

ATHENIAN IONIC CAPITALS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 33–49)

THE CAPITAL¹ that crowned the column which either was used in the Ionic order of architecture or stood alone as a monument has a long history from Archaic times in Greek lands until modern times throughout the western world with relatively few breaks in the continuity. Throughout those centuries, in spite of variations in proportions of the whole capital and its several parts, there has been a canonical form: the edges of the volutes on both front and back (if not all four) faces and the egg-and-dart ornament on the ovolo profile of the necking between volute and column are carved in the stone whether there is also carved ornament on the whole width or only on the center of the bolsters. The variations² in form found in Graeco-Roman centuries that result from wide variations in proportions or decoration have usually been attributed to differences in chronology, but of more recent years the discovery of new material in ancient Greek lands has shown that some variation must be recognized as geographical, especially during the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. in the Greek world. One very distinctive variation is not so much in proportions but rather in the technique of the decoration. It was suggested by finds on the Akropolis at Athens and in Attica as early as the late 19th century,³ but finds in the Athenian Agora in the second quarter of this century have confirmed that there was indeed a distinctive Athenian Ionic capital in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., namely a capital with the ornament painted rather than carved as was the canonical capital elsewhere throughout the Greek world.

NON-ATHENIAN ARCHAIC IONIC CAPITALS

If we are to understand the unique character of the types of Ionic capital developed in Athens it would be well to be reminded of the capitals found in other areas of the Mediterranean where Greeks were living. A few examples, representative also of those at many other sites not mentioned, may be recalled as the eye moves rapidly from the Danube to the Rhone. As early as the late 6th century at Istria,⁴ in the mouths of the Danube on the west shore of the Black Sea, there had arrived the form canonical throughout the Ionian cities of Asia

¹ Some of the following material was presented in a lecture at the symposium in memory of Frank Edward Brown on November 17–18, 1989, and has been published in Meritt 1993, pp. 314–325. Special appreciation is gratefully expressed to Howard Allen for invaluable assistance in preparing Figures 1 to 4, which give the full-scale drawings of the profiles of the echinus made by me with a template many years ago. Figures 6 to 20 and 22 to 34 were drawn for this article by Richard C. Anderson with care and a quality happily acknowledged here; reconstructions in these drawings are his. Figure 21 was drawn by Katerina Konsta.

² Meritt 1982, p. 83, note 2.

³ Fuchstein 1887, pp. 3–10; Borrmann 1888, pp. 269–282; Möbius 1927, pp. 165–167.

⁴ Theodorescu 1968, pp. 261–266, figs. 1–4; Martin 1972, pp. 321, 322.

Minor as illustrated by the mid-century capitals of the Artemision of Ephesos:⁵ a carved volute, the faces convex at first (but soon slightly concave), with an echinus of ovolo profile carved with its proper ornament, the egg and dart, and the bolster carved with flutes across its full width. Other good examples occur at, for example, Kyzikos, Phokaia, Didyma, and Halikarnassos⁶ on the mainland of Ionia, and on the off-shore islands of Samos and Chios⁷ (where a distinctive local elaboration of the egg-and-dart ornament occurs). Out in the heart of the Aegean on Naxos, Delos, and Paros,⁸ the echinus may be strongly projecting and the volute, which becomes concave very early, may be broken in the center. The strongly projecting, well-rounded carved echinus and either a convex or concave volute moves up from Paros to Thasos and onto the mainland at Neapolis and Thermi⁹ (where the volute may be convex on one side and concave on the other, as also somewhat later on Thasos).

When we meet a convex volute on one side and a concave volute on the other, along with the general proportions and strongly projecting echinus of the islands, on a capital found reused as an altar in a chapel at Sykaminon on the east coast of Attica near Oropos (Pls. 34, 35), we recognize it as an import from the neighboring islands. That it is quite foreign to what is normal to Attica will be apparent below. This capital was found years ago and now graces the corner Archaic room of the National Museum in Athens. It was to have been published by Nikolaos Kontoleon, who had given such care and understanding to the Parian capitals, but his study was not completed before his death. Professor Nikolaos Yalouris¹⁰ then suggested that I include it with the publication of the pieces from the Athenian Agora since it does stand in clear contrast to the regular Attic style and declares itself strongly as the kind of import from the islands that much of the sculpture of the period also represents.¹¹

A. Athens, National Museum 4797 Pls. 34, 35
Found reused in a church at Sykaminon near Oropos.
Island marble.
Max. L. (across faces, including volutes) 0.899, L. abacus 0.678, L. echinus (between volutes) 0.37 m.

W. bolster 0.33, W. abacus 0.315 m. Diam. volute (convex side) 0.26, Diam. volute (concave side) 0.274, Diam. setting bed (bottom of capital) 0.34 m. H. 0.337, H. echinus (convex side) 0.12, H. echinus (concave side) 0.125, H. volute channel at center 0.148 m.

⁵ Hogarth 1908, pp. 268, 276, fig. 30, pl. VI; Dinsmoor 1950, pl. XXX.

⁶ Kyzikos: Hasluck 1902, pp. 195–196, pl. VI:5, 6. Phokaia: Akurgal 1956, p. 7, pl. 3:b; Akurgal 1960, p. 2, notes 10, 15. Didyma: Gruben 1963, pp. 115–126, figs. 15–19. Halikarnassos: Martin 1959, with pl. II.

⁷ Samos: Reuther 1957, Z2, Z39–Z47, pp. 51–54, fig. 7, pls. 21–23; Giegenaus 1957, pp. 106–109, Beil. 10:2, 14:1, pl. XV, left; Shoe 1936, pl. B:1. Chios: Boardman 1959, no. 29, pp. 180–183, fig. 4, pl. XXVII:a, b.

⁸ Naxos: Amandry 1953, pp. 12–13, 18–26, pls. XI–XV. Delos: Amandry 1953, p. 19, pls. XV:3, XVI; Martin 1972, p. 312, fig. 6. Paros: Orlandos 1961, pp. 184–185, figs. 206, 207; Orlandos 1962, p. 196, figs. 202, 203; Kontoleon 1968, p. 178, fig. 5; Kontoleon 1970, p. 68, pl. XIX:2.

⁹ Thasos: Martin 1972, pp. 303–310, 315–318, figs. 1–5, 8–13. Neapolis: Bakalakis 1937, pp. 8–14, figs. 10–21; Lazarides 1969, pp. 102–103, pls. 32, 33. Thermi: Petsas 1967, p. 293, fig. 45; Petsas 1969, p. 136, fig. 35.

¹⁰ It is a genuine pleasure to express my appreciation to Professor Nikolaos Yalouris for asking me to publish this very significant capital and for his support and assistance. Betancourt has already considered this capital as Aeolic (Betancourt 1977, pp. 106, 141, pl. 67), but he recognized the connections with the islands.

¹¹ The principal references for the well-known capitals cited in the following discussion are collected on p. 172 below.

There is no real abacus separated from the volutes of the capital, just a flat piece (slightly rounded at the edge) above the spirals, the treatment regular for most capitals on which statuary rather than the entablature of a building was set. A sinking in the top confirms this use. The faces differ in the treatment of the volute; on one side the channel is slightly convex, on the other concave. In both cases the spirals spring up on each side from the top of the echinus to swirl around, bordered by a round, into a curl at the center. When the border of the outside of the spiral curls up to meet the border of the inside (both having sprung from the top of the echinus), the border becomes double to the final central curl; an unusual feature is an extra round fitted between the other two in the first quarter of their flow together. This extra round occurs again in the center of the capital in the space between the two spirals: the space is filled with an eight- or nine-petal flaring palmette in low relief. On each side between the border of the spiral and the outermost petal is a flaring round which comes to a point under the "abacus". The ovolo echinus is carved all around its circle, under the bolster as well

as projecting on the faces, with thick well-rounded eggs cut back sharply at the top, six eggs on each face projecting strongly. The axis is between the two central eggs.

There is an undercut between the bottom of the eggs and the edge of the bearing surface of the capital, which fitted onto the shaft it crowned. Into this circle was cut a very large square hole slightly broken on two adjacent sides. Dimensions of this attachment hole were inaccessible after the capital was set in place in the museum (when this author first saw it), but the photograph on Plate 35 shows its relation to the diameter of the bearing surface of the capital as comparable to that of the Delian Sphinx capital.

The bolster is carved across the full width into five concave flutes bordered on both sides with a flattened round; there is an extra round between each two flutes. The flutes start from a little below the top and continue around the bottom to meet the eggs of the echinus. The line from one face of the capital to the other (round to round, across the bolster) is not straight but has begun to curve in.

This capital, although akin to other known capitals in most of its details, is unique in the combination it presents. General proportions suggest the early history of the Ionic capital in both Asia Minor (Ephesos Artemision) and island sites, but comparanda of details do not point always to a close parallel in both time and place.

The "abacus" is common on other dedicatory capitals, especially of the islands, e.g., the Delian Sphinx and the Parian Archilochos capitals of the mid 6th century. The use of faces convex on one side and concave on the other side of the same capital appears later than either form used on both sides. Only later in the 6th century are both used on the same capital in the north, at Neapolis and Thermi. But both convex and concave are used as early as mid century in the islands, both on Paros, but preferably concave on Naxos and for her dedication at Delphi. The convex of the Archilochos and the concave of the Katapoliani capitals on Paros are roughly contemporary, to judge from other details. Both profile and ornament of the ovolo echinus have the well-rounded form cut back strongly at the top as on the Delphian Sphinx capital and the two Parian examples, as well as the Delian Sphinx capital and a Thasian example; the strong projection of the echinus beyond the face of the capital also links Sykaminon with those mid-6th-century island capitals. The axis of the echinus falls between the two central eggs as found both in Asia Minor and the islands. The fluted bolster it has also in common with them, but the face of the bolster, which is still on a straight line between the two faces of the capital for the Delphi Sphinx, is cut back a bit, beginning the development to follow, and the flutes do not begin at the very top of the bolster as on the Delphian, Delian, and Parian capitals.

The design of the faces is the most striking variant from the other capitals we have been noting. The spirals are not connected by a continuous horizontal channel, the hallmark of Ionic capitals. They spring instead from the top of the echinus one on each side, curving out

into the spiral; the space between is filled with a flaring palmette in low relief, the definition of an Aeolic capital. *But* the spiral does not end in the huge central eye characteristic of the Aeolic; its central curl is that of the Delphian and Delian Sphinx capitals and the two Parian capitals, and the extra round in the beginning of the second circle seems to be its own. Although the central palmette recalls the Aeolic of Neandria, Mytilene, and Klopédi, the volute is Ionic rather than Aeolic. Another treatment of the volute which is closer to canonical Ionic cuts the horizontal channel apart in the center, leaving space to be filled by a painted or incised ornament, a lotus rather than a palmette. This design, long known on the Delian Sphinx capital, has more recently come to light on both the Archilochos and Katapoliani capitals on Paros and has been recognized by Kontoleon as definitely Parian, a transition he thought between Aeolic and Ionic.

Here then is the work of a highly creative artist familiar with both Aeolic and Ionic details but especially the details of mid-6th-century island Ionic. Kontoleon has shown what a leading center of creative artists arose on the island of Paros in the 6th century, making use of its native marble. Capitals found on the island show use of both Aeolic, in the capital of a pedestal later turned upside down for a holy-water basin, and Ionic forms, the latter shown in both convex (Archilochos) and concave (Katapoliani) volutes, broken volutes (Archilochos and Katapoliani), central curl of spiral (Archilochos and Katapoliani), and strongly projecting echinus (Archilochos and Katapoliani). The unique combination of details in the Sykaminon capital, not least the half Aeolic, half Ionic face, call out for a particularly inventive Parian artist, but whether the piece was carved on Paros and exported to the east coast of Attica or carved in Attica by one of the numerous immigrant Parian stone masons we shall never know. That its maker worked at the time when both the Aeolic and Ionic capitals were taking shape in the mid 6th century seems likely, a time when each artist varied details to his own taste.

As we continue this rapid survey of Ionic capitals, leaving Athens and old Greece until later, we find among the Greek settlements in Magna Graecia at Paestum in the Temple of Athena,¹² still in the 6th century, a capital which shows its Ionian origin in its convex volutes and carved echinus. So too do the capitals at Lokri and Metapontion,¹³ which add their own distinctive variations in the ovolo profile and carved egg and dart, the carved scaly bolster pattern, and the additional elaborate carving of the upper part of the shaft of the column that creates a deep extra necking and shows kinship with Samos. The uniquely proportioned echinus of the capital in Sicilian Gela,¹⁴ its large size not unexpected in west Greek lands,¹⁵ and another local version at Cyrene¹⁶ emphasize how the Ionic capital is capable of and permits local variations, but all of these keep the ornament carved. The capital at Marseilles¹⁷ seems to stay closer to its Phokaian homeland except for the greater size of the echinus, hallmark of the west.

¹² Krauss 1959, pp. 46–47, figs. 27, 28, pls. 34–36.

¹³ Lokri: Dinsmoor 1950, p. 137, fig. 49; Martin 1988, p. 83, fig. 115. Metapontion: Mertens 1979, p. 107, fig. 3, pls. 16, 17, 22.

¹⁴ Adamesteanu 1954, p. 657, fig. 102; Van Buren 1955, p. 311, pl. 89:23.

¹⁵ Shoe 1952, pp. 22, 29.

¹⁶ Goodchild, Pedley, and White 1966–1967, pp. 192–195, figs. 3, 4, pl. LXXI.

¹⁷ Benoit 1954, with figs. 1–12.

Back in old Greece before we return to Attica, a pause at Eretria on Euboeia reveals something different. The volutes, convex on one side and concave on the other, on a capital in the Eretria Museum¹⁸ speak again of the central Aegean islands, but the uncarved echinus and only two round bands in the center of the bolster have not been encountered in other areas of Greek settlements we have looked at so far.

ATHENIAN IONIC CAPITALS

These last two features remind us immediately of a group of dedicatory capitals found on the Akropolis at Athens in the 1880's.¹⁹ These well-known pieces found in a context of pre-Persian War material have been studied many times, often in connection with theories of the origin of the Ionic capital when their simple forms and painted details were considered to mark them as among the earliest expressions of the Ionic form of capital. But there is no evidence known to me which guarantees a date for any of them as any earlier than the full-fledged Ionic capital of the cities of Asia Minor complete with carved volutes, bolsters, and necking.

The earliest of these Athenian pieces, according to Raubitschek, and certainly the form from which development came in Attica, is not yet a volute-shaped piece of marble but had volutes painted on the flat stone with no necking.²⁰ Another capital²¹ has the full volute form, but the necking is just a projection on either side of the center of the bottom with no proper relation to volute above and column shaft below. All decoration was painted. The Alkimachos capital,²² dated by its dedicatory inscription to *ca.* 527–514 B.C., has the full volute form complete with a projecting necking, but all the ornament is painted. Sometimes the outline of the volute is incised even when it is not a continuous horizontal volute²³ and no necking occurs, or when the necking has its proper place, as on the Ameinias capital (530–520 B.C.),²⁴ the ornament is still completely painted except for the incised outline of the volute. These “early” forms are early Athenian forms, and that they were typical of Athenian style is confirmed by numerous pieces found in the Athenian Agora, fragmentary, often mere scraps, but valuable for what they reveal of Athenian taste: the answer Athenian stone cutters made to the form of capital introduced to them by their contacts with Ionian cities of Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean.

TYPE I: PAINTED DETAILS, OVOLO ECHINUS

1 (Figs. 1, 6, Pl. 33), of island marble used commonly in the second half of the 6th century, is an early form of volute, painted on one side at least, where the surface is smooth, if not

¹⁸ Eretria Museum 628: Kallipolitis and Petrakos 1965, p. 127, figs. 6, 7, pl. 162:b.

¹⁹ Puchstein 1887; Borrmann 1888, pp. 275–276, figs. 16–18, 25; Raubitschek 1949 and bibliography given there.

²⁰ Raubitschek 1938, pp. 163–164, figs. 20, 21.

²¹ Raubitschek 1938, p. 166, fig. 24.

²² Raubitschek 1938, p. 168, fig. 26; Raubitschek 1943, p. 37, fig. 4, pl. 7:1–3; Raubitschek 1949, no. 6, pp. 10–12; Brouskari 1974, no. 124, p. 52, fig. 93.

²³ Raubitschek 1938, p. 164, fig. 23.

²⁴ Raubitschek 1943, p. 37, fig. 7, pl. 7:6; Raubitschek 1949, no. 5, pp. 9–10.

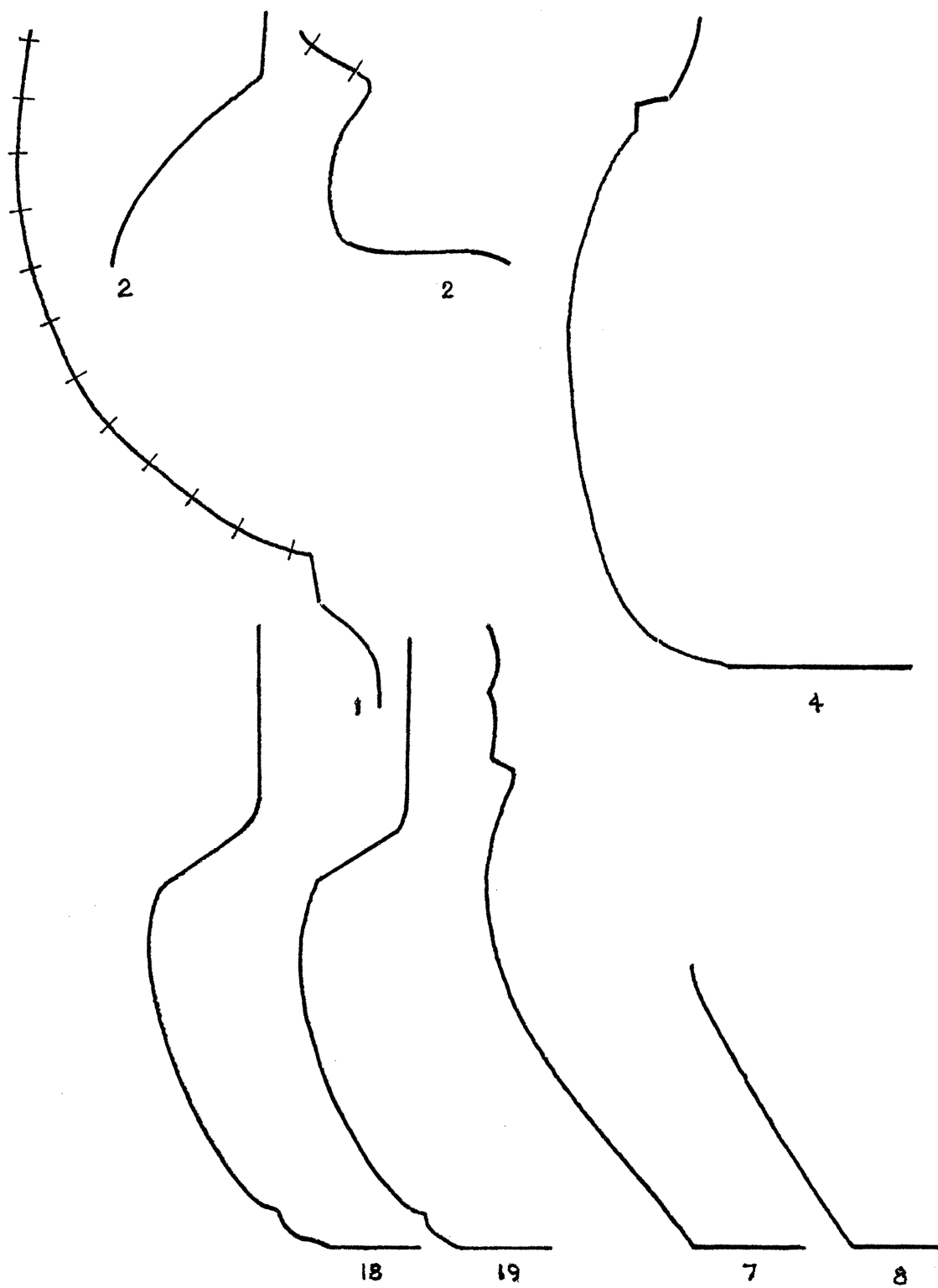


FIG. 1. Profiles of the ovolo echinus, Types I and IV. Scale 1:1

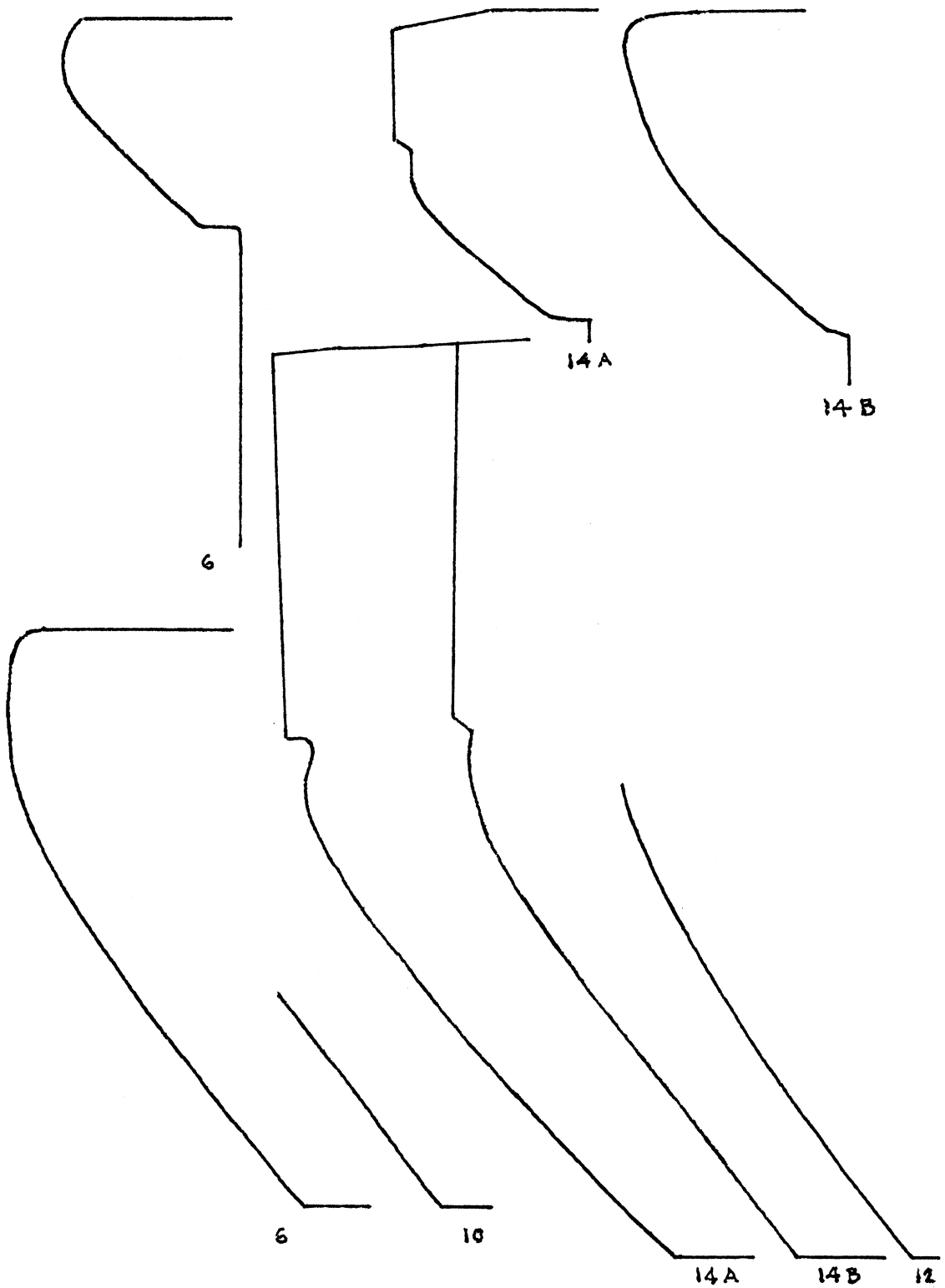


FIG. 2. Profiles of the ovolo echinus and abacus, Types I and II. Scale 1:1

also on the rougher surface of the other side; the only trace of necking is a small cavetto. **2** (Figs. 1, 7, Pl. 33), smooth for painted pattern, has a strongly projecting early ovolo echinus reminiscent of a capital from the Akropolis (note 21 above), but here the echinus is a complete circle which fits on top of the shaft up under the volute. The two fragments of **3** (Fig. 8, Pl. 36) have the details of the volute all painted. In **4** (Figs. 1, 9, Pl. 36) the outline of the volute is incised and indicated by a low flat fillet, and the eye was inserted, but the very short echinus is high, of early profile and uncarved, ready for paint, and suggests comparison with the Eretria capital (p. 125 and note 18 above).

Other pieces found in the Agora suggest that this painted (whether wholly or mostly) capital was not restricted to the 6th century but continued into the 5th century, and there is ample evidence from Athenian dedications elsewhere to confirm this conclusion. Most important is the magnificent capital found in a mediaeval tower in the plain of Marathon by Eugene Vanderpool in 1965 and identified by him as the capital of the column set up by the Athenians to commemorate their victory at Marathon.²⁵ Here the outline of the volute is indicated by a low flat fillet ending in a raised boss for the eye; a flat narrow band runs down the center of the bolster; the ovolo echinus, still of well-rounded form, is uncarved. This capital must date after 490 B.C., and I would suggest, on the basis of the profile of the echinus, a date closer to 490 than the "thirty years later" Vanderpool first proposed.²⁶ On a visit to the capital with him in 1970 we examined the profile together and felt that the decade 480–470 B.C. is more likely.

5 (Fig. 10, Pl. 36) from the Agora, found in a trench near the Tholos, is a scrap of the face and bolster of what was once thought possibly (but now doubted) to be a capital from the interior of the Tholos, now dated by Professor Homer Thompson *ca.* 460–450 B.C.²⁷ The fine-toothed flat surface of the volute shows traces of the painted fillet and eye, and the bolster is smooth.

Well preserved is the trace of painted decoration on **6** (Figs. 2, 12, Pl. 37) on which all the decoration was painted: the outline of the volutes, the egg and dart on both abacus and echinus, and the palmette in the angle between volute and echinus, as well as whatever was painted on the bolster. The ovolo profiles suggest a date near to the middle of the 5th century. Unfortunately there is as yet no clue to the possible identification of this piece which emphasizes so clearly the use of an all-painted capital well down into the 5th century. If the echinus profile is any guide, this capital should date after the Stoa Poikile, the capital of which has been identified by T. Leslie Shear Jr.²⁸ and dated *ca.* 460–450 B.C. A fragment of another capital (**7**) of the same series was found in 1936 (Figs. 1, 11, Pl. 37). The painted echinus here has an earlier form, more rounded at the top than that of **6**. But here the outline of the volute has a fillet, and the palmette is carved. Of very similar profile as far as it is preserved is the echinus of **8** (Figs. 1, 13, Pl. 37), still bearing traces of its painted egg and dart; the edge of the volute is marked by a narrow flat fillet ending in a flat eye sunk slightly from the surface of the volute. Probably **9** (Fig. 14, Pl. 38) with its flat fillet and painted palmette had a similar painted echinus; it shows a variant treatment of the eye of

²⁵ Vanderpool 1966, fig. 2, pls. 32, 33.

²⁶ Vanderpool 1966, p. 105.

²⁷ Thompson 1988, p. 201; Thompson 1940, p. 58, note 39.

²⁸ Shear 1984, pp. 9–12, fig. 6, pl. 3:d.

the volute: a large flat circle clearly intended to be painted. The profile of the tiny piece of echinus with its painted egg and dart (**10**; Figs. 2, 15, Pl. 38) is preserved only in the lower half; this bit is close to both **6** and **7**. It must represent another painted capital of the mid century. The fragment of a volute **11** (Fig. 16, Pl. 38) shows it edged with a flat fillet, but the concave depth of the volute is now greater than in **8** and **9** and may be somewhat later.

Definitely down into the third quarter of the 5th century a painted capital is still in use, for the fragments of the interior order of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (**12**; Figs. 2, 17, Pl. 39),²⁹ dated *ca.* 432–425 B.C., show the painted egg and dart of the echinus. The palmette now is apparently carved, and the volute is distinctly concave.

The latest painted capital with an ovolo echinus found in the Agora is **13** (Figs. 3, 18, Pl. 38), a corner capital with no carved or relief details except the large raised boss for the eyes of the volutes. Traces of the egg and dart painted on the rough poros are faintly visible on the severe echinus of 4th-century proportions. Evidently the old painted capital continued to be used that late for some occasions. In this case surely it was more satisfactory to paint than to try to carve the material.

1 to **13** represent the form we may designate as Type I of the Athenian capitals. It embodies the main elements of an Ionic capital: a volute extending horizontally with a spiral at each end, stretched over an ovolo necking above the shaft below. The edge of the volutes may be indicated by paint only, by incision, or by a low flat fillet; the surface is either flat for painting or incision or very slightly concave within the fillet. The bolster is either entirely smooth or has a flat band in the center. The echinus is an ovolo which fits directly under the horizontal of the volute, between the spirals and over the column shaft; it is always painted with egg and dart. A palmette in the angle between volute and echinus appears in most 5th-century pieces; it may be painted or more rarely carved. This general form with variations in proportions that can be recognized as chronological began in the second half of the 6th century and continued to be found as late as the 4th century, with the greatest concentration of examples from the second quarter and middle of the 5th century.

TYPE II: PAINTED DETAILS, FASCIA OVER OVOLO ECHINUS

Even as variations in proportions and combinations of paint and some relief occur in Type I, so too are there variations in that basic form. The most striking appears in the remarkable pair of capitals (**14A** and **14B**)³⁰ with their painted patterns brilliantly preserved, which were found, along with the drums of their columns and one of their bases, rebuilt into the Post-Herulian Fortification Wall. Immediately noticeable is the extra element above the echinus under the volute. It is onto this vertical member that the corner palmettes open out, beautifully carved (Figs. 2, 20, 21, Pls. 40, 41). The border of the volute is still the flat fillet, but the face of the volute is more concave than in pieces we have seen above. The eye is a very large and strongly projecting boss. On the bolster, elaboration is still restricted to the center but has expanded to three bands, and they are round astragals in high relief. The extra element above the ovolo echinus is the significant innovation; it carries the appropriate ornament for a flat vertical fascia, namely the maeander, on one of the capitals

²⁹ Thompson 1937, pp. 26, 27, fig. 15.

³⁰ Thompson 1960, pp. 354–356, pl. 77; *Agora* XIV, p. 166, pl. 84; Travlos 1971, p. 111, figs. 152, 153; Meritt 1993, p. 314 (in color).

(Fig. 21). More creative innovation appears on the other, where the maeander square is rounded to a spiral for every other unit (Fig. 20). Did the huge round eye on line with this fascia suggest the curve and an integration of vertical + circle? It is not quite accurate to term these two capitals a pair; they are not duplicates in all details. Both the color scheme of the ornament and the form of the abacus differ, but clearly both capitals were used in the same building. It is tantalizing that the finest pieces of painted architecture with the color still well preserved cannot be associated with any foundation or known building. As we shall see below, the base is unique. Was the added fascia in the capital also unique to this building? Perhaps there were not many capitals with a fascia over an ovolo echinus, but a necking broken into more than one profile is not unknown.

A badly battered piece of granular yellow poros (**15**) with only a small bit of its original stucco still in place gives the much mutilated section adjoining a circular volute, the part which must have been the echinus (Fig. 22, Pl. 41). At the bottom under the bolster the curve of an astragal remains, but of the echinus on the face nothing is preserved. The height from the astragal up to the curve of the bottom of the horizontal part of the volute where the angle palmette starts is such that there must have been an element over the ovolo(?) of the echinus. This then is another example of a capital with the space between the two spirals of the volute occupied by more than one simple profile, as so beautifully exemplified by the two capitals **14**; they were not unique in this detail.

Before continuing with the other capitals to be discussed, it will be well to look at the base (**14C**; Fig. 19, Pl. 41) we know belonged with the two painted capitals (**14A** and **14B**). It is rare that the bases, from which rose the shafts crowned by these Athenian Ionic capitals, can be positively identified. It is fortunate indeed that some pieces of all members (base, shaft, capitals) of the three columns (one 6.67 m. high, the other two 5.87 m. high) are preserved and clearly belong together. The base is unlike canonical bases of the 6th century on the one hand and of the latter third of the 5th century and later on the other. Even as the capitals are a distinct Athenian expression, so too is the base, but with one striking difference. The capitals do not lead directly into the form of the Ionic capitals of Athens and elsewhere later in the 5th century and thereafter, but the base seems to do just that. Mention has already been made of the base (A 2891 + A 2892) in a survey of Greek and Roman Ionic bases;³¹ there it was shown that it is indeed one of the steps in the development of the later regular Athenian Ionic base from the Samian type of Archaic base. It appears to represent a stage between the bases of the temple on the Ilissos and the Temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis and the bases of the Propylaia. The small round at the bottom, added both in the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi and the Ilissos and Athena Nike temples, has grown much larger here but is not yet approximately equal in height to the top torus and intervening scotia (if not even a bit larger); this three-part base is canonical from the Propylaia on, but a kind of three-part effect is already achieved here. The additional small round at the top of the scotia beneath the crowning torus is an extra elaboration never repeated so far as we know now. Though not repeated, there is known one earlier example: a similar small

³¹ Meritt 1969, no. 4, p. 189, fig. 2:d, pl. 49:h. Note that the bases of the Ilissos temple as now preserved (Travlos 1971, p. 113, fig. 160) no longer show the bottom round.

half-round crowning the lower element of an early-5th-century base from Thermi,³² where the half-round is added to a version of the Samian base lower portion. Did the Athenian designer of A 2891 and A 2892 know this or comparable earlier bases in the Aegean area? The effect of this added round is to increase the apparent height of the scotia in relation to the base torus so that the difference from the Ilissos-Nike base is not what it will be in the Propylaia. It is the spread of scotia, projecting more at the bottom than at the top and thus giving a greater spread of the whole base, that makes the real difference from the earlier bases and leads to those of the Erechtheion.

To judge from the base alone, then, it might appear that the base **14C** should date between the Ilissos and Nike temples and the Propylaia. But what about the capitals? The little temples have already taken up the carved echinus that the other Ionic capitals of the 5th-century Akropolis buildings use, while the painted capitals of the unknown building are kin to capitals of the first half of the century. Painted capitals, however, do survive into the second half of the century, notably in the Temple of Athena at Sounion probably near the mid-century point and in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios of the 420's. Of the Sounion temple we have no positively identified bases. The architect of the Stoa at Delphi had begun to experiment with the column base as did Kallikrates in the Ilissos and Nike temples. The unknown building appears to be another experiment. These experiments need not necessarily represent a steady chronological development, much as it may be tempting to see some steady stylistic change in form or design. The varying forms reaching toward one accepted by all as most satisfactory probably were individual attempts at more effective ways to suggest the columns rising up out of the foundation and carrying the weight of the superstructure down into it. Even as the several types of Athenian capital distinguished in this paper are sometimes contemporary, so too the several experiments in bases leading to the final "Attic Ionic base" may be more or less contemporary, at least not necessarily following each other chronologically. The size of the buildings in which the Ionic columns are used may also play some part in the picture. It should be recalled that both the Stoa at Delphi and the two temples in Athens were small, their columns short compared to those of the unknown building and the Propylaia, which could and evidently did require a higher base.

TYPE III: PAINTED DETAILS, FASCIA OVER CYMA REVERSA ECHINUS

There are several examples of at least one element over not an ovolo (as in Type II) but a cyma reversa. Professor Amandry first drew attention to this type of capital in his publication of the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi.³³ The necking of these capitals has a high element over a clearly double-curved molding, a cyma reversa instead of the canonical ovolo. The upper element, twice the height of the cyma reversa, inclines outward before it is broken.

³² Thessalonike Museum. Seen in the room of architectural pieces from Thermi in 1969, not yet in place in the photograph, Petsas 1969, p. 136, fig. 35. It is a pleasure to express my appreciation to Professor Stella Miller-Collett for examining the base in 1994 and confirming this detail.

³³ Amandry 1953, pp. 98–101, pls. XXVII, XXIX–XXXII. Möbius (1927, pp. 165–167, Beil. XVIII:5–8) noted earlier examples. The most significant of these is the fragment of one capital (Beil. XVIII:5, 6) for which A. E. Raubitschek (1938, pp. 170–172, figs. 28, 29; Raubitschek 1940, pp. 53–55, fig. 1) found fragments making it possible to complete it and identify it as the capital of the Kallimachos dedicatory column; it must be dated after 490 B.C., probably soon thereafter.

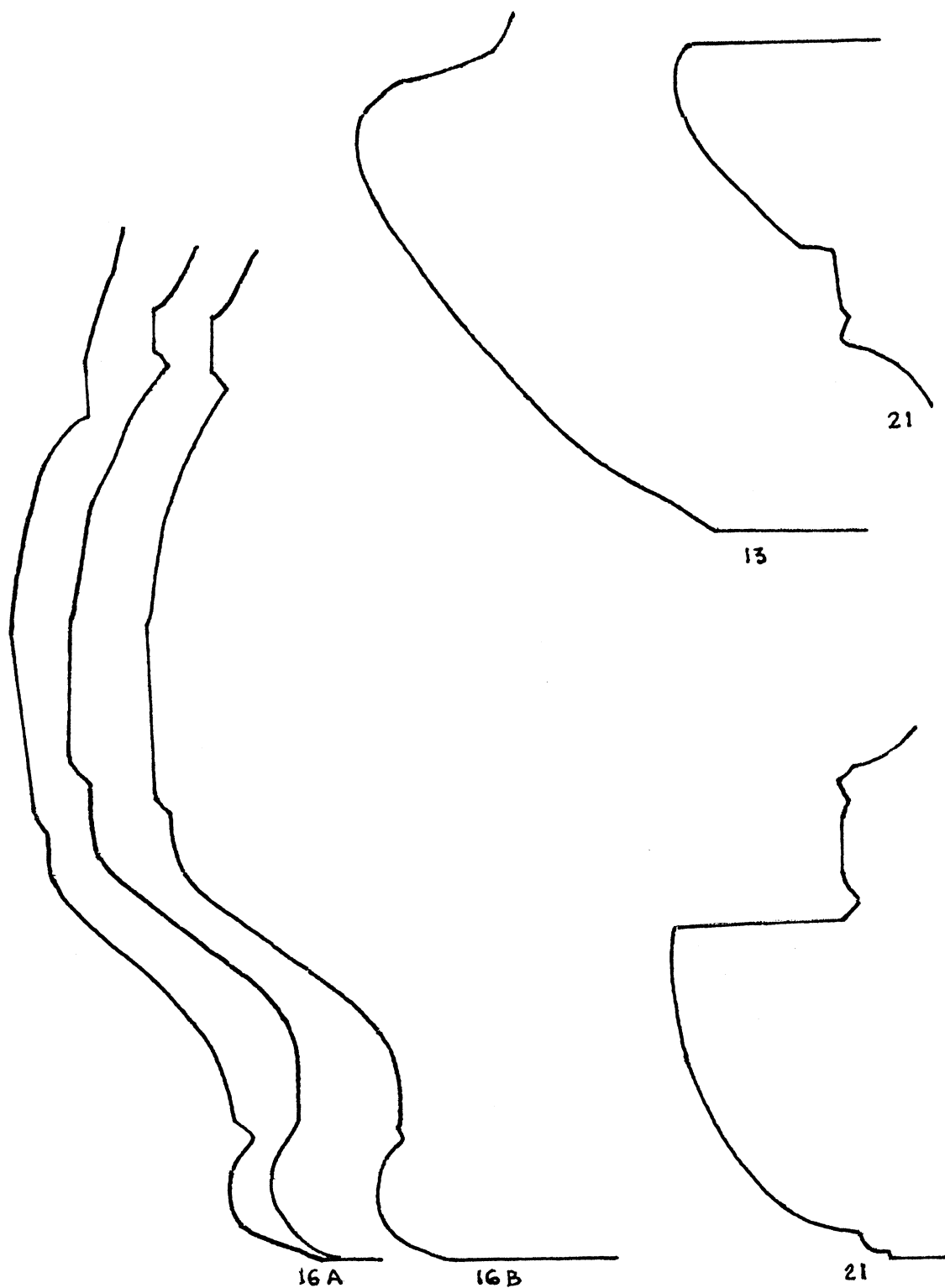


FIG. 3. Profiles of the concave and ovolo echinus and abacus, Types I, III, and V. Scale 1:1

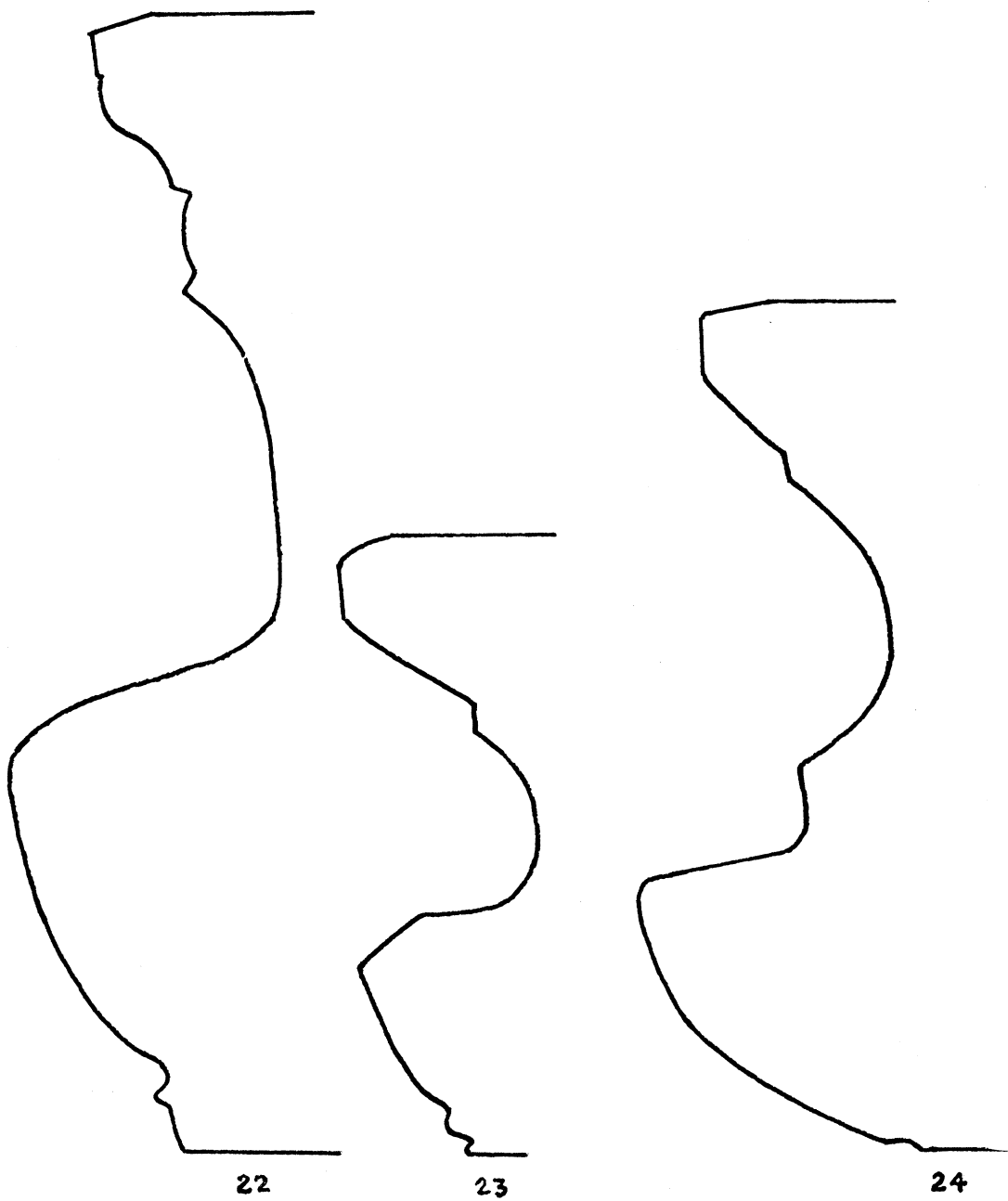


FIG. 4. Profiles of the canonical form, Type V. Scale 1:1

The bolster has a central band which begins as a flat band but soon seems to divide into two astragals. The profile of the abacus is a cyma reversa. Amandry³⁴ saw the association of the Delphi capitals with two in the Athenian Agora. **16A** (Figs. 3, 23, Pl. 42), from a marble pile probably from the Post-Herulian Fortification, is clearly from the same building, still unidentified, as the corner capital **16B** found in the area of the Church of St. Dionysius the Areopagite during excavations in 1915 (Figs. 3, 24, Pl. 42).³⁵ Above the cyma reversa with a projecting base astragal of the echinus is an element vertical in its lower part but sloping back at the top to fit in under the horizontal of the volute. This whole necking is well preserved on both capitals, and it may give some suggestion of what the lost upper part of the Delphi echinus was when complete. These two capitals share with Delphi the central band on the bolster, which remains flat throughout its career here, and the cyma-reversa abacus.

Even better known of recent years is another set of capitals from a building with this type of cyma-reversa echinus, namely the Temple of Athena at Sounion.³⁶ Amandry saw the connection of the Delphi capitals with the Sounion capital inside the National Museum in Athens and another which he identified in the garden. The excavations of the Athenian Agora have given us another almost complete capital (**17A**; Fig. 25, Pl. 43),³⁷ as well as at least nineteen fragments of the capitals that originally crowned the columns of the colonnade of that temple. The identification among pieces found in the Athenian Agora of fragments of other members of the order attest to the reuse of much of the material of the temple in the Athenian Agora at some time. The publication of the Temple of Athena at Sounion by Homer A. Thompson and the late William B. Dinsmoor Jr., now in preparation, will present all this material, but because of the significance of the capital for the pieces discussed in this article, Professor Thompson has generously suggested that representative pieces be included here.

17A shows the cyma reversa with projecting base fillet with a double element above: the vertical fascia immediately above the cyma reversa changes to slope back at the top, the same clear-cut division found above the ovolo of **14** that allows for two separate and distinct painted patterns. The cyma reversa is of course painted with a Lesbian leaf here as in most cases, and the fascia above carries the proper maeander, but the sloping part over it may have either scales as on **17B** and reconstructed in Figure 26 or a diagonal net or lattice pattern.

At Sounion, then, as in the two fine Athenian capitals **14A** and **14B**, it is clear that variations in pattern could be used within a single building. For the upper sloping element of the necking there was no traditional or canonical pattern based on the profile; more than one possibility is not surprising and reflects the versatility characteristic of Ionic architecture.

³⁴ Amandry 1953, pp. 99–100, note 3, 2:2 and 3, pl. XL:5, 6.

³⁵ Soteriou 1916, p. 129, fig. 6, right. I owe to the great kindness of Manolis Korres permission to record here his discovery, among the marble fragments gathered on the Akropolis, of the volute broken off and missing from one corner of **16B**. He has further with great generosity sent and suggested publishing here his photographs of the piece Akropolis 13352 in place on **16B** (Pl. 43).

³⁶ Amandry 1953, p. 100, pl. XL:1–4.

³⁷ Thompson 1976, pp. 287–288, fig. 150; H. A. Thompson and W. B. Dinsmoor Jr., *The Temple of Athena at Sounion*, in preparation.

The usual consistency in Greek architecture was not a consideration here in a minor spot where variety could lend vitality rather than confusion. But a variation in the pattern painted on the cyma-reversa echinus is another matter. When an egg and dart is painted on the cyma reversa of some fragments, e.g. **17B** (Fig. 26, Pl. 43), the fundamental principle of the relation of ornaments and profile in Greek moldings is violated. The outline of half a unit of the ornament must follow the profile onto which it is carved or painted. Only rarely in Greek architecture is this principle ignored, and so one must ask for a possible explanation. Perhaps a painter is less conscious of the profile of the molding he is ornamenting than a stone carver to whom the profile is obvious and must be accommodated. A painter might paint the pattern he is accustomed to seeing and to painting on an echinus of an Ionic capital, namely an egg and dart, because the normal(?) profile is an ovolo. Normal everywhere except in Attica, that is. Is this a conflict between traditional Ionic and an Attic version or just a friendly mixture? Or does the appearance of both the Lesbian leaf and the egg-and-dart ornaments on the echinus of these capitals indicate a different possible position in the original building for these two varieties of capital, as Thompson will suggest?

Another fragment from the Agora, **17C** (Fig. 27, Pl. 43), preserves the single narrow band in the center of the bolster. When the piece was found, the bright blue painted band was clear, and some color still remained in 1991.

Another Attic deme used the cyma-reversa type of echinus for the capital of what was a small building, to judge from the size of two capitals reused in a probably 15th-century chapel near present Menidi. Two of the four capitals of the columns that support the dome of Hagios Nikolaos³⁸ have the cyma reversa with projecting base fillet and with a fascia above. The bolster decoration is the central flat band. Only the angle palmettes of the echinus are carved. The depth of the concavity of the volutes along with the profile of the cyma reversa suggest a date somewhat after rather than before mid 5th century for what must have been a building in Acharnai.

Two dedicatory capitals from the Akropolis³⁹ belong to this type and show that it was used for freestanding columns as well as for the order of a building. Both capitals have been considered "Archaic", but their general proportions, their profiles, and the combination of type of necking and treatment of the bolster link these capitals more closely with those of the three buildings just mentioned. These must date not earlier than the second quarter of the 5th century. Since both of these capitals on the Akropolis were mentioned by Le Bas and Waddington⁴⁰ in 1848, they are not from the excavations of later in the century that yielded the pre-Persian material and so do not necessarily belong to that period. They are more likely to date from the second quarter of the 5th century.

There is still another capital with a cyma-reversa echinus to be noted. Its significance for both time and place is considerable, even though it is known only from a drawing by Haller von Hallerstein and a few fragments. The necking of the unique capitals attached to both side and corner columns of the interior of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai is a cyma

³⁸ Bouras, Kalogeropoulou, and Andreades 1969, pp. 356–357, pl. 302; Miller 1970, p. 437, figs. 4–6; Meritt 1993, p. 322, fig. 20.

³⁹ Brouskari 1974, p. 38, fig. 51, p. 45, fig. 78.

⁴⁰ Le Bas and Waddington 1848, pls. II:4, 1, II:3, I and II.

reversa with an element above and no indication of any carving of ornament.⁴¹ Whatever dates the latest studies of this temple offer, it is difficult not to see a connection between the capital created for the interior of the Bassai temple and the 5th-century Athenian capital with cyma-reversa echinus. Regardless of when the capitals were actually carved and set in place, some connection in their design with Iktinos, as Pausanias noted, seems possible, even probable.

One more set of capitals from Attica with uncarved cyma-reversa echinus carries us down into the 4th century, if current dating of the Stoa at Oropos⁴² is correct.

In Type III the ovolo echinus of Ionia has in Attica become a cyma reversa with one or two vertical and sloping elements above, in three distinct patterns. This type of capital, developed as early as the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi, clearly continued to be used both in the city and in Attica through the period when the Periklean buildings on the Akropolis had brought the carved Ionian capital to Athens (p. 139 below).

Evidence, then, from capitals dating apparently from the second half of the 6th century through the 5th century and even occasionally into the 4th indicates that Athenians made more use of the Ionic capital throughout that period than was once believed; of several forms of that capital, however, it was one created to suit their own tastes, not taken over exactly as they came into contact with it, i.e., the ornament was painted rather than carved. There was further innovation in a variety of echinus forms: (1) the simple ovolo of Ionia, (2) additional fascia or normal fascia and sloping fascia above the ovolo, (3) cyma reversa with double fascia (vertical under sloping) above. Decoration on the bolsters of all three types was restricted to a central band either painted only or low and flat, occasionally breaking into two relief astragals; in the same spirit which dispensed with carving the ornament on the echinus, the Athenian rejected the Ionian break-up of the surface of the bolster into flutes.

TYPE IV: CARVED DETAILS

But what of the Ionian Ionic capital that the Athenians had first met in the 6th century and that must have inspired their own version? Was the Ionian carved capital never used in Athens until the Periklean buildings on the Akropolis made it common and then canonical thereafter?

There had been some carved Ionic capitals in Athens before Perikles, but the few known now appear to be from the latter years of the 6th century; none which could be recognized as regular Ionian Ionic and dated into the 5th century have been found in the Agora excavations. A capital found in the Agora, **18** (Figs. 1, 28, Pl. 44),⁴³ was recut later, but it is twin to a capital long lying about the Akropolis⁴⁴ and must be from the same building. They are particularly significant examples of the half-and-half technique that occurs more than once in Attica. The carved egg and dart of the echinus on one side paired with the roughly blocked out and then painted egg ornament of the other side and the bolster treatment with only a center band, instead of carved bands across the whole width as normal in Ionian Ionic,

⁴¹ Dinsmoor 1933, p. 208, fig. 5; Rhomaïos 1914, p. 64, fig. 7:β, γ; Roux 1961, pp. 37–38, pl. 14, pp. 40–41, pl. 16:1; Cooper 1992, pls. 45–48, 51.

⁴² Coulton 1968, pp. 162–163, fig. 11, pl. 49.

⁴³ Meritt 1982, pp. 82–88, fig. 1, pl. 12:a, c, e.

⁴⁴ Meritt 1982, pp. 84–86, fig. 2, pl. 12:b, d, f; Möbius 1927, pp. 171–173, Beil. XIX:2, 3.

show that even when some carving is accepted it is held in check by the local Athenian taste. It may also reflect a familiarity with an Archaic island fashion of differentiating the treatment of the two sides of the capital (convex volute on one side and concave on the other). In any case, there are examples of echinus carved on one side and painted on the other to be found elsewhere in Athens. There is a pair of capitals now in the area of the Library of Hadrian;⁴⁵ others were found at Stavro and Jeraka in Attica,⁴⁶ and a capital found at Delphi may have some connection with Athens.

Professor Pierre Amandry has kindly suggested that I include in this account this capital found at Delphi (Pl. 46).⁴⁷ The carved echinus of one side with the other smooth for paint and the single band in the center of the bolster immediately suggest the Athenian capitals with these characteristics. The inscription on the carved side, although much later in date than the capital, is significant. Amandry's reading when the capital was first excavated is certain (the top line has been damaged since):

Λέοντα Μ[άρκ]ου Ἀθηναῖον
Δελφοὶ Δελφὸν ἐποίησαν

Evidently the Athenian Leonteus reused an old Athenian dedication to commemorate his becoming a citizen of Delphi.

Less easy to explain is a capital found at Corinth (Corinth inv. A 989; Pl. 46)⁴⁸ on which the whole of one side, both volute and necking, is left smooth for paint while the other side has both volute and necking carved. On the bolster is an unusual treatment of the single central band: it has become a channel cut deep into the otherwise smooth surface. What was inserted? Or was the shadow a sufficient narrow central band? The other Athenian detail is the cyma-reversa echinus with vertical band above; perhaps one should say Sounion detail, for the ornament carved on one side is egg and dart (no trace of the painted pattern on the other side remains). Some connection with Athens seems obvious, but it remains puzzling.

A capital known at least as early as the 1920's was reported by Möbius in 1927⁴⁹ as lying in a pile in the remains of the Stoa of Attalos. It was still there when the excavations began in the Agora and so is included here as **19** (Figs. 1, 29, Pl. 44). Although it has been

⁴⁵ Wrede 1930, pp. 191–200.

⁴⁶ Möbius (1927, p. 167) discusses a capital with these two techniques found at the Church of Hagia Triada at Stavros in Attica, now in the Athens National Museum. A second capital of the same series was found at the same church by Eugene Vanderpool in the 1950's and is now in the Piraeus Museum. A small fragment of a third capital of the same series (p.H. 0.12, p.L. 0.17, p.W. 0.13 m.) was also found at the same church and is now in the Archives Collection of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASA 24). It is broken all around but preserves part of a volute and a right-angle palmette and part of the bolster. The American School collection also includes a fragment of an Ionic column base (ASA 25) found at the same church, which probably belongs with the capitals (H. 0.116, p.W. 0.315, p.D. 0.174 m.) The torus is fluted horizontally with five channels separated by arrises.

⁴⁷ It is a pleasure to record my gratitude to Professor Amandry for permission to publish this capital and for his photographs and his generosity in sharing with me his work on the capital, especially the reading of the inscription. It has been noticed by Georges Daux (1960, p. 756). See also Meritt 1993, p. 319, fig. 9.

⁴⁸ It is a pleasure to record my gratitude to Professor Charles K. Williams, Director of the Excavations at Corinth, for permission to publish this capital, for photographs, and for his interest and assistance in numerous ways. See Meritt 1993, p. 319, figs. 10–12.

⁴⁹ Möbius 1927, p. 170, Beil. XIX:1; Frazer 1990, p. 165, note 59.

mentioned in print several times, it is worth another look for it has more than usual interest. As described in the catalogue below, details of the capital seem to contradict each other chronologically.

The convex volute common to Asiatic and island Ionic carved as here is rare after the 6th century. The eye emphasized by a rosette is common *painted* in Attica and appears as on **18**, a half-carved capital. The echinus ovolo has a 6th-century profile (Fig. 1) with carved eggs in well-rounded borders; the outer ones next to the volute spirals are almost completely covered by the angle palmettes, which are full seven-petal forms instead of the usual half palmette tucked into the angle between volute and echinus, the form more like 5th- than 6th-century examples. Turning to the bolster (before we consider the ornament on the volute of both faces), we find a completely smooth roll, evidently with whatever decoration was there added in paint as common on 6th-century Attic capitals; the roll does not begin at the top, however, but at about a third of the whole height. This form of bolster usually appears well after the 5th century, down into the 4th. The most striking detail of the whole piece is the low-relief ornament on the faces, carved to fill the horizontal of the volute the full length of the echinus below. The design (two palmettes of 5th-century form springing sideways from a pair of double spirals, between which a lotus rises) is not paralleled, nor until the late 4th century and later is the use of so large an ornament filling so much of the volute. Frazer⁵⁰ has brought together examples of ornament in the center of the volute, and clearly the 6th- and 5th-century examples are single central elements, be they rosette, lotus, or palmette, whether on islands or northern mainland. Only in the late 4th century and later, especially on Samothrace, does the long ornament appear, but the particular ornament of **19** is not included. Finally, the material of **19** is Pentelic marble, *not* island marble. Pentelic marble would not have been used in the 6th century.

A capital which is a duplicate of **19** was noticed in 1819 by Inwood (Pl. 45),⁵¹ built into the wall of the small chapel of Hagia Marina on the left bank of the Ilissos in Athens. It is now in the British Museum (no. 443). It should be noted that although the two capitals are duplicates in form and design of decoration, the actual details and the workmanship of the central design of the volute differ markedly. The petals of the palmettes, the curl of the spirals, and particularly the details of the lotus differ both in exact outline and in the relief; they were not carved by the same craftsman, yet both were clearly following the same general design. That they were carved not at exactly the same time is a possibility, but it seems sure they were made to be used together as the same and no doubt were so used. There is no way of knowing where in the city of Athens these two capitals were first used or for what kind of building they were designed and executed, since in modern times they were first noticed so far apart.

What comes to mind as a likely explanation is that these capitals served to crown supports for some interior arrangement in a building of a period in which there was keen interest in archaistic and classicizing styles. The 1st century B.C. to the 1st century after Christ is

⁵⁰ Frazer 1990, pp. 165–167.

⁵¹ Inwood 1827, p. 132, pls. 24, 25; Smith 1892, no. 443, p. 262. The kind interest and assistance of Dr. Susan Walker of the British Museum in the problems of this capital have added greatly to making possible this first appearance together in modern times, in photographs, of the Inwood capital and **19**; I thank her warmly. Frazer (1990, p. 165, note 59, fig. 112) also illustrates the Inwood capital.

a time one might expect such archaism, but the workmanship, although not of Archaic or early Classical character, appears more careful than is likely for such a date.⁵² The low bolster presents the difficulty in accepting the date suggested by both general proportions and ornamental detail. There is a time when both might be accommodated, when signs of archaism are clear though not widely recognized, i.e., the latter half of the 4th century B.C., the era of Lykourgos.⁵³

Lykourgos is well known as a great builder in Athens and also as a promoter of interest in the great days of Athens' past. He is particularly associated with the first building of the stadion. Travlos⁵⁴ has shown us, from his work of excavation south of the Olympieion and his study of the whole area, the extensive life of Athens from early Bronze Age through Classical times in the area south of the Olympieion characterized as the Ilissos area. He reminds us of the many sanctuaries, great and small, on both sides of the river, as Thucydides recounted. It seems inconceivable that, when the great activity of building the stadion in the valley between two low hills drew attention to the area, there should not have been some sprucing up, if not rebuilding, of some of the old sanctuaries as part of Lykourgos' general plan. One dares to suggest that the Inwood capital and **19** were designed in an unusually creative classicizing style combining island and Athenian and 6th- and 5th-century memories along with some contemporary form and made to crown supports for some interior furnishing in a building, perhaps an old sanctuary, along the Ilissos in the period of Lykourgos.

TYPE V: CANONICAL FORM

It has been generally recognized that the use of Ionic architectural elements combined with Doric and the establishment of the Ionic that was to be regular whenever the Ionic order appeared thereafter was the contribution of Periklean architects in the buildings on the Akropolis of Athens. We do not know what the capitals of the almost surely Ionic columns of the back room of the Parthenon (447–438 B.C.) looked like,⁵⁵ but when Ionic was next used for the interior of a Doric building in the Propylaia (438–432 B.C.), the capital⁵⁶ had a necking of a single ovolo echinus carved with its egg and dart and a carved ovolo abacus in the best Ionian tradition. The bolster, however, with its four double rounded raised bands, has more bands than those in the Athenian types discussed above, but they are still restricted to the center and do not fill the full width of the bolster as in Ionia. The capital is a new combination of Ionian and Athenian details. These occur again in the capital of the Ionic exterior order of the Temple of Athena Nike⁵⁷ and the temple on the Ilissos;⁵⁸ they became standard in Athens even though, as we have seen above (pp. 125–136), the Athenian painted types continued in use in the city and outlying demes into the 4th century.

⁵² A similar archaistic capital, **20** (Pl. 45; see below, p. 167), demonstrates the workmanship characteristic of late Hellenistic or Roman times.

⁵³ Meritt 1966, p. 149.

⁵⁴ Travlos 1971, pp. 289–290, fig. 379, p. 112, fig. 154.

⁵⁵ Pedersen (1989) argues for Corinthian capitals.

⁵⁶ Dinsmoor 1950, pl. 49, right; Robertson 1943, fig. 51; Hege and Rodenwaldt 1930, frontispiece, pls. 58–60, 62.

⁵⁷ Hege and Rodenwaldt 1930, pls. 71–73.

⁵⁸ Dinsmoor 1950, pl. 44, left; Travlos 1971, p. 120, fig. 163.

The base of the columns in the Erechtheion established the Ionic base for all Greece until Roman times and for much of the world ever since; the capital⁵⁹ does not become as canonical as the base but is an equally interesting Athenian innovation. The fillet bordering the volute is not only highly raised from the concave volute; it is doubled. Most interesting is the even greater elaboration of the necking. Its origin, however, is clear in the Athenian tradition. The well-rounded element above the carved ovolo echinus is deeply carved with a guilloche. This is surely the extra-vertical or vertical-plus slope above the ovolo of Athenian Types II and III, transformed by carving to fit into the new carved capital.⁶⁰ The extra necking at the top of the shaft of the column is, on the other hand, clearly Ionian, Samian 6th century.

This very rich Athenian innovation in the Erechtheion capitals was too much elaboration for potential followers in Athens. Although it was copied directly on the Akropolis in Augustan times and inspired other people in other lands centuries later, it was the capitals of the Propylaia and Nike Temple that set the standard for subsequent Athenian examples. A fine representative of 4th-century Athenian capitals is **21** (Figs. 3, 31, Pl. 47), found in the Agora. The ovolo echinus of 4th-century profile is carved in typical 4th-century style and technique with its egg and dart, but the abacus remains smooth for its painted ornament, and the central cluster of bands on the bolster is equally Athenian in tradition. The Agora excavations have yielded many, mostly small, Ionic capitals of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, all of which continue to follow the same general form established in the Propylaia with changes chiefly in proportions, in profiles, in technique of carving, and most of all in the shape and decoration of the bolster. This becomes more and more pinched and rolled thin; by the 2nd century B.C. it is usually carved across its full width with a central band still emphasized, as in the Stoa of Attalos II (159–138 B.C.).⁶¹ On **22** (Figs. 4, 32, Pl. 47) the bolster is carved with horizontal leaves across the full width, tied together in the center by the three rounded bands with small leaves in scale formation between them. Here then is the final combination of full-width Ionian (but horizontal leaves instead of vertical flutes) and central Athenian bands elaborated as never in earlier times. The abacus in the Stoa of Attalos and in this example as in many others is still Athenian uncarved. The volute is marked by a round, bordered by a fillet on each side instead of the earlier flat fillet. **23** (Figs. 4, 33, Pl. 48) and **24** (Figs. 4, 34, Pl. 49) are examples of the changes in proportions and in technique of the general form, which remains constant. The use of the Ionic order for Athenian buildings in the Roman Imperial period is well illustrated by the Augustan Temple of Rome and Augustus⁶² on the Akropolis and, in the Agora, the Augustan temple⁶³ at the northwest corner and the Hadrianic Basilica⁶⁴ at the northeast. These, with **23** and **24**, will serve to close the story, which began in the 6th century, of Ionic capitals as found in the Athenian Agora.

⁵⁹ Paton and Stevens 1927, pl. XXXVI:2, 4; Dinsmoor 1950, pl. 49, left; Robertson 1943, pl. 5, top; Hege and Rodenwaldt 1930, pls. 102, 103; Travlos 1971, p. 225, fig. 289.

⁶⁰ Möbius (1927, p. 166) saw this connection.

⁶¹ Thompson 1959, figs. 26, 29; Travlos 1971, figs. 649, 651, 653.

⁶² Travlos 1971, p. 497, fig. 527.

⁶³ Shear 1990, p. 327.

⁶⁴ *Agora* XIV, pp. 23, 229; Thompson 1976, p. 100.

For many years many students of Greek architecture and of history have thought and written about the mingling of Doric and Ionic elements in the architecture of Periklean Athens and possible reasons for it. We now know that the use of Ionic in Attica was not only attested in the late 6th century but also well established in the first half of the 5th century, both for freestanding monuments and for the orders of buildings, exterior and interior, along with the traditional Doric. The greater flexibility of Ionic in many ways and the aesthetic appeal of some of the elements may seem sufficient explanation, but it is hard not to think also of the tenor of the times, of the mood and attitude of the Athenians. After Marathon and increasingly after Salamis, the Athenians became conscious that they were indeed more and more strongly the leaders of the Greek people. As members of the Delian League they soon became its leader in concentrating on freeing and then protecting the Ionian cities from the Persian menace. As the Athenians assumed the role of protectors of Greek people everywhere in the Aegean world, but very particularly those freed Ionians, there must have been much talk and thought in the Agora and throughout the Athenian state about the things these Ionians had and thought and did and had done. There were differences of course, many of them, but they were all Greeks, and these eastern distant cousins had a proud past which had produced notable expressions in their thought and art, accessible for all Greeks but especially those Athenians who had accepted the role of leader. Granted the Athenians had already encountered and adopted to some extent some of these Ionian fashions in art in the 6th century, might they not pick up once more details of current interest, introducing Ionic elements in those buildings where Athenians lived and worked? Surely it would be politically very diplomatic in her relations with the Ionian and island members of this League (soon to become Empire) to adopt and use with her very own some of the distinctively Ionian architectural achievements. But this must not be just a taking over of the Ionian forms; there must be a local Athenian version, the Ionian creation reinterpreted according to Athenian tastes and so made emphatically Athenian. The Marathon memorial was an Athenian expression and its many successors, in buildings in the state and elsewhere when representing Athens, no less so, a definite statement by the leader of the Greeks. Well before the Periklean buildings on the Akropolis, the Ionic order with Athens' own version of the capital had become familiar in Attica. When League turned into Empire and Athens became officially, according to Perikles' own pronouncement, "the school of Hellas", not only political leader and protector, it was time to recognize the original Ionian contribution, to embrace the hallmark of Ionian architectural ornament, its carving, in the buildings on the Akropolis which were to speak for all Greeks. Even then, however, some of Athens' own details developed over the earlier years of the 5th century and further innovations were fused with the carving, immediately recognizable as Ionian. Athens had put her stamp on the Ionic capital that was to follow Rome over the then known world and to survive (along with the Roman four-sided version) throughout the western world to our own day.

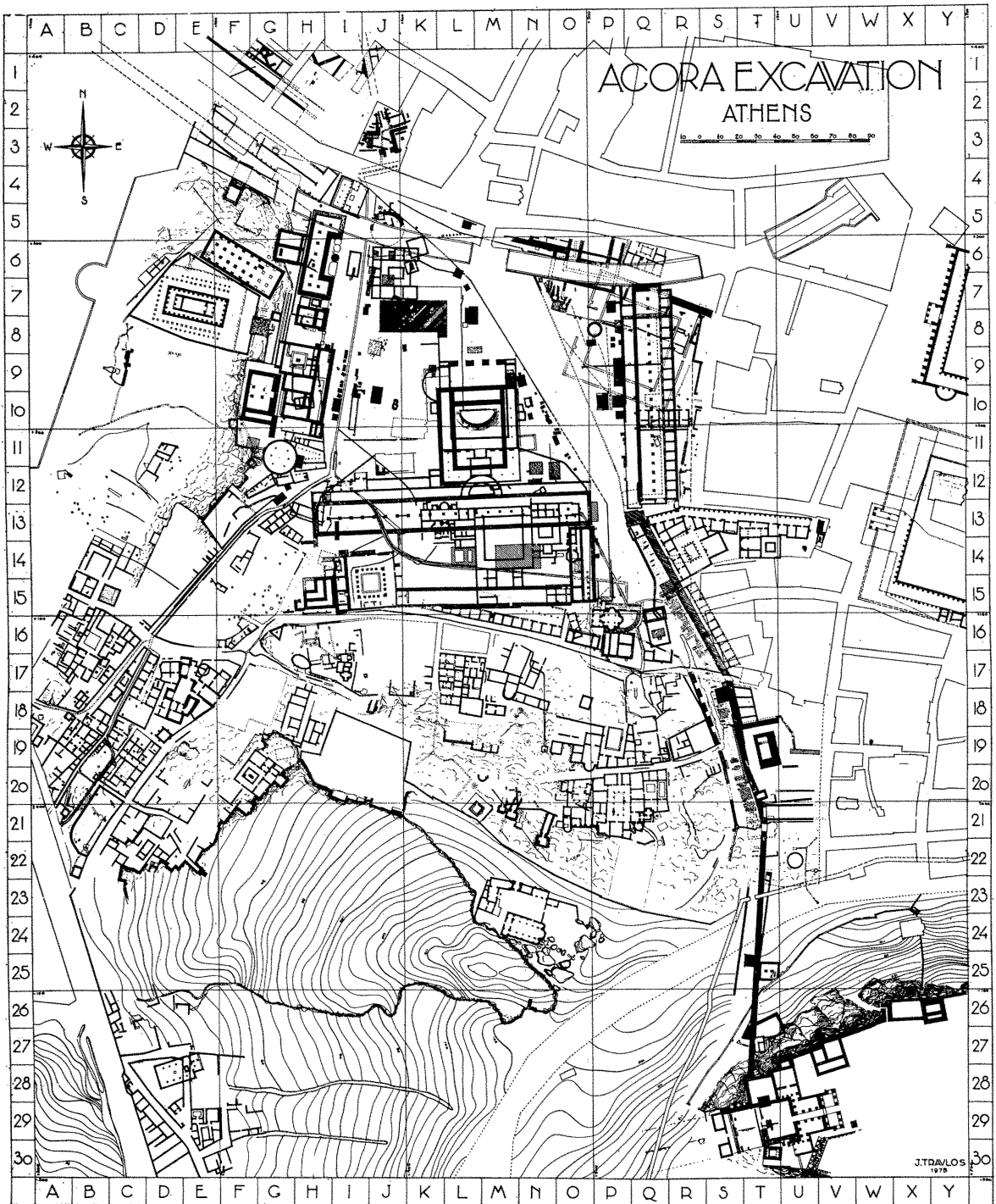


FIG. 5. The Athenian Agora and environs: actual-state plan with findspot reference grid

CATALOGUE

TYPE I: PAINTED DETAILS, OVOLO ECHINUS

1. Fragment of Ionic
dedicatory capital

Figs. 1, 6, Pl. 33

A 2844. Found June 13, 1959, in the upper filling of the Post-Herulian Fortification Wall (S 17).

Island marble. P.H. 0.25, p.L. 0.385, W. 0.36 m.

One volute preserved to full width of 0.36 m. Both sides preserved, smooth for painted pattern on one side, rougher on the other. Bolster smooth and only slightly curved in from the two faces. Necking low, a small cavetto.

On top of volute, fragmentary remains of a base for a dedication; about 0.05 m. of its height remains.

Middle to third quarter 6th century B.C.

2. Dedicatory capital

Figs. 1, 7, Pl. 33

A 3054. Found May 1960 in Section HA (O-P 16-17).

Gray marble. Mended from several pieces. H. 0.165, L. 0.484, W. 0.246 (volute), 0.285 (necking), Diam. of column 0.23 m.

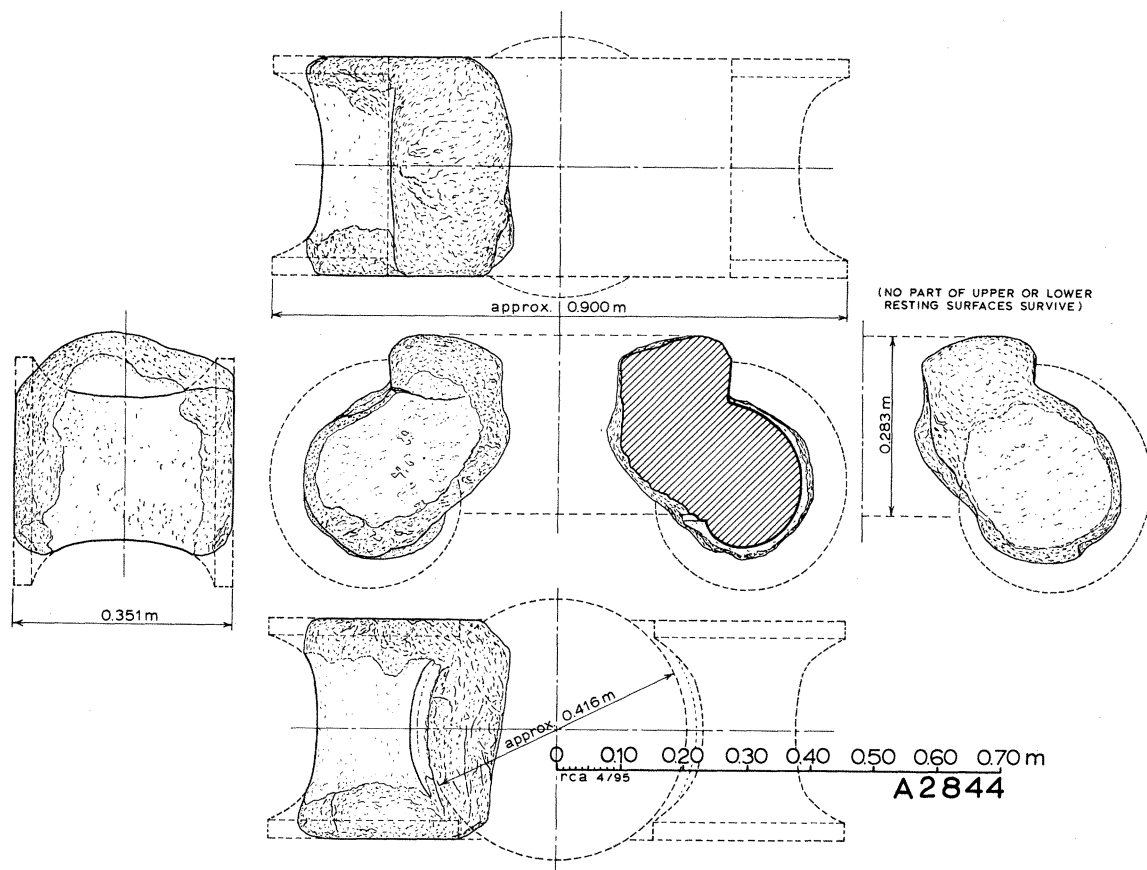


FIG. 6. Fragment of Ionic dedicatory capital 1

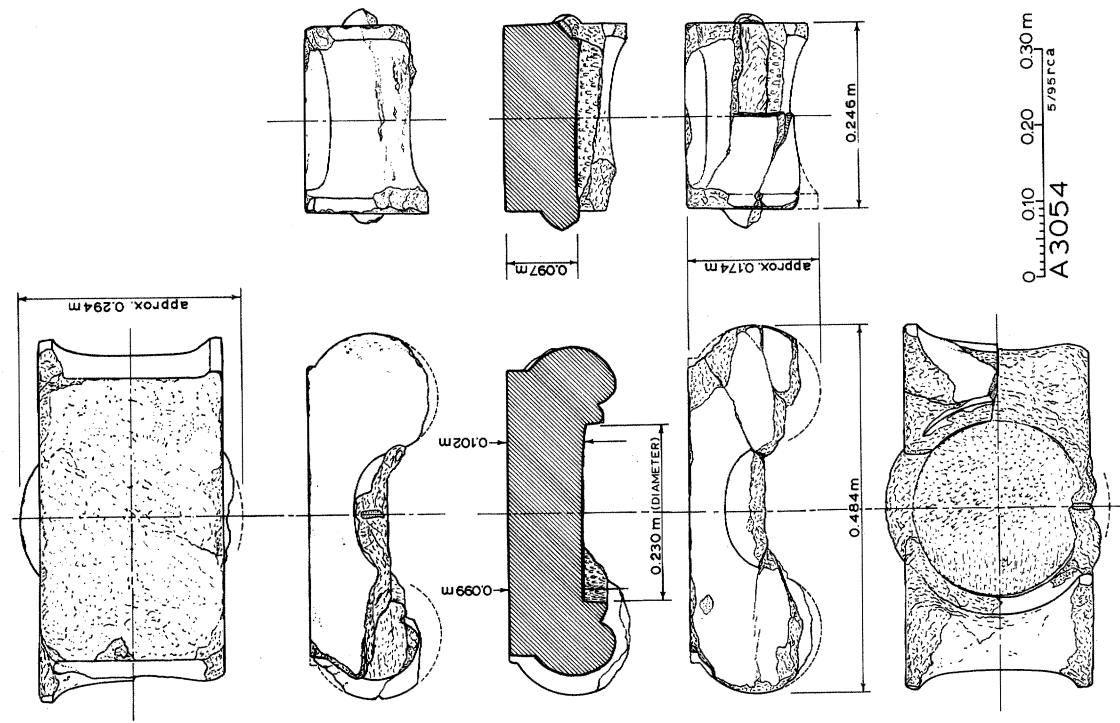


Fig. 7. Ionic dedicatory capital 2

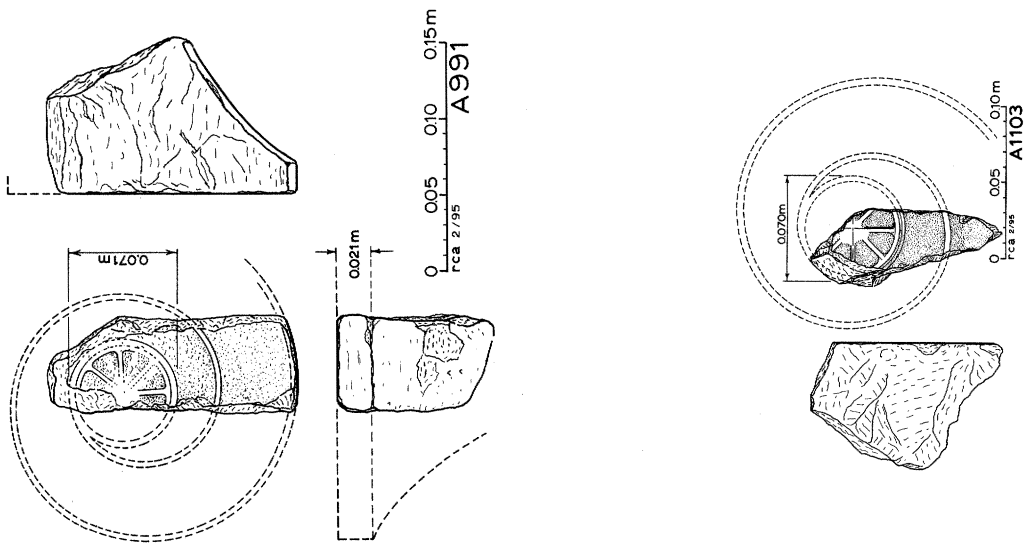


Fig. 8. Fragments of Ionic capital 3A (above) and 3B (below)

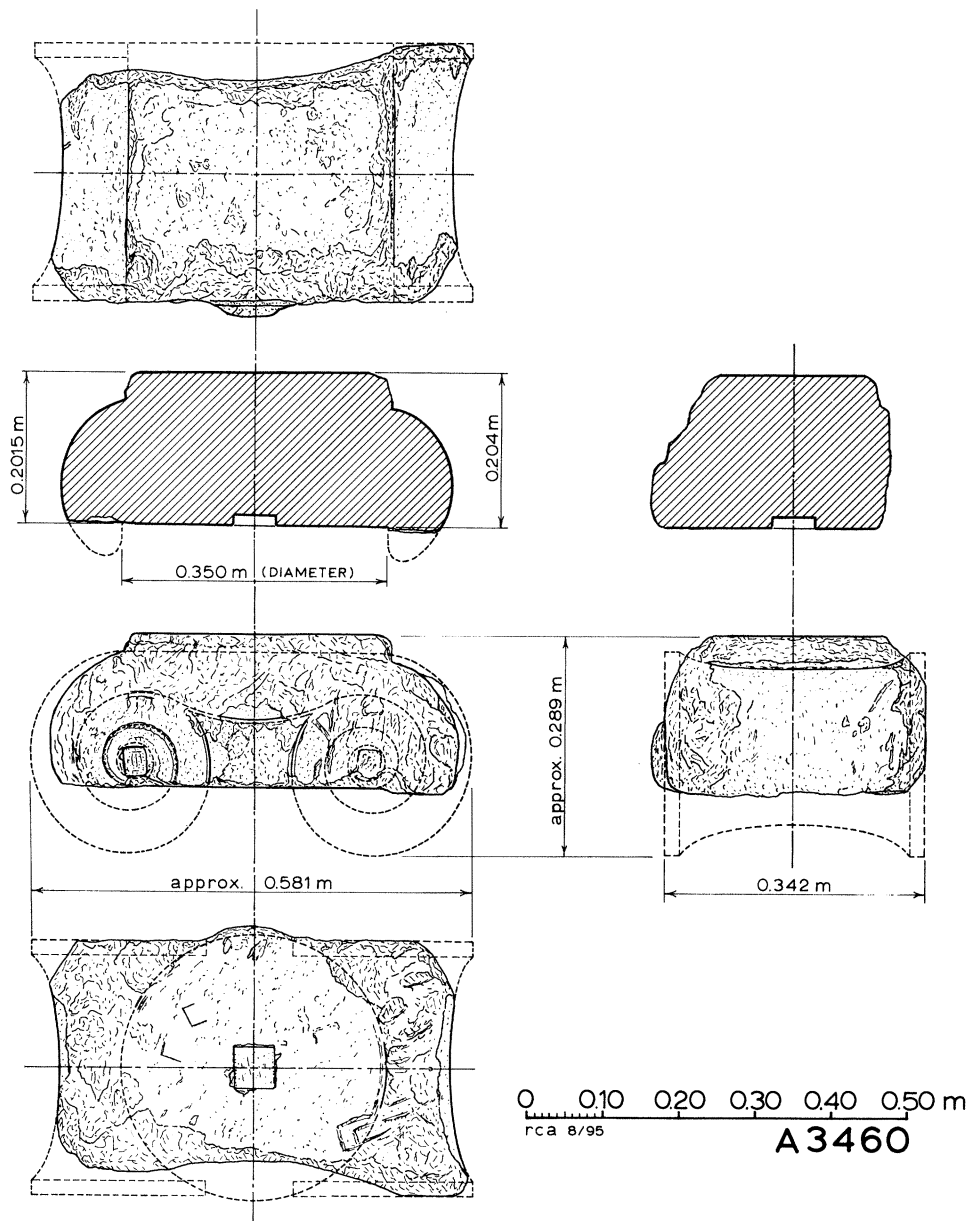


FIG. 9. Ionic capital 4

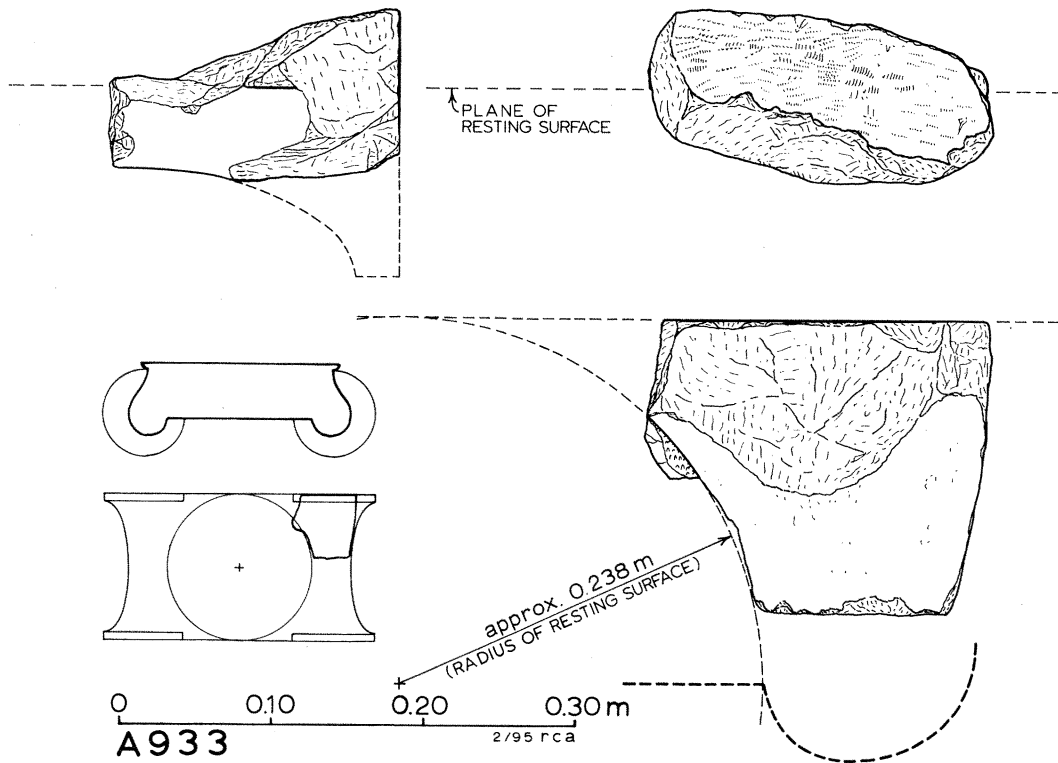


FIG. 10. Fragment of Ionic capital 5

No abacus but 0.033 m. vertical at top of bolster. Both faces, bolster, and necking smooth for painted pattern of which faint traces remain in line of volute on broken volute. Profile of strongly projecting necking is an ovolo with top depth greater than bottom as in large-scale carved capitals of the islands in the second quarter of the 6th century (e.g., Delphian Sphinx capital, Delian Sphinx capital). Trace of band 0.02 m. wide slightly raised in center of bolster.

Bibliography: Meritt 1993, p. 316, fig. 3.

Mid 6th century B.C.

3. Fragments of capital

Fig. 8, Pl. 36

3A. A 991. Found in a marble dump of 1934 or 1935 in Section B (H 11–12).

Pentelic marble. P.H. 0.064, p.L. 0.162, W. 0.105 m.

Approximate center of face of volute shows traces of painted pattern: three concentric lines of volute surrounding center eye with about half of twelve-petal rosette, 0.06 m. in diameter, 0.071 m. with border.

Diameter of volute estimated 0.23 m. Thickness of edge of volute on bolster 0.021 m.

Bibliography: Meritt 1993, p. 316, fig. 2.

3B. A 1103. Found in 1933 at north end of Section Z in late Roman fill (H 13).

Pentelic marble. P.H. 0.04, p.L. 0.125, p.W. 0.085 m.

Sliver of face of painted volute with part of rosette of eye (with parts of five petals) and two lines of volute appears to be the same as on **3A**.

Probably dedicatory of late 6th century B.C.

4. Ionic capital

Figs. 1, 9, Pl. 36

A 3460. Found May 22, 1964, built into the southwest corner of the "Garden Court" of the South House (S 14–15).

Fine, buff poros. H. 0.2015, L. 0.53, W. 0.342 m.

Top resting surface L. 0.355, W. 0.27 m. Diam. of bearing surface (= column) 0.35 m.

No cutting on square top resting surface with vertical face rising 0.05 m. above bolster, only very slightly

concave. Volute of 0.22 m. diameter set close together, necking only 0.11 m. between them. Outline of volutes incised and width of spiral very slightly concave with slightly raised border 0.006 m. wide. On front, left eye set into a nearly square hole 0.037×0.032 m. Volute on back flat, fine toothed. Necking 0.083 m. high, shallow ovolo with top and bottom depth about equal, flat and smooth. On bottom: central cutting 0.055 m. square, 0.013 m. deep; incised Γ and Π .

Cf. Eretria capital, Kallipolitis and Petrakos 1965, p. 127, figs. 6, 7, pl. 162:b.

Bibliography: Möbius (1927, p. 170) mentions 4. Meritt 1993, p. 316, fig. 1.

Second half 6th century B.C.

5. Fragment of Ionic capital Fig. 10, Pl. 36

A 933. Found June 7, 1937, Tholos Trench F, Kitchen Dump (H 2).

Pentelic marble. P.H. 0.09, p.L. 0.22, p.W. 0.19 m.

Fragment of volute face with fine-toothed flat surface and smooth bolster. Traces of painted fillet at edge of volute and of eye *ca.* 0.05 m. in diameter. About half of width of bolster preserved, smooth finish. *Ca.* 0.05 m. of horizontal surface under bolster.

Thompson (1940, p. 58, note 39) suggested possible identification as interior order of Tholos, which he dates *ca.* 460–450 B.C. (Thompson 1988, p. 201). Although in 1994 Thompson was doubtful of the identification, the character of the fragment still does suggest a date of that period whatever the building to which it belongs.

Ca. 460–450 B.C.

6. Ionic capital Figs. 2, 12, Pl. 37

A 768. Found May 26, 1937, in an excavation for a modern cellar at the corner of Hadrian and Mnesikles Streets.

Pentelic marble. H. 0.298, p.L. 0.80, W. 0.72 m.

Abacus 0.72 m. square. Diam. of bottom 0.64 m.

Smooth surface, all volutes and patterns painted. Ovolo abacus 0.031 m. high with egg-and-dart spacing 0.037 m. Ovolo echinus 0.095 m. high with egg-and-dart spacing 0.085 m. and four-petal palmettes in angle of volutes (diam. 0.315 m.), set 0.35 m. apart by echinus, top of which projects in front of face of volute. Fillet edge of volute painted. Bottom surface finely chiseled. In bottom, empolion cutting in center 0.09 m. square, 0.054 m. deep. Deeply incised square (0.44 m.) set back 0.01 m. from edge

of circle at center of each side of square. Line not parallel to face of capital, not from original use.

On top, cutting for a lifting lewis undercut on one side only. Relieving surface 0.06 m. wide from face of abacus.

The ovolo profiles of oval form with a high point of greatest projection are paralleled by those of the years around and not long after the middle of the 5th century B.C.

Bibliography: Meritt 1993, p. 317, fig. 4.

7. Fragment of Ionic capital Figs. 1, 11, Pl. 37 from the Stoa Poikile

A 661. Found May 21, 1936, in Section MM, dump of well (G 3).

Pentelic marble. P.H. 0.123, p.L. 0.215, p.W. 0.11 m. H. of echinus 0.075 m.

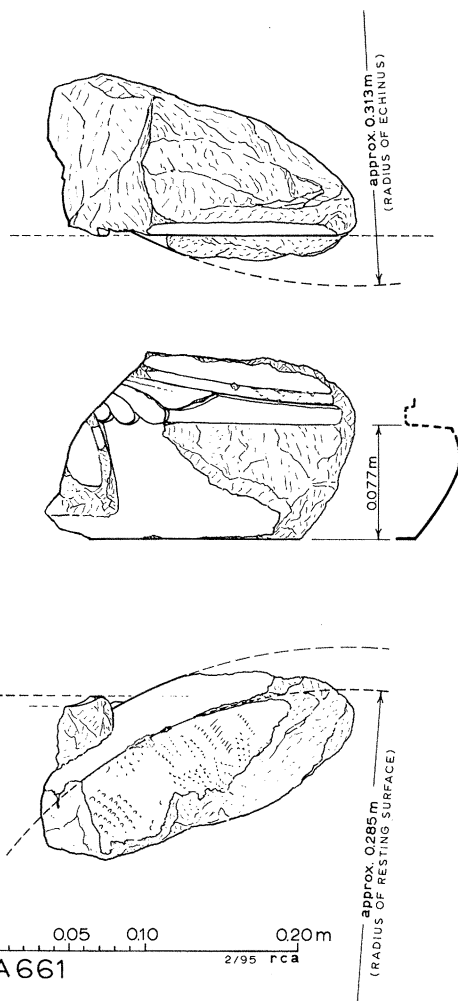


FIG. 11. Fragment of Ionic capital 7

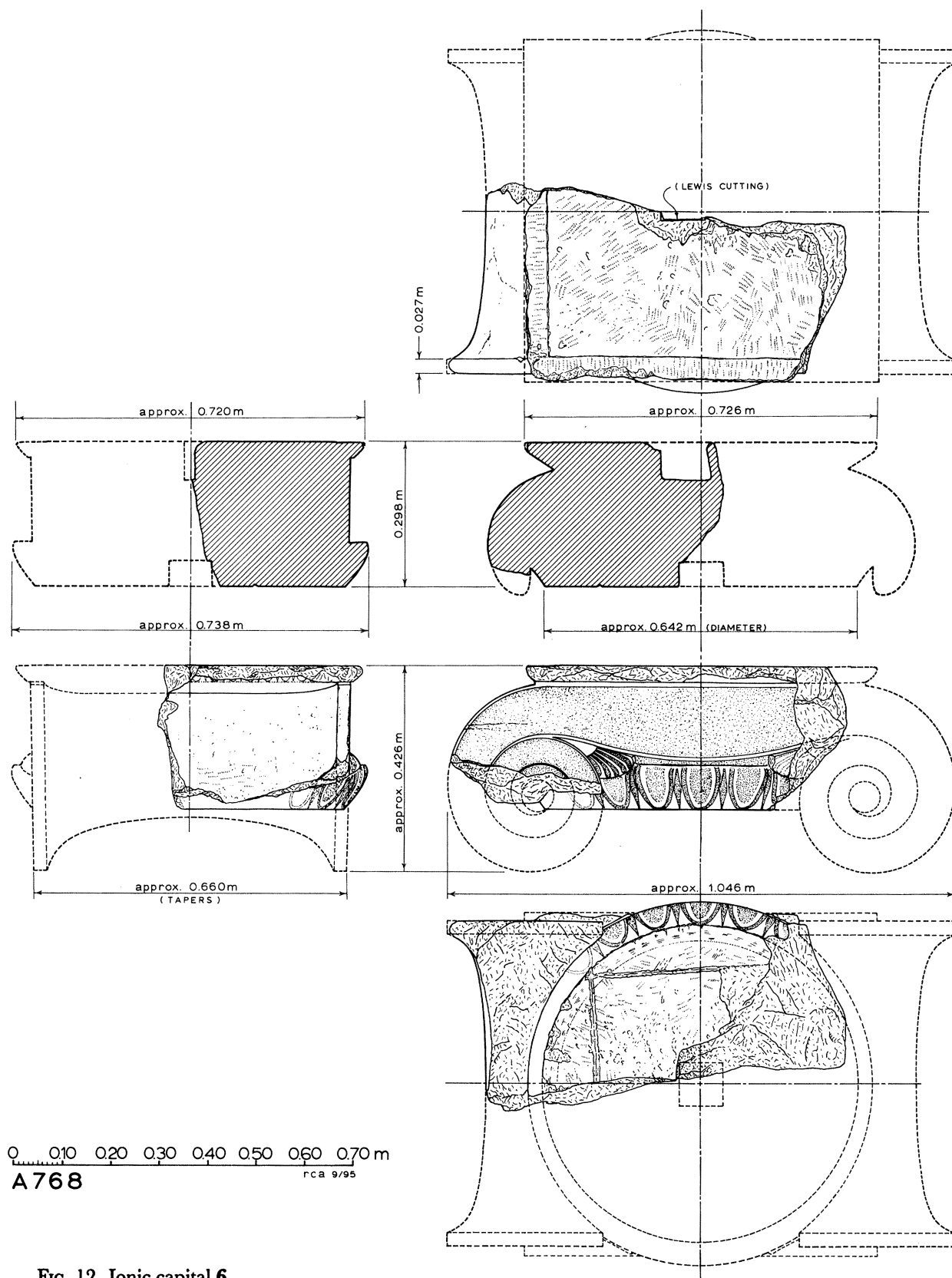


FIG. 12. Ionic capital 6

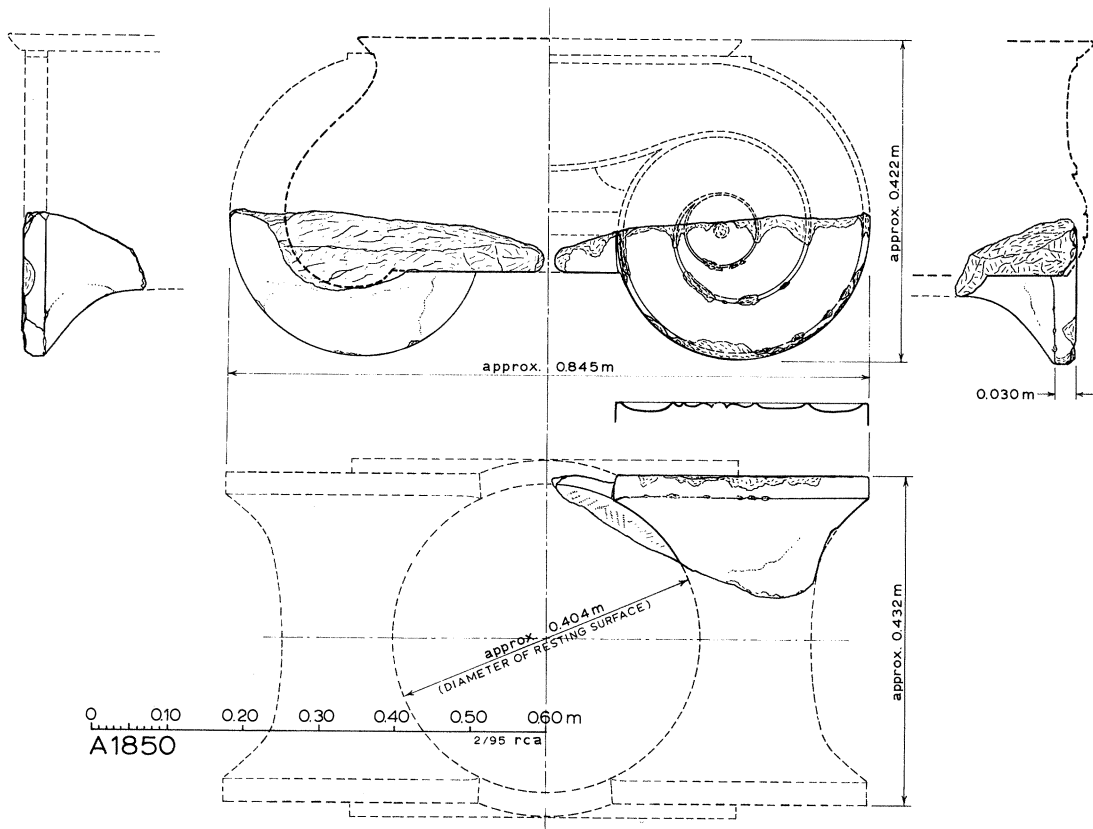


FIG. 13. Fragment of Ionic capital 8

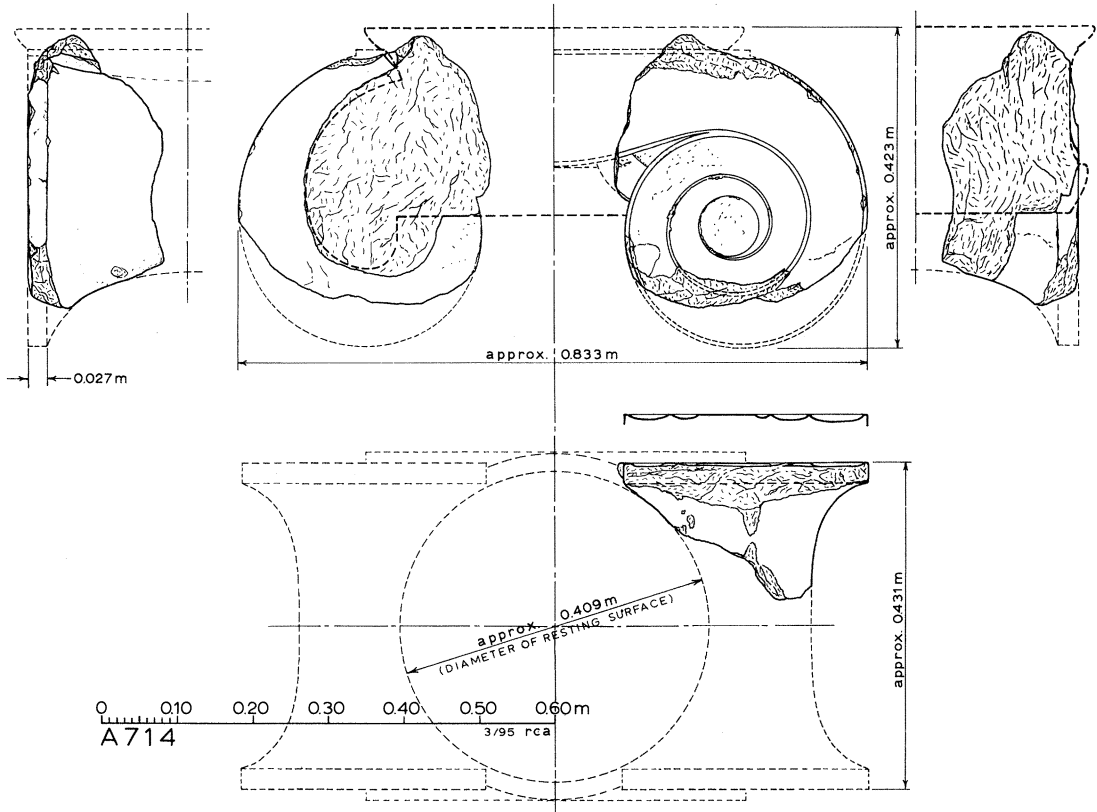


FIG. 14. Volute of Ionic capital 9

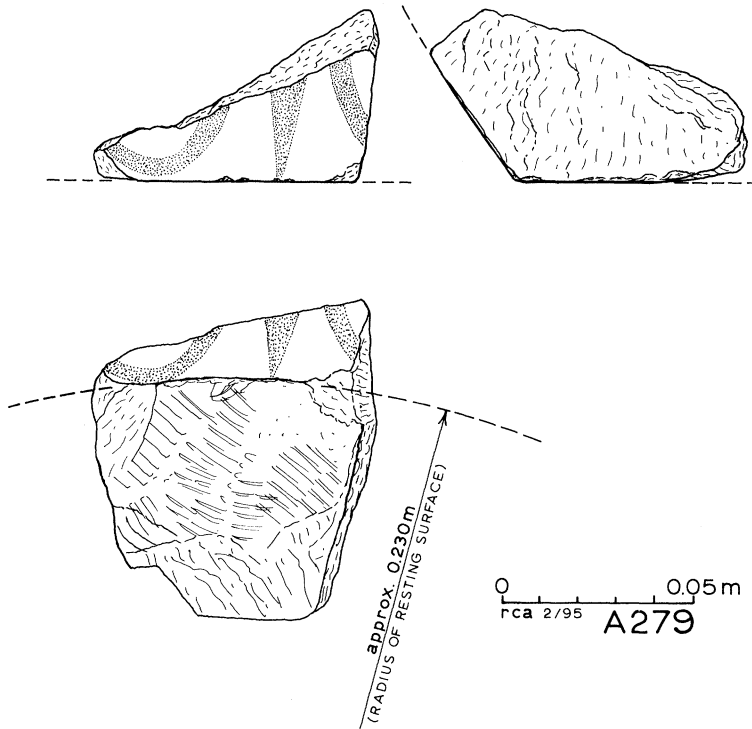


FIG. 15. Fragment of echinus of Ionic capital 10

Fragment of echinus and parts of adjoining left volute and horizontal. Shallow volute with fillet 0.008 m. wide, corner palmettes with four petals carved in outline, echinus smooth for painting of which faint trace of egg and dart remains.

Same as A 4662, identified as the interior order of the Stoa Poikile, Shear 1984, pp. 9–12, fig. 6, pl. 3:d. *Ca.* 460–450 B.C.

8. Fragment of Ionic capital Figs. 1, 13, Pl. 37

A 1850. Found June 4, 1951, in Section Σ, filling of Square Peribolos (O–P 8–9).

Pentelic marble. P.H. 0.185, p.L. 0.415, p.W. 0.15 m.

Fragment of lower half of right volute with bit of echinus attached at left and under about a quarter of bolster. Edge of volute (Diam. 0.335 m.) a flat fillet, 0.003–0.008 m. wide, raised slightly from the concave. Rim of eye of volute a slightly raised convex ring (Diam. 0.052 m.) around central relief boss (Diam. 0.022 m., broken away). Echinus smooth with traces of painted egg and dart and broken at top. Edge of bolster 0.03 m. wide. Trace of band

of red on bottom surface fills 0.012 m. width from bolster to setting line for top of shaft. Was this spilled down from the painting of a band on the bolster? Fine, smooth finish on all faces.

Ca. middle to third quarter 5th century B.C.

9. Volute of Ionic capital Fig. 14, Pl. 38

A 714. Found March 31, 1937, in Section P, in north wall of Byzantine room no. 22 (K 8).

Pentelic marble. P.H. 0.36, p.L. (Diam. of volute) 0.34, p.W. 0.18 m.

Right volute and part of bolster. Preserved height of abacus over bolster 0.06 m. but face broken. Volute edged with flat fillet 0.007 m. wide around slightly concave, smoothly finished surface. Eye (Diam. 0.075 m.) flat and smooth. Angle of volute has typical palmette divided into two parts vertically with division into four petals lightly incised.

Above bolster, beginning of abacus or base, of which bottom 0.01 m. is vertical and roughly finished. At top of bolster below it, dark stain 0.02 m. wide, probably from painted band.

Probably from a capital painted except for the edge of the volute, comparable to those of mid 5th century, e.g. **7** and **8**.

Mid 5th century B.C.

10. Fragment of echinus of Ionic capital Figs. 2, 15, Pl. 38

A 279. Found March 1, 1934, in Section B, in a large pithos (H 11).

Pentelic marble. P.H. 0.046, p.L. 0.07, p.W. 0.085 m.

Fragment of lower half of echinus with traces of painted egg and dart on smooth surface. Profile similar to that of **6**, the all-painted capital, **7** from the Stoa Poikile, and **12** from the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios; but the painted egg has a single border, not double as on **12**, and the spacing is closer, ca. 0.064 m.: center of egg to dart measures 0.032 m.

Third quarter 5th century B.C.

11. Fragment of volute of Ionic capital Fig. 16, Pl. 38

A 1590. Found April 1950 in Section II, in Late Roman fill (O 14–15).

Pentelic marble. P.H. 0.085, p.L. 0.115, p.W. 0.06 m.

Fragment of volute edged with flat fillet 0.007 m. wide; thickness of concave surface 0.028 m. to beginning of bolster, of greater depth than on **8** and **9**. Smooth surface.

5th century B.C.

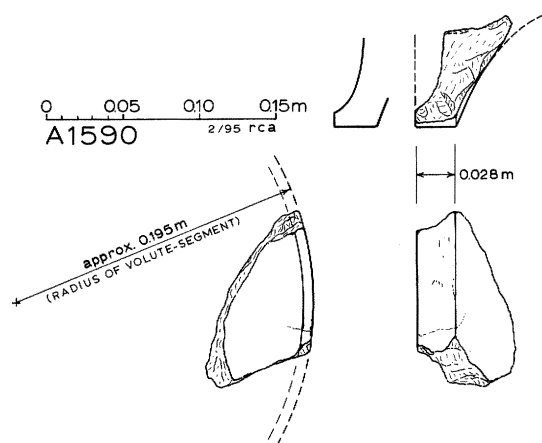


FIG. 16. Fragment of volute of Ionic capital **11**

12. Fragments of Ionic capital Figs. 2, 17, Pl. 39
from the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios

A 420. Found in 1931 in Section A, overlying the floor of the Stoa of Zeus (H 6).

Pentelic marble.

(a) Fragment of echinus: p.H. 0.074, p.L. 0.141, p.W. 0.036 m.

(b) Fragment of echinus: p.H. 0.12, p.L. 0.135, p.W. 0.15 m.

(c) Inner corner of volute with calyx of small palmette in angle: max. dim. 0.182 m.

(d) Fragment of volute with beginning of inner corner: max. dim. 0.135 m.

(e) Fragment of edge of volute: max. dim. 0.145 m.

Fragments a and b of the painted ovolo echinus combine with fragments c, d, and e of the volute to make up the capital identified as from the interior order of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios.

The profile of the echinus (Shoe 1936, pl. XXI:31) is similar to that of **6** and **7**, but the greater bottom depth indicates the somewhat later date accepted for the Stoa of Zeus in relation to the Stoa Poikile. Traces of painted egg and dart: spacing 0.10 m. at bottom, 0.116 m. at top. Egg with double border and center vein. Calyx and roots of five petals of palmette carved.

Bibliography: Stillwell 1933, pp. 122–123, figs. 10, 11; Thompson 1937, pp. 26–27, fig. 15; *Agora* XIV, p. 98.

Ca. 432–425 B.C.

13. Corner Ionic capital Figs. 3, 18, Pl. 38

A 546. Found April 5, 1935, in late wall at east end of Section O (M 12).

Piraeus poros. H. 0.247, p.L. 0.36, p.W. 0.34 m.

Outside corner of corner capital with volutes meeting at angle. Abacus and ovolo echinus hardly curved; echinus projects strongly from volute above. Eyes of both volutes (Diam. 0.035 m.) in high relief (0.013 m.) from center of volutes (Diam. 0.19 m.). Otherwise no carving of volutes or echinus; tooth-chiseled finish to receive paint. Trace of beginning of incised petal in corner between volute and echinus. Trace of painted egg and dart discernible on echinus.

To judge from the severe profiles without curves and the great depth in relation to the height, this capital probably is to be dated as late as the 4th century B.C.

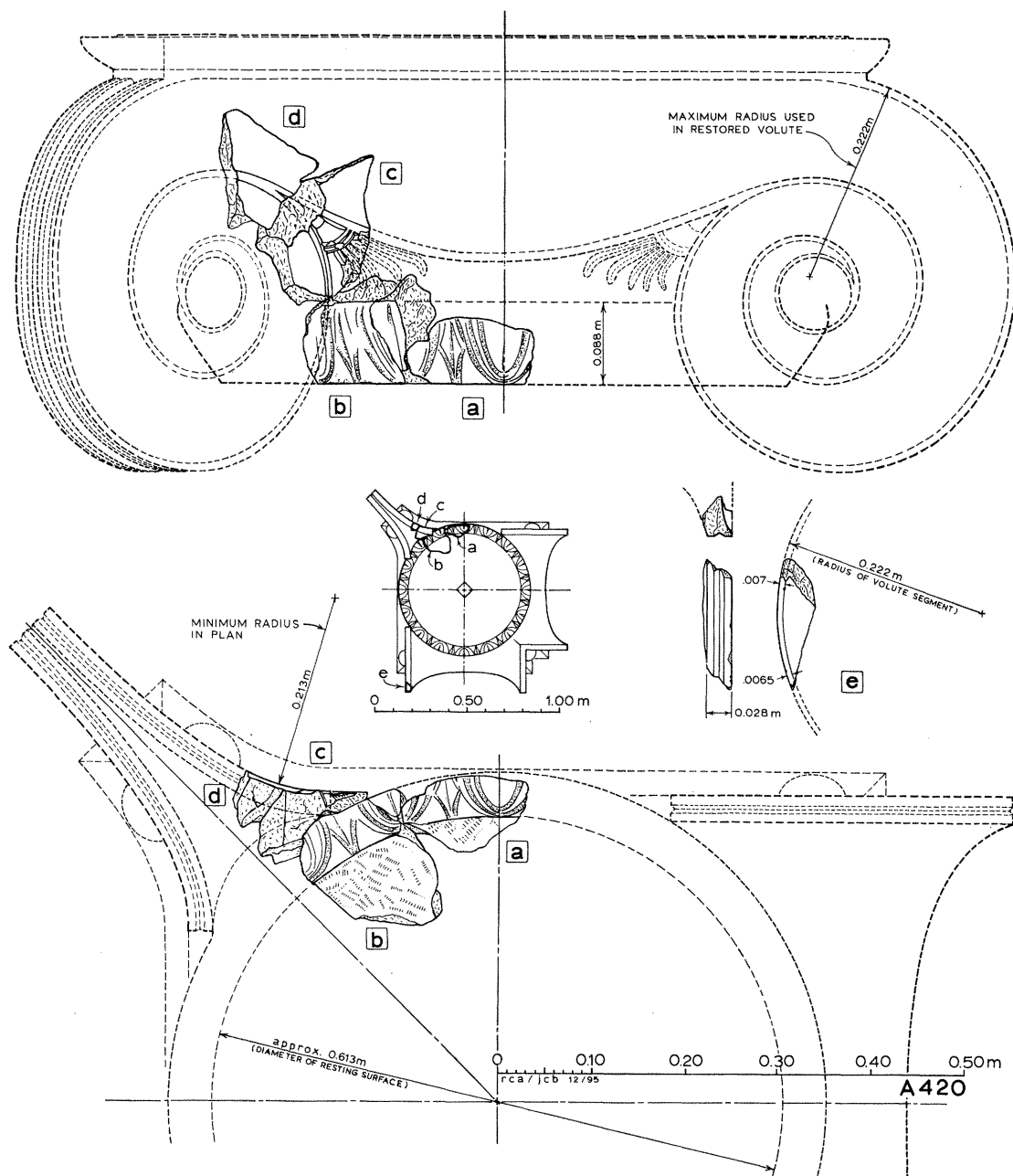


FIG. 17. Fragments of Ionic capital 12 from the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios

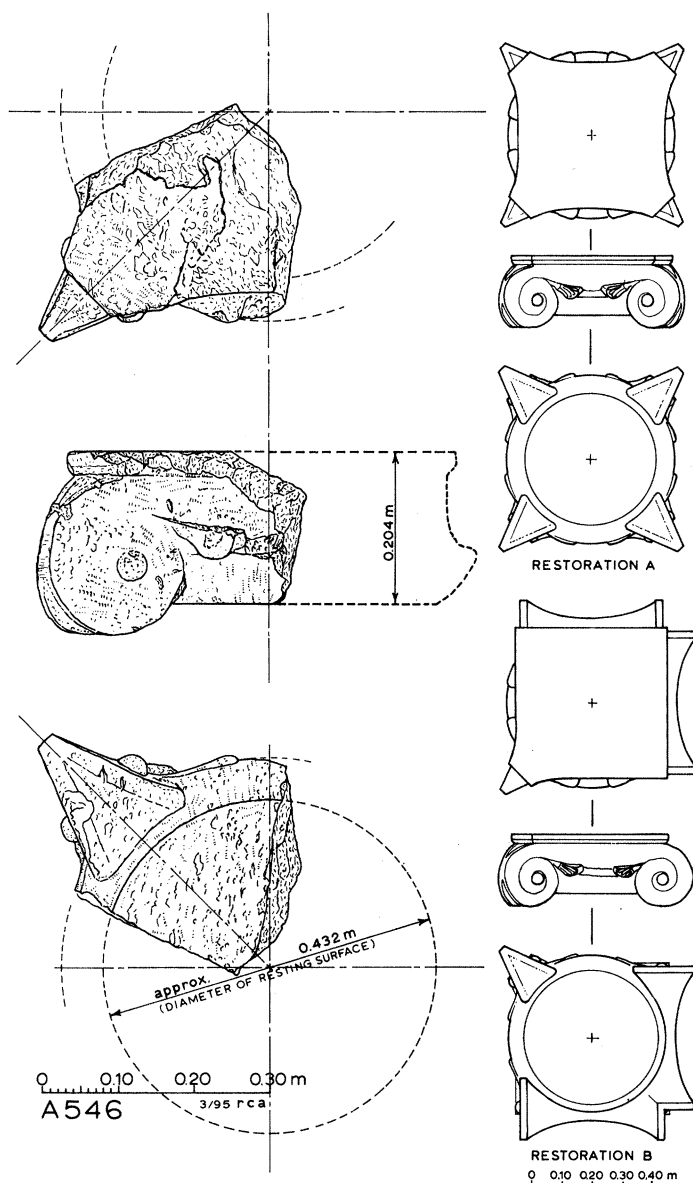


FIG. 18. Corner Ionic capital 13

TYPE II: PAINTED DETAILS, FASCIA OVER OVOLO ECHINUS

14. Ionic capitals and fragment of a base**14A.** Ionic capital Figs. 2, 20, Pls. 40, 41
from a building

A 2972. Found July 1959 in a tower of the Post-Herulian Fortification Wall (R 15).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.459, L. 1.235 m. Abacus H. 0.054, L. 0.925, W. 0.762 m.

Abacus, fascia-crowned ovolo with painted blue egg and dart (spacing 0.035 m.), yellow border, and red background. Volute very shallow concave, edged with flat fillet 0.008 m. wide painted blue. Eye strongly projecting. Eye to eye (center) 0.805 m. Horizontal part of volute dips only slightly onto necking consisting of fascia (H. 0.06 m.) above ovolo (H. 0.083 m.). Angle palmette carved with four petals, but other patterns all painted: on fascia, red spiral alternating with concave-sided square with four blue dots in cross formation against white; on ovolo, red egg and yellow dart with central red vein against blue background; eye center, red ringed with blue.

Bolster plain except for three astragals each 0.02 m. wide, set 0.03 m. apart in center. On top surface, two pry-holes on resting surface.

Capital A 2973, shafts A 2969, A 2970, A 2971, and base A 2891 and A 2892 from same order.

Bibliography: Thompson 1960, pp. 354–356, pl. 77; *Agora* XIV, p. 166, pl. 84; Travlos 1971, p. 111, fig. 152; Meritt 1993, p. 317, fig. 5 and p. 314, bottom.

Middle to third quarter 5th century B.C.

14B. Ionic capital Figs. 2, 21, Pls. 40, 41
from a building

A 2973. Found July 1959 in a tower of the Post-Herulian Fortification Wall (R 15).

Pentelic marble. P.H. 0.392, L. 1.202, W. 0.783 m. Abacus H. 0.054, L. 0.924, W. 0.779 m.

Abacus: ovolo with painted egg and dart (spacing 0.058 m.) blue against yellow background. Volute edged with flat fillet painted blue. Eye strongly projecting; painted, center blue ringed with red. Angle palmette of four petals carved on fascia (H. 0.06 m.) above ovolo (H. 0.083 m.) of echinus, maeander painted blue against yellow on fascia. On ovolo, egg and dart: blue eggs with yellow border and

yellow ground, spacing 0.08–0.085 m. on front, 0.095–0.10 m. under volute painted blue.

Bolster same as **14A**.

No cuttings on top.

See **14A** for other pieces of the same order.

Bibliography: Thompson 1960, pp. 354–356; Travlos 1971, p. 111, fig. 153; Meritt 1993, p. 317, fig. 6 and p. 314, top.

Middle to third quarter 5th century B.C.

14C. Ionic column base, Fig. 19, Pl. 41
from a building

A 2891. Found June 1959: two fragments built into the south wall of the tower of the Post-Herulian Fortification Wall at the southwest corner of the Library of Pantainos (R 15); three fragments recovered from marble piles of the 1930's from the same tower.

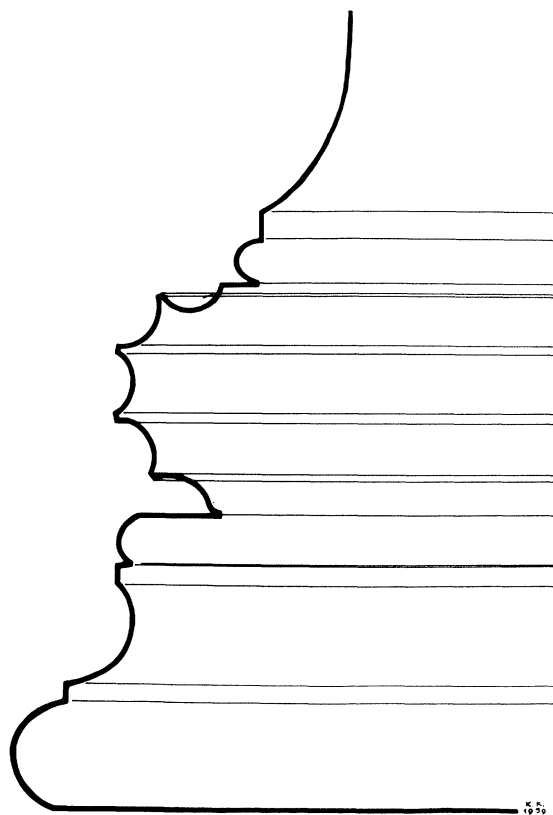


FIG. 19. Ionic column base **14C**. Scale 1:5

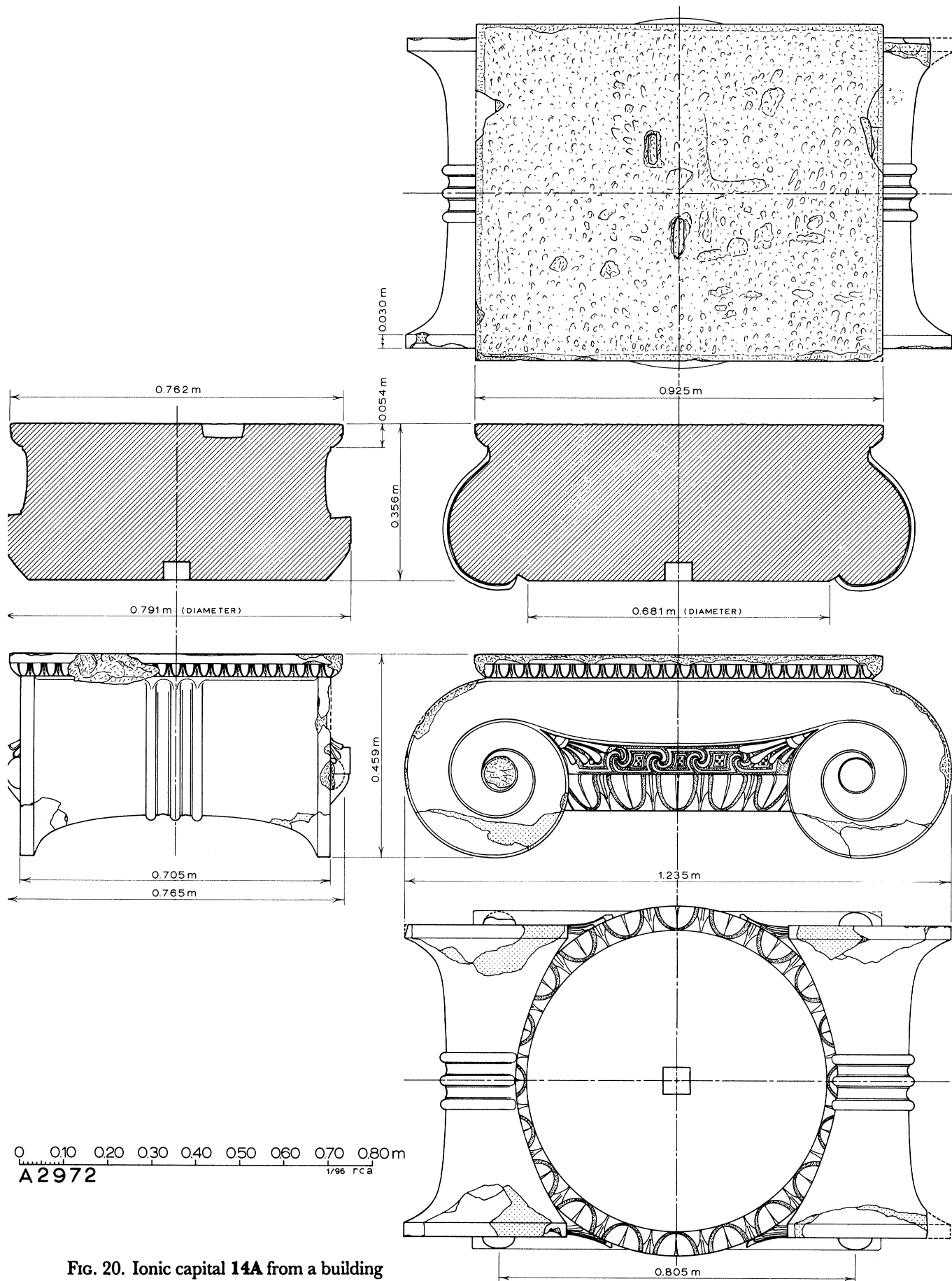


FIG. 20. Ionic capital 14A from a building

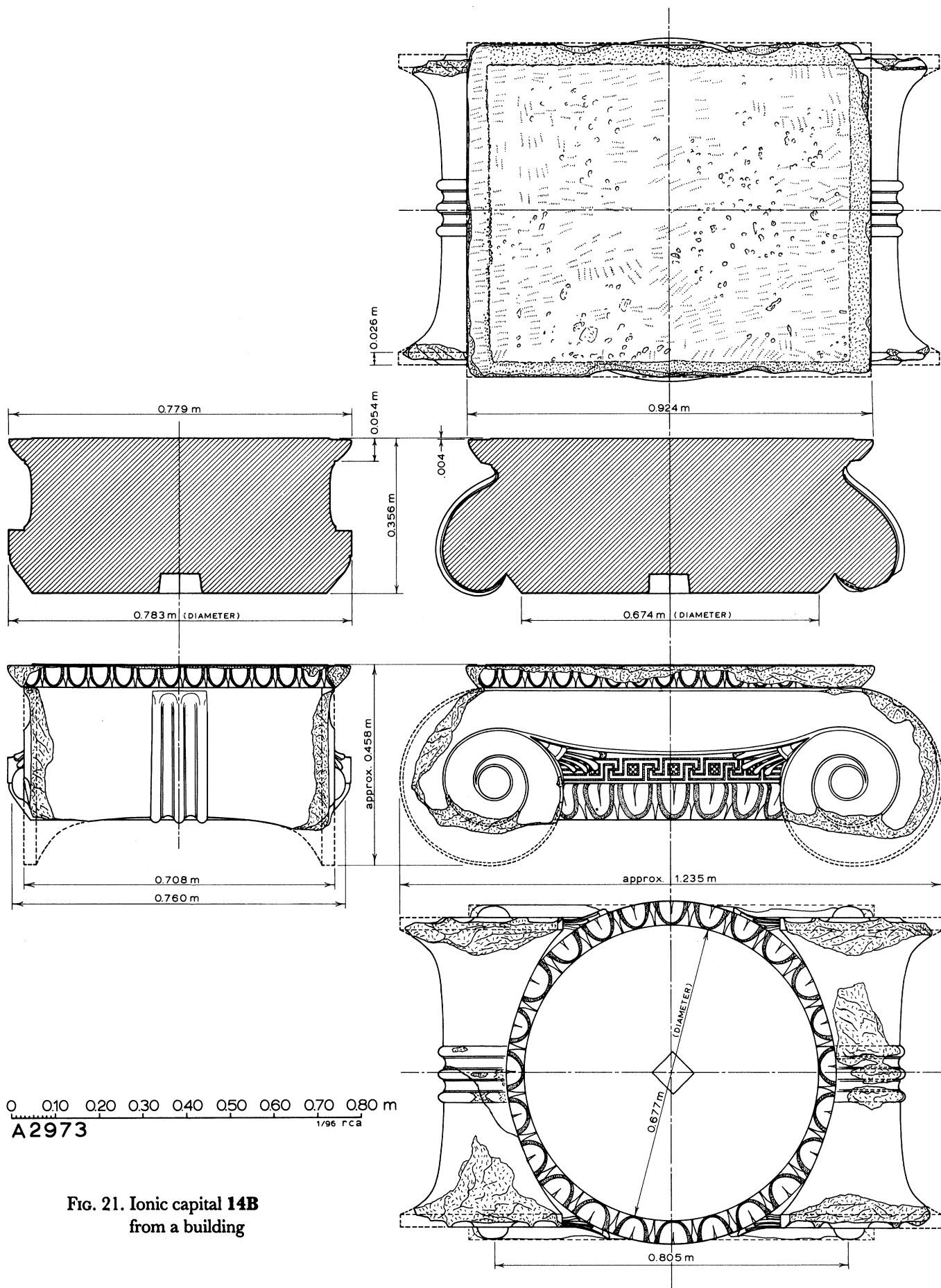


FIG. 21. Ionic capital 14B
from a building

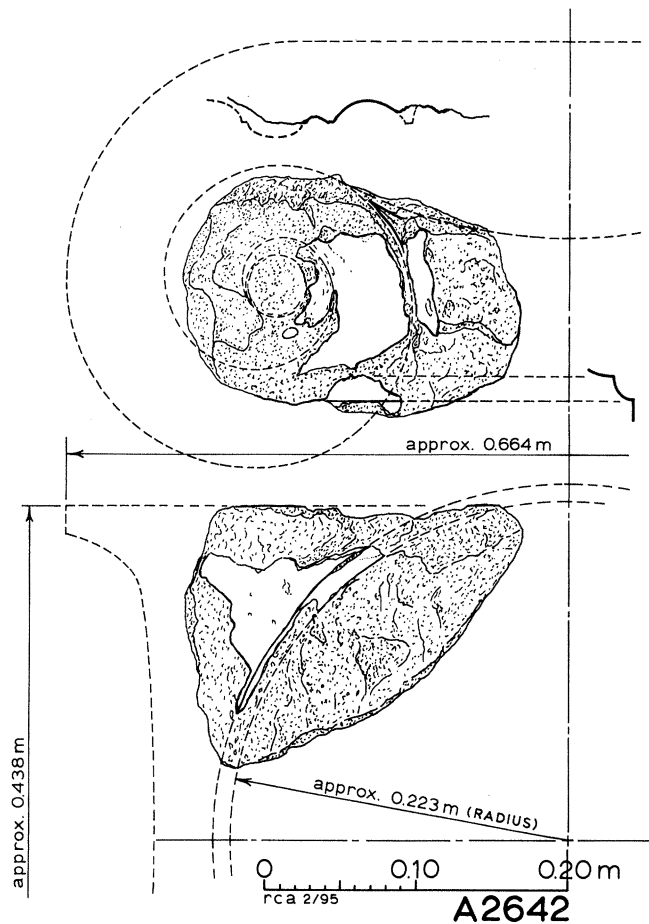


FIG. 22. Fragment of Ionic capital 15

Pentelic marble. Pieces fitted together and missing sections restored in cement. H. 0.19, max. Diam. 1.11 m.

A 2892. Found July 1959 under the southwest corner of the tower of the Post-Herulian Wall at the southwest corner of the Library of Pantainos (R 15).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.151, max. Diam. 0.98, Diam. of top 0.828, Diam. of bottom 0.855 m.

The base consists of two separate blocks of marble. A 2892 is the separate upper torus of the base; A 2891 is the reconstructed lower piece with the other elements of the base.

The upper torus is fluted horizontally with five flutes of substantial depth. It rests on a block of greater height, which is composed of three elements: the principal one is a well-formed scotia of slightly more than half the height of the torus above, its bottom projecting well beyond the top to meet a plain unfluted torus of less height projecting below; above the scotia is a small half-round.

The well-rounded projecting scotia gives the base the flaring character of the standard "Athenian" base of the later Erechtheion, with greater projection than that of the Propylaia base, but the lower torus is still smaller than standard even though larger than in the Nike and Ilissos temples.

Bibliography: Meritt 1969, no. 4, p. 189, fig. 2:d, pl. 49:h.

Middle to third quarter 5th century B.C.

15. Fragment of Ionic capital Fig. 22, Pl. 41

A 2642. Found July 1956 in Section O, marble pile east of the Odeion.

Granular yellow poros stuccoed. P.H. 0.175, p.L. 0.205, p.W. 0.175 m.

Left volute and beginning of ovolo echinus badly battered. Curve of volute deeply concave with astragal edge; stucco preserved on part of right side. Trace of projecting eye. Ovolo echinus preserved only under bolster of volute.

The battered beginning of two of the petals of the angle palmette confirms the probable position of the bottom of the horizontal part of the volute.

The height of what appears to be necking as distinct from the horizontal part of the volute (*ca.* 0.10 m.) suggests that above the ovolo was a vertical face high enough to be a distinct element, perhaps to slope back as in **16** and **17**.

May belong with geison A 759 (raking geison) and anta capital A 3959 (capital with cavetto-crowned hawksbeak as crown).

Possibly first half of 4th century B.C.; if it belongs with A 759 and A 3959, about mid 4th century B.C.

TYPE III: PAINTED DETAILS, FASCIA OVER CYMA REVERSA ECHINUS

16. Series of Ionic capitals

16A. Ionic capital Figs. 3, 23, Pl. 42

A 1130. Brought in July 4, 1944. Found in marble pile in west part of Section II (T 21-22).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.325, L. 0.80, p.W. 0.31 m.

Severely battered surface. Abacus apparently a cyma reversa, p.H. 0.03, p.L. 0.56 m. Edge of volute a flat fillet (W. 0.007-0.008 m.). Eyes of volutes strongly projecting (Diam. 0.007 m.). Volute: Diam. 0.32 m. In angle of volute with necking, five-petal palmette carved, petals flat. Necking: H. 0.14 m. Vertical element (H. 0.065 m.) receding in upper half to fit under horizontal portion of volute over cyma reversa with projecting base astragal, smooth for painted ornament. Space between volutes 0.245 m. Diameter of resting surface 0.59 m.

Bibliography: Bakalakis 1946, p. 60; Amandry 1953, pp. 99-100, note 3, no. 3; Meritt 1993, p. 320, fig. 13.

470-460 B.C.

16B. Corner Ionic capital Figs. 3, 24, Pls. 42, 43

A 1893. Brought in June 15, 1951. Found in area of Church of St. Dionysius the Areopagite during excavations by Soteriou in 1915. Akropolis 13352, recently found (note 35 above), is one of its volutes.

Pentelic marble. H. 0.331, p.L. 0.77, p.W. 0.69 m.

Abacus: H. 0.035, L. 0.67, W. 0.67 m.; battered cyma reversa, not carved. On each of two adjacent sides, volute with flat fillet edge. Corner spirals and most

of one other (left) broken away; only top quadrant of right one on one side preserved (no eye preserved). In angle with necking, five-petal palmette carved with flat petals. Necking: H. 0.14 m., vertical, with upper half receding at top to fit under volute, above cyma reversa with projecting base astragal, smooth for painted ornament. On bolster sides (of one, only top preserved but most of other except bottom), a flat band (W. 0.063 m.; W. 0.066 m. in center). Diameter of resting surface 0.585 m.

Manolis Korres has found the volute missing from the corner where the two faces meet (Akropolis 13352; see note 35 above and Pl. 43).

Same series as **16A**. The close similarity of this pair of capitals to those of the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi in general form and proportions and in the form of necking suggests a date for **16A** and **16B** not long after that of the Stoa, which Amandry dates in or soon after 478 B.C.

Bibliography: Soteriou 1916, p. 129, fig. 6, right; Bakalakis 1946, pp. 60-61, figs. 3-6; Amandry 1953, pp. 99-100, note 3, no. 2, a, pl. XL:5, 6.

470-460 B.C.

17. Capitals from the Temple of Athena at Sounion

17A. Ionic capital Fig. 25, Pl. 43

A 1595. Found May 1950. Removed from the east face of the Post-Herulian Fortification Wall at the south end of the Library of Pantainos (R 15).

Local Agrileza marble. H. 0.304, L. 0.876, W. 0.574 m.

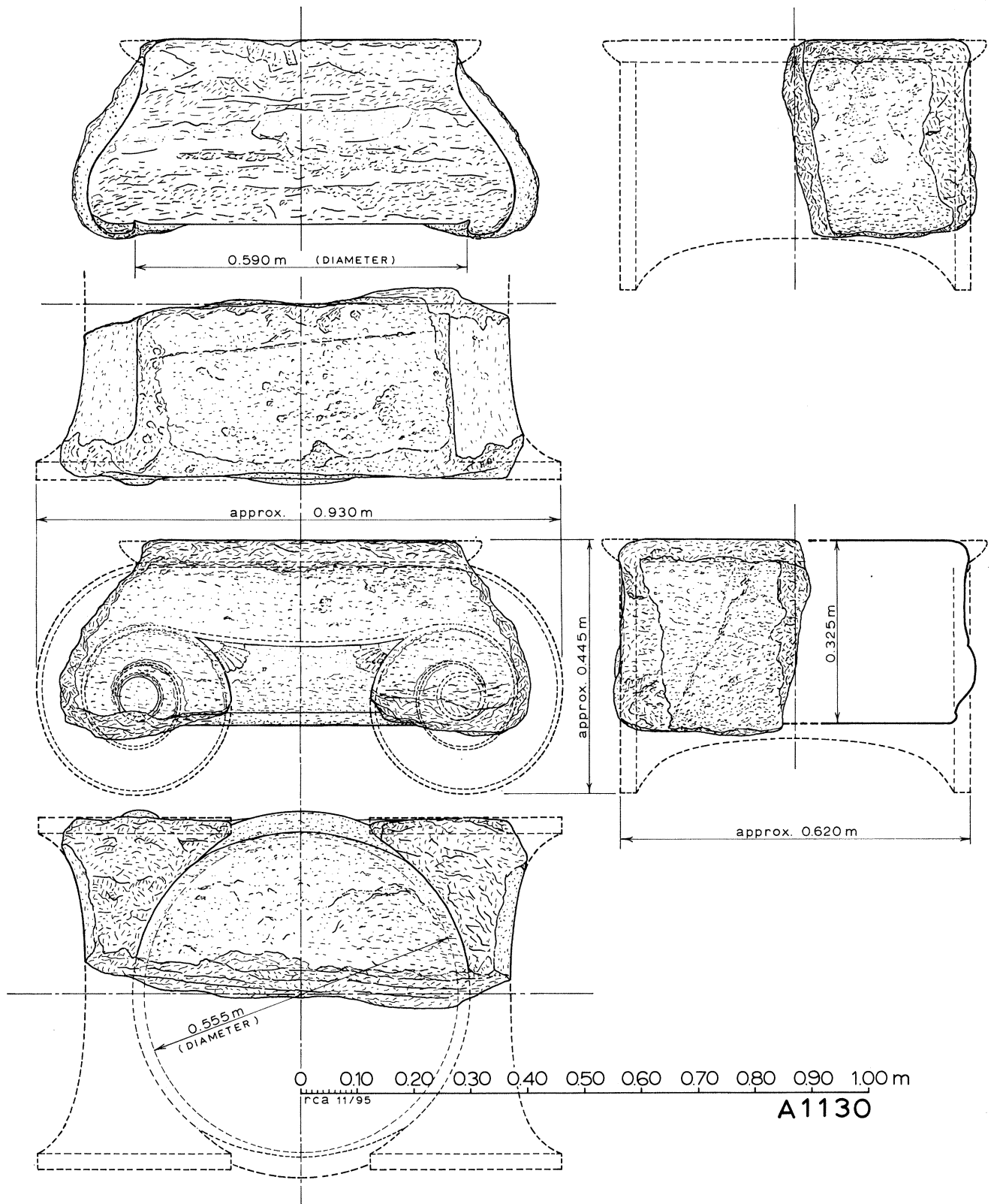


FIG. 23. Ionic capital 16A

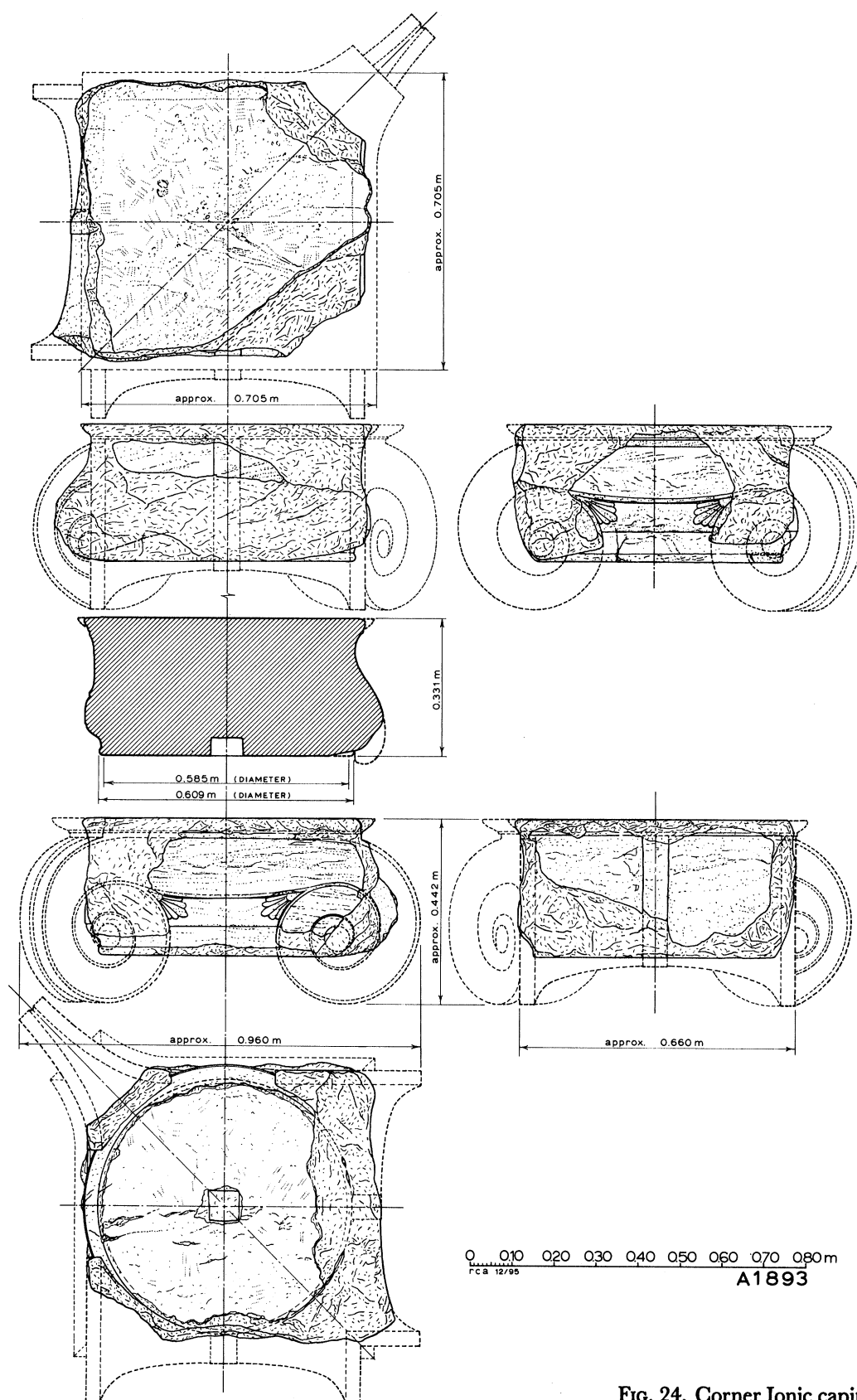


FIG. 24. Corner Ionic capital 16B

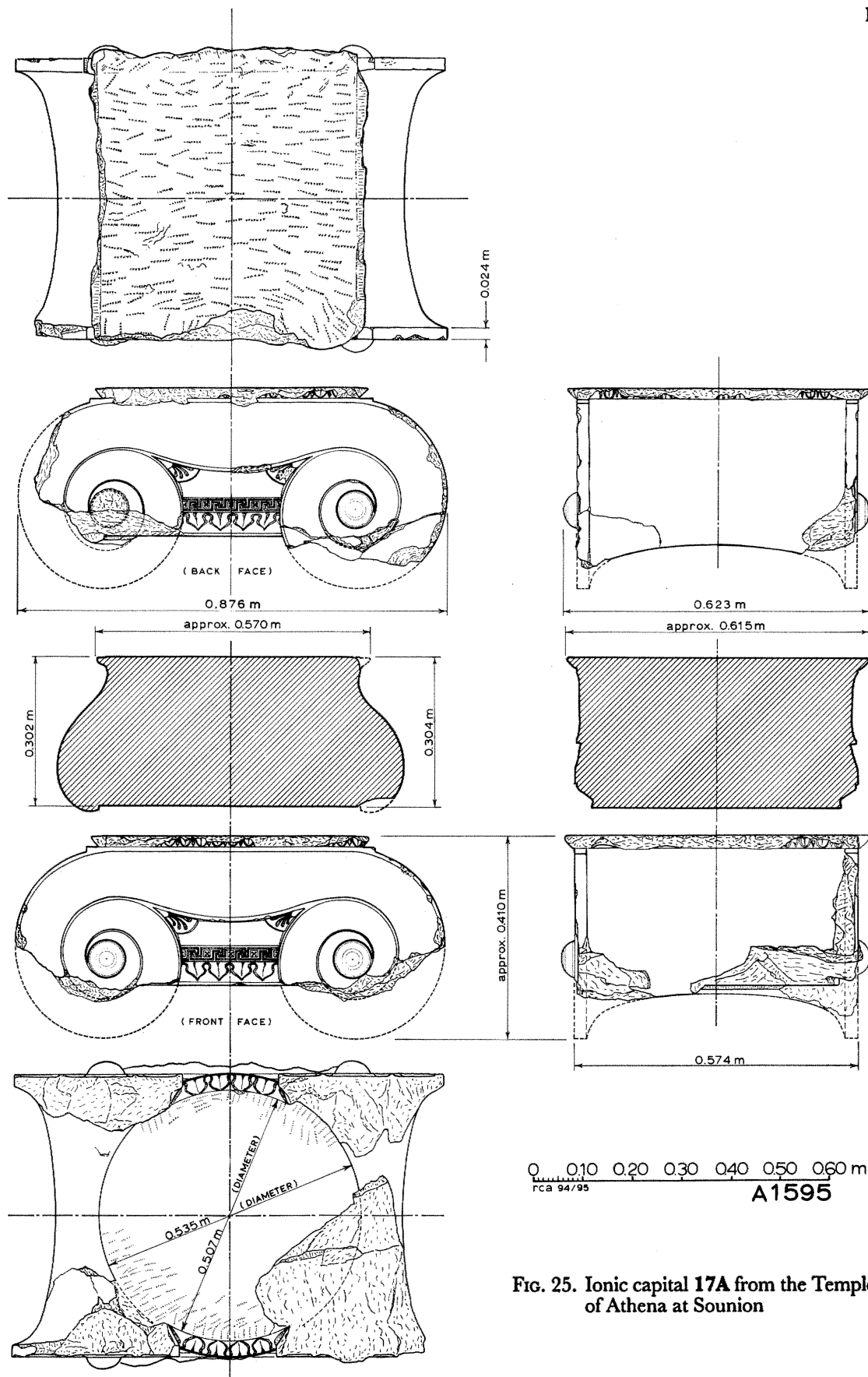


FIG. 25. Ionic capital 17A from the Temple of Athena at Sounion

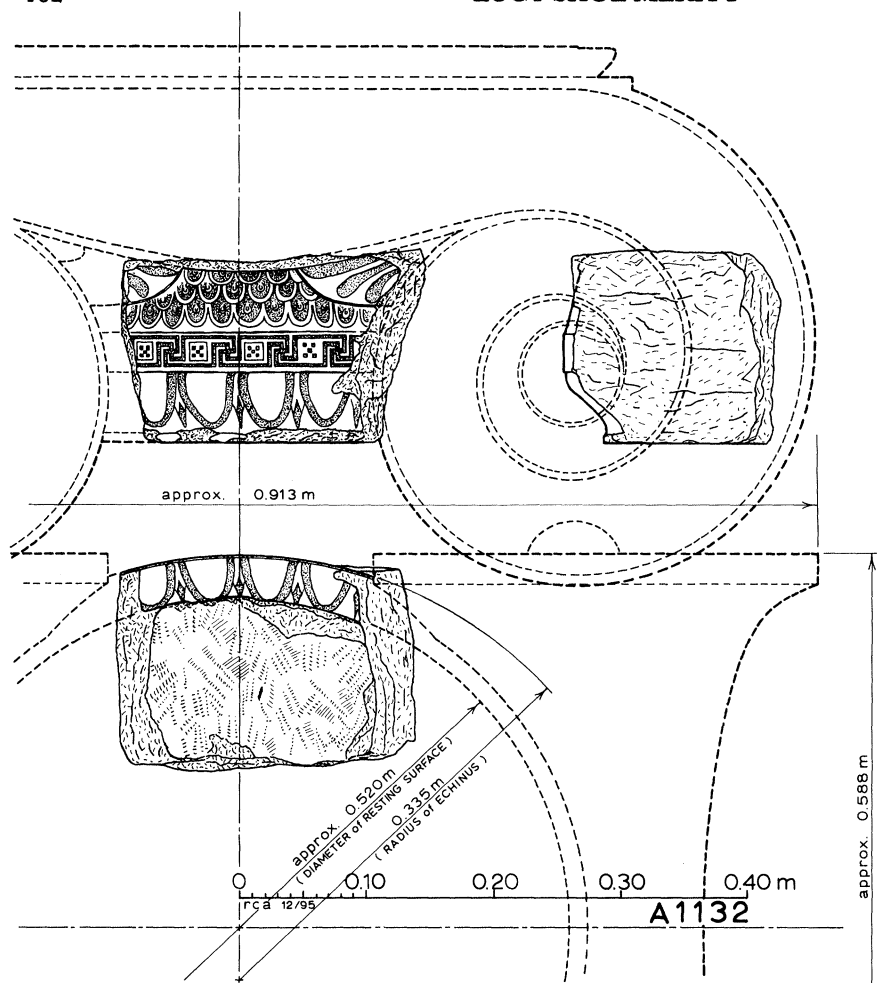


FIG. 26. Fragment of echinus of Ionic capital **17B** from the Temple of Athena at Sounion

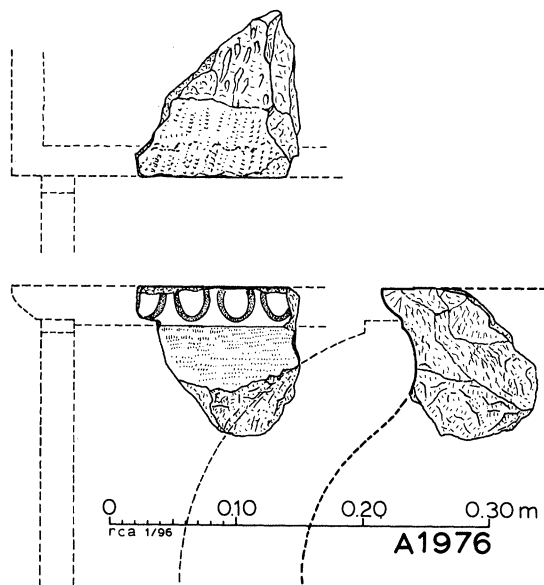


FIG. 27. Fragment of bolster and abacus of Ionic capital **17C** from the Temple of Athena at Sounion

Capital complete except for lower parts of spiral of volutes, which are broken off on one side about in line with bottom resting surface and a bit higher on bolster sides; on other side left spiral is complete. Shallow concave surface bordered by narrow flat fillet. Concentric incised circles around high boss in eye (Diam. 0.073 m.). Palmettes in angle with echinus are solid triangles with traces of painted petals. Necking consists of echinus of cyma-reversa profile crowned by very slightly projecting fascia. Above fascia, flat surface slopes back to beneath bottom edge of volute, which curves down slightly from the horizontal. Traces of painted patterns: none on sloping element, maeander on fascia, Lesbian leaf on cyma reversa (spacing 0.045 m. at bottom). Abacus (H. 0.023, W. 0.57, L. 0.615 m.): ovolo with traces of painted egg and dart (spacing 0.035 m.).

Bibliography: *Agora* XIV, p. 166; Thompson 1976, pp. 287–288, fig. 150; Travlos 1971, pp. 104, 111, fig. 151; Meritt 1993, p. 320, fig. 14.

Mid 5th century B.C.

17B. Fragment of Ionic capital Fig. 26, Pl. 43

A 1132. Found July 1946 in marble dump south of the Stoa of Attalos (P–R 12–15).

Local Agrileza marble. P.H. 0.15, p.L. 0.223, p.W. 0.16 m.

Fragment of echinus with bottom surface dressed smooth. Patterns painted on echinus well preserved: egg and dart on cyma reversa, maeander on fascia over it, and three rows of scale pattern on sloping fascia above. Three-petal palmettes in angles.

Bibliography: Meritt 1993, p. 321, fig. 16.

Mid 5th century B.C.

17C. Fragment of Ionic capital Fig. 27, Pl. 43

A 1976. Found April 1952 in late Roman fill above the Hellenistic branch of Great Drain in front of South Stoa II near its east end (N 14).

Local Agrileza marble. P.H. 0.117, p.L. 0.13, p.W. 0.13 m.

Fragment of top of central part of bolster finished with toothed chisel characteristic of work on Temple of Athena at Sounion. The abacus has a profile predominantly ovolo in character but with a slight curve at the bottom which turns it into a cyma reversa. Perhaps the form still so ovolo in effect explains the egg and dart painted on it; traces of the red of the border and blue of the center of the egg remain. On the bolster two vertical bands, 0.025 m. wide and 0.021 m. apart, are painted in blue.

Bibliography: Meritt 1993, p. 320, fig. 19.

Mid 5th century B.C.

TYPE IV: CARVED DETAILS

18. Ionic capital Figs. 1, 28, Pl. 44
from a building

A 616. Found February 18, 1936, in Section N, in the area of the Odeion (K 11), reused in the Vlassarou church.

Island marble. H. 0.243, L. 0.67, W. 0.459 m.

The top two thirds of the capital have been cut down at the sides, and the central portion (just a bit larger in diameter than the space between the volutes below) has been cut into a circular shaft (Diam. 0.395 m.); in the center of the top of the shaft are a circular cutting (Diam. 0.10 m., 0.038 m. deep) and a dowel hole. Surface of drum tooth chiseled; top of cut-down volutes roughly cut. Of the original capital there remain the spirals of the volutes, down to the bottom of the eye, and the echinus. The volutes are slightly concave with double astragal edge, eye

(Diam. 0.056 m.) carved with a rosette of eight double petals, the center inset (not preserved). The ovolo echinus is, on one side, carved with five eggs with darts and the angle between volute and echinus with a five-petaled half palmette. Between the bottom of the horizontal part of the volutes and the top of the ovolo echinus is a plain vertical (min. H. 0.016 m.). On the other side the face of the volute and echinus are cut away. On the bolster, four pairs of double astragals 0.015–0.02 m. wide and apart are clustered in the center of the width of the bolster, which is only slightly concave. On bottom resting surface of echinus (Diam. 0.454 m.), empolion 0.074 × 0.079 m., 0.059 m. deep.

Another capital of the same original series lies on the Akropolis (Meritt 1982, pp. 84–86, fig. 2, pl. 12:b, d, f) and shows details of the parts missing here.

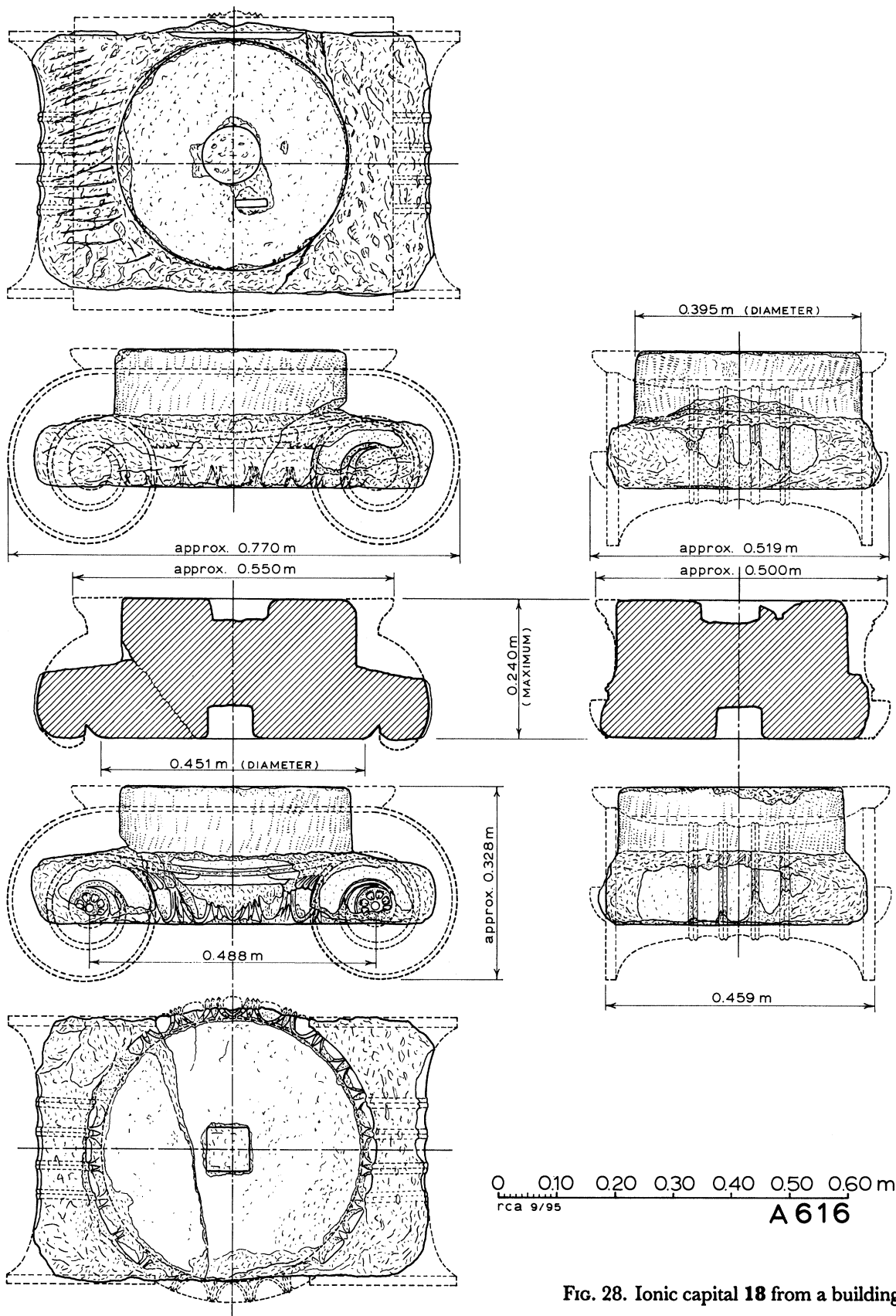
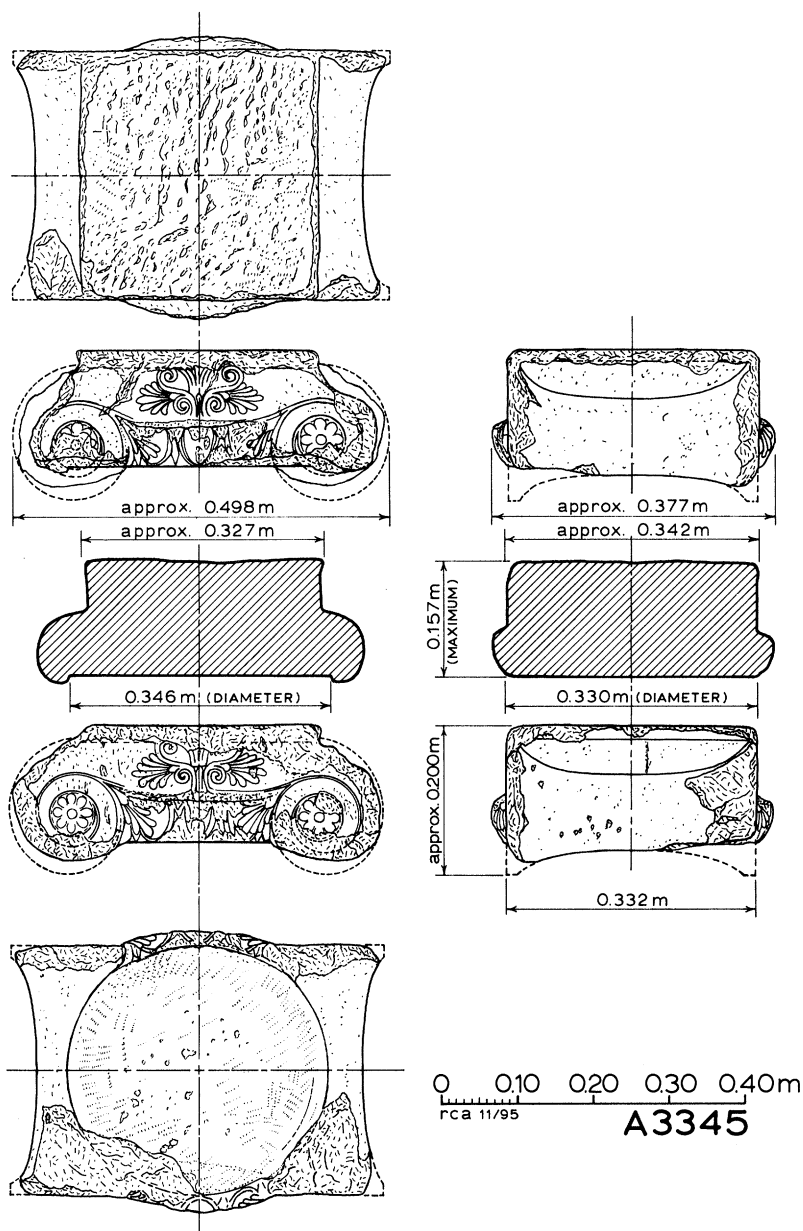


FIG. 28. Ionic capital 18 from a building

FIG. 29. Ionic capital **19** from a building

Most notable is the lack of full carving of one side of the Akropolis piece. **18** must have been similarly treated, details of volute and echinus only blocked out, not fully carved.

Both the existence of two identical capitals and the location of the dowel holes on the top, which attest the

securing of an epistyle block above, indicate that these capitals were used in a building. Three torus bases (A 829, A 147, A 4543) may possibly belong with these capitals. There are several possible candidates for the building among the 6th-century foundations in the general area of the Agora.

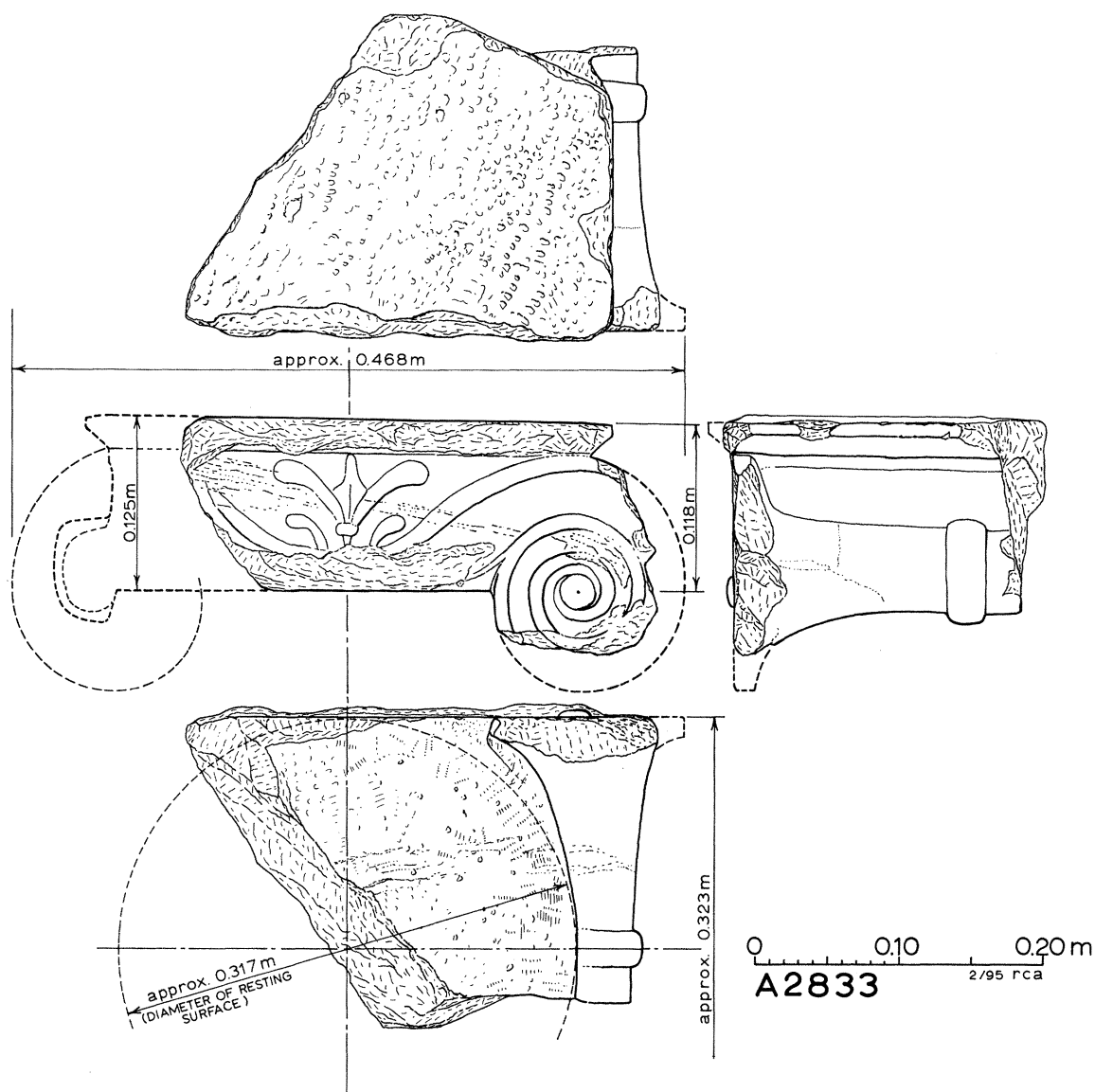


FIG. 30. Late Roman or Early Christian Ionic capital 20

Bibliography: Meritt 1982, pp. 82–92, fig. 1, pl. 12:a, c, e; for date, see p. 88.

Last quarter 6th century B.C.

19. Ionic capital
from a building

Figs. 1, 29, Pl. 44

A 3345. Seen in a pile in the Stoa of Attalos in the 1920's by Hans Möbius (1927, p. 170, Beil. XIX:1).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.18, p.L. 0.485 m. Abacus W. 0.33, W. with echinus 0.375 m.

There are no cuttings either on top, nearly squared (L. 0.327, W. 0.332 m.) and very roughly picked, or on bottom (Diam. of bearing surface 0.33 m., but 0.346 m. between the bolsters), finished with a coarse tooth chisel. Both faces treated alike: volutes convex within slightly rounded edge. Diameter of volutes

0.15 m., space between them (W. 0.19 m.) filled with echinus. Eyes of volutes (Diam. 0.06 m.) filled with eight-petal rosette with center boss. On horizontal part of volute extending width of echinus below is carved in low relief an ornament of two seven-petal palmettes laid on their sides symmetrically bottom to bottom, springing from two spirals; from between the spirals springs a lotus as center of the composition. Tendrils ending in spirals spring from the top of each palmette and curl up to encompass the central lotus. Unfortunately the top of the ornament is missing. On the echinus, which projects well out from the face of the volute, are carved three eggs, each of the side ones nearly completely covered by the carved palmette that spreads out from the angle of volute and echinus. The eggs do not continue under the bolsters, nor is there any molding under the bolster, which is smooth, uncarved, and for most of its width fills only three quarters of the height of the face of the capital.

Possible third quarter 4th century B.C. (see p. 138 above).

20. Ionic capital Fig. 30, Pl. 45

A 2833. Found June 19, 1959, in a marble pile in Section E (U–V 19–20).

Pentelic marble. H. from bottom of volute 0.165, in center 0.118, p.L. 0.33 m. Abacus p.L. 0.30, p.W. 0.23 m.

All except left side of volute preserved on face. Abacus 0.025 m. high damaged on face, but turn onto bolster side shows uncarved straight-sided ovolo profile. Volute on face convex, bordered by half-round 0.01 m. wide ending in large eye filled by eight-petal

rosette with central button. The normally horizontal portion dips down in the center to touch the top of what may have been a flat “necking” but is broken away. In the resulting space between volute border and abacus is a simple ornament in relief consisting of two widely spaced outcurving palmette petals on each side of a central diamond-shaped element. The bolster is thin at the center with a single band 0.028 m. wide on center and raised 0.008–0.015 m. from the flat, poorly finished surface of a rolling-pinlike form. The bottom of the capital is a square, tooth chiseled and roughly picked without cuttings. The capital apparently served to crown a small pier or pedestal.

The combination of some Archaic with some very late characteristics marks this as a product of archaistic design. The poor workmanship might be found in either late Hellenistic or Roman times for a very modest piece. The very slim bolster suggests a date as late as possible among periods that saw and imitated Archaic convex volutes dipping down in the center and combined them with a contemporary late ovolo; the oval is pretty well gone and the bolster hardly recognizable as a bolster any more. Were this piece found in a collection with no provenience, one would probably consider it a very provincial product, but found as it was in the heart of Athens, it must be regarded as a very late expression with some archaistic elements. One is tempted to think of it as the same kind of expression as a piece found on the Areopagus under the pavement of the Church of St. Dionysius the Areopagite (Soteriou 1916, p. 129, fig. 6, left) along with other Greek and Roman architectural pieces.

Probably Late Roman or Early Christian.

TYPE V: CANONICAL FORM

21. Corner Ionic capital Figs. 3, 31, Pl. 47
from a building

A 2887. Found July 6, 1959, built into the Post-Herulian Fortification Wall opposite the southwest corner of the temple in the Eleusinion (T 20).

Pentelic marble. H. exclusive of volute 0.21, p.L. of volutes 0.55, W. of bolster 0.434, Diam. of resting surface 0.438 m.

Corner capital of canonical carved type with ovolo echinus carved with egg and dart (spacing 0.07 m. at top, 0.062 m. at bottom) and large carved palmettes

with four incurving petals in angles of volutes. The concavity of the volute is slightly greater than in 5th-century capitals. The eye is a projecting boss. The abacus is an uncarved ovolo with a cyma reversa under it on the bolster sides. The bolster has four rounded astragallike bands each bordered on both sides; they are all clustered in the center of the bolster, which has otherwise a smooth surface.

The uncarved abacus and the emphasis on the center of the bolster are regular Athenian characteristics, as is the projecting eye clearly retained even in this capital with a canonical Ionian carved ovolo echinus.

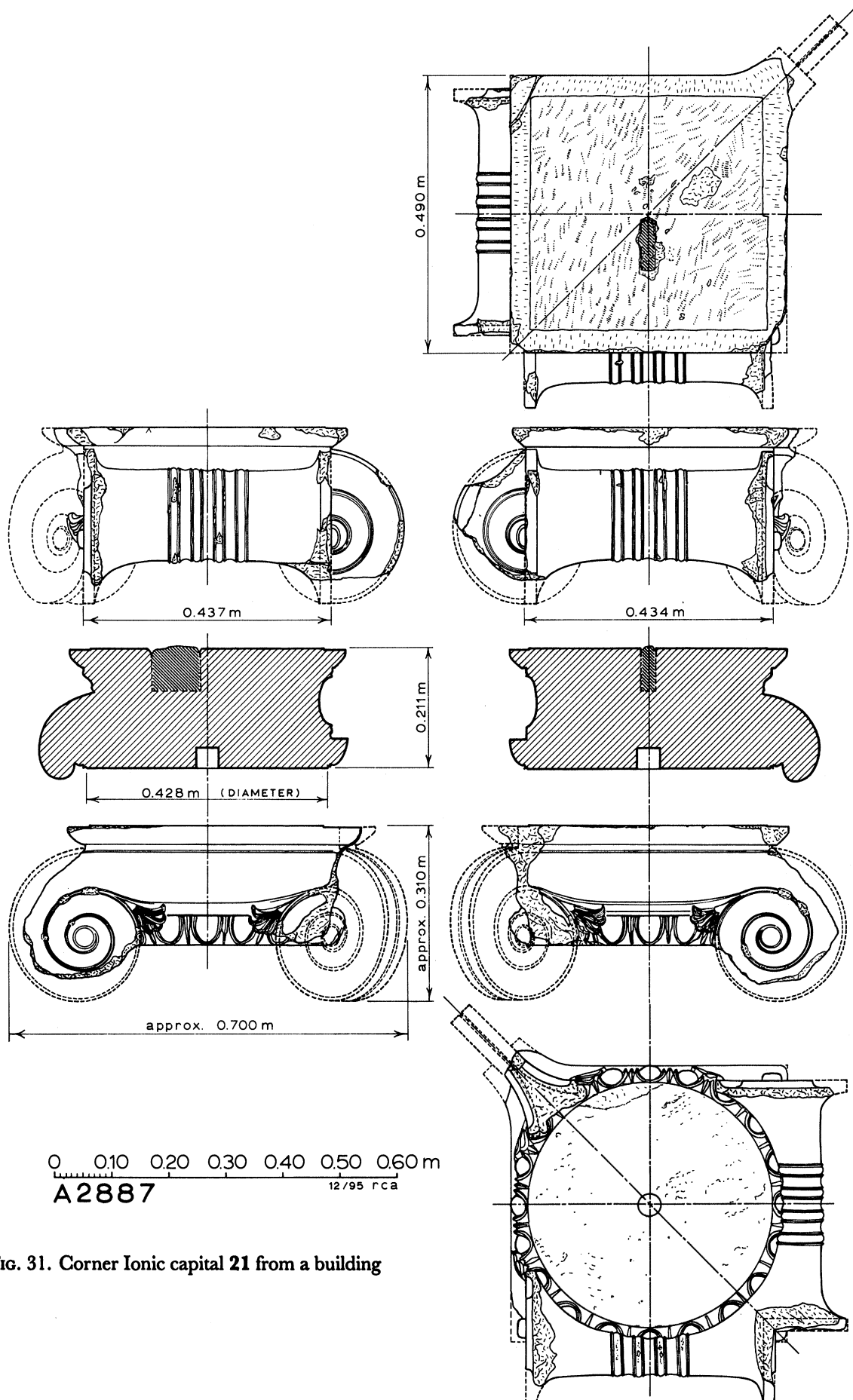


FIG. 31. Corner Ionic capital 21 from a building

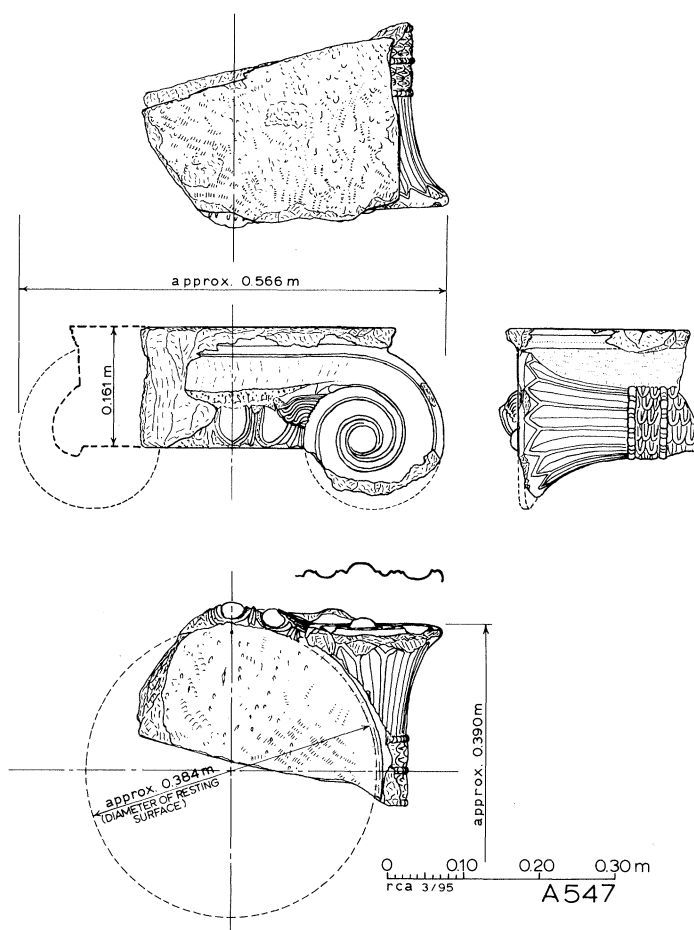


FIG. 32. Ionic capital 22

The profile of the ovolos and the character of the egg and dart suggest a 4th-century date.

4th century B.C.

22. Ionic capital Figs. 4, 32, Pl. 47

A 547. Found March 6, 1935, in modern cistern in Section O (N 11).

Pentelic marble. P.H. 0.228 m. Abacus p.L. 0.335, p.W. 0.245, Diam. 0.46 m.

Fragmentary capital preserving most of width of necking and right spiral of volute with horizontal part of volute and abacus. Necking of ovolo profile carved with egg and dart (spacing 0.053 m.). Six-petal (concave) palmette in angle with volute. Volute bordered with a round bordered by a fillet on each side. Eye is

a projecting boss. Abacus: cyma reversa with fascia crown uncarved. Bolster: thin roll at center (0.05 m. below abacus) spreading out on both sides to meet volutes of faces. In center, band 0.10 m. wide edged on both sides and divided in middle by round bands carved with bead and very wide reels. Between bead-and-reel bands, two panels of vertical overlapping leaves, pointed with central raised vein, making scale pattern. From this central band to the volute on the face, the bolster is completely covered by horizontal leaves with a central incised vein; a raised band separating them comes to a point at the edge of the bolster behind the volute. The blank space between the bolster and the abacus is roughly finished with a toothed chisel. The top of the ovolo of the necking

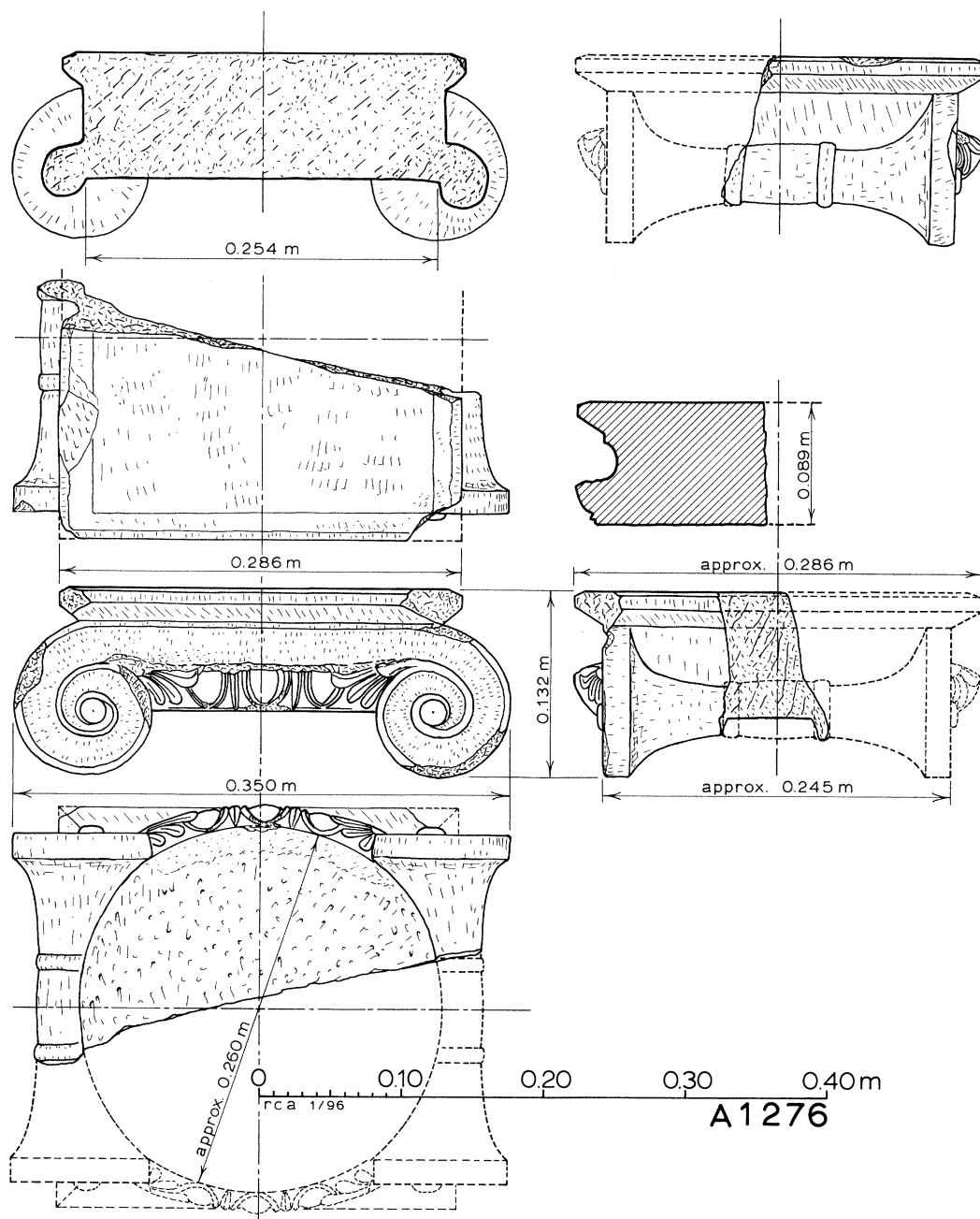


FIG. 33. Ionic capital 23

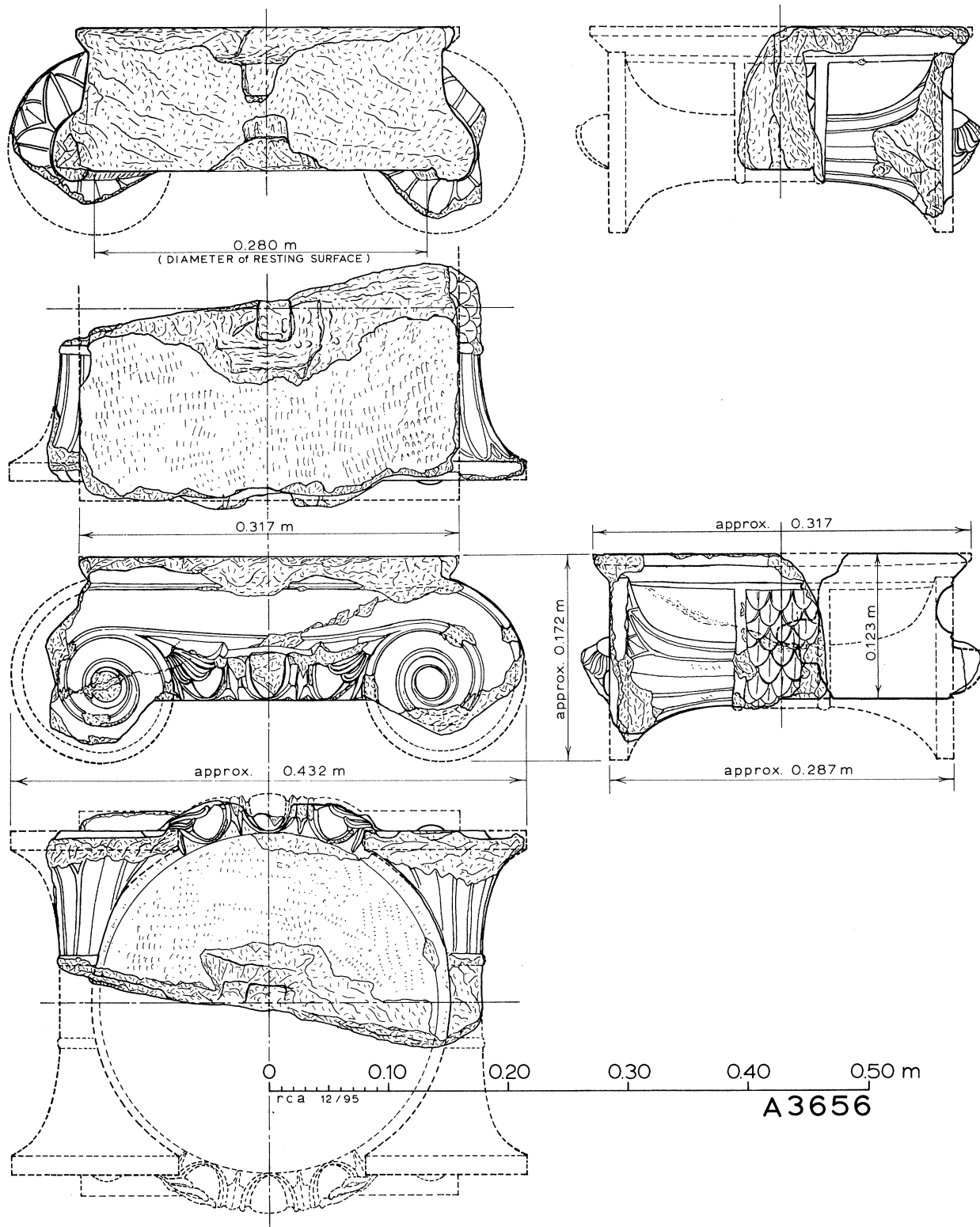


FIG. 34. Ionic capital 24

is very roughly picked as it projects well in front of the volute above.

Probably late Hellenistic.

23. Ionic capital Figs. 4, 33, Pl. 48

A 1276. Found July 14, 1947, in Section II Π on floor strosis ΚΔ–ΚΗ 41–43 (C 16).

Hymettian or low-grade Pentelic marble. H. 0.132, p.L. 0.35 m.

About half of width of capital preserved. Coarse workmanship. Abacus of straight-sided ovolo very large (H. 0.024 m.) in proportion to total height of capital (top of abacus to resting surface of echinus 0.083 m.). Volute deep, very narrow in relation to abacus above and echinus below. Echinus shallow but with little curve and cut back at top; carved with egg

and dart. Bolster roughly plain surface with narrow, flat, central band.

Roman Imperial period.

24. Ionic capital Figs. 4, 34, Pl. 49

A 3656. Found August 1, 1967, in Section Φ, built into late wall across the apse of a Late Roman building (M 18).

Marble. P.H. 0.165, L. 0.27, Diam. of shaft 0.30 m.

Abacus (H. 0.02 m.) straight-sided ovolo over deep volute only slightly higher than ovolo echinus, which is as deep as high, strongly projecting, carved with egg and dart. Bolster narrow, reeded with central band of scale pattern between long horizontal leaves extending to the faces.

Roman Imperial period.

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Naxian Sphinx on Delos: Amandry 1953, p. 19, pl. XVI; Martin 1972, p. 312, fig. 6

Naxian Stoa on Delos: Martin 1972, p. 314, fig. 7

Paros, Archilochos capital: Kontoleon 1968, p. 178, fig. 5; Orlandos 1961, pp. 184–185, figs. 206, 207; Orlandos 1962, p. 196, figs. 202, 203

Paros, Katapoliani capital: Kontoleon 1968, p. 178, fig. 2; Orlandos 1963, p. 192, figs. 225, 226

Paros, Aeolic capped pedestal: Orlandos 1962, p. 193, figs. 198, 199

For Paros style, see Kontoleon 1970

Thasos: Martin 1972, pp. 303–307, figs. 1–3

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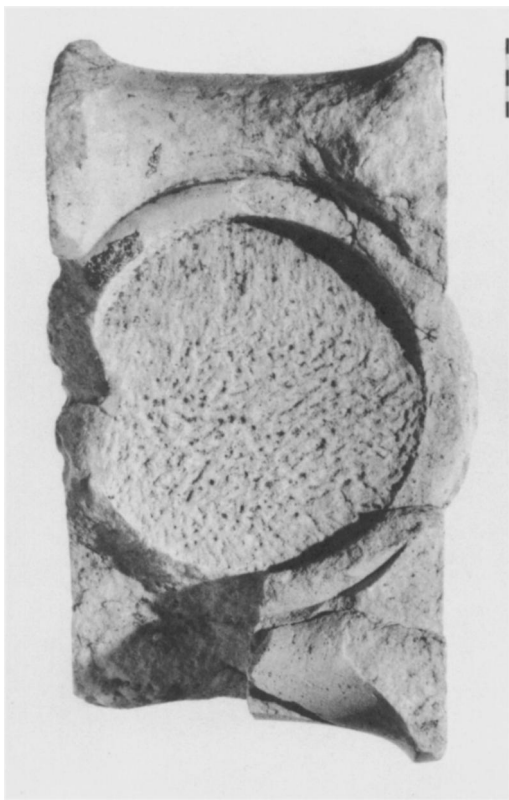
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LUCY SHOE MERITT

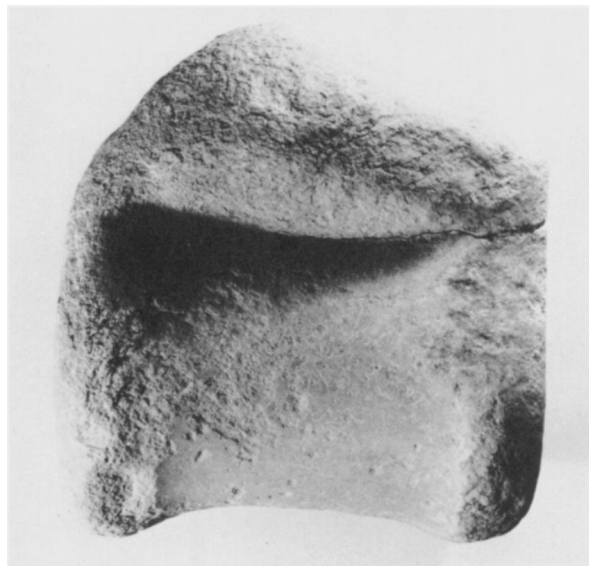
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
Department of Classics
Austin, Texas 78712



1, face



2, bottom



2, face

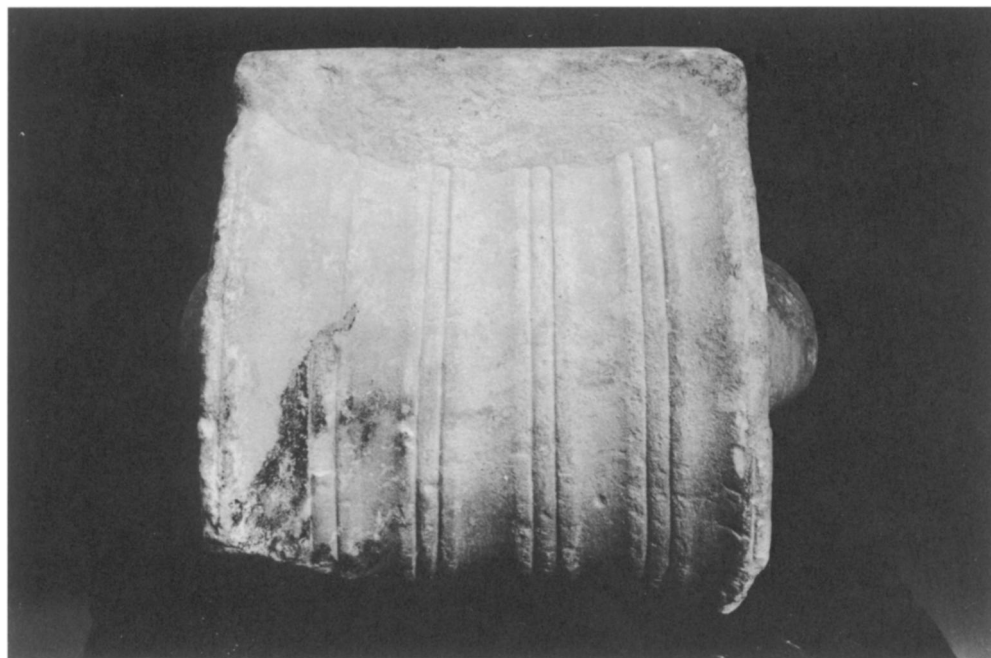
1, bottom of bolster and necking



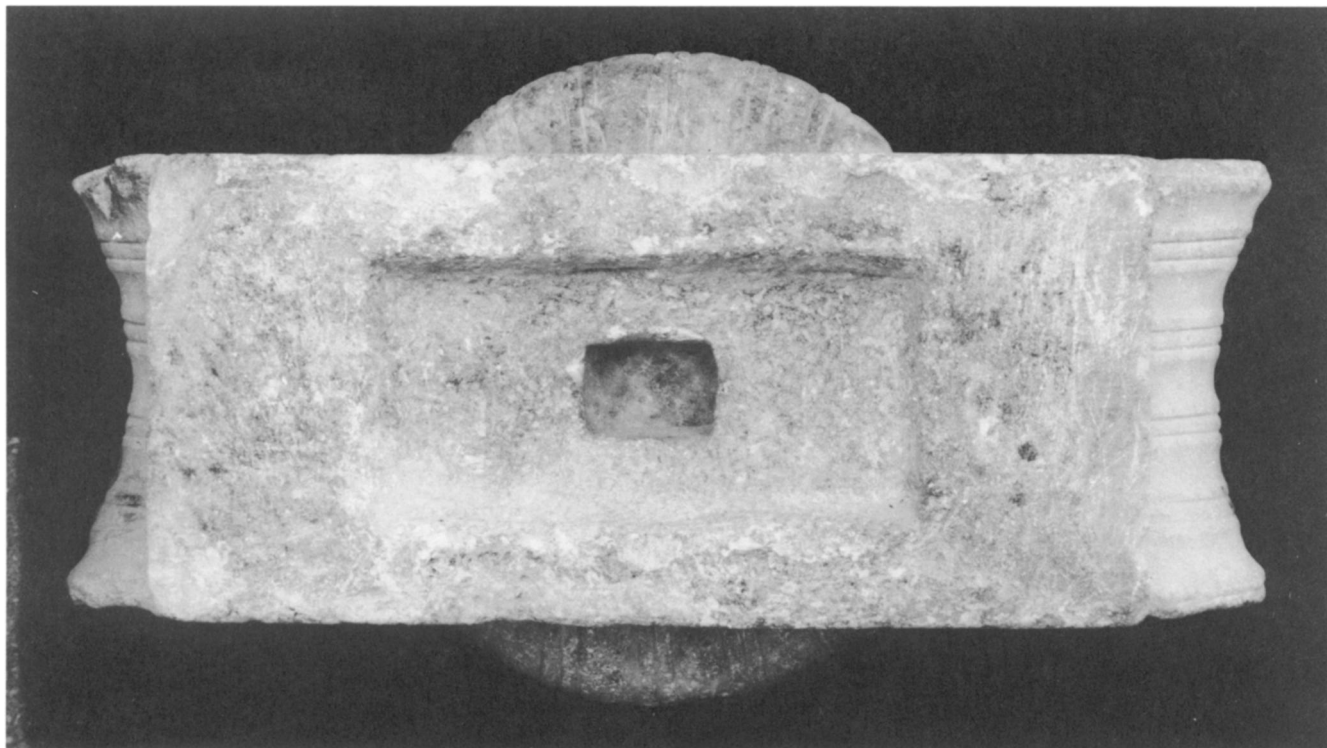
A.(N.M. 4797), Face A



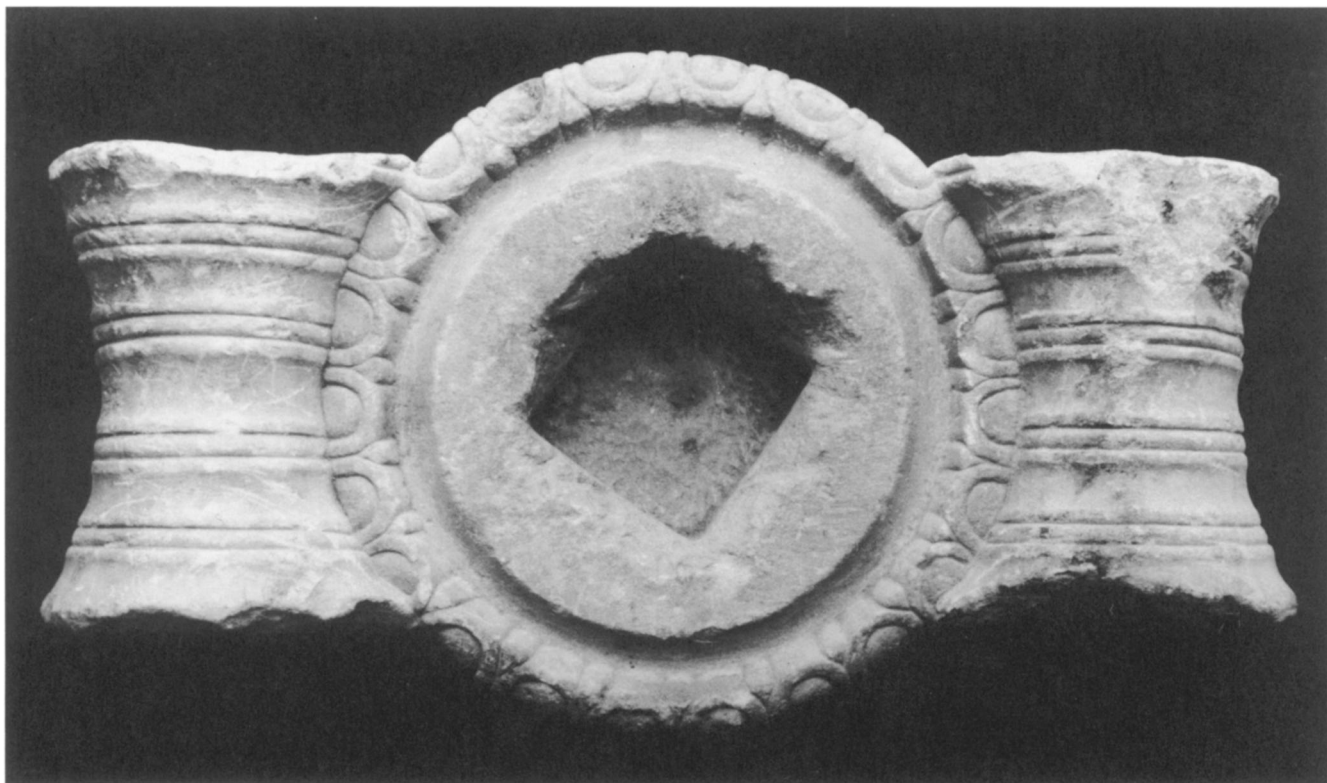
A, Face B



A, bolster



A (N.M. 4797), top



A, bottom



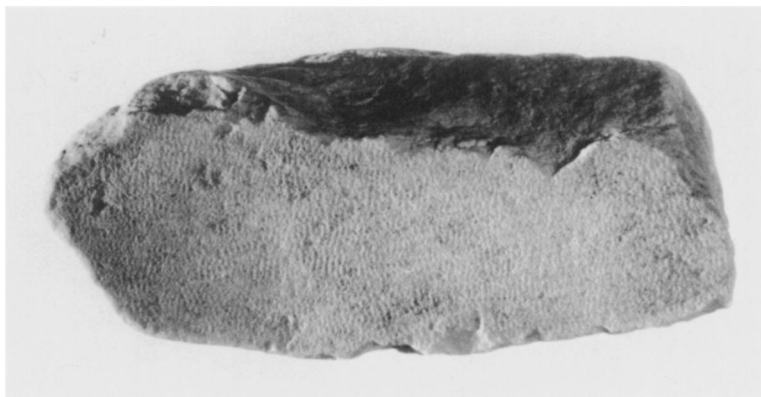
3A, fragment of spiral of volute



3B, fragment of spiral of volute



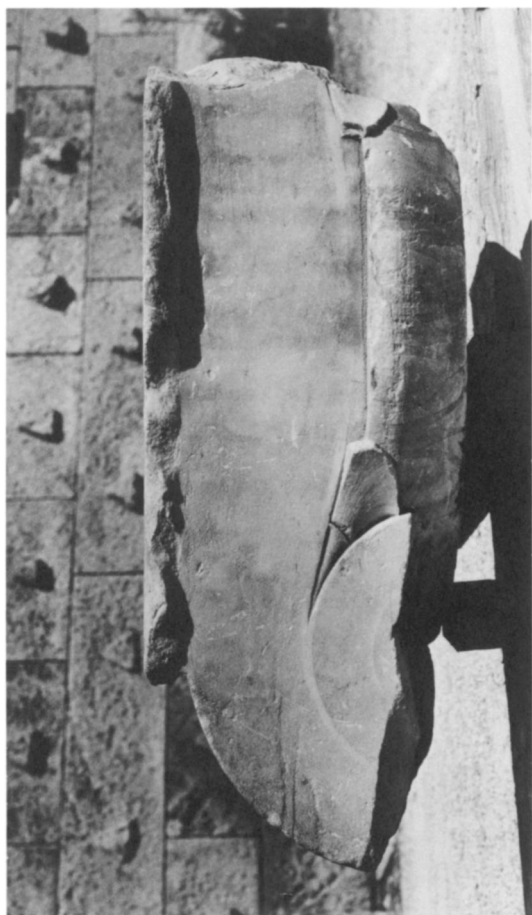
4, face and top



5, face



5, bolster



6, face



7, fragment of volute and echinus



8, face of volute and fragment of echinus



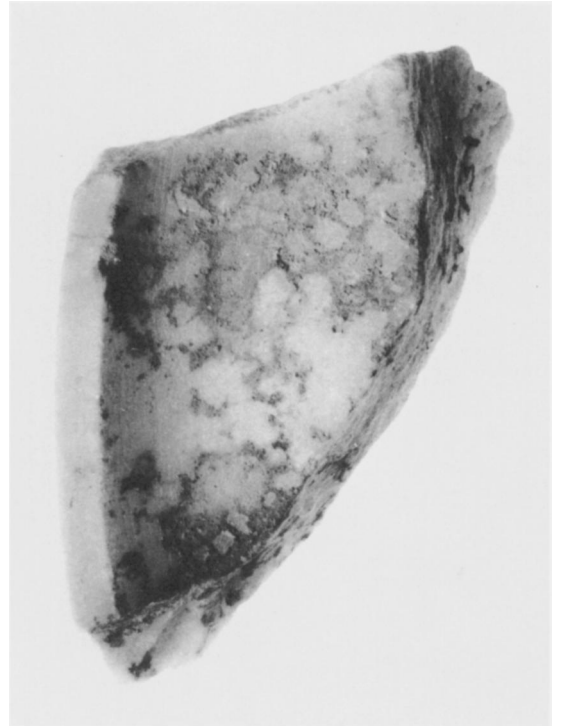
8, bottom of echinus and bolster



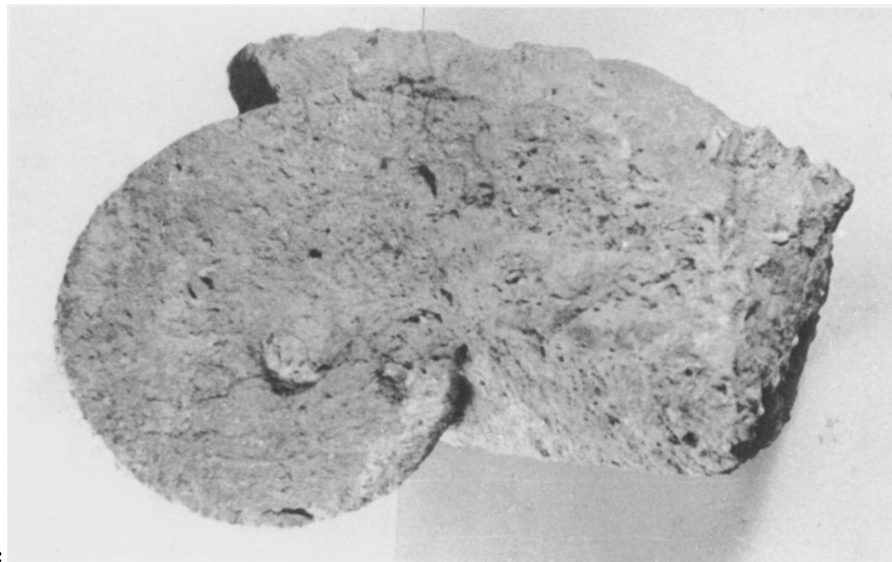
9, spiral of volute



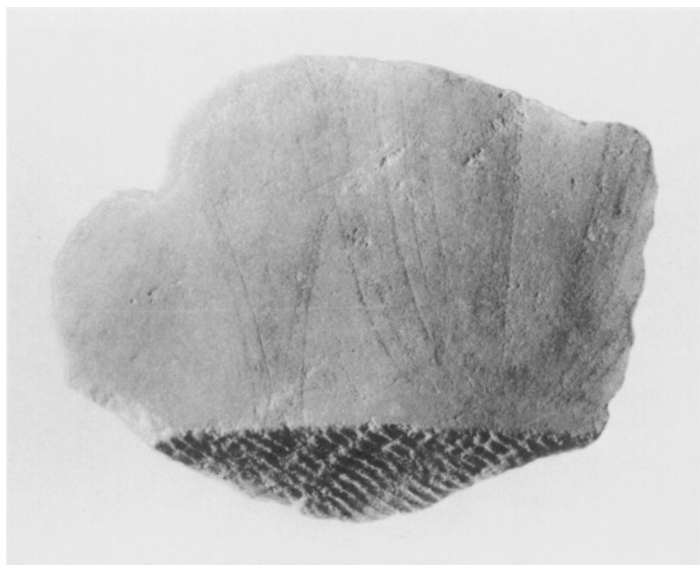
10, fragment of echinus



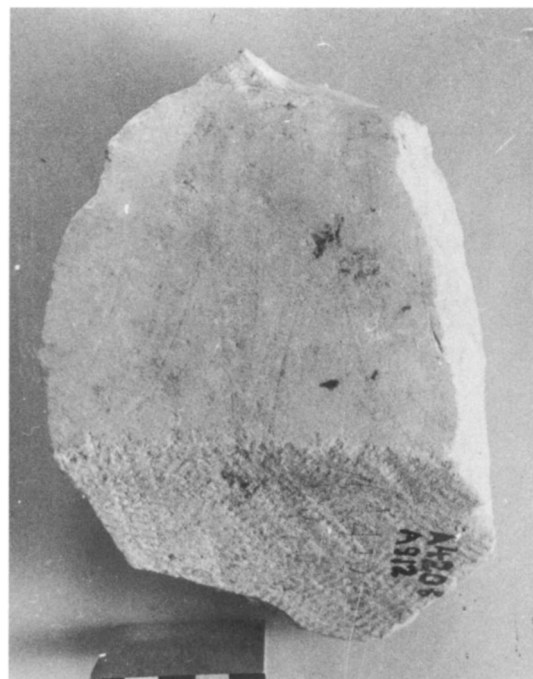
11, fragment of volute



13, face



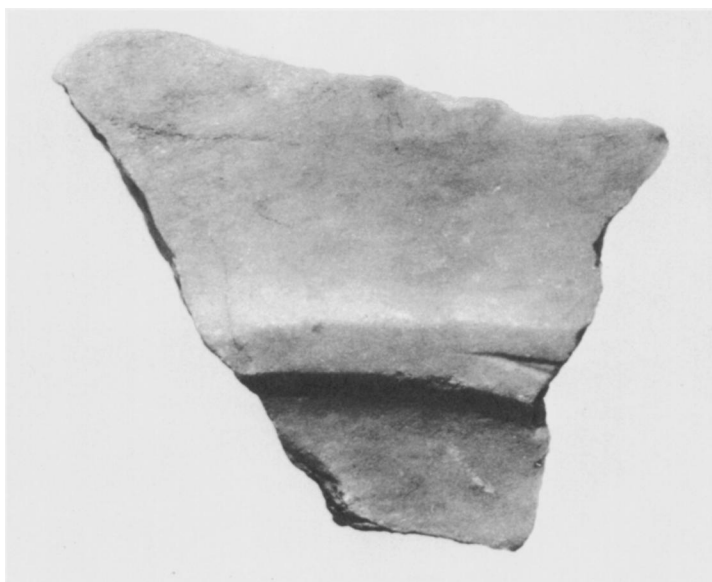
12A, fragment of echinus



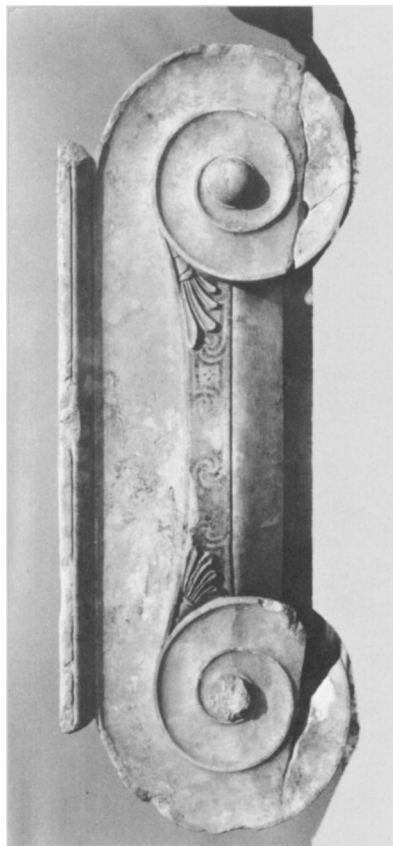
12B, fragment of echinus



12C, fragment of volute



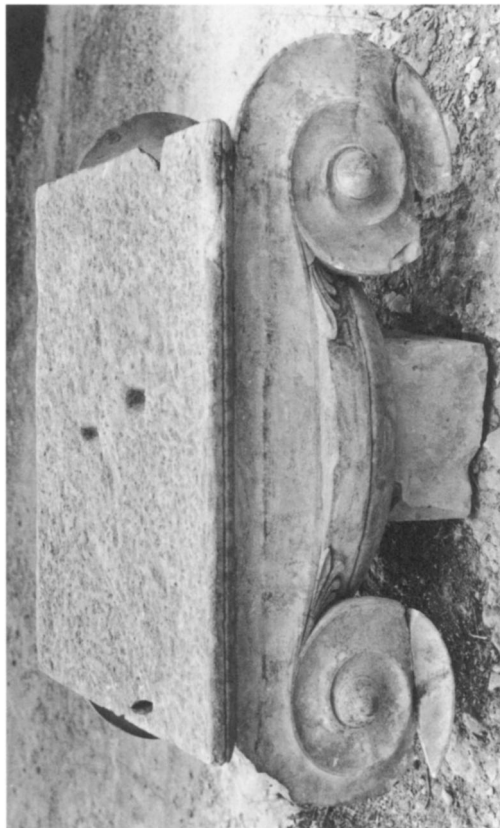
12D, fragment of volute



14A, face



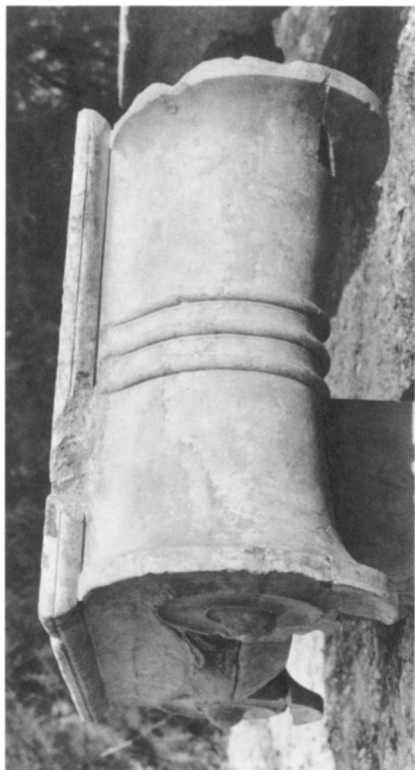
14B, face



14A, top and face



14B, top and face



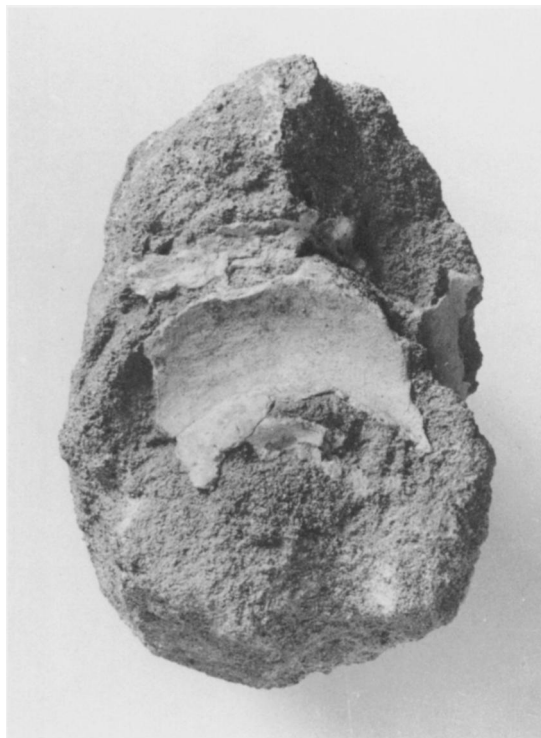
14A, face and bolster



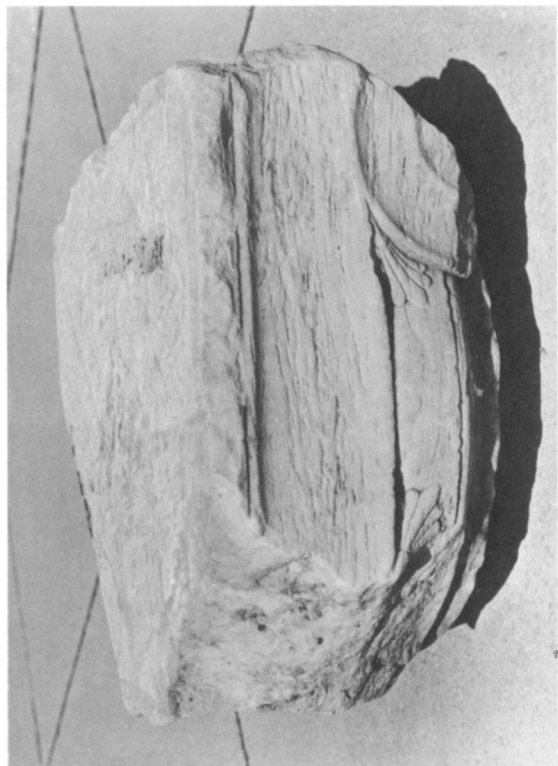
14B, face and bolster



14C. Base



15, fragment of volute and necking



16B, one face at corner



16B, bolsters



16A, face



16B, two faces at corner



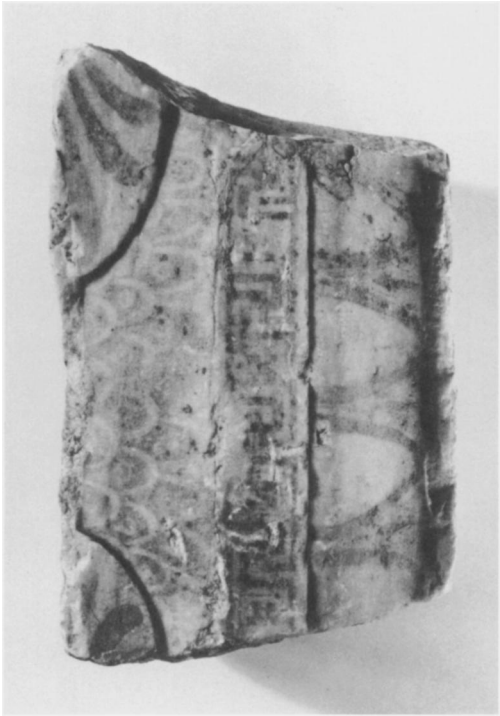
16B + Akropolis 13352, face



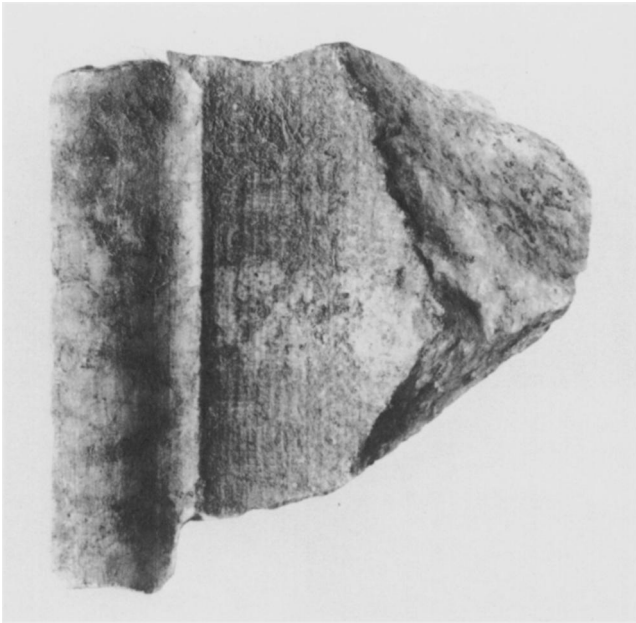
16B + Akropolis 13352, bottom



17A (Temple of Athena at Sounion)



17B (Temple of Athena at Sounion), fragment of necking



17C (Temple of Athena at Sounion), fragment of abacus and top of bolster



18, face and top (recut)



19, face



19, bolster



Inwood capital (British Museum 443), face



Inwood capital (British Museum 443), bolster



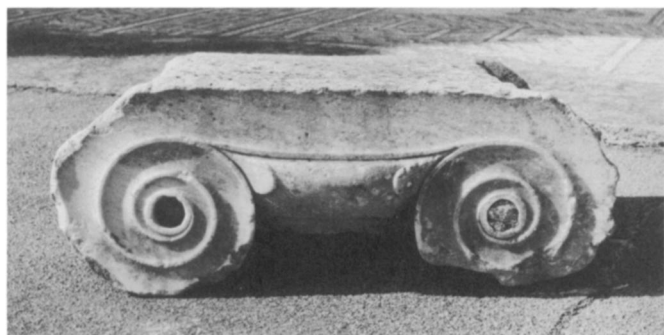
20, face



Delphi capital, face



Corinth capital, face



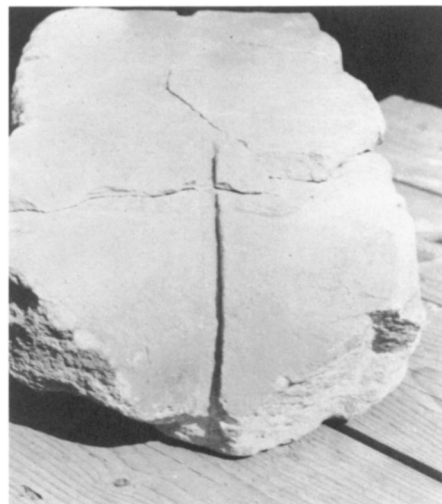
Delphi capital, back



Corinth capital, back



Delphi capital, bolster



Corinth capital, bolster



21, face



21, face and bolster



22, face, fragmentary



22, bolster, fragmentary



23, face



23, bolster, fragmentary



23, bottom, fragmentary



23, top, fragmentary



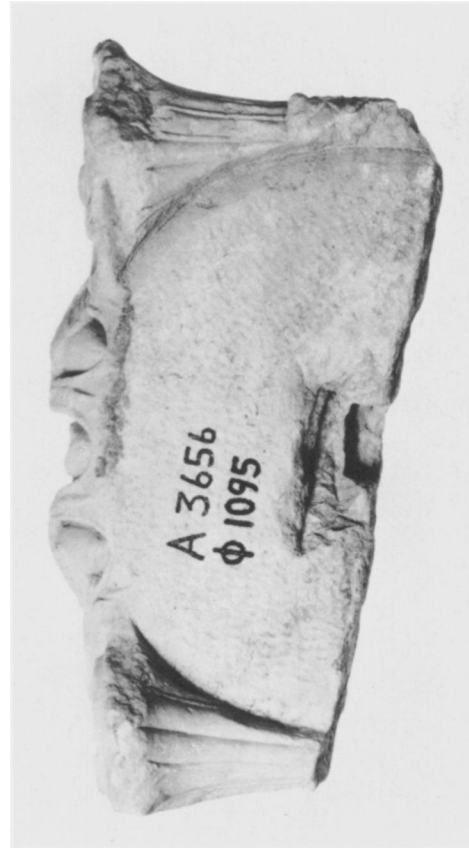
24, bolster, fragmentary



24, top, fragmentary



24, face



24, bottom, fragmentary