

AN ANONYMOUS HERO IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATE 50)

AMONG the discoveries in the Athenian Agora in the summer of 1974 was a fragment of an inscription which lists the contents of the shrine of an anonymous hero. According to this list, the Boule and the Demos dedicated ten silver kylikes to the Eponymous Heroes of Athens in 328/7 B.C. and this dedication was stored in the heroon. This fact provides a clue to the identity of the hero and may shed light on the date of the construction of the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes.¹

Agora Inventory I 7475 (Pl. 50). Pentelic marble fragment of stele, broken at right, top and bottom; original left side preserved. Back very roughly worked but probably original. Claw-chisel marks clearly visible on inscribed surface.

Found on July 26, 1974, built into the foundations of the large round building on the north side of the market square, which dates to the 4th or 5th century after Christ. Agora grid J 5.

Pres. H. 0.34 m.; Pres. W. 0.262 m.; Th. 0.10 m.; Pres. H. of face 0.30 m.; Pres. W. of face 0.17 m.; LH. 0.007 m.

post a. 328/7 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[... ^{ca. 10}...].X.[...]

[... ^{ca. 5}...] ΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΟΥ[... κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα]

[τῆς]βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δ[ήμου]

vacat

τοῦ ἥρω

5 κλίνη ἀμφικεφάλ(λ)η

[κ]νέφαλλον

περίστρωμα

δάπης καρτή

προσκεφάλαια ποικίλα : IIII

10 φοινικίς

σιμδῶμ

ἀργυρὰ τάδε

[κ]ύλικες : Δ : τῶν ἐπωνύμω[ν]

ἐπιγεγραμμένα

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- 15 ἀς ἡ βουλὴ ἀνέθηκεν ἡ
 ἐπ' Εὐθυκρίτου ἄρχοντο[s]
 [σ]ταθμόν : ΗΓΠΗΗ
 [κ]αρχήσιον σταθμόν : ΗΗ[....]
 κυμβία : ΙΙΙΙ : σταθμόν[....]
- 20 φιάλη σταθμόν : [....]
 κύλικας Θηρικ[λείας ...]
 ἀς ἡ βουλὴ ἡ [ἐπὶ ... ἄρχοντος]
 ἀνέθηκε[ν : σταθμόν ...]
 traces

TRANSLATION

- [...^{ca. 10}...].X.[.....]
 [...^{ca. 5}...]KRATOUSOU[... according to the decree]
 [of the] Boule and the Demos
 (one line uninscribed)
 (Property) of the Hero
- 5 double-headed couch
 mattress
 bedspread
 smooth rug
 multicolored pillows: 4
- 10 red cloth
 linen cloth
 the following silver objects
 kylikes: 10: of the Eponymoi
 inscribed
- 15 which the Boule dedicated
 in the archonship of Euthykritos
 weight: 1508
 drinking cup weight 200(?)
 small cups: 4: weight [...]
- 20 phiale weight: [...]
 Therikleian kylikes [...]
 which the Boule [in the archonship of ...]
 dedicated [: weight ...]

COMMENTARY

The mason made several errors in grammar and orthography. In line 5 he doubled the lambda of ἀμφικεφάλη and in line 11 wrote mu's for the usual nu's of συνδών. All the entries are in the nominative, with the exception of κύλικας in line 21, which is, for no discernible reason, in the accusative.

The punctuation varies. In some cases there is a colon between each phrase (i. e. the name of the object, the number, the description, and the weight; cf. lines 13-17). In other cases the punctuation between the name of the object and the word *σταθμόν* has been omitted (lines 18, 20).

Line 1: There are slight traces of the lower parts of perhaps three letters, one of which may be chi.

Line 2: Only the lower ends of the strokes of the kappa are visible. After the last preserved letter at the right there is a vertical stroke, probably of either an iota, tau or upsilon. The letters may be most plausibly restored as a name with demotic in the genitive case:]κράτους Οἰ[or]κράτου Σου[. If this conjecture is correct, it is probably not a dating formula, since the demotic of the archon would not have been given. It is more probably the name of a cult official.² The only demotics possible in this restoration are Οἰναῖος, Ὀτρυνεύς and Σουνιεύς; the last is slightly preferable (see below, p. 207).

Line 3: Perhaps part of the formula [κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς] βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δ[ήμου]. This phrase occurs at the end of the sacred law, *IG* II², 1362.

Lines 4 to 24 form a list of the items belonging to an unnamed hero.

Line 4: This simple heading in the genitive singular identifies the following items as the property of a hero. The best parallel is found not in temple inventories but in the Attic Stelai, where auctioned property of each man is listed under the genitive of his name (e. g. *Hesperia* 22, 1953, p. 241, lines 12 and 26). The inventories of shrines are usually organized somewhat differently. Genitives are used to denote ownership in an account of the Treasurers of the Other Gods in the 5th century B.C. (*IG* I², 310), but they are not headings. In the inventories of the objects of the Hekatompedon, dedications to different gods were listed under separate headings and in the genitive.³ These headings, however, all refer to a single type of object (a hydria) and it is clear that the property of different deities was kept in the same place, the Hekatompedon. The objects of I 7475 are various. The list must describe a group of objects kept together in one place, and the place and all the objects belonged to the hero. Temple records in Athens and Delos often specify in a heading the place where goods were stored.⁴ These headings, however, clearly indicate location rather than ownership.

Line 5: κλίνη ἀμφικεφάλῃ—a couch with both ends raised to form headrests, so that the diner could recline in either direction.⁵

Line 6: κνέφαλλον—cushion or pillow, possibly the large cushion or mattress on the κλίνη.⁶

² Cf. *IG* II², 1539, line 4.

³ E.g. *IG* II², 1425, lines 137, 169, 174, 182, 186, 192; 1428, line 97; 1437, lines 42, 49, 58, 66, 67.

⁴ E. g. *IG* II², 1425, lines 250, 283; F. Dürnbach, *Inscriptions de Délos*, I, *Comptes de Hiéropes*, Paris 1926, 298, lines 3-4, 22, 107, 122, 179.

⁵ G. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, London 1966, p. 53.

⁶ W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 25, 1956, pp. 247-248.

Line 7: περίστρωμα—either a bedspread, a carpet or a hanging.⁷ Since most of the items in this part of the list seem to be directly connected with the κλίνη the meaning “bedspread” is more likely.

Line 8: δάπης—a rug which may be spread either on the floor or over a bed.⁸ *καρτή*—this word appears in the inventories of Artemis Brauronia describing mantles (e. g., *IG II*², 1514, line 39); it means “shorn smooth.”⁹ The rug in question, then, had little or no nap.

Line 9: προσκεφάλαιον—a cushion, usually for the head, but sometimes placed on a stool. Here it is probably the pillow against which the diner reclines. The phrase *προσκεφάλαια ποικίλα* occurs in Hermippos (fr. 63. 23), and may refer to the striped pillows often depicted on vases.¹⁰

Line 10: φοινικίς—Liddell, Scott and Jones quote five meanings for this word. The most probable translation in this case is “red curtain or carpet” (L.S.J., *s.v.* 3). Contemporary reliefs of banqueting heroes sometimes show hanging cloths in the background, and such may be the *φοινικίς* of I 7475.¹¹ The word also denotes a military cloak worn by Lakedaimonians, Makedonians or Persians (L.S.J., *s.v.* 2). This could conceivably suggest some connection with Lakonia, where the iconography of the banqueting hero seems to have originated, but this is unlikely. A *φοινικίς* is also a red or purple cloth used for horses (L.S.J., *s.v.* 1). The head of a horse or a horse and rider often appears on reliefs of the dining hero.¹² Perhaps the *φοινικίς* played some part in a ceremony relating to the horse.

Line 11: σινδών—“fine cloth, usually linen [or] . . . anything made of such cloth” (L.S.J., *s.v.* *σινδών*). The word can have a ritualistic connotation, as in the phrase *ἐντὸς σινδόνης*, meaning hidden from the uninitiate, or esoteric. Here again a simpler meaning, possibly connected with the dressing of the κλίνη, seems likelier. It should be noted, however, that sheets were not commonly used in classical Greece.¹³ Perhaps the *σινδών* was another wall hanging.

Line 12: ἀργυρὰ τάδε—for this heading in other inventories see, for example, *IG II*², 1428, line 51 and *Hesperia* 16, 1947, pp. 164-168, no. 64, line 47.

Lines 13-17: The dating formula for the kylikes is paralleled in *IG II*², 839, lines 35-37, where the Boule orders that a number of dedications be melted down to make a new piece of cult furniture. This new dedication is to be inscribed ἡ βομλή ἡ ἐπὶ Θρασυφώντος ἄρχοντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἡρώι ἱατρῶι. The conjunction of the number 10 with the word ἐπώνυμοι must surely mean that these kylikes were the property of

⁷ Liddell, Scott and Jones, 9th Edition (= L.S.J.), *s.v.* *περίστρωμα*.

⁸ Pritchett, *op. cit.* (footnote 6 above), pp. 246-247.

⁹ L.S.J., *s.v.* *καρτός* (1).

¹⁰ Pritchett, *op. cit.* (footnote 6 above), pp. 253-254; Richter, *op. cit.* (footnote 5 above), figs. 297, 300, 312-313, 316, 331-332.

¹¹ R. N. Thönges-Stringaris, *AthMitt* 80, 1965, pls. 27:1, 28:2.

¹² *Ibid.*, pls. 11:2, 12:2, 15, 16:2, 17:2, 22, 27-29.

¹³ Richter, *op. cit.* (footnote 5 above), p. 53.

the Eponymous Heroes of Athens. Kylikes are not very common in Athenian inventories. A silver kylix weighing 105 drachmas is listed in *IG* II², 1400, line 37. This is considerably less than the average of about 150 drachmas that each of these kylikes weighed. They must have been comparatively large and elaborate dedications.

The dedication by the Boule in the archonship of Euthykritos (328/7 B.C.)¹⁴ provides a *terminus post quem* for the carving of the inscription. The letters compare with those of *IG* II², 368 and 393 of 323/2 and 321/0-319/8 respectively,¹⁵ and the inscription probably dates early in the last quarter of the 4th century.

Line 18: καρχήσιον—cup narrower at the middle than at top and bottom.¹⁶ It occurs often in temple inventories and was apparently used for libations. The letter after the initial Η of the weight can be restored as either Ϛ (giving a weight of between 101 and 104 drachmas) or Η (giving a weight of at least 200 drachmas). A karchesion weighing 200 drachmas is listed among the dedications stored in the Hekatompedon (*IG* I², 262, 264-270), and a karchesion in *IG* II², 1400, lines 22-23 weighs 199 drachmas. Therefore we may be justified in restoring the second figure as Η.

Line 19: κυμβίον—small cup. Cf. *IG* II², 1522, line 32; 1533, line 15; 1534, line 95; 1652, lines 18-19.

Line 20: φιάλη—a broad shallow bowl used for libations, and common in temple inventories. The weight of the average silver phiale in the 4th century B.C. seems to have been about 100 drachmas or slightly more. See *IG* II², 1554-1573, catalogues of silver phialai invariably weighing 100 drachmas; *IG* II², 1400, line 54, a phiale weighing 110 drachmas; and *IG* II², 1401, lines 16-18, where three groups of 20 phialai weigh 2022, 2008 and 2748, implying an average weight per single phiale of between 100 and 138 drachmas. There are many other instances.

Line 21: κύλικας Θηρίκλειας—Athenaios discusses the *Θηρίκλειος*, which he describes as a deep kylix with concave sides (*Deipnosophistai* 11. 470e-472e). The 4th century comic poet Euboulos describes the shape as *κωθωνόχειλον, ψηφοπεριβομβήτριαν . . . εὐκύκλωτον, ὄξυνύνδακα*, and refers to its large size (fr. 43, 56: T. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, Leipzig 1880-1888 [= Kock], II, pp. 179, 183). According to the 3rd century stoic Kleantes, it was named after its originator, Therikles, a Corinthian potter of the 5th century (Kleantes, fr. 591: H. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, Stuttgart 1964, I, p. 133). It is mentioned frequently by other 4th and 3rd century authors. The adjective may be used to describe kylikes or kraters or by itself, usually referring to a drinking vessel.¹⁷ The original

¹⁴ A. E. Samuel, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, I, vii, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, Munich 1972, p. 209.

¹⁵ J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, 2nd ed., G. Klaffenbach, ed., Berlin 1948, p. 29, no. 64, p. 30, no. 66.

¹⁶ For the shape and uses of this vessel see I. C. Love, "Kantharos or Karchesion? A Samothracian Contribution," in *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, New York 1964, pp. 205-217.

¹⁷ Kylikes: Alexis Comicus, fr. 96; Theophilos, fr. 2 and 10 (Kock II, pp. 328, 473, 476);

Therikleians were of course made of clay, but Therikleians could also be made of wood (Theophrastos, *Historia Plantarum* 5.3.2), and those mentioned in temple inventories were certainly of precious metal (e. g. *Inscriptions de Délos* I, 298, lines 96, 98, 100 and 300, line 9). Line 21 would presumably have ended with the number of kylikes.

Line 22: The line would have continued with the date for the dedication of the Therikleian kylikes: ἐπὶ . . . ἄρχοντος. This would have been the longest line in the inventory, and for this reason one would like to restore an archon with a short name. Dated dedications in *traditiones* and other inventories are usually in chronological order.¹⁸ The lists as preserved include objects dedicated over a period of as many as 26 years.¹⁹ The period of time between the consecutive items may be considerable (in one case 19 years²⁰), but usually it is only a year or two.²¹ The archon in line 21 probably had a short name, and dated no more than *ca.* 20 years after 328/7, the date of the dedication in lines 13-18. The possibilities include Hegemon (327/6), Chremes (326/5), Hegesias (324/3), Archippos (321/0), and Kairimos (308/7).²²

Line 23: The weight of the kylikes should follow on this line, since the traces on line 24 do not conform with letters of the word σταθμόν.

Line 24: Illegible traces of the upper parts of letters indicate that the inscription continued.

I 7475 is only a small fragment of a stele. The thickness of the stone (0.10 m.) suggests a restored width of between 0.40 and 0.50 m. and a height of perhaps 0.90 m.²³ Because of its fragmentary nature, the character of the original stele is not clear. There are two possible restorations.

The stele may have carried a number of separate inventories of the properties of various deities or shrines. The lists would have been arranged in two or more columns. The stele would then have resembled the *traditiones* of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods and a few fragmentary treasure records from the Agora, which list items perhaps kept in the Metroon.²⁴ The list would have been organized by deity. Therefore lines 1-3 would represent the end of the list of the goods of one divinity, which would presumably have been headed with the genitive of the name of that divinity, just as the genitive of "the hero" heads our list. The lists of the

Theophrastos, *Historia Plantarum* 5.3.2. Kraters: Alexis Comicus, fr. 119 (Kock II, p. 339). Alone: Euboulos, fr. 56; Menander, fr. 226 and 324; Aristophon, fr. 14 (Kock II, pp. 183, 281; III, pp. 65, 93).

¹⁸ Cf. *IG* II², 1407, 1424, 1437, 1438, 1443, 1450, 1451, 1461, 1469, 1479, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1522, 1533, 1544. For exceptions where the dedications are not in chronological order see *IG* II², 1425, 1436, 1441, 1524, 1532; *Hesperia* 16, 1947, pp. 164-168, no. 64.

¹⁹ *IG* II², 1438, 378/7-353/2 B.C.

²⁰ *Hesperia* 16, 1947, pp. 164-168, no. 64.

²¹ E. g. *IG* II², 1436-1438, 1514-1517, 1532, 1533.

²² Samuel, *loc. cit.* (footnote 14 above).

²³ For a tabulation of measurements of stelai see S. Dow, *Hesperia* 3, 1934, p. 143.

²⁴ *IG* II², 1370-1492; A. M. Woodward, *Hesperia* 25, 1956, pp. 79-99, especially nos. 2 and 9.

property of the various deities would have been divided by uninscribed spaces, such as that between lines 3 and 4.

This restoration poses a problem with lines 1-3, which do not appear to be part of a list. We would have to assume that they represent part of a phrase describing objects melted down, recast, handed over or moved according to a public decree.²⁵ The restoration of the end of the demotic and *κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα* at the end of line 2 makes a line of at least 30 letters in length, probably more, which would not fit into a single column of a width comparable to that of lines 4-24. Yet one would expect a preceding list to be in the same format as the list which is preserved.

It seems more likely that lines 1-3 are the end, not of a list, but of a decree. Such a decree would be comparable to the sacred law *IG II², 1362*, which forbids the cutting of wood in a temenos of Apollo; this regulation ends with the phrase *κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων*.

This interpretation leads to the second possible restoration of the stele of which I 7475 is a part. The original stele may have begun with a decree running in a continuous text across the stone, followed by two columns of inventory, of which part of the left column is preserved. There is room for three letters at the beginning of line 3. Thus after the preserved portion of line 2 we must restore at least the rest of the demotic of *ἡκράτου Σου* and *κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα*. Doubtless some other phrase intervened to fill out the rest of the line, since the stele must have been 0.40-0.50 m. wide. There must also have been another column of inventory to the right, of which nothing is preserved. The longest line in the list would have been line 22, where the restoration of an archon date gives a line *ca.* 0.20 m. long. Hence two columns of inventory would fit easily on the conjectured width of the stone. The arrangement would have been similar to that of a decree of 191/0 B.C. concerning the upkeep of the Tholos,²⁶ except that there the inventory precedes the decree. On a number of decrees dealing with the recasting and conversion of dedications, however, the decree precedes the list.²⁷

The best parallels for this combination of decree and inventory are the great inventories of the Asklepieion (cf. *IG II², 1534*), an early 4th century decree concerning the administration of the sanctuary of Asklepios in the Peiraieus (*IG II², 47*), and the decree concerning the Tholos mentioned above. *IG II², 1534* provides for the recasting of dedications, which it proceeds to list. The Peiraieus inscription begins with a list of the contents of the sanctuary; the decree which follows concerns the financing of sacrifices and the division of the sacrificial meat. The upper part of the Tholos inscription is missing, but the preserved section begins with a fragmentary

²⁵ Cf. *IG II², 839-842; 1469*, lines 3-6, 12-17. For the practice of melting down dedications to recast them or to finance work on a sanctuary see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 16, 1947, pp. 164-168, no. 64 and W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1940, pp. 59-63. This was sometimes done by decree of the Boule and the Demos.

²⁶ H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors*, Princeton 1940, pp. 144-147.

²⁷ *Hesperia* 16, 1947, pp. 164-168, no. 64; *IG II², 840, 1534*.

list of the contents of the Tholos. The text which follows is a decree honoring the committee which supervised the replacement of bedding, and inspected and listed the items in the building. In both of these inscriptions the list and decree are separated by an uninscribed space.

Each of the above decrees is concerned with a specific place and its care and administration. The fact that I 7475 lists various types of items in one shrine belonging to one divinity suggests that a similar decree preceded it. It probably dealt with the administration of the cult or the care and protection of the sanctuary.²⁸

All comment on the identity of the hero must remain in the realm of speculation. The contents of the shrine bring to mind numerous dedicatory reliefs depicting a banqueting hero.²⁹ This type of dedication, probably originating in Lakonia, was popular in Athens in the 4th century B.C., though it soon spread all over Greece.³⁰ The reliefs show the hero reclining on a dining couch, which is well provided with cushions and coverings. He holds a rhyton in one hand, a phiale in the other. A table laden with cakes sometimes stands before him. He is usually accompanied by a woman who sits on a chair or at the foot of the couch. There may also be a krater, a youthful attendant, a snake, human worshippers, and in the background, armor and the head of a horse.

Literary sources refer to ritual feasts celebrated in honor of gods and heroes,³¹ and reference to an annual ceremony of this type is made in *IG* II², 2499, lines 29-30. The nameless hero of I 7475 is equipped with all the necessities for such a ceremony.

Throughout the 4th century B.C. such reliefs of the banqueting hero served as dedications; the iconography was not commonly used for grave markers until later.³² These dedications are occasionally inscribed, but the inscriptions are not of much help in the search for a name for the hero of I 7475. Often the text reads simply *τω ἥρω*.³³ In other cases the hero is identified as *Εὐκόλος*, *Πατρῶος*, *Ζεύξιππος*, *Ἰατρός*, or *Ἀρχηγέτας*.³⁴

²⁸ For other inscriptions dealing with the care of a sanctuary and its upkeep see F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969, pp. 205-206, no. 111, pp. 210-211, no. 116. See also *IG* II², 839-42, 1534, 1539 concerning the examination and recasting of dedications in sanctuaries of the hero Iatros and of Asklepios.

²⁹ Thönges-Stringaris, *op. cit.* (footnote 11 above), pls. 3-29. See also J. M. Dentzer, "Aux origines de l'iconographie du banquet couché," *RevArch*, ser. 8, 1971, pp. 215-258, especially pp. 255-256.

³⁰ Thönges-Stringaris, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64. Philostratos, *Heroikos* 291 (ed. C. L. Kayser, II, pp. 143-144) describes rites for the hero Protesilaos: *σπένδω γε αὐτῷ (τῷ Πρωτεσίλαῳ) κατὰ ἐσπέραν ἀπὸ τουτωνὶ τῶν Θασίων ἀμπέλων, ἃς φντεῖν αὐτός, καὶ τροκτὰ δὲ ὥραία προτίθεται . . . σελήνης τε ἰούσης ἐς κύκλον . . . "ἰδοῦ σοι" λέγω "τὸ τῆς ὥρας νῆμα, σὺ δὲ πίνε," κἀγὼν πέν εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἀπαλλάττομαι, τὰ δὲ βέβρωται τε καὶ πέποται θάπτον ἢ καταμύσαι.* See also *IG* II², 175, lines 18-20, 974, line 16.

³² Thönges-Stringaris, *op. cit.* (footnote 11 above), p. 62.

³³ *Ibid.*, nos. 30, 41, 91, 111; D. W. Bradeen, *The Athenian Agora*, XVII, *Inscriptions, The Funerary Monuments*, Princeton 1974, p. 185, no. 1046. The last has been published as a grave monument, but traces of the final sigma are very slight; the letter could be an iota.

³⁴ *Εὐκόλος*: Thönges-Stringaris, *op. cit.* (footnote 11 above), nos. 92, 174; *Πατρῶος*: no. 28;

Fragments of about 30 reliefs of this type have been found in the Agora at Athens. They come from all over the excavation, and clearly were set up as dedications in many different shrines. Five of these were found not far from the late Roman building which was the final repose of I 7475.³⁵ Possibly they were set up in the heroon of the hero of I 7475.

The Agora fairly bristled with heroa, many of them probably belonging to nameless heroes.³⁶ Bases and dedications inscribed simply $\tau\omega \eta\eta\rho\omega$ have been found all over the area.³⁷ In addition to these, shrines of Aiakos, Aias, the Dioskouroi, Eury-sakes, Iatros, Kallistephanos, Leos and Strategos are known from epigraphical and literary testimonia to have existed in the market square or near by.³⁸

The hero of I 7475 may have been one of the nameless heroes. The inscription does, however, provide some slight clue to his identity. His shrine housed two dedications by the Boule of Athens. Even in the temple inventories of Athena and the Other Gods and of the Eleusinian divinities dedications by the Boule are relatively infrequent.³⁹ Since there are so few among the treasures of the official state cults, it would be surprising to find two in the sanctuary of an obscure anonymous hero. It is likely therefore that the hero had public or political connections. Two such heroes come to mind: Archegetas and Strategos.

Evidence for a cult of the hero Archegetas in Athens is provided by a relief of a banqueting hero dedicated to the $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omega\acute{\nu} \alpha\rho\chi\eta\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ dating around 350 B.C., which was found in the Odeion of Herodes Atticus on the south slope of the Acropolis⁴⁰ His hieron is mentioned in *IG* II², 1651, line 6. I. Becker records a definition equating Archegetai with Eponymoi: $\alpha\rho\chi\eta\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota: \eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\varsigma \omicron\iota \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\omega}\nu\upsilon\mu\omicron\iota \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu \cdot \text{'}\text{Αριστοφάνης Γήρᾳ} \cdot \omicron \delta\epsilon \mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega\upsilon\eta \eta\mu\epsilon\iota \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha} \tau\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha} \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \alpha\rho\chi\eta\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (*Anecdota Graeca*, ed. Bekker, I, Berlin 1814, p. 449, lines 14-16). A Delphic oracle reported by Demosthenes (43. 66) implies the same: $\eta\eta\rho\omega \alpha\rho\chi\eta\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha, \omicron\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\omega}\nu\upsilon\mu\omicron\iota \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon, \theta\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \delta\omega\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha} \pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\iota\alpha$. There-

Zeύξυππος: nos. 42, 185; *Ίατρός*: no. 77; *Ἀρχηγέτας*: no. 110. Such reliefs were also dedicated to gods, cf. nos. 84, 156, 175, 177.

³⁵ S 254 at Agora grid I-J 6-7; S 495 at I 4; S 834 at K 8; S 1456 at L 7; S 2313 at H-M 4-6.

³⁶ H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972, pp. 119-121.

³⁷ *AJA* 41, 1937, p. 186, fig. 15 at Agora grid K 18; *Agora* XVII, no. 1046, at H 9; *Hesperia* 4, 1935, pp. 398-399, fig. 25, at I 11; *Hesperia* 32, 1963, p. 46, no. 64, at H 12; *Hesperia* 37, 1968, p. 288, no. 27, at M 16; I 6690 at P 16.

³⁸ Aiakos: R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton 1957, pp. 48-49; Aias: see below, p. 205 and footnote 46; Dioskouroi: *Agora* III, pp. 61-65; Eurysakes: *ibid.*, pp. 90-93; Iatros: *Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 39, no. 26; Kallistephanos: I 7396, see *AJA* 77, 1973, p. 209; Leos: see below, pp. 206-207; Strategos: see below, p. 205.

³⁹ *IG* II², 1382, line 17; 1424, lines 16-19; 1425, lines 313-315; 1437, lines 24-26; 1474, lines 10-13; 1496, lines 18-19; 1534, line 28; 1544, lines 47-50.

⁴⁰ Thönges-Stringaris, *op. cit.* (footnote 11 above), no. 110; I. N. Svoronos, *Τὸ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἑθνικὸν Μουσεῖον* II, Athens 1903, p. 551, fig. 254. He also had a shrine at Rhamnous; an unknown donor dedicated a statue to the Hero Archegetas in Rhamnous in 6th or 5th century B.C. (*SEG* XIII, 26) and a priest of the Hero Archegetas set up a dedication to Dionysos there in the 4th century B.C. (*IG* II², 2849).

fore the hero Archegetas might be expected to have some official state connections. The inscribed relief of the banqueting hero, however, which is our only evidence for a shrine of the hero Archegetas in Athens, was found far from the Agora; there is no evidence that the hero was worshipped in the civic center. It is also unclear whether the hero Archegetas was worshipped as a distinct deity, or whether, as the testimonia above imply, archegetas was simply an epithet which could be applied to any eponymous hero, be he tribal, gentile or demotic.

The hero Strategos on the other hand was certainly venerated in the Agora. A dedication to the Strategos dating to about 200 B.C. has been found there.⁴¹ Another stele, also from the Agora and dating to the early 2nd century B.C., has been restored as a dedication to the hero.⁴² An inscription of the 2nd century after Christ provides for a sacrifice to the Strategos.⁴³ It is conjectured that his shrine was in the forecourt of the Strategeion at the southwest corner of the Agora.⁴⁴ There is, however, no evidence for the existence of the hero Strategos and his cult before about 200 B.C. Furthermore, I 7475 was found a long way from the supposed Strategeion. Neither were the two dedications of the 2nd century B.C. found near I 7475.⁴⁵

The hero of I 7475 was the custodian of an intriguing dedication, the kylikes of the ten Eponymous Heroes of Athens. If the ten Eponymoi did not have an enclosed shrine, their dedications must have been stored elsewhere, possibly in the shrine of one of these heroes. This suggests that the hero of I 7475 may have been one of them.

The stele would probably have been set up in the heroon itself. Assuming, perhaps rashly, that it did not wander far from its original site, we would expect the shrine to have been located somewhere along the north side of the Agora. If this is so we can eliminate most of the Eponymous Heroes, whose shrines are known to have been elsewhere. Pandion, Kekrops, Erechtheus and possibly Aigeus were worshipped on the Acropolis. Akamas had an altar near the Dipylon, Hippothoon's shrine was situated in Eleusis, and Antiochos shared the temenos of Herakles at Kynosarges. Aias was worshipped either in the Eurysakeion on the Kolonos Agoraios or in a shrine of his own near the south end of the Stoa of Attalos.⁴⁶

⁴¹ *Hesperia* 14, 1946, p. 221, no. 48.

⁴² *Hesperia* 29, 1960, p. 56, no. 80; A. N. Oikonomides, *The Two Agoras in Ancient Athens*, Chicago 1964, pp. 81-82.

⁴³ *IG* II², 1035, line 53; for date see *Hesperia* 7, 1938, p. 17, note 3.

⁴⁴ *Agora* XIV, p. 73.

⁴⁵ *Hesperia* 29, 1960, p. 56, no. 80 was found in the middle of the Agora square at Agora grid K 11; *Hesperia* 15, 1946, p. 221, no. 48 was found just east of the Metroon at I 9.

⁴⁶ The most recent and comprehensive study of the shrines may be found in U. Kron, *Die zehn Attischen Phylenheroen*, Berlin 1976. See also W. E. McLeod, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, p. 125, note 11; E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, XI, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton 1965. The following is a brief summary of some of the evidence for the locations of the shrines of the Eponymous Heroes:

ERECHTHEUS: Inscriptions from the Acropolis (*IG* II², 1146, 1150, 1165) and Pausanias'

There remain only Oineus and Leos. For Oineus there is virtually no evidence.⁴⁷ Leos seems to have had a shrine in Daphne,⁴⁸ but there was a shrine in the city as well. An honorary ephebic decree of the tribe Leontis was found in the northeast part of the Agora.⁴⁹ It is dedicated [τῶι ἥ]ρωι (line 1), and was to be erected ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι (Col. I, line 32; Col. II, line 5). The hero is never mentioned by name; since the stele stood in the shrine it would be obvious to all that the hero was Leos. The shrine, too, was referred to simply as "the hieron of the hero" (τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ ἥρω). A decree of Skambonidai, a deme of Leontis, which provides for an offering to Leos, was found near the Hephaisteion just northwest of the Agora. It, too, may originally have stood in the shrine.⁵⁰

Leos had no pre-Kleisthenic worship in Athens, for the Leokoreion seems to have been a shrine purely for his sacrificed daughters. His cult probably had a tribal rather than a gentile priesthood, and we would expect his shrine to have been founded in the late 6th century B.C., probably in a deme of Leontis.⁵¹ The arrangement of the demes north of the Agora has not yet been determined, but *Hesperia* 9, 1940, no. 8

description of the Erechtheion on the Acropolis (I. 26. 5) prove that the sanctuary was located there.

AIGEUS: It has been suggested that the shrine of Aigeus was also on the Acropolis (H. G. Lolling, *AthMitt* 11, 1886, pp. 322-323; L. Beschi, *Annuario*, N.S., 29-30, 1967-1968, pp. 520 ff.). Harrison does not accept this conclusion, and believes that the sanctuary was located elsewhere in the city, possibly associated with the Theseion (*Agora* XI, p. 119). Various other locations have also been suggested (see Kron, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-127).

PANDION: His shrine has been located on the Acropolis by the testimony of Pausanias, who saw a statue of a hero there (I. 5. 4) and from several inscriptions found on the Acropolis which would have stood in his shrine (*IG* II², 1138, 1140, 1144, 1148, 1152, 1157, 1159, 1160, 1167, 1748). Some state specifically that they were to be erected in the heroon (*IG* II², 1144, 1148, and probably 1140, 1152, 1157). See H. Immerwahr, *Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 341-342; D. M. Lewis, *BSA* 50, 1955, p. 22.

AKAMAS: *IG* II², 4983 is an altar to Akaras found *in situ* at the Dipylon Gate, in the deme of Kerameikos, which belongs to the tribe Akamantis.

KEKROPS: Again the testimony of inscriptions from the Acropolis proves that the shrine was located there (*IG* I², 372, line 9; *IG* II², 1143, 1156, 1158).

HIPPOTHOON: Two decrees of Hippothontis were erected in Eleusis, which is a deme of Hippothontis (*IG* II², 1149, 1153). Pausanias (I. 38. 4) indicates also that the sanctuary was near Eleusis. See R. Schlaifer, *HarvStCIPhil* 51, 1940, p. 253.

AIAS: Wycherley (*Agora* III, p. 91) suggests that the shrine of Aias was part of or appended to that of his son Eurysakes, which was on the Kolonos Agoraios. On the other hand, two inscriptions which stipulate that they be erected in the shrine of Aias were found at the southeast corner of the Agora, near the south end of the Stoa of Attalos (*Hesperia* 24, 1955, pp. 228-232, lines 140-141; *IG* II², 1008, line 87). This suggests that Aias had a separate shrine somewhere in this area.

ANTIOCHOS: Three decrees of Antiochis were found in the Herakleion at Kynosarges (*SEG* III, 115-117). One of these states specifically that it was to be erected in the shrine of Antiochos. See C. I. Karouzos, *Δελτ* 8, 1923, pp. 85-102.

⁴⁷ See Kron, *op. cit.* (footnote 46 above), p. 188.

⁴⁸ *IG* II², 2818, dedication to Leos found in Daphne.

⁴⁹ *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 59-66, no. 8; fragments were found at Agora grid P 8 and O 7.

⁵⁰ *IG* I², 188; see Kron, *op. cit.* (footnote 46 above), p. 201.

⁵¹ Schlaifer, *op. cit.* (footnote 46 above), p. 255.

and *IG I*², 188 are at least indications that this shrine was near the north side of the Agora.⁵² It is also possible that Leos came to share the shrine of his daughters, the Leokoreion, just as Aias is thought by some to have shared the shrine of his son Eurysakes (see footnote 46). The literary testimonia prove that the Leokoreion was on the north side of the Agora.⁵³ It is therefore at least possible that Leos was the hero of I 7475, and that the inscription originally stood in his shrine. If this is the case, the demotic in line 2 could best be restored as Σουνιέως, since Sounion was a deme of Leontis.

The dedication to the ten Eponymoi raises the question of whether or not the Eponymoi were worshipped as a group in Athens. Each hero had his own shrine, a center of worship for the tribe that bore his name. There is little evidence, however, for a common cult of the heroes. There was a cult of the Athenian Eponymoi on Samos,⁵⁴ but no such definitive evidence has been unearthed in Athens. The testimonia are ambiguous. The best indication is to be found in Demosthenes' oration against Timokrates (24.8), which dates to 353/2 B.C.:

ιδὼν δ' ἡδίκηκότα κοινῇ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τὴν εἰσπραξίν τῶν εἰσφορῶν καὶ περὶ τὴν ποίησιν τῶν πομπείων, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐπωνύμων καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντα καὶ οὐκ ἀποδιδόντα, ἦλθον ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετ' Εὐκτέμονος.

[Seeing that he had wronged the whole city in the matter of the collection of property-tax and the making of the processional vessels, and was keeping and refusing to hand in moneys belonging to the goddess and the Eponymoi, I approached him along with Euktemon.] ⁵⁵

⁵² Note, however, *IG II*², 1742, a dedication to Leos found on the Acropolis. Although there is no indication that it was to be set up in the shrine of the hero, Harrison concludes that he had a sanctuary on the Acropolis (*Agora* XI, p. 118, note 80).

⁵³ Wycherley has collected and discussed the testimonia (*Agora* III, pp. 109-113). A small *abaton* at the crossroads of the Panathenaic Way and the west road at the north side of the Agora has been identified by Thompson as the Leokoreion (*Agora* XIV, p. 123). Its position on the north side of the Agora and the offerings found inside it, which were suitable for female divinities, make the suggestion an attractive one; it is not, however, without difficulties. The structure was built around 430 B.C., and there are no traces of an earlier shrine on the site. Although some of the offerings are earlier than the date of the enclosure, none is as early as the 6th century B.C. (T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 363-364, 369). The Leokoreion, however, must have existed at least as early as the late 6th century, for it serves as a landmark in Thucydides' account of the assassination of Hipparchos in 514 B.C. (VI. 57. 1-3). Thompson has pointed out to me the parallel of the Shrine of the Tritopatores in the Kerameikos; there, too, the enclosure and the offerings within it date to the late 5th century, but the Archaic boundary stone built into the enclosure wall proves that it existed much earlier. The fact that the Agora shrine is centered around an outcrop of bedrock suggests that it was a very old one, and it is possible that it is indeed the Leokoreion. It would, however, be premature to accept such an identification until more of the north side of the Agora has been explored. Until that time, its identification as the Leokoreion must remain in the realm of possibility rather than certainty. See Kron, *op. cit.* (footnote 46 above), pp. 199-200.

⁵⁴ *AthMitt* 44, 1919, p. 2.

⁵⁵ Translation: *Agora* III, p. 87.

The scholiast adds that the Eponymoi received 1/50th of something, possibly booty, for certain sacrifices.⁵⁶ But this may be taken to mean that the individual heroes received 1/50th of something from their respective tribes.

Another passage from Demosthenes speaks of penalties for those who fail to pay the rent for lands of Athena, the gods, or the Eponymoi.⁵⁷ This passage, too, may refer rather to lands owned by individual Eponymoi, not to lands owned jointly by all ten heroes.

The ten kylikes of the Eponymoi which reposed under the guardianship of the hero of I 7475 suggest that there was indeed a common cult of the ten Eponymoi in Athens in the 4th century B.C. That the dedication was made by the Boule indicates in addition that the cult was of considerable importance.

The dedication of the kylikes is dated by the archon Euthykritos to the year 328/7 B.C. This date is suggestive. The Eponymoi may not have had a common shrine, but there was a monument of the Eponymoi on the west side of the Agora, and it played an important part in the life of the Athenian citizen. It took the form of a long base, upon which stood statues of the ten heroes. The sides of the base served as a bulletin board, with notices for members of each tribe posted under the statue of its hero. Information about military service, legislation, litigation and so forth was disseminated in this way.⁵⁸ This monument has been identified, and was excavated and painstakingly studied by T. L. Shear, Jr.⁵⁹

It has not been possible to fix the date of the construction of the monument precisely. Aristotle makes mention of the monument in its present position in the *Athenaion Politeia*, so it must have been built before the composition of that work (328-325 B.C.).⁶⁰ The architectural and ceramic evidence indicates a date in the third quarter of the 4th century. Is it possible that the dedication of ten kylikes to the Eponymoi was made in commemoration of the construction of this monument?

This hypothesis requires that the monument be built around 330 B.C., since the dedication could commemorate either its beginning or its completion. Although Shear opted for a date only slightly after 350 B.C. for the construction of the base, the evidence is very slight,⁶¹ and a shift of 15 or 20 years is not impossible. Shear cites the Temple of Athena at Priene (*ca.* 335 B.C.) and the Temple of Zeus at Stratos (*ca.* 320 B.C.) as parallels for the crowning ovolo of the pedestal cap. The Lysikrates monument (335/4 B.C.) and the Temple of Apollo Patroos (*ca.* 338-325 B.C.) provide the closest Athenian parallels for the moldings of the pedestal cap. Double-T clamps were used exclusively in the construction of the monument, but these were used in

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵⁷ Demosthenes, 43. 58: τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδόντας τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν τῶν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἀτίμους εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γένος καὶ κληρονόμους τοὺς τούτων, ἕως ἂν ἀποδώσιν.

⁵⁸ *Agora* III, pp. 85-90.

⁵⁹ T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 39, 1970, pp. 145-222.

⁶⁰ *AthPol* 53. 4; Shear, *op. cit.* (footnote 59 above), p. 190.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-196.

Athens throughout the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. and do not occur together with hook clamps until around 325 B.C.⁶² There is little ceramic evidence. The few fragments associated with the construction of the monument give only a *terminus post quem* of about 350 B.C.⁶³ A few sherds were found in the footing trench of monument B (lot E 584), a rectangular structure at the north end of the monument of the Eponymoi, which must have been built later. These sherds date to the second quarter of the 4th century,⁶⁴ much earlier than the date of the construction of monument B, and therefore too early to be of much help in dating it.

The ceramic evidence and the architectural parallels therefore allow a date of around 330 B.C. for the construction of the monument of the Eponymous Heroes. It is then possible that it was built at that time, and that its construction was commemorated by the Boule with the dedication of ten silver kylikes.

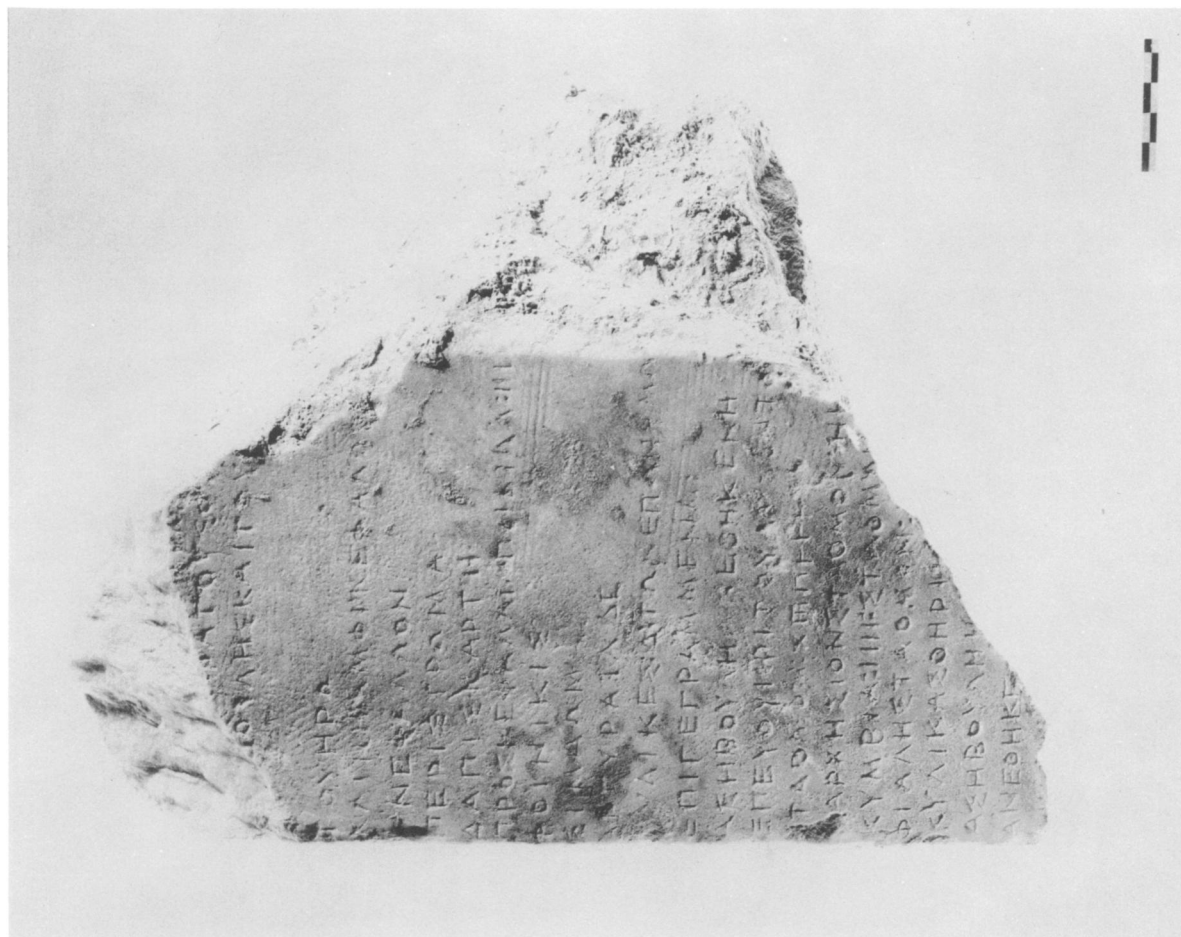
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⁶² R. Martin, *Manuel d'architecture grecque* I, Paris 1965, pp. 261-263, 274-277.

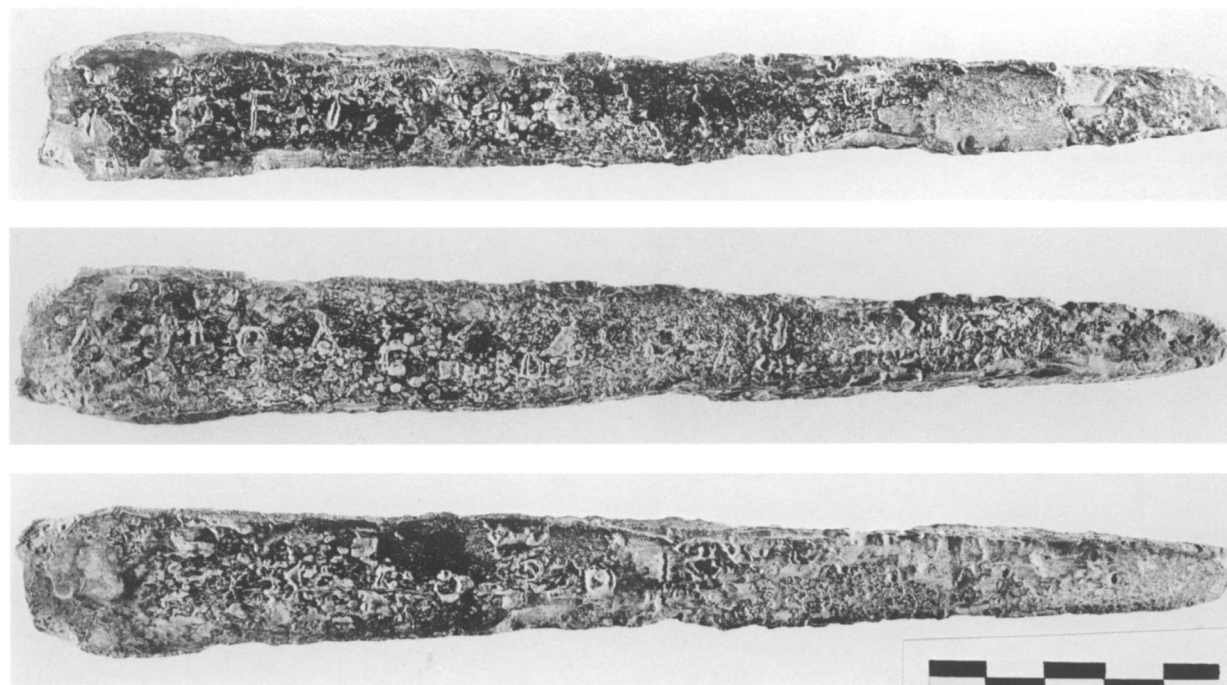
⁶³ Shear, *op. cit.* (footnote 59 above), pp. 191-192: P 27736 of *ca.* 350; lot E 544 with two or three sherds dating to the mid-4th century B.C.; lot E 586, whose latest piece dates to 350-325 B.C.

⁶⁴ Shear, *op. cit.* (footnote 59 above), pp. 187, fig. 13; 189, 192.



I 7475

SUSAN I. ROTROFF: AN ANONYMOUS HERO IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



Face A

Face B

Face C

JOHN MCK. CAMP II: A SPEAR BUTT FROM THE LESBIANS