

THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO PATROOS DATED BY AN AMPHORA STAMP

ABSTRACT

The Temple of Apollo Patroos in the Athenian Agora is often dated to ca. 330 B.C. A fragment of a Thasian amphora with a stamp bearing the eponym Ποῦλλος was found in a pit closed no later than the period of the temple's construction. This stamp dates to ca. 313 B.C. The temple must therefore have been constructed in the very late 4th or very early 3rd century. Review of the textual and other archaeological evidence related to the temple and its vicinity clarifies the physical development of this cult site from ca. 375 to ca. 300 B.C.

INTRODUCTION

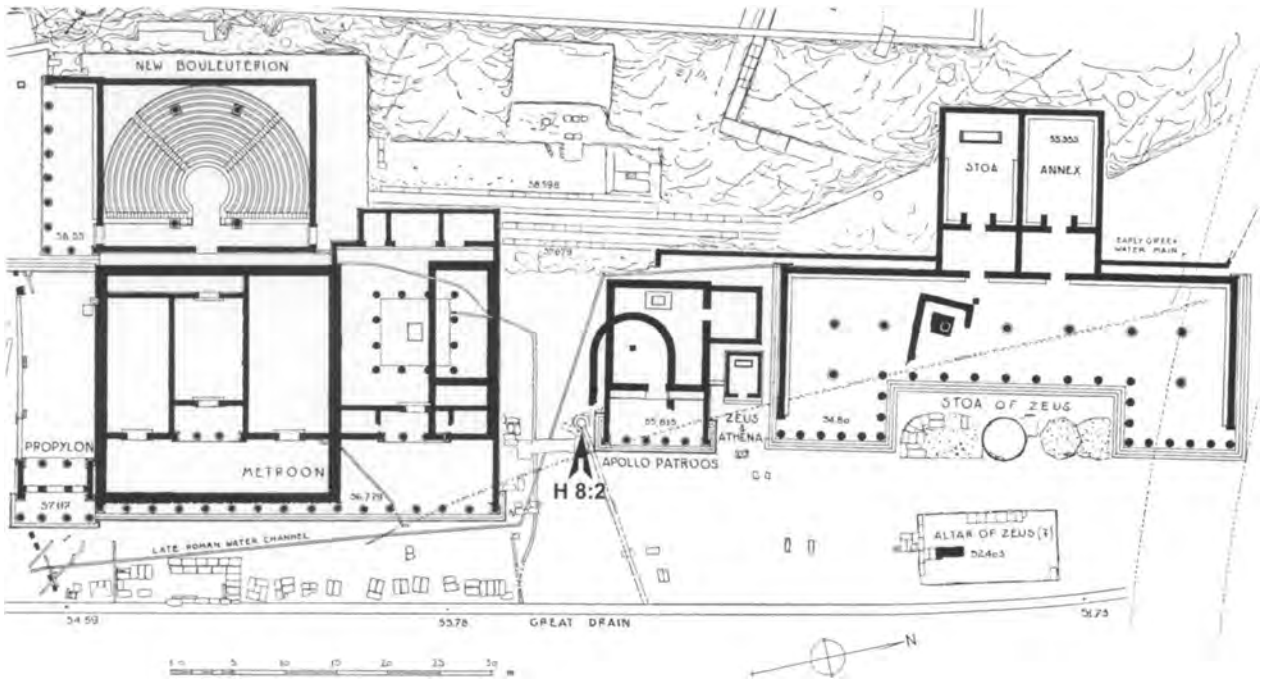
The purpose of this article is to reconsider the date of the small L-shaped temple on the west side of the Athenian Agora between the Stoa of Zeus and the Metroon (Fig. 1). New evidence for the date of a Thasian amphora stamp found in an associated pit, H 8:2, prompts this reconsideration.¹ Ever since the publication in 1937 of Homer Thompson's initial report on the excavations there has been widespread, though not universal, acceptance both of his identification of the building as the Temple of Apollo Patroos and of his dating of the construction to the period when Lykourgos oversaw Athenian finances and dominated Athenian political and cultural life,

1. Thompson 1937, pp. 77–115, is the primary excavation report of the structure known as the Temple of Apollo Patroos, following a brief discussion in T. L. Shear's 1935 report (1935, pp. 352–354). See also *Agora* III, pp. 50–53, and *Agora* XIV, pp. 136–139. The inspiration for this article came from a brief note by Virginia Grace in her report (dated February 19, 1986) on Agora deposit O–R 7–10 under the Stoa of Attalos, a copy of which is on

file at the Athenian Agora. Grace drew attention to the Thasian stamp published here, observing that Homer Thompson neglected to mention it in his publication of the Temple of Apollo. When Grace wrote that note, the accepted date of the Thasian stamp could reasonably well have fit Thompson's date of the temple. Advances in our knowledge of Thasian amphora-stamp chronologies have since raised the difficulty addressed in this article.

I am extremely grateful for the very helpful comments provided by the anonymous *Hesperia* reviewers. Discussions with Aileen Ajootian, John Camp, Catherine Keesling, Carol Lawton, Susan Rotroff, Lea Stirling, and Chavdar Tzochew encouraged me to pursue this point of interest and were helpful in clarifying the final result.

All translations are my own.



between ca. 338 and 326 B.C.² Thompson's arguments for this date included mid-4th-century pottery in a stone-built pit under the smaller naiskos embraced by the L-shape of the larger (and, in Thompson's view, later) temple; "non-committal sherds of the fourth century" in areas of construction-related fill left undisturbed by the late-19th-century German excavations of the area; architectural comparisons with other structures dated to the 330s and 320s; and Pausanias's claim that Euphranor, whose other attested works span at least the years from the 360s through the 330s, carved the cult statue of Apollo Patroos on display in the building. Thompson concluded that "the temple was built after its small neighbor, i.e. after the middle of the 4th century B.C. But since Euphranor made the cult statue it cannot have been much later . . . materials and technique would agree with a date towards ca. 330 B.C. perhaps in the time of Lykourgos."³

The sherds, however, are not so "non-committal." One, in particular—a stamped amphora handle—requires a date no earlier than ca. 313 B.C. Hence the construction of the building more likely occurred at the very end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century. Reconsideration of the excavation records, pottery, and other finds from the vicinity of this building along with the relevant literary testimonia permits the definition of a series of events in the latter half of the 4th century marking the gradual elaboration of the cult of Apollo Patroos at this location on the west side of the Athenian Agora. While there is likely still some temporal connection to the period of Lykourgos in this process, the L-shaped temple can no longer be regarded as part of the Lykourgan age.

Before turning to the archaeological evidence, a few points of terminology are needed to avoid ambiguity. The L-shaped temple often referred to as the Temple of Apollo is here referred to as the "temple." The identification of the building as sacred to Apollo is somewhat at issue here, so the more

Figure 1. Area of the Temple of Apollo Patroos, with pit H 8:2, on the west side of the Athenian Agora. After plan by J. Travlos, in Thompson 1937, p. 219, fig. 126

2. On Lykourgos, see Buchanan 1962, pp. 74–80; Mitchel 1970; and Humphreys 1985.

3. *Agora XIV*, p. 137. See Thompson 1937, pp. 102–104, for his arguments for this range of dates.

neutral term is preferable. The small building between the temple and the Stoa of Zeus, traditionally identified as the Temple of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria, is here referred to as the “naiskos.” The stone-lined pit found below the naiskos, often referred to as a bothros, is here referred to as the “basin.”⁴ The term “east–west terrace wall” refers to the wall leading eastward from the southern end of the retaining wall built behind the Stoa of Zeus against the slopes of the Kolonos Agoraios.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Earlier German (1895–1896) and Greek (1907–1908) excavations along the west side of the Agora exposed the main part of the temple itself, so few undisturbed sections remained to be explored when the American excavations began in 1931.⁵ For the most part, any undisturbed fill came from Late Roman destruction levels over the temple, from the naiskos, and from the south end of the Stoa of Zeus. Fragments of a marble kithara, for example, were recovered in these fills in the area between the temple and the Stoa of Zeus.⁶ In lots A102, A103, and A177, however, excavation reached undisturbed levels in the foundation areas of the temple and the naiskos. Lot A177 is foundation fill for the southern wall of the naiskos. While most of the diagnostic material here is datable to the second quarter of the 4th century, there is one plain-rim kantharos fragment similar to a form in use ca. 340–325 B.C.⁷ Lots A102 and A103 are foundation fills for the northwest room of the temple, and here too most of the diagnostic pottery is datable within the first half of the 4th century, with a few pieces, such as a molded-rim kantharos and a rolled-rim plate with a thickened wall, possibly dating within the third quarter of the century.⁸

The greater part of the temple’s excavation falls into the “Old Excavation” (OE) section, just to the south, and Thompson refers to pottery lots from this sector in his 1937 report. Most immediately relevant to the date of the temple is a small bit of foundation fill (lot OE 159 = H 7:4) excavated

4. Thompson’s original description of this pit (1937, pp. 86–88), especially his description of an outlet channel and mortared floor and carefully mortared exterior, makes the common identification of this feature as a bothros quite unlikely.

5. Dörpfeld 1896, pp. 107–108; 1897, p. 225; with summary in 1937–1939, vol. 1, pp. 77–88, and extended discussion in vol. 2, pp. 146–167, reiterating his belief that the temple is the Royal Stoa of the 6th century B.C. The Greek excavations are reported in very general fashion by Kavvadias (1907 and 1908).

6. Thompson 1961, pp. 37–39, fig. 7; these fragments are brought together as

Agora inventory A 41, whose findspot is described in section A notebook, pp. 134, 668, as 4th–5th-century A.D. levels between the Stoa of Zeus and the small northwest room of the temple.

7. The profile from the rim to the shoulder of the kantharos resembles *Agora* XII, pp. 284–285, no. 684.

8. While the molded-rim kantharos starts to appear near the middle of the century, the piece from this lot may show some development in having a taller neck than is common among those published from Olynthos. While *Agora* XII, p. 283, no. 662, dated ca. 325, and *Agora* XXIX, pp. 245–246, nos. 37–42, all resemble the fragment from A102, this piece is more conserva-

tively dated simply within the third quarter of the 4th century. For the plate, see thickened walls of plates *Agora* XII, p. 310, no. 1059, dated ca. 325 B.C.; and *Agora* XXIX, p. 309, nos. 632 and 633, also dated ca. 325. Again, it may be safer to settle on a date anywhere from the middle to the third quarter of the 4th century. Two other lots—A175 and A176—are described as clearing “Dörpfeld’s Stoa Basileus,” i.e., the area of the naiskos and east end of the larger temple. The description in the notebooks of these contexts, however, opens the possibility that they are somewhat disturbed by later activity, and at least one Hellenistic plate rim appears in A176.

as part of the conservation and consolidation of the temple's walls.⁹ This fill contained primarily small bits of fineware, and these are indeed quite "non-committal" in terms of the dating of the temple.¹⁰

A second deposit (H 7:3) comprises the fill within (lots OE 64–65) and around (OE 62–63, 66–67) the basin, all within the foundations of the naiskos.¹¹ Both the contents of this deposit compared with the few fills associated with the larger temple and the architectural relationship of the two adjacent buildings convinced Thompson that the naiskos predated the temple that wrapped around it. He noted the close parallels at Olynthos for some of the finewares and dated the contents of H 7:3 near the middle of the 4th century.¹² This fill was very rich in pottery—including numerous amphora fragments, plainware basins and lekanai, a storage tin and a half of black-glazed pottery, and large fragments of tile and unevenly fired mudbrick, possibly kiln fragments—and yet nothing of this material is necessarily datable later than Thompson's initial suggestion of the mid-4th century. Indeed, much of the material dates to the late 5th century. Along with the pottery, the fill also included a fragmentary mortgage inscription and a fragment of an official dry measure.¹³ There is one miniature krater here, perhaps a votive, but nothing else about the fill is particularly distinctive in terms of typical dumped fills in the Agora area. Given the late-5th-century date of much of the fill, the debris—especially the tile and kiln-wall pieces—may have come from construction activity related to the Stoa of Zeus and its retaining wall.¹⁴

Thus far, then, a review of the ceramic finds related to construction of the naiskos and even of the L-shaped temple does not require a date later than ca. 325. Thompson's mid-4th-century date for the construction of the naiskos over the earlier basin (of uncertain date) remains the best interpretation of the evidence.

The necessary changes in chronology come, instead, with a second deposit related to the construction date of the temple: the fill of a small pit whose related drain was seemingly put out of use by the temple's construction (pottery lot OE 112 = H 8:2) (Figs. 2, 3).¹⁵ The pit, with its bottom surface 1.44 m below the top level of the euthynteria course of the temple,

9. Thompson 1937, p. 102; OE notebook, pp. 472–473.

10. Two pieces are inventoried from these foundation fills: (1) from lot OE 159, P 13342, a black-glazed plate (= *Agora* XII, p. 312, no. 1087, dated to the late 5th century B.C.); and (2) L 3496, a lamp of Type 23A, also of the late 5th century (*Agora* IV, p. 57, no. 219, pl. 22). An uninventoried wall fragment shows a white-painted floral motif in the style preceding the introduction of true West Slope decoration, but this could date anytime from the late 5th century on (Thompson 1934, p. 438).

11. Thompson 1937, pp. 86–90; OE notebook, pp. 209–215.

12. A selection of these pieces is

illustrated in Thompson 1937, p. 89, fig. 46. Related fill under the north corner of the floor of this smaller building (lots OE 68–69, OE notebook, pp. 276–277) likewise included nothing requiring a date late in the 4th century. Thompson (*Agora* XIV, pp. 137–140) clearly believed that the smaller naiskos of Zeus and Athena was deliberately reduced in size in anticipation of the planned Temple of Apollo, and yet, as he wrote, "the way in which the intervening levels were managed shows that the temple was built after its small neighbor, i.e., after the middle of the 4th century B.C." (p. 137; see also Hedrick 1988, p. 191).

13. For the security horos (I 1888),

see *Agora* XIX, p. 40, no. H85; for the official measure (P 3719), see *Agora* X, p. 53, no. DM53, given only a general date in the second quarter of the 4th century with reference to this findspot.

14. On potters' workshops behind the Stoa of Zeus, see Thompson 1937, pp. 19–20; cf. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 277, and, for possible fragments of kiln lining, p. 184, fig. 2:120. Cromeey's discussion of this fill (2006, p. 67) places weight on the absence of a votive deposit; this expectation does not take account of the fact that debris filling an area such as we have here need not have come from activity in the immediate area.

15. Thompson 1937, pp. 101–102; OE notebook, pp. 398–401.

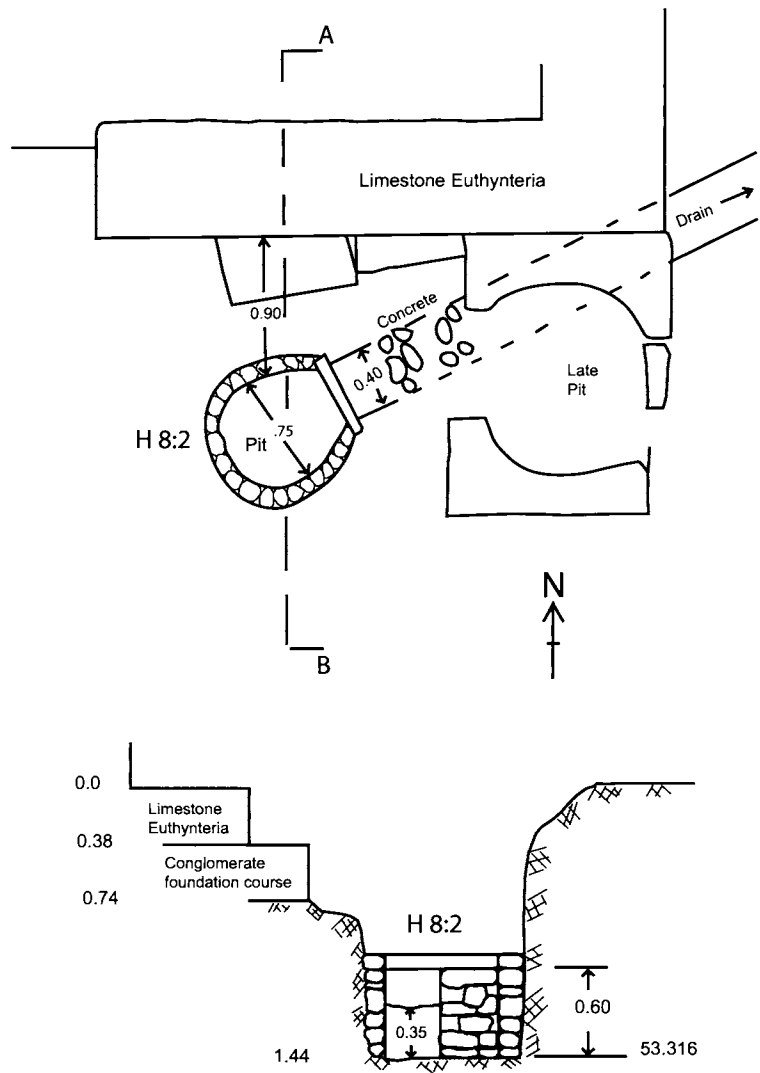


Figure 2. Plan and north-south section on line AB from the west of drainage pit H 8:2 and nearby features. Drawing M. L. Lawall and J. Vickers, based on measured sketch by H. A. Thompson in OE notebook, p. 397



Figure 3. Drainage pit H 8:2 and southern line of the euthyteria of the Temple of Apollo, viewed from the south. Thompson 1937, p. 101, fig. 54

was found just south of the porch. Thompson published a photograph of this pit in 1937, and the feature appears on a more general plan of the area in the same report (reproduced here as Figs. 1 and 3). A drain at the bottom of the pit led northeast to join the main channel of the Great Drain (Figs. 1, 2). Thompson proposed that the pit served as a runoff drain for water coming down the slopes, especially to the west and somewhat to the south. The water would then be taken down the pit, through the drain, and safely out into the Great Drain. The preserved fieldstone curbing of the pit lay well below the level of the euthynteria, so the pit is likely to have been filled in as the ground level south of the temple was raised to build the temple over the earlier east–west terrace wall. Thompson was convinced that the pit and drain were put out of use by the construction of the temple, even though the temple itself does not cover the pit (the southeast corner of the porch does overlie the drain).

As in other contexts associated to one degree or another with the construction of the temple, the identifiable and datable pieces of fine-ware pottery in H 8:2 are roughly compatible with a closing date of ca. 325. Transport amphora fragments from the retained context pottery catalogued below include one Thasian toe (Fig. 4:1) of a form that would be more common for the early 3rd century, but that in itself is not sufficient to force a date later than 325 for the context. Two different southern Aegean mushroom rims are likewise suggestive of a date later than 325. One, from the area of Knidos (Fig. 4:2), has a fairly thick triangular cross-section of the sort seen on vessels from the Kyrenia shipwreck of the 290s B.C. The other, likely to be from the area of Ephesos (Fig. 4:3), is rounded over the top with a downward-sloping outer face; it too has parallels in early-3rd-century contexts. At this point, however, neither rim form is so securely datable as to exclude a date of ca. 325 B.C. for the temple.

1 Thasian amphora toe Fig. 4

P 35706. H 8:2, lot OE 112.

Max. Diam. toe 5.3, p.H. 12.1 cm. Toe is 60% preserved with part of the lower body.

Reddish brown fabric with a darker red-brown slip (not preserved on the stamped rim and handle fragment), quite micaceous, with a dense packing of small to medium-size (up to 0.5 mm) pale gray glassy bits; core 5YR 6/6; slip gives a similar reading.

For similar forms in the 3rd century, see Monakhov 1999, p. 481, pl. 206:1, from the Zelenskoe kurgan, which was closed ca. 280 B.C.; Grandjean 1992, p. 568, fig. 14, no. 89, from a phase of the houses near the Silen Gate on Thasos no later than 250 B.C., and p. 561, fig. 9, no. 60, no later than the early 3rd century. The Public Well on Thasos, closed ca. 330 B.C., includes nothing like this particularly narrow hoof form (cf. Blondé, Muller, and Mulliez 1991, p. 217, fig. 2, and p. 219, fig. 3, no. 19).

2 Amphora rim from the area of Knidos Fig. 4

P 35707. H 8:2, lot OE 112.

Est. Diam. rim at top edge 10.0, p.H. 7.2 cm. Fragment preserves just over a quarter of the rim; no trace of handles preserved, but part of neck wall present.

Light brown surface with some pale brown slip preserved with very noticeable large flakes of gold mica; slightly darker brown core with 15%–20% density

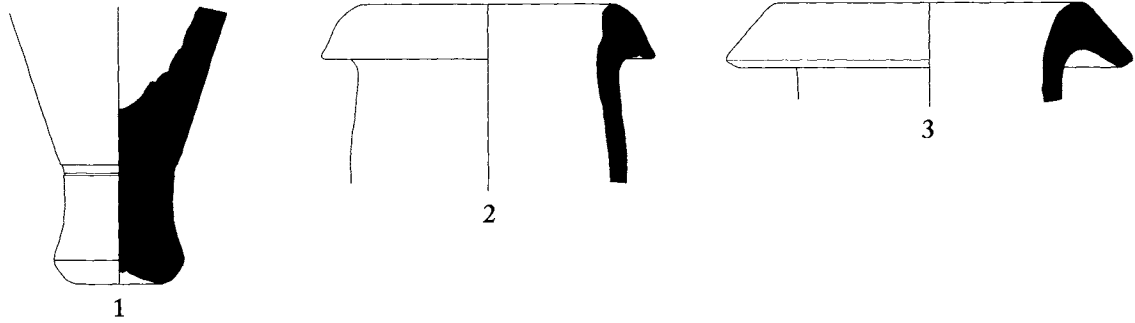


Figure 4. Amphoras from pit H 8:2: Thasian hoof-shaped toe (1); Knidos-area rim (2); Ephesos-area rim (3). Scale 1:3. Drawings M. L. Lawall

of inclusions of gray-brown glassy tan bits likely calcareous, and dark gray stony bits; core 5YR 6/4.

For Rhodian rims of the same form and date from the Kyrenia shipwreck, see Katzev 1969, p. 58; and for further profiles and an argument for a date in the 290s, see Lawall, forthcoming. The fabric of this particular rim, however, is not Rhodian but from the adjacent mainland, probably closer to Knidos itself, for the fabric shows widely scattered but readily visible large gold flakes of mica.

3 Amphora rim from the area of Ephesos

Fig. 4

P 35708. H 8:2, lot OE 112.

Est. Diam. rim at the top edge 12.0, p.H. 4.1 cm. Fragment preserves a quarter of the rim, a small part of the neck wall, and the trace of one upper handle attachment that has smeared the rim.

Very pale tan fabric, chalky to gritty in feel, and very micaceous; visible inclusions present in a density of ca. 5%, including gray glassy bits, but dusky dark gray opaque bits are most readily visible. Many inclusions may not be visible against the very pale core; core 10YR 7/3.

For examples from early-3rd-century contexts at Ephesos, see Lawall 2004, p. 180, fig. 4, upper left.

While the above amphora fragments raise the strong possibility of a date after 325 for the filling of the drainage pit and the construction of the adjacent temple, a single previously inventoried object from the pit, a Thasian amphora rim and neck (4) bearing a stamp with the name Πούλυς (Fig. 5), moves the date near or beyond 310 B.C.

4 Thasian amphora rim and stamped handle

Fig. 5

SS 6597. H 8:2, lot OE 112.

Est. Diam. rim 10.0, p.H. 17.3 cm. Fragment preserves just over a quarter of rim, parts of neck wall, and large segment of one handle. Squared interior profile of a roughly wedge-shaped rim. Lower outer face of rim with somewhat convex curve as it angles back toward the neck. Stamped impression on the outer face of the upper curve of the handle.

Hard, dark red-brown micaceous surface with fine-grained core, with ca. 20% density of inclusions, mostly small gray glassy; a very few are quite dark gray, rare white lime bits; core 2.5YR 5/8.

[Θ]ασίω[v]

dolphin

[Π]ούλυς¹⁶

This stamp is included in the corpus of Thasian stamps published by A.-M. Bon and A. Bon (1957, no. 1409). The restoration of the eponym is secure on account of the absence of other known Thasian eponyms with these last three letters (see eponym lists in Debidour 1986, Avram 1996, and Garlan 2004–2005).

16. The presentation of the text follows epigraphic conventions. The dotted letters are somewhat visible but not clearly so; letters in brackets are broken away or were never impressed due to the curvature of the handle.



Figure 5. Thasian amphora rim and neck (4) from pit H 8:2, with detail of stamped handle. Scale 1:3 (view and profile) and 1:1 (detail). Photos A. Sideris, drawing M. L. Lawall; courtesy Agora Excavations

The argument for the date of the stamp on amphora 4 runs as follows. With only one name—that of the annual magistrate—along with the ethnic and the device, the stamp belongs to the group referred to as the “recent series.” Earlier stamps carry two names (one the magistrate and the other the fabricant) along with the ethnic and usually a device. This change in the syntax of Thasian stamps was initially linked to the imposition of Macedonian control over Thasos in 340 B.C.,¹⁷ but was later thought to be roughly contemporary with the construction of Pnyx phase III around the same date, for this large fill contains no new-style stamps in undisturbed levels.¹⁸ The date of the shift from the older to the recent style continues to be the subject of debate, but most recently Yvon Garlan has suggested a transition ca. 333 B.C.¹⁹ Arriving at such a date depends largely on how one arranges the stamps in relative chronological order. Garlan and others—in particular his colleague Michel Debidour—have compared a series of dumped fills at workshop sites on Thasos itself, numerous closed deposits both on Thasos and across the Black Sea region, stylistic similarities between groups of stamps, and links between names required by the phenomenon of an earlier stamp’s die having been recut to make a later die. By this process, it has been possible to assemble discrete packets of names and arrange these packets in relative chronological order.²⁰

17. Grace 1949, p. 182; cf. Grace 1956, p. 123, where problems with the evidence for Macedonian control of Thasos are noted.

18. Grace 1946, 1956; the sequence of arguments is summarized in Lawall 2005, pp. 38–39.

19. Garlan 1999; see also Garlan 1990; Avram 1996. I have questioned

the later transition date (Lawall 2001, p. 534) but, on further consideration, I now support it (Lawall 2005). There, too, I argue that the fill of Pnyx III is still primarily datable to the 340s (cf. Avram 1996, p. 24, n. 48; and Garlan 1999, p. 52, both of whom follow the Lykourgan date for Pnyx III), but the Pnyx III fill is irrelevant to the transi-

tion to the new-style stamps, for the most recent old-style stamps securely associated with the fill are Δαμάστης and Πανφάης of group F2, at least 15 years earlier than the transition point.

20. See Debidour 1979, 1986, 1998; Garlan 1979, 1986, 1990, 1993, 1999, 2004–2005; Avram 1996.

Absolute dates are then derived by counting forward or backward through the sequence of names from fixed points. Beginning with the packet represented by those names found at Koroni (*terminus ante quem* 262 B.C.), one can count the number of names assigned to packets back to the transition from old- to new-style stamps.²¹ Of course, the latest stamp at Koroni in the relative sequence need not have been produced in the last year of the war, the camp itself need not have been occupied for the entire length of the war, and the precise order within the packet represented at Koroni is open to adjustment, so there is some room for minor changes in the absolute chronology. Garlan's transition date of ca. 333 B.C. is an approximation, but thus far it seems to fit with most known constraints on the evidence.²²

Applying this process to the case of Ποῦλος both demonstrates the method and leads to the conclusion that the stamp dates roughly a decade after the death of Lykourgos. Dies of stamps naming the eponym Τιμόκλης were recut to make the stamps of Ποῦλος, and dies of Ἀριστοφάνης I, Ποῦλος, and Ἀλκείδης were recut to make stamps of Θάσων I.²³ Indeed, a web of die recuttings links the entire packet of seven names, including Ποῦλος, in Garlan's group IV, and further connects this group to the first three names in the next packet. Stylistic similarities likewise unify group IV and link that group to the preceding and subsequent packets. Stamps dated by Ποῦλος have been found at four Thasian workshop sites, two of which—Chioni and Vamvouri Ammoudia—appear to have begun production only in the last two decades of the 4th century.²⁴ Ποῦλος appears also in the lower strata at the Zeus Gate on Thasos, accompanied by stamps matched at the Koukos workshop site, contexts that again encourage a late-4th-century date.²⁵

A somewhat broader clustering is derived from a farmhouse excavation near Evpatoria in Crimea in which Ποῦλος is found along with Thasian stamps of Ἀλκείδης, Δέαλκος, Ἀρχῆναξ, and Κράτινος. The chronological utility of this particular assemblage is considerably reduced when one

21. Garlan 1993, p. 169; 1999, p. 52; and 2004–2005, pp. 319, 323–326.

The date of 262 B.C. as a *terminus ante quem* is based on a date of 263/262 for the archonship of Antipatros (see Reger 1998, nn. 12–17; cf. alternatives of 262/261 or 261/260 B.C., discussed by Dreyer 1999, pp. 342–351).

22. The approximate nature of this transitional date is emphasized by the fact that there are four more names than years listed by Garlan (2004–2005, table 1) for the period between 333 and 262 B.C. If all of these names belong before 262, then the transition date should be closer to 337.

23. The full range of recuttings is presented by Garlan (2004–2005, pp. 317, 324); see also past studies,

e.g., Debidour 1979, pp. 298–299; 1986, pp. 317, 319, 324, 331; Picon and Garlan 1986, pp. 303–304; Garlan 1993, pp. 175–178. This same Ἀριστοφάνης I, dated by Garlan (2004–2005, p. 324) to ca. 314 B.C., appears on a stamp (SS 14437) found deep within the courtyard fill of the Rectangular Peribolos, contemporary with the addition of a row of rooms along the west side of the building (Stroud 1998, pp. 95–102; *Agora XXVIII*, p. 102. The peristyle court was not added until after Sulla's sack of Athens, as indicated by 1st-century B.C. and 1st-century A.D. pottery in the surface cut by the insertion of the peristyle; see section K notebook, p. 4095; cf. *Agora XIV*, p. 65, and *Agora XXVIII*, p. 102). The same

renovations are linked to the construction of the Southwest Fountainhouse, which shares the newly thickened west wall of the Rectangular Peribolos (*Agora XXVIII*, p. 101). Renovations to both buildings have entered historians' discussions of Lykourgos (e.g., see Mitchel 1970, p. 42; Humphreys 1985, p. 206). This Thasian stamp and others in the same fill push the date of these other buildings to the very end of the 4th century.

24. Garlan 2004–2005; for earlier publications of these workshops, see Garlan 1979; 1986, pp. 203–220.

25. Garlan 1966; and, most recently, Grandjean, Koselj, and Salviati 2004–2005, pp. 256–257.

considers that a span of 60 years may be represented by the Chersonesan amphoras present at the same site. What is useful about the assemblage, however, is that neither the very numerous Chersonesan stamps nor the plentiful Sinopean stamps are thought to date any earlier than ca. 325 B.C. It seems unlikely that the Thasian stamps should be earlier either.²⁶ Finally, stamps of Ποῦλος are known from Alexandria, so the eponym more likely than not should date after Alexander's foundation of that city in 331 B.C.²⁷ Garlan's suggested date of ca. 313 B.C. for Ποῦλος, based on counts of names in their packets either forward from the transition date of ca. 333 B.C. or backward from the latest Thasian stamp at Koroni (Garlan suggests Ἰδνάδης at 266 B.C.), fits all of these constraints.²⁸ The room for adjustments means that a year or so earlier or later remains possible,²⁹ but it is not possible given our current understanding of Thasian chronology to move Ποῦλος all the way back to within the lifetime of Lykourgos.

The stamp itself is in good condition (the original impression was not complete), and all the breaks on the neck and handle fragments are crisp. Nevertheless, there is little reason to think that this amphora fragment entered the pit in the precise year of its production. While there is no possibility of estimating the amphora's precise "lifetime,"³⁰ the drainage pit H 8:2 is likely to have been filled no earlier than the last decade of the 4th century.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE EVIDENCE

The most specific evidence Thompson used in arguing for the date of the temple was that it housed Euphranor's statue of Apollo Patroos. Thompson arrived at a construction date for the building by combining the likely dates of Euphranor's career with the area of intersection between a range of dates derived from architectural comparanda spanning the second half of the 4th century. If the building must now be dated later than 313 B.C., does that mean that it is necessary to disassociate it from Euphranor's statue and the cult of Apollo Patroos? Is it possible to maintain the apparent elaboration of the cult of Apollo within the cultural milieu of Lykourgan Athens? Some connection between the statue and the temple can be maintained, but the statue now appears to have been part of a slow elaboration of the cult site. This process of elaboration was completed only in the generation following Lykourgos.

The link between the temple and Euphranor comes from Pausanias (1.3.2–5):

- (2) πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς Κόνων ἔστηκε καὶ Τιμόθεος υἱὸς Κόνωνος καὶ βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων Εὐαγόρας . . . [and the list of statues continues, ending with . . .] ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος . . .
- (3) στοὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ὀκδομήται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς τοὺς δώδεκα καλουμένους . . .
- (4) . . . ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς Εὐφράνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρῶν ἐπίκλησιν· πρὸ

26. For the Eupatoria assemblage, see Kolesnikov 1985; for the dates of the Sinopean stamps present, see Conovici 1998; Garlan 2004; for its use in building the Thasian stamp chronology, see Avram 1996, p. 30.

27. Debidour 1986, p. 331.

28. Garlan 2004–2005, p. 324; cf. Debidour (1986, p. 331), who proposed a period ca. 335–325 B.C. when still using a transition date in the 340s.

29. Two of the extra names as compared with years allocated in Garlan's most recent list are placed before Ποῦλος, so if the transition point of 333 B.C. is kept, then Ποῦλος moves to 311. Alternatively, if one keeps Ἰδνάδης at 266, then the later extra names—the two that fall after Ποῦλος—could push Ποῦλος back to 315. Avram (1996, p. 53, table 1) suggested a date for Ποῦλος early in the last decade of the 4th century. He was using a slightly later transition date in the early 320s.

30. See Peña 2007.

δὲ τοῦ νεῷ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαμις ἐποίησε. . . .

(5) Ὑποδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν, ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων καλουμένων βουλευτήριον, οἱ βουλευοῦσιν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις· Βουλαίου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ξόανον Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλων τέχνη Πεισίου . . .³¹

(2) Nearby the stoa [the Royal Stoa] stand Konon and Timotheos, son of Konon, and Euagoras, king of the Cypriotes. . . . Here stands an image of Zeus, named Eleutherios . . .

(3) Behind has been built a stoa [the Stoa of Zeus] with paintings of the gods who are called the Twelve. . . .

(4) . . . Euphranor painted these pictures for the Athenians; and he also crafted the Apollo Patroos, in the temple nearby. In front of the temple is an Apollo by Leochares, and Kalamis crafted another called Alexikakos . . .

(5) And a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods has been built; her image is a work of Pheidias. Nearby is the Council House of those called the five hundred, who serve annually as councillors for the Athenians: there is a *xoanon* of Zeus Boulaios in here and an Apollo, the work of Peisias . . .

Pausanias describes a sequence of buildings, moving from the Royal Stoa, the Stoa of Zeus, the temple as the setting for three images of Apollo, the Metroon, and then the [New] Bouleuterion. The location of the L-shaped building, “nearby” the Stoa of Zeus, accords perfectly well with this description. The juxtaposition of the Stoa of Zeus and the Temple of Apollo as indicated by the preposition *πλησίον* is matched by the close proximity of the Metroon and the Bouleuterion, linked by the same word.³² In this passage, as elsewhere, Pausanias uses the verb *ὑποδόμηται* to clarify that he is moving from one structure or series of objects to another “site.”³³ Just before the quoted passage, Pausanias describes a series of statues starting near (*πλησίον*) the Royal Stoa, continuing presumably south, and ending with the statue of Zeus Eleutherios. Now, having worked his way to a separate, new building (albeit also very near the Royal Stoa), Pausanias introduces the Stoa of Zeus with *ὑποδόμηται*. Likewise, the Metroon is brought in as a new site with the same verb after the listing of statues of Apollo.

The Metroon, however, is a fairly complex group of rooms, and one can imagine multiple functions within the one structure. Perhaps Pausanias was describing the northern half of the Metroon as the location of the

31. The text used here is that of the Loeb edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1978).

32. *Πλησίον* need not always indicate such close proximity: cf. 1.14.6 for the shrine of Aphrodite Ouraneia (Shear 1984, pp. 24–33) and the Hephaisteion.

33. In Pausanias’s description (9.10.2) of the Sanctuary of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, the same verb is used

to move from one structure (the entrance to the sanctuary) to the next (the temple itself). This element of Pausanias’s syntax was noted by Otto Walter (1937) in correctly arguing that the Royal Stoa and the Stoa of Zeus were different buildings. Thompson (1937, p. 225) provides this reference to the Theban sanctuary, which only strengthens this element of Walter’s argument.

Euphranor statue before moving on to the shrine of the goddess herself in the southern part of the building.³⁴ The fact that in Pausanias the verb $\phi\kappa\omicron\delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ tends to introduce a different structure, not a further, connected part of the same building, makes this somewhat unlikely. And yet, the possibility should at least be considered, for a statue of Apollo, which is widely accepted as the one by Euphranor that Pausanias saw,³⁵ was found by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1907, 20 m south of the temple and within the northern section of the Hellenistic Metroon.³⁶ Further aspects of the remains found south of the Stoa of Zeus, however, make it more likely that the Euphranor statue originally stood further north, not in the Metroon. First, fragments of a marble kithara (noted above) and fragments of drapery from another statue, neither of which matched that attributed to Euphranor, were found near or above the remains of the L-shaped temple. Indeed, the kithara fragments were found at the north side of the temple, away from the Metroon area.³⁷ So at least one of the three Apollos was broken near the temple and the Stoa. Second, it is clear that blocks did move southward from the temple at some point: Thompson notes that a threshold block from the temple was found with the statue attributed to Euphranor and that step and stylobate blocks were reused for Late Roman monument bases in the area just north of the Metroon.³⁸

The Metroon and the open area just to the north of that building also provide a certain amount of negative evidence suggesting the location or

34. Lippolis (1998–2000, pp. 142–162) argues that the northern part of the Metroon complex is the Temple of Apollo (as Dörpfeld 1937–1939, vol. 2, pp. 216–220). The architectural comparisons offered in support of this hypothesis depend on a conflation of the Hellenistic and Late Roman phases of the building. His proposal concerning the longevity of the predecessor to the Hellenistic Metroon ignores the lack of evidence for use of the building from the 5th through early 2nd century B.C. It further ignores the fact that the seating area put in place along the slope of the Kolonos Agoraios late in the 5th century continues behind the location of that earlier temple: the pottery from under the blocks is roughly contemporary with the Stoa of Zeus construction fills, and includes a cup skyphos that shows the same “proto-rouletting” seen on such forms from the Porticello shipwreck of the early 4th century B.C. (see Lawall 2005, pp. 40–48).

35. Accepting the attribution offered early on by Stais (1916, p. 80), see Thompson 1961; Palagia 1980, pp. 13–20; Latini 2001; and *Künstlerlexikon*,

pp. 229–230, s.v. Euphranor (I) (W. Müller). Hedrick (1988, pp. 198–200), Stewart (1990, p. 179), and Ridgway (1997, pp. 335–336) all express some hesitation in linking the statue with the Euphranor Apollo seen by Pausanias. Pausanias does mention another Apollo in the Bouleuterion—the statue by Peisias—and this location would have been roughly equidistant from the part of the Metroon where the Apollo Patroos was found. Since nothing else is known of Peisias (*Künstlerlexikon*, p. 201, s.v. Peisias [U. W. Gottschall]), however, one can only note that there were other statues of Apollo in the area that *could* have come to rest in the Metroon.

36. The only description of this discovery that mentions the location with any degree of precision appeared in Judeich's second edition of the *Topographie von Athen* (1931, p. 333): “die rund 20 m südlich der von Dörpfeld für die Stoa Basileios gehaltenen Reste unvermauert gefunden worden ist.” The Agora Excavations have a copy of the first edition of the *Topographie* (1905), which belonged to Dorothy Burr Thompson, who had received it

as a gift in 1929. Homer Thompson added marginalia with this information, but those notations cannot have been written earlier than 1929. The figure of 20 m is not mentioned in any earlier Greek account of the excavation. Stais (1916, p. 80) and Keramopoulou (1929, pp. 94–95) both describe the findspot as near ($\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$) the foundations of what Dörpfeld called the Royal Stoa, i.e., the Temple of Apollo. Kavvadias's (1907) account of the excavations—primarily a discussion of their cost and importance—says next to nothing about the discovery of the statue, only that statues and inscriptions were found. For a thorough discussion of the possible function of this northern area of the Metroon complex, see Valavanis 2002.

37. For the discovery of the kithara fragments, see section A notebook, pp. 134, 668. The nonjoining drapery fragments were found over the steps of the temple, but these seem less directly identifiable with any particular statue or statue type.

38. See Thompson 1937, p. 107, n. 3, for the threshold block, and p. 202 for the monument bases.

intended location of the Euphranor Apollo in the area of the L-shaped temple. If we accept that Euphranor, active from the 360s through the 330s, carved the Apollo, there are few candidates for its intended location.³⁹ The Metroon as a distinct building dates to the middle or third quarter of the 2nd century on the evidence of the pottery in its foundation trenches.⁴⁰ Just as the areas excavated to explore the Metroon show a jump in the pottery dates from the earlier, 6th-century building on the site to the later, 2nd-century construction, so too in the open area north of the Metroon the various pits and pockets of fill in the bedrock show a jump from the Archaic to the later Hellenistic period. Textual attestations of an earlier building for civic archives, a function served by the Metroon, must refer to some other building, perhaps the Old Bouleuterion.⁴¹

In light of these arguments against attributing any part of the Metroon to the cult of Apollo, the area just south of the Stoa of Zeus offers the most likely candidate for the temple where Pausanias saw three statues of the god. The development of the area was a gradual process spanning much of the 4th century, including much of the working lives of both Euphranor and Lykourgos.

And yet, the only sign of activity in the area with any chronological correspondence with Euphranor's career is the basin followed by the naiskos just south of the Stoa of Zeus and, slightly further to the south, the east-west terrace wall marking the change in ground level between the area of the Stoa of Zeus and the higher area further south. This east-west wall appears to have been built in the second quarter of the 4th century; however, the ceramic evidence for its date is so scanty as to allow a somewhat earlier or later date without difficulty. Thompson suggested a date shortly after 362 B.C.; in his view the wall was intended to protect the new paintings by Euphranor of the Battle of Mantinea on the interior back wall of the Stoa of Zeus. This date is a possibility but not a necessity.⁴² Then sometime in the third quarter of the 4th century the naiskos was built over the seemingly unfinished basin. Numerous arguments have been put forward in recent

39. While Thompson's date for the temple is often cited as the strongest evidence for a late point in Euphranor's career, other activity attributed to him in later literary sources points in much the same general direction: see Coulson 1978, pp. 1–2, 36; Palagia 1980, pp. 6, 13–25; Latini 2001, p. 89. Hedrick (1988, pp. 195–199) argues for the possibility that Kalamis or Leochares carved this Apollo, but even so the same problem holds—no one dates the career of any of these sculptors beyond ca. 320, at least a decade and probably much longer before the date of the L-shaped temple and a century and a half before the construction of the Metroon as a distinct building.

40. The Metroon foundation

trenches produced little datable pottery, but lots E297 and E302 do contain fragments of moldmade bowls, including a piece of a long-petal bowl most likely dating to the late 140s or later.

41. See Thompson 1937, pp. 115–217, for the excavations in and around the Metroon and the history of the area's use; cf. Lippolis 1998–2000, pp. 142–162.

42. Thompson (1937, p. 69) argues for a date very near 362 B.C. for this wall; however, on p. 56 he implies that the difference in time between the construction of the stoa and that of the wall should be fairly brief, for unused blocks from the stoa were used in some places for the wall. The only pottery

available for dating the wall (lot A259) comes from its foundation trench behind the Stoa of Zeus. Here are a few pieces datable no later than the mid-4th century, even though most of the material is late 5th century. Since the masonry at the end of the east-west wall resembles much of the masonry of the main north-south wall behind the Stoa of Zeus, Thompson concluded that both walls represent a single building period. We should not ignore the scantiness of the remains of this wall, the stones of which were robbed out in antiquity for much of its length in the east-west direction; furthermore, there is every possibility that the wall was extended at different points in its life.

decades against Thompson's suggestion linking the naiskos to Athena Phratria and Zeus Phratrios.⁴³ One alternative is to make the naiskos the first Temple of Apollo Patroos.⁴⁴ It must be admitted, however, that the commission of Euphranor to carve the Apollo Patroos and likewise the commission of Leochares to carve another Apollo at roughly the same time (if this other statue was carved specifically for its eventual place of display) may be a case of putting the cart before the horse. There was, at best, only a small naiskos and a temenos area available for their display.

Lykourgos explicitly enters the narrative with his motion to reward Neoptolemos for his promise to gild the altar of "Apollo in the Agora."⁴⁵ The only extant candidate for such an altar is a base found in front of the naiskos, upon which Thompson placed an altar block naming Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria. If the naiskos is the early, and only Lykourgan, manifestation of the cult site of Apollo Patroos, then this could be the core of Neoptolemos's altar. Thompson noted two phases in the use of this base: first, to carry an upper stone 0.91 m long, and, second, to carry a stone 0.78 m long by 0.65 m wide.⁴⁶ Thompson suggested that a Pentelic-marble altar slab naming Apollo Patroos found near the old Varvakeion school was a possible candidate for Neoptolemos's altar; the altar slab would fit as part of the second phase of this base.⁴⁷ The Varvakeion fragment is 0.96 m long with 0.087–0.10 m insets along the two vertical sides to receive the adjacent slabs. These marble slabs would have fit very well around a block 0.78 × 0.65 m as Thompson restores it for the later phase on this base. Placing the Varvakeion slab at one end of the long side of the base would bring the opposite edge to just near a roughly 0.20-m-wide band of considerable wear along one short side of the base block. Associating the Varvakeion slab with the later, post-Lykourgan temple fits very well with Thompson's assessment of the date of the slab: "The style of lettering and the workmanship of the block would fit well in the late fourth or early third century."⁴⁸ Indeed, assuming that Neoptolemos's altar was the altar for the naiskos and that it was replaced by the Varvakeion slab at the time of the construction of the new temple brings the chronology of the area's building phases into very close harmony with the phases of the altar block's use.

43. Hedrick 1988; Cromey 2006.

44. For arguments against the identification of the Archaic building under the temple as an apsidal earlier temple of Apollo Patroos, see Hedrick 1988. The foundation trench is not so clearly apsidal in photographs as it is in the state plans of the area; the preserved bit of the back wall hardly seems to curve at all.

45. [Plut.] *X orat.* 843F–844A; *Agora III*, pp. 52–53, no. 113. While Wycherley does gather attestations of two other Apollo cults in the Agora, Apollo Patroos is the one most com-

monly mentioned and twice linked with Apollo Pythios (*Agora III*, pp. 50–51, nos. 108, 110). John Camp kindly drew to my attention a third explicit link between Delphi and the Apollo Patroos temple in the Agora, *FdD III.2*, 161, from the 1st century A.D., honoring Demetrios son of Aristarchos with (lines 18–21) one bronze statue to be put up προς τῷ ναῷ τοῦ [Ἀπό]λλωνος at Delphi and another to be set up παρὰ τῷ [πα]τρόῳ Ἀπόλλωνι in Athens. It does seem likely that by this time the front of the temple in Athens was crowded with other statues, and the

area alongside the temple to the south may have become a more preferable spot for new dedications. This inscription comes closest of any to a direct reference to a temple named for Apollo Patroos.

46. Thompson 1937, pp. 106–107.

47. The altar slab is *IG II² 4984*; the Varvakeion school was roughly 500 m north of the Agora area on Athinas Street.

48. Thompson 1937, p. 110, with a photograph and drawing of the slab, p. 111, figs. 57, 58.

The following sequence of events fits the available evidence. First is the construction of the east–west terrace wall and of the basin, both of which could fall at some point in the second quarter of the 4th century. There is no evidence for the date of construction of the basin; since it is inserted into a larger rectangular cutting in the bedrock, even the leveling of the bedrock south of the Stoa of Zeus could have taken place while the basin was under construction. Second are commissions made sometime between ca. 360 and 320 B.C. for perhaps two statues to represent Apollo: one from Euphranor and another from Leochares. The statue of Apollo Alexikakos by Kalamis could be a third, roughly contemporary commission (if one accepts Hedrick's arguments for the "younger Kalamis"),⁴⁹ or it may have been an older statue brought to the site at some point from elsewhere. Third in the sequence, though easily overlapping these commissions, is the construction of the naiskos in the third quarter of the 4th century. The construction of the altar to be gilded by Neoptolemos would coincide with the construction of the naiskos. Fourth, and finally, is the construction of the L-shaped temple ca. 310 or later, at which time the altar, too, was refurbished.⁵⁰

There is a clear sense of slow development of the area. In none of the stages is there a requirement to see long-term planning. The east–west terrace wall need not have anticipated the creation of the basin (indeed, we do not know which came first); the basin was not placed with a view toward either temple; the earlier naiskos could have been given its location near the Stoa of Zeus simply to keep a wider space free to the south for whatever function was served either by the lower terrace of the Stoa of Zeus or by the area overlooked by the seating along the Kolonos Agoraios.⁵¹ Once the larger temple was built, there was clearly less interest in preserving either of these two areas as open space or in preserving whatever sightlines may have been intended from the seating area.

This impression fits very well with other testimonia relevant to the cult of Apollo Patroos. Xavier de Schutter, Charles Hedrick, and, more recently, Robert Cromey have drawn attention to the emergence of worship of Apollo Patroos as a civic cult for Athens only in the 4th century.⁵² Datable on stylistic grounds to the latter half of the 4th century, two reliefs and a statuette showing Apollo Patroos much as he is depicted in the statue attributed to Euphranor may be considered part of this same trend.⁵³

Even if the larger L-shaped temple is no longer part of a "Lykourgan program" in the strictest sense, the commission of statues by, at least, Leochares and Euphranor, along with the smaller naiskos over the older basin and Neoptolemos's promise to gild the altar, attests to an interest in Apollo Patroos during the time of Lykourgos.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the practices for improving the financial resources of the city, cultivating various religious interests, and encouraging various artistic and architectural developments—all of which appear to have been accelerated under Lykourgos—need not have ceased with his death around 324 B.C. Even this late-4th- or early-3rd-century temple can still be considered Lykourgan, but only in the sense that it reflects the lingering influence of Athenian political and artistic culture in the time of Lykourgos.⁵⁵

49. Hedrick 1988, pp. 196–197, 199.

50. Cf. Lippolis 1998–2000, whose chronological sequence making the main room of the temple along with the basin first, before the middle of the 4th century or down to ca. 340, followed by the naiskos and the back room of the temple at the end of the 4th century, can be reconciled neither with the ceramic evidence presented here nor with the fact that the foundations for the temple and its back room represent one continuous fill (Thompson 1937, pp. 96–97, fig. 51).

51. Hedrick (1988, p. 193) makes this observation.

52. See de Schutter 1987; Hedrick 1988; Cromey 2006.

53. The relief closest in date to the Euphranor Apollo is thought to be Athens NM 3917 (on which see Palagia 1980, pp. 14–16, 19, no. 1, fig. 18); the other 4th-century relief is Athens NM 1359 (see Palagia 1980, p. 19, no. 2); the statuette is Athens NM 230 (see Palagia 1980, p. 19, no. 3, fig. 28).

54. Hence we need not abandon the entirety of the discussions of such connections; see de Schutter 1987, pp. 114–115; Knell 1994; Hintzen-Bohlen 1997; Knell 2000, p. 88; Latini 2001.

55. Townsend (1982) finds similarities of style across both those buildings dating from the time of Lykourgos and those from subsequent decades.

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