

THE ATHENIAN AGORA

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS

CONDUCTED BY

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME III

LITERARY AND EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

BY

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THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS
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PREFACE

This collection of *testimonia* was originally planned as a mere appendix to a volume by Professor Homer Thompson on the topography of the agora, and although because of its bulk and to avoid delay it now appears as a separate work, its purpose remains essentially ancillary. I have attempted to gather together the ancient texts directly concerned with the agora and its monuments, and to present them in a form convenient for students of the many questions and problems with which the subject is surrounded. The word "agora" has been interpreted in a broad sense, so as to include the agora proper and its immediate environs and appendages. The edges have inevitably been left somewhat ragged; one could hardly attain completeness without covering the whole of Athens, and I have hopes of doing this in due course; but at least the area covered coincides fairly conveniently with (a) a certain phase of Pausanias' description and (b) the field of recent excavations; and it includes the very heart of Athens and a large proportion of the places and monuments which played a constant part in Athenian life and appear most frequently in our authors.

The difficulties of arrangement are probably insuperable. The work has grown over a period of years and has been subject to changes of plan and method, which may have produced a certain unevenness, though not, I hope, confusion. I have divided the material into broad but not very clearly defined classes, beginning with the stoas, those buildings which were especially characteristic of the agora, which provided an approach to it, and its frame and setting. Within each section I have adopted mechanical and mainly alphabetical methods, the guiding principles being convenience of consultation and ease in finding particular items and bodies of material. More logical methods of arrangement, by chronology or by subject matter, all carried with them complications which frustrated this main purpose.

To avoid confusion, to provide a rapid survey and an index to the mass of material which follows, a synopsis is placed at the head of each section, except the very short ones which can be taken in almost at a glance. The references by authors' names and inscription numbers given in these synopses were inserted before the serial numbers had been worked out, and were retained even afterwards because they seemed more informative about the nature of the evidence.

Authors of *all* kinds are given in strictly alphabetical order. To differentiate them, by separating literary from academic authorities for example, would again have caused complications. There is in any case no clear dividing line. Where one author quotes another or several others, the whole passage is given under the name of the quoting author. To extract the primary authorities would have caused even greater fragmentation; they are noted in the synopses and of course listed in the index. The epigraphical material is appended to the literary; items from *I.G.* are followed by those from the Agora Inventory, for all of which details of the circumstances of discovery, including grid numbers (see Pl. II) are given.

When an item is relevant to more than one section, the original serial number is repeated in parentheses in the later section, and a mere reference is given, with a brief summary where this is thought to be helpful (in some cases the content of the passage is included in the synopsis above).

In the literary passages I have aimed at quoting all that is relevant, and have sometimes expanded the context a little in a note, but I hardly expect that the reader will always be saved the trouble of consulting an edition of the author. Notes on the text do little more than draw attention to particular difficulties which may be of importance for our subject. Bald and literal translations of my own are added; even the best of more stylish translations are apt to blur the small points, architectural or topographical, with which we are concerned. Besides the important *testimonia* given in full and numbered in series, many passages of minor or indirect significance are referred to briefly in the notes. In the case of many of the epigraphical items full quotation would have been cumbersome and unhelpful and I have dealt with these in brief paragraphs incorporating the key phrases, which are normally picked out and emphasised by being placed on separate lines. Here again the reader may often find it necessary to turn to *I.G.* and elsewhere, especially to the final publication of the agora inscriptions when it appears. The present volume makes no pretensions as an epigraphical work; but it provides, one hopes, a synopsis of the material and an indication of its character.

On questions of dating, one should note with some caution that the archon lists continue in process of revision, especially in the Hellenistic period. Dinsmoor gives a provisional list for the third century in *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 312–316, and promises further work on the subject; an article by Meritt about to appear in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, offers some slight corrections for the third century and a list for the second, of which the author has kindly sent me a copy in advance; for later times Notopoulos' table in *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 48 ff., provides a chronological framework. These studies have been taken into account as far as possible.

Several large and difficult subjects had to be faced, even though they take one far beyond the limits of the agora and to give full *testimonia* on them was hardly required for present purposes. To meet this difficulty I have abandoned my usual method in several sections and written a continuous article incorporating the material which seems to be of immediate importance. The section on the law courts, which fully treated would require a large separate volume, is of this kind; and so is the note on "Kerameikos." Other such subjects, e.g. the demes of this quarter of Athens, I have merely touched incidentally as occasion arose, deferring fuller treatment for the present.

The purpose of this volume is to present the evidence, not to interpret it, to go back to the ancient sources and to observe precisely what they say and – almost equally important – what they do not say. At some points it is a case of "reculer pour mieux sauter." In the past many theoretical reconstructions of the agora or of particular monuments have been made. It is a sobering experience to observe how fundamentally mistaken most of them were. The literary evidence is in itself usually obscure, and at many points leaves huge gaps. The great archaeological work of the last quarter of a century has transformed the situation; a re-interpretation is necessary and is in process of being made. Many things are now quite clear; others are clear beyond reasonable doubt. Elsewhere the light is still dim; indeed many new and unsuspected problems have been raised by the new finds.

I have given the main cross-references to the archaeological finds; and in other ways too I may have tended at times to go beyond the primary purpose of the book. Some inconsistency and unevenness was hardly avoidable. Even in the presentation of the material one became inevitably involved from time to time in problems and possible solutions. Were the Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus identical? What was the Stoa of the Herms? Where was Enneakrounos? Such questions had to be considered even in the mechanical processes of arrangement. And occasionally I may have been led into airing tentative views at greater length than is justified by the plan of the present work, especially in the continuous sections.

It hardly needs saying that I am enormously indebted to earlier works, above all to Wachsmuth's *Die Stadt Athen*, which remains indispensable after 66 years. Judeich's *Topographie* was of course invaluable, though out of date on the agora, with I.T. Hill's *Ancient City of Athens* as a very helpful supplement. To mention all the scholars to whom I am indebted for information, encouragement and enlightenment, by word of mouth at Athens and Princeton, by letter or through the pages of *Hesperia*, would require a very long list, including almost all who have worked so devotedly in the agora in recent years. It has been a great joy to me to co-operate with them; I must thank them collectively, and mention only a few. Professor Homer Thompson first suggested that I should do this work and throughout he has never spared himself in giving help and encouragement. Professor Eugene Vanderpool has discussed a number of points with me and made many helpful suggestions. Professor B.D. Meritt has kindly sent me many pieces of epigraphical information, and has gone over the proofs particularly with an eye to the presentation of epigraphical material. Miss Lucy Talcott has gone to a great deal of trouble in giving me access to material at Athens, and Mrs. Margaret Larsen Lethen has done long and hard work on my behalf in ascertaining and incorporating the finding-places of inscriptions in the agora. Miss Margaret Crosby kindly allowed me to use some extensive and valuable notes which she had made on the law courts. At Princeton Mrs. Evelyn Smithson has been very helpful, particularly in carrying out a number of late insertions and revisions; Mr. G.A. Stamires has placed his great prosopographical knowledge at my disposal, and has supplied me with some interesting items which I might have missed. Above all Miss Lucy Shoe has devoted a great deal of time and an immense amount of trouble to editorial problems, to making the manuscript presentable and reading the proofs, besides helping me unsparingly in many other ways. At Bangor my colleague Mr. B.R.I. Sealey has performed an extremely valuable service for me by going into a number of historical points, especially the dates of all the speeches quoted, and Dr. R.A. Browne has helped me in dealing with various problems, especially concerning the law courts. While acknowledging these debts I retain responsibility for the form, arrangement and contents of the book.

Finally I should like to thank the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton for enabling me to work happily for a period with its great resources at hand, the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia for a grant which allowed me to follow in the steps of Pausanias; and the Publications Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for generous encouragement of my work.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
OF NORTH WALES,
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INTRODUCTION

The ancient writers offer a great wealth of material on the Athenian agora, its monuments, and the varied activities which went on around them; but comparatively seldom do they provide precise and reliable information about the architectural growth of the agora, or about the date, form and history of particular monuments. The major authors of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. are naturally vague and allusive, and take much for granted. Writers of Hellenistic and Roman times are often comparatively remote from their subjects, and are not always conscientious in the use of first-hand authorities. The scholarly commentators on the other hand, though interested in antiquities, are primarily linguists and grammarians. In view of these limitations one can hardly expect to extract from the literary material a continuous commentary on the monuments or a complete elucidation of the archaeological finds. Beyond a certain point one must be satisfied with a lively companion picture, vivid in color but somewhat blurred in outlines.

5TH CENTURY B.C.

Our material begins to accumulate in the late 5th century. The early agora inevitably remains very shadowy. We are given a few apparently hard and reliable facts about it; Thucydides and the Attidographers probed into the past, taking an interest in early cults. But to the Athenians of the late 5th and 4th centuries their own early political history was largely a matter of legend, propaganda and counter-propaganda rather than sober history. The difficulties which surround a name such as Solon's may also involve the references which we have to the public buildings of archaic Athens. Monuments, like laws and institutions, may sometimes have been projected back into the past. Apollodoros' reference to a primitive agora near the shrine of Aphrodite Pandemos —that is, at the western approach to the Acropolis—has no supporting evidence and may be a learned fiction (731).

Most of the principal monuments of the classical agora make their appearance in the works of Aristophanes, Thucydides, Xenophon and the orators. By the end of the 4th century we have most of the pieces in the jig saw, but hardly the means to assemble them in proper order.

TRAGEDY, ETC. The tragic poets are naturally not very informative. To read precise allusions to cults or shrines into their words (155, 379) is hazardous, just as it is hazardous to find political significance in their plays. Euripides' treatment of the setting of certain plays is interesting, but in spite of his fondness for linking the plot with the establishment of a local cult, he has nothing important to offer, except that on one point his very silence may be significant (166). Melanthios, the elegiac and tragic poet, is credited with a reference to the generous activities of Polygnotos in the agora (86). A fanciful phrase of Pindar may refer to the altar of the Twelve Gods (p. 122).

ARISTOPHANES. In Aristophanes the agora first begins to come to life; but the light which he sheds, though brilliant, is sometimes uncertain—his job is to amuse his contemporaries, not to enlighten posterity. The seamy side of life in the agora, the gossip and sharp practices of the

market, are naturally prominent. We hear the talk at the barbershops, the wreath market, the perfumers'. But we also find interesting though usually oblique allusions to various cults—Eirene (152), Zeus Agoraios (380), Zeus Soter (24), Theseus, whose shrine was a place of asylum (341). *Sitesis* in the Prytaneion is repeatedly mentioned. The Councillors are seen to leap over the barriers in the Bouleuterion (395). Aristophanes was particularly concerned with the law courts, and he gives, though somewhat obscurely, a number of names and places of courts operating in the late 5th and early 4th century (p. 147). In his plays some of the most famous monuments of the agora take on the character of familiar landmarks—the Tyrannicides (256, 257), the Eponymoi (232, 231 ?). His allusion to Mikon's Amazons (55) is the first extant reference to the Poikile, with the possible exception of Melanthios. He speaks of the Basileios and, with an unfortunate vagueness, of "the stoa beside it" (7), and of the Alphitopolis. A fragment mentions the planting of plane trees (715). Aristophanes' elder rival Kratinos speaks of the *kyrbeis* (558), has a dubious allusion to Enneakrounos (436) and is credited with a reference to the famous black poplar (721). Eupolis offers the most striking instance of a usage in reference to the market ("the onions," "the perfume," "the books" etc., 612) which remained common throughout Old and New Comedy.

HERODOTOS. Herodotos' fondness for drawing illustrative parallels from Athens shows the altar of the Twelve Gods functioning as a central milestone (364), and he also represents the Plataeans as seeking sanctuary there, probably in 519 B.C. (365). His important account of the establishment of the shrine of Aiakos (103) is marred by chronological uncertainty, and his reference to Enneakrounos involves both chronological and topographical difficulty (441).

THUCYDIDES. Thucydides has a high reputation for accuracy and precision, and is counted a pioneer in the use of archaeological material (cf. 312, 404, 455); it is ironical that his remarkable excursion into the topography and monuments of early Athens, in which his reference to Enneakrounos and its embellishment by the tyrants concerns us (455), gives more trouble than any other passage on Athenian topography. His care and precision is admirable in his account of the altar of the Twelve (368, 369), the assassination of Hipparchos (near the Leokorion, 336, 338), and the assassination of Phrynichos (near the Bouleuterion, 405); if in the last case his account is incompatible with that of Lykourgos, one can trust Thucydides to have ascertained the truth as far as possible.

4TH CENTURY B.C.

XENOPHON. Xenophon, continuing the history of Thucydides, gives a dramatic scene in the (presumably "New") Bouleuterion in the time of the Thirty, as Theramenes is torn from the altar-hearth while armed men crowd the barriers (407); later the Thirty sit despondent in the synedrion, whatever that is (p. 128). Neither he nor any other ancient source tells us of the construction of the New Bouleuterion, apparently late in the 5th century, to replace the archaic building. It has been left for excavation to reveal this development. Of the greatest interest are his recommendations for the most effective way of conducting the cavalry processions around the shrines of the agora, between the Herms and the Eleusinion (203), though he adds that this was not actually done. He has enlightened ideas about the proper organization of a market and the provision of market buildings (p. 189), but it is not clear how all this is related to current Athenian practice. He shows Socrates sitting in the Stoa of Zeus (36) and a rein-maker's shop (664).

PLATO. Plato gives the Athenian background of his dialogues in a few vivid and authentic touches, though his settings are not entirely free from slight inconsistencies and anachronisms. He represents Socrates as in his element in the agora, at the "tables" (629, 630), or picking up

a book in the orchestra (**527**). We see Socrates defying the Thirty in the Tholos (**600**), attending at the Basileios in connection with his forthcoming trial (**19, 20**), and drinking hemlock in the prison near the law court (p. 149). Plato gives a highly imaginative picture of early Athens, which contrasts with Thucydides' sober deductions, but one feature of it, the garden around the shrine of Athena and Hephaistos (**289**), is now shown by excavation to have had a curious counterpart in the historical city; one cannot say whether Plato had this garden of Hephaistos in mind or whether a later horticulturist translated his fancy into fact. In two dialogues which are probably not Platonic though they may well be quite early works of the Academy (**33, 34**), Socrates takes a friend aside into the stoa of Zeus; he no doubt often did so, but in such works we can no longer feel that we have a direct contemporary picture—they are more akin to the work of later anecdoteists and biographers.

ORATORS. Our greatest wealth of authentic evidence comes from the orators, whose extant works receive a considerable supplement from quotations and citations in the lexica.

ANTIPHON. Antiphon speaks of certain law courts (p. 146), the Heliaia and the Parabyston, and gives scenes in the Bouleuterion, with the bema and the shrines of Athena Boulaia and Zeus Boulaios (**393, 394**). Harpokration gives him, in unhappily garbled form, a possible reference to the elusive Stoa of the Herms (**305**).

ANDOKIDES. Andokides too takes us to the Bouleuterion, and mentions the hearth (**391**), a stele and records (**390, 392**). He also shows us the Boule meeting on occasion in the Eleusinion (**191**). He has references to the Eponymoi (in a decree cited, **230**), the law courts (the dikasterion of the Thesmothetai, p. 146; **543**), the mint (p. 160), and the prison (p. 149). No single work adds more lively details to our picture of the Athenian scene than the *De Mysteriis*. We see the Athenians during the alarm of 415 B.C. mustering at various points, some in the agora itself, the cavalry in the Anakeion, the Prytaneis in the Tholos (**133**). The incident given in **281** emphasizes the close relation between the bronze-workers' shops and the Hephaisteion. His account of the inscription of the revised code of laws in the stoa (presumably Basileios), on the wall, is of great interest, though involved in baffling difficulties (**6**).

LYSIAS. Lysias is not such a copious source as one might have expected. He offers a little more on the law courts (p. 148), and a travesty of justice under the Thirty in the Bouleuterion, with some details of the arrangements there (**401**). He takes us to the office of (probably) the strategoi (p. 127); shows the Dekeleans frequenting a barbershop near the Herms (**306**) and the Plataeans foregathering near the cheese-market (**655**); and he gives an interesting general picture of life in the market district (**611**).

ISOKRATES. Isokrates mentions an announcement "before the Eponymoi" in a speech of 402 B.C. (**242**). He speaks of the cult of Eirene after 374 B.C. (**156**) and of the statues of Konon and Euagoras near Zeus Soter (**29**). The silence of our authors may sometimes be significant, and one notes that he does not mention the statue of Pindar when he might well have done so had it been there (**708**). He mentions the examination of a slave in the Hephaisteion (**287**). Characteristically deplored the ways of modern youth, he has an interesting reference to Enneakrounos (**445**) and speaks of the gossip in the shops (p. 186). Isaios amongst a few other interesting details has a number of references to the Poleterion (**538**).

AISCHINES. The great antagonists Aischines and Demosthenes fought repeatedly over this ground. By now the Eponymoi are constantly mentioned as the place where notices are posted (**229**) and the Metroon as the repository of public records (only a dubious anecdote, recorded by Chamaileon of Herakleia Pontica a century later, and retailed by Athenaeus, takes the evidence for this practice back into the 5th century; **470**). Aischines gives us several vivid scenes—a crowd jostling around a suppliant at the altar of the Mother in the agora (**465**); and the Athenian allies taking the oath before the ambassadors of Philip in the Strategion (**572**). He mentions a

process of sortition in the Theseion (**339**). He takes us “in thought” to view the glories of the Poikile (**49**), and illustrates the increasing frequency with which honorary statues were set up from this time onwards. We owe to him our evidence for the *perirrhanteria* of the agora (**714**), and he is our only first-hand authority, besides Antiphon, for the obscure Stoa of the Herms (**301**). This last passage, including Aischines’ quotation of the epigrams, has been the subject of much dispute, and Aischines has been accused of manipulating the facts. He was no doubt quite capable of doing so, but he probably did not to any great extent. The orators could take great liberties with past history, already much garbled and confused, to suit their immediate rhetorical purposes, but they could hardly do so with plain facts concerning monuments which many of their hearers would see for themselves on their way to and from the court.

DEMOSTHENES. Demosthenes ranges widely amongst the monuments of Athens. He loves to indicate with broad gestures the architectural glories of an earlier generation, now a standing reproach to his sluggish contemporaries—“the Propylaia here, the Parthenon, stoas, arsenals —” (XXII, 76; XXIII, 207). He refers repeatedly to the principal public buildings and monuments, the Metroon, the Tholos, the Prytaneion, the Eponymoi. He takes us to the “building of the archons” (Thesmotheteion ?) (**583**) and speaks of an arbitration in the Poikile (**61**). He says that Konon was the first after Harmodios and Aristogeiton to be honored with an official statue (**261**, p. 213). Aischines’ father is represented as doing servile jobs in a school near the Theseion and the shrine of the Heros Iatros (**347**). We get vivid glimpses of the market place too, including the dramatic moment when on the approach of Philip the ground is ruthlessly cleared for action (**623**). One of Demosthenes’ liveliest scenes (**323**) is notable for the precision of its topographical detail and the number of its points of reference; it is exasperating, and only too characteristic of the elusiveness of many of our subjects, that one still cannot mark these points on the map, except the general direction of Melite, or indicate where the speaker was walking.

Some of the speeches generally regarded as spurious nevertheless provide good 4th-century evidence. We hear of an arbitration in the Hephaisteion (**285**). The first speech against Aristogeiton has a number of interesting details—the Areopagus sitting roped off in the Basileios (**11**), a visit to the “Poleterion of the metics’ tax” (**537**), communal life in the prison (p. 149), Aristogeiton avoiding the sociable atmosphere of the barbers’ or the perfume shops, and darting about the agora like a viper (**677**).

OTHER ORATORS. The other orators add a few details, besides covering ground which is by now familiar. Lykourgos gives an incident at the altar of the Twelve, about 355 B.C. (**366**). When he speaks of *sitesis* in the Prytaneion in the time of King Kodros he may be guilty of anachronism (p. 173). Citations of Hypereides, who, we are told, was a familiar figure in the fish market (p. 196), preserve allusions to the Herms (**305**), the Eurysakeion (**246**), the “Kolonetai”, his explanation, disputed by Didymos, of the name of the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (**26**), and his account of the nine archons dining “in the stoa behind a curtain” (**587**). Deinarchos mentions the Trigonon court, comments unfavorably on the multiplying of honorary statues in the agora (**695,700**) (contrast Lykourgos, **268**), and uses the term *kykloi* of the market as do the comedy writers (**618**).

NEW COMEDY. The poets of the Middle and New Comedy, preserved by quotations in Athenaeus, Pollux and the lexica, continue to depict the market scene in lively colors, as does Theophrastos too, and also offer scraps of information about monuments and public buildings. They constantly use the idiom noted above (“the onions” etc.), and they introduce us to the *kykloi*, the character of which is particularly well illustrated by a figure in Diphilos who resembles Carroll’s White Knight (**613**). Alexis tells of the sale of wine on wagons (**661**). An amusing passage in Euboulos (**610**) shows the sale of fruit, vegetables and other goods, and the dispen-

sation of justice, thoroughly mixed up. Menander mentions the Trigonon law court (p. 148), Timokles the Parabyston (p. 146). Mnesimachos has an illuminating passage on the Herms (303). Theognetos speaks of the philosophical chatter in the Poikile (60). Philemon glances humorously at the origin of the cult of Aphrodite Pandemos (731).

HELLENISTIC PERIOD

These writers take us down into the 3rd century and the Alexandrine age. But they still, like all the authors so far considered, move familiarly amongst the great monuments of Athens, and reveal to us, casually and unconsciously, glimpses of the Athens they themselves knew. By this time, however, a change has already begun to come over the character of the evidence, and during the Alexandrine and Roman ages most of our authors will usually be looking back into the distant past, and reconstructing events and scenes of an earlier age. Some are scholarly commentators, or serious historians and biographers who scrutinize their material conscientiously; even these may be baffled by its scarcity or obscurity. Others are content to follow the handiest authority uncritically. Others again are mere anecdoteists and gossip-writers, or composers of fictitious letters in the lighter vein. But even slight and dubious anecdotes may preserve in their setting genuine topographical details. On the other hand in all but the most careful authors anachronisms may occur, and the existence of later monuments known to the writer may be assumed long before their proper time.

ATTHIDOGRAPHERS. Thucydides had made some shrewd deductions about primitive Athens. The Atthidographers or local historians of Attica, in a series extending from the late 5th century to the 3rd, attempted a systematic history from the beginnings. Later commentators used them for constitutional and topographical details; and the Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens* depended heavily on them and probably has little independent value as an authority. The Atthidographers had a strong religious bias and were interested in the foundation and practice of cults; they were much concerned with the legendary religious and political achievements of Theseus. For the 6th and early 5th centuries, when the agora was taking shape, the historians of Athens were probably on uncertain ground. What records had been kept, and in what form, and what had survived and were used are highly problematical questions (see p. 17). Probably the material was very meagre; and by the late 5th and 4th centuries the traditions of their early constitutional development had been much confused in the minds of the Athenians by propagandist versions of events fostered by conflicting political and family interests.

On the subject of the agora, gleanings from the fragments of the earlier Atthidographers are very slight. Androtion (4th century B.C.) mentions an obscure law court (p. 148); Phanodemos (also 4th century B.C.) speaks of the Leokorion "in the middle of the Kerameikos" (326), (perhaps, as with Thucydides, in connection with the murder of Hipparchos). Philochoros (4th-3rd century) is more helpful, if only because he is more frequently quoted, and provides several valuable pieces of precise and apparently reliable information. He places the establishment of Hermes Agoraios in the archonship of Kebris (298), who unfortunately cannot be dated now and possibly belongs to the early 5th century; such a date may be derived from temple records. He dates the erection of an altar to Eirene (374 B.C.; 154). He is our best authority on the arrangements for ostracism in the agora (531); and assigns a change in the method of seating the Boule to the archonship of Glaukippos (410/9 B.C.)—one wonders if this coincided with the opening of the "New Bouleuterion."

The *Ath. Pol.*, written probably in the 320's, may best be considered in this context. We need not be concerned with its authorship or ask whether it is worthy of the writer of the *Politics*. In

general, its account of contemporary institutions can be taken as full and reliable; on earlier periods its evidence is questionable. The writer's description of the machinery of the law courts is now illustrated in some details by the finds (p. 149); the courts themselves, including the complex described in 63, 2, remain archaeologically and architecturally very elusive.

Aristotle represents Peisistratos as mustering the Athenian people in the Theseion (**344**); if Polyainos later makes him summon them to the Anakeion (**142**) this is hardly a real discrepancy since the shrines were adjacent and both were used for armed gatherings. Like Thucydides, Aristotle places the assassination of Hipparchos near the Leokorion (**321**) though he differs in some other details. The interesting account of the removal of the various archons from their peculiar primitive quarters to a common building, the Thesmopheteion (**582**), may well preserve an authentic tradition; but one can still feel doubts about the ascription of the change to Solon. Famous names tended to attract traditions to themselves. In the case of Solon confusion between the measures genuinely due to him, later additions, and the re-codification of the late 5th century was very likely to arise. There may be an anachronism in 7, 1 (**9**), where it is said that the laws of Solon, in the time of their author, were set up in the Stoa Basileios; the evidence for the great antiquity of the building is very slender.

PERIEGETES. The Attidographers mentioned various monuments occasionally and incidentally; certain other writers gave descriptions, sketchy or detailed, of famous ancient cities, their sites, monuments and works of art. The ancestry of Pausanias' *periegesis* goes back at least as far as the 3rd century B.C. Some of these writers received the title "the Periegete"; Diodorus (3rd century B.C.), Heliodoros, and the voluminous and industrious Polemon (2nd century B.C.) were so called. Monographs were written on a large number of notable cities; but although Athens naturally received a large share of attention, as far as one can tell our account of the agora owes little to such sources. The titles which are preserved seem to point to a greater interest in the Acropolis (Heliodoros, Polemon) and the tombs (Diodorus).

The extant description of Greek cities wrongly ascribed to the philosopher and geographer Dikaiarchos, and written perhaps in the 2nd century B.C., is lively and colorful, but sketchy and sometimes obviously exaggerated. The writer comments on the poor water supply of Athens. His well known description of the streets is no doubt applicable to the environs of the agora. "The city has its streets badly laid out (*κακῶς ἐρυμοτομηένη*) because of its antiquity; most of the houses are mean, few are serviceable; visitors when they first see it cannot believe that this is the famous city of Athens." The glories of Athens, which he contrasts, in rapid survey, with all this squalor, are the Odeion (of Perikles of course), the theatre, the Parthenon, the Olympieion, and the suburban gymnasia—there is no mention of the agora. This sketchy method approximates to the rhetorical description of the famous sites of Athens given by Hegesias of Magnesia (mid 3rd century B.C.) and quoted by Strabo (**330**), who finds it beyond his scope to describe the city in detail. Such impressionistic methods contrast strongly with the laborious approach of the true periegete.

Diodorus wrote an important work on the Attic demes (**286**). Philostephanos of Cyrene wrote on rivers and springs—the titles we have, here as elsewhere, may often refer to parts of a broader geography—mentioning Kallirrhoe-Enneakrounos (**439**); Harpokration's citation throws no light on the notorious "problem" however. What appears to be a fairly comprehensive guidebook on Athens is referred to under the names "Menekles or Kallikrates." It was written by Menekles of Barka in the 2nd century B.C. and perhaps revised by one Kallikrates early in the 1st century. We owe to this work an important but obscure reference to the location of the Herms (**305**). Ammonios of Lamptraí in a work on altars commented on the purpose and rotundity of the Tholos (**595**). Altogether we get disappointingly little information from these sources. It is noteworthy that Polemon mentions the *axones* in the Prytaneion in a work

"against Eratosthenes," also called "On Eratosthenes' stay (*ἐπιδημία*) at Athens," the object of which may have been to belittle Eratosthenes' first-hand knowledge of the city.

ERATOSTHENES. The Alexandrine scholars were meanwhile laying the foundation of the critical study of the great authors, especially Homer and the poets, and of linguistic usage, by editing texts, writing commentaries and monographs, and compiling lexica. From our present point of view their work on Aristophanes and Comedy was most important. Eratosthenes led the way with his great treatise on Old Comedy. Whatever Polemon might say, Eratosthenes at least had something more than book-knowledge of Athens; he had spent some years there in his youth, and his information about the poets in the *Poikile* (63) may have been gleaned on the spot. Aristophanic studies were continued by Aristophanes of Byzantium, Euphronios and Kallistratos (see 58), and Aristarchos; the results, as in many other fields, were consolidated in the 1st century B.C., by the polymath Didymos, whose work, after further intermediaries, provided the hard core of the Aristophanes scholia.

DIDYMOΣ. The indefatigable Didymos wrote commentaries not only on most of the great poets but also on the speeches of Demosthenes, besides works on special subjects including the *axones* of Solon. In a passage given below from the portion of his Demosthenes commentary preserved on papyrus he quotes Philochoros on the altar of Eirene (154). He contradicts Hypereides concerning Zeus Eleutherios (27). He gives an elaborate series of alternative interpretations of Demosthenes' phrase δέ κάτωθεν νόμος (399n), which are probably all beside the point and miss the obvious and simple explanation, though he conveys in the process some interesting if confused information.

APOLLODOROS. Eratosthenes also did work of great importance in chronology, seeking to establish systematically the dates of political and literary occurrences. Following in his footsteps in the 2nd century the versatile and industrious Apollodoros of Athens wrote a more popular type of chronological work, much used by later writers, in which he ranged from the fall of Troy to his own day, and dated not only political but also literary and philosophical events, as in the curious fragment (456) which probably mentions the Ptolemaion. His large work περὶ Θεῶν (731) was a storehouse of material on questions of religion and mythology. The *Bibliotheca* ascribed to him (164, 165) is almost certainly by a later and lesser writer, perhaps of the 1st century A.D., and is a slighter and simpler work on mythology; but it is "compiled faithfully, if uncritically, from the best literary sources open to him" (Frazer, p. xx).

Finally, the Alexandrines developed the science of lexicography, compiling lists of words of different kinds and on many different subjects. Aristophanes made a collection of Ἀττικαὶ λέξεις amongst other things, foreshadowing the Atticist lexica of two or three centuries later, which provided lists of supposedly correct Attic terms for the guidance of writers who sedulously cultivated the Attic style of rhetoric. In this field too Didymos gathered up the work of his predecessors, and his collections, including a lexicon of comedy, were fundamental to later lexicographers, including Pamphilos of Alexandria (1st century A.D.) who compiled a massive comprehensive lexicon in ninety-five books. Didymos occupies a similar place in the history of paroemiography or the systematic collection of proverbs, to which we owe, in the work of Zenobios (2nd century A.D.) and the collection ascribed perhaps wrongly to the lexicographer Diogenianos, several interesting but sometimes, not unnaturally, enigmatic allusions.

Thus a formidable apparatus of scholarship had been created by the 1st century B.C., and it continued in process of growth and transmission, though not always of improvement. The extant lexica and collections of scholia are by-products of long and complicated processes of amplification and revision, epitomization, contamination and interpolation, in which real scholarship was liable to be embedded in tiresome pedantry and sometimes sheer rubbish. For our purposes, the great value of the surviving mass of material is that it preserves countless

citations of lost authors and works; it is very helpful merely to be told that a particular author mentions a particular monument. Beyond this one proceeds with caution. The writers of commentaries and compilers of lexica were apt to become increasingly remote from hard facts. On the whole one may perhaps be allowed to take clarity and consistency as the criteria of value. Speculation and generalization, unsafe inference and misplaced ingenuity were apt to produce disputable or confusing results. The multiplicity and the peculiar character and nomenclature of the public buildings of Athens sometimes baffled writers to whom these monuments were merely names culled from literary works or earlier word-lists. False etymologies were unhelpful. Misspelling and serious corruption in the texts inevitably occurred. Confusion arose concerning the stoas of Athens, their number and names, the Prytaneion and the Tholos, the Thesmothe-teion, the Eponymoi.

DIODORUS SICULUS. While the great Alexandrines laid the foundations of academic scholarship, writers of a less critical sort were content to use the authorities which came most easily to hand. Such was Diodorus Siculus (1st century B.C.) who in his general history, or Library of History as he significantly entitled it, made a compilation from a series of earlier authors showing little critical power in their use. The great value of his history is that it preserves something of a number of important works now lost, and apparently follows them faithfully, if sometimes rather casually and summarily. Diodorus made much use of Ephoros and possibly Theopompos, and, for the period of the successors of Alexander, Hieronymos of Cardia.

He tells how the associates of Pheidias sought asylum at "the altar of the gods" (the Twelve?) (**363**). He is our authority for the setting up of statues of Antigonos and Demetrios near the Tyrannicides (**264**). He is the first extant authority who mentions the famous altar of Eleos (**169**); but when he associates it with events of 415 B.C. one should bear in mind the context in which the reference occurs—an elaborate and artificial rhetorical composition of a kind which, Diodorus himself says at the beginning of Book XX, the sober historian may indulge in sparingly.

By the time Diodorus wrote, the agora had undergone a startling transformation. In the 2nd century B.C. the huge Stoa of Attalos was built along the eastern side, and the "Middle Stoa," one of the vastest buildings of Athens, was placed across the southern part, with lesser but still impressive stoas beyond it making a square separate from the main agora. Apart from one very casual reference to the Stoa of Attalos (**99**), extant literature tells nothing whatever of all this. At about the end of Diodorus' life an equally drastic change took place; the Augustan Odeion was on such a scale and in such a position that it dominated the scene henceforth, and at the same time the temple of Ares was transferred to a site near by in the middle of the agora, which had hitherto been left mainly open. The brief and incidental allusions to these buildings quite fail to reveal the nature of this development. The more modest ancient monuments continued to occupy the western and northern sides, with modifications and additions. Most of our authors are usually concerned with the older monuments, and Pausanias has a strong preference for the antique, but it is still a matter for astonishment and sober reflection how completely the later phases in the growth of the Athenian agora were concealed before the recent excavations. Because of the severe limitations of our authorities, most previous attempts to reconstruct the plan were wrong not merely in details but in basic principles of civic design.

LATIN WRITERS

The Latin writers who glance at the monuments of the agora fall mainly into the latter half of the 1st century B.C., and the 1st century A.D., and may conveniently be taken together although they make a heterogeneous group. As a prelude we have an obscure reference to the temple of Ceres in Ennius (**196**).

CICERO. Cicero knew and loved Athens. He gives us visual details of the statue of Vulcan (284), elaborated by Valerius Maximus (291), and mentions the Leokorion(322). His interests were philosophical, and he speaks of the statues of Chrysippos (458n) and Karneades (p. 213); and he gives us a pleasant glimpse of academic life at Athens in his day—he and his friends hear a lecture in the Ptolemaion and then stroll out to the Academy (457).

Cornelius Nepos names many sources which he probably knew only at second hand; he writes of the honors paid to his distinguished subjects, but tells us nothing new. Varro in a Menipporean Satire associates a jar (Diogenes'?) with a portico (the Poikile?) (95). Vitruvius (V, 1) gives general precepts about the Greek way of building “fora”—at no time was the Athenian agora anything like this—but offers no special information. Persius has a somewhat contemptuous reference to the paintings and the philosophy of the Poikile (83). Statius gives an elaborate account of the altar of Eleos (186), which is perhaps something more than a mere flight of fancy, especially if the identification of the altar with the altar of the Twelve Gods is correct—traces of tree-planting, recalling Statius' sacred grove, have been found around the shrine of the Twelve. With some poetical embellishment Statius may be describing the shrine as he knew it. The elder Pliny refers to various paintings and statues; in several cases there is some doubt about authorship and date. Pliny dates the Tyrannicides to the year of the expulsion of the kings of Rome (271), but somehow manages to include them in a list of the works of Praxiteles (272). He twice mentions Enneakrounos (450, 451). Valerius Maximus (early 1st century A.D.), in his collection of examples for rhetoricians, a superficial work of little historical value, mentions not only Vulcan (291) but also the Tyrannicides (277) (restored, he says, by Seleukos), and the paintings of Euphranor (30n). Apuleius (2nd century A.D.) paints a lively picture of conjurors giving a show in front of the Poikile (53); this is in the *Metamorphoses*. In the *Florida*, a collection of extravagant rhetorical excerpts, he tells a tall tale involving a Cynic philosopher and, probably, the same stoa (52). Even if one does not accept the more colorful details of the story, one can well believe that some philosophers almost lived in the stoas.

1ST AND 2ND CENTURIES AFTER CHRIST

PLUTARCH. Plutarch's *Lives* are amongst our richest sources, and the *Moralia* too contain a good deal of relevant material, much of which is of a similar anecdotal and biographical kind. Biography and memoirs go back at least as far as the 4th century and Xenophon (already in the 5th century Stesimbrotos of Thasos, who is quoted by Plutarch, gave biographical details about Themistokles, Kimon and Perikles), and these literary forms established themselves firmly in the Hellenistic age. A number of the Peripatetics developed a mode of biography which made great use of anecdote and brought out a man's character through typical actions. Aristoxenos (4th century B.C.) played an important part in this development. Others of the same school who wrote *βίοι* were Chamaileon of Herakleia Pontica (4th to 3rd century B.C.) (470, 676n) and Hermippos of Smyrna (3rd century B.C.) (644). These writers concocted lives of great men, notably poets, orators and philosophers, out of slight materials, sometimes making unwarranted deductions from their written works, and handed down to posterity the abundance of anecdotes which inevitably attached themselves to well known names. Later writers including Plutarch himself made much use of them. In spite of their dubious historical value they can still provide interesting material for our present purposes; the scenes of their stories may be both vivid and authentic even though the stories themselves are questionable or unacceptable. It does not necessarily matter very much if the same story is told of two personages and one cannot decide to whom it really belongs (see 614). Biography of a more succinct and sober character was written by some of the Alexandrine scholars in their work on the great authors.

Plutarch is no mere anecdote, but he is a moralist rather than a critical historian. He is by no means an indefatigable researcher, and he often relies on later and more convenient sources; but the great breadth of his acquaintance with earlier literature and his sobriety and general good sense inspire confidence. He may have been handicapped to some extent by the shortcomings of the local library when writing up his material at Chaironeia. He makes use of all the major historians, and of the periegetes and Attidographers. His fondness for detail and anecdote adds a number of welcome details to our picture of the agora and its life. He is our authority for Kimon's arboriculture in the agora (**717, 718**); he describes the Kimonian Herms (**309**), and, unlike other extant authorities, associates the altar of Eirene with the peace of 449 B.C. (**160**); note that he adds, doubtfully, "they say." He is not above retailing scandal about Polygnotos (**86**; again, "they say"); but he goes on to quote the lines of a contemporary poet who paid tribute to the generosity of the painter. He gives a gruesome scene at the altar of the Twelve Gods in 415 B.C. (**367**), and an amusing and topographically interesting account of Socrates and his friends walking in the busy market-streets (**682**) (the *De Genio Socratis*, in which this occurs, may draw on a work about the divine sign of Socrates by Herakleides of Pontos, Academic philosopher of the 4th century B.C.). He shows Nikias hard at work in the Strategion, (**576, 577**). In dealing with Solon he is naturally interested in the *axones* and *kyrbeis* (**557**, where he quotes the "thirteenth *axon*," **558**), and he preserves a curious passage of Kratinos on the subject.

Plutarch was educated at Athens and knew the city well; and though he is not normally concerned with the contemporary scene, he does narrate a curious recent incident in which the leaves from a near-by plane tree fell on the statue of Demosthenes (**697**), and he speaks of the Theseion as being "near the present gymnasium" (i.e. the Ptolemaion) (**356**).

A number of lesser works of similar character were fathered on Plutarch. The *Lives of the Ten Orators*, though not by him and lacking his charm, contain a good deal of similar matter. They make some use of a work on the Ten by Caecilius of Calacte, who wrote in the time of Augustus, and also of Dionysios of Halikarnassos. The Life of Demosthenes provides a very important topographical indication of the position of his statue in relation to the *perischoinisma* (**533, 698**); and the life of Lykourgos refers to the altar of Apollo in the agora (**113**).

ARRIAN. Arrian of Bithynia (ca. A.D. 95–175) was both man of affairs and historian. He spent some time in Athens and held office there about the middle of the century; and it was probably while he was there that he wrote the *Anabasis*, his history of Alexander. Arrian had much in common with Xenophon and something with Thucydides. He was a sober and conscientious historian. In the *Anabasis* he went to the best sources, including Ptolemy I, and was not carried away by the romantic legends surrounding his subject. In an earlier work, the *Periplous* (of the Pontos), he gives a helpful comparison of the goddess of Phasis with Pheidias' statue of the Mother at Athens (**468**). His description of the position of the Tyrannicides ("where we go up to the Acropolis"; from the *Anabasis*, **260**) is remarkably detailed, but through no fault of his it remained exasperatingly ambiguous and capable of widely different interpretations until the excavations provided an acceptable solution. He makes it plain that it was Alexander who insisted that the statues plundered by the Persians should be handed back, even though our authorities do not agree on the question who actually restored the Tyrannicides to Athens.

PAUSANIAS. Pausanias is unique amongst our authorities. His is the only consecutive and detailed account we have of the Athenian agora; indeed it is the only one we definitely know to have existed. Pausanias is the successor of the Hellenistic periegetes, and he may well have known and used the works of some of them; but there is little clear evidence of this, and he has long ago been cleared of the charge, made on totally inadequate grounds, that he leans heavily on such as Polemon and that his account is largely given at second hand. Frazer wrote in 1898,

"If it is allowable to forecast the results of research in the future from those of research in the past we may venture to predict that, while they will correct the descriptions of Pausanias on some minor points, they will confirm them on many more, and will bring to light nothing to shake the confidence of reasonable and fair-minded men in his honour and good faith." This prophecy has certainly been fulfilled at Athens. Pausanias' chapters on the Athenian agora give the impression of a personal investigation following a particular itinerary, and this impression becomes stronger when one takes into account the recent finds. Internal evidence, including his failure to mention in Book I the Odeion of Herodes, built in memory of Regilla who died about A.D. 160, suggests that he is describing Athens as he found it just about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. (see A. Diller, *T. A. P. A.*, LXXXVI, 1955, p. 268).

But one must not expect too much of Pausanias. He makes no pretence of writing the ancient equivalent of a Baedeker. He gives neither full details nor a comprehensive general picture. His purpose is essentially one of rigorous selection. In other directions he goes beyond a modern guidebook. Undoubtedly he had some pretensions as a writer and expected his book to be read as a work of literature. The periegesis is embedded in masses of history, mythography and other material. Sometimes one suspects that he chose to linger over a particular monument not simply because of his antiquarian or artistic interests, but because thereby hung a tale; and in this way he may indeed have been to some extent dependent upon and guided by much earlier authorities.

But the thread which holds the whole together, tenuous though it often is, is a topographical one. Pausanias sought to help those interested in Greek antiquities by "leading them around" where he himself had been, and pointing out what was best worth seeing. His itinerary in the Athenian agora has been satisfactorily established by the excavators (see Pl. IV). Few points are identified outright beyond possibility of dispute, but many are reasonably assured, and the whole hangs together. The route is somewhat erratic and eccentric, but it covers the ground pretty well. Without arguing in circles, one may cautiously use it to help identify the more dubious monuments between those which are more or less certain.

When one examines his language in detail Pausanias' limitations from the point of view of the topographer are as obvious as his great value. He gives little idea of the general layout of the site. Reconstructions made on the basis of his description have proved to be radically different from the facts. His indications of distance, direction and relative position are sketchy and erratic. "Near by" can mean a few feet or fifty meters (I, 14, 7). The preposition ὡς I normally take to mean "above," but it might occasionally mean "beyond" (or sometimes both). One suspects that these expressions are sometimes hardly more than conventional connecting links used in working up disconnected notes into literary form, rather than precise descriptions of topographical relations. But one can still believe that the sequence holds good. Sometimes Pausanias gives no such indication at all, or approaches his next subject by some devious historical or mythological path of his own. Sometimes he is vague and allusive, assuming perhaps that all will be clear on the spot. He gives important buildings the briefest possible mention, treating them merely as points of reference or as the setting of statues and paintings which interest him. No one guessed the central position and dominant effect of the Odeion before it was excavated. Like all the rest Pausanias says nothing of the great Hellenistic stoas. Such omissions provide another reason why earlier attempts to reconstruct the agora on paper were as a rule quite fundamentally wrong. Exasperating though he can be to the archaeologist, one should not blame him. He was writing for cultured readers and travellers of his own day. His interests were largely religious and antiquarian, and his method was selective rather than descriptive.

However, even when one judges him in the light of his own interests and principles, one has to admit that he is capable of occasional lapses from accuracy, perhaps of occasional carelessness

or confusion in writing up his material, and of some curious omissions. He says nothing of the Leokorion, of the shrine of the Twelve Gods (at least not under that name), or the altar of Zeus Agoraios which has been identified, with a fair degree of plausibility, in the agora; and one might have expected him to know and to mention the transference to the agora of the temple of Ares.

LUCIAN. Lucian knew Athens intimately and probably wrote many of his liveliest works while living there. At the same time he was steeped in literature and went back to ancient models, drawing inspiration from such sources as comedy and the satires of Menippus. Though he has little substantial to add, no author gives a livelier series of pictures. The dramatic date of his scenes is sometimes contemporary, sometimes of the 5th, 4th or 3rd century B.C., sometimes uncertain or indeterminate; not that it usually matters very much. The monuments amongst which his characters move are mainly ancient ones; his Athens is still the Athens of comedy. The Poikile occurs most frequently, especially in his constant jibes at the philosophers. Whether the Damis and Timokles who figure in the most elaborate and amusing of these scenes are real persons and contemporaries is not clear. He mentions houses near the stoa (**73, 77**), and Hermes Agoraios (**299**). One of his most fantastic descriptions (**138**), definitely contemporary in this case, is topographically most interesting, and helpful in fixing the position of the Anakeion and other sacred spots on the Acropolis slopes. One would hardly expect him to be above anachronisms. He makes Solon speak of the Eponymoi (**244**). When he gives Timon a contemptuous reference to the altar of Eleos (**175**), that is not evidence for the use of the name in the 5th century B.C. The famous misanthrope in later literature is a largely fictitious character.

ALKIPHRON. Alkiphrion's imaginary letters of fishermen, farmers, parasites and courtesans may be read in the same spirit as the lighter works of Lucian, whom Alkiphrion imitated. The literary epistle had already had a long history and taken various forms, including the fathering of collections on famous men, whether as sheer forgeries or as innocent rhetorical exercises (**708**). Alkiphrion's epistles are based on Menander and his contemporaries. The dramatic date is the late 4th century and the supposed writers move in the Athens of New Comedy. Alkiphrion gives us some lively scenes, for example his fishmonger pausing to listen to the diatribe of a Stoic philosopher (**50**), but adds nothing new except perhaps on the subject of prostitution near the Leokorion, in the Kerameikos and at Skiron (**318**, p. 222). His list of the familiar and characteristic features of Athens, including *perischoinisma* (**529**), is of interest.

PHILOSTRATOS. Philostratos, author of the Life of Apollonios and Lives of the Sophists, and more doubtfully of a collection of Love Letters, studied and taught as a sophist at Athens before transferring to Rome. Though he can hardly be counted a weighty authority, he happens to preserve amongst much that is fanciful or rhetorical several very important pieces of evidence. He is our sole authority for the "theatre in the Kerameikos called Agrippéion" (**522, 523**), now identified on good archaeological grounds as the Odeion, and he locates there certain incidents involving sophists in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. His account of the progress of the ship in the Panathenaic procession in the time of Herodes Atticus (2nd century A.D.), though flowery, is topographically exact, and taking us right across the agora to the northwest slope of the Acropolis helps in locating the Eleusinion and the Pythion (**199**). The altar of Eleos is a favorite topic of his. He speaks of it in fanciful terms, and when he calls Eleos a "thirteenth god" (**179**) this is probably nothing more than a pleasant conceit, but the expression is suggestive and lends some slight support to the identification of the altar with that of the Twelve Gods. There is some dispute whether the Letters should be given to this Philostratos, but there seems to be no convincing reason for dissociating them from him.

AELIAN. Aelian's *De Natura Animalium* and *Varia Historia* are miscellanies of stories about the peculiar behavior of both animals and humans, drawn from a great variety of sources, though probably through the medium of convenient intermediate authorities. He is largely

concerned with such pleasant trivialities as the inclusion of a dog in the Marathon picture (47) or the granting of *sitesis* to a faithful old mule (541). He is our authority for the statue of Agathe Tyche near the Prytaneion (542), and he mentions the house of Meton near the Poikile (48) and certain interesting early stelai in front of the Basileios (4).

POLLUX. A source of very different character from these is Julius Pollux or Polydeukes of Naukratis, one of the most important secondary authorities on Athenian life. His acquaintance with Athens, its monuments and institutions was not purely academic and derivative since he held a professorship of rhetoric there; a reference in the introduction to Book VIII implies that he took up this post (not earlier than A.D. 178) before completing his *Onomastikon*. He drew upon earlier lexicographers but he can also be credited with having read and excerpted from the original sources. He seems to have made use of Krateros' "Collection of Decrees" (early 3rd century B.C.) for Athenian documents. The *Onomastikon* is something different from a lexicon; it is a kind of handbook for Atticist rhetoricians, giving vocabularies classified according to subject, with notes on usage, citations from authors (the orators and comedy writers are particularly important for us) and sometimes illustrative quotations. Thus it has some similarity to Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai*, though it has less pretence to literary character. Since he covers a wide range of both private and public life, and commonly names the authorities who use particular terms, Pollux' work offers a great deal of mainly reliable evidence, even though it has survived only in the form of an epitome subjected to some further interpolation and marred by corruption.

Like Athenaeus, Pollux has much to say about the market. He enumerates the "parts of a city," and fills in many curious details in our picture, and he has a highly important passage on the law courts (p. 147), which is unfortunately open to suspicion of confusion or corruption or both, as is also his reference to the "Attic stelai" (200).

HARPOKRATON. Harpokration's *Lexicon of the Ten Orators*, which has some affinity with Pollux' work, is sometimes dated to a similar period, though this is much disputed. Harpokration draws not only on the orators but incidentally on many other writers, and is helpful in assigning words and phrases to their users. His lexicon is extant in an early epitome and in a more complete form which is, however, not free from interpolation and corruption. The fifth of the *Lexica Segueriana* (so-called from an owner) given by Bekker in Vol. I of *Anecdota Graeca*, pp. 195–318, is also a collection of λέξεις ρητορικά in the same tradition as Harpokration's.

ATHENAEUS. Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai*, composed probably about 200 A.D., is not so much a genuine literary symposium as an animated lexicon of dining and its accompaniments, illustrated by ample quotation. Athenaeus no doubt used lexica such as those of Didymos and Pamphilos, besides special works on fish and such subjects; indeed arrangement and content of some sections suggest that he is following a lexicon, though one need not deny him a direct acquaintance with a wide range of Greek literature. Even if his mode of composition is somewhat absurd, one gratefully accepts his work as a storehouse of excerpts from lost authors, especially the comedy writers. In the nature of things his table-talk turns mainly on food, cooks, fishmongers and the like, and we shall turn to him constantly in dealing with the market. But he has a few other tidbits to offer, since he touches on many aspects of Greek life. A doubtful story from a suspect source (Hegesandros, an unreliable and gossipy writer of memoirs in the 2nd century B.C., known chiefly from Athenaeus) and a quotation from Middle Comedy provide valuable help in locating the elusive "Herms" (302, 303). An anecdote about Alkibiades from Chamaileon (470) and another about Apellikon (1st century B.C.; 469) are of peculiar interest on the subject of the records in the Metroon. We are told, on the authority of Chionides, of a banquet for the Dioskouroi in the Prytaneion (546); and it is worth noting that on the allocation of meat to priests' "parasites" Athenaeus passes on the text of a stele in the Anakeion (134).

LATE ROMAN EMPIRE

DIogenes Laertius. Diogenes Laertius, writing in the first half of the 3rd century, drew on a great range of earlier biographies and works on the philosophers, though often at second hand and without showing much critical power in handling his material. Even if some of the anecdotes which he retails are doubtful history, he gives in connection with the activities of the philosophers in the agora a number of topographical details which usually have the appearance of being authentic, and in some cases are not otherwise known. His story of Solon and the Strategion takes him into the shadowy archaic period (**575**). On surer ground, he shows us Socrates conversing in the workshop of Simon, cobbler and writer of philosophical dialogues (**664n**). He tells us, on the authority of Favorinus, the rhetorician of the early 2nd century A.D., that the affidavit of Meletos against Socrates was preserved in the Metroon (**478**), and he gives the will of Epicurus, which refers to a deed of gift in the Metroon (**480**). He locates the jar of Diogenes the Cynic in the Metroon (**479**), on the authority of a letter (the letter which is preserved, **481**, is probably not genuine); though Diogenes, he says elsewhere (**25**), also considered the Stoa of Zeus and the Pompeion as possible places of residence. He gives curious details of the scene in the Poikile when Zeno taught there (**63**), and tells of its use by a certain group of poets, attested by Eratosthenes, and by the Thirty apparently as a court of summary jurisdiction.

RHETORICIANS. Rhetoricians of the 2nd to 4th centuries A.D. frequently mention famous Athenian monuments; but the interest of such references lies not so much in any information they convey (they add almost nothing to the more substantial sources) as in the way in which they select their material and manipulate it for rhetorical purposes. Interesting situations are devised—Kritias, ringleader of the Thirty, seeks asylum at the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton (**265**); Mikon is tried for failing to represent the Greeks worthily in his Marathon picture (**89**; the use of the word *pinax* is interesting, but one cannot allow much weight to such evidence); Demosthenes, dragged from the altar of Eleos and surrendered to Philip, after his final release proposes to the Athenians the abolition of the altar (a theme of Libanios, **171**). This does not of course take the altar back to the 4th century B.C.; one can believe the rhetoricians capable of violent anachronisms. They make great play with the altar of Eleos, by now a rhetorical commonplace. Libanios, addressing Julian (**172**), in the middle of the 4th century A.D., remarks that the emperor has seen the altar. Himerios' descriptions, though highly colored, are not without real topographical interest; he describes the passage of the Panathenaic ship between the market-stoas of the Dromos (**1**); he speaks vividly of the Marathon picture in the Poikile ("I will show you Marathon in the painting", **70**). He writes as if of his own day, but one cannot put much trust in his rhetorical fantasies.

Libanios studied in Athens, and Himerios taught there after A.D. 368. By their time the character of our site had again drastically changed, and in fact the classical agora no longer existed. The sack of Athens by the Heruli in A.D. 267 reduced most of it to a desolation from which it never recovered. A few of the ancient buildings were patched up; if we can take Himerios literally and seriously (he receives some uncertain support from Sopatros and Synesios), by some miracle the paintings in the Poikile were still there, though not for long. About A.D. 400 a great gymnasium was built over the central part of the old square. Once again, it is not the literary evidence but the archaeological which has revealed what happened in these last phases. Synesios of Cyrene, Neoplatonist and Christian bishop, who visited Athens about A.D. 400, writes a pathetic epilogue to the history of the ancient agora (**94**). The city of Athens, he found, was a mere shadow of its former self. The Poikile was an empty husk; the painted panels and the philosophers alike had vanished.

LEXICA

Scholarly work continued for many centuries more in the form of lexica and commentaries, based mainly on earlier work. Hesychios of Alexandria is generally dated in the 5th century A.D., but Latte is inclined to bring him down to the early part of the 6th. The introduction to Latte's edition, which at present has only been carried as far as Δ, has much to say about sources, transmission of material, the complex interrelations of the lexica, and the extent and source of later interpolation (the same may be said of the introduction to Adler's Suidas). Hesychios' lexicon rested on the work of Diogenianos and others; it is known from one manuscript only, of the 15th century, in which it has suffered much interpolation and also much abridgment in the course of which the mention of sources was apt to disappear.

Photios, patriarch of Constantinople and "universal scholar" (9th century A.D.), besides his lexicon, compiled a "bibliotheca" in which were incorporated extracts from a great variety of prose works. The *Etymologicum Magnum*, probably of the 12th century A.D., was based on earlier *Etymologica* composed under the direction of Photios.

The great lexicon known by the name of Suidas or the Souda is of the late 10th century with some interpolation. It was derived partly from direct consultation of the original authors, partly from the work of earlier lexicographers, commentators and excerptors. Into lexica and scholia alike much that was muddled and confusing was introduced by late Byzantine scholars.

LATE AND BYZANTINE WRITERS

Writers of late antiquity and Byzantine times still occasionally recall the famous monuments of the old agora. Theodoretos, bishop of Kyrrhos in the 5th century, exegete, theologian and ecclesiastical historian, in a work entitled Ἐλληνικῶν θεραπευτική παθημάτων in which he finds in Greek philosophy confirmations of the truth of Christianity, mentions the Tyrannicides and the Herms, the Anakeion and the Leokorion. The Leokorion in particular was remembered; Theophylaktos Simokatta (7th century A.D.) refers to it in a letter in the manner of Alkiphrion (**334**); and yet again, in connection with the Poikile, in his *Quaestiones Physicae* (**335**). The name of the shrine was embodied in a proverb preserved in the collection of Apostolios (**319**). Some Athenian works of art were removed to Constantinople; and we owe to an account of the antiquities of the city, composed possibly in the 10th century and used by Kodinos who wrote in the 15th, a curious reference to a piece of sculpture from the shrine of Ares (**116**).

INSCRIPTIONS

In some ways the epigraphical material can be regarded simply as an extension of the literary, as so many more ancient texts which have something to say about the monuments; it has the advantage of usually being strictly contemporary and indubitably authentic. In addition, the mere existence of an inscribed stone and its discovery in a particular setting at a particular spot may be significant; a stone may be certainly or probably associated with some monument or cult spot, and its text may contain a clause concerning the place where it was to be set up.

Much caution is necessary, however, in drawing inferences about the location of a monument from the finding-place of an inscribed stone which belonged to it. This is particularly so at Athens, most especially in the agora, a site which was repeatedly remodelled, devastated and reconstructed, and inhabited for many centuries. The fate and the movements of the stones

were infinitely varied. The whole question calls for further study in its general principles and in particular cases; here one can only give a few brief indications. Stelai and other inscribed stones which had become superfluous (occasionally objectionable) or which had been shattered offered handy constructional material; and they were taken away and incorporated in buildings of various kinds and in walls, drains and the like. The process began in antiquity and was carried on through mediaeval and more recent times. Naturally the material would be used near at hand if there was a suitable occasion; but it might also be carted a considerable distance. Some stones found a resting place in ancient times where they awaited the excavator; others after many vicissitudes ended their useful career in the walls of modern houses.

It hardly needs saying that the result of all this is a wide and erratic diffusion; though for a special reason, as we shall see, the most important "migration" from the agora was not entirely haphazard. Only a handful of the stones with which we are concerned have remained unmoved where they were set up. The archaic boundary stone of the agora was already safely buried *in situ* in the 5th century (713); in curious contrast, the inscription referring to the Panathenaic Street (729) has stood exposed though long unnoticed on the Acropolis wall above.

When an isolated stone, of moderate size and usable, is found not *in situ*, its intrinsic significance, topographically speaking, is very slight, in fact almost non-existent if it is found in a context of late antiquity or mediaeval or modern times. Odd stones may well have been transferred, sometimes in several stages, from any part of Athens to any other, and indeed far beyond the limits of the city. Many stones from the Acropolis found their way down to the lower city, including the agora; a few were moved in the opposite direction. Numerous gravestones from the outer Kerameikos have been found in the agora. Pieces of the same inscription sometimes turn up in widely different parts of the city. Even when a small group of inscriptions is concerned, one must exercise caution, since several stones from some shrine or monument may have been carried off and used together. But if it can be associated with literary evidence such material may carry considerable weight, as in the case of the Eurysakeion (254), and even a single fragment in a late context may be thrown into the scale.

It sometimes seems to have happened that a large stele was broken up, the main pieces taken away, and a few chips left behind as useless. In such a case those small pieces may provide a clue to the original site (cf. 205 below). An illuminating example is given in *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 223 (129 and p. 91 below); the main pieces of a large ephebic stele were used in the Late Roman Fortification, from which some were extracted for use in modern walls over a considerable adjacent area; a number of chips found in a Roman filling probably mark the site where the stele stood, in front of the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos.

A numerous group of related inscriptions found within a limited area, even though the contexts vary greatly, is naturally in itself more significant; and the most impressive epigraphical evidence of all is provided by a large mass of inscriptions scattered over a considerable total area, but shown by careful investigation to concentrate around, and so probably to emanate from, a spot which can be fixed within narrow limits. Material of this kind has been the chief means of determining the location and the nature of the Prytanikon (p. 184), and has contributed much to the identification of the site of the Eleusinion (p. 77).

In the case of the Eleusinion the epigraphical evidence, without the corroboration of other finds and of the literary sources, is not entirely decisive, since the proposed site is actually on the line of the Late Roman Fortification, in which great numbers of inscriptions, including many of an Eleusinian character, were incorporated. This fortification, enclosing a compact area on the north side of the Acropolis, has in the past been assigned to many widely different dates; recent evidence shows clearly that it was built late in the 3rd century after the sack of Athens by the Heruli in A.D. 267. It has proved to be a great storehouse of epigraphical,

architectural and sculptural stones from the ruined monuments. One tends to assume that stones were taken to the section of the wall nearest to their original position, but this must not always be taken for granted. Many stones from the agora found their way to the eastern section of the fortification. A number of small churches were later built on the line of the wall. Many inscriptions have been retrieved from these, and epigraphical publications use the names of the churches for reference, including Hypapanti on the slope of the Acropolis near the Eleusinion, Panagia Pyrgiotissa at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos, and Demetrios Katephores on the eastern stretch of the wall.

Pre-Persian epigraphical material is naturally very slight indeed, but it includes some vitally important pieces. The archaic *horoi* were found one *in situ* in the southwest, one in a tomb of the Turkish period in the Hephaisteion, one in a modern house in the northern part of the agora (713); even the last had not moved far. Leagros' dedication to the Twelve Gods was found *in situ* (378) and happily puts beyond doubt the identification of the famous shrine.

The fragments of the base of the Tyrannicides (280), though in a late context, were found not far from the probable ultimate site of the group; there is still not complete agreement whether the inscription belongs to the pre-Persian or the post-Persian group.

We have mid-5th century *horoi* of Zeus Eleutherios (39) and of the Anakeion (151). The erection of boundary markers in connection with a shrine or other area may be taken as probably indicating some kind of re-organization or tidying up.

The epigraphical evidence like the literary begins to accumulate in quantity in the latter part of the 5th century, and its contents provide mainly similar information. We hear repeatedly of the Bouleuterion as the place where stelai or *sanides* were set up, and possibly—this is by no means clear—as the repository of documents on flimsier material. We do not yet hear of the Metroon as an official record office. The whole question of the Athenian archives is very obscure at this stage and has been much disputed. One suggestion is that before 403 B.C. the publication on stone was the official record, in contrast with the later system by which the official originals were kept in the Metroon and the stelai were merely copies; but this is highly conjectural (see C. Hignett, *Athenian Constitution*, p. 14, for a useful statement of the problem).

The first mention of the Stoa Basileios is in connection with the setting up of the “law of Drakon on homicide” in front of it in 409/8 B.C. (23). A notable inscription of disputed date deals with *sitesis* in the Prytaneion (567). Of law courts the “Heliaia of the Thesmothetai” and the “court of the archon” are mentioned (pp. 146, 147). There is no word of the Eponymoi with one dubious exception (p. 90).

Of the shrines by far the most interesting epigraphically is the Eleusinion, first mentioned in *I.G.*, I², 6, which is dated before 460 B.C. (205). The reference to construction at the Eleusinion in 220 depends on uncertain restoration, but the name clearly occurs in lists of σκεύη at the end of the 5th century (206). The many fragments of lists of the confiscated property of Alkibiades and his companions, which one might have imagined as standing at the Poleterion, are now seen to be amongst the large body of material which has its center in the site now allotted to the Eleusinion southeast of the agora (207).

In the Hephaisteion we read of an altar (292) and are given details of the erection of statues (293); and temple treasures are mentioned in the accounts of the *tamiae* (p. 102). The same lists mention the Anakes (Dioskouroi; p. 65) and are our only authority for the mysterious Heros Epitiegios who was associated with them (147).

These early examples show already the kind of information one can expect. In the 4th century the material is more abundant, and it continues in a great spate through Hellenistic and early Roman imperial times, until it fails in the 3rd century A.D. On almost all subjects it supplements the literature, and for some cults and monuments it provides the greater part or even

the whole of the evidence, though some of the most famous monuments are notably absent or infrequently mentioned. We observed that most of the later authors are usually writing of the distant past; since the inscriptions are normally concerned with the immediate present, in the Hellenistic and Roman periods they help to fill the gaps. But even they have almost nothing to tell of the major building schemes of these times. We have part of the dedicatory inscription of the Stoa of Attalos (100), and statue bases may be indirectly relevant, but the extent of the architectural transformation of the agora in the Pergamene and Augustan phases would still have been unknown but for the discovery of the buildings themselves. An important development of the time of Trajan, the library of Pantainos, is known only through its dedicatory inscription.

Introducing this large mass of late epigraphical material one can hardly do more at the moment than indicate briefly some of the main types of inscription concerned, the general character of the evidence which can be extracted from them, and a few points of special interest.

It is particularly fortunate from our point of view that there were so many different places in and around the agora where stelai recording decrees were set up (see Index, *Stelai*), and that instructions on this point were commonly included in the text. One may normally assume without question that these instructions were duly carried out (note however 127 below). Stelai were set up in, before, or near various public buildings and shrines. The place was determined by the nature of the business or persons involved, or—what might well amount to the same thing—a stele was placed where it was most likely to be seen by those interested. The practice might vary in different epochs or in special cases; one cannot assume absolute uniformity.

Decrees concerning work in a sacred precinct and details of a cult or the organization of a festival were recorded in the shrine concerned. Decrees honoring officials for the faithful performance of their duties were placed at their headquarters or an appropriate public building. Thus the taxiarchs were honored at the Strategion (p. 177); but they were also honored at the Eleusinion for particular services to Demeter (225). The term “synedrion” is important in this connection, but difficult to interpret; it may sometimes indicate the Thesmopheteion, a most important building which is not mentioned by its own peculiar name in extant inscriptions (p. 127). Decrees of the *genos* Salaminioi were set up at their cult center the Eurysakeion (p. 92).

Most numerous of all the honorary decrees are those passed in favor of the Prytaneis, which for a long period were set up in the “Prytanikon”; their discovery in such large numbers has settled the question where and what the Prytanikon was, as we have already noted, and incidentally demonstrated that a *kleroterion* is something quite different from what it was formerly thought to be; some of these stones are in fact *kleroteria* (p. 149). It is to the prytany decrees also that we owe nearly all our knowledge of the sacrifices performed by the Prytaneis. Without them we should be ignorant of the important cults of Artemis Boulaia, Artemis Phosphoros and the Phosphoroi; the distribution of finding places confirms the association of these cults with the Tholos, and incidentally a single late and humble dedication shows that the Phosphoroi were feminine (124).

The large ephebic stelai of late Hellenistic date, inscribed each with a series of decrees honoring the ephebes and their officers for carrying out their duties with diligence and decorum, contain a number of points of interest. They show the ephebes making sacrifices and dedications at various shrines in the agora, attending lectures in the Ptolemaion and presenting books to the library. In one a meeting of the Boule in the shrine of Theseus seems to be mentioned (362). The fragments of the ephebic stelai were concentrated in the Late Roman Fortification near the church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa. According to the usual formula in the text they were to stand simply “in the agora”; but there are certain special variations which raise interesting topographical questions (248, 696).

Inscriptions of many different kinds throw some light on the shrines of the agora, their buildings, equipment and cult-practices. Building accounts contain much interesting but frequently obscure information about construction, equipment, maintenance, repairs and embellishment; the Eleusinian records are especially important, and call for further study. Curious minor documents such as inscribed tiles and the masons' letters on the blocks of the temple of Ares must also be related to different building activities. Cult regulations, directions for the conduct of festivals, and the *dermatikon* accounts, which deal with the sale of skins of victims, all contribute helpful details. Many inscribed altars have been found (see Index, Altars), and a number of boundary-stones, whose significance has already been mentioned. Dedications of statues and minor offerings are very numerous. Incidental allusions to their priests, in various contexts, throw a little light on a number of cults. The titles of many are preserved on seats in the theatre; the extant inscriptions are of late Hellenistic and Roman imperial date, but the spelling and signs of erasure indicate that they reproduce earlier originals, perhaps of the 4th century.

At nearly every point the epigraphical documents, battered and often enigmatic though they are, corroborate, supplement or correct the literary evidence, and sometimes they make important new contributions. They alone tell us of some important public institutions, for example the preservation of weights and measures in the Tholos, and of certain curious cults—the Phosphoroi, the Hero General, the Hero on the Roof. They also add to the mysteries which abound in the agora and the problems which await solution. In dealing with them one is even more conscious how fragmentary and fortuitous our information is, for all its abundance and variety.

I. THE STOAS

APPROACH TO THE AGORA: STOAS ON THE DROMOS

1. Himerios, *Orat.*, III, 12. 4th c. A.D.

Ἄρχεται μὲν εὐθὺς ἐκ πυλῶν, οἷον ἐκ τίνος εὐδίου λιμένος, τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ἡ ναῦς· κινηθεῖσα δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἥδε, καθάπερ κατά τίνος ἀκυμάντου θαλάσσης, διὰ μέσου τοῦ Δρόμου κομίζεται, ὃς εὐθυτενής τε καὶ λεῖος καταβαίνων ἄνωθεν, σχίζει τὰς ἔκατέρωθεν αὐτῷ παραστεταμένας στοάς, ἐφ' ὧν ἀγοράζουσιν Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ οἱ λοιποί.

The ship begins its voyage right from the gate, as from a calm haven. Moving from that point, as over a waveless sea, it is conveyed through the middle of the Dromos, which, descending from above, straight and smooth, divides the stoas extending along it on either side, in which the Athenians and the others buy and sell.

For the use of the word *Dromos* of a street at Athens cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, 4, 27, τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον; Judeich, pp. 184–186.

2. Pausanias, I, 2, 4–5. 2nd c. A.D.

στοαὶ δέ εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ εἰκόνες πρὸ αὐτῶν χαλκαῖ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοις τι ὑπῆρχεν ἐς δόξαν. ἡ δὲ ἐτέρα τῶν στοῶν ἔχει μὲν Ἱερὰ θεῶν, ἔχει δὲ γυμνάσιον ‘Ερμοῦ καλούμενον· ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Πουλυτίωνος οἰκία, καθ' ἣν παρὰ τὴν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι δρᾶσαι τελετὴν Ἀθηναίων φασὶν οὐ τοὺς ἀφανεστάτους· ἐπ' ἔμοῦ δὲ ἀνείτο Διονύσῳ. Διόνυσον δὲ τοῦτον καλοῦσι Μελπόμενον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε ἐφ' ὅποιῷ περ Ἀπόλλωνα Μουσηγέτην. ἐνταῦθα ἔστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα Παιωνίας καὶ Διὸς καὶ Μνημοσύνης καὶ Μουσῶν, Ἀπόλλων τε ἀνάθημα καὶ ἔργον Εύβουλίδου, καὶ δαίμων τῶν ἀμφὶ Διόνυσον “Ακρατος” πρόσωπόν ἔστιν οἱ μόνον ἐνωκοδομημένον τοίχω. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου τέμενός ἔστιν οἰκημα ἀγάλματα ἔχον ἐκ πηλοῦ, βασιλεὺς Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύων ἄλλους τε θεούς ἔστιών καὶ Διόνυσον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ

Πήγασός ἔστιν Ἐλευθερέύς, ὃς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν θεὸν ἐσήγαγε.

There are stoas from the gate to the Kerameikos, and in front of them bronze statues of men and women who had some title to fame. One of the two stoas contains shrines of the gods, and also a gymnasium of Hermes. In the stoas is the house of Poulytion, where they say certain notable Athenians performed a rite in parody of the Eleusinian mysteries. In my time this house was devoted to the cult of Dionysos. This Dionysos they call Melpomenes for the same reason as they call Apollo Mousagetes. Here are images of Athena Paonia, Zeus, Mnemosyne and the Muses, and an Apollo, the offering and the work of Eubouleides, and Akraatos, an attendant spirit of Dionysos; the last consists merely of a face built into the wall. After the shrine of Dionysos is a building containing statues of clay; Amphiktyon king of Athens is shown giving a banquet to Dionysos and other gods. Here too is Pegasos of Eleutherai, who brought the god to Athens.

This follows Pausanias' entry into the city and his notice of the ‘building for the preparation of processions’ (see p. 85), the temple of Demeter (see p. 85), and a group of Poseidon on horseback throwing a spear at the giant Polybotes. Pausanias passes on to the Stoa Basileios, which he finds ‘first on the right’ (see 16).

For Pausanias' use of the name Kerameikos, apparently meaning ‘agora,’ see p. 221.

Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 12 and 14; Isocrates, XVI (*De Bigis*), 6; *Papyri Oxyrh.*, III, 411, 26 (a life of Alkibiades), and Suidas under ἐξωρχησάμην, quoting an unnamed source, all say that the parody took place in the house of Pouly-

tion; Thucydides, VI, 28, merely says ἐν οἰκίαις. [Plato], *Eryxias*, 394c and 400b, implies that the house of Poulytion was very luxurious.

Dionysos Melpomenos had two priests, each of whom had a seat in the theatre; according to the inscriptions on the seats (*I.G.*, II², 5056 and 5060) one priest came from the family Euneidai, one ἐκ τεχνειτῶν, i.e. from the “Artists of Dionysos,” a kind of actors’ guild. The Technitai apparently had a “common hearth” and a temenos where they offered sacrifices, prayers and libations on the occasion of the visit of Athenion in 87 B.C. (*Athenaeus*, V, 212, d–e), and a Bouleuterion. Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 8, 4, says that the sophist Philagros (2nd century A.D.; see p. 162) went “to the Bouleuterion of the Technitai, which is built by the gate of the Kerameikos (see p. 224) not far from (the statues of) the horsemen.” Hearth and Bouleuterion may have been attached to the shrine of Dionysos. In *I.G.*, II², 1348 (mid 2nd century A.D.), a letter from the Technitai to the Emperor, a priest of Melpomenos is mentioned (12, [--- ιερ]εὺς Μελπομένο[ν] ---).

Pausanias does not make it clear whether he attributes the whole group or only the Apollo to Eubourides. Remains which may belong to this group were found in 1837 about 150 m. southeast of the Dipylon; a marble block bears an inscription which is restored, by analogy with other signatures of the artist, [Εὐβουλίδης Εὔ]χειρος Κρωπίδης ἐποίησεν (*I.G.*, II², 4298), but in spite of this the identification has been disputed. Eubourides is dated to the middle of the 2nd century B.C.

3. *I.G.*, II², 968, line 14.

141/0 B.C.

[-- τῆς] ἐν Κεραμεικῷ μακρᾶς στ[οῖς] --]

From a stele of which fragments were found mostly at the church of Demetrios Katephores; the decree honors Miltiades son of Zoilos, of Marathon, for his services in connection with the *agonothesia* of an uncertain festival (cf. *I.G.*, II², 958, p. 47 below, and *I.G.*, II², 3867). The context of the reference to the Makra Stoa is not clear; possibly some monument is to be set up in front of it.

In the second decree a further reference to the Makra Stoa, implying delapidation and repairs, is doubtfully restored in lines 55–57.

Since the Schol. Aristophanes, *Birds*, line 997 says that it is customary to call the region behind the Makra Stoa Kolonos (“but it is not; all that is Melite”), it seems probable that the Makra Stoa was one of those along the road from the Dipylon to the agora, on the south, where it would have the Kolonos Agoraios behind it (see p. 90). The suggestion that it was identical with the Stoa Alaphitopolis (see pp. 147, 193) is more conjectural.

On the road from the Dipylon to the agora see also Livy, XXXI, 24, 9 and Plutarch, *Sulla*, 14 (see p. 222); and for a small stoa of the 1st century B.C. actually found on the northwest approach, though not on this road, see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 338.

BASILEIOS

The stoa was usually called Basileios, but sometimes Basileia (Harpokration, *Kyrbeis*; *I. G.*, I², 115), Basili (Harpokration, *Epit.*; Suidas, *Kyrbeis*) or stoa of the Basileus (Plato; Harpokration, *Hermai*).

It was “first on the right” in Kerameikos and the temple of Hephaistos was above (Pausanias). The Herms extended from it (Menekles in Harpokration, *Hermai*). Another stoa was beside it (Aristophanes). The stoa of Zeus Eleutherios was near (Eustathius, Harpokration, Suidas). The Basileios was one of three stoas at Athens (see p. 30), the others being the stoa of the Herms and the Poikile (Schol. Demosth.), the stoa of Zeus and the Poikile (Harpokration, Suidas). Hesychios says there were two stoas called Basileios.

There were figures on the roof (Pausanias) and statues stood near ([Aischines], Pausanias, Philostratos). There was a stone near on which the archons took oath (Aristotle, Pollux). The laws of Solon were inscribed on *kyrbeis* in the stoa (Aristotle; Harpokration and Suidas, *Kyrbeis*). Later codes were inscribed on a wall (Andokides). Stelai were set up in front (Aelian, *I. G.*, I², 115).

The Boule of the Areopagus sometimes sat in the stoa ([Demosthenes]).

On the date and the suggested identity of the Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus, and on *Kyrbeis*, see pp. 30–31.

4. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, VI, 1.

2nd–3rd c. A.D.

Αθηναῖοι κρατήσαντες Χαλκιδέων τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ἐμίσθωσαν κατὰ τὰς στήλας τὰς πρὸς τῇ βασιλείῳ στοῖξ ἐστηκυίας, αἵπερ οὖν τὰ τῶν μισθώσεων ὑπομνήματα είχον.

The Athenians having conquered the Chalkidians.....let the rest of their land (i.e. such as was not dedicated to Athena) in accordance with the stelai set up near the Basileios, which had inscribed on them records of the contracts for letting.

Formerly assumed to refer to 506 B.C.; see, however, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, III, pp. 294–297, where it is associated with events of 446 B.C.

5. [Aischines], *Epist.*, IV, 3. 1st c. A.D.

See 708 for text and translation.

The statue of Pindar “was in front of the Basileios Stoa even up to my time” (Aischines is supposed to be writing after his withdrawal in 330 B.C.).

6. Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 82, 84, 85.

399 B.C.

καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε, δοκιμάσαντες πάντας τοὺς νόμους, εἴτ' ἀναγράψαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τούτους τῶν νόμων οἱ ἀν δοκιμασθῶσι.

You decided to scrutinize all the laws and then to inscribe in the stoa those of the laws which passed the scrutiny.

τοὺς δὲ κυρουμένους τῶν νόμων ἀναγράφειν εἰς τὸν τοῖχον, ἵνα περ πρότερον ἀνεγράφησαν, σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ.

(From the decree itself) The laws which are approved shall be inscribed on the wall, where they were inscribed before, for anyone who wishes to examine.

τοὺς δὲ κυρωθέντας ἀνέγραψαν εἰς τὴν στοάν.

They inscribed in the stoa the laws which were approved.

The stoa referred to is probably the Basileios.

This permanent inscription is to be distinguished from the temporary display of additional laws, mentioned earlier in the decree, on boards near the Eponymoi.

The occasion is the revision of the constitution after the fall of the Thirty in 403 B.C.

See J. H. Oliver in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 5 ff. Oliver suggests that Agora I 727 (found re-used in late Roman paving east of the Tholos over the Great Drain, I 12; see below p. 52) formed part of the wall here mentioned, which would then not be a supporting wall of the stoa but a free-standing wall formed of contiguous slabs. *I.G.*, I², 843 and II², 1357 also belonged to the wall, and so did several other fragments from the Agora Excavations (Agora I 590, 591, 687, 945, 1026, 4310), all save one found in the area to the east of the Tholos, either in late Roman contexts or in

modern re-use; I 4310 came from a modern house wall outside the southern limits of the square (M 16). See the publication by S. Dow, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 31 ff.; Dow also attributes *I.G.*, I², 844–5 to the wall, and Agora I 251, from a modern house wall slightly to the southeast of the Tholos, H 13 (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 46, no. 34).

One face of the wall was inscribed with a revision of the code attempted earlier (410–404 B.C.; hence ἵνα περ πρότερον) but probably not all of this revision, since *I.G.*, I², 115 (see below) also belongs to it; on the other face was the revision made after 403 B.C. For the successive attempts at recodification see A. R. W. Harrison in *J.H.S.*, LXXV, 1955, pp. 26 ff.

7. Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, 684–6. 391 B.C.

καὶ κηρύξει τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ βῆτ' ἐπὶ τὴν στοιάν ἀκολουθεῖν
τὴν βασίλειον δειπνήσοντας, τὸ δὲ θῆτ' ἐς τὴν
παρὰ ταύτην,
τοὺς δὲ τοῦ κάππη' ἐς τὴν στοιάν χωρεῖν τὴν
ἀλφιτόπωλιν.

The herald will make a proclamation that those from Section Beta shall follow to the Stoa Basileios to dine, that Section Theta shall go to the stoa beside the Basileios, and that Section Kappa shall go to the stoa where barley meal is sold.

“The stoa beside the Basileios” has generally been assumed to be the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios; if H. A. Thompson is right in assuming that these were in fact one and the same building (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 64 ff.), Aristophanes may be referring to the Poikile (see p. 31).

8. Schol. Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, 685.

ἐς τὴν παρὰ ταύτην: τοὺς θῆτας, τοὺς μισθωτοὺς εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον ἐπεὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θῆτα ἀρχεται.

To the stoa beside this: the Thetes, the hired men, (are to go) to the Theseion; for the first letter of this too is theta.

In fact the passage has no connection with the Theseion (see p. 114).

9. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 7, 1. Ca. 329–322 B.C.

ἀναγράψαντες δὲ τοὺς νόμους εἰς τοὺς κύρβεις ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ βασιλείῳ. . . . οἱ δὲ ἐννέα

ἄρχοντες ὁμούντες πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ κατεφάτιζον ἀναθήσειν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν, ἐάν τινα παραβῶσι τῶν νόμων· ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν οὐτως ὁμούνουσι.

Inscribing the laws (of Solon) on the pillars, they set them up in the Stoa Basileios. The nine archons, taking an oath at the stone, declared that they would set up a golden statue if they transgressed any of the laws; this is the origin of the oath which they still take.

For this stone, which is elsewhere mentioned without reference to the Basileios (except in Pollux, see below), see *Ath. Pol.*, 55, 5, where Aristotle says that not only the archons but also arbitrators and witnesses took oath on it; Plutarch, *Solon*, 25, 2, who says that the Thesmothetai took oath ἐν ἀγορᾷ πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ; Harpokration (and Suidas who says the same) under λίθος. Harpokration quotes Demosthenes, LIV (*Konon*), 26, as τῶν τε παρόντων καθ' ἓνα ἡμῖν οὐτωσὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸν λίθον ἄγοντες καὶ ἔξορκοῦντες (with reference to an arbitration); and editors emend the text of Demosthenes, which reads πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἄγοντες καὶ ἔξορκίοντες in the MSS, to agree with this.

H. A. Thompson in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 74 (see also p. 118, note 8) suggests that the stone may have been the early altar east of the sanctuary of Zeus in the northwest of the agora.

10. Schol. Demosthenes, XX (*Leptines*), 112.

τρεῖς ἡσαν Ἀθήνησι στοαί, ἡ μὲν Βασίλειος, ἡ δὲ τῶν Ἐρμῶν, ἡ δὲ Πεισιανάκτειος (ἀπὸ Πεισιανάκτος τοῦ κτίσαντος· αὕτη δὲ γραφέντων ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν Ποικίλη ἐκλήθη).

There were three stoas at Athens, the Basileios, the stoa of the Herms, and the stoa of Peisianax (called after Peisianax who built it; this last was called Poikile since the events at Marathon and other subjects were painted in it).

For comment on this passage see p. 30, 49n and 301.

11. [Demosthenes], XXV (*Aristogeiton*, I), 23. Ca. 325 B.C.(?)

δῶν ἐν ἣ δυ' ἔρῶ παραδείγματος ἔνεκα, τὰ γνωριμώτατα. τὸ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς πεντακοσίους ἀπὸ τῆς [ἀσθενοῦς] τοιαυτῆσι κιγκλίδος

τῶν ἀπορρήτων κυρίαν εἶναι, καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐπεισέναι· τὸ τὴν ἔξι Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν, ὅταν ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾶς καθελομένη περισχοινίσηται, κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐφ' ἑστῆς εἶναι, καὶ ἀπαντας ἐκποδῶν ἀποχωρεῖν.

I will mention one or two of these things, the best known, as examples (of the orderliness and dignity ensured in public life by the laws). The Council of Five Hundred by means of a weak barrier is kept in control of secret matters and free from the intrusion of unauthorized persons; the Council of the Areopagus, when, sitting in the Basileios Stoa, it has itself roped off, is left to itself, quite undisturbed, and everyone keeps out of the way.

Cf. Harpokration, ἀπεσχοινισμένος and Pollux, VIII, 123 (530, 535).

12. Eustathius, on *Odyssey*, I, 395. 12th c. A.D.

ἡν δέ φασι καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀρχή τις Ἀθήνησι, καὶ ἡ ἐκείνου βασιλίς, καὶ βασίλειος ἐκεῖ στοὰ πλησίον τῆς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς στοᾶς.

There was, they say, a magistrate called king at Athens, and his wife was called queen. There was also a Royal Stoa there, near the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios.

13. Harpokration. 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Βασίλειος στοὰ, Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος πρώτῳ. δύο εἰσὶ στοαὶ παρ' ἄλλήλας· ἡ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἡ βασίλειος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τρίτη τις, ἡ πάλαι μὲν Ἀνάκτιος¹ καλουμένη, Ποικίλη δὲ μετονομασθεῖσα.

¹ The Epitome has πινακάτιος.

Basileios Stoa: Demosthenes in his first speech against Aristogeiton. There are two stoas side by side, the stoa of Eleutherios Zeus and the Basileios. There is also a third, which was called Anaktios of old, but had its name changed to Poikile.

Demosthenes: see 11; the speech is generally considered spurious.

Anaktios is no doubt a mistake for Peisianakteios (cf. 92).

See also Harpokration under ‘Ερμαῖ (305); Menekles or Kallikrates is quoted as saying that “the Herms” are ἀπὸ τῆς Ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως στοᾶς.

14. Harpokration (under κύρβεις).

1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Ἄριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ φησιν ἀναγράψαντες δὲ τοὺς νόμους εἰς τοὺς κύρβεις ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ βασιλείᾳ'.

Aristotle says in his *Constitution of Athens* “Inscribing the laws on the pillars they set them up in the Stoa Basileia.”

The Epitome has βασιλίδι as has Suidas (under κύρβεις) who otherwise cites Aristotle in the same words as Harpokration.

15. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D.(?)

Βασίλειος στοά· δύο εἰσὶν Ἀθήνησι βασίλειοι στοάι, ἡ τοῦ λεγομένου βασιλέως Διὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου.

Basileios Stoa. There are two Royal Stoas at Athens, that of the so-called Zeus Basileus and that of Zeus Eleutherios.

Cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 222, 29.

There is no other evidence that more than one stoa was called Basileios. There is undoubtedly a twofold confusion here which Latte would mitigate by reading ἡ τε τοῦ λεγομένου βασιλέως [Διὸς] καὶ ἡ <Διὸς> τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου.

16. Pausanias, I, 8, 1-3

2nd c. A.D.

Τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἔχει ἀπὸ ἥρωος Κεράμου, Διονύσου τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀριάδνης καὶ τούτου λεγομένου πρώτη δὲ ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλείος, ἔνθα καθίζει βασιλεὺς ἑνιαυσίαν ὅρχων ὀρχὴν καλουμένην βασιλείαν. ταῦτης ἔπεστι τῷ κεράμῳ τῆς στοᾶς ἀγάλματα διπτῆς γῆς, ἀφείς Θησεὺς ἐς θάλασσαν Σκίρωνα καὶ φέρουσα ‘Ημέρα Κέφαλον, διν κάλλιστον γενόμενόν φασιν ὑπὸ ‘Ημέρας ἐρασθείσης ὀρπασθῆναι πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς Κόνων ἔστηκε καὶ Τιμόθεος νιός Κόνωνος καὶ βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων Εὐαγρός ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκε Ζεὺς ὄνομαζόμενος ‘Ἐλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός, ἐς ἄλλους τε ὧν ἥρχεν εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν μάλιστα ἀποδειξάμενος τὴν Ἀθηναίων. στοὰ δὲ ὅπισθεν ὠκοδόμηται γραφάς ἔχουσα θεοὺς τοὺς δώδεκα καλουμένους.

The place called Kerameikos has its name from a hero Keramos; he too is said to be a son of Dionysos and Ariadne. First on the right is a stoa called Basileios, where sits the “king” when he holds the annual magistracy called “kingship.” On the tiled roof of this stoa are images of terracotta, Theseus throwing Skiron into the sea and Hemera carrying Kephalos, who, they say, was very beautiful and was snatched away by Hemera who fell in love with him. Near the stoa stand Konon and Timotheos the son of Konon and Euagoras king of Cyprus. Here stand Zeus named Eleutherios and the Emperor Hadrian, the benefactor of all his subjects and particularly of the city of the Athenians. Behind is built a stoa with paintings of the gods called twelve.

Continued in 30.

For the name Kerameikos see p. 221.

For the statues of Konon etc. see p. 213; for Zeus Eleutherios and Hadrian see pp. 25, 212.

The akroterion of Hemera and Kephalos has been found; see p. 30.

17. Pausanias, I, 14, 6.

2nd c. A.D.

ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην βασίλειον ναός ἔστιν Ἡφαίστου.

Above the Kerameikos and the stoa called Basileios is a temple of Hephaistos.

See p. 98.

18. Philostratos, *Vita Apollonii*, IV, 20.

2nd—3rd c. A.D.

καὶ κελεύοντος αὐτῷ ἔνν τεκμηρίω ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ‘τὸν δεῖνα’ ἔφη, ‘καταβαλῶ ἀνδριάντα’, δεῖξας τινὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν βασίλειον στοάν, πρὸς ἡ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο.

When Apollonios ordered the evil spirit to give a sign as he left the young man, the spirit said, “I will overthrow such-and-such a statue,” indicating one of the statues in the neighborhood of the Stoa Basileios, by which all this happened.

Apollonios of Tyana lived in the 1st century A.D.

- 19. Plato, *Euthyphro*, 2a.** 4th c. B.C. **22. Suidas (under βασίλειος).** 10th c. A.D.

τί νεώτερον, ὃ Σώκρατες, γέγονεν δτι σύ τάς ἐν Λυκείῳ καταλιπών διατριβάς ἐνθάδε νῦν διατριβεῖς περὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως στοάν· οὐ γάρ που καὶ σοὶ δίκη τις οὕσα τυγχάνει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὥσπερ ἔμοι;

What fresh thing has happened, Socrates, that you have left your haunts in the Lyceum and are now spending your time here in the neighborhood of the stoa of the Basileus? You are not, I suppose, involved as I am in a lawsuit before the Basileus?

Dramatic date 399 B.C.

- 20. Plato, *Theaetetus*, 210d.** 4th c. B.C.

νῦν μὲν οὖν ἀπαντητέον μοι εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως στοάν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Μελήτου γραφήν, ἦν με γέγραπται.

Now I must present myself at the stoa of the Basileus to meet the indictment of Meletos, which he has brought against me.

- 21. Pollux, VIII, 86.** 2nd c. A.D.

ῶμνυον δ' οὗτοι πρὸς τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ, ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ τόμια, φυλάξειν τοὺς νόμους.

τόμια is the generally accepted emendation, here as in *Ath. Pol.*, 55, 5, for ταμιεῖα. There is also some uncertainty in both passages about the preposition (*ἐφ'* or *ὑπ'*) and the case of the relative pronoun (genitive or dative).

They (the archons) took the oath near the Basileios Stoa, on the stone on which were the parts of the victims, swearing that they would guard the laws.

For the stone, see note on *Ath. Pol.*, 7, 1 (9). Note also Pollux, IV, 122 (587n.)

καὶ βασίλειος στοά· δυὸς εἰσὶ στοαὶ παρ' ἄλλῃ-λας, ἡ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διός καὶ ἡ βασίλειος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ γ', ἡ πάλαι μὲν Παανάκτιος ἐκαλείτο, νῦν δὲ μετωνομάσθη Ποικίλη.

There is also a Basileios Stoa. There are two stoas side by side, the stoa of Eleutherios Zeus and the Basileios. There is also a third, which was called Paanaktios of old but now has its name changed to Poikile.

Paanaktios is another corruption of Peisianakteios.

For Suidas (under κύρβεις), see Harpokration, κύρβεις (14).

- 23. I.G., I², 115, lines 4–8.** 409/8 B.C.

[τ]ὸ[ν]
Δράκοντος νόμον τὸν περὶ τῷ φ[όν]ῳ ὀν[α]-
γρα[φ]οσά[ν]τ[ον] οἱ ἄ]ν[αγρ]οφέ
ς τὸν νόμον παραλαβόντες παρὰ τῷ κ[ατὰ]
πρυτανείαν γραμμ]ατέο
ς τῆς βουλῆς ἔστελει λιθίνει κα[ὶ] κ]α[τ]α[θ]έ[ν]-
τ[ον] πρόσθεν τ]έ[σ] στο
ᾶς τῆς βασιλείας.

The law of Drakon concerning homicide is to be inscribed by the inscribers of the laws, after they have received it from the secretary of the Boule for the prytany, on a stone stele, and placed in front of the Stoa Basileia.

On a stele from the Metropolitan Church, northeast of the Acropolis; see note on Andokides, I (6), and cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1985, p. 9.

The law which follows is headed (line 10) πρότος ἄχσον.

ELEUTHERIOS ZEUS, SHRINE AND STOA

Zeus Soter was also called Eleutherios (Schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, Menander in Harpokration, Hesychios). Zeus was called Eleutherios because the freedmen built the stoa near by (Hypereides in *Etym. Magnum*, Harpokration and Suidas); because the Athenians were freed from the Persians (Didymos in *Etym. Magnum*, Harpokration and Suidas).

Zeus Eleutherios was set up when the Athenians escaped from the Persians (Hesychios). Statues of Konon and Euagoras stood near that of Zeus Soter (Isokrates). The stoa stood behind the statues of Konon, Timotheos and Euagoras, Zeus Eleutherios and Hadrian, and near the temple of Apollo Patroos (Pausanias, I, 3 etc.). Shields were dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios (Pausanias, I, 26) in his stoa (Pausanias, X, 21).

Socrates frequented the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios ([Plato], *Eryxias*, *Theages*; Xenophon), which apparently contained seats (*Eryxias*, Xenophon). Diogenes indicated it, along with the Pompeion, as a possible dwelling (Diogenes Laertius).

Stelai were set up in front of (*I.G.*, II², 1075, Agora I 749) or by the stoa (*I.G.*, II², 689, 690); beside the statue of Zeus Eleutherios (*I.G.*, II², 43) or Soter (*I.G.*, II², 448; cf. 792); in the shrine of Zeus (Agora I 5559). For the relation of this stoa to the Basileios see p. 30.

(7). Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, 685. 391 B.C.

“The stoa beside the Basileios” is usually taken to be the Stoa of Zeus; see however p. 30.

24. Schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1175.

τοῦ σωτῆρος: ἐν ἀστει σωτῆρα Δία τιμῶσιν ἔνθα καὶ σωτῆρος Διός ἐστιν ἱερόν. τὸν αὐτὸν ἔνιοι καὶ ἐλευθέριον φασι.

Soter: in the city they honor Zeus Soter, and there too is a shrine of Zeus Soter. Some say that he is the same as Zeus Eleutherios.

In the *Plutus* (388 B.C.) the priest of Zeus Soter appears, and complains that since Wealth gained his sight, no one sacrifices any longer. See also line 1189.

25. Diogenes Laertius, VI, ii, 22. 3rd c. A.D.

τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔφασκε δεικνύς τὴν τοῦ Διός στοάν καὶ τὸ πομπεῖον αὐτῷ κατεσκευακέναι ἐνδιαίτασθαι.

The Athenians, he said, indicating the Stoa of Zeus and the Pompeion, had provided him with somewhere to live.

Diogenes, the Cynic philosopher of the 4th century B.C.; he used all places, his namesake says, for all purposes—eating, sleeping and talking. For the Pompeion see p. 85.

(12). Eustathius, on *Odyssey*, I, 395.

12th c. A.D.

The Basileios stoa was near the stoa of Eleutherios Zeus.

26. *Etym. Magnum.*

12th c. A.D.

Ἐλευθέριος καλεῖται ὁ Ζεύς, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους¹ τὴν στοάν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ. οὗτως μὲν ‘Υπερίδης· δὲ Δίδυμος οὐ

¹ This should probably be ἐξελευθέρους; cf. Harpokration.

διὰ τοῦτό φησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τῆς Μηδικῆς δουλείας καὶ ἐπικρατείας ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. εἰώθασι δὲ καὶ ὑπέρ ἐλευθερίας ιστάναι κρατῆρα τῷ Διί, τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπωσάμενοι.

Zeus is called Eleutherios because the free men built the stoa near him (i.e. near his statue). So says Hypereides; but Didymos says it is not for this reason, but because the Athenians were rid of the Persian bondage and dominion. They are accustomed also to set up a mixing bowl for Zeus as a thank offering for their freedom, when they have repulsed the enemy.

27. Harpokration.

1st or 2nd c. A.D.

ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς· ‘Υπερείδης· τῷ μὲν τοίνυν Διί, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἡ ἀπωνυμία γέγονε τοῦ ἐλευθέριον προσαγορεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τὴν στοάν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ. δὲ Δίδυμός φησιν ἀμαρτάνειν τὸν ἥττορα — ἐκλήθη γάρ ἐλευθέριος διὰ τὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· ὅτι δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν σωτήρ, δόνομάλεται δὲ καὶ ἐλευθέριος, δηλοῖ καὶ Μένανδρος.

Eleutherios Zeus. Hypereides says, “So Zeus, gentlemen of the jury, acquired the title Eleutherios because the freedmen built the stoa near him.” But Didymos says the orator is wrong; Zeus was called Eleutherios because the Athenians were rid of the Persian danger. That he is called Eleutherios too, though the inscription says Soter, is made clear by Menander also.

There may be no real contradiction between the two explanations. Possibly Hypereides was referring in rhetorical style to the embellishment of the sanctuary of Zeus after Athens was free from the Persian threat.

28. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D.(?)

ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς· τῶν Μήδων ἐκφυγόντες ἴδρυσαντο τὸν ἐλευθέριον Δία. τοῦτο δὲ ἔνιοι καὶ

Σωτῆρά φασι· τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις καὶ παρὰ Ταραντίνοις καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ ἐν Καρίᾳ δὲ ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς.

Eleutherios Zeus. Having escaped from the Persians they set up a statue of Eleutherios Zeus. Some people say that this god is also Zeus Soter. Eleutherios Zeus is honored also at Syracuse and amongst the Tarentines and at Plataea and in Caria.

The Schol. on [Plato], *Eryxias*, 392a, says the same with slight verbal differences.

29. Isokrates, IX (*Euagoras*), 57. Ca. 370 B.C.

ὑπέρ δῶν ἡμεῖς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐτιμήσαμεν ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῶν ἐστήσαμεν οὕπερ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὅγαλμα τοῦ Σωτῆρος, πλησίον ἔκεινου τε καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν.

In return we paid them the highest honors; amongst other things we set up their statues where the image of Zeus Soter stands, near to him and to one another.

Konon and Euagoras, after the battle of Knidos, 394 B.C. For these statues, see p. 213.

30. Pausanias, I, 3, 3–4. 2nd c. A.D.

στοὰ δὲ ὅπισθεν φοιδόμηται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεούς τοὺς δώδεκα καλουμένους· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τοίχῳ τῷ πέραν Θησέus ἐστι γεγραμμένος καὶ Δημοκρατία τε καὶ Δῆμος ἐνταῦθα ἐστι γεγραμμένον καὶ τὸ περὶ Μαντίνειων Ἀθηναίων ἔργον, οἱ βοηθήσοντες Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπέμφθησαν ἐν δὲ τῇ γραφῇ τῶν ἵππεων ἐστὶ μάχη, ἐν δὲ γνωριμώτατοι Γρύλος τε δὲ Ξενοφῶντος ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἵππον τὴν Βοιωτίαν Ἐπαμινώνδας δὲ Θηβαῖος. ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς Εύφράνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρῷον ἐπίκλησιν.

Behind is built a stoa with paintings of the gods called twelve. On the wall opposite is painted Theseus, and also Demokratia and Demos..... Here is also a picture of the exploit at Mantinea of the Athenians who were sent to help the Lacedaemonians..... In the picture is a cavalry battle, in which the most notable figures are, among the Athenians, Grylos

the son of Xenophon, and in the Boeotian cavalry, Epaminondas the Theban. These pictures were painted for the Athenians by Euphranor, who also made the Apollo called Patroos in the temple near by.

See 16 which precedes this; continued in 111. The battle of Mantinea took place in 362 B.C.

Euphranor flourished towards the middle of the 4th century B.C.; he is dated primarily by these paintings.

For the paintings see also Pausanias, VIII, 9, 8, a copy in the gymnasium at Mantinea τῆς ἐν Κεραμεικῷ γραφῆς, ἥ τὸ ἔργον εἶχε τὸ Ἀθηναῖων ἐν Μαντινείᾳ, along with pictures of Antinous, VIII, 11, 6 and IX, 15, 5 (Grylos was shown killing Epaminondas, though there was some dispute as to who actually killed him); Valerius Maximus, VIII, 11, ext. 5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 129; Plutarch, *De Gloria Atheniensium*, 2; Lucian, *Imagines*, 7; Eustathius, on *Iliad*, I, 529.

31. Pausanias, I, 26, 2.

2nd c. A.D.

καὶ οἱ πεσόντι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τιμαὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἄλλαι γεγόνασι καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Λεωκρίτου καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα ἐπιγράψαντες.

When he fell in the battle, honors were paid to him by the Athenians; amongst other things they dedicated his shield to Zeus Eleutherios, inscribing on it the name of Leokritos and his achievement.

This happened when the Macedonian garrison on the Museum Hill was taken by storm in the early third century B.C.

32. Pausanias, X, 21, 5, 6.

2nd c. A.D.

τοὺς μὲν δὴ Ἐλληνας τὸ Ἀττικὸν ὑπερεβάλετο ἀρετῇ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην· αὐτῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων Κυδίας μάλιστα ἐγένετο ὄγαθός, νέος τε ἡλικίαν καὶ τότε εἰς ἀγῶνα ἐλθὼν πολέμου πρῶτον. ἀποθανόντος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν τὴν ἀσπίδα οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ Διὶ, καὶ ἦν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα:

ἀγκεῖμαι¹ ποθέουσα νέαν ἔτι Κυδίου ἥβην
ἀσπὶς ἀριζήλου φωτός, ὅγαλμα Διί,
δις διὰ δὴ πρώτας λαϊὸν τότε πῆχυν ἔτεινεν,
εὗτ' ἐπὶ τὸν Γαλάταν ἡκμασε θοῦρος Ἀρης.

¹ The text is quite uncertain here. The MSS have ημαρλα.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐπεγέγραπτο πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὅμοι
Σύλλας καὶ ἄλλα τῶν Ἀθήνησι καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ
στοᾷ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διός καθελεῖν ἀσπίδας.

The Attic contingent surpassed the other Greeks in valor that day and of the Athenians the greatest prowess was shown by Kydias, a young man then going into battle for the first time. He was killed by the Gauls, and his family dedicated his shield to Eleutherios Zeus, with the inscription, "Here am I dedicated, yearning for the young manhood of Kydias, the shield of an illustrious man, an offering to Zeus, the first shield through which he stretched his left arm, on that day when furious war against the Gaul reached its height." This was the inscription on the shield, until Sulla's men removed, amongst other things at Athens, the shields in the stoa of Eleutherios Zeus.

The battle against the Gauls took place in 279 B.C. Athens was sacked by Sulla in 86 B.C.

33. [Plato], *Eryxias*, 392a.

Ἐτυγχάνομεν περιπατοῦντες ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου ἐγὼ καὶ Ἐρυξίας ὁ Στειριεύς· εἴτα προσῆλθεν ἡμῖν Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἐρασίστρατος ὁ Φαίακος τοῦ Ἐρασίστράτου ἀδελφίδοις.

Eryxias of Steiria and I happened to be walking about in the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, when we were joined by Kritias and Erasistratos the nephew of Phaiax son of Erasistratos.

The speakers proceed to sit down.

The dramatic date is between 421 and 416 B.C.; the date of composition is not known (possibly early 3rd century).

34. [Plato], *Theages*, 121a.

βούλει οὖν δεῦρο εἰς τὴν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου στοᾷ ἐκποδῶν ἀποχωρήσωμεν;

Then would you like to step aside into the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios here?

The authenticity of the *Theages* is not generally accepted. Taylor (*Plato*, p. 533) thinks it is an

early Academic work of the late 4th century, but its date is very uncertain. The dramatic date too is not clear, except that it is before 399 B.C.

35. Suidas.

10th c. A.D.

Ἐλευθέριος: ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἔξελευθέρους¹ τὴν στοὰν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ. Οὔτως μὲν ‘Ὑπερίδης· ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος οὐ διὰ τοῦτο φησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τῆς Μηδικῆς δουλείας καὶ ἐπικρατείας ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

¹ ἔλευθέρους is also found in the MSS.

Eleutherios: Zeus was so-called because the freedmen built the stoa near him. So says Hypereides; Didymos says it was not for this reason, but because the Athenians were rid of the Persian bondage and dominion.

See also 22.

36. Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, VII, 1.

Ca. 360 B.C.

Ιδών οὖν ποτε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου στοᾷ καθήμενον, ἐπεὶ μοι ἔδοξε σχολάζειν, προσῆλθον αὐτῷ καὶ παρακαθίζομενος εἶπον· τί, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε, οὐ μάλα εἰωθὼς σχολάζειν κάθησαι;

(Socrates speaks) So seeing him once sitting in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, since he seemed to me to be at leisure, I went up to him and sitting beside him said, "Why are you sitting here, Ischomachos? You are not accustomed to be at leisure."

37. Agora I 370.

4th c. B.C.

[ὅρος]
[τε]μένους
[Διό]ς

Fragment of a marble boundary marker, found in a modern house wall in the southeast corner of the market square (Q 13), *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 175, no. 22.

38. Agora I 749, lines 7–8. Ca. 288/7–263/2 B.C.

Fragment of a marble stele, found in a late context just east of the Great Drain and opposite the south wing of the Stoa of Zeus (J 7), with a

decree praising an archon and his *paredroi*; set up in front of the Stoa of Zeus

[καὶ στῆσαι ἔμπρο]
[σ]θεν τῆς τοῦ Διὸς στοᾶς...]

Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 416, no. 13; Meritt remarks that if we could assume that the archon is the Basileus, we should have some further indication that the Stoa of Zeus is also the Basileios (see p. 30), since a position in front of the Basileios would be very natural for such a decree, but that unfortunately we do not know to which archon the decree refers.

39. Agora I 2483.

Mid 5th c. B.C.

[ἱόρος] Διὸς ἐ[λευθερίου]

Fragment of marble which was probably a boundary marker, though it appears to have been not free-standing but incorporated in a wall; found not *in situ*, but in a modern wall near the southeast corner of the square (P 14); dated by its lettering. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 374, no. 25; it may perhaps be associated with the restoration of the shrines after the Peace of Kallias, 449 B.C.

40. Agora I 5559, line 23.

246/5 B.C.

[καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Διός]

A decree of which the subject is not clear; from a modern house wall southeast of the market square, west of the Panathenaic Way (Q 21); *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 11.

41. *I.G.*, II², 43, lines 65–66.

378/7 B.C.

Marble stele found in the Late Roman Fortification ("inter ecclesias Christi et Hypapantes"), with the charter of the new naval confederacy; set up beside Zeus Eleutherios

καταθέ[τω] παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἐλευθερίου.

Cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 75.

42. *I.G.*, II², 448, lines 69–70.

318/7 B.C.

Marble stele found in the Late Roman Fortification, near the Stoa of Attalos, giving the renewal in 318 B.C. of honors paid to Euphron of Sikyon in 323/2 B.C. for his loyalty to Athens and the cause of freedom. Two stelai which have been taken down are to be inscribed and set up, one on the Acropolis, one beside Zeus Soter.

τὴμ μὲν ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὴν δὲ πα[ρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Σωτῆρα.]

In the original decree above, instructions for setting up the two stelai are restored (lines 26–27)

τὴν μὲν μίαν παρὰ [τὸν Δία τὴν δὲ] ἔτεραν ἐν ὁ[κροπόλει παρὰ τὸν νεώ τῆς Πολιάδος].

43. *I.G.*, II², 689, lines 28–29.

272/1 B.C.

Two fragments of a marble stele found in the Late Roman Fortification near the church of Hypapanti, with honors to a priest of Zeus Soter; set up by the Stoa of Zeus

[στῆσαι πρὸς τεῖ στοᾶ[ι] τοῦ Διό[ς].]

For the date see now *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314; XXVI, 1957, p. 55 under no. 11.

I.G., II², 690, lines 11–12 found in the same place, and of about the same date, also gives a decree honoring a priest of Zeus Soter, and was to be set up by the stoia

στῆσαι πρὸς τεῖ στοᾶι τε
[ι τοῦ Διός].

44. *I.G.*, II², 792, lines 13–14.

252/1 B.C.?

Two fragments of a marble stele found in the Late Roman Fortification, "inter ecclesias Christi et Hypapantes," with honors to the *sitonai*; to be set up near the statue of Zeus

στῆσαι [ἐν ἀγορᾷ οὖ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ Διός ἐστιν.

Cf. also 419. The restoration must be regarded as doubtful. For the date see Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. xxi.

45. *I.G.*, II², 1075, line 17.

A.D. 117–138.

Fragment of a marble stele found on the Acropolis, with honors probably to Hadrian; if the restoration is correct, a copy was to be set up before the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios

[στῆσαι δὲ ἀντίγραφα πρὸ τῆς στοᾶς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου καὶ πρὸ [τοῦ ἱεροῦ].

For Hadrian's statue and dedications to Hadrian see p. 212.

46. I.G., II², 1081, lines 4–7.

Fragmentary marble stele found on the Acropolis, concerned with the erection of a colossal statue, apparently to some emperor; Eleutherios Zeus is mentioned

[τοῖς θε]οῖς τῶι τε Ἐλ[ευθερίωι Διὶ]
 [καὶ —]ιωι Καίσαρ[ι — — —]
 [-Σωτῆ]ρι συνκαθ[ιδρύσαι — —]
 [-κολ]οσσικὴν εἰκ[όνα — — —].

Oliver discusses this inscription in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 85, associating with it I.G., II², 1116, two unpublished fragments, and two fragments (Agora I 4853), found in a modern context east of the Late Roman Fortification (U 20). The text can be restored to refer to Hadrian, he says, but also to refer to M. Aurelius and in yet other ways, and in fact it is in certain points more appropriate to a very important but non-imperial personage. Oliver suggests the praetorian prefect C. Fulvius Plautianus, the date of the dedication then being A.D. 203. Whoever the personage is, since he is associated with Zeus Eleutherios, it is natural to

assume that the statue stood near the statue of the god.

Several other inscriptions are relevant to the cult. I.G., II², 383, found on the Acropolis and dated 335/4 B.C., giving cult regulations, mentions Zeus Soter (c 18). II², 1496, found on the Acropolis, giving δερματικόν accounts for 334/3–331/0 B.C., mentions sacrifices to Zeus Soter (IV, 88–89).

II², 410, of ca. 330 B.C., found in the theatre where it was to be set up, gives honors to a priest of Zeus Soter (line 18). II², 1291, of the mid 3rd century B.C., gives a decree of *eranistai* honoring the *hieropoioi* of Zeus Soter and other deities. II², 1852 (2nd century A.D.) mentions a priest of Zeus Eleutherios. In II², 1990, line 4, we find Nero archiereus of Zeus Eleutherios amongst other things (A.D. 61/2).

In II², 1008, we find the ephebes sacrificing to Zeus Soter (line 21) (118/7 B.C.), as also in Agora I 5952, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 170, no. 67 (116/5 B.C.), which belongs to I.G., II², 1009. Note also I.G., II², 2449.

THE STOA OF ZEUS AND THE BASILEIOS

The excavations have suggested the possibility that the Stoa of Zeus and the Basileios, formerly thought to be separate buildings, are one and the same. Thompson argues convincingly for this in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 64ff. and 225. The stoa which has been found is in a position which admirably suits both, and it is almost impossible to find a site further north for the Basileios, except by placing it, inappropriately, along the street approaching from the northwest. Only the scholiasts and lexicographers, who are prone to confusion in such matters, definitely speak of the stoas as distinct. Though Pausanias at first sight seems to speak of the stoas as two, if one examines his language minutely it will be seen that he has not moved on to another building, or changed his main point of reference. "Near the Stoa" (which can hardly mean in front of another stoa) stand Konon etc.; "here" stands Zeus; "behind" (presumably behind these statues) stands a stoa. His method seems to be first to glance at the stoa, then to examine the associated external sculpture, then to pass in and examine the stoa in detail with the paintings.

One notes that one of the terracotta akroteria, clearly Pausanias' Hemera and Kephalos, has been found in the annex to the rear of the excavated stoa (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 66); and that appropriate bases have been found for Konon etc., Zeus and Hadrian (*ibid.*, pp. 56ff. and 68). All this strengthens Thompson's identification.

It is difficult to read any satisfactory significance into the lexicographers' statement that there were "three stoas at Athens," the Basileios, the Stoa of Zeus (or of the Herms) and the Poikile—it may be a dubious inference from the occurrence of the names in literature rather than a statement of fact.

The stoa found in the northwest of the agora has been dated about 430 B.C. (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 45), and there is no clear evidence that the Basileios existed before then. Aelian (4) by no means indicates that it did so. The *Ath. Pol.* (9) would seem to take the Basileios back to the time of Solon, but it is not to be trusted. To what extent the so-called "laws of Solon" were genuinely Solonian is very problematical; the name was used loosely; undoubtedly there was confusion with later revisions and re-codifications (6). The date, material, movements and character of the objects on which the "laws of Solon" were said to be preserved is anything but clear from the varying usage of the obscure terms *axones* and *kyrbeis* and the confused accounts of them in our authorities, in which the words are sometimes treated as synonymous, sometimes differentiated, and *kyrbeis* is sometimes concrete, sometimes apparently abstract, meaning "code of laws." (Note in addition to passages indexed here, Lysias, XXX, *Nikomachos*, 17–20; Schol. Aristophanes *Birds*, 1354; Hesychios and *Etym. Magnum*, κύρβεις). The inscribed altar-like objects mentioned on p. 84 may have been some kind of

kyrbeis. C. Hignett, in a helpful discussion in *Athenian Constitution*, pp. 18 ff., suggests that the *axones* recording the pre-410 Solonian or pseudo-Solonian code may have been removed from the Basileios to the Prytaneion when the products of the great re-codifications of 410–401 B.C. were set up in the Basileios; but we are also told, in 399 and 561, of a move from the *Acropolis* to the agora—to the Prytaneion or the Bouleuterion. The statement in the *Ath. Pol.*, that the original laws of Solon were set up on their *kyrbeis* in the Basileios, may merely be an inference, and a false one, from the fact that the revised code, valid in the writer's own time, stood there.

POIKILE

The stoa was also called Peisianakteios (Diogenes Laertius; Harpokration, *Basileios*; Isidore; Plutarch, *Kimon*; Suidas) after its founder (Schol. Demosthenes). For the name see also note 1 below, p. 45.

For the date see note 2.

The stoa was in the Kerameikos (Lucian, *Piscator*, *Iuppiter Tragoedus*; cf. Pausanias, I, 15), in the agora (Aischines; cf. Melanthios in Plutarch, *Kimon*, and p. 216, statue of Solon), beside the Basileios (? Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*). For the site see note on Pausanias I, 15.

Near by were houses (Aelian, *Varia Historia*; Lucian, *Dialogi Meretricii*, 8, cf. *Navigium*), a gate (Pausanias, I, 15), a fish-market (Alkiphrion, I, 3), statues (Lucian, *Demonax*), the Herms (Harpokration, *Hermai*).

The stoa contained an altar (Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 14), seats (Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 22), shields (Pausanias, I, 15). The paintings showed

1. A battle at Oinoe (Pausanias, I, 15; possibly Plutarch, *Apophthegmata Laconica*; see Synesios, 135).
2. Athenians and Amazons by Mikon (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* and Schol.; Arrian; cf. Pollux and Pliny, XXXV, 59).
3. The Greeks at Troy (Pausanias, I, 15) by Polygnotos (Plutarch, *Kimon*) who "painted the stoa" without payment (Harpokration, *Polygnotos*; Pliny, XXXV, 59; Plutarch, *Kimon*; Suidas; cf. Synesios, 135).
4. Marathon, by Mikon (Aelian, *Nat. Anim.*; Arrian; Harpokration, *Mikon*; Sopatros; possibly Photios, *Boutes*, see Zenobios); or by Polygnotos (Aelian, *Nat. Anim.*); or by Panainos (Pausanias, V; Pliny, XXXV, 57). On the authorship of this painting see note 3 below.

For the Marathon picture see also Schol. Demosthenes, Schol. Gregory of Nazianzos, Himerios, Persius. It showed Miltiades (Aischines; Schol. Aristides; Lucian, *Iuppiter Tragoedus*; Cornelius Nepos; Pausanias, I, 15; Pliny, XXXV, 57), Kallimachos (Aelian, *Nat. Anim.*; Pausanias, I, 15; Pliny, XXXV, 57), Kynegeiros (Aelian, *Nat. Anim.*; Lucian, *Iuppiter Tragoedus*; Pliny, XXXV, 57; cf. Lucian, *Demonax*); probably Epizelos (Aelian, *Nat. Anim.*; cf. [Plutarch], *Parallela*); Echetlos (Pausanias, I, 15), Aeschylus (Pausanias, I, 21), Marathon (Pausanias; possibly Lucian, *Iuppiter Tragoedus*), possibly Boutes (Zenobios), the Plataeans ([Demosthenes]; Pausanias, I, 15), a dog (Aelian, *Nat. Anim.*), Datis and Artaphernes (Pliny, XXXV, 57).

Other paintings which may have been in the Poikile were the Herakleidai (Schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*), Sophocles (Life of Soph.), a battle at Phlious (Pliny, XXXV, 76, see note on Schol. *Plutus*), very improbably Salamis (Schol. Gregory of Nazianzos). Schol. Aischines says there were "many paintings" in the stoa.

The paintings were on tablets (Sopatros, Synesios; cf. note on Pausanias).

A proclamation was made in the stoa at the Eleusinia (Schol. Aristophanes, *Frogs*). The stoa was used for an arbitration (Demosthenes, XLV) and as a law court (*J. G.*, II², 1641, 1670, cf. Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*); possibly also by the Thirty (Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 5; Suidas, *Stoikoi*).

It was frequented by philosophers (Alkiphrion, I, 3, III, 53; Theognetus in Athenaeus; Lucian, *Dialogi Meretricii*, 10, *Piscator*, *Iuppiter Tragoedus*; Persius; Theophylaktos), including Cynics (Apuleius, *Florida*; Lucian, *Icaromenippus*; Varro) and Zeno and the Stoics (Apuleius, *Florida*; Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 5, 14, 22; Hesychios; Suidas; Synesios; Varro; for the use of the name as an abstraction signifying Stoic school or doctrine see Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v. Stoa*, col. 40); by certain poets (Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 5) and *grammatici* (Hesychios); by young men about town (Alkiphrion, III, 53), parasites (*ibid.*), fishmongers (Alkiphrion, I, 3), jugglers (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*), and beggars (Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 22).

**47. Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, VII, 38.
2nd–3rd c. A.D.**

συστρατιώτην δέ τις Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἐπήγετο κύνα, καὶ γραφῆ εἴκασται ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ ἔκάτερος, μὴ ἀτιμασθέν-

τος τοῦ κυνὸς ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κινδύνου μισθὸν εἰληφότος ὄρασθαι σὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κυνέγειρον καὶ Ἐπίζηλόν τε καὶ Καλλίμαχον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι καὶ ὁ κύων Μίκωνος γράμμα· οἱ δὲ οὐ τούτου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Θασίου Πολυγνώτου φασίν.

The MSS have Νίκωνος.

An Athenian at the battle of Marathon brought his dog to fight with him, and both master and dog are depicted in the Poikile—the dog was not treated with contempt but as a reward for facing the danger received the privilege of being seen with Kynegeiros, Epizelos and Kallimachos. Both warriors and dog were painted by Mikon; some however say that they are not his work but the work of Polygnotos of Thasos.

48. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, XIII, 12.

2nd–3rd c. A.D.

καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἔδρασε, πιστώσασθαι τὴν τῆς νόσου δόξαν βουλόμενος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς καὶ τὴν συνοικίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ κατέπρησεν· ἔγειτνά δὲ αὗτη τῇ Ποικίλῃ.

Besides doing many other things in his desire to confirm the belief in his affliction, he burnt down his own apartment house, which was adjacent to the Poikile.

The astronomer Meton, in 415 B.C., feigns madness in order to evade military service; cf. Plutarch, *Nicias*, 13.

49. Aischines, III (*Ktesiphon*), 186. 330 B.C.

προέθετε δὴ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν στοάν τὴν Ποικίλην· ἀπάντων γάρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ὁγορῷ ἀνακεῖται. τί οὖν ἔστιν, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃ ἔγώ λέγω; ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἐν Μαροθῶνι μάχη γέγραπται. τίς οὖν ἡν ὁ στρατηγός; οὐτωστὶ μὲν ἔρωτηθέντες ἀπαντεῖς ἀποκρίναιοθε ἀν δτι Μιλτιάδης, ἐκεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται. πῶς; οὐκ ἦτησε ταύτην τὴν δωρεάν; ἦτησεν, ἀλλὰ ὃ δῆμος οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ δύναματος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ πρώτῳ γραφῆναι παρακαλοῦντι τοὺς στρατιώτας.

The position of πρώτῳ varies in the MSS (before or after γραφῆναι) and it is omitted in one.

Pass on in thought to the Stoa Poikile too—the memorials of all your great deeds are set up in the agora. What is it that I am speaking of? The battle of Marathon is depicted there. Who was the general? To this question you would all answer “Miltiades.” But his name is not inscribed there. Why not? Did he not ask for this privilege?

He did, but the people refused it, and instead of the inscription of his name granted him the privilege of being depicted in front exhorting his men.

Miltiades died in 489 B.C. The story of his asking the privilege of an inscription is no doubt a rhetorical invention.

The passage follows immediately after Aischines' account of the inscribed Herms set up in the “Stoa of the Herms” (301). The Schol., besides giving a note on the “three stoas” as in 10, says that in the Poikile were many paintings (πλείσται γραφαί), Marathon being the most notable.

50. Alkiphrón, *Epist.*, I, 3, 2. 2nd c. A.D.

ποτὲ γάρ ὅψον ἀποδόσθαι βουληθεὶς ἥκουσα ἐνδὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ διατριβόντων ἀνυποδήτων καὶ ἐνεροχρώτων στιχίδιον ἀποφθεγγομένου τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τῶν πλεόντων ἐπιστύφον.

There is some confusion in the MSS whether the adjectives are singular or plural. ἐπιστύφον is Meineke's emendation of ἐπιστύφοντος.

For once when I wanted to sell my fish I heard one of the unshod, cadaverous people who spend their time in the Poikile declaim a verse reproving the folly of those who sail the sea.

A fisherman is writing. The dramatic date of the letters is the 4th century B.C. Cf. also III, 64 (28), 1. It is not clear whether the scene is in the Poikile.

51. Alkiphrón, *Epist.*, III, 53 (III, 17), 2–3.

2nd c. A.D.

ἀπορίᾳ δὲ τόπου δραμών ἐπὶ τὴν Ποικίλην (καὶ γάρ οὐχ ἡνώχλει ταύτην ούδε εἰς τῶν ἀδολέσχων τουτωνὶ φιλοσόφων) κεῖθε τῶν πόνων ἀπέλαυν. ἀνανεύσας δὲ τῆς λοπάδος δρῶ προσιόντας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τηλίας τινὰς νεανίσκων, καὶ δείσας τὰ μὲν βρώματα ὅπισθεν ἀπεθέμην, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τοῦδαφος ἐκείμην.

For want of a better place I ran to the Poikile (not a single one of our chattering philosophers was making himself a nuisance there) and there I was enjoying the fruits of my labours. But looking up from my dish I saw approaching some of the young

men from the gaming tables, and in fear I put down the food behind me and lay down on the ground.

A parasite who has stolen some food is speaking.

52. Apuleius, *Florida*, 14. 2nd c. A.D.

Duxit Cynicus in porticum; ibidem, in loco celebri, coram luce clarissima accubuit, coramque virginem imminuisset paratam pari constantia, ni Zeno procinctu palliastri circumstantis coronaे obtutum magistri in secreto defendisset.

The Cynic took her to the colonnade; there, in a crowded place, he lay down openly in broad daylight, and would have embraced the girl openly—she was equally prepared and determined—had not Zeno hung his cloak in front of them and so given them privacy and protected his master from the gaze of the crowd of bystanders.

The Cynic is Krates (4th-early 3rd century B.C.). His bride was Hipparchia, a wealthy young woman who insisted on marrying the penniless and deformed philosopher in spite of all dissuasion. It is highly likely, in view of its position and associations, that the stoa is the Poikile.

Musonius (1st century A.D.), discussing whether marriage is an impediment to philosophy, and citing Pythagoras, Socrates and Krates as evidence that it is not, says (XIV, ed. Hense) that since Krates was without house and furniture he “spent day and night with his wife in the public stoas at Athens” (*ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις Ἀθήνησι στοσίς*).

The romance of Krates and Hipparchia is well attested (see Dudley, *History of Cynicism*, p. 49), though one need not believe all Apuleius’ details.

53. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, I, 4. 2nd c. A.D.

et tamen Athenis proxime et ante Poe-
cilen porticum isto gemino obtutu circula-
torem aspexi equestrem spatham praeacu-
tam mucrone infesto devorasse ac mox
eundem invitamento exiguae stipis ven-
tatem lanceam, qua parte minatur exitium,
in ima viscera condidisse: et ecce pone
lanceae ferrum, qua bacillum inversi teli
ad occipitum per ingluviem subit, puer in

mollitiem decorus insurgit inque flexibus
tortuosis enervam et exossam saltationem
explicat cum omnium qui aderamus admira-
ratione.

And yet at Athens lately, in front of the Poikile portico, with these two eyes I saw a conjuror devour a cavalry sword sharpened to a very keen point; and presently, with the inducement of a small payment, he also swallowed a hunting spear, point first, till it penetrated deep into his vitals; and lo and behold, behind the iron of the spear, where the shaft of the down-turned weapon rose through his throat towards the top of his head, a graceful, supple boy climbed up, and performed a dance with such complicated twistings and writhings that he seemed to have neither bone nor hard muscle, while all of us who witnessed the performance wondered.

Apuleius was educated at Athens and must have known Athenian life well.

54. Schol. Aristeides, XLVI, 174.

ἥν γάρ ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ γεγραμμένος ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἔκτείνων τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ὑποδεικνύς τοῖς “Ἐλλησι τοὺς βαρβάρους λέγων ὅρμαν κατ’ αὐτῶν.

In the Poikile Stoa Miltiades was depicted stretching out his hand and indicating the barbarians to the Greeks, telling his men to attack them.

Aristeides himself says the same without naming the Poikile.

(7). Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, 685. 391 B.C.

“The stoa beside the Basileios” may be the Poikile.

55. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, lines 677–679. 411 B.C.

ἴππικώτατον γάρ ἐστι χρῆμα κάπιοχον γυνή,
κούκ ἀν ἀπολίσθοι τρέχοντος· τὰς δ' Ἀμαλόνας
σκόπει,
ἀς Μίκων ἔγραψ' ἀφ' ἵππων μαχομένας τοῖς
ἀνδράσιν.

Woman is a very horsy creature; she sits tight and will not slip off when the horse runs; just look at the Amazons whom Mikon painted fighting on horseback with the men.

56. Schol. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 678.

ἀς Μίκων ἔγραψε: ποικίλη στοά Ἀθήνησιν οὔτω λεγομένη διὰ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν γραφήν· ἔνθα πεποίηκεν δὲ Μίκων τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τὴν μάχην.

Whom Mikon painted: The Poikile Stoa at Athens is so called because of the paintings in it; there Mikon represented the battle with the Amazons.

57. Schol. Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 369f.

τούτοισιν ἀπαυδῶ: παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροφάντου καὶ δᾳδούχου πρόρρησιν τὴν ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ.

“I bid them”—with reference to the proclamation of the priest and torch-bearer in the Poikile Stoa.

In the *Frogs* the leader of the chorus of *Mystai* bids all disqualified persons keep out of the way of the mystic choruses celebrating the rites of Iacchos in the underworld as in the upper.

58. Schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 385.

τῶν Πάμφιλου: δὲ Πάμφιλος οὗτος γραφεὺς ἦν· ἔγραψε δὲ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἵκετεύοντας μετὰ κλάδων ἐλαῖνων, ὅτε αὐτοὺς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἀπήλασαν (a note on the suppliant's branch follows).

τῶν Πάμφιλου: Πάμφιλος Λωγράφος ἦν, δστις τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἔγραψεν ἵκετεύοντας τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον¹ (note on the Herakleidai). ταύτην τὴν ἴστορίαν ἔγραψε Πάμφιλος Λωγράφος· κατὰ δὲ τινας τραγικός ἦν, ὃς τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλείδῶν τύχην χαρακτῆρι ὑφηγήσατο.

”Ἀλλως. Πάμφιλον μὲν Καλλίστρατος καὶ Εύφρόνιος τραγῳδιῶν ποιητὴν φασι καὶ διδάξαι ‘Ἡρακλείδας. τὰ δὲ λίσαν ἐπιτετηδευμένα ὑπομήματα διστάζει, πότερον τραγικός ποιητῆς ἢ Λωγράφος, ὃν καθηγήσασθαί φασιν Ἀπελλοῦ. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς διδασκαλίαις πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων Πάμφιλος οὐδεὶς φέρεται τραγικός. γραφή μέντοι ἔστιν οἱ ‘Ἡρακλεῖδαι καὶ Ἀλκμήνη καὶ Ἡρακλέους θυγάτηρ ‘Ἀθηναίους ἵκετεύοντες, Εύρυσθέα δεδιότες, ἥτις Πάμφιλου οὐκ ἔστιν,

ὅς φασιν, ὀλλ' Ἀπολλοδώρου. δὲ Πάμφιλος, ὃς ἔοικε, καὶ νεώτερος ἦν Ἀριστοφάνους.

”Ἀλλως.² οὗτος τραγῳδοποιός· ἔγραψε δὲ τοὺς ‘Ἡρακλείδας ἵκετηρίαν ἔχοντας (note on the Herakleidai).

τὰ οὖν συμβάντα αὐτοῖς Λωγράφος τις Πάμφιλος Ἀθηναῖος εἰς τὴν στοάν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔγραψε, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἵκετεύοντας. τοῦτο οὖν λέγει, ὅτι οἱ καταδικαζόμενοι μετὰ τῶν παιδίων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν παρακαλοῦσιν ἔλευθερωθῆναι τοῦ ἐγκλήματος.

¹ Scholia to this point are lacking in R and V.

² Scholia to this point are lacking in R.

(The Herakleidai) of Pamphilos: This Pamphilos was a painter; he represented the Herakleidai coming as suppliants with olive branches, when they had been driven from Peloponnesus.

(The Herakleidai) of Pamphilos: Pamphilos was a painter, who depicted the Herakleidai supplicating the people of Athens..... this story was represented by the painter Pamphilos; according to some, however, Pamphilos was a tragic poet, who dramatized the fortunes of the Herakleidai. Another version: Kallistratos and Euphranor say that Pamphilos was a writer of tragedies and produced a *Herakleidai*. But the most carefully written commentaries express doubt whether he was a tragic poet or a painter who, they say, was Apelles' teacher. In the lists of plays there is certainly no mention of a Pamphilos as a tragic poet before this time. There is indeed a painting of the Herakleidai and Alkmene and the daughter of Herakles coming as suppliants to the Athenians in fear of Eurystheus; this painting is not as people say by Pamphilos, but by Apollodoros. Pamphilos, it appears, was later in date than Aristophanes.

Another version: This man was a writer of tragedy; he represented the Herakleidai holding suppliant branches.....

What happened to them was depicted by Pamphilos, an Athenian painter, in the stoa of the Athenians; he showed them in the act of supplication. What Aristophanes means is that those who are facing an

adverse judgment accompanied by their children and wives ask to be acquitted of the charge.

The painter Pamphilos (Pamphilos 30 in Pauly-Wissowa) worked in the 4th century B.C., possibly towards the middle, through there is no precise evidence for his date. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 76) mentions among his works a “battle near Phlious and victory of the Athenians” (possibly 367 B.C.). The suggestion that this picture too was in the Poikile is pure conjecture.

Apollodoros (77 in Pauly-Wissowa) painted in the latter part of the 5th century B.C.

Kallistratos and Euphronios were notable Alexandrine scholars, Kallistratos of the 2nd, Euphronios of the 3rd century B.C.

The *didaskaliai* were the official lists of plays produced at Athens.

From these confused scholia the only fact of which we can be reasonably sure is that there was at Athens a painting of the Herakleidai. The positive statement, in the clearest and most authoritative scholion, that Apollodoros was the painter, is most convincing; but authorship and place must remain doubtful. “The stoa of the Athenians” suggests the Poikile, and as H. A. Thompson points out (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 52, note 19) this would be a suitable place since the altar of Eleos (see p. 67), with which the Herakleidai were closely associated, was near at hand; but the scholion is vague and confused and one cannot be sure.

59. Arrian, *Anabasis*, VII, 18, 5. 2nd c. A.D.

γέγραπται δὲ ἡ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀμαζόνων μάχη πρὸς Μίκωνος οὐ μείον ἥπερ δὲ ἡ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Περσῶν.

MSS Κίμωνος.

Mikon painted the battle of Athenians and Amazons just as he did the battle of Athenians and Persians.

Arrian is arguing that the Amazons are not altogether unhistorical.

60. Athenaeus, III, 104b. 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

ἀνθρωπ', ἀπολεῖς με. τῶν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ποικίλης στοᾶς λογαρίων ἀναπεπλησμένος νοσεῖς.

You'll be the death of me; you've stuffed yourself till you're sick with the trifling arguments from the Poikile Stoa.

Athenaeus is quoting from Theognetus' Φάσμα ἡ Φιλάργυρος (Kock, C.A.F., III, p. 364, Theognetus, 1). Theognetus was one of the later writers of New Comedy (3rd century B.C.).

10. Schol. Demosthenes, XX (*Leptines*), 112.

The stoa was called Peisianakteios after Peisianax who founded it, Poikile after the paintings of Marathon etc.

61. Demosthenes, XLV (*Stephanos*, I), 17.

Ca. 351 B.C.

ἔγιγνετο δ' ἡ δίαιτ' ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ, μεμαρτυρήκασι δ' οὗτοι παρέχειν τὸ γραμματεῖον Ἀμφίαν πρὸς τὸν διαιτητὴν.

The arbitration took place in the Poikile Stoa; and these men have given evidence that Amphias produced the document before the arbitrator.

This was a public, official arbitration.

62. [Demosthenes], LIX (*Neaira*), 94.

Ca. 340 B.C.

καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας αὔτῶν ὑπομνήματα ἡγένετο ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ γραφὴ δεδήλωκεν· ὡς ἔκαστος γάρ τάχους εἶχεν, εὐθὺς προσβοηθῶν γέγραπται, οἱ τὰς κυνᾶς τὰς Βοιωτίας ἔχοντες.

MSS κύνας or κοινάς.

And even now the painting in the Poikile Stoa displays memorials of their valor. They are depicted coming to your aid promptly, each with such speed as he can — they are the men with the Boeotian hats.

The Plataeans at Marathon.

63. Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 5. 3rd c. A.D.

ἀνακάμπτων δὲ ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ τῇ καὶ Πεισιανακτίῳ καλουμένῃ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς Πολυγνώτου ποικίλης, διετίθετο τοὺς λόγους, βουλόμενος καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀπερίστατον ποιῆσαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν τριάκοντα τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις τετρακόσιοι¹ ἀνήρηντ' ἐν αὐτῷ. προσήσεσαν δὴ λοιπὸν ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Στωικοὶ ἐκλήθησαν καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δμοίως, πρότερον Ζηνώνειοι καλούμενοι, καθά

¹ Cobet (with Suidas) for MSS πρὸς τοὺς χιλίους τετρακοσίους.

φησι καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς. καὶ πρότερόν γε Στωικοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ διστρίβοντες ἐν αὐτῇ ποιηταί, καθά φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν ὄγδοῃ περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, οἱ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ πλείον ηὔξησαν.

He used to discourse in the Poikile Stoa, which was also called Peisianaktios, and derived the name Poikile from the painting of Polygnotos; he wished to make the place clear of bystanders. When the Thirty had been in power, they had made away with one thousand four hundred citizens in this place. Henceforth people came hither to hear him, and for this reason they were called Stoicks; his followers likewise, who were formerly called Zenonians, as Epicurus says in his letters, were called Stoicks. Before this time the poets who spent their time in the stoa, according to what Eratosthenes says in the eighth book of his work *On Old Comedy*, bore the name, and increased the fame of the stoa.

Zeno established himself at Athens at the end of the 4th century B.C.

What happened in the Poikile under the Thirty (403 B.C.) is not clear. Possibly the Thirty merely passed sentence there; but it is not out of the question that actual executions took place there, and ἀνήρηντο suggests more than a mere judicial sentence.

Eratosthenes is the great Alexandrine scholar of the 3rd century B.C.

An inscribed fragment of a portrait herm of Zeno, Agora I 6010, of the 2nd century A.D., has been found outside the market square to the southwest, built into the wall of a Byzantine pithos (D 17); the inscription reads [Ζ]ήνων Μνασέ[ου] (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 42, no. 31).

64. Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 14. 3rd c. A.D.

πλειόνων δὲ περιστάντων αὐτόν, δείξας ἐν τῇ στοᾷ κατ' ἄκρου τὸ ξύλινον περιφερὲς τοῦ βωμοῦ ἔφη· “τοῦτό ποτε ἐν μέσῳ ἐκείτο, διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμποδίζειν ιδίᾳ ἐτέθη· καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου βαστάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἥττον ἡμῖν ἐνοχλήσετε”.

When a number of people stood all around him, he indicated the circular wooden enclosure of the altar in the stoa on the edge, and said, "This was once in the mid-

dle, but because it was an obstruction it was put in a place of its own out of the way. If you too will get out of the way you will cause us less annoyance."

An anecdote of Zeno. The precise meaning is not clear, and the text is possibly unsound (Wachsmuth, II, p. 442, note 5, suggests κατ' ἄκρον, which suits better the sense given above); but at least it is clear that an altar was moved from an obtrusive central position in the stoa.

65. Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 22. 3rd c. A.D.

‘Ροδίου δέ τινος καλοῦ καὶ πλουσίου, ἄλλως δὲ μηδέν, προσκειμένου αὐτῷ, μὴ βουλόμενος ἀνέχεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ κεκονιμένα τῶν βάθρων ἐκάθιζεν αὐτόν, ἵνα μολύνῃ τὴν χλανίδα, ἔπειτα εἰς τὸν τῶν πτωχῶν τόπον, ὡστε συνανατρίβεσθαι τοῖς ῥάκεσιν αὐτῶν’ καὶ τέλος ἀπῆλθεν ὁ νεανίσκος.

When a Rhodian who was handsome and wealthy but otherwise of no account insisted on coming to him, Zeno had no desire to put up with him; first he made him sit on the dusty part of the benches, so that he might soil his cloak; then he put him in the place where the beggars sat, so that he might rub shoulders with their rags. Finally the young man went away.

The scene is no doubt the Poikile. The beggars, one may imagine, sat on the steps.

66. Schol. Gregory of Nazianzos, *Contra Julianum*, I.

.. τῆς στοᾶς ἦ καὶ ποικίλη ἐλέγετο διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα, οἷον ἦ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχία ἦ τὰ κατὰ Μαραθῶνα.

... the stoa which was also called Poikile because of the paintings in it, such as the battle of Salamis or that of Marathon.

(13, 305). Harpokration on *Basileios* and *Hermai*.

67. Harpokration. 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Μίκων: Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερείας “καὶ Μίκωνα τὸν γράψαντα καταδεῶς τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἐζημίωσαν”.

MSS μήκων....μήκωνα.

Mikon: Lykourgos in his speech *Concerning the Priestess* says, “Mikon too, who depicted the Greeks in a deficient manner, was fined (by the Athenians).”

68. Harpokration. 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Πολύγνωτος· Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ιερείας — περὶ Πολυγνώτου τοῦ Ζωγράφου, Θασίου μὲν τὸ γένος, υἱόῦ δὲ καὶ μαθητοῦ Ἀγλαοφῶντος, τυχόντος δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας ἥτοι ἐπεὶ τὴν Ποικίλην στοὰν ἔγραψε προῖκα, ἢ ὡς ἐτεροι, τὰς ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ καὶ τῷ ἀνακείω γραφάς, ἴστορήκασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀρτέμιων ἐν τῷ περὶ Ζωγράφων καὶ Ἰόβας ἐν τοῖς περὶ γραφικῆς.

Θησαυρῷ is usually taken to be a corruption of Θησείῳ or possibly Θησέως ιερῷ.

Polygnotos: mentioned by Lykourgos in his speech *Concerning the Priestess*. Of Polygnotos the painter, a Thasian by birth, son and pupil of Aglaophon, given Athenian citizenship when he painted free of charge the Poikile Stoa, or according to others the pictures in the treasury and the Anakeion, an account is given by Artemon (in his work *On Painters*) and Juba (in his work *On Painting*) amongst others.

For the Theseion see p. 113, for the Anakeion p. 61. Artemon is possibly Artemon of Kassandra, 2nd or 1st century B.C. (Pauly-Wissowa, Artemon 18). Juba was king of Mauretania, late 1st century B.C. and 1st century A.D.

69. Hesychios. 5th c. A.D. (?)

στωικοί. οὐ μόνον οἱ ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος φιλόσοφοι, ἄλλα καὶ τινες γραμματικοί.

Stoics. Not only the philosophers who followed Zeno, but also certain grammarians.

It is just possible that the reference is to the same people whom Diogenes Laertius (VII, i, 5, 63) calls “poets,” but γραμματικοί is hardly appropriate to poets of, presumably, the Old Comedy.

70. Himerios, *Orat.*, X, 2, 3. 4th c. A.D.

ἔγὼ ξεναγήσω μὲν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ μεγάλα τὰ τῶν πατέρων γνωρίσματα· δείξω μὲν ὑμῖν τὸν

Μαραθῶνα ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἀξω δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ποικίλην ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἅνω τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐργαστήριον.

I will lead you also to the great tokens of your fathers' valor; I will show you Marathon in the painting... and after the Poikile I will take you to the hill above (i.e. the Acropolis), the workshop of Athena.

Cf. also II, 20, 21; the description of the battle is clearly influenced by the painting.

71. Isidore, *Origines*, VIII, 6, 8.

6th-7th c. A.D.

porticus fuit Athenis, quam Peisianactiam appellabant, in qua picta erant gesta sapientium atque virorum fortium historia.

There was at Athens a portico called Peisianaktia, in which were depicted the deeds of wise men and the story of brave men.

There seems to be confusion here between the Stoic school and the paintings.

72. Lucian, *Demonax*, 53.

2nd c. A.D.

πρὸς τῇ Ποικίλῃ ἀνδριάντα ἵδων τὴν χείρα ἀποκεκομένον ὁψὲ ἔφη Ἀθηναίους εἰκόνι χαλκῆ τετιμηκέναι τὸν Κυνέγειρον.

Seeing by the Poikile a statue with its hand cut off he said that the Athenians had belatedly honored Kynegeiros with a bronze statue.

An anecdote of Demonax, Stoic philosopher and teacher of Lucian, 2nd century A.D.

73. Lucian, *Dialogi Meretricii*, 8, 2.

2nd c. A.D.

ἥρα μου Δημόφαντος ὁ δανειστής ὁ κατόπιν οἰκῶν τῆς Ποικίλης.

My lover was Demophantos the money-lender, who lives behind the Poikile.

The speaker is Ampelis, a hetaira.

74. Lucian, *Dialogi Meretricii*, 10, 1.

2nd c. A.D.

τὸν σκυθρωπὸν λέγεις, τὸν δασύν, τὸν βαθυπώγωνα, ὃς εἴωθε μετὰ τῶν μειρακίων περιπατεῖν ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ;

Do you mean the solemn-faced, shaggy, long-bearded man, who is in the habit of walking up and down with the boys in the Poikile?

Chelidonion to Drosis, who has complained that the philosopher Aristainetos has taken away her lover.

75. Lucian, *Icaromenippus*, 34. 2nd c. A.D.

“Απαντά ἀκήκοας, ἀπαντά, ω̄ ἔταιρε, τάξ οὐρανοῦ· ἀπειμι τοίνυν καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ περιπατοῦσι τῶν φιλοσόφων αὐτὰ ταῦτα εὐαγγελιούμενος.

That is all, my friend; you have had a full report of things in heaven; now I will go and give this good news to the philosophers who walk up and down in the Poikile.

The speaker is Menippos, Cynic philosopher of the 3rd century B.C.

76. Lucian, *Iuppiter Tragoedus*, 15, 16, 32.

2nd c. A.D.

15 ἐγὼ δὲ – οὐδέπω γάρ πάνυ ὅψε ἦν – ἀνηλθον ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ώ̄ς περιπατήσαιμι τὸ δειλινὸν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ.

16 ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐννοῶν γίγνομαι κατὰ τὴν Ποικίλην, ὁρῶ πλῆθος ὀνθρώπων πάμπολυ συνεστηκός, ἐνίους μὲν ἔνδον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ στοᾷ, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ, καί τινας βοῶντας καὶ διατεινομένους ἐπὶ τῶν θάκων καθημένους

32 ΗΡ. ἦν δέ τι ἔτεροῖν ἀποβαίνῃ, τότε ἤδη τὴν στοάν αὐτὴν ἔγωγε, εἰ δοκεῖ, διασείσας ἐμβαλὼ τῷ Δάμιδι, ώ̄ς μὴ κατάρατος όντος ὑβρίζῃ ἐς ἡμᾶς.

ΖΕ. ‘Ηράκλεις, ώ̄ς Ηράκλεις, δύροικον τοῦτο εἰρηκας καὶ δεινῶς Βοιώτιον, συναπολέσαι ἐνὶ πονηρῷ τοσούτους, καὶ προσέτι τὴν στοάν αὐτῷ Μαραθῶνι καὶ Μίλτιάδῃ καὶ Κυνεγείρῳ.

(Zeus speaks) But I, since it was not very late yet, went up to the city to take my evening stroll in the Kerameikos...

When with these thoughts in my mind I came to the Poikile, I saw that a large crowd had gathered, some inside the stoa, many in the open, and certain individuals were shouting and straining their lungs, sitting on the seats...

HERAKLES.if things go against us, then I'll shake the stoa, if you like, and bring it down on Damis, so that the wretch may not behave so insolently towards us.

ZEUS. By Herakles, Herakles, that's a boorish idea of yours, terribly Boeotian, to destroy so many along with one bad man, and the stoa too, Marathon, Miltiades, Kynegeiros and all.

The gods are alarmed at the decline of faith in themselves, and in particular by the victory of Damis the Epicurean over Timokles the Stoic in their dispute in the Stoa. The dramatic date is not clear.

Zeus adds that if the stoa and the picture of Marathon should be destroyed, the orators would lose their favorite topic: and the scholiast explains that contemporary orators constantly dragged in the subject of Marathon.

Note also *Iuppiter Tragoedus*, 33 (299).

77. Lucian, *Navigium*, 13.

2nd c. A.D.

Ἶτα ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα ἔκεινων ταλάντων οἰκίαν τε ἤδη ὀκοδομησάμην ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ποικίλην, τὴν παρὰ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἔκεινην τὴν πατρῷαν ἀφείς, καὶ οἰκέτας ὡνούμην καὶ ἐσθῆτας καὶ λεύγη καὶ ἵππους.

Then with the twelve talents I built a house in a convenient position a little above the Poikile, abandoning my ancestral house by the Ilissos, and I bought slaves and clothes and carriages and horses.

The banker Adeimantos speaks. The house is a “castle in the air.”

78. Lucian, *Piscator*, 13.

2nd c. A.D.

ἐνταῦθα γάρ ἐν Κεραμεικῷ ὑπομενοῦμεν αὐτήν. ἦ δὲ ἤδη που ἀφίξεται ἐπανούσα ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας, ώ̄ς περιπατήσειε καὶ ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ· τοῦτο δσημέραι ποιεῖν ζήσις αὐτῇ· μᾶλλον δὲ ἤδη προσέρχεται.

We will wait for her here in the Kerameikos. She will be here presently on her way back from the Academy, to take a stroll in the Poikile too; she is in the habit of doing this every day; indeed here she comes now.

"She" is Philosophy, who is brought in when Lucian is attacked by a horde of philosophers. The speaker is Plato. Cf. *Piscator*, 52, where the Academy, "the Stoa" and the Lyceum are associated as haunts of philosophy.

79. Cornelius Nepos, *Miltiades*, 6. 1st c. B.C.

namque huic Miltiadi, quia Athenas totamque Graeciam liberarat, talis honos tributus est in porticu, quae Poecile vocatur, cum pugna depingeretur Marathonia, ut in decem praetorum numero prima eius imago poneretur isque hortaretur milites proeliumque committeret.

This Miltiades, because he had freed Athens and the whole of Greece, was given a special honor; in the portico called Poikile, when the battle of Marathon was painted, his picture was placed first among the ten generals, and he was shown urging on his men and joining battle.

80. Pausanias, I, 15, 1–16, 1. 2nd c. A.D.

'Ιοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοάν, ἦν Ποικίλην ὄνομά-
ζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἔστιν Ἐρμῆς χαλκοῦς
καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος καὶ πύλη πλησίον· ἔπεστι
δέ οἱ τρόπαιον Ἀθηναίων ἵππομαχίᾳ κρατη-
σάντων Πλεισταρχον, δις τῆς ἵππου Κασσάν-
δρου καὶ τοῦ ξενικοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδελφὸς ὁν
ἔπετέτραπτο. αὐτῇ δὲ ἡ στοὰ πρῶτα μὲν Ἀθη-
ναίους ἔχει τεταγμένους ἐν Οἰνόῃ τῆς Ἀργείας
ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων· γέγραπται δὲ οὐκ ἐς
ἀκμὴν ἀγῶνος οὐδὲ τολμημάτων ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τὸ
ἔργον ἥδη προῆκον, ἀλλὰ ἀρχομένη τε ἡ μάχη
καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἔτι συνιόντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τῶν
τοίχων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θησεὺς Ἀμαλόσι μά-
χονται
ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἀμαλόσιν "Ἐλληνές εἰσιν ἥρηκότες
"Ιλιον καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἥθροισμένοι διὰ τὸ Αἴαντος
ἐς Κασσάνδραν τόλμημα· καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ γραφὴ
τὸν Αἴαντα ἔχει καὶ γυναικας τῶν αἰχμαλώτων
ἄλλας τε καὶ Κασσάνδραν. τελευταῖον δὲ τῆς
γραφῆς εἰσιν οἱ μαχεσάμενοι Μαραθῶνι· Βοιω-

τῶν δὲ οἱ Πλάταιαν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσον ἦν Ἀττι-
κὸν ἴασιν ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ ταύτη
μέν ἔστιν ἵσα τὰ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ ἔργον·
τὸ δὲ ἔσω τῆς μάχης φεύγοντές εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι
καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὡθοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ἔσχαται¹ δὲ
τῆς γραφῆς νῆσος τε αἱ Φοίνισσαι καὶ τῶν βαρ-
βάρων τούς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς ταύτας φονεύοντες
οἱ Ἑλληνες. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μαραθῶν γεγραμμένος
ἔστιν ἥρως, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πεδίον ὠνόμασται, καὶ
Θησεὺς ἀνίστηται ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ
Ἡρακλῆς· Μαραθωνίοις γάρ, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν,
Ἡρακλῆς ἐνομίσθη θεός πρώτοις. τῶν μαχο-
μένων δὲ δῆλοι μάλιστά εἰσιν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ
Καλλίμαχός τε, ὃς Ἀθηναῖοις πολεμαρχεῖν
ἥρητο, καὶ Μιλτιάδης τῶν στρατηγούντων,
ἥρως τε Ἐχετλος καλούμενος, οὗ καὶ ὑστερον
ποιήσομαι μνήμην. ἐνταῦθα ἀσπίδες κείνται
χαλκαῖ, καὶ ταῖς μέν ἔστιν ἐπίγραμμα ἀπὸ
Σκιωναίων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων εἰναι, τὰς δὲ
ἐπαληλιμένας πίστη, μή σφᾶς ὃ τε χρόνος
λυμήνηται καὶ ὁ ίός, Λακεδαιμονίων εἰναι λέγε-
ται τῶν ἀλόντων ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ.

'Ανδριάντες δὲ χαλκοῖ κείνται πρὸ μὲν τῆς
στοᾶς Σόλων ὁ τούς νόμους Ἀθηναῖοις γράψας,
δλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Σέλευκος.

¹ Some MSS and earlier editors have ἔσχατα.

As you go to the stoa which is called Poikile because of the pictures, there is a bronze Hermes called Agoraios, and a gate near by. On the gate is a trophy erected by the Athenians when in a cavalry fight they defeated Pleistarchos, who was the brother of Kassandros and was entrusted with the command of his cavalry and mercenaries. This stoa contains, firstly, the Athenians arrayed at Oinoe in the Argive territory against the Lacedaemonians. What is depicted is not the moment at which the struggle has reached its height and the action has advanced to the display of deeds of daring, but the beginning of the battle with the combatants still coming to grips. On the middle part of the walls are the Athenians and Theseus fighting with the Amazons.....

After the Amazons are the Greeks when they have taken Troy, and the kings assembled on account of the reckless behavior of Ajax towards Kassandra; the picture includes Ajax himself and Kassandra and other captive women. The last part of

the painting consists of those who fought at Marathon. The Boeotians of Plataea and the Attic contingent are coming to grips with the barbarians; at this point the action is evenly balanced between both sides. In the inner (i.e. central) part of the fight are the barbarians fleeing and pushing one another into the marsh; at the extreme end of the painting are the Phoenician ships and the Greeks killing the barbarians who are tumbling into them. In this picture are also shown Marathon, the hero after whom the plain is named, Theseus, represented as coming up from the earth, Athena and Herakles—the Marathonians, according to their own account, were the first to recognize Herakles as a god. Of the combatants the most conspicuous in the picture are Kallimachos, who was chosen by the Athenians to be polemarch, and of the generals Miltiades, and a hero called Echetlos, whom I shall mention later. In the Poikile are deposited bronze shields. On some is an inscription saying that they were taken from the Skionians and their auxiliaries; others, smeared with pitch to protect them from the ravages of time and rust, are said to be the shields of the Lacedaemonians who were captured at the island of Sphakteria. Statues of bronze are placed in front of the stoa, Solon who drew up the laws for the Athenians, and a little farther away, Seleukos.

Immediately after describing the temple of Hephaistos and the shrine of Aphrodite Ourania (**288, 106**), Pausanias is making a fresh approach to the monuments of the agora at this point, probably from the north. He passes on (**177**) to the Altar of Eleos and the gymnasium of Ptolemy. There is no precise literary evidence for the position of the Poikile in the agora and it has been very variously located. By failing to find it, the excavations have now confirmed the view (e.g. of Judeich, p. 336) that it was on the north, i.e. in the unexcavated area beyond the railway, and presumably sufficiently to the west not to be masked by the small Northeast Stoa. The place of discovery of certain architectural fragments which are assigned to it, in the north-

eastern part of the excavated area (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 327), is not against this location.

For Hermes Agoraios see p. 102.

The battle at Oinoe is mentioned only by Pausanias (here and in X, 10, 3–4) and its occasion is not known; possibilities are towards the middle of the 5th century, in which case it may have been part of the original scheme of decoration of the stoa, and early in the 4th century (see Judeich, p. 337, note 5). ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῶν τοίχων might mean simply “on the middle wall.” Pausanias does not make the arrangement of the paintings clear, except for the sequence, and the fact that the Amazons (and so presumably Troy, though not necessarily Marathon) were on the back wall. Other authors are not helpful in the matter. We need not assume that the walls were almost entirely covered by these paintings, especially if, as now seems certain, the pictures were on boards. Other paintings such as the Herakleidai *may* have occupied some space at some time, though presumably Pausanias mentions all he actually saw. It has been suggested that Oinoe and Marathon occupied the end walls, the Amazons and Troy the back wall. But this relegates what was always considered the most important picture to a subordinate and comparatively obscure position; also the language of Pausanias suggests that Amazons, Troy and Marathon formed in some sense an artistic unity; τελευταῖον τῆς γραφῆς seems to indicate a close association with the preceding pictures. Perhaps it is best to place all three on the back wall, or even in the *middle section* of the back wall.

γραφή (ἔσχαται δὲ τῆς γραφῆς) means the whole scheme; further on it means the Marathon picture only, which in itself seems to have fallen into three sections, with a crescendo of action running through them—we should hardly assume three more or less separate pictures showing separate phases of the battle.

Echetlos is again mentioned, under the name Echetlaios, in I, 32, 5.

The shields, which were captured in 421 and 425 B.C. respectively, may have hung on the walls or above the columns. A bronze shield, Agora B 262, has been found (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 348; Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1937, pp. 140–143) in a cistern, to which it may have formed a lid, south of the Hephaisteion (cistern-system D–E 8–9: 1; Chamber A) with the inscription Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνιων ἐκ [Πύ]λο, in punched letters (Shear suggests in Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., that the Ionic H and Ω are due to the shield's having been inscribed by one of the allied soldiers). Though it is presumably one of those captured in 425 B.C., this particular

shield cannot have been seen by Pausanias; the cistern was filled up long before his time. One can hardly hope that this is the shield of Brasidas (Thucydides, IV, 12, 1).

For the statue of Solon, see p. 216.

81. Pausanias, I, 21, 2.

2nd c. A.D.

Τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα τὴν Αἰσχύλου πολλῷ τε ὕστερον τῆς τελευτῆς δοκῶ ποιηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἡ τὸ ἔργον ἔχει τὸ Μαραθῶνι.

The statue of Aeschylus (in the theatre) was made, I think, much later than his death and than the painting which shows the battle of Marathon.

82. Pausanias, V, 11, 6.

2nd c. A.D.

Πάναινος μὲν δὴ οὗτος ἀδελφός τε ἦν Φειδίου καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Ποικίλῃ τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἔργον ἔστι γεγραμμένον.

This Panainos was the brother of Pheidias; the painting of the battle of Marathon at Athens in the Poikile is by him.

83. Persius, III, lines 52–5.

1st c. A.D.

haut tibi inexpertum curvos deprendere
mores,
quaeque docet sapiens bracatis inlita Medis
porticus, insomnis quibus et detonsa iuven-
tus
invigilat siliquis et grandi pasta polenta.

You are not without experience in detecting deviations from right conduct, and in grasping the doctrines of the wise porch bedaubed with trousered Medes, doctrines over which young men with closecut hair, fed on pulse and a huge mess of porridge, spend sleepless nights.

The Stoic philosophers, it is implied, cut their hair short though their beards grow long. The last line refers to their simple diet.

84. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 57. 1st c. A.D.

Panaenus quidem frater Phidiae etiam proelium Atheniensium adversus Persas apud Marathona factum pinxit. adeo iam colorum usus increbuerat adeoque ars per-

fecta erat, ut in eo proelio iconicos duces pinxisse tradatur, Atheniensium Miltiadem, Callimachum, Cynaegirum, barbarorum Datim, Artaphernen.

Panainos the brother of Pheidias also painted the battle of the Athenians against the Persians at Marathon. Such advance had been made by then in the use of colors, the art had been carried to such perfection, that in this battle, it is said, he painted true likenesses of the leaders, Miltiades, Kallimachos and Kynegeiros of the Athenians, Datis and Artaphernes of the barbarians.

85. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 59. 1st c. A.D.

hic et Athenis porticum (sc. pinxit), quae Poecile vocatur, gratuito, cum partem eius Micon mercede pingeret.

Polygnotos also painted the portico at Athens called Poikile without payment, whereas Mikon painted part of it for pay.

86. Plutarch, *Kimon*, 4, 5–6. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

καὶ γάρ οὐδ' ἄλλως τὴν Ἐλπινίκην εὔτακτόν τινα γεγονέναι λέγουσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Πολύγυνων ἔξαμαρτεῖν τὸν Ιωγράφον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασιν ἐν τῇ Πεισιανάκτειῳ τότε καλουμένη, Ποικίλῃ δὲ νῦν στοᾶ, γράφοντα τὰς Τρωάδας τὸ τῆς Λαοδίκης ποιῆσαι πρόσωπον ἐν εἰκόνι τῆς Ἐλπινίκης. δὲ Πολύγυνωτος οὐκ ἦν τῶν βαναύσων οὐδ' ἀπ' ἔργολαβίας ἔγραφε τὴν στοάν, ἀλλὰ προΐκα, φιλοτιμούμενος πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὃς οἱ τε συγγραφεῖς ἴστοροισι καὶ Μελάνθιος δι ποιητής λέγει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

Αὐτοῦ γάρ δαπάναισι θεῶν ναοὺς ἀγοράν τε Κεκροπίαν κόσμησ' ήμιθέων ἀρεταῖς.¹

¹ MSS ἀγοραῖς, γραφαῖσιν.

They say that besides showing a lack of proper restraint in other respects, Elpinike was guilty of misbehavior with the painter Polygnotos. Because of his connection with her they say that in the stoa then called Peisanakteios but now called Poikile, when he was painting the Trojan women Polygnotos made the face of Laodike in the likeness of Elpinike. Polygnotos was not a common craftsman; he did not paint the

stoas by contract but for nothing, being eager to win honor in the eyes of the city; such is the account given by the historians, and Melanthios the poet says as follows, "At his own expense he adorned the temples of the gods and the Kekropian agora with the deeds of the demigods."

Elpinike was the sister of Kimon.

Presumably the "Kekropian (i.e. Athenian) agora" refers to the Poikile, the "temples of the gods" to the Theseion and the Anakeion (see Harpokration, *Polygnotos*, 68).

Melanthios was an elegiac and tragic poet of the 5th century. He addressed a playful elegiac poem to Kimon (Plutarch, *Kimon*, 4, 8); Aristophanes makes fun of him and his *Medea* in *Peace*, 804 ff., 1009 ff.

87. [Plutarch], *Parallelia*, 1.

Πολύζηλος μὲν ὑπεράνθρωπον φαντασίαν θεασάμενος τὴν δόρασιν ἀπέβαλε καὶ τυφλὸς ἐγένετο. Καλλίμαχος δὲ πολλοῖς περιπεταρμένος δόρασι καὶ νεκρὸς ἐστάθη, Κυνέγειρος δὲ Περσικὴν ἀναγομένην ναῦν κατασχών ἔχειροκοπήθη.

Polyzelos, having seen a superhuman apparition, lost his sight and became blind; Kallimachos stood upright though pierced with many spears and already dead; Kynegeiros had his hand cut off while grasping a Persian ship which was putting out to sea.

The writer may well have the painting in his mind's eye though he does not mention it as does Himerios above. These three, whose exploits are described by Herodotus (VI, 114, 117; the name Epizelos is used instead of Polyzelos), came to be coupled together as a famous trio of Marathonian heroes; see Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, VII, 38 (47); Himerios, *Orat.*, II, 21, X, 2; Plutarch, *De Gloria Atheniensium*, 3; Diogenes Laertius, I, ii, 56; Suidas under *Hippias*, where we are told that after being blinded by the apparition Polyzelos continued to fight, distinguishing friend and foe by their voices—he may have been represented so in the painting.

88. Pollux, II, 69.

2nd c. A.D.

τὰ γὰρ κάτω βλέφαρα ψιλὰ αὐτοῖς τριχῶν. ὅθεν καὶ Σίμων τοῦτο ὄνειδος τῆς ἀμαθίας Μίκωνι προήνεγκεν, ὅτι καὶ τὰς κάτω βλεφαρίδας προσέγραψεν ἵππου γραφῇ.

Horses' lower eyelids are hairless. For this reason Simon reproached Mikon for his ignorance in adding the lower eyelashes in painting a horse.

Simon was a writer on horsemanship of the late 5th and early 4th century B.C. The criticism may have been directed at the Amazonomachy in the Poikile, or the picture of the Leukippides in the Anakeion (p. 61), or possibly both.

Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, IV, 50, says that Apelles, or according to others Mikon, made a mistake in giving a horse lower eyelashes.

89. Sopatros, *Διαίρεσις Ζητημάτων*, 340ff.

2nd half 4th c. A.D.

μετὰ Μαραθῶνα Μίκων δὲ ωγράφος τοὺς βαρύκορους γράψας μείζους τῶν Ἑλλήνων κρίνεται.

After Marathon the painter Mikon is brought to trial for painting the barbarians larger than the Greeks.

A series of rhetorical exercises on this subject follows. The *pinax* on which the picture was painted is several times mentioned (in Walz, *Rhet. Graeci*, VIII, p. 133, line 18, p. 142, line 1; on p. 144, line 28, the plural is used). The picture can be expunged from the stoa, it is said (p. 142, line 4—ἀλλὰ δυνατὸν ἀπαλεῖψαι τὴν ποικίλην). Mikon may suggest the need for changes (p. 142, line 20—μεταποιῆσαι τὰ γράμματα). There is finally some talk of substituting a finer picture by another artist.

For the *pinakes* see Synesios below. We cannot be sure whether Sopatros saw the picture himself before it was removed. The date given for him above (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Sopatros, 10, col. 1006) is disputed and some would place him later.

90. Life of Sophocles (*Biogr. Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 127; cf. Masqueray, Budé ed., Vol. I, p. xxxiii).

φασὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ κιθάρων ἀναλαβών ἐν μόνῳ¹ τῷ Θαμύριδί ποτε ἐκιθάρισεν ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ μετὰ κιθάρας αὐτὸν γεγράφθαι.

¹ The meaning is obscure and the text may be corrupt; μονωδῷ has been suggested.

They say that once taking up a lyre he played it, in the *Thamyris* only, and that for this reason he is depicted with a lyre in the Poikile Stoa.

This may mean not an individual portrait but a likeness of Sophocles introduced into one of the large pictures, possibly by Polygnotos in the picture of Troy. The date of Sophocles' *Thamyris* is not known, but it is presumed to be early; Athenaeus, I, 20f, seems to connect his performance in it with his youthful exhibitions of skill in playing and dancing.

91. Strabo, IX, 1, 17 (396).

1st c. B.C.–1st c. A.D.

δόμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀκαδημία, καὶ οἱ κῆποι τῶν φιλοσόφων, καὶ τὸ Ὡδεῖον, καὶ ἡ Ποικίλη στοά, καὶ τὰ ἱερά τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει θαυμαστά] ¹ ἔχοντα τεχνιῶν ἔργα.

¹ There is a lacuna of about ten letters, filled as above by Müller-Dübner (*πλειστα* Meineke).

It is the same with the Academy (i.e. it has mythical and historical associations) and the gardens of the philosophers, and the Odeion and the Poikile Stoa, and the shrines in the city which contain the wonderful works of craftsmen.

92. Suidas.

10th c. A.D.

Ζήνων, Μνασέου ἢ Δημέου, Κιτιεύς (πόλις δ' ἔστι Κύπρου τὸ Κίτιον), φιλόσοφος, ὃς ἤρξε τῆς Στωικῆς αἵρεσεως. ἐπεκλήθη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Στωικὸς διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ ἐν Ἀθήναις διδάξαι αὐτόν, ἥτις πρώην μὲν Πεισιανάκτειος, ὑστερὸν δὲ Λωγραφηθεῖσα Ποικίλη ἐκλήθη.

Zeno, son of Mnaseas or Demeas of Kition (Kition is a city in Cyprus), a philosopher who began the Stoic school. He was called Stoic because he taught in the stoa at Athens which at an earlier period was called Peisianakteios, but afterwards when painted with pictures received the name Poikile.

See also Suidas' notes on βασίλειος (22); the third stoa "was called Paanaktios (*sic*) of old, but now has its name changed to Poikile."

Πεισιανάκτειος στοά; the stoa was called Poikile ἀπὸ Ποιλυγνώτου Λωγράφου.

στοά (on which word there is a note ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις διατριβή, i.e. "the place where people spend their time," "place of teaching," "school"); again we read that the stoa was called Peisianakteios, but afterwards, when painted, received the name Poikile.

Ποιλύγνωτος; as Harpokration (68) (again with θησαύρω, possibly a corruption of Θησέω) but without mention of the authorities Lykourgos, Artemon and Juba.

Στωικοί· Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς; quotation of Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 5, follows, as 63 with minor differences, with the omission of βουλόμενος καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀπερίστατον ποιῆσαι; and with the curious reading ἀνακάμπτων ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ στοᾷ καὶ Πεισιανάκτειῷ, ὑστερὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς τοῦ Λωγράφου Ποιλυγνώτου Ποικίλη κληθείση.

Ποικίλη στοά; here were depicted those who fought at Marathon, εἰς οὓς ἐστιν ἐπίγραμμα τόδε· Ἐλλήνων προμαχοῦντες κτλ. This quotation of the Simonidean(?) epigram does not mean that it was inscribed in the Poikile; Lykourgos, *Leokrates*, 109, probably implies that it was intended for the tomb.

93. Synesios, *Epist.*, 54. Ca. A.D. 370–413

ἀναστρέφονται δὲ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁσπερ ἐν ἡμίονοις ἡμίθεοι, διότι τεθέανται τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν τε καὶ τὸ Λύκειον, καὶ τὴν ἐν ἡ Ζήνων ἐφιλοσόφει Ποικίλην, νῦν οὐκέτ' οὖσαν ποικίλην. ὁ γάρ ἀνθύπατος τὰς σανίδας ὑφείλετο.

They conduct themselves amongst us like demigods amongst mules (demi-asses), because they have seen the Academy and the Lyceum, and the Poikile in which Zeno expounded his philosophy — now no longer many-colored, for the proconsul took away the boards.

Synesios is writing of the airs put on by those who have been to Athens. He thinks he would do well to go himself. He went there probably about A.D. 400.

Synesios of Cyrene was a Neoplatonist and eventually a Christian bishop.

94. Synesios, *Epist.*, 135. Ca. A.D. 370–413.

Καὶ κακὸς κακῶς ὁ δεῦρο με κόμισας ἀπόλοιτο ναύκληρος· ὡς οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν αἱ νῦν Ἀθῆναι σεμνόν, ἀλλ' ἡ τὰ κλεινὰ τῶν χωρίων ὄνόματα, καὶ καθάπερ ιερείου διαπεπραγμένου τὸ δέρμα λείπεται, γνώρισμα τοῦ πάλαι ποτὲ ζώου· οὔτως ἐνθένδε φιλοσοφίας ἔξωκισμένης, λείπεται περινοστοῦντα θαυμάζειν τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν τε καὶ τὸ Λύκειον, καὶ νὴ Δία τὴν ποικίλην στοὰν, τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς Χρυσίππου φιλοσοφίας, νῦν οὐκέτ' οὖσαν ποικίλην. ὁ γάρ ἀνθύπατος τὰς σανίδας ἀφείλετο, αἱς ἐγκατέθετο τίνη τέχνην ὁ ἐκ Θάσου Ποιλύγνωτος.

May the ship's captain who brought me here perish miserably. Present day Athens possesses nothing venerable except the illustrious names of places. When the sacrifice of a victim has been completed, the skin is left as a token of the animal that once existed; in the same way now that philosophy has departed hence, all that is left for us is to walk around and wonder at the Academy and the Lyceum, and (by Zeus) the Poikile Stoa after which the philosophy of Chrysippus is named, now no longer many-colored; the proconsul took away the boards to which Polygnotos of Thasos committed his art.

Chrysippus was one of the successors of Zeno in the 3rd century; of him it was said, "If there had been no Chrysippus, there would have been no stoa" (Diogenes Laertius, VII, vii, 183; note how the word "stoa" has become a complete abstraction).

We do not know who this proconsul was nor when the paintings were removed. Synesios' method of referring to the event suggests that it was fairly recent. It has been suggested that the occasion was the edict of Theodosius against paganism in A.D. 391, but this is mere conjecture.

Whether the paintings were carried out directly on the wall or on detachable boards has been much disputed. The authority of Synesios, who did not see the pictures himself, has been discounted (Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, p. 135); though the mere fact of removal would seem to indicate boards. The support of a rhetorical exercise by Sopatros is not very strong. Fortunately the accuracy of the late authorities is confirmed by the recently found fragments; in some of these are drilled holes, and in some of the holes are remains of iron pins apparently designed for the attachment of a wooden framework supporting the painted tablets (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 329; see note on Pausanias above, 80).

There is one further literary reference to a *pinax* or tablet which possibly concerns the Poikile. Plutarch, *Apophthegmata Laconica*, 232e, relates how when someone saw on a painted tablet (ἐν πίνακι γραπτῷ) Laconians being slaughtered by Athenians and said, "How valorous the Athenians are," a Laconian retorted, "Yes, on the tablet" (ἐν τῷ πίνακι). This may refer to the Oinoe picture, but we cannot be sure. In *De Gloria Atheniensium*, 2, maintaining that painters and

writers should not be placed on the same level as generals and men of action, Plutarch censures those who "prefer the *pinax* to the trophy, the imitation to the reality"; but though he goes on to mention Marathon, his statement is quite general and can hardly be taken as evidence for the picture in the Poikile.

(335). Theophylaktos, *Quaestiones Physicae*, I, 5.
7th c. A.D.

A philosopher is seen near the Poikile.

95. Varro, *Menippean Satires*, 165. 1st c. B.C.
propter eam porticum situm erat dolium.
Near that portico was placed a jar.

The fragment presumably refers to the Poikile and the jar of Diogenes the Cynic, and to the relation of Cynics and Stoics.

An associated fragment mentions Zeno. Varro adapts the dialogues of the Cynic Menippos, of the first half of the 3rd century B.C.

96. Zenobios, IV, 28. 2nd c. A.D.

Θᾶττον ἡ Βούτης. τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ στοᾷ μαχομένων τις ἦν ὃ ἐπεγέγραπτο Βούτης, οὐ ἔφαίνετο τὸ κράνος καὶ ὁ ὀφθαλμός· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη ἐδόκει ὑπὸ ὅρους ἐφ' οὐ ἔβεβήκει κρύπτεσθαι, διὰ τὸ προκεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ. τάσσεται οὖν ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ῥαδίων συντελουμένων. καὶ γάρ καὶ ὁ Βούτης ῥαδίων κατεσκευάσθη, ἅτε οὐχ ὀλοκλήρου τοῦ σώματος γεγραμμένου.

More quickly than Boutes. Of the men fighting in the stoa there was one with the inscription Boutes, whose helmet and eye were visible, while the rest of him seemed to be hidden by the hill on which he stood, since it lay in front of him. The saying refers to things which are easily accomplished—Boutes was easily managed since his entire body was not shown in the picture.

See also Hesychios, Photios and Suidas under Θᾶττον ἡ Βούτης.

Hesychios too (not Suidas) says that Boutes was one of those fighting in the stoa. Photios says that Mikon (MSS Νίκων) showed an eye and a head appearing, and added the inscription "Boutes."

"The men fighting in the stoa" suggests the Poikile and Marathon, though the mysterious Boutes *may* have appeared in the Amazonomachy.

From a stele with records of the Delian Amphiktyons, at Athens; the precise nature of the case is not clear. 499 votes were cast.

97. I.G., II², 1641, lines 25–30. Mid 4th c. B.C.

οὗ
τος ἀπέφυγεν παρ
[ώ]ν καὶ ἀπολογούμ
ενος· τὸ δικαστήρ
ιον ἡ στοὰ ἡ ποικί
λη.

This man presented himself for trial and made his defence and was acquitted, the court sitting in the Stoa Poikile.

98. I.G., II², 1670, lines 34–35. Ca. 330 B.C.

[..... στοά]
ποικίλη εἰς ἓνα καὶ πεντακοσίους δικαστάς].

..... The stoa Poikile; a jury of five hundred and one...

From a stele at Eleusis dealing with building operations. If this plausible restoration is correct, there is presumably some reference to litigation arising from these, and we have a second example of the use of the stoa as a law court.

NOTE 1.

We have no simple unaffected use of the name Peisianakteios (though Isidore uses the name Peisianaktia alone). Usually Peisianakteios is given as the older name, but in Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 5 and Suidas, *Peisianakteios Stoa* the two titles appear simply as alternatives. The name Poikile itself does not appear in surviving literature until the mid 4th century (Demosthenes and [Demosthenes]) though the stoa is referred to earlier (*Lysistrata*—indirectly—and possibly *Ecclesiazusae*). When "Poikile" came into use we cannot say; though one imagines it was very soon after the paintings appeared. By the mid 4th century it was apparently official (I.G., II², 1641), and it continued in general use. But one cannot be sure that "Peisianakteios" was quite superseded. Certainly it was not forgotten, though the difficult word tends to be sadly mutilated in the texts of the lexicographers (Harpokration and Suidas, *Basileios*). It has been suggested (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Stoa, col. 16) that there was in use a popular corruption "Panaktios," but this is hardly likely.

NOTE 2.

The literary evidence for the date of the stoa is very vague. The first actual reference to it is in Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* (411 B.C.). Very little is known of Peisianax (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Peisianax, col. 147); he probably had a son Euryptolemos who was an associate of Perikles and a cousin of Alkibiades (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I, 4, 19; 7, 12 and 16) and he *may* have been the brother-in-law of Kimon, who was married to Isodike, daughter of an earlier Euryptolemos (Plutarch, *Kimon*, 4). The dates of the painters concerned are only known in a very general way. Panainos may be placed in the middle of the 5th century, Polygnotos and Mikon rather earlier. These indications would agree with the date of ca. 460 B.C. assigned to the architectural fragments on criteria of style (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 328).

There is an Amazon labelled Πεισιάνασσα on a bell-krater by Polygnotos (the Attic vasepainter) in Ferrara, T 411; see Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, p. 678, 17, and A.J.A., XXXIII, 1929, p. 366; it is very likely that there is some allusion here to the stoa and Mikon's picture. The vase is dated 450–440 B.C.

NOTE 3.

There is good authority both for Mikon (N.B. Lykourgos in Harpokration, Μίκων) and for Panainos as painter of the Marathon picture. It may even be true that they both had a hand in it. Plutarch may provide somewhat uncertain support for Panainos when he says in *De Gloria Atheniensium*, 2, "Pleistainetos" (no doubt a mistake for Panainos) "the brother of Pheidias, Euphranor, Nikias and Asklepiodoros painted victorious generals, battles and heroes." Polygnotos is usually ruled out, since the authority is slight and since works of art were often falsely attributed to more famous artists than their real authors. But it is to be noted that some authors (Plutarch, Harpokration and Suidas under Πολύγνωτος; cf. Suidas, Πεισιάνακτειος στοά) simply say that Polygnotos painted the stoa, without reference to the others. This may be not merely a tribute to his greater fame; in view of his artistic pre-eminence and reputation, and his influential connections at Athens, he may in some sense have had the general direction of the decoration of the stoa.

See M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven, 1929, p. 211; and now A. Rumpf, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, VI, 4, 1, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, Munich, 1953, p. 91.

STOA OF ATTALOS

99. Athenaeus, V, 212e, f.

2nd c. A.D. 101. I.G., II², 1043, lines 68–69. 38/7 B.C.

πλήρης δ' ἦν καὶ ὁ Κεραμεικὸς ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ αὐτόκλητος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν ὅχλων συνδρομή. ὁ δὲ μόλις προῆλθε δορυφορούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν εὐδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ θελόντων, ἔκαστου σπεύδοντος κάν προσάψασθαι τῆς ἑσθῆτος. ἀναβάς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττάλου στοᾶς φωκοδομημένον τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς στάς ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ περιβλέψας κυκληδὸν τὸ πλῆθος, ἔπειτ' ἀναβλέψας, ‘ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι’, ἔφη κτλ.

The Kerameikos was full of citizens and foreigners, and the crowds converged spontaneously upon the place of assembly. He (Athenion) made his way forward with difficulty, with a bodyguard of men who wished to seem important in the eyes of the people; each one was eager even to touch his garments. Mounting the platform built by the Roman generals in front of the stoa of Attalos, he took his stand on it and looked at the crowd all round. Then raising his eyes he said, "Men of Athens...."

Athenion is speaking on behalf of Mithridates, in 88 B.C. For this bema see *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 324.

100. I.G., II², 3171 and Agora I 6135.

159–138 B.C.

βασιλεὺς Ἀττα[λος] βασιλ[έως] [’ΑΤ]τά[λου] καὶ βασι[λίσσης] Ἀπολλων[ίδος] τὴν στοάν — — — ρ[— — τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων]

King Attalos, son of King Attalos and Queen Apollonis, built the stoa — — — toward the demos of the Athenians.

The dedicatory inscription of the stoa, on a number of fragments of a Doric epistyle of Pentelic marble found near by; *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 83–88, no. 31.

[καὶ διὰ ταῦτα παρακαλοῦσιν τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιχ[ωρῆσαι ποιήσασθαι]ι αὐτοῦ γραπτῆς εἰκόνος ἀνάθεσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀττάλου στοᾷ.

And because of this they ask the Boule to allow them to set up a picture of him in the stoa of Attalos.

On a stele found at the church of St. Demetrios Katephores, to the northeast of the Acropolis, inscribed with four ephebic decrees. This comes from the fourth, which honors Sosis for his services to the ephebes.

102. Agora I 5990, lines 6–10.

Between 74/3 and 63/2, but not in 64/3 B.C.

ἐπικινηχωρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρυτά[νεσιν]
[καὶ τοῖς ἀεισίτοις πο]ιήσασθαι αὐτοῦ γραπτῆς
εἰκόνος ἀν[άθεσιν]
[ἐν ὅπλῳ ἐπιχρύσῳ]ι ἐν τῇ Ἀττάλου στοᾷ
ἔχουσαν ἐπιγρα[φὴν]
[τίνει· οἱ πρυτάνε]ις τῆς Πανδιονίδος καὶ οἱ
ἀεισίτοι οἱ ἐπὶ Δ[———]
[ἀρχοντος τὸν ἑα]ν[τ]ῶν ταμίαν ἀνέθηκαν.

And the Prytaneis and the Aeisitai are granted permission to set up a picture of him on a gilded shield in the stoa of Attalos, with the following inscription;—"The Prytaneis and the Aeisitai of Pandionis in the archonship of D— set up (a picture of) their treasurer."

From a stele found in the debris over the Civic Offices (I 12; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 29, no. 13) which according to the restoration in line 12 was to be set up in the Bouleuterion (see p. 187). For the date of this inscription see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 25.

For other inscribed monuments which may be associated with the stoa see:

I.G., II², 3781, base of a statue of the philosopher Karneades, set up by Attalos and Ariarathes; recently rediscovered in the stoa (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 818); for this statue cf. Cicero, *De Finibus*, V, 2, (4). See p. 213.

Agora I 3527 + 3601 (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 252, no. 88, *q.v.* for earlier references), base of a monument set up by Attalos II in honor of his foster-brother Theophilos, found in several fragments in the area of the Stoa of Attalos; probably from the Late Roman Fortification.

I.G., II², 4209 (another block has now been found); this has a dedication to Tiberius by the Areopagus, the people and the Council of 600; but since the foundation on which the monument stood, in front of the middle of the stoa terrace, is contemporary with the stoa, the monument perhaps originally honored the Per-

gamene royal house (see *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 318).

NOTE. A "Stoa of the Roman" is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 958, line 29, a decree of 151/0 B.C. honoring Miltiades, *agonothetes* of the Theseia; he is granted "a place for setting up the armory (διπλοθήκη)" ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ Ρωμαίου; whether this stoa was in the agora it is impossible to say.

Miss M. Crosby suggests that by analogy in a similar decree, *I.G.*, II², 963, of ca. 140 B.C., a similar reference to this stoa might well be restored.

II. SHRINES

AIAKOS

103. Herodotos, V, 89.

5th c. B.C.

καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι δόρμημένοισι ἐπ' Αἰγινήτας στρατεύεσθαι ἥλθε μαντίον ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἐπισχόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγινητέων ὀδικίου τριήκοντα ἔτεα, τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ τριηκοστῷ Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀποδέξαντας ἀρχεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πολέμου, καὶ σφι χωρήσειν τὰ βούλονται· ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπιστρατεύωνται, πολλὰ μέν σφεας ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ χρόνου πείσεσθαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ποιήσειν, τέλος μέντοι καταστρέψεσθαι. ταῦτα ὡς ὅπενειχθέντα ἥκουσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ μὲν Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀπέδεξαν τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς ἴδρυται, τριήκοντα δὲ ἔτεα οὐκ ἀνέσχοντο ἀκούσαντες ὅκως χρεὸν εἴη ἐπισχεῖν πεπονθότας πρὸς Αἰγινητέων ἀνάρσια.

When the Athenians were bent on a campaign against the Aeginetans, an oracle came to them from Delphi, saying that they should wait for thirty years from the Aeginetan aggression, and in the thirty-first year should dedicate a precinct to Aiakos and then begin the war against the Aeginetans; in this way their wishes would be accomplished; if they attacked at once, they would in the meantime suffer much besides achieving much, though they would finally subdue Aegina. When this was reported and the Athenians heard it, they dedicated to Aiakos the precinct which is now situated in the agora, but they could not endure being told that they must wait thirty years after the hostilities they had suffered from the Aeginetans.

The Aeginetans, helping Thebes, had ravaged the coast of Attica. The Athenians were prevented by the Spartans from pursuing their plans for immediate retaliation, but Herodotus implies that they dedicated the precinct at once.

The date of the dedication is not clear. It was perhaps about 488 B.C., i.e. thirty years before the Athenians actually inflicted a decisive defeat on Aegina, though Herodotus, in his incomplete and confused account of the relations of Athens and Aegina, associates it with events of the closing years of the 6th century (*C.A.H.*, IV, p. 258; N. G. L. Hammond in *Historia*, IV, 1955, p. 407, defending Herodotus, dates the dedication 506/5 B.C.).

104. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

Αἰαὶ ἀκόντιον Ἀθήνησι καὶ τοῦ Αἰακοῦ τέμενος.

Several lines below:

Αἰάκειον οὐ φασιν Αἰακὸν οἰκῆσαι.

Cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 212, 15; 360, 10.

There is no doubt some corruption in the first note. It has been emended in various ways without throwing any light on the Aiakeion. Schmidt combines part of the first note with the second to produce Αἰάκειον οὐ φασιν Αἰακὸν οἰκῆσαι Ἀθήνησι καὶ τὸ Αἰακοῦ τέμενος, but there is no question of Aiakos *living* at Athens. Latte does not remove the difficulty by suggesting Αἰάκειον τόπος Αθ. <οὐ—οικησαι> καὶ ...

Nothing more is known of the Aiakeion. Pausanias does not mention it, but his description of the parent shrine at Aegina, which may have influenced the Aiakeion at Athens, is interesting; it was in the most conspicuous part of the city, and was a rectangular enclosure of white marble; at the entrance were figures in relief; within the enclosure were olive trees and an altar raised not far above the ground; "it is told that this altar is also the funeral monument of Aiakos" (II, 29, 6-8).

An *eschara* or hearth-like altar, of late 6th century date, has been found in the northern part of the agora, near the altar of the Twelve. Aiakos may be regarded as a likely candidate for this shrine (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 45, note 28). If it is indeed his, the evidence would support Herodotos' earlier date.

W. K. Pritchett however now suggests (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 271; cf. 207 below) that in Stele VI, lines 13–15 should be read

[οἰκ]ία ἐν Κολλυτῷ ἡ[ε]ι — — —]
ἐκ τῷ ἐπὶ θάτερα τὸ Αἴ[άκειον]
καὶ ἡ ὁγορά.

This would place the Aiakeion on the south side of the agora, Kollytos being in that direction; but it has been suggested to me by C. W. J. Eliot that Αἰάντειον is also a possible reading, if indeed there was an Aianteion at Athens (see p. 91).

AMPHIARAOS

(158). Pausanias, I, 8, 2. 2nd c. A.D.

The statue of Amphiaraos is one of the series following the Eponymoi and leading on to the temple of Ares.

See I, 34 for the cult at Oropos.

105. I.G., II², 171. First half 4th c. B.C.

Αμφιάραος Ἀρτικλείδης Υγίεια

The names are inscribed on the epistyle above

a relief, to which they refer. Below is the beginning of the heading of a decree. The inscription was found near the Hephaisteion.

The name of Amphiaraos occurs with that of Asklepios in line c. 21 of I.G., II², 333, which gives laws concerning offerings to various deities (335/4 B.C.; found on the Acropolis; see 209), and in I.G., II², 1672 (building accounts of Eleusis, 329/8 B.C.; see 215), we find in line 305 εἰς Αμφιάραον ΓΙΙΙΙ.

APHRODITE

HEGEMONE

See I.G., II², 2798 (130), under DEMOS AND CHARITES.

OURANIA

106. Pausanias, I, 14, 7. 2nd c. A.D.

πλησίον δὲ ιερόν ἔστιν Ἀφροδίτης οὐρανίας. πρώτοις δὲ ἀνθρώπων Ἀσσυρίοις κατέστη σέβεσθαι τὴν Οὐρανίαν, μετὰ δὲ Ἀσσυρίους Κυπρίων Παφίοις καὶ Φοινίκων τοῖς Ἀσκάλωνα ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, παρὰ δὲ Φοινίκων Κυθήριοι μαθόντες σέβουσιν. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ κατεστήσατο Αἰγεύς, αὐτῷ τε οὐκ εἶναι παῖδας νομίζων – οὐ γάρ πω τότε ἤσαν – καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς γενέσθαι τὴν συμφοράν ἐκ μηνίματος τῆς Οὐρανίας. τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι ἄγαλμα λίθου Παρίου καὶ ἔργον Φειδίου.

Near by is a shrine of Aphrodite Ourania. The first men to establish the worship of Ourania were the Assyrians, and after the Assyrians the Paphians of Cyprus and

the Phoenicians of Askalon in Palestine; from the Phoenicians the people of Kythera learned the cult. Aigeus established it at Athens; he thought that he was childless (he had in fact no children at that time) and that the misfortune of his sisters [Prokne and Philomela] was the result of the wrath of Ourania. The statue still extant in my time is of Parian marble and is the work of Pheidias.

This follows the account of the temple of Hephaistos (288) and is followed by Hermes Agoraios and the Poikile (80).

Pausanias says in I, 19, 2 that the inscription on the square statue of Aphrodite, which stood near the temple of Aphrodite ἐν κήποις, declared that Aphrodite Ourania was the oldest of the Fates (τὴν Οὐρανίαν Ἀφροδίτην τῶν καλούμενων Μοιρῶν εἶναι πρεσβυτάτην); Lucian, *Dialogi Meretricii*, 7, 1, says that Aphrodite ἐν κήποις was called Ourania; there were two shrines of Aphrodite ἐν κήποις (see Broneer in *Hesperia*, I, 1932, p. 52), one, probably the older, on the north slope of the Acropolis (Pausanias, I, 27, 3), one to the south of the city.

The legend given by Pausanias in I, 14, 7 perhaps belongs to one of the cults ἐν κήποις rather than to the shrine in the agora.

Remains of a building on the north side of the Kolonos Agoraios (the northern part with the porch is cut off by the railway cutting) are thought to belong to the Ourania shrine (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 238 and Suppl. VIII, p. 391).

PANDEMOS

See 731 under OLD AGORA

OTHER APHRODITE CULTS

For Aphrodite in the temple of Ares see 117.

For a dedication to Demeter and Aphrodite jointly, Agora I 562, found in a late Roman context in the north part of the Library of Pantainos (R13) see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 61, no. 25, and p. 85 below.

Note also
Agora I 2526

[’Α]θηναγόρα
’Αφροδίτει
τὸ πρόσωπον

[ἀ]νέθηκεν
a plaque of marble found in a modern context between the Odeion and the Panathenaic Way (O 11; *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 60, no. 24).

Agora I 5128

[Καλ]ῆιας
[ἀνέ]θηκε
[Κάλ]αμις
[ἐπτόε]

found in the wall of a modern house outside the southeast corner of the square (O 17), belongs to the statue of Aphrodite seen by Pausanias (I, 23, 2) near the Propylaea (see *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 18, no. 8; Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Acropolis*, p. 152, no. 136; Raubitschek suggests that the statue may originally have stood in the shrine of Aphrodite Pandemos).

APOLLO

PATROOS

The temple was near the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, between it and the Metroon; it contained a statue by Euphranor, and other Apollos stood in front (Pausanias; see note on Pausanias for identification). The altar was gilded in the time of Lykourgos ([Plutarch]; cf. *I.G.*, II², 4884).

Apollo Pythios was regarded as Patroos at Athens (Demosthenes, XVIII; Harpokration; cf. Plato and *I.G.*, II², 4995). Apollo Patroos was associated with Zeus (Aristotle), with Zeus and Athena (Plato). Some phratriai had their own cult of the god (Demosthenes, LVII).

107. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 55, 3.

Ca. 329–322 B.C.

ἐπερωτῶσιν δ', ὅταν δοκιμάζωσιν εἰ ἔστιν αὐτῷ Ἀπόλλων πατρῷος καὶ Ζεὺς ἔρκειος, καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα τὰ ιερά ἔστιν.

They ask, when they conduct the scrutiny....., whether he has a cult of Apollo Patroos and Zeus Herkeios, and where these shrines are.

This question is put to the archons at their *dokimasia*, after enquiries about their parentage; cf. Demosthenes, LVII (*Eubouliades*), 66–67, Pollux, VIII, 85, and Harpokration under ἔρκειος Ζεύς; Harpokration quotes Deinarchos as saying εἰ φράτορες αὐτῷ καὶ βωμοί Διὸς ἔρκειον καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῷου εἰσίν, though it is not stated here of whom the question is asked.

108. Demosthenes, XVIII (*De Corona*), 141.

330 B.C.

καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας δσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει.

Before you, Athenians, I call upon all the gods and goddesses who possess the land of Attica, and upon Apollo Pythios, the Paternal deity of the city.

Cf., besides Harpokration and Plato below, Aristeides, XIII (*Panathenaicus*), 112 (194) (Dind. I, p. 181), where Apollo Pythios is again equated with Patroos, and *I.G.*, II², 4995 (p. 53).

In *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 181, an inscription of the 2nd century B.C., possibly from the Pythion, Apollo Pythios is said to be Patroos to the Athenians, and sacrifices to Apollo Alexikakos, Patroos and Pythios are mentioned.

109. Demosthenes, LVII (*Eubourides*), 54.
345 B.C.

ἀλλὰ παιδίον ὅντα μ' εὐθέως ἥγον εἰς τοὺς φράτερας, εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος πατρώου μ'¹ ἥγον, εἰς τᾶλλον ιερά.

¹ με added by Blass.

When I was a child they took me straight to the clansmen, they took me to the shrine of Apollo Patroos, and to the other shrines.

It is not clear whether this was the shrine in the agora, or a particular shrine of the phratria. Certain γένη and phratriai had their own cult of Apollo Patroos; see *I.G.*, II², 2602, [σ]ρος τεμένους | Ἀπόλλωνος | Πατρώιο | Ελα | σιδῶν; 3629, honors to a priest of Apollo of the Gephyraioi, 2nd century A.D., cf. 3630; 4978, [ἱ]ερὸ[ν] | Ἀπόλλωνο[ς] | Πατρ]ώιου φρ | [ατρίας] Θερρικ | [λειδ]ῶν, 4th century B.C.; possibly also 4974 (Achniadai, though Apollo is not actually called Patroos here) and 4991. W. S. Ferguson discusses the cult in relation to the Salaminii (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 28–31, 254) who sacrificed to Apollo Patroos, probably in the public shrine in the agora; they did not have a priest of the god, and so probably did not have their own shrine.

Isaios, VII (*Apollodoros*), 13 and 16, probably refers to the same ceremony.

110. Harpokration. 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Ἀπόλλων πατρῷος δὲ Πύθιος: προσηγορία τίς ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων οὐσῶν. τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα κοινῶς πατρῷον τιμῶσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Ἰωνος· τούτου γάρ οἰκίσαντος τὴν Ἀττικήν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησί, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους Ἰωνας κληθῆναι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα πατρῷον αὐτοῖς ὀνομασθῆναι.

Apollo Patroos is the Pythian Apollo. This is a title of the god, who has many others too. The Athenians have a public cult of Apollo as paternal deity, because of Ion. Ion having settled Attica, as Aristotle says, the Athenians were called Ioni-

ans and Apollo received the name Patroos amongst them.

Cf. Euripides, *Ion*, 8ff. The union of Apollo and Kreousa, parents of Ion, is there said to have taken place under the Makrai Petrai (see pp. 54, 179) on the northwest slopes of the Acropolis. C. Robert (*Pausanias*, pp. 323ff.) placed the shrine of Patroos here, but Judeich (p. 345, note 4) dismissed this site as fanciful even before the excavations.

111. Pausanias, I, 3, 4. 2nd c. A.D.

καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρῷον ἐπίκλησιν· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεώ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαμις ἐποίησε. τὸ δὲ ὄνυμα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν λοιμώδη σφίσι νόσον δύο τῷ Πελοποννησίων πολέμῳ πιέζουσαν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσεν ἐκ Δελφῶν.

Euphranor also made the Apollo called Patroos in the temple near by. In front of the temple the one Apollo was made by Leochares, the other, whom they call Alexikakos (Averter of Evil), by Kalamis. They say that the god received this name because by an oracle from Delphi he stopped the plague which was afflicting them at the same time as the Peloponnesian War.

Euphranor's paintings in the Stoa of Zeus are mentioned immediately before (30) and Pausanias passes on to the Metroon (402) and the Bouleuterion.

Euphranor's Apollo has been tentatively recognized in a colossal 4th century statue found about 20 m. south of the proposed site of the temple (see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 107); the figure is, however, of the draped Kitharoidos type.

Nothing more is known of the Apollo of Leochares, who flourished towards the middle of the 4th century B.C.

The date implied by Pausanias (ca. 427 B.C.) is almost impossibly late for the Alexikakos of Kalamis, who worked in the second quarter and middle of the 5th century. It is possible that the name may not have been given to the statue till some time after its erection; but Pausanias may be mistaken and the statue may have celebrated deliverance from an earlier plague, or from

something other than a plague, e.g. the Persian threat. (Some, however, assume a second and later Kalamis).

Thompson remarks that Pausanias' expression πρὸ τοῦ νεώ may mean "in the pronaos" (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 109, note 6) where in fact a suitable position has been found.

There can now be little doubt that the shrine of Apollo Patroos was in the middle of the west side of the agora, where the excavations have shown that a small archaic apsidal building, destroyed presumably by the Persians, was replaced by a more imposing temple shortly after the middle of the 4th century B.C.

112. Plato, *Euthydemos*, 302 c-d. 4th c. B.C.

"Εα, ήν δ' ἔγω, ό Διονυσόδωρε, εύφρμει τε καὶ μὴ χαλεπῶς με προδίδασκε. ἔστι γάρ ἔμοιγε καὶ βωμοὶ καὶ ἱερὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ πατρῶα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσταπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναῖοις τῶν τοιούτων. — Εἴτα τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἔφη, Ἀθηναῖοις οὐκ ἔστι Ζεὺς ὁ πατρῶος; — Οὐκ ἔστιν, ήν δ' ἔγω, αὖτη ἡ ἐπωνυμία 'Ιώνων οὐδενί, οὐθ' ὅσοι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἀπωκισμένοι εἰσὶν οὐθ' ήμιν, ἀλλὰ 'Απόλλων πατρῶος διὰ τὴν τοῦ 'Ιωνος γένεσιν. Ζεὺς δ' ήμιν πατρῶος μὲν οὐ καλεῖται, ἔρκειος δὲ καὶ φράτριος, καὶ 'Αθηναία φρατρία. — 'Αλλ' ἀρκεῖ γ', ἔφη δ' Διονυσόδωρος· ἔστιν γάρ σοι, ὡς ἔοικεν, 'Απόλλων τε καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ.

"Come now Dionysodoros," I said, "take care what you say; don't instruct me so severely. I do have altars and household and ancestral shrines and all the other things of that kind which the other Athenians have." "Then do the other Athenians," he said, "not have Zeus as paternal deity?" "None of the Ionians," I said, "use this epithet, neither those who migrated from this city nor we Athenians; Apollo is our paternal deity because we are sprung from Ion. Zeus we do not call Patroos, but Herkeios and Phratrios, and Athena we call Phratria." "That will do," said Dionysodoros; "you do, it seems, have Apollo and Zeus and Athena."

Zeus, Apollo and Athena (without epithets) are associated in an oath, Demosthenes, XXI (*Meidias*), 198; cf. Schol. *Iliad*, II, 371, who explains πάτριοι γάρ οὗτοι τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις θεοῖς.

Partly because of this association, Thompson suggests (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 105) that the small temple of the mid 4th century, fitted in between the temple of Apollo and the stoa to the north, was sacred to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria.

A marble altar has been found in front of the north part of the Stoa of Attalos (Q 8), bearing the inscription (Agora I 3706) Διός Φρατρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Φρατρίας. The date is not certain, but it may be mid 4th century. Thompson thinks that the altar may well have stood on a base found in front of the small temple (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 106; cf. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 49). A sacrifice to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria is mentioned in a sacred calendar, shortly after 403 B.C. (Agora I 727, found to the east of the Tholos, I 12; see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 21, lines 48ff., and above, p. 22). A marble altar found some distance to the northeast of the agora, with the inscription [Δι]ός Φρατρίου Ἀθηνᾶς Φρα[τρίας] (late 4th century B.C.) probably belongs to the small shrine of a phratria (see *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 616; now Agora I 6709).

W. S. Ferguson, discussing the cult regulations of the Salaminioi contained in Agora I 3244 (see 254) suggests that the deity who occupied the small temple may have been Athena Agelaea, to whom the Salaminioi sacrificed on the same day as to Apollo Patroos (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 29).

113. [Plutarch], *Vit. X. Orat.*, 843f.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον Ἀντικλέους στεφανῶσαι καὶ εἰκόνα ἀναθεῖναι, διτὶ ἐπηγγείλατο χρυσώσειν τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος ἐν ἀγορᾷ κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

He also made a proposal to crown Neoptolemos son of Antikles and to set up a likeness of him, because he offered to gild the altar of Apollo in the agora in accordance with the oracle of the god.

The proposer is Lykourgos, the 4th century orator. The altar may well be that of Apollo Patroos; and a slab inscribed 'Απόλλωνος Πατρώιον (I.G., II², 4984), found by the Varvakeion some distance to the northeast of the agora, probably from an altar and probably of the late 4th century, may belong to this altar.

I.G., I², 79, lines 15–17 may possibly be concerned with Apollo Patroos. Financial pro-

vision is made for the care of a shrine of Apollo; the treasurers with the priest of Apollo are to see that it is well looked after:

τὸν δὲ ταμία μετὰ τῷ ιερέος τῷ Ἀπόλλονος τῷ τε
μένος τῷ Ἀπόλλονος ἐπιμελέσθον, ὅπος ἂν
κάλλιστος
τα θεραπεύεται.

The date is late in the 5th century and Thompson suggests that the inscription may refer to the clearing up of the site after the construction of the stoa to the north (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 113, note 7).

I.G., II², 3274 associates the Emperor Claudius with Apollo Patroos; it was found at the church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa.

Priests of Apollo Patroos are honored in *I.G.*, II², 3530 (at Eleusis) after A.D. 14, and *I.G.*, II², 3630, 2nd century A.D.; in *I.G.*, II², 3697, a priest of Apollo Patroos honors M. Ulpius Eubiotus, 3rd century A.D.; in a prytany decree from the Kerameikos (Peek, *Kerameikos*, III, p. 4, no. 5) a priest is praised (*ca.* 100 B.C.); the priest had a seat in the theatre (*I.G.*, II², 5061).

Dedications to the god occur:

In *I.G.*, II², 4557 (Ἐπόλλωνι Πατρώιοι)
on the south slope of the Acropolis, 400–350 B.C.

In *I.G.*, II², 4726

Ἐπόλλωνι Πατρώιοι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι
ἀνέθηκεν

1st century A.D., found in the church of St. Thomas near the Stoa of Attalos.

On a base found in a Byzantine grave near the Areopagus, published by W. Peek in *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, p. 51, no. 76 (see also Ἀρχ. Δελτ., 1916, p. 143)

—
[Θ]εοδώρου — —

Ἐπόλλωνι Πατρώιοι
ἀνέθηκεν.

Cf. also *I.G.*, II², 3158, 1st century A.D., in which, in a dedication by a victor in the games, Apollo is addressed as Πατρώιε.

In Agora I 6006, line 11 (140/39 B.C.), found re-used in the flooring of the Civic Offices (I 12; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 17, no. 9 and cf. p. 153), we find the Prytaneis sacrificing to Apollo Patroos.

For *I.G.*, II², 4995, see under PROSTATERIOS below.

Agora I 5569 is a small marble boundary stone found in a modern house wall outside the market square to the southeast, west of the Late Roman Fortification (Q 21); *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 91, no. 38.

[ὅρος]
[Ἀπ]όλλ
[λ]ωνο
ς Πατρ
ώιο

PROSTATERIOS

114. Hesychios. 5th c. A.D. (?)

προστατήριος· τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα οὕτῳ λέγουσι, παρόσον πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτὸν ἀφιδρύοντο.

Prostaterios. They call Apollo by this name, since they set up statues of him in front of the doors.

115. Photios. 9th c. A.D.

προστατήριος· Ἀπόλλων· ἐπεὶ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτὸν ἰδρύοντο· Σοφοκλῆς.

Prostaterios. Apollo, since they set up statues of him in front of the doors. Sophocles.

The reference is to *Electra*, 637, where Klytaimnestra appeals to Apollo as Defender (almost the same as Alexikakos; cf. προστάτης in *Trachiniae*, 209). Probably his altar and image were shown before the palace.

I.G., II², 4727, found near the church of St. Athanasios, north of the Areopagus, has a dedication (1st century A.D.?)

Ἐπόλλωνι Προστατηρίῳ.

I.G., II², 4995, a marble altar with a relief of Apollo with his lyre, of the 1st century A.D., gives a list of titles of Apollo including Prostaterios —

Ἐπόλλωνος Ἀγνιέως Προστατηρίον
Πατρώου Πυθίου Κλαρίου Παιωνίου.

Apollo Prostaterios is the most constant of the deities to whom the Prytaneis sacrificed πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 8; see p. 56 below). His name is given in prytany inscriptions from Dow's no. 6 (*I.G.*, II², 674, 273/2 B.C.; cf. Agora I 3855, found in a Byzantine context west of the Late Roman Forti-

fication, S 17, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 234, no. 2, ca. 275 B.C.), after which he is regularly coupled with Artemis Boulaia, to no. 92 (124/3 B.C.) and no. 93 (I.G., II², 1004, 122/1 B.C.); on no. 96 see 121. Note also Agora I 2145 and 6295, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 359, no. 7, 135/4 B.C., several fragments all found re-used in late contexts north and east of the Odeion, in which we find simply (line 9)

τῶι τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Προστατηρίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτ[ριον ἦν].

For Apollo Prostaterios, cf. Pausanias, I, 44, 2 (at Megara). The Prostaterios at Athens may be the Apollo in the Bouleuterion (402).

‘Υπὸ Μακραῖς

For dedications to Apollo ὑπὸ Μακραῖς see THESMOTHETEION (p. 179). The shrine “beneath the Long Rocks” northwest of the Acropolis was probably also what was called the Pythion

(see 199; there was another Pythion in the southeast of Athens, Pausanias, I, 19, 1). Agora I 5517, found re-used in a parapet in Klepsydra (T 27), *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 224–225, XII, 1948, p. 240, provides good early evidence for the shrine; it has a retrograde inscription of the late 6th century B.C.

[—]—]ς : ἀνέθεκεν : δεκάτεν καὶ h[ο]ι παῖδες

[: Ἀπόλλωνι :

λονι : καὶ Δίφιλος

For the text see *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 79, no. 24.

XANTHOS

A boundary stone of Apollo Xanthos, of the late 5th or early 4th century B.C., Agora I 1454, has been found in a Hellenistic context in the channel of a well outside the market square to the southwest (E 15), *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 38, no. 4.

ARES

116. Georgios Kodinos, Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων, στηλῶν καὶ θεαμάτων τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, 47,14. 15th c. A. D.

περὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων. Αἱ δὲ στῆλαι τῶν ἐλεφάντων τῆς χρυσείας πόρτας ἱκασιν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀρεώς ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν¹ παρὰ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μικροῦ.

¹ Some MSS have Ἀθήνας.

About the elephants. The stelai with the elephants at the golden gate come from the temple of Ares at Athens, brought by Theodosius the Less.

Kodinos lived in the 15th century, but the work Τὰ Πάτρια τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, to which this belongs, is thought to have been written in the 10th century, and to draw on still earlier material; see Preger, Introductions, and, for this passage, p. 182, II, 58.

Figures of elephants, with a driver and attendants, were seen at the Golden Gate also by an Arab traveller, Harun b. Jahja, probably between A.D. 880 and 890; see J. Markwart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 215. (I am indebted to P. Alexander for this reference.)

Theodosius II ruled from A.D. 408 to 450. The temple now identified as the temple of Ares (see note on Pausanias below) seems to have been

destroyed in the invasion of the Heruli in A.D. 267, and material from it used in the construction of the Late Roman Fortification (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 52). If in spite of this the elephants at Constantinople really came from the temple, one may imagine that they were the gift of some oriental ruler.

117. Pausanias, I, 8, 4.

2nd c. A.D.

Τῆς δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους εἰκόνος πλησίον Ἀρεώς ἐστιν ιερόν, ἔνθα ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν Ἀφροδίτης κεῖται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρεώς ἐποίησεν Ἀλκαμένης, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν ἀνήρ Πάριος, σηνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Λόκρος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐνυοῦς ἀγαλμά ἐστιν, ἐποίησαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Πραξιτέλους· περὶ δὲ τὸν ναὸν ἐστᾶσιν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Θησεύς καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἀναδούμενος ταινίᾳ τὴν κόμην, ἀνδριάντες δὲ Καλάδης Ἀθηναῖοις ὡς λέγεται νόμους γράφας καὶ Πίνδαρος ἄλλα τε εὑρόμενος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅτι σφᾶς ἐπήνεσεν ἄσμα ποιήσας.

Near the statue of Demosthenes is a shrine of Ares. Here two statues of Aphrodite are set up; the statue of Ares was made by Alkamenes, the one of Athena by a Parian called Lokros. Here too is an image of Enyo made by the sons of Praxiteles. About the temple stand Herakles

and Theseus and Apollo binding his hair with a fillet, and statues of Kalades, who, it is said, drew up laws for the Athenians, and of Pindar, who received the statue amongst other honors from the Athenians because he praised them in a song which he composed.

For Demosthenes see p. 210; Pausanias passes on to Harmodios and Aristogeiton (270) and the Odeion (521).

Alkamenes flourished in the latter part of the 5th century. Lokros is not otherwise known. It has been suggested (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 1, note 4) that a torso of Athena, Agora S 654, found in a Byzantine wall to the south of the proposed site of the temple, may just possibly belong to his statue (cf. *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 199, fig. 14).

The Apollo may be the Apollo Diademas mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 79) among the works of Leochares.

Kalades is otherwise unknown. Other names have been suggested by editors, e. g. Eukleides, Kalliades, Lasos. It is possible that νόμους here means "tunes."

For the statue of Pindar see p. 215; note that the pseudo-Aeschinean epistle (708) places the statue "before the Basileios Stoa."

The temple of Ares is now thought to have stood on the foundations discovered in the central part of the agora square; such a site

suits Pausanias and there is no other serious claimant. Dinsmoor has shown (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 47) that the temple was originally built ca. 440–436 B.C., but was not erected on its site in the agora until the time of Augustus. The original site is quite conjectural. One might be inclined to associate the temple with the Areopagus; Dinsmoor however suggests that it stood to the east of the agora, the occasion for its removal being the construction of the Roman market. For sculptures which may be associated with the altar, and for uncertain traces of monuments which stood in the vicinity, see *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 94, and XXII, 1953, p. 48.

I.G., II², 948, a decree in honor of a priestess, of 166/5 B.C., mentions sacrifice to Ares (line 12). On *I.G.*, II², 1072, of A.D. 117/8 (for the date see *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 84; XVIII, 1949, pp. 12–13), Titus Coponius Maximus appears as priest of Ares Enyalios and Enyo and herald of Zeus Geleon (lines 5–6). *I.G.*, II², 3250, of A.D. 2, in the theatre, honors Caius Caesar, adopted son of Augustus, as the "new Ares"; Dinsmoor (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 49) quotes this inscription in support of other evidence (masons' letters, etc.) for an Augustan date for the removal of the temple. Otherwise inscriptions throw no light on the shrine. *I.G.*, II², 2953, found at Menidi and of Augustan date, is probably rather concerned with a local cult of Ares at Acharnai; it mentions a priest of Ares and a thank offering to Ares and Augustus.

ARTEMIS BOULAIA, ARTEMIS PHOSPHOROS AND THE PHOSPHOROI

BOULAIA, ALTAR

118. Agora I 2361, lines 19–20. *Ca. 220 B.C.*

A stele found in a level of the 4th century A.D. about 18 m. east of the Tholos porch, over the fork of the Great Drain (I 12); probably not moved far; inscribed with a decree in honor of the Ephesians; to be set up

ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμι^ς
[δ]ος τῆς Βουλαίας

in the agora beside the altar of Artemis Boulaia.

See *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 448, no. 8; Suppl. IV, p. 139; XIII, 1944, p. 253. Note that the

definite article τῆς has been erroneously omitted from line 20 in earlier publications. We have no other reference to this altar, which, in view of the finding place of this stele and the associations of the Prytaneis with Artemis Boulaia (see below) probably stood in the vicinity of the Tholos (see p. 179); a precise site is suggested in *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 141.

There is no evidence other than epigraphical for Artemis Boulaia at Athens; but one may note Plutarch's story (*Themistokles*, 22, 1–2) how Themistokles "gave offense to the majority at Athens by establishing the shrine of Artemis, whom he named Aristoboule, since she had given the best counsel to the city and to the Greeks; he built the shrine near his house in Melite, where now the public officers cast forth the bodies of those who are put to death."

BOULAIA, SACRIFICES

119. Agora I 787, lines 10–13. 228/7 B.C.

Ὕπέρ τῶν θυσιῶν δν ἔθυσον τὰ
πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ
Προ
στατηρίῳ καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμιδι τεῖ Βουλαίᾳ καὶ
τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἰς πάτριον ἦν.

For the sacrifices which they made before the meetings of the Ekklesia to Apollo Prostaterios and Artemis Boulaia and to the other gods to whom it was ancestral custom to sacrifice..... (and for other services, the Prytaneis are to be praised etc.)

As usual with decrees honoring the Prytaneis in this period, the stele was to be set up in the Prytanikon (lines 28–29) (see p. 184).

This decree, found in a late context southeast of the Tholos (H 12), is no. 29 in Dow, *Prytaneis*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I.

In the lists of deities to whom the Prytaneis sacrificed πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, included in decrees honoring the Prytaneis in the late 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., next to Apollo Prostaterios Artemis Boulaia appears most constantly.

The above formula is restored in Dow, no. 27 (Agora I 1679, *ca.* 243/2–230/29 B.C.); and occurs, sometimes with additions, in all in which the passage is preserved or can be restored, down to no. 92 (124/3 B.C.).

For the additions and variations, see Dow, p. 8. Add further, besides the examples given below in connection with Artemis Phosphoros: Agora I 5348 (*ca.* 160 B.C.), found in a disturbed context east of the Propylion to the New Bouleuterion (H—I 11), *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 142, no. 4; Agora I 4943 (*ca.* 240 B.C.), found in clearing the face of the precinct wall of Roman times southeast of the Tholos (H 12), *ibid.*, p. 150, no. 10 (ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Σωτῆρσιν is added, as also in *I.G.*, II², 790, Dow's no. 28, of 235/4 B.C.; —— Σωτῆρ] σιν is also tentatively suggested by Dow in lines 13–14 of no. 10, *I.G.*, II², 678; the Soteres are Antigonos and Demetrios); Agora I 642 (early 2nd century B.C.), from filling in the area northeast of the Civic Offices (J 12), *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 225, no. 52; Agora I 6060 (203/2 B.C.), from outside the market square to the southwest (D 17), *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 15, no. 6; Agora I 4917 (180/79 B.C.), found in late Roman disturbance in the classical floor between the Tholos fountain and

the Great Drain (H 12), Pritchett and Meritt, p. 121, where καὶ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Κτη[σίωι μετὰ τοῦ Ἱερέως αὐ] | τοῦ is inserted before καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἰς πάτριον ἦν] (for the date see *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 72); Agora I 6625 (214/3 B.C.), from a Byzantine disturbance in the west side of the Odeion drain, between the Temple and the Altar of Ares (L 8), *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 236, no. 7.

BOULAIA AND PHOSPHOROS, SACRIFICES

120. *I.G.*, II², 902, lines 6–8. 182/1 B.C.
(The Prytaneis sacrificed)

τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Προστατηρίῳ καὶ τεῖ
Ἀρτέμιδι τεῖ βου]

λαίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἰς πάτριον ἦν,
ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ —— *ca.* 15 —— καὶ τεῖ]
[Ἀρ]τέμιδι τεῖ Φωσφόρῳ καὶ τεῖ Αθηνᾶς τεῖ
Ἀρχηγέτιδι τῆς πόλεως].

This is Dow's revised text; see *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 112, no. 55, where it is noted that "the document is unique in the extent of its list of sacrifices"; for Athena Archegetis, whose title is conjecturally restored here and who is not found in any other list, see 622 n.

In a more recently discovered decree, Agora I 5547 + 4683, found near the northeast and southeast corners of the market square, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 66–67, no. 18, lines 6–8, we read that the Prytaneis sacrificed

[τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ
Προστατηρίῳ] καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμιδι τεῖ Βουλαίᾳ
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἰς πάτριον ἦν,
ἔθυσαν δὲ
[καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμιδι τεῖ Φωσφόρῳ].

This decree too is dated to 182/1 B.C., and these two contain the first reference to Artemis Phosphoros in Prytany decrees. In some decrees of the succeeding decades (see Agora I 656 etc. below), the Phosphoros appears immediately after Boulaia in the main list, instead of in the supplementary list; but in a decree of 140/39 B.C., Agora I 6006 (see above p. 53; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 17, no. 9, lines 6–8) we again find Artemis Phosphoros in the supplement; (The Prytaneis sacrificed)

τῷ τε
[Ἀρ]τέλλωνι τῷ Προστατηρίῳ καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέ-
μιδι τεῖ Βουλαίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις]
[θε]οῖς οἰς πάτριον ἦν, ᔰθυσαν δὲ καὶ τεῖ
Ἀρτέμιδι τεῖ Φωσφόρῳ...].

It appears that Artemis Phosphoros did not become very firmly established in the regular series. Even in the limited period in which she is frequently mentioned, she is still sometimes absent from the list. The formula ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ . . . can only mean that there is something special about the sacrifice; the wording also gives the impression that the sacrifice to Phosphoros was distinct from that to Boulaia; it is possible that it took place at the Phosphorion at Peiraeus (see 121) when a meeting was held at the harbor town.

121. Agora I 656 + 6355, lines 7–8.

175/4 B.C.

(The Prytaneis sacrificed)

τῶι τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Προστ[α]τηρίωι καὶ τεῖ Αρτέμιδι τε[ι] Βουλαίαι καὶ τεῖ]
[Φ]ωσφόρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θε[οῖς]ς οῖς
πάτριον ἦν.

Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, pp. 68–69, no. 20 (Dow, no. 69); I 656 is from a late Roman context east of the Tholos (H 12), and I 6355 was found during the removal of walls of Byzantine date just east of the Great Altar (J 10). The same formula also appears in the following: I.G., II², 910 + Agora I 600 (169/8 B.C.), found in front of the Temple of Apollo Patroos (I 7) in a late Roman context, Dow no. 71; Agora I 3054 (167/6 B.C.), found in a modern context in the north porch of the Gymnasium (L 9), Dow no. 72; I.G., II², 977 (181/0 B.C.), Dow no. 88; Agora I 78 (125/4 B.C.), found to the east of the Altar of Zeus Agoraios (J 10), context probably late Roman, Dow no. 91. To the above examples of this formula add Agora I 4253 (175/4 B.C.), from a marble pile north of the Odeion, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 143, no. 5; Agora I 3785 (*ca.* mid 2nd century B.C.), found west of the Temple of Hephaistos (D 7) in a modern context, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 192, no. 96; Agora I 6053 (95/4 B.C.), found lying over the tiles of a Roman drain at the west wall of the Middle Stoa (H 18), *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 25, no. 12. *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957 gives further examples: Agora I 6671, p. 88, no. 6 (173/2 B.C.), found in a late Hellenistic context in H 12; Agora I 3941, p. 67, no. 19 (*ca.* 182–150 B.C.) found in a Byzantine wall (M 8); Agora I 6162, p. 71, no. 21 (174/3 B.C.), found in a late Roman wall (O 8); Agora I 6675, p. 73, no. 22 (164/3 B.C.), found in Hellenistic fill (H 14). On the evidence of new fragments (p. 25, no. 1; p. 75) the formula is restored in Dow no. 96 (104/3 B.C.), but Phosphoros is now omitted from Dow no. 79.

There is no literary evidence for the shrine or cult of Artemis Phosphoros in Athens itself. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, I, 163, relates that at Munychia (in 403 B.C.) Thrasyboulos saw a fire which led them on, and went out “where now the altar of the Phosphoros is” (ἔνθα νῦν δὲ τῆς Φωσφόρου βωμός ἐστι). In Agora I 6006, a prytany decree of 140/39 B.C. (see above p. 53) we read of a meeting of the Boule at Peiraeus in the Phosphorion, line 39

[έ]μ Πειραιῇ ἐν τῷ Φωσφορίῳ

a shrine otherwise unknown.

More generally, Artemis is called Φωσφόρος in Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, 21. In Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 443, Lysistrata swears νὴ τὴν Φωσφόρον, which might mean either Artemis or Hekate, if indeed one need be precise; in *Thesmophoriazusae*, 858, a woman swears by Hekate Phosphoros (note also Frag. 594, Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 543); and Hekate is addressed as Phosphoros in Euripides, *Helen*, 569. In Antiphanes' *Boiotis* (Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 35, Antiphanes 58), someone swears νὴ τὴν Φωσφόρον, and Eriphos, re-using the lines, substitutes νὴ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν (Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 429, Eriphos 2, line 6; both passages are quoted in Athenaeus, III, 84, a, b).

Probably in some such vague contexts we need hardly distinguish between Artemis and Hekate, who are related or equated from an early time. Judeich (p. 224 and note 2), drawing attention to some lead tesserae with a round altar and the inscription Ἀρτέμιδος Φωσφόρου on one side and a trophy and Ἀθηνᾶς Νικηφόρου on the other (cf. *B.C.H.*, VIII, 1884, p. 9; *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 141, note 130), takes Artemis Phosphoros as simply another name of the Hekate worshipped on the Nike bastion and known also as Artemis Hekate, Hekate Propylaia, and Artemis or Hekate Epipyrgidia. But the epigraphical evidence points to the Tholos.

PHOSPHOROI

122. I.G., II², 1755, lines 2–6. Mid 1st c. B.C.

τὸν ἱερέα
τῶν φωσφόρων Ἀγνω
να Διουντίου
ου Φλυέα.

A marble post found in the Outer Kerameikos; a dedication by the Prytaneis of Ptolemais in honor of the priest of the Phosphoroi; see *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 169, no. 99.

123. *I.G., II², 1795*, lines 50–54. A.D. 184/5. **124.** Agora I 4745. *Ca. A.D. 200.*

ἱερεὺς Φωσφ[όρων]
καὶ ἐπὶ Σκιά
δος
Ἐρμείας
Ἀληνιεύς.

For the date see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 16, 20, 22, 52.

This is one of a series of lists of Prytaneis and associated officials in which the priest of the Phosphoroi bears the additional title of ἐπὶ Σκιάδος, which seems to imply superintendence of the Skias or Tholos (see p. 179). An official called ἐπὶ Σκιάδος alone is regularly found in such prytany lists of the 2nd and early 3rd century A.D. among the ἀείσιτοι, a group of six to twelve officials who probably had the prerogative of taking meals in the Tholos along with the fifty Prytaneis (see *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 22 ff.).

The other lists in which we find ἱερεὺς Φωσφόρων καὶ ἐπὶ Σκιάδος are *I.G., II², 1796* and 1798; Agora I 372, found in a modern house wall at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos (Q 18), *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 56, no. 43; Agora I 594, found in a late context east of the Tholos (H 12), *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 48, no. 11 — all between A.D. 173/4 and 186/7. In *I.G., II², 1077* in a list of A.D. 209/10 we find ἱερεὺς Φωσφόρων alone without ἐπὶ Σκιάδος, as also in Agora I 5785, found in a late wall south of the church of St. Spyridon (R 14), *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 57, no. 23, and Agora I 1711, found in a late context northwest of the Tholos (F 10), *ibid.*, p. 58, no. 24, both of A.D. 188/9. One notes that Aristeides who is ἱερεὺς Φωσφόρων in all these three is ἐπὶ Σκιάδος in Agora I 871, found in the wall of a late pit east of the Tholos (H 11), *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 35, no. 6, and has the combined title in *I.G., II², 1796*. In Agora 4218 (A.D. 188/9), found in the eastern part of South Stoa II (N 15) in late Roman context, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 182, no. 87, we find ἱερεὺς Φωσφ[όρων—] where the name to be supplied is also evidently Ἀριστείδης Θεογένου Φρεάρριος (Notopoulos has observed, by letter, that the date 177/8 is not possible because of a conflict in the name of the ἀντιγραφεύς with *I.G., II², 1798*, which is dated in that year; cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 52). Note also Agora I 2957 (end of 2nd century A.D.), found in late Roman context along the northwest foundations of the Tholos (G 11), *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 245, no. 20.

Ὀλυμπίος
Ἀλεξάν
δρου Παλ
ληνεύς
τὰ φυτὰ ταῖς πωσ
φόροις πρω
τόβουλος
ῶν
Κυντίω(1)
Γαίω(1).

Olympos son of Alexander of Pallene dedicated the plants to the Phosphoroi, being *protoboulos* to Quintius Gaius.

A small marble plaque found in late Roman context about 5 m. southeast of the Tholos (H 12); see *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 137 ff.

This dedication shows, what was not known before, that the Phosphoroi were female. One may now naturally associate them with Artemis, to whom the Prytaneis sacrificed and who bore the title Phosphoros, and with the Tholos.

OTHER ARTEMIS CULTS

Pausanias, in I, 14, 5, after describing Enneakrounos (447) and the Eleusinion (198), says ἔτι δὲ ἀπωτέρῳ ναὸς Εὐκλείας, “still further off is a temple of Eukleia,” a thank offering from the spoils of the Medes who landed at Marathon (see 198 n). Whether Eukleia is, as elsewhere, Artemis Eukleia, is not clear.

Plutarch mentions a shrine of Artemis Eukleia at Plataea (*Aristeides*, 20), and says that the goddess has an altar and image κατὰ πᾶσσαν ἀγοράν (presumably in Boeotia and Lokris). Xenophon (*Hellenica*, IV, 4, 2) mentions a festival of Eukleia at Corinth and implies that the goddess had a shrine in the agora. Pausanias, IX, 17, 1 mentions a temple of Artemis Eukleia at Thebes.

In inscriptions at Athens, Eukleia is constantly coupled with Eunomia. Their shrine is mentioned in line 53 of *I.G., II², 1035* (see 579); their priest in *I.G., II², 3738* (A.D. 189/40); 4193, line 13 (A.D. 85/6–94/5); 4874; 5059 (theatre seat); and Agora I 849 (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 72; XI, 1942, p. 80), line 5 (late 1st c. A.D.), fragments of a base found for the most part in the curbing of a late well in the porch of the Metroon (H 10). In view of this association with Eunomia one should perhaps regard Eukleia at Athens as an abstraction rather than a form of Artemis.

Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 160–161, is interesting, though of very doubtful relevance. The chorus appeal to Athena,

γαιάσχόν τ' ἀδελφέαν
Ἄρτεμιν, & κυκλόεντ' ἄγορᾶς θρόνον εὐκλέα
θάσσει,

and to Phoebus (the language recalls Pindar, Frag. 75; see p. 122). There is certainly some allusion here to Artemis Eukleia at Thebes and to the Boeotian practice noted above. Whether Sophocles may have Eukleia at Athens too in mind is very doubtful. Jebb in his note on 161 draws attention to the use of the word *κύκλος* in connection with the Athenian agora with reference to sections of the market; but this usage (see p. 188 below) is something entirely different from *κυκλόεντα* here. Jebb takes *κυκλόεντ' ἄγορᾶς θρόνον* to mean “round throne of the marketplace,” i.e. “throne consisting of the round marketplace.” I prefer the alternative meaning which he gives—“her round seat in the agora.” One is tempted to think of the Tholos and the cult of Artemis associated with it; but on the whole it is unlikely that there is any particular Athenian allusion.

A miniature marble altar, Agora I 2843, of about A.D. 100, has been found in an early Byzantine context above the north end of the East Stoa (O 13; *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 64, no. 30) with the inscription

Ἄρτεσκουσα
εὐχή;
Ἄρτεμιδι.

512 gives a dedication to the Mother of the Gods and Artemis.

One may note also several interesting inscriptions recently found in the agora relating to other cults of Artemis: Soteira and Kalliste, whose shrines or shrine stood outside the gate to the northwest (cf. Judeich, p. 411; see Agora I 1349, found in a late context inside the Tholos, G 12, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 63, no. 28, and Agora I 4052, found in a modern wall north of the Odeion, M 8, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 242, no. 42; note also p. 222 below); and Artemis Amarysia, whose shrine bounded a house of one of the profaners of the Mysteries, in Kydathenaion, as we learn from a fragment of a list of confiscated property, Agora I 4408 b (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 272, Stele VI, lines 78–79).

ATHENA

AGELAA. See note on **112**.

ARCHEGETIS. See **120** and **622 n.**

IN TEMPLE OF ARES. See **117**.

IN BOULEUTERION (BOULAIA). See **394**.

IN HEPHAISTEION. See **294 n.**

PAIONIA. See **2**.

PHRATRIA. See **112**.

DEMOS AND CHARITES

125. Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, XIV, 8, 5.
1st c. A.D.

τιμῆσαι τὸν ἄνδρα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀριστείῳ
κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ στήσαι αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα χαλ-
κῆν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ δῆμου καὶ τῶν χαρίτων.

He shall be honored with a golden crown as an award of high merit in accordance with the law, and a bronze statue of him shall be set up in the shrine of Demos and the Charites.

Josephus is quoting a decree of the Athenians honoring the Jew Hyrkanos, high priest in the middle of the 1st century B.C.

126. *I.G.*, II², 834, lines 25–26.

Shortly after 229 B.C.

This decree honors Eurykleides of Kephisia (see also *I.G.*, II², 2798, below) for his many public services, including building works. If Eurykleides was in fact the priest of Demos and the Charites (see Wilhelm, *Beitr. z. griech. Inschr.*, 76 ff., where the dedicator of *I.G.*, II², 4676, a priest of Demos and the Charites, is identified as Eurykleides), then lines 25–26, in which his work on certain shrines and his dedication of a stoa seem to be mentioned

[η]ὕξησεν δὲ καὶ τὸν δῆμον θεῶν ιερὰ κατα-
σκευάσας καὶ τε]
[μ]ένη καὶ στοάν ἀνα[θείσ]

may have some reference to this shrine in particular. The inscription was found at Peiraeus.

127. I.G., II², 844, lines 39–41.

193/2 B.C.

δε
δόσθαι Εύμαρίδαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς εἰκόνος ἡς
πρότερον ἐ^π
ψήφισται ὁ δῆμος ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Δήμου καὶ
τῶν Χαρίτων.

The stele has three decrees carved on it, two, of the late 3rd century B.C., honoring Eumaridas of Kydonia for his services to Athens, the third, of the early 2nd century, honoring his son Charmion. The first decree orders that a bronze statue of Eumaridas shall be set up on the Acropolis (line 26; the stele is to be set up beside the statue, line 30). This was apparently not done. The second, supplementary decree confirms the honors but says,

Eumaridas is granted the right to set up the statue which the Demos voted him before in the shrine of Demos and the Charites.

All three decrees were carved together at the time of the last.

The stele was found on the north slope of the Kolonos Agoraios, as were also *I.G., II², 908, 909, 987, and 2798*. This fixes the site of the shrine.

I.G., II², 1236, found at the church of the Hypapanti, records a decree of the Kerykes and Eumolpidai, dated before the middle of the 2nd century B.C., honoring Philonides of Laodikeia and his sons, and recalling that the Demos has already honored them with citizenship etc. and set (statues of) them up in the shrine (line 5)

[καὶ ἔστησ]εν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Δήμου καὶ
τῶν Χαρίτων.

128. I.G., II², 908, 909, 987. 2nd c. B.C.

These stelai were found in the same place as *I.G., II², 844 (127)*.

908, dated 181–170 B.C., granting *proxenia* and other honors to Nikeratos of Alexandria, was to be set up in the shrine, lines 19–20

καὶ στῆσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ
τ[εμ]ένει τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χα[ρί]των.

Of 909, *ca. 170 B.C.*, granting *proxenia* etc. to Timarchos of Salamis in Cyprus for his assistance to Athenian citizens at Salamis, one copy was to be set up in the shrine of Demos and the Charites, one at Salamis in the shrine of Athena, lines 22–24

τὴμ μὲν
μίαν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρί-
των, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ιερῶι.

987 (after the middle of the 2nd century B.C.) honors Leontiskos of Patara, and was to be set up

[ἐν] τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Δήμου καὶ Χαρείτ[ων].

988, found in the same spot, gives a decree of similar time and content, but the place of setting up is not preserved.

129. I.G., II², 1006, line 7 127/6 to 101/0 B.C.

1008, line 6

1011, line 6

1028, line 7

Agora I 286, lines 7–8.

Agora I 286 (*Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 220 ff.; cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 71, no. 87; XV, 1946, p. 201, no. 41) was found in many fragments chiefly in and near the Late Roman Fortification in the area of Pier 5 of the Stoa of Attalos.

In these inscriptions, which give decrees praising the ephebes, ranging in date from 127/6 to 101/0 B.C., the ephebes are said to have performed certain rites

μετὰ . . . τοῦ ιερέως τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρί-
των.

A priest of Demos and the Charites, T. Coponius Maximus, is honored by the Council and the Demos in *I.G., II², 3571* (a marble base found in the Stoa of Attalos, dated before A.D. 117/8). *I.G., II², 4676* is a dedication by a priest, found in the theatre, dated after the middle of the 3rd century B.C. (see note on *I.G., II², 834, 126* above).

See also *I.G., II², 5047* below, 131.

130. I.G., II², 2798.197/6 B.C. 131. I.G., II², 5047.

ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος ἀνέθηκεν
 Ἀφροδίτει ἡγεμόνει τοῦ δήμου καὶ Χάρισιν
 ἐπὶ ιερέως Μικίωνος τοῦ Εύρυκλείδου Κηφι-
 στέως
 στρατηγοῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν Θεοβού-
 λου τοῦ Θεοφάνου Πειραιέως.

The Council of the archonship of Dionysios dedicated this to Aphrodite Leader of the Demos and to the Charites, in the priesthood of Mikion son of Eurykleides of Kephisia, Theoboulos son of Theophanes of Peiraeus being general in charge of the equipment.

On a large marble altar found in the same area as 127, I.G., II², 844 etc.; the altar was *in situ*.

For Aphrodite Hegemone cf. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 18, 2, where the story is told that Theseus, about to embark for Crete, was ordered by an oracle from Delphi to take Aphrodite as his guide and invite her as fellow traveller ('Αφροδί-
 την καθηγεμόνα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν
 συνέμπορον).

ιερέως Δήμου
 καὶ Χαρίτων
 καὶ Ρώμης.

On a seat in the theatre. We do not know when Rome was associated with the cult.

A base at Eleusis, I.G., II², 3547, of the 1st century A.D., honors Menandros, priest of the Senate of Rome and of the Demos and Charites

τὸν ιερέα συνκλή[του Ρώμης]
 καὶ Δήμου καὶ Χαρίτω[ν].

In I.G., II², 4775, a dedication from the Acropolis, of the mid 2nd century A.D., W. Peek suggests (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, p. 57, no. 96) that one should read [τῇ] Ρώμηι καὶ τῶι
 Δήμωι] καὶ ταῖς Χάρ]ισι.

132. Agora I 727 (2), line 81.

Shortly after 403/2 B.C.

Δ Χά[ρισιν -- -]

In the code on the "wall" (see 6); with reference to sacrifices.

DIONYSOS

MELPOMENOS. See 2.

IN ODEION. See 521.

DIOSKOUROI

Their shrine was called the Anakeion (*Etym. Magnum*, Harpokration, Suidas).

In Pausanias' account, it comes after the shrine of Theseus, and the *temenos* of Aglauros is above it (cf. Polyainos).

The Anakeion was on comparatively high ground (Demosthenes) and rocky (Lucian, *Timon*). One could ascend by ladder to the Acropolis (Lucian, *Piscator*), or pass on readily to the Propylaion (Polyainos).

The shrine was the scene of certain armed musters (Andokides, Polyainos, Thucydides). Slaves were hired there (Demosthenes). There were statues of the Dioskouroi and their sons (Pausanias) and paintings by Polygnotos (Harpokration, Pausanias, Photios) and Mikon (Pausanias). Inscriptions mention repairs to the shrine (I.G., II², 968); an altar (II², 4796); a priest (also a priest of the Heros Epitegios, II², 5071); treasures (I.G., I², 127, 310; II², 1400, 1429, 1437); a boundary (Agora I 2080).

133. Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 45. 399 B.C.

ἀνακαλέσαντες δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀνειπεῖν
 ἐκέλευσαν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀστει οἰκοῦν-
 τας οἱναι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὅπλα λαβόντας,
 τοὺς δ' ἐν μακρῷ τείχει εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον, τοὺς
 δ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδαμείαν ἀγοράν,
 τοὺς δ' ἵππέας ἔτι <πρὸ> νυκτὸς σημῆναι τῇ
 σάλπιγγι ἥκειν εἰς τὸ Ἀνάκειον, τὴν δὲ βουλὴν
 εἰς ἀκρόπολιν οἱναι κάκεῖ καθεύδειν, τοὺς δὲ
 πρυτάνεις ἐν τῇ θόλῳ.

The Boule, summoning the Strategoi, ordered them to make an announcement that those of the Athenians who lived in the city should take their arms and go to the agora, those within the Long Walls should go to the Theseion, those in Peiraeus to the Hippodamian agora. As for the knights, a signal was to be given by trumpet before nightfall for them to go

to the Anakeion; the Boule was to go to the Acropolis and sleep there, the Prytaneis in the Tholos.

The alarm after the mutilation of the Herms in 415 B.C.

134. Athenaeus, VI, 27 (235b).

2nd–3rd c. A.D.

ἀλλὰ μήν (περὶ γὰρ τῶν παρασίτων ὁ λόγος) κάν τῷ Ἀνακείῳ ἐπί τινος στήλης γέγραπται· ‘τοῖν δὲ βοοῖν τοῖν ἡγεμόνοιν τοῖν ἔξαιρουμένοιν τὸ μὲν τρίτον μέρος εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα, τὰ δὲ δύο μέρη τὸ μὲν ἔτερον τῷ Ἱερεῖ, τὸ δὲ τοῖς παρασίτοις’.

Indeed—since we are discussing parasites—in the Anakeion too there is an inscription on a stele, “Of the two oxen specially selected as leaders, one-third (of the meat) shall go to the expenses of the festival, and of the remaining two-thirds one shall go to the priest, one to the parasites.”

The name parasite was in olden times σεμνὸν καὶ ἱερόν, being used of certain attendants of various priests and officials.

**135. Demosthenes, XLV (*Stephanos*, I), 80.
Ca. 351 B.C.**

πονηρός, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸς οὗτος ἀνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀνακείου καὶ ἄδικος. σημεῖον δέ· εἰ γὰρ ἦν δίκαιος, πένης ἂν ἦν τὰ τοῦ δεσπότου διοικήσας.

The man is a rogue, men of Athens, a rogue from up there in the Anakeion, and a criminal. I can prove it—if he had been an honest man, he would have remained poor after managing his master's affairs.

Apparently slaves were hired at the Anakeion; cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 212, 12, Ἀνακείον: Διοσκούρων ἱερόν, οὗτον οἱ μισθοφοροῦντες δοῦλοι ἔστασιν. ἀνωθεν could mean “from a long time back,” “of old,” but the above interpretation is more natural, especially since the shrine was situated close up to the Acropolis.

136. Etym. Magnum.

12th c. A.D.

Ἀνακοί, οἱ Διόσκουροι παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς.

Anakoi, the Dioskouroi amongst the Athenians (an etymological note follows).

See also Ἀνάκαιον, under DESMOTERION (p. 149)

137. Harpokration.

1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Ἀνάκειον: Δημοσθένης ἔν τῷ κατὰ Στεφάνου. ἱερὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων.

There is some doubt about the heading. The MSS have ἀνάκτορον ἀνάκτιον. Maussac suggests ἀνακείον, τὸ ἀνάκτορον; Bekker brackets ἀνάκτορον; Dindorf omits it.

Anakeion: Demosthenes in his speech against Stephanos. The shrine of the Dioskouroi.

See also Harpokration's note on Polygnotos (68), where Polygnotos is said to have painted pictures in the Anakeion free of charge; whether these were among the pictures which the 5th century poet Melanthios had in mind in the lines quoted by Plutarch, *Kimon*, 4 (see 86), we cannot say for certain.

138. Lucian, *Piscator*, 42.

2nd c. A.D.

βαβαῖ, ὡς πλήρης μὲν ἡ ἀνοδος ὥθιζομένων, ἐπεὶ τὰς δύο μνᾶς ἤκουσαν μόνον. παρὰ δὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἄλλοι καὶ κατὰ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἔτεροι καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἀρειον πάγον ἔτι πλείους, ἕνιοι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Τάλω τάφον, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἀνακείον προσθέμενοι κλίμακας ἀνέρπουσι βομβηδὸν νὴ Δία καὶ βοτρυδὸν ἐσμοῦ δίκην.

See, how full the way up to the Acropolis is of jostling men, as soon as they have heard of the two minae. Some are going by the Pelasgikon, others by way of the Asklepieion; others in still greater numbers by the Areopagus; some are going by way of the tomb of Talos; others have set ladders against the Anakeion and are crawling up with a murmuring noise and in clusters like a swarm of bees.

The philosophers, brought to life again, are being assembled to wreak vengeance on Parthesia (i.e. Lucian) for the unpleasant things

said about them. To attract them a proclamation has been made for all professing to be philosophers to come up to the Acropolis to receive gifts.

The other approaches are on the south (Asklepieion and grave of Talos) and west. In *Bis Accusatus*, 9, Lucian describes the cave of Pan, in the northwest slope of the Acropolis, as being a little above the Pelasgikon. Presumably the approach by way of the Anakeion was further east than this.

The Pelasgikon (cf. 199) was an area west of the Acropolis, whose position and extent are much disputed; it was probably bounded by the line of an ancient fortification; see Judeich, pp. 118 ff.

139. Lucian, *Timon*, 10. 2nd c. A.D.

ἀλλ' ἔκείνου μὲν διήμαρτον — ὑπερέσχε γάρ αὐτοῦ τὴν χείρα Περικλῆς — ὁ δὲ κεραυνὸς εἰς τὸ Ἀνακείον παρασκήψας ἔκεινό τε κατέφλεξε καὶ αὐτὸς δλίγου δεῖν συνετρίβη περὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ.

But I missed him (Anaxagoras) — Perikles held his hand over him — and the thunderbolt glanced off into the Anakeion and set it ablaze, and was itself almost smashed on the rock.

Zeus explains that he has to have his bolt repaired before he can use it on certain evildoers.

140. Pausanias, I, 18, 1. 2nd c. A.D.

τὸ δὲ Ἱερὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἔστιν ἀρχαῖον, αὐτοί τε ἐστῶτες καὶ οἱ παῖδες καθήμενοί σφισιν ἐφ' Ἰππων. ἐνταῦθα Πολύγνωτος μὲν ἔχοντα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔγραψε γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Λευκίππου, Μίκων δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Ἰάσονος ἐς Κόλχους πλεύσαντας· καὶ οἱ τῆς γραφῆς ἡ σπουδὴ μάλιστα ἐς Ἀκαστον καὶ τοὺς Ἰππους ἔχει τοὺς Ἀκάστου.

The shrine of the Dioskouroi is ancient. They themselves are shown standing; their sons are seated on horseback. Here Polygnotos painted the marriage of the daughters of Leukippus, in which the Dioskouroi were concerned, and Mikon painted those who sailed with Jason to the Kolchians; in this painting Mikon devotes his most serious attention to Akastos and the horses of Akastos.

The shrine follows that of Theseus (351); above it was the *temenos* of Aglauros, usually located near a cave some distance east of the cave of Pan; cf. Polyainos (142).

Pausanias may be referring to the painting of the Argonauts in VIII, 11, 3, when he says that Mikon inscribed on the portraits of the daughters of Pelias the names Asteropeia and Antinoe. Mikon like Polygnotos painted in the middle of the 5th century B.C.

141. Photios.

9th c. A.D.

Πολυγνώτου λαγώς. ἐλωγραφημένος ἐν τῷ Ἀνακείῳ ύπό τοῦ Πολυγνώτου.

Polygnotos' hare; painted in the Anakeion by Polygnotos.

This may belong to the picture of the daughters of Leukippus. See also Hesychios' obscure note under Πολυγνώτου τοῦ Λωγράφου ὄνος, concluding λαγών, καὶ ἀνακεῖται ἐν τῷ ἀνακείῳ.

142. Polyainos, I, 21, 2.

2nd c. A.D.

Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηναίων τὰ ὅπλα βουλόμενος παρελέσθαι παρήγγειλεν ἵκειν ὅπαντας εἰς τὸ Ἀνάκειον μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων. οἱ μὲν ἥκονται δὲ προῆλθε βουλόμενος δημηγορῆσαι καὶ σμικρῷ τῇ φωνῇ λέγειν ἤρχετο. οἱ δὲ ἔξακούνειν μὴ δυνάμενοι προελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἤξιωσαν εἰς τὸ προπύλαιον, ἵνα πάντες ἔξακούσειαν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ δομὲνοι τὸ ὅπλα κατήνεγκαν εἰς τὸ Ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀγραύλου.

Peisistratos, wishing to take away the Athenians' arms, sent word around that they should all come armed to the Anakeion. This they did; Peisistratos came forward to make a speech, and began to speak in a low voice. His audience, not being able to hear him, asked him to go on to the Propylaion, so that all might hear him. Then, while he was talking quietly and they were straining their ears to catch what he said, his bodyguard came forward, took up the arms and deposited them in the shrine of Agraulos.

Contrast Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 15, 4 (344).

143. Suidas.

10th c. A.D.

'Ανάκειον: ὅρος. ή τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἱερόν.

Anakeion: a mountain. Or the shrine of the Dioskouroi.

Gaisford suggests that ὅρος may be a corruption of ἀνάκτορον; cf. Harpokration.

See also Polygnotos, 92 n.

144. Theodoretos, *Therapeutika*, VIII, 115, 10.

5th c. A.D.

καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοὺς Τυνδαρίδας θεοὺς ἐκάλεσσαν "Ελλήνες, καὶ Διοσκούρους ωνόμασσαν, καὶ Ἐφεσίους καὶ Ἀνακας· καὶ τεμενῶν οὐκ ἐν Σπάρτη μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀθήνησι τούτους ἡξίωσαν. Καὶ τούτοιν μέμνηται Δημοσθένης, οὗτωσὶ λέγων· 'Ἐν τῷ πανδοκείῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Διοσκορίῳ. καὶ τὸ Λεωκόριον δὲ τῶν Λεώθυγατέρων ἔστιν ἱερόν. Καὶ ἄλλους δέ γε παμπόλλους ἀθλίους καὶ τρισαθλίους ἐθεοποίησαν ἀνθρωπίσκους, καὶ δημοθοινίαις ἐτίμησαν.

In fact the Greeks called the Tyndaridai gods too, and named them Dioskouroi, and Ephestioi, and Anakes; and they honored them with shrines not only at Sparta but also at Athens. Demosthenes recalls them when he says, "In the inn by the Dioskorion." The Leokorion too is a shrine of the daughters of Leos. And many other wretched and indeed thrice-wretched mortals they deified, and honored with public feasts.

Demosthenes: XIX (*De Falsa Legatione*), 158. The inn is actually at Pherai. For the Leokorion see p. 108.

145. Thucydides, VIII, 93, 1. 5th c. B.C.

τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τετρακόσιοι ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ὅμως καὶ τεθορυβημένοι ξυνελέγοντο· οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ὅπλιται ἐς τὸ πρὸς τὴν Μουνιχία Διονυσιακὸν θέατρον ἐλθόντες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἔξεκλησίασαν, καὶ δόξαν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς ἔχώρουν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ ἔθεντο αὐ¹ ἐν τῷ Ἀνακείῳ τὰ ὅπλα.

¹ The MSS vary between αὐ, αὐτοῦ and nothing.

On the following day the Four Hundred in spite of their perturbation assembled in the Bouleuterion. The hoplites at Pei-

raeus.... came to the theatre of Dionysos by Mounichia, and grounding their arms held an assembly; coming to a decision they at once set off for the city, and took up a position in the Anakeion.

During the revolution of 411 B.C.

146. I.G., I², 127 (S.E.G., X, 59). Ca. 430 B.C.

Three fragments of Pentelic marble, found near the "Theseum," the portico of Hadrian, and the church of St. John Νηστευτής in north Athens; a decree concerning the moneys of the Anakes.

147. I.G., I², 310 (S.E.G., X, 225). 429/8 B.C.

Several fragments of Pentelic marble found near the Parthenon; giving the accounts of the *tamiae* of the Other Gods.

Col. I, lines 81–88

'Ανάκο
[ιν καὶ τῷ ἕροος τ]ῷ Ἐπιτε
[γίο παρακαταθέ]κε

Col. III, lines 280–281

[Αν]άκοιν
[ἀρ]γύριον

For the Heros Epitegios see also I.G., II², 5071, (150).

148. I.G., II², 968, lines 47–48.

141/0 B.C.

τά τε ἐν ἀκροπόλει προσδεόμε[να ἐργασία]ς
καὶ τὰ ἐν τῶν ὀιδείωι
[καὶ τῶι Ἀν]ακεί[ω]ι ἐπεσκεύασεν προσηκ[όν
τως].

He repaired fittingly what needed attention on the Acropolis and in the Odeion and the Anakeion.

From a stele of Pentelic marble, of which six fragments are extant, found mainly at the church of Demetrios Katephores; giving decrees in honor of Miltiades son of Zoiros of Marathon, for carrying out duties, partly at his own expense, in connection with the ἀγωνοθεσία of an uncertain festival.

149. *I.G.*, II², 4796.

2nd c. A.D. 151. Agora I 2080.

Ca. 450 B.C.

Ἄγαθῇ τύχῃ.
σωτήροιν Ἀνάκοιν τε
Διοσκούροιν ὅδε βωμός.

A square marble altar, “olim Athenis, nunc Parisiis, in museo publico.”

150. *I.G.*, II², 5071.

ἱερέως
Ἀνάκων
καὶ ἡρώς
Ἐπιτεγίου.

On a theatre seat. The Heros Epitegios is known only from this and *I.G.*, I², 310 (147).

Ἀνακίο
ἱερὸς ἡ
όρος

Found not *in situ*, but in a modern house wall near the middle of the market square (M-N 11), *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 41 and VIII, 1939, p. 48, no. 14.

I.G., II², 1400 (accounts for 390/89 B.C.), mentions φιάλαι and a καρχήσιον (line 44, τάδε ἐκ τοῦ Ἀνακίο); Ἀνακίο is restored in a similar context in II², 1401, line 28 (of about the same date). II², 1429 (accounts for *ca.* 367/6 B.C.; lines 10ff.) and 1437 (*ca.* 350 B.C.; lines 67ff.) give lists of ἀνάκοιν ὑδρίαι.

EIRENE

The altar (Nepos says altars) was set up on the occasion of the peace of 374 B.C. (Didymos), and sacrifices were instituted (Isokrates; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1000 and 1496). Plutarch associates an altar with the peace of 449 B.C. The altar was not stained with blood (Aristophanes and Schol.). A statue of Eirene with Ploutos stood in the agora, after the Eponymoi and near Kallias (Pausanias, who also mentions a statue of Eirene in the Prytaneion).

152. Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1019–1022. 421 B.C.

οὐχ ἥδεται δήπουθεν Εἰρήνη σφαγαῖς,
ούδ' αἴματοῦται βωμός. ὀλλ' εἴσω φέρων
θύσας τὰ μηροὶ ἔξελῶν δεῦρ' ἔκφερε,
χοῦτω τὸ πρόβατον τῷ χορηγῷ σφύζεται.

Eirene takes no delight in the slaughter of victims; her altar is not stained with blood. Carry the victim in, make the sacrifice, take the thigh bones and bring them out here—in that way the animal is saved for the choregos.

Trygaios has just prayed to Eirene (974, δ σεμνοτάτη βασίλεια θεά | πότνι' Ἔιρήνη) to fill the agora with good things, garlic, fruit etc., and he now restrains an attendant who is about to kill a sheep. One cannot be sure that Aristophanes has in mind an actual altar at Athens.

153. Schol. Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1019.

οὐχ ἥδεται: ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ ἔθος· φασὶ γάρ
τῇ τῶν συνοικείων ἐορτῇ θυσίαν τελεῖσθαι
Εἰρήνῃ, τὸν δὲ βωμὸν μὴ αἴματοῦσθαι, Ἐκα-
τομβαιῶνος μηνὸς ἔκτη ἐπὶ δέκα.

She takes no delight: this has reference to the custom; it is said that at the festival of the Synoikeia a sacrifice was offered to Eirene, though the altar was not stained with blood, on the sixteenth of Hekatombaion.

The schol. also remarks that there is a contrast with war, ὃς αἴμασι χαίρει. For the Synoikeia, see Thucydides, II, 15; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 24.

154. Didymos on Demosthenes, X, 34, col. 7, 62. 1st c. B.C.

δύνατο δ' ἀν καὶ ἐτέρας ἀπὸ βασιλέως
εἰρήνης, ἦν ἀσμένως προσήκαντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι,
μνημονεύειν τὰ νῦν ὁ Δημοσθένης, περὶ οὗ
πάλιν ὁ Φιλόχορος διείλεκται, ὅτι παρα-
πλήσιον αὐτὴν τῇ τοῦ Λάκωνος Ἀνταλκίδου
προσήκαντο, ἀπειρηκότες ταῖς ξενοτροφίαις
καὶ ἐκ πάνυ πολλοῦ τῷ πολέμῳ τετρυμένοι, ὅτε
καὶ τὸν τῆς Εἰρήνης βωμὸν ίδρυσαντο.

Demosthenes could have mentioned in the present context yet another peace originating with a king, which the Athenians

gladly accepted, the peace concerning which Philochoros says that they accepted it along with that of the Laconian Antalkidas, being worn out by the maintenance of mercenaries and for some time back exhausted by the war; it was on this occasion (says Philochoros) that they set up the altar of Eirene.

The speech is probably not by Demosthenes. The orator talks of making common cause with the King of Persia against Philip. The peace is that of 374 B.C.

See Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III b, 1, pp. 523–526, Philochoros, 151.

155. Euripides, *Orestes*, 1682–1683. 408 B.C.

ἵτε νῦν καθ' ὁδόν, τὴν καλλίστην
θεῶν Εἰρήνην τιμῶντες.

Go your way now, paying honor to Eirene, fairest of the gods.

Euripides has other allusions to the divinity of Eirene; cf. *Bacchae*, 419–420 (Dionysos loves δλβδότειραν Εἰρήναν, κουροτρόφον θεάν) and especially *Kresphontes*, frag. 453 (Nauck) Εἰρήνα βαθύπλουτε καὶ | καλλιστα μακάρων θεῶν. This emphasis on the importance of the goddess may, however, have no reference to her cult at Athens but merely reflect the longing for peace.

156. Isokrates, XV (*Antidosis*), 109–110.

354/3 B.C.

καὶ ταύτην ἡνάγκασεν αὐτοὺς συνθέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἥ τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἐκατέρᾳ τῶν πόλεων ἐποίησεν, ὃσθ' ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀπ' ἔκεινης τῆς ἡμέρας θύειν αὐτῇ καθ' ἐκαστὸν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ἀλλης οὕτω τῇ πόλει συνενεγκούστης, Λασκεδαιμονίων δὲ μετ' ἔκεινον τὸν χρόνον μηδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἐωρᾶσθαι μήτε ναυτικὸν ἐντὸς Μαλέας περιπλέον μήτε πεζὸν στρατόπεδον δι' Ἰσθμοῦ πορευόμενον.

He compelled them to make a peace which produced such a reversal for each of the cities that we from that day sacrificed to Eirene every year, thinking that no peace had benefited the city so much; as for the Lacedaemonians, after that time no one has ever seen their fleet sail-

ing around this side of Malea nor their infantry marching across the Isthmus.

The peace of 374 B.C. again.

157. Cornelius Nepos, *Timotheus*, 2, 2.

1st c. B.C.

Quae Victoria tantae fuit Atticis laetitiae, ut tum primum arae Paci publice sint factae eique deae pulvinar sit institutum.

The victory caused such joy to the Athenians that then for the first time altars were officially erected to Peace and the laying of a couch for the goddess was instituted.

The victory of Timotheos which preceded the peace of 374 B.C.

158. Pausanias, I, 8, 2.

2nd c. A.D.

μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἔστιν ἀγάλματα θεῶν, Ἀμφιάραος καὶ Εἰρήνη φέρουσα Πλοῦτον παῖδα. ἐνταῦθα Λυκούργος τε κεῖται χαλκοῦς ὁ Λυκόφρονος καὶ Καλλίας, ὃς πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὡς Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ἔπραξε τὴν εἰρήνην· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης.

After the images of the Eponymoi are statues of gods, Amphiaraos, and Eirene carrying the child Ploutos. Here stands a bronze statue of Lykourgos son of Lykophron, and here stands Kallias, who, according to what most of the Athenians say, brought about the peace between Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, and the Greeks. Here also is Demosthenes.

For the Eponymoi see p. 85.

For Lykourgos see p. 213; Kallias p. 212; Demosthenes p. 210. These statues were formerly assigned to the south side of the agora (Judeich, p. 348), but the identification of the site of the Eponymoi and the temple of Ares (p. 55) indicates that they were on the east side of the street leading down the western part of the agora.

The statue of Eirene and Ploutos is no doubt the one by Kephisodotos praised by Pausanias in the passage given below (159), and known

through copies. This group too may naturally be associated with the peace of 374 B.C., a date which suits Kephisodotos.

Kallias was the reputed maker of the peace with Persia in 449 B.C., the terms and the very existence of which were matters of some dispute among ancient as among modern historians; whether his statue stood in any specially close relation to the altar and statue of Eirene one cannot say, but a site near here was appropriate to the peacemaker. It is very unlikely that Kallias' statue was set up earlier than the 4th century; we are told that Konon was the first after Harmodios and Aristogeiton to receive the honor of a bronze statue (Demosthenes, XX [*Leptines*], 70, 261).

(553). Pausanias, I, 18, 3. 2nd c. A.D.

In the Prytaneion at Athens were statues of Eirene and Hestia.

159. Pausanias, IX, 16, 2. 2nd c. A.D.

σοφὸν μὲν δὴ καὶ τούτοις τὸ βούλευμα, ἐσθεῖναι Πλοῦτον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ὅτε μητρὶ ἡ τροφῷ τῇ Τύχῃ, σοφὸν δὲ οὐχ ἥσσον τὸ Κηφισοδότου· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος τῆς Εἰρήνης τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηναίοις Πλοῦτον ἔχουσαν πεποίηκεν.

Theirs too was a clever idea, to put Ploutos in the arms of Tyche as his mother or nurse; and no less clever was that of Kephisodotos; he is the maker of the statue of Eirene holding Ploutos, at Athens.

Pausanias is speaking of a group by Xenophon and Kallistonikos at Thebes.

160. Plutarch, *Kimon*, 13, 6. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

φασὶ δὲ καὶ βωμὸν εἰρήνης διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἴδρυσασθαι, καὶ Καλλίαν τὸν πρεσβεύσαντα τιμῆσαι διαφερόντως.

They say that the Athenians established an altar of Eirene because of this, and paid unusual honors to Kallias who acted as ambassador.

This is the only evidence for an association of the cult of Eirene with the peace of 449 B.C., which “most of the Athenians” believed to have followed the victories of Kimon.

161. *I.G.*, II², 1000, lines 6–7.

After mid 2nd c. B.C.

In this inscription, found near the monument of Lysikrates, a certain official upon whom honors are bestowed is said to have performed sacrifices to Eirene.

162. *I.G.*, II², 1496, lines 94 and 127.

333/2–332/1 B.C.

From the Acropolis. In the δερματικόν accounts for 333/2, 332/1 B.C., sacrifice to Eirene is mentioned.

ELEOS

The Athenians considered Eleos a god (Libanios, *Declam.* XVI and XXII, *Orat.* XV; Nikephoros; Sextus Empiricus; Sopatros); Apsines says they considered Philanthropia a deity; Philostratos (*Epist.* 39) says they made Eleos the thirteenth god. According to Pausanias the Athenians alone honored Eleos; according to Diodorus they *first* established his altar.

The altar (of “Clementia”) was in the middle of the city (Statius), in the agora (Pausanias, Sopatros, who says “Philanthropia”). There was a grove around it (Statius). Sextus Empiricus, quoting Karneades, speaks of *altars*.

There was no statue (Statius). The altar was ancient and venerable (Libanios, *Declam.* XXII, where it is implied that it was made of stone). *I.G.*, II², 4786 associates it with Zeus.

Libanios (*Declam.* XXII) speaks of sacrifices to Eleos but elsewhere implies that there was no specific cult. Nikephoros and Philostratos (*Epist.* 39) speak of libations of tears (cf. Statius).

The altar of Eleos is coupled with Olympia and Delphi in notability (Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*). Its name is used figuratively and proverbially (Philostratos, *Epist.* 18; Lucian, *Timon*, *Bis Accusatus*; cf. Suidas).

Suppliants sought refuge at the altar (Schol. Aischines; Lucian, *Bis Accusatus*), including Adrastos ([Apollodoros], III; Nikephoros); the families of the Seven against Thebes (Statius; Zenobios, I); the Herak-

leidai ([Apollodorus], II; Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*; Apsines; Schol. Demosthenes; Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, Epist. 39; Zenobios, II). The Herakleidai established the altar (Lactantius on Statius; Philostratos, Epist. 39; Statius).

For the possible identity of the altar with the altar of the Twelve Gods, see p. 122.

163. Schol. Aischines, II, 15.

ίκετηριά δὲ οὕτω ἔγίνετο· ράβδον θαλλῷ ἐλαίας στέψας καθῆστο κατέχων εἰς τὸν Ἐλέου βωμόν, μέχρις οὕτινος ἔτυχε τῶν δικαίων.

The suppliant's branch was of this nature—the suppliant entwined a stick with an olive shoot and sat holding it on the altar of Eleos, until he got his rights.

164. [Apollodorus], *Bibliotheca*, II, 8, 1.

1st c. A.D.

διωκόμενοι δὲ ἤλθον εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ καθεσ-θέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλέου βωμόν, ἤξιον βοηθεῖσθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἐκδιδόντες αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Εύρυσθέα πόλεμον ὑπέστησαν.

Being pursued they (the Herakleidai) came to Athens, and sitting down on the altar of Eleos they claimed assistance. The Athenians refused to give them up and took on themselves a war against Eurystheus.

Apollodorus lived in the 2nd century B.C., but the *Bibliotheca* is usually thought to be at least a century later.

165. [Apollodorus], *Bibliotheca*, III, 7, 1.

1st c. A.D.

"Ἄδραστος δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλέου βωμὸν κατέφυγε καὶ ἰκετηρίαν θεῖς ἤξιον θάπτειν τοὺς νεκρούς.

Adrastos coming to Athens sought refuge at the altar of Eleos, and placing a suppliant's branch besought them to bury the dead.

166. Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1151.

οἱ δὲ Μακαρίαν τὴν θυγατέρα φασὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἦ γε κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας Εύρυσθέως στρατείαν, τῶν Ἀθηναίων μὴ ἐκδιδόντων αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας πρὸς τὸν

τοῦ Ἐλέου βωμὸν καταφυγόντας, χρησμοῦ δοθέντος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νικήσειν, εἴ τις τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν πρὸς θάνατον ἐκούσιον ἐκδῷ ἔσα-τόν, κατέσφαξεν ἔαυτήν, ὡς ἐν Ἡρακλείδαις Εύριπίδης.

Some say that Makaria is the daughter of Herakles, who, in the expedition of Eurystheus against Athens, when the Athenians refused to give up to him the Herakleidai who had taken refuge at the altar of Eleos, killed herself, as Euripides says in the *Herakleidai*, since an oracle had been given that the Athenians would win if one of the Herakleidai gave himself up to a voluntary death.

Euripides himself does not mention the altar of Eleos, nor in fact does any Greek author of the classical period.

167. Apsines, *Ar̄s Rhetorica* (Spengel, I, 391; Hammer, p. 307). 3rd c. A.D.

'Ἐλέου βωμός ἐστι παρ' ὑμῖν, θεὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ παρ' ὑμῖν ἡ κοινὴ πάντων φιλανθρωπία, ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εύδοκιμεῖτε πᾶσι, μὴ οὖν ἀλλοιωθῆτε νῦν. καὶ παραδείγματα προοισόμεθα, τοὺς καταφυγόντας μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν,¹ μὴ ἀτυχήσαντας δὲ ὅν ἡξίωσαν, οἷον τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας, καὶ εἰ δή τινες ἔτεροι λέγονται τὸ ὅμιον αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι. εἰ δὲ παρ' ἄλλοις ἐσμέν, παράδειγμα τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προοισόμεθα καὶ ἐπανεσόμεθα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

¹ One MS has τῶν βωμῶν.

"You have an altar of Eleos; universal kindness to all men is thought to be a divinity at Athens. You have a great reputation for this amongst all other men; so do not change your nature now." We shall also produce examples—the people who took refuge at the altar and did not fail to get what they asked, for instance the Herakleidai, and any others who are said to have done the same. If on the other hand we are in another city, we shall hold up

the Athenians as an example and load them with praises.

The rhetorician is showing how to excite pity in an Athenian audience.

168. Schol. Demosthenes, II (*Olynth.*, II), 6.

The schol. appears to explain ἐνθένδες ('Ολυνθίους ἀπήλαυνόν τινες ἐνθένδε βουλόμενος ύμιν διαλεχθῆναι) as ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ δῆτα τοῦ Ἐλέου ἐνθεν 'Ηρακλεῖδαι ἐσώθησαν.

This is Sauppe's correction of a corrupt and doubtful text (ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου ὁσπέρ τοῦ Ἐλέου, or, ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου μετά τοῦ Ἐλέου).

This explanation of ἐνθένδε is in any case unacceptable.

169. Diodorus Siculus, XIII, 22, 7. 1st c. B.C.

φανήσονται γάρ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχειν ἡμερότητι σεμνυνόμενοι τῇ παρ' ἡμῶν εὐγνωμοσύνῃ πολυσωρούμενοι, καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι βωμὸν ἔλεου καθιδρυσάμενοι τοῦτον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Συρακοσίων εὐρήσουσιν.

Those who pride themselves on surpassing others in gentleness will be seen to be the favored recipients of our indulgence; those who were the first to establish an altar of pity will find pity in the city of Syracuse.

Nikolaos is speaking in the debate on the Athenian prisoners at Syracuse in 413 B.C.

170. Libanios, *Declam.*, XVI, 47. 4th c. A.D.

Ἐλεήμονες Ἀθηναῖοι, κάγγα φημι. πότε; καὶ πρὸς τίνας; ἃν ποτε συμμαχίας δέηται πόλις, ἃν ικετεύῃ ξένος, πρὸς ἐκείνους θεὸν τὸν Ἐλεον νομίζουσι.

The Athenians are prone to pity, I maintain. When? Towards whom? If a city asks for an alliance, if a stranger comes as a suppliant, in relation to these they consider Eleos a divinity.

171. Libanios, *Declam.*, XXII. 4th c. A.D.

'Εξήτησεν δὲ Φιλίππος τὸν Δημοσθένην. κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλέου βωμὸν δὲ Δημοσθένης. ἀποσπασθεὶς ἔξεδόθη. καὶ ἀφεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ

Φιλίππου γράφει παρ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνελεῖν τὸν βωμόν.

Philip has demanded the surrender of Demosthenes. Demosthenes has taken refuge at the altar of Eleos and been dragged away and given up. Released by Philip he makes a proposal at Athens to do away with the altar.

The theme for a rhetorical exercise. In the speech which follows the altar is of course mentioned *passim*. A few interesting passages are given below. Libanios taught at Athens for some time; but of course one should be cautious about taking the evidence of a work of this kind seriously.

XXII, 10.

Ἔγὼ μέν δὴ τούτοις τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἔδραμον καὶ παραχρῆμα πολλοὶ περιεστήκεισαν ἐπιτήδειοι καὶ συγγενεῖς, πάντες, δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, δακρύοντες.

Reasoning thus I ran to the altar, and at once many friends and relations stood around me, O Athenians, all weeping.

XXII, 11.

ἥλθον οἱ τοξόται τρέχοντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, εἰδόν με ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καθημένον, ἔκλαυσαν πρότερον, εἴτ' ἀπτήγγειλον δὲ οὐκ ἀν ἐβούλοντο.

The bowmen came running from the Ekklesia, saw me sitting on the altar, wept, and then delivered the message which they would have preferred not to give.

XXII, 11.

οἱ δὲ περιβαλόντες δεσμοῖς ἀπῆγον ἐγκεκαλυμμένον, οὐ γάρ ἔφερον βλέπειν εἰς τὰς Ἀρμοδίους καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος εἰκόνας οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ μητρῷον, τὰ χωρία τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων καὶ ψηφισμάτων.

Putting chains upon me they led me away; I had covered my face—I could not endure to look upon the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, nor the Bouleuterion, nor the Metroon, the places where my speeches were made and my decrees recorded.

Demosthenes is also made to say that the Athenians “number Eleos among the gods” (5, p. 350, cf. 24, p. 361); they honor Eleos with sacrifices (3, p. 347), but the only festival and service (ἔορτή . . . καὶ θεραπεία μία, 23, p. 361) is the safety of those who take refuge. Demosthenes, though the Athenians have been neglectful of other things, has never had to reproach them for neglectfulness of the honors due to the altar (5, p. 349). The altar is “ancient and honorable” (20, p. 360). “Why do you spare the stones from which you have taken away their strength?” he says (34, p. 368); and finally, he concludes, if the Athenians again become φιλάνθρωποι and show οἰκτον in their nature and renew ἔλεον in their deeds, someone will propose the re-establishment of the altar (35, p. 369) ἔσται τις δὲ γράφων ἴδρυεσθαι πάλιν τὸν βωμόν.

- 172.** Libanios, *Orat. XV*, 39 (to emperor Julian).
4th c. A.D.

τῶν γὰρ οἴκοι τὸν Ἔλεον ἡγουμένων θεόν, οὐ τὸν βωμὸν ἔωρακας Ἀθήνησιν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, μεμνῆσθαι τῶν τοῖς καλοῦσι καὶ δεομένοις ἡμαρτημένων οὐκ ἦν, ὅλα' ἢ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνατρέπειν ἔχρην ἢ διηλλάχθαι.

For those who considered Eleos a god in their own city (you have seen his altar at Athens), O king, it was not appropriate to recall the misdeeds of those who called upon them and begged their aid; they were bound either to overthrow the altar or to be reconciled.

Athens because of ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας φιλανθρωπία came to the help even of former enemies, Thebans, Corinthians, Spartans, in time of need.

- 173.** Lucian, *Bis Accusatus*, 21. 2nd c. A.D.

.... ὥσπερ ἱέτην ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ ἔλεου βωμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἥδονὴν καταφυγόντα

.... taking refuge (from the severity of Stoic doctrine) in pleasure like a suppliant at the altar of Eleos.

- 174.** Lucian, *Demonax*, 57. 2nd c. A.D.

Ἀθηναίων δὲ σκεπτομένων κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν πρὸς Κορινθίους καταστήσασθαι θέαν μονομάχων, προσελθὼν εἰς αὐτούς, Μή πρότερον

ταῦτα, δοῦλοι Ἀθηναῖοι, ψηφίσησθε, ἂν μὴ τοῦ Ἐλέου τὸν βωμὸν καθέλητε.

When the Athenians were contemplating the institution of a gladiatorial show in rivalry with the Corinthians, he went before them and said, “Do not vote for this, Athenians, unless you first take down the altar of Eleos.”

Demonax too lived in the 2nd century A.D.

- 175.** Lucian, *Timon*, 42. 2nd c. A.D.

φίλος δὲ ἦν ξένος ἦν ἑταῖρος ἦν Ἐλέου βωμὸς ὕθλος πολύς.

(Timon speaks) ... friend, guest companion, altar of Eleos—it's all a lot of rubbish.

- 176.** Nikephoros Basilake, *Progymnasmata*, VII, 12 (Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, I, 499).

12th c. A.D.

ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς πόλιν πορεύσομαι, ἐπὶ τὸν ἔλεου βαδιοῦμαι βωμόν, ἐπισπείσω καὶ δάκρυα καὶ πείσω δῆμον φιλανθρωπὸν.

I will go to the city of Athena, I will make my way to the altar of Eleos, I will make a libation of tears and persuade that kindly people.

Adrastos speaks. He goes on to refer to the Athenians as οἱ θεὸν εἰδότες τὸν ἔλεον.

- 177.** Pausanias, I, 17, 1. 2nd c. A.D.

Ἀθηναῖοις δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ὅλᾳ ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔστι παντας ἐπίσημα καὶ Ἐλέου βωμός, φόροιστα θεῶν ἔστι ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγμάτων ὅντι ὀφελίμων μόνοι τιμάς Ἑλλήνων νέμουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. τούτοις δὲ οὐ τὰς ἔστι φιλανθρωπίαν μόνον καθέστηκεν, ὅλας καὶ θεοὺς εὔσεβούσιν ἄλλων πλέον, καὶ γάρ Αἰδοῦς σφισι βωμός ἐστι καὶ Φήμης καὶ Ὁρμῆς.

In the agora at Athens, besides other things not easily distinguishable for everyone, there is an altar of Eleos; most of all the deities Eleos is helpful in human life and changes of fortune; the Athenians alone of the Greeks pay him honors. Not

only is the Athenian character marked by humaneness, but the Athenians are devout in their worship of the gods to a greater extent than other men. They have an altar of Aidos, one of Pheme (Rumor), one of Horme (Effort).

Pausanias has come from the Poikile and the statues of Solon and Seleukos (80) and passes on to the gymnasium of Ptolemy (458).

The meaning of οὐκ ἐστι παντας ἐπίσημος is difficult to determine. In view of our wealth of literary evidence it can hardly mean "not generally known" (W.H.S. Jones in the Loeb version). The primary meaning of ἐπίσημος is "bearing a distinguishing mark." Perhaps Pausanias means that the altar was of a modest character, not obvious and easily distinguishable to the visitor. One might also bear in mind that according to Statius it was surrounded by shrubbery.

A small marble altar found in the shrine of Asklepios at Epidauros (*I.G.*, IV², 1282) bears the inscription 'Ελέου | βωμὸν | ιεροκλῆς | κατ' ὄναρ; but it does not necessarily invalidate the statement of Pausanias that the Athenians alone paid honors to Eleos, since the inscription is of the late 2nd or 3rd century A.D., after his time.

For the altar of Aidos see Eustathius on *Iliad*, XXII, 451; Hesychios on Αἰδοῦς βωμός. For Pheme see Aischines, I, 128; II, 145. The altar of Aidos was on the Acropolis.

178. Philostratos, *Epist.*, 13 (59).

2nd–3rd c. A.D.

μὴ κατεῖ οὖν, ἀλλὰ σῶζε, καὶ τὸν Ἐλέου βωμὸν
ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχε.

Do not consume me with fire then but preserve me, and keep the altar of Eleos in your heart.

179. Philostratos, *Epist.*, 39 (70).

2nd–3rd c. A.D.

ἐδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Δήμητραν φεύγουσαν
καὶ Διόνυσον μετοικοῦντα καὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους
παῖδας ἀλωμένους, ὅτε καὶ τὸν Ἐλέου ἐστήσαντο βωμὸν ὡς τρισκαιδεκάτου¹ θεοῦ, οὐκ
οἶνου σπένδοντες αὐτῷ καὶ γάλακτος ἀλλὰ
δακρύων.

¹ Most MSS τρισκαιδέκατον θεόν.

The Athenians also received Demeter when she was in exile, Dionysos when he changed his abode, and the children of Herakles when they were wanderers; this was the time when they set up an altar of Eleos as of a thirteenth god, pouring a libation not of wine and milk but of tears.

Cf. *I.G.*, II², 4564, 376 under TWELVE GODS.

180. Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 1, 8.

2nd–3rd c. A.D.

τέως γάρ δὴ μελαίνας ἐνημένοι τὰς ἐκκλησίας περιεκάθηντο καὶ τὰς πομπὰς ἔπειπτον πενθούντων δημοσίᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν κήρυκα τὸν Κοπρέα, ὃν αὐτοὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀποσπῶντα.

Formerly the Athenian youths wore black cloaks at public meetings and processions, because of the public mourning at Athens for the herald Kkopreus whom they killed as he tried to drag the Herakleidai from the altar.

Herodes Atticus changed this and dressed them in white.

181. Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 12, 3.

2nd–3rd c. A.D.

εύδοκιμῶ δὲ παρ' αὐταῖς θάλατταν Ἑλληνικὴν διηγούμενος καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων μυθολογῶν καλά, πῶς Ἡλεῖοι πανηγυρίζουσι, πῶς Δελφοὶ θεοπίζουσι, τίς δὲ παρ' Ἀθηναῖοι Ἐλέου βωμός.

I have a great reputation among them for describing the Hellenic sea and telling stories about the fine things in Greece, how the Eleans hold their festival, how the Delphians give oracles, what the altar of Eleos at Athens is.

A Greek islander, slave to the Persian king, amuses the king's concubines. He is writing to his father from Babylon, and asks "if the Athenians are victorious at sea." The dramatic date is not clear. The passage is given as an example of the style of Polydeukes (Pollux) of Naukratis (2nd century A.D.).

- 182.** Seneca, *Controversiae*, X, 5, 34.
1st c. B.C.–1st c. A.D.

Si videtur tibi, istis muneribus aram
Misericordiae orna.

If you think fit, use your offerings as
decoration for the altar of Misericordia.

In this imaginary case the Athenian painter Parrhasios has acquired as slave an Olynthian captured when the city was sacked by Philip (348 B.C.), and put him on the rack, where he died, to serve as a model for a picture of Prometheus. Now he is being prosecuted for un-Athenian behavior, and with heavy irony the prosecutor suggests that the product of his art might be set up at the altar of Eleos.

- 183.** Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, IX, 187.
2nd c. A.D.

ἀλλ᾽ εἰ δὲ Ἔρως θεός ἔστι, καὶ δὲ Ἐλεος ἔσται θεός·
ἀμφότερα γάρ ἔστι ψυχικὰ πάθη, καὶ δύσιος
ἀφωσίωται τῷ Ἔρωτι καὶ δὲ Ἐλεος· παρ' Ἀθηναῖοις γοῦν Ἐλέου βωμοί τινές εἰσιν.

If Eros is a god, Eleos will be a god too – both are affections of the soul and the obligations of Eleos are fulfilled in a similar manner to those of Eros. The Athenians have certain altars of Eleos.

This is supposed to be an account of certain λόγοι of the philosopher Karneades (2nd century B.C.), written up by his friend Kleitomachos. Whether the use of the plural βωμοί has any precise significance we cannot say. It is not impossible that at some time more than one altar of supplication may have been known by the name.

- 184.** Sopatros, *Διαίρεσις Ιητημάτων*, 877 (Walz,
Rhetores Graeci, VIII, 210, 1).
2nd half 4th c. A.D.

ὅρᾶς ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι μετὰ τῆς Πολιάδος προσκυνοῦσι τὸν Ἐλεον, ὅρᾶς ὡς οὗτοι βωμὸν
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἀναπλάττουσιν.

You see how the Athenians pay homage to Eleos along with Athena Polias; you see how they fashion an altar of Philanthropia on the agora.

It is hardly to be thought that this altar is distinct from that of Eleos. Demosthenes is here addressing Philip.

- 185.** Schol. Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 260ff.

ἔπει καὶ Ἐλέου βωμὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἴδρυται.

Since an altar of Eleos is established at Athens.

Just before this, on 258, the Schol. quotes Kallimachos (Pfeiffer, frag. 51)

οὐνεκεν οἰκτείρειν οἶδε μόνη πολίων.

There is no mention here of the Altar of Eleos, as there surely would have been if, as Pfeiffer suggests, the association of the Herakleidai with the altar went back to Kallimachos.

- 186.** Statius, *Thebaid*, XII, 481–509.

Ca. A.D. 90

Urbe fuit media nulli concessa potentum
ara deum; mitis posuit Clementia sedem,
et miseri fecere sacram; sine supplice
numquam

illa novo, nulla damnavit vota repulsa.
auditi quicumque rogant, noctesque
diesque

ire datum et solis numen placare querellis.
parca superstatio: non turea flamma, nec
altus

accipitur sanguis: lacrimis altaria sudant,
maestarumque super libamina secta co-
marum

pendent et vestes mutata sorte relictae.
mite nemus circa, cultuque insigne ve-
rendo

vittatae laurus et supplicis arbor olivae.
nulla autem effigies, nulli commissa me-
tallo

forma dei, mentes habitare et pectora
gaudet.

semper habet trepidos, semper locus hor-
ret egenis

coetibus, ignotae tantum felicibus aerae.
fama est, defensos acie post busta paterni
numinis Herculeos sedem fundasse ne-

potes.

fama minor factis: ipsos nam credere dignum
 caelicolas, tellus quibus hospita semper
 Athenae,
 ceu leges hominemque novum ritusque
 sacrorum
 seminaque in vacuas hinc descendantia
 terras,
 sic sacrasse loco commune animantibus
 aegris
 confugium, unde procul starent iraeque
 minaeque
 regnaque, et a iustis Fortuna recederet
 aris.
 iam tunc innumerae norant altaria gentes:
 hue victi bellis patriaque a sede fugati,
 regnorumque inopes scelerumque errore
 nocentes
 convenient pacemque rogant.

489 a number of MSS have *serta*. 494 some MSS have *di*.

In the middle of the city was an altar dedicated to none of the powerful gods; gentle Clementia fixed her abode here, and the wretched made it sacred; she was never without a fresh suppliant; never condemned their prayers to rejection. All who ask are heard; night and day one may approach and appease the deity with complaints alone. The cult is frugal; no flame of incense, no deep-flowing blood is received; the altar is drenched with tears. Shorn offerings of the hair of mourners hang above, and garments left when fortune changed. Around is a pleasant grove, and the distinctive mark for the venerable cult consists of laurels draped with fillets and the bush of the suppliant's olive. There is no image, the form of the deity is committed to no metal; she delights to live in the minds and hearts of men. In this place are always anxious souls, always throngs of unkempt needy folk; only to the prosperous are the altars unknown. The tale is told that the offspring of Hercules, preserved in battle after the death

of their divine father, established this seat. The tale falls short of the truth; for one may well believe that the gods themselves, to whom the land of Athena was always hospitable, just as they gave laws and a new man (Triptolemos), and sacred rites and seeds that from here fell upon empty lands, consecrated on this spot a common refuge for living creatures in affliction; from this spot anger and threats and royal power were to stand aloof, from the righteous altars fickle Fortune was to withdraw. Already countless races knew the altar. Hither flocked men conquered in war and exiled from their country, men who had lost their kingdoms and were guilty of crimes; here they asked for peace.

Some older editors preferred to place a comma at the end of 491, translating "distinguished by a venerable cult," and taking "laurus" in apposition with "nemus."

After the war of the Seven against Thebes their womenfolk have come to Athens with suppliant branches (468) to ask the help of Theseus against Kreon in securing the burial of their dead. They move forward from the altar a little (540) to wonder at the triumphal procession of Theseus with his captive Amazons. Statius may be describing the altar as he knew it, with rhetorical exaggeration. He slips naturally into the present tense. The grove may well be a reality (see *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 50; XXII, 1953, p. 46). "Altaria" (488) can be used of a single altar. "Arae" (496) may be no more than a vague poetical plural; but see Sextus Empiricus (183). "Deus" (494) is sometimes used of a goddess, or perhaps rather in the general sense "deity" (see L. and S.). In this case Eleos (masc.) becomes Clementia (fem.).

For Lactantius on this passage, see concluding note, p. 74.

187. Suidas.

10th c. A.D.

Ἐλέου βωμός

Altar of Eleos

The phrase is given without comment. Apparently it is thought of as proverbial.

188. Zenobios, I, 30.

2nd c. A.D.

τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς αὐτῶν ἀτάφους τῶν Θηβαίων ριψάντων καὶ μὴ διδόντων τάφη, οἱ τῶν ἀποθανόντων παῖδες πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Ἐλέου καταφυγόντες βωμὸν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐλήτουν.

When the Thebans threw out their corpses unburied and refused to give them up for burial, the children of the dead took refuge at the altar of Eleos and asked for the corpses.

189. Zenobios, II, 61.

2nd c. A.D.

μετὰ θάνατον γάρ Ἡρακλέους, διώκοντος Εύρυσθέως τοὺς ἔκεινους παῖδας καὶ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Ἐλέου βωμὸν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν καταπεφυγότων, Ἀθηναῖοι μὴ ἐκδιδόντες αὐτοὺς πρὸς Εύρυσθέα πόλεμον ὑπέστησαν.

After the death of Herakles, when Eurystheus pursued his children and the Herakleidai took refuge at the altar of Eleos, the Athenians refused to give them up and took on themselves a war against Eurystheus.

190. I.G., II², 4786.

2nd c. A.D.

[τύχη]
ἀγαθῆι.

ὑψιμέδων ὑπατε, πάτερ Ειρήνης βαθυκάρπ[ου], σὸν Ἐλαίου βωμὸν ἵκετεύομεν ἡμεῖς
Θρήικες οἱ ναίοντες ὄγακλυτὸν ἅστυ τὸ [Σά]ρδω[ν],
Ἄρτεμιδωρος σὺν ἀδελφῷ τε κ[αὶ τεκέεσσιν?],

οὕνεκα οἱ ἐπένευσας ιδεῖν [ά]λὸ[ς εἴκτοθι γαῖαν?].

Thou that rulest on high, all-highest, father of Eirene who gives rich crops, we come as suppliants to thy altar of Pity, we Thracians who live in the famous town of the Sardi, Artemidoros with his brother and children, because thou hast granted him to escape from the sea and see the land.

A marble slab found in the Odeion of Herodes; it has a relief of which remain the lower part of a man standing at an altar and the feet of a boy. The halting verses appear to associate Zeus with an altar of Eleos. The misspelling of Eleos indicates a time when the pronunciation of *ai* had changed (cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 18).

Several other late authors allude to the altar, without however adding anything of importance; Eumenius, *Pro restaurandis scholis*, 7 (Atheniensis humanitas aram Misericordiae instituit); Claudian, *De bello Gildonico*, 405 (si flentibus aram et proprium miseris numen statuistis Athenis); Lactantius, on Statius XII, 487, says that Hyllus and the other children of Herakles, after getting help against Eurystheus, are said to have consecrated the altar of Clementia, “asserentes apud Athenienses tantum sedes Misericordiam posuisse”; [Theophilus Antecessor], *Paraphrasis Graeca Institut. Caesar.*, Lib. I, tit. 2, says that the Athenians were so far from ξενηλασία that the altar of Eleos is honored amongst them and they even undertook wars διὰ φιλανθρωπίας.

ELEUSINION

The Eleusinion in the City is also said to be “beneath the Polis,” i.e. Acropolis (Clement of Alexandria; cf. Arnobius; *I.G.*, II², 1078); for site see Pausanias. Pausanias says that the temple of Demeter and Kore and the temple of Triptolemos (with a statue of Triptolemos inside and a bronze bull and a figure of Epi-menides in front) were above Enneakrounos; he mentions the Eleusinion here and passes on to the temple of Eukleia, which was “further off.” Ennius mentions the temple of Ceres; Agora I 5165 mentions temples in the Eleusinion (???) (cf. p. 84). Andokides speaks of an altar. Thucydides says the Eleusinion could be securely closed.

I.G., II², 1672 mentions doors (cf. Agora I 3745), a postern, an entrance porch (cf. Agora I 5484), roofs, a kitchen, possibly a sacristy and a treasury.

In the Eleusinion were precious vessels and implements (*I.G.*, I², 313), stelai (Andokides; Pollux; *I.G.*, I², 6, 325 ff., II², 204, 661, 1078; Agora I 4389, 5791; *Eleusiniaka*, I), the tomb of Immarados (Arnobius, Clement). Stelai also stood by the Eleusinion (Agora I 4260, 5165, 5228); and so did a bronze horse (Xenophon, *De Re Equestris*). There were pictures of priestesses in the temple of Demeter and Kore (Agora I 5165). Water was available for ceremonial washing in the Eleusinion ([Lysias]).

Asklepios once lodged there (*I.G.*, II², 4960). By a law of Solon the Boule met there immediately after the Mysteries (Andokides, *I.G.*, II², 794?, 848, 1072?). Large numbers were received there (Aristeides).

The Panathenaic ship was taken as far as the Eleusinion (Schol. Aristophanes, Suidas); Philostratos says it rounded the Eleusinion, passed the Pelasgikon, and was moored at the Pythion.

Xenophon (*Hipparchicus*) suggests that the cavalry in procession should gallop from the Herms to the Eleusinion; note also *I.G.*, II², 1078, 2317.

For associated cults see concluding note.

**191. Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 110–116.
399 B.C.**

110 κατηγόρησαν δέ μου καὶ περὶ τῆς ἱκετηρίας, ὡς καταθείην ἔγω ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινῷ, νόμος δ' εἴη πάτριος, ὃς ἀν θῆ ἱκετηρίαν μυστηρίοις, τεθνάναι

111 Ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἤλθομεν Ἐλευσινόθεν καὶ ἡ ἔνδειξις ἑγεγένητο, προσήσει ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων Ἐλευσίνι κατὰ τὴν τελετήν, ὡσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν· οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις προσάξειν ἔφασαν αὐτὸν πρός τὴν βουλὴν, ἐπαγγεῖλαί τ' ἐκέλευον ἐμοί τε καὶ Κηφισίῳ παρεῖναι εἰς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον· ἡ γάρ βουλὴ ἐκεῖ καθεδεῖσθαι ἔμελλε κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον, ὃς κελεύει τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔδραν ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινῷ. καὶ παρῆμεν κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἐπειδὴ ἦν πλήρης, ἀναστὰς Καλλίας δὲ Ἰππονίκου τὴν σκευὴν ἔχων λέγει διτὶ ἱκετηρία κεῖται ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς

116 ἐντεῦθεν ἀναπηδᾶς Κέφαλος ούτοσὶ καὶ λέγει· “ὦ Καλλία, πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνοσιώτατε, πρῶτον μὲν ἔξηγή Κηρύκων ὅν, οὐχ ὅσιον ὅν σοι ἔξηγεισθαι· ἐπειτα δὲ νόμον πάτριον λέγεις, ἡ δὲ στήλη παρ' ἡ ἐστηκας χιλίας δραχμάς κελεύει δφείλειν, ἔάν τις ἱκετηρίαν θῆ ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινῷ”.

They accused me concerning the suppliant's branch too, saying that I deposited one in the Eleusinion, and a law of our fathers laid down death as the penalty for anyone who placed a suppliant's branch at the time of the mysteries.....

When we came from Eleusis and the information had been laid, the Basileus came forward as is customary to speak about what had happened at Eleusis during the ceremony. The Prytaneis said they would bring him before the Boule, and gave orders to instruct Kephisios and me to appear in the Eleusinion—the Boule was to sit there in accordance with

the law of Solon, which says that on the day after the mysteries a session shall be held in the Eleusinion. We appeared as instructed; and when the Boule had assembled, Kallias son of Hipponikos arose wearing his regalia and said that a suppliant's branch lay on the altar, and showed it to the members.....

After that Kephalos here jumped up and said, “Kallias, most impious of all men, in the first place you are interpreting the law though you are a member of the Kerykes and it is not permitted for you to do so; in the next place you talk about a law of our fathers, whereas the stele by which you stand says that a sum of a thousand drachmai is due from anyone who places a suppliant's branch in the Eleusinion.”

192. Aristeides, XIII (*Panathenaicus*), 191.

2nd c. A.D.

μόνοι δὲ τῶν ‘Ἐλλήνων καθ’ ἔκαστον ἔτος ποιεῖτε πανήγυριν οὐδεμιᾶς πανηγυρίδος φαυλοτέραν καὶ δέχεσθε τῷ Ἐλευσινῷ πλείους ἡ ἔτεροι τῇ πάσῃ πόλει.

Alone of the Greeks you hold each year a festal gathering second to none, and you receive in the Eleusinion more people than others in the whole of the city.

193. Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 566.

ἄξιοι καὶ τοῦ πέπλου: ίδια παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις πέπλος τὸ ἄρμενον τῆς Παναθηναικῆς νεώς, ἦν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατασκευάζουσι τῇ θεῷ διὰ τετραετηρίδος· ἥς καὶ τὴν πομπὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ ποιοῦσι μέχρι τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου.

Worthy of the robe. By a peculiar usage at Athens “robe” means the object fastened to the Panathenaic ship which the

Athenians equip in honor of the goddess every fourth year, and which they take in procession from the Kerameikos as far as the Eleusinion.

**194. Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, VI, 6.
Ca. A.D. 305**

Objecting to tombs in temples and the worship of the dead, Arnobius says that Erichthonios is said to be buried in the shrine of Polias

Dairas et Immaradus fratres in Eleusinio consaepto, quod civitati subjectum est (probably meaning ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως).

“Dairas” is no doubt due to a misunderstanding; see Clement below, 195. “Immaradus” is misspelt in various ways in the MSS.

**195. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, III, 45.
2nd–3rd c. A.D.**

τί δὲ Ἐριχθόνιος; οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Πολιάδος κεκήδευται; Ἰμμαρος δὲ ὁ Εὔμόλπου καὶ Δαείρας οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου τοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως;

What of Erichthonios? Is he not buried in the temple of Polias? And Immaros son of Eumolpos and Daeira—is he not buried in the enclosure of the Eleusinion which is below the Acropolis?

“Immaros” is possibly a mistake for “Immarados”; see Pausanias, I, 5, 2 and 27, 4.

**196. Ennius, Prologue to *Medea*².
3rd–2nd c. B.C.**

Asta atque Athenas anticum opulentum oppidum
Contempla et templum Cereris ad laevam aspice.

Stand and behold the rich and ancient town of Athens, and see to the left the temple of Ceres.

The topographical implications of “ad laevam” are quite uncertain; see Judeich, p. 288, note 2; it has even been suggested that the reference is to Eleusis.

197. [Lysias], VI (*Andokides*), 4.

Soon after 399 B.C.

ἄλλο τι ἢ υπέρ ύμῶν καὶ θυσίας θύσει¹ καὶ εὐχὰς εὔξεται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἐνθάδε Ἐλευσινῷ, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσῖνι ἱερῷ;

¹ MSS θυσιάσουσι, θυσιάσει.

Will he not perform sacrifices and pronounce prayers on your behalf in accordance with ancestral custom, partly in the Eleusinion here, partly in the shrine at Eleusis?

The speaker suggests that if acquitted Andokides may be elected Basileus. Note also 52, “He went into the Eleusinion, he washed his hands with the holy water.”

The speech, which is probably not by Lysias, seems to have been written *after* the trial, as an answer to the *De Mysteriis*.

198. Pausanias, I, 14, 1 and 3–4. 2nd c. A.D.

ναοὶ δὲ ὑπέρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποίηται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἔστιν ἄγαλμα

πρόσω ποτέ οὐδὲν με ὀρμημένον τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου καὶ διπόσα ἔξήγησιν¹ ἔχει τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ιερόν καλούμενον δὲ Ἐλευσίνιον, ἐπέσχεν δψις ὀνείρωτος· ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐς πάντας δσιον γράφειν, ἐς ταῦτα ἀποτρέψομαι. πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε, ἐνθα καὶ τοῦ Τριπτολέμου τὸ ἄγαλμα, ἔστι βοῦς χαλκοῦς οἰα ἐς θυσίαν ἀγόμενος, πεποίηται δὲ καθήμενος Ἐπιμενίδης Κνώσσιος.

¹ Text corrupt. ές ἔξήγησιν διπόσων Hitzig.

Of the temples built above the fountain one belongs to Demeter and Kore, in the other, that of Triptolemos, a statue of him is set up. . . . (an account of Triptolemos follows).

I intended to proceed with this account and to describe what is in the shrine (?) at Athens called the Eleusinion, but I was restrained by a dream. I will turn to what one is permitted to write of to all men. In front of this temple, where stands the statue of Triptolemos, is a bronze bull represented as being led to sacrifice and a seated figure of Epimenides of Knossos.

The fountain is Enneakrounos (447). Pausanias next mentions the temple of Eukleia (see p. 58), which is ἔτι ἀπωτέρω, before moving over to the temple of Hephaistos (288). For Epimenides, see p. 211.

Pausanias does not make clear the relation of the two temples, of Demeter and Kore and of Triptolemos, to the Eleusinion. In spite of Judeich (p. 399) one can hardly fail to consider them as very closely associated.

The Eleusinion was formerly involved in the controversy about the site of Enneakrounos (see p. 140) and a wide variety of sites have been assigned to it in the past. Now however it is clear that the Eleusinion was to the south of the agora; and the discovery of inscriptions relating to it and of other material of Eleusinian character has fixed the site with some certainty to the southeast of the market square, on the northwest slope of the Acropolis (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 207; IX, 1940, p. 268; XVIII, 1949, p. 134). But the topography of the area and the nature of the buildings associated with the shrine are still far from clear (see p. 84 below).

- 199.** Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 1, 7.
2nd–3rd c. A.D.

κάκεῖνα περὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων τούτων ἡκουον· πέπλον μὲν ἀνήφθαι τῆς νεώς ἡδίω γραφῆς ξὺν οὐρίῳ τῷ κόλπῳ, δραμεῖν δὲ τὴν ναῦν οὔχ ὑποιζγίων ἀγόντων, ὅλλ' ὑπογείοις μηχαναῖς ἐπολισθάνουσαν, ἐκ Κεραμεικοῦ δὲ ἄρασαν χιλία κώπη ἀφεῖναι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐλευσίνιον καὶ περιβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸν παραμεῖψαι τὸ Πελασγικὸν κομιζομένην τε παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον ἐλθεῖν, οἱ νῦν ὀρμισταί.

I also heard the following about this Panathenaic festival: a robe was fastened to the ship more pleasing to see than any painting, its folds filled by the breeze; the ship sped along not drawn by animals but gliding smoothly on underground contrivances; putting out from the Kerameikos it made for the Eleusinion with a thousand oars; rounding the shrine it passed the Pelasgikon and reached the Pythion, to which it is now moored.

Herodes Atticus supervised the Panathenaic festival on this occasion, towards the middle of the 2nd century A.D.

Pythion here probably means the shrine of Apollo ὑπὸ Μακραῖς (see pp. 54, 179).

For the Pelasgikon see 138 n.

- (353).** Plutarch, *De Exilio*, 17.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

The Theseion is revered as the Parthenon and the Eleusinion.

- 200.** Pollux, X, 97.

2nd c. A.D.

ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς στηλαῖς αἱ κεῖνται ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι¹, τὰ τῶν ἀσεβησάντων περὶ τῷ θεῷ δημοσίᾳ πραθέντα ἀναγέγραπται.

¹ Ἐλευσινίῳ is suggested by Bergk and accepted by some commentators.

On the Attic stelai which stand at Eleusis is recorded the property, publicly sold, of those who were guilty of impiety toward the two goddesses.

One may doubt the necessity of emending; there may well have been duplicate copies, one in each place; see below, *I.G.*, I², 825 ff. (207). See now also *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 324–325.

- 201.** Suidas.

10th c. A.D.

πέπλος

As Schol. Aristophanes (193), but reading ἰδίως, κατεσκεύαζον, διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ, and ἐποίουν.

- 202.** Thucydides, II, 17, 1.

5th c. B.C.

οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τά τε ἐρῆμα τῆς πόλεως φύκησαν καὶ τὰ ιερά καὶ τὰ ἡρῷα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν.

But the majority settled in the uninhabited parts of the city and the sanctuaries and the hero-shrines, all except the Acropolis and the Eleusinion and any other which was securely closed.

The refugees in the early years of the Peloponnesian War.

203. Xenophon, *Hipparchicus*, III, 2.
5th–4th c. B.C.

Τὰς μὲν οὖν πομπὰς οἴομαι ἀν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κεχαρισμενωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἰναι εἰ δόσων ἱερά καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐρμῶν κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν καὶ τὰ ἱερά περιελαύνοιεν τιμῶντες τοὺς θεούς, καὶ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις δὲ οἱ χοροὶ προσεπιχαρίζονται ἄλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα χορεύοντες. ἐπειδὰν δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τοῖς Ἐρμαῖς γένωνται περιεληλακότες, ἐντεῦθεν καλόν μοι δοκεῖ εἰναι κατὰ φυλᾶς εἰς τάχος ἀνιέναι τοὺς ἵππους μέχρι τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου.

I think that the processions would be most pleasing both to the gods and to the spectators if the cavalry were to do honor to all the gods who have shrines and statues in the agora by riding around the agora and the shrines, beginning from the Herms. At the Dionysia too the choruses give additional pleasure by performing dances in honor of various gods including the Twelve. Then when after their ride around the agora they reach the Herms again, it would be a fine thing, in my opinion, for the cavalry to gallop in tribal contingents, from the Herms as far as the Eleusinion.

After the gallop they are to ride back slowly across the agora “to the shrines by the same route” (*εἰς τὰ ἱερά, ἥπερ καὶ πρόσθεν*).

For the Herms see p. 102. Presumably the final gallop would be diagonally along the processional road from northwest to southeast.

204. Xenophon, *De Re Equestri*, I, 1.
5th–4th c. B.C.

συνέγραψε μὲν οὖν καὶ Σίμων περὶ ἵππικῆς, ὃς καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον Ἀθήνησιν ἵππον χαλκοῦν ἀνέθηκε καὶ ἐν τῷ βάθρῳ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἕργα ἔξετύπωσεν.

A book about horsemanship was written by Simon too, who set up a bronze figure of a horse by the Eleusinion and represented his achievements in relief on the base.

This Simon lived in the late 5th and early 4th century.

205. I.G., I², 6, lines 123–129 (S. E. G., X, 6).
Before 460 B.C.

[γράφε]
[ν] τὸς ὄρφανὸς παῖ[δας καὶ τὸς]
[μ]ύστας ἡεκάστο με[νὸς χορίς]
[τ]ὸς μύστας τὸς Ἐλε[υσίνι μυο]
[μ]ένος ἐν τει αὐλῇ [ἐντὸς τῷ h]
[ἱ]ερῷ τὸς δὲ ἐν ἀστει [μυομένο]
ς ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίοι.

Separate lists shall be made of the orphans and the Mystai each month; those of the Mystai initiated at Eleusis—in the court within the shrine, and those initiated in the city—in the Eleusinion.

This is Meritt's revised version given in *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, no. 78, p. 249, Face C, lines 40 ff.; see also *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 61 ff., no. 1, where some new fragments (Agora I 2907 and I 3322) are published. I.G. reads in line 125 *ἡεκάστο με[νὸς (σ)υνάγεν]*.

The stele, formerly at Athens near the “Theseum,” now in London, recorded a law concerning the mysteries; it may possibly be the stele referred to by Andokides, I, 116 (191).

Meritt remarks that the main block seems to have been removed for use at a distance; the fragments, found three to the south and one to the north of the Church of Christ (T 17–18), being useless chips discarded on the probable site of the Eleusinion.

206. I.G., I², 313 (S.E.G., X, 213), lines 14, 20.
408/7 B.C.

An opisthographic stele found at Eleusis, giving the *traditiones epistatarum*. In line 14 we read

ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίοι τῷ ἐν ἀστει],

followed by a list of precious objects; in line 20 we read

σκεύε ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίοι

followed by a list of implements. The material at Eleusis is appended.

Similarly in I.G., I², 314, which gives the lists for 407/6 B.C., on the other side of the stele, line 19,

[ἐν] τ[ῷ] Ἐλευσινίοι τῷ ἐν ἀστει]

and line 26

[σκε]ύε ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσι[nίοι].

207. I.G., II², 325–334.

414/3 B.C.

211. I.G., II², 794, lines 4–5.

216/5 B.C.

These are fragments of records of the Poletai (see p. 165), dealing with the sale of the property of Alkibiades and others found guilty of sacrilege in the previous year. The records probably stood in the Eleusinion (see Pollux, 200).

Many more fragments have been found in the recent excavations. W. K. Pritchett organizes the whole body of material in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 225–299 and assigns the fragments to a series of stelai.

The fragments were scattered over a fairly wide area, from the Acropolis to the bed of the Eridanos (a fragment published in *Kerameikos*, III, p. 12, no. 8); but the more recent material (Agora I 236, 845, 2040, 4408, 5226) shows a marked concentration around the proposed site to the southeast of the agora and confirms this identification of the Eleusinion.

208. I.G., II², 204, lines 7–8, 57. 352/1 B.C.

A stele found at Eleusis; the decree is concerned with the boundaries of a piece of sacred land (*orgas*). A commission is to be appointed, and is to give judgment (lines 7–8)

[ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσίνῳ τῷ ἐν ἀστροῖς].

This decree and another are to be inscribed on two stelai; one is to be set up at Eleusis, one (line 57)

[ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσίνῳ τῷ ἐν ἀστει].

209. I.G., II², 333, lines 20–21. 335/4 B.C.

From the Acropolis; a decree concerned with sacred rites.

[— — — Ἐλευσίνῳ καὶ τοῖς]
[ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ καὶ τῷ]
[Ἀσκληπιῶν] κεκ — —

The god is to be asked (lines 27–28) whether it is better for the Demos to carry out the κόσμους ιερούς for Demeter and Kore on a bigger scale and more splendidly, or to leave them as they now are.

210. I.G., II², 661, line 32. 267/6 B.C.

A stele found at the church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa, recording honors to the Epimeletai of the Mysteries; to be set up

[ἐν τῷ] Ἐλευσίνῳ]

For the date see *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314.

Fragment of a stele from the Acropolis, with the preamble of a decree probably honoring the ephebes; see Dow in *H.S.C.P.*, XLVIII, 1937, p. 108, where lines 4–5 are read as

βουλὴ ἐν τῷ [εἰ] Ἐλευσίνῳ καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν]
προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν κτλ.

This is however highly conjectural; the date too has been the subject of doubt; 216/5 is given by Pritchett and Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. xxiv.

212. I.G., II², 848, lines 30–31. 222/1 B.C.

Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 86. In this prytany decree a meeting of the Boule in the Bouleuterion and after that in the Eleusinion is mentioned

βουλὴ ἐ[ν β]ουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐκ] τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσίνῳ.

213. I.G., II², 1072, line 3. A.D. 117/8

βουλὴ ιερὰ ἐν Ἐλευσεινί[ῳ].

A marble statue base, west of the Parthenon; the inscription gives a decree honoring Antonios Oxylos of Elis with a statue on the Acropolis. Dow, however, in *H.S.C.P.*, XLVIII, 1937, p. 115 (following Graindor, *Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale*, p. 28) thinks that one should read ἐν Ἐλευσεινί.

214. I.G., II², 1078, lines 14–15, 41.

A.D. 221/2

A stele of which nine fragments were found at the church of Demetrios Katephores; the decree is concerned with the restoration of the Eleusinian rites.

The ephebes are to go to Eleusis on the thirteenth of Boedromion, so that on the fourteenth they may escort (lines 14–15)

τὰ ιερὰ μέχ[ρι] τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου τοῦ ὑπὸ^τ[τῆ] πόλει.

The treasurer of the Eumolpidai is to inscribe the decree on three stelai, and to set up one (line 41)

ἐν Ἐλευσίνῳ τῷ ὑπὸ [τ]έλει πόλει.

the second in the Diogeneion, the third at Eleusis in the shrine in front of the Bouleuterion.

I.G., II², 1079, found at Athens, gives a small fragment of another copy of the decree.

215. *I.G.*, II², 1672.

329/8 B.C.

Two fragments of a stele found at Eleusis, inscribed with accounts of the Epistatai and the Treasurers of the Two Goddesses. Details of expenses of building operations at Eleusis and Athens are given. Items are recorded as payments are made and it is not always clear what particular site is in question. Apparently at certain periods the Epistatai transferred their main activities to Athens. The following notes draw attention to items which seem to concern the Eleusinion in the City; these are especially concentrated in the sixth prytany.

In line 129 we read of a "threshold for the doors ... in the Eleusinion in the City." After the word θύραις are the curious letters ΟΥΝΕΣΤΙΝΑΕΣΤΙΝ, of which *I.G.* makes no sense, but which Kourouniotes (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1941, p. 240) interprets as οὐ νεστιν ἀ ἔστιν.

He assumes that the door fittings are referred to, but the obscure words might be taken to imply that the doors belong to a building in which certain sacred objects, which are not named, are kept.

Line 162: "Nails for the doors of the postern (πυλίδων) and for the doors into the Eleusinion in the City" (cf. line 306).

In line 164 is mentioned the νεωκόριον (sacristy) apparently associated with the Eleusinion in the City (cf. lines 181, 201, 208).

Line 165: Payment is made to the man "who made the doors into the Eleusinion in the City and the entrance-porch (πρόθυρον)."

Line 167: "Baskets for the public slaves to pile earth in (ἀναχώσαι) the Eleusinion in the City"; cf. line 195.

Line 170: "Jars of pitch to paint (ἀλεῖψαι) the roofs of the Eleusinion in the City and the doors."

Line 182: "Bricks for the Eleusinion in the City."

In line 194 we read of the oven or kitchen (ἰπνόν) in the Eleusinion in the City (cf. δητάνιον in 189); in line 203 of whitewashing and varnishing (κονιάσσεως καὶ ἀλοιφῆς).

The treasury of lines 201–202 appears to belong to the Eleusinion in the City.

At line 168 the shrine of Pluto enters into the accounts and one gets the impression that this shrine was closely associated with the Eleusinion in the City. Items relating to it include latticed doors (lines 168, 172) and stone thresholds for them (line 174); doorposts (line 177); application of pitch to roofs (line 179); *epikrana* and *kymatia* (lines 185 ff.). In line 182 we have

ἐπαρχὴ Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ καὶ Πλούτωνι.

For Pluto see *I.G.*, II², 1933, ca. 330–320 B.C., on the Acropolis; and 1934, end of 4th century, found (a) "sub Areopago," (b) at entrance to Acropolis; Agora I 5708, found in a modern house wall to the west of the Panathenaic Way between the Acropolis and Areopagus north slopes (R–S 23), *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 158, no. 15, belongs to this. These are concerned with a *lectisternium* for Pluto. *I.G.*, II², 1935, after 50 B.C., found on south slope of Acropolis, is a similar inscription. *I.G.*, II², 4751, 1st–2nd century A.D., is a relief inscribed as a thank offering to Pluto and Kore. Pausanias, I, 28, 6, mentions statues of Pluto, Hermes and Ge, associated with the shrine of the Semnai on the Areopagus; the relation of this Pluto to the shrine of the inscriptions is not clear.

216. *I.G.*, II², 2317, line 48.

Ca. 162/1–158/7 B.C.

In a catalogue of victors in the Panathenaia a "rider dismounting in the Eleusinion" is included

[ἀποβάτης ἐν Ἐλευσινίῳ[ι] Ἀμμώνιο[ς] Ἀμμώνιο[υ].]

Similarly *I.G.*, II², 2316, lines 16–19 (of ca. 166/5 B.C.) are restored

ἐν τ[ῶ]ι [Ἐλευσινίῳ]
ἡνίοχος ἐγβιβάζων Φιλο[κράτης]
Πολυκλείτου Πτολεμαίδ[ος φυλῆς].
ἀποβάτης Ἀντί[μ]αχος Σα ---.

In *I.G.*, II², 2314, we find ἀποβάτης (line 36) and ἡνίοχος ἔγβιθάλων (line 38) though no reference to the Eleusinion is made.

For a relief of an *apobates* see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 380.

217. *I.G.*, II², 2330.

End of 4th c. B.C.

The heading of a list of subscribers to the repair of a shrine and possibly the making of a statue. The fragment comes from the church of Hypapanti and it is just possible that it concerns the Eleusinion.

218. *I.G.*, II², 2868.

2nd c. B.C.

A dedication to Demeter and Kore by a priest of Hephaistos; found at the church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa.

219. *I.G.*, II², 4960a, lines 2–5.

Early 4th c. B.C.

Three marble fragments of sacred *fasti* of Asklepios, found on the south slope of the Acropolis. Asklepios

[...]νελθῶν Ζεόθ[ε]
[ν μυστηρί]οις τοῖς μεγά<sup>λοις κατ]ήγετο ἐς τὸ 'Ελ
[ευσίνιο]ν.</sup>

See Edelstein, *Asklepios*, I, no. 720.

220. Agora I 3745a + b, line 4. *Ca.* 434 B.C.

Found in modern walls, a) south of the Holy Apostles (O 16) and b) west of the Odeion (K 10); a decree concerned with certain public works; *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 87, no. 6. Meritt very tentatively suggests that it is concerned with the Eleusinion, and that the reading in lines 3–4 may be (cf. *S.E.G.*, X, 44)

[χσυγγραφὰς ποιέν καθότι ἀν δρισθεῖ κα]
ι θυροθεῖ τὸ [Ἐλευσίνιον ὡς ἔχυρότατα].

This and *I.G.*, I², 54 (p. 142), may possibly belong to the plan of Perikles for putting public buildings and shrines in order before the Peloponnesian War.

221. Agora I 4260.

2nd half 3rd c. B.C.

Fragment of a decree apparently conferring citizenship on some unknown man; to be set up

[π]ρὸς τῶι Ἐλευσινίῳ.

Found in a late context to the west of the East Stoa (N 15). *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 58, no. 13.

222. Agora I 4389 + 5556, lines 9–10, 16–17.

148/7 B.C.

Three marble fragments from modern house walls southeast of the market square, two to the east of the Late Roman Fortification (S-T 20) and one to the west (Q-R 20); *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 293, no. 58. Honors are paid to a Hierophantes; he renewed the register of the Hierophantes (lines 9–10)

ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων γρα[μματεῖ]ων [τῶ]ν ἐν τ[ῷ]
Ἐλευσινί]

ωι

and he introduced decrees for the recording (lines 16–17)

εἰσαγωγ[είω]ν ἐν στή[λαις λιθίναις ἐν]
[τῶι Ἐλευσ[ιν]ίῳ].

223. Agora I 4541, line 8.

Late 3rd c. B.C.

An honorary decree, by which a crown of myrtle was apparently conferred; the stele was to be set up

[πρὸς τῶι Ἐλε]ψι[νίῳ].

Found in a modern context on the north slope of the Acropolis (R 25), *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 57–58, no. 12.

224. Agora I 5165, lines 4–6, 11–14.

Early 2nd c. B.C.

ἐπεσκεύακεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς πά[v]
[τας τοὺς ἐν τῶι Ἐλευσινίῳ, παρε]σκεύακεν δὲ
καὶ πά[v]τα ἐν τῶι τοῦ Πλ[ού]
[τωνος ἱερῶι].

[δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ εἰκόνος ἀ]νάθεσιν ἐν πίνακι,
καθάπερ
[δέδοται καὶ ἄλλαις ἱερείαις ἐν τῶι ναῶι] τῆς
Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρη[ς]
[ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν ταμίαν]
τῶι δημοτῶι ἐν στήλῃ λ[ι]
[θίνει καὶ στήσαι πρὸς τῶι Ἐλευσινίῳ].

She has repaired all the temples in the Eleusinion, and made all provisions in the shrine of Pluto.

She shall be granted the privilege of having her picture on a tablet set up, as has been allowed to the other priestesses, in the temple of Demeter and Kore; the treasurer of the members of the deme shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and set it up by the Eleusinion.

From a fragment of a stele found in a modern wall to the west of the Late Roman Fortification (R 19), inscribed with a decree of the deme Melite in honor of Satyra, priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 265, no. 51).

Broneer, who publishes the inscription, argues strongly that the shrine of Demeter Thesmophoros, the Thesmophorion, usually thought to be near the Pnyx, was in fact closely associated with the Eleusinion and the other kindred cults below the Acropolis, or that the Eleusinion was actually called Thesmophorion on occasion; such a site would be more appropriate, he thinks, and certain underground passages near by may be Roman reconstructions of the *megara* used in the cult.

The restoration of 'Ελευσινίωι in lines 5 and 14 falls in with this theory, but might possibly be correct even if the theory proved untrue.

The association of the Thesmophorion with the Pnyx depends on Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, especially lines 657–658, where the women celebrating the festival say that they must περιθέξαι | τὴν πύκνα πᾶσαν καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ τὰς διόδους διαθῆσαι (for the setting of the play in the Thesmophorion note lines 83–84, 88–89, 277–278—τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας | σημεῖον ἐν τῷ Θεσμοφορίῳ φαίνεται—and 880).

Broneer thinks the association of the scene with the Pnyx a mere stage convention. For the Thesmophorion see also Schol. on *Thesmophoriazusae*, 585 and 658, and Schol. Lucian, *Dialogi Meretricii*, 2, 1 (*Rhein. Mus.*, XXV, 1870, p. 549; Rabe, p. 275); cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 186.

225. Agora I 5228, lines 25–26. 302/1 B.C.

Found in the Late Roman Fortification (T 22) *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 104ff., no. 20.

Honors are to be paid to the taxiarchs for taking care of εὐκοσμία in the shrines of Demeter. The stele was to be set up

πρὸς τῶι Ἐλευσινίωι ἐν ἀ[σ] [τει].

226. Agora I 5484.

Ca. 455 B.C.

[Α]ρρήτο τελετῆς πρόπολος σῆς, πότνια Δηοῖ,
καὶ θυγατρὸς προθύρο κόσμον ἄγαλμα τόδε
ἔστησεν στεφάνω Λυσιστράτη οὐδὲ παρόντων
φείδεται ἀλλὰ θεοῖς ἀφθονος ἐς δύναμιν.

Attendant of the secret rite of you, lady Deo, and your daughter, Lysistrate set up this offering of two crowns as an ornament to your entrance-porch; she spares not what she has but gives lavishly to the gods to the limit of her powers.

A base of Pentelic marble, found in the Late Roman Fortification (T 21); *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 207; IX, 1940, p. 97, no. 18. It probably supported a pillar, and one would naturally assume that it stood in the Eleusinion. See also *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 72, where Maas suggests that "Stephano" is a title of the priestess, and does not mean "crowns."

Although cut in letters of the mid 5th century, it is possible that the inscription is archaic.

227. Agora I 5791, lines 3–4. Before 229 B.C.

A fragment of a decree, found among marbles from the area southwest of the Eleusinion, probably from a modern house wall; *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 149, no. 9. Honors are paid to three or more persons from the Boule and the Demos. In lines 3–4 is restored with some probability

κ[αὶ στῆσαι ἐν]
[τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ τῷ ἐν] ἀσ[τ]ει.

228. *Eleusiniaka*, I, 1982, p. 177 (S.E.G., X, 24), lines 11–12. 446–440 B.C.

A stele found at Eleusis, dated by Kourounotes between 446 and 440 B.C. Five men are to be chosen and are to be in charge of the moneys of the two goddesses

καθάπερ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πό[λ]ει ἔργ[ο]
[ι]ς ἐπ[ε]στ[ά]το[ν] το[ν] το[ν] νεδ[ι] καὶ το[ν] ἀ[γ]άλμαστι.

The logistai are to reckon up at Eleusis what has been spent at Eleusis, in the city what has been spent in the city, summoning the architects Koroibos and Lysanias in the Eleusinion (lines 24–26)

ἀνακαλῶντας τὸν ἀρχιτέ
κτονα Κόροιθον καὶ Λυσανίαν ἐν τῷ Ἐλε
υσινίοι.

Koroibos is said by Plutarch (*Perikles*, 13) to have begun the Telesterion at Eleusis.

The decree was to be set up (lines 32–33)

ἐν στέλει Ἐλευσῖνι καὶ ἐν ἄστει καὶ Φ]
αλ[ε]ρδὶ ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσιν[ίοι].

OTHER ELEUSINIAN INSCRIPTIONS

Other inscriptions recently discovered in the agora may have some relation to the Eleusinion; their finding places tend to confirm the proposed site (see p. 77):—

Dedications

Agora I 4393 (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 80, no. 26), fragment of a statue base, found in the wall of a modern house in the area T19–20, dated 4th century B.C.; a dedication

Δήμητρι | [κ]αὶ Κόρηι]

by one Pytho--- of Marathon.

Agora I 5213 (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 81, no. 28), a base found in three pieces, two from the filling of the Late Roman Fortification (T 21) and one from a modern wall on the north slope of the Acropolis (T–U 23) with a dedication by the wife of a Daidouchos.

[Δήμητρι] καὶ Κόρει

Agora I 5279 (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 80, no. 27), a large block in the west face of the Late Roman Fortification Wall, south of the church of the Hypapanti (T 22); a dedication to Demeter and Kore of the 4th–3rd century B.C.

[Δ]ήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι

Agora I 5299 and 5718 (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 88–89, no. 32), three fragments of a dedicatory base, found in the west and north walls of the church of the Hypapanti (T 21) and in a Turkish context farther northwest (S 20); in the last line is read

----- ταῖν θεαῖν.

Agora I 5407, a marble base of the 4th century B.C., re-used in a late classical building partly overlaid by the Late Roman Fortification (T 21); Demopeithides of Acharnai dedicates statues of his father and mother to Demeter and Kore (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, 203, no. 51).

Agora I 5436 (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 208; X, 1941, p. 258, no. 62); 2nd or 3rd century A.D., found in the fill of the Late Roman Fortification (T 21).

Οὐλπιος Ἐρμογένης ταῖς θεαῖς

on a curved plinth on which stood an eagle of Pentelic marble. This may well come from the Eleusinion.

Agora I 5485 (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 101, no. 1). A base of Pentelic marble, found in a late wall beneath the church of the Hypapanti (T 21); there is a cutting for a pillar, presumably a Herm of the Epicurean philosopher Phaidros, of the latter part of the 1st century B.C., dedicated

ταῖν θεαῖν

by his pupil Appius Saufeius; it probably stood in the Eleusinion.

Agora I 5802 (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 79–80, no. 25), a base of the 4th century B.C. found in a modern wall west of the Late Roman Fortification southwest of the Eleusinion (R 21) with a dedication by a priestess of Demeter.

ἡ ἱέρεα Δήμητρος -----]
Ἐπιγένος μάτηρ Ἀχαρνέως ἀνέθηκεν]
[----]ος Ἀριστείδο ἐποίησεν].

See also addendum, p. 225.

Inventory

Agora I 3749 (*Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 36, no. 7); a fragment of an Eleusinian inventory of ca. 424 B.C., found in the northern part of the agora, in a Byzantine wall northeast of the Odeion (N 9).

Honorary

Agora I 220 (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 189, no. 36; published earlier in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 7, no. 8); found attached to repair slabs over the Great Drain east of the Metroon (I 9); dated early 3rd century; apparently a decree in honor of a board of Epimeletai; in line 19 should possibly be restored

[ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσιν]ίωι.

Agora I 1299 (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 160, no. 56); a fragment found in a modern context on the southeast slope of Kolonos Agoraios (E 12); ca. 200 B.C.; in line 5

τοῖς μ[υσ]τικοῖς ι[εροῖς]

is read and the inscription may be an honorary decree for the Epimeletai of the Mysteries, as *I.G.*, II², 847.

Agora I 5323 (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 207; IX, 1940, p. 267; XI, 1942, p. 247, no. 50); a statue base of marble, re-used in the floor of a niche in the central apse of the church of the Hypapanti (T 21); dated late 1st century B.C.; the Boule and the Demos honor Syndromos son of Kallikratides, *agonothetes* of the Eleusinian.

Agora I 5761 (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 163, no. 61; XXVI, 1957, pp. 38–39); found in a modern wall west of the Late Roman Fortification southwest of the Eleusinion (S 21), dated 173/2 B.C.; a decree honoring the Epimeletai of the Mysteries. Cf. Agora I 6140 (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 82–83, no. 30), found in a wall of the 5th century A.D. west of the Stoa of Attalos (O 9), an honorary inscription, mentioning an Epimeletes (possibly two). See p. 225.

Confiscated Property

See 207 above, *I.G.*, I², 325.

Eleusinian Truce

Agora I 4384 (a) and (b) (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 5, no. 3); 367/6 B.C.; found (a) in the wall of a modern house (T 20), (b) in modern fill in the same area. Since the Aetolian League has accepted (lines 9–10)

[τάς μυ]στηριωτίδ[α]ς [σ]π[ο]νδάς τῆς Δήμου
[ητρος τῆς] ἐλευσινίας καὶ τῆς Κόρης

a Keryx is to be chosen to go to the Aetolian League etc.

Agora I 5733 (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 52–53, no. 9), found in a Turkish lime pit outside the market square to the southeast, west of the Late Roman Fortification (S 20); dated 4th century B.C.; a fragment inscribed with regulations for sending out heralds for the truce for the Mysteries; part of *I.G.*, I², 6, is quoted (cf. *A. J. A.*, L, 1946, pp. 287–288).

Sacred Laws

L. H. Jeffery in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 86 ff., nos. 66 and 67; twenty-six fragments of Pentelic marble, inscribed boustrophedon, found "within a limited area on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, immediately east and west of the Panathenaic way at the point where it makes a marked bend" (Q–U 17–23) i.e., (with the exception of two isolated fragments found in modern contexts near the southeast corner of the market square, N 12 and O 14) in the neighborhood of the site now assigned to the

Eleusinion. With these fragments may be associated *I.G.*, I², 839, now in the British Museum, since though its exact provenience is not known it is of precisely the same character. *I.G.*, I², 838 probably also belongs. The Agora fragments are I 2253, I 2470, I 4390, I 4432, I 4721, I 4724, I 5033, I 5318.

The fragments apparently belong to two monuments (possibly altars) erected ca. 510–480 B.C. (the boustrophedon style is due to religious conservatism), probably in the Eleusinion.

The inscriptions give detailed regulations for sacrifices "to various deities; not only those connected definitely with the Eleusinian cult, but those in whose cult (e.g. that of Zeus Polieus) the clan of the Kerykes had to assist. Block I appears to have been concerned principally with the Mysteries" (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 106).

Agora I 3844, of 1st century B.C., found used upside down as the foundation for an interior column in the church of Christ (T 17), *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 65, no. 31, is concerned with the regulations for the conduct of the Eleusinian mysteries.

Boundary Stone

Agora I 6311, found, not *in situ*, beneath the floor of the Stoa of Attalos in front of the eighth shop from the south (Q 11), *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 58; the fragment is inscribed, in lettering of the first half of the 5th century

[Δ]ήμητρο[ς] ὥρος.

NOTE ON RELATED CULT-SPOTS

The Eleusinion must have been an extensive shrine. What it consisted of architecturally, what was actually *in* the Eleusinion, is not clear. The temples of Agora I 5165 (224) are conjectural. But the Eleusinion may also be regarded as the nucleus of a number of cults and as the terminal of the line from Eleusis to the city.

Pausanias' temples of Demeter and Kore and of Triptolemos were presumably closely attached to if not in the Eleusinion. The Thesmophorion, as we have seen, has been brought into close association with the Eleusinion, but that is more debatable (see 224, Agora I 5165).

The shrine of Pluto was presumably not far away, towards the south (see 215, *I.G.*, II², 1672). But the relation of Pausanias' group of statues to this shrine (I, 28, 6) is not clear.

The shrine of Demeter Chloe (582n, 731n), with whom Ge Kourotrophos was closely asso-

ciated, must have been near the entrance to the Acropolis (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 835, and Schol. who says inaccurately that it was on the Acropolis; Pausanias, I, 22, 3; see Judeich, p. 285).

A boundary stone of the shrine of Demeter Azesia, Agora I 513, of the second half of the 4th century, has been found in a modern wall over the eastern part of the Temple of Ares (K 8), *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 52, no. 14. Cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 348, 26; Zenobios, IV, 20; Hesychios and Suidas, "Azesia." The site of this shrine is not known.

A joint dedication to Demeter and Aphrodite, Agora I 562 (see p. 50), of Roman imperial date has been found in a late Roman context over the Library of Pantainos (R 13).

The Pherrephattion, shrine of Pherrephatte (for the name see *I.G.*, II², 1437, line 58; II², 5074, theatre seat of priest of Demeter and Pherrephatte; Agora I 727, line 63, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 21, no. 2) was actually in the agora (Hesychios, Φερρεφάττιον, τόπος ἐν ἀγορᾷ; cf. 323).

The altar of the Eudanemoi, who were probably associated with Eleusis, was near the Tyrannicides, opposite the Metroon (Arrian, *Anabasis*, III, 16, 8; see 260).

The Mystai went through the agora singing to Iacchos (Schol. Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 320 and 399; Hesychios, "Diagoras"). The Hierophantes made a proclamation in the Poikile (Schol. Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 369; see 57).

On the way from the agora to the gate was the house of Poulytion, later dedicated to Dionysos, where the mysteries were parodied in 415 B.C. (Pausanias, I, 2, 5; see 2).

Just within the city was the building for the preparation of processions (Pausanias, I, 2, 4), the Pompeion; here were a statue of Socrates by Lysippos (Diogenes Laertius, II, v, 43) and paintings including a portrait of Isokrates ([Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 839c) and of the

comedians (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 140); it was used for a distribution of corn (Demosthenes, XXXIV, *Phormio*, 39) and was frequented by Diogenes the Cynic (Diogenes Laertius, VI, ii, 22); it is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1673, line 20, where we read of the conveyance of ropes (Ὄπ]οιωμάτων) from Peiraeus to the Pompeion, in the accounts of the Epistatai of Eleusis for 327/6 B.C. See Judeich, p. 361.

Near the Pompeion was a temple of Demeter, with images of the goddess, her daughter and Iacchos by Praxiteles, and, not far away, Poseidon on horseback attacking Polybotes (Pausanias, I, 2, 4; cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, IV, 62 and Cicero, *Verres*, IV, 60); for the Iaccheion, which is probably to be associated with this shrine, cf. Plutarch, *Aristeides*, 27, 3 and Alkiphrion, III, 59 (23), 1, who both speak of interpreters of dreams operating near by.

Part of a marble statue base (Agora I 4165), re-used in the foundation wall of a building bordering the south side of the road that led northwest from the market square (E 3) is inscribed with a dedication to Demeter and Kore by Kleiokrateia with the artist's signature Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησεν in letters of the 4th century B.C. (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 339–342). In view of the place of finding, it is probable that this base was removed from the sanctuary of Demeter near the Pompeion mentioned by Pausanias. The inscription, however, could not have been seen by Pausanias since the marble had been put underground as early as the 1st century B.C. or 1st century A.D. Since, moreover, the shape of the pedestal is more appropriate to two figures than to three, the connection with the monument recorded by Pausanias must be regarded as unlikely. Since the original publication traces of a second column of text have been found on the left side of the pedestal; see *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 200, no. 50.

EPONYMOI

The statues of the Eponymoi, the heroes after whom the tribes were named, stood in a conspicuous place (Schol. Demosthenes, XX), near the Bouleuterion (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*), by the Prytaneion (Schol. Aristophanes, *Peace*, wrongly). In relation to the Tholos and Bouleuterion the Eponymoi were higher up, and Amphiaraos, Eirene etc. came after (Pausanias).

By the Eponymoi were displayed proposed laws (Andokides; Demosthenes, XX, XXIV; *Etym. Magnum*, Photios, Suidas); notices of lawsuits (Aristophanes, *Knights?*; Demosthenes, XXI; Isaios; Libanios); notices of contradictory and superfluous laws (Aischines); lists of ephebes (*Ath. Pol.*); notices of cities defaulting on tribute (?*Athenian Tribute Lists*, see p. 90); lists for military service (Aristophanes, *Peace* and Schol.). Honors were sometimes announced before the Eponymoi (Isokrates) and honorary statues might be set up there (Lucian).

The Eponymoi received "a fiftieth" for certain sacrifices (Schol. Demosthenes, XXIV, 8). For their position and number see note on Pausanias.

229. Aischines, III (*Ktesiphon*), 38 f. 330 B.C.

ἀλλὰ διαρρήδην προστέτακται τοῖς θεσμοθέταις καθ' ἔκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν διορθοῦν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς νόμους, ἀκριβῶς ἔξετάσαντας καὶ σκεψαμένους εἴ τις ἀναγέγραπται νόμος ἐνάντιος ἐτέρῳ νόμῳ, ή ἄκυρος ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις, ή εἴ πού είσι νόμοι πλείους ἐνὸς ἀναγεγραμμένοι περὶ ἔκάστης πράξεως. καν τι τοιοῦτον εὔρισκωσιν, ἀναγεγραφότας ἐν σανίσιν ἐκτιθέναι κελεύει πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων.

The Thesmothetai are explicitly commanded to correct the laws annually before the Demos, carefully examining them and considering whether any law which contradicts another has been inscribed, or any law which is not valid among those which are, or whether more laws than one have been inscribed about each particular matter. And if they find anything of the kind, they are ordered to inscribe it on boards and display it before the Eponymoi.

230. Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 83. 399 B.C.

ὅπόσων δ' ἀν προσδέη, οἵδε ἡρημένοι νομοθέται ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγράφοντες ἐν σανίσιν ἐκτιθέντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐπωνύμους, σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ, καὶ παραδιδόντων ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐν τῷδε τῷ μηνί.

Whatever further laws are necessary shall be inscribed on boards by the Nomothetai elected by the Council, displayed before the Eponymoi for anyone who wishes to see, and handed over to the magistrates within the present month.

This is from a decree incorporated in the text of Andokides, dealing with the revision of the constitution after the fall of the Thirty in 403 B.C. (see 6).

231. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 977–980.

424 B.C.

καίτοι πρεσβυτέρων τινῶν
οἰων ἀργαλεωτάτων
ἐν τῷ δείγματι τῶν δικῶν
ἥκουσ' ἀντιλεγόντων

And yet I heard certain old men of the very troublesome kind disputing in the place where the lawsuits are displayed.

The meaning of τὸ δείγμα τῶν δικῶν is obscure. The scholia are not helpful; the δείγμα is a place in Peiraeus, we are told, where foreigners and citizens gathered in large numbers; τῶν δικῶν is added to make fun of the litigiousness of the Athenians. Or again, the expression is explained as, “In the Peiraeus, where they hold courts (ὅπου δικάζουσιν); for there the merchants set out samples (δείγματα) of their wares; at the same time the poet is jesting at the litigiousness of the Athenians.”

Some editors think τὸ δείγμα τῶν δικῶν simply a comic expression for “law courts”; but it has more point if referred to the Eponymoi, beside whom notices of suits were displayed. Cf. Euboulos in Athenaeus, XIV, 640 b, c (610).

232. Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1183–4. 421 B.C.

εἰτα προστὰς πρὸς τὸν ἀνδριάντα τὸν Πανδίονος
εἶδεν αὐτόν.

Then, standing by the statue of Pandion, he sees his own name.

In a list for military service. The Schol. explains that the statue of Pandion was one of the eponymous tribal statues on which (ἐν οἷς) were written οἱ στρατιωτικοὶ κατάλογοι καὶ τὰ κηρύγματα, or again ἔνθα ἐτίθεντο τὰ δινόματα τῶν ἐπ' ἔξοδῳ καταλελεγμένων.

Another note speaks of “a place at Athens by the Prytaneion, where stand the statues which they call Eponymoi” (τόπος Ἀθήνησιν παρὰ πρυτανεῖον, ἐν δὲ ἑστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες, οὓς ἐπωνύμους καλοῦσιν). The Eponymoi can hardly be said to have been “by the Prytaneion,” which was outside the Agora proper (p. 166). Possibly what is meant is the Tholos or Prytanikon (p. 184).

233. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 53, 4.

Ca. 329–322 B.C.

νῦν δ' εἰς στήλην χαλκῆν¹ ἀναγράφονται, καὶ ισταται ἡ στήλη πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου παρὰ τοὺς ἐπωνύμους. ·

¹ εἰς τὴν βουλήν Harp.

But now they (the ephebes) have their names inscribed on a bronze plate which stands in front of the Bouleuterion by the Eponymoi.

Cf. Harpokration στρατεία ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις (399 n.).

A number of limestone bases with cuttings in their tops for bronze stelai triangular in plan have been found in the vicinity of the site assigned to the Eponymous Heroes (see 245 n.).

234. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 449, 22.

The headquarters of the various archons are given here and we are told

δ ἄρχων (i.e. the eponymous archon) παρὰ τοὺς ἐπωνύμους;

but Judeich points out (p. 348, n. 2) that this is probably merely a corruption of *Ath. Pol.*, 3, 5 (where the archon is placed in the Prytaneion), due to the title of the “eponymous” archon and perhaps to a confusion about the Prytaneion similar to that of the Schol. on the *Peace* above (see 232 n); cf. 588.

235. Demosthenes, XX (*Leptines*), 94.

355/4 B.C.

καὶ πρὸ τούτων γ' ἐπέταξεν ἐκθεῖναι πρόσθε τῶν ἐπωνύμων καὶ τῷ γραμματεῖ παραδοῦναι, τοῦτον δ' ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀναγιγνώσκειν, οὐ' ἔκαστος ὑμῶν ἀκούσας πολλάκις καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν σκεψάμενος, δὲν ἦ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα, ταῦτα νομοθετῆ.

Before this he ordered that the laws should be displayed before the Eponymoi and handed over to the clerk, and he should read them at the meetings of the assembly, so that each of you having heard them often and considered them at leisure, might vote for measures which were just and advantageous.

Demosthenes is of course speaking loosely when he says that Solon ordered proposed laws to be displayed *before* the Eponymoi, since the ten tribal heroes were not instituted till the time of Kleisthenes.

The Schol. remarks that the statues stood in a conspicuous place (ἐν ἐπισήμῳ τόπῳ).

236. Demosthenes, XXI (*Meidias*), 103.

347 B.C.

καὶ γὰρ οὗτ' ἀνεκρίνατο ταύτην ὁ συκοφάντης ἐκεῖνος, οὕθ' οὗτος οὐδενὸς εἰνεκ' αὐτὸν ἐμισθώσατο, πλὴν οὐ' ἐκκέοιτο πρὸ τῶν ἐπωνύμων καὶ πάντες ὅρθεν, “Εὔκτήμων Λουσιεὺς ἐγράψατο Δημοσθένην Παιανιέα λιποταξίου”.

For the false accuser did not proceed to the preliminary examination of this case, and in fact Meidias hired him simply in order that the notice might appear before the Eponymoi for all to see, “Euktemon of Lousia indicted Demosthenes of Paiania for desertion.”

237. Demosthenes, XXIV (*Timokrates*), 8.

353/2 B.C.

Ιδὼν δ' ἡδικηκότα κοινῇ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τὴν εἰσπραξιν τῶν εἰσφορῶν καὶ περὶ τὴν ποίησιν τῶν πομπείων, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐπωνύμων καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντα καὶ οὐκ ἀποδιδόντα, ἥλθον ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετ' Εὔκτήμονος.

Seeing that he had wronged the whole city in the matter of the collection of property-tax and the making of the processional vessels, and was keeping and refusing to hand in moneys belonging to the goddess and the Eponymoi, I approached him along with Euktemon.

The Schol. says that the Eponymoi received a fiftieth (of booty etc.?) for certain sacrifices (τὸ πεντηκοστὸν εἰς ιδίας τινὰς θυσίας). Cf. XLIII (*Makartatos*), 58; LVIII (*Theokrines*), 14.

The tribes had their own cults of their particular heroes; we have no further information of a common cult of the ten, if indeed such a cult is implied here.

238. Demosthenes, XXIV (*Timokrates*), 18.

353/2 B.C.

προστάττει πρῶτον μὲν ἐκθεῖναι πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων γράψαντα σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ.

The prescribed procedure is that first the proposer should write out his law and display it before the Eponymoi for anyone who wishes to examine.

239. Demosthenes, XXIV (*Timokrates*), 23.

353/2 B.C.

πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁ βουλόμενος Ἀθηναῖον ἐκτιθέτω πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων γράψας τοὺς νόμους οὓς ἂν τιθῇ, δημοσίᾳ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος

τῶν ἐκτεθέντων¹ νόμων ψηφίσηται δ δῆμος περὶ τοῦ χρόνου τοῖς νομοθέταις. ὁ δὲ τιθεὶς τὸν καινὸν νόμον ἀναγράψας εἰς λεύκωμα ἐκτιθέτω πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων δσημέραι, ἕως ἢν ἐκκλησία γένηται.

¹ Some MSS have τεθέντων.

Before the meeting of the Ekklesia any Athenian who wishes shall write out and set forth before the Eponymoi the laws which he proposes, so that in view of the number of laws set forth the people may pass a vote for the Nomothetai on the question of time. He who is proposing the new law shall write it up on a whitened board and set it forth before the Eponymoi each day until the Ekklesia takes place.

From a document headed ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΟΤΟΝΙΑ ΝΟΜΩΝ.

Demosthenes says (24) that these laws concerning the proper procedure for legislation have been in existence for a long time. In 25 he again speaks of the display of new laws before the Eponymoi, which Timokrates has neglected.

240. *Etym. Magnum.*

12th c. A.D.

ἐπώνυμοι.

οἱ κατὰ ἀρετὴν διαπρέποντες ἀστοὶ καὶ ξένοι χαλκαῖς εἰκόσιν ἐτιμῶντο· ἀφ' ὧν ἐνίων καὶ ταῖς φυλαῖς ἐτίθετο ὄνομα παρὰ γοῦν τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπωνύμων τούτων εἰστηγοῦντο τοὺς νόμους πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι κυρίους, ἵν' ἐντυγχάνοντες αὐτοῖς οἱ βουλόμενοι κατηγοροῦεν.

Those who were outstanding in goodness, citizens and foreigners, were honored with bronze statues. From some of these the tribes got their names..... The Athenians brought forward the laws, before they were ratified, beside the statues of these Eponymoi, so that those who wished might criticize them when they came upon them.

Photios and Suidas say the same with insignificant verbal differences.

A further note in the *Etym. Magnum* gives the names of the ten Eponymoi (with the corruption 'Ἀλμᾶς for 'Ἀκάμας) and says the tribes were instituted by Kleisthenes, the Eponymoi chosen by ὁ Πύθιος.

Note also Suidas, ἅρχων (588).

241. Isaios, V (*Dikaiogenes*), 38. Ca. 389 B.C.

Ἐπ' αἰσχίστῳ ἐπιγράμματι ἔξετέθη αὐτοῦ τοῦνομα ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων, ὅτι οἵδε εἰς σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως ὑποσχόμενοι τῷ δῆμῳ εἰσίστειν χρήματα ἔθελονται οὐκ εἰσήνεγκαν.

His name was posted up before the Eponymoi; the terms of the notice were most shameful—"These men having voluntarily promised to the people to contribute money for the safety of the city failed to pay."

242. Isokrates, XVIII (*Kallimachos*), 61.

Ca. 402 B.C.

Ἐψηφίσασθε ἡμᾶς στεφανῶσαι καὶ πρόσθε τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἀνειπεῖν, ὡς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ὄντας.

You passed a decree to give us a crown and to announce it before the Eponymoi, on the ground that we were responsible for great benefits.

The benefits consisted in bringing a ship home safely after Aigospotamoi and bringing in grain in defiance of Lysander.

243. Libanios, *Declam.*, XXIX (I, *Apologia Socratis*) 43. 4th c. A.D.

οὐ μεστοὶ γεγόναμεν τῶν πρὸ τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἐκκειμένων, ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος τὸν δεῖνα ἐγράψατο; ἀλλ' οὐχ' ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος Σωκράτη 'Αλωπεκῆθεν.

Have we not been sated with notices set out before the Eponymoi, "so-and-so son of so-and-so indicted so-and-so"? But we have not had notices saying, "So-and-so son of so-and-so indicted Socrates of Alopeke."

244. Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 17.

2nd c. A.D.

Σκύθης μὲν ἔστι, σοφὸς δὲ ὃν μετεπαίδευσέ με, καὶ ἀλλα βελτίω μαθήματα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐιδίδαξατο· ὥστε εὔεργέτης ὑμῶν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀναγγεράφθω καὶ χαλκοῦν αὐτὸν ἀναστήσατε παρὰ τοὺς ἐπωνύμους ἢ¹ ἐν πόλει παρὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν.

¹ ἢ is not in the MSS and is added by O. Müller.

Anacharsis is a Scythian, but he is wise and has given me a new education, and taught me better lessons and better habits; so his name must be recorded as your benefactor, and you must set up a bronze statue of him by the Eponymoi or on the Acropolis beside Athena.

Solon speaks. The reference to the Eponymoi is anachronistic, since the ten tribes were instituted by Kleisthenes.

245. Pausanias, I, 5.

2nd c. A.D.

ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἑστήκασιν ἡρώων, ἀφ' ὧν Ἀθηναίοις ὕστερον τὰ ὄνόματα ἔσχον αἱ φυλαὶ· στις δὲ κατεστήσαστο δέκα ἀντὶ τεσσάρων φυλάς εἰναι καὶ μετέθετό σφισι τὰ ὄνόματα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων, Ἡροδότῳ καὶ ταῦτα ἐστιν εἰρημένα. τῶν δὲ ἐπωνύμων — καλοῦσι γάρ οὕτω σφᾶς — ἔστι μὲν Ἰπποθόων Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀλόπης θυγατρὸς Κερκύνονος, ἔστι δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους, γενόμενος ἐκ Μήδας Ἡρακλεῖ τῆς Φύλαντος, καὶ τρίτος Αἴας δὲ Τελαμῶνος, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηναίων Λεώς. δοῦναι δὲ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ λέγεται κοινῇ τὰς θυγατέρας τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος. Ἐρεχθεύς τέ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις, ὃς ἐνίκησεν Ἐλευσινίους μάχῃ καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἀπέκτεινεν Ἰμάραδον τὸν Εύμόλητον· Αἴγεύς τέ ἐστι καὶ Οίνεύς Πανδίονος υἱὸς νόθος καὶ τῶν Θησέως παίδων Ἀκάμας. Κέροπτα δὲ καὶ Πανδίονα — εἶδον γάρ καὶ τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις εἰκόνας — οὐκ οἶδα οὖς ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ. Πανδίονι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνδριάς ἐστιν ἐν ἀκροπόλει θέας ἀξιος. οἵδε μέν εἰσιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπώνυμοι τῶν ἀρχαίων· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶνδε φυλάς ἔχουσιν, Ἀττάλου τοῦ Μυσοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἥδη βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ.

Higher up stand statues of heroes, from whom afterwards the tribes took their names at Athens. Who fixed the number of tribes at ten instead of four and gave them new names instead of the old ones—all this is related by Herodotus. Amongst the Eponymoi—that is what they call them—are Hippothoon the son of Poseidon and of Alope daughter of Kerkyon, and Antiochos, one of the children of Herakles, born to him of Meda daughter of Phylas; thirdly there is Ajax son of Telamon; and from Athens there is Leos,

who is said to have given up his daughters for the common safety in accordance with an oracle. Another of the Eponymoi is Erechtheus, who defeated the Eleusinians in battle and killed their leader Immardos son of Eumolpos; there is also Aigeus, and Oineus, bastard son of Pandion, and, of the children of Theseus, Akamas. As for Kekrops and Pandion—I saw statues of these too among the Eponymoi—I do not know which bearers of these names the Athenians thus hold in honor.....

There is another statue of Pandion worth seeing, on the Acropolis. These are the Eponymoi at Athens who are of the ancients. But of later date they have tribes named after Attalos the Mysian and Ptolemaios the Egyptian, and in my own time the Emperor Hadrian.

Herodotus, V, 66 and 69; the allusion is of course to the reforms of Kleisthenes, 508/7 B.C.

For Leos see p. 108 (LEOKORION).

The tribe Attalis was created and named after Attalos I of Pergamon in 200 B.C.

The date of the institution of Ptolemais, named according to Pausanias (521) after Ptolemy II Philadelphos (285–246 B.C.), is disputed. Dinsmoor, in *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 285, gives it as 222 B.C., in the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes.

Pausanias does not mention the creation, in 307 B.C., of the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias (264). These two tribes were abrogated at the end of the third century B.C. Cf. p. 208.

The word ἀνωτέρω creates a topographical difficulty. A long rectangular base, with arrangements for an enclosing fence, has been found east of the Metroon, stretching north to south on the opposite side of the street. In form this base suits the Eponymoi admirably; and its site would be suitable but for the word ἀνωτέρω. It is not higher up than the Bouleuterion and Tholos (597), but it does come naturally between them and the statues and temple of Ares which follow (117). Even before this difficulty was known it had been suggested that ἀνωτέρω should be emended to ἀπωτέρω (Ross, *Theseion*, p. 64; see Wachsmuth, I, p. 165); and now E. Vanderpool in his discussion of Pausanias' route (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 129) renews this suggestion. One notes however that Pausanias' idiom is not ἀπωτέρω alone but with ἔστι

(I, 14, 5), δόλιγον (I, 32, 7; 38, 9; II, 3, 2 and 6), or δόλιγῷ (I, 39, 2). Perhaps ἀνωτέρῳ is simply a slight mistake of Pausanias himself.

For the monument in question see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 106 and 137; XXI, 1952, p. 92.

(240). Photios and Suidas

See *Etym. Magnum*.

We have no epigraphical references to the Eponymoi with the possible exception of *Athenian Tribute Lists*, D 8, line 21 (II, p. 52 and III, p. 16). Here Meritt now suggests that the place where the *sanis* with the names of defaulting

cities is to be set up may be not πρόσθε[ν τῷ βέματος] (i.e. presumably of the Bouleuterion), as formerly restored, but πρόσθε[ν τῶν ἡρόον]. One should note, however, that in literature the formula is always πρὸ οὐ πρόσθε τῶν ἐπωνύμων. The date is 426/5 B.C. and this would be our earliest reference. See *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 92, n. 12.

A 5th century boundary stone at Samos has the inscription

ἵρος τεμένος ἐπονύμον Ἀθένεθεν

(see *I.G.*, I², p. 284, 89; *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIV, 1919, p. 2).

EURYSAKEION

Eurysakes had a temenos (Suidas), an altar (Pausanias) at Athens. The temenos of Eurysakes was in Melite (Harpokration) where Eurysakes settled (Solon in Plutarch).

The Kolonus Agoraios was by the Eurysakeion, and men for hire stood there (Pollux, who adds "in the agora," Hypothesis to *Oedipus Coloneus*; cf. Harpokration and Suidas on "Kolonetas", 286, 290).

Decrees of the Salaminioi were set up in the Eurysakeion (*I.G.*, II², 1232; Agora I 3244), and a decree of Aiantis (Agora I 3625).

Ajax too was honored at Athens (Pausanias) and an ephebic decree was set up in his temenos (Agora I 286; apparently also in the agora; cf. also *I.G.*, II², 1008; see 248n).

For the site, see 254.

246. Harpokration. 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Εὔρυσάκειον: ‘Υπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα. τέμενός ἐστιν Εύρυσάκους τοῦ Αἰαντοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις οὗτως ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐν Μελίτῃ.

Eurysakeion. Hypereides in his speech against Aristogeiton. There is a precinct of Eurysakes the son of Ajax at Athens called by this name, in Melite.

See also 286.

Melite extended to the southwest and west of the agora, and probably included the Kolonus Agoraios, which was probably merely a district, not a distinct deme, as has sometimes been assumed (cf. Schol. Aristophanes, *Birds*, 997, p. 21 above; and see D. Lewis in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, L, 1955, p. 16).

247. Hesychios. 5th c. A.D. (?)

Κολωνός. παροιμία· ὅψ' ἥλθες δλλ' εἰς τὸν κολωνὸν ἴεσο. ἐλέγετο δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν μισθαρούντων.

Kolonus. A proverbial saying, "You have come late; be off to the Kolonus." The

expression was used of men working for hire.

Cf. Hesychios' note on ὅψ' ἥλθες, where it is explained that men who came late for a job were sent back to the μισθωτήριον, which was on the Kolonus.

248. Pausanias, I, 85, 3. 2nd c. A.D.

ἐστι δὲ ὁ γορᾶς ἔτι ἐρείπια καὶ ναὸς Αἰαντοῦ, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἔξ οὗλου διαμένουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε τῷ Αἴαντι παρὰ Ἀθηναῖοι τιμαὶ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Εύρυσάκει, καὶ γὰρ Εύρυσάκους βωμός ἐστιν ἐν Ἀθήναις.

(In Salamis) there are still remains of an agora, and a temple of Ajax, and a statue of ebony; and to this day honors continue to be paid amongst the Athenians to Ajax himself and to Eurysakes; for there is an altar of Eurysakes at Athens.

Pausanias seems to imply that Eurysakes and his father were closely associated in their cult; cf. W. S. Ferguson (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 18;

see below on Agora I 3244). “On being adopted in 508/7 B.C.” (as a tribal hero, cf. Herodotus, V, 66) “he was accommodated in the temenos of his son Euryssakes.” This is by no means clear however; there are two references to a shrine of Ajax himself.

These references may well be to the shrine at Salamis, in which case they are not relevant. But in support of the belief that it was at Athens one should note (a) that the inscriptions were actually found at Athens and nothing is said about their being duplicates; (b) in *I.G.*, II², 1011, in a similar context (i.e. in a decree recording honors from the people of the island of Salamis to the ephebes, inscribed along with ephebic decrees of the Athenian people) instructions are given to set up the stele “beside Demokratia” (line 62), and one naturally assumes that this is the Demokratia in the agora at Athens mentioned in 996 below.

I.G., II², 1008 mentions an Aianteion (line 87 στ[ῆσαι] ἐν τῷ Αἰαντείῳ), and Agora I 286, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 220–239, mentions a temenos of Ajax (lines 140–141, στῆσαι <έ>ν τῷ | τεμένει τοῦ Αἰαντος). In both, the context is a decree recording the Salaminians’ appreciation of the services of the ephebes, who had, as was customary, sailed to Salamis, taken part in the Aianteria, and sacrificed to Ajax (Agora I 286, lines 21–23; *I.G.*, II², 1008, lines 22–23).

Agora I 286 is a large stele found in many pieces chiefly in and near the Late Roman Fortification in the area of Pier 5 of the Stoa of Attalos (see *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 223). It is inscribed with five ephebic decrees; lines 140–141 of no. V (of 128/7 B.C.) prescribe that the stele should be set up in the temenos of Ajax. *I.G.*, II², 1008 is also a large stele with several ephebic decrees, found in many pieces at the church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa; line 87 of its decree III (118/7 B.C.) prescribes that the stele should be set up in the Aianteion.

But other decrees on both contain instructions that the stelai should be set up *in the agora* (Agora I 286, line 99, στῆσαι ἐν ἀγορᾷ; the same formula is restored in lines 42 and 113; the whole passage is lost in the fourth decree; *I.G.*, II², 1008, lines 42 and 73).

This implies that the Aianteion was in the agora; but it need not also imply that the Aianteion in the agora was distinct from the Eurysakeion on the Kolonos Agoraios. The part of the Kolonos Agoraios on which the Eurysakeion lay may have been considered as belonging to the agora (cf. Pollux below).

See also p. 49.

249. Plutarch, *Solon*, 10, 2. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

τὸν δὲ Σόλωνά φασιν ἀποδεῖξαι τοῖς δικασταῖς ὅτι Φιλαῖος καὶ Εύρυσάκης, Αἴαντος υἱοί, Ἀθήνησι πολιτείας μεταλαβόντες παρέδοσαν τὴν νῆσον αὐτοῖς, καὶ κατώκησαν ὃ μὲν ἐν Βραυρῶνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὃ δὲ ἐν Μελίτῃ.

They say that Solon proved to the judges that Philaios and Euryssakes, the sons of Ajax, having received citizenship at Athens handed over the island to the Athenians, and settled in Attica, the one at Brauron, the other at Melite.

The “judges” are the arbitrators in the dispute of Athens and Megara over Salamis, ca. 600 B.C.

250. Pollux, VII, 132–133. 2nd c. A.D.

οἱ δὲ κολωνίτας, ὡς ‘Υπερείδης· δύο γὰρ ὄντων κολωνῶν ὃ μὲν ἵππιος ἐκαλεῖτο, οὐ Σοφοκλῆς μέμνηται ὡς Οἰδίποδος εἰς αὐτὸν καταφυγόντος, ὃ δ’ ἦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸ Εύρυσάκειον, οὐ συνήεσαν οἱ μισθαρνοῦντες· ὅθεν καὶ τοῦτ’ ἔστιν εἰρημένον, ὅψ’ ἥλθες, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὸν κολωνὸν ἰεσο.

Some (call hired men) Kolonitai, as does Hypereides for example. There are two Kolonoi; the one, which Sophocles mentions as the place where Oedipus took refuge, was called Hippios; the other was in the agora by the Eurysakeion, where the hired men gathered—from this practice comes the saying, “You have come late; be off to the Kolonos.”

251. Hypothesis II to Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἵππῳ Κολωνῷ τὸ δρᾶμα κεῖται. ἔστι γάρ καὶ ἔτερος Κολωνὸς ἀγοραῖος πρὸς τῷ Εύρυσακείῳ, πρὸς δὲ οἱ μισθαρνοῦντες προεστήκεισαν, ὡστε καὶ τὴν παροιμίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς καθυστερίζουσι τῶν καιρῶν διαδοθῆναι ὅψ’ ἥλθες, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸν Κολωνὸν ἰεσο.

μνημονεύει τῶν δυεῖν Κολωνῶν Φερεκράτης ἐν Πετάλῃ διὰ τούτων.

οὗτος, πόθεν ἥλθες; εἰς Κολωνὸν ιέμην,
οὐ τὸν ἀγοραῖον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἵππεων.

The scene of the play is the so-called Kolonos Hippios. There is another Kolonos, called Agoraios, by the Eurysakeion,

by which the hired men took their stand; as a result of this the saying, "You have come late; be off to the Kolonos," became current with reference to people who missed their chances. Pherekrates in his *Petale* mentions the two *Kolonois* in these words, "You there, where have you come from? (Answer) I was off to Kolonos, not the Kolonos Agoraios but the one of the knights."

Pherekrates, comic poet of late 5th century B.C. (Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 184, no. 134).

252. Suidas.

10th c. A.D.

Εύρυσάκειον. τέμενός ἐστιν Εύρυσάκου τοῦ Αἰαντοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις οὔτως δνομαζόμενον.

Eurysakeion. There is a shrine of Eurysakes the son of Ajax at Athens called by this name.

See also Kolonetas under *HEPHAISTOS* (290).

253. *I.G.*, II², 1232, lines 20–24.

End of 4th c. B.C.

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψῆφον
[φισμα εἰς στήλας] λιθίνας δύο καὶ [σ]
τῆσαι
[τὴν μὲν ἐν τῷ] Εύρυσακείῳ, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ
[περιβόλῳ? τοῦ] νεώ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς
Σκιράδ
[ος: ---]

This decree is to be inscribed on two stone stelai, of which one is to be set up in the Eurysakeion, the other in the enclosure of the temple of Athena Skiras.

A base of Pentelic marble, found between the theatre of Dionysos and the Odeion of Herodes, inscribed with a decree of the Salaminioi, honoring certain persons.

254. Agora I 3244, lines 11, 35–36, 52–54, 84–85, 88.

363/2 B.C.

A pedimental stele of Pentelic marble, found as a cover for a cistern south of the Hephaisteion

put in to close the opening when a well (C 9: 16), dug through it in Roman times, was filled up.

The inscription gives the decision of arbitrators in a dispute about the administration of cults between the two branches of the γένος Salaminioi, of Heptaphylai and Sounion, followed by a decree of the γένος for putting the decision into effect.

As regards Eurysakes, his priesthood, line 11,
τὴν τῷ Εύρυσάκος (ἱερωσύνην)

like that of others is to be common to both branches. Certain perquisites of his priest are mentioned, including, lines 35–36

σκέλος καὶ δέρματος ἐν Εύρυσακείῳ Δ + + δραχμάς

"in lieu of the legs and the skins in the Eurysakeion 13 drachmas."

The same person is to be priest of Eurysakes and the unnamed hero at Hale, lines 52–54

τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ιερέα είναι τῷ Εύρυσάκει καὶ τῷ ήρωι τῷ επὶ τῇ δάλη.

The decree of the Salaminioi prescribes (lines 84–85) that the stele shall be set up

ἐν τῷ Εύρυσακείῳ

and mentions a sacrifice to Eurysakes, line 88
ὅγδοι επὶ δέκα Εύρυσάκει: Ὡν: ΔΔΔΔ.

This stele is fully discussed by Ferguson in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 1 ff., no. 1. Another stele (Agora I 3894), of Hymettian marble, was found very close to this, in a tunnel for a conduit of Roman date (C 9); it is dated "about a century later"; and records further agreements about religious matters between the two branches of the Salaminioi. Nothing further is said about the Eurysakeion, and the place where the stele was to be set up is not recorded. See *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 9 ff., no. 2.

Agora I 3625 (decree of the tribe Aiantis, set up in the Eurysakeion; see 255) was also found in close association with these two. It is natural to assume that all three were brought here together from the same place, that this place was the Eurysakeion, and that the Eurysakeion was not far away; also that it was an important center for the Salaminioi (see Ferguson, pp. 16 and 56) and possibly the tribe Aiantis.

See also addendum, p. 225.

255. Agora I 3625, lines 27–33. 327/6 B.C.

τὸ δὲ ψῆφον
φισμα τόδε ἀναγράψῃ
αἱ τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς
τοὺς ἐφ' ‘Ηγήμονος ἄρχοντας
χοντος ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στῆσαι ἐν
τῷ Εύρυστακεῖῳ.

The epimeletai of the archonship of

Hegemon shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and set it up in the Eurysakeion.

Pedimental stele of Pentelic marble, found in the filling of a well (C 9: 16), the same well as that in which I 3244 (254) was found, recording honors to the *thesmotethes* of Aiantis. These epimeletai were annual tribal officers. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 94, no. 15.

HARMODIOS AND ARISTOGEITON

Statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton stood in the agora (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* and *Ecclesiazusae*; Lucian, *De Parasito*; Lykourgos); in the Kerameikos (Arrian); in the orchestra (Timaios); after the temple of Ares and before the Odeion (Pausanias); on the way up to the *polis*, opposite the Metroon not far from the altar of the Eudanemoi (Arrian).

There was an epigram on the base (Agora I 3872). Harmodios and Aristogeiton were the first to have honorary statues in the agora (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*; cf. Pliny, Demosthenes).

One group was by Antenor (Pausanias; Praxiteles according to Pliny), set up in 510 B.C. (Pliny); another by Kritios (Pausanias) and Nesiotes (Lucian, *Philopseudes*), set up in 477/6 B.C. (Marmor Parium). The original group was taken by Xerxes (Arrian, Pliny, Valerius Maximus; cf. Dio Chrysostomos) to Susa (Arrian); and sent back by Alexander (Arrian, Pliny), Antiochos (Pausanias) or Seleukos (Valerius Maximus).

Others were debarred from setting up honorary statues near (*I.G.*, II², 450, 646). But Antigonos and Demetrios were set up in a chariot near by (Diodoros, who also mentions an altar of these two; *I.G.*, II², 646); and Brutus and Cassius were voted statues beside Harmodios and Aristogeiton (Dio Cassius).

Enagismata were made to Harmodios and Aristogeiton by the polemarch (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*; Pollux). The spot was a possible place of asylum (Hermogenes).

256. Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, 681–8.

391 B.C.

Βλ. τὰ δὲ κληρωτήρια ποιῶ τρέψεις;
Πρ. εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καταθήσω·
κἄτα στήσασα παρ' ‘Αρμοδίῳ κληρώσω
πάντας, ἔως ἣν
εἰδὼς δὲ λαχών ἀπίη χαίρων ἐν ὅποιώ
γράμματι δειπνεῖ.

Ble. And where will you put the allotment machines?

Pra. I will put them in the agora; and then placing them by the statue of Harmodios I will make everyone draw lots until each one having drawn his lot goes off delighted, knowing under which letter he dines.

This is part of Praxagora's plan for making the dikasteria and stoas into public dining-halls (see 7).

For the *klerotaria*, devices which were used for the allocation of citizens for various functions, see p. 149 below.

257. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 631–4. 411 B.C.

ἀλλ' ἔμοῦ μὲν οὐ τυραννεύσουσ', ἐπεὶ φυλάξομαι
καὶ φορήσω τὸ ξίφος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν μύρτου
κλαδί,
ἀγοράσω τ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔξης Ἀριστογείτονι,
ῶδε θ' ἔστηξω παρ' αὐτόν.

But they will not tyrannize over me; for I will keep guard, and carry my sword in future in a branch of myrtle; I will appear in the agora armed, ranging myself with Aristogeiton, and I will take my stand by him like this.

The chorus of old men are speaking of the revolutionary designs of the women.

258. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 58, 1.

Ca. 329–322 B.C.

δὲ πολέμαρχος θύει μὲν θυσίας τήν τε τῇ
‘Αρτέμιδι τῇ ἀγροτέρᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ, διατίθησι δ' ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον τοῖς τετελευτη-

κόσιν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ Ἀρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ἐναγίσματα ποιεῖ.

The polemarch makes sacrifice to Artemis Agrotera and to Enyalios, and arranges the funeral games in honor of those who have been killed in war, and makes offerings to Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

259. Aristotle, *Rheticic*, I, 9, 38 (1368a).

Ca. 330 B.C.

καὶ εἰς ὃν πρῶτον ἔγκωμιον ἐποιήθη, οἷον εἰς Ἰππόλοχον, καὶ Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα τὸ ἐν ἀγορᾷ σταθῆναι.

(We must employ amplification in praising) . . . if a man was the first on whom an encomium was pronounced, as was Hippolochos, or the first who had his statue set up in the agora, as were Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

260. Arrian, *Anabasis*, III, 16, 8. 2nd c. A.D.

πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατελήφθη αὐτοῦ, ὅσα Ξέρχης ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄγων ἤλθε, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ Ἀρμόδιου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος χαλκαῖ εἰκόνες. καὶ ταύτας Ἀθηναίοις ὅπιστα πέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ νῦν κείνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ αἱ εἰκόνες, ἥ ἀνιμεν ἐς πόλιν, καταντικρὺ μάλιστα τοῦ μητρώου, <οὐ>¹ μακρὰν τῶν Εὐδανέμων τοῦ βωμοῦ ὅστις δὲ μεμύηται ταῖν θεαῖν ἐν Ἐλευσīνī, οἴδε τοῦ² Εὐδανέμου τὸν βωμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου ὅντα.

¹ οὐ is restored by the editors.

² The MSS have τὸν which is variously corrected, as above or to τὸν Εὐδανέμου βωμόν.

Many other things which Xerxes brought with him from Greece were found there (i.e. in Susa), including the bronze statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. These last Alexander sent back to Athens, and the statues now stand in the Kerameikos, where we go up to the Acropolis, not far from the altar of the Eudanemoi, just about opposite the Metroon. Whoever has been initiated into the mysteries of the goddesses at Eleusis knows that the altar of Eudanemos is on the flat space.

The vague and disputed expression “where we go up to the Acropolis,” interpreted by

Judeich (p. 340) as referring to a street leading round the west of the Areopagus, can now in the light of the excavations be best explained as meaning the processional way (see p. 224) which leads across the agora northwest to southeast. A site on this street east of the Metroon would suit Pausanias' itinerary, probably also Timaios' reference, and certainly the place of the discovery of the base.

The Eudanemoi were a family of whom all we know is that they had a lawsuit with the Kerykes about certain religious property (Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Deinarchos*, 11). Presumably the Eudanemos who had an altar at Eleusis was their eponymos.

What Hesychios means by his note Εὔδανεμος· ἀγγελος παρὰ Ἀθηναῖοις we do not know. There is a difference among the authorities as to whether the name has an aspirate or not.

Arrian says in VII, 19, 2 that Alexander ordered that all statues removed by Xerxes from Greece to Asia should be handed over to the Greek ambassadors who had come to Babylon with congratulations and requests, and in this way the bronze statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton were restored to Athens, along with the seated image of Artemis Kelkeia.

261. Demosthenes, XX (*Leptines*), 70.

355/4 B.C.

διόπερ οὐ μόνον αὐτῷ τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκαν οἱ τότε, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα, ὡσπερ Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος, ἔστησαν πρώτου. ἦγοῦντο γάρ οὐ μικρὰν τυραννίδα καὶ τοῦτον τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχὴν καταλύσαντα πεπαικέναι.

Because of this the men of that time not only granted Konon exemption from public burdens, but also set up a bronze statue of him as of Harmodios and Aristogeiton; he was the first after them to receive this honor. For his fellow citizens thought that he too in overthrowing the dominion of the Lacedaemonians had put an end to no light tyranny.

Demosthenes also speaks of the honors paid to Harmodios and Aristogeiton in XIX (*De Falsa Legatione*), 280 and XX (*Leptines*), 18 and 127, without mentioning the statues however. See also Schol. XXI (*Meidias*), 62, 702.

For Konon see p. 213.

262. Dio Cassius, XLVII, 20, 4.

2nd–3rd c. A.D.

ἔκεινοι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας σφίσι χαλκᾶς παρά τε τὴν τοῦ Ἀρμοδίου καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀριστογείτονος, ὡς καὶ ζηλωταῖς αὐτῶν γενομένοις, ἔψηφίσαντο.

The Athenians also voted them bronze statues beside the statue of Harmodios and the statue of Aristogeiton, on the ground that they had emulated these men.

Brutus and Cassius, in 44 B.C. (see also p. 208).

263. Dio Chrysostomus, XXXVII, 41.

1st c. A.D.

οἶδα δ' ἔγώ καὶ Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα δουλεύσαντας ἐν Πέρσαις.

I know that Harmodios and Aristogeiton too suffered slavery amongst the Persians.

264. Diodorus Siculus, XX, 46, 2. 1st c. A.D.

οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, γράψαντος ψήφισμα Στρατοκλέους, ἔψηφίσαντο χρυσᾶς μὲν εἰκόνας ἐφ' ἀρμάτος στῆσαι τοῦ τε Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Δημητρίου πλησίον Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος· στεφανῶσαι δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἀπὸ τολάντων διακοσίων, καὶ βωμὸν ἴδρυσαμένους προσαγορεῦσαι Σωτήρων· πρὸς δὲ τὰς δέκα φυλὰς προσθεῖναι δύο, Δημητριάδα καὶ Ἀντιγονίδα.

The Athenians, on the proposal of Stratokles, passed a decree to set up gold statues of Antigonos and Demetrios in a chariot, near Harmodios and Aristogeiton, and to crown them both at a cost of two hundred talents, and to establish an altar and call it “the altar of the Saviors”; and to add to the ten tribes two more, Demetrias and Antigonis.

307 B.C. For the altars of Antigonos and Demetrios cf. Plutarch, *Demetrios*, 10 and 12.

265. Hermogenes, τέχνη ῥητορική, περὶ τῶν στάσεων, I, 7. 2nd c. A.D.

καταφυγόντος Κριτίου ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀρμοδίους καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος εἰκόνας βουλεύονται Ἀθηναῖοι εἰ χρὴ αὐτὸν ἀποσπᾶν.

Kritias having taken refuge at the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the Athenians debate whether they ought to tear him away.

A theme of the rhetoricians; cf. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, III, p. 7, IV, pp. 172–173, V, p. 72. Kritias is the leader of the Thirty.

266. Lucian, *De Parasito*, 48. 2nd c. A.D.

οὗτος τοίνυν πάλιν ὁ παράσιτος τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν τυραννουμένην εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφείλετο, καὶ νῦν ἔστηκε χαλκοῦς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ μετὰ τῶν παιδικῶν.

This parasite then, when the city of the Athenians was subject to a tyrant, restored it to freedom, and he now stands in bronze in the agora along with his beloved.

A parasite maintains that Patroklos was the parasite of Achilles, Aristogeiton of Harmodios, etc.

267. Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 18. 2nd c. A.D.

ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ εἰσιόντων ἄφεσ ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ Κριτίου καὶ¹ Νησιώτου πλάσματα ἔστηκεν, οἱ τυραννοκτόνοι.

¹ καὶ Ross. The MSS have τοῦ.

Never mind those on the right as you go in, amongst which are the figures of the Tyrannicides made by Kritios and Nesiotes.

In a fictitious collection containing also Myron's Diskobolos and Polykleitos' Diadoumenos.

268. Lykourgos, *Leokrates*, 51. 330 B.C.

εὐρήσετε δὲ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἀθλητὰς ἀνακειμένους, παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς τὸν τύραννον ἀποκτείναντας.

You will find that at other cities statues of athletes are set up in the agoras, at Athens statues of good generals and of the Tyrannicides.

- 269.** Marmor Parium, Epocha LIV, 70 (*I.G.*, XII, Fasc. V, 444; Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, II, 239).

αἱ εἰκόνες ἐστάθησαν Ἀρμόδιου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι[ν] Ἀδειμάντου.

The statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton were set up in the archonship of Adeimantos at Athens.

477/6 B.C.; presumably the later pair.

The Marmor Parium is an inscribed stele from Paros giving historical events down to 264/3 B.C.

- 270.** Pausanias, I, 8, 5.

2nd c. A.D.

οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστᾶσιν Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων οἱ κτείναντες "Ιππαρχον" αἵτις δὲ ἦτις ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ ἔργον ὅντινα τρόπον ἔπραξαν, ἔτεροις ἐστιν εἰρημένα. τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων οἱ μὲν εἰσὶ Κριτίου τέχνη, τούς δὲ ἄρχαίους ἐποίησεν Ἀντίνωρ. Ξέρξου δέ, ὡς εἶλεν Ἀθήνας ἐκλιπόντων τὸ ἄστον Ἀθηναίων, ἀπαγαγομένου καὶ τούτους ἀτε λάφυρα, κατέπεμψεν ὑστερὸν Ἀθηναίοις Ἀντίοχος.

Not much further on stand Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who killed Hipparchos. The reason why this happened and the manner in which they did the deed have been related by others. Of the statues, the one pair is the work of Kritios, the old pair was made by Antenor. Xerxes, when he took Athens after the Athenians had left the city, took away these last as spoils, but they were later sent back to the Athenians by Antiochos.

After the statues associated with the temple of Ares (117) and before the Odeion (521).

In I, 29, 15 Pausanias mentions the graves of Harmodios and Aristogeiton amongst those on the way to the Academy.

- 271.** Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 17.

1st c. A.D.

Athenienses nescio an primis omnium Harmodio et Aristogitoni tyrannicidis publice posuerint statuas; hoc actum est eodem anno, quo et Romae reges pulsi.

Some MSS have "primi."

The Athenians set up statues officially to Harmodios and Aristogeiton the Tyrannicides, who were, I rather think, the first to receive such statues; this was done in the same year in which at Rome the kings were expelled.

510 B.C.

- 272.** Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 70.

1st c. A.D.

Harmodium et Aristogitonem tyrannicidas, quos a Xerxe Persarum rege captos victa Perside Atheniensibus remisit Alexander.

Harmodios and Aristogeiton the tyrant-killers, whom, when they had been captured by Xerxes king of Persia, Alexander after his conquest of Persia sent back to the Athenians.

This occurs mistakenly in a list of works by Praxiteles.

- 273.** [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 833b.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

γενομένης δὲ παρὰ πότον ζητήσεως, τίς ἄριστός ἐστι χαλκός, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν διαφερομένων, αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἀριστον είναι ἐξ οὗ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων πεποίηνται.

While they were drinking the question arose which was the best bronze, and while the majority expressed different opinions he (Antiphon) said that the best was that of which the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton were made.

- 274.** Pollux, VIII, 91.

2nd c. A.D.

Says the same as Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, with minor differences and concluding
καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἀρμόδιον ἐναγίζει.

- 275.** Theodoretos, *Therapeutika*, VIII, 117, 41.

5th c. A.D.

τιμητέον δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας ὑπὸ Ἀρμόδιου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος ἐκδίκως ἀναιρε-

θέντας. ὅλλα τούναντίον ἔδρασαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· τοὺς γὰρ ἀνελόντας χαλκαῖς εἰκόσιν ἐτίμησαν καὶ τῷ γένει τῷ τούτων ἀτέλειαν ἔδωρήσαντο.

Honor must be paid then to the sons of Peisistratos too, who were wrongfully destroyed by Harmodios and Aristogeiton. But the Athenians did just the opposite of this—they honored the men responsible for the deed with bronze statues, and granted their descendants exemption from dues.

276. Timaios Sophistes, *Lexicon Platonicum*.
4th c. A.D.

δρχήστρα· τὸ τοῦ θεάτρου μέσον χωρίον, καὶ τόπος ἐπιφανῆς εἰς πανήγυριν, ἐνθα 'Αρμοδίου καὶ 'Αριστογείτονος εἰκόνες.

Orchestra: the central part of the theatre, and also a conspicuous place for a festal gathering, where stood the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

For the orchestra see p. 162.

277. Valerius Maximus, II, 10, ext. 1.
1st c. A.D.

Harmodii et Aristogeitonis, qui Athenas tyrannide liberare conati sunt, effigies aeneas Xerxes ea urbe devicta in regnum suum transtulit. longo deinde interiecto tempore Seleucus in pristinam sedem reportandas curavit. Rhodii quoque eas urbi suae adpulsas cum in hospitium publice invitassent, sacris etiam in pulvinaribus conlocaverunt.

The bronze statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who tried to free Athens from tyranny, when the city was conquered were taken by Xerxes to his kingdom. After a long interval Seleucus had them brought back to their original place. The Rhodians too, when they were brought by ship to their city, invited them officially to an entertainment and even placed them on the sacred couches.

278. I.G., II², 450, lines b 7–12. 314/3 B.C.

ἐ[ξεῖ]
ναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ εἰκόνα στ
ῆσαι ἑαυτοῦ χαλκῆν ἐφ' ἵππ
ου ἐν ἀγορᾷ ὅπου ἂμ βούλη
ται πλὴν παρ' Ἀρμόδιον καὶ
'Αριστογείτον[α].

He shall be allowed to set up a bronze equestrian statue of himself in the agora wherever he wishes except by Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

Two fragments found on the Acropolis, with honors to a Macedonian, Asandros.

279. I.G., II², 646, lines 37–40.

295/4 B.C.

στῆσαι δ' αὐτο[ῦ]
[τὸν δῆμον καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν ἀγορ[ᾶ]
[ι πλὴν παρ' Ἀρμόδιον καὶ 'Αριστογείτο
[να καὶ τοὺς Σωτ]ῆρας.

The Demos shall set up a bronze statue of him in the agora anywhere except by Harmodios and Aristogeiton and the Saviors.

The “Saviors” were Antigonos and Demetrios. This is from a marble stele found on the Acropolis, where it was to be set up, recording the grant of citizenship and other honors to Herodoros, for his mediation with Antigonos and Demetrios.

280. Agora I 3872.

477/6 B.C.

[Ξ μέγ' Ἀθεναῖοι φόος γένεθ' ἐνίκ' 'Αριστο-
γείτονος ἡίππαρχον κτεῖνε καὶ] ἱαρμόδιοι[ς]
[----- πα]τρίδα γέν εἴθετεν

A great light rose for the Athenians when Aristogeiton and Harmodios killed Hipparchos made their fatherland.

Two fragments of a marble base, found in a modern or Turkish fill east of the temple of Ares and north of the Odeion (M 8), *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 355, no. 1; VI, 1937, p. 352.

Because of the style of the lettering, Meritt thinks that this base was made for the later group, though the earlier base which it replaced may have carried the same epigram. C.B. Kardara however (*A.J.A.*, LV, 1951, pp. 293 ff.) thinks it belongs to Antenor's group; cf.

A. Raubitschek, *Dedications from Akropolis*, p. 514, and *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 58, n. 2.

The first couplet is preserved entire by Hephaestion, IV, 6, and the epigram is attributed by him to Simonides, though the attribution has been much doubted.

HEPHAISTOS

The temple of Hephaistos was above the Kerameikos and the Basileios, with the shrine of Aphrodite Ourania near (Pausanias). One went up from a bronzeworker's establishment to the Hephaisteion (Andokides).

The Hephaisteion, with the Eurysakeion (*q.v.*) was on the Kolonos Agoraios, which was near the agora (Harpokration, Suidas).

The torture of a slave takes place there (Isokrates), and an arbitration (Demosthenes). An altar is mentioned (*I.G.*, I², 84) and a table (*I.G.*, I², 370–371).

By the statue of Hephaistos, which was probably the one by Alkamenes, mentioned by Cicero and Valerius Maximus, stood a statue of Athena (Pausanias; cf. *I.G.*, I², 370–371; for the association of Hephaistos and Athena cf. Plato, Augustine, *I.G.*, I², 84, 370–371, II², 223).

281. Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 40.
399 B.C.

ἴδων δὲ Εὔφημον τὸν Καλλίου τοῦ Τηλεκλέους ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῷ χαλκείῳ καθήμενον, ἀναγαγών αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Ἡφαιστεῖον λέγειν ἅπερ ὑμῖν ἔγω εἴρηκα, ὡς ἴδοι ήμᾶς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ.

(Diockleides said that) seeing Euphemos, the brother of Kallias son of Telekles, sitting in the bronze-foundry, he took him up to the shrine of Hephaistos and told him what I have narrated to you, how he saw us on that night.

I.e. the night of the mutilation of the Herms in 415 B.C.

The identification of the temple of Hephaistos as the so-called "Theseum" on the Kolonos Agoraios west of the agora is now generally accepted; "now that the American excavations have brought to light the foundries, casting-pits, and slag-furnaces characteristic of the metalworkers' quarter there can no longer be any doubt as to this attribution" (Dinsmoor in the introduction to his full discussion of the building in *Hesperia*, Supplement V, p. 1; see also p. 3 and note 7). The date of the building is given by Dinsmoor (*op. cit.*, p. 154) as ca. 449–444 B.C. See also **681**.

H. Koch, in *Studien zum Theseustempel*, Berlin, 1955, disputes the identification and assigns the temple to Theseus and Herakles jointly. There is no evidence for such a temple.

282. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 12.
4th–5th c. A.D.

Verum, quod fatendum est, refellunt et a suis diis repellunt ista doctiores, qui hanc opinionem fabulosam hinc exortam ferunt, quia in templo Vulcani et Minervae, quod ambo unum habebant Athenis, expositus inventus est puer dracone involutus, qui eum significavit magnum futurum et propter commune templum, cum essent parentes eius ignoti, Vulcani et Minervae dictum esse filium.

But, it must be admitted, learned men reject these legends and dissociate their gods from them; this fictitious idea, they say, arose from the fact that in the temple of Vulcan and Minerva, which the two shared at Athens, a boy was found exposed, wrapped in the coils of a snake, indicating a great future for him; because of the shared temple, they say, since the boy's parents were unknown, he was said to be the son of Vulcan and Minerva.

Augustine is speaking of the story of the birth of Erichthonios.

Mrs. Semne Karouzou has restored the sculpture on the pedestal of the cult statues in the Temple of Hephaistos as a representation of the

birth of Erichthonios, and has brought it into connection with the passage in Augustine (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXIX–LXX, 1954–1955, pp. 68–94).

283. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 316, 23.

Χαλκῶ· ὅνομα τόπου ὃπου ὁ χαλκὸς [πιπρά-
σκεται] πιπράσκεται δὲ ὃπου τὸ ‘Ηφαιστεῖον.

Chalko: the name of a place where bronze is sold; and it is sold where the Hephaisteion is.

284. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, I, 30 (83).

45 B.C.

Et quidem laudamus Athenis Vulca-
num, eum quem fecit Alcamenes, in quo
stante atque vestito leviter appetet clau-
dicatio non deformis.

Indeed we praise the Vulcan at Athens,
made by Alkamenes; the figure is stand-
ing and clothed; the god's lameness is
shown unobtrusively and is not unsightly.

285. [Demosthenes], XXXIII (*Apatourios*),
18. Not before 341 B.C.

δύολογήσας δὲ ἔξοισεν τὰς συνθήκας ὁ
Ἀριστοκλῆς ἐμφανεῖς μὲν οὕπω καὶ τίμερον
ἐνήνοχεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν συγκειμένην
ἀπαντήσας εἰς τὸ ‘Ηφαιστεῖον, προύφασί¹ετο
ὡς ὁ παῖς περιμένων αὐτὸν ἀπολωλεκὼς εἴη
τὸ γραμματεῖον καθεύδων.

Aristokles promised to bring the arti-
cles of agreement, but to this day he has
not produced them; he turned up at the
Hephaisteion on the appointed day, but
he made the excuse that his servant while
waiting for him had fallen asleep and lost
the document.

The meeting here mentioned was for the
purpose of an arbitration in a case involving a
loan on security of a ship.

286. Harpokration. 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Κολωνέτας: ‘Υπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀπελ-
λαῖον περὶ τοῦ θησαυροῦ. τούς μισθωτοὺς
Κολωνέτας ὠνόμαζον, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τῷ Κο-
λωνῷ είστηκεσαν, ὃς ἐστι πλησίον τῆς ἀγορᾶς,
ἔνθα τὸ ‘Ηφαιστεῖον καὶ τὸ Εύρυστάκειόν ἐστιν.’

ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ὁ Κολωνὸς οὗτος ἀγοραῖος. ἦν δὲ
καὶ ἔτερος Κολωνὸς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος
ἱερόν, ὃς ‘Υπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ’ Αὐτοκλέους.
οὗτος δ’ ἂν εἴη ὁ τῶν ἴππεων. Φερεκράτης
Πετάλη

οὗτος, πόθεν ἤκεις; ἐς Κολωνὸν ιέμην,¹
οὐ τὸν ἀγοραῖον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἴππεων.
Δημοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Κολωνῆθεν φησι. περὶ τῶν
Κολωνῶν Διόδωρος τε ὁ περιηγητὴς καὶ
Φιλόχορος ἐν γ’ Ἀτθίδος διεξῆλθεν.

¹ MSS ἢ μήν.

Kolonetas. Hypereides in his speech against Apellaios about the treasure. They used to call hired men Kolonetai, since they stood by the Kolonos (hill) which is near the agora, where the Hephaisteion and the Euryssakeion are. This Kolonos was called Agoraios. There was also another Kolonos in the direction of the shrine of Poseidon, as Hypereides says in his speech against Autokles. This will be the Kolonos of the knights. Pherekrates says in his *Petale*, “You there, where are you coming from? (Answer) I was off to Kolonos, not the Kolonos Agoraios but the one of the knights.” Demosthenes uses the name in speaking of the men from Kolonos (Kolone?). Diodorus the periegete gives an account of the Kolonoi and so does Philochoros in book III of his *Atthis*.

Pherekrates, comic poet of late 5th century B.C. (251). Demosthenes—the reference is perhaps to XXI (*Meidias*), 64 and LIX (*Neaira*), 22, though the language is obscure and the text perhaps corrupt (Dindorf suggests δὲ τὸν for ἐν τοῖς). Diodorus (37 in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, s. v.) wrote on the Attic demes, 3rd century B.C. (Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III B, no. 372, 7). Philochoros, see Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III B, no. 328, 26.

Κολωνῆθεν means “from Kolone” more properly than “from Kolonos,” but there is confusion about the names in the commentators.

287. Isokrates, XVII (*Trapeziticus*), 15.

Ca. 393 B.C.

προσῆλθεν ἡμῖν φάσκων ἔτοιμος είναι παρα-
δοῦναι βασανίζειν τὸν παῖδα. ἔλόμενοι δὲ
βασανιστὰς ἀπηντήσαμεν εἰς τὸ ‘Ηφαιστεῖον.

κάγω μὲν ἡξίουν αὐτούς μαστιγοῦν τὸν ἔκδοθέντα καὶ στρεβλοῦν.

Some MSS have δέκα before βασανιστάς.

He approached us saying that he was ready to hand over the slave to be examined under torture. We chose torturers and turned up at the Hephaisteion. And I asked them to whip and put on the rack the slave who had been given up for the purpose.

288. Pausanias, I, 14, 6.

2nd c. A.D.

ὑπέρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην βασίλειον ναός ἐστιν Ἡφαίστου. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἄγαλμά οἱ παρέστηκεν Ἀθηνᾶς, οὐδὲν θαῦμα ἐπιοιύμην τὸν ἐπὶ Ἔριχθονίῳ ἐπιστάμενος λόγον· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὅρῶν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς γλαυκούς ἔχον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς Λιβύων τὸν μῆθον ὄντα εὔρισκον· πλησίον δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας.

Above the Kerameikos and the stoa called Basileios is a temple of Hephaistos. That a statue of Athena stands by him caused me no surprise since I know the story about Erichthonios. When I saw that the statue of Athena had blue-gray eyes I found that the myth was that of the Libyans. Near by is a shrine of Aphrodite Ourania.

This follows 198 and precedes 106.

289. Plato, *Kritias*, 112B.

4th c. B.C.

τὰ δ' ἐπάνω τὸ μάχιμον αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ μόνον γένος περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Ἡφαίστου τε ἱερὸν κατωκήκειν, οἷον μίας οἰκίας κῆπον ἐνὶ περιβόλῳ προσπεριβεβλημένοι. τὰ γάρ πρόσθορρα αὐτῆς ὕκουν οἰκίας κοινὰς καὶ συστίτια χειμερινὰ κατασκευασάμενοι, καὶ πάντα ὅσα πρέποντ' ἦν τῇ κοινῇ πολιτείᾳ δι' οἰκοδομήσεων ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν.

In the upper parts the warrior class lived segregated, in the neighborhood of the shrine of Athena and Hephaistos, which they had surrounded like the garden of a single house with a single enclosure. They inhabited the northern parts of the Acropolis, where they had

constructed common dwellings and mess-halls for use in winter and everything else which was fitting for the life of the community in the way of buildings for their personal use and for religious purposes.

From the description of early Athens; the Acropolis, says Kritias, was then vastly bigger than today; erosion has reduced it; then it extended from the Pnyx to Lykabettos. See Broneer in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, p. 47.

Note also 109C; and for the "Garden of Hephaistos" see p. 221.

290. Suidas.

10th c. A.D.

Κολωνέτας: οὗτος ὁνόμαζον τοὺς μισθωτούς, ἐπειδὴ περὶ τὸν κολωνὸν εἰστήκεσαν, ὃς ἐστι πλησίον τῆς ἀγορᾶς· ἔνθα τὸ Ἡφαιστεῖον καὶ τὸ Εύρυσάκιον ἐστιν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ὁ κολωνὸς οὗτος ἀγοραῖος. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἔτερος κολωνὸς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν· οὗτος δ' ἦν εἶται ὁ τῶν ἵππεων.

Kolonetas. This is what they used to call hired men, since they stood in the neighborhood of the Kolonus (hill) which is near the agora, where the Hephaisteion and the Erysakion are. This Kolonus was called Agoraios. There was also another Kolonus in the direction of the shrine of Poseidon. This will be the Kolonus of the knights.

291. Valerius Maximus, VIII, 11, ext. 3.

1st c. A.D.

Tenet visentis Athenis Vulcanus Alcamenis manibus fabricatus: praeter cetera enim perfectissimae artis in eo procurrentia indicia etiam illud mirantur, quod stat dissimulatae claudicationis sub veste leviter vestigium repraesentans, ut non exprobratum tamquam vitium, ita tamquam certam propriamque dei notam decore significatam.

Visitors at Athens are impressed by the Vulcan made by the hands of Alcamenes; besides the other conspicuous signs of his supreme art there is one thing in particular which they admire; the

god's lameness is masked; he stands there displaying some trace of it unobtrusively beneath his garment, and this is not a blemish with which fault could be found, but a definite and appropriate distinguishing mark of the god, becomingly represented.

292. *I.G.*, I², 84 (*S.E.G.*, X, 93), lines 17, 31–32,
38, 45. 421/0 B.C.

A decree about the re-organization of the Hephaistia; found (a) at the church of St. Demetrios Katephores, (b) near the church of Kapnikaraia.

Hephaistos and Athena are associated, line 17,
[ἐν τῷ ιερῷ τῷ?] τῷ ἡ[φα]ίστῳ καὶ τῇς Ἀθε-
ναῖς.

An altar is mentioned, lines 31–32,
τὸς δ[ὲ β]οῦ[ς] ἱέκαστον ἀπὸ σάλ] πινγος [προσαγαγῆν πρὸς τὸν βομόν.
(for this restoration see Ziehen, *Hermes*, LXVI, 1931, p. 281); and in line 38
τὸν δὲ βομὸν τῷ ἡφαί[στοι].

The decree was to be set up, line 45
[ἐν τῷ ιερῷ.

293. *I.G.*, I², 370–371 (*S.E.G.*, X, 267). 421–415
B.C.

Three fragments, I formerly at the church of St. Demetrios Katephores, II “in Gasparis casa prope Hadriani viam sita” (north of the agora), III at the church of Kapnikaraia; inscribed with a decree about the erection of two statues, which were most probably those of Hephaistos and Athena.

In I we have the names of those in charge of the work, line 2

ἐπιστάται ὁγαλμάτοιν ἐ[ς τὸ ἡ]εφαίστιον.

They began the work in the archonship of Aristion (421/0 B.C.) (line 5); the final accounts were made in 416/5 B.C.

In III are mentioned the purchase of bronze (line 2), and of tin, line 5

ἐς τὸ ἄνθεμο[ν],

lead for the ἄνθεμον and the fastenings of the stones of the pedestal, lines 12, 13

τοῖς δεσμοῖς τῶν λίθων τῷ βάθρῳ,
twelve κρατευτοί (pigs) (line 13); payment of those who made
τὸ ἄνθεμον ὑπ[ὸ] τὸν ἀσπίδα
(lines 9, 10); wood and charcoal for the lead (line 14); payment to one who made a table (line 15), and to one who set up the statues (lines 16, 17)
ἐσαγαγόντ[ι] τὸ [άγ]άλματε καὶ στέσαντι ἐν τῷ νεῖ.

Wood was bought to make the frames (τὸ κλίμακε, line 18) in which the two statues were brought in, and those in which the stones for the pedestal were conveyed (lines 19, 20); and to fence in the pedestal of the statues and the doors (line 21), and to make scaffolding around the statues and ladders up to the scaffolding (lines 22, 23; see R. P. Austin in *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, p. 289, where it is shown that ἵκρισσαι and ἵκρια refer to temporary scaffolding used in adjusting the statues and removing the wooden frames).

See also Meritt in *A.J.P.*, LXII, 1941, p. 12, and Dinsmoor in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 48 and *Hesperia*, Supplement V, pp. 150, 152.

294. *I.G.*, II², 223. 348/2 B.C.

ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐπὶ Πιθιδότου [ἄρχοντος] ἀν[έ]-
θ[ηκεν]
‘Ηφαίστῳ στεφανωθεῖσ[α ύπὸ] τοῦ δήμου
ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης.

The Boule of the archonship of Pythodotos dedicated this to Hephaistos, after being crowned by the Demos for their virtue and justice.

A square base of Eleusinian stone, found in the church of St. Demetrios Katephores.

The third line should not be bracketed as in *I.G.*, II².

Beneath the above dedication and on the sides of the stone are inscribed decrees honoring the Boule and certain individuals, and a decree concerning a dedication to Hephaistos and (in spite of the actual dedication to Hephaistos alone) Athena Hephaistia, lines B, 3, 4

ἀναθεῖναι τό τε ἄγα
λμα – τῶι ‘Ηφαίστῳ κ]αὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶι τῇ
‘Ηφαιστίᾳ.

295. I.G., II², 2792.

332/1 B.C.

ἡ βουλὴ ἀνέθηκεν τῷ [Ἡφαίστῳ?
ἡ ἐπὶ Νικήτου ἄρχ[ο]ντος
στεφανω[θε]ῖσ[α ύπό τοῦ δήμου
ἄρε[τῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης.

The Boule of the archonship of Niketas dedicated this to Hephaistos (?) after being crowned by the Demos for their virtue and justice.

A base of Eleusinian stone; found at the church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa.

The name of Hephaistos occurs in lists of the temple treasures (accounts of the *tamiae* of the gods) for 429/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 310, line 139; cf. *S.E.G.*, X, 225) and for 423/2 (*I.G.*, II², 324, [ἱεφαίσ]το restored in line 90; cf. *S.E.G.*, X, 227).

A priest of Hephaistos is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1948 (stele of 2nd century A.D., with list of priests, found by the Asklepieion); *I.G.*, II², 2868 (marble base found at the church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa, with a dedication to Demeter and Kore by a priest of Hephaistos, 2nd century B.C., 218); and *I.G.*, II², 5069 (theatre seat).

HERMES

HERMES AGORAIOS, of bronze (Lucian, Pausanias), stood in the agora (Schol. Lucian; in the middle of the agora, Schol. Aristophanes), on the way to the Poikile near a gate (Pausanias). He was set up in the archonship of Kebris (Philochoros in Hesychios) and an altar was dedicated to him by Kallistratos ([Plutarch]). He was frequently copied (Lucian). The Sausageseller swears by him (Aristophanes).

"THE HERMS" (Mnesimachos in Athenaios) extended from the Poikile and the Basileios (Menekles-Kallikrates in Harpokration and Photios; cf. Aischines). They were numerous and dedicated by private individuals and magistrates (M.-K. in Harpokration). Kimon was allowed to set up three with inscriptions (Plutarch, cf. Demosthenes and Aischines). The place was frequented by Socrates (Theodoretos, quoting Porphyry). There was a barbershop near, where the Dekeleans met (Lysias). The phylarchs and their riding-pupils gathered there (Mnesimachos in Athenaios), and Xenophon recommends the Herms as a starting-point for the cavalry when going in procession round the agora. Demetrios erected a grandstand which overtopped the Herms (Athenaios).

"The Herms around the agora" suffered in the mutilation of 415 B.C. ([Plutarch] quoting Kratippos).

In the "Stoa of the Herms" the victors of the Strymon were allowed to set up three stone Herms with epigrams (Aischines, cf. Demosthenes and Plutarch). The Schol. on Demosthenes says there were three stoas at Athens, the Basileios, "of the Herms," and Peisianakteios. Antiphon mentions a stoa of the Herms (Harpokration) (cf. Tzetzes).

HERMES TETRAKEPHALOS, the work of Telesarchides (Eustathius, Photios), stood in the Kerameikos (Eustathius, Hesychios who adds "at the *triodos*," Photios) where he "saw everything" (Eustathius).

HERMS stood IN THE GYMNASIUM OF PTOLEMY (Pausanias who does not mention "the Herms").

HERMES AGORAIOS

296. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 296–8. 424 B.C.

Κλ. ὅμοιογῶ κλέπτειν· σὺ δ' οὐχί.
Αλ. νὴ τὸν Ἐρμῆν τὸν ἀγοραῖον,
κάππιορκῶ γε βλεπόντων.

Kleon. I admit that I am a thief. You are not.

Sausageseller. By Hermes Agoraios I am; and I perjure myself even when there are eye-witnesses.

297. Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 297.

ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἰδρυται 'Ἐρμοῦ ἀγοραίου
ἄγαλμα.

A statue of Hermes Agoraios is set up in the middle of the agora.

Cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 339, 1, where we are told that Hermes Agoraios was set up at Athens κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν.

298. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

ἀγοραῖος 'Ἐρμῆς οὗτος ἐλέγετο ὄντως¹ καὶ
ἀφίδρυτο Κέθριδος ἄρχαντος, ὃς μαρτυρεῖ
Φιλόχορος ἐν τρίτῳ.

¹ The text is doubtful here. The MSS have ὄντος. It has also been suggested that something has dropped out, e. g. ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἄγαλματος. Latte with Wilmowitz brackets ὄντος and reads ἄρχοντος for ἄρχαντος.

Agoraios Hermes. Hermes was in real fact so called. He was set up in the archonship of Kebris, according to the evidence of Philochoros in his third book.

Philocoros is the Attidographer of the 3rd century B.C.; Jacoby, *F.G. H.*, III B, no. 328, 31. The date of Kebris was after 587 and not later than 481 B.C. (Judeich, p. 369, note 4; T. J. Cadoux in *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948, pp. 119, 123).

299. Lucian, *Iuppiter Tragoedus*, 33.
2nd c. A.D.

ἀλλὰ τίς ὁ σπουδῇ προσιών οὗτος, ὁ χαλκοῦς,
ὁ εὔγραμμος καὶ εὐπερίγραπτος, ὁ ἀρχαῖος τὴν
ἀνάδεσιν τῆς κόμης; μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ σός, ὁ ‘Ερμῆ,
ἀδελφός ἐστιν, ὁ ἄγοραῖος, ὁ παρὰ τὴν Ποικί-
λην· πίττης γοῦν ἀναπέπλησται ὁσημέραι
ἐκματτόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδριαντοποιῶν.

But who is this who is approaching in haste, the bronze figure, with fine lines and graceful contours, his hair bound in archaic fashion? Oh, it's your brother, Hermes, the one from the agora, by the Poikile; at any rate he is covered with pitch from being modelled every day by the sculptors.

Lucian seems to imply that the Hermes Agoraios was not a "Herm" but a fully anthropomorphic statue.

The Schol. remarks that Hermes Agoraios was honored among the Athenians ὡς ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾳ ἴδρυμενος.

(80). Pausanias, I, 15, 1. 2nd c. A.D.

300. [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 844b.
1st–2nd c. A.D.

Καλλιστράτου Ἐμπέδου Ἀφιδναίου ἀνα-
θέντος τὸν βωμὸν τῷ Ἑρμῇ τῷ Ἀγοραίῳ.

Kallistratos son of Empedos of Aphidnai who set up the altar to Hermes Agoraios.

Kallistratos is the famous orator of the first half of the 4th century. Presumably this was not the first altar.

The Hermes πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι mentioned by [Demosthenes], XLVII (*Euergos and Mnesiboulos*), 26 (cf. Photios Ἐρμῆς ὁ πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι, quoting Philochoros) probably had no connection with the gate mentioned by Pausanias as being near the Hermes Agoraios, but was at Peiraeus; see Judeich, pp. 69, 153.

“THE HERMS”

301. Aischines, III (*Ktesiphon*), 183–5.

330 B.C.

“Ησάν τινες, ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ τοὺς
τότε καιρούς, οἱ πολὺν πόνον ὑπομείναντες
καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι
ποταμῷ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι Μήδους· οὗτοι
δεῦρο ἀφικόμενοι τὸν δῆμον ἡτησαν δωρεάν,
καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὡς
τότ’ ἐδόκει, τρεῖς λιθίνους ‘Ερμᾶς στῆσαι ἐν
τῇ στοᾷ τῇ¹ τῶν ‘Ερμῶν, ἐφ' ὅτε μὴ ἐπι-
γράφειν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἑαυτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν
στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δῆμου δοκῇ εἰναι τὸ
ἐπίγραμμα. ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν
ποιημάτων γνώσεσθε. ἐπιγέγραπται γάρ ἐπὶ¹
τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τῶν ‘Ερμῶν.

ἢν δρα κάκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἱ ποτε Μήδων
παισὶν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ βοάς,
λιμόν τ' αἴθωνα κρατερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες “Αρηα
πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὔρον ἀμηχανίην.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ.
ἡγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδ' ἔδωκαν
ἀντ' εὐεργεσίης καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς.
μᾶλλον τις τάδ' ιδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἔθε-
λήσει

ἀμφὶ ξυνοῖσι πράγμασι μόχθον ἔχειν.
ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπιγέγραπται ‘Ερμῆ·

ἔκ ποτε τῇσδε πόλησος ἀμ' Ἀτρείδησι Μενεσ-
θεύς

ἡγεῖτο Λάθεον Τρωικὸν ἀμ πεδίον,
ὸν ποθ' “Ομηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα χαλ-
κοχιτώνων

κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ἀνδρα μολεῖν.
οὐτῶς οὐδὲν ἀεικές Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι
κοσμητὰς πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἡνορέης.
ἐστι που τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄνομα; οὐδαμοῦ,
ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ δῆμου.

¹ The second τῇ is omitted in certain MSS.

There were at that time, Athenians, certain men who enduring great toil and facing great dangers conquered the Medes in battle at the river Strymon. They came to Athens and asked the Demos for a reward, and the Demos gave them great

honors, as it seemed in those days—the right to set up three stone Herms in the stoa of the Herms, on condition that they did not inscribe their own names (this was in order that the inscription might seem to belong not to the generals but to the Demos). That I am speaking the truth, you will see from the verses themselves. On the first of the Herms is written “They too were brave, who once against the children of the Medes, at Eion beside the waters of Strymon, bringing fiery hunger and cruel war, first taught their enemies to despair”; on the second, “To their leaders the Athenians gave these as a reward for their good deeds and their great valor. All the more will one who comes after, when he sees these things, be willing to endure hardship for the common wealth;” and on the third Herm is inscribed, “Once from this city, with the Atreidai, Menestheus led his men over the holy plain of Troy, Menestheus, whom Homer once declared to be the best commander in battle of all the well-armored Greeks who had come to Troy. Thus it is in no way unseemly for the Athenians to be called leaders in war and in manly strength.” Does the name of the generals anywhere appear? Nowhere; only the name of the Demos.

Aischines continues, “Pass on in thought to the Stoa Poikile too” (49).

The men referred to are Kimon and his colleagues, the occasion is the victory at Eion in 476/5 B.C.

The epigrams have been much discussed, and, along with certain other related epigrams, reshuffled; see especially Wade-Gery in *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 82ff., and Jacoby in *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 185ff. Wade-Gery transfers Aischines’ second and third epigrams to other monuments, and substitutes for them, on the two Herms, the two halves of the verses quoted by Diodorus, XI, 62 (*Palatine Anthology*, VII, 296), on the Eurymedon and Cyprus incidents; Aischines is quoting confusedly from a hypothetical book of verse-inscriptions which provided the orators with material. Wade-Gery follows Domaszewski in this (*Die Hermen der*

Agora zu Athen, Sitz. Ber., Heidelberg, 1914, Abh. 10). Jacoby, less drastically, makes a single poem on Eion out of Aischines’ epigrams, and transfers the third epigram to the beginning, cutting out its fifth and sixth verses as inept; Aischines took over his rhetorical manipulation of the poem from Leptines’ speech (see Demosthenes, 304).

In considering such speculations one should bear in mind that the monuments stood in a central, conspicuous and much frequented place; whether the verses were accessible in literary works or not, the Herms were certainly familiar objects to Aischines and his hearers. Aischines by recognized oratorical license can make free with historical events, but one doubts whether he could take more than slight liberties with monuments which were at hand and known to all.

The Stoa of the Herms too is very problematical. Apart from Aischines it is mentioned only by Antiphon in Harpokration, the Schol. on Aischines and Demosthenes, and Tzetzes. Its existence has been doubted, or it has been telescoped with another stoa, the Poikile or the Stoa of Zeus (Wade-Gery, p. 90, following Domaszewski; the Zeus Stoa now proves from the remains to be later than Wade-Gery assumes; but this is not a fatal objection—the Herms might have been placed there some time after their first erection). But the Poikile certainly and the Stoa of Zeus probably (i.e. if it is the same as the Basileios; see p. 30) already had two good names, and it is strange to add yet a third. Jacoby proposes to eliminate the words *ἐν τῷ στοῷ τῶν Ἐρμῶν* from the text of Aischines; this is arbitrary, and, I think, unnecessary.

I would suggest that there was a separate stoa called the Stoa of the Herms, but that it was not a great building like the Stoa of Zeus or the Poikile, but a comparatively modest structure, a columnar frame for an important group of Herms, in which they would stand as in a *πρόθυρον* (see Thucydides, VI, 27, 1). This would account for the references to it (in particular for Aischines’ statement), and at the same time for their rareness and for its absence in contexts where one might expect to find it (e.g. Demosthenes, XX [*Leptines*], 112, and Pausanias). Such a monument would form a part, the nucleus perhaps, of what was called “the Herms,” an accumulation and concentration of these ubiquitous Athenian dedications situated, one would gather from Menekles-Kallikrates in Harpokration (supported by Xenophon), in the northwestern part of the agora.

For the schol. on this passage, who includes the “Stoa of the Herms” among the “three stoas at Athens,” see 49 n above.

302. Athenaeus, IV, 167f. 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

τοῖς δὲ Παναθηναίοις ἵππαρχος ὃν ἱερίον ἔστησε πρὸς τοῖς Ἐρμαῖς Ἀρισταγόρᾳ μετεωρότερον τῶν Ἐρμῶν, Ἐλευσίνι τε μυστηρίων ὅντων ἔθηκεν αὐτῇ θρόνον παρὰ τὸ ἀνάκτορον, οἷμώξεσθαι φήσας τοὺς κωλύσοντας.

When he was hipparch at the Panathenaia he set up a platform for Aristagora by the Herms, higher than the Herms themselves, and at Eleusis on the occasion of the mysteries he placed a chair for her beside the temple, saying that any who tried to prevent him would suffer for it.

These stories are told of Demetrios, a descendant of Demetrios of Phaleron, on the authority of Hegesandros, an unreliable gossip-writer of the 2nd century B.C.

303. Athenaeus, IX, 402f. 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

Μνησίμαχος δ' ἐν Ἰπποτρόφῳ τοιαῦτα παρασκεύάλει·

βαῖν' ἐκ θαλάμων κυπαρισσορόφων
ζέξω, Μάνη· στεῖχ' εἰς ἀγοράν
πρὸς τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς
οὗ προσφοιτῶσ' οἱ φύλαρχοι
τούς τε μαθητὰς τοὺς ὡραίους,
οὓς ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους
κελευτῇ Φείδων καὶ καταβαίνειν·
οἰσθ' οὓς φράζω;
τούτοις τοίνυν ἄγγελλ' ὅτιὴ
ψυχρὸν τοῦψον, τὸ ποτὸν θερμόν

Mnesimachos in his *Hippotrophos* makes preparations in this fashion: Go forth from the chambers roofed with cypress wood, Manes; go to the agora, to the Herms, the place frequented by the phylarchs, and to their handsome pupils, whom Pheidon trains in mounting and dismounting—you know the ones I mean? Well then, tell them that the food is cold, the drink warm.

Mnesimachos is a comic poet of the middle of the 4th century B.C. (Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 437, no. 4).

4 m. north of what later proved to be the north wall of the Stoa of Zeus (Basileios? see p. 30) the “Bryaxis base” was found *in situ* in 1891 (*I.G., II²*, 3130; cf. Judeich, p. 363, n. 2). It has on three sides a relief of a tripod and a horseman, and it possibly carried a tripod. It is ascribed to the middle of the 4th century. On the fourth side is a dedication commemorating victories of a father and two sons as phylarchs in the Anthippasia, followed by the signature Βρύαξις ἐπόντεν. Judeich brings it into relation with the shrine of Demos and the Charites and Aphrodite; but more naturally it may be associated with the operations of the cavalry and the festal processions, and it may have stood in the area of “the Herms” (cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 7, 70).

A statue base of similar date and perhaps from the same area, inscribed with a dedication by hipparchs and phylarchs, has recently been found (Agora I 6532, built into foundations of a monument west of piers 17–18 of the Stoa of Attalos, P 8, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 50).

304. Demosthenes, XX (*Leptines*), 112.

355/4 B.C.

Ἐστι τοίνυν τις πρόχειρος λόγος, ὃς ἄρα καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων πόλιν ἀγαθόν εἰργασμένοι τινὲς οὐδενὸς ἡξιοῦντο τοιούτου, ὁλλ' ἀγαπητῶν ἐπιγράμματος ἐν τοῖς Ἐρμαῖς ἔτυχον· καὶ ἵσως τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσεται τούπιγραμμα.

There is an argument ready to hand, that at Athens in the time of our forefathers certain men who had done the city much good were not thought worthy of any such thing, but were satisfied when they got an epigram on the Herms; and probably my opponent will read this epigram to you.

(10). Schol. Demosthenes, XX (*Leptines*), 112.

305. Harpokration. 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Ἐρμαῖ. Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος καὶ ‘Υπερίδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Εύβούλου δωρεῶν. Μενεκλῆς ἢ Καλλικράτης ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀθηναίων¹ γράφει ταυτί· “ἀπὸ γάρ τῆς Ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως στοᾶς εἰσιν οἱ Ἐρμαῖ καλούμενοι. διὸ γάρ τὸ πολλοὺς κείσθαι καὶ

¹ More correctly, Αθηνῶν.

ύπὸ ἴδιωτῶν καὶ ὀρχόντων ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν εἰληφέναι συμβέβηκεν. ἐφ' ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπιγέγραπται γράμμασιν ὀρχαῖοις· ‘ἀντ’ εὐεργεσίης Ἀγαμέμνονα δῆσαν Ἀχαιοί.’” ὅτι δὲ καὶ Θρᾳκῶν² στοά τις ἐλέγετο δεδήλωκε καὶ Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νικοκλέα. ὅτι δὲ ἔκαλοῦντό τινες καὶ Ἰππάρχειοι ‘Ἐρμαῖ ὀπὸ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου εἱρηται ἐν τῇ ὀρχαῖα κωμῳδίᾳ καὶ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἐν τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ.

² This must be emended to ‘Ἐρμῶν. Otherwise the citation is irrelevant.

Herms. Aischines in his speech against Ktesiphon; and Hypereides in his speech on the gifts of Euboulos. Menekles or Kallikrates in his work on Athens writes, “From the Poikile and the Stoa of the King extend the so-called Herms. Because they are set up in large numbers both by private individuals and by magistrates they have acquired this name. On one of them is inscribed in ancient letters, ‘In return for benefits the Achaians put Agamemnon in fetters.’” That there was also a stoa called the stoa of the Herms is made plain by Antiphon in his speech against Nikokles. That certain Herms were also called Hipparcheioi after Hipparchos son of Peisistratos is stated in Old Comedy and in Plato, in the *Hipparchos*.

The work on Athens usually quoted as being by “Menekles or Kallikrates” (the relation of the two is not clear; possibly the second revised the work of the first) is of the 2nd or 1st century B.C. and seems to be reliable. See Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III B, 270, 2, p. 232.

The line ἀντ’ εὐεργεσίης κτλ. was proverbial for ingratitudo; cf. Zenobios, II, 11, where it is ascribed (impossibly) to “Maison of Megara,” and Suidas ἀντ’ εὐεργεσίης; see Wachsmuth, II, p. 391, note 1. Plato says (228d) that Hipparchos son of Peisistratos had Herms erected, with an inscription on one side saying that the Herm was mid-way between the city and such and such a deme, on the other giving a moral maxim; a fragmentary example of this series has been found: *I.G.*, I², 887; *Hermes*, LXX, 1985, p. 461; *Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1987, pp. 1–3.

The date of Antiphon’s speech against Nikokles is not long before 425 B.C.

306. Lysias, XXIII (*Pankleon*), 2–3.

Before 378 B.C.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι Δεκελειόθεν, προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τῇ Ἰπποθωντίδι δικάζοντας, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ κουρεῖον τὸ παρὰ τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς, ἵνα οἱ Δεκελειεῖς προσφοιτῶσιν, ἡρώτων,² οὓς τε ἔξευρίσκοιμι Δεκελειῶν ἐπυνθανόμην εἴ τινα γιγνώσκοιεν Δεκελειόθεν δημοτεύομενον Παγκλέωνα.

¹ ἔρμασινᾶς οἱ or ἔρμασινᾶς οἱ in some MSS.

² ἡρώτων has been doubted and some editors would cut it out and possibly read οὓς γε.

When he replied that he belonged to the deme Dekeleia, I summoned him also before the arbitrators of the tribe Hippothontis, and going to the barbershop by the Herms, the place frequented by the Dekeleans, I asked questions and tried to get information from those of the Dekeleans whom I found there, whether they knew any member of the deme Dekeleia called Pankleon.

The speaker is disputing Pankleon’s claim that he is a Plataean and therefore an Athenian citizen and a demesman of Dekeleia (understand δημοτεύοιτο with Δεκελειόθεν).

The meeting place of the Dekeleans is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1237, a stele found “ad villam regiam Tatoi,” i.e. at Dekeleia, giving decrees of the phratria of the Demotionidai, dated 396/5 B.C. The barbershop and the Herms are not mentioned. A notice is to be set up ἐν πινακίῳ λελευκωμένῳ... ὅποι ἀν Δεκελειῆς προσφοιτῶσιν ἐν ἄστει (lines 63–64, cf. also lines 122–123).

307. Pausanias, I, 24, 3.

2nd c. A.D.

λέλεκται δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον ὡς Ἀθηναῖοις περισσότερόν τι ἦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ θεῖα ἔστι σπουδῆς· πρῶτοι μὲν γάρ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπωνόμασαν Ἐργάνην, πρῶτοι δ’ ἀκάλους Ἐρμᾶς ⟨ἀνέθεσαν.⟩

I have said before that the Athenians are more extremely devoted to religious observances than other men; they were the first to name Athena Ergane, and the first to set up limbless Herms.

Cf. also IV, 33, 3, and Herodotos, II, 51, 1, where we are told that the Athenians got from

the Pelasgians and passed on to the other Greeks the custom of making Herms with ὄφθαλμοῖς; and Thucydides below (312).

308. Photios.

9th c. A.D.

Ἐρμαῖ: Μενεκλῆς ἡ Καλλικράτης ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀθηναίων γράφει ταῦτα· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως στοᾶς εἰσιν οἱ Ἐρμαῖ καλούμενοι· ἐκαλοῦντο δέ τινες καὶ Ἰππάρχειοι Ἐρμαῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου.

Herms. Menekles or Kallikrates in his work on the Athenians writes, “From the Poikile and the Stoa of the King extend the so-called Herms.” Certain Herms were also called Hipparcheioi after Hipparchos son of Peisistratos.

309. Plutarch, *Kimon*, 7, 3–5; 8, 1.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

καὶ τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς αὐτῷ τοὺς λιθίνους δὲ δῆμος ἀναθεῖναι συνεχώρησεν, δῶν ἐπιγέγραπται τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ . . . ταῦτα καίπερ οὐδαμοῦ τὸ Κίμωνος ὅνομα δηλοῦντα τιμῆς ὑπερβολὴν ἔχειν ἐδόκει τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις.

The people allowed Kimon to set up the stone Herms, on the first of which is the inscription. . . . on the second. . . . on the third. . . . these records though they nowhere showed the name of Kimon seemed to the men of that time to be something extraordinary as an honor.

Plutarch quotes the epigrams with the following differences from Aischines: in the first, in line 3, κρυερόν for κρατερόν; in the second, in line 2, μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν for μεγάλης ἀρετῆς; in line 4, ἀμφὶ περὶ ξυνοῖς πράγμασι δῆριν ἔχειν; in the third, in line 2, ἐξ πεδίον; in line 3 πύκα θωρητάων; in line 4, ὅντα for ἀνδρα; in line 6, κοσμηταῖς for κοσμητάς. Plutarch's versions are thought mainly preferable; see *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1988, p. 93 and *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 187.

This happened after Kimon's victory at Eion in 476/5 B.C. See note on Aischines (301).

310. [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 834d.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

νύκτωρ τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν Ἐρμᾶς περιέκοψαν, ὡς Κράτιππός φησιν.

By night they mutilated the Herms around the agora, according to Kratippus' account.

See Thucydides (312). Kratippus claimed to be a contemporary of Thucydides, but is probably Hellenistic.

311. Theodoretos, *Therapeutika*, XII, 175, 17. 5th c. A.D.

ἥν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτιμωμένων καὶ τάδε Σωκράτει, ὅτι εἰς τοὺς ὄχλους εἰσωθεῖτο καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς ταῖς τραστέλαις καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Ἐρμαῖς, ταῦτα περὶ Σωκράτους δὲ Πορφύριος ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλα ἀττα, ἀ ἐκῶν εἶναι παρέλιπτον.

Amongst the things with which Socrates was reproached was also this—that he pushed his way amongst the crowds and spent his time by the tables and by the Herms. Porphyrios said this about Socrates, and other things which I have deliberately passed over.

For the “tables” see p. 192.
Porphyrios—3rd century A.D.

312. Thucydides, VI, 27, 1.

5th c. B.C.

ἐν δὲ τούτῳ, δοσοι Ἐρμᾶς ἦσαν λίθινοι ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἀθηναίων (εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον, ἡ τετράγωνος ἐργασία, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν ίδιοις προθύροις καὶ ἐν Ἱεροῖς), μικροὶ νυκτὶ οἱ πλειστοὶ περιεκόπησαν τὰ πρόσωπα.

In the meantime, of the stone Herms in the city of Athens (these square-wrought figures, in accordance with local custom, stand in large numbers both in private entrances and in shrines or in entrance porches, both private and sacred) the majority had their faces mutilated in one single night.

ἱεροῖς may be taken as an adjective (with προθύροις); but the sense is hardly affected, since in any case the Herms would naturally stand at doors.

313. Tzetzes, *Scholia in Hermogenem* (Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca*, IV, 31). 12th c. A.D.

Ἐρμὰ δὲ εἰδωλά τινα καὶ ἀνδριάντες ἦσαν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῶν Ἐρμῶν τρεῖς λίθινοι ἐστῶτες.

τρεῖς καὶ γάρ ήσαν αἱ στοάι τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλει· μία μὲν ἡ βασίλειος, ἡ τῶν Ἐρμῶν ἐπέρα, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πισιάνακτος κτήτορος σχούσα κλῆσιν· τὴν δὲ περισσότερα κατωνόμασαν ἐσύστερον Ποικίλην.

The Herms were certain images and statues in the stoa of the Herms, three of stone standing upright. The city of Athens had three stoas; one was the Basileios, a second the stoa of the Herms, a third the one which took the name of Peisianax who founded it (the one which later they called Poikile).

(203). Xenophon, *Hipparchicus*, III, 2.

5th–4th c. B.C.

as there was a Hermes Tetrakephalos situated at the three ways in Kerameikos.

For Hermes Trikephalos see also *Etym. Magnum*, Harpokration and Suidas, under Τρικέφαλος; it was set up by Patrokleides (*Etym. Magnum*), or Prokleides, lover of Hipparchos (Philochoros in Harpokration and Suidas), and it stood near the Hestia Hodos (Isaios in Harpokration and Suidas) in Ankyle (Harpokration); Judeich (p. 188) places it in the south of Athens near the Itonian Gate. Thus it was not, as the Tetrakephalos may have been, one of the Herms of the agora.

The *Triphales* was probably produced in 410 or 409 B.C.

HERMES TETRAKEPHALOS

314. Eustathius, on *Iliad*, XXIV, 384.

12th c. A.D.

Ἐρμῆς τετρακέφαλος ἐν Κεραμεικῷ, Τελεσαρχίδου ἔργον, ὃ ἐπεγέγραπτο, ‘Ἐρμῆς τετρακέφαλε, καλὸν Τελεσαρχίδου ἔργον, πάνθ’ ὄράας.

Hermes Tetrakephalos in Kerameikos, the work of Telesarchides, on which was the inscription, “Hermes Tetrakephalos, fine work of Telesarchides, thou seest all things.”

Telesarchides is otherwise unknown.

315. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

Ἐρμῆς τρικέφαλος. Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Τριφάλητι τοῦτο ἔφη παίζων κωμικῶς, παρόστον τετρακέφαλος Ἐρμῆς ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ τῇ ἐν Κεραμεικῷ ἴδυτο.

Hermes Trikephalos. Aristophanes in the *Triphales* said this in jest, inasmuch

316. Photios.

9th c. A.D.

Ἐρμῆς τετρακέφαλος: ἐν Κεραμεικῷ Τελεσαρχίδου ἔργον.

Hermes Tetrakephalos, in Kerameikos, a work of Telesarchides.

Photios also has a note ‘Ἐρμῆς τρικέφαλος, without comment.

HERMS IN GYMNASIUM OF PTOLEMY

(458). Pausanias, I, 17, 2. 2nd c. A.D.

Numerous Herms and fragments of Herms of various types have been found in the Agora excavations, but none *in situ* and all from contexts of late Roman date or still later re-use. It is hardly possible to associate any of these with “the Herms” or with any Herm known from literary sources. Two foundations discovered in the northern part of the excavations, north-east of the temple of Ares, one on either side of the Panathenaic Way (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 96, 102) probably belonged to Herms; but these too are hardly within the area of “the Herms.”

HESTIA

See p. 128, BOULEUTERION, and p. 166, PRYTANEION.

LEOKORION

The Leokorion was regarded as the shrine of the daughters of Leos (Schol. Demosthenes, *Etym. Magnum*, Hesychios, Theodoretos), sacrificed for the safety of the city (Aelian, Schol. Libanios, Photios, Suidas, Schol. Thucydides; cf. Aristeides, Cicero, Pausanias).

It was apparently a familiar landmark (Demosthenes, Strabo), in the agora (Demosthenes), “in the middle of the Kerameikos” (Schol. Demosthenes, Harpokration quoting Phanodemos, Hesychios, Photios, Suidas), near the shop (?) of Pythodoros (Demosthenes; note also in Demosthenes its relation to Melite and the Pherrephattion).

Hetairai were to be found near (Alkiphron, Theophylaktos, *Epist.*; Apostolios may imply beggars too). The Leokorion is mentioned in connection with the Poikile and philosophers (Theophylaktos, *Quaest. Phys.*). Theodoulos mentions “shrines and altars” (cf. Aristeides).

Hipparchos was killed by the Leokorion while marshalling the Panathenaic procession (Aristotle, Thucydides).

For the position see p. 113; for the name see concluding note.

317. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, XII, 28.

2nd–3rd c. A.D.

Λεωκόριον Ἀθήνησιν ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ τέμενος τῶν Λεών θυγατέρων Πραξιθέας καὶ Θεόπητος καὶ Εύβουλης. ταῦτας δὲ ὑπέρ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀναιρεθῆναι λόγος ἔχει, ἐπιδόντος αὐτὰς τοῦ Λεών ἐς τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν Δελφικόν. ἔλεγε γάρ μὴ ἂν ἄλλως σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ ἔκειναι σφαγιασθεῖεν.

Leokorion was the name given at Athens to the shrine of the daughters of Leos, Praxithea, Theope and Euboule. The story goes that they met their death for the sake of the city of Athens, Leos giving them up to satisfy the Delphic oracle, which said that the city could not be saved except by their sacrifice.

318. Alkiphron, *Epist.*, III, 5 (III, 2), 1.

2nd c. A.D.

καὶ μικρὰ προσπαίξας “ἴθι πρὸς Διός”, εἶπεν, “ὦ βέλτιστε, καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ λουσάμενος ἤκε Ἀηδόνιον ἡμῖν τὴν ἐταίραν ἄγων. ἔστι δέ μοι συνήθης ἐπιεικῶς καὶ μένει, πάντως οὐκ ἄγνοεῖς, μικρὸν ἀπωθεν τοῦ Λεωκορίου.”

νεωκορίου in some MSS.

After jesting a little he said, “Go, my dear fellow, and after a little while, when you have bathed, bring the courtesan Aedonion here. She is on quite familiar terms with me, and she lodges, you must surely know, at a little distance from the Leokorion.”

The writer is a parasite; he describes how he hurries off παρὰ τὴν Ἀηδόνιον, but she tries to pour boiling water over him.

319. Apostolios, *Συναγωγὴ παροιμιῶν*, X, 53.

15th c. A.D.

Λεωκόριον οἰκεῖς· ἐπὶ τῶν λιμωττόντων.

You live at the Leokorion; an expression used of people who go hungry.

It is implied that beggars or very poor people frequented or lived near the shrine; see Judeich, p. 388, note 8, who suggests that the “proverb” may have arisen from a misunderstanding of Apostolios (due to the λιμός which was the occasion of the establishment of the shrine).

Apostolios gives an account of the Leokorion in the same terms as Suidas.

320. Aristeides, *Panathenaicus*, XIII, 119.

2nd c. A.D.

Λεώς δὲ ὅμοια τούτῳ βουλεύσας, ἐκστῆναι τῶν θυγατέρων καὶ οὗτος ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ (sc. λέγεται). . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις νενικηκίᾳ φανήσεται, Κόδρω μὲν δοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ κοσμήσασα καὶ παρ’ αὐτῇ κάν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ τὸ γένος, τῶν δὲ κορῶν Ἱερά διρυσαμένη καὶ θείας μοίρας ἀντὶ θνητῆς ἀξιώσασα ταῖς τιμαῖς.

With similar intention Leos too is said to have given up his daughters in the plague. But it will be clear that the city surpassed even these in conferring benefits; to Kodros she granted supreme power for his children and glorified the family both at Athens and abroad; as for the maidens she established shrines for them and in honoring them considered them worthy of a divine instead of a mortal share.

321. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 18, 3. 329–322 B.C.

ἡδη δὲ παρατηροῦντες ἐν ἀκροπόλει τοῖς Παναθηναίοις Ἰππίαν (ἔτύγχανεν γάρ οὗτος

μὲν δεχόμενος, δ' Ἱππαρχος ἀποστέλλων τὴν πομπήν), ιδόντες τινὰ τῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς πράξεως φιλανθρώπως ἐντυγχάνοντα τῷ Ἱππίᾳ καὶ νομίσαντες μηνύειν, βουλόμενοί τι δρᾶσαι πρὸ τῆς συλλήψεως, καταβάντες καὶ προεξαναστάντες τῶν ἀλλων,¹ τὸν μὲν Ἱππαρχον διακοσμοῦντα τὴν πομπήν παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόρειον ἀπέκτειναν, τὴν δ' ὅλην ἐλυμήναντο πρᾶξιν.

¹ The reading is uncertain here. Other suggestions are λοιπῶν, ἔτερων, συνωμοτῶν.

They kept a look out for Hippias on the Acropolis at the Panathenaia—it happened that he was receiving the procession, Hipparchos dispatching it. They observed one of their accomplices meeting Hippias in a friendly spirit and thought he was giving information; and wishing to accomplish something before they were arrested, they descended, and, stepping out before the rest, they killed Hipparchos as he was marshalling the procession by the Leokorion, thus bungling the whole affair.

In 514 B.C. Compare and contrast Thucydides' account (338). Cf. M. Lang in *Historia*, III, 1955, p. 405.

322. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, III, 19 (50).
45 B.C.

itemque Leonaticum est delubrum Athenis
quod Leocorium nominatur.

Many emendations for "Leonaticum" have been suggested—Leo natarum, Leoidum, Leontidum, Lei filiarum etc.

And likewise there is a shrine of the daughters of Leos at Athens, called the Leocorium.

Cicero gives this as another example of the way in which divine honors are given to great men and women as an incitement to virtue for others.

323. Demosthenes, LIV (*Konon*), 7, 8.
Ca. 362–345 B.C.

χρόνῳ δ' ὅστερον οὐ πολλῷ, περιπατοῦντος, ὃσπερ εἰώθειν, ἐσπέρας ἐν ἄγορᾳ μου μετὰ Φανοστράτου τοῦ Κηφισιέως, τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν

τινός, παρέρχεται Κτησίας ὁ νίος ὁ τούτου, μεθύων, κατὰ τὸ Λεωκόριον, ἔγγυς τῶν Πυθοδώρου. κατιδών δ' ἡμᾶς καὶ κραυγάσας, καὶ διαλεχθείς τι πρὸς αὐτὸν οὔτως ὡς ἀν μεθύων, ὥστε μὴ μαθεῖν ὃ τι λέγοι, παρῆλθε πρὸς Μελίτην ἄνω. ἐπινοι δ' ἄρ' ἐνταῦθα (ταῦτα γὰρ ὕστερον ἐπυθόμεθα) παρὰ Παμφίλῳ τῷ κναφεῖ Κόνων ούτοσί, Θεότιμός τις, Ἀρχεβιάδης, Σπίνθαρος ὁ Εύβούλου, Θεογένης ὁ Ἀνδρομένους, πολλοί τινες, οὓς ἔξαναστήσας ὁ Κτησίας ἐπορεύετ' εἰς ἄγοράν. καὶ ἡμῖν συνέβαινεν ἀναστρέφουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Φερρεφατίου καὶ περιπατοῦσιν πάλιν κατ' αὐτό πως τὸ Λεωκόριον εἶναι, καὶ τούτοις περιτυγχάνομεν.

Not long afterwards I was taking an evening stroll, as is my custom, in the agora with Phanostratos of Kephisia, one of my friends, when Konon's son Ktesias passed us, drunk, by the Leokorion, near the property of Pythodoros. When he saw us he shouted, and muttering something to himself as a drunken man will, so that I could not grasp what he said, he passed us and went up towards Melite. Now there was a drinking party going on there (we learnt this afterwards) at the house of Pamphilos the fuller, consisting of Konon here, one Theotimos, Archibiades, Spintharos son of Euboulos, Theogenes son of Andromenes, quite a number of people in fact. Ktesias roused them up and went to the agora. It happened that we, turning back from the Pherrephattion and strolling back again, were just about by the Leokorion when we met them.

The establishment of Pythodoros was presumably a shop or shops; see 625.

For Melite see p. 90. Presumably Ktesias left the agora at the southwest.

For the Pherrephattion see p. 85.

324. Schol. Demosthenes, LIV (*Konon*), 7.

ἡρῷον μνημεῖον τῶν Λεών κορῶν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ.

A hero shrine, a monument of the daughters of Leos, in the middle of the Kerameikos.

The Schol. then gives the story as in the second note of Photios and Suidas, naming the first daughter Phrasithea.

325. *Etym. Magnum.*

12th c. A.D.

Λεωκόριον, Ἱερὸν Ἀθήνησι τῶν Λεώ θυγατέρων. δὲ Λεώς, υἱὸς Ὀρφέως.

Leokorion, a shrine, at Athens, of the daughters of Leos; Leos was the son of Orpheus.

So also Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 277, 18.

326. Harpokration.

1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Λεωκόρειον, Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κόνωνος. τὸ δὲ Λεωκόρειον εἶναι φησι Φανόδημος ἐν θ' Ἀτθίδος ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ.

Leokoreion. Demosthenes in his speech *Against Konon*. Phanodemos in the ninth book of his *Atthis* says that the Leokoreion is in the middle of the Kerameikos.

Phanodemos wrote in the latter part of the 4th century B.C.; see Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III B, no. 325, 8.

327. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

Λεωκόριον. τῶν Λεώ θυγατέρων μνημεῖον τὸ καλούμενον Λεωκόριον ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ.

Leokorion. The so-called Leokorion, in the middle of the Kerameikos, is the monument of the daughters of Leos.

328. Schol. Libanios, *Declam.*, XXVII, 605a (Morell; see Wachsmuth, II, p. 415).

λοιμοῦ ποτε καταλαβόντος τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχρησεν δὲ θεός μὴ παύσεσθαι τὸ δεινὸν πρὶν ἀν πολιτῶν τις τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τέκνα ἐπιδῷ πρὸς ἀνάρισειν. Λεώς τις ἔχων τρεῖς θυγατέρας Φρασιθέαν, Θεόπτην καὶ Εύβοιλην προθύμως ἐπιδέδωκεν. ὅθεν αὔταῖς τὸ Ἱερὸν φύκοδομήθη, τὸ καλούμενον Λεωκόριον.

Once when a plague had attacked Athens the god gave an oracle that the trouble would not cease until one of the citizens offered his children to be put to death. A certain Leos who had three

daughters, Phrasithea, Theope and Euboule, readily offered them. As a result a shrine was built to them, the so-called Leokorion.

(245). Pausanias, I, 5, 2.

2nd c. A.D.

329. Photios.

9th c. A.D.

Λεωκόριον: Ἱερὸν Ἀθήνησι· τοῦ δὲ Λεώ θυγατέρες ἔγένοντο τρεῖς· Φρασιθέα· Θεόπτη· Εύβοιλη· αἱ παρθένοι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐσφαγιάσθησαν κατὰ χρησμόν,¹ ἐκόντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιδόντος· δὲ Λεώς υἱὸς ἦν Ὀρφέως, οὐ ἐπώνυμος καὶ ἡ Λεοντίς φυλὴ.

Λεωκόριον: ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ ἥρδον· Λεώς γάρ δὲ Ὀρφέως, υἱὸν μὲν ἔσχε Κύλανθον, θυγατέρας δὲ τρεῖς, Φρασιθέαν, Θεόπτην, Εύβοιλην· ἀς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας σφαγιάσθείσας ἔτι παρθένους ἐτίμησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ ἥρωῷ.

¹ MSS χρόνον

Leokorion: A shrine at Athens. Leos had three daughters, Phrasithea, Theope and Euboule. These were sacrificed in accordance with an oracle for the sake of the city, while still unmarried. Their father gave them up of his own free will. Leos was the son of Orpheus, and the tribe Leontis was named after him.

Leokorion: a hero-shrine in the middle of the Kerameikos. Leos son of Orpheus had a son Kylanthes and three daughters, Phrasithea, Theope and Euboule. These were sacrificed for the sake of the land while still unmarried, and honored by the Athenians with a hero-shrine.

330. Strabo, IX, 1, 16 (396).

1st c. B.C.–1st c. A.D.

ἐπεισι γάρ δι φησιν ‘Ηγησίας· “ὅρῶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ τῆς περιττῆς τριάδης ἐκεῖθι σημεῖον· δρῶ τὴν Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τῶν Ἱερῶν γέγονα μύστης· ἐκείνῳ Λεωκόριον, τοῦτο Θησεῖον· οὐ δύναμαι δηλῶσαι καθ’ ἐν ἕκαστον”.

For what Hegesias says comes to my mind—“I see the Acropolis, and the mark of the huge trident there. I see Eleusis and become a participant in the sacred mysteries. There is the Leokorion, here the

Theseion. I cannot point out each thing separately."

Having mentioned the Acropolis with the temple of Athena Polias and the Parthenon, Strabo shirks the task of describing the famous sights of Athens in detail.

Hegesias lived about the middle of the 3rd century B.C.

331. Strabo, IX, 1, 17 (396).

1st c. B.C.–1st c. A.D.

καὶ ἔτι¹ τὸ Λεωκόριον καὶ τὸ Θη[σεῖον μύθο]υς² ἔχει, καὶ τὸ Λύκειον

¹ Meinecke, for εἰς.

² There is a lacuna of about 9 letters, so filled by most editors, after Groskurd.

The Leokorion too and the Theseion have myths associated with them, and the Lyceum.

Most of the demes, says Strabo, and many spots in Athens and Attica have mythical and historical events associated with them.

332. Suidas.

10th c. A.D.

Λεωκόριον: τόπος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅποιοι ιστορίαι. ἐλίμωξέ ποτε ἡ Ἀττική, καὶ λύσις ἦν τῶν δεινῶν παιδὸς σφαγῆ. Λεώς οὖν τις τὰς ἔαυτοῦ θυγατέρας ἐπιδέωκε καὶ ἀπήλλαξε τοῦ λιμοῦ τὴν πόλιν· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐκλήθη ὁ τόπος Λεωκόριον.

Leokorion: a place in Attica known from historical sources. There was once a famine in Attica, and to free the land from its troubles a child had to be sacrificed. A certain Leos offered his daughters and rid the city of the famine; and because of this the place was called Leokorion.

Suidas has a further note beginning ἡρῷον ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ, and continuing in the same words as Photios' second note, except that the first daughter is here called Phasisthea.

(144). Theodoretos, *Therapeutika*, VIII, 115, 10.
5th c. A.D.

333. Theodoulos (Thomas Magister) (Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, II, 265; see Wachsmuth, II, p. 415). 13th c. A.D.

ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἀνέθεσαν τοῦ Λεὼς καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτάς οἵς εἶχον ἔτιμων κατὰ ταύτα τοῖς θεοῖς.

They set up shrines and altars to the daughters of Leos and honored them by all means in their power, putting them on the same level as the gods.

334. Theophylaktos Simokatta, *Epist.*, XII (ed. Boissonade, p. 36). 7th c. A.D.

ἐπὶ τὸ Λεωκόριον τὰς διατριβὰς ἡ αὐλητρὶς Χρυσογόνη πεποίηται· τάχα που καὶ τέρπειν οἴεται τούς ἐμούς ἐραστάς. καὶ φησὶν ἡμᾶς τὸ πορνίδιον ἄγαν δυσανασχετεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι.

The flute-girl Chrysogone has made the Leokorion her usual haunt. No doubt she thinks she is giving pleasure to my lovers; and the wretch says that I am very much upset by all this.

335. Theophylaktos Simokatta, *Quaestiones Physicae*, I, 5 (ed. Boissonade, p. 5).

7th c. A.D.

ἔπειτερ 'Αθήνηθεν 'Απολλογένης ὁ Κορίνθιος χθές που γενόμενος ὡς ἡμᾶς περὶ τὴν Ποικίλην Στοὰν Ἀριστογόραν ἔφη θεάσασθαι· 'Αρίστωνα δὲ τὸν φυσικὸν καὶ Σωσίπατρον τὸν Ἐριμογένενος περὶ τὸ Λεωκόριον ἑωρακέναι αὐθημερὸν ἀφικομένους ἀπήγγειλεν.

(Polykrates to Antisthenes) For Apollogenes the Corinthian coming to me yesterday from Athens said he had seen Aristagoras in the neighborhood of the Poikile Stoa; he also reported that he had seen Ariston the natural philosopher and Sosipatros the son of Hermogenes come to the neighborhood of the Leokorion the same day.

336. Thucydides, I, 20, 2. 5th c. B.C.

τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ περιτυχόντες περὶ τὸ Λεωκόρειον καλούμενον τὴν Πλαναθηναϊκὴν πομπὴν διακοσμοῦντι ὀπέκτειναν.

(Harmodios and Aristogeiton) meeting Hipparchos in the neighborhood of the so-called Leokoreion as he was marshalling the Panathenaic procession, killed him.

337. Schol. Thucydides, I, 20.

τὸ Λεωκόρειον: ἐλίμωξε ποτε ἡ Ἀττική, καὶ λύσις ἦν τῶν δεινῶν παῖδων σφαγή. Λεώς οὖν τις τὰς ἑαυτοῦ κόρας ἐπιδέδωκε καὶ ἀπήγλαχε τοῦ λιμοῦ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τούτων ἱερὸν ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸ καλούμενον Λεωκόριον.

The Leokoreion. There was once a famine in Attica, and to free the land from its troubles children had to be sacrificed. A certain Leos offered his daughters and rid the city of the famine. A shrine was established for them in Attica, the so-called Leokorion.

338. Thucydides, VI, 57, 1–3. 5th c. B.C.

καὶ ὡς ἐπῆλθεν ἡ ἑορτή, Ἰππίας μὲν ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καλουμένῳ μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων διεκόσμει ὡς ἕκαστα ἔχρην τῆς πομπῆς προιέναι ὥσπερ εἶχον ὅρμησαν ἔσω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ περιέτυχον τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ παρὰ¹ τὸ Λεωκόρειον καλούμενον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔτυπτον καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν αὐτόν.

¹ περὶ rec.

When the time of the festival came, Hippias was outside in the so-called Kerameikos with his bodyguard, arranging the necessary details of the procession (Harmodios and Aristogeiton advance, but seeing a fellow-conspirator talking with Hippias and thinking he is giving information, they hastily change

their plans) they rushed at once within the gates, and meeting Hipparchos by the so-called Leokorion, they immediately struck and killed him.

Kerameikos here, in contrast with the other passages quoted above, means the *outer* Kerameikos; see p. 224.

Pittakys, *L'Ancienne Athènes*, pp. 77–78, gives an inscription

δ δῆμος
..... Μελανίππου
..... Λεωκορείωι

This is said to have been found at the church of St. Philip to the north of the agora; Pittakys also says that he found there other indications that this was the site of the Leokorion, but does not state what these were; see Wachsmuth, II, p. 418, note 1, and Judeich, p. 338, note 8, who doubt the value of this evidence. Otherwise there is no precise evidence of the site of the Leokorion. The excavations have not located it. The literary evidence points vaguely towards the north (Demosthenes—the Leokorion may mark the northern limit of the walk, as the Pherrephattion the southern; Theophylaktos, *Quaestiones Physicae*); near the Panathenaic Way (Aristotle, Thucydides), and possibly the market (Demosthenes).

Most modern authorities assume that the story of the daughters of Leos grew out of the name Leokorion, but explanations of the original meaning of the word are highly conjectural; it has been suggested that it is derived from λεώς and κορεῖν, and signifies a place where the people are purified; or that it was the shrine of a deity called Leokoros (= Λεωκόλος, cf. θεηκόλος, θεοκόλος; see Wachsmuth, II, p. 416; Judeich, p. 338; Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Leokorion, col. 2000).

METROON

See p. 150.

THESEUS

Theseus lay in the middle of the city by the gymnasium (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 36; cf. Pausanias). The Theseion was a familiar landmark (Strabo), and it was revered like the Parthenon and the Eleusinion (Plutarch, *De Exilio*). One could quickly go up from it to the Propylon of the Acropolis (*Ath. Pol.*, 15). A place called Hor-komosion was near (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27); and a school (Apollonios, Demosthenes) which was also possibly near the shrine of the Heros Iatros.

Only *Etym. Magnum* and Hesychios mention a temple (cf. 86). *I.G.*, II², 1035 mentions repairs; *Ath. Pol.*, 15 speaks of buildings.

The bones of Theseus were laid there (Schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*; Diodorus; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 36; Pausanias; Suidas, Θησείοισιν). There were paintings by Polygnotos (Harpokration, Suidas under "Polygnotos") and Mikon (Pausanias) and lists of victors in the Theseia (*I.G.*, II², 956 ff.).

Certain lawsuits were held there (*Etym. Magnum*, Photios); and a meeting of the Boule (*I.G.*, II², 1039). The Thesmothetai drew lots for certain magistracies there (Aischines; *Ath. Pol.*, 62). The shrine was used for certain armed gatherings (*Ath. Pol.*, 15; Thucydides) and was a place of asylum (Aristophanes, *Knights*, with Schol., Diodorus, *Etym. Magnum* quoting Philochoros, Hesychios, Photios, Plutarch, *Theseus*, Pollux quoting Aristophanes, Suidas). The prison at Athens was called Theseion (*Etym. Magnum*, Hesychios).

For other shrines of Theseus see Plutarch, *Theseus*, 35, and note on Thucydides (359).

339. Aischines, III (*Ktesiphon*), 13. 330 B.C.

ἀρχάς δὲ φήσουσιν ἐκείνας είναι, ἃς οἱ θεσμοθέται ἀποκληροῦσιν ἐν τῷ Θησείῳ, κάκείνας, ἃς ὁ δῆμος εἴωθε χειροτονεῖν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις.

My opponents will say that those are true magistracies (i.e. as opposed to what Aischines calls ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία) for which the Thesmothetai draw lots in the Theseion, and those to which the Demos is accustomed to elect in the elections.

(133). Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 45.
399 B.C.

See note on Thucydides (359).

340. Apollonios, in Westermann, *Biographi Graeci*, p. 265.

... φασι ... γεγονέναι δὲ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς δοῦλον καὶ πέδας ἔχοντα διδάσκειν γράμματα πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ καὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἱατροῦ ἡρῷῳ.

They say that he (Aischines' father) was originally a slave and taught letters, in chains, by the Theseion and the hero-shrine of the Iatros.

Apollonios is clearly following Demosthenes (347) throughout the passage.

341. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1311–2. 424 B.C.

ἥν δ' ἀρέσκη ταῦτ' Ἀθηναίοις, καθῆσθαι μοι δοκεῖ
ἔς τὸ Θησεῖον πλεούσαις ἥ πι τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν.

πλεούσας Reiske.

If this is the pleasure of the Athenians, I am determined that we should sail to the Theseion or to the August Goddesses and sit there.

A trireme is speaking in a meeting of triremes.

342. Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1312.

εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον: Ἐνταῦθα οἱ καταφεύγοντες τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀσυλίαν εἶχον.

To the Theseion: here slaves who took refuge found sanctuary.

The Schol. also explains ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν as "to the shrine of the Erinyes," saying that slaves fled to this too.

(8). Schol. Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, 685.

The reference to the Theseion is no doubt mistaken.

343. Schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 627.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ λοιμώξαντες καὶ κελευσθέντες ἐκδικῆσαι τῷ Θησεῖ, τὸν μὲν Λυκομήδην ἀνεῖλον, τὰ δὲ ὅστα μεταστειλάμενοι καὶ τὸ Θησεῖον οἰκοδομήσαντες ἵσθεούς αὐτῷ τιμᾶς νέμουσιν.

The Athenians being afflicted by a plague and ordered to make retribution to Theseus, destroyed Lykomedes; and when they had sent for the bones and built the Theseion they gave Theseus honors equal to those of a god.

In a lengthy note on ὡ πλεῖστα Θησείοις μεμυστιλημένοι. Lykomedes was king of Skyros, and treacherously put Theseus to death.

344. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 15, 4.

Ca. 329–322 B.C.

παρείλετο δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὰ ὅπλα τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. ἔξοπλασίαν ἐν τῷ Θησείῳ ποιησάμενος ἐκκλησιάζειν ἐπεχείρει, καὶ [χρόνον μὲν ἡκκλησί] ¹ ασεν μικρόν· οὐ φασκόντων δὲ κατακούειν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτούς προσαναβῆναι πρὸς τὸ πρόπυλον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἵνα γεγωνῇ μᾶλλον. ἐν ᾧ δ' ἐκεῖνος διέτριβε δημηγορῶν, ἀνελόντες οἱ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένοι τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ [κατα]κλείσαντες εἰς τὰ πλησίον οἰκήματα τοῦ Θησείου, διεσήμηναν ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν Πεισίστρατον.

¹ Many alternative suggestions for filling this gap have been made.

He took away their arms from the people in this way. Holding an armed muster in the Theseion he attempted to address the assembly, and for a short time he did so. They said they could not hear, and he ordered them to go up to the Propylon of the Acropolis, so that his voice might carry further. While he continued his discourse, those who had been appointed for this purpose took up the arms, and shutting them up in the near-by buildings of the Theseion, came to Peisistratos and gave the sign.

This translation is more acceptable than “the buildings near the Theseion.”

The Propylon was an archaic predecessor of the Periclean Propylaia.

345. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 62, 1.

Ca. 329–322 B.C.

αἱ δὲ κληρωταὶ ἀρχαὶ πρότερον μὲν ἥσαν αἱ μὲν μετ' ἐννέα ἀρχόντων ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ὅλης κληρούμεναι, αἱ δὲ ἐν Θησείῳ κληρούμεναι διηροῦντο εἰς τοὺς δήμους.

The magistracies chosen by lot formerly consisted partly of those which were allotted out of the whole tribe along with the nine archonships, partly of those which, allotted in the Theseion, were distributed among the Demes.

346. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 264, 21.

Θησεῖον: τὸ τοῦ Θησέως ἡρῷον. ἔστι δὲ ἄσυλον τοῖς οἰκέταις.

Theseion: the hero-shrine of Theseus. It is a place of asylum for slaves.

347. Demosthenes, XVIII (*De Corona*), 129. 330 B.C.

ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ· πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευ παρ' Ἐλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον;

I do not know what to recall first. Shall I tell how your father Tromes was a slave at the house of Elpias who taught letters by the Theseion, and had thick shackles and a yoke?

Fourteen years earlier, in XIX (*De Falsa Legatione*), 249, Demosthenes said that Aischines' father “taught letters, as I hear from the older men, by the shrine of the Heros Iatros.”

For the Heros Iatros see also Apollonios (340); Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 262, 16; Schol. Demosthenes, XIX, 249; Hesychios, under Ἰατρός; I.G., II², 839, 840 (decrees relating to certain sacred vessels of the Hero; found on Athena Street some distance northeast of the agora); Agora I 5968, a dedication to the Hero, of the 3rd–2nd century B.C., found in late Roman context southwest of the market square in the industrial area (C-D 18), *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 39, no. 26.

The site of the shrine of the Hero remains uncertain, and we cannot draw any inferences about the site of the Theseion. In any case, as Judeich points out (p. 379, note 7) we cannot take it for granted that Demosthenes is referring to the same school in both passages.

348. Diodorus Siculus, IV. 62, 4. 1st c. B.C.

Θησεὺς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καταστασιασθεὶς καὶ φυγὼν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης ἐτελεύτησεν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μεταμεληθέντες τὰ τε ὀστᾶ μετήνεγκαν καὶ τιμαῖς ἴσοιθέοις ἐτίμησαν αὐτόν, καὶ τέμενος ἄσυλον ἐποίησαν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ὅπερ' ἐκείνου Θησεῖον.

After this Theseus was the victim of a rebellion, fled from his country and died

in a foreign land. The Athenians in remorse transferred his bones and honored him with honors equal to those of the gods, and made an inviolate sanctuary at Athens, the place called after him Theseion.

349. *Etym. Magnum.*

12th c. A.D.

Θήσειον, τέμενός ἔστι τῷ Θησεῖ· ὁ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἄσυλον ἤν. ἐλέγοντο δὲ δίκαια ἐνταῦθα. ἡ ναὸς τοῦ Θησέως· ἐφ' ὃν οἱ ἀποδιδράσκοντες δουλοὶ προσέφευγον. Φιλόχορος δὲ οὐ μόνον τοὺς οἰκέτας τὸ παλαιόν φησι καταφεύγειν εἰς τὸ Θησειον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δόπωσοῦν ἰκετεύοντας. δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ φυτόν τι ποιόν, καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις.

Θησειότριψ, ὁ ἐν τῷ Θησέως διατρίψας, Ἀριστοφάνης Πολυύδω.

Theseion; this is a shrine sacred to Theseus; it was a place of asylum for slaves; lawsuits were also pleaded there. Or, the temple of Theseus; to which runaway slaves fled. Philochoros says that in olden times not only slaves took refuge in the Theseion, but also suppliants of any kind whatever. The word also signified a kind of plant, and the prison at Athens.

Theseiotrips, a man who has spent time in the Theseion; Aristophanes in the *Polyidos*.

Philocoros—Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III B, no. 328, 177.

For the Desmoterion see p. 149.

Aristophanes, *Polyidos*—ca. 412 B.C.?

(68). Harpokration.

1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Polygnotos' paintings in the Theseion (if the emendation of θησαυρῷ to Θησεῖῷ is correct) may be among those alluded to by Melanthios in Plutarch, *Kimon*, 4 (86).

350. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

Θησεῖον· νεῶς Θησέως, ἐφ' ὃν οἱ ἀποδιδράσκοντες κατέφευγον. δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ φυτόν τι ποιόν· καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις.

Theseion; the temple of Theseus, to which runaways fled for refuge. It also signifies a kind of plant; and the prison at Athens.

351. Pausanias, I, 17, 2–3, 6.

2nd c. A.D.

Πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ Θησέως ἔστιν ἱερόν· γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσὶ πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας Ἀθηναῖοι μαχόμενοι. πεποίηται δὲ σφισιν ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι καὶ τοῦ Ὄλυμπίου Διὸς ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θησέως ἱερῷ καὶ ἡ Κενταύρων καὶ Λαπιθῶν μάχη· Θησεύς μὲν οὖν ἀπεκτονώς ἔστιν ἦδη Κένταυρον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐξ ίσου καθέστηκεν ἔτι ἡ μάχη. τοῦ δὲ τρίτου τῶν τοίχων ἡ γραφὴ μὴ πυθομένοις ἀ λέγουσιν οὐ σαφῆς ἔστι, τὰ μέν που διὰ τὸν χρόνον, τὰ δὲ Μίκρων οὐ τὸν πάντα ἔγραψε λόγον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Θησέως στηκός Ἀθηναίοις ἐγένετο ὑστερον ἡ Μῆδοι Μαραθῶνι ἔσχον, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου Σκυρίους ποιήσαντος ἀναστάτως — δίκην δὴ τοῦ Θησέως θανάτου — καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ κομίσαντος ἐς Ἀθήνας.

By the gymnasium (of Ptolemy) is a shrine of Theseus; here are pictures of Athenians fighting Amazons. This war is also depicted on the shield of their Athena and on the pedestal of Olympian Zeus. In the shrine of Theseus is also depicted the battle of Centaurs and Lapiths; Theseus has already killed a Centaur, but for the others the fight is still equally balanced. The painting on the third wall is not clear to those who have not enquired into the legends, partly through age, but partly because Mikon did not represent the whole story.

(Pausanias now gives, as providing the subject of this picture, the story of how Theseus, to prove he was Poseidon's son, recovered from the sea a ring thrown in by Minos; and also the "most plausible" version of the end of Theseus, concluding with his death contrived by Lycomedes at Skyros.)

The sacred enclosure of Theseus was made at Athens after the Persians landed at Marathon, when Kimon son of Miltiades expelled the people of Skyros, in

retribution for the death of Theseus, and conveyed his bones to Athens.

For the gymnasium of Ptolemy see p. 142; for the shrine of the Dioskouroi, which follows, see 140. Pausanias is on the eastern side of the agora, approaching the Acropolis.

Only the picture of Theseus with the ring is definitely ascribed by Pausanias to Mikon, but one might infer from his account taken alone that all the paintings were by Mikon. But if the emendation of θησαυρῷ to Θησείῳ in Harpokration and Suidas, Πολύγνωτος (68, 92n), is correct, some people believed that Polygnotos had a hand in the decoration of the shrine, and attributed some or all of the paintings to him.

The bones of Theseus were brought by Kimon from Skyros ca. 475 B.C.

352. Photios.

9th c. A.D.

Θησεῖον: τὸ Θησέως ἡρῷον, δι τοῖς οἰκέταις ἄσυλον ἦν· ἐλέγοντο δὲ δίκαιαι καὶ ἐνταῦθα.

Theseion: the hero-shrine of Theseus, which was a place of asylum for slaves. Lawsuits were pleaded there too.

353. Plutarch, *De Exilio*, 17. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁρῶμεν, ὥσπερ τὸν Παρθενῶνα καὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον, οὔτω καὶ τὸ Θησεῖον ἀπαντας προσκυνοῦντας; καὶ μήν ἔφυγε Θησεὺς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, δι' ὃν ἤκουσι νῦν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀνθρωποι.

But do we not observe that all revere the Theseion as they revere the Parthenon and the Eleusinion? And Theseus, because of whom men now come to Athens, fled from Athens into exile.

354. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27, 5. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε τὸν πόλεμον εἰς σπουδάς τελευτῆσαι μαρτύριόν ἔστιν ἡ τε τοῦ τόπου κλῆσις τοῦ παρὰ τὸ Θησεῖον, ὅνπερ Ὁρκωμόσιον καλοῦσιν, ἡ τε γιγνομένη πάλαι θυσία ταῖς Ἀμαλόσι πρὸ τῶν Θησείων.

That the war (of Theseus with the Amazons) ended in a truce is shown by the name of the place beside the Theseion called Horkomosion, and by the sacrifice to the Amazons before the Theseia which took place in olden times.

355. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 35, 2. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

καὶ ὅσα ὑπῆρχε τεμένη πρότερον αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἔξελούστης ἀπαντα καθιέρωσε τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ προσηγόρευσεν ἀντὶ Θησείων Ἡράκλεια, πλὴν τεσσάρων, ὡς Φιλόχορος ιστόρηκεν.

All the shrines which he formerly had, set apart to him by the city, he now consecrated to Herakles, and called them shrines of Herakles instead of shrines of Theseus, with the exception of four; such is the account of Philochoros.

Philocoros—Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III B, no. 328, 18.

Theseus shows his gratitude after Herakles has obtained his release from Aidoneus king of the Molossians. For the various shrines of Theseus see note on Thucydides (359).

356. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 36, 2. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

κομισθέντων δὲ τούτων ὑπὸ Κίμωνος ἐπὶ τῆς τριήρους, ἡσθέντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πομπαῖς τε λαμπραῖς ἐδέξαντο καὶ θυσίαις ὥσπερ αὐτὸν ἐπιτανερχόμενον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. καὶ κεῖται μὲν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει παρὰ τὸ νῦν γυμνάσιον, ἔστι δὲ φύξιμον οἰκέταις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ταπεινοτέροις καὶ δεδιόσι κρείττονας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Θησέως προστατικοῦ τινος καὶ βοηθητικοῦ γενομένου καὶ προσδεχομένου φιλανθρώπως τὰς τῶν ταπεινοτέρων δεήσεις.

When the remains had been brought by Kimon on his trireme, the Athenians were delighted and received them with brilliant processions and sacrifices as if it were Theseus himself returning to the city. The remains now lie in the middle of the city, beside the present gymnasium. The shrine is a place of refuge for slaves and all humbler folk and those who are afraid of their superiors, since Theseus himself was a protector and helper and received kindly the entreaties of humbler folk.

In *Kimon*, 8, 5–6, Plutarch says that Kimon, learning that Theseus had fled from Athens to Skyros and had been treacherously killed there by Lycomedes the king, diligently sought his grave (the Athenians had received an oracle

bidding them bring back the remains to the city and honor Theseus as a hero, but the people of Skyros had been obstructive); having found the στηκός with difficulty and put the bones on his own trireme, he brought them back to Theseus' country after an absence of four hundred years (κατήγαγεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ δι' ἐτῶν σχεδὸν τετρακοσίων).

357. Pollux, VII, 13.

2nd c. A.D.

ὅ δ' οἱ νῦν φασὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας πρᾶσιν αἴτειν,
ἔστιν εὔρειν ἐν ταῖς Ἀριστοφάνους "Ὀραις
ἔμοι
κράτιστόν ἔστιν εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον δραμεῖν
ἔκει δ', ἔως ἂν πρᾶσιν εὔρωμεν, μένειν.

Whereas people nowadays speak of slaves “asking for a sale,” in the *Horai* of Aristophanes we have the expression “finding” a sale—“For me it is best to run to the Theseion, and to wait there until we find a sale.”

Aristophanes’ *Horai*—Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 536, no. 567; ca. 420 B.C.?

(330, 331). Strabo, IX, 1, 16, 17 (396).

1st c. B.C. — 1st c. A.D.

358. Suidas.

10th c. A.D.

Θησεῖον· καθῆσθαι μοι δοκῶ ἐπὶ τὸ Θησεῖον ἢ
ἐπὶ τῶν Σεμινῶν θεῶν. τουτέστι τῶν Ἑριννών.
εἰς γάρ ταῦτα τὰ Ἱερά οἱ ικέται καθήμενοι
ἀσυλίαν είχον. ἔστι δὲ τὸ Θησεῖον τέμενος
ἀνειμένον τῷ Θησεῖ.

Theseion. “I am determined to sit at the Theseion or (the shrine) of the August Goddesses,” that is the Erinnyses. Sitting in these shrines suppliants found sanctuary. The Theseion is a shrine given over to Theseus.

See Aristophanes, *Knights* (341). Suidas also has a note Θησειότριψ: ὁ ἐν τοῖς Θησέως (or Θησείοις) διατρίψας; cf. *Etym. Magnum* (349).

See also note on 92; cf. Harpokration (68).

Under Θησείοισιν Suidas says the same as Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus* (343), with variants λιμώξαντες and λοιμώξαντες.

359. Thucydides, VI, 61, 2.

5th c. B.C.

καὶ τινα μίαν νύκτα καὶ κατέδαρθον ἐν Θησείῳ
τῷ ἐν πόλει ἐν ὅπλοις.

And for one night they (the Athenians) even slept in the Theseion in the city under arms.

The occasion is the alarm after the mutilation of the Herms in 415 B.C.

Thucydides implies that there were other shrines of Theseus *not* in the city. The Athenians had in fact a number of shrines of Theseus; see Plutarch, *Theseus*, 35, 2 (355), and cf. Euripides, *Herakles*, 1328–9. The Schol. on Aischines, III, 13, speaks of δυὸ Θησεῖα ἐν τῇ πόλει, but the note is confused and corrupt. *I.G.*, II², 1035 (361 and 579) uses the plural. The Theseion in which those living ἐν μακρῷ τείχει muster in Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 45, was presumably in or near the Long Walls. *I.G.*, II², 2498 (321/0 B.C.) mentions among lands let out for cultivation by the people of Peiraeus a shrine of Theseus and other shrines.

Finally, there was a shrine of Theseus at Kolonus Hippios (Pausanias, I, 30, 4).

360. *I.G.*, II², 956, lines 16–17. 160/59 B.C.

ἀνέθηκεν δὲ καὶ στήλην ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θησέως τεμένει εἰς ἦν ἀνέγραψε τοὺς νικήσαντας.

He also set up a stele in the shrine of Theseus, on which he inscribed the names of the victors.

From a stele of Hymettian marble, found near the church of Demetrios Katephores (northeast of Acropolis); with a decree honoring the *agonothetes* of the Theseia for attending to the procession, sacrifice and games in honor of Theseus, followed by a list of victors.

I.G., II², 957–965 have parts of similar decrees and/or lists. They are dated 156–ca. 130 B.C. In 957 (156/5 B.C.; line 11) and 958 (ca. 151/0 B.C.; line 13), both found near the same place as 956, the same formula as above is preserved.

361. *I.G.*, II², 1035, line 48.

Ca. 150 A.D.

This decree about the restoration of shrines (see 579) mentions

τεμένη Θησέως.

For the date see Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 294.

362. *I.G.*, II², 1039, lines 2–3. 80–79 B.C.

[Ξ]ν τῶι
Θησε[ίωι βουλή]

From a decree honoring the ephebes, found on numerous marble fragments at the church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa. For the date see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 51.

I.G., II², 30, line 11 (386/5 B.C.) found on the Acropolis, a decree apparently about the sale of

confiscated property at Lemnos, mentions a Theseion.

In *I.G.*, II², 1672 (215) (Eleusinian building accounts), in lists of material for construction various items come ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου (lines 30, 65, 123, 237) or Θησέου (lines 10, 68, 167, 192).

Note also *I.G.*, II², 5076, seat of priest in the theatre; and Agora I 3244, line 94, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 1, no. 1 (254)—the Salaminioi sacrifice a pig to Theseus.

TWELVE GODS

The altar was set up by the younger Peisistratos in the agora and its length was later increased (Thucydides). The statue of Demosthenes was near the altar and the *perischoinisma* ([Plutarch]).

The altar served as a central milestone (Herodotos, *I.G.*, II², 2640). Its suppliants included the Plataeans (Herodotos), the associates of Pheidias (? Diodorus), and Kallistratos (Lykourgos); cf. Plutarch, *Nikias*.

We hear of dances in honor of the Twelve (Xenophon); their priest (*I.G.*, II², 5065); sacrifices (Herodotos, *I.G.*, II², 30a); dedications (*I.G.*, I², 829; *I.G.*, II², 2790 and, with Agathe Tyche, 4564; Agora I 1597); prayers (*I.G.*, II², 112, 114); treasures (*I.G.*, I², 310).

For the site of the altar and for its possible identity with the Altar of Eleos, see 378n.

363. Diodorus Siculus, XII, 39, 1. 1st c. B.C.

τῶν δὲ συνεργασμένων τῷ Φειδίᾳ τινὲς διενεχθέντες¹ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν τοῦ Πειρικλέους ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ τὸν θεῶν βωμόν.²

¹ The text is doubtful. Also suggested is διδαχθέντες or διαβληθέντες.

² Editors insert δώδεκα between τῶν and θεῶν, or emend to τῶν τῶν θεῶν βωμῶν; but the text may be taken as it stands with reference to the altar of the Twelve.

Some of the fellow-workers of Pheidias, harassed by the enemies of Perikles, sat upon the altar of the gods.

In 431 B.C. Cf. Plutarch, *Perikles*, 31, where we hear that Menon, one of the fellow-workers of Pheidias, was persuaded to sit as a suppliant ἐν ἀγορᾷ.

364. Herodotos, II, 7, 1–2. 5th c. B.C.

ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν ὅπὸ θαλάσσης δάκω ίόντι παραπλησίῃ τὸ μῆκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ φερούσῃ ἐς τε Πίσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὄλυμπίου. σμικρόν τι τὸ διάφορον εὔροι τις ἀν λογιζόμενος τῶν ὁδῶν τουτέων, τὸ μὴ ἵσας μῆκος εἶναι, οὐ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐς Πίσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων καταδεῖ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων [ώς] μὴ εἶναι πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, ἡ δὲ ἐς

‘Ἡλίου πόλιν ὅπὸ θαλάσσης πληροῖ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον.

The road up from the sea to Heliopolis is similar in length to the road from Athens, starting from the altar of the twelve gods, to Pisa and the temple of Olympian Zeus. If you reckon the difference between these roads, you will find it quite small, not more than fifteen stades; the road from Athens to Pisa is fifteen stades short of 1,500, the road to Heliopolis from the sea is just that figure.

365. Herodotos, VI, 108, 4. 5th c. B.C.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα συνεβούλευσαν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἤπιστησαν, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων ἥρᾳ ποιεύντων τοῖσι δυώδεκα θεοῖσι ικέται ιζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίοσαν σφέας αὐτούς.

The Lacedaemonians gave this advice to the Plataeans, and the Plataeans did not fail to take it; as the Athenians were sacrificing to the twelve gods they sat as suppliants on the altar, and placed themselves in the Athenians' hands.

In 519 B.C., the Plataeans, oppressed by Thebes, appeal to Athens; cf. Thucydides, III, 68, 5.

366. Lykourgos, *Leokrates*, 93.

330 B.C.

τίς γάρ οὐ μέμνηται τῶν πρεοβυτέρων ἢ τῶν νεωτέρων οὐκ ἀκήκοε Καλλίστρατον, οὗ θάνατον ἡ πόλις κατέγνω, τοῦτον φυγόντα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀκούσαντα δτὶ ἀν ἔλθη Ἀθήναιε τεύξεται τῶν νόμων, ἀφικόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν καταφυγόντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθανόντα;

Who of the older men does not remember, who of the younger men has not heard, how Kallistratos, whom the city condemned to death, fled from Athens, and having heard from the god at Delphi that if he came to Athens he would be treated according to the laws, returned and took refuge at the altar of the twelve gods, and was none the less put to death by the city?

About 355 B.C.

367. Plutarch, *Nikias*, 13, 2.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

οὐδὲ γάρ τὰ προῦπτα καὶ καταφανῇ τῶν σημείων ἀπέτρεπεν, ἢ τε τῶν Ἐρμῶν περικοπὴ μιᾷ νυκτὶ πάντων ἀκρωτηριασθέντων πλὴν ἐνὸς ὃν Ἀνδοκίδου καλοῦσιν, ἀνάθημα μὲν τῆς Αἰγήδος φυλῆς, κείμενον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τότ’ οὔσης Ἀνδοκίδου οἰκίας, καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν περὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν. ἀνθρωπος γάρ τις ἔξαιρνης ἀναπηδήσας ἐπ’ αὐτὸν εἴτα περιβὰς ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ λίθῳ τὸ αίδοιον.

Nor were they diverted by the manifest and obvious signs—the damage done to the Herms which were all mutilated in one night except the one called the Herm of Andokides (a dedication of the tribe Aigeis, standing in front of what was then the house of Andokides), and the incident at the altar of the twelve gods, where a man suddenly leapt up on to the altar, straddled it, and mutilated himself with a stone.

In 415 B.C.

(698). [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 847a.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

The statue of Demosthenes stood near the *perischoinisma* and the altar of the twelve gods.

368. Thucydides, VI, 54, 6–7. 5th c. B.C.

καὶ ἄλλοι τε αὐτῶν ἤρξαν τὴν ἐνιαύσιον Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχὴν καὶ Πεισίστρατος δ ‘Ιππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος νίός, τοῦ πάππου ἔχων τούνομα, δις τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀρχῶν ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Πυθίου. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσοικοδομήσας ὕστερον δ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων μεῖζον μῆκος τοῦ βωμοῦ ἥφανισε τούπιγραμμα· τοῦ δ’ ἐν Πυθίου ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλον ἐστιν ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι λέγον τάδε·

μηῆμα τόδ’ ἦς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος ‘Ιππίου νίός

θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.

Amongst those of the Peisistratidai who held the annual magistracy at Athens was Peisistratos son of Hippias the tyrant (named after his grandfather) who during his archonship set up the altar of the twelve gods in the agora and the altar of Apollo in the shrine of Apollo Pythios. On the altar in the agora the Athenian people later rendered the inscription invisible by adding to the length of the structure; but on the altar in the Pythian shrine the inscription is still visible in indistinct letters reading as follows:—“Peisistratos son of Hippias set this up as a memorial of his magistracy in the shrine of Pythios.”

The date of the archonship of Peisistratos has been much discussed; usually it has been placed in one of the years from 522/1 to 512/1 B.C., though Meritt at one time sought to bring it down to 497/6 B.C. (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 64, in a discussion of the fragmentary archon-list, Agora I 4120). See now T. J. Cadoux, *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948, pp. 71, 111, who thinks that ΣΤΡΑΤ.. in the archon list is Peisistratos, dating him 522/1 B.C. Thucydides says that the Peisistratidai took care that one of themselves should always be in office.

369. Thucydides, VI, 55, 1. 5th c. B.C.

ὅτι δὲ πρεοβύτατος ὁν Ἰππίας ἤρξεν, εἰδὼς μὲν καὶ ἀκοῇ ἀκριβέστερον ἄλλων ισχυρίζομαι, γνοίη δ’ ἀν τις καὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ παῖδες γάρ αὐτῷ μόνῳ φαίνονται τῶν γνησίων ἀδελφῶν γενόμενοι, ὡς δ τε βωμὸς σημαίνει καὶ ἡ στήλη περὶ τῆς τῶν τυράννων ἀδικίας ἡ ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει σταθεῖσα.

That Hippias ruled, being the eldest, I strongly maintain, having more accurate information, by hearsay, than others. One can also perceive it from the following fact—of the legitimate brothers it is clear that he alone had children; this is shown by the altar and by the stele on the Acropolis concerning the misdeeds of the tyrants

(203). Xenophon, *Hipparchicus*, III, 2.
5th–4th c. B.C.

370. I.G., I², 310, line 64 (S.E.G., X, 225).
429/8 B.C.

The twelve gods are mentioned in the accounts of the *tamiae* of the Other Gods for 429/8 B.C.

[Δδεκα θε]οῖς: XX

371. I.G., I², 829 (S.E.G., X, 342).
2nd half of 5th c. B.C.

A dedication by an athletic victor, Kallaischros, or the son of Kallaischros (the restoration is not certain)

[τοῖ(ς) δόδεκα θεοῖ[ς],
or possibly [τοῖ δοδεκάθεοι
(i.e. Dodekathoon, the shrine; see Raubitschek in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 157); from Salamis, near the harbor, though it may originally have come from Athens.

372. I.G., II², 30a, lines 2–3. 386/5 B.C.

— καὶ τοῖ[ς] δώδεκα θεοῖς ἔ[ὸν συνενέγκηι
'Αθηναίοις — — —]
[θυσίαν ποιήσε]σθαι καθότι ἀν τῶι [δ]ήμῳ
δοκῆι — — —]

And if it is to the benefit of the Athenians, a sacrifice shall be made to the twelve gods as seems good to the Demos.

Found on the Acropolis; a decree about the sale of certain public property in Lemnos.

373. I.G., II², 112, lines 6–9. 362/1 B.C.

εὔξασθαι μὲν τὸγ κήρυκα αὐτίκα μ
ἀλα τῶι Διὶ τῶι Ὀλυμπίωι καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶι
τῇ Πολιά

δι καὶ τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρηι καὶ τοῖς
δώδεκα [θ]
εοῖς καὶ ταῖς σεμναῖς θεαῖς.

The herald shall at once pray to Zeus Olympios and Athena Polias, to Demeter and Kore and the twelve gods and the August Goddesses.

Two fragments, (a) found between the theatre and the Odeion of Herodes, (b) on the Acropolis; a treaty with the Arcadians, Achaians, Eleans and Phliasians.

In I.G., II², 114, lines 6–9, found on the Acropolis, a decree about the sending of cleruchs to Potidaia, of the same date, a similar formula occurs, the prayers in this case being to the twelve gods (line 7), the Semnai, and Herakles.

374. I.G., II², 2640. 5th c. B.C.

[ἡ πόλις] ἔστ[η]σ[έν με β]ροτ[οῖς] μνημεῖον
ἀληθὲς
[πᾶσιν] σημαίνε[ιν μέ]τ[ρον] ὁδοιπορίας·
[ἔστιν γάρ τ]ὸ μεταχσύ θεῶμ πρὸς δώδεκα
βωμὸν
[πέντ' ἐπὶ?] τεσσαράκοντ' ἐγ λιμένος
στάδιοι.

The city set me up, a truthful monument to show to all mortals the measure of their journeying; the distance to the altar of the twelve gods from the harbor is forty-five stades.

Found near the outer gate to the Acropolis. The spelling μεταχσύ indicates a 5th century date.

375. I.G., II², 2790. 357/6 B.C.

ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐπ' Ἀγαθοκλέους ἄρχοντος ἀνέ
θηκεν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς στεφανωθεῖσα
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἔνε
κα καὶ δικαιοσύνης.

The Boule of the archonship of Agathonokles dedicated this to the twelve gods, after being crowned by the Demos of the Athenians for their virtue and justice.

A base of Eleusinian marble found in barracks outside the city (re-used, with a second inscription of the 1st century B.C.).

376. *I.G., II², 4564.* 1st half of 4th c. B.C.

Φίλιππος Ἰασιδήμος Κολωνῆθεν ἀνέθηκε
τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς καὶ τῇ Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ.

Philippos son of Iasidemos of Kolone dedicated this to the twelve gods and Agathe Tyche.

A base of Pentelic marble.

377. *I.G., II², 5065.* 2nd c. A.D.

ἱερέως δώδεκα θεῶν.

Theatre seat.

378. Agora I 1597. 490–480 B.C.

[Λ]έαγρος : ἀνέθεκεν : Γλαύκονος
δώδεκα θεοῖσιν.

Leagros son of Glaukon dedicated this to the twelve gods.

On a base of Pentelic marble set against the west side of a square enclosure in the middle of the northern part of the agora (K 6). The site and the date and character of the remains are appropriate to the shrine of the Twelve, and this inscription makes the identification almost certain; see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 358; VIII, 1939, p. 160; XXI, 1952, p. 49; Supplement VIII, p. 94. The site is also suitable for the altar of Eleos, in general and particularly with

reference to its place in Pausanias' description (177); and the view, already put forward on general grounds, that "altar of Eleos" was a name given in later antiquity to the altar of the Twelve, is now strengthened.

NOTE. The opening lines of Pindar, frag. 75 (Snell; 63 Bowra) (dithyramb for the Athenians) have been associated by some editors with the altar of the Twelve. The poet invites the Olympian Gods to a festival, apparently of Dionysos (cf. 203)

Δεῦτ' ἐν χορόν, ὘λύμπιοι,
ἐπὶ τε κλυτάν πέμπετε χάριν, θεοί,
πολύβατον οἴ τ' ἄστεος ὁμφαλὸν θύσεντ'
ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθάναις
οἰχνεῖτε πανδάιδαλόν τ' εὐκλέ' ἀγοράν·
Ιοδέτων λάχετε στεφάνων τᾶν τ' ἔαρι-
δρόπων ἀοιδᾶν.

Come hither to the dance, and send us your glorious favor, Olympian gods, who in holy Athens approach the navel of the city, fragrant with incense, and the famous richly adorned agora, to receive garlands of violets and songs gathered in the spring.

However Pindar's language is quite vague; the altar now proves to be something quite different from a Delphic omphalos; and ἄστεος ὁμφαλόν may mean nothing more precise than "heart of the city."

ZEUS

AGORAIOS

Zeus Agoraios was "established in the agora and the ekklisia" (Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*). His altar is mentioned (Hesychios), and sacrifices (Aristophanes, Ditt. *Syll.*³ 526). He received suppliants (Euripides). He concerned himself with political life (Plutarch, *An Seni Respublica Gerenda Sit*; cf. *De Genio Socratis* and Aeschylus), and the market (Aristophanes). An oath is taken on him (probably *I.G., I², 34*; cf. Ditt. *Syll.*³ 526).

379. Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 973–5. 458 B.C.

ἀλλ' ἐκράτησε Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος·
νικᾶ δ' ἀγαθῶν
ἔρις ἡμετέρα διὰ παντός.

(Athena speaks) Zeus Agoraios has conquered. Our rivalry in doing good is victorious for evermore.

This can hardly be taken as referring to the cult of Zeus Agoraios at Athens. Zeus is merely the god who presides over assemblies and influences the course of debate. Just before, Athena speaks of the part played by Peitho (Persuasion) in the dispute with the Erinyes over Orestes.

380. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 409–410. 424 B.C.

οὗτοι μ' ὑπερβαλεῖσθ' ἀναιδείᾳ μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ,
ἢ μὴ ποτ' ἀγοραίου Διὸς σπλάγχνοισι παρα-
γενοίμην.

(Kleon speaks to the Sausageseller and chorus) You will not surpass me in shamelessness, no by Poseidon; if you do, may I never be present at the sacrifice to Zeus Agoraios.

Cf. lines 499–500, where the chorus say to the Sausageseller, “May Zeus Agoraios watch over you” (*καὶ σε φυλάττοι Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος*). Zeus as the protector of the Sausageseller may be thought of as the patron of both the political and commercial life of the agora.

381. Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 410.

Ἄγοραῖος Ζεύς ἴδρυται ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

Agoraios Zeus is established in the agora and in the ekklesia.

“In the ekklesia” probably means on the Pnyx; cf. Judeich, p. 351, note 3, and H. A. Thompson in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 92–93, where it is shown to be probable that the large altar, found opposite the Metroon in the southwest of the agora square, was the altar of Zeus Agoraios, and was transferred to this site from a site on the Pnyx hill. See also *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 140.

382. Euripides, *Herakleidai*, 69–71.

Ca. 430 B.C.

ῷ τὰς Ἀθήνας δαρὸν οἰκοῦντες χρόνον,
ἀμύνεθ· ἵκέται δ' ὅντες ἀγοραίου Διὸς
βιαζόμεσθα καὶ στέφη μιαίνεται.

(Iolaos) You who have long lived in Athens, come to our aid; suppliants of Zeus Agoraios, we suffer violence; the garlands are defiled.

Cf. line 33, where Iolaos says “We sit as suppliants of the gods at the altar” (*βώμιοι*). The altar is also mentioned in line 73; in lines 121 and 127 it is called *ἐσχάρα*; in lines 78–9 Iolaos says, “He (the herald) drags me from the place before the altar (*προβωμίων*) of Zeus.” In line 42 we learn that there is a temple near at hand, in which Alkmene is sheltering the female children (*ἡσωθε ναοῦ τοῦδε*). Of course this temple may be no more than a stage convention. One should remember too that in line 32 the suppliants are said to have reached the

neighborhood of Marathon only. However, the Marathonian setting is not developed as is the Eleusinian in the *Supplices*, and the play may have some relevance to the cult at Athens itself, where the altar may well have been the resort of suppliants.

For the setting of the *Herakleidai* see Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre of Dionysus*, pp. 53, 129, 131; and G. Zuntz, *Political Plays of Euripides*, ch. IV. For the use of an altar of Zeus Agoraios, at Selinus, as a place of asylum, cf. Herodotos, V, 46, 2.

383. Hesychios

5th c. A.D.(?)

Ἀγοραῖος Ζεύς·

Ἀγοραίου Διὸς βωμός Ἀθήνησιν

Agoraios Zeus

Altar of Agoraios Zeus, at Athens.

Cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 338, 32.

384. Plutarch, *An Seni Respublica Gerenda Sit*, 10 (789d).

1st–2nd c. A.D.

τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Βουλαίου καὶ Ἀγοραίου καὶ Πολιέως Διὸς ὑπηρέτας οὐ ποδῶν ἔργα καὶ χειρῶν ἀπαιτοῦμεν, ὅλλα βουλῆς καὶ προνοίας καὶ λόγου.

From the servants of Zeus Boulaios and Agoraios and Polieus we demand deeds not of feet and hands but of counsel and forethought and reason.

Cf. 17 (792f) where Polieus and Agoraios are again associated as epithets of Zeus; and *De Genio Socratis*, 20 (589e) where an oracle bids Socrates’ father let his son follow his own bent, “praying on his behalf to Zeus Agoraios and the Muses.”

385. I.G., I², 34, lines 5–6. Before 446 B.C.

[.τὸν] Δία τὸν Ἀγοραῖον – –]

[. . . ἔ]αν εὐχορκοῦ, – –

From the first of two decrees on an opisthographic stele from the Acropolis; concerning the Kolophonians. Apparently an oath is taken on Zeus Agoraios and other gods. For an oath on Zeus Agoraios cf. the inscription quoted below and Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, XLIV, 20 (ed. Hense, Vol. IV, p. 129), at Ainos.

386. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,³ 526. 3rd c. B.C.

[τάδε ὅμοσαν τοι Ἰτάνιοι πά[ν]
 [τες] Δία Δικταιὸν καὶ Ἡραν καὶ θ
 [εο]ὺς τοὺς ἐν Δίκται καὶ Ἀθαν
 [α]ιν Πολιάδα καὶ θεούς, ὁσσο[ι]
 [ς] ἐν Ἀθαναῖαι θύεται, π[ά]ντας
 [κ]αὶ Δία Ἀγοραῖον καὶ Ἀπόλλω
 [ν]α Πύθιον.

The Itanioi (in Crete) all took this oath by Zeus Diktaios and Hera and the gods on Dikte and Athena Polias and the gods to whom sacrifice is made at Athens, all including Zeus Agoraios and Apollo Pythios.

Cf. Ditt., *Syll.*³, 527, for an oath at Dreros in Crete on Zeus Agoraios and others.

WITH APOLLO PATROOS

See 112.

BOULAIOS

See p. 128; Zeus Boulaios had a wooden image in the Bouleuterion.

WITH DIONYSOS MELPOMENOS etc.

See 2.

ELEUTHERIOS-SOTER

See p. 25.

Dedications to Zeus under other titles have also been found recently in the agora:—

EXOPS

Agora I 5983, found in the industrial area west of the Areopagus, re-used as a cover slab for a late Roman water channel (C 19; not *in situ*) is inscribed

ὅρος
 ἱεροῦ
 Διός
 ἔξοψ

The reading ἔξοψ has also been suggested, but the upper part of the vertical of the Ψ is definite. No more appears ever to have been inscribed on the stone and the last line remains a puzzle.

B.D. Meritt tells me that A.B. Cook suggested a hitherto unknown title of Zeus—Exopsios, the god who “looks forth” from his precinct. See *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 90, no. 37.

HYPsistos

Cf. *I.G.*, II², 4798, 4811, 4843.

Agora I 3551, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 256, no. 40, a small cylindrical altar, found in the area of the Stoa of Attalos, dated to the 1st century A.D., inscribed

· Υψίστ[ω]
 Κεδα[— —]
 εύχή[ν]

Agora I 5960, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 43, no. 34, fragments of a small altar, of the 2nd–3rd centuries A.D., found in a marble pile south of the church of the Holy Apostles.

Agora I 6606, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 89–90, no. 35, found in the foundation of a Byzantine wall to the west of the same church (N 16), a small columnar dedication by Moiragenes.

These dedications probably came from a shrine on the Pnyx Hill (see Judeich, p. 396).

MEILICHIOS

Agora I 2201, found in a modern house wall northeast of the Odeion (O 9); Agora I 3868, found west of the Odeion, under the floor of the church of the Vlassarou (J 11); Agora I 2778, from a marble pile west of the Odeion; all of the 4th and 3rd century B.C. (*Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 48, nos. 9, 10, 11).

Also Agora I 2474, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 377, no. 33, found at a modern level near the southeast corner of the Odeion (N 11), a votive relief with a bearded serpent, of the 4th century B.C., dedicated by Θεόδ[— —] (cf. *I.G.*, II², 4677, 4678, found on the north slope of the Hill of the Nymphs and thought, doubtfully, to mark the site of the sanctuary).

OLYMPIOS

Agora I 6373, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 113, XXVI, 1957, p. 91, no. 39, is a boundary marker of Zeus Olympios, of the early 4th century B.C., found not *in situ* in a marble pile west of the Odeion, inscribed

[ἥ]ρο[ς]
 [τε]μέν[ος]
 [Δι]ὸς [Ὄλ]
 [υμ] πι[ο]

This may have found its way from the great shrine to the southeast of Athens. But an Olympieion has recently been postulated among the obscure ancient shrines to the southeast of the agora on the slope of the Acropolis (Keramopoulos in *'Αρχ. Δελτ.*, XII, 1929, pp. 86ff.; cf. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 234, and Suppl. VIII, p. 54). (Similarly there was a Pythion in both these quarters, see p. 54). But the only evidence for this arises from an interpretation of Strabo, IX, 2, 11, who says that the Pythaistai, looking for a lightning flash in the direction of Harma, near Phyle to the north of Athens, keep watch from the altar (*ἐσχάρα*) of Zeus Astrapios, which is *ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξύ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου*. Such a look-out would not be likely near the Olympieion in the southeast of Athens, it is said, whereas a place on the north side of the Acropolis would be entirely appropriate. However, the evidence is tenuous; and *ἐν τῷ τείχει* (which would normally mean "on the wall" or "in, i.e. built into, the wall," though the phrase can occasionally mean "within the wall") involves a difficulty; it would most naturally mean the city wall.

OMBRIOS

Three altars of about 100 A.D., Agora I 1797, found in a modern house wall west of the Odeion and south of the church of the Vlassarou (K 11); Agora I 4825, found in a modern context between the Odeion and the Stoa of Attalos; Agora I 4804, found in a late wall east of the church of the Hypapanti (U 21; *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 72, nos. 19, 20, 21).

TELIOS

Three fragments, Agora I 608a and b, and I 4559; I 608a from a modern house wall west of the Library of Pantainos (Q 14); I 608b from a modern house wall on the north slope of the Areopagus (N 21); and I 4559, also from a modern wall near the north foot of the Areopagus (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 220, no. 47c, a and b); a dedication by Timokrateia, about 200 B.C.

III. PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND OFFICES

ARCHEIA

(573). Schol. Aischines, II (*De Falsa Legatione*), 85.

Just as they called *archeia* the place where the archons came together, there was an official building where the Strategoi assembled.

This seems to give an unduly limited sense to the word, apparently equating *archeia* with the Thesmopheteion where the archons met (see p. 177).

(594). *Etym. Magnum* 12th c. A.D.

(598). Photios 9th c. A.D.

The Tholos is a place ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις.

From this it appears that by the idiom noted below (p. 193) in reference to the quarters of the market district, τὰ ἀρχεῖα was used of a particular part of the agora where public offices were grouped together, including the Tholos and no doubt the Metroon and Bouleuterion, and possibly such offices as the Logisteria (below), Strategion (p. 174), Thesmopheteion (p. 177), Poleterion (p. 165).

But the word ἀρχεῖα is also used in a general sense meaning “public offices”:

Demosthenes, X (*Philippic*, IV), 58 (341B.C.), says

ἀρχεῖα καὶ βουλευτήρια.

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, I, 2, 3 (5th–4th c. B.C.), in a Persian context, speaks of

τὰ τε βασίλεια καὶ τὰλλα ἀρχεῖα.

In Lysias, IX (*For the Soldier*), 9 (395–386 B.C.) ἀρχεῖον seems to be equated with συνέδριον (see below), with reference to the Strategoi.

Pollux, IX, 41 (2nd c. A.D.) includes among his “parts of a city”

στοικίαι καὶ δρόμοι καὶ στρατήγια καὶ ἀρχεῖα καὶ γραμματεῖα καὶ διδασκαλεῖα.

Harpokration (1st or 2nd c. A.D.) says

λογιστήρια δ' ἔστι τὰ τῶν λογιστῶν ἀρχεῖα (one may note that λογιστήρια too is used in later times of public offices in general).

Pollux, VI, 35 mentions an ἀρχεῖον at Athens called παρασίτιον “as one can see in the law of the Basileus.” See also 487.

For certain “Civic Offices” discovered north of the western part of the Middle Stoa, probably of the 1st century B.C., see *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 151ff., and XIX, 1950, p. 174; and for civic buildings on the south side of the agora, earlier than the Hellenistic stoas, see *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 33ff.; XXIV, 1955, pp. 52ff.

SYNEDRION

Since this word can apparently be used as a synonym for ἀρχεῖον, and in any case is used of a variety of official bodies and their meeting places, it will perhaps be helpful to include here a note on its interpretation in reference to Athenian monuments and topography.

In general, one may note Photios, who under συνέδριον says that Attic writers call by this name

καὶ τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοὺς θώκους ἐν οἷς συνεδρεύουσιν,

and Plato, *Theaetetus*, 173 c-d, where Socrates says that the philosophers do not know the way to the agora

οὐδὲ ὅπου δικαστήριον ἢ βουλευτήριον ἢ τι κοινὸν ἄλλο τῆς πόλεως συνέδριον.

(Hesychios has a brief note συνέδριον· δικαστήριον).

More particularly, τὸ συνέδριον appears in various Attic writers and in several inscriptions apparently with reference to a special building or place. Various suggestions have been made for the identification of this:—the Bouleuterion (H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 215, note 4; W. A. McDonald, *Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*, pp. 295–298); the “Old Bouleuterion” (H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 52); the Thesmothesion or Thesmotheteion (see p. 177 below) (M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 447; Miss Crosby thinks that this may well have been in the Old Bouleuterion); or the “Greek Building” of irregular shape to the southwest of the agora (M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 187).

It is difficult however, and perhaps impossible, to attach the same topographical meaning to the word in all cases. In Agora I 6524, the anti-tyranny decree of 387/6 B.C., found in the construction filling of the square peristyle under the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (Q 9), the members of the Boule of the Areopagus are forbidden “to go up to the Areios Pagos, or to sit together ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, or to deliberate about anything” (lines 14–16; cf. line 19); the decree is to be inscribed on two stelai, and one is to be set up (lines 24–26)

ἐπὶ τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς εἰς Ἀρειον Πάγον τῆς εἰς τὸ βούλευτήριον εἰσιόντι,

at the entrance to the Areios Pagos, the one for a person going to the Bouleuterion,

the other in the Ekklesia (i.e. no doubt the Pnyx). The most natural interpretation is to take both συνέδριον and βούλευτήριον here as referring to the meeting place of the Areopagites on the Areios Pagos (for further discussion see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 355–359 and XXII, 1953, p. 129; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 52; and the present writer in *J.H.S.*, LXXV, 1955, pp. 117–121).

συνέδριον is in fact a term which is repeatedly used of the Boule of the Areopagus by the orators:

- Aischines, I (*Timarchos*), 92 (345 B.C.)
- Deinarchos, I (*Demosthenes*), 85, 87, 104, 112 and III (*Philokles*), 7 (323 B.C.)
- Isokrates, VII (*Areopagiticus*), 37–8 (355 B.C.?)
- Lykourgos, *Leokrates*, 12 (330 B.C.)

Usually the reference is to the Council rather than the *place*; but it is significant that

Deinarchos, I, 87, says that the Semnai established themselves

τῇ τούτου (sc. τοῦ συνεδρίου) ἀληθείᾳ συνοίκους.

Note that Bouleuterion is used with reference to the Boule of the Areopagus in Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 570 and 684 (458 B.C.) and Aischines, I (*Timarchos*), 92 (345 B.C.).

In several contexts συνέδριον, in the sense of meeting *place*, has reference to the archons or the Thesmothetai, and might reasonably be identified with the Thesmothesion (see p. 177):

[Demosthenes], LIX (*Neaira*), 83 (ca. 340 B.C.): Theogenes, who is Basileus, after an appearance of the nine archons before the Council of the Areopagus, comes down and drives away his deceitful *paredros* Stephanos

ἀπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου.

Agora I 4266, dated 282/1 B.C. in the archon table in *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314, a large stele found re-used as a cover slab in a late Roman drain in the north room of the Metroon (H 11), *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 100, no. 18, honors an archon and his *paredroi*; it was to be set up (lines 39–40)

ἔμπροσθε τοῦ συνεδρίου.

The same formula is restored in a similar inscription, Agora I 1832, dated before 263/2 B.C., found in the filling of a well (I 15 : 1) dug through the southeastern part of the “Heliaia,” in a context of the 4th century A.D., *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 109, no. 19.

For the use of the word in a more general way of the archons or Thesmothetai see 584 and 586 below, under Thesmothesion. If we have to look for a συνέδριον *par excellence*, perhaps it is the meeting place of the Archons.

In Lysias, IX (*For the Soldier*), ca. 395–386 B.C., a soldier goes to the Strategos with a complaint. Later, when accused of using abusive language, he protests that the law only penalizes for the use of abusive language (6)

ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ,

and he did not in fact go (9)

εἰς τὸ ὁρχεῖον

(immediately afterwards he says εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, meaning the same thing). Here συνέδριον may well mean the meeting place of the Strategoi.

In Demosthenes, LVIII (*Theokrines*), 8, ca. 340 B.C., the clerk of the Epimeletai of the Emporion receives a *phasis*, and it is displayed ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ συνεδρίου.

This is a mercantile case, and perhaps this συνέδριον is in Peiraeus, where the Emporion was.

Agora I 3238 and 4169, dated 239/8 B.C., two fragments of a stele found, the one built into the wall of a late Roman drain over the north end of the East Stoa (O 13), the other in a late context north of the Odeion and east of the Altar of Ares (M 7), give honors to the *sitophylakes*,

Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 444–445, no. 2; cf. *ibid.*, p. 215, note 4. The stele was to be set up (line 12)

πρὸς τῷ συνεδρίῳ.

Finally the word is used in connection with the Thirty (403 B.C.); Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, 4, 23, tells how they sat downhearted

ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ.

This might be one of the συνέδρια mentioned above; one also recalls that the Thirty appropriated special seats in the Bouleuterion (401), and used the Tholos (600), possibly also the Poikile (63).

Without allowing συνέδρια to proliferate too freely, one should perhaps allow a certain fluidity in the use of the term.

BOULEUTERION

The Bouleuterion of the 500 was in the agora (Pausanias; cf. Diodorus, Thucydides, VIII, Xenophon). The Metroon was near (Aischines, III; Pausanias; cf. [Plutarch]) and so was the Tholos.

The Bouleuterion was dedicated to the Mother (Photios; see further p. 150 under METROON). A single Bouleuterion for Attica was established by Theseus (Plutarch, Thucydides, II).

The building contained a bema (Antiphon), and barriers (Aristophanes, [Demosthenes], Xenophon). The Boule sat according to letters after 409 B.C. (Schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, quoting Philochoros). Lysias mentions tables (cf. Schol. Aischines), and seats for the Prytaneis.

In the Bouleuterion were statues of Zeus Boulaios, Apollo (Prostaterios? see p. 54) and Demos, and paintings of the Thesmothetai and Kallippos (Pausanias; cf. I.G., II², 1055 for Zeus Boulaios; and see I.G., II², 1048–1050 for honorary paintings).

There was a shrine of Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia where councillors sacrificed as they entered (Antiphon); inscriptions mention their priest (I.G., II², 3543 and 5054), a dedication to Zeus Boulaios (I.G., II², 1813) and to Zeus Boulaios and Hestia Boulaia (Agora I 5543 and 5797). Ulpian speaks of a sacrifice to Zeus Boulaios.

The hearth in the Bouleuterion (Andokides, I, 44 and II, 15, Diodorus, Harpokration quoting Deinarchos, Xenophon) was associated or even identified with an altar (Xenophon; cf. Diodorus who says “altars”). The Schol. says that by “Hestia” Aischines means the altar of Zeus. Oaths were taken by Hestia Boulaia (Aischines, II and Schol.; cf. Harpokration, *Boulaia*).

Livia received the title Boulaia (Agora I 4012).

For Artemis Boulaia see pp. 55–58.

Stelai were set up in front of the Bouleuterion (Andokides, I; Aristotle; I.G., II², 298, 487; cf. Agora I 1997, 4424, and 5439) and inside it (Lykourgos; cf. Harpokration ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος quoting Didymos; I.G., I², 63, 65; I.G., II², 1049, 1050, 1061; Agora I 3231, 5990). Documents on *sanides* were also placed in the Bouleuterion (Agora I 4977 and *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 342, no. 3; for other documents possibly not on stone see Andokides, II, 23; I.G., I², 27, 76 and 85). Some documents in the Bouleuterion were duplicates of those on the Acropolis (I.G., I², 68, 85; Agora I 4977; cf. I.G., II², 1055). See further p. 151 under METROON.

NOTE. For the remains and archaeological history of the “Old Bouleuterion” of the late 6th century, which had more primitive predecessors, and the “New Bouleuterion” of the late 5th century, see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 115ff., especially pp. 203ff. The literary sources throw little light on the architectural growth; one may note however that the paintings (see Pausanias) seem to be contemporary with the Hellenistic reconstruction with a columnar porch on the south side.

- 387.** Aischines, II (*De Falsa Legatione*), 45.
343 B.C.

ώς γάρ δεῦρ' ἥλθομεν καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀπηγγείλαμεν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέδομεν τὴν παρὰ Φιλίππου, ἐπαινέτης ἦν ἡμῶν Δημοσθένης πρὸς τοὺς συμβουλευτάς, καὶ τὴν ‘Εστίαν ἐπώμοσε τὴν βουλαίαν συγχαίρειν τῇ πόλει διὰ τοιούτους ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἔπειμψεν.

For when we came here and gave a brief report of the embassy and handed over the letter from Philip, Demosthenes praised us to his fellow councillors and swore by Hestia Boulaia that he rejoiced with the city because it had sent such men on the embassy.

- 388.** Schol. Aischines, II (*De Falsa Legatione*), 45.

καὶ τὴν ‘Εστίαν ἐπώμοσε τὴν βουλαίαν: Διὸς ἦν βωμὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ. τὴν ‘Εστίαν οὖν λέγει τὴν βουλαίαν τὸν βωμὸν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Διός, τὸν ὃντα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ. ὁμοσε δὲ καθὸ δουλευτῆς ἦν. τῇ ‘Εστίᾳ λέγει βουλαίαν οἰονεὶ τὴν τράπεζαν, διότι ἔστιν ὅτι συνεδείπνουν ἀλλήλοις οἱ βουλευταί.

“And he swore by Hestia Boulaia”—There was an altar of Zeus in the Council; by “Hestia Boulaia” (hearth of the Council) he means the altar of Zeus, the one in the Council. He used this oath because he was a councillor. Or else by “Hestia Boulaia” he means as it were the table, because sometimes the Councillors dined together.

- (466, 467).** Aischines, III (*Ktesiphon*), 187
and Schol. 330 B.C.

The Metroon was beside the Bouleuterion.

- 389.** Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 44. 399 B.C.

ἀνέκραγεν ἡ βουλὴ ὡς εὗ λέγει. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα Μαντίθεος καὶ Ἀψεφίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἔστίαν ἐκαθέζοντο.

The Boule shouted approval of his words. When they heard this Mantitheos and Apsephion took seat at the hearth.

In 415 B.C.

- 390.** Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 95. 399 B.C.

ὁ δὲ νόμος τί κελεύει, ὃς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἔμπροσθέν ἐστι τοῦ βουλευτηρίου; “ὅς ἂν ἄρξῃ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς δημοκρατίας καταλυθείσης, νηποιοῖται τεθνάναι”.

What does the law on the stone in front of the Bouleuterion say? “Whoever holds office in the city when the democracy has been overthrown shall be put to death with impunity.”

Cf. Demosthenes, XX (*Leptines*), 159, and Lykourgos (400).

- 391.** Andokides, II (*De Reditu*), 15.

Ca. 409–408 B.C.

κάγγω, θόρυβος γάρ δὴ τοιοῦτος ἐγίγνετο τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίγνωσκον ἀπολούμενος, εὐθὺς προσπηδῶ πρὸς τὴν ἔστιαν καὶ λαμβάνομαι τῶν Ἱερῶν.

And I, since there was such a clamor amongst the members of the Boule, seeing that I was likely to perish, leapt at once to the hearth and took hold of the sacred objects.

In 411 B.C., when Andokides was trying to secure his return.

- 392.** Andokides, II (*De Reditu*), 23.

Ca. 409–408 B.C.

τὸ ψήφισμα δὲ Μενίππου εἰπόντος ἐψήφισασθε, εἰναὶ μοι ἄδειαν, πάλιν ἀπόδοτε. ἀναγνώσεται δὲ ὑμῖν αὐτό· ἔτι γάρ καὶ νῦν ἐγγέγραπται ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.

You passed a decree on the proposal of Menippos that I should have immunity. Restore to me (my rights under) that decree. The clerk shall read it to you—it is still in the records in the Bouleuterion.

- 393.** Antiphon, VI (*Choreutes*), 40. 419/8 B.C.

Φιλοκράτης αὐτὸς οὐτοὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς, ἐστὼς μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἀπτόμενος ἐμοῦ διελέγετο.

Philokrates here himself, in the Bouleuterion in front of the Boule, standing

with me on the bema, touched me and talked with me.

For the *bema*, see p. 90.

394. Antiphon, VI (*Choreutes*), 45. 419/8 B.C.

καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ Διὸς βουλαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς βουλαίας Ἱερόν ἐστι καὶ εἰσιόντες οἱ βουλευταὶ προσεύχονται, ὃν κάγω εἰς ἥ, ὃς ταῦτα πράττων, καὶ εἰς τὰλλα Ἱερὰ πάντα εἰσιών μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς, καὶ θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος ὑπέρ τῆς πόλεως ταῦτης . . . φανερὸς ἥ.

In the Bouleuterion itself is a shrine of Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia, and the Councillors as they go in offer prayers; I was one of them, and I was plainly seen doing this and going into the other shrines with the Boule, and sacrificing and offering prayers on behalf of this city.

395. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 640–2, 674–5.
424 B.C.

κάτα τῷ πρωκτῷ θενῶν
τὴν κιγκλίδ' ἔξήραξα, κάναχανῶν μέγα
ἀνέκραγον. . . .
ἔκεκράγεσάν τε τοὺς πρυτάνεις ἀφίέναι·
εἴθ' ὑπερεπήδων τοὺς δρυφάκτους πανταχῇ.

(The Sausageseller speaks) Then I struck the latticed barrier with my behind and shattered it; and opening my mouth wide I shouted . . . The Councillors shouted out that the Prytaneis should dismiss the meeting; then they jumped over the barrier on every side.

The Schol. on 675 describes δρυφάκτους as τὰ νῦν ταβλώματα καλούμενα, τὰ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἔξεχοντα ξύλα· ἥ τὰ κάγκελα.

396. Schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 972.

φησὶ Φιλόχορος ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου “καὶ ἡ βουλὴ κατὰ γράμμα τότε πρῶτον ἐκαθέζετο· καὶ ἔτι νῦν ὅμνυσιν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καθεδεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ γράμματι ὡς ἀν λάχωσι”.

Philocoros says, with reference to the archonship of Glaukippos, “Then for the first time the Boule sat according to letters; and they still preserve the custom dating from his time of taking an oath

that they will sit under the letter to which they are assigned.

The year is 410/9 B.C. There is no evidence for the precise nature of the system of lettering. See Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III B, no. 328, 140.

(233). Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 53, 4.

Ca. 329–322 B.C.

See also Harpokration (399).

(11). [Demosthenes], XXV (*Aristogeiton*, I), 23.

Ca. 325 B.C.

397. Diodorus Siculus, XIV, 4, 7; 5, 3.

1st c. B.C.

Δ δὲ φθάσας ἀνεπήδησε μὲν πρὸς τὴν βουλαίαν ‘Εστίαν . . . καὶ Θηραμένην μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν βωμῶν ἀποστάσαντες οἵς ἦν προστεταγμένον, διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰλικυσαν ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον.

Theramenes forestalling them leaped to the Hearth of the Council . . . Theramenes was torn from the altars by those who had been so instructed, and dragged through the middle of the agora to his death.

See Xenophon (407).

398. Harpokration.

1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Βουλαία: Δείναρχος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Καλλισθένους ἐνδείξει “μαρτύρομαι τὴν ‘Εστίαν τὴν βουλαίαν,” οἷον τὴν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἰδρυμένην.

Boulaia: Deinarchos in his indictment of Kallisthenes says, “I call Hestia Boulaia to witness,” signifying the Hestia established in the Council.

Suidas, βουλαία, says the same without giving the name of the speech.

399. Harpokration, under ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος.

1st or 2nd c. A.D.

ἥ ἐπεί, φησί, τοὺς ἄξονας καὶ τοὺς κύρβεις ἀνωθεν ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν μετέστησεν Ἐφιάλτης, ὃς φησιν Ἀναξιμένης ἐν Φιλιππικοῖς.

Or else (Demosthenes uses the phrase), he says, since the tablets and pillars were transferred from up on the Acropolis to the Bouleuterion and the agora by Ephialtes, as Anaximenes says in his Philippics.

One of several explanations, probably mistaken (see note on 561), of Demosthenes' use of the term δέ κάτωθεν νόμος in XXIII (*Aristokrates*), 28 (see p. 145), given by Didymos (late 1st century B.C.; Anaximenes is dated 380–320 B.C.; Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, II A, no. 72, 13). Cf. also Photios and Suidas on δέ κάτωθεν νόμος. For *axones* and *kyrbeis*, see p. 30.

Ephialtes is the democratic statesman murdered in 461 B.C.

Note also Harpokration on στρατεία ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις (similarly Photios and Suidas), where Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, is quoted as saying that the ephebes now have their names inscribed εἰς τὴν βουλήν, whereas our text of *Ath. Pol.* says (53, 4) εἰς στήλην χαλκῆν, adding that the stele stands before the Bouleuterion beside the Eponymoi (see 233).

400. Lykourgos, *Leokrates*, 124, 126.

330 B.C.

οὐ μήν ἀλλ' ἔτι βούλομαι τῆς στήλης ἀκοῦσαι ὑμᾶς τῆς ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ περὶ τῶν προδοτῶν καὶ τῶν τὸν δῆμον καταλύντων. ταῦτα, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἔγραψαν εἰς τὴν στήλην, καὶ ταύτην ἔστησαν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον.

Nevertheless I still wish you to hear the words on the stone in the Bouleuterion concerning traitors and those who attempt to overthrow the democracy. These words, gentlemen, they inscribed on the stone, and this stone they set up in the Bouleuterion.

The decree states, says Lykourgos, that such people can be killed with impunity. For this decree see Andokides (390) and Demosthenes, XX (*Leptines*), 159 (cf. Agora I 6524; p. 127). Lykourgos says that it was enacted after the fall of the Thirty, in 403 B.C.; but in fact Demophontos had it passed after the fall of the Four Hundred in 410 B.C.

There is not necessarily any inconsistency between Andokides' ἔμπροσθεν and Lykourgos' ἐν; both may mean that it stood in the vestibule; or else it may have been moved between the two dates.

401. Lysias, XIII (*Agoratos*), 36, 37, 38.

Ca. 399 B.C.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐκρίνοντο, ῥᾳδίως ἀν ἐσώλοντο· ἀπαντεῖς γὰρ ἦδη ἐγνωκότες ἦτε οὐ ἦν κακοῦ ἢ πόλις, ἐν ᾧ οὐδὲν ἔτι ὠφελεῖν ἐδύνασθε· νῦν δὲ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα εἰσάγουσιν. ἡ δὲ κρίσις τοιαύτη ἐγίγνετο, οἵαν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐπίστασθε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων, οὗ νῦν οἱ πρυτάνεις καθέλονται· δύο δὲ τράπεζαι ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τῶν τριάκοντα ἐκείσθην· τὴν δὲ ψῆφον οὐκ εἰς καδίσκους ἀλλὰ φανεράν ἐπὶ τὰς τραπέζας ταύτας ἔδει τίθεσθαι ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ, ὅσοι εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον [ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα]¹ εἰσῆλθον κριθησόμενοι, ἀπάντων θάνατος κατεγιγνώσκετο.

¹ Sauppe rejects these words.

If they had been tried in the law court, they would easily have secured acquittal. For you had all by that time fully perceived in what an evil plight the city was, a plight in which you were unable to do her any further good. But in fact they were brought before the Boule which sat in the time of the Thirty; and the trial was of the kind which you yourselves know. The Thirty were sitting on the benches where now the Prytaneis sit; two tables were set in front of the Thirty; the ballots had to be placed not in the boxes but openly upon these tables..... in short, all who came to the Bouleuterion for trial were condemned to death.

402. Pausanias, I, 3, 5.

2nd c. A.D.

Ὦκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν ιερόν, ἦν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων καλουμένων βουλευτήριον, οἱ βουλεύουσιν ἐνισιτόν 'Αθηναίοις· Βουλαίου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ξόανον Διὸς καὶ 'Απόλλων τέχνη Πεισίου καὶ Δῆμος ἔργον Λύσωνος. τούς δὲ θεσμοθέτας ἔγραψε Πρωτογένης Καύνιος, 'Ολβιάδης δὲ Κάλλιππον, δις 'Αθηναίους ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἤγαγε φυλάξοντας τὴν ἐς τὴν 'Ελλάδα Γαλατῶν ἐσβολήν.

There is built also a shrine of the Mother of the Gods, whose statue was made by Pheidias, and near by is built a Bouleuterion of the "Five Hundred," who serve on

the council at Athens for a year; in it stand a wooden image of Zeus Boulaios, an Apollo by Peisias and a Demos by Lyson. The Thesmothetai were painted by Protogenes of Kaunos; Olbiades painted the picture of Kallippos, who led the Athenians to Thermopylai to guard against the incursion of the Gauls into Greece.

This follows immediately after the temple and statues of Apollo (111) and in 5, 1 (597) after a digression on the Gauls Pausanias passes on to the Tholos "near the Bouleuterion."

For the Metroon see p. 150.

Nothing more is known of Peisias; Lyson is mentioned by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 91, but his date is not known.

Protogenes painted in the time of Alexander and Apelles. Olbiades is otherwise unknown; the exploit of Kallippos took place in 279 B.C.; cf. Pausanias, X, 20, 5.

This Apollo may be the Prostaterios (see p. 54).

(487). Photios.

9th c. A.D.

The Bouleuterion was built in expiation of the murder of the Metragyrites, and dedicated to the Mother of the Gods.

403. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 24, 3. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

καταλύσας οὖν τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις πρυτανεῖα καὶ βουλευτήρια καὶ ἀρχάς, ἐν δὲ ποιήσας ἀπασι κοινὸν ἐνταῦθα πρυτανεῖον καὶ βουλευτήριον ὃπου νῦν ἴδρυται τὸ ἄστυ, τὴν τε πόλιν Ἀθήνας προστηγόρευσε καὶ Παναθηναϊα θυσίαν ἐποίησε κοινήν.

So he abolished the separate Prytaneia and Bouleuteria and magistrates, and made one common Prytaneion and Bouleuterion where the main town is now situated; he called the city Athens and made the Panathenaia an occasion for joint sacrifice.

(491). [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 842f.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

Lykourgos, on the point of death, was carried "to the Metroon and the Bouleuterion."

(398). Suidas, Βουλαία.

10th c. A.D.

As Harpokration, but without the name of the speech.

404. Thucydides, II, 15, 2.

5th c. B.C.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, γενόμενος μετὰ τοῦ ξυνετοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς τά τε ἄλλα διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν καὶ καταλύσας τῶν ἀλλων πόλεων τά τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὗσαν, ἐν βουλευτήριον ἀποδεῖξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον, ξυνώκισε πάντας.

When Theseus became king, uniting power with sagacity, amongst other dispositions which he made in the land, he abolished the Bouleuteria and the magistracies of the other cities in order to form the present city, and, creating one Bouleuterion and one Prytaneion, he united all the inhabitants.

405. Thucydides, VIII, 92, 2.

5th c. B.C.

ὁ Φρύνιχος ἦκαν τῆς ἐς Λακεδαιμονια πρεσβείας πληγὴς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς τῶν περιπόλων τινὸς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πληθούσῃ καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἀπελθὼν ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα.

Phrynichos, returning from the embassy to Sparta, was struck by a member of the frontier guards, as the result of a plot, in the agora when it was full of people, and when he had gone not far from the Bouleuterion, died immediately.

In 411 B.C., Phrynichos being one of the Four Hundred; contrast Lykourgos, *Leokrates*, 112, who says that Phrynichos was killed by night (in Thucydides "when the agora was full" implies that the time was morning) beside "the fountain in the osiers" (see p. 142).

Note also 145.

406. Ulpian on Demosthenes, XXI (*Meidias*), 115.

3rd c. A.D.

πῶς γάρ ἀν προσεδέξατο τὴν θυσίαν ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ βουλαῖος, ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Νέμειος, εἰ τοιοῦτος ἦν Δημοσθένης;

For how could Zeus Boulaios, or Zeus Nemeios, have accepted the sacrifice, if Demosthenes had been such?

See A.B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 259.

407. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, 3, 50–56.

5th–4th c. B.C.

καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἑκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἔγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανερῶς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις... ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης, ἀνεπήδοσεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καὶ εἶπεν “καὶ τοῦτο μέν”, ἔφη, “μὰ τούς θεούς οὐκ ἄγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει ὅδε ὁ βωμός”

ώς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἴλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὥσπερ εἰκὸς θεούς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους, καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἦ δὲ βουλὴ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, δρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ καὶ τῷ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλῆρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἔγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρῆσαν. οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε.

Kritias ordered the swordsmen to take their stand at the barriers where the Boule could clearly see them

When he heard this Theramenes leaped on to the hearth and said “.... I am certainly not unaware that this altar will not avail me”

When Kritias had said this, Satyros began to drag Theramenes from the altar, with the assistance of the attendants Theramenes, as was natural, called upon gods and men to observe what was happening. The Council remained silent, seeing that the men at the barriers were of the same kind as Satyros and that the space in front of the Bouleuterion was full of guards, and knowing that they were armed. Satyros and his men took Theramenes off through the agora, protesting loudly at this treatment.

τὸ ἐμπροσθεν might also mean the front part of the Bouleuterion itself.

In Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 25, 4 where Ephialtes, alarmed at the attitude of the Areopagites, sits μονοχίτων ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν (462 B.C.), it is not clear what altar this is.

For Theramenes see also Suidas, δεξιός; in an account of Theramenes Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 538–541, is quoted, and we are told that some people say that Theramenes fled ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν and was dragged away; cf. Schol. on *Frogs*, 541.

408. I.G., I², 27, lines 7–11 (S.E.G., X, 19).

Ca. 450/49 B.C.

[ἀνα]
γράφσαι τὸν [γραμματέα τῆς β]
ολεῖς ἐμ πόλε[ι] ἐστέλει καὶ ἐν]
τοι βολευτε[ρίοι εὐεργέτας]
Αθεναίον.

The clerk of the Council shall inscribe their names, on the Acropolis on a stele and in the Bouleuterion, as benefactors of the Athenians.

From a stele found on the Acropolis, honoring certain Delphians; see Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden*, IV, pp. 25–28, where εὐεργέτας is substituted, as above, for προχοένος.

In I.G., I², 23, lines 7–8, a proxeny decree of ca. 450 B.C., [στέσαι ἐμ βο | λευ]τείοι is restored; but this is doubtful and in *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 79, Loughran and Raubitschek, who show that I.G., I², 30 is part of the same decree, read [ἐκ το δι | κασ]τείο.

409. I.G., I², 63, lines 22–25 (S.E.G., X, 75).

425/4 B.C.

[τένδε] δὲ τ[έ]
[ν γ]νόμεν [καὶ τὸ φσέ]φ[ισμα τόδε καὶ τὸ
φ]όρο[ν] ἡσ ἄν ταχθ[ε]ι τει πόλει ιεκάστει
ἀνα]γρά[φσ]
[ας] ιο γρ[αμματεύς τες βολεῖς ἐν δυοῖν στ]έλα[ι]ν
λιθίναιν [καταθέτο τέμ μὲν ἐν τοι βο]λευ[τε]
[ρ]ίοι τέ[ν δὲ ἐμ πόλει].

This resolution and this decree and the tribute which is fixed for each city the clerk of the Council shall inscribe on two stone stelai, and he shall deposit the one in the Bouleuterion, the other on the Acropolis.

See *Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 155 and II, p. 41 (A 9). From a stele found in many frag-

ments on the Acropolis, concerning the tribute for 425/4 B.C.

The fragment of *I.G.*, I², 87 in which the Bouleuterion is mentioned (line 41) is actually the same as a fragment incorporated in I², 63 (end of lines 24 etc.), and in fact belongs to I², 63.

- 410.** *I.G.*, I², 65, lines 52–60. 426/5 B.C.

[τὸς δὲ κέρυκας ὡσοι ἀν τιν]
εσ [δ]σι ὁς ἀν οἱ πρυτάνεις με[τὰ τές βολές ἡλο]
[ντα]ι πέμφσαι ἐς τὰς πόλες ἐ[πὶ τές Κεκροπίδο]
[ς πρ]υτανείας ἡόποις ἀν αίρε[θσι οἱ ἀνδρες ἡ]
[οι] τὸν φόρον ἐγλέχσοντες κ[αὶ ἀναγραφσι ἐν]
[τῷ]ι βολευτερίοι· τέν δὲ στέλ[εν οἱ πολεται ὁ]
[πο]μισθοσάντον.
[φ]όρο ἐγλοι[γές τῷ]
[πα]ρὰ τὸν πό[λεον]

The heralds whom the Prytaneis in conjunction with the Council choose shall be sent to the cities in the prytany of Kekropis so that the men who are to collect the tribute may be chosen and their names may be inscribed in the Bouleuterion. The Poletai are to let out a contract for the stele.

Collectors of tribute from the cities.

From a stele found on the Acropolis and in the shrine of Asklepios. See *Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 166 and II, p. 53 (D 8).

- 411.** *I.G.*, I², 76, lines 29–30 (*S.E.G.*, X, 110).
Ca. 423/2 B.C.

A stele found at Eleusis; a fragment of a copy was found on the Acropolis at Athens.

The decree is concerned with offerings at Eleusis. The amounts from the demes and cities are to be inscribed (lines 26–27) ἐ[μ] | πινακοι and deposited in the Eleusinion at Eleusis

καὶ ἐν τοι βολ[ευτ]ε|[ρ]οι.

Dates assigned to the inscription vary from 444 to 415 B.C.

- 412.** *I.G.*, I², 85, lines 6–10. Before 420 B.C.

[----τὸ δὲ φσ]
έφισμα τ[όδε ἀναγραφσάτο ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τ]
ῆς βολές [ἐστέλει λιθίνει καὶ καταθέτο ἐμ]
πόλει ὁς [τάχιστα· ἐὰν δὲ βολέται ἐμ βολευτ]
ερίοι ἔχ[σέστο ἀναγράφσαι ----].

The clerk of the Council shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and deposit it on the Acropolis as soon as possible; if he wishes he may also inscribe it in the Bouleuterion.

From a stele found on the Acropolis. The nature of the decree is not clear. The copy in the Bouleuterion may in this case, as also possibly in *I.G.*, I², 27 and 76, have been not on stone but on paper or a *sanis* (see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 215, note 6). Cf. *Agora I* 4977 (429).

- 413.** *I.G.*, I², 171 (*S.E.G.*, X, 128), line 6.

Ca. 410 B.C.

The fragment gives the closing formulae of a decree of uncertain nature. See now *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 384; restoring the text with shorter lines, Meritt substitutes ἐμ πόλει for ἐν τοι βολευτερίοι.

- 414.** *I.G.*, II², 298.

Before 336/5 B.C.

The nature of the decree is not known; only the ending survives; the clerk of the Council (presumably) is to inscribe the decree

ἐστή[λη λ]
[ιθίνη] καὶ στησάτω πρόσθε τ
[οῦ βουλ]ευτηρίου.

- 415.** *I.G.*, II², 487, lines 17–20. 304/3 B.C.

ἀνα[γ]
ράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματεὺς
ματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν καὶ στάτη
ῆσαι ἐμπροσθεν [τοῦ] βουλευτηρίου.

The clerk of the Prytany shall inscribe this decree and set it up in front of the Bouleuterion.

From a stele found in three fragments between the churches of Christ and Hypapanti (southeast of the agora), recording honors to Euchares son of Euarchos, who “supervised the inscription of the laws” in the archonship of Pherekles, 304/3 B.C.

- 416.** *I.G.*, II², 1035, line 48.

Ca. A.D. 150

This decree, which is concerned with the maintenance of certain shrines (see 579) mentions

τὸ ἀρχαῖον βουλευτήριον

but from its context this seems to be definitely among monuments at Peiraeus (see Judeich, p. 455; contrast R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque*, p. 332, note 3).

417. I.G., II², 1048, lines 10–13. Mid 1st c. B.C.

[--- καὶ διὰ]

[τ]αῦτα παρακαλοῦσι [τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιχωρῆσαι
έσαν]

[τ]οῖς ποιήσασθαι αὐτοῦ γραπτῆς εἰκόνος
ἀνάθετε]

[σ]ιν ἐν ὅπλῳ ἐπιχρύσῳ [ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ]

And because of this they ask the Boule to allow them to set up a picture of him on a gilded shield in the Bouleuterion.

From a stele found “ad hortos regios”; the Boule grant a request of the Prytaneis to honor their *tamias*, Sokrates of Kephisia (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 113). See also p. 225 below.

418. I.G., II², 1049, lines 18–19, and 1050, line 16.
Mid 1st c. B.C.

These decrees are similar to 1048. They are of about the same date and include the same formula as that quoted above (1049, lines 6–8 and 1050, lines 5–7). The stelai were to be set up in the Bouleuterion.

1049, lines 18–19: [στῆσαι ἐν]

τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ[ῳ]

1050, line 16: ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ [β]ο[υ]λευτηρίῳ]

See *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, nos. 97, 101.

419. I.G., II², 1055, lines 24–26. Ca. A.D. 100

In a decree concerning the granting of citizenship, three stelai are mentioned.

[— καὶ σταθήτω ἡ μὲν μία παρὰ τὸν να]
[ὸν τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἡ δὲ ἐτέ[ρα — — —]
ἀγορᾶς παρὰ τὸν Δία — — —]
[τὸν Β]ουλαῖον.

420. I.G., II², 1061, line 17.

Beginning of 1st c. B.C.

In a fragment of what appears to be an honorary decree, found “e regione stadii,”
καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ
is restored.

421. I.G., II², 1813, line 16.

Ca. A.D. 200

[ὅ δεῖνα τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας
ἀναγράψας Διὶ Βο[υ]λαῖοι ἀνέθηκεν]

X inscribed the names of the Prytaneis and his fellow magistrates, and dedicated this to Zeus Boulaios.

From a slab found “ad turrim Cyrrhestae.” This occurs at the foot of a list of Prytaneis of Aiantis.

422. I.G., II², 3543.

End of 1st c. A.D.

A base of Hymettian marble, in four parts, honoring L. Flavius Flamma, eponymous archon and

ἱερέα Δι
ὸς Βουλαίου καὶ
Ἀθηνᾶς Βουλαί
[ας]

423. I.G., II², 5054.

ἱερέως
Διὸς Βουλαίου
καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς
Βουλαίας

Theatre seat.

424. Agora I 1971 etc., lines 44–45.

Ca. 250 B.C.

This inscription, made up from several fragments (Agora I 1533, 1777, 1778, 1971 and 2014) all found in the southwest corner of the market square (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 155, no. 51) is concerned with the duties of the Poletai (cf. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 47, 2–3 and 538). In lines 44–45 we find

[— — —]ίου Σωστρά[του το]ῦ τελώνου ὃ ἔφην
[αν οἱ πωληταὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.

425. Agora I 1997.

327/6 B.C.

Fragments found in the 1st century A.D. wall of the square south of the New Bouleuterion (F 10), *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 168 ff.; to be set up [ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ] βουλευτη[ρ]ίου.

One of the earliest prytany inscriptions to be set up in the agora (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 31, no. 1).

426. Agora I 3231, lines 21–23.

Ca. 50–40 B.C.

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τ[ὸ] ψήφισμα τὸν γραμ] ματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανήαν εἰς σ[τήλην λιθίνην καὶ ἀνα] θεῖναι ἐν τῶι βουλευτηρίωι.

The clerk of the Prytany shall inscribe this on a stone stele and set it up in the Bouleuterion.

From a stele found in the curbing of a modern well immediately south of the Tholos (G 12), giving a prytany catalogue of Hippothontis (on the other side is another list of the same tribe, of about a century earlier); *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 56, no. 14.

427. Agora I 4012. Between A.D. 14 and 37.

Ιουλίαν Σεβαστὴν
Βουλαῖαν Τιβερίου
Σεβαστοῦ μητέρα
ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἔξ Ἀρείο[υ π]ά[γου].

The Council from the Areopagus (honors) Julia Augusta Boudia mother of Tiberius Augustus.

A base of Hymettian marble, found in a Byzantine wall (J 11). The statue which it carried was made after Livia took the title of Julia Augusta in A.D. 14, and probably before her death in A.D. 29 (certainly before Tiberius' death in A.D. 37). For other dedications to Livia at Athens see *I.G.*, II², 3238–3242; in 3238, by the gate to the Roman Market, she is called Pronoia. Agora I 4012 probably stood near the Bouleuterion; it was found 55 m. to the east. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 464, no. 12; XXI, 1952, p. 91.

428. Agora I 4424, lines 20–22. 288/2 B.C.

A stele found in the wall of a modern house on the northwest slope of the Acropolis (T 20), with honors to the Prytaneis of Aiantis. The place where it was to be set up is restored as (line 22)

πρὸς τῶι β[ουλευτηρίωι]

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 84, no. 15.

429. Agora I 4977, lines 4–9.

Ca. 435–415 B.C.

Κρίσονα [τὸν καὶ τὸς ἄ] δελφὸς καὶ Δεκ[. ἀναγράφσαι πρ] οχσένος καὶ εὐ[εργέτας ἐν στέλει λ] ιθίνει ἐμ πόλει [καὶ ἐν τῷ βολευτε] ρίοι ἐσ σανίδα τ[ὸν γραμματέα τῆς β] ολέξ.

Krison son of and his brothers and Dek . . . shall be inscribed as proxenoi and benefactors on a stone stele on the Acropolis and in the Bouleuterion on a tablet, by the clerk of the Council.

A fragment of a proxeny decree, found in the filling of the Late Roman Fortification over the paved court below the Klepsydra (T 26–27), *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 231, no. 42. Difficulties in the restoration of lines 4–5 have been noted by Meritt, who proposes a variant text (cf. *S.E.G.*, XII, 22).

430. Agora I 5439, lines 11–12. 301/0 B.C.

A fragment, found in a late wall west of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (N 8), of an honorary decree in connection with a military expedition. See *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 278, no. 53; Meritt suggests that in lines 11–12

[στῆσαι ἐν τ]εῖ αὐλεῖ [τοῦ εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφ[ὴν κτλ.]

the gap should most probably be filled by βουλευτηρίου, though the place of finding and the character of the inscription make ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀρεως also possible.

431. Agora I 5543 + 931.

53/2 B.C.

Μηνόδωρος Ἀρ[— — — — — τα]
[μιεύ]σας πρυτ[άνεων τῆς Ἀκαμαντί] [δος φυλῆς ἐν τῷ ἑπ]! Διοδώρ[ου ἄρχον] [τος ἐνιαυτῶι ὑπέρ τῆς] φυλῆς Διὶ Βου[λαίωι καὶ Ἐστίαι Βου]λαίαι.

Menodoros . . . having served as tamias of the Prytaneis of the Akamantid tribe in the year of the archonship of Diодорος, on behalf of the tribe dedicated this to Zeus Boulaios and Hestia Boulaia.

Two fragments of Pentelic marble, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 64–66, no. 17, A and B; fragment A from a marble pile near the northeast foot of the Areopagus, fragment B from beneath the tower of the Late Roman Fortification near the southwest corner of the Library of Pantainos (Q 15), in a context contemporary with the building of the tower.

432. Agora I 5797, line 5. 1st c. B.C.

A fragment of Pentelic marble found in the original filling of the Late Roman Fortification over the Library of Pantainos (R 15); a dedication similar to the above, by a tamias on behalf of a tribe

Διὶ Βουλαίωι καὶ Ἐ[στίαι] Βουλαίαι.

The names of the dedicator, tribe and archon are not preserved. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 63, no. 16.

(102). Agora I 5990, line 12. Ca. 80 B.C.

According to the restoration of line 12, this decree by which the Prytaneis honor their

tamias with a picture in the Stoa of Attalos was to be set up in the Bouleuterion.

433. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 342, no. 3, lines 5–6. End of 5th c. B.C.

A fragment built into a garden wall at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; a proxeny decree, to be inscribed

ἐν τῷ | [ι βουλευτηρίῳ ἐν σαν]δ[ι].

A rider was apparently added extending the *proxenia* to the children, and presumably providing for the inscription on stone.

NOTE. Agora I 4869, a fragment of a marble basin, inscribed

[τ]ὸς βολευ[τερίο]

in letters possibly of the end of the 6th century B.C., was found “just to the south of the Propylon of the Bouleuterion in a level of the early 5th century B.C., disturbed, however, in late Roman times”; see *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, 1940, p. 143.

ENNEAKROUNOS (KALLIRRHOE)

Enneakrounos was formerly called Kallirrhoe (*Etym. Magnum*, Harpokration, Hesychios, Photios, Pollux, Suidas, Thucydides) and received the name Enneakrounos after construction by the tyrants (Thucydides, Hesychios), by Peisistratos (Pausanias).

Kallirrhoe-Enneakrounos was associated with the ancient monuments situated πρὸς νότον (Thucydides). It was by the Ilissos (*Etym. Magnum*; cf. Statius). Pelasgians from Hymettos raided Enneakrounos (Herodotos); the temple of Zeus was built near it (Hierokles, quoting Tarantinos). Kallirrhoe was by the Ilissos, in the direction of the Itonian Gate and Kynosarges ([Plato]; cf. Himerios).

Pausanias' Enneakrounos, however, falls in his description of the agora; it was near the Odeion and above it were temples of Demeter and Kore and of Triptolemos; it was “the only πηγή” in the city.

The water of Kallirrhoe-Enneakrounos was used for bathing before marriage (Harpokration quoting Philostephanos, Photios, Pollux, Suidas, Thucydides), and other sacred rites (Thucydides).

Wine was cooled in Enneakrounos (Isokrates; cf. Pliny for coolness). A dinnerless parasite drinks its water (Alkiphrion), as does a philosopher practising the simple life (Lucian).

For the “Enneakrounos problem” see notes on Pausanias and Thucydides.

434. Alkiphrion, *Epist.*, III, 49 (13), 1.
2nd c. A.D.

ἳν γάρ ἀπορία τοῦ καλοῦντος γένηται, ἀνάγκη με σκάνδικας ἔσθιειν καὶ τήθεα ἡ πόας ἀναλέγειν καὶ τῆς Ἐννεακρούνου πίνοντα πίμπλασθαι τὴν γαστέρα.

If I cannot find anyone to invite me, I shall have to eat chervil and shellfish, or gather grasses and fill my belly with a draught from Enneakrounos.

A parasite complains of the hardness of life as he grows old; he threatens to hang himself before the Dipylon.

435. Alkiphrion, *Epist.*, III, 51 (15), 1.
2nd c. A.D.

’Ιδού μετὰ τὸν Εύρωταν καὶ τὸ Λερναῖον ὄνδωρ καὶ τὰ Πειρήνης νάματα ἔρωτι τῆς Καλλιρόης ἐκ Κορίνθου πάλιν Ἀθήναζε κατεπείγομαι.

See, after the Eurotas and the water of Lerna and the streams of Peirene, I hurry back from Corinth to Athens, through love of Kallirrhoe.

436. Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 526.

ἄναξ Ἀπολλον, τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν δευμάτων,
καναχοῦσι πηγαί, δωδεκάκρουνον <τὸ> στόμα,
Ιλισσὸς ἐν <τῇ> φάρυγ[γ]ι.

The text is so emended by Porson.

Lord Apollo, what streams of words;
the fountains splash, issuing in twelve
spouts; it's Ilissos in his throat.

See Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 69, no. 186; cf. Suidas, Δωδεκάκρουνος and Δωδεκάκρουνον, where Kratinos' *Pytine* is similarly quoted; the comment Δωδεκάκρουνος: κρήνη Ἀθήνησιν ἦν Θουκυδίδης Ἐννεάκρουνον is probably due to confusion.

437. Aphthonios, *Progymnasmata*, XII, 49.

4th–5th c. A.D.

κρήνη τῆς τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἀμεινον ἔχουσα.
... a fountain superior to that of the
Peisistratidai.

Among the wonders of the acropolis at Alexandria.

438. *Etym. Magnum.*

12th c. A.D.

Ἐννεάκρουνος. κρήνη Ἀθήνησι παρὰ τὸν
Ιλισσόν, ἥ πρότερον Καλλιρόη ἔσκεν· ἀφ' ἣς
τὰ λουτρὰ ταῖς γαμουμέναις μετίασι.

Enneakrounos. A fountain at Athens by the Ilissos, which was formerly called Kallirhoe. From it they fetch the water for washing for girls who are being married.

There follows a quotation from a comedy of Polyzelos (late 5th—early 4th century) of which the text is corrupt, but which speaks of Enneakrounos as ἔνδρον τόπον, which Meinecke emends to εὔδρον πότον; see Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 790, no. 1.

439. Harpokration, under λουτροφόρος καὶ λουτροφορεῖν. 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

ὅτι δὲ τὰ λουτρὰ ἐκόμιζον ἐκ τῆς νῦν μὲν
Ἐννεάκρουνος καλουμένης κρήνης, πρότερον
δὲ Καλλιρόης, Πολυστέφανος ἐν τῷ περὶ κρηνῶν
φησί. μέμνηται δὲ τοῦ ἔθους οἱ κωμικοί.

That they brought the bath water from the fountain now called Enneakrounos, formerly Kallirhoe, is stated by Polystephanos in his work on fountains. The custom is also mentioned by the comic poets.

“Polystephanos” is very probably a mistake for “Philostephanos”; Philostephanos of Cyrene, of the 3rd century B.C., also wrote a work on rivers; see Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Philostephanos, col. 111.

440. Harpokration.

1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Ἐννεάκρουνον: Λυσίας ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀντιδόσεως.
κρήνη τις ἐν Ἀθήναις πρότερον δ' ἐκαλεῖτο
Καλλιρόη.

Enneakrounon: Lysias in his speech about the exchange of property. A fountain at Athens; formerly it was called Kallirhoe.

“Lysias” is no doubt a mistake for “Iso-krates,” which Dindorf substitutes.

441. Herodotos, VI, 137, 3.

5th c. B.C.

ώς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, δικαίως ἔξελάσσαι. κατοικημένους γάρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς
ύπὸ τῷ ‘Υμησσῷ ἐνθεῦτεν ὄρμωμένους ἀδικεῖν
τάδε· φοιτᾶν γάρ δὴ τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας
[τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας]¹ ἐπ’ ὅδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον· οὐ γάρ εἰναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον
σφίσι κω οὐδὲ τοῖσι ἀλλοισι Ἑλλησι οἰκέτας.
ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὗται, τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ²
ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίης βιάσθαι σφέας.

¹ Bracketed by most editors.

According to the Athenians' own account, they were justified in driving them out. For the Pelasgians, coming down from their settlements at the foot of Mt. Hymettos, committed aggressions against them. The Athenians' daughters used to

come to Enneakrounos for water—neither they nor the other Greeks had servants at this period; and when they came, the Pelasgians in a wanton and contemptuous spirit laid violent hands on them.

Herodotos projects the name back into primitive times.

442. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

Ἐννεάκρουνος· κρήνη Ἀθήνησιν, ἣν πρότερον Καλλιρόην ἔλεγον· τῶν δὲ τυράννων οὕτως αὐτὴν κατασκευασάντων ἐκλήθη Ἐννεάκρουνος, ὡς φησι καὶ Θουκυδίδης.

Enneakrounos. A fountain at Athens, which they formerly called Kallirrhoe; but when the tyrants embellished it in this manner it was called Enneakrounos, as Thucydides says.

443. Hierokles, *Hippiatrica*, in preface to *De Febri Equi*. 4th c. A.D.

Ταραντῖνος δὲ ιστορεῖ, τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νεῶν κατασκευάζοντας Ἀθηναίους Ἐννεάκρουνου πλησίον εἰσελαθῆναι ψηφίσασθαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ λεύγη ἀπαντά.

Tarantinos relates that the Athenians when constructing the temple of Zeus near Enneakrounos decreed that all beasts of burden should be brought in from Attica to the city.

The temple of Zeus is presumably the Olympieion, in the southeast of the city. On this passage see Judeich, p. 197, note 1.

“Tarantinos” may be Herakleides of Tarentum, a medical writer of the 1st century B.C.; see Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Herakleides 54.

444. Himerios, Frag. I, 7 (ed. Colonna, p. 250). 4th c. A.D.

εὶ δέ μοι καὶ τῆς ποιητῶν ἔξουσίας μετῆν,
ἔδειξα ἀν σοι καὶ Ἰλισσὸν τοῦτον δακρύοντα,
ἔχρωσα δ' ἀν κατηφεῖ χρώμαστι τὰ καλὰ
Καλλιρόης νάματα.

If I had a share in the powers of the poets, I would have shown you the Ilissos here weeping, I would have tinged with

gloomy color the fair streams of Kallirrhoe.

445. Isokrates, XV (*Antidosis*), 287. 354/3 B.C.

οἱ μὲν γάρ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐννεάκρουνου ψύχουσιν οἶνον, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις πίνουσιν, ἔτεροι δ' ἐν τοῖς σκιραφείοις κυβεύουσι, πολλοὶ δ' ἐν τοῖς τῶν αὐλητρίδων διδασκαλείοις διατρίβουσιν.

For some of them cool wine at Enneakrounos, others drink in the wine shops; others play dice in the gambling-houses; many spend their time in the flutegirls’ schools.

Isokrates is speaking of the degenerate young men of his day.

446. Lucian, *Timon*, 56.

2nd c. A.D.

ποτὸν δὲ ἡ Ἐννεάκρουνος. ὁ δὲ τρίβων οὗτος ἦς βούλει πορφυρίδος ἀμείνων.

My drink is Enneakrounos; and this worn cloak is better than the purple robe which you desire.

Thrasylles to Timon the misanthrope (5th century B.C.), praising the simple life.

447. Pausanias, I, 14, 1.

2nd c. A.D.

πλησίον δέ ἔστι κρήνη, καλοῦσι δέ αὐτὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον, οὕτω κοσμηθεῖσαν ύπὸ Πεισιστράτου· φρέατα μὲν γάρ καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἔστι, πηγὴ δὲ αὐτῆς μόνη. ναοὶ δὲ ὑπέρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποίηται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἔστιν ἀγαλμα.

Near by is a fountain; they call it Enneakrounos, since it was adorned in this way (i.e. with nine spouts) by Peisistratos. There are wells throughout the whole city, but this is the only spring. There are temples above the fountain; one is of Demeter and Kore; in that of Triptolemos a statue of him is set up.

This follows the Odeion (521); Pausanias next speaks of the Eleusinion and the temple of Eukleia (198), and then goes on to the temple of Hephaistos (288).

It is strange that Pausanias calls Enneakrounos the only πηγή, i.e. natural spring or source, in Athens, when there were others of which he himself mentions two, the spring in the Asklepieion (21, 4; though Pausanias actually calls this κρήνη) and Klepsydra (28, 4). Perhaps he means that Enneakrounos was the only πηγή which was a regular source of daily water supply.

Frazer in his note on this passage (Vol. II, p. 112) states most clearly the much-discussed problem raised by the fact that Pausanias places Enneakrounos in or near the agora, others appear to place it near the river Ilissos to the southeast of Athens. Judeich reviews the question (pp. 193ff.) and strongly supporting Dörpfeld's identification of Enneakrounos as a fountain house discovered east of the Pnyx, some distance to the south of the agora, concludes that the situation of Enneakrounos is now settled.

This was a rash conclusion even in 1930; and several years later a fountain house was found in the agora itself, in the southwest corner (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 188, 214; XXIV, 1955, p. 52). More recently a fountain house of the late 6th century B.C. has been discovered in the southeastern corner of the agora, a situation which suits Pausanias admirably (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 29–35; XXIV, 1955, p. 57).

Precise identification of his Enneakrounos still presents difficulties. But it now seems very probable that he saw a fountain which he took to be Enneakrounos to the southeast of the agora; that there is no serious dislocation in his description, as many have assumed; and that Dörpfeld's "Enneakrounos" is not relevant.

The question remains whether Pausanias was mistaken in calling the fountain which he saw Enneakrounos. The evidence that he was is not really very strong; and one may note that Isokrates also—possibly Alkiphrōn too—seems to point, though vaguely, to a site in the middle of the city rather than outside. Only the *Etym. Magnum* contradicts Pausanias flatly by saying that Enneakrounos was near the Ilissos, though the less precise indications of Hierokles, Herodotus and possibly Statius may be interpreted in this sense. Thucydides is not necessarily inconsistent with Pausanias (see note on 455 below). Authors who say that *Kallirrhoe* was near the Ilissos do not contradict Pausanias. There may have been two fountains so called; the name is a common epithet of fountains.

The problem remains troublesome. It is perhaps best to assume that Pausanias, who is usually

a careful author and who supplies our only precise indication of site, is correct; that there were two springs called *Kallirhoe*, of which the one in the middle of the city was made into Enneakrounos, and that this gave rise to some confusion (Broneer has an ingenious theory to account for the duplication of a number of names in the north and south of the city; see *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, p. 58). For the most recent summary of the problem in the light of the excavated remains, see *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 51–52.

- 448.** Photios, under λουτροφόρος καὶ λουτροφορεῖν.
9th c. A.D.

τὰ δὲ λουτρά ἐκόμιζον ἐκ τῆς νῦν μὲν Ἐννεακρούνου καλουμένης κρήνης πρότερον δὲ Καλλιρόης.

They brought the bath water from the fountain now called Enneakrounos, formerly Kallirrhoe.

A late, 15th century MS adds ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν αὕτη καλλιρόη καλεῖται (see Judeich, pp. 194–195, for the modern use of the name *Kallirrhoe* for the Ilissos fountain).

- 449.** [Plato], *Axiochos*, 364a, b, d.

Ca. 300 B.C. ?

Ἐξιόντι μοι ἐς Κυνόσαργες καὶ γενομένῳ μοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισὸν διῆξε φωνὴ βοῶντός του, “Σώκρατες, Σώκρατες”. ὡς δὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς περιεσκόπουν ὅποθεν εἴη, Κλεινίαν ὅρῳ τὸν Ἀξιόχου θέοντα ἐπὶ Καλλιρρόην μετὰ Δάμωνος τοῦ μουσικοῦ καὶ Χαρμίδου τοῦ Γλαύκωνος. . . . ἐδόκει οὖν μοι ἀφεμένῳ τῇσι εὐθὺν ὅδοιν ἀπαντᾶν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ῥάστα όμοι γενοίμεθα. . . .
‘Ως δὲ θᾶττον τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἤειμεν ταῖς Ιτωνίαις — πλησίον γάρ φκει τῶν πυλῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἀμαλονίδι στήλη — καταλαμβάνομεν αὐτόν. . . .

I was going out to Kynosarges, and when I was by the Ilissos I heard a shrill voice crying, "Socrates, Socrates." I turned and looked to see whence it came, and I saw Kleinias the son of Axiochos running towards Kallirrhoe with Damon the musician and Charmides the son of Glaukon

So I thought I would leave my direct road and go to meet them, so that we might get together with the least difficulty

As soon as we were going along the road by the wall, at the Itonian gate—he lived near the gate by the stele of the Amazon—we found him (Axiochos).

See Judeich, Plan I, G. 7, H. 7, for the topography of this incident, which is set in the southeastern outskirts of the city.

See Taylor, *Plato*, p. 552, for the date of this dialogue, which is sometimes, unnecessarily, placed a good deal later.

450. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, IV, 24. 1st c. A.D.

In Attica fontes Cephesia, Larine, Callirroe Enneacrunos.

In Attica are the fountains Cephesia, Larine, Callirroe-Enneacrunos.

Both names are misspelt in a variety of ways in the MSS.

451. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXI, 50. 1st c. A.D.

Athenis Enneacrunos nimbosa aestate frigidior est quam puteus in Iovis horto.

At Athens Enneacrunos in cloudy weather in summer is colder than a well in the garden of Juppiter.

452. Pollux, III, 43. 2nd c. A.D.

καὶ λουτρά τις κομίζουσα λουτροφόρος, Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Καλλιρρόης εἴτ' αὖθις Ἐννεακρούνου κληθείστης, ἀλλαχόθι δ' ὅθεν ἀν καὶ τύχη· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ταῦτα καὶ νυμφικὰ λουτρά.

And a woman who brings water for bathing is called a waterbearer; at Athens the water was brought from Kallirrhoe, which was afterwards called Enneakrounos; at other places it was brought from whatever source happened to be used. This water was called “bridal water.”

453. Statius, *Thebaid*, XII, 629–633.

Ca. A.D. 90.

Hos Salamin populos, illos Cerialis Eleusin horrida suspensis ad proelia misit aratris,
et quos Callirhoe noviens errantibus undis implicat, et raptae qui conscius Orithyiae celavit ripis Geticos Elisos¹ amores.

¹ There are several variations of spelling in the MSS.

These tribes were sent by Salamis, those by Ceres’ town Eleusis, to the savage combat, their ploughs hung up; they too were sent whom Kallirhoe encloses with waters nine times wandering, and Elisos who, knowing of the rape of Orithyia, concealed the Getic love upon his banks.

Theseus musters the Attic forces against the Thebans (see p. 78).

“Getic (Thracian) love” alludes to Orithyia’s lover Boreas, the North Wind. Whether *noviens* refers to *Enneakrounos* is not clear; “nine times wandering” is a different matter from nine spouts.

454. Suidas.

10th c. A.D.

Ἐννεάκρουνον. Κρήνη τις Ἀθήνησι, Καλλιρόη καλουμένη πρότερον.

Enneakrounos. A fountain at Athens, formerly called Kallirrhoe.

(448). Suidas, λουτροφόρος καὶ λουτροφορεῖν, as Photios. 10th c. A.D.

455. Thucydides, II, 15, 4–5. 5th c. B.C.

ἴδιρται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Ἱερά ταῦτη ἀρχαῖα. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὔτω σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένῃ, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῷ τῶν πηγῶν οὔσῳν Καλλιρρόῃ ωνομασμένῃ, ἐκεῖνοι¹ τε ἔγγυς οὕσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἀξια ἔχρωντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐξ ἄλλα τῶν Ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὑδατὶ χρῆσθαι.

¹ ἐκεῖνοι — Bekker, for MSS ἐκείνῃ.

Other ancient shrines too are situated in this quarter. And the fountain which is now called Enneakrounos, the tyrants having embellished it in this manner (i.e.

with nine spouts), but which in olden times when its sources were visible was called Kallirrhoe, was used by them for the most important purposes since it was close at hand; and even now the custom is handed down from antiquity of using the water before marriage ceremonies and for other sacred rites.

Thucydides is proving that the primitive city of Athens was what was the Acropolis in his day, together with "the district below it turned mainly towards the south" (*τὸ ύπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμένον*). His proof is that besides the shrines on the Acropolis, those outside the Acropolis are situated "mainly towards this quarter of the city" (*πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον*), including the shrine of Olympian Zeus, the Python, the shrine of Earth and the shrine of Dionysos *ἐν Λίμναις*.

This passage is hardly helpful in solving the problem of the site of Enneakrounos; it has been reconciled with divergent views. Because of *πρὸς νότον*, it used naturally to be taken as referring to the fountain near the Ilissos. But it has also been associated with the fountain east of the Pnyx; the district described as *mainly* to the south may be thought of as swinging round to the west, where the approach to the Acropolis always lay; and the shrine of Dionysos *ἐν Λίμναις* has been located here (Judeich, p. 291; see also pp. 55 ff. on this passage), though this is very uncertain. A site in the agora is a different matter; but one should note

that Thucydides does not actually say that Enneakrounos itself was south of the Acropolis, merely that it was *near at hand* for the use of the inhabitants of his primitive Athens. A. W. Parsons in *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 192, suggests that *πρὸς νότον* is a mistake for *πρὸς βορρᾶν*, but this is hardly necessary.

For the inscription **KALIPOE** attached to fountain houses on vases of Peisistratid date see *Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 1888, pp. 227f.; Judeich, p. 195, note 3.

NOTE. Enneakrounos is the only fountain definitely placed by literary authority (i.e. Pausanias) in the agora. Lykourgos mentions a "fountain amongst the osiers" (*ἡ κρήνη ἡ ἐν τοῖς σισύοις*, *Leokrates*, 112) near which Phryничos was killed in 411 B.C.; Thucydides says (VIII, 92, 2; 405) that Phryничos "was struck and when he had gone not far from the Bouleuterion died immediately." One might infer that the "fountain amongst the osiers" was not far from the Bouleuterion; but it should be noted that Thucydides differs from Lykourgos as regards the time of the incident and other particulars.

Of possible interest too are Pollux, VIII, 113, where we hear of a certain *λέων κρηνοφύλαξ*, through which water was brought *ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ὄδωρ δίκαις*; Schol. Aristophanes, *Birds*, 997, where Meton is said to have constructed a fountain on the Kolonos (see p. 90); and *I.G.*, I², 54, an inscription of possibly 437/6 B.C. which is concerned in some way with water-works (see *Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, p. 74, D 19, and Wilhelm in *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948, p. 128).

GYMNASIUM OF HERMES

See p. 20.

GYMNASIUM OF PTOLEMY

The gymnasium of Ptolemy was not far from the agora (Pausanias), in the middle of the city (Plutarch), near the Theseion (Pausanias, Plutarch). It contained stone Herms, a statue of Chrysippos etc. (Pausanias), an honorary portrait (*I.G.*, II², 1070) and a library (*I.G.*, II², 1029, 1043). Philosophers lectured there (Apollodorus, Cicero, *I.G.*, II², 1006).

456. Apollodorus, Frag. 59. Mid 2nd c. B.C.

ῥαιδίως

ἔτυχε πολιτείας τε κάν[ῶ]ιξε σχολάς
ἐν τῶι Πτ[ο]λεμα[ῖ]ωι τῶν ἀλειφομένων ἔκει.

He readily obtained citizenship and set

up school in the Ptolemaion (?) amongst the athletes practising there.

See Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, II B, no. 244, 59.

The fragment is from Apollodorus' *Chronika*, which went down to 144 B.C. It is quite uncer-

tain who the philosopher referred to is, but he is said (line 2) to have come to Athens ἐπ' [Ἀριστοφάντου]. Dates assigned to Aristophantos have varied from 153/2 to 136/5 B.C.; he is placed with a query in 151/0 B.C. by Pritchett and Meritt, p. xxx, p. 180; cf. *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 95.

457. Cicero, *De Finibus*, V, 1. 45 B.C.

Quum audissem Antiochum, Brute, ut solebam, cum M. Pisone in eo gymnasio, quod Ptolemaeum vocatur, unaque nobiscum Q. frater et T. Pomponius et L. Cicero, frater noster cognatione patruelis, amore germanus, constituimus inter nos ut ambulationem postmeridianam conficeremus in Academia, maxime quod is locus ab omni turba id temporis vacuus esset.

I had heard Antiochus lecture as usual, Brutus, along with M. Piso in the gymnasium which is called after Ptolemy; with us too were my brother Quintus, T. Pomponius (Atticus) and L. Cicero, my cousin by blood but my brother in affection; we agreed to take an afternoon stroll in the Academy, chiefly because the place is entirely free from crowds at that time.

The dramatic date is 79 B.C. (cf. *Brutus*, 91 [315]; Plutarch, *Cicero*, 4, 1). Antiochos of Askalon was then head of the Academy.

458. Pausanias, I, 17, 2. 2nd c. A.D.

ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολύ, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευασμένου καλουμένῳ, λίθοι τέ εἰσιν Ἐρμαῖ θέας ἀξιοὶ καὶ εἰκὼν Πτολεμαίου χαλκῆ· καὶ ὁ τε Λίβυς Ἰόβας ἐνταῦθα κεῖται καὶ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σολεύς. πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ Θησέως ἔστιν ἴερόν.

In the gymnasium not far from the market-place, called the gymnasium of Ptolemy after its founder, are stone Herms which are worth seeing, and a bronze statue of Ptolemy; here also is

Juba the Libyan and Chrysippus of Soli. By the gymnasium is a shrine of Theseus.

This follows the altar of Eleos (177); for Pausanias on the Theseion see 351.

This Ptolemy has usually been thought to be Ptolemy II Philadelphos (285–246 B.C.). But there is no clear indication and H. A. Thompson argues (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 322) that he is Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–145 B.C.).

For Juba, see p. 212.

Chrysippus is the Stoic philosopher, (ca. 280–207 B.C.); it is doubtful whether this statue can be the same as the one in the Kerameikos, “seated, with outstretched hand,” mentioned by Cicero (*De Finibus*, I, 11 [39], statua est in Ceramico Chrysippi sedentis, porrecta manu) and by Diogenes Laertius (VII, vii, 182) who says that the statue ἐν Κεραμεικῷ showed how Chrysippus was insignificant in appearance (τὸ σωμάτιον εὔτελής)—it was almost hidden by the equestrian statue near by.

Plutarch also mentions (*De Stoicorum Repugnantiis*, 2) a statue of Chrysippus set up by a pupil and close friend but does not say where it was (Ἀριστοκρέων γοῦν δὲ Χρυσίππου μαθητῆς καὶ οἰκεῖος εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἀναστηλώσας ἐπέγραψε...).

(356). Plutarch, *Theseus*, 36, 2.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

Theseus “lies in the middle of the city by the present gymnasium,” i.e. the Ptolemaion.

459. I.G., II², 1006, lines 19–20. 122/1 B.C.

προσεκαρτ[έ]ρησαν δὲ καὶ Ζηνοδότωι σχολ[άζοντε]ς ἐν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ ἐν Λυκείῳ, δομοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις [φιλο]-σόφοις ἀπαστιγ[ν]υ τοῖς τε ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ ἐν Ἀκαδημ[ίαι] δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ.

They attended diligently the classes of Zenodotos in the Ptolemaion and the Lykeion, and similarly those of all the other philosophers in the Lykeion and the Academy through the whole year.

From a stele found at the church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa (south end of Stoa of Attalos; for a new fragment see Agora I 5953, found in the foundations of the tower, Q 12; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 23, no. 11) with decrees honoring the ephebes of the previous year and their officers.

Zenodotus is possibly the Stoic philosopher, a pupil of the Diogenes of Babylon who accompanied Karneades and Kritolaos to Rome in 155 B.C.

460. *I.G.*, II², 1029, lines 25–26. 96/5 B.C.

[ἀνέθηκαν δὲ] καὶ βυθλία εἰς τὴν ἐν Πτολεμαίῳ
βυθλιοθήκην ἐκατὸν κατὰ
[τὸ ψῆφισμα]

They also dedicated a hundred books in the library in the Ptolemaion in accordance with the decree.

From a stele found at the Church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa, with decrees honoring the ephesbes of the previous year. For the date see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 11.

Agora I 5952 from the foundations of the tower (Q 12) (continued by *I.G.*, II², 1009; see *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 170, no. 67), of 116/5 B.C., also mentions (line 32) a gift of a hundred books by the ephesbes "to the library," but does not say where the library was; it may have been in the Ptolemaion.

461. *I.G.*, II², 1043, line 50. 37 B.C.

[— βυθλία ἀνέθηκαν — εἰς τὴν ἐν Πτολεμαίῳ βυθλιοθήκην κατὰ τὸ ψῆφισμα δὲ Μητροφά[νης — εἴπεν]

They dedicated . . . books in the library of the Ptolemaion in accordance with the decree which Metrophanes proposed.

From a stele found in numerous pieces at the church of Demetrios Katephores, with decrees praising the ephesbes of the previous year.

462. *I.G.*, II², 1070, lines 6–9. Early Christian era, before A.D. 19.

παρα
κ[αλοῦσι τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιχωρῆσαι ποιήσασθαι]
αὐτοῦ γραπτῆς εἰκόνος
ἀνάθεσιν ἐν ὅπλῳ ἐπιχρύσωι ἐν τῷ Πτολε]-
μαίῳ γυμνασίῳ κα[ὶ]
ἐ[πιγράψαι τάδε -- -]

They ask the Council to allow them to set up a picture of him on a gilded shield in the gymnasium of Ptolemy and to inscribe these words on it . . .

From a marble stele found ἐν δόδῷ Φλυέων, with a decree of the Boule acceding to a request of the Prytaneis for honors to be granted to their tamias Apollonios. See also *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 193, no. 119.

463. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 65, no. 2.

3rd c. B.C.

ὅρο[ς]
γυμν[ασίου]

A boundary stone, a small marble stele, found at the entrance to the Odeion of Herodes. On criteria of letter forms "a date in the third century B.C. is most probable." The stone might have come from the Ptolemaion (the distance need not disprove this), but it might also come from the Diogeneion or even an older gymnasium.

A small marble column, *I.G.*, II², 11030, inscribed

γυμνά
σιον

found near the colossal marble figures ("Giants") in the north central part of the Agora is perhaps to be connected with the gymnasium of late Roman date of which those figures formed a part (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 136).

LAW COURTS

Full *testimonia* on Athenian law courts are beyond our present scope and are reserved for a future work. The appended note deals briefly and provisionally with the law courts in relation to the topography and monuments of the agora.

For the *synedrion* of the Boule of the Areopagus see p. 127, and for its meeting in the Basileios, [Demos-thenes], XXV (*Aristogeton*, I), 28 (11); for a court in the Poikile see p. 31; for the court in the Prytaneion, p. 166. We are not concerned at present with the other homicide courts which met at various places, "at Palladion" (towards Phaleron), "at Delphinion" (in southeastern Athens), and "at Phreattys" (in Peiraeus) (see especially Pausanias, I, 28, 8–11).

HELIAIA

The *Heliaia* was near the Thieves' Market, the Agora of the Kerkopes (see p. 201). That both were on or near the main agora itself is a natural assumption. Lexicographers speak of "upper and lower *dikasteria*"; but there is no clear evidence; nor can we be sure that the *Heliaia* remained throughout in the same place. Harpokration, on δέ κάτωθεν νόμος (Demosthenes, XXIII, 28; 399), says Didymos explains the phrase as follows, ἢ τοι . . . τὴν ἡλιαίαν λέγει δέ τὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων τὰ μὲν ἄνω τὰ δὲ κάτω ὀνομάζεσθαι, "either the orator means the *Heliaia* because, of the *dikasteria*, some are named 'upper' some 'lower' . . ."; quite different alternative explanations follow. In fact Demosthenes no doubt means simply "the law lower down on the list," and the annotators' efforts to explain him are confusing. In Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 253, 26 ff., we find Ἐπάνω δικαστήριον καὶ ὑποκάτω: ἐπάνω μὲν δικαστήριον τὸ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ· ἔστι γὰρ ἐν υψηλῷ λόφῳ· κάτω δὲ τὸ ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ τόπῳ, again with alternatives—"upper in the city, lower in Peiraeus" etc. Judeich (p. 354) is rash in deducing from such unsatisfactory evidence that the *Heliaia* was "in a hollow place" and actually locating it northeast of the Areopagus.

Antiphon, VI, 21 ἀναβάς εἰς τὴν ἡλιακήν (usually emended to ἡλιαίαν) τὴν τῶν θεσμοθετῶν, might be taken to imply that the *Heliaia* was rather in an elevated position; but ἀναβάς probably has no more than its common meaning, used of witnesses etc., of "mounting the platform," "taking the stand in the *Heliaia*." Note that the speaker, using the word in this sense, continues, ἀναβάς ἔγω εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικασταῖς ἔλεξε . . . (cf. Demosthenes, XXX, *Onetor*, I, 32, and possibly Plato, *Apology*, 17d).

Nothing helpful can be deduced from the name *Heliaia*, or from explanations of it, conflicting and confused in ancient as in modern authors, except that the court met under the open sky (ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ; Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 255, *Wasps*, 88, 772, *Clouds*, 862, *Birds*, 109; Schol. Demosthenes, XXIV, 21; Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 310, 32; *Etym. Magnum*, ἡλιαία; Suidas, ἡλιαστής).

(H. A. Thompson, in *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 38, has suggested that a large square court on the south side of the agora, dating in its original form from the second half of the 6th century B.C., was probably a law court and possibly the *Heliaia* itself. The identification is attractive not because of any evidence we have about the position of the *Heliaia*, but because this function seems most appropriate to the building and, if it was a law court, it was certainly a large and important one).

The word *Heliaia*, like *agora*, probably meant primarily the assembly, secondarily the place; as with such words as *synedrion*, *dikasterion*, *boule*, the meanings are closely bound up together; often both are present and are not to be separated.

This is not the place to discuss fully the organization of the courts and the functions of the *Heliaia*, but a brief note will lead on to mention of the other courts. Originally, in the 6th century, the *Heliaia* was the popular court of appeal. Some time between the fall of the tyrants and the ascendancy of Pericles—the date is disputed—it became a court of the first instance. Its work was tremendously increased and a number of other popular courts were added (C. Hignett, *History of the Athenian Constitution*, pp. 216ff.; R. J. Bonner and G. Smith, *Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle*, Vol. I, p. 156). The relation of these courts to the old original *Heliaia* is disputed and is far from clear, but at least they may be regarded in some sense as its offshoots, the product of a process of fragmentation. There was still apparently a *Heliaia*, and all ancient authorities agree that it was the greatest and most important court of Athens; Pausanias describes it as such (I, 28, 8), using the present tense and apparently referring to his own time. Antiphon's "Heliaia of the Thesmothetai" remains puzzling; it implies that this court is distinguished from the *Heliaia* of someone else. But apart from this, it is always simply *the Heliaia*, singular and apparently unique.

In the *Heliaia*, as all again agree, the largest juries sat. Harpokration (ἡλιαία) says, "Heliaia is the greatest court of those at Athens, in which public cases (τὰ δημόσια τῶν προγυμάτων) were tried, 1000 or 1500 dicasts assembling for the purpose. The 1000 came together from two *dikasteria*" (*dikasterion* can be used to signify the common unit of 500 jurors), "the 1500 from three" (cf. *Ath. Pol.*, 68, 1; Pollux, VIII, 123; Photios, *Etym. Magnum*, Suidas, ἡλιαία κτλ.; Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 189, 20 and 262, 10). Bonner and Smith infer that "any court that consisted of two or more sections (of 500) met in the *Heliaia*." Lysias, XIII (*Agoratos*), 35, tells how at the time of the Thirty (404 B.C.) the Demos voted for a trial of certain people ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἐν δισχιλίοις. Once, in Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 17, we hear of a trial ἐν ἔξαισχιλίοις, apparently before the whole body of 6000 dicasts; some editors doubt the truthfulness or the text of Andokides, others accept the 6000 without question (cf. Bonner and Smith, pp. 157, 246). Possibly on such an exceptional occasion an exceptional meeting-place may have been used. Presumably the lesser courts normally accommodated 500. Such figures have to be borne in mind in thinking of possible dimensions for court buildings; remembering also that if one can believe the complaints of the jurors in the *Wasps* with reference to the four

courts mentioned there (see p. 147), they were apt to be as tightly packed as the jurors in Carroll's Wonderland; but that space has to be found somewhere for the spectators who are often on the scene, sometimes in large numbers (Antiphon, VI, *Choreutes*, 24, of the Heliaia itself, δικαστοὶ καὶ ἔτεροι ἴδιῶται πολλοὶ μάρτυρες παρῆσαν; also VI, 14; Aischines, II, *De Falsa Legatione*, 5; III, *Ktesiphon*, 207; Demosthenes, XVIII, *De Corona*, 196, XXX, *Onotor*, I, 32; Isaios, V, *Dikaiogenes*, 20; in the orators the usual phrase is "standing around outside," ἔξωθεν περιεστηκότων etc. apparently beyond the strict limits or barriers of the court). From [Demosthenes], XLVII (*Euergos and Mnesiboulos*), 12 we learn that facilities for holding an arbitration could be provided in the Heliaia—those serving as arbitrators for the Oineid and Erechtheid tribes sat there.

We have already noted how Antiphon uses the expression "the Heliaia of the Thesmothetai" (VI, *Choreutes*, 21; p. 145). In I.G., I², 39 (S.E.G., X, 36; *Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, p. 72, IV, p. 171; 446/5 B.C.) we find in line 75 that certain types of case in which Chalcidians are involved are referred ἐς τὴν Ἐλιαίαν τὸν θεσμοθετῶν. Presumably Andokides means the same thing, in I (*De Mysteriis*), 28, by ἐν τῷ τῶν θεσμοθετῶν δικαστηρίῳ. The Thesmothetai presided over the Heliaia. Many magistrates and boards of magistrates presided at the hearing of particular types of case; they cannot all have had a court allotted exclusively to them.

PARABYSTON

The *Parabyston* is amongst the courts for which we have 5th century evidence. Harpokration (παράβυστον, says, "This was the name of one of the *dikasteria* at Athens, in which the Eleven tried cases; Antiphon in his speech against Nikokles about the boundaries; it is mentioned by Timokles" (mid 4th century B.C.) "in his *Orestautokleides*, amongst others."

In I.G., II², 1646 (mid 4th century B.C.), we find in line 12

[δικα]στήριον τὸ παράβυ[στον]

In Antiphon, V (*Herodes*, variously dated ca. 424 B.C. or ca. 415 B.C.) 9ff., the defendant complains that instead of being tried by a homicide court, he is being treated as a κακοῦργος. κακοῦργοι appeared before the Eleven (cf. *Ath. Pol.*, 52,1); so it seems likely that this case was tried in the Parabyston. The defendant also says that he is being tried in the agora (10, ἐνταυθοῖ πεποιήκαστην κρίσιν, ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ) from which others charged with homicide are excluded. So presumably the Parabyston was in the agora.

Again it is difficult to deduce anything safely from the name itself. Demosthenes, XXIV (*Timokrates*), 47 provides a clue to the meaning of the adjective; ἐν παραβύστῳ there seems to mean "in a corner," "in a hole-and-corner fashion" (there is of course no reference to the court here). "Parabyston" apparently means something like "pushed aside" (by another, larger court or other building? Cf. Hesychios on παράβυστον; one meaning is ἀποκερυμμένον ἢ μικρὸν κλινίδιον, παρατιθέμενον τῇ μεγάλῃ; cf. also Harpokration, and Pollux, III, 43, κλίνη παράβυστος). Ξυμβεβυσμένοι in *Wasps*, 1110, comes to mind; but Parabyston can hardly mean "tightly packed," since this does not take account of the παρά-. The statement of the lexicographers (*Etym. Magnum*, παράβυστον; Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 292, 24; cf. Hesychios, παράβυστον) that the court judged in secret (λάθρα), with the implication that the name had something to do with this, is probably an unwarranted assumption.

The word hardly seems to convey the meaning "shut in" or "roofed over," though we can infer from Antiphon (V, 11) that the Parabyston was in fact roofed. He contrasts the homicide courts which were under the open sky (ἀπαντὰ τὰ δικαστήρια ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ δικάζει τὰς δίκας τοῦ φόνου) so that the jury should not be contaminated and the prosecutor should not come under the same roof (δημωρόφιος) as the defendant. It is not unlikely that other courts besides these and the Heliaia were unroofed. Plato says (*Republic*, 492b; the reference is not only to Athens) that when large crowds gather in *ekklesiae*, *dikasteria*, theatres or camps, the rocks and the whole district resound with their cries and applause. Pollux, VIII, 124, says that the *dikasteria* rose if there was "a sign from heaven" (διοσημία; rain etc.).

Pausanias, still speaking as of his own day, says that the Parabyston was in an obscure part of the city (I, 28, 8, ἐν ἀφανεῖ τῆς πόλεως; he adds—perhaps an unwarranted deduction again—that the smallest matters were dealt with there). This does not necessarily contradict the location of the court in the agora—it may have been tucked away in an obscure corner, obstructed by other buildings; but again it may have been moved since Antiphon's time.

For other references to Parabyston see p. 148 below.

(The discovery of bronze ballots in association with the scanty remains of a late 5th century building under the northern part of the Stoa of Attalos has led to the identification of this building as a law court rather than a market. The name Parabyston has been tentatively suggested for it; *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 60,

and p. 190 below. Painted inscriptions on fragmentary roof tiles found in the building might be restored as [Πα]ρα[βύστο] and τὸ Π[αραβύστο]. One should note however that since the building, or rather its 4th century successor, was obliterated by the Stoa of Attalos, Pausanias cannot have seen the Parabyston here.)

OTHER COURTS

(In *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 184ff., Miss Crosby discusses the possibility that two large quadrilateral structures to the southwest of the agora, of 5th century date, were law courts, but is inclined to reject the idea.)

Aristophanes' *Wasps* (422 B.C.) provides our only other evidence for specific *dikasteria* in the late 5th century. The chorus say (1108–1109),

οἱ μὲν ἡμῶν οὗπερ ἄρχων, οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοὺς ἔνδεκα
οἱ δ' ἐν ὀρθείῳ δικάλουσ', οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς τειχίοις,

"some sit where the archon (tries cases), some with the Eleven, some in the Odeion, some by the walls." τὸ δικαστήριον τὸ τῷ ἄρχοντος is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 84 (421/0 B.C.), line 30. "The Eleven" brings the Parabyston to mind again, and perhaps we may take the name back to 422 B.C. The Odeion means of course the Odeion of Perikles adjoining the theatre of Dionysos, not the Odeion in the agora which was much later (see pp. 161–162). At this phase at least one by no means gets the impression that the *dikasteria* were concentrated near the agora, not that one need take seriously the scholiast's remark that Aristophanes refers to the Odeion "indicating that one will find dicasts everywhere in Attica." Pollux, VIII, 33, says that σίτου δίκαι, cases of alimony, were tried in the Odeion; an instance occurs in [Demosthenes], LIX (*Neaira*), 52–54 (after mid 4th century B.C.). What "walls" are referred to in *Wasps*, 1109, one cannot say. In line 120 a court called τὸ Καινόν, the New, is mentioned. The Schol. on 120 remarks on τὸ Καινόν—Τόπος ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ οὗτος λεγόμενος. εἰσὶ δὲ δ', Παράβυστον, Καινόν, Τρίγωνον, Μέσον, "There are four *dikasteria*, Parabyston, Kainon, Trigonon, Meson." This of course is not evidence for the existence of any of these courts except the Kainon at the time of the *Wasps*.

It is impossible to say how seriously one should take *Ecclesiazusae*, 681 ff. (7 and 256 above) as evidence for procedure early in the 4th century. Praxagora proposes to set up the *kleroteria* (see p. 149 below) in the agora "beside Harmodios," who, it will be recalled, stood in the Orchestra (276), and to hold a sortition. It may be that the process of allotment to panels in use by this time actually took place in this region. Some are to be sent to the Basileios, some to the stoa beside it, others to the Alphitopolis—to feast. The Alphitopolis (see p. 21) seems to be added as a joke. The Poikile—which is what I take "the stoa beside the Basileios" to be (see 7 above)—was actually used as a law court in the middle of the 4th century (*I.G.*, II², 1641, line 29; see 97 and also 98), the jury being apparently of 500. When in 676 Praxagora says she will make τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὰς στοιάς into dining rooms, we need not find a clear distinction between the two words.

Names of courts of which we hear are of very varied character, and one must bear in mind the possibility that sometimes more than one name may belong to a particular court, that nomenclature may not have been consistent, or that more than one court may have sat in a particular courtroom. The kind of complication in nomenclature which may have arisen to confuse the commentators is shown by Agora I 1749 (of 392/1 B.C., *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 393ff.) in which we find [δικαστήριον] πρῶτον τῶν καινῶν (lines 12–13), and δικαστήριον τὸ μέσον τῶν καινῶν (lines 116–117). It seems that at this time there may have been a group or block of three "new" courts and the "first" and "middle" of these are referred to here (see Dow in *H. S. C. P.*, L, 1939, p. 23; but contrast Meritt's interpretation of the terms in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 408).

Supplementing the scanty contemporary sources Pollux gives what apparently purports to be a fairly comprehensive list of court names in VIII, 121. Unfortunately the passage contains several obscurities and one cannot even be sure how many courts Pollux lists; text and interpretation are discussed by Jacoby in *F.G.H.* under Androton, III B, no. 324, 59. After mentioning the homicide courts Pollux continues

γνώριμα δικαστήρια ἡ Ἡλιαία, τὸ τρίγωνον, οῦ μέμνηται Δείναρχος, μέσον παράβυστον, μείζον παράβυστον¹ καὶ μείζονος δὲ μέμνηται Λυσίας· ἐν μέντοι τῷ παραβύστῳ οἱ ἔνδεκα ἔδικαλον. τὸ Μητίχου κάλλιον, οὗ μνημονεύει Ἀνδροτίων. τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ Λύκου δεκάς· καὶ ἥρως δὲ ἴδρυτο αὐτόθι ἔχων τοῦ θηρίου μορφήν, πάλαι δ' ἐκεὶ συνήσσαν οἱ συνδεκάλοντες τὰ δικαστήρια. τὸ δὲ Μητίχου δικαστήριον μέγα, οὗτο κληθὲν ἐπὶ² ἀρχιτέκτονος Μητίχου.

¹ Jacoby reads [παρὰ βύστου]: Μείζον· Παράβυστον· — <Παραβύστου> δὲ καὶ Μείζονος μέμνηται Λυσίας, suggesting that a word had dropped out and was replaced unintelligibly at the wrong point.

² ἀπὸ Bethe.

Pollux is helpful in naming earlier authorities though it is not always beyond dispute who mentions what. He tells us that Deinarchos, the late 4th century orator, mentions the Trigonon, the triangular court, which is mentioned also by Lykourgos against Aristogeiton and by Menander, according to Harpokration, τρίγωνον (note too Photios, τρίγωνον δικαστήριον Ἀθήναις, ὡς Παράβυστον καὶ Μέσον). As the text stands Pollux implies that there was more than one court called Parabyston; but this does not accord very well with our other evidence, and one should perhaps get rid of the second Παράβυστον and assume that three courts are referred to, Middle, Parabyston, Greater. The Greater Court, Pollux says, is mentioned by Lysias (not in an extant work); the Kallion of Metichos by Androton, Attidographer of the mid 4th century. "Kallion" has been suspected, possibly as being a corruption of καινόν, or of Καλλίειον, which would give us another court, the Court of Kallias, though which Kallias this was, or how he was associated with the court, is quite obscure. Of the *dikasterion* of Metichos or Metiochos—the spelling varies—we hear more. Hesychios says Μητίχου τέμενος· εἴη ἀν τὸ Μητίχειον, δικαστήριον μέγα. Photios, Μητιοχεῖον, and Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 309, 17, τέμενος Μητίχου, explain these names as referring to a *dikasterion* called after Meti(o)chos, an architect or orator—this sounds like guess-work. It has been suggested that this Metichos was the friend of Perikles, mentioned by Plutarch, *Praecepta Gerendae Reipublicae*, 15,9, who had a hand in everything including roads, and drew on himself the ridicule of comedy (Kock, *C.A.F.*, III, p. 629, no. 1325); this would take his court back to the 5th century, but it is mere conjecture. Since the Meticheion was large (and possibly of some architectural pretensions—perhaps after all Kallion is right), it too may have accommodated some of the larger juries; and so presumably may the Meizon. When Pollux adds a court called τὸ ἐπτὶ Λύκῳ he is probably guilty of a misunderstanding, besides perhaps some confusion with the Epilykeion (see p. 178). According to Harpokration (δεκάλων) Eratosthenes in his work on Old Comedy said, Λύκος ἐστιν ἥρως πρὸς τοῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις δικαστηρίοις, τοῦ θηρίου μορφὴν ἔχων. Apparently a statue of Lykos in animal form stood by all the *dikasteria* (cf. *Wasps*, 389 ff.; and for the numerous references to Lykos in the lexicographers and paroemiographers, no doubt derived from Eratosthenes, see Wachsmuth, II, p. 374, note 3).

From Pausanias' list, I, 28, 8, which includes Parabyston, Trigonon ("named from its shape") and Heliaia, we may add Batrachioun and Phoinikioun, Green and Red. "The names, derived from the colors" (cf. *Ath. Pol.*, 65, 66, though the relevance is not clear) have lasted to the present time.

To recapitulate our probable evidence for the accumulation of these particular courts, in the late 5th century, besides the Heliaia itself, we have the Parabyston (Antiphon), probably in the agora; in *Wasps*, 1108–1109, the court where the archon sits, the court of the Eleven (probably Parabyston), the court in the Odeion; the court by the walls; and the New. Early in the 4th century we have the "first" and "middle" of the New Courts (*Agora I* 1749); the Greater (Lysias); and possibly various stoas mentioned in the *Ecclesiazusae*. Later in the 4th century we have the Parabyston and the Odeion still; the Poikile; the Trigonon (Lykourgos, Deinarchos, Menander); the (Kallion ?) court of Metichos (Androton). For Pausanias' Green and Red courts there is no more precise authority. The apparently collective use of τὰ δικαστήρια in *Ath. Pol.* will be mentioned below. We may have something approaching it in Demosthenes, XXI, 4 (*Meidias*, 847 B.C.), πρὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων; and in XXIV (*Timokrates*), 208–209, see p. 149 below; in Isokrates, VII, 54 (*Areopagiticus*, ca. 355 B.C.) where we hear of citizens drawing lots πρὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων; and possibly even in *Agora I* 1749 (p. 147 above).

These are all the individually named courts of which the authorities tell us. On the location, disposition and form of these courts, except for the points already mentioned, we have no clear evidence. A natural place for a law court, one would think, would be near the agora; and such an assumption is supported by Lysias, XIX (*Aristophanes*), 55, where the speaker says that though he lives near the agora he has never been seen οὔτε πρὸς δικαστηρίῳ οὔτε πρὸς βουλευτηρίῳ; and Euboulos (Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 190, 74; 610) implies that justice and fruit, vegetables etc. were sold in the same region. But some of the courts may have been anywhere in Athens. Nor can one say whether they were scattered about in odd places or largely grouped together. One must in any case recognize that there may have been more than one quite fundamental change in their disposition.

Such a change is implied in *Ath. Pol.*, 63, 2, where we read, "There are ten entrances to the *dikasteria*, one for each tribe, and twenty *kleroteria*, two for each tribe . . ." One might infer that at least in the latter part of the 4th century there was something called collectively "the *dikasteria*," perhaps a complex incorporating several courtrooms, besides facilities for the elaborate sortition in use at this time. The use of τὰ δικαστήρια in Plutarch, *De Genio Socratis*, 10 (682) is similarly collective. There still may have been outlying courts, and courts held in buildings such as the Poikile and the Odeion, designed and used for other purposes; and the great Heliaia may well have been more or less independent (or else dominant). But perhaps we should see in the 4th century a tendency to concentrate the courts in a coherent whole both on architectural principles and to facilitate the working of the elaborate system of that time.

This is not the place to discuss the disputed details of sortition etc. described in the *Ath. Pol.* But it may be mentioned that the meaning of *kleroterion* in 63 and 66, and elsewhere, has been settled by the discovery and study of a number of objects which undoubtedly are *klerotelia* (see Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 198 ff.; cf. *H.S.C.P.*, L, 1939, pp. 1 ff.; *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 336 gives a new fragment). It was a contrivance for carrying out sortition or allotment for various purposes, including those of the law courts. The main structure could take the form of a stele which could be used also for an honorary inscription. The word may occasionally have signified a place where sortition was carried out, as certain ancient commentators imply (*Pollux*, X, 61; Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 47, 13), but in all extant contexts the meaning "allotment machine" is preferable; and one should not visualize a series of rooms for sortition in one's picture of the *dikasteria*.

DESMOTERION

Associated with the law courts and near to one of them was the *Desmoterion* or prison, and it has been assumed, on general grounds and without specific evidence, that it was in or near the agora (Judeich, p. 357). In Plato, *Phaedo*, 59d, we are told how Socrates' friends gathered early each day at the *dikasterion* where the trial was held—which particular *dikasterion* this was one cannot say—"for it was near the prison." Demosthenes, XXIV (*Timokra'es*, 353 B.C.), 208–209, associates law court and prison more vaguely; "If you were to hear a clamor by the *dikasterion* and someone said that the prison had been opened and the prisoners were escaping," everyone would go to the rescue; "Timokrates has passed a law which does not open the prison, but pulls it down, and includes the *dikasteria* too."

That a site near the agora was a suitable place for a prison is shown by Plato, *Laws*, 908a, where it is prescribed that the general prison for the majority is to be περὶ ἀγοράν, though there is to be another, called *Sophronisterion*, near the meeting place of the nocturnal council, and yet another situated, ominously, in a desolate spot κατὰ μέσην τὴν χώραν. Vitruvius, V, 2, 1, says "Aerarium, carcer, curia foro sunt coniungenda"

It has been suggested (Wachsmuth, II, p. 385, n. 3) that from Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, 3, 56, where the Eleven—who had charge of τὰ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ (Pollux, VIII, 102; cf. *Phaedo*, 59e, 116b)—take Theramenes from the Bouleuterion διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς to drink the hemlock (cf. Diodorus, XIV, 5, 3; 397 above), one may infer that the prison was in the agora, probably on the opposite side to the Bouleuterion; but this is highly conjectural.

The prison was presumably a fairly roomy building. Andokides (I, *De Mysteriis*, 48) describes the scene when he and his associates, forty of them in all, confined apparently in one room (ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ) were visited by numerous relations (cf. Lysias, XIII, *Agoratos*, 39, for numerous visitors). Thucydides, IV, 41, 1 says that the Athenians decided to keep the captives from Sphakteria δεσμοῖς. There were 292 of them, including 120 Spartiates. It would perhaps be rash to assume that all these were housed in the one official prison at Athens (it is interesting to compare Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VII, 4, 36, where the Thebans at Tegea arrest large numbers of Arcadians, ὡστε ταχὺ μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸ δεσμωτήριον μεστὸν ἦν, ταχὺ δὲ ἡ δημοσία οἰκία). However, in Thucydides, V, 18, 6–7, we read, in the terms of the treaty of 421 B.C., of the restoration of those of the Lacedaemonians who are ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἡ ἄλλοθι που δῆσης Ἀθηναῖοι ἀρχουσιν ἐν δημοσίῳ and of any of the allies of the Lacedaemonians who ἔστιν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἡ ἄλλοθι που ἡς Ἀθηναῖοι ἀρχουσιν ἐν δημοσίῳ. ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ is taken by the Schol. and by the editors to mean "in the prison."

One may infer from [Demosthenes], XXV (*Aristogeiton*, I), 61, that there were some facilities for communal life in the *desmoterion*; "after this the people in the οἴκημα (see below) voted that no one should share with him fire, lamp, drink or food." Plato, *Phaedo*, 116a, supplies an interesting detail when he tells us that Socrates "got up and went to a room (εἰς οἴκημά τι) to wash." The "door of Charon," through which condemned men went to their death, is frequently mentioned by the paroemiographers and lexicographers (see Wachsmuth, II, p. 386, note 1). Whether it has anything to do with the arrangement of the prison at Athens may be doubted; Socrates did not go to his death through any door.

Otherwise references to the prison are chiefly concerned with the interesting names by which it was known at Athens. By a euphemistic colloquialism it was called οἴκημα, as was also a πορνεῖον ([Demosthenes], XXV, *Aristogeiton*, I, 61; Demosthenes, XXXII, *Zenothemis*, 29; Plutarch, *Solon*, 15, 3; Pollux, IX, 45; Harpokration and Suidas, οἴκημα, quoting Deinarchos). It was also called ἀναγυκαῖον, ἀνώγεων, and variants—names which gave rise to some confusion in the commentators (Harpokration and Suidas, ἀναγυκαῖον, Suidas, ἀνάκαιον; cf. Schol. Demosthenes, XLV, *Stephanos*, I, 80—the reference in Demosthenes is probably rather to the Anakeion, the shrine of the Dioskouroi, see p. 61 above; Hesychios, ἀναγυκαῖον τὸ δεσμωτήριον; from Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V, 4, 8 we learn that the prison at Thebes was similarly named; cf. *Etym. Magnum*, ἀνάκαιον). Finally, Hesychios and *Etym. Magnum* on Θησεῖον say that this name signifies the prison at Athens.

The question arises whether any of these names refers to a different prison. Suidas explains ἀνάκταιον as the prison in which they put slaves and freedmen, implying a separate place; but this may be an unwarranted deduction from the instance cited from Isaios in which a freedman is involved. The Theseion prison remains entirely obscure. We have no substantial evidence for more than one public *desmoterion* at Athens; the usual expression is simply τὸ οἴκημα or τὸ δεσμωτήριον.

LIBRARY OF PANTAINOS

464. Agora I 848.

Ca. A.D. 100

Ἄθηναῖς Πολιάδι καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι
Σεβαστῷ Νέρβᾳ Τραιανῷ Γερμανικῷ καὶ
τῇ πόλι τῇ
Ἄθηναίων ὁ ἱερεὺς Μουσῶν φιλοσόφων Τ.
Φλάβιος Πάνταινος Φλαβίου Μενάνδρου
διαδόχου
νίδιος τὰς ἔξω στοάς, τὸ περίστυλον, τὴν βυθλί-
οθήκην μετὰ τῶν βυθλίων, τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς
πάντα
κόσμον, ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων μετὰ τῶν τέκνων Φλαβίου
Μενάνδρου καὶ Φλαβίας Σεκουνδίλλης
ἀνέθηκε.

To Athena Polias and to the Emperor Caesar Augustus Nerva Traianus Germanicus and to the city of the Athenians, the priest of the Muses who love wisdom T. Flavius Pantainos, son of Flavius Menander head of the school, dedicated the outer stoas, the peristyle, the library with the books, and all the embellishment of the building, from his own resources along with his children Flavius Menander and Flavia Secundilla.

On a lintel block of Pentelic marble, found in the Late Roman Fortification (R 14). Pantainos is probably the archon of about the same date (*I.G.*, II², 2017); see *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 268 ff., and also *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 330; IX, 1940, p. 294; XV, 1946, p. 233; XVI, 1947,

p. 202. Remains of this building have been found to the southeast of the agora, south of the Stoa of Attalos. An inscription giving library regulations is associated with it: Agora I 2729, found as re-used in a reconstruction of the north wall of the Library (Q 13); *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 42

βυθλίον οὐκ ἔξε
νεχθῆσεται ἐπει
ῶμόσσαμεν· ἀνυγή
σεται ἀπὸ ὥρας πρώ
της μέχρι ἔκτης.

A book shall not be taken out, since we have sworn thus. The library shall be opened from the first hour to the sixth.

Agora I 6628, recently found in the curb of a Byzantine well near pier 21 toward the east end of the Middle Stoa (O 13), is the inscribed base of a figure representing the Iliad, no doubt one of a pair of armed female figures representing the Iliad and the Odyssey which were found just south of the Stoa of Attalos in 1869, the Odyssey statue bearing the signature of Iason of Athens (*I.G.*, II², 4313). This pair probably flanked a statue of Homer and the group may well have stood in the library of Pantainos (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 62). A. Raubitschek however would associate the group with C. Julius Nicanor, who was called "the new Homer" and who lived in the time of Augustus (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 317).

The Library of Pantainos may possibly have been attached to the Ptolemaion.

METROON

The Metroon, shrine of "the Phrygian goddess" (Pollux, III), of Rhea (Schol. Aischines; Julian equates the goddess with "Deo and Rhea and Demeter"; see also Arrian, *Periplous*), stood in the agora (Aischines, I), beside the Bouleuterion (Aischines, III; cf. Pausanias); the Tyrannicides stood opposite it (Arrian, *Anabasis*).

The Athenians made part of the Bouleuterion the Metroon (Schol. Aischines). The Metroon was set up to appease the Mother of the Gods for the murder of her votary (Julian; cf. Photios and Suidas who say the *Bouleuterion* was dedicated to the Mother). See also [Plutarch] for the close association of Bouleuterion and Metroon.

The altar in the agora was a place of refuge (Aischines, I). The statue was by Pheidias (Arrian, *Periplous*; Pausanias), Agorakritos (Pliny). The Prytaneis sacrificed to the Mother (Demosthenes, *Prooem.* 54; Theophras-

stos); the ephebes dedicated *phialai* (*I.G.*, II², 1006 etc.) and sacrificed at the Galaxia (*I.G.*, II², 1011). *I.G.*, II², 1817 and 5134 mention the priest (cf. 495 n.); Agora I 364 etc., the decoration of the Metroon; *I.G.*, II², 1257, 3184, 4670 (where the Mother is coupled with Artemis) and Agora I 2669 are dedications. *I.G.*, II², 1445 mentions treasures from the Metroon. Agora I 2472 is a boundary mark; *I.G.*, II², 4870 etc. inscribed tiles; *I.G.*, II², 4841 and 4842 late taurobolic altars.

Diogenes made a jar in the Metroon his home (Diogenes Laertius, VI, [Diogenes]) and Stilpo slept in the Metroon after eating garlic (Athenaeus, X).

The Mother was the guardian of legal documents (Deinarchos). Official documents were kept there (Hypoth. to Demosthenes, XVIII; Demosthenes, XIX; Julian; Photios; Suidas; cf. Pollux, VIII), under a public slave (Demosthenes, XIX; cf. *I.G.*, II², 463, 583; a copy-clerk provided copies—Agora I 286). They included laws (Demosthenes, XXV; Harpokration; Libanios, XXIII; Lykourgos; Photios; Suidas); decrees (Aischines, III; Athenaeus, V; Deinarchos; Libanios, XXIII, cf. XXI; *I.G.*, II², 971, 1327?); records of lawsuits (Athenaeus, IX quoting Chamaileon concerning Alkibiades; Diogenes Laertius quoting Favorinus); accounts of money expended (Agora I 5344, *I.G.*, II², 840, 847, 956); lists of ephebes (*I.G.*, II², 1990); lists of offerings to Asklepios (*I.G.*, II², 1534); lists of weights and measures (*I.G.*, II², 1013); a decree and letter of the Delphic Amphiktytons (*I.G.*, II², 1132); a deed of gift (Diogenes Laertius, X); possibly also official copies of tragedies (see Note 1, p. 160).

A stele was set up in front of the Metroon (*I.G.*, II², 140; II², 1327 *inside?*).

465. Aischines, I (*Timarchos*), 60, 61. 345 B.C.

τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὑπεραγανακτήσας τῷ πράγματι δὲ Πιττάλακος ἔρχεται γυμνὸς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ καθίζει ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν. ὅχλου δὲ συνδραμόντος, οἷον εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, φοβηθέντες ὃ τε 'Ηγήσανδρος καὶ δὲ Τίμαρχος, μὴ ἀνακηρυχθῆ αὐτῶν ἡ βδελυρία εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν (ἐπήει δὲ ἐκκλησία), θέουσι πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν συγκυβευτῶν τινες, καὶ περιστάντες ἐδέοντο τοῦ Πιτταλάκου ἀναστῆναι, λέγοντες δτὶ τὸ ὄλον πρᾶγμα παροινία γέγονεν πέρας πείθουσιν ἀναστῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, ὡς τευξόμενόν τινος τῶν δικαίων.

On the following day, exceedingly vexed by what had happened, Pittalakos came naked to the agora and sat at the altar of the Mother of the Gods. A crowd quickly gathered, as usually happens. Hege sandros and Timarchos, seized with fear that their disgusting behavior would be proclaimed to the whole city (a meeting of the Ekklesia was approaching) ran to the altar, together with some of their fellow gamblers, and standing around Pittalakos they begged him to get up; they said that the whole thing was merely a drunken frolic At last they persuaded him to rise from the altar, in the belief that in some way he would get his rights.

This happens after Timarchos and his new lover Hege sandros have gone to the house of his former lover Pittalakos and wrecked it and beaten Pittalakos.

466. Aischines, III (*Ktesiphon*), 187. 330 B.C.

ἐν τοίνυν τῷ μητρώῳ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον,¹ ἦν ἔδοτε δωρεάν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν, ἔστιν ἴδειν.

¹ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον bracketed by Blass and other editors, after Bake.

In the Metroon beside the Bouleuterion it is possible to see (i.e. in the record of the decree) what gift you gave to those who brought back the Demos from exile at Phyle.

On the proposal of Archinos of Koile, one of their own number, Aischines explains, they were given 1000 drachmai for sacrifice and dedications, and crowns of olive; in 403 B.C. See A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 284–295.

467. Schol. Aischines, III (*Ktesiphon*), 187.

Μητρώῳ. ἔγνωμεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς δτὶ μέρος τοῦ βουλευτήριον ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Μητρώον, ὃ ἔστιν ἱερὸν τῆς 'Ρέας, διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔκείνου τοῦ Φρυγός.

Metroon. We see in the *Philippics* too that part of the Bouleuterion the Atheni-

ans made the Metroon, the shrine of Rhea, because of the Phrygian.

Philippics might mean the work of Anaximenes (399n) or Theopompos.

(260). Arrian, *Anabasis*, III, 16, 7. 2nd c. A.D.

The statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton stood "about opposite the Metroon."

468. Arrian, *Periplous*, 9. 2nd c. A.D.

εἴη δ' ἂν ἀπό γε τοῦ σχήματος τεκμαιρομένῳ ἡ 'Ρέα· καὶ γάρ κύμβαλον μετὰ χειράς ἔχει καὶ λέοντας ὑπὸ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ κάθηται ὁσπερ ἐν τῷ μητρῷ Ἀθήνησιν ἡ τοῦ Φειδίου.

(The goddess of Phasis) to judge by her posture would seem to be Rhea; she has a cymbal in her hands and lions beneath the throne and is seated as is the statue of Pheidias in the Metroon at Athens.

469. Athenaeus, V, 214d-e. 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

ὅτε μὲν γάρ ἐφιλοσόφει καὶ τὰ περιπατητικά, καὶ τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους βιβλιοθήκην καὶ ἄλλας συντγόραζε συχνάς (ἥν γάρ πολυχρήματος) τά τ' ἐκ τοῦ Μητρώου τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτόγραφα ψηφισμάτων ὑφαιρούμενος ἐκτάτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων εἰ τι παλαιὸν εἴη καὶ ἀπόθετον. ἐφ' οἷς φωραθεῖς ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐκινδύνευσεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἔφυγεν.

When he followed the Peripatetic school of philosophy, and was buying up libraries including Aristotle's (he was very wealthy), he gained possession by stealth of the originals of the ancient decrees in the Metroon and of ancient documents stored up in other cities. Detected in this at Athens he would have been brought to trial if he had not fled the city.

Apellikon of Teos, early in the 1st century B.C.

470. Athenaeus, IX, 407b-c. 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

καθ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον θαλασσοκρατοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνῆγον εἰς ἄστυ τὰς νησιωτικὰς δίκας γραψάμενός τις καὶ τὸν 'Ηγήμονα δίκην ἤγαγεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. δὲ παραγενόμενος

καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίτας προσῆλθε μετ' αὐτῶν Ἀλκιβιάδη βιοηθεῖν ἀξιῶν. ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν παρακελευσάμενος εἰπών τε πᾶσιν ἔπεσθαι ἡκεν εἰς τὸ Μητρῶον, ὅπου τῶν δικῶν ἡσαν αἱ γραφαί, καὶ βρέξας τὸν δάκτυλον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος διηλειψε τὴν δίκην τοῦ 'Ηγήμονος. ἀγανακτοῦντες δ' ὁ τε γραμματεὺς καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τὰς ἡσυχίας ἤγαγον δι' Ἀλκιβιάδην, φυγόντος δι' εὐλάβειαν καὶ τοῦ τὴν δίκην γραψαμένου.

At the time when the Athenians being masters of the sea brought lawsuits involving islanders to Athens, someone made a case against Hegemon and brought him to the city. When he arrived he assembled the artists of Dionysos (the actors' guild) and with them approached Alkibiades claiming his assistance. Alkibiades bade them have confidence, and telling them all to follow him he went into the Metroon, where were the records of the lawsuits; and wetting his finger in his mouth he erased the lawsuit of Hegemon. The clerk and the archon were very annoyed, but held their peace because it was Alkibiades; the prosecutor took the precaution of fleeing from Athens.

Athenaeus is quoting Chamaileon of Herakleia Pontica, probably of the 4th–3rd century B.C. Hegemon of Thasos was a parodist, "nicknamed Phake (lentil), placed by some among the writers of Old Comedy" (Athenaeus, I, 5b). The incident can only be dated vaguely by the reference to him and to Alkibiades. In this questionable anecdote there seems to be some confusion between the preliminary notice (p. 85) and the subsequent record.

471. Athenaeus, X, 422d. 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

Στίλπων δ' οὐ κατεπλάγη τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καταφαγῶν σκόροδα καὶ κατακοιμηθεὶς ἐν τῷ τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ιερῷ· ἀπείρητο δὲ τῷ τούτων τι φαγόντι μηδὲ εἰσιέναι.

Stilpon was not shaken in his self-control when he ate garlic and lay down to sleep in the shrine of the Mother of the Gods; one who had eaten anything of this sort was forbidden even to enter.

Stilpon (ca. 380–300 B.C.) was head of the Megarian school of philosophy.

472. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 273, 20.

Κρόνιον τέμενος: τὸ παρὰ τὸ νῦν Ὀλύμπιον μέχρι τοῦ μητρώου τοῦ ἐν ἀγορᾷ.

Precinct of Kronos. The precinct beside the present Olympion as far as the Metroon in the agora.

See Judeich, p. 385; Wachsmuth (*Rhein. Mus.*, XXIII, 1868, p. 17) thinks that ἐν ἀγορᾷ should be ἐν Ἀγρᾳ.

473. Deinarchos, I (*Against Demosthenes*), 86.
323 B.C.

ἔθετο συνθήκας μετὰ τοῦ δήμου, γράψας τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ἑαυτοῦ, παρὰ τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν, ἥ πάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι δικαίων φύλαξ τῇ πόλει καθέστηκε.

He deposited an agreement with the people, drawing up a decree against himself, in the keeping of the Mother of the Gods, who is established as guardian for the city of all the rights recorded in the documents.

474. Demosthenes, *Prooemia* 54 (1460).
Ca. 349–346 B.C.

ἔθύσαμεν δὲ καὶ τῇ Πειθοὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι.

We (the Prytaneis) sacrificed also to Peitho and to the Mother of the Gods and to Apollo.

Sacrifices to Zeus, Athena and Nike have already been mentioned, and the speaker proceeds to speak of τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς τυθέντα. The *Prooemia* were probably composed by Demosthenes, and about 349–346 B.C.

475. 2nd Hypothesis to Demosthenes XVIII
(*De Corona*), 4.

κελεύει γάρ μηδέποτε ψευδῆ γράμματα εἰς τὸ μητρῶον εἰσάγειν, ἔνθα ἔστιν ὅλα τὰ δημόσια γράμματα.

(The law) orders that false documents shall never be brought into the Metroon, where the whole body of public documents is kept.

Cf. Demosthenes, XVIII (*De Corona*), 55; Aischines, III (*Ktesiphon*), 50 with Schol.

476. Demosthenes, XIX (*De Falsa Legatione*), 129.
343 B.C.

ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἔξωμοσίας ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τοῖς ὑμετέροις γράμμασιν ἐν τῷ μητρώῳ ταῦτ' ἔστιν, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δημόσιος τέτακται, καὶ ψήφισμ' ἀντικρυς περὶ τούτου τούνόματος γέγραπται.

As for Aischines' refusal on oath (to go on the embassy in 346 B.C.), all this is in your public records in the Metroon, over which the official clerk has charge, and a decree is recorded definitely mentioning the name of Aischines.

477. [Demosthenes], XXV (*Aristogeiton* I), 98.
Ca. 325 B.C.(?)

τί οὖν ἔρειτ' ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ προέμενοι τοὺς νόμους ἔξιτε; ποίοις προσώποις ἥ τίσιν ὁφθαλμοῖς πρὸς ἔκαστον τούτων ἀντιβλέψεσθε; πῶς δ' εἰς τὸ μητρῶον βαδιεῖσθ', ἀν τι βούλησθε; οὐ γὰρ δῆπου καθ' ἐν' ὑμῶν ἔκαστος ὃς ἐπὶ κυρίους τοὺς νόμους πορεύσεται, εἰ νῦν μὴ βεβαιώσαντες αὐτοὺς ἔξιθ' ἀπαντες κοινῇ.

What will you have to say, Athenians, if when you leave this court you have sacrificed the laws? With what countenance, with what look in your eyes, will you face each one of your fellow-citizens? How will you go to the Metroon, if there is anything you wish? You will not, individually, find the laws truly valid, if you do not, by your joint action, confirm them before you leave the court.

478. Diogenes Laertius, II, v, 40. 3rd c. A.D.

ἡ δ' ἀντωμοσία τῆς δίκης τοῦτον εἰχε τὸν τρόπον· ἀνακείται γάρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν, φησὶ Φαβωρῖνος, ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ.

The affidavit was after this fashion; for it is preserved even now, says Favorinus, in the Metroon.

The affidavit is that of Meletos against Socrates; Favorinus is the historian of the 1st to 2nd century A.D.

479. Diogenes Laertius, VI, ii, 23. 3rd c. A.D.

ἐπιστείλας δέ τινι οἰκίδιον αὐτῷ προνοήσασθαι καὶ βραδύνοντος τὸν ἐν τῷ μητρώῳ πίθον ἔσχεν οἰκίαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς διασφεῖ.

He (Diogenes the Cynic) ordered a certain man to provide him with a house, and since the man was slow about it he took the jar in the Metroon as a house, as he himself clearly shows in his epistles.

480. Diogenes Laertius, X, 16. 3rd c. A.D.

κατὰ τάδε δίδωμι τὰ ἔμαυτοῦ πάντα Ἀμυνομάχῳ Φιλοκράτου Βατῆθεν καὶ Τιμοκράτῃ Δημητρίου Ποταμίῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ ἀναγεγραμμένην ἑκατέρῳ δόσιν.

In this manner I give all my possessions to Amynomachos son of Philokrates of Bate and Timokrates son of Demetrios of Potamos, in accordance with the deed of gift recorded in the Metroon in favor of each of them.

The will of Epicurus, who died 270 B.C.

481. [Diogenes (the Cynic)], in *Epistolographi Graeci* (ed. Hercher), XVI, p. 239.

Ἄποληξιδι. ἐνέτυχόν σοι περὶ οἰκήσεως, καὶ χάρις ὑποσχομένῳ, κοχλίαν δὲ θεασάμενος ηὔρον οἴκησιν ἀλεξάνεμον τὸν ἐν τῷ μητρώῳ πίθον. ἀπολέλυσο οὖν τῆς ὑπηρεσίας ταύτης καὶ σύγχαιρε ἡμῖν τὴν φύσιν ἀνευρίσκουσιν.

To Apolexis. I met you on the subject of a house, and I am grateful for your promise, but having seen a snailshell, I found in the jar in the Metroon a house sufficient to keep off the wind. So consider yourself released from your task and congratulate me on discovering my true nature.

482. Harpokration. 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

μητρῶον. Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος τούς νόμους ἔθεντο ἀναγράψαντες ἐν τῷ μητρώῳ· δῆλοι Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πυθέου.

Metroon. Lykourgos in his speech against Aristogeiton. They inscribed the laws and

placed them in the Metroon. Deinarchos makes it clear in his speech against Pytheas.

483. Julian, *Orat.*, V (εἰς τὴν Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν), 159a. 4th c. A.D.

λέγονται οὗτοι περιυβρίσαι καὶ ἀπελάσαι τὸν Γάλλον ὃς τὰ θεῖα καινοτομοῦντα, οὐ χυνέντες δποιόν τι τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρῆμα καὶ ὃς ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμωμένη Δήμω καὶ 'Ρέα καὶ Δημήτηρ . . . εἶτα μῆνις ἐντεῦθεν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ θεραπεία τῆς μῆνιδος . . . ἡ τοῦ Πυθίου πρόμαντις θεοῦ τῆς μητρός τῶν θεῶν μῆνιν ἐκέλευσεν ίλάσκεσθαι. καὶ ἀνέστη, φασίν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ μητρῶον, οὗ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δημοσίᾳ πάντα ἐφυλάττετο τὰ γραμματεῖα.

The Athenians are said to have insulted and driven away the Gallos (priest of the Mother) as an innovator in religion, not understanding how important the goddess was, and how she was the goddess honored amongst them as Deo, Rhea, and Demeter . . . From that followed the wrath of the deity and the attempt to appease it . . . the prophetess of the Pythian god bade them propitiate the wrath of the Mother of the Gods. The Metroon, they say, was set up for this purpose—the place where all the documents of the Athenians used officially to be kept.

See 226 for a dedication to Deo.

484. Libanios, *Declam.*, XXI, 32. 4th c. A.D.

ἀλλ' ἔως ἂν μένη τοутὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ ἡ Πνύξ αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὸ Μητρῶον, ἀεὶ δὲ μενεῖ, ταῦτα γάρ οἱ θεοὶ λέγουσιν, ἔσται τις μνήμη τῶν ἐμῶν πεπονημένων.

As long as the Bouleuterion here abides, and the Pnyx here, and the law courts and the Metroon—and they shall abide for ever, so say the gods—the memory of my labors shall last.

Demosthenes speaks, demanded from the Athenians by Philip after Chaironeia. Cf. also *Declam.*, XXII, 11; see 171n under ELEOS.

485. Libanios, *Declam.*, XXIII, 36. 4th c. A.D.

μεστὸν γάρ τὸ Μητρῶον τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων καὶ νόμων.

The Metroon is full of my decrees and laws.

Demosthenes again; surrendered to Philip and released, he is brought to trial at Athens. See also 171.

486. Lykourgos, *Leokrates*, 67. 330 B.C.

φέρε γάρ, ὃ ἄνδρες, εἴ τις ἔνα νόμον εἰς τὸ Μητρῶον ἔλθων ἔξαλεψειν, εἴτ' ἀπολογοῦτο ὡς οὐδὲν παρὰ τοῦτον τῇ πόλει ἐστίν, ἀρ' οὐκ ἀν ἀπέκτεινατ' αὐτόν;

Come now, gentlemen, if anyone went into the Metroon and erased a single law, and then alleged in defense that this law meant nothing to the city, would you not have put him to death?

(402). Pausanias, I, 8, 5. 2nd c. A.D.

The shrine of the Mother of the Gods follows the temple of Apollo; the Bouleuterion is near, and near this again is the Tholos.

487. Photios. 9th c. A.D.

μητραγύρτης. ἔλθων τις εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐμεῖς τὰς γυναικας τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι φασιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν ἐμβόλλοντες εἰς βάραθρον ἐπὶ κεφαλήν. λοιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου ἔλαθον χρησμὸν ἱλάσσασθαι τὸν πεφονευμένον. καὶ διά τοῦτο ὅκοδόμησαν βουλευτήριον, ἐνῷ ἀνεῖλον τὸν μητραγύρτην· καὶ περιφράττοντες αὐτὸν καθίερωσαν τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀναστήσαντες καὶ ἀνδριάντα τοῦ μητραγύρτου. ἔχρωντο δὲ τῷ μητρῷ ἀρχείω καὶ νομοφυλακείω, καταχώσαντες καὶ τὸ βάραθρον.

Metragyrtes. A certain man came to Attica and initiated the women in the mysteries of the Mother of the Gods, according to the story told by the Athenians. The Athenians killed him by throwing him into a pit on his head. A plague followed and they received an oracle bidding them appease the murdered man. Because of this they built a Bouleuterion, in which they

placed the Metragyrtes, and fencing him around they consecrated it to the Mother of the Gods, setting up a statue of the Metragyrtes too. They used the Metroon as record office and repository of laws, and they filled up the pit.

Cf. Schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 431, where we are told of the wrath of the Mother when the Phrygian was thrown into the *barathron*, though nothing is said of the Bouleuterion and Metroon (similarly too in Apostolios, XI, 34, who instead of βουλευτήριον says δικαστήριον. Cf. also Suidas, βάραθρον).

488. Photios.

9th c. A.D.

Μητρῶον: τὸ ιερὸν τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν· ἐνῷ ἦν γράμματα δημόσια καὶ οἱ νόμοι.

Μητρῶον: Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος τοὺς νόμους ἔθεντο ἀναγράψαι ἐν τῷ μητρῷ.

Metroon: the shrine of the Mother of the Gods, in which were official records and the laws.

Metroon: Lykourgos in his speech against Aristogeiton; they had the laws inscribed in the Metroon.

489. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI, 17.

1st c. A.D.

Est et in Matris Magnae delubro eadem civitate Agoracriti opus.

There is also in the shrine of the Great Mother at the same city a work of Agoracritos.

Pliny has just mentioned the Nemesis at Rhamnous.

490. Plutarch, *Themistokles*, 31, 1.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

Themistokles saw at Sardis, in the shrine of the Mother, a bronze statue of a water-carrying girl, which he himself as ἐπιστάτης ὑδάτων at Athens had dedicated from fines; and he tried in vain to get it restored. There is no indication that the statue stood in the Metroon at Athens.

491. [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 842f.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

μέλλων δὲ τελευτήσειν εἰς τὸ μητρῶον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν κομισθῆναι, βουλόμενος εὐθύνας δοῦναι τῶν πεπολιτευμένων.

When about to die, he gave orders that he should be carried into the Metroon and the Bouleuterion; he wished to give account of his political actions.

Lykourgos, 324 B.C.

492. Pollux, III, 11.

2nd c. A.D.

ἔλεγετο δέ τι καὶ μητρῶον Ἀθήνησι, τὸ τῆς Φρυγίας θεοῦ ιερόν. καὶ μητριάλειν τὸ αὐτῇ τελεῖν ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἀγείρειν, καὶ μητραγύρτης δ τελέστης.

There was also a place called Metroon at Athens, the shrine of the Phrygian goddess; and to initiate in her mysteries or to gather for her worship was called *metriazein*, and the initiator was called *metragyrtēs*.

493. Pollux, VIII, 96.

2nd c. A.D.

ἔχει δὲ οὗτος τὰς κλεῖς τῶν ιερῶν, ἐν οἷς τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ γράμματα.

He has the keys of the shrines in which are the moneys and the documents.

See also *Ath. Pol.*, 44, 1 (589 n). The Epistles of the Prytaneis is referred to.

(487). Suidas, Μητραγύρτης

10th c. A.D.

As Photios, but reading περιφράττοντες αὐτό.

Suidas also has the same note as Photios' second on μητρῶον (488).

494. Theophrastos, *Characteres*, XXI, 11.

3rd–2nd c. B.C.

ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ συνδιοικήσασθαι παρὰ¹ τῶν πρυτάνεων,² ὅπως ἀπαγγείλῃ τῷ δῆμῳ τὰ ιερά, καὶ παρεσκευασμένος λαμπρὸν ἵματιον καὶ

¹ <τὰ> παρὰ τῶν Casaubon.

² Herwerden transposes συν (συμπρυτάνεων).

ἐστεφανωμένος παρελθών εἰπεῖν· ‘ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔθύομεν οἱ πρυτάνεις [τὰ ιερὰ]³ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰ Γαλάξια,⁴ καὶ τὰ ιερὰ καλά, καὶ ὑμεῖς δέχεσθε τὰ ἀγαθά’.

³ Omitted by Petersen.

⁴ Wilamowitz for γάρ ἄξια.

He is just the kind of person to obtain from the Prytaneis by arrangement the job of announcing the sacrifices to the people, and to come forward wearing a fine white cloak and a wreath and say, “Athenians, we, the Prytaneis, performed the sacrifices of the Galaxia in honor of the Mother of the Gods; the sacrifices are favorable; do you receive her blessings.”

495. I.G., II², 140, lines 31–35.

353/2 B.C.

τὸν δὲ γραμμα[τέα τῆς βουλῆς]
προσαναγράψαι τ[ὸν νόμον τόνδε]
πρὸς τὸν πρότερο[ν τὸν Χαιρημον]
ίδου εἰς τὴν στήλη[ην τὴν ἔμπροσθ]
εν τοῦ Μητρώιου.

The clerk of the Boule shall add this law to the former law, of Chairemonides, on the stele in front of the Metroon.

From a stele found on the site assigned to the Metroon. The decree of 353 B.C. which is preserved is concerned with the offering of first fruits at Eleusis. The former law of Chairemonides, and so the original erection of the stele, probably dates from 403/2 B.C.

With this stele, also in the excavations of 1907, was found an inscribed base, I.G., II², 4595, with a dedication made by the priest of the Mother, Armenos son of Antiphates of Pambotadai, in the archonship of Euthykritos, 328/7 B.C. (‘Αρχ. ’Εφ., 1910, cols. 16–17).

496. I.G., II², 463, lines 28–29.

307/6 B.C.

A stele found in the church of Eirene, north-east of the Acropolis, with a decree concerning the repair of the walls, to be set up on the Acropolis (restored in line 38). In lines 28–29 we read, in uncertain context

[τοῦ τεῖχους κ[αὶ] εἰς τὸ μ[ητρ]οῦρων πρὸ[ς] τὸν δημ[όσιον].

497. *I.G., II², 583* lines 5–7. End of 4th c. B.C.

[τὸν δημόσιον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Μητρώου τὸ ψῆ] [φισμα καθ' ὃ ἔστιν] αὐτοῖς ἡ ἴσοτέλεια παραδοῦναι τῷ] [ι γραμματεῖ].

The public slave from the Metroon shall hand over to the clerk the decree in accordance with which they have the privilege of paying equal dues with citizens.

The clerk is then to inscribe the *isoteleia* of the persons concerned (the first part of the decree is not preserved), adding the present decree and the former one.

498. *I.G., II², 840*, lines 25–28.

End of 2nd c. B.C.

[κατ]αβαλοῦνται λόγον εἰς τὸ μητρῶιο[ν] [ῶ]ν ἀν οἰκονόμησωσιν, ἀναγράψου[σιν] [δὲ] καὶ εἰς τὸ ιερὸν τὰ μετακατα[σκευ] [ασθ]έντα καὶ καθαιρέθεντα.

They shall deposit in the Metroon an account of their transactions. They shall also record in the shrine the objects restored and removed.

From a stele found in Athena Street not far from the chapel of St. Maura (northeast of the agora).

On the application of the priest of the Heros Iatros, the Boule appoints a commission for the restoration of the sacred vessels of the shrine.

I.G., II², 839, found in the same place and dated to 221/0 B.C., is a decree on the same subject. It begins with a dedication to the Hero; the record is to be inscribed in the shrine; there is no mention of the Metroon. For the Heros Iatros see 340 and 347 n.

499. *I.G., II², 847*, lines 27–30. 215/4 B.C.

καὶ περὶ τούτων ἀπάντων τούς τε λόγους ἀ [π]ενηνόχασιν πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς καὶ εἰς [τὸ] μητρῶιον καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας δεδώκασιν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ.

And concerning all these things they have rendered accounts to the Logistai and to the Metroon and they have submitted to scrutiny in the law court.

From a stele at Eleusis; the Epimeletai of the Eleusinian mysteries are to be honored because they have performed their duties well; stelai are to be set up at Eleusis and on the Acropolis.

For the Logistai see 228.

500. *I.G., II², 956*, lines 20–22. 160/59 B.C.

καὶ περὶ ἀπάντων ὅν ωικονόμηκεν ἀπενήνοχεν λόγους εἰς τὸ μητρῶιον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἔδωκεν.

And concerning all the affairs he has managed he has rendered accounts to the Metroon and to the Logistai and has submitted to scrutiny.

For this inscription and similar ones see 360.

In *I.G., II², 957* the section corresponding to the above is missing. In 958 (*ca. 151/0 B.C.*) the same formula as above is preserved in lines 16–18. The date is that of Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxx.

501. *I.G., II², 971*, lines 23–24. 140/39 B.C.

ἐπέδειξεν δὲ [Ὦνασος τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου] ἐν τῷ μητρῶιῳ(ι) κατ[ακεχωρισμένον τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ]

Onasos has produced the decree of the Demos concerning him entered in the records in the Metroon.

From a fragment of a stele found on the south slope of the Acropolis, with honors for Telesias of Troizen, recommended by the Boule after Onasos has drawn attention to the *eunoia* of the Troizenians and to the former decree.

502. *I.G., II², 1006*, etc. 122/1–*ca. 100* B.C.

In a series of ephebic inscriptions, dating from 122/1 to *ca. 100* B.C. the ephebes are said to have dedicated a phiale to the Mother; *I.G., II², 1006*, lines 23 and 79; 1009, lines 7 and 37; 1011, line 18 (where they are also said to have sacrificed to the Mother at the Galaxia); 1028, line 40; 1030, line 35. See also 519.

503. *I.G.*, II², 1013. Late 2nd c. B.C. **506.** *I.G.*, II², 1327, lines 24, 27. 178/7 B.C.

For this inscription, dealing with weights and measures, see **605**. In line 53, as also in lines 3–4 of the other copy preserved on Agora I 1250, found in a late wall northeast of the Tholos (H 11), *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 127, no. 27, it is laid down that the δημόσιοι in charge of weights and measures shall deposit a note (χειρόγραφον) in the Metroon of what they receive and hand over.

504. *I.G.*, II², 1132, lines 1, 40. 130/29 B.C.

A stele found in five fragments south of the theatre of Dionysos. After the heading θ[ε]οί are the words

ἐκ τοῦ μητρώου.

There follows a decree of the Delphic Amphiktyons, of 278/7 B.C., supporting the privileges of the Technitai of Dionysos, the actors' guild. A copy was to be sent to Athens (line 30), where it would presumably be filed in the Metroon.

In line 40 we again have the formula

ἐκ τοῦ μητρώου,

and there follows a letter from the Amphiktyons, referring to the enclosure of a further decree on the rights of the Technitai of Dionysos, of 130/29 B.C.; a copy of this decree too was to be sent to Athens (line 91).

505. *I.G.*, II², 1257, lines 1–2. 324 B.C.

[οἱ συλλογεῖς τοῦ δήμου ἀνέθεσαν Μητρὶ θεῶν ἐπὶ Ἡγησίου ἄρχοντος στεφα] [νωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δι- καιοσ[ύνης].

The collectors of the Demos dedicated this to the Mother of the Gods in the archonship of Hegesias, after being crowned by the Demos for their goodness and justice.

On a base of a votive offering, now in Paris; below are carved two honorary resolutions passed by the *syllogeis*, to be inscribed (lines 11–12)

[--- ἐπὶ τὸ ἄ] νάθημα τὸ κοινὸν τῶν συν[αρχόντων]

A decree of the *orgeones* of the rites of the Mother, in honor of their tamias Hermaios. Found at Peiraeus; so it may not be the Metroon at Athens which is referred to. A picture of Hermaios is to be set up ἐμ πίνακι ἐν τῷ ναῷ; the stele with the decree is to be set up
ἐν τῷ Μητρώιῳ.

507. *I.G.*, II², 1445, line 24. 375/4 B.C.

A stele from the Acropolis; in the list of properties handed over by the treasurers of the other gods to their successors of 375/4 B.C. we find

[ἐκ τ]ὸ μητρώο παρακαταθήκη.

A wash basin is mentioned. A. M. Woodward, *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 99, suggests that in *I.G.*, II², 1400 (390/89 B.C.) and 1401 (slightly earlier) similar entries should possibly be restored.

508. *I.G.*, II², 1534, B, line 156. 247/6 B.C.

A stele of which twenty-one fragments were found on the south slope of the Acropolis; inscribed on both sides with catalogues of offerings to Asklepios. The stele, as restored in *A*, line 14, was to be set up in the shrine of Asklepios. In *B* (247/6 B.C.), line 156, we read
καὶ καταβαλέτωσαν εἰς τὸ μητρῶιον τόν τε [λόγον]

509. *I.G.*, II², 1817, lines 9–10.

Shortly before A.D. 220/1

A Herm inscribed with a prytany catalogue of Antiochis; for the date see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 37; the archon Aur. Dionysios son of Kallippos of Lamptra is priest of the Mother Μητρὸς θεῶν καὶ Ἀγαπητοῦ.

For another priest of the Mother, see **495 n.**

510. *I.G.*, II², 1990, line 9. A.D. 61/2

The *kosmetes* Epiktetos hands in a list of ephebes to the Metroon
τούσδε παρέδωκεν ἐφήβους εἰς τὸ μητρῶον.

From a stele found at the church of St. Demetrios Katephores.

- 511.** *I.G., II², 3184.* Mid 1st c. A.D.

[Μητρὶ θεῶν καὶ Σεβαστοῖς καὶ --]
[κεχειροτ]ονημένου διὰ β[ίου].

On a marble fragment found at the church of Demetrios Katephores. The first line may have continued καὶ τῇ πόλει]; or possibly it should be restored by analogy with *I.G., II², 3185*, which has a dedication to Hestia, Apollo, the θεοὶ Σεβαστοί, and the Boule from the Areopagus and the Boule of Six Hundred.

- 512.** *I.G., II², 4670.* 4th–3rd c. B.C.

Μητρὸς [θε]
ῶν καὶ Ἀρ
τέμιδος

On a marble slab “in arce ubi non vidimus” (*Kirchner*); *I.G., II², 5015*, from below the cave of Pan, may in fact be the same inscription. Cf. *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 358.

- 513.** *I.G., II², 4841*, lines 4, 10.
Late 4th c. A.D.

A marble taurobolic altar (associated with the *taurobolion*, the sacrifice of a bull) found “ad vicum Chalandri”; on the front an elegiac inscription, on the other three sides reliefs pertaining to Rhea and Attis. The altar was dedicated by Archeleos, κλειδοῦχος of Hera at Argos (line 4)

βωμὸν ἀναστήσας Ἀττεω τῷδε ‘Ρένης
and (line 10)

βωμὸν ἔθηκε ‘Ρένη.

I.G., II², 4842 is a non-metrical inscription on another taurobolic altar, found at the same place, dedicated by Mousonios in A.D. 386/7.

- 514.** *I.G., II², 4870.*

ἱερὸν Μητρὶ Θεῶν
Διονύσιος καὶ Ἀμμοῦνιος

Dionysios and Ammonios (dedicated this tile) as sacred to the Mother of the Gods.

On two tiles found on the Museum hill.

Dionysios and Ammonios are presumably the tilemakers. The tiles might be thought to belong to a spot on the northwest slope of the Museum

hill marked by a rock-cut inscription as sacred to the Mother (*Judeich*, p. 398). But they may well come from the agora; a number of other tiles with this inscription stamped on them have now been found in the agora, mainly around the site assigned to the Metroon; see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 191–192; XIX, 1950, p. 52; Suppl. IV, p. 151; for yet another, found in a grave of the 2nd century A.D., see *Kerameikos*, III, p. 17, no. 12.

- 515.** *I.G., II², 5134.*

Μητρὸς θ[εῶν]

The theatre seat.

- 516.** Agora I 2472.

Ca. 400–350 B.C.

ὅ[ρο]ς
[Μ]ητρώιο

A boundary mark of Pentelic marble, found at a modern level east of the southern part of the Odeion (N 11), *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 39.

- 517.** Agora I 2669.

4th c. B.C.

Κρίτων Μητρὶ Θεῶν[---]

On the architrave of a marble naiskos, of which a fragment was found imbedded in the foundations of the southeast corner of the third room from the south of the building identified as the Hellenistic Metroon (H 10). Below is preserved the head of the goddess, crowned with a polos; see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 2; VI, 1937, p. 204.

See also addendum, p. 225.

- 518.** Agora I 364 and 4428, with *I.G., II², 3580*, lines 9–13.

Ca. A.D. 60

Honors are given to the ex-archon Dioteimos. He is said to have been in charge of the adornment of the Metroon. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 66, no. 18; lines 9–13 read

καὶ ἐ^{πιμελ}ητὴν γε[ν]όμ[εν]ον τῆς
[τε πό]λεως καὶ τῆς [τοῦ Μ]ητρώ[ι]
[ου κοσμ]ήσεως χρη[ματί]σαν
[τα] τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[υ]

Agora I 364 is composed of five fragments found in the original filling of the Late Roman Fortification south of the church of the Hypa-

panti (T 22) and one fragment from the wall of a modern house over the Library of Pantainos (Q 14); Agora I 4428 was found in the wall of a modern house over the Panathenaic Way (S-T 20).

(608). Agora I 5344.

191/0 B.C.

A committee appointed to deal with equipment in the Skias deposits its accounts in the Metroon (line 17).

519. Agora I 286, lines 104–105, 117–118.

128/7 B.C.

ἀντιγραφεύς ‘Ηφαι[στ].....]^{^Α}[— — —]
ιος κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Μητρῶιον]
κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα δὲ Τίμαρχος Ἐπηρατίδου
Σφῆττιος εἶπεν — — —]

[ἀντιγραφεύς ‘Ηφαιστ
ιος κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ] Μητρῶιον
[κατὰ τὸ ψήφι]σμα

From numbers III and IV of a series of ephabetic decrees on a large stele, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 220ff. (129, 248 n.).

The ἀντιγραφεύς (cf. Pollux, VIII, 98) was a copy clerk who apparently provided copies of the decrees from the archives in the Metroon to be used by the stone-cutter. The length of his name is taken from line 104.

In lines 27–28 we read of another dedication of a phiale by the ephebes

ἀνέθηκαν δὲ καὶ φιόλην]
[τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν.

Cf. Agora I 5952 (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 170, no. 67) for yet another such dedication (460 n.).

NOTE 1. We are told ([Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 841f.) that Lykourgos passed a law that the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides should be written out and kept in an official place (ἐν κοινῷ γραψαμένους φυλάσσειν) and read to those who intended to act them by the *grammateus* of the city. ἐν κοινῷ may well mean “in the Metroon.”

An inscription of Gonnoi in Thessaly (‘Αρχ. ’Εφ., 1914, p. 168) appends to a decree of the people of Gonnoi a decree of the Athenian Boule about the σπονδόφοροι sent to cities in connection with various Athenian festivals; these are to hand in a report to the Metroon (line 39).

NOTE 2. For the remains identified as those of the Metroon—in early periods a simple shrine with a small archaic temple adjacent to the “Old Bouleuterion,” in the Hellenistic period a large building containing a series of rooms behind a colonnade—see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 115ff., and Suppl. IV, p. 148. As in the case of the Bouleuterion, the literary evidence throws hardly any light on the architectural growth, and merely indicates a close relation between shrine of the Mother, record office and Bouleuterion; on the keeping of records at Athens note *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 215; cf. A. R. W. Harrison in *J.H.S.*, LXXV, 1955, p. 28 and p. 17 above.

MINT

A large building, of the second half of the 5th century, discovered in the southeastern part of the agora, has reasonably been identified as the mint by its contents—bronze discs, etc. (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 45ff.). Literary evidence is uninformative, but the fact that decrees relating to coinage were set up in front of the mint would favor a conspicuous position in a public place.

Harpokration, ἀργυροκοπεῖον, says that Antiphon uses the word in his speech against Nikokles (not much before 425 B.C.; Maidment, *Minor Attic Orators*, I, p. 299), and adds that some use the name σημαντήριον. Andokides (Schol. Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1007; Maidment, p. 582) says

“Hyperbolos’ father still, even now, works as a slave ἐν τῷ ἀργυροκοπείῳ τῷ δημοσίῳ”.

I.G., II², 1013, line 30, late 2nd century B.C. (see 605) mentions

τὰ στάθμια τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀργυροκοπίῳ
the weights in the mint.

Two lead curse tablets of the mid 5th century B.C. (Peek, *Kerameikos*, III, pp. 89–91; *S.E.G.*, X, 394/5) mention

Λυσανίας ἐκ τῷ ἀργυροκοπίῳ φυσετές

Lysanias, a bellows-blower from the mint.

The decree of Klearchos (449/8 B.C. according to *Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, p. 61; later dates

had been given formerly; cf. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*², Oxford, 1946, p. 163) is concerned with money, weights, etc. in the Athenian Empire. Fragments of copies from several different cities (not Athens itself) have been found; *Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, p. 67, gives a revised composite text. In Sec. 10 we find

[καταθεῖ]ναι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τ[όδε τοὺς ἄ]ρχοντα[ς τ]οὺ[ς ἐ]ν ταῖς πόλεσιν [ἀναγράψαντας ἐν στή]λῃ λιθίνῃ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ[ς πόλεως [έκάστης]] καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστ[άτας ἐμπροσθεν] τοῦ ἀργυροκοπίου.

The magistrates in the cities shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and place it in the agora of each city, and the overseers (i.e. of the mint at Athens) (shall place it) in front of the mint.

Sec. 14 is restored to read that the overseers shall inscribe the (non-Athenian) money handed over and

κατα[θέντων παρὰ τὴν στήλην ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀργυροκο]πίου σκοπεῖν τῷ βου[λομένῳ]

place the records beside the stele in front of the mint for anyone who wishes to inspect.

Agora I 5879, a fragment of another decree about monetary matters, dated probably towards 420 B.C., was found in the Late Roman Fortification a little to the northeast of the proposed site of the mint (R 15); *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 119, no. 11. However the place of setting up, as restored on the basis of the probable length of line, is given by Meritt as on the Acropolis (line 9, ἐμ πόλει).

ODEION

520. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

φῶδεῖον· τόπος ἐν ᾧ πρὶν τὸ θέατρον κατασκευασθῆναι οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ κιθαρῳδοὶ ἤγωνίζοντο.

Odeion. A place in which before the theatre was constructed the rhapsodes and citharodes held their contests.

The reference may be to the orchestra in the agora (see p. 162), with which the Odeion in the agora was possibly associated and to which it may have been a successor.

521. Pausanias, I, 8, 6ff.

2nd c. A.D.

8, 6 Τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὁ καλοῦσιν Ὡιδεῖον ἀνδριάντες πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου βασιλέων εἰσὶν Αἴγυπτίων. ὀνόματα μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Πτολεμαῖοι σφισιν, ἄλλῃ δὲ ἐπίκλησις ἄλλω· καὶ γάρ Φιλομήτορα καλοῦσι καὶ Φιλάδελφον ἔτερον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ Λάγου Σωτῆρα παραδόντων Ροδίων τὸ ὄνομα. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων δὲ μὲν Φιλάδελφός ἐστιν οὗ καὶ πρότερον μνήμην ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις ἐποιησάμην, πλησίον δέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρσινόης τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐστιν εἰκών...

9, 3 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθόντες εὗ πολλά τε καὶ οὐκ ἀξια ἔξηγήσεως χαλκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ Βερενίκην ἀνέθηκαν, ἥ μόνη γνησία οἱ τῶν παίδων ἦν.

9, 4 μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους Φίλιππός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου κεῖται...
... καὶ Λυσίμαχον οὐκ εύνοιά τοσοῦτον ὡς ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρήσιμον νομίζοντες ἀνέθηκαν.....

11, 1 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ εἰκών ἐστι καὶ Πύρρου....

14, 1 ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἐσελθοῦσιν Ὀιδεῖον ἄλλα τε καὶ Διόνυσος κεῖται θέας ἀξιος.

Before the entrance to the theatre which they call Odeion are statues of Egyptian kings. Their names are all alike Ptolemy, but they have a variety of surnames. One is called Philometor and another Philadelphos; the son of Lagos is called Soter, the Rhodians having given him the name. Of the others, Philadelphos is the one whom I mentioned among the Eponymoi; near him is a statue of his sister Arsinoe

(Shortly after the death of Ptolemy Philometor) the Athenians, having received from him many benefits, which do not call for mention, set up a bronze statue of him and of Berenike, his only legitimate child.

After the Egyptians are statues of Philip and his son Alexander .. they set up a statue of Lysimachos too not so

much through good will as with the immediate advantage in mind

The Athenians have also a statue of Pyrrhos

When you have entered the Odeion at Athens you find amongst other things a Dionysos which is worth seeing.

This follows the tyrannicides (270). The description is interrupted by very long historical digressions. Next comes Enneakrounos (447) which is "near by."

See pp. 207 ff. for the statues.

- 522.** Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 5, 4 (571). 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

ξυνελέγοντο μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸ ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ θέατρον, ὃ δὴ ἐπωνόμασται Ἀγριππεῖον, προϊούσης δὲ ἡδη τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τοῦ Ἡρώδου βραδύνοντος ἥσχαλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ώς ἐκλυομένης τῆς ἀκροάσεως καὶ τέχνην αὐτὸν ὕστοντο, ὅθεν ἀνάγκη τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγένετο παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν διάλεξιν καὶ πρὶν ἤκειν τὸν Ἡρώδην.

They assembled in the theatre in the Kerameikos which is called Agrippaeion; and as the day went on and Herodes tarried the Athenians became restive, thinking that the lecture was being cancelled. They thought the whole thing a trick. So it became necessary for Alexander to come forward to give his discourse before Herodes arrived.

The Agrippaeion was probably the Odeion; see next note. The sophist Alexander, of Seleucia in Cilicia, had invited Herodes Atticus and his followers to an exhibition of extemporary speeches. Alexander was stopping at Athens on his way to join Marcus Aurelius in the Pannonian campaign; so the incident presumably took place about A.D. 177.

- 523.** Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 8, 3–4 (597). 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

θορύβου δὲ πολλοῦ καὶ γέλωτος τὴν ἀκρόασιν κατασχόντος βοῶν δὲ Φίλαγρος καὶ κεκραγώς, ώς δεινὰ πάσχοι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰργόμενος, οὐ διέφυγε τὴν ἡδη πεπιστευμένην αἰτίαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Ἀγριππείῳ ἐπράχθη.

The lecture was interrupted by much shouting and laughter. Philagros shouted and screamed that they were treating him badly in preventing him from using his own material; but he was not acquitted on a charge which was now well established. All this took place in the Agrippaeion.

Philagros, a hot-tempered sophist from Cilicia, is declaiming at Athens, and is badly received by the pupils of Herodes Atticus, with whom he has already quarrelled, because he serves up an old speech when expected to extemporize.

Study of the remains tends to confirm the assumption that Pausanias' Odeion and Philostratos' Agrippaeion were the same building. The covered theatre discovered in the middle of the agora and identified securely with the Odeion may well have been built through Agrippa not long before his death in 12 B.C. (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 31 ff.).

For the full significance of the passages from Philostratos see *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 132. The size of the auditorium was much reduced not long before the time of which Philostratos writes, and probably not long after Pausanias' visit; and henceforth it may have been chiefly a lecture room, handing on its function as Music Hall to the new Odeion of Herodes Atticus.

Until the erection of the latter (about A.D. 160), other allusions to an Odeion at Athens were to the Odeion of Pericles, adjoining the theatre.

ORCHESTRA

The place first called orchestra was in the agora (Photios). This orchestra was a conspicuous place for a *panegyris* and the statues of the tyrannicides stood in it (Timaios). A book could be bought there (Plato).

The *ikria* in the agora are probably to be associated with it (Eustathius, Photios, cf. Pollux, Hesychios and Suidas, under *ikria*; Schol. Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 395 and Libanios, on *Demosth.* I, 8, also mention the use of *ikria* before the theatre was constructed, without reference to the agora or the orchestra; see also pp. 220 ff. below, *αἰγείρου θέα*, and Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre of Dionysus*, pp. 11 ff.).

- 524.** Eustathius, on *Odyssey*, III, 350.
12th c. A.D.

ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι ἵκρια προπαροξυτόνως ἐλέγοντο καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἀφ' ὧν ἔθεῶντο τὸ παλαιὸν τοὺς Διονυσιακούς ἀγῶνας, πρὶν ἡ σκευασθῆναι τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον.

It must be realized that the word “*ikria*” was proparoxytone also with reference to the structures in the agora from which in old times the people watched the Dionysiac contests, before the theatre in the shrine of Dionysos was built.

- (520).** Hesychios. 5th c. A.D. (?)

- 525.** Photios. 9th c. A.D.

“*Ικρια*: τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀφ' ὧν ἔθεῶντο τοὺς Διονυσιακούς ἀγῶνας πρὶν ἡ κατασκευασθῆναι τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον.”

Ikria. The structures in the agora from which people watched the Dionysiac contests before the theatre in the shrine of Dionysos was built.

- 526.** Photios. 9th c. A.D.

‘Ορχήστρα· πρῶτον ἐκλήθη ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ εἴτα καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου τὸ κάτω ἡμίκυκλον· οὐ καὶ οἱ χοροὶ ἦιδον καὶ ὠρχοῦντο.

Orchestra. The name was first used of the orchestra in the agora, then of the

semicircle at the bottom of the theatre, where the choruses sang and danced.

- 527.** Plato, *Apology*, 26 d, e. 4th c. B.C.

καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ νέοι ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ μανθάνουσιν, ἃ ἔξεστιν ἐνίστε εἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὄρχήστρας πριαμένοις Σωκράτους καταγελᾶν, ἐάν προσποιήται ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλως τε καὶ οὔτως ἄτοπα ὄντα;

And do young men really learn from me doctrines which they can buy from the orchestra for a drachma at most, laughing at Socrates if he pretends they are his, especially since they are so strange?

Cf. Pollux, IX, 47 (612), where we read that the place where books were sold was called τὰ βυβλία.

- 528.** Pollux, VII, 125. 2nd c. A.D.

ἱκριοποιοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἱ πηγνύντες τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἵκρια.

“Grandstand-makers” are those who construct the stands around the agora.

Such stands may well have been erected and used, even later, in connection with processions through the agora, as well as for the early theatrical performances (cf. 302). For possible traces of cuttings for these *ikria*, see p. 221.

- (276).** Timaios Sophistes, *Lexicon Platonicum*, 4th c. A.D.

PERISCHOINISMA ETC.

Alkiphron speaks of roping-off as a notable and characteristic sight at Athens. [Plutarch] speaks of a particular *perischoinisma* near which (and also near the altar of the Twelve Gods) was the statue of Demosthenes.

Roping-off was employed for the Areopagus sitting in the Stoa Basileios (Demosthenes) and for a law court summoned by the Basileus and dealing with a case involving the mysteries (Pollux, VIII, 123).

A part of the agora was *roped off* for ostracism according to Pollux (VIII, 20); but the text here is doubtful, and according to Philochoros the agora, according to Plutarch a part of it, was fenced with boards for an ostracism (cf. Timaios).

- 529.** Alkiphron, *Epist.*, II, 3, 11 (IV, 18, 11). 2nd c. A.D.

ποῦ γάρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὅψομαι ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ψῆφον ἀναδιδομένην; ποῦ δὲ δημοκρατικὸν ὅχλον οὔτως ἐλευθεριάλοντα; ποῦ δὲ θεσμο-

θέτας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κώμοις¹ κεκισσωμένους; ποῖον περισχοίνισμα; ποίαν αἵρεσιν; ποίους Χύτρους; Κεραμεικόν, ἀγοράν, δικαστήρια, τὴν καλὴν ἀκρόπολιν κτλ.

¹ Reiske for ταῖς ἱεραῖς κώμαις or κόμαις. πόμπαις too has been suggested.

Where in Egypt shall I see the assembly and the question being put to the vote? Where shall I see the democratic throng enjoying such freedom? Or the Thesmothetai garlanded with ivy at the sacred revels? What roped enclosure shall I see? What election of officers? What feast of pots? The Kerameikos, the agora, the law courts, the noble Acropolis

The dramatic date of the *Epistles* is the 4th century B.C.

(11). [Demosthenes], XXV (*Aristogeiton*, I), 23.
Ca. 325 B.C. (?)

530. Harpokration. 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Ἄπεσχοινισμένος, Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος πρώτῳ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποκεκλεισμένου. ὅταν γάρ ἡ βουλὴ περισχοινιστηται, ώς αὐτός φησι, τότε οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες εἰσὶν ἀπεσχοινισμένοι.

“Roped off.” Demosthenes in his first speech against Aristogeiton, instead of “shut off.” When the Council has a rope drawn round it, as Demosthenes says, then all the rest are roped off.

531. Philochoros, Frag. 30. 4th–3rd c. B.C.

ὅτε δὲ ἔδόκει, ἐφράσσετο σανίσιν ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ κατελείποντο εἰσοδοι δέκα, δι' ὧν εἰσιόντες κατὰ φυλὰς ἐτίθεσαν τὰ δστρακα. ἐπεστάτουν δὲ οἱ τε ἐννέα ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ βουλὴ.

When it seemed good (to conduct an ostracism) the agora was fenced with boards, ten entrances being left, through which the citizens entered by tribes to place their sherds the nine archons and the Council presided.

Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III B, no. 328, 30.
Cf. Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 855.

532. Plutarch, *Aristeides*, 7, 4.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

δστρακον λαβὼν ἔκαστος καὶ γράψας ὃν ἔβούλετο μεταστῆσαι τῶν πολιτῶν ἔφερεν εἰς ἕνα τόπον τῆς ἀγορᾶς περιφραγμένον ἐν κύκλῳ δρυφάκτοις.

Each took a sherd and writing on it the name of the citizen he wished to remove from Athens took it to a single place in the agora fenced around with barriers.

533. [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 847 a.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

See 698. The statue of Demosthenes stood near the *perischoinisma* and the altar of the Twelve Gods.

The shrine of Ares was also near the statue of Demosthenes (see p. 210). In the northwest part of the agora, in front of the Stoa Basileios, seems a suitable location for the *perischoinisma*.

534. Pollux, VIII, 20.

2nd c. A.D.

περισχοινίσαντας¹ δέ τι τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέρος ἔδει φέρειν εἰς τὸν περιορισθέντα τόπον Ἀθηναίων τὸν βουλόμενον δστρακον ἐγγεγραμμένον τοῦνομα τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔξοστρακίζεσθαι.

¹ Α περισκηνήσαντας (perhaps correctly).

They roped off a part of the agora and any Athenian who wished (to vote) had to take into the place so marked off a sherd inscribed with the name of the man who was to be banished by ostracism.

This doubtful text is the only evidence that ostracism was associated with *perischoinisma*. Cf. *J.H.S.*, LXXV, 1955, pp. 117–118.

535. Pollux VIII, 123, 124.

2nd c. A.D.

τὸ δὲ δικαστήριον περιεσχοινίζετο, τοῦ μὲν βασιλέως παραγγείλαντος, τῶν δὲ θεσμοθετῶν πληρούντων τὸ δικαστήριον. τὸ δὲ περισχοινίσμα ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα ποδῶν ἐγίγνετο. καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται ἐφειστήκεισαν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ὀνειρόπτευτος προσῇ. αἱ μὲν οὖν τῶν δικαστηρίων θύραι κιγκλίδες ἔκαλοῦντο.

The court was roped off; the Basileus gave the order and the Thesmothetai manned the court. The rope barrier was at a distance of fifty feet. The attendants were stationed to see that no uninitiated person was present. The doors of the courts were called “kinklides.”

Cf. VIII, 141, where Pollux mentions the roping off (περισχοινίσαι) of a court when mystic affairs were being judged.

- 536.** Timaios Sophistes, *Lexicon Platonicum* under ἔξοστρακισμός. 4th c. A.D.

πῆγμα δὲ γίγνεται ἐν τῇ ὁγορᾷ εἰσόδους ἔχον, δι' ḍων εἰσιών πολίτης ἕκαστος ὅστρακον ἔτιθει ἐπιγεγραμμένον.

- 537.** [Demosthenes], XXV (*Aristogeiton I*), 57. Ca. 325 B.C. (?)

λαβὼν αὐτὸς αὐτοχειρίᾳ πρὸς τὸ πωλητήριον τοῦ μετοικίου ἀπήγαγεν· καὶ εἰ μὴ κείμενον αὐτῇ τὸ μετοίκιον ἔτυχεν, ἐπέπρατ' ἀν διὰ τοῦτον, φ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτὴ αἰτίᾳ ἐγεγόνει.

Sauppe omits τοῦ μετοικίου.

Seizing her with his own hands he took her to the Poleterion of the aliens' tax; and if her tax had not been already deposited, she would have been sold, and all because of this man who owed her his safety.

The speaker is attacking Aristogeiton's treatment of a woman who had helped him to escape justice.

Cf. Pollux, VIII, 99.

- 538.** Harpokration. 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Πωληταὶ καὶ πωλητήριον: οἱ μὲν πωληταὶ ἀρχὴ τίς ἔστιν Ἀθῆναι, ι' τὸν ἀριθμὸν δανδρες, εἰς ἑκ τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης· διοικοῦσι δὲ τὰ πιπρασκόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πάντα, τέλη καὶ μέταλλα καὶ μισθώσεις καὶ τὰ δημεύμενα· Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀρισταγόρας β'. διείλεκται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ. πωλητήριον δὲ καλεῖται ὁ τόπος ἐνθα συνεδρεύουσιν οἱ πωληταί· Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἐλπαγόρου πολλάκις.

Poletai and Poleterion. The Poletai are magistrates at Athens, ten in number, one from each tribe. They deal with everything which is auctioned by the city, taxes and mines and rents and confiscated property; Hypereides in his second speech against Aristagora. Aristotle speaks of them in his *Constitution of Athens*. Poleterion is the name given to the place where the Poletai hold their meetings;

A structure was put up in the agora, with entrances through which each citizen went in to place an inscribed sherd.

Etym. Magnum, s.v. ἔξοστρακισμός, says the same.

POLETERION

Isaios frequently in his speech against Elpagoras.

Ath. Pol., 47, 2–5 (cf. 7, 3; 52, 1).

Photios and Suidas have the same note, and a further note

Πωλητήριον: τὸ πρατήριον· οὔτως Ὑπερίδης.

- 539.** Plutarch, *Alkibiades*, 5, 2.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

A certain metic, urged by Alkibiades to outbid the farmers of public revenues (τὰ τέλη τὰ δημόσια), goes εἰς ὁγοράν and pushes up the bidding by a talent. One may infer that the Poleterion was in the agora.

- 540.** Pollux, III, 126.

2nd c. A.D.

δ δὲ τόπος πρατήριος λίθος καὶ πωλητήριον καὶ ως Ἡρόδοτος πρατήριον.

The place is called Selling Stone and Poleterion; in the language of Herodotos Praterion.

Similarly in VII, 11.

Herodotus, VII, 28, of the Persians at Athos; the word is coupled with ὁγορά.

Pollux is giving expressions of selling. In III, 125 πωλητήριον is no doubt a mistake for πωλητῆρα or πωλήτριαν. In III, 78, discussing words for "slave", Pollux gives δοῦλα σώματα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρατήρος λίθου, ἀπὸ τοῦ πωλητηρίου (see p. 205).

We do not know whether this stone had any connection with the κήρυκος λίθος on which Solon mounted (Plutarch, *Solon*, 8, 2) in the agora to recite elegiacs (Judeich, p. 357).

In *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 191, Miss Crosby says that the provenience of inscriptions dealing with mining leases suggests that the stelai stood near the Bouleuterion or the Tholos, and notes that the Poletai were closely connected with the Boule.

PRYTANEION

Theseus established a single Prytaneion at Athens (Plutarch, *Theseus*; Thucydides).

For the site, see Pausanias (cf. Pollux, IX; I.G., II², 2877). The Boukoleion was near (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*; Suidas, *archon*) and the Field of Famine was behind (Zenobios). "Prytaneion" is sometimes confused with Tholos (Schol. Aristophanes, *Peace*; gloss on Herodotus; Suidas, *Prytaneion*; Schol. Thucydides; cf. p. 179).

The place was sacred to Pallas (Schol. Aristeides). Statues of Agathe Tyche stood there (Aelian, *Var. Hist.*); of Eirene and Hestia, and of Autolykos and others (Pausanias, I, 18); and of Demochares ([Plutarch]); Olympiodoros was honored in some form (Pausanias, I, 26).

The archon formerly occupied the Prytaneion (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*). Solon's laws were kept there (Harpo-kration, quoting Polemon; Pausanias, I, 18, 3; Plutarch, *Solon*; Pollux, VIII, 128). There was the hearth ([Plutarch]; Pollux, IX; I.G., II², 1283; see also p. 174) where perpetual fire was maintained (Suidas, *Prytaneion*; Schol. Thucydides; cf. Schol. Aristeides).

Colonists set out from the Prytaneion (Herodotus; cf. Schol. Aristeides). A procession of *orgeones* started thence (I.G., II², 1283).

Law courts in the Prytaneion tried certain homicide cases (Andokides; Plutarch, *Solon*; Pollux, VIII, 120); and inanimate objects (Demosthenes; Pausanias, I, 28; Pollux, VIII, 120).

The Ephebes sacrificed there (I.G., II², 1006 etc.; 1042 mentions sacrifice for Hestia).

The Prytaneion was one of the *syssitia* of Athens (Hesychios; cf. Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales*, Suidas). Meals were served to the Dioskouroi (Athenaeus). A throne and coverings are mentioned (I.G., I², 78). For the official meals see Athenaeus; Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*; [Plutarch]; Pollux, IX; Suidas, *Prytaneion*; Schol. Thucydides; I.G., I², 77; see further concluding notes, p. 173; and cf. Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*.

541. Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, VI, 49.
2nd–3rd c. A.D.

ταῦτα οὖν μαθόντες ὁ δῆμος τῷ κήρυκι ἀνειπτεῖν προσέταξαν, εἴτε ἀφίκοιτο ἐς τὰ ἄλφιτα, εἴτε ἐς τὰς κριθάς παραβάλοι, μὴ ἀνείργειν, ἀλλ' ἔαν σιτεῖσθαι ἐς κόρον, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκτίνειν ἐν πρυτανείῳ τὸ ὅργυριον, τρόπον τινὰ ἀθλητῇ σιτήσεως δοθείσης ἥδη γέροντι.

When they learnt of this the people ordered the herald to proclaim that if he came for barley meal, or turned towards the barleycorns, he should not be driven off, but allowed to eat his fill; the people were to pay the cost in the Prytaneion; sustenance was granted him as it were to an aged athlete.

A faithful old mule at the building of the Parthenon.

542. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, IX, 39.
2nd–3rd c. A.D.

νεανίσκος δὲ Ἀθήνησι τῶν εὗ γεγονότων πρὸς τῷ πρυτανείῳ ἀνδριάντος ἐστῶτος τῆς Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης θερμότατα ἡράσθη.

A young man of good birth at Athens fell passionately in love with the statue of Agathe Tyche which stood by the Prytaneion.

543. Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 78.

399 B.C.

ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου ἡ τῶν ἐφετῶν ἡ ἐκ πρυτανείου ἡ Δελφινίου δικασθεῖσιν¹ [ἢ]² ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων [ἢ]³ ἐπὶ φόνῳ τίς ἔστι φυγὴ ἢ θάνατος κατεγνώσθη.

¹ δικασθεῖσιν Lipsius for ἐδικάσθη.

² del. Luzac.

³ del. Droysen.

Those who have been tried on the Areopagus, or by the Ephetai, in the Prytaneion or the Delphinion, under the Basileis, and have been condemned to death or exile for homicide.

From the decree of Patrokleides, of 405 B.C.; these are among the exceptions to those restored to the franchise.

544. Schol. Aristeides, III, p. 48, 8 (Dindorf).

τὸ δὲ πρυτανεῖον τόπον εἰναι λέγουσι τῆς Παλλάδος ἱερόν, ἐν δῷ ἐφυλάττετο τὸ πῦρ, ἐξ οὐ καὶ οἱ ἄποικοι Ἀθηναίων μετελάμβανον.

They say that the Prytaneion was a place sacred to Pallas where was kept the fire from which the Athenian colonists took a portion.

545. Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 167.

ἐν πρυτανείῳ: Πρυτανεῖον οἰκίσκος παρά τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐνθα σιτοῦνται δημοσίᾳ οἱ τῆς τοιαύτης τιμῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς τυχόντες. περισπουδαστὸν δὲ ἦν τῆς τοιαύτης δωρεᾶς τυχεῖν. ἐπὶ γὰρ μεγάλοις κατορθώμασι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπεδίδουν χάριν.

In the Prytaneion: the Prytaneion was a building at Athens, where meals at public expense were given to those who attained this honor amongst the Athenians. There was much eagerness to receive this prerogative; for the Athenians only granted the boon on the occasion of great achievements.

(232n.) Schol. Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1183.

Prytaneion seems to be confused with Tholos or Prytanikon.

(582). Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 3, 5.

Ca. 329–322 B.C.

Before Solon's time, when all the archons came together in the Thesmophoreion, the Basileus had the Boukoleion (Boukoleion is explained under 582) near the Prytaneion, the Archon had the Prytaneion.

546. Athenaeus, IV, 14 (137e).

2nd–3rd c. A.D.

ὅ δὲ τοὺς εἰς Χιωνίδην ἀναφερομένους Πτωχούς ποιήσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φησίν, ὅταν τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἐν πρυτανείῳ ἄριστον προτιθῶνται, ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν τιθένται ‘τυρὸν καὶ φυστὴν δρυπεπεῖς τ’ ἔλάς καὶ πράσα’, ὑπόμηνσιν ποιουμένους τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀγωγῆς. Σόλων δὲ τοῖς ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτουμένοις μᾶλιν παρέχειν κελεύει, ὅρτον δὲ ταῖς ἑορταῖς προσπαρατιθένται.

The author of the “Beggars” (attributed to Chionides) says that the Athenians, when they set out a lunch for the Dioskouroi in the Prytaneion, place on the tables “cheese and barley cake, ripe olives and leeks,” recalling their ancient way of life. Solon ordered that for those who were entertained in the

Prytaneion a barley cake should be provided, and wheaten bread should be added on festivals.

Chionides, comedy-writer of the 5th century B.C.; Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 5, no. 7.

547. Kallimachos, *Demeter*, 128–129.

3rd c. B.C.

μέσφα τὰ τᾶς πόλιος πρυτανήια τὰς ἀτελέστως τὰς δὲ τελεσφορέας ποτὶ τὰν θεῦν ἄχρις ὁμαρτεῖν.

The uninitiated are to follow the procession only as far as the Prytaneia of the city, the initiated into the presence of the goddess.

It is not clear what the festival is and the passage does not seem to have any particular relevance for Athens.

548. Demosthenes, XXIII (*Aristokrates*), 76.

352 B.C.

Τέταρτον τοίνυν ἄλλο πρὸς τούτοις τούπτι Πρυτανείῳ. τούτο δ' ἔστι τί; ἐὰν λίθος ἢ ξύλον ἢ σίδηρος ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἐμπεσὸν πατάξῃ, καὶ τὸν μὲν βαλόντ' ἀγνοῇ τις, αὐτὸ δ' εἰδῇ καὶ ἔχῃ τὸ τὸν φόνον εἰργασμένον, τούτοις ἐνταῦθα λαγχάνεται.

There is yet a fourth court in addition to these, the one at the Prytaneion. What is this court? If a stone or a piece of wood or iron or something of that kind strikes a man, and one does not know who threw it, but knows and holds that object which caused the death, a lawsuit is brought against such objects in the Prytaneion.

Cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 311, 15; and *Ath. Pol.*, 57, 4, where it is said that the Basileus and the Phylobasileis try cases τῶν ἀψύχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων; apparently animals too were tried in the Prytaneion.

549. *Etym. Magnum*, 694, under πρυτάνεις.

12th c. A.D.

καὶ πρυτανεῖον λέγεται παρὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν πυρόν, ἥγουν τὸν σῖτον· οίονει πυροταμεῖον.

The Prytaneion is so-called because wheat is kept there, or rather grain; as it were "pyrotameion."

550. Harpokration. 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

"Ἄξονι: οἱ Σόλωνος νόμοι ἐν ξυλίνοις ἡσαν ἄξοι γεγραμμένοι. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστοκράτους "ώς ἐν τῷ ἄξονι εἴρηται". ἡσαν δέ, ὡς φησι Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένην, τετράγωνοι τὸ σχῆμα, διασώζονται δὲ ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ, γεγραμμένοι κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη.

On the tablet: the laws of Solon were written on wooden tablets; Demosthenes in his speech against Aristokrates (XXIII, 28, in a law) — "as is stated on the tablet." They were, Polemon says in his work against Eratosthenes, quadrangular in shape, and they were kept in the Prytaneion; they were inscribed on all sides.

Polemon, a 2nd century B.C. geographer.
For *axones*, see p. 30.

551. Herodotos, I, 146, 2. 5th c. B.C.

οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανηίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὅρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι Ἰώνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναικας ἤγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας.

Those who set out from the Prytaneion of the Athenians, and considered themselves of the purest Ionian blood, did not take wives with them to the colony but married Carian women whose parents they killed.

There is a confused gloss on this passage, πρυτανείον. θεσμοθέσιον, θόλος καὶ ἡ τοῦ σίτου θήκη. Cf. 552.

Note also VI, 189, 3.

552. Hesychios. 5th c. A.D.(?)

πρυτανείον· τρία Ἀθήνησι συσσίτια, πρυτανεῖα, θεσμοφορεῖον (sic), πρυτανεῖον. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ μηνὶ μισθοφορία, καὶ οὐ κατετίθεσαν τὸ ἀργύριον οἱ δικαζόμενοι.

There is corruption and confusion in this note. Schmidt extracts πρυτανεῖα from its

present position after συσσίτια and makes it a separate heading of a note on ἡ ἐπὶ μηνὶ μισθοφορία.

θεσμοφορεῖον is presumably a mistake for θεσμοθέσιον, and the three συσσίτια were presumably the Prytaneion, the Thesmothesion and the Tholos.

The Schol. on Plato, *Protagoras*, 397 d, says πρυτανεῖον. θεσμοθέσιον, θόλος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐπιμήνιος μισθοφορά.

W. C. Greene (*Scholia Platonica*, p. 127) suggests that here and in Hesychios three *glossae* have been confused; the only one which concerns the Prytaneion would run—πρυτανεῖον· τρία Ἀθήνησι συσσίτια, θεσμοθέσιον, πρυτανεῖον, θόλος. The other two would be on πρυτανεία, πρυτανεῖα.

Cf. also 563.

553. Pausanias, I, 18, 3-4. 2nd c. A.D.

πλησίον δὲ πρυτανείόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ νόμοι τε οἱ Σόλωνός εἰσι γεγραμμένοι καὶ θεῶν Εἰρήνης ἀγάλματα κείται καὶ Ἐστίας, ἀνδριάντες δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Αὐτόλυκος ὁ παγκρατιαστής· τὰς γὰρ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰκόνας ἐς Ῥωμαῖόν τε ἀνδρα καὶ Θρᾷκα μετέγραψαν. ἐντεῦθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως Σαράπιδός ἐστιν ιερόν.

Near by is the Prytaneion, in which the laws of Solon are inscribed, and images of the goddesses Eirene and Hestia are set up; there are statues including that of Autolykos the pancratiast; the likenesses of Miltiades and Themistokles have had their inscriptions changed to the name of a Roman and a Thracian. As you descend from this place to the lower part of the city you find a shrine of Serapis.

Pausanias has just left the shrine of the Dioskouroi (140), the shrine of Aglauros and the place where the Persians climbed the Acropolis, and is apparently proceeding eastward along the north side of the Acropolis; he eventually reaches the Olympieion in the south-east.

He starts again from the Prytaneion in I, 20, 1, with the words ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανείου καλουμένη Τρίποδες. This road leads around the east end of the Acropolis to the theatre.

For Autolykos see IX, 32, 8, where Pausanias tells how he was involved in a dispute at the time of the Thirty. The Symposium described by Xenophon was in celebration of a victory of his in 422 B.C. Pliny (XXXIV, 79) ascribes a statue of him to Leochares, see p. 208.

There is no clear evidence for a Prytaneion at Athens on any other site than north of the Acropolis, but earlier Prytaneia have been postulated on the Acropolis and in the "Old Agora" to the west (Judeich, pp. 63, 296; L. B. Holland, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 289 ff.; 731).

554. Pausanias, I, 26, 3. 2nd c. A.D.

'Ολυμπιοδώρῳ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Ἀθήναις εἰσὶν ἔν τε ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἐν πρυτανείῳ τιμά, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι γραφή.

Olympiodoros has honors at Athens on the Acropolis and in the Prytaneion, and also a portrait at Eleusis.

Olympiodoros led the Athenians in a revolt against the Macedonians in the early 3rd century. What form the honor to him in the Prytaneion took we do not know, possibly a statue or a picture.

555. Pausanias, I, 28, 10–11. 2nd c. A.D.

Τὸ δὲ ἐν πρυτανείῳ καλούμενον, ἔνθα τῷ σιδήρῳ καὶ πᾶσιν δόμοις τοῖς ἀψύχοις δικάλουσιν, ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀρξασθαι νομίζω. Ἀθηναίων βασιλεύοντος Ἐρεχθέως, τότε πρῶτον βοῦν ἔκτεινεν δι βουφόνος ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Πολιέως Διός· καὶ δὲ μὲν ἀπολιπών ταύτῃ τὸν πέλεκυν ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας φεύγων, δὲ πέλεκυς παραυτίκα ἀφείθη¹ κριθεῖς καὶ ἐς τόδε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κρίνεται.

¹ ἀφείθη ἐς θάλασσαν Hitzig.

What is called the Court in the Prytaneion, where judgment is given on iron and similarly on all other inanimate objects, began I believe on the following occasion. When Erechtheus was king of Athens, for the first time the ox-slayer killed an ox at the altar of Zeus Polieus. Leaving the axe there he went out of the country into exile. The axe was at once tried and acquitted; and a trial is held every year to the present day.

For the Bouphonia see I, 24, 4 (and Frazer's note); Theophrastos in Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, II, 29 ff.

556. Plutarch, *Aristeides*, 27. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

Aristeides' daughters, they say, were married ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου.

557. Plutarch, *Solon*, 19, 3. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

ὅ δέ τρισκαιδέκατος ἄξων τοῦ Σόλωνος τὸν δῆγοον ἔχει τῶν νόμων οὔτως αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι γεγραμμένον. "Ατίμων ὅσοι ἀτιμοὶ ἡσαν πρὶν ἦ Σόλωνα ἀρξαὶ, ἐπιτίμους εἶναι πλὴν ὅσοι ἔξ 'Αρείου πάγου ἦ ὅσοι ἐκ τῶν ἐφετῶν ἦ ἐκ πρυτανείου καταδικασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ φόνῳ ἦ σφαγαῖσιν ἦ ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐφευγον ὅτε δὲ θεσμὸς ἐφάνη ὅδε."

But the thirteenth tablet of Solon contains the eighth of his laws written in these very words: "Of the disfranchised all who were disfranchised before Solon became archon shall be restored to the franchise, except those who were condemned on the Areopagus or by the Ephetai or in the Prytaneion by the Basileis for murder or bloodshed or attempted tyranny and were in exile when this Law was made known."

Plutarch is proving that the Council of the Areopagus existed before Solon.

558. Plutarch, *Solon*, 25, 1. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

καὶ κατεγράφησαν εἰς ξυλίνους ἄξονας ἐν πλαισίοις περιέχουσι στρεφομένους, ὃν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν πρυτανείῳ λείψανα μικρὰ διεσώζετο· καὶ προστηγορεύθησαν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησί, κύρβεις.

(Solon's laws) were written on wooden tablets, which revolved in oblong frames which contained them. Scanty remains of these tablets were still preserved in my time in the Prytaneion; they were called, according to Aristotle, "kyrbeis."

Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 7, 1 (9). Plutarch goes on to quote two lines of Kratinos (Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 94, no. 274)

πρὸς τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ Δράκοντος οῖσι νῦν φρύγουσιν ἥδη τὰς κάχρας τοῖς κύρβεσιν.

When he says that people “roast barley with the *kyrbeis*,” Kratinos is no doubt speaking figuratively of contempt shown for the old laws.

(403). Plutarch, *Theseus*, 24, 3.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

Theseus in the synoecism of Attica abolished the local Bouleuteria and Prytaneia and made a single Bouleuterion and Prytaneion at Athens.

(586). Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales*, VII, 9 (714 b).

1st–2nd c. A.D.

Note also VI, 8, 1 though this does not refer to Athens.

559. [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 847 d, e.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

ἔστι δ' αὐτοῦ εἰκὼν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ εἰσιόντων πρὸς τὴν ἑστίαν ἐν δεξίᾳ ὁ πρῶτος περιεζωσμένος ἀμα τῷ ἴματίῳ καὶ ξίφῳ· οὗτος γάρ δημιγορῆσαι λέγεται, ἡνίκα Ἀντίπατρος ἔξηται τοὺς ρήτορας. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι σίτησιν τ' ἐν πρυτανείῳ τοῖς συγγενέσι τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἔδοσαν καὶ αὐτῷ τετελευτηκότι τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνέθεσαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ Γοργίου ἄρχοντος, αἵτησαμένου αὐτῷ τὰς δωρεάς τοῦ ἀδελφίδοι Δημοχάρους· ὃς καὶ αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁ υἱὸς Λάχης Δημοχάρους Λευκονοεὺς ἤτήσατο δωρεάς ἐπὶ Πινθαράτου ἄρχοντος, δεκάτῳ ὕστερον ἔτει, εἰς τὴν τῆς εἰκόνος στάσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανείῳ αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων ἀεὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν ἀπασι τοῖς ἀγῶσι. καὶ ἔστι τὰ ψηφίσματα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀναγεγραμμένα, ἡ δ' εἰκὼν τοῦ Δημοχάρους εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον μετεκομίσθη, περὶ ἣς προείρηται.

Demochares’ statue stands in the Prytaneion, first on the right as you go in and approach the hearth. He is wearing a sword with his himation; for in this manner he is said to have made his speech when Antipatros was demanding the orators. Some time later the Athenians granted public meals in the Prytaneion to the family of Demosthenes; and to Demosthenes himself after his death they set up the statue in the agora in the archonship of Gorgias—it was his nephew

Demochares who asked for these privileges for him. And for Demochares in turn his son Laches of Leukonoe asked for privileges in the archonship of Pytharatos, nine years afterwards—the erection of the statue in the agora and public meals in the Prytaneion for himself and for the eldest of his descendants, and a front seat at all the festivals. The decrees concerning both Demosthenes and Demochares are inscribed; the statue of Demochares, which I have mentioned, was removed to the Prytaneion.

Cf. 850f and 851d, where the decrees are quoted.

For the statue of Demosthenes see p. 210.

Gorgias—280/79 B.C.; Pytharatos—271/0 B.C.

560. Pollux, VIII, 120.

2nd c. A.D.

τὸ ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ δικάλει περὶ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων, καν δῶσιν ἀφανεῖς, δικάλει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀφύχων τῶν ἐμπεσόντων καὶ ἀποκτεινάντων. προειστήκεσαν δὲ τούτου τοῦ δικαστήριον οἱ φυλοβασιλεῖς, οὓς ἔδει τὸ ἐμπεσὸν ἀψυχον ὑπερορίσαι.

The court at the Prytaneion gives judgment concerning homicides even if their identity is not known; it also gives judgment concerning inanimate objects which have fallen on someone and killed him. This court was presided over by the Phylobasileis, whose duty it was to remove beyond the border the inanimate object which had fallen upon the man.

Cf. VIII, 90.

561. Pollux, VIII, 128.

2nd c. A.D.

δέλται χαλκαῖ, αἷς ἡσαν πάλαι ἐντετυπωμένοι οἱ νόμοι οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν πατρίων. κύρβεις δὲ τρίγωνοι σανίδες πυραμοειδεῖς, οἷς ἡσαν ἐγγεγραμμένοι οἱ νόμοι. ἀξονες δὲ τετράγωνοι χαλκοὶ ἡσαν, ἔχοντες τοὺς νόμους. ἀπεκεῖντο δὲ οἱ τε κύρβεις καὶ οἱ ἀξονες ἐν ἀκροπόλει πάλαι· αὐθις δ' ἵνα πᾶσιν ἔξῃ ἐντυγχάνειν, εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν μετεκομίσθησαν· διὰ τοῦτο ἔλεγον τὸν κάτωθεν νόμον ἀντιτιθέντες πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

Bronze tablets on which were inscribed of old the laws concerning sacred rites and ancestral customs. "Kyrbeis" were triangular tablets, pyramid-shaped, on which the laws were written. "Axones" were quadrangular and of bronze, with the laws on them. The "kyrbeis" and the "axones" were of old deposited on the Acropolis; but afterwards, so that all might have access to them, they were transferred to the Prytaneion and the agora. For this reason people spoke of "the lower law," by contrast with the Acropolis.

For τὸν κάτωθεν νόμον see also 399; Demosthenes uses the expression in XXIII, 28, but it is doubtful whether he means anything other than "the law given below, in the list of laws quoted"; the expression may have been misunderstood.

For *kyrbeis* and *axones* see also p. 30.

562. Pollux, IX, 40.

2nd c. A.D.

εἰσὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πρυτανεῖον καὶ ἔστια τῆς πόλεως, παρ' ἣ ἔστιοῦντο οἱ τε κατὰ δημοσίαν πρεσβείαν ἥκοντες καὶ οἱ διὸ πρᾶξιν τινα σιτήσεως ἀξιωθέντες, καὶ εἴ τις ἐκ τιμῆς ἀεισιτος ἦν.

On it (the acropolis) are the Prytaneion and the hearth of the city, beside which meals were provided for those who came on an official embassy, those who because of some achievement were thought worthy of public meals, and anyone else who had in perpetuity the privilege of maintenance.

Pollux is listing the different parts of a city; there is no special reference to Athens, and in view of VIII, 128 we can hardly say that Pollux provides support for the opinion that the Athenian Prytaneion was once on the Acropolis.

For the Prytaneion in general see also I, 7.

(588). Suidas, under ἄρχων.

10th c. A.D.

The Boukoleion (see 582) was near the Prytaneion.

563. Suidas.

10th c. A.D.

Πρυτανεῖον: θεσμοθέτιον, θόλος. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἰκίσκος δημόσιος, ἔνθα ἔστιοῦντο δημοσίᾳ τῆς τοιαύτης τιμῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς τυχόντες. περισπούδαστον δὲ ἦν τῆς τοιαύτης δωρεᾶς τυχεῖν· ἐπὶ γάρ μεγάλοις κατορθώμασι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπεδίδοντο χάριν. ἡ πυρὸς ταμιεῖον, ἔνθα ἦν ἀσβεστον πῦρ, καὶ ηὔχοντο.

Prytaneion: Thesmophetion, Tholos. At Athens it was a public building, where meals at public expense were given to those who attained this honor amongst the Athenians. There was much eagerness to receive this prerogative; for the Athenians only granted the boon on the occasion of great achievements. Or else the word means "storehouse of fire," where there was a perpetual fire and prayers were offered.

The apparent confusion between Prytaneion and Tholos etc. may be due to a misunderstanding of a list of the three *syssitia* of Athens; see note on Hesychios (552). The use of the term "Prytanikon" for the precinct of the Tholos may also have caused confusion.

564. [Theocritus], XXI, 36.

3rd c. B.C.

τό τε λύχνιον ἐν πρυτανείῳ.

The lamp in the Prytaneion.

This is given as a proverbial expression for sleeplessness. *λύχνιον* normally means "lamp-stand," but here apparently refers to the lamp itself.

Gow in his note on the passage says, "The only other trace of the fire being in the form of a lamp seems to be the lamp-stand dedicated by the younger Dionysios in the Prytaneion at Tarentum" (Athenaeus, XV, 700d; the stand would hold as many lamps as the days of the year; Athenaeus is quoting Euphorion's *Historical Notes*). But Plutarch, *Numa*, 9, 7, says that in the tyranny of Aristion at Athens (88 B.C.) the sacred *λύχνος* was extinguished; presumably he means in the Prytaneion; he says in 9, 6 that in Greece where there is *ἀσβεστον πῦρ*, as at Delphi and Athens, it is tended not by *parthenoi* as at Rome but by women beyond the age of marriage.

(404). Thucydides, II, 15, 2.

5th c. B.C.

Theseus at the synoecism established a single Bouleuterion and Prytaneion.

565. Schol. Thucydides, II, 15, 2.

πρυτανεῖά τε: πρυτανείόν ἐστιν οἶκος μέγας, ἐνθα αἱ σιτήσεις ἔδιδοντο τοῖς πολιτευομένοις. Οὕτως δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεὶ ἐκάθηντο οἱ πρυτάνεις, οἱ τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων διοικηταί. ὅλοι δέ φασιν ὅτι τὸ πρυτανεῖον πυρὸς ἡν ταμιεῖον, ἐνθα καὶ ἡν ἀσθεστον πῦρ καὶ ηὔχοντο.

Prytaneia: Prytaneion is a large building, where meals were given to men engaged in public business. It was so called because the Prytaneis, who managed the whole business of state, sat there. Others say that the Prytaneion was the storehouse of fire, where there was an unquenched fire and where prayers were offered.

There is again some confusion here between Prytaneion and Tholos (see p. 179) where the Prytaneis met.

566. Zenobios, IV, 93.

2nd c. A.D.

Λιμοῦ πεδίον. αὐτῇ τάττεται ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πιεζομένων πόλεων. τόπος γάρ ἐστιν οὗτῳ καλούμενος. καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι λιμοῦ ποτε κατασχόντος, ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς ἱέτειαν θεῶν, καὶ τὸν λιμὸν ἔξιλεώσασθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνῆκαν αὐτῷ τὸ ὄπισθεν τοῦ πρυτανείου πεδίον.

Field of famine. This saying refers to cities oppressed by famine. There is a place of that name. They say that when a famine took hold of the city, the god prescribed by oracle a supplication of the gods and the appeasement of the famine; and the Athenians gave up to Famine the field behind the Prytaneion.

The λιμοῦ πεδίον is also mentioned, without reference to the Prytaneion, by Diogenianos, VI, 13; Hesychios s.v.; and Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 278, 4.

This decree is dated variously to the late 440's, 430's or the early years of the Archidamian War—Perikles has been tentatively restored as the proposer; it is our earliest record of the award of permanent *sitesis*. The decree gives various classes who are to have (line 4)

[τὸν σίτεσιν τὸν ἐ]μ πρυτανεῖοι

Eleusinian priests (restored, 5; Ostwald, see below, gives simply the Hierophantes); the descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton ἂν εἰ ἐγγυτάτο γένος (lines 5-7); certain priestly officials, about whom there has been much dispute—Ostwald thinks they were *mantes*, appointed by Apollo, rather than *exegetai*; victors in the γυμνικοὶ διγῶνες at Olympia, the Pythian games, Nemea and the Isthmus, and victors in the horse events at Olympia and (restored) the other three. For a revised text and a discussion of the problems see M. Ostwald in *A.J.P.*, LXXII, 1951, pp. 24ff.; cf. J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders*, Baltimore, 1950, pp. 139 ff.

568. I.G., I², 78, lines 5-6 (S.E.G., X, 63).

Ca. 430 B.C.

A stele carved with a relief of Apollo and Artemis and an omphalos with two eagles. A throne in the Prytaneion and coverings are mentioned

θρόνον τε ἔχσελεν ἐν τοῖ πρ[υτανέο] [ι στρόματα παρ]έ[χο]ντας ἡσ κάλλιστα

(revised text of W. Bannier, *Rhein. Mus.*, LXXVII, 1928, pp. 284-285).

The decree is concerned with the cult of Apollo.

569. I.G., II², 1006, lines 6-7.

122/1 B.C.

In lines 6-7 the ephebes of 123/2 are said to have sacrificed at registration, ἐγγραφαῖς, in the Prytaneion on the common hearth of the Demos

ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας τοῦ δήμου.

The same formula occurs in II², 1008, line 5 (118/7 B.C.); 1011, line 5 (106/5 B.C.) (τὰ εἰσιτήρια is added after ἐγγραφαῖς); 1028, lines 5-6 (101/0 B.C.); Agora I 286, line 6 (with τὰ εἰσιτήρια again inserted), 127/6 B.C.

(*Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 220 ff. and see 129, 248 and 519); and Agora I 5952, lines 7–8, 116/5 B.C. (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 170, no. 67 and see 46, 460 and 519).

Cf. also *I.G.*, II², 1042, lines 2–4 (ca. 41/0 B.C.)

[ὑπ]έρ τῆς θυσίας ἦν ἔθυσ[εν μετὰ τῶν ἐφίν] [βων ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ τὰ εἰσιτητήρια τῇ τε ‘Ε]στίαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις [θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον] ἦν.

570. *I.G.*, II², 1283, lines 6–7. 261/0 B.C.

A decree of the *orgeones* of Bendis, found at Peiraeus; the Thracians have been given permission by the Athenian Demos

τὴν πονπήν πέντειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας τῆς ἐκκ τοῦ Πρυτανείου to conduct the procession from the hearth in the Prytaneion

to Peiraeus (cf. lines 14–16). For the date see Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xx; Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314, suggests 257/6 B.C.

571. *I.G.*, II², 2877. End of 1st c. B.C.

Θεόφιλος Διοδώρου
‘Αλιαιεὺς ἐπιμε[λη]τὴ[ς]
γενόμενος πρυτανείο[ν]

Found at a house in Tripods Street, northeast of Acropolis. The Epimeletes of the Prytaneion is not otherwise known. Dow suggests (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 192) that the monument may well have stood in the Prytaneion, the site of which is not far to the west.

SITESIS

For further literary evidence on honorary meals in the Prytaneion, see:

Aischines, II (*De Falsa Legatione*), 80—*sitesis* for successful generals.

Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 124—an invitation to the Prytaneion for the “Eye of the King.”

Knights, 535—Kratinos should be allowed to drink in the Prytaneion; 574 and Schol., 709, 766 and Schol., 1404—in these lines it is a question of *sitesis* for generals, and for Kleon or the Sausageseller.

Peace, 1084—a meal in the Prytaneion for the *mantis* Hierokles (the Schol. says the ex-

ample of Lampon shows that soothsayers got *sitesis* in the Prytaneion; cf. Schol. *Birds*, 521).

Frogs, 764—the occupants of the “thrones” in the underworld receive *sitesis*.

Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 62, 2—the *athlothetai* or stewards of the games dine in the Prytaneion at the time of the Panathenaia.

Deinarchos, I (*Demosthenes*), 43 and 101—the descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, and Diphilos and Demades; cf. also Isaios, V (*Dikaiogenes*), 47.

Demosthenes, XIX (*De Falsa Legatione*), 234—“τὸ νόμιμον [ἔθος] ποιῶν I praised the returned ambassadors and invited them to the Prytaneion”; but in 31—“the Boule neither praised them (the members of the disgraceful later embassy) nor invited them to the Prytaneion.” Cf. VII (*Halonnnesos*), 20; XXIII (*Aristokrates*), 130—*sitesis* in the Prytaneion is among the honors to Iphikrates. Note also L (*Polykles*), 13.

Lykourgos, *Leokrates*, 87—Kleomantes of Delphi in the time of King Kodros was given ἐν πρυτανείῳ ἀδιον σίτησιν for himself and his descendants.

Plato, *Apology*, 36d—Socrates claims that a poor man who has benefited the city should be fed in the Prytaneion, far rather than an Olympic victor (cf. Cicero, *De Oratore*, I, 54 [232]).

[Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 843c and 852e; *sitesis* for Lykourgos.

Soranus, *Life of Hippocrates* (Westermann, *Biographi Graeci*, p. 451; *Corp. Med. Graec.*, IV, ed. Ilberg, p. 177, sec. 10).

See also 559, 697 and 707.

In inscriptions there are numerous references to honorary meals in the Prytaneion, in decrees giving particular invitations or permanent *sitesis*. This list is due mainly to W. A. McDonald:

I.G., I², 19, line 15—the earliest (458/7 B.C.), with an invitation to the ambassadors of Segesta (see *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 58); 47, line 5 (*S.E.G.*, X, 136); 35, line 22; 49, line 15 (*S.E.G.*, X, 49); 58, lines 8–9; 60, line 17; 67, line 7; 77 (567); 95, line 4 (see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 82; A. G. Woodhead thinks the persons invited were informers); 106, line 24; 106a, line 10; 107, lines 26, 34; 108, lines 38, 53; 116, line 42; 118, line 25; 136, line 3; 144, line 12 (*S.E.G.*, X, 108); 148, lines 1–2; 157, line 8.

I.G., II², 1, lines 87, 54, 75; 6, line 18; 18b, line 8; 17, line 35; 19, line 10; 21, line 18; 22, line 13; 24, line 16; 29, line 5; 33, lines 4–5; 34, line 34;

40, line 9; 41, line 13; 42, line 25; 51, line 17; 53, line 10; 54, line 8; 70, line 17; 81, line 13; 84, lines 8–9; 95, line 10; 102, line 16; 109b, lines 6, 31; 110, line 19; 111, line 55; 116, line 38; 124, lines 9, 12; 127, lines 31, 34; 132, line 17; 133, line 22; 141, lines 27–28; 146, line 4; 149, line 14; 151, line 9; 161, line 5; 182, lines 9–10; 188, lines 12–13; 193, line 3; 197, line 6; 206, line 35; 210, line 15 (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 329, no. 6); 212, lines 52–53; 218, line 22; 220, line 21; 226, lines 30–31; 228, lines 17–18; 232, line 17; 238, line 22; 251, line 12; 254, line 8; 264, lines 16–17; 265, line 11; 274, lines 8–9; 276, line 12; 279, line 8; 282, lines 10–11; 288, lines 17–18; 302, line 5; 336b, line 4; 346, lines 3–4; 365b, line 11; 366, line 14; 385, line 16; 418, lines 2–3; 426, line 19; 484, line 6; 435, line 12; 450b, line 4; 456, line 27; 466, line 46; 510, lines 1–2; 513, line 7; 528, line 5; 542, line 11; 564, line 11; 567, line 22; 572, line 11; 594, lines 5–6; 646, line 34; 657, line 64; 660, line 43; 672, line 34; 682, line 82; 686, lines 17–18; 831; 832, lines 12–17—“all whom the Athenian people have honored with food in the Prytaneion because they have set up trophies by land or by sea or have restored freedom or have devoted their private property to the common safety or have been benefactors and good counsellors”; 861, line 24; 884, line 17; 985, line 11; 1024, line 35; 1051b, line 23 (after 38/7 B.C.) and 1053, line 9 (after mid 1st c. B.C.)—in these last two the invitation, to envoys who have been to settle affairs in Lemnos, is given not as “to the Prytaneion” but as “to the common hearth of the city” (cf. II², 1236, where in a decree of the Kerykes and Eumolpidai the person honored is said to have been invited “into the Prytaneion to the common hearth of the Demos”); II², 1223, line 12; 1990—Epiktetos, Kosmetes of the ephebes (A.D. 61/2), has received from the Demos (line 9)

σείτησιν ἐν πρυ[τα]νείῳ διὰ βίου.

Agora I 918, lines 44–46 (found lying on the floor of the eastern room of the Civic Offices, I 12, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 525, no. 39); Agora I 605 (with I 834 and I 909), line 54 (the principal fragment from a late Roman level west of the

Temple of Ares, J 7, two others from accumulated debris along the west side of the market square, context probably of the 5th century A.D., and one from disturbed levels inside the porch of the Hellenistic Metroon, context probably Byzantine, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 419, no. 15); Agora I 2636, line 41 (found in many fragments along the west edge of the Panathenaic Way, N 10, most of them in a context of the 3rd century A.D., *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 35, no. 9); Agora I 2806, lines 28–29 (found in a modern pit in the area west of the East Stoa, O 14, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 65, no. 22); Agora I 2361, line 17 (found in a context of the 4th century A.D. to the east of the Tholos, I 12, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 253).

Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 274, no. 8, line 4 and p. 275, no. 10, line 13 from the North Slope of the Acropolis.

Hesperia, X, 1941, p. 85, no. 37, line 20; see p. 30 under Zeus Eleutherios. The inscription is dated by Oliver to A.D. 203. In line 20 the phrase σίτησιν ἔχειν is preserved.

In *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, p. 125, no. 31 (609) Oliver discusses I.G., II², 1064 and Agora I 1567 a, b, 1719, 1650, new fragments all from late contexts over or close to the Tholos. The inscription, dated about A.D. 220, gives decrees in honor of Ulpius Eubiotus. A fragment of a duplicate, Agora 1571 a (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, p. 142, no. 32 and *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 350) was found in late context immediately south of the new Bouleuterion (F 10).

Line 13—bronze statues of the man and his children are to stand

ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς ἱερᾶς γερουσίας καὶ τῷ πρυτανείῳ.

Beside them are to stand two stelai inscribed with a record of the honors.

Line 15—the man and his children are to have *sitesis* both in the Tholos and the Prytaneion with a double portion

ἐν τῇ θόλῳ καὶ πρυτανείῳ ἐπὶ διμοιρίᾳ.

Line 25—a share is to be given them

τῶν ἀισειτιῶν καθάπερ τῷ] ἱεροφάντῃ

Similar provisions are restored by analogy in lines 38ff.

STRATEGION

In the Strategion, which was apparently in the agora (Aischines), the Strategoi met and deliberated (Aischines and Schol., Plutarch) (cf. also Lysias, IX, *For the Soldier*, 9, p. 127).

An oath was administered there by the ambassadors of Philip (Aischines), and a declaration handed in in a case of *antidosis* ([Demosthenes]). Solon laid down his arms in front of the Strategion (Diogenes Laertius).

Certain naval equipment was deposited there (*I.G.*, II², 1479). Decrees in honor of taxiarchs were set up in front (*I.G.*, II², 500, Agora I 863, I 6664).

For the Heros Strategos see *I.G.*, II², 1035.

**572. Aischines, II (*De Falsa Legatione*), 85.
343 B.C.**

ώς δ' ἡ παροῦσα ἐκκλησία διελύθη, ἔξωρκιον τούς συμμάχους οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις ἐν τῷ στρατηγίῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ. τετόλμηκε δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν ὁ κατήγορος ως ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱερῶν ἐγὼ Κριτόβουλον ἀπῆλασσα τὸν πρεσβευτὴν τὸν παρὰ Κερσοβλέπτου, παρόντων μὲν τῶν συμμάχων ἐψφισμένου δὲ τοῦ δῆμου, παρακαθημένων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, πόθεν τοσαύτην ῥώμην λαβών; ἡ πῶς ἀν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐσιγήθη; εἰ δ' ἄρα ἐγὼ ἐτόλμων τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐπέτρεψας ἄν, ὡς Δημόσθενες, καὶ οὐκ ἐνέπλησσας βοῆς καὶ κραυγῆς τὴν ἀγοράν, ὅρῶν με, ως ἔφησθ' ἀρτίως, ὡθοῦντα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱερῶν τὸν πρεσβευτήν;

When this meeting of the assembly had been dissolved, the ambassadors of Philip were administering the oath to the allies in your Strategion. The accuser has gone so far as to say to you that I excluded Kritoboulos the ambassador of Kersoleptes from the rites—when the allies were present, when the people had passed the decree, when the generals were sitting by. Whence could I have got such strength? How could the thing have been kept quiet? If I really had dared to do this, would you have let it pass, Demosthenes? Would you not have filled the agora with your shouting and screaming, when you saw me (as you said just now) driving away the ambassador from the rites?

In 346 B.C.

573. Schol. Aischines, II (*De Falsa Legatione*), 85.

οἰκός τις δημόσιος ἦν, ἐνθα συνήεσαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ὡσπερ ἀρχεῖα ἐκάλουν ἐνθα συνήεσαν οἱ ἀρχοντες.

There was an official building, where the Strategoi assembled; in the same way they called *archeia* the place where the archons assembled.

See pp. 126 and 177. Cf. Demosthenes, XIX (*De Falsa Legatione*), 190, where we learn that the Strategoi dined and sacrificed together.

**574. [Demosthenes], XLII (*Phainippus*), 14.
Ca. 330 B.C.**

ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἐπειδὴ τοῦτον ἔώρων οὐ προσέχοντά μοι τὸν νοῦν οὐδὲ τοῖς νόμοις, εἰς τὸ στρατήγιον ἔδωκα τὴν ἀπόφασιν.

But I, when I saw him paying no attention to me nor to the laws, handed in the inventory (of property for *anti-dosis*) to the Strategion.

575. Diogenes Laertius, I, ii, 50. 3rd c. A.D.

ἥδη δὲ αὐτοῦ κρατοῦντος οὐ πείθων ἔθηκε τὰ ὅπλα πρὸ τοῦ στρατηγείου καὶ εἰπών, “ὦ πατρίς, βεβοήθηκά σοι καὶ λόγω καὶ ἔργῳ”, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ εἰς Κύπρον, καὶ πρὸς Κροῖσον ἤλθεν.

When Peisistratos was now in control, Solon, failing to convince the Athenians, laid down his arms in front of the Strategeion; “My country,” he said, “I have served you in both word and deed”; and so he sailed away to Egypt and Cyprus, and also visited Croesus.

Cf. also I, ii, 65, where in a letter to Epi-menides Solon is said to have written that when the people failed to heed his warnings against Peisistratos he laid down his arms in front of the Strategeion.

576. Plutarch, *Nikias*, 5, 1. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

Οὔτω δὴ διακείμενος εὐλαβῶς πρὸς τοὺς συκοφάντας οὔτε συνεδείπνει τινὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε κοινολογίαις οὔτε συνδιημερέυσεσιν ἐνέβαλλεν ἑαυτόν, οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐσχόλοις ταῖς τοι-αύταις διατριβαῖς, ἀλλ' ἀρχων μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατηγίῳ διετέλει μέχρι νυκτός, ἐκ δὲ βουλῆς ὑστατος ἀπήει πρῶτος ἀφικνούμενος.

Being so wary of *sykophantai* he did not dine with any of his fellow-citizens, or take part in gatherings for discussion or

recreation; he had no leisure for any such activities; when in office he remained in the Strategion till night-fall; at meetings of the Boule he was the first to arrive and the last to leave.

577. Plutarch, *Nikias*, 15, 2. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

λέγεται δ' ἐν τῷ στρατηγίῳ ποτὲ βουλευομένων τι κοινῇ τῶν συναρχόντων, κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρῶτος εἰπεῖν γνώμην Σοφοκλῆς δι ποιητής ὡς πρεσβύτατος δῶν τῶν συστρατήγων, “Ἐγώ”, φάναι, “παλαιότατός εἰμι, σὺ δὲ πρεσβύτατος”.

The story is told that once in the Strategion when he and his colleagues were discussing some question, he bade the poet Sophocles give his opinion first, as being the senior general; “I,” said Sophocles, “am the oldest in years, but you are senior in honor.”

578. I.G., II², 500, lines 36–40. 302/1 B.C.

ἀναγρ[ά]ψαι [δ]ὲ τόδ
ε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα [τὸν] κατ
ὰ πρυταν[ε]ίαν ἐν [σ]τήλῃ λιθίνῃ κα
ὶ σ[τήσαι] ἔμπροσθεν [τ]οῦ στρατηγίο
υ

The clerk of the Prytany shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and set it up in front of the Strategion.

From a stele found in the wall of a house of Roman date, east of the “Theseum” (i.e. Hephaisteion); recording honors to the taxiarchs.

579. I.G., II², 1035, line 53. Mid 2nd c. A.D.

A sacrifice to the Heros Strategos is mentioned
— πρὸ τῶν προβο[λ]ῶν θύουσιν ἥ[ρ]ω[ι]
Στρατηγῷ.

This stele, found near the Propylaea, and concerned with the restoration of shrines, is assigned to the beginning of the 1st century B.C. in *I.G.*; but this has been disputed and it is now generally dated in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. (see *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 17, note 3).

In line 44 [σ]τρατηγίον τὸ ἀρχαῖον is read; but this seems to be among monuments at Peiraeus.

For the Heros Strategos see Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Strategos, col. 184; and Agora I 147, two fragments from the head-band of a sculptured stele, found in late Roman levels east of the Metroon (I 9), and dated tentatively ca. 200 B.C. (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 221, no. 48), has a dedication by an ex-strategos to the Hero

[— — ’Απολ]οδώρου Ὁτρυνεύς στρατηγίσας
ἐπὶ τούς δόπλιτας ἐπ[ι] — — —
[ἀρχοντος] ἥρωι Στρατηγῷ ἀνέθηκεν.

Whether the cult of the Heros Strategos was associated with the Strategion we cannot say; but it is not unlikely. A site in the southwestern part of the agora, with the *archeia*, would not be inconsistent with the place of discovery of inscriptions.

580. I.G., II², 1479, lines 66–67.

Late 4th c. B.C.

An opisthographic stele found on the Acropolis, inscribed with lists of properties handed over by the *tamiae* to their successors. On the reverse side is listed certain naval equipment, for which the *tamiae* seem to have been responsible. In lines 64–67 we read that they handed over certain rigging (σκεύη κρεμαστά) to the Strategoi,

καὶ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ στρατηγίῳ
[ωι].

581. Agora I 863.

281/0 B.C.

A stele built into the curbing of a well of the Byzantine period (H 11: 1), recording a decree in honor of the taxiarchs who were sent to the Basileia, a festival at Lebadeia, to be inscribed on a stone set up (line 30)

πρὸς τῷ στρατηγίῳ.

(*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 562, no. 40; for the date cf. *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314).

Other inscriptions recently found in the agora may possibly be associated with the Strategion. Agora I 15 and I 96 (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 156, no. 5), a decree honoring the taxiarchs, was set up in front of the Strategion according to the restoration; one fragment was found built into a late wall in front of the Metroon (H-I 10), the other in cleaning up in the same general area; its date is probably 275/4 B.C.

One may note also Agora I 1033 (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 162, no. 59), a decree of the 2nd century B.C., found east of the propylon to the Bouleuterion, in a late context (I 11), honoring the generals; Agora I 5925 (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 41, no. 29), a statue base with a dedication by merchants to a Strategos, built into the gate-tower of the Late Roman Fortification, over the northwest corner of the Library of Pantainos (Q 13).

Most recently yet another decree set up in front of the Strategion has come to light (Agora I 6664; *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 287 ff., no. 182; N.B. pp. 294–296 for Dinsmoor's discussion of the Strategion; XXIV, 1955, pp. 54–55). The

stele was found in a context of late Hellenistic or early Roman times in the ruins of a sizeable building destroyed to make way for the west end of the Middle Stoa (H 13). The decree, passed in the archonship of Pytharatos (271/0 B.C.) honors the taxiarchs; in lines 34–35 we find

καὶ στῆσαι ἐμ
προσθεν τοῦ στρατηγίου.

I.G., II², 895, a decree of 187/6 B.C. in honor of a hipparch of the previous year, mentions a *hipparcheion* (line 6). This may well have been associated with the Strategion.

See also addendum, p. 225.

THESMOTHETEION

The Thesmoteteion or Thesmothesion was the place where the Thesmothetai met (Aristotle, Schol. Plato, Suidas) and dined (Schol. Plato; cf. Plutarch). Before Solon it was peculiar to the Thesmothetai (Aristotle, Suidas); in the time of Solon all the archons gathered there.

The Thesmoteteion may be what is called “the building of the archons,” in which an arbitration takes place (Demosthenes); it may also be what Hypereides calls the *synedrion* of the Thesmothetai; and it may have contained a stoa in which the archons dined behind a curtain (Pollux).

For dedications by members of the board to Apollo and the possible site of the Thesmoteteion, see Agora I 5710, etc. (p. 179).

For the “Heliaia of the Thesmothetai,” see p. 146.

582. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 3, 5.

Ca. 329–322 B.C.

ἥσσαν δὲ οὐχ ἄμα πάντες οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς εἶχε τὸ νῦν καλούμενον βουκολεῖον πλησίον τοῦ πρυτανείου (σημεῖον δέ· ἔτι καὶ νῦν γάρ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἡ σύμμειξις ἐνταῦθα γίγνεται τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ ὁ γάμος), ὁ δὲ ἄρχων τὸ πρυτανεῖον, ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος τὸ Ἐπιλύκειον (ὁ πρότερον μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο πολεμαρχεῖον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἐπίλυκος ἀνωκοδόμησε καὶ κατεσκεύασεν αὐτὸν πολεμαρχήσας, Ἐπιλύκειον ἐκλήθη). θεσμοθέται δὲ εἴχον τὸ θεσμοθετεῖον. ἐπὶ δὲ Σόλωνος ἀπάντες εἰς τὸ θεσμοθετεῖον συνῆλθον.

The nine archons were not all together; the Basileus had what is now called the Boukoleion, near the Prytaneion (an indication of this is the fact that even now the union of the wife of the Basileus with Dionysos, their marriage, takes place there); the archon had the Prytaneion, the Polemarch the Epilykeion (this was formerly called the Polemarcheion, but when Epilykos rebuilt and repaired it

after being made polemarch, it was named Epilykeion); the Thesmothetai had the Thesmoteteion. But in Solon's time the archons all came together in the Thesmoteteion.

On the Boukoleion see Suidas (588); cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 449, 19. Pollux, VIII, 111, says that the Basileion, in which the Phylobasileis or Tribal Kings held their meetings, was beside the Boukoleion.

Athenaeus, VI, 235c, says that “the law of the Basileus” prescribes that the Basileus shall see that the παράσιτοι are duly appointed; these “shall select from the Boukolia, each from his own share, a hekteus of barley, and a feast shall be given to those of the Athenians who are in the shrine in accordance with ancestral custom.” For these “parasites,” who were attendants of priests and magistrates, see 134 above; according to Pollux, VI, 35, “there was an *archeion* at Athens called *parasition*, as one can find in the law of the Basileus.”

“Boukolia” in Athenaeus presumably means the same as Boukoleion. Whether this was associated with the Bouzygion, the field of

sacred ox-ploughing, which was below the Acropolis (ὑπὸ πόλιν, Plutarch, *Conjugalia Praecepta*, 42) and perhaps attached to the shrine of Demeter Chloe (see pp. 84–85, 225 and Judeich, p. 286) we cannot be sure.

On the Epilykeion see Suidas (588), who says ἐν Λυκείῳ. It has been suggested that the Polemarch was in fact ἐπὶ Λυκείῳ, at the Lyceum, the shrine of Apollo to the east of the city (the gymnasium there was in fact used for military exercises; see Judeich, p. 415), and that Aristotle's account of the name is not correct. But a site so remote from the other *archeia* is not very probable. Hesychios has a note Ἐπιλύκιον (which some would emend to ἐπὶ Λύκειον)· ἀρχεῖον τοῦ πολεμάρχου Ἀθήνησιν.

583. Demosthenes, XXI (*Meidias*), 85.

347 B.C.

ἡδη δ' ἐσπέρας οὔσης καὶ σκότους, ἔρχεται Μειδίας οὐτοσὶ πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἴκημα, καὶ καταλαμβάνει τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἔξιόντας καὶ τὸν Στράτων' ἀπιόντ' ἡδη, τὴν ἔρημον δεδωκότα, ὡς ἔγώ τῶν παραγενομένων τινὸς ἐπινθανόμην.

When it was already evening and growing dark, Meidias here came to the archons' building, and found the archons coming out and Straton already leaving, after giving his decision as arbitrator by default, as I learned later from one of those who were present.

(552). Hesychios, πρυτανεῖον. 5th c. A.D.(?)

This corrupt and confused note (cf. Schol. Plato, *Protagoras*, 337d) probably implies that there were three *συστίτια* at Athens, the Thesmothesion, the Prytaneion and the Tholos.

584. Hypereides, IV (*Euxenippus*), 6.

Ca. 330 B.C.

ἀσεβεῖ τις περὶ τὰ ιερά· γράφεται ἀσεβείας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. φαῦλός ἐστι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γονεῖς· δὲ ἀρχων ἐπὶ τούτου κάθηται. παράνομά τις ἐν τῇ πόλει γράφει· θεσμοθετῶν συνέδριον ἐστι.

A man is guilty of impiety in the matter of the sacred rites; he is indicted for impiety before the Basileus. He be-

haves shabbily towards his own parents; the Archon (Eponymos) has jurisdiction in this case. A man proposes unconstitutional measures; the Thesmothetai sit in council to deal with this.

Whether *synedrion* has any reference to the Thesmotheteion is not clear.

585. Schol. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 235d.

οἱ δὲ θεσμοθέται ἕξ εἰσι τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἀφ' ὃν καὶ ὁ τόπος ὅπου συνήσαν καὶ ἐσιτοῦντο θεμιστοῖον¹ ἐκαλεῖτο.

¹ No doubt a slip for θεσμοθετεῖον or θεσμοθέσιον.

The Thesmothetai are six in number; the place where they met and ate was called after them Themistion.

586. Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales*, VII, 9 (714b).

1st–2nd c. A.D.

τὰ γάρ παρὰ Κρησίν Ἀνδρεῖα καλούμενα, παρὰ δὲ Σπαρτιάταις Φιλίτια, βουλευτηρίων ἀπορρήτων καὶ συνεδρίων ἀριστοκρατικῶν τάξιν εἶχεν, ὡσπερ, οἷμαι, τὸ ἐνθάδε Πρυτανεῖον καὶ Θεσμοθέσιον.

The institution called amongst the Cretans Andreia and amongst the Spartans Philitia was organized after the manner of exclusive council-chambers and aristocratic gatherings, as I believe were the Prytaneion and the Thesmothesion here.

The subject under discussion is that to deliberate over a drink was a Hellenic no less than a Persian custom.

See also *Quaestiones Conviviales*, I, 1, 2.

587. Pollux, IV, 122.

2nd c. A.D.

ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ τὸ παραπέτασμα αὐλαίαν καλεῖν, ‘Υπερίδου εἰπόντος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους “οἱ δὲ ἐννέα ἀρχοντες εἰστιῶντο ἐν τῇ στοᾷ, περιφραξάμενοί τι μέρος αὐτῆς αὐλαίᾳ”.

It is possible to call the screen too a curtain; Hypereides says in his speech against Patrokles, “The nine archons feasted in the stoa, shutting off a part of it with a curtain.”

One would naturally assume that this stoa was associated with the Thesmotheteion; but it is not impossible that the reference is to one of the public stoas such as the Basileios.

588. Suidas, under ἄρχων. 10th c. A.D.

καὶ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Σόλωνος νόμων οὐκ ἔξην αὐτοῖς ἀμα δικάζειν· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς καθῆστο παρὰ τῷ καλουμένῳ Βουκολείῳ· τὸ δὲ ἦν πλησίον τοῦ Πρυτανείου· ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος, ἐν Λυκείῳ· καὶ ὁ ἄρχων, παρὰ τούς Ἐπωνύμους, οἱ θεσμοθέται, παρὰ τὸ Θεσμοθέσιον.

Before the laws of Solon it was not permitted for them to sit in judgment together. The Basileus sat by the so-called Boukoleion (this was near the Prytaneion); the Polemarch in the Lykeion; the Archon, by the Eponymoi; the Thesmothetai, by the Thesmothesion.

Cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, p. 449, 22 ff.

For the "Lykeion" (i.e. Epilykeion) see Aristotle (**582**).

The Eponymoi (see p. 85) are here no doubt wrongly brought into association with the Eponymos Archon.

A number of dedications by members of the college of archons to Apollo ὑπὸ Μακραῖς or ὑπὸ Ἀκραῖς have been found in the direction of his shrine on the northwest slope of the Acropolis (which was probably what was called the Pythion; see p. 54). To the series in *I.G.*, II², 2891–2931 may be added several found between the agora and the Acropolis, in or near the line of the Late Roman Fortification: Agora I 5710, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 252, no. 54; Agora I 5835, *Ibid.*, no. 55; Agora I 5756, *Ibid.*, no. 56; Agora I 4723, *Ibid.*, no. 57; Agora I 5652, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 138, no. 1; Agora I 5462, *Ibid.*, no. 2 which joins *I.G.*, II², 2928; and Agora I 4540, 4543 and 5437, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 89, no. 33 with notes.

The place of discovery of these dedications has been assumed to indicate that the Thesmotheteion was in this direction (Judeich, p. 303), but this is by no means certain; for a possible identification amongst the older public buildings on the south side of the agora square see *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 45, note 14.

Of possible relevance are a number of dedications noted by P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 74, made in the name of the γραμματεὺς τοῦ συνεδρίου, found in the cave of Apollo ὑπὸ Μακραῖς. Graindor thinks that the Synedrion is probably the college of the nine archons.

THOLOS

The building was also called Skias (Harpokration; Photios, *Skias*; Suidas, *Skias*; inscriptions, see p. 58, except *I.G.*, II², 1799 and 3735, and *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, no. 31). (Hesychios wrongly gives "Prytaneion" as one of the meanings of Skias; Suidas and Timaios Sophistes say that the Tholos was also called Prytaneion; cf. Schol. Aristophanes, *Peace* and Schol. Herodotus).

The building was round (Schol. Demosthenes, XIX, *Etym. Magnum*, Harpokration, Hesychios, Photios, Suidas, Timaios Sophistes). *Etym. Magnum*, Harpokration quoting Ammonios, Hesychios and Photios comment on the form of the roof. On the word *tholia* see *Etym. Magnum*, Harpokration, Pollux.

The Tholos was situated in the *archeia* (*Etym. Magnum*, Photios); the Bouleuterion was near and the Eponymoi were higher up (Pausanias).

In the Tholos the Prytaneis dined (Aristotle, Demosthenes, Harpokration quoting Ammonios, Hesychios—who says Prytaneis and Boule, Suidas, Timaios Sophistes, Pollux); and sacrificed (Demosthenes, XIX, 190; Pausanias; cf. pp. 53, 56); always one-third (Aristotle) and occasionally the whole body (Andokides) spent the night there. For other officials maintained in the Tholos see Demosthenes, XIX, 249 and Schol., and p. 58 under "Phosphoroi"; and for honorary meals *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, no. 31 and possibly *I.G.*, II², 3735. The Thirty used the Tholos (Plato).

The building contained some smallish silver statues (Pausanias), utensils for meals (Hesychios, Agora I 5344), weights and measures (*I.G.*, II², 1013).

The precinct of the Tholos was probably what was known as the Prytanikon; see concluding note (p. 184), and for cults associated with the Tholos see pp. 55–58 under ARTEMIS.

For site and remains see note on Pausanias (**597**).

(133). Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 45.
399 B.C.

Amongst the emergency measures after the mutilation of the Herms in 415 B.C., the Prytaneis were to go to the Tholos and sleep there.

(232). Schol. Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1183.

The Schol. says that the place where the Eponymoi stand is beside the Prytaneion, presumably meaning the Tholos or the Prytanikon (see p. 184).

589. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 43, 3.
Ca. 329–322 B.C.

οἱ δὲ πρυτανεύοντες αὐτῶν πρῶτον μὲν συστιτοῦσιν ἐν τῇ θόλῳ, λαμβάνοντες ἀργύριον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἔπειτα συνάγουσιν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον.

Those members of the Boule who are acting as Prytaneis first eat together in the Tholos, receiving pay from the city, next arrange the meeting of the Boule and the Demos.

Cf. also 44, 1, where we are told that the Epistes of the Prytaneis, during his single day and night of office, must stay in the Tholos along with a third of the Prytaneis.

590. Demosthenes, XIX (*De Falsa Legatione*), 190.
343 B.C.

ἐγὼ δ' οἰδ' ὅτι πάντες οἱ πρυτάνεις θύουσιν ἐκάστοτε κοινῇ καὶ συνδειπνοῦσιν ἄλλήλοις καὶ συσπένδουσιν.

I am aware that all the Prytaneis offer a joint sacrifice on each occasion, and dine together and make libation together.

For the sacrifices, see pp. 53, 56; cf. Dow, *Prytaneis*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 8.

591. Demosthenes, XIX (*De Falsa Legatione*), 249.
343 B.C.

ὑπογραμματεύοντες δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀργύριον εἴληφεσαν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ὑφ' ὑμῶν γραμματεῖς χειροτονηθέντες δύ' ἔτη διετράφησαν ἐν τῇ θόλῳ.

They themselves (Aischines and family) as under-secretaries and servants to all the officials received money, and finally, appointed secretaries by you, were maintained for two years in the Tholos.

592. Schol. Demosthenes, XIX (*De Falsa Legatione*), 249.

ἡ θόλος τόπος ἐστιν, ἐνθα ἐσιτοδοτοῦντο ἀπὸ τοῦ¹ δημοσίου γραμματεῖς οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ἐκλήθη δὲ θόλος διὰ τὸ θολοειδὲς καὶ στρογγύλον εἶναι τὸ σχῆμα. τόπος, ἐνθα ἐδείπνουν οἱ πρυτάνεις.

¹ οἱ τοῦ in some MSS.

The Tholos is a place where the secretaries elected by the city were given meals at public expense; it was called Tholos because it was tholos-shaped and round. A place where the Prytaneis dined.

593. Demosthenes, XIX (*De Falsa Legatione*), 314.
343 B.C.

..... τῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ δήμου βουλομένων καὶ κλύδωνα καὶ μανίαν τὰ καθεστηκότα πράγματ' ἡγουμένων, δέ τέως προσκυνῶν τὴν θόλον.

(Aischines is now one) of those who wish to get rid of democracy and who think the established order a fickle wave, sheer madness—Aischines, who for a time made obeisance to the Tholos.

594. *Etym. Magnum.* 12th c. A.D.

θόλος. περιφερές οἰκοδόμημα· ἀπὸ τοῦ περιθεῖν. θόλος. τόπος τις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις, κληθεὶς διὰ τὸν τρόπον τῆς κατασκευῆς· ἦν γάρ θολοειδής,¹ καὶ ὅροφὴν εἶχε περιφερῆ οἰκοδομητήν, οὐχὶ ξυλίνην, ὡς τὰ ἄλλα οἰκοδομήματα. λέγεται θηλυκῶς ἡ θόλος.

¹ MSS. λιθοειδής.

Tholos. A round building; from “running around.”

Tholos. A place among the public offices, so called because of the manner in which it was constructed—it was tholos-shaped, and had a round roof, well built, not of wood like other buildings. The word is feminine.

Schol. on θόλου in *Odyssey*, XXII, 442 also gives ἀπὸ τοῦ περιθεῖν (and also remarks that things for daily use were placed in the building, such as mixing bowls and drinking cups).

For ἀρχεῖα see p. 126.

For the second note cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 264, 26.

On σκιάς, the *Etym. Magnum* says that the Odeion of the Lacedaemonians was called σκιάς; it is a round building; the ancients called such buildings σκιάδας because the roof imitated σκιάδεια (sunshades); some people, the note continues, call round buildings θόλους, some θολίας.

595. Harpokration.

1st or 2nd c. A.D.

θόλοις:

Δημιοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰσχίνου. ὁ τόπος ἔνθα ἐδείπνουν οἱ πρυτάνεις οὔτως ἐκαλεῖτο παρ' Ἀθηναῖοις. Ἀμμώνιος γοῦν ἐν δ' περὶ βωμῶν¹ γράφει ταῦτι· “ὅ δὲ τόπος ὅπου ἔστιῶνται οἱ πρυτάνεις καλεῖται θόλος, ὑπ' ἐνίων δὲ σκιάς, διὰ τὸ οὔτως ὡκοδομῆσθαι αὐτὸν στρογγύλον παρόμοιον θολίᾳ”.

¹ Some MSS have κωμῶν.

Tholos.

Demosthenes in his speech against Aischines. The place where the Prytaneis dined was so called at Athens. Ammonios in his work on altars (Book IV) writes, “The place where the Prytaneis eat is called Tholos; but by some it is called Skias, because it is built in this fashion, round like a sun-hat.”

The date of Ammonios of Lamptrae is very uncertain; possibly 2nd or 1st century B.C.; see Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. col. 2902, and Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, III B, no. 361, 3.

For θολίαν see in addition to the authorities quoted here Theokritos, XV, 39; it is not clear whether it is a parasol or some kind of hat.

(551). Schol. Herodotos, I, 146, 2.

The Tholos is confused with the Prytaneion.

596. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

θόλος. στρογγυλοειδής οἶκος, δι' ὁστράκων εἰλημένος.

θόλος. κυρίως μέν, καμάρα, καταχρηστικῶς δέ, οἶκος εἰς δξὺ ἀπολήγουσαν ᾔχων τὴν στέγην

κατεσκευασμένος· ἢ ὅπου οἱ πρυτάνεις καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συνειστιῶντο. θηλυκῶς δὲ ἔλεγον τὴν θόλουν. καὶ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ τὰ συμποτικὰ σκεύη ἀποκεῖται.

Tholos. A building of round form, covered with tiles.

Tholos. Properly, a vaulted chamber; by a misuse of language, a building equipped with a roof ending in a point. Or, the place where the Prytaneis and the Boule ate together. They made the word feminine. Also, a place in which the utensils for banquets are stored.

No one else says that the Boule ate in the Tholos, and it is hardly credible that they ever did so, particularly in view of the size of the building discovered.

Under σκιάς, Hesychios gives amongst the meanings ... σκηνὴ ὠροφορμένη. καὶ τὸ θολῶδες σκιάδιον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Διόνυσος κάθηται. καὶ τὸ Πρυτανεῖον....

597. Pausanias, I, 5, 1.

2nd c. A.D.

Τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων πλησίον Θόλος ἔστι καλουμένη, καὶ θύουσί τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ πρυτάνεις καὶ τινα καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἔστιν ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα. ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἀνδρί-αντες ἔστήκασιν ἥρωών.

Near the Bouleuterion of the Five Hundred is what is called the Tholos; here the Prytaneis sacrifice, and there are certain statues of no great size made of silver. Farther up stand statues of heroes ...

For the Bouleuterion see p. 128, and for the Eponymous heroes p. 85.

The circular foundations found in the south-western part of the agora were at once recognizable beyond all doubt as those of the Tholos, and form the most securely fixed point in Pausanias' itinerary. For the difficulty created by the word ἀνωτέρω see pp. 89–90. For a full archaeological account see H. A. Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, 1940. The round building was one of the first erected in the agora after the Persian destruction, and though repeatedly re-modelled, it retained its essential form until late antiquity.

598. Photios.

9th c. A.D. 602. Suidas.

10th c. A.D.

Θόλος: τόπος ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις θολοειδῆς· δρόφην ἔχων ἐξ οἰκοδομῆς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἐνίσιν· ἡ διὰ τὸ ὠκοδομῆσθαι αὐτὸν στρογγύλον. λέγεται δὲ καὶ θηλυκῶς ἡ θόλος.

Tholos: a tholos-shaped place amongst the public offices, with a roof substantially built, not of wood; so-called because it is circular in construction. The word is feminine.

599. Photios.

9th c. A.D.

Σκιάς: ἀναδενδράς· σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὴν παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις λεγομένην θόλον.

Skias. A vine that grows up trees. The word also means what is called the Tholos at Athens.

600. Plato, *Apology*, 32, c-d.

4th c. B.C.

οἱ τριάκοντα αὖ μεταπεμψάμενοί με πέμπτον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θόλον προσέταξαν ἀγαγεῖν ἐκ Σαλαμίνος Λέοντα τὸν Σαλαμίνιον ἵνα ἀποθάνοι . . . ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς θόλου ἐξήλθομεν, οἱ μὲν τέτταρες ὡχοῦντο εἰς Σαλαμίνα καὶ ἤγαγον Λέοντα, ἐγὼ δὲ ὡχόμην ἀπίστων οἴκαδε.

The Thirty summoned me with four others to the Tholos and ordered me to bring Leon the Salaminian from Salamis to be put to death . . . but when we had left the Tholos, while the other four went to Salamis and brought Leon, I went off home.

Socrates in 403 B.C.

601. Pollux, VIII, 155.

2nd c. A.D.

ἡ θόλος ἐν ᾧ συνεδείπνουν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πεντήκοντα τῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων βουλῆς, ἡ πρυτανεύουσα φυλή.

The Tholos, in which fifty of the council of five hundred, i.e. the presiding tribe, dined together each day.

Note also VII, 174, where in discussing words connected with πλέκω Pollux says that πλέγμα τι θολοειδές was called θολία, and was used by women ἀντὶ σκιαδίου.

Θόλος. οἶκος περιφερής, ἐν ᾧ οἱ πρυτάνεις εἰστιῶντο. πρυτανεῖον δέ τι ἴδιως ὀνόμασται, ἐπει πυρῶν ἦν ταμιεῖον.

ὁ τόπος ἐνθα ἐδείπνουν οἱ πρυτάνεις, διὰ τὸ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι αὐτὸν στρογγύλον.

Tholos. A round building, in which the Prytaneis ate. It is called, by a special usage, Prytaneion, since it was a storehouse of wheat.

The place where the Prytaneis dined, so-called because it was a round building.

Suidas also has a note on σκιάς as Photios above.

603. Timaios Sophistes, *Lexicon Platonicum*, 402. 4th c. A.D.

Θόλος, οἶκος περιφερής, ἐν ᾧ οἱ πρυτάνεις συνειστιῶντο. πρυτανεῖον δέ ὀνόμασται, ἐπει πυρῶν ἦν ταμιεῖον.

Tholos, a round building in which the Prytaneis ate together. It is called Prytaneion since it was a storehouse of wheat.

604. I.G., II², 957, lines 11–12. 156/5 B.C.

For this decree see note on I.G., II², 956 (360). Immediately after the words concerning the list of victors set up in the shrine of Theseus, we find a reference in an uncertain context to the Skias.

ἀνέγραψεν τ[οὺς νικήσαντας,] τὴν σκιάδα τεπιδείξας τῇ βουλῆ[ι] τὰς γενούμενας πε ——————

605. I.G., II², 1013, lines 37–43.

Late 2nd c. B.C.

[ὅπως] δὲ διαμένῃ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τὰ τε μέτρα καὶ τὰ σταθμά, παραδοῦναι αὐτὰ τὸν καθεσταμένον ἐπὶ [τὴν κατασκε] υὴν τῶν μέτρων καὶ τῶν σταθμῶν Διόδωρο[ν] Θεο[φίλο]υ[ν] ‘Αλ[αίεια τ]ῶι τε ἐν τῇ σκιάδι καθ[εσταμέ]νωι δημοσίωι καὶ τῷ ἐμ Πειραιε[ι] μετὰ τοῦ [ἐπιμελητῆ]οῦ? [καὶ τῷ ἐν] ’Ελευσῖν[ι]. οὗτοι δὲ [αὐτὰ]

συ[ντ]ηρείτωσαν διδόντες σηκώματα τῶν τέ
[μέτ]ρων κ[αὶ] τῶν στα[θ]μῶν ταῖς τε ἀρ-
χαῖ[ς καὶ] το[ις ἄλ]
[Λ]οις πᾶσ[ι τ]οῖς δεομ[έ]νοις, μὴ ἔξουσίαν
ἔχοντες μήτ[ε μετ]αποε[ἰ]ν? μήτε ἔξω
ἔκ[φ]έρειν [μηθὲν ἔκ]
[τῶν] [κα]τεσκευασμένων οίκων πλὴν τῶν μο-
λυβδῶν καὶ χαλκῶν ση[κ]ωμ[ά]των γε-
[γον]ότων --

So that the measures and weights may remain for future time, the man appointed for the provision of measures and weights, Diodoros son of Theophilos of Halai, shall hand them over to the public slave appointed in the Skias, and to the one in Peiraeus along with the overseer (i.e. of the harbor), and to the one at Eleusis. These shall preserve them carefully, giving equivalents of the weights and measures to the officials and to all others who require them, and not having power to make any change nor to take anything out of the rooms provided except the leaden and bronze equivalents which have been made.

This inscription was copied by Fourmont; the stone was lost. It gives a decree concerning the maintenance and use of official weights and measures. Copies on stelai were to be set up in the places where the weights and measures were kept (line 62)

ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις ἐν οῖς καὶ τὰ μέτρα καὶ τὰ σταθμὰ
κεῖται.

This is presumably the Acropolis copy. A fragment of another copy, presumably from the Skias, has been found in the agora in a late wall near the Tholos (H 11), Agora I 1250, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 127, no. 27; in the light of this fragment Meritt gives a revised text of lines 49–62 of *I.G.*, II², 1013, and notes other corrections.

In addition to the passage quoted above, the Skias is also mentioned in lines 1, 45 (the public slave appointed in the Skias is to be punished if necessary by the Prytaneis and the Strategos ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ ὅπλα), 56–57, and 65.

Some official weights and numerous terracotta measures have been found in the agora excavations, mainly in the vicinity of the Tholos (see *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 141; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938,

pp. 222, 362; XVIII, 1949, p. 108; XXIV, 1955, p. 69). The measures bear official seals and the painted inscription ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ. They range in date, according to context of discovery, from the early 5th to the early 3rd century B.C. It is not quite clear whether they go back beyond the original construction of the circular Tholos (ca. 470 B.C.) but Thompson points out (*Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 142) that a small olpe identified as official ware by an inscription [ΔΗΜΟΣ]ΙΟ[N] and found in a pre-Tholos context, helps to confirm the public character of the archaic predecessor of the Tholos (cf. *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 276, for an inscribed olpe found in a rock-cut shaft on the slope between the Hephaisteion and the Stoa of Zeus; note also *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 353 for such official ware).

Note also a fragment of a marble wash basin (Inv. St 80) found in a well west of the Tholos, with public measures, and inscribed [Δ]εμ[ό-
σιον]; possibly of the end of the 5th century and probably from the Tholos (*Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 143); and roof tiles with the painted inscription ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ, found west of the Tholos, and possibly to be associated with the reconstruction, in the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., of the kitchen which formed an annex of the Tholos on the north side (*ibid.*, p. 79).

606. *I.G.*, II², 1799, line 25. A.D. 183/4.

In a prytany list found in Salamis, we read
οἰκέται τῆς θόλου

followed by six preserved names. These servants are not mentioned elsewhere. For the date see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 52.

607. *I.G.*, II², 3735. After A.D. 128/9.

— — — τετειμη
μένον Ἐρμᾶς καὶ ἐν τῇ
θόλῳ ὑπὸ τῆς σεμνο
τάτης βουλῆς τῶν Φ
σωφρονίσαντα ἐφή
βους μετὰ πάσης εὐκοσμίας.

.... honored with a Herm and in the Tholos by the most august Boule of the 500 when he had acted as Sophronistes of the Ephebes with all decorum.

On a fragment of a Herm.

608. Agora I 5344, lines 5, 13–14 191/0 B.C. **609.** *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, p. 125, no. 31.

See *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 144ff. A stele found in the late Roman level within the Tholos precinct immediately to the southeast of the building (G 12); inscribed with a decree honoring a committee appointed by the Boule from its own number to deal with equipment of the Skias.

At the head is a list of articles, including cups (*κοτυλίδια, ποτήρια*), tripods, phialai; the provisions, or money for provisions, in the Tholos are mentioned (line 5)

ἐκ τοῦ θολίου ὁψωνίου.

The committee has been appointed to restore the bedding or covering of couches in the Skias (lines 13–14)

[- επὶ τὴν ἀντικατά]στασιν τῶν ἐν τεῖ Σκιάδι στρωμάτων

and has done its job well; cf. lines 25–26. It has deposited the accounts in the Metroon (line 17).

See p. 174 under PRYTANEION; Ulpius Eubiotus and his children are given *sitesis* both in the Tholos and the Prytaneion (ca. A.D. 220).

NOTE ON PRYTANIKON.

In a large number of Prytany decrees dating from early in the 3rd century B.C. to the middle of the 2nd, the place where the stele is to be set up is given as ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ. From a careful examination of the place of finding of the numerous fragments (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 470ff.), E. Vanderpool came to the conclusion that the Prytanikon was in the vicinity of the Tholos; the place is highly suitable and the Prytanikon may well be the precinct of the Tholos. Further study and the emergence of more fragments have tended to confirm the identification (see Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 27; *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 44, 151).

IV. MARKET

Note. These testimonia are intended to include everything which might throw light on the outward form, location, arrangement and topography of the market, especially its contacts with known monuments and its resolution into particular quarters devoted to the sale of particular goods and often named after them. Though much is included incidentally about commercial organization and practice, no attempt has been made to cover this ground systematically.

GENERAL

Everything was sold together at Athens, including justice, according to Euboulos (cf. the propinquity of the Agora of the Kerkopes to the Heliaia; p. 145).

Shops in and near the agora were favorite resorts where the Athenians talked and exchanged news (Lysias).

Apparently sellers of similar goods tended to congregate in particular quarters and it was an Attic idiom to call particular places after the things sold in them (Pollux, and *passim*). There were more general marts called *pamprasia* (Pollux, X).

The part where *skeue* were sold was called *kykloi* (Pollux, X).

For shops see note on *I.G.*, II², 1013 (615).

610. Athenaeus, XIV, 640b-c.

2nd-3rd c. A.D.

καὶ ὡς δὲ Εὔβουλος δέ ἐν Ὀλβίᾳ ἔφη
 ἐν τῷ γάρ αὐτῷ πάνθ' ὅμοι πωλήσεται¹
 ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς, σῦκα, κλητῆρες², βότρυς,
 γογγυλίδες, ἄπιοι, μῆλα, μάρτυρες, ρόδα,
 μέσπιλα, χόρια, σχαδόνες, ἑρέβινθοι, δίκαι,
 πυός, πυριάτη, μύρτα, κληρωτήρια,
 υάκινθος, ἄρνες, κλεψύδραι, νόμοι, γραφαί.

¹ πωλεῖται Kock.

² οὐ κακλητῆρες A, corrected by Pierson. Toeppel, whom Kock follows, distributes the words between two speakers, as in a somewhat similar list in Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 190-192, giving to the second speaker κλητῆρες, μάρτυρες, δίκαι, κληρωτήρια, κλεψύδραι κτλ.

As Euboulos says in *Olbia*, you will find everything sold together in the same place at Athens—figs, summoners, bunches of grapes, turnips, pears, apples, witnesses, roses, medlars, haggis, honeycombs, chickpeas, lawsuits, beestings, beestings-pudding, myrtle, allotment machines, *hyakinthos*, lambs, waterclocks, laws, indictments.

Euboulos is the Middle Comedy poet of the mid 4th century; see Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 190, 74.

With the selling of νόμοι etc. may be compared the ψηφισματοπώλης of Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1035 ff.

611. Lysias, XXIV (*For the Cripple*), 20.

After 403 B.C.

ἐκαστος γάρ ίμῶν εἰθισται προσφοιτᾶν δέ μὲν πρὸς μυροπωλεῖον, δέ πρὸς κουρεῖον, δέ πρὸς σκυτοτομεῖον, δέ διποι δὲν τύχῃ, καὶ πλεῖστοι μὲν ὡς τοὺς ἐγγυτάτω τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεσκευασμένους, ἐλάχιστοι δὲ ὡς τοὺς πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντας αὐτῆς· ὡστ' εἴ τις ίμῶν πιονηρίαν καταγινώσεται τῶν ὡς ἐμ' εἰσιόντων, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις διατριβόντων· εἰ δὲ κάκείνων, ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων· ἀπαντεῖς γάρ εἰθισθε προσφοιτᾶν καὶ διατρίβειν ὅμοι¹ γέ που.

¹ Bekker for ἄλλου.

For each of you is in the habit of frequenting some place, a perfumer's shop, a barber's, a cobbler's, and so forth; and the greatest number visit those who have their establishments nearest the agora, the smallest number those who are furthest from it. So if any of you finds those who come to my place guilty of base conduct, he will obviously find those who spend

time with the others similarly guilty; and that means all Athens; for you are all accustomed to frequent some place or other and spend time there.

The Cripple is defending himself against the charge that his place of business (what it is is not clear, except that it is very modest) is a resort of bad characters. The charge might apply equally to other δημιουργοί, he says.

See the sections on LEATHER, PERFUME, and BARBERS, below, noting especially 677. "The tables" too, and the wreath-market (p. 199) seem to have been centers of talk and gossip.

In this connection note Theophrastos, *Charakteres*, VIII (the Newsmaker), and especially 14—"in what stoa, in what shop (*ergasterion*), in what part of the agora do they not spend the whole day . . . ?" (This latter part of *Charakteres*, VIII is probably added by a late moralist). Cf. Isokrates, VII (*Areopagiticus*, ca. 355 B.C.), 15, "We sit at the shops (*ergasteria*) denouncing the present order."

Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 14, 2 provides an interesting parallel at Corinth; the tyrant Dionysios, in retirement at Corinth, is an object of curiosity, spending his time about the *opsopolis* or sitting in a perfumeshop, drinking wine from the *kapelia* and skirmishing with the prostitutes, and instructing the singing girls. Cf. also Schol. Euripides, *Medea*, 68 (639).

612. Pollux, IX, 47–8.

2nd c. A.D.

ἐν δὲ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ βιβλιοθῆκαι, ἥ ὡς Εὔπολίς φησιν 'οὗ τὰ βιβλί' ὄνια', καὶ αὐτὸ ἐφ' αὐτοῦ· οὕτω γάρ τὸν τόπον οὗτον τὰ βιβλία οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ὠνόμαζον, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς τόπους ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς πιπρασκομένων, ὡς εἰ φαῖεν 'ἀπῆλθον ἐς τούψον καὶ ἐς τὸν οἶνον καὶ ἐς τούλαιον καὶ ἐς τὰς χύτρας', καὶ κατὰ τὸν Εὔπολιν

περιήλθον εἰς τὰ σκόροδα καὶ τὰ κρόμμυα καὶ τὸν λιθανωτόν, κεύθυ τῶν ἀρωμάτων, οὐχ ἥπερ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς τέχναις ἐργαστηρίων, ἀλλ' ὁ τόπος ὅθεν μισθοῦνται τοὺς μαγείρους, ὡς Ἐντιφάνης ἐν Στρατιώτῃ ὑποδηλοῦν ἔοικεν·

ἐκ τῶν μαγειρέων βαδίζων, ἐμβαλών εἰς τούψον.
μεμνόνεια δὲ ἐκάλουν οὗ τὰ τῶν ὅνων κρέα ἐπιπράσκετο, ἵσως τῶν ὀνείων ἐνόντων τῷ δύνοματι.

οὐ is omitted by Bethe.

Amongst the elements common to all cities are bookstalls too, or, as Eupolis says, places "where books are for sale"; and the name *biblia* is used by itself too; for in this way the Attic writers named the place where books were sold, just as they named the other places after the things sold there; for instance they might say, "I went off to the *opson*, the wine, the olive oil, the pots"; or again in the words of Eupolis, "I went around to the garlic and the onions and the incense, and straight on to the perfume, and around the frippery." Cookshops too may be counted amongst the parts of the city; not however in the same sense as the other shops devoted to the crafts; the name is used rather of the place where people hire cooks, as Antiphanes seems to indicate in his *Stratiotes*—"Walking from the cookshops, bursting into the *opson*." They gave the name *memnoneia* to the place where asses' flesh was sold, probably because the name contains the syllables *oneia*.

Pollux is enumerating the parts of a city; he has mentioned stoas, gymnasia, theatre etc., agora and many different public buildings, prison, *syssitia*, fountains and other waterworks; and he goes on to mention, εἰ καὶ αἰσχίω, such elements as ἀστεῖα, πεττεῖα, κυβεῖα.

Eupolis – Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 339, no. 304; Kock assumes that the third line is completed by χοῦ τὰ βιβλί' ὄνια.

Antiphanes – Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 98, no. 203.

613. Pollux, X, 18–19.

2nd c. A.D.

ἴνα δ' ἐπιπράσκετο τὰ σκεύη, τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ μέρος τούτο ὠνομάζοντο κύκλοι, ὡς Ἀλεξις ὑποδηλοῦν ἔοικεν ἐν Καλαστίδι,

ποῖ δή μ' ἀγεις διὰ τῶν κύκλων;
σαφέστερον δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαινομένῳ Δίφιλος·
καὶ προσέτι τοίνυν ἐσχάραν κλίνην κάδον
στρώματα σίγυνον ἀσκοπήραν θύλακον,
ὅστ' οὐ στρατιώτην ὃν τις ἀλλὰ καὶ κύκλον
ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὁρθὸν βαδίζειν ὑπολάβοι·
τοσοῦτός ἐσθ' ὁ ῥῶπος ὃν σὺ περιφέρεις.
καὶ μὴν εἰ γυναικείαν ἀγοράν τὸν τόπον οὗ τὰ
σκεύη τὰ τοιαῦτα πιπράσκουσιν ἔθελοις καλεῖν,
εὔροις ὃν ἐν ταῖς Συναριστώσαις Μενάνδρου τὸ

δνομα. εἴποις δ' ἀν τὴν πρᾶσιν τῶν ἐπίπλων τὴν ὑπὸ κήρυκι γιγνομένην, ἦν νῦν ἀπαρτίαν καλοῦσιν, ὅγορὰν καὶ παμπρασίαν. τούνομα δὲ ἡ ἀπαρτία ἔστι μὲν Ἰωνικόν, ὠνομασμένων οὕτω παρ' αὐτοῖς τῶν κούφων σκευῶν . . . ἀπὸ μέντοι τῶν σκευῶν ἥδη καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα τῆς πράσεως αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν τόπον οὕτω κεκλήκασιν, ὃσπερ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πιπρασκομένων καὶ τὰ χωρία ὠνόμαζον, λέγοντες εἰς τούψον καὶ εἰς τὰ μύρα καὶ εἰς τὸν χλωρὸν τυρὸν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀνδράποδα.

κλίνην Hemsterhuys, for καινήν or καὶ νῦν.
σίγυνον Bentley, for συνόν. Porson suggests λάγυνον
or τάγηνον
ώστ' οὐ Porson, for ὡς που.

The part of the agora where utensils were sold was called "rings," as Alexis seems to indicate in his *Kalasiris*—“Where are you taking me through the rings?” Diphilos shows the usage more clearly in his *Mainomenos*,—“And, in addition, hearth, couch, jar, bedding, spear, knapsack, pouch, so that one might think that it was not a soldier but a ring from the agora standing up and walking about; such is the rubbish which you carry around with you.” Again, should you wish to give the name “women’s agora” to the place where they sell feminine articles, you will find the term in the *Synaristostai* of Menander. You may call the sale of furniture under an auctioneer (which people now call *apartia*) agora and *pamprasia*. The term *apartia* is Ionic, light utensils being so called amongst the Ionians . . . taking the name from the utensils they have applied it to the business of selling them and to the place, just as the Athenians called places after the things sold there, saying “to the *opson*, to the perfume, to the fresh cheese, to the slaves.”

σκεύη, we are told in X, 10, are “things useful in the house or the fields or the crafts.”

Alexis — Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 881, no. 99.

For Diphilos’ ancient equivalent of the White Knight, see Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 559, no. 55; for Menander’s *Synaristostai*, III, p. 180, no. 456.

On παμπρασία see also VII, 196, καὶ ἡ παμπρασία δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πάντα πωλούντων λέγεται, and cf. VII, 16, μᾶλλον δ' οἱ πάντα πωλοῦντες παντοπῶλαι, καὶ δὲ τόπος παντοπωλεῖον.

Note further Pollux, VII, 18ff. and 196ff., for lists of the more specialized dealers (—πωλαι), collected no doubt mainly from comedy; and Athenaeus, III, 126e, quoting Nikophon (Old Comedy; Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 779, no. 19).

614. Teles, II (ed. Hense, p. 12).

Late 3rd c. B.C.

λαβὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἥγεν εἰς τὸ μυροπωλεῖον καὶ ἐπινθάνετο πόσου τῆς κύπρου ἡ κοτύλῃ. ‘μνᾶς’ φησὶν δὲ μυροπώλης· ἀνέκραγε ‘πολυτελής γε ἡ πόλις’. ἀπῆγεν αὐτὸν πάλιν εἰς τὸ μαγειρεῖον καὶ ἐπινθάνετο πόσου τὸ ἀκροκάλιον. ‘τριῶν δραχμῶν’ ἔβόα ‘πολυτελής γε ἡ πόλις’. εἰς τὰ ἔρια πάλιν τὰ μαλακὰ καὶ πόσου τὸ πρόβατον. ‘μνᾶς’ φησὶν· ἔβόα ‘πολυτελής γε ἡ πόλις’. ‘δεῦρο δή’ φησί. κἀνταῦθα ὅγει αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τοὺς θέρμους. ‘πόσου ἡ χοῖνιξ,’ ‘χαλκοῦ’ φησὶν· ἀνέκραγεν δὲ Διογένης ‘εὔτελής γε ἡ πόλις’. πάλιν εἰς τὰς ἰσχάδας, ‘δύο χαλκῶν’· ‘τῶν δὲ μύρτων;’ ‘δύο χαλκῶν’· ‘εὔτελής γε ἡ πόλις’.

Diogenes took him to the perfumeshop and enquired how much was the *kotyle* of henna. “A mina,” said the seller. “The city is expensive,” cried the man. Again, he took the man off to the cookshop and enquired the price of trimmings. “Three drachmas.” “The city is expensive,” cried the man. Next he took him to the soft wool and asked the price of a sheep. “A mina,” was the reply. “The city is expensive.” “Now come this way,” said Diogenes, and took the man to the lupines. “How much a *choinix*?” “One copper.” “The city is cheap,” cried Diogenes. Yet again, they went to the figs. “Two coppers,” they were told, was the price. “And the myrtleberries?” “Two coppers.” “The city is a cheap place,” said Diogenes again.

The work of Teles is known only through excerpts by one Theodoros preserved in Stobaeus’ *Anthology* (see Wachsmuth and Hense, III, 1, 98 for this passage).

Diogenes the Cynic is demonstrating, to one who complains that the city is an expensive and difficult place to live in, that it is a matter of relativity and depends on one’s way of life.

Plutarch, *De Tranquillitate Animi*, 10, 470f, tells a very similar story of Socrates; in this version the friend complains of the high price

of Chian wine, honey and purple, and Socrates to prove the contrary takes him to the barley meal, the olives and the sleeveless tunics (*τοῖς ἀλφίτοις . . . εἴτα ταῖς ἔλασίαις . . . εἴτα ταῖς ἔξωμισι*).

In Diogenes Laertius, VI, ii, 85, Diogenes the Cynic contrasts the great cost of a statue with the cheapness of barley meal.

615. *I.G.*, II², 1013, line 9. Late 2nd c. B.C.

[τού]ς πωλοῦν[τ]άς τι ἐν τῇ ὁγορᾶ ή ἐν τοῖς ἔργαστηροις ή τοῖς καπηλείοις ή οἰνῶσιν ή ἀπο[θήκαις]

. . . those who sell anything in the agora or the workshops or the retailshops or the wineshops or the stores . . .

The magistrates are to compel all these to use the prescribed weights and measures (see 605).

The distinctions drawn here are probably rather pedantic and legalistic. *Ergasterion* is in fact used of all kinds of shops (N.B. Pollux, VII, 193, 201).

For vestiges of shops or *ergasteria* found at many points in and around the agora see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 14; VII, 1938, pp. 325, 339; VIII, 1939, p. 215; IX, 1940, p. 269; XXI, 1952, pp. 100, 120; XXIII, 1954, p. 51; XXIV, 1955, p. 54; and especially XX, 1951, pp. 185 ff., "An Industrial District of Ancient Athens"; note the ὄρος ἔργαστηρ[ʃ]o found in the agora (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 271, n. 134).

KYKLOI

This was a New Comedy term (Pollux; used also by Deinarchos according to Harpokration); it was used of places where slaves (Harpokration, Hesychios, Pollux, Suidas), standing in a ring (Harpokration, Suidas), and *skeue* (Hesychios) were sold; but it was sometimes extended to fish and other goods (Schol. Aristophanes, Pollux).

Xenophon says that each commodity has its proper place in the agora, and suggests that special buildings and marts should be provided. See note on Xenophon for market buildings.

616. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, II, 1.

2nd–3rd c. A.D.

ἐπιθαρσύνων δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγείρων δὲ Σωκράτης, ‘οὐ καταφρονεῖς’ εἶπεν ‘ἔκείνου τοῦ σκυτότομου;’ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπειπών αὐτοῦ. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ὑπολαβών πάλιν δὲ Σωκράτης ‘ἔτι δὲ ἔκείνου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς κύκλοις κηρύγγοντος ή ἔκείνου τοῦ σκηνορράφου;’ δύολογοῦντος δὲ τοῦ μειρακίου ‘ούκουν’, ἔφη δὲ Σωκράτης, ‘δ δῆμος δ Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τοιούτων ἥθροισται’.

To encourage and arouse him Socrates said, "Do you not despise the cobbler over there?" (Here he gave the man's name). When Alkibiades said he did, Socrates continued, "And the man over there crying his wares in the 'rings,' and the tent-maker?" When the young man agreed, "Very well," said Socrates, "the Athenian Demos is a collection of such men."

617. Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 137.

δέ κύκλος Ἀθήνησίν ἔστι, καθάπερ μάκελλος ἐκ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὴν προσηγορίαν

λαβών. ἔνθα δὴ πιπράσκεται χωρὶς κρεῶν τὰ ἄλλα ὅνια, καὶ ἔξαιρέτως δὲ οἱ ἴχθύες . . .

‘Αλλως . . . ἔνιοι δὲ, τόπος κυκλοτερής, ἐν φ τὰ ὅνια ἐπωλοῦντο, ἀ ἐσφετερίζετο δὲ Κλέων.

The "ring" at Athens is like a market, the name being derived from its arrangement. There are sold, besides meat, other goods too, and especially fish . . .

Some (explain Kykloboros by reference to) a circular place in which were sold goods, which Kleon appropriated for his own advantage.

The Schol. is explaining why Kleon was said to "have the voice of Kykloboros." His primary explanation, that Kleon's voice was like that of the torrent Kykloboros in spate, is no doubt correct and probably sufficient. The suggestion that Kykloboros means "devouring, preying on the *kykloi*" is ingenious; but we have no evidence for this use of *kyklos* in Old Comedy.

618. Harpokration.

1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Κύκλοι: Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Καλλαίσχρου. κύκλοι ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τόποι ἐν οἷς ἐπωλοῦντό

τινες· ὀνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλῳ περιεστάναι τοὺς πωλουμένους. Μένανδρος Ἐφεσίῳ ἐγὼ μὲν ἡδη μοι δοκῶ νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν τοῖς κύκλοις ἐμαυτὸν ἐκδεδυκότα δρᾶν, κύκλῳ τρέχοντα καὶ πωλούμενον.

Rings: Deinarchos uses the term in his speech against Kallaischros. "Rings" was the name given to the places in which certain people were sold; the places were so called because those being sold stood around in a ring. Menander says in his *Ephesian*, "Now, by heaven, I seem to see myself undressed in the 'rings', running round in a circle and being sold."

Menander – Kock, *C.A.F.*, III, p. 56, no. 195.

619. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

κύκλος· περίβολος. καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τόπος, ἔνθα σκεύη καὶ σώματα πιπράσκονται.

Ring; an enclosure (precinct). And a place in the agora, where chattels and persons are sold.

620. Pollux, VII, 11.

2nd c. A.D.

καὶ κύκλοι δὲ ἐν τῇ νέᾳ κωμῳδίᾳ καλοῦνται ἐν οἷς πιπράσκεται τὰ ἀνδράποδα. ἵσως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἄνια· ἐφ' ὃ δ' ἀναβαίνοντες οἱ δοῦλοι πιπράσκονται, τοῦτο τράπεζαν Ἀριστοφάνης καλεῖ.

"Rings" is the name given in New Comedy to the places in which slaves are sold; probably other merchandise too; the object on which the slaves mount when they are sold is called by Aristophanes a table.

Note also Alexis in X, 18 (613).

621. Suidas, under κύκλος.

10th c. A.D.

κύκλοι ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τόποι ἐν οἷς ἐπωλοῦντό τινες· ὀνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλῳ περιεστάναι τοὺς πωλουμένους.

The name "rings" was given to the places in which certain people were sold; the places were so called because those being sold stood around in a ring.

622. Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, VIII, 22.

Ca. 360 B.C.

ἴσμεν γάρ δήπου ὅτι μυριοπλάσια ἡμῶν ἀπαντα ἔχει ἢ πᾶσα πόλις, ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁποιον ἀν τῶν οἰκετῶν κελεύσῃς πριάμενόν τι σοι ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐνεγκείν, οὐδεὶς ἀπορήσει, ἀλλὰ πᾶς εἰδὼς φανεῖται ὅποι χρὴ ἐλθόντα λαβεῖν ἕκαστα. τούτου μέντοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο αἵτιόν ἔστιν ἢ ὅτι ἐν χώρᾳ κεῖται τεταγμένῃ.

We are aware that the whole city contains altogether an infinite number of things; and yet whatever servant you order to buy something for you from the agora and bring it, not one of them will have any difficulty; every one will plainly know where he must go to get each class of goods. The reason for this, I said, is simply that they are kept in their appointed places.

Ischomachos is lecturing his young wife on the virtue of having "a place for everything and everything in its place" in the home as in the agora. Shoes, clothes, bedding, bronze vessels, τὰ ἀμφὶ τραπέζας, pots, should all be kept separate (*εὐκρινῶς*) and in good order, like a chorus, with a clear space in the middle.

Xenophon has in mind the various sections of the agora, though they can hardly have been as orderly as he implies. But it would be rash to assume from his reference to κύκλιος χορός that he was familiar with the term κύκλοι as used in New Comedy.

Similarly Plato, *Laws*, 915d (as also in 849e), prescribes that goods should be sold ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ τεταγμένῃ ἕκαστοις κατ' ἀγοράν.

In *De Vectigalibus*, III, 13, Xenophon suggests that the state should provide, both in Peiraeus and in the city, special dwellings and marts for the market people (τοῖς ἀγοραῖς οἰκήσεις καὶ πωλητήρια), thereby beautifying the city and creating a source of revenue.

Of actual market buildings at Athens, as distinct from simple booths (*skenai*) and shops (*ergasteria*), the earliest of which we know definitely is the Alphitopolis Stoa (p. 193). There is no evidence that the Basileios or the Poikile was used for market purposes.

A long colonnade with sixteen rooms behind, of late 5th century date, has been found on the south side of the agora; it was at first labelled "South Shops," but more recently H. A. Thompson has suggested the possibility that it was an official building containing public dining

rooms (see *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 29; XXIII, 1954, p. 44). It is now referred to as South Stoa I to distinguish it from its Hellenistic successor, South Stoa II.

The Stoa of Attalos (p. 46), presumed from its form to have been a market hall with shops, was built in the 2nd century B.C.; under its north part are remains of earlier buildings, going back to the 4th century and including a square court (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 323; XXI, 1952, p. 99; XXII, 1953, p. 36); though these were at first tentatively identified as market buildings, in the light of more recent finds (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 60) they seem more likely to have been law courts. Beneath the middle of the Stoa are the ruins of a building comprising five pairs of rooms set side by side and dating from the first half of the 2nd century B.C.; they may well have been shops (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 320; XXI, 1952, p. 101).

The Middle Stoa, South Stoa II and the short stoa which joins them on the east are also of the 2nd century B.C. Our authorities say nothing of them; but they too may have served as market buildings and formed a "commercial agora" to the south of the main square (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 35).

The date of the stoas on the Dromos (1) is not known. The "Roman Market" was Augustan. Thus the market of Athens seems to have been late in attaining an impressive architectural form.

The "Roman Market" is the great colonnaded court east of the old agora. *I.G.*, II², 8175, on the epistyle of the great west gateway, and dated 10/9 B.C.–A.D. 2/3, records that the people dedicated the building from the gifts of C. Julius Caesar and his son Augustus Caesar, to Athena Archegetis, in the archonship of

Nikias son of Sarapion, "when Eukles of Marathon who had taken over the *epimeleia* on behalf of his father Herodes, was στρατηγός ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας." See Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 188–190, and H. S. Robinson in *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 291–305.

I.G., II², 3251, base of a statue placed over the gateway, records that the people honored L. Caesar, "son of Augustus Caesar" (by adoption in 12 B.C.), who died in A.D. 2. Note also *I.G.*, II², 1100 (579).

East again of the "Roman Market" are remains of another building apparently associated with it. On an arch belonging to this building is an inscription giving a dedication to Athena Archegetis and the θεοὶ Σεβαστοί (*I.G.*, II², 3183; mid 1st century A.D.). From the same building no doubt came a similar arch (found near the great market gate) on which an inscription records that the Boule (ἡ βου[λὴ τῶν φ]) dedicated the *agoranomion* to the Emperor Antoninus Pius (*I.G.*, II², 3391; of A.D. 140–145). Thus this building was no doubt the *agoranomion*, the office of the ὀγορανόμοι, who along with other officials such as the μετρονόμοι, σιτοφύλακες and προμετρηταί, regulated market affairs (for inscriptions relating to them see *I.G.*, II², 2886, 3602 and 3238; the last two were also found near the market gate). But whether the *agoranomion* stood here in earlier times is doubtful.

Robinson (*op. cit.*) also brings into close association with the Market, or a trading center which preceded it, the adjacent "Tower of the Winds" (this name is modern) or Horologion of Andronikos of Kyrrhos, built in the 1st century B.C.; see Varro, *De Re Rustica*, III, 5, 17 (87 B.C.); Vitruvius, I, 6, 4; *I.G.*, II², 1035 (579), line 54.

BOOTHS

Many goods were sold in *skenai* (Harpokration) in the agora (Demosthenes; see Demosthenes also for *gerra*). Certain persons were called *skenites* (Harpokration). *Kline* may mean the same (Theophrastos).

(675n). Athenaeus, XIII, 612a.

2nd–3rd c. A.D.

The perfumeseller in Pherekrates sits ὑψηλῶς ὑπὸ σκιαδείω.

623. Demosthenes, XVIII (*De Corona*), 169.

330 B.C.

'Εσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἥκε δ' ὀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ

μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὔθὺς ἔξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τούς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὄγοράν ἔξειργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν,¹ οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν· καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις.

¹ ἀνεπετάννυσαν Girard.

It was evening, and someone came to the Prytaneis with the report that Elateia

had been taken. At this the Prytaneis immediately arose in the middle of their meal and began to shut out their occupants from the booths about the agora and to burn the wickerwork constructions, while some of them sent for the Strategoi and summoned the trumpeter. The city was full of confusion.

Demosthenes is referring to Philip's advance in 388 B.C.; early next morning, he continues, the Athenians came to the Ekklesia, and the whole Demos ἄνω καθῆτο, i.e. no doubt in the Pnyx, and waited there while the Boule conducted the preliminaries in the Bouleuterion.

The γέρρα are generally assumed to be the σκηναί, or wicker coverings for them (cf. the σκηναί made of κάλαμος etc. at Tithorea, Pausanias, X, 32, 15). But no good reason for burning these has been suggested. For the Prytaneis to burn them simply to clear the agora seems most extravagant. If a beacon was needed, the agora in its hollow was not the place for it.

It seems best to accept Girard's ἀνεπετάννυσσαν "unfolded," and assume that the γέρρα were barriers or hurdles used in connection with the Ekklesia. This is the sense of the word in [Demosthenes], LIX (*Neaira*), 90, where they are apparently used to keep out strangers; and in Schol. Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 22, where they are used to shut off the roads not leading to the Ekklesia, and where we actually find the phrase γέρρα δινεπετάννυσσαν, which suggested Girard's emendation.

In any case the object of the Prytaneis was to put a stop to all commercial business and to have everything ready for deliberation on the crisis.

624. Harpokration. 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

γέρρα: Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος “τούς τε ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔξειργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασσαν”. Περσικὰ μὲν τινα ὅπλα τὰ γέρρα ἔστι, καθά καὶ Ἡρόδοτός φησιν· ἥδη δὲ καταχρηστικῶς καὶ ἀπαν σκεπτασμα, εἴτε δερμάτινον εἴτε εἴτε ἄλλης τινὸς ὕλης, γέρρον ἐλέγετο. νῦν γοῦν τὰ τῶν σκηνῶν σκεπτάσματα καὶ παρακόλυμματα ἐμπίπρασθαι φησιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνεστάναι περὶ τὰ ὄνια ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μηδὲ πρὸς ἄλλοις τισὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἔχειν.

Wickerwork; Demosthenes says in his speech *For Ktesiphon*, "They began to

shut out their occupants from the booths about the agora and to burn the wicker-work." *Gerra* are a kind of Persian shield, according to Herodotus (VII, 61, 1). But then by an improper use the word was applied to any covering, whether of skin or of some other kind of stuff. In the present instance Demosthenes says that the coverings and screens of the booths were burnt so that people might not gather together about the wares in the agora or spend their time on other matters.

It will be noticed that Harpokration has ἐνεπίμπρασσαν (cf. Suidas); but the text may already have been corrupted. Harpokration goes on to quote and discuss the use of γέρρα in [Demosthenes], LIX (*Neaira*), 90.

625. Harpokration. 1st or 2nd c. A.D.

Σκηνίτης: Ἰσοκράτης Τραπεζίτικῷ· Πυθόδωρον γάρ τὸν Σκηνίτην καλούμενον. ἔσικεν ἐπώνυμον εἶναι. μήποτε δέ ὡς ἀγοραῖον καλούμενον, ἐπειδὴ ἐν σκηναῖς ἐπιπράσκετο πολλὰ τῶν ὄντων.

Skenites. Isokrates in his *Trapeziticus* mentions "Pythodoros who is called Skenites (the man with a booth)." It seems to be a surname; but he was not so called as being a man of the agora—many goods were sold in booths (i.e. besides those in the agora).

Isokrates, XVII, 83 (ca. 398 B.C.).

Pythodoros' establishment is probably what Demosthenes, LIV (*Konon*), 7, calls τὰ Πυθόδωρον (see 323); it was near the Leokorion and apparently something of a landmark.

Suidas has the same note on σκηνίτης; cf. also Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, p. 304, 6, σκηνευτής (*sic*).

In I.G., II², 1672, lines 13 ff. and 171 (329/8 B.C.; see 215) one Pamphilos ὁ σκηνίτης is mentioned as supplying pitch, wood, etc.

626. Suidas. 10th c. A.D.

Γέρροιν: ἀπὸ σταυροῦ φησιν Εὔπολις. καὶ Δημοσθένης· τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασσαν. καὶ οἱ τόποι οἱ περιπεφραγμένοι· καὶ ἀσπίδες Περσικαὶ

ἐκ λύγων. καὶ γέρρα τὰ σκεπάσματα πάντα
Ἄττικοί.

Wickerwork. Eupolis speaks of its being attached to stakes. Demosthenes says, "They burnt the wickerwork." The word is used of places fenced around; and of Persian shields made of withies; and the Athenians call all coverings *gerra*.

Eupolis — Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 362, no. 405, where it is suggested that γέρροιν ἀποσταυροῦν should be read.

628. Aristeides, XLVI, 134. 2nd c. A.D.

πλείστα Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων διελέγετο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀστοὺς καὶ τοὺς ξένους.

Socrates more than any other Athenian talked with both citizens and foreigners at the tables and shops.

ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν is no doubt taken from Plato's *Apology* (629).

629. Plato, *Apology*, 17c. Early 4th c. B.C.

ἐὰν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἀκούητέ μου ἀπολογουμένου δι' ὅντερ εἰωθα λέγειν καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν, ἵνα ὑμῶν πολλοὶ ἀκηκόσι, καὶ ἀλλοθι, μήτε θαυμάζειν μήτε θορυβεῖν τούτου ἔνεκα.

If you hear me making my defense in the same terms in which I am accustomed to speak in the agora at the tables, where many of you have heard me, and elsewhere, (I ask you) not to be surprised and not to make a noise.

Cf. also Schol. Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1491, where we are told that Socrates held many discussions concerning philosophy ἐν τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις καὶ τραπέζαις.

630. Plato, *Hippias Minor*, 368b. Early 4th c. B.C.

ἔγώ ποτέ σου ἥκουν μεγαλαυχουμένου, πολλὴν σοφίαν καὶ ζηλωτὴν σαυτοῦ διεξιόντος ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ τοῖς τραπέζαις.

627. Theophrastos, *Characteres*, XXIII, 8.

4th-3rd c. B.C.

ἐπὶ τὰς κλίνας probably means "to the beds," i.e. the place where beds are sold; but it is sometimes taken to mean "booths," and that it may possibly bear this meaning is suggested by Hesychios, κλισία, κλίνη, σκηνή.

Of a different order are the σκηναί of the Scythian archer-police, who, according to Schol. Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 54 and Suidas, τόξοται, "formerly made σκηναί and lived in the middle of the agora, but later moved to the Areios Pagos."

TABLES

(Socrates to Hippias) I once heard you boasting, describing your great and enviable wisdom in the agora by the tables.

631. Theodoretos, *Therapeutika*, XII, 175, 5th c. A.D.

Socrates spent his time "by the tables and by the Herms."

631. Theophrastos, *Characteres*, V, 7.

4th-3rd c. B.C.

καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀγορᾶς πρὸς τὰς τραπέζας προσφοιτᾶν, τῶν δὲ γυμνασίων ἐν τούτοις διατρίβειν οὖν ἔφηβοι γυμνάζωνται, τοῦ δὲ θεάτρου καθῆσθαι, ὅταν δὲ θέα, πλησίον τῶν στρατηγῶν.

In the agora he constantly goes to the tables; of the gymnasia he spends his time in those in which the ephebes exercise; in the theatre he sits, when there is a show, near the generals.

This occurs in the character of the Complainant Man; but it is difficult to see how it is appropriate. Most editors transfer the whole passage to another context; Jebb includes it in XXI, the character of the Man of Petty Ambition.

In all these examples it is not clear whether τράπεζαι are tables on which goods are set out for sale, or the tables of the *trapezitai*, the money-changers (see p. 206). It is probably most natural to assume that in most cases the reference is to the former, as it certainly is in Theophrastos, IX, 4 (652); note also 620.

In Theophrastos, *Characteres*, XXIII, 2, πέμπτειν τὸ παιδάριον εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, δραχμῆς αὐτῷ κειμένης, clearly refers to a money-changer's, or banker's; but there the scene seems to be Peiraeus, where such people were numerous.

Beddings for tables have been found set in the mosaic floor in the south part of the East Stoa; if the identification of the Mint (p. 160) and the commercial agora (p. 190) is correct, it seems probable that these were the tables of the money-changers.

PARTICULAR COMMODITIES AND TRADES SPECIAL QUARTERS

The "Attic idiom" is used of nearly all the goods and trades listed below. Many of these quarters are definitely placed in the agora; others one may assume to have been in the general agora district (the extension of the word in its commercial sense must have been ill-defined).

Special "agoras" are the *Ichthyopolis* (see note on 644); the *Himatiopolis*, 663; the *Gynaikeia* (p. 201); the Agora of the Kerkopes (and of the Argives) (p. 201) (cf. also *kenebreion*, 650).

The following points of topographical interest may be noted.

Pythodoros' *skenai* were near the Leokorion (625).

The Alphitropolis Stoa, where flour was sold and where Zeuxis' Helen was, may have been the Makra Stoa and on the Dromos (3, 7), where there were stoas in which goods were sold (1).

Fish may have been sold near the Poikile (640).

Wine was sold in Kerameikos near the *pylis* (660).

Oil was sold in the "Roman Market" (659), near which was the Agoranomion.

The Agora of the Kerkopes was near the Heliaia (670, 672).

Bronzes were made and sold near the Hephaisteion (283).

The Herm makers (sculptors) were near the law courts, and the chest makers were in the same area (682).

Books were sold in the orchestra (527).

Slaves for hire stood at the Anakeion; other men for hire by the Euryiskeion (135, p. 90).

There was a barbershop by the Herms, frequented by the Dekaleians (306); the Plataeans met at the "fresh cheese" (655).

We hear of bankers near the Poikile (73, 77).

FLOUR

(7). Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, 686.

391 B.C.

Judeich (p. 364) suggests that the Alphitropolis, the stoa in which meal was sold, was the same as the Makra Stoa (see 3). This is uncertain; but in any case the association of the Alphitropolis with the Basileios and the "stoa beside it" seems to indicate that the Alphitropolis was in the neighborhood of the agora.

The Schol. on *Acharnians*, 548 mentions an Alphitropolis Stoa at Peiraeus too (this too is identified with the Makra Stoa at Peiraeus by Judeich, p. 448). The grain trade (on which see especially Lysias, XXII) was carried on mainly in Peiraeus; but note Theophrastos, *Characteres*, III, 3, οἱ πυροὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ.

632. Schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1037.

καὶ δὴ καὶ ἴδιως ἐκαλεῖτο τηλία περίφραγμα σανίδων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἐνῷ ἀλφίτα ἐπιπρά-

σκοντο· καὶ οἱ ὅρτυγοτρόφοι τοὺς ὅρτυγας συνέβαλλον ἐν τούτῳ.

Also by a special usage the name *telia* was given to an enclosure of boards in the agora, in which barley meal was sold; quail fanciers too matched their quails in this enclosure.

The extensive scholia on this line also tell us that *telia* could mean "a flat board (*σανίς*) on which people sell barley meal." "*Telia* is the flat piece of wood, whether long or of any other shape, on which they sell barley meal." "Some say that *telia* is a flat piece of wood on which bakers set their bread for it to dry." The Scholiast on *Wasps*, 147, tells us that *telia* was a *σανίς βαθεῖα* in which they sold meal in the agora.

633. *Etym. Magnum.*

12th c. A.D.

τηλία, πῆγμα τετράγωνον, ἐφ' οὗ ἦτοι τὰ ἄλευρα πιπράσκεται, ἡ ἀλεκτρυόνες συμβάλ-

λονται καὶ ἀλφίτων πωλητήριον, πλατείας προσηλωμένας ἔχον κυκλῶ σανίδας, τοῦ μὴ ἐκπίπτειν τὰ ἄλφιτα.

Telia, a square structure, in which wheaten flour is sold, or cocks are matched a place for selling barley meal, with flat planks nailed all round, to prevent the meal from spilling.

634. Eustathius, on *Iliad*, XI, 630.

12th c. A.D.

ἢν δέ, φασί, καὶ ἀλφίτων στοά ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐν ἥ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ζεύξιδος ἀνέκειτο Ἐλένη.

There was, they say, a stoa for barley meal too at Athens, in which the Helen of Zeuxis was set up.

Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 385, 32, says the same.

Zeuxis painted in the latter part of the 5th century B.C. We also hear of his famous Helen painted for the temple of Hera Lakinia in Italy (Aelian, *Varia Historia*, IV, 12; Cicero, *De Inventione Rhetorica*, II, 1; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 64, 66, seems to imply that it was taken to Rome). The relation of the picture at Athens to this is not known.

635. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

ἀλφιτόπωλιν· στοάν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἄλφιτα ἐπωλεῖτο.

Schmidt's reading; the MSS have ἀλφίτων στοά. ἐν ᾧ ..

Alphitopolin: a stoa in which barley meal was sold.

For Plutarch, *De Tranquillitate Animi*, 10, 470f., see note on Teles (**614**).

BREAD

636. Athenaeus, III, 109d. 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

Lynkeus of Samos (4th-3rd century B.C.) is quoted as saying that the "market bread" at Athens had a great reputation (σεμνυνομένων παρ' ἔκεινοις τῶν ἀγοράων ἄρτων) especially the soft and delicate variety called ἐσχαρίτης; cf. also II, 43b, where Antiphanes (Kock,

C.A.F., II, p. 84, no. 179) is quoted as saying that Attica produces superior bread (and also honey, figs, cattle, wool, myrtle, thyme, wheat and water); and Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 3.

Note also *I.G.*, II², 3545 (cf. *B.C.H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, p. 413), dated in the end of the 1st century A.D. The curious objects carved under an inscription in which the Boule of the Areopagus and the Boule of the 600 and the Demos honor Pheidias of Rhamnous, [ἐ]πιμελητῆς τῆς κατὰ [τ]ὴν πόλιν ἀγορᾶς (an office otherwise unknown), may be βλωματίσιοι ἄρτοι, loaves incised with lines (Athenaeus, III, 114e).

OPSON (FISH, MEAT, ETC.)

637. Aischines, I (*Timarchos*), 65. 345 B.C.

τίς γάρ οὐκέν πώποτε εἰς τοῦψον ἀφίκται καὶ τὰς δαπάνας τὰς τούτων οὐ τεθεώρηκεν;

Who of you has not gone to the *opson* and seen the expense incurred by these people (Hegesandros and Timarchos) ?

Opson is a very general term; it means "what is eaten with bread, as a relish"; it is used of meat, cheese and even vegetables (N.B. Plato, *Republic*, 372c), and most especially of fish, cf. Athenaeus, VIII, 338e (**657**); VIII, 342e (**644**); Pollux, VII, 26, ἰχθύες, ἰχθύδια, ὅψον. Note also Pollux, II, 76, where, in two lines of Aristophanes, someone goes to the *opson* to buy sea food of various kinds—

τραπόμενον εἰς τοῦψον λαβεῖν
δομύλια καὶ μαινίδια καὶ σηπίδια.

Cf. **640** and **645 n.**

638. Schol. Aischines, I (*Timarchos*), 65.

τοῦψον: ὃ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἔνθα τὰ ὅψα, οἷοντι πάντα τὰ ἐδέσματα πιπράσκεται. ἀπὸ γάρ τῶν πιπρασκομένων ἐν τινι τόπῳ ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν τόπον.

The *opson*; this is in the agora; it is the place where *opsa*, i.e. all eatables, are sold. The Athenians named a place after the things sold in it.

See also Pollux, IX, 47 and X, 19 (**612, 613**); and for a similar use of the word at Corinth, Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 14.

639. Schol. Euripides, *Medea*, 68.

πεσσούς προσελθών: ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τόποις ὠνόμαζον τοὺς τόπους· πεσσούς γάρ νῦν τοὺς τόπους τῶν κυβευτῶν, ὡς ὅψον καὶ μύρα ἔνθα ταῦτα συνήθως ἔστιν.

Going to “the draughts”; (this expression is used) since they called places after the things in them; here the author calls the places frequented by the gamblers “draughts”; just as *opson* and “perfume” mean the places where these commodities are customarily found.

Note how in the passage of Euripides (though the scene is at Corinth) the *Paidagogos* goes to the *pessoi*, where the old men sit near the sacred water of Peirene, and there hears a report that Medea and her children are to be expelled.

FISH

640. Alkiphron, *Epist.*, I, 3, 2. 2nd c. A.D.

See 50.

A fisherman who wants to sell his fish (*opson*) hears a philosopher, “one of those who spend their time in the *Poikile*,” holding forth; this does not necessarily mean, as Judeich suggests (p. 359), that fish was actually sold near the *Poikile*.

(648). Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1247. 424 B.C.

(617). Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 137.

Kyklos is used especially of the fish market.

641. Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 788–91. 422 B.C.

δραχμὴν μετ' ἔμοῦ πρώην λαβὼν
ἐλθὼν διεκερματίζετ' ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν,
καππεῖτ' ἐνέθηκε τρεῖς λοπίδας μοι κεστρέων·
κάγῳ 'νέκαψ· δύσιοὺς γάρ φόμην λαβεῖν.

The other day Lysistratos received a drachma to share with me; and he went and got change for it in the fish market; then he gave me three fish scales, and I popped them in my mouth, thinking I had received obols.

642. Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1068. 405 B.C.

κᾶν ταῦτα λέγων ἔξαπατήσῃ, παρὰ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ἀνέκυψεν.

παρὰ R V. περὶ found in some MSS and adopted by some editors.

And if he gets away with it, he pops up in the fish market.

A wealthy man who tries to evade the trierarchy by pleading poverty; his appearance in the fish market is a sign of extravagance, cf. 644 n.

The Schol. explains this and also that παρὰ τοὺς ἰχθῦς means, according to Attic usage, παρὰ τὰ ἰχθυοπώλια; he quotes for comparison Eupolis, *περιῆλθον ἐς τὰ σκόροδα καὶ τὰ κρόμμυα* (see 612).

643. Athenaeus, VII, 287e. 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

Ἄντιφάνης δ' ἐν Κνοιθίδει
ἀποπά γε κηρύττουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσι
κηρύγμαθ', οὐ καὶ νῦν τις ἐκεκράγει μέγα
μέλιτος γλυκυτέρας μεμβράδας φάσκων
ἔχειν.

Antiphanes says in his *Knoithideus*, “They are making strange announcements in the fish market, where just now someone shouted loudly that he had *membrades* sweeter than honey.”

See Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 61, no. 125.

Membrades or *bembrades*, with which the whole of this passage of Athenaeus is concerned, were a cheap sea fish, a sort of anchovy, favored by the poorer or less extravagant customers.

Cf. III, 126 e; and VI, 241 b—one Korydos, in Timokles’ *Epichairekakos* (Middle Comedy; Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 456, no. 11), after enquiring the price of various choicer kinds of fish, “ran off to the *membrades*.” Note also Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 493—tyranny is much talked of in the agora; if anyone buys ὄρφως, and refuses *membrades*, the seller of *membrades* says he is aiming at tyranny.

ἀφύαι were similarly cheap small fish.

644. Athenaeus, VIII, 342c. 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

καὶ "Ερμιππος δέ φησιν ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν
Ίσοκράτους μαθητῶν ἑωθινὸν τὸν 'Υπερείδην
ποιεῖσθαι νῦν τοὺς περιπάτους ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσι.

And Hermippus says in his third book about the pupils of Isokrates that Hypereides took his walks now early in the morning in the fish market.

Müller, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 50. Hermippus was an unreliable biographer, of the 3rd century B.C.

Athenaeus is giving a number of notable *opsophagoi* (gourmets, with particular reference to their taste in fish); cf. III, 104d, where Alexis (Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 316, no. 56) is quoted as saying of the orator Kallimedon (late 4th century B.C.) that the fishmongers have passed a decree to set up a bronze statue of him ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν, holding a crayfish in his right hand, since he is "the sole savior of their trade."

For the habits of Hypereides cf. [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 849e, where we are told that he took his walk every day ἐν τῇ ἰχθυοπωλίδι (sc. ἀγορᾷ) and was πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια καταφερῆς; (cf. Philokrates and Demosthenes, 645).

Note further Athenaeus, III, 120a, for the Athenians'—and Hypereides'—addiction to fish, and their extravagance in buying it; cf. also VI, 227e; and note VI, 224ff. for the notoriously churlish and dishonest ways of the fishmongers.

645. Demosthenes, XIX (*De Falsa Legatione*), 229. 343 B.C.

ὅ δ' ὅν τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα χρημάτων ἀπέδοτο, τούτων πόρνας ἡγόραζε καὶ ἰχθὺς περιών.

Philokrates, with the money for which he sold the interests of his city, went around and bought women and fish.

Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales*, IV, 4, 2 (668a), quotes this passage and says that Demosthenes is attacking Philokrates ἐπ' ὁψοφαγίᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ. Plutarch says here that by the terms *opsophagoi* and *philopoi* we do not mean those who delight in beef but those who frequent the fish market (*ichthyopolia*) and listen eagerly for the bell (which declares the market open).

646. Schol. *Odyssey*, VIII, 260.

τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἔμελλον ὄρχεῖσθαι χορὸν ἐκάλεσεν, ὡς καὶ εὐρύχορον Λακεδαίμονα. ἦ δόμονύμως ἐν ᾧ ἔμελλεν ὁ χορὸς ἐφίστασθαι, ὡς καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἰχθύν τὸν τόπον διου πιτράσκεται ὁ ἰχθύς, καὶ μύρα καὶ κρόμμυα. Μένανδρος ὀνάμεινόν με πρὸς τοῦλαιον.'

He called the place, in which they were to dance, *choros*, just as he called Lakedaimon *eurychoros*; or, by an extension of its sense, he used the name *choros* of the place where the *choros* was to take its stand; just as the Athenians called by the name "fish" the place where fish was sold, and similarly with perfumes and onions. Menander says, "Await me at the olive oil."

Eustathius on *Odyssey*, VIII, 264, comments similarly on *choros*, characterizing it as an Attic usage to name the place after what is in it, and giving "perfume" and "onions," and Menander's "olive oil," as examples.

647. Theophrastos, *Characteres*, VI, 9.

4th–3rd c. B.C.

καὶ ἐφοδεύειν τὰ μαγειρεῖα, τὰ ἰχθυοπώλια, τὰ ταριχοπώλια, καὶ τούς τόκους¹ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμπολήματος εἰς τὴν γνάθον ἐκλέγειν.

¹ χαλκοῦς Casaubon.

He goes around the cookshops, the fishshops, the salt-fishshops, and collects into his mouth the interest he levies on their gains (the Reckless Man).

Salt fish seems to have been less esteemed, and sold, at least to some extent, in a different place from fresh fish. See also 648.

MEAT ETC.

648. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1245–7.

424 B.C.

Κλ. πότερον ἐν ἀγορᾷ
ἡλλαντοπώλεις ἐτεόν ἢ 'πὶ ταῖς πύλαις;
Αλ. ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαισιν, οὐ τὸ τάριχος ὅνιον.

Kleon. Did you really sell your sausages in the agora, or at the gate?

Sausageseller. At the gate, where the salt fish is for sale.

The Sausageseller in fact carries his wares around on a sort of tray or trestle-table (ἐλεόν, lines 152, 169) which he can set down where he wishes. He apparently has no fixed stall in the market.

649. Athenaeus, XIII, 580c. 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

Machon describes how Gnathaina, a courtesan, now advanced in years, goes to the agora, inspects the *opson*, and engages in a ribald jest with a handsome young *kreopoles* weighing his meat.

Machon of Corinth or Sikyon (see 577 d) wrote comedies at Alexandria in the late 3rd and early 2nd century B.C.; his *Chreiai* was a collection of witty sayings of Athenian courtesans and others.

650. Erotian, *Glossarium Hippocraticum*, 82, 8.
1st c. A.D.

κενέβρεια· τὰ νεκριμαῖα κρέα οὗτω καλοῦνται,
ώς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης
οὐκ ἔσθω κενέβρειον· ὅταν θύης τι κάλει με.
καὶ ἡ ἀγυρὰ δὲ, ὅπου πωλεῖται τὰ τοιαῦτα,
κενέβρειον λέγεται.

ἔσθω Heringa, for ἔσθ' δ.

Kenebreia: the flesh of carrion is so called; Aristophanes says, “I do not eat carrion; but when you are holding a sacrifice invite me.” The agora, where such stuff is sold, is called *kenebreion*.

See Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 561, no. 693; cf. Schol. Aristophanes, *Birds*, 538.

651. Pollux, VII, 25. 2nd c. A.D.

A note on *kreopolai* etc., with the comment, “They call the same people *mageiroi*”; cf. Teles (614).

(612). Pollux, IX, 48. 2nd c. A.D.

The place where asses’ flesh was sold was called *memnoneia*. Pollux’ explanation of the word is fanciful; cf. Hesychios, μέμνων, δόνος, and Schol. Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 194–195.

652. Theophrastos, *Characteres*, IX, 4.
4th–3rd c. B.C.

καὶ δψωνδν δὲ ὑπομιμήσκειν τὸν κρεωπώλην
εἰ τι χρήσιμος αὐτῷ γέγονε, καὶ ἐστηκώς πρὸς
τῷ στοιχμῷ μάλιστα μὲν κρέας, εἰ δὲ μή, ὁστοῦν
εἰς τὸν ζωμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν· καὶ ἐάν μὲν λάθῃ, εὐ
ἔχει, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀρπάσας ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης
χολίκιον ἀμα γελῶν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

When he (the Shameless Man) is buying food he reminds the meatseller, if he has done him any service; he stands by the balance and throws some meat, preferably, if not, a bone, into the broth; and if he gets it, all is well; if not, he snatches up some guts from the table and off he goes laughing.

(658). Theophrastos, *Characteres*, XXII, 7.
4th–3rd c. B.C.

BIRDS

653. Aristophanes, *Birds*, 13–14. 414 B.C.

ἥ δεινὰ νὼ δέδρακεν οὐκ τῶν ὄρνεων,
δ πινακοπώλης Φιλοκράτης μελαγχολῶν.

He’s played an awful trick on us, the man from the birds, the crazy tabletseller Philokrates.

The Schol. on 13, after quoting Didymos, who, probably wrongly, sees an allusion to Orneai in Laconia, says that ὄρνεων is for ὄρνεοπώλων ὡς τῶν χυτρῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ χυτροπωλίων.

On 14, the Schol. explains that they set out fat poultry (τὰ λιπαρὰ τῶν ὄρνεων) for sale ἐπὶ πινάκων.

Note also *Birds*, 1079ff., for the practices of poulters.

Pollux, VII, 197–198, says that the comic poets gave the name *pinakopolai* not only to those who sold πίνακες but also to those who sold birds, which they set out ἐπὶ πινάκων κεραμέων; Kritias, he continues, calls these men *ornithokapeloi*, and the place where birds were sold *ornithopoleion*.

Photios gives “πινακοπώλην” ὄρνιθοπώλην — for the sellers plucked the birds and set them out ἐπὶ πινάκος.”

Note also Hesychios (as Photios) and Suidas (as Schol. Aristophanes) on πινακοπώλης.

654. Demosthenes, XIX (*De Falsa Legatione*), 245. 343 B.C.

εἴτα ‘τὸν εἰς τοὺς ὄρνεις εἰσιόντα καὶ μετὰ Πιτταλάκου περιιόντα’, καὶ τοιαῦτ’ εἰπών, ‘ἀγνοεῖτ’, ἔφη, ‘ποιόν τιν’ ἥγεισθαι δεῖ;

Then he spoke of me as “the man who goes to the birds and walks about with

Pittalakos," and so forth, and said, "Do you not know what manner of man you must think him?"

"The birds" is usually taken to mean the cockpits; cf. Aischines, I, 53 ff. It may however mean the bird market.

CHEESE

655. Lysias, XXIII (*Pankleon*), 6.

Before 378 B.C.

πάντες οὖν ὅγνοοῦντες τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ἀκριβέστατα ἀν ἔφασάν με πυθέσθαι ἐλθόντα εἰς τὸν χλωρὸν τυρὸν τῇ ἑνῇ καὶ νέᾳ· ταύτη γάρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου ἐκεῖσε συλλέγεσθαι τοὺς Πλαταιέας.

None of them knew his name, but they said that I should get the most accurate information by going to the fresh cheese on the last day of the month; for on this day each month the Plataeans gathered together in that place.

The speaker is refuting the defendant's claim that he is a Plataean, with citizen rights and attached to the deme Dekeleia (see 306).

For "the fresh cheese" see Pollux, X, 19 (613); for cheesesellers, Aristophanes, *Knights*, 854, and Pollux, VII, 196.

VEGETABLES, ETC.

656. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 557–558.

411 B.C.

νῦν μὲν γάρ δὴ κἀν ταῖσι χύτραις κἀν τοῖς λαχάνοισιν ὁμοίως περιέρχονται κατὰ τὴν ὅγοράν ξὺν ὅπλοις ὥσπερ Κορύβαντες.

κἀν Brunck, for καὶ (twice).

As things are now, in the pots and the vegetables they walk about the agora armed, like Korybantes.

The absurd behavior of the men who do their marketing fully armed (lines 555–556) is to be stopped; one buys perch while carrying a shield with Gorgon device, another puts porridge in his helmet; a Thracian with shield and javelin terrifies the woman who sells figs.

657. Athenaeus, VIII, 338e. 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

Alexis' *Demetrios* (Kock, C.A.F., II, p. 314, no. 46) is quoted; when a hurricane has swooped on the agora (producing a shortage of fish) Phayllos buys up and carries off all τούψφον (i.e. fish); "and so after that we have to fight in the vegetable market."

ἐν τοῖς λαχάνοις τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ μάχη

Cf. Diphilos in VI, 228b (Kock, C.A.F., II, p. 549, no. 32), "We fight for the parsley, as at the Isthmian games"; here however the scene may be Corinth.

658. Theophrastos, *Characteres*, XXII, 7.

4th–3rd c. B.C.

καὶ ἐξ ὅγορᾶς δὲ ὀψωνήσας τὰ κρέα αὐτὸς φέρειν καὶ τὰ λάχανα ἐν τῷ προκολπίῳ.

τὰ κρέα is deleted by Diels (O.T.)

When he has bought meat from the agora he carries the vegetables too in the fold of his dress.

For sellers of vegetables (both male, and, more often, female) see Pollux, VII, 196; Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 497; *Thesmophoriazusae*, 387; and *Lysistrata*, 456–457

ὅ σπερματαγοραιολεκιθολαχανοπώλιδες,
ὅ σκορδοπανδοκευτριαρτοπώλιδες.

Particular vegetables, etc., are also mentioned and their names used for the places where they were sold.

GARLIC, ONIONS

Schol. Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1068 (642); Schol. *Odyssey*, VIII, 260 (646); Pollux, IX, 47 (612).

FRUIT

See Euboulos in Athenaeus, XIV, 640b–c (610); and Teles (614).

SESAME

Moeris under σήσαμα says that the name is used both of the fruit and the place where it is sold.

NUTS

See Theophrastos, *Characteres*, XI, 4; the Gross Man, when the market is full goes to the nuts or the myrtle berries or the hard-shelled fruit (πρὸς τὰ καρύα ἢ τὰ μύρτα ἢ τὰ ἀκρόδρυα) and stands and munches, chatting meanwhile to the seller.

FLOWERS

See Euboulos again (610; roses, myrtle and *hyakinthos* are mentioned).

WREATHS

See Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 448; a widow complains that she maintained her five children with difficulty by weaving wreaths in the myrtle market (ἐν τοῖς μυρρίναις). See Pollux, VII, 199 for wreath-sellers; and note Diogenes Laertius, V, iv, 66, where we are told that Lykon (the Peripatetic, of the 3rd century B.C.) said, "Many go after a wreath in the agora, few after a wreath at Olympia."

Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, 302, says, "They sat chattering in the wreath market (ἐν τοῖς στεφανώμασι); cf. Pherekrates in Athenaeus, XV, 685 b (675 n.).

OLIVES, OLIVE OIL

(646). Schol. *Odyssey*, VIII, 260.

Menander is quoted, "Wait for me by the olive oil."

For Plutarch, *De Tranquillitate Animi*, 10, 470f, see 614 n.; "the olives" is an inexpensive part of the market.

(612). Pollux, IX, 47.

2nd c. A.D.

659. I.G., II², 1100.

Ca. A.D. 121/2 or a little later.

This inscription, containing a law that a certain portion of the olive oil produced by growers shall be sold to the state, is at the gate of the "Roman Market." It appears that olive oil was sold here (and no doubt other things too). See *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 221–225, for a new text and, more recently, see also J. H. Oliver, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, XLIII, 1953, pp. 960–963.

WINE

660. Isaios, VI (*Philoktemon*), 20. 364/3 B.C.

τὴν Ἀλκήν καθίστησιν Εὐκτήμων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἐν Κεραμεικῷ συνοικίας τῆς παρὰ τὴν πυλίδα, οὐδὲ οἶνος ὅντος.

Euktemon appointed Alke to take charge of the tenement house in Kerameikos near the postern gate, where wine is sold.

This postern may be the small gate just beyond the Sacred Gate to the southwest of the Dipylon (see Judeich, p. 137, fig. 10), but it is quite uncertain.

661. Pollux, VII, 192–193.

2nd c. A.D.

ἴσως δ' ἄν καὶ γλευκαγωγόν τινα φάιης· ἐπίπρασκον δ' οὗτοι τὸ γλεῦκος, ἐφ' ἀμαξῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν κομίζοντες. Φερεκράτης δ' εἰρηκεν ἐν Ἀγρίοις βύρσῃς γλευκαγωγοῦ. κάπηλοι δὲ οὐ μόνον οἱ μεταβολεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τὸν οἶνον κεραννύντες.

You may call someone a *gleukagogos* (purveyor of new wine); these men sold the new wine, bringing it into the agora on wagons. Pherekrates in his *Agrioi* mentions a skin for carrying new wine. *Kapeloi* are not only hucksters, but also those who mix wine.

For wine on wagons see also Athenaeus, X, 431e; Alexis in his *Aisopos* (Kock, C.A.F., II, p. 299, no. 9) makes Solon say that one cannot drink unmixed wine at Athens, because "they sell it mixed on the wagons."

It was presumably the local wines, as opposed to expensive imported wines, which were brought into the agora thus.

Pollux goes on to say that Plato calls Sarambos the wineseller *kapelos* (*Gorgias*, 518b); and that the comic poets call τὸ τῶν καπῆλων ἔργαστήριον καπηλεῖον.

(612). Pollux, IX, 47.

2nd c. A.D.

662. Pollux, X, 75.

2nd c. A.D.

ἔστι δ' ἐν τούτοις καὶ διάφων, καὶ τὸ παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει γευστήριον·

τρέχ' ἐσ τὸν οἶνον ὀμφορέα κενὸν λαβών τῶν ἔνδοθεν καὶ βύσμα καὶ γευστήριον.

Amongst these (utensils for serving wine) are also the siphon, and the taster, mentioned by Aristophanes in the lines, "Run to the wine market, and take with you an empty jar—one of those inside—and a stopper and a taster."

From the *Heroes*, Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 469, no. 299; the lines are also quoted by Suidas under ἀμφορεαφόρους.

(615). *I.G.*, II², 1013, line 9. Late 2nd c. B.C.

CLOTHING, WOOL

(614 n). Plutarch, *De Tranquillitate Animi*, 10, 470f. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

663. Pollux, VII, 78. 2nd c. A.D.

οἱ δὲ τὰς ἑσθῆτας πιπράσκοντες ἴματιοπδλαι, Κριτίου τῷ ὄνδρῳ χρησαμένου· ἐκαλεῖτο δέ τις Ἀθήνησιν ἴματιόπωλις ἀγορά. ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ καὶ σπειρόπωλις.

Those who sell clothes are called *Himatiopolai* (Kritias uses the name); and there was what was called a Himatiopolis Agora at Athens; the same agora was also called Speiropolis.

(614). Teles, II (ed. Hense, p. 12). Late 3rd c. B.C.

"To the soft wool."

LEATHER, SHOES

(616). Aelian, *Varia Historia*, II, 1. 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

(611). Lysias, XXIV (*For the Cripple*), 20. After 403 B.C.

Cobblers' shops, especially near the agora, are much frequented.

664. Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, IV, 2, 1 and 8. 5th–4th c. B.C.

αἰσθανόμενος αὐτὸν διὰ νεότητα οὕπω εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν εἰσιόντα, εἰ δέ τι βούλοιτο διαπράξασθαι, καθίζοντα εἰς ἥνιοτοιεῖόν τι τῶν ἔγγυς τῆς

ἀγορᾶς, εἰς τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἦει τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τινας ἔχων μόνος ἤλθεν εἰς τὸ ἥνιοτοιεῖόν, παρακαθεῖομένου δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου, "Εἴπε μοι", ἔφη, 'ὦ Εὐθύδημε...'

Socrates, learning that because of his youth Euthydemus did not yet go to the agora, but if he wanted to get anything done, went and sat in one of the rein makers' shops near the agora, himself went there with some companions

(Later) He went alone to the rein maker's shop; Euthydemus sat beside him, and Socrates said, "Tell me, Euthydemus"

Socrates frequented the *ergasterion* of a *skytotomos* called Simon, according to Diogenes Laertius, II, xiii, 122, 123 (see further Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Simon 6, col. 163); this Simon was something of a philosopher himself, and recorded the conversation in dialogues. In a house in the southwest corner of the agora, in a level of the late 5th or early 4th century B.C., a large number of hobnails have been found, suggesting that this was the house of a cobbler; and near the house has been found a cup marked with the owner's name "Simon" (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 54).

RIBANDS, HABERDASHERY

665. Demosthenes, LVII (*Eubouleides*), 31. 345 B.C.

ἡμεῖς δ' ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ ταινίας πωλεῖν καὶ ζῆν οὐχ ὅντινα τρόπον βουλόμεθα. καὶ εἴ σοι ἔστι τοῦτο σημεῖον, ὃ Εύβουλίδη, τοῦ μὴ Ἀθηναίους ἡμᾶς εἶναι, ἐγώ σοι τούτου ὅλως τούναντίον ἐπιδείξω, ὅτι οὐκ ἔξεστι ξένῳ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐργάζεσθαι.

We freely confess to selling ribands and living not in the manner we might wish. But if you take this as an indication that we are not Athenians, Euboulides, I will demonstrate to you that the fact is quite the contrary—it is not permissible for a foreigner to work in the agora (i.e. without registration and payment of tax).

666. Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 3. . 2nd c. A.D.
ἀποθρέξομαι οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν παῖδα, ὃν εἰκός ἦ παρὰ τῇ λεκιθοπώλιδι ἦ παρὰ τῷ

γρυμεοπώλη με περιμένειν· καίτοι προηγό-
ρευτο αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὰ γέλγη ἀπαντᾶν.

MSS σέλγη.

So I will run off to meet my servant,
who is probably waiting for me at the
porridgeseller's or the old-clothes seller's;
yet he had instructions to meet me at the
frippery.

(612). Pollux, IX, 47.

2nd c. A.D.

For the meaning of γέλγη cf. Pollux, III,
127—τὰ δὲ πιπρασκόμενα φορτία, ρῶπος,
ἀγοράσματα, ώνια, γέλγη.

Pollux also gives in VII, 198, γελγοπῶλαι,
and, from Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros* (Kock,
C.A.F., I, p. 26, no. 48) γελγόπωλις.

WOMEN'S AGORA

(613). Pollux, X, 18.

2nd c. A.D.

667. Theophrastos, *Characteres*, II, 9.

4th–3rd c. B.C.

ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔκ γυναικείας ἀγορᾶς δια-
κονῆσαι δυνατὸς ἀπνευστί.

He is just the person too who can run
errands to the women's agora without
drawing breath (the Flatterer). (Jebb).

668. Theophrastos, *Characteres*, XXII, 10.

4th–3rd c. B.C.

καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ δὲ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ προϊκα εἰσενεγκα-
μένῃ μὴ πρίασθαι θεράπαιναν, ἀλλὰ μισθοῦσθαι
εἰς τὰς ἔξοδους ἐκ τῆς γυναικείας παιδίον τὸ
συνακολουθῆσον.

And for his wife who brought a dowry
he (the Mean Man) does not buy a maid-
servant, but hires for her excursions a lad
from the women's market to attend her.

The boy would be what is called a προύνεικος.
Navarre is inclined to accept Foss' emendation
εἰς τὰς ἔξοδους τὰς γυναικείς translating "pour
les sorties du sexe féminin," and even then to
bracket the whole phrase as a gloss.

It would no doubt be to the ἀγορὰ γυναικεία
that the supposed singer of the Euripidean
parody in the *Frogs* would take her work—"I
was intent upon my work, spinning in my hands

a spindle full of flax, making yarn, so that I
might take it to the agora before daylight
(κνεφαῖος εἰς ἀγοράν) and sell it" (1346–1351).
Cf. also Aischines, I (*Timarchos*), 97, "a woman
skilled in working flax, who took fine goods to
the agora" (ἔργα λεπτὰ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκφέρου-
σαν), and Menander, 962 (Kock, *C.A.F.*, III,
p. 246) εἰς ἀγορὰν ὑφαίνειν.

AGORA OF KERKOPES

669. Diogenes Laertius, IX, xii, 114.

3rd c. A.D.

φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν Ἀρκεσίλαον θεασάμενον διὰ
Κερκώπων ίόντα εἰπεῖν, "τί συ δεῦρο, ἔνθαπερ
ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐλεύθεροι;"

They say that when he saw Arkesilaos
going through the Kerkopes he said,
"Why do you come here, where we, the
free men, are?"

Timon the sceptic (late 4th to 3rd century B.C.)
addresses Arkesilaos the Academic philosopher.

670. Eustathius, on *Odyssey*, II, 7.

12th c. A.D.

ἢν δέ φασι καὶ ἀγορὰ Κερκώπων Ἀθήνησι
πλησίον Ἡλιαίας, ἐνθα τὰ κλοπιμαῖα ἐπω-
λοῦντο, τοιοῦτοι γάρ καὶ οἱ Κέρκωπες περιά-
δονται κλέπται δηλαδὴ καὶ πανούργοι.

There was, they say, an agora of the
Kerkopes at Athens near the Heliaia,
where stolen goods were sold; for the
Kerkopes were of this character according
to the accounts of the poets, thieves,
that is, and rascals.

See also on *Odyssey*, X, 552, οἱ Κέρκωπες ἀφ'
ῶν καὶ ἀγορὰ καλούμενη Κερκώπων Ἀθήνησιν
ἐν (Wachsmuth, II, 498, note 2, suggests ἐφ')
Ἡλιαίᾳ.

671. Galen on Hippocrates' *Epidemiae*, III, 5.

2nd c. A.D.

τὸ ζητεῖν ἐν ποίᾳ πόλει καλεῖται τι χωρίον
ψευδές, καθάπερ Ἀθήνησιν ἡ τῶν Κερκώπων
οὔτως ὠνόμασται.

To try to find in what city there is a
place called "false," as at Athens the
(agora) of the Kerkopes is so called.

672. Hesychios. 5th c. A.D.(?)

Ἄγορὰ Κερκώπων· τόπος πλησίον Ἡλιαίας.

Agora of the Kerkopes: a place near the Heliaia.

673. Zenobios, I, 5. 2nd c. A.D.

Ἄγορὰ Κερκώπων: ἐπὶ τῶν πουηρῶν καὶ κακοθῶν λέγεται. Κέρκωπες γάρ ἀπατεῶνες ἔγενοντό τινες, ἔξαπατῆσαι τὸν Δία βουλόμενοι.

Agora of the Kerkopes: the expression refers to rascals and knaves. The Kerkopes were certain rogues who wished to deceive Zeus.

For the use of the phrase of a collection of rogues, without topographical reference, see also Diogenianos, I, 3; Suidas, ἄγορὰ Κερκώπων; Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca Oxoniensia*, III, 413, 10, where we read Βύλλος καὶ Τριβάλλιος ἐπίορκοι καὶ ἀργοί. The last word suggests that in the phrase ἄγορὰ Ἀργείων, 'Arges' may be a corruption of ἀργῶν. Hesychios tells us that there was a place called ἄγορὰ Ἀργείων at Athens; cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 212, 23, where it is said that there was such a place "in the Troad and at Athens."

The Argives had a reputation for thievishness (Suidas, Ἀργεῖοι φῶρες), so that in any case the "agora of the Kerkopes" and the "agora of the Argives" may be the same.

PERFUME

674. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1373 and 1375–1376. 424 B.C.

οὐδ' ἀγοράσει γ' ἀγένειος οὐδεὶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ.
τά μειράκια ταυτὶ λέγω τάν τῷ μύρῳ,
ἢ στωμαλεῖται τοιαδὶ καθήμενα

Nor will a beardless youth frequent the agora I mean these youths in the perfume market, who sit and chatter like this

675. Schol. Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1271, quoting Eupolis' *Poleis*.

χάμυνίας ἔκεινος ὀμέλει κλαύσεται
ὅτι ὁν ἄγροικος ἴσταται πρὸς τῷ μύρῳ.

Amynias shall certainly suffer, because though he is a country bumpkin he stands by the perfume market.

See Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 315, no. 209.

Apparently this is regarded as the resort of the elegant young man about town. See also Athenaeus, XIII, 612a, where Pherekrates' *Ipnos* or *Pannychis* is quoted (Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 162, no. 64), "Why should a man sell perfume, sitting aloft beneath a sunshade (ὑψηλῶς ὑπὸ σκιαδεώ), providing a meeting place (συνέδριον) for young men to talk in all through the day?"; and XV, 685 b, where the *Agathoi* of Pherekrates or Strattis is quoted (Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 145, no. 2), "Having bathed before clear daylight they chatter in the wreath market (ἐν τοῖς στεφανώμασι), and some of them in the perfume market (ἐν τῷ μύρῳ)."

Cf. also Schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 550, quoting Polyzelos (late 5th to 4th century); Dionysios tyrant of Syracuse ἐν τῷ μύρῳ παρ' Ἀθηναίων μακαρίζεται (Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 792, no. 11).

676. Schol. Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1158.

λέγουσι δὲ ἔνιοι καὶ τὰ ἀλφίτα καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν ἀρώματα, ὡς παρ' Εὔπολιδι 'καὶ εὐθὺν τῶν ἀρωμάτων', ἀντὶ τοῦ τῶν ἀλφίτων.

Some call barley meal and frankincense *aromata*, as in Eupolis, "Straight to the *aromata*" (instead of *alphita*).

For the passage of Eupolis see 612.

There seems to be some confusion in this note, possibly the result of seeing the words together in a list of examples of names of things used to indicate the places where they were sold.

For λιβανωτός, see Athenaeus, IX, 374b, where Chamaileon of Herakleia is quoted as saying in the sixth book of his work on comedy that Anaxandrides, when he did not succeed with a comedy, handed it over to the incense market (εἰς τὸν λιβανωτόν) to cut up.

677. [Demosthenes], XXV (*Aristogeiton*, I), 52. Ca. 325 B.C.(?)

οὐδὲ προσφοιτῷ πρός τι τούτων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κουρείων ἢ μυροπωλίων ἢ τῶν ἀλλων ἐργαστηρίων οὐδὲ πρός ἐν.

(Aristogeiton) does not frequent any of the usual barbershops in the city, or the

perfumeshops, or the other shops, not a single one.

On the contrary, the speaker says, he is a spiteful, malicious type; he goes through the agora like a viper or a scorpion, darting hither and thither, ready to sting.

- 678.** Demosthenes, XXXIV (*Against Phormio*), 13. 327/6 B.C.

δ δ' ἀκολουθεῖν μ' ἔκέλευεν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ καταλαμβάνομεν πρὸς τοῖς μυροπωλίοις τουτοί· κάγῳ κλητῆρας ἔχων προσεκαλεσάμην αὐτόν.

Lampis told me to follow him, and we found Phormio by the perfumeshops; and I, in the presence of my witnesses, summoned him.

- (639).** Schol. Euripides, *Medea*, 68.

- (646n).** Eustathius, on *Odyssey*, VIII, 264. 12th c. A.D.

- (611).** Lysias, XXIV (*For the Cripple*), 20. After 403 B.C.

Perfumeshops are a common place of resort, especially those near the agora.

- 679.** Philemon (Page, *Literary Greek Papyri*, I, p. 238, Frag. 50). 4th–3rd c. B.C.

πρὸς τῷ μυροπωλίῳ γάρ ἀνθρώπων τινῶν ἦκουσα χαλκοῦν περιπατεῖν τινά.

I heard some men near the perfume-shop say that a thief called Copper (?) was walking about.

In Didymos on Demosthenes, X, 70, Col. 9, 61.

- (612).** Pollux, IX, 47. 2nd c. A.D.

- (614).** Teles, II. Late 3rd c. B.C.

- 680.** Theophrastos, *Characteres*, XI, 8. 4th–3rd c. B.C.

καὶ διηγεῖσθαι προσστὰς πρὸς κουρεῖον ἥ μυροπωλιον, ὅτι μεθύσκεσθαι μέλλει.

Standing by a barbershop or a perfumeshop he (the Disgusting Man) says that he is going to get drunk.

BRONZE, METALWORK

- (281).** Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 40.

399 B.C.

Diokleides goes up from a *chalkeion* to the Hephaisteion.

- (283).** Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 316, 23.

"Bronze is sold near the Hephaisteion."

- 681.** Pollux, VII, 196.

2nd c. A.D.

Bronzesellers and ironsellers are mentioned.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, III, 3, 7, uses the Attic idiom εἰς τὸν σίδηρον when speaking of the place where knives, spits, axes etc. were sold at Sparta.

For traces of bronzeworkers' shops found on the slopes of the Kolonos Agoraios below the Hephaisteion see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 14; VII, 1938, p. 339 (281).

SCULPTORS

- 682.** Plutarch, *De Genio Socratis*, 10, (580 d-f).

1st–2nd c. A.D.

ἔμοι δὲ παρόντος, ὅτε πρὸς Εὐθύφρονα τὸν μάντιν ἥκον, ἔτυχε μὲν, ὃ Σιμμία, μέμνησαι γάρ, ἀνω πρὸς τὸ Σύμβολον Σωκράτης καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν Ἀνδοκίδου βαδίζων, ὅμα τι διερωτῶν καὶ διασείων τὸν Εὐθύφρονα μετὰ παιδιᾶς· ἄφνω δ' ἐπιστάς καὶ σιωπήσας προσέσχειν αὐτῷ συχνὸν χρόνον· εἴτ' ἀναστρέψας ἐπορεύετο τὴν διὰ τῶν κιβωτοποιῶν νεανίσκοι δέ τινες τὴν εὐθεῖαν βαδίζοντες, ὡς δὴ τὸ Σωκράτους ἐλέγχοντες δαιμόνιον, ἐπεσπάσαντο Χάριλλον τὸν αὐλητήν, ἥκοντα καὶ αὐτὸν μετ' ἔμοι εἰς Ἀθήνας πρὸς Κέρητα· πορευομένοις δ' αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν ἔρμογλύφων παρὰ τὰ δικαστήρια, σύνες ἀπαντῶσιν ἀθρόοι βορβόρου περίπλεοι, καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων ὠθούμενοι διὰ πλήθος· ἐκτροπῆς δὲ μὴ παρούσης, τοὺς μὲν ἀνέτρεψαν ἐμβαλοῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἀνεμόλυναν.

Once when I was present, on a visit to Euthyphron the seer, it so happened —you remember, Simmias—that Socrates was walking up there in the direction

of the Symbolon and the house of Andokides; and as they walked he was asking Euthyphron questions and making fun of him. Suddenly he halted, fell silent and stood deep in thought for some time. Then he turned and went along the road through the chest makers' quarter . . . certain young men went straight on, with the idea of proving the divine sign of Socrates wrong, and they took with them Charillos the flute player, who had come to Athens with me to visit Kebes; and as they went through the herm carvers' quarter, past the law courts, a herd of pigs met them, covered with filth and jostling one another, and, since there was no way of escape, knocked some of them over, covered others with dirt.

Socrates' friends are discussing his *daimonion*; Theokritos speaks. Nothing more is known of the "Symbolon"; it was presumably a kind of crossroads or open place.

For possible light on the topography of this passage see *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 139, 151; in the "industrial district" to the southwest of the agora a veritable "Marbleworkers' Street" has been found.

'Ερμογλύφος is sometimes used of sculptors in general, as in Lucian, *Somnium*, 2 and 12.

What appears to be a sculptor's workshop has also been found attached to the Library of Pantainos (see p. 150) (*Athenian Agora*, Vol. I, E. B. Harrison, *Portrait Sculpture*, pp. 6, 48).

FIGURINES

683. Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 22. 2nd c. A.D.

... τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κοροπλάθων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλαττομένοις . . .

. . . the articles made by the figurine-modellers for sale in the agora . . .

Moeris on κορόπλαθος explains that this is the Attic form, whereas the Greeks generally use κοροπλάστης. Cf. *Etym. Magnum*, κοροπλάστης.

See *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 120 for archaeological material.

LAMPS

684. Schol. Aristophanes, *Peace*, 692, quotes Kratinos, *Pytine* (423 B.C.)

‘Υπέρβολον δ' ἀποσβέσας ἐν τοῖς λύχνοισι γράψον.

Wash out the name of Hyperbolos and inscribe it in the lamp market.

Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 73, no. 196.

The Schol. explains that the demagogue Hyperbolos was a lampseller; cf. *Clouds*, 1065.

POTS

(653). Schol. Aristophanes, *Birds*, 13.

(656). Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 557. 411 B.C.

685. Athenaeus, IV, 164f, quotes Alexis.

4th–3rd c. B.C.

ὅπου γάρ ἔστιν ὁ κέραμος μισθώσιμος
ὅ τοῖς μαγείροις . . .

. . . where crockery is exposed for cooks to hire . . .

A parasite loiters here in the hope that he may find from the cooks where there is a chance of getting a dinner. The line is quoted again in 229b; Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 391, no. 257.

686. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

κεράμεια· ἔνθα τὰ δστράκινα σκεύη πιπράσκεται.

Kerameia: the place where earthenware utensils are sold.

One cannot say whether there is any reference to Athens. The lexicographer may have in mind Aischines, III (*Ktesiphon*), 119, where *kerameia* near Delphi are mentioned.

(612). Pollux, IX, 47.

2nd c. A.D.

Note also VII, 161 and 197 for κεραμοπῶλαι.

On the district Kerameikos see p. 221.

Books

(527). Plato, *Apology*, 26d, e. 4th c. B.C.

Books appear to have been sold at the Orchestra, no doubt in the agora.

(612). Pollux, IX, 47. 2nd c. A.D.

Note also, for booksellers, VII, 211, and Athenaeus, III, 126e (quoting Nikophon, Kock, C.A.F., I, p. 779, no. 19); cf. Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 2.

HORSES

687. Theophrastos, *Characteres*, XXIII, 7. 4th–3rd c. B.C.

καὶ προσελθών δ' εἰς τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς ἀγαθούς τοῖς πωλοῦσι προσποιήσασθαι ὠνητιᾶν.

Going to “the good horses” he pretends to the sellers that he wants to buy (the Boastful Man).

SLAVES

(135). Demosthenes, XLV (*Stephanos*, I), 80. Ca. 351 B.C.

Slaves for hire stood at the Anakeion.

(618, 619). Harpokration and Hesychios, κύκλοι.

Slaves were sold in *kykloi*.

(620). Pollux, VII, 11. 2nd c. A.D.

Slaves were sold in *kykloi*, mounted on a table.

In III, 78 Pollux distinguishes slaves sold ἀπὸ τοῦ πρατῆρος λίθου, ἀπὸ τοῦ πωλητηρίου (see p. 165), παρὰ τῶν λαφυροπώλων, παρὰ τῶν ἀνδροκατήλων.

Cf. also VII, 16, and note X, 19 (613).

MEN FOR HIRE

These stood at the Euryiskeion; see p. 90.

BARBERS

688. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 887–9. 388 B.C.

καίτοι λόγος γ' ἦν νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πολὺς ἐπὶ τοῖσι κουρείοισι τῶν καθημένων, ὡς ἔξαπίνης ὀνὴρ γεγένηται πλούσιος.

And yet there was indeed much talk in the barbershops amongst the men sitting there, that the man (Chremylos) had suddenly become rich.

Cf. also *Birds*, 1441, for talk ἐν τοῖσι κουρείοισ.

(677). [Demosthenes], XXV (*Aristogeiton*, I), 52. Ca. 325 B.C. (?)

(306). Lysias, XXIII (*Pankleon*), 3. Before 378 B.C.

The Dekeleans frequented a barbershop near the Herms.

(611). Lysias, XXIV (*For the Cripple*), 20. After 403 B.C.

In Peiraeus too we find a barbershop playing the part of a center for gossip and news; a newly landed customer brings first word of the disaster in Sicily (Plutarch, *Nikias*, 30).

COOKS

(685). Athenaeus, IV, 164f, quoting Alexis. 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

(651). Pollux, VII, 25. 2nd c. A.D.

Kreopolai are sometimes called *mageiroi*.

(612). Pollux, IX, 48. 2nd c. A.D.

Mageireia are places where cooks are hired.

For the hire of cooks see Athenaeus, VII, 290e, 291f etc.; Plautus, *Aulularia*, 280; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XVIII, 108.

(647). Theophrastos, *Characteres*, VI, 9. 4th–3rd c. B.C.

Note also Anaxippos in Athenaeus, IV, 169c (Kock, C.A.F., III, p. 300, no. 6); τάκτοις νίτρου (goods from the carbonate-of-soda shop) are included in a list of μαγειρικὰ σκεύη; cf. Hesychios, τάκτοις νίτρου.

Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, I, p. 264, no. 57 (Straton), and p. 270, no. 59 (Anon.), may be added to passages of general interest.

BANKERS, MONEYLENDERS

689. Demosthenes, XIX (*De Falsa Legatione*),
114. 343 B.C.

... τὸ χρυσὸν καταλλαττόμενος φανερῶς
ἐπὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις

(Philokrates) changed his gold openly
at the bankers.

(73). Lucian, *Dialogi Meretricii*, 8, 2.
2nd c. A.D.

Demophantos the moneylender (δανειστής)
lives behind the Poikile.

Cf. also *Navigium*, 13 (77).

Note Plutarch, *De Vitiioso Pudore*, 10 (533b);
a loan is arranged δι' ἀγορᾶς καὶ τραπέζης.

We find a moneylender at the Diomeian Gate
in Alkiphron, *Epist.*, III, 3 (I, 18), 3; and there
were bankers and moneylenders at Peiraeus.

HETAIRAI

See p. 222.

V. HONORARY STATUES

INTRODUCTORY

690. Aristeides, LIII, 23 (24). 2nd c. A.D.

μεγίστας δτι μάλιστα και φιλοτιμοτάτας ἐδωροῦντο τουτουσὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς, τοῦτο μὲν χαλκοῦς ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ιστάντες, τοῦτο δὲ παρέδρους τοῖς ἐν ἀκροπόλει θεοῖς καθιστάντες.

Their benefactors they rewarded with the highest and most distinguished honors, setting them up in bronze in the agora, and giving them a seat beside the gods on the Acropolis.

Similarly the lexicographers (*Etym. Magnum*, Photios, Suidas, ἐπώνυμοι; 240) say that deserving citizens and foreigners were honored with bronze statues. Lucian (*Anacharsis*, 17; see 244) makes Solon suggest, anachronistically, that the Athenians should set up a bronze statue of the Scythian Anacharsis “beside the Eponymoi or on the Acropolis beside Athena.”

In fact the practice is much later. The original Eponymoi themselves are of course in a special category. Harmodios and Aristogeiton, says Aristotle (259), were the first to have honorary statues in the agora. Konon, says Demosthenes (261), was the next after them who was honored by the Athenians with a bronze statue.

(This does not mean that no statues at all of notable men were set up anywhere—we know for instance of Kresilas’ Perikles—but that none was given as a public honor; see Judeich, p. 84, note 2).

Certainly the Athenians were more sparing of honors in the 5th century (cf. 706). From the time of Konon honorary statues became commoner, though still for a time granted with discrimination (cf. 268). Statues were also set up of worthies of an earlier age. It has been suggested (Judeich, p. 83) that the statue of Solon was set up after the restoration of democracy and the re-codification of the laws in 403 B.C.; but this contradicts Demosthenes (unless he is thinking only of more direct honors to living or recently dead persons). The statue

of Kallias, peacemaker of 449 B.C. (?) may well have been erected in connection with the peace of 374 B.C. (158).

From the end of the 4th century B.C., statues of foreign princes and benefactors became common.

Besides the site near the Eponymoi and the adjacent temple of Ares, honorary statues were set up in front of the stoas, Basileios-Zeus (cf. 18), Poikile, and (later) Attalos; in front of the Odeion (Hellenistic kings); in the Prytaneion; and in the shrine of Demos and the Charites (Hellenistic); see Index.

Certain sites were forbidden by law (cf. 701 and 704), such as beside the tyrannicides (see Asandros and Herodoros below) but an exception was made for Antigonos and Demetrios, Brutus and Cassius.

One must of course make allowance for shifting, re-planning and re-shuffling (cf. DEMO-CHARES).

Honorary statues were also set up on the Acropolis in large numbers, and in the theatre and elsewhere; below are given only those of which we are specifically told that they were placed in the agora, or near.

691. Plutarch, *De Vitioso Pudore*, 7.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

Διογένης μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἤτει περιιὼν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θαυμάζοντας ἔλεγεν ἀποτυγχάνειν μελετᾶν.

Diogenes went round the statues in Kerameikos begging, and said to wondering onlookers he was practising failing to get things.

ALEXANDER

(521). Pausanias, I, 9, 4.

2nd c. A.D.

Statues of Philip and his son Alexander stood “after the Egyptians” in front of the Odeion.

ANTIGONOS

(264). Diodorus Siculus, XX, 46, 2.

1st c. B.C.

The Athenians decreed (307 B.C.) that statues of Antigonos and Demetrios in a chariot should be set up near Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

(279). I.G., II², 646, line 40.

295/4 B.C.

See also HERODOROS below.

It is generally presumed, though it is not actually stated by ancient authorities, that when the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias were added (see note on 245) statues of Antigonos and Demetrios were added to the Eponymoi.

Plutarch (*Demetrios*, 10, 3–4) gives a list of extravagant honors paid to Antigonos and Demetrios, including the creation of the tribes and the erection of an altar of Demetrios Kataibates on the spot where Demetrios first alighted from his chariot, but does not mention statues.

I.G., II², 3424, a stone “believed to have been found at Athens,” of the end of the 4th century B.C., is thought to refer to Antigonos and Demetrios (cf. line 12, [πόλε]ως σωτῆρε), and perhaps to belong to statues of them.

ANTIOCHOS

A stele found at Pergamon (Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.*, p. 405, no. 248) gives a decree honoring King Eumenes (II, 197–159 B.C.) and his brothers for their assistance to Antiochos (Epiphanes, 175–163 B.C.) Stelai are to be set up “in the agora beside the statues of Antiochos” (lines 55–56), in the shrine of Athena Nikephoros (presumably at Pergamon), and in the shrine of Apollo ἐπὶ Δάφναι (at Antiochia). In no case is the city specified. Because of the formulae used it has been suggested that the decree is an Athenian decree, and the agora is the Athenian agora, but this is open to doubt.

ARISTOGEITON

See p. 93.

ARSINOE

(521). Pausanias, I, 8, 6.

2nd c. A.D.

Before the entrance of the Odeion, with the statues of Egyptian kings, is a statue of Arsinoe, sister of Ptolemy Philadelphos (see p. 215).

ASANDROS

(278). I.G., II², 450, lines 10–15. 314/3 B.C.

Asandros, a Macedonian, is honored with an equestrian statue.

ATTALOS

(245). Pausanias, I, 5, 5.

2nd c. A.D.

Attalos I of Pergamon was added to the Eponymoi.

200 B.C.; cf. I, 8, 1; Polybios, XVI, 25, 9; Livy, XXXI, 15, 6.

AUROLEON

692. I.G., II², 654, lines 57–58.

285/4 B.C.

A stele found on the Acropolis, inscribed with a decree honoring Audoleon, king of the Paionians, for his services to Athens; amongst other things an equestrian statue of him is to be set up in the agora—

στῆσ[αι δ]ὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόν[α]
[χ]αλκῆ[ν] ἐφ' [ἱπ]που ἐν ἀγορᾷ.

For the date see *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314.

AUTOLYKOS

(553). Pausanias, I, 18, 3.

2nd c. A.D.

A statue of Autolykos the pancratiast stood in the Prytaneion. He was active in the late 5th century (see 553 n). The statue ascribed by Pliny (XXXIV, 79) to Leochares (mid 4th century), if the ascription is correct, either was erected belatedly or represented a later Autolykos.

BRUTUS

(262). Dio Cassius, XLVII, 20, 4.

3rd c. A.D.

The Athenians voted Brutus and Cassius bronze statues beside Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

Cf. Plutarch, *Brutus*, XXIV, 1.

LUCIUS CAESAR

For his statue over the gateway of the “Roman Market” see p. 190.

CASSIUS

See BRUTUS.

CHABRIAS

693. Aischines, III (*Ktesiphon*), 243. 330 B.C.

ἐπερώτησον δὴ τοὺς δικαστὰς εἰ ἔγίγνωσκον Χαβρίαν καὶ Ἰφικράτην καὶ Τιμόθεον, καὶ πυθοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν διὰ τί τὰς δωρεὰς αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἔστησαν. ἀπαντεῖς γάρ ἄμα σοι ἀποκρινοῦνται ὅτι Χαβρίᾳ μὲν διὰ τὴν περὶ Νάξου ναυμαχίαν, Ἰφικράτει δὲ ὅτι μόροιν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέκτεινε, Τιμοθέῳ δὲ διὰ τὸν περίπλουν τὸν εἰς Κέρκυραν.

Ask the jury if they knew Chabrias, Iphikrates and Timotheos, and learn from them why they gave rewards and set up statues to them. They will all reply that Chabrias was so honored because of the sea fight near Naxos, Iphikrates because he slaughtered a Spartan division, Timotheos because of his cruise to Kerkyra.

Battle of Naxos—376 B.C.

For Iphikrates and Timotheos see pp. 213, 216.

694. Cornelius Nepos, *Chabrias*, I, 2-3.

1st c. B.C.

Reliquam phalangem loco vetuit cedere obnixoque genu scuto, proiecta hasta impetum excipere hostium docuit . . . hoc usque eo tota Graecia fama celebratum est, ut illo statu Chabrias sibi statuam fieri voluerit, quae publice ei ab Atheniensibus in foro constituta est.

Chabrias ordered the rest of the army, the phalanx, not to give ground, and instructed them to support their shields on their knees and thrust their spears forward and so receive the attack of the enemy . . . this feat became so famous throughout Greece, that Chabrias expressed a wish that the statue, which was set up publicly in his honor by the Athenians in the forum, should be made in this posture.

Diodorus Siculus (XV, 82, 5) and Polyainos (II, 1, 2) speak in similar terms of the stratagem, which took place at a battle near Thebes in 377 B.C.; and Diodorus adds that (XV, 33, 4) Chabrias set up the statues granted him by the people in this posture—τὰς εἰκόνας τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου δοθείσας αὐτῷ καθίστανεν ἔχουσας τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα.

Aristotle, *Rhetic*, III, 10, 7 (1411 b), quotes Lykoleon, a contemporary orator, as referring to the “suppliant” attitude of the statue in a speech on behalf of Chabrias (οὐδὲ τὴν ἱκετηρίαν αἰσχυνθέντες αὐτοῦ, τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν χαλκῆν). This expression is described as μεταφορὰ . . . πρὸ δύματων, but this, as elsewhere in the passage, means nothing more than “vivid” and does not necessarily imply that the statue could be seen from the court.

Cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 319.

CHRYSIPPOS

(458). Pausanias, I, 17, 2.

2nd c. A.D.

A statue of Chrysippus stood in the gymnasium of Ptolemy.

See also note on 458 for a statue of Chrysippus “in Kerameikos.”

DEMADES

695. Deinarchos, I (*Against Demosthenes*), 101.

323 B.C.

περιεῖδες αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλκοῦν σταθέντα καὶ τῆς ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως κεκοινωνηκότα τοῖς Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος ἀπογόνοις.

You (Demosthenes) allowed him to be set up in bronze in the agora and to share meals in the Prytaneion with the descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

These honors were paid to the orator Demades about 335 B.C. after an embassy to Alexander.

Apsines (I, p. 300, ed. Hammer) tells us that Polyeuktos attacked the proposal to grant a bronze statue to Demades, saying that however he was represented—holding a shield, a ship's *akrostolion*, or a book, or praying to the gods, it would be inappropriate; cf. also Hypereides in Harpokration ὁξυθύμια.

DEMETRIOS (POLIORKETES)

See ANTIGONOS.

696. *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 221, no. 3, lines 11–15.

Inscription (E. M. 12749) found “in the neighborhood of Plato’s Academy,” in which is recorded a decision of the “volunteer picked troops” to honor Demetrios with an equestrian statue in the agora “beside Demokratia, where they set up the other Greeks too, and to establish an altar”—

[δεδό]
χθαὶ τοῖς ἐθελονταῖς ἐπιλέκτο[ις τιμῆσαι μὲν
βασιλέα]
[Δ]ημήτριον Ἀντιγόνου βασιλέα β[ασιλέως
εἰκόνι χαλκῆι]
[ἐ]φ’ ἵππου ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὴν Δημοκ[ρατίαν
οὐ ἔστησαν καὶ]
[τ.]οὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας, ιδρύσασθαι δ’ [αὐτῶι
καὶ βωμόν]

Where the statue of Demokratia stood is not known. Of the five ephebic decrees recorded on *I.G.*, II², 1011 (106/5 B.C.), whereas I and II are to be set up “in the agora” (lines 30 and 52), and IV and V “wherever seems suitable” (ἐπιτήδειον, lines 72 and 82), III (a decree of the Salaminians) is to be set up “beside Demokratia”—line 62

παρὰ τὴν Δημοκρατίαν.

See also A. Wilhelm, *Wiener-Jahreshefte*, XXXV, 1943, p. 157.

DEMOCHARES

(559). [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 847, d,e.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

A bronze statue of the orator Demochares was set up in the agora (271/0 B.C.) and later removed to the Prytaneion.

DEMOSTHENES

(117, 158). Pausanias, I, 8, 2 and 4.

2nd c. A.D.

The statue of Demosthenes follows those of Amphiaraos, Eirene and Kallias; near by is a shrine of Ares.

697. Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 30, 5–31, 1.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

Τούτῳ μὲν δὲ λίγον ὑστερον ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἀξίαν ἀποδιδούς τιμὴν εἰκόνα τε χαλκῆν ἀνέστησε καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἐψηφίσατο τῶν ἀπὸ γένους ἐν Πρυτανείᾳ σίτησιν ἔχειν. καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ θρυλούμενον ἐπεγράφη τῇ βάσει τοῦ ἀνδριάντος·

εἴπερ ἴσην ρώμην γνώμη, Δημόσθενες, εἶχε,
οὔποτ’ ἀν ‘Ελλήνων ἥρξεν’ Αρης Μακεδών.
οἱ γάρ αὐτὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι λέγοντες ἐν Καλαυρίᾳ, μέλλοντα τὸ φάρμακον προσφέρεσθαι, κομιδῇ φλυαροῦσι....
ἔστηκε δὲ τοὺς δακτύλους συνέχων δι’ ἀλλήλων, καὶ παραπέφυκεν οὐ μεγάλη πλάτανος.

A little later (i.e. after his death) the Athenian people, rendering worthy honor to him, set up a bronze statue and decreed that the eldest member of his family should have public maintenance in the Prytaneion. The much-quoted epigram was inscribed on the base of the statue, “If you had had power equal to your resolution, Demosthenes, the Macedonian Ares would never have acquired dominion over the Greeks.” Those who say that Demosthenes himself composed this, at Kalauria, when about to take the poison, talk complete nonsense The statue stands with fingers interlocked, and beside it grows a plane tree of no great size.

Plutarch tells how, “a little before I came to Athens” (*παραβαλεῖν ἡμᾶς Ἀθήναζε*), a soldier deposited his money in the hands of the statue, where it was covered by leaves from the tree, and a good deal later found it intact; the incident gave rise to witticisms about the incorruptibility of Demosthenes.

698. [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 847a.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

αἰτήσας δὲ γραμματείον ἔγραψεν, ως μὲν Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης φησί, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ ἐλεγεῖον, ἐπιγεγραμμένον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑστερον

εἴπερ ἴσην ρώμην γνώμη, Δημόσθενες, ἔσχε,
οὔποτ’ ἀν ‘Ελλήνων ἥρξεν’ Αρης Μακεδών.

κεῖται δ’ ἡ εἰκὼν πλησίον τοῦ περισχοινίσματος καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, ὑπὸ

Πολυεύκτου πεποιημένη. ὡς δ' ἔνιοί φασι, τοῦτο εύρεθη γεγραμμένον 'Δημοσθένης Ἀντιπάτρῳ χαίρειν'.

Asking for a writing tablet, according to the account of Demetrios of Magnesia, he wrote the couplet afterwards inscribed by the Athenians on his statue, "If you had had power equal to your resolution, Demosthenes, the Macedonian Ares would never have acquired dominion over the Greeks." The statue stands near the *perischoinisma* and the altar of the Twelve Gods; it is the work of Polyeuktos. According to some authorities he was found to have written, "Demosthenes to Antipatros, greeting."

Demetrios of Magnesia was a grammarian and biographer of the 1st century B.C.

For the *perischoinisma* see p. 163, for the altar of the Twelve Gods, p. 119.

Note also 847d (119) where we are told that the statue of Demosthenes was set up in the agora on the proposal of his nephew Demochares in the archonship of Gorgias (280/79 B.C.). In 850f is given the text of the decree of Demochares, proposing a bronze statue in the agora etc. (see 559 n). Similarly Photios, *Bibl.*, 494b, 29 (Bekker, reading γνώμῃ ῥώμην), who also gives Demetrios as his authority but does not mention *perischoinisma* and altar.

699. Suidas, under "Demosthenes."

10th c. A.D.

καὶ ἀτέλειαν τε τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ γένους τοῦ Δημοσθένους ψηφίζονται, καὶ χαλκοῦ στῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν ἄγορᾳ, καὶ ἔλεγειν τῇ βάσει τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐπέγραψαν, εἴπερ ἵσην ῥώμην γνώμῃ κτλ.

And they voted exemption from public burdens for the oldest member of the family of Demosthenes, and decided to set up a bronze statue of Demosthenes in the agora, and on the base of the statue they inscribed the elegiac couplet, "If you had had etc."

The statue is also mentioned and the epigram quoted (with γνώμῃ ῥώμην) in the lives of Demosthenes, Westermann, *Biographi Graeci*,

p. 302, 143 (Zosimos, who says that the bronze statue was set up in the Kerameikos) and p. 308, 76.

In *Anthologia Palatina*, II, 23 ff., Christodoros of Egyptian Thebes describes a statue of Demosthenes amongst the bronze statues in the gymnasium called Zeuxippus at Byzantium, which was erected by Septimius Severus and destroyed in A.D. 532 shortly after Christodoros' work was written. These descriptions have little value however, and one can hardly associate this statue with Polyeuktos.

I.G., II², 4263, found south of the Acropolis, is a base inscribed Δημοσθένης, but is of the 2nd century A.D.

DIPHILOS

700. Deinarchos, I (*Against Demosthenes*), 43. 323 B.C.

προϊκα τοῦτον οἰεσθε γράψαι Διφίλω τὴν ἐν πρυτανείῳ σίτησιν, καὶ τὴν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνατεθησομένην εἰκόνα; ἢ τὸ χαλκοῦς ἐν ἄγορᾳ στῆσαι Παιρισάδην καὶ Σάτυρον καὶ Γόργιππον τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου τυράννους....;

Βιρισάδην MSS: Παιρισάδην Thalheim ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου or ἐχθίστους is suggested by editors for MSS ἐκ τούτων.

Do you think that Demosthenes got nothing for proposing for Diphilos maintenance in the Prytaneion and the statue which was to be set up in the agora . . . or the erection in the agora of bronze statues of Pairisades, Satyros and Gorgippos, the tyrants from the Pontos . . . ?

Cf. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Deinarchos*, 11.

Diphilos was apparently a contemporary and supporter of Demosthenes.

EPIMENIDES

(198). Pausanias, I, 14, 4. 2nd c. A.D.

A seated figure of Epimenides of Knossos was in front of the temple containing the figure of Triptolemus.

Epimenides the prophet lived in the early 6th century. Pausanias tells how he slept for forty years (others say fifty-seven) and afterwards "composed poetry and purified Athens and other cities."

EUAGORAS

See KONON.

EUMARIDAS

(127). *I.G.*, II², 844, lines 39–41.

Late 3rd c. B.C.

A statue of Eumaridas of Kydonia is to be set up in the shrine of Demos and the Charites.

C. FULVIUS PLAUTIANUS

(46). *I.G.*, II², 1081.

A colossal statue, in honor possibly of C. Fulvius Plautianus, praetorian prefect, A.D. 203, is mentioned in association with Zeus Eleutherios.

HADRIAN

(16). Pausanias, I, 3, 2.

2nd c. A.D.

A statue of Hadrian (emperor A.D. 117–138) stood near the Basileios and Zeus Stoa (see p. 30).

This may well be the statue found (headless) in the Great Drain east of the northeast corner of the Metroon (E. B. Harrison, *Athenian Agora*, Vol. I, *Portrait Sculpture*, p. 71, no. 56).

Hadrian was worshipped as Eleutherios at Athens and his priest had a seat in the theatre (*I.G.*, II², 5035). Enormous numbers of dedications to the great imperial benefactor of Athens (commonly designated as “Savior and Founder,” and “Olympian”) have been found in many parts of Athens, particularly at the Olympieion, also in the theatre, on or near the Acropolis, in the Stoa of Hadrian, in or near the agora; see *I.G.*, II², 3286–3386. Many more have come to light in the recent excavations; see *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 249ff., nos. 49–52; XIII, 1944, pp. 263ff., no. 16; XV, 1946, pp. 236ff., nos. 68, 69; XXI, 1952, p. 369, nos. 11, 12, and p. 378, no. 34; XXIII, 1954, pp. 257f., nos. 43–45.

Hadrian was also made an eponymos (245) and presumably his statue was added to the group.

HARMODIOS

See p. 93.

HEDYLOS

701. *I.G.*, II², 1039, lines 36ff.

80/79 B.C.

An ephebic inscription of the 1st century B.C., found at Panagia Pyrgiotissa. The ephebes ask and receive permission to set up a bronze statue of their *kosmetes*, Hedylos son of Straton of Lamptraí, line 39

ἐν ἀγορᾷ πλὴν οὐ [οἱ νόμοι ἀπαγορεύουσιν.]

In the agora (anywhere) except where the laws forbid.

HERODOROS

(279). *I.G.*, II², 646, lines 37–40. 295/4 B.C.

Herodorus is honored with a bronze statue in the agora “anywhere except beside Harmodios and Aristogeiton and the Saviors.”

HYRKANOS

(125). Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, XIV, 8, 5. 1st c. A.D.

Hyrcanus, Jewish high priest in the middle of the 1st century B.C., is honored with a bronze statue in the shrine of Demos and the Charites.

JUBA

(458). Pausanias, I, 17, 2. 2nd c. A.D.

A statue of Juba the Libyan (Juba II of Mauretania, ca. 50 B.C.–ca. A.D. 23, who wrote many learned works) stood in the Gymnasium of Ptolemy.

Bases of statues of his wife (*I.G.*, II², 3437) and his son Ptolemaios (*I.G.*, II², 3445) are extant.

KALADES

(117). Pausanias, I, 8, 4. 2nd c. A.D.

A statue of Kalades (otherwise unknown) stood near the temple of Ares.

KALLIAS

(158). Pausanias, I, 8, 2. 2nd c. A.D.

A statue of Kallias, the reputed peacemaker (449 B.C.) stood after the Eponymoi and between Eirene and Demosthenes; cf. also 160 and 690 n.

KARNEADES

See p. 46. The statue of the Academic philosopher of the 2nd century B.C., which was well known ("est enim nota imago"; Cicero, *De Finibus*, V, 2, 4) seems to have been associated with the Stoa of Attalos.

KONON

- (712). Cornelios Nepos, *Timotheus*, 2, 3.
1st c. B.C.

The statue of Timotheos was set up beside that of his father (Konon).

- (261). Demosthenes, XX (*Leptines*), 70.
354 B.C.

Konon was the first after Harmodios and Aristogeiton who received the honor of a bronze statue from the Athenians.

The stele mentioned in XX, 69 may well have stood beside the statue.

702. Schol. Demosthenes, XXI (*Meidias*), 62.

πρῶτος γάρ Ἰφικράτης τιμῶν ἔτυχεν ὁν Ἀριστογείτων. Κόνωνος μὲν γάρ πρώτου χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάς ἔστη, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μόνῳ ἔτιμήθη. Ἰφικράτης δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δωρεὰς τὰς ἐκείνοις ψηφισθείσας ἔλαβεν.

Iphikrates was the first to receive the honors which Harmodios and Aristogeiton received. Konon was the first of whom a bronze statue was set up, but this was the only honor which was given him. Iphikrates received all the other gifts too which were voted to Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

- (29). Isokrates, IX (*Euagoras*), 57.
Ca. 370 B.C.

The Athenians set up statues of Konon and Euagoras near Zeus Soter.

- (16). Pausanias, I, 3, 2.
2nd c. A.D.

Konon, Timotheos his son, and Euagoras king of Cyprus stand "near the stoa" (Basileios).

Pausanias also mentions statues of Konon and Timotheos on the Acropolis (I, 24, 3).

LIVIA

See note on 427.

LOLLIANOS

703. Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, I, 23, 2.
2nd-3rd c. A.D.

εἰκόνες δ' αὐτοῦ Ἀθήνησι μία μὲν ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς, ἔτερα δ' ἐν τῷ ἀλσει τῷ σμικρῷ, διατάξει τῷ αὐτὸς λέγεται ἐκφυτεύσαται.

There are likenesses of him at Athens, one on the agora, one in the small grove which he is said to have planted himself.

Lollianos was a sophist from Ephesos, of the time of Hadrian. A marble base (*I.G.*, II², 4211), presumably from one of these statues, found west of the Propylaia, records that the Boule and the Demos honored P. Hordeonios Lollianos the Sophistes. An epigram which follows implies that his friends (πληθὺς εὐγενέων ἔτάρων—the reference is possibly to the ephebes) were responsible for the dedication and says that their names were recorded on a discus (presumably a bronze discus attached to the base).

LYKOURGOS

- (158). Pausanias, I, 8, 2.
2nd c. A.D.

A statue of Lykourgos stood with Amphiaraos, Eirene, etc., "after the Eponymoi."

704. [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 843c.
1st-2nd c. A.D.

ἐστεφανώθη δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πολλάκις καὶ εἰκόνων ἔτυχεν· ἀνάκειται δ' αὐτοῦ χαλκῆ εἰκὼν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ κατὰ ψήφισμα ἐπ' Ἀναξικράτους ἄρχοντος.

He was crowned by the people many times, and received statues. A bronze statue of him stands in Kerameikos, set up in accordance with a decree passed in the archonship of Anaxikrates.

I. e. in 307/6 B.C.

In 843c we are told that there were also statues of Lykourgos and his sons in the Erechtheion.

In 852e the text of the decree is given, saying that the Demos shall set up a bronze statue in the agora anywhere except where the law forbids

στῆσαι αὐτοῦ τὸν δῆμον χαλκῆν εἰκόνα ἐν ἀγορᾷ, πλὴν εἴ που ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει μή ἴσταναι.

A fragment of a decree in honor of Lykourgos is extant (*I.G.*, II², 457, found *a* at Panagia Pyrgiotissa, *b* at the Theatre of Dionysos) but does not preserve any reference to the statue.

705. *I.G.*, II², 3776. End of 4th c. B.C.

[Λυκοῦργος Λυκόφρονος Βο[υτάδης]

A fragment of a marble base, found near the Market Gate (see p. 190), and probably belonging to the statue mentioned above.

Another base is extant (*I.G.*, II², 4259), of early imperial date, found at Panagia Pyrgiotissa, inscribed

Λυκοῦργος
δέ ρήτωρ.

LYSIMACHOS

(521). Pausanias, I, 9, 4. 2nd c. A.D.

Among the statues in front of the Odeion was one of Lysimachos (360–281 B.C.)

Athens made an alliance with Lysimachos early in the third century B.C.

MILTIADES

706. Demosthenes, XXIII (*Aristokrates*), 196. 352 B.C.

πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν ἔκεινοι Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν νικήσαντα, καὶ Μιλτιάδην τὸν ἡγούμενον Μαραθῶνι καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, οὐκ ἵστατοις νῦν στρατηγοῖς ἀγαθ' εἰργασμένους, οὐ χαλκοῦς ἴστασαν οὐδὲ ὑπερηγάπων.

In the first place, the Athenians of those days, although Themistokles, victor at the sea battle at Salamis, and Miltiades, leader at Marathon, and many others achieved far nobler deeds for the city than the generals of today, did not set up bronze statues of them nor make a great fuss of them.

(553). Pausanias, I, 18, 3.

2nd c. A.D.

The statue of Miltiades in the Prytaneion has had its inscription changed to the name of a Roman.

MILTIADES, SON OF ZOILOS

See note on 3 and p. 47. The base of his statue has been found, *I.G.*, II², 3867.

[‘Ο δῆμος δέ Α[θηναίων]

Μιλτιάδην]

Ζωΐλο[ου]

Μαραθ[ώνιον]

[Εὖ]χειρ καὶ Εύβουλίδη[ς ἐποίησαν]

OLYMPIODOROS

(554). Pausanias, I, 26, 3.

2nd c. A.D.

Olympiodoros, hero of the early 3rd century B.C., was honored (possibly with a statue) in the Prytaneion.

PAIRISADES

(700). Deinarchos, I (*Against Demosthenes*), 43. 323 B.C.

Demosthenes proposed that bronze statues of Pairisades, Satyros and Gorgippos should be set up in the agora.

The MSS of Deinarchos have “Birisades,” but the man referred to is probably Pairisades, king of the Bosporos, mentioned by Demosthenes in XXXIV (*Against Phormio*), 8; Satyros was his son. Cf. SPARTAKOS, 711.

PEGASOS OF ELEUTHERAI

(2). Pausanias, I, 2, 5.

2nd c. A.D.

Cf. I, 38, 8; Schol. Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 243.

PHAIDROS

707. *I.G.*, II², 682, lines 80–81, 86–87, 89.

Mid 3rd c. B.C.

Towards the middle of the 3rd century B.C., Phaidros of Sphettos is honored for his long services as *strategos* and in the performance of

leitourgiai. Amongst other honors (*sitesis* in the Prytaneion etc.) the Demos is to set up a bronze statue of him in the agora, lines 80–81

στῆσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν δῆμον καὶ
εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν ἀγορᾷ.

Three men are to be elected to take care of the making and setting up of the statue, lines 86–87

ἐπιμελήσονται τῆς τε ποίησεως τῆς εἰκόνος
καὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως.

The decree is to be recorded on a stone stele which is to be set up beside the statue, line 89

παρὰ τὴν εἰκόνα.

See p. 83 for a Herm of the philosopher Phaidros dedicated to Demeter and Kore, probably in the Eleusinion, in the 1st century B.C.

PHILIP

See ALEXANDER.

PHILONIDES

See note on 127. Statues of Philonides of Laodikeia and his sons were set up in the shrine of Demos and the Charites (2nd century B.C.)

PINDAR

708. [Aischines], *Epist.* IV, 2–3. 1st c. A.D.

ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις Μελανώπου ἑκάστοτε ἀκούεις λέγοντος “ὦ ταὶ λιπαραὶ καὶ ἀοιδιμοὶ ‘Ελλάδος ἔρεισμ’ Αθᾶναι” καὶ ὅτι Πινδάρου τοῦ Θηβαίου τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἔστι καὶ ὅτι ἐζημίωσαν αὐτὸν Θηβαῖοι τοῦτο ποιήσαντα, οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι διπλῆν αὐτῷ τὴν ζημίαν ἀπέδοσαν μετὰ τοῦ καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῇ τιμῆσαι. καὶ ἦν αὕτη καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι πρὸ τῆς βασιλείου στοᾶς, καθήμενος ἐν ἐνδύματι καὶ λύρᾳ ὁ Πίνδαρος διάδημα ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων ἀνειλιγμένον βιβλίον.

In the assembly you always hear Melanopos say, “Rich and famous in song, bulwark of Greece, Athens”; and he adds that the verse is the Theban Pindar's, and that the Thebans fined him for composing

it, but our ancestors gave him back the fine twice over, at the same time honoring him with a bronze statue. And this statue stood even up to our time before the Stoa Basileios; Pindar is seated with robe and lyre, and has a diadem and on his knees an unrolled book.

“Stood,” i.e. “when I was last in Athens”; Aischines is supposed to be writing after his withdrawal in 330 B.C.

With the present identification of the temple of Ares (p. 55) there is no need to assume that either Pausanias (see 117) or [Aischines] is wrong, or that Pindar was moved some distance; the statue may have been both near the temple of Ares and before the Basileios, provided that one can assume that the stoa of Zeus is also the Basileios (see p. 30).

Isokrates, XV (*Antidosis*, 354/3 B.C.), 166, merely says that Pindar was made *proxenos* and given 10,000 drachmas; which suggests that the statue was not actually put up till later.

(117). Pausanias, I, 8, 4. 2nd c. A.D.

A statue of Pindar stood near the temple of Ares.

PTOLEMIES

(458). Pausanias, I, 17, 2. 2nd c. A.D.

A bronze statue of Ptolemy (usually thought to be Ptolemy II Philadelphos, who reigned 285–246 B.C., but this is uncertain) stood in the gymnasium named after him.

(521). Pausanias, I, 8, 6. 2nd c. A.D.

Statues of a number of Ptolemies stood before the entrance to the Odeion. They included Ptolemy I Soter, son of Lagos (king 304–283/2 B.C.); Ptolemy II Philadelphos (285–246 B.C.); and Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–145 B.C.)

PYRRHOS

(521). Pausanias, I, 11, 1. 2nd c. A.D.

A statue of Pyrrhos of Epiros (319–272 B.C.) was amongst those in front of the Odeion.

SELEUKOS

(80). Pausanias, I, 16, 1. 2nd c. A.D.

A statue of Seleukos I (ca. 358–280 B.C.) stood in front of the Poikile.

Seleukos was long friendly to the Athenians and amongst other favors sent them a tiger which made a great impression at Athens (Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 372, Alexis 204; p. 490, Philemon 47; cf. p. 88, Antiphanes 187).

SOCRATES

See p. 85; a statue of Socrates by Lysippos stood in the Pompeion (Diogenes Laertius, II, v. 49).

SOLON

709. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, VIII, 16. 2nd–3rd c. A.D.

ἀνέστησαν αὐτῷ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ.

They set up a bronze statue to him in the agora.

710. [Demosthenes], XXVI (*Aristogeiton*, II), 23. Ca. 325 B.C. (?)

πάνδεινόν ἔστι τὸν μὲν γράψαντα τοὺς νόμους Σόλωνα χαλκοῦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ στήσαι, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν νόμων διλιγωροῦντας φαίνεσθαι.

It is monstrous ... that you should set up Solon the author of the laws in bronze in the agora, and yet show open contempt for the laws themselves.

(80). Pausanias, I, 16, 1. 2nd c. A.D.

A bronze statue of Solon stood in front of the Stoa Poikile. See p. 207.

SPARTAKOS

711. I.G., II², 658, lines 40–42. 285/4 B.C.

[στῆσαι] δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν τῇ[!] [ἀγορᾷ παρὰ] τοὺς προγόνους καὶ ἐτέραν ἐ[ν ἀκρ] [οπόλει]

A bronze statue of him shall be set up in the agora beside his forefathers, and another on the Acropolis.

From a stele found on the Acropolis, with a decree honoring Spartakos, king of the Bosporos (304–284 B.C.), for the provision of corn and other services to Athens. It is recalled that the Athenian people had already honored his ancestor (cf. PAIRISADES above) with gifts including bronze statues in the agora and in the *emporion* (at Peiraeus). For the date see *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314.

THEMISTOKLES

(706). Demosthenes, XXIII (*Aristokrates*), 196. 352 B.C.

His contemporaries did not set up a bronze statue of Themistokles.

(553). Pausanias, I, 18, 4. 2nd c. A.D.

The statue of Themistokles in the Prytaneion had its inscription changed to the name of a Thracian.

TIMOTHEOS

(693). Aischines, III (*Ktesiphon*), 243. 380 B.C.

Timotheos was honored with a statue etc. because of his successful cruise to Kerkyra (375 B.C.).

712. Cornelius Nepos, *Timotheus*, 2, 3. 1st c. B.C.

Cuius laudis ut memoria maneret, Timotheo publice statuam in foro posuerunt. qui honos huic uni ante id tempus contigit, ut, cum patri populus statuam posuisset, filio quoque daret. sic iuxta posita recens filii veterem patris renovavit memoriam.

To preserve the memory of this glorious deed, the Athenians at public cost set up a statue to Timotheus in the agora. This

honor had fallen to him alone up to that time—that when the people had erected a statue to the father, they should grant one to the son too. Thus the new statue of the son, placed near by, revived old memories of his father.

“This glorious deed”—Timotheos’ exploits of 375/4 B.C.

(16). Pausanias, I, 3, 2.

2nd c. A.D.

ULPIUS EUBIOTUS

See p. 174; bronze statues of Ulpius Eubiotus and his children are to stand in the Synedrion of the Sacred Gerousia and the Prytaneion (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, p. 142, no. 32; ca. A.D. 220).

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

BOUNDARIES

713. Agora I 5510.

Late 6th c. B.C.

ἥρος εἰμὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς

Inscribed along the top and down the right edge of the northeast face of a marble post, found *in situ* east of the Tholos and south of the fork in the Great Drain (I 12); *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 205; Suppl. IV, p. 107.

Part of a similar stone, Agora I 5675, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 266, with the inscription

[ἥρος εἰ]μὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς

was found in a Turkish tomb in the Hephaisteion (E 7); and a fragment of a third, Agora I 3226, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 107, note 91, with

[ἀγ]ιορᾶ[ς]
[ἥρ]ος

in archaic letters, was found in the wall of a modern house in the north central part of the excavations (N 8); a base which stands in the roadway west of the Southwest Fountain House (G 15) probably supported a perirranterion (714) rather than a boundary stone.

These stones presumably marked the formal limits of the agora in late archaic times. Agora I 5510 was covered later, and where the limits lay in the 5th century and later is not known. Such limits no doubt had a formal and religious significance; for some practical purposes, especially as regards the market, the extent of the agora was not so clearly defined.

714. Aischines, III (*Ktesiphon*), 176. 330 B.C.

ὅ μὲν τοίνυν νομοθέτης τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν δειλὸν καὶ τὸν λιπόντα τὴν τάξιν ἔξω τῶν περιραντηρίων τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔξειργει, καὶ οὐκ ἔξι στεφανοῦσθαι, οὐδ' εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ δημοτελῆ.

So the lawmaker keeps outside the propitiatory basins of the agora the man who

avoids military service or plays the coward or deserts, and does not allow him to be crowned, nor to enter shrines which are publicly maintained.

For exclusion of certain types from the agora, without mention of the *perirranteria*, see Demosthenes, XX (*Leptines*), 158, where a “law of Drakon” is cited, χέρνιθος εἴργεσθαι τὸν ἀνδρόφονον, σπονδῶν κρατήρων ἴερῶν ἀγορᾶς; cf. also XXIV (*Timokrates*), 60.

Perirranteria (the spelling of the word varies in different sources) were basins containing purificatory water for people entering sacred places (cf. Lucian, *De Sacrificiis*, 13; Pollux, I, 8; they are called ἀπορραντήρια in Euripides, *Ion*, 435, where Ion says he will fill them). In the agora they apparently set formal limits for religious purposes in a manner similar to the *horoi*. The Schol. on Aischines, III, 176, says, “In front of the entrance to the agora were *perirranteria* on either side; this means basins (*λουτῆρες*) holding water.”

A law of doubtful authenticity appearing in Aischines, I (*Timarchos*), 21, says “if any Athenian prostitutes himself (ἐταιρήσῃ).... let him not go within the *perirranteria* of the agora (ἐντὸς τῶν τῆς ἀγορᾶς περιρραντηρίων)”; cf. Aristeides, XL, 21 (507), who merely says *perirranteria* without mentioning the agora.

In *I.G.*, II², 1641 (97) we find in line 38 περιραντήριον μέγα ἔχ[ον --]. A base for a *perirranterion* has been found closely associated with the shrine of the Twelve Gods, and fragments of two *perirranteria* have been found in the agora (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 46–47 and note 32); a base which probably supported another stands in the middle of the ancient roadway to the west of the southwest corner of the Southwest Fountain House (G 15).

For *horoi* of Kerameikos see p. 223.

TREES

PLANES

715. Hephaistion, XIII, 3. 2nd c. A.D.

ἐν ἀγορᾷ δ' αὖ πλάτανον εὗ¹ διαφυτεύσομεν.

¹ Kock suggests Εὔει, φυτεύσομεν.

We will plant out plane trees well all over the agora.

The line is from Aristophanes' *Georgi*, (Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 420, no. 111), dated shortly after Pylos (425 B.C.). Kock's objections to διαφυτεύσομεν are hardly sufficient. The word means "transplant" in Theophrastos, *Hist. Plant.*, IV, 4, 3, and can bear the sense given above.

716. Hesychios. 5th c. A.D. (?)

πλάτανος· δένδρον, πρὸς δοῖ γυναικούμοι τὰς ζημίας ἐν λευκώματι ἔξετίθεσαν.

Plane: a tree by which the Gynaikonomoi set out the penalties on a whitened board.

See Pollux below.

717. Plutarch, *Kimon*, 13, 8. 1st–2nd c. A.D.

πρῶτος δὲ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἐλευθερίοις καὶ γλαφυράς διατριβαῖς, αἱ μικρὸν ὑστερὸν ὑπερφυῶς ἡγαπήθησαν, ἐκαλλώπισε τὸ ἄστυ, τὴν μὲν ἀγορὰν πλατάνοις καταφυτεύσας, τὴν δὲ Ἀκαδήμειαν ἐξ ἀνύδρου καὶ αὐχμηρᾶς κατάρρυτον ἀποδείξας ἄλσος ἡσκημένον ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ δρόμοις καθαροῖς καὶ συσκίοις περιπάτοις.

He was the first who beautified the city with the so-called "liberal" and elegant resorts in which a little later excessive delight was taken; the agora he planted with planes, the Academy, formerly waterless and parched, he made a well-watered grove, equipped with clear running tracks and shady walks.

(697). Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 31, 1.

1st–2nd c. A.D.

Beside the statue of Demosthenes grows a small plane.

718. Plutarch, *Praecepta gerenda reipublicae*, 24 (818d). 1st–2nd c. A.D.

καὶ Κίμων ἐκόσμησε τὴν ἀγορὰν πλατάνων φυτείσις καὶ περιπάτοις.

And Kimon adorned the agora by planting planes and making walks.

A statesman should humor the people by such harmless indulgences, says Plutarch.

719. Pollux, VIII, 112. 2nd c. A.D.

γυναικούμοι δὲ ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῶν γυναικῶν. τὰς δὲ ἀκοσμούσας ἔζημίσουν, καὶ τὰς ζημίας αὐτῶν γράφοντες ἔξετίθεσαν ἐπὶ τῆς πλατάνου τῆς ἐν Κεραμεικῷ.

The Gynaikonomoi were magistrates concerned with the orderly behavior of women. The disorderly they fined, and the fines inflicted on them they wrote out and displayed on the plane tree in Kerameikos.

POPLARS

720. Andokides, I (*De Mysteriis*), 133.

399 B.C.

Ἀγύρριος γάρ ούτοσί, ὁ καλὸς κάγαθός, ἀρχῶνης ἐγένετο τῆς πεντηκοστῆς τρίτον ἔτος, καὶ ἐπρίατο τριάκοντα ταλάντων, μετέσχον δὲ αὐτῷ οὗτοι πάντες οἱ παρασυλλεγέντες ὑπὸ τὴν λεύκην.

For Agyrrhios here, fine gentleman that he is, was two years ago the chief contractor for the 2 per cent customs duty; he paid a price of thirty talents, and all these people who gathered with him beneath the white poplar had a share in the business.

The position of the poplar beneath which the swindlers assembled is not known; Judeich (p. 357) suggests that it was near the Poleterion (see p. 165 above).

721. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 354, 25.

Αἰγείρου θέα καὶ ἡ παρ' αἴγειρον θέα: Ἀθήνησιν αἴγειρος ἦν, ἡς πλησίον τὰ ἱκρια ἐπήγνυντο εἰς τὴν θέαν πρὸ τοῦ θέατρον γενέσθαι. οὕτω Κρατῖνος.

View from the (black) poplar and view beside the poplar: there was a poplar at Athens, near which the stands were fixed for the show before the theatre was built. So says Kratinos.

Bekker, I, 419, 15 gives a note as Suidas, ἀπ' αἴγειρου θέα, below, but with παρ' αἴγειρον for ἐπ' αἴγειρον.

See Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 112, no. 339.

722. Eustathius on *Odyssey*, V, 64.

12th c. A.D.

ἢν γοῦν φασιν αἴγειρος Ἀθήνησιν ἐπάνω τοῦ θέατρου ἀπ' ἡς ἔθεώρουν οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες τόπον. δθεν καὶ ἡ ἀπ' αἴγειρου θέα ἐλέγετο. καὶ παρ' αἴγειρον θέα, ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων. καὶ ἦν φασιν εύωνοτέρα ἡ παρ' αἴγειρον θέα.

There was, they say, a poplar at Athens above the theatre, from which those who did not have a place watched the show. Whence came the expression, “the view from the poplar”; and “view beside the poplar”—the view from the greatest distance. One paid less, they say, for the “view beside the poplar.”

723. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

αἴγειρου θέα· αἴγειρος ἦν Ἀθήνησι πλησίον τοῦ Ἱεροῦ, ἔνθα πρὶν γενέσθαι θέατρον τὰ ἱκρια ἐπήγνυον.

View from the poplar. There was a poplar at Athens near the shrine, where before the theatre was built they fixed the stands.

724. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

ἀπ' αἴγειρων· Ἀνδροκλέα τὸν ἀπ' αἴγειρων ἀντὶ τοῦ συκοφάντην, ἐπειδὴ [δὲ] ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ αἴγειρου τὰ πινάκια ἔξηπτον, τουτέστιν ἔξηρτων, οἱ ἐσχάτοι.

MSS ἀπαγείρων, συκοφαντεῖν. For the text see Schmidt.

From the poplars. “Androkles from the poplars,” for “sycophant”; since those at the greatest distance fixed, that is hung, their tablets from the poplar in the agora.

The text of this note is highly corrupt (one may note that in general the MSS of the lexicographers tend to misspell these phrases and to conflate the preposition with the noun) and the meaning obscure. See Kock, *C.A.F.*, III, p. 408, where the fragment is given as anonymous, though others, without much reason, have given it to Kratinos.

Androkles was a demagogue (Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 19, 1), satirized by the poets of the Old Comedy (Schol. Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1187; see Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 10, *Ekphantides* 4). The poplars with which he was connected seem somehow to be associated with the poplar near the *ikria* in the agora.

725. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

θέα παρ' αἴγειρῷ· τόπος αἴγειρον ἔχων, δθεν ἔθεώρουν. εὔτελής δὲ ἐδόκει ἡ ἐντεῦθεν θεωρία· μακρόθεν γάρ ἦν καὶ εύώνου ὁ τόπος ἐπωλεῖτο.

View beside the poplar. A place with a poplar tree, from which people saw the shows. It was thought to be cheap to see the show from that place; for it was at a distance and the place was sold cheaply.

726. Hesychios.

5th c. A.D. (?)

παρ' αἴγειρου θέα· Ἐρατοσθένης φησί, δτι πλησίον αἴγειρου τινὸς θέα (αἴγειρος δὲ ἐστι φυτοῦ εἶδος) ἔγγὺς τῶν ἱκρίων. ἔως οὖν τούτου τοῦ φυτοῦ ἐξετείνετο καὶ κατεσκευάζετο τὰ ἱκρια, ἢ ἐστιν ὅρθα ἔντλα, ἔχοντα σανδαλιάς προσδεδεμένας, οἷον βαθμούς, ἐφ' αἷς ἐκαθέλοντο, πρὸ τοῦ κατεσκευασθῆναι τὸ θέατρον.

View from the poplar. Eratosthenes says that near a certain poplar tree was a place for seeing shows (poplar is a kind of tree) near to the stands. The stands were constructed extending as far as this tree; they were upright timbers, with planks attached to them, like steps; on these planks the audience sat, before the theatre was built.

727. Photios.

9th c. A.D.

θέαν παρ' αἰγειρον: τὴν πόρρωθεν λέγουσιν· αἰγειρος γάρ ἦν τῶν ίκριων πλησίον.

View beside the poplar. By this is meant the view from a distance; there was a poplar near the stands.

728. Suidas.

10th c. A.D.

ἀπ' αἰγείρου θέα καὶ ἐπ' αἰγείρον: ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων. αἰγειρος γάρ ἐπάνω ἦν τοῦ θεάτρου, ἀφ' οἷς οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες τόπον ἔθεώρουν.

View from the poplar, and towards the poplar—the view from the most distant places. There was a poplar above the theatre, from which those who did not have a place watched the show.

It seems probable that ἀπ' αἰγείρου etc. refers to the primitive theatre in the agora, see

ORCHESTRA, p. 162 above, and cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre of Dionysus*, Oxford, 1946, p. 12.

Other vegetation in the agora includes plants dedicated to the Phosphoroi (124); a grove, with laurels and olives, around the Altar of Eleos (186); the osiers amongst which there was a fountain (Lykourgos, *Leokrates*, 112; see p. 142). Agora I 2408 (*I.G.*, I², 864, rediscovered in a modern context over the east end of the Middle Stoa, O 13; *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 77, no. 24; dated *ca.* 400 B.C.) reads *ἥρος ἡλίκης*; and Meritt thinks that *ἡλίκη* may mean a sacred willow (cf. Theophrastos, *Hist. Plant.*, III, 18, 7).

There is no literary evidence about the “Garden of Hephaistos”—see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 396 ff. For further evidence of planting see *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 50; and XXII, 1953, pp. 40, 42, 46; however, the cuttings bordering the Panathenaic Way in the north-eastern part of the square may have been for *ikria* or wooden stands (see p. 163) rather than for plants.

KERAMEIKOS

(This note does not deal fully with all meanings of the name, but merely recapitulates its uses in reference to the agora, referring briefly and incidentally to other uses).

The district called Kerameikos, because it was originally the Potters’ Quarter and to a limited extent remained so, stretched from the agora far to the northwest, where it included the great cemetery and reached the Academy, with which some commentators wrongly identified it (Hesychios, ’Ακαδημία; Stephanos of Byzantium, ’Εκαδημεία). The Themistoclean wall cut across it. Some ancient commentators say that there was a deme called Kerameikos; but the name of the deme was more properly Kerameis (cf. *I.G.*, II², 2362, 58; Harporaktoron, Κεραμεῖς). Although it was in Kerameikos, the agora within its formal boundaries may possibly have been demarcated as neutral ground, not belonging to Kerameis or to any particular deme.

In late authors the name Kerameikos is frequently used with special reference to the agora district. Pausanias is most precise. I, 2, 4 (2)—“There are stoas from the gate” (i.e. the Dipylon) “to the Kerameikos.” In I, 3, 1 (16)—after mentioning “the district Kerameikos”—he says “First on the right is the stoa called Basileios,” implying that the Kerameikos only begins at this point. I, 14, 6 (17)—the temple of Hephaistos (see p. 98) is “above the Kerameikos and the Basileios.” So presumably in I, 20, 6 too, where he says that Sulla shut up his opponents in the Kerameikos and had every tenth man executed, he is using the word in the same limited sense. In VIII, 9, 8 (see note on 30) he refers back to “the painting in the Kerameikos” of the battle of Mantinea, which he has already described as being in the Stoa of Zeus. It is not clear whether Pausanias includes the *whole* even of the agora in what he calls Kerameikos. He does not use the word at all of the cemetery.

Other late writers are less precise. None clearly applies these strict limitations. In any case Kerameikos is not simply synonymous with agora in Roman times, as is sometimes suggested. The use of the name with reference to the cemetery is not forgotten, though it occurs mainly in commentators on earlier usage and in documents, but it is applied also, as we shall see, to areas within the city or by the gates which cannot be said to be in the agora. On the other hand “Kerameikos” is not used to signify “agora” in the sense of “market.”

However, a number of monuments which can be safely placed in the agora are certainly also said to have been in Kerameikos; Harmodios and Aristogeiton (note that Arrian gives further details to define their position, III, 16, 8; 260 above); Lykourgos (cf. Pausanias, I, 8, 2 with [Plutarch] *Vit. X Orat.*, 843c, 852e; 704 above); Demosthenes (699n). The theatre in the Kerameikos called Agrippaeion (Philostratos, *Vitae*

Sophistarum, II, 5, 4; 522) was probably the Odeion which was in the middle of the agora. The Leokorion, which, we infer from Demosthenes, LIV (*Konon*), 7, 8 (323) was in the agora, was also “in the middle of the Kerameikos” according to the schol. and the lexicographers; note that Harpokration quotes as authority for this statement Phanodemos, Atthidographer of the late 4th century B.C. (326).

Rather more vaguely, Lucian associates the Stoa Poikile with the Kerameikos (*Iuppiter Tragoedus*, 15; 76; for this stroll in the Kerameikos cf. Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 8, 2; Lucian, *Piscator*, 13; 78; here the philosophers wait for Philosophy in the Kerameikos on her way from the Academy to the Poikile). Athenaeus (V, 212e; 99) in reference to the Stoa of Attalos and the Bema, almost equates Kerameikos and agora. On the other hand the Makra Stoa, which according to I.G., II², 968, line 14 (3; mid 2nd century B.C.) was in the Kerameikos, does not correspond to any of the stoas in the agora itself and may have been on the street leading to the Dipylon. Similarly Plutarch (*Sulla*, 14), when he says that the slaughter around the agora filled all the Kerameikos within the Dipylon, presumably includes the region between the agora and the gate, which Pausanias specifically excludes. In Alkiphrion, II, 3, 11 (IV, 18, 11) (529; “the Kerameikos, the agora, the law courts, the Acropolis”) Kerameikos actually seems to be differentiated from agora and may well mean the cemetery.

A few more passages of peculiar interest may be noted. They are apt to be ambiguous, but in most Kerameikos may naturally be taken to mean agora, more or less. Athenaeus, XII, 533d—Themistokles drove a chariot drawn by hetairai διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ πληθυόντος (in XIII, 576c, he drove εἰς τὸ ἄστυ πληθυόντης ὀγορᾶς). A statue of Chrysippus stood in the Kerameikos (see note on 458), and so did the statues from which Diogenes went begging (691). According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI, 5, 20) there were works of Praxiteles “Athenis in Ceramico.” Herodes Atticus, “when the Dionysia came round and the statue of Dionysos went down to the Academy, gave citizens and foreigners drinks in Kerameikos” (Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 1, 5). Lucian, *Navigium*, 24 makes Adeimantos imagine a canal coming up to the Dipylon, so that “my ship can moor close at hand and be visible from Kerameikos” (he proposes to live “above the Poikile”; 77). There was a shrine of Artemis Orthosia in the Kerameikos (Apollodoros in Schol. Pindar, *Olym.* III, 54; Wachsmuth, II, p. 259, equates this Artemis with Kalliste, outside the city). Hermes Tetrakephalos stood in the Kerameikos (314ff.) at the three ways according to Hesychios.

The association of the Kerameikos with processions is interesting but confusing. The Panathenaic ship according to Himerios set out *from the gate*, i.e. the Dipylon (*Orat.*, III, 12; 1). According to Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 1, 7 (199) it set out *from the Kerameikos* and proceeded to the Eleusinion and the Pythion. Schol. *Knights*, 566 also says “from the Kerameikos to the Eleusinion” (193). Suidas on *peplos* (201) says it *went through* the Kerameikos as far as the Eleusinion. There seems to be a certain looseness in the use of the name. In Philostratos it might mean a starting point even outside the gates, as in Thucydides, VI, 57 (338; see also p. 223 below). Plutarch, *Demetrios*, 12, says that on one occasion the *peplos* was split as it was being escorted through the Kerameikos. Incidentally, in I.G., II², 334, a decree of ca. 335/4 B.C. concerning the Panathenaic festival, we read according to the accepted restoration in lines 24–25

[νεμ]όντων τὰ κρέα τῶι δήμῳ τῶι Ἀθηναίων ἐν
[Κεραμεικῷ]ι καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρεανομίαις,

“let them distribute the meat to the Athenian people in Kerameikos as in the other distributions of meat.”

Meanwhile Kerameikos had also become a byword for prostitution. In Alkiphrion we find τὸ ἐκ Κεραμεικοῦ πορνίδιον (III, 48 [12], 3) and Ἀκαλανθίδος τῆς ἐκ Κεραμεικοῦ (III, 64 [28], 3). The Schol. on *Parmenides*, 127c, says of Kerameikos, “a place at Athens where οἱ πόρνοι stood.” Hesychios on *Kerameikos* says the same. Schol. *Knights*, 772, Suidas *Kerameikoi*², Photios *Keramikai*, and Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 275, 19, have similar notes, but with πόρναι. Although they speak of “two Kerameikoi,” one outside the city (or the wall), one inside, these commentators do not specify which is in question. Wachsmuth (II, p. 260) thinks it is the outer, because in Plato himself the reference is to this; but Parmenides’ and Zeno’s staying “with Pythodoros outside the wall in Kerameikos” is an entirely different matter from *porneia*. More pertinently Wachsmuth notes that the notorious locality called Skiron was outside the walls on the Eleusis road, among the tombs (Pausanias, I, 36, 4; see Frazer’s note). Skiron was particularly associated with gambling (see the lexicographers on *skiraphia* etc.; and Pollux, IX, 96); but also with other disreputable practices. Alkiphrion, III, 8 (5), 1, says “We will fetch Klymene the hetaira from Skiron,” and Stephanos of Byzantium on *Skiron* says, “in this place the *pornai* sat.” But still one should probably not restrict the connection of Kerameikos and *porneia* to Skiron. In Alkiphrion, III, 25 (II, 22), 2, a wife reproaches her husband—“I hear that you spend most of your time at Skiron and Kerameikos”; the second name may expand the first, but it also may be differentiated from it, the two meaning “in gambling and *porneia*.” Hetairai certainly frequented the agora. We hear of them near the Leokorion, in Alkiphrion, *Epist.*, III, 5 (2), 1 (318 above) and Theophylaktos,

Epist., XII (334). [Demosthenes], LIX (*Neaira*), 67, quotes a law concerning them, which mentions δπόσαι ἀν ἐπ' ἔργαστηρίου καθῶνται ἢ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πωλῶνται ἀποτεφασμένως (cf. Harpokration, ἀποτεφασμένον, πωλῶσι). ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ is bracketed by some editors; it does not occur in similar citations in Lysias, X (*Theomnestos*), 19, and Plutarch, *Solon*, 23, but it is supported by Harpokration and may well be genuine. In any case one should probably give Kerameikos a fairly wide extension in this connection, including sections of the agora, and certainly including the well-frequented gates by which one passed from the inner to the outer regions (cf. Lucian, *Dialogi Meretricii*, 4, 2; 10, 4; Hesychios, Δημάσι πύλαις; possibly also Isaios, VI, *Philoktemon*, 20; 660). Note finally an anonymous comic fragment (Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, I, p. 322, no. 71,1)

ἐν ταῖς [τριό]δοις σοι [προ]σγελῶ[σ'] αὐλητρίδες.

No doubt amongst these crossroads was the one where Hermes Tetrakephalos kept a watchful eye on everything. Alexis 203 (Kock, C.A.F., II, p. 372) possibly takes this significance of Kerameikos back to the 4th century; a character in his *Pyraunos* says he wanted to try the life called υγρός (soft, voluptuous); and “walking around for three days in Kerameikos I found thirty teachers of this life from one workshop (*er-gasterion*).”

One must at least glance back at earlier usage, in which the agora is hardly in the picture. Thucydides, VI, 57, 1-3, is most significant (338); Hippias was “outside in what is called the Kerameikos”; Harmodios and Aristogeiton rushed within the gates and found Hipparchos by the Leokorion. The agora is not included in the Kerameikos. But one should remember that in archaic Athens the gate may have been a good way further in than was the Dipylon, and much may have been outside which was later inside. Though one should not take it for granted that for Thucydides Kerameikos is wholly synonymous with “the most beautiful suburb” in which those who fell in war were buried (II, 34, 5), the name was of course used with special reference to the famous cemetery, and this use continued throughout antiquity. “The Kerameikos will receive us,” says Aristophanes (*Birds*, 395), who also speaks of the torch-races in Kerameikos (*Frogs*, 129 ff.). Xenophon (*Hellenica*, II, 4, 33) speaks of the Lacedaemonians who were buried “before the gates in Kerameikos.”

Plato, *Parmenides*, 127c has already been quoted (p. 222). Isaios too speaks of a house “in Kerameikos” simply (V, *Dikaiogenes*, 26), besides “the *synoikia* in Kerameikos by the postern-gate” (VI, *Philoktemon*, 20; 660).

The various “boundary stones of the Kerameikos” which have been found are mainly of the 4th century. Even if one cannot say precisely what they define (the adjacent district seems to be marked off from the roadway) their position is significant for our present subject. One stands against the outer face of the city wall immediately southwest of the Dipylon. There is part of another stone in a similar position northeast of the gate; but the inscription has not survived and one cannot be sure what it was. Two others stand in line with the first, set against walls on the south side of the road which leads northwest from the Dipylon (*Arch. Anz.*, XXX, 1915, pp. 112 ff.; *I.G.*, II², 2617-2619; Judeich, p. 167, pl. 23 and fig. 54). In the more recent excavations another stone of the 4th century B.C., Agora I 5770, inscribed

ἵρος Κεραμεικός

was found *in situ* outside the northwest corner of the market square (F 2), facing north on to the street which led *inwards* from the Dipylon to the agora (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 267, 299). Whatever this Kerameikos was, it seems to have been a continuous whole extending inside as well as outside the wall which happened to bisect it. The 5th century *horos* of the *trittys* of the Kerameis (?) (*I.G.*, I², 883; the restoration [*Κερ]*αμέον [τρ]*ιττύς* involves difficulties—see *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 53) was found west of the Areopagus, but this is a different matter and in any case the stone was not *in situ* like the others. That “Kerameikos” could be deemed to embrace the agora even in the 4th century B.C. is shown by Phanodemos’ statement that the Leokorion was ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ (326).

Of course the wall made a clear-cut division. Harpokration has a note “Kerameikos; Antiphon in his speech against Nikokles about the boundaries. That there were two Kerameikoi, as the orator too says, one inside the city, one outside, where they used to bury publicly those who had died in war and to pronounce the funeral speeches, is shown by Kallikrates or Menekles in their work on Athens.” Just what Antiphon said or implied we cannot know. From the guide book of Menekles and/or Kallikrates, probably of the 2nd or 1st century B.C., an actual quotation on the subject is preserved in Schol. *Birds*, 395; this merely says, with reference to the war-cemetery,

καλεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἀπας Κεραμεικός. ἔστι γάρ ὁ αὐτὸς δῆμος.

Other commentators speak of "two Kerameikoi" (Schol. *Parmenides*, 127c, p. 222 above; Schol. *Knights*, 772; Suidas *Kerameikoi*²; Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 275, 19). One may suspect that this expression is an abstraction or piece of pedantry, due to Atticographers, periegetes or lexicographers. In extant literary authorities it is always "Kerameikos" or "the Kerameikos" quite simply, sense depending on context. The convenient names "Inner Kerameikos" and "Outer Kerameikos" are inventions of modern topographers. Incidentally the "Gate of the Kerameikos" (Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 8, 4; see 2n.) is probably the Dipylon.

Perhaps the truth of the matter is something like this. Throughout antiquity the name Kerameikos meant, essentially, "Potters' Quarter," a very extensive district in the northwest. A particular official usage is attested by the boundary stones (and possibly *I.G.*, II², 968), and people used the name in various ways with special reference. But Kerameikos does not mean literally the cemetery, or the agora, save that Pausanias, perhaps with misguided precision, takes it in the latter sense. These usages are colloquialisms or metaphors, varying in relative frequency in different epochs. Similarly "Covent Garden" can mean now a vegetable market, now an opera house, while all the time it is in fact a London square, but no longer a garden.

PANATHENAIC STREET

729. Agora I 4963, lines 4–5.

Second half 4th c. B.C.

Now that the general topography of the area is mainly clear, it seems certain that the street running diagonally across from northwest to southeast and on up the Acropolis slopes is the street followed by the Panathenaic and other processions (see 1, 193, 199, 203 n, 260, 336, 338, p. 85 above). This is confirmed by the deciphering of an inscription, in letters probably of the second half of the 4th century B.C., cut in the wall of the Acropolis on the north face of the Mnesiklean bastion west of the Propylaea. The first line has the name Epikrates (or perhaps ἐπὶ Κράτῃ[τος]). Lines 2 and 3 are almost illegible, but a dative ending suggests a dedication. Lines 4 and 5 read

— — — — Παναθηναί[ων]
— — — — τῆς ὁδοῦ

It is suggested that the inscription recorded a dedication to Athena in connection with some improvement in the festal street made by

Epikrates (or under Krates). See *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 207; XVIII, 1949, p. 185, note 26.

730. Agora I 5476.

4th c. B.C.

ὅρος ἱερᾶς
ὅδος δι' ἣς πο
ρεύεται ἡ Π
υθαῖς ἐς Δε
λφός

Boundary of the Sacred Street by which the Pythais proceeds to Delphi.

This inscription is on a boundary marker found just west of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos, near the Panathenaic Street, in a late Roman context (P 8) (the stone had been reused as a doorsill). The Pythais was a sacred mission in honor of Apollo. The street referred to may in fact be the same processional route across the agora, which led up to the Pythion on the northwest slope of the Acropolis (see 199), a different description being used in connection with the Apolline procession (see *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 237).

OLD AGORA

731. Harpokration.

1st or 2nd c. A.D.

πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη· 'Υπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους, εἰ γνήσιος. Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ θεῶν πάνδημόν φησιν Ἀθήνησι κληθῆναι τὴν ἀφιδρυθεῖσαν περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγοράν διὰ τὸ ἐνταῦθα πάντα τὸν δῆμον συνάγεσθαι τὸ παλαιόν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἃς ἐκάλουν ἀγοράς.

Pandemos Aphrodite; Hyperides in his speech against Patrokles, if it is genuine. Apollodorus in his work on the Gods says that the title Pandemos was given to the goddess established in the neighborhood of the old agora because all the Demos gathered there of old in their assemblies, which they called *agorai*.

The site of the shrine of Aphrodite Pandemos is roughly fixed by Pausanias, I, 22, 3, and by inscriptions (see Judeich, p. 285; note also Agora I 5128, p. 50 above), near the western approach to the Acropolis, probably somewhat to the south. Ge Kourotophos and Demeter Chloe (see pp. 84–85, 177–178) were adjacent, and other notable ancient shrines were in the same region (cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 54, p. 140 above). A mysterious goddess Blaute, perhaps regarded as a form of Aphrodite, is coupled with Kourotophos in *I.G.*, II², 5183, an inscription of the 1st–2nd century A.D., found near the temple of Nike, which mentions the dedication to the Demos of the entrance to their enclosure (*σηκός*); a fragment to be associated with this inscription, Agora I 4572, has been found more recently in modern context under Acropolis Street, west of the Late Roman Fortification (R 25); *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 91, no. 40.

This is the only definite information we have about an old agora on a different site from its classical successor. A site near the entrance to the Acropolis would be a natural and probable one for a primitive agora; but its character and contents are almost wholly hypothetical (cf. Judeich, pp. 62, 285; R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque*, pp. 256–261). As far as Apollodoros (2nd century B.C.) is concerned, his statement may be an inference from, or an attempt to explain, the title Pandemos. Harporakration adds a different explanation given by Nikandros of Kolophon (2nd century B.C.), that Solon founded the shrine of Aphrodite Pandemos from proceeds of public prostitution which he organized; Athenaeus, XIII, 569d, tells the same story, quoting not only Nikandros, but also Philemon the New Comedy poet; Pausanias says that Theseus established the cult of Pandemos (and of Peitho) after uniting the Athenians of the demes in one city.

ADDENDUM

P. 83. Agora I 4659 (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 206, no. 52) found in the wall of a modern cellar east of the Late Roman Fortification (U 22) and in a wall of Turkish date west of the Late Roman Fortification (R 22), and dated in the second half of the 4th century B.C., is a dedication by the taxiarchs

[Δήμητρι] καὶ Κ[όρη].

P. 84. A further inscription, Agora I 6794, concerned with the Epimeletai of the Mysteries, has been found in 1957 in a well in late Roman context (Q 19); it is dated in the 4th century B.C.

P. 92. A large stele, Agora I 6793, has been found in 1957 about 50m. southwest of the finding place of the stelai mentioned in 254n (A 11), where it was used as a cover for a continuation of the conduit in which Agora I 3394 was found. It contains a list of real estate, and on the evidence of a reference to the Aiantidai G. Stamires suggests that this stele too may come from the Eurysakeion. It is dated in the 4th or 3rd century B.C.

P. 135. In Agora I 4913 (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 246, no. 97), two opisthographic fragments from a large stele, found in a cistern west of the Tholos (G 11:2) in a context of the 5th century A.D., on Face A the Prytaneis honor their *tamias*, and according to the restoration of lines 13–14, ask permission to set up a picture of him in a place which Stamires tentatively restores as the Bouleuterion. The date is 21/20 B.C. There is no mention here, as in 417 and 418, of a gilded shield.

P. 159. Agora I 4918 (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 221, no. 81) is a base of the Roman period, dedicated by one Boulon probably to the Mother of the Gods; found in a Byzantine wall over the western end of the Temple of Ares (J 8). The most likely restoration of the dedication in line 2 is

M[ητρὶ Θεῶν].

P. 177. In Agora I 4685 and 4441 (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 212, no. 59, the generals of 172/1 B.C. are praised; 4685 was found in a modern cesspool southeast of the market square (U 22), 4441 in a wall of a modern house (T 22).

ABBREVIATIONS

A.J.A. = *American Journal of Archaeology*.

A.J.P. = *American Journal of Philology*.

'Αρχ. Εφ. = 'Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς

'Αρχ. Δελτ. = 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον

Aih. Mitt. = *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*.

B.C.H. = *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*.

C.A.H. = *Cambridge Ancient History*.

Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.* = W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1908–1905.

Dittenberger, *Syll.³* = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1915–1924.

Dow = S. Dow, *Prytaneis (Hesperia*, Supplement I, 1937).

H.S.C.P. = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*.

I.G., I² = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Vol. I (editio minor, Berlin, 1924), edited by F. Hiller von Gaertringen.

I.G., II² = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Vols. II–III (editio minor, Berlin, 1913–1940), edited by J. Kirchner.

Jacoby, *F.G.H.* = F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, 3 parts, Berlin and Leiden, 1923–1954.

J.H.S. = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

J.R.S. = *Journal of Roman Studies*.

Judeich = W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd edition, 1931.

Kock, *C.A.F.* = T. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1880–1888.

Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* = Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, edited by Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, Kurt Witte, Karl Mittelhaus, Stuttgart, 1894—.

Pritchett & Meritt = W. K. Pritchett and B.D. Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, 1940.

Rhein. Mus. = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*.

S.E.G. = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden, 1923—.

T.A.P.A. = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.

Wachsmuth = C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*, 2 vols., 1874–1890.

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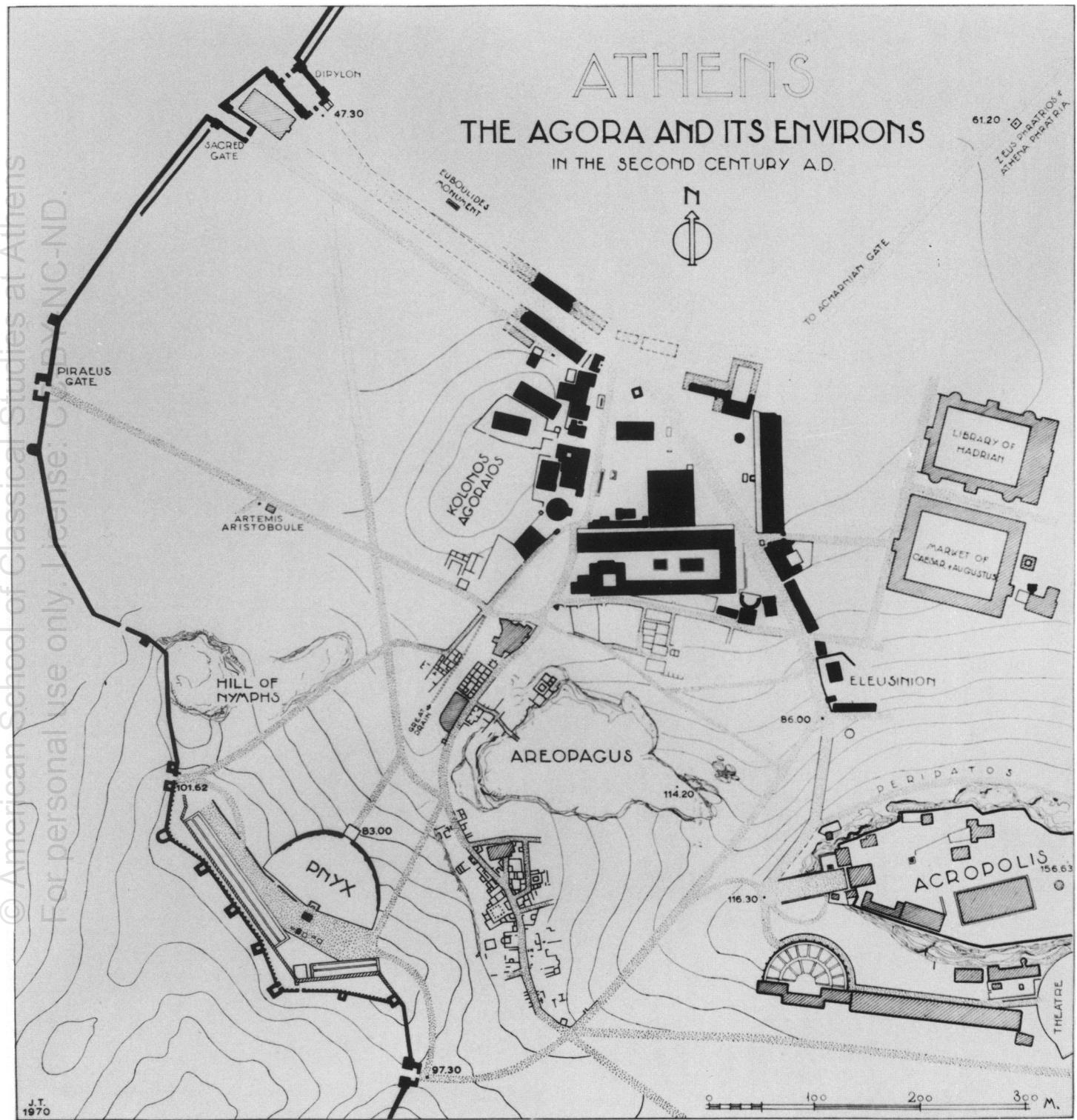
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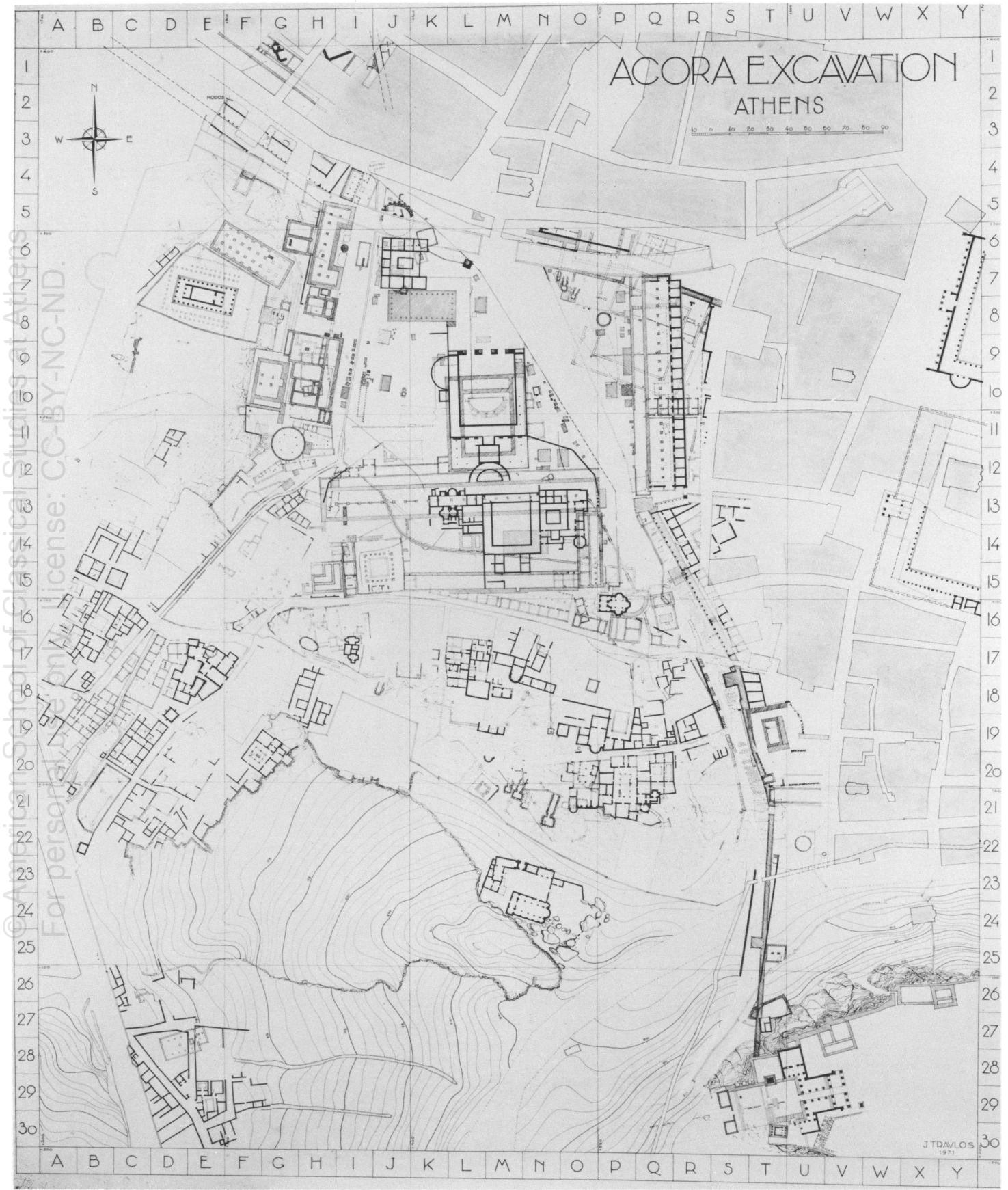
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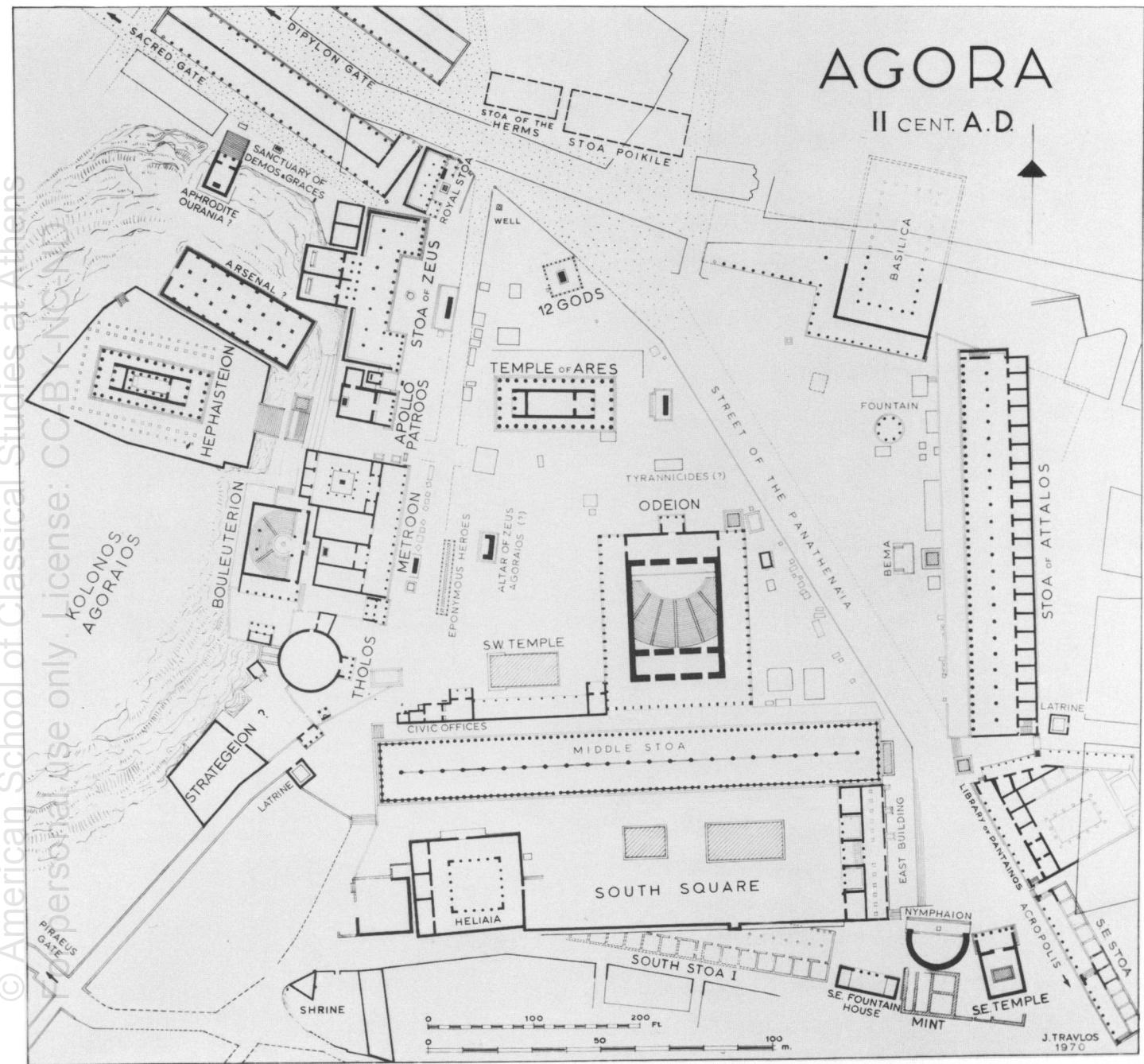


Plan of the Athenian Agora and its Environs in the 2nd Century A.D.

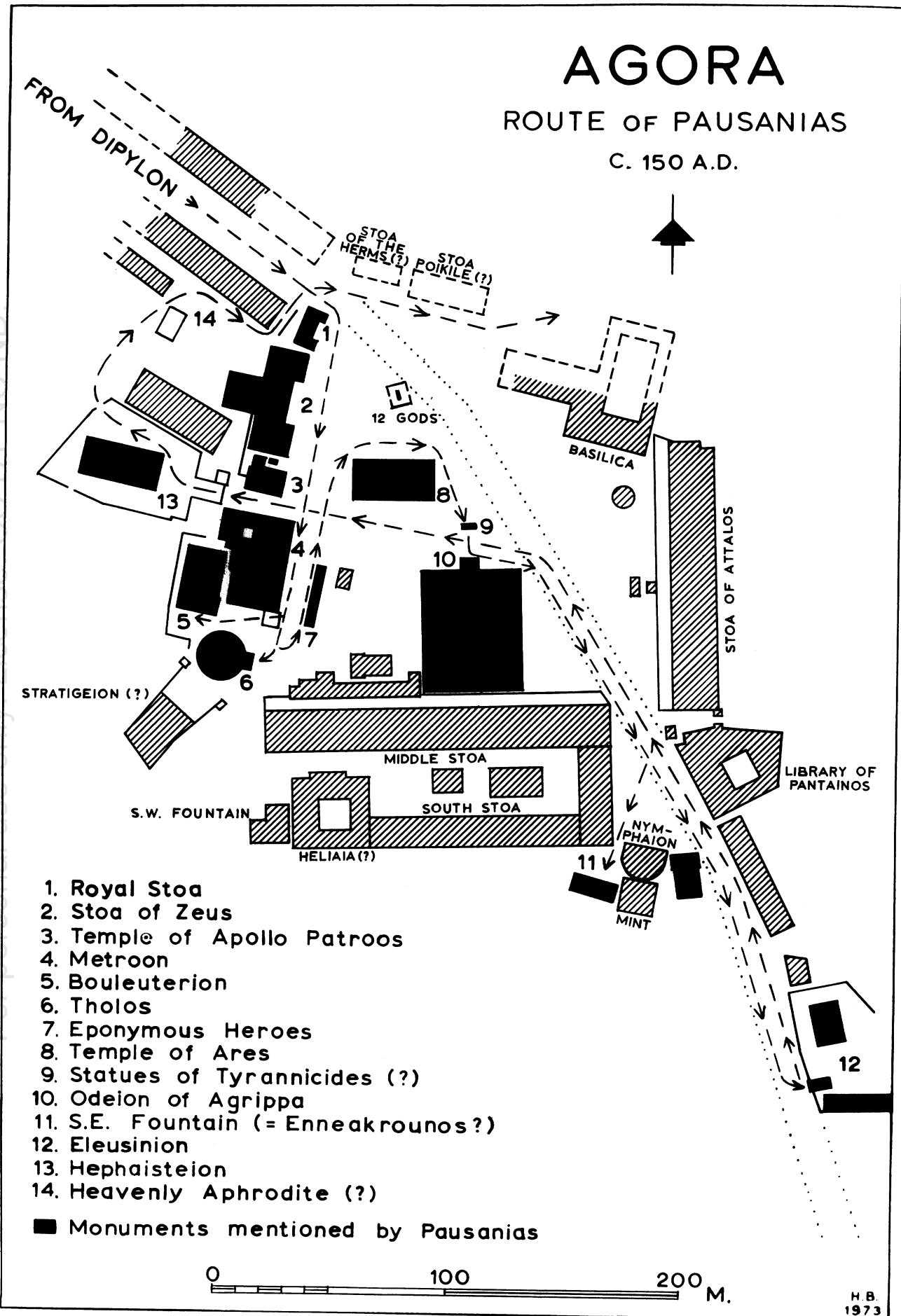
PLATE II



Actual State Plan of the Athenian Agora



Plan of the Athenian Agora in the 2nd Century A.D.



Plan of the Route of Pausanias through the Athenian Agora