

Introduction

Remains of an ancient fort north of Marone in the foot hills of Parnes, south of the main mass,¹⁾ have been known

1) The actual location is at 33° 53' 13" N, 26° 07' 45.5" E. From Marone, it is 5.36 kilometres, as the crow flies, at a bearing of 13° N. From Spilia Kessani, which is best represented by a village on the main road a few kilometres north of Marone, the fort is 2.5 kilometres at a bearing of 24° N. Fig. 1 is taken from this position. The altitude of the fort is ca. 525 metres above sea level. These figures are in part based on the British War Maps, 1:20,000, Greece (Athens) Sheet E,3 Patofca and Sheet E,4 Kifissia. In J.B.S. XLVI (1926) Plate I, either Leipsydria has been wrongly placed or the stream nearest to it, because the fort is west of the stream, not east.

LEIPSYDRION

AN ATTIC FORT ON PARNES

for many years. Simple descriptions of the remains have been written by A. Michler²⁾ and L. Chamber³⁾. No real survey

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2) J.B.S. XLVI (1926) p.15. also *Woods*, p.2. s.v. Leipsydria.

Introduction

Remains of an ancient fort north of Menidi in the foot hills of Parnes, south of the main mass,¹⁾ have been known

1) The actual location is at $23^{\circ} 43' 11''$ E, $38^{\circ} 07' 48.5''$ N. From the main square of Menidi, it is 5.36 kilometres, as the crow flies, at a bearing of 13° W. From Spilia Kazana, which is best represented by a bridge on the main road a few kilometres north of Menidi, the fort is 2.8 kilometres at a bearing of 24° W. Fig. is taken from this position. The altitude of the fort is ca. 615 metres above sea level. These figures are in part based on the British War Maps, 1:20,000, Greece (Athens) Sheet E,3 Tatonon and Sheet E,4 Kifisgia. In J.H.S. XLVI (1926) Plate I, either Leipsydrion has been wrongly placed or the stream nearest to it, because the fort is west of the stream, not east.

for many years. Simple descriptions of the remains have been written by A. Milchhöfer²⁾ and L. Chandler.³⁾ No real survey

2) E. Curtius and J.A. Kaupert, Karten von Attika, Berlin, 1881, VII, p.7.

3) J.H.S. XLVI (1926) p.15. Also Wrede, P-W, s.v. Leipsydrion.

has been made of the place, nor has any attempt been made to date the inhabitations noted. In view of the fact that this fort has been identified as Leipsydrion by some classical scholars, while different locations for Leipsydrion have been offered by others, it seemed advisable to make a more thorough exploration of the site than had been done hitherto, in an attempt to obtain more definite information. What follows is the result of several visits to the hill on which the fort stands.

In making this report, I have become indebted to many people and offer them my thanks: Miss J. Perlzweig, Miss M. Holland, Miss A. Frantz, Miss L. Talcott, Professor H. Thompson, Professor E. Vanderpool, Mr. J.L. Caskey, Director of the American School of Classical Studies. They all have given most generously of their time and knowledge. Permission to make this study was kindly granted by Mr. Papadimitriou, Ephor of Attica.

General

The fort on the plan has the appearance of two triangles, one lying north and the other south of a common base running east and west. The maximum dimensions are: north-south ca. 65 m., east-west ca. 75 m. The area enclosed by the walls is by no means level. In the southern triangle the ground is very rocky in the south east section and has a constant rise until the highest point is reached. This place is shown on the map as a small black square, which signifies

a white marker⁴⁾. To the west of this marker the ground

4) I have not ascertained the nature of this marker. It has been erected since the war and as the whole area is now used for military training the marker probably represents a fixed point on the Greek military maps of the area.

is reasonably level but the natural rock is pitted with many cavities. In the ^{northern} western triangle, the ground is quite flat, although it slopes downward slightly both to the north and east. This area is the only one that seems to offer terrain suitable for buildings. Outside the walls, just as inside, conditions vary. Around the southern triangle, the slope downward is quite gentle for about 20 m. at which point the slope becomes severe and is maintained until the plain of Attica is reached. At the entrance to the fort there is a flat spit of land going west and projecting from the gate tower, thereby forming a saddle between the fort and the higher hills to the west. In the northern triangle, from the gate to the most northern part, the wall marks the division between the level area within the fort and the cliffs outside it. These cliffs drop almost sheer, and form a ravine which divides the range of which this hill is a part from the main mass of Parnes directly north. The northeastern side is not nearly as abrupt and by the middle of the east side, the level area stretching 20 m. from the walls, is reached.

The only way to describe the wall of the fort is to say that it is a "dry rubble" wall, entirely lacking style.⁵⁾

5) For terminology, see R.A. Scranton, Greek Walls, Cambridge, Mass., 1941, p.16.

There does not seem to have been any attempt to shape the stones. Although the stones forming the faces have been carefully chosen so that a reasonably vertical line is achieved, the faces, where preserved, show great irregularities. The width varies greatly, the variation noticed being from 2.0 m. to 2.80 m. This is probably caused by the changing levels of the native rock which undoubtedly acted as the base for the wall.⁶⁾ Since the natural rock shelves downward, in

6) This observation was also made by Milchhöfer.

general the outer face exhibits a greater preserved height than the inner. The maximum preserved height is 1.10 m., measured on the outer face.

Along the east and south sides, because the ground slopes gently, the line of the wall is well preserved and large sections of face are present. On the west and north, where the wall presented an extension to the cliffside, the wall is only found in traces, but sufficient to show its location with confidence.

Description (letters A-M refer to Fig.1)

There was only one entrance to the fort and the remains of it are very distinct.⁷⁾ Between L and A there is a well

7) Miss Chandler states that the entrance was on the southern side. She probably was confused by the structure at J.

defined depression. Even though much wall has fallen there, it is obvious from the depression that there had not been any wall there in antiquity. Final proof, if needed, is to be seen in the fact that A did not join L, but stopped short leaving a passageway of about 2 meters breadth between L and A. At this gateway the full width of A is preserved - 2.60 m. This width, however, is only maintained for a little over 2 meters, at which point the outer face seems to turn at a right angle and can be followed for about 0.60 m. The remains suggest a small tower, or more exactly, a raised solid platform overlooking the entrance way.

Of walls A and B only the inner face can be seen, except for one section of the outer face at the junction of B and C. In most places the inner face is only preserved to a height of between 0.15 - 0.30 m., but even so its line can be traced with assurance. At this corner of B and C the outer face is well preserved and the corner well defined. Also the amount of rock still in place is great and the height reaches one meter. The general state is very reminiscent of the small tower at the end of A. Tentatively I would restore this corner as another raised platform. Between these two

platforms there is no outer face preserved at all. This is understandable since the rock falls away very quickly. However, certain observations were possible. Firstly, in this particular section of the fort thick walls like those on the south and east would be unnecessary, as the cliff itself forms a strong natural defense. Secondly, owing to the sudden drop and the position of the inner face, a wall of 2 - 2.50 m. in width like the other walls would have been exceedingly difficult to build, if not impossible. The terrain outside the inner face remains reasonably flat only for a little over 1 meter. With this consideration, I have restored the wall at that width. This restoration receives support from the fact already noted that the outer face of A near the gateway does not maintain its original width. Seeing that the inner face is preserved to such a small height, I would also suggest that this section is not really a wall but a narrow level platform overlooking the cliffs made so that the defenders could have a vantage point, both level and firm, against attackers. Finally, I think that we must consider both the beginning of A and the end of B as small towers, and I think the fact that large masses of stone are only found in these two points along these sections is definitely corroborative.

Section C is almost nonexistent today, in fact one might doubt the existence of a wall here at any time if it were not for the well preserved outer face and corner where C joins D. About 7 m. east of the corner BC there is a 2 meter stretch of stones which may be the remains of an outer face.

If they are, and on Fig. 1 I have indicated them as such, then they line up with the definite remains at BC and CD, forming the outer face of a wall which was probably slightly bent in order to remain on the same level throughout the whole section. Since the rock drops sheer a few meters north of this outer face, and since the wall has left practically no trace of itself, it is quite probable that this section was nothing but a low platform for the convenience of the defenders rather than a solid line of defense. It may well have had considerably less width than I have indicated on Fig. 1 where I have given it an average width based on the well preserved sections.

The direction of section D was demanded by the rock formation which carries out to a point at the same level as the previous section. At the very edge of the point the rock rises above the level of the wall thereby making the sharp corner necessary, as well as providing a natural support for it. Section D is well preserved on its outer face but entirely lacking on its inner side.

Once this point has been reached the terrain outside the walls becomes progressively less precipitous as one walks south. The first part of section E is not well preserved but there is sufficient evidence to give the exact line of the wall. Possibly, the first 18 meters of this section, where the ground outside the wall slopes away quite quickly, ~~was~~^{have} similar to sections B and C and should be restored as a level platform. The inner face of the wall is almost completely

preserved from the middle of section E to the gateway at LA, although along E this inner face does not reach a great height. The slight change of direction is very clearly marked and at this point the outer face is also preserved, giving a width of about 2 m.

From F to the gateway there is no problem in finding the course of the wall because it has merely fallen a meter or so down the gentle slope outside the fort, leaving, as noted above, the inner face intact. On account of this collapse the outer face has largely gone although there is quite a good stretch in place in section I. Section F has a splendidly preserved inner face which in places rises to a height of one meter (Fig.). The outer face is only intact at the corner FG where the width is 2.40 m. Section G is very like F and has the same width. Neither face is preserved at the corner but there is no difficulty in fixing the change of direction. Section H is again similar to F and G and marks the most southern part of the fort. Its inner corner at HI is well preserved.

Section I, about 45 meters long, is the best preserved stretch of the fortress wall. Fig. shows clearly how the wall has fallen both north and south of its original line. Nevertheless, it is possible to see the inner and outer faces for about seventy-five per cent of this section's length. Widths recorded were as follows: 2.60 m. at the southeast end, 2.50 m. in the middle, 2 m. about 8 m. east of J, and 2.35 m. at the junction of I and J.⁸⁾

8) The varying widths were caused, undoubtedly, by the changing surface of the rock base.

J is a peculiar structure which at first sight looks like a tower similar to L. Close examination proves it to be otherwise. There is no doubt that there was a gap between the end of I and the beginning of K even though the end faces are not preserved. Between the two there is a considerable depression now partially filled by fallen stone; this is similar to the gap noted at the gateway. From the outer faces of both I and J walls extend southwest at approximately right angles. The corner at I is very clear (Fig.) and the preserved height is 1.10 m. From the evidence of the depression these walls are between 0.50 and 0.75 m. in width. The wall projecting from I can be traced for about 3 m. At about this point the depressed area between the two walls rises abruptly, thus indicating the approximate position of the cross wall. It is impossible to gauge the width of this cross wall with any accuracy. I have restored it, however, at about 1 m. because one would expect this wall to be of a fairly solid nature since it must act as the outer wall of the fortress near that sector where one might expect attacks to be centred. There is one other wall in structure J which must be mentioned. Projecting northeast from the end of I is a short wall about a meter long and 0.50 m. wide, the lowest stones of which are all in place.

In and around the area of the depression many fragments of roof tiles were seen. These tiles have been found in many parts of the fort, but their numbers were particularly heavy at this spot. By making two holes in the sunken area, both to a depth of about 1 meter, it was possible to discover that the fragments of roof tiles were not merely strewn over the surface, but also lay in the depression at all depths, making it certain that the tiles should be considered along with the walls. On the basis of these observations I would restore structure J as some form of shelter, about 3.50 m. by 5.75 m., possibly a guard house, which had a tile roof presumably carried on wooden beams. In erecting this shelter the builders had to project the short wall northwards from the inner face of I in order to make the sides of the shelter equal for the carrying of these rafters. In this respect one should note that section K does not continue the line of section I but is about 1 m. north of it.

Section K is easily plotted since the whole line of its inner face is visible. Only one section of the outer face is left near the junction of K and L where the width is 2.20 m. An unusual feature of this section is a rectangular protrusion on the inner face which measures 1.20 m. by 3 m. It is contemporary with the wall as there is no evidence of an attempt to face the wall at that point. At its southeast corner this structure has very little preserved height but at the northwest corner it has a height of 0.90 m. and there is a suggestion that the slope between these two points

is reasonably constant. This must be interpreted as a ramp enabling the defenders of the fort to take their positions on the square tower with which this section connects. Originally, its final height may have been greater.⁹⁾

9) Ramps for a similar purpose have been noted on the Aigaleos - Parnes Wall - see Sterling Dow, Hesperia XI, 1942, p.203.

L is a solid quadrilateral tower 5 m. by 5.50 m. Enough evidence remains to record with assurance the position of the four sides, since parts of the faces of all are visible. Because shepherds in recent times have made a shelter on top of the tower it is impossible to say how high it might have been. That it was solid is not in doubt and that it was at least as high as the wall is very likely, because of the great mass of stone around the tower. At the actual join of section K with the tower neither face of K is preserved. The fact, however, that the stones at this join exhibit no break is sufficient proof that the wall and tower bonded with each other. As can be seen on Fig.1, the tower makes a very good cover for the gateway and offers the strongest protection toward the side which is the easiest to climb.

Close to the center of the fort there seems to be a house, M, about 3 m. by 5.80 m. The ground in this area is level and heavily covered with roof tiles. Of the walls

little remains, the maximum height being 0.30 - 0.40 m. The apparent width is ca. 0.50 m. Fig.1 shows that parts of three walls have been identified. There are a few stones which line up to suggest the position of the fourth side and it is on this basis it appears on Fig.1. However, the evidence is of such a tenuous nature that I have not put it down as being definite. Although these are the only walls noted within the fort, the amount of roof tiles spread over the level area near M might suggest that there may have been other structures.

To generalize, the walls in the southern half of the fort were probably originally 1.50 m. or more in height measured on their outer faces, to judge by the amount of stone lying around. There is no evidence that this stone wall was used as a socle for mud brick. The amount of roof tiles found near the walls is not nearly sufficient to suggest that they had any connection with the wall. I believe that the stone wall by itself provided the necessary protection that this rudimentary fort demanded.

Date

L. Chandler seems to suggest that the fortress was used in the last decade of the sixth century in that she equates it with the Leipsydrion mentioned by Herodotos. She also adds that it "was quite probably used later as one of the city's outer defences".¹⁰⁾ A. Milchhöfer, on the other hand,

¹⁰⁾ No evidence is presented for either of these

dates. She does, however, compare the construction of this fort with that at Palaiochori. The latter she thinks might be fourth century from the evidence of its walls. This comparison between Leipsydrion and Palaiochori is not tenable, since the styles of the walls are totally different. This can easily be shown by comparing any of my illustrations with Miss Chandler's Fig.8 (p.14).

is quite certain that this fort is earlier than the ^eHerodotean fort. Again, no definite evidence is brought forward to lend strength to this conclusion.

The style of the walls is of no help. This type of wall is undateable. It could have been erected at any age. It bears a strong resemblance to many country walls which have undoubtedly been built only in the twentieth century. The one wall in Attica of antiquity that offers a parallel is the inner face of the Aigaleos-Parnes wall. However, the similarity stops there. The outer face of this wall exhibits great care in construction and is quite different from the outer face of our wall, thereby making the comparison invalid. Dating criteria must be sought elsewhere.

Within the fort, much fragmentary pottery was found. The majority of it was roof tiles of an indeterminate period. Other fragments came from pithoi, amphorai, and very coarse household pots, all of which were impossible to date. Only three pieces offered any definite clues, and are described below.

1. Black-glaze Kantharos (Fig.)
 P. H. 0.09 m.
 Buff clay
 Mended from many fragments. Rim and upper part of body, including upper parts of both handles, missing. Moulded foot with scraped line at top of lower moulding; grooved resting surface with a scraped line in and around groove.
 Black glaze fired red in places; mottled, much peeled.
2. Bowl fragment
 Max. Dim. 0.061 m.
 Buff clay
 Part of foot and wall preserved
 Ring foot with grooved resting surface
 Black glaze, dark brown near foot; has run in places, possibly because glaze was applied by dipping.
3. Conical Loomweight
 P. H. 0.05 m.
 Buff clay, gritty and micaceous
 Most of top has broken off
 Bevelled (Corinthian type); two small holes set close together on bevelled side.

The clay of both the kantharos and the bowl fragment is not typical of Kerameikos products. The clay is a little too light in colour, and lacks the warm pink shade so characteristic of Athenian pottery. However, the shape of the kantharos - and possibly the bowl - seems quite in the style of Attic workmanship. Perhaps we should think of these pieces being made at some local pottery in north Attica, using the clay beds near Amarousion. The kantharos can be dated with some precision. It is very like P 1819 from the Agora Excavations¹¹⁾

11) Published by H.A. Thompson, Hesperia, III, 1934, p.319. For the dating of this deposit, see p.315.

which has been dated in the last quarter of the fourth century, nearer the end of that quarter than the beginning. Our kantharos has a more curved body and the join of the foot and body is more compact. It should be dated near the beginning of the fourth quarter, ca. 320 B.C. The bowl fragment cannot be dated with such precision. There is no exact parallel in the Agora Excavations for its shape. The firmness of the glaze, especially within the bowl, strongly implies a date in the fourth century, while the lack of definition in the foot with the grooved resting surface points to the second half of that century. The loomweight is of a type which seems to have made its appearance in Attica ca. 325 B.C.¹²⁾

12) Gladys R. Davidson and Dorothy Burr Thompson, Small Finds from the Pnyx I, Hesperia, Supplement VII, pp. 76-77. For an explanation of the small holes, see p.72.

This particular loomweight lacks the clarity of line that sets off the bevelled portion from the rest, which is characteristic of the Hellenistic loomweight. It should, perhaps, be dated towards the end of the fourth century, and may well be contemporary with the kantharos.

We must conclude that we have positive evidence for inhabitation only at the end of the fourth century, perhaps ca. 320 B.C. This does not preclude the possibility that this position was used as a fort both earlier and later than

the date suggested above. However, no remains of such inhabitation have ^{survived} ~~remained~~; if scholars continue to think that the fort was occupied at other times than the end of the fourth century, they must think of these occupations as being brief, not protracted.

* * *

II

TESTIMONIA

1. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, ll. 664-671. Ed. B.B.

Rogers, London, 1911.

ἀλλ' ἄγετε λευκόποδες,
οἵ περ ἐπὶ Δειψύδριον
ἤλθομεν ὅτ' ἦμεν ἔτι,
νῦν δέ τ'
νῦν ἀνηβῆσαι πάλιν κἀν-
απτερωῖσαι
πᾶν τὸ σῶμα κάποσεῖσασ-
θαι τὸ γῆρας τοδὶ.

2. *Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem*. Ed. G. Dindorf,

Leipzig, 1823, Vol. II, pp.124-125.

665 λευκόποδες], οὕτως ἐκάλουν τοὺς τυράννων δορυφόρους. τοὺς γὰρ ἀκμάζοντας τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος φυλακῆ ἔλαβον. λευκόποδες δὲ ἐκαλοῦντο ὅτι διαπαντός εἶχον τοὺς πόδας λύκων δέρμασι κεκαλυμμένους, ὥστε μὴ ἐπικαίεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος. ἢ δια τὸ ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων λύκων. ἐνταῦθα δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης τοὺς Ἀλικμαωνίδας φησὶν. οὗτοι γὰρ πόλεμον ἀράμενοι πρὸς Ἰππῖαν τὸν τύραννον, καὶ τοὺς Πεισιστράτου υἱεῖς, ἐτείχιζαν Δειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Πάρνηθος: εἰς, ὅπερ συνῆλθόν τινες τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος, ὡς φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ. Σουίδας. Ἄλλως. λευκόποδες, οἱ Ἀλικμαωνίδαι, οἱ μὲν τινες διὰ τὴν τῶν ποδῶν λευκότητα, (οἶονεὶ λευκόποδες.) ἦσαν γὰρ ἀεὶ ὑποδεδεμένοι. Ἡσίοχος.

666

ἐπὶ Λειψύδριον] Λειψύδριον, χωρίον ὑπὲρ τῆς Πάρνηθος, ὃ ἐτείχισαν οἱ φυγάδες τῶν τυράννων· οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι προεστήκεισαν. ἐκπολιορκηθέντων δ' αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Πεισίστρατον, σκόλιον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἤδετο· αἱ αἱ Λειψύδριον προδωσέταιρον· οἴους ἀνδρας ἀπώλεσας, μάχεσθαι τ' ἀγαθοῦς καὶ εὐπατρίδας, ὅπῳτ' ἔδειξαν οἴων πατέρων ἦσαν. Εὐστάθιος.

3. Aristotle, Constitution of the Athenians, 19,3.
ed. F. Blass, Leipzig, 1903.

οἱ φυγάδες ὧν οἱ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι προεστήκεισαν, αὐτοὶ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἠδύναντο ποιήσασθαι τὴν κἀθοδον, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ προσέπταιον· ἢ ἐν τε γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἔπραττον διεσφάλλοντο, καὶ τειχίσαντες ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Λειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Πάρνηθος, εἰς δ' συνεξῆλθόν τινες τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως, ἐξεκπολιορκήθησαν ζδ' ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων, ὅθεν ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰς τὴν συμφορὰν ἦδον ἐν τοῖς σκολιοῖς [αἰεὶ].

αἱ αἱ Λειψύδριον προδωσέταιρον,
οἴους ἀνδρας ἀπώλεσας, μάχεσθαι
ἀγαθοῦς τε καὶ εὐπατρίδας,
οἱ τὸτ' ἔδειξαν οἴων πατέρων ἔσαν.

4. Athenaeus, XV, 695 e.
ed. G. Kaibel, Leipzig, 1890. (Vol. III)

κδ'

αἱ αἱ, Λειψύδριον προδωσέταιρον,
οἴους ἀνδρας ἀπώλεσας, μάχεσθαι
ἀγαθοῦς τε καὶ εὐπατρίδας,
οἱ τὸτ' ἔδειξαν οἴων πατέρων κύρησαν.

5. Etymologicum Magnum, 361.31.
ed. T. Gaisford, Oxford, 1848.

ἘΠΙ ΛΕΙΨΥΔΡΙΩΙ ΜΑΧΗ: Χωρίον ὑπὲρ τῆς Πάρνηθος, ὃ ἐτείχισαν οἱ φυγάδες τῶν τυράννων, ὧν οἱ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι προεστήκεισαν· ἐκπολιορκηθέντων δ' αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Πεισίστρατον, σκολιὸν εἰς αὐτοῦς ἤδετο,

Αἱ αἱ Λειψύδριον προδωσέταιρον·
οἴους ἀνδρας ἀπώλεσας μάχεσθαι
ἀγαθοῦς τε καὶ εὐπατρίδας,
οἱ τὸτ' ἔδειξαν οἴων πατέρων ἔσαν.

6. Eustathios, Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem, Δ 171. 461.20. Leipzig, 1827, Vol. 1, pp.368-369.

ἦν δὲ Λειψύδριον χωρίον, φασίν, ὑπὲρ τῆς
Ἰπάρτης, ὃ ἐτείχισαν οἱ φυγάδες τῶν τυράννων,
ἧν οἱ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι προειστήκεισαν, ἐμπολιορ-
κηθέντων δ' αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Πεισίστρατον,
σκολιὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἦδετο, ἤγουν μέλος τι
ἐφάλλετο παροίνιον τοιοῦτον·

Ἄϊ αἰ Λειψύδριον προδυσέταϊρον, οἶους ἄνδρας
ἀπώλεσας, μάχεσθαι τ' ἀγαθοὺς καὶ εὐπατρίδας.
ἦν δὲ καὶ παροϊριαζομένη ἢ ἐπὶ Λειψυδρίῳ μάχῃ.

7. Herodotos, V, 62,2.
ed. C. Hude, Oxford, 3rd Edition.

Ἰππίεω τυραννεύοντος καὶ ἐμπικραϊνομένου
Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὸν Ἰππάρχου θάνατον Ἀλκμειων-
ίδαι, γένος ἔδόντες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ φεύγοντες
Πεισίστρατιδάς, ἐπειτε σφι ἄρα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι
Ἀθηναίων φυγάσι πειρωμένοισι κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρον
οὐ προεχώρει [κατοδος], ἀλλὰ προσέπταιον
μεγάλως πειρώμενοι καταίεσαι τε καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν
τὰς Ἀθήνας, Λειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης
τειχίσαντες, ἐνταῦθα . . .

8. Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon
ed. M. Schmidt, Jena, 1867.

970,67 Λειψύδριον · χωρίον τι ὑπὲρ
Πάρνηθος, ὃ ἐτείχισεν Ἀλκμαίων

592,66 ἐπὶ Λ(ε)ιψυδρίῳ μάχῃ · οἱ φυγάδες
Ἀθήνηθεν, (ἧν) Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι ἤγονοντο,
κατιέναι θέλοντες, πολλάκις ἑπταιον,
καὶ Λ(ε)ιψύδριον τειχίσαντες (χωρίον
ὑπὲρ Πάρνηθος, ἐπολέμουν Πεισίστρατεῖδαίς)

9. Suidas
ed. A. Adler, Leipzig, 1931, pt.2, pp. 367-368.

Ἐπὶ Λειψυδρίῳ μάχῃ: χωρίον ὑπὲρ τῆς Πάρνηθος,
ὃ ἐτείχισαν οἱ φυγάδες τῶν τυράννων, ἧν οἱ
Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι προεστήκεισαν· ἐμπολιορμηθέντων
δ' αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Πεισίστρατον, σκολιὸν
εἰς αὐτοὺς ἦδετο·
Ἄϊ αἰ Λειψύδριον προδυσέταϊρον, οἶους ἄνδρας
ἀπώλεσας, μάχεσθαι δ' ἀγαθοὺς γε καὶ εὐπατρίδας,
ὅπῃ ἔδειξαν, οἶων πατέρων ἔσαν.

To ^{ese} this testimonia we must add two variants that appear for the phrase ὑπὲρ τῆς Πάρνηθος. Etymologicum Magnum also has ὑπὸ τὴν Πάρνηθον, and in the Codex Ravennas of the Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem there is περὶ τὴν Πάρνηθον.¹³⁾

13) Scholia Aristophanica, ed. W.G. Rutherford, London, 1896, Vol.11, p.206.

Leipsydrion and Paionidai

The story that these passages tell is clear. Sometime after the death of Hipparchos (514 B.C.) but before the expulsion of Hippias by the Spartans (511/510 B.C.), the Alkmaionidai attempted to free Athens from the tyrant Hippias. They entered Attica — presumably coming from Delphi which had been their base of operations during exile — and fortified themselves in a place called Leipsydrion which was above the deme of the Paionidai, where they were joined by exiles from the city of Athens. The attempt failed, not primarily because the Peisistratid supporters were able to overrun the Alkmaionid stronghold, but because the lack of water on Leipsydrion forced their defeat. This aspect is made very definite by the fifth-century skolion which kept alive the memory of this encounter.¹⁴⁾ This event should be

14) One should note that Herodotos makes no mention of a pitched fight between the two factions

over Leipsydrion. Had there been such a fight, one should have expected the skolion to have a reference to it, not an avoidance of it. These skolia, which have as their focal point the freeing of Attica from the tyrants, represent a deliberate attempt on the part of the aristocrats of the fifth century to falsify the history. All credit is taken away from the Alkmaionidai, and given to others, notably Harmodios and Aristogeiton. This particular skolion - as well as one other about a certain Kedon, otherwise unknown - tries to make heroes of the young aristocrats who failed in their attempt to bring about a change in the government of Athens. In relation to Herodotos' account, it is οἱ φυγάδες who are being praised, not the Alkmaionidai. It is probably only because Herodotos got his material from Alkmaionid sources that the fact of Alkmaionid leadership at Leipsydrion has been preserved. The Herodotean account and the skolion have been put together by Aristotle - or one of his sources - because the name of the fort is given in both. For a full discussion of the contrary traditions surrounding the freeing of Athens from the Pelsistradidai, see F. Jacoby, Atthis, Oxford, 1949, pp.160 ff., esp. p.339, n.53. For a different view, which is surely a misinterpretation, see C.M. Bowra, Greek Lyric Poetry, Oxford, 1936, pp.415-416.

dated soon after the death of Hipparchos -- which may well have inspired it -- because enough time must be left after the failure to enable the Alkmaionidai to make their arrangements with the Spartans. I would favour a date between 513 B.C. and 512 B.C.

The only aspect of this story that presents difficulties is the location of Leipsydrion and the deme of the Paionidai. Herodotos gives what for him must have been adequate information for finding these places -- Leipsydrion is above Paionidai, and there is no reason to question the validity of his remark or the text at this point. By the time of Aristotle's Constitution of the Athenians, however, a different location for Leipsydrion is offered - it is either "above Parnes" or even "beyond Parnes ". This reading of Aristotle's has been followed by the majority of later writers. It is practically impossible; "above Parnes" is out of the question; "beyond Parnes" suggests a fort north of Parnes, a position totally unsuitable for an attempt to uproot the tyrant Hippias. The variants, which I have noted above, are obviously attempts to remedy this situation by placing Leipsydrion either "below Parnes" or "in the neighborhood of Parnes". The cause of this confusion is perhaps not hard to find. To the text of Herodotos has been added the gloss ΠΑΡΝΗΣ to the whole phrase ΤΟΥΤΕΡΠΑΙΟΝΙΔΗΣ. Owing to the similarity of the words - the beginning and ending of the two place-names are the same - this gloss has been incorporated into the text of later writers. This belief gains greatly in plausibility by the

incredible reading in Eustathios - $\Upsilon\text{I}\text{E}\text{P}\text{T}\text{H}\text{C}\text{C}\text{I}\text{A}\text{P}\text{T}\text{H}\text{C}$ - which can only be explained on the basis of such a gloss as suggested above.¹⁵⁾ This gloss adds one valuable piece of information -

15) Mr. Seth Benardete presented me with this suggestion and worked out the following table, which shows the steps by which the confusion arose.

- | | | |
|----|---|------------|
| 1. | $\text{TOYI}\text{E}\text{P}\text{H}\text{I}\text{A}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}\text{I}\text{H}\text{C}$ | |
| 2. | $\text{TOYI}\text{E}\text{P}\text{H}\text{I}\text{A}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}\text{I}\text{H}\text{C}$ | Herodotos |
| 3. | $\text{TOYI}\text{E}\text{P}\text{H}\text{I}\text{A}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}\text{I}\text{H}\text{C}$ | |
| 4. | $\text{TOYI}\text{E}\text{P}\text{H}\text{I}\text{A}\text{P}\text{N}\text{H}\text{O}\text{O}\text{S}$ | Aristotle |
| 5. | $\text{YI}\text{E}\text{P}\text{T}\text{H}\text{C}\text{I}\text{A}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}\text{I}\text{H}\text{C}$ | |
| 6. | $\text{YI}\text{E}\text{P}\text{T}\text{H}\text{C}\text{C}\text{I}\text{A}\text{P}\text{T}\text{H}\text{C}$ | Eustathios |
-

Leipsydrion, and with it Paionidai, was in the vicinity of Parnes, thus explaining why Leipsydrion could be "above Paionidai".

Only this much can be gained directly from the texts. Various attempts have been made to locate Paionidai. Leake was perhaps the first to notice that the name Menidi could be a corruption of Paionidai.¹⁶⁾ This observation, although

16) W.M. Leake, The Demi of Attica,² London, 1841, p.38. He has been followed in this by A. Milchhofer, Untersuchungen über die Demenordnung des

Kleisthenes, Berlin, 1892, p.20, and J. Wiesner, P-W, s.v. Paionidai.

it may be true, cannot be admitted as evidence. Today, Menidi has the same function as the ancient deme Acharnai - to serve and house the members of the large farming community working at the north end of the fertile plain of Attica. Although it may not exactly represent the site of Acharnai, it certainly must have been in the deme (in the Kleisthenic sense) of Acharnai.

The most comprehensive attempt to locate the ancient demes is the work of R. Löper.¹⁷⁾ It is based, in part, on

17) Ath.Mitt. XVII, 1892, pp.319-433.

the principle, which he forcibly demonstrates, that the trittys is a continuous area and that all the demes in a single trittys are contiguous.¹⁸⁾ In dealing with the inland

18) This is not a universally held view. W. Kendrick Pritchett, The Five Attic Tribes After Kleisthenes, Baltimore, 1943, p.27, n.56 gives the bibliography on this question, and also disposes of most of the objections to Löper's view. Löper's principle is far more satisfactory and probable than the principle which entertains enclaves, especially as the trittys seems to have a geographical

name. In the tribe of Leontis, for example, the coastal trittys was known as Phrearrios, (B.D. Meritt, Hesperia, IX, 1940, p.55, No.2) and it is difficult to believe that such a name would have been given if the demes of that trittys were not all clustered around the village of Phrearrios.

demes of the tribe Leontis, of which Paionidai is a member,¹⁹⁾

19) Ath.Mitt. XVII, 1892, pp.383-392.

Löper was faced with the problem of a trittys that stretched from Kropidai, which must be near the northern end of the valley between Aigaleos and Parnes, to Hekale, which, as Löper points out, cannot be accurately placed, but must be northeast of Menidi. Between these two points is the large inland trittys of Oineis which is the single deme of Acharnai. Löper decided that the demes joining together the two areas mentioned must have been southeast of Acharnai, and that Acharnai must have included large parts of Parnes in its area.²⁰⁾

20) On this basis, Paionidai is rather cut off from the rest of the demes in its trittys, if Löper is right in placing it northeast of Acharnai and beneath Parnes.

The alternative to Löper's view about connecting demes is that they were northwest of Acharnai, not southeast, thereby making the trittys comprise the foot-hills of Parnes from Aigaleos to the eastern end of Parnes. This view has been vigorously advocated by H.T. Wade-Gery.²¹⁾ It is a better

21) Mélanges Gustave Glotz, Paris, 1932, Vol.II, pp.883-886.

solution than Löper's in that it takes into full account the disparity in size between the trittys of Leontis and that of Oineis. Wade-Gery accounts for this great difference by saying that the demes of Leontis were sparsely populated, and therefore had to cover a great area, while Acharnai was a heavily populated area. Given such a situation, which is undoubtedly correct, the trittys of Leontis must be north of Acharnai, not south.²²⁾ This placing of the trittys of

22) Wade-Gery's observations stem from his proposed reading of IG 1², 899. This suggestion finds confirmation in the fragment of an inscription published by Benjamin D. Meritt, Hesperia, IX, 1940, p.55, No.3.

Leontis makes it much more likely that Löper's location of Paionidai is approximately correct. Even this, however, does

not localize the deme sufficiently for us to place with assurance Leipsydrion. We must try another approach.

Certain topographical observations can be made by analysing the story about Leipsydrion. The most obvious observation is that the location offered for Leipsydrion must lack a proper water supply. This evidence can never be decisive, however, and must remain corroborative. Much more important is the knowledge that the Alkmaionidai entered Attica from outside of it. Since the Alkmaionidai were in Delphi, they would have made their attempt to rid Athens of her tyrant by way of Boeotia, and the fact that they did so is obvious from the general topography that we have so far ascertained. There are not many ways of entering Attica from Boeotia. The best pass is the Dryos-Kephalai from Plataia to Eleutherai where there are the remains of a large fort to guard this valuable pass.²³⁾ Other well-known ways are the pass that

23) For the latest discussion on this troublesome identification, see N.G.L. Hammond in a forthcoming number of the Annual of the British School at Athens.

leads over the Skourta Plain to Phyle, and the route from Northern Boeotia which passes by Dekeleia. All of these passes are important, and hardly suitable for a small band planning to start a revolution in Attica, especially as they were probably guarded.²⁴⁾ Only one other possible route is

24) The Dryos-Kephalai pass would certainly have been guarded as a result of the alliance between the Athenians and the Plataians dated in 519 B.C. (Thoukydides, III, 68; Herodotos, VI, 108) which caused unrest on the Attic-Boeotian frontier. If one can believe the anecdote in Plutarch's Moralia 189 B, Phyle also had a guard about this same time.

known to me. Immediately south of the main mass of Parnes, there is a deep ravine which divides Parnes from its foothills. In this ravine there is a footpath which finally leads into the Skourta plain, and so into Boeotia.²⁵⁾ This

25) This method of entering Attica has been noted by L. Chandler, J.H.S., 46, 1926, p.15.

route is no more difficult than that by Phyle, and has the advantage that it does not go through Phyle. Such a route would be thoroughly suitable for the Alkmaionidai, given their purpose of arriving in Attica unnoticed.

Another observation seems to me possible. Since the Alkmaionidai were joined by people fleeing from the city, the place which the Alkmaionidai had chosen to fortify must have been relatively easy to reach. Finally, we have the

lack of water, which more than anything caused the failure of this attempt. This also suggests that the fortified camp was hard to attack, and was probably subjected to a siege.

With these criteria in mind, only one place that I have found is suitable, and it is on the same site as the camp that I have discussed in some detail in part I of this essay: In fact, it is the same location as that given for Leipsydrion by Milchhöfer and Chandler. Here is a high hill, directly in front of the place where the ravine, which leads to the Skourta plain, meets the northern end of the Attic plain. It is easily accessible to those fleeing from Athens to join the Alkmaionidai; it has many natural defences, being thoroughly protected by the terrain for a little less than half of its perimeter; the slope of the hill would make it hard for attackers to press forward an energetic campaign, but most suitable for a siege designed to starve the defenders; it certainly has no water, and there is no natural collecting basin for water on its summit; finally, it commands such a wide view of the rest of Attica that no attempt to attack it could have been made in secret.

What, then, of the lack of remains from this encounter, and the evidence of inhabitation from the last quarter of the fourth century? The lack of remains is no problem. One should hardly expect much tangible evidence of this venture, which was undoubtedly short. We are told only that the Alkmaionidai fortified the height. There is no reason at all

why this wall should still remain in place, since it probably never was very substantial. If, on the other hand, we insist on this wall, the line of the existing wall at Leipsydrion may well either represent it rebuilt or actually be it in parts. The presence of the tower and guard house seem to suggest very strongly that this section at any rate was erected by people who had more time at their disposal for fortifications than the Alkmaionidai. The later inhabitation is just as easy to explain. We have already seen how important this place could be, in that it was at the end of one of the possible ways of entering Attica from Boeotia. It should not trouble us that at some later time this fort was guarded, especially since the skolon preserved the memory of the Leipsydrion episode. We should not think of it as one of the great forts, comparable to Phyle, Rhamnous, or Dekeleia, but as a place that might be guarded in time of great emergency. Just such an emergency was probably the revolt of Athens along with other Greek states against Macedonian rule at the news of the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. In Athens, a state of great unrest lasted until the rule of Demetrius of Phalerum began in 318 B.C. At any time during this period Leipsydrion may have been occupied, and the remains suggest that it was.²⁶⁾

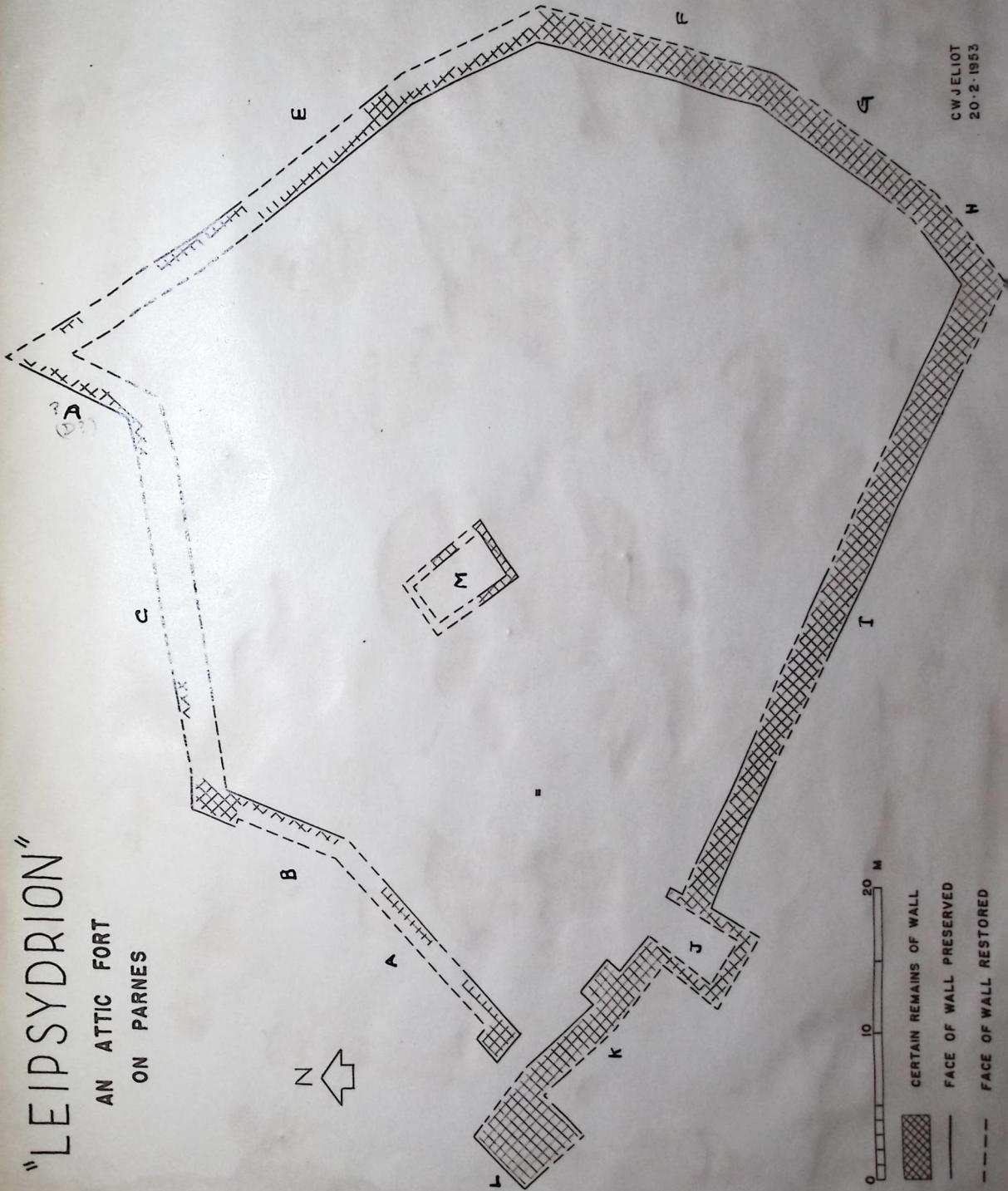
²⁶⁾ For a succinct history of these times, see W.S. Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, London, 1911, pp.1-37.

Conclusion

In the above, I have attempted to show that the location of Leipsydrion made by Milchhöfer has a good claim to be correct, even though the actual evidence present at the site has nothing to do with the Alkmaionid occupation. However, the fact that it was re-occupied does, I think, favor the identification. That it was used during Athens' struggle for independence after the death of Alexander seems certain. What, now, of the deme Paionidai? If Leipsydrion is correctly placed, we must look for this deme a little south of the height, at the foot of Parnes, near the present monastery of Hagia Paraskeve.

"LEIPSYDRION"

AN ATTIC FORT
ON PARNES



CWJELIOT
20.2.1953

Fig. 1.

ATHENS IN THE AGE OF CICERO

INTRODUCTION

The frequent allusions to Athens and its history found in the works of Cicero - who, because of his superior literary ability, may be regarded as spokesman for the numerous Romans who likewise visited the city - make us curious to know something about the appearance of the place in his time. Such a study is the purpose of this paper. The period under consideration lies between 88 B.C. and 30 B.C. - the first date because, with the invasion of Sulla, the Hellenistic era in Athens came to a rather violent end; the second date because, with the accession of Augustus, life in the eastern provinces became, for the first time in many years, more peaceful, prosperous, and predictable. The interval between, however, was a stormy and unhappy one, and in many ways the misery of the people of Athens was reflected in the physical appearance of their city.

I shall not attempt, in the limited time at my disposal, to picture all the areas nor even all the important structures which must have met Cicero's curious gaze in his walks about the city. Many of the famous temples and monuments were in daily use and scarcely changed in appearance, except for weathering, from the great days of the fifth century. Some buildings, such as the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, are known only from literary evidence and provide us with so little descriptive information as to reduce any brief description of them to mere conjecture. I shall restrict this study to those regions of the city around the Acropolis and the Agora, where traffic was always heaviest and upon which modern interest has most often centered. I shall try to include, however, all structures of any size and importance which incurred significant changes during this period of Greek history and shall endeavor to remind the reader of the ^{absence} presence of certain familiar buildings in those years, either because they had previously been destroyed or, because, more commonly, they had not yet been erected.

Rosemary Hope
Athens, 1953.

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CICERO AND ATHENS

In his letters and speeches, Cicero mentions the Athens of the first century B.C. with the easy familiarity of one who regarded it as a second home. Actually, he did not spend a great deal of time in the city. In 79-78 B.C., after his dangerous defense of Roscius, he made a tour of the eastern provinces and remained for six months in Athens, absorbed in the study of philosophy. In fact, Plutarch relates, he planned, "in case he was altogether driven out of a public career, to change his home to Athens, away from the forum and the business of the state, and spend his life in the quiet pursuit of philosophy."¹ Whether such a resolution could ever have been fulfilled by one of Cicero's temperament and intense patriotism, or whether this was merely a youthful utterance, is debatable, but the thought itself serves to underline the deep regard he felt for Athens as the center of culture and learning. The introductory passages of De Finibus, Book V, though written many years later, in picturing so delightfully the leisurely student life amid the memorials of classical Athens, reveal the affection and high esteem for the city felt by Cicero as well as by many other educated Romans of his day. It is somewhat difficult to try to picture the city as it must have appeared at that time, since specific references to any particular building or area, to say nothing of any purposeful general description, are rare in his works. This passage in De Finibus, however, gives us mention of such places as the School of Ptolemy, the Academy, the Dipylon Gate, the Garden of Epicurus, and the tomb of Pericles, all located near the region called Kolonos.

It was many years before Cicero again visited Greece. In 51 B.C., during his reluctant journey to Cilicia where he was to serve as proconsul, he took the opportunity of remaining for ten days in Athens which he describes, in a letter to Atticus, (Ad Att., V, 10) as delighting him greatly; it is much to his credit that, unlike many of his con-

temporaries, he did not allow his presence in the city to become an additional financial weight upon the already overburdened Greek people. This stay provides us with one other valuable reference to the house and gardens of Epicurus. In a tactfully worded letter (Ad Fam., XIII, 1) to Memmius, who owned the property and planned to build on it, Cicero suggests that a site of such antiquarian value should be turned over to a certain Patro, head of the society of Epicurians, so that it might be preserved as a memorial.

There was again a short stay in the city during the return journey from Cilicia to Rome in 50 B.C., but the letters written at that time reveal that Cicero's mind was far too absorbed in the dangerous state of the political affairs of the Republic to see or enjoy the sights of Athens as he had known them in previous, happier years. Though he spent a short time in Greece in the service of Pompey during the Civil War, he was never again to return to Athens itself.

Aside from the two passages already cited, Cicero gives us very little more specific information with regard to the topography or monuments of the great Greek city. Most of his remarks are of a general nature, praising its ancient temples, its glorious history, its former illustrious artists and thinkers. As a matter of fact, in company with most Romans, he seems to have held a low opinion of the Athenian people of his own day. "At Athens," he once wrote, "erudition among the Athenians has long ago perished, and that city now only continues to supply a lodging for studies from which the citizens are entirely aloof, and which are enjoyed by foreign visitors who are under the spell of the city's name and authority."²

In the absence, then, of any abundance of literary evidence for the physical appearance of first century Athens, it will be necessary to

rely heavily upon archeological and epigraphical evidence of which there is a great deal. But it would seem to me to be desirable, first, to consider what life in general was like for the people of this period, since social, economic, and historical factors bear directly upon our problem.

CONDITIONS IN ATHENS, FIRST CENTURY B.C.

It is impossible to determine with any accuracy the population of Athens during the first century B.C.³ We may notice that the census of about 311 B.C. had listed, for Attica, from one hundred thousand to one hundred twenty five thousand persons, including citizens and foreign residents, and that, when the number of slaves was added, this figure probably doubled.⁴ Subsequent to that date, only general population trends, with no specific figures, may be mentioned. Ferguson points to a "substantial increase of citizen population at Athens" after 166 B.C.⁵ as the city enjoyed a period of comparative prosperity. During the era of Cicero, however, population figures began to decline for reasons which will become apparent when the history of that century is considered, for whatever may have been the improvements in economic and social conditions at Athens toward the end of the second century B.C.,⁶ the brutal and battering effect of subsequent warfare, from the time of Sulla until the rule of Augustus, creates one of the gloomiest epochs in ancient Athenian history.

Both Plutarch and Appian give full and vivid accounts⁷ of the invasion by Sulla at the time of the First Mithridatic War. Athens, under the rule of the tyrant Aristion, had taken the side of Mithridates in the struggle and, because of the strategic location of the city and its port, its recovery was a matter of primary interest to the Roman general. Both Piraeus and Athens underwent months of siege, during which time the resources of the countryside - food, clothing, military equipment, beasts of burden, and money - were diverted to the uses of the invaders. It was

during the attack on the walls of Piraeus that Sulla, in his desperate need of siege engines, felled the trees in the groves of the Academy and the Lyceum.⁸ Early in the morning of March 1, 86 B.C., the city wall, somewhere between the Dipylon and the Piraeic Gates, was attacked and scaled. The defenders, exhausted by a famine of such length and desperation that they had been compelled to resort even to consumption of human flesh, were unable to resist. Plutarch tells us that Sulla himself led his army into the city after destroying the walls in that area. "The sight of him was made terrible by blasts of many trumpets and bugles, and by the cries and yells of the soldiery now let loose by him for plunder and slaughter, and rushing through the narrow streets with drawn swords. There was therefore no counting of the slain, but their numbers are to this day determined only by the space that was covered with blood. For without mention of those who were killed in the rest of the city, the blood that was shed in the market place covered all the Cerameicus inside the Dipylon Gate; nay, many say it flowed through the gate and deluged the suburb."⁹ *The constant procession of visiting Roman officials* This pitiless massacre, which included even women and children, resulted, Appian says, because Sulla was "angry that they [the Athenians] had so suddenly joined the barbarians without cause, and had displayed such violent animosity toward himself."¹⁰ While considerable damage to buildings and monuments occurred, especially in the region of the Agora, Sulla next day, after selling the slaves, stopped the carnage and was persuaded to forbid the burning of the city. Aristion and his followers had fled to the Acropolis, but first had made sure, by burning the Odeion of Pericles, that the Romans would not find in its heavy beams material for siege weapons.¹¹ His capitulation to Curio, Sulla's legate, followed shortly, and Sulla himself then brought about the surrender and almost total destruction of Piraeus. Before leaving Greece, he also helped himself to the treasure stored on the Acropolis, amounting to 600 pounds of

silver and 40 pounds of gold.¹²

Two years later, the Roman commander again spent several months in Athens on his way home from Asia, and it was at this time, Ferguson believes,¹³ that he removed certain columns from the Olympieion as well as works of art from the Stoa of Zeus in the Agora and from other public buildings. Yet in spite of the horror that Sulla's invasion had so recently brought into their lives, the Athenians were moved to institute a new festival, the Sylleia,¹⁴ in his honor and to initiate him into the Eleusinian Mysteries;¹⁵ an inscription ^{on a large, commemorative column} ~~from a monument built~~¹⁶ also bears witness to their gratitude, probably elicited when he restored to them a number of islands, including Delos,¹⁷ and thus helped to alleviate their financial misery.

The next twenty years were difficult ones for Greece in general because of the activities of pirates in Mediterranean waters and the heavy contributions exacted by Rome, in her ineffective efforts to subdue the marauders, even from cities which, like Athens, were nominally free and exempt from tax.¹⁸ The constant procession of visiting Roman officials who were entertained at public expense became a heavy burden as well, and when, to the normal costs, were added acts of outright vandalism such as those of Verres,²⁰ Piso,²¹ and others, the treasury of the state suffered acutely. These were the years when Cicero's friend, Atticus, by his temperate life, prudent advice, and generous financial assistance, during his long residence at Athens, earned the genuine and affectionate gratitude of the Athenian people.²² These were the years, too, during which Cicero and great numbers of his fellow countrymen came to the city to admire its sights and to study with its teachers. Cicero's writings, both public and private, contain countless references to his experiences in Athens. Especially did he seem to enjoy his first visit when, in the role of student, he was not yet so deeply embroiled in the politics of Rome and was, therefore, more receptive to the delights of the city. "Even in our

beloved Athens," he wrote many years later, "it is not so much the stately buildings, and the exquisite works of art which delight me, as the recollection of its peerless men - where they each used to live, to sit, and to carry on their discussions; and I even love to gaze upon their tombs."²³ Some relief was thus afforded the economic distress of the city as its popularity with tourists and students increased.²⁴

In 67 B.C., Pompey finally succeeded in clearing the seas of pirates and freed the cities of Greece not only of the danger and expense of the raids but of the costs of maintaining the Roman campaigns. The following years provided a welcome breathing space and a creditable amount of building activity went on in Athens, much of it at the expense of private benefactors. Pompey himself gave the city fifty talents for restorations.²⁵ Day, in listing some of the outstanding projects accomplished in these years, includes the restoration of the shrine of Asklepios, the rebuilding of the Odeion of Pericles, and the reerection of the city wall destroyed by Sulla.²⁶ To these must be added certain repairs and additions made in the Agora which archeological excavation rather than literary evidence has brought to light.

But war again descended upon Greece in 49 B.C. and this time, as Ros-tovtzeff points out,²⁷ there remained not even the consolation that the sufferings endured were justifiable for the sake of the common welfare or the future security. In the struggle between Pompey and Caesar, Greece had no real interest, yet, as in the earlier wars, she was drained of her resources and manpower and saw her fields used as battlegrounds. Cicero, more conscientious and sensitive about the situation than most Romans, wondered whether there was any part of Greece that would not be robbed.²⁸ Athens sided with Pompey and consequently Attica suffered devastation at the hands of Caesar's legate, Q. Fufius Calenus. When, after his victory at Pharsalus, Athens finally yielded to him, Caesar, "cherishing no resentment, let them go unharmed, merely remarking that in spite of their many offences,

they were saved by the dead."²⁹ But the ruin visited upon Piraeus, Megara, Corinth, and Aegina at this time, described in a letter of Servius Sulpicius to Cicero,³⁰ undoubtedly had a severely damaging effect upon economic conditions in Athens.

Thanks to Caesar, however, plans for revitalizing shipping and commerce in the city were implemented by a donation for the construction of a new market place east of the ancient Agora. It seems probable that the Tower of the Winds was erected in this period, but final completion of the Roman Market did not occur until the end of the century.³¹ The interruption was due, in part, to the continuation of Roman political strife when, after Caesar's assassination, the eastern provinces again became scenes of bloody battle.

This time, it was Brutus and Cassius who, landing without men, money, or equipment, filled all their needs at the expense of the Greeks and of the other eastern colonies. At Athens, public policy took the side of the assassins and they were voted two bronze images set up near the Tyrannicides in the Agora.³² Philippi and its outcome brought them a new master in the person of Antony, but the situation was old and familiar: further bleeding of the country for Roman needs.³³ Athens was more fortunate than many other cities of Greece in that Antony granted her ownership of Aegina, Ceos, Eretria, and three other small islands, "an example", Larsen suggests, "of the somewhat questionable method, also used later, of aiding distressed cities by enabling them to secure an income from other communities."³⁴

The constant campaigns of Antony and his subordinates were more burdensome in northern Greece than at Athens in the subsequent years, but the interval between Philippi and Actium was too short to allow anything more than hopes to flourish in Athens; by 31 B.C., Greece was again the location and the source of supplies for two of the largest fighting forces ever assembled, in the final struggle between Antony and Octavian. At the conclusion of the battle, Plutarch relates, "Caesar sailed to Athens, and after making a set-

tlement with the Greeks, he distributed the grain which remained over after the war among their cities; these were in a wretched plight, and had been stripped of money, slaves, and beasts of burden."³⁵ Never before nor afterwards did the city more deserve the epithet once bestowed by Cicero: lacera-tae Athenae.³⁶

The reign of Augustus, of course, brought a cessation of devastating wars and a gradual restoration of peaceful activity and social and economic betterment all over the Roman world. Athens, allowed to retain her status as a "free" city,³⁷ began a new program of building and worked hard to re-gain a more stable financial footing. But, as was the case all over Greece, the prosperity of former years was gone for good. "Especially from the time of Augustus onward Athens tended to live more and more upon its past. It was the cultural capital of Hellenism - and, consequently, of the world - and upon this depended in large part whatever measure of well-being it pos-sessed."³⁸

THE AGORA

The Athenian Agora, always heavily populated as the setting for reli-gious, commercial, and social activities, might well serve as the starting point of our reconstruction. In general aspect, the ancient Agora had re-mained largely unchanged from the middle of the second century B.C. until the activities of the Augustan era began to produce alterations and to fill large spaces with new erections. But the Agora of the second century A.D., so familiar to us from Pausanias' description and from the revelations of the excavations in recent years, presented, no doubt, in a number of impor-tant areas, a distinctly more crowded and complicated appearance than that shown in Cicero's time. Cicero would have missed a number of the large and imposing monuments that Pausanias saw two centuries later.

In the mid-first century B.C., the central area of the Agora must have been open and free of all structures except, of course, statues and other

small monuments. Of these, perhaps the most impressive and worthy of note would be the Altar of the Twelve Gods³⁹ which stood in the northwest section of the open square, close to the bend where the Panathenaic Way turned in to cross the market place. Somewhere farther along this road, to the southeast, must have stood also the fifth century statues of the Tyrannicides, since Pausanias' mention proves their existence until his time, at least; and near them, ^{for the few years of their popularity} after about 42 B.C., were the bronze images of the more modern tyrannicides, Brutus and Cassius.⁴⁰

But the massive proportions of the Odeion of Agrippa, dated at about 15 B.C.⁴¹ had not yet risen to dominate the scene. Instead, it is probable that this area had once accommodated "the ancient Orchestra, the dancing place that had served for dramatic performances before the construction of the Theatre of Dionysos"⁴² and that even in the later years which immediately preceded the construction of the Odeion, this space was serving for "public purposes such as the selection of jurymen and perhaps even the more mundane activities of a market place."⁴³ Excavations have revealed the presence of at least two other previous structures on this site.⁴⁴ The remains of one, found under the southwest corner of the Odeion, indicate a rectangular monument with a peribolos, evidently destroyed in the construction of its successor, but presumably in place for the eyes of earlier passersby. Of the other, only a single large block of poros remains, under the west part of the orchestra, to indicate the presence from archaic times of a monument on this spot; whether or not it was in evidence as late as the first century B.C., it is impossible to say.

Another large and imposing structure in the central area, seen later by Pausanias but missing in Cicero's time, was the Temple of Ares. Whatever may have been the original location of this building, it appears certain that its reassembly here in the Agora dates from the Augustan period.⁴⁵ It seems unlikely that any structure other than the usual votive monuments occupied this space previous to Ares' tenancy; in any case, the architect of the rebuilt temple removed all possible evidence when he cut down to bedrock

* indicates that the stairway here mentioned accords with previous conjectured, but only to the steps

in preparing his foundations.⁴⁶

In attempting to picture the Agora as Cicero might have seen it, we shall also have to eliminate a few other structures familiar to us from excavation plans. The Library of Pantainos, to the southeast of the Stoa of Attalos and on the east side of the Panathenaic Way, was not yet in existence, since it is to be dated to about 100 A.D.⁴⁷ The passageway south of the Stoa of Attalos, much adorned at the time when the Library was built with the addition of an arch containing a fountain and a large monument,⁴⁸ had presented, no doubt, a far simpler appearance previous to that time. The building designated by the excavators as the Northeast Stoa must have been seen by Pausanias, though he does not mention it. However, on the basis of the evidence to date, this Stoa appears to have been erected during the Augustan era, too late for the period of our interest.⁴⁹ Too late also, then, would be the stairway provided for access to the north end of the Stoa of Attalos,* since this additional convenience was not contemplated until the time of the erection of the Northeast Stoa.⁵⁰

The so-called Circular Building, rising in front near the north end of the Stoa of Attalos, must also be removed from our plan; Thompson suggests for it "a date in the Antonine period".⁵¹ On the south side of the Agora, the Southwest Temple, erected in the angle formed by the north line of the Middle Stoa and the west line of the Odeion, has recently been dated, with fair assurance, to the early Roman period, certainly after the Odeion. At this same time was built a narrow stoa along the foot of the terrace of the Middle Stoa. Neither of these, of course, would have existed in Cicero's time.⁵² Finally, we shall have to omit from consideration two other structures - the "Greek Building", southwest of the Tholos, and the Hellenistic Building, north of the Hephasteion - not because the erection of either postdated the Ciceronian period but because, from all evidence, both had been destroyed in the Sullan raid, in 86 B.C. The "Greek Building" was never restored to use,⁵³ but there seems to be some evidence, in the scanty

* Mr. Vanderpool informs me that evidence uncovered recently, in the current excavations of 1953, now indicates that the stairway here mentioned ascended not to the Stoa of Attalos itself, as previously conjectured, but only to the Stoa terrace.

remains of the "Hellenistic Building", of the use of concrete mortar indicating, perhaps, a reconstruction in Roman times, not previous, however, to the first century A.D.⁵⁴

Perhaps it will not seem irrelevant to mention, at this juncture, another building which, while not within the confines of the Agora itself, was located nearby and was likewise a victim of the destructiveness of the Roman attack in this general area. Not far south of the southwest corner of the Agora, below the slopes of the Arsopagus, had stood a poros building dating originally from the fifth century and, though many times reconstructed, still retaining its original plan - a central corridor, flanked by small rooms, opening into a large court. It bore a strong resemblance to the "Greek Building" mentioned above⁵⁵ and, indeed, suffered the same fate from the depredations of the invaders. In the early Augustan period, two private houses replaced the structure, but the area must have presented a picture of ruin in the intervening years.

Now, having removed from the scene all buildings which, either surely or probably, did not exist in the years between 86 B.C. and 30 B.C., the next step will be to determine what buildings actually were in situ during those years.

On the west side were present all of the familiar structures - the Stoa of Zeus, with its large altar to the east and the round-based statue of the patron god midway between the wings; the tiny temple of Zeus and Athena; the Temple of Apollo Patroos; the Metroon of Hellenistic construction with, behind it, the New Bouleuterion; and at the south end, the Tholos. Above, overlooking the whole square, stood the Hephaisteion, though not yet connected by the monumental stone stairway with the busy area below.⁵⁶ Some of these structures, however, were not, during the Ciceronian period, in their finished state, and certain small differences must be noted.

The Stoa of Zeus at this time was not complicated by the presence,

against its west wall, of the rectangular, two-roomed structure designated on the plans as the Stoa Annex. At the period with which we are concerned, then, the west, rear wall of the Stoa was continuous and unbroken by the doorway cut through, probably around the end of the century, to provide access to the Annex.⁵⁷ Pausanias relates⁵⁸ that Sulla's soldiers had carried off the shields that had been hung in this Stoa to commemorate the deeds of earlier warriors, but no further injury seems to have been dealt the building at that time.

In the square directly south of the New Bouleuterion were later added improvements which included a screen wall to cover the exposed rock to south and west of the building, cross walls at two places to cut off passage around the Bouleuterion, and a stairway to the upper level on the north side.⁵⁹ Since these alterations seem, on the basis of present evidence, to be contemporary with the large stairway leading up to the Hephaisteion and thus of the first century A.D., we must imagine, for the century before, a large, flat square, bordered on two sides, at least, by nothing more decorative than the bare rock of Kolonos Agoraios. Not even the ubiquitous statues seem to have lent embellishment,⁶⁰ and the fountain house, foundations of which were uncovered on the south side of Bouleuterion Square, which might have provided the normally expected adornment, probably was built just a few years too late for the period under study,⁶¹

In the region of the Tholos, considerable destruction resulted, in 86 B.C., from the activities of Sulla. The damaged walls of the building had to be repaired at once, "probably in brick",⁶² and must have displayed a scarred appearance throughout the rest of the century. The Kitchen, as well, demanded extensive reconstruction, and it was no doubt fairly soon after Sulla's depredations that the final alteration in a long series, in the history of this unfortunate annex, occurred.⁶³

Except for these repairs, however, the Tholos region was rather neglected in the Ciceronian period, with the possible exception of an addi-

tion at the east end of the round building itself: the Ionic Porch which, though composed entirely of reused materials made available by the Roman destructiveness, may be considered a piece of new construction. It is hardly possible, with present evidence, to determine whether this Porch preceded or followed the era of Augustus; Thompson inclines, in his most recent remarks, to date the addition around the middle of the first century B.C.⁶⁴

"Evidence of the recovery of material prosperity in Athens in the Augustan period"⁶⁵ may include a number of seemingly contemporary improvements to the Tholos: the addition of a new and larger enclosure wall for the precinct; the fountain located against the southeast section of this wall; the construction of the Doric Propylon as an entrance to the square south of the Tholos as well as the new stairway leading up Kolonos Agoraios from that same square; and, subsequently, the construction of the Porch of the Tholos, the large exedra located at the east angle of the precinct. But none of these new ornamentations, it must be remembered, appeared before 30 B.C.⁶⁶

As part of the picture of the west side of the Agora, two structures lying to the east of the Metroon deserve attention. The monument with statues of the Eponymous Heroes "standing in a long row within a fenced enclosure ----- in a spot which must have been one of the busiest and most frequented in the whole city",⁶⁷ was undoubtedly of great interest to so observant a visitor as Cicero. The great marble altar that lies on the axis of the Metroon - Bouleuterion complex, slightly east of the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes, was a newcomer to the Agora scene, at this period. In fact, Cicero could not have seen it, in that location at least, on the occasion of his first visit to the city (79-78 B.C.), for in those years, it stood on the Pnyx, having been erected there in the time of Lykourgos (338-326 B.C.). The evidence supplied by the masons' marks used in the dismantling and reassembly of the altar, gives proof that it was

moved to its Agora location about the middle of the first century B.C., undoubtedly at the time when the Assembly changed its place of meeting from the Pnyx to the Theatre of Dionysos.⁶⁸

To complete the survey of the west side, mention might be made of the northwest corner where the plans show three additional structures. One, supposed to have been the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania, provides very little evidence for dating. There is probability that it existed at least from Hellenistic times, for a well in this vicinity, filled with Hellenistic contents, yielded a marble herm with a woman's head, identified with the representation of Aphrodite Ourania.⁶⁹ The mention of the temple by Pausanias⁷⁰ serves to prolong its existence through and beyond the period of our interest, although what its condition may have been in the first century B.C. it is impossible to say. No more is known of the other two structures in this neighborhood. One is a long, narrow stoa on the north side of the road leading out of the Agora to the ~~the~~ ^{Sacred} ~~Gate~~ ^{Gate}, and the other a building opposite, on the south side; both are identified as Roman by the excavators who, in dating them to the first century B.C., term them reconstructions "made in the course of the rehabilitation of the city after the attack by Sulla in 86 B.C."⁷¹ Without further archeological evidence, it would be hard to state whether this effort at rehabilitation occurred, as did a few others, shortly after the disastrous pillage, or whether it was a part of the program of Augustus, and thus not yet in existence in the Ciceronian era.

Of the structures which bordered the Agora on the south, almost all were in situ by the time of Cicero. These included the two fountain houses to southwest and southeast, both of sixth century construction, and the three stoas of the second century, the Middle, South, and East, which enclosed the purely commercial area and separated it ~~from~~ from the region devoted to civil and religious affairs.⁷² The Middle Stoa presents one point for consideration, in view of recent archeological

* See Additional Note, p. 31.

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discoveries. Originally, it appears, a large and, to judge by its location and the size of its foundations, impressive monument, possibly representing in some way the donor of the Stoa, rose at the western end of the Stoa terrace. After the building of the Odeion (15 B.C.), this monument was evidently removed and the terrace became an east-west passageway across the square; at this same time, a stairway up to the terrace from the west was added. These improvements date, however, from the Augustan period; it is the earlier arrangement - with its terrace ending abruptly somewhat short of the west line of the Stoa, "to reduce interference with traffic using the southwest exit from the square" and with its tall and no doubt effective monument - that met the eyes of earlier visitors.⁷³

This same concern to avoid blocking a busy corner evidently prompted the rather unusual design of the small structure known as the Civic Offices. Set to the north of the terrace wall at the west end of the Middle Stoa, this building consisted of three rooms, graduated in size, with a porch, facing north, adorning the easternmost room. Archeological evidence places the erection of the Offices in the first century B.C., sometime after the Sullan raid, although the benches found inside are later additions.⁷⁴ The possibility that this construction was necessitated by the temporary loss of the use of the Tholos, after 86 B.C.⁷⁵ would suggest that they were either newly erected or still in the process of erection at the time of Cicero's first visit to Athens. In any case, the absence of cement in their construction would, Professor Thompson informs me, indicate a pre-Augustan building period.*

The eastern limit of the Agora was bordered by a stoa of approximately the same period as the three to the south, but of more elaborate size and construction, the gift of King Attalos of Pergamon. It will be recalled that the Northeast Stoa together with the passageway and stairs at the north end of the Stoa of Attalos had not yet been built, so that, at this time, the only approach to the latter from the Agora

* See Additional Note, p. 31.

square was at the south end. * Just in front of the Stoa terrace, near the middle, rose a great monument base which held a bronze quadriga. The inscription which now proclaims a dedication to the Emperor Tiberius is, of course, evidence of a later conversion. The monument seen by Cicero and his contemporaries no doubt honored the donor of the Stoa.⁷⁶ Of all the numerous other commemorative structures which must have stood in the vicinity of the terrace, the remains of only one, at the far north end, offer much evidence for dating. It seems to have been a statue supported by a pedestal in the form of a Corinthian column, dedicated to one Quintus Lutatius, who may, Thompson suggests, be the well-known Quintus Lutatius Catulus, son of Quintus, who was a supporter of Sulla and is conjectured to have accompanied Sulla to Greece. Consul in 78 B.C., he died in 61 B.C.⁷⁷ If, as the style of lettering indicates, this memorial dates from the second quarter of the first century B.C. and if the identification is true, as seems likely, Cicero may well have recognized one of his own friends, a rival orator, as he passed before the great Stoa.

The structures adorning the north side of the market place, in any of the centuries of its existence, are, in the absence of archeological data, somewhat vague in outline. There is sufficient literary evidence, however, for locating here the Stoa of the Herms (including a special statue of Hermes Agoraios), a gateway nearby, and the Stoa Poikile.⁷⁸

As to the Acropolis, very few important changes occurred once the elaborate structures of the fifth century were in place. Cicero's view construction around 460 B.C.⁷⁹ It is necessary, then, to include this was much the same as Pausanias' small essentials, though a few differences may be noted. Pausanias must have approached the precinct by ascending the broad marble stairway on the west, constructed in the first century A.D. during the reign of the Emperor Claudius. Cicero, however, would have followed the old pathway that wound up the slope of the hill between 86 B.C. and 30 B.C., while not so flourishing as the period immediately following, did witness certain building activity in the Greek

On the basis of the evidence collected, it would seem that the years between 86 B.C. and 30 B.C., while not so flourishing as the period immediately following, did witness certain building activity in the Greek

* See page 11 and Note p. 31.

Agora, necessitated for the most part by the damage incurred in the Roman assault. By way of summary, these accomplishments might be listed: the repair to the walls and Kitchen of the Tholos and the addition of a Porch at the east entrance, the removal of the great marble altar from the Pnyx to its location east of the Metroon, the construction of the Civic Offices,* the erection of numerous statues, including that of Catulus, in front of the Stoa of Attalos, and possibly the building of the two so-called "Roman" structures along the road at the northeast corner. It is, perhaps, a proper termination to the discussion of the Greek Agora to recall the mention of the enlargement and shift to the east of the market area that occurred during the first century B.C., though not so early as the time of Cicero's presence in the city.⁸¹ The Tower of the Winds, with its usefulness to the shippers and traders who appear to have frequented the area, as well as the large rectangular market place bordered with shops seem to have been planned and begun soon after the time of Caesar's visit to Athens (47 B.C.). But the entire undertaking was not revealed in its final form until about 10 B.C., when funds contributed by Augustus allowed the construction of the great Doric Propylon at the west end.⁸²

THE ACROPOLIS AND ITS SLOPES

As to the Acropolis, very few important changes occurred once the elaborate structures of the fifth century were in place. Cicero's view was much the same as Pausanias' in all essentials, though a few differences may be noted. Pausanias must have approached the precinct by ascending the broad marble stairway on the west, constructed in the first century A.D. during the reign of the Emperor Claudius. Cicero, however, would have followed the old pathway that wound up the slope of the hill in the course determined at the time of the building of the fifth century

* See Additional Note, p. 31.

Propylaea. Both visitors undoubtedly saw the huge pedestal that stood below the Pinakothek though no mention is made of it even by Pausanias. This monument is well known as a dedication, in the form of a quadriga, to Agrippa, Augustus' minister, and dates from about 27 B.C. The pedestal itself, however, shows signs of having borne an earlier inscription, erased to make way for Agrippa's. Dinsmoor suggests that its style indicates not Roman but Pergamene work, and that the original dedication may have been made by Eumenes II, about 178 B.C. He assumes that a statue of Antony succeeded that of Eumenes, probably about 38 B.C., but was hurled to destruction by a hurricane on the eve of Actium, in 31 B.C. After that, the pedestal remained unoccupied until Agrippa's partisans saw its possibilities.⁸³ It seems probable, then, in view of the dates concerned, that Cicero saw Eumenes' dedication, if he saw any, on the pedestal.

On the summit of the Acropolis, the only structure of any size that postdated classical times was the round temple of Rome and Augustus, located to the east of the Parthenon, but for this Cicero was obviously too early. It appears that, alone of all the famous temples of the Acropolis, the Erechtheum was not showing to best advantage in the Ciceronian era. Extensive repairs were undertaken, about 25 B.C., upon certain parts of the building, particularly the roof, the West Facade, and the North Door, which had been damaged by fire. But there is evidence to indicate that these reparations were made only after a considerable period of time and that, in the interval, temporary roofing was supplied.⁸⁴ The circumstances and dates concerned give rise to the conjecture that this fire might be laid to the responsibility of Sulla, and that the temporary roof served from shortly after his attack until the time, during Augustus' reign, when conditions permitted a more expensive and durable repair.

20 in. in diameter, about 20 ft. high, and 20 ft. in diameter.

In discussing the appearance of the south slope of the Acropolis in Cicero's time, we should perhaps start at the extreme eastern end, with the fifth century construction known as the Odeion of Pericles. This building was serving as the only covered music hall in Athens in these years for, of course, neither the Odeion of Agrippa in the Agora nor the Odeion of Herodes Atticus at the west end of this same slope had yet been erected. Cicero's view of it, however, at least on the occasion of his first and lengthiest visit, must have been a poor one; during Sulla's invasion of the city, it will be remembered, Aristion, before taking refuge on the Acropolis, had burned the hall to prevent Sulla from making use of its timbers as siege weapons. In the difficult years that followed, the Athenians lacked resources for such expensive rebuilding, and it was not until Ariobarzanes II of Cappadocia (63-52 B.C.) footed the bill that the Odeion again came into use,⁸⁵ restored, in all probability, to resemble its original, unusual plan.

The problem of the appearance of the Theatre of Dionysos at this period is somewhat more complicated. In the main, the theatre preserved the outlines reconstructed by Lykourgos in the fourth century B.C., especially with regard to its orchestra and auditorium. At some time in Hellenistic or early Roman times, however, some important changes took place with respect to the stage buildings. Pickard-Cambridge summarizes this alteration briefly: "This was the erection of a permanent proskenion in stone at about 4 ft. 5 in. to the north of the skene,. At the same time, the north facade of each of the paraskenia was rebuilt with its front line about 6 ft. 3 in. nearer the skene, so that the paraskenia now projected only about 3 ft. 7 in. in front of the new proskenion, while the width of the paradoi at the corners of the paraskenia was increased from 8 ft. 6 in. to 14 ft. 9 in."⁸⁶ This new proskenion consisted of a stylobate of Hymettian marble upon which stood fourteen columns, each 20 in. in diameter, about 4-1/2 ft. apart, except in the center where the

intercolumniation was about 8 ft. The paraskenia, too, bore columns, slightly closer together than those of the proskenion but presumably of the same height - about 10 ft. 4 in.⁸⁷ Much scholarly argument has taken place regarding the dating of this construction since it would mark the introduction of the use of the raised stage into Athenian drama. There is a possibility, supported by Dorpfeld and Bulle,⁸⁸ that the changes occurred in the course of a rebuilding necessitated by damages from the same fire that affected the Odeion in 86 B.C. and were likewise paid for by the generous Ariobarzanes. Pickard-Cambridge, however, inclines to the belief that the alterations occurred about 160 B.C.,⁸⁹ and since lack of evidence makes absolute certainty on the point impossible, I should incline, for purely sentimental and unscholarly reasons, to hope that he was right. Otherwise, we should have to assume that in this great theatre, as well as at the Odeion and in other parts of the city, Cicero's first view was of a burned and damaged structure.

Proceeding westward along the slope of the hill, the visitor next approached the Asklepieion, established in this location from fifth century times. Within this sanctuary were included the long, two-storied colonnade which served as refuge for ailing suppliants of the god; a spring emerging in a small chamber cut in the rock behind the colonnade, which supplied the necessary healing waters; a sacrificial pit at the west end; and to the south, a small temple of Asklepios with its altar. Farther west and at a slightly higher level, though still within the confines of the precinct walls, was another larger building, dating from the second century B.C., consisting also of a colonnade behind which were located four square rooms, possibly the quarters of the priests of the cult.⁹⁰ All these elements Cicero saw, as did Pausanias after him. The middle of the first century B.C. provides evidence of repairs made to doors and roofs of the sanctuary gates

and of the temple, the gift of a certain Diokles, a priest of Asklepios;⁹¹ at about this same time, one Socrates also provided doors to the fountain and an entrance way.⁹² Cicero was too early in the course of his first visit to have enjoyed these new improvements but may have seen some of the repairs in progress during his short stop en route to Cilicia, since the inscription recording Diokles' generosity seems to date from about 51 B.C. of the city in 86 B.C., it would seem that, Of all the important buildings to be seen at this period, only one remains to be mentioned: the long stoa named for its donor, Eumenes II of Pergamon (197-159 B.C.). The large and familiar Odeion of Herodes Atticus, with which this stoa was later connected, had not yet risen to provide its impressive termination to the west end of the slope. The north side of the Acropolis provides only one point of special interest for the purposes of this study - Klepsydra, a spring of great antiquity and, Parsons suggests, from early times the center of the cult of Nymphs who inhabited this region.⁹³ In the earlier half of the first century B.C., the fountain house set in the cave, with its basin sunk into the ground, still existed in much the same condition as when it had first been constructed in the fifth century, although the wooden railing which had once lined the drawbasin for protection had by now disappeared. Sometime about the middle of this century - whether before or after Cicero's later visit cannot be determined - important changes took place in the arrangement of the fountain house, necessitated when one of the great rock masses which formed the top of the cave shifted downward and crushed the northwest corner of the basin. From this time on, also as the result of heavy damage, the southern wing of the fountain house was closed off and water was henceforth drawn only at the northwest end of the basin, approached by means of the old entrance and stairway which had escaped destruction. A marble well beam was installed to facilitate the drawing of water and a new protective

parapet of marble slabs was set up along the western edge of the basin.

It is interesting to note that in the fill found in the abandoned half of this spring house, the excavators discovered arrowheads and sling bullets, clearly remnants of the Roman siege of Aristion's forces on the Acropolis.⁹⁴

And yet, in spite of the numerous references to destruction incurred during the attack of the city in 86 B.C., it would seem that, compared with what might have happened, Athens escaped lightly. While there is much literary evidence referring to the poor economic conditions in Greece, to the ruin of the harbor areas, and to the apathy of the Greek people, at this time, Cicero nowhere expresses any comment on devastation in Athens due to Sulla, although he visited the city only seven years after its invasion. Apparently, the impressive beauty of the great temples on the Acropolis, scarcely damaged in spite of the siege, so filled his mind with delight that he had eyes for nothing that was ugly. We find him, in 50 B.C., considering the possibility of himself adding to the adornment of the city. Hearing that Appius was constructing a propylon at Eleusis, he inquires of Atticus whether it might be appropriate for him to contribute some such decorative addition to the Academy, adding, "I am very fond of the city of Athens. I should like it to have some memorial of myself."⁹⁵ In the end, of course, he left no memorial - of stone, at least; but the constant expression, throughout his works, of genuine respect and admiration for the enduring beauty of Athenian wisdom and artistry is perhaps itself the most artistic and abiding memorial that Cicero's talent could have offered.

23. Cicero, *De Legibus*, II, ii, 4, Loeb, tr. by Keyes.

24. Day, *Econ. Hist.*, p. 128.

25. Plutarch, *Pompey*, XLII.

26. Day, *Econ. Hist.*, p. 128.

27. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist.*, p. 300.

FOOTNOTES (For full information and titles, see Bibliography.)

1. Plutarch, Cicero, IV, Loeb, Vol. VII, tr. by B. Perrin.
2. Cicero, De Orat., III, 12, 43, Loeb, tr. by H. Rackham
3. For a summary of the evidence, see: Rostovtzeff, Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, Vol. III, pp. 1604-1605; Day, Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination, pp. 271-279.
4. Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, pp. 54-55.
5. Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, p. 374.
6. See Rostovtzeff, Soc. and Econ. Hist., pp. 629, 632-637; Ferguson, Hell. Athens, p. 373 ff.
7. Plutarch, Sulla; Appian, Mithridatic Wars.
8. Plutarch, Sulla, XII; Appian, Mith. Wars, V, 30.
9. Plutarch, Sulla, XIV, Loeb, tr. by Perrin.
10. Appian, Mith. Wars, VI, 38, Loeb, tr. by White.
11. Appian, Mith. Wars, VI, 38.
12. Appian, Mith. Wars, VI, 39.
13. Ferguson, Hell. Ath. p. 455.
14. IG II-III², 1039, 1.57.
15. Day, Econ. Hist., p. 128.
16. IG II-III², 4103.
17. Ferguson, Hell. Ath., p. 454; Day, Econ. Hist., p. 128.
18. Day, Econ. Hist., p. 127.
19. Larsen, "Roman Greece", p. 430 and note 17.
20. Cicero, In Verrem, II, I, 17.
21. Cicero, In Pisonem, 37, 40.
22. Nepos, Atticus.
23. Cicero, De Legibus, II, ii, 4, Loeb, tr. by Keyes.
24. Day, Econ. Hist., p. 128.
25. Plutarch, Pompey, XLII.
26. Day, Econ. Hist., p. 129.
27. Rostovtzeff, Soc. and Econ. Hist., p. 990.
28. Thompson dates this stairway to the first half of the first century A.D. Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 221-222.

28. Cicero, Ad. Att., IX, 9.
29. Dio Cassius, Roman History, XLII, 14, Loeb, tr. by Cary.
30. "On my return from Asia, as I was sailing from Aegina towards Megara, I began to survey the regions round me. Behind me was Aegina, before me Megara, on my right the Piraeus, on my left Corinth, towns at one time most flourishing, now lying prostrate and demolished before one's very eyes." ---Cicero, Ad. Fam., IV, 5, 4, Loeb, tr. by Williams.
31. Graindor, Athenes sous Auguste, pp. 31-32.
32. Dio Cassius, Roman Hist., XLVII, 20, 4.
33. Rostovtzeff, Soc. and Econ. Hist., p. 1005.
34. Larsen, "Roman Greece", p. 433.
35. Plutarch, Antony, LXVIII, Loeb, tr. by Perrin.
36. Cicero, In Pisonem, 96.
37. Day, Econ. Hist., p. 138.
38. Day, Econ. Hist., p. 175.
39. Or the Altar of Pity; see Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pp. 49 ff.
40. See page 8.
41. Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pp. 89, 140.
42. Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p. 94.
43. Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p. 98.
44. Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pp. 36-37.
45. Hesperia, IX, 1940, pp. 49-52.
46. Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 5.
47. Hesperia, XVI, 1947, p. 203; Suppl. VIII, p. 269.
48. Hesperia, XVI, 1947, p. 203 and Pl. XLIV.
49. Hesperia, XX, 1951, p. 54.
50. Hesperia, XX, 1951, p. 55.
51. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, p. 103.
52. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pp. 91-92.
53. Hesperia, XX, 1951, pp. 183-184.
54. Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 411.
55. For discussion of the uses of both buildings, see M. Crosby, "The Poros Building", Hesperia, XX, 1951, pp. 183-187.
56. Thompson dates this stairway to the first half of the first century A.D. Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 221-222.

57. Hesperia, VI, 1937, p.64. p.65.
58. Pausanias, X, 21, 3. Revue, pp. 67, 102, 178-180, 223-224, 478-479.
59. Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp.168-169. Annals, Vol. II, p.219.
60. Hesperia, VI, 1937, p.169. Theater of Dionysus, p.175.
61. Hesperia, Suppl. IV, p.103. Theater of Dionysus, pp.176-178.
62. Hesperia, Suppl. IV, p.54. Griechische Theater, p.61; Belle, Untersuchungen zu Griechischen Theater, p.33.
63. For plan, see Hesperia, Suppl. IV, p.75.
64. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, p.93. See Pickard-Cambridge, The Theater of Dionysus, pp.161-162, for
65. Hesperia, Suppl. IV, p. 136. Pausanias, Vol. II, pp.236-238.
66. The covering of the original ^{earth} floor of the Tholos, first by mosaic and later by marble slabs, the removal of the six interior columns, and the addition of the "West Annex" are all changes which occurred much later and, though worthy of mention as component parts of the building in its final stage, have no place in the present study.
67. Hesperia, XVIII, 1949, p.132. 241.
68. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, p.93. See, tr. by Winstedt.
69. Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p.238.
70. Pausanias, I, 14, 7.
71. Hesperia, VI, 1937, p.339.
72. Thompson, Archeology, 1952, p.148.
73. Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pp.88-90.
74. Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p.153.
75. Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p.174.
76. Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p.317.
77. Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p. 318.
78. See Frazer, Vol. II, pp.130-132.
79. Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pp.327-329.
80. Pausanias, I, 15, 1.
81. See page 8.
82. Graindor, Athenes sous Auguste, pp.31-32. Robinson, in "The Tower of the Winds and the Roman Market", A.J.A., 1943, pp.302-303, argues for the existence of a market place on this site from an earlier date, but most of his evidence is refuted by Dinsmoor in "The Temple of Ares and the Roman Agora", A.J.A., 1943, pp.383-384.

83. Dinsmoor, A.J.A., 1920, p.83.

84. Paton, The Erechtheum, pp.87,102,178-180,223-224,478-479.

85. Frazer, Commentary on Pausanias, Vol.II, p.219.

86. Pickard-Cambridge, The Theater of Dionysus, p.175.

87. Pickard-Cambridge, The Theater of Dionysus, pp.176-178.

88. Dorpfeld and Reische, Das Griechische Theater, p.81; Bulle, Untersuchungen au Griechischen Theatern, p.33.

89. See Pickard-Cambridge, The Theater of Dionysus, pp.181-182, for explanation and references.

90. Frazer, Commentary on Pausanias, Vol.II, pp.235-236.

91. IG II-III², 1046; Girard, L'Asclepieion d'Athenes, p.6, and note 3.

92. Frazer, Commentary on Pausanias, Vol.II, p.238.

93. Hesperia, XII, 1943, p.193. tr. by W.Glynn Williams, Loeb Classical Library, London, 1927-1929.

94. Hesperia, XII, 1943, pp.240,241.

95. Cicero, Ad. Att., VI,1, Loeb, tr. by Winstedt.

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- ADDITIONAL NOTE (See page 10)
- Parsons, Arthur W., "A Family of Philosophers at Athens and Alexandria",
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- Since the writing of this report, the following additional material has been received from the
Civic Offices has been received from the
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ADDITIONAL NOTE (See pages 16 and 18.)

Since the writing of this article, new evidence concerning the Civic Offices has come to light in the Agora excavations of 1953. A fourth room at the western end of the row is now a certainty. Moreover, there are small but indisputable signs that cement mortar was used, at least in the foundations of the building. The excavators now incline to place the date of the whole structure in the Augustan period or later, though a final decision is not yet possible. It is also extremely difficult, at this early stage of the investigation of the new material, to determine how the area may have looked in the Ciceronian days, though, so far, there is no evidence that any other building ever occupied the space.

For this information I am indebted to Mr. Homer A. Thompson, as well as to Mrs. Dorothy Burr Thompson in whose section the new finds occurred.