

THE ANNEX TO THE STOA OF ZEUS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 55-58)

IN discussions of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios since its discovery thirty-five years ago little attention has been paid to the two-roomed Annex that was erected behind the main building in the early Roman period. Serious problems still exist with regard both to the plan of this Annex and its function. In the following pages an attempt is made to define these problems and to suggest solutions; the evidence now available does not permit definitive answers.¹

The Stoa of Zeus, dating probably from the Peace of Nikias (421-415 B.C.), is one of the few buildings that may claim kinship with the Propylaia and hence with one of our honorand's favorite architects. It is hoped that even this late chapter in the history of the Stoa may prove of some interest to Professor Dinsmoor.

PLAN OF THE ANNEX

The Annex was set down in a deep pit hewn out of the living rock behind the Stoa (Figs. 1, 2; Pls. 55, 56, 58). Along the west side this meant the removal of about five meters of rock. The construction also involved the demolition of a small earlier structure that had stood behind the Stoa in its northern part (see below, p. 179). The architect evidently aimed to center his building on the axis of the Stoa. In fact, however, the axis of the new building falls 0.94 m. north of the axis of the old. The discrepancy was probably due to the need of avoiding the northeast corner of the large building of the Hellenistic period that rose between the Stoa and the Temple of Hephaistos.² The east front of the Annex appears to have fallen in the line of the retaining wall that protected the back of the Stoa; the upper part of the retaining wall was presumably demolished to admit the new construction. The outline of the building approximated a square, measuring 16.70 m. north to south, 15.30 m. east to west. A median east-to-west wall divided the building into two chambers of equal size, each

¹ For the excavation reports cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 124-126 (R. Stillwell) and VI, 1937, pp. 59-64 (H. A. Thompson). The principal references to the Stoa of Zeus in modern literature have been listed recently by E. Vanderpool in *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 289-291. For the ancient testimonia cf. R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, III: *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton, 1957, pp. 21-31. It is here assumed that the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and the Stoa Basileios were one and the same building.

For the position of the Stoa on the west side of the Agora cf. the general plans in the first number of this volume, pp. 38-39, figs. 1, 2.

² Cf. *The Athenian Agora, a Guide*², 1962, p. 43. The building has not yet been thoroughly studied. It is conjecturally identified as a state arsenal.

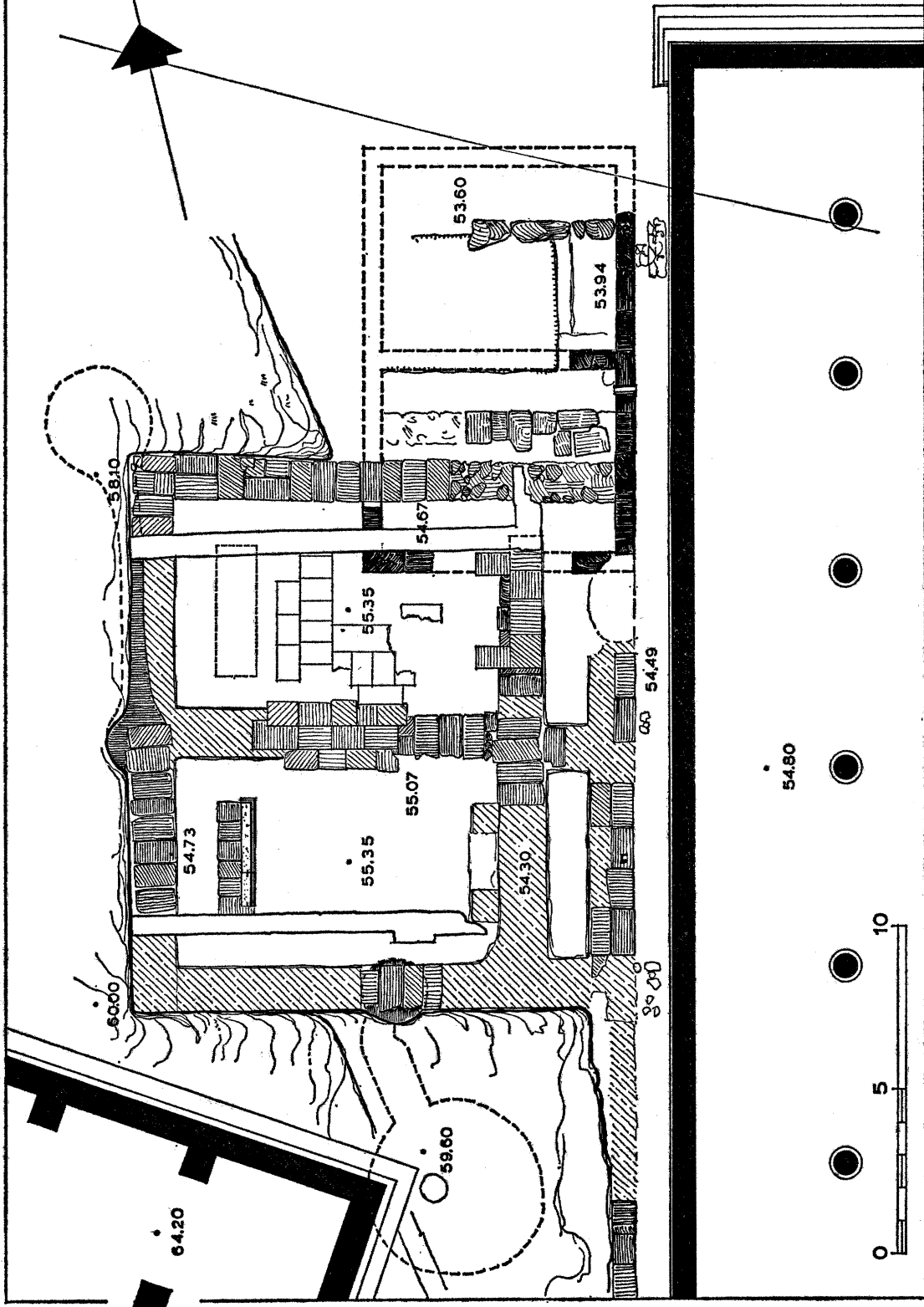


Fig. 1. Stoa Annex: Actual State

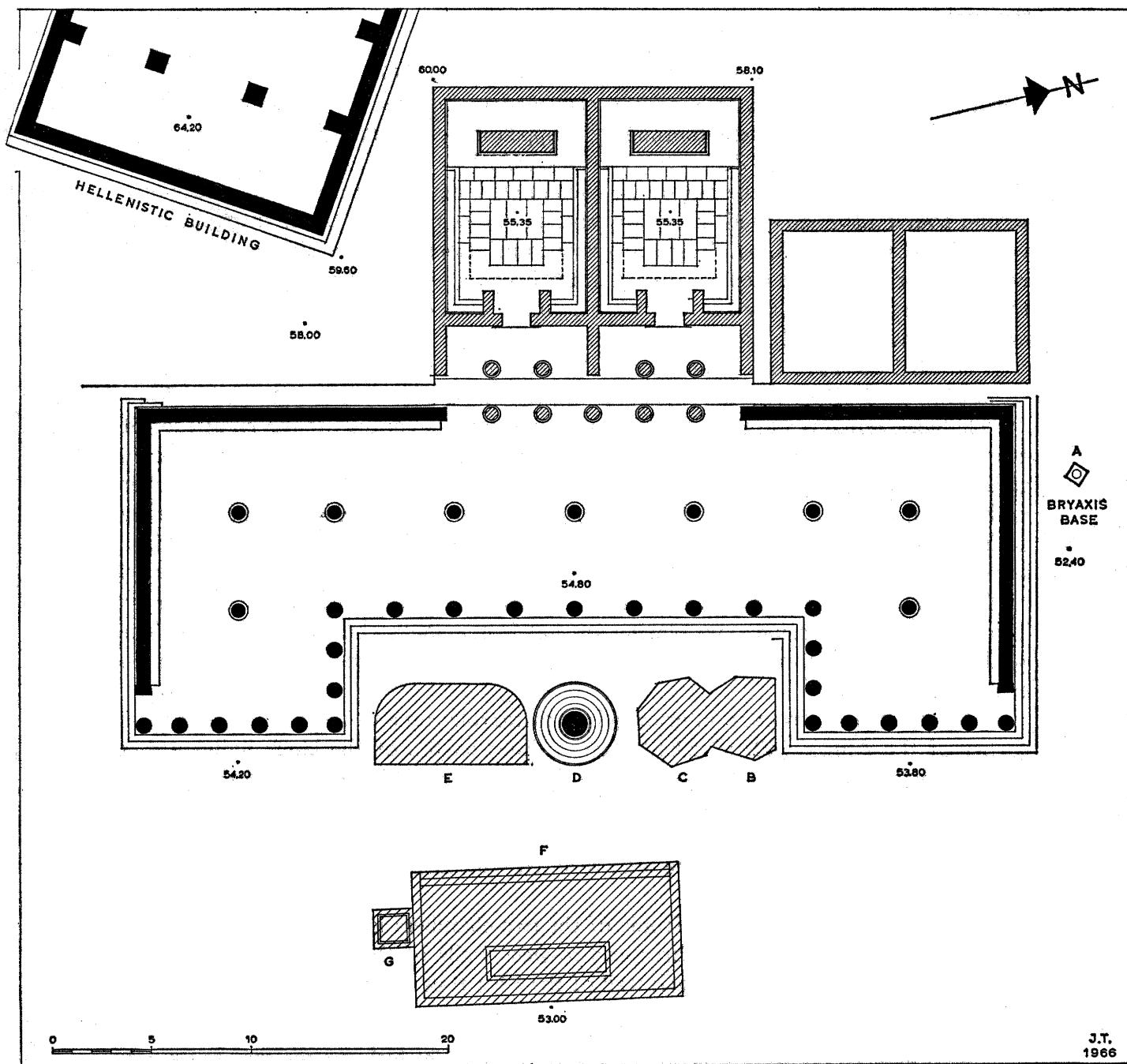


FIG. 2. Stoa of Zeus and Annex: Restored

of which faced eastward through a forehall, presumably distyle in antis. An unroofed passage a little over 1 m. in width between Stoa and Annex took care of water from the roofs.

The lowest foundations of the Annex consisted for the most part of re-used conglomerate blocks laid as headers in a trench in the rock. Over the east part of the north side where the rock was lower this course was supported on a packing of broken stone. The building was very thoroughly stripped in late antiquity, presumably after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. Only scattered blocks even of the lowest foundation course remain *in situ*. In the line of the median wall, however, three poros blocks of a second course have survived; these are re-used blocks probably taken from the back wall of the Stoa (Pl. 55, b). Supplementary foundations to either side of the median wall were probably intended to support stone benches which may be restored also on the opposite side of each room. At the east end of each chamber a pair of small piers extended inward, clearly to flank an entrance.

Toward the back of the south chamber are the remains of a large statue base measuring *ca.* 1.275 x 3.98 m. (Pl. 56).³ Of the crowning course of the pedestal one marble block remains (Fig. 3; Pl. 56, b); in its top is a socket for the right foot of a bronze statue of somewhat more than life size. The base could have accommodated three figures of similar scale. In the corresponding position in the north chamber nothing remains of a pedestal. The existence of a monument base in this chamber may be inferred, however, from the arrangement of the marble floor of which some slabs were found *in situ*. The design of the floor may be restored most logically with a panel of three large slabs centered in the space between the entrance piers and a monument base similar in dimensions and placing to that in the south chamber (Fig. 2). The wall benches appear to have been confined to the space in front of the pedestal in each room.

A corner block from an interior geison of marble came to light in the southwest corner of the Annex (Pl. 57 a,b).⁴ Setting lines on top of the block indicate that the face of the wall above the cornice rose in a plane *ca.* 0.20 m. back of the face of the wall below. This suggests that the upper part of the wall was given some special treatment, perhaps panelling with pilasters or attached half columns (Fig. 4). In its lower part the wall may well have been revetted with marble, but for this there is no positive evidence.

The restoration of the east fronts of the two chambers is somewhat problematic. In the earlier publications the three east-to-west walls of the Annex were assumed to have carried through to the back wall of the Stoa thus creating a deep forehall for

³ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 61-63, figs. 37, 38.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 63, fig. 39. The block is evidently re-used. The back and one end are cut with the saw, and the remnant of an original sloping top at the outer edge indicates that the block was originally designed for a structure with a pitched roof.

each chamber with access from the Stoa either through a simple doorway cut in the wall of the old building or between columns set in the line of that wall.⁵ Closer examination, however, has failed to reveal satisfactory foundations for cross walls in the corridor between the Stoa and its retaining wall. We are therefore driven to suppose that the Annex, as noted above, stopped on the line of the retaining wall

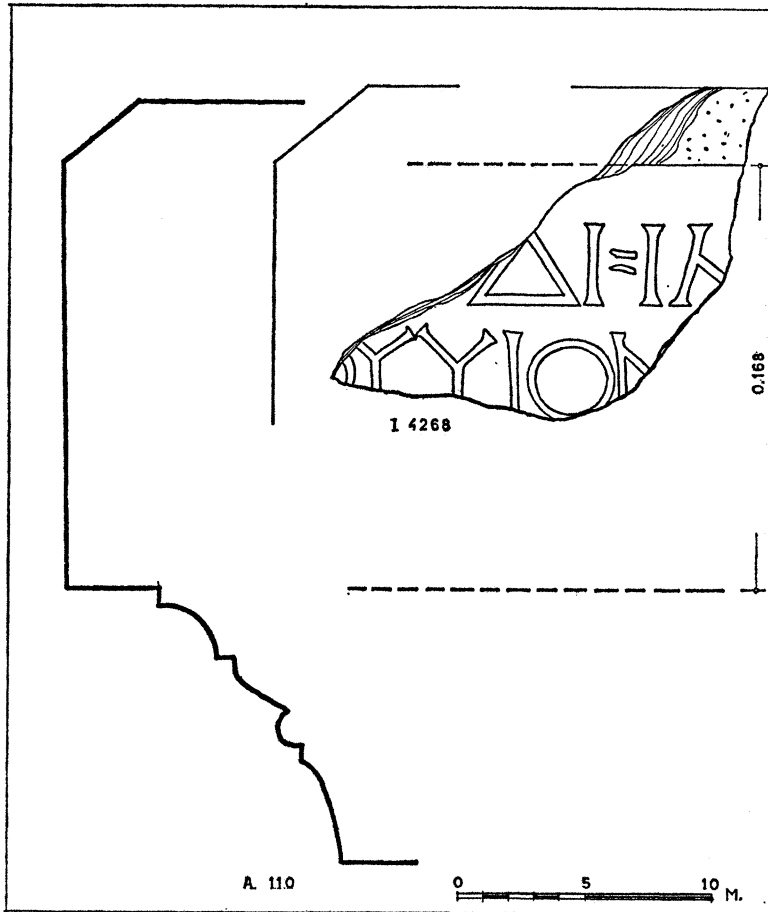


FIG. 3. Pedestal in South Cella: Profile of Crowning Member and Fragmentary Inscription (I 4268)

(Fig. 2; Pl. 58). Nevertheless, in view of the studied relation in plan between the Annex and the Stoa, it may be taken as certain that the Annex was entered through the back wall of the Stoa. The cella-like nature of the two chambers is so apparent that one can scarcely do otherwise than restore their forehalls distyle in antis (Fig. 2). We are now driven to open the back wall of the Stoa over the width of the Annex in

⁵ For the first solution cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pl. II; for the second *Agora Guide*², fig. 9.

order to allow these porches to show to advantage. A section of the old wall was presumably demolished and replaced with a colonnade.

In addition to the disturbance in its back wall another major alteration in the Stoa may be assigned to the period of the Annex. This was the laying of a marble

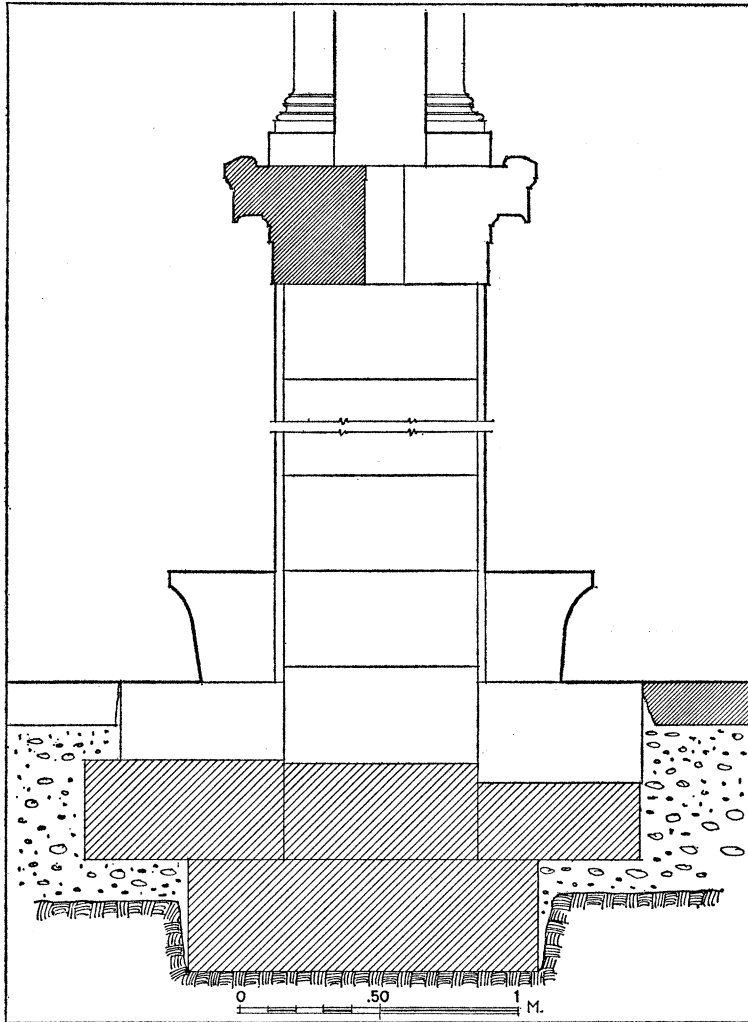


FIG. 4. Stoa Annex: Restored Section of Median Wall

floor. As observed in the original publication, the excavation revealed an untrodden earth surface throughout the Stoa at an average level *ca.* 0.40 m. below the stylobate.⁶ It is clear that the flooring proper had been entirely removed in late antiquity. The only type of surfacing that is likely to have disappeared so completely is a floor of

⁶ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 23.

marble slabs. It is inconceivable, however, that an Athenian stoa of the 5th century B.C. should have been provided originally with a marble floor; the original will surely have been of clay or of some simple type of mosaic. We may infer, therefore, that the marble floor dates from the time of the Annex and that it was intended to bring the old building into line with the new.⁷

Another alteration that is in all likelihood contemporary with the Annex is the enlargement of a structure in front of the Stoa (Fig. 2, F; Pl. 58). Reason was shown in the original publication for believing that this structure was an altar built originally to serve a pre-Stoa sanctuary, perhaps of Zeus, but retained after the construction of the Stoa and eventually extended.⁸ Although the remains of both periods are tenuous, the identification as an altar still seems the most plausible. The change of scale in the remodeling was very considerable: from *ca.* 3.65 x 1.22 m. + to 13.25 x 7.20 m. In the earlier report the remodelling was conjectured to be little later than the latest associated pottery, i.e. 2nd century B.C. Since, however, the new structure was made of second-hand material like that used in the Annex and put together in much the same way, we may associate the remodelling with the construction of the Annex.

The relationship between Annex and altar finds an illuminating parallel in the Metroon farther south on the west side of the Agora. There a monument that is clearly an altar (Pl. 58) stands in front of a room in the Metroon complex which by reason of its temple-like plan has been identified as the actual cult place of the Mother of the Gods from the 2nd century B.C. onwards.⁹ Beneath the Hellenistic altar are the remains of a more modest predecessor. On this analogy the great altar in front of the Stoa of Zeus may be associated with the temple-like chambers of the Stoa Annex. The altar, to be sure, is not centered exactly on the Stoa or its Annex; this may have been due to a desire to have the altar in its new form directly above the old.

⁷ Marble slab floors of early Roman date occur elsewhere in the Agora, e.g. in the paved area between the Temple of Ares and its altar (*Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 3) and in the cella of the Southeast Temple (*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 339). In the Southeast Temple, as probably also in the Stoa Annex, the marble flooring was confined to the area in front of the statue base; the rear part of the cella was floored with clay. Numerous examples of marble slab floors of early imperial times exist also at Corinth, for example in the South Stoa as rebuilt: O. Broneer, *Corinth*, I, iv, *The South Stoa*, Princeton, 1954, *passim*. The marble floor in the *édifice à paraskénia* in the agora of Thasos is also, in all probability, an addition of the Roman period (R. Martin, *Études Thasiennes*, VI, *L'Agora*, Paris, 1959, pp. 66, 90, 99). Our French colleagues raise the question whether this may not be the *μαρμάρινον στρώμα* of *I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 380, dedicated in a temple of Roma and Augustus.

⁸ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 10-12, figs. 5 and 126. The fact that the eastern half was more deeply founded than the western favors the identification as an altar with a flight of steps leading up from the west.

⁹ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 188. For the revised, and undoubtedly more correct, restoration cf. *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors*, 1940, Addenda; *Agora Guide*², pp. 48f.

The limited amount of pottery found in the floor packing of the Annex runs down into the time of Augustus proving that the construction must be at least that late. This same packing contained, along with other fragmentary architectural members, a spout from a marble sima of late archaic date of which a couple of other pieces were re-used in a drain that issued from the orchestra of the Odeion of Agrippa, a building datable to *ca.* 15 B.C.¹⁰ The sima and the other re-used material were presumably spoils from the sack by Sulla in 86 B.C. The combined evidence points to a date for the Annex not earlier than the Augustan period and probably not much later. Annex and Stoa undoubtedly went down together in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 and both must have been stripped of stone soon thereafter by the builders of the Late Roman Fortification.

EARLIER AND LATER BUILDINGS ON THE SITE OF THE ANNEX

The Annex is not the only structure known to have stood behind the Stoa. The configuration of Kolonos was such that a retaining wall was needed behind only the southern two-thirds of the Stoa. In the northern third the shoulder of rock retreated westward, and the ground level immediately behind the Stoa lay well below the floor level inside the building. The plan (Fig. 1) shows a clean-cut rock scarp running northwest from the north wall of the Annex; the cutting is certainly earlier than the Annex and may in fact be earlier than the Stoa. The southern limit of the cutting has not been fixed beneath the later foundations by which it is now overlaid. The open space bounded by the scarp on the west and south, by the Stoa on the east and by an ancient road on the north was occupied by a succession of buildings of which only tenuous remains have survived.

The earliest of this series of structures (Fig. 1) is now represented by a short length of wall of Acropolis limestone in simple polygonal masonry set close against the back foundation of the Stoa. The thickness of the wall is 0.45 m.; it is preserved to a length of 1.70 m. and is broken away at both ends. From its west face a cross wall leads westward. Since nothing more of this building has come to light its plan cannot be recovered. The style of masonry, small stones stacked between large, points to a date in the 4th century B.C.

The first building was replaced by another (Fig. 1), the east front of which continued the line of the Stoa retaining wall and so was separated from the Stoa by an alley *ca.* 0.90 m. wide. The south end of this building is preserved beneath the northeast corner of the Annex; it had an east to west width of *ca.* 8.30 m. Its east wall is preserved to a length of 11 m. A short length of interior east-west wall permits the restoration of a south room with interior dimensions of *ca.* 7.10 x 5.60 m. A second room of approximately the same size to the north would have utilized most of the space without obscuring the northwest corner of the Stoa.

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 97f.

The walls of this second building are made in their lower part of large squared blocks of poros and conglomerate set on edge in a single row; the upper part was presumably of sun-dried brick. The inner faces of the blocks in the east wall of the north room are covered with fine red stucco over the upper two-thirds of their height. Since the stucco does not carry across the joints it must derive from an earlier use. That an abundance of old building material was available at this time is indicated by the fact that over two dozen blocks similar to those employed in the walls were used to raise the ground level in the north room; they were found standing on edge, buried beneath the earth floor. Since the rising rock excluded entrance on the west and south sides, and since there is no indication of doorways in the east wall, the building was presumably entered from the north, i.e. from the street. Its floor level was *ca.* 1.10 m. lower than that of the Stoa, and must have been approximately flush with the surface of the road to the north. A small terracotta drain set in the east wall of the building near the northeast corner of its south room presumably flowed into the passage back of the Stoa.

The ceramic evidence indicates a date in the 2nd century B.C. for the second building.

This structure was in large part demolished by the builders of the Annex and was then re-erected farther north (Fig. 2). The original east wall was retained, but new east-to-west walls were built. The foundation for the south wall of the new structure immediately adjoins the north foundation of the Annex. The south room of the new building has the same width as its predecessor; a second room of equal width to the north would have carried the building to the corner of the Stoa. The two new east-to-west walls are preserved only to a length of 5 meters in their eastern parts so that the overall east-to-west dimension cannot be determined.

The foundations of the new building are quite different from those of the earlier. The south wall rested on a platform made of miscellaneous material: conglomerate blocks, marble slabs, a fragmentary poros column shaft. Beneath this course is a loose packing of broken stone. The underpinning for the north wall of the south room, which is all that remains of this wall, consists of a single row of irregular masses of the local stone: evidently spoil from the quarrying for the Annex.

The floor level of the new building as indicated by the nature of its foundations was approximately the same as that of the Annex and hence more than a meter above that of its predecessor. Since the new building, like the old, was presumably entered through its north side from the street, the level of the street may be assumed to have risen in the interval.

No clue has been found to the purpose of these buildings.

Long after the abandonment and demolition of the Annex in the late 3rd century the site was re-occupied. Of the new building now erected there remain two east-to-west walls that run the full length of the old cellae (Fig. 1). Toward the west they

abut against the rock scarp (Pl. 56); on the east they were joined by a wall resting on the foundation of the front wall of the Annex. The building thus constituted was square, *ca.* 12.25 m. to the side. As the plan shows, the new walls were centered *ca.* 2 m. inside the old. It would appear that an intermediate wall of this period, or perhaps a row of columns, stood on the interior east-to-west foundation of the Annex, and that the purpose of drawing in the north and south sides of the new building was to reduce the spans to be roofed. An ill-defined floor of tramped earth was observed about one meter above the marble paving of the Annex. The walls of this latest building consist of large squared poros blocks evidently taken from the foundation of the earlier buildings on the site. They are laid as stretchers in a single row, and the joints are rudely chinked with small stones set in crumbly gray mortar. Access to the building was surely from the east, and it may be that something of the original doorways of the Annex remained to be re-used. Although there is no specific evidence for its date, the high level of its floor in relation to the stratified deposits above the ruins of the Stoa would suggest a time in the 5th century. In view of its utter rudeness the building presumably served some simple utilitarian purpose.

IDENTIFICATION

In view of the temple-like plan of the compartments and the presence of the altar-like structure in front of the Stoa, there can be little doubt that we have to do with a pair of shrines. The great effort expended in bringing the Annex into organic relationship with the Stoa suggests that the new cult (or cults) was related in some way to the cult of Zeus Eleutherios that had existed here for centuries.¹¹ In view of its intrusion into one of the principal sanctuaries of Zeus in Athens and into a highly esteemed old building the new cult must be assumed to have been of very considerable importance, at least at the time of its foundation. The modest construction of the Annex, particularly the extensive use of second-hand building materials, points to the city as the authority responsible for the building. No foreign benefactor such as a prince or the imperial government is likely to have built so parsimoniously, whereas the construction is typical of projects carried out by Athens or by Athenians in the long period of depression between the Sullan catastrophe and the time of Hadrian.¹²

¹¹ The existence of a cult is demonstrated by repeated references in the inscriptions to priests, sometimes of Zeus Eleutherios, sometimes of Zeus Soter (*Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, No. 43 and p. 30). The identity of Zeus Eleutherios and Zeus Soter is explicitly affirmed by *op. cit.*, No. 24 (Schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1175) and No. 27 (Harpokration), and may be inferred from No. 43 (*I.G.*, II², 689, lines 28-29) according to which a stele recording honors to a priest of Zeus Soter was to be set up near the Stoa of Zeus (i.e. of Zeus Eleutherios).

¹² Very little construction of any kind can be attributed to this period. In the Agora may be noted the porch of the Tholos, the propylon leading into the precinct south of the Tholos, the Southwest and the Southeast Temples, the Market of Caesar and Augustus and the Library of Pantainos. All these structures, including even the Market, contain a large proportion of re-used material, salvaged no doubt from buildings damaged in 86 B.C. In both the Market and the Library

The most specific evidence for the identification of the new cult or cults would have been given, of course, by the inscriptions on the statue bases in the cellae. Of these inscriptions only one tantalizingly small fragment has thus far come to light: $\delta] \Delta\eta\mu[os \dots | \dots] \sigma\nu \nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu[\dots$ (Fig. 3; Pl. 57, c).¹³ This piece had been re-used in a late wall in the south cella; its surface finish and the chamfered profile of its top indicate that it comes from the crowning member of the pedestal in the south room. The spacing calls for three lines of text on the face of the block. We have to do with a dedication by the Demos (with which the Boule may or may not have been associated) in honor of one of the persons (presumably three in number) whose statues stood on the pedestal. Part of only one name remains. The use of the word $\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ (= *filius*) in place of the patronymic in the genitive favors the restoration of a Roman name. For the dating of the inscription we have little evidence apart from the letter forms, a notoriously treacherous criterion in the long period of eclecticism beginning in the 1st century B.C. Close parallels may be found, however, both for the general style of the writing and for the shapes of mu, nu and upsilon in certain dedicatory inscriptions of the Augustan period,¹⁴ but the possibility of a date almost anywhere within the first century after Christ must certainly be admitted.

All the conditions for the identification of the Annex appear to be met most easily on the hypothesis that the pedestal in the south room was occupied by a group of members of the imperial family. This in itself was a familiar phenomenon throughout the Roman world and is well attested, for instance, on the Athenian Acropolis,¹⁵ at Corinth,¹⁶ at Gythion¹⁷ and at Apollonia in Phrygia.¹⁸ Since the presence of the altar

new material seems to have been used only in the most prominent parts, viz. the porches. The round temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis is exceptional: the superstructure displays new masonry of a very respectable quality, but even here a damaged geison from the Erechtheion is reported in the foundations (G. P. Stevens, J. M. Paton, *et al.*, *The Erechtheum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1927, pp. 75, 479). The construction of all the above buildings was presumably initiated and financed chiefly by local authorities or individuals. The Odeion built by Agrippa and the Temple of Ares as transplanted at this time, apparently on imperial initiative, give evidence of more ample means in both material and workmanship.

¹³ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 62.

¹⁴ Among the more pertinent parallels are *I.G.*, II-III², 2953 (E. Loewy, *Inschriften Griechischer Bildhauer*, Leipzig, 1885, No. 323) and 3253 (J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*², Berlin, 1948, no. 120), both datable within the principate of Augustus.

¹⁵ *I.G.*, II-III², 3253-3256: a series of bases for statues dedicated by the demos in A.D. 4 in honor of Augustus, Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus son of Tiberius; the blocks were re-used from a monument of the 4th century B.C.

¹⁶ Saul S. Weinberg, *Corinth*, I, v, *The Southeast Building, The Twin Basilicas, the Mosaic House*, Princeton, 1960, pp. 53f. In the ruins of the Julian Basilica that closed the east end of the Agora was found a series of imperial statues beginning with Augustus and running down to the time of Hadrian. Among them has been recognized a Julio-Claudian family group. Some at least of the statues stood in exhedrai at the back of the basilica.

¹⁷ *S.E.G.*, XI, 1954, Nos. 922, 923. The agoranomos in charge of games in memory of Augustus (Caesarea) was instructed to set up three bases to support statues of Augustus, Livia and Tiberius, the statues to be supplied by the city of Gythion.

in front of the Stoa implies worship, we may go on to hypothesize an imperial cult in the Annex.

Epigraphical evidence attests a cult of the emperor in the lower city.¹⁹ In the dedicatory inscription of the round temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis there is mention of the "Priest of the Goddess Roma and of Augustus Soter on the Acropolis."²⁰ The final phrase is pointless unless there existed at the same time another cult of the emperor elsewhere than on the Acropolis. Confirmation is given by the inscriptions on the seats in the Theater of Dionysos which designate separate places for the "Priest of the Goddess Roma and Augustus Caesar"²¹ and for the "Priest and High Priest of Augustus Caesar."²² Another theater seat is inscribed "Priest of Demos and the Graces and Roma,"²³ reminding us that the worship of Roma was also duplicated in the lower city; her cult had been added, at some unknown date, to the older cult of Demos and the Graces in the small sanctuary at the north foot of Kolonos Agoraios, literally around the corner from the Stoa Annex.²⁴

The Stoa Annex was suitable as a location for the imperial cult in the lower town. Various links connect other members of the Julio-Claudian family with the

¹⁸ *M.A.M.A.*, IV, 1933, pp. 48-56, no. 143. On a long pedestal stood a statue of Augustus flanked on his right by Tiberius and Germanicus, on his left by Livia and Drusus. On the front of the pedestal was inscribed a Greek version of the *Res Gestae*. For an illuminating general discussion of the cults of Roma and Augustus in Asia Minor cf. D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton, 1950, pp. 447-449, 470 f. D. M. Pippidi, in a new study of an inscription recording the construction of a temple of Augustus in Histria, has recently reviewed the evidence for the imperial cult in the time of Augustus in the eastern provinces: *Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte Histrias in Hellenistischer und Römischer Zeit*, Berlin, 1962 (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft, 34), pp. 101-105: "Ein Augustus Tempel in der Dobrudscha."

I have profited greatly from discussion of the imperial cult with Dr. Victorine v. Gonzenbach Clairmont.

¹⁹ For recent discussions of the cult of Augustus in Athens cf. P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, Cairo, 1927, pp. 149-158; J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, Baltimore, 1950, pp. 92f.; A. Benjamin and A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 83-85; L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau, *Le Culte des Souverains dans la Civilisation Gréco-romaine*, Tournai, 1957, pp. 330-332.

²⁰ *I.G.*, II-III², 3173. On the temple and the circumstances of its dedication cf. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 30, 31, 150, 180ff.

²¹ *I.G.*, II-III², 5114.

²² *I.G.*, II-III², 5034.

²³ *I.G.*, II-III², 5047. On the sanctuary cf. *Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, Nos. 125-132.

²⁴ *I.G.*, II-III², 3179 contains a dedication by the Demos to the goddess Roma and Augustus inscribed on an altar. The document, however, is known only from Pittakis who reports its discovery near the Church of Panagia Rombi (i.e. to the east of the Church of the Kapnikarea, to the north-east of the Acropolis). This altar, if such it was, might be associated either with the temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis or with the hypothetical cult in our Annex. But the good faith of Pittakis has been questioned by both Dittenberger and Graindor. In Priene, where the temple of Athena was re-dedicated to Athena and Augustus (*Inschriften von Priene*, Nos. 157-159), there is also evidence of a cult of Roma and Augustus (No. 222).

Agora. Livia has recently been shown to have been assimilated to Artemis Boulaia and hence presumably worshipped in the Bouleuterion.²⁵ Claudius was assimilated to Apollo Patroos in his temple alongside the Stoa.²⁶ The name of M. Vipsanius Agrippa is attached to the Odeion erected in the middle of the Agora ca. 15 B.C.²⁷ About that same time the temple of Ares was brought in, apparently from Acharnai, to be re-erected in the northwest quadrant of the Agora; henceforth the cult appears to have been shared with Gaius Caesar or possibly with Augustus himself.²⁸ On the opposite side of the Agora a great bronze quadriga in front of and contemporary with the Stoa of Attalos was rededicated to the Emperor Tiberius.²⁹ In view of all this it would be strange if Augustus himself had not received some major attention in this part of the city; at the same time the honor of installation in the Stoa of Zeus would seem excessive for anyone but the emperor himself.³⁰

The installation of an imperial cult in a civic building on the borders of the Agora is attested in several other Greek cities. Thus in Thasos there are indications of such a cult in the "Édifice à paraskénia," a building of the 4th century B.C. modelled on the Stoa of Zeus in Athens.³¹ A *sebasteion* is attested epigraphically on the north side of

²⁵ J. H. Oliver, "Livia as Artemis Boulaia at Athens," *Class. Phil.*, LX, 1965, p. 179: a new and improved restoration of *Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, No. 427.

²⁶ *I.G.*, II-III², 3274. Cf. P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, Cairo, 1931, p. 114.

²⁷ *Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, No. 521-523.

²⁸ W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 49-52; *Agora Guide*², pp. 67-69. This problem will be examined in greater detail in a forthcoming study of the history of the temple.

²⁹ E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 86-90.

³⁰ Some thirteen Athenian altars bearing the name of Augustus in the dative or genitive case have been assembled and studied by Anna Benjamin and Antony Raubitschek: "Arae Augusti," *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 65-85. These are regarded as the "earliest and best evidence for the existence of a cult of Augustus in Athens" (p. 84). The majority of the altars were found in the region of the Agora; the modest size of most of the marbles, however, would have permitted a good deal of mobility so that their value for the location of the cult is limited. Benjamin and Raubitschek (p. 85) consider the possibility that the imperial cult was accommodated somewhere in the Market of Caesar and Augustus; no specific evidence is yet forthcoming, but judgment must be reserved pending the complete excavation of that great building.

³¹ The Thasian evidence is almost as tenuous and as tantalizing as the Athenian. Cf. C. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, *Études Thasiennes*, V, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos*, ii, Paris, 1958, p. 59, note 4, pp. 66, 70, no. 181; R. Martin, *Études Thasiennes*, VI, *L'Agora*, pp. 90, 97-99; J. Pouilloux, *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, LXII, 1960, pp. 491-497 (review of Martin's book). The imperial cult is attested by abundant epigraphic evidence coming chiefly from the Agora. From *Études Thasiennes*, V, no. 185 there is reason to believe that the cult was housed in a locale called τῶν Σεβαστῶν ναοί. The Thasian Agora has now been entirely cleared and has proved to contain no freestanding temples that could be identified with these ναοί. The inference is that the ναοί were chambers in some civic building on the borders of the agora, and for various reasons the Édifice à paraskénia seems the most likely. The beginning of an inscription on the architrave of this building, TI [...], has been tentatively read, in fact, as the start of the title of the emperor Claudius, and a re-dedication of an old building in this way would be entirely in keeping with the practice of early imperial times. For the accommodation of the imperial cult an annex would have been almost essential since the original building was of very modest proportions. We shall await with interest the

the Agora of Messene.³² In Priene, in one of the exhedrai opening off the colonnade of the Sacred Stoa, a cult of Augustus appears to have been added to a pre-existing cult of Roma.³³ The north portico of the Agora of Cyrene was dedicated to Zeus Soter, Augustus and Roma.³⁴

The possibility of an association in Athens between Augustus and Zeus, and more specifically Zeus Eleutherios, is suggested by several scraps of evidence. Suetonius (*Augustus*, LX) tells of a plan conceived by the friendly kings and allies of Rome to complete the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens and to dedicate it to the genius of Augustus.³⁵ This project, which is probably to be dated early in the reign of Augustus, fell through. It was conceivably replaced by a more modest and more practicable expression of loyalty on the part of the Athenians themselves whereby Augustus would be associated not with a sanctuary that must always have retained some stigma of tyranny from the Peisistratids but with one where saviors and liberators of the city had been honored repeatedly in the past. Some color is lent to this conjecture by the fact that Augustus was frequently equated with Zeus Eleutherios in Egypt.³⁶ The equation is attested in documents both public and private ranging in date from shortly before the birth of Christ into the reign of Tiberius. Although people in many places may have been disposed to look on Augustus as a liberator, the specific association with Zeus Eleutherios seems likely to have derived from the most famous center of that cult of Zeus in the ancient world.³⁷ For the same reason the very frequent equation of

thorough exploration of the area to the rear of the édifice. In the meantime one may note that in *Études Thasiennes*, V, no. 185 three copies of the inscription were to be made, two to be set up in places agreed upon by the heirs, one to be erected in τῶν Σεβαστῶν ναοί. This indicates the juxtaposition of at least two shrines, a condition that would be met by such an arrangement as that in the Athenian building.

On the possibility of a separate cult place for Hadrian in the Southwest Stoa of the Thasian agora cf. C. Rolley and F. Salviat, *B.C.H.*, LXXXVII, 1963, pp. 548-578.

³² A. Orlandos, *Epyon*, 1959, pp. 113f.; 1960, pp. 159f.; 1963, p. 89.

³³ Hiller v. Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene*, No. 105; M. Schede, *Die Ruinen von Priene*², Berlin, 1964, p. 55; R. Martin, *Recherches sur L'Agora grecque*, Paris, 1951, p. 498.

³⁴ *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 731-736; R. Martin, *L'Agora grecque*, p. 498; G. Pesce in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*, II, 1959, p. 660, fig. 890. A row of shops behind the colonnade is obviously an integral part of the stoa, but a series of statue bases within the colonnade in front of its back wall must represent later dedications. Recent probings show that there was a building on the site as early as the 6th century B.C. but that it underwent many modifications. It may be noted also that the Temple of Zeus, the largest religious building in Cyrene, was reconstructed and rededicated to Jupiter Augustus in the later years of Augustus or in the time of Tiberius at the latest: J. M. Reynolds, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XXVI, 1958, pp. 36, 38.

³⁵ P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 38f., 153.

³⁶ The testimonia are assembled in the Halle dissertation of P. Riewald, *de Imperatorum Romanorum cum certis dis et comparatione et aequatione*, 1912, pp. 286-289. Cf. also L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, Middletown, 1931, p. 270; G. Herzog-Hauser, "Kaiserkult" in *R.E.*, Supplement IV (1924), col. 822; L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau, *Le Culte des Souverains*, pp. 327f.

³⁷ On the cult of Zeus Eleutherios cf. Fehrle in Roscher, *Lexikon*, VI, 619f. and on the closely

Hadrian with Zeus Olympios throughout the Greek world has been plausibly connected with his completion of the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens.³⁸

Some later emperors were likewise equated with Zeus Eleutherios: Nero (because of his declaration of liberty for the Greeks) at Akraiphia (Boeotia) and Sikyon,³⁹ Domitian at Athens,⁴⁰ Antoninus Pius at Sparta.⁴¹ In none of these cases, however, is there a clear indication of a specific connection with the Athenian cult. The fact that Pausanias (I, 3, 3) saw a statue of Hadrian beside the statue of Zeus in front of our stoa is suggestive but certainly not decisive.⁴² Likewise the addition of the names of later emperors (Tiberius, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, Hadrian) to altars originally dedicated to Augustus merely demonstrates the persistence of the imperial cult in Athens.⁴³

Granted the validity of the above hypothesis one might still ask why Pausanias, writing *ca.* A.D. 150, should have referred to the Stoa only under its ancient name, saying nothing about the imperial cult. One might compare the experience which the same author had in front of the Metroon at Olympia (V, 20, 9): "even in my day they still call it the Metroon, keeping the old name. There is, however, no cult statue of the Mother of the Gods; it is portrait statues of Roman emperors that stand there." The excavators in fact found on the spot fragments of a colossal statue of

related cult of Zeus Soter cf. Höfer, *op. cit.*, IV, 1265f., 1271. Joint dedications to Zeus Soter and to the deified emperors are known from Hieropolis in Cilicia (*I.G.R.*, III, 910, p. 346) and Motella in Phrygia (W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Oxford, 1895, p. 155, no. 61; cf. p. 356, note 2).

³⁸ Cf. P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo, 1934, p. 171.

³⁹ Riewald, *op. cit.*, pp. 289f.; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, Cambridge, 1925, II, i, p. 97, note. The principal document is *I.G.*, VII, 2713 (= Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, no. 814): a decree passed by the magistrates and people of Akraiphia. An altar inscribed to Zeus Eleutherios Nero was to be set up close to Zeus Soter while a statue of Nero as Zeus Eleutherios and one of Poppaea (?) were to be placed in the temple of Ptoan Apollo "together with our ancestral divinities."

⁴⁰ Riewald, *op. cit.*, pp. 290f.; Cook, *Zeus*, II, i, p. 97, note; *I.G.*, II-III², 1996; *Fouilles de Delphes, Epigraphie*, III, 2, no. 65; P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 115.

⁴¹ Riewald, *op. cit.*, p. 292; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, i, p. 101.

⁴² On the possibility of Hadrian's association with Zeus Eleutherios cf. Riewald, *op. cit.*, pp. 291f., 331f.; Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 97 note; Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, pp. 168f.; A. E. Raubitschek, "Hadrian as the Son of Zeus Eleutherios," *A.J.A.*, XLIX, 1945, pp. 128-133; A. S. Benjamin, "The Altars of Hadrian in Athens," *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 57-86, especially p. 58. In inscriptions of Perinthos and Mitylene Eleutherios occurs together with Olympios in the emperor's titles, but neither in Athens nor elsewhere is there indubitable evidence of the equation of Hadrian with Zeus Eleutherios. Especially striking is the non-occurrence of the epithet Eleutherios on the ninety-five altars of Hadrian known in Athens. In the inscription on the seat in the Theater of Dionysos (*I.G.*, II-III², 5035: *ιερέως Ἀδριανοῦ Ἐλευθεραίων*) the critical word is more probably a corruption of *Ἐλευθερείς* than of *Ἐλευθέριος*. In a much shattered inscription on a statue base from the Athenian Acropolis Raubitschek has restored the name of Hadrian as son of Trajan Zeus Eleutherios (*loc. cit.*). In Athens, as indeed throughout the Greek world, the fame which Hadrian acquired by completing the Temple of Olympian Zeus made his association with that cult predominant over all others.

⁴³ A. S. Benjamin and A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 65-85, especially p. 83.

Augustus as Zeus, a smaller statue of Claudius as Zeus, a cuirass statue of Titus and another probably of Domitian, and statues of three women identified as the younger Agrippina, the empress Domitia and Julia, daughter of Titus. On the epistyle is an inscription recording the dedication of the temple to "Augustus, savior of the Greeks and of the whole world."⁴⁴ The imperial cult began in a very official way, the earlier emperor being equated with Zeus. The procedure later became more informal; successive members of the imperial family were honored with ordinary portrait statues in the Metroon until the old temple could hold no more; thereafter imperial statues were set up in the near-by Treasury of the Libyans (Pausanias, VI, 19, 10) and in the pronaos of the Temple of Zeus (*ibid.*, V, 12, 6). Something of the same sort may have happened in Athens with the result that by the 2nd century Hadrian had to take his place in front of the Stoa.

But what of the second cella in the Stoa Annex? We may be sure that any group of members of the imperial family would have been kept together in one place, i.e. presumably the south cella. We must bear in mind also that the two cellae are certainly contemporary so that the second was presumably needed from the beginning. As candidates for its occupancy one might think first of the original Zeus Eleutherios. But his statue was seen by Pausanias in front of the Stoa where it undoubtedly stood from the beginning. The most common associate of Augustus, and the one who was indeed enjoined by the emperor himself on the provincials, was the goddess Roma.⁴⁵ But the Roma was housed with Augustus in the round temple on the Acropolis and was associated with Demos and the Graces in the old sanctuary at the north foot of Kolonos; she is unlikely to have been worshipped in a third place in Athens. If the Stoa Annex was built after the death of Augustus, as is quite possible, one cella may have been reserved for the deified Augustus and members of his immediate family,

⁴⁴ J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 1913, p. 615; J. Wiesner, *R.E.*, XVIII, i, 1939, cols. 118-120.

A colossal head of Antoninus Pius of outstanding quality was found by the German excavators in 1896/97 in or beside the Temple of Apollo Patroos (Dörpfeld's Stoa Basileios): A. Hekler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, cols. 404-407, figs. 7, 8. Since the place of finding must have been within a few feet of the Stoa of Zeus, the statue of Antoninus may well have stood, like that of Hadrian, in front of the Stoa.

⁴⁵ Suetonius, *Augustus*, LII. Cf. A. D. Nock, *H.S.C.P.*, XLI, 1930, pp. 27f.; Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, p. 146. One might question whether Augustus and Roma would have required separate cellae. It is hard to believe, for instance, that the tiny round temple on the Acropolis was compartmented. In the Temple of Roma and Augustus at Leptis Magna, on the other hand, John Ward-Perkins assures me that the cella was divided on axis into two chambers each with its own doorway. The temple was erected in the area of the Old Forum between A.D. 14 and 19. From the beginning it sheltered statues of Roma, Augustus, Tiberius, Livia and other members of the imperial family; other dedications were subsequently made down to the time of Claudius. Cf. D. E. L. Haynes, *An Archaeological and Historical Guide to the pre-Islamic Antiquities of Tripolitania*, London, 1955, pp. 89f., fig. 6; P. Romanelli, *Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica*, IV, 1961, p. 577, fig. 676. I am grateful to Mr. Ward-Perkins for drawing this parallel to my attention. The evidence for the dual arrangement has not yet been published.

The whole question of temple-sharing has been illuminated by A. D. Nock, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

the second for the reigning emperor.⁴⁶ Finally, one might consider the many abstractions associated with the worship of Augustus, e.g. the Roman Senate, Victory, Peace. But we are now in the realm of pure speculation, with a great diversity of possibilities and no specific evidence.

Here, alas, we must leave the problem for the present. The Annex with its twin cellae was evidently built in the late Augustan period or somewhat later to house a double cult associated with the existing cult of Zeus Eleutherios. One of the cellae probably accommodated a cult of the emperor and other members of the imperial family. The occupancy of the other cella is quite uncertain. Whatever the exact nature of the new cults, they appear to have dwindled with time to the point where they were not even mentioned by Pausanias. We may hope that the eventual extension of the Agora excavation to the north of the Stoa will yield more evidence, above all in the form of inscriptions, that will permit a more definite interpretation.

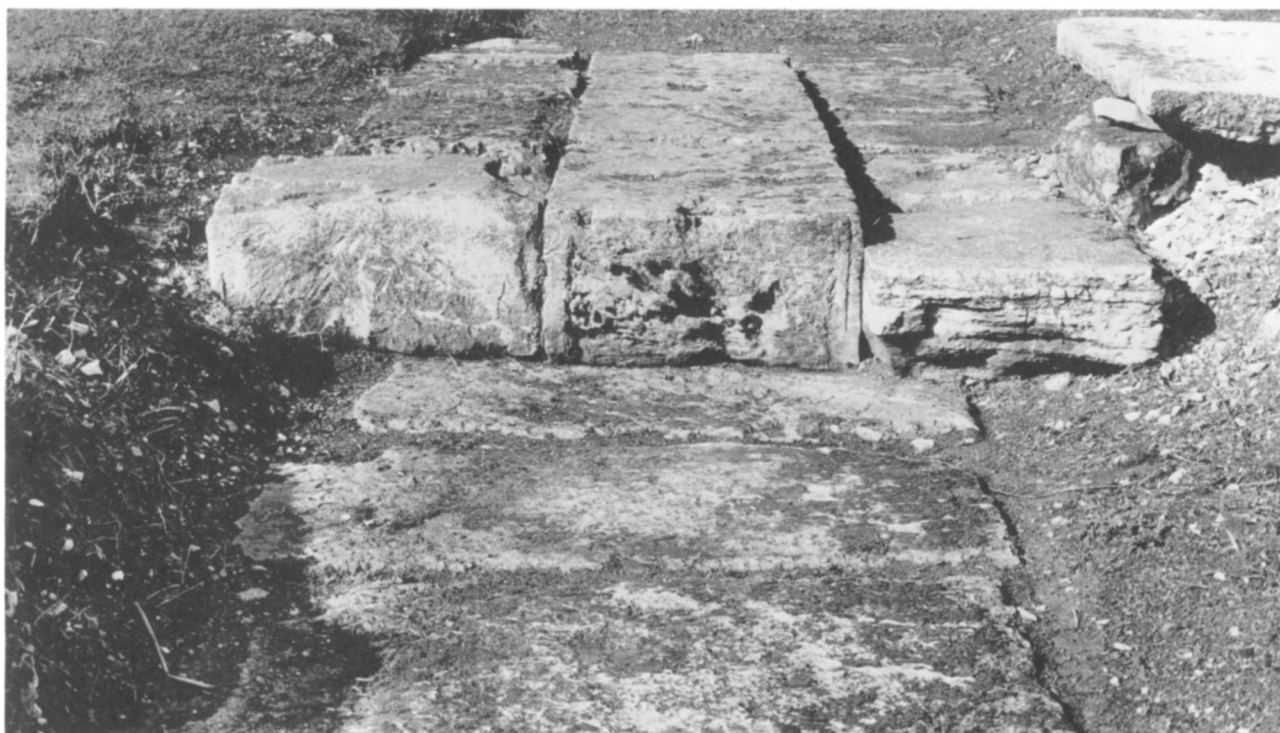
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⁴⁶ From the middle of the 2nd century there existed at Rome a *templum Divorum* with a separate chapel for each consecrated emperor. Cf. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², Munich, 1912, p. 347 with references. But I am not aware of any earlier arrangement of this kind.



a. Stoa Annex, from the Northeast (1966).



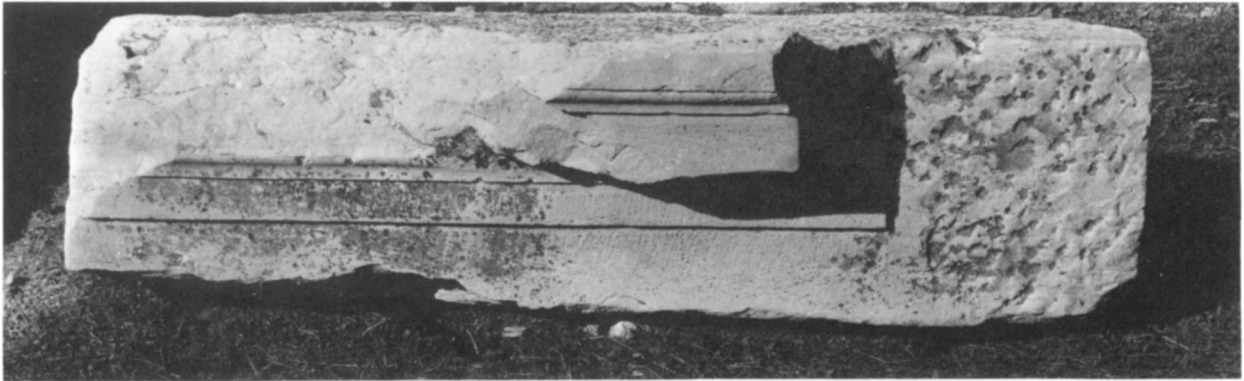
b. Stoa Annex: Foundations for Median Wall, from the East.



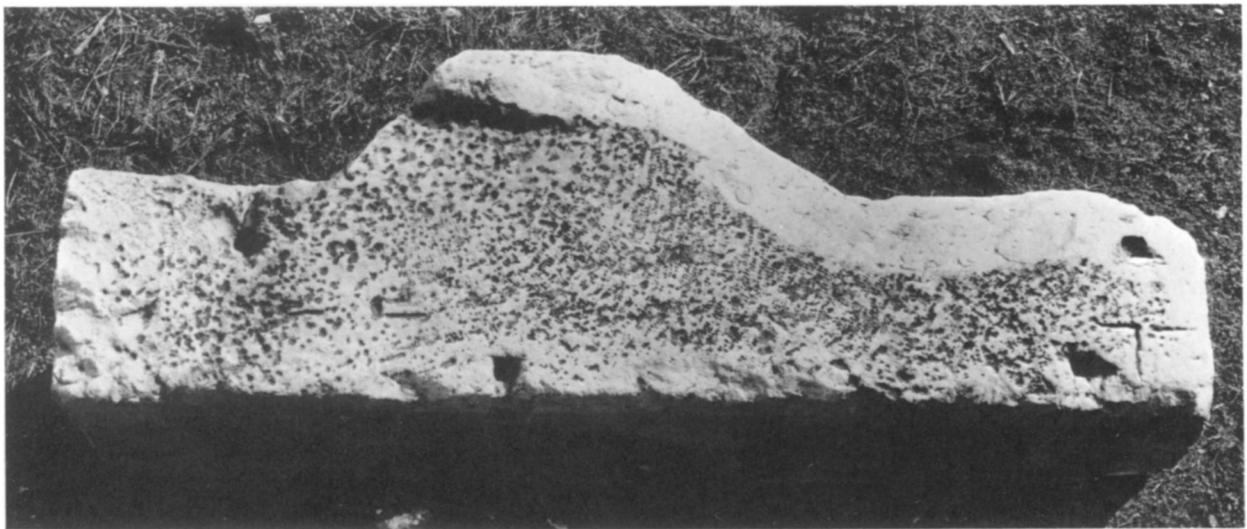
a. Stoa Annex and Environs, from the North (1934).



b. Stoa Annex, from the North (1966).



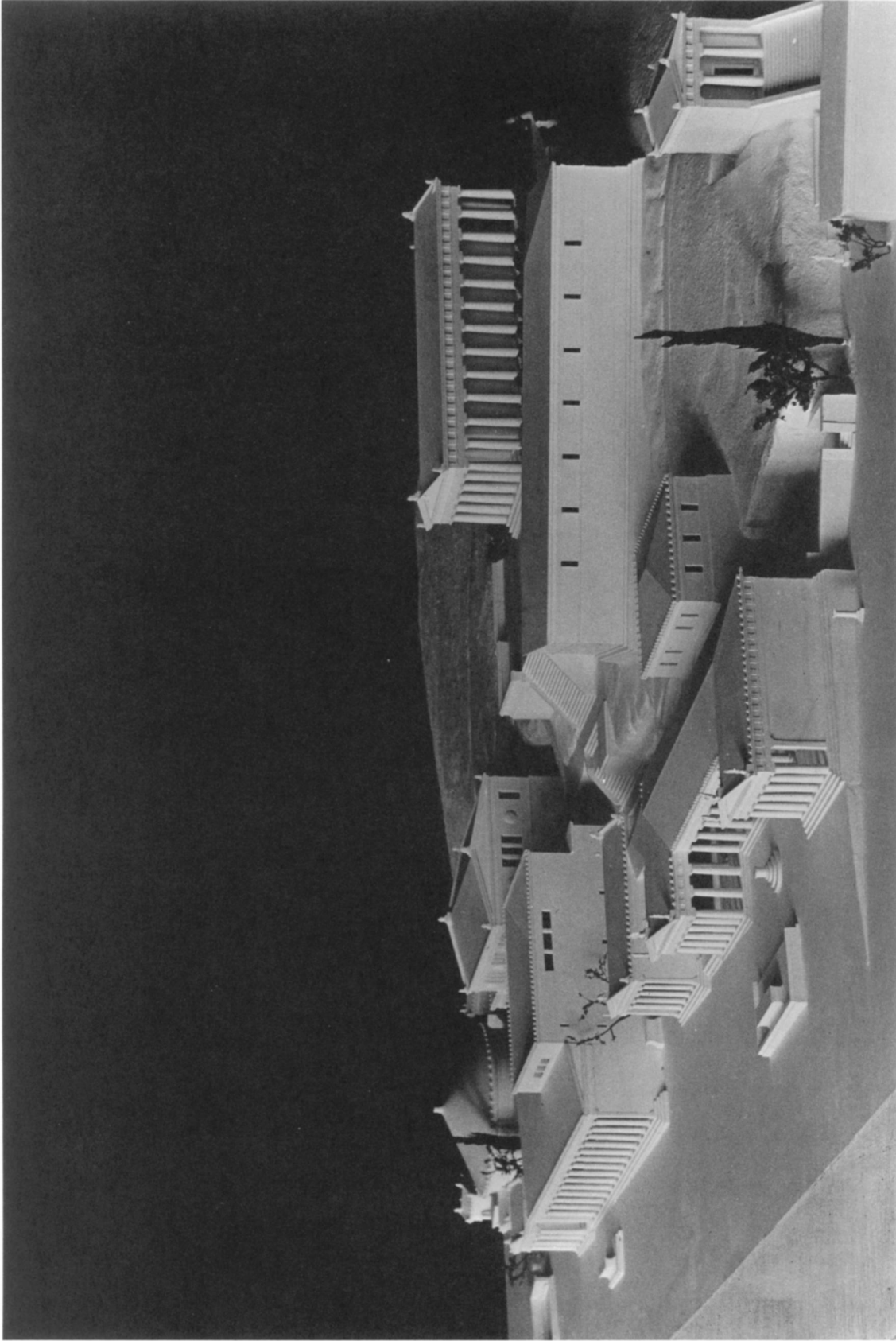
a. Stoa Annex: Interior Geison, front.



b. Stoa Annex: Interior Geison, top.



c. Stoa Annex: Inscription from Pedestal in South Cella.



Model of the West Side of the Agora, from the Northeast (the Superstructure of the Stoa Annex is conjectural).

HOMER A. THOMPSON: THE ANNEX TO THE STOA OF ZEUS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA