

THE ORIGINS OF THE ATHENIAN IONIC CAPITAL

(PLATES 55–60)

ALTHOUGH NOT A PRIMARY CENTER for the development of the Ionic order during the 6th century, by 450 B.C. Athens had produced a local form of the Ionic capital with characteristics distinct from those of capitals from Ionia proper.¹ The 6th-century Ionic capitals developed in East Greece and the Aegean islands differ from one another in details from region to region. All, however, share two principal elements: (1) the horizontal volute member, of which each end curls under to form a spiral or volute, and (2) under the volute, the echinus, a torus-shaped piece with a half-round or ovolo profile, decorated first with pendent leaves in relief, and later, by the end of the 6th century, with egg-and-dart.² The 5th-century Athenian Ionic capital differs from the eastern examples in two distinct ways. First, the echinus is no longer torus shaped but designed in two degrees. On the earliest examples the lower tier, where the echinus meets the top of the column shaft, has a cyma-reversa profile.³ On later versions the profile of the bottom tier is more often an

¹ See Meritt 1993, pp. 314–325, esp. pp. 317–321, and Meritt 1996, pp. 125–136.

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² The echinus of the capital of the Naxian sphinx column at Delphi, the earliest Cycladic Ionic capital on a monumental scale, bears a pattern of pendent leaves in relief: *FdD* II, pp. 12–13, pls. 11, 12. For a recent analysis of large-scale Parian Ionic votive capitals with echini similar to that of the Naxian capital see Ohnesorg 1993, pp. 113–115. A late 6th-century capital from Therme, now in the Thessaloniki Museum, is one of the earliest to bear true pointed egg-and-dart decoration on the echinus. See Bakalakis 1963. The pointed egg-and-dart does not become the standard form of decoration for the echini of Ionic capitals until well into the 5th century.

³ Among the earliest examples of architectural capitals where the lower element of the echinus is a cyma reversa are those of the Temple of Athena at Sounion and of the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi. In the case of the Sounion capitals the echinus has three steps: the lowest tier has a cyma-reversa profile, the middle tier is vertical, and the top one slopes back to meet the lower edge of the canal. For the capitals of the Temple of

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ovolo.⁴ The second difference lies in the fact that on the Athenian capital the decoration of the echinus surface and other moldings is more often painted than carved.⁵

The Ionic capital did not develop over a long period on Attic soil or spring into being fully formed in the second quarter of the 5th century. Instead, the 5th-century format of the capital with the new two-tiered echinus appears to have been developed in Athenian sculpture workshops around 500 B.C., at least two decades before it was recognized as a viable alternative to the Doric capital in monumental architecture. The purpose of this study is to explore the origins of the Athenian Ionic capital, to determine its formal and stylistic development in the Archaic period, and to seek an explanation for the change in echinus shape—from torus to two-tiered—that becomes the distinguishing characteristic of the 5th-century Ionic capital in Athens.

IONIC VOTIVE CAPITALS ON THE AKROPOLIS

AKROPOLIS VOTIVE CAPITALS WITH TWO-TIERED ECHINI

The distinctive two-part echinus is seen first on two Ionic capitals from the Athenian Akropolis, one of island marble, Akropolis 3776 (Pl. 55:a, c), the other of Attic marble, Akropolis 7797 (Pl. 55:b, d).⁶ Sockets in the top and bottom surfaces, connected by a channel through the center of the capital, indicate that each one supported a votive statue. The two capitals differ not only in material but also in style and in some details of decoration. On the whole, however, the two share several design features. Both have concave canales, and the volute helix on each is defined by a single raised band. The outside edge of the abacus has a cyma-reversa profile. The bolster bows in slightly at the bottom and is straight across the top where it meets the abacus. The two-part echinus is comparable from capital to capital: the upper tier is a vertical, flat band that follows the curve of the lower tier, a circular molding with cyma-reversa profile. A fan-shaped piece in

Athena at Sounion see *FdD* II, pl. 40:1–4; Meritt 1993, pp. 321–323, figs. 14–19. For the capitals of the Athenian stoa at Delphi see *FdD* II, pp. 45–47, pls. 29–31.

⁴ The ovolo profile is seen on two capitals from the Athenian Agora (Agora A 2972 and A 2973), which have yet to be assigned a building. For Agora A 2972 see *Agora* XIV, p. 166, pl. 84:b, c; Meritt 1993, p. 314 (frontispiece, bottom) and p. 318, figs. 5 and 6; Meritt 1996, no. 14A, fig. 20, pls. 40, 41. For illustrations of Agora A 2973 see Schefold 1967, pl. 276:a; Meritt 1993, p. 314 (frontispiece, top); Meritt 1996, no. 14B, pls. 40, 41. The lower part of the capitals attributed to the interior order of the Stoa Poikile also has an ovolo profile. See Shear 1984, pp. 9–12, fig. 6, pl. 3:d. Faint traces of painted pendent leaves (or eggs) may still be seen on the ovolo profile of the two-part echinus of the large votive column at Marathon. For the column see Vanderpool 1966, p. 98, fig. 2, pl. 33:a.

⁵ Meritt 1993, pp. 317–319; Meritt 1996, pp. 125–136.

⁶ For Akr. 3776 see Züchner 1936, cols. 327–332, figs. 18–20; Möbius 1927, p. 167, Beil. 18:5, 6. About one-third of the capital is preserved in eight joining fragments. The largest fragment, without inventory number, was discovered on the Akropolis before 1836, and the other seven were added between 1836 and 1986. The fragments are Akr. 3776, 3820, 3830, 3812, and four pieces without inventory numbers. Two of the latter were recently added by Manolis Korres: see Korres 1994, p. 178 and illustration, p. 174. For convenience, I refer to this capital as Akr. 3776, after one of the larger, numbered fragments. For Akr. 7797 see Möbius, *op. cit.*, p. 167, Beil. 18:7, 8.

low relief extends onto the flat upper tier at each volute corner. A palmette with five petals is carved on top of the fan on Akr. 7797, while on Akr. 3776 the palmette was added in paint. Each bolster has a single central band of decoration, and here the two capitals differ: on Akr. 3776 a raised lotus blossom with five thick petals and a fat stem composed of three small astragals binds the bolster in the center (Pl. 55:c), while on Akr. 7767 a slender, lily-shaped flower is carved in low relief on a raised flat band that wraps around the middle of the bolster (Pl. 55:d).

Extensive painted decoration was visible when Akr. 3776 was discovered but can no longer be seen today. A watercolor sketch made shortly after the capital was found shows the original color scheme (Pl. 56:a).⁷ The artist used blue, green, and red pigments to highlight the carved details of the white marble capital.⁸ For example, the red ground of the cyma-reversa molding on the echinus bore a design of blue Lesbian leaves alternating with green darts.

No traces of paint survive on Akr. 7797. It is likely, however, that contrasting colors highlighted the delicately carved floral decoration of the bolster, the corner palmettes, and the band that defines the volute helix. The cyma-reversa moldings of the abacus and echinus must have borne leaf-and-dart or heart-and-dart pattern, like the moldings of Akr. 3776.

The two-part echinus is seen only on Athenian monuments in the early 5th century and therefore appears to be a decorative scheme invented in an Attic workshop.⁹ But a combination of features suggests that at least Akr. 3776 may be the work of a sculptor or mason within an Attic workshop who was influenced by the architectural and sculptural traditions of the eastern Aegean. First, Akr. 3776 is one of only a handful of Athenian votive capitals to be made of island marble.¹⁰ Second, the plastic floral forms on the

⁷ The drawing by Christian Hansen that shows the original decoration of Akr. 3776, once in the library of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Berlin, only survives in black-and-white reproductions: Züchner 1936, cols. 325–326, fig. 20. According to Raubitschek and Jeffery (1949, p. 18) the sketch was made before the year 1836.

⁸ According to Züchner (1936, col. 331, note 1) the ground of the abacus was blue, over which was painted a Lesbian-leaf design on the long sides and a leaf-and-dart pattern on the short. The concave canalis was left the original white color of the marble. The raised band that borders the canalis and defines the turn of the volute was red, the volute eye, blue. The corner palmettes had three reserved (white) leaves on a red background, and the calyx was green. The top tier of the echinus was blue; the lower tier (the cyma reversa), red with a design of blue Lesbian leaves alternating with green darts. Originally the bolster was blue, the outside petals of the lotus and outside ribs of the stem, green. The central leaf of the blossom and central astragal of the stalk were red, as was the ring between the blossom and stem.

⁹ A Samian Ionic capital from the first quarter of the 5th century has a small, slightly recessed space between the bottom line of the canalis and the top of the echinus. The space is not so pronounced as the top tier on the Athenian capital and was not decorated: Ziegenaus 1957, p. 95, pl. 15, Beil. 108. Like many Athenian capitals from the 5th century, the Samian capital bears relief decoration only on one side. The convex canalis surface and the tapering astragal that defines the eyeless volute helix indicate clearly, however, that the capital is in an eastern Ionic, not Athenian, style. For capitals carved only on one side outside Attica see Meritt 1982, p. 86, note 4 and 1996, pp. 122–125.

¹⁰ Votive column capitals of island marble on the Akropolis: Akropolis 3794, an Aeolic-style capital; Akropolis 124, an Ionic capital; and Akropolis 136, a round capital with cyma-reversa profile. For Akr. 3794 see Raubitschek 1938, pp. 164–165, fig. 23, and Betancourt 1977, p. 141, fig. 48, pls. 53–55. For Akr. 124 see

bolster of both Akr. 3776 and 7797 recall Ionian architectural details such as the incised lotus decoration of the Ionic capital that supported a sphinx statue on Delos (Delos A 583) or the fancy lotus-and-palmette decoration in raised relief on the bolster and column neck of the Ionic capital from the Late Archaic Heraion at Samos.¹¹

The third island element is found not on Akr. 3776 itself but in the inscription on the column that is thought to have supported it. Antony Raubitschek suggested that Athens E.M. 6339, a column shaft with two inscribed flutes that bear the famous epigram of the polemarch Kallimachos, supported the capital.¹² The capital, in turn, provided the base for a statue of Nike (Akr. 690; Pl. 56:b).¹³ The restoration cannot be proved without a doubt because the contact surfaces of the elements of the monument are not well preserved. The proportions of the statue, capital, and column, however, are well suited to one another. The plinth of the Nike is the correct size for the socket on top of the capital, and the restored dimensions of the bottom of the capital are close to those of the top of the shaft. All in all it seems reasonable that the shaft, capital, and Nike belong together. Two eastern or Ionian elements occur among the mostly Attic letter forms of the epigram inscribed on the column: the letter phi has a horizontal bar, as if it had been turned 90 degrees from its usual position, and the letter alpha stands on one leg. The two letters are close in form to those on another Akropolis votive column, the dedication of Iphidike, signed by the sculptor Archermos of Chios.¹⁴ Evelyn Harrison has suggested that perhaps the same sculptor's workshop, or at least the same letter cutter, worked on both monuments.¹⁵

Akr. 3776 has been dated to the beginning of the 5th century by virtue of the sculpture and the inscription on the column with which it is associated. The date suits the style of the Nike statue and also the style of the letter forms of the verses inscribed on the shaft. The most important support for the date, however, is the historical record. Evelyn Harrison has proposed the following sequence of events:¹⁶ according to the inscription, Kallimachos of Aphidna celebrated a victory in the Panathenaic games when he was Polemarch, an office we know he held in 490 B.C.¹⁷ He must have commissioned the statue of Nike to be dedicated to Athena and the Olympian gods shortly after his victory. Kallimachos died at Marathon in the same year and won particular renown for having led

Raubitschek 1943, pp. 17–18, pl. 7:1–3, and fig. 4 on p. 37. For Akr. 136 (the column of which bears an artist's signature in an island script) see *ibid.*, pp. 22–24, figs. 12, 13.

¹¹ For Delos A 583 see *FdD* II, p. 19, note 1 and pls. 15:3 and 16:1. For the Samian capital (*ca.* 480 B.C.) see Gruben 1960, pp. 13–14, illustrations on pp. 17–18. Raubitschek (1940, p. 56) first suggested the Samian comparison.

¹² Raubitschek 1940, pp. 53–56. For the epigram: *IG* I³ 784; Hansen 1983, no. 256; Meiggs-Lewis 1988, p. 33; Harrison 1971, pp. 5–24. Korres has added unscribed fragments to the lower part of the column: see Korres 1994, p. 178, illustration p. 174.

¹³ Raubitschek 1940, pp. 56–57.

¹⁴ Harrison 1971, p. 16 and note 31. For the column dedication of Iphidike, E.M. 6241, see *IG* I³ 683; Hansen 1983, no. 198; Marcadé 1957, pl. 29:2.

¹⁵ Harrison (1971, p. 16, note 31) suggests that a pupil of Archermos might have made the column monument of Kallimachos and the statue it supported.

¹⁶ Harrison 1971, p. 18.

¹⁷ Herodotos 6.109–111, 114.

the Athenians to victory over the Persians and also for miraculously continuing to rout the enemy even after his death.¹⁸ The Nike dedication was not necessarily finished and in place on the Akropolis at the time of Kallimachos' death, but it would have been erected shortly thereafter. The epigram on the column appears to have been composed in two parts: the first is the votive dedication in three lines, apparently by Kallimachos himself. The second, a testament to his valor in battle, possibly was added by the demos of Athens after the first part of the inscription was finished.¹⁹ The monument must have been put up shortly after the battle of Marathon, in 490 or 489 B.C., but probably stood for less than a decade. The fragments of column and the Nike were discovered on the Akropolis among the debris from the Persian sack of 480 B.C.²⁰

There is neither an inscribed column nor a sculptural dedication to help place Akr. 7797 within the chronology of Attic Ionic capitals. Despite the many features it has in common with Akr. 3776, Akr. 7797 may be somewhat later in date. Certain sculptural elements appear to be developed beyond those of the capital for the Kallimachos monument. For example, the concave surface of the canalis of Akr. 7797 is deeper than that of Akr. 3776, and the raised band that defines the volute helix is thinner. The flower in light relief on the bolster appears to be a thinner, more refined version of the blossom that decorates the bolster of Akr. 3776. If Akr. 7797 is not later in date than Akr. 3776, then, at least, it is executed by a mason with an altogether different sculptural style. The refinements of the capital may be, in part, brought about by the mason's use of Attic rather than island marble. The fine grain of Pentelic stone allows for detailed carving and crisp, thin, almost metallic edges not readily achieved in the large-grained island marble. All things considered, if a date shortly after 490 is accepted for the capital of the Kallimachos monument, it seems likely that Akr. 7797 would have been made not much later, perhaps around 480 B.C.

One further capital should be considered in the discussion of Attic votive Ionic columns of the early 5th century. Akropolis 13302 (Pls. 56:c, d, 57:a), a poros capital, is by far the largest of the Akropolis votive capitals. It can be restored to at least two meters in length with a bolster width of over one meter. Most of the Ionic votive capitals originally would have been no more than half a meter in length from bolster to bolster. Of Akr. 13302 two volute fragments survive, one from each end of the capital. One entire volute is built into the North Wall of the Akropolis, and the other lies to the east of the Erechtheion.²¹ Unfortunately, no part of the echinus has been found. Like Akr. 3776 and 7797, the capital has a concave canalis, and the volute is defined by a raised, flat band. The volute eye is large and bears a cutting for a bronze attachment. The bolster, like those of the previous two capitals, is straight across the top with a simple, central band of decoration, here made up of two astragal moldings, side by side. The abacus appears to have been very short

¹⁸ On the image of Kallimachos at Marathon in both Greek literature and art see Harrison 1972, pp. 358–365 and testimonia, pp. 372–374.

¹⁹ Harrison 1971, p. 18.

²⁰ Raubitschek and Jeffery 1949, no. 13, p. 18. The finding places of the capital fragments are not known.

²¹ The volute built into the North Wall is known only from a photograph. See Wiegand 1904, p. 173, fig. 172:a. Manolis Korres (personal communication) hopes to recover both fragments in the future and to restore the column in the Akropolis Museum.

in proportion to the overall vertical proportions of the capital. The top surface bears a dowel hole, and so perhaps the capital was made to support a statue with a rectangular plinth which, once doweled into place, would create the effect of an abacus.²²

Although Akr. 13302 has been dated as early as the second quarter of the 6th century, the concave canalis and simple bolster ornament support a date after 500 and probably after 490 B.C.²³ Its inclusion in the building materials for the North Wall provides us with a *terminus ante quem* of 479/8. The scale of the capital is so much larger than that of the Ionic capitals used to support statues dedicated by private individuals on the Akropolis that it is difficult to believe it was part of a private dedication. Instead, it may have been a public monument, dedicated by the demos of Athens. Perhaps this Ionic capital, like Akr. 3776, crowned a column erected to commemorate the Athenian victory at Marathon in 490, only to be destroyed in the Persian sack of the Akropolis in 480 B.C. If so, the Ionic column monument in poros would have been the precursor to the marble Ionic votive column erected at Marathon itself in the middle of the 5th century.²⁴

ATTIC FORERUNNERS TO THE CAPITALS WITH TWO-TIERED ECHINI

Akr. 3776 and 7797 are the earliest extant Attic capitals with two-part echini. They are not, however, the earliest Ionic capitals produced in Attica but are among the latest in a series of capitals designed as statue bases. Masons in Athenian sculpture workshops produced votive columns with round, Aeolic-style, and Ionic capitals during the final decade of the 6th century. Eight Ionic capitals from the Akropolis, six of Attic marble, one of island marble, and one of poros limestone, share similar elements of design.²⁵ In fact, the eight capitals are so close to one another in form, decoration, and method of attachment that it is likely all were produced by a single workshop. On six of the eight the basic shape of the capital is blocked out in stone, and the volute and canalis faces are smoothed as a ground for painted decoration.²⁶ The bolster bows in gently on all sides, its surface dressed with a claw chisel all over. The lines of the volutes, the corner palmettes, and all other embellishments are painted directly on the surface of the stone. Much of the paint may still be seen on Akr. 3853, one of the better preserved capitals

²² Raubitschek and Jeffery 1949, p. 6.

²³ Akr. 13302 once was viewed as contemporary to the Naxian sphinx column at Delphi (*F&D* II, pls. 11, 12), which dates to the second quarter of the 6th century: Raubitschek and Jeffery 1949, p. 6. Dinsmoor (1950, p. 90) suggested that the capital belonged to the porch of the late-6th-century temple of Athena that stood on the pink Kara limestone foundations on the Akropolis. Boardman (1959, p. 206, note 6) points out that the capital bears elements of the design of early-5th-century Attic, not early-6th-century Cycladic, Ionic architecture.

²⁴ For the column monument at Marathon see Vanderpool 1966, pp. 93–106, pls. 31–35.

²⁵ They are Akropolis inv. nos. 3850, 3851, 3852, 3853, 124, 4455, 135, and Athens N.M. 85. For Akr. 3850 see Borrmann 1888c, p. 280 and note 20, fig. 25; Akr. 3851: Borrmann 1888a, p. 8, pl. 18:2; Akr. 3852: Raubitschek 1938, pp. 166, 167, 168, fig. 25; Akr. 3853: Borrmann 1888a, p. 8, pl. 18:1, 1a; Akr. 124: Kabbadias 1886, cols. 79, 80, no. 1, pl. 6, and Raubitschek 1943, pp. 17–18, fig. 4 on p. 37, pl. 7:1–3; Akr. 4455 (formerly Akr. 3655): Kawerau 1907, pp. 197–207, esp. pp. 197–199 with figs. 1–4; Akr. 135: Borrmann 1888b, p. 15, pl. 29:2; Athens N.M. 85: Karouzou 1978, pp. 13–14, pls. 2, 3.

²⁶ Raubitschek refers to these capitals as “Type B” Ionic capitals: Raubitschek 1938, pp. 166–168.

(Pl. 57:c, d). On Akr. 3850 the line of the volute is incised as well as painted (Pl. 57:b). The two remaining capitals, Athens N.M. 85 (Pl. 58:a, b) and Akr. 135 (Pl. 58:c, d), have concave canals and some sculptural embellishments.²⁷ On each a thin raised line borders the outside edge of the canal at top and bottom. The raised borders meet at the volute corner and together define the turn of the helix. On Athens N.M. 85, a pattern of pendent leaves is incised on the echinus. On Akr. 135 the convex area between the top of one bolster and the bottom of the abacus bears a carved pattern of pointed leaves. All other decoration of the capitals was painted.

Although the three-dimensional form varies little from capital to capital, the highly colored painted decoration of the volute face on each provides variety and interest.²⁸ Some decorative motives are more or less consistent. For example, on the volute face the line of the helix usually makes about two and a half turns and ends tangent to a circular eye. The abacus, however, may bear a meander pattern (Akr. 4455, 135) or may be a solid color (Akr. 3851). The volute eye is sometimes a solid color (Akr. 3853) or may be painted with a series of concentric circles, like a bull's-eye (Akr. 3851). The canal is usually continuous across the horizontal volute section (Akr. 3850, 3852, 124, 135, Athens N.M. 85) but in the case of Akr. 3853 (Pl. 57: c, d) is divided by a double-volute design that recalls the ornament of some funerary stelai.²⁹ The bolster was painted, and faint traces of vertical stripes, perhaps meant to imitate carved astragals, can be seen on some examples (Akr. 3850, 124, Athens N.M. 85 [Pl. 58:b]). In all likelihood, the painted decoration on the capital was designed to complement the decoration of the statue it supported. Most supported korai whose garments were painted with elaborate border patterns.³⁰

Each capital bears the same distinctive method for the attachment of sculpture to capital and capital to column that was noted on Akr. 3776 and 7797. A shallow socket in the top surface of the capital was connected, by means of a drilled channel, to a mortise

²⁷ Although the provenance of Athens N.M. 85 is not known, the general format, dimensions, bolster shape, and cuttings are close enough to those of the smooth-faced Ionic capitals on the Akropolis (Akr. 3850–3853, 124, 4455, 135) to suggest that it too was part of a votive monument on the Akropolis. The capital is from the Varvakeion collection: Karouzou 1968, p. 40.

²⁸ Today most of the painted ornament of the Akropolis votive monuments has faded from view. Authors who described the Ionic capitals soon after excavation noted the use of red, blue, black, brown, and green pigments. See Kabbadias 1886, cols. 79–80; Borrmann 1888b, pp. 15–16, pl. 29:2; Borrmann 1888c, pp. 274–275 with notes 12–15; Kawerau 1907, pp. 197–199, pl. 4.

²⁹ Kontoleon (1968) suggested that the divided volute of Akr. 3853 was in imitation of the Parian capitals from the third quarter of the 6th century (Paros Museum 775, 733, Delos A 583, A 584). It now seems more likely that the volute design of Akr. 3853 is related to contemporary, local Attic stelai rather than to the earlier island monuments. Two Attic grave stelai that have double volutes with palmettes are Athens N.M. 86 (see Richter 1961, no. 54, p. 40, fig. 137) and Louvre M.N.D. 1863 (*ibid.*, no. 57, p. 41, figs. 138, 140). Richter dates both to the end of the 6th century. Artists who worked on the funerary stelai for aristocratic families during the Peisistratid period probably made the votive monuments on the Akropolis when the elaborate funerary reliefs began to lose popularity in the first years of the democracy. On Akr. 3851 the top line of the canal dips toward the center; it may have borne a similar double-volute design: see Borrmann 1888a, pl. 18:2.

³⁰ The kore Akr. 675, for example, wears a white himation painted with flowers in dark pigment and with a dark meander pattern along its borders: Richter 1968, no. 123, p. 79, figs. 394–397.

for a tenon on top of the column shaft. When the molten lead was poured around the statue plinth, some ran through the channel to cover the top of the tenon on the column.³¹

Most important, the echinus shape on six of the eight Akropolis votive capitals (Akr. 3850, 3851, 3852, 3853, 4455, and Athens N.M. 85) is uniform and differs markedly from the two-tiered version of the 5th-century Attic Ionic capitals discussed earlier, Akr. 3776 and 7797.³² The echinus is hemispherical in shape (rounded at the top, flat on the bottom) and bulges out in convex relief from the smooth surface of the volute face. A painted pattern of three pendent leaves, each surrounded by a border in a contrasting color, is visible on the better-preserved echini.³³ Palmettes are painted on smooth, triangular volute corners that hood the top of the echinus on either side. When the capital is viewed from below, the only indication of the echinus is a hump that projects from the volute face. The supporting column fits into a circular recess on the bottom of the capital, and the inside edges of the bolsters hug the top of the shaft. With one notable exception, no portion of the echinus, such as the tips of leaves and darts, shows on the underside of the capital.³⁴ Instead a smooth band runs between the recess for the column shaft and the inside edge of the bolster.

The echini of the six Akropolis votive capitals differ greatly from those of Cycladic and Eastern Ionic capitals. The echinus of the large-scale Cycladic Ionic capitals, such as those found on Paros and Delos in the third quarter of the 6th century, consists of a torus decorated in relief with pendent leaves.³⁵ The torus is completely circular, and when the capital is viewed from below, a circle of leaf tips can be seen projecting from

³¹ Akr. 4455 supported a bronze instead of a marble offering; although the cutting on top of the capital differs from the normal socket for a marble plinth, the channel through the capital that connects to a mortise on the bottom surface is similar. The bronze offering was attached to the top of the capital by the Samian technique: for the Samian technique see Borrmann 1888c, p. 284 with fig. 28. The elongated scheme of the capital is not necessarily a chronological indicator (as proposed by Raubitschek 1938, p. 167) but rather an indication that Akr. 4455 was used to support a sculpture in bronze that had an elongated plinth instead of one in marble with a short plinth. Both Akr. 135 and 3852 lack sockets for statuary on their support surfaces. Still, in each case lead was poured into a conical depression worked in the top surface and ran through the capital via a drilled channel to the mortise in the resting surface, where it covered the tenon on the top of the column. The two capitals may have been used in small buildings, or *oikoi*, although architectural features, such as setting margins, are not seen on their support surfaces. Perhaps each supported a statue, the plinth of which was set directly on top of the abacus and attached by means of a lost dowel. This type of arrangement would have precedent: the sphinx statue discovered at Cyrene was not set into a socket in the top surface of its Ionic capital (note 68 below) but was doweled to the top of the capital: see White 1971, p. 51. The marble plinth attached to Akr. 136, a round capital with *cyma-reversa* profile, bears a drilled hole between the feet of the statue. The drilled channel was never used but appears to have been intended as a pour channel for molten lead. Once poured through the hole, the lead would secure the plinth within the socket in the support surface of the capital: see Raubitschek 1943, p. 22.

³² The echinus *per se* is not preserved on Akr. 3850, 3851, and 3852. Where the echinus has been broken away, however, it has left a distinctive rounded break that reflects the original rounded shape of the piece.

³³ For example, those of Akr. 3853 and Athens N.M. 85.

³⁴ The exceptional echinus is on Akr. 135, discussed below.

³⁵ See, for example, the echinus of Delos A 583 (*FdD* II, p. 19, note 1, pls. 15:3, 16:1, 3) or that of Paros 733 (Orlandos 1962, pp. 195–196, figs. 202, 203; Orlandos 1964, p. 190, fig. 9, pls. 149:a, b; Ohnesorg 1993, pl. XXI:3, 4).

beneath the inside edge of the bolster, as well as from beneath the lower edge of the volute face. A recessed channel runs between the tips of the leaves and the resting surface of each Cycladic example.³⁶ The echinus of Akr. 135 provides a link between the Cycladic echinus type and the hemispherical echinus form of the six Akropolis votive Ionic capitals discussed above. A well-preserved capital with concave canalis, it is the only votive Ionic capital on the Akropolis carved in one piece with the beginning of a smooth shaft (Pl. 58:c, d).³⁷ The Cycladic echinus form was adopted on Akr. 135 with modifications. The leaf pattern on the echinus is painted, not carved, and the channel between the leaf tips and short column shaft undercuts the torus so that the echinus has a cavetto profile. The disposition of the echinus in relation to the volutes on the face of Akr. 135 differs little from those of the six Akropolis capitals discussed above: the echinus is just as bulbous, and just as little of it projects from between the corner palmettes.

The analysis of Akr. 135 helps in understanding the abbreviated echinus decoration of the other Akropolis Ionic votive capitals. The mason(s) of the six Akropolis capitals (Akr. 3850, 3851, 3852, 3853, 4455, and Athens N.M. 85) adopted a shorthand method to refer to the volute and echinus, the two basic elements of the Ionic capital. The masons must have intended that the section of hemispherical echinus visible on the face of the capital be read as part of a larger whole, the torus of pendent leaves tucked up under the volutes. Extra relief decoration is omitted in this straightforward interpretation. Details, such as leaf tips under the bolster, are not carved either where they will not be missed or where there is no longer room for them. The features of the capital are simplified, and the use of carved decoration is economical.

In addition to Akr. 135, a second capital, Akr. 124 (Pl. 59:a), departs from the usual scheme in the design of the echinus. The smooth volute face with painted decoration is similar to those of Akr. 3850–3853 and 4455. The echinus, however, has a cyma-reversa profile instead of the usual projecting bulb between the volutes. This capital is particularly

³⁶ The channel can be seen in photographs of the resting surface of Delos A 583 (*FdD* II, pl. 16, fig. 3) and that of Delos A 584 (*ibid.*, pl. 16, fig. 5). On the capital of the sphinx column from Cyrene (note 31 above), the circle of leaf tips simply surrounds the resting surface without benefit of a channel: White 1971, p. 50, ill. 2, pl. 10:6.

³⁷ Each of two small-scale Ionic capitals in the Akropolis Museum is carved in one piece with the beginning of a smooth shaft. The two are without inventory numbers and are shown in Brouskari 1974, figs. 51 and 78. Both capitals have been cited as Archaic votive capitals (see, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 38, 45; Meritt 1996, p. 135) but are neither votive nor from the Archaic period. Neither capital bears a socket for statuary on the top surface. In spite of the fact that most of the abacus is missing on one (*ibid.*, fig. 78), an architectural setting margin can be seen on the support surface above one bolster, as well as tong cuttings for lifting. The other capital (*ibid.*, fig. 51) also bears tong cuttings and a mason's mark on the top surface. Such cuttings and marks are absent from the tops of the Akropolis votive columns. Part of the support surface of the second capital bears drill holes and chisel marks but has no socket for a statue plinth. The painted decoration of both capitals is closer to that of the capitals of the Temple of Athena at Sounion in the middle of the 5th century than to that of the Late Archaic Akropolis votive capitals: see Meritt 1993, p. 32 and 1996, p. 135. The domed volute eyes are a 5th-century feature as well. The two-part echinus of the first capital (Brouskari 1974, fig. 78) again appears to belong to about 450 B.C. The complex profile of the second (*ibid.*, fig. 51) may indicate a date later in the 5th century. The two capitals may belong to small *naïskoi* rather than to votive columns or *tetrastyla*.

important because it appears to mark an intermediate stage between the Akropolis capitals with bulbous echini and those with the echinus in two tiers from the first quarter of the 5th century, Akr. 3776 and 7797, where the lower tier is a cyma reversa. On Akr. 124 the tapered shape of the cyma reversa gives the echinus extra height. The inward swing of the lower part of the profile narrows as it reaches the top of the column shaft and provides a smooth transition from capital to column. Although the outside projection of the echinus is broken away, part of the painted decoration is preserved where the cyma reversa swings in to meet the top of the column shaft. Like the hemispherical echini of the other Akropolis Ionic capitals, the echinus of Akr. 124 is painted with a series of pendent leaves, the tips of which can still be seen.³⁸

The bolster of Akr. 124 has points in common with both groups of capitals. Like those on capitals of the group with bulbous echini, the bolster of Akr. 124 bows in gently toward the center. It is smoothed as a ground for paint, and faint traces of a painted central vertical band may still be seen today. But the bolster is almost straight across the top, a feature of Akr. 3776 and 7797.

THE DATES OF THE AKROPOLIS VOTIVE IONIC CAPITALS

The group of smooth-faced Akropolis Ionic capitals has been given a general date in the last quarter of the 6th century, based on the association of inscriptions and statues with each of two capitals. One, Akr. 124, has been placed between 525 and 510, and the other, Akr. 3850, has been placed as early as 530 B.C.³⁹ A reevaluation of the material suggests that the date 530–520 B.C. is too high for the capitals and that they were not made until the last decade of the 6th century.

Akr. 124 is the only votive Ionic capital on the Akropolis discovered with the column it crowned. The column shaft is preserved in four joining fragments, the topmost of which is still attached to the capital with lead.⁴⁰ The shaft has twenty flutes, two of which are inscribed vertically, top to bottom in retrograde script (Pl. 59:b).⁴¹ The column is broken, and the last word of the dedication is (for the most part) restored. The text of the inscription reads:⁴²

Ἄλ|κίμαχος μ' ἀνέ{σ}θεκε Διὸς κόρει τόδ' ἄγαλμα |
εὐ|χολὲν ἔσθλῶ δὲ πατρὸς ἠϋς Χαιρίωνος ἐπεύχεται (ἔ)να[ι].

³⁸ When the capital was discovered the leaves alternated red and green, and each had a brown border: Kabbadias 1886, p. 79. Today only the border may be seen.

³⁹ Most recently, Meritt 1993, p. 316 and notes 31, 32; Meritt 1996, p. 125. For the date of Akr. 124 see Raubitschek 1939, col. 46 (“Die Weihinschrift gehört sicher auch noch in die Zeit der Tyrannis”); Raubitschek 1943, p. 19 (520–510 B.C.); Raubitschek and Jeffery 1949, no. 6, pp. 10–12. For the date of Akr. 3850 see Raubitschek 1943, p. 19 and Raubitschek and Jeffery 1949, no. 5, pp. 9–10.

⁴⁰ Raubitschek 1939, no. 16, cols. 44–46.

⁴¹ The capital obscured the beginning of each line. As a result, the letter cutter added the first two letters of the first line to the flute immediately to the left of the inscription and the first two letters of the second line to the tops of two flutes to the right.

⁴² Text of the inscription after Hansen 1983, no. 195.

The usual translation of the inscription is “Alkimachos dedicated me, this pleasing gift, as a vow to the daughter of Zeus; he boasts to be the son of a noble father, Chairion.”⁴³ Antony Raubitschek noted a second occurrence of the name “Chairion” on another Akropolis dedication and concluded that he was the same person mentioned on the votive column: according to an inscription on an altar a Chairion served as *tamias*, treasurer to Athena.⁴⁴ On the strength of this identification, Raubitschek restored to Akr. 124 a statue of a seated man holding a tablet (Akr. 629) and suggested that the figure represented a *tamias*.⁴⁵

Raubitschek suggested that a third occurrence of the name “Chairion” on the grave-stone of an Athenian Eupatrid in Eretria referred to the same man and proposed the following sequence of events: Chairion served as treasurer to Athena in the beginning of the 6th century (when he dedicated the altar), followed Peisistratos into exile in Eretria, and eventually died there.⁴⁶ It follows that if Alkimachos was the son of the same Chairion, he could not have erected a monument that commemorated his father after the end of Peisistratid rule.⁴⁷ Akr. 124 would then belong to the period 525–510 B.C.⁴⁸

But Raubitschek’s interesting hypothesis can be questioned from several perspectives. First, Davies suggests a new date for the altar, around 550 B.C., and connects Chairion to the Alkmeonid, not the Peisistratid, family.⁴⁹ This reinterpretation of political alliances precludes the dedication of the votive column and statue before the end of Hippias’ reign in 510 B.C. Should the three monuments brought together by Raubitschek refer to one and the same Chairion, we may now construct the story from a different political viewpoint. The inscription of Alkimachos on the votive column might be the dedication of a man returned or recalled from exile, asserting his place in Athenian society and politics following the expulsion of Hippias in 510, or perhaps following the reforms of Kleisthenes in 508 B.C.⁵⁰

Also, the inscription may not be complete. A large piece of the column shaft is missing, and of the last word only the first letter, nu, is certain. The second letter of the last word may be alpha or epsilon. Furthermore, although the first line of the dedication is a true hexameter, the second has eight dactyls. Perhaps four additional dactyls were inscribed on the missing column fragments, to fill out three hexameter verses. Instead of representing a contraction of εἴναι, the letters NA or NE might belong to a participial phrase that

⁴³ Text of the translation after Friedländer and Hoffleit 1948, no. 48, p. 50.

⁴⁴ Raubitschek 1939, col. 46. Poros altar on the Akropolis: *IG I²* 467.

⁴⁵ Raubitschek 1943, pp. 17–18. The restoration is not certain because neither the bottom of the statue nor the top surface of the capital is preserved. Peek does not accept the restoration, nor does he accept that the monument was in honor of Alkimachos’ father. See Peek 1953–1954, p. 381, whence *SEG XIV*, 12. Often the statue type is identified as a scribe; see the following discussion.

⁴⁶ Raubitschek and Jeffery 1949, p. 12. For the gravestone see *IG XII ix* 296.

⁴⁷ Raubitschek 1939, cols. 44–46.

⁴⁸ Raubitschek 1943, pp. 17–18; Raubitschek and Jeffery 1949, p. 12.

⁴⁹ Davies 1971, pp. 12–13. Davies also suggests a new date, around 550, for the altar with Chairion’s *tamias* inscription (*op. cit.*, p. 13).

⁵⁰ Jeffery (1961, pp. 102–103, no. 6) restores the name “Alkimachos” to the abacus of a Doric votive capital in Delphi (Delphi Museum 789 + 4741) from the last quarter of the 6th century. It is possible that the capital was dedicated by the same Alkimachos who dedicated Akr. 124, during a period of exile from Athens. For an illustration see Coste-Messelière 1942–1943, pp. 38–39, fig. 7.

completes the third hexameter. Were this the case, the second verse of the inscription might be interpreted not as “he boasts to be the son of a noble father” but as “the son of a noble father, he vowed a votive offering”. The reading of ἐπέυκεται as “vows” is a more common interpretation of the word than “boasts”.⁵¹ Most important, because there are prosopographical difficulties, the style of the inscription and the style of the statue should be given more weight in determining a date for the monument. First, the letter forms of the inscription on the column call for a date toward the end of the 6th century, when the tailed rho was used with some regularity.⁵² Second, the style of the statue placed on top of the capital also appears to date to the end of the 6th century. The attenuated arms and legs and the wide shallow folds of the drapery call to mind the limbs and drapery of the seated youths who encourage a dog and cat to fight on an Athenian kouros base with relief decoration.⁵³ The relief has been dated to 510–500 B.C.⁵⁴ Also, new evidence has come to light that suggests that the statues of seated draped male figures, of which there are at least three on the Akropolis, do not represent treasurers but show scribes who participated in recording the reorganization of the Athenian population under Kleisthenes in 508 B.C.⁵⁵ In light of the analysis of the letters and the sculpture, Akr. 124 may belong to the very end of the 6th century, rather than to the penultimate decade.

Only one of the other seven votive Ionic capitals from the Akropolis, Akr. 3850, has been associated, albeit tentatively, with fragments of statuary and a column shaft that may provide evidence for dating. In his early studies of the Akropolis capitals Raubitschek suggested that a pair of kore feet on a plinth, Akr. 475, fit into the socket on top of Akr. 3850.⁵⁶ At the time, the feet were thought to belong with a kore torso, Akr. 611, although the lower legs which would have joined the feet to the torso were missing.⁵⁷ Akr. 611 is one of the earlier korai on the Akropolis, and on the basis of the association of the torso with the plinth and the Ionic capital, Raubitschek dated Akr. 3850 to about 530–520 B.C.⁵⁸ Subsequently, Gisela Richter noted that the feet on the plinth were stylistically more advanced than the torso and that the traces of drapery on the plinth were not compatible with the drapery on the torso.⁵⁹ She separated the two fragments and proposed a date at the end of the 6th century for the plinth with kore feet.⁶⁰ Because the torso is no longer associated with Akr. 3850, the capital can now be dated to the same period as the feet, the end of the 6th century, about 510–500 B.C. Akr. 3850 has also been restored with a fluted column, Athens E.M. 6243. The column bears an inscribed

⁵¹ LSJ, *s.v.* ἐπέύχομαι. For a votive column shaft from Paros inscribed with the dedication of Ekphantos and the vow of Grophon see *IG XII iii* 1075.

⁵² Jeffery 1961, p. 67.

⁵³ Athens N.M. 3476. Raubitschek (1943, p. 18) compares the same base to Akr. 629 but concludes that Akr. 124 belongs to the period 520–510 B.C.

⁵⁴ Karouzou 1968, pp. 31–32, pl. 16:b.

⁵⁵ See Trianti 1993, p. 284 and 1994, pp. 83–86. For the scribe statues see Payne and Young 1939, pl. 118:1 for Akr. 114; pl. 118:2 for Akr. 146; pl. 118:3–5 for Akr. 629; Trianti 1994, p. 83, ill 1.

⁵⁶ Raubitschek 1938, p. 143, notes 2 and 3, pp. 166, 171; Raubitschek 1943, pp. 18–20, 37, fig. 7.

⁵⁷ Langlotz 1939, no. 11, pp. 54–55.

⁵⁸ Raubitschek 1938, p. 166. Also Raubitschek 1943, p. 19.

⁵⁹ Richter 1968, no. 135, p. 84.

⁶⁰ Richter 1968, p. 84.

dedication from a man named Ameinas in one flute and a signature of the sculptor Gorgias in another.⁶¹ According to Lillian Jeffery the letter forms of the inscription also support a date in the last quarter of the 6th century, closer to 500 than to 525 B.C.⁶²

The sculptural and epigraphical evidence associated with the Ionic votive capital Akr. 3850 suggests that its date is closer to 510–500 than to 530–520 B.C. The capital appears to be a product of the same time period and same workshop as the other five smooth-faced Ionic capitals. If the later dates offered here for Akr. 3850 and Akr. 124 are correct, then it appears that the smooth-faced Ionic capital (with either bulbous or cyma-reversa echinus) was introduced at Athens after 510 B.C., toward the end of the 6th century, rather than at the end of the third quarter.

The two capitals with concave canales (Akr. 135 and Athens N.M. 85) may belong to the same general period. One outside monument helps establish a date for the two: much of the finial of the so-called hoplite-runner relief from the Kerameikos (Athens N.M. 1959) is missing, but two volutes with concave canales remain at the top corner on either side of the slab.⁶³ As is the case on the two Ionic capitals, the helix of the volute is defined by narrow bands that border the outside edge of the canalis on top and bottom. The bands meet, define two turns, and end in a compass-drawn eye. An incised palmette with three lobes fills each volute corner. The volutes and palmettes on the relief are not exactly like the volute-canal sections of the Ionic capitals, but the date of the relief, 510–500 B.C., provides a general date for the introduction of monuments with concave canales and volutes at Athens.⁶⁴

To sum up, the group of six smooth-faced Ionic capitals and the two Ionic capitals with concave canales are the earliest Ionic capitals yet discovered in Athens. Components of the Ionic order occur in Athenian architecture as early as the beginning of the third quarter of the 6th century. Volute with incised and painted decoration, for example, make up the akroteria of the marble sima associated with the H-architecture, and double volutes

⁶¹ Raubitschek 1943, pp. 19–20; Raubitschek and Jeffery 1949, no. 5, pp. 9–10 (with illustration on p. 11). Raubitschek noted that too little of the top of the column is preserved to conclude without a doubt that the two belong together. He suggests that the sculptor is “Gorgias the Lacon” mentioned by Pliny, *HN* 34.49; see Raubitschek and Jeffery 1949, pp. 502–503.

⁶² Raubitschek and Jeffery 1949, p. 10. Jeffery notes that the tailed letter rho belongs to the end of the 6th century; see Jeffery 1961, p. 67. Another signature of Gorgias on the Akropolis is placed at “510–500 (?)” by Jeffery. See Hansen 1983, no. 200 (*IG* I³ 638; Raubitschek and Jeffery 1949, no. 147).

⁶³ Richter 1968, p. 64, pl. 17:b.

⁶⁴ Although we find convex volutes on Ionic and Aeolic capitals in the Cyclades and also on an Attic stele with a volute-palmette finial, no 6th-century Attic Ionic capitals with convex volutes are preserved. For a grave stele with convex volutes, Athens N.M. 4477, see Richter 1961, no. 63, p. 45, fig. 145, also dated to the final decade of the 6th century. A small bronze candelabrum fragment in the shape of an Ionic capital that supported a figure of a youth (of which only the feet remain), discovered near Oropos (Athens N.M. 13673), has convex volutes, and Karouzou concludes that it came originally either from the Peloponnesos or from East Greece: see Karouzou 1978, pp. 9–18 (esp. pp. 17–18), pl. 1. Convex volutes are first seen on Cycladic Ionic and Aeolic capitals in the third quarter of the 6th century. For an example of a Cycladic Ionic capital with convex volutes, Paros 733, see Orlandos 1964, pl. 149:a, b. For Cycladic Aeolic capitals with the same convex volutes see Delos 202: Vallois 1966, p. 167; Paros 793: Gruben 1972a, p. 376, fig. 35:a, b and p. 379; and Paros 1006 + 1007: Gruben 1982, p. 687, fig. 37:a, b.

are found both painted and incised on contemporary funerary stelai.⁶⁵ The complete format of the Ionic capital with horizontal canalis, however, is not attested in Athens before the last decade of the 6th century. The few chronological indicators suggest that the smooth-faced Ionic capitals on the Akropolis appeared in Athens alongside those with concave canales and volutes. But the relative chronology of the members of the first group of Attic Ionic capitals remains uncertain. Did the Athenian masons start with the echinus with a hawksbeak profile and a channel between the leaf tips and resting surface of the capital, as on Akr. 135, move on to the capital with an echinus indicated only by a hemispherical projection on the volute face (Akr. 3850–3853, 4455, Athens N.M. 85), and then develop the echinus with cyma-reversa profile (Akr. 124)? I would like to think that the cyma-reversa profile of the echinus appears later than the hemispherical echini, because the cyma reversa is the shape developed for Athenian Ionic-capital echini in the 5th century, while the hemispherical shape is abandoned. But we should keep in mind that all eight capitals must have been more or less experimental because they represent the earliest examples of the Ionic order in Athens.

PREDECESSORS TO THE AKROPOLIS IONIC CAPITALS

The Ionic capital first appears on the Akropolis as a support for sculpture only at the end of the 6th century (p. 214 above).⁶⁶ Outside Attica, Ionic capitals are used as votive-statue bases in the Cyclades and in monumental architecture throughout the eastern Aegean by the third quarter of the 6th century. The Akropolis version of the capital, obviously, is based on earlier examples from other regions.⁶⁷ The forerunners to the late-6th-century Athenian Ionic votive capitals may be found among the Cycladic rather than the eastern Aegean examples of the order. Some inspiration for the form of the Akropolis capitals appears to be drawn from the large-scale Cycladic votive capitals that supported sphinxes from Naxos, Delos, and Paros.⁶⁸ As noted above, the echinus design of Akr. 135 clearly

⁶⁵ For the Archaic marble sima see Travlos 1971, p. 259, fig. 330. For funerary stelai see Richter 1961, no. 54, p. 40, fig. 137, and no. 57, p. 41, figs. 138, 140.

⁶⁶ It is possible that a few of the late-6th-century Ionic capitals may have been used as architectural members in small oikoi or treasury buildings as well. See note 31 above.

⁶⁷ Athens N.M. 4797, a capital with the format of a large-scale Cycladic Ionic capital but with ascending, Aeolic (rather than horizontal, Ionic) volutes, was found at Sykaminon in Attica: see Bammer 1972, p. 453; Betancourt 1971, pp. 106–108, 141, and pl. 67; Ohnesorg 1993, p. 116, pl. XXI:8; Meritt 1996, pp. 122–124, pls. 34, 35. It probably dates to about 550–540 B.C. The design of the Sykaminon capital does not appear to have influenced Attic architectural styles in the second half of the 6th century.

⁶⁸ The large-scale Cycladic Ionic capitals include the capital of the Naxian Sphinx Column at Delphi (see *FdD* II, pp. 3–32, pls. 1–17); Paros 775 (Orlandos 1963, pp. 192–193, figs. 225, 226; Ohnesorg 1993, p. 113, pl. XXI:1, 2); Paros 733 (Orlandos 1961, pp. 184–185, figs. 206, 207; Ohnesorg 1993, p. 114, pl. XXI:3, 4); Delos A 583 and A 584 (see *FdD* II, p. 19, note 1, pls. XV:3, XVI:4, 5). The fragments of the Ionic capitals from the tetrastyle prostyle temple at Iria show that the Cycladic Ionic capital was employed in monumental architecture in the same period in which it was first used as a statue support: see Lambrinoudakis and Gruben 1987, p. 572, figs. 3a and 3b; p. 594, fig. 39. I should note here that the votive Ionic capital set up as a sphinx support at Cyrene about 540 B.C. (White 1971, pp. 45–55) had

is based on that of the Cycladic torus-form echini with pendent leaf decoration. Also, the form of the bolsters of the Akropolis capitals appears to be a variation of the bolster that bows in on all sides, seen first on Delos A 583 and A 584 around 540 B.C.

On the whole, however, the Akropolis capitals seem closer in style to the small-scale Ionic votive and architectural capitals produced in the Cyclades as supports for kouros and kore statues than to the large-scale Cycladic Ionic examples that supported sphinxes. Several fragments of small-scale Ionic capitals have been found on Delos and Naxos.⁶⁹ In general, the small capitals are far less ornate than their large-scale counterparts: like the Akropolis capitals, the distinguishing characteristic of the group is an economy of carved ornament. The Cycladic capital has a smooth volute-canal face; a single incised line defines the bottom edge of the canal and the turn of the volute spiral. In some cases the spiral ends in a hook, in others, an incised circular eye.⁷⁰ A palmette with one to three lobes is incised or carved in the volute corner, and the bolster and echinus are smooth. The bolster is often straight across the top and curves in slightly along the bottom edge. Like the large-scale Cycladic votive and architectural capitals, the small-scale Ionic capitals have no abaci. The fragmentary Cycladic capitals are so weathered that no traces of painted ornament survive. The decoration may have looked something like that of the Akropolis capitals, with details of the volute helix and eye painted rather than carved. Perhaps floral motifs, like those incised on the volute face of Delos A 583, were included in the painted ornament of the small-scale Cycladic capitals.⁷¹

The best-preserved votive capital, Naxos 8 (Pl. 59:c), is also the earliest small-scale Cycladic Ionic capital. It differs from the Delian examples in that the capital was carved in one piece with a short, smooth column shaft. A thick, conical echinus without relief decoration marks the transition from capital to column. The capital has an elongated format, like that of the large-scale Cycladic Ionic capitals, with a length-to-height ratio of 2.7:1. The length of the volute member appears to have been determined by the size

a torus-shaped echinus with two stacked rows of leaf-and-dart decoration. This treatment of the echinus is unique to Cyrene and appears to be an experiment in echinus decoration, without direct influence on the two-tiered echini of the Attic Ionic capitals of the first quarter of the 5th century.

⁶⁹ They are Naxos inv. no. 8, Delos inv. nos. 25, A 1548, A 4213, and two capitals without inventory numbers. For Naxos 8 see Kontoleon 1957, pp. 337, fig. 11, 338, and Lambrinoudakis and Gruben 1987, pp. 602, fig. 45, 606; Delos 25: *Délos* XXXIII, pp. 103–105, pls. 24, 25, 73:4–6; Delos A 1548: Plassart 1950, no. 8, p. 6, and Vallois 1966, nos. 4, 5, pp. 169–170; Delos A 4213: Plassart 1950, no. 7, p. 5, and Martin 1973, no. 2, pp. 374–375, fig. 3. Note that figure 3 should be rotated 90 degrees to the left for proper viewing. The two capitals without inventory numbers are referred to here (respectively) as Delos R.M. 5 and Delos R.M. 6 because they are the fifth and sixth capitals in the catalogue: (R.) Martin 1973, no. 5, pp. 383–384, figs. 9–11, and no. 6, pp. 385–387, figs. 12 and 13.

⁷⁰ The capitals with incised eyes are Naxos 8, Delos 25, and Delos R.M. 5. Although the incised volute spirals on Delos A 1548, A 4213, and R.M. 6 are now eyeless, it is possible that the eyes were painted on the surface of the stone.

⁷¹ On two capitals, Naxos 8 and Delos A 1548, the surface of the volute face serves as a ground for a dedicatory inscription that winds around the volute spiral. Part of an inscribed dedication is preserved on the smooth bolster of another example, Delos A 4213. For the inscription on Naxos 8 see Kontoleon 1957, p. 338; Lazzarini 1976, no. 158, p. 200. See Plassart 1950, p. 6 for the inscription on Delos A 1548 and p. 5 for that on Delos A 4213.

and stance of the sculpture it supported; a narrow oval socket for a statue plinth takes up much of the length of the top surface of the capital. In all likelihood the capital supported a kouros that faced and strode in the direction of the bolster. The continuous canalis provides a ground for a retrograde inscription to Apollo that fills the canalis and winds around each volute. The letter forms of the inscription on Naxos 8 indicate a date in the first half of the 6th century, perhaps within the first quarter.⁷² The narrow oval form of the socket in the top surface of the capital also suggests an early-6th-century date.⁷³

It is very likely that the three fragmentary, small-scale Ionic votive capitals found on Delos are of Naxian craftsmanship.⁷⁴ But all three Delian capitals appear to be later in date than Naxos 8. Both Delos A 1548 (Pl. 59:d) and R.M. 6 (Pl. 60:a) bear plinth sockets that are more advanced in form than the cutting on the top surface of the Naxian capital and probably belong to the second or third quarter of the 6th century. The sockets are of irregular oval shape, longer on the left side than on the right, and indicate that each capital supported a kouros that strode toward the bolster (Pl. 60:b).

The third small-scale Delian capital, Delos A 4213 (Pl. 60:c), differs from the other Cycladic capitals in two ways. The volute section looks like those of Delos A 1548 and R.M. 6. The stonecutter, however, included a long, flat, horizontal area above the canalis, set off from the volute section by an incised horizontal line. This area above the volutes may represent an early attempt to provide an abacus for a Cycladic Ionic capital. The second difference is seen in the shape of the cutting for sculpture in the support surface of the capital. Part of a deep circular socket is preserved, instead of the relatively shallow oval socket for a kouros plinth. Perhaps the cutting was intended for the circular plinth of a kore that stood with feet close together.⁷⁵ Despite the variations in design, Delos A 4213

⁷² According to Jeffery (1961, pp. 291–292), the form of xi produced by combining the letters eta and sigma, found on Naxos 8 in the name *Ἀλεξιστιδης*, is a feature of Early Archaic Naxian inscriptions. Most of the letters of the inscription on the column are similar in form to those of the Delian dedication of Euthykartides, inscribed on a statue base, Delos 728 (*ibid.*, p. 291, no. 3). The combination of eta and sigma for xi and the 3-dot punctuation are found on both. The open H-shape of the eta at the end of “Alexitides” on Naxos 8, however, differs from the closed eta seen in the final syllable of the name “Euthykartides” on the Delian base and may indicate a date for the column later than that of the base. Jeffery places the Delian base before 600 B.C. (*op. cit.*, p. 291, no. 3). The fragments of the kouros now associated with the base look later in date than 600 and fit better in the first quarter of the 6th century. See Bakalakis 1964, pp. 539–553, especially p. 540, fig. 1, for front and back views of the kouros legs. It is likely that Naxos 8 is somewhat later in date than the base of Euthykartides but still within the first quarter or third of the 6th century B.C.

⁷³ Three kouros from Sounion, dated to about 600 B.C., had narrow oval foot plinths that fitted into sockets shaped like that on Naxos 8: Richter 1970, p. 43, figs. 33–35 (Athens N.M. 2720), pp. 45–46, figs. 48 (Athens N.M. 3645) and 49 (Athens N.M. 3939). Another early monumental statue, the Ram Bearer from Thasos, has an oval foot plinth (*ibid.*, p. 51, figs. 84–86).

⁷⁴ Not only is the mode of decoration similar to that of Naxos 8, but also all three are made of the white marble with large grains associated with Naxos in the Archaic period. In addition, Jeffery (1961, p. 304, no. 6) identifies the script of the dedication on Delos A 4213 as Naxian.

⁷⁵ The type of kore supported by Delos A 4213 may have looked like the two large kore fragments attributed to Naxian workmanship that were found on the Athenian Akropolis, Akr. 619 and 677: Richter 1968, p. 47, nos. 59, 60, and figs. 194–200. According to Richter (*op. cit.*, p. 47) the two are of “Naxian” marble (Richter’s quotation marks). Each of these Naxian korai would have stood with feet close together on a circular plinth, as do the korai from the Heraion at Samos. See, for example, Berlin S.M. 1743 (*ibid.*, figs. 202, 203) and 1791 (*ibid.*, figs. 192, 193).

probably dates to the middle of the 6th century as well. This date is supported by the letter forms in the bit of dedication seen on the bolster surface.⁷⁶

Unfortunately, too little of the echinus is preserved on the surviving small-scale Cycladic Ionic capitals to provide a comparison to the echini of the late-6th-century votive Ionic capitals on the Akropolis.⁷⁷ As far as one can tell, the small fragments of echinus under the bolsters of Delos A 1548 and R.M. 6 are without decoration in relief. But something can be said about Cycladic echini in general by looking at Delian architectural capitals where echini are preserved. Two Delian architectural Ionic capitals combine the smooth volute face with echini that have relief decoration. One, Delos R.M. 5 (Pl. 60:d), has a tall cylindrical echinus divided into twenty-two leaves by incised lines.⁷⁸ Five leaves are visible between the volutes. Rounded leaf tips are carved in light relief on the underside of the capital. On the volute face, the incised lower line of the canalis dips to touch the top of the central leaf on the echinus. The second capital, Delos 25, is assigned to the prostoion of the Oikos of the Naxians. It has a longer and lower format than R.M. 5.⁷⁹ The volute helix and corner palmette are incised, but the leaf-and-dart decoration of the echinus is sculptured. Each leaf is surrounded by a thick astragal border, like the leaves of the echini of capitals that served as sphinx supports. On the architectural example, however, no channel separates the leaf tips from the resting surface of the capital. The construction of the prostoion of the Oikos is traditionally dated to about 550 B.C.⁸⁰ The date may be somewhat early for both the capital and the column bases assigned to the prostoion. The compass-drawn eye of Delos 25 seems later than the freehand attempt on R.M. 5. The bases of the prostoion columns are very close in form to those of the temple at Sangri on Naxos, which has been placed at 530–520 B.C. and may be later.⁸¹ Perhaps a date for the prostoion late in the third quarter of the 6th century should be considered.⁸²

⁷⁶ Plassart suggests a date for the letter forms around 550 B.C. on the basis of their similarity to those of graffiti at the Delian Heraion: see Plassart 1950, p. 5; *Délos* XI, pp. 177–183.

⁷⁷ The conical form of the echinus of Naxos 8 may be a result of the design of the capital in one piece with its column. Two further Ionic capitals carved with smooth column shafts have been found on Naxos at Sangri. See Lambrinouidakis 1980, p. 382, pl. 198:γ, a column that appears to be carved in one piece with a torus-form echinus.

⁷⁸ The capital was first described by Vallois (1966, no. 3, pp. 168–169), who notes the finding place, “de la rampe du Théâtre.” The line drawing in Martin 1973, p. 384, fig. 11, provides a good reconstruction of the face of the capital. The depiction of the bolster that bows in on all sides and bears relief decoration does not, however, show the bolster of R.M. 5, which is smooth, straight across the top, and without decoration. The drawing corresponds to the bolster of another capital mentioned in the same article: Martin 1973, no. 3, pp. 375–376, figs. 4, 5.

⁷⁹ *Délos* XXXIII, p. 103, pls. 24, 25, 73:4–6. The length of the prostoion capital approaches that of Delos A 583 (0.841 vs. 1.106 m), although it is not nearly so tall as that capital. The chunky proportions (2.3:1) of Delos A 583 were created to balance the length and height of the sphinx that it supported, while the length-to-height proportions of the prostoion capitals (4:1) perhaps were thought necessary for the capital to appear convincingly able to support the architrave blocks. It seems that function determined the form of the Ionic capitals on Delos in the second half of the 6th century. Therefore proportional analyses cannot be used in attempting to establish dates for the Delian Ionic capitals.

⁸⁰ *Délos* XXXIII, p. 95.

⁸¹ Gruben and Korres 1980, esp. p. 385, pls. H' and 198:α.

⁸² The date ca. 570 B.C. assigned to the interior capital from the Oikos of the Naxians, Delos 26, also seems high. For the capital see *Délos* XXXIII, p. 52, fig. 9, pl. 49:1–5, and for the date ca. 570, p. 93. The bolster

One detail of the 5th-century Athenian Ionic capital may have been inspired by a second group of Cycladic capitals. The forerunners to the simple central bands of decoration on the bolsters of Akr. 3776, 7797, and 13302 are seen on a series of Cycladic Aeolic capitals found on Naxos and Paros.⁸³ Delos R.M. 3, Delos 202, and Paros 737 have similar decorations: the bolster bows in toward the middle on all sides, and the central ornament is made up of three astragals.⁸⁴ The bolster of Paros 1006 + 1007 is similar. There a pair of astragals binds the center of the bolster. Three of the four capitals may date to the third quarter of the 6th century. Paros 737 may be as late as the middle of the 5th century.

In sum, the small-scale, smooth-faced Ionic capitals in the Cyclades have several features in common with the late-6th-century Ionic votive capitals on the Akropolis. First, the Cycladic and Akropolis capitals are on the same scale. Second, the general format, where the capital shape is blocked out and its surfaces smoothed for painted and incised decoration, is similar in both series of capitals. The associated inscriptions show that, in both cases, the small monuments served as private rather than public dedications. None of the sculptures that were supported by the Cycladic capitals and columns has survived. Cuttings in the top and bottom surfaces of each capital, however, indicate that a marble statue was attached to the support surface and that the capital in turn was attached to a separate column in one step. This is the same technique of attachment used on the Akropolis capitals. It is likely that the bolster ornament of the early-5th-century Athenian Ionic capitals was inspired by the decoration of a second group of Cycladic monuments, the Aeolic capitals of Paros and Delos. In short, the late-6th-century Akropolis votive Ionic capitals are not direct imitations of the Cycladic capitals with incised decoration. Instead, they appear to be adaptations of a form known on Delos early in the second half of the 6th century B.C. Signatures of island artists or artisans are common among the Akropolis dedications in the Late Archaic period. No doubt the first artists to introduce the column as statue base to the Akropolis workshops had worked previously in the Aegean islands, where column dedications are numerous after the middle of the 6th century.⁸⁵

is close in shape to those of Delos A 583 and A 584, the votive capitals that date to about 550–540 B.C. The echinus of the interior capital once had carved leaves on the torus and a channel between the leaf tips and resting surface of the capital, like the echinus of Delos A 583.

⁸³ Delos R.M. 3, Delos 202, Paros 1006 + 1007, and Paros 797. For Delos R.M. 3 see Martin 1973, pp. 375–376, figs. 4, 5, esp. fig. 5; Delos 202: Vallois 1966, no. 2, pp. 165–168; Paros 1006 + 1007: Gruben 1982, p. 687, fig. 37:a, b, esp. fig. 37:b; Paros 737: Gruben 1972a, p. 379, fig. 37. See also Betancourt 1977, pp. 92–93 and fig. 46.

⁸⁴ The bolster of the sphinx capital found at Cyrene has a central decoration of three astragals: White 1971, p. 50, ill. 2. The binding looks most like that of Delos 202. The similarity in bolster decoration may support the attribution of the capital and sphinx at Cyrene to an island artist, perhaps one who worked on Delos or Paros.

⁸⁵ Examples of fluted, monolithic votive columns by island artists from the second half of the 5th century, for the most part the last quarter, include Delos E 357 (Jeffery 1961, p. 306, no. 42, pl. 57:42); Delos Museum, without inventory number (Plassart 1950, no. 30, p. 13); Berlin 1485, from Melos (Jeffery 1961, p. 324, no. 23, pl. 62:23, and Herrmann 1984, pp. 129–134); Olympia 405 + 978, by a Melian artist (Jeffery 1961, pp. 320, 324, no. 29, and Herrmann 1984, pp. 121–129, fig. 1, pl. 20); a column without inventory number in the Paros Museum (Kontoleon 1970, pp. 58–59, pls. 17:2, 19:1); an inscribed column from Paros

Artists travel to follow commissions, and good ideas travel with them. There is evidence that at least one sculptor who signed a votive column, Archermos the Chian, worked both on Delos and on the Athenian Akropolis in the second half of the 6th century.⁸⁶ Another artist, Pythis, signed a column (Akr. 6506) that supported a round capital with a cyma-reversa profile (Akr. 136).⁸⁷ The votive dedication on the column is in Athenian script, but the sculptor's signature is in Parian script, suggesting that he, too, was a traveling Cycladic sculptor.⁸⁸

WHY TWO TIERS? THE CHANGE IN ECHINUS SHAPE

Although the format of the late-6th-century Athenian Ionic capitals is based on that of the Cycladic ones, the details of the Athenian capitals differ in important ways from those of the island examples. In general, the proportions of the Akropolis Ionic capitals are stockier than those of the small-scale Cycladic examples. The Attic length-to-height ratio is about 2:1, compared to the Cycladic 3:1 ratio. In part, the difference in the proportions between the island and Akropolis capitals lies in the fact that the Cycladic capitals (with the exception of Delos A 4213) do not have abaci, while the Akropolis Ionic capitals are blocked out with an abacus included in the design.⁸⁹

Perhaps the most important reason for the differences in proportion and shape between the Cycladic and Akropolis Ionic capitals concerns a difference in purpose: most of the small-scale Naxian and Delian Ionic capitals supported kouroi that strode, with left foot advanced, toward the bolsters of the capitals.⁹⁰ Most of the Akropolis capitals were bases for korai. A kore also steps forward with the left foot, but in a more modest posture than that of a kouros, with the feet closer together; she requires a shorter support surface.

once in the Oliveri Museum, Pesaro (*IG XII v 216*); Delphi 997 + 3424, a column dedicated by the sons of Chairipinos the Parian at Delphi (Marcadé 1953, p. 21, pl. 5); an inscribed column without inventory number in the Chios Museum (Kontoleon 1955, figs. 11, 12); a column with a dedication to Apollo at Zoster (Kourouniotes 1930, pp. 37–38, fig. 32). On the whole, the diameters of the Akropolis votive columns are slightly smaller than those of the columns found in contexts outside Athens.

⁸⁶ Archermos the Chian signed the base of a statue dedicated by Mikkiades on Delos (Athens N.M. 21a: Hansen 1983, no. 425) and also the column dedication of Iphidike, found on the Athenian Akropolis (Athens E.M. 6421: Hansen 1983, no. 198). For an illustration of Athens N.M. 21a see Richter 1968, pl. 14:a. For Athens E.M. 6241 see Marcadé 1957, pl. 29, fig. 2. A fragmentary column on the Akropolis does not preserve the name of another artist who signs “the Chian” in Attic script (Raubitschek and Jeffery 1949, pp. 14–15 with illustration). The name “Aristion of Paros” is restored as an artist's signature on a column used as a funerary monument, perhaps the earliest such column monument in Attica (Raubitschek 1939, no. 29, cols. 58–62).

⁸⁷ See Raubitschek 1943, pp. 22–24, pl. 8, figs. 12–14; also Raubitschek and Jeffery 1949, no. 10, pp. 15–16, 524.

⁸⁸ For the script of the artist's signature, compare the letters of the Parian dedication of Demokydes and Telestodikei (Hansen 1983, no. 414; *IG XII v 215* with illustration; Jeffery 1961, pp. 295–296, 305, no. 34, pl. 56:34).

⁸⁹ The abacus of the Akropolis votive capitals may have been adopted from the design of Doric capitals in Athens or inspired by the flat, rectangular support surface at the top of stelai with cavetto capitals.

⁹⁰ Naxos 8, Delos A 1548, and Delos R.M. 6 bear sockets for kouroi in their support surfaces.

Even when an Akropolis capital supported a statue of Nike, the same squared support surface sufficed. Sculptors in the Late Archaic period show the messenger goddess in flight, her legs stretched front and back in a full run under an ankle-length garment. Only a swag of drapery between the legs comes in contact with the top of the capital and serves to support the figure. The statue of Nike (Akr. 690), restored to the Ionic column with Kallimachos' dedication, would have been supported by such a swag. The rectangular base at the bottom of the drapery would be firmly fixed to the socket in the capital by molten lead.⁹¹

With the shortening of the support surface of the Athenian Ionic capitals to accommodate korai and nikai, the design of the entire capital is modified. In squaring the dimensions of the abacus, the sculptor must move the volutes under the abacus closer to one another. By bringing the inside edges of the volutes close together, the artist allows only a small space for the echinus that is almost as tall as it is wide. The triangular ground for each corner palmette hoods the echinus on both sides and further limits the area reserved for it. The resulting echinus form is a hemispherical bulb, painted or lightly carved with a pendent leaf pattern, that projects from the smooth volute face. The stonecutter thus imitates the portion of a torus-form echinus seen between the volutes, although in the case of Akropolis capitals, with the exception of Akr. 135, no torus exists. The close positioning of the volutes and bolsters leaves no room for the torus on the underside of the capital.

This arrangement was not entirely satisfactory, and the design of the echinus soon changed. The artist of Akr. 124 (Pl. 59:a) attempted to make the echinus of his capital more legible by giving it a cyma-reversa profile. This capital appears to illustrate an intermediate stage between the Akropolis capitals with bulbous echini and those with echini in two tiers from the first quarter of the 6th century (pp. 217–218 above). The compound curve of the echinus profile raises the capital somewhat from the top of the column shaft, and the tapered lower part of the profile provides a smooth transition from capital to supporting column. The cyma-reversa echinus on Akr. 124 shows that perhaps as early as 510 B.C. a stonecutter in the workshop that produced the smooth-faced Ionic capitals was already experimenting with the cyma-reversa form as an alternative to the hemispherical echinus.

With Akr. 3776 and Akr. 7797 a new solution was reached for the problem of how to design the echinus for the limited space between the two volutes and to integrate the echinus member into the format of the capital as a whole. The artisan divided the widest point of the echinus into two tiers, the upper a flat band overlapped by corner palmettes and the lower a cyma reversa, that project only slightly from the plane of the volutes. The lower part of the cyma reversa tapers to a diameter slightly wider than the top of the column shaft. The viewer, when looking at the face of the capital, can now understand the shape of the echinus and follow it as it disappears under the volutes on each side of the capital.⁹²

⁹¹ For an illustration of the plinth of Akr. 690, the statue of Nike restored to the column monument of Kallimachos, see Payne and Young 1939, pl. 120:1, 2.

⁹² The design of the echinus and the painted area between the volutes on the smooth-faced capital, Akr. 3853 (Pl. 57:d), may anticipate the transformation of the echinus form into two sections. On Akr. 3853 the area below the canalis is shown in two parts: the corner palmettes stretch onto a small field below the

CONCLUSIONS

To summarize, the introduction and development of the Ionic capital in Athens takes place over a relatively short period of time at the end of the Archaic period. The smooth-faced, painted Ionic capital appears to have been introduced into Attic workshops as a support for votive dedications in the last decade of the 6th century, probably by sculptors from the Aegean islands who had established themselves in Attic workshops or who set up their own workshops in Attica. Small-scale, painted Ionic capitals were used as kouros supports in the Cyclades by 550 B.C. In Athens, the smooth-faced capitals were used in the last decade of the 6th and first decades of the 5th centuries along with capitals with lightly concave canals. The major development in the shape of the echinus—the change from a hemispherical form that protruded from the capital face, to the two-tiered echinus—took place between 510 and 490 B.C. The echinus shape is modified to suit the new proportions of the Akropolis Ionic capitals, now designed with a shortened support surface for korai and nikai.

Other elements of the Akropolis Ionic capital are refined as well. The form of the bolster changes from one that bows in on all sides, with a lens-shaped area between the top of the bolster and the bottom edge of the abacus, to one that is straight across the top. The ornament of the bolster is reduced from several painted bands to one central binding in relief. The abacus is changed from a simple fascia to one with a cyma-reversa profile.

Several motifs, the concave canals, simple bolster ornament, and two-tiered echinus, remain in use in Attic architecture throughout the 5th century. Often at least one side of the capital bears painted instead of carved decoration, a carry-over from the original smooth-faced Akropolis capitals in votive contexts.⁹³ Two variations on the two-tiered echinus are seen: on some capitals, like those of the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi and the Temple of Athena at Sounion, the lower tier of the echinus has a cyma-reversa profile. On others, such as the interior capitals of the Stoa Poikile or the beautiful capitals from the Agora, yet to be assigned to a building (Agora A 2972 and A 2973), the lower part of the echinus has an ovolo profile.⁹⁴ The capitals with the cyma-reversa tier are used in Athens before those with the ovolo lower tier. The variation in the two echinus types, however, does not appear to be entirely the result of chronological development,

volute and canals and above the echinus, set off from the areas above and below by blue paint. The second part, the hemispherical echinus, projects below this field.

⁹³ See Meritt 1993, pp. 318–319 with notes 45, 46 for examples in Athens, one capital from the Akropolis, the other from the Agora (A 616; Meritt 1996, no. 18). Meritt argues elsewhere (1982, pp. 82–92, pls. 12, 13) that the two capitals are late 6th century in date. I would agree with Möbius (1927, pp. 171–173) that the Akropolis capital appears to belong to the second half of the 5th century and would place the Agora capital in that time period as well. The pointed shape of the eggs on the echinus, the configuration of the bolster, which is straight across the top, and the molded abacus are features not seen on Athenian capitals until the 5th century. For examples of capitals with one face carved, the other smoothed, outside Athens see, at Delphi, Meritt 1993, p. 319, figs. 7–9 and Meritt 1996, p. 137, pl. 46; at Corinth (Corinth inv. A 989), Meritt 1993, p. 319, figs. 10 and 11 on p. 320 and Meritt 1996, p. 137, pl. 46.

⁹⁴ For the capital of the Stoa Poikile see Shear 1984, pl. 3:b. For Agora A 2972 see *Agora* XIV, p. 166, pl. 84:b, c. For an illustration of Agora A 2973 see Schefold 1967, pl. 276:a.

because the cyma-reversa echinus molding does not go out of use.⁹⁵ Instead, Attic masons were inclined to use the cyma reversa on the echini of capitals with stocky or squared proportions, where the volutes were pulled close together. The ovolo appears on those capitals with elongated formats, where the inside edges of the volutes are some distance apart from one another. Proportional analysis cannot be an exclusive criterion for dating the 5th-century Athenian capitals because often the function of the capital determined its form. Short, fat capitals and long, thin capitals coexisted in Athens during the 5th century.

From the evidence at hand it does not seem that the Ionic capital was adopted for major architectural monuments in Attica before the Classical period.⁹⁶ Even then, in Athens the Ionic order always remained secondary to the Doric.⁹⁷ It is possible that at some point in the early 5th century the Athenians viewed the new Ionic capital with the two-part echinus and painted decoration as distinctly Athenian and not as an imitation of an eastern Ionian order. By 450 B.C. the new Ionic capital was used for several buildings in the Athenian Agora, for the Temple of Athena at Sounion, and was employed in the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi. This last example is particularly significant. A building project at a panhellenic shrine such as Delphi often (but not always) reflected the local architectural style of the donor city. Thus, a building might serve as an ambassadorial presence, or at least an advertisement, of that city within the temenos of the deity. That the Ionic capitals were used in the stoa at Delphi suggests that the Athenians considered their relatively new version of the Ionic order as much a representative of Athenian style as was the architectural and sculptural program of the earlier Doric treasury, built close by on the Sacred Way.⁹⁸ The use of Ionic columns on the Athenian stoa at Delphi might imply

⁹⁵ See, for example, the two capitals from a building that dates to the third quarter of the 5th century, one found on the Areopagus (Agora A 1130: *FdD* II, pl. 50:5, 6; Meritt 1996, no. 16A), the other discovered in the Agora (Agora A 1893: Meritt 1993, p. 321, fig. 13; Meritt 1996, no. 16B).

⁹⁶ The general dearth of building projects between 480 and about 460 B.C. may be attributable to slow economic recovery on the part of the Athenians after the Persian War.

⁹⁷ Athenian builders of the 6th and 5th centuries are renowned for the use of architectural elements from both the Doric and Ionic realms and, at times, for the interweaving of the Doric and Ionic styles on one building. The embellishment of Doric buildings with some Ionic ornament is known in Athens as early as the middle of the 6th century. For example, the marble raking cornice of the H-architecture is incised with designs of lotus blossoms and flying storks: Dinsmoor 1950, p. 72. Dinsmoor points out (*op. cit.*, p. 90) that much of the decoration of the Old Athena Temple was of island marble and worked by island masons. The Parthenon (447–432 B.C.) is the most famous example of the integration of Doric and Ionic elements: the temple has a Doric exterior and an Ionic frieze around the outside of the cella. Many architectural historians have suggested that the interior columns of the west room (opisthodomos) of the cella were Ionic. See, for example, Dinsmoor 1950, p. 164; Coulton 1977, p. 126; Gruben 1986, pp. 171–172. The Stoa Poikile in the Agora is restored with Doric columns on the exterior and Ionic on the interior: Shear 1984, pp. 9–12, pl. 3:b. For a discussion of eastern and Ionic features in Greek Doric architecture see I. K. Raubitschek 1950, *passim*. For a discussion of the incorporation of some East Greek elements into the architecture of western Greece, southern Italy, and Sicily, see Barletta 1990.

⁹⁸ The date of Athenian treasury at Delphi may not be more than two or three decades earlier than the Athenian stoa. Recent work has shown that the date of the treasury is at least as low as 490 B.C. See Cooper 1989, pp. 317–318. Amandry places the Stoa of the Athenians in the 470's (*FdD* II, p. 114), while Walsh (Walsh 1986, p. 333) proposes a date in the 450's B.C. Gruben has shown that the Athenian treasury, though Athenian Doric in style, most likely was built by a workshop of island masons (Gruben 1972b, pp. 17–18). Schuller (1991, pp. 107–111) shows that several features of the Athenian treasury correspond to details of the temple of Artemis at the Delion on Paros and to other Cycladic Doric buildings of the early 5th century B.C.

that by the second quarter of the 5th century, the builders accepted the new version of the Ionic order as an unmistakable representative of Athenian architectural style.⁹⁹ The forms and ideas that artisans in Attic workshops may have adopted from the examples of masons from other regions they soon customized to create truly original Attic works.

The artisans of the votive columns in Athens of the Late Archaic period made at least one important contribution to the development of Athenian architecture as a whole: they are responsible for establishing the use of the Ionic capital and column as a support for sculpture on the Akropolis. In so doing, the stone carvers who designed the Ionic votive columns introduced a style of column that would be adapted and refined in Athenian architecture throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

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⁹⁹ It has become popular to associate the use of the Ionic order by Athens with political events of the 6th and 5th centuries. Meritt (1993, p. 318) suggests that the Ionic elements used in Athenian architecture of the 6th century reflect the political ties between Peisistratos and the tyrants of Naxos and Samos. Of Athenian 5th-century buildings, the Athenian stoa at Delphi has been set apart as a statement of the Athenians' alliance with the Ionian confederacy: see Coulton 1976, pp. 39, 99; Walsh 1986, pp. 333–334. Onians (1988, pp. 15–18) sees the building of the stoa at Delphi and the Temple of Athena at Sounion as "gesture(s) of friendship with the Eastern Greeks." It is more likely that the 6th-century appearance of Ionic architectural elements on the Akropolis came about for monetary reasons rather than through political emulation: masons and sculptors followed commissions rather than political alliances. The adoption of architectural forms from the east was a continuous process in Athens as the city grew in wealth and as artistic commissions increased, especially in the late 6th and early 5th centuries. As stated earlier, Ionic architectural motives are used both under the Peisistratids and in the first years of the democracy at Athens. The Ionic capital appears as a form of statue support during a time period when private dedications grew greatly in number. This increase coincides with the first years of the democracy, but the coincidence in itself does not mean that the use of the Ionic capital in Athens must take on specific political ramifications.

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a. Akr. 3776. Ionic votive capital with two-part echinus, volute face



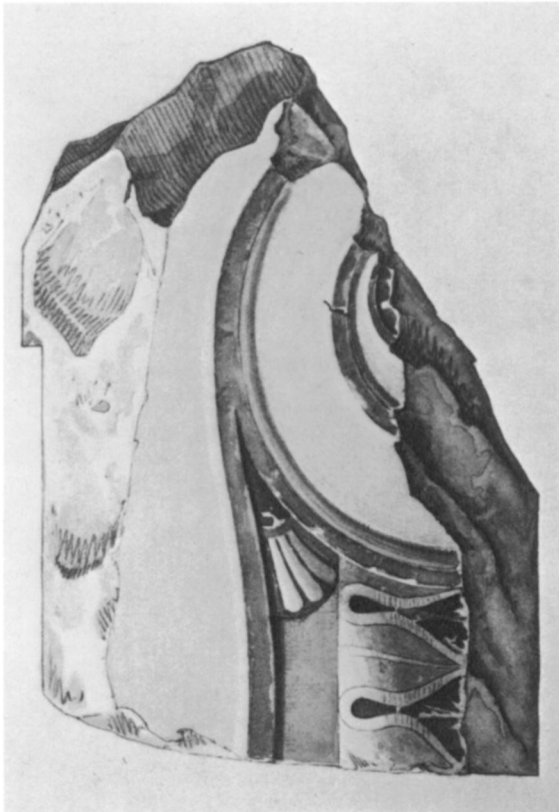
b. Akr. 7797. Ionic votive capital with two-part echinus, volute face



c. Akr. 3776. Bolster with floral decoration

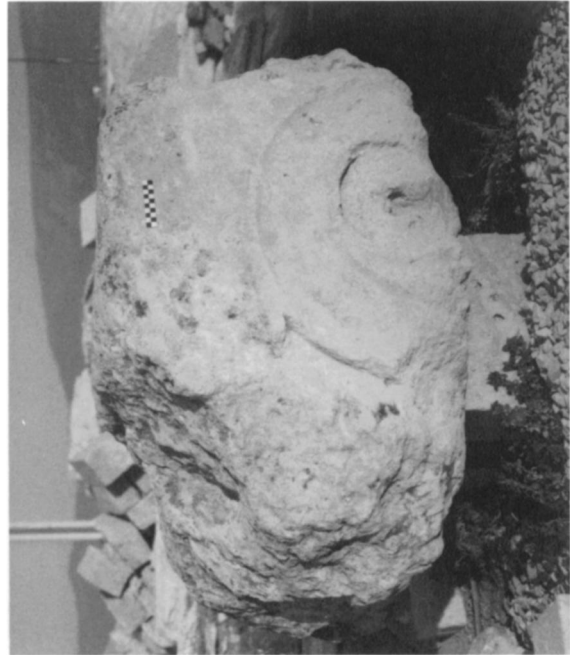
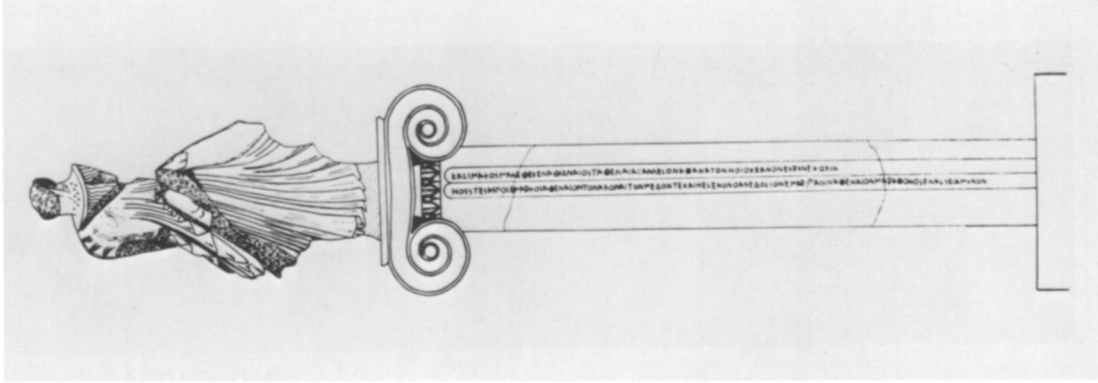


d. Akr. 7797. Bolster with floral decoration



a. Akr. 3776. Watercolor sketch, C. Hansen (Züchner 1936, fig. 20)

b. Reconstruction of Akr. 690 (Nike), Akr. 3776 (Ionic capital), and Athens, E.M. 6339 (inscribed column), Raubitschek 1940, fig. 1



c. Akr. 13302. Large-scale poros Ionic capital, volute face

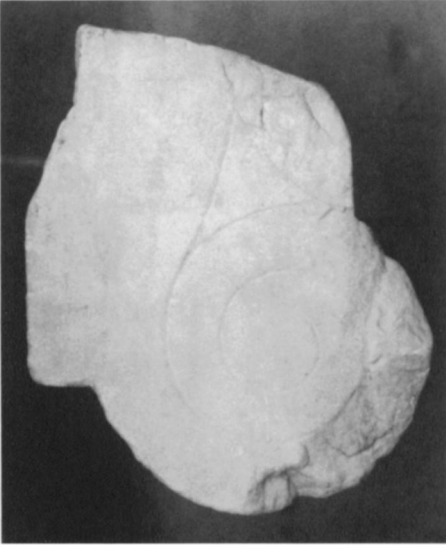


d. Akr. 13302. Bolster

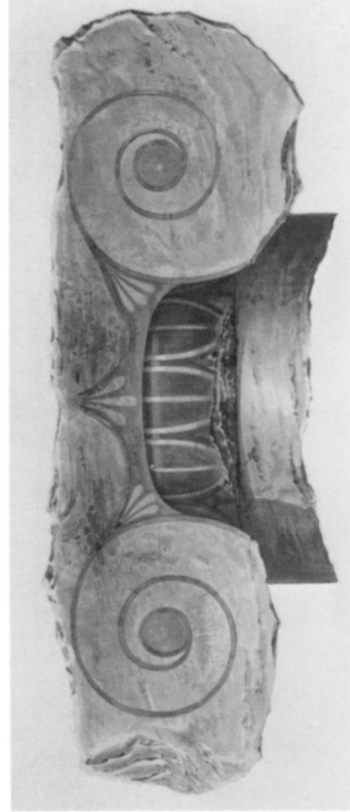


a. Large-scale poros Ionic capital (part of Akropolis 13302) in North Wall of Akropolis (Photo DAI, Athens)

b. Akropolis 3850. Ionic votive capital with incised and painted decoration, volute face



c. Akropolis 3853. Ionic votive capital with painted decoration, volute face



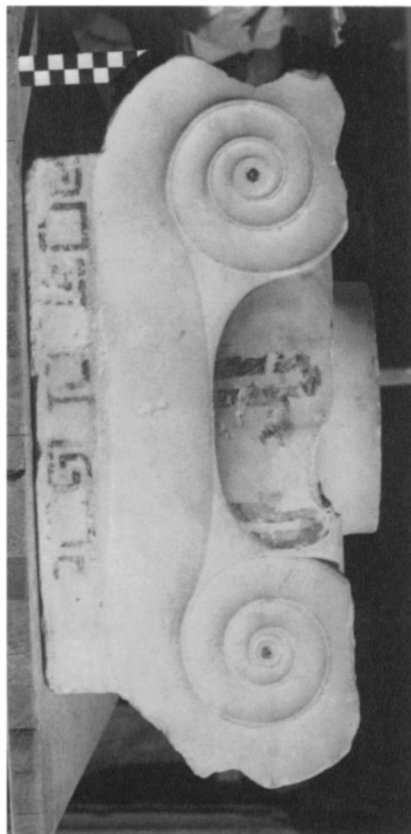
d. Akropolis 3853. Volute face (Borrmann 1888a, pl. 18:1)



a. Athens, N.M. 85. Ionic volute capital with concave canals; incised and painted decoration



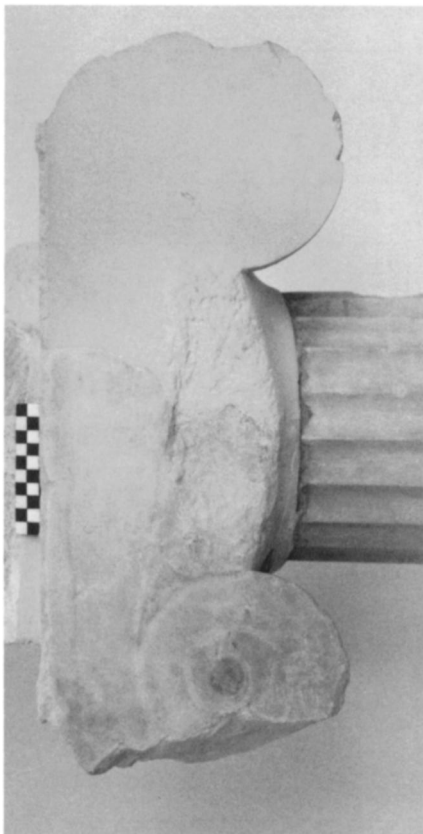
b. Athens, N.M. 85. Painted bolster decoration



c. Akr. 135. Ionic volute capital with concave canals and painted decoration, volute face



d. Akr. 135. Volute face (Borrmann 1888b, pl. 29:2)



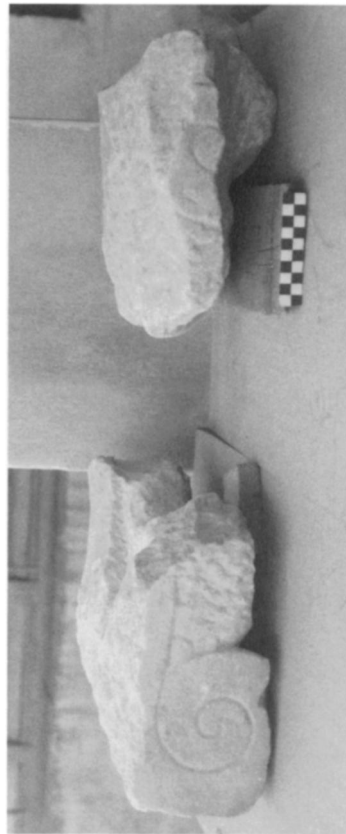
a. Akr. 124. Painted Ionic votive capital with cyma-reversa echinus profile and inscribed shaft



b. Akr. 124. Inscribed dedication of Alkimachos on column shaft



c. Naxos 8. Ionic votive capital with incised volute decoration, carved in one piece with shaft



d. Delos A 1548α, β. Ionic votive capital with incised volute face



a. Delos R.M. 6. Ionic votive capital with incised volute face



b. Delos R.M. 6. Top surface with socket for kouros plinth



c. Delos A 4213. Ionic votive capital with incised volute face



d. Delos R.M. 5. Ionic capital with incised volute face