

## THE ILIAD EPIGRAM FROM THE AGORA OF ATHENS \*

A fragmented base, inscribed with an epigram (distich), was found in 1953 within the eastern end of the Middle Stoa (2). The epigram mentions the Iliad and Homer, and the base has been associated with the Iliad statue (torso) which, together with a statue (torso) of the Odyssey, has been discovered in 1869 at the SW corner of the Stoa of Attalos (3). It has been proposed that the two statues flanked a third of Homer (4), and this would disassociate (Gaius) Julius Nikanor, (the Neos Homeros and Neos Themistokles), from the epigram (5), as previously argued by Antony E. Raubitschek (6). However, although the triad identification merits consideration, Julius Nikanor still figures in the epigram. Julius Nikanor has also been linked with the island of Salamis, and a fragmentary inscription, confirming this, suggests an entrepreneurial involvement with the island (7).

(\*) The study was read by title at the 118th Annual Meeting of the APhA, San Antonio, Texas: 27-30 Dec. 1986.

(2) H. A. Thompson, "Hesp." 23, 1954, 62-65.

(3) G. Treu, "Ath. Mitt." 14, 1889, 160-169.

(4) *Ibid.* 168; and H. A. Thompson, "The St. John's Review" 32, Winter 1981, 11 (1-16).

(5) C. P. Jones, "Phoenix" 39, 1985, 30-35, who still misdates Julius Nikanor to the reign of Augustus (therein, 33). Jones also considered Homer's age at the time of the *Iliad's* composition. Homer was older than nineteen years when he composed it; see P. Waltz and G. Soury, *Anth. Grecque* VII, Paris 1957, 76, No. 190, line 4 τῆς καὶ παρθενικῆς ἑννεακαίδεκέτευς (where Erinna's στίχοι are said to be equal to Homer; note 8 below). Cf. also *ibid.* 13, No. 28, lines 5-6 εἰ δέ με γῆρας / ὕβρισεν, ἀρκοῦμαι μάρτυρι Μαιονίδῃ, and A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip*, I, Cambridge 1968, 334, LVI, line 6 γηραλέων... σελίδων. Also, cf. R. B. Rutherford, "JHS" 106, 1986, 145: "vigour and combat of the *Iliad*".

(6) "Hesp." 23, 1954, 317-319.

(7) B. D. Meritt, "Hesp." 36, 1967, 68-71, No. 13 = E. Kapetanopoulos, "Ελληνικά" 33, 1981, 220-221.

This association undoubtedly contributed to his being called Neos Themistokles, while the epithet Neos Homeros indicates that he was a poet first (8). Perhaps the Iliad epigram from the Athenian Agora is a sample of his poetry. It reads

Ἰλιάς ἡ μεθ' Ὀμηρον ἐγὼ καὶ πρόσθεν Ὀμήρ[ου]  
παρστάτις ἴδρυμαι τῶι με τεκόντι νέω[τι].

An attempt has been made by Reinhold Merkelbach to read Ὀμήρ[ωι] at the end of line 1 (= ... Ὀμήρ[ωι] / ... νέω[τι]), and such a reading, if it could stand, would have established an indisputable connection with Julius Nikanor (9). Moreover, the epigram has been rendered into English by Homer A. Thompson (and Christopher P. Jones) as "The Iliad, I that was both after Homer and before Homer, have been set up alongside him that begot (bore) me in his earlier years" (10). However, both of these interpretations did not take into account that the καὶ cannot be the conjunction of μεθ' and πρόσθεν. A careful perusing of the epigram shows that the καὶ actually joins its two lines which grammatically cannot stand by themselves, in this instance (11). Consequently, this new interpretation changes the epigram's meaning, and its beginning (before καὶ) is seen as emphasizing the fact that the statue (=Iliad) is the "Iliad after Homer". This is shown by the position of the words, although poetic requirements may have played a role in their arrangement. The new

(8) The epithet Neos Homeros equates Julius Nikanor with Homer ("Ἑλληνικά", note 7 above, 221). An epigram praising Erinna may show how one could come to be called Neos Homeros. Line 3 of the epigram reads οἱ δὲ τριηκόσιοι ταύτης στίχοι ἴσοι Ὀμήρῳ (Waltz and Soury, note 5 above, 76, No. 190; cf. also 12, No. 26, line 3 ... Ἀνύτης στόμα, θῆλυν Ὀμηρον). Two other epigrams display a different equation with Homer. These are R. Aubreton and R. Buffière, *Anth. Grecque* XIII, Paris 1980, 199, No. 320 (Aristeides=Homer), and D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, Cambridge 1981, 351, XLIV, line 3 πρωτότοκον μὲν Ὀμηρον, ἀτὰρ Νίκανδρον ἔπειτα; see also R. Merkelbach, "Epigr. Anatolica" 1, 1983, 30-32 (Neos Euphranor). See note 16 below.

(9) "ZPE" 33, 1979, 178-179 (C. P. Jones, note 5 above, 34). Tentatively no parallel has been found to support such a reading, but cf. *Homeric Hymns*, IX εἰς Ἀρτεμιν, lines 1-2 Ἀρτεμιν ὕμνει, Μοῦσα, κασιγνήτην Ἑκάτοιο, / παρθένον ἰοχέαιραν, ὁμότροφον Ἀπόλλωνος, and *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4826, lines 2-3 ... ἐταῖρο[ι] / ... Θρηίκιοι, s. III-IV p.

(10) H. A. Thompson (note 2 above) 63 = C. P. Jones (note 5 above) 30. See also "The St. John's Review" (note 4 above) 13; H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. XIV: *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972, 115, and H. A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora: A Guide...*, 3rd ed., Athens 1976, 183.

(11) A. E. Raubitschek, in support of μεθ' καὶ πρόσθεν (taken together), diagrams part of the epigram as follows (*per litt.*):

Ὀμηρος                      Ἰλιάς                      νέος Ὀμηρος  
  μετά   πρόσθεν

interpretation discards also the previous assumption of an "Iliad after Homer and (an Iliad) before Homer". Strictly speaking, the Τρωϊκὸς πόλεμος (Trojan war) does not alone constitute an "Iliad before Homer" (12), which in essence will be a contradiction of Homer's creativity (13).

The preposition μεθ' may be understood to mean "according to Homer" ("after Homer"), or it may be taken to be temporal (as below) signifying that the statue belongs to a period after Homer. The two statues of the Iliad and the Odyssey and the base with the epigram, which appears to go with the Iliad statue (but see below), come from the immediate area of the Library of Pantainos (below). This would give them a date of about A.D. 100, if they are connected in any way with the library, as previously deduced (14). As for the other preposition πρόσθεν, it carries the meaning "before", but it can also mean "for" or "on behalf of" (15).

The epigram itself may display ambiguity, but the new rendition given here captures undoubtedly its true mood:

I am (that) Iliad after Homer and on behalf of Homer

I have been set up along (his) side who begot me young.

If, as suggested previously, this is part of a triad, appropriate epigrams accompanied the Odyssey (on Homer's left) and Homer in the center (16). However, Homer's statue and the bases of his statue and the Odyssey's have not been recovered, and there still remains the task of effecting an "actual joint" between the surviving base and the Iliad statue. Enough remains of the legs on the Iliad's torso as to allow the reconstruction of the

(12) Cf. C. P. Jones (note 5 above) 30.

(13) Cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 154A Μοῦσά μοι (=Ὁμήρῳ) ἔννεπε κείνα, τὰ μήτ' ἐγένοντο πάροιθε / μήτ' ἔσται μετόπισθεν; cf. also R. Aubreton and R. Buffière (note 8 above) 190, No. 292, line 4 ἐκ στηθέων γραψάμενος (=Ὁμηρος) σελίδας; 191, No. 295, lines 7-8 ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἀλλὰ ἐ (=Ὁμηρον) Μοῦσαι / πέμψαν ἴν' ἡμερίοις δῶρα ποθητὰ φέροι; and 193, No. 300, line 2 οὐρανίης Μούσης δόξαν ἀειράμενος (=Ὁμηρος).

(14) For example, H. A. Thompson (note 4 above) 13, who also has observed that the Library of Pantainos has been fully explored and nothing has been found which would indicate that the statues stood there; for other locations proposed by Thompson, see below.

(15) Cf. *Iliad* XXI, 587-588 οἱ καὶ πρόσθε φίλων τοκέων ἀλόχων τε καὶ υἱῶν / Ἴλιον εἰρυνόμεσθα, and *Odyssey* VIII, 524 ὅς τε ἔης πρόσθεν πόλιος λαῶν τε πέσσειν; cf. also *Iliad* XXIII, 133 πρόσθεν μὲν ἱππῆες, μετὰ δὲ νέφος εἵπετο πεζῶν (as adverbs).

(16) C. P. Jones has suggested that an anonymous epigram reproduced by him (note 5 above, 34) may be Homer's lost epigram (*ibid.* 35). At first glance such an association may appear attractive, but at a closer examination the epigram will be redundant and clash with the spirit of the Iliad epigram from Athens. See under note 8 above.

legs and to permit a determination of whether the two (base and statue) go together. The legs' length is determinable, and the traces on the base illustrate the feet's disposition (17).

The existence of the triad would require a donor, and it was without doubt Julius Nikanor, the νέος Ὀμηρος, who set it up, with his epithet cleverly alluded to τῷ με τεκόντι νέω[ι] (end of line 2). Line 2 reads as translated above, but it can also be read as

"I have been set up along (his) side by him who begot me anew".

The perfect passive ἵδρυμαι admits the dative of agent, and the apparent double entendre in line 2 unobtrusively also pays homage to the statue's (triad's) donor.

However, the possibility exists that the Iliad statue may not go with the surviving base (above), even though their close proximity of discovery and other indications would associate them as coming from the same monument. In any case, if the base has a different origin, its epigram must be viewed afresh, but still with the recognition that it is a dedication by Julius Nikanor in honor of Homer. The epigram is translated again to illustrate the point.

I am (that) Iliad after Homer and on behalf of Homer

I have been set up along him who begot me anew.

This interpretation would seem to call for only two statues, to wit, the Iliad's and Julius Nikanor's, with the Iliad dedicated on behalf of Homer. But the question may be asked, why only a single statue to the Iliad? One would expect a statue of the Odyssey, too, as it must have accompanied the Iliad.

But be that as it may, the scenario of two triads in existence ought to be explored, too. If the base with the epigram is not part of the two statues, as queried above, then it may become necessary to recognize it as being part of the triad Iliad-Julius Nikanor-Odyssey dedicated by Julius Nikanor himself in honor of Homer (above), sometime between A.D. 61/2 and 107/8 (18). Of course, this line of reasoning calls for two triads in Athens, that is, Iliad-Julius Nikanor-Odyssey (before A.D. 107/8) and Iliad-Homer-Odyssey (under Hadrian), as the two statues of the Iliad and Odyssey must have been accompanied by another of Homer. However, such a "twain paradox" cancels probably itself out, and greater validity is lent to the concept of a single triad of the Iliad-Homer (or Julius Nikanor?)-Odyssey, dedicated by Julius Nikanor at about A.D. 100. This is because the Iliad's and Odyssey's statues and the base with the epigram come from the vicinity of the NW

(17) H. A. Thompson (note 2 above) 62. See also 39 below (base)

(18) The evidence which limits Julius Nikanor to these years has been analyzed by the writer in "Ελληνικά" 33, 1981, 217-237. See also his other comments in "RIFC" 104, 1976, 375-376.

corner of the Library of Pantainos, and this also points to a common origin of the three (above). The library was donated by T. Flavius Pantainos Gargettios shortly before his archonship of A.D. 103/4 (19). One last comment here is that the existence of the triad Iliad-Homer (or Julius Nikanor?)-Odyssey shows that Julius Nikanor is merely its dedicator and perhaps also the writer of its epigrams (above), and not the creator of a new *Iliad* and consequently of a new *Odyssey*, too, as pondered earlier (20).

The other question that must be posed here is why the personified Iliad and Odyssey have been wrought in the imperial style and what are its implications. Does this rendering imply assimilation with the *Pax Romana* or a manifestation of *Romanitas* (21)? Perhaps the Greek "national" epics were being updated with the times. And was Homer, if, as it appears, the two statues formed the triad Iliad-Homer-Odyssey, depicted also in the imperial style? Presumably not, since his representation could have varied, as seen in the Archelaos relief and the silver cup from Herculaneum (below). At any rate, the two epics are conceived as females, κοῦραι Ὀμήρου (22), and the prototype of their imperial personification may be traceable to Athena (below).

The representation of the Iliad and Odyssey, as indicated by the two statues from Athens, has certainly undergone transformation. In the Archelaos relief in the British Museum (23), the Iliad and the Odyssey are

(19) This is the writer's date of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2017*, where Fl. Pantainos, line 5, is attested as archon (the attribution is based on the Panathenaia). Previously the writer had limited his archonship to A.D. 103/4- 106/7 in "Ελληνικά" 29, 1976, 256, H4, and note 1; also, "Balkan Studies" 22, 1981, 163.

(20) A. E. Raubitschek *apud* C. P. Jones (note 5 above) 33. Raubitschek thinks that Julius Nikanor is the author of the *Ilias Latina* (*per litt.*). Another Nikanor associated with Homer is Nikanor of Alexandria who wrote on the σιγμή of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (2nd century A.D.).

(21) Cf. C. C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, Cambridge MA 1968, 62 and 136 (Tiberius=Achilles); and Titus=Achilles, "Ath. Mitt." 100, 1985, 390. Cf. also P. R. Hardie, "JHS" 105, 1985, 11-31, and R. B. Rutherford (note 5 above) 145-162, about the *Odyssey's* ἦθος. Possibly, the statues' imperial style may be a Greek (Athenian) reaction to imperial Rome, by elevating Homer's epics to an imperial status. The iconography of the triad, Iliad-Homer-Odyssey, deserves a monograph (cf. Vermeule herein, 62), perhaps in conjunction with the epigrams associated with Homer; but cf. D. L. Page (note 8 above) 339 [*non vidi* A. D. Skiadas' *opus*].

(22) For example, P. Waltz and G. Soury (note 5 above) 77, No. 192, lines 1-2 θυγατέρες μὲν / Μαιονίδου, μύθων δ' ἱστορες Ἰλιακῶν; and R. Auberton and F. Buffière (note 8 above) 190, No. 292, line 3 καὶ τάσδ' ἀντιθέφ' ψυχῇ γεννήσασσ' αὐτὰρ.

(23) Conveniently, a photograph of this relief may be found in C. C. Vermeule (note 21 above) 48, Fig. 6; also in H. A. Thompson (note 4 above) 12, Fig. 25. See also D.

represented as little, kneeling females on either side of Homer (the Iliad is wholly visible). The spear and the rudder (or oar) held by the Iliad and the Odyssey identify them further as such. Again, in the silver cup from Herculaneum (24), the Iliad and the Odyssey are seemingly two "slumbering" females (the Odyssey more so), but distinctly identifiable by spear, rudder and appropriate attire. There is also the mosaic floor from Seleucia in Pamphylia (attributed to the third century A.D.), which depicted Homer flanked by the Iliad and the Odyssey. This triad is only partially preserved, captions and Iliad's head (25), but probably the figures were not depicted in the imperial style; but possibly along the modest representation of the silver cup's from Herculaneum. The statues, of course, are a different artistic expression than the three examples mentioned herein, and this may account for their imperial representation.

This imperial representation has given Homer's epics a new dimension in Athens and the Greco-Roman world in general. At least the Odyssey had been sculpted by an Athenian, Iason Athenaios, as he identifies himself on a cuirass' lappet (26), but the Iliad may be considered as being the creation by some other sculptor. The two statues display differences in their execution (27). The Iliad's cuirass, for example, is marked by simplicity, while the Odyssey's is ornate and resembles in a manner Hadrian's cuirass in a statue from the Athenian Agora (28). Perhaps this may suggest that the two statues of the Iliad and the Odyssey are really creations of Hadrianic Athens (below).

Georg Treu has traced the statues' style to the Diadochoi; he also

Pinkwart, "Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene" in *Antike Plastik IV* (1-11), Berlin 1965, 55-65, Pls. 28-35. This apotheosis of Homer can be also seen in a Greek stamp of 1983.

(24) J. Overbeck (and A. Mau), *Pompeji*, etc., Leipzig 1884, after 624, drawing "b".

(25) "AJA" 83, 1979, 337, "Arch. Reports for 1984-85", No. 31, 1985, 103, and C. P. Jones (note 5 above) 32-33.

(26) The inscription is published as *IG II<sup>2</sup> 4313*. Cf. "Ath. Mitt." 100, 1985, Pl. 85, No. 1, for a parallel of another Athenian artist's signature.

(27) P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo 1934, 263-264 (262-266). Photographs of the Iliad and Odyssey statues may be found in G. Treu (note 3 above) after 161, Pl. V; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, New York 1971, 240, Nos. 308-309; H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley (note 10 above) Pl. 63; H. A. Thompson, *The Ath. Agora, Guide* (note 10 above) 184 and 185, Figs. 96 and 97; and H. A. Thompson (note 4 above) 10, Figs. 20-21 and 23. See also P. Graindor (herein) 262, note 3.

(28) See H. A. Thompson (note 4 above) 14, Fig. 30; statue of Odyssey on 10 and 11, Figs. 21 and 22; and J. M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora*, London 1986, 192 Fig. 162. There are also Titus' and Vespasian's statues from Olympia ("Ath. Mitt." 100, 1985, Pl. 84). See also P. Graindor (note 27 above) 265.

mentioned Athena from Pergamon (29). It is not this study's purpose to deal in a substantive way with the epics' imperial representation, but only in so far as this question may be focused here (for purposes of illumination). As already observed in the past, the depiction of the Iliad and the Odyssey clearly resembles representations of Roman imperial leaders. These are, for example, Caesar, Augustus, C. Caesar and Hadrian (30). Probably the representation of Athena has exercised some influence on the depiction of the epics and the rulers in the style called imperial. Certain representations of Athena may illustrate this (31).

There is also the possibility that the Iliad and Odyssey statues may conform to an Athenian tradition of an "imperial style", whose philosophy and symbolism may be mirrored in the epics' representation. At any rate, two funerary monuments from Athens to be mentioned here and dating after 350 B.C. may give credence to an Athenian origin of the epics' depiction. The first is the Prokles στήλη, and the figure that concerns us here is the one standing on the right, from the viewer's position (32). It is a military man (cuirass, short sword, etc.), and clearly a good, early model of the later imperial style. The second στήλη, which comes closer to the imperial style of the two epics, is that of Aristonautes (33), and particularly his stance which is evoked by the Iliad's (34). However, it should be noted that the Aristonautes stance is not an uncommon one. On the other hand, it may not be far fetched if an Athenian origin were to be recognized in the representation of the Iliad and the Odyssey, especially since the sculptor, of the Odyssey at least, was an Athenian (above) (35). It may be further

(29) Note 3 above, 169.

(30) A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, New York 1912, 156(a), 170(a) and 246(a); see also C. C. Vermeule (note 21 above) 102 Fig. 34, 103 Fig. 35 (right figure), 109 Fig. 40 (left figure), 197 Fig. 126, 247-248 Figs. 137-140 (Hadrian), and 280 Fig. 148; and "Arch. Reports" (note 25 above) 78.

(31) N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos: A Reconstruction*, Ontario 1971, 62 Figs. 7-10, 64 Fig. 13, 65 Fig. 14, and 66 Fig. 15: from Pergamon. Cf. also H. A. Thompson (note 4 above) 6 Fig. 13 (Athena from the Library in Pergamon), and 7 Fig. 14 (Athena Parthenos from the National Museum in Athens). J. Binder may have touched on this theme at the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium: "The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire": 10 Dec. 1986; his topic: "The Second Athena Parthenos and the Emperor Hadrian". See also P. R. Hardie (note 21 above) 30, note 132.

(32) A. Hekler (note 30 above) 24. The inscription is IG II<sup>2</sup> 5376, *post med. s. IV a.*

(33) *Ibid.* 47. IG II<sup>2</sup> 5462, *post med. s. IV a.*

(34) For the feet's position, see H. A. Thompson (note 2 above) 62 and 64. A left leg, which may go with the base with the epigram, has been found (*ibid.* 62-63); see also *The Ath. Agora, Guide* (note 10 above) 183.

(35) Cf. also "Arch. Reports for 1979-80" No. 26, 1980, 9 Fig. 13 (and p. 8), from

pointed out that this "Athenian imperial style", as seen in the two epics' representation, may be another manifestation of Hadrianic Athens (above and below). However, in such an eventuality, Julius Nikanor cannot be associated with the Iliad and Odyssey statues, since he dates from before A.D. 107/8, as determined by the priesthood of the Consul Drusus (36), unless his full career extended also into Hadrian's reign or the two statues are to be differentiated from the base with the Iliad epigram (above).

The two statues, flanking apparently a third of Homer, may have adorned a center of learning in Athens, such as the Library of Pantainos (37), which dates from the beginning of Trajan's reign. Six years ago Homer A. Thompson suggested that the statues (or the triad) may have stood adjacently to this library, namely, on the monumental arch between the Stoa of Attalos and the Library of Pantainos, which marked the eastern entrance to the Agora (38). However, if the statues (torsoes) stood on the arch, how is their "intactness" to be explained? The base with the Iliad epigram, for example, has been assembled from many fragments (39). On the other hand, if the triad adorned the monumental entrance to the Agora, it may be proper to conclude that Julius Nikanor was the arch's donor, too (but see below). In any case, the epics' imperial representation may imply that the statues stood by a structure associated with the imperial government or perhaps even with the imperial cult (40). The Library of Hadrian has been suggested in the past (41), but since the recovery sites of the base with the

Athens. There is also the tradition that Homer came from Athens; cf. R. Aubreton and F. Buffière (note 8 above) 191, No. 295, line 6 οὐδὲ τὸ Κεκροπιδῶν ἄστν παλαιογόνων, and 192, Nos. 297 and 298. See also D. L. Page (note 8 above) 339 (the Peisistratos epigram). Athenian sculptors were active in Olympia between A.D. 40 and 96, sculpting, for example, some of the Metroon statues; see S. C. Stone III, on the sculptures of the Metroon in "Ath. Mitt." 100, 1985, 381, 385 and 386 (377-391).

(36) E. Kapetanopoulos (note 7 above) 235, K21.

(37) H. A. Thompson (note 2 above) 64; see also C. P. Jones (note 5 above) 32. The statues' weathering indicates that they probably stood outdoors (H. A. Thompson, note 4 above, 12-13).

(38) For example, a reconstruction of the arch may be found in J. Travlos (note 27 above) 433 No. 549, and in H. A. Thompson (note 4 above) 12 Fig. 26.

(39) H. A. Thompson (note 4 above) 13. Photographs of the base with the epigram may be found in H. A. Thompson (note 2 above) Pl. 14(c), J. Travlos (note 27 above) 240 No. 310, H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley (note 10 above) Pl. 62d, and H. A. Thompson (note 4 above) 12 Fig. 24.

(40) Apparently the statues stood outdoors (note 37 above). P. Graindor thought that the Iliad and Odyssey statues were part of an architectural adornment (note 27 above, 264 and 265).

(41) G. Treu (note 3 above) 168 = P. Graindor (note 27 above) 264. See also H. A.



epigram and of the two statues fall within the triangle of the eastern end of the Middle Stoa, the SW corner of the Stoa of Attalos and the NW corner of the Library of Pantainos, Hadrian's Library may be excluded.

Some years earlier, in 1971, Homer A. Thompson had suggested that the Iliad and Odyssey statues may have stood on a long and narrow base of a monument, which has been discovered at the east end of the Middle Stoa, within the bounds of the triangle mentioned above (42). The monument's erection has been attributed to the second century A.D., and the foundations of the base are in part hidden by a post-Herulian tower. Moreover, according to Thompson, the monument commanded a good view of the Panathenaic Way (see below) and the square (πλατεῖα) therein. It is not clear why Thompson abandoned this very attractive suggestion in favor of the arch (above), when everything seems to favor the long, narrow base as the ideal support for the two statues (or the triad). However, there is a *caveat* to this attractiveness (below).

Perhaps the statues' exact location may never be determined accurately, but their discovery in the triangle mentioned above may associate them with the Panathenaia, which included a recitation of the Homeric epics. It's possible that the statues stood along the processional route of the Panathenaia, which passed through the aforementioned triangle, that is, on the long, narrow base by the east end of the Middle Stoa (above). If this is correct, there is the possibility that the statues may have been erected when a new Panathenaic Era was inaugurated under Hadrian (43), but this would call for a reevaluation of the whole argument (see also above). In any event, the statues' *raison d'être* is also complicated by the fact that Pausanias does not mention them. His silence may imply that the statues did not occupy a visible position in the Agora, for surely, since Homer and his epics are involved, Pausanias would have commented on their existence, unless he did not see them. However, he passed through the triangle where the two statues and the base with the epigram have been discovered (44), and his

Thompson (note 2 above) 64. Perhaps Pausanias (I, xviii 9) would have mentioned the two statues, if they were erected at the Library of Hadrian (cf. Graindor, herein, 239). Also, since the statues were found some distance from Hadrian's Library, the indication would be that they did not come from that structure.

(42) J. Travlos (note 27 above) 233, and H. A. Thompson, *The Ath. Agora, Guide* (note 10 above) 129 and 165.

(43) Under Hadrian the Athenians began a new Panathenaic Era. The Thirty-Fifth is attested in *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2245 of A.D. 254/5; see the writer's comment in "AAA" 16, 1983, 52. The First Panathenaic has been recognized by L. Moretti as beginning in A.D. 119 (=119/20) in *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Rome 1953, 202-205.

(44) Pausanias' route in the Agora may be found in R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian*

silence may imply that they were erected elsewhere, but the triangle and the long, narrow base (above) appear to be the most suitable place for the statues. On the other hand, his silence may mean that the statues are to be dated after him, but such a possibility would require again a review of the entire problem.

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*Agora*, vol. III: *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton 1957, Pl. IV.