# A GYMNASIUM INVENTORY FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA 

(Plates 61-62)

THIS inscription survives in four fragments broken from a block of Hymettian marble; they were discovered widely scattered over the Agora. ${ }^{1}$ The fragments preserve a part of two, or possibly three, inscribed faces: I 2309, face $a$ preserves eight fragmentary lines from what must have been the main face of the inscription, to judge from the generous spacing between lines, the disposition of the inscribed text into sections, ${ }^{2}$ and the clear traces of horizontal guide lines. I 2309, face $b$ preserves scant letters from eight lines to the right of face $a$. I 5916 and I 1007/1005 belong together and come from the right edge of one of the faces of the block-possibly face $b$ or $c$; the adjacent face to the right of these appears to be uninscribed. They show traces of horizontal guide lines and are not rationed into sections. There is a firm join between I 1007 and I 1005 giving 27 consecutive lines of text and a maximum width of 13 letters ( 0.15 m . at line 44). Professor Colin Edmonson has succeeded in detecting a join between I 5916 and I 1007/1005 which aligns the three fragments on the right edge of the face they belonged to. ${ }^{3}$ Together they give a total of 41 lines for this face; three lines are lost at the break between I 5916 and I 1007/1005. I 1005 ends with an area of 0.086 m . left uninscribed and seems to preserve a part of the base of the block.
A. Fragment inscribed on two adjacent faces, taken from a modern house wall over the East Stoa (O 14), January 17, 1935.

Inv. no. I 2309.
Face $a$ (Pl. 61) :
Height, 0.24 m .; width, 0.26 m. ; thickness, 0.10 m .
Height of letters, $0.007-0.009 \mathrm{~m}$.

[^0]NON－ETOIX．
Face $a$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { vacat } \\
& \text { [------] } \pi \iota o \nu \text { Xá } \rho \eta \tau о \text { s } \\
& \text { [------]каi K } \omega \mu \omega \iota \delta i ́ a \quad v \\
& \text { vacat }
\end{aligned}
$$

Face $b$（Pl．61）：
Height， 0.24 m ；width， 0.093 m ；thickness， 0.26 m ．
Height of letters，0．006－0．008．m．

## NON－ミTOIX．

Face $b$

|  | ［．．．c．${ }^{\text {ca．}} .6$ ］K［－－－－－］ |
| :---: | :---: |
| 10 | ［．${ }^{\text {a } .5 .5}$ ．$]$ ION［－－－－－］ |
|  | ［．．．．］ȚH亡［－－－－－］ |
|  | ［．．．．］IOr［－－－－－］ |
|  | ［．．．］ミXA［－－－－－］ |
|  | ［．．］\АММП［－－－－－］ |
| 15 | ［．．］$\frac{\text { ¢ } ~}{\text { d }}$［ $[-----]$ |
|  |  |

B（Pl．62）．Three fragments of Hymettian marble，preserving a part of the right edge of one of the faces of the inscription．

1．Found June 5，1946，in a modern house wall over the area of the Civic Offices （I 12）．
Height， 0.21 m ．；width， 0.13 m ；thickness， 0.08 m ．
Height of letters， $0.006-0.009 \mathrm{~m}$ ．
Inv．no．I 5916.
2 and 3．Found June 22 and 23，1933，in a modern foundation wall north of the Temple of Ares（K 6）．
Height as joined， 0.56 m. ；as joined with I $5916,0.76 \mathrm{~m}$ ．；width， 0.15 m ．； thickness， 0.28 m ．
Height of letters， $0.006-0.009 \mathrm{~m}$ ．
Inv．nos．I 1007 and I 1005.

## NON-ETOIX.

I 1007



A date within the second quarter of the 2 nd century b.c. is suggested by the letter forms which show the main characteristics of the "tachygraphic" style of ca. 170-135 в.с.: " a sigma the bottom stroke of which begins mid-way of the third hasta;" "an epsilon the bottom stroke of which extends above and below the horizontal strokes;" "a tau with a horizontal stroke which extends more to the left than to the right of the upright;" "a $p i$ with the horizontal hasta extending beyond the perpendicular strokes." The language of W. K. Pritchett describes it as well as any. ${ }^{4}$ The alphas are often open at the top. The presence of horizontal guide lines on face $a$ of I 2309 points to the same rough date. ${ }^{5} \mathrm{El}$ for HI in lines 37 and the spelling of $\pi \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \epsilon \kappa \delta{ }^{\nu} \nu$ in line 42 help only to put the inscription in the third or second centuries b.c., or even later. ${ }^{6}$ Without patronymics or demotics, the names mentioned in the inscription cannot fasten the inscription to a more precise date than that of the "tachygraphic" script. A Hermokles is named twice, in the genitive case (lines 44 and 52) ; a Chares once, again in the genitive (line 6). There are other names in the genitive case, possibly seven more. A Hermokles figures in a prytany list from 166/165, and a Chares appears in a similar document from 155/154. ${ }^{7}$ But these names are common in Attic epigraphy and here they have no patronymics or demotics to help secure them more precisely. In any case, it is not certain that Chares, Hermokles, and Eucheir (whose name can be restored in line 59) were Athenians. More likely, they were not. In the case of - $\iota \mu \rho \chi^{\prime}$ íov in line 57, we must have an Athenian or at least someone born in Attica (Thorikos), and with him we have a rough date for the inscription. Pliny (N.H. XXXIV.52) calls his father, Polykles, one of those who " restored" art after the 156th Olympiad (156-153 в.c.). We will see that the name Timarchides is one of the most important clues to putting together the puzzle of this fragmentary inscription.

The divine names are better preserved and even more revealing: we have a Centaur or Centaurs (line 3), the Kouretes (line 4), Komoidia (and her companion Tragoidia, who can be restored in line 7), Asklepios (twice, in lines 19 and 24, and
${ }^{4}$ In Hesperia 16, 1947, pp. 188-189; cf. Kirchner, Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum, Berlin 1935, nos. 102, 104.
${ }^{5}$ Such guide lines in non-stoichedon inscriptions are attested in Attic epigraphy for roughly the period of the " tachygraphic script" (са. 170-135 в.с.) ; cf. IG II', 947 ; Agora I 6367 (Hesperia 26, 1957, pp. 47-51).
${ }^{6}$ Meisterhans-Schwyzer, Grammatik det attischen Inschriften ${ }^{3}$, Berlin 1900, pp. 29 and 41.
${ }^{7}$ Meritt and Traill, The Athenian Agora, XV, Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors, Princeton 1974, no. 216, line 17 for Hermokles, and no. 225, line 75 for Chares. Other proper
 58 (rov).
surely to be restored in line 20), Hermes (line 35), Hygieia (line 20), Artemis (twice, in lines 46 and 55), the Muses (line 51), and Hermaphroditos (line 54). All are the names of gods and demigods listed in the nominative case, and, since some of these are further designated by either a stone type or some other attribute, they are the names of gods figuring in a list of statuary.

One has not far to go to discover where these statues were housed. Not only are these pieces of sculpture described by a name in the genitive, or some description, either the type of stone they were cut from ${ }^{8}$ or some other characteristic (" seated," line 49 , "wearing a chiton that reaches to the foot," line 48), but their location is given by reference to an exedra (lines 45 and 50; possibly to be restored in line 36) and a $\beta a \lambda \beta$ is (line 37 ). These details make it clear that the names listed in the genitive case are not the names of donors, but the names of sculptors, and that the building that housed this impressive collection of statuary was a gymnasium, with its $\delta \rho o ́ \mu o s$ and starting base ( $\beta a \lambda \beta i \mathbf{s}$ ) and the exedrae which were the center of the intellectual life of a Greek gymnasium and a fine and natural setting for statuary. The Suda describes a $\beta a \lambda \beta i$ s as a " low base, which served as both the starting line


Twice on this same face it appears that some pieces of statuary are described as standing in an exedra (lines 45 and 50). Exedrai were the most conspicuous feature of a gymnasium: they were to its intellectual life what the $\beta a \lambda \beta$ is was to the training of the body. So they are described by Vitruvius in his account of the palaistra: Constituantur autem in tribus porticibus exhedrae spatiosae, habentes sedes, in quibus philosophi, rhetores reliquique, qui studiis delectantur, sedentes disputare possint (De Architectura V.11.2). ${ }^{10}$ It is precisely this part of the gymnasium that a wealthy benefactor to the educational life of a city chose for his gift of a statue; he wanted it to stand $\dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\varphi} \dot{\epsilon} \pi \tau \iota \phi \alpha \nu \epsilon \sigma \tau \alpha ́ \tau \omega \tau o ́ \pi \omega .{ }^{11}$

[^1]The associations of the divinities listed in this inventory are precisely those of
 Hermes is there, and it would be surprising if the complete inventory did not also record a statue of Herakles. We have an Artemis, and the pair Asklepios and Hygieia, and with them an attendant ( $\theta \epsilon \rho a ́ \pi \omega \nu$, line 21 ). The Kouretes were somehow represented, possibly some with shields and others offering food ( $\tau \rho a \gamma \dot{\eta} \mu a \tau \alpha$, line 2) to the infant Zeus. These embody the physical side of the training an ephebe received at a gymnasium- $\tau \hat{\eta} s \pi \epsilon \rho \grave{~} \tau o ̀ ~ \sigma \hat{\omega} \mu \alpha \dot{\alpha} \sigma \kappa \eta, \sigma \epsilon \omega \mathrm{~s}$-in the language of an ephebic inscription ( $I G I I^{2}$, 1041, line 13). Representing the other side of his education are Komoidia; it is very likely that Tragoidia appeared with her (line 7) ; we have
 RE VII (1912), cols. 2022-2023. Hermes and Herakles are, of course, the gods of a Greek gymnasium, the $\kappa a \theta i \delta \rho v \not \mu \epsilon v o \iota \dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau \omega \gamma v \mu \nu a \sigma i s$ 63 , and Hermes is one of the gods of this inscription, line 35). The relevant text is Pausania I.17.2:

 Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia, Princeton 1957, no. 458) ; see further, footnote 20 below.

As for Asklepios, Hygieia, and their attendant ( $\theta \epsilon \rho a \alpha^{\prime} \omega \nu$ ) (line 21) and $\pi a i \hat{\delta} \epsilon s$ (possibly recoverable in line 18), they are quite at home in a gymnasium. In Smyrna there was a gymnasium dedicated to Asklepios in early Imperial times (Delorme, Gymnasion, p. 134, note 6). Some of the connections between Asklepios and the activities of the gymnasium are brought out by Louis Robert, Etudes anatoliennes: Recherches sur les inscriptions greques de l'Asie Mineure, Paris 1937, pp. 68-72, esp. 70, note 8. Not surprisingly, statues of Asklepios and Hygieia have been found in the gymnasium of Salamis in Cyprus, Vassos Karageorgis and C. C. Vermeule, Sculptures from Salamis I, Nicosia 1964, nos. 15, 16, 18. This evidence for the presence of Asklepios in Greek gymnasia comes from Imperial times, and as no surprise; nor does the inevitable association of Asklepios and Hygieia in our inscription; it is amply illustrated by the descriptions of statuary listed in Emma and Ludwig Edelstein, Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonia, Baltimore 1945, T 638, T 639, T 641, among many other examples (none from gymnasia).

The statue of Artemis (line 47) has its parallel, if a " parallel" is needed, from the gymnasium of Sicyon, Pausanias II.10.7. ['A $\pi \sigma^{\prime}$ ] $\lambda \lambda \omega$ [ $\nu \nu$ ] is possible as a restoration in line 8. Anth. Pal. II. 102 (with IX. 783 and Martial, XIV.174) has been taken as evidence that Hermaphroditos, (line 4.14, had his place in gymnasia. Such a figure must be described by "Hermathena" Cicero wanted to install in his Tusculan gymnasium, Ad Att. I.9.3.

The others present in our gymnasium need no justification for being there. They show how far out of date Ziehen's " Ornamenta $\gamma v \mu \nu a \sigma t \omega \delta \eta$," Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift 20, 1906, pp. 636-640, 668-671, and Oehler's Pauly-Wissowa article of 1912 have become, especially since the publication of the gymnasium inventory from Delos (see below, footnote 14). Muses are known to have been represented in the Academy, $\Sigma$ ad Soph. O. C. 56; Olympiodorus, Vita Platonis 4.14, but the Centaur (Chiron) is new, as are the Kouretes, Komoidia (and almost certainly Tragoidia). The Kouretes have clear associations with the young and their name is naturally associated with кov́poı ( $\nu$ éor) in the Suda (Adler, s.v.) ; cf. Aeschylus, fr. $313 \mathrm{~N}^{2}$; Dionysios of Halikarnassos, II. 70 ; Strabo, X.3.9, 11; and generally, H. Jeanmaire, Couroi et courètes, Lille 1939. Lucretius, II. 637-643 points to the fitness of the Kouretes as paradigms for the young and civic education of the young.
${ }^{13}$ Tvítos (or túmıv) as a relief is common in inventories; e. g. the great inventory of the shrine of Asklepios, $I G \mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1534, lines 35, 36; Agora inv. no. 197 I 58, lines 5, 11 (Hesperia 3, 1934, p. 51).
a relief ( $\tau \boldsymbol{v} \pi \boldsymbol{\pi} \boldsymbol{s}$ ) with Centaurs or a Centaur (probably Chiron) $;^{13}$ and there are the Muses and the ambiguous Hermaphroditos.

This is the only example of a gymnasium inventory from Attic epigraphy. One has to go to Delos and the second period of Athenian control over this island to find something similar, and this inscription was considered as unique of its kind by Jean Audiat who published it in $1930 .{ }^{14}$ The inventory from Delos was drawn up under the archonship of Kallistratos $(156 / 155)$ as part of the general stocktaking of objects housed in the public buildings of Delos. In some respects it bears a resemblance to the gymnasium inventory from the Agora, but this is not at all surprising and the points of resemblance are not striking. In their rationale and format, the two inventories are different enough in important details to show that the inventory discovered in Athens is not an $\dot{\alpha} \nu \tau i \gamma \rho a \phi o \nu$ of an inventory from Delos. ${ }^{15}$

The inventory from Delos begins: ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{E} \nu \tau \hat{\varphi} \gamma v \mu \nu a \sigma^{\prime}(\omega$. Dedications are then listed under the headings $\chi \alpha \lambda \kappa \hat{\alpha}$ (lines 118-143); ( $\chi \alpha \lambda \kappa \hat{\alpha}) \stackrel{\alpha}{\alpha} \sigma \tau \alpha \tau \alpha$ (lines 143-146); and $\lambda_{i} \theta_{\imath \nu}$ (lines 146-148). The document ends with a listing of the dedications located
 It seems that the bronzes are noticed in the order of the administrators' tour of the gymnasium, since they are listed by their location, a brief description, and the name of their donor: "to the left of the dressing room, (you find) an Eros about two feet high and hydria on a stone base, a dedication of Oineus ( $\dot{\epsilon}_{\boldsymbol{\epsilon}}^{\boldsymbol{\alpha}} \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon-$
 lines 125-126). All objects are listed in the accusative case, following the formula: "As you enter the colonnade, you find to your right" ( $\epsilon i \sigma \iota o ́ v \tau \omega \nu$ $i \boldsymbol{i} \boldsymbol{\tau} \pi=\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \iota o \nu$, line 119). As is the practice in the inventories of temples and shrines, the objects housed in this gymnasium are listed as dedications- $\dot{a} \nu \alpha \dot{\alpha} \theta \epsilon \mu a \tau o \hat{v} \delta \epsilon i ̂ \nu a$.

By contrast, the objects listed in the gymnasium inventory from the Agora appear in the nominative case, and although the statuary is described by a proper name there is no trace of the word $\dot{\alpha} \nu \dot{\alpha} \theta \epsilon \mu \alpha$ or formula $\hat{o} \dot{\alpha} \nu \dot{\alpha} \theta \epsilon \mu a$. With the exception of $\delta$ v́o in line 5 , there are no clear numbers preserved. Proper names, when they occur in the genitive case, cannot be the names of donors. The Hermokles who is mentioned twice, and Chares who is mentioned once, must be sculptors. - tipos in line 59 is almost certainly Ev̋ $\chi \epsilon \iota \rho o s$, and in the case of Eucheir too we must have the name of the sculptor responsible for one of the pieces that decorated this Hellenistic gymnasium. Pliny knew him as the sculptor of athletes, armed men, and men engaged in the hunt and sacrifice (athletas autem et armatos et venatores sacrifican-

[^2]tesque [fecerunt] Baton, Euchir, N.H. XXXIV.91). ${ }^{16}$ As for the names Hermokles and Chares, they seem to belong to two Rhodian sculptors, both active early in the 3rd century в.c., whose work might possibly have been displayed in one of the Hellenistic gymnasia of Athens. The last object listed on I 1007 (line 54) is a statue of Hermaphroditos, and curiously enough Hermokles is associated with just such an ambiguous figure. Lucian describes one of his works, a Kombabos he did in bronze on the commission of Seleukos Nikator, as rendering a woman's form but clothed
 of Lysippos, was a sculptor too, but best known for a work on a grander scale. ${ }^{18}$

This leaves Timarchides, whose name is certainly preserved at line 57. Here we come as close as we can to a date for this inscription. Pliny names Timarchides, along with Eucheir, in his alphabetical list of the sculptors who made statues of athletes and armed men (among other things, N.H. XXXIV.91). Earlier on in this same book, Pliny had mentioned his father, Polykles Athenaios, as one of the small group of sculptors responsible for a minor renaissance of their art in the middle of the 2nd century b.c.: cessavit deinde ars (after the first decade of the 3rd century) ac rursus Olympiade CLVI revixit (N.H. XXXIV.52). This would put our inscription towards the bottom of the period of the "tachygraphic" script and some decades after the inventory of Kallistratos, a document drawn up just as the art of sculpture was beginning to "come to life again." Timarchides is known for an Apollo Kitharoidos, and he and his brother Timokles are responsible for the statue of Athena Kranaia in her sanctuary above Elateia (in Phocis) and the bearded Asklepios in the temple of Asklepios in Elateia itself. ${ }^{19}$

If these tantalizing fragments represent a small part of an inventory of one of the gymnasia of Hellenistic Athens, they offer, incomplete as they are, the most extensive evidence which has come to light for the furnishing of a Greek gymnasium. It remains to ask just why this inventory was drawn up. It cannot be a copy, set up in Athens, of a gymnasium inventory from Delos. Nor does it belong to that familiar genre of public record which gives an accounting of the holdings of a temple or shrine as responsibility for these holdings is transferred from one board of super-

[^3]visors to another. There seems to be nothing else quite like it in the world of Greek epigraphy, and one is left with a question to which there can be, with the evidence at hand, no convincing or conclusive answer: was this gymnasium inventory inscribed on a statue base, and did this base support the statue of one of the Ptolemies, the Ptolemy who gave his name to the Ptolemaion, and who might have stood on top of this block that served as both a base and an inventory before his gymnasium? ${ }^{20}$

## Diskin Clay

The Johns Hopkins University


#### Abstract

${ }^{20} \mathrm{~A}$ bronze statue of Ptolemy stood in the gymnasium called the Ptolemaion, Wycherley, op. cit. (footnote 12 above), no. 458. The Ptolemy whose statue Pausanias saw is usually taken to be Ptolemy II Philadelphus ( $285-246$ b.c.). If this inscription is in fact a record of the generosity of one of the Ptolemies and the statues listed in this inventory are gifts of the king who founded the gymnasium which housed them, the Ptolemy honored by the bronze statue Pausanias saw must be Ptolemy VI Philometor (181-145 в.c.), as Homer Thompson suggested, Hesperia 22, 1950, p. 322. This Ptolemy was not the only Hellenistic king to be honored by a statue erected in a gymnasium which was his benefaction to a city. The gymnasiarch at Pergamon had a statue of Attalos III erected in a gymnasium which was, whole or in part, his gift to the city, AthMitt 33, 1908, pp. 376-377. Later, a statue (whose base survives) of Tiberius was erected in the gymnasium of Lepethus (Cyprus), OGIS 583.




I 2309, face a


I 2309, face b
Diskin Clay: A Gymnasium Inventory from the Athenian Agora


I 5916


I $1007+$ I 1005


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ This has been as diplomatic a text as I have been able to make it. My thanks go first to Professor Colin Edmonson who first introduced me to it and its problems; to Professor Gerald Lalonde who has commented on this manscript in most of its many stages; and to Jenny Strauss Clay who saw a relief of a four-footed philosopher in line 3.
    ${ }^{2}$ What is preserved of face $a$ of the inscription breaks down into three sections, marked off by spaces of 0.022 m . between lines 4 and 5 and lines 7 and 8 . The generous uninscribed spaces at line ends are indicative of an effort to avoid breaking up words or groups of words.
    ${ }^{3}$ The striation of the marble is uniform for I 5916 and I 1007/1005. This and the rough reworking of the right hand edge of these fragments which continues from I 5916 to I 1007/1005 show that they once belonged together.

[^1]:    ${ }^{8}$ Hymettian, lines 40,41 , and 60 , for which this seems to be the first epigraphical attestation; Pentelic, line 42 ; $\lambda i \theta_{o \iota}$ (possibly a compound) in line 51 ; and alabaster in line 53 . Possibly $\left.\bar{\epsilon}\right] v$ $\phi a \iota \hat{\varphi}$, line 27, describes some type of stone.
    ${ }^{9}$ The $\beta a \lambda \beta$ 's in this inscription could be the scored starting base giving a purchase to a racer's foot at one end of the paradromis of a gymnasium; cf. O. Broneer in Archaeology 56, 1956, pp. 268-271; $\mathbf{\Sigma}$ ad Aristophanis Equites 1159; and Jean Delorme, Gymnasion: Etude sur les monuments consacrés à l'education en Grèce, Paris 1960, pp. 286-292 (on the "piste"); he takes the $\beta a \lambda \beta$ 's of a running course as a " rectangle tracé sur le sol," p. 295.
    ${ }^{10}$ Vitruvius' description of exedrae brings to mind earlier scenes from the gymnasia of Athens in Plato's Lysis 206 E ; Charmides 153 A and 155 D ; for the exedra in gymnasia, see now Salvatore Settis, " 'Esedra'e ' ninfeo' nella terminologia architettonica del mondo romano," in Aufstieg and Niedergang der römischen Welt, ed. H. Temporini, IV, Berlin 1973, pp. 670-672.
    ${ }^{11}$ Delorme, op. cit. (footnote 9 above), p. 370 ; for use of this phrase see references, ibid., p. 369, note 1. Jean Audiat calls the exedra of the gymnasium of Delos " véritablement le cœur du gymnase," Délos, XXVIII, Le Gymnase, Paris 1970, p. 38. For statues located in the exedrai of gymnasia, cf. Delorme, op. cit, pp. 370-372, and IG XII 3, 1091 (Melos) тáv $\tau \epsilon \mathfrak{\epsilon} \xi \in \delta \rho a \nu$ кaì тò ( ${ }^{\prime} \gamma a \lambda \mu a$ ), where the word ${ }^{\prime} \gamma a \lambda \mu a$ is a restoration.

[^2]:    ${ }^{14}$ Inscr. Délos, no. $1417 ; B C H 54,1930$, pp. 93-139, reprinted with a new discussion in Jean Audiat, Délos, XXVIII, Le Gymnase, Paris 1970, pp. 95-98.
    ${ }^{15}$ This possibility is suggested by the discovery of an inscription from the Athenian Agora listing the holdings of the temple of Apollo in Delos; Hesperia 3, 1934, pp. 51-53. P. Roussel identified the document in $B C H$ 48, 1934, pp. 96-100.

[^3]:    ${ }^{16}$ Pausanias, VIII.14.10. Overbeck, Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen, Leipzig 1868, nos. 2235-2244.
    ${ }^{17}$ De Dea Syria, 26. Overbeck, Schriftquellen, no. 2044.
    ${ }^{18}$ Chares is the sculptor of the colossus of Rhodes, Pliny, N.H. XXXIV.41, 44 ; Overbeck, Schriftquellen, no. 1539.
    ${ }^{19}$-tuapxíov in line 57 is unmistakably Timarchides. There is a break in the stone which leaves only a trace of the bottom of a vertical which I take to be rho. Pausanias saw his statue of Asklepios in Elateia, X.34.6, and in the sanctuary of Athena Kranaia above Elateia he saw his statue of Athena with a shield, which was a copy ( $\left.\mu^{\prime} \mu \eta \mu a\right)$ of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon, X.34.8. The presence of the word or epithet $\pi a \rho \theta$ '́vov in line 56 prompts the question: Did Timarchides make another copy of this statue for a gymnasium in Athens? For the other literary testimonia, cf. Overbeck, Schriftquellen, nos. 2208-2213.

