

THE MONUMENT OF THE EPONYMOUS HEROES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA¹

(PLATES 41–58)

THE heroes who gave their names to the Athenian tribes provided the essential framework within which the Athenian democracy customarily functioned. In their persons, they linked historical present with immemorial past, the realities of government with the legends of remote antiquity. In their cults, they perpetuated that ancient marriage of ancestral religion and practical politics which formed so characteristic a feature of the Greek polis. The Athenian citizen enjoyed the privileges and responsibilities of his citizenship almost wholly under the protecting aegis of his tribal hero. It was by tribe that he voted in the annual elections; by tribe that he would be allotted to public office. As a representative of his tribe, he would serve in the Council and by rotation of the tribal delegations the Council formed its executive committee. On behalf of his tribe, the citizen competed in the sacred games or performed in the choral dances in the theater. As a youth he was mustered by tribe for military service. It was in the ranks of his tribal regiment that the Athenian drilled and marched to war, by tribe that he fought in battle, and by tribe that he listed the names of his comrades who fell fighting and did not return.

The tribal structure of the Athenian state found its monumental embodiment in the precinct of the Eponymous Heroes in the Agora. Just as the neighboring Altar of the Twelve Gods was the central milestone from which the roads ran out to all parts of Athens, so the complex channels of civic authority ran out to every citizen from the monument of the Eponymoi. Here beneath statues of the tribal heroes every Athenian could read the texts of proposed legislation before they came to the Assembly for action. Here too, beneath the appropriate statue, were posted notices of lawsuits, lists of the new ephebes for each tribe, and the muster rolls which summoned the citizens for military service.² Because of the monument's importance as the center

¹ It is a pleasure to acknowledge my gratitude to my colleagues on the staff of the Agora Excavations who have assisted me in many ways in the preparation of this article. I am particularly indebted to Homer A. Thompson, who initially suggested the study to me, and to William B. Dinsmoor, Jr., whose initials on the architectural drawings bespeak his invaluable assistance in unraveling the secrets of the monument. Photographs for the plates were taken by Eugene Vanderpool, Jr. and Barbara Beggs; and the profiles of pottery in Figure 18 were drawn by Helen Besi.

² For posting of proposed legislation, see Andokides, I, 83; Demosthenes, XX, 94; XXIV, 18, 23; *Etym. Magnum*, Photios; Suidas s.v. ἐπώνυμοι; for lawsuits, Demosthenes, XXI, 103; Isaïos, V, 38; for lists of ephebes, Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 53, 4; and for military rolls, Schol., Aristophanes, *Peace*, lines 1183-1184. References to the Eponymoi in ancient literature have been collected by R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, III, Princeton, 1957, pp. 85-90.

from which public information was officially disseminated to the Athenian people, its location and appearance assume particular interest for the modern student of Athenian history and politics. Indeed, we shall have occasion to see that the history of the Athenian tribes, with their changing numbers and varied heroes, has left its indelible marks upon the surviving stones of the monument itself.

EXPLORATION AND IDENTIFICATION

The monument of the Eponymous Heroes has been for many years a familiar landmark for modern visitors to the site and one of the most characteristic structures in the Athenian Agora. Even before its identification, the unusual importance of the monument was assured both by its extraordinary size (21.17 m. overall length in its final form) and by its prominent location immediately opposite the principal civic buildings, the Metroon and Bouleuterion, and with a completely unobstructed prospect towards the center of the market square. The first season of excavation in 1931 brought to light the remains of its long fenced enclosure surrounding a long and narrow base; and the campaigns of 1931 and 1932 saw the major clearing of the site down to the general level of the classical period. The existing foundations of the monument, together with a few surviving pieces of its superstructure, were described in some detail as part of the preliminary report on the early work.³ In 1951, two panels on the west side of the peribolos were reconstituted from surviving fragments of the original fence posts and capping blocks restored with reinforced concrete (Plate 47, a). The whole area of the monument was explored again in the summer of 1967, and judicious probing of the stratified fill around and beneath the structure yielded valuable evidence for the reconstruction of its history and chronology.⁴ At the time of its discovery, however, no satisfactory identification or interpretation of the structure was immediately forthcoming. Described initially as the "Periphragma," it continued to be labeled simply the "Fenced Peribolos" on the published plans of the Agora Excavations until the Second World War.⁵ The true identity of the long peribolos came gradually to obtrude itself upon the excavators, as they began with increasing certainty to find their bearings among the ancient buildings. Then, too, the anonymous peribolos was won back from antiquity and recognized as the famous monument, so well known from the literary sources.⁶

³ See R. Stillwell, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 137-139 and cf. *ibid.*, p. 106.

⁴ For restoration and conservation of the Eponymoi, see *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 91 f., pl. 16, a-b. The ancient blocks used to reconstruct a section of the western fence are 1 (A 38), 2 (A 1377), 11 (A 194a), 12 (A 194b) in the catalogue, *infra* pp. 151-153, 156-157; and cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933 p. 138, fig. 22. For preliminary mention of the excavations of 1967, see H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 64-68.

⁵ See e.g. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pl. IX; IX, 1940, pl. I.

⁶ The identification of the peribolos as the monument of the Eponymous Heroes, although it appeared first in passing on the plan, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLIX and was mentioned by

Among the numerous ancient references to the Eponymous Heroes, there are three in particular upon which the identification of our monument depends. These alone speak of its topographical relation to other buildings, and all three passages associate the Eponymoi with well known landmarks near the southwestern corner of the Agora. The Roman traveller Pausanias opens his detailed description of the monument in the following manner: τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων πλησίον Θόλος ἐστὶ καλουμένη . . . ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν ἡρώων, ἀφ' ὧν Ἀθηναίοις ὕστερον τὰ ὀνόματα ἔσχον αἱ φυλαί . . .⁷ This statement that the Eponymoi stood somewhere near the Tholos and Bouleuterion is corroborated by a remark in Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians* (53, 4) where he mentions that the ephebes have their names inscribed on a bronze stele, καὶ ἵσταται ἡ στήλη πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου παρὰ τοὺς ἐπωνύμους. It was thus possible in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. for a monument to stand beside the Eponymous Heroes and at the same time in front of the Council House.⁸ Finally a passing reference to the statue of Pandion in Aristophanes' *Peace*, lines 1183-1184, prompted one scholiast to comment, τόπος Ἀθήνησιν παρὰ Πρυτανεῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες, οὓς ἐπωνύμους καλοῦσιν. Vanderpool has convincingly argued that the scholiast, or his source, had here confused the familiar Πρυτανεῖον with the unfamiliar and infrequent term Πρυτανικόν, which applied to the precinct of the Tholos.⁹ The scholiast was not trying to tell us that the Eponymoi stood on the northern slopes of the Acropolis beside the famous Prytaneion, but that they stood in the Agora near the precinct of the Tholos. The literary references indicate a position for the monument of the Eponymoi in front of the Bouleuterion and a short distance from the Tholos. In this region of the Agora, only one structure fulfills the topographical requirements and is at the same time of sufficient size to accommodate ten or more bronze statues. That is the monument presently under consideration. There is no need to dwell here at further length upon its identification; for that has been treated elsewhere and may now be taken as certain.¹⁰

M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 91, note 21, has been most fully expounded by E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 129-132.

⁷ Pausanias, I, 5, 1-2. In place of the reading ἀνωτέρω of the MSS, the emendation ἀπωτέρω has been supported by L. Ross, *Das Thesion und der Tempel des Ares in Athen*, Halle, 1852, p. 64; C. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, Leipzig, 1874, I, p. 165; and more recently by Vanderpool, *op. cit.*, p. 129. This is certainly preferable on topographical grounds. Wycherley, *Agora*, III, pp. 89-90 suggests that the MSS reading is merely a slight error of Pausanias.

⁸ It should be emphasized that in the late fourth century B.C. when *Ath. Pol.*, 53, 4 placed the Eponymoi πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, the Old Bouleuterion of Kleisthenes was still standing on the site later occupied by the three southern rooms of the Hellenistic Metroon (cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 127-135, 172). Thus a monument lying to the east of that building, and between it and the open square, could well be described as "in front of the Bouleuterion."

⁹ See Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 470-475; XVIII, 1949, p. 129, note 4. Cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 44, 147, 149, 151; Wycherley, *Agora*, III, p. 86, no. 232.

¹⁰ See references, *supra* note 6.

PERIOD I: THE PERIBOLOS

Some 14 meters to the east of the Hellenistic Metroon lie the surviving foundations for the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes. The foundations are nearly, but not exactly, parallel to the porch of the Hellenistic building, and they were clearly laid out along the eastern edge of the principal ancient thoroughfare which bounded the market square on the west. The remains consist chiefly of a single course of poros blocks laid end to end so as to form a long rectangle, approximately 18.40 m. in length and 3.56 m. in width¹¹ (Plates 41, 46). Spaced more or less regularly along this foundation is a series of rectangular cuttings two of which contain, still leaved *in situ*, the fragmentary stumps of marble fence posts. Thus it is obvious at a glance that this poros foundation served as the sill for a fenced peribolos. In fact, from the evidence of the various cuttings along the sill, it will be possible to show not only the original disposition of the monument, but also that the peribolos was extensively repaired and rearranged at one period in its history, and that at another time it was substantially enlarged and remodeled.

The sill of the peribolos has withstood the ravages of time remarkably well, for the vast majority of its blocks is preserved intact and in their original positions. Indeed only two adjacent blocks are missing from the west side and two from the east side, one near the middle and one at the northeast corner. The north end of the sill has suffered the most damage since two of its three blocks are missing and the third has been largely broken away.

Throughout our study of the monument, we shall have to notice repeatedly a surprising want of precision and regularity on the part of the builders, so that there is actually considerable variation in the lengths of individual blocks. The blocks next to the corners and those closing the ends are consistently shorter.¹² The blocks themselves have been fashioned from a hard, light gray poros limestone, varying somewhat from fine quality to a rather coarse stone which yields a pitted and pock-marked surface. The ancient masons treated the sill in the manner of a euthynteria course with only the top of the block and the upper portion of its inner and outer faces worked smooth. These exposed surfaces exhibit everywhere the neat regular marks of a fine-toothed chisel. The lower parts of the sill blocks were left roughly hammer-

¹¹ The sill of the peribolos was not laid with great precision, with the result that it is slightly wider at the north end (3.68 m.) than at the south (3.56 m.). It should also be noted that the sill course is not exactly level but slopes down slightly from 56.350 m. above sea level at the southeast corner to 56.282 m. at the southwest corner and 56.157 m. at the northwest corner.

¹² The normal sill blocks on the long sides vary from 1.265 m. to 1.286 m. while one block measures by exception 1.317 m. The three surviving blocks next to the corners are much shorter: 0.976, 1.042 and 1.086 m.; those across the south end measure 1.201, 1.121, 1.245 m. The depth of the blocks is still more irregular, varying between 0.31 m. and 0.53 m. and increasing steadily from south to north. The width of the exposed upper surfaces is consistently much more regular.

drawn in a projecting panel designed to be embedded in the earth (Fig. 1, Plate 47). In a few cases this panel was cut back in a drafted margin along the vertical edges of the block; and wherever the ends themselves can be observed they show a neat band of anathyrosis around the rough-picked center. In response to the generally northward slope of the terrain around the monument, the exposed outer face of the sill becomes increasingly deeper from south to north, and at the north end the rough projecting panel occupies only the lowest 0.18 m. of the block while the upper 0.30 m. was dressed smooth and exposed to view.¹³

If we turn now to consider the construction of the peribolos, the decidedly indifferent methods employed for the setting of its sill will at once occasion more surprise than the irregularities of its dimensions or stone cutting. In the whole area of the peribolos a shallow bedding of earth was spread over the rough pebbled surface, packed hard by the passage of traffic, which marks the ground level of the Agora in the classical period. The single course of sill blocks was then set down on this slight

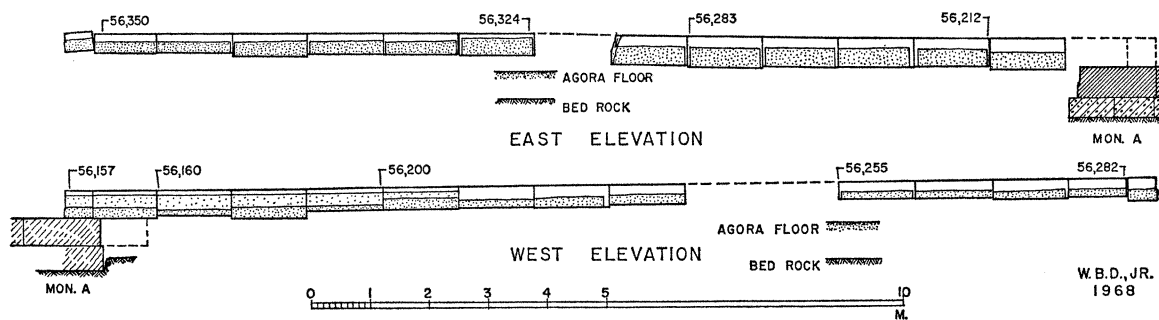


FIG. 1. Elevations of East and West Sills.

earth packing, unsupported by foundations of any kind, except for a few small stones wedged under the ends of the blocks in order to bring them level. At its north end the sill of the peribolos encroached for a distance of 1.35 m. upon the existing foundations of an earlier structure.¹⁴ At the actual northwest corner, the sill was set down upon a block of reddish conglomerate, one of two such blocks laid in the line of the western sill to mask the front of the earlier monument. The disposition of these conglomerate blocks shows clearly in Plates 41 and 46, a and is worthy of

¹³ The smoothed outer face of the sill varies in depth on the east side from 0.13 m. (south end) to 0.24 m. (north end) and on the west side from 0.16 m. (south end) to 0.30 m. (north end). A special treatment of the surface should be noted on the outer faces of the six northernmost blocks of the west sill. On these blocks a drafted margin about 0.075 m. wide was worked smooth along the upper edge of the sill (Fig. 1). Below this the remainder of the exposed face of the block was chiseled with a slightly rougher surface, leaving the rough hammer-dressed projection only along the bottom.

¹⁴ This structure referred to for convenience as Monument A is described in detail *infra* pp. 186-189.

special note since it will assume some importance in determining the architectural and chronological relation of the monuments. Thus only at one end did the peribolos find a substantial foundation beneath it in the form of the euthynteria of a disused monument.

Beside its lack of proper foundation the sill of our monument displays yet another anomaly in its construction. The blocks were simply laid next to each other and no clamps were used to close their joints and tie them to their neighbors. This omission of clamps seems to have caused difficulty in keeping the joints closed at certain points along the sill. Several blocks have shifted leaving the joints open in a number of places, in one as much as 0.05 m. The south end of the sill was particularly troublesome, and here the blocks tended to shift out of line, apparently from the time of the original construction. For only at the southeast corner is there to be seen a cutting for a small double T clamp (Plate 49, c)¹⁵ of the kind used in the superstructure of the original monument. It is of interest to observe that both of these constructional peculiarities, the lack of foundations and the lack of clamps, like many other features of the peribolos, find a parallel in the Altar of the Twelve Gods.¹⁶

It is clear from the cuttings along the sill of our peribolos and from the two marble posts which survive *in situ* on the east side that the poros sill supported the posts of a fence enclosing the monument. But it is equally clear that we must distinguish several periods in the history of the fence itself. The evidence may be adduced from three separate series of cuttings on the sill. We note first the deep sockets along the east side in two of which stand the surviving posts (Plates 47, b, 49, c). These are neatly cut, most of them to a depth of 0.09 m. to 0.10 m.¹⁷ with their sides and floors dressed almost smooth. They vary considerably in size and shape, some being almost square while others have a pronounced oblong plan. Along the west sill and at the southeast corner is a second group of sockets generally a little smaller than the first and of more uniformly rectangular plan. These may be easily distinguished by their rough cutting and much shallower depth (Plate 49, e).¹⁸ Finally each block of the sill bears cuttings for a pair of small dowels, one at each end, set in a few centimeters from the joint. The dowel holes are carefully cut, regularly spaced, and of almost uniform size.¹⁹ A glance at Plates 41 and 48, a will

¹⁵ Half the double T clamp was cut away when a square socket was sunk into the southeast corner block to hold one of the later posts. With the removal of the clamp the joint subsequently opened again 0.05 m. as it is today.

¹⁶ The sill which supported the parapet surrounding that altar in its first period rested mostly on earth fill and was not fastened with clamps. See Crosby, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 86.

¹⁷ The sockets range in depth from 0.079 m. to 0.116 m. A single one of the series, the third from the southeast corner, is by exception much shallower, 0.044 m.

¹⁸ They average 0.03 to 0.04 m. in depth with a maximum of 0.052 m. The cutting of this series at the southeast corner is more of a bedding than a socket worked down only a few millimeters into the surface of the sill.

¹⁹ The dowel holes measure: L. 0.060 m.; W. 0.012 m.; D. 0.050 m. with slight variations.

show that the dowels fall near the edges of slightly dressed rectangular beddings which cross the joints between the sill blocks and indicate the positions of the fence posts in one period. There can be no doubt that the dowel holes represent the original disposition of the fence and are earlier than the sockets. For many of the dowel cuttings were largely obliterated when the rectangular sockets were made; furthermore all the metal dowels save one were carefully prised out of their holes with none of the haphazard damage to the stone which marks the work of the scavenger for metal.

The series of dowel holes, paired beside each joint of the sill, gives evidence of a continuous fence enclosing the peribolos. In the first period of the monument, we can read the traces of 15 posts on the long sides of the sill and of four across the ends (counting the corner posts twice). The posts were spaced 1.27 m. on centers, with a number of slight irregularities, while the spacing on the south end was much closer: 1.01 m. at the center, 1.028 m. and 1.048 m. at the corners. The posts of this fence were centered with fair precision over the joints of the sill and were fastened directly to the sill by means of the two dowels placed one on each side of the post.²⁰ The builders doubtless felt that this arrangement would bind the sill blocks sufficiently to each other and thus obviate the necessity of clamping the joints in the usual manner. The dowel cuttings of Period I yield the restored plan of the peribolos which is here illustrated on Plate 42.

In order to reconstruct the appearance of the peribolos in its first phase, we must draw further upon the finds from the excavation of the area. Several fragments of poros fence posts and coping stones chanced to be found in the immediate vicinity of the monument. To these have been added other pieces of the same series discovered in various parts of the Agora. A total of 16 architectural fragments from the poros fence of Period I has now been assembled, and this material may be most conveniently presented in catalogue form.

FRAGMENTS OF THE POROS FENCE

1. Fence post of Period I. A 38. Fig. 2, Pl. 47, a (right).

Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 138, fig. 22.

P. H. 0.97; W. at bottom 0.289; W. at top 0.298; Th. at bottom 0.21; Th. at top 0.205.

Found beside the northwest corner of the

peribolos; now slightly restored in concrete at the bottom, and reset on the west sill.

The block is fashioned into a slender rectangular pier of hard gray poros made to stand on end and tapering outward slightly toward the top. Only a few centimeters of its original height have broken away at the bottom. The

²⁰ The sill of the Altar of the Twelve Gods gives good analogy for this practice. In its second period some posts of the parapet were dowelled directly to the flat surface of the sill without sockets. The second and third posts from the southwest corner on the west side and those between the corners along the south side were set in this manner. The posts at the corners and beside the gates were set in sockets like those of the later period of the Eponymoi. See Crosby, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 88, fig. 3; Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 54.

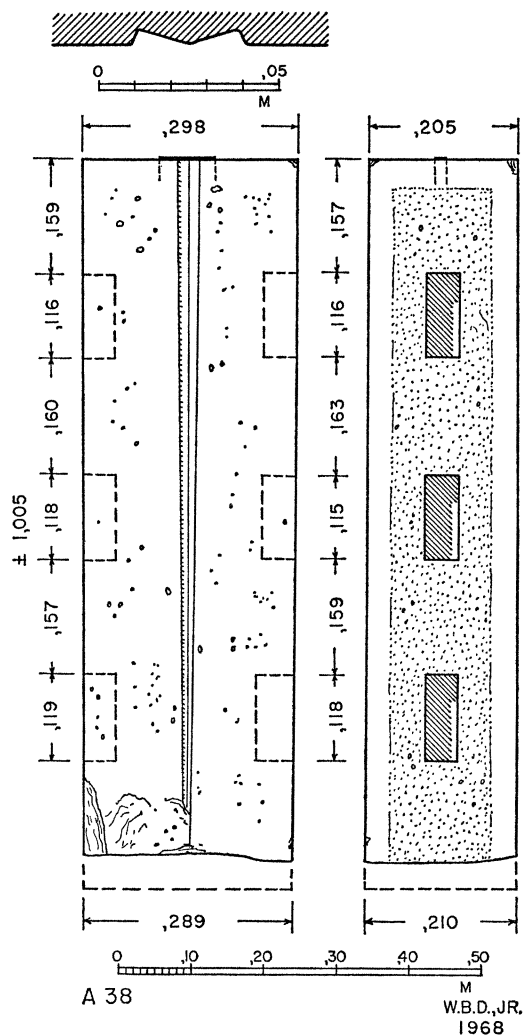


FIG. 2. Poros Fence Post 1.

front of the post is worked smooth; the other three sides are stippled with a point except for a smooth margin 0.025 m. wide around the edges. On its front the post is articulated longitudinally with a narrow wedge-shaped groove 0.032 m. wide at the top and tapering to a point at the bottom. A sharp ridge runs down the center of the groove. On each of the two narrow faces of the post there are three slots (L. 0.118; W. 0.05; D. 0.044) cut for the insertion of wooden fence rails. Near the center of the top an iron dowel (L. 0.08; W.

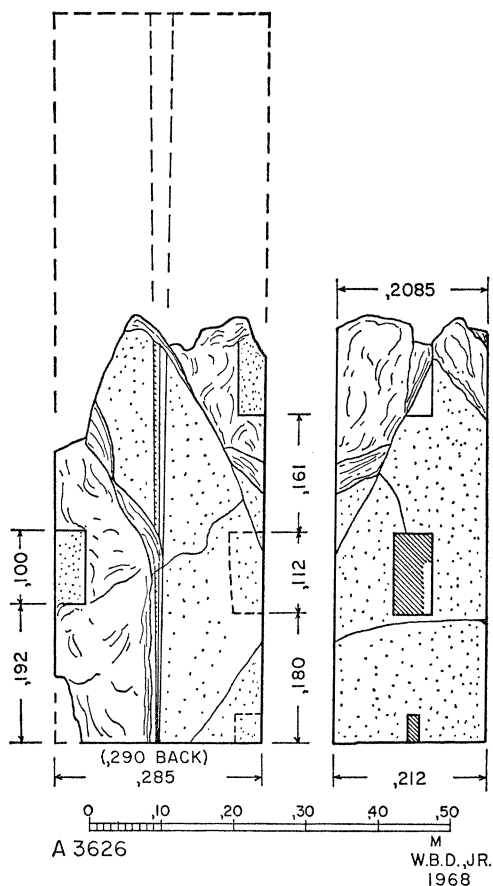


FIG. 3. Poros Fence Post 3.

0.015; P. H. 0.005), still surrounded with lead, projects from the post in order to fasten the capping block above it.

2. Fragment of poros fence post. A 1377. Pl. 47, a (center).

P. H. 0.69; W. at bottom 0.285; W. at top 0.292; Th. 0.22.

Found in the vicinity of the monument; now restored in concrete and reset on the west sill in the reconstructed section of the fence.

The fragment preserves the upper portion of

a post with dimensions closely similar to **1**. The post is slightly wider at the top than the bottom. The stone is somewhat coarser than **1** and decidedly inferior in surface finish. The front is dressed fairly smooth; the sides and back are rough-picked with a point. Down the middle of the front runs the characteristic wedge-shaped groove narrowing from the top downward. The sides preserve two rail holes each (L. 0.11; W. 0.055; D. 0.04). In the top is an oblong dowel hole no longer visible because of the reconstruction.

3. Fragment of poros fence post. A 3626.
Fig. 3, Pl. 50.

P. H. 0.60; W. at bottom 0.285; Th. at bottom 0.212.

Found in vicinity of the monument during original clearing of the site.

The bottom part of a post is preserved of material and dimensions similar to **1**. The fragment is broken at the top and along one side, but its full original width is preserved at the back. All the surfaces are picked slightly with a point. The front preserves the bottom of the narrow groove tapering to a point. The preserved side has parts of two slots for rails (L. 0.112; W. 0.055; D. 0.048); traces of one slot on broken side. In the bottom of the post, centered on the edge of the narrow side, is a dowel hole (L. 0.039; W. 0.015; D. 0.04) for fastening the post to the sill of the peribolos.

4. Fragment of poros fence post. A 3618.
Pl. 50.

P. H. 0.46; W. at bottom 0.28; Th. 0.21.

Found in the demolition of modern house foundations to the south of South Stoa I (N 17).

The fragment preserves the lower part of a post of the same series as **1**. The front face and the resting surface of the bottom have been worked smooth; the back and sides are stippled with a point and no smoothed margin was left at the edges. On the front is the lower point of the shallow wedge-shaped cutting which distinguishes the poros posts. Both sides preserve

the lowest socket for the fence rail (L. 0.11; W. 0.043; D. 0.051). On the bottom are parts of two dowel holes (length not preserved; W. 0.011; D. 0.057) one of which still has some lead in it.

5. Fragment of poros fence post. A 1935.
Pl. 50.

P. H. 0.37; W. 0.295; Th. 0.21.

Found in a late pit 27 m. east of the south end of the peribolos.

The fragment is considerably battered and broken at top and bottom. It preserves the middle section of the post with parts of four cuttings for rails two on each of its narrow sides. The back and sides are rough-picked; the front is slightly smoother but its surface is very much worn. Slight traces of the wedge-shaped fillet can be deciphered, despite the condition of the block. The dimensions of the post correspond so closely with the others of the series that there can be no doubt of its identification.

6. Fragment of poros fence post. A 2701.
Fig. 4, Pl. 50.

P. H. 0.53; W. at top 0.302; Th. at top 0.205.

Found in modern surface fill on the slopes of the Areopagus (N-Q 19-22).

The upper portion of the post is preserved. Like the others of the series it tapers slightly inward from top to bottom. The front surface is dressed smooth; the other three sides are stippled with a point except for smoothed margins, *ca.* 0.032 m. wide, around the edges. Unlike the other pieces of the series, this post has the characteristic wedge-shaped groove cut on both back and front. The grooves are 0.035 m. wide at the top and taper downward. That on the front has a sharp ridge down its center like **1**; the groove on the back is slightly shallower. On each side are preserved two slots for wooden rails (L. 0.115; W. 0.049; D. 0.047). A dowel hole (L. 0.083; W. 0.013; D. 0.04) is cut near the middle of the top for attachment of the capping block.

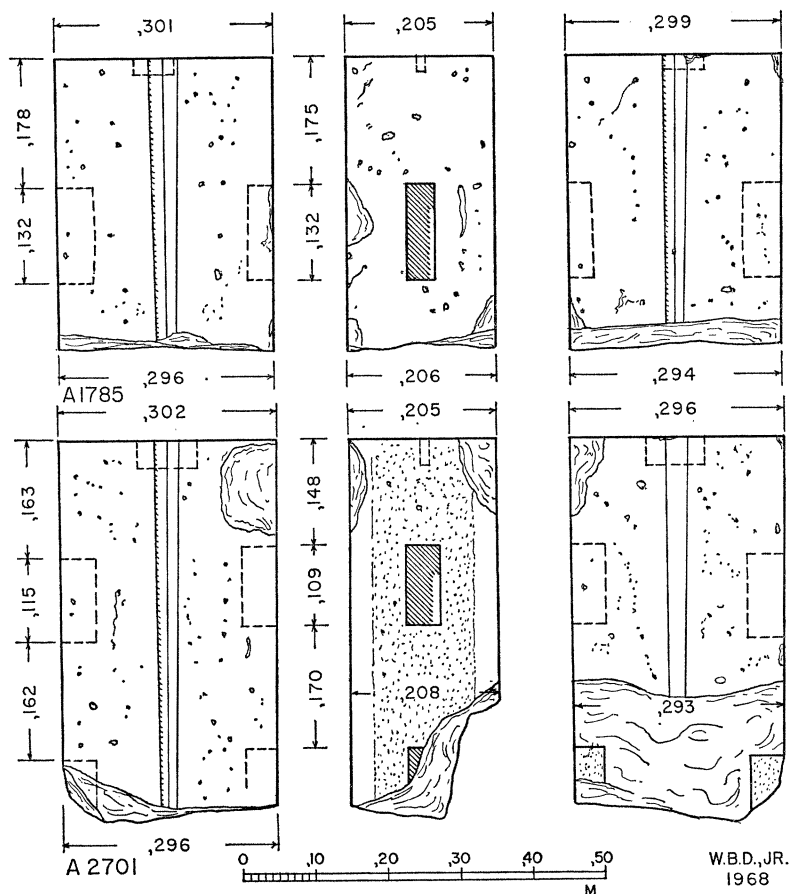


FIG. 4. Poros Fence Posts 6 (below) and 7 (above).

7. Fragment of poros fence post. A 1785.
Fig. 4, Pl. 50.

P. H. 0.40; W. at top 0.301; Th. at top 0.205.

Found built into a Byzantine wall (M 8) east of the altar of Ares.

The fragment preserves the top of the post and the upper part of its shaft. The dimensions of its face again give evidence of the slight flare toward the top of the post. All surfaces of the block have been dressed smooth. This post shares with 6 and 8 the peculiarity of having the tapering, wedge-shaped fillet on both front and back, though again the cutting on the back is shallower than on the front. The uppermost socket for the rails is preserved on each side

(L. 0.132; W. 0.04; D. 0.037). On top is a neatly cut dowel hole (L. 0.056; W. 0.012; D. 0.024).

8. Fragment of poros fence post. A 3627.
Fig. 5, Pl. 48.

P. H. 0.78; P. W. 0.24; P. Th. 0.20.

Found in the vicinity of the monument during initial clearing of the site.

The lower portion of the post is preserved, but the block has been substantially recut at the top and on both sides. One side was cut down fairly smooth, the other merely hacked away. The post was evidently laid face down for reuse as a threshold or step, for the back surface has been worn almost completely

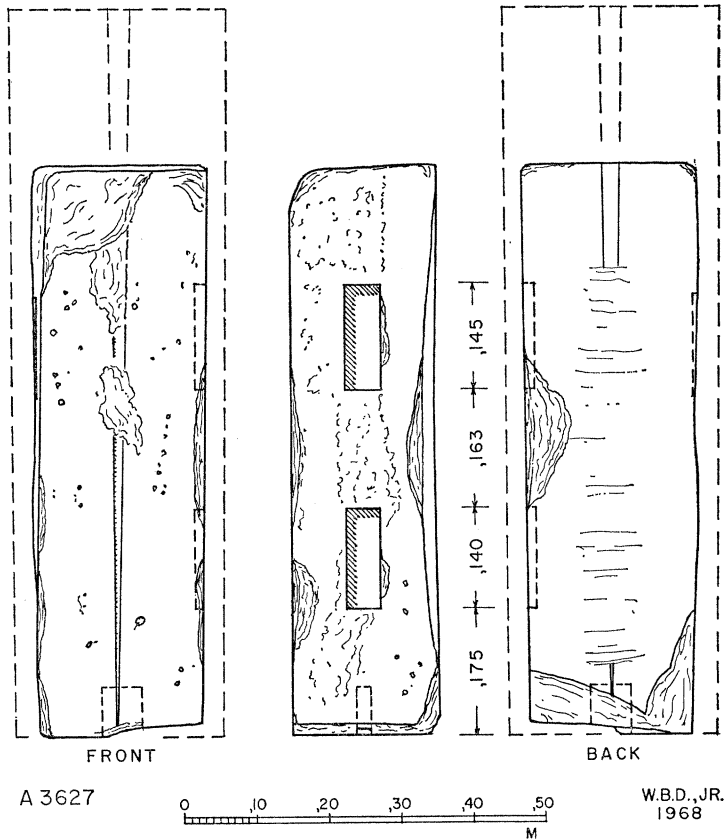


FIG. 5. Poros Fence Post 8.

smooth by the passage of feet. The original surface is preserved, though badly battered, on the front and part of the bottom. Traces of the original wedge-shaped groove may be detected on both back and front. While the groove on the front was cut in the usual manner, the articulation of the back was not a chiseled groove but merely two incised lines. Slots for two fence rails are partially preserved on both recut sides. The size of these slots (L. 0.145; W. 0.05; P. D. 0.015) is larger than on the other poros posts. Another peculiarity is the single rectangular dowel hole (L. 0.056; W. 0.02; D. 0.069) at the center of the bottom. By exception this post was attached to the sill by one central dowel instead of the usual two; for despite the recutting of the sides, enough is preserved to be sure that the post never had

the normal pair of face dowels on the short sides.

9. Fragment of poros fence post. A 1856. Fig. 6, Pl. 50 (where print is upside down).

P. H. 0.33; P. W. 0.23; Th. 0.208.

Found in the area of the peribolos.

This small and badly broken fragment may be assigned with certainty to the peribolos on the basis of its dimensions. Only in its thickness is the original dimension fully preserved. But part of the characteristic tapering groove marks the center of the front, and the dimension from the mid-point of the groove to the preserved right edge is 0.147 m. The original width of the face was thus 0.294 m. which corresponds closely with the other posts of the series. All the original surfaces have been

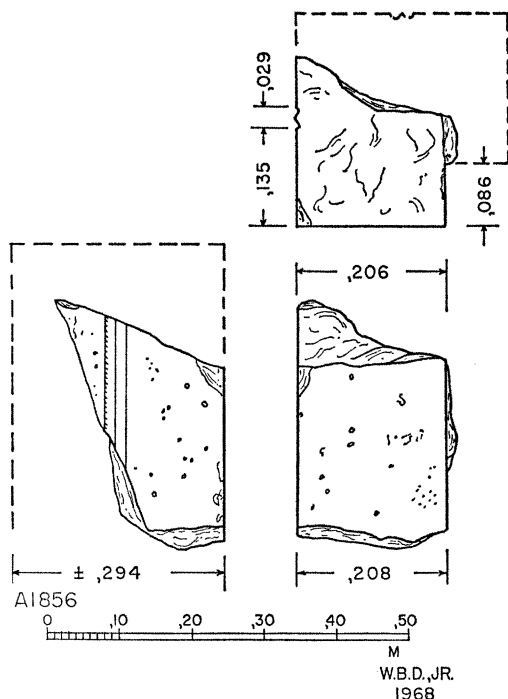


FIG. 6. Poros Fence Post 9.

dressed smooth. On the back, however, the original surface occupies a band only 0.086 m. wide along the preserved edge. Beyond this band a broken protuberance of stone projects outward in such a way as to make it clear that the post turned at this point in a plane perpendicular to the preserved band of original rear surface. It is the most probable inference that this fragment comes from an L-shaped corner post.

10. Fence cap of Period I. A 3663. Fig. 7, Pl. 51.

L. 1.015; W. 0.24; H. 0.245.

Found among late Roman remains 15 m. east of the south end of the peribolos.

Two joining fragments preserve a complete capping block designed to rest horizontally on the upright ends of the fence posts. The block is triangular in section with truncated sides forming narrow fasciae 0.075 m. in height. It is cut from the same hard poros as the fence

posts, and all of its surfaces have been dressed smooth except for the ends which have a slight anathyrosis. In the soffit of the cap at one end only is a dowel hole (L. 0.04; W. 0.024; D. 0.045). The dowel is wider than those of Period I and indicates that the block was later reset. Its other end was never doweled.

The corner fence cap of this same series, noted *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 139, note 1, has never been recorded in the Agora Inventory and cannot be located today.

11. Fragment of poros fence cap. A 194 a. Fig. 7, Pl. 47, a (right).

Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 138-139, fig. 22. P. L. 0.735; W. 0.233; H. 0.243.

Discovered in initial clearing of the peribolos; now restored to full length in concrete and used in reconstructed section of fence.

The fragment preserves a transverse section of the block almost identical in material and dimensions with **10**. Its exposed surfaces have

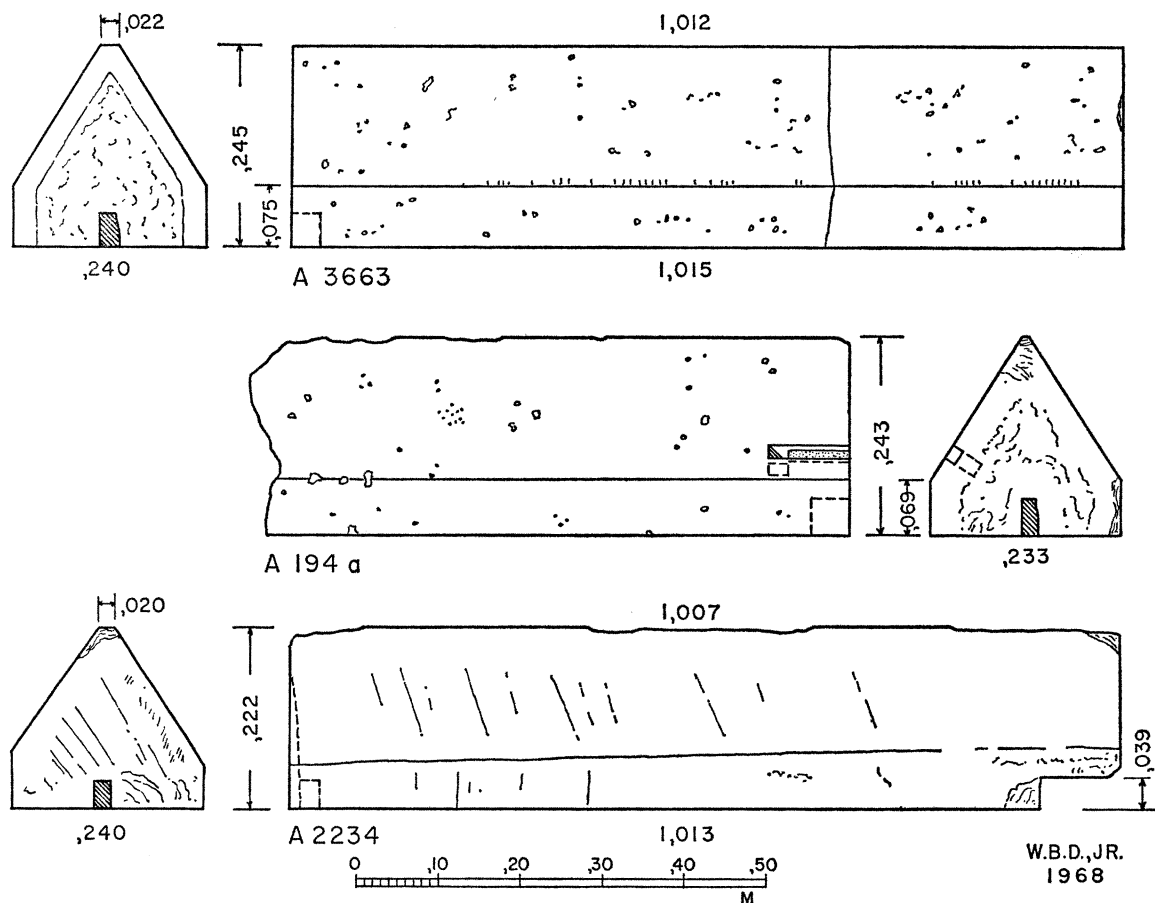


FIG. 7. Capping Blocks of Fence 10, 11 and 28.

been carefully smoothed and the one preserved end shows slight anathyrosis with a margin of *ca.* 0.033 m. around the edges. At the end of the soffit is a dowel hole (L. 0.047; W. 0.021; D. 0.045) of the wider series which indicates resetting. Other evidence of repair may be seen in the cutting for half of a hook clamp (0.10 m. long) at the end of the cap on its upper sloping surface, presumably at the back.

12. Fragment of poros fence cap. A 194 b. Pl. 47, a (left).

P. L. 0.58; W. 0.24; H. 0.24.

Found in the vicinity of the peribolos; now restored to original length in concrete, and set up in reconstructed section of fence on the west sill.

Fragment preserves full section and one end of a cap closely similar to 10 in form and dimensions. Its surfaces show signs of the same kind of tooling and similar anathyrosis at the end. A dowel hole of Period I is preserved at the end (L. 0.037; W. 0.015; D. 0.045).

13. Fragment of poros fence cap. A 194 c. Pl. 51.

P. L. 0.88; W. 0.24; H. 0.24.

Found in original excavation of the peribolos.

Fragment broken at one end, retains the original transverse section of a capping block of the same series as 10, with closely similar dimensions. All original surfaces of the fragment are dressed smooth with a toothed chisel.

At the preserved end is a dowel hole (L. 0.05; W. 0.025; D. 0.062) of the wider series which indicates resetting of the block.

14. Fragment of poros fence cap. A 194 d.
Pl. 51.

P. L. 0.25; W. 0.24; H. 0.24.

Found on the site of the peribolos in the original excavation.

This small fragment preserves one end and a full section of a characteristic capping block of the series. The end is dressed with slight anathyrosis. All other original surfaces are smoothed with a toothed chisel. In the bottom of the end is a dowel hole of the original series (L. 0.035; W. 0.018; D. 0.038). In the upper sloping surface of the back is the cutting for a hook clamp like that of 11.

15. Fragment of poros fence cap. A 194 e.
Pl. 51.

P. L. 0.42; P. W. 0.20; P. H. 0.225.

Found in original clearing of peribolos.

A small much battered fragment broken at

both ends. It preserves its original surface on one side and the bottom only. The material, tooling, and dimensions are similar to other pieces of the group. On the bottom is a circular depression made by the pivot of a door post during some later reuse of the fragment.

16. Fragment of poros fence cap. A 1378.
Pl. 51.

P. L. 0.59; W. 0.234; H. 0.24.

Found in a late Roman level *ca.* 15 m. east of the south end of the peribolos.

One large fragment, to which several small fragments have been joined, preserves the transverse section and one end of a poros capping block similar in form and dimensions to 10. The ancient surfaces survive in good condition and have been carefully smoothed with a toothed chisel. The end is cut with a shallow anathyrosis. At the end of the underside is a dowel hole of the first period (L. 0.063; W. 0.013; D. 0.051) for attachment to a post of the fence.

The surviving architectural fragments, when correlated with the traces along the sill, leave little room for doubt about the restoration of the peribolos in its first period (Pl. 42). The long sides of the enclosing fence were divided into fourteen bays, the short ends into three. Special L-shaped piers turned the four corners, each designed to face in two directions, as we learn from one preserved fragment (9, Fig. 6, Pl. 50) and from the later socket for such a pier at the northwest corner (Pls. 41, 49, b).²¹ Two poros fence posts framed each bay of the peribolos.²² The openings were barred with three wooden rails mounted in three rectangular mortise holes along each side of the posts (Fig. 2); and the bays were bridged by the triangular, poros coping stones spanning the posts from center to center and forming a continuous balustrade around the monument.

It is of interest to observe that both utilitarian and aesthetic considerations seem to have guided the design of the peribolos in elevation. The overall height of the

²¹ Once again the parapet around the Altar of the Twelve Gods provides a striking parallel. At the corner of its later sill is a socket for a closely similar L-shaped post. See Crosby, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 87, fig. 3, pl. 13, 2; Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 57, fig. 6.

²² The posts measured on average 0.285 x 0.21 m. in plan at the bottom and stood to a height of about 1.005 m. It should be noted that, while the faces of the posts tapered from top to bottom (see *infra*), in thickness they diminished slightly as they rose from 0.210 m. at bottom to 0.205 m. at top.

balustrade (1.25 m.) is just about chest high to a man, but it will be noted that this dimension also corresponds closely with the spacing of the posts from center to center, so that the individual bays, inclusive of their frames, were almost square in elevation. The capping blocks, with their truncated triangular sections (Fig. 7), performed a similar dual service. The narrow fascia (0.075 m. high) along the lower lateral edge of the blocks formed a continuous horizontal line which crowned the fence aesthetically just as the firm horizontal of the sill below formed its base. At the same time, the sloping upper surface of the fence cap offered an inviting place for a man to lean as he read the fine print of a notice posted within the peribolos.

The most conspicuous architectural refinement of the fence was the treatment of the poros posts themselves. In our examination of the individual fragments, we encountered repeatedly the tapering wedge-shaped groove which articulates the outer face of each post. This shallow cutting (0.0045 m. deep) measures 0.032 m. at the top and diminishes to a point at the bottom. The wedge is actually formed by two grooves cut obliquely into the face of the block so that their floors slope up to meet in a sharp ridge along the center line of the post (Fig. 2). In response to the taper of the central groove, the posts themselves are made slightly wider at the top so that they too diminish towards the bottom (0.30 m. top, 0.285 m. bottom). As a result of this treatment, the open bays of the fence narrowed correspondingly toward the top and the enframing posts appeared to incline inward on each side like the jambs of a doorway. In elevation the peribolos thus resembled a long series of doorways, with each of its posts divided, as it were, into two jambs paired back to back. This unusual treatment of the fence posts is by no means unique to the Peribolos of the Eponymoi. Although architectural parallels are rare in the classical period, we may supplement the monumental evidence with an illustration drawn from vase painting. A red-figured oinochoe by the Altamura Painter,²³ dated 465-460 B.C., depicts just such a peribolos as ours, although it encloses an altar instead of a statue base. The fence may be compared in all its details: the posts articulated with tapering grooves, the sill beneath, the capping stones above, the bays barred with wooden rails. All this the painter has taken the trouble to include in his picture, and it is plain that he was perfectly familiar with fences very similar to ours. In monumental architecture, the treatment of the fence posts finds its best parallel on parapets where orthostates were inserted between the posts. The parapet panels which enclosed the upper colonnade of the Stoa of Attalos had similar tapering grooves on their central dividing posts and half grooves adjacent to the double Ionic columns, so that the enframing posts inclined inward toward the top of the panel precisely as in the Peribolos of the Eponymoi.²⁴

²³ Berlin 1962.33, A. Greifenhagen, *Antike Kunstwerke*², Berlin, 1966, p. 22, figs. 54-55; cf. *A.R.V.*², p. 1660. I owe this reference to H. A. Thompson.

²⁴ Evidence of these grooves is preserved on several fragments of the parapet, especially

Among the nine existing fragments of poros fence posts, three (6-8) are set apart from the others by a detail which they share in common. On those three posts the tapering channel appears on both front and back of the block, whereas on the others the groove marks only the front surface, and the backs are stippled with a point. One can only suppose that the masons worked these pieces with such special care because they were to stand in a position where both sides of the post would be visible. The restored plan of the peribolos (Pl. 42) will demonstrate, however, that because of the high central pedestal, none of the fence posts was visible from the rear except for the two adjacent to each corner. Thus, with considerable probability, we may assign the three posts, grooved both front and back, to positions at the ends of the peribolos or next to the corner posts on the long sides. For only in these positions would it have been possible to see the backs of the posts diagonally across the corners of the peribolos. One of the three posts in question, 8 (Fig. 5), must be placed on the missing north end of the sill. This emerges from two considerations. First, it will be observed that the post was fitted with a single large dowel near the center of its bottom, and enough is preserved, despite later recutting, to be certain that the post never had the usual pair of small dowels at its narrow ends. The dowel hole of 8 cannot be correlated with any of the surviving cuttings of any period along the three preserved sides of the sill; and the post must then have stood either on the north sill, or in the position adjacent to the northeast corner post of the east side, where the cuttings of Period I have been cut away by the later socket. This latter alternative is, however, eliminated by a second consideration: post 8 seems to have had slots for only two fence rails instead of the usual three. The slots for the fence rails on all other posts average 0.116 m. in height, while those of 8 measure 0.140 m. and 0.145 m. If a third slot of this larger size had been cut on 8, the top of the cutting would have come within 0.07 m. of the top of the post, but wherever it is measurable on all other posts, the top of the highest slot falls 0.163 m., on average,

Agora Inv. A 1619, A 1623, A 1627. The effect may be seen best in the reconstructed parapet, cf. *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pl. 31.

Almost identical to the posts of the Eponymous Heroes are three unpublished posts of Hymettian marble and probably of Roman workmanship, catalogued as Agora Inv. A 280. These are quite close in dimensions to the posts from our monument and show the same wedge-shaped groove and downward taper. They differ in that their narrow edges have seven small mortise holes and most of these edges have been worked down at some period to receive the orthostates of a parapet.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 58 ff., fig. 8, has restored a similar parapet around the Altar of Pity, or Altar of the Twelve Gods, largely on the analogy of the Eponymoi. He has also drawn attention, *ibid.*, p. 59, note 34, to the use of similar sunken wedge-shaped channels on the edges of inscribed stelai, when they were set edge to edge on a common base as were the multiple stelai of the casualty lists. Tapering channels are to be found along the edges of e.g., *I.G.*, I², 942 + E.M. 12883 (D. W. Bradeen, *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 21 ff., No. 5, fig. 1); *I.G.*, I², 944 + Agora Inv. I 3181 a and b (A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 25-27) + E. M. 2492 (Bradeen, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35, No. 8); *I.G.*, I², 958, 965 and Bradeen, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-34, No. 7.

below the top of the post. Thus the size and spacing of the slots would seem to preclude a third and higher cutting on this post. We may find support for this view in the evidence of the fragmentary L-shaped corner post, **9** (Fig. 6). The surviving fragment must be placed ± 0.08 m. below the top of the post, for its wedge-shaped groove measures 0.029 m. at its widest point and is thus lacking only 3 mm. of its full width at the top. The preserved side of the fragment, however, displays no trace of the usual cutting for the highest fence rail; and the first slot must then have been at least 0.38 m. below the top of the post. It is now interesting to note that the top of the uppermost preserved slot on **8** would have fallen almost exactly the same distance below the top of the original post. A comparison of **8** and **9** seems then to justify two conclusions: that post **8**, with its abnormal central dowel and unusual slots, should be placed in one of the two positions on the north sill, and that the bays on the two narrow ends should then be restored with only two rails instead of the usual three.

PERIOD I: THE PEDESTAL OF THE MONUMENT

Within the fenced enclosure of the peribolos there stood originally a long narrow monument which has, over the centuries, been reduced to its barest foundations. Only five blocks of its euthynteria course retain their original positions today along the east side (Pls. 41, 46). Traces of the foundations beneath the euthynteria survive at the north end and along the northern part of the west side. The southern half of the structure has perished without trace. Despite this extensive loss, enough evidence may be wrung from the existing foundations and from two preserved blocks of the superstructure to permit a detailed reconstruction of the monument.

The dimensions and disposition of the surviving blocks indicate that the central pedestal was placed symmetrically within the surrounding peribolos, so as to leave a narrow border all around between the sill and the base of the monument.²⁵ It is clear

²⁵ The symmetrical placement of the base is admittedly assumed, but was surely intended by the architect, even if it was not executed with great precision by the builders. Although the peribolos is 0.12 m. wider at the north end than at the south (see *supra*, note 11), the pedestal base was evidently perfectly rectangular. The euthynteria block second from the south (the southernmost has been shifted slightly from its original alignment) is set back 0.43 m. from the sill, while the northernmost point of the preserved euthynteria lies 0.445 m. back from the sill. Assuming that the base was set out symmetrically on the long axis of the peribolos, we discover that the overall width of the euthynteria near the center of the base measured 1.87 m. ($2.73 - 2(0.43) = 1.87$). At the north end of the preserved section the width of the euthynteria was identical: $2.76 - 2(0.445) = 1.87$ m. This width is exactly corroborated by the cutting along the edge of the south sill for the later extension of the euthynteria (see *infra*, pp. 171-173) which likewise measures 1.87 m. Thus along the sides of the pedestal, the space between euthynteria and sill narrowed slightly from 0.445 m. at the north to 0.377 m. at the south. Our restorations (Pls. 42, 43) have assumed, for the sake of symmetry, that the spacing at each end of the base corresponded closely with that at the sides immediately adjacent, so that the south end of the euthynteria lay 0.068 m. closer to the sill than the north end.

that the euthynteria course consisted originally of ten blocks on a side, of which one at the north end and four at the south are missing from the east side.²⁶ The original length of this lowest foundation course may be estimated at *ca.* 16.64 m.²⁷ Its width, 1.87 m., can be measured with fair precision on the south sill of the peribolos where the edge has been cut down to carry the later extension of the pedestal (cf. *infra*, pp. 171-173). The euthynteria was not, however, constructed as a solid foundation, but consisted rather of two parallel rows of blocks, about 0.93 m. apart, closed at either end by a single block to form a narrow rectangle, the open center of which was then filled with earth and stone packing. The builders, paying heed to the weight of the superstructure, prepared the foundations for the pedestal more carefully than they had for the peribolos. They laid the blocks of the euthynteria on thin poros footing stones beneath the joints.²⁸ These can be seen best on the west side where the euthynteria itself has disappeared (Pl. 46, a), and it will be noted that the two northernmost rest directly on the base of the earlier monument which underlies the north end of the Eponymous Heroes. Also unlike the sill of the peribolos, the blocks of the euthynteria were joined to each other with double T clamps, of which one was used for each joint.

The five preserved blocks of the base were cut from the same hard gray poros as the sill of the peribolos, and their dressing was also much the same. Only the top of each block was smoothed, together with a narrow band, 0.15 m. wide, along the upper edge of the face; the lower part of the face and the back were left rough; the ends were worked with anathyrosis along the edges around a rough-picked center. One or two of the blocks also show a vertical drafted band, *ca.* 0.09 m. wide, along the joints. The top of the euthynteria rises about 0.10 m. above the level of the sill, but only the smoothed band along the upper edge would have been visible when the monument was fully constructed, for we may be sure that the narrow strip around the base inside the peribolos was filled in with earth to the top of the sill (cf. the restored section, Pl. 42).

Along the top of the euthynteria a clear line of weathering, 0.09 m. from the outer edge, marks the limit of the first marble step course; and it should be noted that the surface of the blocks has been slightly roughened inside this weathered line. Con-

²⁶ The blocks average 1.65 m. in length; their width varies considerably from 0.47 to 0.54 m., and their height measures 0.45 m.

²⁷ As was noted *supra*, note 25, our restoration assumes that the euthynteria was set in 0.377 m. from the south sill and 0.445 m. from the north sill. If this be deducted from the overall length of the peribolos within the sill, the result is the length of the euthynteria: $17.465 - (0.377 + 0.445) = 16.643$ m.

²⁸ It is possible that the footing stones were confined to the northern half of the monument where the ground begins to slope off. Since none is to be seen under the three southernmost joints of the preserved blocks, we might conclude that the southern half of the euthynteria was merely set down on a few centimeters of earth packing like the sill.

cerning the marble step itself little information is available. That it was indeed of marble, we learn from two small fragments which can only be assigned to this course of the monument (Agora Inv. A 3634, A 3635). Both of these preserve part of the smooth exposed tread of the step and the lightly chiselled resting surface for the next riser. Both also come from the end of a block and show a bit of neat anathyrosis. One (A 3634) preserves part of the cutting for a double T clamp; the other (A 3635) has the end of a shallow pour channel for dowelling the next higher course. Neither piece yields any evidence of value for the reconstruction of the pedestal, except that the tread of the first step must be restored with a minimum depth of at least 0.18 m.

The marble blocks of the step course were shifted into their correct positions along the euthynteria with the aid of pry holes which are still to be seen near the centers of the surviving euthynteria blocks (see plan, Pl. 41). Some of the steps required several adjustments before they joined properly; thus we find three pry holes in the northernmost block and two each in the next two blocks. The spacing of the pry holes gives an approximate length for three of the step blocks: 1.68, 1.56, 1.70 m. north to south. The cutting of the pry holes along the preserved section of the euthynteria shows that the step blocks were here laid southward starting from the north end. But the absence of a pry hole on the southernmost block of the euthynteria is equally significant. For it suggests that the block which rested here, the central block of the marble step, was lowered into position from above after the masons, working from the two ends toward the center, had laid the rest of the course. It should also be noted that the marble step blocks merely rested upon the euthynteria without being dowelled in position.

If the foundations for the pedestal had alone survived, we should be able to say very little more about the appearance and history of the monument. But a happy fortune brought to light in the original excavation of the area two blocks of the moulded capping course which crowned the pedestal and served as a plinth for the statues. Various chapters of their long history have been carved immutably in the surface of these stones; and a decipherment of their cuttings will enable us to read much of the story of the remodeling and alteration through which the monument has passed.

CAPPING BLOCKS OF THE PEDESTAL

17. Pedestal cap, end block. A 66. Figs. 8, 14, Pl. 52.

L. 1.105; W. 1.263; H. 0.204; W. underside between mouldings 0.927.

Found above the Great Drain, 8.50 m. west of the north end of Eponymous Heroes, where the slab had been re-used in late antiquity as a cover slab for the drain.

Two joining pieces form a complete block of fine Pentelic marble. Three faces of the block are finished with a projecting cornice-like moulding (Fig. 14), which consists of a cyma reversa above a narrow fascia on the soffit, a drip moulding, and a crowning ovolo surmounted by another narrow fascia. Only the fourth side is worked as a joint with a band of anathyrosis around a slightly sunken and

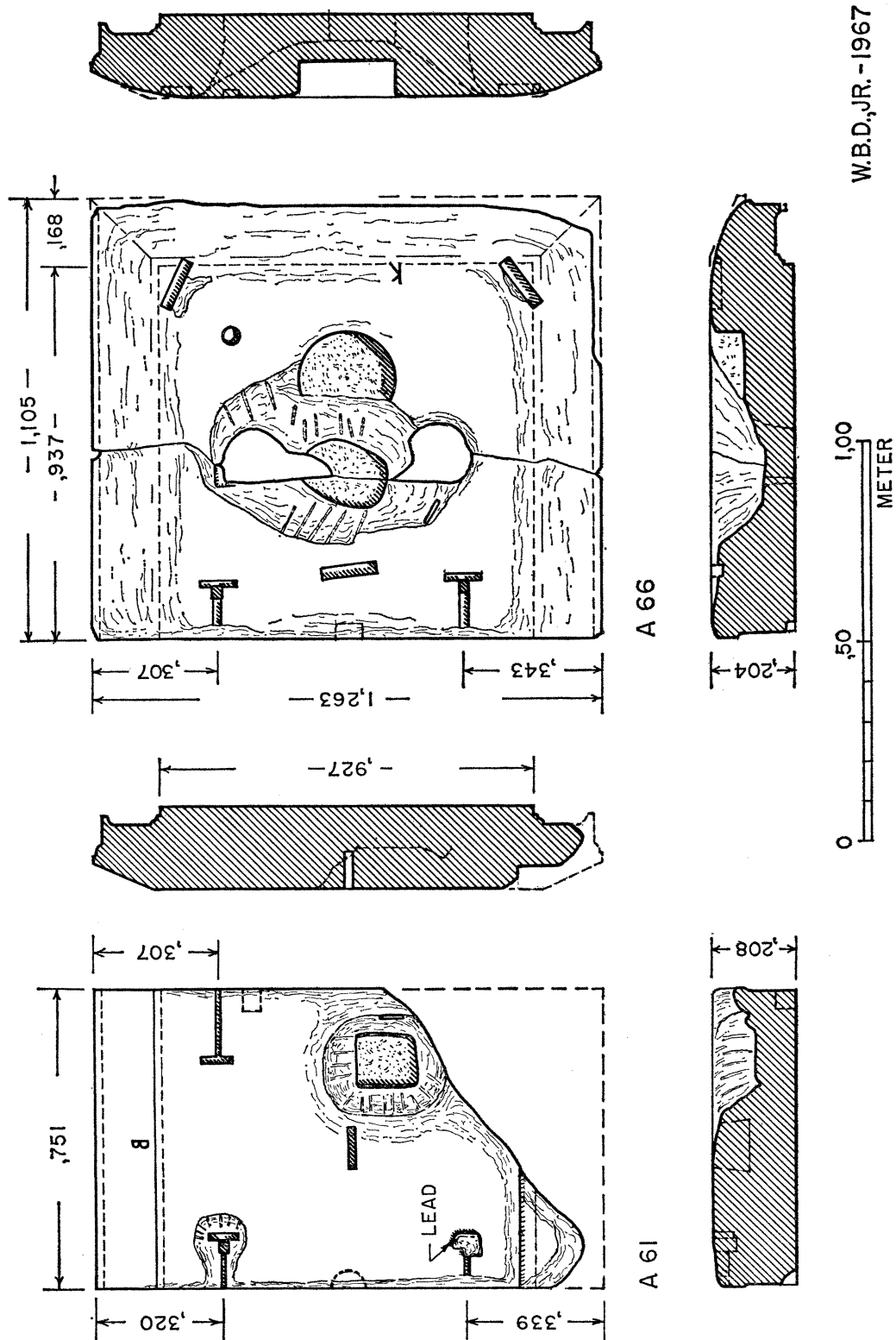


Fig. 8. Crowning Blocks of Pedestal 18 and 17.

stippled center, which indicates that we have here one of the two end blocks of the course.

Around the top of the block a band 0.148 m. wide bevels off slightly over the three moulded faces. On the outer end of the block, just where the bevel begins to slope, there may be seen the Greek letter K scratched lightly as a mason's mark. Beside the joint are cuttings for two double T clamps which joined the block to its neighbor. At some later period, both clamps were carefully removed and replaced by hook clamps in the original cuttings. Further evidence of various periods of use may be read in the other cuttings on the top. Three cuttings (L. 0.14; W. 0.04; D. 0.03) for the feet of a bronze tripod may be easily distinguished at the outside corners and midway between the clamps; and these are all equidistant from a circular socket (0.242 m. in diameter; 0.08 m. deep) cut to hold the columnar support for the cauldron of the tripod. Next to the socket is the deeper (0.133 m.) and more irregular cutting for the later attachment of the tenon for a bronze statue. When this in turn was removed a large oval area in the center of the slab was roughly hacked away; and two rough holes were chiseled through the entire thickness of the block. Finally in its re-use as a cover slab for the Great Drain, the top of the block was worn completely smooth.

18. Pedestal cap. A 61. Fig. 8, Pl. 52.

L. 0.751; P. W. 1.21; H. 0.208.

Found midway between the northwest corner of the Eponymous Heroes and the channel of the Great Drain.

One large fragment of fine Pentelic marble preserves the original length, height, and three faces of the block. Most of one corner and the fourth face are broken away. A projecting moulding identical with that of 17 is completely preserved along one short face and partially preserved on the opposite face. The width between the mouldings on the bottom is likewise identical with 17. The sloping bevel above the preserved moulding carries the mason's mark B. Both long sides of the block were dressed down in the center leaving a band of anathyrosis around the edges to close the joints. There are cuttings for three double T clamps beside the opposite joints. Those on one side were later replaced with hook clamps; the single preserved clamp on the opposite side was never changed. Near the center of the top is a lewis hole (L. 0.108; W. 0.02; D. 0.095). An end dowel (L. 0.059; W. 0.041; D. 0.05) was fitted into one of the long sides, and the oblique cutting for a pry can be seen near the middle of the other side. The tenon of a bronze statue was sunk originally in a roughly square cutting (L. 0.15; W. 0.13; D. 0.09) next to one of the joints. When the statue was removed the surface of the stone suffered a good deal of damage, and still visible are the marks of the chisel whose blows freed the dowel from the marble. The top of the block is worn down in places, owing to its use as a cover slab for the drain; and at some period of re-use a shallow ledge was cut along the face which is now largely broken away.

From these two surviving blocks of the crowning course we may adduce sufficient evidence to picture the monument as a whole (Pl. 42). The cap blocks were clearly designed to crown the orthostates of a high pedestal which formed the die of the monument. While there is no way of estimating the height of the die with any accuracy, the capping course would have been well above eye level; for we note that the clamps, two at each joint, were left fully exposed and the masons' marks were cut on top of the blocks near the edge. Surely these were not intended to be visible when the blocks were in position. It is also evident that the actual orthostates were raised upon a krepidoma of two steps in order to give additional height to the pedestal.

Two surviving fragments of the lowest marble step have already been discussed, and we have seen that the weathered line along the euthynteria indicates the position of the step 0.09 m. in from the edge, thus giving an overall width for the first step course of 1.69 m.

One small fragment (Agora Inv. A 3637; Fig. 9) may be assigned to the second step on which the orthostates rested. This preserves the upper portion of the riser and the edge of the tread with just a bit of the anathyrosis of one joint. An incised setting line and clear indications of weathering on the surface of the tread show that the second step projected only 0.028 m. beyond the base of the orthostates. Accordingly, we may visualize the die set up on the second riser for added height and surrounded by the broader tread of the lower step.²⁹

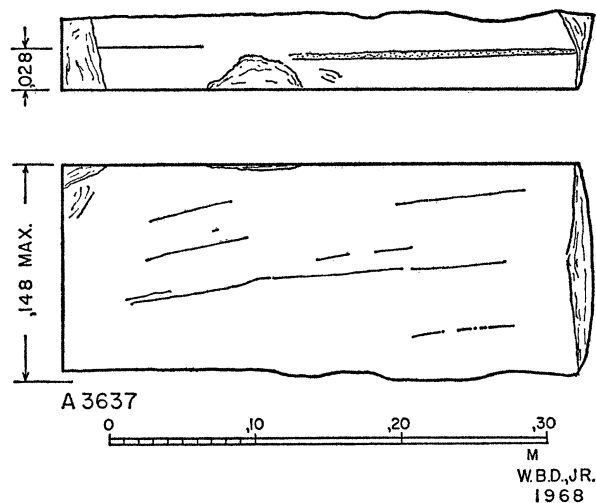


FIG. 9. Fragment of Second Step of Krepidoma (A 3637).

Enough evidence has already been presented to allow a close estimate of the length of the pedestal within the surrounding peribolos. If the widths of the two steps and the setback from the edge of the euthynteria be subtracted from the overall length of the euthynteria, the length of the die may be estimated at 15.70 m., to

²⁹ The width of the tread on the first step may be estimated by the following calculation. The width of the die at the top of the orthostates (0.927 m.) is measurable on the underside of the cap blocks. Adding to this the projection of the second step on either side ($0.028 \times 2 = 0.056$) and allowing for the slight setback of a drafted margin along the base of the orthostates (*ca.* $0.005 \times 2 = \text{ca. } 0.010$), we obtain $0.927 + 0.056 - 0.010 = 0.973$ m. for the overall width of the second step. If this in turn be deducted from the overall width of the first step as calculated on the euthynteria (1.69 m.), the difference gives the width of the tread around the pedestal: $1.690 - 0.973 = 0.717 \div 2 = 0.3585$ m. Our restorations have assumed this to be the approximate width of the first tread on all sides of the monument.

which the projection of the cornice-like crowning moulding should be added to yield a total length of 16.036 m. along the capping course.³⁰

We may enlist the support of another detail of the capping blocks to corroborate our restored dimensions and to throw more light upon the composition of the course. Each of the blocks is inscribed with a letter of the Greek alphabet (**B** and **K**), evidently according to a system which numbered each block in the course to facilitate the erection of the monument. These masons' marks are undoubtedly to be interpreted as alphabetic numerals of which **B** = 2 and **K** = 20. Our surviving blocks can thus be assigned to their exact positions in the series. No. **17** marked with **K** was the terminal block of the crowning course and indicates that the course consisted originally of precisely 20 blocks, each numbered for a specific position. The other surviving block **18**, marked with **B**, was then the second block from the opposite end of the pedestal.³¹ The two end blocks, undoubtedly identical, were longer than the others (1.105 m.) in order to carry ornamental tripods at each end of the pedestal. On the basis of our previous calculation for the length of the capping course (16.036 m.), the average length of the 18 shorter blocks between the ends would have been 0.768 m.,³² while we observe that the actual length of **18** is 0.751 m. a difference of only 17 millimeters. So slight a discrepancy should cause no surprise in a monument of somewhat imprecise workmanship,³³ and we may conclude that our restored dimensions approximate the originals very closely indeed.

From an examination of the dowels on the two preserved blocks, there emerges a clear picture of the rather unusual procedure by which the capping course was laid. The end slab (**17**) was not dowelled in position at all, while our other block (**18**) preserves cuttings for a pry, near the center of its outer joint, and for an end dowel, presumably one of two, on the inner joint. The block was thus lifted to the top of

³⁰ See *supra* note 27 for the total length of the euthynteria, 16.643 m.; p. 162 for the setback from the euthynteria to first step (0.09 m.); note 29 for widths of the steps (0.3585 and 0.028 m.) and the allowance for the drafted margin on the orthostates (0.005 m.). $16.643 - 2(0.09) - 2(0.3585) - 2(0.028) + 2(0.005) = 15.70 + 2(0.168) = 16.036$ m. for the total length of the capping course including the projecting moulding.

³¹ I owe these observations to J. Travlos. For the use and date of alphabetic numerals, see M. N. Tod, *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, pp. 126 ff. There are two bits of evidence which suggest that the monument faced eastward on to the market square. It was the eastern fence of the peribolos which was refurbished in marble during the Hadrianic period (see *infra*, pp. 181-185, 201-203), and this special embellishment would certainly have been given to the front rather than the back of the monument. The cuttings for the later bronze statue on cap block **17** enable the front of that block to be distinguished from the back. Thus that terminal block must be placed on the south end of the pedestal and **18** then takes its place second from the north end.

³² $16.036 - 2(1.105) = 13.826 \div 18 = 0.7681$ m.

³³ This deviation of 0.017 between our hypothetical average block and **18** should be compared with the considerably greater discrepancies in the euthynteria blocks. Their average length is 1.634 m.; but the longest measures 1.673 m., a deviation of 0.039 m., and the shortest measures 1.579 m., a deviation of 0.055 m. from the average.

the pedestal by means of the lewis hole in its upper surface. It was pried into position from one direction and then dowelled on the opposite joint; so that it was necessarily laid before the blocks on either side of it. It seems most likely that the second block from each end of the pedestal was laid first. The masons then proceeded to work toward the center, dowelling the inner joint of each block as they went, while the end blocks will have been lifted into place last of all and left undowelled.

One of the most interesting and unusual features of the pedestal is the crowning moulding (Fig. 14; Pl. 49, d) which ran around all four faces of the monument and is well preserved on both blocks of the capping course. The moulding projects forward 0.168 m. on all sides like a narrow horizontal cornice and is finished in a drip moulding which finds its closest parallel on the Ionic geison. The soffit is embellished with a cyma reversa above a narrow fascia which is set back slightly from the end of the curve. An ovolo surmounted by a slightly projecting fascia crowns the moulding. Although various combinations of the ovolo and cyma reversa form the characteristic adornment for pedestals and statue bases,³⁴ and though the individual elements of our moulding could well crown many a base or orthostate throughout the classical period, their combination in a miniature cornice is exceedingly rare as the crowning member of a base or podium. In fact only one other example readily presents itself for comparison, but that forms an illuminating parallel for the moulding of our monument. On the Choregic Monument of Lysikrates, the course which crowns the podium and serves as a plinth for the Corinthian tholos is likewise treated as a projecting cornice and bears striking resemblance both in scale and profile to the crowning cornice of the Eponymoi (Fig. 15). We find here the same combination of elements, cyma reversa, geison drip, and crowning ovolo, used in a precisely analogous situation atop a high podium.³⁵ The distinguishing features which the mouldings of these two monuments share in common find their nearest relatives

³⁴ For the use of ovolo and cyma reversa on pedestal and altar crowns, see L. T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, pp. 51-53, 84-85, 178-179, pls. XXIII, XXIV, XXXVI.

³⁵ For the Lysikrates Monument, see J. Stuart and N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, I, London, 1762, pp. 27-36, pls. I-IX. Excavation around the monument is reported by A. Philadelphus, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1921, pp. 83-97; F. Studniczka, *Arch. Anz.*, XXXVI, 1921, pp. 318-321. For full history and bibliography, see H. Riemann, *R.E.*, Suppl. VIII, cols. 266-348, *s.v.* "Lysikrates-monument." Most of the cornice course in question has been restored, the only ancient block being at the southeast corner. Because of the battered condition of this, some details of the profile, Fig. 15, have been restored with dotted lines, based on drawings of Stuart and Revett.

Another moulding of the same general type as that on the monuments of Lysikrates and the Eponymoi is the far more elaborate profile which crowned the great altar before the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. This also displays the characteristic geison drip, crowned by an ovolo, as its most prominent element. See C. Dugas, J. Berchmans, M. Clemmensen, *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée au IV^e siècle*, Paris, 1924, p. 68, fig. 25, pl. LXXXV, C; and for the profile, Shoe, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII, 18.

among the great family of geison mouldings which decorated the cornices of Ionic buildings. The use of the overhanging drip with a cyma reversa on its soffit and an ovolo as its crown is so standard on Ionic cornices that the designers of the Eponymous Heroes and the Monument of Lysikrates may well have drawn their inspiration from the repertory of ornament on major architecture. Making allowance for the simple forms and smaller scale of our mouldings, we may profitably compare them with the geisa of such buildings as the Nereid Monument at Xanthos and the Temple of Athena at Priene.³⁶ To the chronological significance of these comparisons we shall return in due course (*infra*, pp. 192-196). Whatever the source of inspiration for the cornice moulding of our pedestal, it is important to stress that the form recommended itself on grounds of simple function. For the statues of the Eponymoi were not displayed on an ordinary pedestal designed solely to set off the sculpture. The high orthostates of the die, it will be remembered, were hung with notices, whitened boards on which were painted temporary texts of laws and other documents set out for preliminary publication.³⁷ In order that these perishable documents might remain legible and in good condition as long as possible, at least a modicum of protection from the weather would have been welcome. For this purpose the overhanging cornice of the pedestal cap was particularly well suited. Indeed, we may suppose that the unusual adaptation of geison mouldings to a pedestal crown was designed specifically with this end in view.

Finally, we may turn our attention to the statues themselves which stood on the pedestal of the monument. Here alas, the imagination must be called upon to fill out the great gaps where evidence has deserted us (Pl. 42). A few observations will be in order nevertheless. The size and proportions of the pedestal leave little doubt about the general appearance and arrangement of the group. The statues of the Eponymous Heroes, ten in number during the first period of the monument, will have formed a single long row of draped figures facing east on to the market square. The cuttings in the top of the end cap block (17) give evidence that bronze tripods flanked the statues and closed the group at either end. The terminal tripods were a particularly happy device in the composition of the group. In purely aesthetic terms, they served to relieve the inevitable monotony which the long, narrow base of Greek convention imposed on the composition. But beyond their function as attractive ornaments, the tripods emphasized the religious aspect of the Eponymoi as heroes,

³⁶ For the cornice of the Nereid Monument, see G. Niemann, *Das Nereiden-Monument in Xanthos*, Vienna, 1921, p. 9, figs. 9, 10, pl. II; F. Krischen, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVIII, 1923, p. 73, fig. 2, X, pls. VIII, XI; Shoe, *op. cit.*, pls. XX, 4; LXXIV, 32. The profile of the ovolo on the Eponymoi pedestal is flatter than that at Xanthos and lacks the astragal; the profile of the cyma reversa is lower and deeper. For the geison from Priene, see T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904, p. 104, figs. 68, 71-72, 74-76; Shoe, *op. cit.*, pls. XX, 7; LXXIV, 33. The elaborate soffit mouldings of the Athena Temple are in no way comparable to the pieces in the Agora.

³⁷ Cf. Demosthenes, XXIV, 23; Aischines, III, 38 f.; Andokides, I, 83.

the objects of cult and the recipients of dedicatory gifts. Indeed, the tripod was a most appropriate and characteristic dedication to a hero cult; and in the case of the Athenian Eponymoi, it called to mind also the famous Delphic tripod, the special attribute of Apollo's oracle, which had chosen the original Eponymous Heroes of Athens when the Kleisthenic tribes were formed.³⁸

The statues themselves were also of bronze, as we learn from a cutting for the tenon beneath the foot of one of them, which is preserved on the cap block, 18. This is the only cutting for the attachment of the original statues which has chanced to survive, but it yields a little evidence of value. Let us note first that the cutting is just beside the inner joint of the block, so that the figure was set astride the joint with a foot on each of the two cap blocks. The surviving block, inscribed as it is with the Greek letter B, was the second block from the north end of the base; and thus the preserved cutting held the left foot of the northernmost statue. If, as we should presume, the statues were originally arranged according to the official order of the tribes, the figure at the north end would have been the hero of the first or the tenth tribe, either Erechtheus or Antiochos. It should be observed further that the cutting for the statue on 18 is noticeably behind the center of the block, and that it does not at all approximate the shape of the human foot but is rather square in plan (0.15 x 0.13 x 0.09 m. deep). From the shape and position of the cutting, it may not be rash to conclude that the statue stood in the familiar stance of the Polykleitan Doryphoros and Diadoumenos, that is with most of the weight carried on its right foot, while the left foot would be drawn backwards with only the toes and ball of the foot attached to the base by means of a dowel in the preserved cutting. The rather large size of the tenon, taken in conjunction with the size of the later cutting in 17, suggests that the statues were somewhat over life size, and they have been so restored on Plate 42.

After the foregoing discussion, the monument of the Eponymous Heroes of Athens can take its place beside other well known monuments of this familiar type. For groups of statues were frequently arranged side by side, in a single row, on a long common base. The famous monument of Daochos at Delphi³⁹ or the Arcadian base⁴⁰

³⁸ For the tripod as the special dedication to a hero, cf. the shrine of the hero Ptoos on Mt. Ptoon where many tripod bases were found in the sanctuary, see generally P. Guillon, *Les trépieds du Ptoion*, Paris, 1943, and for the significance of the dedications, II, pp. 87 ff. For the importance of the tripod to the myth and cult of Herakles, see E. Reisch, *R.E.*, V, 1905, cols. 1681-1682, s.v. "Dreifuss"; K. Schwendemann, *Jahrb.*, XXXVI, 1921, pp. 161-168. For the Delphic tripod, Reisch, *op. cit.*, cols. 1683-1684; Schwendemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-175. That the Delphic oracle chose the Eponymous Heroes of the Attic tribes is stated by Pausanias, X, 10, 1; *Ath. Pol.*, 21, 6.

³⁹ The monument to the Thessalian tetrarch and his family had only eight statues arranged on a much lower and simpler base, and the group could have been viewed only from the front. See T. Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, pp. 421 ff.; E. M. Gardiner and K. K. Smith, *A.J.A.*, XIII, 1909, pp. 447-475; J. Pouilloux, *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, *La région nord du sanctuaire*, Paris, 1960, pp. 67-80, plan 11. For the marble sculpture of the group, C. Picard and P. de la

near the entrance to that sanctuary leap to mind as typical examples, though both are conceived on a smaller scale than our monument. Architecturally, the most striking parallel to the Athenian monument is to be found somewhat later at Delos, where a group of 19 bronze statues representing the ancestors of King Antigonos Gonatas were displayed on a single long base in front of the Stoa of Antigonos.⁴¹ This Delian monument in its general design and arrangement compares closely indeed with the Eponymous Heroes, except that it lacks the extra height of the die, the projecting cornice, and the surrounding peribolos, which are the three most characteristic features of our monument. All of these features, of course, arose from the peculiar dual role of the Eponymoi, as a functioning public notice board and equally as an enduring symbol, translated into artistic form, of the Athenian tribal system which lay at the heart of the Athenian democracy.

PERIODS II-III: THE EXTENSION OF THE PEDESTAL

Under this heading may be grouped several pieces of evidence which, taken together, lead one to the inescapable conclusion that at some time in the history of the monument the pedestal was lengthened to the very limit which the surrounding peribolos would allow. Although the various signs of alteration to which we shall turn shortly may be best presented as parts of a single major architectural remodeling, it will be clear when we come to consider the problems of chronology that we have here to do with two distinct historical moments in the life of the monument.

The evidence for this major alteration, the results of which may be appreciated from the restored plan and elevation on Plate 43, must be assembled from a few details of the existing members of the structure. Along the inner edge of the sill at the south end is a rough cutting where the sill has been worked down slightly for a width of 0.125 m. and a length of 1.87 m. The edge of the sill is thus depressed a few millimeters here; and the harsh, rapid strokes of a toothed chisel all along this line contrast sharply with the otherwise smooth surface of the poros sill (Fig. 10, Pls. 41, 48, a). The cutting is placed symmetrically with relation to the narrow end of the peribolos and its length, 1.87 m., corresponds precisely with the width which may be calculated for the lowest course of the central pedestal further north (cf.

Coste-Messelière, *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, *Sculptures grecques de Delphes*, Paris, 1927, pp. 35 ff., pls. LXIII-LXVIII.

⁴⁰ The Arcadian monument included only 9 bronze statues and was considerably smaller than the Eponymoi. See H. Pomtow, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, pp. 461-492, pl. XXIV; *R.E.*, Suppl. IV, 1924, cols. 1206-1209, no. 4; and cf. J. Pouilloux and G. Roux, *Énigmes à Delphes*, Paris, 1963, pp. 23 ff.

⁴¹ The so-called monument of the Progonoi, dated to the mid-third century B.C., measured 21 x 1.51 m. on its socle and stood 1.25 m. high. The statues seem to have been life size, and thus a little smaller in scale than the Eponymoi even if their numbers were greater. See F. Courby, *Exploration de Délos*, V, *Le portique d'Antigone*, Paris, 1912, pp. 74-83.

note 25). The cutting along the sill, it will be observed, begins in a line almost flush with the inner faces of the fence posts which stood on the south sill. During the original excavation of the peribolos, there was found *in situ* in the eastern half of this cutting a thin, rather roughly worked poros slab, squared off at the corner and

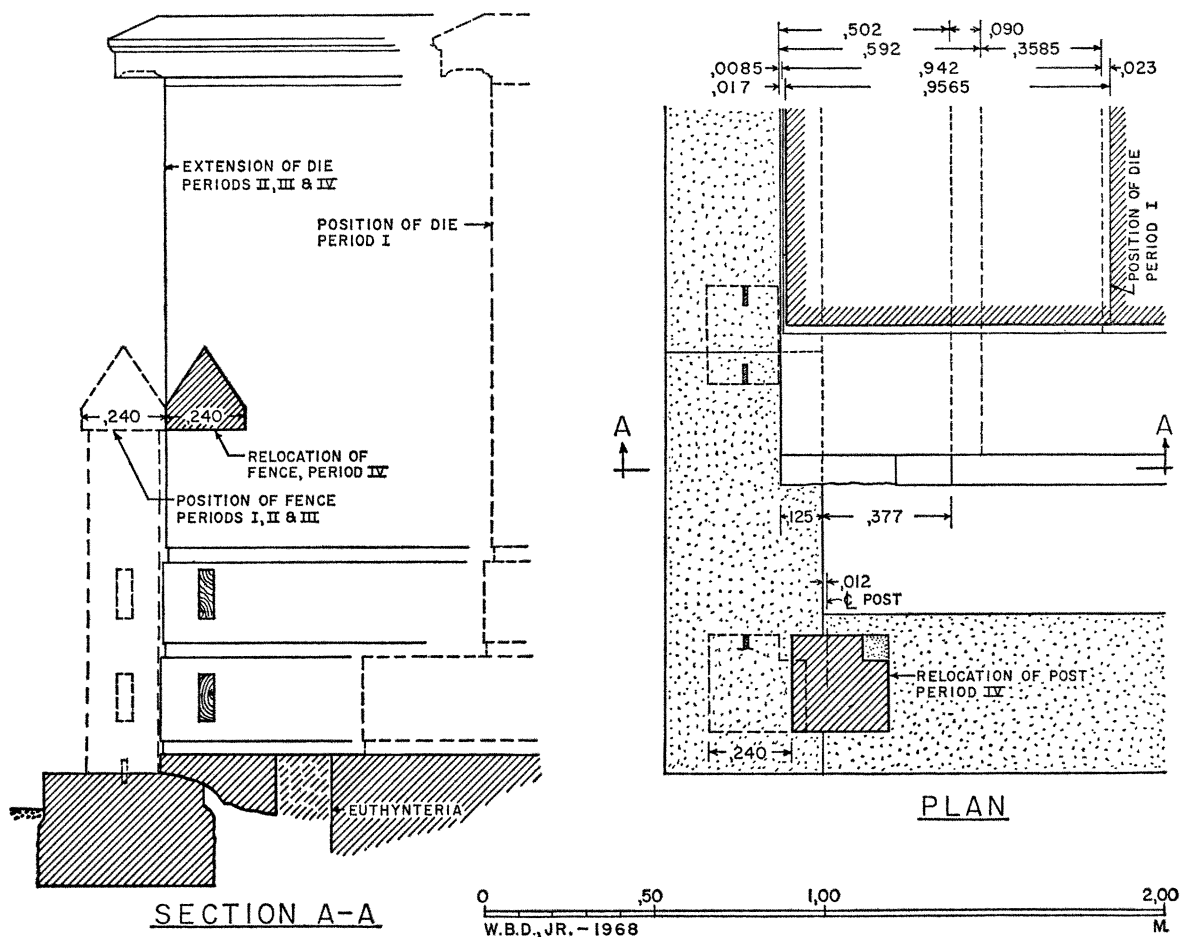


FIG. 10. Schematic Plan and Section at Southeast Corner, Partly Restored.

smoothed on its top surface. This slab had been cut almost wedge-shaped in section and was placed with its thinner side, 0.06 m. thick, fitted into the cutting along the edge of the sill, in such a way that it compensated for the difference in level between the euthynteria and the surrounding sill (Fig. 10).⁴² There can be no reasonable doubt

⁴² This poros slab is shown *in situ* on the original plan of the peribolos, R. Stillwell, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 137, fig. 21; and its position has been indicated on the actual state plan, Plate 41. It should be noted that the cutting along the sill was originally marked off rather wider than necessary, as we learn from an inscribed line on the sill 0.076 m. east of the end of the poros slab.

that the cutting and the poros slab found in it represent necessary adjustments to carry a southward extension of the original pedestal of the monument. In Period II, then, the south end of the euthynteria will have been shifted from its original position, 0.377 m. behind the sill, until it came to rest on the sill itself with its end flush against the posts of the peribolos.

This conclusion is fully corroborated by an inspection of the two crowning blocks of the pedestal. On the basis of the masons' marks and other evidence, we have already seen that the end block, **17**, should be placed at the southern end of the pedestal, while the other cap, **18**, must then be assigned to the second position from the north end. It is now important to recall that the two double T clamps which joined **17** to its neighbor were at one time carefully pried out and replaced with hook clamps in the same original cuttings (Fig. 8, Pl. 52). This evidence admits of no other explanation save that the terminal block was at some time removed, reset, and reclamped. Furthermore, we may note also the presence of a pry cutting at the bottom edge of its joint near the middle. But again we have found reason to believe (*supra*, p. 168) that in Period I the end blocks were the last of the course to be set and could, therefore, not have been pried into place, the blocks immediately next to them having been set first. The pry cutting on the joint of **17** could then have been used only in Period II to adjust this block into its new position on the lengthened pedestal.

The other preserved cap block, **18**, furnishes still more information of interest. The clamp cuttings at its outer joint, which originally tied it to the northern end block, exhibit the same treatment as the clamps of **17**, that is to say the original double T clamps were carefully removed and replaced with hook clamps. The single preserved clamp cutting at the inner joint of **18** shows, however, that here the original double T clamp was never removed. From this it is a necessary inference that the block itself was never shifted from its original position,⁴³ but clearly the block next to it, the northern terminal block, must have been reset. It thus emerges that both ends of the pedestal were extended, to north and south respectively, but equally it is apparent that the whole central portion of the die was never altered after its original construction in Period I. At the south end the euthynteria was lengthened 0.502 m.⁴⁴ and the cap block (**17**) shifted to the new south end. We may safely assume that a similar extension was carried out at the north end. Now, if the original cap block

⁴³ The presence of the mason's marks B and K on both surviving blocks might seem to suggest that the whole pedestal had been taken apart and its pieces lettered for reassembly. Since the system of lettering calls for exactly 20 blocks in the capping course and this number coincides perfectly with the dimensions of Period I, and since the pedestal of Period II cannot have been reassembled with less than 22 blocks in the capping course, as will be seen shortly, it seems preferable to interpret the letters as builders' marks for the original erection of the monument.

⁴⁴ The distance between euthynteria and sill in Period I is added to the depth of the cutting for the extension on the south sill: $0.377 + 0.125 = 0.502$ m., cf. Fig. 10.

at the north end was shifted northward with the extension of the pedestal, and if the cap block originally next to it (18) was, as we have seen, never moved, it will then be obvious that a new cap block must have been fitted in between 18 and the terminal block. It was, of course, this new block which was joined to 18 by means of the hook clamps at its outer joint. Assuming, as I think we must, that a similar solution was adopted at each end of the pedestal, it is evident that two new blocks were added to the crowning course in Period II.⁴⁵

In erecting the extension of the pedestal, the builders were apparently concerned to increase its length as much as possible without altering the fence of the peribolos. Certainly the cutting along the south sill for the extended euthynteria indicates an effort to add every possible centimeter to the length of the die. This is made plain by the way in which the euthynteria was brought forward on to the sill itself until it all but touched the fence posts. Such a desire to achieve maximum length for the pedestal suggests that not only the euthynteria but the orthostates of the die as well were extended on either end as far as the railing of the fence would permit. When we come to consider the subsequent repair of the peribolos in Period IV (*infra*, pp. 176-180), it will be possible to show that such was indeed the case. For at that time, the altered fence post at the southeast corner was brought into alignment with the south end of the die, which then fell precisely flush with the inside face of the balustrade cap in its original position (Fig. 10). The significance of this evidence is considerable. It indicates that the steps of the krepidoma were not carried around the ends of the pedestal from Period II onward, the orthostates and step courses being shifted as closely as possible to the fence at either end. The lines of the steps on the long flanks would have been articulated across the ends most probably by simple drafted margins, and each course would have been set back ever so slightly from the course immediately beneath it.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ These blocks have been rendered with cross hatching on the restored plan, Plate 43. The construction of the additions at the ends of the pedestal will have necessitated the temporary removal of several sections of the fence in order to facilitate the work. On this basis, another alteration of the peribolos may be assigned to Period II. A number of dowel holes for the attachment of the poros fence posts to the sill show clear traces that the original narrow dowels (0.012 m. wide) were replaced with wider dowels (0.03 to 0.035 m. wide) and the posts were reset in their original positions. The posts thus altered are the third to the eighth from the north end on the west side, and on the east side, the third and fourth from the south end and the fifth from the north end. One of these later dowels, of the post third from the south end on the east side, was set by means of a shallow pour channel.

⁴⁶ Cf. the closely analogous treatment on the podium of the Lysikrates Monument where the suggestion of a stepped krepidoma on the front is given only by the slight projection of each descending course and by the drafted margins. Here, however, it is not carried around the sides. See Studniczka, *Arch. Anz.*, XXXVI, 1921, pp. 318-321, figs. 1-4. Even the orthostates of the podium terminate in a drafted edge instead of a projecting moulding; and we have followed this example in the reconstruction of our monument in the Agora.

If the southern end of the extended die can thus be fixed flush with the capping stone of the fence, and if we are justified in assuming that the northern end occupied a similar position, the actual increase in the length of the pedestal may then be calculated with fair precision. The extension of the die at the south end would have included the full width of the original krepidoma (0.4715 m.) in addition to the new section of the euthynteria (0.502 m.). Allowance must also be made for the slight projection of the fence cap 0.017 m. in from the back of the post, so that a total of 0.9565 m. was added to that end of the monument.⁴⁷ Because, as we have already seen (*supra*, note 25), the pedestal was placed slightly closer to the south end than to the north end of the peribolos, the extension to the north is likely to have been a little greater. Here the euthynteria was shifted 0.57 m. northward; and if this be added to the width of the krepidoma (0.4715 m.), deducting the inward projection of the fence cap (0.017 m.), we see that the pedestal was extended a total of 1.0245 m. at its northern end.

This calculation, though it is inevitably hypothetical in some degree, will nevertheless serve to demonstrate that the monument was sufficiently extended to accommodate additional statues, which is the most reasonable explanation for the extension of the pedestal. Indeed, it would seem the most probable interpretation of the available evidence to suppose that the lengthened pedestal of Period II was intended to provide space for two new blocks on the crowning course, each of which would have supported a new bronze statue. The new cap blocks were made somewhat longer than the average of Period I in order to maintain the same wide spacing between the figures without crowding the original ten heroes. The two end blocks of the capping course were then shifted with painstaking care as far as the surrounding fence would allow so that the terminal bronze tripods of Period I might continue to enframe the enlarged group of twelve statues.

That phase in the history of the monument which has here been designated Period III represents only a minor alteration to the enlarged pedestal of Period II. But it will now be appropriate to consider the evidence, slight as it is, for this third historical period. We have already noted in our description of the preserved terminal block of the capping course (17. *supra*, pp. 163-165) that at one time in its history the ornamental tripod was removed and a bronze statue, which can now be recognized as the thirteenth of the group, was set up in its place. The cutting for the tenon of this statue may be seen best on Figure 8 (cf. Pl. 52). At about the center of the block, the floor of the oval cutting (0.22 x 0.15 x 0.14 m. deep) can just be discerned where the middle part of the block was crudely hacked away in later times. There has been so much damage to the stone immediately around this cutting that a detailed interpretation of the statue's pose, based on the position of the feet, is no longer

⁴⁷ For the dimensions of the krepidoma, see notes 29-30: $0.09 + 0.3585 + 0.023 = 0.4715$; $0.4715 + 0.502 - 0.017 = 0.9565$ m.

possible. But it seems likely that the figure should be thought of as standing with its weight on the left foot which would have been fastened in the preserved cutting. Because of the later recutting of the surface, there is no longer any indication of the disposition of the other foot, but the limits of the space available suggest a pose with both feet close together. A smaller circular socket near the corner of the block would undoubtedly have supported a staff or scepter upon which the figure leaned.

PERIOD IV: REPAIR OF THE PERIBOLOS

We come now to a curious interlude in the long history of the Eponymous Heroes when the surrounding fence of the peribolos shows signs of extensive, if rather haphazard, repair. The story of this period has to be deciphered almost wholly from the preserved cuttings along the sill of the peribolos. In our discussion of the poros fence in Period I, we noted the presence along the sill of two series of later sockets cut to receive the posts of the fence. It is the first group of these sockets, the series of shallow rectangular cuttings on the western sill and at the southeast corner, which gives evidence of the repair in Period IV. That this series of sockets must be distinguished from the deep square cuttings along the east side is abundantly clear from their workmanship and dimensions.⁴⁸ That the shallow rectangular sockets form the earlier series and cannot be contemporary with the cuttings on the east sill is equally apparent from the disposition of the corner posts at the south end. Here at both corners, the shallow rectangular cutting has been partially obliterated by the considerably deeper sockets of the later series (Pl. 49, a, c). Furthermore, it should be noted that the two sets of cuttings supported fence posts of a different sort. For example, the shallow L-shaped socket at the northwest corner of the sill (Pl. 49, b) shows by its shape that it was prepared for resetting the original L-shaped corner post of the poros fence. On the other hand, the presence of two fragmentary posts of Pentelic marble, still leaded *in situ* in two of the deep sockets on the east sill, leaves no possible room for doubt that the deep sockets were cut to receive fence posts of the marble series. As we shall see shortly, the marble fence posts are to be associated with the construction of the later southward extension of the fence, where a third marble post stands in position at the southeast corner of the enlarged peribolos (Pl. 48, a).

The series of shallow rectangular sockets thus gives evidence that a large portion of the poros fence was at some time reset. The original method of dowelling the fence posts directly to the sill was now abandoned in favor of the more secure means of attachment offered by the sockets, in which the posts were presumably leaded just as were the later marble posts.⁴⁹ Sockets were prepared for every post along

⁴⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 150.

⁴⁹ It is well to note that the builders of the parapet for the Altar of the Twelve Gods adopted the system of setting their posts in sockets from the original construction of that monument. See Crosby, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 86-91, fig. 3.

the western side of the peribolos, so that the reconstruction of Period IV clearly encompassed that whole length of the fence. On the east side, however, cuttings of the earlier series are to be found only for the southeast corner post and the post immediately next to it. From the location of the shallow sockets along the sill, one infers then that the peribolos had undergone major repairs in Period IV, which resulted perhaps from serious damage to a large part of the old poros fence. The majority of the original fence posts on the east side seems to have escaped unscathed and continued to stand dowelled into their original positions on the sill.

An examination of the plan (Pl. 41) and of the individual cuttings (Pl. 49) will reveal the most peculiar aspect of the reconstruction of the western fence. That is the extraordinarily irregular and almost capricious spacing of the sockets. Only two, the fourth and ninth from the northwest corner, were cut in precisely the same position occupied by the original posts. All others have been shifted slightly so that the dowel holes of Period I fall partly outside the sockets of Period IV. These changes in spacing are by no means uniform, for they vary from the original positions as little as 0.025 m. in the case of the fourth post from the south end and as much as 0.247 m. at the northwest corner post. The posts were not even shifted consistently in the same direction. While the majority of posts on the west side was moved northward, the three northernmost and the two southernmost were all shifted southward when the sockets were cut. Although the two posts at the southwest corner moved southward, the corresponding posts at the southeast corner were shifted northward.

In attempting to explain these anomalies, we must recognize at once that no abstract desire for symmetry could have been the determining factor in the spacing of the sockets. The builders, it would appear, were guided by the purely practical consideration that they must reconstruct the fence from the old blocks with a continuous balustrade of poros capping stones. No ugly gaps could be tolerated between the fence caps; and if one or two of these blocks had been broken or damaged and had to be trimmed at the ends, the posts beneath them would simply have to be shifted in order to provide proper bearing for the recut blocks. The seven surviving pieces of the balustrade cap (**10-16**, *supra*, pp. 156-158) are far too fragmentary to show whether or not they were damaged and recut, for in fact only one complete block of the poros fence cap has been recovered (**10**, Agora Inv. A 3663). Nevertheless, it is impressive, in this connection, to find that no less than four of these fragments give clear evidence that they were at some time removed from their original positions and reset. The blocks of the fence cap were originally dowelled in place on top of the upright posts and are thus equipped with cuttings for end dowels of a size and shape very close to the dowel holes of Period I on the sill.⁶⁰ But three of the frag-

⁶⁰ The original dowel holes on the fence cap measure: L. 0.037; W. 0.015; D. 0.045.

ments (10, 11, 13) show cuttings for a series of wider dowels⁵¹ clearly added in connection with the repair. Still more vivid signs of repair are to be seen in two pieces (11 and 14, Fig. 7, Pls. 47, a, 51) which have crude cuttings for hook clamps on the sloping surface of their backs. These cuttings bear witness that the builders experienced some difficulty in reassembling the fallen portion of the fence, since they had to resort to this unsightly means of securing the joints of the balustrade. No doubt the source of this difficulty will have been the recutting of the joints on damaged blocks, which by altering the lengths of the cap stones upset the spacing of the posts.

At the two ends of the peribolos, furthermore, there is every indication of a considerable change in the design of the fence, likewise introduced with the repair of Period IV. Preserved dowel holes of Period I enable us to locate with precision the original L-shaped corner posts at the northwest and southeast corners of the peribolos (Fig. 10, Pl. 49, b, c). The position of the later sockets shows that the corner posts at both ends were moved inward toward the end of the pedestal. That at the southeast corner was shifted 0.240 m. and that at the northwest 0.247 m. That this was an intentional alteration in the plan of the peribolos is suggested not only by the closely similar measurements, but also by the fact that the corner posts were moved much further than any others on the west side. Furthermore, the post immediately next the southeast corner was moved 0.242 m. northward in response to the almost identical shift at the corner.

Since there is no evidence for the arrangement of the north end, except for the L-shaped socket at the northwest corner, we should turn to the completely preserved sill at the opposite end of the monument. It is important to note first that no later sockets were ever cut for the two intermediate posts on the south sill. But it is impossible to assume that here the original posts simply continued to stand in their former places. A glance at the plans on Plate 41 and Figure 10 will demonstrate at once that no fence can ever have stood along the south sill after the corner posts had been shifted from their original places, for the capping blocks would have turned the corners in unthinkable diagonals.

Once again the cap stones of the balustrade provide the solution to the reconstruction. The preserved fragments of the fence caps measure 0.240 m. in width across the soffit, and it can hardly be fortuitous that this dimension corresponds so exactly with the shift in the corner posts at each end of the peribolos. But why, we may ask, should the peribolos have been shortened at each end by precisely the thickness of the fence cap? The answer to this question has already been anticipated to some extent in our discussion of the additions to the pedestal in Period II. It will be noted (Fig. 10) that the outside face of the southeast corner post, in its altered

⁵¹ The later dowels measure: L. 0.04, W. 0.024, D. 0.045; L. 0.047, W. 0.021, D. 0.045; L. 0.05, W. 0.025, D. 0.062.

position of Period IV, falls just inside the line of the cutting along the south sill for the extended pedestal of Period II. In other words, the fence cap and rails which were mounted on the altered corner post would partly have abutted the krepidoma and superstructure of the pedestal. There is no avoiding this somewhat awkward conclusion. It seems, therefore, the most satisfactory solution to assume, as we have already done, that the orthostates of the die, in its extended position of Period II, came flush with the original fence at each end. During the repair of Period IV, the corner posts will then have been moved inward 0.24 m. for the specific purpose of anchoring the corner fence cap against the face of the orthostate with its edge just flush with the end of the die. The intermediate posts on the ends will have been entirely eliminated, and the surviving material was then re-used in other parts of the repaired peribolos.⁵² Our reconstructed drawings (Fig. 10, Pl. 44) show the appearance of the monument after the reconstruction of the ends of the peribolos in Period IV. The two rails of the end fence align neatly with the two steps of the crepidoma, and sockets would have been prepared in each of the risers to hold the ends of the rails. A similar socket would doubtless have been sunk in the face of the orthostate in which the end of the fence cap could have been mounted.

Lest it appear that this reconstruction is overly hypothetical, we may turn for support to the existing southeast corner of the later south extension of Period V. Here a stump of the corner post remains *in situ* (Fig. 12, Pl. 48, a), and slots for the wooden fence rails on its adjacent faces indicate the exact position of the fence across the south end. Here also there survives a thick bedding of Roman concrete for the core of the late pedestal, and this preserves the pedestal's outer limits on the front and south end. But the concrete bedding extends 0.158 m. beyond the south face of the corner fence post, and the surface of the concrete is nowhere broken by sockets for intermediate fence posts across the end. The remains at the southeast corner of the Roman extension admit of no other interpretation save that the rails and cap block were attached directly to the superstructure of the monument. The builders of Period V clearly modeled their extension of the peribolos upon the monument as it existed when they began. In all probability, they designed their curious treatment of the south end to match the arrangement of Period IV which they found and

⁵² Two of the preserved blocks of the poros fence, a post (8) and the complete block of the fence cap (10) must be assigned to original positions on the ends of the peribolos (cf. *supra*, pp. 160-161). The post, as we have seen, stood originally on the north end. The cap spanned the central bay between the intermediate posts on the south end, for its length 1.015 m. fits precisely this shortest bay of the fence. The mere fact that the two blocks have survived at all indicates that they were re-used elsewhere in the repair of the fence after being removed from the ends. The cap block was in fact transferred to the east side in Period IV. Here its short length can only have bridged the second bay from the south, for the distance on centers between the altered second post and the third, still standing in its original position in Period IV, would have been 1.064 m. The spacing of all other posts on both sides of the monument is far too wide to accommodate this piece.

retained at the north end. The evidence of the Roman addition thus provides the strongest corroboration for our proposed reconstruction of Period IV.

The striking exception to the reconstruction just described occurs at the southwest corner where cuttings for all three architectural phases of the fence (Periods I, IV, V) are fully preserved (Pl. 49, a). While there can be no doubt about the history of these cuttings, their disposition almost defies explanation. They show clearly that the southwest corner was treated differently from the others. Unlike the other corner posts, which were shifted inward to align with the end of the die, the post at the southwest corner was moved 0.132 m. outward to the very edge of the sill. Furthermore, the shallow socket of Period IV is rectangular in shape like all its neighbors and not L-shaped like the socket at the opposite corner. We can only suppose that the original L-shaped post at this corner had been damaged beyond repair and was replaced by one of the normal posts, perhaps one of the intermediate pair removed from the south end of the fence.⁵³ Because of the awkward alignment of the post, it seems a possible explanation that the fence did not return to tie into the end of the pedestal at this corner. We may perhaps suggest that the southwest corner was simply left open to provide a means of access behind the western fence.

This suggestion may find some support from two cuttings near the center of the eastern side which form the last elements of the repair of Period IV. The original positions of the seventh and eighth posts from the southeast corner can be determined from the dowel holes of Period I, which survive on either side of the gap in the sill where one block is now missing (Pl. 41). Both posts were shifted northward in Period IV, 0.052 m. and 0.158 m. respectively, and the seventh post was set in a shallow rectangular cutting like that for the southeast corner post. Unlike all the others, these two posts were attached to the sill by large dowels,⁵⁴ of which that for the seventh post remains in place. The fact that these two posts alone were so firmly doweled to the sill suggests that they had to bear a greater strain than the others. Let us note also that this bay of the fence was immediately adjacent to the center line of the peribolos, which was marked by the eighth post, and that the later Roman fence posts of the marble series were spaced with specific relation to this bay and to the posts which flanked it. These considerations combine to suggest that a gate was installed here, as near as possible to the center of the east side. Such a gate would have been most welcome to the officials who were charged with the task of posting notices on the pedestal beneath the Eponymoi, and who had been obliged heretofore to climb the fence in order to perform their duties. We may suppose that the open bay at the southwest corner of the peribolos was intended to provide similar access to the back side of the pedestal.

⁵³ The socket measures 0.251 m. in width while the width of the L-shaped corner posts was 0.285 m. which shows conclusively that the original post cannot have been reset in the later socket.

⁵⁴ The dowel for the seventh post measures 0.113 x 0.039 m.; its depth cannot be measured. The dowel hole for the eighth post measures: L. 0.043; W. 0.034; D. 0.045.

PERIOD V: ENLARGEMENT OF THE PERIBOLOS

The final chapter in the architectural history of the Eponymous Heroes concerns the enlargement and remodeling of the peribolos, for the obvious purpose of adding yet another statue to the group already exhibited on the monument. The enlargement took the form of an annex to the peribolos which extended the fence 2.75 m. further south in order to enclose a newly constructed pedestal. Foundations survive both for the new pedestal and for the additional fence posts on the east side and thus give evidence for the arrangement of the extended monument(Pls. 41, 48, a).

The construction of Period V also included the major remodeling of the fence on the east side of the peribolos, to which reference has already been made. From the time of its original construction, the stonework of the fence had been entirely of gray poros limestone, and only the pedestal of the monument was built of fine Pentelic marble. The builders of Period V evidently found this difference of material distasteful and endeavored to improve the appearance of the whole by replacing the old poros fence with posts and cap stones of Pentelic marble. The number of posts increased from the original fifteen to seventeen in the marble series because of the two additional bays to enclose the south extension. Like the masons of Period IV, the later builders erected the fence posts by leading the marble shafts in deep sockets let down into the sill. As we have already noted, these late sockets are quite distinctive because of their depth, their neat workmanship, and their lack of uniformity in shape and size. Since they are found only along the eastern sill of the peribolos, it is apparent that the marble fence was added only here, where it would provide a somewhat grander façade for the monument. This disposition of the marble fence only on the east makes it certain that the eastern side was the front and more important aspect of the monument, and also, no doubt, the direction in which the statues faced. Along the west side, the old poros fence, standing in the sockets of Period IV, continued to enclose the back side of the peribolos. A total of eleven fragments of the marble fence posts and capping blocks has been recovered and identified, of which three are still *in situ* on the eastern sill.

FRAGMENTS OF THE MARBLE FENCE

19. Fence post of Period V. A 3633. Fig. 11, Pl. 53.

P. H. 1.185; W. at bottom 0.287; W. at top 0.283; Th. 0.240.

Found in the original excavation of the monument.

Two joining fragments of Pentelic marble form a rectangular shaft, broken off at the top and slightly broken about the bottom. The roughness of the workmanship suggests that

the apparent slight taper is accidental. The front and sides have been chiseled to an almost smooth surface, and smoothed margins 0.022 m. wide edge the front. The back is rough-picked. The lower 0.122 m. of the shaft was set down into the socket on the sill and was not visible. Both sides preserve three slots each for wooden fence rails. These vary in spacing and dimensions (cf. Fig. 11).

20. Fragmentary fence post. Fig. 12, Pl. 48, a.

P. H. 0.72; W. 0.309; Th. 0.239.

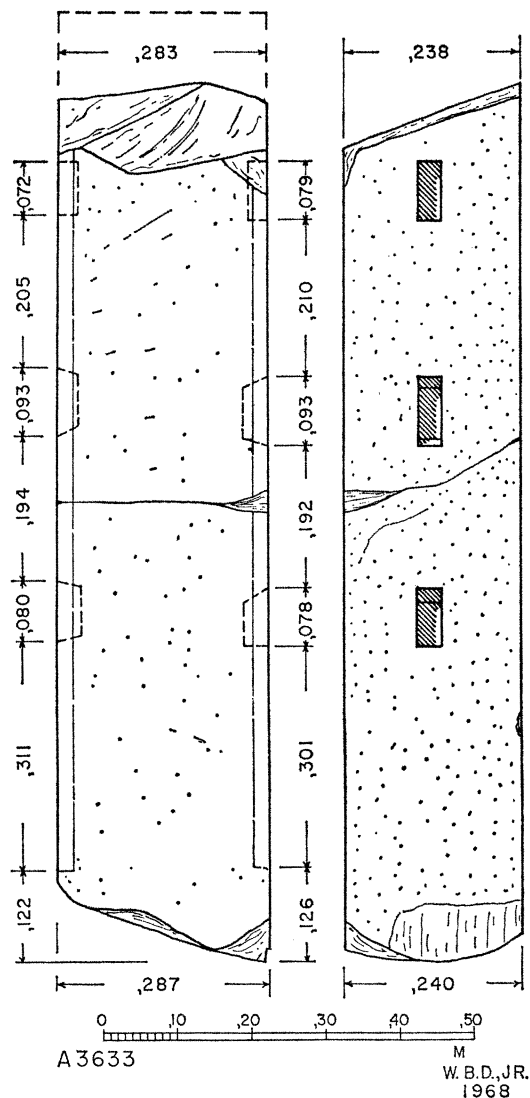


FIG. 11. Marble Fence Post 19.

Found *in situ* at the southeast corner of the peribolos still leaded in place.

The fragment preserves the lower portion of the corner post of Pentelic marble with its top broken off. All faces are worked smooth with a toothed chisel, and the back has smoothed margins (0.024 m. wide) on each edge. The north side has the slot for the lowest rail and part of the middle slot. The adjacent west face

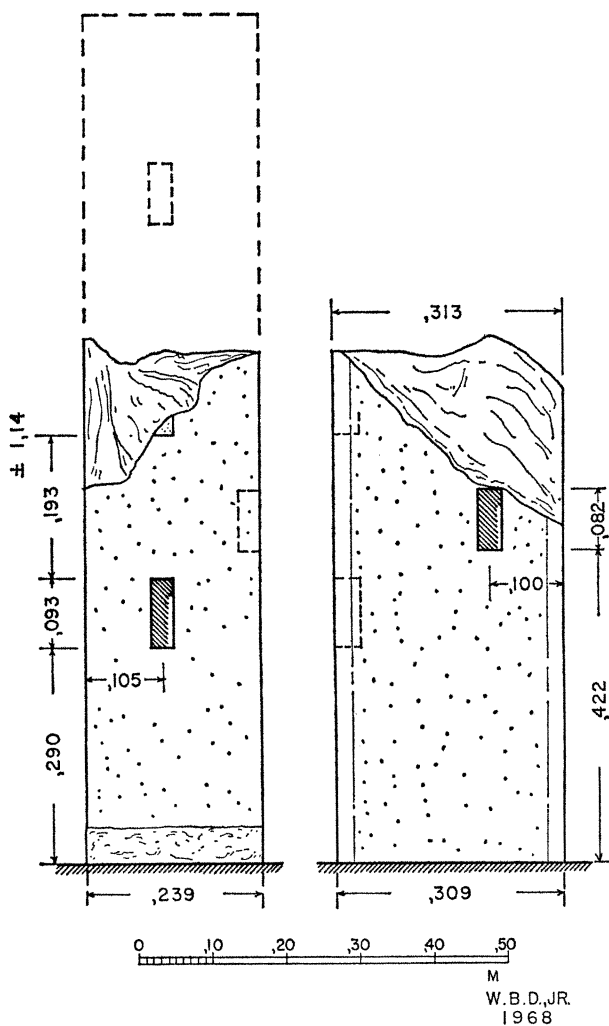


FIG. 12. Marble Fence Post 20.

preserves only the lowest slot for the return of the railing to the face of the pedestal. The slot for the end rail is set much higher than the lowest slot for the rails on the front, 0.422 m. above the sill as compared with 0.290 m. This suggests that the ends had only two rails in Period V just as they seem to have had only two from the original construction of the monument.

21. Fragmentary fence post. Pl. 47, b.

P. H. 0.453; W. 0.262; Th. 0.241.

Found *in situ* in the fifth socket from the original southeast corner of the sill.

The bottom part of the post of Pentelic marble stands still leaded in its socket on the sill, its top broken away. All faces are polished. The lower part of the cutting for the first fence rail is visible on both sides beginning 0.33 m. above the sill.

22. Fragmentary fence post. Pl. 47, b.

P. H. 0.292; W. 0.315; Th. 0.236.

Found *in situ* in the sixth socket from the old southeast corner of the monument.

The fragment preserves the bottom of the post of Pentelic marble from which the upper portion has been broken away. All faces of the block are worked smooth with a toothed chisel and have polished margins (0.017 m. wide) at all corners. At the southwest corner of the block is a cutting for a patch in the marble shaft. The post stands leaded into its original socket on the sill.

23. Fragment of marble fence post. A 3631. Pl. 53.

P. H. 0.24; W. 0.272; Th. 0.195.

Found in the original excavation of the peribolos.

The upper part of the shaft is broken away leaving the bottom and parts of the four sides preserved. The front is polished, while slight traces of the chiselling may be seen in the smooth surfaces of the other sides.

24. Fragment of marble fence post. A 3630. Pl. 53.

P. H. 0.53; W. 0.273; Th. 0.194.

Found in original excavation of the peribolos.

Several joining fragments compose the central section of the shaft, broken at top and bottom. All faces of the post are worked smooth with toothed chisel, with front polished smoother than the others. One slot for the fence rail is preserved on each side. The similarity of dimensions and tooling make it likely

that this fragment formed the upper part of **23** although no join is possible.

25. Fragment of marble fence post. A 3628. Pl. 53.

P. H. 0.48; W. 0.259; Th. 0.238.

Found in original excavation of the monument.

The bottom and lower part of the shaft of Pentelic marble which is broken at the top with the original surface preserved on all other faces. The front and sides are chiseled with a toothed chisel and have smooth bands 0.017 m. wide along the edges. The back is left rough-picked. Both sides preserve the bottom of the first slot for the fence rail. A band 0.10 m. wide has been left rough around the bottom which would have been set down in a socket on the sill.

26. Fragment of marble fence post. A 3629. Pl. 53.

P. H. 0.415; W. 0.326; Th. 0.238.

Found in the area of the monument during the original excavation of the site.

The fragment preserves the bottom of the post broken at the top and upper parts of the sides. All four sides have been polished smooth except for slight roughening around the bottom. No slots for fence rails are preserved.

27. Fragment of marble fence post. A 3632. Pl. 53.

P. H. 0.26; P. W. 0.274; P. Th. 0.219.

Found in the area of the peribolos during the original excavations.

The small fragment preserves part of the top surface and one corner of the shaft, broken at bottom, back and one side. The front is polished; the side is worked nearly smooth with a toothed chisel. A setting line, parallel to the side and set in 0.15 m. from it, marks the position of the joint between the capping stones above.

28. Fence cap of Period V. A 2234. Fig. 7, Pl. 53.

L. 1.013; W. of soffit 0.240; H. 0.222.

Found *ca.* 30 m. south of peribolos on the terrace behind the Agora boundary stone (H 12).

The block is complete but slightly chipped about the ends. It forms a truncated triangle in section closely modeled in form and dimensions on the capping stones of the poros fence (cf. **10** of the poros series, *supra*, p. 156). The exposed surfaces are worked smooth, and the joints rough-picked. In one end is a dowel hole (L. 0.025; W. 0.023; D. 0.034). At the opposite end, the soffit of the block is cut back to form a ledge across the whole width of the cap, 0.039 m. deep and extending 0.095 m. in from the end of the block. This is intended to

fit down over the top of a post without doweling. Both the workmanship and the quality of the light gray Pentelic (?) marble are inferior.

29. Fragmentary marble fence cap. A 193. Pl. 53.

P. L. 0.914; W. of soffit 0.238; H. 0.230.

Found in the original excavation of the monument.

The block preserves the section and one end of a fence cap closely similar to **28**. All exposed surfaces are worked with a toothed chisel. The end has a smooth band of anathyrosis 0.038 m. wide around a rough-picked center.

This survey of the preserved pieces of the marble fence will serve to show that in most respects the reconstruction of the final period was a close copy of its predecessor. While the general appearance and intent of the structure remained much the same, a few differences in detail are worth noting. In the first place, the marble work of Period V is consistently of rather poor quality, and the posts vary greatly in dimensions and spacing. In keeping with this inferior craftsmanship is the absence of the most characteristic detail of the poros fence posts, the tapering wedge-shaped groove which scored the center of each post. The importance of this articulation may be appreciated by a comparison of the flat and lifeless elevation of Period V (Pl. 45) with that of its predecessor (Pls. 42-44).

It is also apparent that the marble fence along the east side was somewhat higher than the poros fence on the west. From neither series is there a complete fence post preserved, but post **1** of the poros series (*supra*, pp. 151-152) is lacking only a very few centimeters from its bottom and can hardly have stood originally more than *ca.* 1.01 m. Post **19** of the marble series, however, has a preserved height of 1.063 m. above the sill. Since the space between the topmost rail and the top of the post is likely to have approximated the space between the rails (0.20 m. average), we may guess that almost 0.10 m. is broken away from the top, making the original height of the post *ca.* 1.15 m. This is one more bit of evidence, if more be needed, that the new fence cannot have returned across the ends of the peribolos to join the old poros fence on the west. The difference in height as well as in material precludes this and strengthens our conclusion that the marble fence terminated against the face of the orthostates at either end of the pedestal. The arrangement initiated in the preceding period was merely imitated by the builders of the marble fence.

In the construction of the marble fence, it is apparent that some effort was made to retain the general average spacing of the original peribolos (\pm 1.27 m. between

the centers of the posts), for a number of the bays approximate this spacing very closely. Nevertheless the range in the width of the bays is tremendous, the extremes being 1.063 m. and 1.692 m. There can be no doubt, however, that the spacing was laid out with reference to the seventh bay from the old southeast corner, where we have postulated the opening of a gate in Period IV. North of this bay, all the new posts have been shifted consistently southward from their original positions; and conversely the marble posts south of the seventh bay have all moved northward, except for the two at the old corner of the peribolos. This arrangement emphasizes once again the prominence of the seventh bay and suggests that it continued to serve as a gateway in the marble fence.

The area of the southern addition was treated somewhat differently from the rest of the fence, and here the poor quality of the construction shows up in striking contrast. No attempt was made to reproduce the continuous poros sill so as to unite more closely the new annex and the old peribolos; nor were the blocks of the southern sill, which now passed out of use, removed for the obvious reason that the end of the pedestal still rested upon them. The new posts of the southern extension were founded on individual plinths made simply of re-used marble blocks laid in the line of the poros sill further north. The plinth for the new southeast corner post was an inscribed statue base (cf. *infra*, p. 202), and the post next to it was erected on the back of a broken marble stele, fitted with a socket for the purpose. The two new posts on the west side will likewise have stood on individual plinths which have since disappeared over the years. In order to equalize the spacing of the posts between the annex and the main peribolos, the posts at the former southern corners were both shifted slightly southward toward the new portion of the fence. Cuttings of Period V may be seen in both these positions on the plan, Plate 41, and in the illustrations on Plates 48, a, 49, a, c.

Concerning the construction of the pedestal within the new southern fence, very little can be said since only its lowest foundations survive and no fragment of its superstructure has been recognized. As a substructure for the new pedestal, the builders made use of the foundations for two earlier statue bases which they found already on the site (Pl. 48, a). These consisted each of two conglomerate blocks placed side by side to form square bases. The bases had been set close together and were obviously oriented with relation to the pedestal within the peribolos of the Eponymoi. On the east side, their foundations align fairly closely with the euthynteria of the pedestal, but their width, 1.35 m., is considerably narrower than the euthynteria of our monument, which measures 1.87 m. Thus the Roman builders filled in the western part of the annex with a packing of small stones over which the base of the new pedestal could project. It seems a safe assumption, in any event, that the pedestal of the annex had nearly, if not exactly, the same width as the earlier monument. The length of the southern annex was, no doubt, determined by the existing earlier bases which the builders elected to reuse.

We have noted elsewhere that a layer of heavy Roman concrete obscures the surface of the two conglomerate blocks of the southernmost foundation. While not enough of this is preserved to give the exact dimensions of the new pedestal, it yields, nevertheless, considerable evidence of value. The straight, clean edge along the east and south sides locates precisely these two faces of the pedestal. The east, or front, edge projects southward the exact line of the first marble step of the krepidoma, as indicated by the weathered line 0.09 m. back from the edge of the euthynteria further north. The concrete also bears witness to the characteristically Roman methods used in the construction of the pedestal. Evidently a core of concrete was embellished with thin slabs of marble revetment which, no doubt, reproduced the general appearance of the earlier monument. It is important to emphasize, however, that the Roman pedestal was not physically connected with the early base except by the enclosing fence of the peribolos which surrounded them both. The crisp, sharp edges and cuttings of the southern poros sill give ample evidence that at no time were its blocks built over, as would have been necessary if the Roman pedestal had been only a further extension of the old base. There can be no doubt that the annex contained a separate pedestal, but it is no longer possible to determine its exact length. Our restored plan and elevation of Plate 45 should be regarded as merely an approximation.

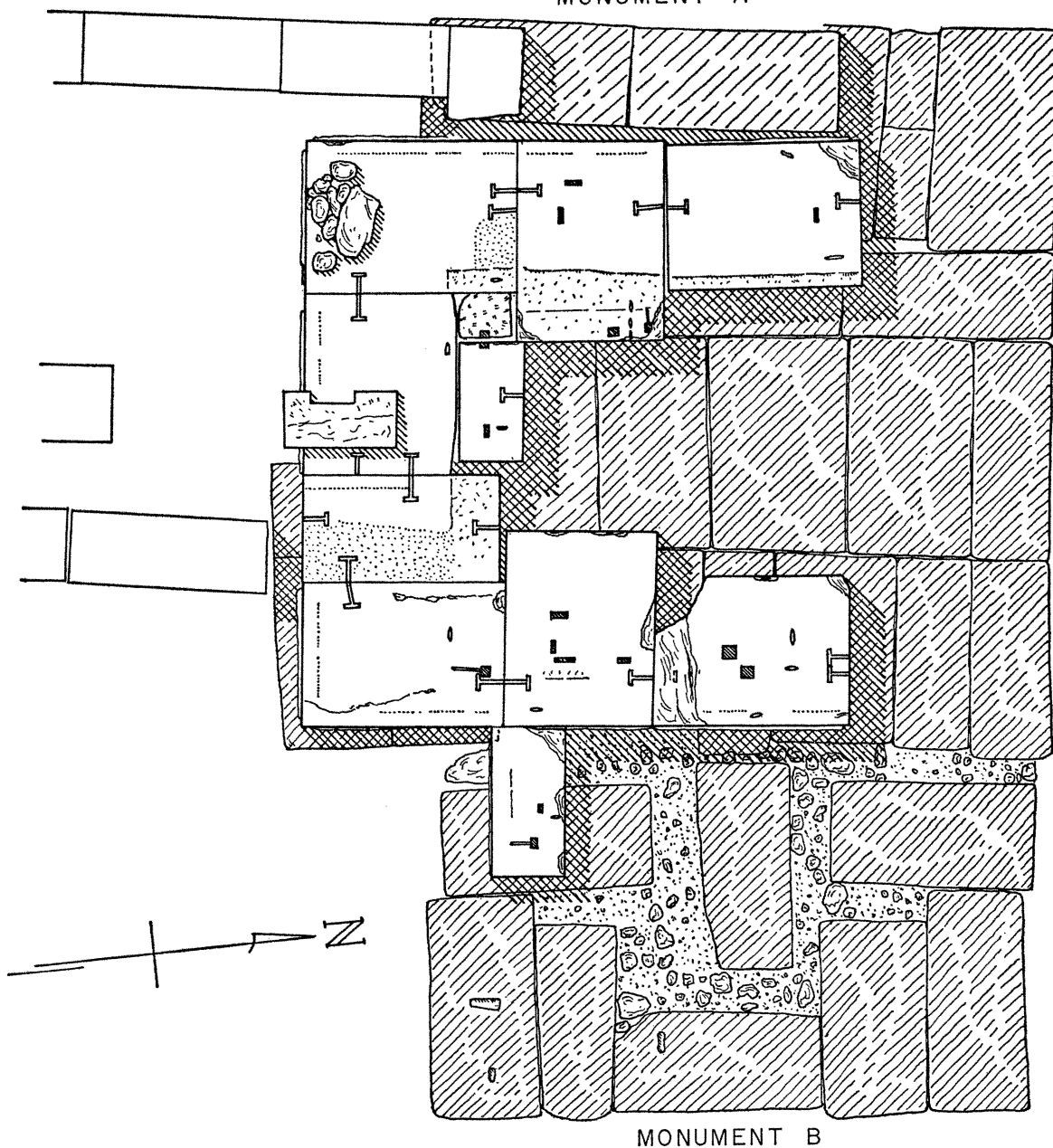
MONUMENTS NORTH OF THE EPONYMOUS HEROES

Before we address ourselves to the vital question of the chronology and history which the five architectural phases indicate for the Peribolos of the Eponymoi, it is necessary to consider briefly the two monument bases immediately to the north of the peribolos which it partially overlies (Fig. 13, Pls. 46, 48, b); for the history of these three monuments is closely interrelated and their architectural relation to each other provides an important key to their chronology.

The large rectangular foundation on which the north end of the peribolos encroached will be referred to for the sake of convenience as Monument A, since the true identity of the base has not yet revealed itself. Although built largely of re-used blocks from an earlier monument, the construction is careful and of good quality. In its present state, Monument A is constructed on a foundation platform consisting of a single course of conglomerate blocks laid mostly as headers. The foundation is nearly square (4.70 x 4.99 m.), except that the square was not fully completed at the southwest corner because of a high projection of bedrock at that point.

On this foundation was laid the euthynteria course (0.51 m. high) of hard gray poros, of which eight blocks survive. These were arranged, as much as possible, in alternating header and stretcher fashion so as to form a concentric rectangle the center of which was filled with a core of irregular masonry and smaller pieces of re-used blocks. One header is missing on each side from the northeast and northwest

MONUMENT A



MONUMENT B

0 1 2 3 4 5
 W.B.D., JR. - 1968 M.

FIG. 13. Plan of Monuments A and B, Actual State.

corners. But if these blocks be restored precisely the same size as the existing headers (0.95 x 1.25 m.), it will be seen that just three of them will close the north side of the rectangle. Thus the original length of the euthynteria course was close to 4.52 m. and its width 3.77 m.

The upper surface of the blocks is marked by an assortment of cuttings for clamps, dowels, pour channels, pry holes, and setting lines, which collectively yield some evidence about the nature of the monument. An easily discernable bedding for the next course is set back 0.85 m. from the west edge of the euthynteria and 0.91 m. from the south edge. Within this worked bedding are a series of square dowel holes, three on the west and three on the east side. Two of these dowels, one on the west side and the other at the southeast corner, were leaded by means of shallow pour channels whose ends locate exactly the face of the course. The position of the west face of this course is also indicated by its setting line, set in 1.08 m. from the edge of the euthynteria. On the south the course was set 0.97 m. behind the edge of the euthynteria, but its east face fell only 0.31 m. inside the euthynteria, as we learn from traces of a setting line along this side. Thus the preserved blocks of Monument A served as the base for a considerably smaller structure which measured originally approximately 2.62 m. in length and 2.38 m. in width. From the placement of the structure on the base, much nearer the east than the west side and surrounded on three sides by a broad step, it seems possible to suggest that it may have been an altar.

Clearly, however, this is not the only episode in the life of these blocks, for all of the surviving pieces of Monument A exhibit abundant evidence of two periods of use, of which their present disposition is the second. Although the euthynteria blocks are here re-used from a monument dismantled prior to the construction of Monument A, there is no evidence to suggest the systematic re-use or transference of an earlier monument to the present site. Furthermore, the two periods of the monument certainly differed in size and plan. Around the southeast corner and along the south and west sides, there can be detected a line of weathering and a setting line 0.085 m. back from the edges of the euthynteria. This can also be seen on the block next to the southeast corner, on the south side, a face block in the early period laid as a stretcher, but re-used as a header. To this period also belongs a series of large and neatly cut double T clamps and deep rectangular dowel holes. A number of joints show a pair of cuttings for double T clamps, where the clamp of the earlier phase was disused and replaced by another in its present reconstruction. It is equally clear that some of the earlier clamp cuttings were re-used for the later clamps which are of almost identical dimensions. The arrangement and spacing of the early dowel holes suggests that the early monument was a large one, probably much larger in its first period than now. The blocks of its lowest marble course averaged 1.65 m. in length where it is possible to measure the dowel cuttings. The euthynteria blocks of the

earlier monument were laid as alternating headers and stretchers in the same relation as some of them still are. It is, of course, no longer possible to estimate the dimensions and proportions of the first monument or even to guess at its nature.

Immediately to the east of Monument A, there lies the foundation for another base to which we shall refer here as Monument B (cf. Fig. 13). Of this structure only the foundation and one block of the euthynteria survive. The foundation consists of a single course of conglomerate blocks laid to form a rectangular base 3.88 m. long and 2.16 m. wide. This foundation was set precisely adjacent to the east side of Monument A, and the narrow intervening space was filled with small stones wedged into place. Small stones were also used as packing in the wide interstices between the conglomerate blocks at the center of the base.

The single surviving block of the euthynteria formed the southwest corner of that course (0.39 m. high). This block is of gray poros of very similar workmanship to the blocks of Monument A and the Peribolos of the Eponymoi. The superstructure of Monument B was not centered on the foundation. Instead, the existing euthynteria block was set 0.38 m. in from the south edge of the foundation, but its west end protruded 0.39 m. beyond the west edge of the foundation. Thus the corner block was placed in such a way that it abutted the east face of the euthynteria of Monument A, and it was laid so as to be at precisely the same level as the euthynteria of the earlier monument. The top surface of this block preserves two dowel holes for securing the blocks at the corner of the next higher course of the monument. The square end dowel was leaded by means of a pour channel whose end 0.13 m. in from the south edge of the block aligns with a setting line further west and locates the face of the first marble course above. Now it is of great importance to observe that the south face of the krepidoma of Monument B, thus located, is precisely aligned with the north face of the sill for the Peribolos of the Eponymoi. This alignment has been measured with such precision that it can hardly be fortuitous, and it strongly suggests that Monument B was oriented with relation to the Peribolos of the Eponymous Heroes. Since the latter is obviously the larger and more important monument, the orientation cannot have been the reverse. The significance of this fact is clear, for it indicates that the Eponymous Heroes already stood on this site when Monument B was constructed.

CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF THE MONUMENT

The foregoing survey has concerned itself wholly with the architectural remains of the peribolos and has sought to reconstruct the history of its various building periods on the basis of internal structural evidence. We have passed in review the surviving fragments of the monument and these have enabled us to decipher the story of no less than five separate architectural phases. The sequence of remodeling, repair, and enlargement is clear enough from the architecture itself, but there arises

now the question of more exact chronology. Moreover, we shall wish to inquire whether the well known history of the Athenian tribes themselves is reflected in the archaeological phases of the peribolos in the Agora.

PERIOD I

Evidence for the date of construction of the peribolos in its first period is regrettably meager. It is plain from Aristotle's reference to the monument (*Ath. Pol.*, 53, 4) that the peribolos was already standing on its present site when the *Constitution of the Athenians* was written, for Aristotle placed the Eponymoi in front of the Bouleuterion. The latest historical events mentioned in that treatise suggest a date for its composition in the years 328-325 B.C., and for our present purpose this may be taken as a general *terminus ante quem*.⁵⁵ Passing to the archaeological evidence, we find that certain architectural details will corroborate the independent testimony of the ceramic material recovered from excavation around the monument, and that both these threads of evidence will combine to suggest a more precise date. The architectural observations noted above made clear the relationship of the three monuments in the area, the peribolos and the two bases at its northern end. Their relative chronological sequence can thus be established. Monument A was the earliest structure to occupy the site, and only after its demolition can the Peribolos of the Eponymous Heroes have been constructed. Finally, after the Eponymoi had come to stand on this spot, Monument B was oriented exactly with relation to the northern end of their surrounding peribolos. The two smaller bases thus bracket in time the construction of the Eponymous Heroes, and ceramic evidence associated with their construction provides useful upper and lower limits for the date of our monument.

Before considering the ceramic material, it is well to note a constant feature in the stratigraphy of the area. Wherever the excavators carried their trenches to bedrock, they encountered, beneath the level of the surviving monuments, a massive artificial filling of dug bedrock which had been dumped over a broad area about the middle of the sixth century B.C. for the purpose of grading and leveling the narrow gully, sloping down towards the northwest corner of the Agora.⁵⁶ Into this dug

⁵⁵ The date of composition depends on internal evidence. The latest date mentioned is in the archonship of Kephisophon, 329/8 B.C. (54, 7). A lower limit is inferred from references to the Athenian navy (46, 1) where triremes and quadriremes are mentioned but not quinqueremes, which first appear in the naval lists in 325/4 B.C.; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1629, line 811. See F. G. Kenyon, *Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens*, Oxford, 1892, pp. 144, 166, notes on 46, 1, and 54, 7; J. E. Sandys, *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens*, London, 1912, p. xlix.

⁵⁶ The position of this early valley is reflected to some extent in the course of the Great Drain which marks its approximate midpoint. The archaic filling was found to extend northward from the south end of the Metroon. Its western limit was beneath the porch and northernmost room of the Hellenistic structure (see the sections, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 120) and its eastern limit was marked by the Peribolos of the Eponymoi. At the time the bedrock filling was dumped over the

bedrock filling were set the foundations of all three of the monuments under discussion. The bulk of the pottery found in association with the monuments belonged therefore to the archaic period, but a handful of intrusive fragments of later date may be assigned with some assurance to the period of construction. Excavation of the footing trenches for the foundations of Monument A at its northwest and southeast corners and along its south side yielded considerable material of the mid-sixth century, but among this pottery there stood out a black-glazed foot of a one-handled cup which dated to the late fifth or early fourth century.⁵⁷ A good section of the dug bedrock fill of archaic times was found under the north end of the peribolos, along the south side of Monument A. The pottery from this fill dated almost entirely to the mid-sixth century, except for three intrusive fragments which almost certainly found their way into the fill at the time of the construction of Monument A. These pieces belonged to the late fifth or early fourth century, and one, the base of another one-handled cup, could be assigned to the period 410-375 B.C.⁵⁸

In attempting to establish the date of Monument A, we may observe also the systematic use of reddish conglomerate stone for its foundations and for the two blocks placed against its west face (Pl. 46, a) at the time of the construction of the Eponymous Heroes. The use of this soft and friable material for foundations is first attested in Athenian buildings in the last quarter of the fifth century, the substructure beneath the floor slabs of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous *ca.* 430 B.C. being its earliest appearance.⁵⁹ The conglomerate podium supporting the funerary Monument of Dexileos in the Kerameikos (394 B.C.) affords the closest parallel to our monument,⁶⁰ and the two will not be far apart in date. By the second quarter of the fourth century, and thenceforward through the Hellenistic period, conglomerate became the most characteristic material for construction of founda-

area, a well just west of the sill of the peribolos was closed and filled in about the middle of the sixth century (Agora deposit I 10:1). The pottery recovered from the dug bedrock fill beneath and around the Eponymous Heroes is stored as Lots E 550, E 565, and E 579. Cf. the contemporary grading operations explored beneath the Metroon, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 126 f.

⁵⁷ The pottery from the footing trenches of Monument A is collected in Lot E 578.

⁵⁸ This group of pottery is stored as Lot E 550.

⁵⁹ A. Orlandos, *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, p. 318. The great buildings of the late fifth century in the Agora still regularly employed poros for their foundations. This is true equally of the Stoa of Zeus (cf. Stillwell, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 115 f.; Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 21, 45), of the New Bouleuterion (*ibid.*, pp. 143, 146), and of the South Stoa in its early period. The earliest appearance of conglomerate in the Agora is in the construction of the side walls of a stone drain running in a northeasterly direction from the northeast corner of the so-called Heliaina. This drain formed a tributary to the eastern branch of the Great Drain and it may be located on the plan, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pl. 16. The pottery from its filling (Agora deposit J 13-14:1) is dated 425 to 400 B.C. and indicates that the drain went out of use about the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries. Conglomerate also forms part of the fabric of the retaining wall behind the Stoa of Zeus which may, however, be slightly later than the building itself (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 45).

⁶⁰ W. Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, p. 23, no. 56.

tions.⁶¹ Both architectural and ceramic evidence thus indicate that the construction of Monument A should be placed in the early years of the fourth century.

We have seen that the Peribolos of the Eponymoi must have been erected at a somewhat later date, after Monument A had been dismantled and its foundation disused. Once again, the excavation did not yield massive ceramic evidence for the date, but a handful of characteristic fragments from critical areas may indicate the proper chronology. The most useful evidence is provided by a single intrusive piece which was found just west of the Peribolos in an otherwise pure layer of the archaic bedrock filling.

P 27736. Plate: rolled rim. Fig. 18, Pl. 56.

H. 0.032; Diam. *ca.* 0.19.

Fragment preserves parts of rim, floor and foot; complete profile.

Ring foot with light groove in resting surface. Thickened rim with groove beneath. Stamped decoration on floor: six alternately linked palmettes within double band of rouletting surrounded by groove. Completely

glazed, but glaze much worn and flaked off; buff clay.

For the class see *Agora*, XII, p. 147; for profile and pattern cf. P 446 and P 89 (*Agora*, XII, nos. 1057, 1058, pl. 36, fig. 10). Cf. also *Olynthus*, XIII, pp. 370-371, pls. 226-227, nos. 861, 863.

Ca. 350 B.C.

In addition to this isolated piece, we may draw some assistance from three other groups of pottery. First, a layer of working chips of Pentelic marble came to light on the east side of the peribolos at about the level of the bottom of its sill, and this is surely to be interpreted as the working level for the pedestal of the monument. The pottery associated with this layer (Lot E 544) belonged mostly to the last quarter of the fifth century with two or three intrusions of the mid-fourth century, in particular the base of a small bowl or cup with rouletted decoration. Secondly, a small amount of earth was removed from between the west sill of the Eponymoi, at its north end, and the foundation of Monument A. From this filling there came a handful of small sherds (Lot E 586) which included a rim fragment from an unglazed saucer with a rilled rim, dating about 350-325 B.C. These fragments could scarcely have been deposited after the construction of the peribolos. Finally, the footing trench for the foundation of Monument B yielded several pieces which could be assigned to the second quarter of the fourth century (Lot E 584), the most characteristic of these being the base of a fish-plate. The independent ceramic evidence, slight as it may be in quantity, is nevertheless informative, and it points inexorably to a date in the middle years of the fourth century for the construction of the Peribolos of the Eponymous Heroes.

We may appeal also for support from the style of the monument's architectural detail. In particular, an examination of the crowning moulding of the die will confirm

⁶¹ A convenient list of buildings which make use of conglomerate in their fabric has been assembled by R. Martin, *Manuel d'architecture grecque*, I, Paris, 1965, pp. 114-116.

the date advanced above. The projecting cornice-like drip of this moulding (Fig. 14, Pl. 49,d), crowned by an ovolo and adorned with a cyma reversa as the bed mould of its soffit, exhibits many characteristics specifically associated with the stone cutting of the fourth century. We note first the tight curve of the undercut behind the drip and the almost horizontal soffit of the cornice. This somewhat flattened profile had come into common use by the second quarter of the fourth century, and was a standard form for the Ionic and especially the Doric raking geisa thenceforward.⁶² A still more revealing detail is the profile of the cyma reversa on the soffit of our podium cap from the Eponymous Heroes. An analysis of the proportions of this moulding will show that it projects in greater depth than it rises in height and its upper curve is smaller than the lower curve. A profile of such proportions never occurs in the development of the cyma reversa moulding before the fourth century, and it is found so rarely in subsequent periods that it may be considered the particular hallmark of that century.⁶³ Interesting, too, but not so characteristic, is the very flat profile of the ovolo which crowns the podium cap. This finds good parallel on buildings of the later fourth century, such as the Temple of Athena at Priene (*ca.* 335 B.C.) and the Temple of Zeus at Stratos (*ca.* 320 B.C.), but in earlier examples there seems to be a clearly discernible preference for a more rounded profile.⁶⁴

Within the third quarter of the fourth century fall the two Athenian monuments whose mouldings most closely approximate that on the die of the Eponymoi. We have already noted in detail (*supra*, pp. 168-169) the striking similarity in design, style, and scale between our moulding and that which crowns the podium of the Choregic Monument of Lysikrates (Fig. 15). In general, the cornice of the Lysikrates Monument is cut with the same fine sense for the profile of the curve. Its soffit is nearly horizontal in keeping with the fashion of the period, and the cyma reversa of its bed mould is closely analogous to that from the Eponymous Heroes, although its pro-

⁶² Among a host of examples, four will illustrate the development of the horizontal geison soffit during the second and third quarters of the fourth century: 1. The raking cornices of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, *ca.* 380 B.C. (P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, I, Paris, 1891, pl. VI, 4; G. Roux, *L'architecture de l'Argolide*, Paris, 1961, pl. 31, 2-4). 2. The raking cornice of the Thersilion at Megalopolis, *ca.* 350 B.C. (J.H.S., *Supplementary Papers I: Excavations at Megalopolis*, London, 1892, p. 31, fig. 17, pl. XII). 3. The crowning moulding on the podium of the Lysikrates Monument, 334 B.C. (Fig. 15), the close similarity of which to the Eponymoi has been discussed *supra*, pp. 168-169. 4. The raking cornice of the Choregic Monument of Nikias, 320/19 B.C. (W. B. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, p. 463, fig. 3, c). Cf. the general remarks of L. T. Shoe, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁶³ The cyma reversa of the Eponymoi falls into Type I of the cyma reversa geison soffit, Shoe, *op. cit.*, p. 68, where 24 examples are cited from the fourth century as against 5 from the Hellenistic period and none earlier.

⁶⁴ *Priene*, p. 104, figs. 68, 72, 74-76; F. Courby and Ch. Picard, *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Acarnanie*, Paris, 1924, p. 73, fig. 49; Shoe, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38, pl. XX, 7-8.

portions differ slightly because of its greater height.⁶⁵ The dedicatory inscription on the epistyle of the Lysikrates Monument⁶⁶ provides a fixed date in the archonship of Euainetos, 335/4 B.C., for the theatrical victory which the monument commemorates. A second striking parallel to the Eponymoi comes from the Agora itself. That is the Ionic cornice block (Agora Inv. A 256) which should in all likelihood be assigned to the horizontal lateral cornice of the Temple of Apollo Patroos.⁶⁷ Coming

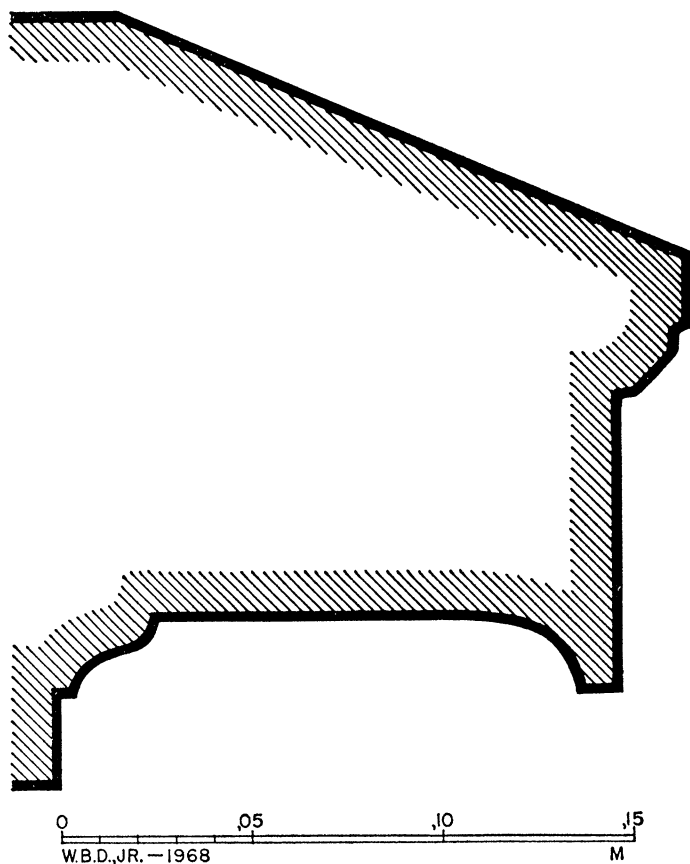


FIG. 14. Eponymous Heroes, Profile of Pedestal Crown (1:2).

⁶⁵ It is not possible to compare the crowning ovolo or the end of the drip, since these are nowhere preserved on the single surviving ancient block of the course. The podium crown seems to have been badly damaged in the fire which destroyed the Capucin Convent in 1821 and freed the Lysikrates Monument from the surrounding structures. All blocks of the existing podium crown, except for that at the southeast corner, go back to the restoration of the monument by the French architect Boulanger in 1867. For the monument's later history cf. H. F. de Cou, *A.J.A.*, VIII, 1893, pp. 43-44; H. Riemann, *R.E.*, Suppl. VIII, 1956, cols. 270-272, 275.

⁶⁶ *I.G.*, II², 3042; Riemann, *R.E.*, Suppl. VIII, cols. 267-268.

⁶⁷ The block, together with a fragmentary Ionic epistyle (A 391) probably belonging with it, was at first assigned tentatively to the New Bouleuterion, Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 147-149, figs. 84-86. But the proportions of the cyma reversa moulding indicate a date for the block

as it does from the superstructure of a building, this cornice presents certain obvious differences from our pedestal cap. It includes the standard Ionic course of dentils beneath the cornice itself, and its crowning ovolo is not in turn surmounted by a fascia. The profiles of the mouldings,⁶⁸ however, leave little doubt that this Ionic

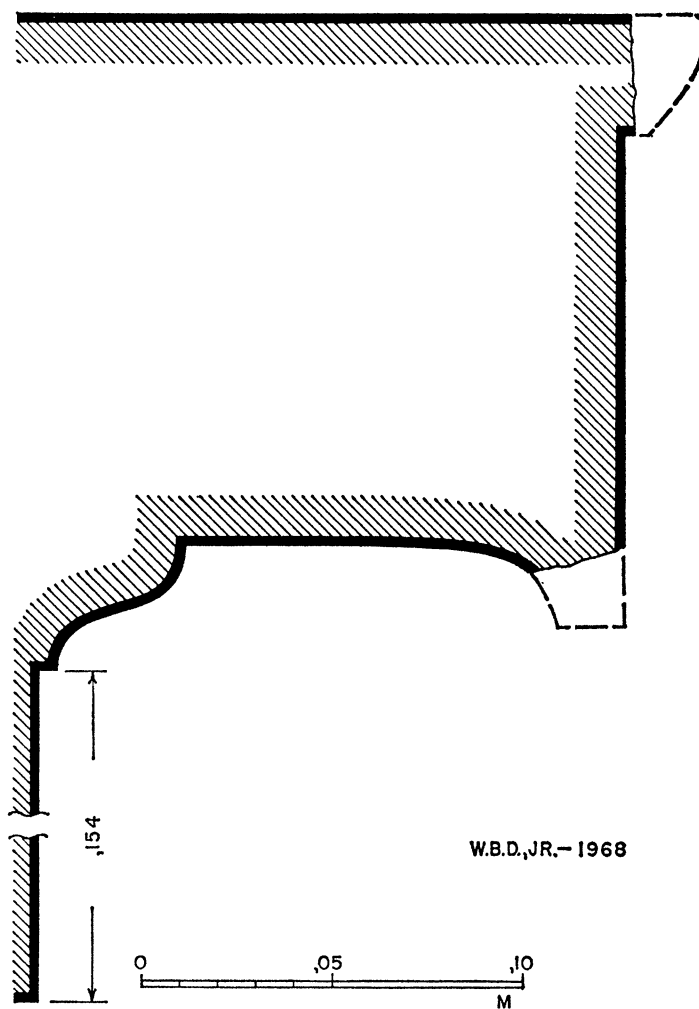


FIG. 15. Lysikrates Monument, Profile of Podium Crown (1:2).

cornice should be brought into close chronological relation with the crowning moulding from our monument. If the block is correctly attributed to the Temple of Apollo,

some decades later than the construction of the Bouleuterion. Considering the style of the mouldings and the scale of the blocks, they are best associated with the Temple of Apollo Patroos to which they are now assigned with some degree of probability. Cf. Shoe, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 73.

⁶⁸ The cyma reversa and crowning ovolo of the cornice block (A 256) are illustrated in full-scale profiles, Shoe, *op. cit.*, pls. XX, 5; XXXI, 16.

it too must then belong to the third quarter of the fourth century, and it offers one more indication of that general date for the monument of the Eponymoi.⁶⁹

While the general chronological position of the monument is thus apparent, a few structural details tempt one to believe that its construction should be dated a little earlier than the two structures mentioned above. All blocks employed in the pedestal, from the poros foundation up to the marble crowning course, were fastened with double T clamps (Fig. 8, Pls. 41, 52). It is well to note also a sparing use of horizontal pour channels for leading some of the dowels of the krepidoma.⁷⁰ This latter device, though not generally used until the Hellenistic period, should not occasion surprise in a structure of the mid-fourth century, for such pour channels had begun to be employed sporadically by the builders of the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (*ca.* 360 B.C.), the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene (*ca.* 335 B.C.), and the Temple of Zeus at Stratos (*ca.* 320 B.C.).⁷¹ On the other hand, the consistent use of double T clamps throughout the fabric of the monument suggests a date still in the middle years of the century before the transition to the use of hook clamps in the 330's and 320's B.C.⁷² All the available evidence, both architectural and ceramic, thus points in the same direction to a date shortly after 350 B.C. for the first period of the peribolos.

PERIODS II-III

Various modifications in the original fabric of the monument have led us to conclude that it was substantially altered on several later occasions, normally by design, but at least once as the result of accidental damage. Most of these subsequent

⁶⁹ The date 338-325 B.C. for the third temple on the site sacred to Apollo Patroos is based largely on architectural considerations and a comparison of the construction techniques and use of materials in its fabric with other contemporary Athenian monuments. See Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 102-104.

⁷⁰ A pour channel has been observed on a fragmentary marble step A 3635.

⁷¹ *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée*, p. 56, pls. LXIV, LXVII; *Priene*, pp. 118-119; *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos*, p. 84. Isolated examples of inclined pour channels occur still earlier, for instance in the monument of Konon and Timotheos which must have been originally erected on the Athenian Acropolis shortly after Konon's death in 390 B.C. Cf. G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 8-9. Stevens, *ibid.*, p. 21, has also proposed a fifth-century date for the large square cutting at the northeast corner of the krepidoma of the Parthenon, where the lowest step of the base was dowelled to the Acropolis rock by means of horizontal pour channels. This early date, however, seems most unlikely. Cf. his earlier remarks, *Hesperia*, Suppl. III, pp. 54-55, fig. 39. On the history of pour channels in Greek construction, see R. Martin, *Manuel*, pp. 284-287.

⁷² H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 102-103, has called attention to the frequent combination of double T clamps and hook clamps in the years after Chaironeia. See generally Martin, *Manuel*, pp. 273-279. The earliest use of the hook clamp goes back to the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries in the Tholos at Delphi, J. Charbonneaux, *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, *La Tholos*, Paris, 1925, p. 27; P. Amandry and J. Bousquet, *B.C.H.*, LXIV-LXV, 1940-41, pp. 125-126. From that time on hook clamps appear with increasing frequency until they replace the familiar double T clamp of classical architecture in the early Hellenistic period.

alterations yield little or no independent evidence which may be adduced in an attempt to place them chronologically; and we are thus forced to adopt a wholly circumstantial line of argument. Confident that our monument has indeed been correctly identified as belonging to the Eponymous Heroes, we may compare the historical vicissitudes of their namesakes, the Athenian tribes themselves, with the architectural adjustments which we have observed in the peribolos. Such a comparison will be seen to yield so striking a correspondence as to leave little room for doubt about the dating of the monument's later phases.

In our examination of the second architectural period (*supra*, pp. 171-175), we found evidence indicating that the central pedestal within the peribolos had been lengthened at both ends. The die itself was extended so that it came to stand flush against the surrounding balustrade; the terminal crowning blocks were shifted outward to the new ends of the die; and two new blocks were inserted in the capping course (Pl. 43). The most plausible reason for increasing the length of the pedestal was the need or desire to erect additional statues beside the existing group. This explanation particularly commends itself in the case of the Eponymous Heroes, whose numbers are known to have changed on several occasions with additions or subtractions in the official roster of the tribes. In all likelihood, the extension of the pedestal will have occurred at a time when two new statues had to be added to the group, one at either end, thus increasing the number displayed on the monument from the original ten to twelve. It should be obvious, however, that a group of statues to which there attached so particular a symbolic significance could not increase save by the addition of other Eponymous Heroes. No ordinary man, no ordinary hero would be allowed to mingle in the sacred company of the Eponymoi.

We should look then to those occasions when new tribes, and hence new heroes, are known to have been created. The first such occasion occurred in 307/6 B.C. with the overthrow of the tyrant Demetrios of Phaleron and the restoration of the Democracy under the banners of Demetrios Poliorketes. Among the honors which the Athenians lavished upon the Macedonian in that year was the creation of two new tribes, Antigonis and Demetrias, to which Demetrios and his father Antigonos Monophthalmos gave their names as Eponymous Heroes. In addition, the assembly voted to set up golden statues of the two Macedonians in a chariot which was to stand in the Agora near the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Both Antigonos and Demetrios were to receive honorary crowns at a cost of two hundred talents. An altar was consecrated to them and they were to be worshipped as the Saviors with annual games, processions, and sacrifices in their honor. Finally, the Athenians proposed to weave their portraits into the sacred peplos of Athena.⁷³ The author of these

⁷³ Diodoros, XX, 46, 2-3; Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 10-12. For the creation and composition of the new tribes, see W. K. Pritchett, *The Five Attic Tribes after Kleisthenes*, Diss. Johns Hopkins, 1943, pp. 1-12 = *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 186-193. For the date Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LVIII, 1937,

extravagant flatteries was Stratokles, son of Euthydemos, of Diomeia, the well-known and reckless demagogue, who likened himself to Kleon and made something of a specialty of proposing public honors for his friends, if we may judge by the preponderance of honorific decrees among his extant documents.⁷⁴ The literary accounts of Stratokles' decree honoring Demetrios do not mention specifically that statues of the two Macedonians were set up beside the other Eponymous Heroes, but it is an almost certain inference that they were. The three other tribal heroes who later joined the Eponymoi were certainly represented by statues, as we learn from Pausanias' description of the monument.⁷⁵ Furthermore, on his visit to Delphi, Pausanias saw statues of Antigonos and Demetrios, erected undoubtedly at this time by the Athenians on the famous Marathon Monument, which also displayed statues of the Eponymoi, and whose history bears such a striking resemblance to that of our own monument in Athens.⁷⁶ If the Athenians felt compelled to dedicate at Delphi statues of the new Macedonian heroes, there can hardly be any question that similar statues would have been added to the peribolos in the Agora. Thus, the architectural evidence informs us that the monument in its second period was altered to accommodate precisely two new statues, and the historical evidence reports that two new tribes were created in 307/6 B.C. In that year, and in no other, throughout the long history of the Athenian tribal system, were two new tribes formed simultaneously, and only then would the occasion have arisen to dedicate two new statues within the peribolos of the Eponymoi. We are surely justified in concluding that Period II is to be dated in 307/6, or very shortly thereafter, and that the pedestal of our monument was lengthened in order to display statues of Antigonos and Demetrios.

This combination of circumstances may gain strength by a process of cumulative coincidence, when we turn to the third period of the monument. The architectural evidence for this period was found to consist solely in the secondary cuttings on the terminal capping block of the pedestal (17), but these show clearly (p. 175, Fig. 8) that the original bronze tripod had at some time been replaced by a bronze statue, the thirteenth of the group. Now it will be observed that here again the history of the tribes coincides with the architecture of the peribolos, for during a brief period at the end of the third century B.C., the tribes also were thirteen in

pp. 220-221, and cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 303-310. For the historical circumstances, W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, pp. 63-64, 96.

⁷⁴ For the career of Stratokles, see Kirchner, *P.A.*, 12938; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 13 f., 119-124, 135-138; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, pp. 13-14. Of Stratokles' 22 known decrees 16 propose public honors, cf. Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.* It was fitting that Stratokles' own deme, Diomeia, was among those assigned to Demetrias in the reorganization of demes, necessitated by the creation of the new tribes, see Pritchett, *Five Attic Tribes*, p. 9.

⁷⁵ Pausanias, I, 5, 5.

⁷⁶ Pausanias, X, 10, 2; for the Marathon Monument at Delphi, see *infra*, pp. 221-222.

number. The thirteenth tribe, like the two Macedonian tribes, reflects in its creation the politics of the day, and its hero was a man of the present, not a legend of the past. The tribe Ptolemais, which took its name from Ptolemy Euergetes, was intended to compliment the Egyptian King and dated its foundation to the era of alliance and friendship between Athens and Egypt. Although the precise circumstances which attended its founding have not been reported in the literary sources, the date of its formation has been fixed, largely on the basis of epigraphical evidence, in 223 B.C.⁷⁷ At the time of the founding of Ptolemais, a statue of Ptolemy was included among the other Eponymous Heroes on the monument in the Agora, and another was sent to Delphi to be added to the Marathon dedication. On this point there can be no doubt, for Pausanias saw and mentioned both statues.⁷⁸ The task of adding a thirteenth statue to the group on our monument presented a considerable problem, because the pedestal had already been increased to the maximum length which could be contained within the enclosing fence. Short of enlarging the peribolos itself, the only solution was the simple, if asymmetrical, one of which the cuttings on cap block 17 give evidence: the terminal tripod at the south end was removed and a statue of the new Eponymous Hero installed in its place. We should not hesitate to identify the statue as Ptolemy and to date its installation in 223 B.C.

It may be well to observe at this point that the placement of the three new statues on the monument seems to have been determined entirely by the requirements of available space and architectural symmetry, for there was no relation between their positions on the pedestal and the places which the heroes assumed in the official order of the tribes. During the period of the twelve tribes (307/6-224/3) Antigonis and Demetrias had pride of place, standing first and second in the official order. Ptolemais was assigned the seventh, and central position, in the order of thirteen tribes, being inserted between Leontis and Akamantis. Although the evidence for the arrangement of the statues is slight indeed, it is clear nevertheless that the statue which stood on cap block 18, either the first or last statue of the original group, can never have been shifted from its place. This indicates that the ten early statues retained their original positions, and the newcomers were fitted in at the two ends of the monument, despite the confusion which this wrought in the official tribal order.

The next phase in the history of our monument has chanced to leave no discernible record on the surviving blocks, but we may appeal for assistance to the literary and historical sources to fill the archaeological gap. Pausanias (I, 5, 5), after describing the monument and identifying the ten original heroes goes on to say, οἷδε

⁷⁷ For discussion of the date, see Pritchett, *Five Attic Tribes*, pp. 13-23 = *A.J.P.*, LXIII, 1942, pp. 413-423; also now *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 441. For earlier bibliography on this controversial date, Pritchett, note 3. For the historical setting, Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 239-243.

⁷⁸ Pausanias, I, 5, 5; X, 10, 2.

μέν εἰσιν Ἀθηναίους ἐπώνυμοι τῶν ἀρχαίων· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶνδε φυλὰς ἔχουσιν, Ἀττάλου τοῦ Μυσοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἥδη βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ. . . .

This statement reveals two further adjustments in the statues of the Eponymoi which we should otherwise have been able only to surmise. We have already noticed that Pausanias evidently did not see statues of the Macedonian Eponymoi, but he specifically mentions the other two Hellenistic heroes, Ptolemy III and Attalos I. When Pausanias' account is brought into relation with the turbulent events which closed the third century, it will be observed once again that alterations in the monument must have mirrored the changes which beset the tribes themselves. Angered at the participation of Philip V of Macedon in the devastating Achaean invasion of Attica in 200 B.C.,⁷⁹ the Athenians summarily disbanded the Macedonian tribes, Antigonis and Demetrias, and abrogated the honors which they had heaped upon the two kings just over a century before.⁸⁰ Recoiling from this abrupt break in her policy of studied neutrality, Athens rushed into the waiting arms of Attalos of Pergamon, whom she treated in 200 B.C. very much in the same spirit of adulation as she had greeted Demetrios in 307 B.C. Attalos was hailed as the Eponymous Hero of a new tribe, Attalis, which dated its foundation to the spring of that year.⁸¹ In the light of these events, it becomes apparent that Pausanias failed to see the Macedonian Eponymoi because their statues had been removed from the monument in 200 B.C., at the time of the abrogation of the tribes. Their removal made room for the statue of Attalos, which was probably erected in the place just vacated at the northern end of the pedestal. We may also suppose that the unsightly gap at the south end, caused by the demise of the Macedonians, would have been filled by Ptolemy, whose statue would now have been shifted one position northward, thus enabling the replacement of the bronze tripod in its original position on the southern terminal cap block and restoring the monument to its former symmetry (Pl. 44).⁸²

⁷⁹ The events are described by Livy, XXXI, 14, 6-18; and cf. M. Holleaux, *C.A.H.*, VIII, pp. 161-163.

⁸⁰ The abrogation of Antigonis and Demetrias is nowhere mentioned in ancient literature, but is demonstrated by *I.G.*, II², 2362, which lists the Attic demes as they were reassigned among the eleven remaining tribes after the abrogation of the Macedonian tribes and before the establishment of Attalis. See Ferguson, *The Priests of Asklepios*, Berkeley, 1906, pp. 142 ff.; *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 268 and note 4; Pritchett, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXV, 1954, pp. 159-167 for the date early in 200 B.C. The motive for the abrogation has been much discussed, see especially A. H. McDonald, *J.R.S.*, XXVII, 1937, pp. 190-192; F. W. Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon*, Cambridge, 1940, pp. 124-125; Pritchett, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXV, 1954, pp. 162-164.

⁸¹ Polybios, XVI, 25; Livy, XXXI, 15; cf. Pritchett, *Five Attic Tribes*, pp. 33-36.

⁸² This phase in the history of the Athenian monument was not reflected in the Marathon Monument at Delphi. Since the latter was a dedication to Apollo in a foreign even if Panhellenic sanctuary, the Athenians were not at liberty to remove the statues of Antigonos and Demetrios when they disbanded the two tribes and dismantled their statues in the Agora. Thus it was that Pausanias (X, 10, 2) mentioned the statues at Delphi but not their Athenian counterparts. The dangerous military situation in 200 B.C. will account for Athens' failure to dedicate a statue of Attalos among the other Eponymoi at Delphi.

PERIOD IV

The repair of the peribolos which forms the fourth architectural phase of the monument cannot be associated with any known event in the history of the tribes themselves. Our analysis of the alterations of the fence which occurred at this time (*supra*, pp. 176-180) suggests that the structure suffered extensive damage. This appears in the haphazard resetting of the western face, in the seemingly capricious spacing of the fence posts, which may have resulted from recutting damaged balustrade caps, and in the exposed hook clamps on the backs of the capping blocks. In attempting to place this repair chronologically, we may derive some slight assistance from ceramic evidence. Excavation within the peribolos revealed a narrow strip of undisturbed fill between the surviving blocks of the euthynteria and the eastern sill. The pottery from the filling, like that from the whole vicinity of the monument, proved to be primarily archaic, but with a striking admixture of fragments which dated to the early first century B.C. and included one very characteristic piece of Pergamene ware.⁸³ Because of the unusually small quantity of pottery, such evidence could scarcely be regarded as conclusive, were it not for the fact that this date happens to coincide with one of the most destructive incidents in Athenian history, Sulla's sack of Athens in March of 86 B.C. The violent passage of the Roman legions is everywhere reflected in the ruins of this section of the city. The public buildings at the foot of the Kolonos and the many monuments along the west side of the Agora bear grim witness to the fury of the invasion.⁸⁴ In view of the extensive damage at this time to neighboring buildings and monuments, it is tempting to attribute to the same cause the heavy damage which we have detected in the remains of the Peribolos of the Eponymous Heroes; and we may be justified in assigning the repairs of Period IV to the years after Sulla's capture of Athens.

PERIOD V

The final remodeling of the monument comprised the replacement of the eastern fence and the southward extension of the peribolos in order to enclose a new pedestal. The old poros fence posts were removed and discarded, and a new series of marble posts was erected in their place. The stonework of the marble fence and the concrete core for the new southern base have all the signs of Roman workmanship and they

⁸³ P 27622. Pergamene Bowl or Cup.

Fragment from foot. Ring foot separated from wall by neat groove. Hard buff clay; firm reddish brown glaze overall; double dipping streak.

First half of first century B.C.

Several other uninventoried fragments of pottery datable to the 1st century are stored in Lots E 551, E 552.

⁸⁴ For evidence of the Sullan destruction among the buildings on the west side, see Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 169-170, 223; Suppl. IV, 1940, pp. 101 f., 121, 136; D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 411.

make plain the general period to which the last phase of the monument should be assigned. Luckily, the Roman builders, eager to reduce the burden of their task, availed themselves of an old marble statue base which they evidently found lying disused near the peribolos and pressed into service as a plinth for the southeast corner post of the extended fence (Pl. 48, a). This base happened to have been made first for a dedicatory statue, and it still bears upon one face an inscription describing the circumstances of its original dedication. By the re-use of the base in their structure, the Roman masons thus succeeded in providing us with a firm *terminus post quem* for the date of their work. The inscription informs us that the statue was dedicated in the year of the archon Demetrios (50/49 B.C.).⁸⁵ It is clear, however, that a considerable time elapsed between the dedication of the statue and the re-use of its base in the Peribolos of the Eponymoi. In its present position, the base rests upside down so that the cuttings for the original statue are not visible, but beside the marble fence post, which still stands leaved *in situ* in its upper surface, is a cutting for the foot of another bronze statue. Thus, dedicated in 50/49 B.C., the first statue stood for an undetermined period of years, after which it was removed and its base re-used upside down for a second statue. Only when this statue had served its usefulness, had been in turn dismantled and its base discarded, did the block come to rest in its present position beneath the southeast corner post of our peribolos. We have then to reckon on a period of at least half a century, perhaps as much as a century, between the dedication of the base in 50/49 B.C. and its incorporation in the monument of the Eponymoi.

It is once again to Pausanias that we must turn for a more precise date for Period V and for the identification of the statue which occupied the new base in the south extension. As in the case of the other additions to the monument, we should seek the occasion of this final alteration in the formation of yet another tribe with its newly created Eponymous Hero. Here the Roman traveler's specific description of the monument becomes most helpful, for Pausanias was careful to distinguish the original statues of the Kleisthenic Eponymoi from those added subsequently;⁸⁶ and he particularly noted that one statue, that of the Emperor Hadrian, was a newcomer to the group, erected in his own day. Since architectural and epigraphical evidence points with certainty to a date in the Roman period, we can do no better than relate

⁸⁵ Agora Inv. I 25; see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 71, no. 66 = *I.G.*, II², 2993 a; and for the archon's date cf. *I.G.*, II², 1713.

⁸⁶ Pausanias I, 5, 5 quoted *supra*, pp. 199-200. Although Pausanias separated the original from the later Eponymoi, his description (I, 5, 1-5) bears no apparent relation to the arrangement of the statues on the monument. He mentions the ten Kleisthenic Eponymoi in random order: Hippothoon (VIII), Antiochos (X), Ajax (IX), Leos (IV), Erechtheus (I), Aigeus (II), Oineus (VI), Akamas (V), Kekrops (VII), Pandion (III). In view of the monument's chief function as an official public notice board, it seems highly probable that the original statues were arranged in the official order of the ten tribes.

Pausanias' statement to the monumental remains, and conclude that the peribolos was enlarged and its east side rebuilt when Hadrian was elevated to the status of Eponymous Hero of the tribe Hadrianis. The Athenians bestowed this honor upon the emperor on the occasion of his visit to Athens and his founding of the New City of Athens in A.D. 124/5.⁸⁷ To this date we may assign the enlarged peribolos of Period V with its new pedestal for the statue of Hadrian. The size of the new base suggests a statue of considerably larger scale than the others (Pl. 45), and we may understand it as a special compliment to that most philhellenic of Roman emperors, who had made himself one of Athens' great benefactors, that his statue stood out among the Eponymous Heroes, head and shoulders above his peers. It was a conceit which doubtless appealed to Hadrian as much as it did to the Athenian of his day. Once again it should be noted that by placing Hadrian's statue on a separate base at the south end of the monument, the Athenians departed from the official order of the tribes; for Hadrianis, like Ptolemais before it, was assigned the seventh and central position among the thirteen tribes. But a colossal statue, rising above its neighbors, though perhaps in questionable taste, would nevertheless be felt to impart greater honor than would a pedantic insistence upon the central position prescribed by official order.

THE ORIGINAL MONUMENT OF THE EPONYMOI

Our discussion of the chronology of the Eponymous Heroes has led us to the conclusion that the peribolos was first constructed on its familiar site during the middle years of the fourth century B.C. But this date, far from providing a welcome solution to the monument's early history, raises on the contrary a serious problem of historical interpretation. The problem emerges in sharpest focus when one attempts to correlate the evidence of archaeology, the combined indications of ceramic material and architectural style, with the information yielded by the literary testimonia. These latter sources convey to the objective reader an utterly different impression of the monument's early chronology. Just as the evidence of the excavations points firmly to a date in the mid-fourth century for the construction of the peribolos, so do the historical sources, in their own way just as firmly, suggest a date for its foundation some three quarters of a century earlier.

The earliest references to the Monument of the Eponymoi go back to the 420's B.C., when Aristophanes had occasion to mention it in both the *Knights* of 424 and the *Peace* of 421. The former speaks of old men arguing *ἐν τῷ δέλγματι τῶν δικῶν* (lines 977-980), and the latter describes a man reading a notice *προστὰς πρὸς τὸν ἀνδριάντα τὸν Πανδίωνος* (lines 1183-1184). Although both references derive a certain

⁸⁷ For Hadrian's visit to Athens and the date of creation of Hadrianis, see P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo, 1934, pp. 18-35, 80; Pritchett, *Five Attic Tribes*, pp. 37-39; cf. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 101.

obscurity from the elliptical language of comic poetry, they describe nonetheless the two most striking features of our monument: the statues of the individual heroes and the public notice board.⁸⁸ Still more disturbing are various references to the monument in legal pleading in the Athenian courts at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century. Isokrates, in his speech written for a client involved in litigation against a certain Kallimachos, about 402 B.C. makes mention of a decree announced *πρόσθε τῶν ἐπωνύμων* (XVIII, 61). In 399 B.C., Andokides in his speech *On the Mysteries* quoted (I, 83) an Athenian decree ordering the revision of the constitution after the fall of the Thirty in 403 B.C. The document directed the Nomothetai to inscribe their proposed legislation on boards for preliminary publication *πρὸς τοὺς ἐπωνύμους*. Isaïos, in a legal brief prepared for Menexenos on the estate of Dikaiogenes, about 389 B.C. also refers to a law suit posted *ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων* (V, 38). The earlier orators describe the posting of public documents under the same conditions and in the same language as did Demosthenes and Aischines in the middle of the fourth century.⁸⁹ The inference seems almost inescapable that a monument dedicated to the ten Eponymous Heroes stood somewhere in or near the Agora from the last quarter of the fifth century onward. Evidently this earlier version also displayed statues of the tribal heroes and functioned as a public notice board, for there is indeed nothing in the literary sources to distinguish it from its successor.

Judicious probing of the fill around and beneath the peribolos of the Eponymoi leaves no possible room for doubt that there was never an earlier monument beneath the existing remains on the site. The fourth-century structure was built directly on the classical ground level of the Agora, which was formed by the artificial leveling of the area as early as the middle of the sixth century. There are no architectural remains whatever beneath the peribolos. Thus any attempt to locate and identify the original monument must concern itself with other sites in the area of the Agora.

Such a search might seem from the outset utterly futile and doomed to failure on the basis of our present knowledge, were it not for the fact that any structure which might be a candidate for the original site of the monument must measure up to certain definite specifications. It must, for example, have occupied an important and prominent place in the Agora which the average citizen would normally be expected to frequent. Otherwise the monument's usefulness as a notice board would have been severely limited. Furthermore, such a monument must be of suitable size and shape for the erection of ten large statues upon a single base. On this point Greek

⁸⁸ For the association of *Knights*, lines 977-980 with the Eponymoi, see Wycherley, *Agora*, III, p. 86, no. 231. The confused statements of the scholia on the passage provide no useful information. On the other hand, one scholiast on *Peace*, lines 1183-1184, specifically mentions the military lists and decrees posted under the statue, and another attempts to locate the Eponymoi topographically, see *supra*, p. 147.

⁸⁹ Demosthenes, XX, 94, XXI, 103, XXIV, 8, 18, 23; Aischines, III, 38 f., all conveniently assembled in *Agora*, III, pp. 85-88.

practice is nearly uniform; a group of statues of this number would normally stand either on a long, narrow base or in a semicircular exedra. The arrangement of the later peribolos would lead us to expect the former; and incidentally, the square foundation of Monument A, lying beneath the north end of the peribolos, is thus at once eliminated. Finally, the vital criterion is that of chronology. Our putative earlier monument must, naturally, prove to have been built before 424 B.C., the date of the earliest literary reference. But more particularly, it must have gone out of use before the construction of the present peribolos. It must give evidence of demolition, or destruction, or conversion to other purposes about the middle of the fourth century B.C.

The problem is not so intractable as it might at first glance appear, for the number of early monuments in the Agora which satisfy the conditions set forth above is relatively small. In fact, one monument in particular stands out above all others as the most likely candidate. Excavation of the stratified deposit beneath the western end of the Middle Stoa revealed in 1965 the foundations of a large early monument base; and the definitive exploration of the area carried out during the seasons of 1967 and 1968 now enables us to reconstruct in some detail the history of the monument.⁹⁰ The ruinous foundation of this base commands our attention because, as we shall see presently, it fulfills remarkably well the requirements for the early monument of the Eponymous Heroes.

The remains in question were discovered lying partially beneath the southern foundations of the Middle Stoa, and midway between the first and second foundation piers of the stoa's inner colonnade, about 11.50 m. from its west end (Figs. 16, 17). During the classical period, before the great building program of the second century B.C. gave rise to the Hellenistic stoa, one of the principal ancient arteries of Athens traversed this area as it entered the market square from the southwest. The road descended in a steep gradient following a northeasterly course from the western slopes of the Areopagus. It skirted the northwest corner of the great square building which has been tentatively identified as the Heliaia, and it opened into the central area of the Agora in front of the Tholos. Our monument was erected almost in the middle of this important thoroughfare where it commanded the southwestern approaches to the Agora and would have drawn the gaze of every citizen who made his way from the market to the Pnyx or to the southern and western quarters of the city.

The long and narrow rectangle of the monument was oriented with its axis almost exactly north and south and surveyed in obvious relation to the northwest corner of the Heliaia, from which it was separated by an interval of 8 m. The early

⁹⁰ The monument and the areas of the early classical roadway on either side of it were explored successively by H. A. Thompson, I. M. Shear, and J. McK. Camp to whose careful observations and meticulous records this account is very greatly indebted. For preliminary notice of the monument, see *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 63-64.

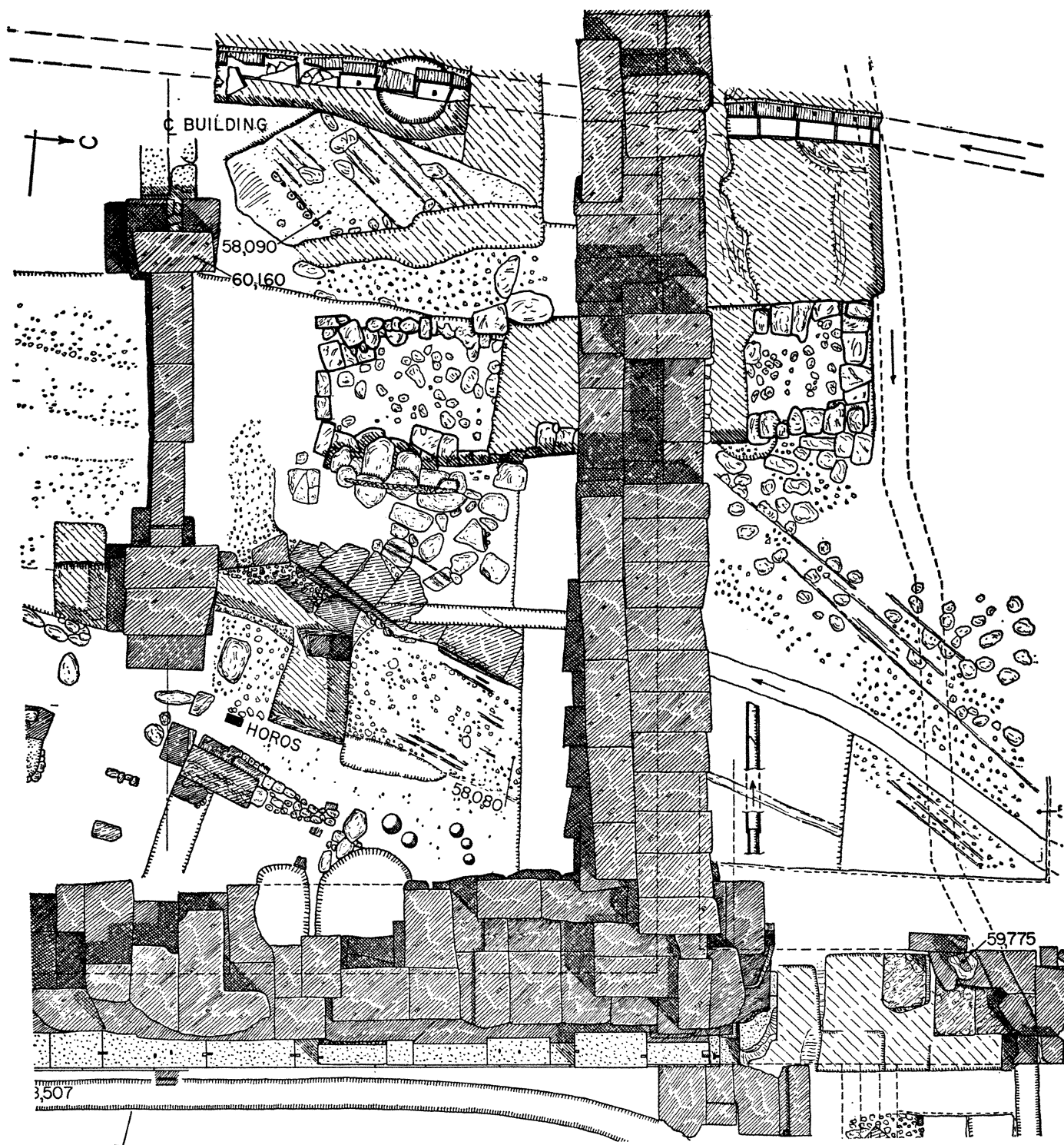


FIG. 16. Early Monument beneath West End of Middle Stoa, Actual State.

foundations thus lie approximately 50 m. due south of the fourth-century peribolos of the Eponymoi. It should perhaps also be emphasized that the base lay within the sacred and official area of the Agora, for the preserved boundary stones of the Agora stand along the western edge of the street, some 4.50 m. west of the monument.⁹¹ Unlike all of the buildings and most of the monuments of the classical period, which clustered about the borders of the square, this base stood upon the public ground of the Agora proper. In keeping with its imposing position is the equally imposing size and scale of the structure, which measures about 9.70 m. in length and 2.35 m. in width on the preserved foundation. Only the lowest course of rough masonry survives today, and none of this would have been visible when the monument stood. That the foundation was intended to support a superstructure of considerable size and weight is suggested by the care with which it was prepared. Construction commenced with the digging of a long rectangular trench which was sunk through the metalled surface of the street until it reached bedrock throughout its length and breadth. Because of the irregular contours of the rock in the area and its generally northward declivity, about half of the trench, chiefly at the south end and along the east side, had to be cut down through as much as 0.80 m. of bedrock.⁹² The natural slope of the rock toward the north accounts also for the fact that the north end of the foundation is nearly 0.50 m. lower than the south (Fig. 17). The four sides of the trench thus excavated were lined with a band of foundations consisting of flat, irregular flagstones of Acropolis limestone, averaging *ca.* 0.20 m. in thickness. Within this enfaming border was laid a packing of broken stone, Acropolis limestone and some pieces of soft poros, imbedded in gray clay and leveled off to form a low platform of masonry. It is this platform which survives today and is visible in Plates 54-55. Originally it served merely as the lowest socle for a podium of coarse masonry. Large, irregular boulders of Acropolis limestone were set along the outer rectangle and mortared with gray clay to contain the heavy stone packing of the core. This rough masonry was found preserved in a few places along the sides of the monument and at the southeast corner. It can never have risen much more than about 0.50 or 0.60 m. above the socle, the height to which it is preserved near the southwest corner. For the podium will have supported the first ashlar course of the monument just below ground level, which can be determined by the stratification on both sides of the foundation. Concerning the architecture of the monument which once stood on our rough stone platform, nothing whatever is known since no pieces of its superstructure have been recognized.

⁹¹ See *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 205-206; Suppl. IV, 1940, pp. 107-110; XXXVII, 1968, pp. 61-63. Plate 54, a illustrates the relation of the monument (A) to the road (B) which may here be seen both east and west of it, with the Agora boundary stone (C) still further to the west just visible in the lower left corner.

⁹² These irregular outcroppings of bedrock show plainly on Plate 54, b, where they may be seen particularly at the south end just beneath the modern retaining wall and beside the foundation of the Middle Stoa in the lower right corner.

We observed that building operations began with the excavation of a trench through the surface of the existing road. But a glance at the sections, Figure 17, raises at once the question which level of the road existed when the monument was built. Upon the answer to this question hinges much of the chronological interpre-

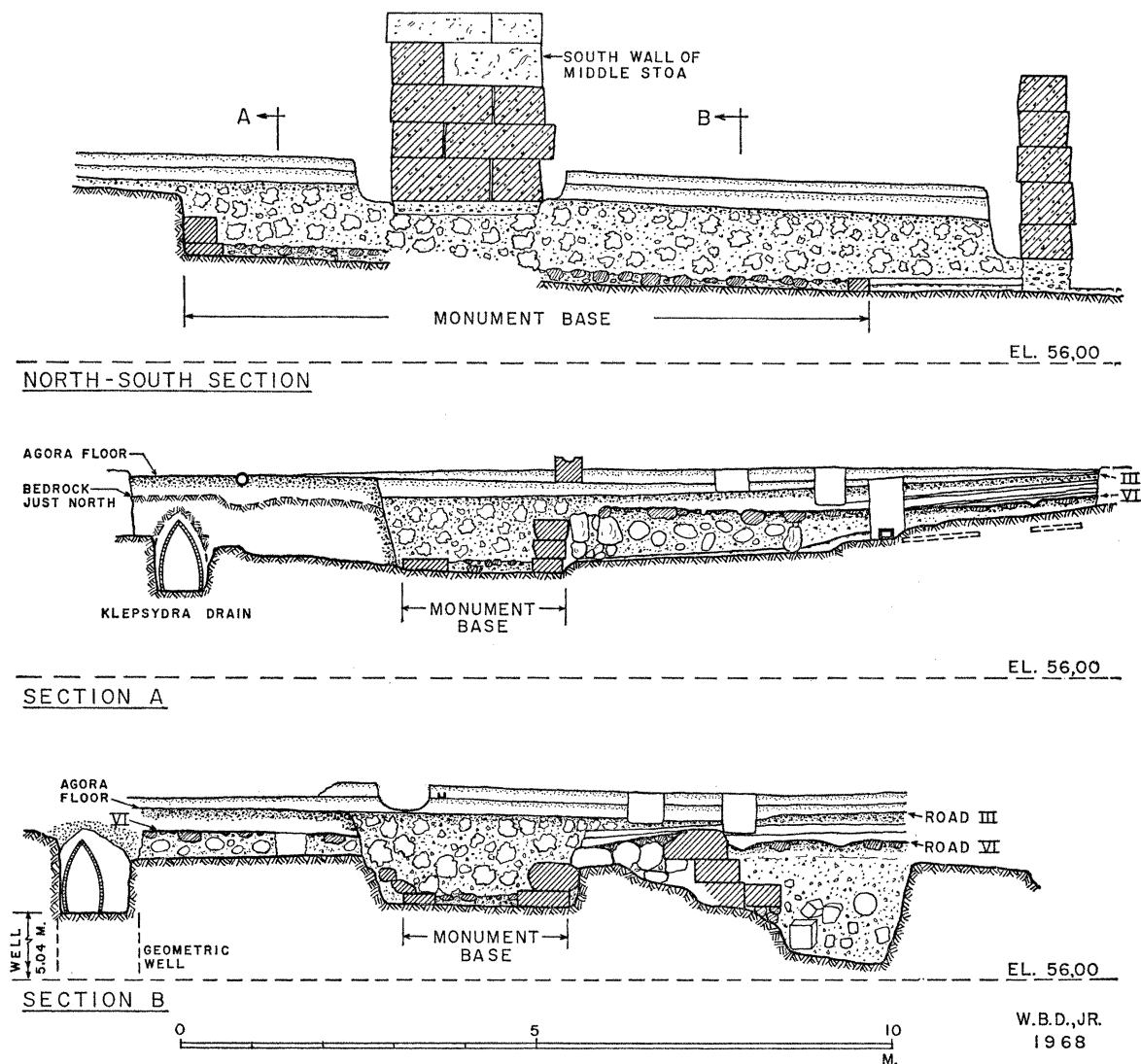


FIG. 17. Sections of Stratification around Early Monument.

tation of the remains. Only a study of the stratified deposits, discovered around and over the foundations, will reveal the critical evidence which may make possible a reconstruction of the monument's history. The early road, whose course has been described above, bore five centuries of wheeled traffic before its route was deflected

westward by the builders of the Middle Stoa. Over the years the level of the road crept gradually higher, sometimes in the course of grading operations and sometimes simply with the natural accumulation of gravel and silt; so that the excavators were able to distinguish no less than eight separate road surfaces, many of which showed signs of frequent resurfacing and repair. The two lowest layers of road gravel directly above bedrock yielded, respectively, pottery of the archaic period, from the late seventh century onward, and of the early years of the fifth century. The latter road surface was the one in use when the official boundary markers of the Agora were erected at the various entrances to the square *ca.* 500 B.C.⁹³

The most ambitious program of grading and leveling in the long history of the road was undertaken in the years immediately following the Persian destruction of Athens in 480 B.C. At that time a massive artificial filling of large boulders, some measuring as much as 0.70 m., was dumped over the earlier road surface and caused the level of the road to rise from 0.40 to 0.70 m. in some places. The new road level, the sixth below the foundation filling for the Hellenistic stoa, has been exposed over a broad area fanning out from the southwest corner of the square in a northeasterly direction.⁹⁴ Heavy rounded cobble stones formed the surface of Road VI, and these were packed closely together to form a rough but extremely hard pavement (Pl. 55). This cobbled surface, heavily worn with long hard use, exhibits in the deep scoring of its wheel ruts two slightly diverging lines of traffic (Fig. 16): one heading for the center of the open square, and the other turning in a more northerly direction toward the buildings on the west side. The latter branch of the road was originally separated from the former by a low masonry curbing, made of reused poros blocks, which parallels the western edge of the road. It is not clear whether this curb was intended to guide the traffic or to canalize the excess of rain water which in the winter months would flow down the sloping street toward the mouth of the Great Drain. Whatever its intention, the curbing was in the event generally ignored and its blocks are heavily worn with the passage of traffic (Pl. 54, a).

The construction of Road VI also necessitated the filling of a deep gully which descended to a depth of 1.70 m. in the bedrock along the western edge of the road.⁹⁵ It is possible that a channel was originally opened here in order to extend the main drain of the Agora further to the south, but if so, the project was abandoned at an early stage and the channel probably owes much of its depth and its irregular width to the torrents of water which find their way down from the slopes of the Areopagus

⁹³ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 61.

⁹⁴ Road VI widens out as it enters the Agora to a maximum width of *ca.* 11 m. at the north end of the early monument. It is the cobbled paving of this road which appears on the plan, Figure 16.

⁹⁵ This channel appears on Section B, Figure 17, at the right end, and the excavated portion of it appears on Plate 54, a as a deep pit just east of the Agora boundary stone.

after a winter's rain. The filling of this gully was found to include a considerable quantity of pottery of the first quarter of the fifth century together with bits of roof tile and broken pieces of poros architecture. This characteristic debris of the Persian sack yields a firm date for the paving of Road VI at the beginning of the second quarter of the century.⁹⁶

The heavily cobbled pavement of Road VI was discovered on both sides of the early monument base. In fact, the lines of its wheel ruts on the two sides, if connected, would bisect the monument diagonally from its southwest to its northeast corners. It is of the utmost importance to note, however, that no trace of the cobbled road surface was encountered above the foundation of the monument. The pavement stopped abruptly in line with the early base (Pl. 55, a, b), and there can be no doubt that the trench for the foundation of the monument was dug through Road VI whose northeasterly course was thus interrupted.

While the disposition of Road VI provides a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the monument, the stratification along the east side of the structure enables us to fix the date more precisely. The original grade level beside the southeast corner of the monument can be readily identified. Here the excavator encountered a hard gravelled surface at a level well above the foundation platform.⁹⁷ Since this surface showed no marks of wheeled traffic, it must have been in use when the monument blocked the northeasterly course of the road. Beneath this grade level was a deep filling of dug bedrock which descended without interruption 1.15 m. until it stopped on living bedrock beside the southeast corner of the preserved foundations. This filling was in all likelihood deposited in connection with the construction of the monument and the grading operations along its east side. It may even have been dug from the very trench opened for the foundations. Closely associated with this filling was a small section of the original clay packing from within the foundations at the southeast corner of the base. A few significant pieces of pottery from these adjacent areas may be regarded as reliable evidence for the date of construction.⁹⁸ In the catalogue which follows the letter C standing before the numbers indicates the pottery associated with the construction filling.

⁹⁶ The material from the filling beneath Road VI comprises deposit H 13:5. Although the bulk of the pottery belongs to the late sixth and early fifth centuries, the deposit is to be dated after 480 B.C. on the basis of a few pieces: a fragmentary, red-figured amphora, P 27851, a black-figured lekythos of the chimney type, P 27845, a lamp of Howland Type 16 Variant, L 5522. Several fragments of chimney lekythoi were also noted among the uninventoried pottery.

⁹⁷ This is indicated as "Agora floor" on the sections, Figure 17.

⁹⁸ I am indebted to the late Lucy Talcott for advice and assistance in the study and presentation of the ceramic material set out here and *infra*, pp. 214-218. I wish to express my thanks to her particularly for allowing me to make use of and frequent reference to the proofs of her forthcoming publication, B. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Athenian Agora*, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries*.

C1. Bowl: Shallow Wall, Convex-Concave Profile. Pl. 56.

P 27915. H. 0.037; Diam. 0.093.

One quarter of rim and chips missing.

Convex rim with groove and ridge at lower edge. Low foot with broad resting surface. Reserved: the groove and ridge, the resting surface, the underside with a line of glaze at the inner edge of the foot; within the foot, a scratched cross. Firm black glaze inside and out.

For the class see *Agora*, XII, pp. 130-131. This example belongs to the earlier version of the shape; cf. P 16544 (*Agora*, XII, no. 816, pl. 32) from deposit G 18:1 and dated *ca.* 450 B.C.; also P 21368 (C. Boulter, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 85, no. 68, fig. 3, pl. 29) from a context of 450-440 B.C.

Ca. 450 B.C.

C2. Skyphos: Type A, Patterned Rim. Pl. 56.

P 27394. P. H. 0.065; Diam. 0.13.

Fragment of rim and upper wall.

Around the rim, an ivy wreath composed of alternating leaves, reserved, and berries in added white paint on either side of wavy stem also in added white. Below the pattern, two white lines. Firm black glaze inside and out.

For the class see *Agora*, XII, p. 85, note 23. Similar possibly from the same shop, P 16979 from deposit A-B 21-22:1; cf. also P 19683 with a laurel wreath, noted *A.R.V.*², p. 965 for comparison with skyphoi near the painter of London D 12. For similar ivy wreath pattern, cf. two kantharoi: P 20696 (*Agora*, XII, no. 632) dated *ca.* 440 B.C.; P 2322 (*Agora*, XII, no. 641; L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 500, no. 8, fig. 19) dated *ca.* 425 B.C.

450-440 B.C.

C3. Red-figured Bell-krater. Pl. 56.

P 27914. P. H. 0.088; Diam. of rim 0.32.

a-b) About one-half of rim and upper part of wall; c) non-joining wall fragment.

Flaring moulded rim with wreath of leaves sketchily drawn. The leaves have no mid-ribs;

their outer edges terminate in a straight line along the borders. No central stem connects the leaves to each other. Above wreath, a reserved band; below, a narrow band of tongues, separated from wreath and wall by two narrow reserved bands.

On upper wall, slight traces of figured scene: back of head and shoulders of youth to right with right hand raised holding stick or goad. At right, the top of a horse's ear and beyond traces of two more raised hands holding goads. Non-joining wall fragment with horse's head to right; mane and musculature done in added yellowish slip, reins in purple. At left, traces of rider's head.

Inside, firm black glaze; a narrow reserved band just inside rim and another band lower down at point corresponding to top of wall.

For profile and painting of wreath, cf. the fragmentary bell-krater, P 21405 (C. Boulter, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 66, no. 7, pl. 25) from deposit N 7:3, dated 450-440 B.C.

450-440 B.C.

C4. Small Stemless: Delicate Class. Fig. 18, Pl. 56.

P 27916. H. 0.045; Diam. 0.14.

Half of rim and wall missing, together with one handle and most of the other.

Rim offset on inside; moulded ring foot. Three lightly raised rings on underside. Reserved: the resting surface and central disk with two small glazed circles. Stamped decoration inside: central rosette surrounded by a band of small ovules, a broad zone of tongues, and palmettes.

In shape and scheme of decoration, this piece follows the large stemlesses of the third quarter of the fifth century, cf. *Agora*, XII, pp. 102-104. For the profile and patterns, cf. P 4263, P 5242 (*Agora*, XII, nos. 486, 496; Talcott, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 483, fig. 6; p. 502, fig. 20; p. 518, no. 98; p. 520, no. 107).

Ca. 430 B.C.

C5. Lamp: Type 23 B. Fig. 18, Pl. 56.

L 5531. H. 0.035; P. L. 0.115.

Half of base, part of wall, and one nozzle preserved.

Broad, blunt nozzle with reserved top. Low, curved body with two incised grooves below nozzle. Ring base sloping up at center to central tube; reserved band at junction of wall and base. Firm black glaze inside and out.

Similar in size and profile to L 2862 and

L 4384 (*Agora*, IV, p. 59, nos. 223, 224, pls. 8, 36). Lamps of this type are found in contexts from *ca.* 430 B.C. through the last quarter of the fifth century. The extremely crisp profile of this example makes it the earliest of the series yet found.

Ca. 430 B.C.

From the references cited in connection with the individual pieces,⁹⁹ it will be clear that the closest parallels to our material, in other well-dated groups from the *Agora*, span the third quarter of the fifth century, with a lower limit *ca.* 430 B.C. On the basis of this comparative material, we shall not be far from the mark in proposing a date just after 430 B.C. for the construction of the monument. Such a date is also borne out by the stratification of the road west of the monument. Here the road level next above Road VI consisted of masses of working chips of Pentelic marble laid in fine, powdery marble dust which formed a smooth surface almost like cement. Road V is undoubtedly composed of the working chips from the superstructure of the neighboring monument, which the builders simply spread over the adjacent road to resurface it. The pottery recovered from the layer of marble chips below the surface of Road V suggested that the road was laid down sometime during the third quarter of the fifth century.¹⁰⁰

The stratification of the ancient street both east and west of the preserved foundations yields further information about the structure's history and its eventual fate. As long as the monument stood, wheeled traffic was forced to pass to the west of it, for we have already observed that the surface of the original grade level east of the base exhibited none of the characteristic scoring which marks the passage of wheeled vehicles. Furthermore, beside the northeast corner, the filling for the grade level was found to rest directly on the cobbled pavement of Road VI with no intervening road surfaces between (Fig. 17, Section B). Along the west side of the monument, on the other hand, the successive layers of road metal rose steadily and without break, each showing signs of heavy wear and numerous repairs. Above the foundation itself, however, we have noted that there was no trace of metalled road surfaces. Here the excavator encountered a loosely-packed mass of coarse, broken bedrock, some of it in large chunks, about the size of a man's head, which had been spread over the foundations to a depth of 1.00 m. in places.¹⁰¹ Clearly it was a

⁹⁹ In addition to the pieces catalogued above a fair quantity of fragmentary pottery from the layer of dug bedrock fill east of the foundation is stored in Lot MΣ 470. Sherds from the clay and stone packing within the monument comprise Lots MΣ 308, 313, 314.

¹⁰⁰ Fragmentary pottery from the fill beneath the marble-chip surface of Road V is contained in Lots MΣ 411-413, MΣ 454-455.

¹⁰¹ A portion of this crushed bedrock filling (deposit I 13:2) may be seen on Plate 55, a, where it still remains in place (C) directly beneath the southern foundations of the Middle Stoa.

deliberately dumped filling which had been carted to the site from some near-by residential area, for considerable quantities of household pottery were mixed in with the bedrock and clay. The same filling was found to cover the whole area of the original foundation trench, and it even extended a little to the north of the preserved masonry. Before the crushed bedrock was dumped over the area, the monument must have been demolished to the lowest socle of its foundations. There are indications that this demolition was deliberate and systematic: not a single ashlar block of the monument's foundation or superstructure was left in place above the rough stone packing of the preserved platform; furthermore the crushed bedrock filled the trench, from which the foundations had been stripped, so that it was even with the original grade level east of the monument. This mass of dug bedrock can best be understood as back fill, dumped in the course of grading operations after the removal of the great monument. If we should wish to seek a reason for its removal, a glance at the plan, Figure 16, will suggest it. The prominent position of the structure, partially blocking one of the principal approaches to the Agora, made it a serious obstruction to traffic of all kinds. Whether or not this actually led to the monument's demolition it is not possible to say with certainty; but we may observe that after its removal the area formerly occupied by the monument was soon covered by the hard gravelled surface of the street, as traffic resumed its earlier northeasterly course.

The metallised surface which first covered the foundation and its back fill of crushed bedrock was the third road level beneath the foundation packing of the Middle Stoa. Road III formed a wide and well-graded surface, measuring just over 10 m. in width at the south end of the old monument and about 8 m. at the north end.¹⁰² The full width of the street had been levelled with a packing of crushed bedrock, surfaced with hard, gravelly clay.¹⁰³ These characteristic materials give assurance that the construction of Road III formed part of the general regrading of the area following the demolition of the great monument. This fact is of considerable chronological significance for the history of our monument. It will be evident that the pottery recovered from the crushed bedrock filling, sealed as it was by the surface of Road III, will provide a lower limit in time for the structure's demolition. Set out below is a catalogue of representative pieces which have been chosen to suggest the chronological range of the group and more particularly to indicate its latest material. The letter D has been prefixed to the numbers to distinguish the pottery of the demolition filling from that of the construction filling described above.

¹⁰² It is interesting to note that Road III respected the western edge of the street as originally limited by the boundary stone of the Agora. After Road III was laid, only the upper part of the horos stone was still visible, for by that time the surface of the road had risen to such a height that it crossed the boundary stone between T and E of *τὸς ἀγορᾶς* (cf. *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 62, fig. 9), the lower part of the inscription being now hidden.

¹⁰³ A section of Road III, with its surface partially peeled off so as to reveal the crushed bedrock packing beneath, may be seen at the southwest corner of the foundation on Plates 54, b, 55, b, indicated by letter C.

D1. Sessile Kantharos with low handles. Pl. 57.

P 27387. a) P. H. 0.07. b) P. H. 0.067.

Two fragments preserving parts of rim, wall, and bowl.

High wall with slight outward flare. Stamped decoration around wall: a zone of upright palmettes above a zone of large ovules separated by incised groove. Flaky black glaze, mottled outside, shiny and firm inside.

For the class see *Agora*, XII, pp. 115-116; a closely similar but complete example, P 17891 (*Agora*, XII, no. 633, fig. 7, pls. 27, 47), was found in a grave on the slopes of the Areopagus (deposit L 20:2).

450-425 B.C.

D2. Red-figured Loutrophoros. Pl. 57.

P 27335 + P 27390. P. H. 0.075; Diam. of shoulder *ca.* 0.16; Diam. of rim 0.26.

Fragments of rim, shoulder and wall.

Broad, flat rim with lightly moulded underside. On top a band of wave pattern, surrounded by a wreath of laurel with ovolo at edge. On shoulder a broad band of tongues above a narrow band of egg and dart. On wall a woman's head to left; her hair bound with a broad fillet decorated with leaves in added clay, no doubt originally gilded; her earring and necklace also in added clay. She looks up toward Eros who flies down holding necklace of added clay in outstretched hand.

On non-joining wall fragment, a scarf with fringe and decorated with dot rosettes, hanging to right of draped figure.

For the shape and subject matter, cf. Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, fig. 41.

Ca. 420 B.C.

D3. Red-figured Oinochoe: Type III. Pl. 57.

P 27389. P. H. 0.08.

Mouth, handle and upper wall remain in four joining fragments.

Trefoil mouth, handle triangular in section. In left half of panel, the wreathed head of a woman to right; band of ovules above.

For the shape see *Shapes and Names*, fig. 120.

420-410 B.C.

D4. Red-figured Plate. Fig. 18, Pl. 57.

P 27391. H. 0.023; Diam. 0.21.

Two fragments preserve parts of rim and foot.

Plain ring foot, reserved resting surface; broad slightly curved rim, moulded with ridge on upperside; grooves with milto on underside of rim at outer edge and at junction of rim and foot; on inside between rim and floor, another groove with milto and a ridge. Rim decorated with an olive wreath with its ends intertwined.

For the profile, cf. a black-glazed plate from the Kerameikos, B. Schlörb-Vierneisel, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXXI, 1966, p. 51, fig. 6, pl. 41, 2, grave 102, 2 dated shortly before 400 B.C. For the decoration of the rim, cf. two plate fragments from the Pnyx, *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, 1956, pp. 19-21, pls. 4-5, nos. 44, 49 of which the former is a little earlier than our piece and the latter somewhat later. The wreath is similar in style to that around the rim of the red-figured amphora, P 10554, Corbett, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 306, pl. 73, no. 1.

Ca. 410 B.C.

D5. Red-figured Fish-plate. Fig. 18, Pl. 57.

P 28124. P. H. 0.028; Diam. of foot 0.15.

Fragment of floor, foot, and central depression.

Ring foot, narrow resting surface; a groove between two ridges on outer face, concave moulding on inner face. Reserved: the resting surface and the underside of the central depression, with glazed band and circle. Decoration in red-figure on the floor: ovules and a wave pattern.

For the class see *Agora*, XII, pp. 147-148. For the profile of the foot, cf. an early black-glazed example P 2836 (*Agora*, XII, no. 1065, fig. 10), a smaller and somewhat less carefully made piece from a context of 410-390 B.C. (deposit H 12:11). Figured examples as early as this are rare; cf. an example from Motya

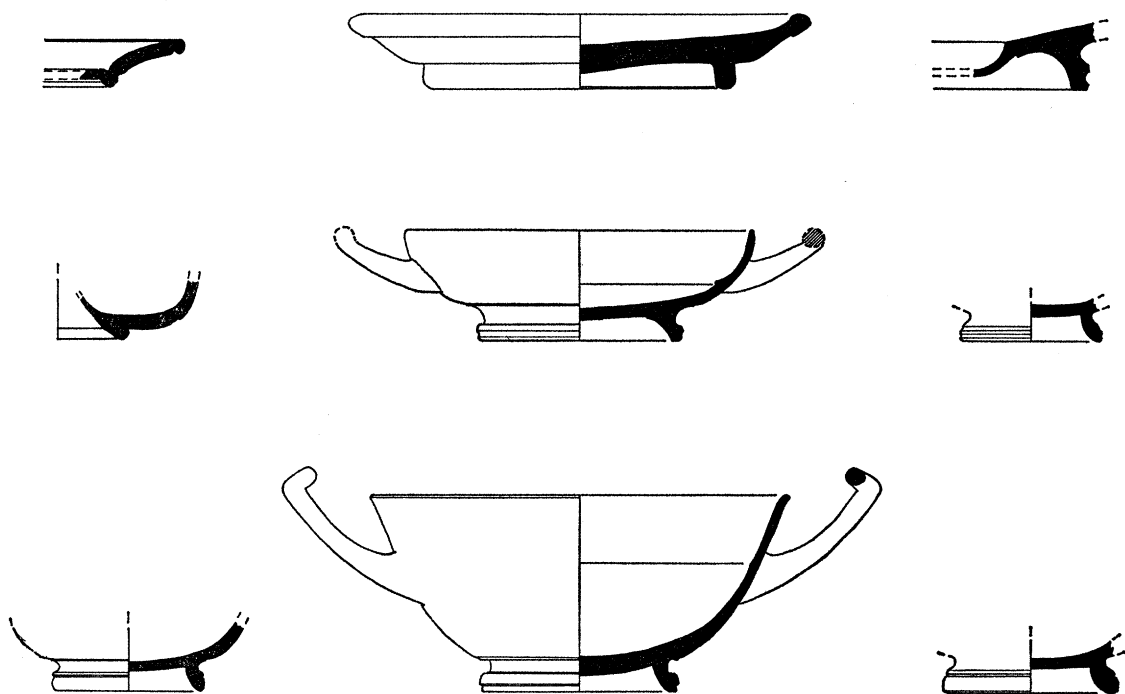


FIG. 18. Profiles of Pottery (1:3): D4, P 27736, D5, C5, C4, D10, D9, D8, D11.

(destroyed 397 B.C.), Motya inv. 157 (*Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society*, IV, 1962-1963, pl. 13, 7).

400-390 B.C.

D6. Red-figured Palmette Lekythos. Pl. 57.

P 28121. P. H. 0.049; Diam. of foot 0.044.

Two joining fragments preserve base, front wall and shoulder.

Low ring foot offset on underside. Squat rounded body and sloping shoulder. Decoration consists of single stylized palmette in red-figure, with 11 narrow petals rounded at ends. Palmette bordered by narrow reserved band, pierced by central petal; stylized lotus petals on either side.

Pinkish clay covered with good black glaze on outside except for reserved disk and resting surface on underside.

For similar early examples of palmette lekythoi from the Kerameikos see B. Schlörb-

Vierneisel, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXXI, 1966, p. 83, grave 139, 1; cf. also *ibid.*, pls. 46, 67, graves 110, 2; 111; 120; 122; 124; 126, 2; 215, 1 all dated to the first quarter of the fourth century, but our piece seems earlier than most of them. A few such lekythoi from Rhodes have been dated 410-380 B.C., see G. Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, II, pp. 124-125, fig. 6 (tomb 6); pp. 130 ff., fig. 12 (tomb 7); pp. 141-142, fig. 19 (tomb 8); pp. 145-146, fig. 27 (tomb 12); pp. 162-163. No lekythoi of this class from the Agora have been found in contexts earlier than 400 B.C., although the pieces here presented are perhaps the earliest of the Agora series.

400-390 B.C.

D7. Red-figured Palmette Lekythos. Pl. 57.

P 28122. P. H. 0.064; Diam. of foot 0.055.

Three joining fragments preserve half of base and lower part of wall at front.

Low ring foot, offset on underside. Body

decorated with single large, stylized palmette in red-figure; petals rounded at ends, bordered by narrow reserved band and stylized lotus petal; beneath palmette, two reserved bands.

Pinkish clay with firm slightly metallic black-glaze; reserved base and resting surface.

Cf. references for **D6**.

400-390 B.C.

D8. Cup-skyphos: Light Wall. Fig. 18, Pl. 58.

P 27388. H. 0.078; Diam. 0.167.

About one quarter of wall and rim, and one handle restored.

Rim slightly offset on inside, flaring slightly outside. A ridge and a scraped groove at base of wall separating it from foot. Reserved: resting surface and underside decorated with a broad and a narrow glazed band, a pair of narrow bands, and a small central circle and dot. Stamped decoration on floor inside: four palmettes set cruciform about a small circle, surrounded by a zone of close-set ovules within two grooves. Firm glaze fired mostly red, slightly chipped inside.

For the class see *Agora*, XII, pp. 110-111. For the development of the shape cf. P 9420, ca. 410 B.C.; P 19979, ca. 400 B.C., especially close in profile; and P 16146, early fourth century B.C. (*Agora*, XII, nos. 593, 599, 603); cf. also P 16432, first quarter fourth century B.C. (Corbett, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 343, no. 148) similar in both profile and stamped pattern; also for the pattern, *Agora*, XII, no. 621, pl. 55 of the heavy walled type.

410-390 B.C.

D9. Cup-skyphos: Heavy Wall. Fig. 18, Pl. 58.

P 28118. P. H. 0.03; Diam. of foot 0.061.

Fragment preserves foot and center of floor.

Moulded ring foot; enough of the wall remains to show a neatly scraped groove at junction of wall and foot. Reserved: underside with one broad and one narrow glazed band around outside; a pair of small glazed circles around central circle and dot. Stamped decoration at center of floor; lily and diamond

design. The pattern has not hitherto been noted in Attic impressed ornament. The stamp consists of a five-petalled flower set on a pair of long volutes, repeated five times; the volutes are used in reverse to form the lower part of a diamond motif, inside each of which is a small diamond. Stamp even more fragile than the related lotus pattern (cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 26), which does not survive into the 4th century. Dull black glaze over pinkish buff clay.

For the profile of the foot, cf. P 3905 (*Agora*, XII, no. 622, fig. 6, pl. 27) which is slightly higher and heavier.

Ca. 410-390 B.C.

D10. Cup-skyphos: Heavy Wall. Fig. 18, Pl. 58.

P 28120. P. H. 0.019; Diam. of foot 0.057.

Fragment preserves foot and center of floor.

Ring foot with triple-run grooves and ridges. Reserved: underside with a broad glazed band around outside, three small glazed circles around central dot. Stamped decoration at center of floor: four palmettes around small incised circle, a band of ovules within two incised circles. Brownish black glaze over pinkish clay.

For the class see *Agora*, XII, pp. 111-112; the impressed pattern is canonical for the shape; style and quality close to *Agora*, XII, no. 621.

Early fourth century B.C.

D11. Cup-skyphos: Heavy Wall. Fig. 18, Pl. 58.

P 28119. P. H. 0.021; Diam. of foot 0.069.

Fragment preserves foot and center of floor.

Moulded ring foot; traces of a scraped groove separating it from the wall. Reserved: underside with a pair of broad glazed bands surrounding two small glazed circles with central dot. Stamped decoration on floor: four linked palmettes around incised circle; a band of blobs, carelessly impressed, within two incised circles. Dull black glaze over gray clay.

For the class see *Agora*, XII, pp. 111-112; for the profile of the foot cf. P 3905 (*Agora*, XII, no. 622, also no. 621, fig. 6, pl. 27); for the blobs cf. examples shown *ibid.*, pl. 55.

400-380 B.C.

D12. Bowl: Outturned Rim. Pl. 58.

P 28123. P. H. 0.027; Diam. of foot 0.10.
Fragment of foot and floor; center missing.

Ring foot. Reserved: a band at junction of foot and wall, the resting surface, underside with remains of a glazed band. Stamped decoration on floor: two circles of irregularly spaced palmettes separated by a band of dots within two incised circles. Dull black glaze.

For the complete shape cf. P 10971 (*Agora*, XII, no. 797, pl. 32; *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 92, no. 61); for the scattered and poorly spaced decoration cf. *Agora*, XII, nos. 797-798, pl. 58; for the dot pattern cf. P 16431 (*Agora*, XII, no. 801) from deposit H 18:1 dating to the first quarter of the fourth century.

Ca. 400 B.C.

D13. Bowl: Outturned Rim. Pl. 57.

P 27386. H. 0.047; Diam. 0.15.

Part of rim, wall, floor and foot; the profile complete except for center of floor.

Ring foot, narrow resting surface; rim rounded on top, slightly projecting. Reserved: underside with one broad and two narrow glazed circles. Stamped decoration inside: palmettes, a circle of ovules, two circles of linked palmettes separated by a band of ovules.

Similar in both profile and stamped decoration to P 8616, found in a furnace waste pit on the north side of Kolonos Agoraios (deposit E 6:3) dated to the fourth century B.C. with a few pieces belonging to the first quarter. Similar also in profile, although slightly more developed, is P 14646 (*Agora*, XII, no. 803) from deposit E 2:3, ca. 380 B.C. The slightly lower and more spreading foot of our piece must be a little earlier in the century.

Ca. 390 B.C.

D14. Bowl: Outturned Rim. Pl. 58.

P 27337. H. 0.045; Diam. 0.165.

Profile complete but much of rim, wall and foot restored.

Ring foot; rim slightly projecting, rounded on top. Reserved: a band at junction of foot and wall, the resting surface, underside with

glazed band and circle, small central circle and dot. Stamped decoration inside: three palmettes set on a circle, a band of close-set palmettes within two incised circles, scattered palmettes; the palmettes very small and tight. Slightly metallic black glaze.

For the shape cf. P 14646 (*Agora*, XII, no. 803, pl. 32); the angle of the wall somewhat more pronounced; for the decoration of the underside cf. P 16431 (*Agora*, XII, no. 801) both dating to the first quarter of the fourth century B.C. The pattern of stamped decoration is similar to P 10971 (*Agora*, XII, no. 797; *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 92, no. 61) dated 410-400 B.C., but the stamping of our piece is less well articulated.

Ca. 390 B.C.

D15. Small Bowl: Later and Light. Pl. 57.

P 27392. H. 0.024; Diam. ca. 0.08.

About one-third preserved.

Slightly thickened rim, rounded on top; flat disk foot. Glazed all over; glaze fired a dull red; pink clay.

For the class, which extends from the last quarter of the fifth century to the beginning of the fourth, see *Agora*, XII, p. 134; close to no. 876 (P 22752), fig. 9, pl. 33. The disk foot and overall glazing are not standard features for the class, see *Agora*, XII, p. 134.

Ca. 380 B.C.

D16. Saucer: Pyre Type. Pl. 57.

P 27384. H. 0.015; Diam. 0.07.

Intact.

Open saucer on flat base; underside left rough. Thin glaze wash overall; glaze mottled red to black; pinkish clay.

For the class see *Agora*, XII, p. 199; the glaze wash is an early feature. Cf. P 19302-P 19308 (*Agora*, XII, no. 1575; R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 117, Pyre 3, 8-14) from deposit B 18:4 of the mid-fourth century.

Fragments of six more saucers of this type were found in the context but not inventoried, see Lots MΣ 305-306.

First quarter of the fourth century B.C.

D17. Lamp: Type 23 A, Pl. 58.

L 5438. H. 0.03; W. 0.065; L. 0.097.

Complete except for handle and part of nozzle.

Straight wall; rim flat sloping downward in center and forming angle with wall; attachment of horizontal band handle preserved. Raised, reserved base, slightly concave toward center. Chipped black glaze inside and out over pinkish buff clay.

For the type, see *Agora*, IV, p. 56. Our piece is very similar to L 1211 (*Agora*, IV, p. 57, no. 214), L 1213 and L 1214, all three from deposit H 12:11, dating to the first quarter of the fourth century.

Uninventoried fragments of three other lamps of the same type and date were found in the demolition fill (Lot MΣ 305).

400-375 B.C.

D18. Lamp: Type 23 C. Pl. 58.

The bulk of the ceramic material from the back fill of the demolished monument was made and accumulated during the later years of the fifth century B.C. and the early years of the fourth, with a few pieces going back as far as the mid-fifth century and a few, more significantly, dating as late as *ca.* 370 B.C. The rather long chronological range and the very fragmentary condition of the pottery both suggest that it came from a household dump, which was dug up to provide fill for road grading operations.¹⁰⁴ The latest pieces to be discarded in the dump were the small bowl (**D15**), the pyre-type saucer (**D16**), and the lamps (**D17-D18**), all of which were probably made in the decade 380-370 B.C. or not long before. Thus we may take *ca.* 370 B.C. as a date before which the monument cannot have been dismantled. But in applying the evidence of the pottery to the history of the monument, we must allow an indeterminable period between the time of its manufacture and the time of its deposit. Indeed, a fair number of years probably elapsed in which the pottery was used, broken, and discarded, in some residential quarter near the Agora; it was dug up from its dumping ground, transported to the market square, and came finally to rest in the stripped foundation trench of our demolished monument. This process may well have taken as long as a decade, and if so, the monument is not likely to have been removed much before the middle years of the fourth century. A date for its demolition in the mid-fourth century is borne out by the stratification of the street

L 5450. H. 0.04; W. 0.07; L. 0.10.

Half of body, handle and tip of nozzle restored.

Tall, straight wall; broad sloping rim; raised, reserved base; long, narrow nozzle. Attachment for horizontal band handle preserved. Glazed inside and out with firm black glaze over orange-buff clay.

The type is characteristic of the first and second quarters of the fourth century, see *Agora*, IV, pp. 59-60. Our piece is less advanced than L 3350 and L 3662 (*Agora*, IV, nos. 229-230) from deposits of the second quarter of the century; similar to L 4013 (from deposit D 19:1) of the early fourth century type.

Uninventoried fragments of two more Type 23 C lamps were found in the same fill (Lot MΣ 305).

Ca. 380-370 B.C.

¹⁰⁴ The large quantity of pottery found in the bedrock back fill (deposit I 13:2) which points to a household dump is stored as Lots MΣ 305-306.

west of the foundation. Some fragmentary pottery was recovered from the crushed bedrock packing of Road III, the first road surface to accumulate over the buried foundation. This material ran from the late fifth through the first half of the fourth century B.C.,¹⁰⁵ and it suggests that Road III was laid near the middle of the century.

The combined evidence of pottery and stratification thus enables us to reconstruct the history of the early monument with some assurance. It will have been erected just after 430 B.C. beside the corner of the Heliaia and partially obstructing the southwestern entrance to the Agora. It can have stood on this site for no more than three quarters of a century when, about the middle of the fourth century B.C., the structure was completely dismantled, its foundations very thoroughly stripped, and refilled with earth, in order perhaps to widen the street and to permit a freer flow of traffic into the market square. We are now in a position to ask what this great early monument may have been which enjoyed so short a life-span and was so totally destroyed. Why was it demolished or where was it moved? What statues stood along its base, and how, we may ask, could they have been related in any way to the Eponymous Heroes, whose peribolos we have come to know? There can, of course, be no certain answers to these questions. But the structural history of the monument will be seen to coincide so closely with what we know of the early history of the Eponymoi that we may propose to identify the foundation beneath the Middle Stoa as the earliest site of the Athenian tribal heroes.

A variety of evidence may be adduced to substantiate this claim, and although it can admittedly yield no better than a circumstantial case, it offers an eminently satisfactory solution which we should not hasten to discard. We embarked in search of an earlier site for the Eponymoi because the first literary references to the monument require its existence before 424 B.C.¹⁰⁶ Artistic evidence corroborates the literary, for in this same period the Athenian Eponymoi first became popular with the vase-painters of the Kerameikos.¹⁰⁷ Interesting, too, is their treatment at the hands of the vase-painters. The Eponymous Heroes were no longer represented merely as *dramatis personae* of obscure Attic mythology, but rather they were depicted in groups, together with other heroes of familiar Greek legend, reaping the joys of eternal life among the Islands of the Blest.¹⁰⁸ This emphasis upon the heroic aspect

¹⁰⁵ Several small groups of sherds were collected from various parts of Road III: Lots MΣ 403, 404, 441, 445, 446.

¹⁰⁶ Aristophanes, *Knights*, lines 977-980, *Peace*, lines 1183-1184 with Schol.; quoted *supra*, p. 203.

¹⁰⁷ See especially the London hydria of the Meidias Painter (*A.R.V.*², p. 1313, no. 5; Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pls. 8-9); the lekanis lid in Naples also by the Meidias Painter (*A.R.V.*², p. 1314, no. 17); the Syracuse bell-krater by the Dinos Painter (*A.R.V.*², p. 1153, no. 17; *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, pp. 486, fig. 11; 488, fig. 12); the Palermo oinochoe by the Eretria Painter (*A.R.V.*², p. 1249, no. 21); the calyx-krater by the Kekrops Painter (*A.R.V.*², p. 1346, no. 1); and a lekythos by the Selinus Painter (*A.R.V.*², p. 1201, no. 4).

¹⁰⁸ For interpretation of these scenes, see E. B. Harrison, *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 76-82.

of the Eponymoi, taken together with their more frequent appearance in art, must surely reflect the creation of the bronze statues and their dedication as a group in the Agora. More important for our present purpose is the fact that all these artistic representations of the Eponymoi fall in the last three decades of the fifth century with none going back into the 430's.¹⁰⁹ Thus a combination of artistic and literary evidence points to the period 430-425 B.C. for the creation of the statues. With this date for the dedication of the Eponymoi, we should compare the date, just after 430 B.C., which is indicated by the ceramic material for the foundation beneath the Middle Stoa. This latter monument proves to have been built at precisely the time suggested by the literary and artistic evidence for the erection of the statues.

A second striking coincidence occurred when the foundation under the Middle Stoa was finally demolished. Our interpretation of the ceramic material recovered from the back fill of the ruined foundation points to a date for that event near the middle of the fourth century. We now recall that the evidence of the pottery and architecture indicates that same date for the original construction of the surviving Peribolos of the Eponymous Heroes. There is, then, a close chronological correspondence between the construction of the early foundation and the dedication of the bronze statues of the Eponymoi, while the demolition of the early monument coincides just as closely with the construction of the preserved peribolos.

At this point, it may be useful to comment on the relative sizes of the two monuments. The foundation under the Middle Stoa has a measurable length of 9.70 m.; and allowing for the setback of the krepidoma and die, we may estimate that the crowning course was originally about 9.00 m. long. The central pedestal of the Eponymoi in Period I measured 16.03 m. at the level of the capping course. This considerable disparity in length does not, however, preclude our identification, for on the restored elevation of Period I (Pl. 42), the actual statues will be seen to occupy a space 12.83 m. long, the remainder of the pedestal being taken up by the terminal tripods. Furthermore, the ten statues are spaced widely apart, each separated from its neighbors by an average of 1.42 m. on centers. The ten statues by themselves would fit comfortably on a much shorter base. A pedestal just 9.00 m. long would allow a spacing between the statues of 1.00 m. on centers, and indeed a more closely spaced arrangement such as this might well be thought to create a more cohesive and pleasing composition for the group. If then, for the sake of argument, we suppose that the terminal tripods were added to the composition by the fourth-century architect of the peribolos, it will be apparent that the ten bronze statues of the Eponymoi could well have been accommodated on the shorter length of the early base. Whether or not they ever were, there is, of course, no way of proving, but it is an economical interpretation of the evidence to conclude that these two monuments,

¹⁰⁹ On the dates see J. D. Beazley, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 487.

whose structural histories so closely coincide, were in fact related, and that one was the predecessor of the other. In that event, the original bronze statues of the Eponymous Heroes would have been erected on the early foundation under the Middle Stoa between 430 and 425 B.C., only to be transferred three quarters of a century later to the new and grander peribolos near the center of the Agora.¹¹⁰

In conclusion, we may observe the curious fact that the monument and statues of the Eponymous Heroes were introduced into the Agora to be the artistic embodiment of the Athenian tribal system at a time some three-quarters of a century after the formation of the Kleisthenic tribes themselves. For it was not, as we might expect, to the early years of the Democracy that the monument dated its foundation, not even to the period of reconstruction after the Persian Wars, nor to the great days of the Athenian Empire, but only at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, when Athens was starting the long struggle for her very life, did the ten tribal heroes come to stand together in the market place, as if to symbolize the need for all Athenians to stand together in time of peril if they would survive. This late date for the erection of the monument in the Agora is the more surprising in view of the very similar monument which the Athenians had dedicated at Delphi to commemorate the victory at Marathon. The Marathon dedication, to whose later additions we have already referred, was clearly erected a generation earlier when the influence of Kimon was at the crest of the wave, for his father Miltiades figured among the statues.¹¹¹ Because of its dedicatory nature, the group was differently composed from the Athenian monument. In addition to Miltiades and the deities, Athena and Apollo, it also included three Attic heroes, Kodros, Theseus and Philaios, who were not Eponymoi of the tribes.¹¹² Moreover, the Eponymoi themselves were apparently arranged in the order in which the tribes had fought on the field at Marathon.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Our study of the architectural detail of the pedestal suggests that no architectural material from the earlier monument could have been incorporated in the later peribolos, and we must assume that only the statues themselves were transferred.

¹¹¹ For discussion of the monument and its date, see H. Pomtow, *Klio*, VIII, 1908, pp. 73 ff.; *R.E.*, Suppl. IV, cols. 1214 ff., no. 7; and most recently D. Kluwe, "Das Marathonweihgeschenk in Delphi," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena*, XIV, 1965, pp. 21-27, with full earlier bibliography. The other supposed monument of the Eponymoi which has long been placed beside those at Athens and Delphi is that on Samos. But this has only been postulated on the basis of three horos stones, and need no longer be considered in this connection, for J. P. Barron, *J.H.S.*, LXXXIV, 1964, pp. 38-41, has shown good reason for believing that these refer to the sons of Ion, the Eponymoi of the four Ionian tribes, instead of the Athenian heroes.

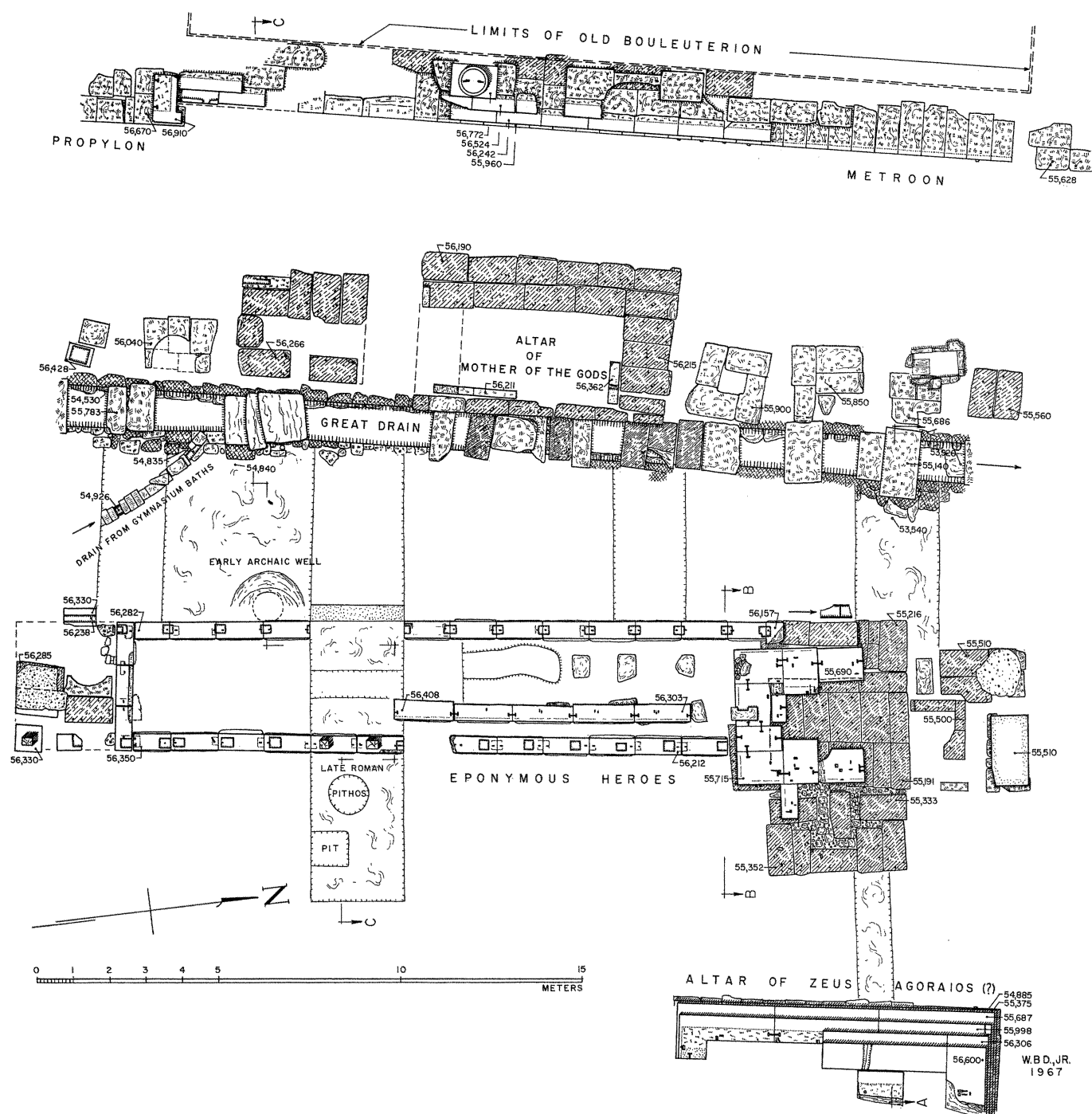
¹¹² Pausanias, X, 10, 1. The MSS give the name of the last hero as Phyleus, but this has been appropriately emended to Philaios, the eponymous ancestor of the Philaid house to which Miltiades belonged; see E. Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, pp. 365-366. Scribal error in the transmission of the MSS also best accounts for Pausanias' apparent omission of three Eponymous Heroes, Oineus, Hippothoon, and Ajax. Cf. J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, pp. 265-266.

¹¹³ This was first suggested by A. Mommsen, *Philologus*, XLVII (Neue Folge I), 1888, pp. 450 ff.; cf. Kluwe, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

Despite these differences, the monument at Delphi, created by the hand of Pheidias himself, will have been the principal source of inspiration for the statues in the Agora, and it can only be thought strange that the Athenian version was not more closely contemporary with its Delphic counterpart. That both monuments were thought to be official representations of the Athenian tribes is made clear by their parallel histories. As we have already seen, both monuments reflect equally the Hellenistic additions to the Kleisthenic tribes, and this seems a clear indication that the Athenians considered them to be closely related.

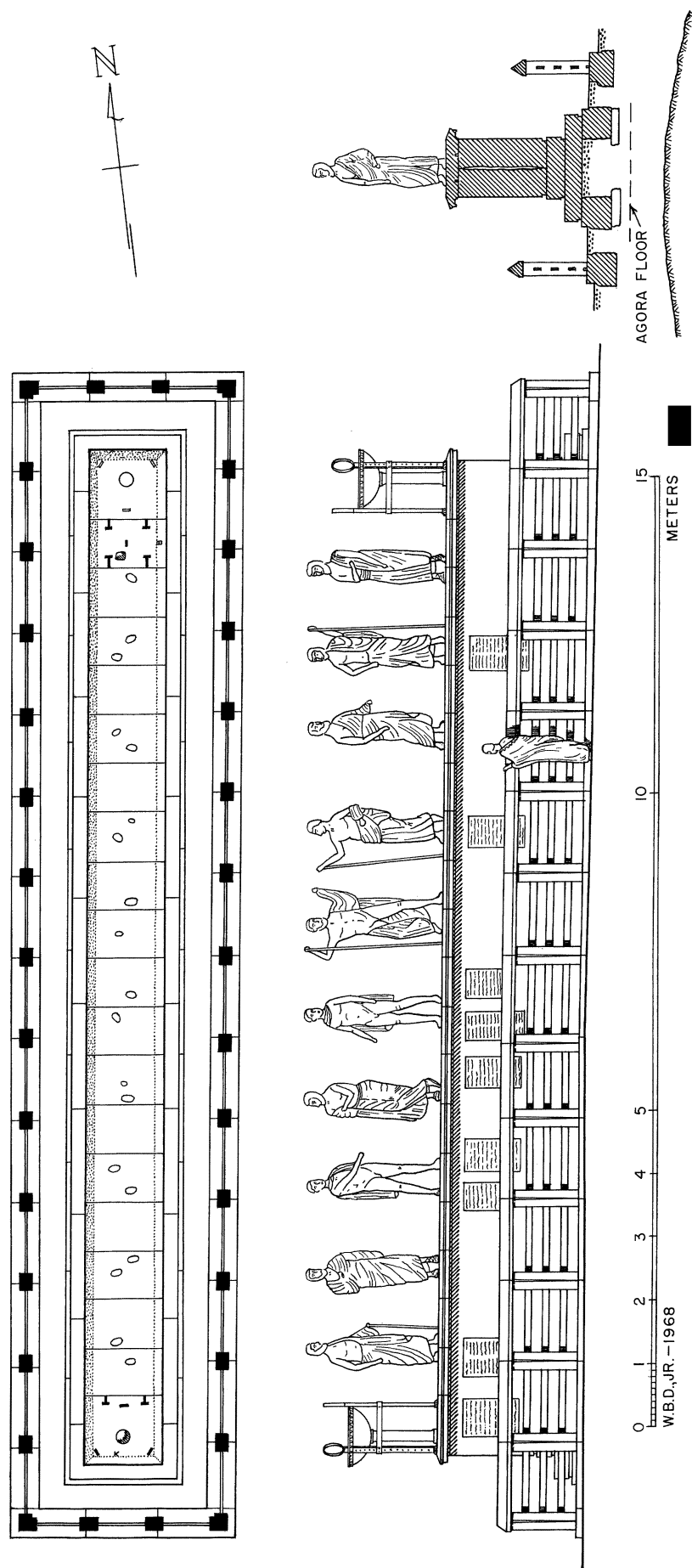
T. LESLIE SHEAR, JR.

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ATHENS
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY



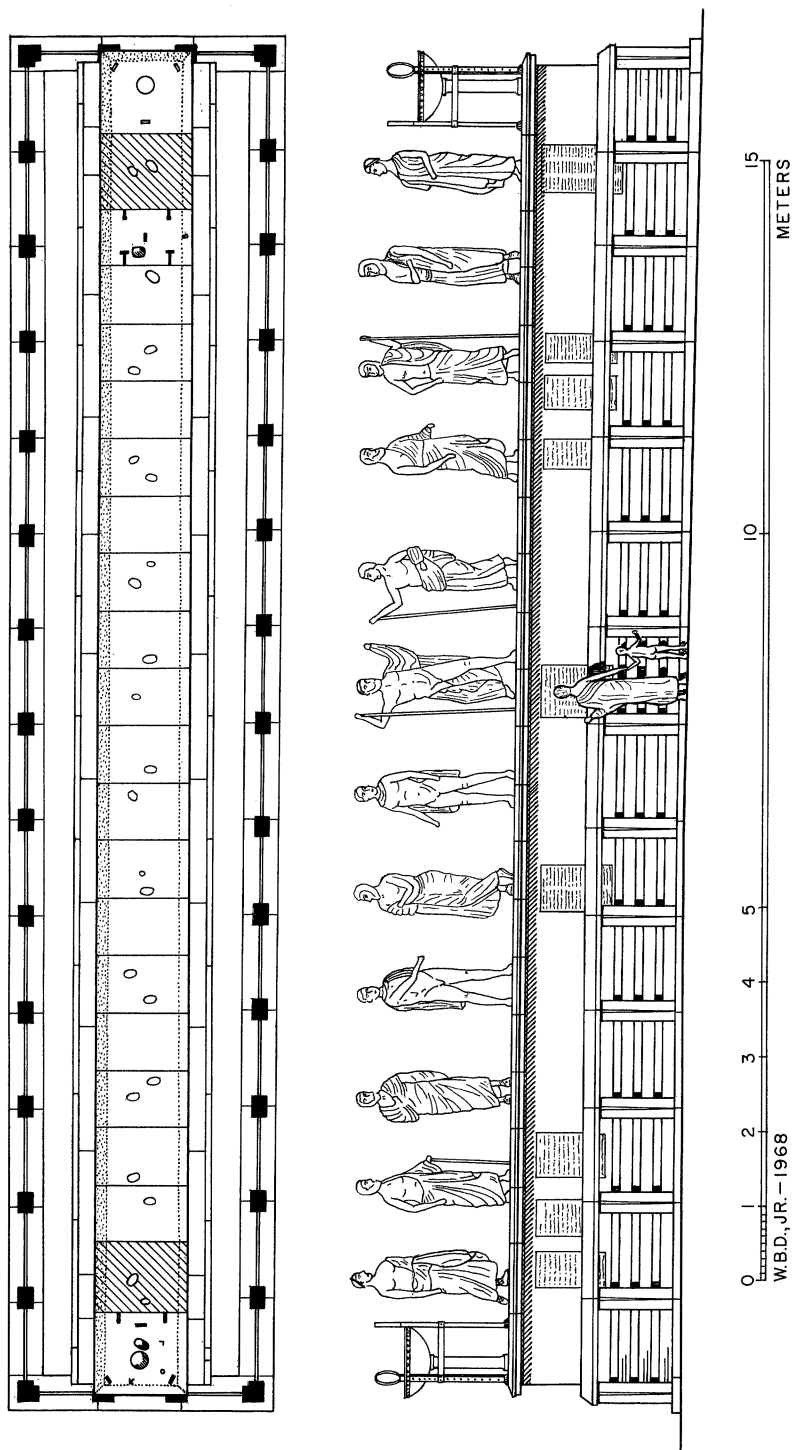
Area of Eponymous Heroes Monument, Actual State

T. LESLIE SHEAR, JR.: THE MONUMENT OF THE EPONYMOUS HEROES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



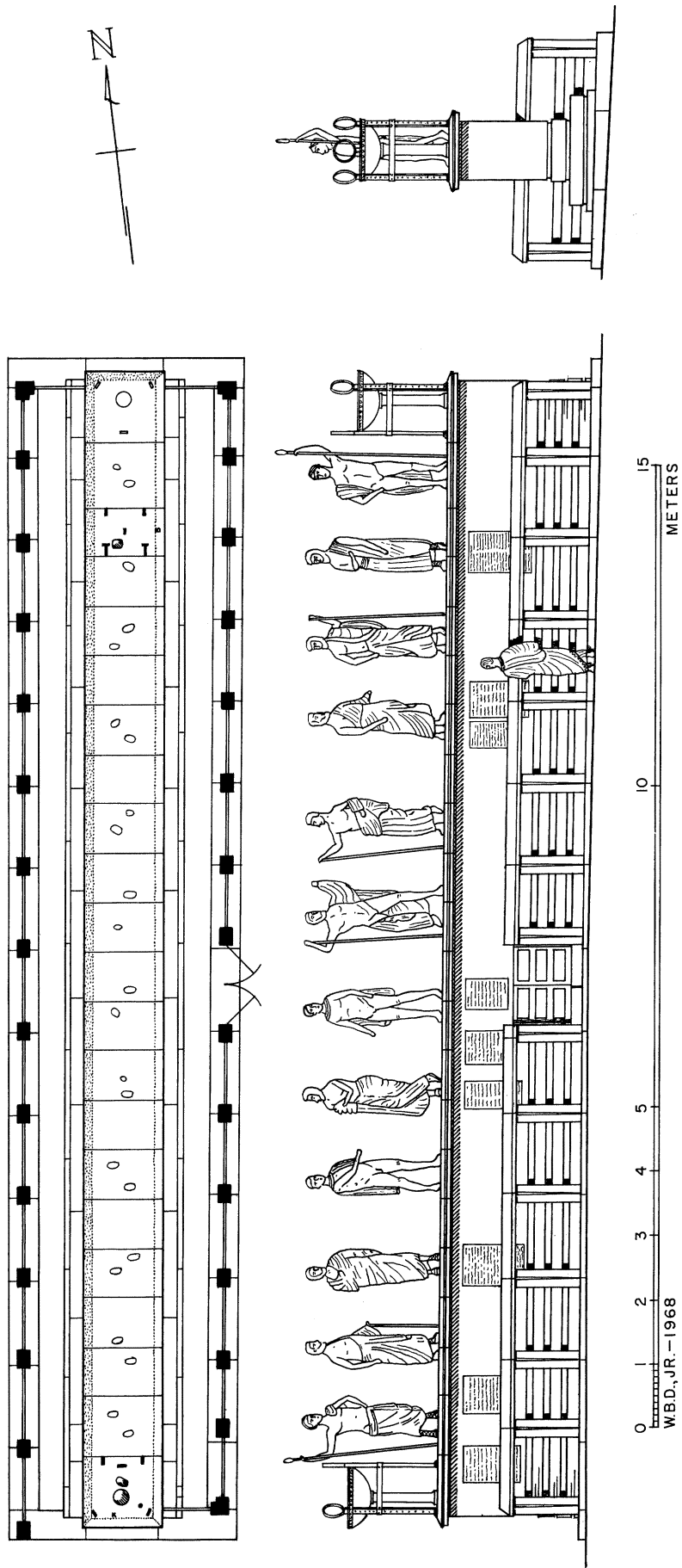
Restored Plan and Elevation, Period I

T. LESLIE SHEAR, JR.: THE MONUMENT OF THE EPONYMOUS HEROES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



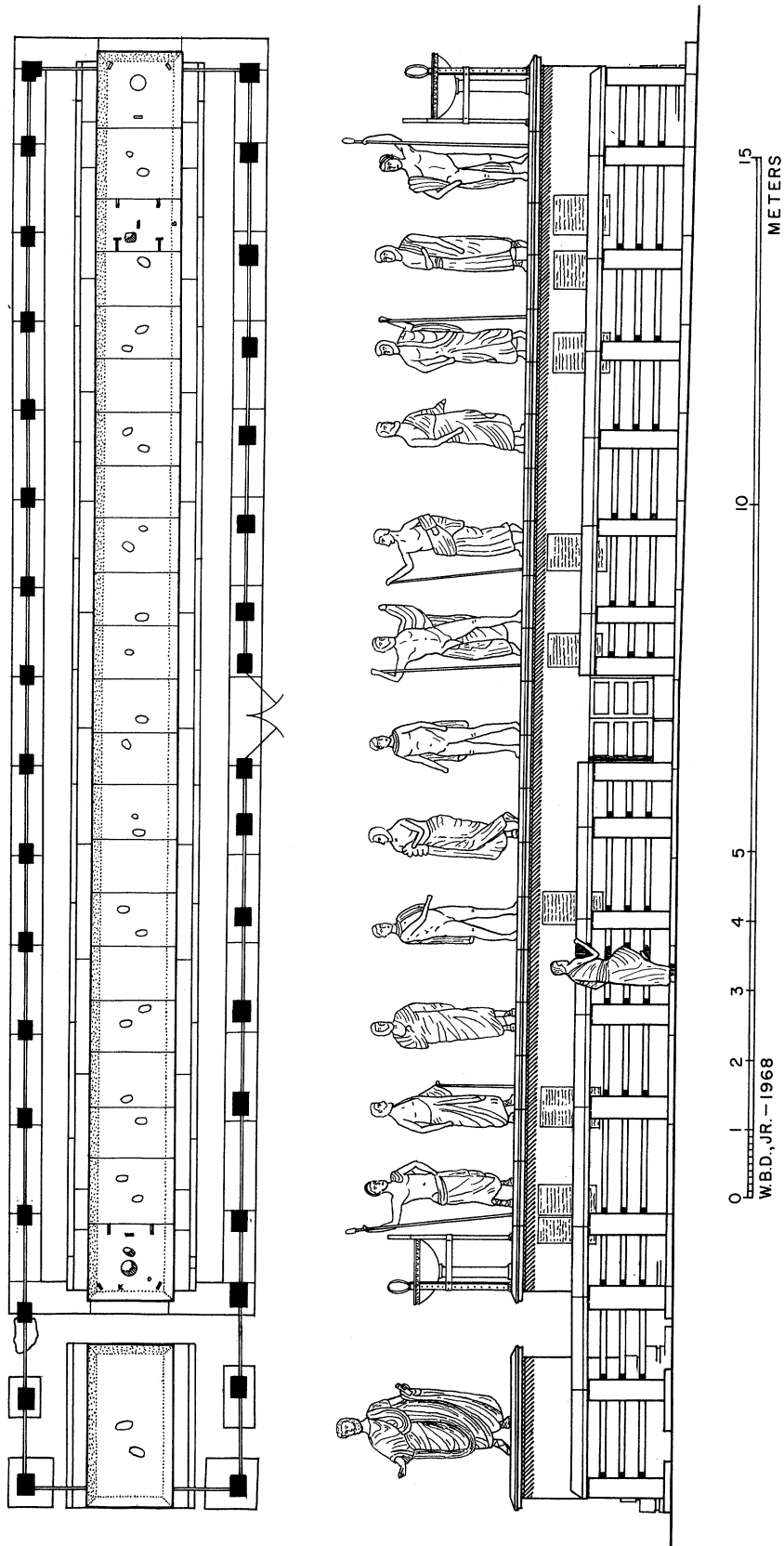
Restored Plan and Elevation, Period II

T. LESLIE SHEAR, JR.: THE MONUMENT OF THE EPONYMOUS HEROES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



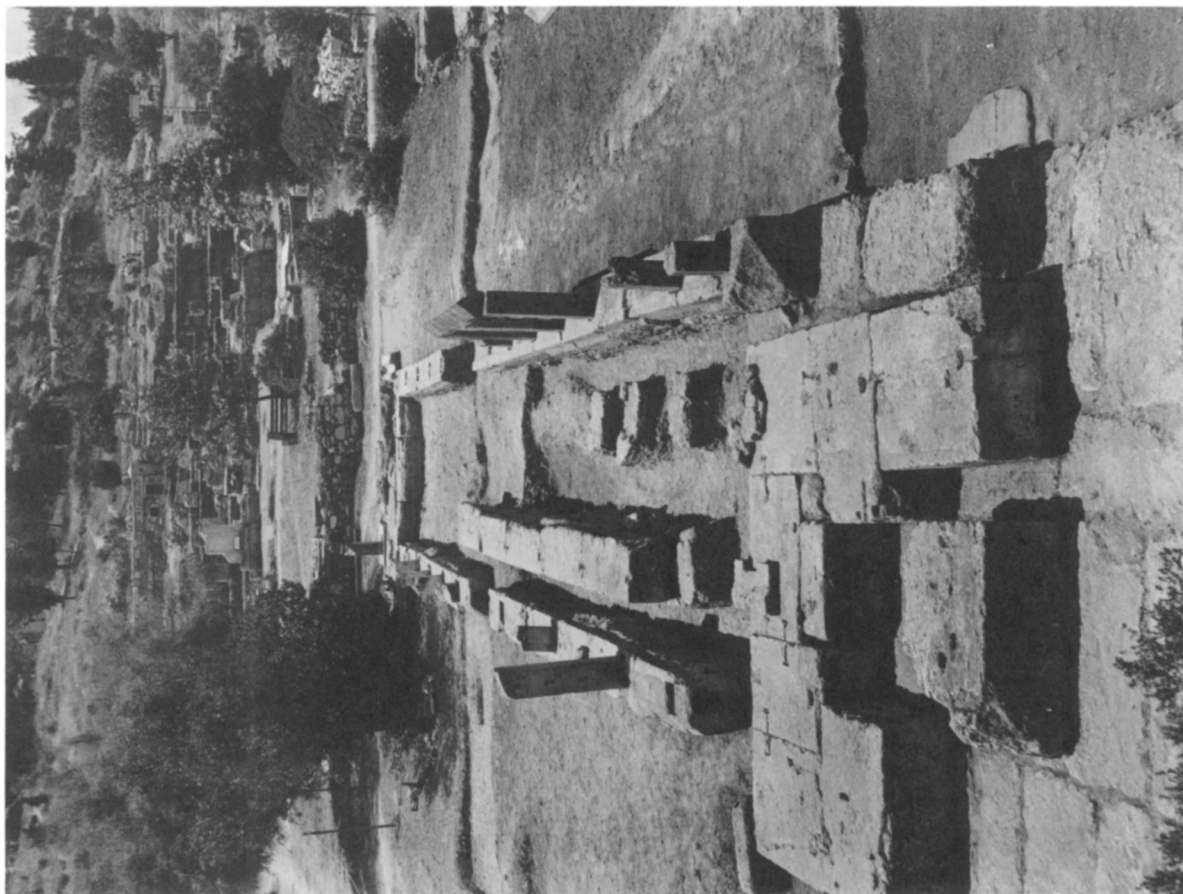
Restored Plan and Elevation, Period IV

T. LESLIE SHEAR, JR.: THE MONUMENT OF THE Eponymous Heroes IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

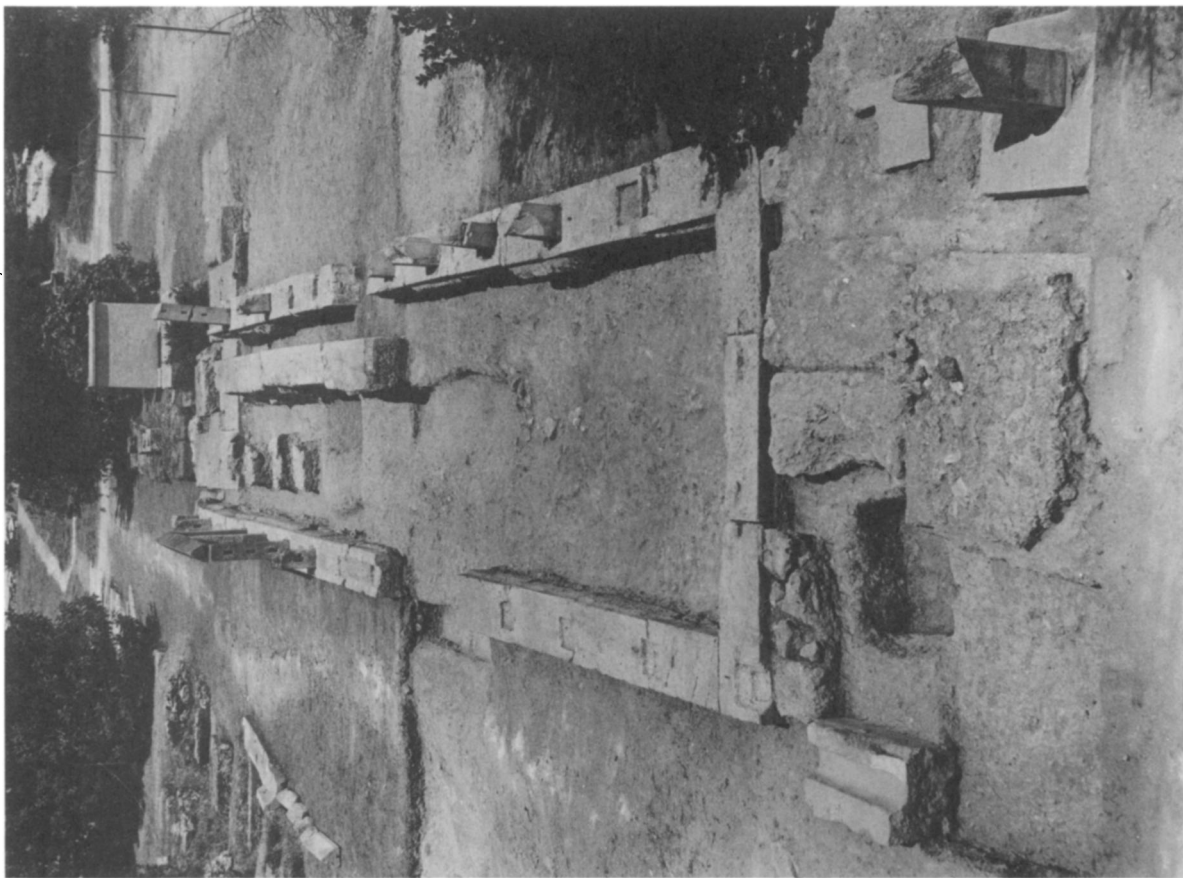


Restored Plan and Elevation, Period V

T. LESLIE SHEAR, JR.: THE MONUMENT OF THE EPONYMOUS HEROES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



a. Foundations of Peribolos, from North



b. Foundations of Peribolos, from South

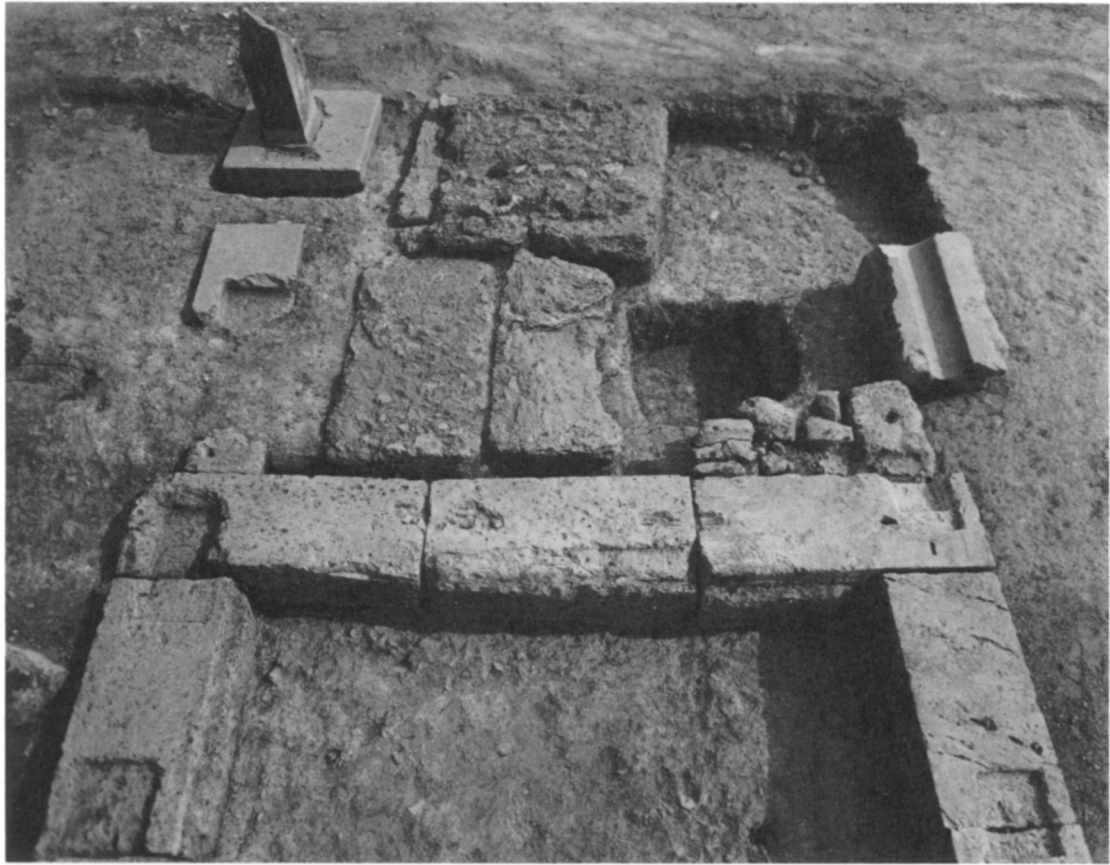
T. LESLIE SHEAR, JR.: THE MONUMENT OF THE EPONYMOUS HEROES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



a. Restored Section of Poros Fence, from West



b. Foundations of Peribolos, from Southeast, showing Marble Fence Posts



a. South End of Peribolos with Late Extension, from North



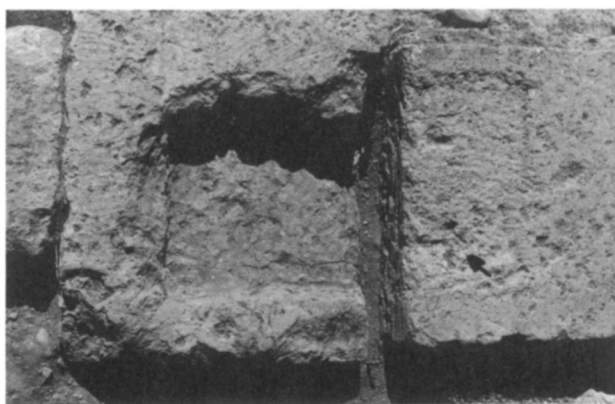
b. Foundations of Monument A, from North



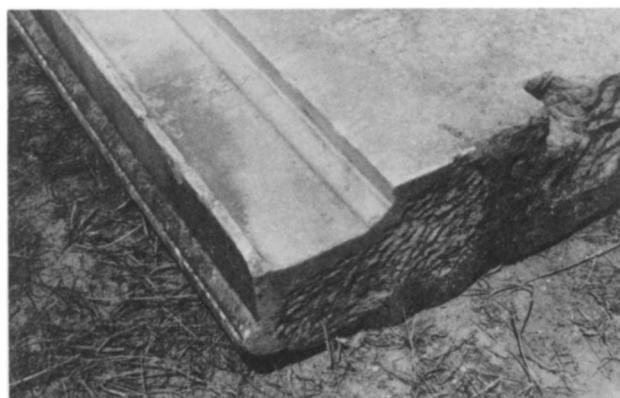
a. Cuttings at Southwest Corner of Sill



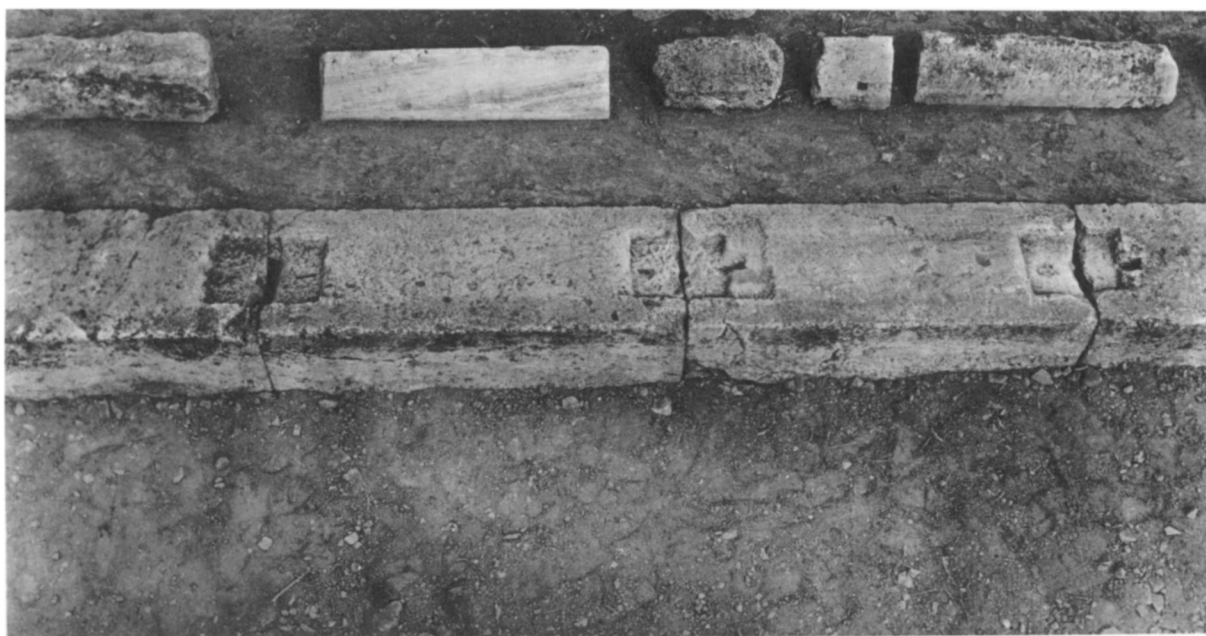
b. Cuttings at Northwest Corner of Sill



c. Cuttings at Southeast Corner of Sill



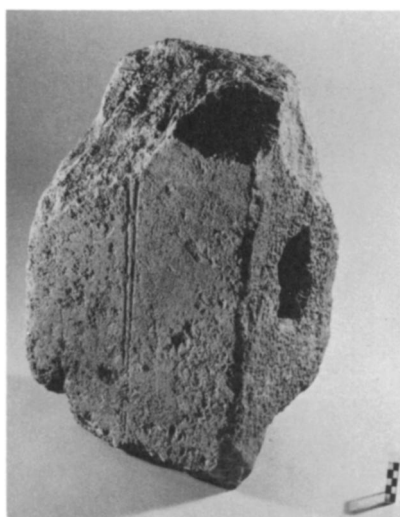
d. Moulding of Pedestal Cap 18



e. West Sill: Dowel Holes (Period I), Post Sockets (Period IV)



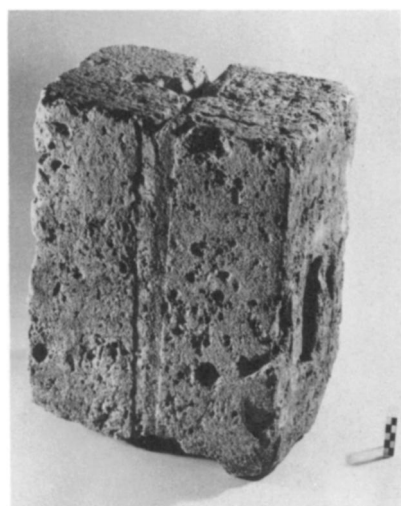
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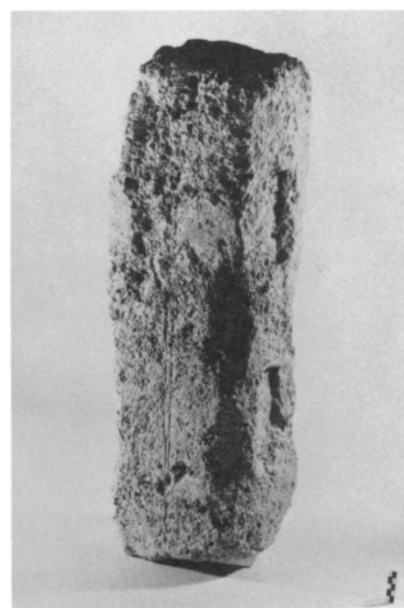
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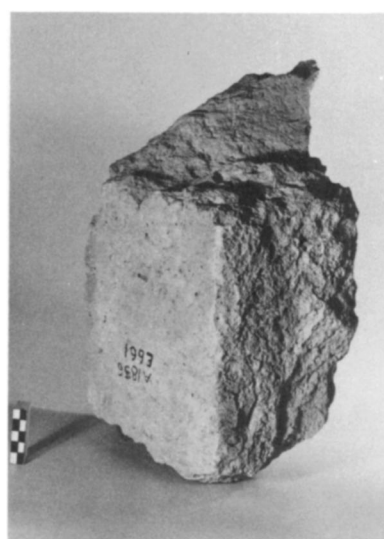
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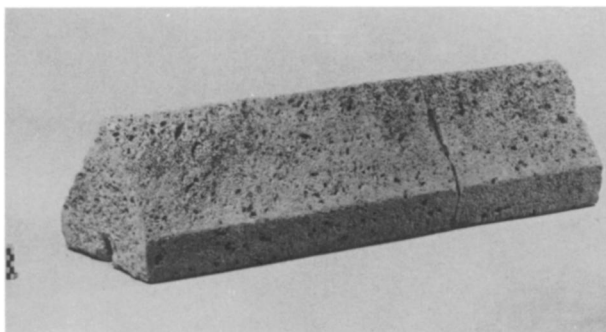
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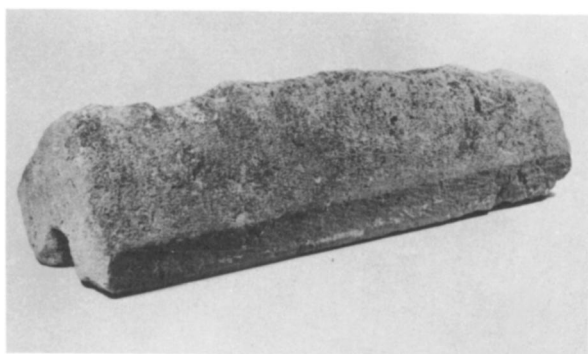
9 back

Poros Fence Posts

T. LESLIE SHEAR, JR.: THE MONUMENT OF THE EPONYMOUS HEROES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



10



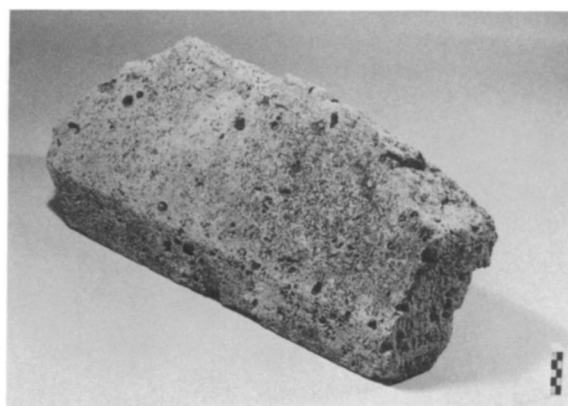
13



14 back



15



16

Capping Blocks of Fence

T. LESLIE SHEAR, JR.: THE MONUMENT OF THE EPONYMOUS HEROES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



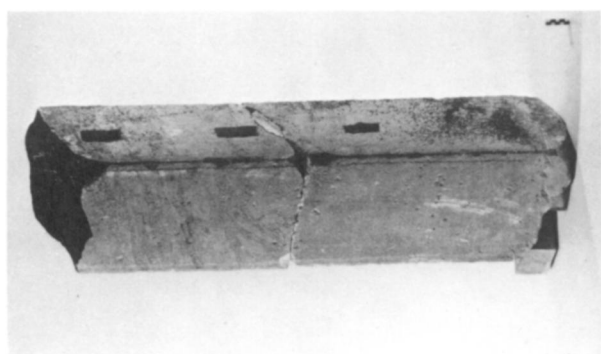
17



18

Capping Blocks of Pedestal

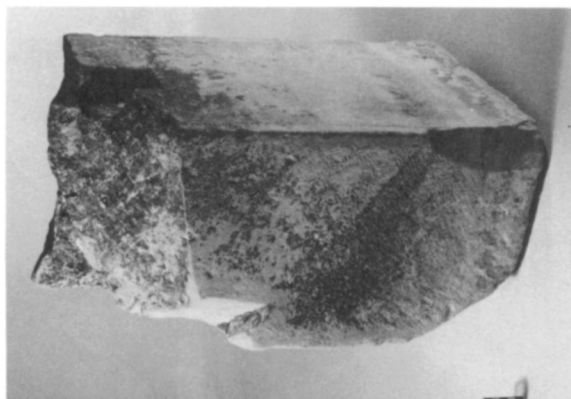
T. LESLIE SHEAR, JR.: THE MONUMENT OF THE Eponymous Heroes IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



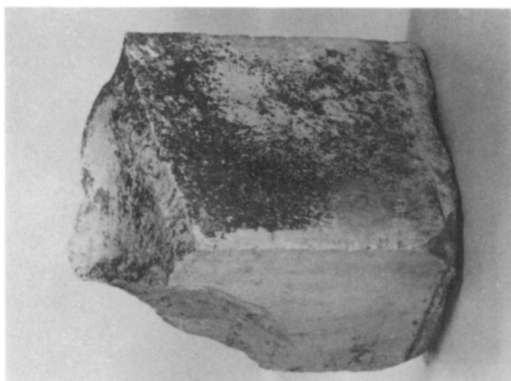
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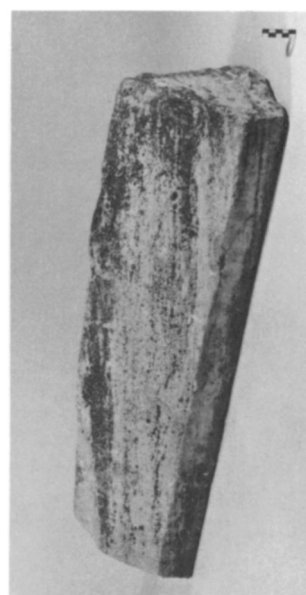
23



27



28



29

Fragments of Marble Fence

T. LESLIE SHEAR, JR.: THE MONUMENT OF THE EPONYMOUS HEROES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



a. Road and Monument below West End of Middle Stoa, from West.
A = Monument, B = Road VI, C = Horos, D = Curb



b. South End of Monument, from East. A = Monument, B = Road VI, C = Road III

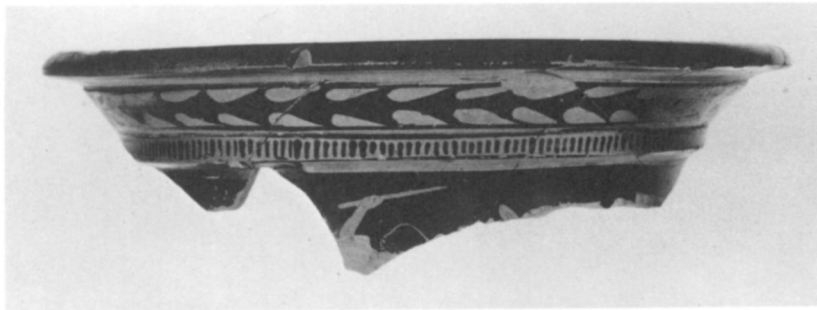
T. LESLIE SHEAR, JR.: THE MONUMENT OF THE EPONYMOUS HEROES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



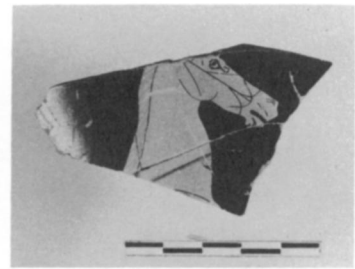
a. North End of Monument, from North. A = Monument, B = Road VI, C = Demolition Back Fill



b. South End of Monument, from North. A = Monument, B = Road VI, C = Road III



C3 (ca. 1:3)



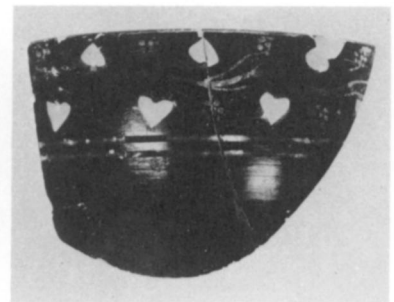
C3



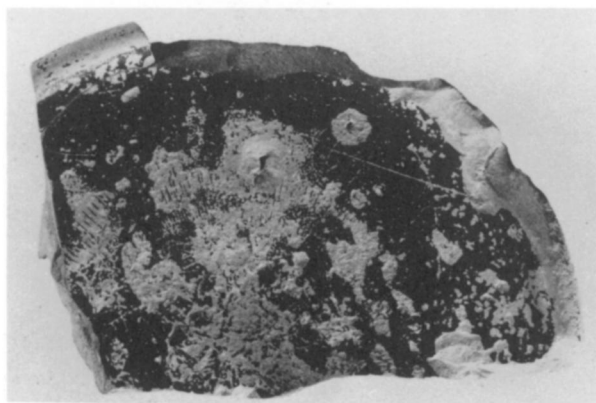
C5 Bottom



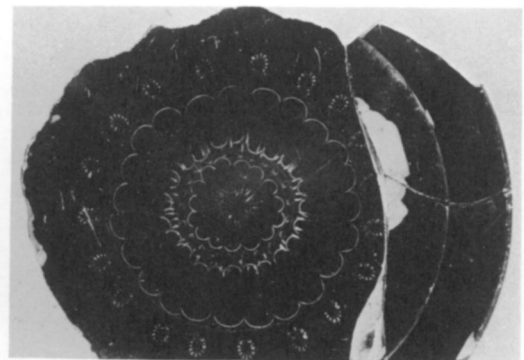
C5 Top



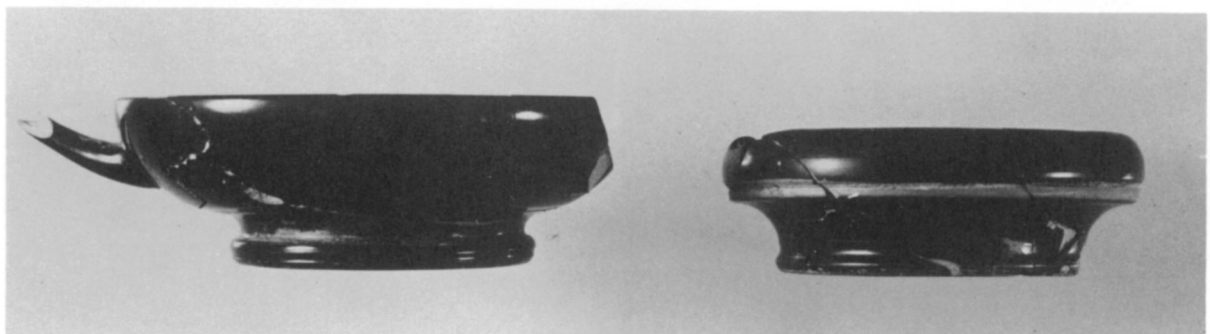
C2



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C4



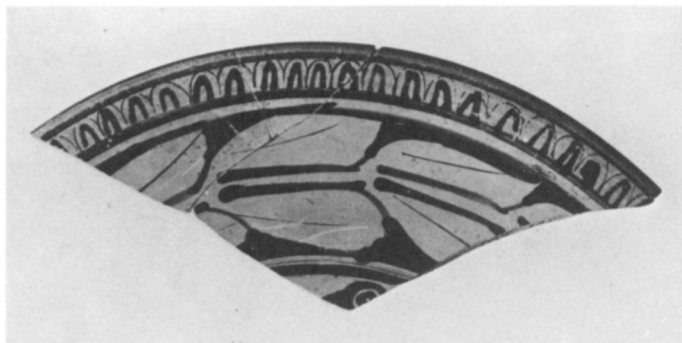
C4

(1:2)

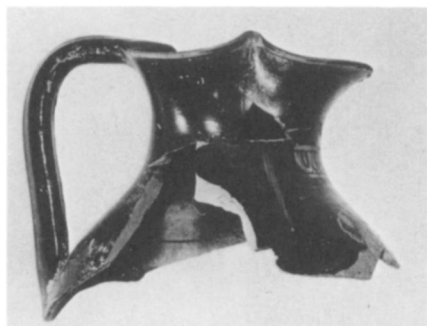
C1



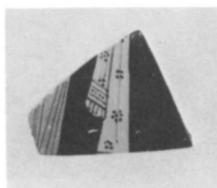
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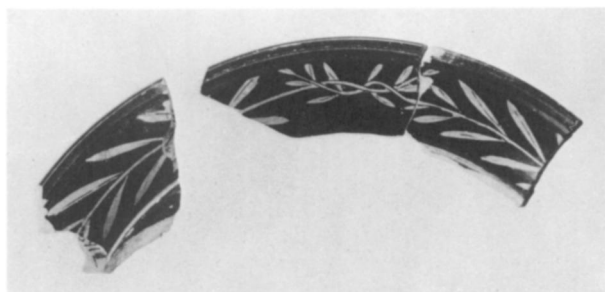
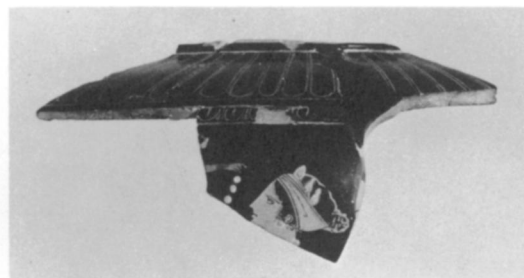
D2 (1:2)



D3 (1:2)



D2 (1:2)



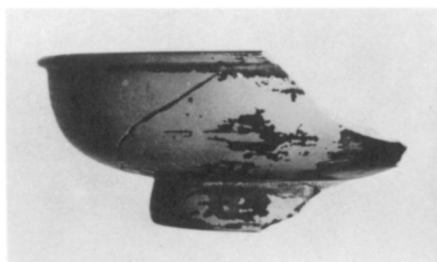
D4 (1:2.5)



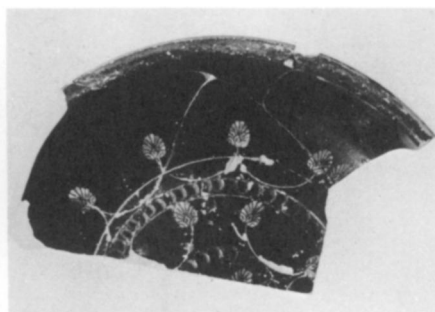
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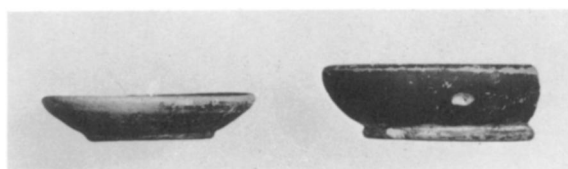
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D13 (1:2)



D7 (1:2)



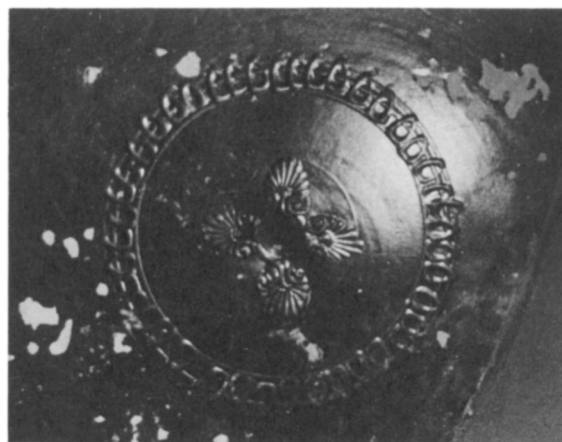
D16

D15

(1:2.5)



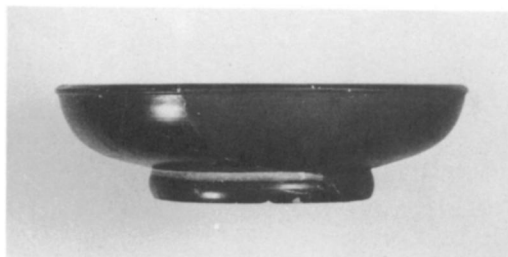
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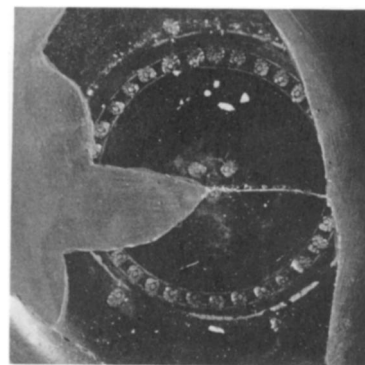
D8 (1:3)



D9 (1:1)



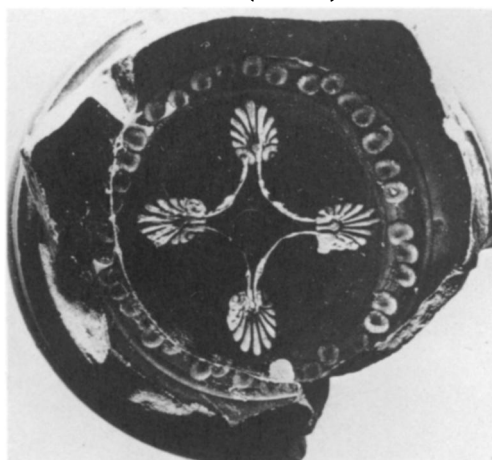
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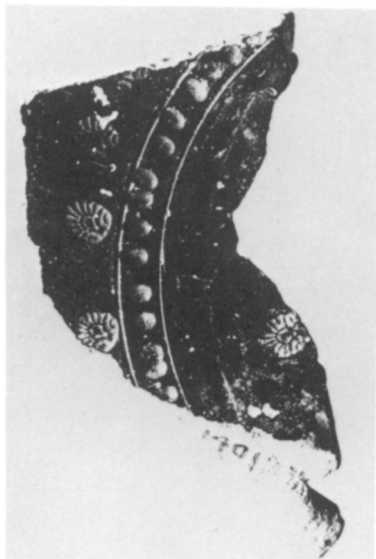
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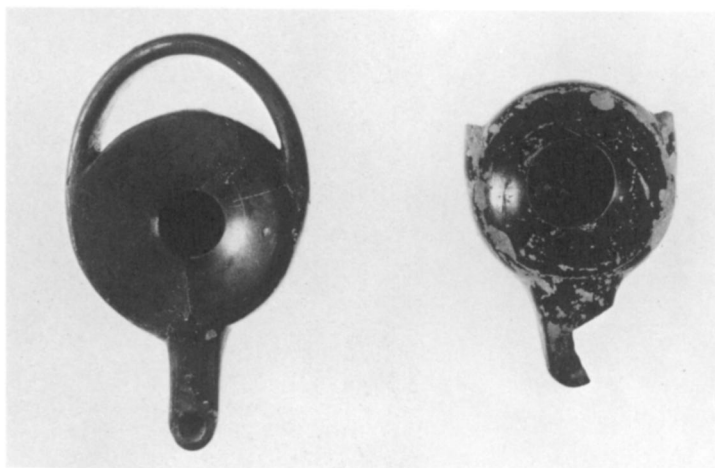
D10 (1:1)



D11 (1:1)



D12 (1:1)



D18

(1:3)

D17