

# RHAMNOUNTINE FANTASIES

(PLATE 32)

THE temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous,<sup>1</sup> stylistically the latest known work of the "Theseum architect," showing strong influences from the Parthenon (dedicated in 438) but left unfinished at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (in 431), was probably begun, in accordance with the astronomical and calendrical evidence for the intervening years, on the festival day of the Nemesieia (Genesia), Boedromion 5 = September 30, 436 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The architecture of the temple has been discussed only once in detail, in the old *Unedited Antiquities of Attica* (1817), and partially thereafter in several specialized publications.<sup>3</sup> In the present investigation we shall be concerned only with various problems relating to the entablature of the peristyle, never satisfactorily explained and hitherto subject to considerable misinterpretation.

## THE EPISTYLE

The hexastyle temple, with only twelve columns on the flanks, thus had five by eleven intervals in the peristyle, these necessarily spanned by thirty-two architrave blocks (each with its backing block), fitting the column spacing of only 1.904 m. on centers (equal to the column diameters of the Parthenon, and likewise to be interpreted as 5 $\frac{5}{8}$  Doric feet).<sup>4</sup> While the distances between the centers of the opposite colon-

<sup>1</sup> I here take advantage of the occasion afforded by a new examination of the Villa Albani relief, attributed by Langlotz to the temple at Rhamnous, to relieve my discussion of the temple (to be published in *Athenian Architecture of the Age of Pericles*) of this and other related errors.

<sup>2</sup> Dinsmoor, *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, LXXX, 1939, pp. 132-133, 145, 152-153, 164; cf. *Athenian Archon List*, 1939, pp. 208-209.

<sup>3</sup> Gandy, *Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, 1817, ch. vi, pp. 41-49, pls. 1-13. Lethaby, *Greek Buildings Represented by Fragments in the British Museum*, 1908, pp. 88, 148-149, 176-178. Orlandos, *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, pp. 305-320, pls. VIII-XII. Zschietzschmann, *Arch. Anz.*, XLIV, 1929, pp. 441-451. Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 397-400. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings, passim* (cf. index on p. 187) and pl. LXXVII. Plommer, *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, pp. 94-112. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 1950, pp. 89, 148, 149, 181-183, 339.

<sup>4</sup> Where dimensions are cited, they are the results of my repeated measurements on numerous occasions since 1910, with a few pertinent measurements by others for comparison and identification. A lengthy series of measurements attributed by Plommer to Miss Shoe's pl. LXXVII ("I have drawn freely, except in a very few cases, upon her measurements; with Gandy and Orlandos, she has helped me most," *op. cit.*, p. 95), leaves me somewhat puzzled; her plate in question contains no measurements, nor are any given elsewhere in her discussions of the mouldings of Rhamnous, so that, instead of citing under her name Plommer's "measurements" which are not only fictitious but even rather inaccurate (presumably enlarged from her small drawing at the scale of 0.0675 = 1.000 m. or 1:14.82), I have omitted them as valueless encumbrances. I reckon the Doric foot at Rhamnous as 0.32640 m.

nades, as measured on the platform, are  $9.186 \times 20.610$  m. ( $28\frac{7}{8}$  by  $63\frac{7}{8}$  D.F.), we allow  $0.027$  m. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  D.F.) all around for the inward inclination of the column axes, making the dimensions between the centers of the column capitals  $9.132 \times 20.556$  m. ( $27\frac{7}{8}$  by  $62\frac{7}{8}$  D.F.), increased by the epistyle soffit of  $0.674$  m. ( $2\frac{1}{8}$  D.F.) to  $9.806 \times 21.230$  m. ( $30\frac{1}{4}$  by  $65\frac{1}{4}$  D.F.) on the epistyle face. Thus we must restore twenty-four normal epistyle lengths theoretically of  $1.904$  m. (three on each front and nine on each flank), while the corner blocks on each front would have been half of  $9.806 - (3 \times 1.904) = 4.094$  m., becoming  $2.047$  m. Actually, however, these dimensions were readjusted to fit a peculiarity of the triglyph spacing, as explained below. Thus the right-hand corner epistyle block of the east front, lying on the ground at this point, actually measures  $2.0785$  m. (an increase of  $0.0315$  m.), so that each of the three central blocks must have been correspondingly diminished to a third of  $9.806 - (2 \times 2.0785) = 5.649$  m., becoming  $1.883$  m. (a reduction of  $0.021$  m.).<sup>5</sup> Similarly on the flanks, where the endmost blocks were  $2.079$  m. diminished by the amount of the returns of the front corner blocks (the cornermost joints being as usual on the flanks), the nine intervening blocks must have averaged one ninth of  $21.230 - (2 \times 2.0785) = 17.073$  m., becoming  $1.897$  m. (a reduction of  $0.007$  m.).<sup>6</sup>

To explain these minor discrepancies, which will prove to be of importance for our purpose, we must turn for a moment to the frieze. Here, above the five by eleven column intervals, there were necessarily ten metopes on each front and twenty-two on each flank, the triglyph spacing on centers being theoretically  $0.952$  m. ( $21\frac{1}{2}$  D.F.). More than twenty triglyph-metope blocks now lie scattered around the temple, their height measured as  $22.64$  inches ( $= 0.575$  m.) by Gandy, as  $0.57$  m. by Orlandos, as  $0.574$  m. by Riemann, and as  $0.578$  m. by myself. The triglyph widths were measured as  $14.92/14.94$  inches ( $= 0.379/0.3795$  m.) by Gandy,<sup>7</sup> as  $0.378$  m. by Orlandos, and as  $0.375/0.380$  m. by myself, my average width being  $0.377$  m. ( $1\frac{5}{32}$  D.F.). Subtracting this from half of the column spacing, the metope width should have been  $0.575$  m. ( $1\frac{7}{16}$  D.F.). Actually, however, the metopes all seem to have been slightly narrower; though given as  $0.574$  m. by Riemann, I obtained only  $0.564/0.572$  m. by direct measurement. On the fronts, moreover, subtracting eleven triglyphs of  $0.377$  m., there would remain  $9.804 - (11 \times 0.377) = 5.657$  m. to be divided among ten metopes averaging slightly less than  $0.566$  m.; and closer analysis of the fallen pieces shows that on the fronts there were eight metopes of  $0.5645$  m. ( $1\frac{3}{8}$  D.F.) and two endmost metopes of  $0.5705$  m. ( $1\frac{3}{4}$  D.F.), with a negligible discrepancy of  $\frac{1}{16}$  D.F. Similarly on the flanks, subtracting twenty-three triglyphs of the same width,

<sup>5</sup> That is,  $2 \times 0.0315$  (increase)  $= 0.063 = 3 \times 0.021$  m. (reduction).

<sup>6</sup> That is,  $2 \times 0.0315$  (increase)  $= 0.063 = 9 \times 0.007$  m. (reduction).

<sup>7</sup> Another measurement given by Gandy,  $12.43$  inches ( $= 0.316$  m.), does not refer, as Orlandos assumed, to the width of the triglyphs, but rather to their erroneously estimated projection beyond the column axes.

there would remain  $21.228 - (23 \times 0.977) = 12.557$  m. to be divided among twenty-two metopes averaging slightly less than 0.571 m., approximating the endmost metope width on the fronts.<sup>8</sup>

The fact that the triglyph and metope widths, added together, do not quite make up the amount 0.952 m. required by half of the column spacing forces us to assume that the triglyphs were redistributed in order to counteract the corner distortion, the triglyphs being slightly off-centered from the column axes, as at Bassai and in the Parthenon, as well as in one of the western colonial temples, that at Segesta. Under normal circumstances, moreover, when the corner contraction of the column spacing was less than the corner distortion in the frieze (due to the necessity of placing a triglyph at the corner), slightly wider metopes were required toward the corners. In these normal temples, therefore, any attempt to equalize the metope widths would have resulted in a slight enlargement throughout, causing the triglyphs always to be centered slightly *outside* the column axes. The Parthenon is exceptional in having excessive corner contraction in the column spacing, greater than the frieze demanded, so that equalizing the metope widths would have resulted in a slight reduction throughout, causing the triglyphs always to be centered slightly *inside* the column axes.<sup>9</sup> This excessive corner contraction of the Parthenon was imitated at Rhamnous. Here,

<sup>8</sup> On the fronts,  $(11 \times 1\frac{5}{32}) + (8 \times 1\frac{3}{48}) + (2 \times 1\frac{3}{4}) = 12\frac{2}{32} + 13\frac{5}{6} + 3\frac{1}{2} = 30\frac{5}{96}$  D.F. as compared with  $30\frac{1}{24}$  D.F. on the epistyle, an excess of  $\frac{1}{96}$  D.F. On the flanks,  $(23 \times 1\frac{5}{32}) + (22 \times 1\frac{3}{4}) = 26\frac{1}{32} + 38\frac{1}{2} = 65\frac{5}{32}$  D.F. as compared with  $65\frac{1}{24}$  D.F. on the epistyle, an excess of  $\frac{5}{96}$  D.F. The measurements are obtained by combining results from the epistyle, frieze, and geison. For the fronts, the inscribed epistyle at the center of the east front (discussed below) has a central regula of 0.377 m. and an interval of 0.564 m. between two regulae, thus a regula (triglyph) spacing of 0.941 m. Also one of the two central geisa of the west front is 1.223 m. long; subtracting one mutule of 0.377 m., we have 0.846 m. for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  metopes of 0.564 m., or 0.941 m. for triglyph and metope together. But at the corners the geisa have mutules of 0.379 m. and viae of 0.096 m., requiring endmost metopes of about 0.571 m. Also the northeast corner epistyle of the east front has a slightly deficient regula of 0.374 m. at the corner, compensated by the adjoining interval of 0.576 m., so that the triglyph and metope above should have been 0.377 and 0.573 m.; the other regulae are broken off, but since the total length of the block is 2.079 m. the distribution of the frieze above seems to have been  $0.188 + 0.564 + 0.377 + 0.573 + 0.377 = 2.079$  m. And a corner block of the frieze gives 0.377 m. for the corner triglyph and 0.572 m. for the endmost metope on the flank. Thus the fronts were evidently  $(11 \times 0.377) + (8 \times 0.5645) + (2 \times 0.5715) = (8 \times 0.9415) + (2 \times 0.9485) + 0.377 = 9.806$  m., while the flanks would presumably have been  $(23 \times 0.377) + (16 \times 0.571) + (6 \times 0.5705) = (16 \times 0.948) + (6 \times 0.9475) + 0.377 = 21.230$  m.

<sup>9</sup> As a matter of fact, the metope widths of the Parthenon were readjusted to form a gradation from narrower at the corners to wider at the center—the exact opposite of the normal system—those on the east front varying from 1.226 m. ( $3\frac{3}{4}$  D.F.) to 1.331 m. ( $4\frac{1}{16}$  D.F.). Because of this gradation, and also because of minor errors in the locations both of the column and of the triglyph centers, the triglyph centers on the east front are actually located with reference to the six central column axes, in succession from left to right (south to north), *inside* by 0.075 and 0.023 m., *outside* by 0.0375 m., *inside* by 0.001 m., *outside* by 0.0155 m., and *inside* by 0.113 m.

in consequence, the "normal" metope width of  $\frac{3}{10}$  column spacing,  $\frac{3}{10} \times 5\frac{5}{8} = 1\frac{1}{4}$  D.F., was used only for the two endmost metopes on each front, though it approximated the average on the flanks. The normal spacing of the triglyphs on the fronts being  $0.377 + 0.5645 = 0.9415$  m. ( $1\frac{5}{32} + 1\frac{3}{48} = 2\frac{85}{96}$  D.F.), so that two spacings became 1.883 m. ( $5\frac{3}{48}$  D.F.) and thus 0.021 m. ( $\frac{1}{16}$  D.F.) less than the column spacing, the front triglyph centers were successively  $0.952 - 0.9415 = 0.0105$  m. ( $\frac{1}{32}$  D.F.) and  $(3 \times 0.952) - (3 \times 0.9415) = 0.0315$  m. ( $\frac{3}{32}$  D.F.) *inside* the column axes.

While there has never been any question as to the identity of the triglyph-metope blocks and of the geisa lying on the ground about the temple, the identification of the epistyles has been greatly confused in the course of modern studies. Gandy had measured their height as 22.64 inches ( $= 0.575$  m.), Orlandos as 0.57 m., while I obtained 0.571 m. The details assigned to the external epistyle were derived by Gandy from a series which has now almost entirely disappeared. For he gave the length of the regula as 16.75 inches ( $= 0.425$  m.), and so placed the triglyphs 0.84 inch ( $= 0.0215$  m.) behind the epistyle plane.<sup>10</sup> This unprecedented arrangement was accepted by Marquand as a peculiarity at Rhamnous, intended to diminish the weight of the entablature.<sup>11</sup> Orlandos, on the other hand, realizing that on the exterior the regulae must have had the length dictated by the triglyph width and that the triglyphs must have been in the plane of the epistyle face, attempted to correct this anomaly by arbitrarily shortening Gandy's regulae from 0.425 to 0.377 m. But Gandy's long regulae certainly at one time existed. For there remain at least two pieces, one a small fragment and the other a piece 0.68 m. long and of the full height 0.571 m. (the latter now north of the temple, Pl. 32, a), both showing the same heavy mouldings drawn by Gandy; the heights of the taenia, regulae, and guttae, given by him as  $2.28 + 2.22 + 1.12 = 5.62$  inches ( $= 0.058 + 0.0565 + 0.0285 = 0.1425$  m.), were measured by me on these pieces as  $0.056 + 0.057 + 0.027 = 0.140$  m. (Fig. 1, b); the guttae also are larger, 0.034 m. in diameter and spaced 0.077 m. on centers, implying a regulae length of  $(5 \times 0.077) + 0.034 + (2 \times 0.003) = 0.425$  m. This regula length so completely disagrees with the triglyphs of the external frieze and the mutules of the geisa that it must be assigned to the inner porches. Additional corroboration comes from the fact that, while in the larger piece (Pl. 32, a) the joint is 0.207 m. left of the right end of a regula (and so not far from the middle), in the smaller fragment the joint lies 0.145 m. left of the right end of a regula, between the fourth and fifth guttae, unsuitable for an epistyle of the peristyle; it apparently adjoined a corner block resting on the northwest anta of the opisthodomus (the pronaos having had a continuous epistyle reaching to the flanks as in the Hephaisteion and at Sounion, and therefore no corners).

<sup>10</sup> More strictly, Gandy's measurements would have given  $\frac{1}{2}$  ( $16.75 - 14.93$ )  $= 0.91$  inch, that is,  $\frac{1}{2}$  ( $0.425 - 0.379$ )  $= 0.023$  m.

<sup>11</sup> Marquand, *Greek Architecture*, 1909, p. 266.

The attribution of the epistyle with Gandy's long regulae to the inner porches, however, seemingly encounters the obstacle that these positions are currently occupied by another type of epistyle, that drawn by Gandy in the pronaos and opisthodomus, of which he showed very few details. Yet it is this inadequately illustrated type of epistyle that is represented by the great majority of the pieces now on the ground, including three corner blocks and one which must have adjoined a corner block since it ends at the left joint with a portion of regula only 0.044 m. long with one gutta, complementing the five-sixths of the regula on the return of a corner block. With at least three corners preserved, these could not possibly be assigned to the inner porches,

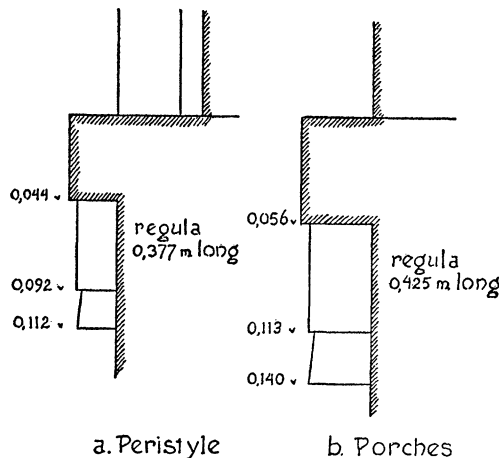


FIG. 1. Details of Epistyle Mouldings

which provided only two corners, those of the opisthodomus. This fact, and the identity of the regulae and interregula spaces of 0.377 m. (so also Orlandos) and 0.564/0.572 m. with the triglyphs and metopes of the external frieze, shows that we are concerned with the external peristyle. The total height of this external epistyle, because of its continuity with that of the pronaos (as in the Hephaisteion and at Sounion), is the same 0.571 m. as given by the other type. But Gandy gives for the taenia, regula, and guttae  $1.72 + 1.68 + 0.80 = 4.20$  inches ( $= 0.0435 + 0.0425 + 0.0205 = 0.1065$  m.), the guttae 1.2 inches ( $= 0.0305$  m.) in diameter.<sup>12</sup> Orlandos measured the height of the taenia and regula together as 0.088 m., while for all three members I measured  $0.044 + 0.048 + 0.020 = 0.112$  m. (Fig. 1, a), the small guttae being only 0.021 m. in diameter and spaced 0.072 m. on centers. In assigning this

<sup>12</sup> Gandy (pl. 9) shows it with these dimensions as it returns over the opisthodomus antae, the length of the regula being here given as abnormally short, 14.4 inches (0.366 m.) though with six guttae. This length may possibly have been derived from the other type, that with the heavier mouldings, which would properly have fitted this position.

type to the inner porches, Gandy had apparently based the distinction merely on his subjective opinion, which has caused so many difficulties, that heavier mouldings should appear on an exterior, lighter in the inner porches.<sup>12a</sup> That the exact contrary might be the case is shown by a phenomenon characteristic of a group of early Peloponnesian temples (those of Aphaia at Aigina, of Zeus at Olympia, of Apollo at Bassai, and of Poseidon at Isthmia),<sup>13</sup> of which we here compare the heights of the epistyle taenia, regula, and guttae, both in the peristyles and in the inner porches, with those at Rhamnous:

	Peristyle	Porches
Aigina	$0.081 + 0.07 + 0.032 = 0.183$ m.	$0.099 + 0.076 + 0.025 = 0.200$ m.
Olympia	$0.150 + 0.150 + 0.052 = 0.352$ m.	$0.170 + 0.170 + 0.065 = 0.405$ m.
Isthmia	$0.138 + 0.127 + 0.039 = 0.304$ m.	$0.178 + ? + ? = ?$ m.
Bassai	$0.066 + 0.066 + 0.025 = 0.157$ m.	$0.085 + 0.058 + 0.021 = 0.164$ m.
Rhamnous	$0.044 + 0.048 + 0.020 = 0.112$ m.	$0.056 + 0.057 + 0.027 = 0.140$ m.

Thus the taenia height, for instance, is 0.040 m. greater for the inner porches at Isthmia, 0.020 m. greater at Olympia, 0.019 m. greater at Bassai, 0.018 m. greater at Aigina, and 0.012 m. greater at Rhamnous. Perhaps at Rhamnous this departure from the Attic norm was induced, not so much by imitation of the early Peloponnesian method, as by the desire to make the porch epistyle (necessarily of the same height as in the peristyle) look smaller by enlargement of the Doric mouldings.<sup>14</sup> A similar idea underlies the same architect's previous use of a heavier group of Ionic mouldings for the porch epistyles of the Hephaisteion and the temple at Sounion.

The most important of the epistyle blocks with the lighter mouldings is an intermediate block now lying below the east front of the temple, of special interest because it bears a symmetrically arranged inscription in six lines, evidently coming from a central position (Fig. 2). Following Gandy's attribution of the lighter mouldings to the inner porches, Orlandos assigned this inscribed block to the central position on the pronaos (accepted by Broneer and Pouilloux). Broneer, moreover, cited as additional evidence in favor of Gandy and Orlandos the fact that on the bottom of this epistyle block are weathered traces of an edge of a capital only 0.327 m. (my 0.325 m.)

<sup>12a</sup> Similarly at Bassai the porch epistyle, only 0.765 m. high, was erroneously assigned by Blouet (*Exped. Morée*, II, 1833) to the outer peristyle, despite the fact that most of the outer epistyle remains in place with a height of 0.836 m.; the reason again was the larger taenia of the porch epistyle.

<sup>13</sup> For these, particularly at Isthmia, see my article entitled "A Greek Sculptured Metope in Rome," *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 304-315.

<sup>14</sup> Miss Shoe calls my attention to the similar phenomenon of the remarkably protrusive and archaizing hawksbeak mouldings of the epikranitis both outside and inside the porches at Rhamnous (*Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, pp. 126-127, pl. LX, 12, 14).

from the right end joint, inferring that the width of the abacus could have been only  $2 \times 0.327 = 0.654$  m. as contrasted with 0.754 m. in the peristyle. This reasoning is fallacious, however, since the hypothetical abacus of 0.654 m. would have demanded a lower column diameter of about 0.618 m. (following the proportion of 0.754 : 0.714 m. in the peristyle), whereas there were no columns of such small size in the temple. Those of the porches were identical in lower diameter (0.714 m.) with those of the peristyle, so that the capitals also were doubtless identical. There is, however, another and more reasonable explanation of the weathered line. The peristyle capitals 0.754 m. wide show a raised bed, 0.042 m. inside the edge of the abacus, to relieve its edges from the weight of the epistyle, the width across the raised bed thus being 0.670 m.; and the weathered line was undoubtedly caused by leakage of moisture between the abacus and epistyle as far as the raised bed. Similar traces are visible in other temples. For instance, at Sounion, the abacus width of 1.111 m. corresponds to weathered traces on the soffits of the epistyle blocks, but the latter also have slight relieving margins closer to the end joints; on an example from the north flank these margins are 0.463 m. (left) and 0.441 m. (right) from the joints, the combined width of 0.904 m. corresponding to raised beds 0.897 to 0.904 m. wide on the tops of various capitals. So also at Rhamnous the inscribed epistyle undoubtedly rested on capitals 0.754 m. wide, whether these were of the front of the temple or of the pronaos.

The decision may be made without possibility of doubt. As in the Peloponnesian examples cited above, the porch epistyle must have had the heavier mouldings  $0.056 + 0.057 + 0.027 = 0.140$  m. high, with regulae 0.425 m. long and guttae 0.034 m. in diameter, spaced 0.077 m. on centers, quite unrelated to the peristyle to which Gandy wrongly attributed them. Conversely, the epistyle of the peristyle must have been that with the lighter mouldings  $0.044 + 0.048 + 0.020 = 0.112$  m. high, with regulae 0.377 m. long and guttae 0.021 m. in diameter, hitherto wrongly attributed to the porches; for these alone agree with the triglyph and mutule widths of 0.377 m. In addition to the corroboration already mentioned, the existence of at least three external corner blocks of this epistyle with the lighter mouldings (exceeding the limit of two for the inner porches), the dimensions also are conclusive: for the inscribed central epistyle measured only  $2 \times 0.9415 = 1.883$  m. as contrasted with the central axial spacing of 1.940 m. in the porches;<sup>15</sup> and a complete corner epistyle (now at the northeast corner) measures 2.079 m. as contrasted with 2.225 m. from the corner of the anta to the column center. Thus, if employed in the porches (even admitting that the above-mentioned corner epistyle might have slipped from the southwest corner to the northeast corner), the combined length of three epistyle blocks would have been  $2.079 + 1.183 + 2.079 = 6.041$  m. as contrasted with 6.386 m. measured at the

<sup>15</sup> Plommer (*op. cit.*, pp. 108, 111) wrongly states that the central spacing in the pronaos is identical with that on the east front.

bottoms of the antae and 6.270 m. at the bottoms of the wall planes; inward inclinations as great as 0.1145 m. for each wall would be inconceivable.<sup>16</sup>

A final detail will demonstrate that the inscribed epistyle belongs at the center of the main east front. It was, as noted above, 1.883 m. in length, and so 0.021 m. less than the axial spacing of the columns. On either side, therefore, it would have failed by 0.0105 m. to reach the column axes. This agrees with the fact that the weathered trace on the soffit is 0.325 m. from the right end; as adjusted to the raised bed of 0.670 m. on the peristyle capitals, it would have fallen short of the center of the capital by about 0.010 m. The discrepancy is explained by the above-mentioned redistribution of the triglyph spacings on the front, causing the triglyph centers to fall 0.0105 m. ( $\frac{1}{32}$  D.F.) *inside* the axes of the two central columns.

So far, therefore, we have found that Gandy's heavier mouldings and regulae 0.425 m. in length are authentic, though belonging to the inner porches and thus obviating the discrepancy with the external triglyphs, making unnecessary both Marquand's unconvincing explanation and the arbitrary correction by Orlandos. Conversely, we have found that the inscribed epistyle and the similar blocks with lighter mouldings and regulae 0.377 m. in length belong to the peristyle and not, as currently assigned chiefly under Gandy's influence, to the inner porches.

## THE DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION ON THE EAST EPISTYLE

We turn now to the inscription on what we have found to be the central epistyle of the east front, in six lines of carelessly cut letters 0.04/0.057 m. in height (Fig. 2). The block is incomplete, broken off at the left end, the remainder being composed of four fragments which apparently were first put together by one of the Greek scholars (Stais ?)<sup>17</sup> who refrained from publishing it; my own copy was made as early as 1915. The inscription was first published, however, by Orlandos in 1924, omitting the first line, and in complete form in 1932 by Broneer, then again by Kirchner in 1935 as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242, and finally in 1954 by Pouilloux,<sup>18</sup> always with the missing archon's name restored as Aiolion in accordance with Broneer, on the argument that the father Antipatros must have been the known archon of A.D. 45/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945, 1969, 1970; Phlegon of Tralles, *Περὶ Θανμασιῶν*),<sup>19</sup> and that the only known son of this Antipatros

<sup>16</sup> The actual total inclination from toichobate to interior cornice seems to have been 0.055 m. for each wall, as shown by the length of the ceiling beams of the flank peristyles.

<sup>17</sup> For the excavations of Stais in 1890-1893 see *Πρακτικά*, 1890, pp. 27-30; 1891, pp. 13-18; 1892, pp. 29-31; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1891, pp. 45-62.

<sup>18</sup> Orlandos, *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, p. 319; Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 397 (facsimile); Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242; Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, 1954, p. 156, no. 46. Orlandos omitted the clearly visible first line, and also many of the fairly illegible letters toward the left; Broneer omitted the first omicron in the restored name *Αιολίωνος* by a typographical error.

<sup>19</sup> Antipatros appears as one of a series of ten archons dated by Phlegon of Tralles (*Περὶ*



was named Aiolion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973),<sup>20</sup> who is also known to have been an archon (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1998).<sup>21</sup> But Oliver noted that the archon Antipatros of 45/6 might himself have been the son of an earlier Antipatros; hence the name of the father surviving in the Rhamnous inscription would be that of this archon's father, and the name to be

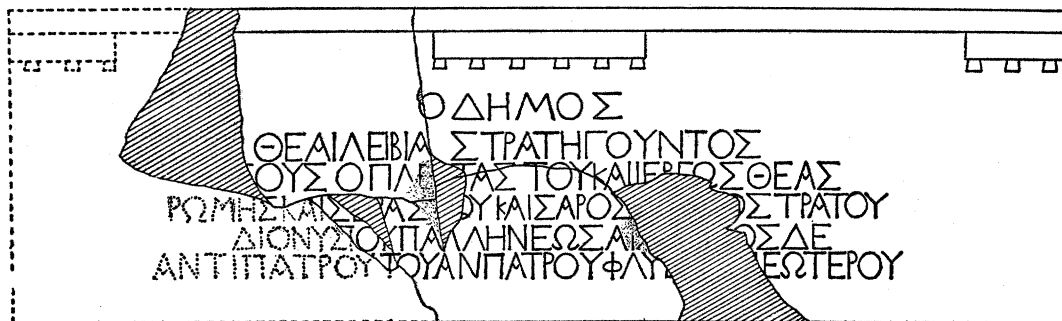


FIG. 2. Inscription Honoring Livia at Center of East Epistyle  
(Modified from *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 397)

restored is that of the actually known archon Antipatros, to whom the epithet Neoterios would thus be most fittingly applied,<sup>22</sup> and of whose final letter upsilon (rather than the final sigma of *Αιολίωνος*) a bit of one stroke survives. Therefore we may adopt Oliver's restoration as follows:<sup>23</sup>

Θαυμασίων, *F. Gr. Hist.*, II B, no. 257, 36) in terms of Roman consulships, one in 125 B.C. and the nine others between A.D. 45 and 116, thereby permitting the choice of either of the two Athenian years astride each Julian year. While Jason is definitely placed in the later of the two available years 125/4 by the secretary cycle (cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 225-228; *Archon List*, pp. 174-175, 198), Graindor left the year equivocal in the case of Antipatros and six others (*Chronologie*, pp. 79-81, 116-122, nos. 49, 51, 57-58, 61, 64), and placed Hadrian and Macrinus in the earlier of the available years in each case (*ibid.*, pp. 122-123, nos. 79, 82). But Kolbe (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1921, pp. 118, 122) demonstrated that Hadrian's archonship must have been in 112/3, and consequently that the entire series must be dated consistently in the later of the two available years in each case; this was accepted by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2, pp. 790-792) and by Oliver (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 83-84), as well as by Graindor himself (*Athènes sous Hadrien*, 1934, pp. 28-29) and by Notopoulos (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 25, with respect to Deinophilos and Dionysodoros in 49/50 and 53/54). Thus the archonship of this Antipatros is certainly to be placed in 45/6. In the inscriptions of his year Antipatros is always distinguished as Neoterios, but he was certainly the same as Phlegon's archon; see also pp. 189-190 (Antipatros 4).

<sup>20</sup> In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973 Antipatros the father of Aiolion is not specifically designated Neoterios, but there can be no doubt that he was identical with Antipatros 4.

<sup>21</sup> In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1998 Aiolion appears without patronymic or demotic, but it is universally agreed that he was the same Aiolion who appeared as ephebe in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973; see also p. 190 (Aiolion 5).

<sup>22</sup> As the archon Antipatros is consistently designated in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945, 1969, and 1970 as well as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242.

<sup>23</sup> Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, 1950, p. 85 note 18 (already foreshadowed by Oliver in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 83 note 23a). He omits the preserved

Ὁ δῆμος  
 Θεᾶι Λειβία(ι). Στρατηγοῦντος  
 [ἐπὶ] τοὺς ὀπλε[ί]τας τοῦ καὶ ἱερέως Θεᾶς  
 [Ῥώμη]ς κ[α]ὶ Σεβασ[τ]οῦ Καίσαρος [Δημ]οστράτου  
 [Διονυ]σίου Παλληνέως· ἄρχ[οντ]ος δὲ  
 [Ἀντιπάτρο]υ τοῦ Ἀν<τι>πάτρου Φλυέ[ως Ν]εωτέρου

The inscription had been assigned by Orlandos to the fourth or third century B.C., but Broneer's more complete reading showed that it is of the Roman imperial period. Not only has it characteristic Roman lettering (alpha, theta, sigma), but the dedication to the deified empress Livia, the mention of the priest of the goddess Roma and of Augustus Caesar, and the name of the archon [Antipatros] the Younger, son of Antipatros of Phlya, all show that it is of the first century after Christ. The date *post quem* is furnished by the fact that Livia the wife of Augustus, dying in A.D. 29, was deified by Claudius in A.D. 42 and officially received into the cult of the Domus Augusti.<sup>24</sup>

Before contrasting the results of Oliver's restoration of the archon's name as Antipatros with the consequences arising from the earlier restoration of the name as Aiolion, it seems desirable to clarify as far as possible the careers of these two individuals with reference to the genealogy and the distribution of the sixteen inscriptions now definitely known to relate to seven members of this family,<sup>25</sup> belonging to eight generations, seven of which cover a minimum period of about 206 years and so with generations averaging 34½ years.<sup>26</sup> If we were to suppress the third (Antipatros 3) and the seventh (unknown), we should have not only the preposterous average of at least 51½ years for four generations, but also intervals of about 60 years for one generation (Antipatros 2 to 4) and of at least 63 years for another (Salloustianos 6 to Aiolion 8). The interval of about 84 years in any case between the archonships of Antipatros 4 and Salloustianos 6, his grandson, yields two generations averaging 42 years, long but not impossible within this limited period. Thus we may reconstitute the genealogy as follows:

epsilon of ὀπλε[ί]τας in line 3; on the other hand, because of lack of space, we should probably omit the [τοῦ] restored at the beginning of line 5.

<sup>24</sup> Ollendorff, *R.E.*, s.v. Livia, XIII, cols. 922-923; Taylor and West, *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, p. 395, note 3; Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, 1927, pp. 53-54, 155-157, 196 note 1, and *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, 1931, pp. 3-5, 81 note 7, 113-114, 175-176. Her name appears on a seat of the theater at Athens (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5096): "priestess of Hestia on the Acropolis and of Livia and Julia."

<sup>25</sup> A summary by Graindor (*Musée Belge*, XXVII, 1923, p. 265) discusses only six of these inscriptions.

<sup>26</sup> That is, from Antipatros 2 as hoplite general for the seventh time ca. 15 B.C. to Aiolion 8 as general (for the first or only time) probably in A.D. 192/3. But if we compare the first generalship of Antipatros 2 (ca. 40-30 B.C.) with that of Aiolion 8 the interval would be ca. 226 years and so with six generations averaging 37½ years.

- (1) Antipatros (mentioned as father of Antipatros 2 in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1059 = 1758 and 2467—in these two indicated only by lunate symbols—and in Agora I 807, 5925, and also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1071 as restored by Graindor and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539 as restored by Meritt).
- (2) Antipatros (mentioned as son of Antipatros 1 in all the foregoing), hoplite general seven times *ca.* 40-15 B.C.: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1059 = 1758 = *Prytaneis* no. 105, evidently the first generalship, *ca.* 40-30 B.C.; <sup>27</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2467 = *Prytaneis* no. 110, third generalship *ca.* 29/8-22/1 B.C.; <sup>28</sup> Agora I 807 = *Prytaneis* no. 116, fifth generalship in the archonship of Demeas of Azenia whom Dow dates *ca.* 20 B.C.; Agora I 5925 = *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 29, seventh generalship dated by Meritt *ca.* 15 B.C. Probably the fourth or sixth generalship fell in the archonship of Apolexis, 21/0 B.C. (Agora I 4913, as restored by Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 246-260); the restoration [στρατηγο]ῦντος seems more probable than [πανηγυριαρχο]ῦντος proposed by Oliver (*Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 42, note 8). The seventh generalship hitherto assigned to Aiolion 5 on the basis of Dittenberger's restoration [Αἰολίωνα Ἀντιπ]άτρον Φλυέα in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539 was tentatively assigned by Meritt to the same Antipatros 2 with the restoration [Ἀντίπατρον Ἀντιπ]άτρον Φλυέα (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 41); this was not accepted by Sarikakis, who followed Dittenberger; but Meritt now writes to me, "I find that I really do believe *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539 to be dated in the first century B.C." Antipatros 2 was also the proposer of a decree honoring Augustus at about 21 B.C., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1071 as restored by Graindor (*Musée Belge*, XXVII, 1923, p. 265; *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 26; cf. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 190) and Stamires (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 260-265, with two additional fragments). For these see also Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General in Athens*, 1951, p. 41.
- (3) Antipatros (father of Antipatros 4 according to Oliver's restoration of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242), hardly identical with Antipatros 2 because the interval between Antipatros 2 and 4 was about 60 years, assuming that Antipatros 2 was general for the seventh time at an age comparable to that of Antipatros 4 as archon. Antipatros 3 may have been either a son or a nephew of Antipatros 2.
- (4) Antipatros Neoteris (son of Antipatros 3 according to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242 as restored by Oliver, and mentioned as father of Aiolion 5 in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973), archon in A.D. 45/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945, 1969, 1970, 3242, Phlegon of Tralles, Περὶ Θαυμασίων). In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945, 1969, 1970, and 3242 the epithet is given as Νεώτερος or Νε; but the three first of these omit the patronymic and demotic, while *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973 omits the epithet, and Phlegon gives nothing but the name. Yet there can be no doubt that all six references are to the same man, Phlegon giving the exact date, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1969, 1970, and 1973 being ephebe lists likewise of the reign of Claudius whose name appears at the head of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1969 and 1973. The assumed generalships of Antipatros 4 for the first time (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1758, Kirchner) and for the seventh time (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539, Sarikakis, *op. cit.*, p. 37), as well as the possible restorations of his name in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3542 = 3561 <sup>29</sup> likewise as general for

<sup>27</sup> The general Antipatros in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1758 was assumed by Kirchner to be identical with the archon Antipatros 4 and so was dated at the middle of the first century A.D. In the duplicated publication (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1059) the name had been restored as [Ἀν]τίπατρον [Δαμπτ]ρέα.

<sup>28</sup> Graindor (*Musée Belge*, XXVII, 1923, p. 265) erroneously called him treasurer of the Council for the third time (*I.G.*, III, 1297 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2467). This stone has another inscription on the back, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1790 of about 170-180 A.D.

<sup>29</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3542 and 3561, copied at different times in the Acropolis Museum by Köhler (*I.G.*, III, 651) and Kirchner, seem clearly to be the same stone, according to content and state of preservation, despite reported minor differences in the letters. Köhler read the name of the man honored as Μάρκος Πορκίος Μα — — (Dittenberger identifying him as Marcus Porcius M. f. Cato, *curator*

the seventh time (Sarikakis, *op. cit.*, p. 76), are to be expunged from the record since the first two refer to Antipatros 2 (see above) and the last presumably to Tiberius Claudius Novius in A.D. 60/1 (see note 29). Thus we have no evidence that Antipatros 4 was ever a hoplite general.

- (5) Aiolion (mentioned as son of Antipatros 4 in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973, and as father of Salloustianos 6 in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 50 in an ephebe list (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973) headed by the name of the emperor Claudius (41-54) in the archonship of Metrodoros,<sup>30</sup> Aiolion's name particularly prominent as one of three in wreaths; thus Aiolion was an ephebe very close to the archonship of his father Antipatros Neoteris (45/6). Aiolion was archon toward the end of the century, probably about 87/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1998), mentioned without patronymic or demotic but undoubtedly the same person.<sup>31</sup> Broneer's restoration of Aiolion's name as archon in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242 is now to be eliminated because of Oliver's substitution of the name Antipatros. The restorations of the name of Aiolion as general for the seventh

*aquarum* in A.D. 38), the inscription itself not before the time of Nero according to Graindor (*Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 38 note 20), while Kirchner read it as *Μάρκος Γόργιος Μ* — —. The date is in any case appropriate for Novius, general for the seventh time in 60/1. Sarikakis (*op. cit.*, p. 76) suggested that the name to be restored might be either Antipatros or Novius; but only the latter seems to have held the generalship so many times at this period.

<sup>30</sup> Metrodoros (mentioned as archon in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1735, 1973) dated early in the reign of Claudius, 40/1-53/4 or preferably *ca.* 43/4-44/5, by Graindor (*Chronologie*, pp. 79-82) because of the great similarity of the ephebe list *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973 to those of the archonship of Antipatros in 45/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1969, 1970). Metrodoros dated middle of first century by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 791) and Oliver (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 84), but toward the end of the reign of Claudius, in 50/1-52/3, by Notopoulos (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 25-26, 51, 53). It may be pointed out that while this later date may well be correct, the argument of Notopoulos, based on the fact that another ephebe in this list (his name also in a wreath), Theogenes of Kephisia, was later prytanis in the archonship of Philopappos and Lailianos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759), is open to some doubt. For Notopoulos dates this later archonship exactly in 96/7 on the assumption that the secretary cycles, of which he established the existence between 138/9, 167/8-169/70, and 209/10 (*op. cit.*, pp. 2-3), should be rotated backward from another base in 117/8 through the entire first century without a break, a very tenuous theory in view of the fact that the only known secretary in the entire first century is the undated one of this archonship; he might well have been earlier or later, with or without cyclical rotation of the secretaries. On our present evidence we can only say that Metrodoros, and with him Aiolion as ephebe, might be assigned to any of the unoccupied years 40/1-44/5, 46/7-48/9, or 50/1-52/3.

<sup>31</sup> As noted by Graindor (*Chronologie*, p. 104), it is by error that Wilhelm (*R.E.*, I, col. 1034, no. 4) called him "vermuthlich Αἰολίων Ἀριστάρχων Φλυεύς." Aiolion's archonship dated *ca.* 70-80 (Neubauer, *Commentationes epigraphicae*, 1869, p. 149), *ca.* 75 (Dumont, *Essai sur la chronologie des archontes athéniens*, 1870, p. 70), in second half of the century (Graindor, *Tibère*, p. 208), in last third of the century (Graindor, *Chronologie*, pp. 103-104, 134; *Tibère*, p. 78 note), *ca.* 90 (Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III, 1089; Wilhelm, *R.E.*, I, col. 1034; Von Schoffer, *R.E.*, II, col. 594), or end of the century (Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1998, p. 791; Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 84; Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 25). The archonship of Aiolion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1998) should be one generation later than that of his father Antipatros, and presumably at least 36 years after Aiolion had been ephebe, and so *ca.* 79/80 or *ca.* 76/7-88/9 according to these two methods of counting. Or, placing his archonship midway between those of his father and son, Antipatros (45/6) and Salloustianos (probably 129/30), it could be *ca.* 87/8, one of several years in this vicinity not otherwise definitely assigned.

time in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3182 (by Graindor)<sup>32</sup> and 3539 (by Dittenberger)<sup>33</sup> are both now to be eliminated since the former refers to Tiberius Claudius Novius and the latter to Antipatros 2. Thus the service of Aiolion as hoplite general must be expunged from the record.

- (6) Salloustianos (mentioned as son of Aiolion 5 in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763), archon in the reign of Hadrian (117-138) but later than the creation of the tribe Hadrianis (127/8) according to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763, and so, with respect to otherwise unoccupied years, in 129/30-130/1 or 132/3-137/8. The specific mention of the new Council of Five Hundred suggests that it be dated as early as possible after its constitution (on the analogy of similar specific allusions in 307/6 and 220/19 B.C. after reforms of the Council) and so preferably in 129/30.<sup>34</sup> Evidently the same Salloustianos (mentioned without patronymic), together with Demostratos of Phlya, was the dedicator of a statue (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3314).
- (7) Unknown, but interpolated because the interval between Salloustianos 6 and Aiolion 8 was 63 years, perhaps more if we allow that Aiolion was young at the time of his first and only known generalship. This unknown might have been either a son or a nephew of Salloustianos 6.

<sup>32</sup> Here Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, 158) had restored the name of Tiberius Claudius Novius, who was general for the eighth time in 61/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1990, archon Thrasyllus), so that the work on the theater would have been done in the preceding year 60/1. Graindor argued that this was too early for the theater, that the work should date rather from the time of Nero's visit in A.D. 66 and particularly from the time of his proclamation of freedom to the Greeks in November of that year, as implied by a play on words in the theater inscription (Ἐλευθερίαι); cf. Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 103 note 2; *Tibère*, pp. 3-14, 39, 78 note, 114. This theory was accepted by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3182), Notopoulos (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 26), and with some distrust by Sarikakis (*op. cit.*, pp. 37, 75) though he accepted for *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539 the date *ca.* 66 for which Graindor's theory was the sole evidence. But Bulle (in Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-theater in Athen*, III, 1936, pp. 60-66) pointed out that not only was the theater at Lisbon dedicated to Nero in A.D. 57 (*C.I.L.*, II, 183) without the benefit of a visit from him, but also that there exist additional frieze fragments with actual remains of the name [Τ]ι Κλ[αυδίου] and probably Νουίου, so that Dittenberger's restoration is correct as far as it goes. While further corroboration is not necessary, it may be added that the close connection of Novius with Nero in 61/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1990), where Novius was high priest of Nero and his house (not of Claudius as Graindor had said, *Tibère*, p. 142), Nero being equated with Zeus Eleutherios (erased) in a manner recalling the theater inscription (Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 94; Sarikakis, *op. cit.*, p. 76), makes Novius the only plausible candidate.

<sup>33</sup> The restoration [Αἰολίωνα Ἀντίπ]άτρον Φλυέα as general for the seventh time in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539 had been made by Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, 653), and was accepted by Graindor (*Chronologie*, p. 103; *Tibère*, p. 14), Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1758, 1998, 3182, 3539), and Sarikakis (*op. cit.*, pp. 29, 37). Graindor had assigned this generalship to the last third of the first century A.D., while Kirchner and Sarikakis, stating that he was identical with the ephebe and archon Aiolion, adopted the date *ca.* 66 required by Graindor's theory regarding *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3182. The restoration [Ἀντίπατρον Ἀντίπ]άτρον Φλυέα was proposed by Meritt (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 41), with the date *ca.* 15 B.C. and the attribution to Antipatros 2 (see p. 189).

<sup>34</sup> The archonship of Salloustianos had been placed in the reign of Hadrian after 124/5 according to Graindor (*Chronologie*, pp. 103-104, 133-134, 194; *Tibère*, p. 78 note), *ca.* 132/3-134/5 according to Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1998, p. 792) and Oliver (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 85), and *ca.* 132 by Notopoulos (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 25-28) and Sarikakis (*op. cit.*, p. 37). The date *post quem* has now been supplied by Notopoulos, through rotation of the secretary cycles of the second century back to 127/8, the year when Hadrianis (VII) first officiated (Notopoulos, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, LXXVII, 1946, pp. 53-56; *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 2-3, 5). The inscription of

- (8) Aiolion, cited without father's name as hoplite general toward or at the end of the reign of Commodus (180-192), whose name appears in the decree (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792 = *A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, p. 174), apparently in 192/3.<sup>35</sup> This may have been his only generalship and so could have been attained at an earlier age than that of Salloustianos 6 as archon, a fact which would increase the length of these two generations beyond the 63 years indicated by their terms of office. While Aiolion 8 has been assumed to be the son of Salloustianos 6 and grandson of Aiolion 5 by Graindor (*Chronologie*, pp. 104, 194), Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763, 1792, 3314), and Sarikakis (*op. cit.*, p. 37), this seems impossible because of the above-mentioned great interval.

In view of the complication of the foregoing arguments the genealogy of the family is here summarized as follows:

- fl.* 65 B.C. 1. Antipatros (as patronymic in all the following)
- fl.* 30 B.C. 2. Antipatros (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1059 = 1758 = *Pryt.* no. 105; II<sup>2</sup>, 1071 = *Hesp.* XXVI, no. 98; II<sup>2</sup>, 2467 = *Pryt.* no. 110; II<sup>2</sup>, 3539; Agora I 807 = *Pryt.* no. 116; Agora I 4913 = *Hesp.* XXVI, no. 97; Agora I 5925 = *Hesp.*, XVII, no. 29)
- fl.* 5 A.D. 3. Antipatros (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242 = Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 85)
- fl.* 40 A.D. 4. Antipatros Neoteris (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945, 1969, 1970, 1973, 3242 = Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 85; Phlegon of Tralles)
- fl.* 75 A.D. 5. Aiolion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763, 1973, 1998)
- fl.* 110 A.D. 6. Salloustianos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763, 3314)
- fl.* 145 A.D. 7. unknown
- fl.* 180 A.D. 8. Aiolion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792 = *A.J.P.*, LXXI, p. 174)

So long as the restoration of Aiolion's name as archon had seemed acceptable in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242, with his name restored also as hoplite general for the seventh time in

Salloustianos mentions the Council of Five Hundred, as reformed simultaneously with the creation of Hadrianis.

<sup>35</sup> For *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792 Graindor gave the date as 180/1-191/2 or probably 184/5 (*Chronologie*, pp. 194-195), Kirchner as *ca.* 180/1 or a little after (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763, 1792, and p. 794 under — — — *χρς Βησαυεύς*). It has been shown by Oliver (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 58-61, 82) that the so-called archon name — — — *χρς Βησαυεύς* of this year (*Chronologie*, pp. 104, 194, no. 145; Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 794) was in reality part of the name of Commodus; this correction merely rids us of an archon but does not define the date. Raubitschek (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 284 note 9) argued that the year 188/9 must in any case be excluded and proposed 187/8, which was adopted by Notopoulos (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 52 and table opposite p. 22) and Sarikakis (*op. cit.*, pp. 32, 37). Oliver has more recently proposed 192/3 (*A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, pp. 174-176), which would be possible because the inscription is dated in Boedromion, earlier than the death of Commodus on December 31, 192.

two other inscriptions, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3182 and 3539, the question of the date of the Rhamnous inscription was greatly complicated. For Aiolion had been an ephebe as late as the archonship of Metrodoros, some year within the reign of Claudius, 40/1-53/4 or rather, since 53/4 was occupied by the archon Dionysodoros, 40/1-52/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973). We have estimated that the archonship of Aiolion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1998) ought to have been about 87/8, the mean year between the archonships of his father Antipatros Neoteris (45/6) and of his son Salloustianos (probably 129/30), though it might have been a few years earlier or later. Complications arose from the generally adopted restoration of the name of Aiolion as general for the seventh time in the undated *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539, and particularly from Graindor's restoration of his name likewise as general for the seventh time in the inscription on Nero's theater, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3182, with the implication that the exact date was 66/7. For Aiolion would probably have been rather young in 66/7 to have held the office of hoplite general for six earlier terms. The demonstration that Graindor's restoration is controverted by the evidence relieves the improbable compression by removing Aiolion's name from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3182; and the remaining possibility that he was general for the seventh time in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539 at an unknown date is now eliminated by Meritt's substitution of the name of his great-grandfather Antipatros (2) in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539, thus leaving Aiolion without any known term as general.

Similarly with regard to Aiolion's archonship as restored in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242, Broneer had calculated that he would have been too young for such an office during the reigns of Claudius (41-54) or Nero (54-68), and that, even if the latter part of Nero's reign could be considered on such grounds, it is unlikely that during this reign a temple would have been dedicated to Livia. In short, Broneer suggested that there was only one occasion later than Claudius on which such an honor as that represented by the Rhamnous inscription would have been appropriate, namely, during the brief reign of Galba, who became emperor on June 9, 68, and was slain on January 15, 69. For Galba had not only assumed the name Livius, but he owed much to the influence and benefactions of Livia and showed her great honor (Plutarch, *Galba*, 3; Suetonius, *Galba*, 5).<sup>36</sup> This argument for dating Aiolion's archonship in 68/9 might have been quite satisfactory but for the chronological discrepancies, making him archon 23 years after his father Antipatros but 61 years before his son Salloustianos, the latter hardly possible. On the same assumption that the restoration of Aiolion's name in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242 was correct, I considered another possibility, the short reign of Nerva, who came to the throne on September 18, 96, and died on January 25, 98. For it happens that Nerva had particularly close relations with a notable resident of this area, Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes (father of Herodes Atticus) of Marathon, in contrast to Domitian who had confiscated the property of his father Hipparchos and perhaps even

<sup>36</sup> Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 399-400.

condemned him to death. Tiberius Claudius Atticus, on the other hand, was confirmed by Nerva in his wealth and enrolled in the Roman tribe Quirina with praetorian rank, serving as high priest of the Domus Augusti and twice as consul. It seemed possible to conclude that through the interest of this Atticus the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, afterwards dear to his son Herodes Atticus,<sup>37</sup> was dedicated to Livia as a member of the Domus Augusti, with Aiolion as archon. On such grounds, we might have assigned the archonship of Aiolion to 97/8, following that of his father Antipatros by 52 years and preceding that of his son Salloustianos by 32 years. While the intervals would thereby have been slightly more reasonable, it has now become evident through Oliver's restoration of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242 that all such speculations as to Aiolion's archonship are unnecessary, and that the rededication of the temple to Livia is actually to be dated under his father Antipatros Neoteris in 45/6.

Thus the rededication of the temple at Rhamnous to Livia by Claudius occurred only three years after her deification, a most appropriate moment. By a coincidence, furthermore, two pieces of a great pedestal of a statue honoring Claudius himself for some benefaction lie in front of the temple of Nemesis;<sup>38</sup> and it is tempting to associate this pedestal with the rededication of the temple. And, as Broneer has pointed out,<sup>39</sup> the hoplite general and priest of Roma and Augustus Caesar on this occasion, [Dem]ostratos son of [Diony]sios of Pallene as mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242, is to be associated with a father and son, Dionysios son of Demostratos and Demostratos son of Dionysios, both of Pallene, the former *keryx* of the goddesses at Eleusis and the latter numbered among the *hymnagogoi*, in an Eleusinian inscription of which the date is probably 20/19 B.C.<sup>40</sup> It would seem that the general Demostratos of 45/6 A.D. was the grandson of the young Demostratos mentioned 65 years earlier.

<sup>37</sup> For these connections see Graindor, *Hérode Atticus et sa famille*, 1930, pp. 12-17 (Domitian's confiscation of the property of the grandfather Hipparchus), 20-24 (Nerva's confirmation of T. Claudius Herodes in possession of his new-found wealth), 25-26 (Roman citizenship in the tribe Quirina, conferring of the *ornamenta praetoria* by the Roman senate, and other offices; cf. Dean, *A.J.A.*, XXIII, 1919, pp. 173-174, no. 16 = West, *Corinth*, VIII, ii, *Latin Inscriptions*, pp. 40-42, no. 58); 94-98 (temple of Nemesis and Athena erected by the wife of Herodes Atticus, Regilla, on her property on the Via Appia outside Rome; cf. Cagnat, *I.G.R.*, 193-194; *Dittenberger*, *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 858); 117-118 (dedication of statue to his cousin Polydeukeion in front of temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3969 = Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, p. 159, no. 50; cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13208 = Pouilloux, p. 160, no. 51).

<sup>38</sup> Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158, no. 47; the lower part is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3275, which is mentioned by Meriwether Stuart (*The Portraiture of Claudius*, 1938, p. 13 note 93, pp. 17, 29) as the pedestal of a portrait statue of Claudius.

<sup>39</sup> Broneer, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

<sup>40</sup> Threpsiades, *Eleusiniaka A'*, 1932, pp. 225, 228, 230, dating from the archonship of Apolexis. This archon, mentioned also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, is dated 47/6-43/2 by Kolbe and Kirchner, 25/4-18/7 by Graindor (*Chronologie*, p. 57); *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 101-102), 20/19 by Dinsmoor (*Archons*, p. 293), followed by Threpsiades and by Daux (*Chronologie delphique*, p. 75). Noto-poulos substitutes 21/0 (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 12, 48, 51, 57) on the basis of tribal rotation



## THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FRIEZE

In returning to the subject of the frieze, of which we have already considered the dimensions, our present purpose is to study its construction, from which we may hope to obtain information as to the occasion of the dedicatory inscription.

For this purpose it would have been desirable to make a complete inventory of the triglyph-metope blocks scattered around the temple; but this is now difficult because many of them are hidden beneath brush and, furthermore, the process would have required more time than has been available during my numerous visits to Rhamnous. However, the following most characteristic blocks may be distinguished:

- (A) Corner block, M + T + M + T (triglyph also on right return), length *ca.* 1.89 m., lying southeast of southeast corner (where it belongs).
- (B) Corner block, M + T + M + T (triglyph also on right return), length *ca.* 1.89 m., half lying near southwest corner and half opposite northwest corner (where it belongs, diagonally opposite A).

These two corner blocks had their longer faces on the flanks, their short returns on the fronts, properly breaking joints with the epistyle. Seven blocks now lying along the north flank, and presumably belonging to this side, are the following (the numbers refer to their possible positions):

- (C) Complete block, M + T + M + T, length *ca.* 1.89 m. (position 3)
- (D) Broken off at right, M + T + M + ?, length *ca.* 1.53 m., good joint at left, the right-hand break extending about 0.01 m. beyond the end of the metope (9)
- (E) Broken off at left, ? + M + T, length *ca.* 1.11 m. (2, 6, 8, 12 ?)
- (F) Broken off at left, ? + T + M, length *ca.* 1.09 m. (1, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11 ?)
- (G) Broken off at right, M + T + ?, length *ca.* 0.97 m. (4, 7, 10 ?)
- (H) Broken off at right, T + M + ?, length *ca.* 0.78 m. (2, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12 ?)
- (I) Broken off at left, ? + M + T, length *ca.* 0.66 m. (2, 6, 8, 12 ?).

While C-D were certainly four-unit blocks, it is impossible to ascertain whether E-I were three-unit or four-unit blocks, though all were certainly longer than two units. Since the entire flank contained forty-five units (twenty-three triglyphs and twenty-two metopes, Fig. 3), and none of the north flank blocks, at least, was as short as two units, it is evident that there might be two reasonable distributions, either with eleven

of the secretaries, a rotation which, however, does not seem to have been in operation at this time if we may judge from the only two dated secretaries of this period, in 52/1 and 49/8 B.C.

blocks in all—ten of double length (four units) and a central transitional block of five units—or with thirteen blocks in all—six of double length (four units) and seven of three units alternating except at the center where three of the shorter blocks would come together. The fact that the long block C, which according to the first scheme would necessarily belong to the west half of the flank, now lies near the east end and so might preferably fit the second scheme (as block 3) suggests that the latter should

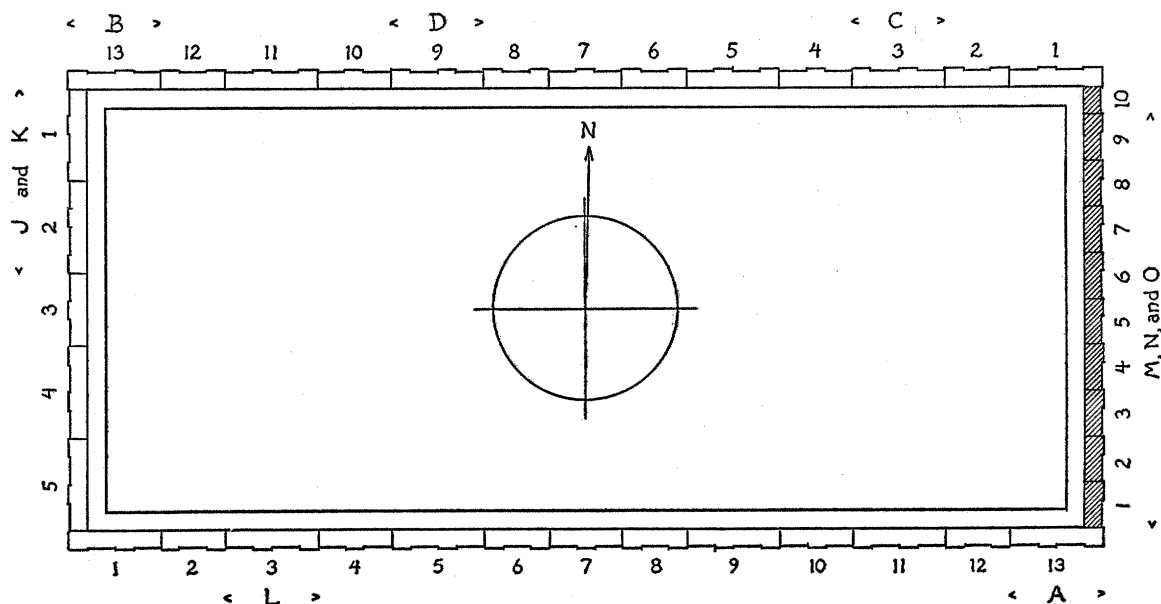


FIG. 3. Jointing Plan of Triglyph-Metope Blocks  
(East Blocks M, N, O in Roman Technique)

be adopted and that there were six varieties of blocks distributed as follows (from east to west on the north flank, reversed on the south flank) :

- |               |                       |                                |
|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1)           | corner, T + M + T + M | (block F ?)                    |
| (2, 6, 8, 12) | T + M + T             | (Blocks E ?, H ?, I ?)         |
| (3, 9)        | M + T + M + T         | (block C as no. 3, D as no. 9) |
| (4, 7, 10)    | M + T + M             | (blocks F ?, G ?)              |
| (5, 11)       | T + M + T + M         | (blocks F ?, H ?)              |
| (13)          | M + T + M + T, corner | (block B)                      |

On the west front, with twenty-one units (eleven triglyphs and ten metopes), the corner blocks showing only a single triglyph (B at the northwest corner), the intervening portion seems to have been occupied by five blocks, two with M + T + M + T toward the north and two with T + M + T + M toward the south, with a

central transitional block M + T + M. Two long blocks lying northwest of the north-west corner, excluded from the north flank because blocks C and D there occupy the only positions available for this type, must have been the two blocks of double length toward the north:

- (J) Complete block, M + T + M + T, length *ca.* 1.89 m.
- (K) Broken off at right, M + T + M + ?, length *ca.* 1.55 m., the right-hand break extending about 0.03 m. beyond the end of the metope.

Another block of identical type, now lying below the west front, but excluded both from the north flank and the west front where all positions available for this type are occupied, may have been the third block from the west on the south flank:

- (L) Complete block, M + T + M + T, length *ca.* 1.89 m., broken in halves diagonally.

The east front, which one would expect to have been like that at the west, was on the contrary composed of short blocks, apparently ten between the corner blocks, nine being M + T blocks with the triglyph always at the right, and one transitional block consisting merely of a metope adjoining the northeast corner triglyph (Fig. 3). This is suggested by the following three blocks now lying below the east front:

- (M, N, O) Three complete blocks, all M + T, length *ca.* 0.94 m. (Pl. 32, b).

Not only is the jointing system different, but the blocks themselves are of quite different origin. They seem to be in a softer and more badly weathered marble and to be more carelessly worked; the double-T clamp cuttings are more shallow and coarser; and at the middle of the top of each (though absent from the blocks on the other sides of the temple) is a great lewis hole, about 0.13 m. long and 0.04 m. wide, the depth up to 0.165 m., and the ends sloping in both directions to give greater length at the bottom. The great width of the lewis holes and the sloping of *both* ends (rather than one end only) are characteristically Roman, or possibly late Hellenistic. Added to these technical peculiarities is the fact that the top fascia of the metopes is 0.087 m. high (rather than 0.0545 m. as elsewhere in the temple), and that this same fascia is carried uniformly (though with less projection) across the tops of the triglyphs (Fig. 4); on the three other sides of the temple the height of the fascia on the triglyphs is increased from 0.0545 to 0.074 m. in normal Greek fashion. It seems impossible to escape the conclusion that at some late period, between the reigns of Augustus and Hadrian (when Greek double-T clamps were frequently though coarsely imitated in Roman construction near Athens), the entablature of the east front was rebuilt with the substitution of the shorter and more carelessly executed frieze blocks.

With this arrangement we may contrast that suggested by Plommer,<sup>41</sup> dictated primarily by his failure to observe the difference of technique, and by his assumption that a sculptured metope erroneously assigned to the temple by Langlotz (as discussed below) was one of a series of ten decorating the east front throughout ancient times, so that, consequently, all extant metopes without sculpture must be excluded from the east front. "On the three other sides each block as a rule would contain one triglyph and one metope [which we have found to be true only on the east front, as in M, N, O] . . . so also, I believe, the corner blocks" [contra, see above]. He agrees, however, that "one finds among the frieze blocks some of double length," also "two centre-blocks survive on the site, each with one triglyph between two metopes . . . from the [opposite] long sides" [though I actually found no complete example]. As a consequence of this arrangement, "a joint should have existed on the long sides between the corner

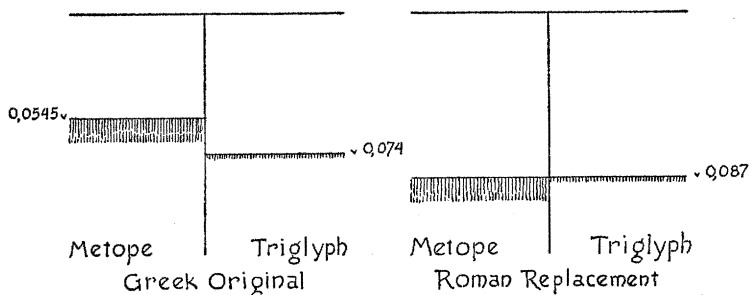


FIG. 4. Details of Triglyph and Metope Fascias

triglyph and the first metope. Strange as this may seem—for the first joint will be almost over [that] in the epistyle—I believe that it follows from the evidence." The jointing dilemma resulting from this analysis, however, is shown to be needless by the fact that the corner frieze blocks presented on the flanks, as we have seen, four units rather than a single triglyph. Furthermore, Plommer's arrangement would only lead to a new contradiction in that block A now lying at the southeast corner would have to be transferred either to the northeast or to the southwest corner in order to present a single triglyph on the flank, just as the diagonally opposite block B, now lying at the west front, would have to be transferred either to the southwest or to the northeast corner, a transference which, in the case of block A in any case, would be most improbable in itself. And the consequence that one or the other of the two diagonally opposite blocks A and B, as so located, would thus inevitably place two unsculptured metopes of the original workmanship on the east front, would contradict Plommer's basic assumption, upon which his entire arrangement is predicated, that all the east metopes contained sculpture throughout antiquity. As we have seen,

<sup>41</sup> Plommer, *op. cit.*, p. 94 note 83, pp. 99-100.

the short blocks combining only one metope with a triglyph are limited to the east front, these east metopes being without sculpture but dating from Roman times.

The alteration of the frieze construction on the east front, combined with the dedicatory inscription, makes it evident that Claudius exacted a toll for his benefaction, the restoration of the temple, if such it was. The southeast corner block (A) of the frieze, which obviously remained undisturbed, is in the original technique, as shown by the good cutting—though the crowning fascias are broken away—and by the original Greek geison dowel and the T clamp to fasten the adjoining east frieze block. At the joint meeting this adjoining east frieze block appears, not a slot for a thin sculptured metope slab, but merely an anathyrosis for a thick metope block. This implies that on the east front, as on the west, there were originally five long triglyph-metope blocks, each with two metopes and all except one with two triglyphs. The process of extracting these five blocks, leaving the corner triglyphs in position, and replacing them by ten blocks, each with one metope and all except one combined with a triglyph at the right, must have required wholesale dismantling from the top of the pediment to the top of the epistyle, followed by complete rebuilding. This is demonstrated by the presence of lewis holes and particularly of double-T clamp cuttings on the tops of the Roman blocks, implying that their tops were exposed at the time of the rebuilding, in other words, that they were not merely inserted from the front by the process of shoring up the geison and pediment. There seem to be no recognizable pieces of the geison and pediment from the east front, which might have been expected to show cuttings for the appliances used during the Roman alterations. But there can be little doubt that the sole purpose of this elaborate reconstruction was to remove the five blocks in their entirety, in order to cut out sculptured metopes, two on each, thus destroying the triglyphs carved on the same blocks, so that the ten metopes and nine triglyphs between the corner triglyphs had to be replaced in new material. We may conclude that on the occasion of the rededication of the temple to Livia in 45/6 the ten original sculptured metopes were carried off by Claudius to Rome,<sup>42</sup> where they have remained undiscovered.

### A METOPE IN THE VILLA ALBANI AT ROME

A small Greek relief (Pl. 32, d) apparently of Pentelic marble,<sup>43</sup> now in the Villa Albani at Rome, had played only a minor part in archaeological literature<sup>44</sup> until

<sup>42</sup> As I formerly suggested on the basis of the Langlotz identification (*Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 1950, pp. 182, 183 note 1). Plommer now rejects my interpretation of the evidence for Roman alterations (*Ancient and Classical Architecture*, 1956, p. 138 note 2).

<sup>43</sup> Helbig calls it Parian marble, Langlotz "Attischer Marm." The latter seems to me the more suitable.

<sup>44</sup> Villa Albani 178 (in the third ground-floor room at the right of the external portico). Braun, *Ruinen und Museen Roms*, p. 686 note 75; Stark, *Niobe*, p. 175, 1; Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. Leto,

Langlotz attempted to identify it as a metope from the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, an identification which has since been generally accepted.<sup>45</sup> The interpretation as a metope seems in any case to be assured; along the top runs a characteristic projecting broad fascia.<sup>46</sup> The material, the late fifth-century style, and the subject would all be appropriate for a Rhamnountine origin, so that the demonstration must rest in the final analysis upon the dimensions and the explanation of the manner in which the relief might have been transported to Rome.

The subject of the relief, as has been recognized, is an episode of the slaughter of the Niobids. The youthful figure of Artemis stands at the left, moving rapidly forward with her head slightly turned toward the right, her left hand at the waist clenched on a bow which was of bronze (evidenced by a vertical hole through the hand with greenish stains above and below), and her right arm raised with the hand drawing an arrow from the quiver at her back.<sup>47</sup> At the right stands a more majestic figure, generally interpreted as Leto, facing forward with her left arm hanging down, her right raised to adjust the drapery on her right shoulder.<sup>48</sup> Since the front of the temple at Rhamnous had ten metopes, Langlotz restores two figures in each, twenty in all, these being Apollo and Niobe, the children of Niobe and their pedagogue, and the existing Artemis and Leto. As Schrader points out, there is here a mathematical error since Niobe had only fourteen children, so that he would have Apollo and Leto in one metope, Niobe and a child in the second, twelve more children, then the pedagogue with one child, and finally Artemis with the matronly figure interpreted as Nemesis. The last pages of the Langlotz article discuss these Niobid reliefs at Rhamnous as symbolic of the philosophy and politics of Pericles.

Two holes in the relief demand more detailed notice. One is at the point where, Langlotz says, "the right hand of Artemis is bored through for the metal bow."<sup>49</sup> This of course would be a physical impossibility, since with her right hand she is draw-

p. 1978, and *s.v.* Niobe, p. 405; Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 3rd ed. 1912-13, II, pp. 437-438, no. 1889; Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, no. 3582.

<sup>45</sup> Langlotz, in *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara*, 1937, pp. 225-230, pl. XXI. Picard, *Sculpture grecque*, II, 1939, pp. 541-542 (apparently with some doubt). Schrader, *Jahresh.*, XXXII, 1940, pp. 188-191, fig. 88. Kähler, *Das griechische Metopenbild*, 1949, pp. 69, 110-111, pl. 94. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 1950, p. 182. Plommer, *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, pp. 94 note 83, 95, 99-100. Schefold, *Robert Boehringer Festschrift*, 1957, pp. 554-559.

<sup>46</sup> Restored, a large triangle at the center of the top, and a smaller triangle at the upper left corner; but the original fascia is well preserved from just to the left of Leto's head to the right edge, and a little of the lower edge remains just to the left of the head of Artemis.

<sup>47</sup> Restored, the right foot (Langlotz calls it the left foot) of Artemis and a little of the drapery at the right of it; the nose broken off.

<sup>48</sup> Restored, the hanging left forearm of Leto from the elbow down, also her right foot; the nose broken off.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 225 note 1.

ing an arrow from the quiver; as Helbig had said, the hole is in the left hand, and the stains as noted above show that the bow was of bronze.

The other hole appears just above the raised right hand of the figure presumably to be called Leto, and is centered 0.155 m. from the right edge of the marble (0.18 m. within the modern plaster moulded frame) and 0.08 m. below the top of the marble (0.03 m. below the fascia). This hole is not mentioned by Langlotz, though Helbig had said, "above it [the hand] a hole is bored in the background; its meaning remains unclear." Since in the photographs the hole seems rather prominent, I had inferred that it might have been bored through the background to receive a rope passed through the slab when it was lifted into place, on the analogy of the pairs of such holes in the sculptured frieze slabs from Bassae,<sup>50</sup> and the single holes in the sculptured metopes from the Argive Heraion and from a larger temple probably at Isthmia.<sup>51</sup> Being so far to the right, however, the hole in the Albani relief could not have been so employed unless there were a corresponding hole toward the left (as in the Bassae frieze slabs); but examination showed that there never was another hole toward the left, e.g. on one or the other side of the head of Artemis where enough of the original background is preserved to demonstrate its absence. Furthermore, examination after cleaning showed that the hole is not only too small for such a purpose (only 0.007 m. in diameter), but also that it penetrates the marble only to a depth of 0.005 m. instead of passing entirely through. It now appears that the upper edge of Leto's right hand was a separate patch of marble, set into a slightly concave cutting of which the upper edge is distinct against the background, and hooked on by a metal pin at the top, thus disposing of the rope-lifting possibility.

The method by which the slab reached the Villa Albani is assumed by Langlotz to have been the same as that which brought fragments of the Parthenon sculptures to the Vatican, that is, presumably through souvenir hunters of the eighteenth century or later.<sup>52</sup> This may well have been the case, if the slab did not come from Rhamnous. But on the assumption that the Rhamnountine identification was acceptable, there seemed to be a possibility that this metope was one of the ten hewn out from the original thick triglyph-metope blocks of the east front and carried off to Rome in the

<sup>50</sup> Dinsmoor, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, IV, 1933, pp. 217-218, figs. 11-12, 16-17; *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 419, figs. 14-16. Cf. Kenner, *Der Fries des Tempels von Bassae-Phigalia*, 1946, pls. 1-23 (but repeating the old erroneous interpretation of the bored holes as "Klammerlöcher" intended for bolting the slabs to the background, p. 22).

<sup>51</sup> See *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 419 note 68, and also my article "A Greek Sculptured Metope in Rome," *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 304-315.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 228. The Parthenon fragments in the Vatican, now in the room of the Apollo Belvedere, are the following: no. 1013, head from metope (Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, no. 398, pl. LXXIII); no. 1014, from slab V of north frieze (*ibid.*, no. 399, pl. LXXIV); no. 1016, horse head from west pediment (*A.J.A.*, LII, 1948, p. 501, pl. XLVIII; Lullies, *Griechische Bildwerke in Rom*, 2nd ed., 1955, fig. 18)

reign of Claudius.<sup>53</sup> The thickness and condition of the back of the slab in the Villa Albani are unknown; at present it seems to be a comparatively thin slab, but this in itself, unless future examination should reveal Greek tooling rather than Roman chipping or sawing on the back, would not militate against a Rhamnountine origin.

The decision as to the sculptured metope must rest, however, upon the visible dimensions. These are given at one point by Langlotz as 0.56 m. in height and 0.66 m. in width<sup>54</sup> (agreeing with my measurements to the external edges of the moulded modern frame of plaster, surrounding the relief on all four edges, the mouldings averaging 0.043 m. in width), and elsewhere are calculated from a photograph as 0.55/0.56 m. in height and 0.58 m. in width for the marble relief itself. He concludes, "Kann es nun Zufall sein, dass diese Masze mit denen der Metopen des Nemesis-tempels in Rhamnus (H. und Br. 57, 4 cm.) übereinstimmen, wenn man annimmt, das beiderseits 1 cm zum Einfalzen unter die Triglyphen notwendig war? Kaum."<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, however, the actual height of the marble slab within the plaster frame is only 0.473 m.; and, although the width within the plaster frame is 0.58 m., we must subtract a band of modern plaster 0.05 m. wide at the left and another band 0.025 m. wide at the right (the original edges of the marble being perceptible toward the bottom at these distances from the frame), so that the actual width of the slab is only 0.505 m. If it was a metope, moreover, we should allow also for the overlaps of the triglyphs on either side (perhaps 0.016 m.), the exposed surface thus being about 0.473 m. square. In other words, with reference to Riemann's dimensions for the metopes at Rhamnous, 0.574 m. in height and width (with which mine of 0.578 and 0.564/0.572 m. closely agree), the metope of the Villa Albani is 0.101 m. too small in either direction. It may be added that the top fascia in the Villa Albani relief is 0.051 m. high and 0.004 m. in projection, as contrasted with 0.0545 and 0.0125 m., respectively, in the perfectly finished examples at Rhamnous,<sup>56</sup> the projection in particular showing an impossible discrepancy. Such are the dangers of calculation from photographs.<sup>57</sup>

Because of the rejection of the Villa Albani metope there now remains no problem of reconciliation with the architecture of the temple. The original metopes actually brought from Rhamnous, 0.564/0.572 m. wide and 0.578 m. high, presumably lie still undiscovered beneath the streets or gardens of Rome. And the smaller building

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 182.

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 225 note 1 (apparently derived from *Einzelaufnahmen* 3582, "Breite mit Rand 0.665 m., Höhe mit Rand 0.565 m.").

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 228 (the metope dimensions at Rhamnous measured for Langlotz by Riemann).

<sup>56</sup> This applies to the well finished examples on the flanks and west front, as contrasted with those on the east front with the fascia of 0.087 m. as described above.

<sup>57</sup> It is evident from Langlotz's calculations (*op. cit.*, p. 228 note 2) that he mistook the external dimensions of the plaster frame for the internal dimensions ("also ohne den Gipsrahmen"), the proportional enlargement of the marble relief, measuring 0.105 m. in width and 0.10 m. in height on *Einzelaufnahmen* 3582, thus being exaggerated.



from which came the Villa Albani metope, only 0.473 m. square, still awaits identification.

### MEMBRA REJECTA

After having laid so many ghostly phantoms at Rhamnous, it is fitting to speak of an unwanted ghost which is actually present. In other words, the quadrangular temple had a fifth corner geison block. This block now lies at a low level near the northeast corner, the lower bed being properly 0.692 m. square and the lateral joints prepared with anathyrosis bands except in the overhanging portions, where the joints are smooth without the roughly depressed inner surface. The bottom has no dowel holes, and the top is rough, the nosing of the crowning hawksbeak moulding being carried upward for 0.05 m. more than the proper height (0.257 rather than 0.207 m. above the bottom), showing that it was never set in place; part of the back still shows the rough surface with the slots for wooden wedges by which it was split off in the quarry. This unused geison block falls into a class which may be designated, on the analogy of Beazley's *membra disjecta* (pottery fragments scattered over the world),<sup>58</sup> as *membra rejecta* (architectural blocks buried below the earth or otherwise utilized to avoid embarrassment).

A precisely analogous case is the fifth corner anta capital at Bassae, which now lies prominently on the ground below the north façade of the temple (Pl. 32, c), slightly different in profile and with an unfinished top 0.06 m. above the proper crowning mouldings,<sup>59</sup> not employed during the modern reconstruction of the temple because all four of the actual anta capitals could be identified and restored to their places. Also at Bassae is the white limestone Ionic capital, excavated in fragments north of the temple in 1908 and at that time regarded as having been found and reburied by *The Society* in 1812 to avoid embarrassment;<sup>60</sup> it was presumably, in fact, buried in antiquity for a similar reason, being an abandoned preliminary version of the marble Ionic capitals, of appropriate dimensions but differing in material and design, never set in place and never finished on the top to support an epistyle. Likewise the well known complete Corinthian capital of the Tholos at Epidauros, unfinished on the face and top of the abacus in contrast to the fragmentary examples, appears to have been a superfluous preliminary model.<sup>61</sup> Superfluous marble Doric capitals, left unfinished, were incorporated in the foundations of the Hephaisteion at Athens, as well as extra step blocks.<sup>62</sup> A raking geison block of the Hekatompedon on the

<sup>58</sup> Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pp. 39-56.

<sup>59</sup> Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, p. 121, pl. LVIII, 11.

<sup>60</sup> Rhomaios, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1914, pp. 58, 65-68, figs. 9-10, 12.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. the complete model capital (e.g. Defrasse and Lechat, *Épidaure*, 1895, p. 115) with one of the capitals restored from fragments (e.g. Robinson, *Hellenic History*, 4th ed. 1956, pl. 84).

<sup>62</sup> Dinsmoor, *Observations on the Hephaisteion*, pp. 122-125, figs. 53-55.

Athenian Acropolis lacks the customary ornament of lotus flower or flying bird on the soffit, the absence of ornament being explained by the architect's own handwriting at this very point, ΑΓΑΛΟΡΕ ΥΟ ("I forbid") twice repeated.<sup>63</sup> The block, in conformity with this injunction, was not only undecorated but was never used, and was recut for some later purpose; the lateral joint lacks the usual hollowing to diminish the weight characteristic of these geisa, and the inscription was scratched from the face inward parallel to the left joint, in a position which would have been inaccessible if it had been done after the block had been set in place. And again on the Acropolis, but no longer identifiable, were seven extra wall blocks prepared for the Erechtheion, as attested by the inventory of 409 B.C. in which it is stated that eleven regular four-foot wall blocks are lying on the ground, completely finished and ready for erection on the southwest corner of the temple, where only four were actually required.<sup>64</sup> Probably these seven wall blocks were subsequently cut up for other purposes, since they are no longer to be seen. In short, we may infer that in addition to preliminary models or trial pieces, the contractors frequently supplied extra blocks by error, usually left unfinished, and disposed of them by the process of burial or by incorporating them in foundations.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Acr. Mus. 4567; Wiegand, *Archaische Poros-Architektur*, p. 112, fig. 116; Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, pp. 135, 142-143, fig. 152 (the inscription not included in *I.G.*). Heberdey had suggested that the block was actually used, located near one extremity of a pediment and at no great height above the horizontal geison, so that the absence of decoration would be concealed above the pediment sculpture. But other pieces show that the incised and painted patterns on the geison soffit were continued to the outermost extremities.

<sup>64</sup> Caskey, in Paton and Stevens, *The Erechtheum*, p. 286 (II col. i, lines 10-12), p. 290 (II col. i, lines 95-98), pp. 303 (fig. 180), 308.

<sup>65</sup> During reading of the proof at the temple site, it was noteworthy that clearing of the area by the Greek authorities in 1960 had removed the heavy brush which had hampered earlier studies, and that great progress had been made in cementing together the fragments of column drums, epistyles, etc. A third but small piece of the epistyle of the porches, with the heavier mouldings, appeared north of the temple. The fragmentary inscribed central epistyle (Fig. 2) has now been cemented together; but a small sliver with  $\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\omicron\omicron$ , and  $\nu\tau$  near the left ends of the last three lines is still missing. A fourth Roman triglyph-metope block (P) of the east front, with the characteristic great lewis hole in the top and again with the triglyph at the right, helping to demonstrate the uniform jointing of these pieces, has appeared near the southeast corner of the temple. When the original Greek southeast corner frieze block (A = 13, Fig. 3) was adjoined by the Roman block (1) of the east front, the Greek T-clamp 0.195 m. behind the face of the east corner triglyph was presumably reused.



a. Epistyle Block of Pronaos with Larger Mouldings.



b. Roman Triglyph-Metope Block of East Front.



c. Rejected Fifth Anta Capital of the Temple at Bassai.



d. Sculptured Greek Metope in the Villa Albani.