

## HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN BUILDINGS IN THE MEDIAEVAL WALLS OF MYTILENE

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**D**UE TO THE CONTINUOUS OCCUPATION of the town site, ancient Mytilene for the most part lies buried under modern structures. Many Greek and Roman buildings, however, can still be recognized from elements reused in more recent construction. The late mediaeval fortification walls of the Genoese castle on the acropolis constitute a prime source of such material. At the invitation of the Town Council of Mytilene (Lesbos) the Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens in May 1983 undertook a survey of the numerous classical architectural fragments built into the walls. The buildings identified have provided information about types of stone used at various periods, local architectural styles, and the place of Mytilenean buildings in more general architectural developments, especially during the Hellenistic and Roman periods when Western Asia Minor was important in the creation of distinctive forms of buildings and of architectural decor.

The results constitute a first phase in the development of an architectural history for the island. Survey and excavation elsewhere in the town of Mytilene and on the island will naturally add to the number and types of buildings known, and one may hope that foundations will come to light for one or more of the structures identified and analyzed here.<sup>1</sup>

For help in obtaining a permit we wish to thank Mr. Stratis Pallis, mayor of Mytilene. We are greatly indebted to Mrs. Aglaia Archontidou-Argyri for all her help and advice. We also thank Mr. B. Petrakis for his interest and help. Our work on the site was facilitated by the ephor of Mytilene, Mr. Elias Tzirivakos, and by the epimelitria, Miss Lillian Acheilara, and their staff. A small group of private donors in Canada provided the funds and work was carried out from May 12–June 1. Members of the team were Dr. Hector and Dr. Caroline Williams, CAIA, Ms. Karen Hutchinson (draughtswoman), Dr. Stavros Papamarinopoulos (geophysicist), Mr. Gregory Tsokas (geophysicist), and Ms. Maria Bournou (field assistant). I wish to thank Hector Williams for the photographs of the architectural remains at Mytilene.

<sup>1</sup>The following special abbreviations are used: *L'Agora des Italiens* = E. Lapalus, *Exploration archéologique de Délos. L'Agora des Italiens* (Paris 1939).

*Assos* = J. T. Clarke, F. H. Bacon, and R. Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos* (London etc. 1902).

*AvP* = *Altertümer von Pergamon*—vol. 2 is R. Bohn, *Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Nikephoros* (Berlin 1885), vol. 4 is R. Bohn, *Die Theater Terasse* (Berlin 1896), vol. 5.1 is G. Kawerau and T. Wiegand, *Die Paläste der Hochburg* (Berlin and Leipzig 1930), vol. 5.2 is H. Stiller, *Das Traianeum* (Berlin 1895), vol. 6 is P. Schazmann, *Das Gymnasium. Der Tempelbezirk der Hera Basileia* (Berlin and Leipzig 1923), vol. 7.2 is F. Winter, *Die Skulpturen* (Berlin 1908), vol. 9 is E. Boehringer and F. Krauss, *Das Temenos für den*

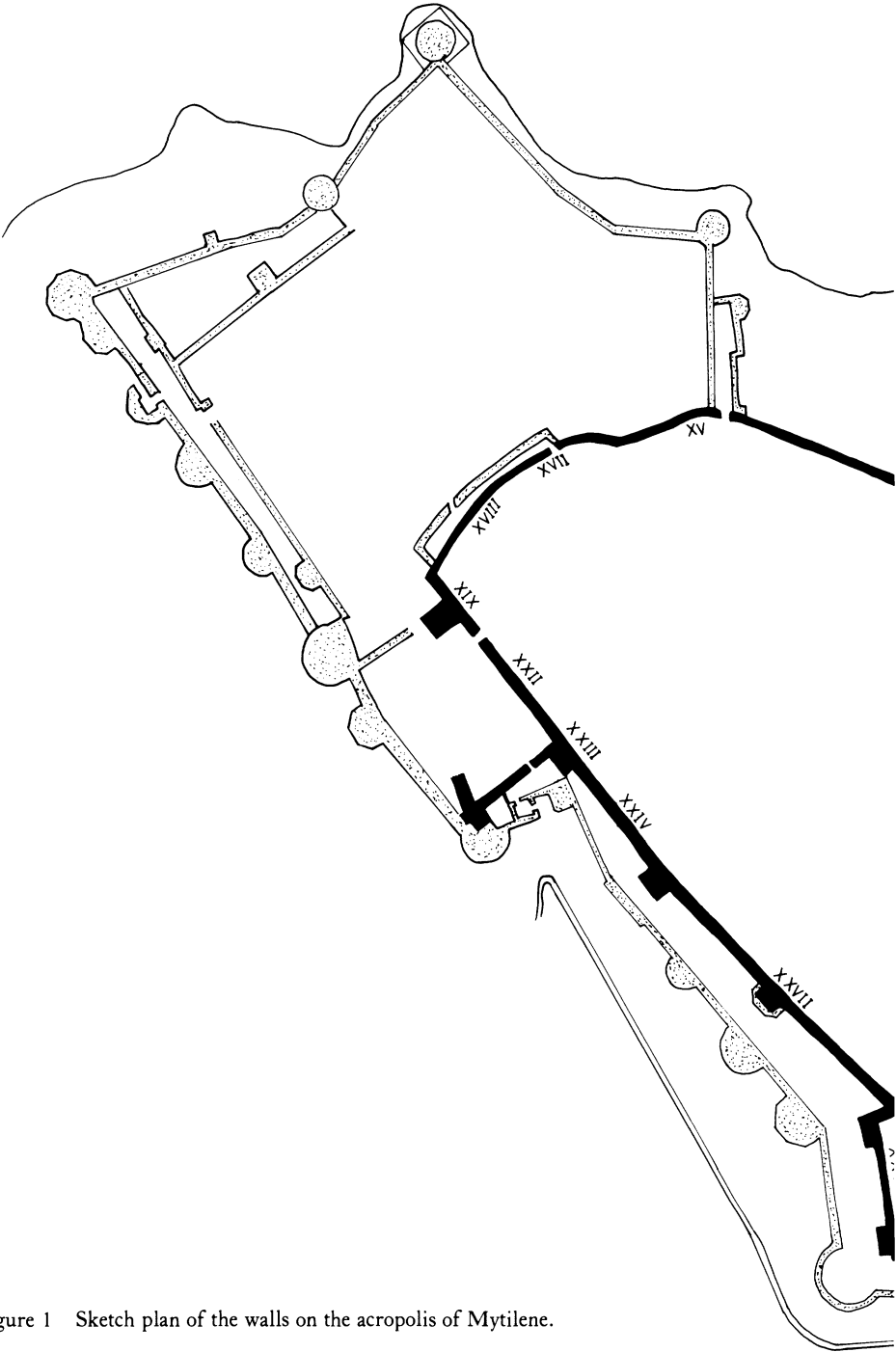
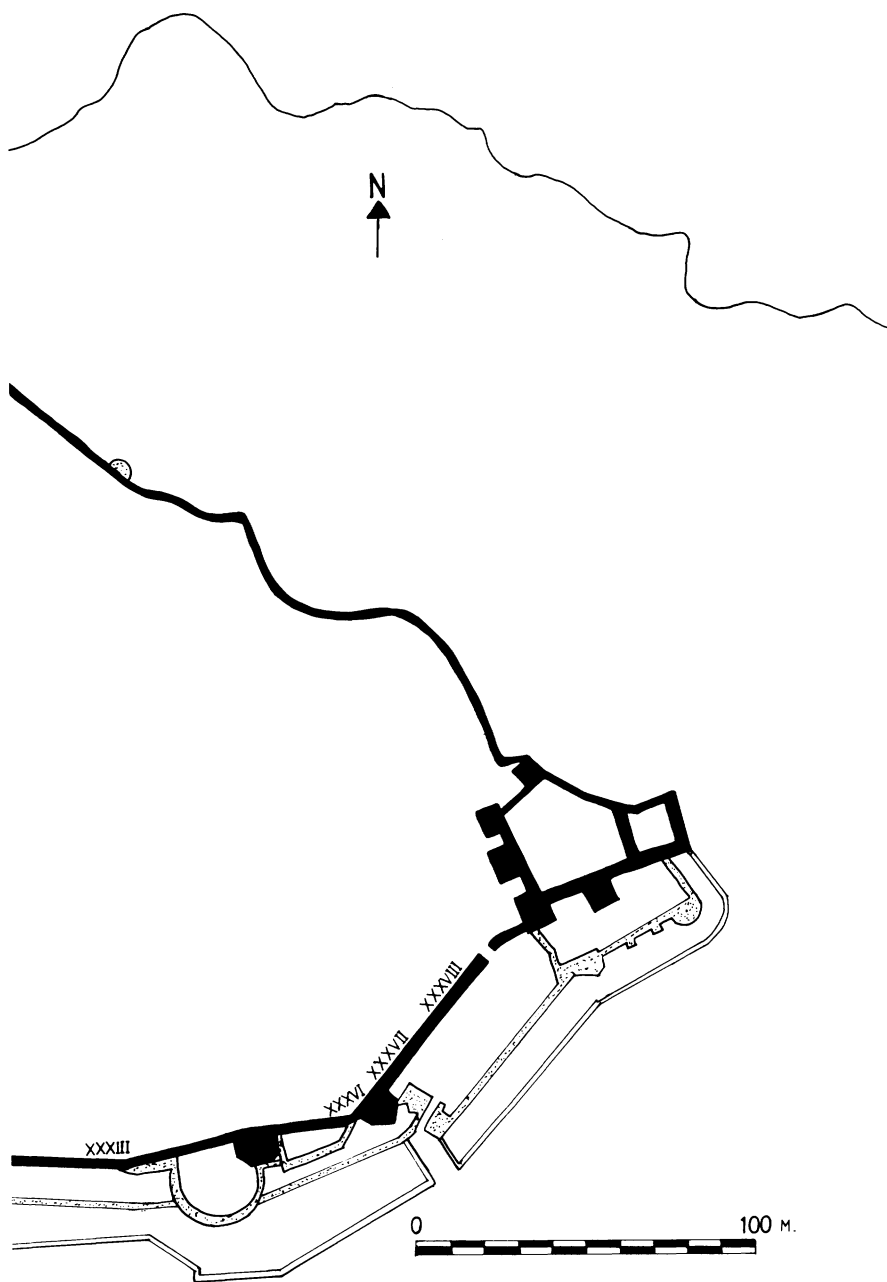


Figure 1 Sketch plan of the walls on the acropolis of Mytilene.



With only three weeks available we could not catalogue every ancient block, and indeed we were unable to record whole stretches of the circuit containing only wall blocks except in a very general way. We concentrated on identifiable elements such as bases, columns, capitals, pieces of entablature, and the like. A rapid initial survey of approximately two kilometers of walls gave us a first impression of the amount and variety of material surviving. We then divided the circuit into units of twenty-five metres in length and numbered them (Fig. 1). Beginning with areas noted as important in the initial survey, we assigned inventory numbers to individual items and then measured, drew, and described them.

Not surprisingly the mass of material quickly began to form into groups each representing one ancient building. The pillaging of ancient buildings for construction material naturally concentrated on a few relatively rich

*Herrscherkult* (Berlin and Leipzig 1937), vol. 11.1 is O. Ziegenaus and G. de Luca, *Das Asklepieion der südliche temenosbezirk in hellenistischer und frühromischer Zeit* (Berlin 1968), vol. 13 is C. H. Bohtz, *Das Demeter Heiligtum* (Berlin 1981).

*Ephesos, Architektur* = W. Alzinger, *Augusteische Architektur in Ephesos* (Vienna 1974).

*Ephesos, das Theater* = R. Heberdey, G. Niemann, and W. Wilberg, *Das Theater in Ephesos* (Vienna 1912).

*Ephesos = Forschungen in Ephesos*—vol. 3 is E. Reisch and W. Wilberg, (Vienna 1923), vol. 5.1 is W. Wilberg *et al.*, *Die Bibliothek* (Vienna 1944), vol. 6 is C. Praschnicker *et al.*, *Das Mausoleum von Belevi* (Vienna 1979).

*Epidaure* = A. Defrasse and H. Lechat, *Epidaure* (Paris 1895).

*Kos 1* = P. Schazmann, *Kos 1. Asklepieion. Baubeschreibung und Baugeschichte* (Berlin 1932).

*Laodicee, le Nymphée* = J. Des Gagniers *et al.*, *Laodicee du Lycos. Le Nymphée* (Laval and Paris 1969).

*Magnesia am Maeander* = C. Humann, J. Kohte, and C. Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin 1904).

*Milet* vol. 1.6 is A. von Gerkan, *Der Nordmarkt und der Hafen an der Löwenbucht* (Berlin and Leipzig 1922), vol. 1.7 is H. Knackfuss, *Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen* (Berlin 1924), vol. 1.8 is A. von Gerkan, *Kalabaktepe, Athenatempel und Umgebung* (Berlin 1925), vol. 2 is H. Knackfuss, *Das Rathaus von Milet* (Berlin 1908), vol. 2.1 is A. von Gerkan, *Das Stadion* (Berlin and Leipzig 1921), vol 4.1 is F. Krauss, *Das Theater von Milet* (Berlin 1973).

*Mamurt-Kale* = A. Conze and P. Schazmann, *Mamurt-Kale. Ein Tempel den Göttermutter unweit Pergamon* (Berlin 1911, *Jdl* Suppl. 9).

*Priene* = T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895–1898* (Berlin 1904).

*Priene, das Theater* = A. Von Gerkan, *Das Theater von Priene* (Munich etc. 1921).

*Samothrace* vol. 3 is P. W. Lehmann *et al.*, *The Hieron* (Princeton 1969); vol. 4.2 is K. Lehmann and D. Spittle, *The Altar Court* (New York 1964).

*Städte* = K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, vol. 1 (Prague etc. 1890), vol. 2 (Prague etc. 1892).

It should be noted that this survey concentrated on the medieval circuit wall only as a valuable source of information about ancient Mytilene. It is hoped that a separate study of these walls for their own sake will be undertaken in future in order to compensate for the lack of attention they have received to date.

sources of supply, though not all their parts were considered equally attractive. Wall blocks are the most adaptable to any situation. The large rectangular entablature blocks fitted easily into the wall face; also their carved architraves and friezes were perhaps exploited for their decorative value, though not in any very consistent way. An example of fairly careful attention to the visual impact is the setting of some entablature blocks from a tomb that were carved on both faces in two adjacent courses, one with its Ionic side facing out, and one with its Doric side facing out (1). Two blocks of a very ornate Severan entablature with garland frieze were set on the inside of the wall immediately beside the main gate of the *kastro*. It seems likely that this spot was chosen for its visual accessibility, although two other blocks from the same frieze are set in a much less conspicuous part of the circuit. The famous funerary reliefs depicting gladiatorial combats, not included in the actual survey permit, might be mentioned briefly here. Six of the seven are very prominent high in the wall of the inner keep, the strongest part of the fortification, where their scenes of combat may have been regarded as particularly appropriate.

Columns are also numerous; all are laid with an end facing out, so that the shaft, passing through the thickness of the wall, provides a bonding element. Cornices are rare. Presumably their stepped projecting profiles made them difficult to include in a wall. It must be remembered that some blocks which now present a flat surface to the outside may indeed be cornice blocks turned on their ends. A careful study of the clamp cuttings and pry holes might reveal a few items from the columnar parts of a building which, in our rapid survey, were taken for wall blocks. We identified no bases, though some square blocks with dimensions ca 0.70–0.80 m. a side *could* be the bottoms of plinths of Ionic bases. The curved forms on bases may again have discouraged their use; in any case the Hellenistic buildings in question were Doric. With the exception of one small piece from a Doric capital, two small Roman Ionic capitals, and three Byzantine capitals, this part was not utilized either. Again the shape of capitals may have seemed difficult to accommodate. In addition, relatively small and manageable items of architectural decor like bases and capitals may have disappeared into lime kilns long before the building of the mediaeval walls.

Many more blocks are found in the northern than the southern part of the wall (excepting special cases like the Severan entablature and the gladiatorial reliefs), doubtless because the ruined buildings that provided them lay to the north. We may imagine the large public buildings (4–7) as having stood in the lower town between the Acropolis and the ancient harbour to the north, and the cemetery material, including that of buildings 1–3, as coming across by boat from the northern side of the bay, where traces of an ancient necropolis still remain.

### Materials

"The island is mountainous; one chain of hills that are mostly rocky, consists chiefly of marble and runs the whole length of the island."<sup>2</sup> As a result little stone appears to have been imported for columnar architecture before the Roman period and even then the local marbles predominate overwhelmingly. The marble from the quarries at Moria, 4 km. northwest of Mytilene, is distinguishable at sight from the marble quarried at Thermi, ca 9 km. north of Mytilene (for a geological analysis see the Appendix).<sup>3</sup> It is generally dark grey in colour with only occasional lighter grey or off-white veins. Only these lighter veins appear at all crystalline to the naked eye while the dark grey areas resemble limestone rather than any stone readily perceived as marble. Its rough texture is not suitable for very fine details nor does its surface take a smooth, polished finish. Still lying in the quarry above Moria in the district of Hagios Iannis are partially finished column shafts, entablature blocks, and an altar. Thermi marble, though of higher quality, still has a coarse texture and does not take a high degree of detail or polish. It is crystalline, light grey or greyish white with the shades sometimes intermingled, creating a mottled effect.

An undated inscription from Mytilene gives the specifications for the building of a stoa.<sup>4</sup> The door frames were to be of marble from Thermi (*μαρμάρῳ τῷ ἐκ Θέρμ[ας]*), while the inside and outside walls were to be built out of local stone (*τῷ ἀπὸ τᾶς χώρας λίθῳ*). Whenever this phrase is used in antiquity it is generally understood by modern authors to mean limestone.<sup>5</sup> In the case of Mytilene it is possible that only the stone from Thermi was recognized as a marble by the ancients. The coarse grey stone from Moria may well have been considered merely as "the stone from the place." Since there are no limestone blocks of any kind represented in the circuit walls at Mytilene the supposition that "local stone" is something other than limestone here is a likely one. It is possible that andesite from the island might have

<sup>2</sup>R. Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries* 2.2 (London 1745) 16.

<sup>3</sup>For a collection of literary references to marbles on the island see A. Dworakowska, "Carrières antiques des îles d'Asie Mineure, depuis Lesbos jusqu'à Icarie. Matériaux pour l'Inventaire," *Archeologia* 28 (1977) 103–106 (in Polish with French summary 115–116) and "Lesbios Lithos, Marmor Lesbium," Appendix 15–18 to A. Dworakowska, "Notes on the Terminology for Stones used in Ancient Greece," *ibid.* 1–15. For a brief reference to a quarry, see S. Charitonides, *Deltion* 17 (1961–1962) Chr. 261–265 and 18 (1973) Chr. 266–271.

<sup>4</sup>*IG* 12.2.14, dated "4th C. B.C.?" in L. B. Holland, F. W. Householder, Jr., and R. L. Scranton, *A Sylloge of Greek Building Inscriptions* (unpublished manuscript, ASCS library, Athens) 1009, 2064, no. 195, but no reasons are given for the date. I wish to thank Dr David Jordan for this reference and for discussing the inscriptions with me.

<sup>5</sup>R. Martin, *Manuel d'architecture grecque 1. Matériaux et techniques* (Paris 1965) 128; A. K. Orlandos, *Les matériaux de construction 2* (Paris 1968) 5.

been called the "local stone" but as the quarries at Moria were so near the town stone from them is the likely candidate.<sup>6</sup>

The evidence for the use of Mytilenean marble in sculpture has not as yet been collected. A large head of the Roman period from Izmit in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (Inv. no. E. 173) appears to be carved in the dark grey stone from Moria.<sup>7</sup> The head, representing a river god, is depicted with large bold planes that do not require a fine easily worked stone.

The andesite is a hard, dark red stone, often with a purplish tinge or brown with an orange red tinge. It does not take fine details and was used almost exclusively for wall blocks. Occasionally andesite columns occur, and two pieces of Doric entablature attest to a small trabeated structure, probably a tomb (2). This volcanic stone is usually associated with western Asia Minor in the region of Pergamon and Assos where it is used extensively for buildings, but it is also found in the northern part of Mytilene itself.<sup>8</sup> The details on the Doric frieze have weathered very badly.

A few imported marbles also appear. Two small columns are carved in a multi-coloured mottled stone featuring pink, green, orange, and black, probably the Africano of antiquity. The fluted frieze from a late second or early third century columnar façade (7) is of an imported white marble. An unfinished pier or pilaster, probably originally flanking a door, is Proconnesian marble (uncatalogued). All of these pieces are Roman in date and reflect the large-scale trade in fancy building stones that developed in the second century A. D. But importations never ousted the local stone from the market. The Severan garland frieze (3) was rendered in Moria marble, for example, despite the difficulty in cutting all of the necessary detail on the mouldings.

A few building blocks are cut from an extremely coarse, black volcanic conglomerate that weathers very badly; it may come from Mytilene itself or from the Asia Minor coast.

### *The Architecture*

In general the architecture of Mytilene throughout the Greco-Roman period finds its parallels in Asia Minor. The orientation is not surprising. The island is clearly visible from the Acropolis at Pergamon. Mytilene shares with cities such as Assos and Pergamon the use of andesite for walls and an apparent predilection for the Doric order right through the

<sup>6</sup>Lesbian marble, perhaps that from Thermi, is also attested in an inscription from Smyrna, Orlandos, *op. cit.* 11, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup>G. Mendel, *Sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* 2 (Constantinople 1914) 328, Catalogue no. 595.

<sup>8</sup>I wish to thank Dr. R. Wagner of the Max Planck Institute in Heidelberg for information about the availability of andesite on the island and for his kind help in identification of stones during his visit to Mytilene in May, 1983.

Hellenistic period. Asia Minor traits such as ears over the half-glyphs are found in the Doric order at Mytilene. The columnar stoa-like tomb (1) is a funerary type known at Assos. In the Roman period a specifically eastern style of decoration, the fluted frieze (7), is found in one building.

#### THE FUNERARY MONUMENTS

1. COLUMNAR TOMB      Figs. 2, 3, Pls. 1.1, 1.2, 2.1, Ref. *IG* 12.2.260.

*Date:* end 1st cent. B.C.—early 1st cent. A.D.

*Building Type:* A tomb structure with a Doric columnar façade. The form is essentially that of a small stoa with a row of columns forming the façade on one long side. A parallel, Tomb 21 at Assos, had balustrades between the columns, leaving an entrance only through the central intercolumniation (*Assos* 279, cf. 273, 275).

*Introduction:* A broken column and a broken entablature block have fallen out of the circuit wall and now lie beneath its northwest corner. The entablature blocks were built into the circuit wall in two more or less straight courses, the lower row with the Ionic side of each block facing out, the row above mostly with the Doric side out, although an Ionic face breaks the pattern at one end of the row (Pl. 1.1). A single block was built into the wall at the south end of the site. One broken entablature block with part of an inscription is built into a tower of the sea wall in a stretch not otherwise included in the survey (Pl. 2.1).

#### CATALOGUE

a. Entablature      Fig. 2, Pls. 1.1, 1.2, 2.1 Field nos.: Unit XIX, outside, block nos. 1–7, 9–12; Unit XXXIII, outside, block no. 1 plus block with inscription.

#### *Material:*

Moria marble. The dark grey colour predominates with some lighter grey and off-white veins.

#### *Dimensions*

|                        |                                             |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Total H.               | 0.60 m.                                     |
| Depth, resting surface | 0.458 m.                                    |
| Depth, bearing surface | 0.488 m.                                    |
| Estimated Total L.     | 1.56 m. (2 triglyphs per intercolumniation) |
|                        | 2.08 m. (3 triglyphs per intercolumniation) |



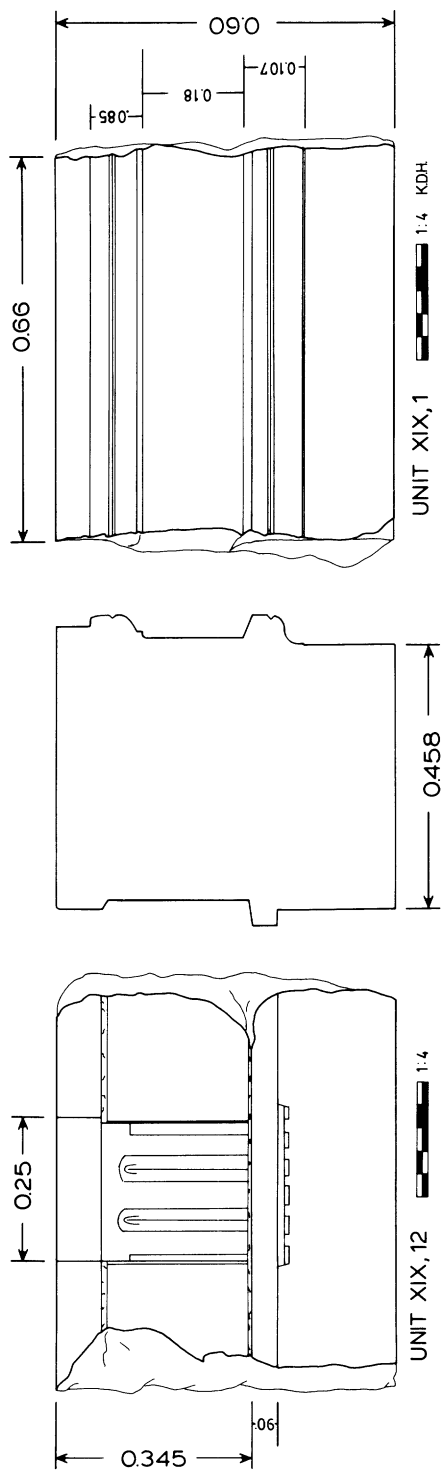


Figure 2 Entablature from the tomb of Prota.

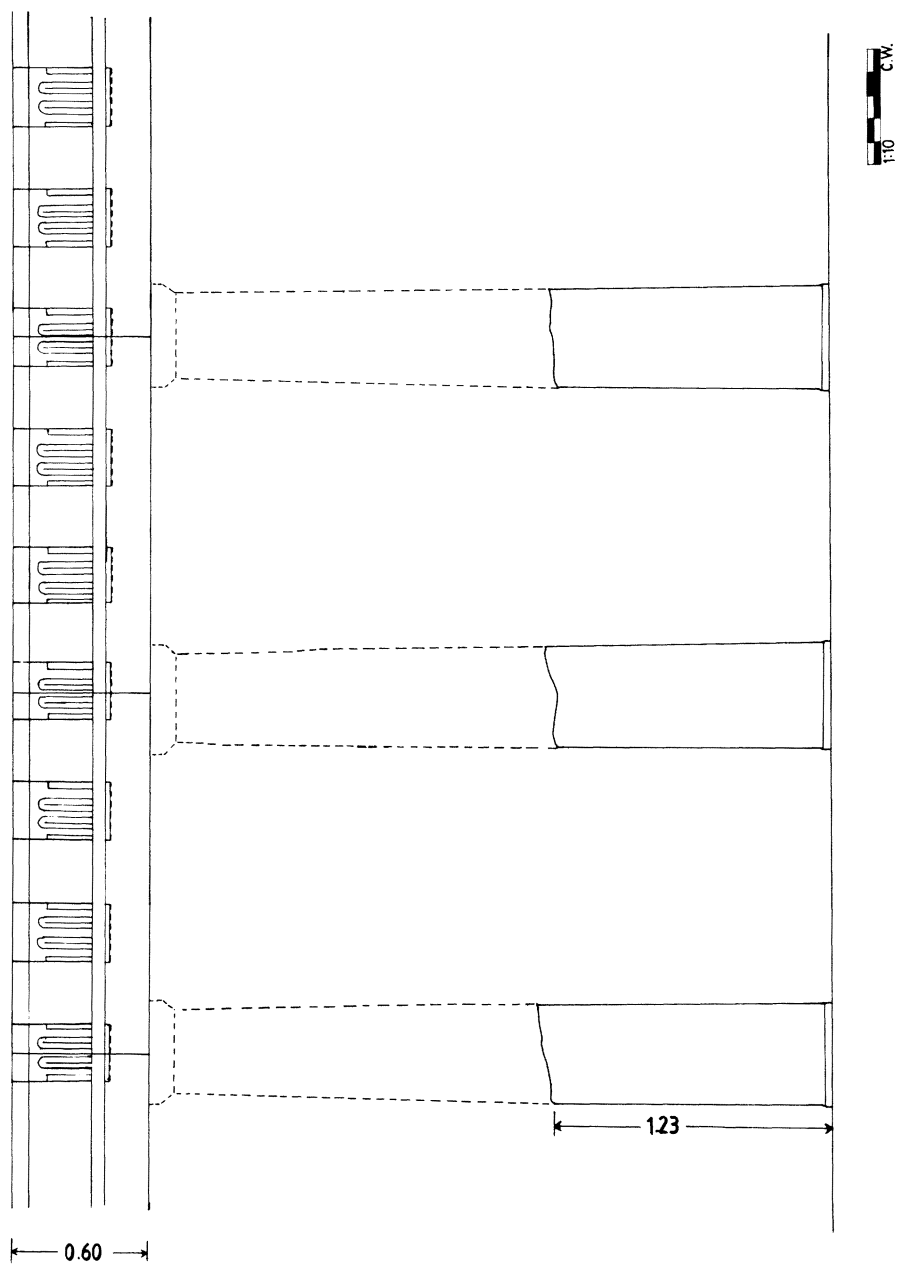


Figure 3 Reconstruction of part of the facade from the tomb of Protá.

|                              |             |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| Maximum Depth with mouldings | 0.54 m.     |
| Doric architrave             | H. 0.255 m. |
| Doric frieze                 | H. 0.345 m. |
| Ionic architrave             | H. 0.264 m. |
| Ionic frieze                 | H. 0.332 m. |
| Triglyph                     | W. 0.25 m.  |
| Metope                       | W. 0.27 m.  |

*Condition:*

All the entablature blocks are broken on the short sides.

*Description:*

The architrave and frieze are carved in one block.

i. Doric entablature Pls. 1.1, 1.2, 2.1

The architrave is topped by a broad taenia, 0.06 m. wide, very narrow regulae, and low broad button-like guttae. In many cases the regulae extend on either side beyond the edges of the triglyphs. Both the sloppy rendering of the regulae and the unusual amount of space taken up by the elements at the top, almost one-third of the total height of the architrave, suggest a late date. The top surface of the taenia is bevelled so that it slopes upward and merges gradually into the face of the metope.

The frieze consists of almost square triglyphs and metopes. The best preserved blocks have the remains of one complete and two partially preserved triglyphs framing the metopes. With two triglyphs per intercolumniation, each entablature block would consist of two complete and two half triglyphs, giving a total length of 1.56 m. (Fig. 3). The resulting intercolumniation leaves a clear space of only 1.10 m. between columns, very narrow for a structure with much traffic passing between its columns, e.g., a stoa, but sufficient for a tomb visited in small family groups on special occasions.<sup>9</sup>

The triglyphs are crudely done and usually exhibit variations in the sizes of the glyphs and half glyphs. The glyphs end in half domes at the top while the shorter half glyphs are topped by straight edges. The broad taenia has the same height over both the triglyphs and the metopes. In conjunction with the bevelled top edge of the taenia, the bevelled bottom edge of the crowning band provides a frame-like effect for the metopes and contributes to the general lack of crispness in the overall appearance of the entablature.

<sup>9</sup>Restoring three triglyphs per intercolumniation would make its axial size 2.08 m., much greater than the usual axial intercolumniation of ca 3.75 lower diameters found in such cases, and the resulting clear space of 1.62 m. between columns hardly seems necessary in a building we can see from its inscription to have been funerary.

A funerary dedication in honour of Prota, ,

Φιλῶν Διαφ[ένεος -- --]  
 Πρώταν γύναικα -- --]  
 καὶ φιλαγαθίας [ένεκα -- --]

is carved on the architrave portion of a block that probably spanned the central intercolumniation. The block is broken at the edge of one complete triglyph. The elaborated letter style suggests a Roman date; for the possible connection of Prota with an epigram of the Augustan elegiast, Crinagoras, see below, 45.

ii. Ionic entablature Pls. 1.1, 1.2

The architrave is plain and divided from the frieze by a set of two strongly projecting mouldings with no subsidiary decoration. Below is a cyma reversa separated from the fillet above by a small groove. The top surface of the fillet is bevelled. The frieze is plain. Above the frieze is a set of three mouldings: small fillet, large quarter round, fillet. The peculiarity of the block is that the mouldings are not carried to the top of the block. The recess thus created, only 0.02 x 0.06 m., is too small to take any element of a roof and one can only suppose that it is not structural. If its height is excluded, the architrave and frieze are virtually identical in height, 0.264 and 0.265 m. The explanation for the recessed band may lie in the relationship between the heights of architrave and frieze, which should be 1.5 : 1 on the Vitruvian canon. Since it appears that the position of the mouldings crowning the Ionic architrave was governed by that of the taenia above the Doric architrave on the opposite face, the crowning mouldings of the Ionic frieze had to be set below the top of the block in order not actually to reverse the accepted proportions between Ionic architraves and friezes. The recessed band would not have been noticeable from below in the deep shadow created by the ceiling beams.

b. Column Field no.: Unit XIX, outside, block no. 8.

*Material:*

Moria marble. Dark grey with occasional lighter veins.

*Dimensions:*

|                                 |                                      |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Preserved H.                    | 1.23 m.                              |
| Lower D.                        | 0.46 m.                              |
| Estimated H.                    | ca 2.90–3.0 m. (6.5 lower diameters) |
| Moulding at bottom of shaft, H. | 0.03 m.                              |

*Condition:*

Top half of column broken off.

*Description:*

Smooth, monolithic shaft. Plain moulding at bottom of shaft, straight sided rather than rounded. Square cutting for dowel on bottom.

*Discussion:*

No capitals or cornice blocks potentially from this structure were found in the walls. Since the main face of the entablature is Doric it is unlikely that there were bases under the columns despite their smooth shafts with a moulding at the bottom. Smooth shafts for Doric, while never the norm, are occasionally found from the archaic period onwards.<sup>10</sup> If the cornice featured Ionic dentils then Ionic capitals would be possible but it is more likely that the capitals were Doric.

The combination of two architraves and friezes, one Doric and one Ionic, carved in one block can be paralleled in the undated columnar tomb at Assos. The Doric is the main side while the Ionic entablature is merely an elaboration of the standard treatment for the back of a Doric architrave in which generally two fasciae are crowned with a set of mouldings above which rest the ceiling beams at the level of the triglyph frieze. In the case of these tomb structures the ceiling beams were inserted at cornice level. The example from Assos is better designed since no adjustment had to be made at the top of the Ionic frieze in order to have a proportion of 1 : 1 in the height of the architrave and the frieze, thanks to the placement of the taenia on the Doric side.

All the details of the entablature point to a late Hellenistic or early Roman date for the structure. No exact parallel for the arched tops for the glyphs combined with straight tops for shorter half glyphs is known. The combination of taller glyphs with shorter half glyphs when both have straight tops is found occasionally from the late third century B.C. onwards:

*Comparanda*

1. Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, west stoa, agora, late 3rd cent. B.C., *Magnesia am Maeander* 116–117, fig. 122.
2. Miletos, entablature on the exterior wall of the Bouleuterion, 2nd half of 2nd cent. B.C., *Milet* 2.47, fig. 30.
3. Sillyon, stoa, "Hellenistic," but no dating evidence is published, *Städte* 1.82–83, figs. 64–66.
4. Ephesos, east stoa, commercial agora, Doric order facing the Marble Road, Neronian, *Ephesos* 3.80–81, figs. 131, 133.
5. Athens, entablature block lying on the marble pile beside the Erechtheion north of the

<sup>10</sup>See *L'Architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Delos* 2 (Paris 1966) 103–105, and add the Doric temple under S.Nicola in Carcere, 2nd half of 1st cent. B.C. (D. S. Robertson, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* [London 1950] 207–208).

temple of Rome and Augustus on the acropolis. It combines half-domed glyphs and shorter flat-topped glyphs. There is a second broad crowning taenia in addition to the normal band at the top of the frieze course. The tall glyphs project into this band while the half glyphs stop at its bottom edge. The format is unusual and also has no exact parallels. ?Unpublished.

6. Ephesos, Doric portico, colonnaded street outside the west gate of the commercial agora, probably late 1st cent. B.C., *Ephesos* 3.36, fig. 59 (a summary notice).

The canonical classical proportion of triglyphs to metopes of 2 : 3 is here replaced in favour of triglyphs and metopes of almost exactly the same width. This is probably a late development. It again finds a parallel in the frieze of the tomb structure at Assos. The triglyphs and metopes are also close in width on the Neronian stoa at Ephesos, being 0.383 and 0.475 m.

The carving of a Doric architrave and frieze in one block can be documented from the third century B.C. onward, first in Pergamon and then in Ephesos and Assos, but early examples appear to occur on Doricizing rather than on true Doric entablatures. The height of the combined courses varies between 0.50 and 0.60 m.

### *Comparanda*

1. Pergamon, lower north stoa, Demeter sanctuary, Doricizing order, probably in the reign of Philaitairos (283–263 B.C.), total H. 0.563 m. The architrave has regulae and guttae but the frieze lacks triglyphs and metopes. *AvP* 13.57–58, Pl. 50.

2. Pergamon, west stoa, theatre terrace, total H. 0.505 m. The order, though generally called Doric, is not canonical, having a two-step architrave and a simplified frieze with no triglyph-metope alternation. The greatly projecting mouldings between the frieze and the architrave are very close to those on the Ionic side of the entablature from Mytilene, having only a much larger concavity between the cyma and the fillet. 2nd cent. B.C. *AvP* 4.36, Pl. 24.

3. Pergamon, forecourt, temenos of the ruler cult, total H. 0.63 m., from a mixed Doric-Ionic portico, late 3rd to 1st half of 2nd cent. B.C., *AvP* 9.70–71, fig. 17.

4. Pergamon, upper story, stoa in the sanctuary of Athena Polias, total H. 0.554 m., mixed Doric and Ionic entablature with a two-step architrave and a Doric frieze, reign of Attalos II, *AvP* 2 Pl. 13. A small Doric façade for a niche in the sanctuary has its architrave, frieze, and cornice carved in one block, total H. 0.249 m.

5. Ephesos, proskenion entablature, theatre, total H. 0.30 m., end of 2nd to 1st cent. B.C., *Ephesos, das Theater* 24–25, figs. 45, 46.

6. Assos, tomb of Apollonios (Tomb 12), total H. 0.57, undated, Tomb 21, total H. 0.37, undated, *Assos* 259, fig. on p. 255, and 279, figs. on pp. 273, 275.

7. Laodicea, Turkey, triple-arched gate, total H. 0.82 m. Dated by inscription to the reign of Domitian. W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, *MAMA* 6 (Manchester 1939) 1–2, Pls. 1,2.

Approximately eight metres of entablature are preserved, enough for a façade of four columns between antae attached to the side walls on a system of two triglyphs per intercolumniation. As some of the entablature is clearly missing, most obviously the part that carried the rest of the inscription, we cannot know how much longer the façade actually was.

On the basis of the style and layout of the elements on the entablature the

structure cannot date before the second century B.C. A date much later than this is suggested by the disregard for classical proportions, the debased nature of the execution, and the plain monolithic columns with bottom moulding. Half-domed triglyphs, lack of ears over the half glyphs, and different heights for the glyphs and the half glyphs all find parallels in datable buildings of the third to the first centuries B.C. and in the few known early Roman Doric structures (see 5 for an analysis of the use of ears over the half glyphs and of half domes over the glyphs). The smooth column shaft with prominent straight-walled moulding at the bottom tends to be associated primarily with the Roman period.

Corroboration of the late Hellenistic-early Roman date suggested by the architecture may possibly be found in the identification of the woman named in the inscription with the Prota whose death was lamented by the Mytilenaeon poet of the Augustan period, Crinagoras.<sup>11</sup> Cichorius first suggested the possibility that the two references were to the same woman,<sup>12</sup> but editors of the Greek Anthology have not taken the suggestion seriously since they have regarded the poem as merely an excuse for a play on words arising from the name. This is to neglect the supporting evidence of the architecture. The coincidence of a funerary inscription in honour of a Prota on a structure whose style fits nicely with a late first century B.C. date and an Augustan poet from Mytilene recording the death of a Prota demands that Cichorius's suggestion be at least considered possible. The monumental marble tomb suggests a family in good society, and our Prota could well have been known to Crinagoras, a prominent citizen who served on an embassy to Augustus in 26/5 B.C. and was a friend of Octavia.

## 2. DORIC STRUCTURE      Fig. 4, Pl. 2.2

*Date:* Late Hellenistic-early Roman

*Building Type:* Possibly a tomb

*Introduction:* Two large pieces of entablature are reused as the lintel and door-frame in the north gate of the main circuit wall.

### CATALOGUE

Field nos.: Unit XVII, outside, block nos. 6,7.

### *Material:*

Andesite. Block no. 6 is red-brown; block no. 7 is greyish brown.

<sup>11</sup>P. Waltz and J. Guilton, eds., *Anthologie Palatine* 5 (Paris 1928) 58, no. 108 and 53, n. 3; A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology* (Cambridge 1968) 1.206–207, 2.223.

<sup>12</sup>A. Cichorius, "Inscripfen aus Lesbos," *AthMitt* 13 (1888) 72–73, no. 34.

*Dimensions*

|               | Block no. 6    | block no. 7         |
|---------------|----------------|---------------------|
| Total H.      | 0.488 m.       |                     |
| L.            | 2.04 m.        | (preserved) 1.86 m. |
| Architrave H. | 0.228 m.       |                     |
| Frieze H.     | 0.26 m.        |                     |
| Triglyph W.   | 0.212–0.215 m. |                     |
| Metope W.     | 0.31–0.32 m.   |                     |

*Condition:*

The stone wears very badly so that the details on both blocks are badly blurred. Block no. 7 is broken on the short sides.

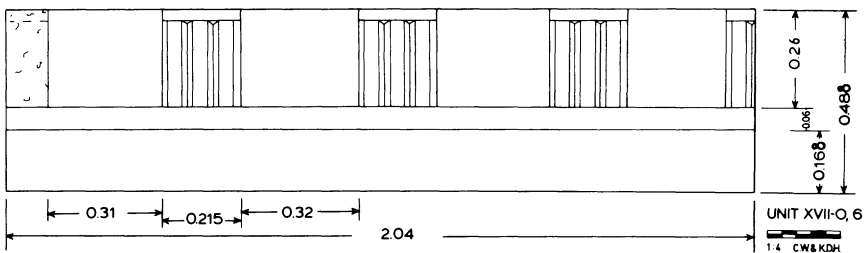


Figure 4 Andesite entablature.

*Description:*

The architrave and the frieze are carved in one block. The architrave is topped by a broad taenia, 0.06 m. wide, and no traces of regulae or guttae are visible below any of the triglyphs. As a pattern of wear that left most of the taenia but removed all of these elements would be surprising, they were presumably never provided. Block no. 6 has three complete triglyphs and a half triglyph at each end, giving three triglyphs per intercolumniation for the structure. Each triglyph is crowned by a plain band which, unless the wear has deceived us, does not extend over the metopes, an unusual feature. The straight-topped glyphs and half glyphs extend right up to the bottom edge of the crowning band. The roof of each glyph slopes downward from front to back, with the result that the central groove does not extend right up to the top of the glyph.

*Discussion:*

The overall impression created by this entablature is of a simplified Doric with many of the details left out. It may have been set into a wall as a crowning element rather than having a structural role in a columnar façade. The blocks are so shallow (ca 0.22 m.) that they would need a row of backers if the entablature were to stand freely on columns and support a roof, and in a small entablature from a structure of obviously limited size



that would seem unnecessarily elaborate. The back of each block is plain and fairly smooth.

Stylistic considerations suggest a late Hellenistic-early Roman date for this entablature. As noted under 1 architrave and frieze are not combined in one block before the Hellenistic period. The cursory and crudely rendered Doric argues for at least a late Hellenistic date. An analysis of the triglyphs, in particular, supports this view. Flat-topped glyphs with a sloping roof and a central groove stopping short of the top develop in the early Hellenistic period and continue to be used frequently to the end of Roman Doric. The earliest occurrences are in the altar court and the hieron at Samothrace in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. (*Samothrace* 4.2 Pl. 26 and 3 Pl. 51) and in the temple of Artemis at Epidauros belonging to the late fourth century B.C. (*Epidaure* fig. on 165). In these three examples the triangular sloping areas at the top are very small because the masons did not deviate much from the standard undercut or horizontal roof. The sloping area becomes progressively larger on subsequent examples, such as those from the Agora of the Italians on Delos, dating from the end of the second or the first half of the first century B.C. (*L'Agora des Italiens* 22, fig. 21), and from the Neronian east stoa from the commercial agora at Ephesos (*Ephesos* 3.81, fig. 133). Where all of the cited examples and most other known Doric triglyphs differ from those on the entablature at Mytilene is in the height of the glyphs, which normally end a noticeable distance below the bottom edge of the taenia. There is, however, an identical format on an undated marble entablature from the theatre at Mytilene,<sup>13</sup> where the flat-topped glyphs with sloping roof and the half glyphs are both carried right up to the bottom of the crowning taenia.

This unusual feature is also found on Hellenistic buildings in Priene—the north portico of the courtyard of the Asklepieion, the north portico of the Agora (i.e., the Sacred Stoa), and the proskenion of the theatre.<sup>14</sup> The fact that the feature is rarely found elsewhere but can be documented in a cluster of buildings here suggests that it is a local trait that was adopted occasionally elsewhere. The examples at Priene still have ears over the half glyphs, suggesting that they are earlier than the blocks at Mytilene. A parallel for the elimination of some details of the entablature occurs at Assos in the combined architrave and frieze blocks from the Tomb of Apollonios (no. 12, *Assos* 259 and plate on 255). There are no regulae and guttae beneath the triglyphs and the separation between the architrave and the frieze is achieved simply by a continuous double moulding consisting of a

<sup>13</sup>D. Evangelides, "Excavations and Antiquities in Mytilene," *Deltion* 12 (1928) 17, fig. 17.

<sup>14</sup>*Priene* 138, fig. 107, 194–195, figs. 187–189, 255, fig. 256 and *Priene, das Theater* Pls. 1–3, 6.1, 2, 3, 20, 24–26.

fillet with a bevel below. There is unfortunately no dating evidence for this tomb.

Without epigraphic evidence we cannot be sure what type of structure this entablature comes from. The small size of the combined elements, the somewhat haphazard execution of details, and the use of the Doric order recall 1. The preponderance of pieces definitely from funerary structures (1, 3, and, e.g., Fig. 2) suggests that the mediaeval builders took many of their decorative blocks from a convenient necropolis, and this andesite entablature would fit well onto a small tomb structure. A definite conclusion, however, is impossible.

### 3. ROMAN ENTABLATURE WITH GARLAND FRIEZE

Fig. 5, Pls. 3.1, 3.2, 4.1

*Date:* Severan

*Building Type:* A monumental tomb, Ionic or Corinthian.

*Introduction:* Two blocks set immediately inside the kastro west of the main gate and two set close together halfway up the wall approximately in the middle of the western side of the circuit belong to one structure. Three carry both architrave and frieze, the fourth only frieze.

#### CATALOGUE

a. Architrave and frieze courses carved in one block. Pls. 3.1, 3.2.  
Field nos.: Unit XXVII, block no. 1; Unit XXXVIII, block nos. 1, 2.

#### *Material:*

Moria marble. Occasional patches of light grey-white in the predominantly dark-grey stone.

#### *Dimensions*

|                  |         |
|------------------|---------|
| Total H.         | 0.57 m. |
| Max preserved L. | ca 1 m. |
| Architrave H.    | 0.29 m. |
| Frieze H.        | 0.28 m. |

#### *Condition:*

All the blocks are broken on the short side. The mouldings are badly chipped and broken away.

#### *Description:*

The architrave has three fasciae increasing in height from bottom to top. Between the lowest and the middle fascia is a "twisted rope" moulding and

between the middle and the upper fascia is a bead and reel. A set of three mouldings divides the architrave and the frieze: bead and reel, egg and dart, lesbiana cyma. The frieze is carved with heavy garlands made up of leaves, round fruit that appear to be apples, and rosettes. A thick ribbon passes twice around the garland at its lowest point in the middle and binds it again in a large bow at the high point, where the garland rests on a patera. Each patera is depicted with an omphalos. Rosettes of various kinds fill the clear spaces left by the hanging garlands. Above the frieze is a lesbiana cyma and a plain fillet.

b. Block with frieze course only. Pl. 4.1. Field no.: Unit XXVII, block no. 2.

*Material:*

Moria marble.

*Dimensions*

Preserved L. 1.03 m.  
H. 0.31 m.

*Condition:*

Broken on both short sides.

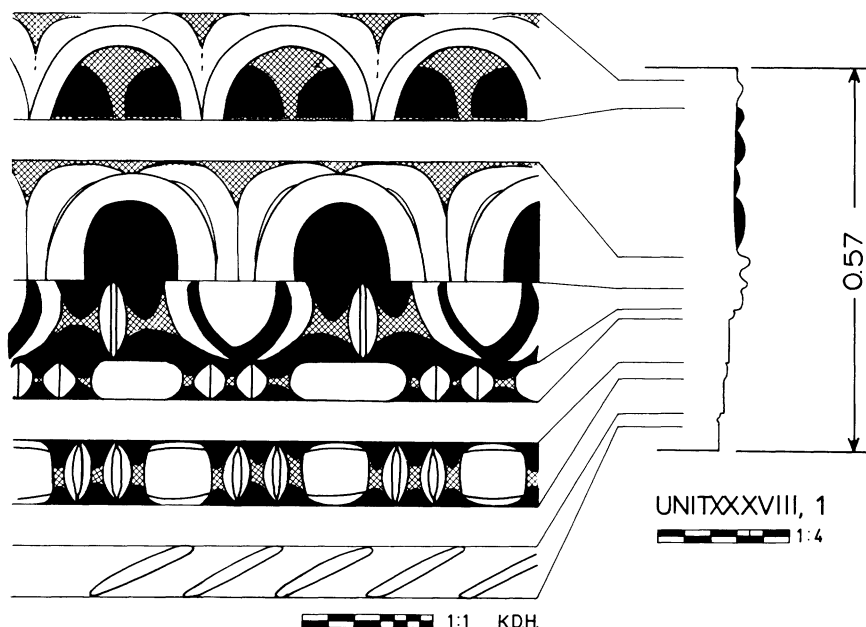


Figure 5 Mouldings from entablature with garland frieze.

*Description:*

The thick garland is too badly worn for one to be certain of the individual elements which originally went into it. In the centre at its lowest point it is tied with a thick ribbon decorated with an overlapping-scale pattern. The ribbon encircles the garland once on each side of the central binding. The garland is draped over elements at each end that are now unidentifiable. Perhaps little figures of Erotes originally stood here. Bucrania are unlikely given the small height of what survives. In the space above the garland is an eagle with outstretched wings, above which are figures, possibly Victories or Winds, each with head turned up, one hand on a wing, and legs outstretched. Above the frieze is a lesbian cyma and a plain fillet.

*Discussion:*

The Combined Architrave and Frieze Blocks Pls. 3.1, 3.2

The three blocks that combine frieze and architrave obviously belong to one entablature. Arguing for the inclusion of the fourth block in the same set is the size (it has a frieze only two cm. higher than the others, and may well have sat on an architrave block two cm. lower), the material, the mouldings above the frieze, and, finally, the garland motif. In style and execution it is very close to the other three and must have come from a building of the same size and date if it is not from the same building. The difference in the length of and the supports for the garland may be due to the requirements of the scene depicted above the garland at this point. The eagle and winged figures doubtless had a symbolic value and a prominent position on the structure.

All the details of the carving point to a late date for the entablature. The most noticeable feature of the mouldings is the striving after chiaroscuro effects by breaking down the formerly interlocking and coherent design into individual elements and spacing these widely so that carved areas and voids occupy roughly equal amounts of space. For example, on the ovolo the eggs are completely detached from their sheaths, with a wide space left between. The dart is a plain shaft, pointed at the bottom and attached to the sheath on either side of it by a small bar. A geometric, continuous pattern is thus created. The astragals are not uniform. One features square and the other elongated beads and within one moulding both the beads and the reels will vary in shape and size. All the parts of the lesbian cyma are also widely spaced to create large areas of shade.

The twisted rope pattern between the lower fasciae rendered simply by means of diagonal incised lines also indicates a late date. The design is first found on the Augustan south gate of the commercial agora at Ephesos; here each small coil is rendered three-dimensionally, giving the impression of a

thick tightly-wound cord.<sup>15</sup> Further examples from the Flavian to the Antonine period are also carefully done to create a realistic effect. In the cord on the base of Trajan's column we actually find subsidiary strokes in each coil that give the feeling of rough twine.<sup>16</sup> In the East the moulding does not reappear after its use in the south gate of the Ephesian agora until ca A.D. 130, on the upper story of the Library of Celsus, also at Ephesos, and here its obscure position between the upper fasciae on the back face of the architrave (*Ephesos* 5.1 27, fig. 56) indicates some reluctance to accept it as a true moulding on an equal footing with, for example, the astragal or the ovolo. It occurs at Miletos on the crowning mouldings of the podium of the probably Antonine theatre<sup>17</sup> and on an entablature of the exuberant late Antonine style built into the Justinianic wall (*Milet* 1.7 Pl. 26, fig. 229). Three-dimensional modelling is abandoned by the Severan period in favour of a stylized rope reduced to a convex band with diagonal lines incised at more or less even intervals and regularly placed between the lower fasciae of an architrave<sup>18</sup> or below the echinus of a Composite capital.<sup>19</sup> The form of the rope on these Severan and later examples is the same as that on the architrave from Mytilene.

While never as common as vegetal scrolls on Ionic and Corinthian friezes, the garland design occurs sporadically from the third century B.C. onward in Asia Minor on temples, stoas, and houses,<sup>20</sup> probably as a

<sup>15</sup>*Ephesos* 3.52–53, fig. 85; *Ephesos Architektur* figs. 167–168.

<sup>16</sup>For the western examples, see C. F. Leon, *Bauornamentik des Trajansforums und ihre Stellung an der früh- und mittelkaiserzeitlichen architekturdekorationen Roms* (Vienna etc. 1971) 275–276, Pls. 27.3, 94.3, 95.4.

<sup>17</sup>*Milet* 4.1 figs. 80–84. The twisted rope does appear between two fasciae of a three-step architrave from the agora at Iasos with an inscription in honour of Hadrian on the block. All the mouldings on this entablature look much later with their dry, hard, and stiff rendering. One must ask if a dedication to Hadrian could have been recut on these blocks. C. Laviosa, "La Campagne des fouilles 1972 à Iasos," *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 21 (1974) 106, fig. 3.

<sup>18</sup>Southern Harbour Gate, Ephesos, dated to the Severan period, *Ephesos* 3. 172–188, figs. 159–160. Nymphaeum, Laodicea, Turkey, Caracallan, *Laodicée, le Nymphée* 89 and n. 1, 91, 96, figs. 26, 30, and 116–124 for dating evidence. Propylon to the area northeast of the south agora, Miletus, late Roman, *Milet* 1.7 252, fig. 254, Pl. 27. Stadium Gate, Miletus, 3rd cent. A.D., *Milet* 2.1 41, 35, figs. 44 and 45, 36, fig. 46.

<sup>19</sup>E.g., capitals from the commercial agora, Ephesos, Severan rebuilding, *Ephesos* 3.7, figs. 6, 7. Capitals from the third story of the *scaenae frons*, theatre, Ephesos, 3rd cent. A.D. for the top story, *Ephesos, das Theater* 88, fig. 180. Capitals from the propylon northeast of the south agora and from the Serapeion, Miletus, 3rd cent. A.D., *Milet* 1.7 239, figs. 242–243, and 189, fig. 199.

<sup>20</sup>Temple of Demeter, Pergamon, 3rd cent. B.C., *AvP* 13.57–58, 42, fig. 8, 43, fig. 9, Pl. 53. Propylon of the sanctuary of Athena Polias, Pergamon, 2nd cent. B.C., *AvP* 2

translation into stone of the real floral garlands hung on all types of buildings on festive occasions. From the late Hellenistic period onward, though garlanded friezes continued to appear on occasion in monumental settings such as temples, theatres, and gates,<sup>21</sup> they also came to be associated with funerary monuments. Small funerary altars with bulls' heads or bucrania from which are suspended garlands and pateras above the garlands are common in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>22</sup> Two monumental tombs feature panels with bucrania from which garlands are suspended.<sup>23</sup> The garlanded frieze, however, was at no period used exclusively for funerary monuments and such a motif cannot by itself determine the function of the Mytilenaeon building.

Closest in style and conception to these three blocks is the entablature from the Caracallan rebuilding of the façade of the temple of Dionysos on the theatre terrace at Pergamon.<sup>24</sup> The architrave has the same format—three fasciae with a rope pattern between the lowest and middle fasciae and an astragal between the middle and upper. Three mouldings crown the architrave at Pergamon but the upper is a plain fillet while at Mytilene a lesbian cyma is set above the astragal and ovolo. The mouldings on both architraves exhibit the same striving after chiaroscuro and patterned effects. The frieze belonging to the temple has garlands, bound by two turnings of a taenia at their lowest points, supported by alternating bulls' heads and eagles. These have ribbons tied in a bow above them with an end

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Pls. 29, 31. Temple of Artemis, Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, 2nd cent. B.C., *Magnesia am Maeander* 81, figs. 76–77 and 94, fig. 92 for the stoa around the altar of the temple. An unknown building, possibly a temple, in the Asklepieion, Pergamon, Hellenistic, *AvP* 11.1 79, Pl. 34 b, c. Lower gymnasium, Priene, mid-2nd cent. B.C. *Priene* 273, fig. 281. Peristyle house west of the Temple of Athena, Miletus, *Milet* 1.8 90, fig. 47.

<sup>21</sup>Corinthian temple, Notion, Turkey, possibly Hadrianic, R. Demangel and A. Laumonier, "Fouilles de Notion (1921)," *BCH* 47 (1923) 360–373. Market Gate, south agora, Miletus, Antonine, *Milet* 1.7 Pl. 18. Lower story, *scaenae frons*, theatre at Aspendos, *Städte* 1.110–111, figs. 86, 87. The use of elements to hold up the garlands varies and does not seem to be governed by the type of building to which the frieze belongs. Bucrania appear on the theatre at Aspendos, bulls' heads on the gate at Miletus, bucrania on the temple at Notion.

<sup>22</sup>E.g., E. Pfuhl, "Das Beiwerk auf den ostgriechischen Grabreliefs," *JDAI* 20 (1905) 88 and fig. 18. J. Bouzek *et al.*, *Kyme 2. The Results of the Czechoslovak Expedition* (Prague 1980) 139, Pl. 123. E. Dyggve, *Lindos. Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902–1914*. 2 (Berlin and Copenhagen 1960) 513, figs. XIII, 16, 19. J. Audiat, *Exploration archéologique de Délos. Le Gymnase* (Paris 1970) Pl. 9. C. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure* 3 (Paris 1849) Pl. 164. *Assos* plate on 265. Many of these were found *in situ* in tombs.

<sup>23</sup>The octagon, Ephesus, Augustan, *Ephesos, Architektur* 40–43, fig. 29 and balustrades from a round structure with similar garlanded frieze found near the Memmius monument, 43–44, fig. 34. The heroon, forecourt of the Bouleuterion, Miletus, Roman, *Milet* 2 77–78, fig. 85.

<sup>24</sup>*AvP* 4 Pl. 34. It is of course, much larger and so is carved in two blocks. Architrave H 0.595 m., frieze H 0.650 m.

hanging down on each side of the figure. The garlands at Mytilene are supported by pateras but the motif of the bow at the top is retained. At Pergamon pateras with omphaloi appear in the space above each garland.

*Discussion:*

The Relief with the Eagle Pl. 4.1

The unusual scene with the eagle carried aloft by winged figures finds no exact parallel although its meaning can be ascertained by comparison with related representations and thus a suggestion made about the function of the building it adorned. In the Roman period eagles were used for the association of living emperors with Jupiter-Zeus, for military symbolism connected with military standards, and finally for funerary representations implying apotheosis and the journey of the soul to its abode after death.<sup>25</sup> The funerary usage appears to be the most relevant for the representation on this frieze.

Two rather different cases where an eagle at rest holds up a garland may be cited here. The frieze of the Temple of Athena Polias Nikephoros in Pergamon, built in the reign of Philetairos, features garlands of oak leaves supported by bulls' heads alternating with eagles. Above the garlands pateras alternate with owls. The presence of Athena's bird on a temple dedicated to her is natural and the eagle in this case perhaps represents Athena's father, Zeus.<sup>26</sup> The second frieze comes from the temple of Dionysos on the theatre terrace at Pergamon, mentioned above for its stylistic affinities to the frieze at Mytilene (cf. above, note 24). The eagles here may allude to Caracalla, who instigated the Severan rebuilding and was probably worshipped in the temple as the new Dionysos.

An eagle is shown in the act of rising aloft in two scenes representing an imperial apotheosis—that of Antoninus Pius and Faustina on the base of the column of Antoninus and that thought to be of Julian on an ivory diptych, for which see Toynbee, above, note 25. As she points out, eagles also appear on private funerary monuments from the first century A. D. on. One such, from Side, depicts an eagle with outstretched wings; as it appears to belong to a soldier, both the military and the funerary connotations of the eagle may be intended.<sup>27</sup> A third-century stele depicts a child on a pony being

<sup>25</sup>For a discussion with some examples of the eagle in these three spheres see J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London 1973) 241–243 and 393, n. 38. Specifically for the funerary connection see F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (New Haven 1923) 102, 113, 157–159.

<sup>26</sup>*AvP* 2 pls. 29–31. The eagle used by itself to symbolize Zeus can be seen on a small altar dedicated to Zeus Keraunios from Pergamon. *AvP* 7.2 339, no. 422. Also 340, no. 423 for a second altar with an eagle on a thunderbolt without an inscription.

<sup>27</sup>A. M. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side* (Berlin 1963) 176, fig. 144.

led to heaven by an eagle.<sup>28</sup> Many funerary altars show a bust of the deceased held in an eagle's outstretched wings.<sup>29</sup> Some combine eagles with garlands on the faces, placing the eagles either at the bottom corners,<sup>30</sup> or in the spaces above the garlands, facing front with outstretched wings, much as on our frieze.<sup>31</sup> Though popular particularly in Italy this type is occasionally found in the eastern provinces (e.g., *MAMA* 5.103, Pl. 34). In no case, however, do figures actually hold the eagle's wings. Perhaps our figures are Victories symbolizing the soul's triumph over death or Winds facilitating its passage to heaven; in the latter case the scene is a more graphic variant of the common format in which an eagle with outstretched wings is flanked merely by two heads, often winged, that represent Winds.<sup>32</sup>

On the Mytilenaeen monument such funerary connotations as these, it seems, have been translated from portable monuments onto a more substantial structure. As the height of the combined architrave and entablature block is only 0.57 m., implying an order with columns about 3 m. high, they will belong not to a temple but to a small stoa or, more probably in view of the symbolic content of the frieze, a monumental tomb with columnar façade.

#### THE MONUMENTAL BUILDINGS

#### 4. DORIC STRUCTURE      Figs. 6–8, Pl. 4.2

*Date:* Hellenistic, probably fourth century B.C.

*Building Type:* Stoa or small temple

<sup>28</sup>F. Benoit, *L'héroïsation équestre* (Aix-en-Provence 1954) Pl. I, 1.

<sup>29</sup>W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1905) 278–279, fig. 207 a, b.

<sup>30</sup>*Op. cit.* 92–96, figs. 77–81.

<sup>31</sup>*Op. cit.* 51, fig. 40, 73, fig. 62, 75, fig. 64, 86, fig. 71, 89, fig. 74, 90, fig. 75 and Pl. 1.

<sup>32</sup>F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Paris 1942) 149–176, Pl. 11, fig. 24. After submitting this article the author discovered two depictions, probably of the 2nd cent. A.D., that incorporate eagles, garlands, and winged figures and share some features with the example from Mytilene, in H. Seyrig, "Divinités de Ptolémaïs," *Syria* 39 (1962) Pl. 14, 203–204. Both are on soffits from door lintels, one in the sanctuary of Zeus at Baetocaece and the other from the temple of Bacchus at Baalbek. In each an eagle forms the centre of the composition, facing front with wings outstretched and a caduceus in its talons. Hanging behind the eagle is a heavy garland held up by nude winged figures, probably Erotes. A major difference between these representations and the scene from Mytilene is the lack of relationship between the eagle and the winged figures in the two Syrian examples. The caduceus identifies the eagle as the messenger of Zeus although a possible funerary role for the eagle as the conveyer of souls in the example from Baalbek is also mentioned (204, n. 4).



*Introduction:* At the northwest corner of the circuit wall, which is generally very rich in reused architectural pieces, are nine column drums and one frieze block from a Hellenistic Doric structure, and about 50 m. south another drum and three entablature blocks.

#### CATALOGUE

a. Entablature Fig. 6, Pl. 4.2, Field nos.: Unit XVIII, outside, block no. 12, Unit XXIII, outside Block nos. 1, 2, 5.

#### *Material:*

Thermi marble. The blocks are fairly coarse-grained and light grey in colour with occasional veins of medium grey which can have a very light purplish tinge.

#### *Dimensions*

|                  |                |
|------------------|----------------|
| Architrave H.    | 0.40 m.        |
| Frieze H.        | 0.492–0.495 m. |
| Pres. L. (18,12) | 0.80 m.        |
| Pres. L. (23,1)  | 0.87 m.        |
| Pres. L. (23,2)  | 0.88 m.        |
| L. (23,5)        | 1.12 m.        |
| W. (triglyphs)   | 0.315–0.335 m. |
| W. (metopes)     | 0.492 m.       |

#### *Condition:*

Block no. 23,5 appears to be complete but its surface is very badly pitted, perhaps by blows from a tool. Block nos. 18,12 and 23,2 are broken along one short side and badly chipped and worn. Block no. 23,1 is also probably broken but it is impossible to check the ends since it is carefully set flush with the face of the wall.

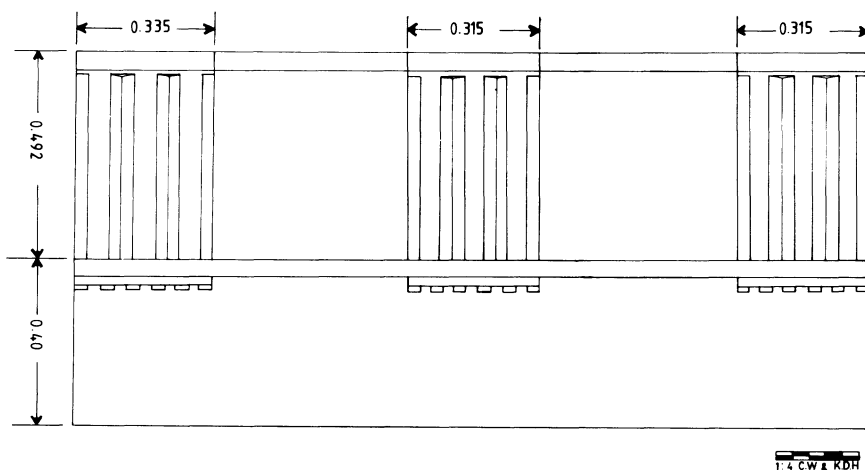


Figure 6 Doric entablature.

*Description:*

In general appearance, of the structures discussed here, this building adheres most closely to standard Doric practices. The architrave and the frieze are carved in separate blocks. The architrave is capped by a narrow taenia (0.04 m.) and narrower regulae (0.02 m.). The complete frieze block has one metope framed by two triglyphs; obviously other blocks will have had other arrangements. The triglyphs and metopes are crowned by a taenia which keeps the same height (0.044 m.) over both. The triglyphs have flat-topped glyphs and half glyphs without ears. The central groove of the glyphs extends almost to the very top so that the roof is carved almost horizontally and only a small sloping triangular area is apparent at the top of each glyph. The glyphs and half glyphs stop a little short of the bottom of the taenia.

b. Column Drums      Fig. 7, Field nos.: Unit XVIII, outside, block nos. 1-6, Unit XIX, outside, north wall, block nos. 1, 2, 5, Unit XXIV, outside, block no. 1.

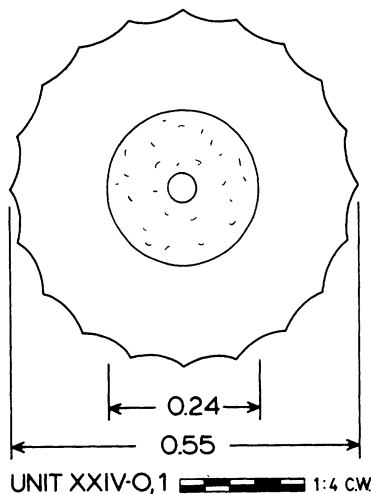


Figure 7 Doric column drum.

*Material:*

Thermi marble. Light to medium grey mottled in places with patches of darker grey.

*Dimensions*

D. varies 0.55-0.61 m.

*Condition:*

As only their ends can be seen the condition of the drums is not ascertainable.

*Description:*

The shafts have 20 shallow flutes with sharp arrises between. On the visible bottoms or tops of shafts there is a broad band of anathyrosis and a small round dowel hole in the centre.

*Discussion:*

The proportions argue for an early Hellenistic date for the entablature. Classical friezes tend to be the same height as their architraves; our ratio of 1.23 : 1 looks forward to the Hellenistic norm. The ratio of the heights of the combined taenia and regulae and the architrave, 1 : 6.7, is common on fourth-century buildings, e.g., the temple of Athena at Tegea (1 : 6.6), the Treasury of Cyrene (1 : 6.53), and the Leonidaion (1 : 6.5). By the later fourth century the two elements at the top occupy proportionally less space (cf., e.g., *Samothrace* 4.2 80–81 and note 77). In the classical period the taenia tends to be the same height as the regulae; in the Hellenistic period it is normally of greater height, as here. Our ratio of guttae to taenia plus regulae is 1 : 5, which is found in the classical period (*ibid.*, esp. note 82), while the tendency from the end of the fourth century on is for very flat guttae. The ratio of the widths of triglyph and metope remains close to the classical 2 : 3.

The incipient sloping roof confirms the early Hellenistic date suggested by the proportions. The trait appears in the fourth century B. C. in the altar court and the hieron at Samothrace and in the temple of Artemis at Epidauros.<sup>33</sup> On these examples the triangular sloping area is very small, as it is on the frieze from Mytilene, while it becomes more noticeable in later examples.

The size of the entablature suggests a more monumental building than 1–3. The height of the columns must have been ca 4.5–4.7 m., suggesting a small temple, like that of Demeter at Mamurt-Kale (frieze height 0.450 m.) or Hera Basileia at Pergamon (frieze height 0.473) or a stoa, like those in the agora of the Italians on Delos (frieze height 0.435 m.).

Three fragmentary blocks of Thermi marble carry a slightly larger Doric frieze whose details are very close to those of the frieze just discussed (Fig. 8, Unit XV, block no. 27, Unit XXX, outside, block no. 1, Unit XXXVI, outside, block no. 1). The heights of the blocks range from 0.55 to 0.57 m. The only visual difference is a larger space between the tops of the glyphs of the triglyph and the taenia. These blocks more probably come from another building very similar in style and date than from 4 itself.

<sup>33</sup>*Samothrace* 4.2 Pl. 26, *Samothrace* 3 Pl. 51, *Epidaure* fig. on 165.

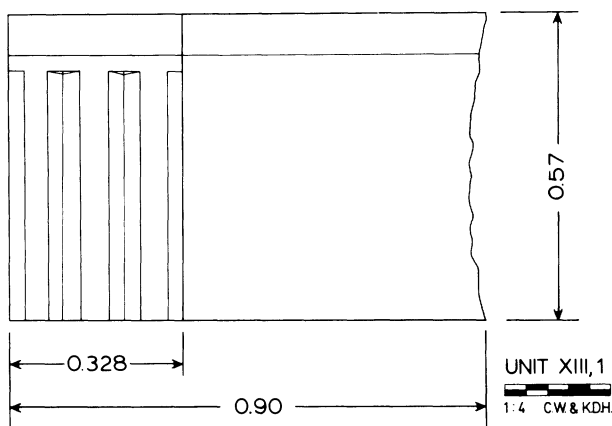


Figure 8 Doric entablature.

## 5. DORIC STRUCTURE      Fig. 9, Pls. 4.2, 5.1

*Date:* Hellenistic, probably third century B. C.

*Building Type:* Probably a stoa or small temple.

*Introduction:* Two blocks from a distinctive entablature occur fairly close together in the western circuit wall. The builders are unlikely to have used so small a fraction of what was surely available—probably other blocks like these were set into the wall face inward. Notice the careful juxtaposition of one of these Doric frieze blocks with one from 4 (Pl. 11).

### CATALOGUE

Field nos.: Unit XXIII, outside, block nos. 4, 7.

### *Material:*

Moria marble. Occasional light grey to white veins, crystalline in appearance.

### *Dimensions*

|                  |          |
|------------------|----------|
| H.               | 0.475 m. |
| L. (block no. 4) | 1.087 m. |
| L. (block no. 7) | 1.20 m.  |
| Triglyph W.      | 0.315 m. |
| Metope W.        | 0.457 m. |

### *Condition:*

The blocks are complete, having suffered only surface damage.

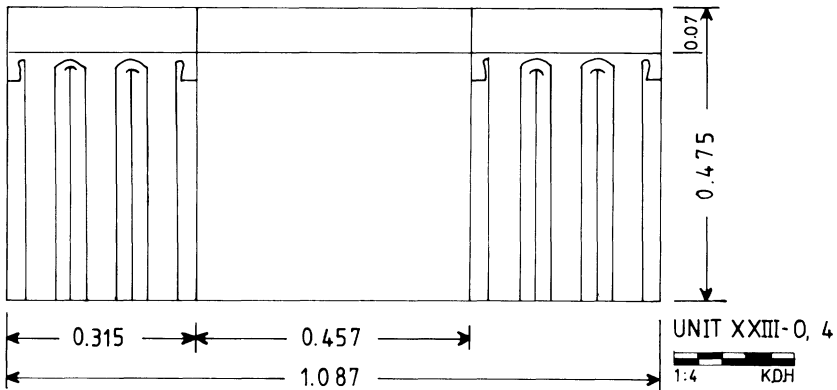


Figure 9 Doric frieze with ears.

*Description:*

On block no. 4 two complete triglyphs enclose a metope, while block no. 7 has two triglyphs and two metopes. The width of the triglyph in relation to that of the metope is slightly greater than the classical 2 : 3. The taenia has the same height (0.07 m.) over both triglyphs and metopes. The glyphs and half glyphs have the same height and stop just short of the taenia. The glyphs end in half domes since the central groove does not extend to the top. The half glyphs end in a straight top with a prominent cone-shaped ear hanging from the corner.

*Discussion:*

The earliest half-domed glyphs appear early in the fourth century B. C., developing from flattened arches (as, e.g., on the Parthenon frieze) when masons become less careful to carve a horizontal roof and a sloping area appears.<sup>34</sup> As with the triangular areas with flat-topped glyphs discussed under 2, these sloping areas were at first small, but the central groove was allowed to stop well below the top of the glyph in the third and second centuries, producing a large and very noticeable half dome. Ears over the half glyphs are also primarily a Hellenistic development (cf. *Samothrace* 4.2 82–83, *Ephesos* 6.181). The closest parallels for the combination of half domes and ears are from the area; Athens and Belevi produced variations.

<sup>34</sup>Epidaurus, Temple of Asklepieios, built by the architect Theodotos in 380–375 B.C. The half domes are very small with the central groove carved almost to the top of the glyph—*Epidaurae* plate on 55, *Samothrace*, altar court and hieron, built in the 1st half of the 4th cent. B.C. *Samothrace* 3.71, Pls. 49, 51 and *Samothrace* 4.2 37, fig. 45, pl. 29.

*Comparanda*

1. Samothrace, altar court and hieron, 1st half of 4th cent. B. C., *Samothrace* 3 Pls. 49, 51, *Samothrace* 4.2 Pl. 27.
2. Mamurt-Kale, temple of Demeter, probably built by Philetairos, 1st half of 3rd cent. B. C., *Mamurt-Kale* 22–23, fig. 3, no. 8.
3. Assos, portico of the gymnasium, "Hellenistic," rebuilt in the Tiberian period, *Assos* 183, pl. on 173.
4. Assos, Tomb 21, Street of the tombs, undated, *Assos* 279 and pl. on 275.
5. Belevi, mausoleum, built for Lysimachos, 290–280 B. C., flattened arches harking back to the classical tradition with the central groove extending right to the top of the glyph combined with ears over the half glyphs. *Ephesos* 6 figs. 13, 16a.
6. Athens, two blocks from an unknown, undated building reused in the tower foundations of a post-Herulian wall. The ears are very small, button-like projections. W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 443, figs. 20 and 21, and 445.

As flat tops predominate over half domes for glyphs in Hellenistic building, ears are more commonly found with them.

*Comparanda*

1. Kos, Asklepieion, stoa on the lower terrace, dated on style to 1st half of 3rd cent., *Kos* 1.74.
2. Pergamon, Asklepieion, long stoa ascribed to Eumenes II, 197–151 B.C., *AvP* 11.1 Pl. 112.
3. Pergamon, Temple of Hera Basileia ascribed to Attalos II, 159–138 B.C., *AvP* 6.105, 110, Pl. 34.
4. Kos, Asklepieion, stoa on the upper terrace, ca 160 B. C. The ears are very large and incurving with the shape of a hook rather than a cone-shaped peg. *Kos* 1.19, fig. 17, Pl. 9.
5. Pergamon, gymnasium, porticoes around the palaestra on the upper terrace, 2nd cent. B.C., *AvP* 6.47, Pl. 14.
6. Pergamon, private houses on the citadel, "Hellenistic," *AvP* 5.1 25, fig. 27 and 23, fig. 18 for straight tops slightly rounded at the corners, a less usual rendering.
7. Pergamon, sanctuary of Athena Polias, undated building, *AvP* 2 fig. on 81, 79–82.
8. Miletos, Harbour Stoa, "Hellenistic," *Milet* 1.6 9, fig. 10.
9. Miletos, south agora, south stoa, "Hellenistic," *Milet* 1.7 29, fig. 26, 30, fig. 28.
10. Priene, private houses, presumably Hellenistic, *Priene* 286, fig. 300.
11. Priene, Asklepieion, porticoes around the courtyard, dated to the 2nd cent. B. C. though epigraphic evidence indicates that at least some of the Asklepieion was built in the 3rd cent. B. C. *Priene* 138, fig. 107.
12. Priene, north side of agora, Sacred Stoa, ca mid-2nd cent. B. C., *Priene* 194–195, figs. 187–189.
13. Priene, theatre proskenion, "early Hellenistic," *Priene* 255, fig. 256, and *Priene, das Theater* Pls. 1–3, 6.1–3, 20, 24, 25, 26.
14. Delos, agora of the Italians, end 2nd to 1st half of 1st cent. for the latest documented example, *L'agora des Italiens* 21, fig. 18. Ears are said to be common on Delos from the mid-3rd cent. on through the 2nd cent.; cf. R. Vallois, *L'Architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Delos* 2 (Paris 1966) 243.

The presence of ears on our blocks suggests that the frieze falls in the third or second century B. C., and the half domes argue for the third century, as the datable combinations of half domes and ears are third-century (Mamurt-Kale) and fourth-century (Samothrace, but obviously earlier than ours as the half domes are hardly visible). From the point of

view of Mytilene's architectural connections it is noteworthy that the main cluster of ears is on the west coast of Asia Minor and nearby islands, Pergamon, Priene, Miletos, and Kos.

As with 4 the size of the frieze suggests a stoa or small temple.

## 6. IONIC STRUCTURE Figs 10, 11, Pl. 5.2.

*Date:* Roman, probably late second or third century A.D.

*Building Type:* Unknown, but of fairly monumental proportions—temple or public building with columnar façade?

*Introduction:* Thirteen Ionic entablature blocks have been carefully aligned to form a course in the lower part of the west wall near the northern end of the citadel. Two column drums are found at the northern end of the row and two others far apart along the west side of the circuit.

### CATALOGUE

a. Entablature Fig. 10, Pl. 5.2, Field nos.: Unit XXIV, outside, block nos. 4–16.

#### *Material:*

Moria marble. Dark grey, occasionally with a purplish tinge, tends to predominate, although there are more light-coloured areas than usual, perhaps suggesting an origin in a different area of the quarry.

#### *Dimensions*

|               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| Total H.      | 0.745 m.   |
| Architrave H. | 0.356 m.   |
| Frieze H.     | 0.389 m.   |
| Max. pres. L. | ca 0.85 m. |

#### *Condition:*

All the blocks are broken on their short sides. The mouldings are all badly worn and damaged, primarily because they project so far.

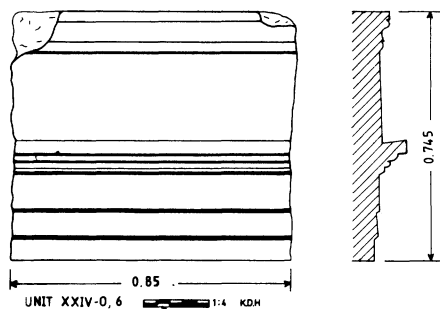


Figure 10 Ionic entablature.

*Description:*

The architrave and the frieze are carved in one block. The fasciae of the architrave increase in height (0.064, 0.072, 0.108 m.). There is a bevelled edge between each pair of fasciae but no mouldings. The face of the middle fascia slopes inward toward the top (cf. note 40). Separating the architrave and the frieze is a large set of plain mouldings that project markedly (ca 0.07 m.) beyond the face of the entablature. The elements, from bottom to top, consist of a small fillet, a half round, a slightly flattened quarter-round (instead of the cavetto that is more normal here), and a large fillet. The frieze is completely plain and flat and is crowned by a small half-round, a cyma, and a large fillet. This upper set of mouldings also projects markedly, though not so noticeably as the lower group. There is no subsidiary decoration on either set of mouldings.

It is clear that different hands carved individual blocks of the entablature. Measurements range up to 1 cm. and there are variations in the rendering of detail. One block in particular bears traces of an unskilled hand since the mouldings are greatly simplified and very crudely executed. The cyma at the top has been reduced to an uneven half-round.

b. Columns      Fig. 11, Pl. 5.2, Field nos.: Unit XIX, outside, north wall, block no. 8, Unit XXIV, outside, block nos. 2, 3, Unit XXXVII, outside, block no. 1.

*Material:*

Moria marble.

*Dimensions*

|                    |                |
|--------------------|----------------|
| D. (block 19,8)    | 0.60 m.        |
| D. (block 24,2)    | 0.575 m.       |
| D. (block 24,3)    | 0.665 m.       |
| D. (block 37,1)    | 0.515 m.       |
| W. of setting band | 0.0275-0.03 m. |

*Condition:*

The visible surfaces are in good condition. Blocks 24,3 and 37,1 have roughly excavated depressions around the central dowel hole where the lead was removed.

*Description:*

All the drums come from unfluted shafts. Around the outside edge of each is a shallowly recessed (0.005 m.) band that is slightly more roughly finished than the large central area, intended to prevent the edges of the shafts from being damaged as the drums were set on one another. The drums exhibit both round and square dowel holes.



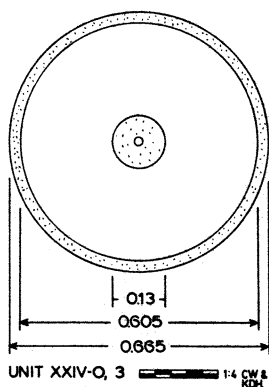


Figure 11 Ionic column drum.

### Discussion:

The unfluted column shafts point to a Roman date, but hardly conclusively. Plain Ionic entablatures exhibit few characteristics which are easily datable and the proportions can vary at all periods. The normal ratio of architrave to frieze in the Hellenistic period and according to Vitruvius is 1.5 : 1.<sup>35</sup> Though minor variations occur, the architrave remains noticeably higher than the frieze with few exceptions in the Hellenistic period.<sup>36</sup> In the early first century A. D. the ratio occasionally becomes almost 1 : 1, as in the temple of Bel at Palmyra; so also for two Hadrianic buildings in Rome with eastern details in their construction.<sup>37</sup> A tall plain frieze noticeably dominates the architrave in two North African buildings—the three stories of the *scaenae frons* belonging to the late second-century A. D. theatre at Sabathra<sup>38</sup> and the Capitolium at Dougga, built ca A. D. 166.<sup>39</sup> These two entablatures are closest in effect to the entablature from Mytilene and, taken in conjunction with other indications, probably give an approximate date for the latter.

<sup>35</sup>For a convenient source of comparison, see *Ephesos, Architektur* 87, fig. 143. See further *Priene* 134, fig. 104 for the propylon leading into the sanctuary of Athena Polias and *Magnesia am Maeander* fig. 136 for the propylon belonging to the agora.

<sup>36</sup>An exception of probable late 4th cent. B.C. date is the entablature belonging to the proskenion of the theatre at Epidaurus. The architrave and frieze are carved in one block with heights of 0.257 and 0.231 m. respectively—A. von Gerkan and W. Müller-Wiener, *Das Theater von Epidaurus* (Stuttgart 1961) 59, fig. 13—and another of late 3rd or early 2nd cent. B.C. date occurs on the propylon leading into the Demeter sanctuary in Pergamon (*AvP* 13 Pl. 45) in which the frieze course is noticeably higher.

<sup>37</sup>D. S. Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament in Rome," *Publications of the British School at Rome* N.S. 8 (1953) 128, fig. 3 and 144, fig. 6.

<sup>38</sup>A. Boëthius and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth 1970) Pl. 250.

<sup>39</sup>J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Architecture* (New York 1977) Pl. 275.

The two sets of mouldings are simplified versions of the standard Roman type for Ionic entablatures without subsidiary carving. In this part of the empire one may compare the Hadrianic Traianeum at Pergamon (*AvP* 5.2 Pl. 23), which shows greatly projecting mouldings between architrave and frieze, consisting of an ovolo, a half-round, a cavetto, and a large fillet. Above the plain frieze are small fillet, ovolo, cyma, and fillet. The inconsistency and crudeness of the carving on the entablature from Mytilene also suggest a date well into the Roman period, perhaps late second or third century.

The size of the entablature and the columns requires a large portico, temple, or other public building as the source.

## 7. ROMAN ENTABLATURE WITH FLUTED FRIEZE

Fig. 12, Pls. 6.1, 6.2, 6.3

*Date:* Late second to first half of third century A. D.

*Building Type:* Probably from the second or third story of a columnar façade, more likely the latter in view of the size. The façade incorporated sections of entablature broken out over free-standing columns (i.e., for a *scaenae frons*, nymphaeum, or specialized interior).

*Introduction:* Two pieces of an entablature with a fluted frieze are built into the northwestern sector of the circuit approximately 60 m. apart.

### CATALOGUE

a. Corner block      Pl. 16, Field no.: Unit XVII, outside, block no. 1.

#### *Material:*

Light grey-white crystalline coarse marble with occasional darker grey veins. Not local.

#### *Dimensions*

Total H      0.420 m.

Frieze H      0.20 m.

#### *Condition:*

A small piece from the corner of the block is preserved. All the mouldings are badly damaged.

#### *Description:*

The architrave and frieze are carved in one block. The two-step architrave has a lower fascia 0.06 m. high and an upper fascia 0.075 m. high. There is a bevel between the two fasciae. The face of the lower fascia is vertical while the face of the upper fascia slopes inwards towards the top.<sup>40</sup> A set

<sup>40</sup>Fasciae with sloping faces are occasionally found from the Hellenistic period onwards,

of three heavy projecting mouldings separates the architrave and frieze. Only the fillet and cyma survive. The upper moulding is broken for the block's entire preserved length. None of the mouldings were carved with subsidiary decor. The frieze is carved with flutes having a thickened, well defined border along the sides and top. At the corner an acanthus leaf is depicted in relief with its central vertical vein positioned on the edge so that half of the leaf lies on each face. The leaf thus masks a potentially awkward juxtaposition of raised borders belonging to two flutes and a corner of the block. The leaf is not rendered naturalistically and can be identified only by comparison with better carved examples of this form of frieze. The individual folioles have been reduced to single points at the end of an exaggerated rib. Above the frieze is only one plain fascia rather than a set of mouldings.

b. Entablature block      Fig. 12, Pl. 6.1, Field no.: Unit XXII, block no. 6.

*Material:*

As above.

*Dimensions*

Total H      0.420 m.  
Preserved L    1.225 m.

*Condition:*

The block is broken on both short sides. The face at one end has been cut back and a new roughly dressed surface prepared, presumably with the intention of reusing the block. The mouldings between the frieze and architrave have been partially reworked. The top portion is now a rough band with prominent claw marks.

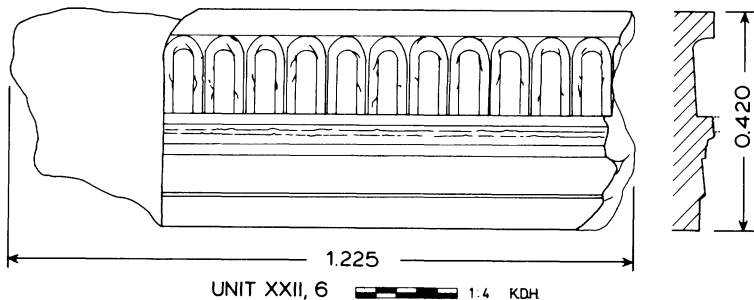


Figure 12 Fluted frieze.

e.g., from the forecourt of the Bouleuterion, Miletus, 2nd quarter of the 2nd cent. B.C., *Milet* 2.69, fig. 69; from the Monument of Grattius, Miletus, dated to the Flavian period on the basis of letter style in an inscription (although the Corinthian capitals look Hellenistic) *Milet* 1.6 75, fig. 90; Monument of Memmius, Ephesus, *Ephesos, Architektur* 87, fig. 143.

*Description:*

The forms of the individual elements on the block are the same as that described above.

*Discussion:*

The low height of the combined architrave and frieze suggests that these blocks do not come from a colonnade of standard size for the first story of an even moderately-sized building. Columns of between 5 and 6 metres in height would require a height of approximately 0.70 to 1.0 m. for the architrave and frieze courses. While a small functional portico set, for example, along a roadway is a possible source (see below for Termessos where the combined architrave—frieze course from a street portico is 0.57 m.) a more likely position for the blocks would have been the second or more probably the third story of a multi-level columnar façade of the type utilized in Roman theatres, nymphaea, and specialized interiors such as halls for the imperial cult (*Kaisarsaal*).

The order could have been Ionic, Composite, or Corinthian. Two small greyish white marble Roman Ionic capitals (Pl. 6.3, Unit XXVI, block no. 1 and Unit XLIII, block no. 2) possibly go with this entablature but neither is accessible to take full measurements. The maximum width to the outer edges of the volutes of the capital in Pl. 6.3 is ca 0.35–0.36 m.

A consideration of the surviving examples of fluted friezes suggests an origin in Asia Minor, most likely in Ephesos, for this type of decoration on an entablature.<sup>41</sup> The two earliest datable examples come from the theatre at Ephesos and belong to the second half of the first century A.D. By the early second century the use of this new type of frieze is attested at Aezanoi and then it continued to be used throughout the second century. The entablature from Mytilene thus emphasizes the architectural connections between the island and Asia Minor which can be documented throughout the classical period.

*Comparanda*

1. Ephesos, Theatre, frieze above the piers set into the wall of the auditorium. Three-step architrave, very tall, narrow flutes, no subsidiary carving on the mouldings. Dated by inscription to A.D. 66. *Ephesos, das Theater* 41, fig. 77. Frieze from the second story of the *scaenae frons*. The architrave and frieze are carved in one block, total H 0.66 m. Tall, thin flutes with an ovolo above. On the blocks on which the frieze turned a corner a finely rendered acanthus leaf is set on the edge. *Ephesos, das Theater* 72, fig. 142, 73, fig. 144. The first two stories of the *scaenae frons* were in place by the end of the first century A.D. See M. Lyttleton, *Baroque Architecture in Classical Antiquity* (London 1976) 201–202.

<sup>41</sup>In the West a fluted moulding is occasionally utilized from the Augustan period onwards. See the examples in C. F. Leon, *Die Bauornamentik des Trajansforums* (Vienna etc. 1971) 204, 263, 266, 274, Pl. 82.1, 2, Pl. 111.1, Pl. 131.1, 2, 3, Pl. 133.1, 2. In Trajan's forum, Rome, a fluted frieze is utilized, *op. cit.*, 78, Pl. 22.1. Since the forum was built by an architect trained in the east, the idea of a fluted frieze may have been imported directly from the east rather than being a development of the fluted moulding.

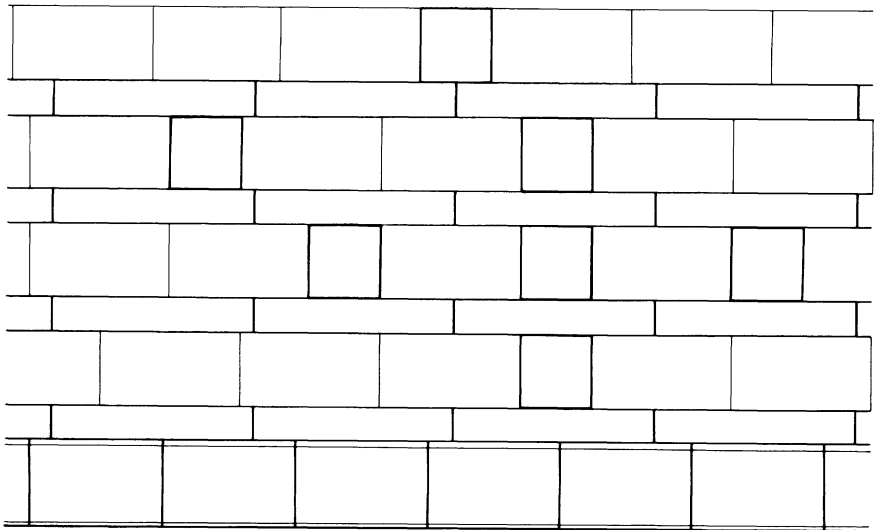
2. Ephesos, Library of Celsus, upper story. Three-step architrave and frieze carved in one block, total H. 0.750 m. Subsidiary carving on all mouldings. Ca A.D. 130. *Ephesos* 5.1 27, fig. 56, 30, fig. 64.
3. Ephesos, stoa, commercial agora, Roman rebuilding. Three-step architrave and frieze carved in one block, total H 0.73 m. Subsidiary carving on all mouldings. Severan. *Ephesos* 3.5, fig. 8, 9, fig. 9.
4. Aezanoi, Phrygia, ?Temple of Zeus, frieze and architrave carved separately. Astragal and ovolo above the flutes. Trajanic—early Hadrianic. C. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1838) Pl. 48, a piece "from the entablature over the main door." For the early second century architectural decor at Aezanoi and styles of architectural decoration in the second century A.D. in the so-called Pergamene-Ephesian and Aphrodisian schools, see W.-D. Heilmeyer, *Korinthische Normalkapitelle* (Heidelberg 1970) 101–105.
5. Pergamon, upper gymnasium, *Kaisarsaal*, three-step architrave and frieze carved separately. Relatively tall flutes, subsidiary carving on all mouldings, dated by inscription to A.D. 166 or later. The exuberant decoration is late Antonine in style. *AvP* 6.57, Beiblatt 2, Pl. 22.
6. Pergamon, upper gymnasium, Corinthian stoa. Architrave and frieze carved separately. *AvP* 6 Pl. 21.
7. Sagalassos, Pisidia, theatre, *scaenae frons*, first story. Three-step architrave and frieze carved in one block, total H 1.05 m. The fasciae are separated by bevelled edges. Mouldings are plain. At the corner of a block is a well carved acanthus leaf. *Städte* 2.156–157, figs. 131, 132. For a stylistic dating of the theatre to the 2nd cent. A.D. see D. de Bernardi Ferrero, *Teatri Classici in Asia Minore* 2 (Rome 1969) 37–58.
8. Sagalassos, building in the "forum." Three-step architrave and frieze carved in one block, total H ca 0.56 m. No subsidiary carving on the mouldings. The flutes are very crudely done with broad flat spaces left between. Undated. *Städte* 2.160, fig. 139.
9. Sagalassos, entablature from an unidentified structure, built into the later basilica in the sanctuary of Dionysos. Architrave and frieze carved in one block. The architrave is shown as having no fasciae. The flutes are tall. The ovolos are carved. The rest of the mouldings are plain. Undated. *Städte* 2.142, fig. 112.
10. Termessos, Pisidia, portico lining the colonnaded mall. Two-step architrave and frieze carved in one block, total H 0.57 m. Mouldings are plain. No dating evidence for the street. Called Roman by Lanckoronksi, *Städte* 2.54, fig. 10. On the basis of the development of the colonnaded mall as an architectural type, the porticoes are likely to be late second century A.D. at the earliest. See C. Williams, "The Enclosed Mall: an Aspect of Roman Town Planning in Southwestern Asia Minor," (abstract) *AJA* 84 (1980) 240. This entablature block is close in layout and appearance to the entablature at Mytilene.
11. Laodicea, Phrygia, nymphaeum, two types of entablature with fluted frieze are utilized in the building. One is more highly decorated with a carved astragal and ovolo, the other very close to the entablature at Mytilene. The two-step architrave and frieze are carved in one block, total H 0.62–0.64 m. The architrave and frieze are separated by three plain mouldings. Caracallan. *Laodicee, le Nymphée* 98, fig. 33 and 116–124.
12. Baalbek, temple of Bacchus, interior order. The frieze has very tall thin flutes with only a single border between each pair of flutes, unlike the examples from Asia Minor in which all the flutes are given their own complete modelled border. Antonine. T. Wiegand, *Baalbek* 2 (Berlin and Leipzig 1923) 30, Pl. 63.

The two-step architrave, simplified mouldings, and general appearance of the entablature blocks at Mytilene are closest to those on the entablature at Termessos from a structure which can be dated in only a very relative way to the later second century and to the nymphaeum at Laodicea which is

dated on stylistic grounds to the reign of Caracalla. The general appearance of the thick-edged flutes, the reduction in the number of mouldings above the frieze, and especially the acanthus leaf of very debased form suggest that the entablature from Mytilene is indeed a late example of the type. The existence of the block that turns a corner makes certain the origin of the entablature in an articulated façade and its size demands that the façade have at least two, and much more probably, three stories. Hence a late second or possibly third century *scaenae frons*, nymphaeum, or room such as a *Kaisarsaal* can be postulated for Mytilene.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Surveying in the mediaeval circuit wall for ancient buildings has yielded the material for the seven structures discussed above as well as vast quantities of ashlar masonry in Thermi and Moria marbles and andesite. In places groups of blocks obviously go together and must come from one building, e.g., the orthostates and smaller blocks of Thermi marble which are put together in the reconstructed stretch of pseudo-isodomic masonry illustrated in Fig. 13. All these blocks were set into a tower and a piece of adjacent wall in the southwestern sector of the circuit. Pseudo-isodomic masonry is most common in the Hellenistic period and it would be possible to speculate on the wall's source in the same structure as, for example, the fourth-



UNITS XXX & XXXI BUILDING BLOCKS 1:20



Figure 13 Reconstruction of pseudo—isodomic walling.

century B.C. Doric building of Thermi marble discussed as 4. But a survey dealing with ancient material fixed permanently into a place of reuse will not be able to provide positive proof for such hypotheses and it is best to take these buildings as they are, in their fragmentary state, as a useful starting point for the architectural history of the ancient town of Mytilene. The identifiable blocks have yielded a wide range, both chronologically and typologically, of buildings testifying to marble constructions from the fourth century B.C. to the third century A.D. Future archaeological work on Mytilene will turn away from the Medieval circuit wall to concentrate on potentially rich areas in the lower town or in the necropolis. In these areas there will be, it is hoped, opportunity to extract more complete records of individual monuments whose location and appearance will contribute to an enlarged understanding of Greco-Roman Mytilene.

#### CANADIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AT ATHENS

##### APPENDIX: COMPARISON BETWEEN SAMPLES OF MARBLES FROM THE QUARRIES OF THERMI AND MORIA, MYTILENE

Four samples of marble from Mytilene were passed on to the Fitch Laboratory, British School at Athens, for petrographic analysis, one sample from the Thermi quarries and three samples from those at Moria. The request accompanying the samples was for information as to differences in texture and mineralogy. The analysis of the thin sections demonstrated differences in both aspects.

*Thermi quarries:* This sample is composed of interlocking crystals of calcite, showing no sign of parallel optical orientation in the plane of the thin section. Grain boundaries tend to be straight, frequently meeting at near equiangular triple points, indicating that equilibrium conditions were probably attained during metamorphism.<sup>42</sup> The texture tends towards granoblastic (units of about the same size), with maximum grain size being about 0.3 mm. in diameter. Quartz occurs as an impurity in the form of isolated grains generally concentrated about sparse quartz aggregates.

*Moria quarries:* All three samples show the same general features. They are composed of interlocking calcite crystals, which in isolated patches display parallel optical orientation. The boundaries between the crystals are frequently warped and sutured, suggesting post-crystalline deformation. This is accompanied in many cases by deformation twinning which also shows signs of strain. Grain size is heteroblastic (range of sizes), the largest being about 1.4 mm. in diameter. Although the occasional crystal of quartz

<sup>42</sup>See A. Spry, *Metamorphic Textures* (London 1969).

could be observed in one sample, the Moria samples generally contained no impurities.

The differences between the marble samples from the two localities on Mytilene can be summarised as follows: (a) greater maximum and broader range of grain sizes in the Moria samples; (b) apparently fewer impurities in them (though this may be a localized phenomenon); (c) clear evidence of post-crystalline strain, presumably resulting from tectonic activity in the marbles of the Moria region.

The extent to which the differences outlined above can be applied in the field cannot be determined without detailed geological analysis of the region. Consequently conclusions relating to provenance must be made with caution, and in the light of more extensive petrographic analyses of marbles.<sup>43</sup> Although working properties of the marbles from the two areas may differ, this would more likely be due to the relative dominance of the three directions of calcite cleavage, particularly in the coarser-grained samples from Moria, than to the form of the grain boundaries.

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<sup>43</sup>See A. C. Renfrew and J. Springer-Peacey, "Aegean Marble: a Petrological Study," *BSA* 63 (1968) 45-66.





PLATE 1.1 Architectural elements from the tomb of Prota (1).



PLATE 1.2 Entablature from the tomb of Prota (1).

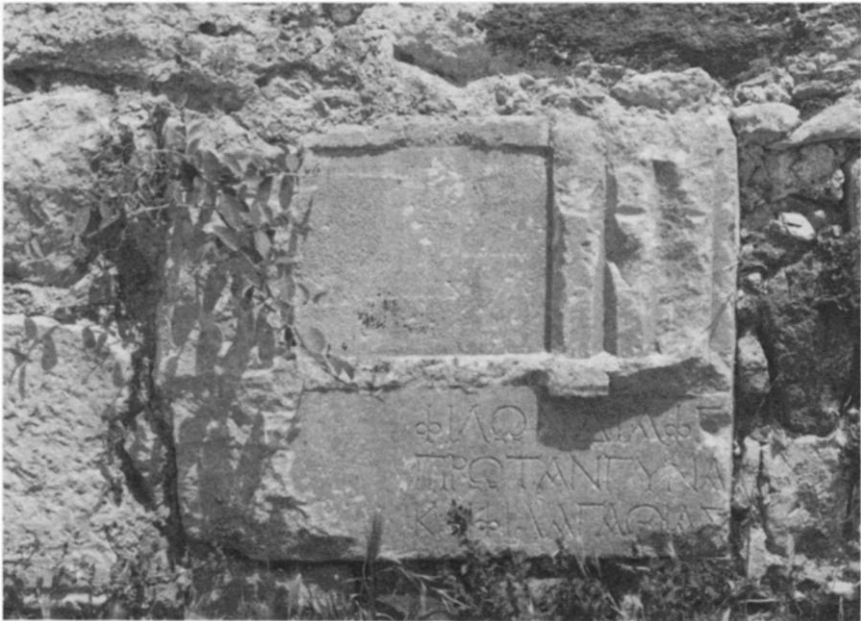


PLATE 2.1 Block with inscription from the tomb of Prota (1).

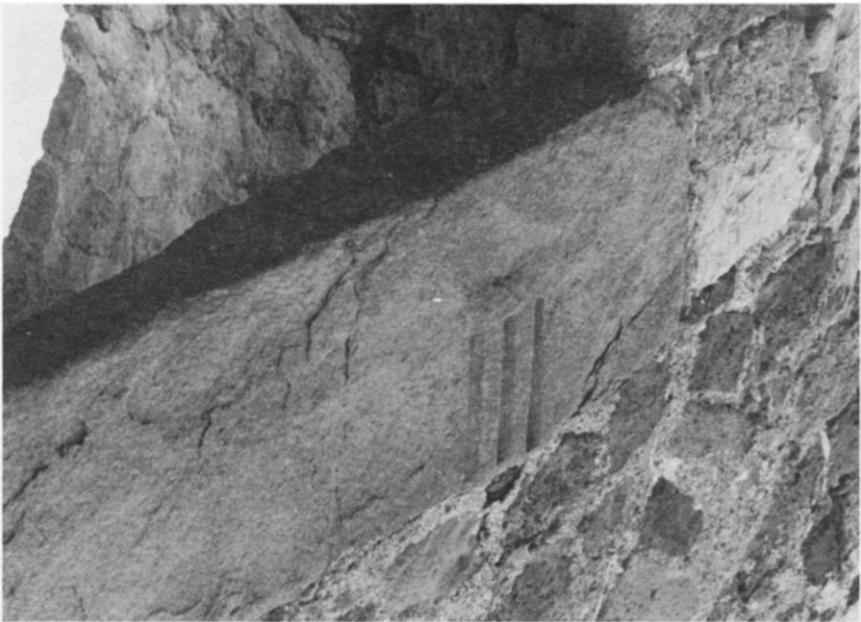


PLATE 2.2 Andesite entablature (2).



PLATE 3.1 Entablature with garland frieze (3).



PLATE 3.2 Entablature with garland frieze (3).



PLATE 4.1 Frieze block with eagle and garland (3).



PLATE 4.2 Doric entablatures from two structures (4, 5).



PLATE 5.1 Doric frieze with ears (5).



PLATE 5.2 Ionic entablature and columns (6).



PLATE 6.1 Entablature with fluted frieze (7).



PLATE 6.2 Corner block from fluted frieze (7).



PLATE 6.3 Ionic capital (7).