

THE ATHENA OF ENDOIOS IN ERYTHRAI :
A *CRUX* IN PAUSANIAS (7.5.9)

In his praise of Ionia and several Ionian sanctuaries, Pausanias¹ mentions in Erythrai «a temple of Athena Polias and a huge wooden image of her sitting on a throne; she holds a distaff in either hand and wears a *polos*² on her head. That this image is the work of Endoios we inferred, among other signs, from the workmanship, and especially from the white marble images of Graces and Seasons that stand in the open before the entrance» (translation Jones).

Hitzig-Blümner³ give a *crux* in their edition: τοῦτο Ἐνδοίου τέχνην καὶ ἄλλοις ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα εἶναι, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐργασίαν ὀρῶντες + ἔνδον τοῦ ἀγάλματος.

The older editors⁴ recognise that we have here a difficult passage — *locus nondum sanus* as Schubart-Walz⁵ put it —, whereas the more recent editions and translations⁶ follow Schubart-Walz in secluding ἔνδον. Such a solution is methodically far from correct, although it is always the easiest way to solve a problem!

The text is hardly understandable, as it has come to us: ἔνδον τοῦ ἀγάλματος, within the statue» makes no sense, for I can not see how one could conclude «from the inside of a solid wooden statue» that it was the work of Endoios. If ever, such a remark would fit in a hollow chryselephantine work, of which the core was made of wood⁷.

Schubart's⁸ solution, which reads: καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐργασίαν ὀρῶντες τοῦ ἔνδον

1. Paus. 8.5.4. I consulted the following editions of Pausanias: Schubart-Walz (1838—1839); Schubart (Teubner 1875); Dindorf (Didot 1882); Spiro (Teubner 1903); Hitzig-Blümner (1904); Jones (Loeb 1918); Papachatzis (1967); Rocha Pereira (Teubner 1977;) and the translations of Frazer 1913; Jones (Loeb 1918); P. Levi (Penguin Classics 1971); Schubart (Langenscheidtsche Bibliothek 5, n. d.).

2. «Polos» is my translation. Both Jones, Frazer and Levi render πόλος as «firmament» or «universe». We should, however, translate it as *polos* a quite familiar head—wear of goddesses in archaic times; cf. Hitzig-Blümner, *a. l.* H. Stuart Jones, *Select passages from Ancient Writers* London 1895) 8, no. 10 renders it with «circular crown».

3. Hitzig-Blümner, *a. l.* For several other readings of this passage see their critical apparatus.

4. J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig 1868), no. 351.

5. Schubart-Walz (1838), Dindorf (1882) *a. l.*

6. Jones, Papachatzis and Levi.

7. Lucian, *Somnium sive Gallus* 25; *Jupp. Trag.* 8.

8. Schubart, *Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft* 1850, 111—129.

ἀγάλματος was generally accepted, e.g. by H. Brunn⁹. At least it makes sense, but it requires a change of the word order.

There is however, a solution that does not affect the word order. The text has not been read correctly by a scribe who did not understand the meaning and who gave his own reading and interpretation. If we amend the text as follows : τοῦτο Ἐνδοίου τέχνην καὶ ἄλλοις ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα εἶναι, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐργασίαν ὀρῶντες Ἐνδοίου ἀγάλματος, καὶ οὐχὶ ἥκιστα then we can ask whether the second occurrence of the artist's name stood originally in Pausanias's text or it is due to a scribe who incorporated the gloss Ἐνδοίου in the text. I do not believe that the latter solution is right and in future Pausanias editions the proposed correction should be accepted in the text.

Π Ε Ρ Ι Λ Η Ψ Ι Σ

ἽΟμιλῶν ὁ Παυσανίας ἐν VII. 5. 9 περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς τῆς Ἰωνίας ἀγάλματος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς γράφει : τοῦτο (δηλ. τὸ ἄγαλμα) Ἐνδοίου τέχνην καὶ ἄλλοις ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα εἶναι καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν ὀρῶντες + ἔνδον τοῦ ἀγάλματος. Οἱ ἐκδότης ἔχουν προτείνει δύο λύσεις : ἢ ἀπάλειψιν τοῦ ἔνδον ὡς ἀδιανοήτου (π.χ. Παπαχατζῆς Ἀρχαῖκὰ ἀ'. ἔκδ. 1967, σελ. 439) ἢ ἀλλαγὴν τῆς τάξεως τῶν λέξεων : « τοῦ ἔνδον ἀγάλματος » (ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ). Νομίζω ὅτι ὁ ἀντιγραφεὺς ἀνέγνωσεν ἐσφαλμένως ΕΝΔΟΝΤΟΥ ἂντὶ ΕΝΔΟΙΟΥ.

9. H. Brunn, Geschichte der griechischen Künstler² (Stuttgart 1882) 99 : «Die Umstellung eines Wortes (...) bringt alles in Ordnung, und wir übersetzen : 'dass das Bild von Endoeus ist, schliessen wir sowohl aus anderen Zeichen, als auch aus der Betrachtung der Arbeit des Bildes im Inneren (des Tempels)'.