

RICHARD ERNEST WYCHERLEY

The Stones of Athens



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The Stones of Athens



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R. E. Wycherley

Princeton University Press
Princeton, New Jersey
1978

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Published by Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey
In the United Kingdom: Princeton University Press,
Guildford, Surrey

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Library of Congress Cataloging in publication data
will be found on the the last printed page of this book

This book has been composed in Linotype Granjon

Title Page Illustration: J. J. Wolfensberger,
Agora after War of Independence, 1834
(watercolor from the Collection of Homer A. Thompson)

Printed in the United States of America
by Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey

To Homer and Dorothy Thompson

Preface

"His eye mostly resting on stone, the quarries of ruins in the Eternal City reminded him of the quarries of maiden rock at home." When I thought of giving the whole book the title originally used for the appendix, I had these words from *The Well Beloved* of Thomas Hardy in mind and the great quarries of Penmaenmawr in view. But the title is taken without apology from Ruskin. He would, I believe, have approved at least of the idea behind the book, and of the title. We have something in common in that *The Stones of Venice* includes a section on the cries of the gondoliers.

This book is composed of a number of *Athenaioi logoi*, essays on Athenian subjects, based on a study of the monuments interpreted in the light of the literature. Several of the sections have appeared as independent articles over a number of years. These have been revised and coordinated, and others have been added to give a representative if not exhaustive account of the ancient city; but each section remains complete in itself and may be read separately or in almost any order. The first section, on the walls, attempts a historical synopsis or recapitulation, emphasizing the main epochs and the outstanding events which mark them. I assume that most readers will know something of Greek history, but many will appreciate a few reminders. The book is primarily concerned with "classical" Athens—the city of Perikles and Demosthenes, Sophokles and Aristophanes, Thucydides and Plato—which for several generations was one of the centers of the earth, and which we need to know if we are to appreciate the greatest Attic writers and artists; but from this viewpoint, as occasion arises, we shall look backward and forward over more than three millennia of Athenian history.

I have kept in mind both the general reader and, in the provision of bibliographies and notes, the student who wishes to pursue particular subjects further. Full documentation would have produced a much bulkier volume. I have tried to give key references, "blanket" references, and important new items—enough, I hope, to set the feet of the student on the right path. Sometimes he will find himself in a tangle of paths or a maze. The very nature of the evidence, even though it is much fuller than a few years ago, means that the subject teems with difficult problems and lively controversies. Having said this, and having given plenty of examples in the text below, I can make no pretence of dealing with many of these

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questions in detail, still less of producing "definitive" answers. One learns to say with as good a grace as possible, "I don't know." It would be treason to add "I don't care"; but in fact one can now understand the character of this most remarkable city and of the elements which composed it without solving every archaeological and topographical problem. Though there are still many gaps, the time is perhaps opportune for a synthesis of our knowledge. Since investigation was resumed after the War, notable advances have been made on many fronts. Surprisingly, even the rash of high-rise buildings, which has transformed the face of Athens yet again, has helped at various points. Lofty buildings mean deep digging for foundations, and this may penetrate the Turkish and Byzantine accretions to the Roman and Greek strata, and even the Mycenaean.

One intractable problem which I make no claim to have solved is the spelling of Greek names in English. Usually I keep the ancient Greek spelling, but, as is already clear, there are names which I cannot bear to see in this form. Complete consistency is impossible. Let him who is without sin—and who writes "Aiskhulos"—cast the first stone.

My many debts can be seen in the bibliographies and notes. If the general bibliography begins with the names of Wachsmuth and Wilamowitz, Jane Harrison and James Frazer, this is not merely a pious gesture. The works of such scholars do not lose their interest and value. Judeich after nearly half a century is still indispensable; Hill after nearly a quarter still provides a very useful summary. In recent years the work of John Travlos has been of unique importance, on the sites, at the drawing board, and in his two superb books; one should constantly turn to the *Pictorial Dictionary* for a great wealth of fine illustrations. He has generously given me permission to make any use I wish of his plans and drawings; and he has taken me over the sites and answered many queries. Two other scholars whose knowledge of Athens is unsurpassed have for many years been ready to help me in every possible way—Homer Thompson and Eugene Vanderpool. Here at Bangor I have had the benefit of frequent discussions with my colleague John Ellis Jones; he has helped me greatly in the matter of illustrations, and his own lively drawings make an important contribution to the book.

For permission to adapt material from earlier articles I should like to thank the Editor of *Phoenix* (chapter 7), the Editor of *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* (6), the Editor of *Greece and Rome* and the Oxford University Press (3, 9, Postscript), and the Editor of the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (10).

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the authorities

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of the Agora Excavations have allowed me to use many plans, drawings and photos, mostly published in the volumes of *The Athenian Agora* and in *Hesperia*, and I should like to thank Mrs. Marian McAllister at Princeton and Mrs. Effie Sakellarakis at Athens for their helpfulness. Many of these photos are by Miss Alison Frantz, who has also allowed me to draw freely on her own magnificent collection. Mr. Manolis Vernardos of Athens has taken several photos specially for me. The German Archaeological Institute has generously provided me with a number of drawings and photos. The plan of the Kerameikos cemetery (Fig. 74), though based on the Institute's drawings, is taken from *Greek Burial Customs*, by Donna C. Kurtz and John Boardman, with the authors' permission. Professor H. Mussche has provided material on Thorikos, and passed on to me a number of drawings by J. E. Jones, originally made for a colloquium at Ghent. I am indebted to Dr. Ingeborg Scheibler for the section through the archaic cemetery (Fig. 73) and to Professor Walter Graham for the plan of an *andron* with mosaic floor (Fig. 69). Professor J. S. Boersma has not only allowed me to use several plans from *Athenian Building Policy*, but has lent me the original drawings of these. Professor Frank Brommer has sent me several photos of details of the Parthenon; I owe the photo of the column drums of the Olympieion to Mr. Travlos and that of the Boundary of the Garden of the Muses to Professor Vanderpool; the title page shows, with Professor Homer Thompson's permission, a water color in his possession. I should like to thank all these, and also the publishers who have freely concurred in the use of this material, Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, Tübingen (Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*), H. D. Tjeenk Willink, Groningen (Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy*), Thames and Hudson, London (Kurtz and Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*), Esperos, Athens (Scheibler, *The Archaic Cemetery*).

I am much indebted to Mrs. Margaret Roberts and Miss Nerys Williams who prepared a difficult typescript; my wife who worked over the whole book at each stage and devoted much hard labor to the index; and to Princeton University Press, and in particular Miss Harriet Anderson, who have handled the book with meticulous care and patience. This, I should mention finally, is not the only Princeton connection. I could hardly have completed this work if I had not had the benefit of several periods at the Institute for Advanced Study, and the help and encouragement of many members, in particular Professor Homer Thompson and Mrs. Dorothy Thompson, and Professor B. D. Meritt and Mrs. Lucy Shoe Meritt.

October 1, 1976

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Abbreviations

Other shortened but recognizable titles are used in the notes when the full title has been given immediately before or appears in the chapter bibliography.

- AA:* *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (with *Jahrbuch*)
AAA: *Athens Annals of Archaeology*
Agora: *The Athenian Agora*, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton
 III R. E. Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, 1957.
 XIV H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens, the History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center*, 1972
AJA: *American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP: *American Journal of Philology*
ArchEph: *Archaiologikē Ephemeris*
AthMitt: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
BCH: *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BSA: *Annual of the British School at Athens*
CQ: *Classical Quarterly*
Deltion: *Archaiologikōn Deltion* (date given is year of publication, not year covered by reports)
 Dinsmoor, *Architecture*: W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London and New York 1950
 Edmonds *FAC*: J. M. Edmonds, *Fragments of Attic Comedy*, Leiden 1957–1961
Ergon: *Ergon of the Archaeological Society* (Greek)
GRBS: *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
 Hill: I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens*, London 1953
IG: *Inscriptiones Graecae*
 Jacoby, *FGH*: F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin and Leiden, 1923–1958
Jahrbuch: *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JHS: *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

Abbreviations

- Judeich: W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2d edn. München 1931
- Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*: G.M.A. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th edn. New Haven 1970
- SEG: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
- Travlos, *PDA*: J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, New York 1971; German version Tübingen 1971
- Travlos, *PEA*: J. Travlos, *Poleodomikē Exelixis ton Athenon* (in Greek; *Architectural Development of Athens*) Athens 1960

The Stones of Athens

Introduction

“There is no end to it in this city—wherever we walk, we set foot upon some history” (Lucius Cicero to Marcus and friends in 79 B.C., *de Finibus* 5.1.)

To what Cicero says we can add that wherever one digs a hole in this city, one digs up some history. Fifty or sixty such items appear annually in *Deltion*. A trench dug for a drain reveals a bit of the ancient city wall or a group of graves; the foundation trench of a house reveals a bit of an ancient house or a small shrine. Nothing escapes the watchful eyes of the Greek archaeologists; and these chance finds help greatly to fill the gaps between the extensive official excavations, and to give a picture which, though still far from complete, is much more representative of the ancient city than what we had thirty or forty years ago.

In some things we have an advantage over the Ciceros. They walked from the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, in the center of the city north of the Acropolis, past the agora, out through the main city gate, the Dipylon, past the tombs of the great men of Athens, to the “justly famous walks” of the Academy, the gymnasium and school of Plato. Around them were the monuments of classical Athens, the city of Perikles and Lycurgus, and the later buildings which were owed to the generosity of Hellenistic kings. Some of these had very recently, in 86 B.C., suffered badly when the city was violently assaulted by Sulla in the course of the Mithridatic War. The benefactions of philathenian emperors, especially Augustus and Hadrian, shown in reconstructions and splendid new buildings, were yet to come. The remains of archaic, pre-Persian Athens, the city of Peisistratos, were literally underfoot, not to be brought to light till modern times; and the same is even more true of prehistoric, Mycenaean Athens.

Archaeological investigation, with the resuscitation of the ancient city, was inaugurated amid great enthusiasm soon after the liberation of Athens from the Turks. Wolfensberger’s vivid painting epitomizes the situation in 1834, showing the northern part of the site of the agora, the very heart of the city. The Temple of Hephaistos stands miraculously preserved on the hill above to the west. A headless ancient giant is emerging from the ruins of Turkish houses, as if shaking himself free. The new Greece is “riding triumphantly forward.”

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Of the ancient buildings which still stood above ground most important of course were the great temples. On the Acropolis much of the main structure of the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, and the Propylaea had survived the damage and attrition of the centuries, though severely battered and embedded in Turkish buildings. Of the temple of Olympian Zeus in southeastern Athens sixteen of the ninety-six great columns were erect. Of other surviving structures the most impressive were certain massive sections of the walls of Hellenistic and Roman buildings, incorporated in later fortifications—the Stoa of Eumenes and the Odeion of Herodes on the south side of the Acropolis, and the Stoa of Attalos and the Library of Hadrian to the north. There were freakish survivals such as the choregic monument of Lysikrates, preserved almost intact incorporated in the structure of a monastery. Very little of the ancient city wall was standing, but its line could be traced from slight remains at various points. The agora had been repeatedly pillaged and built over; the pitiful remains lay deeply buried.

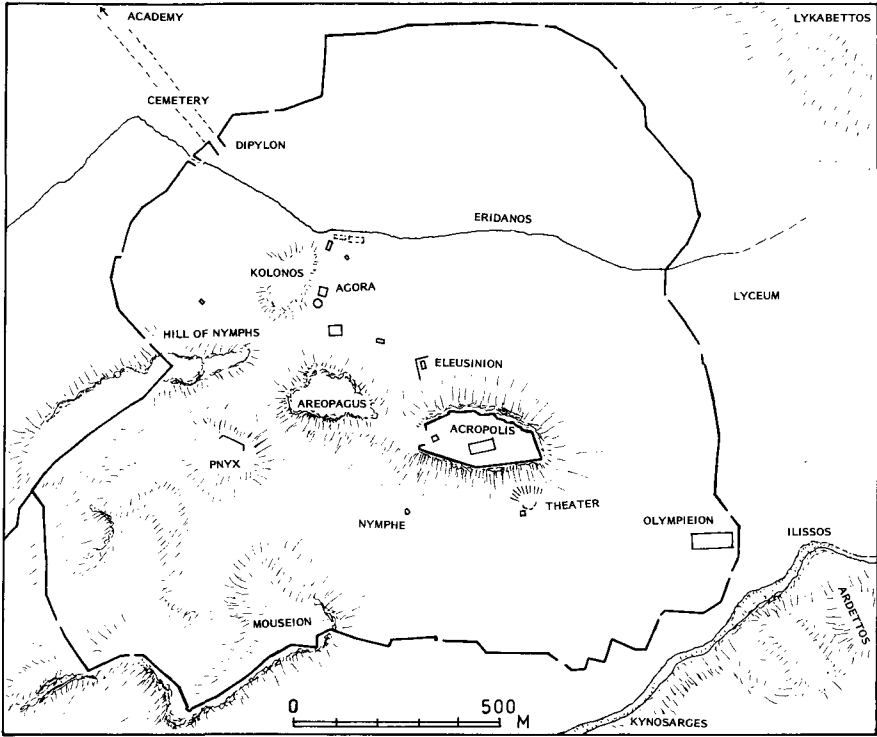
Athens was naturally designated as capital of the new Greek kingdom; and ambitious plans were put forward for combining old and new by reserving the whole of the central parts of the ancient city—the Acropolis and its slopes, and an extensive area to the north, including the agora—as an archaeological zone, to be cleared of debris and excavated. Such plans however proved to be far too ambitious. In the early phases work was concentrated on clearing the Acropolis and its southern slope, including the theaters. One very fortunate result of the clearance of the top of the hill was the revelation of the architectural and sculptural glories of the archaic Acropolis, the foundations of the great temple of Athena, and the mass of exquisite sculpture hidden away after the Persian Wars.

The work of the Greek authorities was supplemented by the foreign archaeological schools, most notably by the Germans in the region of the Dipylon and the cemetery of the Kerameikos outside. For a century the city center, the agora, still lay hidden, except for a little on the western fringe. Even to Judeich in 1930 most of this area was unknown. In 1931 the American School began what proved to be an archaeological task as formidable and as complicated as any ever undertaken, the clearance of the whole area of the agora, much of it heavily built up. After more than forty years the great work is near completion, except for a strip on the north side which is still not accessible. The remains of the very numerous monuments found *in situ* are exiguous in the extreme; but supplemented by innumerable finds of all sorts, from the finest sculpture (usually very

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battered) to household utensils, and interpreted in the light (often dim) of ancient literature and the thousands of inscriptions, they add to our knowledge of every part of Athenian life, besides clarifying the history and form of the center of Athens.

Meanwhile on a smaller scale much has been done in other parts of Athens too. In quite recent times much of the region around the Olympieion in the southeast, peculiarly important for its ancient cults, has been cleared. It is only in the last quarter of a century that satisfactory evidence has been found for the ordinary domestic and industrial quarters of Athens, mainly on the fringes of the agora, but also at other scattered points. Many more sections of the city wall have come to light, and its whole line can now be traced with great accuracy. Excavation at the Dipylon and in the Kerameikos has been extended. One can look forward to a time when an archaeological zone will reach out from the agora to the Dipylon and eventually on to the Academy. At present, in spite of extensive but inconclusive excavations at the Academy before and after the War, the principal deficiency in our picture of the city is due to lack of precise knowledge of any of the three great suburban gymnasia which played such an important part in Athenian life. The district immediately north of the Acropolis and east of the agora still holds important secrets, including the Prytaneion, the Theseion, and other important shrines, and the urban gymnasium of Ptolemy. One can only hope that in time the dreams of the 1830s come true.



1. Athens, ca. 460 B.C., showing Themistoklean Wall (J. E. Jones, after Judeich, Travlos, and Boersma)

The Walls

The history of the walls of Athens is the history of the expansion and contraction of the city in its successive phases of growth and decline, in victory, disaster, and recovery.¹ Construction and destruction mark the great epochs; and an account of the walls will incidentally provide a general historical introduction. What follows is mainly a study of the great Themistoklean circuit of classical Athens, built immediately after the glorious defeat of the Persian invasion of 480 B.C. This was a dominant feature of the city in her greatest days, an object of immense expenditure of effort and resources by the Athenian Demos, a symbol of the power of Athens, and a notable example of Greek military architecture; and, with repeated repair and reconstruction of course, it remained more or less in being for sixteen centuries of varying fortunes, rising again and again after severe dilapidation. At the same time, in the light of modern archaeological investigation, one can put this wall in its place in a series which extends over three thousand years.

In prehistoric Athens, when the Acropolis with its immediate adjuncts was the *polis*, as Thucydides tells us (2.15.3), the fortification of the Acropolis with its outworks was the city wall. The hill was surrounded by a powerful wall in the Mycenaean period, with additional fortifications, of which only slight traces have been found, to protect the main approach on the west. This fortress is probably what was known as the Pelasgikon or Pelargikon, though in certain contexts (notably Thucydides, 2.17.1) the name seems to be used of the western outwork in particular.² Naturally the alternative names gave rise to confusion in the minds of the ancients and of the writers of manuscripts. Pelasgikon means "building of the Pelasgi," the very obscure early inhabitants of Attica; Pelargikon means "stork-building." The origin of the name is not known; the stork seems to

¹ Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* II 114, brings this out very clearly.

² Judeich 113ff; A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* II, Oxford 1956, 63ff; S. Iakovides, *The Mycenaean Acropolis of Athens* (in Greek), Athens 1962; Travlos *PEA* 21ff; *PDA* 52, 55; R. J. Hopper, *The Acropolis*, London 1971, 22, 28. The "wooden wall" (Herodotus 8.51) presumably supplemented the old stones.

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have been a bird of some significance on the early Acropolis—it is found in the decoration of the cornice of the old temple of Athena. The structure known as Enneapylon, Nine-gated, is commonly thought to be the western approach to the fortress, but this is uncertain.

In modern times the evidence of the massive walls has been supplemented increasingly by other finds; and we can see that Mycenaean Athens, though not one of the major centers, was a place of moderate importance.³

The Pelasgic wall continued to guard the Acropolis, for seven centuries or more, that is, through the “sub-Mycenaean” dark ages, the geometric period (9th and 8th centuries) when the pottery and other finds show that Athens enjoyed a certain degree of culture and prosperity even though as in the rest of Greece architecture had reverted to primitive forms, the archaic period (7th and 6th centuries) when the city made great progress commercially, politically, and artistically, and indeed up to the time of the Persian invasion (480 B.C.). On the northern side little trace of this wall has been found, and it is assumed that it has been obliterated by the post-Persian wall, built by Kimon, which took the same irregular



2. Cyclopean Wall near Propylaea (Photo: Alison Frantz)

³ See also p. 143 below.

The Walls

course; there are indications of successive postern-gates east and west of the Erechtheion. On the south side, where the straight lines of the wall of Kimon thrust farther outwards, forming a great terrace, massive sections have been preserved, notably south of the Propylaia, southwest of the Parthenon (deep in the terrace fill, forming a kind of intermediate retaining wall) and at the extreme eastern end of the hill, near the modern Museum. At the southwest corner a bastion was constructed to threaten a flank of attackers who advanced as far as the principal gate. The main wall nearby abuts somewhat awkwardly on the south wing of the Propylaia. At this crucial point it is over 5m broad (elsewhere it is somewhat less). The style of the masonry is fine Cyclopean, with huge blocks of the native limestone, roughly worked on the outer face, small blocks filling the interstices, and originally with some use of clay bedding. The inner part was of less careful construction. The old wall now stands here to a height of nearly 4m; but the working of the wall of the Propylaia shows that in the fifth century it was no less than 10m high—an impressive monument to Athens' legendary past. By this time the western extension, farther down the slope, hardly served as a fortification of any kind; but its line still marked a traditionally sacred area. The old tag quoted by Thucydides said, "The Pelargikon is better unworked."

The Cyclopean wall of the Acropolis is solid enough. The very existence of a pre-Persian wall around the whole city, not to speak of its date and its course, is still a matter of dispute.⁴ Literary sources are ambiguous and tell us nothing definite and positive. Even more surprising, if there was indeed a wall, is the fact that no certain trace of it has been found, whereas enough is known of the Themistoklean circuit and its gates to determine most of its course. The earlier wall may have been of simple construction, rough stone socle with crude brick superstructure; but even walls of this kind seldom vanish without trace; and some at least of its course must have run through known archaeological areas.

On general grounds, one would not expect Athens to be still unfortified at the beginning of the fifth century; as Travlos points out, walls had already been built at Eleusis. Thucydides' evidence is crucial but interpreted

⁴ Judeich accepted it, 120ff, and so do most more recent writers—Travlos *PEA* 33f, 40f; R. Young, *Hesperia* 20, 1951, 133; Winter, *Greek Fortifications* 61; E. Vanderpool, *Phoros, Tribute to B. D. Meritt*, New York 1974, 156–60; H. Lauter, *AA* 1975, 1–9. Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* 1 19ff, thinks it on the whole improbable.

Besides Thucydides, Herodotus 9.13.2 and Andokides 1.108 also seem to imply an early wall.

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in different ways. After the Persian invasion, he says, "The Athenians set about rebuilding the city and the walls; for only short sections of the circuit (*peribolos*) were still standing" (1.89.3); and again (93. 2) "the *peribolos* of the city was extended on all sides." It is somewhat perverse to take the view that Thucydides has in mind the primitive fortifications of the Acropolis and its immediate appendages, and not an outer circuit. Of course he may simply be mistaken; but it is reasonable to assume that he knew what he was talking about, and to let him turn the scale in favor of an early wall.

Another passage (Thuc. 6.57.1-3) is relevant not only to the existence but also to the position of this wall. Finding the tyrant Hippias "outside in the Kerameikos" marshaling the Panathenaic procession, Harmodios and Aristogeiton rushed inside the gates, where they met and killed his brother Hipparchos near the shrine called the Leokorion (in 514 B.C.). This probably implies that the wall ran past the northwest corner of the classical agora; and at this point many centuries later Pausanias (1.15.1) saw a gateway which, like such structures in modern cities, e.g., Paris, may have marked the site of a primitive town gate. It has been suggested that the Arch of Hadrian, diagonally opposite in southeast Athens, may also have been the successor of the early gate; but this is even more highly conjectural—the Arch may be explained simply as an ornamental approach to the region of the Olympieion, with its fine Hadrianic buildings, the orientation being due to the line of an ancient street leading in this direction.

When so much is uncertain it is perhaps rash to attempt to trace the line of the early wall even approximately. One can assume that it formed a rough circle or ellipse around the Acropolis—this shape may have helped to suggest the adjective "wheel-shaped" which is applied to Athens in an oracle quoted by Herodotus (7.140.2)—and that on the north it stopped short of the Eridanos stream. Judeich would take it over the crest of the southwestern hills, the Mouseion, the Pnyx, and the Hill of the Nymphs. Travlos confines it more closely to the slopes of the Acropolis and the Areopagus, with a total length of about 2600m; he assumes gates on the principal arteries of communication, corresponding to the most important gates, placed farther out of course, in the Themistoklean wall.

When such a wall can have been first constructed is entirely conjectural, and dates from the late seventh century to the late sixth have been suggested. Early in the sixth century, in the time of Solon, the city expanded northwards and the spacious agora was established northwest of the

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Acropolis. This quarter needed protection; the idea of enclosing the whole city was to some extent bound up with the emergence of more broadly based democratic institutions. On the other hand the tyrant Peisistratos (561-527 B.C.) was much concerned with giving visible expression to the growing power of Athens, and he may have constructed or completed the circuit.

The restored democracy had to face the might of the Persian invader; and in 480 B.C. whatever fortification the city had was quite inadequate, and victory depended on the fleet at Salamis. After the defeat of the Persians defense works took precedence over temples and public buildings.

Thucydides (1.90) describes how in 479 B.C., while Themistokles talked evasively to the Spartans, who, suspicious and jealous as ever, wished to discourage their allies from building powerful fortifications, his fellow-citizens back home threw up their new wall to a defensible height in an incredibly short time. Everyone joined in the work, and all kinds of material, including funeral monuments, were flung in. One might have expected that a wall built in such haste and in such an apparently makeshift and amateurish fashion would before long be discarded and superseded by something more deliberately planned and more carefully constructed. In fact the defenses of Athens remained for centuries essentially the Themistoklean wall.

Perhaps Thucydides exaggerates somewhat the impromptu character of the work. Though a certain amount of odd material was indeed incorporated in places, as the remains at the Dipylon and elsewhere show, the stone socle was built solidly enough. The greater part of the wall was of course of unbaked brick. "With such a method of construction," says I. T. Hill,⁵ "it would certainly have been possible to complete it in the short space of a month or so"; but one doubts whether the wall reached its full height in so short a time. In fact the method was not essentially different from what was in general use. The main difference lay in the great numbers at work on the job, supplemented by a saving of time in the working of some of the stones.

It may well be that Themistokles, who with a view to developing Athenian naval power had planned and begun the massive fortifications of Peiraeus in his archonship in 493/2 B.C., had also given some thought to the planning of the wall of the upper city. In a purely makeshift job, one might have expected that the old wall would be repaired, if it existed; or if it did not, that a less extensive and ambitious circuit would be attempt-

⁵ *Ancient City of Athens* 32.

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ed. The line chosen allowed for a great extension of the city, and defensively it could not be greatly bettered. Where possible, i.e. mainly on the hills in the west and southwest, natural features were skillfully used. Even though remains are very scanty, the line can now be traced with great accuracy. Few continuous stretches have been thoroughly investigated, but odd bits are constantly coming to light, often in chance excavations;⁶ a number of towers and gates are known—they were more solidly built than most of the rest. A few sections no longer visible were noted by early topographers such as Stuart and Revett.

The position of the cemeteries helps—it can be assumed that from the fifth century onwards all graves except those of very young children are outside the city. All this evidence leaves little to be deduced from a general consideration of the contours. In his plan of forty years ago Judeich was able to indicate the line of the wall with remarkable accuracy, and with the help of more recent finds and researches Travlos has now given it greater precision, especially on the east and south; there are more deviations from a simple continuous line, more kinks and reentrants, than was formerly imagined.⁷

From the region of the Dipylon and the Sacred Gate on the northwest the wall ran southwest to the Peiraeus Gate (excavated a few years ago) and then swung southeast to climb the Hill of the Nymphs, on the slope of which a section is still conspicuous. From here, instead of cutting across southeastwards to the Mouseion Hill, as did the later *diateichisma* or cross-wall, the Themistoklean wall made a large outward loop round the southwestern spurs of the Pnyx Hill. The course of this section, from which ran the Long Walls to Peiraeus, is not very clear, but it eventually attained the summit of the Mouseion. Descending the hill it ran almost due east, and after making several salients it turned northwards past the Olympieion. Little of the wall has been found on the eastern side; but its course can now be plotted with considerable accuracy, since at several points lucky finds have produced unmistakable traces of the ditch which was later dug outside the wall in the fourth century. Broken pottery and other rubbish was later tipped into the ditch, and this has come to light in great quantities. Remains of the Acharnian Gate and several sections of the wall give the line on the north. On this side as on the east there was little possibility of natural defense, and the wall took a fairly regular course.

⁶ One finds examples in most years of *Deltion*; see Travlos *PDA* 162–63; further *Deltion* 25B, 1972, 77f.

⁷ Travlos makes the total length 6450m, *PEA* 50, justifying the figure of Thucydides 2.13.7.

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The city wall was built largely in the technique which remained common in Greece even after more elegant and solid masonry had become frequent—unbaked brick on a stone socle, composed of several courses of massive well-shaped blocks on either face of a core of rougher stone. The material was poros or harder limestone, with increasing use of conglomerate in later phases. This is not the place to go into details of style and technique.⁸ The masonry of Greek walls is notoriously difficult to date in default of some chance piece of archaeological evidence. Walls needed repeated reconstruction or repair, and it is often hard to say to which phase a surviving piece of masonry belongs. There is not as in other arts any clear and consistent development or sequence of styles.

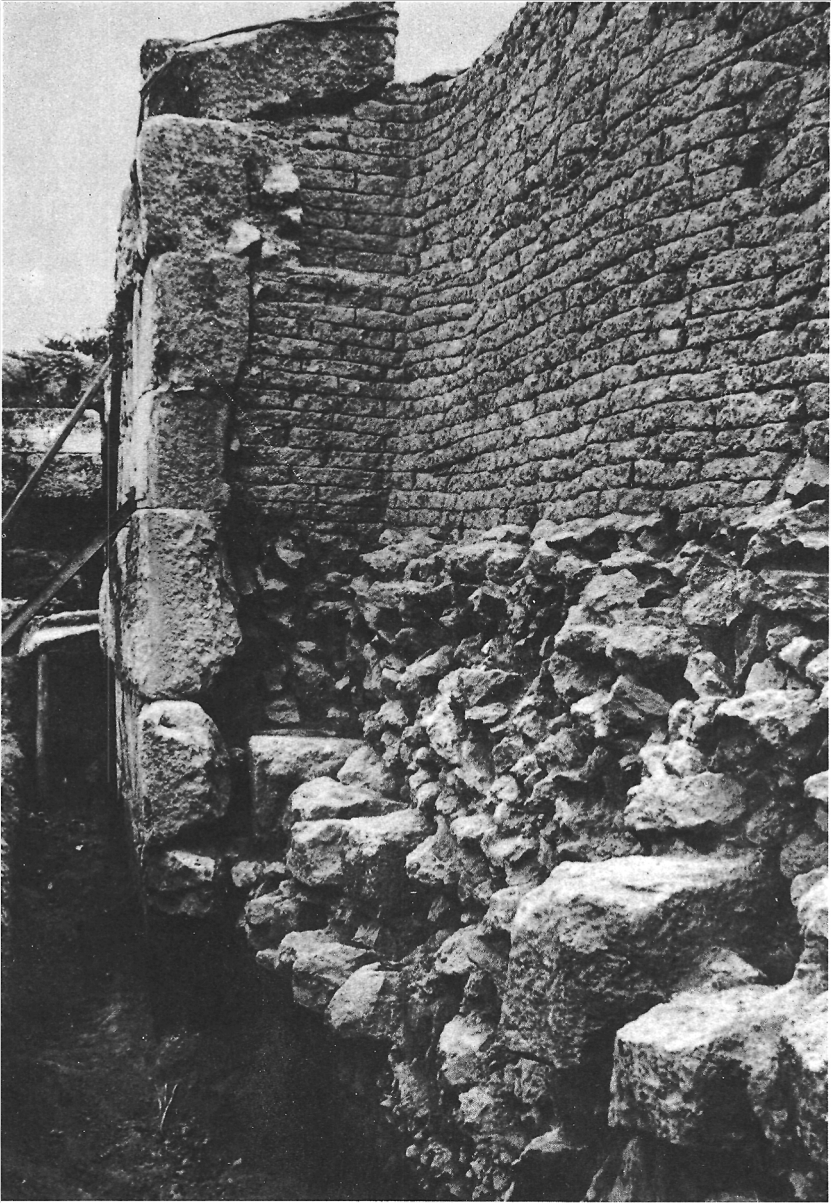
The mode of construction can best be seen and studied in the neighborhood of the Dipylon and the Sacred Gate. The well-preserved section adjacent to the Sacred Gate conveniently fell apart in bad weather several years ago, and the German archaeologists were able to examine its structure before making good the damage.⁹ The outer face consists of three successive layers of masonry superimposed on each other, distinguished by material and style. The lowest is assigned to the original Themistoklean wall; the second, of larger polygonal blocks, to the repairs of Konon early in the fourth century (perhaps much of the original socle was below the ground level of that time); the uppermost layer belongs to the reconstruction in the latter part of the fourth century. The filling between the massive blocks of the two faces was stone in the earlier and lower stages, but in the third phase brickwork of the Kononian wall was retained as a core and has thus been unusually well preserved. The full height is entirely conjectural. The width of the curtain wall at this point is about 3.5m. In other sections a width of 3m or somewhat more is commonly found. Clearly, construction varied in different places and times. An exceptionally well-preserved and strongly built stretch of wall socle, of the end of the fourth century, was found several years ago in the northeastern sector, with solid conglomerate masonry about 5m thick standing to a height of eight courses, and with an even greater width at the base to support a stair.¹⁰ As the arts of war advanced, stronger defenses were necessary in the Greek cities. The Athenians made great efforts to keep abreast of the besiegers, but the effect must have been somewhat patchy and hardly equal to the finest fortifications of the period.

⁸ A little more is said in the Appendix below; the subject may be studied in Wrede, *Attische Mauern*; Scranton, *Greek Walls*; R. Martin, *Manuel d'Architecture Grecque* 1, Paris 1965; Winter, *Greek Fortifications*.

⁹ *AA* 1965, 360–68.

¹⁰ *AJA* 62, 1958, 321; Travlos *PDA* 177.

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3. City Wall near Sacred Gate (Photo: German Archaeological Institute)