

composition is used. The earliest is on a red-figure cup in Frankfurt attributed to close to the Castelgiorgio Painter.¹⁴ On the right in front of a cave covered with vegetation is depicted a large serpent who has popped out of a basket and chases two Kekropides. Located in the center of the scene, the sisters flee to the left towards the palace of their father which is indicated by a Doric column. Kekrops and his son Erysichthon sit on the left. Meanwhile the third sister stands in front of them, gesturing towards her advancing siblings as if to offer shelter. On a slightly later fragment of a pelike in Leipsic¹⁵ dating to 470–60 BC there is a different scene. In the center is a rock, on top of which sits the bottom half of an open basket. The upper half rests on its short side lying on a lower section of the rock. To the left are preserved the lower shanks of two fleeing Kekropides; to the right are the shanks of another woman, perhaps Athena. A contemporary skyphos by the Lewis Painter is similar in mood.¹⁶ On a fragment from one side is preserved the inscribed head of a fleeing Aglauros, and on a fragment from the other, the upper half of a pursuing Athena. Also contemporary and similar in mood is a recently published column-krater by the Orchard Painter in the collection of Gilbert M. Denman Jr.¹⁷ On it only Athena and the three Kekropides are depicted, the basket, child, and snake(s) not being present. In the center, Athena, carrying a spear in her left hand by her side, chases one of the sisters who flees to the left as Athena grabs her by the shoulder. On either side two other sisters flee left and right respectively.

The final two Attic red-figure depictions date from the decade 440–30 BC. The scene on a lekythos by the Phiale Painter (PLATE IXc)¹⁸ is similar in mood to the earlier examples. Here Athena advances from the left, a spear in her left hand. She grabs the fleeing Aglauros who runs left, hands in the air. Between them falls a basket out of which a snake has popped. The outer design of this basket is very similar to the upper half of the basket on the Louvre fragments. A much calmer scene is depicted on the other, a pelike by the Erichthonios Painter in London.¹⁹ On the left of the front of the vase stands Athena, a spear in her left hand and a Corinthian helmet in her right. Erichthonios sits on the right, seated in the lower half of a basket which is perched on a rock with two guardian snakes rising from below the basket. The top of the basket lies lower on the rock, its circular shape clearly indicated.

Although none of the scenes just described above is identical to the scene on the Louvre fragments, they contain a number of elements which, I think, will allow us more exactly to reconstruct its iconographical composition. First, the partially preserved woman on the Louvre fragments is most probably Aglauros, the to the Black Fury Group (M. Mayo, *The Art of South Italy: Vases from Magna Graecia* [Richmond 1982] no. 18) and an Attic red-figure column-krater by the Orchard Painter in the collection of Gilbert M. Denman Jr (H. Shapiro, *Art, Myth, and Culture: Greek Vases From Southern Collections* [New Orleans 1981] 20–3).

¹⁴ Frankfurt, Liebieghaus STV 7: *ARV*² 386, 1649 and *Para.* 521; Kron (n. 11) pl. 6.

¹⁵ Leipsic, Universität T 654; *ARV*² 585, 35 and 1660; Kron (n. 11) pl. 2, 2.

¹⁶ Athens, National Museum, Acropolis 508, 509; *ARV*² 973, 7–8; H. W. R. Smith, *Der Lewismaler* (Leipsic 1939) pl. 22b, f.

¹⁷ Private, Gilbert M. Denman Jr: Shapiro (n. 13).

¹⁸ Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 404: Schmidt (n. 13) pls 73–4; fig. 4.

¹⁹ British Museum E 372: *ARV*² 1218, 1; Kron (n. 11) pl. 7, 3.

sister responsible for the opening of the basket.²⁰ She does not stand in the basket with the child, but behind it. The vase painter has according to convention simply overlapped the elements of the scene, thereby giving the viewer no sense of the relative depth of the objects and figures in the picture field. Having opened the basket, Aglauros is surprised at its contents and raises her hands in the air as indicated by the partially preserved section of her left upper arm. The positioning of her hands would have been similar to Aglauros on the Phiale Painter's lekythos (PLATE IXc). The cause for her actions must also be a charging Athena whom we can tentatively restore, spear in hand by her side, approaching from the right as on the Orchard Painter's column krater. The Lewis Painter's skyphos and the Phiale Painter's lekythos also provide parallels for a pursuing Athena. Erichthonios, who has just been revealed and is in need of immediate attention, holds out his arms fervently towards his approaching foster mother. She rushes to his aid and to punish the Kekropides. The sense of pandemonium often found in scenes of this myth is present. As for the rest of the scene, perhaps in or by the left-hand side of the basket, now lost, there were one or two guardian snakes like those on the Basel lekythos and London pelike respectively.²¹ Further to the left filling out the composition could have been one or two of the fleeing sisters as on the Frankfurt cup, Denman krater and the Leipsic pelike.

To conclude, the Louvre cup formerly in the Seyrig collection must be removed from the list of vases depicting Danae and Perseus, and added to the small list of vases depicting the 'Discovery of Erichthonios'. Its iconographical composition, although not complete, gives us a new variant, hence its importance. As one interesting final sidelight we should note the provenience, the Acropolis in Athens. The percentage of depictions of Erichthonios from the Acropolis is proportionally high,²² and can perhaps be attributed to the cult of the Arrephoria on the Acropolis; or the vases can be thought of as dedications to Athena.²³ Thus the provenience of the Louvre fragments is very appropriate for a vase depicting the 'Discovery of Erichthonios'.

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²⁰ The sister guilty of opening the basket in the literary sources is usually Aglauros. This combined with the inscription on the Lewis Painter's skyphos (n. 16) has lead Schmidt and Kron to identify the fleeing sister on the Phiale Painter's lekythos as Aglauros. For a list of literary references to Aglauros, see M. Ervin, 'The Sanctuary of Aglauros on the South Slope of the Akropolis and its Destruction in the First Mithridatic War', *Archeion Pontou* xxii (1958) 134–5, n. 3.

²¹ On the far left-hand side of the fragment where it comes to a point there is a single curved line (∩) which does not seem to be part of Aglauros' dress. This may well be part of the curved body of a snake rising out of the basket. Unfortunately too little remains to be certain.

²² Athens, National Museum, Acropolis 396, 433, 508–9, 1188–9, 1191, 1193, 1195. Kron (n. 11) 249–56, cat. nos E36, E35, E26, E9, E8, E40, and E10 respectively.

²³ Kron (n. 11) 74–5.

The Enneakrounos Fountain-House

The question of the location of the Enneakrounos fountain-house is one of the most controversial prob-

lems in Athenian topography.* It is known that a spring, which had been called Kallirrhoe, was embellished and given the name Enneakrounos during the Peisistratid tyranny. The location of the fountain-house, however, is disputed. Some references place Enneakrounos in the vicinity of the Ilissos stream to the south-east of the city; other sources state or imply a location in the city centre.¹

Two suggestions which have been put forward to explain the Kallirrhoe–Enneakrounos problem can be briefly discussed. The discovery of a water installation on the lower slopes of the Pnyx to the west of the Areopagus led Dörpfeld to identify it as Enneakrounos.² He tried to reconcile the literary evidence for Enneakrounos with the archaeological investigations, but, despite the argument that the south of the city could have extended around the western side of the Areopagus, Dörpfeld's Enneakrounos cannot be reconciled with the sources.³ Re-excavation of the area by the American School of Classical Studies, moreover, has shown that a large private house occupied the site of Dörpfeld's Enneakrounos and a monumental fountain-house had never stood there.⁴ The suggestion has also been made that the name Enneakrounos referred not to one fountain but to a comprehensive water-supply system which distributed water throughout the city.⁵ But the references to Enneakrounos are in agreement that there was only one fountain-house, which was located at the source of the water, and they do not imply a comprehensive system. It might also be argued that such a system would have provoked greater comment, as did the aqueduct at Samos.⁶ Thus neither of the above theories has satisfactorily explained the Enneakrounos problem and an answer can only be found in the literary sources.

The majority of the references to Kallirrhoe–Enneakrounos place the fountain-house to the south of the Acropolis in the vicinity of the Ilissos stream. Thucydides, who gives the fullest account of the fountain-house and records its former name, firmly locates it to the south of the Acropolis and uses its location as proof of the southerly extent of the old city of Athens, thus:

τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὐσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. τεκμήριον δέ . . . καὶ τῆ κρήνη τῆ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνω καλουμένη, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερόν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόη ὠνομασμένη, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐγγὺς οὕση τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρὸ τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν

* I would like to express my thanks to Dr A. B. Lloyd of University College, Swansea, for his helpful criticism of the first draft of this article. All mistakes, however, remain my own.

¹ References to Kallirrhoe–Enneakrounos have been collected by R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora iii: literary and epigraphical testimonia* (Princeton 1957) 137–42; for full bibliography, see J. Travlos, *A pictorial dictionary of ancient Athens* (London 1971) 204.

² W. Dörpfeld, *AthMitt* xvii (1892) 439–45, xix (1894) 143–51; F. Gräber, *AthMitt* xxx (1905) 1–64; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*² (Munich 1931) 193–201.

³ See A. W. Gomme, *A historical commentary on Thucydides* ii (Oxford 1956) 55.

⁴ H. A. Thompson, *Hesp.* xxxv (1966) 52.

⁵ D. Levi, *Annuario* ns xxiii/xxiv (1961/2) 149–72.

⁶ Hdt. iii 60.

νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι· καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν αὐτῆ κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.⁷

Attempts to discredit the testimony of Thucydides by the suggestion that his phrase πρὸς νότον is a mistake for πρὸς βορρᾶν have not been successful and the argument is weak.⁸ Moreover, the argument that Thucydides does not specifically state that Enneakrounos was to the south of the Acropolis and, therefore, does not contradict Pausanias, is untenable.⁹ His language makes it clear that he was still referring to the southern side of the city when he described Enneakrounos.

Both Herodotus and the fifth-century comic poet, Kratinos, similarly imply that Enneakrounos was to the south of the city and so support Thucydides. Herodotus mentions Enneakrounos, the name of which he projects back into the early history of Athens, when he describes the attacks which the Pelasgians from Hymettos made upon Athenian girls who went there for water.¹⁰ Although Herodotus does not state the exact location of the fountain-house his story suits a location on the southern side of the city towards Hymettos.¹¹ Kratinos' evidence, on the other hand, is less conclusive. He uses the epithet 'dodekakrounon' with reference to the Ilissos stream;¹² and his support for Thucydides' location is based on the fact that the Suda associated the expression 'dodekakrounon' with Thucydides' Enneakrounos.¹³ There is no evidence, however, that Enneakrounos was increased in size as the epithet implies, and so it is not possible to verify the Suda's statement.

After the fifth century B.C. several writers, using either the name Kallirrhoe or Enneakrounos, locate the site to the south of the city. A story concerning Socrates relates that when he was going to Kynosarges he saw friends running towards Kallirrhoe.¹⁴ The reference to Kynosarges and other topographical details, such as the Itonian Gate and the Amazonian stele, indicate that the events of the story took place to the south-east of the city.¹⁵ Himerios in the fourth century A.D. similarly associates Kallirrhoe with the Ilissos stream.¹⁶ Hierokles, quoting a certain Tarantinos, states that the temple to Zeus was constructed near Enneakrounos.¹⁷ The *Etymologicum Magnum* (twelfth century A.D.) also places Enneakrounos at the Ilissos.¹⁸

Of the writers who place Enneakrounos in the city centre only Pausanias specifically locates the fountain-house in the Agora.¹⁹ He mentions Enneakrounos during his description of the Agora monuments, after the Odeion and before the Eleusinion. The discovery of

⁷ Thuc. ii 15.3–6.

⁸ A. W. Parsons, *Hesp.* xii (1943) 192–3; see Gomme *HCT* ii 55–9.

⁹ Wycherley (n. 1) 142.

¹⁰ Hdt. vi 137.3.

¹¹ See Gomme *HCT* ii 53.

¹² Kratinos *fr.* 186 Kock, from *Pytine*:

ἀναξ Ἀπολλων, τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν βουμάτων,
καναχοῦσι πηγαί, δωδεκάκρουνον <τὸ> στόμα,
Ἰλισσοῦς ἐν <τῇ> φάρυγγι.

¹³ Suda i.2 Δ 1440 Adler: Δωδεκάκρουνος, κρήνη Ἀθήνησιν ἦν Θουκυδίδης Ἐννεάκρουνον.

¹⁴ Ps.–Pl. *Axiochos* 364 a, b, d.

¹⁵ See Judeich (n. 2) 141–2; Travlos (n. 1) 161.

¹⁶ Himerios, *fr.* 1.7 (Colonna).

¹⁷ Hierokles, *Hippiatrica* in preface to *De Febri Equi* = Wycherley (n. 1) 139 no. 443. See below at n. 36.

¹⁸ *Et. Mag.* s.v. 'Enneakrounos'.

¹⁹ Paus. i 14.1.

a fountain-house of appropriate date in the south-eastern corner of the market place has greatly strengthened Pausanias.²⁰ In addition to Pausanias both Isokrates (mid fourth century B.C.) and Alkiphron (second century A.D.) imply that the fountain-house was in the centre of the town, although they do not specifically state its position. Isokrates' complaint regarding the youth of Athens, who in addition to drinking, gambling and visiting the schools of flute-girls, chilled their wine in the waters of Enneakrounos, implies that the fountain-house was situated in a less respectable district of Athens.²¹ Such practices accord more with a site in the city centre than in the vicinity of the Ilissos, parts of which Plato described as quiet and 'fit for girls to play in'.²² Alkiphron suggests that Enneakrounos was situated in the Kerameikos district, which included the Agora (above n. 19), making a parasite complain that if nobody would invite him to dinner he would have to eat chervil, shellfish and grasses, and drink from Enneakrounos.²³ Other letters of Alkiphron indicate that parts of the Kerameikos at least were disreputable and frequented by such parasites.²⁴ As it is unlikely that the parasite would cross the city from the Kerameikos district to the Ilissos it can be assumed that the fountain-house was close at hand. The fact that he also threatens to hang himself at the Dipylon, which was probably the closest gate for anybody who lived in the inner Kerameikos, also supports the view that Enneakrounos was close by.²⁵

There is clearly disagreement in the literary sources regarding the site of Enneakrounos. Pausanias, Isokrates and Alkiphron agree that the fountain-house was in the city centre. The argument for a city-centre location is also strengthened by the excavation of the fountain building in the Agora, which was presumably the fountain which Pausanias visited.²⁶ There are difficulties, however, in identifying this building as the original Enneakrounos. First, the evidence of Thucydides and other writers has to be dismissed. Secondly, references to Kallirrhoe-Enneakrounos suggest that there was a copious supply of water and that the fountain-house was constructed at the source. Although there might have been a small, natural supply of water at the site in the Agora,²⁷ the main supply came from an aqueduct of terracotta pipes which possibly drew water ultimately from the Ilissos.²⁸ Thirdly, the plan of the original building in the Agora, with two shallow catch-basins either side of a slightly raised, rectangular floor, makes it difficult to establish how the nine spouts were arranged;²⁹ and, furthermore, in the fourth century B.C. the building underwent extensive alterations.³⁰ Fourthly, there is a discrepancy between the date of the

fountain-house as given by Pausanias and the date of the pottery which was associated with the original aqueduct. Whereas Pausanias states that the building was constructed by Peisistratos, the pottery has been dated to the reign of his two sons.³¹

In support of a site to the south-east of the city, the observation can be made that Thucydides is usually a careful and accurate witness and, as he was writing within one hundred years of the construction of the building, he should have known its location. Thucydides is also supported by the majority of the literary sources, including Herodotus and Kratinos. Moreover, the implication in the sources of a copious supply of water suits better the Ilissos area.³²

Situating Enneakrounos to the south-east of the city, however, also presents problems. The eye-witness testimony of Pausanias and the evidence of Isokrates and Alkiphron have to be dismissed, as well as the fountain-house in the south-eastern corner of the Agora. Furthermore, despite extensive excavations in the vicinity of the Olympieion and the Ilissos a suitable building has not come to light.

Attempts have been made to reconcile the two divergent views. It has been stated above that attempts to discredit Thucydides' evidence are unacceptable. It has also been suggested that either there was a duplication of sites and monuments to the north and the south of the Acropolis which has led to confusion,³³ or, because Kallirrhoe was a common epithet for springs, there were two Kallirrhoes at Athens.³⁴ Both suggestions seem improbable because they necessitate the acceptance that Thucydides was mistaken.

The application of the names Kallirrhoe and Enneakrounos to the two sites, however, possibly helps to elucidate the problem. It is known that Kallirrhoe was the original name of the spring, when its waters were visible. When the fountain-house was constructed it was named Enneakrounos. Thucydides' account, moreover, suggests that by the fifth century B.C. Enneakrounos was the common name for the site and that Kallirrhoe had gone out of use. That Herodotus could project the name Enneakrounos back into the early history of Athens confirms that by the middle of the fifth century B.C. Enneakrounos had become established as the name of the building and the site. Herodotus, Thucydides and Kratinos also agree that the fountain-house was on the southern side of the city and probably close to the Ilissos. Thus the combined evidence of the three fifth-century writers suggests that the name of Kallirrhoe had gone out of use and had been replaced by Enneakrounos and that Enneakrounos was situated on the southern side of the city.

From the fourth century B.C. onwards the literary evidence suggests not only that the name Kallirrhoe was again in use but also that there was a distinction between the location of Kallirrhoe and Enneakrounos. Thus the writer of the *Axiokhos*, on the one hand, placed Kallirrhoe near the Ilissos stream (end fourth century B.C.);³⁵ and Himerios (fourth century A.D.) similarly

²⁰ H. A. Thompson, *Hesp.* xxii (1953) 29-32; J. S. Boersma, *Athenian building policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.* (Groningen 1970) 221 cat. no. 100; H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora xiv: the agora of Athens* (Princeton 1972) 197-9.

²¹ Isok. xv 287. ²² Pl. *Phaedrus* 229a, b; 230b.

²³ Alk. *Epist.* iii 13.1 (iii 49).

²⁴ Alk. *Epist.* ii 22.1 (iii 25), iii 12.2 (iii 48), 28.2 (iii 64).

²⁵ Alk. *Epist.* iii 13.2 (iii 49).

²⁶ See R. E. Wycherley, *GRBS* ii (1959) 33-4; Thompson-Wycherley (n. 20) 205.

²⁷ Thompson-Wycherley (n. 20) 199 n. 31.

²⁸ Thompson, *Hesp.* xxii (1953) 32, xxv (1956) 49-50, xxix (1960) 347-8.

²⁹ R. E. Wycherley, *The stones of Athens* (Princeton 1978) 248.

³⁰ Thompson, *Hesp.* xxii (1953) 32-3.

³¹ Thompson, *Hesp.* xxv (1956) 50-1.

³² Gomme *HCT* ii 53, quoting Kock *C.A.F.* i 790, Polyzeos *fr.* 2.

³³ O. T. Broneer, *Hesp.* suppl. viii (1949) 58; see Gomme *HCT* ii 56-60.

³⁴ Wycherley (n. 1) 140.

³⁵ For the date of the dialogue see A. E. Taylor, *Plato: the man and his work?* (London 1960) 552.

associated Kallirrhoe with the Ilissos. On the other hand, as early as the middle of the fourth century B.C. Isokrates seems to imply that Enneakrounos was located in a less reputable district of Athens, probably in the city centre. Pausanias explicitly and Alkiphron implicitly place Enneakrounos in the Kerameikos district. None of the above references, moreover, uses the name Kallirrhoe in connection with a location in the city centre.

Two later writers, the compiler of the *Etymologicum Magnum* and Hierokles, use the name Enneakrounos for a site on the Ilissos and seem, therefore, to disagree with the apparent separation of Kallirrhoe and Enneakrounos. The *Et. Mag.*, however, is not referring to the location at the time of compilation; its details indicate that the compiler was using Thucydides as a source and so the evidence lacks independent authority. Tarantinos, whom Hierokles quotes as his source of information for the proximity of Enneakrounos to the temple of Zeus, is possibly the medical writer of the first century B.C., Herakleides of Tarentum:³⁶ *Ταραντίνος δὲ ἱστορεῖ, τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νεῶν κατασκευάζοντας Ἀθηναίους Ἐννεακρούνου πλησίον εἰσελαθῆναι ψηφίσασθαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς τὸ ἄστν ζεύγῃ ἅπαντα.*

Building of the temple of Zeus began during the reign of Peisistratos' sons with the laying of the foundations and the erection of the first column drums. After the fall of the tyranny, work on the temple ceased. Construction was resumed by Antiochos Epiphanes during the years 174–65 B.C. but it was not until the time of the emperor Hadrian that the temple was finally completed.³⁷ If the identification of Tarantinos is correct, Hierokles' information must refer either to the time of Peisistratos' sons or the time of Antiochos. It could be argued that the verb *κατασκευάζειν*, which was used of the construction of the temple, implies more than the limited building activity of the Peisistratids and so refers to the more extensive construction of Antiochos. Herakleides Kritikos, however, used the epithet 'half-built' to refer to the Peisistratid building³⁸ and so the verb *κατασκευάζειν* could refer to the same stage of building. Furthermore, the fact that Tarantinos states that the temple was constructed by the Athenians suits better the Peisistratid building than the later building which was commissioned and funded by Antiochos and constructed under the supervision of the Roman architect Cossutius.³⁹ The passage of Hierokles, therefore, probably refers to the construction of the original building in the sixth century B.C. when Enneakrounos was still situated on the Ilissos. Thus neither the *Et. Mag.* nor Hierokles contradict the apparent differences in location between Kallirrhoe and Enneakrounos from the fourth century onwards.

The evidence, therefore, suggests that Enneakrounos was originally situated to the south-east of the city near the Ilissos. Before the middle of the fourth century B.C. the original fountain-house had disappeared, its name had been transferred to another fountain-house of comparable date in the city centre and the original site had reverted to its former name. The circumstances

which might have led to the disappearance of the original building and the transference of its name can be found in two events which occurred at the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth century B.C. First, in his account of the civil war at Athens, which followed the accession of the Thirty Tyrants, Xenophon mentions how the successes of the democrats in Piraeus had forced the Thirty to flee to Eleusis and leave Athens under the control of the Ten.⁴⁰ Xenophon also states that at the time the democrats had become so bold that they had even ventured to make attacks upon the city walls and were planning to bring siege engines along the track which led from the Lyceum.⁴¹ As the Lyceum is situated to the east of the city there is strong evidence to suggest that the democrats were operating in the general area of the original Enneakrounos. Therefore, although direct evidence is lacking, the democrats might have taken the opportunity to damage or destroy a symbol of the first tyranny at Athens. Secondly, early in the fourth century B.C. major alterations were made to the water supply to the Agora. A new fountain-house was built in its south-western corner,⁴² the old aqueduct was replaced by a new, stone-built channel,⁴³ and extensive alterations were made to the south-eastern fountain-house (above n. 30). The combination of the two events could have brought about the change in the location of Enneakrounos and so account for the discrepancies in the texts.

Thus the evidence suggests that Thucydides was right and that the original Enneakrounos was situated to the south-east of the city in the vicinity of the Ilissos. By the late fifth century the original building had been destroyed and by the middle of the fourth century B.C. its name had been transferred to another Peisistratid fountain-house in the city centre. By the time of Pausanias' visit to Athens the site of the original fountain-house had been forgotten completely and he accepted the Enneakrounos in the Agora without question.

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⁴⁰ Xen. *Hell.* ii 4.24.

⁴¹ Xen. *Hell.* ii 4.27.

⁴² H. A. Thompson, *Hesp.* xxiv (1955) 52–4; Thompson–Wycherley (n. 20) 200–1.

⁴³ Thompson, *Hesp.* xxv (1956) 52–3.

Hesiod's Wagon: Text and Technology

ὄλμον μὲν τριπόδην τάμνειν, ὕπερον δὲ τρίπηχυν,
ἄξονα δ' ἑπταπόδην· μάλα γὰρ νύ τοι ἄρμενον
οὕτω·
εἰ δέ κεν ὀκταπόδην, ἀπὸ καὶ σφύραν κε τάμοιο.
τρισπίθαιμον δ' ἄψιν τάμνειν δεκαδώρω ἀμάξῃ,
πόλλ' ἐπικαμπύλα κάλα· φέρειν δὲ γύην ὅτ' ἂν
εὕρης
εἰς οἶκον, κατ' ὄρος διζήμενος ἢ κατ' ἄρουραν,
πρίνινον· ὅς γὰρ βουσὶν ἀροῦν ὄχυρώτατός ἐστιν,
εὗτ' ἂν Ἀθηναίης δμῶδός ἐν ἐλύματι πήξας
γόμεφοισιν πελάσας προσαρῆται ἰστοβοῆϊ.

(Op. 423–31)

³⁶ See above n. 17.

³⁷ Travlos (n. 1) 402–3; Boersma (n. 20) 199 cat. no. 70.

³⁸ Ps.-Dicaearchus, *De Graecis urbibus* i 1 = Müller *FHG* ii 254 no. 59; Wycherley (n. 29) 160 quoting F. Pfister, *Die Reisebilder des Herakleides* (Vienna 1951) 44 ff., 72.

³⁹ Vitruvius, *De arch.* vii introd., 15.