

# THE ROUTE OF PAUSANIAS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATE 9)

THE TRAVELLER Pausanias who visited Athens shortly before the middle of the second century of our era has left us a more or less systematic description of the city including its main square, the Agora. As in the case of other ancient sites, his description of the Agora, although sometimes vague and often far briefer than we could have wished, is none the less of the greatest value, and we must confess that without it we would be hard put to identify the remains of the buildings that have been found with those known from other ancient sources to have existed in the Agora.

Pausanias' description, which is contained in chapters 3-17 of his first book, is indeed sufficiently precise and methodical to have tempted many scholars to make conjectural restorations of the Agora before even a single stone of any of its buildings had been uncovered. Now that the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies have revealed about three quarters of the Agora, excepting only its north side, we may actually trace Pausanias' route on a plan of the Agora as it was in his day (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup>

Pausanias, coming from the Dipylon gate and ascending the broad dromos with stoas bordering it on both sides (2, 4) entered the Agora at its northwest corner. He proceeded southward along its west side, mentioning the various buildings in order as he saw them, until he reached the Tholos (3, 1-5, 1). The Tholos is a fixed point, and working backwards from it in Pausanias' account we are able to identify with certainty all the buildings as far as the Stoa of Zeus, the portico with projecting wings. The only serious topographical problem that remains on the west side of the Agora is whether this portico also bore the name Royal Stoa, or whether the Royal Stoa was a separate building adjoining it on the north. Only further excavation beyond the Athens-Piraeus electric railway, which now forms the northern boundary of the excavations, can give a final answer to this problem.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In what follows references to the text of Pausanias are given to chapter and section only, Book I being understood in each case.

<sup>2</sup> On the topography of the West Side of the Agora, see especially H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 1-226 and Supplement IV especially pp. 147 ff. The latest article is R. Martin's in *B.C.H.*, LXVI-LXVII, 1942-43, pp. 274 ff. where references to recent literature will be found. The view that the Stoa with the projecting wings was called both the Stoa of Zeus and the Royal Stoa is maintained by both Thompson and Martin. There are, however, certain indications which suggest that the north side of the Agora may lie far enough to the north of the Stoa with the projecting wings to leave room for another building, which would then be a separate Royal Stoa. It has been so restored on the accompanying plan; see also J. Travlos' article in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII.

After the Tholos Pausanias mentions the statues of the Eponymous Heroes which, in accordance with his text as it has been transmitted to us, are to be sought higher up, *ἀνωτέρω* (5, 1). The excavations, however, have revealed no suitable place for a large group of statues "higher" than the Tholos although bedrock has been exposed over a wide area. Furthermore, the area that can be described as higher than the Tholos is now seen to be outside the Agora, whereas the Eponymous Heroes, as we shall see, were undoubtedly in the square itself and in one of its most frequented parts.<sup>3</sup> We may therefore emend *ἀνωτέρω* to *ἄνωτέρω* and look for the Eponymous Heroes somewhere in the Agora near the Tholos. The other two passages in ancient authors which give us clues as to the location of the Eponymous Heroes also point to the same spot. Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*, 53, 4) speaks of them as "in front of the Bouleuterion," and the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Peace* (line 1183) places them by the Prytanikon or Tholos precinct.<sup>4</sup> All this accords well with what we are told of the general character and functions of the statues of the Eponymous Heroes.

The Eponymous Heroes were the legendary and later the honorary founders of the Attic tribes. Originally ten in number from the time of the reforms of Kleisthenes at the end of the sixth century B.C., they became successively twelve in 307/6 B.C., thirteen about 224/3 B.C., eleven in 201 B.C., twelve in 200 B.C., and thirteen again in 127 A.D. Public notices of various sorts were posted up near them—drafts of laws, lists of persons to be called up for military service, and the like.<sup>5</sup> Presumably, therefore, they stood in a frequented part of the Agora near the main government buildings which are now known to be at the southwest corner of the square. Have the excavations revealed a suitable place for them in this area?

One of the first structures to appear in the course of the excavations was a long, narrow fenced peribolos or "periphragma" which was uncovered during the first season's work in 1931. A detailed architectural study of this structure by Richard Stillwell was published in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 137-139, but no identification was suggested. The annual report on the year's work (*ibid.*, p. 106) simply says that it cannot be the Stoa of the Herms. Since then the structure has not been mentioned although it has appeared on all the general plans of the Agora, usually labelled "Fenced Peribolos." As the work of clearing the ancient Agora progressed, however, and as

<sup>3</sup> There is no need to consider the small subsidiary and unfrequented square west of the Tholos and south of the Bouleuterion, and indeed no suitable foundation for a large group of statues has come to light there: *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 167-171; cf. *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 149-150.

<sup>4</sup> The text of the scholiast reads *παρὰ Πρυτανείων*, "by the Prytaneion," but this is obviously out of the question as the Prytaneion was located far away on the northern slopes of the Acropolis. We must suppose that the rare and unusual word *Πρυτανικόν* originally stood here, or in the source from which the scholiast drew his information, and that it was changed, whether deliberately or by accident, to the more familiar *Πρυτανείων*. This has already been suggested in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 471-472; cf. also *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 44, 147, 149, 151.

<sup>5</sup> References will be found in Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 348, and Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, pp. 388-390.

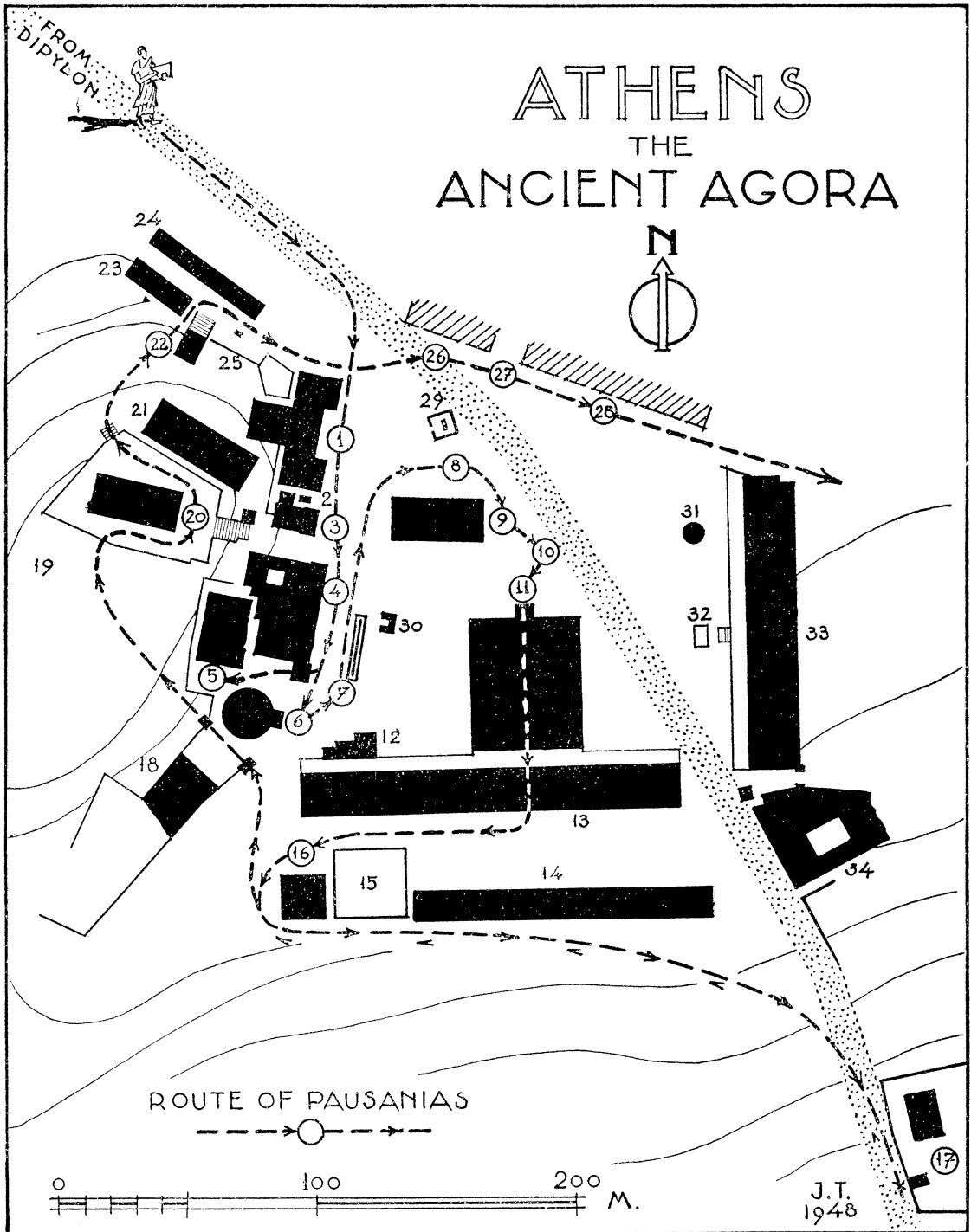


Fig. 1. The Route of Pausanias in the Athenian Agora

# THE ROUTE OF PAUSANIAS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

## KEY TO PLAN

1. Stoa of Zeus.
2. Temple of Zeus and Athena.
3. Temple of Apollo Patroös.
4. Metroön.
5. Bouleuterion.
6. Tholos.
7. Statues of Eponymous Heroes.
8. Statue of Demosthenes (approximate position).
9. Temple of Ares.
10. Statues of Tyrannicides (approximate position).
11. Odeion.
12. Civic Offices.
13. Middle Stoa.
14. South Stoa.
15. Unexcavated area.
16. Enneakrounos.
17. Eleusinion.
18. Building of the Greek period.
19. Eurysakeion (approximate position).
20. Temple of Hephaistos.
21. Building of the Hellenistic period.
22. Temple of Heavenly Aphrodite.
23. Building of the early Roman period.
24. Stoa of the early Roman period.
25. Sanctuary of Demos and the Graces.
26. Hermes Agoraios (approximate position).
27. Gate.
28. Stoa Poikile (approximate position).
29. Altar of the Twelve Gods.
30. Altar.
31. Circular Monument.
32. Bema.
33. Stoa of Attalos.
34. Library of Pantainos.

more and more buildings were identified with certainty, it became increasingly clear that the "Fenced Peribolos" must be the place where the Eponymous Heroes stood, and accordingly it has been so marked on several general plans that have appeared since the war.<sup>6</sup>

Architecturally this structure suits the Eponymous Heroes nicely. It is a long narrow rectangle, and in the top of the outer foundation is a series of rectangular cuttings for posts.<sup>7</sup> Some of the actual posts with cuttings for horizontal wooden rails have been found in the neighborhood, and there are also some pieces of stone capping blocks. The outer foundation thus clearly supported a fence. Within, part of a single long row of blocks is preserved. This would serve well as part of the basis for the support of a row of statues enclosed by the fence. The fence itself, with its wooden bars, would be convenient for affixing notices on wooden or bronze tablets.<sup>8</sup>

The remains indicate that the length of the enclosure was at one time increased from about eighteen and a half to about twenty-one meters. This was undoubtedly done at a time when a new tribe, hence a new statue, was added. This particular addition may be assigned to about the year 125 A.D. when the tribe Hadrianis was added, for one of the blocks in its foundation is a re-used inscribed statue base, originally set up in the archonship of Demetrius, 50/49 B.C.<sup>9</sup> Other alterations can also be observed, but further study is required before their date and their exact nature and extent can be determined.

We may therefore imagine the statues of the Eponymous Heroes of the Attic tribes standing in a long row within a fenced enclosure in the southwest corner of the main Agora square in front of the principal Government buildings, Bouleuterion, Tholos, Metroön and Civic Offices, a spot which must have been one of the busiest and most frequented in the whole city.

After leaving the Tholos, then, we see that Pausanias turned back northward along the opposite side of the street which he had just ascended. He passed the Eponymous Heroes (5, 1) and then several statues, including that of Demosthenes (8, 2), before reaching the temple of Ares which was near it (8, 4). We are told elsewhere<sup>10</sup> that the statue of Demosthenes was also near the altar of the Twelve Gods, a point which is now securely fixed by Leagros' dedication still to be seen *in situ* just outside its peribolos.<sup>11</sup> There is thus no doubt that the large building south of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods is the Temple of Ares.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> E. g. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLIX. It is also referred to as the Peribolos of the Eponymous Heroes in Miss Crosby's and Mr. Travlos' articles which appear in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII. Cf. also F. Robert, *Thymélé*, p. 136, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> See detailed plan, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 137.

<sup>8</sup> A Pompeian wall painting illustrates a group of people reading notices attached to the fronts of a series of statue bases. Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 56, fig. 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 71.

<sup>10</sup> [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 847 a.

<sup>11</sup> On the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods see Miss Crosby's study in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII; cf. also *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 198 f.

<sup>12</sup> On the Temple of Ares see *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 1 ff.

After mentioning several other statues around the Temple of Ares (8, 4), Pausanias next noted the statues of the Tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, not far off, οὐ πόρρω (8, 5), and went from there to the Odeion (8, 6). Although we cannot yet point to the exact spot where the Tyrannicides stood, it is significant that an inscribed fragment from one of their bases was found in a late wall just east of the Temple of Ares and north of the Odeion.<sup>13</sup> This location also checks with the description in Arrian's *Anabasis* (III, 16, 8) where they are said to be in the Kera-meikos (Agora) on the way up to the Acropolis, about opposite the Metroön.

The Odeion itself (8, 6) with its well-preserved orchestra may be regarded as a fixed point.<sup>14</sup> Pausanias entered the building (14, 1), where he noted among other things a statue of Dionysos worth seeing, and probably left it by its southern entrance, passing through the great Middle Stoa without mentioning it,<sup>15</sup> to visit the fountain called Enneakrounos near by, πλησίον (14, 1).

The location of this fountain has been one of the most vexed problems in Athenian topography,<sup>16</sup> but the question may at last be considered solved by the discovery only a short distance from the Odeion, at the southwest corner of the Agora (and actually facing on the square itself prior to the construction of the Middle Stoa), of a fountain house which is undoubtedly that mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>17</sup> This building was discovered in 1934, but it has not yet been thoroughly excavated or studied.<sup>18</sup> We may therefore state briefly the reasons for identifying it as a fountain house.

First and foremost, we may point out that to this day a small but perennial spring of water comes to the surface at the south side of the building. This natural spring may be the original Kallirrhoe.<sup>19</sup> The flow of the spring is very small, however, and when the Peisistratids built the fountain house with the nine spouts in front of it, they had to reinforce the supply by bringing water from elsewhere. This was done by a conduit made of large poros blocks with a water channel cut in their upper surface which enters the building at its southeast corner. This conduit has been traced some meters to the south. Although the exact interior arrangement of the fountain house is still uncertain, we may point out that at its northwest corner part of a water basin belonging to its latest period is preserved, the joints between the blocks made water tight with cement. Other blocks with waterproof stucco of an earlier period have

<sup>13</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 355 ff.

<sup>14</sup> A full publication of this building is being prepared by H. A. Thompson and will appear in *Hesperia* shortly. Meanwhile, consult *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 200 ff. where earlier references will be found.

<sup>15</sup> He also fails to mention the other two great Hellenistic colonnades, the Stoa of Attalos and the South Stoa.

<sup>16</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 193 ff.

<sup>17</sup> It will also be that mentioned by Thucydides, II, 15.

<sup>18</sup> Preliminary notices: *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 360; VI, 1937, 3-4, 222; Supplement IV, 105 ff.; XI, 1942, 260.

<sup>19</sup> Thucydides, II, 15. The Kallirrhoe in the Ilissos valley near the Olympieion will have been another spring of the same name.

been found in the vicinity of the building. A large stone drain leads off to the north from the northwest corner of the building. We may note further that the whole building is set quite low, well below the contemporary ground level.

There is as yet no very precise archaeological evidence for dating the original construction of the fountain house, but many blocks of Kara limestone which certainly belong to it have been found in the neighborhood. This stone was a favorite building material in the archaic period and would be suitable in a building erected by the Peisistratids.

Above the Fountain House, Pausanias continues (14, 1), are two temples, one of Demeter and Kore, the other of Triptolemos; the Athenian Eleusinion. Above our fountain house, although to be sure at some distance from it, the excavations have revealed a part of this famous sanctuary. East of the Panathenaic Street, about half way between the Agora and the Acropolis, part of a large peribolos has been discovered, and in it the foundations for a small temple of the archaic period.<sup>20</sup> From this area have come dozens of inscribed marbles bearing dedications to the Eleusinian goddesses or known to have been set up in their sanctuary and also several pieces of sculpture with Eleusinian subjects.<sup>21</sup> This in itself is not conclusive since the Valerian Wall passes through this area and it might be argued that when this section of the wall was built material was brought from the Eleusinion some distance away. Fortunately, however, the marbles are tied to the spot by five votive deposits full of kernoi, vases peculiar to the worship of Demeter and Kore, which have been discovered in pits in bed-rock in this area.<sup>22</sup>

The archaeological evidence for the location of the Eleusinion is thus conclusive. The literary evidence is no less so. Although Pausanias' "above the Fountain House" is a rather loose way of defining the position of the Eleusinion, other ancient texts are more precise. Clement of Alexandria<sup>23</sup> and an Athenian inscription<sup>24</sup> place it below the Acropolis. The Panathenaic ship on its way from the Agora to the Acropolis passed the Eleusinion,<sup>25</sup> and quite apart from the fact that our site is on the direct road between the two places, we are assured that this is indeed the Panathenaic Street

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the plan *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, plate I at p. 308. The temple is no. 19, labelled archaic building. North of it the northwest corner of the peribolos is shown, partly overlaid by the Valerian Wall. The number 25 on this plan marks the spot where the kernoi mentioned below were found. The sanctuary unfortunately runs out to the east under the unexcavated blocks of houses so that only a part of it is available for excavation and study.

<sup>21</sup> Some of these are published or mentioned in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207 ff. We may now add the thirty-one fragments of boustrophedon inscriptions, sacral texts connected with the Eleusinian cult, all but five of which were found in the area in question. They have been published in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 88 ff., by Miss L. H. Jeffery. Cf. also the inscription published in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 265 ff.

<sup>22</sup> A few are illustrated in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 209, fig. 8; cf. fig. 7.

<sup>23</sup> *Protrep.*, 13.

<sup>24</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078.

<sup>25</sup> Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.*, II, 1, 5.

by an inscription cut in large letters on a bastion of the Acropolis which would have been clearly visible as one ascended the street (Plate 9).<sup>26</sup> Xenophon's account

<sup>26</sup> This inscription has been mentioned in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207 and 223, and its position is indicated on the plan, *ibid.*, p. 222, fig. 18. It has also been mentioned in *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 238, and XV, 1946, p. 85. The text, however, has not been published.

The inscription was first noticed on the afternoon of June 12, 1937, by the late Arthur W. Parsons, the archaeologist then in charge of Section OA on the northwest slope of the Acropolis. At this season of the year the late afternoon sun swings far around to the northwest and at a certain moment throws a slanting light on the northern face of this bastion of the Acropolis, causing the letters, which are at other times practically invisible, to stand out quite clearly as shown in the photograph reproduced on Plate 9. In antiquity of course, the letters, when freshly cut and painted red, would have been readily legible from the street below.

The inscription was studied by Parsons and by Eugene Schweigert, then Epigraphical Fellow at the Agora. Their reading is recorded in the excavator's field notebook. I have re-examined the inscription but have not been able to add anything to what is recorded there.

The inscription is cut in the wall of the Acropolis on the north face of the Mnesiclean (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 85) bastion west of the Propylaea. The letters are on four blocks, two in each of two courses, a little west of the center of the wall and as high above the limestone outcrop on which the wall is bedded as the stonemason could conveniently reach (cf. the general view of this bastion from the north, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 194, fig. 2, in which, however, the inscription cannot be made out). The total length of the blocks is ca. 2.91 m., the height of the two courses 0.90 m. The letters are cut, not very carefully, in the hard poros and seem to have been made with a punch rather than a regular chisel. They have suffered much from weathering and still more perhaps from the activities of later builders, for the "Valerian" Wall possibly and the Bastion of Odysseus certainly ended against the earlier bastion just at this point.

The height of the letters is approximately as follows: lines 1, 2 and 4, 0.13-0.14 m.; lines 3 and 5, 0.09-0.10 m. A date in the fourth century B.C. (the second half of the century if one accepts the final upsilon of  $\delta\delta\omicron\upsilon$ ) is suggested by the letter forms. The Agora Inventory Number is I 4963.

The text, as far as it can be made out, is as follows:

	Ε Π Ι Κ Ρ Α Τ Η	- vacat
	----- ζ Γ Ε Ν Η Ι	
	----- Ι Α Ι -----	
	----- Π α ν α θ η ν α ι [ω ν]	
5	----- τ η ς δ δ ο υ	

Line 1. Either  $\text{Ἐπικράτης[ς]}$  or  $\text{Ἐπὶ Κράτης[τος]}$ . The former seems the more likely. The name Epikrates is common, and quite a number of persons of this name who lived in the fourth century B.C. are listed in Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica*; no identification seems possible, however. If the latter is read, the reference will not be to the eponymous archon but to some other official, for the only archon of this name was in office in 434/3 B.C. and our inscription can hardly be dated that early. A dark, roughly circular area in the upper left part of the upper right block, which might be taken for the omicron, seems rather to be a chance flaw in the stone.

Lines 2-3. The dative ending suggests a dedication, and one might expect here some epithet of Athena.

Lines 4-5. These lines clearly mention the Panathenaic Street. Probably the inscription recorded and dedicated to Athena some improvement or repair to her festal Street made by a certain Epikrates (or under a certain Krates).

On the block which lies immediately above and to the left of the block with the letters ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗ there is preserved in the upper right corner a single Ζ, ca. 0.07 m. high. The rest of the surface of the stone is completely gone. This letter is smaller than those of the main inscription and quite differently cut, with a triangular tool.



of the ideal cavalry demonstration is also suggestive.<sup>27</sup> As one of the manoeuvres he recommends that the group form at the Herms and ride at full speed to the Eleusinion. The Herms are known to have been at the northwest corner of the Agora,<sup>28</sup> and a glance at the plan will show that a dash from there to the Eleusinion was practically a straightaway along the broad Panathenaic Street. The Eleusinion is a logical stopping point, for here the slope of the street becomes markedly steeper.

The location of the Temple of Eukleia which Pausanias mentions after the Eleusinion and says is still further on (14, 5) is uncertain. He then retraced his steps, and the next point he mentions is the temple of Hephaistos, above the Kerameikos and the Royal Stoa (14, 6), the Doric temple which still stands almost intact on Kolonos Agoraios above the Agora.<sup>29</sup> After visiting the Temple of Heavenly Aphrodite near by (14, 7), the remains of which have been recognized with some probability on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios,<sup>30</sup> he descended again to the Agora proper, passed the statue of Hermes Agoraios and a gate near it and entered the famous Stoa Poikile (15, 1), one of the principal buildings on the north side of the square. From here, after mentioning two statues (16, 1) and an altar of Mercy which may be identical with the Altar of the Twelve Gods,<sup>31</sup> Pausanias left the Agora and went to the gymnasium of Ptolemy not far away (17, 2) and thence to other points in the northern and eastern parts of the city.

## APPENDIX

### PAUSANIAS ON THE AGORA, THE TOPOGRAPHICAL THREAD

#### BOOK I

2, 4. στοαὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικόν. . . .

3, 1. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὃ Κεραμεικὸς τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἔχει ἀπὸ ἥρωος Κεράμου . . . πρώτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλείου. . . .

3, 2. πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς Κόνων ἐστῆκε καὶ Τιμόθεος υἱὸς Κόνωνος καὶ βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων Εὐαγόρας . . . ἐνταῦθα ἐστῆκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός. . . .

3, 3. στοὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ὑποδομήται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς <τούς> δώδεκα καλουμένους. . . .

3, 4. ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς Εὐφράνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίους καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα

Πατρῶν ἐπέκλησιν· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεῷ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαμος ἐποίησε.

3, 5. ὑποδομήται δὲ καὶ Μητρὸς Θεῶν ἱερόν, ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων καλουμένων βουλευτήριον. . . .

5, 1. τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων πλησίον Θόλος ἐστὶ καλουμένη. . . .

5, 1-2. ἀπωτέρω (ἀνωτέρω Mss.) δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν ἡρώων, ἀφ' ὧν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑστερον τὰ ὀνόματα ἔσχον αἱ φυλαὶ . . . τῶν δὲ ἐπωνύμων—καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτω σφᾶς. . . .

8, 2. μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα θεῶν, Ἀμφιάραος καὶ Εἰρήνη φέρουσα

<sup>27</sup> *Hipparch.*, III, 2.

<sup>28</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 336.

<sup>29</sup> *Hesperia*, Supplement V, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 238-239. See also the article by J. Travlos in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 199.

Πλοῦτον παῖδα. ἐνταῦθα Λυκούργος τε κείται χαλκοῦς ὁ Λυκόφρονος καὶ Καλλίας . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης. . . .

8, 4. τῆς δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους εἰκόνας πλησίον Ἄρεώς ἐστιν ἱερόν, ἔνθα ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν Ἀφροδίτης κείται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐποίησεν Ἀλκαμένης, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ Πάριος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Λόκρος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐννοῦς ἀγάλμα ἔστιν, ἐποίησαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Πραξιτέλους· περὶ δὲ τὸν ναὸν ἐστᾶσιν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Θησεὺς καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἀναδούμενος ταυρία τὴν κόμην, ἀνδριάντες δὲ Καλάδης Ἀθηναίους, ὡς λέγεται, νόμους γράψας, καὶ Πίνδαρος ἄλλα τε εὐρόμενος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅτι σφᾶς ἐπήνεσεν ἄσμα ποιήσας.

8, 5. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστᾶσιν Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων οἱ κτείναντες Ἴππαρχον . . . τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων οἱ μὲν εἰσι Κριτίου τέχνη, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαίους ἐποίησεν Ἀντήνωρ . . . .

8, 6. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὁ καλοῦσιν Ὠιδεῖον ἀνδριάντες πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου βασιλέων εἰσὶν Αἰγυπτίων.

9, 4. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους Φίλιππος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου κείνται . . . καὶ Λυσίμαχον . . . ἀνέθηκαν.

11, 1. . . . Ἀθηναίους δὲ εἰκῶν ἔστι καὶ Πύρρον.

14, 1. . . . ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἐσελθοῦσιν Ὠιδεῖον ἄλλα τε καὶ Διόνυσος κείται θέας ἄξιος.

πλησίον δὲ ἔστι κρήνη, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐννεάκρονον, οὕτω κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου· φρέατα μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἔστι, πηγὴ δὲ αὕτη μόνη.

ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἐστιν ἀγάλμα. . . .

14, 3. πρόσω δὲ ἵεναί με ὠρμημένον τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὅποσα ἐξήγησιν † ἔχει τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἱερόν, καλούμενον δὲ Ἐλευσίνιον, ἐπέσχευ ὄψις ὀνειράτος· ἃ δὲ ἐς πάντας ὄσιον γράφειν, ἐς ταῦτα ἀποτρέψομαι. πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε, ἔνθα καὶ τοῦ Τριπτολέμου τὸ ἀγάλμα, ἔστι βοῦς χαλκοῦς οἷα ἐς θυσίαν ἀγόμενος, πεποιήται δὲ καθήμενος Ἐπιμενίδης Κνώσσιος. . . .

14, 5. ἔτι δὲ ἀποτέρω ναὸς Εὐκλείας, ἀνάθημα καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Μήδων, οἱ τῆς χώρας Μαραθῶνι ἔσχον.

14, 6. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμαικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην Βασιλείου ναὸς ἔστιν Ἡφαίστου. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἀγάλμα οἱ παρέστηκεν Ἀθηναῖς, οὐδὲν θαῦμα ἐπιουμένη τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίῳ ἐπιστάμενος λόγον. . . .

14, 7. πλησίον δὲ ἱερόν ἔστιν Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας . . . τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι ἀγάλμα λίθου Παρίου καὶ ἔργον Φειδίου· . . .

15, 1. ἰούσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοὰν, ἣν Ποικίλην ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἔστιν Ἐρμῆς χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος καὶ πύλη πλησίον· ἔπεισι δὲ οἱ τρόπαιον Ἀθηναίων ἵππομαχία κρατησάντων Πλείσταρχον. . . .

16, 1. ἀνδριάντες δὲ χαλκοὶ κείνται πρὸ μὲν τῆς στοᾶς Σόλων ὁ τοὺς νόμους Ἀθηναίους γράψας, ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Σέλευκος. . . .

17, 1. Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα ἔστιν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐπίσημα καὶ Ἐλέου βωμός. . . .

17, 2. ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολὺ, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευασαμένου καλουμένῳ, λίθοι τέ εἰσιν Ἐρμαῖ θέας ἄξιοι καὶ εἰκῶν Πτολεμαίου χαλκῆ· καὶ ὁ τε Λίβυς Ἰόβας ἐνταῦθα κείται καὶ Χρῦσιππος ὁ Σολεύς.

ADDENDUM: The Peisistratid conduit (*supra*, p. 133) probably tapped other springs at the north foot of the Areopagus (concerning these springs see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 89-90).

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Inscription on Acropolis Wall

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