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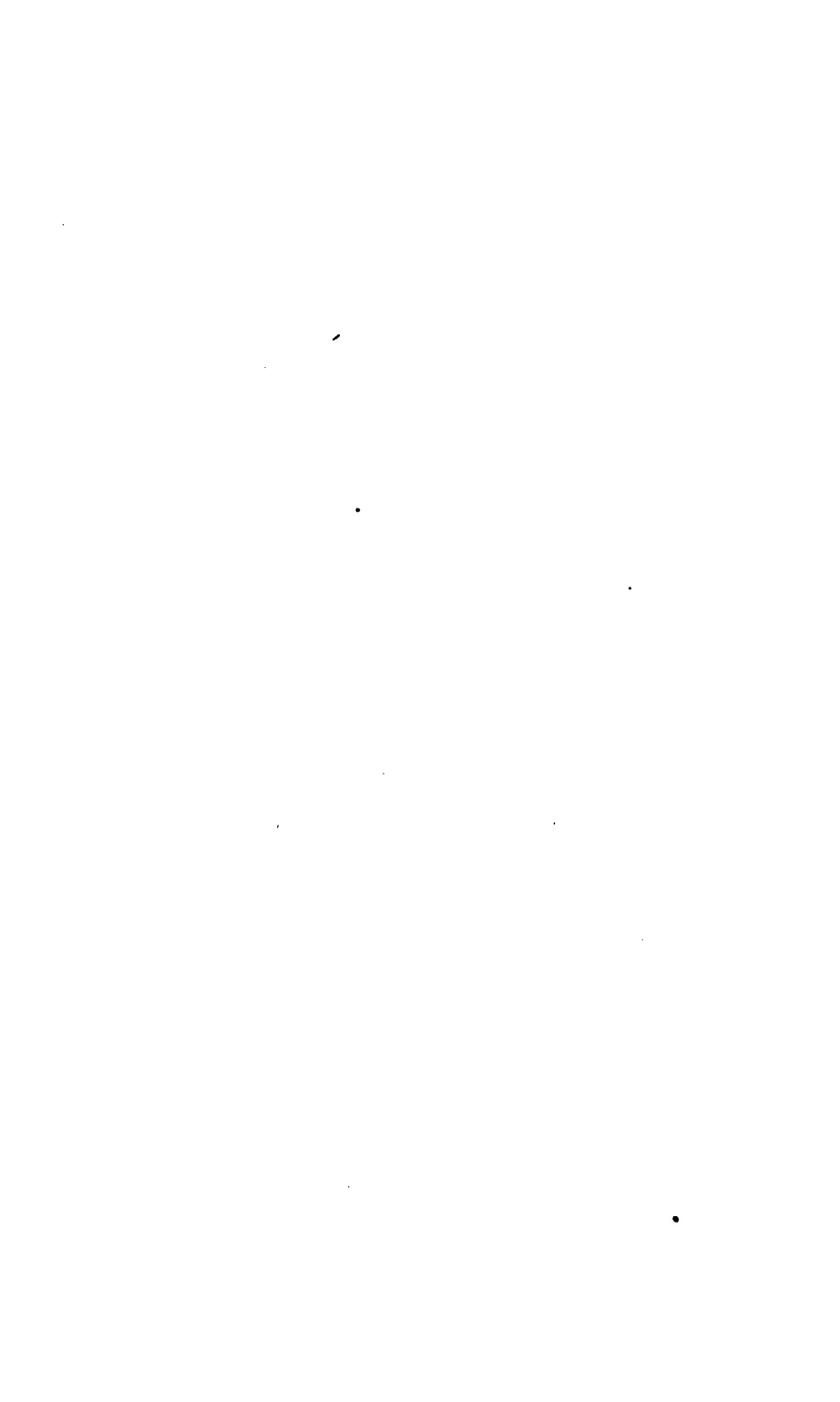
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EXPLANATORY INDEX.

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TO THE

MAP OF ANCIENT ATHENS;

BY THE

REV. W. G. COOKESLEY, M. A.

ASSISTANT MASTER AT ETON COLLEGE.



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ERRATA.

- p.* 80. *lin. penult.* *for* Philist. .. *read* Philost.
33. — 9. — *Athen.* XIV. 3. — *Athen.* XIV. 614.
39. — 7. — Panaglia .. — Panaghia

P R E F A C E.

MY object in publishing this volume is exactly of the same nature as that which I proposed to myself in publishing the 'Map of Ancient Rome,' accompanied by an 'Explanatory Index.' I need say no more on this head.

I am obliged to confess that a great deal of the Map now published is conjectural: in many points I can only state what appears to stand upon the most probable evidence.

There are indeed certain remains and buildings of the city of Athens, about which there can be no doubt; and they are easily numbered. The Acropolis, with its temples; the Pnyx; the Areopagus; the Museum; the Temples of Theseus and Jupiter Olympius; the Temple of the Winds; the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates; the Monument of Philopappus; the Stadium; the Fountain Callirhoe; the Dionysiac Theatre;

the Odeum of Regilla; the Gymnasium of Ptolemy; the Arch of Hadrian. But with regard to the position of the buildings in the neighbourhood of the Agora,—even the position of the Agora itself; the line which the city walls took; the position of the gates; the relative situations of the various districts of the city; together with the sites of many temples and other buildings;—all these are more or less doubtful.

It seems extraordinary that learned men should, till comparatively a very recent period, have cared so little about Athens, and have made no effort at all to gain a knowledge of the productions of the most perfect school of ancient art. I avail myself of Col. Leake's account of the labours of those persons, who preceded himself in this field. "Dr. Spon, a physician and
" learned antiquary of Lyons, having opened a cor-
"respondence with the Père Babin, a Jesuit at Athens,
" received from him such a description of that place, as
" Spon thought worthy of being published. This was
" done at Lyons in 1674. In the same year, the Marquis
" de Nointel, being appointed French ambassador at
" Constantinople, made a short stay at Athens, in his
" way; and left there Jacques Carrey, a young artist,
" who was employed for six weeks in making drawings.
" The originals of these designs, executed very rudely

“and inaccurately, partly in red chalk, partly in black
“lead, are now in the National Library at Paris. Fac-
“similes of them have lately been presented to the
“British Museum.” *Leake, Introd. p. xcviII.* “In
“the year 1675, Athens was visited by the Earl of
“Winchelsea, English ambassador to the Porte; and
“in the following year by Mr. Vernon, of whose travels
“in Greece a short account was soon afterwards pub-
“lished in the ‘*Philosophical Transactions.*’ The same
“year was distinguished in modern Athenian annals
“by the visit of Dr. Spon and Sir George Wheler,
“from whom, and from the drawings of Carrey, we
“derive all our knowledge of the state of Athens, prior
“to the siege which forms the great era in the modern
“history of Athenian antiquities.” *Ibid. c.*

“It was not until 90 years after the publication of
“the travels of Spon and Wheler, that an English
“artist, studying at Rome, perceived that he was not
“yet at the fountain head of true taste in architecture;
“and determined to proceed to Athens, with the view
“of making such a stay there, as should enable him to
“bring away drawings of all the principal remains of
“antiquity. Stuart having engaged Revett, another
“architect, to join him, they proceeded to Athens in the
“year 1751, where they remained during the greater

“ part of three years. The first part of the result of
“ their labours was published in 1761 ; soon after which
“ a further knowledge of Greece, and of its remains of
“ antiquity, was obtained by a private Society in London,
“ which has done more for the improvement of the arts,
“ by researches into the existing remains of the ancients,
“ than any government in Europe.

“ In the year 1764, the Society of Dilettanti engaged
“ Mr. Revett to return to Greece, in company with
“ Mr. Pars and Dr. Chandler; the former an able
“ draftsman; the latter well qualified to illustrate the
“ geography and antiquity of the country by his erudi-
“ tion. The result of this mission has put the public
“ in possession of several Athenian antiquities, left im-
“ perfectly examined by Stuart, together with archi-
“ tectural details of some of the most celebrated temples
“ of Asiatic Greece, a volume of Greek inscriptions by
“ Dr. Chandler, and two volumes of Travels in Asia
“ Minor and Greece, by the same person.” *Ibid.* ciii.

“ The researches of Stuart and Chandler upon the
“ Topography of Athens have cleared up much that had
“ been left obscure and faulty by Spon and Wheeler,
“ and in some instances Chandler’s superior learning
“ enabled him to correct the erroneous impressions of
“ Stuart; but others he has left uncorrected, and he has

“ added many errors and negligences of his own, as well
“ in the application of ancient evidence, as in the actual
“ state of the ruined buildings.” *Ibid.* cv.

In the year 1821, Colonel Leake published his book
“ On the Topography of Athens.” Previous writers
had endeavoured to identify the existing remains of
ancient buildings; and their object was ultimately
achieved. But, so great was the popular ignorance on
the subject, that it cost years of laborious research to
rectify multiplied errors, and to establish the truth.

Col. Leake’s book commenced a new era in Athenian
topography. He attempted, by the aid of ancient
literature, and philosophical induction from admitted
facts, to give the world a Map of Ancient Athens.
He resided in the place a considerable time, and took
care to advance no theory which was not corrobora-
ted by the physical features of the ground. His book
is not free from errors; but they are insignificant,
compared with the vast amount of light which he threw
upon his subject, and the immense service which he
has performed in this most interesting field of learned
enquiry. His book gained considerable reputation
amongst German scholars, and has been translated into
the German language.

In the years 1832 and 1833, Dr. Christopher Wordsworth made a tour in various parts of Greece; the result of this was a volume which appeared in 1836, under the title of 'Athens and Attica.' Much of this volume is taken up with the topography of Ancient Athens. Dr. Wordsworth brought to his study a profound knowledge, and an enthusiastic admiration, of ancient literature; and these advantages, aided by admirable judgment and critical skill, enabled him to improve greatly on the labours of Col. Leake.

I have placed the important districts of Melite, Colytus, and Cœle; the Agora and its buildings; together with the Dipylum, according to Dr. Wordsworth's plan. In attempting to determine the position of ancient buildings or districts, of which no remains are left, it is not sufficient to find isolated authority for this or that particular edifice or place; the great thing is, *to form one consistent whole*: and it is in this respect, that Dr. Wordsworth's labours appear to me to be so successful. The whole of his plan seems to hang together by necessary concatenation.

In the 'Life and Epistles of St. Paul,' by the Revd. Messrs. Howson and Conybeare, and which is now in course of publication, there is a very valuable chapter on Athens, *Chap. X. Vol. II. p. 369*. I feel particularly

obliged to Mr. Howson, for his kindness in permitting me to consult this Chapter, whilst it was passing through the press.

In the year 1841, M. Forchhammer published a Volume 'On the Topography of Athens,' at Kiel.* This author does not pretend to give a complete topography of Athens, but rather to correct the errors of previous writers, and to throw increased light on points which had been but imperfectly examined. He is a man of great learning and acuteness, and his book has made most important additions to our knowledge of the ancient city.

Like Col. Leake and Dr. Wordsworth, M. Forchhammer, as he himself states, "paid repeated and protracted "visits to Athens." A correction of the errors into which Col. Leake fell, appears to be M. Forchhammer's principal object. He never quotes Dr. Wordsworth's book; and he appears to be ignorant of its existence. This ignorance is greatly to be regretted. Had he been acquainted with Dr. Wordsworth's arguments in favour

* "Topographie von Athen, von F. W. Forchhammer. Mit einem Plan der alten Stadt. Kiel, 1841."

There is a Map of Athens in Kiepert's "Topographisch-Historischen Atlas von Hellas, und dem Hellenischen Colonien." Berlin, 1842; and in Sprüner's "Atlas Antiquus," Gotha, 1850. Both these authors adopt Forchhammer's plan. K. O. Müller published two dissertations, "De Munimentis Athenarum," Göttingen, 1836. All these may be consulted with advantage by the student.

of the position he has assigned to the Agora, the Dipylum, Melite, Colyttus, and Cœle, I cannot help thinking it probable that he would have agreed with him.

M. Forchhammer makes the district called Melite occupy the hills Museum, Pnyx, and that to the north of the Pnyx, which was called in later times the Hill of the Nymphs. He places Colyttus in the western declivity, between the Museum and the Pnyx; and Cœle to the south of the Museum. All these positions seem to be undoubtedly wrong; and the weight which M. Forchhammer's authority will carry with it in the judgment of learned men may, it is to be feared, produce considerable confusion and perplexity on the subject. The position assigned by him to Cœle, in particular, seems to be totally untenable. He places it, as we have seen, at the south-western corner of Athens. Now Herodotus tells us, vi. 103, that Cimon was buried outside Cœle. *τέθαιπται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, πέραν τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλομένης ὁδοῦ.* The expression, *πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος*, cannot mean nothing but 'outside the city;' as, *ἄνασσ' Ὀγκα πρὸ πόλεως.* *Æsch. Sept. c. Theb.* 164. *ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως.* *Act. Apost. ch. xiv. v. 13.* Forchhammer marks a spot, outside Cœle, as Cimon's monument

(Simonische Gräber.) But this position is inconsistent with the statement of Herodotus: for the ground outside Cœle, according to Forchhammer's Map, is enclosed between the two long walls; and other tombs must have been there. Marcellinus, in his Life of Thucydides, *ch.* ix. says—"πρὸς ταῖς Μελίσι πύλαις καλουμέναις ἐστὶν ἐν Κοίλῃ τὰ καλούμενα Κιμώνια μνήματα, ἔνθα δαίκνυται Ἡροδότου καὶ Θουκυδίδου τάφος." I am not aware of any authority for supposing that there were tombs within the long walls. It is true, Pausanias says, there were tombs "*on the road*" from the Peiræus to Athens, I. ii. 2,—"*ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐρείπια τῶν τειχῶν ἐστὶν ἂν Κόνων ὕστερον τῆς πρὸς Κνίδον ναυμαχίας ἀνέστησε* * * * *εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν γνωριμώτατοι, Μενάνδρου τοῦ Διοπέθους, καὶ μνήμα Εὐριπίδου κενόν.*" I cannot think that the dead would have been buried *inside the walls*; more especially as this space was inhabited. That this was the fact, appears certainly from Xenophon, *Hellen.* II. ii. 3, who, in describing the consternation which the news of the battle of Ægospotami occasioned at Athens, says,—"*ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις, τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτός, ἐλέγετο ἡ ξυμφορά, καὶ ἡ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐς ἄστὺ διήκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῶ ἐτέρῳ παραγγέλλων.*" And Thucydides certainly

implies that there were houses between the walls; for, speaking of the crowds who flocked into Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, he says,— “ οὐ γὰρ “ ἐχώρησε ξυνελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἢ πόλις, ἀλλ’ ὕστερον δὴ “ τὰ τε μακρὰ τείχη ᾤκησαν κατανειμάμενοι καὶ τοῦ “ Πειραιῶς τὰ πολλὰ.” II. 17. Andocides, *de Mystert.* p. 22. *Reiske*, speaks thus of three garrisons at Athens— “ οἱ ἐν ἄστει οἰκοῦντες, οἱ ἐν μακρῷ τείχει, καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ.” Greek sentiment would have been totally outraged, had the dead been buried in the midst of a living population.

Pausanias also tells us, that the men who won the victory of the Eurymedon were buried in the outer Cerameicus, on the road to the Academy :—“ κείνται δὲ “ καὶ οἱ σὺν Κίμωνι τὸ μέγα ἔργον ἐπ’ Εὐρυμέδοντι πεζῇ “ καὶ ναυσὶν αὐθημερὸν κρατήσαντες.” I. XXI. 14. Now we may fairly conclude that Cimon was buried in the same place with his brave warriors : and this perhaps may enable us to account for the expression in Marcellinus, τὰ Κιμώνια μνήματα, in the plural ; for had Cimon been buried alone, surely he would have said τὸ Κιμώνιον μνῆμα. For these reasons, I think M. Forchhammer has certainly placed Cœle wrong.

I have placed the Agora, with its buildings, in the valley between the Pnyx, the Areopagus, and the western

end of the Acropolis. M. Forchhammer has placed it considerably more to the south, between the Museum and the Acropolis. He is convinced that Pausanias, in describing his first route through the city, entered by the Peiraïc gate, which he correctly places between the Museum and the Pnyx. Pausanias merely says,—“ εἰς-
 “ ελθόντων δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν, κ.τ.λ.” I. II. 4. He never mentions by *what* gate he enters; in fact, I think, he never mentions any gate at all, except the Melitan, which he points out, because it was close to the tomb of Thucydides—“ ψήφισμα γὰρ ἐνίκησεν Οἰνόβιος κατ-
 “ ελθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας Θουκυδίδην καὶ οἱ δολοφονηθέντι,
 “ ὡς κατῆι, μνήμα ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω πυλῶν Μελιτίδων.”
 I. XXIII. II. Now it is certainly dangerous to build up a theory upon the presumption, that because Pausanias came from the Peiræus, he *therefore* started from the Peiraïc gate, in his description of Athens.* On entering the city, he says that two colonnades reached from the gate (whatever gate it was,) to the Cerameicus; by which he means the Agora. He describes these colonnades as splendidly ornamented with statues†—“ στοαὶ δὲ εἰσιω

* Pausanias appears to have made notes, when he was at Athens; but to have written his book at home. This may partly account for his *omissions*, and occasional irregularity of plan. But Forchhammer professes to see an exact and perfect plan observed in the description which he has given of Athens.

† Forchhammer says of these στοαί—“ These colonnades in the street, “ from the gate to the Cerameicus, must be imagined to have been like

“ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικόν, καὶ εἰκόνες πρὸ αὐτῶν χαλκαῖ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὅσοις τι ὑπήρξε, καὶ ὧν τις λόγος ἐς δόξαν.” I. II. 4. Whatever the gate was, therefore, the entrance it gave into the city was magnificent. The street led through a line of statues of the great heroes and heroines of Athens. Now, I cannot think it at all probable that the Peiraic gate, which led to nothing but the passage between two fortified walls, and must have been a gate of traffic, thronged by bales of merchandize and merchants, oftentimes the scene of that

*ἀκόλαστος ὄχλος ναυτική τ' ἀναρχία
κρείσσων πυρός, Eur. Hec. 602,*

which an Athenian appreciated so justly,—I say, I cannot think that the vicinity of such a gate would have been decorated with any artistical splendour.

The Peiraic gate must have suggested thoughts of every day, vulgar, plebeian bustle; of the noise and business of trade, and lucre: it could have suggested nothing grand, and abstract, and ideal,—nothing to please and captivate the Athenian imagination. The gate which led to the Agora and Acropolis, through

“ the colonnades in the large street at Turin, or like such as in the streets of Bologna or Modena afford protection against the sun and rain. They form below the fore-part of the houses, the upper stories of which partly rest on the colonnade, from which one enters the doors of dwellings and sanctuaries.” p. 33.

a vista of statues of the nation's heroes and heroines, was, no doubt, the same gate by which their great national and religious exhibitions, the Eleusinian and Panathenaic processions, passed in solemn and magnificent pomp. It was the gate, no doubt, that led to Eleusis, and to the Isthmus; and was the gate by which multitudes of strangers from Greece would enter, who thronged the city at the times of her Dionysiac festivals; or crowded to hear Pericles deliver a funeral oration over the ashes of those who had died bravely fighting for their country; or to listen to the wisdom of Socrates; or to gaze in admiration at the immortal works of Phidias and Ictinus. To suppose that such thoughts as these were not entertained, and such emotions not intensely felt, by ancient Greeks, would be altogether to fail in an appreciation of their imaginative character.

Pausanias says, that, on his arrival at the Cerameicus, the first object "on his right" was the *στοὰ βασιλεις*. "πρώτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλεις, ἔνθα καθίζει βασιλεὺς ἐνιαυσίαν ἄρχων ἀρχὴν καλουμένην βασιλείαν." I. III. 1. M. Forchhammer, in conformity with his opinion that Pausanias entered by the Peiraic gate, places the *στοὰ βασιλεις* considerably to the south of the Pnyx, and is of course compelled to

bring the whole Agora materially lower than it is placed in my Map.

With regard to the line of city walls, I have followed M. Forchhammer. Both Col. Leake and Dr. Wordsworth make the walls pass over the summit of the hills Museum and Pnyx, on the south-west; and make them run between the river Ilissus and the temple of Jupiter Olympius, on the south-east.

There are, it is true, some remains of the foundations of walls to be found on the Museum and the Pnyx; but M. Forchhammer, who has examined these foundations, declares that "they consist of stones regularly cut, and of the same description, a kind of conglomerate plentifully found in Attica, and frequently used for building purposes. These stones are also put together in a perfectly regular way." *p.* 12. These circumstances sufficiently prove that these cannot be the foundations of the walls built by Themistocles; for we learn from Thucydides that *they* were built in a hurry, and without order; and he particularly specifies the *foundations* as having been most irregular, and composed of all sorts of stone:—"τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ. καὶ δῆλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ

“ ξυνειργασμένων ἔστιν ἤ, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἕκαστοί ποτε προσ-
 “ ἔφερον, πολλαί τε στήλαι ἀπὸ τῶν σημάτων καὶ
 “ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν. μείζων γὰρ ὁ περι-
 “ βολος πανταχῇ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 “ πάντα ὁμοίως κινουῦντες ἠπείγοντο.” 1.93. Thucydides
 tells us, in this passage, that “ the circumference of the
 “ wall was increased;” but if it passed over the Museum
 and the Pnyx, running, as it must have done, on this
 supposition, *close to the place of popular assembly*, it is
 not credible that the circumference on this, the most
 important, because the most vulnerable, side of the
 city, and the most liable to attack, could *ever have*
been less. Besides all this, Pausanias distinctly says,
 that the hill Museum was “ formerly enclosed within
 “ walls.” (In his days, the wall on that side had been
 destroyed.) “ ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρχαίου τὸ
 “ Μουσεῖον, ἀπ’ ἀντικρὺ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως λόφος.” I. xxv.
 6. It is incredible that Themistocles should have run
 the wall close to the popular assembly; and scarcely
 credible that he should have put the western part of
 the Pnyx *outside the walls*.

That the Pnyx was inhabited, is proved beyond
 dispute by a passage, produced by M. Forchhammer, out
 of the speech of Æschines against Timarchus. The
 passage is a very obscure one; but there can be no

doubt about this, that it speaks of the Pnyx, as an inhabited place:—"ψήφισμα δ' οὗτος εἰρήκει περὶ τῶν οἰκησέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Πνυκί· * * * καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐρημίας ταύτης καὶ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Πνυκί· μὴ θαυμάσητε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔφη, εἰ Τίμαρχος ἐμπειροτέρως ἔχει τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου * * * ὡς δ' ἐπεμνήσθη τῶν οἰκοπέδων καὶ τῶν λάκκων οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐδυνήθητε." *Æsch. in Timarch. XII. I. Steph.*

That the walls on the south east of the city did not run between the temple of Jupiter Olympius and the Ilissus, is positively proved by Pausanias; for, had the walls run in this way, the temple of Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Κήποις must have been in a suburb, outside the walls: but Pausanias says it was *in* the city:—"ἔστι δὲ περίβολος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς καλουμένης ἐν κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω." I. xxvii. 4. Pliny, it is true, (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 5) calls this temple "extra muros;" but his authority is not to be set against that of Pausanias:—"Alcamenem Atheniensem (quod certum est) docuit (Phidias) imprimis nobilem, cujus sunt opera Athenis complura in ædibus sacris, præclaraque Venus *extra muros*, quæ appellatur Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Κήποις. Huic summam manum ipse Phidias imposuisse dicitur." Had the walls run according to Col. Leake's plan, Callirhoe, the only fountain which the Athenians

had, would have been outside the walls; a very unlikely thing. Dr. Wordsworth anticipates the objection which obviously lies against such an injudicious arrangement, by observing,—“Callirhoe appears to have been on the “outer side of the city-wall. This position is less surprising, when we remember the provisions of the “Amphictyonic oath, which obliged all the contracting “parties never to prohibit a confederate city from the “use of its fountains either in peace or war.” *Ch. XXI. p. 161.* But this security could not be trusted; for, in the first place, the enemy might possibly *not* be a member of the Amphictyonic confederacy; and even if he was, yet if he was strong enough to besiege Athens, he was not likely to be checked by an over-scrupulous regard for an Amphictyonic oath.

Col. Leake’s plan also leaves the Stadium outside the walls. It is improbable of itself that such should have been the fact; and it becomes doubly improbable, when we remember that in *all* other Greek towns, where the remains of a Stadium have been discovered, they are invariably *within* the walls.

For these reasons, I have adopted M. Forchhammer’s plan of the walls. According to him, those walls, whose foundations are yet to be traced on the Pnyx and Museum, were built in the age of Valerian.

I cannot resist the temptation I feel to reprint the concluding remarks which M. Forchhammer has made on Col. Leake. "I have often (he says) contradicted Müller in this work, and still more often the excellent Col. Leake. With him this needs no excuse. I have not done, as often happens in Germany, where there are young and old men of science, who scruple not to ridicule scientific works, which they do not take the trouble to read or understand; nay, the subject of which is entirely strange to them. Lively party zeal, even in the cause of science, may be respectable; but it is impossible for disgraceful behaviour, which would be unpardonable even in boys, ever to be so. I do not write this, in order to protect myself for the future: but he who has been much abroad, and has thereby become all the fonder of his own country, has a keener sense of the disgrace and scorn, frequently just, which is drawn upon us, in the judgment of foreigners, by these petty critics. May every true German raise his voice and influence against this, were it but to guard against violations of decency! Let it be said to those who delight in quarrelling, that however much I may have been compelled to refute the opinions of Col. Leake, at any rate I am speaking of matters with which I am acquainted; that there is

“ not one of his, or my own readers, who values as much
“ as I do his extraordinary services with respect to the
“ topography of Greece, and Asia Minor; and more
“ particularly that of Athens. And if this volume of
“ mine contains any emendations and opinions, calcu-
“ lated to produce renewed and closer investigation, let
“ *him* be thanked for it, who even by his errors led to
“ the right track, and but for whose work this topo-
“ graphy of Athens would lack its principal merit, if
“ indeed it has any to boast of.” *p.* 99. These generous
and noble sentiments of M. Forchhammer do equal
honour to his understanding and his heart.

The palace of the present king of Greece stands to the north-east of the Acropolis, near the old Diomean gate; and the modern University is still further to the north, on the outside of the place where the old Acharnian gate stood. The modern city occupies principally the northern and eastern parts of the old. It is to be hoped that the western side—the classic and venerable ground which contained the Areopagus, the Pnyx, the Agora, the Courts of Legislature and of Law of the ancient and famous Athenian people—will *never* be occupied by modern buildings. Excavation may settle much, that has hitherto baffled the ingenuity of the learned; and the future traveller may possibly be enabled

to walk about the disinterred Agora of Athens, with no more doubt respecting the position of the buildings which thronged it, than he now entertains respecting the pillar of Phocas in the Forum of Rome.

I cannot close this Preface without making my public acknowledgment of gratitude to M. Marx, teacher of German, London, for very great services rendered to me. His aid was as important as it was generous and disinterested.

I hope I shall not stand in need of apology, in the judgment of any scholar, for adopting the Greek character in a Map, intended only for those who understand the Greek language. To have used the Latin, would have produced an unnecessary disagreement between the map, and the text of the books quoted. Besides this, there are many Greek words, such as Φεῖρεφάττιον—Βουλευτήριον—Ἀρχηγέτις—Πομπείον, &c., which are scarcely to be recognized under the disguise and disfigurement of a Latin dress. Surely, nothing but necessity can reconcile a Greek scholar to the use of such barbarous sounds and shapes.

ETON COLLEGE,
January, 1852.

EXPLANATORY INDEX.

THE WALLS, GATES, AND SUBURBS OF ATHENS.

Thucydides, giving an account of the resources, and condition of Athens, at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, has the following passage respecting the extent of the defences of the city—" τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τεύχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὃ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἦν, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ. τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τεύχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἕξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο. καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ ἅπας περίβολος, τὸ δ' ἐν φυλακῇ ἦν ἡμισυ τούτου." *Lid.* II. 13. The Scholiast, speaking of the space in the city walls which was left unguarded, says, it was 17 stades in length—" τουτέστι στάδιοι δεκαεπτὰ· ὁ γὰρ ὅλος κύκλος σταδίων ἦν ἐξήκοντα." The whole length of fortified wall, therefore, amounted to 195 stades,* or exactly 22 English miles. The Peiræus was the first

* The length of the common Greek stade was 202 yds. 9 in. English In the Appendix to Hussey's 'Ancient Weights and Measures,' §. 13, are some very valuable remarks on the varieties in the value of the Greek stade.

part enclosed by this vast line of wall.* Col. Leake has given a minute description of its fortifications, (p. 331-44.) Themistocles commenced them in the year of his archonship, A. C. 481. *Ol. LXXIV. 4.* “ ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ
 “ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν. ὑπ-
 “ ἦρκετο δ’ αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἡς
 “ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίους ἦρξε νομίζων τό τε χωρὶον
 “ καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυεῖς, καὶ αὐτοῦς
 “ ναυτικούς γεγενημένους μέγα προφέρειν ἐς τὸ κτήσασ-
 “ θαι δύναμιν. τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν
 “ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτέα ἐστί, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ξυγκατ-
 “ εσκεύαζε. καὶ ὑποκόδομησαν τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ τὸ
 “ πάχος τοῦ τείχους ὅπερ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν
 “ Πειραιᾶ. δύο γὰρ ἄμαξαι ἐναντία ἀλλήλαις τοὺς
 “ λίθους ἐπήγον. ἐντὸς δὲ οὔτε χάλιξ οὔτε πῆλος ἦν
 “ ἀλλὰ ξυνοικοδομημένοι μέγαλοι λίθοι καὶ ἐντομῇ ἐγ-
 “ γώνιοι σιδήρω πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔξωθεν καὶ μολύβδω
 “ δεδεμένοι. τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἡμῖν μάλιστα ἐτελέσθη οὐ
 “ διανοεῖτο.” *Thucyd. i. 93.*

The walls of the city, properly so called, τὸ Ἄστυ, were the next part of the work to be executed. The story of the jealousy felt by Lacedæmon, and the skilful diplomacy of Themistocles, on the occasion, is well known : it is given in detail by Thucydides, i. 90—92. The walls retained visible proofs of the haste with which they had been erected. Thucydides, in a passage already quoted in the Preface, (*ibid.* i. 93) has told us so. Of this vast circumference of fortification, not a vestige has been discovered by modern research. The walls were

* The walls of Syracuse were 180 stadia in circumference : owing to their more circular shape, they must have enclosed a much larger area than the walls of Athens.

built A. C. 478: what their height was, is not known; but Appian says, that the Peiraic wall was 60 feet high, and probably the city walls were of the same height. “ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατῆλθε, (sc. Sylla) κατακεκλεισμένων ἐς τὰ τεῖχη τῶν πολεμίων. ὕψος δ’ ἦν τὰ τεῖχη πηχέων τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα, καὶ εἴργαστο ἐκ λίθου μεγάλου τε καὶ τετραγώνου.” *Appian. Bell. Mithrid. Ch. 30*

The long walls were built 21 years later, shortly before the battle of Tanagra. Thucydides says (*lib. i. 93*) “ ἤρξαντο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους (i. e. A. C. 457. *Ol. LXXX. 4.*) καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκοδομεῖν, τό τε Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ: i. e. they began to build the long walls, I mean (τε) that which runs to Phalerum, and that which runs to Peiræus. Subsequently, a third long wall was erected, between these two. Æschines says, that this was built A. C. 445. *Ol. LXXXV. 3*, at the time of the general pacification of Greece, by the 30 years truce—“εἰρήνην ἔτη τριάκοντα ἡγάγομεν, ἣ τὸν δῆμον ὑψηλον ἦρε. καὶ τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος τὸ νότιον ἐτειχίσθη.” *De Falsa Legat. 302*. Pericles was minister at the time, and Socrates is represented, in Plato, as stating that he was present when the debate on the subject took place. “ Περικλεοῦς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς (sc. Socrates) ἤκουον ὅτε συνεβούλευεν ἡμῖν περὶ τοῦ διὰ μέσου τείχους.” *Gorg. 455. e*. On which passage the Scholiast says, “ διὰ μέσου τείχους, λέγει, ὃ καὶ ἄχρι νῦν ἐστὶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι. ἐν τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ γὰρ ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ μέσον τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν βάλλον ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ Φάληρα, (i. e. the two previously

existing walls ran respectively to Peiræus, and Phalerum) ἴν', εἰ τὸ ἐν καταβληθῆ, τὸ ἄλλο ὑπηρετοίῃ ἄχρι "πολλοῦ." And Harpocration says, "τριῶν ὀντων τειχῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ἐν Τριφάλῃτι, τοῦ τε Βορείου καὶ τοῦ Νοτίου καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ, διὰ μέσου τούτων ἐλέγετο τὸ Νότιον, οὐ μνημονεύει καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Γοργία." *In v. 'διὰ μέσου τείχος.'* These several passages combined prove that there were three walls, of which the central one was called the *southern*, and was built twelve years after the two others. (*Vid. Wordsworth, Ch. 24. Arnold's note on Thucydides, II. 13. Goeller's Argumentum lib. 2. Thucyd.*)

It is true, the central wall was not absolutely the *most* southern; but it was southern, *in its relation to the outer Peiraic wall*, which was commonly called the *northern*. "Λεόντιος ὁ Ἀγλατωνος ἑπιπένης ἐκ Πειραιῶς ὑπὸ τὸ βόρειον τεῖχος ἐκτός, αἰσθανόμενος νεκρούς παρὰ τῷ δημίῳ κειμένους." *Plat. Rep. lib. IV. 439. e.* These two walls were called the '*legs of the Peiræus.*' "Κηφισσοῦς ἐκ Τρινεμιῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων ῥέων δὲ διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ γέφυρα καὶ οἱ γεφυρισμοί διὰ καὶ τῶν σκελῶν, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστεος εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηκόντων, ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὸ Φαληρικὸν χειμαρρῶδης τὸ πλεον, θέρουσ δὲ μειοῦται τελέως." *Strabo, IX. 581. Osson.* "βουλόμενος τοὺς φύλακας τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τῶν Σκελῶν τῶν ἄχρι θάλασσαν ἀγρύπνους περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν κατασκευάσαι." *Polyæn. I. 40. Livy (XXXI. 26) and Propertius (III. XXI. 24) call them the 'arms.'* Neither term could be applied

with propriety to more than *two* walls. Vestiges of the outer and central walls still remain, which prove them to have run parallel to each other, at a distance of 550 feet. As they approached the city, they must have separated to a great width. The outer wall formed the most important of the defences; for Athens feared attack principally on that side.

“The northern long wall, which seems to have been
 “the only one originally in contemplation, was analogous
 “to a line of entrenchments, of four miles in length,
 “stretching from one large fortified town to another, for
 “the maintenance of communication between the two, as
 “well as for the protection of the whole province which
 “lay behind them. According to the ancient art of war,
 “the northern long wall, flanked by towers at intervals,
 “performed this service effectually, as it left to an army
 “entering the plain of Athens, from the Isthmus of
 “Corinth, no passage into the country to the southward
 “and eastward of Athens, except through the difficult
 “pass between the city and Mount Hymettus, or (which
 “would have been still more hazardous, with such a city
 “as Athens in the rear of the invader) by making the
 “circuit of Mount Hymettus. We find accordingly, that
 “the Lacedæmonians never attempted either of these
 “movements, and that this system of fortification was
 “perfectly successful, as long as Munychia was safe,
 “and the line of the long walls unbroken.” *Leake, p.*
 350. The northern wall must have run up a considerable way on the western side of the city; for the space between its point of junction with the city

walls, and the point where the Phaleric wall was united to them, was, as we have already seen, no less than 17 stades, —almost one third of the whole circumference of the city walls. It is plain, from the expression used by Thucydides, “the space between the long wall and the “*Phaleric*,” that this latter was not called one of the long walls, in the time of the Peloponnesian war; though it is probable that it *was* so called, before the erection of the second Peiraic, or central, wall. All three were demolished by Lysander. Conon, who rebuilt the Peiraic walls, appears not to have restored the Phaleric; nor was it ever again raised. No vestige of it remains; the other two were finally destroyed by Sylla.

The city walls described an irregular circle of 60 stades: no vestiges of them remain on the east or the south. Col. Leake thinks that the total disappearance of the walls on these sides may be accounted for by the fact that they were built of *brick*. He quotes Vitruvius on this point, who says—“*Nonnullis civitatibus et publica opera et privatas domos etiam regias a latere structas licet videre; et primum Athenis murum, qui spectat ad Hymettum montem et Pentelensem.*” *lib. II. VIII. 9.* Pliny also says,—“*Græci, præterquam ubi a silice fieri poterat structura, parietes lateritios prætulere. Sunt enim æterni, si ad perpendicularum fiant. De eo et publica opera, et regias domos struxere; murum Athenis, qui ad montem Hymettum spectat.*” *N. H. XXXV. XIV. 49.*

The course of the walls, as laid down in the map, is as follows:—Starting from the northern extremity of

the city, at the Acharnian gate, they ran eastward towards Mount Lycabettus.* The first gate in this direction was the Diomean, and then came the gate of Diochares : between these two was the suburb of Cynosarges. The walls then curved round towards the south. The famous suburb called Lyceum, lay between the gate of Diochares, and the river Ilissus. The walls then crossed the river, passing to the south of the Stadium, and reached the Itonian gate, the southernmost point of the city : they then turned to the Hill Museum, passed to the west of this, and, taking a northern direction, came to the Peiraic gate. The walls continued northward, and came successively to the gates Dipylum, Hippades, and Melitenses. On the outside of these three gates was the beautiful suburb Cerameicus. From the Melitan gate they ran to the Acharnian.

These are all the gates which can be assigned, on satisfactory authority, to particular places. There is another, the Herizæan, for which no spot has yet been determined ; and probably there were several more on the whole circuit of walls ; but their position and names are alike unknown.

The most important entrance to the city of Athens was at the Dipylum. This gate had the name also of the "Thriasian," and "Sacred," because it led to Eleu-

* Col. Leake, in his first edition, gives to Lycabettus the name of Anchesmus ; and gives the name Lycabettus to the hill on the north of the Areopagus, which was called in later ages the "Hill of the Nymphs." He has corrected the error in his second edition. Anchesmus was the later, not the classical, name of Lycabettus. *Vid. Wordsworth, Ch. VIII.*

sis and the Thriasian plain. These two places are constantly spoken of together by Thucydides—“*ἔτεμον πρῶτον μὲν Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πέδον.*” II. 19; and he repeats the same expression several times in the following chapters. The Eleusinian and Thriasian gate were one and the same, and this gate was commonly called Dipylum. Plutarch, in his life of Pericles, says—“*τὰς Θριασιοὺς πύλας αἱ νῦν Διπύλου ὀνομάζονται.*” *ch.* 30. The same writer, in his life of Sylla, calls the Inner Cerameicus, “*the Cerameicus within the Dipylum*”—*τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Διπύλου Κεραμεικόν.* *Ch.* 14. The sacred processions to Eleusis of course passed out through this gate: the procession of the Panathenaic festival always formed in the outer Cerameicus, and passed into the city by the same road: this may be seen from the story of the assassination of Hipparchus, as given by Thucydides, in his 6th Book—“*καὶ ὡς ἐπῆλθεν ἡ ἑορτή, Ἴππίας μὲν ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καλουμένῳ μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων διεκόσμει, ὡς ἕκαστα ἐχρῆν τῆς πομπῆς προίεναι.*” *ch.* 57; and immediately after he adds that Harmodius and Aristogeiton “*ὄρμησαν εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ περιέτυχον τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόριον καλούμενον.*” This gate we have just seen was called Dipylum, and it was certainly the sacred gate through which the great national religious processions passed. “*Εἰς Ἐλευσίνα ὀδεύουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ προπέμποντες τὸν Διόνυσον.*” *Schol. ad Aristoph. Ran.* 402. “*Ἱερὰ ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἣν οἱ μύσται πορεύονται ἀπ’ ἄστεος εἰς Ἐλευσίνα.*” *Harpocrat. in v.* ‘*Ἱερὰ ὁδός.*’ This gate, standing, as it did, at the end of the hollow

valley between the Areopagus and Pnyx, is said by Livy to lie "in the mouth" of the city. (*Liv.* xxxi. 24.) The outer Cerameicus was used as a cemetery, particularly for those who had been killed in battle. The whole procedure of their public interment is described by Thucydides, *lib.* ii. *ch.* 34, who says, amongst other things,—*τιθέασιν οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ἐστὶν* "ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, πλήν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι· ἐκείνων δὲ διαπρεπῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρῖναντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν. Pausanias, *lib.* i. *ch.* 29, gives a list of the principal tombs in the Cerameicus. Aristophanes, in his play of the Birds, has this passage—

ὁ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νῶ.
 δημόσια γὰρ ἵνα ταφῶμεν
 φήσομεν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς
 μαχομένω τοῖς πολεμίοισιν
 ἀποθανεῖν ἐν Ὀρνεαῖς.* v. 395.

At the end of this suburb was the famous Academy; and immediately to the north of the Academy stood Colonus, which the incomparable drama of Sophocles has immortalized.

Cicero opens the 5th Book of his treatise '*De Finibus Boni et Mali*' with these words:—"Quum audissem Antiochum, Brute, ut solebam, cum M. Pisone in eo gymnasio quod Ptolemæum vocatur, unaque nobiscum

* Κεραμεικός is properly an adjective, ἄγρος being understood, "the potter's field, or quarter." In like manner the Tuileries of Paris must have been a place for making tiles. Pausanias gives an absurd derivation of the word Κεραμεικός—τὸ δὲ χωρίον (says he) τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἔχει ἀπὸ ἥρωος Κεράμου, Διονύσου τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀριάδνης καὶ τούτου λεγομένου. i. 3.

“ Q. Frater, et T. Pomponius, et L. Cicero frater noster
 “ cognatione patruelis, amore germanus, constituimus
 “ inter nos, ut ambulationem postmeridianam confice-
 “ remus in Academia, maxime quod is locus ab omni
 “ turba id temporis vacuus esset. Itaque ad tempus ad
 “ Pisonem omnes. Inde vario sermone sex illa a Dipylo
 “ stadia confecimus. Quum autem venissemus in Aca-
 “ demia non sine causa nobilitata spatia, solitudo erat
 “ ea quam volueramus.” And a little after—“ Me
 “ ipsum huc modo venientem convertebat ad sese
 “ Coloneus ille locus, cujus incola Sophocles ob oculos
 “ versabatur, quem scis quam admirer, quamque eo
 “ delecter.” “ Ἀκαδημία λέγεται γυμνάσιον Ἀθήνησιν
 “ ἀπὸ Ἀκαδήμου ἀναθέντος καὶ τόπος λέγεται γὰρ
 “ οὕτως ὁ Κεραμεικός.” *Hesych. in v. Ἀκαδημία.*

The ‘Knights’ Gate,’ Ἰππᾶδες πύλαι, probably stood to the north of the Dipylum. Plutarch quotes Heliodorus as his authority for saying that the orator Hyperides was buried near this gate—“ τοὺς δὲ οἰκείους
 “ τὰ ὅσα λαβόντας θάψαι τε ἅμα τοῖς γονεῦσι πρὸ τῶν
 “ Ἰππᾶδων πυλῶν, ὡς φησὶν Ἡλιόδωρος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ
 “ μνημάτων.” *Decem Orat. Vit. 9.* “Philostratus makes
 “ mention of a place in the Cerameicus, called Ἰππεῖς;
 “ and it seems probable that the place derived this ap-
 “ pellation from some equestrian statues, which gave
 “ name also to the neighbouring city gates.” *Leake,*
p. 373. “ τὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν βουλευτήριον, ὃ δὲ ᾠκοδό-
 “ μηται παρὰ τὰς τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ πύλας οὐ πόρρω τῶν
 “ Ἰππέων.” *Philist. in Philagr.* The burial place of
 so distinguished a family as that of Hyperides was

probably in the Cerameicus; and hence we are warranted in the conclusion that the 'Knight's Gate' led to this suburb. Hesychius merely says there was such a gate, without determining its position—"καὶ πύλαι "Ἀθήνησιν Ἰππάδες ἐκαλοῦντο." *in v. ἰππάδα.*

The 'Melitan Gate' was so named from leading into that region of the city which was called Melite. Between Melite and the city, there was a space called 'the hollow,' *κοίλη*. Marcellinus, in his life of Thucydides, *p. 17*, says—"πρὸς ταῖς Μελιτίσι πύλαις καλουμέναις ἐστὶν ἐν Κοίλῃ τὰ καλούμενα Κιμώνια μνήματα, ἔνθα δέικνυται Ἡρόδου καὶ Θουκυδίδου τάφος." And in the Fragment added to this life, though probably written by some other person, we read—"ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ τάφος πλησίον τῶν πυλῶν ἐν χωρίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὃ Κοίλη καλεῖται." 55. Pausanias also says, that Thucydides was buried here—"καὶ οἱ (*sc.* Thucydidi) δολοφονηθέντι ὡς κατῆι μνήμῃ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω πυλῶν Μελιτίδων." 1. 23. Herodotus says—"τέθαπται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, πέραν τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλουμένης ὁδοῦ· καταντίον δ' αὐτοῦ αἱ ἵπποι τεθάφεται αὐταί, αἱ τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνελομέναι." vi. 103. Ælian gives further corroboration to this—"Μιλτιάδης δὲ τὰς ἵππους τὰς τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνελομένας ἔθαψεν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ." *Hist. Anim.* xii. 40. The Melitan gate, therefore, must have stood in the neighbourhood of the spot where it is placed on the map.

"The ancient demus of Acharnæ was situated at or near the modern village of Menidhi. The gate which led to it was called 'Acharnian,' and must have stood

“about the spot where the modern road to Menidhi “cuts the line of the ancient walls.” *Leake, p. 371.* Hesychius testifies to the existence of the gate—“ Ἀχ-
 “ ἄρνη δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀχαρνικαὶ πύλαι Ἀθήνη-
 “ σιν.” *in v. Ἀχάρνη.*

The ‘Diomean Gate’ stood, of course, in the region of the city called Diomea. It led to the suburb Cynosarges. This was sacred to Hercules. Suidas gives the following account of the place, and its name—“ Κυνόσ-
 “ αργες τόπος τίς ἐστι παρ’ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἱερὸν
 “ Ἡρακλέους, κατ’ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Δίολμος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος
 “ ἔθουεν ἐν τῇ ἐστίᾳ· εἶτα κύων λευκὸς παρὼν ἤρπασε τὸ
 “ ἱερεῖον, καὶ ἀπελθὼν εἰς τινὰ τόπον ἀπέθετο. ὁ δὲ
 “ περιδεῆς ἦν. ἔχρησε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ὅτι εἰς ἐκεῖνον
 “ τὸν τόπον οὐ τὸ ἱερεῖον ἀπέθετο, Ἡρακλέους βωμὸν
 “ ὀφείλει ἰδρύσασθαι. ὅθεν ἐκλήθη Κυνόσαργες.” *in voc.*

The story is corroborated by Pausanias, i. 19, and Hesychius, *in v. ‘Κυνόσαργες.’* Herodotus in two passages, v. 63. *et vi. 116*, speaks of a temple of Hercules standing in Cynosarges. This temple must have stood outside the Diomean gate; for Plutarch in his life of Themistocles, says, *ch. 1.*—“ εἰς Κυνόσαργες—τοῦτο
 “ δ’ ἔστιν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους;” and Diogenes Laertius says of Antisthenes—“ διελέγετο δὲ ἐν
 “ τῷ Κυνοσάργει μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τῶν πυλῶν.” *Antisth.**

* Forchhammer (*p. 95*) says, that this sanctuary of Hercules Cynosarges adjoined the city walls, as the Heracleium did at Thebes, and formed part of the fortifications, as the Castrum Prætorium did at Rome. He thinks it probable that the Lyceium also abutted on the walls; and that this fact furnishes us with the reason why Pausanias in describing his route from the ‘Gardens’ to the Heracleium, mentions no gate. But the negative probability arising from the silence of Pausanias, who hardly ever mentions a gate at all, is not to be set in balance against the positive testimony of Plutarch and Laertius.

c. 6. Aristophanes speaks of the worship of Hercules in this district—

ἐφρόντισα
 ὀπόθ' Ἡράκλεια τὰν Διομείους γίγνεται.

Ran. 651.

The region 'Diomea' was famous for a club of wits. "πλῆθος δ' ἦν Ἀθήνησι τῆς σοφίας ταύτης. ἐν γοῦν τῷ Διομέων Ἡρακλείῳ συνελέγοντο, ἐξήκοντα ὄντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν." *Athen.* xiv. 3. The conceit and vanity of these wits provoked the anger of Aristophanes, who punished them by coining, and applying to them, the compound Διομειαλαζόνες. *Acharn.* 605.

The next gate of which we have any positive knowledge was that called the 'Gate of Diochares.' It led to the suburb Lyceium. Strabo says—"εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν αἱ πηγαὶ καθαρῷ καὶ ποτίμου ὕδατος, ὡς φασι, ἐκτὸς τῶν Διοχάρους καλουμένων πυλῶν, πλησίον τοῦ Λυκείου." *lib.* ix. p. 576. And again—"ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτος μάλιστα ὁ Ἴλισσός· ἐκ θατέρου μέρους τοῦ ἄστεος ῥέων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν παραλίαν, ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀγρας καὶ τοῦ Λυκείου μερῶν, καὶ τῆς πηγῆς ἣν ὕμνηκεν ἐν Φαίδρῳ Πλάτων." *Id.* p. 581. The passage of Plato to which he refers is in the commencement of the *Phædrus*—"δεῦρ' ἐκτραπόμενοι κατὰ τὸν Ἴλισσον ἴωμεν. * * * ἢ τε γὰρ πλάτανος αὐτὴ μάλ' ἀμφιλαφῆς τε καὶ ὑψηλὴ * * * ἢ γε αὖ πηγὴ χαριστάτη ὑπὸ τῆς πλατάνου ῥεῖ μάλα ψυχροῦ ὕδατος, ὡς γε τῷ ποδὶ τεκμήρασθαι." *Plut. Phædr.* 229. a. 230. b. This fountain was called 'the fountain of Panops,' as we learn from the opening sentence of the *Lysis*—"ἐπορ-

“ εὐόμην μὲν ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας εὐθὺς Λυκείου τὴν ἔξω
 “ τείχους ὑπ’ αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος· ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἐγενόμην κατὰ
 “ τὴν πυλίδα, ἧ ἢ Πάνοπος κρήνη, ἐνταῦθα συνέτυχον
 “ Ἴπποθάλει.” The route which the philosopher took
 is very easily traced. He walked, as he says, from the
 Academy, close to the city wall, northward to the
 Acharnian gate; he then turned round to the east,
 passed by the Diomean gate, through Cynosarges, and
 so arrived at the Lyceium. Both the fountain and
 plane-tree, by which he took his seat, are mentioned by
 Cicero. “ Cur non imitamur, Crasse, Socratem illum,
 “ qui est in Phædro Platonis? nam me hæc tua plata-
 “ nus admonuit, quæ non minus ad opacandum hunc
 “ locum patulis est diffusa ramis, quam illa cujus um-
 “ bram secutus est Socrates; quæ mihi videtur non
 “ tam ipsa aquila quæ describitur, quam Platonis ora-
 “ tione crevisse.” *De Orat.* 1. 7.

Hesychius says that Panops was an Attic demi-god:
 “ Πάνοψ· ἥρωσ Ἀττικὸς· ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ νέως καὶ
 “ ἄγαλμα, καὶ κρήνη.” *in voc.* This is the account
 which Pausanias gives of the Lyceium—“ Λύκειον δὲ
 “ ἀπὸ μὲν Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίωνος ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα, Ἀπόλ-
 “ λωνος δὲ ἱερὸν ἐξαρχῆς τε εὐθὺς καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐνομι-
 “ ζετο. Λύκος τε ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα ὠνομάσθη πρῶτον.”
 1. 19. The whole was dedicated to Apollo: it was
 adorned by various buildings, fountains, and walks. It
 was the Campus Martius of Athens, where military
 exercises were performed, as well as a Gymnasium for
 the athlete. “ It was also one of the most favourite
 “ places of resort for philosophical study and conversa-

“tion, and thus became the school of Aristotle, whose
“followers were called Peripatetics, from their custom
“of *walking* in the grove of the Lyceium.” *Leake, p.*
144.

Aristophanes has the following passage—

καὶ γὰρ ἱκανὸν χρόνον ἄ-
-πολλύμεθα καὶ κατατε-
-τρίμμεθα πλανώμενοι
ἐς Λύκειον καὶ Λυκείου σὺν δόρει σὺν ἀσπίδι.

Pax, 354.

On which lines the Scholiast says—“τὸ Λύκειον δὲ γυμ-
“νάσιον Ἀθήνησιν, ὅπου πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου ἐδόκουν
“γυμνάζεσθαι. πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐξόδων ἐξοπλίσεις τινες
“ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ διὰ τὸ παρακεῖσθαι τῇ πόλει
“καὶ ἀποδείξεις τῶν μᾶλλον πολεμικῶν ἀνδρῶν.”

Pausanias, in his description of Athens (i. 19,) speaks
of the place called Κήποι, or ‘the Gardens,’ as between
the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and the Lyceium—
“μετὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πλησίον
“ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο
“ἱερόν Ἀπόλλωνος Δελφινίου.” And after giving an
account of this temple, he adds—“ἐς δὲ τὸ χωρίον ὃ
“Κήπους ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὸν ναὸν
“οὔδεις λεγόμενός σφισιν ἐστὶ λόγος. * * * τὸ δὲ
“ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐν τοῖς Κήποις ἔργον ἐστὶν
“Ἀλκαμένους.” (*Vid. Preface, p. 16.*) Thucydides
speaks of this Pythium as amongst the most *ancient*
buildings of the city, (ii. 15) and as being in its
southern quarter. It is, therefore, not to be con-
founded with the Pythium in the Agora.

Plutarch thus alludes to the Delphinium—"ὄπου νῦν
 " ἐν Δελφινίῳ τὸ περιφρακτὸν ἐστίν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ
 " Αἰγεὺς ᾤκει." *Theo. ch.* 12. And again—"διὰ τοῦ
 " ἄστεος ἐλάσας, εἶτα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δελφινίῳ κατ-
 " ἐθύσεν." *Ch.* 41. These passages prove that the Delphi-
 nium was in the southern, and most ancient part of
 Athens.*

The place called *Κῆποι* must have run along the
 banks of the Ilissus, and therefore occupied the space
 between the temple of Jupiter and the Lyceium. In
 this space also was an altar to the Ilissian Muses, which
 has now disappeared; but a temple, which probably con-
 tained it, was in existence in the year 1656. "ἐθέλουσι
 " δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἱερὸν εἶναι τὸν Εἰλισσόν.
 " καὶ Μουσῶν βωμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐστὶν Εἰλισσιάδων δεικ-
 " νυται δὲ καὶ ἔνθα Πελοποννήσιοι Κόδρον τὸν Μελάν-
 " θου βασιλεύοντα Ἀθηναίων κτείνουσι." *Pausan.* 1. 19.

On the opposite, or southern bank of the Ilissus
 was the district called 'Agræ.' "διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Εἰ-
 " λισσὸν χωρίον Ἀγραι καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς Ἀγροτέρας
 " ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος." *Pausan.* 1. 19. The two banks of
 the river were connected by a bridge, ruins of which
 are still visible.

The Panathenaic Stadium was in Agræ. Pausanias
 thus describes it—"τὸ δὲ ἀκούσασι μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως
 " ἐπαγωγόν, θαῦμα δ' ἰδοῦσι, στάδιόν ἐστι λευκοῦ λι-
 " θου μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆδε ἂν τις μάλιστα τεκμαίροι-
 " το. ἄνωθεν ὄρους ὑπὲρ τὸν Εἰλισσὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐκ

* With respect to the name 'Delphinium,' as given to Apollo, the student should consult *Muller's History of the Dorians*, book II. ch. 1. §. 5. and book II. ch. 2. §. 6.

“ μνησοειδούς καθήκει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὄχθην, εὐθύ
 “ τε καὶ διπλοῦν. τούτο ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ᾤκοδόμησε, καὶ
 “ οἱ τὸ πολὺ τῆς λιθοτομίας τῆς Πεντέλης ἐς τὴν οἰ-
 “ κοδομὴν ἀνηλώθη.” 1. 19. It is not known when the
 Stadium was first constructed. It was greatly improved
 by Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, A. C. 350, *Ol.* 107. 3,
 who added a podium, and levelled the bed of the Stadium
 itself. “ τῷ σταδίῳ τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ τὴν κρηπίδα περι-
 “ ἔθηκεν ἐξεργασάμενος τούτο καὶ τὴν χαράδραν ὀμαλὴν
 “ ποιήσας.” *Plutarch. decem Rhet. Vit. Lycurg.* About
 500 years later, Herodes finished it in the way described
 by Pausanias. According to Col. Leake’s calculation,
 there may have been nearly 30 rows of seats, and they
 were capable of containing 25,000 spectators; but a much
 greater number might be assembled on the slope of the
 two hills. (*p.* 53.) The interior of the Stadium measures
 630 English feet; the whole length of the part appro-
 priated to the spectators measures 675 feet. Dr.
 Wordsworth says—“ The Stadium of Athens was the
 “ most remarkable monument on the south side of the
 “ Ilissus. On this side a sloping bank runs parallel to
 “ the river; and in this slope a semi-elliptical hollow,
 “ facing the north, has been scooped out of the soil, of
 “ somewhat more than 600 feet in length, and at right
 “ angles to the river. This was the Athenian Stadium.
 “ The shelving margins were once cased with seats of
 “ white marble: it is now a long and grass-grown
 “ hollow, retiring into the hill-side. The concave ex-
 “ tremity of the stadium, which is its farthest point
 “ from the Ilissus, is somewhat of a higher level than

“ that which is nearer to it. The racer started from
 “ the lower extremity, and, having completed one course
 “ in a straight line (*δρόμος*, or *στάδιον*), turned round
 “ the point of curvature (*καμπτήρ*) at the higher ex-
 “ tremity, and thus descended in a line parallel to
 “ that of his ascent, till he arrived at the goal (*βαλβίς*),
 “ which was a point a little to the east of that from
 “ which he had started : thus he accomplished a double
 “ course (*δίαιλος*.)” *Ch. xx.*

Pausanias says, that beyond the fountain of Callirhoe were two temples--“ *ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην, ὁ μὲν
 “ Δήμητρος πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου
 “ κείμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα.*” *I. 14.* The temple of Ceres and Proserpine was called the Eleusinium, because in it the lesser Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated. “ The mystic banks of the Ilissus (says Col. Leake) were
 “ sanctified by the sacred lustrations, in which its waters
 “ were employed in the lesser Eleusinian mysteries :
 “ and such was the veneration in which the Eleusinium
 “ was held, that when the whole population of Attica
 “ crowded into the walls of Athens, at the beginning
 “ of the Peloponnesian war, the Eleusinium and the
 “ Acropolis were the only places which the people
 “ scrupled to inhabit. *οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τε ἐρήμα
 “ τῆς πόλεως ᾤκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερά καὶ τὰ ἠρῶα πάντα
 “ πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι
 “ ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν.* *Thuc. II. 17.* An island
 “ between the Stadium and Olympium, formed by the
 “ diverging torrents of the Ilissus, seems well adapted
 “ for a place that was closed and kept sacred from the

“vulgar; and the foundations of a building, still observable in this island, may be those of the Eleusinium. * * * The temple of Triptolemus, which Pausanias also places above Enneacrunus, was probably that beautiful little Ionic building, which the drawings of Stuart (*vol. I. ch. 2*) have preserved from oblivion. It formed in his time the church of Panaglia on the rock, but has now entirely disappeared.” *p. 115*. Polyænus shows, that the lesser Eleusinian mysteries were performed on the banks of the Ilissus—“ταῦτα μὲν δὴ συνέθεντο παρὰ τὸν Ἴλισσον οὐ τὸν καθαρμὸν τελοῦσι τοῖς ἐλάττοσι μυστηρίοις.” *Strateg. lib. v. ch. 7*. And Himerius—“ἐγὼ πατρικὸν ὄλβον ῥίψας εὐδαίμονα, παρ’ Ἴλισσοῦ μυστικαῖς δρχαῖς ἐσκῆνημαι.” *In Diogen. ap. Photium*.

Forchhammer places the temple of Ceres and Proserpine on the southern bank of the Ilissus, and objects to the Eleusinium being placed in the island, on the ground that, if it was there, “the route which Pausanias took would become entangled.” *p. 48*. If this is the *only* reason against the position of the temple, it does not seem conclusive; for it is often difficult, in spite of Forchhammer’s opinion, to make out what rule Pausanias observed in taking his routes; or whether he observed *any* rule. Forchhammer places the temple a little to the north of the spot where the temple of Triptolemus appears in my map.

It is remarkable that Pausanias does not mention the *name* of the temple, in which there was a statue of Triptolemus. He says that there are two temples

beyond Callirhoe, I. xiv. 1,—“*ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην, ὃ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα.*” And afterwards he says, *ibid.*—“*πρόσω δὲ ἵεναι με ὠρμημένον τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ὅποσα ἐς ἐξήγησιν ἔχει τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἱερὸν καλούμενον δὲ Ἐλευσίνιον, ἔπεσχεν ὄψις ὀνειράτος· ἃ δὲ ἐς πάντας ὄσιον γράφειν, ἐς ταῦτα ἀποτρέψομαι. πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε, ἔνθα καὶ Τριπτολέμου ἄγαλμα, ἐστὶ βουῆς χαλκοῦς.*” It is impossible to conjecture what reason so superstitious a mind as that of Pausanias may have had for suppressing the name of a temple; but whatever the name was, the building was certainly near the temple of Ceres and Proserpine.

Immediately after speaking in these terms of the temple of Triptolemus, Pausanias adds—“*ἔτι δὲ ἀπὸ τέρῳ ναὸς Εὐκλείας, ἀνάθημα καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Μήδων, οἱ τῆς χώρας Μαραθῶνα ἔσχον.*” *ibid.* 4. Pausanias also speaks of a temple at Thebes, dedicated to Diana Eucleia: “*πλησίον δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ναὸς ἐστὶν Εὐκλείας.*” IX. xvii. 1. That there was a festival called *Εὐκλεία*, at Corinth, we learn from Xenophon, *Hellen.* IV. iv. 2,—“*ἐκεῖνοι δ’ Εὐκλείων τὴν τελευταίαν προείλοντο.*” Forchhammer ingeniously conjectures (*p.* 48) that this temple may have been raised in gratitude to *Ἀρτεμις*, (who was worshipped close by, under the title of *Ἀγροτέρα*,) for granting the prayers of the Athenians, when they supplicated her to grant them victory, before the battle of Marathon.

Pausanias, in describing the entrance to Athens from Phalerum, says, that a statue of Antiope stood imme-

diately inside the gate. “ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εἰς
 “Ἀθήνας ἐκ Φαληροῦ ναὸς Ἡρας * * * ἐσελθόντων δὲ
 “εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔστιν Ἀντιόπης μνήμα Ἀμαζόνος.” I. II. 1.
 We also learn from Plato, that this statue stood near the
 ‘Itonian gate’—“ὡς δὲ θάπτον τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος
 “ἦειμεν, ταῖς Ἴτωνίαις, πλησίον γὰρ ᾤκει τῶν πυλῶν,
 “πρὸς τῇ Ἀμαζονίδι στήλῃ, καταλαμβάνομεν αὐτόν.”
Axioch. 565. a. Socrates was walking by the Ilissus,
 when he was called back to the city, to visit Axiochus.
 “ἐξιώντι μοι εἰς Κυνόσαργες καὶ γενομένῳ μοι κατὰ τὸν
 “Ἴλισσον διήξε φωνὴ βοῶντός του, Σώκρατες, Σώκρατες·
 “ὡς δὲ περιστραφεῖς περιεσκόπουν ὀπόθεν εἶη, Κλεινίαν
 “ὄρω τὸν Ἀξιώχου θέοντα ἐπὶ Καλλιρόην.” *id. init.* The
 position therefore of the ‘Itonian gate’ is determined :
 it stood at the end of the Phaleric road.

Minerva was worshipped under the name of Itonia,
 from Itonus, a town in Thessaly. (*Catull.* LXIV. 228.)

αὐτὰρ δ’ ἄμφ’ ὤμοισι Θεᾶς Ἴτωνίδος ἔργον
 δίπλακα πορφυρέην περονήσατο, τὴν οἱ ὄπασσε
 Παλλάς. *Apoll. Rhod.* 1. 721.

And Callimachus calls the goddess by the same name—

ἦνθον Ἴτωνιάδος μιν Ἀθαναίας ἐπ’ ἄεθλα
 Ὀρμενίδαι καλέοντες *Hymn. in Cerer.* 79.

As the ‘Itonian gate’ led to Phalerum, by an ἀμα-
 ξιτός, or carriage road, which ran between the Phaleric
 and long walls, so the ‘Peiraic gate’ led to the Piræus,
 by a carriage road which ran between the long walls.
 It is extremely improbable that any gate should have
 been called the ‘Peiraic,’ which did not lead most

directly to the Piræus : and consequently it is equally improbable that any gate to the north of that, which stood between the Museum and the Pnyx, should have had that name.

The position of the Peiraic gate therefore seems properly fixed between these two hills. Plutarch, in his life of Theseus, describes a battle between the Amazons and Athenians. The Athenian army appears to have been drawn up to the south and west of the Acropolis. Its extreme right occupied the hill Museum. They began the action by attacking the left of the Amazons, which was opposed to them. They were defeated, however, and compelled to retreat. They fell back in the direction of the Acropolis, and finally retreated to the temple of the Furies, where they held their ground. The slaughter of the Athenians, therefore, in all probability took place in the valley which lies between the hill Museum, the western end of the Acropolis, and the eastern end of the Pnyx.

Plutarch states that the slain were buried "in the street that leads to the Peiraic gate," where their tombs were still to be seen; adding, that they were buried where they fell.

Plutarch also says, that the *heroum* of Chalcodon stood near the Peiraic gate,—“ τὰς πύλας παρὰ τὸ Χαλκώδοντος ἡρώων, ἃς νῦν Πειραιϊκὰς ὀνομάζουσι.” *Plut. Thes. ch. 27*. Pausanias, describing the road from the Piræus to the city, says,—“ ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐρείπια τῶν τειχῶν ἐστὶν ἂν Κόνων ὕστερον τῆς πρὸς Κνίδου ναυμαχίας ἀνέστησε * * * ἔστι δὲ τάφος οὐ πόρρω

“ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπίθεμα ἔχων στρατιώτην ἵππῳ παρεστη-
 “ κότα.” 1. 2. Pausanias must mean the Peiraic gate; though when he begins his account of the city, in the very next paragraph, he seems to begin from the Dipylum.* This may be accounted for by the superior importance and magnitude of the Dipylum. “ It is
 “ well known (says Colonel Leake) that a man standing
 “ by a horse was a common type on the monument of
 “ a person who received heroic honours; a distinction
 “ which became so common in the latter ages of Greece,
 “ that sepulchral stones of the most ordinary kind are
 “ still found in great numbers, with this type in relief,
 “ accompanied by the person’s name, with ἥρωσ attached
 “ to it. Now as we learn from Plutarch, that the
 “ heroic monument of Chalcodon stood at the Peiraic
 “ gate, there seems little doubt that the monument
 “ described by Pausanias, at the gate by which he
 “ entered Athens, was the *heroum* of Chalcodon, and
 “ that the gate was the same called ‘Peiraic,’ by
 “ Plutarch.” p. 86. It is remarkable, that Pausanias
 adds, that he did not know *whom* the figure represented, though it was a work of Praxiteles—“ ὃν τινα μὲν οὐκ
 “ οἶδα, Πραξιτέλης δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην
 “ ἐποίησεν.” *Ibid.* Possibly the name of Chalcodon had been altered into that of some Roman,—a thing very often done in the age of Pausanias; and he may have feared to give offence by telling the truth.

* I have given my reasons for this opinion in the Preface, p. xi. seq.

THE ACROPOLIS AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS.

The Acropolis of Athens stood on a rock, about 150 feet high: its surface on the summit is nearly level, and is about 1000 feet in length: the northern, eastern and southern sides of the rock were precipitous; the western extremity sloped to the plain below, and was therefore more easy of access. On this side accordingly an entrance to the Acropolis was constructed.

At about the centre, and the highest part of the platform, on the summit, stood the famous Parthenon. It was commenced A. C. 445, *Ol.* 83. 4, under the government of Pericles; Ictinus was its architect; and Phidias its sculptor.* To the north of the Parthenon was the temple called 'Erectheium,' which name it gained from the circumstance that Erectheus was supposed to have been buried there. It was the temple dedicated to Minerva Polias. The configuration of the building

* The whole of the Acropolis has been elaborately described by Colonel Leake in his eighth chapter. The student will do well to consult a translation of Welcker's "Essay on the Sculptured Groups in the Pediments of the Parthenon," in the *Classical Museum*, vol. II. p. 367. Mr. Lucas, the sculptor, whose models of the Parthenon are in the British Museum, has also published some very valuable "Remarks on the Parthenon." *Salisbury, Brodie*, 1845.

was remarkable; it had 3 porticoes; one at the eastern extremity, one at the north-western, and one on the south-western: this last was supported by Caryatides (*καρηφόροι*) instead of pillars. The temple had a triple division; its eastern chamber was specially dedicated to Minerva Polias, and the western to Pandrosus; hence called the 'Pandroseium.' The ground occupied by the south-western was supposed by popular belief to be the burial-place of Cecrops; hence it was called Cecropium.*

This was the most ancient of all Athenian temples. It is mentioned both in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (*Il. II. 546—55. Odys. VII. 80.*) It contained the ancient image of Minerva, made of olive-wood, which was supposed to have fallen from heaven. (*Vide Acta Apostol. XIX. 35.*) Pausanias says—"ἱερὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἡ τε ἄλλη πόλις καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ὁμοίως γῆ· καὶ γὰρ ὄσοις θεοὺς καθέστηκεν ἄλλοις ἐν τοῖς δήμοις σέβειν, οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ· τὸ δὲ ἀγιώτατον ἐν κοινῷ πολλοῖς πρότερον νομισθὲν ἔτεσιν ἢ συνήλθον ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων, ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει, τότε δὲ ὀνομαζομένη πόλει· φήμη δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ." 1. 26. In the Erectheium was also that spring of sea-water, which Neptune produced by the stroke of his trident, to support his claim to the property of the Athenian soil. Here was the impression of the trident which

* The distribution of the various interior parts of the Erectheium has occasioned a good deal of difficulty and dispute. I must refer the reader to Dr. Wordsworth's XVIIth chapter, and Colonel Leake, p. 257—270.

was then left on the rock ; and here also was the sacred olive-tree produced by Minerva. “ Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ἀμφισβητήσασθαι λέγουσι περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἀμφισβητήσαντας δὲ ἔχειν ἐν κοινῷ· προστάξαι γὰρ οὕτω Δία σφισι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀθηνᾶν τε σέβουσι Πολιάδα, καὶ Σθηνιάδα ὀνομάζοντες τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα βασιλέα ἐπὶ κλησιν. καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμα αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπίσημα ἔχει τρίαῖναν, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς πρόσωπον.” *Rausan.* II. xxx. “ Πεπολήται δὲ (sc. in the Acropolis) “ καὶ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἐλαίας Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ κύμα ἀναφαίνων Ποσειδῶν.” I. 24.

The old Erectheium was totally destroyed by Xerxes. Herodotus, in describing his capture of the Acropolis, says—“ ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθῆος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἐνὶ τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην, ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι· ταύτην ὡν τὴν ἐλαίην ἄμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἰρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος, Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι, ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἶρόν ὤρων βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα.” VIII. 55. “ Æschylus seems to draw his picture from this object (*viz.* the impression made by the trident) in the Athenian citadel, when he says of an Argive temple :—

“ ὀρῶ τρίαῖναν τήνδε, σημεῖον θεοῦ. *Suppl.* 218.

“ Hegesias applies this identical expression to the trident in the Erectheium : ὀρῶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς τρίαῖνης ἔχει τι σημεῖον.” (*Words-*

worth, p. 133.) In the contest between Minerva and Neptune, the twelve gods sate as judges—"ἦκεν οὖν πρῶτος Ποσειδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πλήξας τῆ τριαλῆ κατὰ μεσὴν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέφηνε θάλασσαν,* ἦν νῦν Ἐρεχθίδα καλοῦσι, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἦκεν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ ποιησαμένη τῆς καταληψέως Κέκροπα μάρτυρα ἐφύτευσε ἐλαίαν ἢ νῦν ἐν τῷ Πανδροσίῳ δέκνυται· γενομένης δὲ ἔριδος ἀμφοῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας, Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα διαλύσας Ζεὺς κριτὰς ἔδωκεν, οὐχ, ὡς εἰπὸν τινες, Κέκροπα καὶ Κραναὸν, οὔδε Ἐρεχθεά, θεοὺς δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα. καὶ τούτων δικαζόντων ἡ χώρα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐκρίθη, Κέκροπος μαρτυρήσαντος ὅτι πρῶτον τὴν ἐλαίαν ἐφύτευσε. Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν οὖν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς τὴν πόλιν ἐκάλεσε Ἀθήνας· Ποσειδῶν δὲ θυμῷ ὀργισθεὶς, τὸ Θριάσιον πέδιον ἐπέκλυσε καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὕφαλον ἐπόλησε." *Apollod.* III. xiv. 1.

This contest between a deity of the sea, and one of the land, symbolizes the fact, that Attica had once been under water; from which it was subsequently recovered. Dr. Wordsworth's description of the appearance of Athens, as viewed from the hill of St. George (Lycabettus,) furnishes a curious illustration of this solution of the myth—"This peculiar form" (of Athens and its neighbourhood) "might here be imagined to have been produced by some such process as this. It looks as if the surface of the country had once been

* The Latin poets represent Neptune to have produced *the horse* in this contest. (*Virg. Georg.* i. 12.) The expression of Statius, *Theb.* xii. 632—"refugum mare," seems doubtful: though Bentley, *ad Hor. Od.* I. vii. 5, does not hesitate to apply the words to the salt-spring. In *Ovid. Met.* vi. 77, the various readings 'fretum' and 'ferum' render his testimony also doubtful.

“ *in a fluid state, swelling in huge waves, and that then*
 “ *some of these waves had been suddenly fixed in their*
 “ *places into solid and compact rock, while the rest*
 “ *were permitted to subside away into a wide plain.*
 “ *By some such agency as this we might fancy that the*
 “ *objects now before us had been produced.*” *p. 55.*

Pausanias (i. 27) gives an account of the statues in the Acropolis. He says—“ *πρὸς δὲ τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς* (*sc. Poliadis*) * * “ *ἔστιν ἀγάλματα μεγάλα χαλκοῦ, διεστῶτες ἄνδρες ἐς μάχην· καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἐρεχθεῖα καλοῦσι, τὸν δὲ Εὐμόλπον· καίτοι λέληθέ γε οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίων ὅσοι τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἴσασιν, Ἰμμάραδον εἶναι παῖδα Εὐμόλπου τούτου, τὸν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ Ἐρεχθέως.”* These colossal statues stood between the Parthenon and Erectheium.

Between the western end of the Erectheium and the Propylæa was the magnificent and gigantic figure of Minerva Promachos. It was the work of Phidias: it was made of bronze, and was 70 feet in height. The head of it could be seen by sailors, on the voyage from Sunium to the Piræus. The goddess was represented erect, with shield, helmet, and spear: she stood at the entrance of her chosen Acropolis, as its champion (*πρόμαχος*) and guardian. Demosthenes thus speaks of it—“ *ἀλλ’ ὅλης οὔσης ἱερᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ταυτησί, καὶ πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἐχούσης παρὰ τὴν χαλκῆν τὴν μεγάλην Ἀθηνᾶν ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἔστηκεν, (viz. ap. inscription) ἦν ἀριστεῖον ἢ πόλις τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμου, δόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ χρήματα ταῦτ’, ἀνέθηκεν.”* *De falsa Legat.* 428.

Pausanias says there was a statue of Ζεὺς Πολιεὺς in the Acropolis, (I. 24) and Aristophanes, in the *Plutus*, plainly refers to this statue, as occupying the place which is indicated by Pausanias; viz. to the west of the Parthenon—

Ἰδρυσόμεθ' οὖν αὐτίκα μάλ', ἀλλὰ περίμενε,
τὸν Πλοῦτον, οὐπερ πρότερον ἦν ἰδρυμένος (sc. Ζεὺς)
τὸν ὀπισθόδομον αἰεὶ φυλάττων τῆς θεοῦ. 1191.

The ὀπισθόδομος was the public treasury, and *Plutus* was a very fit deity to be placed near it, as its guardian. The comic poet implies that Jupiter had not taken such care of the public treasure as the tutelary god of the city (Πολιεὺς) ought to have taken. The whole Acropolis was crowded with works of art.*

The 'Propylæa,' or fortified entrance to the Acropolis, was begun A. C. 437, *Ol.* 85. 4. It took five years to build. Mnesicles was the architect. It was commenced under the auspices and government of Pericles, in the archonship of Euthymenes. It was the greatest work of civil architecture which the Athenians produced. It appears that they held it in no less admiration than they held the Parthenon. Demosthenes couples the

* Dr. Wordsworth indeed, (p. 102) referring to the noble dithyrambic fragment of Pindar, *Frag.* 45, ed. Cookesley—

δεῦρ' ἐν χορῶν, Ὀλύμπιοι,
ἐπὶ τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν, θεοί,
πολύβατον οἷτ' ἕσπεος ὀμφαλὸν θύοντα
ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθῆναις
οἴχνηϊτε πανδαίδαλον τ' εὐκλέ' ἀγοράν—

expresses his conviction that ὀμφαλὸν means the Acropolis. I confess I cannot agree with him. I look upon the words πανδαίδαλον τ' εὐκλέ' ἀγοράν, as explanatory of ὀμφαλὸν. It is worth while to remember that Pindar died A. C. 442, *Ol.* 84. 3, before the great works of Pericles had been executed.

two, as if they were equally great national works—
 “οἱ τὰ Προπύλαια καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα οἰκοδομήσαντες
 “ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἱερὰ
 “κοσμήσαντες ἐφ’ οἷς φιλοτιμούμεθα πάντες εἰκότως.”
Contr. Androt. 597. Again, he says—“οἰκοδομήματα
 “μέν ἤγε καὶ κόσμον τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ λιμένων
 “καὶ τῶν ἀκολουθῶν τούτοις τοιοῦτόν καὶ τοσοῦτον
 “κατέλιπον ἐκεῖνοι, ὥστε μηδένι τῶν ἐπιγενομένων
 “ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι. προπύλαια ταῦτα, ὁ Παρθενῶν,
 “νεώσοικοι, στοαί, τᾶλλα, οἷς ἐκεῖνοι κοσμήσαντες τὴν
 “πόλιν ἡμῖν παρέδωκαν.” *περὶ συνταξ.* 174. *Æschines*
 quotes a remarkable observation of a Theban general,
 who—“οὐχ ὑποπτήξας τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀξίωμα, εἶπε
 “διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν Θηβαίων, ὡς δεῖ τὰ τῆς
 “Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλεως Προπύλαια μετενέγκειν εἰς τὴν
 “προστασίαν τῆς Καδμείας.” *De Fals. Leg.* 42; as
 if the Propylæa symbolized the power of Athens.

There were in this building five magnificent bronze gates. *Aristophanes, Equit.* 1326, speaks of their being thrown open, to receive king Demus. *Thucydides* (ii. 13) speaks of the expense of the Propylæa—“τὰ γὰρ
 “πλεῖστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο, ἀφ’ ὧν
 “ἐς τε τὰ Προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τᾶλλα οἰκο-
 “δομήματα καὶ ἐς Ποτίδαιαν ἀπανηλώθη.” *Cicero*,
 speaking of extravagance, says—“*Demetrius Phalereus*
 “*Periclem principem Græciæ vituperat, quod tantam*
 “*pecuniam in præclara illa Propylæa conjecerit.*” *De*
Offic. II. 17.*

The northern wall of the Acropolis, together with

* *Col. Leake* has some valuable observations on the cost of the works of *Pericles*, p. 406—419.

some space of ground below it, was called the "Pelagicum:" the fortification gained its name from having been built by the Pelasgi; and the district, from having been the place of their abode.* "τό τε Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καὶ τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιούνδε διεκώλυε, λέγον ὡς

“ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον.

“ ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης (viz. the occupation of Attica by the Peloponnesians) “ ἐξωκλήθη.” *Thucyd.* ii. 17. Aristophanes, in his play of the 'Birds,' says—

τίς δαὶ καθέξει τῆς πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν; v. 832.

On which the Scholiast remarks—ὅτι Ἀθήνησι τὸ Πελαργικὸν τεῖχος ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, οὐ μέμνηται Καλλιμάχος—“Τυρσηνῶν τείχισμα Πελαργικόν.” And Bentley observes on this—“Pelargicum idem quod Pelasgicum: et Tyrreni iidem qui Pelasgi.” Herodotus (vi. 137) states, that the Athenians expelled the Pelasgi from their settlement under Mount Hymettus, which they

* On the difficult subject of the Pelasgi, and the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, the student should consult the "Introduction to Wachsmuth's "Historical Antiquities," *Introd.* §. 9; and *Appendix*, v. p. 444. *vol. I. English translation.* The Pelasgi were at all events skilful masons: but their history is as difficult to discover, as if they were 'free-masons.' The walls called 'Cyclopiian' should, no doubt, be called 'Pelasgian.' The etymologies given of the word Πελασγοί are countless. I cannot help thinking that *κελ*, *dark*, *Lat. pullus*, is the root; and I would assign the same root to Πέλοψ. Etymologists are agreed in giving *κελ ἀργός*, as the component parts of the word *κελαργός*, a *stork*, which bird was so called from its plumage being a mixture of black and white feathers. It is possibly in reference to this etymology, that the Hesiodic poet Asi-us, quoted by Pausanias, *lib. viii. 1*, says, that 'the dark earth' produced Pelasgus—

ἀντίθεον δὲ Πελασγὸν ἐν ἐπικόμοισιν ὄρεσσι
γαῖα μέλαιν' ἀνέδωκεν, Ἴνα θνητῶν γένος εἴη.

had received—"μισθὸν τοῦ τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρο-
πολὶν κοτε ἐληλαμένου."

The southern side of the Acropolis was fortified by Cimon, and called indifferently *Κιμώνιον*, or *Νότιον*. Pausanias says—"τῇ δὲ ἀκροπόλει, πλὴν ὅσον Κίμων ἠκόδομησεν αὐτῆς ὁ Μιλτιάδου, περιβαλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν λέγεται τοῦ τείχεος Πελασγῶν οἰκήσαντάς ποτε ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν." 1. 28. Herodotus (v. 64) calls the whole Acropolis '*the Pelasgian fortress*'—"Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἅμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι, ἐπολιόρκεε τοὺς τυράννοους ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχει." Plutarch, in his comparison of Cimon with Lucullus, says particularly, that the former dedicated some part of the spoils he had gained in war to the purpose of building "the southern wall of the Acropolis:" it was thence called '*Cimonian*;' but the northern side always retained its original name of '*Pelasgic*.'

The old Pelasgic works had fallen into decay, however, before Xerxes invaded Greece. After his retreat, it was the first care of Themistocles to fortify the Acropolis; and Cimon subsequently completed the work on the southern face of the rock. The greater part of the existing walls, though disfigured by successive alterations and repairs, are undoubtedly the work of those two celebrated Athenians.

Beginning our tour of the lower part of the Acropolis at the north-western corner, the first object we arrive at is the *Κλεψύδρα*, a fountain which gained its name from the supposed fact of its having a subterranean

communication with Phalerum. “καταβᾶσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ὑπὸ τὰ Προπυλαῖα πηγῆ “τε ὕδατός ἐστι καὶ πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐν “σπηλαίῳ καὶ Πανός.” *Pausan.* i. 28. Both these objects still exist. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 911, testifies to their proximity—

KINH. ὅπου τὸ τοῦ Πανός, καλόν.

ΜΥΡ. καὶ πῶς ἔθ’ ἀγνή δῆτ’ ἂν ἔλθοιμ’ ἐς πόλιν;

KINH. κάλλιστα δῆπου, λουσαμένη τῇ Κλεψύδρᾳ.

In another passage, *Aves*, 1694, he thus speaks of the fountain—

ἔστι δ’ ἐν Φαναῖσι πρὸς τῇ

Κλεψύδρᾳ πανούργου ἐγ-

-γλωττογαστόρων γένος.

On which passage the Scholiast remarks—κρήνη ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἢ Κλεψύδρα.—οὕτως δὲ ὠνόμασται, ἐπεὶ δὴ ἀρχομένων ἐτησίῳ πληροῦται . . . εἰς ταύτην δὲ φησιν (*sc.* Istrus) ἡματωμένην φιάλην ἐμπεσοῦσαν ὀφθῆναι ἐν τῷ Φαληρικῷ, ἀπέχοντι σταδίου εἴκοσι. And again, on the previously quoted passage from the *Lysistrata*, the Scholiast says—πλησίον τοῦ Πανείου ἢ Κλεψύδρα. * * * ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἢ κρήνη ἢ Κλεψύδρα, πρότερον Ἐμπεδῶ λεγομένη ὠνομάσθη δὲ Κλεψύδρα διὰ τὸ ποτὲ μὲν πλημμυρεῖν, ποτὲ δὲ ἐνδεῖν. ἔχει δὲ τὰς ρεύσεις ὑπὸ γῆν, φέρουσα εἰς τῶν Φαληρέων λιμένα.* The fountain was, and is still, accessible by a secret passage of stairs from the northern wing of the Propylæa.

* These last words are an admirable emendation by Dr. Wordsworth of the corrupt reading—τὴν Φλεγρέωδη λειμῶνα.

Pausanias gives the following reason for the special honour paid by the Athenians to Pan—"περὶ δὲ τοῦ Πανός φασιν, ὡς πεμφθεὶς Φιλιππίδης εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἄγγελος ἀποβεβηκότων Μήδων εἰς τὴν γῆν' ἐπανήκων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ὑπερβαλέσθαι φαίη τὴν ἔξοδον εἶναι γὰρ δὴ νόμον αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον μαχουμένους ἐξίέναι, πρὶν ἢ πλήρη τὸν κύκλον τῆς σελήνης γενέσθαι τὸν δὲ Πᾶνα ὁ Φιλιππίδης ἔλεγε ἔπερὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐντύχοντά οἱ τὸ Παρθένιον, φάσαι τε ὡς εὖνους Ἀθηναίοις εἶη καὶ ὅτι εἰς Μαραθῶνα ἦξοι συμμαχήσων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ τετίμηται." I. 28. This is merely a repetition of the story told by Herodotus, vi. 105, who concludes by saying "Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίησι ἐπετείησι καὶ λαμπάδι ἰλάσκονται." In this grotto Miltiades probably dedicated that statue of Pan, for which Simonides furnished the inscription—

τὸν τραγόπουν ἐμὲ Πᾶνα τὸν Ἀρκάδα, τὸν κατὰ
Μήδων,

τὸν μετ' Ἀθηναίων, στήσατο Μιλτιάδης.

*Anthol. Gr. v. I. p. LXIII. 21.**

The water of the fountain Clepsydra was conveyed by an aqueduct (ὄχετος)—some vestiges of which still remain—to a building called the 'Temple of the Winds,' or the 'Horologium of Cyrrhestes.' This was an octagonal tower, erected by Andronicus of Cyrrha. The building, which still exists, stood on part of the ground supposed to have been occupied by the New Agora.

* The position of the Lupercal, at the foot of the Palatine Mount at Rome, resembles that of the Πανείων at Athens.

Vitruvius thus describes it—"Andronicus Cyrrhestes collocavit Athenis turrim marmoream octogonon, et in singulis lateribus octogoni singulorum ventorum imagines exsculptas contra suos cujusque flatus designavit, supraque eam turrim metam (*a pillar*) marmoream perfecit, et insuper Tritonem æreum collocavit, dextra manu virgam porrigentem: et ita est machinatus, uti vento circumageretur et semper contra flatum consisteret, supraque imaginem flantis venti indicem virgam teneret." 1. ch. 6.

The figures of the eight winds are described by Dr. Wordsworth, *Ch. 19*: they were copied by Stuart, and are engraved in the first volume of his 'Antiquities of Athens.' The name of each wind is written over it; and they stand in this order—

<i>North.</i>	<i>Βορέας.</i>
<i>N. E.</i>	<i>Καικίας.</i>
<i>East.</i>	<i>Ἀπηνλιώτης.</i>
<i>S. E.</i>	<i>Εὖρος.</i>
<i>South.</i>	<i>Νότος.</i>
<i>S. W.</i>	<i>Λίψ.</i>
<i>West.</i>	<i>Ζέφυρος.</i>
<i>N. W.</i>	<i>Σκίρων.</i>

The principal purpose for which this tower was built was, to act as a clock, which it did in two ways: on the outer walls were drawn horary lines, which with gnomons above them formed a series of sun dials; and, within, it contained a clepsydra, or water-clock: hence it was called '*horologium*.' Hesychius says—"Κλεψύδρα ὠρολόγιον, ὄργανον, ἐν ᾧ αἱ ὄραι μετροῦνται." *in voc.* Water-clocks were called by either name. "Athenis in Horo-

“logio, quod fecit Cyrrhestes.” *Varro de Re Rust.* III. 5. Pliny, in the last chapter of his Seventh Book of Natural History, gives an account of the various ways in which time had been measured at Rome; and he ends by saying—“Scipio Nasica collega Lænatius primus *aqua divisit* “*horas* æque noctium ac dierum: *idque horologium* sub tecto dicavit, A. U. C. 595. Tamdiu populo Romano “indiscreta lux fuit.” “The tower of Cyrrhestes, placed “in the public square, was the city clock of Athens. “By it the affairs of the inhabitants were regulated. “The law courts sat, and merchants transacted their “business, from its dictation.”* *Wordsworth, p. 152.*

About sixty yards to the east of the cave of Pan, in the northern face of the rock, is another cave, between which and the Acropolis a subterranean passage has been discovered. There can be no doubt that this is the cave of Agraulos. Below this cave stood the Ἀνάμειον, or temple of the Dioscuri. Pausanias says—“τὸ δὲ ἱερόν “τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον * * * ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν “Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερόν Ἀγλαύρου (so Pausanias writes “the word, instead of Ἀγραύλου) τέμενός ἐστιν.” I. 18. The proximity of the caves of Pan and Agraulos is thus attested by Euripides—

ὦ Πανὸς θακῆματα καὶ
 παραυλίζουσα πέτρα
 μυχώδεσι Μακραιῖς,
 ἵνα χοροὺς στείβουσι ποδοῖν
 Ἀγραύλου κόραι τρίγονοι
 στάδια χλοερὰ πρὸ Παλλάδος
 ναῶν. Ion, 492.

* The reader may see an amusing account of water-clocks in ‘Beckmann’s History of Inventions,’ Vol. I. p. 82. London, Bohn.

The northern cliffs were called Μακραί.

ἔνθα προσβόρρους πέτρας

Παλλάδος ὑπ' ὄχθῳ τῆς Ἀθηναίων χθονὸς

Μακρὰς καλοῦσι γῆς ἄνακτες Ἀτθίδος. *ibid.* 11.

Dr. Wordsworth (*p.* 86) gives a beautiful historical illustration of the neighbourhood of the Agrauleium and Anaceium. "The same conclusion" (*viz.* that there was a subterraneous communication between the cave of Agraulos and the Acropolis) "arises from a consideration of a stratagem of Peisistratus. (*Polyæn. Strateg.* 1. 21.) He convened the Athenians in the Anaceium, which was below the Agrauleium, to the north, with the view of disarming them. While he was addressing them there, they laid down their arms. The partizans of Peisistratus seize the arms so laid down, and convey them to the Agrauleium. They were probably conveyed there, because of the communication between that place and the Acropolis, by means of which they might be readily taken to the armoury of Peisistratus in the citadel itself." The passage from Polyænus is as follows—"Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηναίων τὰ ὄπλα βουλόμενος παρελέσθαι, παρήγγειλεν ἤκειν ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ Ἀνάκειον μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων οἱ μὲν ἤκου. ὁ δὲ προῆλθε δημηγορῆσαι βουλόμενος καὶ σμικρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ λέγειν ἤρχετο. οἱ δὲ ἐξακούειν μὴ δυνάμενοι προελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἤξιωσαν εἰς τὸ Προπύλαιον, ἵνα πάντες ἐξακούσειαν ἔπει δὲ ὁ μὲν ἠσυχῆ διελέγετο, οἱ δὲ ἐκτείναντες τὰς ἀκοὰς προσεῖχον, οἱ ἐπίκουροι προελθόντες καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀράμενοι κατήνευκαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀγραύλου."

Herodotus, in describing the siege of the Acropolis by Xerxes, (VIII. 52-3) says—"ἐμπροσθε ὧν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε, οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μὴ κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίη ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησάν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἶρόν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου." It is certainly possible, as Dr. Wordsworth suggests, that the Persians may have got up by this subterranean passage: but the words in Herodotus do not lead one to suppose that such was the fact. Pausanias (I. 18) copies the story told by Herodotus.

The military oath of the Ephebi was taken in the sanctuary of Agraulos: youthful soldiers swore to devote themselves to their country as *she* had done. Demosthenes refers to this oath—"τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγραύλου τῶν ἐφήβων ὄρκον." *De falsa Legat.* 438. *Vid. Shil-letto's note, ad loc.*

At no great distance from the north-eastern end of the Acropolis, stood the new Prytaneium—"πλησίον δὲ (viz. the Agraulium) Πρυτανεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ νόμοι τε Σόλωνός εἰσι γεγραμμένοι καὶ Θεῶν Εἰρήνης ἀγάλματα κεῖται καὶ Ἔστιας." *Pausan.* I. 18. From this building a street called 'the Tripods' ran in a curve to the south-eastern corner of the great Dionysiac theatre, which was hewn out of the south-eastern face of the rock of the Acropolis. "ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πρυτανεῖου καλουμένη Τρίποδες· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, ναοὶ θεῶν ἐς τοῦτο μεγάλοι,* καὶ σφισιν ἐφεστῆκασιν τρίποδες

* The particle *οὗ* has probably been lost, before the word *μεγάλοι*.

“χαλκοὶ μὲν, μνήμης δὲ ἄξια μάλιστα περιέχοντες εἰρ-
 “γασμένα.” *Pausan.* i. 20. “The line of similar fabrics, of
 “which the small circular building, of the most graceful
 “Corinthian proportions, called the Choragic monument
 “of Lysicrates,” (vulgarly called also ‘the lantern of
 Demosthenes’) “is the only surviving relic, must have
 “possessed great interest, both from their object and
 “execution. They were a series of temples, forming a
 “street: these temples were surmounted by finials,
 “which supported the tripods, gained by victorious
 “choragi in the neighbouring theatre of Bacchus, and
 “here dedicated by them to that deity, the patron of
 “dramatic representations. Hence the line formed by
 “these temples was called the Street of Tripods. From
 “the inscriptions engraved on the architraves of these
 “temples, which recorded the names of the victorious
 “parties, and the year in which the victory was gained,
 “the dramatic chronicles, or *διδασκαλίαι*, were mainly
 “compiled. Thus these small fabrics served the pur-
 “pose, at the same time, of fasti, trophies, and temples.
 “What a host of soul-stirring thoughts must have
 “started up in the mind of a sensitive Athenian, as
 “he walked along this street!” *Wordsworth*, p. 153.
 Plato speaks of this street—“*μαρτυρήσουσί σοι, ἐὰν*
 “*μὲν βούλη, Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ μετ’*
 “*αὐτοῦ, ὧν οἱ τρίποδες οἱ ἐφεξῆς ἐστῶτές εἰσιν ἐν τῷ*
 “*Διονυσίῳ.*” *Gorgias*, 472, a. Plutarch in his life of
 Nicias corroborates this—“*εἰστήκει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναθη-*
 “*μάτων αὐτοῦ (sc. Νικίᾳ) καθ’ ἡμᾶς τό τε Παλλάδιον*
 “*ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τὴν χρύσωσιν ἀποβεβληκῶς καὶ ὁ τοῖς*

“ χορηγικοῖς τρίποσιν ὑποκείμενος ἐν Διονύσου νεώς.
 “ ἐνίκησε γὰρ πολλάκις χορηγήσας.” *ch.* 3. The choragic monument of Lysicrates was engraved, in detail, by Stuart, *vol.* I. *ch.* 4.

At the south-eastern corner of the Acropolis, and close to the great Dionysiac theatre, stood the temple of Bacchus—“ τοῦ Διονύσου δέ ἐστι πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ “ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν” *Pausanias*, 1. 20; who immediately adds—“ ἔστι δὲ πλησίον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ “ τοῦ θεάτρου κατασκευάσμα· ποιηθῆναι δὲ τῆς σκευῆς “ [al. σκηνῆς] αὐτὸ ἐς μίμησιν τῆς Ξέρξου λέγεται.” This was the Odeium of Pericles, which was built so as to represent the tent of Xerxes. Its roof was composed of the masts and yards of Persian ships. The building was destroyed by Aristion, who defended Athens against Sylla, that the besiegers might not make use of the timber in assaulting the Acropolis: it was restored by Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia. “ *Patris haberi fa-
 “ num et exeuntibus e theatro sinistra parte Odeum quod
 “ Pericles*” (Themistocles; *Tauchnitz; alii*;) “ *columnis
 “ lapideis, navium malis et antennis e spoliis Persicis
 “ pertexit: idem autem incensum Mithridatico bello
 “ rex Ariobarzanes restituit.*” *Vitruv.* v. 9. (*Leake*, p. 28.) Plutarch, in his life of Pericles, (*ch.* 13) thus describes it—“ τὸ δὲ Ὠδεῖον τῇ μὲν ἐντὸς πολυέδρον καὶ πολύ-
 “ στυλον, τῇ δ’ ἐρέψει περικλινές καὶ κάταντες ἐκ μιᾶς
 “ κορυφῆς πεποιημένον, εἰκόνα λέγουσι γενέσθαι καὶ
 “ μίμημα τῆς βασιλέως σκηνῆς, ἐπιστατοῦντος καὶ τού-
 “ τῳ Περικλέους. διὸ καὶ πάλιν Κρατῖνος ἐν Θράτταις
 “ παίζει πρὸς αὐτόν.

“ ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὀδὴ προσέρχεται
 “ Περικλέης τῶδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου
 “ ἔχων, ἐπεὶ δὴ τοῦστρακον παροίχεται.”

The great Dionysiac theatre was at the south-eastern corner of the Acropolis: it was scooped out of the sloping face of the rock. Each row of seats formed nearly a semicircle, the diameter of which increased with the ascent. The two highest of these semicircular rows of seats are all that are now visible;* future excavation may ascertain the exact dimensions of the theatre. Plato is supposed to state that it held 30,000 spectators: this number, however, seems impossible. The passage of Plato is in the *Symposium*, where Socrates says to Agathon, who had lately gained a dramatic victory—“ ἡ γὰρ (σοφία) παρὰ σοῦ νέου ὄντος
 “ οὕτω σφόδρα ἐξέλαμψε καὶ ἐκφανῆς ἐγένετο πρόφην
 “ ἐν μάρτυσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλέον ἢ τρισμύριοις.
 “ Ὑβριστῆς εἶ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁ Ἀγάθων.” *Sympos.*
 175. e.; and Stallbaum by his note shows that he considers this passage decisive on the point—“ Hinc cognoscas (says he) theatri Atheniensis amplitudinem.” But, in the first place, the bantering, ironical, tone of Socrates renders it unreasonable to put an exact interpretation on his words; and, in the next place, the term *τρिसμύριοι* meant only a very large indefinite number.
 εἰς ἑμοὶ ἄνθρωπος τρισμύριοι.

Epigr. Incert. Anthol. IV. DXXVI. p. 226.

* Recent excavation may possibly have laid open more of the theatre: at all events it is to be hoped that the whole of the ground *will* be excavated. It is an object in which not merely Europe, but the whole civilized world, has an interest. The gradual increase of diameter in the ascent of the rows is clearly shown in an Athenian medal, engraved in the title page of Col. Leake's work.

Aristophanes, in the *Equites*, says—

ἐγὼ δὲ προσδοκῶν γε τρισμυριόπαλαι
βδελύττομαι σφῶ. 1156.

The theatre is often described as ἐν Διονύσου, *in the enclosure sacred to Bacchus*. Pausanias says there was a cavern above the theatre—"ἐν δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ θεάτρου σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς πέτραις ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. τρίπους δὲ ἔπεστι καὶ τούτῳ." 1. 21. This cavern was converted, by a successful choragus named Thrasylus, into a temple: at the entrance of it he built a porch, with an inscription, which was copied by Stuart, and is engraved in his *2nd vol. ch. 4*. The whole was surmounted by a sitting statue of Bacchus (now in the British Museum,) in the lap of which there are holes, to receive a tripod. Two other inscriptions are also on this porch; both copied and engraved by Stuart. Since the time that he visited Athens, this interesting monument has been destroyed. "A large fragment of the architrave of this temple of Thrasylus (says Dr. Wordsworth,) with a part of the inscription upon it, is now lying on the slope of the theatre; *it has been hewn into a drinking trough!*" p. 90. Immediately above this cavern, there are two pillars still standing: they are insulated, and never made part of any building: their capitals are triangular, and have cavities sunk in the upper surface, at each of their angles. These of course were made to receive a tripod, gained by the victorious choragus who raised the pillar.

Between the Dionysiac theatre and Odeium of Regilla there is a long row of arches: the workmanship appears

to be that of the age in which the Odeium of Regilla was built; but it is possible that Herodes, when he built this Odeium, repaired, rebuilt, or enlarged the Στοά of Eumenes, which Vitruvius describes as lying to the west of the great theatre. "Post scenam porticus sunt constituendæ, uti, cum imbres repentini ludos interpellaverint, habeat populus quo se recipiat ex theatro, choragiaeque laxamentum habeant ad comparandum; uti sunt porticus Pompeianæ, itemque Athenis porticus Eumenia." *lib. v. ch. 9.*

At the south-western end of the Acropolis was the Odeium, built by Herodes, and called by him, after his deceased wife, the Odeium of Regilla. Pausanias does not mention this building in his description of Athens, because it was erected subsequently to his visit. In speaking of Patræ, he says—"ἐχεται δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ ψδεῖον * * * κεκόσμηται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τὸ ψδεῖον ἀξιολογώτατα τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάσσι, πλήν γε δὴ τοῦ Ἀθήνησι· τοῦτο γὰρ μεγέθει τε καὶ ἐς τὴν πᾶσαν ὑπερῆρκε παρασκευὴν· ἀνὴρ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησεν Ἡρώδης ἐς μνήμην ἀποθανούσης γυναικός· ἐμοὶ δὲ τῆ Ἀθλίδι συγγραφῇ τὸ ἐς τοῦτο παρεῖθη τὸ ψδεῖον, ὅτι πρότερον ἔτι ἐξείργαστό μοι τὰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους, ἣ ὑπῆρκετο Ἡρώδης τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος." VII. 20.

Pausanias, in describing his route from the Dionysiac theatre to the western end of the Acropolis, says thus—"Ἰόντων δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τέθαπται Κάλως. τοῦτον τὸν Κάλων ἀδελφῆς παῖδα ἔντα καὶ τῆς τέχνης μαθητὴν φονεύσας Δαίδαλος ἐς Κρήτην ἔφυγε." I. 21. This story is given in detail

by Diodorus Siculus, iv. 76; and Apollodorus says of Dædalus—" οὗτος ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων ἄριστος καὶ πρῶτος ἀγαλμάτων εὐρετής. οὗτος ἐξ' Ἀθηνῶν ἔφυγεν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως βαλὼν τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς Πέρδικος υἱὸν Τάλω, μαθητὴν ὄντα, δεισας μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐφυΐαν αὐτὸν ὑπερβάλῃ." III. xv. Pausanias is singular in calling this person Κάλως, instead of Τάλως.

The tomb must have been between the great theatre and the temple of Æsculapius, which is the next object noticed by Pausanias—" τοῦ Αἰσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερόν ἐς τε τὰ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν, ὅποσα τοῦ θεοῦ πεποίηται καὶ τῶν παίδων καὶ ἐς τὰς γραφὰς θεῶς ἄξιον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνη." I. 21.

All the springs which rise in the hill of the Acropolis are impregnated with saline matter; and such springs were commonly dedicated to Æsculapius. A spring now rises at a spot, which, when Stuart visited Athens, was occupied by a mosque. This mosque had been formed out of the ruins of a church. Heathen temples were generally converted into churches; and there seems every reason to believe that this church was originally the temple of Æsculapius. It occupied a place between the north of the Odeium of Regilla and the south-western corner of the Propylæa.

Pausanias continues his route to the Acropolis in the following words—" μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Αἰσκληπιοῦ ταύτη πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἰούσιν, Θέμιδος ναὸς ἐστὶ κέχωσται δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνήμα Ἴππολύτῳ. * * * Ἀφροδίτην τε τὴν Πάνδημον, ἐπεὶ τε Ἀθηναίους Θεοσεὺς ἐς μίαν ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων πόλιν, αὐτὴν τε

“ σέβεσθαι καὶ Πειθῶ κατέστησε. * * * ἔστι δὲ καὶ
 “ Γῆς κουροτρόφου καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης. * * *
 “ τῶν δὲ Προπυλαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ Νίκης ἔστιν ἀπτέρου
 “ ναός. ἐντεῦθεν ἡ θάλασσά ἐστι σύνοπτος. καὶ ταύτη
 “ ῥίψας Αἰγυὺς ἑαυτὸν, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἐτελεύτησεν.” 1. 22.

The position of the temple of ‘Ceres Chloe,’ or, ‘Terra
 ‘nutrix,’ may be fixed with tolerable precision. A
 scholiast on *v.* 1600 of the *Œdipus Coloneus*,

τά δ’ εὐχλόου Δήμητρος εἰς ἐπόψιον
 πάγον μολούσα,

says—“ εὐχλόου Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἔστι πρὸς τῇ ἀκροπό-
 “ λει. καὶ Εὐπολις Μαρικᾶ:

ἀλλ’ εὐθὺ πόλεως εἶμι· θῦσαι γάρ με δεῖ.
 κρῖον Χλόη Δήμητρι.”

In the ‘*Lysistrata*’ of Aristophanes, the women, when
 besieged in the Acropolis, see a man approaching—

ΛΥΣΙΣ. ἄνδρ’, ἄνδρ’ ὄρῳ προσιόντα παραπεπληγ-
 μένον·

* * * *

ΓΥΝΗ. ποῦ δ’ ἐστίν, ὅστις ἐστί;

ΛΥΣΙΣ. παρὰ τὸ τῆς Χλόης. 831.

The temple must have stood close to the Propylæa,
 at its southern side. The temple of Themis, with the
 tomb of Hippolytus in front of it, probably stood close to
 that of Venus Πάνδημος. Pausanias says, that Theseus
 raised this latter temple, to commemorate the con-
 federation of Attica, which he accomplished.

There is an important passage in the Hippolytus of

Euripides, who says that Phædra built this temple—

καὶ πρὶν μὲν ἔλθειν τήνδε γῆν Τροιζηνίαν,
πέτραν παρ' αὐτὴν Παλλάδος κατόψιον
γῆς τῆσδε, ναὸν Κύπριδος καθέισατο.* 29.

Diodorus Siculus confirms this—" μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον
" Ἴππολύτου ἐπανελθόντος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρὸς τὰ
" μυστήρια, Φαίδρα διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἐρασθεῖσα αὐτοῦ,
" τότε μὲν ἀπελθόντος ἰδρύσατο ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης παρὰ
" τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὅθεν ἦν καθορᾶν τὴν Τροιζήνα." 1V. 62.
This temple probably stood near the boundary line
between the Agora and the Acropolis; for Harpo-
cration says—" Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεῶν Πάνδη-
" μου φησὶν Ἀθήνησι κληθῆναι τὴν ἀφιδρυθεῖσαν περὶ
" τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγοράν." *in voc.* ' Πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη.'

The temple of 'Wingless Victory' stood to the west of
the southern wing of the Propylæa. This temple has
lately been recovered, and exposed to view by excavation.
" The great discovery of the day" (says Mr. Bracebridge,
in a letter from Athens to Dr. Wordsworth) " is the long-
" lost temple of the Wingless Victory. * * It is of the
" Ionic order, the columns about 15 feet high and

* Two lines follow here, which have given some trouble—

ἐρῶσ' ἔρωτ' ἔκδημον Ἴππολύτῳ δ' ἔπι
τὸ λοιπὸν ὠνόμαζεν ἰδρῦσθαι θεῶν.

Dr. Monk rejects these verses as spurious; and certainly it is very
difficult to make out the construction or sense of them. Dr. Words-
worth enters, however, into a very elaborate explanation of them, *p.*
103—5. Bothe also explains them, but gives them a different sense,
not. ad l. I confess these explanations do not seem to me satisfactory
or tenable.—Dr. Wordsworth translates Ἴππολύτῳ ἔπι, *to gain Hip-*
polytus: Bothe, in honorem Hippolyti. The scholiast on the passage
says—ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἰδρῦσατο Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κακῷ Ἴππολύτου
— a strange diversity of interpretation!

“ fluted : 4 columns stand on the front, and 4 on the
 “ back : the sides of the cella being in line with the
 “ external columns. The whole is of Pentelic marble,
 “ and highly finished : the position is exactly that
 “ specified by Pausanias, on the south-western angle of
 “ the Acropolis, on the right as you ascend to the
 “ Propylæa, turning the south-western wing of which
 “ this exquisite little temple fronts. Parts of all the
 “ columns of the Victory have been found, several
 “ entire with their capitals, and these with the walls of
 “ the cella, and most of the entablatures have been
 “ replaced.” *Wordsworth, p. 278.** Pausanias, speak-
 ing of the Lacedæmonians, says—“ τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ (*sc.*
 “ Hipposthenis) ἀπαντικρὺ πέδας ἐστὶν ἔχων Ἐνυάλιος,
 “ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. γνώμη δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ Λακεδαιμονίων
 “ τε ἐς τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄγαλμα, καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν ἀπτερ-
 “ ον καλουμένην Νίκην, τῶν μὲν οὔποτε τὸν Ἐνυάλιον
 “ φεύγοντα οἰχήσεσθαί σφισιν ἐνεχόμενον ταῖς πέδασι,
 “ Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὴν Νίκην αὐτόθι αἰεὶ μένειν οὐκ ὄντων
 “ πτερῶν.” III. 15.

This deity was called Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ. Harpocration, in
voc. says—“ Λυκούργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἱερείας, ὅτι
 “ Νίκης Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανου ἀπτερον, ἔχον ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ

* “ The history of the temple of ‘ Unwinged Victory ’ is very curious.
 “ In 1676 it was found entire, by Spon and Wheeler. Subsequent
 “ travellers found that it had disappeared. In 1835, the various por-
 “ tions were discovered in an excavation, with the exception of two,
 “ which are in the British Museum. It is now entirely restored. The
 “ original structure belongs to the period of the close of the Persian
 “ wars.” *Howson and Conybeare’s Life and Epistles of St. Paul, vol. II.*
ch. 10. p. 380, note.

“*ροίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐωνύμφῳ κράνος, ἐτιμᾶτο. ὅτι δὲ ἐτιμᾶτο παρ’ Ἀθηναίους, δεδήλωκεν Ἡλιοδωρος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ περὶ ἀκροπόλεως.*” Euripides thus mentions the title—

σὲ—ἐμὴν
Ἄθάναν ἱκετεύω,

* * *

ὦ πότνα Νίκα. *Ion.* 452.

μὰ τὴν παρασπίζουσαν ἄρμασίν ποτε
Νίκην Ἄθάναν Ζηνὶ γηγενεῖς ἔπι. *Ibid.* 1528.

And Sophocles in the ‘*Philcctetes*’—

Ἐρμῆς δ’ ὁ πέμπων δόλιος ἠγγήσαιτο νῶν
Νίκα τ’ Ἄθανα Πολιάς, ἣ σώζει μ’ αἰεὶ. 133.

On which passage the scholiast says—“*οὕτως ἡ πολιοῦχος Ἀθηνᾶ Νίκη καλεῖται ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.*” Eustathius, *ad Hom. Il.* xxi. says—“*ὁ Ζεὺς ἅμα γεννήσας αὐτὴν (sc. Minervam) νίκην ἐποίησε κατὰ Τιτάνων διὸ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Νίκη ἐπωνομάσθη.* In the ‘*Lysistrata*’ of Aristophanes, the troop of old men, who besiege the women in the Acropolis, must have advanced, of course, past this temple: they therefore very naturally invoke Victory, on their march—

δέσποινα Νίκη ξυγγενοῦ, τῶν τ’ ἐν πόλει γυναικῶν
τοῦ νῦν παρεστῶτος θράσους θέσθαι τροπαῖον ἡμᾶς.

317.

We have now finished the circuit of the Acropolis.

THE PNYX AND AGORA.

The Agora of Athens occupied the valley which lies on the west of the Acropolis: on the north it was bounded by the Areiopagus; and on the south-west by the Pnyx. In later times the Agora was called the Inner Cerameicus.

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“*wall had been so close to it, as the remains still existing would show,** the sea could not possibly have been perceived from the popular assembly.” These objections seem unanswerable; and it is somewhat remarkable that Plutarch’s story should have met with such general and inconsiderate belief.

It is natural to expect that the principal public buildings connected with the legislature and jurisprudence of the country, should be in the neighbourhood of the great place of popular assembly; and such was the fact. The *Μητροῶν*, or Record Office, where the laws were kept; the *Βουλευτήριον*, where the council of 500 met; the *Θόλος*, where the Prytanes sacrificed and dined; the statues of the *ἐπώνυμοι*, to which it was required that all notices of resolutions to be proposed in the *ἐκκλησία* should be affixed;—all these were in the immediate vicinity of the Pnyx. Pausanias, in describing the buildings and works of art in the Agora (which he calls the Cerameicus,) says—“*ῥ’κοδοῦνται δὲ καὶ μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν, ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων βουλευτήριον, οὐ βουλευουσιν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίους.*” 1. 3. “*τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλησίον θόλος ἐστὶ καλουμένη, καὶ θύουσι τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ Πρυτάνεις, καὶ τινα καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα. ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν ἡρώων, ἀφ’ ὧν Ἀθηναίους ὕστερον τὰ ὀνόματα ἔσχον αἱ φυλαί.*” 1. 5.

Athenæus says—“*Εἰς τὸ Μητροῶν, ὅπου τῶν δικῶν ἦσαν αἱ γραφαί.*” 1X. 4C7. And, again, he mentions

* Forchhammer is here arguing with those who believe that these are the remains of the oldest wall; but *vid. pp.* 14, 15.

one Apellicon, whose love of antiquities was occasionally indulged at the expense of his honesty; for we read of him,—“ἐκ τοῦ Μητρώου τῶν παλαιῶν ἀυτόγραφα ψηφίσματα ὑφαιρούμενος ἐκτᾶτο, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων εἴ τι παλαιὸν εἶη καὶ ἀπόθετον.” v. 214. Suidas quotes Lycurgus to the same purpose—“Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστογέλιτου τοὺς νόμους ἔθεντο ἀναγράφαντες* ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ.” *in voc.* ‘Μητρώου.’ Demosthenes corroborates this,—“ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐξωμοσίας ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τοῖς ὑμετέροις γράμμασιν ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ ταῦτ’ ἐστίν.” *De falsa Legat.* 381.

Æschines confirms the statement of Pausanias, that the Βουλευτήριον was near the Μητρώον. “ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητρώῳ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον.” *In Ctesiph.* p. 576. *Reiske.*

Pausanias says that the following works of art were in the senate-house. “Βουλαίου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ξόανον Διὸς, καὶ Ἀπόλλων, τέχνη Πεισίου, καὶ Δῆμος, ἔργον Λύσωνος. τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας ἔγραψε Πρωτογένης ὁ Καύνιος.” i. 3. Demosthenes repeatedly refers to the senate-house. “ἐὰν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ Βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πνυκί ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.” *De Cor.* 244. “οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ Βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ’ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε.” *Ibid.* 284.

We have seen that the Tholus was close to the Senate-house. Suidas says—“θόλος οἶκος περιφερῆς, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Πρυτάνεις εἰσιτῶντο.” *in voc.* “θόλος κυρίως μὲν

* The MSS. have ἀναγράψαι, which is altered by Kuster to ἀναγράφαντες, or, μετὰ τὸ ἀναγράψαι.

“καμάρα· καταχρηστικῶς δὲ οἶκος εἰς ὃξὺ ἀπολήγουσαν
 “ἔχων τὴν στέγην κατασκευασμένος. ἡ ὄπου οἱ Πρυ-
 “τάνεις καὶ ἡ Βουλὴ συνεστιῶντο· θηλυκῶς δὲ ἔλεγον
 “τὴν θόλον.” *Hesych. in voc.* “ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀλιγαρχία
 “ἐγένετο, οἱ τριάκοντα αὐτὸ μεταπεμφάμενοί με πέμπτον
 “αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θόλον.” *Plat. Apol. Socr.* 32. c. Both
 Hesychius and Suidas give Σκιάς as another name for
 this building. “σκιᾶς· τὸ Πρυτανεῖον.” *Hesych.* “σκιᾶς
 “ἀναδενδράς· σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸν παρὰ Ἀθηναίους λε-
 “γόμενον θόλον.” *Suid.* The Prytanen dined there
 daily. “ἡ θόλος ἐν ᾗ συνεδείπνουν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας
 “πεντήκοντα τῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων βουλῆς, ἡ πρυτα-
 “νεύουσα φυλή.” *Pollux,* ix. 153.

Near the Tholus, and to the eastward of it, stood the
 bronze statues of the ten deified men, who gave their
 names to the 10 φυλαί of Athens. Suidas gives this
 account of them—“ἐπόνυμοι· οἱ κατ’ ἀρετὴν διαπρέπ-
 “οντες ἄστοι καὶ ξένοι χαλκαῖς εἰκόσιν ἐτιμῶντο· ὑφ’
 “ὧν ἐνίων καὶ ταῖς φυλαῖς ἐτέθη ὀνόματα. Φασὶ δ’
 “ἐκεῖθεν πρῶτον δόξαι τὰς φυλὰς ἐξηγησασθαι. ἀπο-
 “ρύντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄνομα ταῖς φυλαῖς θέσθαι, ἀπὸ
 “τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἕκαστον ἑκατὸν
 “ὀνόματα ἴδια γραψάμενον κληρῶσαι. παρὰ γοῦν τὰς
 “εἰκόνας τῶν Ἐπωνύμων τούτων εἰσηγοῦντο τοὺς νό-
 “μους, πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι κυρίου· ἵν’ ἐντυγχάνοντες αὐ-
 “τοῖς οἱ βουλόμενοι κατηγοροῖεν. So Demosthenes—
 “ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν τοῖς οὐσι νόμοις ὑμῖν
 “κυρίοις διωρισμένα ἀκριβῶς καὶ σαφῶς πάνθ’ ὅσα δεῖ
 “ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τεθήσεσθαι νόμων. * * *
 “προστάττει πρῶτον μὲν ἐκθεῖναι πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπω-

“*νύμων γράψαντα, σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλευμένῳ.*” *con. Timocr.* 705.

The ten Eponymous heroes represented the confederated Attic nation; for every *δήμος* was incorporated into some one *φυλή*; and thus, the posting up of every new bill (*προβούλευμα*) which was to be proposed to the *ἐκκλησία*, on the statues of the *ἐπώνυμοι*, was a public and fitting mode of proclamation to the whole Attic people.

Such were the buildings and statues immediately adjacent and connected by intimate political relations with the Pnyx.

The altar of the twelve gods stood in the Agora, probably near its centre. Thucydides thus speaks of it—“*Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἰππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος υἱός, τοῦ πάππου ἔχων τοῦνομα, ὃς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀρχῶν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Πυθίῳ. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσοικοδομήσας ὕστερον ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων μεῖζον μῆκος, τοῦ βωμοῦ ἠφάνισε τοῦπίγραμμα· τοῦ δὲ ἐν Πυθίῳ ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν, ἀμυδροῦς γράμμασι, λέγον τάδε.*”

“*μνήμα τόδ' ἦς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἰππίου υἱὸς θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.*” VI. 54.

Herodotus mentions it—“*Ἀθηναίων ἰρὰ ποιούντων τοῖσι δώδεκα θεοῖσι ἰκέται ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς,*” (*sc. Plataenses.*) VI. 108. This altar was the ‘*milliarium aureum*’ of Athens: from it all the roads in Attica were measured. Herodotus (II. 7) says—“*ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς τὴν Ἡλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ*

“ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἰόντι παραπλησίη τὸ μήκος τῇ ἐξ
 “ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ, τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δωδέκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ
 “ φερούση ἔς τε Πίσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
 “ Ὀλυμπίου.”* Aristophanes was really thinking of
 Athens, when he made Meton thus speak of dividing
 the realms of air—

ὀρθῶ μετρήσω κανόνι προστιθείς ἵνα
 ὁ κύκλος γένηται τετράγωνος, κὰν μέσῳ
 ἀγορά, φέρουσαι δ' ὄσιν εἰς αὐτὴν ὁδοὶ
 ὀρθαὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ μέσον, ὥσπερ δ' ἀστέρος,
 αὐτοῦ κυκλοτεροῦς ὄντος, ὀρθαὶ πανταχῇ
 ἀκτίνες ἀπολάμπωσιν. *Aves*, 1004.

To the eastward of the statues of the Eponymi, amongst other statues, was that of Demosthenes. The temple of Mars stood on the southern side of his own hill; and, beyond the statue of Demosthenes, were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, which stood at the eastern limit of the Agora, at the foot of the slope of the Acropolis. “ μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπωνύμων
 “ ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα θεῶν * * * ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης
 “ * * * τῆς δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους εἰκόνας πλησίον
 “ Ἀρεῶς ἐστὶν ἱερόν * * * οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστᾶσιν Ἀρ-
 “ μόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογέλτων οἱ κτείναντες Ἴππαρχον.”

* Bæhr's note on this passage, and Böckh's commentary on the 12th inscription in his 'Corpus Inscriptionum,' should by all means be consulted. There is also a mutilated inscription, No. 825, which is thus restored.

ἡ πόλις ἔστησέν με βροτοῖς μνημεῖον ἔληθες,
 πᾶσιν σημαίνειν μέτρον ὁδοπορίας·
 ἔστιν γὰρ τὸ μεταξὺ θεῶν πρὸς δώδεκα βωμῶν
 ἔξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντ' ἐκ λιμένος στάδιοι.

This inscription was found on a marble, which the Turks had driven into the fortifications of the Acropolis. It must have stood on the road to the Peiræus.

“ ῥοιάν, ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐωνύμφῳ κράνος, ἐτιμάτο. ὅτι δὲ ἐτι-
 “ μάτο παρ’ Ἀθηναίους, δεδήλωκεν Ἡλιοδωρος ἐν τῇ
 “ πρώτῃ περὶ ἀκροπόλεως.” Euripides thus mentions
 the title—

σὲ—ἐμὴν
 Ἀθάναν ἱκετεύω,

* * *

ὦ πότνα Νίκα. *Ion.* 452.

μὰ τὴν παρασπίζουσαν ἄρμασίν ποτε
 Νίκην Ἀθάναν Ζηνὶ γηγενεῖς ἔπι. *Ibid.* 1528.

And Sophocles in the ‘*Philoctetes*’—

Ἐρμῆς δ’ ὁ πέμπων δόλιος ἠγγήσαιο νῶν
 Νίκα τ’ Ἀθὰνα Πολιάς, ἣ σώζει μ’ αἰεὶ. 133.

On which passage the scholiast says—“ οὕτως ἡ πολιοῦ-
 “ χος Ἀθηνᾶ Νίκη καλεῖται ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.” Eustathius,
ad Hom. Il. xxi. says—“ ὁ Ζεὺς ἅμα γεννήσας αὐτὴν
 “ (sc. Minervam) νίκην ἐποίησε κατὰ Τιτάνων διὸ καὶ
 “ Ἀθηνᾶ Νίκη ἐπωνομάσθη. In the ‘*Lysistrata*’ of
 Aristophanes, the troop of old men, who besiege the
 women in the Acropolis, must have advanced, of course,
 past this temple : they therefore very naturally invoke
 Victory, on their march—

δέσποινα Νίκη ξυγγενοῦ, τῶν τ’ ἐν πόλει γυναικῶν
 τοῦ νῦν παρεστῶτος θράσους θέσθαι τροπαῖον ἡμᾶς.

317.

We have now finished the circuit of the Acropolis.

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 “ another Bema, which has evidently been mutilated, by

“design.” But Forchhammer (*p.* 17) has the following judicious, though severe, remarks on the story told by Plutarch. “This anecdote,” says he, “if literally understood, is exceedingly absurd. Having mentioned that Themistocles, by directing the minds of the Athenians to the dominion of the sea, had encouraged democracy, Plutarch continues” (Forchhammer then quotes the passage given in the text:) “This would indeed have been the strangest means ever applied to such a purpose, and a means, moreover, that required enormous labour. One must see the high, long, smoothly-worked wall of the rock, with the *bema* naturally projecting from it; and, then, the large blocks of rock, out of which the lower structure of the wide semicircle has been fitted for the listening people; and then ask oneself,—Is it likely that such an enormous work has been carried out at such a time, and for no other purpose, but to hinder the orator from imbibing democratic notions, by turning his face to the sea? And is it likely that this should have been done by the Thirty, *who never summoned an assembly of the People*, and knew how to change the opinions of him who even in secret had expressed democratical sentiments, not by enormous buildings, but by a draught of poison? Surely our friend Plutarch must have taken a joke in earnest, and, after him, most of the moderns. But suppose the spot for holding the popular assembly had been higher up in the time of Themistocles, (for, from that now existing, nobody yet has discovered the sea;) yet, *if the town-*

"wall had been so close to it, as the remains still existing would show,* the sea could not possibly have been perceived from the popular assembly." These objections seem unanswerable; and it is somewhat remarkable that Plutarch's story should have met with such general and inconsiderate belief.

It is natural to expect that the principal public buildings connected with the legislature and jurisprudence of the country, should be in the neighbourhood of the great place of popular assembly; and such was the fact. The Μητρώον, or Record Office, where the laws were kept; the Βουλευτήριον, where the council of 500 met; the Θόλος, where the Prytanes sacrificed and dined; the statues of the ἐπώνυμοι, to which it was required that all notices of resolutions to be proposed in the ἐκκλησία should be affixed;—all these were in the immediate vicinity of the Pnyx. Pausanias, in describing the buildings and works of art in the Agora (which he calls the Cerameicus,) says—"ῥκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν, ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων βουλευτήριον, οὐ βουλευουσιν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίους." 1. 3. "τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλησίον θόλος ἐστὶ καλουμένη, καὶ θύουσι τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ Πρυτάνεις, καὶ τινα καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα. ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν ἡρώων, ἀφ' ὧν Ἀθηναίους ὕστερον τὰ ὀνόματα ἔσχον αἱ φυλαί." 1. 5.

Athenæus says—"Εἰς τὸ Μητρώον, ὅπου τῶν δικῶν ἦσαν αἱ γραφαί." 1x. 4c7. And, again, he mentions

* Forchhammer is here arguing with those who believe that these are the remains of the oldest wall; but *vid. pp.* 14, 15.

one Apellicon, whose love of antiquities was occasionally indulged at the expense of his honesty; for we read of him,—“ἐκ τοῦ Μητρώου τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτόγραφα ψηφίσματα ὑφαιρούμενος ἐκτᾶτο, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων εἴ τι παλαιὸν εἶη καὶ ἀπόθετον.” v. 214. Suidas quotes Lycurgus to the same purpose—“Λυκούργος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος τοὺς νόμους ἔθεντο ἀναγράφαντες* ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ.” *in voc.* ‘Μητρώον.’ Demosthenes corroborates this,—“ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐξωμοσίας ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τοῖς ὑμετέροις γράμμασιν ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ ταῦτ’ ἐστίν.” *De falsa Legat.* 381.

Æschines confirms the statement of Pausanias, that the Βουλευτήριον was near the Μητρώον. “ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητρώῳ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον.” *In Ctesiph.* p. 576. *Reiske.*

Pausanias says that the following works of art were in the senate-house. “Βουλαίου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ξόανον Διὸς, καὶ Ἀπόλλων, τέχνη Πεισίου, καὶ Δήμος, ἔργον Λύσωνος. τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας ἔγραψε Πρωτογένης ὁ Καίνιος.” i. 3. Demosthenes repeatedly refers to the senate-house. “ἐὰν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοί, ἐν τῷ Βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πνυκί ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.” *De Cor.* 244. “οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλήν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ Βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ’ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε.” *Ibid.* 284.

We have seen that the Tholus was close to the Senate-house. Suidas says—“θόλος οἶκος περιφερῆς, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Πρυτάνεις εἰστιῶντο.” *in voc.* “θόλος κυρίως μὲν

* The MSS. have ἀναγράψαι, which is altered by Kuster to ἀναγράφαντες, or, μετὰ τὸ ἀναγράψαι.

“καμάρα· καταχρηστικῶς δὲ οἶκος εἰς ὃξὺ ἀπολήγουσαν
 “ἔχων τὴν στέγην κατασκευασμένος. ἢ ὅπου οἱ Πρυ-
 “τάνεις καὶ ἡ Βουλὴ συνεστιῶντο· θηλυκῶς δὲ ἔλεγον
 “τὴν θόλον.” *Hesych.* *in voc.* “ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀλιγαρχία
 “ἐγένετο, οἱ τριάκοντα αὐτὸ μεταπεμφθέντες με πέμπτον
 “αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θόλον.” *Plat. Apol. Socr.* 32. c. Both
 Hesychius and Suidas give Σκιάς as another name for
 this building. “σκιάς· τὸ Πρυτανεῖον.” *Hesych.* “σκιάς·
 “ἀναδενδράς· σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸν παρὰ Ἀθηναίους λε-
 “γόμενον θόλον.” *Suid.* The Prytanes dined there
 daily. “ἡ θόλος ἐν ᾗ συνεδείπνουν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας
 “πεντήκοντα τῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων βουλῆς, ἡ πρυτα-
 “νεύουσα φυλή.” *Pollux,* ix. 153.

Near the Tholus, and to the eastward of it, stood the
 bronze statues of the ten deified men, who gave their
 names to the 10 φυλαί of Athens. Suidas gives this
 account of them—“ἐπώνυμοι· οἱ κατ’ ἀρετὴν διαπρέπ-
 “οντες ἄστοι καὶ ξένοι χαλκαῖς εἰκόσιν ἐτιμῶντο· ὑφ’
 “ὧν ἐνίων καὶ ταῖς φυλαῖς ἐτέθη ὀνόματα. Φασὶ δ’
 “ἐκεῖθεν πρῶτον δόξαι τὰς φυλάς ἐξηγήσασθαι. ἀπο-
 “ρούντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄνομα ταῖς φυλαῖς θέσθαι, ἀπὸ
 “τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἕκαστον ἑκατὸν
 “ὀνόματα ἴδια γραψάμενον κληρῶσαι. παρὰ γοῦν τὰς
 “εἰκόνας τῶν Ἐπωνύμων τούτων εἰσηγοῦντο τοὺς νό-
 “μους, πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι κυρίου· ἢ ἐντυγχάνοντες αὐ-
 “τοῖς οἱ βουλόμενοι κατηγοροῖεν. So Demosthenes—
 “ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν τοῖς οὖσι νόμοις ὑμῖν
 “κυρίοις διωρισμένα ἀκριβῶς καὶ σαφῶς πάνθ’ ὅσα δεῖ
 “ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τεθήσεσθαι νόμων. * * *
 “προστάττει πρῶτον μὲν ἐκθεῖναι πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπω-

“*νύμων γράψαντα, σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλευμένῳ.*” *cop.*
Τιμοστ. 705.

The ten Eponymous heroes represented the confederated Attic nation; for every *δήμος* was incorporated into some one *φυλή*; and thus, the posting up of every new bill (*προβούλευμα*) which was to be proposed to the *ἐκκλησία*, on the statues of the *ἐπώνυμοι*, was a public and fitting mode of proclamation to the whole Attic people.

Such were the buildings and statues immediately adjacent and connected by intimate political relations with the Pnyx.

The altar of the twelve gods stood in the Agora, probably near its centre. Thucydides thus speaks of it—“*Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἰππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος υἱὸς, τοῦ πάππου ἔχων τοῦνομα, ὃς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἄρχων ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Πυθίου. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσοικοδομήσας ὕστερον ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων μείζον μῆκος, τοῦ βωμοῦ ἠφάνισε τοῦπίγραμμα· τοῦ δὲ ἐν Πυθίου ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν, ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι, λέγον τάδε.*”

“*μνήμα τόδ’ ἦς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἰππίου υἱὸς
“ θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.”* VI. 54.

Herodotus mentions it—“*Ἀθηναίων ἰρὰ ποιούντων τοῖσι δώδεκα θεοῖσι ἰκέται ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς,*” (*sc. Platæenses.*) VI. 108. This altar was the ‘*milliarium aureum*’ of Athens: from it all the roads in Attica were measured. Herodotus (II. 7) says—“*ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς τὴν Ἥλιου πόλιν ἀπὸ*

“ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἰόντι παραπλησίη τὸ μήκος τῇ ἔξ
 “ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ, τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δωδέκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ
 “ φερούση ἔς τε Πίσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
 “ Ὀλυμπίου.”* Aristophanes was really thinking of
 Athens, when he made Meton thus speak of dividing
 the realms of air—

ὀρθῶ μετρήσω κανόνι προστιθεὶς ἵνα
 ὁ κύκλος γένηται τετράγωνος, κὰν μέσφω
 ἀγορά, φέρουσαι δ' ὧσιν εἰς αὐτὴν ὁδοὶ
 ὀρθαὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ μέσον, ὥσπερ δ' ἀστέρος,
 αὐτοῦ κυκλοτεροῦς ὄντος, ὀρθαὶ πανταχῇ
 ἀκτίνες ἀπολάμπωσιν. *Aves*, 1004.

To the eastward of the statues of the Eponymi, amongst other statues, was that of Demosthenes. The temple of Mars stood on the southern side of his own hill; and, beyond the statue of Demosthenes, were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, which stood at the eastern limit of the Agora, at the foot of the slope of the Acropolis. “ μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπωνύμων
 “ ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα θεῶν * * * ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης
 “ * * * τῆς δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους εἰκόνας πλησίον
 “ Ἀρεῶς ἐστὶν ἱερόν * * * οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστᾶσιν Ἀρ-
 “ μόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων οἱ κτείναντες Ἴππαρχον.”

* Bæhr's note on this passage, and Böckh's commentary on the 12th inscription in his 'Corpus Inscriptionum,' should by all means be consulted. There is also a mutilated inscription, No. 825, which is thus restored.

ἡ πόλις ἔστησέν με βροτοῖς μνημεῖον ἔληθες,
 πᾶσιν σημαίνει μέτρον ὁδοποιρίας
 ἔστιν γὰρ τὸ μεταξὺ θεῶν πρὸς δώδεκα βωμῶν
 ἔξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντ' ἐκ λιμένος στάδιοι.

This inscription was found on a marble, which the Turks had driven into the fortifications of the Acropolis. It must have stood on the road to the Peiræus.

Pausan. i. 8. These two last statues were made of bronze. Xerxes carried them away, but Alexander restored them, or, at least, ordered their restoration.

Arrian says—"πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα κατελήφθη αὐ-
 " τοῦ, ὅσα Ξέρξης ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄγων ἦλθε· τὰ τε
 " ἄλλα καὶ Ἄρμολοῦ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος χαλκαὶ εἰ-
 " κόνες· καὶ ταύτας Ἀθηναίους πέμπει ὀπίσω Ἀλέξ-
 " ανδρος, καὶ νῦν κεῖνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ αἰ
 " εἰκόνες, ἧ ἀνίμεν ἐς πόλιν καταπτικρὸν τοῦ Μητρώου."

De Exped. Alex. III. 16. Pliny tells the same story. He says that Praxiteles was the sculptor who executed these statues—"Praxiteles * * fecit * * Harmodium
 " et Aristogitonem tyrannicidas, quos a Xerxe Persarum
 " rege captos victa Perside Atheniensibus remisit Magnus
 " Alexander." *Plin. N.H.* XXXIV. VIII. 10.* Valerius
 Maximus (II. x. 1. *Extern.*) says that Seleucus restored
 them; and Pausanias gives the credit of the restoration
 to Antiochus.

At the southern end of the Agora stood the Φερὸρφεά-
 τιον, or temple of Proserpine. At the northern end stood
 the Λεωκόριον; and this northern end led to the quarter

* Pliny is here guilty of a gross anachronism, for Praxiteles lived in the time of Alexander the Great. Possibly Praxiteles executed a fresh pair of statues. With regard to Harmodius and Aristogeiton, they have fared luckily: they seem to have known "where a commodity of "good names was to be bought." Men degraded by infamous immorality,—mere vulgar assassins, who disguised a foul spirit of revenge under the mask of patriotism,—they were nevertheless revered by their countrymen as heroes. But, however the mob of Athenians may have been led, by the love of their democratical form of government, to pay extraordinary honour to men, whom they erroneously believed to have been the champions of national freedom; no excuse can justify us in regarding such characters with any other feelings than those of disgust and abhorrence. Surely, no *virtuous* Athenian could have beheld the statues of these men, without a blush of shame!

of the city called *Μελίτη*. A passage in Demosthenes illustrates these several positions—" περιπατούντος, ὥσπερ εἰώθειν, ἐσπέρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ * * * παρέρχεται Κτησίας μεθύων κατὰ τὸ Λεωκόριον· κατιδὼν δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ κραιγιάσας καὶ διαλεχθεὶς τι πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτως, ὡς ἂν μεθύων, ὥστε μὴ μαθεῖν ὃ τι λέγοι, παρήλθε πρὸς Μελίτην ἄνω· ἔπινον γὰρ ἐνταῦθα (ταῦτα γὰρ ὕστερον ἐπυθόμεθα) Κόνων οὔτοςί, Θεότιμός τις, Σπίνθαρος ὁ Εὐβούλου, Θεογένης ὁ Ἀνδρομένους, πολλοὶ τινες" οὐς ἐξαναατήσας ὁ Κτησίας ἐπορεύετο κατ' ἀγοράν. καὶ ἡμῖν συμβαίνει ἀναστρέφουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Φερῆρεφάτιου καὶ περιπατοῦσι πάλιν κατ' αὐτό πως τὸ Λεωκόριον εἶναι καὶ τούτοις περιτυγχάνομεν." *contra Conon*. 1258-9. And Hesychius calls the Φερῆρεφάτιον, " τόπος ἐν ἀγορᾷ."* The plaintiff therefore took a stroll in the evening up and down the Agora; much as Horace amused himself in the forum at Rome.

'Fallacem Circum vespertinumque pererret

'Sæpe forum.'

Sat. I. VI. 113.

Hesychius gives the following explanation of the word *Λεωκόριον*. " τῶν Λεῶ θυγατέρων μνημεῖον, τὸ καλούμενον Λεωκόριον, ἐν μέσφ τῶ Κεραμεικῶ." And Photius says—" Λεωκόριον ἱερὸν Ἀθήνησι, τοῦ δὲ Λεῶ θυγατέρες ἐγένοντο τρεῖς Φασιθεῖα, Θεόπη, Εὐβούλη· αἱ παρθένοι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐσφαγιάσθησαν κατὰ χρόνον, ἐκόντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιδόντος. Ὁ δὲ Λεῶς

* Forchhammer must have overlooked this passage in Hesychius; for he places the Φερῆρεφάτιον on the south bank of the Ilissus: but this he did, to carry out his idea of the extent of the Cerameicus, to which he has given a most exaggerated length.

“ υἱὸς ἦν Ὀρφέως, ἧ [fors. οὐ] ἐπώνυμος καὶ ἡ Λεωντὶς φυλῆ.” The scholiast on the word Λεωκόριον in *Thucydides* (1.20) says—“ ἐλίμωξέ ποτε ἡ Ἀττικὴ, καὶ λύσις ἦν “ τῶν δεινῶν παίδων σφαγῆ. Λεῶς οὖν τις τὰς ἑαυτοῦ “ κόρας ἐπιδέδωκε καὶ ἀπήλλαξε τοῦ λιμοῦ τὴν πόλιν. “ καὶ τούτων ἱερὸν ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὸ καλούμενον “ Λεωκόριον.” Cicero mentions the temple—“ In ple- “ risque civitatibus intelligi potest augendæ virtutis “ gratia, quo libentius reipublicæ causa periculum adiret “ optimus quisque, virorum fortium memoriam honore “ deorum immortalium consecratam. Ob eam enim “ ipsam causam Erectheus Athenis filiæque ejus in “ numero deorum sunt. Itemque Leoidum est delubrum “ Athenis, quod Leocorion vocatur.” *De Nat. Deor.* III. 19.

We have already seen (*p.* 11.) that Pausanias begins his description of Athens from the gate called in the map Δίπυλον. The first objects on entering this gate were, the Πομπεῖον, a temple of Ceres, the στοὰ βασιλείος, the στοὰ of Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος, and the temple of Apollo Πατρῶος. Εἰσελθόντων δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἰκο- “ δόμημα ἐς παρασκευὴν ἐστὶ τῶν πομπῶν ἃς πέμπουσι, “ τὰς μὲν ἄνα πᾶν ἔτος,” (he means the lesser Panathenæa) “ τὰς δὲ καὶ χρόνον διαλείποντος,” (he means the greater Panathenæa, which were celebrated every 4th year) “ καὶ πλησίον ναὸς ἐστὶ Δήμητρος. * * * “ στοαὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικόν, καὶ “ εἰκόνες πρὸ αὐτῶν χαλκαῖ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, “ ὅσοις τι ὑπῆρχε, καὶ ὧν τις λόγος ἐς δόξαν. ἡ δὲ “ ἑτέρα τῶν στοῶν ἔχει μὲν ἱερὰ θεῶν, ἔχει δὲ γυμνά-

“σιον Ἐρμοῦ καλούμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Πολυτίωνος οἰκία, καθ’ ἣν παρὰ τὴν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι δρᾶσαι τελετὴν Ἀθηναίων φασὶν οὐ τοὺς ἀφανεστάτους.” 1. 2. (He alludes here to the mock celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries by Alcibiades.) “πρώτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλείος, ἔνθα καθίζει βασιλεὺς ἐνιαυσίαν ἄρχων ἀρχὴν καλουμένην βασιλείαν. * * * ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος. * * * στοὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ὑποδομήται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς δώδεκα καλουμένους. * * * ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς Εὐφράνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίους, καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρῶν ἐπικλησιν.” 1. 3.

The Πομπεῖον was a building in which the vessels, ornaments, and images, whether of gold or silver (πομπεῖα,) used in sacred processions, were kept. Hesychius seems to confound the two words, for he says—“πομπεῖα τὰ πρὸς τὰς πομπὰς σκεύη ἢ τόποι ἐν οἷς τὰ ἐκ τῆς πομπῆς ἀποτίθεται.” Demosthenes mentions the building: “καὶ ταῦτα πάντες ἴστε ἐν τῷ Πομπεῖῳ διαμετρούμενοι.” *adv. Phorm.* 918. The sacred vessels kept here must have been of great value; for Thucydides, and, after him, Diodorus Siculus, specify these in their enumeration of the resources of Athens—“χωρὶς δὲ χρυσίου ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοις καὶ δημοσίοις καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη περὶ τε τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκύλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιούτότροπον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢν ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων.” *Thucyd.* II. 13. “χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τὰ τε πομπεῖα σκεύη καὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ σκύλα πεντακοσίων ἄξια ταλάντων ἀπεφῆνατο.” *Diod. Sic.* XII. 40.*

* Forchhammer, in support of his theory respecting the gate from

It was natural that a temple of the goddess worshipped at Eleusis should stand, as we learn from Pausanias that it did, near the Πομπείον.

The βασιλειος στοά was the building in which the ἄρχων βασιλεύς held his court; and it stood near the στοά of Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος. “ δύο εἰσὶ στοαὶ παρ’ ἀλλήλας, “ ἣ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἡ βασιλειος.” *Suid. in voc. ‘ βασιλειος.’* The court of Areiopagus sometimes held its sittings in the βασιλειος στοά. “ τὸ τὴν Ἀρείου “ ἔπαγον βουλὴν ὅταν ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ καθεζομένη “ περισχοινίσσῃται, κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐφ’ ἑαυτῆς “ εἶναι.” *Demosth. contra Aristog. 776.*

The author of the letters of Æschines says, that the Thebans fined Pindar for panegyricizing Athens; on which the Athenians—“ διπλὴν αὐτῷ τὴν ζημίαν ἀπ- “ ἔδασαν, μετὰ τοῦ εἰκόνι χαλκῇ τιμῆσαι καὶ ἦν αὐτῇ “ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι, πρὸ τῆς βασιλείου στοᾶς, καθήμενος “ ἐνδύματι καὶ λύρα ὁ Πίνδαρος, διάδημα ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ “ τῶν γονάτων ἀνειλιγμένον βιβλίον.” *Æp. 4. Aristo-*

which Pausanias started, places the Πομπείον immediately inside the Peiraic gate. It is not easy to understand why such a building should have stood in so inconvenient a place: the objection to the obvious impropriety of such a position is not removed by M. Forchhammer's rather irrelevant remark—“ Were we to suppose that Pausanias intended to allude to the Panathenaic procession, the distance of this Πομπείον from the place where the Panathenaic processions began, in the Outer Cerameicus, would no more furnish a reason against the position I have assigned to it, than the fact that the regalia used in the coronation of the kings of England are kept in the Tower, would prove that the Tower was close to Westminster Abbey.” *p. 31.* Probably, the regalia would *not* be kept in the Tower, if they were wanted as often as the vessels in the Πομπείον, instead of being required only a few times in a century. Forchhammer thinks that the vessels of the Πομπείον were not used in the Panathenaic, but only in the Eleusinian, processions. But supposing this *were* the case, the objection lies just as strong against the fitness of this site of the building.

phanes says—

καὶ κηρύξει τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ βῆτ' ἐπὶ τὴν στοιάν ἀκο-
λουθεῖν

τὴν βασιλείου δειπνήσοντας· τὸ δὲ θῆγ' ἐς τὴν
παρὰ ταύτην. *Eccles.* 684.

By the last words, τὴν παρὰ ταύτην, the poet undoubtedly means the στοὰ Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου. The poet's two tickets were as near each other in name, as the porticoes were in place. Suidas says—"ἐλευθέριος· ὁ Ζεὺς
" διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους (*libertos*)
" τὴν στοάν οἰκοδομήσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ. οὕτω μὲν
" Ὑπερίδης. ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος, οὐ διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν, ἀλλὰ
" διὰ τὸ τῆς Μηδικῆς δουλείας καὶ ἐπικρατείας ἀπαλ-
" λαγήναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους." *in voc.*

The shields of distinguished Athenians who perished in battle were sometimes suspended in the portico of Jupiter. Pausanias specifies Leocritus, as having received this honour—"καὶ οἱ πεσόντι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τιμαὶ
" παρ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἄλλαι γεγονάσι, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα
" ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ, τὸ ὄνομα Λεωκρίτου
" καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα ἐπιγράψαντες." I. xxvi. 2. Cydias also is commemorated, who was killed in battle with the Gauls—"τὴν ἀσπίδα οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἐλευ-
" θερίῳ Διὶ· καὶ ἦν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· * * * τοῦτο μὲν δὴ
" ἐπεγέγραπτο, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὀμοῦ Σύλλα καὶ ἄλλα τῶν
" Ἀθήνησι, καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς
" καθελεῖν ἀσπίδας." X. xxi. 3.

The worship of Apollo was introduced into Athens by the Ionians.* He was called Πατρῶος, either because

* On this subject, see 'Muller's History of the Dorians,' *b.* II. *ch.* II. 13 and 15.

he was the father of Ion, or because he was the god of the *πατραί* of the Ionians. Demosthenes thus invokes him—"καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῶς ἐστὶ τῆς πόλει." *De Cor.* 274.

The naval car, which carried the sacred Peplos in the great Panathenaic procession, was kept in this temple of Apollo, "to be exhibited" (as Dr. Wordsworth says) "in after times, as an object of admiration to travellers, when it had ceased to perform its festal voyages; as the ducal barge of Venice, the Bucentoro, in which the Doge solemnized the annual marriage of the sea, is now preserved for the same purpose in the Venetian Arsenal." *Ch.* 23. *p.* 186. Pausanias says, that the vessel was kept "near the Areiopagus," a situation which perfectly agrees with his description of the site of the temple of Apollo Πατρῶος.—"τοῦ δὲ Ἀρείου πάγου πλησίον δέικνυται ναῦς ποιηθεῖσα εἰς τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων πομπήν." I. xxix. 1. The Mother of the gods, and the Father of the people, naturally had their temples near each other.

Pausanias states, that the temple of Vulcan was above, or to the north of, the βασιλείος στοά; and, proceeding eastward on his route, he comes to the statue of Mercury Ἀγοραῖος, and the famous ποικίλη στοά. "ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην βασιλείου ναός ἐστὶν Ἡφαίστου * * * ἰοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοὰν ἣν ποικίλην ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἐστὶν Ἑρμῆς χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος,

“καὶ πύλη πλησίον ἔπεστι δὲ οἱ τρόπαιον Ἀθηναίων ἱππομαχίᾳ κρατησάντων Πλειστάρχον.” 1. 14, 15. Pausanias then describes the pictures in the ποικίλη στοά, with great minuteness. They were in three great compartments. The first contained a picture of the battle of Œnoe, or, rather, of the combatants drawn up in battle array against each other, before closing in action. The centre compartment represented Theseus fighting the Amazons. The last compartment contained the famous picture of the battle of Marathon.

Pausanias thus describes it—“τελευταῖον δὲ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσὶν οἱ μαχησάμενοι Μαραθῶνι. Βοιωτῶν δὲ οἱ Πλάταιαν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσον ἦν Ἀττικόν, ἴασιν ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς βαρβάροις· καὶ ταύτη μὲν ἐστὶν ἴσα παρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ ἔργον, τὸ δὲ ἔσω τῆς μάχης, φεύγοντες εἰσὶν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους. ἔσχατα δὲ τῆς γραφῆς νῆες τε αἱ Φοίνισσαι, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς ταύτας φονεύοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μαραθῶν γεγραμμένος ἐστὶν ἥρωσ, ἀφ’ οὗ τὸ πῆδιον ὠνόμασται, καὶ Θησεὺς ἀνιόντι ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος, Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἡρακλῆς. Μαραθωνίους γάρ, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλῆς ἐνομίσθη θεὸς ἐν πρώτοις. τῶν μαχομένων δὲ δῆλοι μάλιστά εἰσιν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Καλλιμάχος τε ὃς Ἀθηναίοις πολεμαρχεῖν ἤρητο, καὶ Μιλτιάδης τῶν στρατηγούντων, ἥρωσ τε Ἐχετλος καλούμενος, οὗ καὶ ὕστερον ποιήσομαι μνήμην.” *Pausan.* 1. 15. “Huic Miltiadi, qui Athenas totamque Græciam liberavit, talis honos tributus est, in porticu quæ Pæcile vocatur, quum pugna depingeretur Marathonica, ut in decem præ-

“torum numero prima ejus imago poneretur, isque hortaretur milites, praeliumque committeret.” *Corn. Nep. Miltiad.* 6. This was the στοά which gave name to the Stoic school of philosophy.

“Quæque docet sapiens *braccatis illita Medis*
“*Porticus.*” *Pers.* III. 53.

Diogenes Laertius, *lib.* VII, I. 6, says of Zeno—“ἀνακάμπτων δὲ ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ τῇ καὶ Πεισιανακτεῖφ καλουμένη, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς Πολυγνώτου, Ποικίλῃ, διέθετο τοὺς λόγους, βουλόμενος καὶ τὸ χωρὶον ἀπερίστατον ποιῆσαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν τριάκοντα, τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τοὺς χίλους τετρακοσίους ἀνήρηντο ἐν αὐτῷ. προσήεσαν δὲ λοιπὸν ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Στωϊκοὶ ἐκλήθησαν καὶ οἱ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως, πρότερον Ζηνῶνιοι καλούμενοι.” Pliny speaks of Polygnotus as one of the painters of the ποικίλη στοά—“Hic (Polygnotus Thasius) et Athenis porticum, quæ Pœcile vocatur, gratuito, cum partem ejus Micon mercede pingeret: unde major hinc auctoritas.” *N. H.* XXXV. IX. 35.

The temple of Vulcan stood *beyond* the Agora, ὑπὲρ τὸν Κεραμεικόν, in the district of the urban Colonus. The bronze statue of Mercury Ἄγοραῖος stood near; and the ποικίλη στοά, which was close at hand, must have stood at the northern entrance of the Agora. This statue of Mercury is called by Harpocration Ἐρμῆς ὁ πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι. Lucian, *Jur. Trag.* 33, says—“ὁ σὸς, ὦ Ἐρμῆ, ἀδελφός ἐστιν, ὁ ἀγοραῖος, ὁ παρὰ τὴν ποικίλην.” Demosthenes says—“περὶ τὸν Ἐρμῆν τὸν πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι προσεκαλεσάμην.” *contr. Everg.* 1146.

The gate, near which this statue of Mercury stood, is taken, by the generality of modern topographers, to mean the "gate of the Agora." Forchhammer denies the propriety of this: he thinks that this *πυλῖς* was a triumphal arch, not a gate, in the proper sense of the word;—and that it is improperly called *πύλη*, by Pausanias. He quotes a scholiast on Aristophanes, *Equit.* 297, to show that the statue did not stand at the entrance, but in the middle, of the Agora. The verse is—

*νῆ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν Ἀγοραίου,
κάπιορκῶ γε βλέπόντων.*

On which the scholiast says—"ἐν μέσῃ ἀγορᾷ ἴδρυται Ἑρμοῦ Ἀγοραίου ἄγαλμα." Without interpreting the expression, 'in the midst of the Agora,' too strictly, it must certainly be granted that such an expression is inconsistent with the idea of the statue having stood *at the entrance* of the Agora. But the word 'Agora' was probably used by the scholiast in a loose and indefinite way; and he makes no mention of the 'Gate.' A triumphal arch would certainly have been a natural entrance; just as the Fabian arch formed the entrance to the 'Roman Forum.' Harpocration, *loc. laud.* says—
"Φιλόχορος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Ἀθλίδος φησὶ περὶ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι Ἑρμοῦ, ὡς ἀρξάμενοι τειχίζειν τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες τοῦτον ἀναθέντες ἐπέγραψαν.

"ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι τειχίζειν τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν
"βουλῆς καὶ δήμου δόγμασι πειθόμενοι."

The famous *ποικίλη στοά* gained its name from its magnificent gallery of pictures; but it also contained

some shields affixed to its walls. “ἐνταῦθα ἀσπίδες κεῖν-
 “ται χαλκαί, καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἐστὶν ἐπιγράμμα, ἀπὸ Σκιω-
 “ναίων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων εἶναι· τὰς δὲ ἐπαλλημιμένας
 “πίσση, μὴ σφᾶς ὃ τε χρόνος λυμήνηται καὶ ὅσα
 “Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι λέγεται τῶν ἀλόντων ἐν τῇ
 “Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ.” *Pausan.* i. 15. These shields are
 referred to with great pride by Cleon, in the play of
 the ‘Knights:’—

ἀπαξάπαντας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιστομίζειν
 εἰς ἂν ἦ τῶν ἀσπίδων τῶν ἐκ Πύλου τι λοιπόν.

v. 845.

It is improbable, however, that the original shields
 should have been there in the time of Pausanias: the
 Lacedæmonians would assuredly have removed them,
 when they occupied Athens, at the end of the Pelopon-
 nesian War.

Æschines speaks of the ποικίλη στοά as being in
 the Agora. “προσέλθετε δὴ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν
 “στοάν τὴν ποικίλην. ἀπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν
 “ἔργων τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται. τί οὖν
 “ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃ ἐγὼ λέγω; ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐν
 “Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ γέγραπται.” *In Ctesiph.* 437. *Reiske.*

Hermæ were square columns, surmounted with the
 head of a deity, or man: a row of them ran from the
 βασιλῆιος στοά to the ποικίλη στοά. Harpocration has
 the following, under the word Ἑρμαῖ:—“Μενεκλῆς ἢ
 “Καλλίστρατος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀθηναίων γράφει· ἀπὸ γὰρ
 “τῆς ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως στοᾶς εἰσὶν οἱ Ἑρ-
 “μαῖ καλούμενοι.” Thucydides explains the word—
 “ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ὅσοι Ἑρμαῖ ἦσαν λίθινοι ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν

“ Ἀθηναίων (εἰσι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον ἢ τετράγωνος ἐργασία, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις προθύροις καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς) μᾶ νυκτὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι περιεκόπησαν τὰ πρόσωπα.”

VI. 27. Æschines refers to this street of Hermæ—
 “ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὡς τότε ἔδόκει, τρεῖς λιθίνοὺς Ἑρμᾶς, στήσας ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἑρμῶν ἐφ’ ᾧτε μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὰ ὀνόματα.” *In Ctesiph.* 435. And he then quotes some inscriptions on Hermæ. Hesychius describes Ἰππάρχειοι Ἑρμαῖ thus—“ ἄς ἀνέστησεν Ἰππάρχος στήλας, ἐγγράψας εἰς αὐτὰς ἐλεγεία, ἐξ ᾧν ἔμελλον βελτίους οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες γένεσθαι.” Böckh gives a copy of a very ancient Hermes, with a verse on it, which he deciphers, and represents in the following manner—

ἐν μέσσω γε Θρίης τε καὶ ἄστεος, ἄνερ, ὄθ’ Ἑρμῆς.

*Corp. Inscr. n. 12.**

Hipparchus made use of these Hermæ as mile-stones, and direction-posts.

* Böckh’s commentary on this Inscription should by all means be consulted.

THE HILL OF MARS.

The Hill of Mars, or Areiopagus, was divided by a narrow valley from the western side of the Acropolis. It ran in a north-westerly direction, forming the northern limit of the Agora. The Acropolis was assailable only from the west. The Areiopagus, therefore, was the ground occupied by Xerxes, when he besieged the citadel. “οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἀρητίον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιούδε.” *Herod.* viii. 52. Pausanias thus describes the Hill—“ἔστι δὲ Ἀρειος πάγος καλούμενος, ὅτι πρῶτος Ἀρης ἐνταῦθα ἐκρίθη· καὶ μοι καὶ ταῦτα δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος, ὡς Ἀλιρρόθιον ἀνέλοι, καὶ ἐφ’ ὅτῳ κτείνειε. κριθῆναι δὲ καὶ ὕστερον Ὀρέστην λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρός· καὶ βωμός ἐστιν Ἀθηναῶν Ἀρείας, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν ἀποφυγῶν τὴν δίκην· τοὺς δὲ ἀργοὺς λίθους ἐφ’ ὧν ἐστᾶσιν ὄσοι δίκας ὑπέχουσι καὶ οἱ διώκοντες, τὸν μὲν ὕβρεως τὸν δὲ ἀναιτίας αὐτοῖς ὀνομάζουσι. πλησίον δὲ ἱερὸν Θεῶν ἐστιν, ἃς καλοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Σεμνάς. * * * ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μνήμα Οἰδίποδος. πολυπραγμονῶν δὲ εὕρισκον τὰ ὀσᾶ ἐκ Θηβῶν κομισθέντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐς τὸν θάνατον Σοφοκλεῖ πεποιημένα τὸν

“Οιδίποδος, Ὅμηρος οὐκ εἶα μοι δόξαι πιστά, ὃς ἔφη
 “Μηκιστέα, τελευτήσαντος Οιδίποδος, ἐπιτάφιον (sc.
 “ἀγῶνα) ἐλθόντα ἐς Θήβας ἀγωνίσασθαι.” I. 28. The
 passage in Homer to which he refers is this—

Μηκιστέος υἱὸς Ταλαϊοῦνιδαι ἄνακτος,
 ὃς ποτε Θήβαςδ' ἦλθε δεδουπότος Οιδιπόδαι
 ἐς τάφον· ἔνθα δὲ πάντας ἐνίκα Καδμείωνας.

Π. XXIII. 678.

Dr. Wordsworth thus describes the present appearance of the Areiopagus, and the temple of the Σεμναί θεαί—“Sixteen stone steps cut in the rock, at its south-east angle, lead up to the Hill of the Areopagus from the valley of the Agora, which lies between it and the Pnyx. This angle seems to be the point of the hill on which the Council of the Areopagus sat. Immediately above the steps, on the level of the hill, is a bench of stone, excavated in the lime-stone rock, forming three sides of a triangle, like a triclinium: it faces the south: on its east and west sides is a raised block; the former (*i. e.* the triangular bench) may have been the tribunal; the two latter the rude stones* which Pausanias saw here, and which are described by Euripides, as assigned, the one to the accuser, the other to the criminal, in the causes which were tried in this court. There the Areopagites,

* So Dr. Wordsworth translates the expression ἀργούς λίθους. (The MSS. have ἀργυρούς λίθους, which is, of course, unintelligible.) And it is certain that Pausanias uses the word ἀργός in the sense of *uncoined*—*unfashioned*—*unwrought*—καὶ ἀργὸν τὸν ἀργυρον καὶ χρυσόν. III. 12. It may, however, be doubted whether the word should not be translated ‘*white*’ in the present passage.

“ distinguished alike for their character, rank, and official dignity, sat as judges, on a rocky hill in the open air.” p. 74. The following is the passage cited by Dr. Wordsworth—

ὡς δ' εἰς Ἄρειον ὄχθον ἤκον ἐς δίκην τ'
 ἔστην, ἐγὼ μὲν θάτερον λαβὼν βάθρον,
 τὸ δ' ἄλλο πρέσβειρ' ἤπερ ἦν Ἐρινύων,
 εἰπὼν ἀκούσας θ' αἵματος μητρὸς πέρι,
 Φοῖβός μ' ἔσωσε μαρτυρῶν. *Irhig. in Taur.* 961.

St. Paul, as the introducer of new deities, would naturally plead before the Areiopagites—the religious tribunal of Athens. If the Apostle stood at this spot, with the Agora at his feet, and the Acropolis immediately on his left, he might well describe the city as *κατείδωλος*, ‘full of idols.’ (*Acta Apost.* xvii. 16.)

The temple of the Eumenides was placed immediately at the foot of the Hill of Mars. I avail myself once more of Dr. Wordsworth’s learned research:—“ The exact position of this temple, if temple it may be called, is at the north-eastern angle of the Areopagus, at its base.* There is a wide long chasm there, formed by split rocks, through which we enter a gloomy recess. Here is a fountain of very dark water. That this is the site of the temple of the Semnai, it is superfluous to repeat proofs. That this dark recess and fountain formed, with a few artificial additions, the very temple itself, is, I think, equally certain. The character of the temple is described by ancient

* *Vid.* ‘Müller’s Dissertation on the Eumenides,’ p.170. §. 67. *English transl.* He points out the connection between the Erinyes and the Court of Areiopagus.

“ authors with the same clearness as its position. To
 “ those descriptions, the spot in which we are com-
 “ pletely corresponds. Here is the chasm of the earth :
 “ this is the subterranean chamber ; this the source of
 “ water ; which were the characteristics of the temple
 “ in question.

“ The place was well adapted to the solemn character
 “ of the deities to whom it was consecrated. The torches,
 “ with which the Eumenides were afterwards furnished,
 “ as a poetic attribute, perhaps owed their origin to the
 “ darkness of this Athenian temple, in which those
 “ goddesses were enshrined. Æschylus imagined the
 “ procession, which escorted the Eumenides to this their
 “ temple, as descending the rocky steps, above described,
 “ from the platform of the Areopagus ; then winding
 “ round the eastern angle of that hill, and conducting
 “ them, with the sound of music and glare of torches,
 “ along this rocky ravine to this dark enclosure. In
 “ his time the contrast of the silence and gloom of this
 “ sacred place, with the noise and splendour of the city,
 “ in the heart of which it was, must have been inex-
 “ pressibly solemn. Now, the temple and its neigh-
 “ bourhood are both alike desolate and still.” p. 78—80.

Euripides thus refers to the court of Areiopagus, and
 the chasm where the Eumenides were worshipped—

ἔστιν δ' Ἄρεώς τις ὄχθος, οὗ πρῶτον θεοὶ
 ἔζοντ' ἐπὶ ψήφοισιν αἵματος πέρι,
 Ἄλκάρροθιον ὄτ' ἔκταν' ὠμόφρων Ἄρης.

Electr. 1258.

δειναὶ μὲν οὖν θεαὶ τῶδ' ἄχει πεπληγμένοι
πάγον παρ' αὐτὸν χάσμα δύσονται χθονὸς
σεμνὸν βροτοῖσιν εὐσεβῆς χρηστήριον.

Ib. 1270.

In Æschylus, Minerva thus addresses the Eumenides—

χαίρετε χύμεις· προτέραν δ' ἐμὲ χρῆ
στείχειν θαλάμους ἀποδείξουσιν.
πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε προπομπῶν
ἴτε, καὶ σφαγίων τῶνδ' ὑπὸ σεμνῶν
κατὰ γῆς σύμεναι, τὸ μὲν ἀτηρὸν
χώρας κατέχειν, τὸ δὲ κερδαλέον
πέμπειν πόλεως ἐπὶ νίκη. *Eumen.* 1003.

And the conductors of the goddesses thus address them ;

βάτε δόμῳ μεγάλαι φιλότιμοι
Νυκτὸς παῖδες ἄπαιδες, ὑπ' εὐθύφρονι πομπῇ
(εὐφαιμεῖτε δὲ, χωρῖται)
γᾶς ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν ὠγγυλοῖσι*
καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ θυσίαις περίσσεπται τύχη τε.

1033.

To the north of the Areiopagus considerable remains still exist of the Gymnasium built by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Pausanias, in his description of the Agora, says—“ Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶν οὐκ
“ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐπίσημα, καὶ Ἐλέου βωμὸς, φ' ἄλλιστα
“ Θεῶν ἐς ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγμάτων
“ ὅτι ὠφέλιμος, μόνου τιμὰς Ἑλλήνων νέμουσιν Ἀθη-
“ ναῖοι. * * * ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι
“ οὐ πολὺ, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευασμένου

* ὠγγυλοῖσι, *dark*. Vid. *Philological Museum*, vol. II. p. 348—50.

“καλουμένῳ, λίθοι τέ εἰσιν Ἑρμαῖ θέας ἄξιοι, καὶ εἰκῶν
 “Πτολεμαίου χαλκῇ * * * πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ
 “Θησέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν.” I. 17. Cicero mentions the
 building—“Cum audissem Antiochum, Brute, ut sole-
 bam, cum M. Pisone in eo gymnasio, quod Ptolemæum
 “vocatur.” *De Fin.* v. 1.

THE NEW AGORA.

Ptolemy's Gymnasium is supposed by the generality of modern topographers to have stood in what is called 'The New Agora.' Col. Leake, *p.* 63, says—"Another position in ancient Athens, of which there can be no doubt, although it has sometimes been mistaken, is the New Agora, in the quarter of Eretria, apparently the only one in use in the time of Augustus, when Strabo wrote; and of Antoninus, when Pausanias travelled. The Propylæa, or gateway of this Agora, is still in existence: it consists of a portico of four Doric columns, supporting a pediment: besides which, there are some remains of one of the antæ, which terminated two walls, forming a quadrangular vestibule between the columns, and the door leading into the Agora. The jambs of this door are likewise in their original places. The proofs of the destination of the building are found in its plan, and upon comparing together three inscriptions, which have been published by Spon, Wheler, and Stuart.* One of these

* *Spon's Voyage, &c.* vol. II. *p.* 274. *Wheler's Travels, p.* 389. Drawings of the building, and copies of the various inscriptions, are given in *Stuart, vol.* I. *p.* 1.

“ inscriptions, which is still to be seen upon the episty-
 “ lium of the portal, shows that the building was erected
 “ out of the donations bestowed upon Athens by Julius
 “ Cæsar and Augustus: another, copied by Stuart from
 “ a quadrangular base in the entrance of the portal,
 “ proves that the base supported a statue of Julia
 “ Augusta, erected at the expense of one of the two
 “ Agoranomi, or directors of the market: and the
 “ third is a long decree of the Emperor Hadrian, re-
 “ specting the sale of oils, and the duties to be paid
 “ upon them, inscribed upon one of the jambs of the
 “ inner door: a fourth inscription, on the apex of the
 “ pediment, shows that upon the summit stood a statue
 “ of Lucius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, and his
 “ adopted son.” *p.* 63.

The existence of this ‘New Agora’ is positively and
 rather angrily denied by Forchhammer. “Were it
 “not,” says he, *p.* 53, *seq.* “that errors frequently
 “resemble burs, and faith in one’s own authority, or
 “in that of others, a coat; it would be inconceivable
 “how, in the total absence of any tenable proof, and
 “in spite of the established certainty that ‘Agora’ and
 “‘Cerameicus’ were almost identical terms; in spite of
 “the established certainty that the ground on the one
 “side of the *Στοὰ Βασιλείως*, and of that gate,” (*i. e.* the
 Gate of the Agora) “as well as the ground on the
 “other, belonged to the Agora;—it is inconceivable,
 “I say, how, in spite of all this, topographers could
 “have imagined that Pausanias did not enter the Agora
 “before the spot where he calls it by that name, and

“ therefore did not enter the ancient and only Agora
 “ described by him already, but a so-called ‘ New
 “ Agora,’ to which, upon the authority of Meursius,
 “ they gave a particular name, *viz.* the ‘ Eretrian,’
 “ and assigned the time of Augustus as that of its
 “ foundation ; whilst they try in vain to make out its
 “ locality even from the existing remains, giving it a
 “ large extent to the north of the Acropolis, and ven-
 “ turing to point out the still standing gate as the one
 “ beside the Hermes Agoraios. It will be necessary
 “ to enter somewhat minutely upon the refutation of
 “ this fundamental error in the topography of Athens.
 “ The first discoverer (*erfinder*) of this so-called ‘ New
 “ Agora,’ if I am not deceived, was Meursius. (*Ceramicus*
 “ *Geminus*, p. 16.) He was followed by subsequent writers.
 “ Meursius appeals to Apollodorus.” The passage in
 Apollodorus is quoted by Forchhammer, at p. 38:—“ Har-
 “ procratation, Πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη. Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ
 “ Πατροκλέους εἰ γνήσιος. Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ
 “ θεῶν, Πάνδημόν φησιν Ἀθήνησιν κληθῆναι τὴν ἀφι-
 “ δρυθεῖσαν περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγορὰν διὰ τὸ ἐνταῦθα
 “ πάντα τὸν δῆμον συνάγεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐκ-
 “ κλησίαις, ὡς ἐκάλουν ἀγοράς. Νίκανδρος δὲ ἐκτφ
 “ Κολοφωνιακῶν Σόλωνά φησι σώματα ἀγοράσαντα εὐ-
 “ πρεπή ἐπὶ στέγης στῆσαι διὰ τοὺς νέους καὶ ἐκ τῶν
 “ περιγενομένων χρημάτων ιδρύσασθαι Ἀφροδίτης Παν-
 “ δήμου ἱερόν. ἔστι δὲ πάνδημον πάγκοινον.” On which
 Forchhammer observes—“ In mentioning the ‘ Ancient
 “ Agora ’ (τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγοράν,) we may remark by the
 “ way, that the words of Apollodorus contain the sole

“ testimony afforded by antiquity, upon which the
 “ moderns can found their distinction of an old and a
 “ new Agora, although they do not lay any particular
 “ stress on them. They have been induced to adopt
 “ this distinction principally by the erroneous opinion,
 “ that the so called Porticus on the north side of the
 “ Acropolis, close to the modern Bazaar, was the Gate
 “ of the Agora mentioned by Pausanias.

“ I have refuted this opinion in detail, in a treatise
 “ which appeared in the “ *Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissen-*
 “ *schaft,*” and I rejoice to find that Ross, in his treatise on
 “ the Theseium, admits only one Agora, although his
 “ reasons for placing it to the north of the defile between
 “ the Acropolis and the Areopagus appear to me alto-
 “ gether untenable. With regard to the expression of
 “ Apollodorus ‘*τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγορὰν,*’ it is not to be
 “ taken as if it meant to distinguish an old, from a new,
 “ Agora. * * * Apollodorus, who lived 100 years before
 “ Augustus, could not speak of an ‘old’ Agora, as dis-
 “ tinguished from the so-called ‘new’ one, which Leake
 “ admits was not established until the reign of Augustus,
 “ in the vicinity of Eretria : nor could Apollodorus have
 “ thought of calling the Agora (there being then but one)
 “ ‘the old’ one, however old it might be. He might as
 “ well have spoken of an ‘old Cerameicus,’ or an ‘old
 “ Acropolis.’ Apollodorus himself throws sufficient light
 “ on the expression he has used (*die Wahl dieser Benennung.*)
 “ He is, like Pausanias, of opinion that Theseus united
 “ all the *demi* into one, and first summoned *all the people*
 “ to one assembly. These assemblies were in ancient

“times called ἀγοραί, as were the assemblies of the δῆμος even in later times. In this sense, Apollodorus derives the name of Agora from the assembling of the people, (συνάγεσθαι), and calls the place of popular assembly in the market, beside the ‘Pandemos,’ *the old Agora*, in contra-distinction to the later place of assembly at *the Pnyx*.” p. 39.

“Meursius, however, believes the Agora to have been transferred to a different place. This conclusion is derived from the words of Strabo—Ἐρετριέας δ’ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Μακίστου τῆς Τριφυλίας ἀποικισθῆναί φασιν ὑπ’ Ἐρετριέως (Ἐρετρίας, Οἰκον.) οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρετρίας, ἣ νῦν ἀγορά. lib. x. p. 652. Now, not to mention that it is doubtful whether that Agora is *the market*, or *a market*; whether at Athens, or *in Attica* ;” (this last seems rather a liberal way of interpreting τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρετρίας) “it cannot be imagined, even admitting the probable supposition that *the market* at Athens is meant, why Strabo should not have spoken of the so-called ancient Agora. That *now* (νῦν) is evidently opposed to the time when, according to the tradition, the Agora was still the δῆμος Eretria, the inhabitants of which were said to have founded Eretria in Eubœa; but by no means opposed to a time but lately passed, or to some other more ancient market. Strabo himself explains the name of Eretria by the more ancient name of Arotria, *i. e. arable land*. Μελανητῆς δ’ ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον ἡ Ἐρέτρια, καὶ Ἀρότρια. (loc. laud.) The Agora of Athens was once arable land, as it is again now-a-

“ days ; and that name is, no doubt, derived from the
 “ most ancient time, and from the myth, as Grotefend
 “ (*de Demis*, p. 39) justly supposes. Perhaps, if one
 “ preferred deriving the word from ἐπέσσω, the etymo-
 “ logy might be defended by reference to a myth,
 “ according to the poetical invention of which, the
 “ Acropolis and surrounding hills were once surrounded
 “ by water.” p. 54-5.

I have placed the ‘ New Agora ’ in the map, though I willingly confess that my belief in its existence has been destroyed by the original and acute remarks of Forchhammer.

With regard to the Porticus, which has been so commonly taken for the Gate of the New Agora, Forchhammer maintains that it was not a gate at all, but that it formed part of a temple dedicated to Minerva Ἀρχηγέτις. This he proves from the inscription on the Architrave. (p. 57.) Another of the inscriptions, containing a decree of the Emperor Hadrian concerning the sale of oil, formed no part of this building ; but the stone, on which it is engraved, has been placed where it now is in later times, to form the corner of a house. (p. 58.) The quadrangular base, from which Stuart copied another inscription, and which must have supported a statue of Julia Augusta, is certainly not standing now in its original place. (*ibid.*) These two stones were erroneously taken by Stuart for gate posts. There is no doubt that the building, whatever it was, was raised in the time of Augustus, and at the expense of Julius and Augustus Cæsar. Here is a copy of the

inscription on the architrave—

Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΔΩΡΕΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ
 ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ-
 ΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΑΡΧΗΓΕ-
 ΤΙΔΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΠΛΙΤΑΣ
 ΕΤΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΔΕΞΑ-
 ΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ
 ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΤΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΑΡ-
 ΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΑΘΜΟΝΕΩΣ.

Finally, Forchhammer says, *p.* 58—“ There is no
 “ reason why these columns should be considered a
 “ gate, far less a gate of the Agora ; nor is there any
 “ reason for supposing that there had been *any* Agora
 “ in that part of the city, much less the principal market,
 “ during the time of the Roman Emperors.”

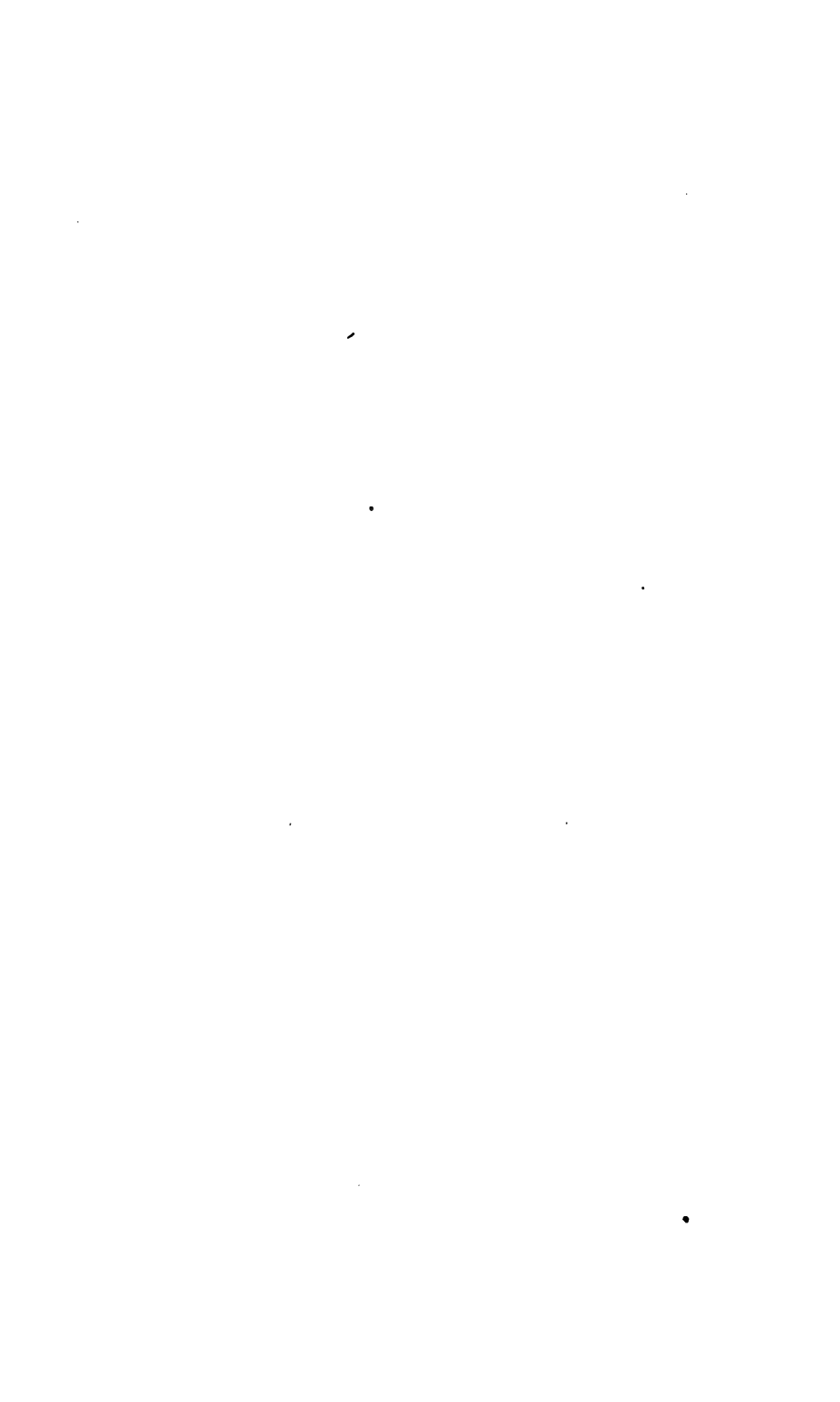
THE REST OF THE CITY.

To the west of the ground supposed to have been occupied by the New Agora was a district called Κολωνός Ἀγοραῖος. Suidas, *in voc. κολωνέτας* (κολωνίτας, *Harprocratium*) says—"οὕτως ὠνόμαζον τοὺς μισθωτοὺς· ἐπειδὴ περὶ τὸν κολωνὸν εἰστήκεσαν, ὅς ἐστι πλησίον τῆς ἀγορᾶς· ἔνθα τὸ Ἥφαιστεῖον καὶ τὸ Εὐρυσάκιόν ἐστι. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ὁ κολωνὸς οὗτος ἀγοραίος." Hesychius corroborates this—"ὄψ' ἦλθες, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν Κολωνὸν ἴεσο· ἐπὶ τῶν μισθωτῶν ἔλεγον· τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐλθόντας ὄψε' ἀπέλυον πάλιν εἰς τὸ μισθωτήριον· τὸ δὲ ἦν ἐν Κολωνῷ." *in v. ὄψ. ἦλ.* We have already seen that Pausanias speaks of the temple of Hephæstus as *above*, or to the north of, the Agora; the position therefore of the temple may be determined within a small space. It was outside of the northern limit of the Agora. It stood therefore nearly on a line with the Dipylum.*

* Dr. Wordsworth (*p.* 174) thinks that the Hephæsteium was the goal for the racers in the λαμπαδηφορία. Dr. Liddell (*Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, in v. λαμπάς*) says that the racers ran to the Acropolis. Pausanias, to whom he refers, does not say so much—"ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ δὲ ἐστὶ Προμηθεὺς βωμός· καὶ θέουσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες· καιομένας λαμπάδας." *l.* 30. The scholiast on *Aristoph. Ranae*, 1085, to which he also refers, merely says, that the race took place in the Cerameicus.



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EXPLANATORY INDEX.

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TO THE

MAP OF ANCIENT ATHENS;

BY THE

REV. W. G. COOKESLEY, M. A.

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ERRATA.

- p.* 80. *lin. penult. for* Philist. .. *read* Philost.
33. — 9. — *Athen.* XIV. 8. — *Athen.* XIV. 614.
89. — 7. — Panaghia .. — Panaghia

P R E F A C E.

MY object in publishing this volume is exactly of the same nature as that which I proposed to myself in publishing the 'Map of Ancient Rome,' accompanied by an 'Explanatory Index.' I need say no more on this head.

I am obliged to confess that a great deal of the Map now published is conjectural: in many points I can only state what appears to stand upon the most probable evidence.

There are indeed certain remains and buildings of the city of Athens, about which there can be no doubt; and they are easily numbered. The Acropolis, with its temples; the Pnyx; the Areopagus; the Museum; the Temples of Theseus and Jupiter Olympius; the Temple of the Winds; the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates; the Monument of Philopappus; the Stadium; the Fountain Callirhoe; the Dionysiac Theatre;

the Odeum of Regilla; the Gymnasium of Ptolemy; the Arch of Hadrian. But with regard to the position of the buildings in the neighbourhood of the Agora,—even the position of the Agora itself; the line which the city walls took; the position of the gates; the relative situations of the various districts of the city; together with the sites of many temples and other buildings;—all these are more or less doubtful.

It seems extraordinary that learned men should, till comparatively a very recent period, have cared so little about Athens, and have made no effort at all to gain a knowledge of the productions of the most perfect school of ancient art. I avail myself of Col. Leake's account of the labours of those persons, who preceded himself in this field. "Dr. Spon, a physician and
" learned antiquary of Lyons, having opened a cor-
"respondence with the Père Babin, a Jesuit at Athens,
" received from him such a description of that place, as
" Spon thought worthy of being published. This was
" done at Lyons in 1674. In the same year, the Marquis
" de Nointel, being appointed French ambassador at
" Constantinople, made a short stay at Athens, in his
" way; and left there Jacques Carrey, a young artist,
" who was employed for six weeks in making drawings.
" The originals of these designs, executed very rudely

“and inaccurately, partly in red chalk, partly in black
“lead, are now in the National Library at Paris. Fac-
“similes of them have lately been presented to the
“British Museum.” *Leake, Introd. p. xcviII.* “In
“the year 1675, Athens was visited by the Earl of
“Winchelsea, English ambassador to the Porte; and
“in the following year by Mr. Vernon, of whose travels
“in Greece a short account was soon afterwards pub-
“lished in the ‘*Philosophical Transactions.*’ The same
“year was distinguished in modern Athenian annals
“by the visit of Dr. Spon and Sir George Wheler,
“from whom, and from the drawings of Carrey, we
“derive all our knowledge of the state of Athens, prior
“to the siege which forms the great era in the modern
“history of Athenian antiquities.” *Ibid. c.*

“It was not until 90 years after the publication of
“the travels of Spon and Wheler, that an English
“artist, studying at Rome, perceived that he was not
“yet at the fountain head of true taste in architecture;
“and determined to proceed to Athens, with the view
“of making such a stay there, as should enable him to
“bring away drawings of all the principal remains of
“antiquity. Stuart having engaged Revett, another
“architect, to join him, they proceeded to Athens in the
“year 1751, where they remained during the greater

“part of three years. The first part of the result of
“their labours was published in 1761; soon after which
“a further knowledge of Greece, and of its remains of
“antiquity, was obtained by a private Society in London,
“which has done more for the improvement of the arts,
“by researches into the existing remains of the ancients,
“than any government in Europe.

“In the year 1764, the Society of Dilettanti engaged
“Mr. Revett to return to Greece, in company with
“Mr. Pars and Dr. Chandler; the former an able
“draftsman; the latter well qualified to illustrate the
“geography and antiquity of the country by his erudi-
“tion. The result of this mission has put the public
“in possession of several Athenian antiquities, left im-
“perfectly examined by Stuart, together with archi-
“tectural details of some of the most celebrated temples
“of Asiatic Greece, a volume of Greek inscriptions by
“Dr. Chandler, and two volumes of Travels in Asia
“Minor and Greece, by the same person.” *Ibid.* CIII.

“The researches of Stuart and Chandler upon the
“Topography of Athens have cleared up much that had
“been left obscure and faulty by Spon and Wheeler,
“and in some instances Chandler’s superior learning
“enabled him to correct the erroneous impressions of
“Stuart; but others he has left uncorrected, and he has

“ added many errors and negligences of his own, as well
“ in the application of ancient evidence, as in the actual
“ state of the ruined buildings.” *Ibid.* cv.

In the year 1821, Colonel Leake published his book
“ On the Topography of Athens.” Previous writers
had endeavoured to identify the existing remains of
ancient buildings; and their object was ultimately
achieved. But, so great was the popular ignorance on
the subject, that it cost years of laborious research to
rectify multiplied errors, and to establish the truth.

Col. Leake’s book commenced a new era in Athenian
topography. He attempted, by the aid of ancient
literature, and philosophical induction from admitted
facts, to give the world a Map of Ancient Athens.
He resided in the place a considerable time, and took
care to advance no theory which was not corroborated
by the physical features of the ground. His book
is not free from errors; but they are insignificant,
compared with the vast amount of light which he threw
upon his subject, and the immense service which he
has performed in this most interesting field of learned
enquiry. His book gained considerable reputation
amongst German scholars, and has been translated into
the German language.

In the years 1832 and 1833, Dr. Christopher Wordsworth made a tour in various parts of Greece; the result of this was a volume which appeared in 1836, under the title of 'Athens and Attica.' Much of this volume is taken up with the topography of Ancient Athens. Dr. Wordsworth brought to his study a profound knowledge, and an enthusiastic admiration, of ancient literature; and these advantages, aided by admirable judgment and critical skill, enabled him to improve greatly on the labours of Col. Leake.

I have placed the important districts of Melite, Colytus, and Coele; the Agora and its buildings; together with the Dipylum, according to Dr. Wordsworth's plan. In attempting to determine the position of ancient buildings or districts, of which no remains are left, it is not sufficient to find isolated authority for this or that particular edifice or place; the great thing is, *to form one consistent whole*: and it is in this respect, that Dr. Wordsworth's labours appear to me to be so successful. The whole of his plan seems to hang together by necessary concatenation.

In the 'Life and Epistles of St. Paul,' by the Revd. Messrs. Howson and Conybeare, and which is now in course of publication, there is a very valuable chapter on Athens, *Chap. X. Vol. II. p. 369*. I feel particularly

obliged to Mr. Howson, for his kindness in permitting me to consult this Chapter, whilst it was passing through the press.

In the year 1841, M. Forchhammer published a Volume 'On the Topography of Athens,' at Kiel.* This author does not pretend to give a complete topography of Athens, but rather to correct the errors of previous writers, and to throw increased light on points which had been but imperfectly examined. He is a man of great learning and acuteness, and his book has made most important additions to our knowledge of the ancient city.

Like Col. Leake and Dr. Wordsworth, M. Forchhammer, as he himself states, "paid repeated and protracted " visits to Athens." A correction of the errors into which Col. Leake fell, appears to be M. Forchhammer's principal object. He never quotes Dr. Wordsworth's book ; and he appears to be ignorant of its existence. This ignorance is greatly to be regretted. Had he been acquainted with Dr. Wordsworth's arguments in favour

* " *Topographie von Athen*, von P. W. Forchhammer. Mit einem Plan der alten Stadt. Kiel, 1841."

There is a Map of Athens in Kiepert's " *Topographisch-Historischen Atlas von Hellas, und dem Hellenischen Colonien*." Berlin, 1842 ; and in Sprüner's " *Atlas Antiquus*," Gotha, 1850. Both these authors adopt Forchhammer's plan. K. O. Müller published two dissertations, " *De Munimentis Athenarum*," *Göttingen*, 1836. All these may be consulted with advantage by the student.

of the position he has assigned to the Agora, the Dipylum, Melite, Colyttus, and Cœle, I cannot help thinking it probable that he would have agreed with him.

M. Forchhammer makes the district called Melite occupy the hills Museum, Pnyx, and that to the north of the Pnyx, which was called in later times the Hill of the Nymphs. He places Colyttus in the western declivity, between the Museum and the Pnyx; and Cœle to the south of the Museum. All these positions seem to be undoubtedly wrong; and the weight which M. Forchhammer's authority will carry with it in the judgment of learned men may, it is to be feared, produce considerable confusion and perplexity on the subject. The position assigned by him to Cœle, in particular, seems to be totally untenable. He places it, as we have seen, at the south-western corner of Athens. Now Herodotus tells us, vi. 103, that Cimon was buried outside Cœle. *τέθαιπται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, πέραν τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ.* The expression, *πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος*, cannot mean nothing but 'outside the city;' as, *ἄνασσ' Ὀγκα πρὸ πόλεως.* *Æsch. Sept. c. Theb.* 164. *ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως.* *Act. Apost. ch. xiv. v. 13.* Forchhammer marks a spot, outside Cœle, as Cimon's monument

(Simonische Gräber.) But this position is inconsistent with the statement of Herodotus: for the ground outside Cæle, according to Forchhammer's Map, is enclosed between the two long walls; and other tombs must have been there. Marcellinus, in his Life of Thucydides, *ch.* ix. says—"πρὸς ταῖς Μελιτίσι πύλαις καλουμένας ἐστὶν ἐν Κοίλῃ τὰ καλούμενα Κιμώνια μνήματα, ἔνθα δεικνύται Ἡροδότου καὶ Θουκυδίδου τάφος." I am not aware of any authority for supposing that there were tombs within the long walls. It is true, Pausanias says, there were tombs "on the road" from the Peiræus to Athens, I. 11. 2,—“ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐρείπια τῶν τειχῶν ἐστὶν ἂ Κόνων ὕστερον τῆς πρὸς Κνίδον ναυμαχίας ἀνέστησε * * * εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν γνωριμώτατοι, Μενάνδρου τοῦ Διοπείθους, καὶ μνήμα Εὐριπίδου κενόν.” I cannot think that the dead would have been buried *inside the walls*; more especially as this space was inhabited. That this was the fact, appears certainly from Xenophon, *Hellen.* II. 11. 3, who, in describing the consternation which the news of the battle of Ægospotami occasioned at Athens, says,—“ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις, τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτός, ἐλέγετο ἡ ξυμφορά, καὶ ἡ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐς ἄστυ διήκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῶ ἐτέρῳ παραγγέλλων.” And Thucydides certainly

implies that there were houses between the walls; for, speaking of the crowds who flocked into Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, he says,— “ οὐ γὰρ ἐχώρησε ξυνηθόντας αὐτοὺς ἢ πόλις, ἀλλ’ ὕστερον δὴ τὰ τε μακρὰ τείχη ᾤκησαν κατανειμάμενοι καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ πολλά.” II. 17. Andocides, *de Myst. p.* 22. *Reiske*, speaks thus of three garrisons at Athens— “ οἱ ἐν ἄστει οἰκοῦντες, οἱ ἐν μακρῷ τείχει, καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ.” Greek sentiment would have been totally outraged, had the dead been buried in the midst of a living population.

Pausanias also tells us, that the men who won the victory of the Eurymedon were buried in the outer Cerameicus, on the road to the Academy :—“ κείμενοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν Κίμωνι τὸ μέγα ἔργον ἐπ’ Εὐρυμέδοντι πεζῇ καὶ ναυσὶν αὐθημερὸν κρατήσαντες.” I. xxix. 14. Now we may fairly conclude that Cimon was buried in the same place with his brave warriors : and this perhaps may enable us to account for the expression in Marcellinus, τὰ Κιμώνια μνήματα, in the plural ; for had Cimon been buried alone, surely he would have said τὸ Κιμώνιον μνήμα. For these reasons, I think M. Forchhammer has certainly placed Cœle wrong.

I have placed the Agora, with its buildings, in the valley between the Pnyx, the Areopagus, and the western

end of the Acropolis. M. Forchhammer has placed it considerably more to the south, between the Museum and the Acropolis. He is convinced that Pausanias, in describing his first route through the city, entered by the Peiraïc gate, which he correctly places between the Museum and the Pnyx. Pausanias merely says,—“ εἰς—
 “ ελθόντων δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν, κ.τ.λ.” I. II. 4. He never mentions by *what* gate he enters; in fact, I think, he never mentions any gate at all, except the Melitan, which he points out, because it was close to the tomb of Thucydides—“ ψήφισμα γὰρ ἐνίκησεν Οἰνόβιος κατ—
 “ ελθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας Θουκυδίδην καὶ οἱ δολοφονηθέντι,
 “ ὡς κατῆι, μνήμα ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω πυλῶν Μελιτίδων.”
 I. XXIII. II. Now it is certainly dangerous to build up a theory upon the presumption, that because Pausanias came from the Peiræus, he *therefore* started from the Peiraïc gate, in his description of Athens.* On entering the city, he says that two colonnades reached from the gate (whatever gate it was,) to the Cerameicus; by which he means the Agora. He describes these colonnades as splendidly ornamented with statues†—“ στοαὶ δὲ εἰσιω

* Pausanias appears to have made notes, when he was at Athens; but to have written his book at home. This may partly account for his *omissions*, and occasional irregularity of plan. But Forchhammer professes to see an exact and perfect plan observed in the description which he has given of Athens.

† Forchhammer says of these στοαί—“ These colonnades in the street, “ from the gate to the Cerameicus, must be imagined to have been like

“ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικόν, καὶ εἰκόνες πρὸ αὐτῶν χαλκαῖ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὅσοις τι ὑπήρξε, καὶ ὧν τις λόγος ἐς δόξαν.” I. II. 4. Whatever the gate was, therefore, the entrance it gave into the city was magnificent. The street led through a line of statues of the great heroes and heroines of Athens. Now, I cannot think it at all probable that the Peiraic gate, which led to nothing but the passage between two fortified walls, and must have been a gate of traffic, thronged by bales of merchandize and merchants, oftentimes the scene of that

*ἀκόλαστος ὄχλος ναυτική τ' ἀναρχία
κρείσσω πυρός, Eur. Hec. 602,*

which an Athenian appreciated so justly,—I say, I cannot think that the vicinity of such a gate would have been decorated with any artistical splendour.

The Peiraic gate must have suggested thoughts of every day, vulgar, plebeian bustle; of the noise and business of trade, and lucre: it could have suggested nothing grand, and abstract, and ideal,—nothing to please and captivate the Athenian imagination. The gate which led to the Agora and Acropolis, through

“ the colonnades in the large street at Turin, or like such as in the streets of Bologna or Modena afford protection against the sun and rain. They form below the fore-part of the houses, the upper stories of which partly rest on the colonnade, from which one enters the doors of dwellings and sanctuaries.” p. 33.

a vista of statues of the nation's heroes and heroines, was, no doubt, the same gate by which their great national and religious exhibitions, the Eleusinian and Panathenaic processions, passed in solemn and magnificent pomp. It was the gate, no doubt, that led to Eleusis, and to the Isthmus; and was the gate by which multitudes of strangers from Greece would enter, who thronged the city at the times of her Dionysiac festivals; or crowded to hear Pericles deliver a funeral oration over the ashes of those who had died bravely fighting for their country; or to listen to the wisdom of Socrates; or to gaze in admiration at the immortal works of Phidias and Ictinus. To suppose that such thoughts as these were not entertained, and such emotions not intensely felt, by ancient Greeks, would be altogether to fail in an appreciation of their imaginative character.

Pausanias says, that, on his arrival at the Cerameicus, the first object "on his right" was the *στοὰ βασιλῆως*. "πρώτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλῆως, "ἐνθα καθίξει βασιλεὺς ἐνιαυσίαν ἄρχων ἀρχὴν καλουμένην βασιλείαν." I. III. I. M. Forchhammer, in conformity with his opinion that Pausanias entered by the Peiraic gate, places the *στοὰ βασιλῆως* considerably to the south of the Pnyx, and is of course compelled to

bring the whole Agora materially lower than it is placed in my Map.

With regard to the line of city walls, I have followed M. Forchhammer. Both Col. Leake and Dr. Wordsworth make the walls pass over the summit of the hills Museum and Pnyx, on the south-west; and make them run between the river Ilissus and the temple of Jupiter Olympius, on the south-east.

There are, it is true, some remains of the foundations of walls to be found on the Museum and the Pnyx; but M. Forchhammer, who has examined these foundations, declares that "they consist of stones regularly cut, and of the same description, a kind of conglomerate plentifully found in Attica, and frequently used for building purposes. These stones are also put together in a perfectly regular way." *p.* 12. These circumstances sufficiently prove that these cannot be the foundations of the walls built by Themistocles; for we learn from Thucydides that *they* were built in a hurry, and without order; and he particularly specifies the *foundations* as having been most irregular, and composed of all sorts of stone:—"τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ. καὶ δῆλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ

“ ξυνειργασμένων ἔστιν ἦ, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἕκαστοί ποτε προσ-
 “ ἔφερον, πολλαί τε στήλαι ἀπὸ τῶν σημάτων καὶ
 “ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν. μείζων γὰρ ὁ περι-
 “ βολος πανταχῇ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 “ πάντα ὁμοίως κινουῦντες ἠπείγοντο.” 1.93. Thucydides
 tells us, in this passage, that “ the circumference of the
 “ wall was increased;” but if it passed over the Museum
 and the Pnyx, running, as it must have done, on this
 supposition, *close to the place of popular assembly*, it is
 not credible that the circumference on this, the most
 important, because the most vulnerable, side of the
 city, and the most liable to attack, could *ever have*
been less. Besides all this, Pausanias distinctly says,
 that the hill Museum was “ formerly enclosed within
 “ walls.” (In his days, the wall on that side had been
 destroyed.) “ ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρχαίου τὸ
 “ Μουσεῖον, ἀπ’ ἀντικρὺ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως λόφος.” I. xxv.
 6. It is incredible that Themistocles should have run
 the wall close to the popular assembly; and scarcely
 credible that he should have put the western part of
 the Pnyx *outside the walls*.

That the Pnyx was inhabited, is proved beyond
 dispute by a passage, produced by M. Forchhammer, out
 of the speech of Æschines against Timarchus. The
 passage is a very obscure one; but there can be no

doubt about this, that it speaks of the Pnyx, as an inhabited place:—"ψήφισμα δ' οὗτος εἰρήκει περὶ τῶν οἰκησέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Πνυκί· * * * καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐρημίας ταύτης καὶ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Πνυκί· μὴ θαυμάσητε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔφη, εἰ Τίμαρχος ἐμπειροτέρως ἔχει τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου· * * * ὡς δ' ἐπεμνήσθη τῶν οἰκοπέδων καὶ τῶν λάκκων οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐδυνήθητε." *Æsch. in Timarch.* XII. I. *Steph.*

That the walls on the south east of the city did not run between the temple of Jupiter Olympius and the Ilissus, is positively proved by Pausanias; for, had the walls run in this way, the temple of Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Κήποις must have been in a suburb, outside the walls: but Pausanias says it was *in* the city:—"ἔστι δὲ περίβολος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς καλουμένης ἐν κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω." I. xxvii. 4. Pliny, it is true, (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 5) calls this temple "extra muros;" but his authority is not to be set against that of Pausanias:—"Alcamenem Atheniensem (quod certum est) docuit (Phidias) imprimis nobilem, cujus sunt opera Athenis complura in ædibus sacris, præclaraque Venus *extra muros*, quæ appellatur Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Κήποις. Huic summam manum ipse Phidias imposuisse dicitur." Had the walls run according to Col. Leake's plan, Callirhoe, the only fountain which the Athenians

had, would have been outside the walls; a very unlikely thing. Dr. Wordsworth anticipates the objection which obviously lies against such an injudicious arrangement, by observing,—“Callirhoe appears to have been on the “outer side of the city-wall. This position is less surprising, when we remember the provisions of the “Amphictyonic oath, which obliged all the contracting “parties never to prohibit a confederate city from the “use of its fountains either in peace or war.” *Ch. XXI. p. 161.* But this security could not be trusted; for, in the first place, the enemy might possibly *not* be a member of the Amphictyonic confederacy; and even if he was, yet if he was strong enough to besiege Athens, he was not likely to be checked by an over-scrupulous regard for an Amphictyonic oath.

Col. Leake’s plan also leaves the Stadium outside the walls. It is improbable of itself that such should have been the fact; and it becomes doubly improbable, when we remember that in *all* other Greek towns, where the remains of a Stadium have been discovered, they are invariably *within* the walls.

For these reasons, I have adopted M. Forchhammer’s plan of the walls. According to him, those walls, whose foundations are yet to be traced on the Pnyx and Museum, were built in the age of Valerian.

I cannot resist the temptation I feel to reprint the concluding remarks which M. Forchhammer has made on Col. Leake. "I have often (he says) contradicted Müller in this work, and still more often the excellent Col. Leake. With him this needs no excuse. I have not done, as often happens in Germany, where there are young and old men of science, who scruple not to ridicule scientific works, which they do not take the trouble to read or understand; nay, the subject of which is entirely strange to them. Lively party zeal, even in the cause of science, may be respectable; but it is impossible for disgraceful behaviour, which would be unpardonable even in boys, ever to be so. I do not write this, in order to protect myself for the future: but he who has been much abroad, and has thereby become all the fonder of his own country, has a keener sense of the disgrace and scorn, frequently just, which is drawn upon us, in the judgment of foreigners, by these petty critics. May every true German raise his voice and influence against this, were it but to guard against violations of decency! Let it be said to those who delight in quarrelling, that however much I may have been compelled to refute the opinions of Col. Leake, at any rate I am speaking of matters with which I am acquainted; that there is

“ not one of his, or my own readers, who values as much
“ as I do his extraordinary services with respect to the
“ topography of Greece, and Asia Minor ; and more
“ particularly that of Athens. And if this volume of
“ mine contains any emendations and opinions, calcu-
“ lated to produce renewed and closer investigation, let
“ *him* be thanked for it, who even by his errors led to
“ the right track, and but for whose work this topo-
“ graphy of Athens would lack its principal merit, if
“ indeed it has any to boast of.” *p.* 99. These generous
and noble sentiments of M. Forchhammer do equal
honour to his understanding and his heart.

The palace of the present king of Greece stands to the north-east of the Acropolis, near the old Diomean gate ; and the modern University is still further to the north, on the outside of the place where the old Acharnian gate stood. The modern city occupies principally the northern and eastern parts of the old. It is to be hoped that the western side—the classic and venerable ground which contained the Areopagus, the Pnyx, the Agora, the Courts of Legislature and of Law of the ancient and famous Athenian people—will *never* be occupied by modern buildings. Excavation may settle much, that has hitherto baffled the ingenuity of the learned ; and the future traveller may possibly be enabled

to walk about the disinterred Agora of Athens, with no more doubt respecting the position of the buildings which thronged it, than he now entertains respecting the pillar of Phocas in the Forum of Rome.

I cannot close this Preface without making my public acknowledgment of gratitude to M. Marx, teacher of German, London, for very great services rendered to me. His aid was as important as it was generous and disinterested.

I hope I shall not stand in need of apology, in the judgment of any scholar, for adopting the Greek character in a Map, intended only for those who understand the Greek language. To have used the Latin, would have produced an unnecessary disagreement between the map, and the text of the books quoted. Besides this, there are many Greek words, such as Φεῖρεφάττιον—Βουλευτήριον—Ἀρχηγέτις—Πομπεῖον, &c., which are scarcely to be recognized under the disguise and disfigurement of a Latin dress. Surely, nothing but necessity can reconcile a Greek scholar to the use of such barbarous sounds and shapes.

ETON COLLEGE,
January, 1852.

EXPLANATORY INDEX.

THE WALLS, GATES, AND SUBURBS OF ATHENS.

Thucydides, giving an account of the resources, and condition of Athens, at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, has the following passage respecting the extent of the defences of the city—" τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὃ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἦν, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ. τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο. καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὃ ἅπας περίβολος, τὸ δ' ἐν φυλακῇ ἦν ἡμισυ τούτου."

Lib. II. 13. The Scholiast, speaking of the space in the city walls which was left unguarded, says, it was 17 stades in length—" τουτέστι στάδιοι δεκαεπτὰ· ὃ γὰρ ὅλος κύκλος σταδίων ἦν ἐξήκοντα." The whole length of fortified wall, therefore, amounted to 195 stades,* or exactly 22 English miles. The Peiræus was the first

* The length of the common Greek stade was 202 yds. 9 in. English. In the Appendix to Hussey's 'Ancient Weights and Measures,' §. 13, are some very valuable remarks on the varieties in the value of the Greek stade.

part enclosed by this vast line of wall.* Col. Leake has given a minute description of its fortifications, (p. 331-44.) Themistocles commenced them in the year of his archonship, A. C. 481. *Ol.* LXXIV. 4. “ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ
 “ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν. ὑπ-
 “ ἦρκετο δ’ αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἦς
 “ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναῖοις ἦρξε νομίζων τό τε χωρίον
 “ καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὺς
 “ ναυτικούς γεγενημένους μέγα προφέρειν ἐς τὸ κτήσασ-
 “ θαι δύναμιν. τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν
 “ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτέα ἐστί, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ξυγκατ-
 “ εσκέυαζε. καὶ ὑποδόμησαν τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ τὸ
 “ πάχος τοῦ τείχους ὕπερ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν
 “ Πειραιᾶ. δύο γὰρ ἄμαξαι ἐναντία ἀλλήλαις τοὺς
 “ λίθους ἐπήγον. ἐντὸς δὲ οὔτε χάλιξ οὔτε πῆλος ἦν
 “ ἀλλὰ ξυνοικοδομημένοι μέγαλοι λίθοι καὶ ἐντομῇ ἐγ-
 “ γώνιοι σιδήρω πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔξωθεν καὶ μολύβδω
 “ δεδεμένοι. τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἡμισυ μάλιστα ἐτελέσθη οὐ
 “ διανοεῖτο.” *Thucyd.* 1. 93.

The walls of the city, properly so called, τὸ Ἄστυ, were the next part of the work to be executed. The story of the jealousy felt by Lacedæmon, and the skilful diplomacy of Themistocles, on the occasion, is well known : it is given in detail by Thucydides, 1. 90—92. The walls retained visible proofs of the haste with which they had been erected. Thucydides, in a passage already quoted in the Preface, (*lib.* 1. 93) has told us so. Of this vast circumference of fortification, not a vestige has been discovered by modern research. The walls were

* The walls of Syracuse were 180 stadia in circumference : owing to their more circular shape, they must have enclosed a much larger area than the walls of Athens.

built A. C. 478: what their height was, is not known; but Appian says, that the Peiraic wall was 60 feet high, and probably the city walls were of the same height. “ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατῆλθε, (sc. Sylla) κατακεκλεισμένων ἐς τὰ τεῖχη τῶν πολεμίων. ὕψος δ’ ἦν τὰ τεῖχη πηχέων τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα, καὶ εἰργαστο ἐκ λίθου μεγάλου τε καὶ τετραγώνου.” *Appian. Bell. Mithrid. Ch. 30*

The long walls were built 21 years later, shortly before the battle of Tanagra. Thucydides says (*lib. i. 93*) “ἤρξαντο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους (i. e. A. C. 457. *Ol. LXXX. 4.*) καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκοδομεῖν, τό τε Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ: i. e. they began to build the long walls, I mean (τε) that which runs to Phalerum, and that which runs to Peiræus. Subsequently, a third long wall was erected, between these two. Æschines says, that this was built A. C. 445. *Ol. LXXXV. 3*, at the time of the general pacification of Greece, by the 30 years truce—“εἰρήνην ἔτη τριάκοντα ἡγάγομεν, ἣ τὸν δῆμον ὑψηλὸν ἦρε. καὶ τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος τὸ νότιον ἐτειχίσθη.” *De Falsa Legat. 302*. Pericles was minister at the time, and Socrates is represented, in Plato, as stating that he was present when the debate on the subject took place. “Περικλεοῦς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς (sc. Socrates) ἤκουον ὅτε συνεβούλευεν ἡμῖν περὶ τοῦ διὰ μέσου τεύχους.” *Gorg. 455. e.* On which passage the Scholiast says, “διὰ μέσου τεύχους, λέγει, ὃ καὶ ἄχρι νῦν ἐστὶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι. ἐν τῇ Μουνηχίᾳ γὰρ ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ μέσον τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν βάλλον ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ Φάληρα, (i. e. the two previously

existing walls ran respectively to Peiræus, and Phalerum) ἴν', εἰ τὸ ἐν καταβληθῆ, τὸ ἄλλο ὑπηρετοῖα ἄχρι "πολλοῦ." And Harpocration says, "τριῶν ὀντων τει-
 "χῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ἐν
 "Τριφάλῃτι, τοῦ τε Βορείου καὶ τοῦ Νοτίου καὶ τοῦ
 "Φαληρικοῦ, διὰ μέσου τούτων ἐλέγετο τὸ Νότιον, οὗ
 "μνημονεύει καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Γοργία." *In v. 'διὰ μέσου
 τείχος.'* These several passages combined prove that
 there were three walls, of which the central one was
 called the *southern*, and was built twelve years after the
 two others. (*Vid. Wordsworth, Ch. 24. Arnold's note
 on Thucydides, II. 13. Goeller's Argumentum lib. 2.
 Thucyd.*)

It is true, the central wall was not absolutely the
most southern; but it was southern, *in its relation to
 the outer Peiraic wall*, which was commonly called the
northern. "Λεόντιος ὁ Ἀγλατωνος ἀνιῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς
 "ὑπὸ τὸ βόρειον τείχος ἐκτός, αἰσθανόμενος νεκροῦς
 "παρὰ τῷ δημῶν κειμένους." *Plat. Rep. lib. IV. 439. e.*
 These two walls were called the '*legs of the Peiræus.*'
 "Κηφισσοῦς ἐκ Τρινεμιῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων ῥέων δὲ διὰ
 "τοῦ πεδίου, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ γέφυρα καὶ οἱ γεφυρισμοί
 "διὰ καὶ τῶν σκελῶν, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστεος εἰς τὸν
 "Πειραιᾶ καθηκόντων, ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὸ Φαληρικὸν
 "χειμαρρῶδης τὸ πλεον, θέρουσ δὲ μειοῦται τελέως." *Strabo, IX. 581. Oxon.*
 "βουλόμενος τοὺς φύλακας τοῦ
 "ἄστεος καὶ τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ τῶν Σκελῶν τῶν ἄχρι θά-
 "λασσαν ἀγρύπνουσ περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν κατασκευάσαι." *Polyæn. I. 40. Livy (XXXI. 26) and Propertius (III. XXI.
 24) call them the 'arms.'* Neither term could be applied

with propriety to more than *two* walls. Vestiges of the outer and central walls still remain, which prove them to have run parallel to each other, at a distance of 550 feet. As they approached the city, they must have separated to a great width. The outer wall formed the most important of the defences; for Athens feared attack principally on that side.

“The northern long wall, which seems to have been
 “the only one originally in contemplation, was analogous
 “to a line of entrenchments, of four miles in length,
 “stretching from one large fortified town to another, for
 “the maintenance of communication between the two, as
 “well as for the protection of the whole province which
 “lay behind them. According to the ancient art of war,
 “the northern long wall, flanked by towers at intervals,
 “performed this service effectually, as it left to an army
 “entering the plain of Athens, from the Isthmus of
 “Corinth, no passage into the country to the southward
 “and eastward of Athens, except through the difficult
 “pass between the city and Mount Hymettus, or (which
 “would have been still more hazardous, with such a city
 “as Athens in the rear of the invader) by making the
 “circuit of Mount Hymettus. We find accordingly, that
 “the Lacedæmonians never attempted either of these
 “movements, and that this system of fortification was
 “perfectly successful, as long as Munychia was safe,
 “and the line of the long walls unbroken.” *Leake, p.*
 350. The northern wall must have run up a considerable way on the western side of the city; for the space between its point of junction with the city

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 “ the right track, and but for whose work this topo-
 “ graphy of Athens would lack its principal merit, if
 “ indeed it has any to boast of.” *p.* 99. These generous
 and noble sentiments of M. Forchhammer do equal
 honour to his understanding and his heart.

The palace of the present king of Greece stands to the north-east of the Acropolis, near the old Diomean gate; and the modern University is still further to the north, on the outside of the place where the old Acharnian gate stood. The modern city occupies principally the northern and eastern parts of the old. It is to be hoped that the western side—the classic and venerable ground which contained the Areopagus, the Pnyx, the Agora, the Courts of Legislature and of Law of the ancient and famous Athenian people—will *never* be occupied by modern buildings. Excavation may settle much, that has hitherto baffled the ingenuity of the learned; and the future traveller may possibly be enabled

to walk about the disinterred Agora of Athens, with no more doubt respecting the position of the buildings which thronged it, than he now entertains respecting the pillar of Phocas in the Forum of Rome.

I cannot close this Preface without making my public acknowledgment of gratitude to M. Marx, teacher of German, London, for very great services rendered to me. His aid was as important as it was generous and disinterested.

I hope I shall not stand in need of apology, in the judgment of any scholar, for adopting the Greek character in a Map, intended only for those who understand the Greek language. To have used the Latin, would have produced an unnecessary disagreement between the map, and the text of the books quoted. Besides this, there are many Greek words, such as *Φεῤῥεφάττιον*—*Βουλευτήριον*—*Ἀρχηγέτις*—*Πομπεῖον*, &c., which are scarcely to be recognized under the disguise and disfigurement of a Latin dress. Surely, nothing but necessity can reconcile a Greek scholar to the use of such barbarous sounds and shapes.

ETON COLLEGE,
January, 1852.

EXPLANATORY INDEX.

THE WALLS, GATES, AND SUBURBS OF ATHENS.

Thucydides, giving an account of the resources, and condition of Athens, at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, has the following passage respecting the extent of the defences of the city—" τοῦ τε γὰρ
" Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα
" πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ
" φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ
" ὁ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἦν, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ
" Φαληρικοῦ. τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ
" τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἕξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο. καὶ
" τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ
" ἅπας περίβολος, τὸ δ' ἐν φυλακῇ ἦν ἡμισυ τούτου." *Lib.* 11. 13. The Scholiast, speaking of the space in the city walls which was left unguarded, says, it was 17 stades in length—" τουτέστι στάδιοι δεκαεπτὰ· ὁ γὰρ
" ὅλος κύκλος σταδίων ἦν ἐξήκοντα." The whole length of fortified wall, therefore, amounted to 195 stades,* or exactly 22 English miles. The Peiræus was the first

* The length of the common Greek stade was 202 yds. 9 in. English. In the Appendix to Hussey's 'Ancient Weights and Measures,' §. 13, are some very valuable remarks on the varieties in the value of the Greek stade.

part enclosed by this vast line of wall.* Col. Leake has given a minute description of its fortifications, (p. 331-44.) Themistocles commenced them in the year of his archonship, A. C. 481. *Ol.* LXXIV. 4. “ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ
 “ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν. ὑπ-
 “ ἦρκετο δ’ αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἥς
 “ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναῖοις ἦρξε νομίζων τό τε χωρίον
 “ καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὺς
 “ ναυτικούς γεγενημένους μέγα προφέρειν ἐς τὸ κτήσασ-
 “ θαι δύναμιν. τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν
 “ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτέα ἐστὶ, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ξυγκατ-
 “ εσκέυαζε. καὶ ὑποκόδομησαν τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ τὸ
 “ πάχος τοῦ τείχους ὅπερ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν
 “ Πειραιᾶ. δύο γὰρ ἄμαξαι ἐναντία ἀλλήλαις τοὺς
 “ λίθους ἐπήγον. ἐντὸς δὲ οὔτε χάλιξ οὔτε πῆλος ἦν
 “ ἀλλὰ ξυνοικοδομημένοι μέγαλοι λίθοι καὶ ἐντομῇ ἐγ-
 “ γώνιοι σιδήρω πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔξωθεν καὶ μολύβδω
 “ δεδεμένοι. τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἡμισυ μάλιστα ἐτελέσθη οὐ
 “ διανοεῖτο.” *Thucyd.* I. 93.

The walls of the city, properly so called, τὸ Ἄστυ, were the next part of the work to be executed. The story of the jealousy felt by Lacedæmon, and the skilful diplomacy of Themistocles, on the occasion, is well known : it is given in detail by Thucydides, I. 90—92. The walls retained visible proofs of the haste with which they had been erected. Thucydides, in a passage already quoted in the Preface, (*lib.* I. 93) has told us so. Of this vast circumference of fortification, not a vestige has been discovered by modern research. The walls were

* The walls of Syracuse were 180 stadia in circumference : owing to their more circular shape, they must have enclosed a much larger area than the walls of Athens.

built A. C. 478: what their height was, is not known; but Appian says, that the Peiraic wall was 60 feet high, and probably the city walls were of the same height. “ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατῆλθε, (sc. Sylla) κατακεκλεισμένων ἐς τὰ τεῖχη τῶν πολεμίων. ὕψος δ’ ἦν τὰ τεῖχη πηχέων τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα, καὶ εἵργαστο ἐκ λίθου μεγάλου τε καὶ τετραγώνου.” *Appian. Bell. Mithrid. Ch. 30*

The long walls were built 21 years later, shortly before the battle of Tanagra. Thucydides says (*ibid.* 1. 93) “ἤρξαντο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους (i. e. A. C. 457. *Ol.* LXXI. 4.) καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκοδομεῖν, τό τε Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ: i. e. they began to build the long walls, I mean (τε) that which runs to Phalerum, and that which runs to Peiræus. Subsequently, a third long wall was erected, between these two. Æschines says, that this was built A. C. 445. *Ol.* LXXXV. 3, at the time of the general pacification of Greece, by the 30 years truce—“εἰρήνην ἔτη τριάκοντα ἡγάγομεν, ἣ τὸν δῆμον ὑψηλὸν ἦρε. καὶ τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος τὸ νότιον ἐτειχίσθη.” *De Falsa Legat.* 302. Pericles was minister at the time, and Socrates is represented, in Plato, as stating that he was present when the debate on the subject took place. “Περικλεοῦς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς (sc. Socrates) ἤκουον ὅτε συνεβούλευεν ἡμῖν περὶ τοῦ διὰ μέσου τείχους.” *Gorg.* 455. e. On which passage the Scholiast says, “διὰ μέσου τείχους, λέγει, ὃ καὶ ἄχρι νῦν ἐστὶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι. ἐν τῇ Μουνηχίᾳ γὰρ ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ μέσον τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν βάλλον ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ Φάληρα, (i. e. the two previously

existing walls ran respectively to Peiræus, and Phalerum) ἴν', εἰ τὸ ἐν καταβληθῆ, τὸ ἄλλο ὑπηρετοίη ἄχρι "πολλοῦ." And Harpocration says, "τριῶν ὀντων τειχῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ἐν Τριφάλῃτι, τοῦ τε Βορείου καὶ τοῦ Νοτίου καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ, διὰ μέσου τούτων ἐλέγετο τὸ Νότιον, οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Γοργία." *In v.* 'διὰ μέσου τείχος.' These several passages combined prove that there were three walls, of which the central one was called the *southern*, and was built twelve years after the two others. (*Vid. Wordsworth, Ch. 24. Arnold's note on Thucydides, II. 13. Goeller's Argumentum lib. 2. Thucyd.*)

It is true, the central wall was not absolutely the *most* southern; but it was southern, *in its relation to the outer Peiraic wall*, which was commonly called the *northern*. "Λεόντιος ὁ Ἀγλατωνος ἀνιῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς ὑπὸ τὸ βόρειον τεῖχος ἐκτός, αἰσθανόμενος νεκροῦς παρὰ τῷ δημείῳ κειμένους." *Plat. Rep. lib. IV. 439. e.* These two walls were called the '*legs of the Peiræus.*' "Κηφισσοῦς ἐκ Τρινημιῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων ῥέων δὲ διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ γέφυρα καὶ οἱ γεφυρισμοὶ διὰ καὶ τῶν σκελῶν, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστεος εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηκόντων, ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὸ Φαληρικὸν χειμαρρῶδης τὸ πλεον, θέρους δὲ μειοῦται τελέως." *Strabo, IX. 581. Oron.* "βουλόμενος τοὺς φύλακας τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ τῶν Σκελῶν τῶν ἄχρι θάλασσαν ἀγρύπνους περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν κατασκευάσαι." *Polyæn. I. 40. Livy (XXXI. 26) and Propertius (III. XXI. 24)* call them the '*arms.*' Neither term could be applied

with propriety to more than *two* walls. Vestiges of the outer and central walls still remain, which prove them to have run parallel to each other, at a distance of 550 feet. As they approached the city, they must have separated to a great width. The outer wall formed the most important of the defences; for Athens feared attack principally on that side.

“The northern long wall, which seems to have been
 “the only one originally in contemplation, was analogous
 “to a line of entrenchments, of four miles in length,
 “stretching from one large fortified town to another, for
 “the maintenance of communication between the two, as
 “well as for the protection of the whole province which
 “lay behind them. According to the ancient art of war,
 “the northern long wall, flanked by towers at intervals,
 “performed this service effectually, as it left to an army
 “entering the plain of Athens, from the Isthmus of
 “Corinth, no passage into the country to the southward
 “and eastward of Athens, except through the difficult
 “pass between the city and Mount Hymettus, or (which
 “would have been still more hazardous, with such a city
 “as Athens in the rear of the invader) by making the
 “circuit of Mount Hymettus. We find accordingly, that
 “the Lacedæmonians never attempted either of these
 “movements, and that this system of fortification was
 “perfectly successful, as long as Munychia was safe,
 “and the line of the long walls unbroken.” *Leake, p.*
 350. The northern wall must have run up a considerable way on the western side of the city; for the space between its point of junction with the city

walls, and the point where the Phaleric wall was united to them, was, as we have already seen, no less than 17 stades, —almost one third of the whole circumference of the city walls. It is plain, from the expression used by Thucydides, “the space between the long wall and the “*Phaleric*,” that this latter was not called one of the long walls, in the time of the Peloponnesian war; though it is probable that it *was* so called, before the erection of the second Peiraic, or central, wall. All three were demolished by Lysander. Conon, who rebuilt the Peiraic walls, appears not to have restored the Phaleric; nor was it ever again raised. No vestige of it remains; the other two were finally destroyed by Sylla.

The city walls described an irregular circle of 60 stades: no vestiges of them remain on the east or the south. Col. Leake thinks that the total disappearance of the walls on these sides may be accounted for by the fact that they were built of *brick*. He quotes Vitruvius on this point, who says—“*Nonnullis civitatibus et publica opera et privatas domos etiam regias a latere structas licet videre; et primum Athenis murum, qui spectat ad Hymettum montem et Pentelensem.*” *lib. II. VIII. 9.* Pliny also says,—“*Græci, præterquam ubi a silice fieri poterat structura, parietes lateritios prætulere. Sunt enim æterni, si ad perpendicularum fiant. De eo et publica opera, et regias domos struxere; murum Athenis, qui ad montem Hymettum spectat.*” *N. H. XXXV. XIV. 49.*

The course of the walls, as laid down in the map, is as follows:—Starting from the northern extremity of

the city, at the Acharnian gate, they ran eastward towards Mount Lycabettus.* The first gate in this direction was the Diomean, and then came the gate of Diochares : between these two was the suburb of Cynosarges. The walls then curved round towards the south. The famous suburb called Lyceum, lay between the gate of Diochares, and the river Ilissus. The walls then crossed the river, passing to the south of the Stadium, and reached the Itonian gate, the southernmost point of the city : they then turned to the Hill Museum, passed to the west of this, and, taking a northern direction, came to the Peiraic gate. The walls continued northward, and came successively to the gates Dipylum, Hippades, and Melitenses. On the outside of these three gates was the beautiful suburb Cerameicus. From the Melitan gate they ran to the Acharnian.

These are all the gates which can be assigned, on satisfactory authority, to particular places. There is another, the Herizæan, for which no spot has yet been determined ; and probably there were several more on the whole circuit of walls ; but their position and names are alike unknown.

The most important entrance to the city of Athens was at the Dipylum. This gate had the name also of the "Thriasian," and "Sacred," because it led to Eleu-

* Col. Leake, in his first edition, gives to Lycabettus the name of Anchesmus ; and gives the name Lycabettus to the hill on the north of the Areopagus, which was called in later ages the "Hill of the Nymphs." He has corrected the error in his second edition. Anchesmus was the later, not the classical, name of Lycabettus. *Vid. Wordsworth, Ch. VIII.*

sis and the Thriasian plain. These two places are constantly spoken of together by Thucydides—“*ἔτεμον πρῶτον μὲν Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πέδον.*” II. 19; and he repeats the same expression several times in the following chapters. The Eleusinian and Thriasian gate were one and the same, and this gate was commonly called Dipylum. Plutarch, in his life of Pericles, says—“*τὰς Θριασιοῦς πύλας αἱ νῦν Διπύλου ὀνομάζονται.*” *ch.* 30. The same writer, in his life of Sylla, calls the Inner Cerameicus, “*the Cerameicus within the Dipylum*”—*τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Διπύλου Κεραμεικόν.* *Ch.* 14. The sacred processions to Eleusis of course passed out through this gate: the procession of the Panathenaic festival always formed in the outer Cerameicus, and passed into the city by the same road: this may be seen from the story of the assassination of Hipparchus, as given by Thucydides, in his 6th Book—“*καὶ ὡς ἐπῆλθεν ἡ ἑορτή, Ἴππίας μὲν ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καλουμένῳ μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων διεκόσμη, ὡς ἕκαστα ἐχρῆν τῆς πομπῆς προϊέναι.*” *ch.* 57; and immediately after he adds that Harmodius and Aristogeiton “*ὄρμησαν εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ περιέτυχον τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόριον καλούμενον.*” This gate we have just seen was called Dipylum, and it was certainly the sacred gate through which the great national religious processions passed. “*Εἰς Ἐλευσίνα ὀδεύουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ προπέμποντες τὸν Διόνυσον.*” *Schol. ad Aristotῆ. Ran.* 402. “*Ἱερὰ ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἣν οἱ μῦσται πορεύονται ἀπ’ ἄσπεος εἰς Ἐλευσίνα.*” *Harprocrat. in v.* ‘*Ἱερὰ ὁδός.*’ This gate, standing, as it did, at the end of the hollow

valley between the Areopagus and Pnyx, is said by Livy to lie "in the mouth" of the city. (*Liv.* xxxi. 24.) The outer Cerameicus was used as a cemetery, particularly for those who had been killed in battle. The whole procedure of their public interment is described by Thucydides, *lib.* ii. *ch.* 34, who says, amongst other things,— "τιθέασιν οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ἐστὶν
 " ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀεὶ ἐν
 " αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, πλήν γε τοὺς
 " ἐν Μαραθῶνι· ἐκείνων δὲ διαπρεπῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναν-
 " τες αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν. Pausanias, *lib.* i. *ch.* 29, gives a list of the principal tombs in the Cerameicus. Aristophanes, in his play of the Birds, has this passage—

ὁ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νώ.
 δημόσια γὰρ ἴνα ταφῶμεν
 φήσομεν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς
 μαχομένω τοῖς πολεμίοισιν
 ἀποθανεῖν ἐν Ὀρνεαῖς.* v. 395.

At the end of this suburb was the famous Academy; and immediately to the north of the Academy stood Colonus, which the incomparable drama of Sophocles has immortalized.

Cicero opens the 5th Book of his treatise 'De Finibus Boni et Mali' with these words:—"Quum audissem
 " Antiochum, Brute, ut solebam, cum M. Pisone in eo
 " gymnasio quod Ptolemæum vocatur, unaque nobiscum

* Κεραμεικός is properly an adjective, *ἄγρος* being understood, "the potter's field, or quarter." In like manner the Tuileries of Paris must have been a place for making tiles. Pausanias gives an absurd derivation of the word Κεραμεικός—τὸ δὲ χωρίον (says he) τὸ μὲν βρομα ἔχει ἀπὸ ἤρωος Κεράμου, Διονύσου τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀριάδνης καὶ τούτου λεγομένου. i. 3.

“ Q. Frater, et T. Pomponius, et L. Cicero frater noster
 “ cognatione patruelis, amore germanus, constituimus
 “ inter nos, ut ambulationem postmeridianam confice-
 “ remus in Academia, maxime quod is locus ab omni
 “ turba id temporis vacuus esset. Itaque ad tempus ad
 “ Pisonem omnes. Inde vario sermone sex illa a Dipylo
 “ stadia confecimus. Quum autem venissemus in Aca-
 “ demia non sine causa nobilitata spatia, solitudo erat
 “ ea quam volueramus.” And a little after—“ Me
 “ ipsum huc modo venientem convertibat ad sese
 “ Coloneus ille locus, cujus incola Sophocles ob oculos
 “ versabatur, quem scis quam admirer, quamque eo
 “ delecter.” “ *Ἀκαδημία λέγεται γυμνάσιον Ἀθήνησιν*
 “ *ἀπὸ Ἀκαδήμου ἀναθέντος καὶ τόπος λέγεται γὰρ*
 “ *οὕτως ὁ Κεραμεικός.*” *Hesych. in v. Ἀκαδημία.*

The ‘Knights’ Gate,’ *Ἱππᾶδες πύλαι*, probably stood to the north of the Dipylum. Plutarch quotes Heliodorus as his authority for saying that the orator Hyperides was buried near this gate—“ *τοὺς δὲ οἰκείους*
 “ *τὰ ὁστὰ λαβόντας θάψαι τε ἅμα τοῖς γονεῦσι πρὸ τῶν*
 “ *Ἱππᾶδων πυλῶν, ὡς φησὶν Ἡλιόδωρος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ*
 “ *μνημάτων.*” *Decem Orat. Vit. 9.* Philostratus makes
 “ mention of a place in the Cerameicus, called *Ἱππεῖς*;
 “ and it seems probable that the place derived this ap-
 “ pellation from some equestrian statues, which gave
 “ name also to the neighbouring city gates.” *Leake,*
p. 373. “ *τὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν βουλευτήριον, ὃ δὲ ᾠκοδό-*
 “ *μηται παρὰ τὰς τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ πύλας οὐ πόρρω τῶν*
 “ *Ἱππέων.*” *Philist. in Philagr.* The burial place of
 so distinguished a family as that of Hyperides was

probably in the Cerameicus; and hence we are warranted in the conclusion that the 'Knight's Gate' led to this suburb. Hesychius merely says there was such a gate, without determining its position—"καὶ πύλαι 'Αθήνησιν Ἰππᾶδες ἐκαλοῦντο." in *v. ἰππᾶδα*.

The 'Melitan Gate' was so named from leading into that region of the city which was called Melite. Between Melite and the city, there was a space called 'the hollow,' *κοίλη*. Marcellinus, in his life of Thucydides, *p.* 17, says—"πρὸς ταῖς Μελιτίσι πύλαις καλουμέναις ἐστὶν ἐν Κοίλῃ τὰ καλούμενα Κιμώνια μνήματα, ἔνθα δέικνυται Ἡρόδοτου καὶ Θουκυδίδου τάφος." And in the Fragment added to this life, though probably written by some other person, we read—"ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ τάφος πλησίον τῶν πυλῶν ἐν χωρίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἡ Κοίλη καλεῖται." 55. Pausanias also says, that Thucydides was buried here—"καὶ οἱ (*sc.* Thucydidi) δολοφονηθέντι ὡς κατῆει μνήμᾳ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω πυλῶν Μελιτίδων." *i.* 23. Herodotus says—"τέθαπται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, πέραν τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλουμένης ὁδοῦ καταντίον δ' αὐτοῦ αἱ ἵπποι τεθάφεται αὐται, αἱ τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνελόμεναι." *vi.* 103. Ælian gives further corroboration to this—"Μελτιάδης δὲ τὰς ἵππους τὰς τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνελομένας ἔθαψεν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ." *Hist. Anim.* *xii.* 40. The Melitan gate, therefore, must have stood in the neighbourhood of the spot where it is placed on the map.

"The ancient demus of Acharnæ was situated at or near the modern village of Menidhi. The gate which led to it was called 'Acharnian,' and must have stood

“about the spot where the modern road to Menidhi “cuts the line of the ancient walls.” *Leake, p. 371.* Hesychius testifies to the existence of the gate—“ Ἀχ-
 “ ἄρνη δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀχαρνικαὶ πύλαι Ἀθήνη-
 “ σιν.” *in v. Ἀχάρνη.*

The ‘Diomean Gate’ stood, of course, in the region of the city called Diomea. It led to the suburb Cynosarges. This was sacred to Hercules. Suidas gives the following account of the place, and its name—“ Κυνόσ-
 “ αργες τόπος τίς ἐστὶ παρ’ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἱερὸν
 “ Ἡρακλέους, κατ’ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Δίολμος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος
 “ ἔθουεν ἐν τῇ ἐστία· εἶτα κύων λευκὸς παρὼν ἤρπασε τὸ
 “ ἱερεῖον, καὶ ἀπελθὼν εἰς τινὰ τόπον ἀπέθετο. ὁ δὲ
 “ περιδεῆς ἦν. ἔχρησε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ὅτι εἰς ἐκεῖνον
 “ τὸν τόπον οὐ τὸ ἱερεῖον ἀπέθετο, Ἡρακλέους βωμὸν
 “ ὀφείλει ιδρύσασθαι. ὄθεν ἐκλήθη Κυνόσαργες.” *in voc.*

The story is corroborated by Pausanias, i. 19, and Hesychius, *in v. ‘Κυνόσαργες.’* Herodotus in two passages, v. 63. *et vi. 116*, speaks of a temple of Hercules standing in Cynosarges. This temple must have stood outside the Diomean gate; for Plutarch in his life of Themistocles, says, *ch. i.*—“ εἰς Κυνόσαργες—τοῦτο
 “ δ’ ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους;” and Diogenes Laertius says of Antisthenes—“ διελέγετο δὲ ἐν
 “ τῷ Κυνοσάργει μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τῶν πυλῶν.” *Antisth.**

* Forchhammer (*p. 95*) says, that this sanctuary of Hercules Cynosarges adjoined the city walls, as the Heracleium did at Thebes, and formed part of the fortifications, as the Castrum Prætorium did at Rome. He thinks it probable that the Lyceium also abutted on the walls; and that this fact furnishes us with the reason why Pausanias in describing his route from the ‘Gardens’ to the Heracleium, mentions no gate. But the negative probability arising from the silence of Pausanias, who hardly ever mentions a gate at all, is not to be set in balance against the positive testimony of Plutarch and Laertius.

c. 6. Aristophanes speaks of the worship of Hercules in this district—

ἐφρόντισα
ὀπόθ' Ἑράκλεια τὰν Διομείους γίγνεται.

Ran. 651.

The region 'Diomea' was famous for a club of wits. "πληθὸς δ' ἦν Ἀθήνησι τῆς σοφίας ταύτης. ἐν γούν τῷ Διομέων Ἑρακλείῳ συνελέγοντο, ἐξήκοντα ὄντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν." *Athen.* xiv. 3. The conceit and vanity of these wits provoked the anger of Aristophanes, who punished them by coining, and applying to them, the compound *Διομειαλαζόνες*. *Acharn.* 605.

The next gate of which we have any positive knowledge was that called the 'Gate of Diochares.' It led to the suburb Lyceium. Strabo says—"εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν αἱ πηγαὶ καθαρῷ καὶ ποτίμου ὕδατος, ὡς φασι, ἐκτὸς τῶν Διοχάρους καλουμένων πυλῶν, πλησίον τοῦ Λυκείου." *lib.* ix. p. 576. And again—"ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτος μάλιστα ὁ Ἴλισσός· ἐκ θατέρου μέρους τοῦ ἄστεος ῥέων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν παραλίαν, ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀγρας καὶ τοῦ Λυκείου μερῶν, καὶ τῆς πηγῆς ἦν ὕμνηκεν ἐν Φαίδρῳ Πλάτων." *Id.* p. 581. The passage of Plato to which he refers is in the commencement of the *Phædrus*—"δεῦρ' ἐκτραπόμενοι κατὰ τὸν Ἴλισσὸν ἴωμεν. * * * ἢ τε γὰρ πλάτανος αὐτῆ μάλ' ἀμφιλαφῆς τε καὶ ὑψηλὴ * * * ἢ γε αὖ πηγὴ χαριεστάτη ὑπὸ τῆς πλατάνου ρεῖ μάλα ψυχροῦ ὕδατος, ὡς γε τῷ ποδὶ τεκμήρασθαι." *Plut. Phædr.* 229. a. 230. b. This fountain was called 'the fountain of Panops,' as we learn from the opening sentence of the *Lysis*—"ἐπορ-

“εὐόμην μὲν ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας εὐθὺ Λυκείου τὴν ἔξω
 “τείχους ὑπ’ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος· ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἐγενόμην κατὰ
 “τὴν πυλίδα, ἣ ἢ Πάνοπος κρήνη, ἐνταῦθα συνέτυχον
 “Ἴπποθάλει.” The route which the philosopher took
 is very easily traced. He walked, as he says, from the
 Academy, close to the city wall, northward to the
 Acharnian gate; he then turned round to the east,
 passed by the Diomean gate, through Cynosarges, and
 so arrived at the Lyceium. Both the fountain and
 plane-tree, by which he took his seat, are mentioned by
 Cicero. “Cur non imitatur, Crasse, Socratem illum,
 “qui est in Phædro Platonis? nam me hæc tua plata-
 “nus admonuit, quæ non minus ad opacandum hunc
 “locum patulis est diffusa ramis, quam illa cujus um-
 “bram secutus est Socrates; quæ mihi videtur non
 “tam ipsa aquila quæ describitur, quam Platonis ora-
 “tione crevisse.” *De Orat.* i. 7.

Hesychius says that Panops was an Attic demi-god:
 “Πάνοψ· ἥρωος Ἀττικῆς· ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ νέως καὶ
 “ἄγαλμα, καὶ κρήνη.” *in voc.* This is the account
 which Pausanias gives of the Lyceium—“Λύκειον δὲ
 “ἀπὸ μὲν Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίωνος ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα, Ἀπόλ-
 “λωνος δὲ ἱερὸν ἐξαρχῆς τε εὐθύς καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐνομι-
 “ζετο. Λύκος τε ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα ὠνομάσθη πρῶτον.”
 i. 19. The whole was dedicated to Apollo: it was
 adorned by various buildings, fountains, and walks. It
 was the Campus Martius of Athens, where military
 exercises were performed, as well as a Gymnasium for
 the athlete. “It was also one of the most favourite
 “places of resort for philosophical study and conversa-

“tion, and thus became the school of Aristotle, whose followers were called Peripatetics, from their custom of *walking* in the grove of the Lyceium.” *Leake, p. 144.*

Aristophanes has the following passage—

καὶ γὰρ ἱκανὸν χρόνον ἄ-
-πολλύμεθα καὶ κατατε-
-τρίμμεθα πλανώμενοι
ἐς Λύκειον κάκ Λυκείου σὺν δόρει σὺν ἀσπίδι.

Rax, 354.

On which lines the Scholiast says—“τὸ Λύκειον δὲ γυμνάσιον Ἀθήνησιν, ὅπου πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου ἐδόκουν γυμνάζεσθαι. πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐξόδων ἐξοπίσθαι τινες ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ διὰ τὸ παρακεῖσθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀποδείξει τῶν μᾶλλον πολεμικῶν ἀνδρῶν.”

Pausanias, in his description of Athens (i. 19,) speaks of the place called Κῆποι, or ‘the Gardens,’ as between the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and the Lyceium—“μετὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πλησίον ἀγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερόν Ἀπόλλωνος Δελφινίου.” And after giving an account of this temple, he adds—“ἐς δὲ τὸ χωρίον ὃ Κήπους ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὸν ναὸν οὐδεὶς λεγόμενός σφισιν ἐστὶ λόγος. * * * τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐν τοῖς Κήποις ἔργον ἐστὶν Ἀλκαμένους.” (*Vid. Preface, p. 16.*) Thucydides speaks of this Pythium as amongst the most ancient buildings of the city, (ii. 15) and as being in its southern quarter. It is, therefore, not to be confounded with the Pythium in the Agora.

Plutarch thus alludes to the Delphinium—"ὅπου νῦν
 " ἐν Δελφινίῳ τὸ περιφρακτόν ἐστιν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ
 " Αἰγυεὺς ᾤκει." *Thes. ch. 12.* And again—"διὰ τοῦ
 " ἄστεος ἐλάσας, εἶτα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δελφινίῳ κατ-
 " ἔθυσεν." *Ch. 41.* These passages prove that the Delphi-
 nium was in the southern, and most ancient part of
 Athens.*

The place called Κῆποι must have run along the
 banks of the Ilissus, and therefore occupied the space
 between the temple of Jupiter and the Lyceium. In
 this space also was an altar to the Ilissian Muses, which
 has now disappeared; but a temple, which probably con-
 tained it, was in existence in the year 1656. "ἐθέλουσι
 " δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἱερὸν εἶναι τὸν Εἰλισσόν.
 " καὶ Μουσῶν βωμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐστιν Εἰλισσιάδων· δείκ-
 " νυται δὲ καὶ ἔνθα Πελοποννήσιοι Κόδρον τὸν Μελάν-
 " θου βασιλεύοντα Ἀθηναίων κτείνουσι." *Pausan. 1. 19.*

On the opposite, or southern bank of the Ilissus
 was the district called 'Agræ.' "διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Εἰ-
 " λισσὸν χωρίον Ἄγραι καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς Ἀγροτέρας
 " ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος." *Pausan. 1. 19.* The two banks of
 the river were connected by a bridge, ruins of which
 are still visible.

The Panathenaic Stadium was in Agræ. Pausanias
 thus describes it—"τὸ δὲ ἀκούσασι μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως
 " ἐπαγωγόν, θαῦμα δ' ἰδοῦσι, στάδιόν ἐστι λευκοῦ λι-
 " θου· μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆδε ἂν τις μάλιστα τεκμαίροι-
 " το. ἄνωθεν ὄρους ὑπὲρ τὸν Εἰλισσὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐκ

* With respect to the name 'Delphinus,' as given to Apollo, the student should consult *Muller's History of the Dorians, book II. ch. 1. §. 5. and book II. ch. 2. §. 6.*

“μνησοειδούς καθήκει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἄχθην, εὐθύ
 “τε καὶ διπλοῦν. τοῦτο ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ῥυκοδόμησε, καὶ
 “οἱ τὸ πολὺ τῆς λιθοτομίας τῆς Πεντέλης ἐς τὴν οἰ-
 “κοδομὴν ἀνηλώθη.” 1. 19. It is not known when the
 Stadium was first constructed. It was greatly improved
 by Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, A. C. 350, *Oli.* 107. 3,
 who added a podium, and levelled the bed of the Stadium
 itself. “τῷ σταδίῳ τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ τὴν κρηπίδα περι-
 “έθηκεν ἐξεργασάμενος τοῦτο καὶ τὴν χαράδραν ὀμαλὴν
 “ποιήσας.” *Plutarch. decem Rhet. Vit. Lycurg.* About
 500 years later, Herodes finished it in the way described
 by Pausanias. According to Col. Leake’s calculation,
 there may have been nearly 30 rows of seats, and they
 were capable of containing 25,000 spectators; but a much
 greater number might be assembled on the slope of the
 two hills. (*p.* 53.) The interior of the Stadium measures
 630 English feet; the whole length of the part appro-
 priated to the spectators measures 675 feet. Dr.
 Wordsworth says—“The Stadium of Athens was the
 “most remarkable monument on the south side of the
 “Ilissus. On this side a sloping bank runs parallel to
 “the river; and in this slope a semi-elliptical hollow,
 “facing the north, has been scooped out of the soil, of
 “somewhat more than 600 feet in length, and at right
 “angles to the river. This was the Athenian Stadium.
 “The shelving margins were once cased with seats of
 “white marble: it is now a long and grass-grown
 “hollow, retiring into the hill-side. The concave ex-
 “tremity of the stadium, which is its farthest point
 “from the Ilissus, is somewhat of a higher level than

“ that which is nearer to it. The racer started from
 “ the lower extremity, and, having completed one course
 “ in a straight line (*δρόμος*, or *στάδιον*,) turned round
 “ the point of curvature (*καμπτήρ*) at the higher ex-
 “ tremity, and thus descended in a line parallel to
 “ that of his ascent, till he arrived at the goal (*βαλβίς*,)
 “ which was a point a little to the east of that from
 “ which he had started : thus he accomplished a double
 “ course (*δίαιλος*.)” *Ch. xx.*

Pausanias says, that beyond the fountain of Callirhoe were two temples--“ *ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην, ὁ μὲν
 “ Δήμητρος πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου
 “ κείμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα.*” I. 14. The temple of Ceres and Proserpine was called the Eleusinium, because in it the lesser Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated. “ The mystic banks of the Ilissus (says Col. Leake) were
 “ sanctified by the sacred lustrations, in which its waters
 “ were employed in the lesser Eleusinian mysteries :
 “ and such was the veneration in which the Eleusinium
 “ was held, that when the whole population of Attica
 “ crowded into the walls of Athens, at the beginning
 “ of the Peloponnesian war, the Eleusinium and the
 “ Acropolis were the only places which the people
 “ scrupled to inhabit. *οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τε ἐρήμα
 “ τῆς πόλεως ᾤκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερά καὶ τὰ ἠρώα πάντα
 “ πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι
 “ ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν.* *Thuc. II. 17.* An island
 “ between the Stadium and Olympium, formed by the
 “ diverging torrents of the Ilissus, seems well adapted
 “ for a place that was closed and kept sacred from the

“vulgar; and the foundations of a building, still observable in this island, may be those of the Eleusinium. * * * The temple of Triptolemus, which Pausanias also places above Enneacrunus, was probably that beautiful little Ionic building, which the drawings of Stuart (*vol. I. ch. 2*) have preserved from oblivion. It formed in his time the church of Panaglia on the rock, but has now entirely disappeared.” *p. 115*. Polyænus shows, that the lesser Eleusinian mysteries were performed on the banks of the Ilissus—“ταῦτα μὲν δὴ συνέθεντο παρὰ τὸν Ἴλισσον οὐ τὸν καθαρμὸν τελούσι τοῖς ἐλάττοσι μυστηρίοις.” *Strateg. lib. v. ch. 7*. And Himerius—“ἐγὼ πατρικὸν ὄλβον ῥίψας εὐδαίμονα, παρ’ Ἴλισσοῦ μυστικαῖς ὄχθαις ἐσκίνημαι.” *In Diogen. ap. Photium*.

Forchhammer places the temple of Ceres and Proserpine on the southern bank of the Ilissus, and objects to the Eleusinium being placed in the island, on the ground that, if it was there, “the route which Pausanias took would become entangled.” *p. 48*. If this is the *only* reason against the position of the temple, it does not seem conclusive; for it is often difficult, in spite of Forchhammer’s opinion, to make out what rule Pausanias observed in taking his routes; or whether he observed *any* rule. Forchhammer places the temple a little to the north of the spot where the temple of Triptolemus appears in my map.

It is remarkable that Pausanias does not mention the *name* of the temple, in which there was a statue of Triptolemus. He says that there are two temples

beyond Callirhoe, I. xiv. 1,—“ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην, ὃ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα.” And afterwards he says, *ibid.*—“πρόσω δὲ ἰέναι με ὠρμημένον τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ὅποσα ἐς ἐξήγησιν ἔχει τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἱερὸν καλούμενον δὲ Ἐλευσίνιον, ἔπεσχεν ὄψις ὀνειράτος· ἃ δὲ ἐς πάντας ὄσιον γράφειν, ἐς ταῦτα ἀποτρέψομαι. πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε, ἔνθα καὶ Τριπτολέμου ἄγαλμα, ἐστὶ βουῆς χαλκοῦς.” It is impossible to conjecture what reason so superstitious a mind as that of Pausanias may have had for suppressing the name of a temple; but whatever the name was, the building was certainly near the temple of Ceres and Proserpine.

Immediately after speaking in these terms of the temple of Triptolemus, Pausanias adds—“ἔτι δὲ ἀπὸ τέρῳ ναὸς Εὐκλείας, ἀνάθημα καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Μήδων, οὐ τῆς χώρας Μαραθῶνα ἔσχον.” *ibid.* 4. Pausanias also speaks of a temple at Thebes, dedicated to Diana Eucleia: “πλησίον δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ναὸς ἐστὶν Εὐκλείας.” IX. xvii. 1. That there was a festival called Εὐκλεία, at Corinth, we learn from Xenophon, *Hellen.* IV. iv. 2,—“ἐκεῖνοι δὲ Εὐκλείων τὴν τελευταίαν προείλοντο.” Forchhammer ingeniously conjectures (*p.* 48) that this temple may have been raised in gratitude to Ἀρτεμις, (who was worshipped close by, under the title of Ἀγροτέρα,) for granting the prayers of the Athenians, when they supplicated her to grant them victory, before the battle of Marathon.

Pausanias, in describing the entrance to Athens from Phalerum, says, that a statue of Antiope stood imme-

diately inside the gate. “ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς
 “Ἀθήνας ἐκ Φαληροῦ ναὸς” Ἡρας * * * ἐσελθόντων δὲ
 “ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔστιν Ἀντιόπης μνήμα Ἀμαζόνος.” I. II. I.
 We also learn from Plato, that this statue stood near the
 ‘Itonian gate’—“ὡς δὲ θάττον τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος
 “ἤειμεν, ταῖς Ἴτωνίαις, πλησίον γὰρ ὄκει τῶν πυλῶν,
 “πρὸς τῇ Ἀμαζονίδι στήλῃ, καταλαμβάνομεν αὐτόν.”
Axioch. 565. a. Socrates was walking by the Ilissus,
 when he was called back to the city, to visit Axiochus.
 “ἐξιόντι μοι ἐν Κυνόσαργες καὶ γενομένῳ μοί κατὰ τὸν
 “Ἴλισσον διῆξε φωνὴ βοῶντός του, Σώκρατες, Σώκρατες·
 “ὡς δὲ περιστραφεῖς περιεσκόπουν ὀπότεν εἶη, Κλεινίαν
 “ὄρῳ τὸν Ἀξιόχου θέοντα ἐπὶ Καλλιρόην.” *id. init.* The
 position therefore of the ‘Itonian gate’ is determined:
 it stood at the end of the Phaleric road.

Minerva was worshipped under the name of Itonia,
 from Itonus, a town in Thessaly. (*Catull.* LXIV. 228.)

αὐτὰρ ὄγ’ ἀμφ’ ὤμοισι Θεᾶς Ἴτωνίδος ἔργον
 δίπλακα πορφυρέην περονήσατο, τὴν οἱ ὄπασσε
 Παλλάς. *Apoll. Rhod.* I. 721.

And Callimachus calls the goddess by the same name—

ἦνθον Ἴτωνιάδος μιν Ἀθαναίας ἐπ’ ἄεθλα
 Ὀρμενίδαι καλέοντες *Hymn. in Cerer.* 79.

As the ‘Itonian gate’ led to Phalerum, by an ἀμα-
 ξιτός, or carriage road, which ran between the Phaleric
 and long walls, so the ‘Peiraic gate’ led to the Piræus,
 by a carriage road which ran between the long walls.
 It is extremely improbable that any gate should have
 been called the ‘Peiraic,’ which did not lead most

directly to the Piræus : and consequently it is equally improbable that any gate to the north of that, which stood between the Museum and the Pnyx, should have had that name.

The position of the Peiraic gate therefore seems properly fixed between these two hills. Plutarch, in his life of Theseus, describes a battle between the Amazons and Athenians. The Athenian army appears to have been drawn up to the south and west of the Acropolis. Its extreme right occupied the hill Museum. They began the action by attacking the left of the Amazons, which was opposed to them. They were defeated, however, and compelled to retreat. They fell back in the direction of the Acropolis, and finally retreated to the temple of the Furies, where they held their ground. The slaughter of the Athenians, therefore, in all probability took place in the valley which lies between the hill Museum, the western end of the Acropolis, and the eastern end of the Pnyx.

Plutarch states that the slain were buried "in the street that leads to the Peiraic gate," where their tombs were still to be seen ; adding, that they were buried where they fell.

Plutarch also says, that the *heroum* of Chalcodon stood near the Peiraic gate,—“ τὰς πύλας παρὰ τὸ Χαλκώδον-
“ τος ἡρώων, ἃς νῦν Πειραιϊκὰς ὀνομάζουσι.” *Plut. These.*
ch. 27. Pausanias, describing the road from the Piræus to the city, says,—“ ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐρείπια
“ τῶν τειχῶν ἐστὶν ἂ Κόνων ὕστερον τῆς πρὸς Κνίδου
“ ναυμαχίας ἀνέστησε * * * ἔστι δὲ τάφος οὐ πόρρω

“ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπίθεμα ἔχων στρατιώτην ἵππῳ παρεστη-
 “ κότα.” I. 2. Pausanias must mean the Peiraic gate; though when he begins his account of the city, in the very next paragraph, he seems to begin from the Dipylum.* This may be accounted for by the superior importance and magnitude of the Dipylum. “ It is “ well known (says Colonel Leake) that a man standing “ by a horse was a common type on the monument of “ a person who received heroic honours; a distinction “ which became so common in the latter ages of Greece, “ that sepulcral stones of the most ordinary kind are “ still found in great numbers, with this type in relief, “ accompanied by the person’s name, with ἥρωσ attached “ to it. Now as we learn from Plutarch, that the “ heroic monument of Chalcodon stood at the Peiraic “ gate, there seems little doubt that the monument “ described by Pausanias, at the gate by which he “ entered Athens, was the *heroum* of Chalcodon, and “ that the gate was the same called ‘Peiraic,’ by “ Plutarch.” p. 86. It is remarkable, that Pausanias adds, that he did not know *whom* the figure represented, though it was a work of Praxiteles—“ ὃν τινα μὲν οὐκ “ οἶδα, Πραξιτέλης δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην “ ἐποίησεν.” *Ibid.* Possibly the name of Chalcodon had been altered into that of some Roman,—a thing very often done in the age of Pausanias; and he may have feared to give offence by telling the truth.

* I have given my reasons for this opinion in the Preface, p. xi. seq.

THE ACROPOLIS AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS.

The Acropolis of Athens stood on a rock, about 150 feet high : its surface on the summit is nearly level, and is about 1000 feet in length : the northern, eastern and southern sides of the rock were precipitous ; the western extremity sloped to the plain below, and was therefore more easy of access. On this side accordingly an entrance to the Acropolis was constructed.

At about the centre, and the highest part of the platform, on the summit, stood the famous Parthenon. It was commenced A. C. 445, *Ol.* 83. 4, under the government of Pericles ; Ictinus was its architect ; and Phidias its sculptor.* To the north of the Parthenon was the temple called 'Erectheium,' which name it gained from the circumstance that Erectheus was supposed to have been buried there. It was the temple dedicated to Minerva Polias. The configuration of the building

* The whole of the Acropolis has been elaborately described by Colonel Leake in his eighth chapter. The student will do well to consult a translation of Welcker's " Essay on the Sculptured Groups " in the Pediments of the Parthenon," in the *Classical Museum*, vol. II. p. 367. Mr. Lucas, the sculptor, whose models of the Parthenon are in the British Museum, has also published some very valuable " Remarks " on the Parthenon." *Salisbury, Brodie*, 1845.

was remarkable; it had 3 porticoes; one at the eastern extremity, one at the north-western, and one on the south-western: this last was supported by Caryatides (*καρυφόρουι*) instead of pillars. The temple had a triple division; its eastern chamber was specially dedicated to Minerva Polias, and the western to Pandrosus; hence called the 'Pandroseium.' The ground occupied by the south-western was supposed by popular belief to be the burial-place of Cecrops; hence it was called Cecropium.*

This was the most ancient of all Athenian temples. It is mentioned both in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (*Il.* II. 546—55. *Odys.* VII. 80.) It contained the ancient image of Minerva, made of olive-wood, which was supposed to have fallen from heaven. (*Vide Acta Apostol.* XI. 35.) Pausanias says—"ἱερά μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἥ τε ἄλλη πόλις καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ὁμοίως γῆ· καὶ γὰρ ὄσοις θεοὺς καθέστηκεν ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς δήμοις σέβειν, οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ· τὸ δὲ ἀγιώτατον ἐν κοινῷ πολλοῖς πρότερον νομισθὲν ἔτεσιν ἢ συνῆλθον ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων, ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει, τότε δὲ ὀνομαζομένη πόλει· φήμη δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ." I. 26. In the Erectheium was also that spring of sea-water, which Neptune produced by the stroke of his trident, to support his claim to the property of the Athenian soil. Here was the impression of the trident which

* The distribution of the various interior parts of the Erectheium has occasioned a good deal of difficulty and dispute. I must refer the reader to Dr. Wordsworth's XVIIth chapter, and Colonel Leake, p. 257—270.

was then left on the rock ; and here also was the sacred olive-tree produced by Minerva. “ Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ἀμφισβητήσασιν λέγουσι περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἀμφισβητήσαντας δὲ ἔχειν ἐν κοινῷ προστάξαι γὰρ οὕτω Δία σφισι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀθηνᾶν τε σέβουσι Πολιάδα, καὶ Σθηνιάδα ὀνομάζοντες τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα βασιλέα ἐπέκλησιν. καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμα αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπίσημα ἔχει τρίαῖναν, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς πρόσωπον.” *Pausan.* II. xxx. “ Πεποιήται δὲ (sc. in the Acropolis) “ καὶ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἐλαίας Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ κῦμα ἀναφαίνων Ποσειδῶν.” I. 24.

The old Erectheium was totally destroyed by Xerxes. Herodotus, in describing his capture of the Acropolis, says—“ ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσαν ἔνι· τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην, ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι· ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἄμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἰρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος, Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι, ὡς ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ἱρὸν ὄρων βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα.” VIII. 55. “ Æschylus seems to draw his picture from this object (*viz.* the impression made by the trident) in the Athenian citadel, when he says of an Argive temple:—

“ ὀρῶ τρίαῖναν τήνδε, σημεῖον θεοῦ. *Suppl.* 218.

“ Hegesias applies this identical expression to the trident in the Erectheium: ὀρῶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς τριαίνης ἔχει τι σημεῖον.” (*Words-*

worth, p. 133.) In the contest between Minerva and Neptune, the twelve gods sate as judges—"ἦκεν οὖν πρῶτος Ποσειδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πλήξας τῆ τριαλίην κατὰ μεσῆν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέφηγε θάλασσαν,* ἦν νῦν Ἐρεχθίδα καλοῦσι, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἦκεν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ ποιησαμένη τῆς καταληψέως Κέκροπα μάρτυρα ἐφύτευσεν ἐλαίαν ἢ νῦν ἐν τῷ Πανδροσίῳ δέικνυται· γενομένης δὲ ἔριδος ἀμφοῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας, Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα διαλύσας Ζεὺς κριτὰς ἔδωκεν, οὐχ, ὡς εἰπὸν τινες, Κέκροπα καὶ Κραναὸν, οὔδε Ἐρεχθέα, θεοὺς δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα. καὶ τούτων δικαζόντων ἡ χώρα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐκρίθη, Κέκροπος μαρτυρήσαντος ὅτι πρῶτον τὴν ἐλαίαν ἐφύτευσεν. Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν οὖν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς τὴν πόλιν ἐκάλεσεν Ἀθήνας· Ποσειδῶν δὲ θυμῷ ὀργισθεὶς, τὸ Θριάσιον πέδιον ἐπέκλυσε καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὑφάλον ἐποίησε." *Apollod.* III. xiv. 1.

This contest between a deity of the sea, and one of the land, symbolizes the fact, that Attica had once been under water; from which it was subsequently recovered. Dr. Wordsworth's description of the appearance of Athens, as viewed from the hill of St. George (Lycabettus,) furnishes a curious illustration of this solution of the myth—"This peculiar form" (of Athens and its neighbourhood) "might here be imagined to have been produced by some such process as this. It looks as if the surface of the country *had once been*

* The Latin poets represent Neptune to have produced *the horse* in this contest. (*Virg. Georg.* i. 12.) The expression of Statius, *Theb.* xii. 632—"refugum mare," seems doubtful: though Bentley, *ad Hor. Od.* I. vii. 5, does not hesitate to apply the words to the salt-spring. In *Ovid. Met.* vi. 77, the various readings '*fretum*' and '*ferum*' render his testimony also doubtful.

“ *in a fluid state, swelling in huge waves, and that then*
 “ some of these waves had been suddenly fixed in their
 “ places into solid and compact rock, while the rest
 “ were permitted to subside away into a wide plain.
 “ By some such agency as this we might fancy that the
 “ objects now before us had been produced.” *p. 55.*

Pausanias (i. 27) gives an account of the statues in the Acropolis. He says—“ *πρὸς δὲ τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς* (sc. Poliadis) * * “ *ἔστιν ἀγάλματα μεγάλα χαλκοῦ, διεστῶτες ἄνδρες ἐς μάχην καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἐρεχθεῖα καλοῦσι, τὸν δὲ Εὐμόλπον καίτοι λέληθέ γε οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίων ὅσοι τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἴσασιν, Ἴμμάραδον εἶναι παῖδα Εὐμόλπου τοῦτου, τὸν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ Ἐρεχθεῖος.*” These colossal statues stood between the Parthenon and Erectheium.

Between the western end of the Erectheium and the Propylæa was the magnificent and gigantic figure of Minerva Promachos. It was the work of Phidias: it was made of bronze, and was 70 feet in height. The head of it could be seen by sailors, on the voyage from Sunium to the Piræus. The goddess was represented erect, with shield, helmet, and spear: she stood at the entrance of her chosen Acropolis, as its champion (*πρόμαχος*) and guardian. Demosthenes thus speaks of it—“ *ἀλλ’ ὅλης οὔσης ἱερᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ταυτησί, καὶ πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἐχούσης παρὰ τὴν χαλκῆν τὴν μεγάλην Ἀθηνᾶν ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἔστηκεν, (viz. an inscription) ἣν ἀριστεῖον ἢ πόλις τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμου, δόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ χρήματα ταῦτ’, ἀνέθηκεν.*” *De falsa Legat. 428.*

Pausanias says there was a statue of Ζεὺς Πολιεὺς in the Acropolis, (i. 24) and Aristophanes, in the *Plutus*, plainly refers to this statue, as occupying the place which is indicated by Pausanias; viz. to the west of the Parthenon—

Ἴδρυσόμεθ' οὖν αὐτίκα μάλ', ἀλλὰ περίμενε,
τὸν Πλοῦτον, οὐπερ πρότερον ἦν ἰδρυμένος (sc. Ζεὺς)
τὸν ὀπισθόδομον αἰεὶ φυλάττων τῆς θεοῦ. 1191.

The ὀπισθόδομος was the public treasury, and *Plutus* was a very fit deity to be placed near it, as its guardian. The comic poet implies that Jupiter had not taken such care of the public treasure as the tutelary god of the city (Πολιεὺς) ought to have taken. The whole Acropolis was crowded with works of art.*

The 'Propylæa,' or fortified entrance to the Acropolis, was begun A. C. 437, *Ol.* 85. 4. It took five years to build. Mnesicles was the architect. It was commenced under the auspices and government of Pericles, in the archonship of Euthymenes. It was the greatest work of civil architecture which the Athenians produced. It appears that they held it in no less admiration than they held the Parthenon. Demosthenes couples the

* Dr. Wordsworth indeed, (p. 102) referring to the noble dithyrambic fragment of Pindar, *Frag.* 45, ed. Cookesley—

δεῦρ' ἐν χορῶν, Ὀλύμπιοι,
ἐπὶ τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν, θεοί,
πολύβατον οἷτ' ἕσπεος ὀμφαλὸν θύοντα
ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθάναις
οἰχνεῖτε πανδαίδαλον τ' εὐκλέ' ἀγοράν—

expresses his conviction that ὀμφαλὸν means the Acropolis. I confess I cannot agree with him. I look upon the words πανδαίδαλον τ' εὐκλέ' ἀγοράν, as explanatory of ὀμφαλὸν. It is worth while to remember that Pindar died A. C. 442, *Ol.* 84. 3, before the great works of Pericles had been executed.

two, as if they were equally great national works—
 “οἱ τὰ Προπύλαια καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα οἰκοδομήσαντες
 “ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἱερὰ
 “κοσμήσαντες ἐφ’ οἷς φιλοτιμούμεθα πάντες εἰκότως.”
Contr. Androt. 597. Again, he says—“οἰκοδομήματα
 “μέν γε καὶ κόσμον τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ λιμένων
 “καὶ τῶν ἀκολουθῶν τούτοις τοιοῦτον καὶ τοσοῦτον
 “κατέλιπον ἐκεῖνοι, ὥστε μηδένι τῶν ἐπιγενομένων
 “ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι. προπύλαια ταῦτα, ὃ Παρθενῶν,
 “νεώσοικοι, στοαί, τᾶλλα, οἷς ἐκεῖνοι κοσμήσαντες τὴν
 “πόλιν ἡμῖν παρέδωκαν.” *περὶ συνταξ.* 174. *Æschines*
 quotes a remarkable observation of a Theban general,
 who—“οὐχ ὑποπτῆξας τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀξίωμα, εἶπε
 “διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν Θηβαίων, ὡς δεῖ τὰ τῆς
 “Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλεως Προπύλαια μετενέγκειν εἰς τὴν
 “προστασίαν τῆς Καδμείας.” *De Fals. Leg.* 42; as
 if the Propylæa symbolized the power of Athens.

There were in this building five magnificent bronze gates. *Aristophanes*, *Equit.* 1326, speaks of their being thrown open, to receive king Demus. *Thucydides* (II. 13) speaks of the expense of the Propylæa—“τὰ γὰρ
 “πλεῖστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο, ἀφ’ ὧν
 “ἔς τε τὰ Προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τᾶλλα οἰκο-
 “δομήματα καὶ ἐς Ποτίδαιαν ἀπανηλώθη.” *Cicero*,
 speaking of extravagance, says—“*Demetrius Phalereus*
 “*Periclem principem Græciæ vituperat, quod tantam*
 “*pecuniam in præclara illa Propylæa conjecerit.*” *De*
Offic. II. 17.*

The northern wall of the Acropolis, together with

* *Col. Leake* has some valuable observations on the cost of the works of *Pericles*, p. 406—419.

some space of ground below it, was called the "Pelagicum:" the fortification gained its name from having been built by the Pelasgi; and the district, from having been the place of their abode.* "τό τε Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καὶ τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκάλυε, λέγον ὡς

“ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον.

“δμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης (viz. the occupation of Attica by the Peloponnesians) “ἐξωκλήθη.” *Thucyd.* II. 17. Aristophanes, in his play of the 'Birds,' says—

τίς δαὶ καθέξει τῆς πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν; v. 832.

On which the Scholiast remarks—ὅτι Ἀθήνησι τὸ Πελαργικὸν τείχος ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, οὐ μέμνηται Καλλιμαχος—"Τυρσηνῶν τείχισμα Πελαργικόν." And Bentley observes on this—"Pelargicum idem quod Pelagicum: et Tyrrheni iidem qui Pelasgi." Herodotus (VI. 137) states, that the Athenians expelled the Pelasgi from their settlement under Mount Hymettus, which they

* On the difficult subject of the Pelasgi, and the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, the student should consult the "Introduction to Wachsmuth's 'Historical Antiquities,' *Introđ.* §. 9; and *Appendix*, v. p. 444. *vol.* I. *English translation.* The Pelasgi were at all events skilful masons: but their history is as difficult to discover, as if they were 'free-masons.' The walls called 'Cyclopiian' should, no doubt, be called 'Pelasgian.' The etymologies given of the word Πελασγοί are countless. I cannot help thinking that *κελ*, *dark*, Lat. *pullus*, is the root; and I would assign the same root to Πέλοψ. Etymologists are agreed in giving *κελ* *ἀργός*, as the component parts of the word *πελαργός*, a stork, which bird was so called from its plumage being a mixture of black and white feathers. It is possibly in reference to this etymology, that the Hesiodic poet Aëius, quoted by Pausanias, *lib.* VIII. 1, says, that 'the dark earth' produced Pelasgus—

ἀντίθεον δὲ Πελασγὸν ἐν ἐπιχόμοισιν ἕρσσει
γαῖα μέλαιν' ἀνέδωκεν, ἵνα θνητῶν γένος εἴη.

had received—"μισθὸν τοῦ τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρο-
"πολιν κοτε ἐηλαμένου."

The southern side of the Acropolis was fortified by Cimon, and called indifferently *Κιμώνιον*, or *Νότιον*. Pausanias says—"τῇ δὲ ἀκροπόλει, πλὴν ὅσον Κίμων
"ῶκοδόμησεν αὐτῆς ὁ Μιλτιάδου, περιβαλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν
"λέγεται τοῦ τείχους Πελασγῶν οἰκήσαντάς ποτε ὑπὸ
"τὴν ἀκρόπολιν." 1. 28. Herodotus (v. 64) calls the whole Acropolis '*the Pelasgian fortress*'—"Κλεομένης
"δὲ ἀπικόμενος εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἅμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βου-
"λομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι, ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς τυράν-
"νους ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχει." Plutarch, in his comparison of Cimon with Lucullus, says particularly, that the former dedicated some part of the spoils he had gained in war to the purpose of building "the southern wall of the Acropolis:" it was thence called '*Cimonian*;' but the northern side always retained its original name of '*Pelasgic*.'

The old Pelasgic works had fallen into decay, however, before Xerxes invaded Greece. After his retreat, it was the first care of Themistocles to fortify the Acropolis; and Cimon subsequently completed the work on the southern face of the rock. The greater part of the existing walls, though disfigured by successive alterations and repairs, are undoubtedly the work of those two celebrated Athenians.

Beginning our tour of the lower part of the Acropolis at the north-western corner, the first object we arrive at is the *Κλεψύδρα*, a fountain which gained its name from the supposed fact of its having a subterranean

communication with Phalerum. “καταβᾶσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ὑπὸ τὰ Προπυλαῖα πηγὴ “τε ὕδατός ἐστι καὶ πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐν “σπηλαίῳ καὶ Πανός.” *Pausan.* i. 28. Both these objects still exist. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 911, testifies to their proximity—

ΚΙΝΗ. ὅπου τὸ τοῦ Πανός, καλόν.

ΜΥΡ. καὶ πῶς ἔθ’ ἀγνή δῆτ’ ἂν ἔλθοιμ’ ἐς πόλιν;

ΚΙΝΗ. κάλλιστα δῆπου, λουσαμένη τῇ Κλεψύδρᾳ.

In another passage, *Aves*, 1694, he thus speaks of the fountain—

ἔστι δ’ ἐν Φαναῖσι πρὸς τῇ
Κλεψύδρᾳ πανοὔργου ἐγ-
-γλωττογαστόρων γένος.

On which passage the Scholiast remarks—κρήνη ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἢ Κλεψύδρα.—οὕτως δὲ ὠνόμασται, ἐπεὶ δὴ ἀρχομένων ἐτησίῳν πληροῦται . . . εἰς ταύτην δὲ φησιν (*sc.* Istrus) ἤματωμένην φιάλην ἐμπεσοῦσαν ὀφθῆναι ἐν τῷ Φαληρικῷ, ἀπέχοντι σταδίους εἴκοσι. And again, on the previously quoted passage from the *Lysistrata*, the Scholiast says—πλησίον τοῦ Πανείου ἢ Κλεψύδρα. * * * ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἦν κρήνη ἢ Κλεψύδρα, πρότερον Ἐμπεδῶ λεγομένη ὠνομάσθη δὲ Κλεψύδρα διὰ τὸ ποτὲ μὲν πλημμυρεῖν, ποτὲ δὲ ἐνδεῖν. ἔχει δὲ τὰς ρεύσεις ὑπὸ γῆν, φέρουσα εἰς τῶν Φαληρέων λιμένα.* The fountain was, and is still, accessible by a secret passage of stairs from the northern wing of the Propylæa.

* These last words are an admirable emendation by Dr. Wordsworth of the corrupt reading—τὴν Φλεγρεῶδη λειμῶνα.

Pausanias gives the following reason for the special honour paid by the Athenians to Pan—"περὶ δὲ τοῦ Πανός φασιν, ὡς πεμφθείη Φιλιππίδης ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα ἄγγελος ἀποβεβηκότων Μήδων ἐς τὴν γῆν' ἐπανήκων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ὑπερβαλέσθαι φαίη τὴν ἔξοδον εἶναι γὰρ δὴ νόμον αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον μαχουμένους ἐξιέναι, πρὶν ἢ πλήρη τὸν κύκλον τῆς σελήνης γενέσθαι τὸν δὲ Πᾶνα ὁ Φιλιππίδης ἔλεγε ἔπερὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐντύχοντά οἱ τὸ Παρθένιον, φάναι τε ὡς εὖνους Ἀθηναίοις εἶη καὶ ὅτι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἦξοι συμμαχήσων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ τετίμηται."

I. 28. This is merely a repetition of the story told by Herodotus, vi. 105, who concludes by saying "Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίησι ἐπετείησι καὶ λαμπάδι ἰλάσκονται." In this grotto Miltiades probably dedicated that statue of Pan, for which Simonides furnished the inscription—

τὸν τραγόπουν ἐμὲ Πᾶνα τὸν Ἀρκάδα, τὸν κατὰ
Μήδων,

τὸν μετ' Ἀθηναίων, στήσατο Μιλτιάδης.

*Anthol. Gr. v. 1. p. LXIII. 21.**

The water of the fountain Clepsydra was conveyed by an aqueduct (ὄχετος)—some vestiges of which still remain—to a building called the 'Temple of the Winds,' or the 'Horologium of Cyrrhestes.' This was an octagonal tower, erected by Andronicus of Cyrrha. The building, which still exists, stood on part of the ground supposed to have been occupied by the New Agora.

* The position of the Lupercal, at the foot of the Palatine Mount at Rome, resembles that of the Πανεῖον at Athens.

Vitruvius thus describes it—"Andronicus Cyrrhestes collocavit Athenis turrim marmoream octogonon, et in singulis lateribus octogoni singulorum ventorum imagines exsculptas contra suos cujusque flatus designavit, supraque eam turrim metam (*a pillar*) marmoream perfecit, et insuper Tritonem æreum collocavit, dextra manu virgam porrigentem: et ita est machinatus, uti vento circumageretur et semper contra flatum consisteret, supraque imaginem flantis venti indicem virgam teneret." 1. ch. 6.

The figures of the eight winds are described by Dr. Wordsworth, *Ch. 19*: they were copied by Stuart, and are engraved in the first volume of his 'Antiquities of Athens.' The name of each wind is written over it; and they stand in this order—

<i>North.</i>	<i>Βορέας.</i>
<i>N. E.</i>	<i>Καικίας.</i>
<i>East.</i>	<i>Ἀπηνλιώτης.</i>
<i>S. E.</i>	<i>Εὔρος.</i>
<i>South.</i>	<i>Νότος.</i>
<i>S. W.</i>	<i>Λίψ.</i>
<i>West.</i>	<i>Ζέφυρος.</i>
<i>N. W.</i>	<i>Σκίρων.</i>

The principal purpose for which this tower was built was, to act as a clock, which it did in two ways: on the outer walls were drawn horary lines, which with gnomons above them formed a series of sun dials; and, within, it contained a clepsydra, or water-clock: hence it was called '*horologium.*' Hesychius says—"Κλεψύδρα: ὠρολόγιον, ὄργανον, ἐν ᾧ αἱ ὄραι μετροῦνται." *in voc.* Water-clocks were called by either name. "Athenis in Horo-

“logio, quod fecit Cyrrhestes.” *Varro de Re Rust.* III. 5. Pliny, in the last chapter of his Seventh Book of Natural History, gives an account of the various ways in which time had been measured at Rome; and he ends by saying—“Scipio Nasica collega Lænatis primus *aqua divisit horas* æque noctium ac dierum: *idque horologium* sub tecto dicavit, A. U. C. 595. Tamdiu populo Romano indiscreta lux fuit.” “The tower of Cyrrhestes, placed in the public square, was the city clock of Athens. By it the affairs of the inhabitants were regulated. The law courts sat, and merchants transacted their business, from its dictation.”* *Wordsworth, p. 152.*

About sixty yards to the east of the cave of Pan, in the northern face of the rock, is another cave, between which and the Acropolis a subterranean passage has been discovered. There can be no doubt that this is the cave of Agraulos. Below this cave stood the Ἀνάκειον, or temple of the Dioscuri. Pausanias says—“τὸ δὲ ἱερόν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον * * * ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερόν Ἀγραύλου (so Pausanias writes “the word, instead of Ἀγραύλου) τέμενός ἐστιν.” I. 18. The proximity of the caves of Pan and Agraulos is thus attested by Euripides—

ὦ Πανὸς θακῆματα καὶ
 παραυλίζουσα πέτρα
 μυχώδεσι Μακραιῖς,
 ἵνα χοροὺς στείβουσι ποδοῖν
 Ἀγραύλου κόραι τρίγονοι
 στάδια χλοερά πρὸ Παλλάδος
 ναῶν. Ion, 492.

* The reader may see an amusing account of water-clocks in ‘Beckmann’s History of Inventions,’ Vol. I. p. 82. London, Bohn.

The northern cliffs were called Μακραί.

ἔνθα προσβόρρους πέτρας

Παλλάδος ὑπ' ὄχθῳ τῆς Ἀθηναίων χθονὸς

Μακρὰς καλοῦσι γῆς ἄνακτες Ἀτθίδος. *ibid.* 11.

Dr. Wordsworth (*p.* 86) gives a beautiful historical illustration of the neighbourhood of the Agrauleium and Anaceium. "The same conclusion" (*viz.* that there was a subterraneous communication between the cave of Agraulos and the Acropolis) "arises from a consideration of a stratagem of Peisistratus. (*Polyæn. Strateg.* 1. 21.) He convened the Athenians in the Anaceium, which was below the Agrauleium, to the north, with the view of disarming them. While he was addressing them there, they laid down their arms. The partizans of Peisistratus seize the arms so laid down, and convey them to the Agrauleium. They were probably conveyed there, because of the communication between that place and the Acropolis, by means of which they might be readily taken to the armoury of Peisistratus in the citadel itself." The passage from Polyænus is as follows—"Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηναίων τὰ ὄπλα βουλόμενος παρελέσθαι, παρήγγειλεν ἦκειν ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ Ἀνάκειον μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων οἱ μὲν ἦκον. ὁ δὲ προῆλθε δημηγορῆσαι βουλόμενος καὶ σμικρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ λέγειν ἤρχετο. οἱ δὲ ἐξακούειν μὴ δυνάμενοι προελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἤξιωσαν εἰς τὸ Προπύλαιον, ἵνα πάντες ἐξακούσειαν ἔπει δὲ ὁ μὲν ἤσυχῇ διελέγετο, οἱ δὲ ἐκτείναντες τὰς ἀκοὰς προσεῖχον, οἱ ἐπίκουροι προελθόντες καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀράμενοι κατήνεγκαν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀγραύλου."

Herodotus, in describing the siege of the Acropolis by Xerxes, (VIII. 52-3) says—"ἐμπροσθε ὧν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε, οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μὴ κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαλεῖ ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησάν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἶρόν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου." It is certainly possible, as Dr. Wordsworth suggests, that the Persians may have got up by this subterranean passage: but the words in Herodotus do not lead one to suppose that such was the fact. Pausanias (i. 18) copies the story told by Herodotus.

The military oath of the Ephebi was taken in the sanctuary of Agraulos: youthful soldiers swore to devote themselves to their country as *she* had done. Demosthenes refers to this oath—"τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγραύλου τῶν ἐφήβων ὄρκον." *De falsa Legat.* 438. *Vid. Shilleto's note, ad loc.*

At no great distance from the north-eastern end of the Acropolis, stood the new Prytaneium—"πλησίον δὲ (viz. the Agraulium) Πρυτανεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ νομοὶ τε Σόλωνός εἰσι γεγραμμένοι καὶ Θεῶν Εἰρήνης ἀγάλματα κεῖται καὶ Ἑστίας." *Pausan.* i. 18. From this building a street called 'the Tripods' ran in a curve to the south-eastern corner of the great Dionysiac theatre, which was hewn out of the south-eastern face of the rock of the Acropolis. "ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πρυτανείου καλουμένη Τρίποδες· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ καλαῦσι τὸ χωρίον, ναοὶ θεῶν ἐς τοῦτο μεγάλοι,* καὶ σφισιν ἐφευτήκασιν τρίποδες

* The particle *οὗ* has probably been lost, before the word *μεγάλοι*.

“χαλκοὶ μὲν, μνήμης δὲ ἄξια μάλιστα περιέχοντες εἰρ-
 “γασμένα.” *Pausan.* 1.20. “The line of similar fabrics, of
 “which the small circular building, of the most graceful
 “Corinthian proportions, called the Choragic monument
 “of Lysicrates,” (vulgarly called also ‘the lantern of
 Demosthenes’) “is the only surviving relic, must have
 “possessed great interest, both from their object and
 “execution. They were a series of temples, forming a
 “street: these temples were surmounted by finials,
 “which supported the tripods, gained by victorious
 “choragi in the neighbouring theatre of Bacchus, and
 “here dedicated by them to that deity, the patron of
 “dramatic representations. Hence the line formed by
 “these temples was called the Street of Tripods. From
 “the inscriptions engraved on the architraves of these
 “temples, which recorded the names of the victorious
 “parties, and the year in which the victory was gained,
 “the dramatic chronicles, or *διδασκαλίαι*, were mainly
 “compiled. Thus these small fabrics served the pur-
 “pose, at the same time, of fasti, trophies, and temples.
 “What a host of soul-stirring thoughts must have
 “started up in the mind of a sensitive Athenian, as
 “he walked along this street!” *Wordsworth*, p. 153.
 Plato speaks of this street—“*μαρτυρήσουσί σοι, ἐὰν*
 “*μὲν βούλη, Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ μετ’*
 “*αὐτοῦ, ἃν οἱ τρίποδες οἱ ἐφεξῆς ἐστῶτές εἰσιν ἐν τῷ*
 “*Διονυσίῳ.*” *Gorgias*, 472, a. Plutarch in his life of
 Nicias corroborates this—“*εἰστήκει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναθη-*
 “*μάτων αὐτοῦ (sc. Νικίᾳ) καθ’ ἡμᾶς τό τε Παλλάδιον*
 “*ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τὴν χρύσωσιν ἀποβεβληκῶς καὶ ὁ τοῖς*

“ χορηγικοῦς τρίποσιν ὑποκείμενος ἐν Διονύσου νεώς.
 “ ἐνίκησε γὰρ πολλάκις χορηγήσας.” *ch. 3.* The choragic monument of Lysicrates was engraved, in detail, by Stuart, *vol. I. ch. 4.*

At the south-eastern corner of the Acropolis, and close to the great Dionysiac theatre, stood the temple of Bacchus—“ τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ “ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν” *Pausanias, 1. 20;* who immediately adds—“ ἔστι δὲ πλησίον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου κατασκευάσμα· ποιηθῆναι δὲ τῆς σκευῆς “ [al. σκηνῆς] αὐτὸ ἐς μίμησιν τῆς Ξέρξου λέγεται.” This was the Odeium of Pericles, which was built so as to represent the tent of Xerxes. Its roof was composed of the masts and yards of Persian ships. The building was destroyed by Aristion, who defended Athens against Sylla, that the besiegers might not make use of the timber in assaulting the Acropolis: it was restored by Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia. “ Patris haberi fa-
 “ num et exeuntibus e theatro sinistra parte Odeum quod
 “ Pericles” (Themistocles; *Tauchnitz; alii;*) “ columnis
 “ lapideis, navium malis et antennis e spoliis Persicis
 “ pertexit: idem autem incensum Mithridatico bello
 “ rex Ariobarzanes restituit.” *Vitruv. v. 9. (Leake, p. 28.)* Plutarch, in his life of Pericles, (*ch. 13*) thus describes it—“ τὸ δὲ Ὀδεῖον τῇ μὲν ἐντὸς πολυέδρον καὶ πολύ-
 “ στυλον, τῇ δ’ ἐρέψει περικλινὲς καὶ κάταντες ἐκ μιᾶς
 “ κορυφῆς πεποιημένον, εἰκόνα λέγουσι γενέσθαι καὶ
 “ μίμημα τῆς βασιλέως σκηνῆς, ἐπιστατοῦντος καὶ τού-
 “ τῳ Περικλέους. διὸ καὶ πάλιν Κρατῖνος ἐν Θράτταις
 “ παίζει πρὸς αὐτόν.

“ ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὀδὶ προσέρχεται
 “ Περικλῆς τῶδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου
 “ ἔχων, ἐπεὶ δὴ τοῦστρακον παροίχεται.”

The great Dionysiac theatre was at the south-eastern corner of the Acropolis: it was scooped out of the sloping face of the rock. Each row of seats formed nearly a semicircle, the diameter of which increased with the ascent. The two highest of these semi-circular rows of seats are all that are now visible;* future excavation may ascertain the exact dimensions of the theatre. Plato is supposed to state that it held 30,000 spectators: this number, however, seems impossible. The passage of Plato is in the *Symposium*, where Socrates says to Agathon, who had lately gained a dramatic victory—“ ἦ γε (σοφία) παρὰ σοῦ νέου ὄντος
 “ οὕτω σφόδρα ἐξέλαμψε καὶ ἐκφανῆς ἐγένετο πρόφην
 “ ἐν μάρτυσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλέον ἢ τρισμυρίοις.
 “ Ὑβριστῆς εἶ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁ Ἀγάθων.” *Sympos.*
 175. e.; and Stallbaum by his note shows that he considers this passage decisive on the point—“ Hinc cognoscas (says he) theatri Atheniensis amplitudinem.” But, in the first place, the bantering, ironical, tone of Socrates renders it unreasonable to put an exact interpretation on his words; and, in the next place, the term *τρисμύριοι* meant only a very large indefinite number.
 εἰς ἔμοι ἀνθρωπος τρισμύριοι.

Epigr. Incert. Anthol. IV. DXXVI. p. 226.

* Recent excavation may possibly have laid open more of the theatre: at all events it is to be hoped that the whole of the ground *will* be excavated. It is an object in which not merely Europe, but the whole civilized world, has an interest. The gradual increase of diameter in the ascent of the rows is clearly shown in an Athenian medal, engraved in the title page of Col. Leake's work.

Aristophanes, in the *Equites*, says—

ἐγὼ δὲ προσδοκῶν γε τρισμυριόπαλαι
βδελύττομαι σφῶ. 1156.

The theatre is often described as ἐν Διονύσου, *in the enclosure sacred to Bacchus*. Pausanias says there was a cavern above the theatre—"ἐν δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ θεάτρου σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς πέτραις ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. τρίπους δὲ ἔπεστι καὶ τούτῳ." 1. 21. This cavern was converted, by a successful choragus named Thrasylus, into a temple: at the entrance of it he built a porch, with an inscription, which was copied by Stuart, and is engraved in his *2nd vol. ch. 4*. The whole was surmounted by a sitting statue of Bacchus (now in the British Museum,) in the lap of which there are holes, to receive a tripod. Two other inscriptions are also on this porch; both copied and engraved by Stuart. Since the time that he visited Athens, this interesting monument has been destroyed. "A large fragment of the architrave of this temple of Thrasylus (says Dr. Wordsworth,) with a part of the inscription upon it, is now lying on the slope of the theatre; *it has been hewn into a drinking trough!*" p. 90. Immediately above this cavern, there are two pillars still standing: they are insulated, and never made part of any building: their capitals are triangular, and have cavities sunk in the upper surface, at each of their angles. These of course were made to receive a tripod, gained by the victorious choragus who raised the pillar.

Between the Dionysiac theatre and Odeium of Regilla there is a long row of arches: the workmanship appears

to be that of the age in which the Odeium of Regilla was built; but it is possible that Herodes, when he built this Odeium, repaired, rebuilt, or enlarged the Στοά of Eumenes, which Vitruvius describes as lying to the west of the great theatre. "Post scenam porticus sunt constituendæ, uti, cum imbres repentini ludos interpellaverint, habeat populus quo se recipiat ex theatro, choragiaeque laxamentum habeant ad comparandum; uti sunt porticus Pompeianæ, itemque Athenis porticus Eumenia." *lib. v. ch. 9.*

At the south-western end of the Acropolis was the Odeium, built by Herodes, and called by him, after his deceased wife, the Odeium of Regilla. Pausanias does not mention this building in his description of Athens, because it was erected subsequently to his visit. In speaking of Patræ, he says—"ἐχεται δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ ψδεῖον * * * κεκόσμηται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τὸ ψδεῖον ἀξιολογώτατα τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάσσι, πλὴν γε δὴ τοῦ Ἀθήνησι· τοῦτο γὰρ μέγέθει τε καὶ ἐς τὴν πᾶσαν ὑπερήρκε παρασκευὴν· ἀνὴρ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησεν Ἡρώδης ἐς μνήμην ἀποθανούσης γυναικός· ἐμοὶ δὲ τῆ Ἀθίδι συγγραφῇ τὸ ἐς τοῦτο παρεῖθι τὸ ψδεῖον, ὅτι πρότερον ἔτι ἐξείργαστό μοι τὰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους, ἣ ὑπῆρκετο Ἡρώδης τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος." VII. 20.

Pausanias, in describing his route from the Dionysiac theatre to the western end of the Acropolis, says thus—"Ἰόντων δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τέθαπται Κάλως. τοῦτον τὸν Κάλων ἀδελφῆς παῖδα ἔντα καὶ τῆς τέχνης μαθητὴν φονεύσας Δαίδαλος ἐς Κρήτην ἔφυγε." I. 21. This story is given in detail

by Diodorus Siculus, iv. 76; and Apollodorus says of Dædalus—" οὗτος ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων ἄριστος καὶ πρῶτος ἀγαλμάτων εὐρετής. οὗτος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἔφυγεν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως βαλὼν τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς Πέρδικος υἱὸν Τάλω, μαθητὴν ὄντα, δείσας μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐφυΐαν αὐτὸν ὑπερβάλῃ." III. xv. Pausanias is singular in calling this person Κάλως, instead of Τάλως.

The tomb must have been between the great theatre and the temple of Æsculapius, which is the next object noticed by Pausanias—" τοῦ Αἰσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερόν ἐς τε τὰ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν, ὅποσα τοῦ θεοῦ πεποιήται καὶ τῶν παίδων καὶ ἐς τὰς γραφὰς θεῶς ἄξιον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνη." I. 21.

All the springs which rise in the hill of the Acropolis are impregnated with saline matter; and such springs were commonly dedicated to Æsculapius. A spring now rises at a spot, which, when Stuart visited Athens, was occupied by a mosque. This mosque had been formed out of the ruins of a church. Heathen temples were generally converted into churches; and there seems every reason to believe that this church was originally the temple of Æsculapius. It occupied a place between the north of the Odeium of Regilla and the south-western corner of the Propylæa.

Pausanias continues his route to the Acropolis in the following words—" μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Αἰσκληπιοῦ ταύτη πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἰούσω, Θέμιδος ναὸς ἐστι. κέχωσται δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνήμα Ἴππολύτῳ. * * * Ἀφροδίτην τε τὴν Πάνδημον, ἐπεὶ τε Ἀθηναίους Θεοσεύς ἐς μίαν ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων πόλιν, αὐτὴν τε

“ σέβεσθαι καὶ Πειθῶ κατέστησε. * * * ἔστι δὲ καὶ
 “ Γῆς κουροτρόφου καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν Χλόης. * * *
 “ τῶν δὲ Προπυλαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ Νίκης ἔστιν ἀπτέρου
 “ ναός. ἐντεῦθεν ἡ θάλασσά ἐστι σύνοπτος. καὶ ταύτη
 “ ῥίψας Αἰγυὺς ἑαυτὸν, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἐτελεύτησεν.” I. 22.

The position of the temple of ‘Ceres Chloe,’ or, ‘Terra
 ‘nutrix,’ may be fixed with tolerable precision. A
 scholiast on v. 1600 of the *Œdipus Coloneus*,

τά δ’ εὐχλόου Δήμητρος εἰς ἐπόψιον
 πάγον μολούσα,

says—“ εὐχλόου Δήμητρος ἱερόν ἐστι πρὸς τῇ ἀκροπό-
 “ λει. καὶ Εὐπολις Μαρικᾶ:

ἄλλ’ εὐθὺ πόλεως εἶμι· θῦσαι γάρ με δεῖ.
 κρῖον Χλόη Δήμητρι.”

In the ‘*Lysistrata*’ of Aristophanes, the women, when
 besieged in the Acropolis, see a man approaching—

ΛΥΣΙΣ. ἄνδρ’, ἄνδρ’ ὄρῶ προσιόντα παραπεπληγ-
 μένον·

* * * *

ΓΥΝΗ. ποῦ δ’ ἐστίν, ὅστις ἐστίν;

ΛΥΣΙΣ. παρὰ τὸ τῆς Χλόης. 831.

The temple must have stood close to the Propylææ,
 at its southern side. The temple of Themis, with the
 tomb of Hippolytus in front of it, probably stood close to
 that of Venus Πάνδημος. Pausanias says, that Theseus
 raised this latter temple, to commemorate the con-
 federation of Attica, which he accomplished.

There is an important passage in the Hippolytus of

Æuripides, who says that Phædra built this temple—

καὶ πρὶν μὲν ἔλθειν τήνδε γῆν Τροιζηνίαν,
πέτραν παρ' αὐτὴν Παλλάδος κατόψιον
γῆς τῆσδε, ναὸν Κύπριδος καθείσατο.* 29.

Diodorus Siculus confirms this—"μικρὸν δ' ἕστερον
"Ἴππολύτου ἐπανελθόντος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρὸς τὰ
"μυστήρια, Φαίδρα διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἐρασθείσα αὐτοῦ,
"τότε μὲν ἀπελθόντος ἰδρύσατο ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης παρὰ
"τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὅθεν ἦν καθορᾶν τὴν Τροιζῆνα." 1V. 62.
This temple probably stood near the boundary line
between the Agora and the Acropolis; for Harpo-
cration says—"Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεῶν Πάνδη-
"μον φησὶν Ἀθήνησι κληθῆναι τὴν ἀφιδρυθεῖσαν περὶ
"τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγορᾶν." *in voc.* 'Πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη.'

The temple of 'Wingless Victory' stood to the west of
the southern wing of the Propylæa. This temple has
lately been recovered, and exposed to view by excavation.
"The great discovery of the day" (says Mr. Bracebridge,
in a letter from Athens to Dr. Wordsworth) "is the long-
"lost temple of the Wingless Victory. * * It is of the
"Ionic order, the columns about 15 feet high, and

* Two lines follow here, which have given some trouble—

ἔρῳσ' ἔρωτ' ἔκδημον Ἴππολύτῳ δ' ἔπει
τὸ λοιπὸν ὠνόμαζεν ἰδρῦσθαι θεῶν.

Dr. Monk rejects these verses as spurious; and certainly it is very
difficult to make out the construction or sense of them. Dr. Words-
worth enters, however, into a very elaborate explanation of them, *p.*
103—5. Bothe also explains them, but gives them a different sense,
not. ad l. I confess these explanations do not seem to me satisfactory
or tenable.—Dr. Wordsworth translates Ἴππολύτῳ ἔπει, *to gain Hip-*
polytus: Bothe, in honorem Hippolyti. The scholiast on the passage
says—*ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀκρόπολει ἰδρῦσατο Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κακῷ Ἴππολύτου*
—a strange diversity of interpretation!

“ fluted : 4 columns stand on the front, and 4 on the
 “ back : the sides of the cella being in line with the
 “ external columns. The whole is of Pentelic marble,
 “ and highly finished : the position is exactly that
 “ specified by Pausanias, on the south-western angle of
 “ the Acropolis, on the right as you ascend to the
 “ Propylæa, turning the south-western wing of which
 “ this exquisite little temple fronts. Parts of all the
 “ columns of the Victory have been found, several
 “ entire with their capitals, and these with the walls of
 “ the cella, and most of the entablatures have been
 “ replaced.” *Wordsworth*, p. 278.* Pausanias, speak-
 ing of the Lacedæmonians, says—“ τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ (*sc.*
 “ Hipposthenis) ἀπαντικρὺ πέδας ἔστιν ἔχων Ἐνυάλιος,
 “ ἀγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. γνώμη δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ Λακεδαιμονίων
 “ τε ἐς τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀγαλμα, καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν ἄπτερ-
 “ ον καλουμένην Νίκην, τῶν μὲν οὔποτε τὸν Ἐνυάλιον
 “ φεύγοντα οἰχήσεσθαι σφισιν ἐνεχόμενον ταῖς πέδαῖς,
 “ Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὴν Νίκην αὐτόθι αἰεὶ μένειν οὐκ ὄντων
 “ πτερῶν.” III. 15.

This deity was called Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ. Harpocration, *in*
voc. says—“ Λυκούργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἱερείας, ὅτι
 “ Νίκης Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανον ἄπτερον, ἔχον ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ

* “ The history of the temple of ‘Unwinged Victory’ is very curious.
 “ In 1676 it was found entire, by Spon and Wheeler. Subsequent
 “ travellers found that it had disappeared. In 1835, the various por-
 “ tions were discovered in an excavation, with the exception of two,
 “ which are in the British Museum. It is now entirely restored. The
 “ original structure belongs to the period of the close of the Persian
 “ wars.” *Howson and Conybeare’s Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. II.
ch. 10. p. 380, *note.*

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“ fluted : 4 columns stand on the front, and 4 on the
 “ back : the sides of the cella being in line with the
 “ external columns. The whole is of Pentelic marble,
 “ and highly finished : the position is exactly that
 “ specified by Pausanias, on the south-western angle of
 “ the Acropolis, on the right as you ascend to the
 “ Propylæa, turning the south-western wing of which
 “ this exquisite little temple fronts. Parts of all the
 “ columns of the Victory have been found, several
 “ entire with their capitals, and these with the walls of
 “ the cella, and most of the entablatures have been
 “ replaced.” *Wordsworth, p. 278.** Pausanias, speak-
 “ ing of the Lacedæmonians, says—“ τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ (sc.
 “ Hipposthenis) ἀπαντικρὺ πέδας ἐστὶν ἔχων Ἐνυάλιος,
 “ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. γνώμη δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ Λακεδαιμονίων
 “ τε ἐς τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄγαλμα, καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν ἀπτερ-
 “ ου καλουμένην Νίκην, τῶν μὲν οὔποτε τὸν Ἐνυάλιον
 “ φεύγοντα οἰχήσεσθαι σφισιν ἐνεχόμενον ταῖς πέδαῖς,
 “ Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὴν Νίκην αὐτόθι ἀεὶ μένειν οὐκ ὄντων
 “ πτερῶν.” III. 15.

This deity was called Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ. Harpocration, in
 voc. says—“ Λυκούργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἱερίας, ὅτι
 “ Νίκης Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανου ἀπτερον, ἔχον ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ

* “ The history of the temple of ‘Unwinged Victory’ is very curious.
 “ In 1676 it was found entire, by Spon and Wheler. Subsequent
 “ travellers found that it had disappeared. In 1835, the various por-
 “ tions were discovered in an excavation, with the exception of two,
 “ which are in the British Museum. It is now entirely restored. The
 “ original structure belongs to the period of the close of the Persian
 “ wars.” *Howson and Conybeare’s Life and Epistles of St. Paul, vol. II.*
 ch. 10. p. 380, note.

“ ροιάν, ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐωνύμφῳ κράνος, ἐτιμᾶτο. ὅτι δὲ ἐτι-
 “ μᾶτο παρ’ Ἀθηναίους, δεδήλωκεν Ἡλιοδωρος ἐν τῇ
 “ πρώτῃ περὶ ἀκροπόλεως.” Euripides thus mentions
 the title—

σὲ—ἐμὴν
 Ἀθάναν ἱκετεύω,

* * *

ὦ πότνα Νίκη. *Ion.* 452.

μὰ τὴν παρασπίζουσαν ἄρμασίν ποτε
 Νίκην Ἀθάναν Ζηνὶ γηγενεῖς ἔπι. *Ibid.* 1528.

And Sophocles in the ‘*Philoctetes*’—

Ἐρμῆς δ’ ὁ πέμπων δόλιος ἠγήσαιο νῶν
 Νίκα τ’ Ἀθῆνα Πολιάς, ἣ σώζει μ’ αἶε. 133.

On which passage the scholiast says—“ οὕτως ἡ πολιοῦ-
 “ χος Ἀθηνᾶ Νίκη καλεῖται ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.” Eustathius,
ad Hom. Il. χχι. says—“ ὁ Ζεὺς ἄμα γεννήσας αὐτὴν
 “ (sc. Minervam) νίκην ἐποίησε κατὰ Τιτάνων διὸ καὶ
 “ Ἀθηνᾶ Νίκη ἐπωνομάσθη. In the ‘*Lysistrata*’ of
 Aristophanes, the troop of old men, who besiege the
 women in the Acropolis, must have advanced, of course,
 past this temple : they therefore very naturally invoke
 Victory, on their march—

δέσποινα Νίκη ξυγγενοῦ, τῶν τ’ ἐν πόλει γυναικῶν
 τοῦ νῦν παρεστῶτος θράσους θέσθαι τροπαῖον ἡμᾶς.

317.

We have now finished the circuit of the Acropolis.

THE PNYX AND AGORA.

The Agora of Athens occupied the valley which lies on the west of the Acropolis: on the north it was bounded by the Areiopagus; and on the south-west by the Pnyx. In later times the Agora was called the Inner Cerameicus.

The old city of Athens occupied the Acropolis, and the district to the south of it. Thucydides, speaking of its condition before the great revolution produced by Theseus, says—"τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου ἢ ἀκρόπολις ἢ νῦν οὐσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον τετραμμένον." II. 15. He specifies the oldest temples of the city as being on the south; viz. those of Jupiter Olympius, Bacchus ἐν Λίμναις, the Earth, and the Pythium; and adds—"Ἰδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα." *ibid.* καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτη κατοίκησιν καὶ ἢ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις." *ibid.* This southern district was bounded on the west by the hill Museum, and on the north-west by the contiguous hill, the Pnyx. Out of the north-eastern face of this latter hill was formed the famous place for the public assemblies of the Athenian people.

Dr. Wordsworth thus describes it :—“ The Pnyx was part
 “ of the surface of a low rocky hill, at the distance of a
 “ quarter of a mile to the west of the central rock of the
 “ Acropolis, and at about half that distance to the south-
 “ west of the centre of the Areopagus hill. The Pnyx
 “ may be best described as the area formed by the seg-
 “ ment of a circle, which, as it is very nearly equal to a
 “ semicircle, for the sake of conciseness we shall assume
 “ to be such. The radius of this semicircle varies from
 “ about sixty to eighty yards. It is on a sloping
 “ ground, which shelves down very gently toward the
 “ hollow of the ancient Agora, which was at its foot,
 “ on the north-east. The chord of this semicircle is
 “ the highest part of this slope ; the middle of its arc
 “ is the lowest : and this last point of the curve is
 “ cased by a terras wall of huge polygonal blocks, and
 “ of about 15 feet in depth at the centre : this terras
 “ wall prevents the soil of the slope from lapsing down
 “ into the valley of the Agora beneath it. From its
 “ being thus consolidated, and as it were *condensed*
 “ (*πυκνουμένη*) by the upward pressure of these massive
 “ stones, the Pnyx derived its name.* This massive
 “ wall is probably coeval with the birth of oratory at
 “ Athens. The chord of this semicircle is formed by a
 “ line of rock vertically hewn, so as to present to the
 “ spectator, standing in the area, the face of a flat wall,
 “ In the middle point of this wall of rock, and projecting

* Forchhammer (p. 14) derives the word *πνύξ* from the *dense* habi-
 tations, with which the hill was anciently crowded. May not the
crowded assemblies of people which met there, have given name to the
 place? *Vid. Schömann on the Athenian Assemblies, ch. 3.*

“ from and applied to it, is a solid rectangular block,
 “ hewn from the same rock. This is the ‘ Bema,’ or
 “ Rostra, from which the speakers in the assembly of
 “ the Pnyx addressed the audience, who occupied the
 “ semicircular area before them. The Bema looks
 “ towards the north-east ; that is, towards the ancient
 “ Agora. Steps are hewn on either side of this rostrum,
 “ by which the speaker mounted it ; and at its base, on
 “ the 3 sides of it, is a tier of 3 seats cut from the same
 “ rock. This was the place provided for the public
 “ assemblies at Athens in its most glorious times, and
 “ nearly such as it was then, it is seen now. The
 “ Athenian orator spoke from a block of bare stone ;
 “ his audience sat before him on a blank and open
 “ field.” *p.* 64-5. The ground on which the audience
 assembled was an area of more than 12,000 yards. The
 whole free civic population of Athens could assemble
 there with ease. Plutarch, in his *Life of Themistocles*,
 says that the 30 tyrants altered the position of the
 Bema—“ διὸ καὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πνυκί πεποιημένον,
 “ ὥστ’ ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, ὕστερον οἱ τριά-
 “ κοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν ἀπέστρεψαν, οἰόμενοι τὴν μὲν
 “ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν γένεσιν εἶναι δημοκρατίας, ὀλι-
 “ γαρχία δὲ ἤττον δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς γεωργοῦντας.”
ch. 19. The *aspect* of the Bema never was, and never
 could have been, altered ; but, according to this state-
 ment, its *position* must have been *lowered* : and Dr.
 Wordsworth says (*p.* 73) that “ there are very distinct
 “ remains of another solid rectangular rock, in short, of
 “ another Bema, which has evidently been mutilated, by

“design.” But Forchhammer (*p.* 17) has the following judicious, though severe, remarks on the story told by Plutarch. “This anecdote,” says he, “if literally understood, is exceedingly absurd. Having mentioned that Themistocles, by directing the minds of the Athenians to the dominion of the sea, had encouraged democracy, Plutarch continues” (Forchhammer then quotes the passage given in the text:) “This would indeed have been the strangest means ever applied to such a purpose, and a means, moreover, that required enormous labour. One must see the high, long, smoothly-worked wall of the rock, with the *bema* naturally projecting from it; and, then, the large blocks of rock, out of which the lower structure of the wide semicircle has been fitted for the listening people; and then ask oneself,—Is it likely that such an enormous work has been carried out at such a time, and for no other purpose, but to hinder the orator from imbibing democratic notions, by turning his face to the sea? And is it likely that this should have been done by the Thirty, *who never summoned an assembly of the People*, and knew how to change the opinions of him who even in secret had expressed democratical sentiments, not by enormous buildings, but by a draught of poison? Surely our friend Plutarch must have taken a joke in earnest, and, after him, most of the moderns. But suppose the spot for holding the popular assembly had been higher up in the time of Themistocles, (for, from that now existing, nobody yet has discovered the sea;) yet, *if the town-*

“*wall had been so close to it, as the remains still existing would show,** the sea could not possibly have been perceived from the popular assembly.” These objections seem unanswerable; and it is somewhat remarkable that Plutarch’s story should have met with such general and inconsiderate belief.

It is natural to expect that the principal public buildings connected with the legislature and jurisprudence of the country, should be in the neighbourhood of the great place of popular assembly; and such was the fact. The *Μητροῶν*, or Record Office, where the laws were kept; the *Βουλευτήριον*, where the council of 500 met; the *Θόλος*, where the Prytanes sacrificed and dined; the statues of the *ἐπώνυμοι*, to which it was required that all notices of resolutions to be proposed in the *ἐκκλησία* should be affixed;—all these were in the immediate vicinity of the Pnyx. Pausanias, in describing the buildings and works of art in the Agora (which he calls the Cerameicus,) says—“*ῥ᾽κοδοῖται δὲ καὶ μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν, ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων βουλευτήριον, οὐ βουλευουσιν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίους.*” 1. 3. “*τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλησίον θόλος ἐστὶ καλουμένη, καὶ θύουσι τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ Πρυτάνεις, καὶ τινα καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα. ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν ἡρώων, ἀφ’ ὧν Ἀθηναίους ὕστερον τὰ ὀνόματα ἔσχον αἱ φυλαί.*” 1. 5.

Athenæus says—“*Εἰς τὸ Μητροῶν, ὅπου τῶν δικῶν ἦσαν αἱ γραφαί.*” 1X. 4C7. And, again, he mentions

* Forchhammer is here arguing with those who believe that these are the remains of the oldest wall; but *vid. pp.* 14, 15.

one Apellicon, whose love of antiquities was occasionally indulged at the expense of his honesty; for we read of him,—“ἐκ τοῦ Μητρώου τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτόγραφα ψηφίσματα ὑφαιρούμενος ἐκτᾶτο, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων εἴ τι παλαιὸν εἶη καὶ ἀπόθετον.” v. 214. Suidas quotes Lycurgus to the same purpose—“Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος τοῦδ νόμου ἔθεντο ἀναγράψαντες* ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ.” *in voc.* ‘Μητρώον.’ Demosthenes corroborates this,—“ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐξωμοσίας ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τοῖς ὑμετέροις γράμμασιν ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ ταῦτ’ ἐστίν.” *De falsa Legat.* 381.

Æschines confirms the statement of Pausanias, that the Βουλευτήριον was near the Μητρώον. “ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητρώῳ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον.” *In Ctesiph.* p. 576. *Reiske.*

Pausanias says that the following works of art were in the senate-house. “Βουλαίου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ξόανον Διὸς, καὶ Ἀπόλλων, τέχνη Πεισίου, καὶ Δήμος, ἔργον Λύσωνος. τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας ἔγραψε Πρωτογένης ὁ Καίνιος.” i. 3. Demosthenes repeatedly refers to the senate-house. “ἐὰν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ Βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνεπιεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πνυκί ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.” *De Cor.* 244. “οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλήν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ Βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ’ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε.” *Ibid.* 284.

We have seen that the Tholus was close to the Senate-house. Suidas says—“θόλος οἶκος περιφερῆς, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Πρυτάνεις εἰστιῶντο.” *in voc.* “θόλος κυρίως μὲν

* The MSS. have ἀναγράψαι, which is altered by Kuster to ἀναγράψαντες, or, μετὰ τὸ ἀναγράψαι.

“καμάρα· καταχρηστικῶς δὲ οἶκος εἰς ὃξὺ ἀπολήγουσαν
 “ἔχων τὴν στέγην κατασκευασμένος. ἡ ὄπου οἱ Πρυ-
 “τάνεις καὶ ἡ Βουλὴ συνεστιῶντο· θηλυκῶς δὲ ἔλεγον
 “τὴν θόλον.” *Hesych. in voc.* “ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀλιγαρχία
 “ἐγένετο, οἱ τριάκοντα αὐτὴν μεταπεμφάμενοί με πέμπτον
 “αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θόλον.” *Plat. Apol. Socr. 32. c.* Both
 Hesychius and Suidas give Σκιάς as another name for
 this building. “σκιάς· τὸ Πρυτανεῖον.” *Hesych.* “σκιάς·
 “ἀναδενδράς· σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸν παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις λε-
 “γόμενον θόλον.” *Suid.* The Prytanes dined there
 daily. “ἡ θόλος ἐν ἣ συνεδείπνουν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας
 “πεντήκοντα τῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων βουλῆς, ἡ πρυτα-
 “νεύουσα φυλὴ.” *Pollux, ix. 153.*

Near the Tholos, and to the eastward of it, stood the
 bronze statues of the ten deified men, who gave their
 names to the 10 φυλαί of Athens. Suidas gives this
 account of them—“ἐπώνυμοι· οἱ κατ’ ἀρετὴν διαπρέπ-
 “οντες ἄστοι καὶ ξένοι χαλκαῖς εἰκόσιν ἐτιμῶντο· ὑφ’
 “ὧν ἐνίων καὶ ταῖς φυλαῖς ἐτέθη ὀνόματα. Φασὶ δ’
 “ἐκεῖθεν πρῶτον δόξαι τὰς φυλάς ἐξηγήσασθαι. ἀπο-
 “ρούντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄνομα ταῖς φυλαῖς θέσθαι, ἀπὸ
 “τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἕκαστον ἑκατὸν
 “ὀνόματα ἴδια γραψάμενον κληρῶσαι. παρὰ γοῦν τὰς
 “εἰκόνας τῶν Ἐπωνύμων τούτων εἰσηγοῦντο τοὺς νό-
 “μους, πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι κυρίους· ἵν’ ἐντυγχάνοντες αὐ-
 “τοῖς οἱ βουλόμενοι κατηγοροῖεν. So Demosthenes—
 “ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν τοῖς οὔσι νόμοις ὑμῖν
 “κυρίους διωρισμένα ἀκριβῶς καὶ σαφῶς πάνθ’ ὅσα δεῖ
 “ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τεθήσεσθαι νόμων. * * *
 “προστάττει πρῶτον μὲν ἐκθεῖναι πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπω-

“*νύμων γράψαντα, σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλευμένῳ.*” *con.*
Timocr. 705.

The ten Eponymous heroes represented the confederated Attic nation; for every *δήμος* was incorporated into some one *φυλή*; and thus, the posting up of every new bill (*προβούλευμα*) which was to be proposed to the *ἐκκλησία*, on the statues of the *ἐπώνυμοι*, was a public and fitting mode of proclamation to the whole Attic people.

Such were the buildings and statues immediately adjacent and connected by intimate political relations with the Pnyx.

The altar of the twelve gods stood in the Agora, probably near its centre. Thucydides thus speaks of it—*“Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἰππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος υἱός, τοῦ πάππου ἔχων τοῦνομα, ὃς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀρχῶν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Πυθίου. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσοικοδομήσας ὕστερον ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων μείζον μῆκος, τοῦ βωμοῦ ἠφάνισε τοῦπίγραμμα· τοῦ δὲ ἐν Πυθίου ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν, ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι, λέγον τάδε.*

*“ μνήμα τόδ’ ἦς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἰππίου υἱός
“ θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.”* VI. 54.

Herodotus mentions it—*“Ἀθηναίων ἰρὰ ποιούντων τοῖσι δώδεκα θεοῖσι ἰκέται ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς,”* (*sc.* Platæenses.) VI. 108. This altar was the *‘milliarium aureum’* of Athens: from it all the roads in Attica were measured. Herodotus (II. 7) says—*“ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς τὴν Ἥλιου πόλιν ἀπὸ*

“ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἰόντι παραπλησίη τὸ μῆκος τῆ ἕξ
 “ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ, τῆ ἀπὸ τῶν δωδέκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ
 “ φερούση ἕς τε Πίσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
 “ Ὀλυμπίου.”* Aristophanes was really thinking of
 Athens, when he made Meton thus speak of dividing
 the realms of air—

ὀρθῷ μετρήσω κανόνι προστιθεὶς ἵνα
 ὁ κύκλος γένηται τετράγωνος, κὰν μέσῳ
 ἀγορά, φέρουσαι δ' ὄσιν εἰς αὐτὴν ὁδοὶ
 ὀρθαὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ μέσον, ὥσπερ δ' ἀστέρος,
 αὐτοῦ κυκλοτεροῦς ὄντος, ὀρθαὶ πανταχῆ
 ἀκτῖνες ἀπολάμπωσιν. Aves, 1004.

To the eastward of the statues of the Eponymi, amongst other statues, was that of Demosthenes. The temple of Mars stood on the southern side of his own hill; and, beyond the statue of Demosthenes, were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, which stood at the eastern limit of the Agora, at the foot of the slope of the Acropolis. “ μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπωνύμων
 “ ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα θεῶν * * * ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης
 “ * * * τῆς δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους εἰκόνας πλησίον
 “ Ἀρεῶς ἐστὶν ἱερόν * * * οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστᾶσιν Ἀρ-
 “ μίδιος καὶ Ἀριστογέλτων οἱ κτείναντες Ἴππαρχον.”

* Bæhr's note on this passage, and Böckh's commentary on the 12th inscription in his 'Corpus Inscriptionum,' should by all means be consulted. There is also a mutilated inscription, No. 825, which is thus restored.

ἡ πόλις ἔστησέν με βροτοῖς μνημεῖον ἕληθες,
 πᾶσιν σημαίνειν μέτρον ὁδοπορίας·
 ἔστιν γὰρ τὸ μεταξὺ θεῶν πρὸς δώδεκα βωμῶν
 ἕξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντ' ἐκ λιμένος στάδιοι.

This inscription was found on a marble, which the Turks had driven into the fortifications of the Acropolis. It must have stood on the road to the Peiræus.

Pausan. i. 8. These two last statues were made of bronze. Xerxes carried them away, but Alexander restored them, or, at least, ordered their restoration.

Arrian says—"πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα κατελήφθη αὐ-
 " τοῦ, ὅσα Ξέρξης ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄγων ἦλθε· τὰ τε
 " ἄλλα καὶ Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος χαλκαῖ εἰ-
 " κόνες· καὶ ταύτας Ἀθηναῖοις πέμπει ὀπίσω Ἀλέξ-
 " ανδρος, καὶ νῦν κεῖνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῇ αἰ
 " εἰκόνες, ἧ ἀνίμεν ἐς πόλιν καταπτικρὺ τοῦ Μητρώου."

De Exped. Alex. III. 16. Pliny tells the same story. He says that Praxiteles was the sculptor who executed these statues—"Praxiteles * * fecit * * Harmodium
 " et Aristogitonem tyrannicidas, quos a Xerxe Persarum
 " rege captos victa Perside Atheniensibus remisit Magnus
 " Alexander." *Plin. N.H.* XXXIV. VIII. 10.* Valerius Maximus (II. x. i. *Extern.*) says that Seleucus restored them; and Pausanias gives the credit of the restoration to Antiochus.

At the southern end of the Agora stood the Φερῆρεφάτ-
 τιον, or temple of Proserpine. At the northern end stood
 the Λεωκόριον; and this northern end led to the quarter

* Pliny is here guilty of a gross anachronism, for Praxiteles lived in the time of Alexander the Great. Possibly Praxiteles executed a fresh pair of statues. With regard to Harmodius and Aristogiton, they have fared luckily: they seem to have known "where a commodity of "good names was to be bought." Men degraded by infamous immorality,—mere vulgar assassins, who disguised a foul spirit of revenge under the mask of patriotism,—they were nevertheless revered by their countrymen as heroes. But, however the mob of Athenians may have been led, by the love of their democratical form of government, to pay extraordinary honour to men, whom they erroneously believed to have been the champions of national freedom; no excuse can justify us in regarding such characters with any other feelings than those of disgust and abhorrence. Surely, no *virtuous* Athenian could have beheld the statues of these men, without a blush of shame!

of the city called *Μελίτη*. A passage in Demosthenes illustrates these several positions—" περιπατούντος, ὥσπερ εἰώθειν, ἐσπέρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ * * * παρέρχεται Κτησίας μεθύων κατὰ τὸ Λεωκόριον· κατιδὼν δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ κραυγιάσας καὶ διαλεχθεὶς τι πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως, ὡς ἂν μεθύων, ὥστε μὴ μαθεῖν ὃ τι λέγοι, παρήλθε πρὸς Μελίτην ἄνω· ἔπινον γὰρ ἐνταῦθα (ταῦτα γὰρ ὕστερον ἐπιθόμεθα) Κόνων οὔτοσι, Θεότιμος τις, Σπίνθαρος ὁ Εὐβούλου, Θεογένης ὁ Ἀνδρομένους, πολλοὶ τινες· οὗς ἐξαναστήσας ὁ Κτησίας ἐπορεύετο κατ' ἀγοράν. καὶ ἡμῖν συμβαίνει ἀναστρέφουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Φεῤῥεφάττιον καὶ περιπατοῦσι πάλιν κατ' αὐτό πως τὸ Λεωκόριον εἶναι καὶ τούτοις περιτυγχάνομεν." *contra Conon*. 1258-9. And Hesychius calls the *Φεῤῥεφάττιον*, "τόπος ἐν ἀγορᾷ."* The plaintiff therefore took a stroll in the evening up and down the Agora; much as Horace amused himself in the forum at Rome.

'Fallacem Circum vespertinumque pererro

'Sæpe forum.'

Sat. I. VI. 113.

Hesychius gives the following explanation of the word *Λεωκόριον*. "τῶν Λεῶ θυγατέρων μνημεῖον, τὸ καλούμενον *Λεωκόριον*, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ." And Photius says—"Λεωκόριον ἱερὸν Ἀθήνησι, τοῦ δὲ Λεῶ θυγατέρες ἐγένοντο τρεῖς Φασιθία, Θεόπη, Εὐβούλη· αἱ παρθένοι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐσφαγιασθήσαν κατὰ χρόνον, ἐκόντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιδόντος. Ὁ δὲ Λεῶς

* Forohammer must have overlooked this passage in Hesychius; for he places the *Φεῤῥεφάττιον* on the south bank of the Ilissus: but this he did, to carry out his idea of the extent of the Cerameicus, to which he has given a most exaggerated length.

“ υἱὸς ἦν Ὀρφέως, ἧ [fors. οὐ] ἐπώνυμος καὶ ἡ Λεοντὶς φυλή.” The scholiast on the word Λεωκόριον in *Thucydides* (1.20) says—“ ἐλίμωξέ ποτε ἡ Ἀττικὴ, καὶ λύσις ἦν “ τῶν δεινῶν παίδων σφαγῇ. Λεὼς οὖν τις τὰς ἑαυτοῦ “ κόρας ἐπιδέδωκε καὶ ἀπήλλαξε τοῦ λιμοῦ τὴν πόλιν. “ καὶ τούτων ἱερὸν ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὸ καλούμενον “ Λεωκόριον.” Cicero mentions the temple—“ In ple- “ risque civitatibus intelligi potest augendæ virtutis “ gratia, quo libentius reipublicæ causa periculum adiret “ optimus quisque, virorum fortium memoriam honore “ deorum immortalium consecratam. Ob eam enim “ ipsam causam Erectheus Athenis filiæque ejus in “ numero deorum sunt. Itemque Leoidum est delubrum “ Athenis, quod Leocorion vocatur.” *De Nat. Deor.* III. 19.

We have already seen (p. 11.) that Pausanias begins his description of Athens from the gate called in the map Δίπυλον. The first objects on entering this gate were, the Πομπεῖον, a temple of Ceres, the στοὰ βασιλείος, the στοὰ of Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος, and the temple of Apollo Πατρῶος. Εἰσελθόντων δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἰκο- “ δόμημα ἐς παρασκευὴν ἐστὶ τῶν πομπῶν ἃς πέμπουσι, “ τὰς μὲν ἅνα πᾶν ἔτος,” (he means the lesser Panathenæa) “ τὰς δὲ καὶ χρόνον διαλείποντος,” (he means the greater Panathenæa, which were celebrated every 4th year) “ καὶ πλησίον ναὸς ἐστὶ Διήμητρος. * * * “ στοαὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικόν, καὶ “ εἰκόνες πρὸ αὐτῶν χαλκαῖ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, “ ὅσοις τι ὑπῆρχε, καὶ ὧν τις λόγος ἐς δόξαν. ἡ δὲ “ ἑτέρα τῶν στοῶν ἔχει μὲν ἱερὰ θεῶν, ἔχει δὲ γυμνά-

“ σιον Ἐρμοῦ καλούμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Πολυτίωνος
 “ οἰκία, καθ’ ἣν παρὰ τὴν ἐν Ἐλευσίῳ δράσαι τελετὴν
 “ Ἀθηναίων φασὶν οὐ τοὺς ἀφανεστάτους.” 1. 2. (He
 alludes here to the mock celebration of the Eleusinian
 mysteries by Alcibiades.) “ πρώτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ
 “ καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλείος, ἔνθα καθίζει βασιλεὺς
 “ ἐνιαυσίαν ἄρχων ἀρχὴν καλουμένην βασιλείαν. * * *
 “ ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος. * * *
 “ στοὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν ὠκοδόμηται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοῦς
 “ δώδεκα καλουμένους. * * * ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς
 “ Εὐφράνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίους, καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν
 “ ἐν τῷ ναφῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρῶων ἐπέκλησιν.” 1. 3.

The Πομπεῖον was a building in which the vessels, orna-
 ments, and images, whether of gold or silver (πομπεία,) used in sacred processions, were kept. Hesychius seems to confound the two words, for he says—“ πομπεία· τὰ
 “ πρὸς τὰς πομπὰς σκευή· ἢ τόποι ἐν οἷς τὰ ἐκ τῆς
 “ πομπῆς ἀποτίθεται.” Demosthenes mentions the building: “ καὶ ταῦτα πάντες ἴστε ἐν τῷ Πομπείῳ δια-
 “ μετρούμενοι.” *adv. Phorm.* 918. The sacred vessels kept here must have been of great value; for Thucydides, and, after him, Diodorus Siculus, specify these in their enumeration of the resources of Athens—“ χωρὶς δὲ
 “ χρυσίου ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἔν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίους
 “ καὶ δημοσίοις καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκευὴ περὶ τὰς πομπὰς
 “ καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκύλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτό-
 “ τροπον, οὐκ ἐλάσσοнос ἦν ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων.”
Thucyd. II. 13. “ χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τὰ τε πομπεία
 “ σκευὴ καὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ σκύλα πεντακοσίων ἄξια τάλαν-
 “ των ἀπεφῆνατο.” *Diod. Sic.* XII. 40.*

* Forchhammer, in support of his theory respecting the gate from

It was natural that a temple of the goddess worshipped at Eleusis should stand, as we learn from Pausanias that it did, near the Πομπείον.

The βασιλειος στοά was the building in which the ἄρχων βασιλεύς held his court; and it stood near the στοά of Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος. “ δύο εἰσὶ στοαὶ παρ’ ἀλλήλας, “ ἣ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἡ βασιλείος.” *Suid. in voc.* ‘ βασιλειος.’ The court of Areiopagus sometimes held its sittings in the βασιλειος στοά. “ τὸ τὴν Ἀρείου “ Ἐπάγου βουλήν ὄταν ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ καθεζομένη “ περισχοιῖσθαι, κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐφ’ ἑαυτῆς “ εἶναι.” *Demosth. contra Aristog.* 776.

The author of the letters of Æschines says, that the Thebans fined Pindar for panegyricizing Athens; on which the Athenians—“ διπλὴν αὐτῷ τὴν ζημίαν ἀπ- “ ἔδοσαν, μετὰ τοῦ εἰκόνι χαλκῇ τιμῆσαι· καὶ ἦν αὐτῇ “ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι, πρὸ τῆς βασιλείου στοᾶς, καθήμενος “ ἐνδύματι καὶ λύρα ὁ Πίνδαρος, διάδημα ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ “ τῶν γονάτων ἀνειλεγμένον βιβλίον.” *Æp.* 4. *Aristo-*

which Pausanias started, places the Πομπείον immediately inside the Peiraic gate. It is not easy to understand why such a building should have stood in so inconvenient a place: the objection to the obvious impropriety of such a position is not removed by M. Forchhammer's rather irrelevant remark—“ Were we to suppose that Pausanias intended to allude to the Panathenaic procession, the distance of this Πομπείον from the place where the Panathenaic processions began, in the Outer Cerameicus, would no more furnish a reason against the position I have assigned to it, than the fact that the regalia used in the coronation of the kings of England are kept in the Tower, would prove that the Tower was close to Westminster Abbey.” *p.* 31. Probably, the regalia would *not* be kept in the Tower, if they were wanted as often as the vessels in the Πομπείον, instead of being required only a few times in a century. Forchhammer thinks that the vessels of the Πομπείον were not used in the Panathenaic, but only in the Eleusinian, processions. But supposing this *were* the case, the objection lies just as strong against the fitness of this site of the building.

phanes says—

καὶ κηρύξει τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ βῆτ' ἐπὶ τὴν στοιάν ἀκο-
λουθεῖν
τὴν βασιλείον δευπνήσοντας· τὸ δὲ θῆτ' ἐς τὴν
παρὰ ταύτην. *Eccles.* 684.

By the last words, τὴν παρὰ ταύτην, the poet undoubtedly means the στοὰ Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου. The poet's two tickets were as near each other in name, as the porticoes were in place. Suidas says—"ἐλευθέριος· ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους (*libertos*) τὴν στοάν οἰκοδομήσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ. οὕτω μὲν Ἵπεριδης. ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος, οὐ διὰ τοῦτο φησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τῆς Μηδικῆς δουλείας καὶ ἐπικρατείας ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους." *in voc.*

The shields of distinguished Athenians who perished in battle were sometimes suspended in the portico of Jupiter. Pausanias specifies Leocritus, as having received this honour—"καὶ οἱ πεσόντι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τιμαὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἄλλαι γεγόνασι, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ, τὸ ὄνομα Λεωκρίτου καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα ἐπιγράψαντες." I. xxvi. 2. Cydias also is commemorated, who was killed in battle with the Gauls—"τὴν ἀσπίδα οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ Διὶ καὶ ἦν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· * * * τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐπεγέγραπτο, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὁμοῦ Σύλλα καὶ ἄλλα τῶν Ἀθήνησι, καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καθελεῖν ἀσπίδας." X. xxi. 3.

The worship of Apollo was introduced into Athens by the Ionians.* He was called Πατρῶος, either because

* On this subject, see 'Muller's History of the Dorians,' *δ.* II. *ch.* II. 13 and 15.

he was the father of Ion, or because he was the god of the πατραί of the Ionians. Demosthenes thus invokes him—"καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς "θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν "Ἀττικὴν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῴος "ἐστὶ τῆς πόλει." *De Cor.* 274.

The naval car, which carried the sacred Peplos in the great Panathenaic procession, was kept in this temple of Apollo, "to be exhibited" (as Dr. Wordsworth says) "in after times, as an object of admiration to travellers, "when it had ceased to perform its festal voyages; as "the ducal barge of Venice, the Bucentoro, in which "the Doge solemnized the annual marriage of the sea, "is now preserved for the same purpose in the Venetian "Arsenal." *Ch.* 23. *p.* 186. Pausanias says, that the vessel was kept "near the Areiopagus," a situation which perfectly agrees with his description of the site of the temple of Apollo Πατρῴος.—"τοῦ δὲ Ἀρείου "πάγου πλησίον δείκνυται ναὺς ποιηθεῖσα εἰς τὴν τῶν "Παναθηναίων πομπήν." I. *xxix.* 1. The Mother of the gods, and the Father of the people, naturally had their temples near each other.

Pausanias states, that the temple of Vulcan was above, or to the north of, the βασιλείως στοά; and, proceeding eastward on his route, he comes to the statue of Mercury Ἀγοραῖος, and the famous ποικίλη στοά. "ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλου- "μένην βασιλείων ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἡφαίστου * * * ἰούσι "δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοὰν ἦν ποικίλην ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν "γραφῶν, ἔστιν Ἑρμῆς χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος,

“καὶ πύλη πλησίον ἔπεστι δὲ οἱ τρόπαιον Ἀθηναίων
 “ἵππομαχία κρατησάντων Πλεισταρχον.” 1. 14, 15.
 Pausanias then describes the pictures in the ποικίλη
 στοά, with great minuteness. They were in three great
 compartments. The first contained a picture of the
 battle of CEnoe, or, rather, of the combatants drawn
 up in battle array against each other, before closing in
 action. The centre compartment represented Theseus
 fighting the Amazons. The last compartment contained
 the famous picture of the battle of Marathon.

Pausanias thus describes it—“τελευταῖον δὲ τῆς
 “γραφῆς εἰσὶν οἱ μαχησάμενοι Μαραθῶνι. Βοιωτῶν δὲ
 “οἱ Πλάταιαν ἔχοντες καὶ ὄσον ἦν Ἀττικόν, ἴασιν ἐς
 “χεῖρας τοῖς βαρβάροις· καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἐστὶν ἴσα παρ
 “ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ ἔργον, τὸ δὲ ἔσω τῆς μάχης, φεύγου-
 “τές εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὠθοῦντες ἀλλή-
 “λους. ἔσχατα δὲ τῆς γραφῆς νῆές τε αἱ Φοίνισσαι,
 “καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς ταύτας φονεύ-
 “οντες οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μαραθῶν γεγραμμένος
 “ἐστὶν ἦρωσ, ἀφ’ οὗ τὸ πῆδιον ὠνόμασται, καὶ Θησεὺς
 “ἀνιόντι ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος, Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἡρακλῆς.
 “Μαραθωνίους γάρ, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλῆς ἐνο-
 “μίσθη θεὸς ἐν πρώτοις. τῶν μαχομένων δὲ δῆλοι
 “μάλιστά εἰσιν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Καλλίμαχος τε ὃς Ἀθη-
 “ναίοις πολεμαρχεῖν ἤρητο, καὶ Μιλτιάδης τῶν στρατη-
 “γούντων, ἦρωσ τε Ἐχέτλος καλούμενος, οὗ καὶ ὕστερον
 “ποιήσομαι μνήμην.” *Pausan.* 1. 15. “Huic Miltiadi,
 “qui Athenas totamque Græciam liberavit, talis honos
 “tributus est, in porticu quæ Pæcile vocatur, quum
 “pugna depingeretur Marathonica, ut in decem præ-

“torum numero prima ejus imago poneretur, isque
 “hortaretur milites, præliumque committeret.” *Corn.
 Nep. Miltiad.* 6. This was the *στοά* which gave name
 to the Stoic school of philosophy.

“Quæque docet sapiens *braccatis illita Medis*
 “*Porticus.*” *Pers.* III. 53.

Diogenes Laertius, *lib.* VII. I. 6, says of Zeno—“*ἀνα-
 κάμπτων δὲ ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ τῇ καὶ Πεισιανακτείῳ
 “καλουμένῃ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς Πολυγνώτου,
 “Ποικίλῃ, διέθετο τοὺς λόγους, βουλόμενος καὶ τὸ χω-
 “ρίον ἀπερίστατον ποιῆσαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν τριάκοντα,
 “τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τοὺς χιλίους τετρακοσίους ἀνήρηντο
 “ἐν αὐτῷ. προσήεσαν δὲ λοιπὸν ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ
 “διὰ τοῦτο Στωϊκοὶ ἐκλήθησαν καὶ οἱ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως,
 “πρότερον Ζηνῶνιοι καλούμενοι.” Pliny speaks of
 Polygnotus as one of the painters of the *ποικίλῃ στοᾷ*—
 “*Hic (Polygnotus Thasius) et Athenis porticum, quæ
 “Pœcile vocatur, gratuito, cum partem ejus Micon
 “mercede pingeret: unde major hinc auctoritas.”*
N. H. XXXV. IX. 35.*

The temple of Vulcan stood *beyond* the Agora, *ὑπὲρ
 τὸν Κεραμεικόν*, in the district of the urban Colonus.
 The bronze statue of Mercury *Ἀγοραῖος* stood near;
 and the *ποικίλῃ στοᾷ*, which was close at hand, must
 have stood at the northern entrance of the Agora.
 This statue of Mercury is called by Harpocration *Ἐρμῆς
 ὁ πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι*. Lucian, *Jur. Trag.* 33, says—“*ὁ
 “σὸς, ὦ Ἐρμῆ, ἀδελφός ἐστιν, ὁ ἀγοραῖος, ὁ παρὰ τὴν
 “ποικίλῃν.”* Demosthenes says—“*περὶ τὸν Ἐρμῆν τὸν
 “πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι προσεκαλεσάμην.”* *contr. Everg.* 1146.

The gate, near which this statue of Mercury stood, is taken, by the generality of modern topographers, to mean the "gate of the Agora." Forchhammer denies the propriety of this: he thinks that this *πυλῖς* was a triumphal arch, not a gate, in the proper sense of the word;—and that it is improperly called *πύλη*, by Pausanias. He quotes a scholiast on Aristophanes, *Equit.* 297, to show that the statue did not stand at the entrance, but in the middle, of the Agora. The verse is—

*νῆ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν Ἀγοραίου,
κάπιορκῶ γε βλέπόντων.*

On which the scholiast says—"ἐν μέσῃ ἀγορᾷ ἴδρυνται Ἑρμοῦ Ἀγοραίου ἄγαλμα." Without interpreting the expression, 'in the midst of the Agora,' too strictly, it must certainly be granted that such an expression is inconsistent with the idea of the statue having stood *at the entrance* of the Agora. But the word 'Agora' was probably used by the scholiast in a loose and indefinite way; and he makes no mention of the 'Gate.' A triumphal arch would certainly have been a natural entrance; just as the Fabian arch formed the entrance to the 'Roman Forum.' Harpocration, *loc. laud.* says—
"Φιλόχορος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Ἀθίδος φησὶ περὶ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι Ἑρμοῦ, ὡς ἀρξάμενοι τειχίζειν τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες τοῦτον ἀναθέντες ἐπέγραψαν.

"ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι τειχίζειν τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν
"βουλῆς καὶ δήμου δόγμασι πειθόμενοι."

The famous *ποικίλη στοά* gained its name from its magnificent gallery of pictures; but it also contained

some shields affixed to its walls. “ ἐνταῦθα ἀσπίδες κεῖν-
 “ ται χαλκαί, καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἐστὶν ἐπιγράμμα, ἀπὸ Σκιω-
 “ ναίων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων εἶναι· τὰς δὲ ἐπαληθιμμένας
 “ πίσσῃ, μὴ σφᾶς ὃ τε χρόνος λυμήνηται καὶ ὅσα
 “ Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι λέγεται τῶν ἀλόντων ἐν τῇ
 “ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ.” *Pausan.* i. 15. These shields are
 referred to with great pride by Cleon, in the play of
 the ‘Knights:’—

ἀπαξάπαντας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιστομίξειν
 ἐὼς ἂν ᾗ τῶν ἀσπίδων τῶν ἐκ Πύλου τι λοιπόν.

v. 845.

It is improbable, however, that the original shields
 should have been there in the time of Pausanias: the
 Lacedæmonians would assuredly have removed them,
 when they occupied Athens, at the end of the Pelopon-
 nesian War.

Æschines speaks of the ποικίλη στοά as being in
 the Agora. “ προσέλθετε δὴ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν
 “ στοάν τὴν ποικίλην. ἀπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν
 “ ἔργων τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται. τί οὖν
 “ ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃ ἐγὼ λέγω; ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐν
 “ Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ γέγραπται.” *In Ctesiph.* 437. *Reiske.*

Hermæ were square columns, surmounted with the
 head of a deity, or man: a row of them ran from the
 βασιλῆιος στοά to the ποικίλη στοά. Harpocration has
 the following, under the word Ἐρμαῖ:—“ Μενεκλῆς ἢ
 “ Καλλίστρατος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀθηναίων γράφει· ἀπὸ γὰρ
 “ τῆς ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως στοᾶς εἰσὶν οἱ Ἐρ-
 “ μαῖ καλούμενοι.” Thucydides explains the word—
 “ ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ὅσοι Ἐρμαῖ ἦσαν λίθινοι ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν

“ Ἀθηναίων (εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον ἢ τετράγωνος
 “ ἐργασία, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν ἰδίῳ προθύροις καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς)
 “ μᾶ νυκτὶ οἱ πλείστοι περιεκόπησαν τὰ πρόσωπα.”

VI. 27. Æschines refers to this street of Hermæ—

“ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὡς τότε ἔδόκει,
 “ τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἑρμᾶς, στήσας ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἑρ-
 “ μῶν ἐφ’ ᾧτε μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὰ ὀνόματα.” *In Ctesiph.*

435. And he then quotes some inscriptions on Hermæ.

Hesychius describes Ἱππάρχειοι Ἑρμαῖ thus—“ ἄς ἀνέ-

“ στησεν Ἱππάρχος στήλας, ἐγγράψας εἰς αὐτὰς ἐλεγεία,

“ ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον βελτίους οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες γένεσθαι.”

Böckh gives a copy of a very ancient Hermes, with
 a verse on it, which he deciphers, and represents in the
 following manner—

ἐν μέσσω γε Θρήης τε καὶ ἄστεος, ἄνερ, ὄθ’ Ἑρμῆς.

*Corp. Inscr. n. 12.**

Hipparchus made use of these Hermæ as mile-stones,
 and direction-posts.

* Böckh's commentary on this Inscription should by all means be consulted.

THE HILL OF MARS.

The Hill of Mars, or Areiopagus, was divided by a narrow valley from the western side of the Acropolis. It ran in a north-westerly direction, forming the northern limit of the Agora. The Acropolis was assailable only from the west. The Areiopagus, therefore, was the ground occupied by Xerxes, when he besieged the citadel. “οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἀρηῖον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοῖονδε.” *Herod.* viii. 52. Pausanias thus describes the Hill—“ἔστι δὲ Ἀρειος πάγος καλούμενος, ὅτι πρῶτος Ἀρης ἐνταῦθα ἐκρίθη· καὶ μοι καὶ ταῦτα δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος, ὡς Ἀλιρρόθιον ἀνέλοι, καὶ ἐφ’ ὅτῳ κτείνειε. κριθῆναι δὲ καὶ ὕστερον Ὀρέστην λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρός· καὶ βωμός ἐστιν Ἀθηναῶν Ἀρείας, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν ἀποφυγῶν τὴν δίκην· τοὺς δὲ ἀργοὺς λίθους ἐφ’ ὧν ἐστάσιν ὄσοι δίκας ὑπέχουσι καὶ οἱ διώκοντες, τὸν μὲν ὕβρεως τὸν δὲ ἀναιτίας αὐτοῖς ὀνομάζουσι. πλησίον δὲ ἱερὸν Θεῶν ἐστιν, ἃς καλοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Σεμνάς. * * * ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μνήμα Οἰδίποδος. πολυπραγμονῶν δὲ εὕρισκον τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐκ Θηβῶν κομισθέντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐς τὸν θάνατον Σοφοκλεῖ πεποιημένα τὸν

“Οιδίποδος, Ὅμηρος οὐκ εἶα μοι δόξαι πιστά, ὅς ἔφη
 “Μηκιστέα, τελευτήσαντος Οιδίποδος, ἐπιτάφιον (sc.
 “ἀγῶνα) ἐλθόντα ἐς Θήβας ἀγωνίσασθαι.” I. 28. The
 passage in Homer to which he refers is this—

Μηκιστέος υἱὸς Ταλαϊονίδαο ἄνακτος,
 ὅς ποτε Θήβαςδ' ἦλθε δεδουπότος Οιδιπόδαο
 ἐς τάφον· ἔνθα δὲ πάντας ἐνίκα Καδμείωνας.

Π. XXIII. 678.

Dr. Wordsworth thus describes the present appearance of the Areiopagus, and the temple of the Σεμναὶ θεαί—“Sixteen stone steps cut in the rock, at its south-east angle, lead up to the Hill of the Areopagus from the valley of the Agora, which lies between it and the Πnyx. This angle seems to be the point of the hill on which the Council of the Areopagus sat. Immediately above the steps, on the level of the hill, is a bench of stone, excavated in the lime-stone rock, forming three sides of a triangle, like a triclinium: it faces the south: on its east and west sides is a raised block; the former (*i. e.* the triangular bench) may have been the tribunal; the two latter the rude stones* which Pausanias saw here, and which are described by Euripides, as assigned, the one to the accuser, the other to the criminal, in the causes which were tried in this court. There the Areopagites,

* So Dr. Wordsworth translates the expression ἀργούς λίθους. (The MSS. have ἀργυρούς λίθους, which is, of course, unintelligible.) And it is certain that Pausanias uses the word ἀργός in the sense of *uncoined*—*unfashioned*—*unwrought*—καὶ ἀργὸν τὸν ἀργυρον καὶ χρυσόν. III. 12. It may, however, be doubted whether the word should not be translated ‘*white*’ in the present passage.

“ distinguished alike for their character, rank, and
 “ official dignity, sat as judges, on a rocky hill in the
 “ open air.” *p.* 74. The following is the passage cited
 by Dr. Wordsworth—

ὡς δ' εἰς Ἄρειον ὄχθον ἦκον ἐς δίκην τ'
 ἔστην, ἐγὼ μὲν θάτερον λαβὼν βάθρον,
 τὸ δ' ἄλλο πρέσβειρ' ἤπερ ἦν Ἐρινύων,
 εἰπὼν ἀκούσας θ' αἵματος μητρὸς πέρι,
 Φοῖβός μ' ἔσωσε μαρτυρῶν. *Iphig. in Taur.* 961.

St. Paul, as the introducer of new deities, would naturally plead before the Areiopagites—the religious tribunal of Athens. If the Apostle stood at this spot, with the Agora at his feet, and the Acropolis immediately on his left, he might well describe the city as *κατείδωλος*, ‘full of idols.’ (*Acta Apost.* xvii. 16.)

The temple of the Eumenides was placed immediately at the foot of the Hill of Mars. I avail myself once more of Dr. Wordsworth’s learned research:—“ The
 “ exact position of this temple, if temple it may be
 “ called, is at the north-eastern angle of the Areopagus,
 “ at its base.* There is a wide long chasm there,
 “ formed by split rocks, through which we enter a
 “ gloomy recess. Here is a fountain of very dark water.
 “ That this is the site of the temple of the Semnai, it is
 “ superfluous to repeat proofs. That this dark recess
 “ and fountain formed, with a few artificial additions,
 “ the very temple itself, is, I think, equally certain.
 “ The character of the temple is described by ancient

* *Vid.* ‘Müller’s Dissertation on the Eumenides,’ *p.* 170. §. 67. *English transl.* He points out the connection between the Erinyes and the Court of Areiopagus.

“ authors with the same clearness as its position. To those descriptions, the spot in which we are completely corresponds. Here is the chasm of the earth : this is the subterranean chamber ; this the source of water ; which were the characteristics of the temple in question.

“ The place was well adapted to the solemn character of the deities to whom it was consecrated. The torches, with which the Eumenides were afterwards furnished, as a poetic attribute, perhaps owed their origin to the darkness of this Athenian temple, in which those goddesses were enshrined. Æschylus imagined the procession, which escorted the Eumenides to this their temple, as descending the rocky steps, above described, from the platform of the Areopagus ; then winding round the eastern angle of that hill, and conducting them, with the sound of music and glare of torches, along this rocky ravine to this dark enclosure. In his time the contrast of the silence and gloom of this sacred place, with the noise and splendour of the city, in the heart of which it was, must have been inexpressibly solemn. *Now*, the temple and its neighbourhood are both alike desolate and still.” *p.* 78—80.

Euripides thus refers to the court of Areiopagus, and the chasm where the Eumenides were worshipped—

ἔστιν δ' Ἀρεώς τις ὄχθος, οὐ πρῶτον θεοὶ
 ἔζοντ' ἐπὶ ψήφοισιν αἵματος πέρι,
 Ἀλιρρόθιον ὄτ' ἔκταν' ὠμόφρων Ἄρης.

Electr. 1258.

δειναὶ μὲν οὖν θεαὶ τῶδ' ἄχει πεπληγμένοι
 πάγον παρ' αὐτὸν χάσμα δύσονται χθονὸς
 σεμνὸν βροτοῖσιν εὐσεβῆς χρηστήριον.

Ib. 1270.

In Æschylus, Minerva thus addresses the Eumenides—

χαίρετε χύμεις· προτέραν δ' ἐμὲ χρῆ
 στείχειν θαλάμους ἀποδείξουσαν.
 πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε προπομπῶν
 ἴτε, καὶ σφαγίων τῶνδ' ὑπὸ σεμνῶν
 κατὰ γῆς σύμεναι, τὸ μὲν ἀτηρὸν
 χώρας κατέχειν, τὸ δὲ κερδαλέον
 πέμπειν πόλεως ἐπὶ νίκη. *Eumen.* 1003.

And the conductors of the goddesses thus address them ;

βάτε δόμῳ μεγάλαι φιλότιμοι
 Νυκτὸς παῖδες ἄπαιδες, ὑπ' εὐθύφρονι πομπᾷ
 (εὐφαιμεῖτε δὲ, χωρίται)
 γᾶς ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν ὠγυγίοισι*
 καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ θυσίαις περισεπτὰί τύχα τε.

1033.

To the north of the Areiopagus considerable remains still exist of the Gymnasium built by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Pausanias, in his description of the Agora, says—“ Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶν οὐκ
 “ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐπίσημα, καὶ Ἑλέου βωμός, φ' ἄλλιστα
 “ Θεῶν ἐς ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγμάτων
 “ ὅτι ὠφέλιμος, μόνοι τιμὰς Ἑλλήνων νέμουσιν Ἀθη-
 “ ναῖοι. * * * ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι
 “ οὐ πολλὸν, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευασμένου

* ὠγυγίοισι, *dark*. Vid. *Philological Museum*, vol. II. p. 348—50.

“καλουμένῳ, λίθοι τέ εἰσιν Ἑρμαῖ θέας ἄξιοι, καὶ εἰκὼν
 “Πτολεμαίου χαλκῇ * * * πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ
 “Θησέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν.” I. 17. Cicero mentions the
 building—“Cum audissem Antiochum, Brute, ut sole-
 “bam, cum M. Pisone in eo gymnasio, quod Ptolemæum
 “vocatur.” *De Fin.* v. 1.

THE NEW AGORA.

Ptolemy's Gymnasium is supposed by the generality of modern topographers to have stood in what is called 'The New Agora.' Col. Leake, *p.* 63, says—"Another position in ancient Athens, of which there can be no doubt, although it has sometimes been mistaken, is the New Agora, in the quarter of Eretria, apparently the only one in use in the time of Augustus, when Strabo wrote; and of Antoninus, when Pausanias travelled. The Propylæa, or gateway of this Agora, is still in existence: it consists of a portico of four Doric columns, supporting a pediment: besides which, there are some remains of one of the antæ, which terminated two walls, forming a quadrangular vestibule between the columns, and the door leading into the Agora. The jambs of this door are likewise in their original places. The proofs of the destination of the building are found in its plan, and upon comparing together three inscriptions, which have been published by Spon, Wheler, and Stuart.* One of these

* *Spon's Voyage, &c.* vol. II. *p.* 274. *Wheler's Travels, p.* 389. Drawings of the building, and copies of the various inscriptions, are given in Stuart, vol. I. *p.* 1.

“ inscriptions, which is still to be seen upon the episty-
 “ lium of the portal, shows that the building was erected
 “ out of the donations bestowed upon Athens by Julius
 “ Cæsar and Augustus : another, copied by Stuart from
 “ a quadrangular base in the entrance of the portal,
 “ proves that the base supported a statue of Julia
 “ Augusta, erected at the expense of one of the two
 “ Agoranomi, or directors of the market : and the
 “ third is a long decree of the Emperor Hadrian, re-
 “ specting the sale of oils, and the duties to be paid
 “ upon them, inscribed upon one of the jambs of the
 “ inner door : a fourth inscription, on the apex of the
 “ pediment, shows that upon the summit stood a statue
 “ of Lucius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, and his
 “ adopted son.” *p. 63.*

The existence of this ‘ New Agora ’ is positively and
 rather angrily denied by Forchhammer. “ Were it
 “ not,” says he, *p. 53, seq.* “ that errors frequently
 “ resemble burs, and faith in one’s own authority, or
 “ in that of others, a coat ; it would be inconceivable
 “ how, in the total absence of any tenable proof, and
 “ in spite of the established certainty that ‘ Agora ’ and
 “ ‘ Cerameicus ’ were almost identical terms ; in spite of
 “ the established certainty that the ground on the one
 “ side of the *Στοὰ Βασιλῆως*, and of that gate,” (*i. e.* the
 Gate of the Agora) “ as well as the ground on the
 “ other, belonged to the Agora ;—it is inconceivable,
 “ I say, how, in spite of all this, topographers could
 “ have imagined that Pausanias did not enter the Agora
 “ before the spot where he calls it by that name, and

“ therefore did not enter the ancient and only Agora
 “ described by him already, but a so-called ‘ New
 “ Agora,’ to which, upon the authority of Meursius,
 “ they gave a particular name, *viz.* the ‘ Eretrian,’
 “ and assigned the time of Augustus as that of its
 “ foundation ; whilst they try in vain to make out its
 “ locality even from the existing remains, giving it a
 “ large extent to the north of the Acropolis, and ven-
 “ turing to point out the still standing gate as the one
 “ beside the Hermes Agoraios. It will be necessary
 “ to enter somewhat minutely upon the refutation of
 “ this fundamental error in the topography of Athens.
 “ The first discoverer (*erfinder*) of this so-called ‘ New
 “ Agora,’ if I am not deceived, was Meursius. (*Ceramicus*
 “ *Geminus*, p. 16.) He was followed by subsequent writers.
 “ Meursius appeals to Apollodorus.” The passage in
 Apollodorus is quoted by Forchhammer, at p. 38:—“ Har-
 “ pocration, Πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη. Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ
 “ Πατροκλέους εἰ γνήσιος. Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ
 “ θεῶν, Πάνδημόν φησιν Ἀθήνησιν κληθῆναι τὴν ἀφι-
 “ δρυθεῖσαν περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγορὰν διὰ τὸ ἐνταῦθα
 “ πάντα τὸν δῆμον συνάγεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐκ-
 “ κλησίαις, ἃς ἐκάλου ἀγοράς. Νίκανδρος δὲ ἔκτφ
 “ Κολοφωνιακῶν Σόλωνά φησι σώματα ἀγοράσαντα εὐ-
 “ πρεπή ἐπὶ στέγης στήσαι διὰ τοὺς νέους καὶ ἐκ τῶν
 “ περιγενομένων χρημάτων ιδρύσασθαι Ἀφροδίτης Παν-
 “ δήμου ἱερόν. ἔστι δὲ πάνδημον πάγκοινον.” On which
 Forchhammer observes—“ In mentioning the ‘ Ancient
 “ Agora ’ (τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγορὰν,) we may remark by the
 “ way, that the words of Apollodorus contain the sole

“ testimony afforded by antiquity, upon which the
 “ moderns can found their distinction of an old and a
 “ new Agora, although they do not lay any particular-
 “ stress on them. They have been induced to adopt
 “ this distinction principally by the erroneous opinion,
 “ that the so called Porticus on the north side of the
 “ Acropolis, close to the modern Bazaar, was the Gate
 “ of the Agora mentioned by Pausanias.

“ I have refuted this opinion in detail, in a treatise
 “ which appeared in the “ *Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissen-*
 “ *schaft*,” and I rejoice to find that Ross, in his treatise on
 “ the Theseium, admits only one Agora, although his
 “ reasons for placing it to the north of the defile between
 “ the Acropolis and the Areopagus appear to me alto-
 “ gether untenable. With regard to the expression of
 “ Apollodorus ‘*τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγορὰν*,’ it is not to be
 “ taken as if it meant to distinguish an old, from a new,
 “ Agora. * * * Apollodorus, who lived 100 years before
 “ Augustus, could not speak of an ‘old’ Agora, as dis-
 “ tinguished from the so-called ‘new’ one, which Leake
 “ admits was not established until the reign of Augustus,
 “ in the vicinity of Eretria : nor could Apollodorus have
 “ thought of calling the Agora (there being then but one)
 “ ‘the old’ one, however old it might be. He might as
 “ well have spoken of an ‘old Ceraeicus,’ or an ‘old
 “ Acropolis.’ Apollodorus himself throws sufficient light
 “ on the expression he has used (*die Wahl dieser Benennung.*)
 “ He is, like Pausanias, of opinion that Theseus united
 “ all the *demi* into one, and first summoned *all the people*
 “ to one assembly. These assemblies were in ancient

“times called ἀγοραί, as were the assemblies of the δῆμος
 “even in later times. In this sense, Apollodorus derives
 “the name of Agora from the assembling of the people,
 “(συνάγεσθαι), and calls the place of popular assembly
 “in the market, beside the ‘Pandemos,’ *the old Agora*,
 “*in contra-distinction to the later place of assembly at*
 “*the Pnyx.*” p. 39.

“Meursius, however, believes the Agora to have been
 “transferred to a different place. This conclusion is
 “derived from the words of Strabo—Ἐρετριέας δ’ οἱ
 “μὲν ἀπὸ Μακίστου τῆς Τριφυλίας ἀποικισθῆναί φασιν
 “ὑπ’ Ἐρετριέως (Ἐρετρίας, *Oxon.*) οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθή-
 “νησιν Ἐρετρίας, ἣ νῦν ἀγορά. *lib. x. p. 652.* Now,
 “not to mention that it is doubtful whether that
 “Agora is *the* market, or *a* market; whether at Athens,
 “or *in Attica* ;” (this last seems rather a liberal way of
 interpreting τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρετρίας) “it cannot be
 “imagined, even admitting the probable supposition
 “that *the* market at Athens is meant, why Strabo should
 “not have spoken of the so-called ancient Agora. That
 “*now* (νῦν) is evidently opposed to the time when,
 “according to the tradition, the Agora was still the
 “δῆμος Eretria, the inhabitants of which were said to
 “have founded Eretria in Eubœa; but by no means
 “opposed to a time but lately passed, or to some other
 “more ancient market. Strabo himself explains the
 “name of Eretria by the more ancient name of Arotria,
 “*i. e. arable land.* Μελανητῆς δ’ ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον ἢ
 “Ἐρέτρια, καὶ Ἀρότρια. (*loc. laud.*) The Agora of
 “Athens was once arable land, as it is again now-a-

“ days ; and that name is, no doubt, derived from the
 “ most ancient time, and from the myth, as Grotefend
 “ (*de Demis*, p. 39) justly supposes. Perhaps, if one
 “ preferred deriving the word from ἐπέσσω, the etymo-
 “ logy might be defended by reference to a myth,
 “ according to the poetical invention of which, the
 “ Acropolis and surrounding hills were once surrounded
 “ by water.” p. 54-5.

I have placed the ‘ New Agora ’ in the map, though I willingly confess that my belief in its existence has been destroyed by the original and acute remarks of Forchhammer.

With regard to the Porticus, which has been so commonly taken for the Gate of the New Agora, Forchhammer maintains that it was not a gate at all, but that it formed part of a temple dedicated to Minerva Ἀρχηγέτις. This he proves from the inscription on the Architrave. (p. 57.) Another of the inscriptions, containing a decree of the Emperor Hadrian concerning the sale of oil, formed no part of this building ; but the stone, on which it is engraved, has been placed where it now is in later times, to form the corner of a house. (p. 58.) The quadrangular base, from which Stuart copied another inscription, and which must have supported a statue of Julia Augusta, is certainly not standing now in its original place. (*ibid.*) These two stones were erroneously taken by Stuart for gate posts. There is no doubt that the building, whatever it was, was raised in the time of Augustus, and at the expense of Julius and Augustus Cæsar. Here is a copy of the

inscription on the architrave—

Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΔΩΡΕΩΝ ΤΠΟ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ
 ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ-
 ΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΙΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΑΡΧΗΓΕ-
 ΤΙΔΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΠΛΙΤΑΣ
 ΕΤΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΔΕΞΑ-
 ΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ
 ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΑΡ-
 ΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΑΘΜΟΝΕΩΣ.

Finally, Forchhammer says, *p.* 58—“ There is no
 “ reason why these columns should be considered a
 “ gate, far less a gate of the Agora ; nor is there any
 “ reason for supposing that there had been *any* Agora
 “ in that part of the city, much less the principal market,
 “ during the time of the Roman Emperors.”

THE REST OF THE CITY.

To the west of the ground supposed to have been occupied by the New Agora was a district called Κολωνός Ἀγοραῖος. Suidas, *in voc.* κολωνέτας (κολωνίτας, *Harprocratition*) says—"οὕτως ὠνόμαζον τοὺς μισθωτοὺς· ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τὸν κολωνὸν εἰστήκεσαν, ὅς ἐστι πλησίον τῆς ἀγορᾶς· ἔνθα τὸ Ἡφαιστεῖον καὶ τὸ Εὐρυσάκιον ἐστὶ. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ὁ κολωνός οὗτος ἀγοραῖος." Hesychius corroborates this—"ὄψ' ἦλθες, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν Κολωνὸν ἴεσο· ἐπὶ τῶν μισθωτῶν ἔλεγον· τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐλθόντας ὄψ' ἀπέλυον πάλιν εἰς τὸ μισθωτήριον· τὸ δὲ ἦν ἐν Κολωνῷ." *in v.* ὄψ. ἦλ. We have already seen that Pausanias speaks of the temple of Hephæstus as *ἀδουε*, or to the north of, the Agora; the position therefore of the temple may be determined within a small space. It was outside of the northern limit of the Agora. It stood therefore nearly on a line with the Dipylum.*

* Dr. Wordsworth (*p.* 174) thinks that the Hephæsteium was the goal for the racers in the λαμπαδηφορία. Dr. Liddell (*Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, in v.* λαμπάς) says that the racers ran to the *Acropolis*. Pausanias, to whom he refers, does not say so much—"ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ δὲ ἐστὶ Προμηθέως βωμός· καὶ θέουσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιόμενας λαμπάδας." *i.* 30. The scholiast on *Aristoph. Ranæ*, 1085, to which he also refers, merely says, that the race took place in the *Cerameicus*.

A scholiast on Aristophanes, *Aves*, 967—

ΠΕΙΣΘ. σὺ δ' εἶ τίς ἀνδρῶν; ΜΕΓ. ὅστις εἴμ' ἐγώ;
Μέτων,

ὃν οἶδεν Ἑλλὰς χά Κολωνός—

says—“Κολωνός ἐστὶν ὁ ἕτερος ὁ Μισθὸς λεγόμενος. “οὕτως μέρος τι νῦν σύνηθες γέγονε τὸ Κολωνὸν καλεῖν “τὸ ὀπισθεν τῆς μακρᾶς στοᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι. Μελίτη “γὰρ ἄπαν ἐκεῖνο, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὀρισμοῖς γέγραπται τῆς “πόλεως.” In the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes, Hercules is humorously thus described—

μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς οὐκ Μελίτης μαστιγίας. 501.

On which the scholiasts say—“ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκ Μελίτης “Ἑρακλῆς· ἡ γὰρ Μελίτη δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς * * * “ἔστι δὲ ἐκεῖ καὶ Ἑρακλέους ἱερόν· * * * ἐπειδὴ ἐν “Μελίτῃ ἐστὶν ἐπιφανέστατον Ἑρακλέους ἱερόν ἀλεξι- “κακόν.” A reference to the map will show that the famous temple of Theseus, which still exists, must have stood in the district called Melite. In this temple the worship of Theseus, the Attic hero, was combined with that of Hercules, the Theban hero. The temple was founded A. C. 465, *Ol.* 78. 4, when Cimon fetched the bones of Theseus from the isle of Scyros.* In honouring Theseus, the Athenians could not forget Hercules, his kinsman, friend, and companion. (This mythological junction of the worship of the two heroes, is, no doubt, an expression of the historical fact, that, at the time when the Theseium was built, the Athenians were anxious for a political alliance with Thebes.) “The

* The story is told by Plutarch in his Life of Cimon, *ch.* 8. *Pausan.* i. 17.

“ Hercules Furens of Euripides, which was written a few years after this temple was built, and which, like the temple itself, seems to have been intended to celebrate unitedly the virtues of the two heroes, introduces Theseus promising to Hercules that the Athenians should honour him with ‘*sculptured marbles* ;’ and this seems to refer to the decoration of this very building.” *Leake, p. 395.* Theseus, amongst other things, says to Hercules—

Θήβας μὲν οὖν ἔκλειπε τοῦ νόμου χάριν,
ἔπου δ’ ἄμ’ ἡμῖν εἰς πόλισμα Παλλάδος
ἐκεῖ χέρας σὰς ἀγνίστας μιάσματος,
δόμους τε δώσω χρημάτων τ’ ἐμῶν μέρος. 1322.

θανόντος δ’, εὐτ’ ἂν εἰς Ἰδαίου μόλης,
θυσίαισι λαίνοισί τ’ ἐξογκώμασιν
τίμιον ἀνάξει πᾶσ’ Ἀθηναίων πόλις. 1331.

All the metopes on the eastern façade of the Theseium relate to the labours of Hercules ; and it is probable that Euripides refers to them.* The position of the region called Melite may, therefore, be considered as certainly fixed.†

We have seen (*p. 10*) that the space between Melite and the city-wall was called *κοιλή*. To the east of Melite was the part called *Κολυττός*. Strabo says—“ *μὴ ὄντων γὰρ ἀκριβῶν ὄρων καθάπερ Κολυττοῦ καὶ Μελίτης (οἶον στηλῶν ἢ περιβόλων) τοῦτο μὲν ἔχειν φάναι*

* The Theseium is elaborately described, with plans and drawings of the marbles, by Stuart, *vol. III. p. 1.*

† *Vid. Wordsworth, p. 173, note.* The position of Melite is a most important point in Athenian topography: on no part of this subject has so much confusion and error prevailed.

“ ἡμᾶς, ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ Κολυττὸς τοῦτο δὲ Μελίτη.”
I. p. 98.

The inhabitants of Melite were naturally anxious to have a distinct boundary set up between themselves and their neighbours of Colyttus: “for,” says Dr. Wordsworth, “the least respectable quarter in the whole of Athens was Colyttus. Hence it seems that Demosthenes, when he speaks of Æschines, as acting with very limited success, in a tragic character, intends to add to the bitterness of the sarcasm, by specifying also that the representation took place in Colyttus. Κρεσφόντην, ἢ Κρέοντα, ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολυττῷ ποτὲ Οἰνόμαον κακὸς κακῶς ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπέτριψας. *De Coron.* 288. Hence too the district of Colyttus was probably assigned by Lucian to Timon the man-hater, as an appropriate place for his extraction.” p. 176-7.

To the east of Colyttus was Diomeia, a district which has already been referred to (p. 32.) The south-eastern part of Athens was, in later periods, called Hadrianopolis. The Emperor Hadrian was a great benefactor to Athens:—“Cum titulos in operibus non amaret, multas civitates Hadrianopolis appellavit, et ipsam Carthaginem et Athenarum partem.” *Spartian. in Hadrian.*

The arch of Hadrian still stands at the north-western corner of the temple of Jupiter Olympius. It forms an angle of about 35 degrees with the western wall of the peribolus of that temple. On the north-western side of the arch there still exists the following inscription—

ΑΙΔ ΕΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ Η ΠΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ.

And on the opposite—

ΑΙΔ ΕΙΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΧΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ.

We learn from Strabo that a similar sort of inscription was engraved on a pillar that divided Attica from Peloponnesus. “καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν ὀρίων ἀμφισβη-
 “ τοῦντες πολλάκις οἱ τε Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες,
 “ ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ἡ Κρομμυωνία, συνέβησαν, καὶ στήλην
 “ ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ συνομολογηθέντος τόπου περὶ αὐτὸν
 “ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς τὴν
 “ Πελοπόννησον μέρους

“ τὰδ’ ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος οὐκ Ἴωνία·

“ ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς τὰ Μέγαρα·

“ τὰδ’ οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος ἀλλ’ Ἴωνία.”

lib. ix. p. 569.

The temple of Jupiter Olympius was the most magnificent fabric ever erected by heathen piety to the great father of gods and men. Thucydides reckons it (II. 15) amongst the most ancient of the Athenian buildings. Pausanias speaks of Deucalion as the founder of the original building—“ τοῦ δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς Δευ-
 “ καλίωνα οἰκοδομήσαι λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν, σημεῖα
 “ ἀποφαίνοντες, ὡς Δευκαλίων Ἀθήνησιν ἔκκησε, τάφον
 “ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκότα. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ
 “ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίους, ναὸν Ἦρας,
 “ καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου, καὶ θεοῖς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱερόν
 “ κοινόν.” I. 18. Peisistrates commenced a new structure upon a magnificent plan, A. C. 530, *Ol.* 62. 3; but it was not finished. Antiochus Epiphanes, about 174 A. C. undertook its completion: he, however, left the work unfinished: and Sylla, when he took Athens,

carried away the column which had been prepared for this building, to erect them in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome. (*Leake, p. 401.*) Vitruvius says, *lib. vii. proœm.* “Athenis Antistates et Callæschros et Antimachides et Porinos architecti Peisistrato ædem Jovi Olympio facienti fundamenta constituerunt: post mortem autem ejus propter interpellationem reipublicæ” (this is an absurd reason!) “incerta reliquerunt; itaque circiter annis ducentis post” (it was about 350 years after) “Antiochus rex cum in id opus impensam esset pollicitus, cellæ magnitudinem, et columnarum circa dipteron collocationem, epistyliorumque et cæterorum ornamentorum ad symmetriam distributionem magna solertia scientiaque summa civis Romanus Cossutius nobiliter est architectatus.”

There is abundant authority for attributing to Antiochus the glory of commencing this great work afresh. —“Per idem tempus Antiochus Epiphanes, qui Athenis Olympieum inchoavit.” *Vell. Paterc. i. 10.* Polybius says, that this Antiochus was fitter to be called Ἐπιμανής, than Ἐπιφανής; but that he surpassed all kings in the splendour of those public works which respected religion. “ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τὰς πόλεις θυσίαις, καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμαῖς, πάντας ὑπερέβαλε τοὺς βεβασιλευκότας τοῦτο δ’ ἂν τις τεκμήραιτο ἔκ τε τοῦ παρ’ Ἀθηναίους Ὀλυμπιείου, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἐν Δήλῳ βωμὸν ἀνδριάντων.” *lib. xxvi. ch. 10.* This passage is translated almost *verbatim* by Livy. (xli. 20.) Strabo does not mention the name of the king who began this

second temple, probably because his name was so well known: but he says that he executed *one half* of the work. “καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Ὀλύμπιον ὅπερ ἡμιτελὲς κατέλιπε “τελευτῶν ὁ ἀναθεὶς βασιλεύς.” ix. 575. Pliny bears witness to the plunder committed by Sylla—“Sic est inchoatum Athenis templum Jovis Olympii, ex quo Sylla Capitolinis ædibus advexerat columnas.” *N. H.* XXXVI. vi. 5.

It appears from Suetonius, that all the kings allied or tributary to Rome, in the reign of Augustus, agreed to unite in finishing this temple—“Reges amici atque socii, et singuli in suo quisque regno, Cæsareas urbes condiderunt; et cuncti simul ædem Jovis Olympii, Athenis antiquitus inchoatam, perficere communi sumptu destinaverunt, genioque ejus dedicare.” *Octav.* 60. Their intention, however, appears not to have been executed: and the glory of completing this magnificent work was reserved for Hadrian. “Hadrianus, ad orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit, atque opera quæ apud Athenienses ceperat dedicavit, et Jovis Olympii ædem et aram sibi.” *Spartian. in Vit. Hadrian.* And Xiphilinus says—“Ἀδριανὸς δὲ τὸ τε Ὀλύμπιον τὸ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐν φῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδρυται, ἐξεποίησε.” *Epit. Dion. Nicæi in Hadrian.**

Near this temple were the old Odeium, and the fountain of Callirhoe. Pausanias says—“ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν εἰσελθούσιν φδείον, ἄλλα τε καὶ Διόνυσος κείται θεᾶς ἄξιος· πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ κρήνη, καλοῦσι δὲ

* The arch of Hadrian and temple of Jupiter are elaborately described in Stuart, vol. III. ch. 2 and 3; and Leake, p. 135—42.

“ αὐτὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον, οὕτω κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Πεισι-
 “ τράτου.” I. 14. Thucydides says—“ Ἴδρυται δὲ καὶ
 “ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ” (namely, in the southern district of
 Athens) “ ἀρχαῖα, καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῶν τυράννων οὕτω
 “ σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνη καλουμένη, τὸ δὲ πάλαι
 “ φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν, Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομασμένη,
 “ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἔγγυς οὕση τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ
 “ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα
 “ τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι” II. 15. The
 fountain has now again recovered its more ancient
 name of ‘Callirhoe.’ It was the only fountain at
 Athens, the water of which was fit to drink; all the
 rest were impregnated with salt. “The fountain of
 “ Callirhoe,” says Dr. Wordsworth, “is said to have
 “ been supplied by the Ilissus. The ducts, by which
 “ its water was brought from the stream, probably
 “ suggested its name, Ἐννεάκρουνος.” p. 161.

The old Odeium must have stood on the line of street,
 leading from the Agora to the fountain Callirhoe, in
 such a way, that a triangle was represented by them and
 the temple of Jupiter Olympius. The Odeium must have
 contained a large open space, with benches in its cir-
 cumference. It was originally used as a theatre. Hesy-
 chius says—“ Ὀιδεῖον. τόπος ἐν ᾧ πρὶν τὸ θέατρον
 “ κατασκευασθῆναι οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ κιθαρῳδοὶ ἡγωνί-
 ζοντο.” Forchhammer conjectures, with great proba-
 bility, that the falling of the wooden benches in the
 Odeium led to the erection of the great Dionysiac
 theatre; the benches of the Odeium meanwhile being
 replaced by firmer ones. (p. 42.)

The thirty tyrants made such use of this Odeium, as shows it to have been of very considerable dimensions. They assembled in it their 3000 *hoplites*, together with a considerable body of horsemen ; one half of the place being already occupied by the Lacedæmonian garrison. (*Grote, Hist. Gr. ch. 65. vol. VIII. p. 364.*) Xenophon says—" τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ἐς τὸ Ὀιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν 180. " οἱ τριάκοντα) τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς " ἄλλους ἰππέας." *Hellen. II. iv. 9.* " οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ " φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὀιδείου ἐξωπλισμένοι " ἦσαν." *ibid. 10* ; and afterwards he says, *ibid. 24*— " ἐξεκάθειδον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὀιδείῳ τοὺς τε " ἵππους καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες." Demosthenes, in his speech against Phormion, shows that the Odeium was also made use of as a public granary—" ἐν τοιοῦτῳ " καιρῷ ἐν ᾧ ὑμῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἄστει οἰκοῦντες διε- " μετροῦντο τὰ ἄλφιστα ἐν τῷ Ὀιδείῳ." *p. 918.* " The " vaults underneath the rows of seats," says Forchhammer, *p. 43*, " may have been very well adapted for the " reception of grain : and if the public stores had any- " thing to do with the maintenance decreed by a " judgment, upon a complaint of sustenance withheld, " such a complaint—a *δίκη σίτου*—would very naturally " be preferred in the Odeium."

From the speech of Demosthenes against Neæra, we learn, that one Stephanus had a supposed daughter named Phano ; one Phrastor married this girl ; but not agreeing with her, and discovering that she was not the daughter of Stephanus, he turned her out of his house. " ὀργισθεὶς"—says Demosthenes, *p. 1362*—" ἐπι-

“τούτους ἀπασι καὶ ὑβρίσθαι ἡγούμενος καὶ ἐξηπατήσ-
 “θαι, ἐκβάλλει τὴν ἀνθρωπον, ὡς ἐνίαντον συνοικήσας
 “αὐτῇ, κύνουσαν, καὶ τὴν προῖκα οὐκ ἀποδίδωσι.”
 Before this, Stephanus sues him for the maintenance
 for his daughter:—“λαχόντος δὲ τοῦ Στεφάνου αὐτῷ
 “δίκησσι σίτου εἰς ᾽Ωιδεῖον, κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃς κελεύει,
 “ἐὰν ἀποπέμψη τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀποδιδόναι τὴν προῖκα,
 “ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, ἐπ’ ἐννέ’ ὀβολοῖς τοκοφορεῖν, καὶ σίτου
 “εἰς ᾽Ωιδεῖον εἶναι δικάσασθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς τῷ
 “κυρίῳ.” *ibid.* Pollux, viii. 33, says—“τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ
 “σίτῳ δίκας ἐν ᾽Ωιδεῖῳ ἐδίκασον σίτος δὲ ἐστὶν αἰ
 “ὀφειλόμεναι τροφαί.” Aristophanes speaks of the
 Odeium as a law-court—

οἱ μὲν ἡμῶν, οὐπερ ᾽Αρχων,

οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοὺς ᾽Ενδεκα,

οἱ δ’ ἐν ᾽Ωιδεῖῳ* δικάζουσ’. *Vesp.* 1108.

In the south-western corner of Athens stood the hill
 Museum, which Pausanias thus describes—“ἔστι δὲ
 “ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρχαῖον τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἀπ’ ἀντικρὺ
 “τῆς ἀκροπολέως λόφος, ἔνθα Μουσαῖον ἄδειν καὶ ἀπο-
 “θανόντα γήραϊ ταφῆναι λέγουσιν ὕστερον δὲ καὶ
 “μνήμα αὐτόθι ἀνδρὶ ᾠκοδομήθη Σύρῳ.” i. 25. This
 Syrian was called Philopappus. A great part of this
 monument still exists: it was erected in the reign of
 Trajan: drawings of it are given in Stuart, *vol.* III. *ch.* 5.
 Under one niche in this monument is the following
 inscription—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.

* Mitchell, in a note on this passage, erroneously supposes that this
 was the Odeium of Pericles.

Under another is this—

ΦΙΛΟΠΑΠΠΟΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

This Philorappus was probably the grandson of the last king of Commagene, Antiochus IV. Stuart gives a valuable historical illustration of the monument; (*in loc.*)

THE HARBOURS OF ATHENS.

Strabo thus describes the Athenian ports—" ὑπὲρ δὲ
 " τῆς ἀκτῆς ταύτης (*sc.* of the strait of Salamis) ὄρος
 " ἐστίν, ὃ καλεῖται Κορυδαλὸς, καὶ ὁ δῆμος οἱ Κορυδα-
 " λεῖς· εἶθ' ὁ Φώρων λιμὴν καὶ ἡ Ψυτταλία νησίον ἔρη-
 " μον, πετρῶδες, ὃ τινες εἶπον λιμένα* τοῦ Πειραιέως·
 " πλησίον δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀταλάντη, ὁμόνυμος τῇ περὶ Εὐ-
 " βoιαν καὶ Λοκρούς· καὶ ἄλλο νησίον ὁμοιον τῇ Ψυττα-
 " λία καὶ τοῦτο· εἶθ' ὁ Πειραιεὺς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς
 " δήμοις ταπτόμενος, καὶ ἡ Μουνυχία· λόφος δ' ἐστὶν ἡ
 " Μουνυχία, χερρῶνησίζων, καὶ κοῖλος καὶ ὑπόνομος
 " πολὺ μέρος, φύσει τε καὶ ἐπίτηδες, ὥστ' οἰκήσεις δέ-
 " χεσθαι, στομίῳ δὲ μικρῷ τὴν εἴσοδον ἔχων. ὑποπίπ-
 " τουσι δ' αὐτῷ λιμένες τρεῖς. Τὸ μὲν οὖν παλαιὸν
 " ἐτετελείχιστο καὶ συνφύκιστο ἡ Μουνυχία παραπλησίως
 " ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Ῥοδίων πόλις, προσειληφύια τῷ περι-
 " βόλῳ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τοὺς λιμένας πλήρεις νεωρίων,
 " ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡ ὀπλοθήκη Φίλωνος ἔργον· ἄξιόν τε ἦν
 " ναύσταθμον τετρακοσίαι† ναυσίν, ὧν οὐκ ἐλάττους

* The word λιμένα is not intelligible here. Casaubon reads λήμη, *the eye-sore*, of the Peiræus: it might be so called, as rendering the entrance to the harbour dangerous. Pericles called Ægina 'the eye-sore of the Peiræus,' for a very different reason.

† Meursius and others wish to read *τριακοσίαις*.

“ ἔστελλον Ἀθηναῖοι. τῷ δὲ τείχει τούτῳ συνήπται τὰ
 “ καθειλκυσμένα ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος σκέλη.” IX. p. 573.
 Pausanias thus describes the same places—“ ὁ δὲ Πει-
 “ ραιεύς δῆμος μὲν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, πρότερον δὲ, πρὶν ἢ
 “ Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναίους ἦρξεν, ἐπίνειον οὐκ ἦν· Φαλη-
 “ ρὸν δὲ, (hod. *Phanari*) ταύτη γὰρ ἐλάχιστον ἀπέχει τῆς
 “ πόλεως ἢ θάλασσα, τοῦτο σφίσιν ἐπίνειον ἦν. * * *
 “ Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ὡς ἦρξε (τοῖς τε γὰρ πλέουσιν ἐπιτη-
 “ δειώτερος ὁ Πειραιεύς ἐφαίνετό οἱ προκεῖσθαι) καὶ
 “ λιμένας τρεῖς ἀνθ’ ἑνὸς ἔχειν τοῦ Φαληροῦ τοῦτο σφί-
 “ σιν ἐπίνειον εἶναι κατεσκευάσατο. καὶ νεὸς καὶ ἐς
 “ ἐμὲ ἦσαν οἴκοι, καὶ πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος
 “ Θεμιστοκλέους. φασὶ γὰρ μεταμελήσαι τῶν ἐς Θε-
 “ μιστοκλέα Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὡς οἱ προσήκοντες τὰ ὄστα
 “ κομίσαιεν ἐκ Μαγνησίας ἀνελόντες * * * ἔστι δὲ καὶ
 “ ἄλλος Ἀθηναίους ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Μουνυχίᾳ (hod. *Stratitiki*)
 “ λιμῆν, καὶ Μουνυχίας ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Φαλη-
 “ ροῦ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον εἶρηται μοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ
 “ Δήμητρος ἱερόν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Σκιράδος Ἀθηναῖς ναὸς
 “ ἔστι, καὶ Διὸς ἀπωτέρω· βωμοὶ τε θεῶν ὀνομαζομένων
 “ ἀγνώστων.” I. 1. (The reader will not fail to be re-
 minded, by the expression in Pausanias, ‘*allars of the
 unknonn gods,*’ of St. Paul’s address to the Athenians.
Acts xvii. v. 23.) The three ports, into which the Pei-
 ræus was divided were named, Κάνθαρος, the innermost ;
 Ἀφροδίσιον, or Πειραιεύς,* the central and largest ;

* The Κάνθαρος is now merely a lagoon. The Peiræus proper is now called by the Italians ‘Porto Leone,’ from a colossal white Lion which stood on the beach, and was carried away to Venice by the Venetians, in 1687. It is called ‘Port Drako,’ by the Greeks, and ‘Aslan Limani,’ by the Turks—all three names being derived from the Lion. *Drako*, in modern Greek, signifies anything monstrous.

and Ζέα, the outer basin. Aristophanes says—"ἐν Πειραιεὶ δήπου ἴστί Καυθάρου λιμῆν." *Pac.* 145; on which verse a scholiast observes—"Ὁ Πειραιεὺς λιμένας ἔχει τρεῖς πάντας κλειστούς. εἰς μὲν ὁ Καυθάρου λιμῆν, οὕτω καλούμενος ἀπὸ τινος ἥρωος Καυθάρου, ἐν ᾧ τὰ νεώρια· εἶτα τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον· εἶτα κύκλῳ τοῦ λιμένος στοαὶ πέντε." Hesychius says—"Καυθάρου* λιμῆν· οὕτω καλεῖται ἐν Πειραιεὶ." Plutarch in his life of Phocion says—"μύστην δὲ λούοντα χοιρίδιον ἐν Καυθάρῳ† λιμένι κῆτος συνέλαβε." *ch.* 28. Hesychius thus explains the word Ζέα—"ἡ Ἐκάτη παρὰ Ἀθηναίους· καὶ εἰς τῶν ἐν Πειραιεὶ λιμένων, οὕτω καλούμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς ζέας. ἔχει δὲ ὁ Πειραιεὺς λιμένας τρεῖς κλειστούς." Photius, too, in his Lexicon, says—"Ζέα· λιμῆν Ἀθήνησιν."

Pausanias says, that the tomb of Themistocles was "by the main harbour;" and there can be no doubt that in his time a tomb was shown there, which was supposed to contain the bones of Themistocles. The tomb which is shown in modern days, as that of Themistocles, is on the shore, some little way to the west of Zea. The words of Thucydides, however, render it very doubtful whether the bones of Themistocles were ever brought to Attica; at all events, in the age of Thucydides, no *public* or known monument had been raised to the great conqueror of Salamis—"τὰ δὲ ὄστα" (*viz.* of Themistocles) "φασὶ κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οἴκαδε κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι

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The three demi, Peiræus, Munychia, and Phalerum, united, formed a larger town than the *ἄστυ* of Athens itself. Pausanias (I. 1) has given an account of many buildings and works of art contained in the three; of these, scarcely a vestige remains, or a position that can be plausibly conjectured. The baths, porticoes, theatres, statues, temples, which once adorned the famous Peiræus, have completely disappeared.

“ ETIAM PERIERE RUINÆ ! ”

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and Ζέα, the outer basin. Aristophanes says—"ἐν Πειραιεῖ δήπου ἴστί Κανθάρου λιμῆν." *Pac.* 145; on which verse a scholiast observes—"Ὁ Πειραιεὺς λιμένας ἔχει τρεῖς πάντας κλειστούς. εἰς μὲν ὁ Κανθάρου λιμῆν, οὕτω καλούμενος ἀπὸ τινος ἥρωος Κανθάρου, ἐν ᾧ τὰ νεώρια· εἶτα τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον· εἶτα κύκλω τοῦ λιμένος στοαὶ πέντε." Hesychius says—"Κανθάρου* λιμῆν· οὕτω καλεῖται ἐν Πειραιεῖ." Plutarch in his life of Phocion says—"μύστην δὲ λούοντα χοιρίδιον ἐν Κανθάρφ† λιμένι κῆτος συνέλαβε." *ch.* 28. Hesychius thus explains the word Ζέα—"ἡ Ἐκάτη παρὰ Ἀθηναίους· καὶ εἰς τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ λιμένων, οὕτω καλούμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς ζείας. ἔχει δὲ ὁ Πειραιεὺς λιμένας τρεῖς κλειστούς." Photius, too, in his Lexicon, says—"Ζέα· λιμῆν Ἀθήνησιν."

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