



The Architecture of the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion

Author(s): Robert Scranton

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THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE SANCTUARY OF APOLLO HYLATES AT KOURION

ROBERT SCRANTON

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INTRODUCTION

Classical Kourion lies on the southern coast of Cyprus, about thirty-five miles east of ancient New Paphos at the southwestern corner of the island, and ten miles west of modern Limassol. It is located on the coast about the middle of Episkopi bay, which is formed in part by the low rectangular peninsula of Akrotiri on the east, and on the west by the precipices that mark the edge of the rolling plains falling away from the massif of Troodos some forty miles to the north. Kourion itself centered around a much eroded projection of the high plain, a spur some three hundred feet in height with steep though not inaccessible approaches on three sides, separated from the prevailing levels to the north by a slight saddle. East of Kourion the high plain drops sharply to the plain of Akrotiri; west of the city the high plain falls in dramatic precipices onto narrow beach plains or into the sea itself. About two miles west of the acropolis of Kourion, and a mile inland from one of the more spectacular of these precipices, lies the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates.

The terrain immediately around the sanctuary is gently rolling with a noticeable slope southward. Within half a mile on either side are the deepening gullies of southward-bearing water courses. The region today, with but little soil over the coarse limestone rock, supports an extensive growth of *schoenus*, a tough bristly broad-leaved evergreen shrub abundant in Cyprus; a few scrubby pines and carobs; and a wealth of thistles and thorns of various kinds. In the spring there is an explosion of flowers, chiefly anemones, but through most of the year the scene is, to Western eyes, almost barren.

In antiquity, however, one may surmise that there were many more trees, perhaps something approaching a forest. The region seems to have been known as "Hyle,"¹ and leaving aside the question of whether the epithet "Hylates" derives from "Hyle" as the proper name of a place or from "hyle" referring simply to a woodland (or from some other usage of the word "hyle"), it seems likely that the name as applied to the place reflects a condition in which the region was significantly wooded. It is also important for our future considerations to bear in mind that Stephanos seems to have thought that there was a town—a polis—associated with the sanctuary, though it must also be realized that no inscription known so far refers to such a polis.

The site of the sanctuary seems to have been preserved in memory from antiquity to modern times. Among the earliest of the modern visitors to the site, Ludwig Ross records² that the local inhabitants of his day knew the place as "the Apollo," as they do today. Ross himself saw a few inscriptions, some bases of marble and limestone, the Doric columns and capitals of a building, and a cistern. Although others are known to have visited the site the first attempt to excavate it seems to have been made by Cesnola in 1876.³ He excavated part of a temple and in other places, and found fragments of column drums, some terracotta figurines, and some inscriptions including fragments of a large pithos inscribed with the name of Apollo Hylates.⁴ But the first—and only—serious

¹ Stephanos Byzantios, *s. v.*; "Τλη, πόλις Κύπρου, ἐν ᾗ Ἀπὸλλων τιμᾶται Ἰλᾶτης; Tzetzēs, *ad Lycophronem*, 448: "Τλη γὰρ ἔστι, περὶ τὸ Κούριον, τέκνον τῆς Κύπρου, ἱερὰ Ἀπὸλλωνος, ἀφ' ἧς Ἰλᾶτην τὸν θεὸν προσαγορεύουσιν.

² Ludwig Ross, *Archaeologische Zeitung* 3 (1845): p. 102.

³ Louis Palma di Cesnola, *Cyprus, its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples* (New York, 1878), p. 343.

⁴ George H. McFadden, "Excavations at Kourion," *University Museum Bulletin* 7, 2 (1938): p. 11. Inscription No. 123, Terence Mitford, *Inscriptions of Kourion*, Mem. Amer. Philos. Soc., in press.

excavation of the site was by the expedition of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in a series of campaigns from 1934 to 1954 under the direction of George McFadden and B. H. Hill.⁵

In the course of these investigations there were discovered several buildings within an enclosing wall, a complex of buildings outside and against the west wall, and two independent buildings outside the wall on the east. Within the enclosing wall all the major buildings were fully excavated, to bedrock where practicable. The areas between the buildings were explored by trenches, and some sections cleared to or nearly to the bedrock, bringing to light a few remains of early walls which were not fully excavated. Thus although it is possible to give a full account of the major buildings within the wall, we do not know completely the remains of the earlier periods in some areas. However, tantalizing as this may be, available indications do not suggest that our picture could ever be really complete and detailed. Similarly, outside the enclosure the buildings explored were not completely excavated, and in a few trenches outside the wall were found remnants of buildings that were never investigated at all. Thus we do not know by any means all about the area around the sanctuary, but we are reminded of Stephanos' reference to a "polis" called Hyle and we have to face the possibility that some of the architectural members found within the enclosure of the sanctuary may have come from unknown buildings outside. Nevertheless it is feasible to give a fairly complete account of the sanctuary as a whole, with some of its surroundings as they were in the second century after Christ, and a less complete account of the sanctuary in earlier periods.⁶

⁵ George H. McFadden, in the *University Museum Bulletin* 7, 2 (1938): pp. 10-17; 8, 4 (1940): pp. 22-28; 14, 4 (1950): pp. 14-26; *American Journal of Archaeology* 55 (1951): pp. 167-168; 56 (1952): pp. 128-129; *Illustrated London News* 130 (1952): p. 588-590.

⁶ In this study I am dependent primarily on the records of the excavation kept by George McFadden through the various campaigns, and those of B. H. Hill for certain buildings. McFadden also left some unfinished manuscripts, including one for a guide to the sanctuary and another, much more detailed, though far from complete, for a full study of the South Building. Much information was also recorded by McFadden in the inventories of finds. Access to these records was enormously facilitated by the thorough and meticulous work of Roger Edwards in excerpting and indexing the field notes. I am further indebted to Mr. Edwards for many other facilities increasing the efficiency of my work, and most of all for the invitation to undertake it. I owe appreciation also to Terence Mitford for much information and understanding of the affairs of Kourion and Cyprus; to Christophes Polykarpou of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities for assistance in the field and information and advice about the site; and above all to J. S. Last not only for his expert draftsmanship but for his technical knowledge and advice in general and with reference to the details of the excavation. I am indebted also to the courtesy of Porphyrios Dikaiois, then Director of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, for permission and the use of facilities of his Department for the conduct of my own work. My

I. DESCRIPTION AND RESTORATION OF THE MONUMENTS

It will be convenient to arrange our account in an order which is at once approximately chronological and according to the functional logic of the sanctuary. But in many respects the characteristics of construction are homogeneous throughout the sanctuary in its various periods, and it will be helpful to summarize these features at the outset.

MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION

The bedrock throughout the region in which the sanctuary is located is generally a soft friable limestone, further weakened by varying concentrations of fossils of various kinds. The texture and other characteristics of the stone vary from place to place: in some places it approaches a fine grain, in others it tends to break up in lumps. In general it seems to harden if exposed to the air for an extended period, and to be softer where it has been protected. This material was evidently quarried fairly extensively and used in the sanctuary. It may be suspected that the firmest, toughest stone found in the sanctuary—especially that used for paving—and the finer stone used for some columns and ornamental elements, may have come from some distance, but this has not been demonstrated. A local alabaster was used for some floors and facings.

Foundations were usually bedded on solid rock, and the surface on the rock was often trimmed to receive the ashlar blocks of foundations, but the stones of the foundations were often adjusted to the untrimmed surfaces of the bedrock, and there was a fairly liberal use of packing. In several buildings the floor was close to the rock, so that high projections of the rock had to be trimmed away—usually lower than floor level, to allow for the bedding of the actual floor surface.

The better floors seem to have been made of blue, waterworn beach pebbles set in cement. This pavement was sometimes found lying over another surface, quite smooth, of a layer of rather hard cement. The concurrence raises a question, for the lower hard coating could have served independently as a waterproof lining, and it may be suspected that, when the pebbles occur on top of this hard smooth cement, different periods are represented, but apparently this is not always true. Elsewhere floors may have been of chips of limestone arranged in a crude pattern, beaten earth, or stone slabs—alabaster for the more luxurious rooms.

study, conducted during the summer of 1962 on a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies supplemented by the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, consisted in a first-hand examination of the site including the cleaning of certain walls and areas and supplementary investigation with the aid of a few workmen, to consolidate my own understanding of the site derived from the records, clarify some of the problems, and prepare the material for confirmation and extension of the original surveys.

Walls, including foundations, were sometimes in ashlar, with blocks about 0.50 m. in cross section and 0.70–1.50 m. in length, but in many instances they were of random rubble or crudely squared blocks whose greatest dimension was of the order of 0.50 m., set in a mortar including some amount of lime (fig. 21). At least in the Temple it would appear that the essential structure of the wall was heavy rubble, or crude ashlar, the outer facing being in good ashlar (fig. 16*b*). In the Stoa and the Northwest Building there was some ashlar work in the visible walls, though whether the ashlar continued to the full height is less certain, and perhaps unlikely (figs. 13; 20*b*). In other buildings, rubble predominated.

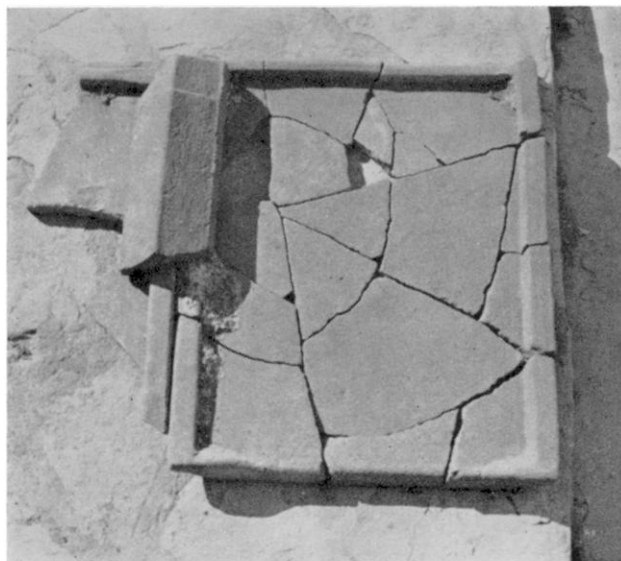
Sills and jambs for doors and windows were of substantial blocks of stone and so, too, many of the lintels (figs. 9; 23; 43; 44). There is reason, however, to suspect that some lintels at least may have been wood, and it is even possible that some architraves were wooden. There is no suggestion that the walls themselves employed wood in any significant way—half-timbering, for example. Most walls and columns seem to have been thickly plastered, sometimes with a plain surface, sometimes with painted designs. The plaster was often more than two centimeters thick.

In almost all the buildings the destruction debris was remarkable for the presence of great quantities of white clay, such as is still used for ceilings and roofs, spread in a thick coat over a matting of woven reeds resting on poles. It does not appear, however, that the excavators were able to form any definite conclusions in specific places as to whether the traces of this construction represent ceilings or roofs or both.

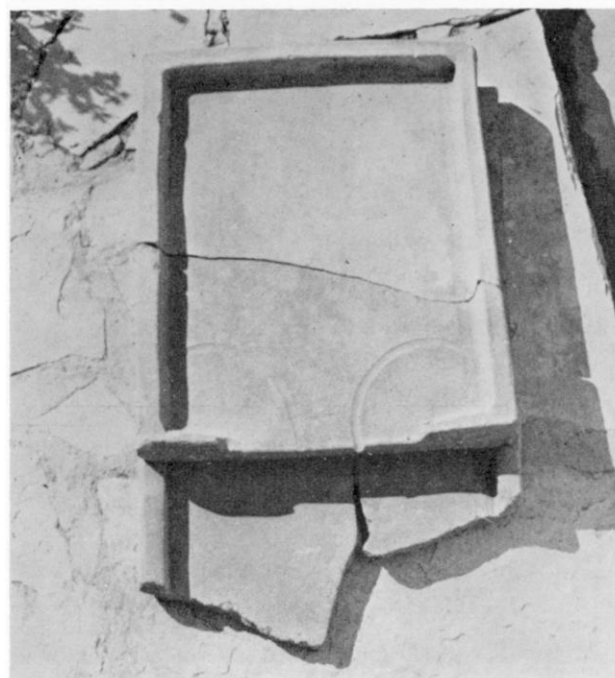
In any case, vast numbers of fragments of roof tiles were found in the ruins of all the buildings. They are all of the same general design and fabric, and most of them were in use during the final phases of the sanctuary—i.e., in the early fourth century after Christ. Some fragments were found that could be clearly identified with specific earlier periods, but so far as can be determined now there is no discernible significant difference, unless that the earlier tiles seem generally to have been somewhat thinner, grittier, and baked harder and redder. Presumably the bulk of the preserved material dates from the period of acme of the sanctuary, or around the reign of Trajan.

The general type (fig. 1) is approximately square, from 0.40 by 0.49 m. to 0.52 by 0.62 m., and 0.02 to 0.03 m. thick, with ridges on the upper surface along the sides and across the back and at either end of the front, and a downward hook on the under surface at the front edge. Differences can be observed in the detailed form of these ridges. In one type, the ridge across the back is continuous with that along the sides; in another, the ridge at the back is a separate bar between the side ridges. Another difference is in the length and form of the partial ridges across the top at the front, projecting inward from the sides. Other dif-

ferences can be seen in the extent and variety of patterns made on the top surface by drawing the fingers over the clay before it was hard. Still another set of peculiarities exists in the treatment of the drooping flange on the under surface at the front—the flange which hooked over the ridge at the back on the top of the tile below. In some, the flange was made continuous for the entire width of the tile, and then chipped off at the ends during the process of laying, to fit over the projecting side-ridges of the tile below; in others,

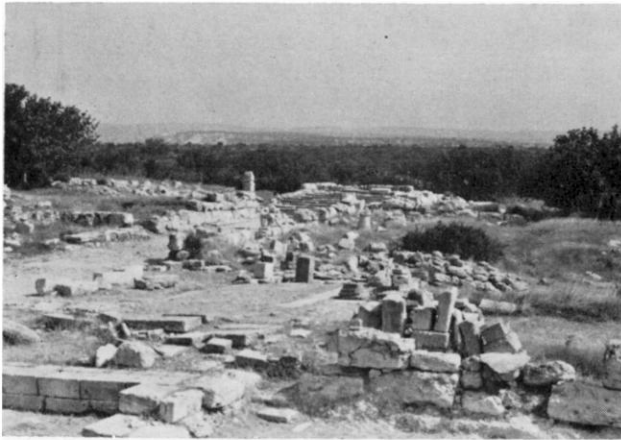


a



b

FIG. 1. Tiles. a. Type with distinct upper ridge.
b. Type with continuous upper ridge.



a



b



c

FIG. 2. The Archaic Altar Precinct. a. View looking northward, from court of House. b. The Altar, partially covered by *schoenus* bush. c. Stone fence post.

the flange was molded before baking so that the edges would ride over these ridges. But in spite of the great number of tiles found, there is not available the kind of evidence that would allow the minute classification of these peculiarities and the coordination of the classification with chronological data.

The cover tiles for the system are represented by two types, one rather more sharply angular, and on a slightly larger scale than the other.

On the whole, the techniques of construction evidenced in the sanctuary may be described as something less than monumental or refined, but competent and effective. They are of a high standard in the tradition of the master mason of the towns and villages of the region surviving until the present day.

THE ARCHAIC ALTAR PRECINCT

The earliest remains were found in an area which continued to be the focus of the sanctuary from beginning to end, and which was designated from an early phase of the exploration as the Archaic Precinct.⁷ This was an area about the middle of the eastern part of the fully developed complex, recognized when first discovered rather by the multitude of figurines scattered through the earth than by any architectural remains, of which there were few indeed. The figurines, however, with the associated pottery, all belong to a period running from the latter part of the eighth century to about 480 B.C. The absence of later material throughout the area raises certain questions, but the consistency of the datable material is in itself a solid fact.

The architectural remains, slight and fragmentary though they are, nevertheless have some significance. Among them is a concentration of chunks of unworked stones ranging in size from 0.10 m. to 0.50 m. in maximum dimension, at the point *JK:g* on the grid (fig. 2; plans I, II, III). They appear now to be strewn over the surface of the ground rather than built—rarely are more than two superimposed—and, though they cover the ground thoroughly, they are not tightly fitted. Indeed, they give at first the impression of having simply been dumped or thrown into their present position, an impression accentuated by the fact that a few blocks—even bases—of obviously Roman date were found on top of them. On the other hand, at various places along the south, east, and north were found edges which did seem definitely to have been built; the stones are still rough and loosely fitted, but they make clear lines, suggesting quite definitely a purposeful semicircular outline some 6.50 m. in diameter. The stones lie on an irregular ground surface which slopes down sharply though briefly to the east,

⁷ George H. McFadden, "Excavations at Kourion," *University Museum Bulletin* 7, 2 (1938) : p. 15; John H. and Suzanne H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, University Museum Monographs (Philadelphia, 1955), pp. 4-7.

beyond the present extent of the crude semicircle. At the bottom of the slope, however, at a point where the circumference of a full circle restored would fall, are some more loosely laid stones, encouraging the hypothesis that what we are considering is actually the remains of a completely circular arrangement of loose stones. Moreover, in the "well preserved" western part of this hypothetical circle, within the outer diameter, there appear faint suggestions of other "edges" which suggest, though not at all clearly, either that there had been an original, relatively small circle, enlarged more than once, or that the structure was higher in the center than at the edges, rising in external stages of some sort. It must be emphasized that these hypothetical "restorations" are scarcely more than the purest speculation, but there remains the hard fact of the crude semicircle of stones, and the more than slight probability that originally there was a full circle.

There remains also one other fact. Between the loose stones in the preserved semicircle the soil was entirely a fine gray dust, essentially ash, containing numerous small fragments of fire-softened bones of kids or lambs⁸ and a few fragments of figurines.

In short, there would seem to be a reasonable presumption that we are dealing with an altar for burnt offerings dating from the archaic period, and in use over a long period.

South and southwest of this Altar (fig. 2; plan III), as we may now feel justified in designating the concentration of loose stones, the situation is inextricably confused by classical and even late Roman construction belonging to the Central Court to be described below. We may, however, observe now that about a meter south of the Altar there is a line of similar rough stones loosely huddled into a crude wall about three meters long, forming a passage sloping down to the east alongside the Altar. The "construction" of this "wall" is again certainly not impressive, and among the top-most stones were found fragments of a Greek inscription. Nevertheless, the similarity of "technique" with that of the Altar, and the coincidence in orientation suggest the possibility that we are dealing here with a fragment of an early wall which once surrounded the Altar, but which was allowed to collapse during antiquity, whether early or late cannot even be guessed.

Southwest of the Altar lies the eastern part of the Central Court, which was defined on the east by the well-preserved foundation of a classical wall which terminates, apparently meaninglessly, where it encounters the crude wall just described. There are no clear traces of any classical wall enclosing the eastern extension of the Central Court on the north; instead, there is a confusion of blocks of wholly unrelated size and shape—a patchwork quilt including re-used blocks from classical buildings in the sanctuary itself. The

only cohesive factor in the arrangement is a tendency for the blocks to align themselves in a crudely circular pattern following the outline of the side of the Altar. In fact, it might well be inferred that they constitute the bases of a crowd of dedications pressed against a protective enclosure around the Altar. Such a hypothetical enclosure, it may be noted, would continue the line of the crude wall south of the Altar, and constitute the terminating point of the otherwise irrationally ending east wall of the Central Court.

The crowd of blocks we have been considering comes to an end west of the Altar, and there is no construction at this point to explain the fact. There is, however, a trace in the earth of what might be taken as a badly disturbed plundered foundation trench for a wall extending slightly south of westward to the point marking the southern end of the east wall of the Roman Street leading to the Temple. The evidence is slight indeed on which to build a wall, but it is sufficient to suggest the possibility. If the suggestion be accepted, the Central Court at this point takes its form from a pair of walls converging toward the center of the Altar from south and southwest, terminating at a line about a meter from the Altar itself, with the space between their ends crowded with miscellaneous dedications.

We may note finally, in connection with the Altar and the remains considered above in relation to it, a block of stone now lying north of the Altar (fig. 2c). It is a roughly shaped slab, much weathered, about 1.13 m. high and 0.48 m. broad at the top, 0.51 m. at the bottom, and 0.14–0.17 m. thick at the top, 0.24–0.29 m. thick at the bottom. Most of the difference between measurements at top and bottom represent a thickening about 0.61 m. below the top. About 0.17 m. from the top, in the middle of the broad face, is a roughly rectangular hole piercing the stone, roughly 0.12 m. by 0.10 m. on the outside, and 0.10 m. by 0.08 m. at the narrowest point inside. It has the appearance of a slab intended to be sunk into the ground 0.40 m. or 0.50 m., and, as suggested by Mr. Edwards, to have been one of a series constituting fence posts.

From the data it is possible to create an hypothesis according to which the original Altar was surrounded by an enclosure perhaps nowhere more than a low rail fence. On this hypothesis, the wall-like arrangement of stones south of the Altar may have been either a rough foundation for the fence as it was adapted to the slight fall in ground-level to the east at this point, or conceivably the foundation of one side of a gate which would correspond to the opening between the later walls of the Central Court on the southwest side of the Altar. Indeed, the northern of these later walls may itself have been a gate leading not directly to the Altar but to the precinct north of it. In any case, the hypothesis proposes essentially the concept of a crude stone Altar for burnt offerings, about 6.50 m. in diameter, surrounded by a low rail fence creating a

⁸ Identified by Kent Flannery, Graduate Assistant in Anthropology and field assistant to Robert Braidwood of the University of Chicago.

passage about a meter wide around the Altar⁹ (plan II).

Meager and obscure as the remains we have been discussing are, they are the most nearly intelligible of any traces of construction that can with any degree of confidence be assigned to archaic date (plans II, III, IV). About two meters north of the Altar there may be seen the beginning of a line of rough stones, presumably the remains of some kind of wall, extending northward. It may be significant that the line of this is approximately a direct continuation of the line of the east wall of the later Central Court, south of the Altar, and it may be that this line represents the edge of a low terrace or even wall dividing the archaic sanctuary into two parts, the Altar extending into both parts. West of this line, about 6.00 m. northwest of the Altar, is a curved foundation about six meters long, built of small roughly squared chunks of limestone, and within the horns of the arc a rough foundation about 0.50 m. square on which presumably stood an archaic terracotta chariot votive group.¹⁰ North of this are remains of a rectangular foundation for which no specific evidence exists, although for all these structures a date in the seventh or sixth centuries is assured by their relation to the deposits of figurines.

Although no other architectural remains of the archaic sanctuary have been identified, it is possible to form some hypotheses as to the extent of the sanctuary at that period. It extended as far east as the later peribolos wall, but possibly no farther, since all the growth of the sanctuary was in other directions, and there is no perceptible reason for having cut off part of the early sanctuary on this side. To the north it probably extended as far as the northwest corner of square *L:d* on the grid; a block projects westward from the existing peribolos at this point, on a line that would pass beneath the front wall of the Temple, and it may be surmised that the existing wall in square *JL:d* was substituted for the hypothetical early wall to the north when the Temple was built, contracting the area of an earlier enclosure whose boundary conceivably was inherited from archaic times. The alignment of the curved foundation and the rectangular foundation north of it against the later wall of the Street suggests that the wall of the Street follows some earlier line that may have been the original western boundary of the archaic precinct. Of course it is possible that the curved foundation and its companion were aligned in relation to a passage of some sort in front of them, and it may further be that if there was a wall behind them it subdivided the

archaic peribolos instead of bounding it. Indeed, the importance of the area of the Central Court in the later sanctuary suggests that it had some function in the archaic sanctuary as well, so that the outer enclosure of the archaic sanctuary may have fallen just west of the west wall of the later Central Court (below, p. 10). This in fact seems the likelier hypothesis: that the archaic sanctuary included the whole area of what has been called by the excavators the Archaic Precinct—what we call the Altar Precinct—and that of the Central Court and the ground north to a line that would coincide approximately with the front wall of the Temple; and that this area was subdivided in such a way as to include a public area southwest and west of the Altar, and a restricted area north and east of it. The southern boundary of the complex, then, would have fallen on a line across the upper part of square *IL:i* on the grid, outside of which, to the south, there later accumulated the earliest monumental buildings on the site (plan II).

THE CENTRAL COURT

In our consideration of the Archaic Altar Precinct we have been compelled to allude to the Central Court, and indeed to suggest that, in its early stages, it was actually a part of the Archaic Altar Precinct. Further evidence of its importance in the pre-Roman history of the sanctuary may be seen in the fact that of the twenty-three Greek inscriptions earlier than Augustus found in the excavation, apart from purely surface finds, eight were from the area of the Central Court itself, five from the neighboring Archaic Altar Precinct. This concentration strongly hints that this was the place favored for the erection of monuments and memorials, the public center of the sanctuary. Other indications of the early focal position of the area will emerge in our survey of the general growth of the sanctuary, but even now there need be little doubt that the Central Court, or some adumbration of it, existed and functioned significantly from archaic through Hellenistic times.

Nevertheless it is a fact that of the architectural remains now existing *in situ*, few if any can date from earlier than the time of Christ. Moreover, their complexity and ruinous condition make it difficult if not impossible to unravel their detailed history or to discern their original form. We are constrained, then, within the limits of a description of the situation and speculation about the meaning.

A convenient basis for discussing the arrangement of the buildings in the Court that can yet be identified is the Street (plans I, III, IV). The sections of the Street north and south of the Central Court are not in the same line; if the line of the west wall of the northern section of the Street be projected southward across the Court, it would intersect the line of the west wall of the south section of the Street in the grid square

⁹ An arrangement which, if true, adds some detail to the picture evoked by Strabo (chap. 683, book xiv, vi, 3) in speaking of the sea-cliff below the sanctuary "from which," he says, "they throw those who touch the altar of Apollo." Compare the enclosure at Samos—Ernst Buschor, "Heraion von Samos," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 55 (1930): pp. 51–53.

¹⁰ J. and S. Young, *op. cit.*, no. 1055.

I:h, at the corner of the enclosed area in the southwest part of the Central Court complex. The "reality" of this line will be seen below; even now it is reasonable enough to think of the Street as consisting of two parts, converging at the Court, but constituting a line dividing the Central Court into two parts.

Of these we may consider first the eastern part. The earliest construction in this section would seem to be the foundation bounding it on the east (plan III; fig. 2*a*, *b*). This consists in part of well-shaped and trimmed blocks of limestone preserved only to ground level, and bearing no indications of what might have stood upon them. It is a perhaps reasonable supposition, but nothing more, that the foundation carried a wall; in the absence of any associated walls that might have formed with it a room, it may be suspected that this was simply an enclosing wall separating the inner part of the archaic Altar Precinct from the area of the Central Court. It is perhaps also a reasonable inference, from the lack of any accumulations in front of the middle of this wall, that it contained a door or passage leading between Court and Precinct, but there is certainly no direct evidence. Nor was any direct evidence identified for the absolute date of the wall.

Perhaps the next construction is represented by an ill-defined foundation in front of the south end of the wall, crossed by a late drain. This foundation consists of trimmed blocks of limestone, but there seem to be no good indications of the original size or shape of the foundation, or what stood upon it. The most reasonable hypothesis would give it a rectangular shape, and recognize in it the foundation for a substantial monument of some sort.

Northward from this foundation, and in front of (west of) the early east wall of the Court runs another line of well-trimmed limestone foundation blocks at a slight angle to the original east wall. Once again there are no clear indications of the function of this foundation, but it would seem obviously to have been built in front of (or to have replaced) the original east wall after the foundation in the southeast corner had been built. From the southern end of the new wall projects westward a foundation consisting of a double line of well-trimmed limestone blocks, and 5.50 m. north of this are indications of another foundation projecting westward, suggesting a broad, blunt *U*-shaped form. Our restoration of this as symmetrical is hypothetical, as the actual remains are apparently incomplete, but, again lacking specific indications, we may be justified in hazarding the suggestion that the structure consisted of a wall, or low narrow base for monuments, with larger monuments projecting at each end. The difficulty of the relation of this construction to the earlier east wall behind cannot be resolved on available evidence. The area enclosed within the *U* was originally elevated above the Street to the west by the height of a shallow step or sill, several blocks of which may perhaps still be seen, though shifted out of line.

In addition to these monuments, if they may be accepted as such, two others were added at a later period at the south side of the area, west of the two already described here. Once again, the remains, incomplete foundations to ground level, provide no sure clue for restoration, and the forms indicated on plan I are simply suggestions.

The arrangements on the north have already been discussed. From the eastern Street wall badly disturbed traces of a plundered foundation trench extend toward the Altar, allowing the hypothesis that a wall or perhaps more likely a gate bounded the Court in this section. Between the end of this wall or gate-wall and the end of the east wall of the Court is a jumble of blocks which we have interpreted as the bases for a number of small dedications huddled against the barrier surrounding the Altar. As previously indicated, some of these must be quite late, since among the stones *in situ* is one clearly taken from the stylobate of the East Stoa farther south, a theft which could hardly have occurred before the declining years of the Sanctuary.

Over the relatively open area in the middle of the eastern part of the Central Court, covering the sill of the *U*-shaped structure and overlapping the foundations of the monuments on either side, may still be seen the remains of at least one pavement, bedded on a loose packing of small stones and made of cement, carrying a surface of pebbles. The full extent of this is no longer clear, nor the date, but it apparently represents a refurbishing of the area late in its history.

On the west side of the Street, the Central Court, as it now appears to the eye, consisted of a trapezoidal open area facing the Street with a broad hall to the west, a structure consisting of two rooms to the north, and a trapezoidal enclosure to the south (plans I, III). Although the broad outlines of these seem reasonably clear, the details are much obscured by the dilapidated condition of the remains, by irregularities in the construction resulting either from repeated rebuildings or the demolition and replacement of earlier structures, and by slight traces of apparently unrelated foundations, too meager to understand. Thus, once again, our account must be summary and speculative, though with results perhaps a little more satisfying than those on the other side of the street.

Perhaps the earliest preserved construction is in the southwestern corner. Here the excavations revealed, behind the west wall of the south enclosure (grid *H:gh*) substantial remains of two earlier walls of massive rubble and soft mortar. One of these had an orientation closer to magnetic north-south than that of any other construction in the region. This makes a corner at its northern end with a wall extending eastward, cut off by the wall of the south enclosure. No traces of the extension of these have been identified within the area of the Central Court or elsewhere. Slighter traces of a wall with bearing somewhat more

northeast by southwest, superimposed on the angled wall, may be seen at its southern end.

All these are obviously earlier than the existing wall of the south enclosure, but no clear evidence for their absolute date is available. The west wall of the south enclosure itself, however, will be seen to fall on a line continuing the southward projection of the west wall of the part of the peribolos surrounding the Temple at the north end of the sanctuary. This may be only a coincidence, though it would be a remarkable one, but it seems worth considering that the two walls may actually have some real relation. If, for example, the west wall of the south enclosure of the Central Court should lie on the line of the west wall of the archaic or classical peribolos of the sanctuary, so that the northwest corner of that peribolos was in grid square *H:c*, formed by the intersection with the early north wall of the sanctuary inferred above (p. 8), it could be understood that the same line might have been continued northward in the extension of the peribolos to contain the Temple when it was built. Or, the coincidence might be explained on the hypothesis that, regardless of the position of the west wall of the archaic sanctuary, when the extension for the Temple was effected a continuous wall was built on the line indicated by the west wall of the extension and the west wall of the south enclosure of the Central Court. Since, as we shall see, the Temple was probably built early in the Roman period—under Augustus or a little later—if there is any significance in the coincidence of orientation between the west wall of the Temple enclosure and the west wall of the south enclosure of the Central Court, the line of the latter must have been established before, or no later than that date, and the fragments of walls to the west must be earlier.

It is unlikely, however, that the actual masonry of the wall of the south enclosure is so early. Consisting of one to three courses of heavy ashlar masonry, it appears to bond with the masonry of the hall along the western side of the central area of the Court, and thus to belong to a reconstruction in the period of the hall which, judging from its different orientation, is probably later. In any case, the northern boundary of the southern enclosure is indicated now by the southern wall of the hall, and, in front of that, by some cuttings and fragments of packing on the bedrock as the foundation of one wall, and by some rubble on a slightly different line as the foundation of another. Here, then, is more tangible evidence for a rebuilding of the southern enclosure, or, perhaps, for its having replaced an earlier structure on the same approximate site. Traces of the eastern wall are extremely slight—a few small blocks from a foundation which, indeed, might have represented nothing more than a sill. On the whole, however, it seems reasonable to restore this construction as having been walled on four sides, but,

judging from the irregular shape, open to the sky within.

The hall along the west is clear enough in its main outlines—a rectangular space some 12.50 m. long and 3.75 m. wide on the inside, its preserved walls on north, south and west being largely of heavy ashlar blocks still standing in places to a height of three courses. Slightly north of center on the west is an opening about 5.40 m. wide, continuing westward and flanked by ashlar masonry of the same construction. These were not fully investigated to determine their entire length, but they were at least 2.5 m. long and not, perhaps, more than 3.00 m. The walls are not exactly parallel, and, lacking definite information on the western extremities, one cannot be certain of their original form and function, but the probability based on information available would be that they constitute a kind of propylon leading from the hall to the West Enclosure of the sanctuary. On this assumption the eastern wall of the hall, represented now by only trimmed surfaces of bedrock, has been tentatively restored neither as a solid wall nor a continuous, stoa-like colonnade, but with columns completing the concept of a propylon, and with semi-enclosed spaces arranged unsymmetrically on north and south. Within the hall, near the southern jamb of the passage to the West Enclosure, is a large block of limestone set in the rock which seems to have no relation to the structure of the building, but to be rather the foundation for a dedication; similarly the foundations for the pavement of the propylon passage itself are disturbed on a line at the center, suggesting however inappropriately, that another monument stood in the center of the passage. The whole building was paved with marble slabs, of which one bearing a Latin inscription was laid face down in the passage to the west, leaving an impression of the letters in the cement beneath.¹¹

The construction of the building above the third or possibly fourth course of ashlar masonry was in all probability small stones set in soft mortar. This may be inferred from sections of walling of such masonry found spread over the floor as it fell in a sheet in some earthquake—a phenomenon familiar at the site in other places, as we shall see.

The date of the building is not given by direct evidence. Even the inscription in the floor, presumably of the Julio-Claudian period, was not necessarily reused as a paving block for the building at the time the building was erected. Indeed, it is far more likely that it belong to a refurbishing late in classical times. But the actual floor was missing throughout most of the building, and the earth below floor level was so badly disturbed that no usable evidence for dating was produced.

North of the area, extending along the west side of the Street, are the walls, similar to those of the other

¹¹ Mitford, Inscription No. 106, *op. cit.*, n. 4.

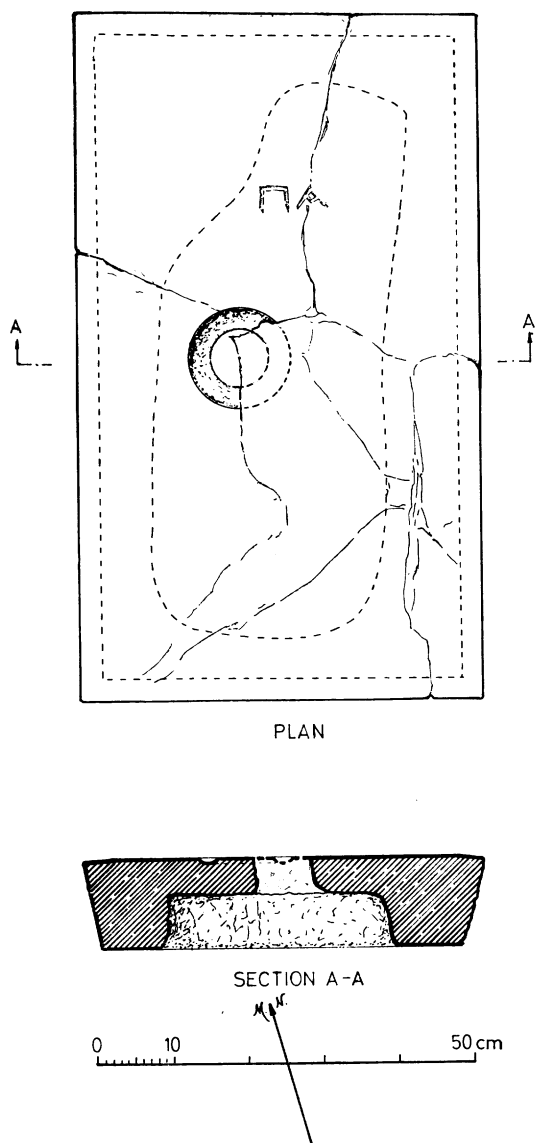


FIG. 3. Re-used Slab in pavement of Central Court: 1/10.

buildings in this section, of a long rectangular structure about 4.00 m. by 6.80 m. measured externally. No traces of a south wall of this room exist; perhaps there was a broad opening rather than a wall. But south of this there was almost certainly a relatively small rectangular room about 3.00 m. wide and 2.25 m. deep, opening by a door onto the area in front of the hall, along the Street. This is indicated in part by small stones and rock cuttings which are consistent with the idea of foundations, and in part by the fact that the cement constituting the bed for the marble plaques of the pavement to the south clearly terminated along the line postulated for the front of the room.

In the space surrounded, then, by the hall, the two-room building to the north and the south enclosure, was a small trapezoidal area paved with marble slabs whose eastern edge corresponds with the line of the

west wall of the Street, projected southward across the Central Court. The slabs are now much broken and many have disappeared; the fill below is slight and much disturbed, so that once again direct evidence for dating is lacking. The size, shape, and pattern of the pavement, however, were clearly determined by the surrounding structures, including the Street, so that it must have been among the latest elements in the design. Among the slabs used in the paving was the extraordinary one (fig. 3) with a circular groove into which was set a bronze ring inscribed with the names of five archons¹²—the slab having originally been the cover of some receptacle, the ring being fitted and attached so as to facilitate the lifting of the cover when needed. On the slab itself, on the top, are inscribed rather carelessly the letters ΠΑ, the interpretation of which remains uncertain. Mitford has dated the inscriptions to 104/3 B.C., which gives little clue as to the time of its degradation to use as a paving block, except that it could scarcely have been earlier than Roman times.

In summary, then, we can visualize the Central Court in its developed stage as an open area some 10 m. from north to south, by 18 m. from east to west. It was entered from the south by a Street which extended also northward to the Temple; it gave access to the

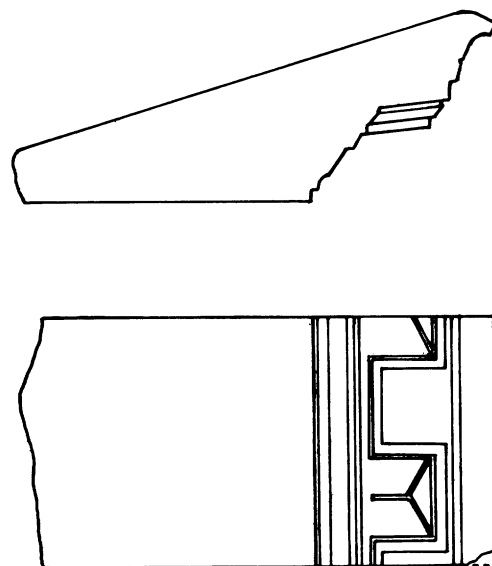
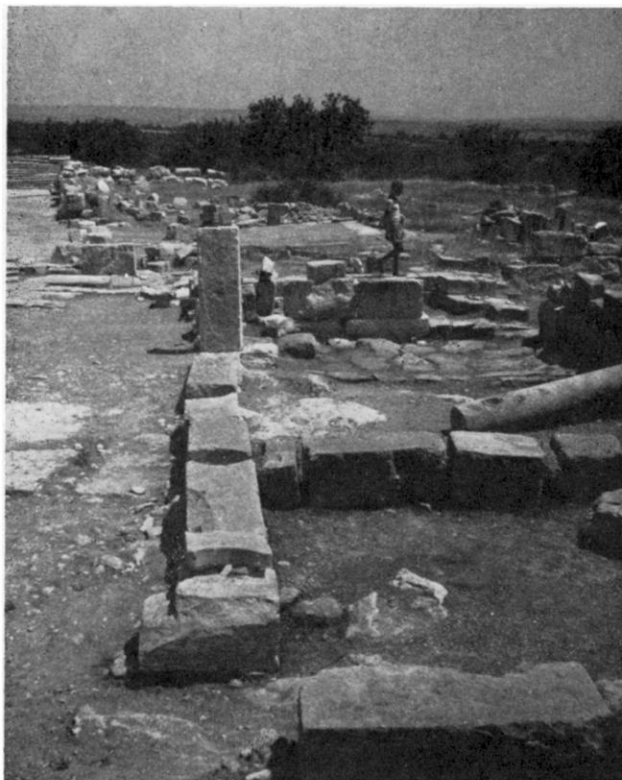


FIG. 4. Cornice found in Central Court, section, plan from below: 1/12 (cf. fig. 66a).

¹² Kourion Miscellaneous Inventory no. 116. Mitford, Inscription No. 55, *op. cit.*, n. 4.



a



b



c

FIG. 5. The Stoa. *a*. Stylobate, looking north. *b*. Stylobate, looking south. *c*. Triglyph made from inscribed dedication (*cf.* fig. 7).

Altar Precinct on the east, and the West Enclosure on the west. The eastern half of the area was filled with monuments, the western half surrounded by small buildings. We are embarrassingly at a loss as to the details of these structures,¹³ and as to their absolute chronology. We may, however, be reasonably confident that there was some sort of court in pre-Roman times, and that the structures we have been trying to examine were added one by one, not according to a pre-determined plan, beginning probably as early as the time of Augustus, and continuing at least until the time of Trajan, the period of greatest activity in the sanctuary. Some, indeed, of the work we have noticed may have been done as late as the end of the third century or a little later, until shortly before the general dissolution of the sanctuary as a place of public and cultic activity.

THE EAST COMPLEX

THE STOA

South of the Central Court, on the east side of the street, lie two buildings—a small square structure and, below it, a Stoa (fig. 5; plans I, II, III). The Stoa is about 20.50 m. long and 5.00 m. wide. Of the original building the walls, founded on bedrock, are about 0.50 m. thick, and are preserved in the foundation course with one to three courses of ashlar above, on the rear, and at both ends. On the west, the front, the foundations (fig. 5*a*, *b*) consist of solid masonry at each end; between are remains of what might be called a stylobate—a series of irregular blocks trimmed smoothly on the top, with rubble between. On the rubble there are preserved in places long narrow slabs, with asymmetrically concave ends resting on the smooth

¹³ An Ionic base (fig. 67*c*) and a fragment of a cornice with modillions (figs. 4; 66*a*) were found in the area, but can hardly be assigned to any of the buildings.

blocks. The more obvious inference would be that the original building was completely enclosed on three sides, with returns along the front at each end, and a colonnade running along the middle, consisting of columns but without a continuous stylobate—the ground level inside and out being the same; that later the ground level inside was raised, and slabs laid between the columns cut in curves to fit approximately around the bottoms of the columns. In the present state of preservation there are some uncertainties as to the precise measurements of the original elements, as some of the smaller stones may have shifted and there has been extensive rebuilding, especially at the south end. But combining the various indications of the extent of the dressed surfaces on the column foundations and the intervals between the curved ends of the intervening stones, one arrives at a maximum lower diameter for the columns of about 0.47–0.48 m. The intercolumniations between the first and second, and second and third columns from the north now measure 1.50 and 1.52 m., respectively. The distance between the north face of the third column and the south face of the fourth column is 2.77 m., as given by the curved-end slabs, and if we subtract 0.96 m. for the diameters of the two columns we have an intercolumniation of 1.80 m., or definitely larger than the two to the north. The foundations for the southern part of the facade are obscured by later construction. Back at the north end, the masonry of the return along the front is preserved for about 2.55 m. from the outside corner, leaving an interval of about 2.30 m. to the north face of the first column. This seems excessive, and perhaps one should restore an anta at the end of the return, reducing the interval to the column to about 1.90 m. and giving the wall at the north end a total length of about 2.90 m. Although later rebuilding at the south end frustrates efforts to check these calculations against the corresponding elements there, at least there is nothing to disprove an approximately symmetrical arrangement on this basis.

A number of fragments of columns made of limestone and cut without flutes were found in the vicinity. Of these, one complete block was 2.13 m. long with a lower diameter of about 0.39 m. and an upper diameter of about 0.37 m. Other similar drums whose lengths are not preserved show diameters of 0.41 m. and 0.44 m. None of these comes to the full maximum allowed by the calculations from the "stylobate," but it is at least possible that they come from this colonnade. No obvious candidate for a capital for these columns was found close at hand, but a Doric capital in the Bath to the east deserves consideration (figs. 6; 63a). It seems a little too large for the drums mentioned: its lower diameter is 0.405 m. But on the one hand, precision of dimension is even less characteristic of the East Stoa than of other buildings in the sanctuary, and on the other, there are abundant evidences elsewhere of the thickness—up to two centimeters—of stucco some-

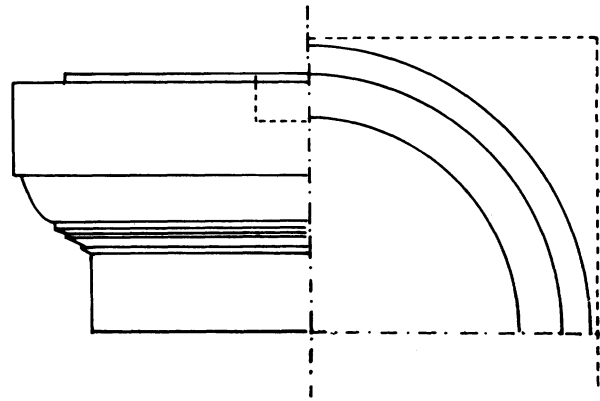


FIG. 6. Doric capital found in Bath, half-elevation and quarter plan: 1/7 (cf. fig. 63a).

times used on columns. Against this is the fact that the thick stucco is on Roman columns, and we shall see reason to suppose that the East Stoa in its earliest phase was pre-Roman. This presumed date, however, is one of the main reasons for thinking of the capital in question in connection with the Stoa, for its profiles might be taken to suggest that it is the earliest capital found in the sanctuary. This argument, to be sure, cannot carry much weight in our situation, since Cypriote work throughout is unconventional according to ordinary classical standards. In short, considering all the circumstances, one cannot assign the capital to the Stoa with any real confidence, but it may well be noticed in the context of the Stoa.

That the order was Doric, however, may be assumed with some confidence. Among the ruins was found a block carved as the corner of a wall-born Doric frieze, with two triglyphs on the long side and one on the end (figs. 5c; 7). The regular triglyph is about 0.27 m. wide, the corner triglyphs about 0.31 m. wide, and the metope 0.36 m. This means a spacing unit of 0.63–0.68 m. If there were one triglyph between each column, the inter-axial distance would be 1.26, or 1.36 m.; if there were two, the distance would be 1.89 or 2.04 m.; if three, 2.52 or 2.72 m. We have seen that the "normal" intercolumniation of the columns on the front was about 1.50; adding two half-diameters we would get about 1.98 m. for the inter-axial distance. This of course is greater than the 1.89 derived as the shortest spacing for the frieze with two triglyphs in each intercolumniation, and the end and central intercolumniations varied from this "norm." For these reasons, B. H. Hill did not want to assign the triglyph frieze to the Stoa. But none of these measurements, it must be emphasized, is precise, for the workmanship was never precise; and the frieze block preserved came from the wall and not the colonnade facade. Again, weighing the possibilities, it seems preferable to assign the frieze to the Stoa, with two triglyphs in "normal" intercolumniations and three over the central and end intercolumniations. The figures do not fall out exactly,

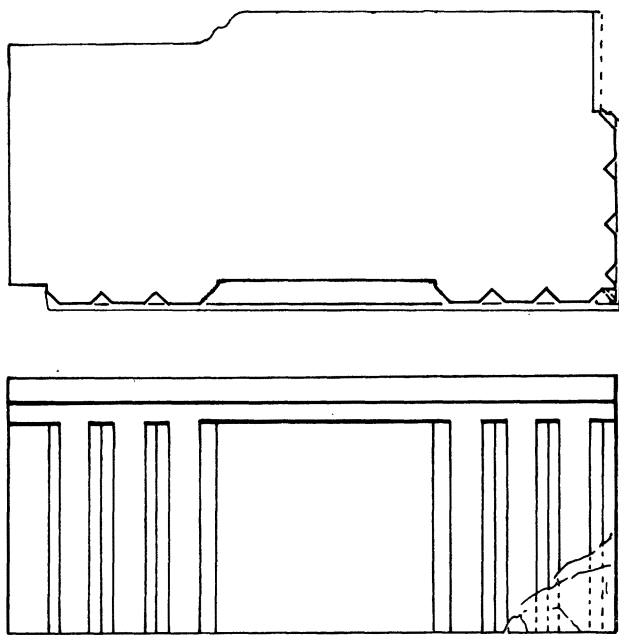


FIG. 7. Doric frieze found in Stoa, plan from above, elevation: 1/12 (cf. fig. 5c).

but considering the material, workmanship, and condition of the evidence, the differences do not seem impossibly great, nor does the irregularity of design seem impossible in the provincial environment.

A fragment of cornice was found in the ruins of the Stoa, and may have belonged to the building, but there is no direct evidence linking the two (fig. 8).

In the east wall of the building, a little north of the center, is a broad door leading to the building behind. It would seem logical, however, to consider this door as an arrangement conceived after the building to the east was erected, and not part of the original design of the Stoa.

The floor of the Stoa was much disturbed. Evidently there had been one floor at the level of the top of the supplementary stylobate slabs, perhaps originally paved with stone slabs. Beneath this was another floor, close on the bedrock, constructed in part of slightly worked slabs of stone. Whether this was a floor made for the original stoa, or belongs to a structure earlier than the Stoa is not entirely clear. In any case, in the fill between the two floor levels were found fragments of figurines relating to some sort of

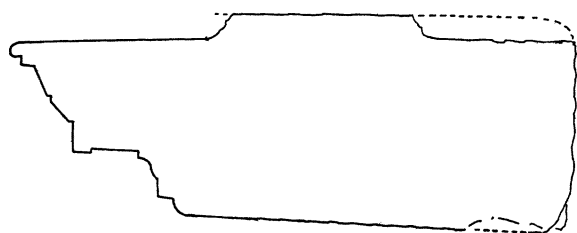


FIG. 8. Cornice found in Stoa, section: 1/10.

fertility cult—many were phallic;¹⁴ a very little pottery, nondescript in character, but none suggesting even a late Hellenistic date; and a coin illegible in details but probably from around 300 B.C.

On the other hand, the whole building was extensively reorganized in the latter part of the third or in the fourth century A.D. The south wall was replaced or strengthened by another built along its north face; the south end of the front—and perhaps all of the front—was walled up, and three cross-walls were erected to subdivide the space. The new construction was clumsy and careless, though carried out largely with blocks from the Stoa itself or from neighboring buildings. It is not possible to be sure of the location of doors or other details of interior arrangements. It may have been at this time that the block from the stylobate was reused in the complex of masonry at the northeast corner of the Central Court, before the Altar.

As to chronology, the coin would suggest for an early phase of the building a date in the third century B.C., but whether the original construction, or a period in which the floor level was raised cannot be established by available evidence. The general probabilities, however, as we shall see later, would not suggest that even the original construction was much earlier than 300. In any case we have some reason to suppose that the building was extensively rebuilt around the time of Christ. This emerges from the fact that the triglyph block described above was cut on what had originally been an inscribed base constituting part of a dedication by Antiochos, son of Nikanor, of Epiros to Apollo Hylates,¹⁵ dated by Mitford around 250 B.C. Since the general probabilities of such a block being discarded and available for re-use in less than a century or so after its original installation are slight, we can hardly suppose that its architectural use could date from much before 100 B.C., and considering the general historical situation of the time, the most reasonable hypothesis would be that it was made for a restoration of the Stoa in a general movement to rehabilitate the sanctuary around the time of Augustus.

THE EAST BUILDING

The next construction so far recognized in this part of the sanctuary may well be the extension of the eastern peribolos wall along a line some 14 m. east of the Stoa, south from grid square *L:i* to *L:k*, and thence angling over to the southeast corner of the Stoa (plans I, II, III; fig. 9). This cannot be demonstrated in the masonry of the peribolos at *L:i*, though there is a suggestion of rearrangement of the blocks in the wall at this point, but it is hard to explain subsequent developments without the lines so given. It will be realized that after the construction of the Stoa, the

¹⁴ J. and S. Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 223.

¹⁵ Mitford, Inscription No. 60, *op. cit.*, n. 4.

space behind, to the east, would have lain open and separate from what may be assumed to be the important areas west of the Stoa, and presumably from the Archaic Altar Precinct to the north. But at some date a structure consisting of four rooms was erected facing the rear of the Stoa, the rear wall of the rooms falling on the line of the peribolos as we now see it, and the southern room fitted into the obtuse angle made by the wall stretching westward to the corner of the Stoa. At, presumably, a later date, though the excavation of these structures was not completed, at least four more rooms were added irregularly to the complex, on the east, outside the line of the peribolos.

Of the four original rooms, the three southernmost seem to have constituted a self-contained unit, entered by one door in the large central room, which joined the flanking rooms by internal doors. The large central room, at least, was floored with stone slabs. The walls of the building were of random masonry, including large ashlar blocks as well as smaller stones, and the front wall has fallen forward into the space in front during some earthquake. In the debris were preserved all the elements of a monumental door, two windows, and a third window which, because it was found lying on top of the remains of a door, probably came from an upper floor.

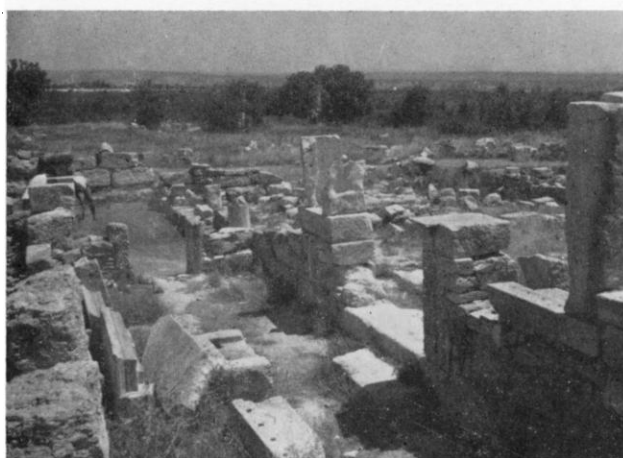
The door, most details of which will be clear from the drawing (figs. 10; 9*b*), was monumentally conceived. It was about 1.40 m. wide at the bottom, and perhaps a little narrower at the top; the height from sill to cornice must certainly have approached three meters, though the figure can only be approximated from the fact that the lintel of the neighboring window was about 2.10 m. above the floor, and the general requirements of function and proportion for the opening itself. There were two valves to the door, evidently fastened on the inside by pins that could be set down into holes in the sill.

The windows are notable for the state of preservation and the general arrangement, evident in the illustrations (figs. 9*c*; 11; 12), but especially for the sockets cut into the sills, lintels and jambs for the reception of the (presumably iron) bars of a heavy grille. They also had valves by which they could be closed entirely. It is interesting, but perhaps of no great significance, that the windows were all different in size, and not symmetrically arranged.

The monumental doors and the several elaborate windows suggest that the building was intended to be considered as a "façade"—as something architectural to be seen. This was noticed by Hill and McFadden, who reasoned further that the East Building must have been built while the space between it and the Stoa was empty—before the erection of the House, which left



a



b



c

FIG. 9. The East Building (partially rebuilt). *a*. Looking south on alley from court of House. *b*. Looking north through alley. *c*. South jamb of door and south window (cf. fig. 11).

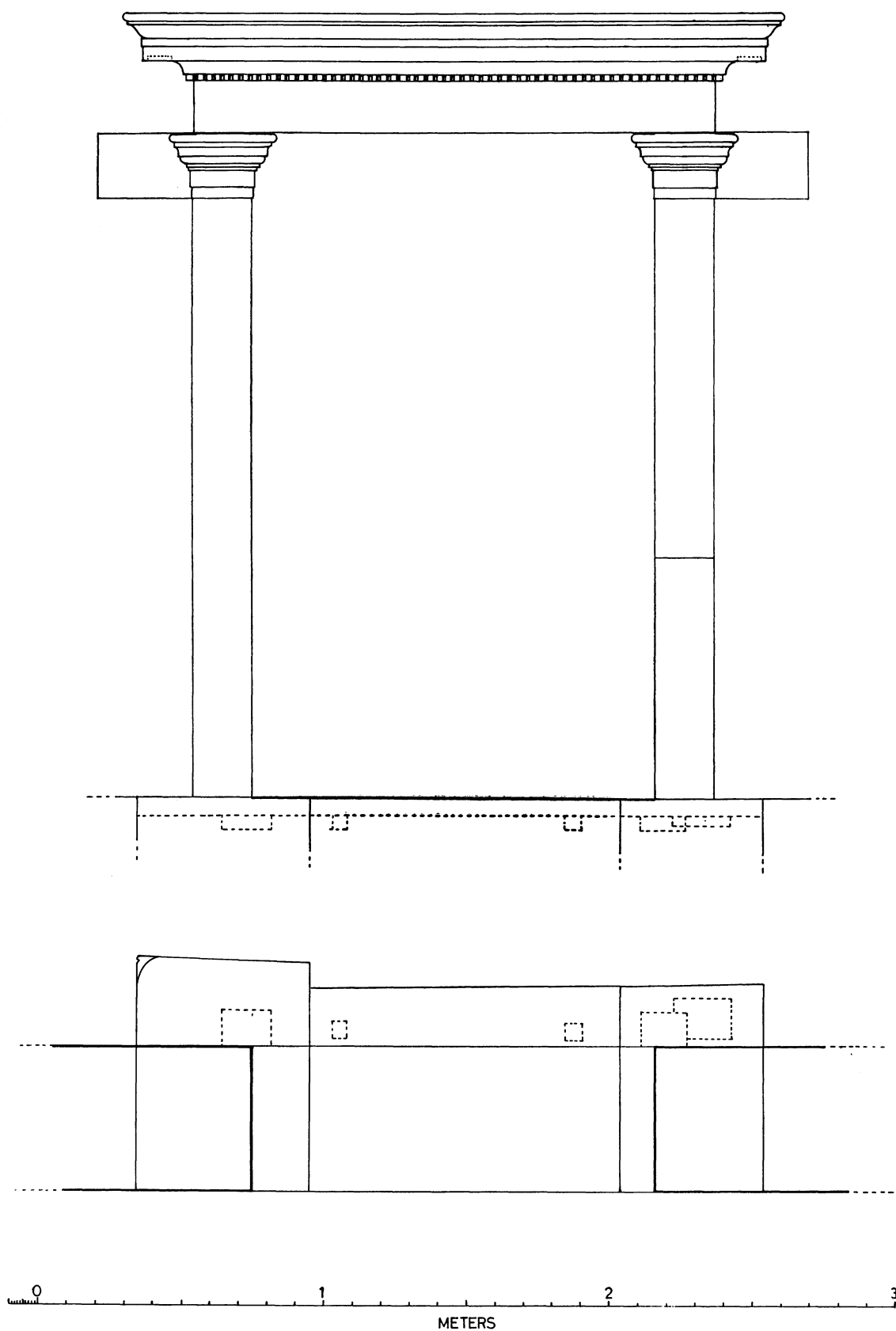


FIG. 10. Elements of door in East Building, elevation (height conjectured), with plan of sill: 1/20 (*cf.* figs. 9, 64*b*).

only a narrow alley in front of the East Building, in which the monumental forms would hardly have been effective.

The heavy doors and barred windows further suggest the urgency of security for whatever was inside: it is a small apartment to be so massively protected. For these reasons Hill and McFadden were inclined to think of the rooms as constituting a kind of treasury, and they may well be right.

The northern of the four rooms does not seem to have communicated internally with the "Treasury" rooms, but rather to have had doors on east and west, so that passage to and from the sanctuary could be made through it. The northern part of the room is choked with heavy stones, not, apparently, fallen, but seemingly laid in place as a floor or platform. Purely in speculation, though not inconsistent with known facts, we have suggested that there may have been a stairway in this room leading to the upper floor of the whole complex. It is clear that there was a second floor, and there is no other sign of stairs. Of course there is an element of incongruity in supposing that the barred upstairs rooms were reached from a public passage, but we have no way of knowing how many locked doors there may have been.

The north wall of the room appears now to be double, with a much ruined wall of rubble on the north, and a better wall of ashlar against it on the south. We can best discuss this phenomenon below in relation to the House.

The relative position, functionally or chronologically, of the rooms to the east has not been established.

THE HOUSE

The space between the Stoa and the East Building was ultimately occupied by a structure which, from its

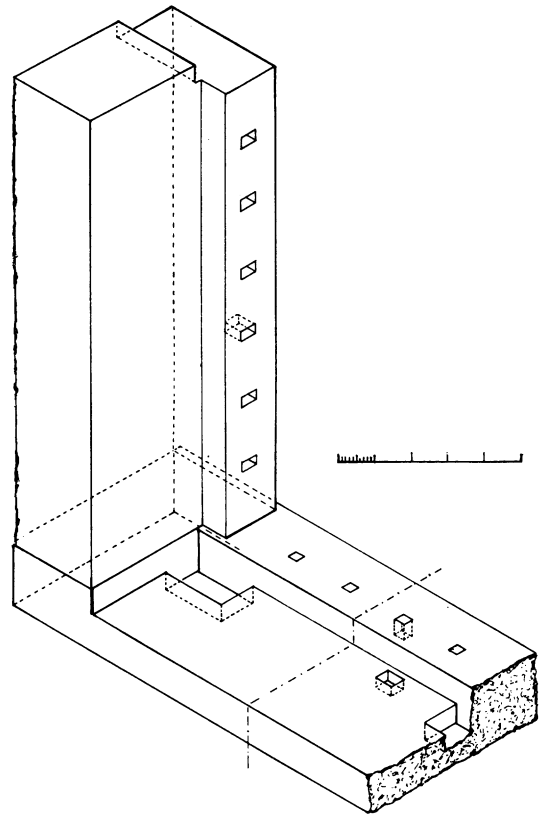


FIG. 11. Sill and jamb of South window of East Building isometric from northeast: 1/20 (*cf.* fig. 9*c*).

general similarity to the houses of Priene, and from its own general situation, may be regarded with some confidence as a house—the residence of the priest, or whatever formal head of the cult there may have been (plans I, II, III; fig. 13).

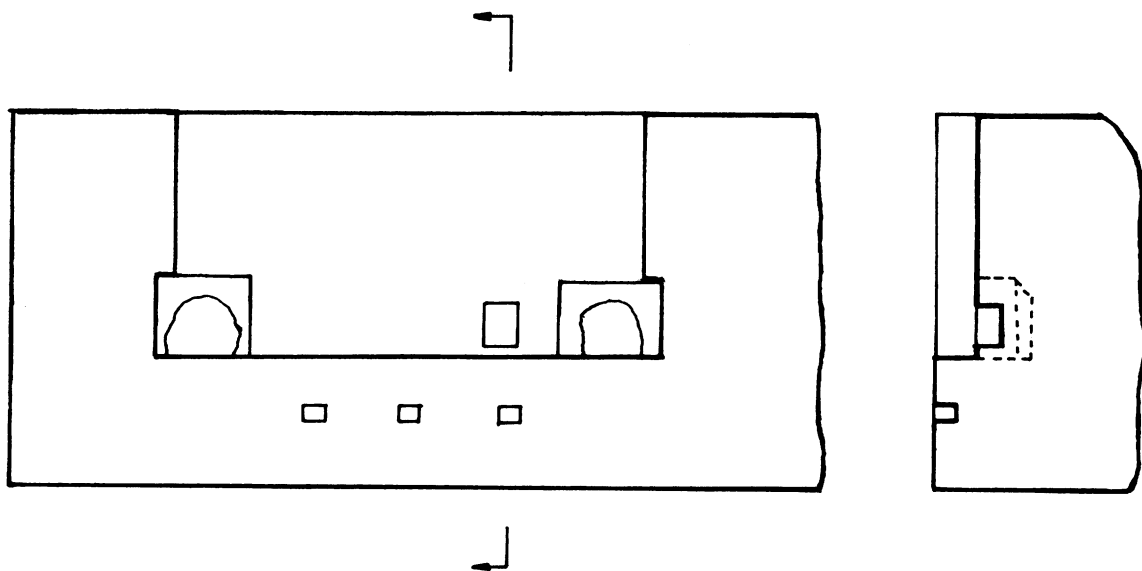


FIG. 12. Sill of second-story window of East Building, plan, section: 1/10.



a



b



c

FIG. 13. The House. *a.* The porch, viewed southward from court. *b.* The rear rooms, viewed southward from main room. *c.* Anta capital from porch (*cf.* fig. 15).

The House consisted of a courtyard, with a series of rooms to the south. The courtyard is a trapezoidal area about 8.50 m. from east to west and 9.00 m. from

north to south. Its northern boundary was formed by a wall, one of two now preserved in ruins, built against each other, as was the situation along the north side of the East Building. Of these, the northern is the more crudely constructed, whereas the southern was built, to its preserved height at least, of large blocks of good ashlar, once well smoothed with thick plaster. The inference would be that the good southern wall was built to replace or screen an earlier, cruder, wall of small stones and, perhaps, mud brick. Whether this represents two periods in the wall of the house court, or the earlier wall was erected as the peribolos of the Archaic Sanctuary at some period and the good wall built to replace, screen or reinforce it when the house was built, cannot be demonstrated. But since the north wall of the north room of the East Building presents the same phenomenon, this may incline the scale in favor of the hypothesis that the first element in this complex was a wall enclosing the Archaic Precinct to the north in the grid squares *JK:h-L:i* and that the East Building and House were built against this.

There was a passage from the Altar Precinct to the House Court at the point *K:hi* with a gate built on the earlier foundation which seems to close the gap now. In any case the ashlar masonry does not exist in the short north-south stretch of the jog at *K:hi*. The east side of the Court, then, would have consisted in this passage or gate, and the front of the north room of the East Building which, as we have already seen, probably also constituted a passage between the court and the area outside the sanctuary, as well as providing access to the second story of the East Building.

On the west the Court was bounded in part by the rear of the Stoa, and in part, finally at least, by a structure of which there remains only the incomplete but unusually heavy foundations of a structure in the form of a hollow square approximately 5.00 m. on each side. These foundations fit tightly against those of the Stoa on the south, and almost merge with the foundations of the monuments on the north. The lower foundations, built almost entirely of re-used blocks, including several inscribed bases,¹⁶ range from 0.80 to 1.00 m. in thickness, far more massive than usual in the sanctuary, but on the north side in particular there are traces that might be interpreted as the line of a revetment 0.22 m.–0.26 m. behind the inner edge. On the west the masonry above the foundation is broken in such a way as to suggest rather clearly a door opening about the middle of the front; on the east the foundations are in part missing, but as preserved would suggest that, if there was an opening on this side at all, it was probably south of the center. No indications of the superstructure have been recognized.

Viewed in relation to the general situation, however, the building must have in some way allowed passage between the court of the House and the Street. This

¹⁶ Mitford, Inscription Nos. 49, 50, 51, *op. cit.*, n. 4.

may not be an absolutely necessary conclusion, but it does seem probable. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine what kind of high enclosed structure could have rested on such a foundation: the base, perhaps, of a truly monumental dedication like one of the choregic monuments in Athens. But it would be equally plausible to assume that the foundations supported rather a square exedra—an unroofed arrangement of benches—a “waiting room” or “lobby” to the court of the House. But all of this must remain in the world of speculation.

Within the court, again, however, vision improves. The south side of the court was defined by a monumental façade of columns distyle in antis, constituting the front of the enclosed part of the House, and, east of this, the gate to an alley or corridor between the House and the East Building (figs. 9*a*, *b*; 13). The House consisted of a porch, a large main room, and a number of smaller rooms behind, the whole being built against the east wall of the Stoa, though the east wall of the House is parallel to the East Building, giving the House a trapezoidal shape. The porch consisted of two columns between an anta on the west built out from the wall of the Stoa and a free-standing pier on the east. The pier was designed as a square shaft with a half-column facing the columns of the façade; the anta on the west, though much mutilated, was presumably designed in the same way. The columns, resting on a stylobate of good ashlar blocks at ground level, were smooth but plastered; the actual stone at the bottom measures about 0.43 m. in diameter. By a circumstance rare in the sanctuary one of the architraves for the structure is preserved: a block only 0.40 m. thick, 0.42 m. high and 2.00 m. long. It is cut with a deep rabbet in one end, and about 0.30 m. of the surface of the face of the block at the same end is relatively rough. The block therefore rested on the anta and pier on the east end of the porch, dovetailed to the architrave extending across the columns of the northern façade of the building. There is no indication of the height of the façade or any of the superstructure above the architrave, though a fragment of cornice found near by may be offered as possibly coming from the building (figs. 14; 64*a*). The anta-pier at the northeast corner is about 1.46 m. from a restored anta behind, and there is preserved a capital for a shallow anta which may have been used at the corner (figs. 13*c*; 15). The floor of the porch is paved with slabs of gypsum.

The main room, some 6.00 by 6.70 m., was entered from the porch by a broad door some 1.50 m. wide, and had access also to the Stoa by another wide door. It presents no features for discussion, unless the lack of interior supports be worthy of comment, and the floor, which was of some substance not preserved, laid on a foundation of loosely bedded small stones and earth on the bedrock.

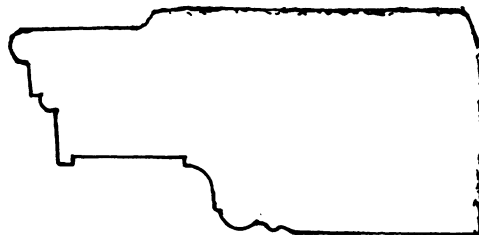


FIG. 14. Cornice found in House, section: 1/10 (*cf.* fig. 64*a*).

Behind the main room, however, is a notable arrangement of three narrow rooms, each opening into the main room by doors, but not, apparently, communicating with each other (plans I–III; fig. 13*b*). Of these, the central one was evidently a passage to a space behind; the two flanking chambers left no indication of their use. No walls separating the three are actually preserved, but the existence of the three sills and the condition of the floor suggest the restoration. The floors are made of rough small stones, a little larger than the size of one's fist, and distinctly longer than wide, laid in a rough herringbone pattern. The floors of the flanking rooms show traces of a cement surface, and there may also have been such a surface in the central corridor; in each of the apartments the floor dips in the middle and the surfacing is lacking in the line of the dividing walls as restored.

The space behind the three rooms underwent a series of remodelings. In the original period, the wall from the corner of the Stoa in grid square *J:k* to the corner of the East Building in *L:k* constituted the south wall of the House complex. The wall itself may have been built rather as an enclosing wall, before the construction of the House, but the narrow space between it and the three small rooms was at some period paved with stone slabs, and there was a door between the southeast corner of the House and the wall, so that resultant space might be regarded as a kind of private back

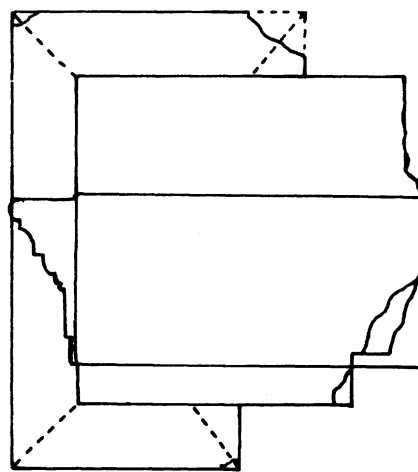


FIG. 15. Anta capital found in House, plan with section: 1/10 (*cf.* fig. 13*c*).

alley opening into the alley between the House and the East Building. During the earliest period of the House there existed, or was built, a room south of the wall in question, which will be discussed below, but at some subsequent period the wall was demolished and another wall built, substituting for the "private alley" a space some 3.50 m. wide, adding to the House complex part of the space of the room. At this time, presumably, the original door at the southeast corner of the House was walled up, and the east wall of the House continued to the new southeast corner.

The space between the House and the East Building, constituting a corridor or perhaps rather an open alley, was closed at the south by a door in the original enclosing wall. This was probably later than the House, being arranged on the axes of the alley between the House and the East Building. At the north end, another door closed the alley from the court of the House.

South of the Stoa and the House were two rooms (plans I, II). The one south of the Stoa is architecturally not impressive: a trapezoidal room, with a door on the west and probably no other doors, though the possibility of their existence cannot be ruled out. The interest of the room is twofold. First, along the south wall there were remains of at least two stoves—low platforms of rough masonry—with abundant evidence of cooking in the form of cooking vessels, bones, and ash on the floor. Second, we have finally a fairly definite clue for the chronology of the complex we have been considering, for the "kitchen," as it has been called, is clearly later, structurally, than the Stoa; and beneath the floor level in apparently reliable position were a few fragments of recognizable pottery, including as the latest, some bits of Pergamene and Samian ware. Thus we may assume that the kitchen was built no later than the early part of the first century after Christ.

The room adjoining it to the east may have been functionally independent, and was quite possibly earlier. It seems to have its own southwest corner, with the south wall of the kitchen built against it—though the masonry is not preserved high enough to provide certainty. On the other hand, it is probably later than the House, for it crowds on the gate to the alley between House and East Building, and we have seen reason to think that the gate is later than the House. In its earlier period it faced eastward, entered through a door whose sill is preserved, and within are slight remains of an L-shaped wall with one section parallel to the southern wall and another parallel to the western wall. Whether these represent a bench on three sides, the northern being lost, or something else, is far from clear. In any case, there was apparently one other period at least, in which these interior walls were obliterated, and the room was divided into two parts by a heavy east-west wall. Later, part of the building was incorporated into the House to the north as we

have seen, the eastern wall was completely replaced by another slightly to the west, and a second door established at a slightly higher level, and in a slightly different position.

The space to the east of this structure, and south of the East Building, was ultimately bounded by a wall on the east, continuing the line of the east wall of the peribolos, and returning along the south to the southeast corner of the room we have been considering. The temporal relationship of the construction is not clear. The enclosure, however, could have been entered from the south by a small door just east of the room. At, apparently, a later period, a third room was built within the enclosure immediately south of the East Building.

In the southeastern corner of the enclosure is the entrance to a large cistern. It is of the type assuming the shape of a bottle or flask—circular, with a narrow opening at the top and sides swelling below the top to a depth of about 5.50 m. From the pottery and coins in the cistern it was abundantly clear that its last days of use were in the latter part of the first century B.C., and that it was largely filled with debris during the first half of the first century after Christ.

Finally we should note the roughly semicircular, or horseshoe-shaped wall projecting southward from the kitchen. This wall is the lining of a pit, and presumably never showed above ground, though it is, and rightly, a distinctive feature on almost all plans of the area. The pit was a *favissa*, a burial-place for votives removed from their place of original dedication and display to make room for other dedications by later devotees. The Votive Pit was constructed around A.D. 100, offering a terminus later than needed for the wall of the kitchen against which it is built, and constituting a piece of evidence for the history of the sanctuary, but its main interest was in the contents, which have been described elsewhere.¹⁷

SUMMARY OF THE EAST COMPLEX

From the above account we can get a picture of the whole area south of the Archaic Precinct and east of the Street, in general and even, in certain respects, in some detail. Viewing the situation as a whole, moreover, we get some general understanding of the chronology.

The Stoa is evidently the oldest structure, dating from no later than the third century B.C., and perhaps not much earlier. The next clear date comes from the Augustan pottery in the kitchen and the cistern. Less clearly, perhaps, the re-use of the Hellenistic inscribed base for a triglyph for a reconstruction of the Stoa, and the use of several Hellenistic inscribed bases in the foundations of the "lobby" to the House court, north of the Stoa, point to a period of rehabilitation of the buildings of the sanctuary at a time

¹⁷ J. and S. Young, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

when it was possible to dispose of old dedications—a time, presumably, after a period of decay, and at the beginning of a new surge of prosperity and development. This, too, might reasonably be associated with the time of Augustus and the general rehabilitation of Cyprus as a Roman province after the troubles of the first century B.C. The problem is to fit around these dates our relative sequences, and here in most details we are reduced to probabilities.

The Stoa, then, dates from the third, or perhaps the fourth century B.C. Shortly after the construction of the Stoa, possibly within the third century, the area behind it was incorporated into the enclosed peribolos, and the East Building erected along the new wall east of the Stoa. Somewhat later, possibly around the end of the third century, the House was built in its original form, and the gate at the alley which was created between the House and the East Building. During the second century there was constructed a room, possibly with benches on three sides, south of the House, but separate from it—its relative date suggested by the awkward impingement of its east wall on the south gate of the alley. Later, but before the end of the first century, the kitchen was built in the enclave west of this structure and south of the Stoa—the kitchen being in use around the time of Augustus. We have no specific indication of the date when the remodeling of the southern part of the House occurred—the door to the alley being closed, the “bench room” to the south being demolished and its space partially occupied by a southern extension of the House, partly by a new structure whose eastern wall was withdrawn slightly to the west of the original wall. This remodeling might, however, have been part of a general program of renovation which also included extensive repairs to the Stoa, represented by the triglyph block cut from the dedication by Nikanor, presumably around the time of Augustus. Possibly also at this time the enclosure south of the East Building was re-organized with an enclosed room in the northeast corner, and the cistern in the southeast corner abandoned.

THE TEMPLE

The Temple of Apollo lay at the northern end of the sanctuary (plans I, IV; fig. 16). It is apparently relatively late—probably no earlier than the time of Augustus, and it is located in what is evidently an extension of the sanctuary specifically designed to include it. The building exhibits two distinct structural phases, of which the first was a simple rectangular building with a cella and vestibule entered by a door—no columns, the entrance at ground level; and the second consisted of a flight of steps to a colonnaded pronaos giving access to a cella.

The Temple of the first period was about 14.80 m. long and 9.20 m. wide. The lower part of the structure still stands (figs. 16*b*; 17; plan IV). The foundations

were made of rubble, on which rested a euthynteria of well-trimmed limestone; above this was a step or toichobate of the same material. On this the walls were carried up with a thickness of 0.90–1.00 m. The mass of the wall was rubble, or large roughly fitted stones, faced on the inside with plaster and on the outside with slabs of gypsum bearing a well-carved base molding. Above this was a low course of good limestone, some 0.24 m. in height.

So far the wall is still preserved in most places, while, above, nothing substantial is still *in situ*. The building seems to have been overthrown in a violent earthquake, and a very large proportion, if not all, of the south and east walls was found in fairly neat array around the foundations. But although the parts of the structure still *in situ* must certainly belong to the original phase of the building, since the base moldings are still preserved across the front, well below the later stairs, it cannot be so confidently assumed that the fallen parts of the building lying about belong to the original. Indeed, we shall see good reason to suppose that some at least, and perhaps all of these remains must belong to the second period.

On this assumption there is nothing more to note about the first period excepting with respect to the door. As has been said, the moldings on the orthostate run across the front of the building at each end, leaving a gap of 2.58 m. (closed now by masonry of the later period (fig. 16*b*). The moldings, however, do not return along the reveals of the door, so that we must assume that there were jambs on either side, reducing the aperture to perhaps from 2.00 m. to 1.80 m.

Moreover, in front of the Temple was found a block bearing part of an inscription ΩΝΙ ΤΑΑΘΗ ΚΟΤΡ,¹⁸ which may be restored confidently at least to the extent of ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΤΑΑΘΗ ΚΟΤΡΙΕΩΝ, and there is every reason to suppose that this is the block bearing the dedication of the Temple. The block is 0.57 m. thick and 0.50 m. high, a fairly substantial piece of limestone; its left edge (from the observer's point of view) is fairly smooth and well preserved; its right end is worn and battered. It would be possible to take the irregularities of the right end as the result of a fracture, but if they be taken as the original surface, only superficially damaged, it will be found that the original block measured 1.07 m. along the top and 1.15 m. along the bottom. If this is true, the block cannot have been an ordinary architrave, but must have come from a position in a wall or, taking it literally, have been part of a flat arch. If it was not a flat arch, it must have come from a position above the actual lintel of the building (assuming what it is almost necessary to assume—that it was on the front and not the side or rear), but if it was a part of a flat arch, it would have been a part of the lintel itself, and indeed this is the most probable place for the dedi-

¹⁸ Mitford, Inscription No. 105, *op. cit.*, n. 4.

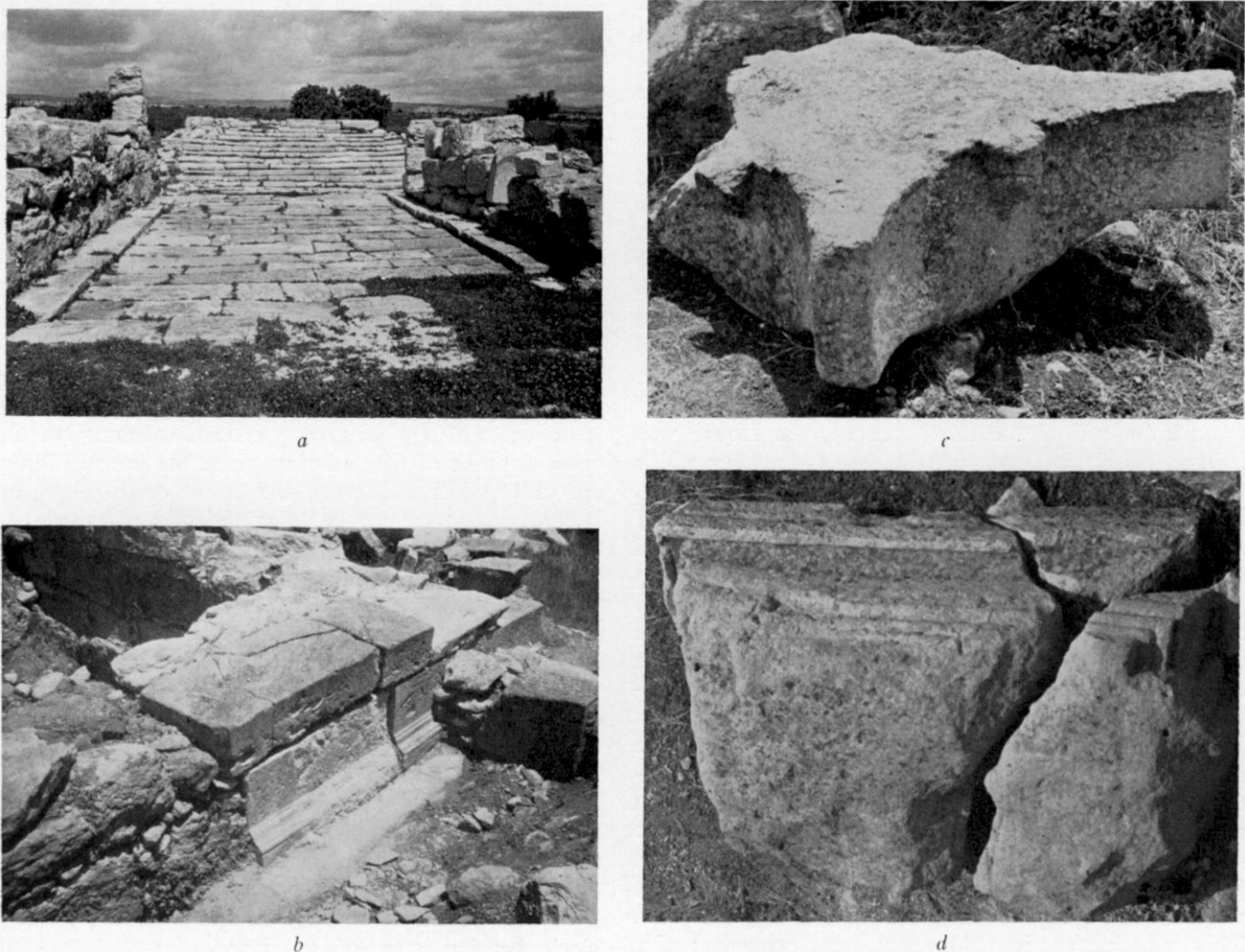


FIG. 16. The Temple. *a*. View from south (steps and walls of street partially rebuilt). *b*. Front wall of early building, with door filled by masonry of the second period (*cf.* fig. 17). *c*. The "Cypro-Corinthian" capital. *d*. Corner pilaster capital (*cf.* fig. 18).

catory inscription to have appeared. The restoration of the composite lintel, then, will depend to some extent on the restoration of the inscription, but at least a reasonable suggestion would give the text

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΤΑΑΤΗ ΚΟΤΡ[ΙΕΩΝ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΝΕΘ-
ΗΚΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΘΕΩΙ

with a total length of 3.50 m., requiring that the preserved block and its missing mate be supported on the wall and jamb at each side of the door for about 0.40 m. of their length, with a keystone about 0.56 m. long at the top and 0.41 m. at the bottom.

Turning now to the second period, the most conspicuous sign of this is the flight of thirteen steps in front, 6.40 m. wide, rising to a platform about 1.50 m. above the pavement in front. This construction resulted in the filling of the lower part of the original door, the raising of the floor level throughout the temple, and almost certainly the reconstruction of the whole of the upper part of the original building. The

steps themselves, as now preserved, are flanked by cheeks of fairly crude masonry which must certainly have been faced with some more presentable material when new.

For the restoration of the superstructure of the new building there is abundant evidence. The discussion might best begin with one of the most striking features of the building—what might perhaps be called its "Cypro-Corinthian" capitals. Of these there is one fairly well preserved example from a column (fig. 16*c*), and one from an anta. As preserved, the column capital consists of what looks like the upper part of an unfinished Corinthian capital. There are four projecting "ears," from which volutes might have been carved, but were not, with a spread of 1.20 m. On three faces there are bulbous projections halfway between the two volutes; otherwise the surfaces are smooth, and gather toward the beginning of a bell shape below. In spite of the impression that the capitals give of being unfinished, they probably were, in fact,

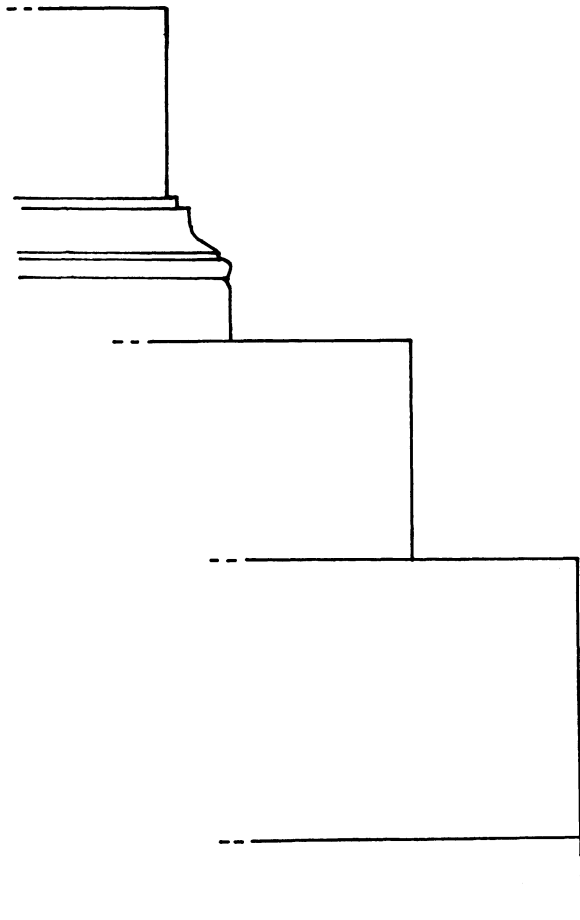


FIG. 17. Stereobate, base molding and orthostate of Temple, elevation: 1/10 (cf. fig. 16b).

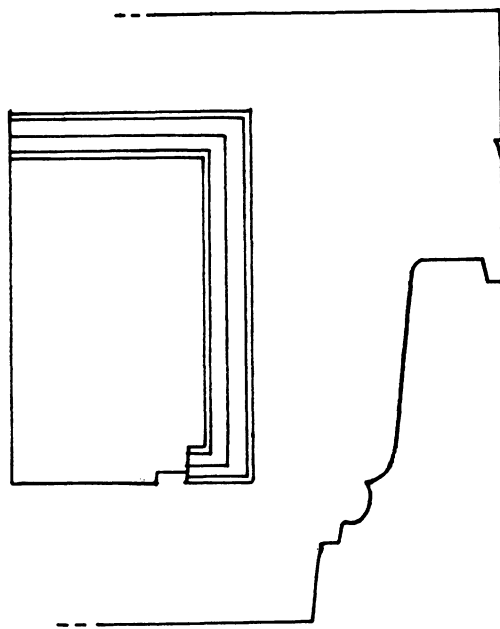


FIG. 18. Corner pilaster capital of Temple, plan from below: 1/20; section: 1/5 (cf. fig. 16d).

completed: a similar capital was found on the Acropolis at Kourion and another was used at the corners of the "gymnasium" at Salamis in eastern Cyprus. The example at Salamis has another element, cut in another block, resembling a Doric echinus, below the part resembling the one we have been considering. It is possible, then, that the Apollo capital also consisted of two parts, of which only the upper is preserved.

In any case, the capital gives us an indication of the scale of the column required to support it: the upper diameter of the column must have been about 0.80 m. No column shaft even close to these proportions has been noticed in the Apollo sanctuary in recent years, but the missing column may have been seen by Cesnola ninety years ago.¹⁹ He reports having excavated a temple "... seventy-nine feet in length and thirty-two in width. Its Columns in white marble and bluish granite ... measure (the largest) three feet two inches in diameter; the next in size two feet; and the smallest sixteen inches." Almost nothing in this account corresponds precisely with anything now visible in the sanctuary, but the only temple-like building that approximates the figures he gives is our Temple, which measures, including the steps about 72 feet in length²⁰ and 30 in width. Moreover, other finds of Cesnola indicate that ours is the temple he was digging, as we shall see. Of the largest columns he found there seem to be now no trace, but a column with a lower diameter of 3 feet 2 inches (0.965 m.) would indeed be of about the right proportion for our "Cypro-Corinthian" capital.

A fairly well-preserved "Cypro-Corinthian" capital of the same size, but cut off on one side as for an anta capital, is preserved, thus substantiating the restoration of the building with antae—though our restoration as prostyle rather than distyle in antis, and our spacing of the columns are purely conjectural.

There is preserved, almost complete, one capital from, apparently, a corner pilaster (figs. 16d; 18), and substantial fragments of what seem to be two others.

¹⁹ Louis Palma di Cesnola, *Cyprus, its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples* (New York, 1878), p. 343.

²⁰ Seventy-nine, indeed, to the south face of the peribolos wall in front.

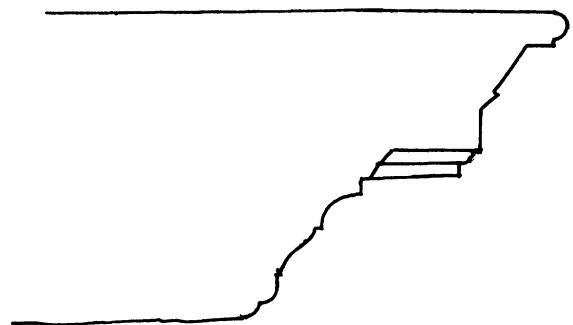


FIG. 19. Cornice of Temple, section: 1/10 (cf. fig. 66b).

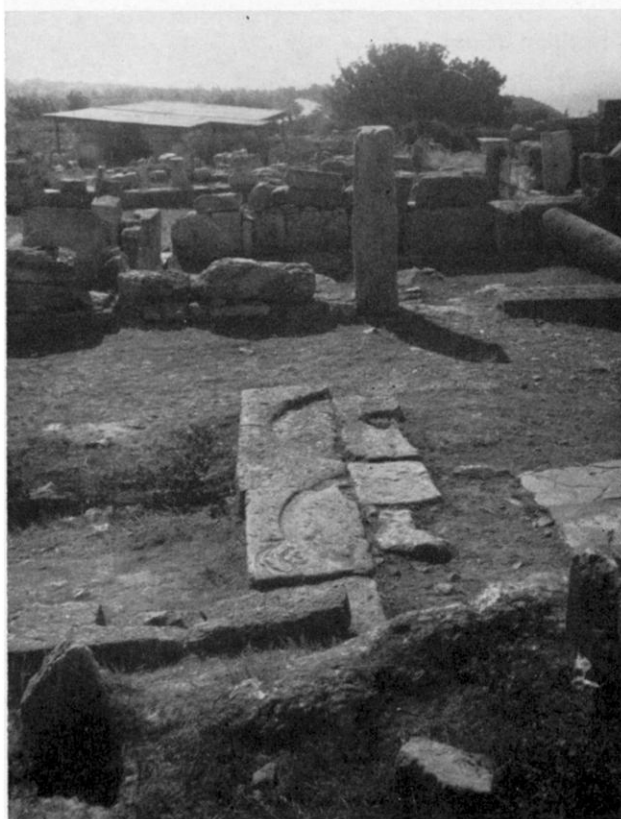


a



c

FIG. 20. The Street. *a.* Traces of gate on paving blocks. *b.* Location of gate at north end of Stoa. *c.* The "polka-dot" inscription.



b

This, with the Cypro-Corinthian anta capital, makes too many corners for the building in its later phase, and some explanation is required. It is possible that the original building had pilasters at each corner, the rear two being preserved in the remodeled second building, the third preserved fragment being discarded at that time. It is perhaps more probable, to account for the circumstances, that one or two of the fragmentary capitals of this sort actually came from the door.

In any case, there is preserved a much weathered block from the epistyle-frieze, and some fragments of the continuing frieze along the wall on the side and end of the building in the form of thin slabs carved with the same two fasciae and cyma reversa at the top. Numerous blocks from the cornice are preserved, distinguished by the modillions with Y marks on the soffit (figs. 19; 66*b*). One of the cornices from the peak, worn so badly as almost to obscure recognition, is also preserved. There are two blocks which seem to be from a tympanum, but each has a different pitch: one has a rise of about $1:3 \frac{1}{6}$; the other about $1:4 \frac{3}{4}$. If they are in fact both from pediments, we may have both the earlier and later pediments represented, though unfortunately we cannot be perfectly sure which is which.

Many of the wall blocks are preserved, as they fell in the final earthquake. These all come from the exterior facing; it would appear that the original wall had a thick component of rough masonry on the inside, faced internally with plaster, or, possibly, thin revetment. In any case the wall blocks preserved vary in height: some are 0.33 m. high, others 0.46 m., 0.49 m., or 0.50 m. There does not seem to have been any particular pattern in the various heights of courses. Many of the blocks and perhaps all were lightly rusticated, with drafted edges. But in the state of weathering it is not possible to be sure that all of

them were so treated, and furthermore, some of the blocks in the toichobate and euthynteria were also rusticated in this manner. In short, one might be entitled to assume that the blocks, or most of them, were re-used from some other building, perhaps outside the sanctuary. Whether the rustication was significantly visible on the Temple itself can hardly be determined.

As to the date of the building, we are unfortunately without any direct evidence. Cesnola says that he "dug along the eastern foundations for several weeks and laid bare a part of the pavement." It would seem that he removed most of the fill within the temple; he found "fragments of a very large earthenware jar inscribed in Greek letters with a dedication to Apollo Hylates . . . beneath the stone pavement of the temple." The fragments he found still exist, and belong with other fragments of the same vase found by McFadden,²¹ and the base of a pithos bedded in the fill below the floor of the Temple of a later period in the south east corner of the cells, still *in situ*, may actually be part of the same vessel. In any case Cesnola seems to have dug more extensively within the Temple than his direct statement implies, and for this or other reasons no evidence for the date was found in the recent excavation. The inscribed pithos, of course, so far as it is datable, offers a clue, and Mitford would suggest the Trajanic period. This would correspond easily enough with the general suggestion of the cornice with modillions, though the Cypro-Corinthian capital at Salamis has been tentatively dated to the Augustan era.

We are reduced to the general possibilities and the suggestion of Trajanic date for the second phase. There need be no quarrel with this dating of the later building, and the only problem is the early phase. For this the general pattern of developments would, as we shall see, suggest an Augustan date, although that hypothesis must remain a conjecture.

THE STREET

A major element in the development of the sanctuary was the line represented by the street running south from the Temple (plans I, II; figs. 16a; 20) or, perhaps more accurately, north and south from the Central Court. Its total length from the bottom step of the Temple to the corner on the west side at the south end, is 74.40 m., but for several reasons it should probably be considered in two parts—that south from the Central Court, and the part between the Court and the Temple.

The southern section is faced on the east by the kitchen, the Stoa, and the square "lobby" north of the Stoa; on the west, it is bounded by a continuous wall of masonry. Thus, although the west side is straight and continuous, the east is irregular,

so that it is 4.40 m. wide at its southern extremity, 3.20 m. wide at the south end of the Stoa, and 5.60 m. wide at the north end of the square building north of the Stoa, the point at which it debouched, at one period, into the Central Court. These circumstances suggest that in early days it was simply a line of passage to the Central Court, not formalized as a Street until after the completion of the west wall—which should probably be considered as the peribolos of the West Enclosure rather than the wall of the Street itself. That this wall is later than any of the buildings on the east is suggested by the probability that had it been earlier, the buildings would most naturally have been laid out parallel to it.

Although the northern end of the building north of the Stoa has been given as the point where the Street enters the General Court, predicated on the fact that at this point the monuments of the Central Court appear on the east, in some respects a more natural juncture might seem to be a few meters north, at the northeast corner of the southwest enclosure of the Central Court complex. From this point, the length of the Street to its south end would be 37.00 m.

Still another northern terminus for the southern section of the Street might be argued. About 1.60 m. south of the north end of the Stoa there is preserved on the slabs of the Street in front a group of marks caused by the wear of rollers of swinging door-valves. (fig. 20a, b). These are located on the western half of the Street—the paving on the eastern half is missing at this point, and nothing is preserved to suggest the nature of the wall or gate to which the valves belonged. In all probability, however, it was a wall, and the two sets of tracks preserved belong to the same door, representing a pair of valves that could be opened by swinging them out northward and away from each other to rest before the face of a wall on either side of the door opening. There is more than enough room for another door of a similar kind on the east side of the road, but hardly room for more than one. In any case, it seems clear that this gate marked a point in the movement toward the Altar which was in some sense a boundary; with these doors closed, there was no way for the public to enter the Court.

Whether the gate marks the boundary of the original Archaic Sanctuary, or of the Central Court at some period earlier than the paving of the Street, or simply a facility conceived for the first time when the street was paved, can hardly be demonstrated.

There is a sill for a door through the west wall leading into the West Enclosure just outside—south—of the gate, some 1.00 m. wide.

As to the northern section of the Street, there is, once again, some ambiguity as to its beginning and end. Its actual preserved southern extremity would be on the north side of the Court, whence it extended to the bottom step of the Temple, a distance of 27.20 m. But the arrangement on the east in front of the

²¹ George H. McFadden, "Excavations at Kourion," *University Museum Bulletin* 7 (1938): p. 11. Mitford, *Inscription* No. 123, *op. cit.*, n. 4.

Temple suggests the form of a small court the width of the steps—6.20 m.—and 2.00 m. long to the wall of the Altar Precinct, the corner of which allows only a space of 5.00 m. for the Street itself. At the southern end, the continuation of the line of the west wall of this part of the Street through the Central Court to the northeast corner of the southwest enclosure of the Court complex would add 10.20 m., and we have seen, in the alignment of the marble floor of the west side of the Court complex with this line, reason to suggest that the Street was, in fact, felt as continuing through the Court.

The walls of the Street in the north section are preserved in at least two courses of large ashlar blocks 0.50 m. high; immediately in front of the Temple the corner now stands five courses high, some 2.40 m., but it may be that the upper two or three courses were restored by the excavators without mention being made of the fact. The walls in the north section (not the south) stand on a toichobate of well-dressed limestone, showing as a low sill or curb about 0.40 m. wide. There were three door openings in the east wall into the Altar Precinct, and a door to north and south from the tiny area immediately in front of the Temple. That to the north, since the ground in the West Enclosure stood some 1.25 m. or more higher than the level of the Street, has its sill 0.65 m. above the pavement, and must have been approached by steps.

At some period the Street was paved end to end with blocks of well-dressed limestone ranging from 0.15 m. to 0.25 m. in thickness, 0.40 to 0.75 m. in width—with many around 0.55 m.; and 0.90–2.00 m. in length. Many of the blocks are missing, but some stretches are very well preserved, for the most part showing few signs of wear. Just west of the square north of the Stoa there is a block bearing a remarkable inscription (fig. 20*c*)²²:

ΕΤÇΤΟΧΙC
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

This was made by drilling a pattern of holes about 0.035 m. in diameter and 0.01 m. deep, and filling them with lead, so that the letters emerge as a pattern of dots of lead on the stone surface. A similar hole with the lead still in it appears on an adjoining block to the north, and more holes were found on slivers of stone which had exfoliated from the block to the east. There are real difficulties in restoring the “polka dot” inscription on the assumption that it was laid out on the pavement, but even more in assuming that the blocks were re-used for the pavement from some building. Certainly there are no other indications of such re-use. But taking the inscription as having been laid out on the pavement, the question still remains as to whether it refers to the pavement itself, or perhaps to some monument lying just north of it.

²² Mitford, Inscription No. 113, *op. cit.*, n. 4. The restoration here offered was suggested by A. N. Oikonomides.

In any case, the paving seems to have been fairly late—that is, no earlier than the time of Trajan. This is suggested by the lack of wear, the fact that the slabs seem oriented primarily to the west wall which, as we have seen, must be later than the irregular array of bounding elements on the east, and because such ambiguous indications from coins and pottery as were found in the water-channels under the pavement and below pavement level in places where the slabs were missing, all seem to point in that direction.

THE SOUTH BUILDING

The Temple Street was entered at the south from a large area which we call the South Court. Along the south side of the Court extended the largest building in the Sanctuary—the South Building. In its final form, which can be dated accurately to the early years of the reign of Trajan, this building occupied an area some 63.60 m. long across the front, 58.60 m. long on the rear, with a depth of almost 23 m. The terrain slopes from northwest to southeast, so that the rock lies almost at the floor level of the colonnade at the northwest corner, but almost 2.50 m. lower at the southwestern corner and 3.20 m. lower at the southeastern corner. The building consisted of a series of rectangular rooms, which we number 1 through 5, east to west, separated by passages, opening onto a long colonnade which faced on the South Court. Each of the large rooms consisted of a paved central area surrounded on both sides and the rear by a bench lined with columns. The Trajanic building was the last in a series of structures on the site, and it may be the most convenient plan to describe the remains in approximately chronological order.

THE EARLY PERIODS

Among the earliest remains are a group of badly preserved foundations under the eastern part of the building, beneath and in front of the later Rooms 1 and 2 (plan V). There are quite clearly two sets of buildings represented, one earlier than the other, although in the one place where these are preserved in actual physical contact—beneath the east bench of Room 1 (plan V; fig. 21*a*), the indications of priority are unhappily ambiguous. There are, undoubtedly, remains of two walls preserved in the rough stones of their footings, but whether the western wall was built in a process involving the cutting away of the west side of the eastern wall, or whether the eastern wall was built in a process involving the addition of an eastern face to the western wall, is not absolutely clear. Furthermore, it is difficult to prove without doubt which of these two goes with which of the two systems preserved elsewhere. In spite of the ambiguities, however, the fact remains that there are definitely two periods, and the balance of probabilities would give the greater age to the eastern of the two.

In any case, there are abundant remains of early

foundations in the area of the colonnade in front of Rooms 1 and 2. They are preserved in almost nothing but rubble foundations, but it would seem reasonably clear here, too, that there are two systems involved. Some nearly parallel walls run too close to each other to be plausible in one structure, and in fact there seem to emerge two different orientations: one with a front facing about 5° east of magnetic north, the other facing about $2\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ east of magnetic north.

A third group of remains earlier than the Trajanic building and evidently later than either of those we have been discussing exist farther to the west: these have the same orientation as the Trajanic building (about 1° west of magnetic north). This suggests a progressive shift in orientation from east of north, westward. Because of this, and because in several instances the remains of the walls with the $2\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ east of north orientation seem to have been employed in the structure of the Trajanic building, and because the later (western) of the two walls in contact in the area of the bench in Room 1 really seem to belong to this group, we may with some degree of confidence put the relative chronology in harmony with the swing of the compass needle. On this basis, a short stretch of rubble wall with an entirely different orientation, forming an angle within the east part of Room 5 may, schematically at least, be taken as the oldest on the site—formally Period I.

To Period I we may return later, but begin our account with the earlier of the two systems at the east end of the South Building, which now becomes Period II. Of this period, then, the most extensive remains are those in the area of the colonnade in front of Room 1, extending a little both east and west. Essentially there is a long wall just in front of the wall of the Trajanic Room continuing to the line of the wall of the Southeast Building and terminated on the west by an approximately north-south wall. This disappears southward under Room 2 of the Trajanic building and can be traced northward by a few stones to a point about 4.30 m. in front of the main east-west wall. Here it seems to make a corner with another east-west wall running east, very poorly preserved in a few stones of the foundation on bedrock. About 15.00 m. east of this west wall another wall projects northward; a well-preserved rubble foundation, running down for a depth of a meter to the level of a floor made of pebbles on cement sloping down to the south-east. It is probable that this floor represents something earlier than the wall system under discussion, perhaps an early road, or paved walk. In any case, within the rectangle formed by the four walls just noted there is a foundation preserved so as to create the shape of an *L*. The interval between the *L*-wall and the main wall on the south is about 1.50 m.; on the east, about 1.00 m. Although there are no remains of this part of the structure in the west half of the area

in question, partly under the influence of the benches in the Trajanic building and elsewhere in the sanctuary as we shall see, partly for lack of a better explanation, we may perhaps be justified in the hypothesis that the remains we have been considering survive from a structure open on the front, with benches on east, west, and south—a sort of exedra.

Other remains of walls with similar orientation may be seen at various places within the body of the South Building. Among them would be, probably, the easternmost of the contiguous walls under the east bench of Room 1; a wall beneath the foundation of the west wall of Room 2; a short east-west wall below the east bench of Room 3; some scraps of wall just inside the south wall of Rooms 1 and 2. A double line of masonry in front of the colonnade before Room 3 also seems to have the same orientation. Whether these all belong to one complex, or represent a number of separate and distinct buildings, can hardly be determined.

The second set of early remains at the east end, Period III in the history of the area, with a bearing around $2\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ east of magnetic north, may be identified most readily in an east-west wall in front of the passage between Rooms 1 and 2 of the Trajanic building, about 2.50 m. north of the wall of the Trajanic building, in the area of the hypothetical bench of the exedra of Period II. Here it is well preserved for about 6.00 m., the difference in orientations obvious, and the incompatibility with the earlier system completely evident. Equally clear is the east-west foundation close in front of the front wall of the Trajanic building at the same point, which can be traced, with some ambiguities, to the wall of the Southeast Building. Within the central area of Room 1 there was also found an *L*-shaped survival of an early foundation with this orientation. A west wall for this complex may possibly be discerned in what seems to be a modification of the orientation of the west wall of the first building. Taking all this together, we may perhaps be entitled to the hypothesis that Period III in this area represented a replacement and refinement of Period I on approximately the same lines: an exedra facing north—in the new phase, with a porch or colonnade in front.

Moreover, traces of an east-west wall with the same orientation can be seen as far west as the east bench in Room 3, where they join another north-south wall. This east-west wall does not continue the line of any wall of the exedra of Period III in the area of Rooms 1 and 2, and may represent an addition to an original one-room structure, but it does suggest that at one time there were two approximately similar exedra-rooms built side by side. In the east bench-space of Room 3, about 3.00 m. south of the east-west wall of this second room, and about 1.00 m. or a little more east of the line of the west wall, were found *in situ* two orthostate facing-slabs of a type

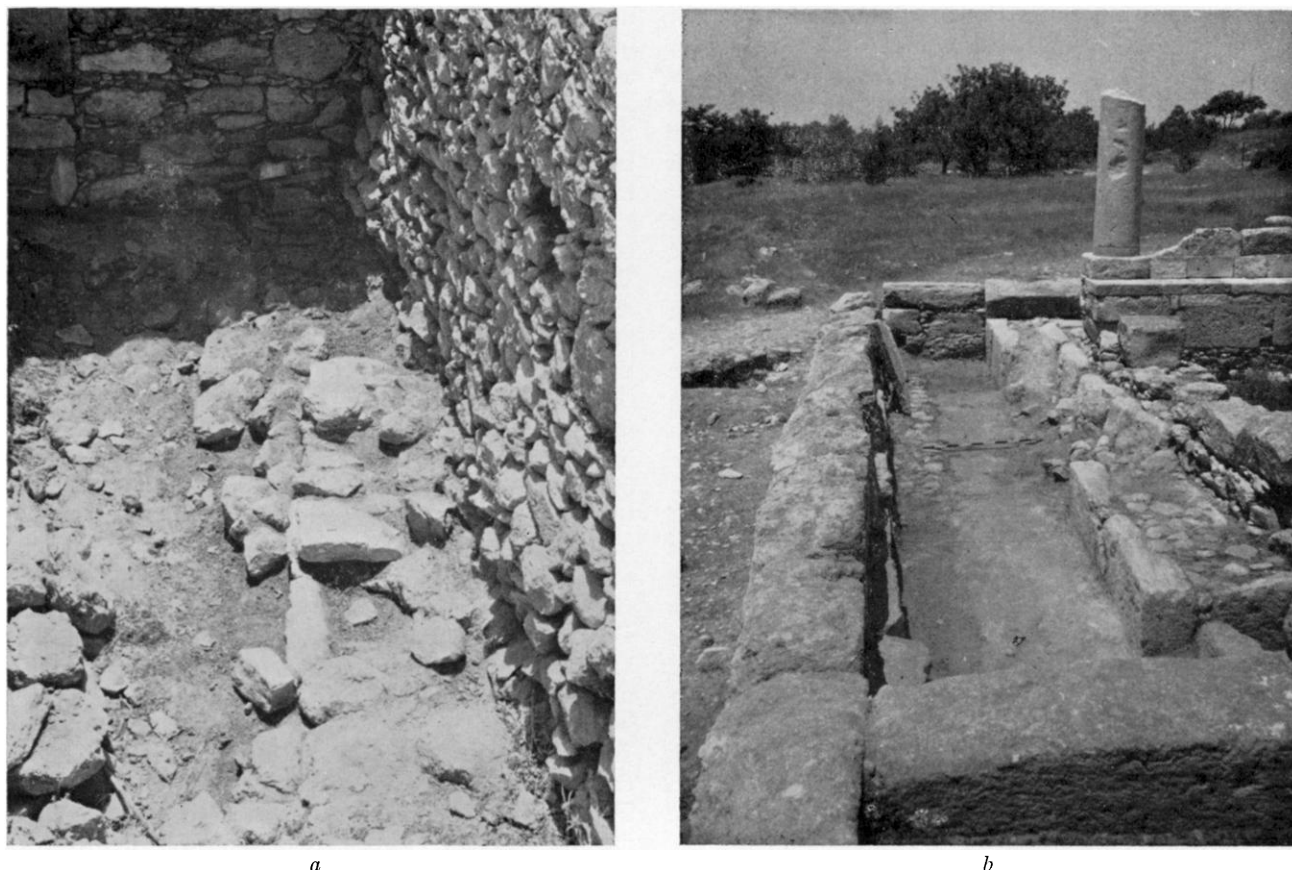


FIG. 21. The South Building—early remains. *a*. Walls of Periods II and III in areas of east bench of Room 1; high wall to right, foundation of bench-stylobate of Trajanic building; high wall to rear, modern. *b*. Southwest corner, from east at rear of Room 5: top of wall showing within outer wall on left, Period IV; orthostate wall at right center, Period V. *c*. Area of east bench of Room 5: low wall in middle, Period IV; good orthostate wall on right, Period V. *d*. Area of west bench of Room 5: low wall in center, Period IV; fragments of paving slabs, Period V; columns (rebuilt), Period VI.

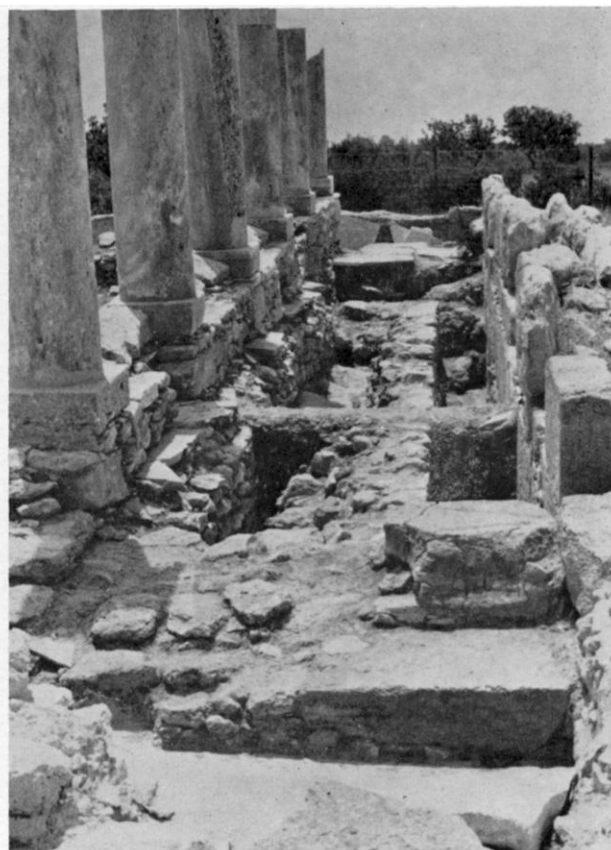
generally familiar as the facing of the benches in the Trajanic building; this might tend to confirm the hypothesis of the second exedra-room or building in Period III.

Still other fragmentary remains of foundations with the $2\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ east of magnetic north orientation were found in the areas of Rooms 3 and 4, beneath the foundation of the west wall of Room 1, and beneath the foundation of the west wall of Room 2. A fairly well-preserved foundation with about this orientation, exposed for only a few meters of its length, was also found south of the Trajanic building. But once again, the relation of these isolated scraps to the better-preserved foundations in the north part of the Trajanic building can hardly be surmised.

Period IV can surely be seen in a number of foundations in the area of Rooms 2 through 5 with an orientation like that of the Trajanic building— 1° west of magnetic north—but with no direct relation to the actual structure of this building. Among the most conspicuous of these is a wall running in front of Rooms 2–4 within the space of the Trajanic colonnade. It has a clear western terminus in a north-south wall which extends from the line of the Trajanic colonnade

into the interior of the Trajanic building, and an apparent eastern terminus at the line of wall in front of the east bench of Room 2, which we have considered to represent the western wall of the eastern exedra of Period III, as well as the west end of the exedra of Period II. There may have been a wall on a line just inside the south wall of the Trajanic buildings for a considerable portion—perhaps all—of the length of the Trajanic building; such a wall is well preserved at the rear of Room 5 (fig. 21*b*), and traces of what may be the same wall were found in other rooms, but it is not certain that they represent a continuous wall, or, if they do, whether that wall was part of a building or part of a peribolos enclosure. There is no trace of any other part of this system in the areas of Rooms 1–4 unless they are hidden in the foundations of the Trajanic building, as in fact may be the case under the west wall of Room 1.

In the area of Room 5, however, there are abundant traces of a definite structure with no relation to the Trajanic building, but with the same orientation. These include a north-south wall in the area of the east bench of Room 5 (fig. 21*c*), with the stubs of two east-west walls projecting west; and another well-

*c**d*

preserved north-south wall in the area of the west bench of the same room (fig. 21*d*). There is no indication of the northern or southern ends of this particular structure, though the wall just inside the rear wall of the Trajanic building (its top showing in the earth in fig. 21*b*) may be related.

It may be well to note at this point the existence of a well-preserved wall in the area of the east bench of Room 5, below the wall we have just mentioned, with an entirely different orientation. Traces of packing on the bedrock suggest that we have preserved here the northwest corner of a rectangular room or building facing on a strong northwest or northeast axis. Clearly this is earlier than our Period IV, and had no relation to Periods II or III. Whether it was earlier than they, or contemporary, is not indicated by any circumstances in this area, but we shall accumulate indications for an early date, and may tentatively recognize in these remains Period I of the area of the South Building.

There are abundant remains of a most puzzling character in the front of Room 5 and filling the entire space of the colonnade in front (fig. 22*a*). For the most part these remains consist of a well-made floor of finely smoothed cement, such as is common for waterproof surfaces in many places. At Kourion, however, this cement surface was also used as the bedding for neatly laid pebble floors, and much of the surface

now under consideration was so paved. It is a question whether it was all paved with pebbles, or some parts were pebbled and others left with smooth cement: when the cement holding the pebbles themselves grows soft, and the pebble surface breaks up, the cement surface below may often emerge clear and without a trace of pebbles. In general, however, the floor occupies the space between the western end of the third-period structure, in front of the western part of Room 4, to the western end of the colonnade of the Trajanic building. On the north side the roots of rubble foundations project into the general rectangular area in a steplike pattern; on the south, three rectangular areas of similar rubble masses seem to wall off the floored surface, save for two narrow passages still paved with pebbles leading to a narrow channel which runs the whole length east and west. Whether the channel extended still further east cannot be determined. The ultimate southern wall, so far as preserved remains indicate, was continuous and straight, and falls almost directly on the line of the ends of the benches in the Trajanic building, though the later construction overhangs the earlier by a few centimeters. Wherever preserved to an actual bounding wall, the cement flooring turns up smoothly as though to cover the wall surface also, and is indeed preserved for some centimeters in height on the southern wall.

This curious structure seems to be independent, with no meaningful relation to any of the buildings, earlier or later, around it. Chronologically it may be included loosely with the other buildings with the same orientation in our Period IV. Perhaps it may be best explained, in a general way, as a water basin entered by steps from the north, provided with benches in front of the south wall, in which travelers arriving at the sanctuary could wash and rest their feet. Certainly such an amenity would have been a luxurious welcome to the traveler from afar on a hot summer day!

As we approach the final period, dated to around A.D. 100, we find what in a way seem to be two phases, or sub-periods, although it is possible that a sharper distinction should be made.

The first phase we may for convenience designate as Period V. It is represented by a structure of which there are abundant remains within the area of Room 5 of the final Trajanic building. The west wall of this earlier building was incorporated into the Trajanic building entire; the southwest corner of the earlier structure shows clearly in the west wall of the Trajanic building about 1.85 m. north of its southwest corner. The south face of the south wall of the earlier building is also clearly visible, well preserved within the space of the rear bench of the Trajanic building (fig. 21*b*). The east wall lies directly under the foundation of the stylobate of the east bench of the Trajanic room (fig. 21*c*); the north walls of the two periods are indistinguishable.

Some further observations on the west walls should be made (fig. 22*b*). They are founded on bedrock, with a rubble footing; above this rise, in all, four courses of somewhat irregular ashlar masonry. The first two courses (the lower not visible in the photograph) are parallel lines of orthostates some 0.27 m. thick, with rubble between; these support a bonding course, above which is another course of parallel orthostates. Two buttresses project outward, of generally similar construction, bonded with the wall. The coursing north and south of the southern buttress is broken at the buttress. The wall seems to continue unbroken beyond the front of the room to the northwest corner of the Trajanic colonnade, but the relation of this extension to the earlier water basin in the area, to the building under discussion, and to the Trajanic building, remains obscure. The other outer walls of this building where visible within the Trajanic Room 5 are all faced with orthostates similar to those on the west wall, but no other buttresses have been noticed.

Within the space of the early structure so defined are clear remains of a plan superficially similar to that of the later Trajanic room. A "stylobate" wall—if indeed it actually bore columns—for the east and south side is visible in the space of the central area of the Trajanic room; the corresponding wall on the west was incorporated into the foundations of the stylobate wall of the west bench of the Trajanic building (fig. 21*d*).

Thus it is evident that the earlier structure had exactly the same plan as the Trajanic room, but was about 2.00 m. narrower and shorter, with the north and west walls coinciding.

But whether the earlier building had benches really comparable to those of the Trajanic building is another question. A large section of the pavement of the west "aisle" of the earlier building is well preserved beneath the floor of the bench of Trajanic Room 5 (fig. 21*d*). The pavement consisted of large thin slabs of gypsum, well but not precisely fitted. They lie, however at a level almost that of the central floor of the Trajanic building, so that, if they represent a raised bench in the earlier building comparable to that in the Trajanic room, there should be a floor for the central part of the earlier building some 0.50 m.–0.70 m. lower than the floor of the later building. This would bring the interior of the earlier building markedly lower than the ground to the north, and, indeed, than the floor of the water basin, which is presumably still earlier. Moreover, apparently no trace of such a lower floor was discovered. Hence we are led to suspect that in spite of the superficial similarity of the ground plans of the pre-Trajanic and Trajanic phases of Room 5, there was a very real difference in that there was no bench in the earlier phase.

THE TRAJANIC BUILDING

Foundations

The Trajanic building, then, consisted of the five large rooms with the passages between (our Period VI) and the colonnade along the front. It seems clear that these were designed and constructed as a unit, though we shall find reason for supposing that the work did not progress continuously once begun. The obvious indication of the fundamental unity of design is in the homogeneity of the south foundation wall. This extends unbroken from its abutment against the southwest corner of the Southeast Building, for the whole length of the south exposure, and around the corner at the southwest to its abutment against the southwest corner of the west wall of the earlier building we have been discussing. The masonry is a somewhat irregular ashlar, founded on a course of rubble lying on bedrock. The ashlar blocks range from 0.85 m. to 1.50 m. in length, from 0.25 to 0.50 m. in height, and from 0.50 to 0.60 m. in thickness; occasional irregularities in the joints are plugged with smaller bits of stone. The wall as preserved stood nowhere more than three courses high, not so high as the floor level of the building inside, excepting at the west end, but originally the ashlar undoubtedly rose at least to floor level, and was exposed from almost the level of bedrock.

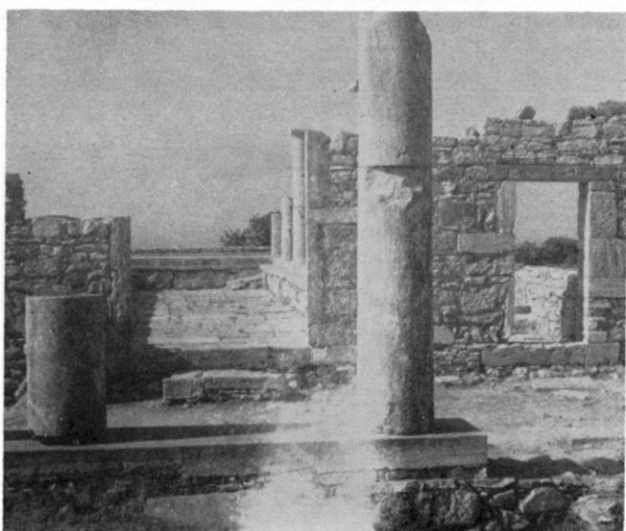
Like the south wall, the north wall seems to have continued eastward beyond the east wall of Room 1 as far as the west wall of the Southeast Building, en-



a



b



c



d

FIG. 22. The South Building—colonnade. *a*. Area in front of Rooms 4 and 5, from east. *b*. West wall, from west. *c*. Columns and stylobate (rebuilt) in front of Room 3 (walls rebuilt). *d*. Door capital (*cf.* fig. 25).

closing a triangular space between the two buildings. The Trajanic building, however, seems to have employed the foundations of the earlier buildings for its own use in the stretch across the front of Room 1, and to the Southeast Building, and it is difficult to say how much of the surviving masonry in this section actually represents Trajanic construction. In general, however, for the rest of the extent of the front of the Trajanic building the foundations are slight—little more than a thick packing on bedrock, incorporating a few large trimmed blocks, supporting the thresholds and superstructure of the walls only 0.25 to 0.50 m. above rock level along most of the length. Similarly, the stylobate of the colonnade in front rests almost directly on trimmed rock at the west end and for most of the length, requiring a deep rubble foundation only toward the east, especially where it encounters the foundation for the Kourion Gate.

The north-south walls constituting the rooms also,

naturally, reflect the drop of rock level from northwest to southeast. They rest on rubble footings, usually on bedrock, and rise thence in ashlar similar to that of the south wall—at the east end to a preserved height of three or four courses, toward the west, diminishing to one or two. These are bonded, though unsystematically and incompletely, to the south wall, and, if at only one point, to the north wall.

The foundations for the stylobate or bench walls within each room are founded, also, on bedrock or nearly so, but are generally entirely of heavy rubble.

Superstructure

The colonnade along the front of the building seems to have been an integral part of the design, although it extends farther east than the main structure. This is suggested by the lack of any indication of any other treatment of the façade at the northwest corner,

where the west wall of the building appears to have been built forward the whole width of the colonnade space, and to have returned along the front, without a break. The masonry of the return is preserved about 1.80 m. from the corner followed by a slightly larger block for an anta. The position of the first two columns at the west end of the colonnade is given at least approximately by the marks of trimming and weathering on a few blocks of stylobate, preserved approximately *in situ*, and indicating an intercolumniation of about 1.65 m. Accommodating measurements given by these traces on the stylobate to dimensions taken from column shafts found further to the east, we get a column diameter of 0.54 m., or an inter-axial spacing of about 2.19 m. Applying this to the whole length of the colonnade we may conclude that there were 26 columns, leaving at the east end an enclosed space of about 2.40 m. as compared with the enclosed space at the west end of about 1.50 m. and bringing the columns to the actual corner of the façade of the Kourion Gate instead of leaving a blank wall face of about 2.15 m. as at the west end. However, the adjustment at the east end must have been irregular by any solution, and since there are no indications whatsoever of what was actually done, our hypothesis may be recorded simply as such.

The columns are probably represented by some smooth shafts of limestone (fig. 22c) of which preserved fragments suggest a restored height of no less than 3.50 m. Some of the shafts of this group have lifting bosses preserved on them. No capital has been identified for them, but it may be surmised that they were Doric, this being the common style in the sanctuary, and no others of a different style having been discovered.

The most baffling problem is presented by the architrave. There must have been some 27 elements to this, each about 2.20 m. long, but no survival, either complete or fragmentary, has been identified. This same problem appears in all the other colonnades we shall consider: with the exception of the architrave for the House behind the East Stoa no regular architrave has been identified in the sanctuary, and indeed very few fragments of squared stone having a cross section which would make them possible for consideration. One is forced to entertain seriously the possibility that stone architraves were rarely used in the sanctuary, but, rather, wooden beams. Supporting this is the fact that the stone commonly used in the sanctuary is a soft shell limestone whose bearing power in a free span would be relatively slight. Moreover, a parallel situation exists at Salamis in Cyprus, where, confronted with the same problem, the excavators have also postulated wooden architraves in the East Portico of the "Marble Forum" or "Gymnasium." Against the theory, of course, is the question as to the effectiveness of wooden architraves in carrying the rest of the en-

tablature and roof. We have indeed no irrefutable candidate for a stone cornice for the colonnade, but there are several examples of rather featureless blocks of plain design preserved (figs. 28; 65b) for which it is difficult to find a better home than in the entablature of this colonnade (*cf.* pp. 36, 49).

The space between the stylobate and the wall was filled with earth and rubble and, perhaps, paved with thin slabs of stone, although absolutely definite remains of such a pavement were not identified. The other interior arrangements of the hall relate to the doors at each end. Of these, the one to the east had better be discussed in relation to the Southeast Building. The door to the west is simple enough in itself, and is notable primarily for the semicircular landing before it, approached by four curved steps (fig. 22a), made of blocks of limestone, neatly trimmed to full arcs. The door led originally, it would seem, simply to the open space outside the sanctuary, and constituted a kind of side entrance in addition to the main Paphos gate just to the north. But in a later phase the South West complex was expanded to enclose a room to which the door gave access; whether there was a way out of the Southwest Complex other than into the Paphos Gate cannot be determined.

Walls

The walls of the main structure above the foundation already described, i.e., above the floor level, would seem to have been entirely of small to medium-sized stones set in good mud mortar with at least some lime. There is no indication of any special features in any of the walls excepting the front. The front wall, however, left abundant remains of more than ordinary interest. Indeed, the actual circumstance of preservation is unusual (though not, to be sure, in our sanctuary) in that the whole wall seems to have come down almost as a sheet in a single catastrophe—quite certainly an earthquake—so that it was found lying out flat on the floor of the portico in front. The circumstances were such that it was possible to replace each stone almost exactly in its original position, regardless of their relatively amorphous character, and, in fact, such a reconstruction was effected along part of the length of the building. Thus the broader, and even some of the finer details of the façade are easily visualized in spite of the kind of construction.

The most noteworthy aspect of the façade was the system of doors. Each of the five rooms had three doors—a large one flanked by two smaller. Each rested on massive sills, and was lined by substantial stone jambs. The large central doors (figs. 22c; 23a; 24) were around 2.05 m. wide at the bottom, between the jambs, and probably about 2.88 m. high to the lintel. The tallest assemblage of preserved jamb blocks rises to 2.60 m., to which should be added about 0.28 m. for the capital, of which at least one is

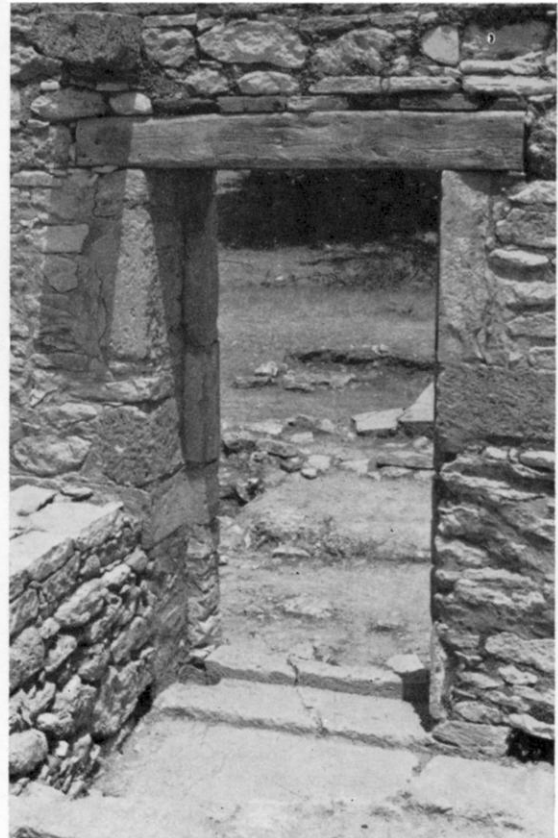
*a**b**c**d*

FIG. 23. The South Building—Room 3. *a*. Main door (rebuilt) from inside (*cf.* fig. 24). *b*. West door (rebuilt) from inside (*cf.* fig. 26). *c*. Interior (rebuilt above seat) from west. *d*. Bench from west door (leveling course of small stones modern).

preserved (figs. 22*d*; 25). The lintel was in all probability of wood—no stone lintel was found, and although it must be admitted that most of the capitals had also been removed from the debris, the removal of so large a block as a stone lintel should have left some trace in the even spread of fallen stones; furthermore, there is nothing unusual in any point of view in a wooden lintel for a door, even of considerable size. By the same reasoning, it would appear that the doors did

not have cornices, though this is more surprising, since most doors at the sanctuary do have them.

In any case, it is evident that the large doors were closed by two valves, opening inward.

The smaller doors, flanking the larger (figs. 22*c*; 23*b*; 26), were only 0.94 m. wide, and probably about 2.00 m. high. They seem to have had no capitals, to have had wooden lintels, and to have been closed by single valves.

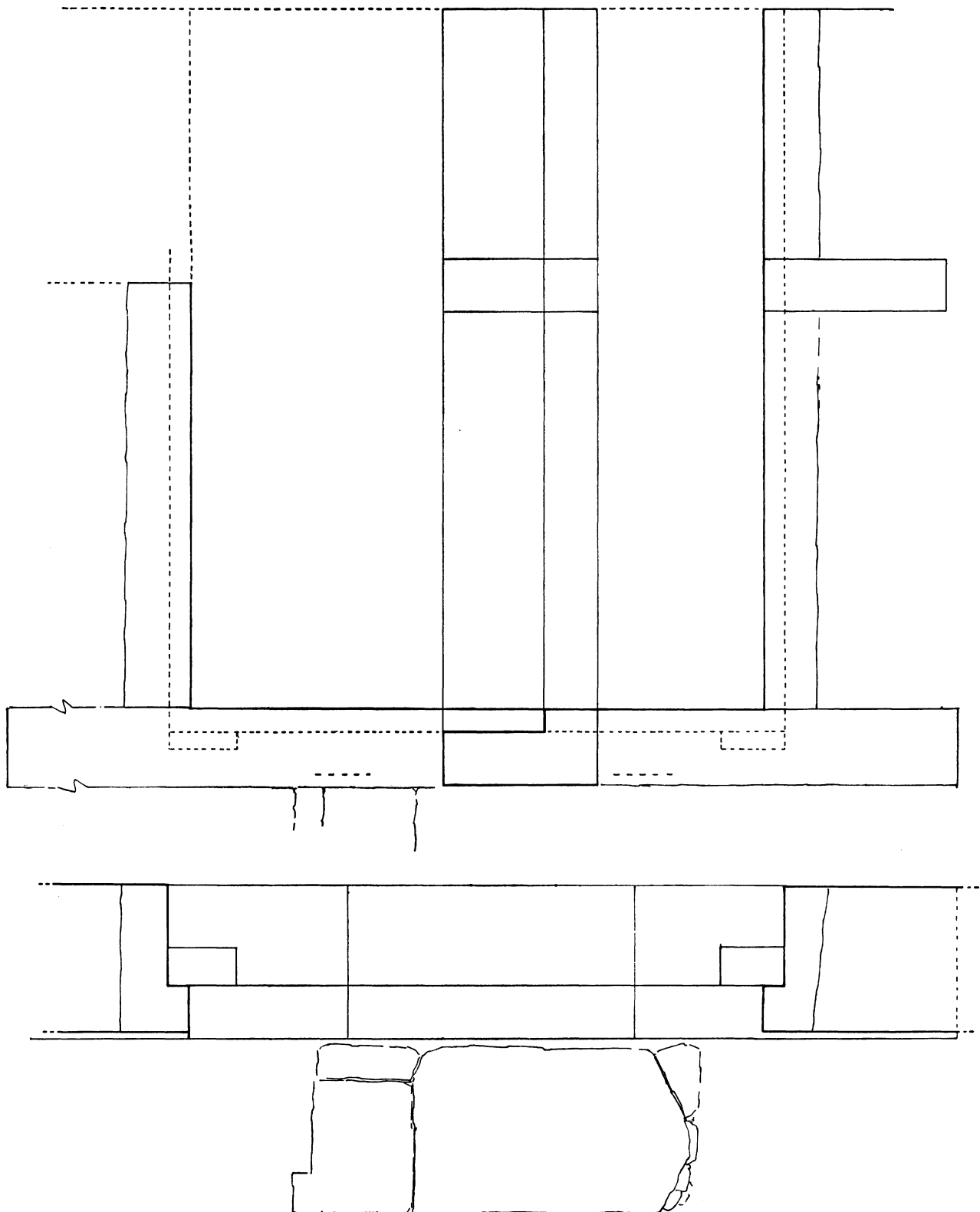


FIG. 24. Large door of South Building, elevation, with elevation of face of jamb superimposed, and plan :
1/20 (*cf.* fig. 23*a*).

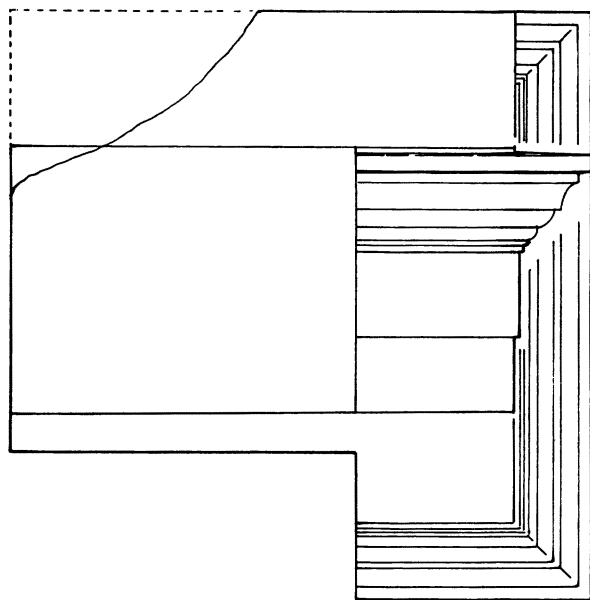


FIG. 25. Door capital from South Building, plan from below with section: 1/8 (cf. fig. 22d).

Perhaps the most remarkable detail preserved in the debris of the fallen wall is the Inscription²³ constituting the text of the dedication of at least part of the building (below, p. 38), which can be dated to A.D. 100/101. It is this, of course, which gives us a firm date in the reign of Trajan. The slab was built into, or affixed to, the surface of the wall in front of Room 4.

All five rooms seem to have been essentially the same on the interior, and we may offer a composite description of a typical interior based on details assembled from the remains in the several rooms, and most easily illustrated in Room 3. In general, the total interior space, in plan a rectangle about 16.60 m. long and 9.25 m. wide, was lined on the back and for most of the two sides by a raised bench about 2.80 m. wide, leaving, however, a passage at floor level some 0.70 m. wide across the room directly in front of the doors.

The floor, some 3.70 m. wide, which was almost completely preserved in Room 3, was of substantial blocks of limestone, with little indication of wear, and none of any finishing surface (fig. 23c).

The bench was formed by a rubble wall, faced toward the interior of the room with neat orthostate slabs about 0.48 m. high, on which rested slabs of stone about 0.12 m. high, projecting three or four centimeters beyond the face of the orthostates. On the slabs, withdrawn about 0.40 m. from the edge, and thus leaving a continuous seat around the room, rested a line of curiously shaped coping blocks interspersed with square blocks, about 0.20 m. high. To the square blocks, which obviously supported columns, we shall return; here we may note only that they project about

²³ Mitford, Inscription No. 152, *op. cit.*, n. 4.

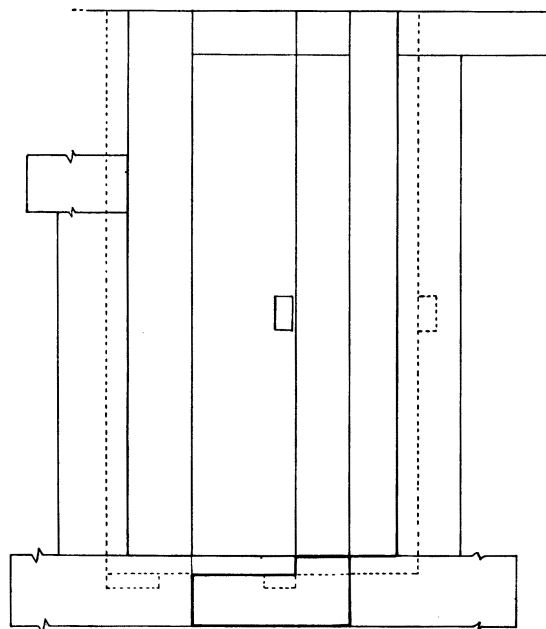


FIG. 26. Small door of South Building, elevation, with elevation of face of jamb superimposed, and plan: 1/25 (cf. fig. 23b).

0.04 m. toward the interior of the room from the face of the coping blocks. The latter were shaped in a striking manner. They are, of course, flat on the underbearing surface, and present a smooth, rectangular, perpendicular face to the interior of the room, but they are

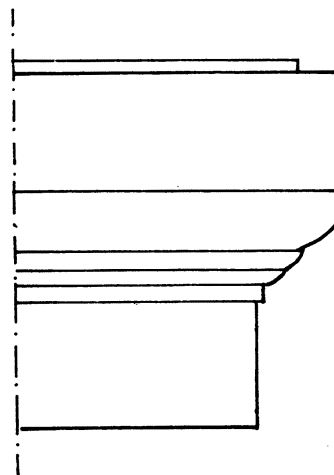


FIG. 27. Doric capital from South Building, half-elevation: 1/5 (cf. fig. 63f).

somewhat casually sloped or even rounded downward on the top from the top of the outer edge to the bottom on the inside (fig. 23*d*), with a total depth of about 0.22 m.

The floor of the bench itself, moreover, as preserved at the north end of the west side of Room 3 (fig. 23*d*), was surfaced with a thick coat of the good water-proof cement which occurs in so many floors at the sanctuary, and in an approximate fashion continues the curve of the coping blocks from their inner edge toward the outer wall of the room, dropping to a level of about 0.35 m. below the extreme top of the coping at a point about 1.00 m. from the outer edge of the coping and continuing thence horizontally to the wall itself. In other words, the surface of the bench may be considered essentially flat, but rising in a curve to the top of the coping along the edge. The benches were most conveniently approached by narrow flights of three steps at the northern end.

We may return now to the blocks which bore columns. Several were found more or less *in situ*—somewhat disturbed—in Room 5, and others were found elsewhere, including the northernmost of the western colonnade in Room 3. It is clear from such detailed measurements and calculations of these blocks as can be made, that the spacing was not absolutely regular in any one room or the same in all, but the inter-axial distances range from 2.35 m., more or less, to 2.42 m., more or less. The most curious feature is that the northernmost column in each range, while it would have stood about 2.50 m. or a little less from the south face of the north wall of the room, and hence not too disturbingly out of rhythm with the spacing of the rest of the columns, would have been about 1.50 m. from the north end of the bench itself. This is certainly a loose end in the design of the room, but seems to have been the fact.

The plinths, about 0.55 m. square, bore columns about 0.46 m. in lower diameter, with smooth shafts, assembled from tall drums to a height of about 2.75 m. to the base of the capital (figs. 23*c*; 63*f*). About 1.92 m. from the floor, all of the shafts identified at this height have roughly cut holes about 0.06 m. square and 0.105 m. deep on opposite sides; presumably these holes lay on the line of the colonnade, and re-

ceived wooden poles extending between the columns, most probably to support curtains screening the bench from the interior space of the room.

The capitals were Doric (figs. 27; 63*f*), and vary somewhat in their profiles, but are in general fairly distinctive for the manner of beveling the annuli into the surface of the echinus. Viewing the variety of profile, one is tempted to think of it as being meaningful in terms of the distribution of the capitals among the rooms, but recalling that the surfaces were originally covered with stucco, one can scarcely put too much emphasis on what was essentially a preliminary surface of the stone.

For the restoration above the columns we are again embarrassed by the failure to identify anything that may have been an architrave. In a general way we can be sure, of course, that there was some sort of beam above the capitals, and that this entablature continued at the north end directly to the north wall rather than returning to the side walls across the ends of the benches. Although no stone architrave has been identified, it would not be at all unreasonable in an interior to postulate wooden architraves, save for the fact that a stone cornice discovered in one of the rooms, if assigned to the interior colonnades, would imply a heavy burden for wooden beams—not impossibly heavy, to be sure, but perhaps unlikely (figs. 28; 65*b*). On the other hand, the attribution of such a cornice creates problems with the reconstruction of the roof, and perhaps the fragment discovered comes from somewhere else *e.g.*, the outer colonnade, *cf.* p. 32).

We shall return to the roof later, but it is convenient at this point to review the interior as restored so far, and consider another element of the ground plan. We have, entering from the north by the central door, a series of long rectangular rooms paved with stone slabs, surrounded by a bench, with a projecting ledge convenient for sitting, above and behind which rises a colonnade separating the central space from a broad depressed surface on the sides and back. This is easily approached by steps at the north end of each side directly in front of the side doors, rising from narrow extensions of the main floor level all across the front. The floor of the bench is mostly flat but curves up to the edge between the columns above the central floor, with a finely smoothed surface. We must postpone a final interpretation of these forms, but for the moment the most plausible hypothesis to suggest itself would be that the benches were couches, curved—or hollowed—to receive straw or other mattresses, and raised at one edge as a pillow. Whether this arrangement was designed for sleeping or eating is not so clear, but may be considered later.

Meanwhile, however, we should notice the corridors which separate the rooms we have been describing. Each of Rooms 2 through 5 has a small door at the northeast corner, from the passage between the north

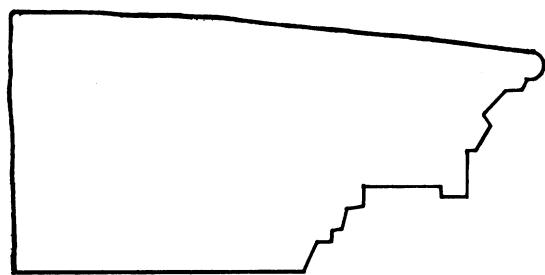


FIG. 28. Cornice found in South Building, section: 1/6 (*cf.* fig. 65*b*).

end of the east bench and the north wall, leading to a narrow space to the east. The floor of this lay a step higher than the main floor of the room; it was not paved with stone. In many places blue pebbles of the kind used in some floors elsewhere were found, suggesting that there may have been some such floor surface in these corridors, though the evidence is not entirely clear. For the rest, the corridors produced nothing to demonstrate unequivocally their finish or use. In Corridor 1 (entered from Room 2) there was found some charcoal and a rough stove, but it is not clear that the stove belongs to the functioning period of the building. Charcoal was also found in Corridors 2 and 3, but in dissimilar circumstances. In spite of this, one of the more reasonable hypotheses would be that the corridors were kitchens or other service annexes for the main rooms—possibly even latrines. Another hypothesis, that they were stair wells for reaching an upper story or the roof, cannot be disproven but is thrown into doubt by the difficulty of postulating a second story, and the question one might raise of the need for so many stairs to reach the roof. Actually, since little if anything in these areas was preserved above ground level, there is hardly a reasonable hope of determining their character.

A particular problem is raised by the fact that whereas Rooms 2 through 5 have each their corridor, Room 1 apparently had nothing corresponding. Of course, there is the space between the South Building and the Southeast Building, but there is no evidence of a door for access to this area from Room 1, or from anywhere else.

Perhaps the best explanation relates to the problem of the roof. For this we have first a great quantity of roof tiles in the destruction debris, indicating that part at least of the roof was sloping. Second, there is the lack of weathering or wear on the stone pavement of Room 3, indicating that the rooms were not hypaethral, but covered over completely. Against this—possibly—is the cornice noted above, which, if it should belong to the interior colonnade, would perhaps suggest a roof sloping down from the walls to the columns around an open space. Finally, there is preserved against the foot of the west wall of the building, about on the line of the door wall, a terracotta pipe imbedded in rubble and cement, standing vertically, as though it were the surviving bottom of a pipe coming down from the roof.

Combining all these factors, one may reason²⁴ that there was a gabled roof over a clerestory over the columns in each room. Over the benches, there would have been a sloping roof at a lower level (safer than a flat mud roof over the people on the benches below). The rain from the eaves would fall into the passages between the Rooms, save for that from the west side of Room 5, salvaged for the cistern. The accumulated water in the corridors would escape to the south, either

through holes in the masonry behind, still visible, though not demonstrably drain holes, or through outspouts at floor level, now lost.

Summary

In the conspectus, then, we find the area of the South Building to have been utilized for a considerable succession of structures, most of which may represent a single tradition of use. First, perhaps, there was the building toward the west end under Room 5, of which only the northwest corner is preserved, at a markedly different orientation from all the others. Then, at the east end, and possibly extending toward the middle of the final building, we can discern a second phase in a structure or group of structures, of which we can detect a kind of exedra facing a little east of north, in the area of the colonnade of the South Building: and third, a building or group of buildings replacing this, facing a little more directly toward the north, consisting of rectangular rooms that may well have had a similar arrangement, though we cannot be sure. Fourth, there was a complex occupying the middle of the area of the South Building characterized by long rectangular rooms with the same orientation as the South Building, and west of these, in the area of the west end of the colonnade of the South Building may have been a kind of public fountain, and behind it a rectangular structure of undefined character. Then, replacing the two last-mentioned structures, came a building partially coinciding with the lines of the South Building at the west end, of closely similar design and construction; this finally was succeeded in the sixth phase by the South Building itself.

For the chronology of these structures, we have the one terminus in the clear date of the completion of the South Building itself, in, or not much later than A.D. 101, given by the inscription. For the other terminus we have the fact that in the fill associated with the walls of Periods II and III, the latest clear dates are represented by two coins of Ptolemy VI (181–146 B.C.). These come from the fill against the surviving roots of the contiguous walls at the east end (fig. 21a), and it cannot be demonstrated whether the stratum in question is later than the destruction of the walls, or accumulated while one of the buildings was in use. The evidence, in short, is not precise, but the lack of anything substantially later in any kind of association with either of these periods is reasonable ground for assuming that neither period is later, to take an extreme, than the time of Augustus: i.e., both are Hellenistic, and one may well be as early as the second century or even before. And, too, although this kind of argument will not bear much weight, it is perhaps worth noting that the orientation of the buildings of Period II represented at the east—facing 5° east of magnetic north—brings the east-west line of its façade into close parallel with the early wall running from the southeast corner of the

²⁴ Following the persuasive argument of J. S. Last.

East Stoa to the eastern boundary of the sanctuary, a wall we have previously seen reason to suspect might also fall in the late third or second century.

Thus we may suspect that the second and third of our periods—the two represented at the eastern end of the South Building—fall earlier than the time of Augustus. How early the first of these was built, and how late the second continued to survive, cannot be established. Nor can particular dates be suggested for the structures to the west with the same orientation, which we have put in a fourth period: all that can be said is that they were erected during the first century after Christ.

Some special, peculiar problems, however, arise in the question of the circumstances of the erection of the South Building. On the one hand, there is the building of our fifth period, the immediate predecessor and close analogue of the final building, under Room 5. This certainly gives the impression of having been erected as a complete structure in itself, and while it must have involved the clearing away of the fountain and the rectangular buildings behind, it might well have stood in the row with the main structure of Period IV, and even the aging building of Period III to the east. We might suppose that soon after its completion, or perhaps even before, a sudden increase in the funds of the Sanctuary inspired the replacement of the haphazard row of buildings, old and new, of various designs and orientation, by one single unified structure. The occasion must have been precipitate, however, for the construction of the building of Period V is so similar to that of the Trajanic building that its replacement seems more like a change of plan in design and scale, than an indication of any appreciable gap in time.

Second, there is the curious expression in the preserved inscription of dedication: appreciation is registered for the construction of "the two remaining (or outstanding) exedras." This language, on its face, would suggest that three exedras (our "rooms") had been built, and then funds were made available through the emperor for two more. On the other hand, we have seen that there is no indication of any such structural division in the South Building. Perhaps we should assume that the building was designed and begun on the lines we have described, but that the finishing of the rooms above floor and foundation level was done *seriatim*, beginning from the east; one might even imagine that the smaller building of Period V stood and functioned in the area of Room 5 while work was going ahead further east. The donation of the emperor, then, may have come when the work on the superstructure was approximately three-fifths completed, and at that time the building of Period V was finally leveled and replaced.

The inscription, of course, gives us welcome information, namely, that to the builders the rooms were known as *exedrai*. To the student today, though he is schooled to realize that "exedra" may refer to a great variety of

structures, by this period at least, the term still seems a little strained when applied to the rooms of the South Building. When we realize, however, that in the background of the Trajanic South Building were structures of the Hellenistic period, which it replaced, and in which we have some grounds for discerning "*exedrai*" of more conventional plan, we may sense some reason for the Trajanic application of the word. The buildings in this area at an early stage were "*exedrai*" in form, and so commonly referred to by this term. Their peculiar function in the sanctuary, however, was perhaps not adequately served by the more conventional form of *exedra*, and successive replacements would adapt the form more conveniently to the function. Ultimately the form emerged quite distinctly different from the original, but the semi-proper name for the buildings—"The *Exedrai*"—continued to prevail.

We come, once again, to the interpretation of the function, and once again, we must defer a general discussion of this until we have seen more of the sanctuary.

THE NORTHWEST BUILDING

Along the west side of the southern part of the sanctuary were several buildings, of which the largest, and probably the earliest, has been called—from the circumstances existing at the time of its discovery early in the course of the excavation—the Northwest Building (plans I, VI; fig. 29). This was designed on a longitudinal axis, facing south, about 42.00 m. long and 15 m. wide. The entrance from the south consisted of a broad flight of steps leading to a shallow platform; the enclosed part of the building, measuring about 31.50 m. in length, is divided longitudinally by a wall along the axis, which we shall find reason to believe supported a colonnade, creating an east aisle and a west aisle; each of these aisles, in turn, was subdivided into a passage along its middle, flanked by benches on each side, themselves lined with columns. At a later period the two aisles were connected by a cross-aisle along the north wall, forming a $\square$ scheme for the interior.

There are abundant remains of earlier construction on the site, though they are too slight for detailed interpretation. Under the northern half of the building the bedrock was found to have been extensively cut away by a variety of operations. Much of this can be attributed to quarrying, but there are also some square-cut channels and some rectangular pits or depressions, of which some may have been graves, and others remain unexplained. In general, however, it is clear that they have nothing to do with the Northwest Building itself, or, for the most part at least, with any other building. Throughout the southern part of the building were discovered at a low level foundations of small stones set in mud, representing at least two periods of construction, both distinctly different in orientation from that of the Northwest Building itself. One set, occupying the southwest corner of the enclosed part of the

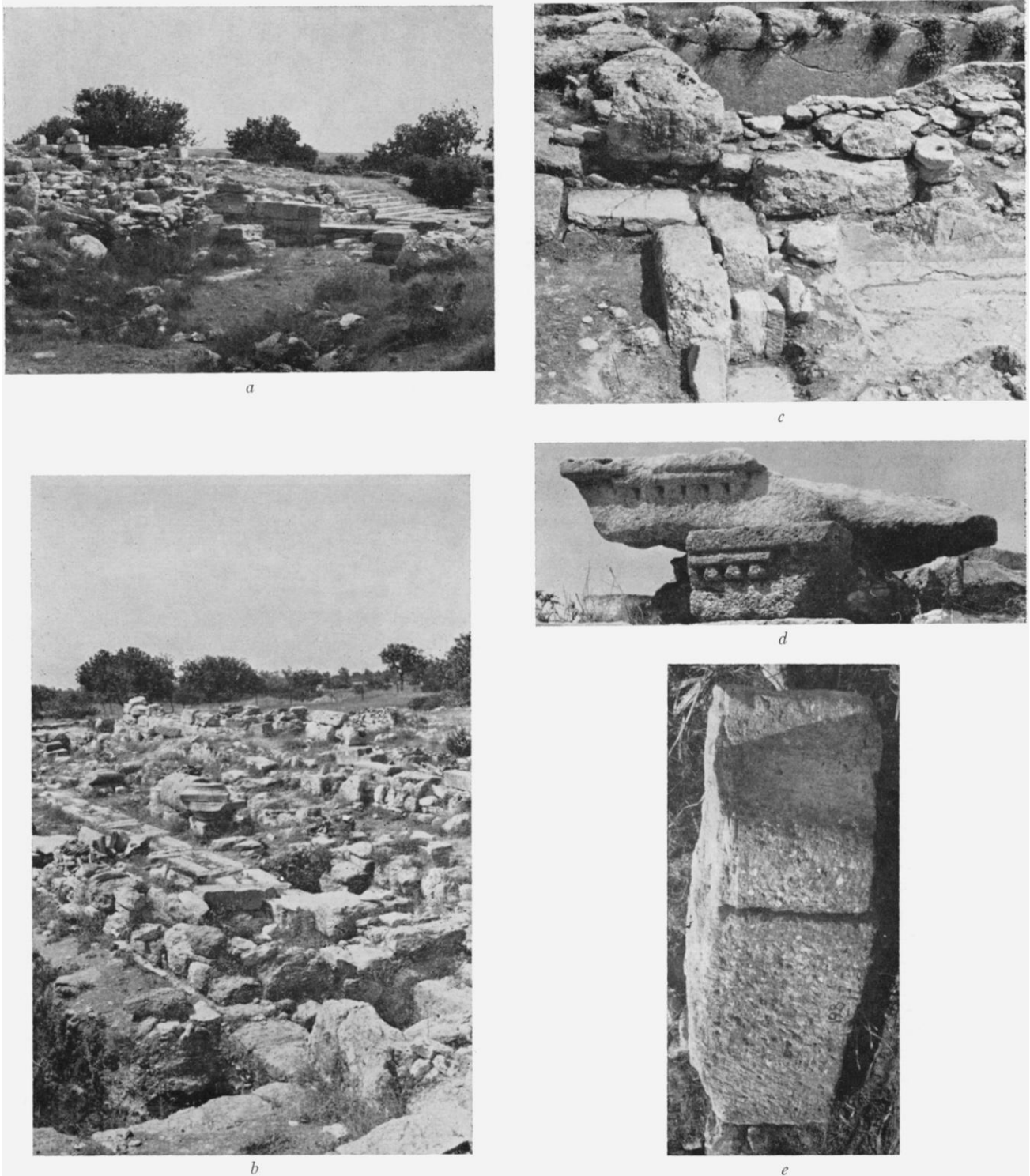


FIG. 29. The Northwest Building. *a*. Front, from Paphos Gate (steps largely rebuilt). *b*. Interior, from northeast corner. *c*. Northeast corner, from south. *d*. Fragments of Doric entablature (cf. fig. 32). *e*. Bracket (cf. fig. 33).

Northwest Building, consists of two parallel walls (*W*, *T*) running northwest and southeast. An earlier wall, *S*, lies contiguous to *W* along its western edge. Eight meters north of the front wall of the Northwest Building (measured along the east wall of the early

building) there is a cross-wall, and a scrap of a second cross-wall about 4.00 m. beyond the first, may represent the extremity of the early structure toward the northwest. The extent to the southeast cannot be determined, but it may be that an alignment of rough stones

in the rubble foundation of the steps of the Northwest Building, in the line of, and approximately in line with, the eastern wall of the early structure, may represent its continuation, swallowed up by the rubble mass of the later steps. If so, the early building would have been at least 22 m. long—or broad, depending on whether it faced south, like the Northwest Building, or east. Another building with the same orientation is represented by traces of walls just east of the Northwest Building.

Several other remains of early walls may be easily discerned on the plan, but the interpretation, either as to their original form or their relation to the building just described, is obscure. It is, however, worth noting that east of that building, approximately under the edge of the east bench of the east aisle, are extensive remains of a wall (*Z*) which is preserved almost 14 m. north of the front wall of the Northwest Building, and which may also be represented by an alignment of the crude stones in the rubble foundations of the steps of the Northwest Building, giving it a total recognizable length of at least 21 m. Apart from any conjectures that might be made as to the relations of these walls with the other early buildings, it is perhaps worth noting particularly these indications suggesting some sort of focal point for the early systems in the area of the southeast corner of the steps of the Northwest Building, near where the south wall of the West Enclosure of the sanctuary impinges on the Northwest Building.

This fact is perhaps significant in accounting for the foundations of the Northwest Building itself. On the north and west, the exterior foundations consist of blocks of ashlar resting on bedrock or a packing of small stones on the rock, the blocks ranging as stretchers, only one row in thickness. The south wall is built similarly, but apparently not significantly bonded to the west wall. The east wall, however, is double the thickness of the others, and consists generally, where preserved, of headers—ashlar blocks laid crosswise to the length of the wall. It will be found, however, that if the superstructure is restored symmetrically with reference to the aisles and benches, the outer line of the east wall of the superstructure would fall along the middle of this double-thick foundation, leaving half of the thickness of the foundation projecting outside the wall of the superstructure. At the northeast corner of the building (fig. 29*c*), the east wall is represented by two parallel stretchers. The actual corner is entangled with the masonry of a double cistern, of which the larger part lies north—outside—the line of the peribolos wall at this point, while the smaller, to the south, lies inside the line of the wall. The masonry of the cisterns and of the peribolos wall at the east end of the cisterns is so thoroughly fused that it is not clear whether the peribolos wall was in existence when the cisterns were built, or whether the cisterns were earlier and the line of the peribolos wall directed so as to join

them. It seems likely, however, that the former is the fact, and that the peribolos wall was the earlier, with the cistern built against it on the inner and outer faces. In any case, masonry which could plausibly be taken as that of the peribolos wall seems to emerge from the cistern complex on the west and to continue as the north wall of the Northwest Building. But the eastern of the two lines of stretchers constituting the east wall of the Northwest Building at this point extends through the line of the apparently continuing peribolos wall, whereas the western of the stretchers abuts against it. In other words, we might conclude either that both lines of stretchers in the east wall were contemporary with the continuing peribolos wall emerging from between the cisterns and forming the north wall of the Northwest Building, or that the peribolos wall at one period made a corner at the point of the western edge of the cisterns, continuing southward on the line of the eastern half of the east wall of the Northwest Building; and that the Northwest Building itself was erected outside—to the west—of this stretch of the peribolos wall. It will be seen that if the peribolos wall before the construction of the Northwest Building did in fact fall on the line of the eastern half of the double foundation, it would have made a corner with the southern wall of the West Enclosure at the point where the latter encounters the steps of the Northwest Building, so that the Northwest Building could be conceived as having been designed to extend the whole length of the west wall of the enclosure. The Northwest Building, then, might be considered to lie outside the sanctuary, save that its western wall, in turn, became the line on which the later gate system in this area was based, continuing to the northwest corner of the South Building—a circumstance which may, in some degree, give the clue for the particular size and location of the South Building itself.

This hypothesis does not entirely explain the fact that the double-thick east wall of the Northwest Building is constructed at least in part of headers, rather than stretchers. This could be explained by the hypothesis that the peribolos wall was rebuilt as the foundations of the Northwest Building were going up beside it, but this still leaves unanswered the question of why the architect of the Northwest Building did not simply use the peribolos wall as it stood for his eastern foundation.

The southern foundation wall of the building is not fully bonded with either the east or west wall, but is built so tightly against them that it must surely be contemporary. The foundation for the central stylobate bonds with both the north and south walls, but is constructed in a thoroughly different way from any of the others in the building. The lower parts of the wall are of relatively irregular stones, but the higher part is built of more regular, though still not perfectly shaped or fitted, ashlar. Most of the blocks in the northern half are re-used from some other building: they are mostly

orthostates with one smooth face and dowel holes on the tops, rather irregularly laid in alternating headers and pairs of stretchers.

The foundations for the edges of the benches are much more loosely constructed of irregularly shaped and fitted stones in a mortar which is largely mud, but has a lime ingredient, more evident in some places than in others. The same mortar was used where chinking in the ashlar of the other foundations was required, and, strangely, it was packed and smoothed, apparently by hand, into the corners between the front wall and the others where they made contact.

At the north end the benches are quite obviously turned to cross the rear of the building, but there are also clear traces in the east aisle of foundations continuing the lines of the benches to the north wall (plan VI) where there is the sill for a door centered on the aisle, and a step leading to the door. Traces which can be interpreted as indicative of the same arrangement exist in the west aisle, but more ambiguously. Nevertheless, there can be little question but that there are two periods in the arrangement: one with two aisles running the whole length of the building, one with a cross aisle at the north end. There might be some doubt as to which was the earlier, but the relatively full preservation of the bench along the north wall would suggest that this was the final stage, and that the phase with two unconnected aisles was earlier.

The foundations for the steps in front were of loose stone packed or even laid in mortar, built against the continuation of the west wall of the building; on the east the facing is not extensively preserved, but as seen in the lower courses it was built of irregular blocks roughly rectangular and smooth on the exterior.

Of the superstructure of the building, almost all that remains *in situ* is the gypsum slabs of the orthostate facing of the benches, especially at the northwest corner, but also in lesser degree elsewhere. At the northwest corner the preserved slab on the west side is 0.56 m. high; on the north the orthostates together with a thin slab covering them and the rubble behind is only 0.50 m. It would seem likely that there must have been a coping or paving slab on all sides, which might have brought the bench on the west to a height of some 0.70 m. above the floor of the aisle.

There are traces of the paving of the aisle floor, consisting of blue pebbles on a cement or mortar base which is now rather soft and crumbly, but is similar in texture and treatment to the harder flooring found elsewhere in the sanctuary, and may have been intended to be the same. Nothing is left of the surfacing of the benches.

For the superstructure above the benches, we have preserved several fragments of smooth shafts ranging from 0.54 m. to 0.63 m. in diameter; one complete drum is 1.02 m. high, with empolia on the top. Several have square cuttings on the sides, similar to those on the columns in the South Building interpreted as to receive

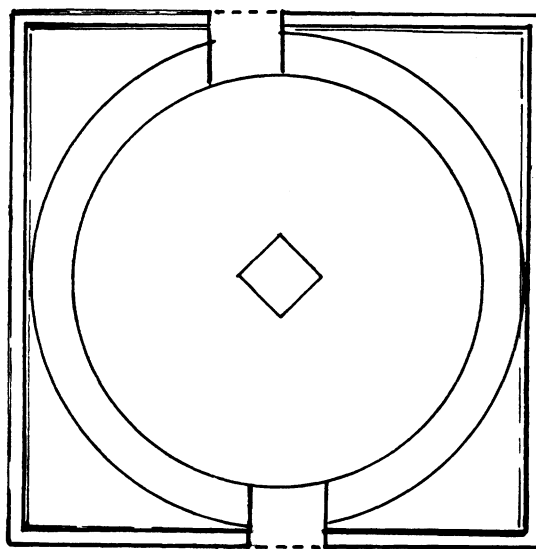
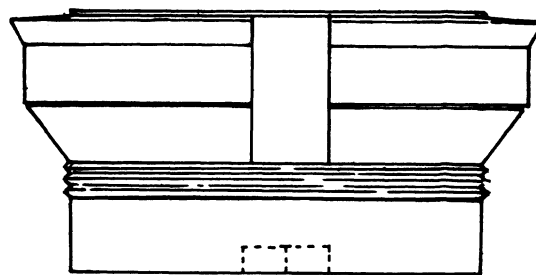


FIG. 30. Doric capital found in Northwest Building, elevation, plan from below: 1/10 (cf. fig. 63b).

poles stretching between the columns. Whether all the shafts belong to the same system of columns is not clear.

There are also a number of fragments of Doric capitals, of two different designs. One (figs. 30; 63b) is characterized by sharp-edged annuli on the end of the shaft, a short straight echinus, and an abacus with projecting molding along the top. The other (figs. 31; 63c) is characterized by sharp annuli on the bottom of the echinus, a slightly curved echinus, and a plain abacus. The first represents a shaft with an upper diameter of about 0.53 m., the other, an upper diameter of 0.60 m.

No architraves for these columns were identified, but fragments of a low, slablike course of stone carved with a Doric taenia with regulae and guttae, such as would be employed on the wall of a building, were found among the remains (figs. 29d; 32). Similar fragments were found near the Bath, and it cannot be proven that they came from the Northwest Building, or, indeed, any other building in the sanctuary. But since some of the largest fragments were found in the Northwest Building, and this is the only building with

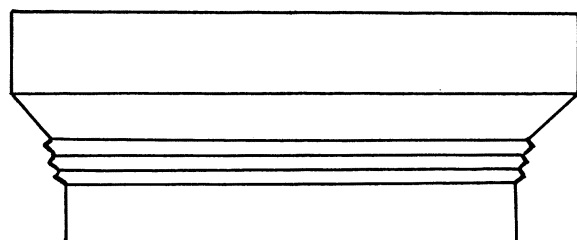


FIG. 31. Doric capital found in Northwest Building, half-elevation: 1/10 (*cf.* fig. 63c).

a very extensive deployment for such a member, we may tentatively assign them to that building. It may be observed, however, that if the unit of spacing was the minimum shown on our measurable fragments—0.70 m. (*regula* 0.28–0.30 m., and inter-space, derived from a fragment near the bath, 0.40 m. at least)—this would not correspond to the column spacing of about 2.40 m. which we shall suggest for the interior of the Northwest Building, and the *regula-guttae* system in question thus would probably have been displayed on the exterior.

One other type of member represented by a number of examples was a kind of console or bracket (figs. 29e; 33). The representatives of this vary in their dimension and even in their profile, but the significant measurements are close: a projection of about 0.40 m., height from bottom of molding to upper bearing surface, 0.34 m. The full length—or depth—as they projected into a wall, is about 1.10 m. on the longest.

No other remains of the superstructure of the main part of the building were identified (apart from a number of ashlar wall blocks of the simplest rectangular shape), but before assessing what we have, we may turn to the steps in front. Of the steps themselves, there would seem to have been fifteen, with an average rise of about 0.15 m. and a tread of 0.45 m. They were made of well-trimmed blocks of limestone (fig. 29a). At the top of the flight was a pavement of irregular slabs of limestone, on which no trace of any columns or other adornment for the entrance could be detected. It is true that by postulating columns for places from which the slabs are missing, something might be invented, but there is no actual trace preserved. On the whole it would seem likely, considering the scale on which a monumental façade would have

been designed and the lack of any survivors, that there was no such façade, but simply a plain wall with a door for each aisle.

Returning to the interior, we may consider an explanation for the various peculiarities encountered—the design in terms of two aisles each with a pair of benches, later converted to a $\square$ -shaped plan; the two kinds of Doric capitals; the consoles, or brackets. With all this in mind, and particularly because of the less substantial character of the foundations for the edges of the benches, one might suppose that the original design involved four plain exterior walls with a single row of columns down the middle, the ceiling held on beams extending from the architrave of the central row of columns to consoles projecting from the walls. The use of the brackets in itself implies an effort to minimize the free span of the beams, and hence some doubt on the part of the builders as to the stability of the structure they envisaged. We may suppose that their doubts were realized—that the building collapsed, or at least weakened visibly. In this situation, the solution, we may surmise, was to erect a new set of columns along the edges of the benches, a remodeling that may have coincided with the introduction of the return along the north end. In any case, in our restoration we have estimated the spacing of the columns on this hypothesis, assuming that the north aisle was cut through the central bench and colonnade in the second intercolumniation from the end, with the new columns being aligned with the old. Presumably the larger columns, using the capital with fully curved echinus, were the earlier.

The use of the benches, and of the building as a whole, we may consider later. Before leaving the Northwest Building for the time being, however, we may call attention to four blocks which were found in or near it, and which may belong to it, or may not. Of these, two are from a pediment, one with a pitch of 1:10, the other 1:12½. It is not likely that both come from the Northwest Building, though conceivably they might represent the two periods; but perhaps one at least does. Another block we illustrate without having succeeded in explaining it (fig. 67a). The fourth is a capital (fig. 34).

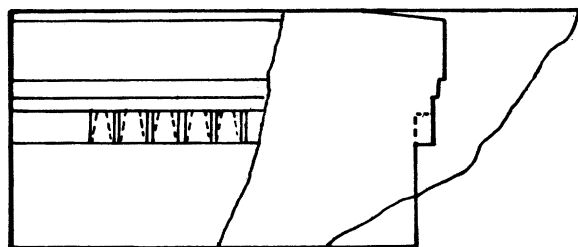


FIG. 32. Taenia and regulae from Doric architrave, elevation with section: 1/12 (*cf.* fig. 29d).

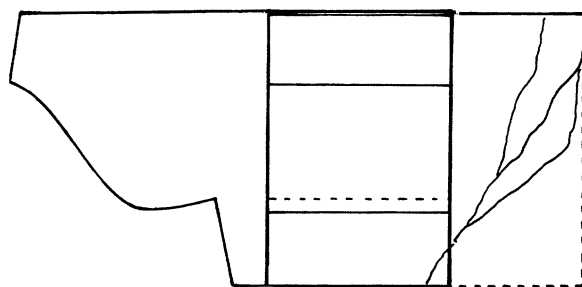


FIG. 33. Bracket from Northwest Building, side elevation with front elevation superimposed: 1/14 (*cf.* fig. 29e).

It is perhaps proper to call attention to another circumstance about the building that may actually be without meaning, but which might be taken to raise an important problem for which no answer was found. It is natural to assume that the building faced south, with its main entrance by means of the flight of steps, and with its main spatial axis a longitudinal one. Of course the result is a structure peculiar in the repertoire of the classical architect, though that in itself could hardly alter our conclusion. On the other hand, in spite of our efforts to explain the double thickness of the east wall—efforts which may not seem completely satisfactory—we may be haunted by the question of whether this thickness might not actually have resulted from a special treatment of the east wall as a primary façade. Admittedly, in the structure as preserved, there seems to be no way of separating the steps in

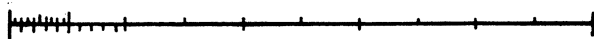
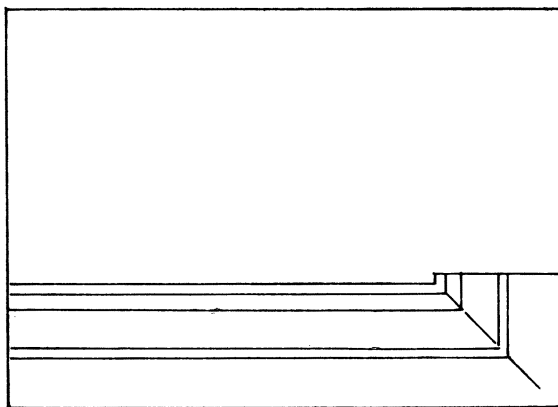
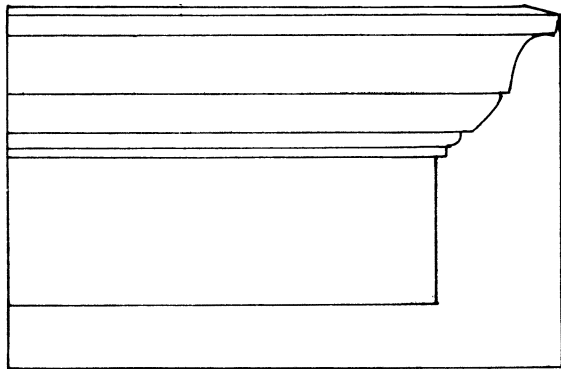
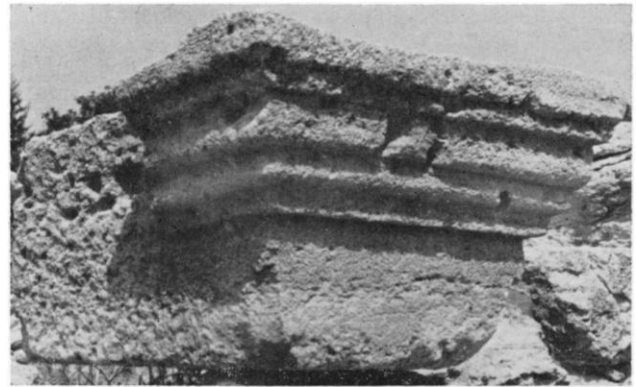
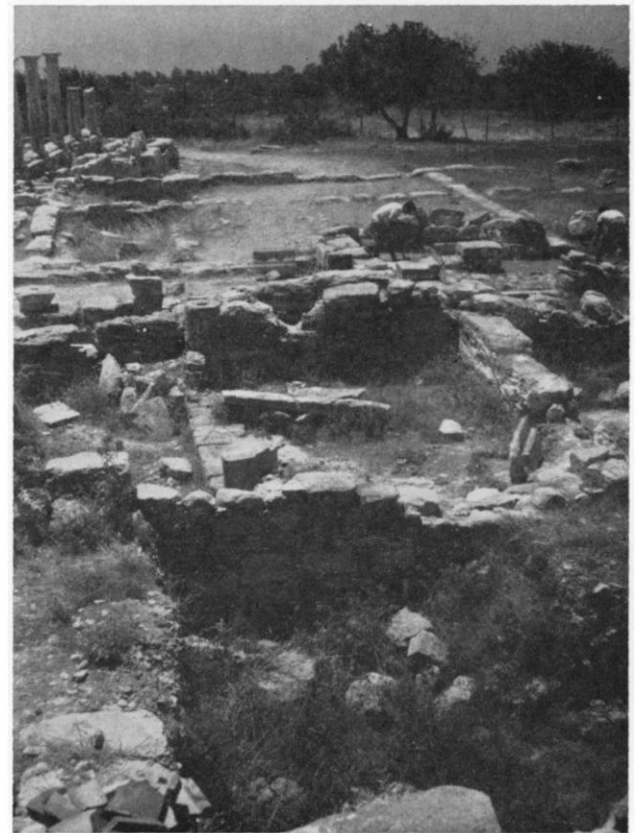


FIG. 34. Capital from Northwest Building, elevation, plan from below: 1/6.



a



b

FIG. 35. West Complex. a. Capital (*cf.* fig. 40).
b. Southern part from north.

front from the enclosed rectangle of the building, as though the steps had been added at a later period. But it is hard to forget that a line drawn at right angles to the east wall from a point midway along its length would pass through the center of the great Altar—that is, there is a possible suggestion that the building might have been designed to face northeast, oriented toward the Altar. But a careful investigation of the earth and rock surface in front of the center of the east wall, and of the masonry of the east wall itself, failed to reveal any evidence for a porch or other en-

trance at this point; and a studious consideration of the other remains of the building with this question in mind failed to yield any indication that the building had ever been designed with this orientation. It seems inescapable that throughout its entire history the structure was divided longitudinally into the two aisles, each with its flanking benches extending unbroken from end to end.

For the chronology we have first the fact that associated with the remains of the earlier buildings were coins dating as late as the end of the fourth century B.C., and one of Ptolemy IV (221–204). Although unfortunately these cannot now be fixed in precise stratigraphic relationships to the various walls, it would seem probable in a general way that the buildings are not earlier than the fourth century and not much later than the third. In the main body of fill covering the early remains and beneath the floor of the Northwest Building itself, the latest specifically dated object was a coin of Ptolemy XIII, or as late as the middle of the first century B.C., and pottery and glass that might be as late as the time of Augustus. Thus we may date the original construction of the Northwest Building in the reign of Augustus or a little later; for the remodeling of the building there is no clear evidence.

THE WEST COMPLEX

Against the west wall of the Northwest Building there came to be built a series of structures not all of which were fully excavated, and which we can describe only in a general way (plans I, VI; fig. 35*b*). The earliest, perhaps, was erected west of the middle of

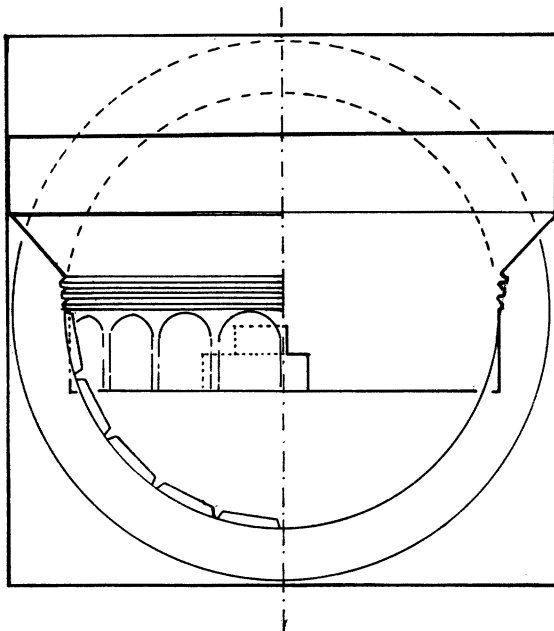


FIG. 36. Doric capital found in West Complex, plan from below with elevation and section: 1/7.

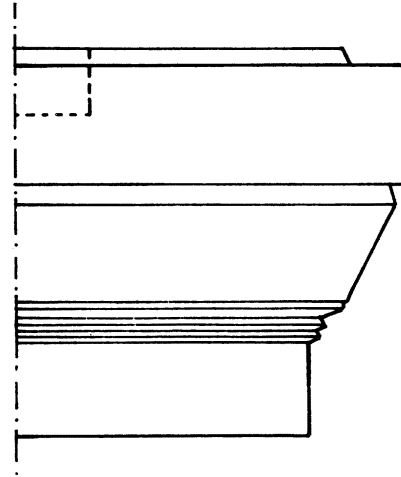


FIG. 37. Doric capital found near Paphos Gate, half-elevation: 1/5 (cf. fig. 63*d*).

the Northwest Building, facing south, consisting of three rectangular rooms with a long hall extending all across the front and entered by a porch consisting of three steps at the middle of the south side. The foundations consist of small stones set in mud mortar; they are nowhere preserved above floor level, and were not examined to their roots. The porch was built of blocks of stone of varying size; there is no indication of the particular treatment of the door. Although there was no extensive study of the structure, its priority in date may be assumed from the location of the entrance in the center, implying a free space of some extent in front—a condition which did not obtain when other buildings of the complex were in existence. Foundations west of these rooms, not shown on the plan, were found but not examined.

The second building, no doubt, was a rectangular structure measuring about 11.00 m. long by 6.70 m. wide on the interior, built south of this against the wall of the Northwest Building bounding the steps. It seems to have been about a meter below the ground level in front of the steps of the building to the north, and the northwest corner of the lower building stood awkwardly in front of the steps. The lower building was constructed in good part by cutting down the bed-rock, so that its foundations rest on rock; the walls consist largely of good-sized ashlar blocks. In the remains as preserved there are two sills in the south wall and what appears to be a door opening in the west wall; whether all were original, or ever existed simultaneously is not certain. Inside, the building was divided longitudinally by a row of (probably) four columns resting on a continuous stylobate, creating a sort of cryptoporticus. Several drums of these columns are preserved, ranging from 0.40 m. to 0.47 m. in diameter, and 0.90 m. to 1.20 m. in length. No capital discovered seems appropriate to these, unless it is possible that the upper part of the shafts was fluted,

and carried a capital of which one small, much-mutilated fragment survives—the only remnant of a fluted column found in the sanctuary (fig. 36). Even this, which shows a shaft diameter of about 0.40 m., is perhaps too large for our internal colonnade. The “cryptoporticus” attracts attention for its simplicity and its prominent location at a major entrance, but yields little information as to its form or function.

Between these two structures, against the wall of the Northwest Building, are now to be seen remains of a structure about 2.70 m. wide, with a heavy sill at the south end indicating a floor level about that of the earlier building to the north—that is, about 1.50 m. above the floor of the “cryptoporticus.” It is difficult to see how this intermediate room could have served both the larger buildings in their original form, and perhaps it actually belongs to a phase when the “cryptoporticus” had been at least partially filled up. Certainly at some late period the “cryptoporticus” was extensively remodeled: the columns removed or shifted, transverse walls built, extending westward to a wall continuing the west wall of the earliest building so as to form a single large rectangular structure with a number of interior rooms. At this period the floor of the northern part of the “cryptoporticus” may have been raised, and perhaps also of the middle section, but quite possibly remained at the original level in the southern section, which projected beyond the south wall of the new building.

In a final period a very crude wall was thrown up, enclosing the space south of the south wall of the new building and west of the south end of the “cryptoporticus.”

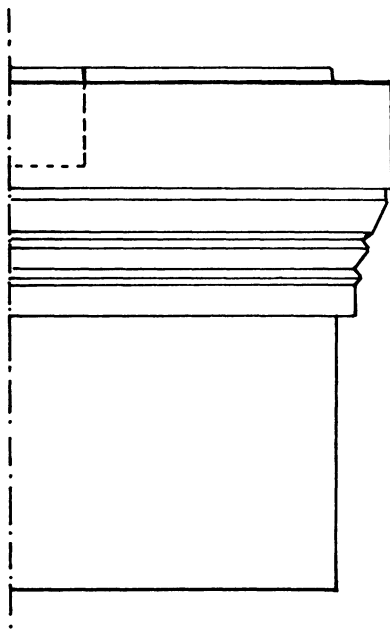


FIG. 38. Doric capital found near Paphos Gate, half-elevation: 1/5 (cf. fig. 63e).

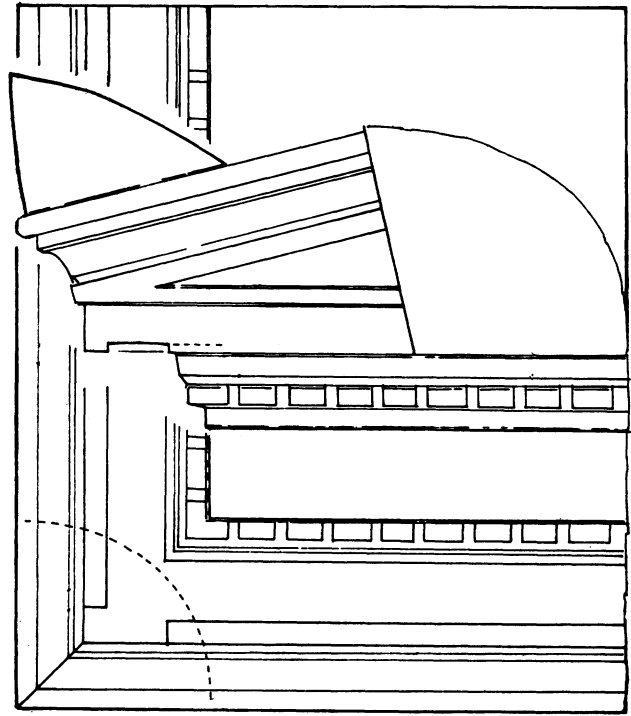


FIG. 39. Corner cornice from Paphos Gate, plan from below with elevation: 1/7 (cf. fig. 64c).

The chronology of all this remains in shadow, for lack of any specific direct evidence. We have, however, a long sequence which cannot have begun before the construction of the Northwest Building in the early part of the first century A.D. We shall see, moreover, that the “cryptoporticus” must be earlier than the Paphos Gate in its original form, which, while it cannot be dated precisely, must fall before the end of the first century A.D. Thus, the two earliest structures of the West Complex must have been built during the first century A.D., and the additions and remodelings, involving considerable violence to the original conception, can hardly be earlier than the middle of the second. The final addition at the southwest corner may well date from the period after the abandonment of the sanctuary, when squatters were adapting the ruins to private use.

THE PAPHOS GATE AND THE SOUTHWEST COMPLEX

South of the West Complex is the Paphos Gate, and south of this, west of the South Building, is a group of foundations we designate as the Southwest Complex (plans I, VI, V). Of these structures, the Paphos Gate, in its original form, would appear to be the earliest. It consisted, essentially, of a quadrangular court measuring about 5.00 or more meters wide, and 6.50 long on the interior, and seems to have been built against the pre-existing south wall of the “cryptoporticus” of the West Complex. Its own founda-

tions on the west and south are of rubble, resting on the bedrock; the east foundation is partly rubble, but large limestone blocks constituting the toichobate and sill lie directly on the bedrock through the northern part of the extent. There remain *in situ* only the most scanty traces of the size and character of the opening on the east, but the sill for the door on the west is fully preserved. Of two sills preserved in the wall of the "cryptoporticus" of the West Complex, the more easterly may be original; the relative chronology of the western is more doubtful. The large sill leading southward from the eastern part of the court may belong to the original structure, but this too is uncertain. It must, however, be earlier than the later phase of the Southwest Complex, as we shall see.

The west façade of the Paphos Gate was treated as an open projecting porch. Two blocks constituting beyond doubt the foundations for columns represent the outer corners of the porch, which would then have a projection of about 2.50 m., and a width of about 3.75 m. Each foundation as preserved consists of two approximately rectangular blocks of stone, one on the other, and the stratigraphy revealed in the excavation made it clear that there was a road surface for each block—i.e., that two periods are represented, in the second of which the columns were removed and reset at a higher level. This would almost certainly have involved a reconstruction of the entire porch.

From the superstructure we may have two different Doric capitals (figs. 37; 38; 63*d*, *e*), one with a straight echinus bearing two annuli, one high on the echinus; the other with a single annulus on the echinus but two other annuli at the top of the shaft. Although it cannot be proved that either capital belongs to the Paphos Gate, or to which part, or to which period, either or both might belong as they were both found in or beside

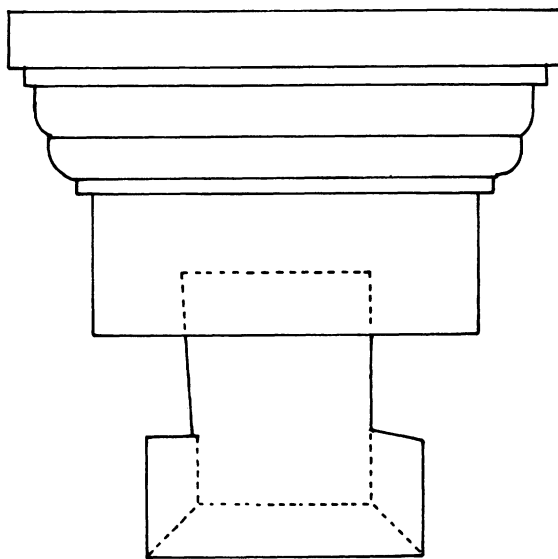


FIG. 40. Capital found in West Complex, elevation: 1/6; plan: 1/12 (cf. fig. 35*a*).

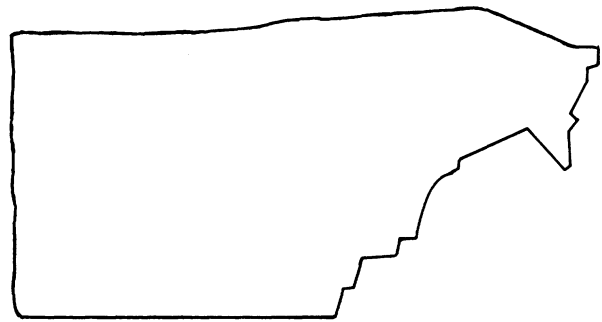


FIG. 41. Door cornice found in Paphos Gate, section: 1/8 (cf. fig. 65*a*).

the Gate, and we have taken them to represent the columns of the eastern door and the outer porch to the west.

In addition to these capitals there was found a well-preserved corner block from an Ionic cornice, of a scale appropriate to the porch of the Gate (figs. 39; 64*c*). While it is perhaps questionable to suggest that an Ionic entablature rested on Doric columns, the fact remains that several Ionic or Corinthian cornices were found in the sanctuary, and no Ionic capitals (barring a fragment now lost) or Corinthian capitals (save the "Cypro-Corinthian capitals of the Temple").

Apart from these elements we have the capital from a door jamb (figs. 35*a*; 40), and a cornice from over a door (figs. 41; 65*a*) which is unusual among such cornices in the sanctuary for its slanting, out-reaching projection.

Somewhere in the gate must have stood the crudely carved marble post-shrine (fig. 68) with the extraordinary inscriptions: (on the side facing the outer gate) "Καλῶς ἐρχῆ"; (on the side facing the interior of the gate) "εἰλέως ὑμῖν Ἀπόλλων"; (on the side facing the inner gate) "Καλῶς ὑπάγεις."²⁵

The Southwest Complex is represented by two sets of foundations (plans I, V), one of rubble, the other of large ashlar blocks. The complex was not excavated below floor level, and we may form only the most tentative notions about it. It would appear, however, that the rubble foundations were the earlier, and constituted a pair of rooms built southward from the court-wall of the Gate. The east wall of this early structure, however, is much disturbed and indeed largely missing; there exists, however, an extraordinarily large threshold approximately in the line where the wall should be, against the north face of the west end of the colonnade of the South Building.

The foundations of ashlar blocks constitute an enlargement of the presumed earlier structure to the south and west—enclosing, now, the porch of the Paphos Gate in a kind of enclave between the western extension of the Southwest Complex and the western extension of the West Complex. The remodeling ap-

²⁵ Mitford, Inscription No. 112, *op. cit.*, n. 4.

parently also involved the replacement of the original east wall by another slightly to the west—a wall which partially blocks the sill of the door leading south from the court of the Paphos Gate. This of course suggests that this door belongs to the period of the earlier phase of the Southwest Complex.

As to the chronology of these buildings, we have no good direct evidence. A coin of the second century before Christ was found in the road bed corresponding to the earlier period of the porch of the Gate, which means little; and a coin of Diocletian was found in the road bed going with the second period of the porch, which means only that the road was in use that late.

On the other hand, we may be able to make some deductions from the peculiarities of orientation and structure. We have already noted that the Gate court must be later than the "cryptoporticus," which is later, or no earlier, than the Northwest Building, which dates from around the beginning of the first century A.D. The Gate court is earlier than the first phase of the Southwest Complex, which in turn must be later than the Trajanic South Building—or, perhaps, and this should be emphasized, than the fountain occupying the area of the west end of the colonnade of the South Building, which we have seen must date from sometime around the middle of the first century A.D., or a little later.

To these observations we may add the peculiarity of the orientation and location of the Gate. It is oriented approximately with the Northwest Building, which is reasonable to a degree, but if the Fountain had been in existence when the Gate was built, it would seem more natural for the builders to have connected the southwest corner of the Northwest Building to the northwest corner of the Fountain (occupying, presumably, the same location as the northwest corner of the South Building), and to have developed the Gate from this line. Moreover, there is no suggestion in the preserved remains in the area of the Gate to explain the determination of its width. On the other hand, it will be observed that a line from the southeast corner of the Gate to the northwest corner of the Southeast Building will fall on the line of some obscure masonry preserved in front of the stylobate of the South Building, in front of Room 3 (plan V) and this will have the orientation of the buildings of Period II, or perhaps III, under the eastern part of the South Building. Moreover, this line would make the area south of the West Enclosure and the East Complex approximately rectangular.

One may, then, conjecture that this line represents some actuality in the arrangement of the area in the early part of the first century A.D., or a little earlier—not, perhaps, a solid wall, but a boundary of some sort on which monuments may have been aligned, and that it was with reference to this line and to the Northwest Building that the Paphos Gate was originally built. The early phase of the Southwest Complex,

then, may have fallen at any date after the construction of the Fountain, and probably before the construction of the Trajanic South Building. The reconstruction of the porch of the Gate might reasonably be put in the reign of Trajan, when much adornment of the sanctuary was under way. Of the later phase of the Southwest Complex we can only say that it could have come any time during the latter part of the second or in the third century.

THE SOUTHEAST BUILDING

The Southeast Building (plan I, VII; figs. 42–45) is essentially a rectangle measuring 29.60 m. east and west, by 27.30 m. north and south. Outside this, on

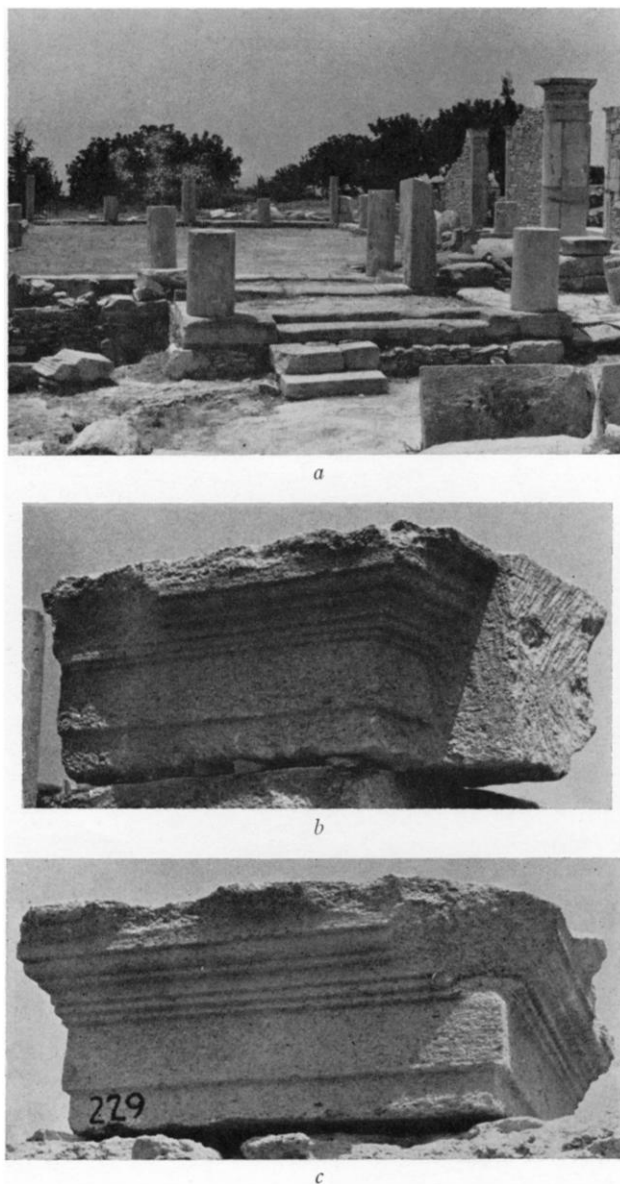
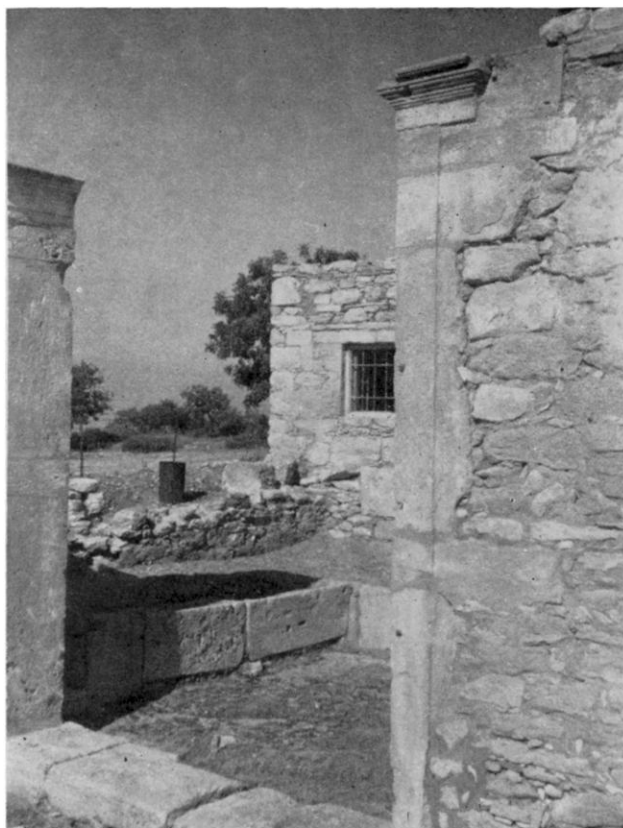


FIG. 42. Southeast Building—front. *a.* Porch (columns replaced). *b.* Pilaster capital (*cf.* fig. 47). *c.* Door capital (*cf.* fig. 51).



a



b



c

FIG. 43. The Southeast Building—Bench Room. *a.* The door (rebuilt) and interior from northeast. *b.* The door (rebuilt) and interior from southeast. *c.* Door jamb and capital (rebuilt) (*cf.* fig. 53).

the east and south there were added in later periods a number of rooms which were not extensively investigated during the excavation; on the north there is a porch. Within the rectangle there is an open courtyard which came, in a remodeling of the original structure, to be surrounded by a colonnade. Along the west side were four rooms, of which the northernmost, in a period of remodeling, was divided into two parts with a stairway leading up to the colonnade of the South Building in the northern part; on the east side were, originally, three rooms, of which the center was later subdivided into two; and on the south, between the corner rooms, was originally a long hall along the south side of which ran a broad bench subdivided at first into three, and later into four sections.

The preserved walls of the building were constructed throughout of rubble, apart from the doors and windows and other trim, and apart from the southwest corner. In this section were used ashlar blocks ranging from 1.00 m. to 1.90 m. in length, and about 0.35 m. high and 0.50 m. thick, with hammer-faced surfaces with drafted edges. These recall blocks used in the Temple. Other blocks about 0.70 m. high, 0.51 m. wide, and 0.19 m. thick, with dowel holes on the tops, as though for window or door jambs, were also used in this part of the building. Since the latter blocks were certainly re-used from some other buildings, the drafted ashlar blocks may also have been re-used. But this corner is the only place where there is preserved *in situ* masonry of which we can be sure that it was visible in antiquity, and there is the possibility that all

of the exposed part of the outer wall of the structure was in this style. A pilaster capital found in front of the building may suggest that the main façade, at least, was adorned with pilasters (figs. 42*b*; 47).

Turning then to the porch (fig. 42*a*) we note first that the stylobate was well preserved: good blocks of limestone 0.63 m. wide and 0.27 m. thick on rubble foundations. The area of the porch measured on the outer edge of the stylobate was 4.20 m. by 2.55 m. Several fragments of column drums were found close by, around 0.90 m. in height and with a lower diameter of 0.52 m. The shafts are smooth; there is no indication of the order beyond the lack of bases. Presumably, then, in accordance with the prevailing taste in the sanctuary, it was Doric. From the entablature, however, though no architrave or frieze has been identified, we must surely count one from among three sets of Ionic cornices found in the area. Of one set there remains the corner and peak of a gable (figs. 48; 64*d*, *e*), and this is certainly the most plausible attribution to the porch. Of another there is preserved a corner block (figs. 49; 64*f*), which under the circumstances might be considered as a candidate for the top of the walls of the Southeast Building. The third, represented by two blocks found in the same region (figs. 50; 65*e*) is similar to one found in the South Building and may perhaps most plausibly be attributed to the colonnade of that structure (above, p. 32).

The stylobate in front has been cut as a door-sill, but this must be a late adaptation to a form unrelated to the original design.

The door was 2.25 m. wide between the jambs, and had two valves of which one could be locked by a pin dropping into a hole in the sill. A capital and door cornice (figs. 42*c*; 51; 65*c*) were found close at hand.

Within, the stylobate of the south colonnade of the peristyle rests on an earlier foundation crossing the colonnade corridors on each side. Whether this earlier foundation was for a row of columns for a solid wall cannot be demonstrated, but it is clear that the original building did in fact have a courtyard, though it lacked columns on the east, west, and north at least, and was simply an open space on which the rooms on east and west faced. It would be crucially important, whether the wall preceding the south stylobate bore columns or was a plain wall: the question is, whether the axis of the building was north and south, or, as we shall see reason to suspect, the main rooms were on the west, so that the important axis was east and west. Unfortunately the matter is ambiguous, and cannot be settled.

In any case, the part of the original building lying along the south side of the court was a long hall, whether faced with columns or enclosed by a wall. Within the hall are remains of a rubble foundation whose northern face lies 2.40 m. north of the north

face of the south wall; its southern face is ill-defined, but probably it represents the front of a bench occupying the whole southern half of the hall. Once again, whether this bench in turn was lined with columns like the benches in the South Building, and the Northwest Building would be very interesting to know, but there are no indications one way or another. In any case, this bench was at one period subdivided into three sections by spur walls projecting from the south wall, in line with the east and west colonnades of the later peristyle. The significance of this alignment, too, is unknown, both as to the probabilities of relative chronology and general restoration. Later, apparently, a third spur wall was introduced alongside the original western one.

On the east side, there is a square room at the southeast corner; next to it was a long room, some 11.60 m. in length. There now exists a foundation cutting off the southern part of this room, making a small chamber some 3.00 m. wide, but there is no door from this room to the court, and it would seem likely that the partition was added late, the chamber being entered from the room to the north. Furthermore, there are traces of a foundation running the whole length of the original room along the east wall, in an arrangement recalling that along the south side and suggesting that here too was a bench, this one, however, only 2.00 m. wide.

There still exists a sill a little south of the center of the west wall of the large room as originally conceived; whether there were other entrances cannot be demonstrated. There was, however, a window south of this door, opening into the room later subdivided from the large room. Much of the wall was found as it had fallen in the final destruction and has been rebuilt (fig. 52). The northeast room is too badly destroyed to suggest comment.

The main rooms were certainly those on the west side. Of them, the southwestern was entered by a door from the south hall, but offers no features for discussion. The next was entered by a large door-opening (figs. 43; 53) which had, apparently, no valves by which it could be closed. The jambs were found and have been restored; the capital is especially interesting for the unusual ornament below the moldings. It would appear that the room was remodeled at some period in such a way as to obscure any special features of the original. In the later phase, a bench about 1.90 m. wide and 0.55 m. high was built along the three interior sides, faced with gypsum slabs. At the same time a floor was put in, consisting of variegated pebbles set in cement. A gap in the center of the revetment of the bench in the rear may be simply accidental, but a fragment of a molded capital resembling that for a door but excessively thin (0.29 m.) raises the possibility that there was a sort of balustrade along the top of the bench with a door or gate in the middle of the bench in back. There were, however, also

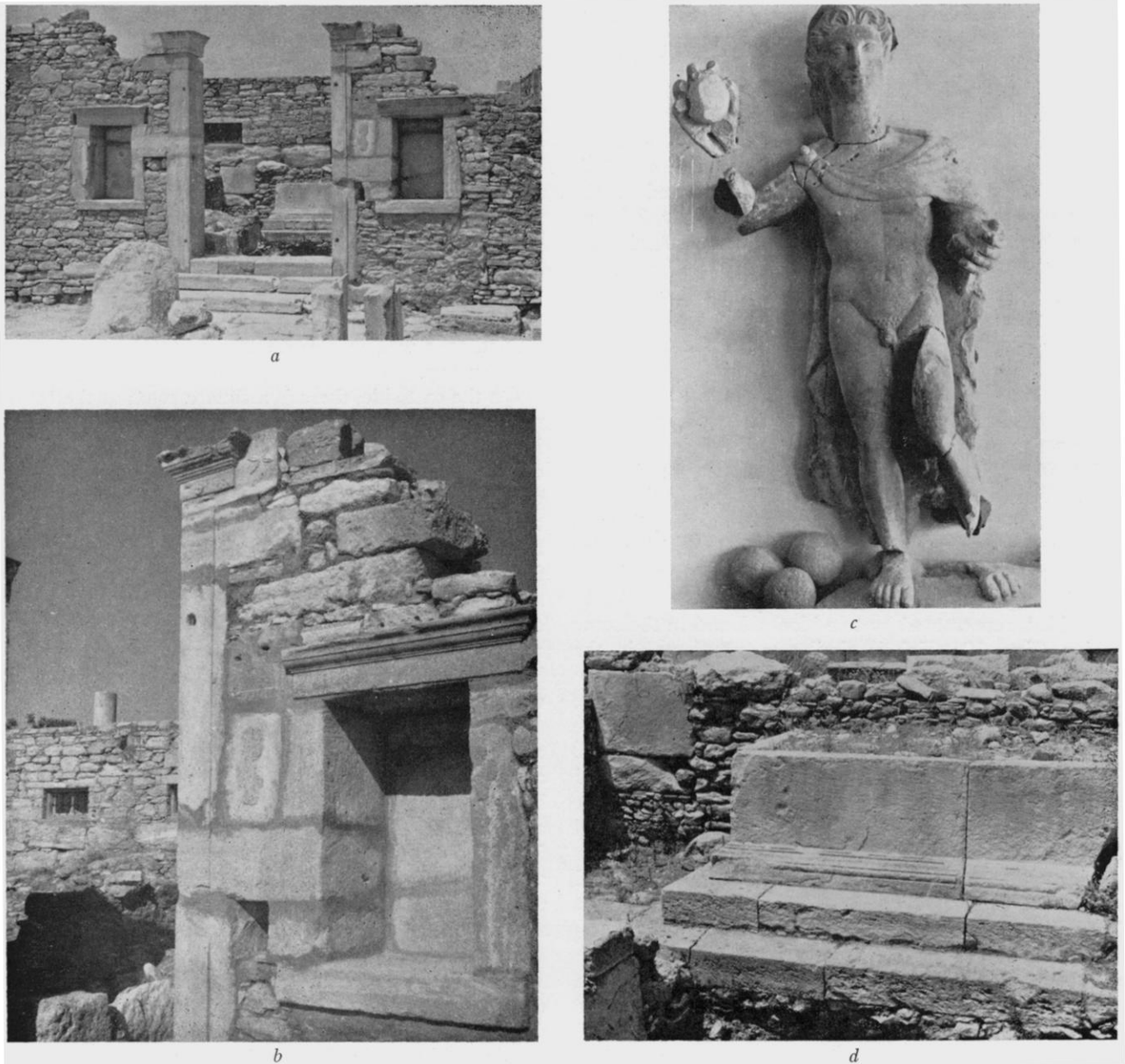


FIG. 44. The Southeast Building—Base Room. *a*. The door and niches (rebuilt) (*cf.* fig. 54). *b*. Door jamb and north niche (rebuilt). *c*. Figure of Apollo from niche. *d*. The base.

steps at each side at the front of the room; they were only 0.40 m. wide, but in view of the height of the bench and its extent seem wholly adequate to provide access to it.

The most important room was obviously that just to the north. It had an unusually elaborate façade (figs. 44; 54). The door, about 1.85 m. wide, was approached by three steps. Cuttings in the middle of the sill presumably received stop-bars for the individual valves; cuttings 0.07 m. by 0.14 m., about 1.20 m. above the sill in each jamb, presumably received bars by which both valves could be locked. (Other holes cut through the corners of the jambs, at 0.20 m. and

2.15 m. above the sill, must have been intended for fastening ropes or cords, but most probably date from the “squatter” days after the abandonment of the sanctuary as such.) The capitals were well executed, and large rosettes were worked on the surface of the wall beside them. A fine cornice found in the room to the north may also belong to this door (figs. 55; 65*d*).

On either side of the door is a niche measuring about 1.00 m. high and 0.60 m. wide, and 0.42 m. deep. Originally it would seem that these were windows, transformed into niches by the insertion of stone slabs at the rear. Like the rest of the walls of the building the niches were surfaced with a fine,



a



c



b

FIG. 45. The Southeast Building—courtyard. *a*. View from southeast (columns and walls rebuilt). *b*. Northwest corner column (rebuilt) and stone jar. *c*. Door capitals.

hard, white plaster, designed as painted panels surrounded by red, blue, green and yellow lines in various combinations. In the northern niche—or in the space of this niche as it had fallen in the final earthquake—was found a small marble statue of a youth (Apollo ?) holding some objects that might be stones, as though about to throw them (fig. 44*c*).

Inside, the room was designed originally with a flat floor on which, against the middle of the west wall, rose a fairly elaborate podium or base (fig. 44*d*). This consists now of a step, a molding, and a row of orthostates of gypsum or white limestone, and a core of rubble. At a later period the sides of the room were built up to make benches filling the space excepting for the direct passage from door to base. Indeed, it is possible that the base was cut down at this time, and absorbed into the bench arrangement, making a continuous bench on three sides, as in the room to the south.

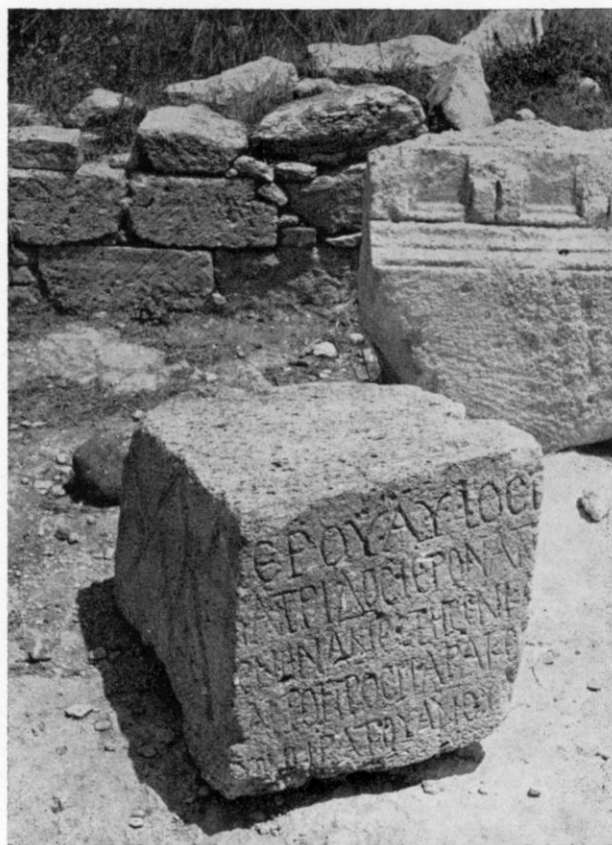
The northwest room was originally about 7.30 m. long, the largest of those on the west side (though

not, perhaps, significantly larger than the “bench room” south of the “base room,” which was 7.00 m. long). Its original character can no longer be determined, since even in classical times it was subdivided into two sections, of which the northern was filled with a flight of steps, and in very late times the southern was dug out to form a kind of cellar or stable, and basin-like mangers were cut into the rock along the west, at what was the original floor level, but at a height of a meter above the late floor.

The steps (fig. 46) were laid on a mass of rubble filled in between the original north wall of the Southeast Building, a new wall built through the middle of the corner room—actually obstructing the door of that room so as to leave an entrance to the remnant of the room only a meter wide—and a heavy wall built at an erratic angle crossing the line of the north end of the west wall of the Southeast Building. The explanation for this heavy, curiously angled wall, is a real problem. Its angle, perhaps, might be explained by supposing that the builders of the stairs wished



a



b

FIG. 46. The Southeast Building and Kourion Gate. *a*. Stairs within Southeast Building. *b*. Inscribed voussoir from Gate.

to compromise the divergence of orientation of the colonnade of the South Building at the top of the steps and the colonnade of the Southeast Building at the bottom. But if the wall of the Southeast Building had been intact at the corner when the steps were built, it would seem much more natural to align the steps entirely with the lower building within which they lay. Furthermore, there is the strange fact that there

is no trace of the west wall of the Southeast Building toward the northwest corner; it seems to break off cleanly about 3.30 m. from the point of juncture. Perhaps the simplest explanation is that from the very beginning there was an entrance to the Southeast Building from the higher ground to the west, by means of a ramp, coming down through the northern part of the northwest room (p. 56).

In any case, there were some eighteen or twenty steps, depending on how high a sill there may have been at the top. The third and fourth from the bottom impinge at the north on a projection of the north wall—the stub, it may be, of the original wall of the northwest room, or, certainly in the period of the steps, a jamb for a door passage. Since the steps are not at right angles to the Southeast Building, part of the third step, all of the fourth, and part of the fifth, impinge on the southern jamb of this opening, also in the line of the wall of the west rooms of the building. Behind the pier which constituted this southern jamb, three steps rise from the remnant of the northwest

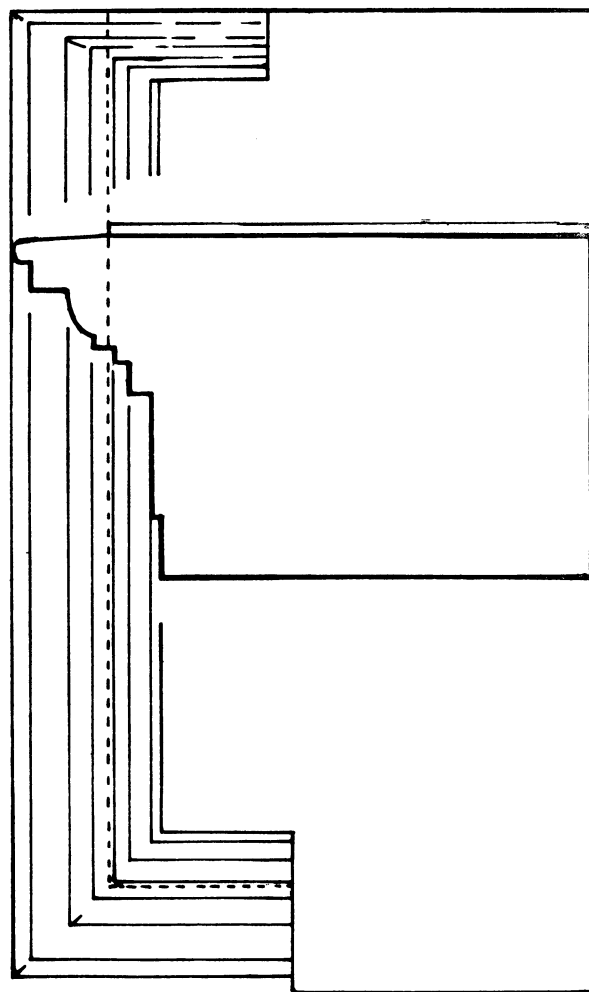


FIG. 47. Pilaster capital found in front of Southeast Building plan from below with section: 1/10 (*cf.* fig. 42*b*).

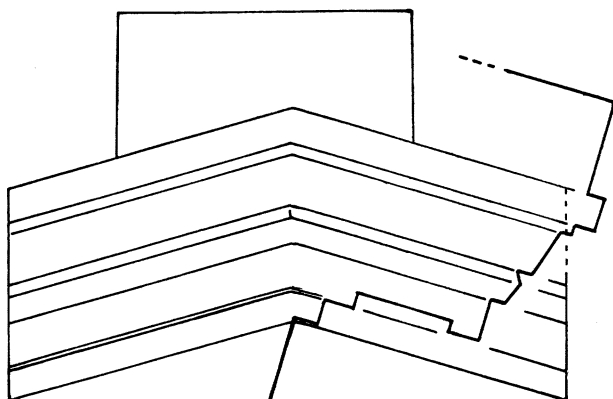


FIG. 48. Gable peak cornice found in front of Southeast Building, elevation with section: 1/6 (*cf.* fig. 64*d*).

room to the flight of steps itself, creating a very awkward arrangement at this point.

At the top, of course, there must have been some sort of door, so that the steps may be envisaged as rising in a passage with a door at top and bottom, and a small door off to one side. In the debris over the stairs was found a large number of voussoirs from a round arch (fig. 46*a*), which almost certainly came from the door or opening at the top or bottom of the steps. The voussoirs are not precisely cut to the same measure or curve; they are all about 0.55 m. thick and 0.55 m. high; they measure about 0.25–0.26 m. on the inside of the curve, and 0.35 m. on the outside. An approximate calculation of the radius of the interior circle would give about 3.00–3.20 m. This would, of course, fit either opening, at top or bottom, but in view of the lack of buttressing to the north at the lower opening, we may perhaps assign the arch to the upper opening, where the masonry of the Kourion Gate would provide ample support.

We come, finally, to the later colonnade of the court. The north, south and west stylobates are well preserved, and give the locations of the columns on these sides without doubt. A striking feature is the asymmetry of this spacing. On the north, behind the main door, are two columns between the corner piers; on the south there are three. This again reminds us of the possibility that the main axis of the building may have been north-south, in spite of the fact that the main rooms seem to have been on the west. On the west side itself, the spacing of the columns is peculiarly eccentric, so that the intercolumniation in front of the "base room" is much wider than normal, centered approximately on the axis of the room, the corner intercolumniation to the north being markedly contracted. Here is another suggestion that the colonnade is a later addition, since one would assume that if the rooms and colonnade had been designed in a single plan, the room could have been located to fall with its axis on a normal intercolumniation. The spacing on the

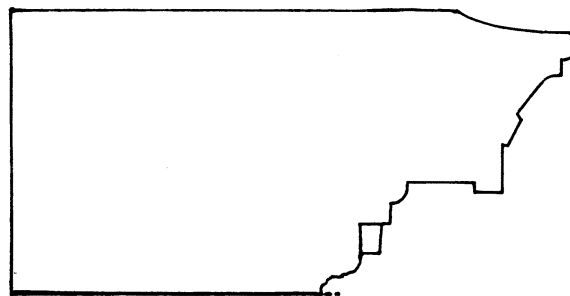


FIG. 49. Corner cornice found in front of Southeast Building section: 1/12 (*cf.* fig. 64*f*).

east is not indicated in the preserved remains, and in our restoration is merely assumed to have been regular.

The columns themselves were smooth shafts of limestone without bases, with a lower diameter of about 0.48 m. The total height, judging from the corner piers, was about 3.30 m. to the annuli of the capitals; the drums of the columns actually preserved measure 0.75 m. to 1.50 m. high.

The corner piers present a number of interesting features (figs. 45*a*, *b*; 63*g*). They are designed according to a pattern not uncommon—a square post with half-columns attached on adjoining faces, in the line of the colonnade, making a heart-shaped horizontal section for the composite pier. The pier is constructed of alternate elements: one a "binder," or block about 0.26 m. high, comprising in one block all the elements of the composite form, with the complete heart-shaped section; and an actually structurally composite element consisting of a square post with half-columns carved in separate pieces and set as separate blocks.

The colonnade corridor was paved with gypsum slabs, at least in part. Such a paving is preserved in front of the "base room," and may probably be assumed for the rest of the corridor. The surface of the central area of the court may have been simply trodden earth during some periods at least, or floored with the familiar pebbles in cement.

A remarkable feature of the courtyard is the great stone vessel in the northwest corner (fig. 45*b*). This is a kind of squat jar, protruding to a sharp edge halfway up the height, approximately like a certain kind of

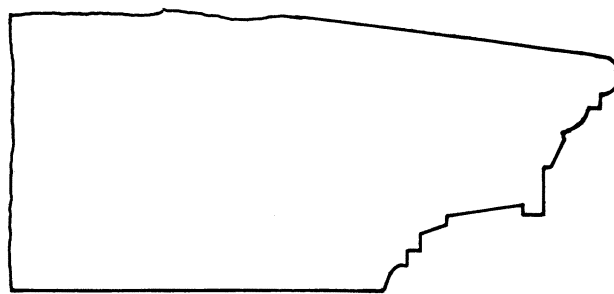


FIG. 50. Plain cornice found in front of Southeast Building, section: 1/6 (*cf.* fig. 65*e*).

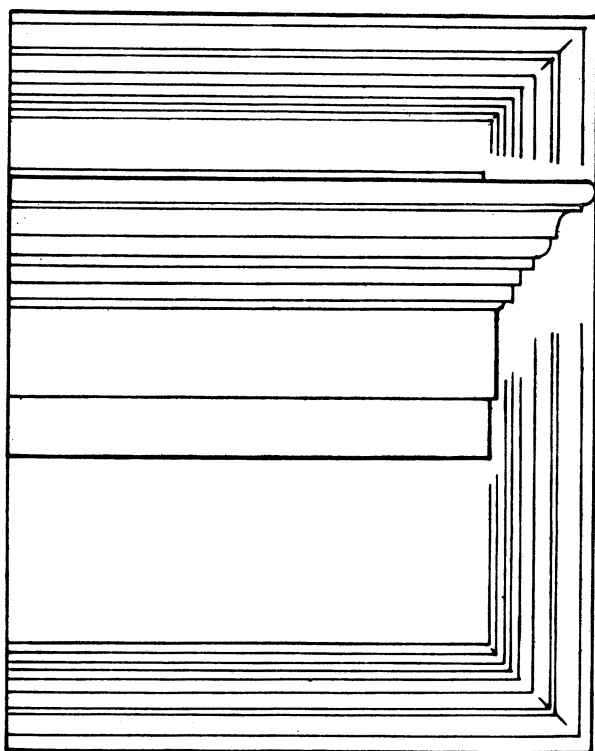


FIG. 51. Capital found in front of Southeast Building, plan from below, elevation: 1/7 (cf. fig. 42c).

watch. It stood about 1.00 m. high and was about 2.00 m. in greatest diameter. It was evidently carved with great flat table-handles like a column krater, though these are mostly missing, but it was certainly never

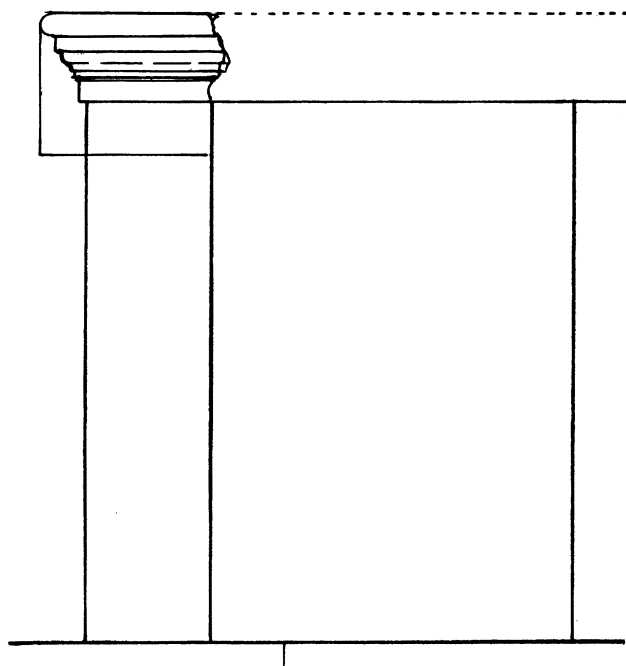


FIG. 52. Window on east side of peristyle in Southeast Building elevation: 1/12.

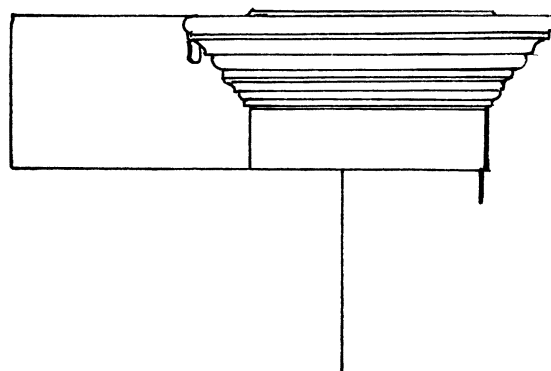


FIG. 53. Capital of door to Bench Room in Southeast Building elevation: 1/10 (cf. fig. 43c).

intended to be carried about. Actually it was imbedded in a mass of rubble masonry rising in a sort of pedestal or podium to the edge at mid-height; the surface of the masonry was covered with smooth plaster. From the northwest there came a lead pipe which drained the jar by a hole in the side. Evidently, then, it was a permanent fixture in the courtyard, intended to hold a fairly abundant, continuous supply of fresh water.

For the date of the Southeast Building evidence is all too slight. Traces of earlier structures were found below the floors of the rooms on the east side, and east of the building, but these were not sufficiently investigated to yield all the information they might have provided. At the other end, we may be sure that the building is earlier than the Trajanic period of the South Building, for the south wall of that structure abuts against the west wall of the Southeast Building—some blocks of the South Building were thrust into holes cut in the wall of the Southeast Building, to strengthen the joint, but the two walls do not bond as they would if contemporary. Moreover, we may date the stairs connecting with the colonnade of the South Building after the middle of the second century A.D., by a coin of Antoninus Pius, found beneath the steps.²⁶ Thus we may date the steps, and perhaps also the introduction of the colonnade, to the third quarter of the second century or a little later, but we have no close indication of the date of the original structure. It may be said, however, that in all significant locations from which datable material came, as in the fill behind the west wall, and a few places presumably safe below the original floor level, there was nothing demonstrably later than the early part of the first century A.D., though these cannot be considered closed deposits directly related to the building. We may think of the original building as belonging to about that time, with no less confidence, at least, than we have felt in other attributions to this period.

Discussion of the purpose of the building and its relation to the others of the sanctuary may, as usual, be deferred to a later point, but in concluding our descrip-

²⁶ *Illustrated London News* 130 (1952): p. 589.

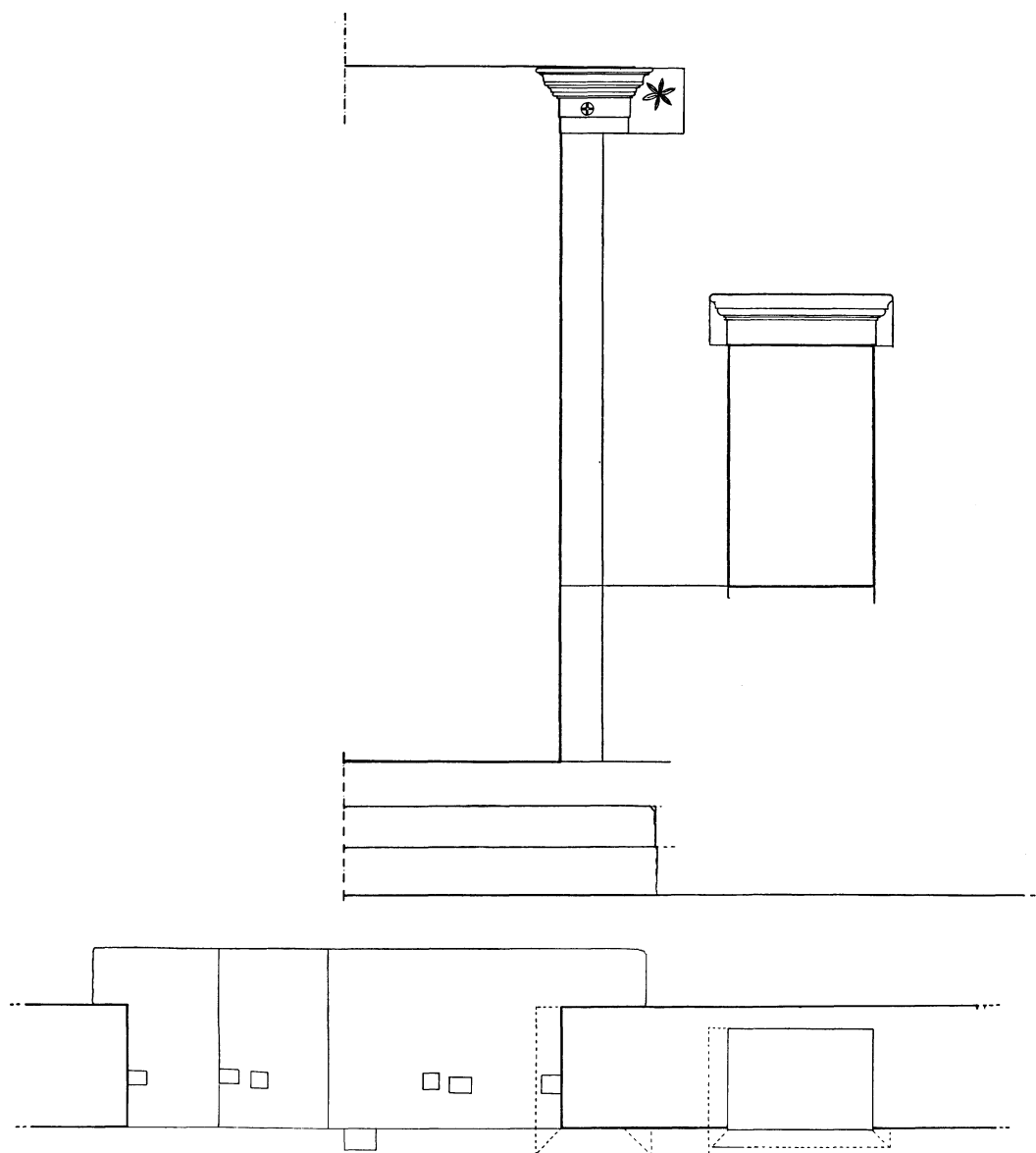


FIG. 54. Details of door to Base Room, with niche, in Southeast Building elevation, plan of sill: 1/30 (cf. fig. 44a).

tion we may, perhaps, observe that the Southeast Building would seem to have been the most elegant in design, finish, and furnishing of all those under our view. Apart from the special ornamentation of the capitals in the doors, the relative refinement of workmanship in the windows and other detail, the quality of the plaster used

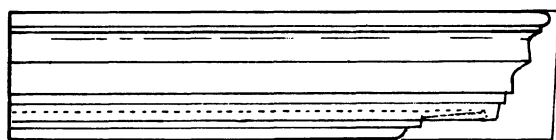


FIG. 55. Door cornice found in Southeast Building elevation: 1/12 (cf. fig. 65d).

in finishing the walls, it was the only building in which any considerable quantity of sculpture was found. In addition to the statuette of Apollo already mentioned as having stood in the niche to the right of the door of the "base room" two marble female heads were found, one apparently of a Roman lady, one of "Aphrodite"; the head and torso of a youth²⁷; a figure of an animal; a marble shield; a bronze myrtle leaf; and fragments of what may have been marble tiles. It is far from certain that all of these belonged with the building, but in general the great number of finds, relatively speaking, may seem significant.

²⁷ *Illustrated London News* 130 (1952): p. 590, figs. 10, 12, 13, 15.

THE KOURION GATE

In front of the Southeast Building lay a road which ascended to the paved court in front of the South Building by a flight of stairs and through a gate (plan VII; fig. 46a). The flight of stairs, beginning just to the west of the porch of the Southeast Building, rises along the wall of the Southeast Building and a special retaining wall erected to the north, the space between—about 8.00 m. wide at the bottom and 8.50 m. wide at the top—being filled with rubble where necessary, though the bedrock rises rapidly to almost the full height on the approximate gradient of the steps. On this formation the treads of trimmed limestone blocks were laid. Presumably the wall along the north might have risen higher to enclose them on that side by a parapet. Under existing conditions it is impossible to determine exactly how high the flight rose, or how many steps, but there is no reason to suggest that the flight differed much in these respects from the steps inside the Southeast Building.

At the head of the stairs there existed some sort of monumental entrance, whose character can be discerned only in general terms. The remains *in situ* consist of parts of three walls running north and south, and in some degree the walls with which they are connected at each end. Of the three walls, the most substantial in every respect is the one in the middle. It is the widest—about 0.80 m. wide—and built of the largest blocks, including some reused orthostate and other wall blocks from an unknown source. It seems to continue the line of the early peribolos wall southward, though it is not certain that it actually bonds with that wall. There are indications that the early peribolos wall turned westward along the line of the northern side of the gate, and that the central wall of the gate was originally built as an extension southward from the corner. In any case the wall in question makes an end about 9.20 m. south of its point of departure from the hypothetical corner of the early peribolos wall. This end occupies the position of the northwest corner of the Southeast Building: the

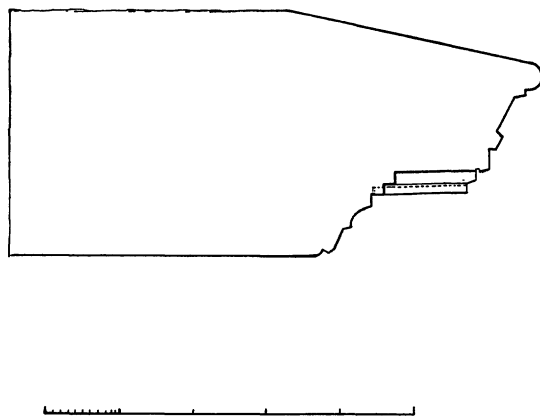


FIG. 56. Cornice from Kourion Gate, section: 1/10
(cf. fig. 66c).

north wall of the Southeast Building seems to abut against the wall we are discussing, and although there is a gap in the construction to the south, the west wall of the Southeast Building is aligned to make a corner with the north wall on the end of the wall under consideration. (We have previously noted the possibility of an opening into the Southeast Building in the west wall at this point.) The nature of the wall under consideration in its original state, before the erection of the Southeast Building is, then, something of a mystery. It could hardly have formed part of any structure involving the masonry of the Southeast Building, as the later gate did. Quite possibly, then, it was the east face of an extension of the peribolos, turning westward and continuing to the southeast corner of the Paphos Gate, along the line we have previously seen reason to suggest (p. 47).

In any case, the wall was later cut by a water channel which comes through the South Court. This drain, in turn, was cut by the north wall of the flight of stairs, at the point where the eastern of the three gate-walls would have encountered the north wall. Unfortunately, this eastern wall is ill preserved, only at the south end. It is distinctly slighter in construction than the central wall, being of loose rubble, and only about 0.60 m. thick. It may, however, be inferred that it would have passed over the drain, which was therefore earlier—another indication that the east wall and the central wall are not contemporary, and therefore the central wall was not originally built as part of the gate.

The remains of what we are assuming to be the western wall of the gate are even more baffling. The portion preserved north of the drain is a little wider and more solid than the portion preserved to the south; it almost seems as though the portion to the south is really a fragment of an earlier construction, covered by the (now missing) foundations of the gate wall. The indications of relative date of drain and wall are ambiguous, but nothing would prevent the assumption that the wall is later. Between the north end of the west wall and the north end of the central wall there is again an ambiguous complex of masonry, which, however, is compatible with an hypothesis that the topmost stones represent construction for the gate building lying on the denuded foundations of an earlier wall of a building or the precinct.

Thus, by methods however procrustean, we arrive at a fairly conventional plan for a gate at the top of the stairs—essentially in the shape of an *H*, though broad and shallow, with the open ends closed, no doubt, by columns or piers.

For the reconstruction of the superstructure, the most suggestive clue is a block from a flat arch, inscribed with part of a long text bearing a dedication of something on behalf of the Emperor Trajan (fig. 46b). The block is 0.74 m. thick, 0.48 m. high, and 0.52 m. on each horizontal surface. On the block appear, in the first line, eleven letters of the name part of a titulary of

Trajan, which Mitford²⁸ has restored to a line of 110 letters. If eleven letters represents 0.55 m., 110 letters would require a space of 5.50 m. If the text had in fact belonged to the gate, it would have spread across the façade, then, leaving about 1.25 m. on either side. Moreover, the restoration involves 21 letters to the left of the preserved block. This would represent two other voussoirs, and since the preserved member comes from the right of the keystone, we would add a keystone and another voussoir to the left, bringing the center of the open space being spanned just to the left of the preserved block, the opening having a width of 1.50 m., or a little less. This opening would be at the far left of the façade, as one faces it, and it would then result that there would be two other openings to the right, separated by supports some 0.70 m. in width. Whether these supports were columns or piers cannot be demonstrated; in the absence of remains of columns of appropriate dimension, it might seem preferable to postulate piers, but on the plan we have indicated, from simple conservatism, columns.

Of the entablature nothing is preserved excepting, perhaps, two blocks from a cornice with modillions, one of them from a corner (figs. 56; 66c). It would seem that there was no gable, and that the building should be considered as culminating in a rectangular attic, perhaps bearing statues.

For the date of the gate itself the inscription, if correctly assigned, is conclusive: it was built in the reign of Trajan and, according to Mitford's restoration, A.D. 101/2. The original construction of the central foundation, however, must according to our analysis be earlier than the Southeast Building, and hence no later than Augustus, though probably not much earlier.

THE BATH

Just outside the sanctuary to the east there was a bathing establishment with many points of interest (plans I, VIII). It lay within an enclosure entered from the south, from the road leading to the Kourion Gate, just opposite the entrance to the Southeast Building. Within the enclosure, the Bath itself occupied the northern part of the space and is fairly well preserved in many of its essential features.²⁹

The area of the enclosure presents some interesting, unsolved, questions as to its history before the construction of the Bath. The surface of the rock—the original ground level—dropped rather sharply just east of the line of the wall of the peribolos of the sanctuary, probably in a series of low ledges, possibly undercut in one or more caves. At the northwestern corner of the enclosure, traces of such a ledge are still visible amid the complex of later walls; about the middle of the enclosure, just in front of the entrance to the Bath itself,

there was found another irregular hollow in the rock. Neither of these, apparently, preserves its original natural state, nor is its form prior to the construction of the Bath discernible, and neither was completely examined by excavation. In so far as they were investigated, however, these phenomena revealed nothing to explain them, though their presence should be noted.

The wall enclosing the Bath presents a different character in different sections. Along the west it seems to make a straight line, though it is preserved only in the northern half and at the southern end. In these preserved sections, however, it is well built of ashlar blocks intermixed with stretches of rubble. The wall along the north forms an angle, at a point where a thick, somewhat irregular mass of masonry joins it to the wall of the Bath itself. One is impelled to suspect that the thick mass is really two walls, and the eastern and western stretches of the north wall of the structure enclosure represent two constructions, but there is no substantiation for this in the remains—they appear to be all of one construction.

The northeast corner of the enclosing wall is not now visible, though the excavation in this sector was incomplete, and it may still exist in foundation. From the southeastern corner of the Bath, however, the eastern wall is clearly visible, but here built in an extremely loose, crude way, largely of members from other buildings; the same character is evinced in the south wall which is now to be seen on the site. At the southwest corner a short spur projecting inward from this wall may mark a kind of gate. But the construction of the east and south wall, and the way in which the south wall cuts into the road to Kourion and crowds onto the façade of the Southeast Building, make it highly likely that it is actually a late modification of some original scheme, dating perhaps from a conversion of the buildings of the bathing establishment to other purposes in the fourth century. Indeed, an examination of the terrain reveals a few cuttings in the rock which in themselves could hardly prove, but are not inconsistent with, the hypothesis that originally the south wall of the enclosure was about parallel to the façade of the Southeast Building, continuing the Kourion Road at the same width that it has at the foot of the steps of the Kourion Gate.

Within the enclosure, in front of the Bath building, there are now visible a few scraps of wall and cuttings in the bedrock which disclose no mutual relationships and, indeed, there may be still others never revealed by excavation. That there was some development of this area in the period of the Bath is clear, however, from the preserved bits of mosaic tessellated floor just south of the preserved south wall of the Bath. It seems, though, impossible to ascertain whether there were more rooms to the Bath, south of the well-preserved part, than we know, or whether there was simply an open enclosure with walks paved with mosaic, or something else.

²⁸ Mitford, Inscription No. 109, *op. cit.*, n. 4.

²⁹ George H. McFadden, "Kourion, the Apollo Baths," *University Museum Bulletin* 14 (1950): pp. 14-25.

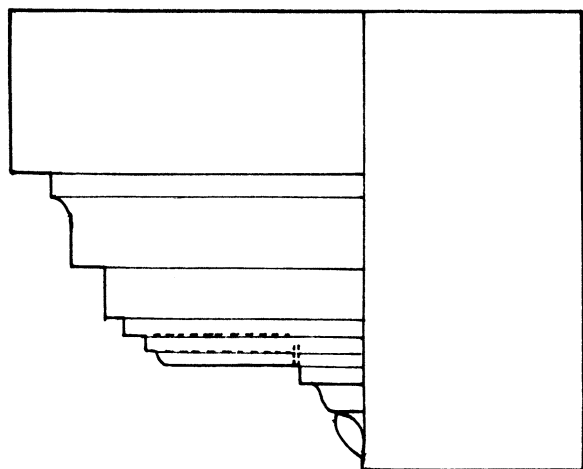


FIG. 57. Door cornice found in front of Bath elevation of end: 1/7 (*cf.* fig. 66*d*).

Even the entrance to the Bath building presents some ambiguities because of the state of preservation. There are still preserved, projecting from what seems to be the south wall of the building, two spur-walls about 4.60 m. between their outer edges, but with no indication of their extent north and south. The natural inference would be that these were the east and west walls of some sort of vestibule or porch, and so we restore them, but it should be pointed out that an alternative hypothesis might relegate the west wall of this supposed porch to other construction, making the better preserved wall not the east, but the west, wall of a porch which would be centered on the room behind, the east wall having disappeared. We choose the former alternative in deference to the actually existing remains and in resistance to the appeal of centrality—a power as weak, perhaps, in this sanctuary as anywhere in the classical world. In any case, it is entirely probable that the Bath had an entrance of some monumentality, and it is not inconceivable that the door was adorned with a rather imposing door-cornice incorporated into the foundation of a late wall just to the south, distinguished by prominent egg and dart moldings and heavy modillions (figs. 57; 66*d*).

The door, whatever its position, gave access to the largest interior space of the building, a hall about 4.30 m. wide and 9.70 m. long. The walls, like those of the building throughout, were of random blocks of ashlar, now much worn and perhaps never finely finished, but covered with plaster. Its floor was paved with tesserae of white gypsum on cement on rubble, apparently with no design. It may well have had a roof, but we shall see some reason to imagine that it may have been open to the sky.

At the east end is a sunken area separated from the hall by an ashlar foundation, and, since the south wall is not precisely continuous with the south wall of the hall, possibly to be considered as a separate structure,

even an addition. The floor lies about 0.75 m. below the floor of the hall to the west (fig. 58*b*). The stone masonry is lined on the interior with a facing of tiles about 0.30 m. square, which was probably originally, in turn, faced with thin slabs of marble; the well-preserved floor is made, again, of tesserae of white gypsum, and measures about 2.60 m. by 2.80 m. A tile pipe drains the basin northward. In spite of the suggestions that this “plunge room” may have been a later addition, it is perhaps preferable to suppose that it was part of the original design. If so, there arises the question as to whether it was a separate room, entered by a door (of which there is no trace), or simply an element in the hall, separated from the rest of the space only by a sill with, perhaps, pilasters, and, as we shall see, possibly an arch. Such a basin, even if roofed itself, would be a natural extension of an hypaethral space constituting the first element in the complex of the bath.

At the west end of the hall was a room measuring some 3.90 by 3.60 m. on the interior entered by a door which may plausibly be restored to a width of about 1.00 m. The room has been much altered by late



a



b

FIG. 58. The Bath. *a*. Room north of outer hall. *b*. Plunge at south end of outer hall.

arrangements subsequent to the discontinuance of the Bath, and its original form was presumably quite simple. It is an obvious candidate for the apodyterium (fig. 58a).

At the west end of the north wall of the hall a small door led to a small room whence another door led outside to the exterior area to the west. Presumably this was a sort of service entrance.

About the middle of the north wall of the hall was an opening whose width could have been perhaps as much as 2.60 m. The room itself was about 3.60 m. wide and 3.40 m. deep, and in its back wall, from a height of 0.60 m. above the floor there is a gap with a maximum width of about 2.50 m. The floor was paved with a simple mosaic of tesserae of white gypsum and black bitumen, the latter arranged in a thin border two tesserae wide around the edge, with diagonal lines intersecting across the interior panel, the centers of the resultant squares marked by diagonally oriented squares of bitumen with a white tessera in the middle. The room, then, gives the appearance of a sort of exedra facing onto the outer hall with a large opening or window into the sudatorium behind.

The lighting of such a room raises a problem, the most natural solution to which would be that the hall in front was, as we have already suggested, open to the sky, and the exedra received its light from a broad entrance opening. Indeed, the arrangement suggests that it was devised partly to contribute to the illumination of the sudatorium behind. Quantities of broken glass panes found in the area encourage the hypothesis that the opening between the exedra and the sudatorium was closed by glass, admitting light to the sudatorium, while reducing the escape of heat.

Another aspect of the problem is injected by the presence among the remains of a few voussoirs of an arch with a diameter of around 2.15 m. There are, to be sure, three places where such an arch could be accommodated: the window of the exedra, the entrance to the exedra, or the entrance to the plunge at the end of the hall. Of these, the window in the exedra is perhaps least likely, as presenting difficulties in the installation of the glass; the entrance to the exedra may well have been rectangular to obtain the maximum of light. But there are no real, specific indications.

From the east end of the north wall of the hall a door led to a room some 4.70 m. wide and 2.60 m. across; at the east end of this room was a plunge about 0.70 m. deep, similar to that in the outer hall, but narrower. This was drained by a tile pipe eastward. A possible interpretation of this apartment would be that the outer hall was the normal frigidarium of the establishment, but the smaller, enclosed inner room with the smaller plunge would serve the same purpose in cold weather. The floor in this room, too, was paved with the same gypsum tesserae observed in the outer rooms.

From the inner frigidarium a door led to what would be expected to be the tepidarium, and indeed the room

presents the phenomenon of having a hypocaust under its northern half, the floor of the southern part resting on solid ground. In the southern part of the room was a mosaic floor of white gypsum and black bitumen evidently, again, of a simple geometric pattern. Whether this continued over the hypocaust of the northern half is uncertain; the floor surfacing over the hypocausts throughout the bath has not survived excepting in small stretches of late repairs with broken bits of marble revetting.

The hypocaust under the northern part of the tepidarium is an extension of the hypocaust underlying the sudatorium to the west of the tepidarium and the caldarium west of that, and it may be convenient to abandon our room-by-room survey in order to consider the hypocaust system in general. First, however, we may note that as to the sudatorium there are no large features for comment other than the window to the exedra and the hypocaust system; as to the caldarium, it should be observed that it is essentially a square space 3.40 m. in each direction, with a deep rectangular recess on the south side, and another on the west.

The hypocausts, then, may best be approached from the room west of the caldarium. This room, about 3.70 m. by 3.30 m. was apparently entered from the west. It is a sunken chamber lined with brick, its earthen floor about 1.60 m. below the floor of the caldarium. A massive structure of masonry occupies the eastern part, extending under the west wall of the caldarium, pierced by a narrowing tunnel leading into the hypocaust space beneath the floor of the caldarium. As the tunnel enters the hypocaust area it is flanked by short walls of brick (fig. 59b). The floor of the hypocaust of the caldarium is paved with tiles, mostly 0.50 m. square, but some 0.25 m. by 0.50 m. On this rests the system of piers, made of brick tiles about 0.21 m. square and three or four centimeters thick. Over the tops of the piers were laid brick tiles about 0.62 m. by 0.31 m., and five or six centimeters thick. On these, tiles about 0.31 m. square were laid, forming a continuous ceiling to the hypocaust area. On the ceiling was laid a mass of rubble about 0.15 m. thick, finished off smooth and evidently intended to carry a floor of mosaic or thin marble slabs, though the existing marble tiles are crudely cut and probably late (fig. 59a).

The flooring, however, was not carried close against the walls of the main room of the caldarium or of the sudatorium. Rather, a space about 0.15 m. wide was left between the edge of the flooring and the wall. Moreover, on three sides of both caldarium and sudatorium flues were cut into the wall, 0.15–0.18 m. wide, and 0.45 m. deep; a single flue rises on the west wall of the tepidarium. These flues ascend to a point about 1.10 m. above the floor of the bathing rooms, where they become completely enclosed within the masonry of the wall, about 0.16 m. back from the inner face of the wall; the open flue-space remains about 0.30 m. square.

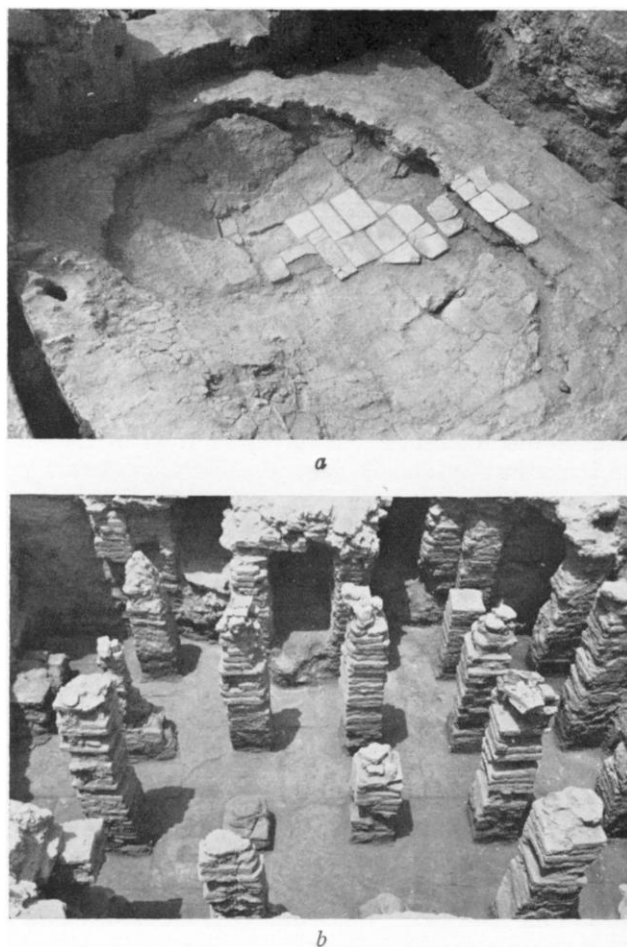


FIG. 59. The Bath. *a.* Floor of sudatorium. *b.* Hypocaust below caldarium.

Thus the smoke escaped and draft was supplied by these flues, while in the sudatorium and caldarium the heat arose around the edges of the floor along the face of the masonry wall, but surely enclosed by some outer facing constituting a "shell" wall with a hollow space some 0.15 m. wide between it and the mass of the wall.

The shell enclosing the hollow element in the wall was constructed with the aid of an ingenious device of which a number of examples were discovered (figs. 60*c*; 61). It consisted in a rectangular prism of terracotta, somewhat coarse and irregular in fabric, about 0.26 m. long, 0.08 m. wide and 0.055 m. high. About 0.02 m. from one end was a groove about 0.02 m. wide and 0.005–0.008 m. deep, around three sides of the prism. About 0.14 m. from the same end was a similar groove on the two vertical sides. Evidently this object was inserted with its plain end set into sockets in the masonry wall, so that it projected like a peg from the wall, by some 0.16–0.18 m. These sockets are still visible, some with the broken stubs of the pegs still in them, in the face of the wall of the caldarium and sudatorium where it is preserved in the appropriate places;

it is clear from these remains that the pegs were arranged in horizontal and vertical lines, about 0.50 m. apart (fig. 60*a*). Presumably, then, the masonry face of the wall was lined with thin slabs of terracotta tile fitting into the grooves on the vertical face of the peg close to the wall; a shell of similar tiles was erected in

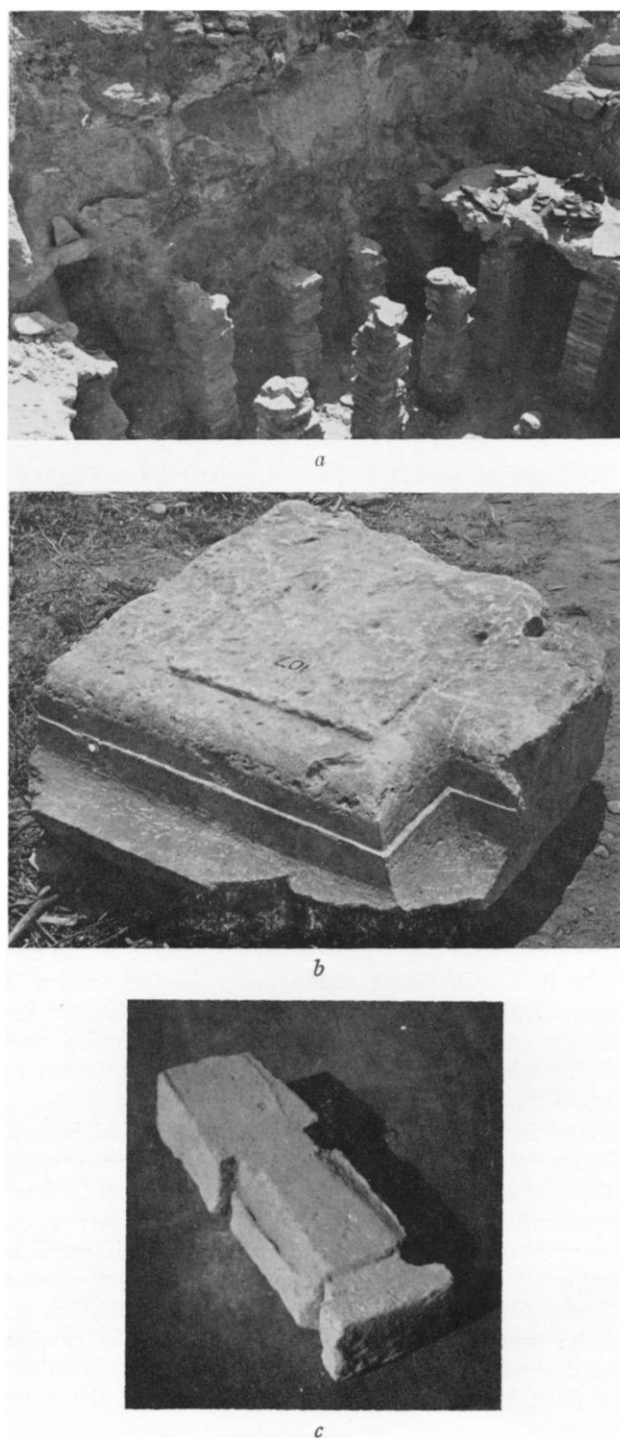


FIG. 60. The Bath. *a.* North wall of caldarium. *b.* Molding (cf. fig. 62). *c.* Hollow-wall peg-tile (cf. fig. 61).

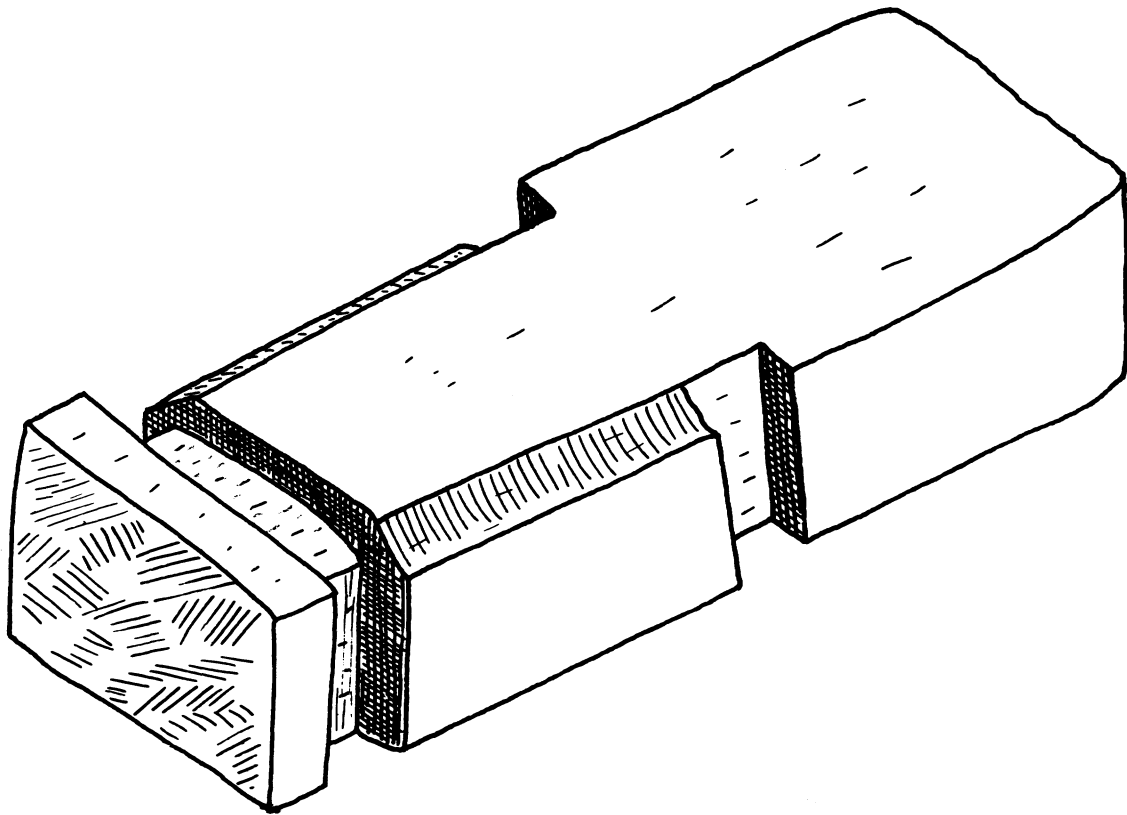


FIG. 61. Hollow-wall peg-tile from Bath, isometric: 1/4.

front of the wall, fitting into the grooves near the outer end of the peg and leaving a hollow space about 0.10 m. wide between; then a coat of mortar was smeared over the outer face of the shell, and marble slabs set against this layer of mortar and covering the end-face of the peg. Several straplike bits of bronze, straight bars bent so that there is a central straight section about 0.09 m. long, a section at right angles to this, about 0.05 m. long, and a short pointed pin about 0.01 m. long parallel to this at the other end, suggest clamps by which the slabs of marble and the tiles might have been clamped for greater safety, except that the span—0.09 m.—is not easily accounted for, unless by an excessively thick coat of mortar, or excessively thick marble revetting slabs.³⁰

There is still another element in the construction of the hollow walls which can be documented. A considerable number of stone blocks about 0.25 m. high with a cyma reversa carved along one edge (figs. 60b; 62) were found in the caldarium and close at hand. Ordinarily one would expect these to have been mold-

ings with the projecting edge at the top, running along the top of a wall; or, the projection at the bottom, running along the base of a wall. Some of these blocks, however, have holes cut through them near the end opposite the molding, which would correspond roughly to the flue-openings in the wall, and if such a block is placed over one of the flue-openings it will be seen that the extreme edge of the molding projects about 0.20 m. beyond the face of the masonry wall. It was McFad-

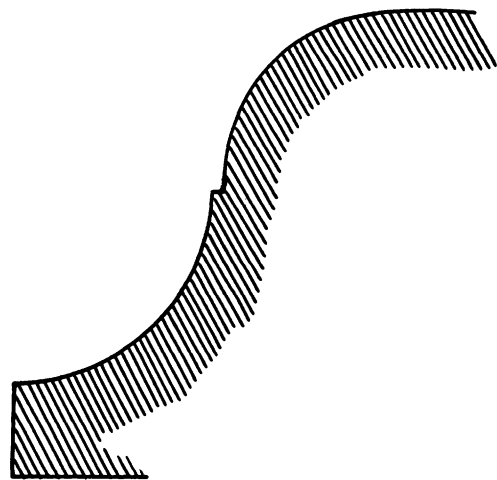


FIG. 62. Molding from Bath, section: 1/4 (cf. fig. 60b).

³⁰ Compare the different system of "mammary tiles"—tiles with rounded projections on the rear by which they could be set into the cement of the wall, preserving a gap between tile and wall. Athens—Rodney S. Young, in *Hesperia* 20 (1951): pp. 279-282; Argive Heraeum—Charles Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* (2 v., New York, 1902)1: pp. 134-136; Corinth—Oscar Broneer, *The South Stoa*, Corinth, Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 1, iv (Princeton, 1954): pp. 145-151, esp. p. 146.

den's conclusion, then, that these moldings ran around the room at a point part way up the wall, extending with the projecting edge of the molding on the bottom, capping the top of the hollow part of the wall. The solid part of the wall would have continued to the ceiling, carrying with it the flue, and with its face continuing the line of the face of the solid masonry below. In other words, the moldings would have constituted a ledge running along the wall at the point where the hollow wall was discontinued.

McFadden suggested that the molding must have been at least 1.66 m. above floor level—the wall being preserved to that height in some places, with no trace of the bedding for the molding—but probably not much higher, for then it would have become invisible. He also concluded that this arrangement existed only in the caldarium, where almost all the molded blocks were found, and that the hollow wall went to the ceiling in the sudatorium. The wall above the molding in the caldarium was apparently plastered, with painted panels in red and blue, fragments of such plaster having been found in the room.

Summarizing, then, the arrangement of the heated rooms, we may return to the tepidarium. This had a hypocaust under only its northern half, and had a flue but no hollow walls; thus, and also because it was farthest from the fire, it would obviously have been only slightly warmed. The sudatorium, with a full hypocaust and hollow walls on three sides, with a large glazed window to the south, would have been distinctly warm; the caldarium, next the fire, would have been genuinely hot. The extensions to the south and west, with the hypocaust extended under the center of the floor, but no hollow walls, would have participated in this heat, but may, as McFadden suggested, have been the location of tanks of water, while the bathers washed or rested in the main, directly heated space. The fires, of course, would be managed from the praefurnium, the sunken room to the west.

No direct supply of running water was found to supply the Bath, and without such a supply, water must have been brought in jars from some outside source.

No evidence for the date of the construction of the Bath was found, excepting an inscription which records the construction of a bath, dated, according to Mitford, about A.D. 101/2.³¹ Although the inscription is certainly small enough to have been carried some distance, the coincidence of its discovery in this particular bath, the lack of conflicting evidence, and the generally favorable probabilities, suggest that the inscription be assigned to the Bath, and the date with it.

CISTERNS AND WATER CHANNELS

Numerous remains of water conduits and drains of various kinds, and at least four major cisterns, were dis-

covered in the course of the excavation. We do not intend to examine them systematically here, since the more important will be included in a study of the water supply of Kourion by J. S. Last, and for much of the material, information is too slight to be meaningful. But it is desirable to note the existence of these features for their significance in the context of the buildings.

Of the cisterns, three were underground. Of these, the largest is a chamber some 8.30 m. long and 2.60 m. wide, extending approximately east and west below the Paphos Gate. The height of the main room from ceiling to the present floor is about 5.30 m.; the actual floor is concealed by an unknown depth of fill which was not removed during the excavation once it had become evident the cistern had been dug out at some previous time. The cistern is entered from the east end through a roughly rectangular chamber about 1.25 m. wide and 2.00 m. long, of which the roof is now partly gone, but which originally, it may be assumed, was entered from its eastern end by a roughly circular shaft some 0.75 m. in diameter. The rock ceiling is 0.60 m. to 1.00 m. thick, and where the roof of the entrance chamber had already fallen in antiquity, the masonry of the east wall of the room south of the Paphos gate is laid on a ceiling of heavy blocks, some 0.40 m. thick.

At the surface, from the mouth of the well-like entrance to this cistern a channel opens into a rock-cut basin of irregular form, which leads into a channel running eastward (plan V). About 16 m. from the mouth of the cistern, another rock-cut channel leads off about 1.50 meters northward, and then returns toward the Paphos Gate in a broad, deep, irregular channel. From the divergence of this branch, the main channel continues eastward; about 11 meters to the east a channel leads to the south; 19 m. east of this, our channel crosses another coming down from the Temple Street, which loops southward and eastward, and 6.00 m. farther on rejoins this second channel, in its course on through the Kourion Gate. It would seem that both the channel coming from the Paphos Gate and the channel coming down the Temple Street were drains; the point of contact of the former with the cistern under the Paphos Gate may be to some extent an accident, but it may also be explained by an hypothesis of J. S. Last's, that the large, crude channels just east of the Paphos Gate were cut to provide planting space for shrubs or small trees, which would be watered both by the water collected by the drain in its normal function, and also by water dipped out of the cistern when necessary.

The second cistern is a large bottle-shaped cavity just north of the Kourion Gate (plan III), some 5.50 m. deep from lip to floor, and about 2.50 m. in diameter. This, as we have already observed, was found to have been in use during the late Hellenistic period, but was abandoned and filled around A.D. 50.

The third was originally entered by a shaft at the grid point *K9:m3*, in the line of the west wall of the Southeast

³¹ Mitford, Inscription No. 110, *op. cit.*, n. 4.

Building about 2.50 m. south of the point of intersection of the west and north walls of that structure (plan V, VII). We have already considered the complex of masonry in this area, and it need be mentioned here only that it would appear that efforts were consistently made to avoid actually crossing the mouth of the cistern with continuous walls, though no explanation based on the relation to the cistern seems meaningful enough to take precedence over explanations already advanced for the phenomena. In any case, the cistern apparently extended southeast into the area of the steps leading out of the Southeast Building, and of the room east of this, but the effect of these and later building operations have resulted in the essential demolition of the body of the cistern.

The fourth major cistern was not subterranean, but built above ground, located off the northeast corner of the Northwest Building (plan VI; fig. 29c). We have already observed that it consists of two elements, one outside the wall of the peribolos, one inside. Both are lined with heavy walls including large ashlar blocks and rubble, faced on the inside with several coats of tough, hard, waterproof cement. They are actually sunk below the surface of the ground, but apparently also rose above ground level to some extent. The outer chamber is the larger; it is some 8.50 m. long and 3.00 m. wide on the inside, and 1.80 m. deep where the wall is preserved to the highest point. There is, however, an outflow at the west end connecting with the smaller cistern inside, 1.50 m. above the floor, which at this point is about 0.20 m. higher than at the other end. The smaller cistern inside the wall is 3.40 m. long, and 1.40 m. wide, and about 1.20 m. deep.

There is a complicated system of terracotta pipes at the east end of the smaller cistern, including both connections with the larger cistern and, apparently, outflow systems for both, on some siphon principle. This will be included in Mr. Last's study; here it may be noted that there are traces of pipe lines, one running south, one east, from this point. That going south may have connected with a line which emerges south of the wall of the west enclosure just west of the entrance to the Temple Street. The other proceeds northeastward along the peribolos wall, to a point east of the front of the later Temple; moves then eastward, crossing in front of the steps of the Temple and beginning to follow along the north side of the north wall of the archaic precinct. Here it is lost, but it may have connected with the bit of pipe line heading south from the extension of the precinct, north of the Bath. Here, again, it is lost, although careful examination was made to determine whether it led to the Bath, with the conclusion that it did not. In any case, it was ascertained that the surviving remains north of the Bath are late, dating in the third century A.D.

A drain was traced down the Temple Street, presumably continuing as the one we have already noticed in

discussing the cistern under the Paphos Gate. This drain, wherever examined, gave abundant indication of having been choked up in the third or fourth century, but no clear indication of its original date.

Two short stretches of terracotta pipe lines may be noted just west of the Kourion Gate—one curving as though to avoid the *favissa* built against the wall of the "kitchen" south of the East Stoa in the second century after Christ³²; the other close to the entrance to the courts leading to the passage between the House and the East Building.

THE PERIBOLOS WALLS

In the description of the various buildings of the sanctuary, various sections of the enclosing wall of the peribolos have been noted, but some have not. In order to complete the description, and take account of certain particular problems, it is desirable to examine the wall systematically, at the cost of some repetition (plans I, II).

In general it may be said that the wall as preserved is fairly homogeneous in construction, consisting usually of ashlar blocks arranged as stretchers—lengthwise in the line of the wall—usually on bedrock, but sometimes on packing or a rubble fill a single block in thickness. Beginning, for convenience, in grid-square *Li* at the northeast corner of the East Building, it proceeds about 15 meters in a northeasterly direction, and thence north in a straight line about 37 meters. At the angle, however, in grid square *Mg*, an extension in the original northeasterly direction has been added for about 7 meters, whence a wall, double-thick, angles to follow a course parallel to the main wall, for about 28 meters, where it returns to the main wall by a short wall at right angles to each. The function of this extension of the area at this point is far from clear. One might suspect that the double-thick addition was intended as the foundation for a stoa or some similar building; but it is not rectangular, and could not have supported a normal building. It may have been a cistern, but there is no trace of waterproofing on the inside. Perhaps it was, after all, simply an extension of the space, the extra thickness remaining without explanation.

From the end of the second straight stretch of the main wall, in grid square *Ld*, the wall proceeds a little north of east for about 28 meters. At the corner in grid square *Ld* one block, however, projects inward as though to begin a stretch proceeding west to square *Hc*, and the masonry north of this in *Ld* is apparently not bonded to that to the south. In square *La* the wall makes a right-angled turn to the west, proceeding for about 37 meters to a right-angled turn southward in *Ha*, proceeding thence to an oblique turn to the southwest in *Hc*. Through all this length there is no indication of any break in the construction, nor, indeed at the corner in

³² Above, p. 20.

Hc. Thus, if we assume, as we have, that the squared extension around the Temple is posterior to an earlier plan in which the wall ran from *Ld* to *Hc* or *d*, we must also assume that in demolishing this early north wall and extending the enclosure to the north, the construction at the original corner in *Hc* or *d* was completely revised to make a continuous bond and obliterate traces of the earlier corner.

From the corner in *Hc* the wall, then, proceeds to another corner in *Ek*, where it becomes lost in the mass of masonry comprising the two cisterns. There seems to be no way of discerning any chronological or structural sequence in this section. At the northeast corner of the Northwest Building, however, we have seen reason to suspect that at one point the peribolos wall extended south to *Fl*, and was later absorbed by the east wall of the Northwest Building. From the southeast corner of the Building extends a broken line of blocks to the south end of the Street; across the Street, the line continues as the south wall of the rooms south of the Stoa, and these buildings may have provided the boundary for the enclosure of some period. Beyond this, one of the periods of the wall in *K* on the line between *k* and *l* may have been at some time the precinct wall in this area, turning north to the point of departure as the rear wall of the East Building.

After the construction of the Northwest Building, the boundary of the peribolos may have been felt as being the west wall of the Building itself, extended to a point in *En* about at the southeast corner of the later Paphos Gate, and there may even have been an actual wall extending thence on the more or less hypothetical line previously noted to the south end of the center wall of the Kourion Gate, at least between buildings on the line. Finally, whether before the construction of the South Building, or when the South Building was constructed, the outer extent of the peribolos was extended to follow the west and south wall of the South Building and the west wall of the Southeast Building. No direct evidence for dating the wall is available from actual excavation.

There remains only to notice the West Enclosure, which, while it must have been an important element in the sanctuary from early Roman times at least, must also have been throughout its history what it now appears—an empty space. There were, to be sure, some monuments erected within it; at least, certain bases or pedestals or altars have been found within the area, and there is preserved a good part of the foundation for a semicircular exedra in the square *li*. But although the area was not entirely excavated, it was examined by trenches which revealed no indication of any extensive building or adornment. It is perhaps fair to assume that it was left as a park, within which may have been trees and shrubs as well as an occasional bench or dedication, and in which may even have wandered some specimens of the stag sacred to Apollo, preserving in the formal structure of the sanctuary the natural embodiment of the god of Hyle.

II. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

In the search for light on the many unresolved problems of the sanctuary, one naturally looks for comparable arrangements elsewhere. It has seemed desirable to postpone this endeavor until all the buildings of the sanctuary had been described, because various buildings seem to share the same problems. We may now, however, retrace our path in an order again approximately chronological, though not step by step, considering only those structures for which material from other sites may seem pertinent.

THE EARLY PRECINCT

We have observed that from the seventh century—the earliest period of which we have remains—through the fifth and into the fourth, the sanctuary apparently consisted of a large round altar for burnt offerings, surrounded by a low fence, lying within an irregular precinct in which were slight subsidiary structures—bases, perhaps, and walls—whose traces are vague; this precinct was linked with an outer area corresponding to the later Central Court, constituting the public approach to the more reserved Altar Precinct. We are aware that there were other buildings in the vicinity, within the area of the sanctuary at its greatest extent, as under Room 5 of the South Building, under the south end of the Northwest Building, and perhaps elsewhere, but we cannot be sure what these were, whether they belonged integrally to the sanctuary of their period, or how many others there may have been. Particularly, we have no identifiable trace of any building which could be called a temple or enclosed shrine. In short, what we can actually see would amount to no more than an enclosure subdivided into a public and a sacred area, in the latter being also an altar and a few distinctly subsidiary features.

With this, indeed, we might be content, for it is wholly appropriate to the concept of a vague, primitive divine spirit of Hyle, the woodland, the life in growing things. Our information, however, is inadequate to provide a characterization of the sanctuary according to the types which have come to be accepted as the conventional classification of sanctuaries in Cyprus.³³ The description given does fit closely Gjerstad's first type, exemplified by the geometric sanctuary at Ajia Irini, or rather better the more advanced examples of this type like the archaic sanctuary at Ajia Irini and at Tamassos and Achna. There is an important difference in that none of these sanctuaries has so large, distinctly circular, an altar as we have supposed ours to be. Actually, the closest parallel is to the Bronze Age sanctuary at Ajios Jakovos³⁴ which does have an ap-

³³ Einar Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* 4, 2 (Stockholm, 1948): pp. 17 ff.; Porphyrios Dikaïos, "A Conspectus of Architecture in Ancient Cyprus." *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* 24 (1960): p. 16–21.

³⁴ Einar Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* 1 (Stockholm, 1934): pp. 356 ff., pl. XIII; Dikaïos, *op. cit.*, pl. 34b.

proximately circular altar and even, strikingly enough a scrap of straight wall in approximately the same relation to the altar as that north of ours (the actual compass orientation is reversed). So already there are difficulties: our closest parallel is to a sanctuary which is not contemporary, but much older.

Moreover, since we cannot be positive that there was no temple or roofed shrine, we cannot be sure that our sanctuary should not fall in Gjerstad's second type—characterized by a temenos like those of the first type, but with a detached chapel, not connected with the court as in the archaic period at Ajios Jakovos—or in his third type, consisting of a temenos and a chapel which form an architectural unit together, as at Kition, Idalion, and Voni.

Actually, though, Gjerstad's classification may seem a little over-precise, especially as there are so few examples, and they seem to differ in only one respect—the presence of a roofed shrine, and its relative location—differences that could readily be explained as due to comparatively inconsequential factors. What we can fairly say against the background of Gjerstad's analysis is that the archaic sanctuary at Hyle would appear to have been generally like all the others of the time, in being a simple, non-monumental, essentially open-air shrine. If there is anything distinctive about it, it would be the startling resemblance to the Bronze Age shrine at Ajios Jakovos, which raises the question, without suggesting an answer, about the possible connection in form against the wide gap in time.

THE HOUSE

For most of the other buildings in the vicinity of the Altar Precinct there is little reward in the search for parallels. The structures on the Central Court are too ill-defined, or represent particular adaptations to particular situations; the Stoa is simple in its general outlines, and obscure in its details; the East Building is also, apparently, a special design *ad hoc*. Only the House stands out as exhibiting a formal character of sufficient distinction to be recognizable in another context.

The obvious parallel is with the houses of Priene,³⁵ and indeed, the general plan of the East Complex east of the Stoa, including the East Building gives the general impression of the Priene type, with the court, the "megaron," the long corridor, and the rows of subsidiary rooms. Actually, of course, we must bear in mind that the East Building along the east side of the Complex cannot be considered part of the design of the House, being earlier. Nevertheless, there remain the court and the "megaron." Once again, however, the parallel is defective because of the conspicuous peculiarity of our house in the three narrow spaces behind the main room, which seem to have no close parallel any-

where. They are, to be sure, reminiscent of the two rooms behind the archaic "megaron" in the palace at Larisa,³⁶ though the relation of the two back rooms at Larisa to each other and to the main room is evidently not clear. If, moreover, we include in the design of our own house the spaces behind these three rooms, the building assumes a form wholly its own. Thus we must take our buildings as essentially unique, though based on a widespread form at the core, and elaborated according to the particular needs of the situation.

THE SOUTHEAST BUILDING

Essentially the Southeast Building is a series of rooms facing on three sides of an enclosed courtyard; the courtyard was originally plain, but later was provided with a colonnade on four sides. So described, the building represents only an elemental architectural form, with no distinctive character. In closer detail, however, we find a distinguishing feature in the water jar in the corner of the courtyard, and in certain rooms. Of these the most conspicuous is that on the middle of the west side, with the monumental façade of a great door flanked by niches, and with the monument base against the west wall; notable, too, is the later addition of benches on each side. Also potentially distinctive is the room to the south of this, with benches on three sides; and still further, the series of open spaces along the south, filled with benches, and the long bench in the central room on the east. Any meaningful parallel must relate to all, or most, of these features.

From the early days of its discovery the excavators of the sanctuary, while recognizing the ambiguities in the design of the building, have usually referred to it as a palaestra, and clearly the building fits the general pattern of a palaestra in a general way. Palaestras are courtyards surrounded by rooms varied in nature. However, a survey of known palaestras³⁷ will reveal the fact that few if any provide significant parallels for any of the characteristic peculiarities of our building. The benches, when they occur, are narrower, existing more as borders to large rooms than as the dominating feature in the room. Moreover our building would seem small for a palaestra, though no smaller than the one at Delphi. Thus, while we cannot dismiss the possibility that our building was intended to fill the function of a palaestra, it is far from being an obvious, certain identification.

³⁶ Johannes Boehlau and Karl Schefold, *Larisa am Hermos* 1, *Die Bauten* (Berlin, 1940), pp. 86–87; 27 ff.; figs. 4–6.

³⁷ Jean Delorme, *Gymnasion*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 196 (Paris, 1960), p. 80, fig. 11 (Delphi); p. 97 (Epidaurus); pp. 104–106, fig. 21 (Olympia); p. 150, fig. 28 (Delos), and p. 193, fig. 47 (Priene). Further to the gymnasia at Delos, see Jean Delorme, *Les Palestres*, Exploration archéologique de Délos 25 (Paris, 1961). The existence of an element of question as to whether the two buildings at Delos actually were palaestras, and if so in what sense, is especially pertinent here.

³⁵ Theodor Wiegand and Hans Schrader, *Priene* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 285–300.

Another parallel might be seen in the Prytaneion at Priene.³⁸ This structure, though ill preserved, seems to have consisted of a small court, with three columns on each side, and rooms on three sides. This corresponds in size and plan more closely to our building than most palaestras, and there is the further notable feature that the prytaneion as Priene had a water basin in one corner of the court, though this of course may be purely adventitious. None of the rooms, however, seems to have had benches similar to ours, nor was there, apparently, anything to correspond to our room with the monumental base.

Other parallels exist in certain cult buildings, of which the Heroon at Kalydon provides some notable parallel features.³⁹ It, too, has rooms on three sides of a rectangular colonnaded court; on the center of the north wall is the cult room, built over an underground crypt. This cult room had benches made of slabs of stone resting on stone feet on parts of the sides, while in a rectangular apse projecting from the middle of the rear wall was a cult table and a broad bench or base across the rear. The northwest room also had benches on stone feet across the back and part of each side. In closer detail, however, the benches, in particular, are much narrower at Kalydon than in our building.

For the particular form of the bench rooms, parallels exist on the Asiatic mainland, to the east of Cyprus.⁴⁰ These are precincts of irregular plan with varying numbers of rooms built as more or less independent buildings, prominent among which are small rooms, approximately square, with broad benches on three sides, closely similar to the room south of the Base Room in the Southeast Building. A similar structure constitutes the main building in the sanctuary of the Gods of Ascalon at Delos,⁴¹ and more closely at hand, in our own Sanctuary in the early room south of the House (above, p. 20).

³⁸ Theodor Wiegand and Hans Schrader, *Priene* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 231–234, fig. 225.

³⁹ Ejnar Dyggve, Frederick Poulsen and Konstantinos Rhomaios, *Das Heroon von Kalydon*, Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifter, Historisk og Filosofisk, Series 7, 4, 4 (Copenhagen, 1934): pp. 291–431, esp. pp. 319–322, p. 358, pl. V. See also Erich Boehringer and Friedrich Krauss, *Das Temenos für den Herrscherkult*, *Altertümer von Pergamon* 9 (Berlin, 1937), esp. pp. 81–99.

⁴⁰ Daniel Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-ouest*, Institut Français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 49 (Paris, 1951): pp. 13–44, 101–106. Also, at Dura Europos various sanctuaries, especially, for example, Dolichenus and Artemis—respectively Ann Perkins, *Excavations at Dura Europos, Preliminary Report of 9th Season, 1935/6*, part III (New Haven, 1952): pp. 97–106, and Frank Brown, *Preliminary Report of 6th Season, 1932/3* (New Haven, 1936), pp. 397–411. In general see Otto Eissfeldt, *Tempel und Kulte Syrischer Städte in Hellenistisch-Römischer Zeit*, *Gemeinverständliche Darstellungen von der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* 40 (Leipzig, 1941).

⁴¹ André Plassart, *Les Sanctuaires et les cultes de Mont Cynthe*, *Exploration archéologique de Delos* 11 (Paris, 1928): pp. 285–299.

As the focus of attention has shifted from structures paralleling the larger forms of the building to structures of different over-all form, but characterized by small rooms lined with benches, a variety of possible parallels come to mind: the dining rooms in the Heraeum at Argos, in the Abaton of the Asklepieion at Corinth and Troezen, in South Stoa I in the Agora at Athens, in the cult caves at Isthmia.⁴² None of these, however, offers a really close parallel: the benches are all constructed as individual couches, and though they are physically, in construction and design, much more like each other than they are like the benches in the Southeast Building, it is a striking fact that they share no common function beyond that of providing facilities for dining—the purpose and nature of the meal was not always the same.

In Cyprus itself there are benches to be observed lining the walls of two sanctuary rooms in the Palace at Vouni, and some possibly apposite benches in Temples E and F at Soli.⁴³ But to cite them is not to derive suggestion from them—it serves, rather to show that even the best parallel from Cyprus itself is of little assistance.

We are left, then, where we began, with no clear indication from outside the sanctuary of the character of our building. The Syrian parallels do indeed support the hypothesis that the structure had a cultic significance, but hardly prove it. The fact that the building lies outside the sanctuary proper seems to exclude it from the central activity of the main cult of Apollo on the site, and that there should be two independent sanctuaries in such close proximity seems unlikely—and there is no reason to associate the building with another divinity. We may, then, perhaps prefer to think of the Southeast Building as falling in the general category of the palaestra—a facility for relaxation and perhaps diversion. That there should be devotion to the neighboring divinity displayed in such a building is not unreasonable, and we may perhaps explain the cultic analogies on this basis.

THE NORTHWEST BUILDING AND THE SOUTH BUILDING

The chief reason for deferring an examination of comparative material from outside the sanctuary has been that it is almost necessary to consider the Northwest

⁴² August Frickenhaus, "Griechische Bankethäuser," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 32 (1917): pp. 114–133, for an early treatment. Specifically: Argos—Charles Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* (2 v., New York, 1902) 1: pp. 131–134, pl. V; Corinth—Carl Roebuck, *The Asklepieion and Lerna*, Corinth, Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, vol. XIV (Princeton, 1951), pp. 51–57; Troezen—Gabriel Welter, *Troizen und Kalauria* (Berlin, 1941), pp. 31–33; Athens—Homer Thompson, *Hesperia* 33 (1954): pp. 43–45; Isthmia—Oscar Broneer, *Hesperia* 31 (1962): pp. 4–7.

⁴³ Einar Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* 3 (Stockholm, 1937), pp. 124, 133, 188–189, fig. 119—Vouni; pp. 486, 488, figs. 276, 277, 279—Soli. Dated to the third century after Christ, p. 543.

Building and the South Building together, and much of what might be brought up for consideration in connection with them comes up more appropriately in connection with the Southeast Building. For the crucially characteristic feature of both the Northwest Building and the South Building is the arrangement of benches. The external form of the Northwest Building, its presumable original division into two aisles by a single row of columns on axis, the "hypostyle" effect of the columns in the later version—all such features could be discussed in terms of obvious parallels which, however, would be meaningless unless accompanied by the benches. The arrangement of five closely similar rooms faced by a colonnade in the South Building is not quite so easy to parallel, although in this arrangement it happens to be identical with the fifth century "Oikoi" in the sanctuary of Herakles at Thasos⁴⁴ and recalls, among other buildings, the South House at Aegina.⁴⁵ But once again, it is really the benches which set the question. Efforts have been made to see parallels among the dining arrangements which we have reviewed above. Some force in this is accepted by implication at least by Schlumberger⁴⁶ in listing them among parallels for his own cult-banquet rooms. But in all dining facilities we have encountered, the benches were apparently arranged so that the diners lay parallel to the wall, whereas the benches in the Northwest and South Buildings provide a surface about two meters wide along the wall, so that any diners being served from the central space would presumably lie at right angles to the wall (and be impeded by the columns). Moreover, the linear extent of the benches in the Northwest Building would come to about 124 meters, and in the South Building, not counting the corners, to about 150 m. Allowing one meter to each diner, lying crosswise on the bench, one might suppose that the buildings would accommodate 275 diners at one time, a figure which is a little overwhelming if one considers the problems of preparing sufficient food at one time for a formal meal for so many. On the whole, the effort to find meaningful parallels in dining rooms seems ineffective, and we find ourselves in fact with no real parallel at all.

For a while after the discovery of the Northwest Building it was thought by the excavators to have been a temple, but this identification was withdrawn as the whole form became clear. The South Building has been tentatively identified as the offices of five "hosioi," members of a priestly governing board, because there were five chambers,⁴⁷ but we have seen reason to question whether there were always five chambers, or whether such a number was essential to the building.

⁴⁴ Marcel Launay, *Le Sanctuaire et le culte d'Héraklès à Thasos*, *Etudes Thasiennes* 1 (Paris, 1944), pp. 77-85, pl. XIX.

⁴⁵ Adolf Furtwängler and Ernst Fiechter, *Aegina* (Munich, 1906), pp. 91-102.

⁴⁶ Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, p. 103, n. 3.

⁴⁷ John and Suzanne Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-223.

It has been suggested that these buildings were intended for the display of dedications—accumulated in quantities on the benches, and convenient to the view of visitors. But again, the number of dedications envisaged, against the lack of any survivors in the remains, might discourage this suggestion. It has even been suggested that the Northwest Building at least was intended as the stable for animals sacred to the god, and while there is no way of disproving the suggestion, it is hard to see how the arrangements are particularly adapted to such a purpose.

Perhaps the most reasonable suggestion is that the buildings were essentially dormitories, intended to provide sleeping accommodations for visitors to the sanctuary. The benches, particularly in the South Building, are adapted to sleeping, with their sunken profile that would provide space for straw or mattressing, and a raised edge for pillows; the deployment of sleepers at right angles to the wall would be the most efficient way of achieving maximum capacity within a given space; the curtains between the columns would have an obvious function. The narrow ledges along the face of the benches, lining the open space in the middle, make convenient places to sit, and provide the convenience of a hotel lobby during waking hours. The large numbers which could be accommodated would not be so unreasonable for sleepers as for diners—the visitors could normally eat in the open, at their own time and with their own food, and the problem of simultaneous attendance upon so many would not arise. In short, these buildings, and particularly the South Building, are well adapted to the functions of a hotel.

Viewed in this light, many elements in the sanctuary, superficially disconnected, fall into a general pattern. The early "bench room" south of the House, with the kitchen to the west; the exedrai preceding the South Building; the Northwest Building and the South Building itself; even the Southeast Building and the Bath, become structures adapted in various ways to provide throughout much of the history of the sanctuary accommodation for the necessities and diversion of increasing numbers of visitors.

But while it seems impossible to establish exact parallels for any particular monument in the sanctuary, the general configuration in the Roman period bears a general similarity to many sanctuaries of medium size in Greece at various periods. The focus is on the altar, in its own enclosure, approached from another prescribed area of somewhat more public character—the location of the principal small dedications. These elements seem to be part of a larger enclosure, including, here, an open area, possibly landscaped; a temple, and a group of buildings associated directly with the operation of the cult. This larger enclosure is approached through more public areas, toward which are focused buildings serving the visitors, providing accommodation, entertainment, and other amenities.

Facilities for similar purposes, though dissimilar in form and details of arrangement, would be characteristic of course of many sanctuaries, among which the Asklepieion at Epidauros may seem closest, though the general scheme may be seen at least in part and projected in detail for typical sanctuaries like those at Aegina and Thasos, even in the Archaic period. The chief difference between the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates and the Hellenic sanctuaries may lie in the subordinate, peripheral position of the temple.

One might be struck, too, by the presence in such sanctuaries as the Argive Heraeum, Delos, and Samos of large hypostyle structures recalling, if not in detail, in the general configuration of the sanctuary, the existence of our Northwest Building.⁴⁸ One is tempted to consider the possibility that these, too, served in their own ways to house visitors to the shrines at festival times.

Turning now to the problem of parallels and analogies for the ornamental detail—capitals, cornices, and other carved elements—we may be well advised to preserve an attitude of cautious reserve. In the first place, the loss of the stucco coating on all the surviving pieces, except for occasional shapeless lumps, makes it impossible to determine how closely the relatively careless workmanship of the stone reflects the original visible surfaces. In the second place, we have seen already the uncertainty attendant on assigning most of the preserved fragments to existing foundations, the possibility remaining for almost any one piece that it came from a building outside the sanctuary, and the definite fact that some pieces existing in the sanctuary, perhaps as recently as thirty-five years ago, have now disappeared.

Thus, two columns were reported in 1924 as from the sanctuary,⁴⁹ and used as the basis for an argument on the history of the Doric order. One was described as archaic, one on "the Parthenon model." Within the range of various kinds of possibilities, it is barely conceivable that these two columns are among those we have discussed above; but whether they still exist or not, if they belong to any of the buildings in the sanctuary discovered in the excavation, they cannot be archaic or classical Greek—they must be Roman, in spite of the profiles of the capitals. Of course, even though they were seen in the sanctuary, they may belong to buildings outside, of which we now recognize no other trace.

In any case, the Doric capital ascribed above to the Stoa does have a pronounced curve in the echinus, and

if it truly belongs to the Stoa it cannot be as early as the curve might ordinarily seem to imply.

We need not be surprised, however, if there were deviations from any recognized norms in these profiles. Doric columns in Roman times are outside of our schemes of standardized forms of classical times, and in the provincial environment any standards from the outer world may have been lightly regarded. Indeed, the fact that all our columns are Doric is in itself an abnormality for Roman design, and deviations in detail need scarcely come as a surprise. Actually, it does seem possible that as wide a range of profiles in the Aegean world existed in the early part of the first century A.D. as we encounter among the capitals we have described in our sanctuary⁵⁰ (fig. 63), but it is fairly clear that they offer little specific indication of time or trend.

For other Doric details, the taenia with regulae and guttae assigned above to the Northwest Building recalls the corresponding elements in the temple at Cori of the early first century B.C.⁵¹ The design of the triglyphs assigned to the Stoa, especially with the straight, flat soffit to the glyph is the same as that of the Troy temple, to which analogies from around the Augustan age exist elsewhere.⁵²

When we turn to the other major category of architectural elements—the cornices (figs. 64–66)—the matter of parallels becomes more unwieldy, and bears less promise of reward. They are all highly simplified versions of standard types, a simplification due in part, perhaps, to economy and provincialism, but also in part to the nature of the stone, which with its softness and fossils would not take fine intricate lines of floral patterns carved in full relief. Hence, while we may say that our examples are at home through the first two centuries after Christ, it would be difficult to be more specific.

In a way the most notable thing about the forms of architectural detail in the sanctuary is the abundance of Doric columns; and if this, taken with the abundance of Ionic-Corinthian cornices in the apparent absence, or at least poverty of Ionic or Corinthian columns, means that Doric columns were used with such entablatures, that, too, would be a remarkable aspect of the stylistic trend in architecture in the sanctuary.

⁴⁸ See, especially, Friedrich Goethert and Hans Schleif, *Der Athentempel von Ilion* (Berlin, 1962), pp. 38–40, pls. 19, 21, 24, 50 for the straight line of the echinus in the Troy temple and others in the vicinity; Robert Scranton, in *Architecture, Corinth, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 1, 2 (Cambridge, 1941): p. 133, figs. 89 and 90 for a prominent curve and pp. 138–139, fig. 94, for a straight line, in a building presumably of the early first century after Christ; Scranton, *Monuments in the Lower Agora, Corinth*, 1, 3 (Princeton, 1951): p. 10, fig. 2, pl. 6, fig. 2 for the moderate curve of a "Tuscan Doric" capital, perhaps a little earlier.

⁵¹ Richard Delbrueck, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium* (Strassburg, 1912) 2: pp. 32–33, figs. 28, 29.

⁵² Goethert, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 40–41, pls. 7–9, 26.

⁴⁹ Argos, East Building—Charles Waldstein, *op. cit.*, p. 116, p. V; Delos—Fernand Courby, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 45 (1921): pp. 210–212; Samos, South Building—Oskar Ziegenaus, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 72 (1957): pp. 65–76, p. 81, fig. 4. See also René Vallois "Architecture Hellénique et hellénistique a Délos" (Paris, 1944), pp. 30–32 (the "Keraton").

⁵⁰ George Jeffery, "Notes on the Origin of the Doric Style of Architecture," *Archaeologia* 78 (1928): pp. 41–44.

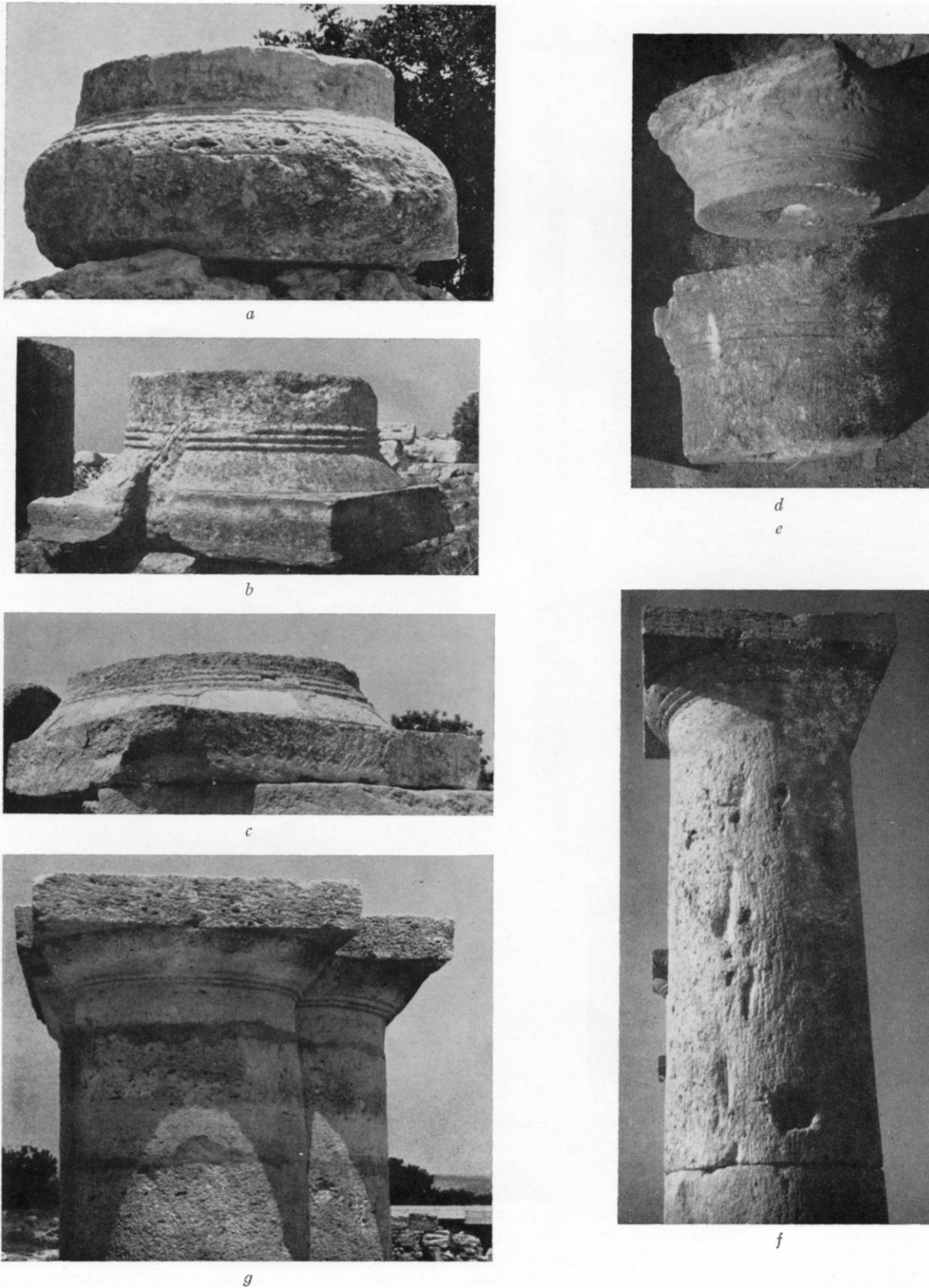


FIG. 63. Doric capitals. *a*. Found near Bath: for Stoa (*cf.* fig. 6). *b*. Found in Northwest Building (*cf.* fig. 30). *c*. Found in Northwest Building (*cf.* fig. 31). *d, e*. Found in West Complex (*cf.* figs. 37–38). *f*. Found in South Building (*cf.* fig. 27). *g*. Found in Southeast Building.

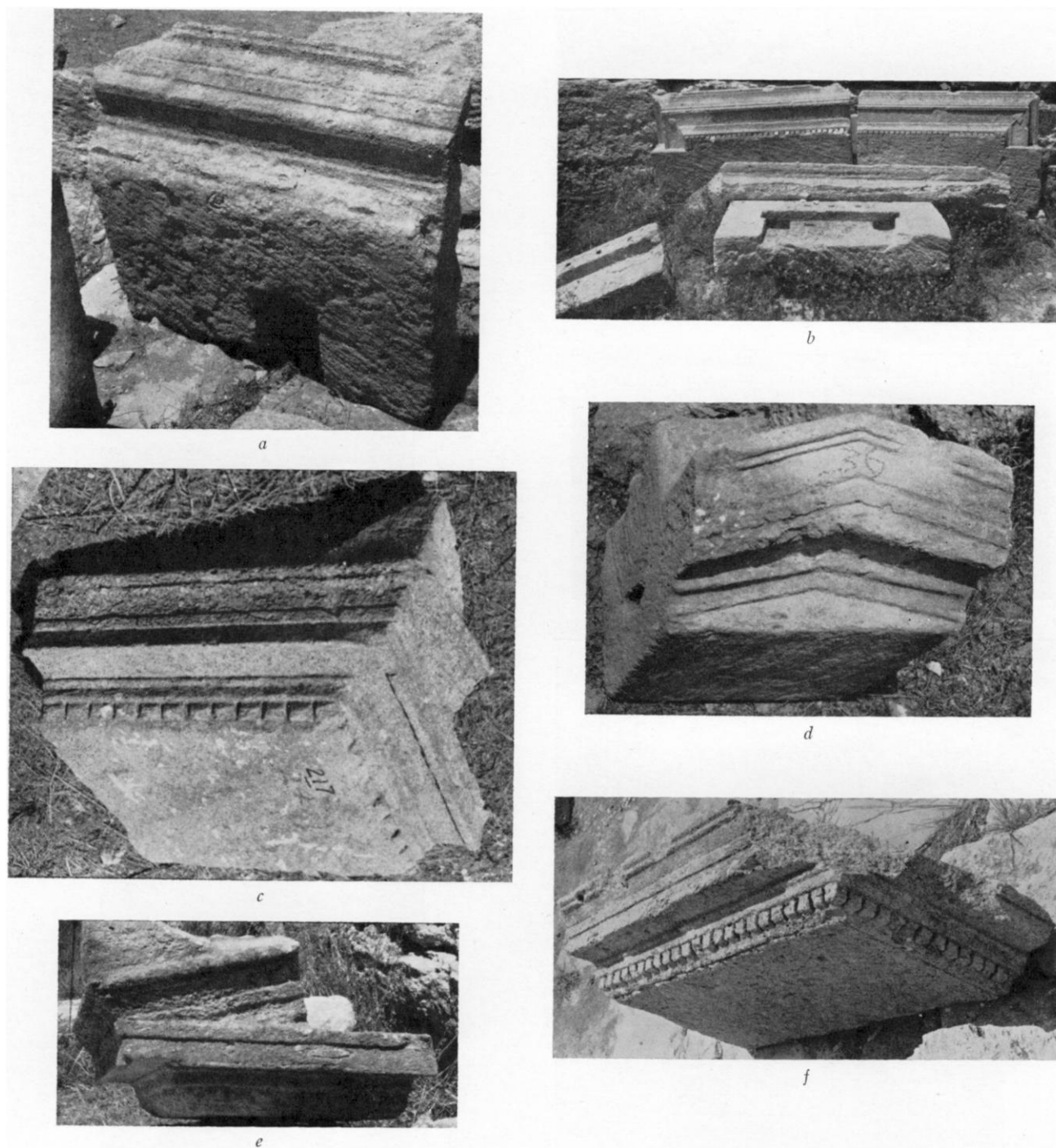


FIG. 64. Cornices. *a*. Found near House (cf. fig. 14). *b*. Found in alley in front of East Building (cf. fig. 10). *c*. Found in Paphos Gate (cf. fig. 39). *d*. Found in front of Southeast Building (cf. fig. 48). *e*. Found in front of Southeast Building. *f*. Found in front of Southeast Building (cf. fig. 49).

The search for assistance in the problems of the sanctuary among architectural remains elsewhere, then, produces little that is directly helpful, though it accords with, or allows, in a general way, the tentative conclusions we can develop about the chronology and function of the sanctuary from internal evidence. The impression with which one is left is substantially that which he

might have entertained *a priori*, that in provincial Cyprus, in contact with several major cultural spheres, but intrinsically conservative, we should find phenomena founded in local tradition, colored only superficially and erratically by the influences from the outer world, and developed with reference to essentially local situations and needs.

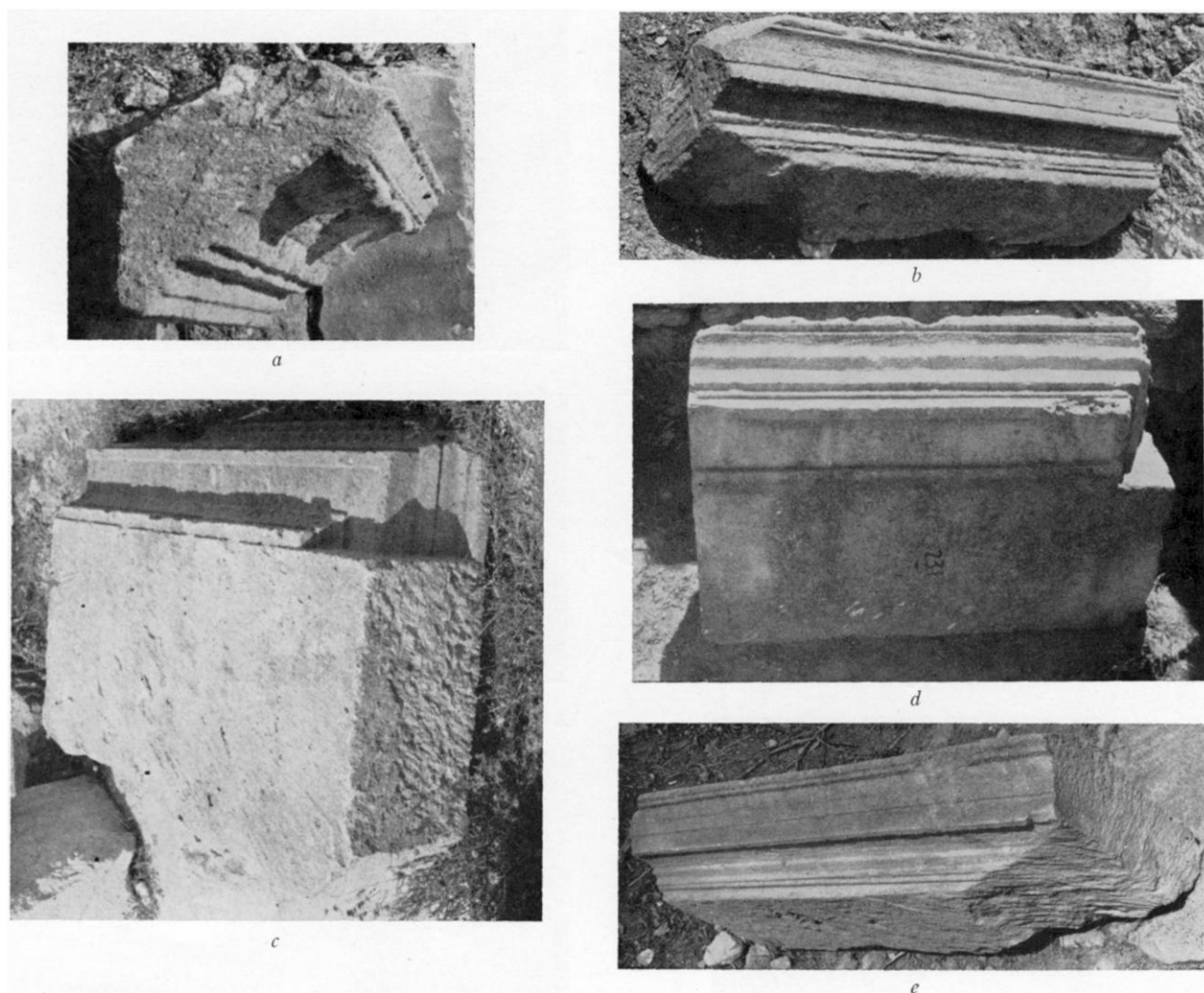


FIG. 65. Cornices. *a*. Found in Paphos Gate (*cf.* fig. 41). *b*. Found in South Building (*cf.* fig. 28). *c*. Found in front of Southeast Building (*cf.* fig. 55). *d*. Found in northwest room of Southeast Building (*cf.* fig. 55). *e*. Found in front of Southeast Building (*cf.* fig. 50).

III. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

The first consciousness of divine presence in the Hyle west of Kourion was experienced by those who first passed through it at a time impossible to specify, but surely in the Neolithic period, when Cyprus was already well populated by people who would have sensed the presence of life pervading their whole environment. But if it should be true, as the results of the excavation at the sanctuary thus far would imply, that there was no particular cult center on the spot through all the millennia until the eighth or seventh century B.C., this need not be surprising. We may rather wonder why the particular place was chosen, whenever that moment came. It is completely futile to speculate on the possible reasons—the possibilities are almost infinite, and there is no clue which has been recognized as yet.

The object of devotion in the early period of the sanctuary was indicated, in the dedications, simply as

“the god”—“the divine.” Whether in spite of this simplicity of address, there may have been some sense of individuality—whether people felt that “the god” in this place was somehow different or distinct from “the god” in other places, or whether they felt “the god” was distinct from others as being immanent either in vegetation, or in animals, or in both, but not in all living things—can hardly be argued, however important the question may be. There are, indeed, intimations that some sort of individuality was felt. There was, obviously, at least a differentiation between this “god” of masculine gender and the “goddess” known at Paphos, and the same or other feminine divinities known elsewhere. Furthermore, this “god” was evidently associated somehow with stags, and he did not, after all, become the same “god” as the various others which crystallized in other places on the island. Later he was known by the specific name “Apollo.” The earliest inscriptions bearing this name date from the fifth century B.C., and while this is neither clear nor conclusive proof that he did not bear

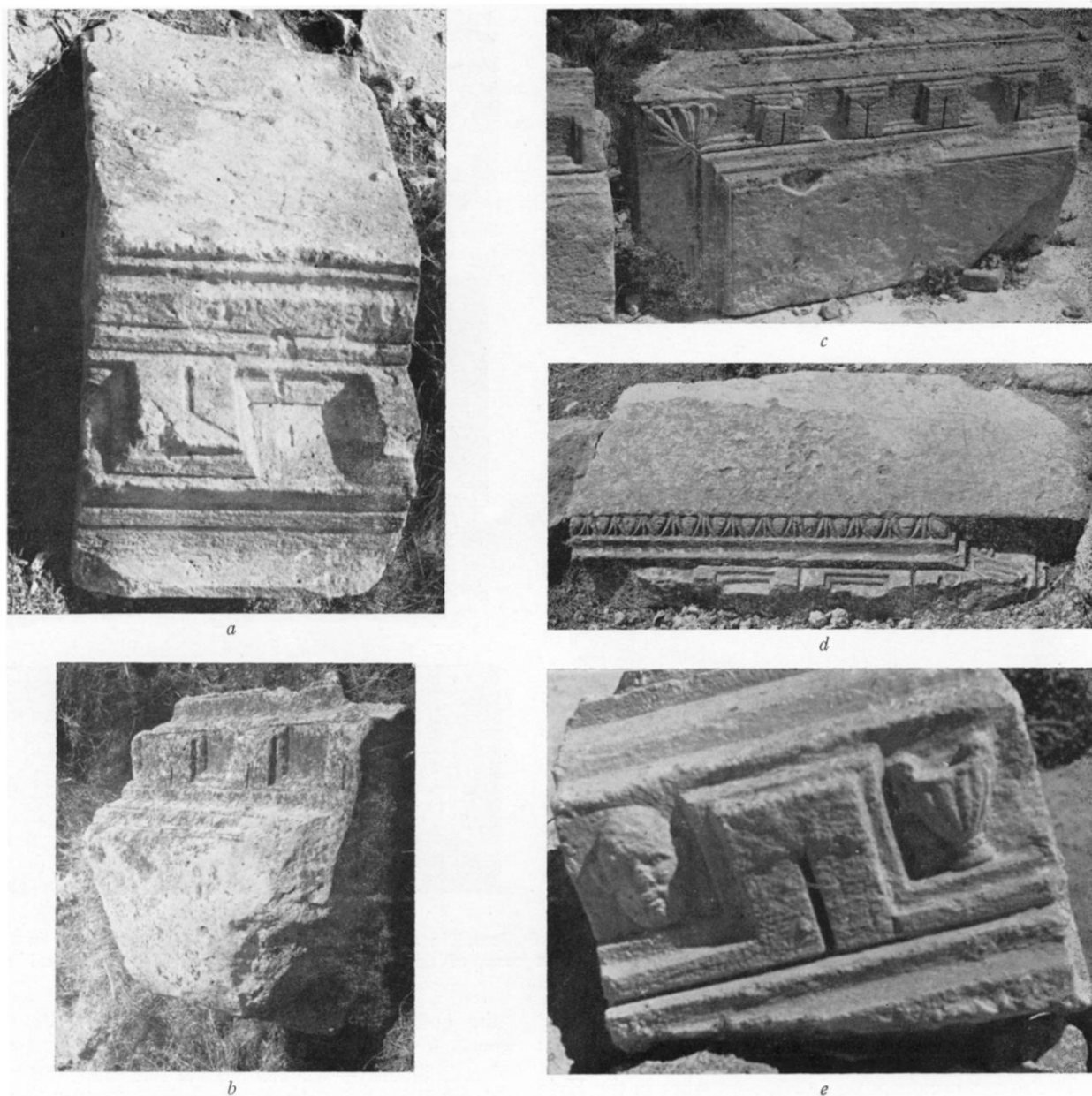


FIG. 66. Cornices. a. Found in Central Court (cf. fig. 4). b. Found beside Temple (cf. fig. 19). c. Found in front of South-east Building (cf. fig. 56). d. Found in front of Bath (cf. fig. 57). e. Found in Bath.

the designation earlier, it raises the question of how he did come to be so recognized at whatever time that recognition took place. Some significance has also been seen in the epithet, rendered from syllabic script as "Lenaïos," on a fifth-century dedication.⁵³ The implication has been suspected that the god or cult may have had Dionysian connections or character at some stage. It does also, however, occur to one to wonder whether,

⁵³ Louis Palma di Cesnola, *Cyprus, its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples* (New York, 1878), p. 439, no. 43, pl. 7. Hermann Collitz, *Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* 1 (Göttingen, 1884): p. 23, no. 43. John L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (New York, 1914), pp. 305, 529.

without deeply disturbing the Dionysian aura, the syllabic text might not relate to "Linos" rather than "lenos," connecting "the god" with Apollo through the presumably Anatolian intermediary concept of "Linos," who was overthrown and absorbed by classical Apollo elsewhere too. Eventually, by the third century, the further epithet "Hylates" was added. This is where the first tangible question is posed: is "Hylates" "(he) of Hyle (a place)," or "he of hyle (stuff in a state of life)?" And yet, perhaps, the question is really academic, for however it might have been answered directly by the person who first used the epithet, the fact must be reasonably sure: Apollo Hylates is primaevally and basically the divine presence which is the

life in natural objects that are alive, identified in successive stages; perhaps first in trees and animals, then a tree and/or an animal, then the Anatolian Linos, then the Hellenic Apollo—as he was known in the hyle, the woodland, near Kourion.

A practical effect, then, of the difference between our “god, Apollo, of hyle” and Hellenic Apollo, even through the Hellenistic period, is the apparent lack of any temple in his sanctuary. He was not so material, so anthropomorphic, as to require a house. In his early years he existed simply in the environment, conventionally approachable in trees, or even a special tree, and worshiped in the open, within an enclosure to preserve taboo. There were burnt offerings of lambs and kids on a large altar protected from defilement by a low fence. There were places where worshipers could stand their dedications of figures of human beings, including rider and chariot groups: some may have been thrown on the altar itself, others placed along the fence or on special pedestals throughout the enclosure. Outside the most sacred enclosure was a fore-court with more secular dedications and monuments of various kinds, especially after the fifth century.

Presumably during the late fourth century or early Hellenistic period, activity in the sanctuary increased to the point where it was deemed useful and feasible to erect a small Stoa south of the fore-court, establishing architecturally the line of a road. In the space behind the Stoa, leaving an open area between, a series of rooms was built serving as stores, their rear wall constituting an extension of the peribolos of the sanctuary. Soon a spacious House was built along the rear wall of the Stoa, filling much of the open area; some irregular rooms were added to the south, including a kitchen facing on the road to provide, one imagines, food for visitors, and a room with benches on three sides behind to serve as a dormitory.

Meanwhile, some distance west of the Stoa, one or more long rectangular buildings made their appearance, and a short distance south of the Stoa and the rest of the East Complex there were beginning to appear a series of rectangular buildings of moderate size, some with broad open fronts or porches, possibly with broad benches along the walls, that may have been known as *exedrai*, and also have been intended to provide housing for visitors. All these, however, may have been outside the sanctuary proper, though the enclosure of the latter may have been extended westward to include all the area we call the West Enclosure.

At about the time of Augustus there was a surge of building activity. The House was remodeled, the Stoa repaired, there were numerous modifications or replacements, or both, among the *exedrai*. The Northwest Building arose along the west, replacing earlier buildings there—fully enclosed, with a single row of columns down the middle and benches lining both aisles so created. Very soon, service buildings sprang up along its western wall. At this time it is possible that the *exedrai* were

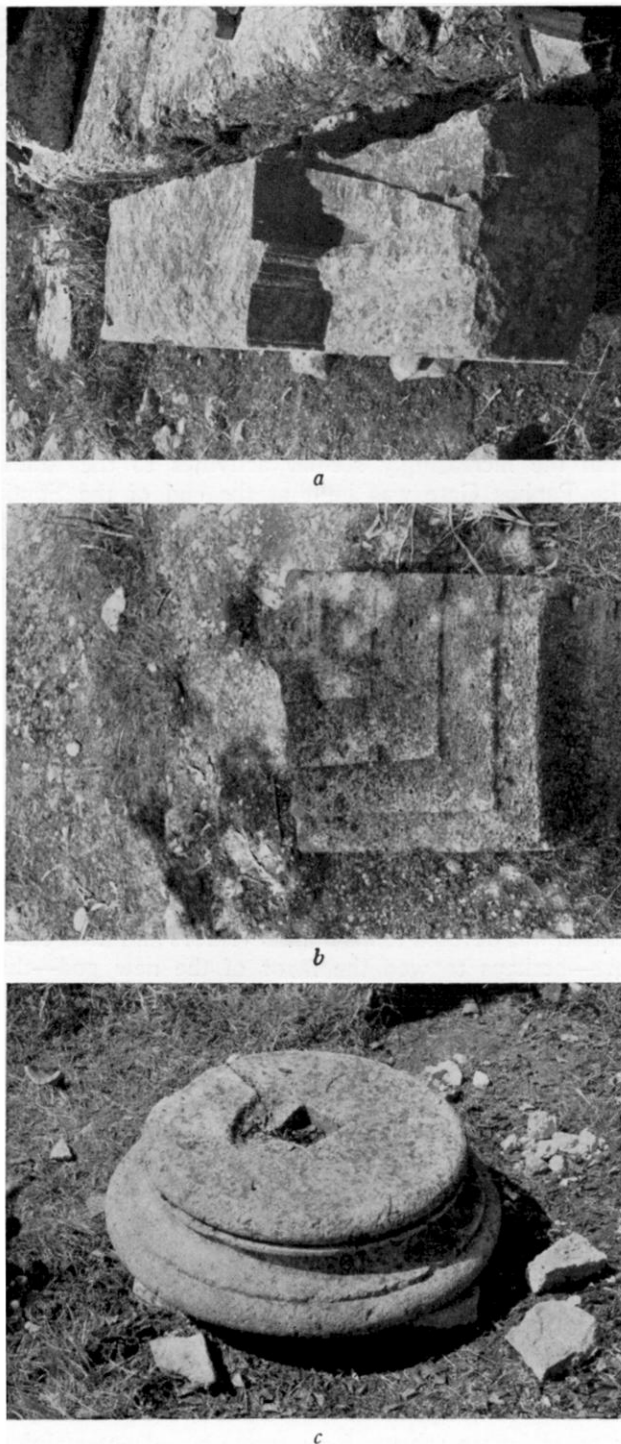


FIG. 67. Miscellaneous. *a.* Found in Northwest Building. *b.* Voussoir found southeast of Northwest Building. *c.* Base found in Central Court.

linked somehow by a wall enclosing an early “south court,” approximately rectangular, below the East Complex, West Enclosure, and Northwest Building. Soon afterward, the Southeast Building was erected—a series of rooms around a plain courtyard, the rooms including what may have been a sort of shrine and various ac-

commodations for rest and relaxation. In a way, however, the most characteristic event of this period was the construction of the Temple, dedicated to Apollo Hylates. Associated with this, too, was a crucial development in the plan of the sanctuary: the establishment of the Street leading to the Temple, creating a new and stronger axis for the design, and converting the fore-court of the Altar to a genuinely Central Court.

During the first century after Christ, activity was constant, though not on a large scale. The Central Court was elaborated with a series of relatively light and ill-organized buildings and monuments; it may be that the Street was paved in whole or in part in this period, and a gate constructed at the north end of the Stoa to preserve the sanctity of the ceremonial areas from the increasingly secular activities to the south. The Paphos Gate was built at the end of the South Court, but the South Court itself was soon altered in shape by the erection of new buildings at the west, south of the original line with a new orientation, among them an ornamental fountain or open bath. It was toward the end of this century that an exceptionally trim, well-built "exedra" was erected, replacing the structure just south of the fountain, and perhaps the fountain itself.

In the reign of Trajan came another surge of activity. The emperor himself was associated with the god of Hyle, and beside Apollo Hylates appeared Apollo Kaisar. Perhaps in recognition of the grander, more material character of the new associate of the rustic numen, whose reality, never wholly tangible, had probably faded increasingly into the background as more and more attention was devoted to his human visitors and their comfort—perhaps to woo the favor of the new god—the Temple was entirely rebuilt in grander style. The Northwest Building was renovated in sturdier form; the South Building, an ambitious and businesslike modern replacement for the aggregation of earlier exedrai was begun in anticipation of the crowds that would be drawn by the new worship—and finished by the beneficence of the very object of devotion. The monumentality of the conception was improved by aid of the Emperor through the addition of an imposing gate toward Kourion and the paving of the South Court; the mundane attractions were improved by the addition of the small but luxurious Bath made possible by the same generosity.

Thus the most luxurious phase of the sanctuary proves to be not so much a devotion to the god of Hyle as an elaborate scheme for attracting and entertaining visitors—a calculated project to develop an economic resource for the region. In this, no doubt, it succeeded for a while at least, for, although there is no evidence of significant development in subsequent years, neither is there indication of decay. Some physical improvements were made during the second century—the rather monumental flight of steps from the Southeast Building to the colonnade of the South Building, and perhaps at the same time the addition of the interior colonnade in the Southeast Building. Other buildings, too, were no

doubt remodeled and repaired, perhaps among them the Paphos Gate.

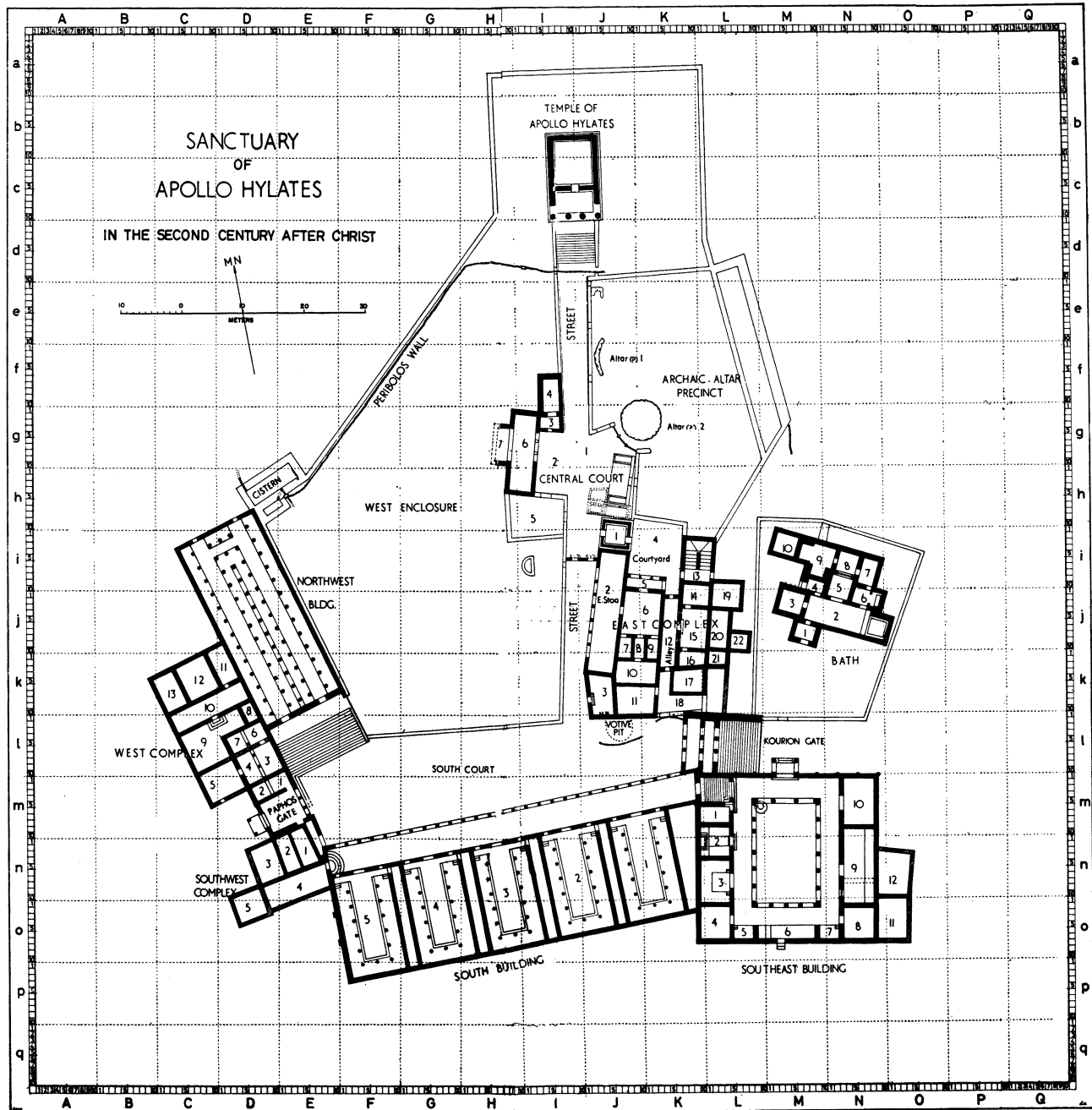
But even piety was maintained, though we may suppose in a mood more mellow than profound. In the early part of the second century a collection of dedications was removed from the Altar Precinct and buried, with conventional attention—maybe genuine devotion—in the *favissa* south of the kitchen, and as late as A.D. 200 there was erected in the Paphos Gate the stele-shrine bearing its benign welcome and farewell, and benediction of Apollo. Even later, it would appear, around the beginning of the fourth century, dedications were still being placed against the rail of the Altar in the Central Court.

It was not until the second quarter of the fourth century that the end came. It took the form of an earthquake, and its effects were complete. Most of the buildings were literally laid out flat, where they remained, essentially, until the time of the excavation. The date is assured by large numbers of coins found in the debris, though precision is elusive because there was some activity on the site by squatters in the years shortly following. These left marks of their habitation in crude repairs and remodelings of parts of a few buildings—the West Complex, the Bath, the Stoa, the Southeast Building. In no sense was their activity a continuation of the functions of the sanctuary, though they were rustic folk, and it is conceivable that they were aware of the tradition of the place, and even that they accorded it some recognition. But they, too, soon disappeared, and the god of Hyle prevailed alone once more.



FIG. 68. Benedictory inscription, elevation: 1/10
[inscription omitted].

PLANS

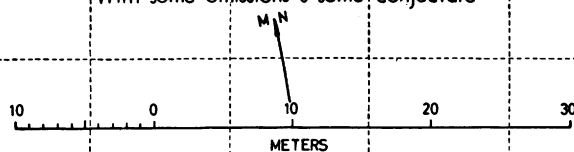


PLAN I. Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates in the Second Century after Christ—restored
(later additions in cross-hatching).

SANCTUARY OF APOLLO HYLATES

BEFORE THE ROMAN PERIOD

With some omissions & some conjecture



Enclosure & non-bearing walls

Bearing walls - pre-Hellenistic

Bearing walls - Hellenistic

ARCHAIC ALTAR
PRECINCT

Cistern

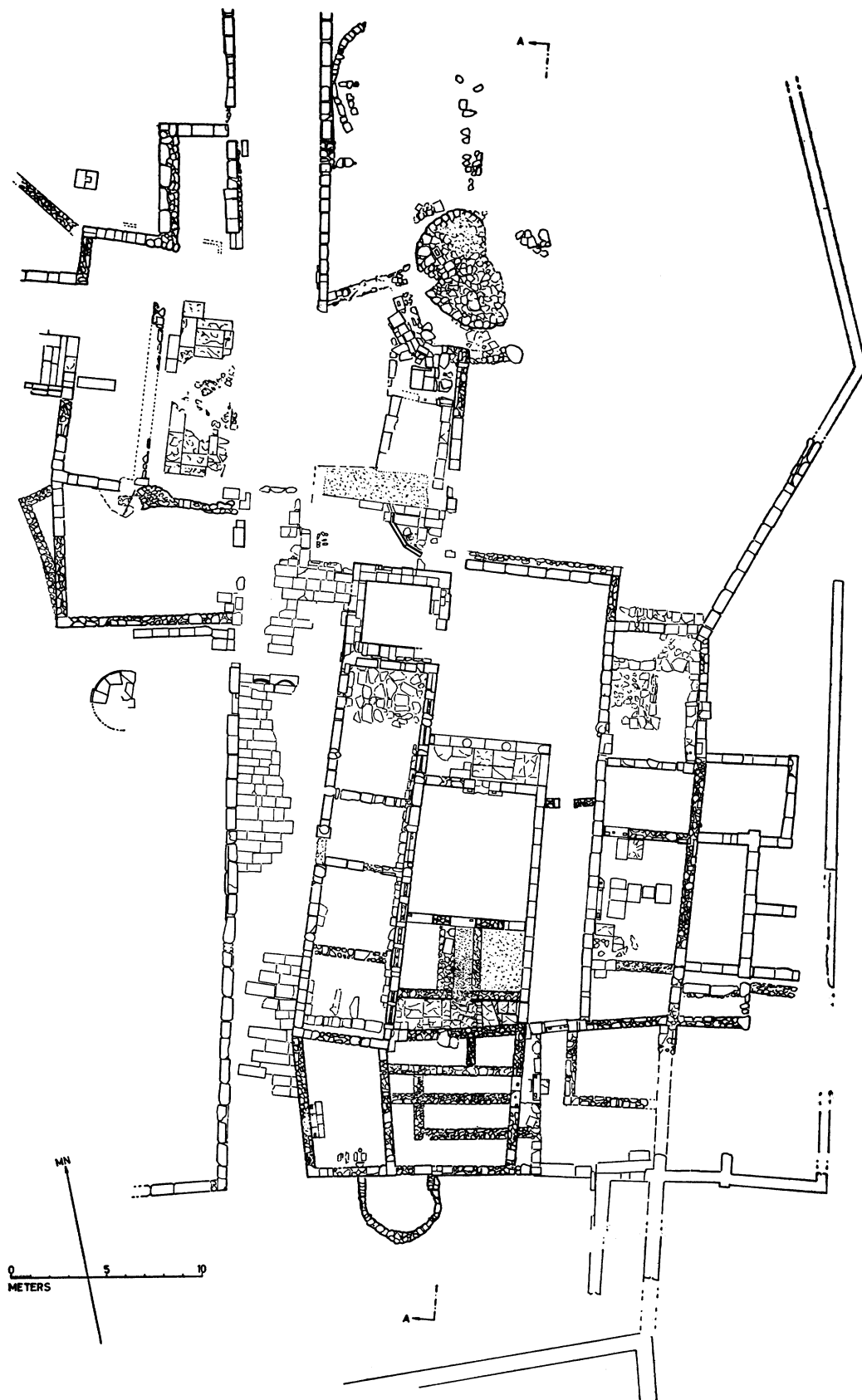
Cistern

Cistern

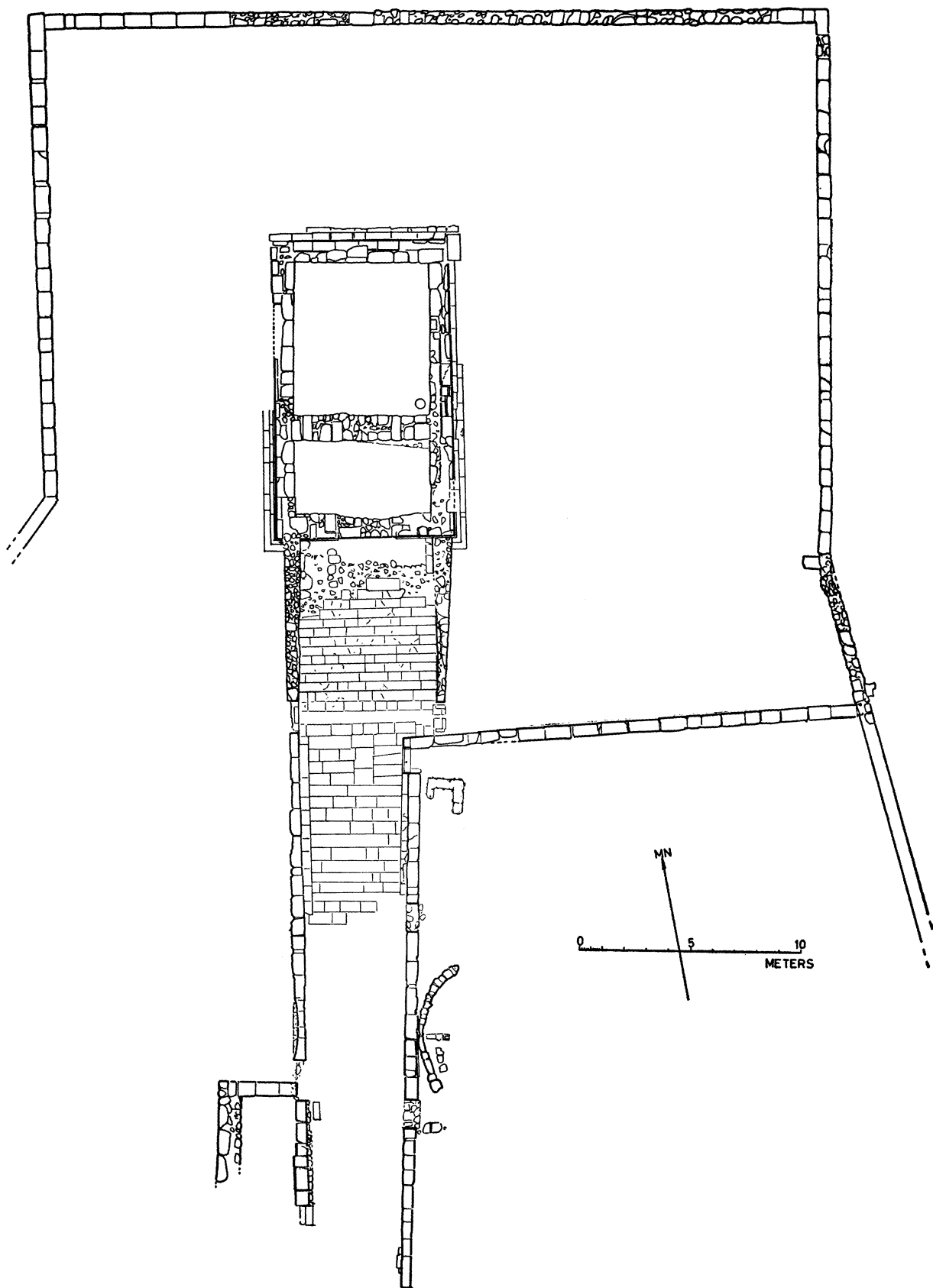
PLAN II. Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates before the Roman Period—restored.

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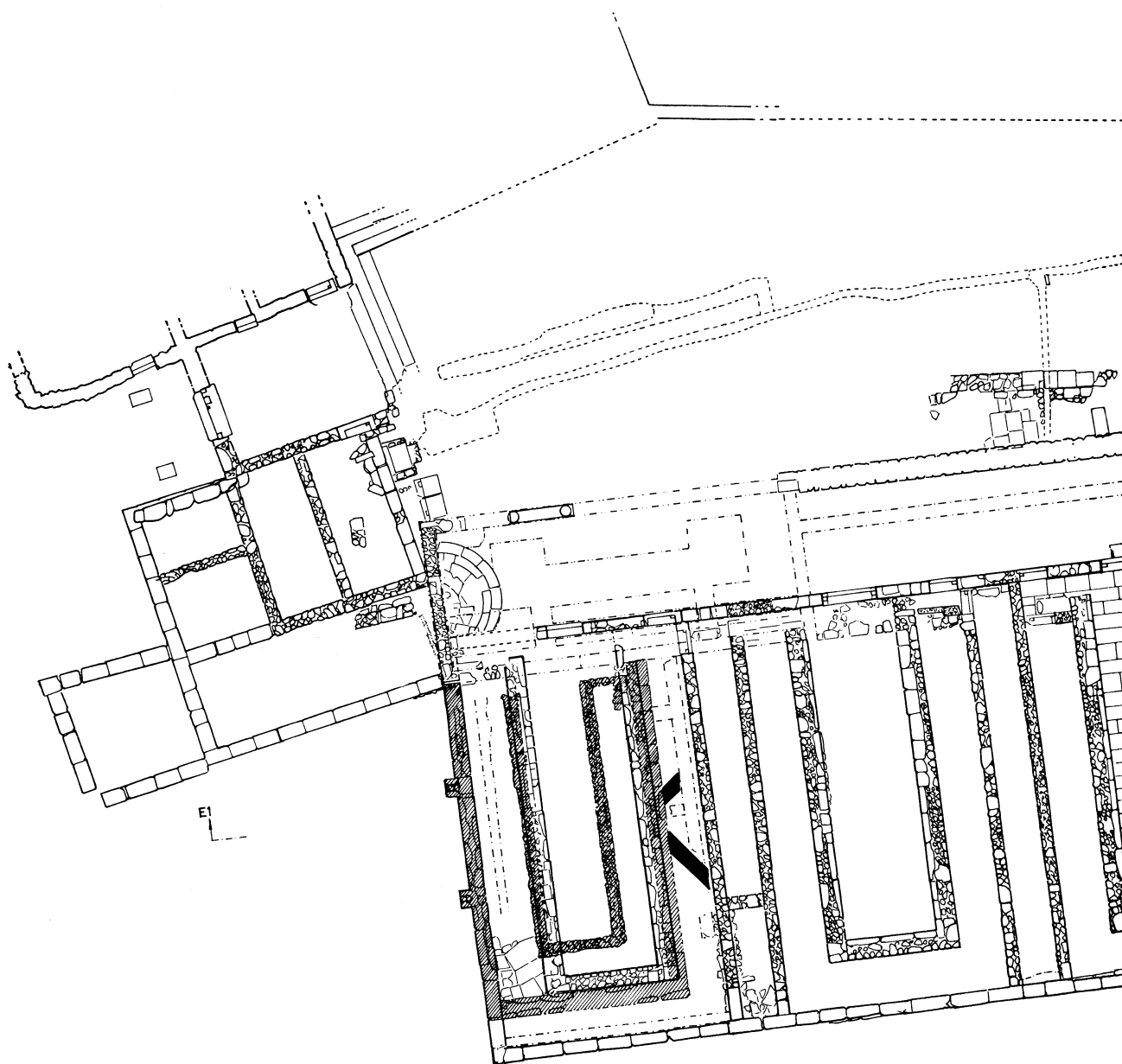
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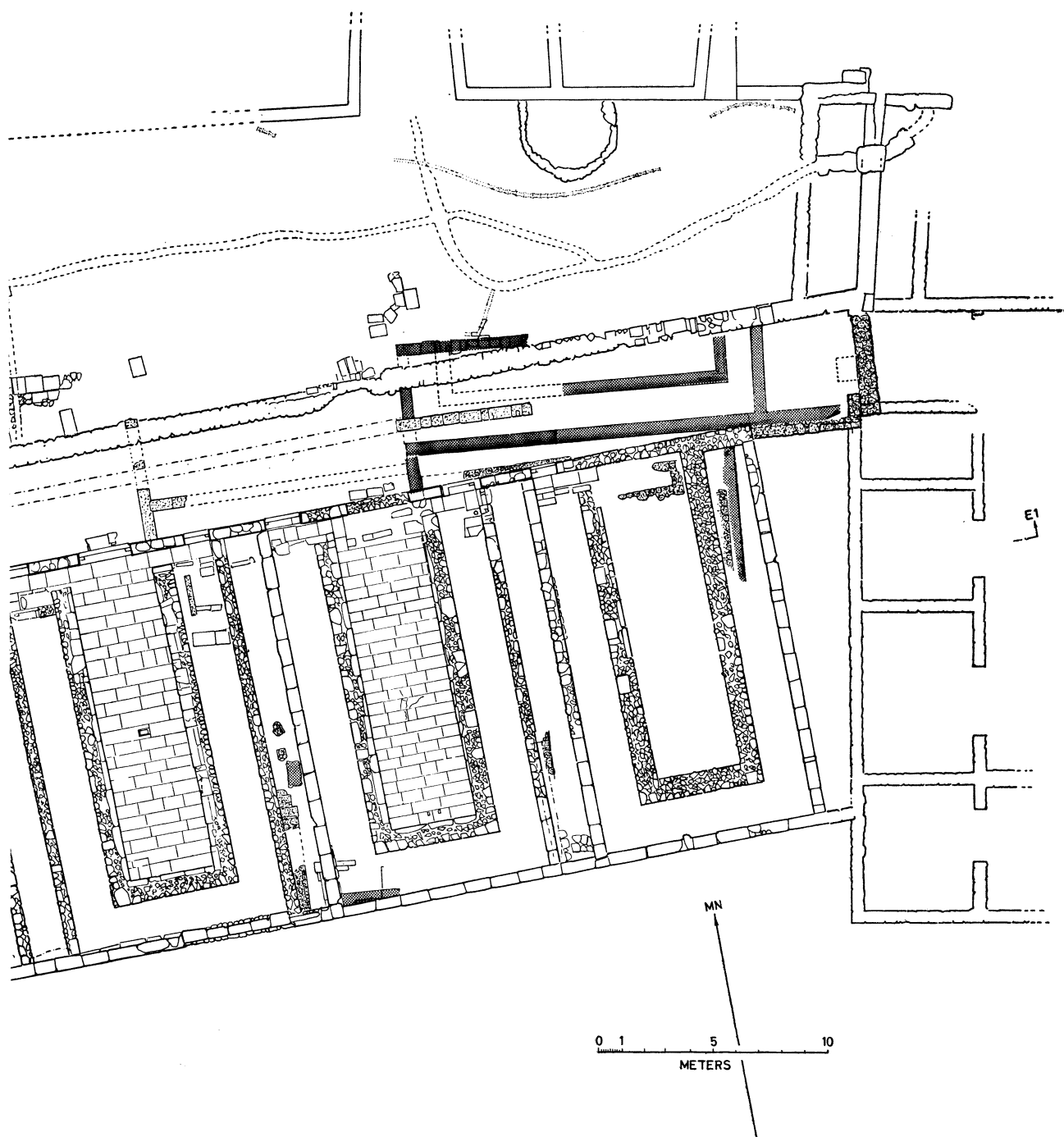


PLAN III. East Complex with Central Court and part of Archaic Altar Precinct—actual state.



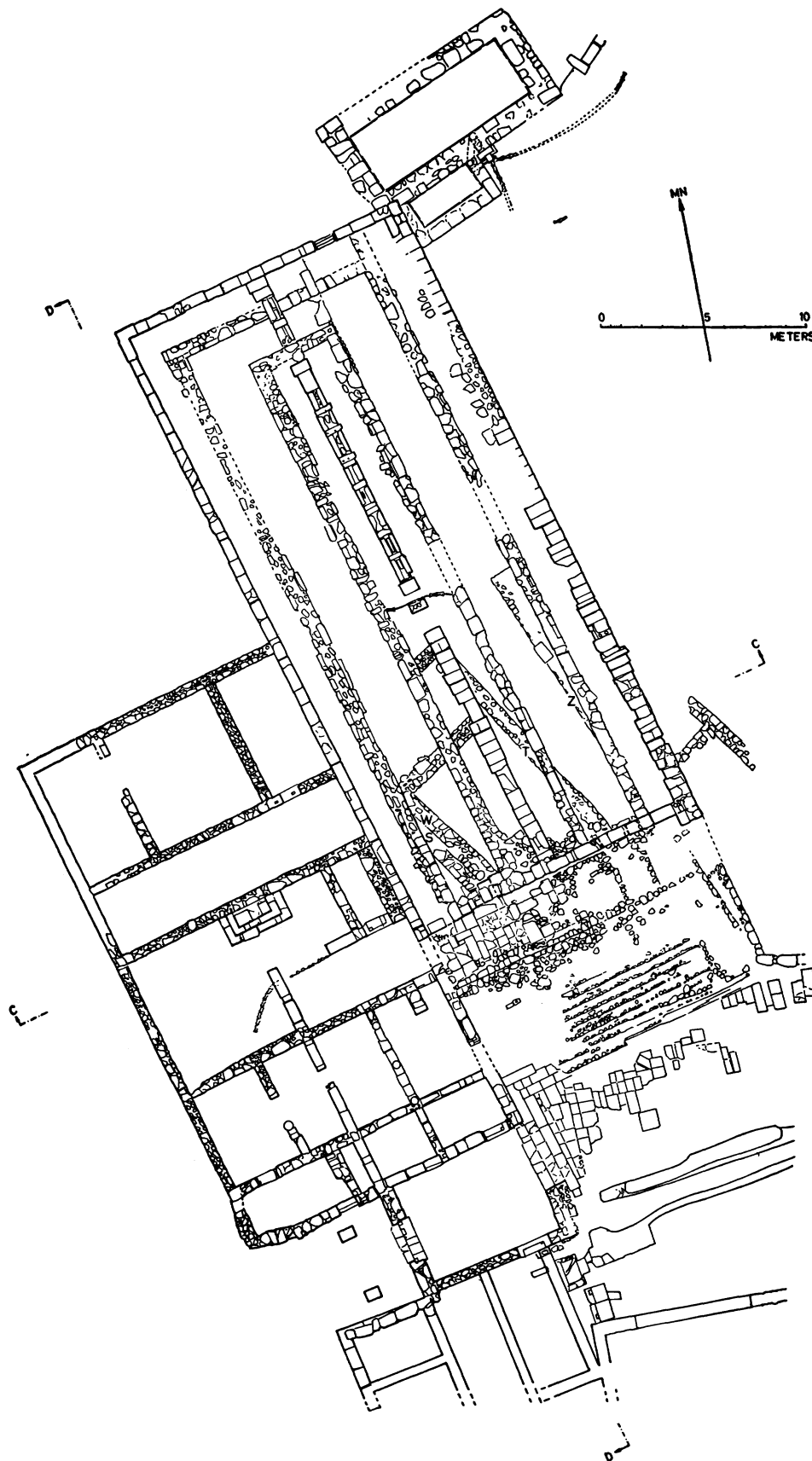
PLAN IV. Temple with north end of Archaic Altar Precinct and Street—actual state.



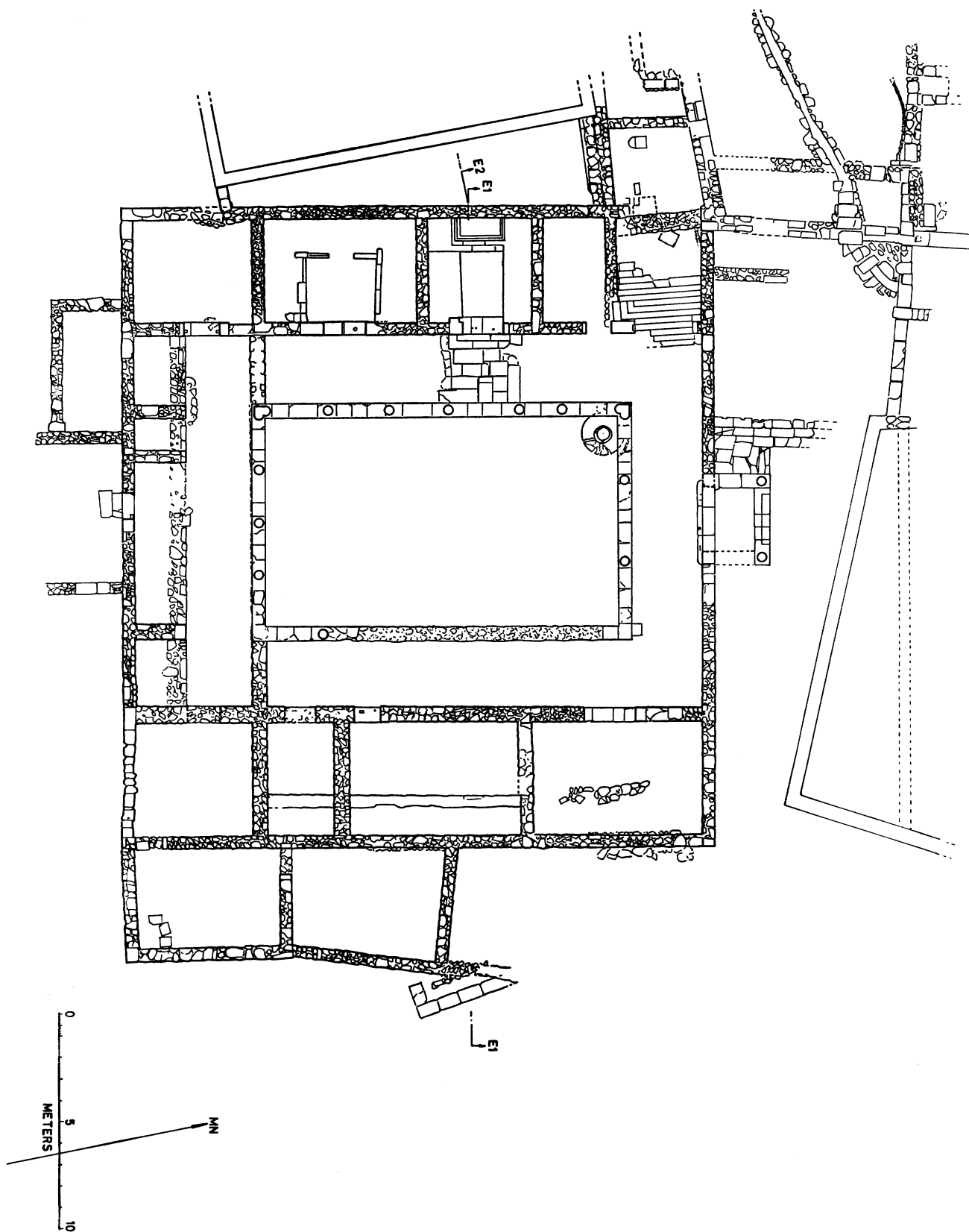


PLAN V. South Building—actual state
(remains of period)

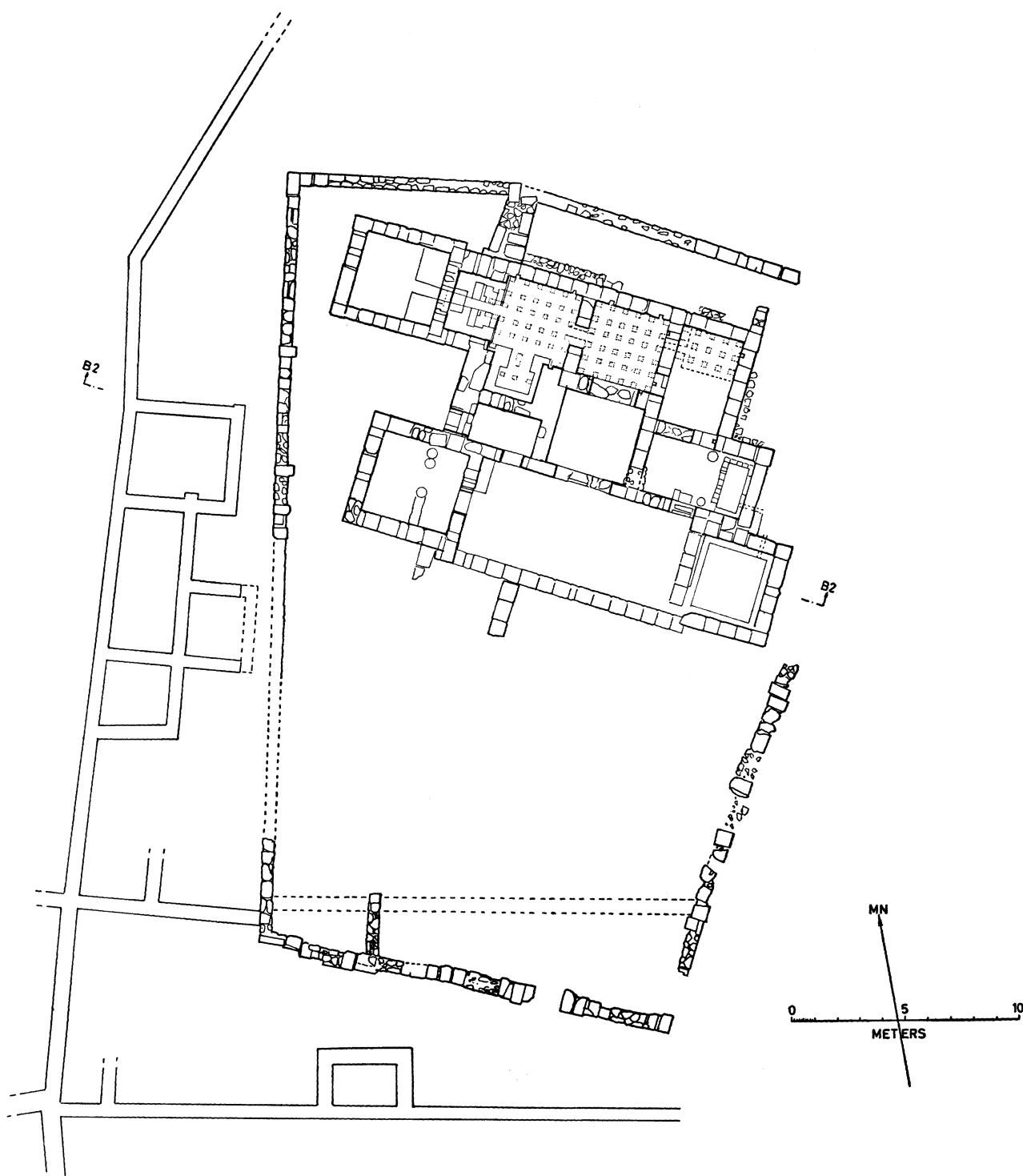
- I—solid black.
- II—heavy stipple.
- III—light stipple.
- IV—dash-dot outline.
- V—cross hatch.
- VI—full outline with internal detail where preserved.



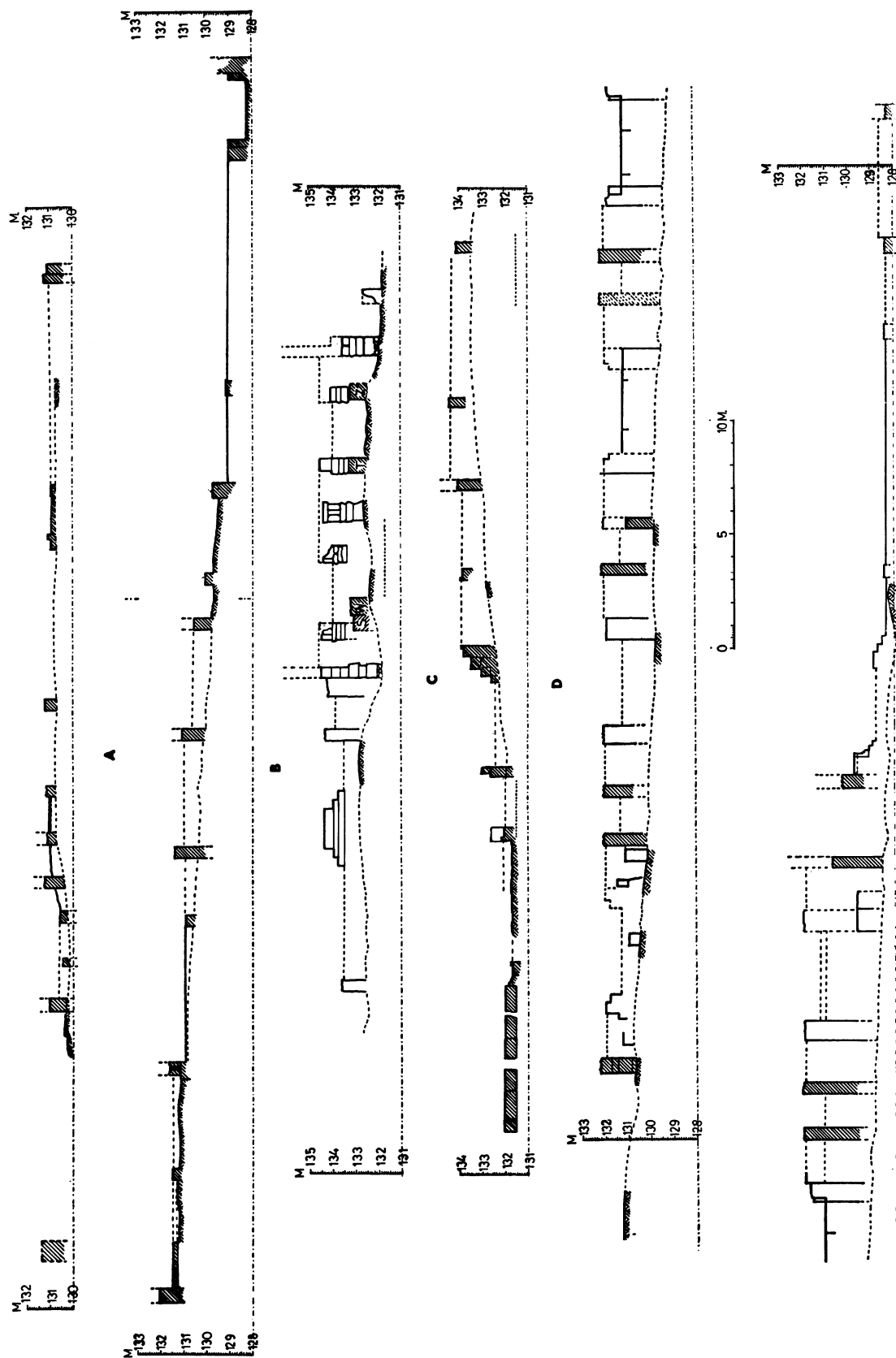
PLAN VI. Northwest Building with West Complex—actual state.



PLAN VII. Southeast Building with Kourion Gate—actual state.



PLAN VIII. Bath—actual state.



PLAN IX. Sections (elevations indicated above sea-level.)

A. East Complex: north wall of court of House to stylobate of South Building—looking west.

B. East Complex and Bath: from west wall of Street to east wall of plunge in outer hall of Bath—looking north, with shift toward northeast between East Complex and Bath.

C. Northwest Building and West Complex—looking north.

D. West Complex and Southwest Complex to juncture with South Building—looking west.

E. South Building and Southeast Building—looking north, with shift toward northeast between South Building and Southeast Building.