

The Olympieion at Athens

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THE SHRINE OF OLYMPIAN ZEUS at Athens was founded by Deukalion, according to tradition, near the point where the flood-water drained away; Deukalion's grave was shown nearby.¹ The great temple was begun by Peisistratos or his sons, and finished six and a half centuries later by Hadrian. In essentials it was the same building throughout; there was no drastic rebuilding, no change of site or of basic design. The "great struggle with time"² was watched with interest by the ancient world, and each phase was noted by various writers. But their evidence remains highly problematical. What follows is an attempt to recapitulate the long and spasmodic history of the shrine, re-examining the value and meaning of the more significant pieces of evidence, and taking into account our increasing but still very limited archaeological knowledge of the whole site.³

The shrine was called Olympieion or Olympion (or simply the *hieron* of Zeus Olympios). One cannot be sure which is the more original and authentic name. Judeich⁴ states categorically that the simpler Olympion is also the older and that Olympieion appeared in Hellenistic times. The position is in fact much more complicated. There is no decisive epigraphical evidence. The usage of the manu-

¹ Pausanias 1.18.7-8; cf. the *Parian Marble*, Ep. iv. 6-8 (Jacoby, *FGrHist* II, D.239 A 4), and Strabo 9.4.2 (425). There is no good reason to doubt, as did J. Pickard, *AJA* 8 (1893) 61, whether the Deukalion shrine was on this site, even though Pausanias, *more suo*, does not precisely say so.

² Philostratos *Vit. Soph.* 1.25.6.

³ This was done systematically by L. Bevier, *Papers of the American School at Athens* 1 (1882-3) 183-212 ("Bevier" below); much of Bevier's account can still stand, but he was wrong on some points of interpretation, I believe, and some important new evidence is available. The Olympieion has been neglected in comparison with the buildings of the Acropolis. The most important studies after Bevier are F. C. Penrose, *The Principles of Athenian Architecture*, new ed. (London 1888) ch. xii, 74-87 ("Penrose") (cf. *JHS* 8 [1887] 273); G. Welter, "Das Olympieion in Athen," *Ath. Mit.* 47 (1922) 61-71 ("Welter I"), 48 (1923) 182-201 ("Welter II"); P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo 1934) 219ff *et al.* ("Graindor"). For brief accounts see W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* ² (München 1931) 382ff ("Judeich"); W. B. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*³ (London and New York 1950) 91, 280f ("Dinsmoor"); I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens* (London 1953) 211ff; H. Berve and G. Gruben, *Greek Temples* (Munich 1961, London 1963) 394ff. In a recent article on Pausanias at Athens in *GRBS* 4 (1963) 165-166 I dealt with the subject very briefly and provisionally.

⁴ 384; Pfister (see n.26 below) 108, takes the same view.

scripts was analyzed in a long introductory note by Bevier, who, taking into account analogies in the names of other shrines and the testimony of grammarians on such names, concluded that Olympieion was the genuine old Attic form, Olympion a later concoction. But the evidence of the manuscripts is so confused and unreliable that one hesitates to draw firm conclusions. It may well be that 'Olympion' was a parallel and authentic form; one could surely say 'Olympion', meaning the Olympian shrine, just as one could say 'Pythion'.⁵

Zeus had many cults at Athens,⁶ under many different names. None was more venerable than the Olympian cult in the southeast. The whole of this quarter was highly sacred, as Thucydides knew⁷ and as recent excavations have confirmed, and associated in legend with Aigeus and Theseus.

Penrose⁸ first found evidence of a pre-Peisistratid temple on the site of the Olympieion, in the shape of a foundation which ran north-to-south across the cella of the later temple, with its southern end underlying a column of the southern inner colonnade. Welter investigated the old foundation further,⁹ established its northwest and southwest corners, and associated with it what Penrose had thought to be a continuous bedding for the individual substructures of the northern inner columns. He interpreted these remains as the lowest course of the foundation of a peristyle, measuring 30.5m. by probably *ca.* 60m. All the rest had been removed when the Peisistratid temple was built. The date of the early building is not clear.

Aristotle speaks of the "building of the Olympieion" by the Peisistratidai.¹⁰ Vitruvius¹¹ says that the architects Antistates, Callaeschos, Antimachides and Porinos laid the foundations for

⁵ 'Ολύμπιον is found in lexicographers, even in a note explaining that the word is pentasyllabic (Photios 'Ολύμπια), where it is obviously corrupt. But it is rash to regard it as a mere corruption, as does LSJ, and to emend it away or insist on the reading 'Ολυμπιεῖον in all cases. Bevier notes that the modification of the pronunciation of *ει* so that it hardly differed from *ι* must have helped to create confusion. For an early example of 'Ολύμπιον not noted by Bevier, see Andokides 1.16. Vitruvius 3.2.8 has *templa Olympio* (though some MSS have *Olympii*), and this may be a translation of a legitimate Greek idiom. There must have been some freedom. Strabo 9.1.17 notes 'Ολυμπικόν as a variant of 'Ολύμπιον (cf. Velleius Paterculus 1.10, *Olympicum*—usually emended to *Olympieum*). See also K. Ziegler in *RE* 18.1, 188.

⁶ See Judeich 473; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* I, 851; II, 1333; III, 1257; and pp. 175-179 below.

⁷ 2.15; I have given my views on this in *AJA* 67 (1963) 75ff; cf. *GRBS* 4 (1963) 167, 171.

⁸ 82; λ in his fig. 11. Dörpfeld demurred (see *AJA* 8 [1893] 61).

⁹ Welter I, 66. Berve and Gruben (see n.3) suggest that this building, already impressive in scale, belongs to the early days of Peisistratos himself.

¹⁰ *Pol.* 5.9.4 (1313b).

¹¹ *De Arch.* Pref. 7.15.

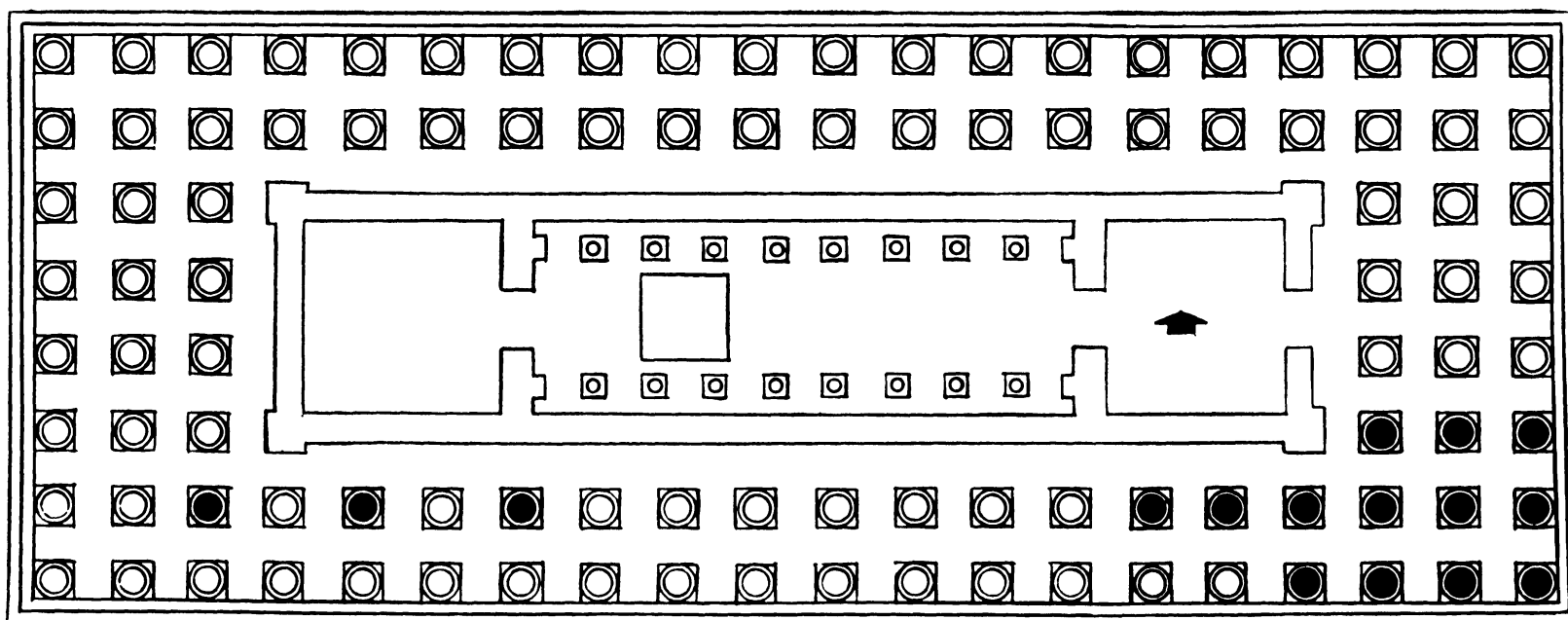
Pisistratus when he was building a temple for Jupiter Olympius, but after his death, since a republican regime intervened, they abandoned the attempt. Some writers have found a contradiction here. Welter¹² argued strongly that Aristotle must be right and Vitruvius wrong. Since only a small part of the planned building was carried out—little more than foundations in fact, the part which involved the least technical difficulty—not many years' work can have been done; 515 B.C. is the earliest possible date for its commencement. The latest pottery found in association with the foundations, according to Welter, may be dated about 530 B.C., but an interval must be allowed (rather too long an interval, one would say). The great work may well have been begun, Welter suggested, in the archonship of the younger Peisistratos, who also set up the altar of Apollo Pythios in the same region. (This archonship, one should note, has more recently been firmly dated to 522/1 B.C.) Welter found general confirmation for a Peisistratid date in architectural technique;¹³ but this does not provide a very precise criterion. In fact, there is not necessarily any contradiction between Aristotle and Vitruvius, except that Vitruvius eliminates the sons of Peisistratos; their accounts may be combined into a coherent whole. Peisistratos conceived the design in the closing years of his reign, in emulation of the great temples of Samos and Ephesos; appointed the architects, showing that he realized the magnitude and length of the task by naming four; and saw the site prepared and the first stones laid. A colossal task still remained for his sons. They may not have pursued it with all the energy which their father might have shown. Work may still have been going ahead on the Acropolis and elsewhere. The labour force in archaic Athens was no doubt limited. The transport and working of stone for the vast substructures, steps and platform was a very laborious business, and we now know better than at the time when Welter wrote that work was by no means confined to these elements.

Just what was erected in the time of the Peisistratidai is still an open question. Judeich took a surprisingly negative view, even for his day: "it never rose above the foundations (Grundmauern)."¹⁴ The

¹² Welter I, 67–69; cf. Judeich 383. Yet Welter notes that his naming of the architects shows that Vitruvius is drawing on a good source.

¹³ *Ibid.* 69–70. On the archonship of Peisistratos see T. J. Cadoux in *JHS* 68 (1948) 71, 111.

¹⁴ Judeich 383. The building measured 107.7 × 42.9m. It probably had eight by twenty-one columns. The foundations naturally had to be deeper towards the south and west. The inner columns of the peristyle had individual foundations.



PLAN OF THE OLYMPIEION

(After W. B. DINSMOOR, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*³, fig. 102).

The surviving columns are shown in solid black. The interior arrangement is mainly conjectural.

precise language of Aristotle calls for closer examination. "The *oikodomēsis* of the Olympieion by the Peisistratidai" would not be a very happy phrase if used of mere foundations or little more. Aristotle gives the pyramids of Egypt, the offerings of the Kypselidai, the Olympieion, and the works of Polykrates at Samos as examples of great projects by which despotic rulers kept their subjects out of mischief. Mere foundations are out of place in this company. There were other works of Peisistratos and his sons at Athens, not so vast of course, but carried to completion. Aristotle might have taken them all together as he does the works of Polykrates (the great aqueduct tunnel and so forth), but he chooses to single out the Olympieion as the most impressive example. He presumably knew what he was talking about; the days of Peisistratos were not so very distant and visible testimony was still before his eyes.

Penrose in 1886 noted¹⁵ the remains of a curious building adjoining the peribolos wall of the Olympieion on the north, built of segments of the drums of large unfluted columns of poros stone. He assigned these, rightly of course, to the Peisistratid temple. He discovered also that "one of the isolated standing columns rests on a pile of complete drums of similar material and diameter"—Welter later confirmed this—"and probably some of the other columns were supported in the same way."¹⁶ Welter and Judeich do not take sufficient account of this material. More drums have come to light in recent excavations, and Mr Travlos has demonstrated¹⁷ that the odd structure noted by Penrose was a large gateway, a kind of *dipylon*, in the Themistoklean city wall, which struck off in a southeasterly direction at this point so as to include the site of the Olympieion. Column drums were apparently used extensively in this part of the fortification. One can assume that there were many others besides those which happen to have come to light. But the massive cylinders were awkward and intractable material. Some were left lying about, and some of these received deep diagonal cuts giving them the appearance of hot-cross-buns. Apparently the attempt to cut them up was abandoned when it was found that no more were needed or that more convenient material was available. One group found its way into the city moat

¹⁵ *JHS* 8 (1887) 273.

¹⁶ *Principles* 88; cf. Welter I, 64. The columns had a lower diameter of 2.42m., nearly 8 feet.

¹⁷ *AJA* 64 (1960) 267-8; J. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική Ἑξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1960) 45-6, 53, and pl. III.

which was dug outside the wall in the fourth century. Thus it has become increasingly clear that much material for the superstructure was at least assembled and prepared on the site. Whether any of the columns were actually erected one cannot say. It is not to be imagined that the archaic Olympieion ever looked like the unfinished temple at Segesta. But it is not improbable that part of the colonnade stood to a considerable height before the work was abandoned, drums being placed in position as they became available.

Until quite recently most writers have assumed that the temple was to have been in the Ionic order, like its rivals at Ephesos and Samos, but it is now agreed that it was planned as Doric. Bevier¹⁸ took this view on general grounds as long ago as 1885, arguing that "in that age a colossal temple of Zeus would be built in the severe Doric style rather than in the lighter Ionic." Using more precise and reliable criteria Dinsmoor¹⁹ says that the use of Ionic "is contradicted by the great diameter of the columns compared with their spacing, and also by the technical treatment of the bottom drums . . . which show that they were to rest directly on the stylobate without bases."

We can well believe that the task was abruptly abandoned in 510 B.C. "Probably the giant work was looked upon even then as a monument of tyranny," suggested Bevier (193), "and shared a part of the odium that was bestowed on the expelled tyrant." More important and decisive were the enormous scale and cost of the building—"its very size was its curse," as Bevier saw (198)—though of course the two factors were closely connected. The Athenians would not have deliberately slighted Zeus, whom they assiduously worshipped as Soter and Eleutherios and under many other specifications. He was not the only deity associated with the tyrants; there were others too, notably Athena herself. The hard fact was that the Olympian project was beyond their powers. It had no doubt heavily taxed even the tyrants' resources, which were much more limited than those of an Antiochos or a Hadrian. Even in the time of Pericles the construction of the Olympieion could have been seriously resumed only by

¹⁸ 195; Bevier also points out that what Pliny says (see pp. 170-1 and n.33 below) about strength rather than ornament suits Doric.

¹⁹ *Op.cit.* 91. Berve and Gruben (see n.3) keep open minds, asking, "Did the architects . . . wish to give Ionic columns the familiar Doric proportions, in order to impose upon the building the austere monumentality of the Doric style? Or were the severe and always unambiguous forms of Doric architecture to have risen above an Ionic ground-plan of labyrinthine impenetrability?" In fact, a dipteral plan involves nothing more than a simple duplication, and is not necessarily unsuitable to Doric.

curtailing work on the Acropolis, which in any case faced difficulties and restrictions enough.

What happened to the temple when the Persians occupied Athens can only be conjectured. Since the site was already more or less derelict, it may have been spared further destruction. There would be little to pillage or burn. The crude and massive stones may have defied the invader.

No doubt the cult was carried on. An altar was indispensable. Welter²⁰ assigned to the archaic altar a fragment of a large astragal in Pentelic marble found by Penrose, and a similar fragment in the National Museum. This altar may have continued in use. J. H. Jongkees²¹ goes a good deal further in maintaining that a temple of some kind stood on the site in the fifth century, bridging the gap between Peisistratos and Antiochos; it may have been a comparatively small makeshift building, or alternatively it may have been the Peisistratid cella. That this last was ever fully built is hard to believe;²² it would have been in itself a colossal and notable work. Jongkees *may* be right, but his evidence is very thin, being based on his interpretation of Aristophanes, *Clouds* 401f. "Zeus," says Socrates there, "strikes his own temple and Sounion, headland of Athens, and the great oaks." Jongkees urges that this means a temple at the Olympieion, not the temple at Olympia, or, nearer home, Zeus Soter at Piraeus or one of the other Zeus-shrines at Athens. The lines certainly have more point if the allusion is Athenian, though one cannot be sure even of that. But there may have been a modest temple in one of the lesser shrines, and even if the Olympieion is meant, surely the impressive Peisistratid substructures, column stumps and debris which we have assumed could naturally and legitimately be called 'temple of Zeus.'²³

In the absence of evidence it is safest to assume that no major work was done on the site between the archaic and Hellenistic periods. For

²⁰ I, 65–66; cf. Penrose 84, fig. 13. The bronze Zeus counted by Pausanias among the *archaia* (1.18.7) may possibly have survived from the archaic shrine; and it may have been the Zeus Kataibates to whom a dedication of the first century A.D. has been found in a house north of the Olympieion (IG II² 4998; see Judeich 385 and p. 176 below).

²¹ *Mnemosyne* 10 (1957) 154ff.

²² The cella of a peristyle temple was not a separable and self-contained architectural unit. The foundations of the peristyle were in fact customarily laid first: see W. Dinsmoor on the Hephaisteion, *Hesperia* Suppl. 5, 30ff; cf. C. Morgan, *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 101, and Alison Burford in *Parthenos and Parthenon*, supplement to *G&R* 10 (1963) 28.

²³ It should be noted that a cult of Zeus Kataibates (see n.20 above) may indicate a spot where lightning had struck (schol. Ar. *Pax* 42; Suidas, *καταβάρης Ζεύς*; cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II, 20ff). Zeus Kataibates is found elsewhere at Athens too (see p. 176, n.9, below).

the maintenance of the cult of Zeus Olympios evidence is provided by an early fourth-century boundary stone found, curiously, in the Agora,²⁴ by a treasure list and an inscription which mentions a sacrifice, and by the existence of a festival called Olympieia.²⁵

Before considering the work of Antiochos we should examine the reference to the temple in the famous description of Athens by Herakleides (the 'pseudo-Dikaiarchos').²⁶ Among the wonders of Athens he includes, along with the theatre, the Parthenon and the gymnasia, "an Olympion half-finished, but astonishing in its architectural design (*ὑπογραφή*)—it would have been an excellent building if it had been completed." The use of the term "half-finished" is one of the reasons why it was formerly assumed that the author is writing after the time of Antiochos; one would hardly so describe the Peisistratid substructures, it was said. But now Pfister in his authoritative edition, carefully reviewing all the chronological evidence, pushes the writer back into the third century.²⁷ "Half-finished" is in fact a very vague and elastic term. It could well have been used of the Peisistratid remains if they were as we have envisaged them; it would have been less appropriate of Jongkees' makeshift but usable temple.

A more meaningful word used by Herakleides is *hypographē*. This means a sketch or outline which suggests to the mind the finished product. The Olympieion apparently made on Herakleides the impression of a grandeur which might have been, which was not visible to the eye. *Hypographē* would be an appropriate word to use of the gigantic unformed Peisistratid remains, hardly of brand-new Corinthian colonnades. If we attach more significance to this word than to the ambiguous *hēmiteles*, we shall have further reason for placing the writer before rather than after Antiochos.

Most historians of architecture have assumed that the main structure of the temple, including most of what is still standing, was due to Antiochos (175–164 B.C.) and his Roman architect Cossutius (why

²⁴ Agora I 6373, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 113, 26 (1957) 91, no. 39; the inscription as safely restored reads "Boundary of the precinct of Zeus Olympios." I have argued elsewhere against the existence of a shrine of Zeus Olympios on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, from which this might have come (*AJA* 63 [1959] 69; for this shrine see Keramopoulos in *Arch. Delt.* 12 [1929] 86ff; Broneer in *Hesperia* Suppl. 8, 54; and p. 176 n.8 below).

²⁵ O. Deubner, *Attische Feste* 177; *IG* I² 310.26, 70, 160; II² 333 c 15, 1257 B 5f. If things had gone well for Athens in the fourth century, would the Olympieion have been added to the works of Lycurgus?

²⁶ *On the Cities of Greece* 1.1 (GGM I, 97–98); see F. Pfister, *Die Reisebilder des Herakleides* (Wien 1951) 72.

²⁷ *Op.cit.*, Introduction 44ff.

Antiochos selected a Roman is still a mystery). They may well be right, but there is no decisive evidence to show just how much was built. The use of “*inchoatum*” and “*inchoavit*” by Livy and Velleius Paterculus²⁸ might be thought to imply that once again the work was not carried very far. But these writers may simply be saying that Antiochos initiated the scheme and promised, as Vitruvius tells us, to foot the bill, leaving open the question how much Cossutius built. Vitruvius implies that he built a great deal: *Cellae magnitudinem et columnarum circa dipteron conlocationem epistyliorumque et ceterorum ornamentorum ad symmetriam distributionem magna sollertia scientiaque summa civis Romanus Quossutius nobiliter est architectatus*. The work was noted for its splendour among both the masses and the connoisseurs, he adds. Once again we have to interpret an ambiguous term. *Architectari* is a rare verb. One might translate it “planned”, “was the architect of”; but surely the words imply actual construction.²⁹ Plans and blueprints however ingenious are not *nobilis* or magnificent or objects of wonder to the masses. Another passage of Vitruvius (3.2.8) can best be interpreted as implying that when he saw it the main structure of the temple, including the elements which gave it its character, was largely complete. He takes it as an example of the hypaethral temple, with cella open to the sky. A temple which was literally half-built would not be a happily chosen example of its kind. (Whether the Olympieion was truly hypaethral in the end is disputed; the great chryselephantine statue at least would need to be covered.)

Yet Strabo³⁰ says that the king who dedicated the “Olympikon”

²⁸ Livy 41.20.8; Velleius Paterculus 1.10; other authorities for the work of Antiochos are Athenaeus 5.194a, quoting Polybios (the Olympieion is mentioned as evidence of the surpassing generosity of the king); and Vitruvius Pref. 7.15.

²⁹ Cf. Vitruvius 1.1.12: *Pytheos, qui Prieni aedem Minervae nobiliter est architectatus*. Such expressions would hardly be used of designs which did not go beyond the drawing board. Note *Rhet. ad Her.* 3.19.32: *fabricari et architectari* (of mental constructions).

M. L. Clarke, in “The Architects of Greece and Rome,” *Architectural History* 6 (1963), shows clearly that there was a distinction between architect and builder-and-contractor, though it was not always maintained. But even so one may think of the architect as a practical on-the-job man. *Architekton* means ‘Number One Craftsman’, rather than ‘Ruler of Craftsmen’ (and this is the normal significance of ‘*archi-*’). Clarke notes an interesting case of an architect at Priene, Hermogenes, so proud of the design which he undertook to carry out (*ὑπογραφὴν . . . ἦν καὶ ἡργολάβησε*) that he dedicated it to the deity.

³⁰ 9.1.17. Strabo lists the ‘Olympikon’ with the Leokorion, the Theseion and the Lyceum—all have legends associated with them. It is out of the question that by *ὁ ἀναθεὶς βασιλεὺς* he means Peisistratos. Antiochos may have carried out some kind of provisional dedication (cf. Bevier, 200). It is not likely that as Graindor suggests (221–2) the cella was completed and dedicated (see n.22 above). Plutarch, who did not live to see the Olympieion completed,

left it "half-finished" when he died. Once again, if other evidence seems to require it, we can interpret *hēmiteles* loosely, as appropriate in popular usage to any but the opening and final stages. Even if the outer colonnades and the cella walls were so far advanced as to give an impression of near-completeness, and even if the cella was to be partially hypaethral, the superstructure would involve a vast amount of material and labour, and to this would be added the interior dispositions, fittings and decoration. Perhaps one may be allowed to have it both ways where *hēmiteles* is concerned.

However much was built, the work of Antiochos was in a real sense a continuation of that of Peisistratos. The Corinthian order was now used, and Pentelic marble; but the scale and proportions, the general design and character were the same, and the old substructures were incorporated with some adjustment.³¹ The steps were replaced in marble, except the lower steps at the west end.³² Welter shows (II, 182–3) that, since the intercolumniation was a little different, the individual foundations of some columns of the inner row of the peristyle no longer sufficed and new ones were needed.

According to Pliny,³³ Sulla took columns from the temple to Rome

describes it simply as ἀτελής (Solon 32.2), like Plato's story of Atlantis (in the *Kritias*; Plato placed around the site great *prothyra*, *periboloi* and *aulai*, says Plutarch, but one would hardly pursue the analogy in these details).

³¹ After carrying further Penrose's tentative investigation of the substructures, Welter concluded (I, 62): "1. Der Tempel der Peisistratiden hat die gleichen Ausmasse wie der hellenistische-hadrianische. 2. Er hat den gleichen Grundriss."

The temple measured 107.75m. × 41.10m. on the top step, with a cella about 75m. × 19m. (Judeich, 383). It was dipteral, with a third row of columns at either end, and twenty (instead of twenty-one, as in the archaic plan) by eight columns in the outer row. The columns were heavier in proportions than was customary in Corinthian. The intercolumniations were now closely uniform, without the pronounced and graduated widening towards the ends found in the old plan. The interior arrangement is even less certain than in the final Hadrianic form. In architectural style, H. Plommer (*Simpson's History of Architectural Development*, Vol. I: *Ancient and Classical Architecture* [London 1956] 264) sees a reaction against the "impurity" of some Hellenistic developments. He attributes to the cornice a block figured by Penrose (fig. 15), dated by some as early as the fifth century (cf. G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia* 15 [1946] 108).

³² Welter II, 182–3; material from the steps was used in the new foundations, besides some columns drums.

³³ 36.45: *columnnis demum utebantur in templis, nec lautitiae causa, nondum enim ista intellegebantur, sed quia firmiores aliter statui non poterant. Sic est inchoatum Athenis templum Iovis Olympii, ex quo Sulla Capitolinis aedibus advexerat columnas*. Plutarch tells us (*Publicola* 15) that Domitian had some columns specially made of Pentelic marble for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; Graindor (222; cf. *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* 170) draws a very dubious inference from this—that there were no more still available at the Olympieion; he is maintaining—in defiance of Vitruvius, I believe—that the Olympieion of Antiochos was not far advanced and the Athenians in the time of Sulla had no hope of completing it.

for the Capitoline temple. The manner in which Pliny introduces this statement is curious. It seems at first as if he is saying that the columns in question were from the original Peisistratid temple, and Bevier (196) thought that this was indeed so. Such a view is quite unacceptable. No one would now suggest that Sulla took the crude ancient drums. Pliny is expressing himself somewhat awkwardly. The clause *ex quo Sulla Capitolinis aedibus advexerat columnas* must be treated as an aside or parenthetical note, not to be taken closely with his remark, applicable to the archaic rather than the Hellenistic temple, that stone columns were used not for the sake of adornment ("such things were not yet understood") but of strength.

It is also difficult to believe that Sulla dismantled colossal Corinthian columns which had been built up to their full height—an operation of great technical difficulty—and transhipped them.³⁴ He may have helped himself to architectural members, possibly capitals only, which had not yet been incorporated when the work was broken off. Perhaps these belonged to the inner colonnade.³⁵

There is no good reason to think that there were any major building operations other than the three which impressed themselves on the mind of the ancients. Any comparable attempt to complete the temple would probably not have gone unrecorded. As for minor attempts, this was not a task with which one would toy ineffectively: it required a bold spirit and immense resources. Suetonius tells us³⁶ that a number of friendly and allied kings determined (*destinaverunt*) to finish the temple at their joint expense and to dedicate it to the Genius of Augustus. This has sometimes been taken to signify an Augustan building phase; but if the plan had been even partially carried out, surely Suetonius, and probably others, would have said so.

Attempts to draw conclusions about the successive stages from the style of the extant columns have been singularly inconclusive and confusing. It has generally been assumed that these columns are not Hadrianic. "It is only necessary to compare the temple with these

³⁴ Opinions differ about this, however. Graindor (222) thinks it was possible (he notes how remarkably intact even the fallen column is), but still believes that what Sulla took consisted of loose members.

³⁵ Penrose (76) thought so, and suggested that they were "remarkable for the richness of their marbles or the size of their monolithic shafts." Dinsmoor (*op.cit.* [*supra* n.3] 280) takes a view similar to the one given above.

³⁶ *Augustus* 60. The note in Hesychios s.v. OLYMPION that the temple remained unfinished, though construction was "often" begun, is no doubt a colloquial exaggeration.

works [sc. the Arch and the Library of Hadrian] to be convinced that they cannot be contemporaneous. The temple retains much of the simplicity of the earlier Greek taste, in contrast with the excessive ornamentation and effeminacy of the later time."³⁷ One might allow, however, that this superiority may have been due to careful and conscientious imitation of good earlier models, comparable to the fidelity and technical excellence with which works of sculpture were sometimes reproduced.

Welter takes a more complex and subtle view.³⁸ The main group of capitals at the southeast corner represent the original form and are due to Antiochos. There are two later variations: the first, represented by the westernmost column and the one which fell in 1852 and now lies prostrate, shows affinities with the Arch of Hadrian and therefore belongs to the Hadrianic phase. The second variant, seen in the isolated seventh column from the west in the second row on the south side, is intermediate, and is therefore probably Augustan. Thus we may surmise that the Eastern part of the temple was built by Cossutius and the western end by Hadrian, while a small section in the middle of the south side was probably erected in the time of Augustus. On the north side, of course, there are no columns extant. All this is highly conjectural. In general character and quality the columns are homogeneous; the differences listed by Welter are minor ones. P. Graindor (223) disagrees entirely with Welter, believing that such differences can occur even between contemporary columns. He points out that the capital of the third column from the southeast angle is different from the second and fourth; yet no one would suggest that it was slipped in much later. If on general grounds it seems most probable that the main structure is Hellenistic, there is nothing in the remains which can definitely disprove it.

³⁷ Bevier 201; cf. Penrose 76; M. Gütschow, "Untersuchungen zum korinthischen Kapitell," *Jdl* 36 (1921) 65 (the Olympieion capitals must be much earlier than those of the Stoa of Hadrian, "ihrer kräftigen, reinen Formen wegen"; they are probably mostly Cossutian). On the other hand it has sometimes been suggested that the Arch of Hadrian is later than the temple (e.g. by C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen* I [Leipzig 1874] 225; J. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* [London 1890] 194).

³⁸ II, 183–4. Dinsmoor (*op.cit.* 281) says more cautiously, "The capitals vary in execution, so that part of the work would seem to be that of Hadrian, always copying the original design." A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (Penguin Books 1957) 212, says of the work of Cossutius, "No trace of Roman influence shows in his work, which is distinguishable from the additions of the time of Augustus by the crisp carving of the foliage." D. S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*² (Cambridge 1943) thinks the capital figured by Penrose Augustan.

Whatever remained to be done was done by Hadrian.³⁹ This phase has been fully discussed by Graindor in *Athènes sous Hadrien*. We need not concern ourselves at the moment with the disputes which have arisen about precise dates. Graindor (40ff) elaborates the view that Hadrian initiated the work in A.D. 124/5, carried out some kind of preliminary dedication, probably of the cella, in a second visit in 128/9, and finally dedicated the whole temple and the great gold and ivory statue and his own statue in 131/2. Whether the temple was now fully roofed over we cannot say. Graindor⁴⁰ thinks that a specialist like Vitruvius can hardly have been in error in assuming that it was designed essentially as a hypaethral building. The final arrangement of the interior too is not clear. Welter,⁴¹ drawing attention to a foundation which runs inside the Peisistratid foundation of the cella wall, concludes from its construction in breccia stone that it was prepared in the time of Antiochos; in due course it carried a colonnade. The great rectangular peribolos was built in the time of Hadrian, but it too may well have been part of the Hellenistic design. With its modest propylon placed towards the east end of the north side, and no great entrance gateway axially arranged, it is earlier Greek rather than Roman in character. Even so the formality of the plan must have contrasted and at some points conflicted with the modest old shrines which clustered round the Olympieion, housing the cults of Kronos and Rhea, Ge, and Apollo Pythios and Delphinios.⁴² The ancient cults were still maintained, as Pausanias shows. Discoveries in the area south of the Olympieion include a colonnaded enclosure (possibly associated with the law court of the Delphinion) and the foundations of a small temple, both of Roman date. Attention was not confined in this epoch to the Olympieion itself and its grandiose completion.

A chapel of St John was installed in the Olympieion in Christian times, and at one time a stylite set up his abode on a section of the

³⁹ See Dio Cassius 69.16; schol. Lucian, *Ikaromenippos* 24 (Rabe 107); Pausanias 1.18.6; Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.* 1.25.6; Spartianus, *Vit. Hadr.* 13.6; Stephanos Byz., *Olympion*; IG IV² 384 (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³ 842). Dinsmoor notes (281) that even now pieces of sima are left unfinished, but that these may be rejected blocks.

⁴⁰ 221; contrast Dinsmoor 281; and cf. Dörpfeld, *Der Hypaethraltempel, Ath. Mit.* 16 (1891) 339ff.

⁴¹ II, 188; Penrose reasonably conjectured that there were two rows of eight interior columns, and assigned a fragment of a marble flute to one of them.

⁴² I have dealt with all these more fully in GRBS 4 (1963) 163–168; see J. Threpsiades and J. Travlos, *Archaiologikon Deltion* 17, Pt.2: *Chronika* (1961/62) 9–14.

architrave.⁴³ In Turkish times a mosque of simple open-air type occupied the southeastern corner of the enclosure.⁴⁴ When Cyriacus of Ancona⁴⁵ saw the temple in 1436, twenty-one columns were standing. How and when the gigantic structure had disintegrated we do not know, but a later incident (between 1753 and 1765) recorded by Dodwell⁴⁶ shows the kind of thing which happened. When now there were seventeen columns left, a Turkish governor pulled one of them down to make lime for a mosque; for this he was heavily fined by higher authority. Cyriacus and many after him called the building the Palace of Hadrian. J. G. Transfeldt in 1674⁴⁷ was the first in modern times to recognize it as the Olympieion, and its identity was not fully established till the great work of Stuart and Revett⁴⁸ a century later. The title 'Palace of Hadrian' was not entirely a misnomer or a flight of popular fancy. The temple was in a sense the abode of the divinized emperor.

But one cannot agree with Bevier⁴⁹ when he concludes, "The galvanic revival at Athens was even a far worse mockery [than the continued worship of Zeus at Olympia], being little more than a half-concealed servile adulation of the Roman emperor himself by the Athenians." Surely one need not take so cynical a view. Genuine piety, expressed in worship of the old gods, was not dead in Attica. Pausanias and the monuments provide evidence. Hadrian had a deep love of Athens, and the Athenian response, shown by innumerable

⁴³ See Bevier 189; cf. Penrose 75 n.3.

⁴⁴ See Travlos, *op.cit.* 209-210 and fig. 144.

⁴⁵ C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen I* (Leipzig 1874) 727; E. W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (Collection Latomus No. 43 [Brussels 1960]) 39.

⁴⁶ *Tour Through Greece I*, 390. As Penrose saw (74), the process was one of attrition and dilapidation from an early date, not sudden catastrophe; the Olympieion was probably not like some temples converted into a Christian church while still mainly intact.

⁴⁷ His work was not made widely known until much later (*Ath. Mit.* I [1876] 102ff; see Wachsmuth, *op.cit.* 71; Bevier 187).

⁴⁸ *Antiquities of Athens III* (London 1794) 11-17. Bodnar, *loc.cit.*, remarks, "So great was Hadrian's achievement that the claim of Zeus to the building faded long before the emperor's."

⁴⁹ 205; cf. 198, "it was the fate of the temple of Zeus to be a monument, not of the liberty of Athens, but of her slavery and degradation"—a statement unfair to all concerned. Penrose too says (74) that the temple was dedicated "long after the worship of Jupiter had ceased to be real, and had fallen in great measure into contempt." Great temples are not erected, with enormous labour and expense, to deities whose worship is held in contempt. One should bear in mind, too, the humbler offerings which were still being made at the lesser shrines of Zeus, in large numbers for example at the shrine of Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx, a place of healing (*IG II²* 4798ff; *Athenian Agora III*, 124; see further pp. 175-79 below).

dedications on this site and elsewhere,⁵⁰ was not mere sycophancy. Many Athenians must have felt a truly pious pride and pleasure in seeing the age-old debt to Zeus at last so fully and handsomely paid.

APPENDIX

Synopsis of Zeus Cults at Athens

This note is prompted by a remark of Welter,¹ who says "The building of such a gigantic Zeus-temple at Athens is surprising, since at Athens Zeus in relation to Athena played a wholly subsidiary (beiläufige) role, and in popularity could not compete with her or with many other gods." My impression is that this opinion is fairly widespread. In fact Zeus had at Athens cults of great number and variety, major and minor, widely distributed throughout the city, and his worship permeated every part of both public and private life.²

Evidence for these cults continues to accumulate. Of course Athena had a unique place in Athenian religion. But whatever her remote and obscure origins, in the fifth century Athena on the Acropolis is very much her father's daughter.³ The *Eumenides* of Aeschylus is full of this. *κάρτα δ' εἰμι τοῦ πατρός*, says Athena herself (741); Apollo calls her the child of *Olympian* Zeus (667). Zeus enthroned in the centre of the east pediment of the Parthenon was anything but a "Beiläuffer."

He had his own precinct and statue on the Acropolis as Polieus,⁴ and an altar as Hypatos (so named by Kekrops) in the Erechtheion.⁵

⁵⁰ See *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 57ff; Miss Anna S. Benjamin here remarks, "Under Hadrian the cult of the emperor in the Greek world was closely associated with the emperor's program of Panhellenism . . . Hadrian's willingness to accept divine honours and his encouragement of Panhellenism have, among more complex motives, the common purpose of the consolidation of the empire."

¹ *Ath. Mit.* 47 (1922) 70-71.

² Cf. n.6 above.

³ Cf. *Parthenos and Parthenon*, *G&R Suppl.* to Vol X (1963) 11 (R. J. Hopper), and 67-70 (C. J. Herington, who aptly cites Euripides, *Heraclidae* 748-83, where Zeus is closely associated with Athena). On Zeus in the East Pediment see Rhys Carpenter, *AJA* 66 (1962) 267.

⁴ Pausanias 1.24.4; Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (München 1931) 242, 257. See also n.39 below.

⁵ Pausanias 1.26.5, 8.2.3; Judeich 283.

As Hypsistos he was worshipped on another hill, the Pnyx, where he had a healing shrine; the numerous dedicatory plaques are however of Roman imperial date.⁶

Zeus may also have been worshipped as Epakrios on certain of the hilltops of Athens. In addition, he had cults on the great mountains of Attica and on the hills of Athens under various titles.⁷

Associated with the venerable Olympian shrine in the southeast were subsidiary cults of Zeus Astrapaio⁸ and possibly Kataibates (Kataibates may have had other precincts too, where thunderbolts had struck).⁹ The temple of Zeus Panhellenios was Hadrianic, and though Pausanias mentions it in connection with the Olympieion, it is not clear that it was in this quarter.¹⁰

Zeus Agoraios, whose cult was of great civic importance, was established "in the Ekklesia [*i.e.* probably on the Pnyx] and in the Agora."¹¹ In the Council-House Zeus Boulaio¹² was closely associated with Athena Boulaia and Hestia Boulaia.¹³ The Stoa and the statue of Zeus Soter, also called Eleutherios, champion of Athenian freedom against the barbarian, were conspicuous in the Agora.¹⁴ There too, beside the temple of Apollo Patroos, stood an altar of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria.¹⁴

⁶ Judeich 393, 396; *The Athenian Agora III, Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton 1957) [cited below as *Agora III*] 124; *Hesperia* 1 (1932) 196–7, 5 (1936) 154, 29 (1960) 63.

⁷ *Epa-* is so restored in IG II² 1294, an inscription, found in the region of the Plaka, concerning certain *orgeones*, of which W. S. Ferguson gives an improved text by B. D. Meritt in *HTR* 37 (1944) 93. A. B. Cook, in his discussion of the mountain-top cults of Zeus and of Epakrios in particular, is doubtful about the restoration (*Zeus II* [Cambridge 1925] 874). Pausanias (1.32.2) notes shrines of Zeus Hymettios and Ombrios on Hymettos (three altars of Ombrios, of about 100 A.D., have been found in the Agora excavations; *Hesperia* 13 [1943] 72, nos. 19–21); of Zeus Parnethios and Semaleos and Ombrios or Apemios on Parnes (*ibid.*) and, nearer the city, of Zeus Anchesmios on Anchesmos (*ibid.*); see Cook, *op.cit.* 897ff, and S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas* (Lund 1931) 1–2; also n.39 below.

⁸ Judeich 386; for this shrine, and for my objections to the suggestion that it was on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, see *AJA* 63 (1959) 68–72 and 67 (1963) 76. O. Broneer develops further his arguments for an Olympieion and an altar of Zeus Astrapaio⁸ on the northwest slope in *Ephemeris Archaeologica* 1960 (1963) 54–62.

⁹ *Ar. Pax* 42 and schol.; Apollodoros 120 in schol. Soph. *O.C.* 705 (near the Academy); IG II² 4964 and 4965 (on the Acropolis?); IG II² 4998 (near the Olympieion?); Zeus Ka[taibates] is restored in *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 31, no.2, line 4 (in sacred laws); cf. Judeich 284, 385, 413, and A. B. Cook, *Zeus II*, 20ff.

¹⁰ Judeich 101, 378; Cook, *Zeus II*, 1119 n.4; cf. also n.50 above.

¹¹ *Agora III*, 122–124; *The Athenian Agora, Guide* (Athens 1962) 53.

¹² *Agora III*, 128.

¹³ *Agora III*, 25–31; in IG II² 1075, line 18, there is also a reference, in uncertain context, to Zeus Pandemos. For the notable shrine of Zeus Soter, with Athena Soteira, at Peiraeus, see Judeich 453.

¹⁴ *Agora III*, 52; cf. *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 5, no.1, line 92. See also n.26 below.

Zeus Herkeios no doubt had a simple shrine in many private houses, besides an altar on the Acropolis and, with Hermes and Akamas, at the Dipylon.¹⁵ Zeus Ktesios too, protector of property, was worshipped both privately and publicly (his name occurs amongst the deities to whom the Prytaneis sacrificed),¹⁶ Zeus was also Horios, god of boundaries, no doubt at Athens itself, though the known epigraphical documents refer to other parts of Attica.¹⁷

Of Zeus Meilichios, an ancient chthonian deity with healing powers, Pausanias (1.3–4) saw a shrine on the Kephisos; inscriptions may indicate a second on the Hill of the Nymphs, and there may have been yet others elsewhere.¹⁸ Zeus Philios was closely associated with Meilichios and was of similar character; he was worshipped in both Athens and Peiraeus.¹⁹

The Athenians called Zeus Epopetes, according to Hesychios (*s.v.*); and also, according to a strange legend, “Soter and Epopsios and Meilichios.”²⁰ A very puzzling “boundary stone of the shrine of Zeus Exops(ios??)” has been found southwest of the agora; Meritt suggests that it may possibly have come from the shrine on the slope of the

¹⁵ Philochoros 67; *IG II*² 4983; cf. Plato, *Euthydemus* 302D, and see further Judeich 136, 281; Cook, *Zeus III* (Cambridge 1940) 243, 749; Pauly-Wissowa *s.v.* HERKEIOS. The worship of Zeus Herkeios was a symbol of civic status.

¹⁶ In one list only, Agora I, 4917, line 9, published by W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (Princeton 1940) 121. See Demosthenes 21.53; Isaios 8.16; cf. Antiphon 1.16–18 (at Peiraeus). For Zeus Ktesios in general, see Cook, *Zeus I* (Cambridge 1914) 422ff; II, 1054ff.

¹⁷ *IG II* 2 1358 (the Tetrapolis); and an inscription from Eleusis, which mentions a priest of Zeus Horios and Athena Horia and Poseidon Prosbaterios (*sic*) (K. Kourouniotes, *Eleusiniaka I* [1932] 223; cf. R. Vallois, *REA* 35 [1933] 228; P. Roussel, “Un nouveau document concernant le génos des *KHPYKEΣ*,” *Mélanges Bidez II* [Brussels 1934] 819). For Zeus Horios cf. Plato *Laws* 8.842E, and see further Cook, *Zeus III* (Cambridge 1940) 1183, and n.39 below.

¹⁸ Judeich 63, 411, 435; Cook, *Zeus II*, 1091ff; M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion I*² (München 1945) 411–414. Besides the shrine on the Kephisos and one deduced from inscriptions on the hill of the Nymphs, Cook suggests another at Ambelokepoi, east of Lykabettos (cf. *IG I*² 866) and yet another near the Ilissos (see n. 32 below). More recently, dedications to Meilichios have been found in the Agora; see *Agora III*, 124; *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 45, no.58. A dedication has also been found on the south slope of the Acropolis, at the shrine of Nympha: see *Ergon AE* 1957, 9; *BCH* 82 (1958) 367; A. N. Oikonomides, *τὰ Ἀθηναϊκά* 16 (1960) 8. Thucydides 1.126.6 says that “the greatest festival of Zeus” at Athens was in honour of Zeus Meilichios; cf. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 155ff. See also n.39 below.

¹⁹ Judeich 323, 435, 473; Cook, *Zeus II*, 1160ff. In *IG II*² 4627 Zeus is called Epiteleios Philios; cf. *IG II*² 5075 (theatre seat of the priest of Zeus Teleios, who is one of the Bouzygai) and a dedication found in the Agora (*Hesperia* 15 [1946] 220, no.47; cf. *Agora III*, 125). See also n.32 below, and n.39 below.

²⁰ In the *Metamorphoses* of Antoninus Liberalis; see Cook, *Zeus II*, 1121ff. For Epopetes see n.39 below.

Hill of the Nymphs above, still marked by an inscription *hópos Διός* cut in the rock.²¹

Some Zeus cults were associated with particular sections of the community.²² The Praxiergidai sacrificed to the Moirai and Zeus Moiragetes.²³ Zeus Geleon, whose priest is mentioned in an inscription of Hadrianic date, is apparently the god of the tribe of the Geleontes.²⁴ A boundary stone attests the worship of Zeus Xenios of the Thymaitis phratría.²⁵ Particular *phratriai* probably had shrines of Zeus Phratrios.²⁶

A number of Zeus cults had foreign connections: Zeus-Ammon with Egypt (though A. B. Cook asks, "Of what really barbaric god could it be shown . . . that he was honoured with public rites at Athens in 333 B.C.?"²⁷) and Zeus Karios, to whom according to Herodotus (5.66.1) the family of Isagoras sacrificed, with Mylasa in Caria.²⁸ Zeus Stratios, to whom several dedications of imperial date are known,²⁹ was akin to Zeus Labrayndos, worshipped near Mylasa in Caria (Zeus had a shrine under this name in Peiraeus).³⁰

Zeus Kenaíos, whose name occurs in a treasure-list of 429/8 B.C., had an altar on Mt. Kenaion in Euboea.³¹ Zeus Naios of Dodona received offerings at Athens.³²

The dicasts at Ardettos swore by Zeus Basileus,³³ along with Apollo Patroos and Demeter. Solon ordered that oaths should be

²¹ *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 90, no.37; *Agora* III, 124. Cook, *op.cit.* II, 1114, brings the rock-cut inscriptions into relation with the Meilichios shrine.

²² Besides those mentioned here, see Zeus Teleios, n.19, and possibly Epakrios, n.7.

²³ *IG* I² 80, 10ff; Cook, *Zeus* II, 231 n.8a.

²⁴ *IG* II² 1072 (A.D. 117/8) line 6.

²⁵ *IG* I² 886; see Judeich 299 and Cook, *Zeus* II, 1229 (cf. 1101). *IG* II² 1012, according to Judeich 455, may indicate a cult at Peiraeus.

²⁶ See *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 616.

²⁷ *Zeus* I, 362; see *IG* II² 1496, lines 96–7; cf. *IG* II² 338 (from Oropos); and A. M. Woodward, *ABSA* 57 (1962) 5ff.

²⁸ See Cook, *Zeus* II, 577; III, 569.

²⁹ *IG* II² 4723, 4739 (cf. 4812; see W. Peek, *Ath. Mit.* 67 [1942] 56, no.93), 4785, 4844; see Cook, *Zeus* II, 974ff.

³⁰ *IG* II² 1271; Judeich 455; Cook, *Zeus* II, 573ff, 585ff, 846; J. M. Cook, *ABSA* 56 (1961) 100; cf. A. Laumonier, *Les Cultes indigènes en Carie* (Paris 1958) 45ff.

³¹ *IG* I² 310, line 198; cf. *Soph. Trach.* 238, 753, 993; see Cook, *Zeus* II, 902–3.

³² Demosthenes 21.53 (it is not clear whether these offerings are made at Athens or Dodona); *IG* II² 4707; *Ephem. Arch.* 1894, 133ff. (Cook, however, in *Zeus* II, 1117, suggests that the *Nai-* completed by Skias as *Naios* may be part of the dedicator's name, and the dedication may be to Zeus Meilichios.) A. G. Woodhead, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 283, no.12, tentatively restores *Naios* as the epithet of Zeus, though he also notes that *Phlios* could be accommodated.

³³ Pollux 8.122.

taken by "three gods, Hikesios, Katharsios and Exakester" (Zeus, of course).³⁴

Other titles of Zeus found at Athens are Enchorios, on a late boundary stone;³⁵ Georgos, to whom are offered cakes and a *pankarpia nephaios*, appropriate for an agricultural deity;³⁶ Heraios;³⁷ and possibly Neanias.³⁸

An Athenian might well pray to "Zeus who looks down everywhere and sees through everything," [Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 435] and reflecting on human life say with Sophocles [*Trachiniae* 1278] "there is none of these things which is not Zeus."³⁹

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³⁴ Pollux 8.142; cf. Cook, *Zeus* II, 1093 n.1.

³⁵ A. N. Oikonomides, *Athenaika* 14 (1959) 12–13, no. 27; cf. SEG 18 (1962) 34, no. 62.

³⁶ IG II² 1367, lines 12–15; see Cook, *Zeus* I, 176ff. (Cook considers the suggestion that St George is connected with Zeus Georgos.)

³⁷ IG I² 840, lines 20–21; see Cook, *Zeus* III, 1047.

³⁸ Ne- is tentatively restored thus in the law code by S. Dow, *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 35, no.2, lines 58–59. For a youthful Zeus, called however Pais or Kouros, see Cook, *Zeus* II, 742f and 826 n.6, 928 and 931. Nemeios would fit here, but there is no reason to believe that Nemean Zeus was worshipped at Athens.

Zeus is often called Tropaios, as god of victory, in the tragedians (see Cook, *Zeus* II, 110 n.9), but the references to his cult in ephebic inscriptions refer to Salamis; see IG II² 1006 (*Hesperia* 30 [1961] 17, no.10) lines 28–29; 1008, restored in lines 17–18; and 1028, lines 27–28.

³⁹ After completing the above note I read G. Daux' publication and discussion of EM 13163, an inscription found several years ago near Spata, in BCH 87 (1963) 603ff. It is headed *Δημαρχία ἡ μέζων* and gives a sacrificial calendar of the deme Erchia, probably of the first half of the fourth century B.C., including cults both at Erchia and *ἐν ἄστει*. Several relevant Zeus-cults are mentioned, and it seemed better to list them together in a supplementary note than to distribute them in their places above. In *A* 38–41 we find *Διασίους ἐν ἄστει ἐν Ἀγρᾷ Διὶ Μελιχίῳ οἷς* (see n.18), in *Γ* 15–18 Zeus Polieus *ἐμ Πόλε ἐν ἄστει* is mentioned (see n.4); in *Γ* 20–23 Zeus Epopetes (see p. 177) *ἐμ Πάγῳ* at Erchia (in *Δ* 20–22 we find a sacrifice, at Erchia, *Ἐποπι*, but that is a different matter); in *Γ* 39–40 Zeus Teleios (n.19) *ἐν Ἡρᾷ* at Erchia; in *Γ* 61 Zeus Polieus *ἐμ Πόλε* at Erchia; in *E* 28–30 Zeus Horios (n.17) at Erchia; in *E* 60–62 Zeus Epakrios on Hymettos (n.7).