

THE DATE OF THE TEMPLE ON THE ILISSOS RIVER

(PLATES 91–96)

THE SMALL IONIC TEMPLE which once stood near the banks of the Ilissos River, almost a twin of the Temple of Athena Nike, is preserved only in the drawings of Stuart and Revett.¹ The foundations have been excavated, but the superstructure is now lost, except for a few slabs of the sculptured frieze.² These were identified and studied by F. Studniczka, who dated the frieze and thereby the temple to ca. 450–448 B.C.³ This dating of the temple has been generally accepted, though there has been much debate over the stylistic date of the frieze.⁴ In this study, a fresh examina-

¹ J. Stuart and N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* I, London 1762, chap. 2.

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Special abbreviations used in this article are as follows:

Agora XII B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora*, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.*, Princeton 1970.

Dinsmoor, *AAG*³ W. B. Dinsmoor, *Greece*, 3rd ed., London 1950.

Studniczka, *Jdl* F. Studniczka, "Zu den Friesplatten vom ionischen Tempel am Ilissos," *Jdl* 31, 1916, pp. 169–230.

Svoronos J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, Athens 1908–37.

² W. B. Dinsmoor attributed to the temple fragments of a flank and raking sima found near the Theater of Dionysos ("The Choregic Monument of Nicias," *AJA* 14, 1910, p. 483, fig. 3:b; *AAG*³, p. 185, note 1). A. Rumpf and A. Mallwitz tentatively attributed two column bases now in the Roman Agora to the Ilissos temple ("Zwei Säulenbasen," *AthMitt* 76, 1961, pp. 15–21); A. Barrett and M. Vickers attribute these bases to the "columns" *in antis* of the temple ("Columns *in antis* in the Temple on the Ilissus," *BSA* 70, 1975, pp. 11–16). The attribution of these bases to the Ilissos temple, whether in the prostylia or *in antis*, must be rejected, since there is too much difference between the profiles and dimensions of the bases and those recorded by Stuart.

³ "Friesplatten von ionischen Tempel am Ilissos," *Leipziger Winckelmannsblatt*, 1910; Studniczka, *Jdl*; *AntDenk* III, pp. 33–43. Most recently, this date for the temple is accepted by W. Judeich (*Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed., Munich 1931, p. 420), Dinsmoor (*AAG*³, p. 185), G. Gruben (*Die Tempeln der Griechen*, Munich 1966, p. 185), I. M. Shear ("Kallikrates," *Hesperia* 32, 1963, pp. 375–399), L. S. Meritt ("The Geographical Distribution of Greek and Roman Ionic Bases," *Hesperia* 38, 1969, p. 189), J. Travlos (*Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, New York 1971, pp. 112–113), and E. G. Pemberton ("The East and West Friezes of the Temple of Athena Nike," *AJA* 76, 1972, pp. 307–310; "The Gods of the East Frieze of the Parthenon," *AJA* 80, 1976, p. 117).

⁴ Many scholars have long argued for a lower date for the frieze: F. Hauser ("Der Sarg eines Maedchens, Bemerkungen zum Sarkophage von Torre Nova," *RömMitt* 25, 1910, p. 280), H. Möbius ("Zu Ilissosfries und Nikebalustrade," *AthMitt* 53, 1928, pp. 1–8), L. Curtius (*Die antike Kunst*, Potsdam 1938, p. 227), G. Lippold ("Die griechische Plastik," *Handbuch der Archäologie* VI, iii, part 1, 1950, p. 159), T. Dohrn (*Attische Plastik*, Krefeld 1957, p. 23), S. Karouzou (*National Archaeological Museum: Collection of Sculpture*, Athens 1968, p. 56). Most recently, C. Picón ("The Ilissos Temple Reconsidered," *AJA* 82, 1978, pp. 47–81) and A. Krug ("Der Fries des Tempels am Ilissos," *AntP* 18, 1979, pp. 7–21) have argued for a date in the 420's B.C. This date is somewhat later than the one I propose for the building and its frieze. Krug's study appeared while this article was in press.

tion of the datable features of the architecture of the Ilissos temple indicates a date of construction *ca.* 435–430 B.C., after the beginning of the Propylaia but before the Temple of Athena Nike. The style of the sculptured frieze is also considered; it seems compatible with the later date for the temple. Ceramic evidence associated with the temple is presented here, and it, too, supports the lower date. There are many similarities between the Ilissos temple and the Temple of Athena Nike, and these may be best explained by their closeness in date.

EARLY TRAVELERS' ACCOUNTS

Because we owe our knowledge of the Ilissos temple to earlier witnesses, it is appropriate to begin this discussion with a brief summary of their accounts. Stuart and Revett were not the first to visit and admire the Ilissos temple. It was regularly included by 17th- and 18th-century travelers to Athens in their tour of the city, and it is identifiable on the earliest maps of the city.⁵ It receives brief mention in the accounts of Robert de Dreux (1665),⁶ “La Guilletière” (based on notes of the Capuchins, 1675),⁷ the Marquis de Nointel (1674),⁸ and by Spon and Wheler (1678).⁹ A more detailed description, along with drawings of the temple (a view of the front and a floor plan), were published by Richard Pococke in 1745.¹⁰ Although Pococke’s drawings lack the accuracy and precision of Stuart’s drawings, they do record several architectural details of interest: the recessed band around the door frame, the anta-base molding which continued around the interior of the pronaos, parts of the marble ceiling coffers, and the plain architrave undivided by fasciae.

Some six years later, Stuart and Revett made their journey to Athens; their precise, careful drawings and critical commentary were much more exact than those of their predecessors. In 1765, Revett returned to Athens again, in the company of Richard Chandler and William Pars, who produced two important documents on the Ilissos temple: Chandler’s description of the condition of the temple when his party saw it, and Pars’s watercolor with the temple in the foreground.

Chandler remarks on the abandonment of the temple, and notes certain details such as the “trunk of a little female statue in the vaulted roof,” and traces of painted architectural ornament. He reminds the reader of Stuart’s drawings, and says that considerable damage had been done to the temple since they were made. In particular, one

⁵ H. Omont, *Athènes au XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1898, pls. XXXVIII–XLIV.

⁶ R. P. Robert de Dreux, *Voyage en Turquie et en Grèce (1665–1669)*, ed. H. Pernot, Paris 1925, pp. 144–145.

⁷ Marquis de la Guilletière [André Georges Guillet], *An Account of a Late Voyage to Athens*, London 1676, p. 252.

⁸ M. Collignon, “Relation d’Athènes,” *CRAI* 25, 1897, p. 66; J. M. Paton, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands*, Princeton 1951, pp. 9–11.

⁹ J. Spon and G. Wheler, *Voyage d’Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant fait aux années 1675 & 1676* II, Lyons 1678, pp. 210–212.

¹⁰ R. Pococke, *A Description of the East, and Some Other Countries* II, ii, London 1743–1745, p. 167, pl. LXXIV.

of the Ionic capitals lay on the rock near the front of the temple. Because the structure was so weakened, Chandler predicted that soon the materials would be removed and "the site in a few years [would] become hardly distinguishable."¹¹

Pars's watercolor includes a detailed rendering of an Ionic capital lying in the foreground (mentioned by Chandler) and the southwest corner of the temple at the far right.¹² An enlargement of the lower right part of his watercolor is reproduced on Plate 91. This independent drawing of Pars's confirms in every detail the accuracy of Stuart's drawings: the form of the capital and its smallest details (Pl. 94), the treatment of the wall, and the exterior moldings (Pl. 95).

There are conflicting reports about the ultimate fate of the superstructure. In the second edition of Stuart and Revett, of 1825, it is noted that the temple was used as building material for a wall built by the Turks in the year 1780, at the order of the Voivode of Athens, in order to defend the city against the incursions of the Albanians.¹³ Baron Johann Hermann von Riesedel, however, who visited Athens in 1768, states that the temple was sold by the Turks to the Archbishop of Athens, to be used as building material for a new church.¹⁴

REDISCOVERY OF THE TEMPLE

In 1897, during a series of excavations in the area of the Ilissos River, A. Skias uncovered foundations of a small temple, and he immediately saw that they belonged to

¹¹ R. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, 4th ed., Oxford 1825, pp. 102–103. This edition is annotated by Revett. The neglect was caused by desecration of the Church, often attributed (as here) to the Marquis de Nointel, who was said to have celebrated a Roman Mass in it; but an account written prior to de Nointel's visit states that it had been abandoned by the Greeks because of profanation by the Turks (de Dreux, *op. cit.* [footnote 6 above], p. 145; Paton, *op. cit.* [footnote 8 above], p. 15).

¹² Pars's watercolor was later engraved and published in Stuart and Revett, *op. cit.* (footnote 1 above), III, chap. 2, pl. I. This watercolor is now in the British Museum (L. Binyon, *Catalogue of Drawings III*, London 1902, p. 155). Cf. W. R. Lethaby, *Greek Buildings Represented by Fragments in the British Museum*, London 1908, p. 155, fig. 153. Another copy of this watercolor by Pars, perhaps the earlier of the two, is in the Gennadeion Library, Athens (F. R. Walton, "Gennadeion Notes, I," *Hesperia* 31, 1962, pp. 407–408, pl. 121:2).

¹³ Stuart and Revett, 2nd ed., as cited by Shear, *op. cit.* (footnote 3 above), p. 389, note 102. The date is sometimes cited as 1778: Studniczka, *Jdl*, p. 169, Judeich, *op. cit.* (footnote 3 above), p. 420, Dinsmoor, *AAG*³, p. 185, note 1. The third edition of Stuart and Revett (London 1876) states that "neglected it became ruinous, and in 1780 was demolished by order of the Turkish Voivode, and the materials used in building" (p. 25).

¹⁴ An dem Orte wo man gemeiniglich den Brunnen Calirrhoe annimmt (obgleich Pausanias nichts hiervon sagt) war ein artiger, kleiner, ionischer Tempel, simpel aber schön, und ein wenig von der gewöhnlicher Art abweichend. Stuart hat ihn noch gesehen und eine Abbildung davon geliefert. Der griechische Erzbischof von Athen, der ein so grosser Ignorant aller Schönheit, sowohl in Absicht der Kunst als aller andern Dinge ist, als es sein Stand und der jetzige Zustand seiner Nation notwendig machen, dieser Erzbischof kaufte eine Kirche in der Stadt zu bauen. Ich fand nur noch eine Säule, deren Capital mit denjenigen überein kam, welche ich zu Delos und Paros sah. J. H. Graf von Riesedel, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise nach der Levant*, ed. C. H. Dohm, Leipzig 1774, pp. 108–109. French ed., Amsterdam 1773, Paris 1802. I am indebted to C. P. Bracken for this reference.

the temple drawn by Stuart and Revett.¹⁵ A few years earlier he had found two fragments of a sculptured frieze¹⁶ in the bed of the Ilissos near by, but the frieze was not assigned to the temple until Studniczka's studies of 1916. Studniczka recognized that several slabs of sculptured frieze, which had been carried off to Europe long since and are in the Berlin and Vienna Museums, together with one fragment found by Skias, were part of the frieze of the temple drawn by Stuart and Revett.¹⁷

In his thorough study of the Ilissos frieze, Studniczka discussed many of its aspects, and compared the motives and figure styles to painted representations on pottery of the "Kimonian" period; he concluded that the Ilissos frieze was carved before the Parthenon frieze. He remarked on the close architectural similarity between the Ilissos temple and the Temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis, and suggested that Kallikrates acted immediately on the orders given in the initial decree for the Nike temple of *ca.* 450 B.C. (*IG* I², 24; see below, p. 000) and used these plans, intended for the Nike temple but now deferred, for the Ilissos temple. This neat interpretation of the evidence has had much acceptance.

Yet Studniczka's dating of the frieze (and by it the temple) *ca.* 450–448 B.C. leaves a gap of nearly a quarter of a century which separated the construction of these two closely related temples, a period when the Parthenon and Propylaia were built, and the Hephaisteion was begun and well under way, as well as other temples and buildings; a period when in Athens both the Ionic and Doric styles of architecture underwent considerable development. Explanations for the gap have emphasized possible political difficulties between architects and priests, or between Perikles and his following and a conservative "Kimonian" faction.¹⁸ One might well wonder why this small temple on the Ilissos (actually outside the city wall) should be the first to have been constructed in this period of renewed building activity, with precedence over even the Parthenon.

THE DATE OF THE SCULPTURED FRIEZE

Certain features of the Ilissos frieze give the impression that it should be dated to the mid-5th century B.C. Weathering has worn the surface down and blurred the folds of

¹⁵ A. Skias, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἰλισόν," *Πρακτικά* 1897, pp. 73–85. In addition to the location and over-all measurements, a block of the support for the return of the pronaos wall was *in situ* and was evidence for the interior plan; the foundations of an apse attached to the east side correspond to the contemporary view of the temple as a church, given by Stuart and Revett.

¹⁶ N.M. 3941, N.M. 1780. A. Skias, "Ἀνάγλυφα ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ τοῦ Ἰλίσσου ἀνασκαφῆς," *Ἐφ' Ἀρχ.*, 1894, cols. 133–142; Karouzou, *op. cit.* (footnote 4 above), p. 56.

¹⁷ The height of the slabs, which agrees to the millimeter with the measurements in the drawings, the 5th-century style of carving, and the provenance of one of the pieces, from the bed of the Ilissos River, make Studniczka's attribution of the slabs secure. Möbius, *loc. cit.* (footnote 4 above), attributed the corner block found by Skias in the bed of the Ilissos in 1893; this attribution is generally accepted (C. Blümel, *Die klassisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 1966, p. 89).

¹⁸ W. Dörpfeld, "Zu den Bauwerken Athens," *AthMitt* 36, 1911, pp. 57–58; B. D. Meritt and H. T. Wade-Gery, "The Dating of Documents to the Mid-Fifth Century–II," *JHS* 83, 1963, pp. 109–110; R. Carpenter, *Architects of the Parthenon*, New York 1970, pp. 83–109; Gruben, *op. cit.* (footnote 3 above), pp. 184–185; Pemberton, *op. cit.* (footnote 3 above), pp. 307–310.

the drapery, making them appear less articulated in comparison with other better preserved architectural friezes. There are many landscape details, which Studniczka thought were "painterly" and therefore "Polygnotan". Nevertheless, many of the figures in the Ilissos frieze follow the frieze of the Parthenon in their poses, types, and drapery, and, as we shall see, in other details the Ilissos frieze approaches later reliefs. Some pertinent comparisons of the Ilissos frieze with other architectural reliefs are presented here.¹⁹

The four well-preserved slabs fall into two groups. C and B are probably part of one scene though they do not necessarily join together (Pl. 92); they both have three figures which stand or sit individually in quiet repose. Slabs D and E, also probably part of one scene, each have groups of two or three figures who directly and violently interact (Pl. 93:a,b). Nearly twice as many figures as in C and B are fitted onto slabs of the same size. All four slabs share characteristic full, rounded volumes, open background space, and landscape details.

On C and B are three male figures seated on rocks, a common type in Attic sculptured relief of the second half of the 5th century.²⁰ Ilissos figure C:1 (Pl. 92:c) has no close parallel; though the type in general resembles figure 8 ("Zeus") of the Hephaisteion East frieze, the Ilissos man has a more frontal aspect caused by the foreshortening of his left leg and by the diagonal pose.²¹ Ilissos figure B:3 (Pl. 92:a) is especially reminiscent of Hermes on the Parthenon (East IV.24) in the disposition of his arms, the musculature of the chest and the balance of the body on the seat. Ilissos figure B:2 (Pl. 92:a) is closest to the seated deity on the Nike temple (figure 13, slab b), who sits on a rocky outcrop of nearly identical contour. His himation is gathered beneath him horizontally as is that of the Ilissos figure. Ilissos figures B:2 and B:3 together convey a feeling of lassitude through the downward tilt of their heads and slight slump of their shoulders, as though they are resting or are tired, with their baggage on the rocks below them.²²

¹⁹ For dimensions and physical details of the slabs, see Blümel, *op. cit.* (footnote 17 above), pp. 88–90. The numbers of the figures used herein are assigned left to right within each slab. The slab drawn by Stuart and Revett, generally not accepted as part of the frieze, has been labeled "F" (Studniczka, *JdI*, pp. 188–189). The figure numbers for the frieze of the Parthenon follow M. Robertson and A. Frantz, *The Parthenon Frieze*, New York 1975. The figure numbers of the frieze of the Hephaisteion follow C. Morgan, "The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion, II: The Friezes," *Hesperia* 31, 1962, pp. 210–235. The figure numbers for the frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike follow C. Blümel, *Der Fries des Tempels der Athena Nike*, Berlin 1923.

²⁰ E.g., Hephaisteion, East 2.6, 7, 8; 5.22, 23, 24; Parthenon, deities on thrones, East IV.24, 25, 26, 27; V.29, 30, 36, 37; VI.38, 39, 40, (41); Nike temple, East slab b, 13, 16, 23. Later seated types, on rocks: *IG I²*, 57 (428–423 B.C.), in Svoronos, pl. 205, left; *IG I²*, 145 (415–410 B.C.), Svoronos, pl. 207:2; *IG I²*, 125 (405/4 B.C.), Svoronos, pl. 227:2.

²¹ Cf. the central figure of the East pediment of the Parthenon (Zeus) as restored by E. B. Harrison ("Athena and Athens in the East Pediment of the Parthenon," *AJA* 71, 1967, pp. 27–58). A nearly diagonal pose appears again in the Erechtheion frieze (no. 13, Akrop. 1072: P. N. Boulter, "The Frieze of the Erechtheion," *AntP* 10, 1970, p. 11, pl. 6). This seated female is rather more in three-quarter view and is not as "frontal" as Ilissos figure C:1.

²² A bell-shaped "food sack" is also depicted on slab A (Blümel, *op. cit.* [footnote 17 above], fig. 152), and on the relief of *IG I²*, 65 (426/5 B.C.). One end of the Torre Nova sarcophagus bears a close copy of Ilissos figure B:3 (G. E. Rizzo, "Il sarcophago di Torre Nova," *RömMitt* 25, 1910, pp. 89–167).

The three male standing figures of C and B again are of a common type. Ilissos figure C:2 (Pl. 92:b) follows the first marshal on the East frieze of the Parthenon (East I.1) except that where the marshal gestures back with his right arm, that of the Ilissos man is raised, and his head and shoulders tilt to the right. The Ilissos man's hip, however, is much more clearly outlined through the folds (worn) of the himation; because of this, and because of the tilt of the head and shoulders, there is more of an "S-curve" in his stance. In these characteristics Ilissos figure C:2 approaches more closely figure 9 (slab b) of the Nike temple, whose left hip is also given a clear outline by the sweep of the folds down to the calf of his free leg. His himation reveals more than it covers. Ilissos figure C:3 (Pl. 92:b) leans on a staff much as does the Parthenon "elder" (East IV.22), except that the upper chest of the former is more frontal. His himation is slung low on his right hip, emphasizing its contours, as in figure 11 (slab b) of the Nike temple, who is turned to the right toward his neighbor.²³

In Ilissos figure D:3 (Pl. 93:a) we may again recognize a familiar type, a rushing woman. Here she leaps from a lower to a higher rock. F. Hiller has observed that, in general, the development of the relationship of the body to the drapery in this type of "rushing woman" in the second half of the 5th century progresses from the drapery dominating the body, as in figure G ("Artemis") of the East pediment of the Parthenon, to the body dominating the drapery, as in the Xanthian Nereids.²⁴ Ilissos figure D:3 falls between G and figures 22 and 24 (slab c) of the Nike temple. The drapery of Ilissos figure D:3 has deeply cut folds, particularly those sweeping back between her legs. These follow the line of her extended back leg rather than her bent forward leg, as in figure 22 (slab c) of the Nike temple. On Ilissos figure D:3, the folds almost isolate her extended back leg, which is clearly visible through her dress. Her bent leg is also clearly outlined by a major fold which starts about knee level and sweeps back, and by eight small folds over the calf and lower leg. In G this major fold at knee level is more prominent and pronounced and begins at the front of the kneecap rather than behind it, with the effect that the actual shape of the calf is more concealed, while the sense of movement is heavier, more fluid and majestic. In general, G's drapery is heavier and more full than that of Ilissos figure D:3. But if allowances are made for the differences natural between large sculpture in the round and this small relief, Ilissos figure D:3 may be said to follow G.

The closest parallel to Ilissos figure D:3 is a running Niobid (8), a copy from a frieze originally on the Throne of Zeus at Olympia.²⁵ She too leaps from a lower to a

²³ Of the standing males, Dohrn observes that the folds of the himation of Ilissos figure B:1 (Pl. 92:a) are characteristic of later draped figures, especially after 420 B.C. (*op. cit.* [footnote 4 above], p. 57). It appears, for example, in the "Demeter" of the Nike temple frieze (slab c, 20) and the maiden second from left on the Eleusis Bridge building decree (*JG I*², 81, 422/1 B.C.).

²⁴ Although Hiller is comparing statuary rather than reliefs, the same principles may apply: F. Hiller, *Formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur griechischen Statuen des späten 5. Jh. v. Chr.*, Mainz am Rhein 1971, pp. 67–69, pl. 15. For possible difficulties, see review by E. G. Pemberton, *AJA* 76, 1972, pp. 236–237. For the date of the Xanthos Monument, see W. A. P. Childs, *OpusRom* 9, 1973, pp. 105–116.

²⁵ H. Schrader, "Composition und Herkunft des Niobidenfrieses aus dem Fünften Jhrh.," *JdI* 47, 1932, p. 175, figs. 19, 20; Schrader joins the Ilissos frieze and the Niobid reliefs. Möbius rejects this join

higher rock; her legs are clearly outlined by the folds which tend to follow her back leg rather than her forward leg. The folds of her mantle, like that of Ilissos figure D:3, are constrained by her arms, and though deeply cut, do not give the impression of full, sweeping volume.²⁶

The figures on slab E (Pl. 93:b) have particularly sophisticated poses. The two crouching warriors are most similar to the warriors in the Hephaisteion friezes in their crouching position, but in their more slender proportions and musculature they are nearer to warriors of the Nike temple frieze.²⁷ Ilissos figure E:3 is on one knee in resistance, with her mantle slipping down, and over and between her thighs.²⁸ Ilissos figure E:6 reminds us at once of the East Centauromachy of the Bassai frieze, where another suppliant on her knees clasps a small statue.²⁹

All of the Ilissos slabs have landscape elements which add narrative detail. This appears to be a later, not an earlier, characteristic in relief sculpture. The frieze of the Nike temple has these elements where appropriate, as do the Niobid reliefs and later decree reliefs.³⁰

The most unusual aspects of the Ilissos relief in comparison with the three other Athenian architectural reliefs are the wide spacing of some of the figures, and their activities, which are not readily identifiable.³¹ These two aspects perhaps account for each other: the spacing of slabs C and B may be due to the narrative portrayed, since the spacing of D and E is not unusual.³² On D and E the figures all overlap in a series

but accepts the attribution of the Niobid reliefs to the same sculptor as a later work (*op. cit.* [footnote 4 above], pp. 5–6); cf. *contra*, W.-H. Schuchhardt, "Die Niobidenreliefs vom Zeusthron in Olympia," *MdI* 1, 1948, p. 122. The date of the cult statue of Zeus at Olympia is now secure on the basis of the interrelationship between the archaeological evidence from Pheidias' workshop and the literary testimonia to his career: A. Mallwitz and W. Schiering, *OlymForsch* 5, 1964, pp. 272–275, 276; A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten*, Munich 1972, pp. 228–230; H. Bloch, review of *FGrHist* 3b, in *Gnomon* 31, 1959, pp. 495–499; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art*, Cambridge 1975, pp. 319–320, note 66.

²⁶ Comparison of Ilissos figure D:3 and Niobid 8 with the Athena of the West pediment of the Parthenon after Carrey's drawing has also been suggested by B. Schweitzer, "Pheidias, der Parthenonmeister," *Jdl* 53, 1940, p. 210. Cf. *contra*, Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* (footnote 25 above), p. 121.

²⁷ Hephaisteion East I.4, West I.4; Nike temple slabs k and g.

²⁸ Cf. Niobid 7: Schrader, *op. cit.* (footnote 25 above), pp. 177–178, figs. 11, 12, 21, 22.

²⁹ C. Hofkes-Brukker, *Der Bassaifries*, Munich 1975, p. 55, H 4–524. For the date of the frieze, U. Liepmann, *Das Datierungsproblem und die Kompositionsgesetze am Fries des Apollotempels zu Bassae-Phigalia*, diss. Hanover 1970. A copy of Ilissos figure E:6 from Ephesos is now in Vienna (Studniczka, *Jdl*, pp. 186–187, fig. 12).

³⁰ In the Nike temple, a ground line is frequent; warriors leap off rocks (slabs i, k, and o) as in slabs D and E of the Ilissos frieze; there is a tropaion on a tree (slab i). The Eleusis rider dedication shows battle scenes upon landscape divisions (T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jhr. v. Chr.*, Würzburg 1973, pp. 99–101, pl. 8:2). The Albani rider relief also has landscape elements in the far left corner (*ibid.*, p. 264, note 567). So too *IG* I², 57 (428/9–424/3 B.C.), Svoronos, pl. 205, left; *IG* I², 304 (410/9 B.C.), M. Bieber, "Attische Reliefs in Cassel," *AthMitt* 35, 1910, pl. 4:2.

³¹ There have been many attempts to identify the scenes of the frieze. The latest interpretation is by K. Kerényi, "Zum Fries des Ilissos Tempels," *AthMitt* 76, 1961, pp. 22–24, with earlier bibliography.

³² For example: if the narrative in C and B takes place in the underworld (figures B:2 and B:3 remind one of Theseus and Perithoös in the underworld), we would expect the figures to be portrayed in some isolation (A. Brueckner, "Ein athenischer Theseus-Fries in Berlin und Wien," *ÖJh* 13, 1910, pp. 50–62).

of diagonals or slightly oblique angles. The battle scenes in the friezes of the Nike temple and the Hephaisteion are drawn from a long iconographic tradition, with groups rather than individuals in the paratactic isolation of a heroic duel. In the friezes of the Nike temple, the spaces between are in many places occupied by flying mantles which help link these individual combats.³³

Characteristics of the Ilissos frieze which indicate a date in the mid- to late 430's are the general conception of the relief in full, rounded volumes, the poses of many of the figures, which are almost quotations from the sculpture of the Parthenon or Hephaisteion, the skillful use of perspective and foreshortening, the rendering of the drapery, and the inclusion of continuous landscape elements. There is no compelling reason to date the Ilissos frieze before the frieze of the Parthenon. Indeed, the Ilissos frieze seems to fall stylistically after the frieze of the Parthenon and contemporary with the frieze of the Hephaisteion; but it appears less rich and advanced than the frieze of the Nike temple.

POTTERY FROM THE RETAINING WALL OF THE TEMPLE

There is some archaeological evidence which is helpful for determining the date of the Ilissos temple: the pottery from behind its retaining wall. The site was re-excavated in 1962 by J. Travlos, who discovered the Classical poros retaining wall of the temple, which runs parallel to its northern side.³⁴ The fill behind the retaining wall contained large quantities of poros and marble working chips, a quantity of miniature votive cups, and other pottery sherds. The datable material is not abundant, but the presence of a black-glazed vessel of high quality with a stamped design (1 in the Catalogue) does indicate a date for the deposit surely some time after 450 B.C., and probably well into the third quarter of the century, when such designs were first developed. The votive miniatures unfortunately cannot be dated with any precision.

CATALOGUE

- | | | |
|---|-----------------|--|
| <p>1. Fragments of a sessile kantharos with low handles</p> <p>One handle: pres. H. 0.072, W. 0.03 m.; part of lower wall: pres. H. 0.039, pres. W. 0.062 m.</p> <p>Fine, black glaze. Raised horizontal ridges around cul; incised horizontal grooves dividing mirrored stamped design: round, full palmettes,</p> | <p>Pl. 96:a</p> | <p>crisply executed, with open volutes at bases, linked by stamped half circles. <i>Ca.</i> 440 B.C.</p> <p>Cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, nos. 633–639, pls. 27, 47, fig. 7 (<i>ca.</i> 450–420 B.C.); no. 484 (<i>ca.</i> 450 B.C.); C. Dugas, <i>Délos</i>, XXI, <i>Les vases attiques à figures rouges</i>, Paris 1952, pp. 51–54, no. 186, pl. 47; for decoration, nos. 182, 155, 148, 150, 151, 152 (all from Rheneia pit). M. Pease, "A Well of the Late</p> |
|---|-----------------|--|

³³ The dowel holes on the frieze of the North Porch of the Erechtheion indicate generous intervals between the figures; while there is no general consensus of interpretation of the scenes, it is clear that they differed from the standard repertoire of representation (L. Pallat, "Der Fries der Nordhalle des Erechtheion," *Jdl* 50, 1935, pp. 79–137).

³⁴ J. Travlos, *op. cit.* (footnote 3 above), pp. 112–113, and 'Αρχ'Εφ, 1953/54, B' [1958], pp. 313–314. I thank Mr. Travlos for his kind permission to study the sherds from behind the retaining wall and to include them in this discussion.

Fifth Century at Corinth," *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 276-279, nos. 49-51; B. Sparkes, "Black Perseus," *AntK* 9, 1968, pp. 9-10, London B.M. 64.10-7, 1665 (ca. 450-425 B.C.), Newcastle C1 (ca. 430 B.C.).

2. Salt cellar or pyxis Pl. 96:c

Part of wall: pres. H. 0.0295, pres. W. 0.048, est. diam. 0.055 m.

Fine, black glaze; flat reserved rim sloping inward, reserved groove on wall near bottom. Ca. 460 B.C.

Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 927, 928 (ca. 475-460 B.C.); 1308 (ca. 430 B.C.); P 3915, pls. 34, 43, fig. 9; L. G.-Kahil, *Études thasiennes*, VII, *La céramique grecque*, Paris 1960, pp. 129-130, nos. 47-50, pl. 57 (ca. 400 B.C.); D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, V, *Mosaics, Vases and Lamps*, Baltimore 1933, pl. 189, fig. 1042; *idem*, *Olynthus*, XIII, *Vases Found in 1934 and 1938*, Baltimore 1950, pl. 232, figs. 941, 940, 944 (end of the 5th century).

3. Fragment of a one-handler

Part of foot: pres. H. 0.014, pres. W. 0.051 m.

Semi-glazed type, ring foot. Inside, reserved central disk; outside reserved, glazed inner face of foot. Underside reserved, with two bands.

Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 741 (475-450 B.C.), 742 (ca. 450 B.C.).

4. Fragment of a skyphos Pl. 96:b

Foot and lower wall: pres. H. 0.014, diam. foot 0.033 m.

Corinthian type. Reserved: lower part of wall, top of foot and underside within glazed ring foot. Added red band within reserved zone above foot.

Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 1377, 1378; *Agora* P 29538, P 29722, P 29723 (from Crossroads Sanctuary, T. L. Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971," *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 126-134, 360-369).

Votive Miniatures

5. Krateriskos Pl. 96:d, 1

Pres. H. 0.039, pres. W. 0.042, est. diam. 0.05 m.

Glazed: handle, band below rim, interior. Reserved: rim, decorated with dots; body, decorated with bird and ivy leaf. Thin black band above foot. No plastic indication of shape of foot.

Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1413, for decoration.

6. Cup Pl. 96:d, 2

H. 0.051, diam. 0.072 m. One handle and part of rim missing (restored).

Plain, with red-washed interior. Wheelmade, with vertical handle.

7. Cup Pl. 96:d, 3

H. 0.033, diam. 0.049 m.

Simple cup with two vertical handles, plain and roughly made. This is the best preserved of a large quantity of this type, three nearly intact, and fragments of 50 to 60.

Cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 1438, 1429 (late 5th century). Shape changes little through century: cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1422, P 18011 (ca. 550 B.C.); P 23842 (under no. 1428; 420-400 B.C.); P 12404 (under no. 1434; 350-325 B.C.); and from Crossroads Sanctuary, P 28801, P 28886, P 28800 (T. L. Shear, Jr., *op. cit.* [under 4 above], p. 131, pl. 28:b-d). Note: among these votive miniatures, there are none of the distinctive type usually found in sanctuaries of Artemis. L. G.-Kahil, "Quelques vases du sanctuaire d'Artémis à Brauron," *AntK*, Beiheft I, *Neue Ausgrabungen in Griechenland*, Olten 1963, pp. 5-29; *idem*, "Autour de l'Artémis attique," *AntK* 8, 1965, pp. 20-33; *idem*, "L'Artémis de Brauron: rites et mystère," *AntK* 20, 1977, p. 88; J. Threpsiades and E. Vanderpool, "Themistocles' Sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule," *Δελτ* 19, 1964 [1965], pp. 26-36.

THE ARCHITECTURE

Earlier scholars, who discussed the style of the architecture of the Ilissos temple independently of its frieze, concluded that the temple should be dated shortly before the Nike temple.³⁵ On the basis of the design of the capitals, O. Puchstein and W. R. Lethaby grouped together chronologically the Propylaia, Ilissos temple and Nike temple.³⁶ The close relationship between the plans, proportions, and details of the superstructures of the two temples has been demonstrated further by I. M. Shear, who concludes that Kallikrates designed them both.³⁷

The unusual tetrastyle, amphiprostyle plan of the two temples is among their most striking features; they differ essentially only in the exclusion of a pronaos in the Nike temple (Fig. 1). In the design of the Temple of Athena Nike, it is likely that the addition of a western colonnade to a small prostyle temple was inspired by the need for a balanced and pleasing design to be appreciated from the west; while the eastern end of a temple commonly received the most attention in decoration and siting, the Classical buildings of the Akropolis all show careful consideration for their western aspect, since they are approached from that direction. The design of the Nike temple is essentially a decorative and modernized version of the poros naiskos below it, and this offers the advantage of economy of space with no loss of monumental aspect.

The location and siting of the Ilissos temple indicate that here too aesthetic considerations would have necessarily included and emphasized its western end. The temple stood on a rocky knoll above the banks of the Ilissos; an artificial terrace wall supported the foundations. Its east front faced Hymettos, and its west end was visible from the Akropolis and southeast Athens. If the Ilissos temple had not had a colonnade on its western end, only a bare back corner of a building would have been the view from below for all passersby in the busy area of the Olympieion and the Diomeian Gate. The design of the Ilissos temple is neither a "prototype" nor a "copy" of the Temple of Athena Nike but rather suits its own situation with careful attention to aesthetic advantage.

Since Ionic capitals are the parts of temples most subject to change in style because of their small, detailed decoration, they are especially useful for dating by comparison. The Ionic capitals on the interior colonnade of the central hall of the Propylaia were part of the first phase of construction of the building, and must have been erected by about 436 B.C.³⁸ With its deeply carved echinos, the form of the capitals of the Propylaia renews the purely "Ionic" elements, as opposed to the native Attic form with its emphasis on flat painted design. This new "Akropolis" design may have been developed first for the opisthodomos of the Parthenon.

³⁵ L. Ross, E. Schaubert and C. Hansen, *Der Tempel der Nike Apteros*, Berlin 1839, pp. 10–11 (they believed the Ilissos temple was a copy of the Nike temple); O. Puchstein, *Das ionische Capitell*, Berlin 1887, pp. 14ff.; Lethaby, *op. cit.* (footnote 12 above), pp. 154–157.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Shear, *op. cit.* (footnote 3 above), pp. 377–399.

³⁸ J. A. Bundgaard, *Mnesikles*, Copenhagen 1957, pp. 169–170, figs. 56, 57; pp. 152–154, fig. 53.

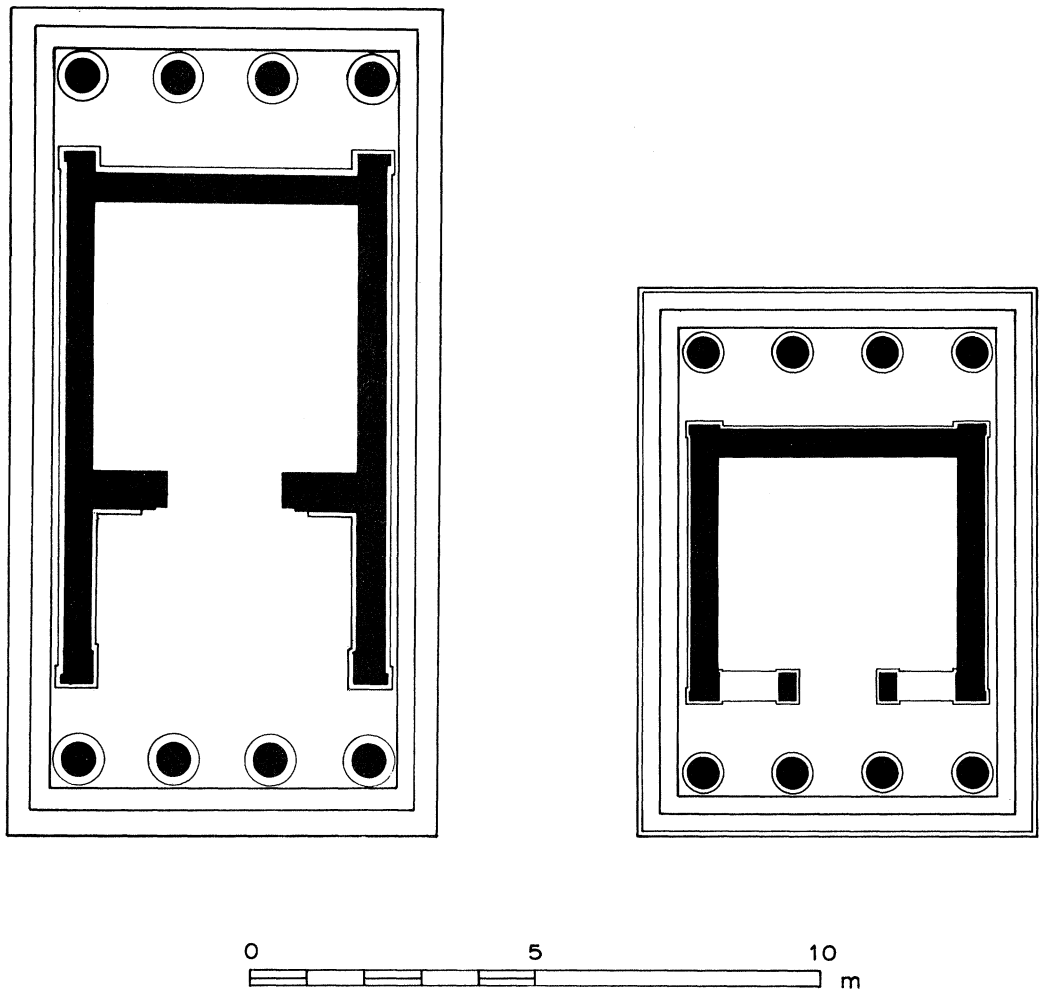


FIG. 1. Plans of the Ilissos temple (after Stuart) and the Temple of Athena Nike (after Ross), drawn to the same scale.

The Ilissos capitals show further development of the “Akropolis” design in their richer detail and more rounded forms, such as the deeper egg-and-dart molding and more naturalistic petals of the corner palmette.³⁹ The corner palmettes of the Ilissos temple capitals overlap the carved egg and dart of the echinos. On the Propylaia capitals, the corner palmettes are confined to the area above the echinos, while on the Temple of Athena Nike, the corner palmettes overlap the echinos to a greater degree than those of the Ilissos temple. Furthermore, on the Ilissos temple, the corner palmettes have a slight upward turn at the tips and closely resemble “flame” palmettes. This

³⁹ Shear, *op. cit.* (footnote 3 above), p. 393. Though we must rely on drawings for the details of the capital, we may assume that especial attention and care were paid it, as evidenced by pl. VII of Stuart and Revett (Pl. 94). Pars’s watercolor (Pl. 91) also supports these details.

is clear in both Pars's and Stuart's (Pl. 94) drawings, and also indicates a date in the 430's B.C., when flame palmettes were first used in architectural decoration.⁴⁰

The choice of moldings for the Ilissos temple and the Temple of Athena Nike was in many cases the same, as Shear has pointed out; the general form of the column bases, the toichobate moldings and the anta capitals (Pl. 95) are closely similar.⁴¹ Because Stuart and Revett provide the basic dimensions of the moldings, it is also possible in several cases to compare their proportions with those of moldings from other buildings.

A Doric hawksbeak was used as an epistyle crown in the pronaos of the Ilissos temple, above a single fascia with a painted anthemion. Its position is similar to hawksbeaks used as epikranitis crowns in Doric buildings. The closest parallels are the hawksbeak on the back of the geison in the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, and the hawksbeak on the exterior frieze backer in the Temple of Apollo at Bassai. The proportions (cf. Fig. 2) are as follows:⁴²

	Depth of ovolo to whole height	Perpendicular of undercut to horizontal chord of undercut	Horizontal chord of undercut to depth of ovolo
Parthenon, cella wall	1:3	1:3.44	1:0.43
Parthenon, back of geison	1:2.9	1:4.23	1:0.52
Ilissos, epistyle crown	1:1.5	1:3.245	(1:1)
Rhamnous, back of geison	1:2	1:2.95	1:0.75
Bassai, back of frieze	1:1.63	1:2.48	1:0.785

This table shows that the form of the hawksbeak in the Ilissos temple follows those of the Parthenon, but is not as developed as those at Rhamnous and Bassai.

⁴⁰ A sketch from Pars's watercolor is illustrated by Lethaby, *op. cit.* (footnote 12 above), p. 154, fig. 153. Cf. the painted palmette on the via of the cornice blocks of the Stoa of Zeus (H. A. Thompson, "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 41-45, fig. 26); and the flame palmette of a Parthenon akroterion (I. S. Mark, "New Fragments of the Parthenon Acroterion," *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 241-244).

⁴¹ There are some differences in the epistyle crowns, as the Ilissos temple has four types. Dinsmoor (*AAG*³, p. 186) even suggested that the "old templates" had been economically re-used in the Temple of Athena Nike; this is unlikely.

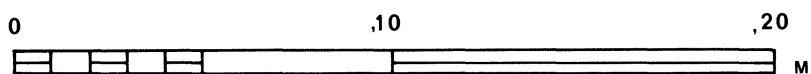
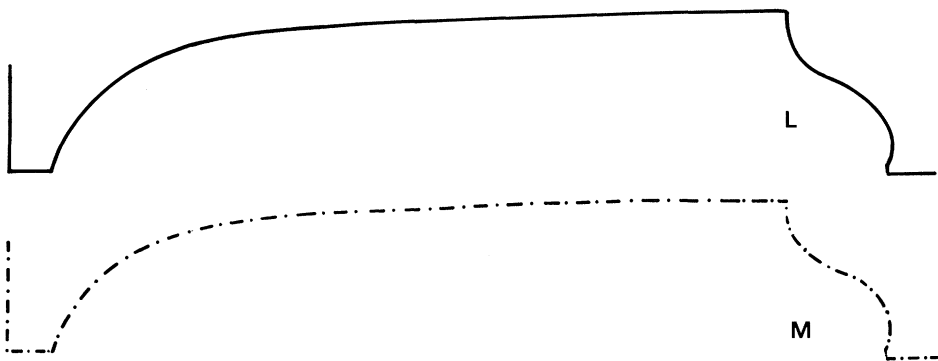
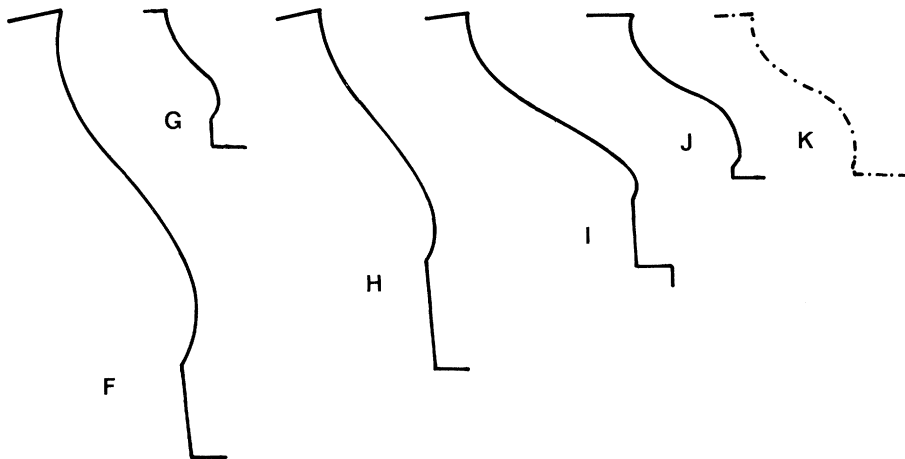
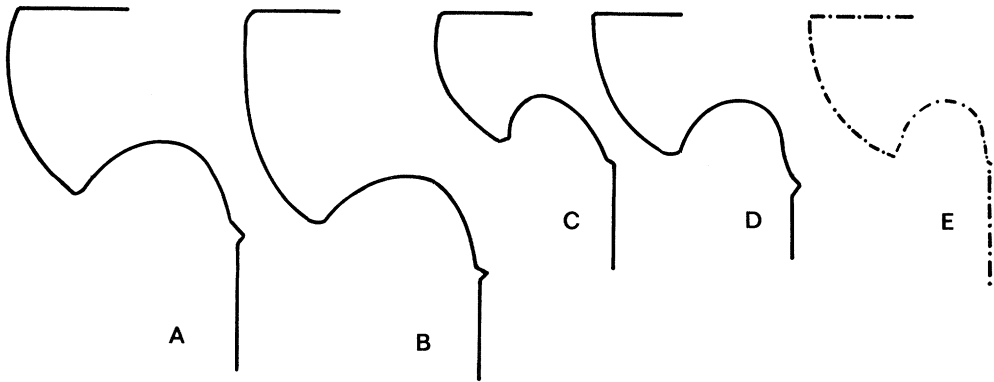
⁴² L. T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, Cambridge, Mass. 1936, pp. 126-128, pl. LXI:4, 8; pl. LX:21, 22. The proportions cited are among those used by Shoe to establish the chronology of the moldings.

FIG. 2. Hawksbeak moldings: A) Parthenon, cella wall. B) Parthenon, back of geison. C) Nemesis, Rhamnous, back of geison. D) Apollo, Bassai, back of exterior frieze. E) Ilissos temple, epistyle crown.

Cyma reversa, geison soffit bed molding: F) Propylaia, Main building. G) Stoa of Zeus. H) Propylaia, Northwest wing. I) Propylaia, Southwest wing. J) Athena Nike. K) Ilissos temple.

Geison: L) Athena Nike. M) Ilissos temple.

(A-D, F-J, L after Shoe; E, K, M, after Stuart.)



It is also possible to compare the basic proportion, depth to whole height, of the cyma reversa used as the geison-soffit bed molding. In the Ilissos temple, as in the Propylaia and the Temple of Athena Nike, the cyma reversa has at its base a "Periklean fillet". The cyma reversa of the Ilissos temple has its closest parallel in the Temple of Athena Nike. The proportions (cf. Fig. 2) are as follows:⁴³

	Depth to whole height
Propylaia, Main building	1:2.38
Stoa of Zeus	1:2.38
Propylaia, northwest wing, southwest, north, and east sides	1:2.43
Propylaia, southwest wing, south side	1:1.17
Ilissos temple	1:1.417
Temple of Athena Nike	1:1.46

In this table, the cyma reversa of the Ilissos temple should be grouped with those of the Propylaia (southwest wing) and of the Temple of Athena Nike.

Stuart and Revett show an astragal molding (0.784" = 0.0199 m.) beneath the cyma reversa of the geison soffit. This astragal molding causes some difficulty in interpreting the form of the geison bed moldings. If it belongs to the geison soffit,⁴⁴ then we would have to reject the frieze slabs, since the height left for the frieze without the astragal is 0.4487 m.⁴⁵ If, however, it belongs to the frieze slab drawn as an example by Stuart and Revett (this is clear on their pl. VIII; here Plate 95:b), the geison drip appears, incorrectly, to hang below the cyma reversa of the soffit. Fortunately, detailed dimensions are given and the curve of the geison drip may be corrected (Fig. 2:M).⁴⁶

Where it is possible to compare the proportions of the profiles of the moldings with those of other buildings, the Ilissos moldings fit properly between the Propylaia and the Temple of Athena Nike. The close architectural relationship between the Ilissos temple and the Temple of Athena Nike, in plan, over-all proportions, the design of the capitals, choice of moldings, and the profiles themselves, makes it very likely that the temples were built within a few years of each other.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 68–70, pl. XXX:4–7; pl. LXXV:5.

⁴⁴ Shear so interprets the astragal; she notes two other places where a base astragal is used on a geison soffit: the Erechtheion, and the naïskos of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma (*op. cit.* [footnote 3 above], p. 397). Studniczka assumes the astragal is a part of the frieze slab "F" attributed by Stuart and Revett (*AntDenk* III, p. 36).

⁴⁵ The height of the frieze of the Nike temple is 0.448 m.

⁴⁶ Figure 2 shows the curve of the soffit of the geison of the Ilissos temple close to that of the Nike temple. The following proportion demonstrates the similarity of the two geisa: in the Ilissos temple, the ratio of the length of the drip, 0.18796 m. (1' 8.2" – [1' 0.4" + .4"]) to the height of the soffit bed molding, 0.04318 m. (1.6" + .1"), equals 4.353. If the two geisa are similar, and if L/H equals 4.353 in the Ilissos temple, in the Nike temple L = 0.19 m., and H should be 0.0436 m.; in fact, it is 0.043 m. Hence the geisa are very close. There is one remaining difficulty with Stuart's drawing: the soffit of the geison projects 0.021 m. beyond the front surface of the frieze, where we would expect the edge of the soffit to be flush with the frieze.

THE DATE OF THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA NIKE

The date of construction of the Temple of Athena Nike itself cannot be set precisely. The initial decree proposing the construction of the Nike temple, *IG I²*, 24, has stimulated much discussion about its date and restoration; it is now clear that the text we have is the main body of the decree, which must have been passed *ca.* 450–446 B.C.⁴⁷ There was considerable delay before execution of the clause of the decree authorizing the temple to be built, since the superstructure was not built until the 420's B.C. There is evidence, however, which indicates that work was begun on the bastion, with the intention of building the temple, perhaps as early as *ca.* 434 B.C. This may be seen in the details of the structural relationship between the bastion and the Propylaia.

At some time after work had begun on the new Propylaia, the bastion upon which the Nike temple now stands was raised 1.80 m. and enlarged. The bastion was sheathed with ashlar masonry of Piraeus limestone on three sides, with its northern wall now aligned with the northern steps of the southwest wing of the Propylaia. The rebuilding of the bastion served to increase considerably the area available for a temple, particularly on the northwest corner, above and to the west of the earlier naiskos. It also reduced the large discrepancy of level between the new Propylaia and any structure on the bastion, which would have appeared aesthetically inharmonious and displeasing. When the bastion was raised, it became an integral part of the Akropolis. Furthermore, easy access to the Nike sanctuary from the east was then provided.

That the bastion was raised after (but not long after) work had begun on the Propylaia is shown by the presence of large quantities of marble working chips beneath the pavement of the bastion. Another indication that the Propylaia was built first is the design of the south "gatepost", pier "W", and of the marble steps between it and the north wall of the bastion (Pl. 93:c). The top eight courses of pier W are marble, above a foundation of poros, and the fillets of the pier tilt slightly to the west. Hence it is probable that originally a matching counterpart to the west was intended, and both were intended to be visible at their full height; they would have provided an attractive entrance to the sanctuary. If pier W was built when the bastion was at its older level, *ca.* 1.80 m. below the present level, then its presence and unusual design may be readily understood.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford 1969, no. 44; A. L. Boegehold, "The Preamble of the Early Athena Nike Decree," *Classical Studies Presented to Ben Edwin Perry*, *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* 58, 1969, pp. 175–180; M. F. McGregor, review in *Phoenix* 24, 1970, pp. 176–182. Recently Bundgaard has attempted to associate this decree with the small poros naiskos beneath the marble temple, "Le sujet de *IG I²* 24," *Mélanges helléniques offerts à Georges Daux*, Paris 1974, pp. 46–49, and *The Parthenon and the Mycenaean City of the Heights*, Copenhagen 1976, pp. 48–53, 168–169. R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford 1972, pp. 496–503, summarizes succinctly the problems involved in the chronology of the Nike temple.

⁴⁸ Bundgaard, *op. cit.* (footnote 38 above), pp. 177–183; earlier views on the construction of the steps: W. Dörpfeld, "Zu den Bauwerken Athens," *AthMitt* 36, 1911, pp. 57–58; G. Welter, "Vom Nikepyrgos," *AthMitt* 48, 1923, pp. 190–201; W. Wrede, "Mnesikles und der Nikepyrgos," *AthMitt* 57, 1932, pp. 74–91; H. Schleif, "Der Nikepyrgos und Mnesikles," *JdI* 48, 1933, pp. 177–184.

As Bundgaard has pointed out, the old threshold of pier W (one half of the postulated gate) agrees precisely with the old level of the bastion; that is, if the eight marble steps leading to the bastion began at the foot of the pier, the top step would reach the top of the old level.⁴⁹ These eight marble steps must have been originally installed, along with pier W, in an early phase of construction of the Propylaia. They provided access to the sanctuary on the bastion, at the older level, when the former approach from the east was temporarily blocked by the construction of the central hall of the Propylaia and the laying of the poros foundations to the west, which became the foundation of the north wall of the southwest wing and of pier W.⁵⁰

The western foundations of the southwest wing, which would have formed the east wall of the sanctuary if the old level of the bastion had been maintained, were of poros and left rough, rather than smoothed and sheathed to form a wall intended to be visible. These poros foundations, together with the details of pier W and the marble steps, indicate that soon after the Propylaia were begun but before the marble courses (including the stylobate) of the southwest wing were laid, the builders had made the decision to raise the bastion.⁵¹ They did this without delay, as is shown by the large quantity of marble working chips from the Propylaia that were used as fill to raise the bastion.⁵²

The raising and sheathing of the bastion directly involved the laying of the foundations for the Temple of Athena Nike. This is indicated by the northwest corner of the bastion, where the foundations are bonded into the sheathing of ashlar masonry, and by the fact that the courses of the western and northern foundations of the temple follow the courses of the bastion wall, level by level.⁵³ The southern and eastern foundations of the temple are not isodomic, as they have no structural connection with the sheathing of the bastion. The lowermost foundations of the temple are therefore necessarily contemporary with the sheathing and raising of the bastion. The inference which one may draw from these structural details is that plans for the raising of the bastion and for the new Nike temple were actually under way in the late 430's.⁵⁴ This brings the chro-

⁴⁹ Bundgaard, *op. cit.* (footnote 38 above).

⁵⁰ The situation which necessitated the building of the steps was therefore a special one created by the features of the Propylaia, and these steps should not be associated with the "door(s)" authorized by *IG I²*, 24 (*pace* Bundgaard, *op. cit.* [footnote 38 above], p. 182, note 366, and *passim*). When the steps and the bastion were raised, a ramp was added which sloped to the east; the sanctuary was then accessible from both the north and the east sides.

⁵¹ Bundgaard, *op. cit.* (footnote 38 above), pp. 178ff., and note 354.

⁵² Welter, *loc. cit.* (footnote 48 above); for a cross section of the chip strata in the approach to the Propylaia, see fig. 2 opposite p. 4 in W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, Mass. 1931; *idem*, *AJA* 33, 1929, pp. 101-102.

⁵³ G. Welter, "Vom Nikepyrgos," *AA [JdI]* 54], 1939, p. 13; N. Balanos, "Ἡ νέα ἀναστήλωση τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀθήνας Νίκης," *Ἀρχ'Ἐφ.* 1937, pp. 783-784.

⁵⁴ Work on the bastion in the mid- to late 430's may well be included in the general tidying provided for in the Kallias decrees of 434/3 B.C. (Meiggs and Lewis, *op. cit.* [footnote 47 above], no. 58; Meiggs, *Athenian Empire* [footnote 47 above], pp. 519-523, 601, *passim*, with bibliography including opposing views on the date of the decree). A. Wilhelm (*AnzWien*, 1901, p. 132) restored εἶργω, "to shut in, enclose, fence," in the three places in the decree where work on the Akropolis is specified along with ἐπισκευάζω, "to restore, repair"; εἶργω is preferable in most respects to νέμω, "to landscape" (for which usage there is

nological relationship between the Ilissos temple and the Nike temple (in its foundations) even closer.

SUMMARY

Although Studniczka's dating of the Ilissos temple and its frieze to *ca.* 450 B.C. has won wide acceptance, a fresh examination of all of the evidence suggests that the temple was built *ca.* 435–430 B.C. The style of the sculptured frieze is not incompatible with a date in the 430's, and sherds from behind the retaining wall of the temple are dated within the third quarter of the century. The developed style of the architecture as drawn by Stuart and Pars, especially that of the capitals and moldings, indicates a date between the construction of the Propylaia and the Temple of Athena Nike. The foundations of the Temple of Athena Nike were probably laid in the late 430's, and so the builders of these two temples must have worked in close succession.

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ATHENS

no ancient parallel); and once *ἰργμενα* is admitted (H. T. Wade-Gery, "The Financial Decrees of Kallias," *JHS* 51, 1931, p. 60) it becomes compelling, although the aorist infinitive may be incompatible. For a parallel usage of *εἰργω* cf. *IG* I², 94, lines 4, 5, 8, 10, 13, 30 (418/7 B.C.). With this restoration, areas around the circuit of the Akropolis were to receive attention, which would have included the bastion.



Watercolor by William Pars (Courtesy of the British Museum)

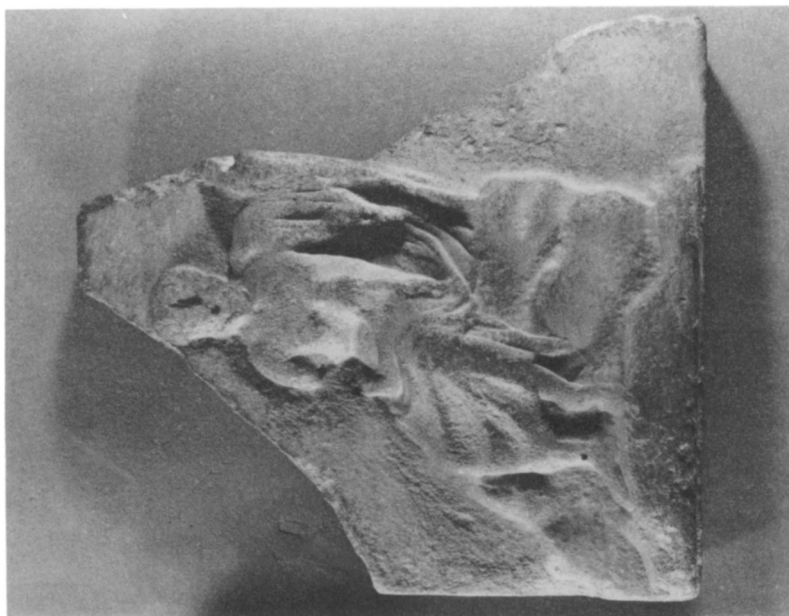
MARGARET M. MILES: THE DATE OF THE TEMPLE ON THE ILISSOS RIVER



a. Ilissos slab B (Courtesy of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin)



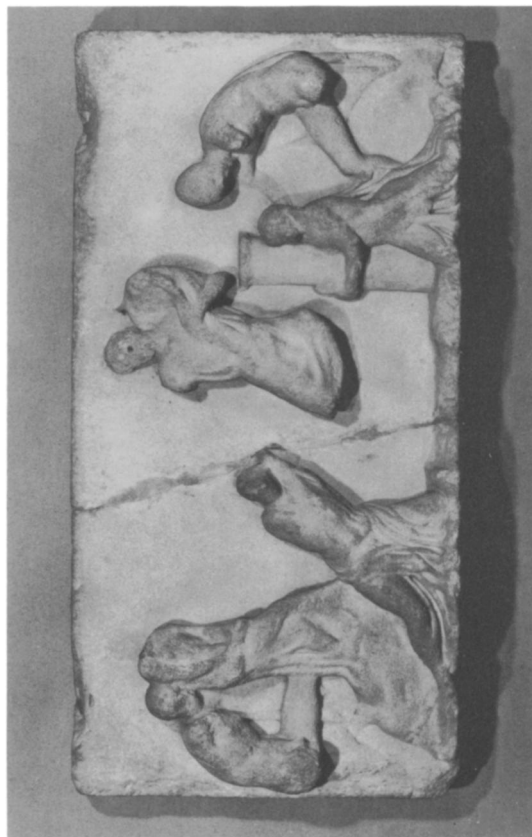
b. Ilissos slab C-2 (Courtesy of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin)



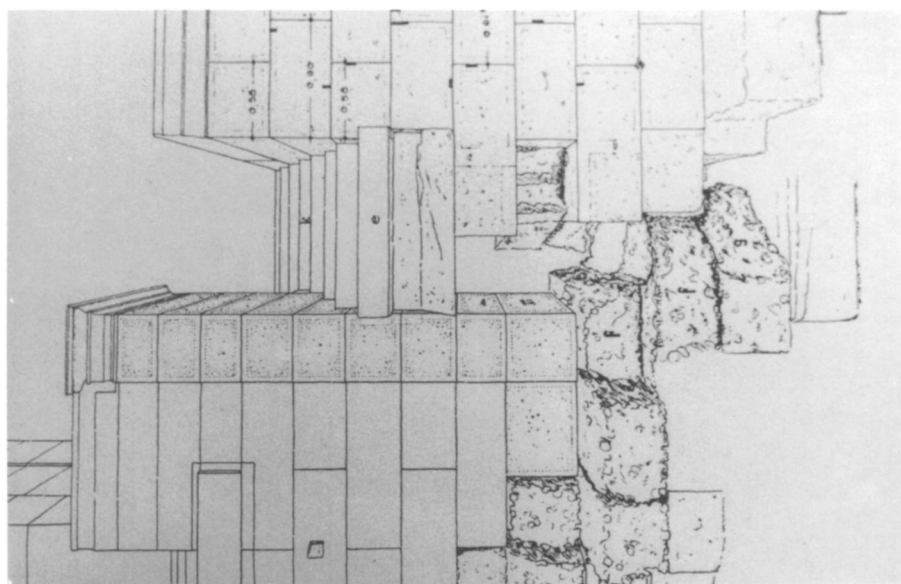
c. Ilissos slab C-1 (Courtesy of the Kunsthistorischen Museum, Vienna)



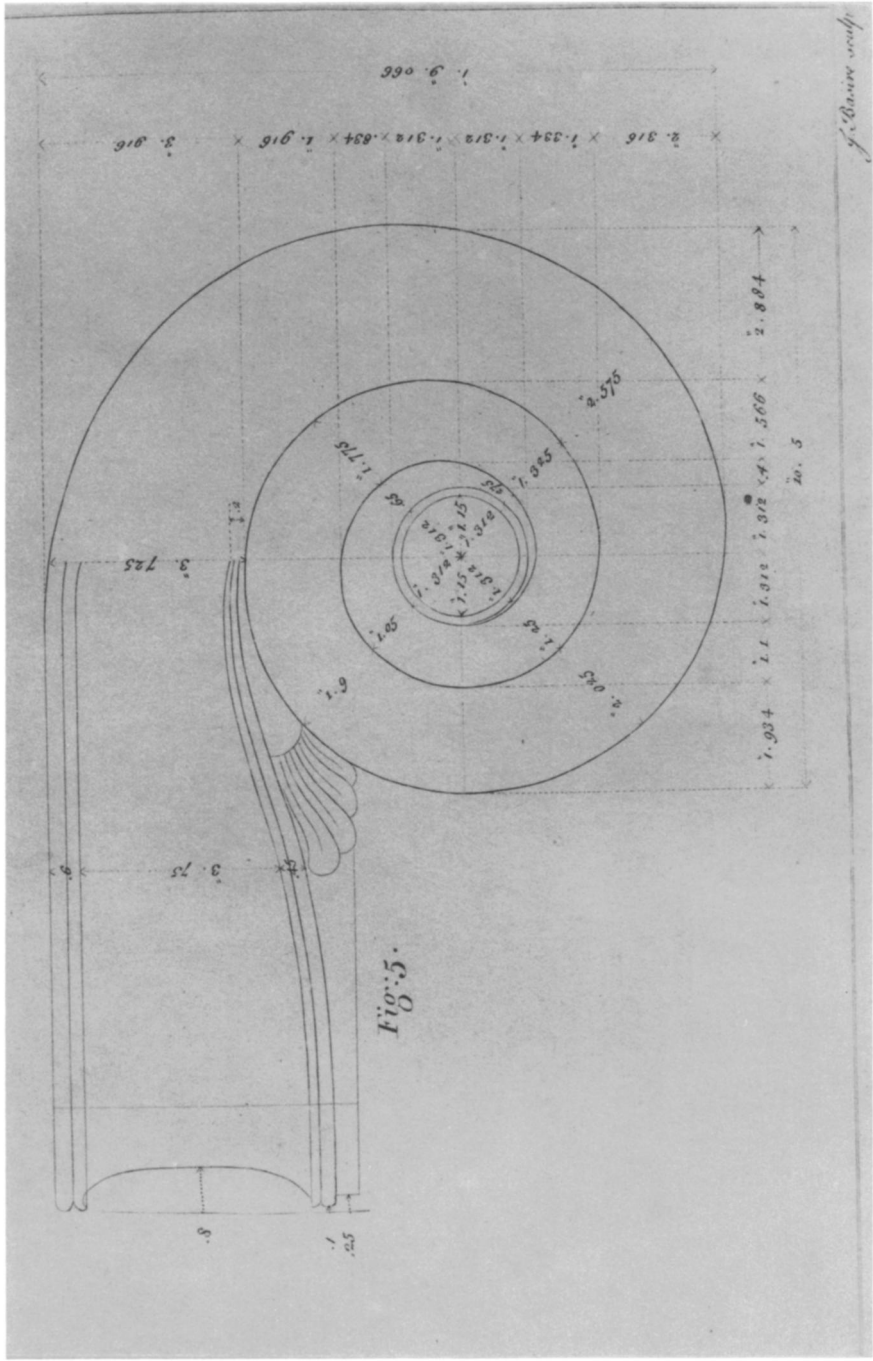
a. Ilissos slab D (Courtesy of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin)



b. Ilissos slab E (Courtesy of the Kunsthistorischen Museum, Vienna)

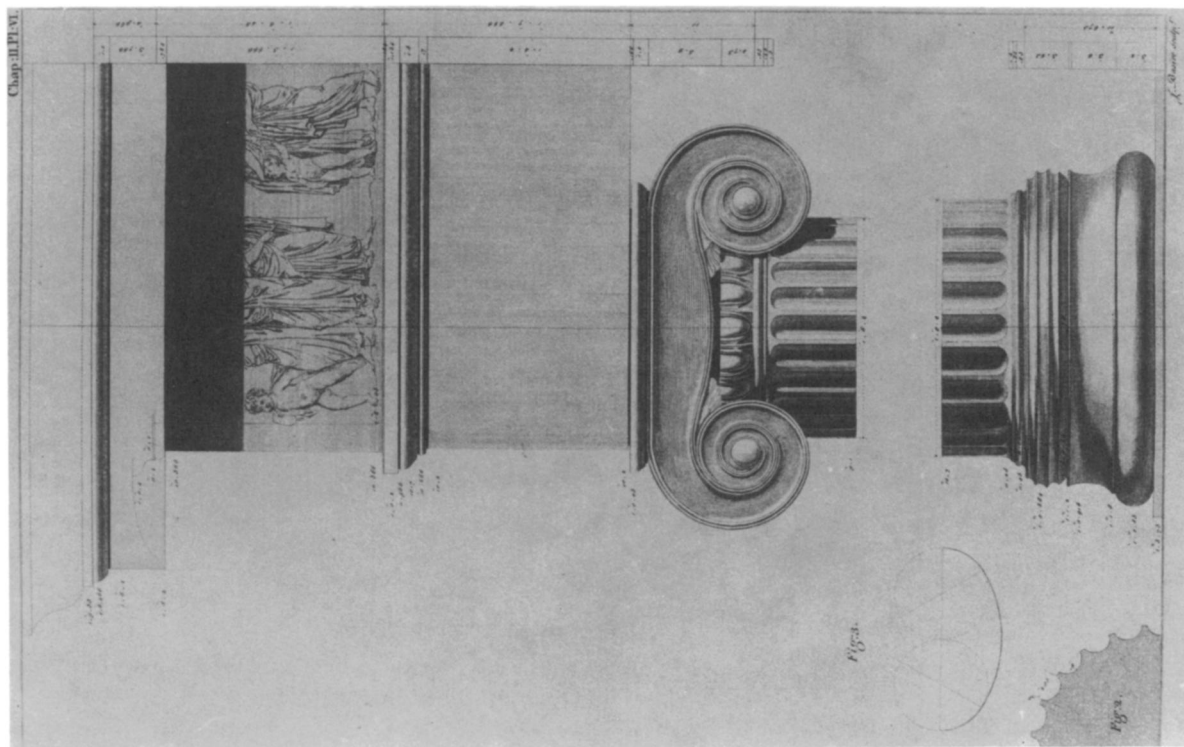


c. Steps to bastion (W. Wrede, *AtbMitt* 57, 1932)

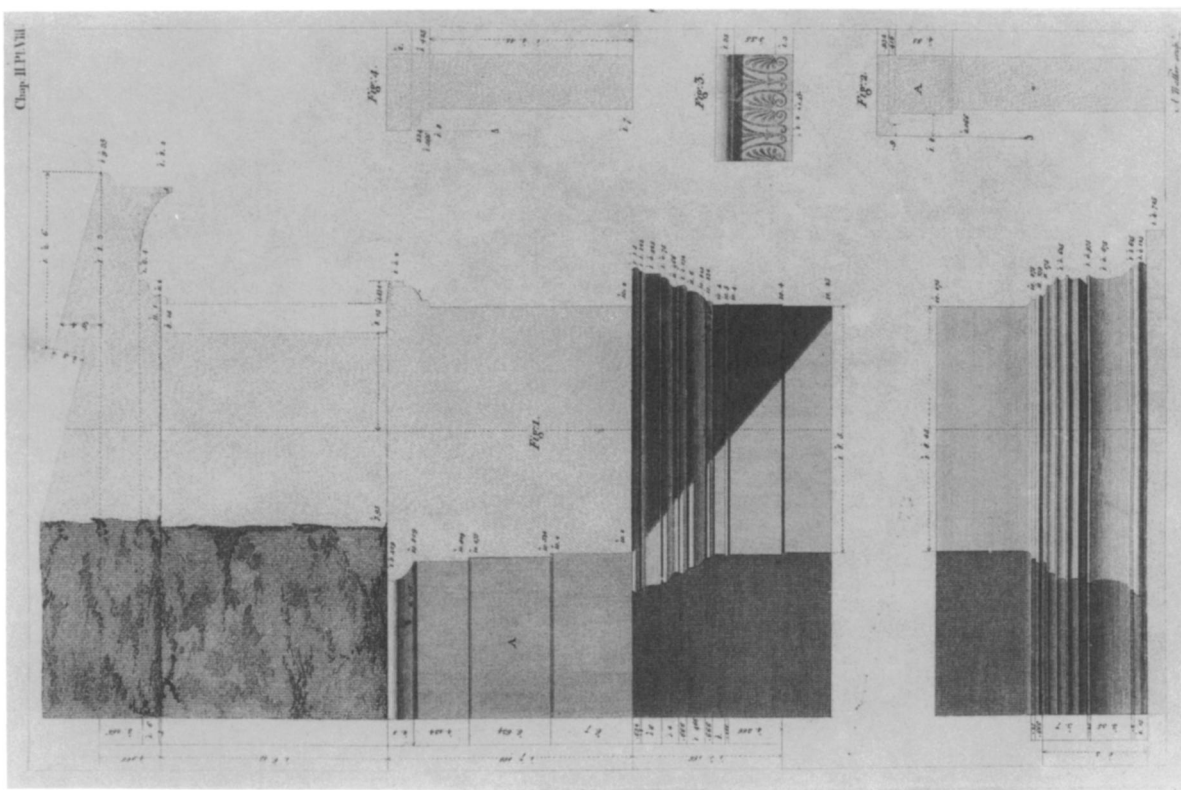


Detail of capital (Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* I, pl. VII)

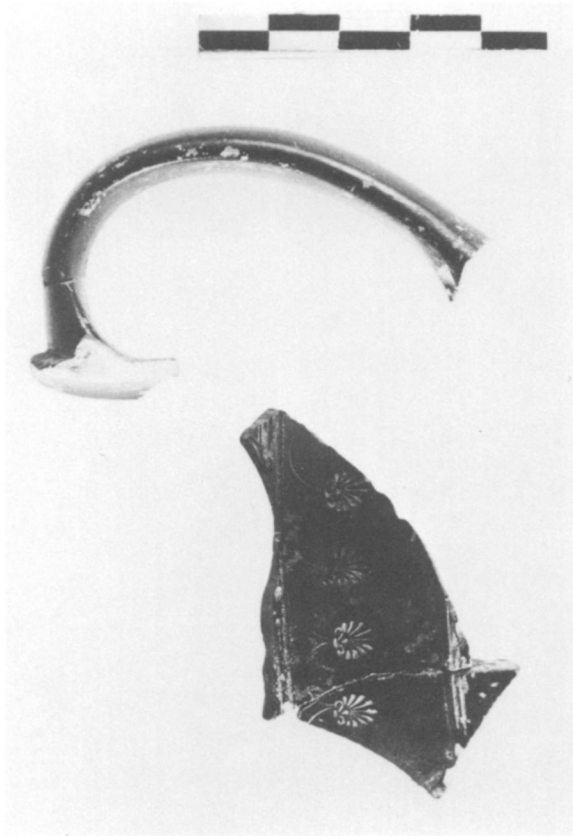
MARGARET M. MILES: THE DATE OF THE TEMPLE ON THE ILISSOS RIVER



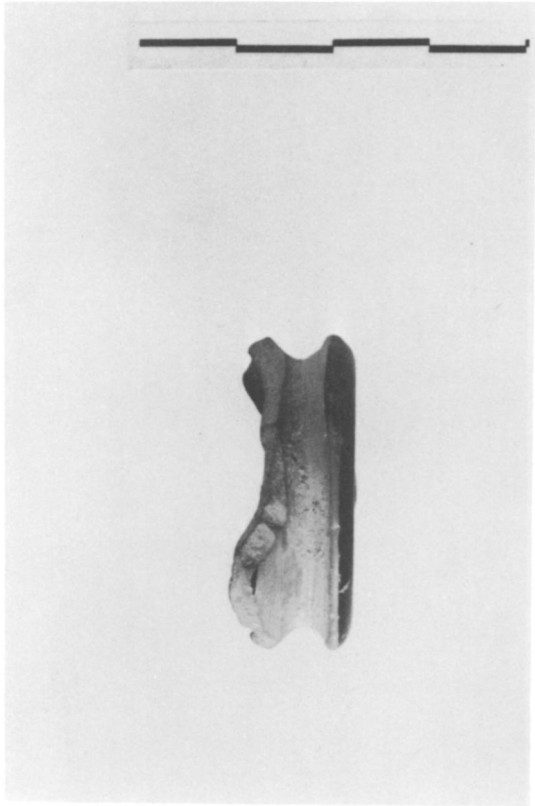
a. Detail of order (Stuart and Revett, pl. VI)



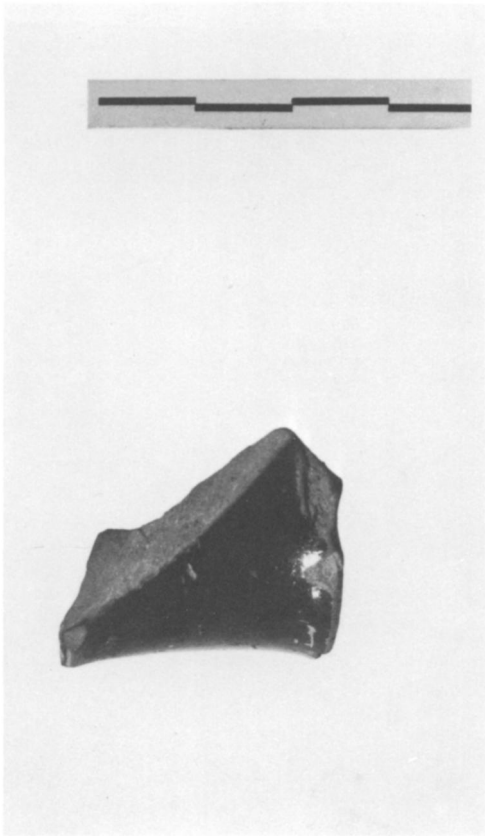
b. Detail of order (Stuart and Revett, pl. VIII)



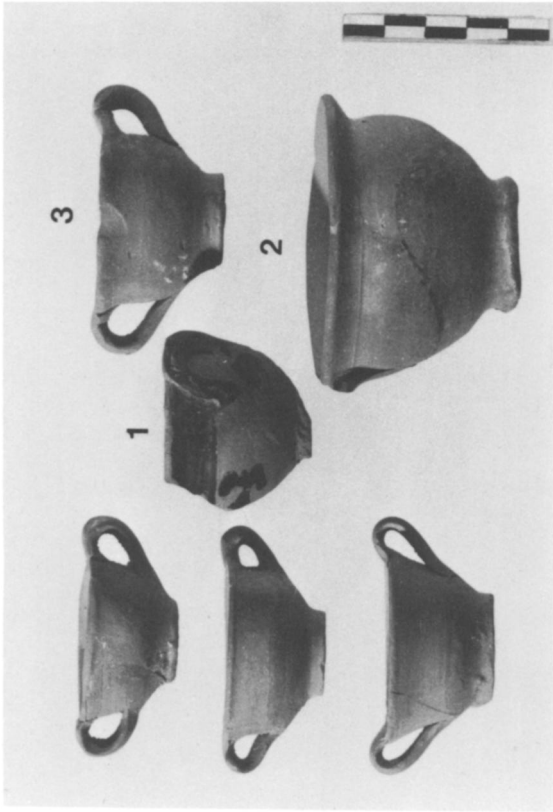
a. Sessile kantharos



b. Skyphos



c. Saltcellar or pyxis



d. Votive miniatures

Pottery from behind the retaining wall of the Ilissos temple