

THE HELIAIA

A summary account taking cognizance of the results of the exploration carried out in July and August, 1960. (Notebooks Section K, vols. XVIII and XIX).

Scope of Exploration

The area of the ancient building had been opened up first in 1934-35 (J.H.Oliver). The demolition of part of the Excavation House in 1952/53 permitted the clearance of the south side of the building (E. Vanderpool) while the removal of the vast mass of Hellenistic fill between the Heliaia and the Middle Stoa in 1953/54 had made the north side of the building more intelligible. But no thorough, comprehensive study had ever been made nor had any complete plan been drawn.

Our objective in 1960 was to work out the history of the building, to establish the plan in its various periods and to seek more precise evidence for its identification. In the course of the season we completely exposed the foundation for the south wall, stripped away practically all of the little fill that remained above the east half of the building, and did much probing at other points.

It is believed that the main facts about both the history and the plan of the building have now been established; but more of the earth fill should be removed from the east part of the peristyle, and the broad foundation trench that leads westward from the northwest corner of the main building must be fully cleared.

Four major periods may now be distinguished in the history of the site. The satisfactory correspondence between the building in its various periods and the ancient literary references to the Heliaia renders the identification highly probable, while the close links between this building and those related to the "ballot box" beneath the Stoa of Attalos leave little doubt as to the dikastic nature of our establishment. The name "Heliaia" will henceforth be used in this without question mark and as virtually certain.

Period I

The earliest remains of a public nature on this site consist of a bank of stone benches, four or possibly five in number, each ca. 0.34 m. high, 0.34 m. wide and 32.30 m. long. They run almost due east and west along the lowest slope of the Areopagus, and must have commanded a fine view northward over the market square. In preparation for their laying a group of private houses was demolished and the slope of the rock was regularized. At each end the benches appear to have come to a dead end, and there is no indication of any related wall at this period.

The material used in the steps is the hard, gray limestone of Kara. The joints for the most part are slightly oblique in both the vertical and the horizontal plane. The anathyrosis is carefully worked but narrow. The risers are rough picked with smoothed borders. In the surviving parts there is no trace of the use of clamps or dowels.

The masonry has a more primitive quality than that of almost any other structure of cut stone in Athens, less advanced than the Southeast Fountain House, the Temple of Olympian Zeus, the Old Temple on the Acropolis. Perhaps the closest parallel is the earlier Temple of Dionysos below the Theatre, and of the two our monument is probably the earlier.

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In this connection it may be noted that the line of the benches is at right angles to the long north to south wall that formed the eastern boundary of the complex of early buildings below the Old Bouleuterion, a wall that dates from the third quarter of the 6th century. This and the fact that the west end of the benches falls in the southward projection of that wall would suggest some considered relationship between the two early structures.

We have no specific evidence for the purpose of the benches. In view of their prominent position on the square and, for their time, monumental quality, they may be supposed surely to have served some public purpose, presumably for gatherings of various kinds.

Period II

After a considerable lapse of time the nature of the establishment was radically altered. The original steps, to


be sure, were left virtually intact. But behind the steps a large area was levelled by cutting down the sloping hillside; the resultant scarp along the south side was as much as 2 metres high. The area thus levelled was surrounded by a free-standing wall so as to become a peribolos measuring overall ca. 32.70 m. on its north side, 32 m. on the south, 27.50 m. on the east and 28.50 m. on the west. The north side of the peribolos almost coincides with the ancient steps, but the new structure falls ca. 0.80 m. short of the eastern limit of the steps while at the west the steps were extended by 1.11 m. Access to the enclosure was provided by a propylon ca. 11.75 m. wide erected at the middle of the north side. To either side of this propylon the old steps remained, now topped by the new enclosure wall.



Across the north side of the peribolos the enclosure wall appears to have rested on top of the uppermost step. On the east, west and south sides the wall was supported by an underpinning that consisted of a single course of irregular blocks of Kara and Acropolis limestone, 0.15-0.20 m. thick, with rough polygonal jointing and with a width of 0.85-0.90 m.

Of the wall proper two blocks remain in place at the southeast corner of the building. They are of Aeginetan limestone, granular and gray in color. The block in the east wall is 0.58 m. thick and smooth dressed on both faces. The adjoining block in the south wall is 0.59 m. thick, smooth on the inner face, rough picked on the outer face that looked toward the scarp.

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At the same time the southeast corner of the building was thrust ca. 1 m. to the south and its whole south end was shoved about 0.28 m. to the west.

Through comparison with the blocks that are in situ it has been possible to identify a half dozen other blocks found in the area of the building as coming from the upper part of the wall. Their normal thickness and height is 0.48 m.; their length varies from 1.112 to 1.153 m. Four of the blocks have thick plaster on one face only. Some, but not all have cuttings for  clamps. Although there is a good deal of variety in technical details, the workmanship in general is of a high order.

In the north end of the block that remains in place in the east wall at the southeast corner is a deeply engraved mason's mark: . In a re-used fragmentary wall block of the Helliaia incorporated in the west wall of the nearby late Roman cistern is a similar letter: .

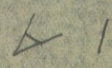
Since there is no evidence for interior supports or roofing at this period we should expect the wall to have been protected above by a proper crowning member. Several blocks of an appropriate crown have in fact been found where re-used in

the Predecessor to the Square Building beneath the Stoa of Attalos. They had a peaked top and a cornice-like projection on either side. On one side is a bed moulding in the form of a hawksbeak with early profile and painted decoration; the soffit on the other side was plain. The correspondence in material, dimensions, and workmanship between these members and the upper wall blocks of the Heliaia is so complete as to leave no doubt of their association. We have as yet no evidence for the height of the wall.

The propylon was formed by throwing up a mass of masonry against the face of the early range of steps. A core of very soft poros supported a flight of steps cut from a hard gray limestone, not identical with but similar to the stone used in the early benches. Risers and treads in the steps of the propylon are of the same dimensions as in the early benches. The surface finish of the risers would also seem to have been assimilated to that of the old benches: a stippled face with smooth border, done in a somewhat more refined manner than the old. At the ends of the propylon the new steps were tied to the old by means of long  clamps. Many fragments of the new steps came to light in front of the propylon; complete blocks have been found in Hellenistic constructions around the west end of the Middle Stoa: two in the flight of steps across the north to south road, one in the wall that runs parallel to the west end of that stoa.

The superstructure of the propylon appears to have been carefully dismantled and removed in the 2nd century B.C. so

that the restoration is problematic. We may perhaps hypothecate a porch with four columns in antis in front of a wall broken by doorways, possibly five in number.

Two of the blocks from the upper part of the enclosure wall have joint surfaces each on one side as well as on their ends; in each case the lateral joint is on the side remote from the stucco. No foundations for cross walls have come to light within the building. Nor is there any evidence for an annex to south, east or north. This leaves us with the west side. Both blocks with lateral anathyrosis came to light in the area of the northwest corner of the building. Moreover a broad, deep foundation trench leads westward from the northwest corner of the building in the line of the early steps and hence too in the line of the north wall of the peribolos. This foundation had been stripped of its best blocks in the Hellenistic period. Nearby, however, lay a block that in all probability derives from the foundation. It is a corner step block (A 1270): height 0.227 m., width of steps 0.305 and 0.31 m. In material, workmanship and clamps it is very similar to the steps of the propylon. Incorporated in a rebuilt section of the west wall of the Heliaia near its northwest corner is a Doric column capital of Aeginetan poros and archaic profile. The upper diameter of the shaft was ca. 0.60 m.; fluting was not started. On one side of the abacus are mason's marks  very similar to those on the wall blocks in situ at the southeast corner.

The evidence noted above leaves little doubt that there was an annex set against the west side of the peribolos near its northwest corner. A portico facing north on the square presumably formed the facade to a roofed structure behind. This structure will have been demolished to make way for the Southwest Fountain House at the end of the 5th century B.C. Beyond this we cannot go until the area has been more thoroughly explored.

For the date of the peribolos (and the contemporary annex) there is a little ceramic evidence gathered from the footing trenches of the enclosure walls. The few sherds from here appear to run down into the very early years of the 5th century (L 5411, P 26876, K3524-26; containers 285, 286). The working of the wall blocks, and the masons's marks may be closely paralleled in the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina. The bed moulding on the capping blocks is also close to the hawksbeaks of the same temple. Pending a closer study we may suggest a date in the early 5th century, probably before 480 B.C.

At some time, probably late in the 5th century, two small rooms were erected at the rear of the enclosure adjacent to its back wall. Only the socles of the walls remain: rudely made of rubble masonry.

To the latter part of the 5th century we may also assign a stone drain which issued through the east wall of the Heliaia, near its northeast corner and then bent sharply northward to empty into the earlier course of the East Branch

of the Great Drain. Measuring ca. 0.55 x 0.55 m. inside, this channel was presumably adequate to carry off the rain water that fell within the peribolos.

The plan of the main building: an unroofed enclosure with a floor space of ca. 825 square metres and an entrance of generous width, combined with the great prominence of the site at the edge of the market square, accord perfectly with the literary evidence bearing on the Heliaia. The annex to the west may well have contained the essential offices and storerooms for dikastic equipment, perhaps also the common mess of the Thesmothetai who presided over the meetings of the court of the Heliaia. It is conceivable that when the annex was removed to make way for the Southwest Fountain House its functions were taken over by South Stoa I which dates from the same period, i.e. late in the 5th century.

Period III

We have seen reason to believe that at a certain time the crowning member was removed from the enclosure wall of the Heliaia and some of its blocks were re-used in the making of an addition to the lawcourt under the north end of the Stoa of Attalos. The removal was made possible by a radical alteration in the scheme of the old building. A row of three or possibly four rooms was installed along the west side of the enclosure and the remainder of the space was converted into a peristyle with a central court. In order to gain a little additional space the west wall of the old


building was demolished in its southern part and use was made of the east wall of the Southwest Fountain House.

Two phases may be distinguished in the history of the peristyle. In the earlier the central courtyard was small, measuring only ca. 8.70 m. to the side. The roofed cloister was approximately of equal width on all four sides: 8.50-9.00 m. from front of stylobate to face of wall. Of this phase we can now point to the completely plundered foundation trench for the stylobate that surrounded the courtyard and to the foundations of the walls that formed the rooms on the west side. We have no specific evidence for the spacing or nature of the columns, but the narrowness of the foundation trench (0.70-1.00 m.) points to light construction.

The later phase of the peristyle is better represented by the surviving remains. The courtyard was now enlarged at the expense of the surrounding cloister. The roofs were supported by a square colonnade, six columns to the side. The western rooms were also enlarged by the construction of a new north to south wall ca. 1.40 m. to the east of the old; the western aisle of the peristyle was henceforth narrower than its neighbors. Of the columns no certain remains have been found. They rested on isolated bases made of re-used blocks supported on a packing of field stones; there is no trace of a continuous stylobate nor of a gutter.

To the period of the peristyle belong several hydraulic installations. The course of a drain made of U-shaped tiles may be traced upward from the northeast corner of the peribolos

beneath the north aisle and the west aisle to a point opposite the southwest corner of the court. Beyond this point its course has been obliterated by industrial intrusions of the early Roman period. Near the point where the channel breaks off, however, there was found in the pillaged trench fragment of a round water pipe from a pressure line, heavily coated with lime deposit (A 3294 , K 3527). It would appear that the great poros aqueduct had been tapped to supply some installation such as a drinking fountain near the southwest corner of the peristyle, the waste from which was carried off by the terracotta drain.

The great aqueduct was also tapped near the extreme northeast corner of the Southwest Fountain House. Some of its water was conveyed in a -shaped terracotta channel through the west wall of the Heliaia into a round draw basin situated in the northwest corner of one of the western series of rooms. The draw basin was carefully curbed with stone and plastered (diameter 0.73 m.; preserved depth ca. 1.10 m.).

Finally, a public water clock was set against the north wall of the Heliaia between the propylon and the northwest corner of the building. It too presumably drew its water from the poros aqueduct though the feed line has not yet been noted.

The evidence for dating the period of the peristyle is almost entirely ceramic. Quantities of pottery probably early in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. were found throughout the peribolos: in the packing for the floor of the aisles,

in the footing trenches for the piers of the later peristyle, in the plundered trench for the stylobate of the earlier peristyle. This pottery, which is remarkably uniform, is most likely to be associated with the construction of the later and more monumental form of the peristyle. We have as yet no precise evidence for dating the earlier phase; but certain general considerations suggest that the interval between the two was not great. The earlier excavation had provided good evidence for dating the water clock about the middle of the 4th century or soon thereafter.

We may assume that in this period the building continued to serve the same function as before, viz. to house a lawcourt. The introduction of a peristyle into the old unroofed enclosure is paralleled at the northeast corner of the Agora by the substitution of the great Square Peristyle for the simpler enclosures that preceded it in that area. The change will have taken place at about the same time in these two parts of the Agora. The same desire for more comfortable facilities for the conduct of civic affairs led to the inclusion of two great stoas in the program for the third period of the Assembly Place on the Pnyx.

Period IV

With the revamping of the south part of the Agora in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 2nd century B.C. the Heliaia was incorporated as an organic part of the great new complex that comprised also the Middle and East Stoas and South Stoa II. The orientation of this new square would seem to have been

taken in fact from the old building. At the point of contact between the old and the new, viz. at the southeast corner of the Heliaia, South Stoa II was simply thrust up against the Heliaia.

The great rise in ground level in front of the Heliaia that was necessitated by the construction of the Middle Stoa rendered useless the steps of the old propylon. This part of the Heliaia was accordingly dismantled. The same fate befell the water clock. A certain amount of Hellenistic deposit in the central part of the suite of western rooms may point to some alterations in that area within the Hellenistic period.

There is now reason to believe, though this is not the place to argue the point, that the primary purpose of the new Hellenistic complex in the south part of the Agora was to provide new accommodation for the lawcourts in a more orderly and more monumental form in keeping with the spirit of the age. The new complex appears to have replaced several earlier structures all of which were no doubt regarded as unsatisfactory for one reason or another: the unfinished Square Peristyle beneath the Stoa of Attalos, South Stoa I and a small building which probably included a lawcourt to the southeast of the Tholos. The venerable Heliaia was incorporated with no significant change in the new complex and presumably continued to fulfil its old functions.

Destruction and Abandonment

We have learned little of the history of the building in the later Hellenistic period. To this time, however, may be assigned a latrine that was installed in the northernmost room of the western series. The remains consist of a deep plastered channel that bordered the room to west and north; its floor pitched steeply to drain into a terracotta channel that carried across the ruins of the old water clock to pour into the new course of the East Branch of the Great Drain. The central part of the room was floored with a mosaic made of tesserae of broken roof tile.

Throughout the area of the peristyle occurred a sprinkling of pottery of the 1st century B.C., nowhere in a stratified deposit but sufficient in quantity to suggest that something of importance had happened at this time. In association with this pottery were found three stone catapult balls, roughly hewn from breccia, ca. 0.17 m. in diameter, (ST 703 - 705 , K 3502-04). Having in mind the similar conjunction at the Pompeion by the Dipylon one can scarcely doubt that the Heliaia also suffered in the events of 87/6 B.C. (It may be noted in passing that there is strong evidence for the destruction of the Southwest Fountain House at this time).

The Heliaia, like South Stoa II, was subsequently turned over to industrial use. Here too we have clear evidence of the activity of marble workers in many small pits lined with emery powder and many bits of freshly sawn marble. Potters

too found shelter in the shell of the old building. A well preserved kiln came to light in the second room from the south on the west side, while much of the old courtyard was occupied by a great pit full of potter's clay, pale yellow in color. The fact that these evidences of industrial activity are confined within the limits of the old building, the kiln in particular having been carefully placed in a corner of a room, leaves little doubt that both the outer and at least some of the inner walls were still standing.

The pottery associated with the industrial activity belongs, broadly speaking, to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. But it is meagre in quantity and has not yet been closely studied. Greater precision may be expected from further study. However that may be, there are indications that at some time probably within the 2nd century A.D. a stop was put to the industrial activity and the old building was in some measure rehabilitated. To this period may belong, for instance, the very interesting lion's head water spout of classicistic style found in the courtyard (A 2284; cf. also A 2286).

As to the function of the building in this its latest period we have no clue.

We may suppose that the building shared in the general disaster of 267 A.D. It was subsequently reoccupied by a group of bronze workers who left behind them above the last firm floor of the ancient building great masses of thin industrial waste: red clay and sand interlarded with charcoal and particles from the casting of bronze. The associated pottery and coins date this activity in the latter part of the 3rd century A.D.

K ix-5-60 Coin Pit in SW corner of Peristyle, middle and edge.

One complete and identifiable coin, one coin/ with traces of the same dies, 2 fragmentary coins of the same dies; and 38 slugs or planchets of very irregular shape and thickness; all of bronze. Thickness ranges from .001 to .008. A number of planchets are pierced with oblong, crescent-shaped or round holes; some have oblong or circular gouges, not piercing the planchet. The holes and gouges range from .004 to .008 in diameter or length. The surfaces of most specimens are striated, some are smooth or striated on one side, irregular and "unfinished" on the other.

The coins are Athens, 2nd c. A.D.

Obv. Bust of Athena, r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and aegis.

Rev. Bucranium bound with ~~flxlflx~~ wreath. Around: AΘHN AI ΩN

References: EM, Attica, p.111, nos. 810-812.

Svoronos, Monnaies d'Athenes, pl. 99, nos. 19-21

Sylloge, Danish Nat. Museum, Attica (1944), pl. 10, no. 376.

J.P. Shear, Hesperia V (1936), pl. V (rearrangement of Svoronos' bucranium types).

bronze

Head says the semi-autonomous imperial/coinage of Athens is to be dated in the period of Hadrian and the Antonines, probably came to an end not later than reign of Caracalla (211-217), "if indeed it lasted that long". The Danish Sylloge dates this type to 2nd c. A.D. Josephine Shear implies the same.

1. Oblong hole
2. Complete coin of type described above
3. 1/2 planchet
4. Deep oblong gouge. Planchet is .004 thick
5. Oblong hole at edge
- 6-8. Planchets
9. Round hole
10. 1/3 fragment, with part of bucranium
11. Round hole
12. Planchet
13. Round hole
14. Planchet
15. Traces of Athena helmet; traces of bucranium and border of dots
- 16-21. Planchets
22. Circular gouge at edge. .008 thick(planchet)
23. Irregular gouge
24. Oblong hole at edge
25. Planchet
26. Oblong hole
27. Smooth on one side, other irregular surface
28. Oblong hole
29. Crescent-shaped hole
30. Planchet
31. Oblong hole

- 32-35. Planchets
- 36. Oblong hole
- 37. Oblong hole and circular gouge
- 38. 2/3 fragment; good example of striations
- 39-40. Planchets
- 41. Bent lump, irregular shape
- ✓42. Broken in 2 pieces; smaller fragment probably has traces of bucranium and medial N of A CHNAI N

GCM
9/9/60

Additional note (JHK 1973)

The four Athenian imperial coins (K-1641-1644) belong to the Athenian Imperial Group III, a series that can be very closely dated to the middle of the 3rd century AD, just before the Herulian invasion (Kroll, "The Eleusis Hoard of Athenian Imperial Coins and Some Deposits from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, hopefully forthcoming.) From size, fabric, and the fact that they ~~are~~ have been sawed from a bar, it is clear that all 38 flans were cut for the minting of this same coinage.

Both the coins and the flans are imperfect, many of the latter having irregular thicknesses or holes in them, while each of the four coins ~~are~~ ^{is} either broken or very badly struck. Obviously, the "hoard" in the pit represents a lot of rejected coins and flans, which were presumably put away to be melted down later, perhaps on the eve of the Herulian attack.

It will be very interesting to know if other evidence can be adduced for placing the Athenian mint ca. 250 in the "Heliaia." Use of the building as a mint need not have gone back much before 250 since there is a gap of one or two generations before the Group III coinage during which Athens did not coin (Kroll, op. cit.).

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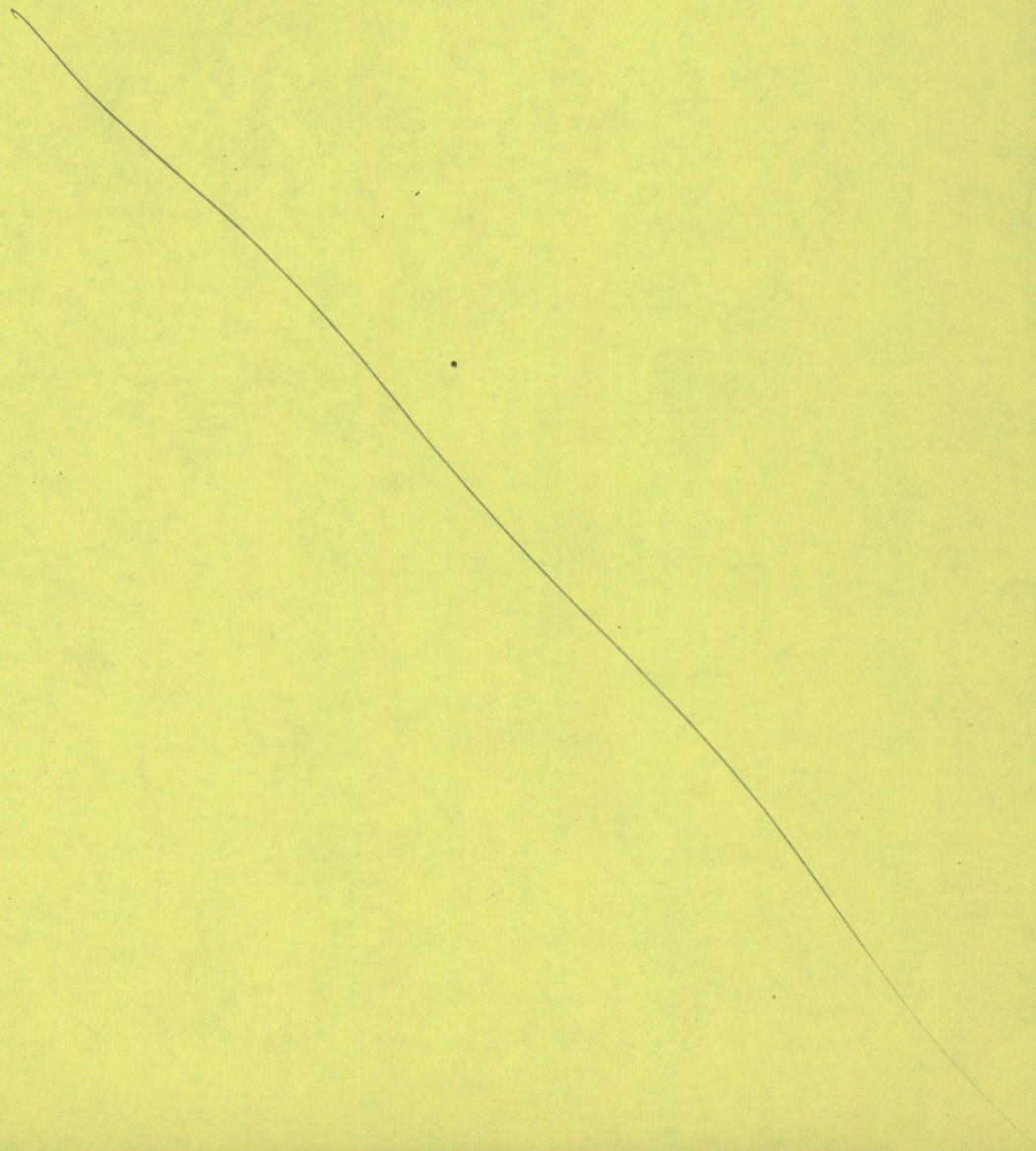
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In this connection it may be noted that the line of the benches is at right angles to the long north to south wall that formed the eastern boundary of the complex of early buildings below the Old Bouleuterion, a wall that dates from the third quarter of the 6th century. This and the fact that the west end of the benches falls in the southward projection of that wall would suggest some considered relationship between the two early structures.

We have no specific evidence for the purpose of the benches. In view of their prominent position on the square and, for their time, monumental quality, they may be supposed surely to have served some public purpose, presumably for gatherings of various kinds.



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top of the uppermost step. On the east, west and south sides the wall was supported by an underpinning that consisted of a single course of irregular blocks of Kara and Acropolis limestone, 0.15 - 0.20 m. thick, with rough polygonal jointing and with a width of 0.85 - 0.90 m. ~~of the wall~~ two blocks remain in place at the southeast corner of the building. They are of Aeginetan limestone, granular and gray in color. The block in the east wall is 0.58 m. thick and smooth dressed on both faces. The adjoining block on the south wall is 0.59 m. thick, smooth on the inner face, rough picked on the outer face that looked toward the scarp.

Through comparison with the blocks that are in situ it has been possible to identify a half dozen ^{other} blocks found in the area of the building as coming from the upper part of the wall. Their normal thickness and height is 0.48 m.; their length varies from 1.112 to 1.153 m. Some of the blocks have thick plaster on one face only, some, but not all have cuttings for T-clamps. Although

In the north end of the block that remains in place in the east wall at the southeast corner is a deeply engraved mason's mark: ΕΠ. In a re-used fragmentary wall block of the Heliaia incorporated in the west wall of the nearby late Roman cistern is a similar letter: Π. There is a good deal of variety in technical details, the workmanship in general is of a high order.

Since there is no evidence for interior supports or roofing at this period we should expect the wall to have been protected above by a proper crowning member. Several blocks of an appropriate crown have in fact been found where re-used in the predecessor to the Square Building beneath the Stoa of Attalos. They had a peaked top and a cornice-like projection on either side. On one side is a bed moulding in the form of a Hawksbeak with early profile and painted decoration; the soffit on the other side was plain. The correspondence in material, dimensions, and workmanship between these members and the upper wall blocks of the Heliaia is so complete as to leave no doubt of their association. We have as yet no evidence for the height of the wall.

The propylon was formed by throwing up a mass of masonry against the face of the early range of steps. A core of very soft poros supported a flight of steps cut from a hard gray limestone. ~~These steps have risers and treads of the same size as the early benches, not identical with but similar~~

to the stone used in the early benches. Risers and treads in the steps of the propylon are of the same dimensions as in the early benches. The surface finish of the risers would also seem to have been assimilated to that of the old benches: a stippled face with smooth border, done in a somewhat more refined manner than the old. At the ends of the propylon the new steps were tied to the old by means of long T-clamps. Many fragments of the new steps came to light in front of the propylon; complete blocks have been found in Hellenistic constructions around the west end of the middle stoa: two in the flight of steps across the north to south road, one in the wall that runs parallel to the west end of that stoa.

The superstructure of the propylon appears to have been carefully dismantled and removed in the 2nd century B.C. so that the restoration is problematic. We may perhaps hypothesize an *iprosche* with four columns in antis in front of a wall broken by doorways, possibly five in number.

Two of the blocks from the upper part of the enclosure wall have joint surfaces each

{ Both blocks with lateral anathyrosis came to light in the area of the northwest corner of the building. (10)

on one side as well as on their ends, in each case the lateral joint is on the side remote from the stucco. No foundations for cross walls have come to light within the building. Nor is there any evidence for an annex to south, east or north. This leaves us with the west side, ^{moreover} a broad, deep foundation trench ~~does~~ in fact lead westward from the northwest corner of the building in the line of the early steps and hence too in the line of the north wall of the peribolos. This foundation had been stripped of its last blocks in the Hellenistic period. Nearby, however, lay a block that in all probability derives from the foundation. It is a corner step block (A 1270): height 0.227 m., width of steps 0.305 and 0.31 m. In material, workmanship and clamp it is very similar to the steps of the propylon. Incorporated in the rebuilt section of the west wall of the Steliaia near its northwest corner is a Doric column capital of Aeginetan form and archaic profile. The upper diameter of the shaft was ca. 0.60 m.; fluting was not started. On one side of the

abacus are mason's marks & very similar to those on the wall blocks in situ at the southeast corner.

The evidence noted above leaves little doubt that there was an annex set against the west side of the peribolos near its northwest corner. A portico facing north on the square presumably formed the facade to a roofed structure behind. This structure will have been demolished to make way for the Southwest Fountain House at the end of the 5th Century B.C. Beyond this we cannot go until the area has been more thoroughly explored.

For the date of the peribolos (and the contemporary annex) there is a little ceramic evidence gathered from the footing trenches of the enclosure walls. The few sherds from here appear to run down into the very early years of the 5th century (K 3524-26; containers 285, 286). The working of the wall blocks, and the mason's marks may be closely paralleled in the Temple of Aphrodite on Ayia. The bed moulding on the capping blocks is also close to the hawkbeaks of the same temple. Pending a closer study we may suggest

leave space for P. numbers }

To the latter part of the 5th century we may also assign
 a stone drain which issued through the east wall of the Heliaia,
 near its northeast corner and then bent sharply northward to empty
 into the earlier course of the East Branch of the Great Drain. Measuring
 ca. 0.55 x 0.55 m inside, this channel was presumably adequate to carry off
 the rain water that fell within the *Speiobothos*.

a date in the early 5th century, probably before 480 B.C.

At some time, probably late in the 5th century, two small rooms were erected at the rear of the enclosure adjacent to its back wall, only the socles of the walls remain: readily made of rubble masonry.

↑ The plan of the main building: an unroofed enclosure with a floor space of ca. 825 square meters and an entrance of generous width, combined with the great prominence of the site at the edge of the marked square, accord perfectly with the literary evidence bearing on the Heliaia. The annex to the west may well have contained the essential offices and storerooms for diastolic equipment, perhaps also the common mess of the *Thesmothetai* who presided over the meetings of the court of the Heliaia. It is conceivable that when the annex was removed to make way for the Southwest Fountain House its functions were taken over by South Stoa I which dates from the same period, i.e. late in the 5th century.

Period III

We have seen reason to believe that at a certain time the crowning member was removed from the enclosure wall of the Stoaia and some of its blocks were re-used in the making of an addition to the lawcourt under the north end of the Stoa of Attalos. The removal was made possible by a radical alteration in the scheme of the old building. A row of three or possibly four rooms was installed along the west side of the enclosure and the remainder of the space was converted into a peristyle with a central court. In order to gain a little additional space the west wall of the old building was demolished in its southern part and use was made of the east wall of the Southwest Fountain House.

Two phases may be distinguished in the history of the peristyle. In the earlier the central courtyard was small, measuring only ca. 8.70 m. to the side. The roofed cloister was approximately of equal width on all four sides: 8.50-9.00 m. from front of stylobate to face of wall. Of this phase we can now point to the completely plundered

foundation trench for the stylobate that surrounded the courtyard and to the foundations of the walls that formed the rooms on the west side. We have no specific evidence for the spacing or nature of the columns, but the narrowness of the foundation trench (0.70-1.00m) points to light construction.

The later phase of the peristyle is better represented by the surviving remains. The courtyard was now enlarged at the expense of the surrounding cloister. The roofs were supported by a square colonnade, six columns to the side. The western rooms were also enlarged by the construction of a new north to south wall ca. 1.40m. to the east of the old; the western aisle of the peristyle was henceforth narrower than its neighbors. Of the columns no certain remains have been found. They rested on isolated bases made of re-used blocks supported on a packing of field stones; there is no trace of a continuous stylobate nor of a gutter.

To the period of the peristyle belong several hydraulic installations. The course of a drain

made of U-shaped tiles may be traced upward from the northeast corner of the peristyle beneath the north aisle and the west aisle to a point opposite the southwest corner of the court. Beyond this point its course has been obliterated by industrial intrusions of the early Roman period. Near the point where the channel breaks off, however, there was found in the pillaged trench fragments of a round water pipe from a pressure line, heavily coated with lime deposit (K 35'27). It would appear that the great porous aqueduct had been tapped to supply some installation such as a drinking fountain near the southwest corner of the peristyle; the waste from which was carried off by the terracotta drain.

The great aqueduct was also tapped near the extreme northeast corner of the Southwest Fountain House. Some of its water was conveyed in a U-shaped terracotta channel through the west wall of the Heliaia into a round draw basin situated in the northwest corner of one of the western series of rooms. The draw basin

space for
A-100

was carefully curbed with stone and plastered (diameter 0.73 m.; preserved depth ca. 1.10 m.).

Finally, a public water clock was set against the north wall of the Heliaia between the propylon and the northwest corner of the building. It too presumably drew its water from the poros aqueduct though the feed line has not yet been noted.

The evidence for dating the period of the peristyles is almost entirely ceramic. Quantities of pottery probably early in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. were found throughout the peribolos: in the packing for the floor of the aisles, in the footing trenches for the piers of the later peristyle, in the plerendred trench for the stylobate of the earlier peristyle. This pottery, which is remarkably uniform, is most likely to be associated with the construction of the later and more monumental form of the peristyle. We have as yet no precise evidence for dating the earlier phase; but certain general considerations suggest that

the interval between the two was not great. The earlier excavation had provided good evidence for dating the water clock about the middle of the 4th century, or soon thereafter.

We may assume that ~~in~~ this period the building continued to serve the same function as before, viz. to house a lawcourt. The introduction of a peristyle into the old unroofed enclosure is paralleled at the northeast corner of the Agora by the substitution of the great square Peristyle for the simpler enclosures that preceded it in that area. The change will have taken place at about the same time in these two parts of the Agora. The same desire for more comfortable facilities for the conduct of civic affairs led to the inclusion of two great streets in the program for the third period of the Assembly Place on the Pnyx.

Period IV

With the revamping of the south part of the Agora in the 2nd and 3rd quarter of the 2nd century B.C. the Heliaria was incorporated as an organic part of the great new complex that comprised also the Middle and East Stoa and South Stoa II. The orientation of this new square would seem to have been taken in fact from the old building. At the point of contact between the old and the new, viz. at the southeast corner of the Heliaria, South Stoa II was simply thrust up against the Heliaria.

The great rise in ground level in front of the Heliaria that was necessitated by the construction of the Middle Stoa rendered useless the steps of the old propylon. This part of the Heliaria was accordingly dismantled. The same fate befell the water clock. A certain amount of Hellenistic deposit in the central part of the suite of western rooms may point to some alterations in that area within the Hellenistic period.

There is now reason to believe, though this is not the place to argue the point, that the primary purpose of the new Hellenistic Complex in the south part of the Agora was to provide new accommodation for the law-courts in a more orderly and more monumental form in keeping with the spirit of the age. The new complex appears to have replaced several earlier structures all of which were no doubt regarded as unsatisfactory for one reason or another: the unfinished Square Peristyle beneath the Stoa of Attalos, South Stoa I and a small building which probably included a lawcourt to the southeast of the Tholos. The venerable Heliaia was incorporated with no significant change in the new complex and presumably continued to fulfil its old functions.

Destruction and abandonment

We have learned little of the history of the building in the late Hellenistic period. To this time, however, may be assigned a latrine that was installed in the northernmost room of the western series. The remains consist of a deep plastered channel that bordered the room to west and north; its floor pitched steeply to drain into a terracotta channel that carried across the ruins of the old water clock to pour into the new course of the East Branch of the Great Drain. The central part of the room was floored with a mosaic made of tesserae of broken roof tile.

Throughout the area of the peristyle occurred a considerable sprinkling of pottery of the 1st century B.C., nowhere in a stratified deposit but sufficient in quantity to suggest that something of importance had happened at this time. In association with this pottery were found three stone catapult balls, roughly hewn from beccia, ca. 0.17 m. in diameter. (K 3502-04). Having in mind the similar

of pieces
(numbers)
↑

conjunction at the Pompeii by the Difylon one can scarcely doubt that the Heliaria also suffered in the events of 87 B.C. (It may be noted in passing that there is strong evidence for the destruction of the Southwest Fountain House at this time).

The Heliaria, like South Stn II, was subsequently turned over to industrial use. Here too we have clear evidence of the activity of marble workers in many small pits lined with emery powder and many bits of freshly sawn marble. Potters too found shelter in the shell of the old building. A well preserved kiln came to light in the second room from the south on the west side, while much of the old courtyard was occupied by a great pit full of potter's clay, pale yellow in color. The fact that ~~all~~ these evidences of industrial activity are confined within the limits of the old building, the kiln in particular having been carefully placed in a corner

of a room, leaves little doubt that both the outer and at least some of the inner walls were still standing.

The pottery associated with the industrial activity belongs, broadly speaking, to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. But it is meagre in quantity and has not yet been closely studied. Greater precision may be expected from further study. However that may be, there are indications that at some time probably within the 2nd century A.D. a stop was put to the industrial activity and the old building was in some measure rehabilitated. To this period may belong, for instance, the very interesting lion's head water font of classicistic style found in the courtyard (A 2284; cf also A 2276).

As to the function of the building in this its latest period we have no clue.

We may suppose that the building shared in the general disaster of 267 A.D. It was subsequently reoccupied by a group of bronze

workers who left behind them above the last
firm floor of the ancient building great masses
of their industrial waste: red clay and
sand interlarded with charcoal and
particles from the casting of bronze. The
associated pottery and coins date this
activity in the latter part of the 3rd
century A. D.