

THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS BRAURONIA ON THE ATHENIAN AKROPOLIS

(PLATES 81–86)

THE AREA to the southeast of the Propylaia on the Athenian Akropolis has been examined by Friedrich Versakis¹ and Gorham Phillips Stevens² and identified as the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia. Most of the evidence available for an architectural reconstruction consists of rock cuttings and the lowest courses of masonry located in the eastern and southeastern regions of the sanctuary. These remains have recently been re-examined; the result of the new study is the observation of previously unnoted features and the identification of several architectural phases within the sanctuary. The dual purpose of this study is to present new evidence and to offer a new architectural interpretation; the physical data will be presented first, followed by an analysis and a reconstruction of the plan.³

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The eastern side of the sanctuary is defined by a north-south wall that runs from the northeast corner of the sanctuary to the south wall of the Akropolis (Pl. 82:a, b). The northern 28.64 m. of its length consist of a bedrock socle and eight ashlar blocks of limestone which remain *in situ*. South of this, where the Akropolis bedrock slopes downward more steeply toward the south, the visible portion of the wall consists of limestone blocks set on limestone foundations.

At its northern end the bedrock socle is 0.72 m. wide; 0.75 m. from its northern end it is cut down to the level on which the first six limestone blocks are bedded (Pl. 82:c). Its smoothly dressed western face extends 2.30 m. from its northern end and

¹F. Versakis, *Das Braurion und die Chalkothek im Zeitalter der Antoninen*, Athens 1910.

²G. P. Stevens, "The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens," *Hesperia* 5, 1936, pp. 459–470.

³This article is the result of research undertaken on the Athenian Akropolis during 1975 and 1976. It represents the first stage of a larger study of the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia. The actual-state plan and description of the area represent the remains as they appeared in 1975 and 1976. Since the summer of 1978, due to efforts on the part of the Greek Archaeological Service to protect the sanctuary and to facilitate the circulation of visitors in this area of the Akropolis, certain features of the sanctuary which appear on the plan and in the description have been covered over. Appreciation is to be extended to the Greek Archaeological Service and to Mr. G. Dontas for granting permission to measure within the sanctuary, and to members of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, particularly to Professor James R. McCredie, Director, Professors C. W. J. Eliot and Henry S. Robinson, and William B. Dinsmoor, Jr. We would like to express special thanks to Charles K. Williams, II, without whose assistance in measuring the sanctuary and examining the material this paper could not have been completed. Williams drew the actual-state plan of the sanctuary (Pl. 81). The photographs are by John J. Dobbins.

then jogs 0.22 m. toward the east, continuing its new alignment for the remainder of its length. South of the six limestone blocks the upper surface of the bedrock socle maintains an average width of *ca.* 0.50 m.; its western face is roughly pick dressed. At a point 2.15 m. south of E6, the sixth limestone block, a setting line for the wall that rested on the socle is visible; 13.19 m. from the southern end of the same block there is a 0.18 m. drop in the elevation of the bedrock socle.⁴

Southward from block E2, along the base of the socle, runs a band 0.22 m. wide of dressed bedrock. Most of the northern 17.76 m. of this band are defined by a row of pick marks along the western edge; the southern 8.60 m. form a ledge (Pl. 82:d). The only inconsistency occurs 21.75 m. south of the northern end of the wall. Here, for a length of 2.25 m., the bedrock does not attain a sufficient elevation for the maintenance of the entire 0.22 m. width.

The six blocks of yellow limestone that remain *in situ* at the northern end of the wall require further consideration (Pls. 81, 82:c). The northernmost block, E1, is well preserved and its upper surfaces, as well as its western face, are smoothly dressed. The anathyrosis on the southern end of the block is fully preserved (Pl. 83:a). The vertical band at its western edge is clearly visible owing to the fact that the western face of block E2 is recessed. The northern two thirds of the block's upper surface are at the same elevation as the dressed bedrock to the north; 0.36 m. from its southern end it steps up 0.06 m. to a height of 0.54 m.

Block E2 is of the same height as the southern end of E1 and has a smoothly dressed upper surface; it preserves two distinct western faces. The northern one is a roughly dressed panel which is 0.42 m. wide. It slopes eastward from bottom to top. The bottom of the block in this area is 0.43 m. wide and the top is 0.39 m. wide. The southern edge of the panel corresponds to the eastward jog in the bedrock. For the remainder of its length, E2 is 0.38 m. wide and exhibits a roughly picked vertical face. There is no band of anathyrosis on the western edge of either end. The next four blocks, E3–E6, are alike except in their lengths, which vary from 1.18 m. to 1.24 m. Their heights are consistently 0.54 m. and their upper surfaces are smoothly dressed. Their western faces align with the second face of E2 and maintain the same vertical plane and roughly picked appearance as the bedrock on which they rest. It is possible to detect the upper bands of anathyrosis on the ends of these blocks, but just like E2, they lack anathyrosis on the western edges of their ends.

Two blocks of white limestone, E7 and E8, are *in situ* 16.61 m. south of E6 (Pls. 82:a, 83:b). Both are fairly well preserved and exhibit smoothly dressed western faces and upper surfaces; their anathyroses are intact. The blocks are set at the western edge of the bedrock socle. The traces of cement visible on blocks E7 and E8 also continue onto the bedrock socle and can be seen as far as 3.11 m. west of the East Wall.⁵

⁴The blocks of the East Wall are numbered from north to south E1, E2, etc. Two irregularly shaped limestone filler blocks immediately north of block E7 have not been numbered; see p. 326 and Plate 83:b.

⁵In private conversation Judith Binder has observed that the cement probably represents the remains

Immediately north of E7 there is a fault in the bedrock that has been leveled with two irregularly shaped filler blocks of yellow limestone (Pl. 83:b).

At a point 1.91 m. south of block E8, where the bedrock socle terminates, there are two courses of masonry that bring the level of the wall up to that of the bedrock socle (Pl. 83:c).⁶ Block E9 is set against the bedrock to the north. Its western side is cut in a stepped fashion. The upper tread maintains the level and width of the bedrock ledge; the lower tread is at the present ground level. South of this is block E10 which projects 0.50 m. from the face of the East Wall with which it bonds; it joins the filler block to the west. This join aligns with the western edge of E9. Above the join, the western end of E10 has been cut back so that its exposed face is recessed 0.02 m. Part of its southern face is preserved, providing an overall width of 1.08 m. (Pl. 83:d).

Block E11 is a wedge-shaped block of yellow limestone bedded on E9 (Pl. 83:c). Its pointed end projects eastward beyond the line of the East Wall. Its northern face has been smoothly dressed to receive the bedrock to the north. The eastern 0.20 m. of this dressing projects beyond the bedrock. Anathyrosis is partially visible on the southern face of block E11. Its western face is roughly pick dressed with some claw-chisel marks also visible. Its upper surface is smoothly dressed and is at the same level as the bedrock to the north. To the south of block E11 is E12, a T-shaped block of yellow limestone bedded on E9, E10 and another limestone foundation block south of E10 (Pl. 83:c).⁷ Its upper surface is smoothly dressed and the surfaces joining adjacent blocks to the north and west are well preserved. Part of the anathyrosis on the eastern edge of the southern end is preserved, as is part of the upper band on the northern end. The rest of the block is roughly pick dressed.

The double row of yellow foundation blocks extending from block E10 to the Akropolis wall maintains the same western alignment as that of blocks E9 and E10. Neither this course nor the deeper foundations bond with the south wall of the Akropolis.⁸ On these foundations are two limestone wall blocks, E13 and E14, of the same course as E11 and E12. The length, height and width of the first, E13, are preserved. Although its western side is severely eroded, a small part of its vertical face is preserved, permitting its width to be ascertained. The anathyrosis on the northern and southern ends is partially preserved. To the south, block E14 is severely damaged, but preserves its height, part of its eastern face and part of the anathyrosis on its northern end. The eastern faces of blocks E13 and E14 are roughly pick dressed.⁹

of a Turkish cistern which is similar in material to that located to the west of the Erechtheion. The internal dimensions of the structure would have been 1.20 m. by 3.11 m.

⁶These blocks are of yellow limestone. The two in the lower course are designated as blocks E9 and E10; the two on top of these are blocks E11 and E12.

⁷Poor preservation and modern cement make it impossible to obtain the precise measurements of the foundation block.

⁸J. A. Bundgaard, *The Excavation of the Athenian Acropolis 1882-1890*, Copenhagen 1974, fig. 87, pl. 196:1.

⁹The rough treatment of the faces of blocks E13 and E14 indicates that the eastern sides of the blocks would not have been visible. This accords well with the fact that the East Wall served as a party wall

Originating at the western end of block E10 and running perpendicular to the East Wall is an east-west bedding, Bedding A, which extends *ca.* 15 meters toward the west (Pl. 82:b). Its surface steps down 9.32 m. from the East Wall, steps down a second time 10.45 m. from the East Wall, and a third time 12.45 m. from the East Wall. The bedding consists of dressed bedrock and two squared yellow limestone blocks that have been set in faults in the bedrock. The block adjoining E10 is one of these filler blocks. It has a beveled northern edge and a nearly vertical face. Its upper surface has been dressed with a claw chisel.¹⁰

A second, less well preserved filler block is located 4.41 m. west of the first filler block, and 0.36 m. west of this is an area that has been dressed to receive another such block. In areas where limestone filler blocks are set, the northern edge of Bedding A presents a nearly vertical face, but slopes out to the preserved ground level in those areas that are dressed bedrock. The only anomaly in this pattern is a stretch 1.29 m. long 5.20 m. west of the East Wall where the bedrock has been cut at right angles (Pl. 84:a).

The width of the eastern end of Bedding A (0.98 m.) is preserved by the first limestone filler block whose southern edge projects beyond the southern faces of blocks A1 and A2, the easternmost blocks in Bedding A.¹¹ South of block A2 the bedrock has been cut to receive the first filler block (Pl. 85:a), but the bedrock has not been worked farther south of this point. At a distance of 4.55 m. from the eastern end of block A1, Bedding A is 1.14 m. wide and maintains this width as far as it is preserved.

Seven blocks remain *in situ* in Bedding A. The first five limestone blocks are uniformly 0.53 m. high. Blocks A1 and A6 are of yellow limestone; the others are of white limestone. Block E10 has been cut to receive the eastern end of A1. Block A1 abuts the western projection of E12 and is bedded on the uncut lower portion of block E10 and on the first filler block (Pl. 85:b). It exhibits claw-chisel marks on its northern face, which, in addition, shows three bands of weathering. The lowest of these is a white band *ca.* 0.15 m. high. It runs along the bottom of block A1 and continues as a weathering line onto block A2. Above the white band, to a height of *ca.* 0.27 m., is a pink band. Above the pink band the block is more roughly worn. The southern face of the block is less well preserved, but also manifests the pink weathering of its northern face.¹²

between the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia and the Chalkotheke to the east. The foundations of the Chalkotheke's northern wall, as well as the bedding for its colonnade, are at a higher elevation than blocks E13 and E14, indicating that the area to the east of E13 and E14 was filled in.

¹⁰The beveled edge and the working of the face with a claw chisel are features that also occur on the stylobate of the Old Propylon.

¹¹The blocks set in Bedding A are designated A1–A7 from east to west. The importance of the first filler block will emerge in the subsequent discussion of the first phase of the sanctuary. The full and accurate dimensions of the filler block, as well as of other blocks near it, have not appeared in earlier plans of the sanctuary.

¹²The homogeneous character of the blocks in this corner (E9–E12, Bedding A filler block, and block A1) should be noted. All are of the same material and preserve claw-chisel marks. In material and condition of discoloration they bear a striking similarity to the fragments of the Old Temple of Athena.

The northern and southern faces of block A2 are partially damaged, but a complete length of 1.20 m. is preserved. Block A3 is fragmentary and has a maximum preserved length of 0.42 m. There is a 1.09 m. gap between blocks A3 and A4. Block A4 is also fragmentary with a maximum preserved length of 0.76 m.

Block A5 has been notched at its western end to overlap block A6 (Pl. 84:b). Both faces of the western end of A5 preserve anathyrosis (Pl. 84:c). Although most of the northern face of A5 has weathered, the lower western quarter of the northern face preserves a fair surface above which are traces of anathyrosis (Pl. 84:b). One vertical band of anathyrosis is partly preserved at the western edge; 0.42 m. east of the edge is part of another vertical band of anathyrosis.

Blocks A6 and A7 have been badly broken and have undergone extensive conservation. The preserved height of the blocks is *ca.* 0.22 m. Their lengths are respectively 1.47 m. and 1.27 m.; the maximum preserved width of block A7 is 0.83 m. Visible along the bottom of A7 is a recessed panel which may also have extended onto A6 (Pl. 84:d).

At the eastern end of block A6 there is a ridge 0.03 m. wide and 0.02 m. high. The western edge of this ridge aligns with the projecting western end of block A5 (Pl. 84:c).¹³ The surface west of the ridge is smoothly dressed¹⁴ and shows claw-chisel marks. Although the northern face of block A6 is severely weathered, the original surface of a small panel, *ca.* 0.27 m. by *ca.* 0.15 m., at the lower eastern corner of the block is preserved (Pl. 84:d). Part of the anathyrosis is preserved on the eastern end of block A6 where it projects to the south beyond A5. The anathyrosis on the western end of block A7 is partially preserved.

The bedrock in the area bounded by the East Wall and Bedding A has been carefully dressed to a distance of 2.69 m. north of Bedding A where a slight change in the level of the bedrock can be detected. There is no clearly defined western limit for this dressing.

Approximately 35 meters west of the junction between the sanctuary's East Wall and the south wall of the Akropolis is a short spur wall which Stevens used as the western limit of his proposed winged stoa.¹⁵ In its present condition it is impossible to determine the relationship between this wall and the south wall of the Akropolis.

Parallel to and 5.15 m. west of the East Wall is a long north-south bedding that runs from Bedding A to the northern end of the sanctuary. At its junction with Bedding A, the bedrock of this north-south bedding is cut at right angles (Pl. 84:a). The north-south bedding maintains a width of 1.18 m. and a consistent level for 9.36 m.; it then

¹³Repairs have caused this alignment to be somewhat askew.

¹⁴P. Kavvadias and G. Kawerau, *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis vom Jahre 1885 bis zum Jahre 1890*, Athens 1906, pl. H. The western limit of this smoothed area is not visible now, but appears on the Kavvadias and Kawerau plan, pl. H, *ca.* 0.70 m. from the ridge at the eastern end of block A6.

¹⁵Stevens' contention that it bonded with the south wall of the Akropolis (*Hesperia* 5, 1936, p. 466) has since been questioned. In a paper delivered at the 1967 General Meeting of the AIA, Prof. Colin N. Edmonson reported that firsthand examination of the area revealed that the two walls do not bond (see *AJA* 72, 1968, pp. 164-165).

widens slightly and drops in level. It continues at the new depth for 15.30 m., at which point it steps up again. Because of the change in width and elevation, the southern part of the "north-south" bedding will be designated as West Bedding 1 and the northern part (from Bedding B to Bedding D) will be designated as West Bedding 2.

Five limestone blocks remain *in situ* in West Bedding 1.¹⁶ These have irregularly preserved upper surfaces on which raised, roughly dressed panels are visible (Pl. 86:a). The upper western faces of the blocks are weathered, but the bottoms are well preserved. The eastern faces are roughly dressed in their projecting lower portions, but are smoothly finished in their upper portions. Although these smoothed surfaces are not completely preserved on each block, the north-south line can be seen.

At the southwest corner of the upper surface of block W1 there is a raised panel whose dimensions are 0.76 m. by 0.40 m. Within the panel there is a circular cutting with a diameter of 0.042 m. Around this cutting is a gouged area of irregular shape. The southern end of block W1 exhibits anathyrosis as does the northern end of W5.

Block W2 preserves a narrower raised panel along the western edge of its upper surface (Pl. 86:a). The panel begins 0.16 m. from the southern end of the block and is 0.29 m. wide and 1.22 m. long. It continues onto block W3 for another 0.50 m. for a total length of 1.73 m., including the 0.01 m. gap between blocks. The distance between this panel and the panel on block W1 is 0.68 m.

Traces of a third panel, which aligns with the second, can be detected along the western edges of the upper surfaces of blocks W3 and W4: there is a slight rise on the surface of W3 at a point 0.68 m. north of the end of the second panel. From this point northward on W3 and along the entire length of W4 there is a ridge. The total preserved length of this panel trace on blocks W3 and W4 is 1.63 m. The southwestern corner of block W5 is damaged, thus rendering it impossible to determine whether or not the third panel continued onto this block.

Bedding B, the second east-west bedding, is 7.95 m. north of Bedding A (Pls. 82:a, 86:b). It extends from West Bedding 1 to the band 0.22 m. wide that runs along the base of the East Wall. Bedding B is 1.33 m. wide and its western 3.50 m. are at the same elevation as West Bedding 1. For most of its eastern 1.45 m. it is roughly worked, with the highest part of the bedrock 0.05 m. above the more smoothly dressed western end. The elevation of the western end is maintained, however, in the channel that runs along the northern edge of the bedding's eastern end.¹⁷

Bedding C is the third east-west bedding. It is located 10.32 m. north of Bedding A and extends from West Bedding 2 to the East Wall (Pls. 82:a and 82:b). It is parallel to Beddings A and B and at right angles to both West Bedding 1 and the East Wall. It is

¹⁶These are designated W1–W5 from south to north.

¹⁷This channel, 0.10 m. wide, was an original working channel and reflects both the level and the eastern extent of the intended bedding. Other similar channels are found to the south of Bedding B running in a north-south direction. They are too narrow to have bedded walls or monuments and should be considered the vestiges of quarrying activities and of the general leveling of the area. The partial dressing of the bedrock in the angle formed by West Bedding 1 and Bedding B is also more easily understood as a quarrying trace than as the preparation of a bedding.

ca. 1.28 m. wide. The surface of Bedding C is dressed in two panels of slightly different elevations. A limestone block, C1, remains *in situ* 1.00 m. from the western face of the East Wall. The upper surface of block C1 preserves pry holes and the setting line of an east-west wall.

Bedding D is the northernmost east-west bedding. It extends from the north end of West Bedding 2 to the East Wall where it meets blocks E1 and E2. It steps up slightly at 2.59 m. from its western end. Its southern edge aligns with the southern end of the panel on the western face of block E2 (Pl. 85:c).

South of Bedding A is an east-west wall that consists of a single visible course of roughly hewn, irregularly sized blocks of Akropolis limestone (Pls. 82:b, 85:d). Bedrock has been dressed to receive these blocks. The easternmost block of the wall is located next to the foundation blocks of the East Wall. The northern face of this block is 0.77 m. south of block E10. The wall extends 2.44 m. toward the west.¹⁸

The northwestern portion of the sanctuary was at one time bounded by a wall of limestone blocks set on a dressed bedrock socle (Pl. 86:c). Some blocks remain *in situ* at the western end of the wall in the region where the wall jogs to the north and again to the west.¹⁹ The wall was pierced by a rock-cut stairway to provide access to the sanctuary from the north (Pl. 86:c, d). A line of tooling extends eastward from the stairs, continuing the line of the northern wall.

The stairway consists of eight steps, each *ca.* two meters long and 0.40 m. to 0.50 m. deep. The stairway is cut in the center by two overlapping circular cuttings. The eastern end of the lowest step is cut by the beginning of a rock-cut drain. At the western end of the lowest step is the vertically cut rock face and level upper surface of the sanctuary wall. Just west of the bottom step is a square bedding cut into bedrock. Several other beddings and stelai cuttings run along the northern face of the wall. To the west of the top step is a smooth area whose western limit is obscured by Turkish rubble packing. West of the stairway is a line of four stelai cuttings.

Thirty-five other stelai cuttings and one larger L-shaped cutting extend in an arc from the northeastern corner of the sanctuary to the steps (Pl. 81). Some of the stelai cuttings are located in wall beddings.²⁰ Also in the northern end of the sanctuary are two additional beddings. The larger, oriented northeast-southwest, is about four meters in length and is cut at two different levels. Although much of its southern extent is filled with Turkish rubble packing, its southern limit is partially visible, as are its northeastern and southwestern ends. Immediately to the east, but at a higher level, is the narrower bedding, *ca.* 0.70 m. in width.

About five meters from the northern end of West Bedding 2, the eastern and

¹⁸This wall was first noticed by Charles K. Williams, II. It seems to be a part of the Mycenaean circuit wall of the Akropolis (cf. S. Iakovidis, 'Η μυκηναϊκή ἀκρόπολις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, Athens 1962, fig. 33, p. 162, in which Iakovidis suggests the original line of the Mycenaean wall in this region of the Akropolis). The discovery of cyclopean masonry in the southeastern part of the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia supports Iakovidis' reconstruction of the Mycenaean circuit wall in this region.

¹⁹Stevens (footnote 2 above), fig. 10.

²⁰Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

western edges of the bedding are broken by cuttings that run obliquely to them.²¹ West of West Bedding 2 and about two and a half meters north of its intersection with Bedding C are several other cuttings. Two of these are large rectangular cuttings. A square lead inset is preserved in the southwestern corner of one of them. Between the two rectangular cuttings is a circular cutting. These two partially preserved cuttings flank West Bedding 2, but are located at a higher level.

West of the intersection of West Bedding 2 and Bedding C is an east-west bedding. About four meters from its eastern end the east-west bedding turns 90° to the south, its traces extending southward for about five and a half meters.

THE EAST WALL

The line of the East Wall jogs twice to the east near the northern end (Pl. 81). The relationship between the first two faces of the wall affords information vital to a reconstruction and an understanding of this part of the sanctuary. The limestone block, E1, at the northern end of the wall, exhibits anathyrosis on the exposed 0.15 m. of its southern end (Pl. 83:a). This anathyrosis serves no apparent function as it receives no other block. What has happened to the East Wall becomes obvious farther to the south, between wall blocks. Broken corners on these blocks make it possible to see into the joints, revealing the upper horizontal bands of anathyrosis and the roughly picked areas normally found within them. The western vertical bands of anathyrosis are missing, however, a sure indication that the blocks were cut back at some time after they were originally set in place. The pick marks that run south of E1 are on a line with the block's western face and indicate the line of the original face of the wall (Pl. 82:d). Farther south, the western face of the ledge continues the line of the pick marks as far as block E10.

The northern side of block E12 has been cut back sloppily into an L-shape, and its southwestern corner has been broken away at an oblique angle (Pls. 81, 83:d). The join between block E12 and the first block in Bedding A (block A1) is on a line with the ledge and the pick marks, and consequently aligns with the original face of the East Wall.²² The western face of the cut-back portion of E12 aligns with the recut face of the East Wall. Thus, it appears that block E12 was originally a rectangular block set in place when the East Wall was constructed and later, when the wall was cut back, was cut into an L-shape.

South of E12 two courses of limestone blocks run to the south wall of the Akropolis (Pls. 81, 82:b, 85:b). The western face of the lower course aligns with the western limit of blocks E9 and E10.²³ The western face of the second course of limestone blocks aligns with the join between blocks E12 and A1, the western face of the ledge, the pick marks, and thus the original face of the long East Wall. These second-course wall blocks would presumably have continued as far north as block E12.

²¹These cuttings are recorded by Stevens (*op. cit.*, p. 461 and fig. 10), who interpreted them as evidence for the northern boundary wall of the sanctuary during its first phase (p. 466 and figs. 20, 22).

²²The authors would like to thank William B. Dinsmoor, Jr. for his valuable discussion on this corner.

²³Block E10 was later cut back in its central portion to receive block A1, but certainly continued this line in its original state.

From the evidence examined, two periods in the use of the East Wall can be distinguished. In the first period the East Wall blocks, including blocks E1–E6, E9–E11, E13, E14, and block E12, which was rectangular, were set in place. The face of the East Wall extended westward as far as the face of block E1, the pick marks south of E1, the join between blocks E12 and A1, and the western face of the second course of limestone blocks (E13, E14) in the southernmost portion of the wall. Later the East Wall was cut back from block E1 to the join between blocks E12 and A1, leaving a line of pick marks and a ledge in the bedrock which mark the original face of the wall. It is likely that blocks E7 and E8 were set in place at this time.²⁴ The southernmost stretch of the East Wall, between block E12 and the south wall of the Akropolis, was not altered.

Now that the periods of construction of the East Wall have been examined, a reconstruction of the different architectural phases of the eastern and southern sides of the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia can be attempted.

PHASE ONE (Fig. 1)

Upon first examination of the join between blocks A5 and A6 and the bedding in which they rest, it appears that Bedding A was cut to receive the low, wide limestone blocks (A6 and A7), and that the taller, narrower limestone blocks were later set in place. This is a likely conclusion for two reasons. First, the anathyrosis and the roughened area between the bands of anathyrosis on the eastern end of block A6 project southward beyond A5, indicating that at one time another block of the same width as A6 joined with it on its eastern side. Second, the southern face of block A4, now preserved only in the lower part, which, it would seem, would reflect the southern face of A5, is *ca.* 0.27 m. north of the bedding's southern limit (Pl. 81). Thus, it appears that block A5 and the other limestone blocks are resting in a bedding originally cut for a line of stylobate blocks similar to blocks A6 and A7, which ran westward from the East Wall for at least 15 meters (cf. p. 328). Later, it would seem, the blocks were removed as far west as block A6; the remaining stylobate blocks were left *in situ*, and the limestone wall blocks A1–A5 were set in place. Although not visible now, clear traces of a column on block A7 were noted by Kavvadias and Kawerau²⁵ and G. P. Stevens,²⁶ who reconstructed a colonnade running west from block A5 across the southern side of the sanctuary. The dimensions of blocks A6 and A7 and the absence of pry and dowel holes on their upper surfaces fit well a reconstruction of them as stylobate blocks for the colonnade of a stoa.

A reconstruction of this sort, however, poses several serious problems.²⁷ First of all, the bedding for the stylobate blocks projects an average of 0.33 m. north from the faces of the blocks, an unusual and unnecessary arrangement. Secondly, an eastern anta

²⁴These blocks, unlike E2–E6, preserve their western bands of anathyrosis.

²⁵Kavvadias and Kawerau (footnote 14 above), p. 141.

²⁶Stevens (footnote 2 above), p. 463.

²⁷C. K. Williams, II first brought these problems to our attention.

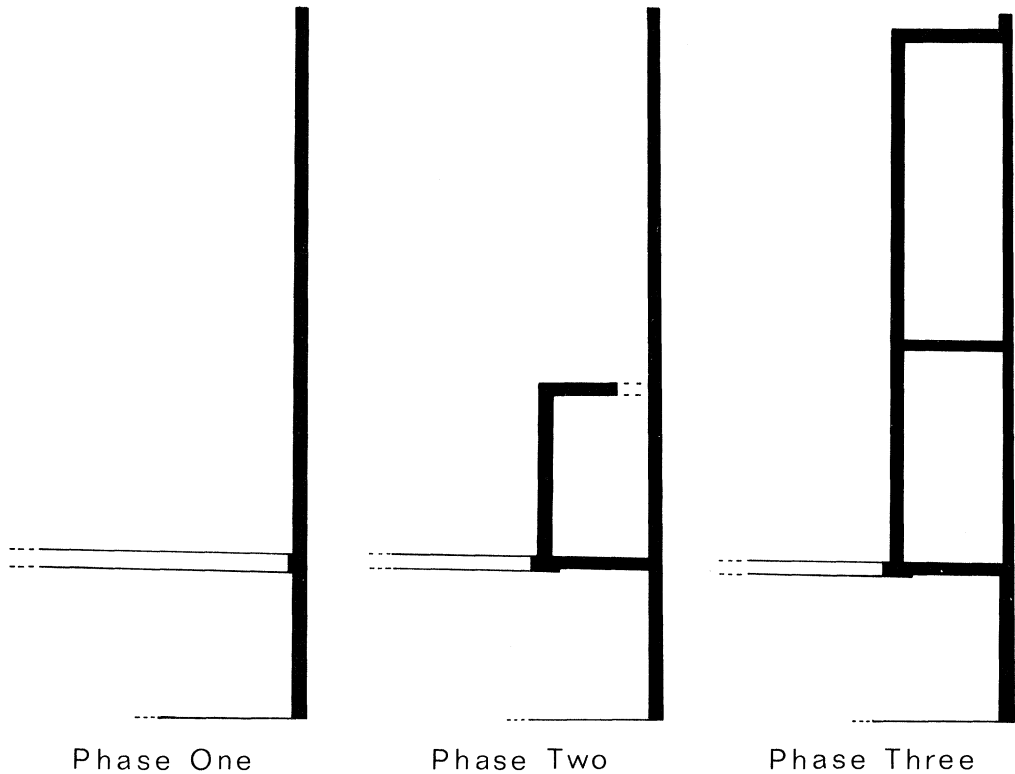


Fig. 1. Restored plans.

for the stoa would have had to rest on block E10.²⁸ This means that the stoa's eastern anta would have projected well beyond the northern edge of its stylobate, an impossible arrangement. Also, the only reason for cutting back the upper 0.11 m. of E10's western face by 0.02 m. would have been to produce a water-tight joint with another block. Finally, as witnessed in Bedding A by the first filler block, whose original southern edge is still preserved,²⁹ the bedding for the stylobate at the east end of the colonnade could not have accommodated the southern 0.20 m. of the stylobate blocks as they are now positioned.³⁰

For these reasons, the stylobate blocks in their present positions could at no time have extended as far as the East Wall. In their original use the northern faces of the stylobate blocks must have been placed at least 0.20 m. farther north in their bedding. Had they been set in this manner, the eastern end of Bedding A would now be

²⁸The southern end of E10 (Pl. 83:d) can be seen projecting from beneath the south side of A1, confirming that in its original state it continued across the space now occupied by block A1.

²⁹The bedrock cutting in which the limestone inset was placed shows that this is the original southern face of the first filler block in Bedding A (Pl. 85:a).

³⁰The distance from the northern face of block A1 to the southern face of the first filler block is 0.63 m. At its greatest preserved width the stylobate is 0.83 m. wide.

appropriate for them,³¹ and block E10 would serve as the foundation course of an anta *ca.* 0.27 m. wide and at least 0.83 m. deep. Therefore, at a later date, Bedding A was widened to the south by *ca.* 0.20 m. in the area of blocks A5–A7, block E10 was cut back in its central portion,³² and blocks A1–A7 were set in their present positions (cf. Phase Two).³³

Now a reconstruction of the first phase of the eastern and southern sides of the Sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis can be made. The original face of the East Wall ran from the northeastern corner of the sanctuary to the south wall of the Akropolis. (It must be underscored that the only reasons for E10 to project from the original face of the East Wall and to have its western face cut back by 0.02 m. are (1) to serve as the foundation for an anta at the eastern end of the stoa's colonnade, and (2) to make a water-tight joint with a block to the west, i.e. the easternmost stylobate block of the stoa.) That the Southern Stoa was erected when the East Wall was constructed is made clear by the fact that block E10 (the foundation course of the eastern anta) bonds with the East Wall (Pl. 83:d). The section of the East Wall that stretches from block E12 to the south wall of the Akropolis served as the east wall of the Southern Stoa, and the level at which blocks E13 and E14 are placed on their foundations indicates the floor level of the stoa.³⁴ The Southern Stoa would have stretched westward for at least 15 meters.

PHASE TWO (Fig. 1)

As already seen, Bedding A was cut to receive the Southern Stoa's stylobate blocks, and the five limestone blocks now standing in the bedding were set in place at a later date. At that time, during Phase Two of the sanctuary's construction, they were set as far to the south as possible on the original bedding, and block E10 was cut back so that block A1, the first block in Bedding A, could join directly with the East Wall at block E12 (cf. p. 328; Pl. 85:b). Bedding A was widened to the south by *ca.* 0.20 m. to bed the Phase Two stylobate blocks, which continued the line of the northern face of the wall blocks.³⁵ Thus, the northern extent of the original bedding was left exposed as a ledge 0.06 m. high projecting *ca.* 0.33 m. north from the line of limestone blocks.

³¹The eastern end of the bedding is 0.98 m. wide (first filler block).

³²See footnote 23.

³³Although there is no conclusive evidence, block A6 may be a block from the Phase One stoa which has been re-used in Phase Two. It is of the same yellow limestone as blocks E10–E12 and the two filler blocks in Bedding A, all of which were used at the eastern end of the stoa in the first phase, and its dimensions fit well with the Phase One bedding (see above, footnote 30). Block A1 is also of yellow limestone and may also have been re-used after the Phase One stoa was destroyed.

³⁴The fact that blocks E13 and E14 are set back from the face of their foundation indicates that the foundation served as a socle which would have been below ground level.

³⁵The original line of limestone wall blocks was unbroken. Both the western end of block A3 and the eastern end of block A4 are broken away, leaving a gap of 1.09 m. between the two. If the preserved length of A3 and A4 is added to the distance between the two blocks and divided by two, a figure of 1.35 m. is arrived at as the average original length of each block. The average length of the fully preserved wall blocks in Bedding A is 1.164 m., with a range of 1.135 m. to 1.20 m.

Block A5 joins with the first stylobate block, A6, in the area of the intersection of Bedding A and West Bedding 1 (Pl. 84:b). Here the character of the second architectural phase of the sanctuary becomes evident. Block A5 is notched to make a water-tight joint with block A6.³⁶ The southern side of block A5 is broken away, but the fact that the bedding for this block is as wide as the bedding for the stylobate indicates that, when block A5 was set in place, it was as wide as block A6. Block A5 exhibits anathyrosis on its upper and lower western faces, the lower to receive block A6, and the upper to receive a block that rested on A6. The fact that the ridge at the eastern end of A6 is under the upper projection of block A5 (Pl. 84:c) indicates that the upper surface of A6 was chiseled down after block A5 was set in place, and therefore during Phase Two of the sanctuary. The eastern end of block A6, chiseled down slightly to form a level bearing surface, would have bedded the eastern anta of the Phase Two colonnade, and the anathyrosis on the upper western face of block A5 would have received the lowest block of the anta. The anta must have been as deep as its stylobate, and it is for this reason that block A5 in its original state was *ca.* 0.31 m. wider than the wall blocks to its east (Fig. 1). The northern face of the anta, as witnessed by the smoothed area of block A6, would have been *ca.* 0.70 m. wide.³⁷

Anathyrosis is also carved on the northern face of block A5 (Pl. 84:b). The lower half of the block is smoothly finished as is the eastern 0.27 m. of the preserved northern face of A6. If the width of block W1 and the level of its upper surface are projected southward, the following observations can be made:

1. The western face of block W1 is on a line with the western edge of the smoothed area on the northern face of block A6 (Pl. 86:a).
2. The top surface of block W1 is level with the upper surface of block A6 and would meet block A5 just below the roughly picked area of its northern face.

Also, the distance between block W1 and block A5 is 1.39 m., very close to the average length of blocks W1–W5. Thus, it becomes evident that another block, of dimensions similar to those of blocks W1–W5, rested in the southern end of West Bedding 1 and abutted blocks A5 and A6. The bottom of this block would have been cut to accommodate the ledge that projects northward from the line of blocks in Bedding A. It is this bedrock portion of the ledge that has been cut with its upper and northern surfaces at right angles to each other (cf. p. 328). This was necessary for a close joint between the ledge and the underside of the block.³⁸

The line of the eastern face of the West Wall on its toichobate is marked by the band of anathyrosis on block A5, 0.42 m. from its western end (Pl. 84:b). The westernmost edge of block A5 aligns with the eastern limit of the raised, roughly dressed panel on blocks W2 and W3 and the panel's trace on blocks W3 and W4 (Pl. 86:a), indicating the line of the West Wall's western face. This line is interrupted, however, by the raised, roughly dressed panel on block W1. At this point it is possible

³⁶This joint is very similar to one in the stoa at Lykosoura.

³⁷See footnote 14.

³⁸As in the other bedrock portions of the ledge, its northern face would have sloped outward in Phase One.

to reconstruct a doorway in the area between block A5 and the southern extreme of the raised panel on W2.³⁹ The northern jamb of the door would have been set in the 0.68 m. between the panels on blocks W2 and W1 and would have projected slightly beyond the face of the wall. A southern jamb of the same width would have been set against the anathyrosis on the northern face of block A5. The eastern edge of the raised panel on block W1 would have served as the setting line for a threshold block running 1.47 m. from the northern to the southern jamb. A doorway of this width would probably have had a single-leaf door, and the width of the doorjamb would have corresponded in dimensions to the northern face of the anta bedded on block A6.

A toichobate block 1.38 m. long, close to the average length of the blocks in West Bedding 1, can be placed between block W5 and the northern boundary of the bedding, so the solid⁴⁰ West Wall would have continued to the northern extremes of West Bedding 1 and Bedding B.

Bedding B intersects West Bedding 1 at a point *ca.* 0.10 m. south of the northern end of block W5. There is no break between the beddings, and the western 3.50 m. of Bedding B is finished exactly as West Bedding 1, indicating that they were cut at the same time. The width of Bedding B suggests that a toichobate (the return of the West Wall's toichobate) was intended for the bedding, and the existence of the ledge 0.22 m. wide at the eastern end of the bedding shows that Bedding B was cut while the original face of the East Wall was intact.⁴¹ Most of the eastern 1.46 m. of the bedding, however, is unfinished and could not have received a wall in its present state. The channel running along the northern edge of the bedding's eastern end (Pl. 81) indicates the level to which the bedrock was originally intended to be cut. That the rest of the eastern end of Bedding B was not finished to this level could indicate that there was an alteration of plan during construction, or that the building was destroyed before completion. Clay packing would have been necessary as a bedding for the eastern end of any wall running from West Bedding 1 to the East Wall.

Thus, during Phase Two of the sanctuary's construction an East Wing with an interior space of *ca.* 8.25 m. by 5.50 m., and employing the East Wall as its own east wall, was begun, but probably not completed, on the southeastern side of the sanctuary. The Southern Stoa was rebuilt extending westward from the East Wall, its colonnade beginning at the southwestern corner of the new East Wing.

PHASE THREE (Fig. 1)

The cuttings in the northeastern sector of the sanctuary may now be examined. These are the beddings already described as West Bedding 2, Bedding C, and Bedding

³⁹Kavvadias and Kawerau (footnote 14 above), p. 143, suggested the possibility of a door in this part of the building.

⁴⁰Stevens reconstructs a west wall with two engaged columns, one on block W1 and one on block W3, on the evidence of a now invisible column trace on block W3. The existence of a door jamb at the northern end of block W1 precludes the existence of an engaged column at that point, but two engaged columns, each 0.68 m. wide and 1.75 m. apart, could be reconstructed to the north of the doorway.

⁴¹Had it been cut after the East Wall was cut back, the bedding would have extended all the way to the preserved face of the East Wall, as Bedding C does.

D (Pl. 81). Since only one block remains in Bedding C, none in West Bedding 2, and none in Bedding D, most of the information about this sector must be derived from the cuttings themselves and from an examination of their relationships with each other and with the features of the second phase. It has been demonstrated that Phase Two employs part of the original East Wall as well as Bedding A, Bedding B, and West Bedding 1. The features that have no relationship to either the first or the second phase are the recut East Wall and those cuttings presently under consideration in the north-eastern section of the sanctuary.

Although the differences in width and depth between West Bedding 1 and West Bedding 2 indicate that they were cut at different times, the identical orientation and contiguity of the two beddings suggest a structural relationship. It seems likely that a northward continuation of the wall in West Bedding 1 was desired and that West Bedding 2 served as the wall's bedding. The northern end of West Bedding 2 is connected to the East Wall by Bedding D. West Bedding 2 and Bedding D serve no apparent function other than to define the western and northern sides of a new, long, rectangular structure.

There is a problem, however, in the present arrangement at the northeastern corner of the sanctuary. Block E2 would not permit effective bonding between the wall of Bedding D and the East Wall. Such a wall would abut an irregular surface consisting of part of the finely dressed western face of block E1 and the recessed northern panel on the western face of block E2. A tight join could not be formed unless the last block were specially adapted or a filler block were inserted. Several factors, however, suggest that the present state of block E2 is due to a later reworking and that its original northern panel preserved the original face of the block at the time Bedding D was cut. These factors are: 1) the Akropolis bedrock below the panel of E2 has not been cut back (in all other cases, the recutting of blocks E2 through E6 includes a comparable recutting of the bedrock); 2) the evidence adduced from all other blocks, tool marks, and the ledge reveals only two successive western faces of the wall (the panel on block E2 creates a third face which cannot be associated with either phase of the East Wall); 3) for the rest of its length, the East Wall has been recut to a vertical plane (this panel slopes from bottom to top); 4) it serves no purpose associated with the other cuttings in the area. For these reasons the panel should be viewed as a later feature bearing no relationship to the architectural scheme under examination. It may therefore be assumed that at the time of the cutting of Bedding D the northern end of block E2 was intact and rested upon the bedrock socle which is still preserved.⁴²

The chronological position of Bedding C can be determined when Bedding C is examined in conjunction with features of the second building phase and with the recut

⁴²It is possible that the North Wall of the wing was set with its eastern end against the southern two thirds of block E2. Its northern line would be marked by the cutting that extends westward from the sloping panel and would extend westward to the point where Bedding D steps down, 2.225 m. from the East Wall. The western end of Bedding D could have accommodated a series of steps leading from the north into an open colonnade. West Bedding 2 is not wide enough, however, to bed a similar stairway. For this reason this possibility has been rejected.

East Wall. The wall that stood in Bedding B has already been identified as the northern wall of an East Wing, planned and possibly constructed when the East Wall was intact. The impossibility of recutting the East Wall in the area adjacent to the eastern end of the bedding while the wall in Bedding B was *in situ* indicates one of several things: the wall in Bedding B was destroyed before the East Wall was recut; it was dismantled for this purpose; or, it was never built (cf. p. 337). Thus, the East Wing cannot have remained intact at the time of the remodeling of the East Wall.

Bedding C, on the other hand, extends as far east as the recut face of the East Wall. It could only have been cut after the East Wall was redressed, at a time when the East Wing of Phase Two was no longer standing. The pry holes and setting line on block C1, which is *in situ* in Bedding C, provide evidence for an east-west wall running from West Bedding 2 to the East Wall.⁴³ The setting line, located 0.64 m. from the northern face of the block, provides the approximate width of the wall.

The chronology of the area can be summarized as follows: 1) the original East Wall was constructed, 2) Bedding B was cut, 3) the wall in Bedding B was destroyed or the plans for it abandoned, 4) the East Wall was cut back, 5) Bedding C and the wall set in it were constructed.

Since Bedding C extends as far as the recut face of the East Wall, it is possible to assign it to a third building phase, contemporary with the recutting of the East Wall. In this phase, the colonnade of Phase Two remained in use, but the East Wing was superseded by a much longer structure of similar width whose northern wall is represented by Bedding D. The structure is defined on the east by the recut East Wall whose entire western face then became an interior surface. The western wall of the structure was bedded in West Beddings 1 and 2. The wall in Bedding C was an interior crosswall. The creation of an interior space, witnessed by the cutting of West Bedding 2 and Bedding D, coupled with the cutting back of the East Wall reflects the unification of the eastern section of the sanctuary in Phase Three.

In its redressed condition, the roughly worked face of the East Wall is inappropriate for an interior wall. Its rough quality alone suggests that it received revetment. The 0.22 m. band that runs along the base of the East Wall provides a level bedding for the revetment. The reason for the ledge is therefore clear: it preserves the elevation of the band to the north, permitting a consistent level for the bedding of the revetment.

Several additional cuttings in the eastern part of the sanctuary attest to building activity distinct from the structures already discussed. Near the northern end of West Bedding 2 are beddings oriented obliquely to it. The fact that they are at a higher elevation and are cut by West Bedding 2 indicates that they predate the third phase of construction in the sanctuary.⁴⁴

West of West Bedding 2 and *ca.* 2.50 m. north of its intersection with Bedding C are two parallel rectangular cuttings oriented obliquely to West Bedding 2 (cf. p. 332).

⁴³The possibility that this toichobate block was originally cut for Bedding B must remain open. Its size is perhaps more substantial than necessary for an interior wall.

⁴⁴See footnote 21 above.

The lead inset in the western cutting, which might be a pivot hole, and the circular cutting midway between the rectangular cuttings, which could have served as the catch for a double-leaf door, may indicate that these cuttings belong to the door of an earlier structure. The partly preserved bedding east of these cuttings and beyond West Bedding 2, whose eastern end is parallel to the rectangular cuttings, is cut by West Bedding 2 and consequently pre-dates it. Similarly, the wall beddings south of these must have been interrupted by West Bedding 2 since no trace of a southern return is visible at its eastern end. Although the dimensions of the building that stood in these beddings cannot be completely defined, it is clear from the preserved southern extent that the East Wing of Phase Two interrupts the building's plan and therefore post-dates it.

The bedding between the steps and the northern end of West Bedding 2 is too wide for a wall. Moreover, the definite eastern and western limits (*ca.* four meters apart) preclude the construction of any wall but a free-standing one. The orientation of the wide bedding is closer to that of the early cuttings discussed above than to the buildings of Phases One, Two, and Three. To the north of this bedding is a series of six east-west striations in the bedrock outside the sanctuary, reflecting a southward turn in the Sacred Way. The fact that the Sacred Way turns to enter the Sanctuary of Artemis at this point, coupled with the fact that the striations are on axis with the wide bedding just discussed, may indicate that the latter represents a formalized entranceway to the sanctuary. The bedding adjacent to the eastern end of the entranceway is appropriate for a wall and together with another cutting *ca.* five meters to the east may represent the bedding for a temenos wall between the entranceway and the East Wall.⁴⁵ Five stelai cuttings and an L-shaped cutting follow the same line.

Several considerations suggest that the formalized entranceway was removed before Phase Three construction. First, had the entranceway been standing, a visitor's line of sight and physical movement would have been directed toward the wall or colonnade of the long east wing, only about three meters away. Second, from within the sanctuary, the spectator's view of the northern end of the long East Wing would have been blocked by the entranceway. Third, the entranceway would no longer mark the boundary of the sanctuary; the northern end of the long East Wing would project beyond it. Fourth, the proximity of the entranceway to West Bedding 2 (*ca.* 0.40 m.) would have hindered the construction of the long East Wing.

When the formalized entranceway went out of use, a new means of access to the sanctuary would have been necessary. The rock-cut steps fulfill this need. Although the steps are irregularly cut, they are nearly parallel to the North Wall and to the trace extending toward the east.⁴⁶ The steps, therefore, appear to have been cut at the same

⁴⁵Stevens viewed these cuttings as evidence of a northern boundary wall of the sanctuary during his second phase; *op. cit.* (footnote 2 above), p. 470 and fig. 22 (wall G). The dressing of the bedrock for the northern end of West Bedding 2 and Bedding D has completely obliterated any additional cuttings along this line.

⁴⁶It is likely that stone risers and treads were bedded on the rock-cut steps and that the rock cuttings themselves do not preserve the exact alignment of the stairs. Stevens assigned two phases of use to the stairs, one to each of his periods in the sanctuary's history; *op. cit.*, p. 466.

time as the bedrock socle of the North Wall. The stairway was put out of use by the building of an exedra immediately to the north. The exedra extends nearly to the eastern end of the steps.⁴⁷ The southern end of a drain built to accommodate the exedra cuts into the eastern end of the lowest step.

CONCLUSION

The recent examination of the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, including a remeasurement of the area, has yielded new information and has shed new light on the architectural development of the area, showing it to be more complex than was previously thought. Numerous early features, including a segment of the Mycenaean circuit wall, have been identified and three distinct architectural phases (apart from these early features) have been isolated.

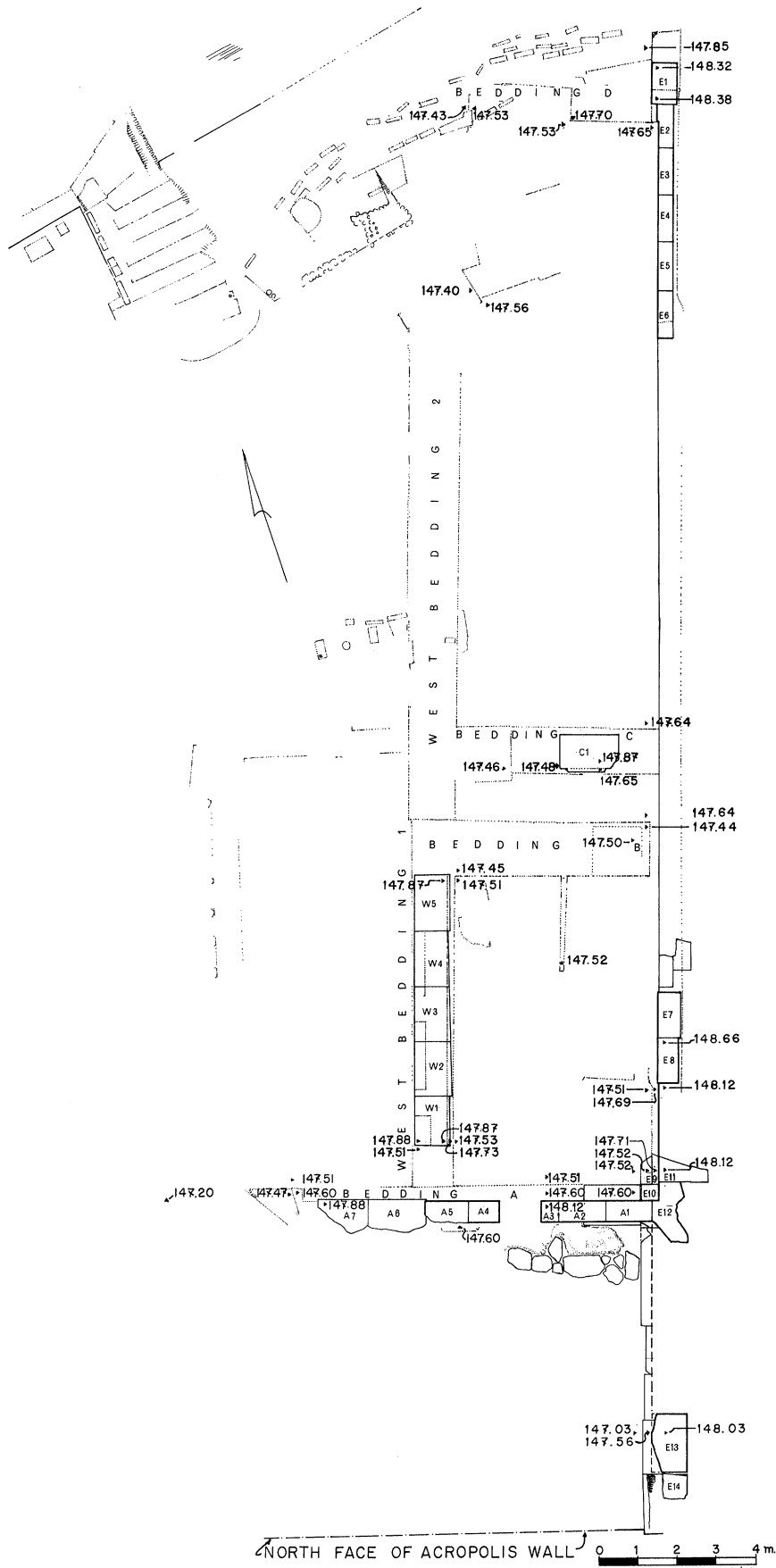
Phase One consists of a temenos wall along the eastern side of the sanctuary and a Southern Stoa bonding with it. During Phase Two an eastern wing was planned for the stoa, resulting in an alteration of the stoa's colonnade. Phase Three involved the abandonment of the second phase wing, the cutting back of the East Wall and the construction of a long wing on the eastern side of the sanctuary.

Vestiges of two entranceways remain at the north. The earlier, on axis with a southward turn in the Sacred Way, and pre-dating Phase Three, may be associated with the cuttings for earlier buildings and/or with Phases One or Two. The other, a rock-cut stairway, belongs to the final phase of the sanctuary's development.

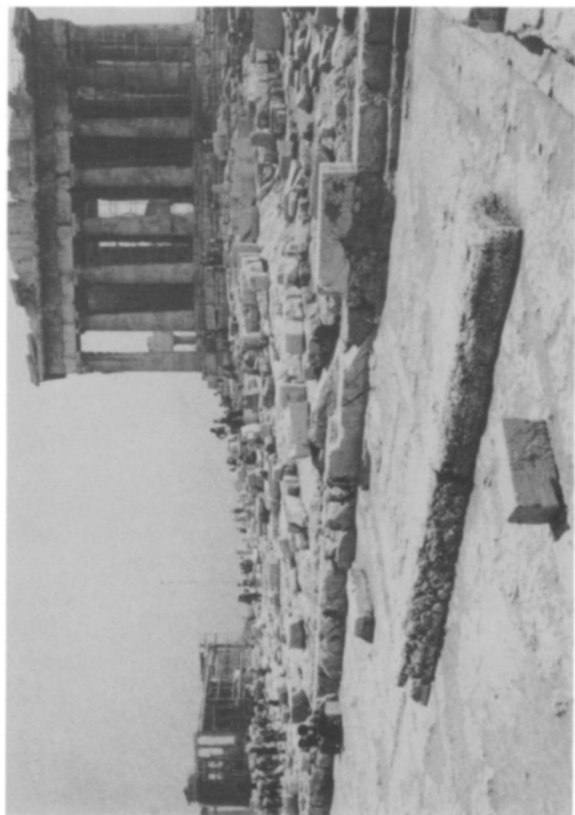
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⁴⁷Earlier plans have not shown that the cuttings for the exedra extend in front of the steps.



Actual state plan of the Sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis



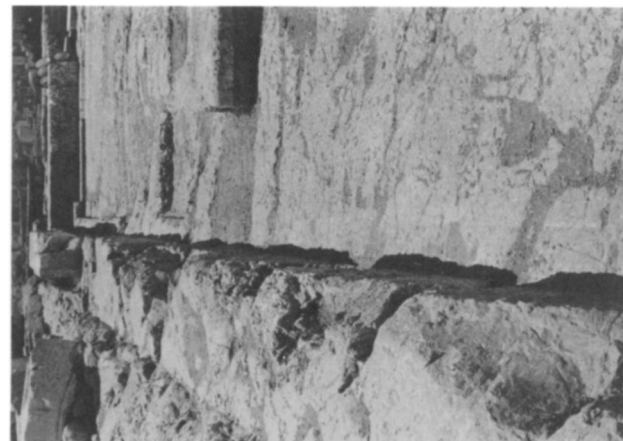
a. General view, eastern end of sanctuary, from southwest



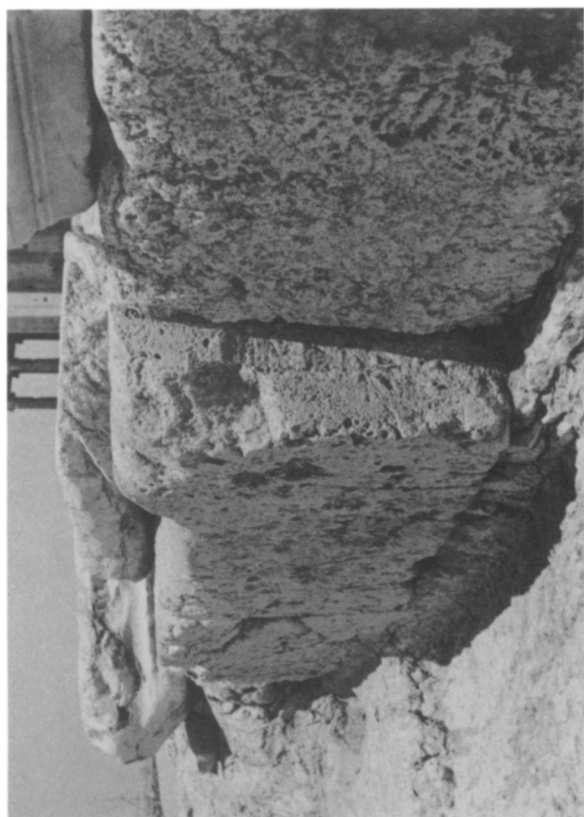
b. General view, southeastern part of sanctuary, from west



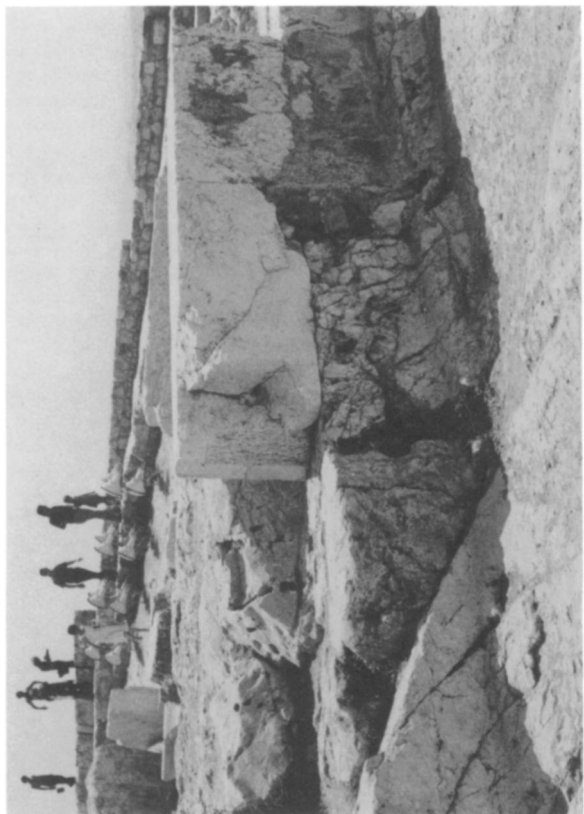
c. Northern end of East Wall from west



d. East Wall from north. Pick marks in foreground, ledge in background



a. Anathrosis on southern end of E1, from southwest



b. Blocks E7, E8, and filler blocks at left, from northwest



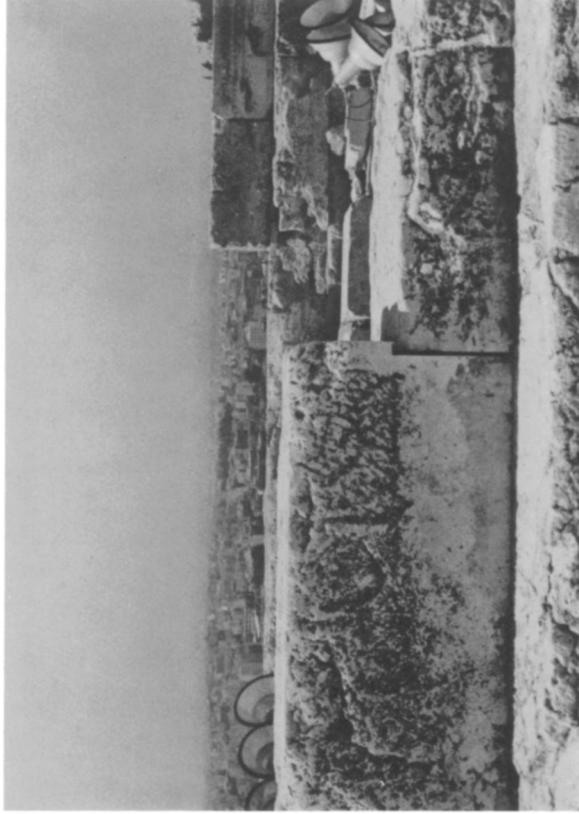
c. Blocks E9, E10, E11, E12 and part of A1, from west



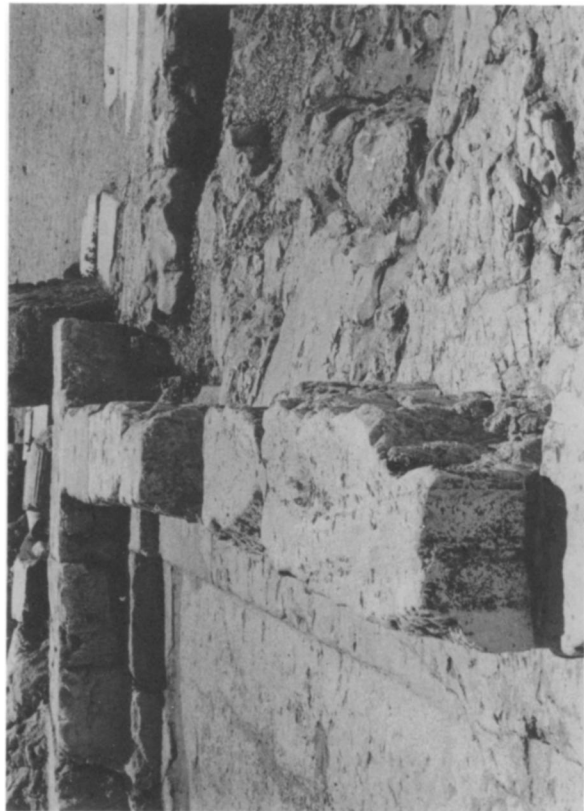
d. Blocks E9, E10, E12, from west



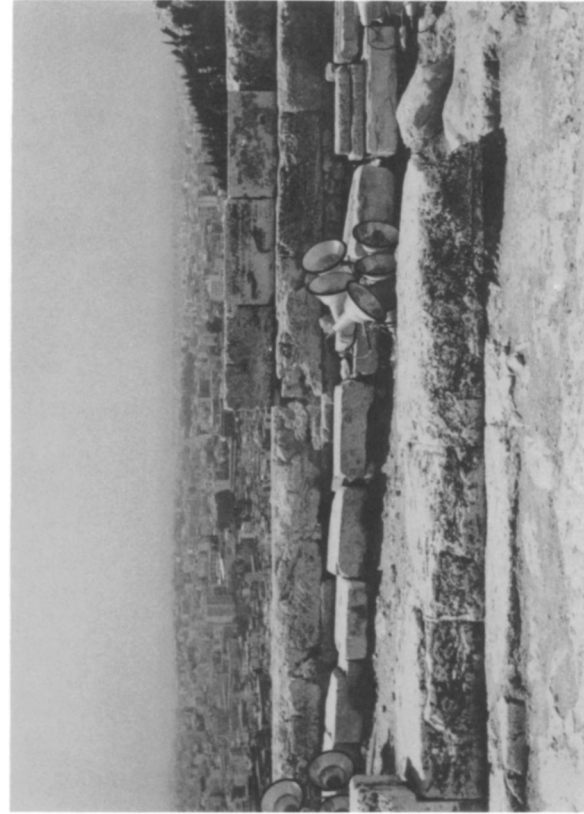
a. East Wall, Bedding A and West Bedding 1, and their blocks, from west



b. Blocks A5 and A6 from north



c. Western end of Block A5 with anathyrosis, from west



d. Western end of Block A5, Blocks A6 and A7, from north



a. Eastern end of Bedding A, southern edge, from west



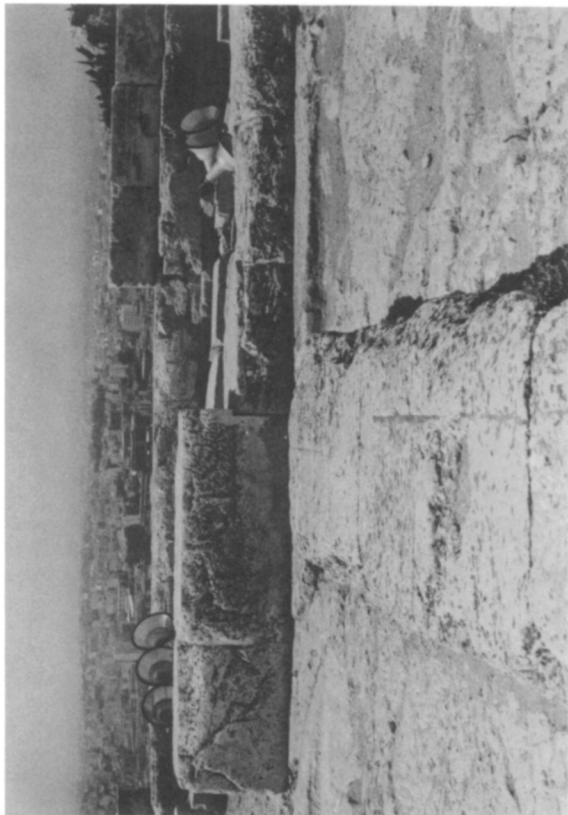
b. Junction of East Wall and Bedding A, from north



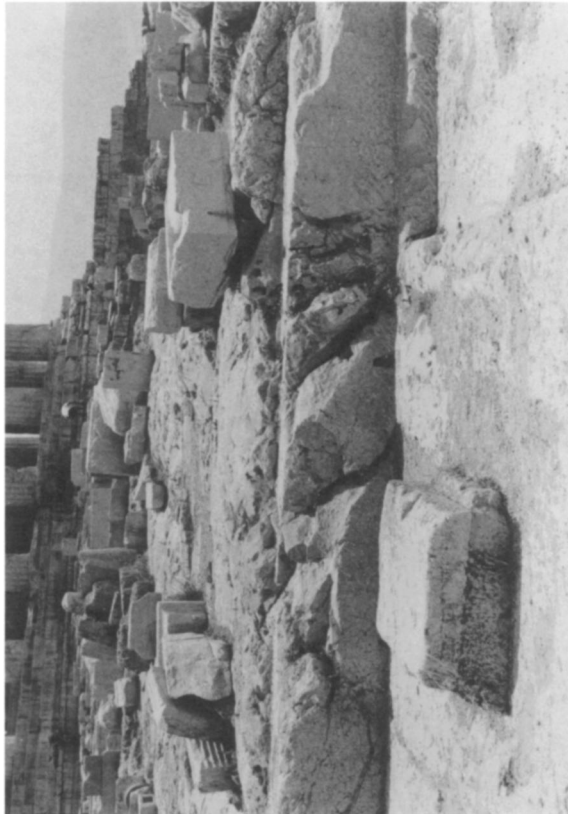
c. Bedding D and Blocks E1, E2 and E3, from west



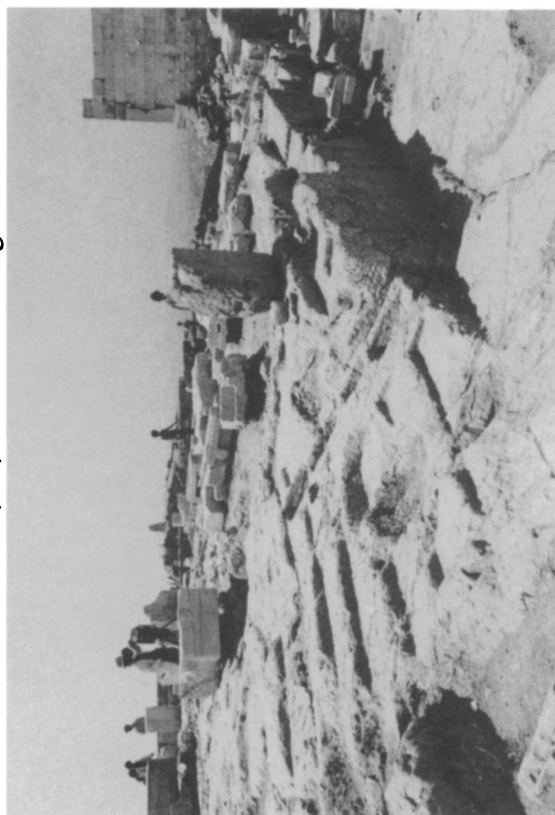
d. Segment of Mycenaean Wall from west



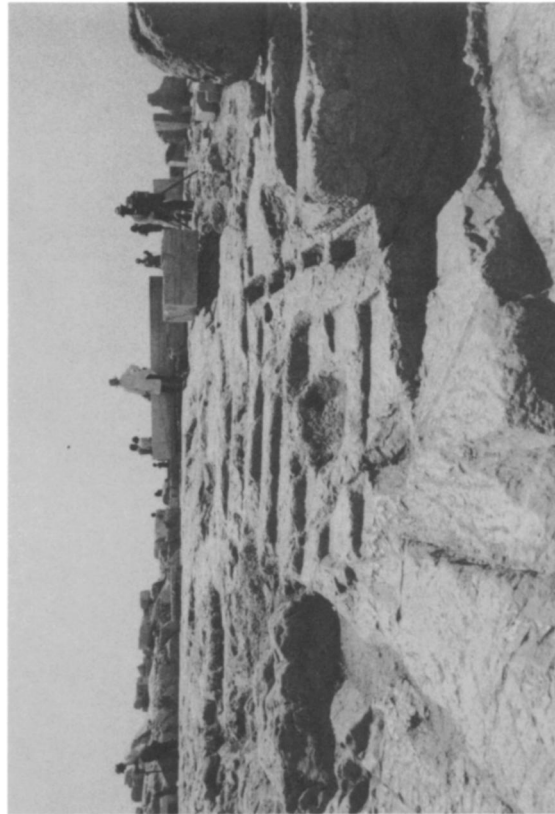
a. Blocks W1 and W2, showing raised panels, and part of Block W3, from north. Blocks A4, A5, A6 and A7 in background



b. Block C1 and eastern end of Bedding B, from west



c. Stairway and northwestern temenos wall, from northeast



d. Stairway from north