fig. 153.
"	"	#4	" " " " " " " "	Greek.
"	"	#5	" " " " " " " " muddy lower earth.	Athens, 255-229 B.C.
"	10	#1	" " " " to 3.25 m.	Ring
"	"	#2	" " " " " " " "	Eleusis - ?
"	11	#1	" " " " to 4.80 m.	- Athens 297-255 B.C. 22, 43-45.
"	12	#1	" " " " to depth?	Greek, possibly Athens.
"	18	#1	" " " " to 10.00 m.	" " "
"	"	#2	" " " " " " " "	" " "
"	19	#1	" " " " to 11.40 m.	Athens?
"	"	#2	" " " " " " " "	Greek.
"	"	#3	" " " " " " " "	- Athens, 297-255 B.C. 22, 35-45.
"	"	#4	" " " " " " " "	Athens, 255-229 B.C.
"	"	#5	" " " " " " " "	Disintegrated
"	20	#1	33/KA well, chamber. (not on list mistake)	Athens, New Style 229-30 B.C. ? X
"	24	#1	15/AD well to depth.	Athens 255-229 B.C.
"	"	#2	" " " " " " " "	Disintegrated
May	2	#1	" " " " 13.50 m.	Disintegrated
"	4	#1	" " " " 14.25 m.	- Athens 339-297 B.C. 22, 85-88, 5A Tetra drachma. 17, 198-20
"	10	#3	" " " " dump, dry upper earth.	{ Athens 365-359 - from conquest of Samos to Epeiros of Philip
"	"	#4	" " " " " " " "	- Athens 297-255 B.C.
"	"	#5	" " " " " " " "	" " " " ?

E. Rogers, The Copper Coinage of Hecale, London 1932, p. 93 - after Demetrium Poliorcetes had proclaimed the freedom

2767 - kantharos } of 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100
2765 - dish

