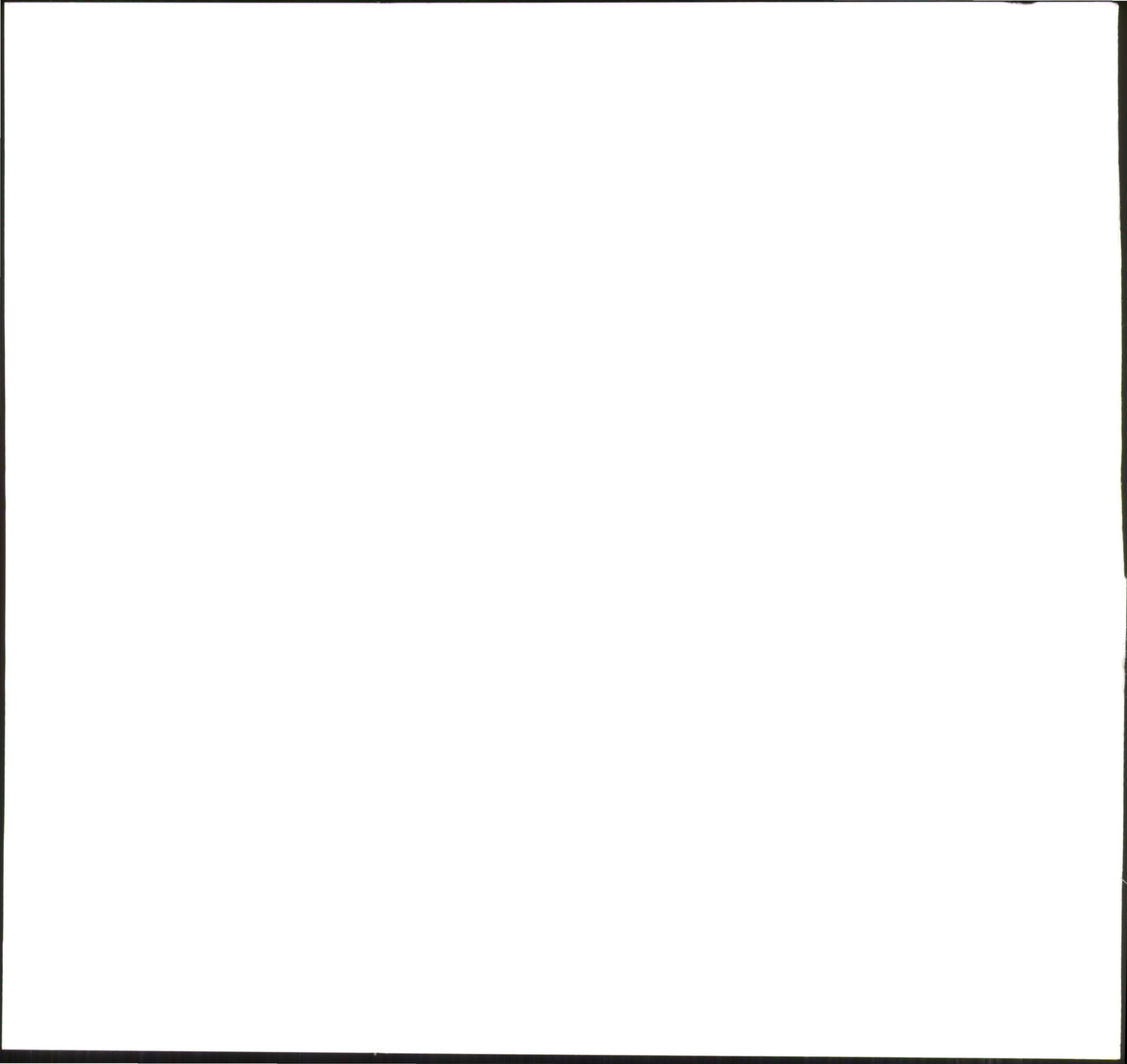


THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY AT ATHENS LIBRARY No 240

SPYROS E. IAKOVIDIS

THE MYCENAEAN ACROPOLIS
OF ATHENS





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OF ATHENS

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ATHENS 2006

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PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

The Greek edition of the Mycenaean Acropolis of Athens was published in 1962 and was favourably reviewed by O. Broneer (Gnomon 35, 1963, 708-711, Archaeology 17, 1964, 70-71), H. W. Catling (JHS 86, 1966, 271-272) and F. Schachermeyr (Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft XIX, 1966, Forschungsbericht). Since, however, it was written in Greek it remained largely unread by non-Greek scholars. Those who dealt with the subject referred as a rule to a couple of précis of the monograph, published much later, the first as a chapter in the volume E 1 of Archaeologia Homerica, pp. 193-204 (Göttingen 1976) and the other as part of my monograph Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece (Leiden 1983). Thus, the detailed description of the Mycenaean remains of the Athenian Acropolis – either already known or identified as such by me after careful investigation and small scale excavations which I had conducted on the rock – went mainly unnoticed and so did the resulting close argumentation leading to the conclusions I had arrived at. As a result the Late Helladic citadel of Athens is still much less known than the other similarly fortified sites of the period.

Time went by with much to do and the idea of a translation was shelved again and again, until finally I realized that, if I wanted my work to reach a larger public, it would have to be translated into the lingua franca of international scholarship, namely English. For this purpose I was fortunate enough to secure the collaboration of Dr. Miriam Caskey, an archaeologist in her own right and an experienced translator of scholarly texts, who produced not a literal metaphor but an accurate and at the same time a free English version of the Greek original.

During the years between the publication of the book and its translation very little has been added to the relevant bibliography. What was written concerned the west retaining wall of Terrace III, the arrangement of the West Entrance and the houses on the NE ascent. The views expressed about them, however, do not take, in my opinion, account of the archaeological evidence. It became therefore necessary for me to alter some of the footnotes of my original text and add a few others with my own comments.

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

My thanks are due to the Board of the Athens Archaeological Society and its Secretary General, Dr. B. Petrakos, who agreed to include this English translation of my book in the prestigious monograph series of the Society.

My thanks and congratulations go to Mrs Electra Andreadi for her invaluable editorial assistance. During our close cooperation this book and its author profited greatly from her long and noted expertise and her meticulous attention to detail.

SP. IAKOVIDIS

PREFACE

The fortified citadel, a characteristically Mycenaean creation, has always drawn my interest, even in my student days. Of all these citadels the Acropolis of Athens is by far the most difficult to comprehend, for its remains are few and seemed somehow to demand investigation. The existing bibliography, moreover, convinced me that there was sufficient material to justify a systematic study of the subject. Yet, the Acropolis rock itself had to be thoroughly explored in order to reach any valid conclusions.

My participation in the excavations of the citadel of Mycenae carried out by Professor G. Mylonas for the Archaeological Society gave me first-hand experience with the problems of such citadels and their peculiarities. It was good training for any exploration that might prove necessary and feasible on the Acropolis of Athens, where special conditions pertained through long and continuous use of the place.

To collect and organise the existing material presupposed an examination of all accessible remains thought to be Mycenaean, so I decided to carry out minor excavations wherever the fill was not so deep as to cause problems. Wherever possible, I carefully examined the rock itself, especially along the north wall. In fact, by excavation, clearing or simple observation, I explored the entire length of the north wall, the area in front of the Propylaia, all the space between the Propylaia and the Erechtheion, a number of places east of the Erechtheion, the rock behind the base of the statue of Athena Promachos and the space between the Belvedere and the Museum. New measurements were also needed, either to correct earlier ones or to include in the plans items hitherto overlooked. A considerable amount of new material came to light in this way. In some cases chronological information was provided by sherds found in Mycenaean walls, or in later walls thought to be Mycenaean. The results of this work are shown in a series of plans accompanying the text. They are based mainly on Kawerau's plans, on sheet n° 55 of the Office of Real Estate Registry of the Ministry of Transportation and Public Works (1929 sur-

vey), on N. D. Ioannitis' survey of the area around the caves in the northwest part of the Acropolis rock, on J. Travlos' plans of the area of Klepsydra and the northeast descent and on supplementary measurements made by myself.

The research was carried out during the summer of 1960 and winter of 1961. I was fortunate in having the valuable assistance of all the authorities. Everyone I approached for an opinion or for assistance with the various questions that arose during the course of my work was equally helpful. The Directorate of Antiquities gave me permission to carry out the necessary excavations. The Directorate of Restoration provided the personnel required. The Director of the Acropolis, J. Miliades and the Ephor G. Dontas, with their warm interest, contributed in a fundamental way to the unimpeded progress of the work. Moreover they permitted me to mention finds, as yet unpublished, from excavations at various places on the South Slope. The director of the Agora excavations, Professor H. Thompson, allowed me to consult the notebooks of the excavation in the Klepsydra area and, with his colleague E. Vanderpool, made it possible for me to examine the sherds found there, most of them unpublished. J. Travlos, architect of the American excavations, placed his plan of that area at my disposal together with all the relevant information I requested. That veteran researcher and Acropolis expert, G. Stevens, called my attention to the existence of a Mycenaean terrace behind the base of the Athena Promachos, made many suggestions and gave me also much valuable advice. Professor A. Orlandos provided me with information about the S side of the tower of the west entrance which he had uncovered, and gave me permission to make measured drawings of it. Professor G. Mylonas allowed me to use various conclusions about details of the excavations at Mycenae, as yet unpublished. Moreover, he kindly read the manuscript of my study, and found time for discussion. I profited much from his valuable advice. To Professor O. Broneer I owe much significant information, mostly in connection with the chronological evidence, not only from his own discoveries but also from the finds of Kolbe and Balanos, of which he had personal knowledge. E. Fiandra of the Italian Archaeological School, the discoverer of the Mycenaean well in the area of the Stoa of Eumenes, allowed me to refer to her still unpublished find. The Ministry of Transportation and Public Works provided me with a copy of the topographical plan of Athens that includes the Acropolis and the area around it. The General Staff of the Air Force gave me an aerial photograph of the area. From the Archaeological Society I received a full set of the

PREFACE

plates that had been used for the publication of the Acropolis excavations, including Kawerau's plans. J. Bandekas, topographer and civil engineer, undertook and completed the chief measurements needed for the new survey of the area. The German Archaeological Institute furnished me with photographs from their archive of the great excavation of the Acropolis. Professor P. Mylonas, of the Polytechnical School of Fine Arts, gave me a photograph of the section of the Mycenaean wall south of the Propylaia, taken before the installation of floodlights and wires that hide it now.

Professor Sp. Marinatos, who approved the choice of subject and followed the course of the entire research with lively interest, introduced the thesis when I presented it to the Philosophical School of the University of Athens in June, 1961. His advice and suggestions were invaluable contributions to my efforts. To all those mentioned above, I give my warmest thanks for the assistance they so willingly provided.

SP. IAKOVIDIS

INTRODUCTION

The Acropolis of Athens is known chiefly from its Classical buildings and from the works of art in general that were within its area in historical times. Yet, long before, in an era that was mythical even to the ancient Athenians themselves and remembered only fragmentarily through tradition, the Acropolis was already inhabited and it was the seat of rulers. Through the myths and traditions that have come down to us, we discern the efforts of the kings of Athens, first to hold on to their position in Athens itself and then in Attica as well. At the same time there were struggles with Eleusis and difficulties with Crete during her temporary hegemony over their land.

As we now know, a citadel stood on the rock in Late Helladic times. It was clearly planned, with strong fortification walls. Here lived the ruler and some of his subjects. At the end of Mycenaean times, the other Mycenaean citadels and settlements were destroyed by fire and subsequently deserted. As a result of conflagration and the fill that built up after their abandonment, much has been preserved, so much, in fact, that we know more today than did the Ancients themselves. Yet the Acropolis of Athens was untouched by such a catastrophe and it continued to be used without a break. The claim of the Athenians that the Dorians never took their land clearly is correct. From that time on, the Mycenaean buildings on the rock fell victim to just that continuous use, for they were torn down, rebuilt and continuously altered. The fortification wall alone (apart from a number of changes made during Archaic times) was preserved in its entirety until 479 B.C., when the Persians razed it.¹ After this, the last remaining traces of the Mycenaean buildings disappeared beneath artificial terracing and foundations in the general reconstruction of the Acropolis in Classical times. Successive occupants in turn com-

1. Herod. IX 13.

pleted the destruction, the last being the Turks. So it is that very little has survived, far less than in the other Mycenaean citadels.

The traces of Mycenaean remains preserved on the rock today are for the most part inaccessible. Some can hardly be described as specific traces, but rather as traces of traces. They comprise cuttings in the rock, probable foundation trenches and hints given by the siting and disposition of later buildings and constructions which, for one reason or another, had to be accommodated to the Mycenaean remains. Moreover, many remains of Archaic, Mediaeval and even Turkish times have been wrongly identified as Mycenaean. This has only added to the confusion. A systematic study and sorting of the existing material, and new research (of the sort and to the extent noted in the Preface) were therefore needed to find further evidence to illuminate and supplement what was known already.

The subject has, indeed, attracted scholars from time to time and there is a certain amount of relevant ancient information as well. With the publication of various excavations and studies on the Acropolis and the immediate area, there is now a fairly extensive bibliography. The first half of the present study is devoted to a commentary on this. The second half gives the results of my research on the rock itself. On the basis of this research and relevant excavation reports, I have attempted to compose a picture of the Mycenaean Acropolis.

PART ONE

THE MYCENAEAN ACROPOLIS IN THE ANCIENT SOURCES AND IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE ANCIENT SOURCES*

The ancient sources contain a fair number of references to the Mycenaean fortifications of the Acropolis,² yet the concrete information they give is limited. Most of the references – and certainly the earliest – are indirect. They refer to the fortifications incidentally and always in relation to something else. Direct references, in fact, are practically non-existent. They are brief, for the most part much later, and they are chiefly by lexicographers, whose dependency on older indirect sources is evident enough.

All the ancient sources attribute the fortification walls to the Pelasgians (or Tyrrhenians),³ a people that tradition says were driven out by the Athenians, first from the city area and then out of Attica.⁴ According to Cleidemos, the Pelasgians levelled the top of the Acropolis rock and surrounded it with a fortification wall that had nine gates.⁵ This particular Acropolis fortification, together with the area it enclosed, is sometimes called the Pelasgikon, with σ,⁶ sometimes the Pelargikon, with ρ.⁷ In one case, the two spellings are used

* See *infra*, Appendix I.

2. The relevant ancient sources have been collected by Jahn - Michaelis, *Arx Ath.* pp. 1-23, and by Judeich, *Top.* p. 52, n. 5. In particular, the sources referring to the Pelargikon are quoted by Jahn - Michaelis, *Arx Ath.* p. 79, n. to l. 14, and Wide, *Ausonia* 1912, pp. 195-197.

3. Herod. VI 137 (Hekataios), Aristoph. *Av.* 1139 (by allusion), Paus. I 28, 3, *Schol. Aristoph. Av.* 832, Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* I p. 299, ll. 16-18, Hesych. s.v. Πελαστικόν and Πελαργικόν, Phot. *Lexikon* s.v. Πελαργικόν. See also Bérard, *Stud. Rob.* p. 151 f.

4. Herod. VI 137 (Hekataios).

5. Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* I p. 419, l. 27, Souda s.v. ἄπεδα and ἡπέδιζον. The ἡπέδιζον of Cleidemos is generally taken to mean the levelling of the rock by trimming it.

6. *Kratinos, uncertain fragments*, Edmonds, n° 321, corrected by Wilamowitz, *Hermes* XIV, p. 183, *Par. Chron.* 60, *Schol. Aristoph. Lys.* 1150, *Luc. Pesc.* 42, 47, and *Bis Acc.* 9, *Philostr. Vit. Soph.* II, a, V, *Pollux Onom.* VIII 101, *Strabo* IX 401, *Schol. Thuc.* II 17, Hesych. s.v. Πελαργικόν (where he corrects it to σ).

7. Herod. V 64, *Thuc.* II 17, Ditten-

indiscriminately,⁸ and Hesychios adds the form Πελαστικόν.⁹

The distinction between the two given forms, *Pelasgikon* and *Pelargikon*, the determination of one as correct and the way in which one is derived from the other, lies in the realm of critical examination of the texts and is quite outside the limits of the present study. I therefore confine myself to a few remarks.

Recent authors use one form or the other, usually indiscriminately, only a few giving reasons for their choice. Harrison¹⁰ considers *Pelargikon* to be the correct form, since she believes the name to be derived from the storks represented on the geison of the Archaic Hekatompedon. None have supported this peculiar view. Bérard, on the other hand,¹¹ considers the earlier, and therefore more correct, form to be *Pelasgikon*, observing that this is the form given by Herodotos and Hekataios. He notes that the ρ appears only after the Peloponnesian War. Yet this is not actually the case. Where Herodotos refers to the information given by Hekataios,¹² the discussion is about the Pelasgians and the wall they built. The term *Pelasgikon* or *Pelargikon* is not mentioned at all. To the contrary, in his references elsewhere Herodotos uses the term *Pelargikon*. Picard¹³ considers *Pelargikon* to be correct, as this is the

berger, *Sylloge*³ n° 83, Aristoph. *Av.* 832, Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* XIX 5-6, Cleidemos (in Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* I p. 419, l. 27, and Souida), Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* I p. 299, ll. 16-18, Didymus in *Schol. Aristoph. Av.* 836, Dion. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* A XXVIII, 4, *Schol. Aristoph. Av.* 1139, and 832, Eust. *Thess. Schol. Dion. Per.* 347.

8. *Schol. Luc. Bis Acc.* 9.

9. The word Πελαστικόν: even though this is probably a spelling error, it should be noted that the writing of Πελαστικός rather than Πελασγικός occurs in a number of Homeric manuscripts (Codd. B, L, T, *Iliad* 16, 233), where the reference is to the Dodonean Zeus. According to one

viewpoint, this form is to be connected with the Epirote toponym Παλαίστη, which Kretschmer believes (*Glotta* 30, 1943, pp. 152-154) to be the probable origin of the Philistines. These and others have been compared with the Pelasgians (Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums* II, 1, p. 562). Bérard too has drawn this parallel between Pelasgians and Philistines on the basis of the Athenian toponym (*Stud. Rob.* p. 148). On the subject as a whole, see G. L. Huxley, *Early Sparta* (London 1962) p. 98.

10. *P.A.* pp. 25-29.

11. *Stud. Rob.* pp. 144-150.

12. Herod. VI 137.

13. *L'Acropole* I p. 11.

term used in the 5th century inscriptions. Miller too employed the same argument basing it on other sources as well.¹⁴

An examination of the sources shows that apart from the fragment of Cratinos (528-423 B.C.), all the others using the form Pelasgikon are significantly later. The earliest of all is the *Parian Chronicle* (264/3 B.C.). The others are datable to the time of Christ (Strabo, 67 B.C.-A.D. 23) and later. The Cratinos fragment, as it has reached us, is corrupt,¹⁵ so it may well be that the term Pelasgikon is not in its original form. In any case, all the fifth century B.C. writers use the form Pelargikon. Texts are always liable to uncontrolled alteration but the inscription of 423/2 B.C.¹⁶ provides concrete evidence that the Athenians of Classical times used the form Pelargikon. This, therefore, is more likely to be correct.

Thus, Pelargikon; but what was the exact meaning of the term according to the Ancients? Rather than simply mentioning the word, the following sources give some actual information.

Herodotos¹⁷ refers to it as the fortification wall surrounding the Acropolis. The same author¹⁸ narrates that when the Athenian democrats, aided by Cleomenes, the king of Sparta, made a stand against the tyranny of the sons of Peisistratos, the tyrants took refuge within the Pelargikon, where they were besieged. He adds that the stronghold proved impregnable because the defendants had provided themselves with food and water. The same information is to be found in the *Parian Chronicle*.¹⁹ Aristophanes alludes to it,²⁰ while Aristotle²¹ adds that Hippias, besieged within the Pelargikon and obliged in the end to surrender and to leave Athens, handed over the Acropolis to the Athenians. According to these sources, therefore, Acropolis and Pelargikon were synonymous. A parallel notice is to be found in Thucydides'²² account that when Kylon and his companions plotted to seize power in Athens, they fortified themselves and were besieged within the Acropolis. If the Peisistratids

14. *AJA* 1893, p. 482.

15. Wilamowitz, *Hermes* XIV, p. 183.

16. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³ n° 83.

17. VI 137.

18. V 64.

19. I. 60 (ed. Jacoby).

20. *Lys.* 1150.

21. *Ath. Pol.* XIX 5-6.

22. I 126.

used the Pelargikon for fortified protection in 510 B.C., the same holds all the more for Kylon in 632 B.C.

The fortification itself continued to stand in its entirety down to the Persian Wars. Herodotos²³ says that the few Athenians who had remained in the city when the Persians made their incursion in 480 B.C., secured the Acropolis by closing the entrances with doors and beams (θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι). He goes on to say that while the enemy, shooting firebrands from the Areopagus, burned the wooden barricades, this small band successfully held their own until some Persians succeeded in scaling the rock near the sanctuary of Aglauros. Since the rock at that point was precipitous it had been left unprotected; it was ἔμπροσθε ... πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὀπίσθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου (in front of the Acropolis, behind the gates and the ascent). In this way the attackers managed to take the Acropolis, killing the defenders and burning the sanctuaries. The following year, the destruction was completed by Mardonios who, on leaving Athens, systematically knocked down, burned and buried whatever of the sanctuaries, buildings and walls were still standing.²⁴

Thus the fortification of the Acropolis, the Pelargikon, which encircled the rock,²⁵ had its gates and approach at the west²⁶ and was a functioning stronghold until the time of the Persian Wars. Before this, Peisistratos had used it as his headquarters during his tyranny.²⁷ It was systematically and totally destroyed by the troops of Mardonios in 479 B.C.

After this catastrophe, the Acropolis fortification walls were built anew by Themistocles and Kimon along the line preserved today. What was left of the old fortification was buried beneath the fill of Classical times. Even so the Pelargikon continued to be mentioned, the term now specifying an established area below the Acropolis, an uninhabited, open and forbidden space.²⁸ That part of the fortification together with the area it included retained the name, at least down to Roman Imperial times, while the Acropolis itself ceased to

23. VIII 51-53.

24. Herod. IX 13.

25. Herod. VI 137.

26. Herod. VIII 51-53.

27. Herod. I 59.

28. Thuc. II 17, *Schol. Thuc.* II 17.

be known as the Pelargikon.²⁹ During that time the restricted Pelargikon was protected both by oracle³⁰ and by legislation³¹ against all destruction or exploitation. Yet its importance waned through time, so that by Lucian's day it appears no longer to have received any special attention.

It is clear that part of the older fortification system of the Acropolis remained outside the line of the Classical wall. It was this space, together with what was left of its progressively disintegrating walls, that retained the old name of Pelargikon which had once signified the entire rock. Keramopoulos³² too accepts this interpretation and there can be no doubt that it is correct.

The entire question of the extent and boundaries of the Pelargikon in its restricted meaning, has been the subject of much serious disagreement in the bibliography. Most scholars have been interested in it as a problem in itself. For this reason it is examined further in a separate chapter. To avoid confusion in the present discussion about the Mycenaean wall of the Acropolis, the wall that existed before the Persians is referred to as the Mycenaean fortification wall or the Cyclopean wall. The term Pelargikon is here applied solely to the section below the Acropolis that remained outside the Classical fortification circuit.

In addition to the above sources that refer to the fortification of the Acropolis, there are testimonia referring to the existence of other very ancient constructions within the area itself. We are told of the tomb of Kekrops,³³ at the SW side of the Erechtheion beside the Porch of the Maidens.³⁴ Mentioned too is a palace of Erechtheus,³⁵ as well as the most ancient mythical "tokens"

29. Luc. *Pesc.* 42-47, *Bis Acc.* 9, Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II, a, V.

30. Thuc. II 17.

31. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³ n° 83, Pollux *Onom.* VIII 101.

32. Keramopoulos, *PraktAkAth* 1932, pp. 111-112, and *Ephemeris* 1934/1935, p. 89. See also Frazer, *Paus.* II 356, and Dörpfeld, *AM* 1911, p. 72.

33. Clem. Al. *Protr.* III 45, Theodoretus, *Ἑλλ. θεολ. παθ. περὶ τῆς τῶν μαρτύρων τιμῆς* H, 30, Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* VI 6.

34. *IG* I 2, 372, 1, II. 9, 59, 63, 84 (*Erechtheum* p. 268 f.). See also *Erechtheum* pp. 132, 136, 362. On the subject as a whole see G. Mylonas, *Οἱ βασιλικοὶ τάφοι* pp. 415-422.

35. Hom. *Od.* 7, 80-81.

in the area of the Erechtheion:³⁶ the olive tree, the sea of Erechtheus and the marks left by Poseidon's trident, which caused water to gush forth from the rock (or, according to another version, the traces of the lightening strike that killed Erechtheus).

To summarize, we may conclude from the sources that the ancient Athenians believed that during the time associated by tradition with the period we now call Mycenaean, the Acropolis had fortification walls that had been built by the Pelasgians. Within these walls, on the levelled top of the rock, stood the palace of one of the mythical kings, Erechtheus, the tomb of another, Kekrops, and tokens of the presence of the gods and their rivalry for patronage of Athens: the olive tree, the sea and marks left by the trident or the thunderbolt. All these things were located in the area later occupied by the Erechtheion. Outside the fortification walls, and lower down, there was a walled space that had retained the name Pelargikon from Classical to Roman times.

36. Herod. VIII 55, Paus. I 26, 5; I 27, Hesych. s.v. πάγκυφος and ἀσπή ἐλαία. 2, Apoll. *Bibl.* III 178, Strabo IX 396,

EXCAVATIONS AND RESEARCH

Over the years, various excavations and studies have been carried out on the Acropolis. Listed below are those which have resulted in the discovery and identification of prehistoric finds in general and, in particular, Mycenaean.

- 1835-1836 Ross, with the help of Schaubert and Hansen, carries out excavations on the krepis of the Parthenon, reaching the Mycenaean level, which he observes, without, however, recognising it as such; he characterises it as “schwarze feste Erdart.” (L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze* I, 1855, p. 89.)
- 1852-1853 Beulé explores the entrance to the Acropolis. He mentions the part of the wall that is S of the Propylaia, attributing it to the Pelargikon, and he finds the traces of the Mycenaean ascent west of the bastion of Athena Nike. (E. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes* I, Paris 1853, pp. 83, 85.)
- 1864-1867 The Acropolis Museum is built. Recovered in the excavations made in order to set its foundations are Mycenaean terracotta figurines and pottery decorated with bands and tentacles. (W. Helbig, *Bulletino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 1875, p. 137.)
- 1876-1877 Excavations by the Archaeological Society on the S slope of the Acropolis. A prehistoric (?) tomb is found W of the Asklepieion. (*Praktika* 1876-1877, pp. 31-32.)³⁷
- 1880 Bohn, in his studies of the Propylaia, refers to the section of the wall to the S of it, and attributes it to the Pelargikon. He connects it with the part of the Mycenaean bastion beneath the temple of

37. See also Skias, *Ephemeris* 1902, p. 123, n. 1.

Athena Nike that is visible through the opening left in the north side of the Classical enveloping wall, and the section of the Archaic crowning of the bastion further east, near the steps. He notes also the traces of the ascent uncovered by Beulé.³⁸ (R. Bohn, *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin-Stuttgart 1882, pp. 15, 16, 29.)

- 1885-1890 The Archaeological Society, represented by Kavvadias and Kawerau, carries out systematic excavations on the Acropolis. They discover practically all the Mycenaean remains. (P. Kavvadias - G. Kawerau, *Ἡ ἀνασκαφή τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ 1885 μέχρι τοῦ 1890*, Athens 1906.)³⁹
- 1897 Kavvadias excavates the area of the caves on the NW part of the Acropolis rock. He identifies the caves of Pan and Apollo and discovers the steps of the NW descent, some remains of the supporting walls connected with these, and a section of the N wall without either recognising or referring to it. He discovers also the beginning of the descent to the North Fountain. (P. Kavvadias, *Ephemeris* 1897, pp. 1-32, pl. 1.)
- 1902 Excavation by Skias of a Middle Helladic grave mound on the S slope. (A. Skias, *Ephemeris* 1902, pp. 123-130.)
- 1909 Exploration by Köster in the area of the caves. He notes a number of traces which he attributes to the Pelargikon. (A. Köster, *Das Pelargikon*, Strassburg 1909.)
- 1915 Pelekides publishes some prehistoric and Mycenaean pottery from the Acropolis. (E. Pelekides, *Deltion* 1915, suppl. pp. 35-37.)
- 1905-1920 Exploration of the Erechtheion by the American School of Classical Studies. Discovery of Mycenaean remains in and around the foundations. (G. P. Stevens, J. M. Paton, L. D. Caskey, H. N.

38. Beulé, *L'Acropole* p. 85.

BCH 1888, pp. 244-245, Montelius, *VHAM*

39. See also *AM* 1886, pp. 162-169; 1887, pp. 141-142; 1888, pp. 107-108, 228,

- Fowler, *The Erechtheum*, Cambridge, Mass. 1927, pp. 13-14, 122, 126, 138-142, 424-429, 580-581.)
- 1922 Excavations of the Italian School of Archaeology on the S slope, with Neolithic, Early Helladic and Middle Helladic finds. (D. Levi, *Abitazioni preistoriche sulle pendici meridionali dell'Acropoli*, *ASAtene* 13/14, 1930-1931, pp. 411-498.)⁴⁰
- 1923 On the occasion of restoration work being carried out on the Erechtheion and exploration in that area, Holland re-excavates the Mycenaean foundation discovered by Kavvadias beneath the paving N of the Erechtheion, and studies the other remains in the area. (L. B. Holland, *AJA* 1924, pp. 1-23, 142-169, 402-434.)
- 1925 The prehistoric pottery from the Acropolis is published. (Graef-Langlotz [Wolters], *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* I, Berlin 1925.)
- 1927-1928 Keramopoulos explores the N, W and S lower slopes of the Acropolis. He identifies the cave of Zeus Olympios. (A. Keramopoulos, *Deltion* 1929, pp. 73-101, *PraktAkAth* 1932, pp. 110-124, *Ephemeris* 1934/1935, pp. 85-116, pls 1-3.)
- 1931 Excavation of the N slope is initiated by Broneer. The sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite is discovered and identified. (O. Broneer, *Hesperia* I, 1932, pp. 31-55.)
- 1931-1932 Broneer finds the continuation of the NE ascent outside the Classical wall, covered over in places by floors of Mycenaean houses. (O. Broneer, *Hesperia* II, 1933, pp. 329-417, pl. XI.)
- 1933-1934 Revelation of the NE ascent is completed as far as the Peripatos and more houses are found. (O. Broneer, *Hesperia* IV, 1935, pp. 109-188, pl. I.)

40. See also *BdA* 1922-1923, p. 278 f., 1924-1925, p. 88 f.

- 1936 Stevens publishes the results of his work on the terrace by the base of the statue of Athena Promachos. (G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia* V, 1936, pp. 499-519.)
- 1936 Broneer explores the E cave. (O. Broneer - M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia* V, 1936, pp. 247-272.)
- 1936-1939 Balanos, while restoring the bastion of Athena Nike, discovers the Mycenaean bastion inside it. Welter also takes part in the work. After Balanos' retirement, the work is continued by Orlandos, who brings to light the rest of the S side of the bastion. (N. Balanos, *Ephemeris* 1937, Γ [Athens 1956], pp. 785-791, 795-800, pl. 1, G. Welter, *AA* 1939, pp. 1-22.)
- 1937 Prehistoric pottery is collected during the course of excavations on the N slope (H. Hansen, *Hesperia* VI, 1937, pp. 539-570.)
- 1937-1938 Broneer discovers and excavates the North Fountain. (O. Broneer, *AJA* 1938, pp. 445-450, *Hesperia* VII, 1938, pp. 168-170; and VIII, 1939, pp. 317-433.)
- 1937-1939 Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies in the Klepsydra area, resulting in the discovery of Neolithic, Early Helladic, Middle Helladic and Late Helladic wells. (T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* VII, 1938, pp. 335-338; VIII, 1939, p. 221; IX, 1940, pp. 297-298, figs 38-39.)
- 1938 Kolbe explores the Mycenaean wall by the SW corner of the Parthenon and E of the Museum and collects material that dates it. (W. Kolbe, *AA* 1939, pp. 227-236, *FuF* 1939, pp. 393-394 and 427-429, *Bericht über den VI Internationalen Kongress für Archäologie*, Berlin 1940, pp. 344-346, pl. 27a-b, *Research and Progress* 1940, pp. 253-259.)
- 1939 Exploration of the N slope continues. (O. Broneer, *AJA* 1940, pp. 252-256.)
- 1940 The American School of Classical Studies excavates the Klepsydra, recovering a few Mycenaean finds. (T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* X, 1941, p. 7, A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia* XII, 1943, pp. 191-267.)

- 1946 Stevens publishes the results of his research in the area of the entrance to the Acropolis. (G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia* XV, 1946, pp. 73-79, 102.)

There are thus two important landmarks in the exploration of the Mycenaean Acropolis: first, the general excavation of the rock during the years 1885-1890, when most of the preserved remains were brought to light; second, the period of 1932-1939, when, through the work of Broneer, Kolbe, the American School of Classical Studies and Balanos, the picture was filled in with the addition of finds from the N slope, the continuation of the NE ascent, the North Fountain and the tower inside the bastion of Athena Nike. With the material that was carefully collected and published, it was now possible for the first time to date the construction of the Mycenaean fortification. It is clear that these two landmarks in time must be seriously considered in any judgement of past attempts to reconstruct the Mycenaean Acropolis.

THE MYCENAEAN ACROPOLIS IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Theories about the form of the Acropolis in Prehistoric times were circulating even before the Acropolis had been excavated. Concrete evidence lacking, these theories were based chiefly on literary sources and on the few accessible remains that were thought to be prehistoric. The various theories are indeed far from the actual state of affairs as known today,⁴¹ but it should be remembered that the Mycenaean civilisation was not yet really understood.

Two axioms were generally accepted at that time and on these all the theories were based. The first was that the fortification, equated with the Pelargikon and, according to Cleidemos, with nine gates, was below the Acropolis and included also the cave of Pan. The second was that the Acropolis fortification took in the city as well, that is, the inhabited area of Athens. The first axiom was based on the ancient sources; the second was inferred by analogy with historical times, but in ignorance of Mycenaean practice, which was to leave the settlements themselves unfortified. Thus, three hypotheses were possible: 1) the inhabited area was confined to the Acropolis, 2) the Pelargikon extended to include the known area of ancient Athens, or else, 3) a solution between these two, that the centre was the Acropolis and that there was an area around it or next to it, the position and boundaries of which were defined in accordance with various ideas including the location each scholar might choose for the Eleusinion. Leake came out in favour of the first hypothesis, according to which the Pelargikon comprised the Acropolis in itself and the NW area of the slopes where the cave of Pan was located.⁴² Also in favour of the first hypothesis were K. O. Müller, who accepted the Pelargikon as the

41. Nearly all are presented by Judeich, *Top.* pp. 113-114.

42. *Topography* pp. 309-315.

fortification of the NW end of the rock, the most vulnerable part of the Acropolis,⁴³ Ross, who located the Pelargikon in front of the Acropolis,⁴⁴ Beulé, who considered the Pelargikon to be the fortification of the W side of the rock with nine consecutive gates,⁴⁵ Bursian, who had approximately the same conception as Beulé,⁴⁶ and Wachsmuth, likewise agreeing with this arrangement.⁴⁷ In support of the second argument were Welcker, who came out with the idea of two separate Pelargikons, one on the Pnyx and one on the Acropolis,⁴⁸ Götting, who located the Pelargikon on the Pnyx,⁴⁹ and Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, who believed that the Pelargikon was the old city wall, and that it protected the area from the Areopagus to Hadrian's Gate.⁵⁰ The third theory was accepted by Unger, who distinguished the Pelargikon as an inhabited area on the SW slopes from the Pelargikon as a fortification on the E part of the rock,⁵¹ Davidson,⁵² E. Curtius,⁵³ and A. Bötticher,⁵⁴ all of whom considered the Pelargikon to be a fortification taking in the lower slopes of the rock.

The excavations of 1885-1890, during which most of the Mycenaean remains of the Acropolis were found, put an end to these hypotheses and speculations. There was now enough specific evidence and it could not be disregarded. The sections of the fortification wall that had survived were enough to give a general idea of the overall arrangement, and in particular to show precisely where the citadel of Mycenaean times should be sought. The various walls, graves and the ceramic finds added an indisputable assemblage of material to the records of the ancient authors. So, if they presented fresh problems to scholars, they provided at the same time a new basis on which to found their theories.

43. Ersch u. Gruber 1, Sect. VI, 229 f., and appendix to the German translation of Leake (Halle 1829) p. 466.

44. *Die Pnyx und das Pelargikon* (1853).

45. *L'Acropole* pp. 80-84.

46. *Philol.* 1854, pp. 643 f.

47. *Die Stadt Athen* pp. 387-392.

48. *AbhBerlin* 1852, p. 267 f., *RhM* 1856, p. 30 f., 581 f.

49. *Das Pelargikon und die Pnyx in*

Athen.

50. *Burg u. Stadt* pp. 97-172.

51. *Sitzungsber. Akad. München* 1874, pp. 263-351.

52. *The Parthenon Frieze and Other Essays* (1882) p. 147 f.

53. *SBBerlin* 1884, pp. 499-512, and *Gesammelte Abhandlungen I* (1894) pp. 435-450.

54. *Akropolis* pp. 56-61.

The existence of a fortification wall similar to other Mycenaean fortification walls, which were already becoming well known, had been adequately demonstrated. It remained to determine its precise extent and arrangement. To begin with, there had been the idea that the Acropolis was fortified only in those places where remains of the wall were preserved and wherever the rock was easily accessible. Elsewhere, the rock was thought to have been quarried in order to make it inaccessible. This idea was supported by Lolling,⁵⁵ Harrison,⁵⁶ and E. Curtius,⁵⁷ who demonstrated also the existence of a palace in the area of the Erechtheion, with houses for the courtiers to the W of it. It was soon understood, however, that this perception of the fortification system was mistaken, and that the wall, just as Herodotos said,⁵⁸ went around the entire brow of the rock. The sections found were now seen as parts of an entire circuit, which had not survived, but had been destroyed during the building of the Classical fortification, which, especially along the N side, followed the course of the Mycenaean wall. This opinion was developed by Miller,⁵⁹ who attributed the quarrying of the rock in the area of the Asklepieion to an attempt by the builders of the wall to prevent scaling by attackers. He located the palace in the area of the Erechtheion, with courtiers' houses to the west. Of this opinion also were Belger,⁶⁰ Dörpfeld,⁶¹ Tsountas,⁶² and Harrison.⁶³ D'Oodge⁶⁴ too was in complete agreement with these new ideas. The above studies, however, were confined to general observations, unsupported and without giving details.

The first attempt to determine the line of the Mycenaean wall and to date its construction was made by Köster (Fig. 1). Köster believed that it was datable in the 2nd millennium B.C. and that it ran around the entire surface of the rock. On the W side he proposed a straight line continuing along from the section preserved S of the Propylaia. He did not accept the existence here

55. *Topographie* p. 337.

56. *M. and M.* p. 536.

57. *Stadtgesch.* p. 45.

58. VI 137.

59. *AJA* 1893, pp. 476-484.

60. *BerlPhilolWoch* 1894, p. 16 f.

61. *RhM* 1896, p. 131.

62. *Ἡ Ἀκρόπολις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* pp. 5-11.

63. *P.A.* pp. 13-15.

64. *Acropolis* pp. 21-23.

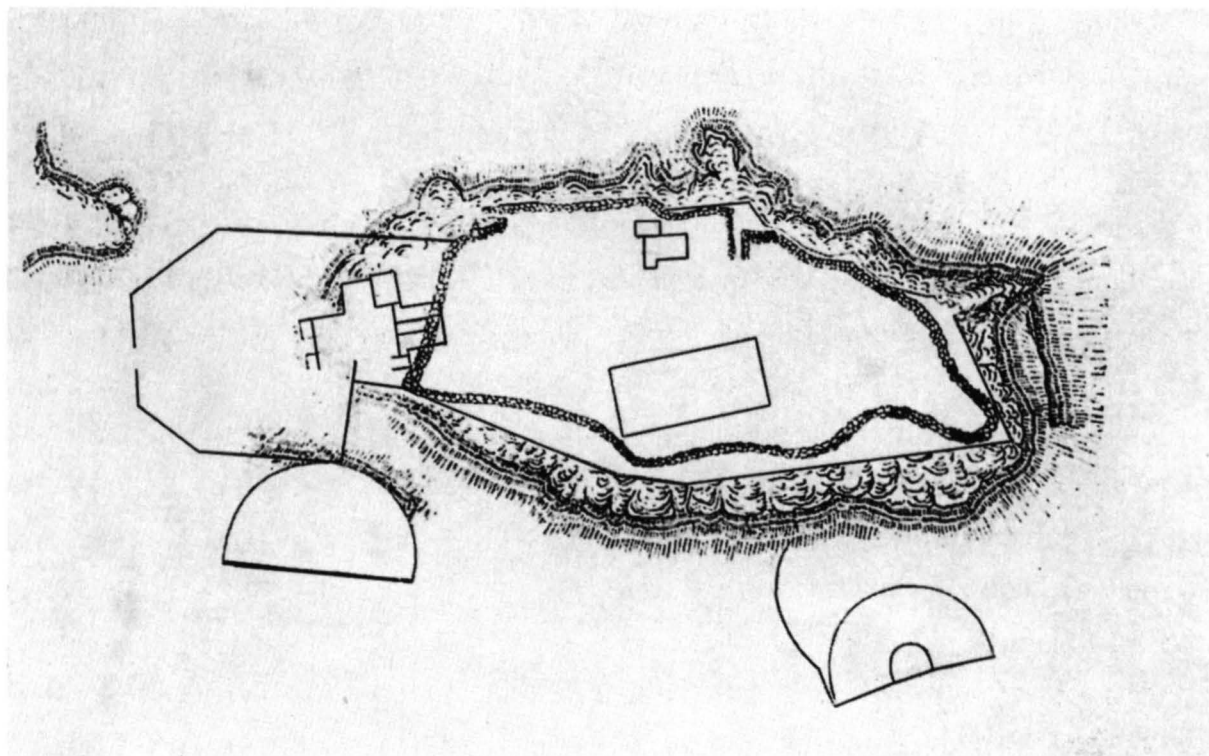


Fig. 1. The Mycenaean Acropolis according to Köster (*Pelargikon* pl. IVb).

of an entrance, and he categorically rejected the possibility that there was a bastion in this place. According to Köster, there was an entrance at the NW, where in Classical times a stairway led to the caves and communicated with the Klepsydra. He deduced the shape of this entrance from the section of the Prehistoric wall preserved next to the Classical stairway. With the descent leading to the caves he connected traces of walls, which he believed to be parts of terrace walls supporting the last part of a ramp. The main entrance he believed was the one on the NE next to the Erechtheion, which in the beginning, as he says, continues along the rock toward the W, later turning toward the S. In addition he claimed that toward the end of the second millennium B.C., the fortification was extended westwards in order to include the Pelargikon in the pre-existing fortification. The NE gate was then abandoned and another one was opened to the west.⁶⁵ Kavvadias agreed with these conclusions.⁶⁶

65. *Pelargikon*, especially pp. 5-16, 27 and pl. IVb.

66. *Προϊστορική Αρχαιολογία* p. 300.

Köster's observations are in general sound but inadequate. His conclusions are arbitrary and occasionally contrary to fact. Specifically, they run counter to the rock formation. Thus, the line he suggests for the N leg of the Pelargikon⁶⁷ runs right through the cave of Pan; the change in orientation of the NE ascent toward the S is impossible because the rock is precipitous in that place, and also because, as we shall see, that passage is blocked by the Mycenaean wall. The point in his study that aroused the most opposition, however, was the form of the W side of the fortification. Heberdey⁶⁸ disagreed on the basis of Kawerau's observations on the interior of the Pinakothek and on the fill of the Archaic cistern to the north of it. He showed that the W wall formed a curve taking in the area of the Pinakothek and that there was an entrance that had been hidden by the Classical Propylaia. Pfuhl⁶⁹ had similar reservations.

Even so, the work of Köster was a serious contribution to the study of the Mycenaean Acropolis and it was generally accepted that the fortification wall circumscribed the top of the rock along the line indicated by the sections of the wall preserved.⁷⁰ After its publication, discussion turned to details, especially to the plan of the west entrance.

The next and perhaps most important contribution to the entire subject was L. B. Holland's study of the Mycenaean remains in the area of the Erechtheion. Availing himself of the opportunity provided by the Americans' study of the Erechtheion, he excavated anew the wall covered over by the slab paving to the north of that building. He dated it, and at the same time examined the other prehistoric buildings in the area.⁷¹ With acute observation, architectural for the most part, he divided these walls into three consecutive phases, attributing them not to the palace itself, but to terraces on which the palace had been built and to the remains of a bastion protecting the gate to which the approach led. Judging by the construction of the wall that closed it

67. Pelargikon pl. IVb.

68. *ÖJh* 1910, pp. 1-4, fig. 1.

69. *BerlPhilolWoch* 1911, pp. 299-307.

70. See Frazer, *Paus.* II pp. 355-356,

and Schede, *Die Burg von Athen* p. 10.

71. *AJA* 1924, pp. 1-23, 142-169, 402-434.

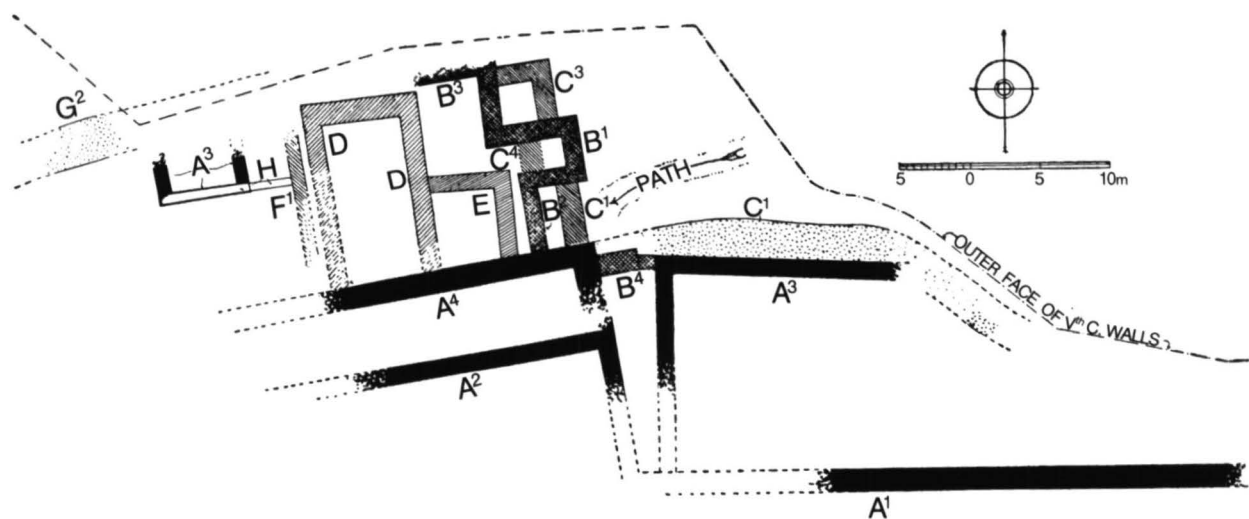


Fig. 2. The arrangement of the area of the NE ascent according to Holland (AJA 1924, II, fig. 2).

off (Fig. 2), he recognised quite rightly that the gateway had already been blocked during Mycenaean times. From traces on the poros slabs of the foundation of the N wall of the Erechtheion and two small sections of limestone wall,⁷² he determined the existence of yet another Mycenaean terrace wall and suggested that the area N of the Erechtheion had been used as a sort of arena for sacred ceremonies, comparable to the steps of the palace at Phaistos. Based on the interaxes of the two preserved poros column bases, which he accepted as Mycenaean, he located the palace, specifically the palace megaron, in the area S of the Erechtheion. He recognised, furthermore, that some of the walls found W of the Erechtheion and interpreted as prehistoric foundations of courtiers' houses, were in fact much later, probably even Mediaeval. He dated the construction of the foundation north of the Erechtheion, which he excavated down to the first phase of the supporting walls, and the bastion by the entrance, to the 15th century B.C., on the basis of pottery from both these excavations. He showed that the fortification wall (which was not precisely dated) was significantly later.

72. See also *Erechtheum* pp. 137-142.

Holland's study was extremely important. This was the first time that such acute and bold observations had been made, based on a method that was obviously correct and original. Recognition that most of the walls were terrace walls contributed significantly to a correct interpretation of the remains NE of the Erechtheion. Yet the fact that the entire work was carried out on the basis of plans rather than on the few remaining and accessible walls themselves, led to a number of misconceptions. Moreover, his bold reconstruction of the palace on the basis of very few facts, cast doubt on his other conclusions; doubts which, it must be noted, never took the form of concrete objections. Holland based his work on two assumptions: that the walls NE of the Erechtheion were all Mycenaean, and that the poros bases, which he attributed to the megaron of the palace, were both Mycenaean and *in situ*. As we shall see below, these assumptions were mistaken and, as a result, his conclusions were not always right. Yet his publications constitute the most serious study of the Mycenaean remains on the Acropolis up to his time, if only because he determined that the walls were terrace walls, to be distinguished from the later fortification wall, and because he was the first to express justifiable doubts that the walls of the so-called "settlement of the Eupatridai" were really Mycenaean.

After Holland, nothing significant was added to the subject. Picard accepted that the rock was surrounded by a strong fortification wall that in its western part followed virtually a straight line, with a main entrance on the NE and a second one on the NW leading to the Klepsydra. He accepted also that to this wall, which surrounded the palace and dwellings of the aristocracy, the Pelargikon and an entrance to the W were added during the 11th and 10th centuries B.C.⁷³ His argument was simply a combination of Köster's theories with Holland's observations. Judeich⁷⁴ cautiously confined himself to some general observations and Dörpfeld⁷⁵ contributed nothing new to the discussion.

73. *L'Acropole I* pp. 11, 19-20.

74. *Top.* pp. 54-55, 114, 115.

75. *Alt Ath.* p. 3.

The discoveries of the period 1932-1939 added much important material. Three serious problems were resolved: the formation of the W entrance, the water supply of the fortress and the date of the Cyclopean wall. The discoveries of 1932-1939, moreover, contributed greatly to the general picture of the Mycenaean Acropolis. As might be expected, the publication of these discoveries was followed by works of a general nature. None of these explored the subject of the Mycenaean Acropolis as a whole. Instead, they all were limited to inserting the new finds into the old frameworks or to examining various special subjects, particularly those arising from the addition of the new finds. Thus Welter, after the discovery of the Mycenaean bastion under the temple of Athena Nike, argued in favour of connecting it with the already known fortification system of the W side. At the same time he proposed an arrangement of the nine gates which went against the facts.⁷⁶ Stevens, on finding the traces of a Mycenaean terrace wall behind the base of the statue of the Pro-machos, restored the entire western part of the terrace wall⁷⁷ without, however, connecting it with the rest of the terracing, the existence of which had already been demonstrated by Holland. He examined and also drew the W entrance of the fortification in connection with the bastion that had been found and the trace of the W fortification wall, which he discovered *in situ*.⁷⁸ His solution was far more logical and plausible than Welter's. Yet it had a serious drawback in that it left the bastion isolated and unconnected with the wall.

To these studies we should perhaps add a restored drawing of the Mycenaean wall shown by Dinsmoor in a text referring to the Archaic Acropolis.⁷⁹ The wall is shown in general along the line accepted by Köster, with one change in the layout of the NW part, which runs in a direction suggested by the Archaic propylon.

Broneer's observations,⁸⁰ based primarily on the discovery of the North Fountain and the NE approach, are completely sound. He approached the prob-

76. *AA* 1939, pp. 7-9, fig. 4.

77. *Hesperia* V, 1936, pp. 499-503, 519.

78. *Hesperia* XV, 1946, pp. 73-79, fig. 2.

79. *AJA* 1947, fig. 3, p. 122.

80. *AJA* 1948, pp. 111-112, and *Antiquity*

1956, pp. 9-13.

lem of the historical sequence of events with arguments based on a thorough knowledge of the material, concluding that the wall should be dated in the 13th century. His publications, however, are devoted chiefly to the history of the period rather than to the morphological development of the Acropolis. Bérard, interested mainly in a critical study of the ancient sources and the historical problems connected with the descent of the Dorians, was not concerned with a synthesis of the material except along very general lines.⁸¹ In her work on ancient Athens, Hill noted the various remains that had been discovered without giving reasons for the way she relates them. In the accompanying plan the W bastion remains unconnected to the fortification wall, and the NE entrance follows the turn toward the south that had been proposed

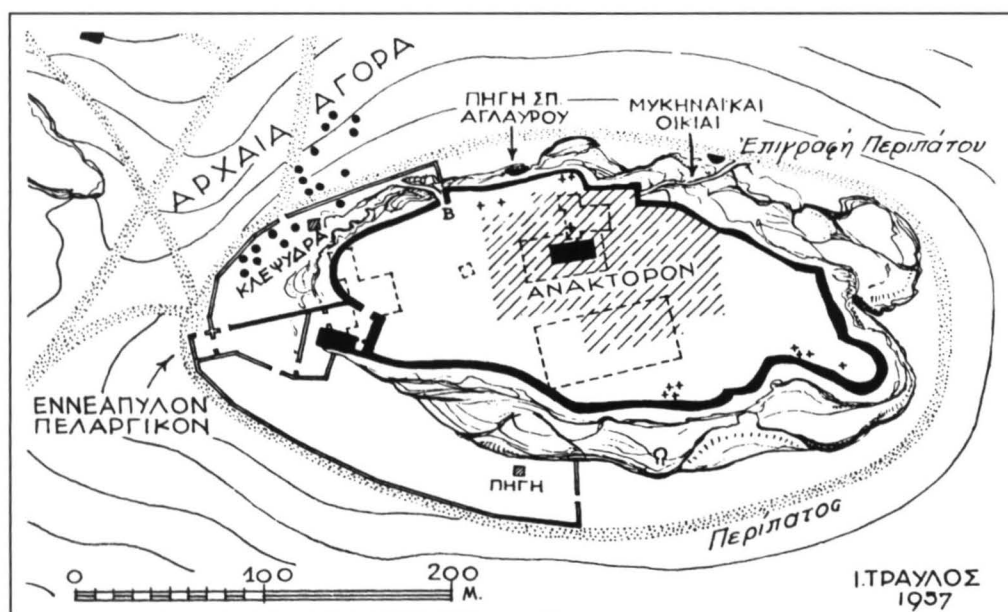


Fig. 3. The Acropolis of late Mycenaean times according to Travlos (Πολεοδ. fig. 7).

by Köster. Finally, Travlos⁸² believed that the wall had two periods of construction. In the first, the wall takes in the top of the rock and goes back to the 15th century B.C., with one entrance at the W and another one where the

81. *Stud. Rob.* pp. 135-159.

82. *Πολεοδ.* pp. 22, 24-26, fig. 7.

NE approach ends. In the second period, in the 13th century B.C., the wall circumscribes the entire rock. During this time the existing NE entrance is closed, the NW postern gate toward the caves is opened and the W bastion is built; the bastion he connects to the straight section of wall to the E of it, i.e. to the piece preserved today S of the Propylaia. As for the rest, he defines the course of the wall more or less along the accepted line (Fig. 3).

In general, the studies published after the researches of 1932-1939, which brought about a real change in established perception, are those concerned with the plan of the W entrance and especially with the incorporation of the newly discovered bastion into the fortification system. For the rest, the discovery of the North Fountain solved the problem of how the Acropolis was supplied with water and the findings of Broneer and of Kolbe contributed to the correct dating of the wall. Its line, however, was not modified, nor was any attempt made to study that problem in detail.

CONCLUSIONS

It should be clear from the above that the ancient sources alone cannot give a complete picture of the Mycenaean Acropolis. As is evident from publications before the big excavation of the Acropolis, the literary sources contain only general information that may be interpreted in various ways, often contradictory.

Yet the progress of research has led many scholars, especially during the past few years, to examine a number of special topics. Most of this work has been carried out with meticulous attention to detail. The results have been exceptionally interesting but, as a rule, they pertain to special questions being studied by the particular scholar at the time. The material collected in that way was valuable and it contributed much topographical and chronological information. Yet serious gaps remained, which no one undertook to examine. To some extent this was due to the acceptance of various ideas, which were given the authority of self-evident truth by time and constant repetition.

To date, two studies only rank as basic works: Köster's book about the Mycenaean wall and Holland's publications on the area of the palace and on one section of the wall. Köster was corrected on many basic points immediately after the publication of his work and subsequent discoveries showed him to be mistaken. Holland had so little factual evidence as a basis for a number of problems, that his views were met with considerable reserve.

Whether or not their conclusions were correct, will subsequently be shown. Yet it is a fact that since then there has been no other systematic examination or analysis of the evidence as a whole.

That the Acropolis was walled during the Mycenaean period by a continuous fortification, of which quite a few stretches have been preserved, is generally accepted. The main entrance to the fortification was at the W where it was protected by a strong bastion. The construction of the North Fountain made it self-sufficient in drinking water. On the N side of the plateau at the top of the rock, where the Erechtheion later stood, a system of terraces sup-

CONCLUSIONS

posedly supported the palace. W of that complex are walls attributed to buildings of the same time. The tombs and house foundations that were found at various other places on the rock suggest that the area was systematically inhabited. In addition, ancient tradition holds that some of the most ancient sanctuaries of Athens were in this same area. There is also the question of the exact location, extent and boundaries of the Pelargikon, a problem that has led to much discussion and to which most of the bibliography is devoted.

In the following pages these problems will be examined on the basis of actual remains throughout the area in order to compose a picture of the Mycenaean Acropolis based as much as possible on tangible and verifiable facts.

PART TWO

THE MYCENAEAN ACROPOLIS ON THE BASIS OF THE FINDS

THE ROCK

The Acropolis rock consists of a large ellipsoidal mass of cretaceous - upper jurassic limestone with neritic traces over a layer of Athenian schist (kimilia). To the W and E there are deposits of breccia adhering to limestone, which elsewhere is deposited on the argillaceous schist mass in surface slides.⁸³ The soft argillaceous schist layers on which the limestone is deposited have been eroded by moisture. As a result, pieces of the rock have pulled apart from time to time and broken off from the main mass, thus creating its precipitous slopes. The N side of the rock is the most exposed to the effects of weather, and here the erosion is more evident and has progressed further. This destruction is continuous so that technical buttressing has been necessary in many places. It is erosion of this sort that has formed the various caves, large and small, in the rock.

The precipitous slopes, which make the Acropolis the best natural stronghold of the area, have not the same formation everywhere. At approximately the middle of the W side, the gradient is less and the schist lower down slopes also gently uphill. Thus the incline here is gradual and this side provides the only relatively accessible approach to the rock. At the SW corner, however, there is a projection toward the W which is quite steep (Plan 1, 1), and at the NW corner the projecting rock drops off almost vertically (Plan 1, 2).

The N side is the steepest and the most eroded. Toward the W end, below the brow of the rock itself, there is a second lower and narrower level space, opening along the face of which are a series of caves (Plan 1, 3). Three of these were later dedicated to the cults of Apollo, Zeus Olympios and Pan. From the surface of this level area a rather uneven ascent leads eastward to the top of the rock, where later one of the entrances in the wall was built.

To the E, this small level stretch is closed by a high and narrow piece of the rock. This eroded down to the bottom, broke off and came to rest at a

83. See especially Philippson, *Die griechischen Landschaften* I, 3, pp. 894-895.

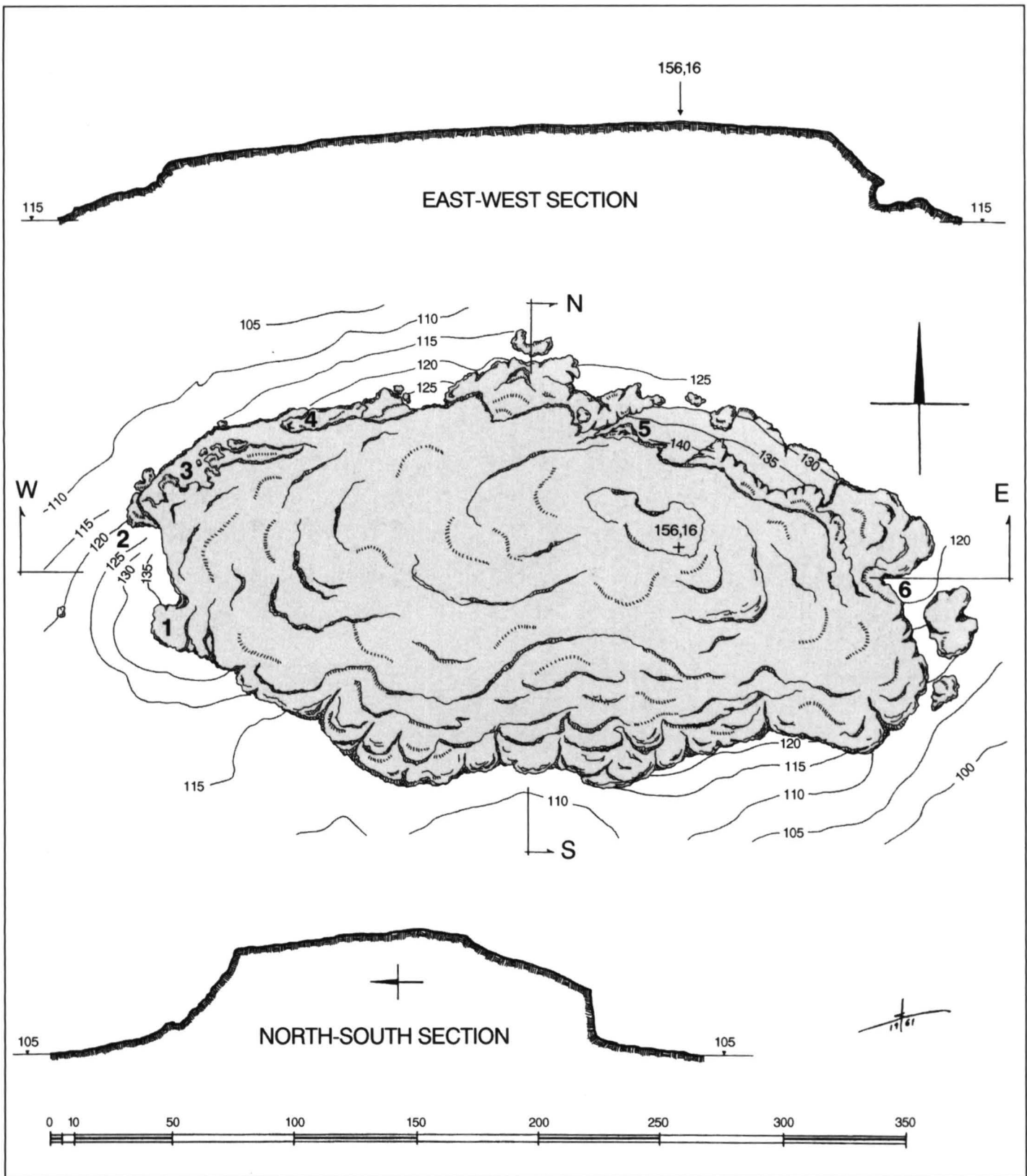


Fig. 4. The large piece of the rock broken off at the NW part of the Acropolis.

slight angle (Plan 1, 4), so that the top of it leans almost entirely on the main mass, while the bottom rests further out (Fig. 4). The space opened between this and the rock itself is wide enough to form a passage, which is narrower toward the W. Toward the E, it widens out to form a cave-like opening in the spot where the sanctuary of Aglauros has been located. Within this crevice the North Fountain was opened.

At about the middle of the N side, at the base of the rock where many large pieces have broken off and slid down from time to time, a deep crevice opens toward the E (Plan 1, 5) giving access to the top of the rock. From this point on around to the NE corner the incline is practically vertical. Along the E side it is gentler, but not enough to be easily passable. At approximately the middle of this side is the mouth of a large cave (Plan 1, 6), the largest in the entire rock. The lower part of the S side is practically vertical, excluding

THE ROCK



Plan 1. The Acropolis rock.

any possibility of scaling (Plan 1, section N-S). The impression made by this vertical face is even more striking in the area of the Asklepieion, where the rock has been quarried, evidently at the same time as the construction of the sanctuary. At about the middle of the rock face, the incline has a gentle but definite slope up to an elevation of about 153 m. above sea-level. Here it forms a second, less marked brow. There is no level ground anywhere on the entire slope. Opening along it are a few caves, most of them small.

The top of the rock forms a plateau surrounded by precipitous slopes, but it is far from being level. It rises gradually from W to E and less gradually from S to N (Plan 1, sections E-W, N-S), so that the main plateau occupies the middle of the rock, levelling out to the NE. Next to this area the rock makes a small rise, roughly oval in shape, the top of which at 156,16 m. above sea-level is its highest point.⁸⁴ Thus the top forms a smaller oblong plateau bounded on the W, N and E by the edge of the rock, and at the S by the beginning of the slope to the edge. This plateau is 270 m. long, 94 m. wide and has an area of around 15.000 sq. m. If to this is added the slope down to the brow toward the S, the width becomes 140-150 m. and the area increases to around 23.000 sq. m.

The levels along the brow of the rock on the W side vary from 142,40 m. at the SW corner to 138,40 m. at the NW. On the N side, they range between

84. Judeich, *Top.* p. 43, and Travlos, *Πολιτεία* p. 6, accept 156,20 m. as the height, based on the measurements of Kiepert, made in 1875. These measurements are meticulous and accurate. They were based, however, on a datum point on the coast of Piraeus determined as zero-level, which more recent and more systematic observations have altered somewhat. Kawerau on the other hand depended on the elevation taken on the threshold of the Beulé gate, which was given him by the French Mission of Public Works, and which was taken in 1885-1890 during the planning for various

public areas of Athens (Kavvadias-Kawerau pp. 55-57). That original measurement, however, was not correct, and for this reason Kawerau's measurements in general show a consistent difference of an additional 0,60 m. On realising these differences, I had new measurements made with a level, using as a basis the trigonometric point n° 109 (elevation 157,580 m. above sea-level) placed on the Belvedere. This point is part of the new network used for the Athens area and it is based on the newly determined zero-level. All altitudes given hereafter are based on these measurements.

137,71 m. above the cave of Pan, 147,57 at the top of fissure 5 on Plan 1 and 152,40 m. at the NE corner. On the E side they fall from 152,35 m. by the NE corner to 150,28 m. at the SE. Finally, the brow of the S side rises from 132,50 m. at the E to 144 m. at the W. Thus the NE part of the rock is the highest.

There are no traces of levelling on the top of the rock before the Classical period, and the levelling of Classical times was sporadic and on a small scale. Thus the ῥπέδιζον of Cleidemos⁸⁵ must have a meaning other than the cutting off of the surface protrusions of the rock.

If the top of the rock was to be inhabited, the most suitable place was the high level area toward the NW. To this led the relatively regular approach from the W. It was also accessible from the NE through a fissure that was difficult to climb (Plan 1, 5). From the NW part a path connected it with the terrace of the caves (Plan 1, 3). There is no other approach anywhere.

There is no water on top of the rock. Further down, veins formed between the limestone and the schist emerge at various points around the base of the rock in the form of small springs. A few of these flow throughout the year. Thus, at about the middle of the S slope there is the spring of the Asklepieion, and at the NW the underground spring of Klepsydra. This has a small amount of brackish water, which does not reach the surface but collects in wells that were dug in the area from time to time. Finally, there is also the spring that emerges at the base of the space between the main rock and the piece that has pulled away (Plan 1, 4). Precisely because it had no exit, this was a more plentiful water supply than the others, reaching a level some 4 m. above that of Klepsydra and 5 m. above the level of the Asklepieion spring.⁸⁶ This source is the only one directly accessible from the inhabited top of the rock.

Thus, of all the hills of Athens, this rock was the most suitable for use as a citadel because of its form and location. Lycabetus is very high and peaked at the top, the Areopagus small and low and the complex of hills of the Nymphs and the Muses too spread out and easy of access. The Acropolis rock, naturally unassailable, of the right size and shape and encompassed by springs, was indeed the appropriate and obvious choice as a place to live and as a refuge in time of danger.

85. See n. 5.

86. Broneer, *Hesperia* VIII, 1939, p. 429, n. 194.

THE ACROPOLIS DURING PRE-MYCENAEAN TIMES

As early as Neolithic times, the Acropolis and the area around it was inhabited. Localised and clear traces of this settlement have been found at two places below the base of the rock. On the S slope, to the W of the Asklepieion (Plan 2, 1) the Italian excavations of 1922 uncovered a small Neolithic house, and a fair amount of pottery of Sesklo type indicating the existence of a settlement.⁸⁷ A stone axe of the same period was recovered⁸⁸ from the area of the Odeion of Perikles. Near the Klepsydra, the Americans found 21 wells scattered over a fairly wide area,⁸⁹ which had been used as dumps when they ran dry. These were full of sherds of the Late Neolithic period, with some from the beginning of Early Helladic times (Plan 2, 2). With the sherds were obsidian blades, stone utensils and also animal and fish bones. Groups of similar sherds were collected as well from various natural hollows of the rock near the wells; they constitute sound evidence that the area was inhabited in an organised fashion. A number of Neolithic sherds were found mixed with later material in disturbed layers of the N slope,⁹⁰ and a few pieces came from the top of the rock.⁹¹ These are sparse remains. They are, however, sufficient to show that during Neolithic times, both around the Acropolis and on it, a rural population was established in permanent settlements, had household animals and used implements of stone and bone.⁹²

87. Levi, *ASAtene* 1930/31, pp. 411-498 and particularly 482-484.

88. Kastriotis, *Praktika* 1914, p. 95.

89. There were 21 of these wells according to the day books of the American excavators, which I had the opportunity of consulting. Of these, Shear reports 17 (*Hesperia* VIII, 1938, pp. 335-338; VIII, 1939, p.

221 and IX, 1940, pp. 297-298 and figs 38-39), Parsons (*Hesperia* XII, 1943, p. 206) does not give the number. Travlos (*Πολεοδ.* p. 20) mentions 14.

90. Hansen, *Hesperia* VI, 1937, pp. 540-542.

91. See Appendix II, Group 3, a.

92. See also Blegen, *HSCP* p. 6.

From the Early Helladic period, the finds are more copious, showing a systematic and uninterrupted use of the Acropolis area. Their findspots coincide, as a rule, with the Neolithic. On the S slope directly above the Neolithic house and in small caves in the rock (Plan 2, 3), the Italian excavations revealed evidence of habitation going back to Early Helladic times. For the most part this was pottery belonging to the category of Urfirnis painted ware.⁹³ Contemporary sherds and tools were collected from disturbed levels in the area of the precinct of Dionysos.⁹⁴ Near the Klepsydra, sherds of this same time formed the upper deposit⁹⁵ in some of the Neolithic wells. On the N slope, in the area of the sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros and in various other spots, Early Helladic sherds were found in plenty, mixed with pottery of other periods.⁹⁶ From the W slope comes the askoid vase with incised decoration published by E. Pelekides, probably also another five vases of the same period, for which the findspot is not given.⁹⁷

The excavations of 1885-1890 on the Acropolis yielded obsidian blades and a number of sherds, most of them with incised decoration.⁹⁸ To these should be added the sherds found by Kolbe inside the Mycenaean wall E of the Museum,⁹⁹ those found by the Americans in the Pandroseion area in the lowest level of the fill, practically on the rock,¹⁰⁰ as well as a few collected subsequently at various places on top of the Acropolis.¹⁰¹

Thus the Acropolis, which had been inhabited to some extent in the previous period, continued to be used more intensively, probably by the same people. The name Ἀθῆναι or probably Ἀθήνη which is indeed of prehellenic origin, may well have been employed for the first time by these inhabitants.¹⁰²

93. Levi, *ASAtene* 1930/31, p. 490.

94. These finds come from recent exploratory excavations of the Archaeological Service, which are still in progress. A report has been published in the newspaper "*Kathemerini*" for 27 February 1962.

95. Shear, *Hesperia* VII, 1938, pp. 335-338.

96. Broneer, *Hesperia* I, 1932, p. 35 and Hansen, *Hesperia* VI, 1937, pp. 542-546.

97. *Deltion* I, 1915, suppl. pp. 34-35, fig. 1.

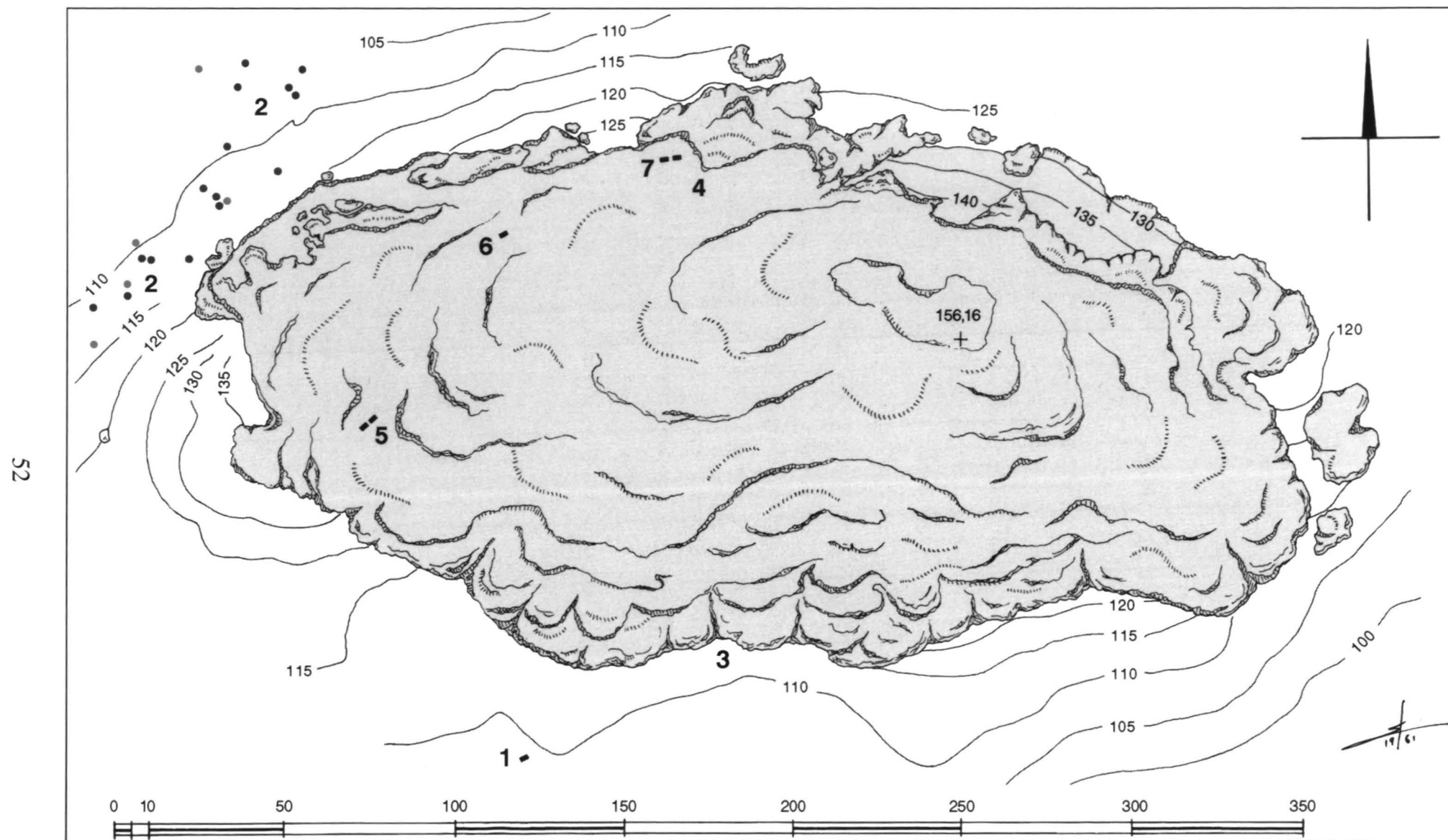
98. Furtwängler-Löschke, *M.V.* p. 35, and Graef-Langlotz I n^{os} 1-9.

99. *AA* 1939, p. 235.

100. *Erechtheum* p. 581.

101. See Appendix II, group 1, a-b, group 3, b, group 4, a (figs 50-51).

102. Blegen, *HSCP* p. 2.



Plan 2. The Acropolis in Neolithic, Early Helladic and Middle Helladic times.

● NL and EH wells ● MH wells.

After the first centuries of the Early Helladic period, there appears to have been a gap in the habitation of the area. This, at least, is suggested by the finds, which leap from relatively early Early Helladic to advanced Middle Helladic times. Yet this gap, which may be simply coincidental and which may well be filled in the future by new finds, is the only such break the long history of the Acropolis has to show. For from the advanced Middle Helladic period on, continuity of habitation is unbroken. The belief of the Athenians that they were autochthonous evidently rested on this very continuity.¹⁰³

The Middle Helladic inhabitants left traces of their presence over practically the entire area of the Acropolis and its immediate environs. On the S slope, the Minyan pottery found by the Italians,¹⁰⁴ the grave mound (Plan 2, 1) with 6 burials and funeral gifts consisting of obsidian arrow heads and a handmade jug, from the fill of which Skias collected Minyan sherds, as well as the matt-painted pottery found at the SW foot of the rock,¹⁰⁵ all bear witness to the use of the Acropolis area after a long interruption.¹⁰⁶ Discovered further south, at the corner of present-day Kallisperi and Parthenon streets, were two small graves and house walls, somewhat later than the graves, belonging to the final years of Middle Helladic times.¹⁰⁷ In the area of the Odeion of Perikles, J. Travlos' excavation brought to light a number of Minyan sherds¹⁰⁸ and the precinct of Dionysos yielded many examples of all types of MH pottery, with some pieces going down into the first LH years. These come from undisturbed levels within the cella of the later temple and from a point slightly SE of this.¹⁰⁹ Five new wells were dug next to the Klepsydra, deeper

103. Herod. VII 161, Thuc. I 2, II 36, Eur. *Erechth.* fr. 360, 7-8 (Nauck), Plato *Menex.* VI, Isocr. *Paneg.* 24.

104. Levi, *ASAtene* 1930/31, p. 488.

105. Skias, *Ephemeris* 1902, pp. 123-130 and Furtwängler-Löschke, *M.V.* p. 34.

106. To this period should perhaps also be ascribed the burial found in 1876 W of the Asklepieion. Discovered in a hollow dug into the schist was a clay vessel, "very

Archaic" (λίαν ἀρχαϊκῆς κατασκευῆς), which held a few "exceedingly crumbly" bones (*Praktika* 1876-1877, pp. 31-32).

107. I owe this information to G. Donatas, the Ephor who excavated the building lot.

108. *Praktika* 1951, p. 44 and fig. 3.

109. Newspaper *Kathemerini* 27 Feb. 1962.

and far better constructed than the earlier ones. These were found filled with matt-painted and Minyan pottery.¹¹⁰ The N slope has likewise yielded much pottery, all from disturbed levels.¹¹¹

The finds from the top of the rock are mainly ceramic. They come from the excavations for the foundations of the Museum, from the excavations of 1885-1890¹¹² and from other, more recent explorations. Some were also collected from various spots, especially the area of the Erechtheion (Plan 2, 4)¹¹³ and from inside the Mycenaean fortification wall E of the Museum.¹¹⁴ These sherds, matt-painted and grey and red Minyan, belong to practically all the known categories of developed Middle Helladic pottery. Their precise finding places are not always known. Other evidence, of a concrete nature, comes from the rock itself, showing that it was used from that time on as a place of permanent habitation.

During the big excavation of the Acropolis, five small cist-graves of children were found at three different places, as shown on Plan 2, numbers 5, 6, and 7.¹¹⁵ Each was constructed with five stone slabs, one vertical on each side and a horizontal cover slab. The rock formed the floor. None had funerary offerings and no bones were preserved. Form and construction of the graves are characteristically Middle Helladic, as is evident from the excavation of Eleusis in particular.¹¹⁶ That there were no grave offerings whatsoever is more likely an indication that they precede late Middle Helladic times than because they were the graves of children.

110. Shear, *Hesperia* VII, 1938, pp. 335-338, Parsons, *Hesperia* XII, 1943, p. 206. Shear reports 8, but in the day books of the Agora excavations 5 are mentioned, with the references OAE, OAM, OAN, OAQ, OAT.

111. Broneer, *Hesperia* I, 1932, p. 35; II, 1933, pp. 359-363, figs 28-34, Hansen, *Hesperia* VI, 1937, pp. 546-557.

112. Furtwängler-Löschke, *M.V.* p. 34,

Graef-Langlotz I n^{os} 10-31. See also Stubblings, *BSA* 1947, p. 4.

113. Judeich, *Top.* p. 52, Holland, *AJA* 1924, p. 155.

114. Kolbe, *AA* 1939, p. 235.

115. Kavvadias-Kawerau pp. 31, 77-79, 143.

116. See Mylonas - Travlos, *Praktika* 1952, p. 59 and Mylonas, *Eleusis* p. 31.

Located on the Acropolis by the Athenian myths were the grave of Kekrops and, on the S slope, the graves of Talos or Kalos¹¹⁷ and Hippolytos.¹¹⁸ It has been observed repeatedly that myths of this sort are usually built around an existing and substantial fact, the true historical basis and origin of which are hidden in time. The myths about Hippolytos and Talos, who was said to have been the nephew of Daidalos, are clearly very ancient. They took form perhaps late in the Mycenaean period, but certainly in Mycenaean times. It is surely not by chance that these myths located the graves of heroes in places where, as excavations have shown, there were graves so old that even for the Mycenaean themselves they would have been a faint memory at best. They may have been forgotten altogether until some chance find drew them to attention. Be that as it may, it is more than likely that the graves ascribed to these mythical figures were actual graves, Middle Helladic, and similar to those found in the same areas. People may have believed that they held the remains of those old heroes themselves.¹¹⁹

117. He is referred to as Τάλως in Apoll. *Bibl.* III 214, Diod. IV 76, 4 and Luc. *Pesc.* 42. Paus. (I 21, 4) employs the form Κάλως.

118. See, among others, Paus. I 22, 1.

119. This does not mean that there was worship of the entombed dead from then on, for as far as is known this was not a

practice before historical times (see also Mylonas, *Stud. Rob.* pp. 64-105, *Τμητικὸς τόμος Ἀ. Ἀλιβιζάτου* (Athens 1958) pp. 3-9, *Eleusis* p. 62, Marinatos, *Ephemeris* 1933, pp. 97 ff., *Praktika* 1953, pp. 239-240, 244-245, *Altertum* I pp. 147-148). It means simply that a number of existing graves have been ascribed to mythical people.

THE MYCENAEAN PERIOD

I. THE LATE HELLADIC REMAINS ON THE ACROPOLIS

It was during Late Helladic times that the Acropolis finally took form not simply as a place of habitation, but as an organised fortified entity. It now became the seat of the ruler of the area and possibly also a refuge for its inhabitants in case of danger. The traces left by this use of the rock, as we shall see, are enough to provide a clear picture of the entire complex. Before we can follow these traces step by step and in detail, a preliminary general examination of them is in order so that we can distinguish them from other, later remains that have in many cases been ascribed to Mycenaean times.

The visitor entering the Acropolis encounters first of all the Mycenaean bastion. This is hidden by the Classical bastion of Athena Nike and it was discovered and published by Balanos and Welter.¹²⁰ To the W of the bastion and lower down, traces of the Mycenaean ascent are visible on the surface of the rock.¹²¹ The polygonal wall W of and on the same axis as the Propylaia, and mentioned by all the authors, is much later.¹²² It remains from an Archaic supporting wall the continuation of which is visible much further west, outside the Beulé gate.¹²³ Likewise Archaic, as Keramopoullos discerned, are the various other walls on the SW side of the rock between the Asklepieion and the

120. Balanos, *Ephemeris* 1937 Γ, pp. 776-807, and Welter, *AA* 1939, pp. 1-22.

121. Beulé, *L'Acropole* p. 85.

122. Miller, *AJA* 1893, p. 486, Welter, *AM* 1923, p. 195, Keramopoullos, *Deltion* 1929, p. 74, n. 3, Picard, *L'Acropole* I p. 17, Judeich, *Top.* p. 213, Dörpfeld, *AM* 1885, pp.

131 ff., Keramopoullos, *Ephemeris* 1934/35, p. 87, Stevens, *Hesperia* XV, 1946, p. 77, Beulé, *L'Acropole* p. 84, Bohn, *Prop.* p. 15, Bötticher, *Akropolis* p. 59, Weller, *AJA* 1904, p. 60.

123. Keramopoullos, *Ephemeris* 1934/35, p. 87.

Odeion of Herodes Atticus. They had been attributed to the Mycenaean Pelargikon.¹²⁴

To the north of the Nike bastion, in front of the Propylaia, part of the curved section of the W Cyclopean wall is preserved.¹²⁵ Further north, inside the Pinakothekē, stones from this wall were found as well as intact Mycenaean levels and the walls of a house.¹²⁶

Outside the Classical fortification of the Acropolis, near the base of the big Mediaeval buttress of the north wall and N of the Archaic cistern, is a series of stones facing north. Kavvadias included these in his plan of the area of the caves without referring to them in his text.¹²⁷ Köster¹²⁸ interpreted the stones as the beginning of the N stretch of the Pelargikon, while Judeich¹²⁹ considered them to belong to a house wall. Further west, near the NW descent to the caves, part of the Mycenaean wall is preserved,¹³⁰ as well as the prehistoric descent itself.¹³¹ The beginning of the descent to the North Fountain can be seen¹³² still further W, beside the house of the Arrephoroi.

Preserved in the area to the N, NE and E of the Erechtheion is a complex of walls, a section of the N Cyclopean wall and the end of the NE ascent. These remains were ascribed to the palace.¹³³ The explorations of the Amer-

124. D'Oodge, *Acropolis* p. 25, Bötticher, *Akropolis* p. 57, fig. 7, Harrison, *M. and M.* p. 330 and fig. 35, Miller, *AJA* 1893, pp. 485-486, fig. 1, Harrison, *P.A.* p. 35, Judeich, *Top.* p. 116, n. 2, where it is stated with much reservation, Keramopoulos, *PraktAkAth* 1932, pp. 114-115, 122, Keramopoulos, *Ephemeris* 1934/35, pp. 95-96, 98, Dörpfeld, *Alt Ath.* I p. 3, pl. II, Travlos, *Ephemeris* 1939/41, pp. 59-62, Travlos, *Πολεοδ.* p. 25.

125. Stevens, *Hesperia* XV, 1946, pp. 73-75.

126. Kavvadias - Kawerau pp. 41 and 59.

127. Kavvadias, *Ephemeris* 1897, pl. 1.

128. Pelargikon p. 18.

129. Judeich, *Top.* p. 116, n. 2.

130. Kavvadias - Kawerau pl. Γ, n° 12.

131. Kavvadias, *Ephemeris* 1897, p. 29, pl. 1, Ξ.

132. *Ibid.* pp. 28-29, and Broneer, *Hesperia* VIII, 1939, pp. 317-433.

133. Kavvadias - Kawerau pp. 33, 87, 89, 91, pls Γ and Δ, Wachsmuth, *Ber. sächs. Ges. Wissensch.* 1887, pp. 401-402, 403, Miller, *AJA* 1893, pp. 476-477, Judeich, *Top.* pp. 259-260, Frazer, *Paus.* II pp. 355-356, *AM* (Funde) 1887, p. 141, Curtius, *Stadtgesch.* p. 45, Tsountas, *Ἀκρόπολις* p. 10, Köster, Pelargikon pp. 13-14 and pl. IVa, Kavvadias, *Προϊστορική Ἀρχαιολογία* p. 300, Schede, *Die Burg von Athen* p. 10.

icans added traces of walls inside the Erechtheion and in the area of the Pandroseion.¹³⁴ All these walls were examined and classified by Holland,¹³⁵ and, in addition, Broneer discovered the continuation of the NE ascent outside the wall.¹³⁶

The next manifest section of the wall is preserved at the SE corner of the rock, beside the Museum. Here were found house walls, graves and a cache containing bronze weapons and objects together with a few sherds.¹³⁷ Continuing along the length of the S slope, another section of the wall emerges from beneath the SW corner of the crepidoma of the Parthenon, part of it visible today.¹³⁸ After this, the last piece of the wall that has survived is the section preserved on the SW end of the rock,¹³⁹ S of the Propylaia.

134. *Erechtheum* pp. 13-14, 138-142.

135. Holland, *AJA* 1924, pp. 1-23, 142-169, 402-434, Picard, *L'Acropole* II pp. 19-20, Judeich, *Top.* p. 260, Bérard, *Stud. Rob.* p. 138, Hill, *Athens* pp. 13-14, Broneer, *Antiquity* 1956, pp. 9-10.

136. *Hesperia* II, 1933, pp. 351-355; IV, 1935, pp. 109-113.

137. Kavvadias - Kawerau pp. 33, 35, 37, 39, 95, 99, 101, 103, pl. E., Montelius, *VHAM* 1889, pp. 49-60, and *La Grèce* p. 155, *AM* 1888 (Funde), pp. 107-108, (Miscellen), p. 228, *BCH* 1888, pp. 244-245, Harrison, *M. and M.* p. 536, and *P.A.* p. 13, Köster, *Pelargikon* pp. 6-10, pl. IVb, Kavvadias, *Προϊστορική Αρχαιολογία* p. 300, fig. 360, Heberdey, *ÖJh* 1910, fig. I, Frazer, *Paus.* II p. 355, Graef - Langlotz (Wolters) I pp. XXV, XXXIII-XXXIV, figs 5 and 6, Judeich, *Top.* p. 115, Kolbe, *AA* 1939, p. 235, Bérard, *Stud. Rob.* p. 139.

138. Kavvadias - Kawerau pp. 39, 113, 117, 119, pl. Z, Harrison, *M. and M.* p. 536, and *P.A.* p. 13, D'Oodge, *Acropolis* pp. 21-

23, Köster, *Pelargikon* pp. 6-10, pl. IVb, Kavvadias, *Προϊστορική Αρχαιολογία* p. 300, fig. 360, Frazer, *Paus.* II p. 355, Judeich, *Top.* p. 115, Kolbe, *AA* 1939, p. 235, *FuF* 1939, p. 394, *Bericht VI Intern. Kongr. Archäologie* 1940, pp. 344-345, *Research and Progress* 1940, pp. 254-258, Bérard, *Stud. Rob.* p. 139.

139. Beulé, *L'Acropole* p. 83, Bohn, *Prop.* p. 16, Dörpfeld, *AM* 1885, pp. 131-139, Bötticher, *Akropolis* pp. 59-61, Lolling, *Topographie* p. 337, Harrison, *M. and M.* p. 356 and fig. 35, Curtius, *Stadtgesch.* p. 45, fig. 13, Miller, *AJA* 1893, fig. 1, Weller, *AJA* 1904, p. 60, pl. I, D'Oodge, *Acropolis* pp. 23, 364, White, *Ephemeris* 1894, pp. 25-62, Köster, *Pelargikon* pp. 6-10, pl. IVb, Kavvadias, *Προϊστορική Αρχαιολογία* p. 300, fig. 360, Heberdey, *ÖJh* 1910, pp. 1-4, fig. 1, Middleton, *JHS* suppl. 3, pl. 7, X, Frazer, *Paus.* II p. 355, Walter, *Athen, Akropolis* p. 15, Picard, *L'Acropole* I p. 11, Judeich, *Top.* p. 115, Wrede, *Attische Mauern* p. 5, Welter, *AA* 1939, fig. 4, Dirlmeier, *Die Pelasger-*

Other remains of buildings that have been ascribed to Mycenaean times also lie within the area enclosed by the walls and at the top of the Acropolis. Visible just behind the base of the Athena Promachos, is a long shallow trench cut in the surface of the rock and oriented S to N. Stevens considered this to be a bed for the foundations of a Mycenaean terrace.¹⁴⁰ In the area between the Propylaia and the Erechtheion, and also S of the Erechtheion amongst the foundations of the big Archaic temple¹⁴¹ are a great many walls of all sizes that have been considered prehistoric. They are shown on Kawerau's plan¹⁴² as "remains of Pelasgian walls", an identification that was generally accepted. Following the excavation of the Acropolis, the walls were attributed in the bibliography either to the palace,¹⁴³ to houses of the ruler's retainers,¹⁴⁴ or just to ordinary houses.¹⁴⁵ Holland alone observed that some of these walls appeared on the plan to have been built on Classical foundations. He therefore concluded that these at least could hardly be Mycenaean and he decided that they were considerably later, perhaps even Mediaeval.¹⁴⁶

Holland's sound observation appears not to have drawn the attention it deserved. The walls were never investigated in detail, and they continued to be referred to as prehistoric by scholars whose publications came after Holland's. It was therefore absolutely necessary to study all the walls meticulously and on the spot, so as to have sound results based on the material itself. This was not always feasible since some had been covered over by thick fill after the

mauer p. 37, Stevens, *Hesperia* XV, 1946, pp. 75, 78, Hill, *Athens* p. 8, Marinatos - Hirmer, *Κρήνη καὶ Μυκηναϊκὴ Ἑλλάς* p. 57.

140. Stevens, *Hesperia* V, 1936, pp. 499-503.

141. Known in general as the Hekatompedon. Since then the question of the exact location of the so-called Hekatompedon has arisen and there is some doubt as to whether this Archaic temple has been correctly identified. The discussion continues at present. It is therefore preferable to apply the term "ancient" or "Archaic tem-

ple" to the above mentioned foundations.

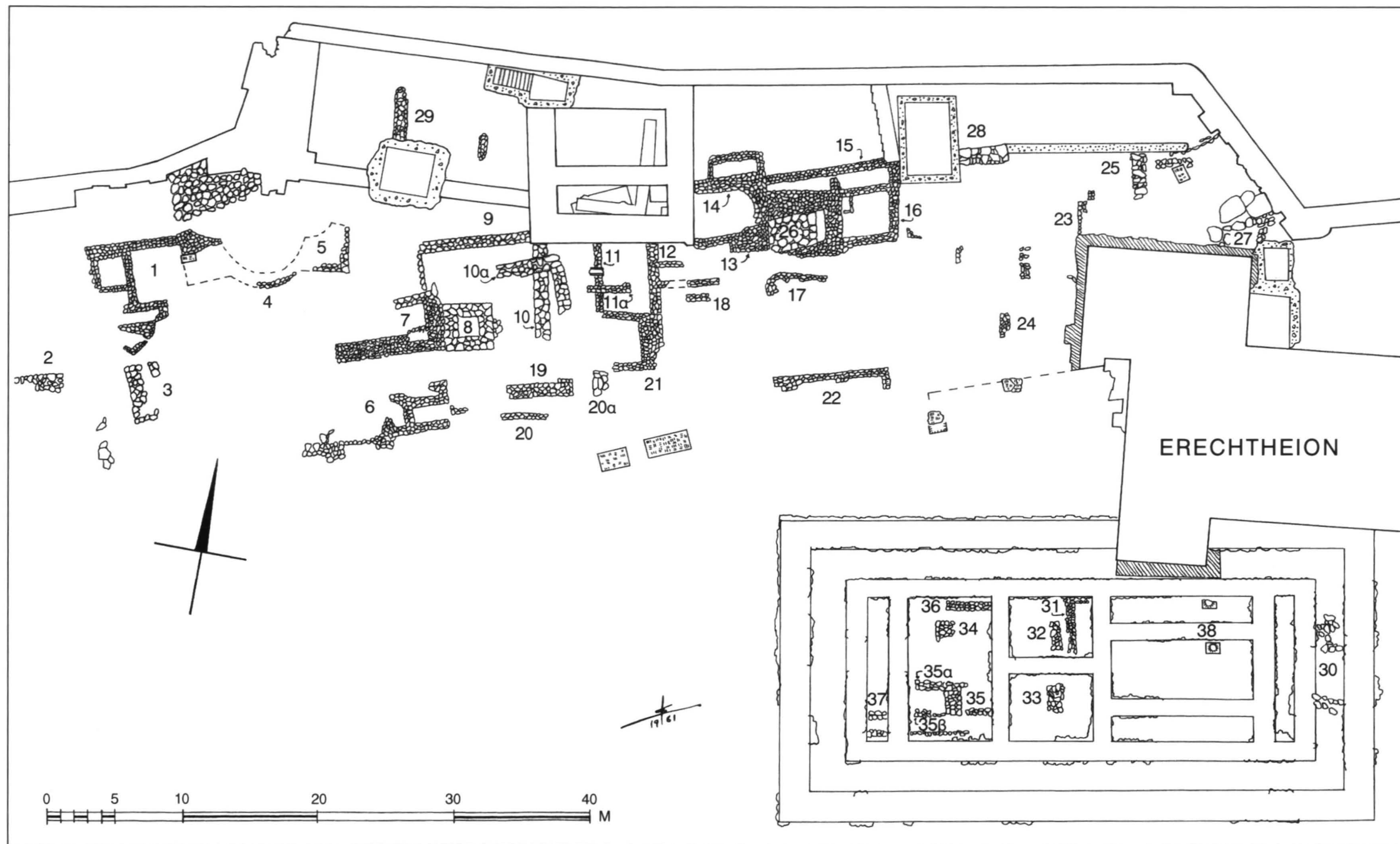
142. Kavvadias - Kawerau pl. Γ.

143. Middleton, *JHS* Suppl. pl. 1, n° 37 and 74, Schede, *Die Burg von Athen* p. 10.

144. Harrison, *M. and M.* p. 536, Miller, *AJA* 1893, p. 477, Picard, *L'Acropole* I p. 11, II p. 19.

145. Kavvadias - Kawerau pp. 31, 63, 73, Curtius, *Stadtgesch.* p. 45, Kavvadias, *Προϊστορικὴ Ἀρχαιολογία* p. 301, Frazer, *Paus.* II p. 355, Judeich, *Top.* p. 282, Stevens, *Hesperia* V, 1936, p. 502.

146. *AJA* 1924, pp. 144, 162 and pl. VII.



Plan 3. Walls between the Propylaia and the Erechtheion area.

Acropolis excavation and were inaccessible. Wherever conditions permitted, however, the walls were uncovered anew, cleaned and studied. In the course of this work, a number of corrections were made to the plan of Kawerau who, as Holland noted, had not surveyed these walls with his usual care.¹⁴⁷ Special attention was given to the construction of the walls and their building material, their relation to other buildings in the same area (sometimes informative about the succession of buildings) and, wherever undisturbed, the fill in which they lay. The results of this work are as follows (see Plan 3):

Wall complex 1: This forms a unit and the walls comprising it are clearly contemporary with each other. Built into one of the corners is a rectangular poros stone block, dressed in a similar fashion to those in Classical buildings. It is not clear from the plan whether the block was used as building material for the wall or if it was already there and the wall was added to it. In either case the wall is later than Classical times.

Wall 2: Built of stones of various sizes and a few pieces of kiln-fired brick, with traces of lime-mortar in the joins. It belongs definitely to the period of Turkish domination.

Wall 3: Kiln-fired bricks, pieces of marble and plenty of lime-mortar were used for its construction. This too is Turkish.

Walls 4 and 5: Available only on the plan. 4 is curving, 5 angular, the distance between them very small. If they are not contemporary with each other, one must have cut through the other, but it is uncertain which one is the earlier of the two. If, as their similarity of construction suggests, they are synchronous, they must belong together as there is too little space between them for them to belong to separate buildings. In fact, taken together with the end of complex 1 to the east they form a curving unit. This is explainable if we take into consideration the gun-emplacement that stood here during the Turkish occupation.¹⁴⁸ Thus, as complex 1, the walls must be Turkish.

Walls 6: These walls, which form a single construction, contain pieces of poros stone together with small fragments of kiln-fired brick, and are therefore later.

147. Holland, *AJA* 1924, p. 144.

148. Travlos, *Πολεοδ.* fig. 138.

Walls 7: They have been built in part on top of the neighbouring rectangular construction **8**. Included in the building material are pieces of poros, showing that the walls are later.

Rectangular construction 8: It is earlier than complex **7**, which lies on top of its W side. Built into the E façade and the SE corner are pieces of white marble destroyed by fire, pieces of Karra stone and fragments of Eleusinian marble. Therefore it must have been built considerably later than Classical times. It is probably Mediaeval.

Wall 9: The eastern end is built on the foundation of the house of the Arrephoroi and it is therefore later than this building.

Walls 10, 11 and 12: As wall **9**, they were built later than the house of the Arrephoroi, their northern ends abutting the foundations of that building. They contain pieces of green marble. Walls **10a** and **11a**, which were built above the preceding walls, are of course later still.

Walls 13 and 14: As was evident from the cleaning of these walls, they too have been built against the E part of the foundation of the house of the Arrephoroi, the construction of which therefore precedes them.

Walls 15 and 16: They form a corner, the end of which is built on the Classical poros wall to the N and on the SW corner of the neighbouring Mediaeval cistern. Lime-mortar has been used abundantly as bonding material. They are definitely even later than the cistern.

Wall 17: Insignificant little wall of rough and careless construction, forming a curved line. It cannot be Mycenaean.

Walls 18: The northernmost is unquestionably the continuation of the small section running at right angles to **12**. The southernmost contains pieces of green marble. Both walls must be contemporary with **12**.

Wall 19: Built of a variety of materials. At its eastern end it turns slightly to the N, forming a sort of anta.

Wall 20: Little wall with a piece of poros built into it.

Walls 20a and 21: **21** cannot have been built while **20a** was in existence; **20a** is therefore the later of the two. The excavation, however, showed that **21** is a continuation of **12**. The two walls are therefore later.

Wall 22: Pieces of carved poros, marble and kiln-fired brick have been incorporated in the east end. It belongs to Mediaeval or Turkish times (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Wall 22 of Plan 3, from E.

Wall 23: The S end of the wall rests on the foundation of the Erechtheion, which therefore preceded it.

Wall 24: It contains fragments of marble and poros with traces of Classical tooling.

Wall 25: It is constructed of various types and sizes of stones, joined in disorderly fashion with lime-mortar.

Flagstone paving 26: This is a somewhat irregular paving of large stones, set with the smoothest surface up. It is surrounded by walls of the Turkish

period. The paving stones, which include a piece of poros with marks of a coarse hammer, were found lying on a compact fill composed of hard earth with traces of yellowish clay, undisturbed by the excavation of 1885-1890 and containing sherds chiefly prehistoric but also a fragment of a Corinthian aryballos. Thus it cannot be earlier than the Archaic period.

Corner wall 27: The two ends toward the S are built, the W one against the foundation of the north porch of the Erechtheion, the E one against the Turkish cistern. Thus the wall has to be later than the cistern.

Wall 28: Archaic, carefully constructed in polygonal style with well hammered stones.

Wall 29: It is built in rough and careless fashion of small stones, kiln-fired brick and lime-mortar; consequently this too must belong to the years of Turkish domination.

Walls 30 and 31: They have been built on the foundations of the cella and peristyle of the Archaic temple. The W end of one of the walls in one place penetrates the wall of the foundation. Thus they were built later than the temple.

Wall 32: It is made of relatively large stones and it is fairly well built. A late Roman sherd was found beneath the third layer of stones.

Wall 33: A piece of poros is built into the top of the wall. Beneath this, the stones are very well joined. Sherds of the 5th century B.C. were recovered from beneath the wall.

Wall 34: Holland considered it to be a foundation for the support of the cella roof of the Archaic temple.¹⁴⁹ It is more likely, however, that it was built prior to that, and was cut off during the setting of the temple foundations. Its position and construction connect it with 35.

Wall 35: Higher than the neighbouring walls, it differs from these in construction as well. It is built of large dressed stones that are flat and horizontal on top. Archaic in all probability, like 34, it must be either a foundation for a column base of the temple, as suggested by Holland, or somewhat earlier than the temple.

149. Holland, *AJA* 1924, p. 162.

Walls 35 α , 35 β , 36, 37: They are later than the Archaic temple and wall 34 since they are built against them.

Thus, of all these walls that were considered to be prehistoric and attributed to the palace complex or to other simpler houses, none are Mycenaean. A few, to be sure, 28, 35, and probably 34 and 26, are ancient, but they date to historical times. Some, 8, 32 and 33, are later still, although it is not possible to determine exactly when they were built. All the rest are remains of little buildings that had been put up within the Acropolis fortress during the Turkish domination.

There remain the two poros column bases lying within the Archaic temple, to the S of the Porch of the Maidens (Plan 3, 38). They were found during the excavation of the Acropolis at a level lower than the top of the temple walls that surround them, as is explicitly stated by the excavators.¹⁵⁰ This is why they were thought to precede the temple chronologically. Since in form they resemble Mycenaean bases, they were generally accepted as belonging to the Mycenaean palace, as also that they were still in their original position.¹⁵¹ Presupposing this, Holland based his reconstruction of the palace megaron on them.¹⁵²

With the passage of time, doubts arose as to whether these bases really were *in situ*. It was observed that their tops were not exactly level, and it was suggested that at least one, the northernmost, had been moved.¹⁵³

Let us examine them. They are made of soft, yellowish poros. Each consists of a cube, from the top of which projects a low cylinder cut out of the same piece and forming the main base of the column. Along the sides of the cubes are point marks (Fig. 6). The S base is 0,94 m. long, 0,76 m. wide and 0,27 m. in height; the top of the cylindrical part has a diameter of 0,55, and

150. Kavvadias - Kawerau p. 83.

151. *Ibid.* p. 83, Middleton, *JHS* Suppl. pl. 1, n° 67, Jahn - Michaelis, *Arx Ath.* pp. VI-VII, Dörpfeld, *JdI* 1919, p. 4, and Pauly - Wissowa, *RE* s.v. *Athena*, p. 1952, Holland, *AJA* 1924, p. 162, *AJA* 1939, p. 289.

152. *AJA* 1924, pp. 162-168.

153. Paton, *Erechtheum* pp. 427-428,

determining that the top of the cubical lower part of the northernmost base was 0,076 lower than the equivalent point on the southernmost. This is repeated by Brooner, *Antiquity* 1956, p. 9, adding that Dörpfeld too expressed similar doubts during his lectures on the Acropolis.

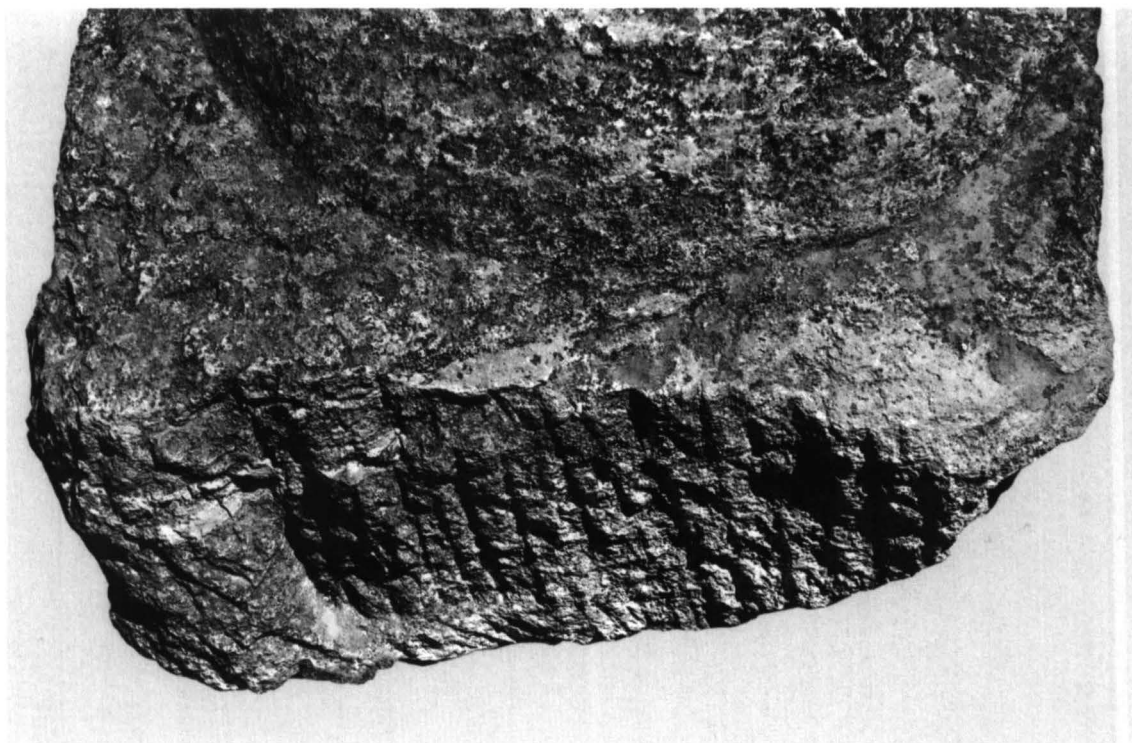


Fig. 6. The W side of the S column base, showing traces of working with a point.

rises 0,08 m. above the cube. The N one is 0,94 m. long, has a maximum preserved width of 0,70, height 0,31 and height of cylinder 0,14 m. The original diameter of the cylinder cannot now be ascertained because it is damaged. It will, however, have agreed with the other base. The cylindrical projections are flat on top. The lack of tenons shows that the columns they held were wooden. Both rest on a substructure consisting of small stones; among the stones of the N base, however, are fragments of brick.

The S base is in fairly good condition and it is complete, whereas the N one is not well preserved and has broken into pieces, particularly at the top, which are held together at present with mortar. In addition, its N side, that facing the outer wall of the cella of the Archaic temple, to which it is fairly close, is uneven and incomplete. The missing part clearly was removed with a hammer. It is very likely that these same hammer blows were responsible for the cracks which, widening in the course of time, caused pieces to pull off at the top. The builders of the Archaic temple evidently found that the base was close enough to the line of the foundations to hinder them in their work, hence the mutilation.

The bases, moreover, are not on the same level. The top of the cylinder of the N base is 0,02 higher than that of the S, and the tops of their cubical members show a still greater discrepancy (see *supra*, n. 153). These differences are insignificant and in themselves would not be enough to show whether the bases are in their original position or not. Yet the fact that the N base was cut back in order to lay the foundation for the cella of the temple, and in particular the existence of a kiln-fired brick in its foundation shows that this one at least had been moved, and more than once.

Thus at least one of the bases is not *in situ*. Are they really Mycenaean?

That they were found beneath the level of the temple of the sixth century B.C. means that they belong to an earlier, but not necessarily Mycenaean, building. The material of which they were made is the soft yellowish poros that was used especially for the buildings and sculpture of Archaic times. Poros in general as a rock was not unknown in the Mycenaean period. The term "poros" is generic and includes numerous varieties.¹⁵⁴ This particular stone, which comes from one of a few quarries, is characteristic of the Archaic period. Moreover, the careful working of the cylindrical tops of the bases and their plinths, which have been cut precisely to a regular four sided shape, are features unknown in Mycenaean architecture, in which the column bases, except for the flat top, would have been covered by stucco or by the flooring in general. These two bases indeed belong to a period that had other conceptions about the form of a base. A comparison with the limestone base, indisputably Mycenaean, that was found E of the Erechtheion¹⁵⁵ makes this particularly clear. The base is totally different in material, measurements and method of working. Finally, and even more significant, the use of the point for working the sides of the cubes shows that the bases were made in post-Mycenaean times.

If this form had disappeared after the end of the Mycenaean period, we would have to accept them as Mycenaean. Yet this is not the case. Wooden columns had bases of similar form down to the time when the columns of buildings were set on a continuous and unified stylobate. This was dictated by

154. See also Orlandos, *Ὑλικά δομῆς II* p. 68.

155. Kavvadias - Kawerau p. 68. See *infra*, p. 192, figs 30, 31.

technical necessity. The lower part of the column had to rest on a stable and flat surface. It had also to stand at a height greater than the rest of the floor so as to avoid exposure to stagnant water and ground dampness. This method of supporting columns is therefore not unusual during Geometric and even Archaic times.¹⁵⁶ The form and working of bases is sometimes even more primitive than those of the Acropolis.

Thus there is no evidence at all that the bases are Mycenaean. Instead, there are serious reasons for believing them to be considerably later. It is not impossible that they belong to the same building as walls 34 and 35. If so, they should probably be attributed to a temple built on that site after the Mycenaean megaron and before the Archaic temple, to a temple the existence of which Dinsmoor considered to be "hypothetical but necessary."¹⁵⁷

156. Bases of this sort were found in the Archaic temple of Thermon (Soteriades, *Ephemeris* 1900, p. 173), where they continued in use for a long time, in the 7th century B.C., the Archaic building at Dreros (Xanthoudides, *Deltion* 1918, appendix p. 26), the Archaic temple of Prinias of the beginning of the 7th century B.C. (Pernier,

ASAtene 1914, pp. 33-34, figs 6-7, 9-12), and similar bases may be seen on the François vase. In the Geometric temple of the end of the 8th century B.C. at Dreros, instead of a base there is a rudimentarily worked stone without any cylindrical rise (Marinatos, *BCH* 1936, p. 227, fig. 12).

157. Dinsmoor, *AJA* 1947, pp. 109-110.

II. THE BUILDING PHASES

Preserved to the E and NE of the Erechtheion are complexes of walls. There is also a section of the Mycenaean fortification wall. The relation of these walls to each other and all together to the Mycenaean wall shows that they are not contemporary, but belong to different building phases.¹⁵⁸ The phases can be distinguished and defined through a study of the walls.

The stairway rising from E to W (A on Plan 4) is blocked at the end by a wall, n° 5. The preserved height of that wall, still visible today, is such as to prevent the stairway from continuing westward. Thus it was built later, specifically to put this approach out of use (Fig. 7). Yet this wall is manifestly later than walls 1 and 2, since its stones are built against these walls without bonding. Furthermore the E face of wall 5 is stepped back some 0,50 m. more than the line of the E faces of 1 and 2. Wall 5 is therefore a later addition and, for the same reasons, the same is true of the two parallel walls 6 and 7.

If these later additions are excluded, we see that walls 1 and 2, built at right angles to the S and N of the ascent, leave an open space between them, approximately 4,40 m. wide, that allows the ascending pathway to continue to the W. Thus two building phases are evident: the first, during which the ascending pathway leads to the top of the rock and continues westward between walls 1 and 2; and the second, during which the end of the ascent is blocked by wall 5 and by walls 6 and 7 which are similar to it. To the E of wall 1 (Plan 4) is preserved the corner wall 3. The space between walls 3 and 1 has also been closed, by wall 4, likewise later as is clear from its construction. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that just as walls 1 and 2 are earlier than 5, walls 1 and 3 are earlier than 4.

Wall 3, however, also precedes the N Cyclopean wall (Plan 4, 8), which at this point has been built against the N face of 3.

158. See Holland, *AJA* 1924, pp. 142-157.



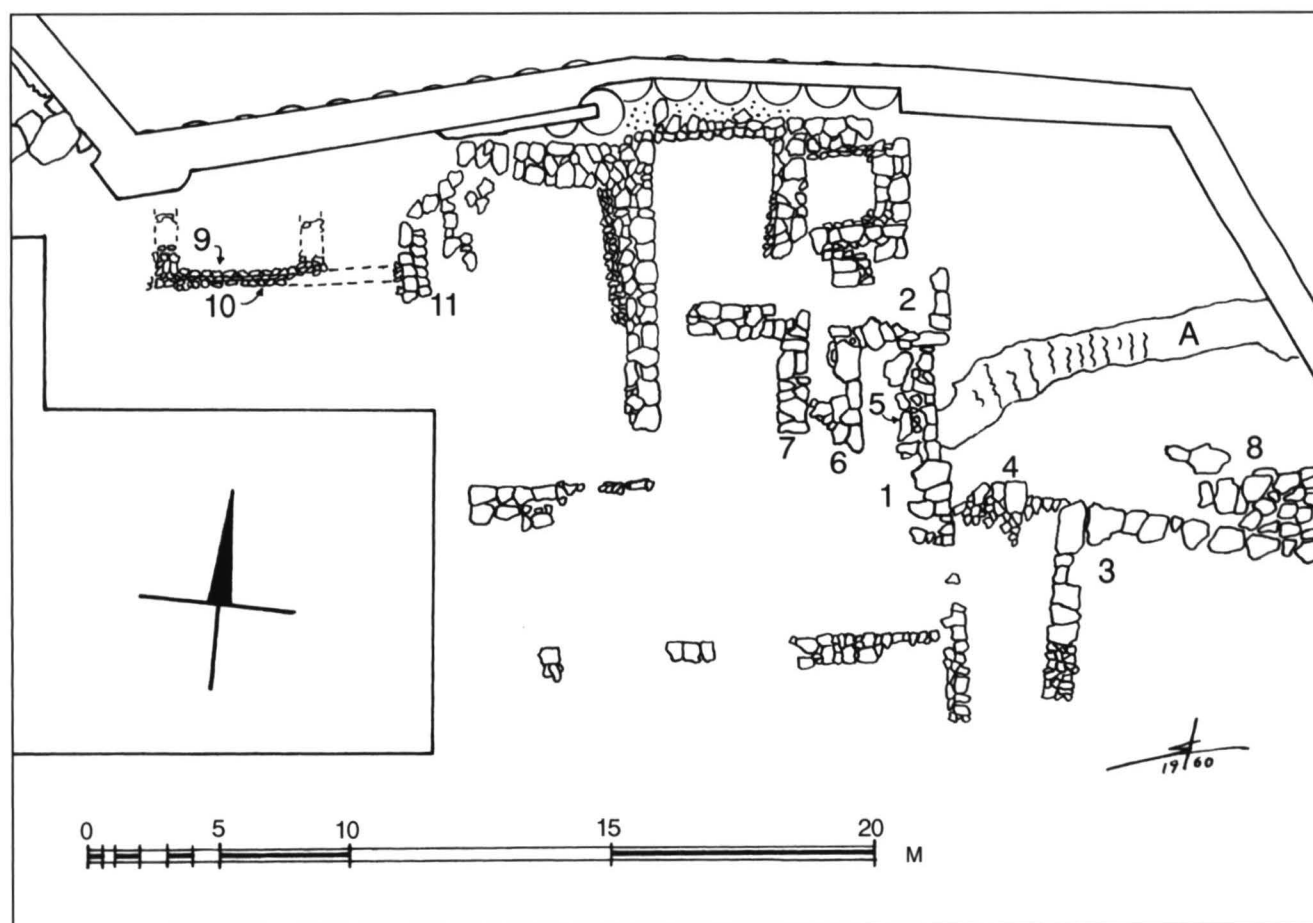
Fig. 7. Wall 5 of Plan 4, from E. To the left is 1, to the right, 2 (phot. DAI n° 48).

We can now define two successive building phases: during the first, walls 1, 2 and 3 exist, and the ascent along the pathway functions; during the second, the ascent is blocked by the addition of walls 4, 5, 6 and 7, and the fortification wall is built.

This does not necessarily mean that the constructions belonging to this period are synchronous with each other. That remains to be seen. It does, however, mean that beyond any shadow of a doubt we have at least two successive phases.

Just N of the E cella of the Erechtheion, below the Classical poros slab pavement, a wall was built in the form of a Π opening to the N. It is designated wall 9 on Plan 4.¹⁵⁹ Another, narrower wall (10), runs along the length

159. Kavvadias - Kawerau pl. Γ, and Holland, *AJA* 1924, pp. 151-156, fig. 12.



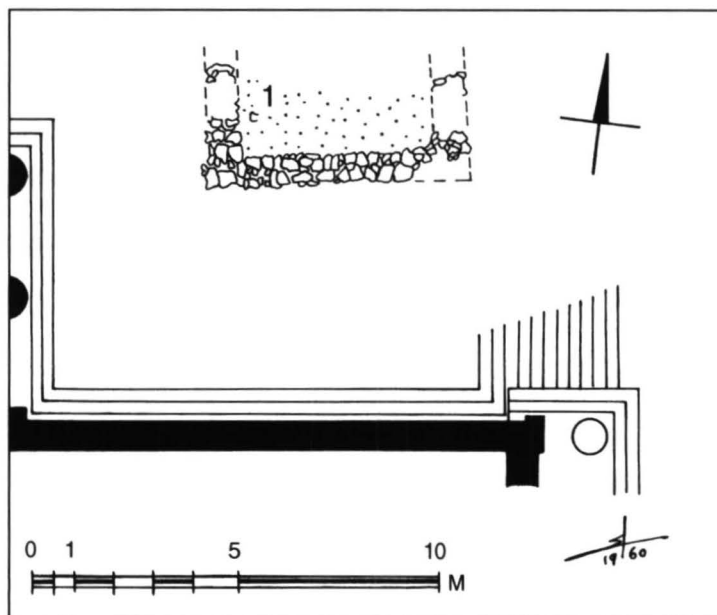
Plan 4. Walls in the area N and NE of the Erechtheion.

of its S leg and on top of it. It is of a different sort of construction and it follows a line at a slight angle to the wall beneath it. Wall 10 is clearly later than 9: it has been built on top of it and as it does not follow the N legs of 9 it cannot be interpreted as the upward continuation of the same wall, with 9 as the foundation. Instead it continues eastward to a point where it meets yet another wall (11), running from N to S. Where the two walls meet, 10 is constructed of small stones that abut the regular W face of 11. It is built against 11, and is therefore later. As we saw, however, it is later than 9 as well. Walls 9 and 11, however, cannot be synchronous, since 10 lies entirely on 9 without following its turn to the N, whereas it simply abuts on 11. This means that when 10 was built, 9 was no longer used as part of a building, while 11 existed and was still in use. Thus 9 is not only earlier than 10, but it precedes 11 as

well. Yet 11, which was found in part covered over by the Classical slab paving of the N courtyard of the Erechtheion, is unquestionably ancient. In construction, size of stones and orientation, it resembles the walls around the end of the ascent. Its position, thickness and construction, however, exclude the possibility that it is part of the fortification wall. It must therefore belong to the same phase as walls 1, 2 and 3 on Plan 4. Since wall 11 is later than 9 but earlier than the fortification wall, we have at least three building phases. The first phase is represented by wall 9. To the second phase belong walls 1, 2, 3 and 11. The third and final phase includes walls 4, 5, 6, 7 and wall 8. On the basis of these conclusions we shall now examine the remains of the Mycenaean Acropolis.

1. THE FIRST PHASE

The wall lying beneath the Classical slab paving of the courtyard N of the Erechtheion (9 on Plan 4; Plan 5) is the only construction belonging to this phase. Kavvadias was the first to excavate it and, although it is not mentioned in the text, it is recorded on the relevant plan of the Acropolis excavation.¹⁶⁰ With the American excavations in the area of the Erechtheion, it was re-excavated in 1923 by Holland, who studied and published it in detail.¹⁶¹

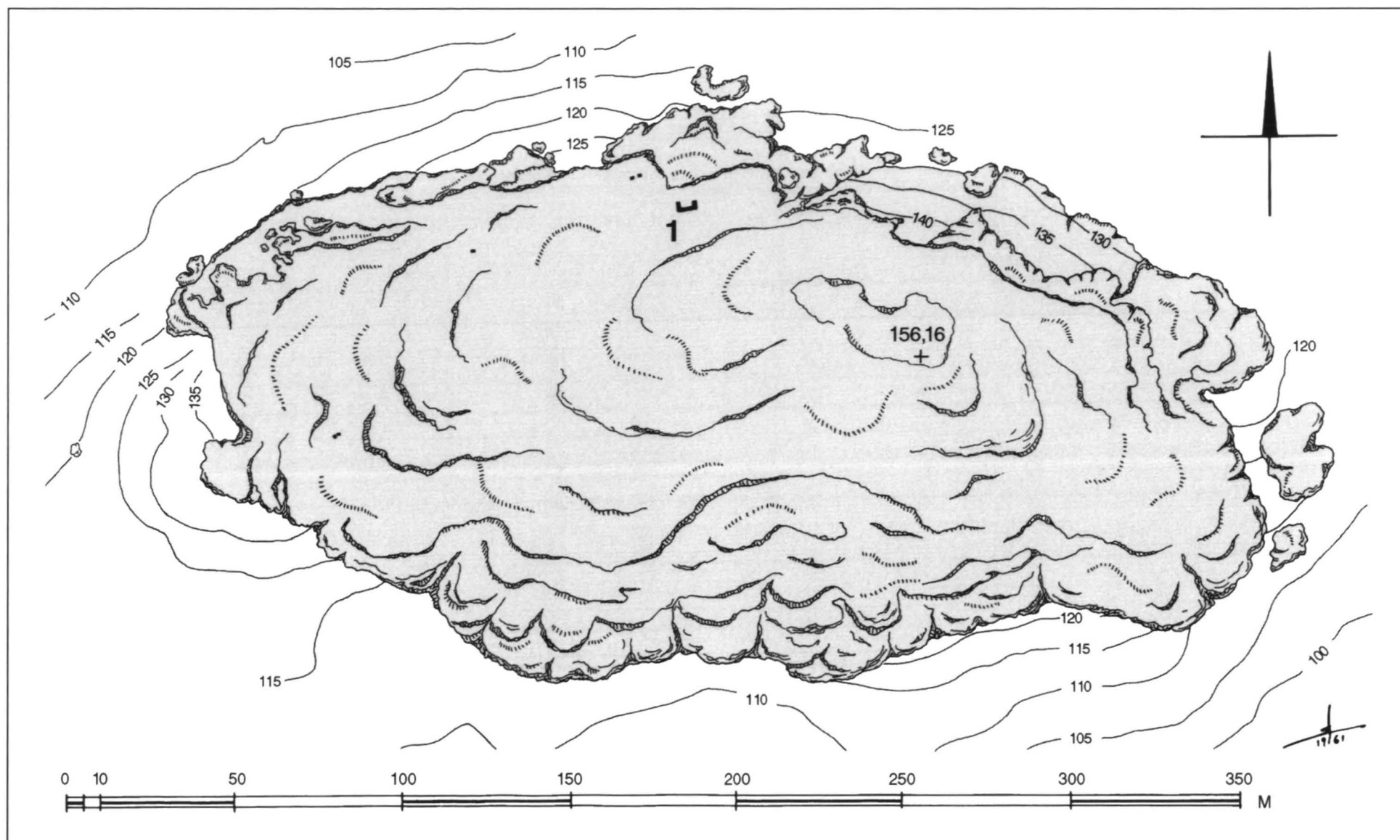


Plan 5. Remains of the LH I house N of the Erechtheion.

It represents the remains of a four-sided area, the N part of which is not preserved. It is oriented E to W. At each end the walls make an approximately right angled turn to the N. Built of rough limestone blocks, with a maximum

160. Kavvadias - Kawerau pl. Γ, under the number 36.

161. *AJA* 1924, pp. 151-156, fig. 12.



Plan 6. The Acropolis at the beginning of the LH period.

measurement of 0,30-0,50, and standing to a height of 0,40-0,80 from the rock, they are bedded partly on the rock itself, and partly on a thin layer of fill. The area is at least 6,60 m. long, and ca. 0,75 m. wide; of the legs running north, the easternmost is preserved to a length of 2,50 and that on the west to about 3 m. It will thus have included a fairly large space.

There is no trace whatsoever of any flooring on the outer side of its S face and this side was evidently the exterior. The pathway to which the NE ascent led probably ran in front of this. The floor of the interior was 0,025 thick, carefully constructed of tamped white clay, some 0,10-0,15 above the rock, and it covered all the surface enclosed by the three walls. Next to the SW corner, n° 1 on Plan 5, a small four-sided hollow was found, a sort of small *bothros*, the purpose of which is not clear. Beneath the floor and covered by it lay a child's skull.

The type of flooring indicates that the construction (Plan 4, 9; Plan 5) is the remainder of a roofed area, which, as seen in Plan 6, had been built at the top of the rock very near the brow.

The date of the building is provided by sherds collected from the fill within the room, above and below the floor. Since the sherds from both groups showed little difference between each other, it appears that the room was not long in use and was soon abandoned.

Most of the sherds are Middle Helladic of various categories, including also a considerable number of reddish monochrome, LH I in date.¹⁶² If the skull found beneath the floor represents a burial, at a stretch it may be of this same date. Yet its presence here is more likely to be a coincidence given the short distance between the room and the Middle Helladic children's graves to the NW (Plan 2, 7).

Be that as it may, the building represents the earliest Mycenaean evidence of habitation on the Acropolis, and it belongs to the beginning of the period.

¹⁶². As Holland reports, the sherds were examined by Wace and Blegen, who dated them (*AJA* 1924, p. 151, n. 1, 155-156).

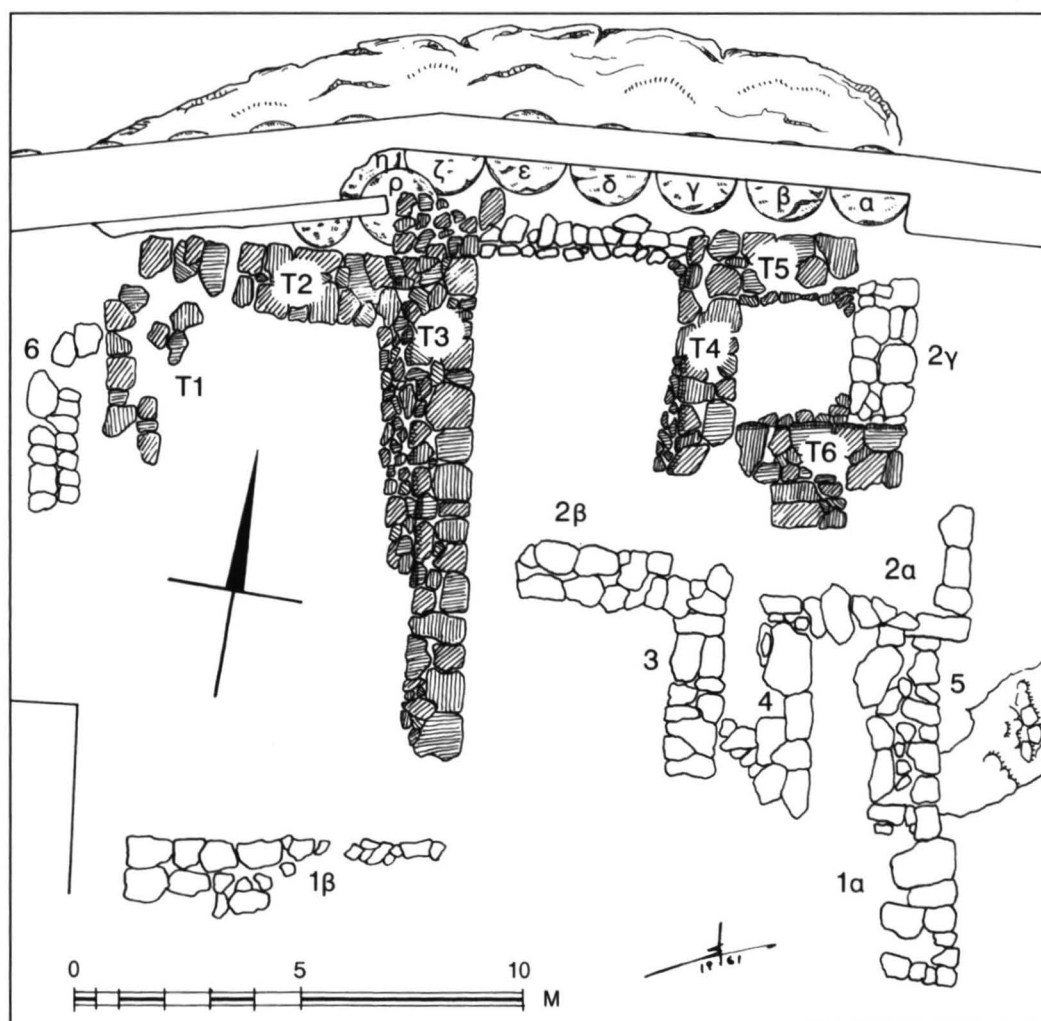
2. THE SECOND PHASE

THE AREA W OF THE TERMINUS OF THE NE ASCENT

Preserved in the area N and NE of the Erechtheion (see also Plan 4) is the inner face (see Plan 8, T) of the Cyclopean wall, as well as a complex of walls (1 α , 1 β , 2 α , 2 β , 2 γ , 3, 4, 5, 6, T1, T2, T3, T4, T5 and T6 on Plan 7).

The face of the Cyclopean wall along this stretch has undergone many changes through time. In the Classical era, after the Persians destroyed it, it was levelled to 148,82 m. and used as a foundation for the column drums, which were set there as part of the Themistoclean fortification wall. Later on it was deformed by walls belonging to the period of Turkish domination, which rested on top of it. Despite all this it is well enough preserved to be recognisable. Parts of all these walls are visible and accessible today. Discernible specifically are the point where T2 and T3 meet, the N end of T4 and practically all of T5. Likewise visible are the column drums α , β , γ , δ , ϵ , ζ and, in part, η . Drum ϱ , which Kawerau notes as upright and in position, now lies fallen on its side over the N end of wall T3.

Cleaning of the visible stretches of these walls revealed the following: T2 and T3 are built of stones of various sorts, for the most part Acropolis limestone but some from elsewhere. Since they are constructed loosely and carelessly, there are many open spaces between the stones that have been filled in with smaller stones, likewise carelessly placed as chance dictated. Among these are pieces of fired brick and quite a few pieces of marble. All of it is plastered together with lime mortar containing a high percentage of lime. The two walls are not of the same height, T3 being preserved to a higher level than T2. Furthermore, about half of the area of the top of the poros column drum ϱ is covered by remains of lime plaster and small stones built up to two layers. If drum ϱ , which, as we noted, is now lying on a slant on T3, is placed upright in its original position, these constructions form a continuation of T3 to the N. The wall in any case continues one way or another on the preserved top of the Cyclopean wall almost to drum ζ . Thus, as T3 lies on top of both



Plan 7. Mycenaean and Mediaeval walls NE of the Erechtheion.

the Cyclopean wall and the Classical wall and since it is constructed with lime mortar, both **T3** and **T2** must be notably later (Fig. 8).

As for **T4** and **T5**, the join between them shown by Kawerau on his plan is in fact non-existent. It is clear, however, that they are connected and form a corner. In any case, both the N end of **T4** and the N side of **T5** are built to a width of about 0,10-0,15 m. on top of the Cyclopean wall and they are preserved to a notably higher level. Type, variety and arrangement of material are the same as in **T2** and **T3**. **T5** indeed contains pieces of marble, not only at the top but also in a few courses lower down. Lime mortar has been used in these too. Like the previous walls, they are therefore later (Fig. 9).

What holds for **T2** and **T3** holds as well for **T1**, which is the continuation of **T2** and together with it forms a regular corner. In addition to the argu-



Fig. 8. The N end of wall T3, which continues on the preserved top of the Mycenaean fortification wall (right, below the column drums). Above, right, column drum ϱ with traces of the wall construction on top of it.

ments based on construction, which are already ample, there is one further piece of evidence related to the Cyclopean wall: the north side of T1, specifically its northwest corner, is so close to the brow of the rock, without even being parallel to it, that there is less than 2,50 m. to the edge. There would indeed have been no space for the wall had T1 existed when the wall was built.

T6, on the other hand, not only abuts on T4, with which it forms a corner, but it is higher than 2 γ , the S end of which it has covered. It has, as seen clearly on Kawerau's plan, the same kind of projecting sub-foundation of smaller stones as have the others. It is the same as the others, associated in any case with T4.

It follows that the walls T1, T2, T3, T4, T5 and T6 are all later and they are roughly synchronous with each other. The lime mortar and bricks used in their construction place them in Christian or Turkish times. Kawerau informs us that in this place there was a little house and a Turkish "domed construction"



Fig. 9. Walls T4 and T5 of Plan 7, from the S.

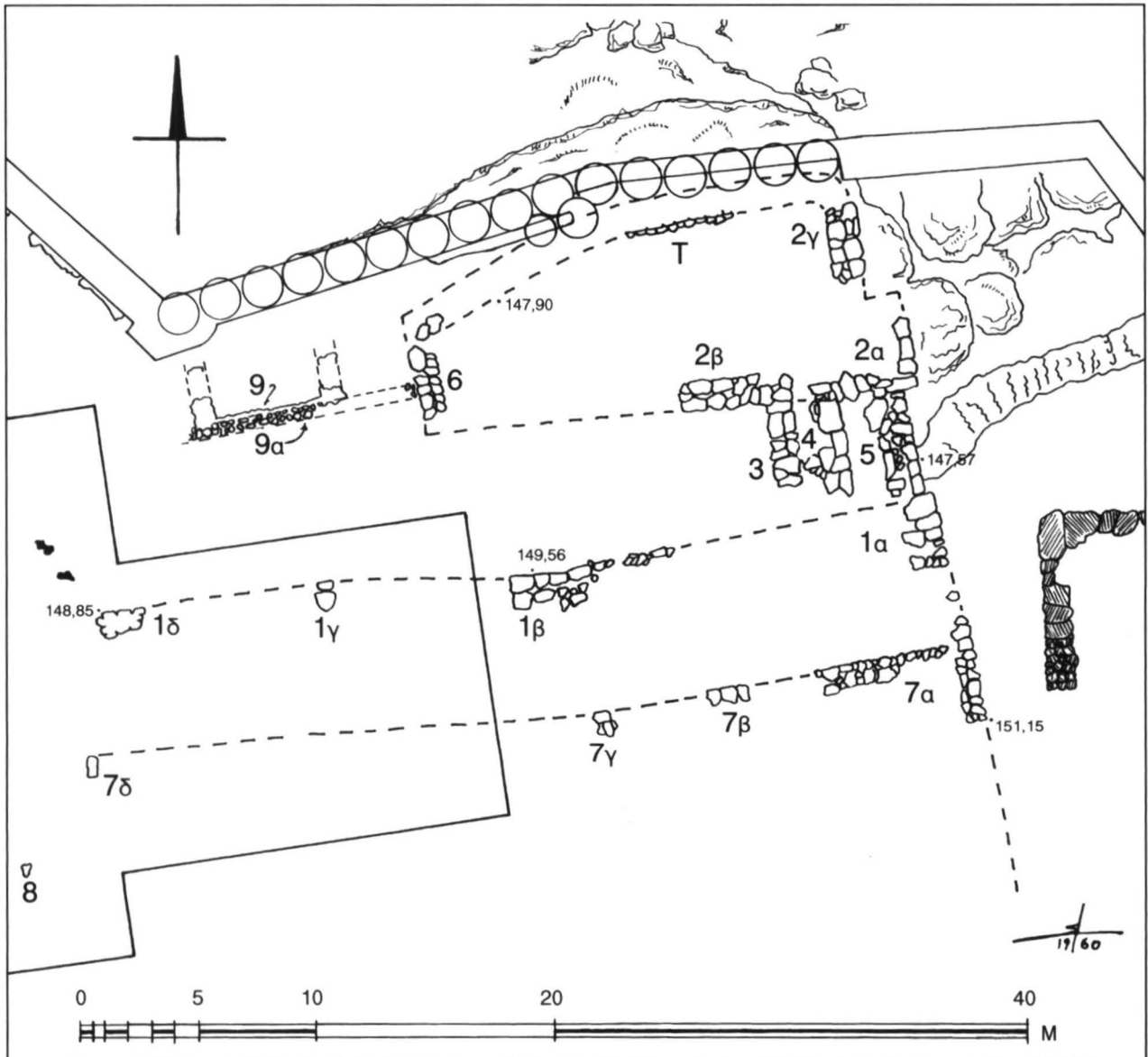
which had been used by Pittakis to store his finds.¹⁶³ This would suggest that the walls, which seem to have incorporated whatever building material was at hand, were associated with the foundations of these buildings.

The remaining walls of the area, shown in Plan 8, may now be examined. Of these, wall 5 blocked the ascending path, which was in use during Mycenaean times. As we shall see below, the blocking of the path had already occurred by then. Wall 5 is therefore Mycenaean, as are also walls 1 α and 2 α , which precede it. Wall 1 α , moreover, continues to the W as 1 β and, as observed by Holland,¹⁶⁴ these are terrace walls. This is evident from their thickness, up to 1,50 m., which is too narrow for a fortification wall but very wide for a simple building wall.¹⁶⁵ Still more significant, they have only one face, toward

163. Kavvadias - Kawerau pp. 15, 33 and fig. 2, where Turkish houses are shown in this place.

164. *AJA* 1924, p. 145.

165. The walls of the megaron at Mycenae vary in thickness from place to place, but do not as a rule exceed 1 m. At Tiryns the thickest are 1,30 m.



Plan 8. Remains of terrace walls NE of the Erechtheion.

the N; on the inner side the stones are not set in a line, but are adapted to the uneven lie of the rock. This is therefore a terrace wall facing N along line **1α-1β**, which obviously supported a level space to the south of it. So, its height, that is the distance from the rock to the top of the terrace wall, will have varied according to the level of the foundations so as to keep the top of the terrace level.

Some 5,50 m. S of wall **1α-1β**, there are traces of another terrace wall, parallel to the first (**7α-7β-7γ** on Plan 8). The E end of this terrace wall abuts on the S extension of wall **1α**, without being bonded into it. It is thus clear that

wall **7a** was built after wall **1a**; not much later, however, since the two successive terraces appear to have been planned and constructed as part of one and the same programme. Wall **7a**, the eastern end of the second terrace wall, is founded on the rock at an approximate elevation of 150,40 m., and the same holds for **7γ**.¹⁶⁶ Since the two terraces, placed one behind the other, can only have been stepped, the level of foundation of the second will give us the level of the top of the first. Thus the top of the terrace bounded by wall **1a-1β** was at an elevation of around 150,40-150,50 m. Because of the unevenness of the rock, which rises markedly toward the W just where **1a** and **1β** were built, **1a** is founded at a height of 148,40, while **1β** is at 149,56 m. Since, as we saw, the top of the terrace is at ca. 150,50 m., wall **1a** will have been 2-2,10 m. high, and **1β** around 1 m.

The top of the terrace wall **7a-7γ** can only have agreed with the level of the space S of it, where later on the Archaic temple was built and the S side of the Erechtheion was founded. That the Archaic temple was built on a terrace that was as high as the euthynteria, is well known. It is evident from the fact that the foundation stones of its colonnade are coarsely worked on the outer face and were clearly not meant to be seen. Because of the steep declivity of the rock from S to N, only the SE corner of the temple was founded directly on the rock. The rest was constructed on an artificial terrace that hid the foundations. Such a building, however, with compact and massive construction, could not possibly disappear without leaving the slightest trace in a place that had been filled in and covered over from Classical times on. Since no such traces were preserved, the temple was evidently built on the already existing Mycenaean terrace, which was covered over with fill after the Themistoclean wall was built. The construction of a new terrace would in any case have been superfluous. The euthynteria of the Archaic temple is at the level of 152,54 m. This we may take as the elevation of the top of the terrace wall **7a-7γ**, which, since it was founded at 150,40 m., will have been slightly over 2 m. high.

N of the end of the NE ascent, opposite wall **1a**, is a corresponding corner wall, **2a** on Plan 8. At right angles to this wall are the two walls that are

166. Kavvadias - Kawerau pl. A.



Fig. 10. Walls 2 β and 3 of Plan 8, from the N, at their point of junction. In front the inner side of 2 β . Wall 3 is next to the wooden stairway (phot. DAI n° 46).

parallel to wall 5, numbered 3 and 4. Since they too block the pathway, these walls must be contemporary with 5 and later than 2 α . Wall 2 β likewise precedes them. In fact, both the plan and the German Institute photograph n° 46 (Fig. 10), which shows the point where 3 touches 2 β viewed from the N, indicate that the northernmost stone of wall 3 is not bonded into wall 2 β but lies parallel to the S face of the wall and on a different level. Wall 3 was clearly built at a later time against 2 β . Walls 2 β and 2 α are accordingly contemporary with each other. They are built along the same line and 2 β is actually a continuation of 2 α to the W. Thus, there is also a wall along the north side of the ascent, approximately parallel to 1 α -1 β , and the pathway ran between them. The width, construction and length of this wall (greater than that preserved since the wall did not end at the point to which it was preserved at the W) exclude its identification as a house wall. Moreover with a width of only 1,40 m. it cannot have been part of the fortification wall. Thus there will have been

yet another terrace wall, represented by walls **2α-2β**, similar to and facing S toward **1α-1β**.

Some 10 m. from the preserved end of **2β**, to the W, there is a stretch of wall running S to N, wall **6**. This has been discussed above (see Plan 4, wall **11**, and Plan 7, wall **6**). The wall is covered in part by the paving of the courtyard N of the Erechtheion and is therefore earlier than the courtyard. Since its construction excludes the possibility of its being either Geometric or Archaic, it may be considered Mycenaean. The W face is made up of stones that are larger and more regular than those of the E side of the wall, so the wall faced W. Up to 1,20 m. in width, it is comparable to the previous walls. To the W, moreover, was the LH I room (see Plan 5), on the foundations of which rested the narrower, later wall that was built against wall **6**. This means that the space west of **6** was open. Wall **6**, therefore, forms the W end of the terrace wall represented by **2α-2β**. If we extend the line of **2α-2β** to the W, and the line of **6** to the S, these two extensions meet at a point about 0,60 m. south of **6** and they give us the line of the S face of the terrace wall. This, to be sure, is an approximation since Mycenaean walls, especially retaining walls, were never perfectly straight.

The north boundary of the terrace is more difficult to determine. Yet there are a number of clues, one being the inner face of the N Cyclopean wall at **T** on Plan 8. The fortification wall, built after the terrace, along the brow of the rock, which at this point is some 4 m. further north, will either have been built against the outer face of the terrace wall or it will have stood on top of it. In other words, the terrace wall extended to the brow of the rock and followed it, or it lay within the fortification wall S of line **T**, or it will have run somewhere between these two lines. The most likely solution appears to be the latter, for two reasons. The first is the construction of the inner face of the fortification wall, along its foundation. It is built of stones that are smaller than usual and do not form a regular face, recalling the construction of the inner side of the terrace walls of the area. This means that the inner side of the fortification wall probably rested on the already existing retaining wall, which was incorporated in this way into the width of the wall, serving as a foundation on the inner side. Construction **T**, therefore, can be considered as part of the retaining wall before it was incorporated into the fortification wall. The second reason is the arrangement of the stones at the NE end of wall **6**. The westernmost of the two last preserved stones at this point is in normal posi-

tion on the inner building line of the wall, but the easternmost lies at an angle to the wall and appears to make a wide angled turn toward the E. If the line indicated by this stone is followed it joins easily the line of T. In my opinion, this is the line of the inner face of the north side of the retaining wall. The outer face can be restored parallel to this, assuming an average thickness for the wall of 1,20-1,40 m., as is evident from the walls preserved.

Walls 2 α and 2 γ represent the E boundary of the terrace. Wall 2 γ is stepped back about 1,50 m. to the W of the line of 2 α . This was dictated by the configuration of the rock, which at that point is divided by a deep cleft into two tangent masses. To avoid the cleft, wall 2 α had to be jogged slightly westward before continuing toward the N. Accepting this, if wall 2 α is extended to the N and W, and 2 γ to the S, they meet to complete the line of the retaining wall. It bordered and retained a terrace N of the end of the NE ascent, corresponding to that on the opposite side. The height of the terrace cannot be estimated with any certainty, but it is likely to have agreed with that of retaining walls 1 α -1 β .

We now return to the terraces S of the ascent in order to determine their continuation to the W. It is clear that walls 1 β and 7 γ were cut off in the process of laying the foundation for the E pronaos of the Erechtheion,¹⁶⁷ and that they therefore originally continued further than the point where they appear to end (Fig. 11).

A study of Kawerau's plan¹⁶⁸ reveals that the three last stones of wall 1 β to the W do not follow exactly the same direction as the others, the line of which connects them with 1 α . Instead they turn slightly northward forming a very wide, almost imperceptible angle. This is not exceptional since, as noted above, Mycenaean retaining walls are never precisely straight. If this adjusted line is continued toward the interior of the Erechtheion, it coincides approximately with the line of the interior of the foundation for its N wall. The foundation projects out some 0,25-0,30 m. south of the line of its overlying wall.

167. This is visible on Kavvadias - Kawerau pl. Γ , where the underpinnings of the foundation of the E pronaos of the Erechtheion are shown as much narrower than

they actually are. Proof of this lies in Fig. 11 (phot. DAI n° 742). See also Holland, *AJA* 1924, p. 419, fig. 5.

168. Kavvadias - Kawerau pl. Γ .



Fig. 11. Wall 1β of Plan 8 at left, and the foundation of the E porch of the Erechtheion, from the N. (phot. DAI n° 742).

Along its length the faces of the poros foundation blocks preserve traces of tooling showing that they had been placed against an already existing rough wall and had been worked so as to conform with it. At two points (Plan 8, 1γ and 1δ) two sections of this wall are preserved *in situ* with a width of some 1,50 m.¹⁶⁹ They are built of the same material and in the same way as the previous retaining walls. There can be no doubt that wall 1γ-1δ is the westward continuation of wall 1α-1β.

169. *Erechtheum* pp. 138-142, fig. 88, pl. II, and Holland, *AJA* 1924, pp. 1-23, fig. 1. Holland correctly noted this wall but believed it to be a different wall from 1β (which he numbers A4 on his plan in *AJA* 1924, p.

156, fig. 12). Thus he accepted the existence of two similar, parallel, heavy retaining walls, A4 and F2, 0,60 m. apart, a situation that could never have existed.

Preserved within the cella of the Erechtheion, in the corner formed between the W cross-wall and the Christian foundation of the S aisle, is yet another trace of a similar wall:¹⁷⁰ a long and fairly large stone (Plan 8, 7δ). The stone lies precisely on the line of extension of wall 7α-7γ, if we continue that wall toward the W as with 1α-1δ. Thus the two retaining walls continue towards the W and they can be followed as far as the W cross-wall of the Erechtheion.

Clearly they did not stop here. There will have been a boundary further W. Indeed the existence of a west retaining wall, hiding the foundation of the Archaic temple, had been postulated by the principal researchers. Yet no one had gone beyond that to determine its exact position.¹⁷¹ Stevens¹⁷² was the first to observe that just behind the base of the Athena Promachos, there were traces of a shallow trench that had been cut into the rock, running from S to N. He considered this trench to belong to the foundation of a Mycenaean retaining wall that supported the terrace on which the Archaic temple had been built and that it was still extant in Classical times. He determined its S boundary on the basis of the traces of the Processional Way of the Panathenaia which made a detour around the SW corner of the terrace and then continued its course toward the E. The N boundary of the terrace he surmised both from the existence of the supposed Mycenaean house walls, beyond which the retaining wall could not have gone, and particularly from the oblique positioning of two Classical bases lying NE of the end of the wall. The position of the bases makes sense only if there was a wall to the S of them. The orientation of the bases showed Stevens in addition the line followed by the N leg of the retaining wall toward the E. The direction of the S leg he surmised from the existence of a Classical wall that was parallel to the foundations of the Archaic temple, but not parallel to the Parthenon. Given that this south leg begins at the S end of the trench and runs eastward between

170. Holland, *AJA* 1924, p. 2, fig. 1, g and *Erechtheum* pl. II.

171. Dörpfeld, *JdI* 1919, pp. 12, 38 and pls 1, 2 and 3, where he shows it with the reference Y much further east than it actually is. He does not locate its S leg, but he

agrees that its height is 153-153.23 m. at the top. Likewise Paton, *Erechtheum* p. 437, n. 3, and Holland, *AJA* 1924, p. 145.

172. *Hesperia* V, 1936, pp. 499-503, figs 42-43, 51-52. See also Holland, *AJA* 1924, p. 77.

two constructions that are parallel to each other, that is, the Classical wall and the Archaic temple, it can only have been parallel to them. The Classical wall formed the N boundary of the processional way, which ran E along the side of the Parthenon. It could not have been planned and built at an angle to the Parthenon unless it had to be adjusted to another already existing wall, in this case the Mycenaean retaining wall.

He calculated the height of this Mycenaean terrace on the basis of the elevation of the rock at the NE corner of the Promachos base and the height of the stylobate of the Archaic temple, which was 4,53 m. at the middle of its W end. He dated it to the Mycenaean period on the basis of the chronology of the buildings that had been built on top of it, and on the fact that the surface of the rock within the terrace showed no trace of having ever been worked. This showed that the area was covered by an earth accumulation from very early times, thus ruling out any building activity in that space.

Stevens' discovery and conclusions were generally accepted as the correct solution to a long-standing problem¹⁷³ and, as we shall see, exploration of this area has fully supported his ideas. Cleaning in the area has shown that in general the trench is just as Steven described it, long and narrow, and running from S to N (Fig. 12). Its width varies from place to place, but in general, where the rim has survived on both sides, it ranges between 1,20-1,40 m. At only one place, exactly E of the base of the Promachos, it is 2,50 m. wide. This, however, is due to the configuration of the rock. As Stevens rightly observed, the S end is defined by a low rise in the surface of the rock, worn smooth by the feet of those walking along the ceremonial road, and by the cuttings in the rock which show the course of the road (Plan 9, 1). This end is at a level of 149,58 m.

173. Reservations were expressed by Dinsmoor alone (*AJA* 1947, p. 122, n. 69 and fig. 3) who changes somewhat the orientation of the N leg of the retaining wall and has doubts about dating it to Mycenaean times. Later, Immo Beyer (*AA* 1977, p. 50) followed by J. C. Wright (*AM* 95, 1980, pp. 64-65, n. 18) stated that the trench is nei-

ther a trench nor Mycenaean (Es gibt keine mykenische Mauerbettung dieser Art, Beyer) but a natural hollow in the surface of the rock (Beyer, Wright) or a much later setting for a row of monuments. This unequivocal statement is obviously based on their lack of familiarity with Mycenaean construction tools and practices.

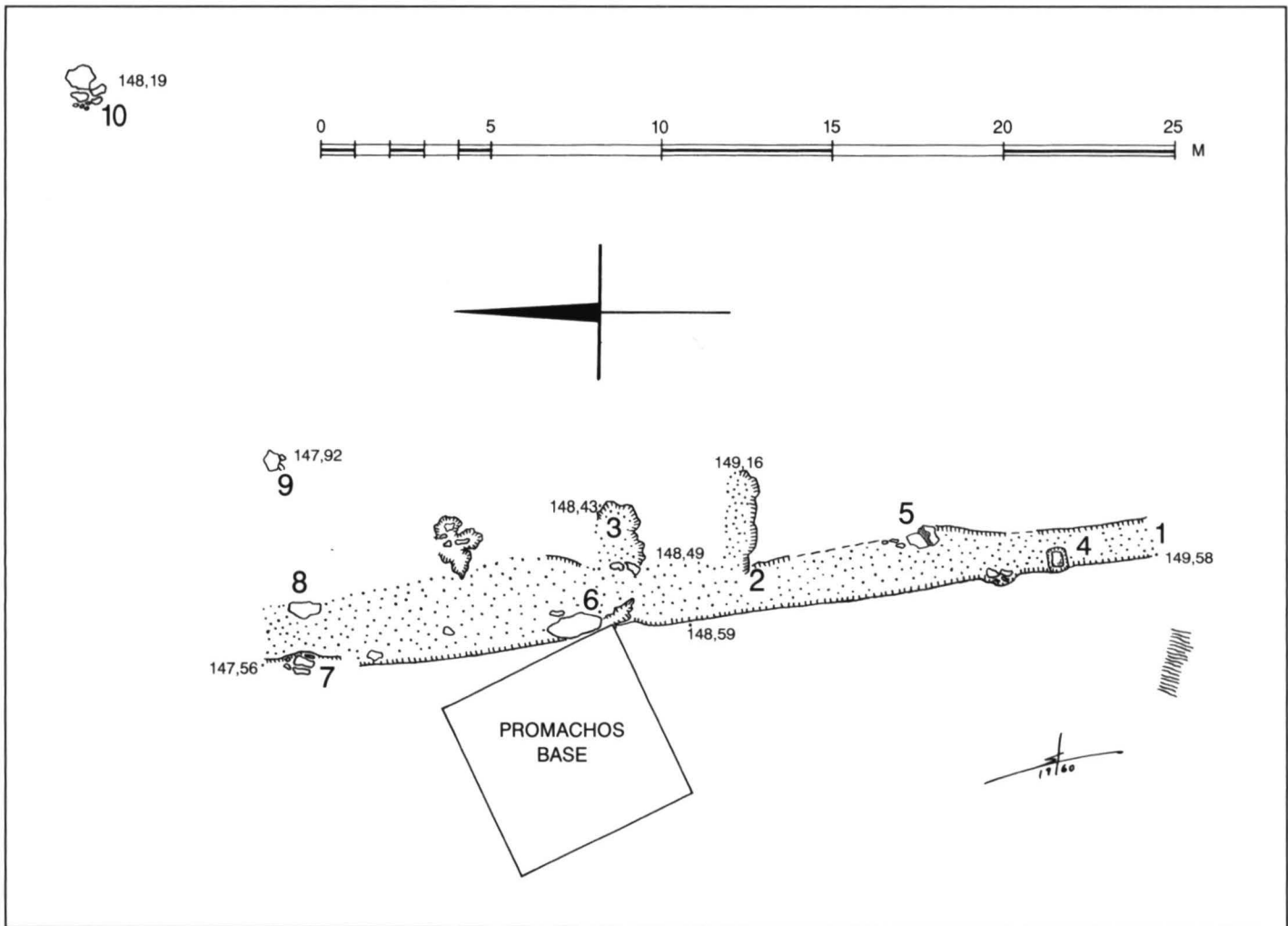


Fig. 12. Foundation trench for the terrace wall behind the Promachos base, from the south.

The W rim of the trench is the straightest, well cut and deep, and it is easily discernible for practically its full length. At only a few places is the rock surface so low that the cutting cannot be made out. Just S of the Promachos base, at about the middle of its course, the bed of the trench is 0,35 m. lower than the rim. This section is also the best preserved. Clearly the trench was cut along a line where the rock had already a natural hollow, and this hollow remained approximately as it was along the E side.

The E rim, which corresponds to the inner side and was invisible, is therefore neither as straight nor as carefully cut as the W rim. It is visible only toward the S, even though the trench is very shallow there. Further N it disappears for some 8 metres, to reappear again along an irregular line, determined more by the chance formation of the rock, and modified in places by minor chipping rather than by systematic cutting.

THE SECOND PHASE



Plan 9. Foundation trench of the W terrace wall.

At about the middle of the E rim (2 on Plan 9) there is the trace of a short straight cutting that begins just in front of the rim, on the interior of the trench bed. It is at right angles to the trench and runs from E to W. At the beginning, it is shallow but quite clear. Further to the E it deepens, and the edge coincides with a natural fold in the rock about 3 m. long, which has been deepened in part and modified to accommodate the base of a built pithos of Turkish times (Fig. 13). There is no corresponding working of the rock N of it. This would in any case have been superfluous as the rock itself here forms a shallow trench-like hollow, about 0,70 m. wide, at right angles to the trench of the wall. Some 2,50 m. N of the cutting (Plan 9, 2) there is a crack in the surface of the rock, comparable in orientation and size (Plan 9, 3), and entirely



Fig. 13. Working of the rock at 2 on Plan 9, from the W.

natural. N of 3, the inner rim of the trench can barely be discerned. Indeed in a number of places it is not even extant, especially near its N end, which at an elevation of 147,56 m., is lower by 2,02 m. than the S end. The bed of the trench is nowhere completely flat and in places it appears not even to have been prepared. Rough spots in the surface of the rock have simply been removed, evidently with the hammer, to create a surface more or less level but hardly smooth. More care has been spent on the cutting of the W rim, which is more uniform in appearance; yet there the lack of chisel or any other similar tool marks is notable.

The creators of the trench, however, did not confine themselves simply to removing protrusions in the rock. They filled in whatever hollows existed,



Fig. 14. The stones of the terrace wall, in situ, next to 5 on Plan 9.

either in the bed of the trench or just in front of the edges of the trench, with a mixture of ordinary yellowish mud plaster and gravel or small stones. The purpose was to level it and to provide a more or less uniform surface for the blocks of the retaining wall. Hollows filled in, in just that way, have been found at various places in the trench, especially beneath the few stones of the retaining wall that have remained *in situ*.

Exploration of the trench indeed revealed not only the bed itself, but stones belonging to the lowest course of the retaining wall that were still in place. The stone noted at point 4 on Plan 9 was found built with lime plaster into an artificial hollow and it belongs to the period of Turkish domination. At point 5, however, there were two fairly large stones, built on the rock with simple mud plaster and small pebbles, without any sherds at all, and next to them a few smaller stones (Fig. 14). Preserved at the beginning of the crack 3 at the W, are two more stones, and at the point where the E corner of the Promachos base is close to the edge of the trench (Plan 9, 6) a block of large

proportions remains, the S edge of which covers quite a deep hollow in the rock. It was excavated earlier by Kavvadias. Lying next to this block is another, smaller stone, and two more were found further north.

Close to the north end of the trench, at 7 on Plan 9, there is a hollow that extends some way into the trench. Like the other hollows, this too had been filled in as described above, and over this were set the stones of the NW corner of the retaining wall. These stones no longer existed, but *in situ* were a number of smaller stones that had been placed as an underpinning for the lowest course of the wall. To some extent these stones also sealed off the filling of the hollow which had therefore remained undisturbed, hard and compact. Within it were found a considerable number of sherds which were very useful for dating the retaining wall; the latest are Mycenaean.¹⁷⁴ To the E of 7, at 8 on Plan 9, a stone was preserved at a spot coinciding with the NE end of the trench.

There are in addition a few traces of the N leg of the retaining wall as well. At location 9 on Plan 9, around 4 m. E of 8, a large block was found on the rock, with two smaller stones beside it, together covering a fill containing sherds agreeing with the evidence from the previous group.¹⁷⁵ Some 16 m. further east along the line of 8-9 (Plan 9, 10), lies another group of stones, built directly on the rock and unquestionably part of this leg of the retaining wall. The line 8-9-10 runs in the direction that Stevens had proposed and it follows a course about 2 m. S of and parallel to the Classical base (see Plan 10, 4).

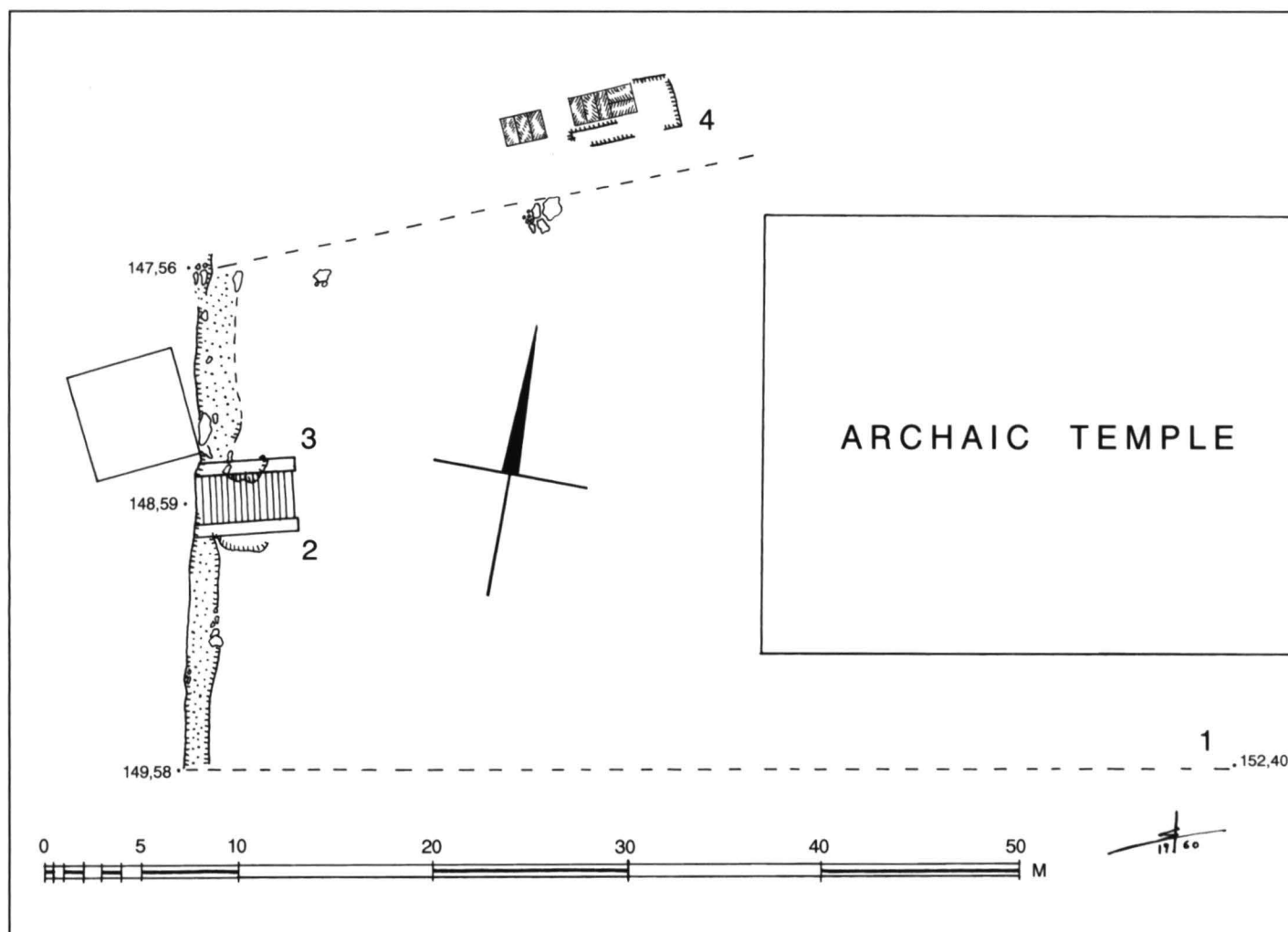
Thus the retaining wall existed and it was indeed Mycenaean, just as was the terrace it supported, on which the Archaic temple was later built.¹⁷⁶ Since the rock slopes from S to N, and the tops of the walls must have been horizontal, the heights of the terrace walls will have varied from place to place. In order to determine these the height of the terrace must be found. We have one very valuable piece of evidence for this: the euthynteria of the colonnade of the Archaic temple which, as we saw, is at an elevation of 152.54 m. Assum-

174. See Appendix II, group 1.

175. See Appendix II, group 2.

176. See also the information given by

Dörpfeld, *JdI* 1919, p. 4, according to which Mycenaean sherds were found between the preserved walls of the Archaic temple.



Plan 10. Terrace walls W of the Erechtheion.

ing that the top of the terrace sloped slightly from N to NW to facilitate drainage,¹⁷⁷ 152,40 m. must have been the average elevation of the terrace.

According to this calculation, the terrace wall will have been 2,82 m. high at the S edge, and 4,84 m. high at the N because of the slope of the rock.

On the basis of the arguments given above, Stevens determined that the line of the S leg of the retaining wall began at the S end of the trench and ran parallel to the Archaic temple toward the E. He was most certainly right. We can determine the length of this leg with accuracy, basing the calculation on the differences in elevation.¹⁷⁸ The rock rises not only from N to S, but

177. Similar sloping exists in the Mycenaean palaces. See Holland, *AJA* 1924, p. 167.

178. Stevens too used this method, but he depended on the altitudes given by Ka-

also from W to E. Accordingly the wall of the S leg, retaining a horizontal elevation of 152,40 m., as we have seen, must end at the point where the rock reaches or approaches that height. This level is reached at location 1 on Plan 10, around 54 m. from the S end of the trench. As for its N leg, which we followed as far as the stones at 10 on Plan 9, it will have continued somewhat beyond the Classical bases (Plan 10, 4) that were erected in front of it.

Were there approaches to the terrace, whose boundaries we have thus determined to the S, W and in part to the N? Traces of one are preserved at the W side and, no doubt, there may have been more than one. The two small quasi-trenches (Plan 10, 2 and 3, Plan 9, 2 and 3), of which 2 is man made, at least in part, can only be explained as foundations for the support of a stairway that will have led to the top of the terrace, at right angles to the retaining wall.¹⁷⁹ Assuming a width of about 0,70 m. for the two supports, using the width of 3 as guide and in agreement with that of the N stairway of the Palace of Mycenae,¹⁸⁰ the opening between them will have been 2,40 m. This gives us the width of the stairway. The elevation of the rock just in front of the middle of that opening is 148,59 m. The difference between this and the top of the terrace, estimated at 152,40, is 3,81 m. If this difference is divided into 16 steps, with risers of 0,24 m. and treads 0,35 m. wide, we have a stairway penetrating the terrace some 5 m. This provides an easy ascent to the top of the terrace in accordance with Mycenaean building practice.¹⁸¹

werau, and in addition he accepts a somewhat lower level for the terrace.

179. The likelihood that a stairway existed at this point was suspected also by Stevens, to whom I am obliged for the suggestion.

180. *Ergon* 1959, pp. 98-99.

181. The number and measurements of the steps are only indicative. Compared to later examples and to modern ones, Mycenaean stairways are steep and difficult to climb. They are never symmetrical even in luxurious constructions. Their arrangement

and the measurements of the steps vary greatly. They follow no strict canon, and it is therefore impossible to restore precisely any Mycenaean stairway or ascent that is not preserved. In the calculations for this stairway I took into account measurements drawn only from comparable Mycenaean constructions. What is impossible to estimate, however, is the asymmetry of the steps. This holds not only for this particular stairway, but also for all the others to be restored in the following pages.

To complete the picture of the complex of retaining walls W of the NE ascent, we must examine the empty space between the termination of walls 1δ and 7δ (Plan 8) at the W and the eastward continuation of the N leg of the retaining wall beside the Promachos, east of point 4 on Plan 10. There are no longer any traces in the area lying between, but a study of the W side of the Erechtheion, provides some evidence.

It is common knowledge that concentrated in this place, even as early as Prehistoric times, were all the tokens associated throughout the centuries with chthonic cult.¹⁸² In the N portico of the building (Plan 11, 1) there are the traces of the trident (or thunderbolt), and the tomb of Erechtheus.¹⁸³ The sea of Erechtheus was located in the *prostomiaion*, in the W compartment of the building (Plan 11, 2).¹⁸⁴ Outside the Erechtheion to the W (Plan 11, 3) grew the sacred olive tree.¹⁸⁵ The tomb of Kekrops was in the SW corner (Plan 11, 4),¹⁸⁶ and further west, but easily accessible from the Porch of the Maidens, was the sanctuary of Pandrosos (Plan 11, 5).¹⁸⁷ The way in which all this came to be concentrated in the building of the Erechtheion, or rather, the way in which the Erechtheion adapted itself to all these things, is most instructive.

First the Pandroseion: remaining today are traces of the foundation of its peribolos at the N and to some extent at the W (Plan 11, 5α-5β), showing that the wall was relatively narrow and set at an angle to the W side of the Erechtheion; the SW corner of the N portico of the Classical building was adapted to the E end of this peribolos wall. Fragments of broken marble slabs built into the W wall of the building (Plan 11, 5γ) verify the existence and at the same time give the level of a Classical pavement that was laid in the precinct after the Persian wars but preceding the construction of the Erechtheion.¹⁸⁸ Near 5γ this paving was founded on a relatively thin layer of limestone over a fill containing Helladic sherds;¹⁸⁹ the top of the fill had been

182. Kontoleon, *Tò 'Eρέχθειον ὡς οἰκοδόμημα χθονίας λατρείας* (Athens 1949).

183. *Ibid.* p. 81.

184. *Ibid.* p. 34.

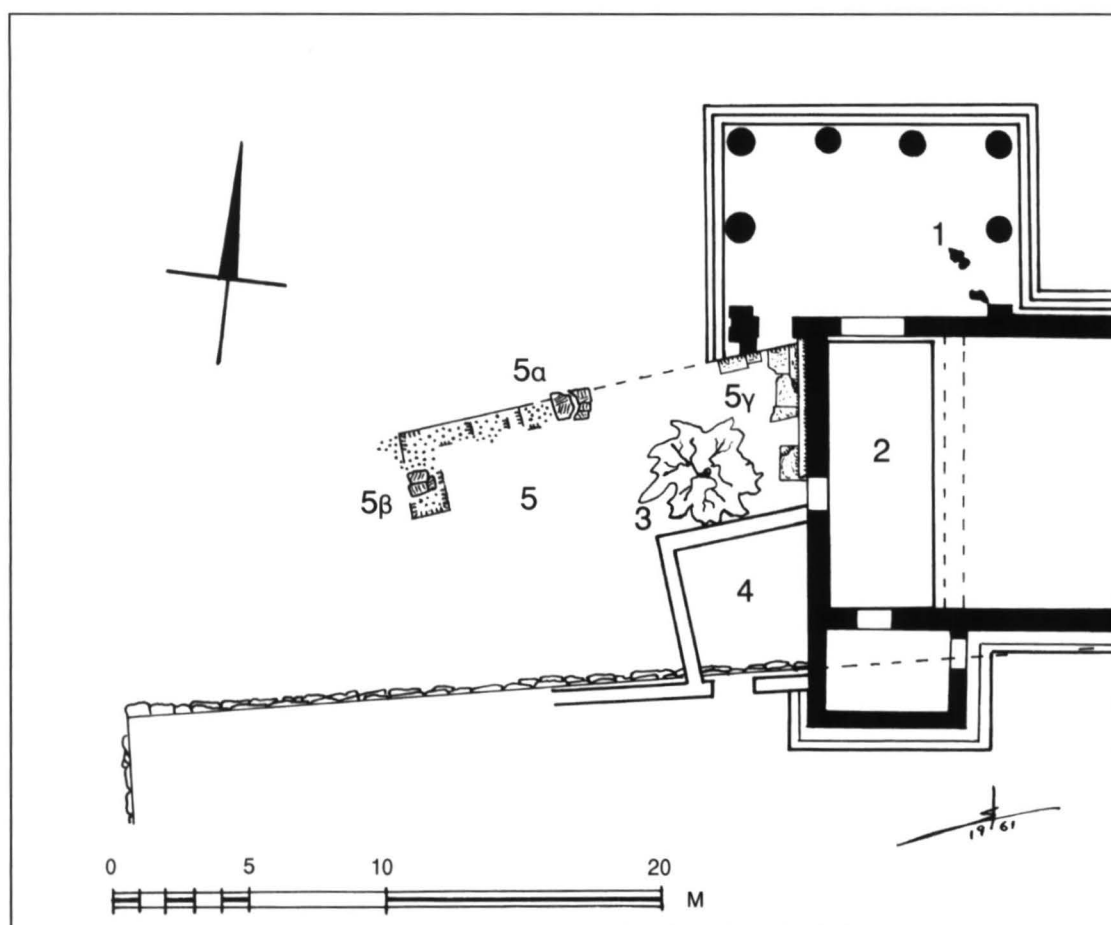
185. *Ibid.* p. 37. The olive is thought to be a "marker" for the tomb of Kekrops from which it grew.

186. *Ibid.* p. 69.

187. *Erechtheum* pp. 119 f., likewise Paus. I 27, 3, *IG I² 372* (*Erechtheum* p. 286 f.), *IG I² 373* (*Erechtheum* p. 322 f.).

188. *Erechtheum* pp. 125-126.

189. *Ibid.* pp. 122, 126.



Plan 11. The area of the Pandroseion and the Kekropion.

destroyed with the addition of the limestone layer. This had been observed earlier also along the length of the W wall of the Erechtheion. As noted also by the Erechtheion excavators, all this shows clearly that in this place there was a deep prehistoric fill which the makers of the Classical building avoided disturbing in so far as possible. Specifically, the elevation at location 5 γ is 148,19 m. and the Helladic fill beneath the limestone bedding for the slab paving reached a level as high as 149,62, whereas the pavement itself, which unquestionably maintained the old level, was at an elevation of 150,45. Thus we may conclude that down to the Persian wars, in the area of the Pandroseion there was a fill some 2,26 m. high, which had been formed as early as Helladic times. A fill this high, however, could not possibly be formed or survive unless retained by a wall, and it could not remain intact unless the wall

was continuously there. Yet the N line of the Pandroseion peribolos not only preceded the Erechtheion but was among the first to be repaired after the Persian wars. Since it is aligned differently from the Erechtheion, it clearly was adapted to another, pre-existing construction that had been there for centuries and, as shown by the sherds in the fill, was in fact prehistoric. Therefore the peribolos of the Pandroseion succeeded a prehistoric retaining wall that had been preserved as it was or with alterations until the Persian wars. That wall retained a fill 2 m. high, at an elevation of about 150,45 m. In this grew the olive tree.

The Kekropion (Plan 11, 4), the tomb of Kekrops, is included in the Pandroseion, and takes up the SW corner of the Erechtheion. Its exact form in Classical times, we do not know. It probably consisted of a mound or small open-air space. In any case, it was not in the form of a building.¹⁹⁰ Certain it is that it was surrounded by a peribolos wall, the E side of which coincided with the W wall of the Erechtheion and continued as far as the Porch of the Maidens.¹⁹¹ Stevens accurately determined the line of this peribolos wall¹⁹² on the basis of traces preserved on the W wall of the Erechtheion and on the euthynteria of the Archaic temple. Its elevation may be ascertained from other traces preserved on the W wall of the Erechtheion within the Kekropion boundaries. A number of blocks of the W wall of the Erechtheion have coarsely worked surfaces. Moreover, at the height of the marble beam joining the Porch of the Maidens with the W wall, there is a marble block with lifting bosses that have been roughly and carelessly removed (Fig. 15). It is evident that this unfinished part of the W face of the Erechtheion was not meant to be seen, for it will have been buried at least to the height of the top of the bosses, which are at 153 m.¹⁹³ Thus the Kekropion was at a level some 2,50 m. higher than the Pandroseion, which implies a second terrace, S of the first and parallel to it.

190. Dörpfeld, *JdI* 1919, p. 7, accepts that it was covered by a terrace.

191. *Erechtheum* pp. 127-137, and *IG* I² 372.

192. *Hesperia* XV, 1946, pp. 93-97, figs 12-14.

193. Stevens, *Hesperia* XV, 1946, p. 95, fig. 13, accepts a lower level for the Kekropion as he does not include the last block preserving the bosses among the unworked blocks.

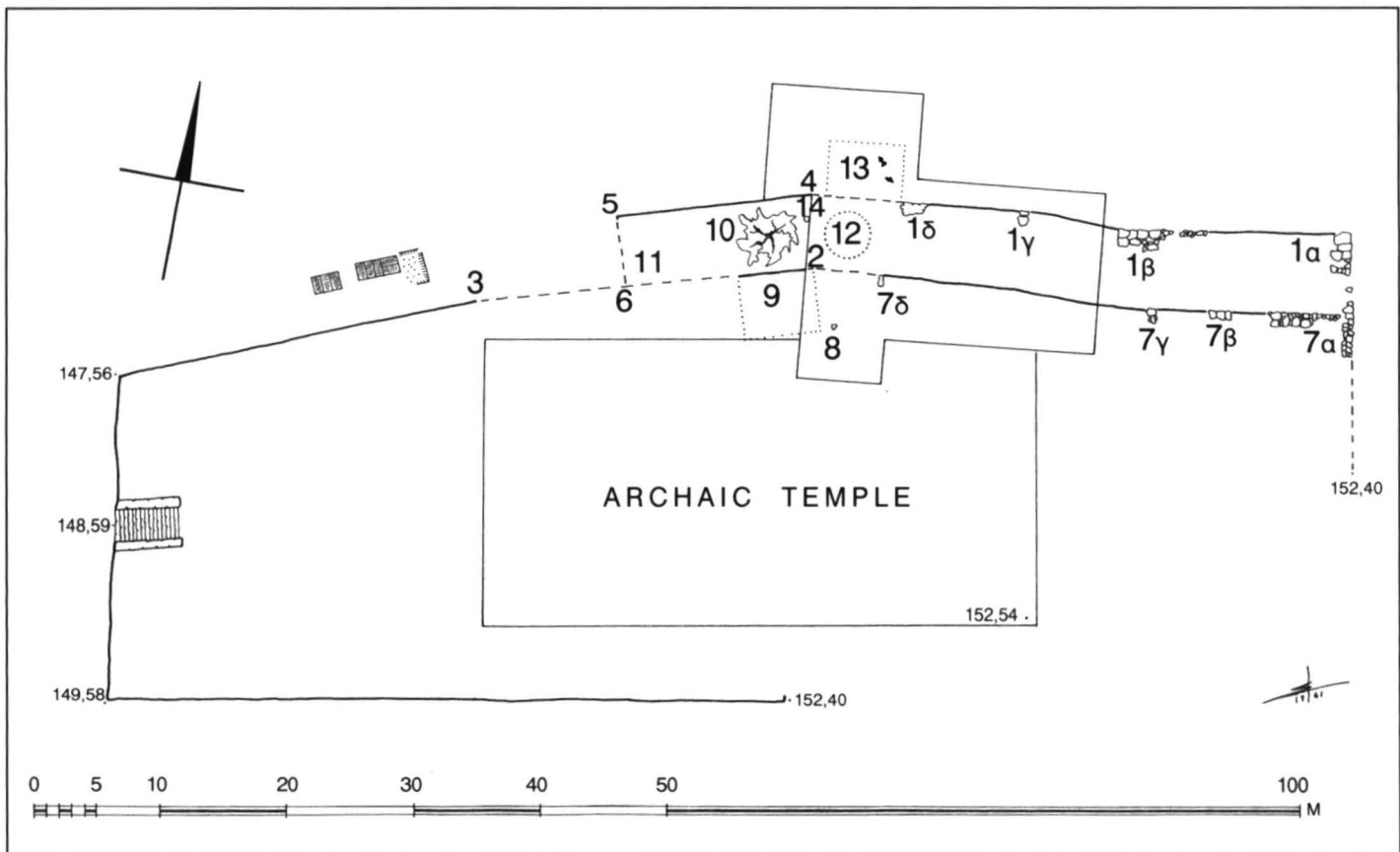


Fig. 15. The west wall of the Erechtheion. At the level of the big marble beam and to its left, the wall block with the lifting bosses incompletely removed.

The next question is whether these two terraces of the Pandroseion and of the Kekropion are associated with the retaining walls **1a-1δ** and **7a-7δ**, and with the N wall of the terrace E of the Promachos base.

If line **7a-7δ** is extended toward the W some 5 metres, at point 2 on Plan 12 (at the level of the W wall of the Erechtheion), it meets the NE corner of the retaining wall supporting the Kekropion terrace. If we extend the line of the terrace wall from that point westward for about 27 metres, at the level of the NW corner of the Archaic temple (Plan 12, 3) it meets the N wall of the

THE SECOND PHASE



Plan 12. The complex of terraces S of the Erechtheion and around the Archaic temple.

terrace behind the Promachos, the course of which we have already followed to this point. This gives us the entire N side of the terrace. Its elevation (152,54 m. at the E end, about 153 m. in the middle where the Kekropion is located, and about 152,40 m. at the W end) is uniform, indicating that the terrace was continuous and uninterrupted. As is apparent from the curving line of the N terrace wall, the Archaic temple was built at the very spot where it could be positioned symmetrically.

The extension of line **1a-1d** around 7 metres westward to point **4** on Plan **12**, takes it to the E end of the Pandroseion retaining wall. Continuing the line known and preserved in Classical times westward brings the wall to point **5** where the Pandroseion wall makes a right angle turn S to meet the higher retaining wall at point **6** on Plan **12**. It is thus the westward extension of retaining wall **1a-1d**, as shown also by the elevation, which at the E end is at 150,40 m., and in the Pandroseion area at 150,45. I consider it most likely that the line **5-6** is the W boundary of this terrace. First of all, the existence of the

Classical bases slightly west of 3 means that the terrace cannot have continued much beyond 5. Secondly, and most significant, the line coincides with that of the post-Persian rebuilding of the Pandroseion peribolos and since the inherited arrangement was respected in all else, an innovation here would be most unlikely.

Thus we have two parallel, graduated terraces, forming long, narrow level areas with the greatest width in the middle. At precisely that point and to the N were the venerable sacred places and the "tokens," revered as early as Prehistoric times: the tomb of Kekrops, perhaps covered by a mound-like construction (Plan 12, 9), near it the sacred olive tree (10), the temenos of Pandrosos (11) and the sea of Erechtheus (12). Just to the N (at 13), and probably enclosed within a peribolos, the marks of the thunderbolt that killed Erechtheus, or of the trident of Poseidon. These marks, which in Classical times were kept uncovered and open directly to the sky through the open coffer above them in the N portico (τὰ ἐνηλύσια), could not possibly have been covered over in Prehistoric times. This perhaps provides yet another bit of evidence for the line of the retaining wall south of them, as calculated.

We cannot know the precise arrangement of this corner of the terracing during Mycenaean times. Perhaps the peribolos of the thunderbolt marks communicated in some way with the sea of Erechtheus as it did in Classical times. Perhaps also at the location of the old entrance to the Pandroseion, which the architect of the Erechtheion retained by leaving an open doorway in the SW part of the N porch, there was a stairway leading from the level of the rock (which is at 148.20 here) to the top of the terrace, N of the olive tree. The two stones from Prehistoric times preserved in the foundations of the Erechtheion (Plan 12, 8 and 14)¹⁹⁴ are isolated and so far apart from each other that only conjecture is possible. One hypothesis is that 14 is a remainder of a wall running N to S that separated the sea of Erechtheus from the olive tree and the Pandroseion, and that 8 was part of a construction believed to be the tomb of Kekrops.

In my opinion the arrangement of the terraces as reconstructed here satisfactorily explains the peculiarities of the "building known as the Erechtheion"¹⁹⁵ and the solutions imposed on its architect.

194. *Erechtheum* p. 126, fig. 80, and pl. IV.

195. Paus. I 26, 5.

THE AREA SE OF THE END OF THE NE ASCENT

Wall **11a** (Plan 13) lies E of wall **1a-7a**, opposite to it and roughly in line with it. The N part of the wall is built of large, heavy blocks, still visible today. Since the rock itself rises toward the S, the stones become progressively smaller in this direction while the width of the wall, as much as 1,10 m., remains the same. This is to be expected, since the steeply rising gradient of the rock meant that the mass and weight of fill the wall had to retain was much less. It stops at a point corresponding to **7a** on Plan 12. Both walls end against an abrupt rise of the rock; continuation to the S is not preserved.

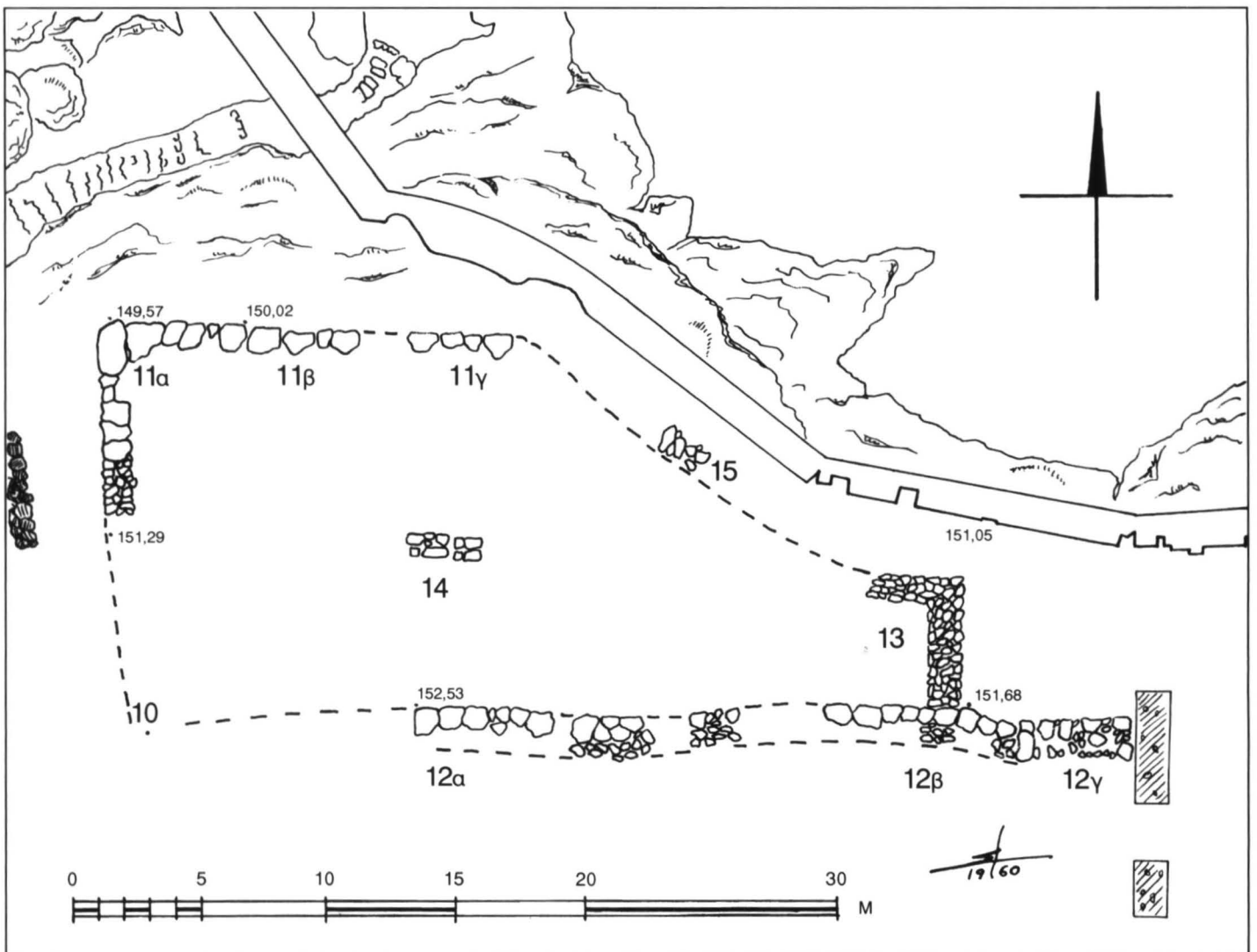
At its N end, wall **11a** makes an approximately right angle turn to the E, continuing in a straight line (Plan 13, **11β-11γ**) to a point near the brow of the rock. A number of constructions were discovered S of this, some of them built on the inner side of the wall and plotted by Kawerau.¹⁹⁶ Clearly they belong to Turkish times and they are not included on the plan.

Like the walls W of it, **11a-11γ** is thus a retaining wall, supporting a terrace and facing N like the others. Its S end is founded at 150,79, its NW corner at 149,57, and at the middle of its N side it is at about 150,02. In order to determine its height, we shall have to examine the area of the rock to the S of it.

Some 14-14,50 m. to the south, parallel to it but extending further E, is a second retaining wall (Plan 13, 12). Its easternmost preserved end stops at a point roughly opposite the W end of **11γ**. The N side of this wall is shown by Kawerau¹⁹⁷ as a straight line. Cleaning this side of the wall, however, showed that the line is irregular, following the conformation of the rock. Its exterior side is constructed of relatively large blocks measuring between 0,85×0,30 and 0,40×0,25 m., with smaller stones in the interstices (Fig. 16). The wall varies in width, ranging from 1,40 to 1,80 m., considerably thicker than noted by Kawerau. The interior face of the wall is made up of much smaller stones so as to adjust it to the uneven surface of the steeply rising rock. In other words, the lower courses of retaining wall 12 were carefully adapted to the steeply rising surface of that part of the rock, the top of which to the S coincides with

196. Kavvadias-Kawerau pl. Δ.

197. *Ibid.* pl. Δ, 43.



Plan 13. Terrace walls E of the Erechtheion.

the highest point of the Acropolis. All the stones of the retaining wall, especially the smaller ones on the inner side, are set with a plentiful amount of yellowish clay, totally unlike the usual sort of earth lying on the rock. The clay layer had not been disturbed in the 1887 excavation and it contained sherds. These were collected from between the lowest courses of the wall where they clearly had not been damaged since the building of the wall, thus providing material for its dating.¹⁹⁸

198. See *infra*, Appendix II, groups 3 and 4.



Fig. 16. Terrace wall 12 of Plan 13 from the NW (phot. DAI n° 50).

At its W end, the wall stops without coming to a finished end. No doubt it will have continued further west, although we cannot determine precisely how far. Its line toward the E was interrupted in Classical times by the setting of a series of regular rectangular conglomerate blocks, so that here too the original end of the wall is missing.

Wall 12 is founded directly on the rock, which slopes steeply toward the N and less so toward the E. Thus the level of its foundation ranges from an elevation of 152,53 m. at the W end to 151,68 m. at the E. The elevations enable us to determine the level of the terrace supported by walls 11 α -11 γ as being at about 152,50 m., probably with a slight slope to the E for the draining of water. This level agrees with the elevation of the top of the large terrace to the W. In addition, it enables us to determine, on the basis of the elevations of the rock, the approximate termination of 11 α at the S and 12 α at the W, as shown at 10 on Plan 13.

Beside the E end of retaining wall 12 there is a wall about 1,40 m. wide, today covered over. It is built of medium sized stones with yellowish clay of the same sort as that used for terrace wall 12 and it contained comparable

sherds (Plan 13, 13). On Kawerau's plan,¹⁹⁹ the S end appears to stop short of the N side of 12. The measurements of the stones given are smaller than they actually are and the angle of the corner is in fact wider than that shown. There is no reference to it in the text. When it was excavated it was evident that it formed a corner slightly wider than a right angle, and that it had two unequal legs. The longer of the two, about 5 m., is perpendicular to 12, on which it abuts. The shorter leg turns W and continues in that direction for some 3 m. The rest of the wall is not preserved, but it is evident that it was destroyed and that wall 13 did not end where it does today. On top of it were remains of a wall built during the Turkish domination, not shown on the plan.

The direction of 13 and the fact that it is Mycenaean and has been built against the N side of 12, makes it certain that it is the SE end of 11γ. In fact, if the line of 11γ is continued along the line dictated by the NE edge of the rock, which 11 follows elsewhere, it meets the westward running leg of 13. Judging by its position and the given elevations, 13 will have been built to a height of less than 1 m. Its construction resembles exactly that of the other similar low retaining walls, recalling the S end of 11α.

Whether the stones at 14 on Plan 13 actually belong to a Mycenaean building, is uncertain. They comprise two very short stretches of wall slightly out of line with each other and they were noted by Kawerau. It is most unlikely that they belong to a retaining wall built between and parallel to 11 and 12, since in that case wall 11 could not have been higher than 1,40 m., and such large stones and heavy construction would have been unnecessary.

In the preserved section of retaining wall 12, the tops of the blocks at its W end are at elevation 154,13 m., in the middle at 154,37 m. and at its E end at 154,09 m., giving an average level of about 154,10 m. As we have already noted, to the S and E of the terrace lies the oval hump of the rock with its top at elevation 156,16 m. (see Plan 16). The extent of rock surface that remained uncovered will have depended on the height of the terrace wall and consequently also on the level of its top S of the terrace it retains. If the top

199. Kavvadias-Kawerau pl. Δ.

of the retaining wall as preserved today was actually the uppermost course, the exposed surface of the rock will have been the same then as it was in Classical times and the wall will have had an average height of 1,60 m. If another course is restored, the height of which must be calculated at 0,70 m. on the basis of the blocks preserved, the wall will have been about 2,30 m. high. In this case the top of the terrace will have had an elevation of about 154,80 m. and the exposed surface of the rock will have been considerably less. The traces preserved yield no positive conclusion on this score.

THE NE ASCENT

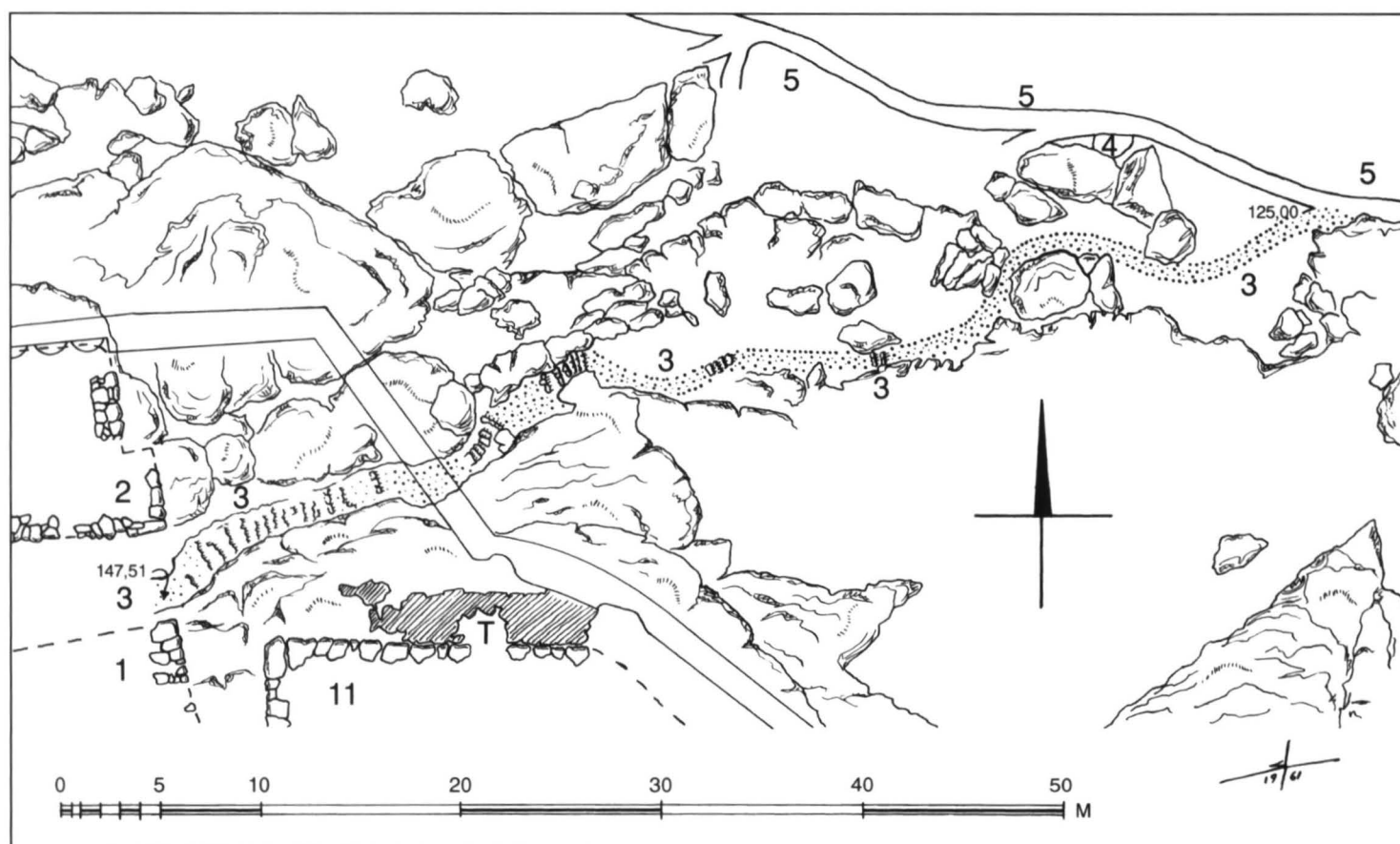
The deep fissure that cuts into the mass of the Acropolis rock from E to W, ending at the top of the Acropolis E of the Erechtheion, forms a natural access which will, indeed, have been used from the earliest times. While passable, it is very narrow and steep. It requires climbing rather than walking, and it is totally inadequate for animals, especially pack-animals. This in itself shows that it could never have been the main entrance to the Acropolis as has been thought by some.

The track had been made into a regular ascent during Late Helladic times. Precisely when this was done, we do not know. We know, however, that during the time of the terrace walls we have been discussing, the pathway had already been formed and was in service as a supplementary approach, winding, as it did, through the anomalies of the rock.

The Mediaeval fortification wall of the Acropolis, built on the line of the Classical wall, divides the NE ascent into two unequal parts: the western part which is inside the wall and the longer, eastern part which lies outside it. The first was excavated by Kavvadias in 1887.²⁰⁰ It was found covered over by a fill with sherds showing that it was buried when the Themistoclean wall was built.²⁰¹ The second was cleared in 1931-1934 by Broneer whose explorations verified Holland's conclusion that the entrance was blocked when the Mycenaean fortification wall was erected. In fact, his excavation showed that the

200. *Ibid.* pp. 33, 89, pls Γ and Δ.

201. *AM* 1887, p. 141.



Plan 14. The northeast ascent.

eastern part of the ascent had been covered over by little buildings contemporary with the construction of the wall, and the last steps beside the Classical wall were buried beneath a pure Mycenaean fill of that same time.²⁰²

The ascent (Plan 14, 3) begins some 10 m. east of the Peripatos inscription (Plan 14, 4) at the point where it meets with the Peripatos itself (Plan 14, 5), at a level of about 125 m. It ends at the top of the rock, between retaining walls 1 and 2 at a level of 147,57 m. The slope it had to surmount is precipitous indeed,²⁰³ and for this reason steps and ramps were constructed in order

202. *Hesperia* II, 1933, pp. 351-355; IV, 1935, pp. 109-113.

203. Over the total length of approximately 66,50 m., the pathway shows a difference in elevation of 22,57 m., that is an

average incline of 34%. The slope has been modified in places by surface reworking, but it is none the less exceedingly abrupt, especially for frequent use.

to make the climb easier. The first section of it, beginning at the Peripatos and ending at about the middle of its course, is a steeply ascending path. At this point the first step is encountered, constructed of small flagstones. Then comes a section destroyed by the Mycenaean houses that were later built on top of it (see *infra*). A little further on are three similar steps, the tops of which have been trodden smooth.²⁰⁴ Some 7 metres further west are another seven steps, followed by a ramp leading to the point where the fissure in the main mass of the rock begins. From here on the ascent is by means of a continuous stairway, cut by the later fortification wall, with steps in some places built, in other places cut into the rock. Their measurements vary to such an extent that they are totally unequal and irregular. The rock S of this last section of the ascent rises steeply and evenly to the level where terrace II (Plan 16) is located and where later another section of the north Cyclopean wall was added (T on Plan 14). This applies also to the narrow space between walls 11 and 1, which is not accessible from the stairway. N of the ascent, the rock is lower, but not climbable, and it is broken into a series of irregular masses by deep fissures. The last step to the W is the widest, leading to a landing that brings the climber to the passage between terrace walls 1 and 2. This characteristically Mycenaean ascent, making use of the formation of the rock itself, served the Acropolis throughout its entire second phase until the building of the fortification wall.

THE NORTHWEST DESCENT TO THE CAVES

A Mycenaean descent is partially preserved on the low NW plateau of the rock where the caves of Pan, Apollo and Zeus Olympios are situated. It runs through the rough and uneven rock from the top down to the narrow shelf of the plateau, to the mouth of the cave of Pan. Kavvadias was the first to excavate the area, and Keramopoullos later carried out supplementary exploration and cleaning.²⁰⁵

204. Broneer, *Hesperia* IV, 1935, p. 113. pls 1-4, and Keramopoullos, *Deltion* 1929,

205. Kavvadias, *Ephemeris* 1897, pp. 1-32, pp. 86-88.

That the descent was constructed and used during Mycenaean times is evident from its construction, the remains preserved *in situ*, its layout and the fact that it preceded the Classical wall, the building of which altered it at the top of the rock. The lack of relevant material, however, makes it difficult to determine the exact Late Helladic phase to which it belongs. Yet it seems to me most unlikely that this descent would not have been in use when the Acropolis was as systematically inhabited as it was during the period we are investigating. I believe it more logical to assume that its construction was contemporary with the terrace walls rather than with the later third phase.

The point where the descent is next to the base of the Classical wall, which coincides approximately with the beginning of the descent, is at a level of 137,14 m. There are no steps for the first 10 m. of its downward course (Plan 15, 1). They would in any case have been unnecessary since the rock, while far from being "virtually horizontal,"²⁰⁶ slopes gently, so that a ramp was sufficient. Preserved at 2 on Plan 15 is a stone that appears to belong to the retaining wall of that part of the descent.²⁰⁷ The incomplete rectangular construction at 3, not mentioned by the excavator, should be much later since it could not possibly have stood where it is while the retaining wall was extant.

Slightly W of 2, a series of uneven steps of various sizes (Plan 15, 4) begins. They are cut into a natural cleft of the rock,²⁰⁸ the course of which they follow. Between the 16th and the 22nd step from the E, the bed of this cleft has a deep and abrupt fissure. Here there are cuttings in each side, wider to the N, that were made to accommodate built steps to bridge the empty space between.

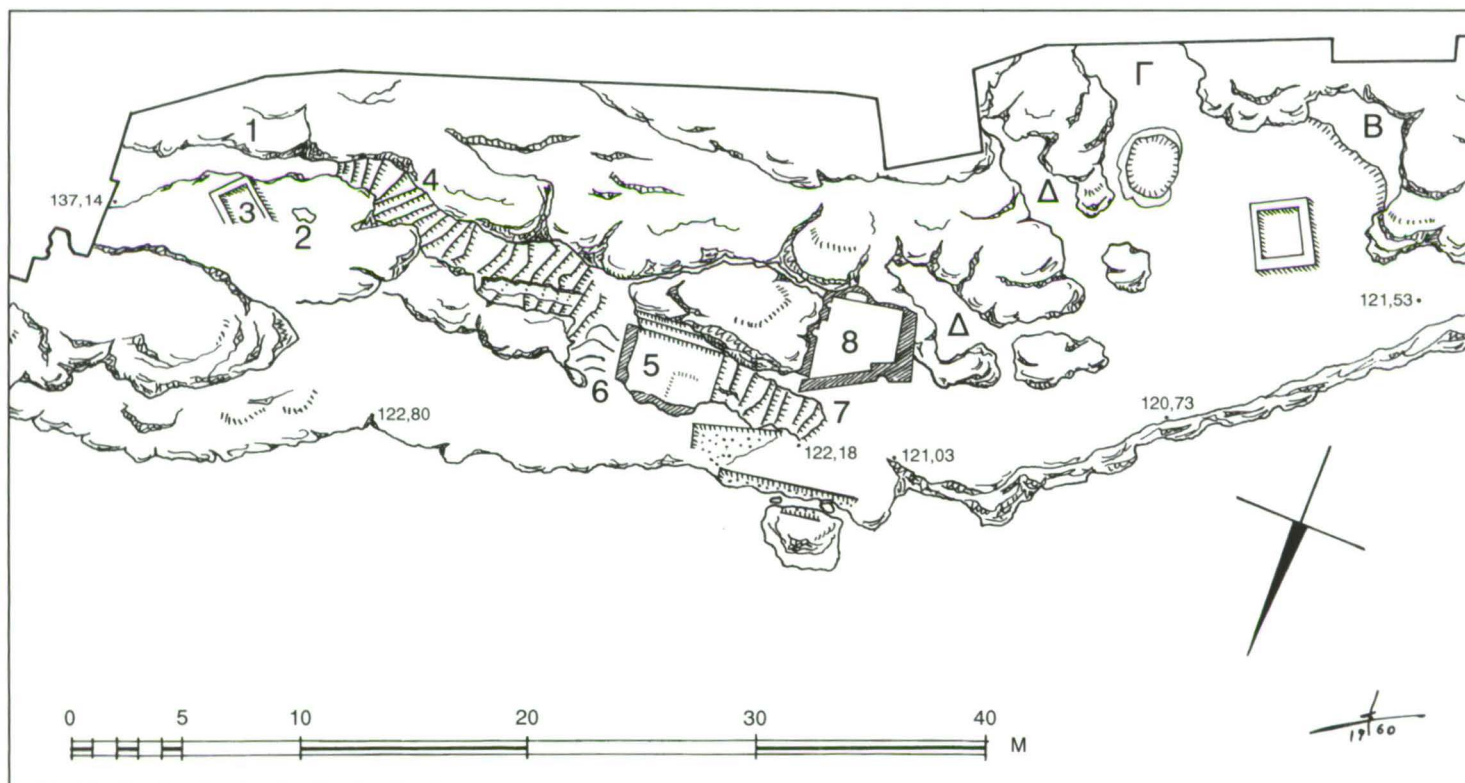
After the 23rd step, the stairway is interrupted by a four-sided construction of later times, partly cut into the rock (Plan 15, 5). Its construction cut off the four curving steps (Plan 15, 6), which make a detour to the N in order to continue the descent, whose traces are encountered again just W of 5 as a series of eight more steps. These stop next to the precipitous brow of the rock

206. Kavvadias, *Ephemeris* 1897, p. 27.

207. Kavvadias does not refer to that stone nor does he mark it on his plan. Instead, he attributes to the retaining wall another series of stones, found much lower

down (*Ephemeris* 1897, pl. 1, ξ) and having no relation to it.

208. In his text, Kavvadias (p. 26) mentions 17 steps; on his pl. 1, however he records 31, which is the correct number.



Plan 15. The area of the northwest descent.

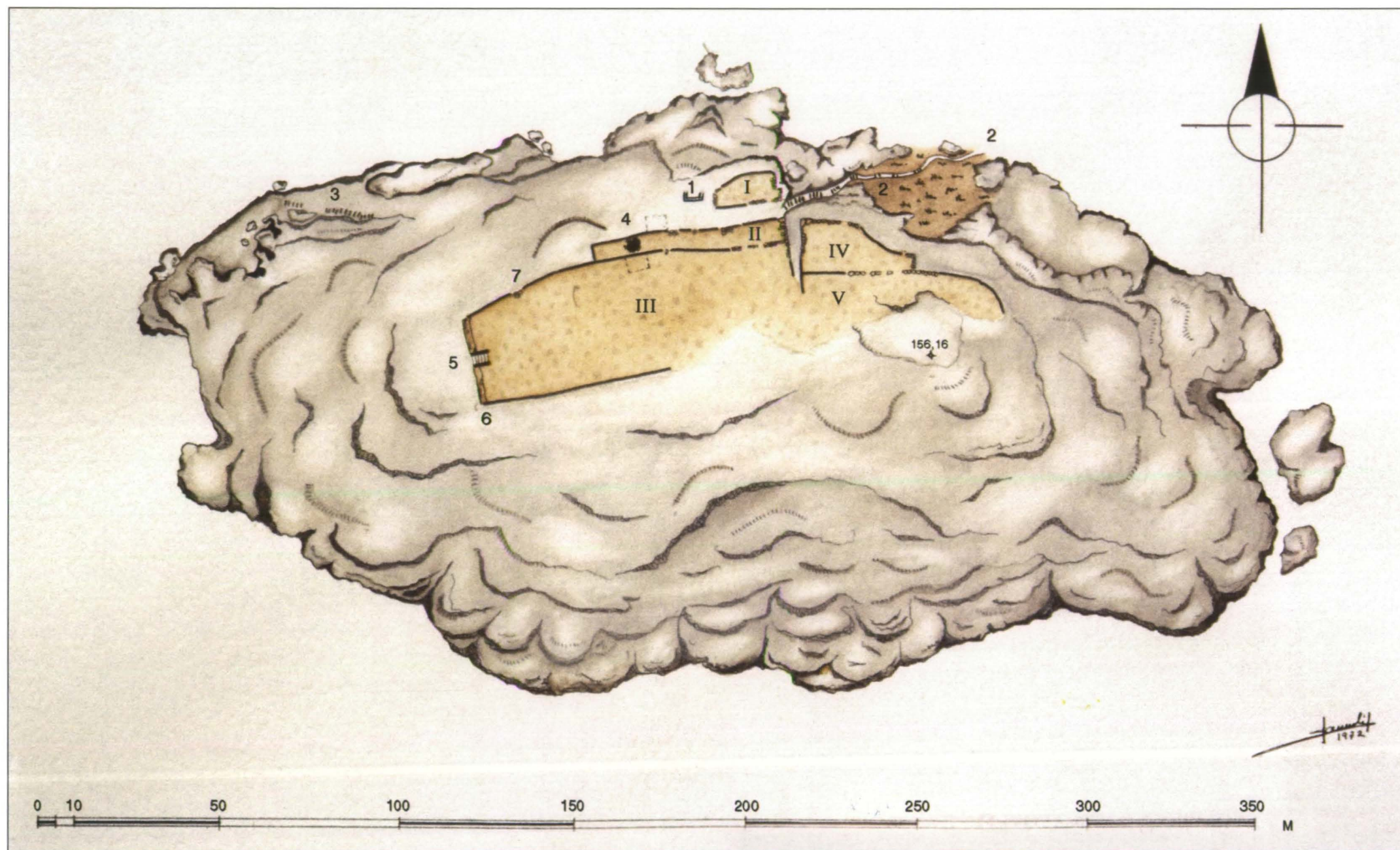
(Plan 15, 7), just before the cave of Pan (Δ on the Plan) where the partly destroyed chapel of Aghios Ioannes Alaniarēs (St. John the Tramp) (Plan 15, 8) stands today. From this point on, the rock toward the W is virtually horizontal, as is evident from the elevations marked on the plan.

From 1 to 7 the course of the path is clear. The question is whether it continued on down, and what this continuation might have been.

If it continued, it will have started at the level of the open area at 7 and, descending the side of the rock, it will have come down to about the level of the Peripatos. The brow of the rock at this point is about 10 m. above the base, and the wall of the rock here forms an almost vertical cliff. To overcome this difference of level, it would have been necessary to have either a ramp parallel to the side of the rock and at least 50 m. long in order to obtain a 20% incline (twice that of the great E ascent at Tiryns), or else a stairway at least 12 m. long.²⁰⁹ Such large scale and massive constructions could hardly

209. Hypothesising steps with tread-boards 0,30 m. wide and risers 0,25 m. high,

which would make the climb anything but easy.



Plan 16. The Acropolis at the end of the second LH building phase.

have disappeared leaving no trace at all. In fact, for such a construction, we might even have expected to find a relevant comment in the ancient sources. We may therefore exclude the existence of a descent from the brow to the base of the rock. The path clearly ended near 7 and its sole purpose was to connect the top of the rock with the NW plateau and the caves.

THE SECOND LATE HELLADIC PHASE AS A WHOLE

During the span of time to which the second building period belongs, the Acropolis was still unfortified. On top of the rock at the N is a complex of terraces forming a series of stepped level areas. On these we must visualise the palace buildings and other installations. The tombs, to be sure, are not visible. So too the LH I house which, judging by the sherds in the fill that covered it,²¹⁰ had also been abandoned and buried.

There are five terraces. At the N the smallest of all, **I** on Plan 16, is an irregular four-sided one in plan, its top probably at 150,45 m. Opposite it to the S, with its top at the same level, is the long, narrow terrace **II**, the W end of which includes the "martyria," the "tokens" of the time honoured cult on the rock. S of **II** and higher is the large west terrace, **III**, with its top at a level of 152,50 m., and with a stairway in the middle of its west side, serving the old and natural approach to the summit of the rock from the W. Here, where the Archaic temple stood, and, later on, part of the Erechtheion, the main complex of the Mycenaean palace must have been located.

Opposite **II** and **III** and separated from them by a narrow strip of the rock itself, left free and perhaps intended as a water run-off and for draining the area, are the two terraces to the E. To the N is **IV**, dominating the final section of the NE ascent, and with its N side following the configuration of the rock so that it has an irregular plan that is almost triangular; its top is at the same level as **III**. Rising above this to the S is terrace **V**, contiguous and on the highest part of the summit of the rock. These terraces must have communicated with each other and with the rock on which they stood, so we must

210. Holland, *AJA* 1924, p. 155.

assume the existence of steps leading from one level to another. The only one the position of which is certain is the W stairway of terrace **III**. Not a trace remains of the others. The only existing clues are the preserved sections of the supporting walls of the terraces. This is purely negative evidence since, being walls, they show us exactly where such stairways could not have been. Thus, if we examine the various terrace walls (see Plans 8, 12 and 13), we see the following:

Terrace **I**, isolated as it is from the others, must communicate with the rock. This can be ruled out on the N and E sides as the rock here falls off sharply; likewise on the W, where later stood the wall that was founded on the LH **I** building. Only the S side remains. The E part of the terrace wall is preserved to about the middle of this side. Thus the stairway to the top of terrace **I** will have been either in the middle of the S side or near the W end. It was most likely in the middle.

The stairway connecting the rock with terrace **II** should, for the same reasons, have been at a spot about opposite to the stairway of **I**. **III** has a stairway at the W; at the S no stairway is needed since the natural slope of the rock rises gradually to the top of the terrace. By the same path and in the same way, terrace **IV** is reached near its SW corner, and terrace **V** by way of its SW end. Thus terrace **III** communicated with **IV** and **V** without need of a stairway.

Several locations are possible for the stairway connecting **II** with **III**. One is near its E end, between walls 7β and 7γ on Plan 8, roughly opposite the ascent from the rock to terrace **II**. The other or, more likely, the others, are to be found further west between 7γ on Plan 8 and the area of the "tokens" the latter seems more likely. There remains the ascent from **IV** to **V**, which can only have been at the westernmost part of the two terraces, between 10 and 12a on Plan 13.

These stairways were needed to provide circulation in the area of the terraces. The possibility that there were others as well is not excluded, but to determine how many and where they were would take us into the realm of pure conjecture.²¹¹

211. J. Travlos in his *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (1971), plan on p. 57, restores one more terrace to the south of **II-III**, roughly in the location occupied later

These terraces, which covered the top of the rock, explain the ἡπέδιζον of Cleidemos as well. They “levelled” the area indeed, but they levelled by construction and filling, not by quarrying.

The ascents to the Acropolis were two. The main and most gradual ascent was that on the west, preserved and reformed again and again through the years that followed. There was, in addition, the auxiliary NE approach (Plan 16, 2), the one ending between terraces I and II. The NW descent (Plan 16, 3), as we have seen, went down only as far as the plateau of the caves.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE SECOND PHASE

An initial, though somewhat indefinite, dating of the terrace walls is provided by observations of the building sequence. It is a fact that they were constructed after the house to the N of the Erechtheion, which goes back to LH I times, and they are earlier than the Cyclopean wall which, as we shall see, was built toward the end of the LH IIIB period. This fairly wide range of possibility is significantly limited by the sherds recovered from four different places in the terrace walls. They provide a much more precise dating.²¹²

The first find was in the shallow depression next to the NW end of the west wall of terrace III (see Plan 9, 7). This, as we have already determined, was filled in so as to grade the rock for the foundation of the terrace wall. From then on it remained undisturbed. Among the sherds in the fill were EH, MH and LH, for the most part early. The latest of all (Appendix II, group 1, i) is the foot of a kylix of the initial years of LH IIIB. Found E of that depression, beneath stones of the terrace wall lying *in situ* (Plan 9, 9), was another group of sherds, the latest of which is no later than advanced LH III times (Appendix II, group 2, d, e).

Two groups of sherds were collected from the point where the E wall of terrace IV meets the N wall of V. One came from among the stones of the wall itself, the other from beneath the stones of its foundation. The latest

by the Parthenon. Although not improbable, this hypothetical construction has not

left any material evidence whatsoever.

212. See Appendix II, groups 1-4.

sherds in the first group (Appendix II, group 3, h, i) are LH I-II and the latest and most characteristic of the second group (Appendix II, group 4, d), with a clumsy attempt at panel decoration, which would date it in LH IIIB1 rather than in IIIB2.

The conclusion to be drawn from the pottery is that the terrace walls must have been built in LH IIIA2 or early LH IIIB times.²¹³ Most of the sherds belong to earlier periods, a further indication that the LH IIIB style is still at its beginning. The first, unfortified, phase of the Mycenaean Acropolis of Athens thus begins with a considerable delay after the initial fortifying of Mycenae and the first period of Tiryns.²¹⁴

213. Cf. Mountjoy 22-24.

214. For the dating of Mycenae and Tiryns, see among others Mackeprang, *AJA*

1938, pp. 555-559, and *Ergon* 1959, pp. 93, 96-97, but mainly G. E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* (Princeton 1966) 33.

3. THE THIRD PHASE

THE TOP OF THE ROCK

THE WEST SIDE

The approach to the rock from the W is fairly gradual. At the SW end, however, is a low but prominent protrusion that forms a sort of natural bastion. When the Acropolis was fortified, the tower of the W entrance was built on that projecting height. Later on, in Classical times, the bastion was hidden in an ashlar sheathing of poros blocks. On top of this was built the temple of Athena Nike.

The Classical encasement left little of the Cyclopean bastion visible. Indeed, up to the time of Balanos' restoration, it had not even been noticed. On the N side of the Classical bastion, some 9-10 m. from its NW corner, the covering blocks are so close to the façade of the Mycenaean tower that instead of the usual alternating headers and stretchers, the blocks were laid only as stretchers with false joints cut into the outer face. At the height of the ninth and tenth course from the top, where there was no room even for stretchers, an opening was left in which the stones of the Cyclopean wall could be seen projecting (Plan 17, 1). Preserved above this, on top of the Cyclopean blocks is part of a polygonal wall (Plan 17, 2). This is the remainder of the Archaic rebuilding of the bastion and it is constructed of Acropolis and Karra limestone. Still another section, built of limestone (Plan 17, 3), is preserved at the E end of the bastion. It is 3-3,50 m. W of and virtually parallel to the leg of the Mycenaean wall S of the Propylaia, which it faces. Only one course remains and today it is no longer visible.

Most of those who have previously studied this part of the Acropolis accepted the idea that the bastion of historical times was built as part of the fortification. It was thought to be earlier than the construction of the temple of Athena Nike, but no date was suggested and there was no reference to the

visible Mycenaean remains.²¹⁵ Köster even denied the possibility that the Mycenaean fortification had a bastion.²¹⁶ Kawerau interpreted wall 2 as a continuation of 1, contemporary with the Archaic terrace wall W of the Propylaia.²¹⁷ He described wall 3 only briefly without relating it to the other walls.²¹⁸

The first to explore the interior of the Classical bastion systematically was Welter, who wanted to find out if it had been built before or after the Propylaia. At the depth to which he excavated, he established that there was indeed an earlier Archaic construction. Yet he did not reach the Mycenaean remains.²¹⁹ These were discovered later, when Balanos was carrying out the restoration of the temple of Athena Nike. In the course of consolidating the Classical bastion, which had settled, he removed the outer part of the wall in sections.²²⁰ The task was continued by Orlandos along the E part of the S side.

The bastion of the Mycenaean fortification that now came to light is rectangular in plan, with an E-W axis. All of it is known but the NE part, which was never exposed.

Only the S half of its E side was found, and only one course of this is preserved. This is the wall shown on Plan 17, 3. The S side is roughly parallel to the Classical encasement, but it is not in a perfectly straight line. Apart from two small gaps next to the SE corner, the line of the wall is preserved completely. At its SW corner it makes an acute angle turn toward the NE, follows a fairly straight line for about 10 m., then makes an obtuse angle turn and runs E, parallel to the N Classical encasement, to 1 on Plan 17. There it makes a very wide angle turn, continuing toward the E along line 2, thus following for about 5 m., a line parallel to the S side.

The outer sides of the Mycenaean bastion are constructed of massive stones, often measuring over 1 m. Small stones and earth made up the com-

215. Robert, *Aus Kydathen* p. 182, Lolling, *Topographie* p. 338, Miller, *AJA* 1893, p. 486, Picard, *L'Acropole I* pp. 18-19, Judeich, *Top.* p. 218.

216. Pelargikon p. 9.

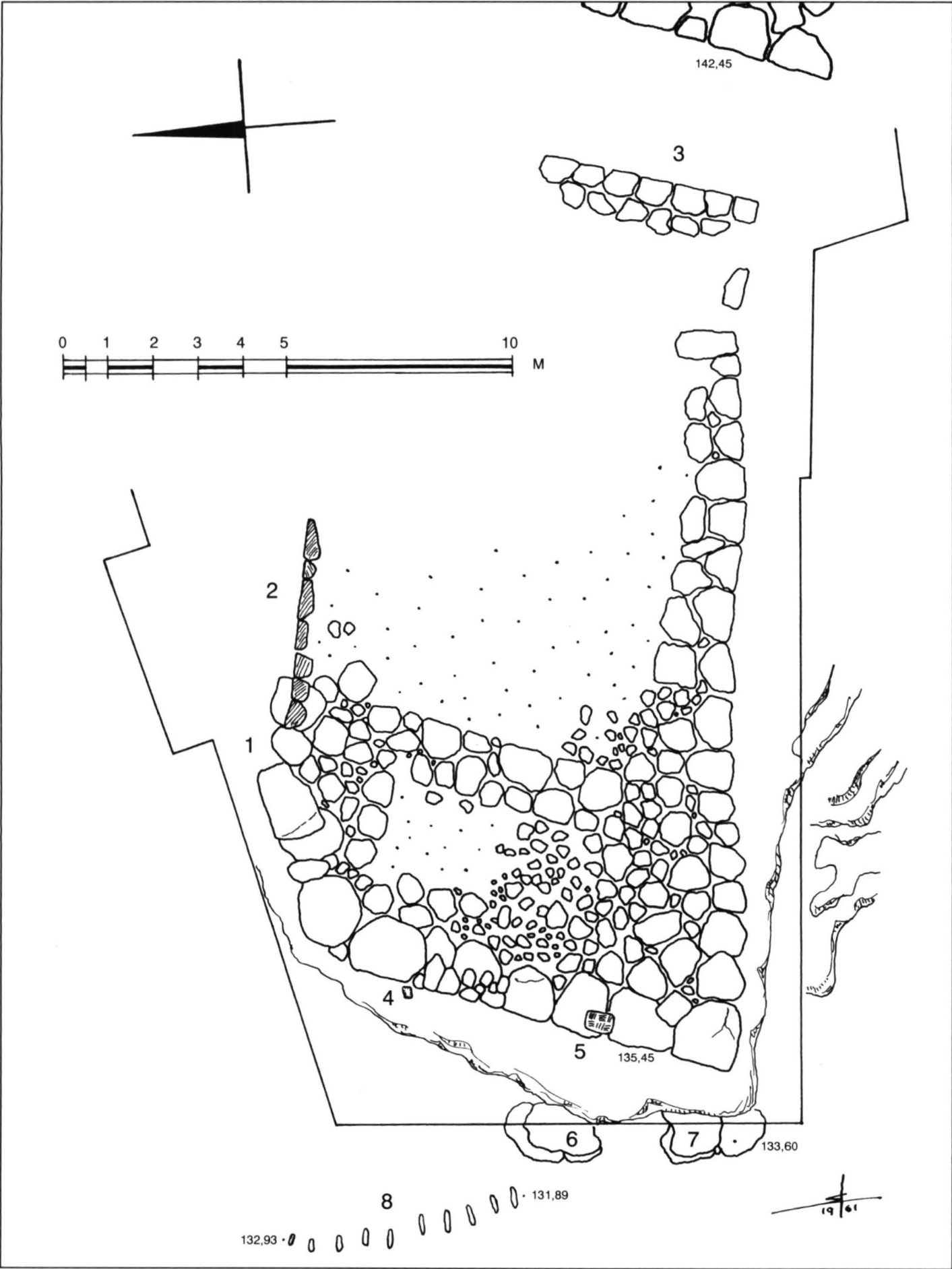
217. Kavvadias - Kawerau pp. 129, 137 and pl. H.

218. *Ibid.* p. 139 and pl. H.

219. *AM* 1923, pp. 190-201, pls IV-V.

220. *Ephemeris* 1937 Γ (Athens 1956), pp. 776-807. See also *BCH*, Chron. 1936, p. 455; 1937, p. 443; 1938, p. 448; 1939, p. 289, and Welter, *AA* 1939, pp. 1-22.

THE THIRD PHASE



Plan 17. The west bastion of the fortification and the area around it.

compact interior of the wall. At about 4,50 m. E of the W outer wall and parallel to it, a solidly built wall runs across the entire width of the bastion. It is founded on fill and constructed of two rows of large stones. Its purpose was evidently to retain the fill to the E of it, thus lessening the weight to be supported by the W side of the bastion. Another similar cross-wall east of the first will not have been needed, since the rock rises toward the E and the weight of the fill lessens correspondingly. The fill consists of stones, decreasing in size toward the center of the bastion, and earth fill increasing correspondingly toward the centre. Thus the centre of the tower, the space between the outer walls, was full of earth mixed with small stones.²²¹

The greatest preserved height of the bastion is at the west side, where it stands to 3,80 m. above the rock, which at that point is 135,45 m. above sea level.

As noted, the E side of the bastion is not preserved entirely. The exterior face of the section of the Cyclopean wall to the E of it and facing it, however, is preserved for its full length without interruption well beyond the N side of the bastion. This makes it clear that the bastion did not join the fortification wall at that spot and that there was a narrow open space between them. The wall is preserved to a much greater height than is the E side of the bastion. Since the purpose of the bastion was to cover and to protect the fortification, it cannot have been significantly lower than the wall itself. The only possible conclusion is that it is preserved to less than its original height, which will have coincided with that of the wall.

The W side of the bastion is the best preserved. Its construction in this place is of special interest. Found in the façade of one of the blocks of the lowest course, about 1,50 m. from the NW corner, was a shallow rectangular hollow measuring 0,30×0,22 and 0,15 m. deep (Plan 17, 4). There were traces of fire and burned sherds on the rock beside the edge of the hollow,²²² clear indications of cult activity. S of this cutting is a large built niche in the foundations of the bastion, the carefully levelled rock serving as its floor.

Balanos reports the following about the niche.²²³ It is "about 5 m. long", but its depth could not be ascertained because the stones of the interior had

221. Balanos, *Ephemeris* 1937 Γ, p. 788.

223. *Ibid.* pp. 790-791, figs 20-21.

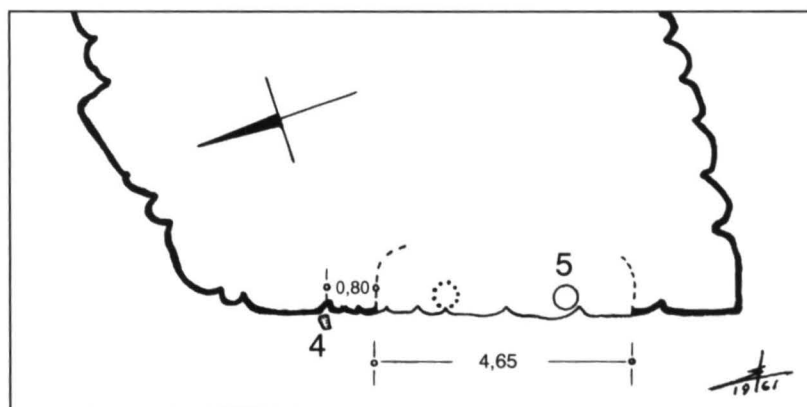
222. *Ibid.* p. 791 and fig. 22.

collapsed. It was found blocked by dry masonry, the surface of which is set back from the façade of the bastion by 0,15-0,20 m. Built in at one place with the other stones was a poros pier that reached the ceiling of the niche. Both pier and dry masonry were placed there when the Classical sheathing was built. The pier evidently replaced an earlier little round column or stele, as shown by the circular cutting in the rock on which it stood. The W face of the support measured 0,60 m., its width toward the interior was 0,35 m. and its height 1,25 m. Balanos' plan²²⁴ shows the position of the pier (see Plan 17, 5), but not the niche. Nor does he provide the diameter of the round cutting beneath the pier, which held the stele that preceded it. This, however, can be calculated at 0,45-0,47 m. on the basis of his figs 20 and 21, and by analogy with the 0,60 m. face of the pier. The measurements are of course only approximate, but since the restoration of the bastion has hidden the floor of the niche there is no other way to make a calculation. Problematic also are the exact positions of the niche in the W façade of the bastion and of the pier within the niche. Since the niche²²⁵ is not included in Balanos' survey, and since its

224. *Ibid.* pl. 1.

225. For the niche, James Wright follows Mark (*The Sanctuary of Athena Nike in Athens: Architectural Stages and Chronology*, *Hesperia*, suppl. 26, Princeton 1993, pp. 13-14) who, based on some preliminary drawings by Balanos, kept in the Archives of the Archaeological Society at Athens and made while the work was in progress, assumes that what he calls Balanos' archival drawing shows two niches side by side and concentrates on that on the right hand (illustrated by Balanos in his figure 20), which he accepts as being the only one. His measurements on the drawings led him to believe that its width does not exceed 1.865 m., which is far off the width of ca. 5 m. given by Balanos in his final and therefore only authoritative account. Mark tries to

justify the discrepancy by assuming that the measurements given by Balanos involve both the real and the rejected niches plus their surround, as he calls it, presumably the boulders along their outline. In this he was betrayed by his imperfect knowledge of modern Greek. Balanos' unequivocal statement reads, «Τὸ ὅλικόν μῆκος τῆς ἀρχαιοτέρας ταύτης κόγχης εἶναι 5 μ. περίπου, ἐνῶ τὸ τῆς τοῦ περιβλήματος εἶναι 3,135 μ.». By περίβλημα Balanos means throughout his report the Classical poros sheathing of the bastion, so what he says is that the total width of this earlier (i.e. Mycenaean) niche is ca. 5 m., while that of the one left in the later sheathing is 1,135 m. Mark's interpretation and his resulting computations, as also those of Wright, are based on a misunderstanding.



Plan 18. The niche in the W façade of the bastion.

edges are hidden by the mortar that consolidated the W side of the Classical bastion, we must resort to the following estimates.

SOUTH EDGE OF THE NICHE: The photograph reproduced as Balanos' fig. 20, taken from in front and therefore with no real optical distortion, shows the pier and the S edge of the niche. A comparison of the width of the face of the pier and the distance from its S edge to the S edge of the niche, suggests that the distance is around 0,90 m.

NORTH EDGE OF THE NICHE: Preserved within the Classical encasement of the bastion is the NW corner of the Mycenaean bastion. It is visible for its full height, together with the part of the rock on which it stands. The cutting can be seen at 4 on Plans 17 and 18. The modern mortar connecting the façade of the Cyclopean bastion with the interior of the restored Classical encasement, makes the middle section where the niche was located inaccessible. The mortar starts precisely 0,80 m. S of the cutting, with no sign in this space of the beginning of the niche. But the S side of the last visible limestone block S of the cutting is vertical, and the cement mortar follows immediately. This may have been the last wall block before the niche. In any case, it is absolutely certain that the N side of the niche is 0,80 m. S of cutting 4, if not more.

The S side of the niche, therefore, is at a point 0,90 m. south of the pier; the N side, at a point not less than 0,80 m. S of the cutting (see Plan 18). The distance between these two points, as determined and measured on the plan, is somewhat over 4,60 m. Bearing in mind that our calculations can only be

approximate, and allowing for the imprecision of Balanos' relevant measurements as shown on his plans, this measurement is not far from the «approximately 5 m.» that he gives.

However imprecise the calculations may be, one thing is certain: the pier, or rather the earlier little column, is not in the middle of the niche but close to its S side, at about $\frac{1}{4}$ of its total width. This means either that there was only one roof support in the niche – the height of which can be derived from the height of the Classical column at 1,25 m. – or that there was also a second, similar one, placed symmetrically toward the N side. This second arrangement is surely the most satisfactory and it is shown on Plan 18.

In addition to the niche, there are other traces on the W side of the bastion. These were found not on the bastion itself, but on the rock on which the bastion stands. They are at a lower level than the foundation of the bastion and 2-2,50 m. W of the façade. They consist of massive stones (Plan 17, 6, 7) set on the rock and now partly concealed by the Classical encasement at the height of the 18th course from its top. They are not at the same level. The stones at 6 are at 133,85 m., those at 7 at 133,40 m. Thus they rise slightly from S to N, following the configuration of the rock to the foot of the bastion.

In removing the Classical bastion, at the 18th course and the level of these enormous stones, Balanos made the following discovery. Whereas the space between the Cyclopean bastion and the Classical facing elsewhere was filled with poros stones, at precisely this height there was a very carefully laid layer of hard Piraeus stone that continued E to the rock on which it is set. Beneath this layer, the filling was again more or less rough.²²⁶ The layer was not a chance deposit. It belongs, moreover, to historical times. Yet the existence and especially the preservation of the enormous stones at 6 and 7, show that it was a later reworking of an already existing Mycenaean layer, which was 1,50-2 m. lower than the base of the bastion and ran from S to N. As Stevens has already observed,²²⁷ this is a Mycenaean approach to the foot of the bastion. It was retained by a supporting wall of which the stones at 6 and 7 are remnants.

226. *Ephemeris* 1937 Γ, p. 791.

227. *Hesperia* XV, 1946, p. 76 and fig. 2.

Below these traces, almost 2 m. further down the rock, is a series of deep cuttings (Plan 17, 8) for the convenience of those ascending. Long use has deepened them more in the centre than at the sides and rounded out the edges. As Bohn rightly observed, it is an ascent intended for animals.²²⁸

The first to discover these traces was Beulé²²⁹ when he removed the slabs of the Mediaeval ascent that covered it. There is no doubt at all that the cuttings go back to Mycenaean times. In fact, they are much further down than the lowest courses of the Classical Nike bastion, which, coarsely worked as they are, were not meant to be seen and will have been buried. They are even lower than the top of the Archaic terrace wall W of the Propylaia, which formed a ramp leading to the Acropolis entrance and covered over the cuttings. Thus they are earlier than the Archaic ascent and the surface wear shows that they saw centuries of use before they were buried.

As preserved today, they begin below stone 6 (Plan 17), at a level of 131,89 m., and they ascend toward the N, gradually diverging from the W side of the bastion to an elevation of 132,93 m. Visible today are 10 cuttings. Kawerau and Bohn²³⁰ record 11 and Bohn noted that the last ones turn eastward. Weller accepted this, noting the beginning of a 12th cutting beneath the first step of the stairway to the Propylaia.²³¹ The 10th cutting, measured with the greatest possible accuracy, is somewhat further E than is shown on Bohn's plan, but it does not agree at all with Weller's measurements. If the ascent turned toward the E continuing along the N side of the bastion, as shown by Bohn and Weller, the existing differences in elevation, would mean an incline of 38,5%. This may be totally ruled out, especially for animals and certainly for loaded draft animals.

The direction of the cuttings, as indicated by the 10th, the last one visible now, and also by the 11th as recorded by Kawerau, is obliquely NE, in the general direction of the Agrippa base. As shown by the measurements of the cuttings that are accessible, there is an incline of 18,25% from the 1st to the 10th. They run in a direction completely different from the ascent at 6-7 (Plan

228. *Prop.* p. 15.

Prop. p. 15, pl. II.

229. *L'Acropole* p. 85.

231. *AJA* 1904, p. 68, pl. I.

230. Kavvadias-Kawerau pl. H, Bohn,

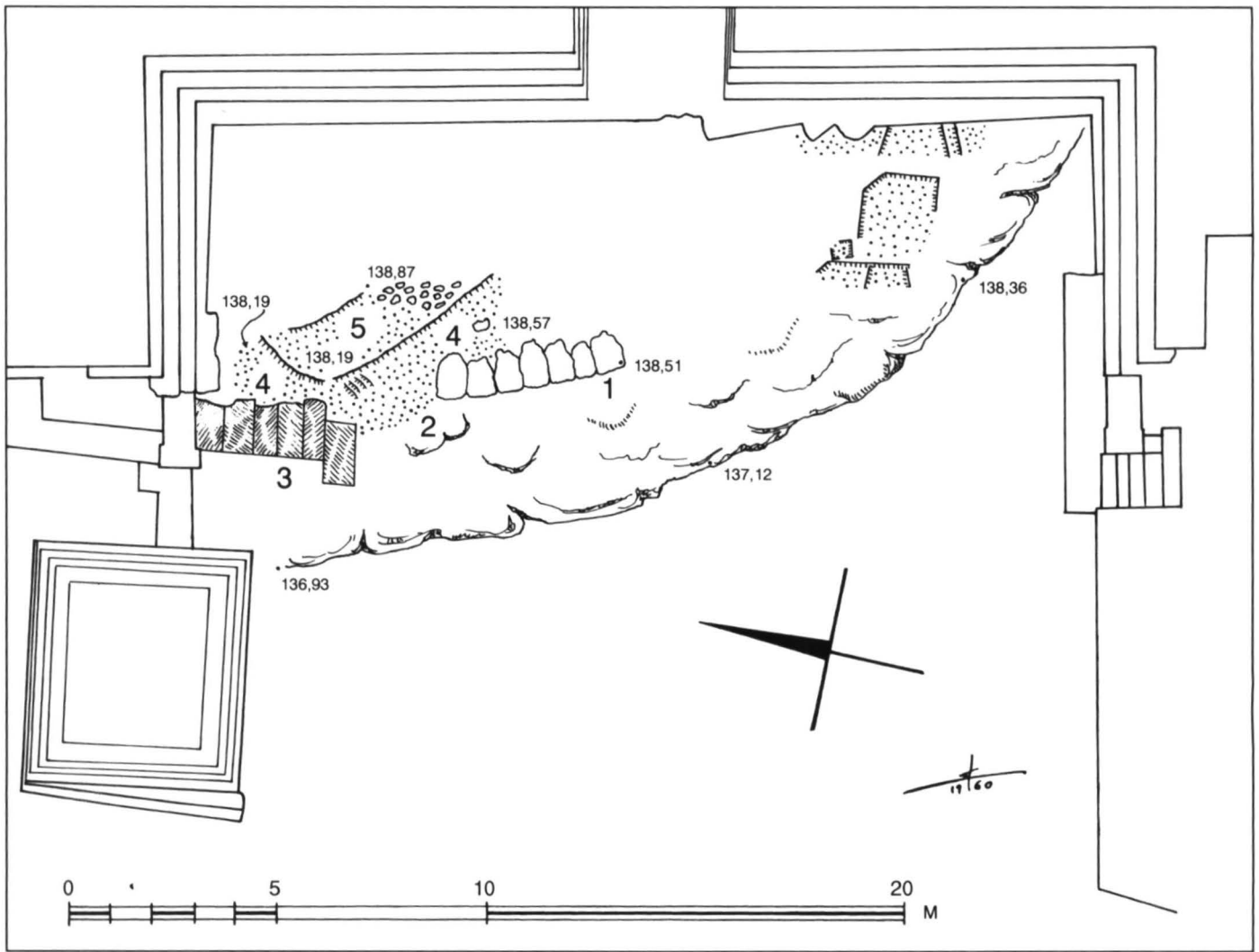
17) and their distancing from the bastion means that they are following a gentler slope than did the other path. Thus we have traces of two separate ascents, each with a different course and a different degree of incline.

The first stones of the Cyclopean wall visible to those approaching the Propylaia, lie N of the bastion beneath the foundations of the Pinakotheke. It was Stevens who discovered them. He collected sherds, all prehistoric, from the mud mortar binding the stones to the rock. The stones he attributed to the W leg of the wall.²³² A systematic clearing of the area revealed other traces of the wall in addition to the stones.

At this place, the rock forms a brow that runs out from beneath the W wall of the Pinakotheke, passes the Agrippa base to the W, which is founded on the slope, and runs obliquely toward the SW corner of the exterior façade of the Propylaia (Plan 19). The part of the rock that lies between the central entrance of the Propylaia and the temple of Athena Nike was cut at a number of places in historical times for the founding of various bases. Traces of the Cyclopean wall, however, are clearly preserved between this entrance and the Pinakotheke. To begin with, there are the stones *in situ* noted by Stevens (Plan 19, 1-2). They face west and are built precisely on the brow of the rock. They follow a slightly curving line for a length of some 5 m. from SE to NW. Their size and arrangement show that they are part of an initial outer layer, fairly low, made in order to provide a relatively horizontal surface on the sloping rock that would be able to carry the enormous stones of the fortification. A row of poros blocks, approximately 1 m. N of these stones, at 3 on Plan 19, belong to a later foundation, probably Archaic.

Some 2-3 m. E of the row of poros blocks, the rock has been worked to make a uniform but not exactly flat surface with rounded corners, thus creating an extensive area further up and at about the same level as the tops of the poros blocks. In the S part of this characteristically Mycenaean working of the rock, a small stone remains that closes a minor split in the rock (next to 4 on Plan 19). As can be seen on the plan, the entire worked surface extends to the brow of the rock and went through the spot where the poros blocks at 3 were later set. It gives us the line of the Mycenaean wall.

232. *Hesperia* XV, 1946, pp. 73-75, fig. 2.



Plan 19. Remains and traces of the west fortification wall.

There is a second, similar surface at a higher level just behind and NE of this first worked surface. It rises step-like up the rock and it is around 1,50 m. wide (Plan 19, 5). Its position is roughly parallel to the first. The purpose of these levels (Fig. 17) is evident. The rock at this place slopes gently but continuously. These small artificial flat surfaces were absolutely necessary in order to set a foundation firm enough to carry the stones of the fortification wall. At the E end of the worked surface at 5, where the surface of the rock is cracked and uneven, small stones and mud have been used to extend the level area. A number of narrow cuttings in the flat surface at 4 were obviously made for shifting or setting the blocks of the wall.

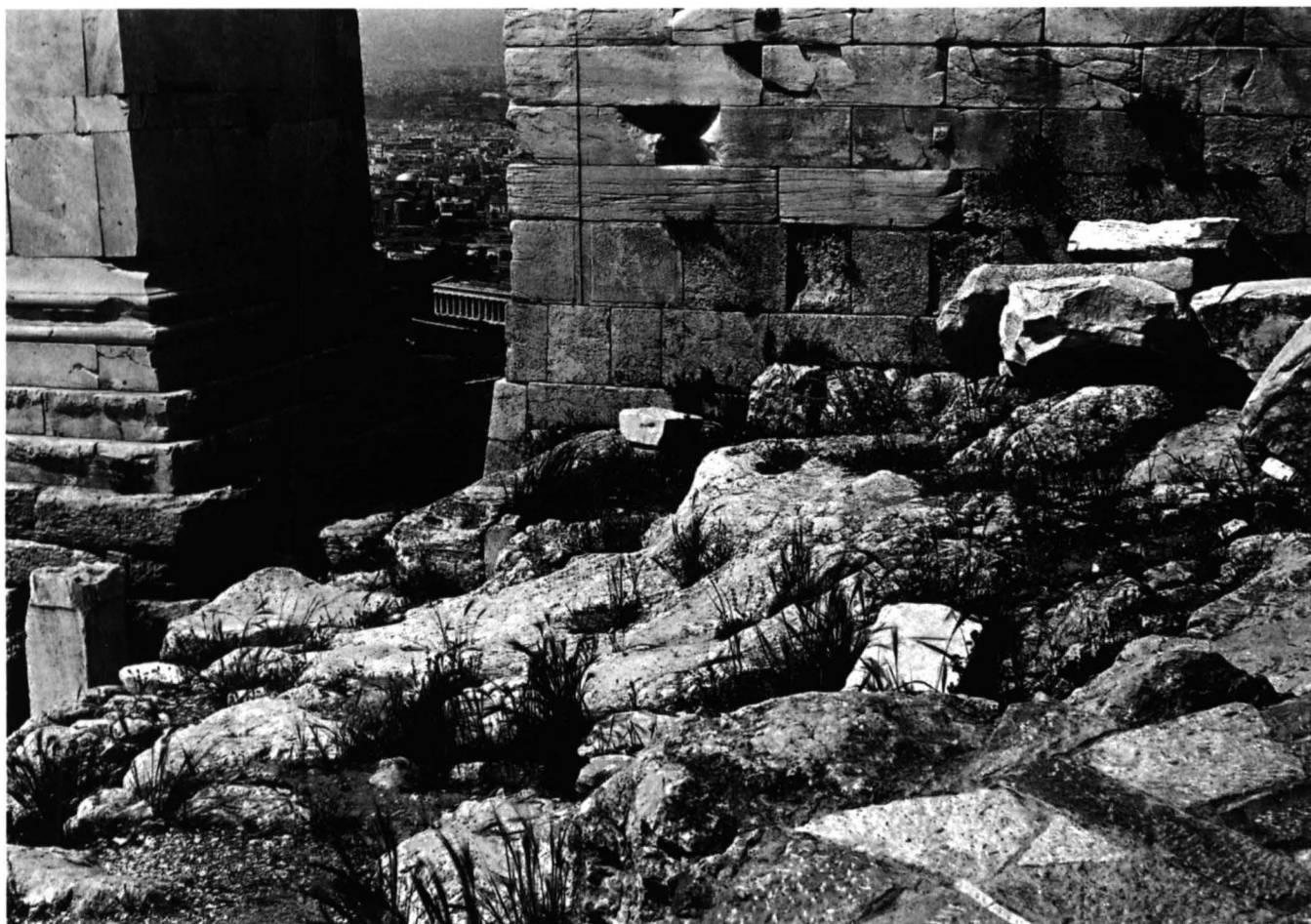
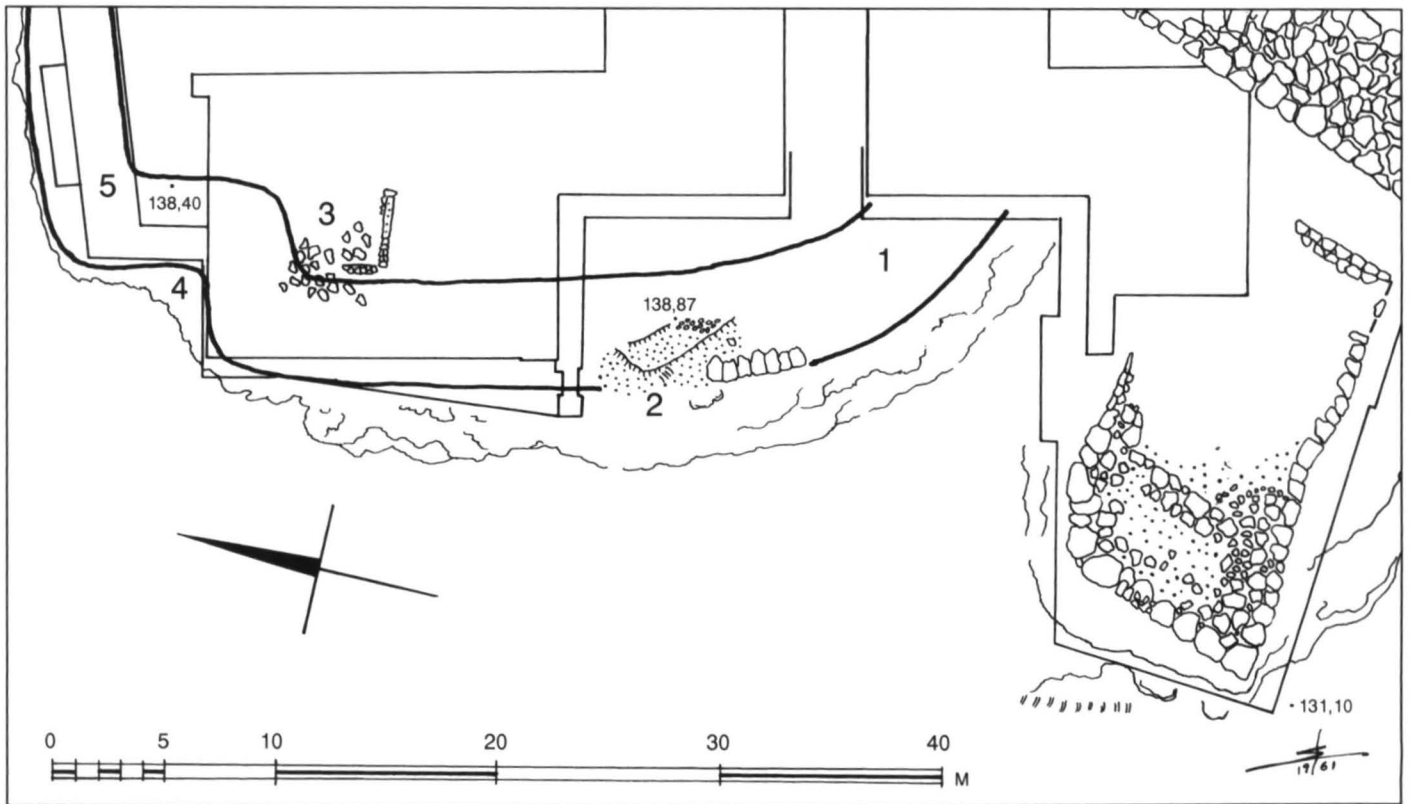


Fig. 17. The cuttings on the rock W of the Propylaia, from the S.

Here, then, are traces of the façade of a slightly curving section of the wall. It can be followed for some 10 m., partly by stones still *in situ* and partly by cuttings in the rock. There is also a valuable piece of evidence for the wall's original width. The full width of the worked surfaces was certainly intended to be used and the direction in which they face shows clearly that they were made for the outer face of the wall. The rock to the E and above the second cutting is itself fairly level. The width of the wall will evidently have equalled the width of the traces as a whole, with the addition of another series of stones for the inner face. The width of the traces from the W side of the stones *in situ* at 1 on Plan 19 to the middle line of the cuttings in the rock at 5 is about 4 m. Accordingly, the width of the wall at this point should be as much as 5 m., hardly surprising since it is next to the main entrance of the fortification.



Plan 20. The west fortification wall.

Wherever preserved, the Mycenaean wall adheres closely to the brow of the rock. The significance of this is that it indicates the course of the wall to both N and S. On the basis of this, the line of the wall has been drawn toward the SE corner of the Propylaia (Plan 20, 1). The wall traces themselves are shown at 2 on the plan. The line of the wall continues N of them, traversing the location of the later poros blocks, running parallel to the W wall of the Pinakothke foundation. It is not precisely on the same line as the Classical wall, since that wall, built in a straight line, has at many points gone beyond the brow of the rock, thus hiding the course of the Mycenaean wall, which lies further in.²³³

233. Leake, *Topography* p. 313, observing that the wall of the Pinakothke foundation is at an angle to the Pinakothke, interpreted it as a remainder of the Pelar-

gikon. It was not a remainder of the Pelargikon but, as we shall see, it is built along the same line.

These conclusions help in the interpretation of the next remnants of the Mycenaean wall, preserved within the Pinakotheke (Plan 20, 3). Here the excavation of 1889 revealed large stones lying in disorder directly on the rock.²³⁴ Preserved to the E of this pile of stones was a clean Mycenaean fill of at least 1 m. in height. Likewise founded on the rock was a corner wall, its lower part constructed of small stones, its top of rough slabs. It is the remnant of a building belonging to the Mycenaean Acropolis.²³⁵ Because of their size and because they are directly on the rock, the fallen stones can only have come from the Mycenaean fortification wall, the only structure that could have retained such a high fill on the inner side.²³⁶

These massive stones, lying as Mardonios' Persians left them when they destroyed the wall, no longer preserve the line of the inner face. There is however the corner wall, the W leg of which was evidently built next to and parallel to the fortification wall. This is indicative. Its construction and the preservation of the rough slabs at the top show that it had not been built directly against the fortification wall. Yet the fortification wall cannot have been far from the place where the massive stones were found. The inner face of the wall will thus have been parallel to the house wall, following a course 0,10-0,20 m. W of it toward the N.

The outer face, as we saw, cannot have been outside the Classical foundation of the Pinakotheke. Since it follows the configuration of the rock, it can only be somewhat further in. The distance between the inner face, as determined from the house wall, and the exterior face, as determined by the rock itself, is almost precisely 5 m. This gives us the width of the wall in this place and supports our conclusion about its width further south.

234. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 59.

235. *Ibid.* pp. 41-43, 59, pl. B, and Kavvadias, *Deltion* 1889, pp. 105-106.

236. These observations were first interpreted and analysed by Heberdey (*ÖJh* 1910, pp. 2-3), in a reply to Köster, who placed the wall further east. This was accepted also by Stevens (*Hesperia* XV, 1946,

p. 73). More recently, Bundgaard (*Mnesikles* pp. 47-48), came up with the peculiar view that the stones were the remains of a terrace wall. This idea he based on the fact that the enormous stones did not form an interior face (clearly because of the Persians' destruction of the wall).

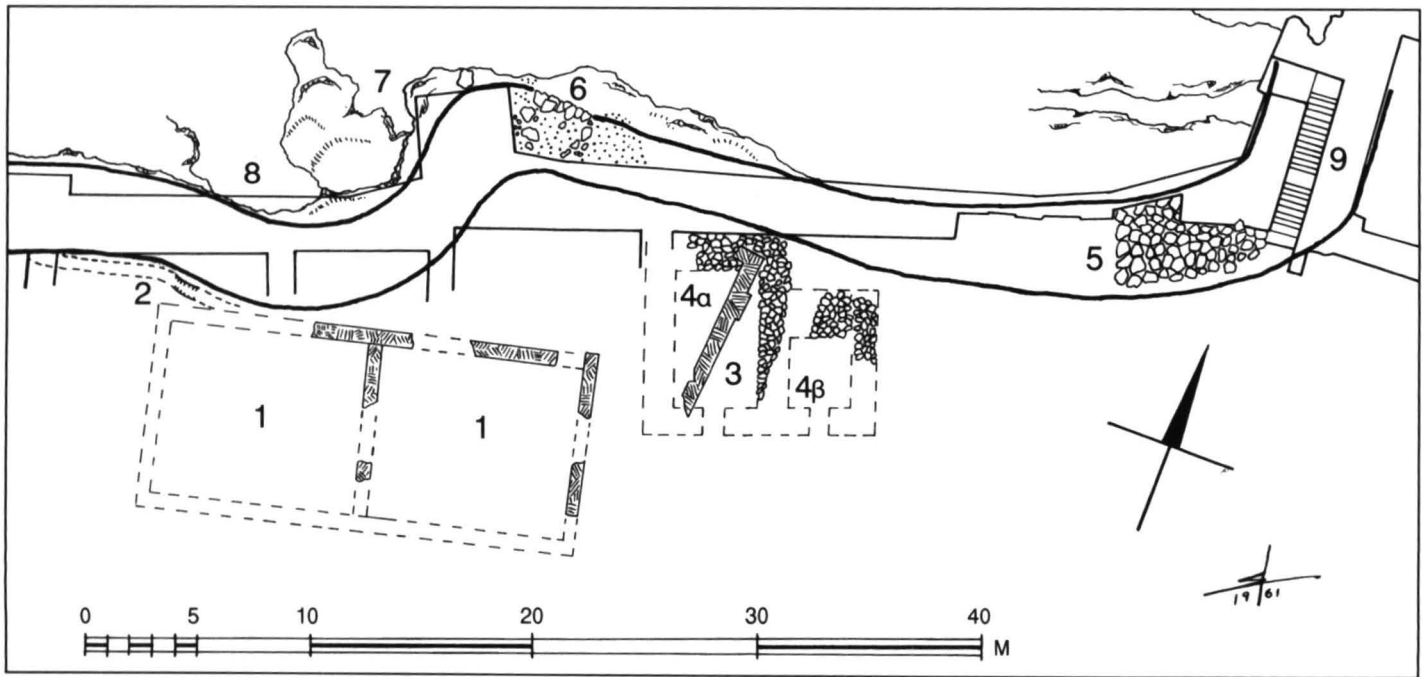
There is a triangular space just beyond the NW corner of the Pinakothke, at the point where the end of the Classical N fortification wall meets it (Plan 20, 4). Here the rock is not only sheer, uneven and full of cracks, but there are no traces or signs of the rock having been worked, as might have been expected considering its formation. The Mycenaean wall therefore could not have continued along the same line without changing direction. It did not go across the space at 4. It took the only course possible, along the line followed later by the Classical wall. Just after 3 it turns slightly E, runs beneath the foundation of the Pinakothke, then turns again and runs N for some 5-6 m. as far as about point 5 on Plan 20. After 5, the rock formation compels the wall to make an approximately right angled turn toward the E. Here ends the W wall and the N wall begins.

THE NORTH SIDE UP TO THE NORTH FOUNTAIN

After turning eastward at the NE corner of the Pinakothke, the fortification wall follows the brow of the rock with its outer face to the N. It has left no visible trace of the first meters of its course. Yet the brow of the rock continues to provide evidence and ample information is to be found inside the Classical wall as well. Preserved are a number of constructions, dating to historical times before the Persian destruction, that had been more or less adapted to the still existing Cyclopean wall. They provide good evidence about its position. The assignment of these constructions is easy enough because a clear *terminus ante quem* is provided by the building referred to by Kawerau as the northwest building, numbered 2 on his plan.²³⁷ Details of its construction show that it was built at the same time as the Classical wall, to which it is joined. Its foundations lie on top of all the earlier constructions in the area.

237. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 67, pl. B. Its exact use is unknown. The various interpretations are given by Judeich, *Top.* p. 246 and n. 1, without himself identifying it. Ste-

vens, in his reconstruction of the Acropolis, characterises it as a service building (*Hesperia*, Suppl. III, fig. 1).



Plan 21. The north fortification wall from the Pinakothek to the NW descent.

These are as follows:

- I. The large, Archaic reservoir (Plan 21, 1), probably built at the time of Peisistratos,²³⁸ and restored on the drawing according to Kawerau's observations.²³⁹
- II. The Archaic drain (Plan 21, 2) near the NW corner of the reservoir was made after the reservoir, but was in use before the construction of the Classical fortification wall.²⁴⁰
- III. The oblique wall, 3 on Plan 21, precedes the northwest building, but perhaps not by much.²⁴¹

238. Kylon's supporters, besieged in the Acropolis, were obliged to surrender because there was no water (Thuc. I 126); therefore the reservoir was not in existence in 632 B.C. Quite otherwise, the Peisistratids were adequately supplied with food and water (Herod. V 64), when they were in turn

besieged. The reservoir will thus have been built between those two dates, probably by Peisistratos himself, who in any case had established himself in the Acropolis.

239. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 65.

240. *Ibid.* p. 67.

241. *Ibid.* p. 63.

IV. Wall **4a** on Plan **21**, which **3** overlies, and **4b**, which because of construction and plan clearly belongs with **4a**.

To these should be added also wall **5**, Plan **21**, on the N part of which rested the Classical wall.

As Kawerau rightly observes,²⁴² the way in which the reservoir (1) is built, presupposes a deep fill around it to hold the rather thin walls, which otherwise could not have withstood the water-pressure. A fill of this sort could exist only if retained in turn by a strong wall along the brow of the rock, in this case the Cyclopean wall. The wall therefore ran N of the reservoir. A more precise indication of the line it followed is given by the drain (Plan **21**, 2). The course of the drain, indeed, is determined neither by the reservoir nor by the Classical wall, which is of course later. Apart from the last section that projects outside the wall, it could not possibly have been built underneath the foundations of the Late Helladic wall. That is clear from its careful workmanship, which implies ample room, and from the fact that it is covered by relatively thin slabs. These would not have been needed and in any case could hardly have supported the weight of the wall on top of it. The course of the drain runs parallel to the brow of the rock. Between the N side of the drain and the edge of the brow there is a level space of somewhat more than 4 m., a space corresponding, that is, to the width of the wall. All these features taken together define the course of the initial part of the N wall as it is shown on Plan **21**. After a turn toward the E, the outer line of the wall follows the brow of the rock, taking in also the place where a buttress was set later on. Its interior face is parallel to the drain as far as the W chamber of the Archaic reservoir. A small section of the wall (Plan **21**, 6) that is preserved outside the Classical wall shows the continuation of its course.

Just E of the cave of Apollo (Plan **21**, 8) and above the cave of Pan (Plan **21**, 7), the brow of the rock juts sharply out to the N. The large buttress of the N wall (Plan **22**, 1), built during Mediaeval times,²⁴³ is founded on the E

242. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 65.

243. See *Ibid.* pl. B, on which only the top of the buttress is marked. Because it becomes smaller in size as it rises, its area

is smaller and not entirely symmetrical with the base. Plans **21** and **22** show the base with its actual measurements.

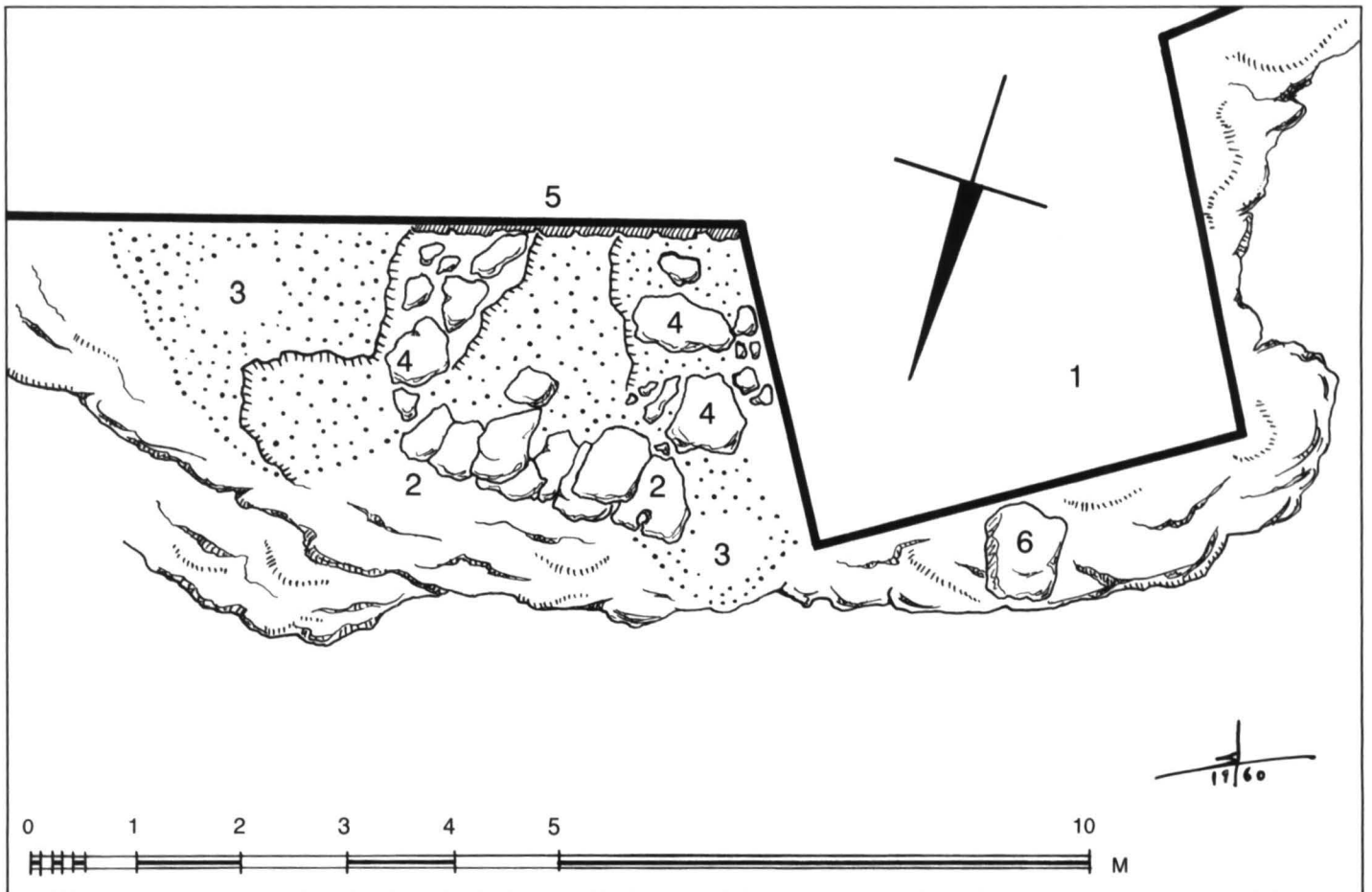
edge of this projection. Some stones of the N Cyclopean wall are still preserved *in situ* on the rest of this projecting surface, to the E of the buttress. They were first recorded by Kavvadias on his plan of the area of the caves. Köster too had observed them. He took them for the beginning of the Pelargikon, which would have continued in the direction of the Areopagus. His interpretation, quite rightly, was not accepted.²⁴⁴ Such an arrangement would have meant that for 30 m. this leg of the Pelargikon would have had to descend to a level some 15 m. lower, and it would have passed right through the cave of Pan. This in itself rules out Köster's interpretation.

In fact, this is a section of a massive wall of Cyclopean construction. The wall is preserved for a stretch of 3 m. along the brow of the rock facing N and running from the NE corner of the buttress at an angle to the Classical wall. It comprises a series of enormous stones built in 2-3 courses with a relatively even vertical outer surface (Plan 22, 2-2; Figs 18 and 19). There is no doubt whatsoever that the stones belong to the Cyclopean wall, which faithfully follows the line of the rock. Left and right of this series of stones, toward the buttress and toward the Classical wall, the rock has been roughly levelled for bedding the Mycenaean wall (Plan 22, 3-3). A considerable number of stones from the interior of the wall are preserved on this graduated cutting of the rock, which is much rougher on the interior of line 2-2 (Plan 22, 4-4; Fig. 18) than along the line prepared for the outer face. While some of the stones are quite large, they are smaller than those of the outer face and they are entirely unworked. Some lie directly on the rock, others are held in place by smaller stones. In the joins of most is an argillaceous yellowish mortar that yielded sherds supporting earlier conclusions about the date of the Mycenaean fortification.²⁴⁵ Cleaning showed that the stones, except for a few next to the buttress, had remained undisturbed, thus providing secure evidence.

Behind the stones and running beneath the foundations of the Classical wall for a length of somewhat over 3 m., are other stones on which the Classical wall was built (Plan 22, 5). These stones were, in all probability, not moved but simply trimmed along the outer side so they would conform with the smooth face of the wall. In other cases, the Classical poros stones have

244. See *supra*, n. 127, 128 and 129.

245. See Appendix II, group 5.



Plan 22. Remains of the north fortification wall beside the big Mediaeval buttress.

been trimmed roughly so as to conform to the uneven shape of the Cyclopean stones.

Preserved in front of the exact middle of the buttress, at 6 on Plan 22, is another massive stone, isolated and at an angle to the buttress. It will have belonged to the Mycenaean wall but it has clearly been moved since small stones and lime mortar have been used to secure it to the rock. Byzantine sherds were found next to it on the rock.

Here, then, is not the beginning of the Pelargikon, but part of the Mycenaean fortification wall. It was built precisely along the brow of the rock, a line ignored by the straight Classical wall. Since the place was difficult of access, the Cyclopean wall is preserved as it was left by those who built the Classical wall.

Let us now return to Plan 21. We have followed the Mycenaean wall to the point where a recess in the rock forms the cave of Apollo (Plan 21, 8).

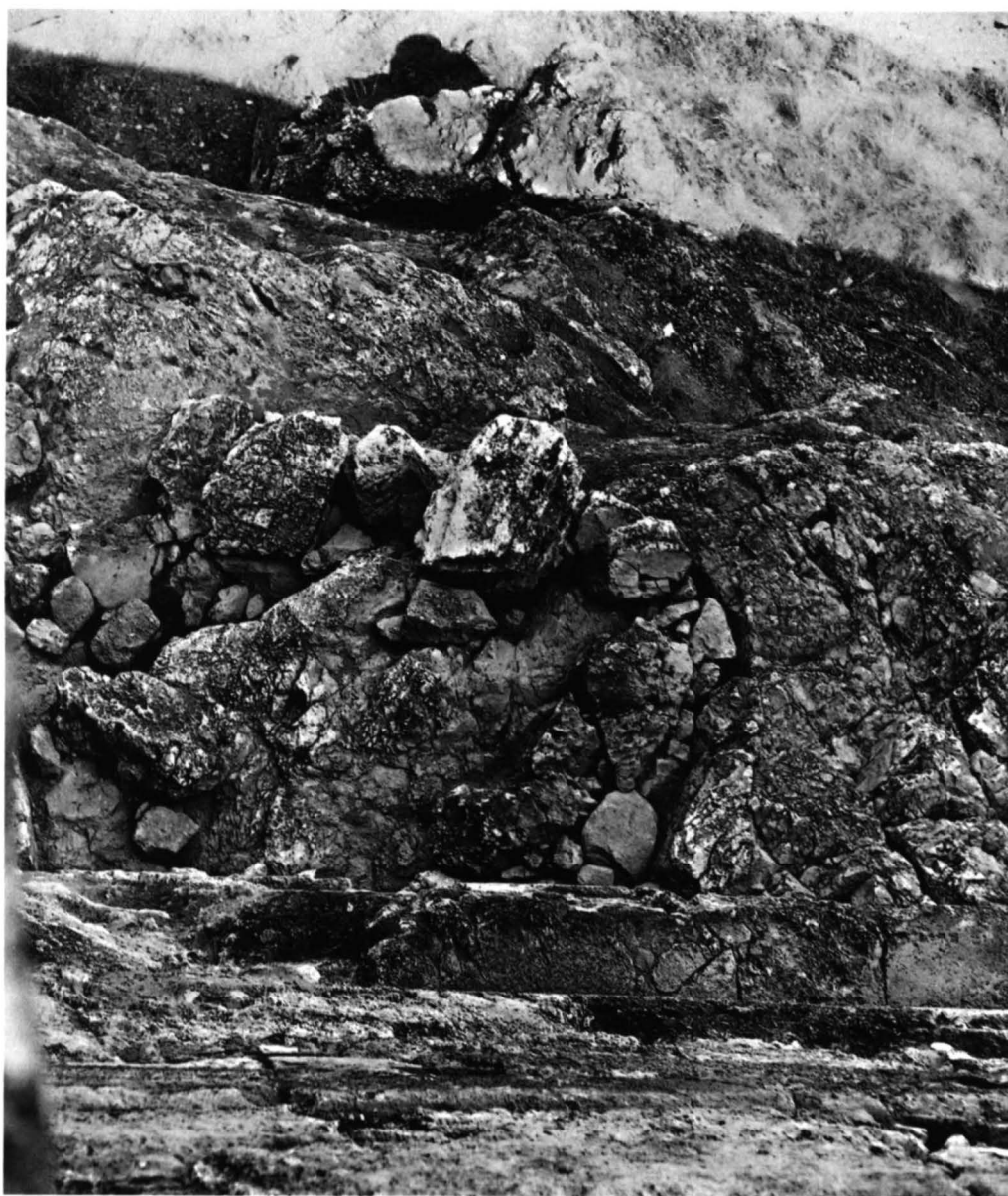


Fig. 18. The stones of the Cyclopean wall next to the Mediaeval buttress, from above.

Beyond that point its course to the E is defined by two factors: the orientation of the rock above the caves of Apollo and Pan and, especially, the preserved section of the exterior face of the wall to the E of the buttress (Plan 21, 6). These two factors show that it curved toward the N following the curve of the rock, the sequel of which brings it to the N leg of wall 4a. To judge by its construction, this wall, as also 4b, is probably Mycenaean, but from the end of the period. It is in any case very old. It is thick and made of small unworked



Fig. 19. Successive courses of the Cyclopean wall beside the Mediaeval buttress, from the W.

stones.²⁴⁶ It cannot possibly be part of the fortification wall. It follows a different course and, still more significant, it is not founded directly on the rock but on a fill some 0,90 m. high,²⁴⁷ the formation of which presupposes the existence of the fortification wall to the N of it. Thus it was built after the wall, and indeed some time afterwards. In all likelihood the N leg of **4a** was supported against the inner side of the fortification. Since it was built after the wall, it provides evidence for both the course and the width of the wall.

246. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 63.

247. *Ibid.* pl. I, lower left.

The NE corner of **4a** is no more than 3 m. from the brow of the rock. This means that the wall, which is around 4 m. wide as far as the drain at **2** on Plan **21**, gradually narrows to a width of 3 m. at the NE corner of **4a**. Indeed the rock at this place is sheer and because of the caves inaccessible, so that a particularly heavy fortification was not needed.

The oblique poros wall, **3** on Plan **21**, also supports these conclusions about the inner line and consequently the thickness of the Cyclopean wall. The oblique wall is later than **4a** since it rests on top of it. It is earlier than the Classical wall since the northwest building was founded over its S leg. Thus it is virtually certain that it was built before the Cyclopean wall was destroyed and consequently was adjusted to it. If the line of its short N leg is extended westward, it runs parallel to the inner line of the Cyclopean wall as we have reconstructed it.

Walls **4b** and **4a**, built in the same fashion and with the same arrangement, clearly belong together, but to what sort of complex is not clear. A hypothetical arrangement is shown on Plan **21**, but this is not the only possibility.

A section of the wall is preserved a few metres to the E of complex **4a-4b**, at **5** on Plan **21**. There is no question whatsoever about this. It is constructed of enormous stones, founded directly on the rock²⁴⁸ at the exact place where the wall had to pass. It is notable, however, that the stones facing S, while quite large, are neither as large nor as evenly laid as is usual for the wall faces. The N face has been hidden by the Classical wall. The S is exposed, but it is uneven and constructed of relatively small stones. The massive stones of the S face clearly were removed at some time, perhaps during the Turkish domination, leaving only the interior fill. To restore it to its original appearance, at least one row of larger stones, 0,50-0,60 m. in width, would have to be added to both faces, thus bringing the width of the wall to about 5 m. The proximity of the wall at this point to an entrance, where the NW descent begins, explains the difference in width between this and the 4 and 3 metres width of the wall to the W.

In fact, the stones begin to make a turn toward the N just at the point where the preserved part of wall **5** ends at the E. The Classical wall follows

248. *Ibid.* pl. I, lower right.

the same course, a course imposed by the rock itself. Since at this place the Classical wall runs along the brow of the rock, the outer faces of both walls can only have coincided. If the Cyclopean wall did not follow this course, it would not concur with either the previous section to the W or the beginning of the Pelargikon (see below). Thus, for a stretch of at least 5-6 m., the wall runs N.

In Classical times there was a stairway here, enclosed within the Themistoclean wall. It made a right angle turn and led from the beginning of the NW descent to the top of the rock (Plan 21, 9). There must have been some similar arrangement through the Mycenaean fortification.

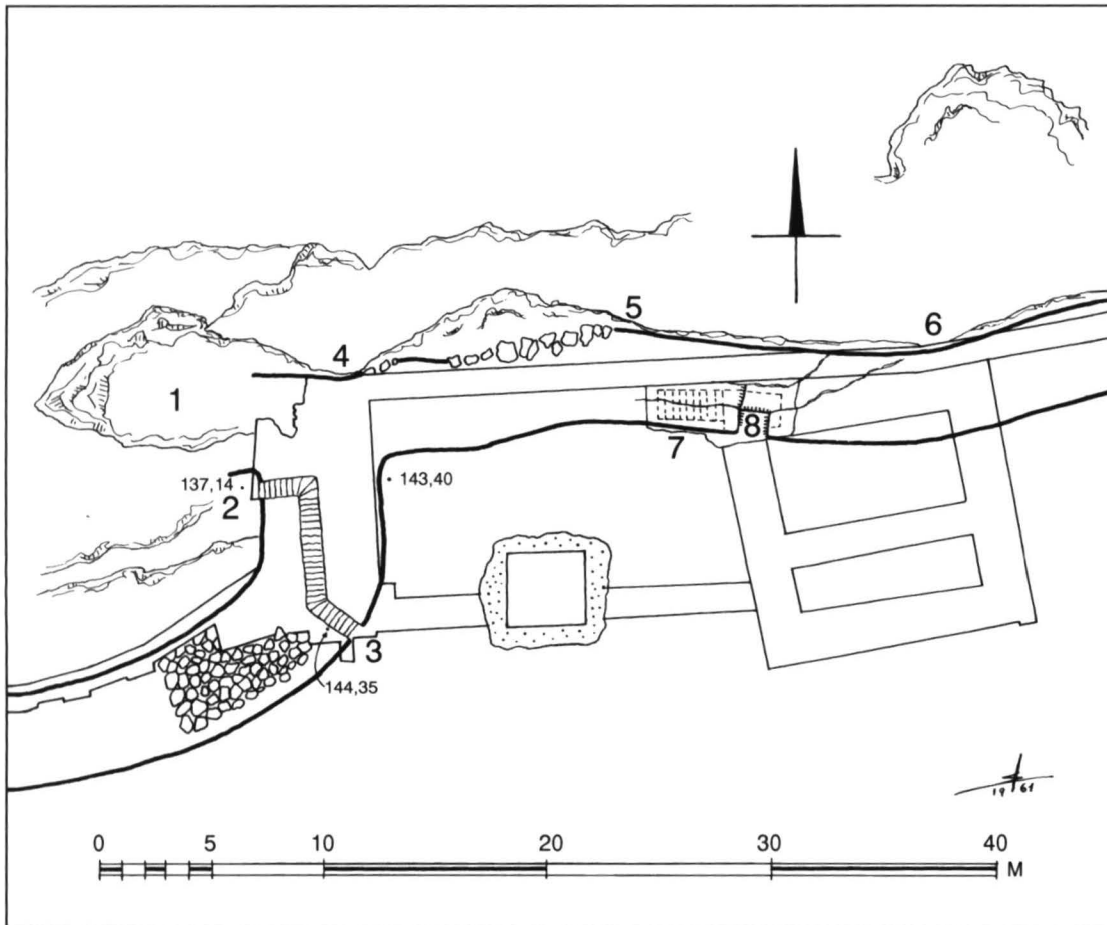
As it is today, the descent begins at a point S of the place where the rock projects at 1 on Plan 23. This point (Plan 23, 2) is at an elevation of 137,14 m. The corresponding point inside the fortification wall, both Mycenaean and Classical, is at a level of 143,40 m. The Classical stairway reached a level of 144,35 m. within the wall. Since no trace survives, the arrangement of the beginning of the Mycenaean descent, which must have passed through the wall, can be calculated only from the differences in elevation.

One thing is certain. The steep slope requires a stairway. This rules out the existence of a canonical gateway, as it would have occupied space needed for the stairs. In any case this was a secondary approach, no doubt for a limited amount of traffic, and a canonical gateway would have been unnecessary.

Without positive evidence, a number of solutions may be conjectured for the plan of this stepped path. Generally speaking there are two possibilities.

1. A straight stairway, cutting transversely through the fortification wall. The difference in elevation between point 2 on Plan 23 and the corresponding point inside the wall is 6,26 m. Based on the width of the wall as calculated, the length of the stairway would have to be 5 m. In this case the difference could be covered by 31 steps with treads 0,16 m. wide and risers 0,20 m. high, or by 25 steps with treads of 0,20 m. and risers of 0,25 m.²⁴⁹
2. A stairway formed like a Z, beginning at 2 in Plan 23 and rising to 3, with a course like that of the Classical stairway. This has a vertical rise of

249. These calculations, as those following, are only indicative. There is room for various combinations between the two extremes.



Plan 23. The north fortification wall from the NW descent to the House of the Arrephoroi.

7,21 m. for a stairway 9,80 m. long. It implies a stairway of 36 steps with treads 0,27 m. wide and risers 0,20 m. high.

I believe this second solution to be the most probable and have shown it on Plan 23. It has various advantages. It makes an easier ascent than all the others, its defense is simpler and it agrees more with the arrangement of Classical times, which, in the natural course of things, would have followed the earlier plan. Similar solutions are not unknown in Mycenaean fortifications.²⁵⁰

After this short turn to the N, the wall again runs E, continuing along the brow of the rock. The inner side has left no trace. Part of the exterior line,

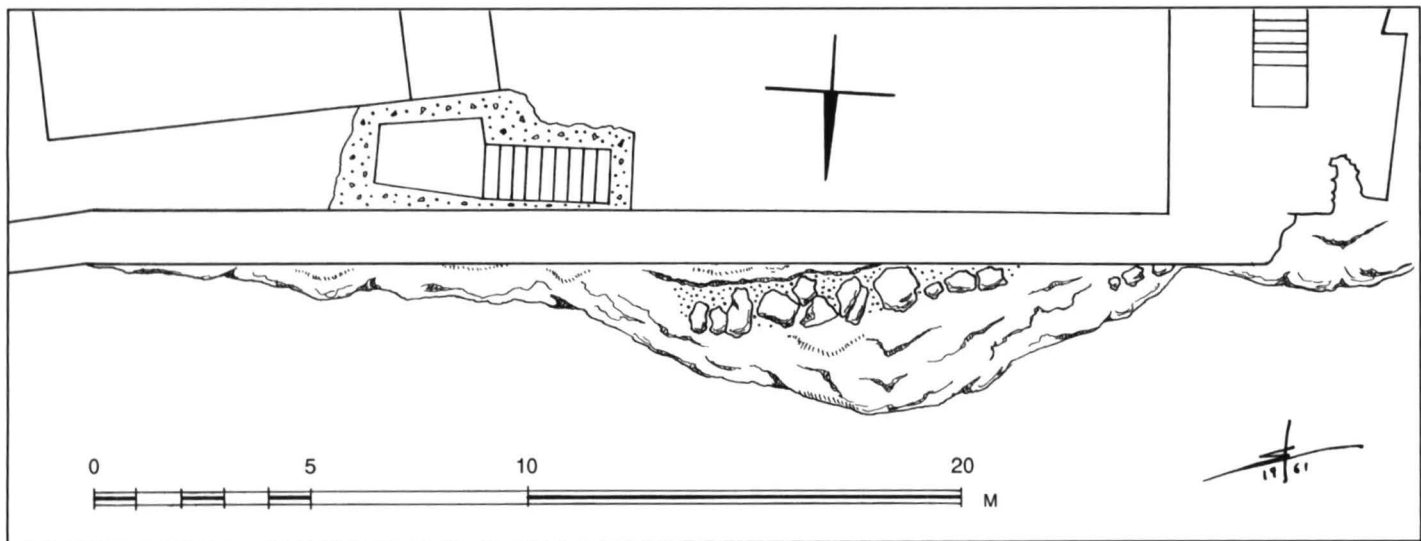
250. See the S entrance of the second period of the Tiryns acropolis.



Fig. 20. Stones of the Cyclopean wall on the edge of the rock outside the Classical fortification wall, W of the North Fountain.

however, is preserved on the rock and up to now it has gone unnoticed. A limestone block projects from beneath the poros blocks of the Classical wall at the point where that wall turns E, beneath the corner of its foundation, which is now destroyed (Plan 23, 4). This was one of the stones used in the building of the Cyclopean wall. Directly E are two other similar stones on a line that can be followed further still. At this point the brow of the rock makes a wide curve out to the N. The Classical wall, built as it is in a straight line, ignores it.

Preserved at the same level on the narrow space that remained outside the Classical wall, is a series of large stones founded on the rock. They follow the line of the rock (Fig. 20; Plan 24) until the curve straightens out at the base of the Classical wall. Most of these stones are large, but some small stones fill



Plan 24. Remains of the north fortification wall next to the House of the Arrephoroi.

in the spaces. Only the lowest row is preserved. All the space available for a wall foundation is covered. The stones do not appear to be trimmed, but they are arranged so that their relatively even sides face outwards. The rock where they are set was cut very little, only to the extent absolutely necessary for a firm foundation. Directly behind these stones, practically flush with the Classical foundation, the rock rises abruptly so that its highest level coincides approximately with the top of the series of stones. No fill is preserved between the two, as was shown in cleaning the area, and nothing remained from the second course.

This series of stones is part of the outer face of the Cyclopean wall, which continues for 11,50 m. toward the E (Plan 23, 4-5). From point 5 the brow of the rock runs in toward the Classical wall so that at 6, where the Classical wall is adjacent to the east wall of the House of the Arrephoroi, the Mycenaean line no longer projects beyond the Classical wall. Just E of 6, another curve begins which brings it out somewhat beyond the Themistoclean wall.

Thus the exterior line of the Cyclopean fortification wall is clear between 4 and 6, first from the stones *in situ*, and second from the brow of the rock. The interior line has of course to be parallel to the exterior, so that its course is no problem. The problem lies, rather, with the width of the wall. The solu-

tion is provided by the beginning of the descent to the N Fountain, which is preserved beside the NW corner of the House of the Arrephoroi.

Shown in broken lines at 7 on Plan 23, is the still preserved Mediaeval descent to the interior of the fissure between the rock and the big piece that broke off from it, as revealed by Kavvadias.²⁵¹ Ten wide steps lead from the level of the Mediaeval (and modern) fill to a wide landing cut into the surface of the rock. This was the beginning of the Mycenaean descent to the Fountain (Plan 23, 8) as well. The poros foundations of the House of the Arrephoroi rest in part on top of this. Here, at the beginning of the descent, the rim of the main mass of rock has been cut back to form a step facing N. By analogy at least with the Perseia spring at Mycenae, this first step of the descent should already be beneath the wall. In fact it is, for the following simple reason: the wall and, indeed, its inner face, cannot possibly have been founded over the fill in the fissure. It will have rested on the rock, either on the main mass or on the part of the rock that pulled away. We can exclude the part that pulled away because, as can be seen from the plan, the wall would have been only 2 m. wide if not less. The wall must therefore have spanned the fissure and been founded on the rock itself. In order to be securely founded, however, a width of at least two blocks, about 1 m., would have had to rest on the edge of the rock. This brings it precisely to the point where it covers the beginning of the descent, as we suggested, and the wall in this place will have been some 4 m. wide. The S face of the wall has been drawn on the plan in agreement with this conclusion.

THE NORTH FOUNTAIN HOUSE

The mass of rock that pulled away from the main body to rest at an angle against it, left a deep fissure, varying in width from 1 to 3 metres. Water from the rock collected in the recess of the fissure, and since it had no outlet, most of it was collected there. Realising this, the inhabitants of the Acropolis dug deeply between the two walls of the rock and built a stairway in the fissure

251. Kavvadias, *Ephemeris* 1897, p. 28.

leading down to the level at which the water settled (Fig. 21). When the fountain house went out of use, only the upper part of the descent continued to be used. In Classical times it led to the cave of Aglauros and the Arrephoroi went down this way to the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.²⁵² Later on, and indeed down to the time of the War of Independence, it appears to have served as a concealed sally port from the Acropolis fort. Kavvadias cleared the first nine steps of this later descent.²⁵³ Not realising that they continued on down, he proceeded no further. The fountain itself was discovered by Broneer during the systematic excavation to which we are indebted for the information on this subject.²⁵⁴

The Mycenaean excavation within the fissure descended some 34,50 m. from the rim of the rock to a level of 109,05 m. In winter the water level reaches 112,96 m., four metres above the level of Klepsydra and five metres above that of the Asklepieion spring.²⁵⁵

After the first step, which has already been discussed, the Mycenaean descent to the Fountain House begins. It is divided into 8 flights running alternately E-W and W-E. The first flight comprised 25 wooden steps running from E to W, anchored in hollows cut in the S wall of the fissure. It ended at a landing from which the second flight of the descent continued in the opposite direction by means of 40 steps of generally similar construction. This continued to a level of 130,40 m., corresponding roughly to the level of the cave of Aglauros. These first two flights are the ones that continued to be used during historical times. No trace remains of the last steps of the second and first steps of the third flights. Perhaps they rested on the fill in the fissure rather than on the rock itself. Be that as it may, between the last preserved steps of the second flight and the first preserved steps of the third there is a gap of some 4 metres. The next part of the third flight, running westward, has 9 steps ending at a landing. From this the next, the fourth flight begins. The 3 steps of this flight consist of slabs of grayish-blue marble built with yellowish clay on a support of small stones and plenty of mud plaster, strengthened and held

252. Broneer, *Hesperia* I, 1932, p. 52; *AJA* 1938, pp. 445-450, *Hesperia* VIII, 1939, VIII, 1939, pp. 322 and 428. pp. 317-433, pls XI-XIII.

253. See supra n. 251.

255. Broneer, *Hesperia* VIII, 1939, p.

254. *Hesperia* VII, 1938, pp. 168-170, 429, n. 194.



Fig. 22. The descent to the North Fountain, model (Broneer, Hesperia VIII, 1939, fig. 17).

in place by wooden beams framing it along the sides (Fig. 22). The fifth flight, built like the two preceding ones, leads to a landing about 1,50 m. wide, formed of two stone slabs on a wooden support that spanned the fissure so that from here on the stairway continues down anchored in the N wall of the rock. The landing itself comprises the sixth flight and it is followed by the 5 steps of the seventh, running from W to E. The 4 steps of the eighth and last flight follow, in the opposite direction. These last three flights have stone steps, firmly set into appropriate cuttings in the wall of the rock, which at this depth is no longer hard limestone but a much softer schist. The last step of the eighth flight is at an elevation of 118,16 m. Beneath this a cylindrical well had been dug with a diameter of about 2 m., its walls held by wooden supports. The well ended in a hive-shaped cistern measuring about 4 m. in diameter, with a concavity in the centre of the floor (Fig. 21) to serve as a settling basin. The water was drawn by lowering a container secured by a rope. There

was no need to descend any further than the landing of the fifth flight, as water could easily be drawn from here.

Visitors to the fountain house will of course have used artificial lighting. Kylikes were found with interiors blackened by carbon from the burning wick. One of these home-made lamps lay on the last step of the fifth flight.²⁵⁶

The fountain house was constructed during the final years of the LH IIIB period and was used for only a short time. After this it seems to have fallen into disrepair and, the danger that brought about its construction evidently having passed, it was never rebuilt. On the basis of the sherds retrieved from the substructure of the steps, which date their construction, and from sherds that fell into the fissure during its use, together with what was discarded there after its abandonment at the beginning of LH IIIC times, when the fountain house served as a dump, Broneer concluded that its period of use did not exceed 25 years. The material collected supports his view.²⁵⁷ As we shall see, the construction of both fountain house and fortification indeed go back to about that time, and they appear to have been dictated by the same need.

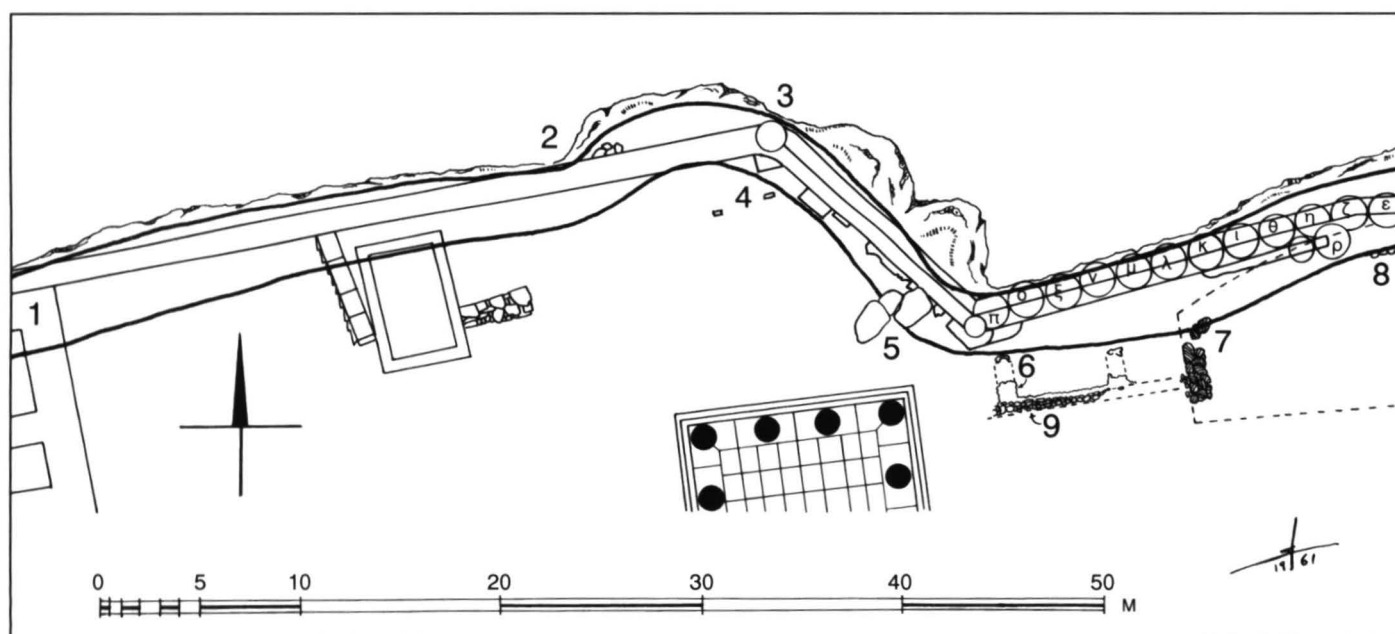
THE NORTH SIDE FROM THE NORTH FOUNTAIN TO THE NE ASCENT

The formation of the brow of the rock provides the only existing evidence for the course of the wall E of the beginning of the descent to the North Fountain and for a stretch of some 30 m. Between the E wall of the House of the Arrephoroi and a point about on a line with the NW corner of the N porch of the Erechtheion (Plan 25, 1-2), the wall makes a curve to the N that is almost imperceptible in relation to the Classical wall. Yet the curve is sufficient to bring the outer face of the Cyclopean wall outside the corresponding line of the Themistoclean wall, but close to it and roughly parallel. Just E of point 2 the rock juts sharply out to the N. In accordance with what we have

256. Broneer, *Hesperia* VIII, 1939, p. 377, fig. 58b.

257. *Ibid.* pp. 335, 346, 349, 395, 417, 423, *AJA* 1948, p. 112, *Antiquity* 1956, p. 13,

Daniel, *AJA* 1940, pp. 558-559, Furumark, *OpArch* 1944, pp. 197, 231, Mountjoy pp. 43-44.



Plan 25. The north fortification wall from the House of the Arrephoroi to the area NE of the Erechtheion.

already observed, the Cyclopean wall will have followed the same line. In fact, three stones of the wall are still *in situ* at the W end of this protuberance. This is evident from the way they lie on the rock and from the fact that two are adjacent, their outer faces forming together a line corresponding to the edge of the rock. The stones are not especially large and the outer surface is not a regular face. Thus they are part of the fill rather than the outer side of the wall and the actual face must have been a little to the N of them.

The curving projection of the rock continues to point 3 on Plan 25, where the corner of the Classical wall rests at the very edge. Here the outer faces of the two walls coincide. On the inner side of the corner there is evidence for the inner line of the Mycenaean wall. Preserved at point 4 were two of the little Middle Helladic cist graves,²⁵⁸ the slabs of which were set directly on the rock. These graves could not possibly have been preserved if the wall, likewise founded on the rock, had been built over them. Since the graves survived, even with their cover slabs intact and their walls upright, the wall will

258. See *supra*, p. 54 and Plan 2, 7.

have run between them and the brow of the rock. We can thus determine not only the line of the S face but also the width of the wall. The distance between the easternmost grave and the brow of the rock at 3 allows the wall at most a width of 3 m. Accordingly the S face has been drawn on Plan 25 to show the width decreasing from 4 m. at point 1 to 3 m. at point 4. After 3, the rock turns slightly toward the SE, forming two sheer projections that drop off steeply, full of cracks and without any sign whatsoever of cutting or other working. The wall cannot possibly have stood on this and it must have followed more or less the line of the Themistoclean wall.

At 5 on Plan 25 we again pick up its traces. Here, the excavators of the Acropolis noted three colossal stones that formed a sort of corner.²⁵⁹ They attributed them to the palace, together with the remnants of a wall of the Turkish period to the N of them.²⁶⁰ Stones of such great size (2×1,30 m., 1,20×2 m.), however, cannot have come from any construction other than the fortification wall. Their size and their weight alone saved them from being flung down when the wall was destroyed, but we may well ask whether all three are in their initial location.

For the following reasons this may be ruled out.

First: All three together occupy a space 4 m. wide, a space that could equal the entire width of the wall. It is most unlikely that the builders of the wall would sacrifice so large a stone, difficult to find and difficult to move, just to include it as fill. In every fortification wall preserved in all the Mycenaean citadels, such large stones are reserved for the wall faces, while the interior is filled with smaller stones.

Second: Even if we accept this to be so, the wall, which was 4 m. wide 6-7 m. to the west, narrowing to 3 m. afterwards, would at this point (5) have been inexplicably and unnecessarily wide at the cost of valuable building material.

Third, and most important: It is quite clear from Kawerau's plan that the westernmost and largest stone has fallen in such a way that the edge toward the east rests slightly on the middle stone. It lies fallen at an angle to the ground, in a position inconsistent with a place in the face of the wall.

259. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 85, pl. Γ, 35. wall 27.

260. See *supra*, p. 60, Plan 3, next to

This stone at least is clearly not in its original place. It was in all likelihood placed lengthwise on top of the other two stones, which, given their measurements, it will have covered. When the wall was torn down, the stone appears to have been shifted and overturned, but it was evidently too difficult to move it any further. The other two stones, however, appear to be set in regular fashion, their W faces on one and the same line, coinciding with the line that would have been the natural course of the wall. Thus here too the inner face of the wall is preserved. With the line of the outer face defined by the rock, the approximate width here is 3 m., just as in the previous section.

After 5 on Plan 25, the wall again runs eastward. At this point we encounter the section of the Classical wall that is founded on half finished and broken marble and poros column drums. The drums here are set on the brow of the rock so that the N face of the Cyclopean wall must have coincided at least with the first 7 (Plan 25, κ , λ , μ , ν , ξ , \omicron , π). At drum π there is evidence for the line of its S face.

Here (Plan 25, 6) the N end of the W wall of the LH I building excavated by Holland was found.²⁶¹ This wall, poorly built, ends at the N somewhat over 3 m. from the outer face of the wall opposite it. Clearly a construction as insecure as this one, already abandoned long before the fortification wall was built, will have been destroyed completely when the foundations were set. This is precisely what happened, since the truncated end of the wall cannot be explained in any other way. In any case, the fortification cannot have stood without obliterating this wall. Therefore the wall ran just N of the preserved part of wall 6, continuing to be 3 m. wide.

Some 8-9 m. to the E, at point 7 on Plan 25, is the W supporting wall of terrace I with the beginning of its continuation northwards. For the Cyclopean wall to continue eastwards, it had to be adapted to the N supporting wall of the terrace. It evidently ran on top of it, thus gaining around 1 m. in width. In any case, E of 7 at point 8, the inner face of the wall is preserved, and it coincides with the terrace wall.²⁶² E of drum κ the rock again swings out to the N, away from the line of the Classical wall. The Cyclopean wall, to be sure, follows the brow. This is not simply hypothetical. If the line of the Clas-

261. See *supra*, pp. 73ff, Plan 5.

262. See *supra*, p. 76, Plan 7.

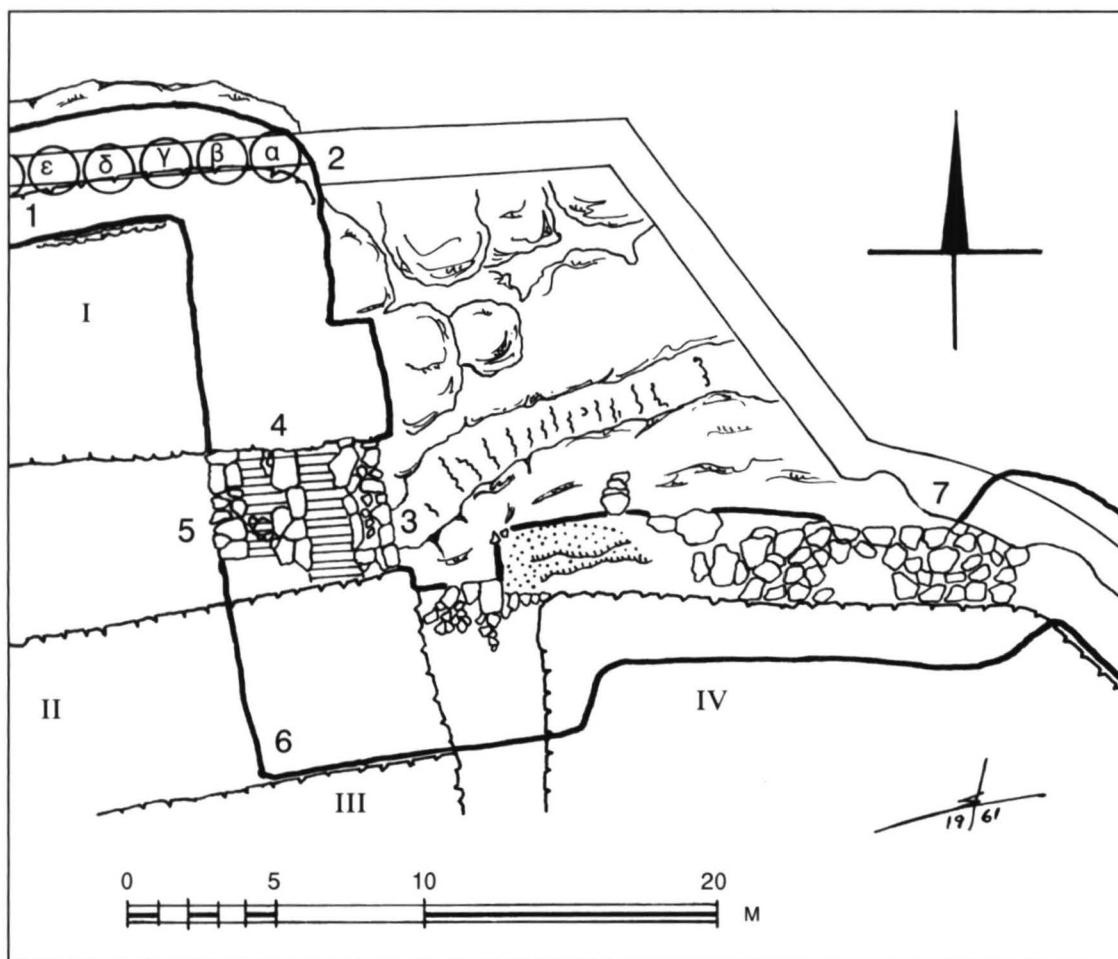
sical wall had coincided with that of the Cyclopean wall, the Cyclopean wall would have been less than 3 m. wide at point 8 (where its inner face is preserved). This is highly unlikely given its massive construction and its proximity here to an especially vulnerable point, the NE ascent. Thus, here as elsewhere, we can see that the artisans of the time founded their wall as close as possible to the brow of the rock. The distance from the rim of the brow to the preserved S face of the wall at 8 gives a width of 3,80-4 m. This width was attainable because the wall was founded on the earlier terrace and it was necessary because of the proximity of the NE ascent.

In order to reach this width uniformly, without corners or additions on the inner side – both unlikely and superfluous – it was necessary to start widening the wall at 6 on Plan 25, continuing gradually eastward to the NW corner of terrace I. This is shown by the fact that the E wall of the LH I building, as preserved, is shorter than the W wall. It explains also the somewhat uneven formation of the inner foundation of the fortification wall at 8. The lower courses, with uneven faces, belong to the old terrace wall; the upper courses are part of the regular structure of the fortification wall.

Yet another remnant of this time is preserved in the same area: the wall that was built on top of the S wall of the LH I building (9 on Plan 25). It is only partially preserved and runs in a straight line from the SW corner of the earlier building to the W supporting wall of terrace I, on which it rests. Approximately 0,55 m. in width, it is narrower than the earlier wall on which it is built. In places it is preserved to a height of 0,20 m. above it. At the point where it abuts the terrace wall, it is carelessly built with small stones. Elsewhere it is carefully constructed with both faces forming even surfaces.²⁶³ Whether it continued further W than the wall of the earlier building or followed its turn to the N, is unknown.

The purpose of the wall at 9 is not entirely clear. Its construction created a long narrow space between the fortification wall and the corner of the terrace. Its narrow plan and generally poor construction, especially towards the E end, means that it cannot have risen as high as the top of the fortification. Thus it cannot have been a staircase. For these reasons and also because the

263. Holland, *AJA* 1924, pp. 151-153, 156-157.



Plan 26. The north fortification wall in the area of the NE ascent.

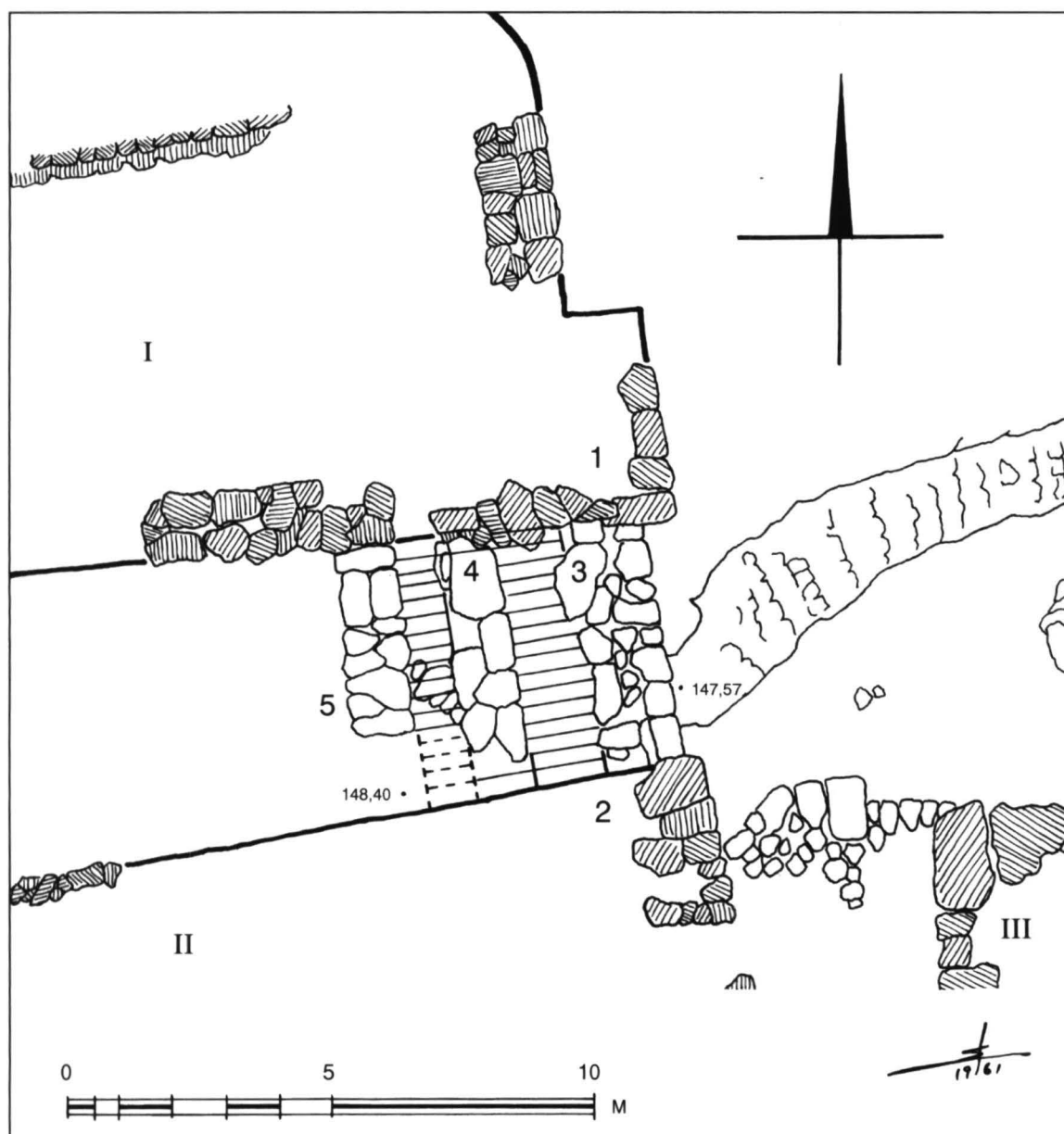
inner face is even, it cannot have been a supporting wall for a stairway to the top of the wall or even to the top of the terrace. It will most likely have been the S side of a roofed space that served as a guard-house or storeroom.

At the point where the inner line of the wall coincides with the earlier terrace wall (Plans 25, 8, and 26, 1), at column drums γ - ζ (Plans 25 and 26), the brow of the rock curves out so that the edge protrudes some 1,60 m. N of drum ζ , 2,30 m. beyond drum δ and 2 m. beyond γ . The curve forms the boundary of the space available for the foundations of the Mycenaean wall and fixes, as we saw, the width of the wall at around 4 m. The rock swings abruptly S at the point where drum α is incorporated. It drops off precipitously with a considerable difference in altitude, breaking up into a series of smaller rock masses (Plan 26, 2). As a result, this part of the wall has to follow the line of the E face of terrace I. Yet it cannot possibly have been restricted to the width of the terrace wall, which would have been quite insufficient; and while the

height of the terrace wall cannot be determined precisely, it will not have been that required by the wall. The wall therefore faced the same way as did the terrace wall, but it was higher and wider. The extra width will have been inwards since the formation of the rock rules out any extension outwards. In other words, the wall stood on the E side of the terrace, which it covered. How wide was the wall?

Following the line of the terrace wall, we come to the landing of the NE ascent. Here the terrace wall makes a right-angled turn toward the W (Plan 27, 1). Opposite and parallel to it, terrace wall II runs in the same direction (Plan 27, 2), so that the ascent continues westward between these two walls. When the fortification wall was built, this pathway, as we saw, was blocked by three cross-walls, 3, 4 and 5 on Plan 27. The three walls are parallel to each other. Wall 3 is ca. 2 m. wide, runs from one terrace to the other and completely blocks the pathway. It is preserved today to a height of around 1,80 m above the surface of the rock and the top as preserved is uneven. It cannot have been the threshold of a gate or other such opening. Rather it was built expressly to block the pathway, and it formed part of the exterior face of the fortification (see Fig. 7). After a space of about 1 m. this wall is followed by wall 4, which is about 1-1,20 m. wide. It stops a little before reaching terrace II, but the end is irregular and the addition of another stone would have brought it to the terrace. Another metre to the W is the last cross-wall, 5. To the south it ends up with a large elongated stone, set in the manner of a door jamb across the width of the wall, 1,40 m. from the N face of terrace II. Here then is a series of three parallel walls separated by two long narrow spaces, the westernmost with an opening 1,40 m. wide that leads in from the W (that is, from inside the fortification). Each 5 m. long and 1 m. wide, these spaces are obviously not rooms. The easternmost in any case would have been blind and inaccessible. They can only have formed a stairwell, enclosed in the wall, which evidently led from the level of the rock to the top of the fortification. The entire system is, in fact, very similar to the stairwell between the Lion Gate and the Granary at Mycenae.²⁶⁴ In my opinion there can be no doubt as to its use.

264. See Wace, *BSA* 25, 1921-1923, pp. 17 f., pl. I, n° 8, and *Mycenae* p. 54, fig. 3, n° 8.



Plan 27. The arrangement of the fortification wall at the point where the NE ascent ends.

There is no evidence for the form and arrangement of the steps. They will in all probability have been wooden, with the possible exception of the first few or only the first, which lay on the damp ground. In fact, the space between walls 5 and 4, on a line with the end of 5, is taken up by one large stone and three smaller ones. Kawerau's plan,²⁶⁵ unfortunately, does not show whether

265. Kavadias-Kawerau pl. Γ.

these stones are slabs and *in situ*, in which case they will have belonged to the first step. Nor are they mentioned in the text, so they could just as well be stones fallen from one of the walls.

Be that as it may, with no other evidence, we may suppose that there was a wooden stairway here. It will have begun on a line with the S end of wall 5, risen toward the N, then turned in the opposite direction between walls 4 and 3. There it will either have ended or it will have turned again toward the N over the lowest flight of stairs to end on top of the wall. This second arrangement appears more likely, not only because it brings the end of the stairway closer to the inner face of the wall where it would be safer for defense, but also because the addition of a third flight conforms better with the probable height of the wall. In fact, if we calculate the measurements of the steps to conform as far as possible with known Mycenaean examples, with treads 0,30 m. in depth and risers 0,20 m. high, a stairway of two flights would go up about 5,40 m., whereas the second arrangement with three flights would rise 8,60 m. Given a level at the beginning of the stairway of 148,40 m., the top of the wall (based on three flights) would be at 157 m. At the terminus of the ascent, the level is 147,57 m. At its outer face the wall must have been at least 9,43 m. high, which seems likely enough. These calculations are necessarily arbitrary, but they cannot be very wide off the mark.

There is no doubt that there was a stairway in this place framed by thick walls. The construction of the stairwell shows that it must have ended within the wall. The terminus, as I believe I have demonstrated, must have been at the N end of the space, between walls 4 and 5. For this reason the inner line of the wall will have coincided with the W face of wall 5 and have turned S just after the E end of line 1. The wall will thus have varied in thickness from 4,50 to 6 m., depending on the outer face.

Another factor must be noted here. When the wall was destroyed, every trace of it disappeared and only the terrace walls, the walls of the stairwell and the stones of the inner face (1 on Plan 26) remained. That is, the walls founded on the rock remained – and these only fragmentarily. The destruction on this part of the Acropolis was the work of the Persians alone. This is evident because when the Themistoclean wall was built it was given an entirely new line toward the E of 2 and the area was filled in to a much higher level so that the ruins were buried to a great depth. It is difficult to believe that the Athenians would have gone to all the trouble of methodically removing

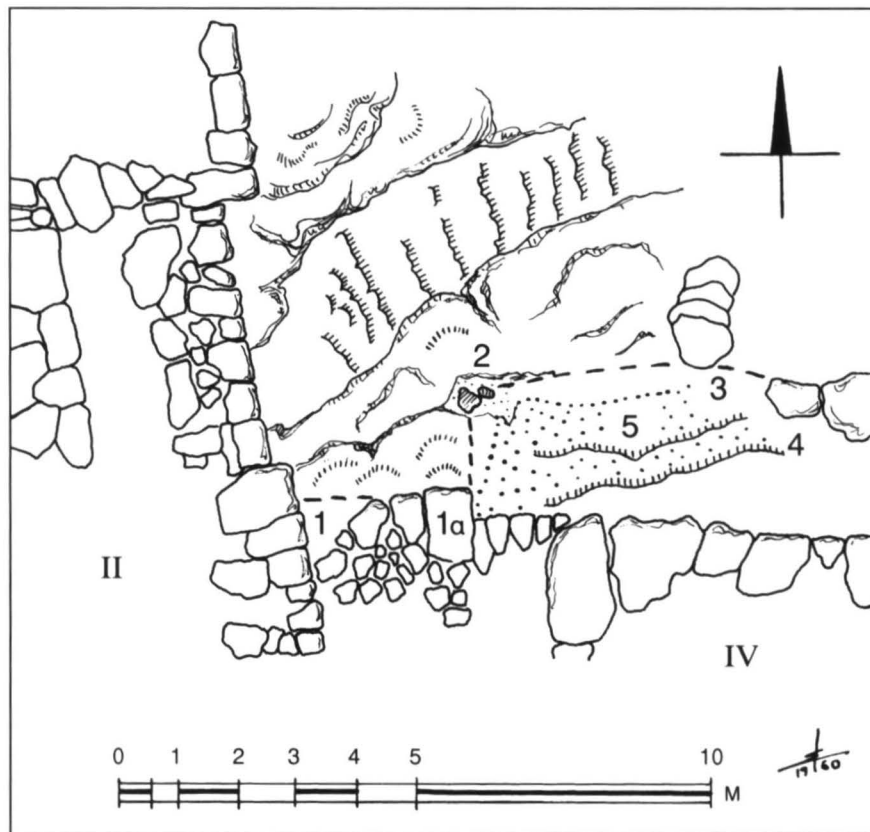
whatever the Persians had left in an area that was to be covered over and where remnants of the Mycenaean fortification would not have hampered them at all since their new wall was being built elsewhere. So it happened that when the area was covered over at the time when the Classical wall was built, it remained in exactly the same condition as when Mardonios and his cohorts left it in ruins.

The outer fortification walls together with the inner walls **4** and **5** were left in place by Mardonios and his demolition gangs. All the others they destroyed. How did they get rid of the remainders of the interior walls? Surely not by lifting them over the remaining outer walls in order to throw them down the slopes. In this case it would have been far simpler to tear down the outer side first and then dispatch the rest below; in which case, of course, **4** and **5** would not have been left.

Whatever walls remained, even as low ruins of a few structures, have, as we noted, a common characteristic: they are founded on the rock. The situation can easily be explained by the fact that apart from the outer side, which stood on the earlier supporting walls, the interior of the wall was built on the hard packed floor of the terraces rather than on the rock. The Persians destroyed all the upper part of the wall. When they reached the earth fill of the terraces, they left it, with part of the former terrace wall and the lower part of the fortification wall itself. There was no reason to complete the destruction of the terrace walls since they were of no value to the fortification. Thus it is clear that the entire inner face of the wall was founded on the terraces. This is why at the very spot on the Acropolis where you might well have expected to find traces, there are none at all.

From the S end of **5** the inner line of the fortification wall must have continued S to about the N face of terrace **III**. There it will have turned E (Plan **26**, **6**). Traces of the outer N face of the wall remain at the point of this turn.

At right angles to the E supporting wall of terrace **II**, a row of stones (Plan **28**, **1**) runs in a continuous line from E to W. Its purpose was evidently to block off the opening between terraces **II** and **IV**, so that the fortification would be continuous. For approximately the first 3 m. toward the W, the line comprises enormous stones, of the sort used for the face of the wall. After the last one of these gigantic stones at the E (Plan **28**, **1a**), the line juts out, then continues eastward with much smaller stones as far as the NW corner of



Plan 28. Trace of the north fortification wall over the end of the NE ascent.

terrace IV.²⁶⁶ Considerably lower down because of the slope of the rock, at 2 on Plan 28, just N of stone 1a, there is a crack that has been blocked by two small stones not recorded by Kawerau. About 4 m. further east on the same line, four more stones in succession (Plan 28, 3) fill in a similar break in the surface of the rock.²⁶⁷ Next to these, further east and somewhat higher, begin the first stones of the N face of the wall preserved *in situ*, which had been built against the N supporting wall of terrace IV.

North of the small stones E of 1a, between points 2, 3 and 4 on Plan 28, the rock falls off abruptly and it has been cut back carefully to form a

266. These small stones, recorded by Kawerau on his pl. Γ, no longer exist.

267. The stones at 3 on Plan 28 were recorded by Kawerau (pl. Γ), but, probably

by error of the lithographer, they were not coloured, so that while they are still in place they were never noticed.

sequence of three virtually horizontal levels.²⁶⁸ This is characteristically Mycenaean work, with surfaces roughly levelled and with obtuse angles and rounded corners (Plan 28, 5). The rock was prepared in this way for setting the foundation stones of the wall, thus adding 2,50-3 m. to the width of the N supporting wall of terrace IV. The lowest of these three levelled surfaces, which will have held the enormous stones of the face of the wall, was also the widest, varying between 1 and 1,50 m. The other two prepared surfaces above it are considerably narrower, varying in width between 0,50 and 1 m. The cuttings (Fig. 23) were absolutely necessary given the steep incline of the rock; the wall could not have been founded otherwise. Their greatest interest, however, lies in their W boundary, which gives us the line of the outer face with great accuracy.

Just N of wall 1, the rock falls off abruptly to the level of the fissure of the approach. Here, no evidence for any working of the rock has survived. This begins only at the corner of 1a, runs somewhat obliquely towards 2, then turns E following a line to exactly above 3 and then towards 4. Making approximately a right angle, it covers a line formed by the small stones E of 1a and then by the face of terrace IV, leaving uncovered the large stones up to 1a. Thus the line of the façade of the wall is clear: at a right angle to the E wall of terrace II, it runs for about 3 m. to 1a. Thence it makes a right-angled turn N toward 2, then runs E in a straight line just above 3 to 4. From here on the wall is preserved unbroken up to the point where it meets the Classical wall (Plan 26, 7).

The inner face, which we followed to point 6 on Plan 26, will have turned along the line of the N supporting wall of terrace III and continued eastward, cutting across the space between terraces III and IV, about 5 m. S of the outer face of the wall. A width of 5 m. will have been retained for the same reasons as held for the previous metres of its course. In this way about 1/3 of it will have stood over the N end of terrace IV.

At the juncture of the outer face of the Cyclopean wall with the later wall, at 7 on Plan 26, the last stone is not in the same strict E-W line, but makes

268. Kawerau records the place of this cutting without great precision (pl. Γ), and Holland (*AJA* 1924, pl. VII) copies this without comment.



Fig. 23. The stepped cuttings in the rock for the foundations of the fortification wall S of the end of the NE ascent, from the W.

a wide angled turn toward the NE. This is explained by the formation of the brow of the rock here. It curves outward and the curve is reflected to some extent by the later fortification wall; all the more reason for the Cyclopean wall to follow it. The angle of the last stone of the outer face at the E demonstrates this. The brow of the rock, while jutting out some 2,50 m., is not even, so that it was impossible to place the wall exactly at the edge. The configuration of the rock allows it only 1 m. beyond the Classical wall.

The inner face, following a line parallel to the outer face and retaining the width of 5 m., brings it precisely NE of the supporting wall of terrace IV, which it follows. It is most unlikely to have rested on top of the terrace in this place, since the width would have been increased to an unnecessary 6 m. Moreover,

as we have seen, the terrace wall is constructed of increasingly smaller stones because the rock rises here. It would have made a poor foundation for the wall, which will most probably have been founded just in front of it.

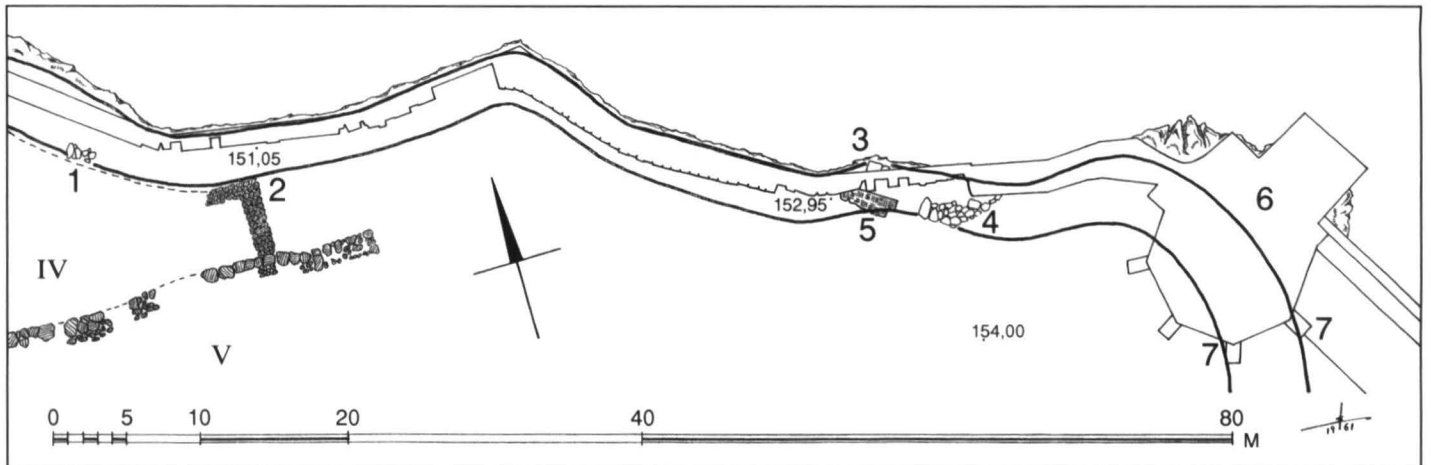
With the wall now built as we have suggested, the NE ascent went out of use and was abandoned. On the slopes below, a settlement of small and humble houses came into being, some of which invaded and covered over the ascending pathway. The houses, which will be discussed below, and finds from that area gave their discoverer, Broneer,²⁶⁹ additional material enabling him to date the wall more closely in connection with the pottery from the North Fountain.

THE NORTH SIDE FROM THE NE ASCENT TO THE BELVEDERE

After the point where the Cyclopean wall meets the Classical wall above the NE ascent, the inner face runs parallel to the N supporting wall of terrace IV. Some 11-12 m. east of the end of that terrace wall, Kawerau records a number of large stones (Plan 29, 1).²⁷⁰ He provides no other information about these and they are not mentioned in the text. They are set right in front of the terrace, but their size and position show that they do not belong to the terrace wall. They are part of the inner face of the Cyclopean wall. Their relative disorder along the S side makes sense since they belong to the inner foundation of the fortification wall, which was added to the terrace and therefore hidden by it. The position of the stones in relation to the brow of the rock shows that the wall, which had reached a width of 5 m. over the fissure of the ascent, begins to narrow just after that. At this point it has already been reduced to 4 m., a more than sufficient width since the cliff is particularly steep here. As we shall see, the width decreases still further as the wall proceeds eastwards. The NE corner of terrace IV (Plan 29, 2) provides the next indication of its course. The fact that it is preserved, as we noted, means that the wall was not built on top of it, and it therefore has to lie between that

269. *Hesperia* II, 1933, pp. 352-355; IV, 1935, pp. 111-113, pl. I.

270. Kavvadias-Kawerau pl. Δ.



Plan 29. The north fortification wall from the NE ascent to the Belvedere.

and the brow of the rock. The available space at this point is 3,20 m., and this will have been the width of the wall.

East of point 2 there is no trace of the wall for a stretch of over 40 m. The only existing feature is, as usual, the rock, which here too should determine the wall's course. The Classical wall likewise ran along this line. As will be evident from the next trace, the Cyclopean wall can hardly have taken any other course.

At point 3 on Plan 29, the brow of the rock juts out a little beyond the line of the later fortification wall, forming a small triangular flat space. On top of this, *in situ*, are two large stones of unequal size, the faces of which follow the line of the rock. The lower course of the later wall stands on the inner edges of the stones, showing that they were there before it was built. Their size and accommodation to the rock proclaim them remnants of the Cyclopean wall. They show also that the wall here made a turn toward the SE to follow a line that was quite unrelated to the further course of the Mediaeval extension of the fortification, which runs eastward in disregard of the rock. From here on, traces of the Mycenaean wall are to be sought within the visible walls, be they Classical or Mediaeval.

The next remnants clearly attest the divergent course of the Mycenaean wall. The two enormous stones at 3 belong to the outer face of the wall. The inner face is found again at 4, showing that it had exactly the same orientation.

Indeed, at this place²⁷¹ Kawerau recorded part of a construction that can only be the Mycenaean wall. A series of large stones forming a straight and regular face toward the SW runs for a stretch of about 3 m. They are parallel to the face of the enormous stones at 3. Northeast of them, behind the inner face, haphazardly placed smaller stones remain *in situ* from the interior filling of the wall. These do not extend as far as the outer N face, which in any case is not preserved. They extend far enough, however, to give a clear idea of the line of the outer face.

There is yet another piece of evidence. Up to point 3 on Plan 29, the later wall, despite repeated repairs, was basically the Classical wall. From about point 3 on, the Mediaeval extension takes a new line, ending in the Belvedere tower. (Plan 29, 6). Where exactly the Classical wall ends and the Mediaeval begins is not clearly discernible. This is because the Classical wall is badly preserved and has undergone extensive repairs and rebuilding later on. Yet beneath the top as visible today, there is a short stretch of a construction that is unquestionably Classical (Plan 29, 5, hatched lines). It is the continuation of the immediately preceding stretch, which is W of the corner at 3. It runs obliquely to the course of the later wall, along exactly the same line as that shown by the remains of the Cyclopean wall at 3 and 4. This earlier series of poros stones marks the original course of the Classical wall,²⁷² and shows that, as at most places on the N side, here too the Classical wall follows more or less the same course as did the Cyclopean, allowing always for its rectilinear construction.

At point 2 on Plan 29, the wall was 3,20 m. wide at most. As far as point 3, it will have continued with this same width, perhaps decreasing to 3 m., for the sloping rock formation here did not require more massive fortification. The remains of the wall at 3 and 4, however, show that here the width begins to increase again. The southeastward extension of the line indicated by the massive stones at 3, in relation to the line of the inner face at 4, shows that the width here has already increased to 3,40-3,50 m. Moreover there is good reason to believe that it continues to increase in width as it runs eastward.

271. Kavvadias-Kawerau pl. Δ, 50.

272. See *ibid.* pl. Δ, 50.

From point 3 on, the rock continues to be steep, rough and broken into fissures, but it no longer forms such a notable brow as it does along the N side. While it is difficult to climb in places, it is accessible. A very strong fortification was therefore essential. The point where the Mediaeval tower was built, where the Belvedere stands today (Plan 29, 6), was not excavated by Kavvadias, nor was it ever explored after that. Thus we do not know the exact configuration of the rock in this place, or whether remains of the Mycenaean fortification have survived. There is no firm evidence for the course of the wall from 4 to 7-7 on Plan 29. Its course can only be conjectured on the basis of the configuration of the rock, where possible, on the probable course of the Classical wall²⁷³ and on the one and only secure fact: its continuation appears again at 7-7, as we shall see below. This fixes its line, its course to the S and its width, which at this point reaches some 5,40 m. On the basis of its appearance at 4 and at 7-7, it is shown as curved on Plan 29. This is arbitrary to some extent, but it cannot be very far off the mark.

THE EAST SIDE

The E side of the rock, between the Belvedere and the Acropolis Museum, is quite uneven and slopes considerably from N (elevation 153,93 m.) to S (148,88 m.). Along the line *a-a-a* on Plan 30, the rock falls off to the E, forming a sort of brow. At the S end of this area, one of the best preserved and longest stretches of the Mycenaean wall is visible today (Plan 30, 1). It was discovered in the great excavation of the Acropolis.²⁷⁴ This section has large and carefully set stones at the faces, with the usual smaller stones as filling in between. It is preserved for a length of around 15 m. It is massive and impressive and it gives a good idea of the spectacle the rock will have presented, crowned by so imposing a fortification (Fig. 24).

As preserved, it forms a wide angle, with the shorter leg (1*a*) running NW, the longer part (1*β*) SE. The width at 1*a* is as much as 5 m.; at 1*β* it is nar-

273. See Stevens, *Classical Buildings* pls I-III.

274. Kavvadias-Kawerau pp. 39, 95, pl. E.

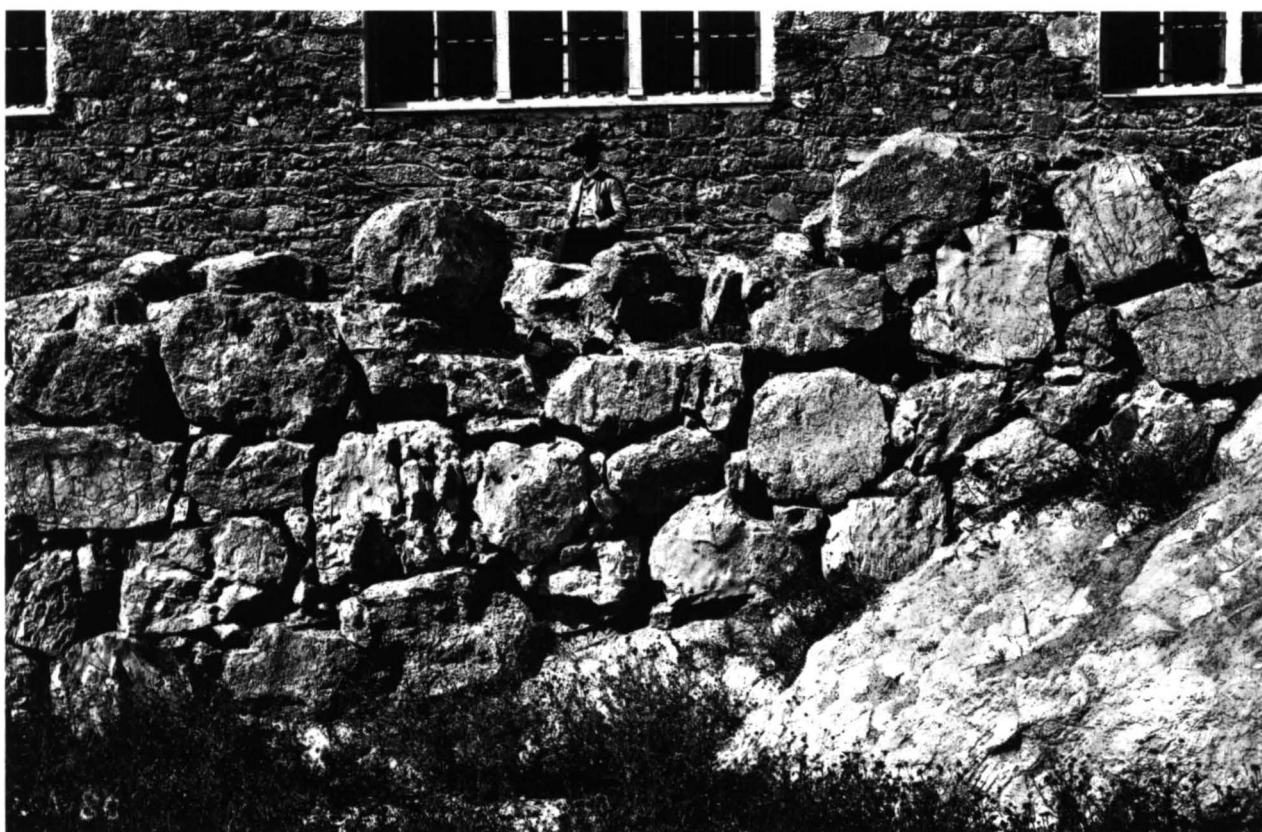
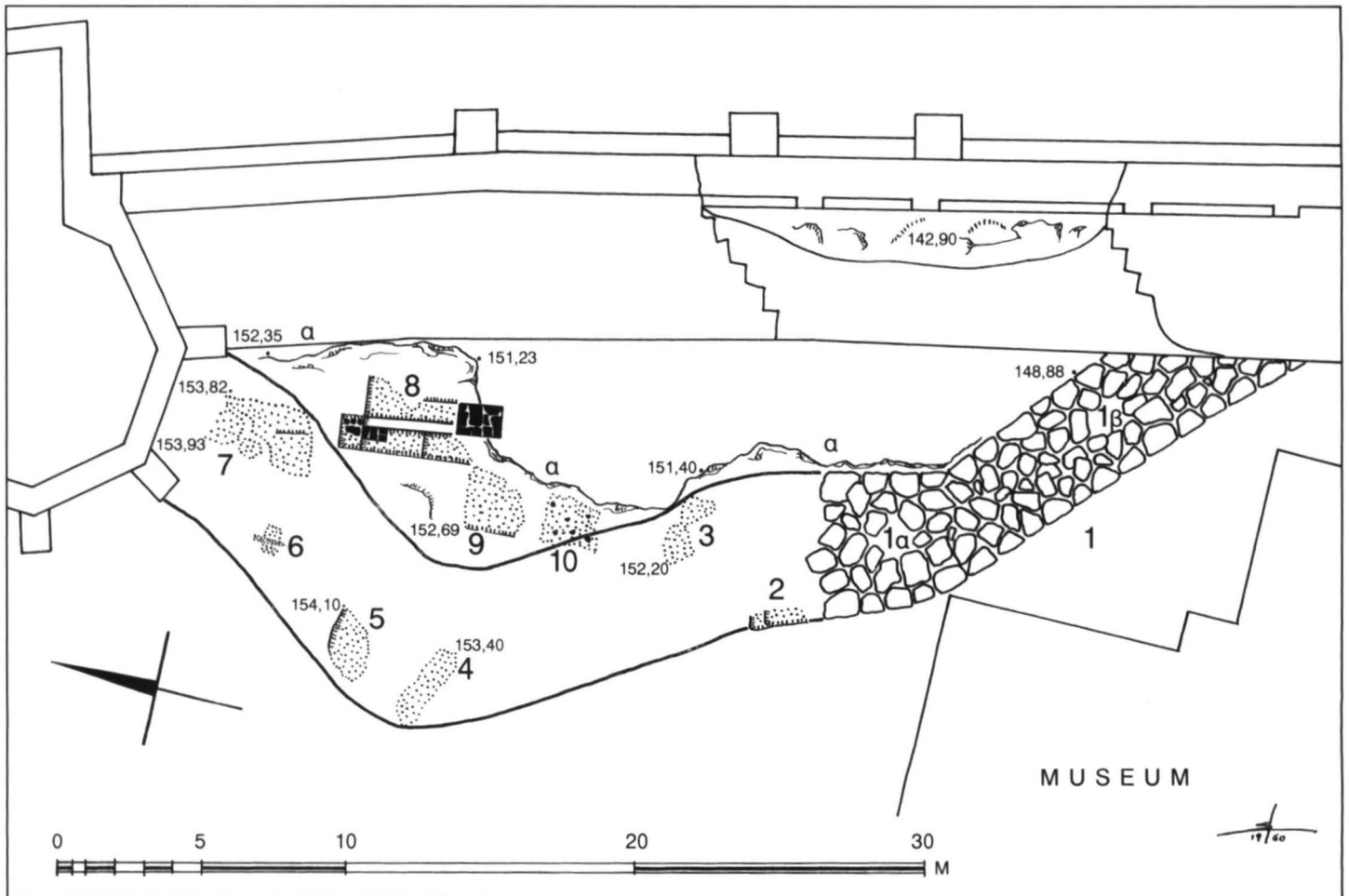


Fig. 24. The outer face of the SE fortification wall, from the E (phot. DAI n° 80).

rower, never over 3,50-4 m.²⁷⁵ Its continuation toward the SE was cut by the Classical wall, which stood on top of it. Cuttings in the rock near the NW corner of 1a were made for setting the next stones (Plan 30, 2). Here Kawerau noted a series of stones *in situ*, which no doubt will have existed when he excavated but they have been lost since then. No other remains of its course toward the NW have survived. There are, however, quite a few traces on the rock. At a number of places where the surface was uneven, projecting pieces

275. On his plan E, Kawerau has the width as less than 2,50 m. This is evidently an error, as appears from the repeated measurements I made. The reason for this mistake is evidently that a line of stones preserved at the uppermost level has been

removed along the outer face, so that the wall appears to be narrower than it actually is as is evident from its foundation. Kawerau evidently measured it across the top, giving this width to the entire wall.



Plan 30. The east fortification wall.

of the rock were removed. This was coarse work, probably done with a stone hammer, certainly not with a chisel or other such cutting tool. Small irregular and practically level surfaces were formed (Plan 30, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7) on which the stones of the lowest course were set. These worked places on the rock coincide roughly with the faces of the wall. Together with the configuration of the rock they give us both the course and the width of the wall, which remains about 5 m. wide as far as the S side of the Belvedere (Plan 30, 7), to the point marked 7-7 on Plan 29. In addition to removing projections at two places, 5 and 7, they have cut down into the rock a little. The cuttings show the well-known characteristics of Mycenaean rock-working: rounded corners, irregular edges and rough surfaces.

Other traces as well are evident in this same area. They are E of the line of the wall and at a level of about 1 m. lower. At 8 on Plan 30, there is a long, narrow trench-like cutting with a graduated width of 0,83-0,90 m. It is carefully worked with a point, traces of which are clearly preserved on the rock. While the work has been done with care, it has not the quality of Classical workmanship.²⁷⁶ Beside the SW end of the trench the rock has been levelled (point 9 on Plan 30). At each end of 8 parts of walls still remain within the hollow of the trench, which was therefore cut as a foundation trench. The construction of the walls is typical of the period of Turkish domination, with various kinds of stones, bits of marble and plenty of lime mortar (Fig. 25). On Plan 30 at 10, just S of 9 and at exactly the same level, there was a thick layer of mortar covering a hollow in the rock. This was found filled with many sherds of different periods and origins, mostly from the later years of the Turkish domination, and the traces are thus the remnants of a Turkish installation. They are within the later wall and may be connected with a gun emplacement known to have been in this area.²⁷⁷

THE SOUTHEAST CORNER

At the SE corner the wall makes a closed, almost elliptical curve that is imposed by the rock formation. Two roughly parallel sections are preserved. The rest of it is hidden and possibly destroyed by the Classical wall, which was built on top of it.

The preserved NE section has already been discussed. This stops at I on Plan 31, where it was cut off by the Classical wall. The next remaining section of the Cyclopean wall is at II on Plan 31. It too lies within the Kimonian wall. The top of the curve between them is usually rendered as projecting some-

276. These cuttings are recorded also by Kawerau (Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 101, pl. E, n° 52), who interprets them as traces of the continuation of the Cyclopean wall to the N. Stevens (*Hesperia* XV, 1946, p. 25) be-

lieves them to be steps of the Classical period, cut into the rock and leading from the E level part of the Acropolis to the terrace N of the sanctuary of Pandion.

277. Travlos, *Πολεοδ.* fig. 138.

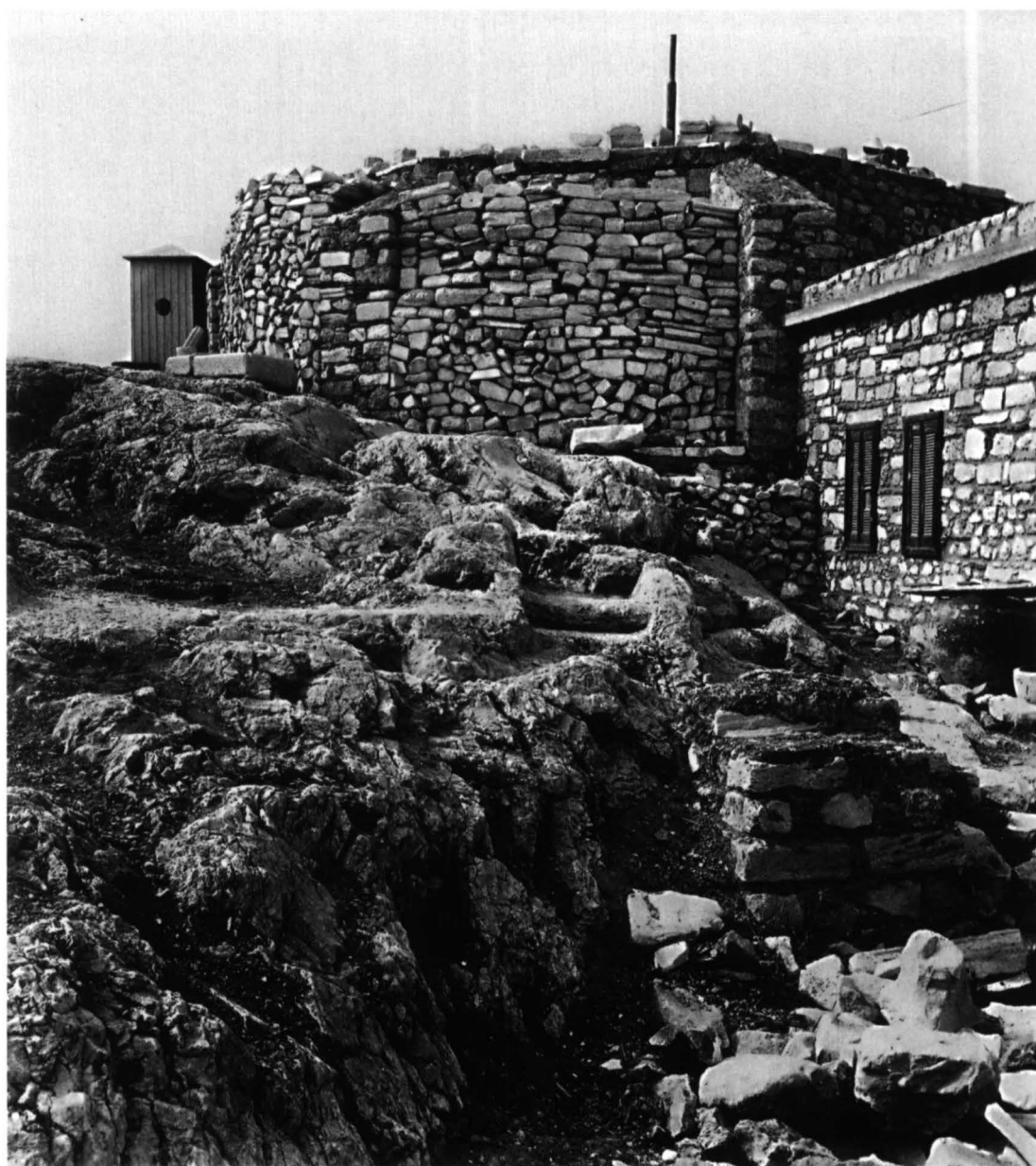


Fig. 25. The E side of the rock, with the cuttings and walls of the Turkish domination.

what beyond the corner of the later fortification.²⁷⁸ At this place, however, the rock slopes and is uneven. It shows not the slightest trace of the preparation that would have been necessary in order to found the Cyclopean wall.

278. First proposed by Kawerau (Kavvadias-Kawerau pl. A).

The line of the outer face will therefore have been within the area covered by the corner of the Classical wall.

The section of the wall at **II** on Plan 31 is not preserved to its full width. Only the inner face has survived. The stones of the outer face are missing so that, to reconstruct the line, another row of large stones should be added along the outer side. The width of the preserved stones varies between 0,60 and 0,80 m. and this section of the wall preserves a width of 4,60 m. With the addition of stones to the outer face, the width will have been 5,20 m.; it is shown accordingly on the plan.

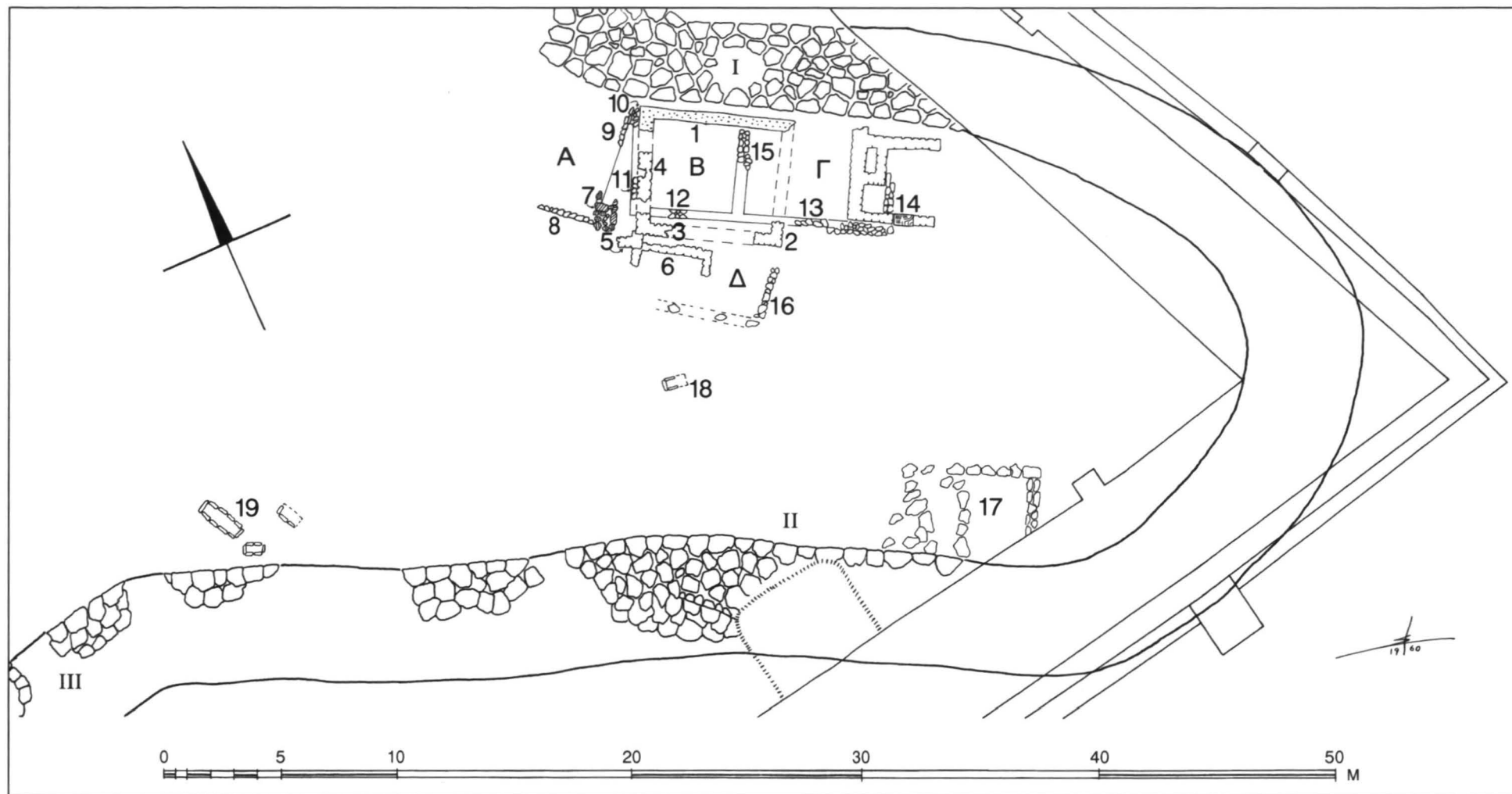
When the excavation of 1887 was carried out, the Museum had already been built and explorations were therefore restricted to the interior of the galleries. More remnants of the inner face of the Cyclopean wall came to light, running in the same NW direction as the section at **II** on Plan 31, and continuing to **III** where it makes a wide turn toward the W.

The area defined by the elliptical curve of the wall, contained remnants of different periods. The most important of these is the sanctuary of Pandion,²⁷⁹ not shown on the plan, however, as it is much later. In addition to this there are various other walls along the inner face of the NW leg of the wall (Plan 31, 1-16), which must be investigated.

The complex between **Γ** and 14 was built after the Persian Wars with material collected from various ruined buildings. Among the pieces utilised was the Moschophoros base. NW of the complex, parallel to the inner face of the wall, was wall 1, Plan 31. The upper part of it was built of raw brick; this was on a carefully constructed substructure of thin flat stones laid in horizontal courses (Fig. 26). The inner side initially had a coating of clay and traces of a tamped clay floor are preserved at the NW corner.²⁸⁰ Its construction shows that this too belongs to historical times, but it precedes the sanctuary of Pandion, the poros stones of which lie on top of it. The corner wall 2 (Fig. 26) is founded on a deep fill. Only a small part of it remains, but it is constructed in the same fashion and has the same width (0,50 m.) as 1. This holds also for wall 3, which lies NW of 2 and in exactly the same line. Like 2 it forms

279. See Stevens, *Hesperia* XV, 1946, pp. 22-25.

280. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 99, pl. E.



Plan 31. The southeast corner.



Fig. 26. Walls inside the SE corner of the Mycenaean fortification (phot. DAI n° 51).

a corner and as wall 4 it continues toward the NE corner of 1. Thus walls 1, 2, 3 and 4 enclose an area that is roughly square. It belongs to historical times and is probably contemporary with the complex mentioned above. Contemporary as well, if not slightly later, is wall 5, which is next to the SW corner and built against 3; likewise wall 6, added later to 5, and partly to 3. These walls indicate the existence of two other spaces that were added to the first and used perhaps as workshops while the Kimonian wall was being built. This would explain their careless construction.

Wall 7, part of a thick wall 1 m. wide and built of large stones, is difficult to place chronologically. Since it has cut off the SW end of wall 8, it is certainly later than that. It precedes 5, since it in turn was cut by the extension of that wall, no longer in existence.

The other walls in the area (8-16 on Plan 31) are all earlier than these and, as we shall see, they go back to Mycenaean times.

Among them is wall 8, preserved as a line of quite large stones. The SW side forms the face. The uneven line of the other side shows that the stones

that formed the NE face have been removed, perhaps for use as building material. Its course toward the SE is cut off by wall 7. It may not, however, have continued much beyond this point since if it made a right angled turn to the NE and continued along this course, it will have met wall 9, built in similar fashion and likewise destroyed. Walls 8 and 9 must belong late in the Mycenaean period. Not only are they earlier than 7, which in turn precedes 5, but they are oriented in precise agreement with the inner face of the shorter leg of the Cyclopean wall. Wall 9 is contemporary with wall 10. Together they form a sharply acute angle as a result of the change in course of the fortification wall behind them; 10 has been oriented toward the long leg and was built at the same time as wall 9. This is evident from the fact that the corner where they meet is bonded to some extent, being closed by small stones that are common to both walls. If 10 is projected southward for 2 m. it meets wall 11, which projects from beneath the NW face of 4 and is built in the same style as 10, 9 and 8. If wall 10-11 continues in the same direction for about 0,70 m., then makes a right angled turn to the SE, it coincides almost immediately with the remains of wall 12. Both faces of this wall are preserved. It is built in the same fashion as the previous walls, with two rows of relatively large stones. Further on, the line coincides with that of wall 13, constructed in similar fashion and with the same orientation. Wall 13, as can be seen in both Plan 31 and Fig. 27, continues for some distance. At its SE end, it may turn N, if wall 14 – on which stood the wall that incorporated the Moschophoros base – is the continuation. While this is not clear from Kawerau's plan, it is very probable, for wall 14 in any case appears to be unrelated to the later complex, and it is considerably lower (Fig. 27).

Walls 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 are of equal thickness (0,40-0,50 m.) and, with the possible exception of 14, they all appear to belong to the same building. The area they enclose is large and it is not a single unit. It is divided into two approximately equal parts by wall 15 (Figs 26 and 27), which is similar to these other walls and at right angles to the fortification wall and to walls 12-13. Wall 15 is preserved for a length of about 1,70 m. Its course toward the fortification wall is cut off by wall 1, so it is earlier. Its projection SW meets 12-13, thus cutting the area in two.

Their construction, their relationship to the later walls of historical times and their orientation in relation to the fortification wall, all suggest that walls 8 and 9 are Mycenaean. The same applies to wall 10, which is contemporary



Fig. 27. The inner side of the SE fortification wall and walls 1, 15, 13 and 14 of Plan 31 (phot. DAI n° 54).

with 9, and therefore also to 11, 12, 13, 15 and probably also 14 as well. The NE wall of this building, assuming it existed and that it was not supported directly against the fortification wall itself, will have followed the same line as 1. It may have been destroyed when 1 was built.

Thus there are three enclosed spaces, A, B and Γ on Plan 31, built in front of the wall so that the turn of the wall affects the orientation of one (A), separating it from the others. There is also another wall, 16 (Fig. 28). It is at an angle to the others and may be earlier. On Kawerau's plan it is shown running in a straight line.²⁸¹ The last stone at its SW end, however, appears to

281. Kavvadias-Kawerau pl. E.



Fig. 28. Interior of the SE corner of the Mycenaean fortification wall, from the S, showing walls 16 and 6 and tomb 18 of Plan 31 (phot. DAI n° 55).

turn, forming a corner toward the NW. In Fig. 28 the wall can be seen continuing in that direction, with two large isolated blocks like those at the corner lying in a line more or less parallel to wall 6; these were not recorded by Kawerau. The whole is founded within a hollow formed by the rock, on the N side of which wall 6 is built. A fourth space, Δ , of which two sides only are just discernible, is thus added to the three.

The next building preserved in this area is denoted by number 17 on Plan 31. Built against the inner face of the fortification wall, it has a regular and well preserved corner at the NE, whereas along its W side there are two disorderly rows of stones about 1,50 m. apart from each other, rather than a wall. The use of the building, as well as its specific form, is uncertain. If the stones at the N belong to the building and have simply been disturbed, it could be

interpreted as a guard-room with a staircase leading to the top of the wall. Yet the stones may just as likely have fallen from the top of the wall and be quite unconnected with the room. These details are not elucidated in the publication of the Acropolis excavation.

There remain the graves, one of which is at **18** on Plan **31** (Fig. **28**), and another three in a cluster at **19**. They are all cist graves, their sides lined with small slabs and with similar slabs for covers. Three of them are of small dimensions, probably for the burials of children. The fourth alone contained the skeleton of an adult, lying extended. This was the only grave containing funerary gifts; it had a tall, narrow, unpainted pithoid amphoriskos of late Mycenaean times.²⁸²

If these graves, as is quite possible, are connected with the houses we have been discussing, the houses will have been contemporary. This agrees well enough with the fact that they were built after the wall and it places them at the very end of the Mycenaean period.

THE SOUTH SIDE

We have followed the course of the wall as far as **III** on Plan **31**. It continues in a westerly direction for a few more metres, then makes an oblique turn toward the SW at **1** on Plan **32**. Although preserved only in broken stretches the inner line is clear from the sections discovered within the Museum. Traces of the outer face were not found, but the enormous stones with which it was built bespeak a massive construction, high and therefore of considerable thickness. The exterior face has been drawn on the plan 4 m. outside the interior face. Yet the actual width may have been greater still.

282. This grave, as the others, was published without details by Kavvadias-Kawerau pp. 39, 95. More information, together with a detailed sketch of the graves at **19**, drawn

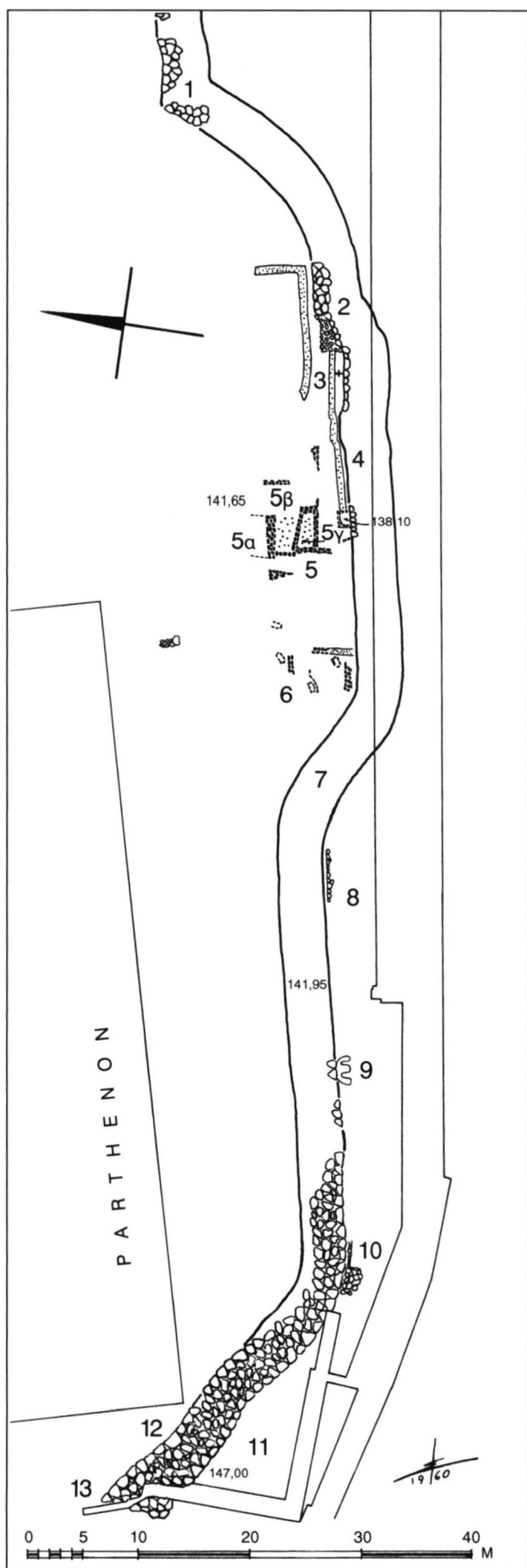
by Kawerau, is provided by Wolters (Graef-Langlotz I p. XXXIV, fig. 5). Furumark (*MP* p. 36, fig. 8, n° 58) places the pottery shape in late LH IIIC times.

This new oblique course of the wall continues to where it approaches the Kimonian wall. At 2 on Plan 32, we find the next traces of the wall, which now follows a westward course. This too is a section of the inner face, preserved for the most part in a single row of stones, which do not follow a straight line but form two successive legs set obliquely to each other. In the concavity formed by one of these walls, Kawerau shows a pile of regularly placed stones, notably smaller than those of the Cyclopean wall, without mentioning them in the text. Whether the stones were set there in Mycenaean times as a sort of reinforcement for the wall or a foundation for some building related to the wall, or whether they belong to a later time is unknown. Their relation to the neighbouring mud-brick wall, which as we shall see is Mycenaean, is not recorded. This would have enabled us to tell whether that wall was added to the stones or the stones were placed at the edge of the wall. As it is, both purpose and date of the pile of stones remain unclear.

At point 4 on Plan 32, Kawerau²⁸³ reports finding stones fallen from the Cyclopean wall and covered over by the mud-brick wall. This is puzzling because, to begin with, it means that the wall that covered the stones of the fortification wall must be considerably later and built after the destruction of the wall. Yet the mud-brick wall is Mycenaean, as we said, and it was built after the fortification wall. This is evident from its line, which follows and is adjusted to the anomalies of the fortification wall. Yet it cannot be so late as to allow for the destruction of the wall in the meantime.

This strange connection between the mud-brick wall and the stones fallen from the fortification wall could be explained as a minor repair of the wall during Mycenaean times, after which a number of stones were left where they were and were covered over by the bricks. A more probable explanation is that the stones were placed between the mud-brick wall and the fortification wall on purpose, either to help drain the water that would have collected in the narrow space between the two constructions, or simply to reinforce the foundations of the mud-brick wall.

283. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 103.



Plan 32. The south fortification wall, up to the SW corner of the Parthenon, including the remains preserved beside it.

Some 5 m. W of 4, a few stones of the inner face of the wall are still preserved running in a straight line toward the W. Built against it is a small square construction, measuring 1,20×0,80 m., with narrow stone walls forming the E, N and W sides with the fortification wall providing the S boundary. The construction is later than the fortification wall, and later also than the Mycenaean mud-brick wall to the E, against which it is likewise built. Yet it is founded on the rock at the same level as the wall²⁸⁴ and therefore it cannot be very much

284. Kavvadias-Kawerau pl. Θ section γ-δ.

later. It appears to have been built before much fill had accumulated next to the base of the wall. Its use is unknown.

The fact that there are graves and walls at 6 on Plan 32, which are of course within the wall, shows that at least to this point the course of the wall continued unchanged. Not for any great distance, however. Recorded at 8 is a wall of small stones with a regular face on the N side, which because of its construction cannot possibly be part of the wall. Since it is not mentioned in Kavvadias' text, and since the level on which it was built cannot be determined from the plan, it is impossible to determine whether it is Mycenaean or not. There are two stones of the outer face of the fortification wall at 9, against which, after the wall was destroyed, a kiln was built with the entrance above them.²⁸⁵ The stones show that while the general direction of the wall remained the same, the line has been shifted further north than it was at points 4 and 6. The wall will therefore have turned toward the NW either between 6 and 8 or between 8 and 9. The morphology of the rock suggests the first point because at that place the gradient is gentler. The wall has thus been drawn to show the turn at 7. Wall 8, being outside the fortification, must be considerably later. Yet only the precise dating of this wall could have resolved the problem.

From 9 on the course of the wall is clear, for it is preserved in a continuous line up to and beyond the SW corner of the Parthenon. The outer side is preserved intact for its entire length, while the inner face is preserved at two places on either side of the corner of the crepidoma of the temple. Here, therefore, the thickness of the wall can be calculated exactly at 4 m. For the rest of its course, the face has been destroyed by the polygonal terrace wall S of the Parthenon, which was built parallel to the line of the wall and on top of it, and because, as Kolbe showed,²⁸⁶ stones were removed for use in the foundation of the SW corner of the crepidoma of the temple. The stones

285. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 119.

p. 344, *Research and Progress* 1940, pp. 254-

286. *AA* 1939, p. 235, *FuF* 1939, p. 394,

255.

Bericht VI Intern. Kongr. Archäologie 1940,

removed from this part may have been those found in a pile at 11 on Plan 32.²⁸⁷ It would have been natural enough for the Persians while destroying the wall, to have rolled them downhill, but they would not have remained there on the slope. The presence of the Kimonian wall, however, and the poros supporting wall with its corner built inside it, would have prevented the builders of the Parthenon from shoving the big stones off the rock.

The wall stops at 13 on Plan 32, where its continuation is cut off by the construction of the stairway W of the Parthenon and by the Chalkotheke.

The area was inhabited, indeed closely inhabited, as is evident from the various Mycenaean remains preserved within the Cyclopean wall. At 3 on Plan 32 two long walls were found, the northernmost of which appears to curve at the W end. It may well be the later of the two, since their relative position makes it unlikely that they existed at the same time. The southernmost is most certainly Mycenaean. It is founded directly on the rock and it is constructed of sun-baked brick built on a foundation of stone 1 m. high. The whole thing had been covered over by the Persian destruction level. A hoard of bronze weapons, vessels and implements with traces of wood still in the handle attachments were found between this wall and the inner face of the fortification wall, at the point marked by a cross on the plan. These had been hidden on purpose, some in the empty space between the two constructions, some among the foundation stones of the wall. The sherds found with the bronzes are all Mycenaean, the latest sherd belonging to LH IIIC early times. This has a representation of a human figure, preserving the lower part together with the legs. It is painted in brown directly on the yellowish ground of the clay.²⁸⁸

287. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 119.

288. *Ibid.* pp. 37-103, *AM* 1888, p. 107, *BCH* 1888, pp. 244-245. The find was published systematically in detail by Montelius, *VHAM* 1889, pp. 49-60, figs 1-25, and *La Grèce* pp. 155-156. Two of the sherds shown by Montelius are published also by Graef-Langlotz I as nos 202 and 222. The bronzes are: one dirk, one spear, 9 double axes, 5

plain axes, one chisel, one rasp, one knife, one sickle, one tool similar to a wide chisel, one object resembling a half-finished dirk, 2 round mirrors and one two-handled bowl. The entire assemblage is very similar to what Mylonas found on the Mycenae acropolis, likewise within the fortification wall (*Ergon* 1959, p. 99, fig. 104).

Found in addition to these sherds, there appears to have been a stirrup jar that was not described.²⁸⁹ At point 5 is a complex of walls, defining irregular spaces and founded on a layer of fill varying in height because of the slope of the rock. These walls are built in the same fashion and the areas between them have floors of small irregular stones covered with a layer of clay.²⁹⁰ The floors are all at the same level and the walls therefore belong to the same building. In addition to this complex of walls, Kawerau notes three others, one W and two E of 5, without providing any information. No conclusion about their chronology or use is possible.

Three more sections of walls are preserved at 6. Their construction suggests that they belong to Mycenaean buildings, constructed probably against the wall. There are also four cist graves of children, the walls lined with small slabs. The westernmost appears to have been surrounded by a wall built of small stones, only part of which is preserved. Found in one of the graves were the bones of a child. The burial was accompanied by sherds and offerings comprising two pebbles and a one-handled skyphos, painted brown inside and out except for the base.²⁹¹ These graves are similar to and contemporary with those found at the SE corner, and they belong to the final years of the advanced LH IIIC phase.

The excavators' comments on the various fills are informative for the development of this area and the succession of buildings here. It appears that slightly S of the Parthenon, on a line with the isolated section of wall to the N of 6, unassigned and not reported, the rock was exposed down to Classical times. Further south, the Mycenaean wall caused the build-up of fill in the course of time. As shown by the height of its stone foundation, the wall where the bronzes were hidden was built before the fill exceeded a height of 1 m. Later on, the fill rose to some 2 m. next to the wall. Kawerau's section of the area makes it clear that the walls next to 5 on Plan 32 were built over this fill

289. It is mentioned only in the *BCH* 1888, p. 245.

290. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 103, pls E and Θ section γ-δ.

291. *Ibid.* pp. 37, 121, *AM* 1888, p. 228

(where the vase is illustrated and the pebbles are mentioned), Kavvadias, *Deltion* 1888, p. 83, and Graef-Langlotz I n° 176, where the vase is published.

and that the graves were dug into it. Thus, by the end of Mycenaean times, the fill had reached this height. The southernmost wall at 3 must be slightly earlier.²⁹²

Finally, the wall at 10 on Plan 32 is later than the destruction of the Cyclopean wall. It is built against the outer face just as is the kiln at 9, with which it might be connected. The lower part of the wall is constructed in polygonal fashion and from Kawerau's plan it appears to have regularly alternating large and small stones. The upper part was composed of crude bricks, some of which were found fallen into the inner corner. Kawerau attributes the stones that are piled up to the W to this same construction. Yet, to judge by their size, they are more likely to have been part of the filling of the fortification wall.²⁹³ Thus wall 10, the kiln at 9 and probably wall 8 will have been built and in use between 479 B.C., when the Mycenaean wall was destroyed, and 465-460, when the Kimonian wall was erected.

After the SW corner of the Parthenon, the wall begins to widen from 4 m. to around 5,50 m. It stops, however, at the point where it was cut off by the stairway W of the temple and the foundation of the Chalkotheke (Plan 33, 1). Its remains are encountered again some 75 m. to the W, approximately on a line with the E façade of the Propylaia. Here the N, interior face of the wall is preserved inside and parallel to the Kimonian wall (Plan 33, 2). The face is preserved for a course of around 10 m., following the westward course of the S wall. It then turns abruptly N, forming an almost acute-angled corner and then runs straight (Plan 33, 3), with both faces still preserved and a width of 6 m. The SE corner of the S wing of the Propylaia touches the W face of this leg of the wall. Further N it stops, cut off by the pre-Mnesiklean propylon (4, Plan 33). Thus the SW corner of the fortification circuit is preserved, visible today for its full length. What is preserved of the S leg is short and incomplete, the W practically complete. Missing is the outer top of the corner and the S face of the short leg. The wide leg facing W remained visible throughout antiquity. Because it was not buried after the catastrophe of 479 B.C., but continued to be used as part of the Brauroneion peribolos, it underwent fre-

292. Kavvadias-Kawerau pp. 37, 103, pl. 43, Montelius, *VHAM* 1888, p. 51.
Θ, section γ-δ, Kavvadias, *Deltion* 1888, p.

293. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 119.

quent repairs and additions even up to Mediaeval times. That it was repaired not long after its destruction is evident from the late 5th century sherd found by Bötticher within the wall itself, 0,50 m. below the top as preserved.²⁹⁴

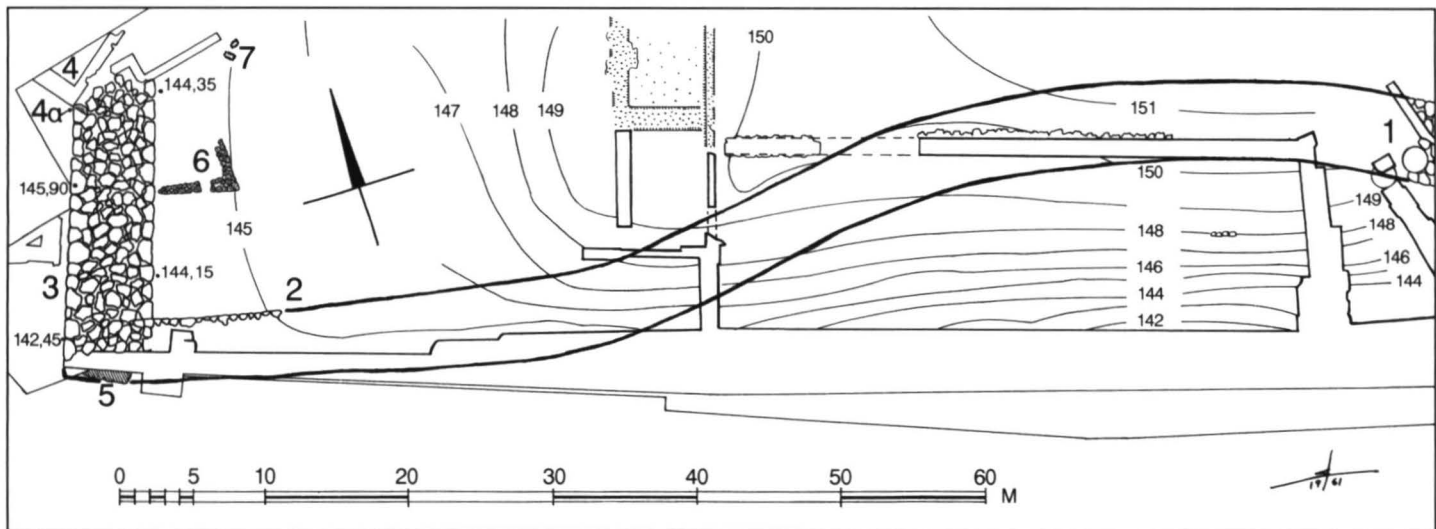
Relevant to this is the question of its original height. Dörpfeld²⁹⁵ maintained that at the time the Propylaia was built, the wall was still standing to a height of about 10 m.; this because right up to the roof, the corners of the marble blocks of the Propylaia that touch the wall have been cut back so as to fit against the face of the wall without damaging it. As many other observations of Dörpfeld's, this became generally accepted. Yet, in my opinion, it does not fit the facts. To begin with, it is quite unbelievable that the Persians, who destroyed the fortifications of the Acropolis so thoroughly, would have left the wall intact precisely at the entrance. While this opinion could be challenged, there is positive evidence, as White observed and explained in reply to Dörpfeld.²⁹⁶

The wall today is preserved to a height of 3,45 m. above the surface of the rock. Up to that level, the corner of the Propylaia has been cut back 0,89-0,90 m., in order to adjust it to the surface of the Cyclopean blocks. From this point upwards it continues to be trimmed back, but only around 0,40 m., so that the edge of the lowest of these blocks rests on the top stone of the wall. This is explainable only if we assume that the outer face of the wall was not the same for its full height, but from the height of 3,45 m. upwards it was recessed around 0,50 m. from the surface of the lower part. Such recessing of the face of the wall is completely unknown, not only on the Acropolis of Athens, but in any of the Mycenaean fortifications elsewhere, and such a reconstruction is unacceptable. There is other evidence as well. A cutting is preserved on the top surface of the uppermost block of the Cyclopean wall at the NW preserved end of this leg, where it meets the corner of the pre-Mnesiklean propylon. It runs in a straight line (Plan 33, 4a) continuing the line of the façade of the propylon. This means that when the propylon was built, the

294. *Akropolis* p. 60.

295. *AM* 1885, p. 139. See also Judeich, *Top.* p. 115 and n. 2.

296. *Ephemeris* 1894, pp. 50-51, and D'Oodge, *Acropolis*, Append. II, pp. 361-368.



Plan 33. The south fortification wall from the SW corner of the Parthenon to the Propylaia.

poros blocks of its S corner rested in part on top of the Cyclopean wall, which was preserved at this point to a level even lower than at the previous place.

Thus, as White demonstrated, after the Persian destruction the Cyclopean wall here was preserved to the height of this cutting and further south to the level at which the corner of the Propylaia rested on top of it; that is, the height it has today. The cutting back of the corner of the Propylaia above that point on up to the roof of the building shows that after the Persian destruction and before 437 B.C., a high wall was built on top of the Mycenaean fortification wall, recessed, and thus much less thick than the Mycenaean wall. Indeed it has now lost its characteristics as a fortification wall, so that it appears to have been simply part of the Brauroneion peribolos. It was against this wall rather than the Mycenaean wall that the corner of the Propylaia rested from the height of 3,45 m. up.²⁹⁷

Despite all these vicissitudes, the wall continued to retain its Cyclopean character unchanged, with the enormous stones of its façade founded directly on the rock, small stones wedged into the few spaces between them, a com-

²⁹⁷. Similar, but somewhat vague, views were expressed also by Kawerau (Kavva-
dias-Kawerau pp. 137, 139, pl. H).

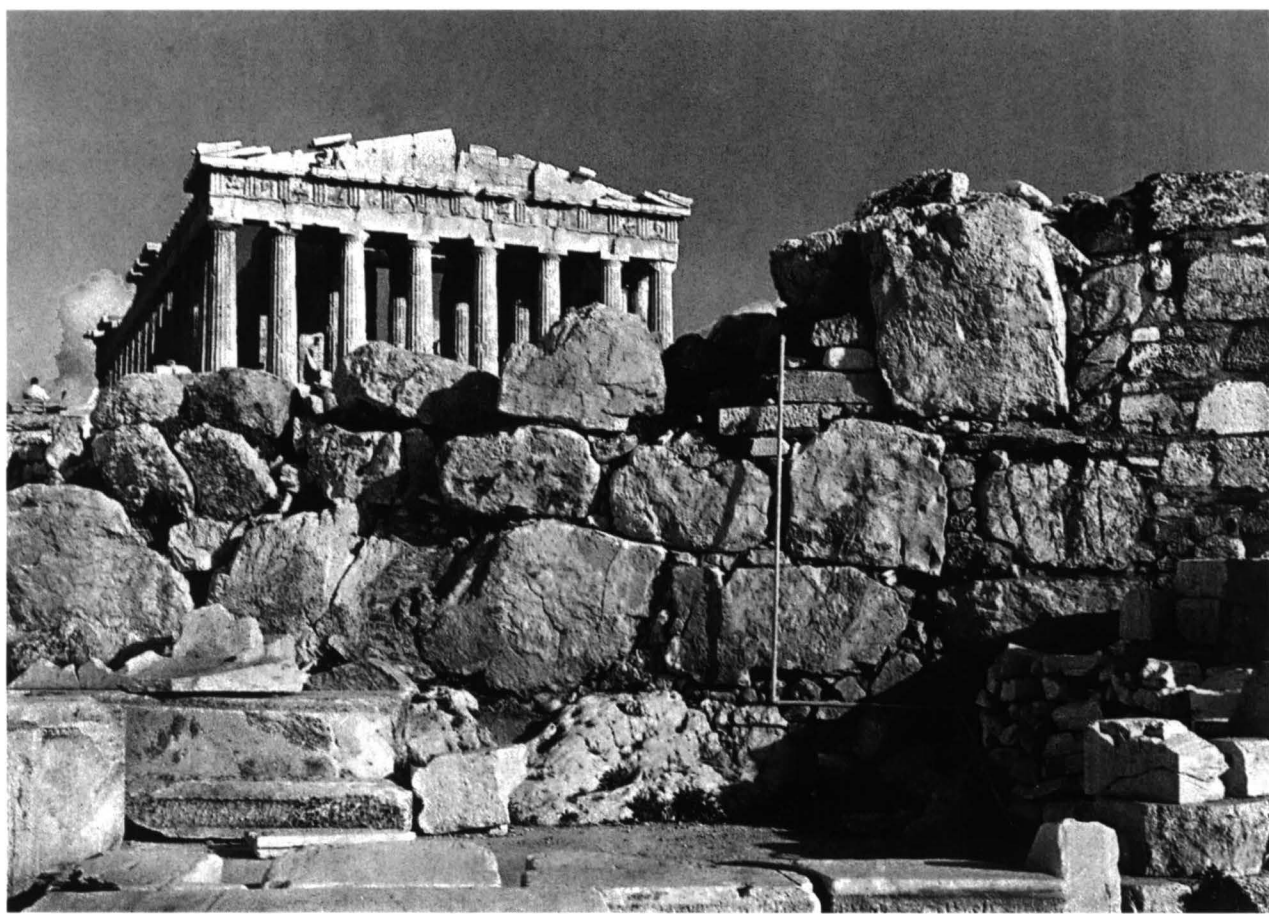


Fig. 29. The outer, W face of the fortification wall that is preserved S of the Propylaea (phot. by P. Mylonas).

pact fill and its great imposing mass (Fig. 29). The outer face is preserved for its full length unbroken and only at the S end have its corner stones been replaced for a width of 0,50-0,60 m. by the corner of the later wall. The inner face is less carefully constructed with smaller stones. This is especially noticeable in the shorter S leg, which includes not only Acropolis stone but also some stones from the Pnyx and pieces of schist as well. Up to about the level of the present surface, the lower courses are more carelessly laid than those above. The fill that hid them, therefore, at that time was at about the same level as today.

The inner side of the corner of this section of the Mycenaean fortification wall is preserved undamaged, but not the outer side. To begin with, the Kimonian wall was built in its place, and later on, especially during the Turkish domination, various additions and changes were made. Yet there is evi-

dence that leg 3 continued about 1 m. beyond the point to which it is preserved today, and that the corner projected about 0,50 m. S of the Classical wall. At precisely this point, the S wall of the Classical bastion of Athena Nike meets the S leg of the Kimonian wall, together forming an obtuse angle. This corner continued, in a way, the line of the Cyclopean wall. It comprises a number of courses of partly destroyed poros stones on which stands the wall in its present form. These courses must therefore be earlier (Plan 33, 5). The poros stones show an apparent effort to repair on the spot the destroyed corner of the wall, before erecting the Kimonian wall. Thus they provide evidence for its original plan, which they followed more faithfully than did the Kimonian wall. The rock, in any case, prohibits its continuation further S. For the restored drawing of the wall (Plan 33), this line has been taken into consideration. It gives the beginning of the S leg a width of about 4,40 m., far more plausible than that obtained by adapting it to the line of the later wall.

Between the ends of the stretches preserved at 1 and 2 on Plan 33, no trace of the wall has survived. The surface of the rock was cut down and levelled over the entire area during the construction of the Brauroneion and the Chalkotheke and the only evidence remaining is the configuration of the rock itself.

As is evident from the contour lines, the rock slopes gradually toward the W in the W half of the area where the Brauroneion stood, and falls off steeply to the S. While there is no slope toward the W in the Chalkotheke area, the rock makes a precipitous drop to the S. Here there is no natural brow and the declivity is such as to exclude any possibility that the Mycenaean wall stood in this place. The stretch of wall beside the SW corner of the Parthenon therefore marks the beginning of a turn toward the NW so as to circumvent the declivity. On the basis of what we know, this may be taken as sufficient evidence.

At point 1 the wall is founded at around 149 m. The curve it makes shows that it is headed uphill where the rock is flatter. At the elevation of 150-151 m., the southward slope is already gentler and quite suitable for the wall foundation. The wall therefore will have continued its curving course about as far as the NW corner of the Chalkotheke. From here on it will have met the gentle westward slope, which takes it obliquely toward point 2 where it is founded at 145 m. The course shown on Plan 33 reflects these observations and while it is not the only possible solution, it is the most likely.

In the corner 2-3-4, at 6 on Plan 33, Kawerau records an angular wall, opening to the N. The wall, carelessly built of different sorts and sizes of stones, including marble and pieces of roof-tile joined with lime plaster, is a foundation of the Turkish period. Inside the angle are traces of a carelessly laid slab flooring. Finally, preserved at 7 on Plan 33 are two of the Middle Helladic children's graves already discussed.²⁹⁸

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE WEST ENTRANCE

The course of the wall encompassing the top of the Acropolis has now been examined and its line re-established as accurately as the evidence permits. Another matter remains to be investigated, that of the form of the main entrance of the fortification at the W.

It is perfectly clear that the entrance is opposite the S wing of the Propylaia. This is the only really accessible part of the rock. Moreover there is also the bastion, which would otherwise be both unnecessary and inexplicable.

The discovery of the bastion placed the problem on a new basis and the arrangement of the entrance was now understood to depend on a main question: the correct relationship of the bastion to the wall. The position of the gate and the course of the approach depend on how these two are associated. Let us look at the situation as it is.

The bastion stands on the spur of the rock SW of the Propylaia (Plan 34, 1). Except for the NE corner, its form and position are known. Opposite it to the E is preserved the massive leg of the Cyclopean wall at point 2 on Plan 34. It runs in a straight line, parallel to the E side of the bastion. N of it and slightly oblique in relation to it, is the curving section of the wall at 3. Between this and the N side of the bastion there is thus a space, which in form and dimensions resembles the entrance to the acropolis of Mycenae, in front of the Lion Gate.²⁹⁹

298. See *supra*, p. 54, and Pl. 2, 5.

299. At Mycenae the length of the side of the bastion toward the entrance is 14,80

m., the available width of the entranceway (from the base of the rock to the bastion opposite) in front of the gate 7 m. and at

Since the bastion came to light, four specific solutions to the problem have been proposed. Stevens³⁰⁰ and I. T. Hill³⁰¹ leave the bastion isolated and entirely unconnected to the wall. This clearly is impossible. A bastion that does not communicate with the fortification is completely useless. In the case of an enemy attack it is even dangerous, since it is impossible to defend and if it fell into enemy hands it could serve as a base for storming the entrance. Welter³⁰² and Travlos³⁰³ connect it with wall 2 on Plan 34 accepting the idea of a guard-house in the space between the bastion and the wall. This arrangement, however, presupposes a wall running from the SW corner of 2 to the SE corner of the bastion, closing off the space between. Such a wall, forming part of the outer face of the fortification, would have to be strongly built, comparable to the short wall blocking the opening between terrace walls I and II (see Plans 26, 3 and 27, 3). Like this wall, it too would have to be some 2 m. thick. Moreover, both the corner of 2 and the corresponding corner of the bastion (which, we may note, are not even aligned) should have had traces of this wall on the first two metres at the S, and the rock itself should have had similar marks where the foundations stood. Yet there are no traces on either one. The natural surface of the rock has survived without any tooling at all, despite being uneven, steep and full of small cracks at this spot. Moreover, both the E side of the bastion, as far as it is preserved, and especially the W face of the wall opposite, which is preserved to 1,10 m. from its outer corner, have continuous and unbroken faces showing that there was no cross-wall connecting them anywhere. This is clear on the plan, and clearer still from the appearance of the surface of wall 2.

We may conclude that the bastion is not connected with 2. It therefore has to be connected with 3, running eastward to the line of its NE corner. The main gate of the fortification must have been precisely at this spot (Plan 34, 4).

the beginning of the bastion 6 m. The corresponding measurements at Athens are 14 m., 7,75 m. and 6,30 m.

300. *Hesperia* XV, 1946, pp. 73-106, fig. 2.

301. *Athens* fig. 3.

302. *AA* 1939, fig. 4.

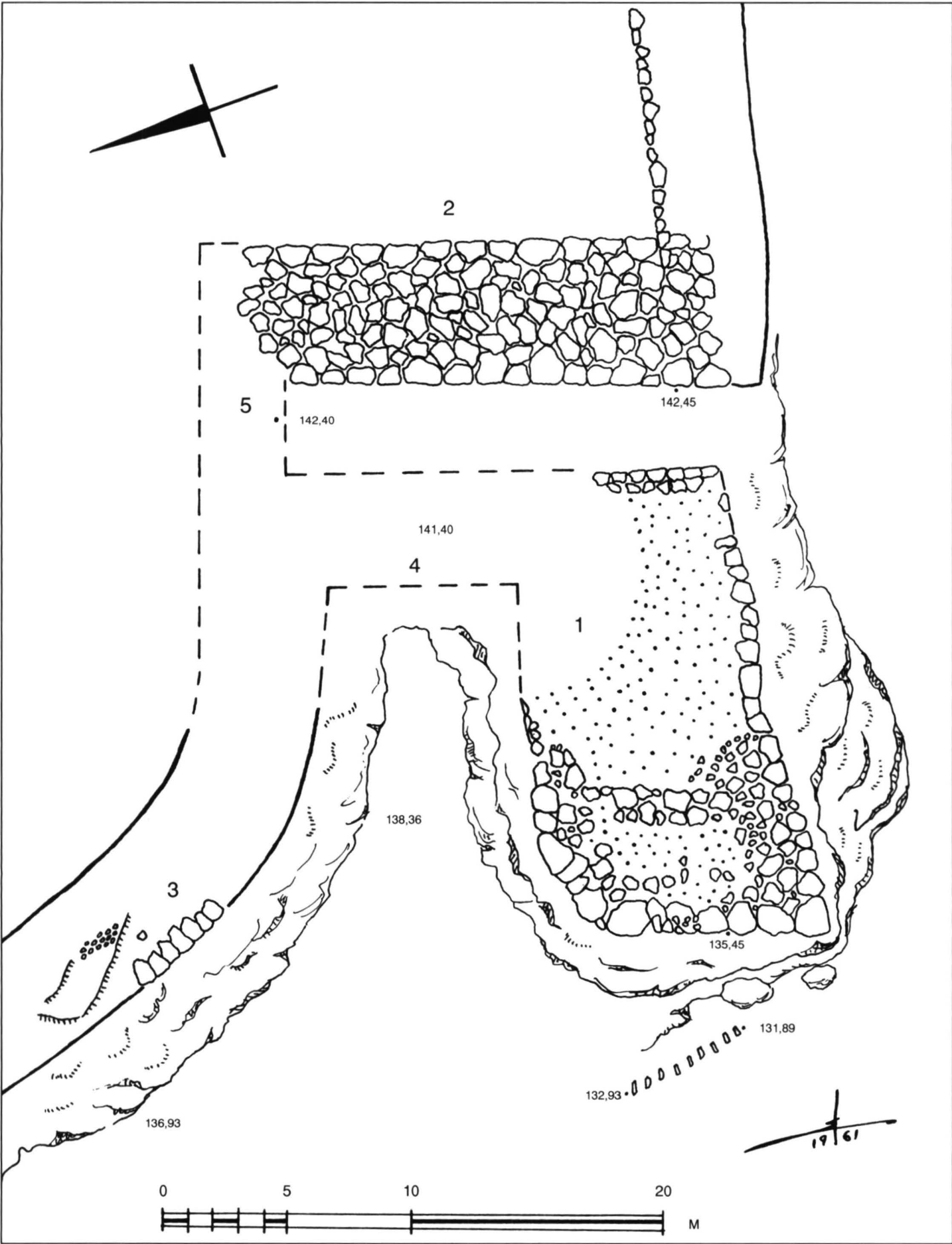
303. *Πολεοδ.* fig. 7. In pl. I of the same, he shows another arrangement, connecting the bastion with wall 3 on Plan 34, with a wall closing the passage which runs along the S side of the bastion, curving afterwards toward the N between that and wall 2. The rock formation rules out this course.

The main gate, but not the only gate. For if wall 3 ended at the inner line of this entrance and the empty space between it and wall 2 were open, then both bastion and the gate at 4 would be superfluous, the existence of wall 2 meaningless and the access to the Acropolis would have been free and unhindered. The rock to the S of the bastion is indeed steep and difficult, but it can be climbed if need be. There will therefore have been a second gate at 5 on Plan 34, at right angles to the first and evidently of smaller dimensions. The width of this second gate is given with fair accuracy by the width of the space between the bastion and the wall at 2. Its depth can be calculated from the eastern limit of the north face of wall 3 in relation to the length of the preserved outer face of wall 2, which cannot possibly have turned toward the W further south than the last preserved stone at the N end.

This arrangement, as I believe I have shown, is the only one possible. All others are excluded by the evidence. The plan has great tactical advantages for the defenders. Indeed any attackers reaching the space between the bastion and wall 3 would, as at Mycenae, be exposed on both sides to the defenders' missiles, but they had space in which to manoeuvre and to retreat again to their base of assault. Those who happened to climb the rock and get as far as the narrow space between the bastion and wall 2 would find themselves in a trap from which there was no escape; any attempt to retreat down the precipitous rock would be tantamount to suicide as they would be attacked from all sides.

Thus there had to be two gates, planned as described. There is no sure evidence for their dimensions or for their exact appearance. For this we must resort to similar constructions in the well-known citadels.

The space in front of gate 4 is similar enough in plan to that at Mycenae to justify reconstructing the gate on the basis of the Lion Gate. Its opening would be 3 m. wide and around 4.40 m. in depth, coinciding with the thickness of the wall it penetrates. The depth is unlikely to have been any greater since its interior line is defined by the east side of the bastion, where preserved. The outer side, to the west, must have been founded on the uneven rock surface. The height of the gate should be somewhat greater than its width, thus 3.10-3.20 m., allowing for an additional relieving triangle above, a necessity given the weight of such a construction. By analogy with that at Mycenae, the triangle, if any, and the superstructure would have measured



Plan 34. The southwest corner of the fortification.

3,80-4 m. at the base (in order to avoid shear-force above the lintel, to the extent possible) and been equal in height or slightly higher than the gate.

The inner gate, narrower than the outer, will have had correspondingly smaller dimensions, determined on the basis of its proportions and the width of the opening. This cannot have exceeded 2,50 m. The depth, as calculated, will have been as much as 3,50 m.

The rock slopes from E to W at the location of the gates. The thresholds, as in all gates, will have to be horizontal. Thus their level is determined by the altitude of the rock at the eastern end of each threshold, which gives us the lowest level possible for each one.

Along the east side of the bastion and so also along the inner side of the outer gate, the level of the rock is at 141,40 m., rising to 142,40 m. beside the foundation of wall 2. Thus the threshold of the outer gate will have been at 141,40 m., that of the inner gate at least at 142,40 m.

The height of the wall cannot be calculated with precision, since no relevant information has survived. Yet on the basis of our calculations for the gates, which must be within the range of probability, we can estimate the following.

The Lion Gate, the only one to have survived, has the following measurements: width 2,95 m., height 3,10 m., thickness of lintel 0,80 m. and height of the relieving triangle above the lintel 3,30 m. These proportions must hold as well for the inner gate of the Acropolis of Athens. Since this stands on a level 1 m. higher than the outer gate, the height of the wall will have been affected, for it had to be the same for the entire entrance complex. Moreover, because the space is narrow, there is less room for the opening, which can be calculated more accurately at around 2,50 m.

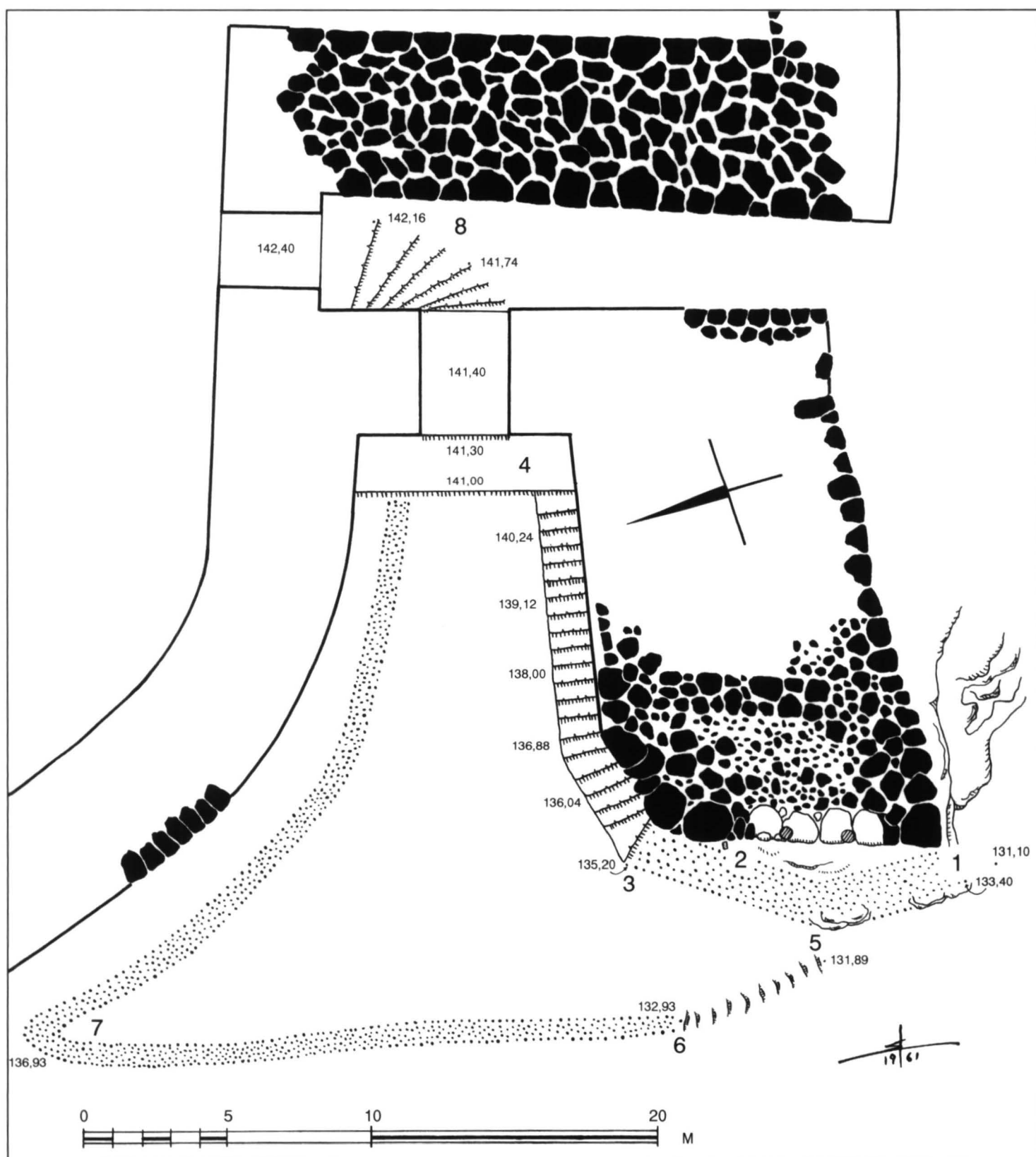
Thus, in accordance with the proportions of the gate at Mycenae, the dimensions of the inner gate may be calculated as follows: width of opening 2,50 m., height 2,50 m., thickness of lintel 0,65 m. and height of relieving triangle 2,60 m. This gives a total height of 5,75 m. from the threshold to the top of the triangle. If another four courses, the fewest possible, are added above the triangle, the total height of the wall will have been around 9 m., bringing the top of the fortification to a level of 151,40 m. This means that leg 2 on Plan 34, is 9 m. high and the W side of the bastion, founded at 135,45 m., is 16 m. high. If, on the other hand, we accept that there was no super-

structure above the lintel (as at Gla), the total height of the entrance would be ca. 3,20 m., bringing the top of the whole structure to 144,60 m. and the W façade of the bastion to a height of ca. 9 m.

Preserved below the W side of the bastion, as we have seen, are traces of two separate pathways, the lower of which was designated for animals. Both form and arrangement of these two pathways can be reconstructed approximately, based on the traces preserved and on the slope to be ascended.

The first of these pathways is in the form of a ramp rising along the foot of the bastion. The preserved ramp, with a set width of around 1,50 m., begins below the SW corner of the bastion at the 133,40 m. level (Plan 35, 1). Preserved at a level of 135,45 m. on the surface of the rock at the NW corner of the bastion (Plan 35, 2), is the shallow four-sided cutting around which cult traces were found, related evidently to the niche in front of which there must have been an open space. The cutting must thus have been uncovered and therefore higher up than the level of the ramp. This provides a limit to the height that could have been reached by the ramp from its beginning to the NW corner of the bastion (Plan 35, 3) which is at around 135,20 m. Thus the first leg of this pathway (Plan 35, 1-3) rises toward the N with an incline of 14,5%, which is a more or less easy climb.

The slope changes after the corner. From 135,20 m., the approach must reach a level of 141,40 m., that is the height of the threshold of the outer gate. We may assume that the threshold itself is in the form of a step, low enough to be negotiated by animals entering the Acropolis, at most 0,10 in height. The ascent would thus have had to rise from a level of 135,20 m. at the NW corner of the bastion to a level of 141,30 m. in front of the threshold of the first gate. This is a rise of 6,10 m. over a length of 14 m., which means an incline of 43,5%. Such an incline requires a stairway. Shown as an example on Plan 35 is a stairway of 20 steps with risers 0,20 m. high, treads 0,60 m. and an incline of 13,33%. They ascend to a wide landing (Plan 35, 4) in front of the threshold, which occupies the full space in front of the gate and equals the risers in height, with an incline of 13,6%. The actual arrangement of the steps of the Mycenaean approach will, to be sure, have been much more uneven, perhaps more difficult to climb. The solution illustrated is simply for the purpose of showing the limits within which the stairway will have been constructed.



Plan 35. The arrangement of the west entrance.

Of the second ascent cuttings are still preserved in the surface of the rock (Plan 35, 5-6) that rise from 131,89 to 132,93 m. over a length of 5,70 m. Since these are unquestionably part of the authentic Mycenaean approach, we can accept the 18,25% incline given by this leg as a basis for calculating the rest of the ascent.

Further on toward the same direction but with a few turns the course of the ascent reaches the SE corner of the base of the Agrippa monument (7 on Plan 35), where the rock is at a level of 136,93 m. Thus over a course of 22 m. a 4 m. rise is gained, with an incline of 18,20%. From this point it would have been possible to continue along the wall with an incline of 17% to the threshold of the outer gate. The pathway from here on will have needed artificial fill at a number of points, especially just before the gate, but nothing more complicated.

There are similar problems with the approach between the two gates, since there is a difference of 1 m. in level. The distance between the two gates is 3,60 m. This means an incline of 28%, which requires steps. This is not difficult for people, but this final stretch had to be negotiable also by animals, and pack animals at that. Thus the steps must have been very low. The rock itself presents further difficulties in that it slopes from E to W, at right angles to the axis of the stairway. Indeed if the steps ran parallel to the façade of the inner gate, they would end at the E before they had covered the full width between the outer gate and the wall to the E of it, becoming progressively narrower, with the lower steps so narrow as to be practically useless.

This difficulty is overcome if the steps are arranged in a fan-like curve, so that the lower step is almost parallel to the threshold of the outer gate and the top step parallel to the façade of the inner gate (Plan 35, 8). The ascent thus climbed a slope of 14%, with 6 steps of risers 0,06 m. high and treads about 0,50 m. wide at the beginning and 1 m. wide at the end, to reach the inner gate, with a threshold around 0,06 m. above the top and final step.

While lacking concrete evidence other than the existing levels, this solution, shown on the plan, is the most logical and it conforms to known Mycenaean practice.³⁰⁴

304. James C. Wright, *Hesperia* 63, 1994, pp. 324-360, pls 77-80, questions this reconstruction of the W entrance of the Acropolis. Based on a combination of the inter-

THE PALACE

The palace complex of the kings of Athens³⁰⁵ stood on the terraces at the top of the rock, protected by the strong and dominating fortification we have described. No remains of the palace are preserved *in situ*. Yet there are a few architectural members that in all certainty belong to it.

pretations put forward by Bundgaard, *Mnesikles* (Copenhagen 1957), W. B. Dinsmoor Jr. (*The Propylaia to the Athenian Acropolis*, 1, *The Predecessors*, Princeton 1980) and I. Mark (*The Sanctuary of Athena Nike in Athens: Architectural Stages and Chronology*, *Hesperia*, suppl. 26, Princeton 1993) and on assumptions of his own, he explains away the cuttings on the rock brought to light by Beulé as being Mediaeval although Beulé reports explicitly that he found them covered successively by a sandy layer, slabs of the Archaic ramp and the Mediaeval ascent. According to Wright's thinking the cross-wall inside the compact fill of the bastion is unlikely to have served to break the load against its W façade but formed rather the side of a room built within the bastion and entered from the ground level at the rear of the construction. The piece of wall at 3, Plan 17, 1 m. thick, perfectly aligned with the Cyclopean wall to its E and the façade of the bastion to its W and built, according to the excavators, with unworked boulders (τιτανόλιθοι) he believes to be neither part of the bastion nor Mycenaean. In fact Wright considers the whole bastion, which he lowers to the level of the rock to its E and treats as a platform bearing an upright room-like structure on its W half, as nothing more than "a formalization of

the natural bedrock of the area at the end of the Late Bronze Age, perhaps as a monumentalization of the entrance." He also agrees with W. Dinsmoor Jr, in assuming that the piece of the Cyclopean wall discovered by Stevens in front of the Propylaia and the disorderly pile of stones in the basement of the Pinakotheke represent the remnants of a low extended terrace (his figs 8, 9), which, however, would have buried the Mycenaean house walls next to the stone pile and would have provided an ideal assault platform to those attacking the gate. As to the north and eastward continuation of the fortification wall above the caves in the Pelargikon, he ignores completely the configuration of the rock, scrupulously adhered to here and everywhere by the Mycenaean builders. In view of all this I do not think that I need to make any changes in my version of the arrangement of the Mycenaean W entrance to the Acropolis. What happened to it in later times is of no concern to this study.

305. It may be that the palace on the Acropolis was not the only royal dwelling, for the Athenians of historical times, on the basis of old traditions, referred to a building near the Ilissos that was known as the house of Aigeus (Plut. *Thes.* 12, 3 and see Judeich, *Top.* p. 387). The house is near the

The first is a column base that was discovered during the excavation of 1887, lying "not in its original position, but on the flat space east of the Erechtheion,"³⁰⁶ somewhere above the E parts of terraces II and III. Today it rests E of the Erechtheion beside the Classical fortification wall. It consists of a fairly large block of Acropolis limestone, the upper side of which is quite flat and has been carefully smoothed for the reception of a wooden column. No attempt was made, however, to obliterate the many natural cracks and anomalies of the stone. Since there are no tool marks, the stone was probably smoothed with sand (Fig. 30).

Only the upper part of the stone has been worked. It is a low cylindrical projection, 0,11 m. high, in one piece with the rest of the block. The side of the cylinder is not exactly straight but slightly conical. The circle is irregular and the diameter ranges between 0,76 and 0,81 m. The edges have been rounded and that part of the base has been smoothed in the same way as the flat surface at the top. The lower part of the base, rugged in shape, has been left unworked and it is uneven in thickness too (Fig. 31). This will have been hidden by the floor of the place where the column stood. The form of the lower surface shows clearly that it was not set directly on the rock or on some other hard surface, but that it was sunk at least some 0,32-0,35 m. in fill, perhaps stabilised by some light substructure as well. In material, construction, form and dimensions, the piece is similar to comparable bases from other Mycenaean palaces.

Two large sandstone slabs rest against the stones of the fortification wall, not far from the base. Their origin and place of finding are totally unknown. They are not mentioned either in the Acropolis excavations or by other explorers of the rock and to the best of my knowledge they have gone unnoticed

sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios next to the Gates of Aigeus, identified by Travlos (*Πολεοδ.* p. 53) as the gate which he excavated N of the Olympieion. The entire question is connected with that of the existence of the two sanctuaries and other

installations in the Ilissos area (see Thuc. II 15, Plato *Kritias* 112, b-d; see also Broneer in *AJA* 1941, p. 92) and is beyond the scope of the present study.

306. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 89. See also p. 83.



Figs 30-31. The Mycenaean column base; from above (fig. 30) and side view (fig. 31).

until now. Since they had been kept together (one of the slabs is right next to the base), they must have been found in the same area as the base. Given the size of the slabs, moreover, they are most unlikely to have been moved far from where they were found. One of them may possibly be the slab shown in Fig. 11, lower right, lying on the foundation of the ancient stairway north of the Erechtheion. Fragments of similar slabs were used by Kavvadias as building material for the walls he erected around the NE approach. It is thus very likely that their original position was somewhere near the base.

They are both made of the same stone and worked in the same fashion; they are undoubtedly contemporary, belonging to the same construction. While the sides of the slabs are for the most part flat and carefully cut, there is a clear distinction between the large surfaces. On each slab, one of these surfaces is carefully levelled and smoothed, whereas the other is uneven and more coarsely worked. One side was clearly meant to be seen, the other not. The slabs therefore were either orthostates applied to a wall, or part of a slab paving or, most probably, steps. Careful examination of them provides an answer.

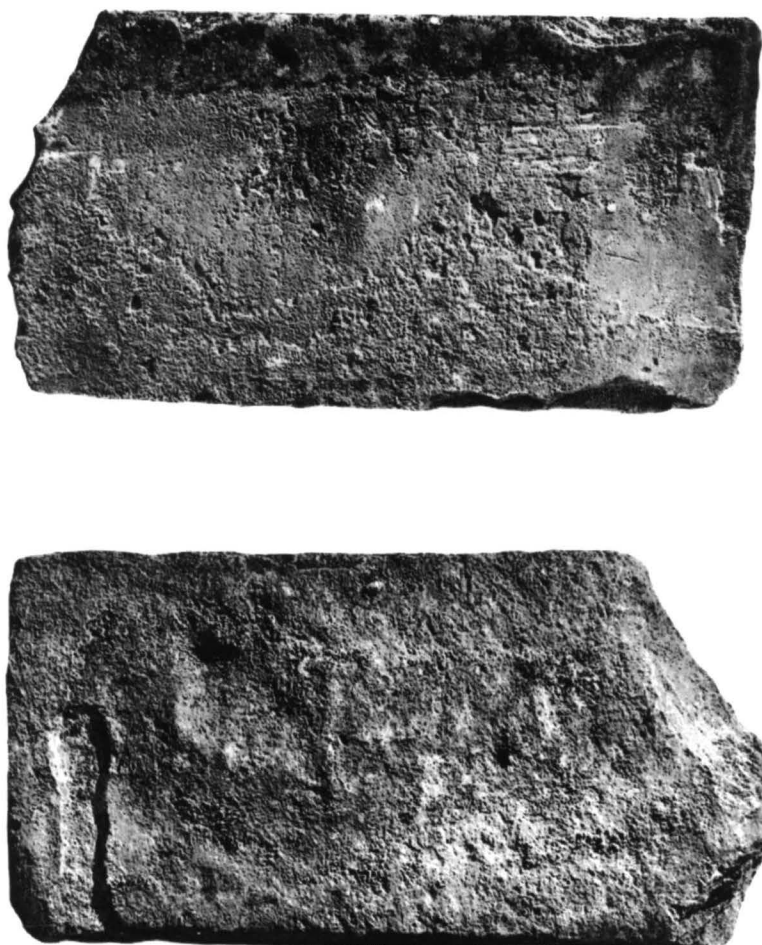


Figs 32-33. The first slab: the upper, visible surface (fig. 32) and the hidden surface (fig. 33).

The first slab is not preserved for its full length. Both ends have broken off and are lost. Its maximum preserved length is 1,01 m., width 0,69 m., and thickness 0,18 m. Preserved on the smoothed surface that was meant to be seen, along one of the long sides is a narrow band, 0,10 m. wide. It is imperceptibly higher than the rest of the surface but the difference is so small that it was clearly not part of the original cutting. The band had simply suffered less wear than the rest of the surface evidently because it was covered. The rest of this surface is evenly worn; even the edge has been rounded through wear, especially in the middle (Fig. 32). The side that was hidden (Fig. 33) shows clear traces of having been worked with a narrow drove.³⁰⁷ Similar toolmarks, dating the slab unquestionably to Mycenaean times, are preserved on the surfaces of the regular blocks of the façade of the tomb of the Lions at Mycenae.

307. The tool was not unknown in Mycenaean times (Orlandos, *Υλικά δομῆς II* p. 125, n. 1 and fig. 62). Since it was made

of bronze, it could only be used on very soft stone.



Figs 34-35. The second slab: the upper surface (fig. 34) and the lower surface (fig. 35).

The other slab is better preserved. One end has broken off unevenly, while the sides and corners have suffered only minor damage. It is preserved to a length of 1,29 m., a width of 0,68 m. and it is 0,17 m. thick. Here too the smoothed surface has a slightly raised, protected band, in this case 0,14 m. wide. The edges of the corners have traces of damage in places, probably incurred while excavating or moving it, rather than from use, as with the other slab (Fig. 34). The initially invisible part of the surface is fairly uneven and it has not been smoothed as was the other. Moreover it has a narrow irregular cutting, 0,01-0,02 m. deep, close to and along the preserved narrow side. The masons appear to have found that the surface on which they were setting it projected slightly at this point and so they tried to adjust it (Fig. 35). That

they trimmed the slab rather than the support suggests that the stone of the slab was less hard.

In addition to these two slabs there are, as we mentioned, fragments of others that were built into the walls erected by Kavvadias E of the Erechtheion. There are five of these altogether, at least two of which preserve worked surfaces. Another, the largest of all, is built into the corner of the wall that covers the N supporting wall of terrace IV, precisely over the big Mycenaean block of the NW corner of the supporting wall (see also Fig. 44). The piece comes from the corner of a similar slab. It is preserved on each side of the corner for a length of 0,55 and 0,56 m. and it has retained its original thickness of 0,17 m. Thus at least three fragmentary slabs of this sort survived and were found in the Acropolis excavation. Their use remains to be seen.

The wear along the edge of the first slab, attributable to use, shows that they were not orthostates. This sort of rounding of the upper or lower edge of a slab to be set upright makes no sense. Therefore it was placed horizontally, either one next to the other with the smoothed surface on top as a paving for a courtyard or similar area, or else one was placed above the other to form treads in a stairway. The second interpretation is the most likely and the narrow protected band along the edge is clearly the part of the tread that was covered by the next step. The wear along the edge of the first slab is evidently due to use.

The slabs are therefore steps, from a Mycenaean building to judge by the material, the stonecutting and their proportions.³⁰⁸

Two ways of using similar steps are known in Mycenaean palaces. One is at Tiryns, where the entrance to the ante-chamber of the megaron is stepped with two low steps taking up the entire width. The first, lowest step is a slab of similar sandstone. The second, of limestone, is placed over the edge of the first.³⁰⁹ The second method is seen in the stairway of the palace at Mycenae,

308. The possibility that they were used as thresholds has not been examined since the material would not be suitable for that use, nor are there any jamb traces or hole

for a door pivot to support this interpretation.

309. See Dörpfeld in Schliemann, *Tiryns* p. 239, fig. 114.

where the steps preserved are likewise made of sandstone,³¹⁰ and in the well preserved stairway of House M at Mycenae.³¹¹

For the first method, a presupposition is that the exposed part of the upper surfaces of the slabs, since they are part of the same stairway, must have exactly the same width. This is not the case with the slabs from the Acropolis at Athens. On one, the hidden band is 0,10 m. wide and the free surface of the tread 0,59 m., whereas on the other the width of the hidden band is 0,14 m. and the exposed surface 0,54 m. The treads are thus of different widths and cannot have been set consecutively.

Accordingly, the slabs belong to a stairway of the palace complex, perhaps to the main stairway, which evidently will have been somewhere E of the Erechtheion. It may have led from the rock itself to the top of terrace III. It is also possible that the stairway was within the palace, facilitating communication between the storeys, as at the palace of Pylos.³¹² The relatively good condition of the slabs would suggest this.

The conclusion that emerges from all the above is that there was indeed a palace, that it stood in the area later occupied by the Archaic temple and the Erechtheion, on terrace III, and that it had at least one grand stairway with steps of sandstone. Anything else is pure conjecture.

310. Wace, *BSA* 25, 1921-23, p. 159 and pls A, K.
pl. II.

312. Blegen, *AJA* 1955, p. 35.

311. Mylonas, *Praktika* 1963, p. 102,

THE PELARGIKON

Below the top of the Acropolis rock was yet another part of the Mycenaean fortification. Despite occasional efforts to protect it from continuous encroachment and exploitation, it had remained outside the Classical fortification walls, and was abandoned, deserted and fallen into disrepair with the passage of time. The Pelargikon. There are few archaeological areas the boundaries and extent of which have been as much disputed by various scholars as the Pelargikon. The different opinions about its exact location are practically equal in number to the writers who have studied the question.

THE SOURCES AND THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The ancient sources referring to the subject, listed in Appendix I to the present study (nos 20-32), have been collected and published by various writers.³¹³ Of all these, ten are really useful, those listed as numbers 20-29. The others simply mention the Pelargikon without giving any information.

To begin with, a number of conclusions can be drawn from a study of the sources. It is reported as being below the Acropolis,³¹⁴ on the rocks³¹⁵ below the N wall and next to the Erechtheion,³¹⁶ within it was the cave of Pan,³¹⁷ it was situated on the Panathenaic Way between the Eleusinion and the Pythion, at the level where the course of the Panathenaic ship carrying the peplos ended,³¹⁸ and it was separate from the Asklepieion, the Areopagus, the tomb

313. Jahn-Michaelis, *Arx Ath.* p. 79, n. to l. 14, Wide, *Ausonia* 1912, pp. 195-197, Judeich, *Top.* p. 52, n. 5. On the relevant traditions see Frazer, *Paus.* II p. 359.

314. Thuc. II 17.

315. Aristoph. *Av.* 836, *Schol. Aristoph.*

Av. 836.

316. Luc. *Pesc.* 47, 48.

317. Cratinos fr. 321 (Edmonds), and Wilamowitz, *Hermes* XIV, p. 183, Luc. *Bis Acc.* 9.

318. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II, a, V.

of Talos, the Anakeion, the Pythion and the Eleusinion.³¹⁹ As for its form and condition, it was deserted, not enclosed and therefore habitable in the hour of need by numerous families,³²⁰ full of stones, earth and weeds³²¹ and it contained sanctuaries and altars.³²²

The only location that combines all these characteristics is the rough little level space where the caves are located, at the NW of the rock between the NW descent and the Klepsydra. No one has doubted that it was included in the Pelargikon. All but Leake³²³ thought it was only part of a far more extensive area. The interpretations proposed vary considerably in their details, but as a whole they fit into a few categories. In the first, the Pelargikon comprises an area that surrounds the entire Acropolis rock (Fig. 36) and it is either fortified or not.³²⁴ According to the second, it takes in the W and S slopes of the Acropolis (Fig. 37) including the springs of the Asklepieion and the Klepsydra and it is surrounded by a strong fortification wall.³²⁵ Others too locate it on the W slope of the Acropolis, including the Klepsydra within its boundaries,³²⁶ while some confine it to the NW slope as a protection for the Klepsydra.³²⁷

319. Luc. *Pesc.* 42, Thuc. II 17 (where he distinguishes it specifically from the Eleusinion).

320. Thuc. II 17.

321. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³ n° 83, Luc. *Pesc.* 48, Pollux *Onom.* VIII 101.

322. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³ n° 83.

323. *Topography* pp. 309-315.

324. Curtius, *SBBerlin* 1884, pp. 499-512, Bötticher, *Akropolis* pp. 56-61, Curtius, *Stadtgesch.* p. 47, Wide, *Ausonia* 1912, pp. 177-197, where he compares it to the Roman *pomerium*.

325. Unger, *Sitzungsb. Akad. München* 1874, pp. 303-306, Harrison, *M. and M.* pp. 41, 330, 350, 464, 536-538, Miller, *AJA* 1893, pp. 484-488, Dörpfeld, *RhM* 1896, pp. 131-132, Tsountas, *Ἀκρόπολις* pp. 8-9, P. Kastriotes, *Μνημεῖα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* p. 28, Harrison, *P.A.* pp. 30, 32-35, D'Oodge,

Acropolis pp. 24-25, 30, Dörpfeld, *AM* 1911, p. 72, Walter, *Athen, Akropolis* p. 15, Keramopoulos, *PraktAkAth* 1932, pp. 110-124, *Ephemeris* 1934/1935, pp. 89-92, 95-96, 98, 105, 110-111, 113 (where he considers it to be later), Dörpfeld, *Alt Ath.* I pp. 3, 9, 105, Travlos, *Ephemeris* 1939/1941, pp. 59-62, *Πολεοδ.* pp. 21-22, 25-26, 204.

326. Beulé, *L'Acropole* p. 82, Dörpfeld, *AM* 1886, p. 163, Lolling, *Topographie* pp. 337-338, Köster, Pelargikon pp. 16-28, Kavvadias, *Προϊστορική Ἀρχαιολογία* pp. 300-301, figs 361-363, Pfuhl, *BerlPhilolWoch* 1911, pp. 299-307, Schede, *Die Burg von Athen* p. 10, Keramopoulos, *Deltion* 1929, pp. 77-90, Picard, *L'Acropole* I pp. 11, 18, Judeich, *Top.* pp. 116-117, 218, Bérard, *Stud. Rob.* pp. 140-141, 150.

327. Frazer, *Paus.* II pp. 355-359, Brooner, *AJA* 1948, p. 112, *Antiquity* 1956, p. 10.

Wilamowitz, who did not separate it from the rest of the fortification system, extended it from the Areopagus to the gate of Hadrian.³²⁸

A Pelargikon that extends beyond the boundaries of the NW slope of the rock is not supported by the ancient sources. This view is based mainly on a faulty conception of the topography of ancient Athens, on a number of ideas, perhaps of value in themselves but with insufficient evidence, and on incorrect dating of existing material. The basic arguments of this school of thought are as follows:

1) The ancient sources³²⁹ make it clear that the Pelargikon was near the Eleusinion. The exact position of the Eleusinion, however, which was on the Panathenaic Way NW of the Acropolis, has only recently been determined.³³⁰ Prior to its discovery and identification, it had been located at various times on the E part of the rock,³³¹ on the NE,³³² the W,³³³ the SW, above the Odeion of Herodes Attikos,³³⁴ S of the Areopagus,³³⁵ S of the Acropolis,³³⁶ NW of it,³³⁷ on the Pnyx,³³⁸ next to the Asklepieion,³³⁹ W of the Odeion of Herodes Attikos,³⁴⁰ and finally E of the Areopagus or W of the Odeion of Herodes Attikos.³⁴¹ Thus scholars adapted their ideas about the Pelargikon to their views of the subject.

328. Burg u. Stadt pp. 97-172.

329. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³ n° 83, *Philostr. Vit. Soph.* II, i, V.

330. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* XVIII, 1949, pp. 128-137, Travlos, *Πολεοδ.* p. 33, Thompson, *Hesperia* XXXIX, 1960, pp. 334-338, fig. 3.

331. Leake, *Topography* pp. 296-301, Bötticher, *Phil. Suppl.* III, 1867, pp. 289 ff.

332. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen* pp. 301 ff., Wilamowitz, *Aus Kydathen* (1880) p. 128.

333. Rangabes, *Bulletino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 1850, p. 136.

334. Unger, *Sitzungsb. Akad. München* 1874, pp. 282 ff.

335. Milchhöfer, *Topogr.* p. 198, Lolling, *Topographie* p. 317, n. 1, Weizsäcker, *Jahrb. für Philol.* 1887, pp. 618 ff.

336. Dörpfeld, *AM* 1894, pp. 508 ff., Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* V (1905), 2335 (Wachsmuth).

337. Judeich, *Jahrb. für Philol.* 1890, p. 775, who changed his mind however, and Foucart, *MémAcInscr* 1900, p. 106.

338. Svoronos, 'Ερμηνεία τῶν μνημείων τοῦ Ἐλευσινιακοῦ μυστηριακοῦ κύκλου, *JournInternArchéolNumism* 1901, pp. 420 ff.

339. Versakes, *Ephemeris* 1912, pp. 48 ff.

340. Judeich, *Top.* pp. 287-289.

341. Keramopoullos, *PraktAkAth* 1932, pp. 119-120, *Ephemeris* 1934/1935, p. 113.

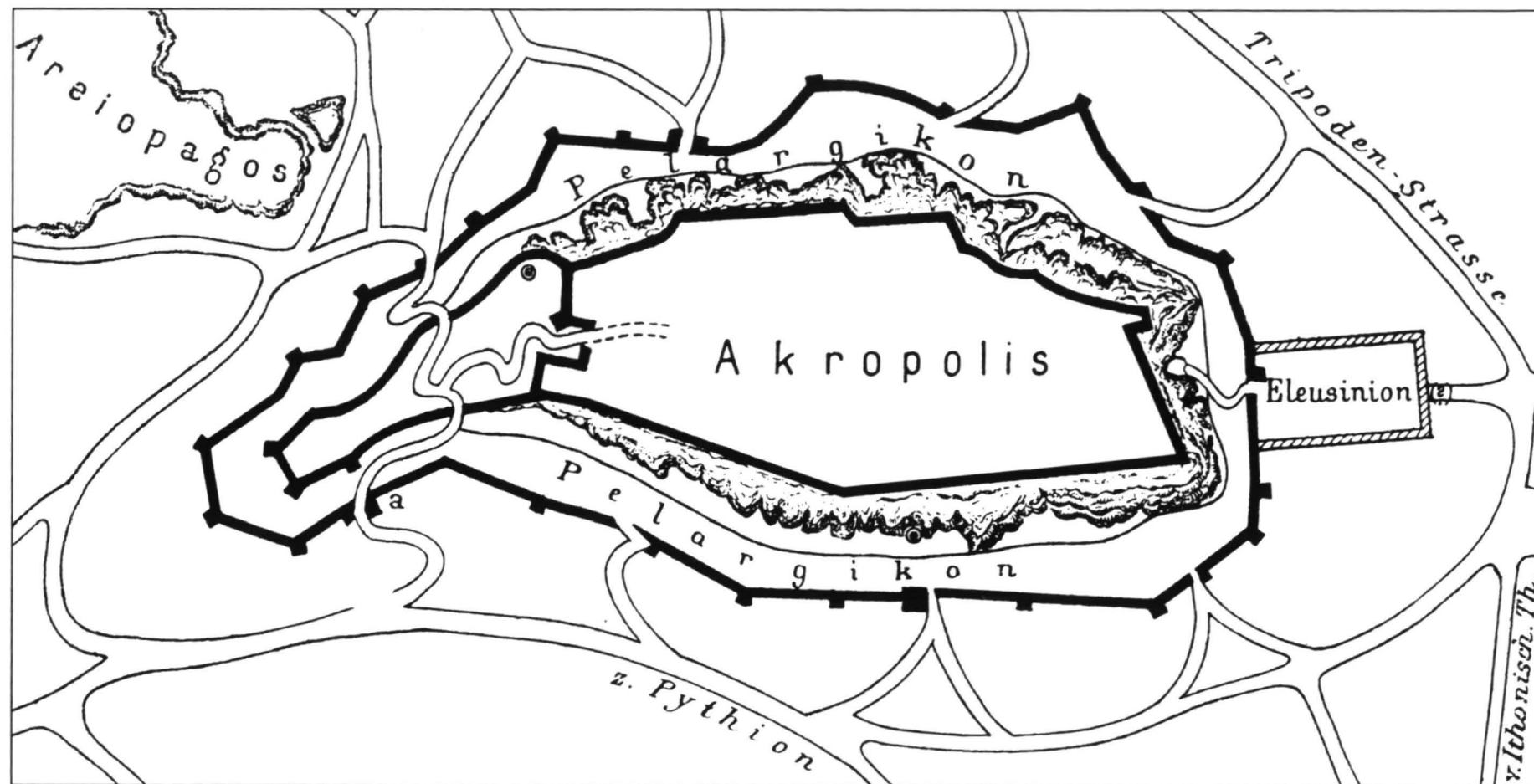


Fig. 36. The Pelargikon as the area around the Acropolis, according to Bötticher (Akropolis p. 58, fig. 7).

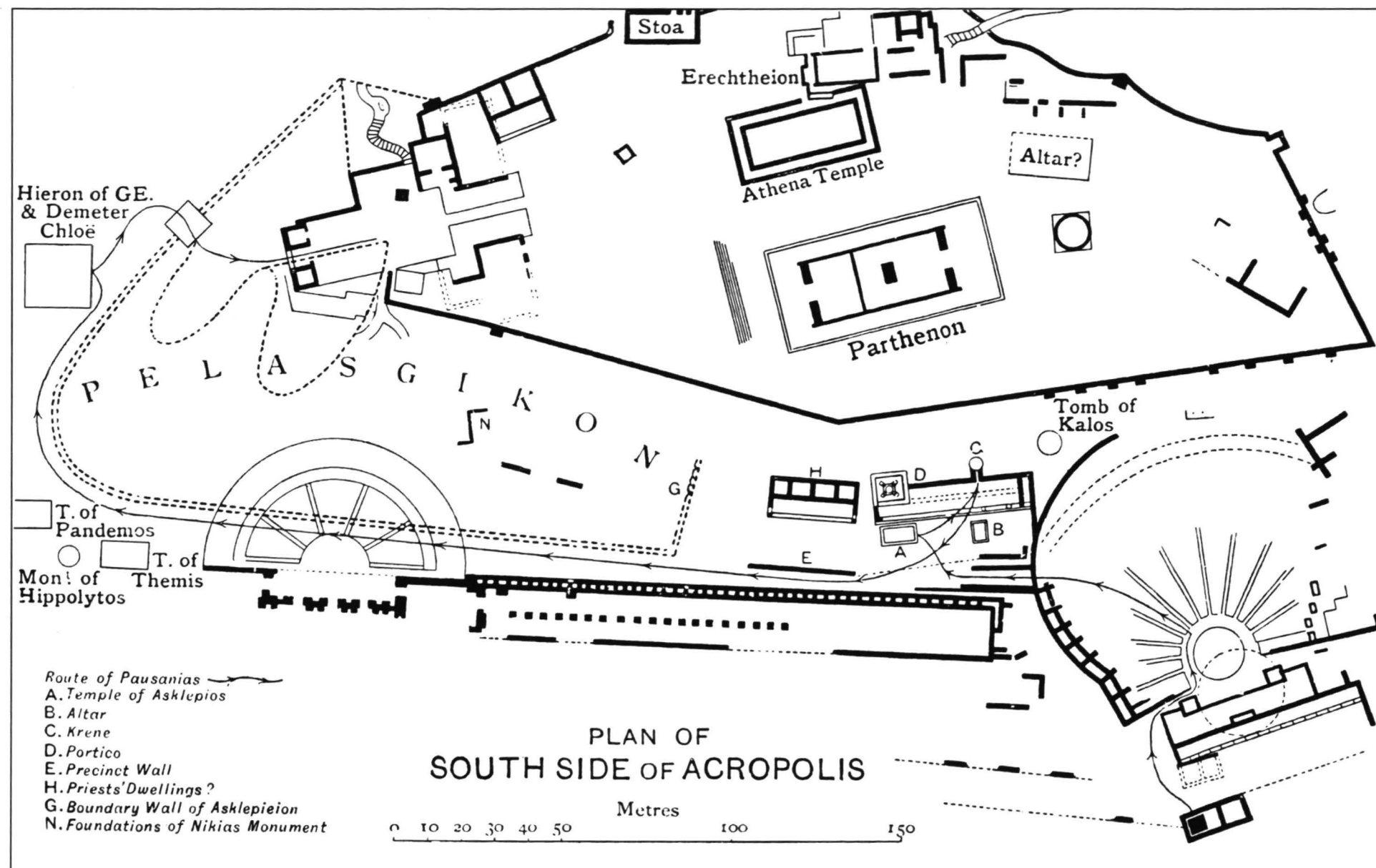


Fig. 37. The Pelargikon as the area W and S of the Acropolis, according to Harrison (M. and M. fig. 35).

2) Thucydides³⁴² tells us that the *polis* of Athens was initially on the Acropolis itself and in the area toward the S. From this was formulated the syllogism that since the city was S of the Acropolis, and since as other ancient cities it will have had a fortification wall, the Pelargikon was this fortification and it will therefore have been to the S.³⁴³ The syllogism is based on the conviction that the Mycenaean cities were walled in the same way as were those of historical times. This, as we now know, is not the case. The cities and settlements of Mycenaean times were not walled and, as Köster³⁴⁴ rightly observed, what Thucydides is talking about has nothing to do with the Pelargikon.

3) The fortress of the Acropolis cannot have been without a water supply. Yet there is no water on the rock. Therefore the fortified section below the rock, the Pelargikon, must have included the springs of the Asklepieion and Klepsydra, or only Klepsydra,³⁴⁵ the rock-cut steps of which may be compared to those of the Perseia at Mycenae.³⁴⁶

This was the most serious of all the arguments, and it was determinative in locating a Pelargikon below the slopes of the rock. Yet not only the sources but the facts themselves show it to be wrong, especially after the discovery of the North Fountain.

To begin with, the ancient sources tell us that in historical times the Acropolis had no spring. Kylon and his fellow conspirators, Aristion later on and finally the Turks all surrendered because of thirst. The Peisistratids, likewise besieged in the Acropolis, had supplied themselves with water, which would have been quite unnecessary had there been a spring. Research has shown that the vein of Klepsydra had not yet been found in Mycenaean times and

342. II 15.

343. Dörpfeld, *RhM* 1896, pp. 131-132, Harrison, *M. and M.* pp. 537-538, *P.A.* pp. 30-31, Keramopoulos, *PraktAkAth* 1932, pp. 114-115, *Ephemeris* 1934/1935, p. 89, where, however, he considers it to be Archaic.

344. Pelargikon p. 41.

345. Bötticher, *Akropolis* p. 59, Lolling, *Topographie* p. 338, Curtius, *Stadtgesch.* p. 47,

Miller, *AJA* 1893, p. 488, Dörpfeld, *RhM* 1896, p. 131, Tsountas, *Ἀκρόπολις* p. 9, Harrison, *P.A.* p. 35, D'Oodge, *Acropolis* p. 24, Picard, *L'Acropole* I p. 11, Judeich, *Top.* pp. 117, 191, Keramopoulos, *Ephemeris* 1934/1935, p. 90, Dörpfeld, *Alt Ath.* I p. 3, Bérard, *Stud. Rob.* p. 141, Travlos, *Πολεοδ.* p. 26.

346. Curtius, *Stadtgesch.* p. 47.

was still unknown. Later on, not only was it left outside the fortification walls of the Acropolis but there was no communication with it. This was arranged only in Roman times, to which the stairway belongs. It was included within the fortification for the first and only time during the War of Independence, in the bastion of Androutsos.³⁴⁷

During the Mycenaean period, when the Pelargikon was built, the inhabitants of the Acropolis knew that the area had water, since they continued to dig wells there. Yet the very existence of the wells is an indication that the source itself had not yet been discovered. The only traces of Mycenaean activity in its immediate vicinity are two rectangular excavations, contemporary with the N spring, that served as dumps.³⁴⁸ For the same reason the North Fountain was constructed with great effort and care. It would indeed have been superfluous if there had been a source of water within the Acropolis walls.

4) Various walls found between the Asklepieion and the Odeion of Herodes Attikos were thought to be Mycenaean and were associated with the Pelargikon (Fig. 38), as its remnants.³⁴⁹ These walls, however, are Archaic rather than Mycenaean, a fact that soon became evident. Yet so firmly implanted was the idea that the Pelargikon included this area, that even when it became clear that the walls were later, they were explained as successors of an earlier Mycenaean wall,³⁵⁰ or else the Pelargikon as a whole was considered as Archaic.³⁵¹

347. Parsons, *Hesperia* XII, 1943, pp. 191-267.

348. *Ibid.* p. 206.

349. Bötticher, *Akropolis* p. 57, Miller, *AJA* 1893, pp. 485-486, fig. 1, Harrison, *P.A.* p. 35, D'Oodge, *Acropolis* p. 25, Judeich, *Top.* p. 116-117, Keramopoulos, *PraktAkAth* 1932, pp. 114-115, *Ephemeris* 1934/1935, pp. 95-96, 98, Dörpfeld, *Alt Ath.* I pp. 3, 105, Travlos, *Ephemeris* 1939/1941, pp. 59-62.

350. D'Oodge, *Acropolis* p. 25, Travlos, *Πολεοδ.* pp. 25-26 and n. 1. There is no specific evidence to support this view, which is completely counter to fact. To begin with,

not a trace of a Mycenaean wall has been found in the vicinity. Moreover, it would have been strange indeed for the Athenians of the Archaic period, while respecting the fortification of the rock as a whole, to build anew along this line of the wall, carefully removing every trace of an earlier wall, assuming that it ever existed. By analogy with the rest of the wall, they would have preserved what there was, making use of it for its greater extent.

351. Keramopoulos, *PraktAkAth* 1932, pp. 114-115, *Ephemeris* 1934/1935, pp. 89, 98.

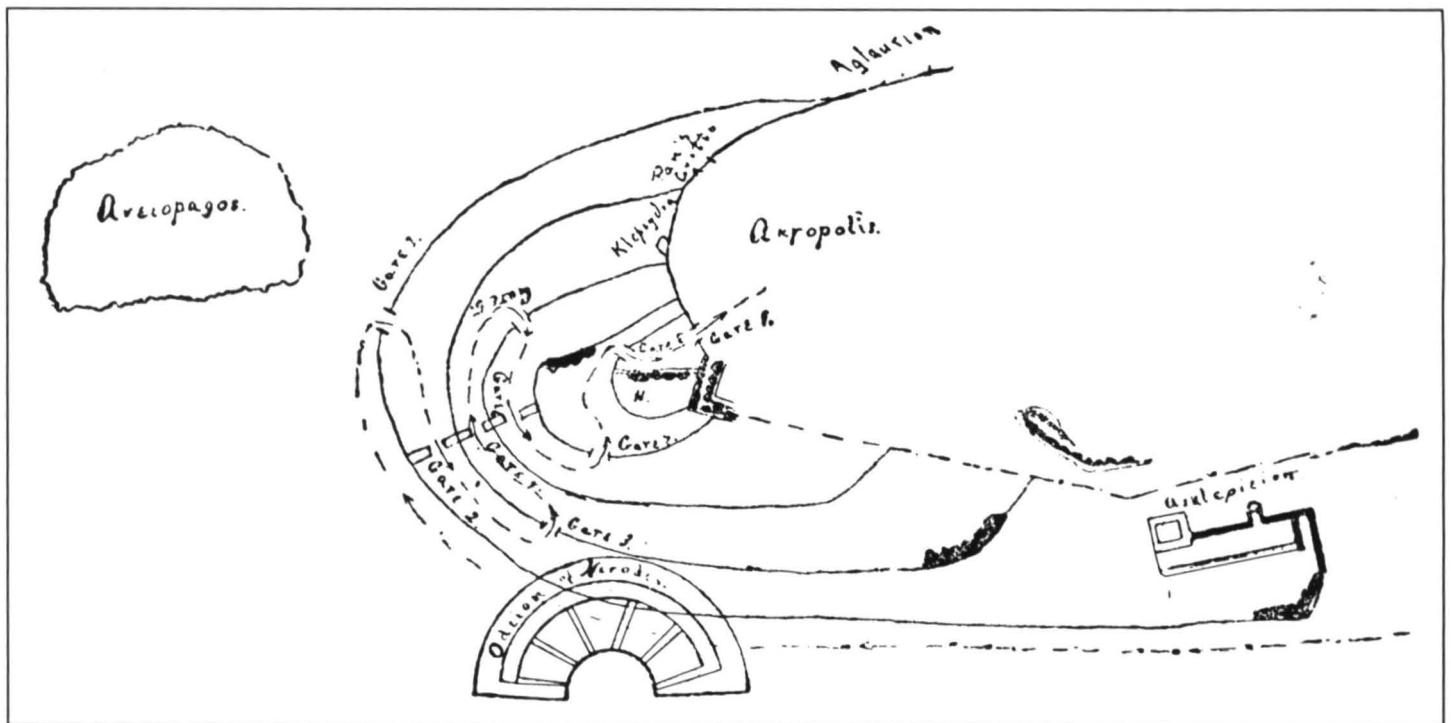


Fig. 38. The Pelargikon on the basis of the Archaic walls SW of the Acropolis, according to Miller (AJA 1893, p. 489, fig. 1).

5) Cleidemos (mid-4th century B.C.), and Cleidemos alone, reports that the builders of the old wall... περιέβαλον ... ἑννεάπυλον τὸ Πελασγικόν.³⁵² This is the only case in which the Pelargikon is equated with the Enneapylon. Moreover, the Enneapylon is nowhere else referred to by this name. Polemon³⁵³ alone, mentioning the sanctuary of the hero Hesychos, says that it is near the Kyloneion, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἑννέα πυλῶν. It was generally accepted by recent scholars that there was in fact an Enneapylon and efforts were concentrated on locating the nine gates in a logical series with a semblance of reality. Basically, three theories were formulated. According to the first,³⁵⁴ the gates were arranged along the length of the wall at the top of the rock. The

352. Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* I p. 419, l. 27, Souida, s.v. ἄπεδα and ἡπέδιζον.

353. Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* III p. 131, fr. 49. See also *Schol. Oed. Col.* 489.

354. Unger, *Sitzungsb. Akad. München* 1874, pp. 330-333, Belger, *BerlPhilolWoch* 1894, pp. 46 ff.

second³⁵⁵ held that the gates belonged to a hypothetical lower wall, which enclosed the upper wall and ran around the slopes of the rock. According to the third and most prevailing theory,³⁵⁶ the gates were placed at various points in an extended fortification, concurring with the Pelargikon, and located generally toward the W or SW of the rock. In addition, with the exception of Keramopoulos,³⁵⁷ all subscribed to the view that the Enneapylon was Mycenaean, most believing that the number of gates recorded was correct.³⁵⁸

Thus the Acropolis fortification must have had nine gates. Yet we have seen that the wall enclosing the top of the rock had far fewer. Therefore the rest, or all nine, must have been in the extension of the fortification (see Fig. 3) below the rock, which implies a Pelargikon covering a very large area indeed, if the gates are to be arranged in a practical way.³⁵⁹

To begin with, it is very doubtful that the term "Enneapylon" is to be taken literally in the sense that there were actually nine gates leading to the Acropolis.³⁶⁰ Secondly, such a construction, extensive in area, would be redundant and against all principles of the art of fortification. It would take the fortification dangerously close to the Areopagus, which by its very nature was the perfect place from which to launch any kind of attack. The wall of the Mycenaean Acropolis served its purpose well without this extension of doubtful use. Moreover, it does not agree with Mycenaean norms of fortification. We have only to imagine Mycenae or Tiryns with such an enormous extension to realise

355. E. Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* I p. 442, *Stadtgesch.* p. 47, fig. 13, Bötticher, *Akropolis* p. 57, fig. 7.

356. Beulé, *L'Acropole* p. 82, Bohn, *Prop.* p. 3, Harrison, *M. and M.* p. 41, Miller, *AJA* 1893, p. 484, fig. 1, Tsountas, *Ἀκρόπολις* pp. 8-9, Harrison, *P.A.* p. 32, Köster, Pelargikon pp. 22-23, Frazer, *Paus.* II p. 356, Schede, *Die Burg von Athen* p. 10, Lolling, *Topographie* p. 338, Walter, *Athen, Akropolis* p. 15, Judeich, *Top.* pp. 115-116, Keramopoulos, *Ephemeris* 1934/1935, pp. 88-89, Welter, *AA* 1939, pp. 8-9, Bérard, *Stud. Rob.* p. 140, Broneer, *Antiquity* 1956,

pp. 11-12, Travlos, *Πολεοδ.* p. 26 (and n. 2), p. 204, fig. 7, pl. I.

357. *Ephemeris* 1934/1935, pp. 88-89.

358. On this score, doubts are raised by Tsountas (*Ἀκρόπολις* p. 9), Picard (*L'Acropole* I p. 11) and Broneer (*Antiquity* 1956, p. 12).

359. Bötticher, *Akropolis* p. 57, Lolling, *Topographie* p. 338, Miller, *AJA* 1893, p. 484, Harrison, *P.A.* p. 32, Travlos, *Πολεοδ.* pp. 25-26.

360. See P. Kastriotis, *Μνημεῖα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* p. 29, and Broneer, *Antiquity* 1956, p. 12.

how foreign this sort of arrangement would be to the Athenian fortification system. An arrangement of this sort is ruled out entirely by actual Mycenaean practice³⁶¹ and specifically by the circumstances prevailing in the Athenian Acropolis. As we have seen, when the Acropolis wall was built, no gates were added and the existing NE approach was even given up. It is quite clear that, as Keramopoulos³⁶² surmised, the Enneapylon was not Mycenaean. The considerably later, isolated information given by Cleidemos refers not to this old wall, which in any case left no trace at all, but to later constructions that were not for purposes of fortification but belonged to the Archaic organisation of the west approach, many remains of which were found and attributed to the Pelargikon.

This later organisation lies beyond the limits of the present study. It would take us into another era, a time when the situation in Athens had radically changed. The Acropolis was no longer the fortified seat of an hereditary dynast and the refuge of his subjects in time of danger. The administrative centre now lay outside the fortress, which had itself been dedicated to the gods. Just when this change occurred cannot be determined with precision. Yet the sherds from the fill of the N Fountain suggest a number of hypotheses. Indeed, as the latest sherds demonstrate, the spring continued in use as a dump, while the Acropolis itself was inhabited as always down into protogeometric times.³⁶³ At this same time, or slightly earlier, the centre of activity will have begun its move down to the lower city, as is evident from the Submycenaean graves in the Kerameikos.³⁶⁴ Certainly by the beginning of Geometric times, the transformation of the Acropolis from an administrative to a cult centre had already been completed. This will no doubt have played a part in the fortunes of the fortification wall, which will have lost some of its sig-

361. The citadel of Mycenae has two gates and an additional small sally port. Tiryns has three successive gates in the east side and two secondary ones in the west. Glas, with its huge area and the protection afforded by neighbouring communities (see Marinatos - Hirmer, *Κρήνη και Μυκηναϊ-*

κή Ἑλλάς p. 57), has four (*Ergon* 1958, fig. 48).

362. *Ephemeris* 1934/1935, pp. 88-89.

363. Broneer, *Hesperia* VIII, 1939, p. 427, *Antiquity* 1956, p. 13.

364. Kraiker - Kübler, *Kerameikos* I (Berlin 1939).

nificance in terms of protection. Perhaps also the Panathenaia, held from then on, will have played a part, requiring an easier and more accommodating approach for the crowds.

During his restoration of the temple and bastion of Athena Nike, Balanos discovered a small rectangular *eschara* (sacrificial hearth) beneath the Classical temple in the fill within the bastion. Cut out of the rock in the middle of the *eschara* was a rounded hollow containing many small clay figurines,³⁶⁵ datable to Submycenaean times.³⁶⁶ The *eschara* succeeded the W niche of the bastion, which had by now been abandoned as a focus of cult practice. Indeed some of the votives may have been transferred here from the earlier niche. Later, in Archaic times, a little shrine was built around the venerable *eschara*. This was the predecessor of the Classical temple and to the east of it stood the altar.³⁶⁷ Contemporary with this construction and at about the same level, an Archaic polygonal crowning wall was added around the walls of the bastion. The finding of two pieces of Karra stone in this crowning wall appear to date it to Peisistratid times, thus contemporary with the altar.³⁶⁸

The level of the *eschara* makes it clear that at some point, probably early in the Geometric period, the upper part of the bastion was taken down to somewhat lower than the Classical level. The bastion was thus transformed into a terrace where the chthonic cult of the goddess with the pomegranate was now established, the W niche having been given up.³⁶⁹ At the same time, the entrance, now without a bastion and thus without the outer gate, comprised only the inner gate which may have been widened. Subsequently, in Archaic times, the top of the truncated bastion, which was uneven because

365. Balanos, *Ephemeris* 1937 Γ, p. 785.

366. The figurines have occasionally been described as Archaic (Balanos, *Ephemeris* 1937 Γ, p. 785, *BCH* 1936, p. 455), also as Mycenaean (*BCH* 1938, pl. L, B) and Submycenaean (*BCH* 1939, p. 289). They have been dated as Submycenaean by Professor Marinatos, who has seen them and describes them as similar to two of the

finds from the household shrine at Asine (see *Asine* p. 299, fig. 206, lower right, and pp. 308-309, fig. 212).

367. Balanos, *Ephemeris* 1937 Γ, pp. 785 ff., Oikonomos, *Ephemeris* 1939/1941, p. 105.

368. Welter, *AM* 1923, p. 193, *AA* 1939, pp. 9, 14, Oikonomos, *Ephemeris* 1939/1941, p. 105.

369. *Ibid.* pp. 97-110.

the upper courses had been removed, was smoothed and embellished by the addition of a polygonal crowning wall, which was level on top.³⁷⁰ Here was built the shrine and altar, completing the transformation of the bastion into a temenos.

These changes in the plan of the entrance entailed, of course, corresponding changes in the arrangement of the approach. The Mycenaean stairway was no longer sufficient for the crowds that now ascended in the Panathenaic procession. A wide and ample approach had to be constructed. A basic part of it is undoubtedly the big polygonal supporting wall, the most important piece of which is preserved today between the Propylaia and the Beulé Gate.³⁷¹ The extension toward the W was discovered and identified correctly by Keramopoulos.³⁷² The wall, connected by some with the Pelargikon,³⁷³ is in fact the supporting wall of an Archaic ramp leading to the Acropolis entrance, built perhaps during the time of Peisistratos. Comparable, if not contemporary, are the remains of various similar walls W of the Beulé Gate and on the SW slope of the Acropolis. Although he connects them with the Pelargikon, Keramopoulos identifies them as Archaic.³⁷⁴

Stated simply without going into detail, it is clear that during Geometric and Archaic times the entrance to the Acropolis was changed in form and that various walls were built to the SW and W of it. These served no defensive purpose whatsoever. They were designed, instead, to facilitate access to the Rock. Taken as a whole, these outworks form a complicated complex of terraces and approaches that have yet to be studied. They appear to compose what was known as the Enneapylon.³⁷⁵ It may even be that the ancient Greeks of Classical times themselves, and Cleidemos even more so, connected the

370. Welter, *AM* 1923, p. 193.

371. Bohn, *Prop.* p. 15 and pl. II, Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 129, pl. H.

372. *Deltion* 1929, p. 74, n. 3, *Ephemeris* 1934/1935, p. 87, pl. 1.

373. Beulé, *L'Acropole* p. 84, Bohn, *Prop.* p. 15, Dörpfeld, *AM* 1885, pl. II, Miller, *AJA* 1893, p. 486.

374. *Ephemeris* 1934/1935, pp. 87-105, pl. 1.

375. This complex, which continued to function almost to his time, is what Herodotos (VIII 53) is referring to in speaking of the "gates" and the "ascent" to the Acropolis.

walls, by then in ruins and partly buried, with still earlier Mycenaean times; whence the attribution of the Enneapylon to the Pelargikon.

6) During the Peloponnesian War the Pelargikon was used as a place where refugees could live. Despite the oracle, moreover, it was in continuous use by various people as a source of earth and stone and even herbs. Still others placed altars and performed cult rites in the area, quite arbitrarily. This continued to such an extent that laws had to be imposed time and again.³⁷⁶ Thus it must have been extensive, its addition increasing the area of the Acropolis substantially.³⁷⁷ These arguments do not hold up. Thucydides says that the area was inhabited as were other vacant parts of the city and whatever sanctuaries and heroa had been left unfenced. This in no way suggests that thousands of refugees were settled in the Pelargikon, nor does it give any significant information about its size. Likewise the poaching of various materials is quite unrelated to the size of the place where this was being done. The private altars and cult places established there without control will have occupied only a few square metres precisely because they were private affairs, without the assistance of the city, and thus illegal.

Let us recapitulate. The entire discussion about the Pelargikon, as found in the existing bibliography, is a series of efforts to find arguments supporting opinions that are presented as if they were self-evident truths with the force of dogma. Keramopoulos was the most systematic and careful researcher of the subject. He recognised the material as later. Yet since he could not bring himself to relinquish the idea that the Pelargikon extended W and S of the Acropolis, he concluded that the construction in its entirety was Archaic. He thus left the main question about the location and extent of the Mycenaean Pelargikon unanswered. Köster began, and to an extent continued, on the basis of concrete observations. Yet he resorts to conclusions that are entirely arbitrary and his plan shows the boundaries of an extensive area

376. Thuc. II 17, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³ n° 83, Pollux *Onom.* VIII 101.

377. Bötticher, *Akropolis* p. 57, Curtius, *Stadtgesch.* p. 47, where it is considered a pasture, Köster, Pelargikon pp. 16-17, Ke-

ramopoulos, *Ephemeris* 1934/1935, pp. 110-111, where he corrects the «κατὰ πλέον» of Pollux to «κατὰ πηλὸν» and suggests that the place was used as a source of clay.

(see Fig. 1), with the sole argument that it must have received additions. Research, however, has shown that there was no reason for the Mycenaean fortification to include the Klepsydra, which was at that time unknown. Moreover the exact position of the Eleusinion has now been discovered. Clearly, there is absolutely no evidence that the Pelargikon was any larger than stated by the ancient sources.

The construction of a complicated and extensive work of fortification to the W or NW of the Acropolis (to say nothing of the S side), within which would be the bastion and the main entrance, would be entirely counter both to what is known about the form of Mycenaean fortification systems and to basic rules of the art of designing fortifications. For this would bring the first line not only closer to the Areopagus but, far worse, to a lower level than the hill, placing the defenders of the fort in a hopelessly disadvantageous position.

Rather than resorting to theories, it is better to see to what extent the various ancient sources that locate the Pelargikon in the area of the caves agree with the results of exploration on the spot.

THE REMAINS OF THE PELARGIKON *IN SITU*

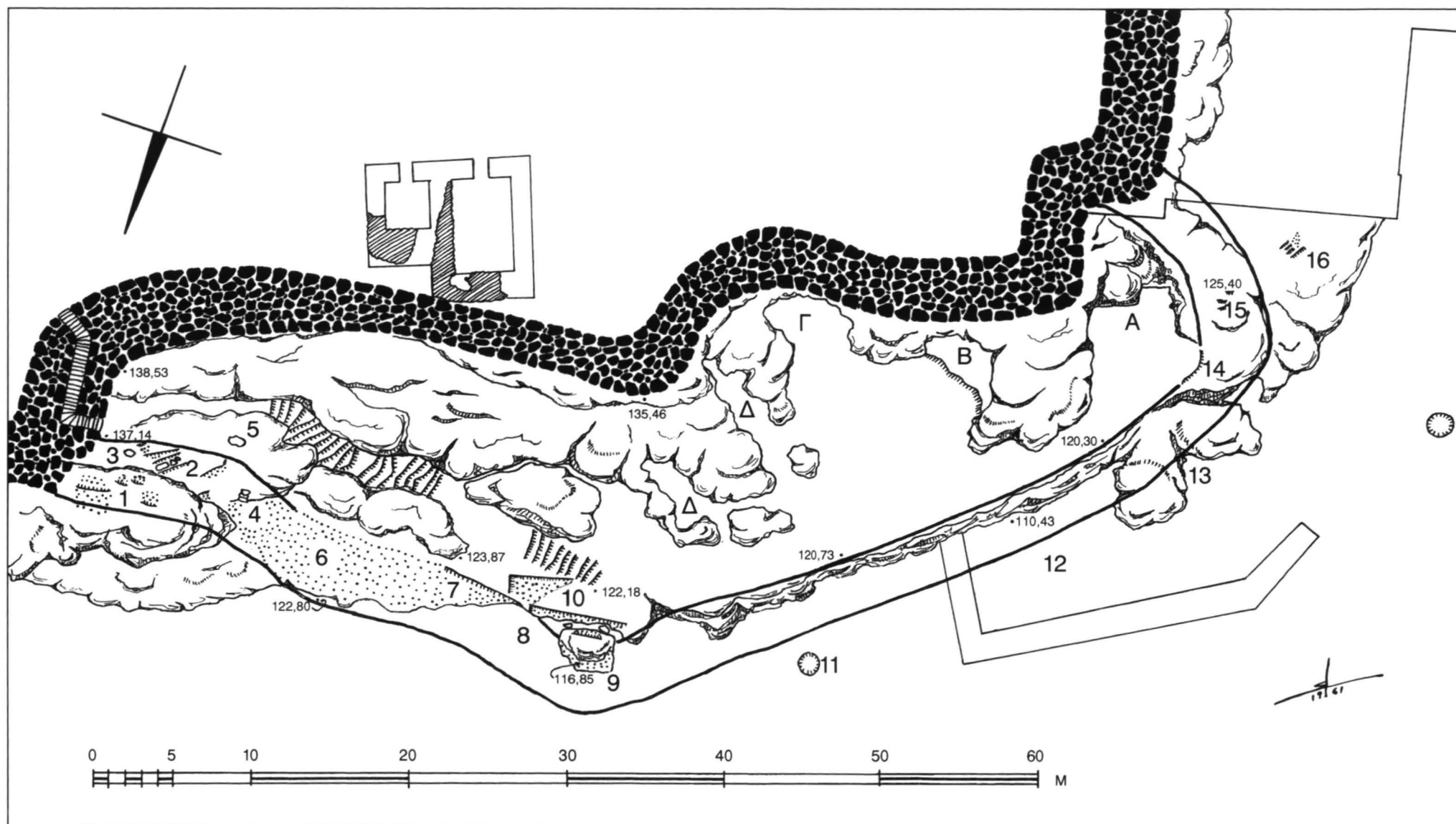
Rising above the point at which the NW descent begins, is the rock that fissured off from the main rock mass, as we have mentioned above. It forms a sort of natural fortification wall projecting toward the W and protecting the first metres of the descent (Plan 36, 1, and see Fig. 4). The top of this rock has been roughly worked to form a flat surface of about 1,50×1,50 m., which bears all the hallmarks of Mycenaean workmanship (Fig. 39). Further down, at various places on its S face, there are traces of similar cuttings, some horizontal and some obliquely vertical (Plan 36, 1). Within the fissure between the main rock and the projecting split-off, a number of large stones are wedged in at different levels. They are not shown on the plan because the rock conceals them. A series of cuttings have been made in the main rock mass, near the base of the projecting split-off and just to the S of it. They are more or less straight and cut with great care, parallel to each other and stepped, forming repeated small horizontal levels. In one of the most regular of these cuttings, three slabs are preserved *in situ* in a row (Plan 36, 2 and Fig. 40). On the same line, further east (Plan 36, 3), lies another, larger stone, this

too, *in situ*. W of all these, at 4, are three more stones, one on top of the other and in line with the previous ones. Both the stones and the cuttings around them were noticed by Köster.³⁷⁸ Since he did not see the tooling at the top or the cuttings in the S wall of the split-off rock, he interpreted them as isolated stones belonging to the supporting wall of the start of the descent. This, however, can be ruled out, quite apart from whether or not there are cuttings on the projecting split-off. Although on the plan the larger stone appears to be next to the previous ones, the differences in level are actually so great that such a supporting wall would have to have been very thick in order to reach as far as the stones. In terms of the construction it was supporting, this would have been excessive. The stone at 5 on Plan 36, as already noted, belongs to this construction (see also Plan 15, 2).

West of these traces, running obliquely in relation to the brow of the plateau of the Rock, is a large area, the surface of which has been smoothed by cutting projections where needed and by filling in existing hollows with small stones (Plan 36, 6). The surface gives every indication of having been prepared for the foundation of a fortification wall, resembling what we have seen at other places on the Acropolis. The S line of this worked surface leads to a point some 13 m. W of the end of the high projection of the rock. From this point on toward the W, the rock has not simply been smoothed. Since it rises toward the S, it has been cut to some depth, thus forming a deep cutting that is straight and runs obliquely in relation to the edge of the rock, which it meets some 6 m. W of its commencement. The cutting (Plan 36, 7), which increases steadily in depth toward the W, has fairly even sides, rounded corners and surfaces that are not particularly smooth. It has, in other words, the characteristics associated with Mycenaean workmanship as we know it (Fig. 41).

The course of the wall to this point is clear: the interior face, that to the S, follows the line leading from stone 3 to the cutting at 2 and the stones at 4. From there on, it coincides with the S boundary of the area 6 and the cutting at 7. At this point it descends toward the base of the rock and continues along it, as we shall see. The N line of the wall, founded on the worked surface at 1 on the top of the protruding rock that had split off, runs W leaving the N side of the protruding rock outside. It continues as far as the main mass

378. Pelargikon pp. 12-13.



Plan 36. The Pelargikon.



Fig. 39. The top and S face of the projection of the rock, from above.

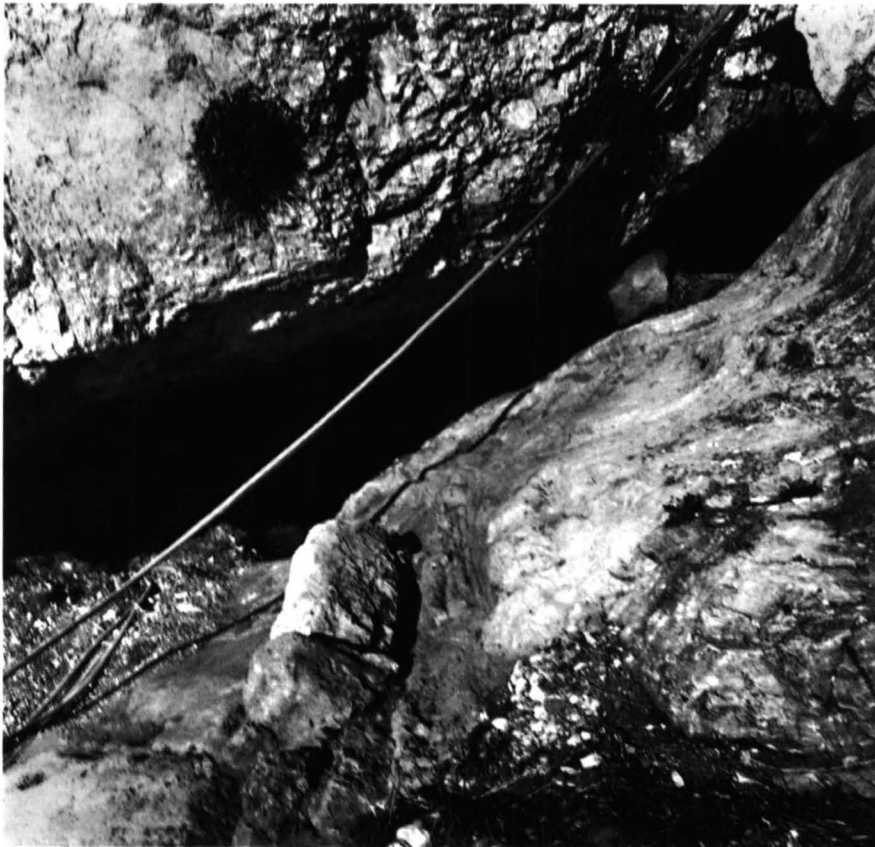


Fig. 40. Cuttings and stones of the Pelargikon in situ, from the W (Plan 36, 2).



Fig. 41. The oblique cutting at 7 on Plan 36, from the W. Below right, later working of the rock.

of the rock and follows the N line of the area at 6 to the point where that disappears at the brow. Here it too descends to the foot of the rock, and continues toward the W, parallel to the inner line. Given these two lines, the width of the wall at this place varies between 4,80 and 4 m.

A pile of enormous stones rests at the foot of the rock NW of 7, at 8 on Plan 36, which cannot possibly be the remains of the lower courses of the fortification wall. Kavvadias likewise had observed this,³⁷⁹ and thought that they belonged to a sloping ramp of some sort connecting the plateau of the caves

379. *Ephemeris* 1897, p. 28, pl. 1β.

with the lower city. Yet neither one nor the other holds. In the course of clearing them, it became evident that they were not founded on the rock but lay on fill containing sherds from the time of the Turkish occupation.

A fairly large piece of the wall is preserved just W of 8, almost touching the rock and separated from it by a narrow fissure, still containing a number of stones (Plan 36, 9). On its N side, some 3,50 m. below its top, there is a stretch of the rock that is worked horizontally to varying widths. It has been worked smooth, without corners and there is no trace of tooling. The line continues that of the worked rock surface at 7. This level unquestionably gives us the inner line of the wall, which at this point curves around this piece of the rock to continue toward the W. No trace remains of the outer line of the wall on the soft, crumbly schist at the base of the rock and it is therefore impossible to determine the width of the wall. The outer line can only be reconstructed as parallel to the inner, estimating a width of at least 3-3,50 m. While there is no need at this point for the security of a very wide wall, the width must be sufficient to allow its defenders to circulate.

Above 9, partly on the top of the section of the rock separated by the fissure and partly on the main mass, there are two long, narrow cuttings running E-W (Plan 36, 10), which are parallel neither to the Mycenaean remains nor to each other.³⁸⁰ While they have clearly been made for wall foundations, they are later. Their surfaces are smooth, they have regular corners and the sides of the cuttings are straight (see Fig. 41, lower right). Moreover they preserve clear traces of the metal tools used in the cutting. The difference between these and the Mycenaean worked surfaces at 7 is clear and easily understood. Thus there was a wall at some time in this place, Archaic or perhaps later, but in any case not Mycenaean.

As we have seen, the fortification wall along the line 7-8-9 ran from the brow down to the base of the rock. The reason is clear enough from the plan but even clearer on the ground. From this point westward begin the caves of Pan (Δ on Plan 36), Apollo (Β) and Zeus Olympios (Γ).³⁸¹ The distance

380. The cuttings were noted by Kavvadias (*Ephemeris* 1897, pl. 1, next to β) and by Parsons (*Hesperia* XII, 1943, pp. 227-228 and fig. 36, 3).

381. See Kavvadias, *Ephemeris* 1897, pp. 1-24, and Keramopoulos, *Deltion* 1929, p. 89.

between the various cave mouths themselves and to the brow of the rock is so small that it would have been impossible to build a fortification wall in this place without blocking the space completely and making any sort of circulation impossible. Yet since the area had to be fortified, the only way was to set the wall along the base of the rock. Apart from the fact that the wall could not have run along the top of the rock, there is other evidence for the course of the wall further W that is connected with its exterior line.

A circular well that was full of sherds³⁸² was revealed in the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies some 12 m. W of 9, and about 5 m. N of the vertical wall of the rock, at 11 on Plan 36. From bottom to top of the well the sherds are closely similar. Except for a few earlier pieces, they belong to the latest years of the LH IIIB and the first years of the LH IIIC periods. The fill at the top had been disturbed and mixed in with the earlier fill were a few fragments of a Roman lamp. Clearly the well was abandoned and filled in practically to the top by pottery of the period in which, as we shall see, the fortification wall had just been constructed and the N spring put into use. The disturbance of the upper layers of the well and the presence of Roman sherds show that the mouth had remained open and uncovered for a long time, perhaps centuries.

Two rectangular pits containing pottery of the same period, LH IIIB-C, were found further W, at 12 on Plan 36, beneath the Classical slab pavement identified by the American excavators as the courtyard of the Pythion.³⁸³

The first conclusion to be drawn is that the inhabitants of the area abandoned their wells when the N spring came into use. This appears to coincide approximately with the time when the little houses built on the pathway of

382. The well, together with its contents, is still unpublished. The Director of the Agora Excavations, H. Thompson, permitted me to consult the excavation day books referring to the well and to examine its contents. The architect, J. Travlos, placed at my disposal his plans of the area. The well is reported in the day book of the

excavation as Section OA, n° 19 and the contents are characterised as Submycenaean. In the present publication, I have recorded my personal observations after examination of the sherds from the well.

383. Shear, *Hesperia* X, 1941, p. 7 and fig. 7, Parsons, *Hesperia* XII, 1943, p. 206.

the NE approach were abandoned.³⁸⁴ This means either that the wells fell into disuse because the opening of the N Fountain made them redundant, or that both wells and houses were abandoned for reasons of security. If the wells were inside the fortification wall, there would have been no reason to abandon them. Quite otherwise, every effort would have been made to keep them in repair and, most likely, to open others. Thus, the well at 11 and the pits at 12 on Plan 36 were outside the wall, which cannot have run N of them. If the wall had been set on top of them, they would have been filled with the stones used in preparing the ground for the foundations. Neither stones nor compact filling were found and, as we have seen, the disturbance at the top of the well at 11, together with the homogeneity of the fill just below, show that the well had remained visible. Therefore the outer line of the wall ran S of the pits, between them and the vertical face of the rock. This gives us the approximate width of the wall, which, for reasons of security, cannot have come close to the edge. The width of 3-3,50 m. that we noted further E will have been retained for these reasons.

Just to the SW of 12 is the Klepsydra. At the spring site where the ancient fountain house stood, apart from the various additions, there are two small rocks. They are next to each other at the foot of the NW plateau. In antiquity they were joined, forming a little cave in which the spring flowed. At some time in the 1st century B.C., the roof of the cave collapsed leaving the rocks separated.

During the period we are discussing, there was only the small, low cave (Plan 36, 13). It appears not to have been completely connected to the precipitous rock behind it, but separated from it by a narrow irregular fissure. A number of boulders are preserved today in the lower part of the fissure, well wedged into their places and incorporated in the wall of the time of the War of Independence. We cannot know with certainty if these stones were there from the beginning and the wall was simply laid over them, or if they were found elsewhere and brought in as building material. Be that as it may, the wall, as we have followed it to 12, runs directly over the fissure and the little cave. This is evident from its next trace, which is just above and SW of

384. Broneer, *Hesperia* II, 1933, pp. 365-367, 372, figs 37-45.



Fig. 42. The rock above Klepsydra, from the E. Discernible in the middle of the photograph is the cutting 14 of Plan 36.

Klepsydra, on the edge of the plateau at 14 on Plan 36. The trace consists of a curved cutting, sloping and oriented obliquely toward the S (Fig. 42). It follows a line on the rock conforming with the W end of cave A.³⁸⁵ To the W of the cave the rock rises abruptly forming a narrow spine from NW to SE. It then drops off precipitously to the W, at the point where the Roman steps

385. Stepped cuttings at various places around and at the mouth of the cave are clearly later, probably Classical and there-

fore not shown on the plan (see Kavvadias, *Ephemeris* 1897, pl. 1, $\alpha 1$, $\alpha 2$, $\alpha 3$).

were cut connecting Klepsydra with the W entrance to the Acropolis. The rock configuration is such as to prevent any access to the area west of the Propylaia from cave A. The cutting at **14** is at a low level, at the beginning of the spine of the rock. It is unquestionably Mycenaean work, precisely of the sort needed for founding the wall on the abrupt and slippery edge of the rock. It coincides with the line of the interior face. Up to this point the wall was built along the foot of the rock and adapted to the rock face. It now turns SE and climbs up the rock again, making use of the high, narrow spine, which in a way forms its natural continuation, just as the jutting rock at **1** (Plan **36**) was utilised. Indeed this is verified by the cuttings on the sharp peak of the spine at **15**, Plan **36**. The cuttings, short and not very deep, with rounded edges and corners and surfaces summarily smoothed, are stepped precisely in order to hold the big stones of the fortification wall so that they are securely founded on the rock. They are just where you would expect to find such cuttings. They show the course of the wall, which is in any case the only course possible given the rock formation. The Pelargikon continues in this direction, rising continuously and, after a course of a few metres, meeting the stretch of the Cyclopean wall that corresponds to the NW corner of the Pinakotheke, as we have already seen.

West of this last section of the wall and further down, the rock juts out at an angle, descending toward the NW. On this projection there are four stepped cuttings that run SE in a direction parallel to it (Plan **36**, **16**). The surface of the rock above the first cutting was trimmed in Classical times for the foundation of the fortification wall W of the Pinakotheke. Below the lowest cutting, the rock formation has been changed considerably in connection with the construction of the Klepsydra and even more so for the foundations of the bastion of Androutsos. As a result of all this, the continuation of the steps upwards and downwards no longer exists. The approach is clearly pre-Classical since it is cut off at the SE by the Classical fortification wall. Both workmanship and proportions of the rock-cut steps are moreover indubitably Mycenaean. There can be no doubt that these are steps and they were in use for a long time as can be seen from the surface of the treads, which has been worn smooth. There appears to have been an access here leading from the level of the wells to the west entrance of the Acropolis, along the Cyclopean wall.

Thus we have the full extent of the Pelargikon, based on the evidence provided by the area itself. The first section of the course of the wall, represent-

ing about 1/3 of the total, has left traces that are incontestable and easily discernible (Plan 36, 1-9). Similar traces remain from the last metres as well (Plan 36, 14-15). The middle section has left no traces at all. Yet the evidence provided by the spring and the pits is such that the line as a whole can be calculated precisely.

The boundaries and extent thus determined agree perfectly with the information in the ancient sources. Indeed, the area is below the Acropolis of Classical times and it is not far from the Erechtheion. It is rocky and it includes the cave of Pan, which is just above the fortification. The trireme carrying the peplos followed the Panathenaic Way, reaching the level of the cave after circumventing the Eleusinion, went a little further along and stopped where the gradient became very steep, beside the Pythion. As a unit the Pelargikon was clearly distinct from the Asklepieion, the Areopagus, the tomb of Talos, the Anakeion, the Eleusinion and the Pythion. Moreover it was large enough for refugees to stay in it. We can well imagine it full of stones that had rolled down from the Cyclopean wall of the Acropolis or had remained from its construction, with all kinds of greens and weeds sprouting from amongst the stones, in those days just as now. As for the sanctuaries and altars, Kavvadias' excavation brought to light quite a few such constructions. The poorest and most haphazard of these will, no doubt, have been erased by the passage of time.

The Pelargikon as a space will evidently have been closed all around, communicating only with the top of the rock by way of the NW ascent. In this chapter we have explained why an ascent or descent to the foot of the rock is unlikely. In any case it was not needed. The area was clearly meant to be used by the population as a refuge in times of danger or siege. Communication with the outside was quite unnecessary and a gate would probably have been dangerous. Contact with the Acropolis was assured by the NW ascent and the top of the wall was secure for the defenders.

It was also, and perhaps principally, constructed for purposes of security, specifically to close off and make the area of the caves inaccessible and unsailable by attackers. Because of the caves, moreover, the area could be inhabited (just as it was later on during the Peloponnesian War). The chief merit, however, of this addition is that it fortified a part of the rock that was lower down, thus open to enemy attack and with its caves would have made an excellent base for an attacker who could have occupied it. The very formation of

the rock demanded the fortification of the Pelargikon, yet the difference in level prevented its inclusion within the main fortification wall. The solution of fortifying the lower level created the ideal *Unterburg*, increased the security of the fortification system as a whole, and provided at the same time an area suitable for refugees.

There is no precise evidence for its date. The way in which it was joined to the main fortification wall shows that it must have been built at the same time. The evidence from the well at 11 (Plan 36) leads to the same conclusion. There is no reason at all to believe that the Pelargikon was later than the Mycenaean fortification wall, while there is every reason to believe that it was contemporary.

THE SLOPES

Apart from a section of the north slope, the Acropolis slopes have never been systematically explored. Thus what Mycenaean material has surfaced, is limited and has usually come to light in the course of exploration carried out for other aims and interests. Yet every excavation reveals new evidence showing that the area as a whole was inhabited during Mycenaean times, so that we are justified in assuming that the lack of evidence is likely to be due simply to lack of exploration.

From the west slope there is no material. The first evidence begins to surface in the Klepsydra area, beneath the NW corner of the rock. Three new wells were added to the older ones. They were dug in Mycenaean times and were in use down to the end of the period. There are also the two pits that were found beneath the Classical paving of the Pythion.³⁸⁶ The excavations of Broneer to the east of the Pelargikon showed that the area between the rock and the peripatos to the N of it had been systematically inhabited. Yet except for the large amount of pottery retrieved, no durable evidence for its use survived other than a few uncertain traces of Mycenaean houses, which in the meantime had disappeared.³⁸⁷ Scattered ceramic finds in the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, and the existence of the sloping pathway leading to it, earlier even than Mycenaean show that the place was in use, and that it was indeed a cult place during the years we are examining.³⁸⁸ The first concrete evidence, however, is to be found in the area of the NE ascent.

386. Shear, *Hesperia* IX, 1940, p. 297; 539-540, 559 etc., Broneer, *AJA* 1940, p. X, 1941, p. 7, fig. 7, Parsons, *Hesperia* XII, 255.
1943, p. 206.

387. Morgan, *Hesperia* IV, 1935, pp. 189-213, Hansen, *Hesperia* VI, 1937, pp.

388. Broneer, *Hesperia* I, 1932, p. 35; IV, 1935, p. 124.

After this pathway was abandoned, a few small, poor houses were built, as we have seen, over the pathway itself and the steps. Because of the steep slope of the rock and the poor construction of the houses, only remains of a few walls and parts of floors survived (Plan 37, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6); so few and in such poor condition that it was impossible to retrieve their original plans or even to determine their exact boundaries.³⁸⁹

The houses were part of a more extensive settlement³⁹⁰ and they were not in use for very long. Indeed they were abandoned not long after they were built and they were left in some haste, as it appears from the position of the finds that were lying on the floors.³⁹¹ Some imminent threat of danger will no doubt have been the cause. Yet the settlement remains show no signs of destruction by force, so it appears the danger ultimately passed them by. Even so, the abandonment of the settlement was final and the houses were never occupied again.³⁹²

The sherds from beneath the house floors and found *in situ* abandoned on the floors give the dates of construction and of abandonment of the houses. They provide, moreover, important evidence for the chronology of the final phase of the Mycenaean Acropolis.

The east slope with its enormous cave³⁹³ has not to date yielded any evidence. From the south slope, a few sherds have been collected from the area of the Odeion of Pericles.³⁹⁴ A hearth of LH IIIB-C times is reported to have been found in the temenos of Dionysos and a fill of the same period in which the later peribolos wall of the sanctuary was founded. To this should be added a considerable amount of pottery found scattered at various spots nearby.³⁹⁵ Similar traces were discovered likewise on the SW slope in the form of pot-

389. Broneer, *Hesperia* II, 1933, pp. 352-355, 365-367, 372; IV, 1935, pp. 111-112, pl. I.

390. Broneer, *Hesperia* IV, 1935, p. 113.

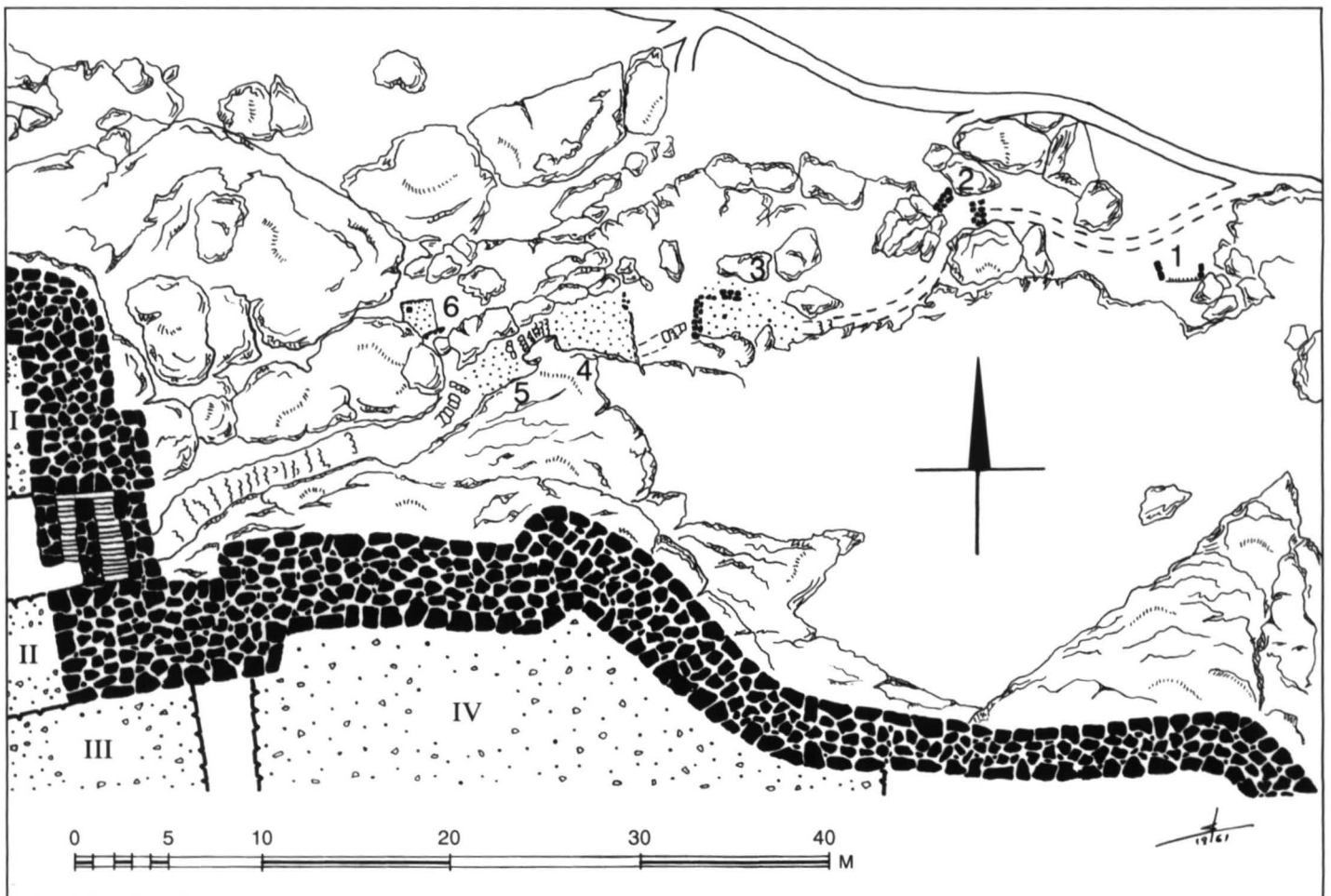
391. Broneer, *Hesperia* II, 1933, p. 355; IV, 1935, p. 111.

392. Broneer, *Hesperia* II, 1933, p. 355, *Antiquity* 1956, p. 12.

393. Broneer, *Hesperia* II, 1933, pp. 415-417, Broneer-Pease, *Hesperia* V, 1936, pp. 247-272.

394. J. Travlos, *Praktika* 1951, p. 44 and fig. 3.

395. Newspaper *Kathemerini*, 27 Febr. 1962.



Plan 37. The remains of the little Mycenaean houses built over the NE ascent.

tery fragments recovered from disturbed levels S of the Odeion of Herodes Attikos,³⁹⁶ and from two wells, one a few metres S of the Odeion of Herodes Attikos, the other just behind the rear wall of the Stoa of Eumenes.³⁹⁷ Both contained late Mycenaean sherds, evidence that the area was not without inhabitants in that time.

396. *Ergon* 1956, p. 7.

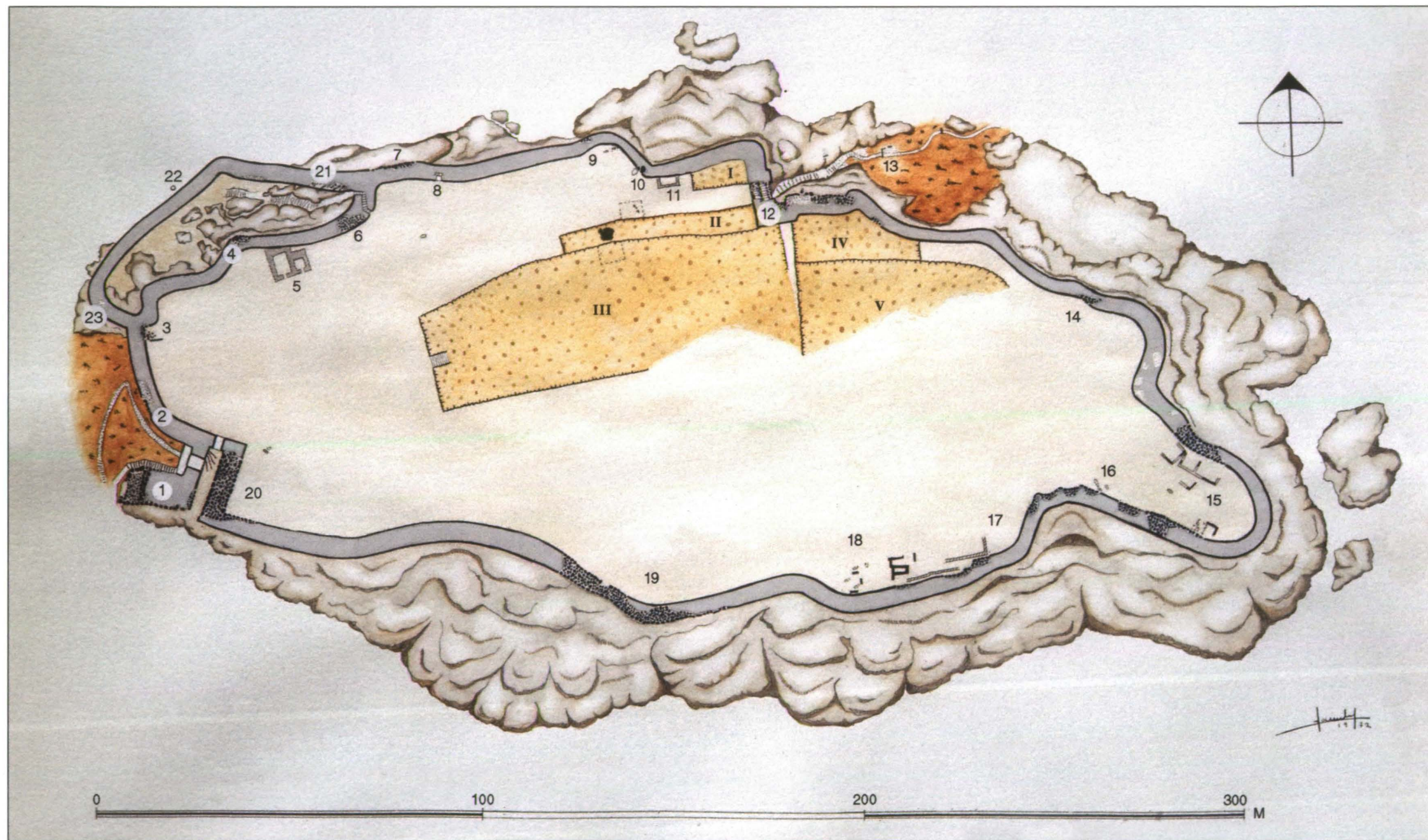
397. I am indebted to the excavators for this information, which has not yet been published. The first well was excavated in

1959 by the Director of the Acropolis, J. Meliades, the second by E. Fiandra of the Italian Archaeological School.

THE THIRD PHASE AS A WHOLE

The Acropolis at the end of the Mycenaean period presented much the same picture as that seen in other contemporary citadels. The fortification wall surrounded the top of the rock, running along the brow. It had a double entrance with two approaches (Plan 38, 1) protected by a tall bastion, placed, as at Mycenae, to the right of the entrance as you approach it. Lower down, on the NW side of the rock, the extension of the fortification known as the Pelargikon (Plan 38, 2) enclosed the flat area with the caves, communicating with the rock by way of the NW passageway (Plan 38, 3). Further east, at 4, was the descent to the N spring and the cave of Aglauros (Plan 38, 5). The NE approach was no longer in use. It was cut off at the top by the building of the fortification wall. Lower down, small short-lived houses concealed it (Plan 38, 6). Within the fortification, the visitor to the Acropolis came upon the W façade of house 3 and east of that, complex 5, probably a guard-house. To the N are terraces I, II, III, IV and V, on which stood the palace. W of terrace I there was the earlier Late Helladic building. Erected at the SE corner were buildings 15, the nearby guard-house, and also graves 16. Houses 17 and the group of graves at 18 (Plan 38) are against the S wall, further to the W. On the NW slope there are wells around 22. Traces of habitation, few but clear, were found on the S slope and, on the SW slope, not marked on the plan, there are two more wells in the area of the Odeion of Herodes Attikos.

Thus the imposing fortress rose from the midst of a thickly inhabited area, the seat of the dynast of Athens and symbol of his power.



Plan 38. The Acropolis during the final years of the Mycenaean period.

CHRONOLOGY

THE WALL

There are various kinds of evidence for dating the building of the wall, direct and indirect, all of which agree with each other in determining the following chronology.

1. HOUSES OF THE NE ASCENT. The date of building of the little houses, which, as we saw, stood on the pathway after the wall was constructed, provide an indisputable *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the wall and, chiefly, that of their abandonment.

The pottery found on the house floors provides the date of their abandonment,³⁹⁸ and comprises both complete and fragmentary vases. They are datable in the first years of LH IIIC times. Collected in addition were sherds that evidently belong to the time when the settlement was functioning, going back to the last years of the LH IIIB period.³⁹⁹

It is clear, especially from the kylikes found,⁴⁰⁰ that the settlement was inhabited during the later years of LH IIIB, and abandoned at the beginning of LH IIIC. Since the houses were not in use for long, as witness their poor construction, we may conclude that the NE ascent was closed and the wall built shortly before the end of LH IIIB.

2. SHERDS FROM THE S WALL. In 1938, Kolbe excavated inside the wall SE of the Museum. He collected sherds that he termed Late Mycenaean and dated them to around 1200 B.C. In a fill next to the SW corner of the Parthenon, that had not been touched by Kavvadias, he found also fragments of a stirrup

398. Broneer, *Hesperia* II, 1933, pp. 365-367, figs 39-45.

399. *Ibid.* figs 37-38, see also *ibid.* pp. 365-367, *Antiquity* 1956, p. 12, and Furu-

mark, *Chronology* pp. 19-20, 77.

400. Broneer, *Hesperia* II, 1933, p. 372 and fig. 44, Mountjoy pp. 45-46.

jar, one of which was among the stones of the fortification wall. This vase too is termed Late Mycenaean.⁴⁰¹ Broneer, who saw these finds, discovered that they had been found together with many fragments of plain kylikes and cups and he dated them to LH IIIB2.⁴⁰² These finds provide direct evidence that the wall was built at that time.

3. SHERDS FROM THE BASTION OF THE W ENTRANCE. Sherds were recovered from within the fill of the Mycenaean bastion, the latest of which is described by Welter as Late Mycenaean - LH III and dated to ca. 1200 B.C.⁴⁰³ According to Broneer, they are contemporary with the sherds from the spring and with those found by Kolbe, thus belonging to late LH IIIB times.⁴⁰⁴

4. SHERDS FROM THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE N WALL, BESIDE THE MEDIAEVAL BUTTRESS (see Plans 21, 6; 22, 4; 39, 5, and Appendix II, group 5). These sherds were gathered during the clearing of the stones of the wall and come from the yellowish earth joining the stones to the rock. Most of them, including the latest, belong to LH IIIB2.

The conclusions to be drawn from a study of this material are twofold. First, the wall was built in its entirety at one and the same time. This is evident from the fact that the finds collected from various different places (the N wall next to the buttress, the NE ascent, the SE wall, the S wall, the W bastion) all agree. Second, it was built at the end of LH IIIB times. On the basis of what is known, this will have been towards the end of the 13th century B.C.

THE OTHER BUILDINGS

1. NORTH FOUNTAIN. It was in use for no more than twenty-five years. Much pottery was recovered from the period of its construction and use, and also from its subsequent abandonment. The pottery that dates its period of use

401. *AA* 1939, p. 235, *FuF* 1939, p. 428,
Bericht VI Intern. Kongr. Archäologie 1940,
 p. 345, *Research and Progress* 1940, p. 257.

402. *Hesperia* VIII, 1939, p. 423, n. 176,

Antiquity 1956, p. 13, Mountjoy p. 40.

403. *AA* 1939, pp. 6 and 14.

404. *Antiquity* 1956, p. 13.

belongs to the last years of LH IIIB.⁴⁰⁵ In addition, a study of the pottery from the houses on the NE ascent provides a more exact dating of its construction in relation to the building of the wall. As Broneer observed, the later shapes, numerous among the finds from the fountain, are missing in the pottery from the houses built on the NE ascent.⁴⁰⁶ This means that they were abandoned while the fountain was still in use. This excludes the possibility that the fountain precedes the houses, as it would have if it had been constructed at the same time as the wall. For however short the duration of the settlement, it cannot have been shorter than the use of the fountain, since it lasted throughout the entire time of transition from LH IIIB to LH IIIC. The houses, therefore, abandoned before the fountain went out of use, were evidently built shortly before the fountain or, at most, at the same time. The wall, earlier than the houses, likewise precedes the fountain, which thus appears to have been a later addition. It may well be that the work of founding the wall led to the discovery of the underground vein and thus to the construction of the fountain, in this case soon after the wall was erected. In any case, not long after the fountain was built, during the middle years of LH IIIC to judge by the Granary style pottery which has just made its appearance,⁴⁰⁷ it fell into disuse and served instead as a dump until Early Protogeometric times.

2. HOUSES ON THE NE ASCENT. As we have seen, the houses were built immediately after the wall and were in use until the beginning of LH IIIC. It is noteworthy that they were abandoned while the North Fountain was still being used and before it fell into disrepair.

405. Broneer, *Hesperia* VIII, 1939, pp. 416-423, Daniel, *AJA* 1940, pp. 552-559, Furumark, *OpArch* 1944, pp. 196-197, Broneer, *Antiquity* 1956, p. 13, W. Gauss (who follows J. B. Rutter) in S. Deger-Jalkotzy (ed.), *The Beginnings of the Dark Ages in Greece: LH IIIC Chronology and Synchronisms* (Wien 2003) pp. 93-102.

406. The latest of the vases from the fill of the fountain are conspicuously absent among the pottery from the houses (Broneer, *Hesperia* VIII, 1939, p. 424).

407. *Ibid.* pp. 349, 366, Daniel, *AJA* 1940, p. 558, Broneer, *AJA* 1948, p. 112, Mountjoy p. 40.

3. GRAVES NEXT TO THE SE CORNER (Plan 38, 16). The largest tomb alone was equipped with plain pottery, placed beside the head of the dead.⁴⁰⁸ The shape of the vase dates it to advanced LH IIIC times.⁴⁰⁹

4. BRICK WALL SE OF THE PARTHENON (Plan 38, 17). Only two of the sherds found together with the bronzes between this wall and the fortification wall have been published and illustrated.⁴¹⁰ The latest of the two, the lower part of which is illustrated, shows the lower part of a human figure. It is LH IIIC1 in style and it dates the hoard of bronzes and the mud-brick wall.

5. GRAVES S OF THE PARTHENON (Plan 38, 18). Apart from two pebbles, the graves contained a krateriskos of reddish, not very fine clay, painted unevenly brown inside and out except for the base.⁴¹¹ Like the vase from the other grave, it is advanced LH IIIC in date.

There is no chronological information for the other buildings. The habitations of the SE corner must have been contemporary with the graves in the area. The sherds found with the bronzes support this view. It is clear in any case that all the houses were built after the wall and that the Acropolis was inhabited down to Protogeometric times.

408. Kavvadias-Kawerau pp. 29, 95, Kavvadias, *Deltion* 1888, p. 170, Wolters in Graef-Langlotz I p. XXXIV, figs 5 and 6.

409. Furumark, *MP* p. 36, fig. 8, n° 58.

410. *AM* 1888, p. 108, *BCH* 1888, pp. 244-245, Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 37, Kavvadias, *Deltion* 1888, p. 30, Montelius, *VHAM*

1889, p. 58, figs 22 and 23, *La Grèce* p. 156, figs 500-501, Graef-Langlotz I n°s 202 and 222.

411. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 37, Kavvadias, *Deltion* 1888, p. 83, *AM* 1888, p. 228, Graef-Langlotz I n° 176.

THE THIRD PHASE

Thus the general picture that emerges from the existing evidence is as follows:

LH IIIB2	The entire wall together with the W bastion is erected. Immediately afterwards, the houses of the NE ascent are built. The North Fountain is constructed.	The Acropolis is turned into a fortified citadel. It is inhabited by the ruler and some of his subjects
LH IIIB2-IIIC1	The North Fountain is in use. The houses of the NE ascent are abandoned.	
LH IIIC2 Beginning of the Granary Class	The North Fountain is given up. Houses are built within the Acropolis.	
LH IIIC, down to the beginning of Protogeometric times	The Acropolis is inhabited by the ruler and some of his subjects.	

III. CONSTRUCTION METHODS

THE TERRACES

The terrace walls were not built consistently everywhere. The factors determining their construction were their height and the formation of the rock behind them, that is, the mass and weight of earth that they had to bank. This determined the type of foundation, the size of stones used and the thickness of the walls.

If required by the slope and anomalies of the rock, the surface where the wall was to be set was first prepared. A characteristic example of this sort of preparation is the trench in which the W terrace wall of terrace III was set. The rock was only slightly hollowed out, enough to hold the lowest course of the outer side in place. A shallow trench was thus cut that followed a straight line and was distinct only along the outer side of the terrace. The working of the hollow of the bed of the trench depended on the surface of the rock within it, deeper where the surface was higher, shallower where it was already lower. Thus the bed of the trench, while actually sloping from S to N, appears to be more or less level. Its greatest depth, 0,35 m., is at about the middle lengthwise toward the W rim of the trench. A blunt stone tool was employed that left no trace on the rock and produced rounded edges and corners. The working of these surfaces, the boundaries of which are not always clear, is limited mainly to the trimming of projections that interfered with setting the big stones and to creating a rim along the outer side of the trench to hold the blocks in place. The bed of the cutting is in any case barely even and it can easily be distinguished from the later smooth cuttings in the rock (Fig. 43).

Any depression in the rock, either in the bed of the trench or just outside it, was filled with a mixture of mud and small stones, thus forming an underpinning for the big blocks of the terrace wall.

This preparation was not carried out everywhere, but only where it was considered necessary. In some cases another less costly and troublesome method was employed. A series of fairly small stones was set along the length



Fig. 43. Preparation of the rock for the foundations of the terrace walls: the bed of the trench W of the supporting wall of terrace III.

of the line of the terrace face. Their height and width was such as to level the surface on which the large stones were set. These small stones were chosen carefully, well wedged into place and held by the weight of the wall that covered them. They formed an exceedingly stable foundation (Fig. 44).

The wall itself was then constructed of large or small stones, according to need. Gaps in the façade were filled in with smaller stones. On the inner side, in addition to small stones, a yellowish clay was used, not as filler between the stones but to seal the joins of the Cyclopean construction so that the earth of the terraces would not wash out.

The big stones were set on the outer side, which was the visible side of the terrace wall (Fig. 16). They were, as a rule, smaller than the stones used for the fortification walls and the surfaces were less smooth. The construction was indifferent, the greatest attention, naturally enough, focussed on the outer side only. The stones of the interior were smaller and unevenly laid, as a fill rather than in straight courses.



Fig. 44. Foundation of the terrace wall directly on the uneven rock without cutting: the NW corner of terrace IV from the W.

The thickness of the supporting walls varied according to circumstances, but in general ranged between 1 and 1,50 m. Only in the W wall of terrace III, the largest and most heavily built of all, is this width surpassed. In places where the terrace was lower, the stones are smaller and the walls are narrower.

THE FORTIFICATION

The few sections of the wall preserved and visible today show an unusually good quality of workmanship and very careful construction. Indeed the builders paid far more attention to its stability and durability than to aesthetic results. Yet they were not entirely oblivious to this aspect. A number of refinements show both a highly developed building skill and an attempt to give the wall a form that suggests an aesthetic approach to its final appearance.

The wall is founded everywhere directly on the rock, at the very edge. The rock is, to be sure, uneven and at most places the surface had therefore to be worked before laying the foundations. The preparation is of two main types.

Where the rock slopes and a limited area needs to be worked, the surface has been carefully cut to form parallel stepped levels with smooth surfaces, rounded corners and ends more or less regular. Such cuttings are visible today in front of the Pinakotheke, at the beginning of the Pelargikon and above the NE ascent (see Figs 17, 23, 39, 40). Where the rock is approximately level, all projections have been removed, producing thus a rough and uneven surface but one suitable for the stability of the wall foundations. Preparations of this sort are visible today at the E wall, between the Belvedere and the Museum, and on the surface at the edge of the plateau just after the beginning of the Pelargikon. Actual construction of the wall itself followed these initial preparations. The large Cyclopean blocks were founded either directly on the rock or on a series of smaller stones providing the necessary level surface, as were the terrace walls. This method has been employed primarily along the inner face where the lower courses are hidden by fill and do not show.

From the standpoint of construction, the wall is made up of two thick parallel faces, the outer and the inner, carefully built of large, heavy stones laid in irregular courses in the Cyclopean style. Small stones fill the spaces between the massive stones, thus blocking the gaps and providing a more stable support for the course above (Fig. 24). Between the two faces is the core, carelessly made of smaller stones joined with the yellowish insulating clay we have seen in the terrace walls, and of which very little remains in the visible sections today. The usual building material was Acropolis limestone, with occasional pieces of schist or stone from the Pnyx. The blocks used for the faces are generally of large proportions.⁴¹² If not naturally smooth, the surfaces may show traces of hammering to achieve a smooth and level face (Fig. 45), as at Tiryns.⁴¹³ The Acropolis rock itself is a good source for large stones with a smooth surface because many small veins of a softer composition run through it in all directions, so that large pieces with relatively flat surfaces can be bro-

412. The outer side of the wall comprises stones usually with a maximum dimension of 1 m. The largest of those accessible, measuring 1,90×1,35 m., 1,80×1,15 m.,

1,70×0,65 m., are in the leg of the wall S of the Propylaia. The average size of stones used is 0,90-1,10×0,55-0,75 m.

413. Müller, *Tiryns* III p. 178, fig. 79.

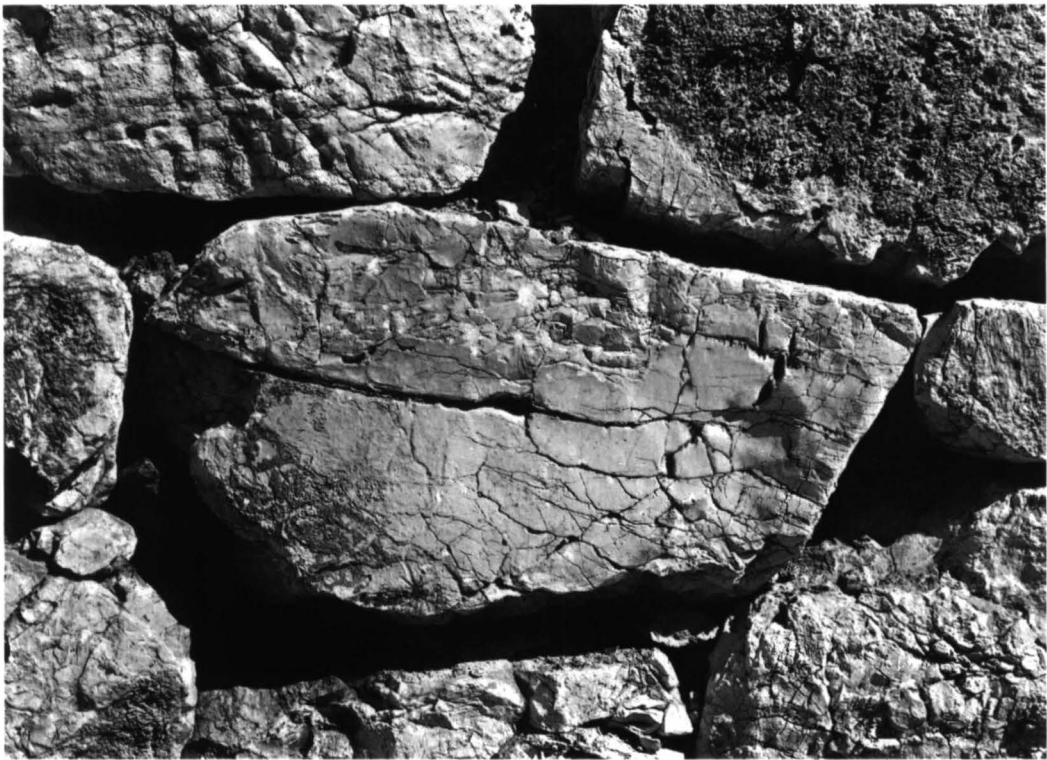


Fig. 45. Block of the inner face of the SE fortification wall, showing traces of hammering on the surface.

ken off. From the material collected, the builders obviously chose the largest and best pieces for the faces of the wall.

The wall faces are generally vertical, to the extent allowed by the material. Wherever there is a deviation from the vertical, it was clearly not by design.

Where the wall runs along in a straight line or curves, the construction is simple and presents no problems. If there is an abrupt change of course or of size, the construction may differ from the usual and it is worth noting the building technique employed. A characteristic example is provided by the inside corner at the end of the S wall and beginning of the W, to the S of the Propylaia (Plan 33, 2, 3). At that point, where the two legs of the wall meet to form an acute angle, the foundation on the rock is common to both. It comprises small, irregular stones placed so as to form a curving and irregular corner (Fig. 46). The differentiation of the two legs begins from the present surface upwards (coinciding with the height of the Mycenaean fill), at the

point of the first vertical joint. At this level, the interior line of the S leg extends some 2,50 m. within the width of the W wall. This had been observed by Kawerau,⁴¹⁴ who concluded that the S leg had been constructed after the W and added to it. This, however, is not the case because, as we have seen, the foundation is in one piece, and because the extension of the line of the S leg is not more than half of the width of the W leg. It is due simply to the method used to achieve a regular joint above the level at which it was visible. First they built the outer face of the W leg and the shared interior foundation. Then they built the inner face of the S leg, carrying it for some distance within the width of the W leg, and finally the inner face of the W wall was added, the end of which, built against the straight surface of the S leg, thus made a fairly regular vertical joint (Fig. 46).

Another example of interest is the bastion of the W entrance. In this place they had to construct a large bastion of considerable height, compact and founded on the sloping spur of the rock. If it had been built like the wall, with an outer casing of massive stones and an inner compact fill of small stones and earth, the tremendous weight of the fill, increased by natural compression (settling), would have broken the W face of the bastion, which in any case was subject to the greatest thrust because of the slope. This they avoided by building within the bastion a strong cross-wall, that ran parallel to the W wall some 4,50 m. within it. It was founded not directly on the rock but on the embankment of the fill,⁴¹⁵ and held the fill to the E, thus greatly relieving the load on the W façade. Since it was also built into the side walls of the bastion, it joined the whole construction together solidly.

The thickness of the fortification wall was not constant throughout. In places where both faces are preserved, the greatest thickness, in the stretch S of the Propylaia, reaches 6 m. East of the Museum it is at its narrowest, 3,60 m.⁴¹⁶ For the stretches that have not survived, we cannot be so sure, although the various existing indications give a fair approximation. At a mini-

414. Kavvadias - Kawerau pp. 141-143, pl. H.

415. Balanos, *Ephemeris* 1937 Γ, p. 788. Bundgaard (*Mnesikles* p. 69), did not con-

sider this and interpreted it as a terrace wall, unconnected with the bastion.

416. See n. 275.



Fig. 46. The foundation of the SW corner of the fortification wall by the Propylaia.

mum it will have been at least 3 m. Quite apart from the question of stability, this will have been necessary for reasons of security in case of siege, since for purely constructional reasons, a thickness greater than around 1,50-2 m. is not statically necessary for walls of that height and type of construction. The top of the wall, however, had to be wide enough to accommodate the circulation of the defenders, allowing them enough room to fight. This is the sole reason why the width of the wall, as we have seen, is increased to 5 and 6 metres at the vulnerable and easily approached spots in the fortification, such as the entrances, for at the points where the main thrust of the enemy force would be directed, as many fighters as possible would have to be assembled and they needed room to manoeuvre freely.

Nowhere is the full height of the wall preserved, nor have we any clear indications. On the basis of what evidence we have, we estimate a height of at least around 8-10 m. The W bastion may have been higher.⁴¹⁷

THE NORTH FOUNTAIN

The daring, imagination and practical outlook of the technicians of the time are pre-eminently evident in the construction of the descent to the North Fountain. The difficulties they had to face lay not only in the steepness of the descent within a narrow, dark fissure deep in the rock, but also in the fact that the walls of the fissure were uneven, with projections and angles constantly changing the shape of the fissure itself. The fact that in the eight flights of the descent, the method of construction was altered four times, shows an unusual degree of adaptation to the technical problems.

The beginning of the descent is precisely at the edge of the main mass of the Acropolis rock. The edge has been worked so as to form a regular step with a rounded edge, smooth and straight, facing N. The step leads to a level, within the fissure, forming a landing. The traces of the Mycenaean descent begin precisely at 0,45 m. below the step. The traces, however, are those of the support for the beginning of the stairway, so that the thickness of the top step, clearly wooden, must be subtracted from the 0,45 m. The first step of the descent will thus have had a height of around 0,30 m.

Below this landing, the descent begins. The first two flights were constructed as follows. In each wall of the fissure a series of two facing and corresponding rows of somewhat irregular hemispherical cuttings were made by means of a stone hammer. The line follows the descent of the stairway. While nearly all the cuttings are preserved on the S face of the fissure, on the opposite side later cuttings have all but obliterated the traces. The only one well preserved and accessible today has a diameter of 0,14 m., while others reach 0,17 m. The space between them ranges from 0,35 to 0,60 m. and the difference in height from one to the next is around 0,18 m.

417. See *supra*, pp. 186-187. The wall today 8,25 m. high, clearly lower than its original crown, which has not survived.

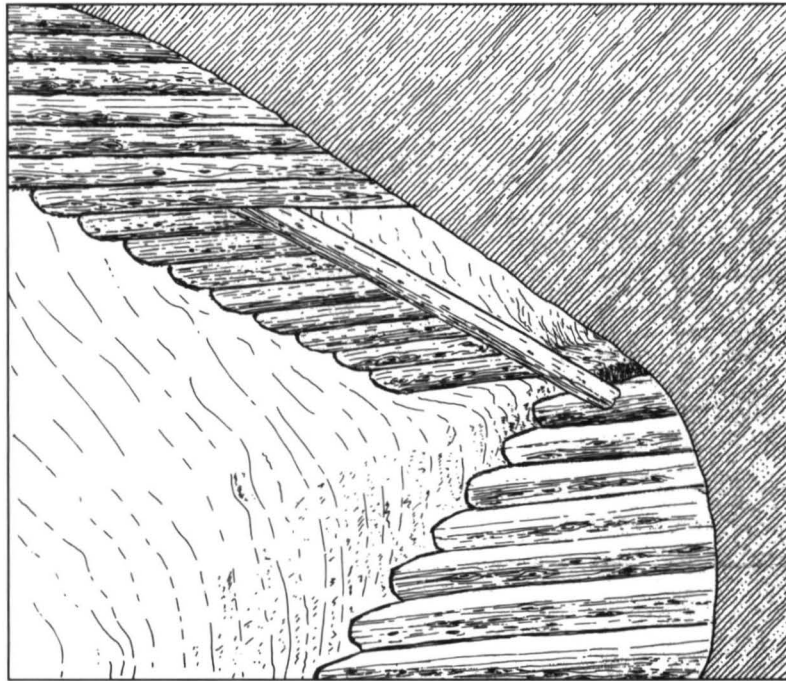


Fig. 47. Reconstruction drawing of the construction of the upper sections of the descent to the North Fountain (Broneer, Hesperia VIII, 1939, fig. 6).

The hollows are sockets for wooden beams, round in section, that were placed horizontally across the fissure to support the wooden steps. On the basis of the above measurements, we have a series of beams averaging 0,15 m. in diameter, that supported steps with a tread 0,30-0,60 m. wide and a riser with an average height of 0,18 m. This system of construction could not be continued unchanged as far as the end of the first flight to the beginning of the second, or the second to the third, because it took up the entire space of the fissure. Indeed, at these turning points hollows have been cut in only one side of the fissure, leaving an empty space corresponding to 8 steps at the end of the first section and 10 steps at the end of the second. Here the steps were inserted in only one side of the fissure. They ended at about the middle of the width where they rested on a slanting beam, the upper end of which rested on the last full step of the flight and the lower end on the landing where the flight ended (Fig. 47). Since, as Broneer observed and as the visitor can see, there was continuous circulation of air to the bottom of the fissure and therefore very little dampness, there was little danger of the wood rotting, and if



Fig. 48. Reconstruction of the third, fourth and fifth sections of the descent to the North Fountain (Broneer, Hesperia VIII, 1939, fig. 18).

need arose the stairs could always be replaced piecemeal. The last part of the second flight and the beginning of the third have left no traces, apparently because these steps and the landing between them were founded on fill in the fissure. From this point downwards, the construction changes again. Wooden steps could not be kept in repair at this depth because of the dampness. Another solution was therefore found for the third, fourth and fifth flights, the details of which emerge from traces on the rock and from destroyed remains of the stairway. At intervals less than 1 m. a series of wooden beams were placed upright, at a distance from the wall of the rock equal to the width of the stairway. The lower ends stood in hollows like those made for the previous ones, but cut vertically into the rock. The beams were joined at various points with others, which ran horizontally into the wall of the fissure where the ends were held in rock-cut hollows. The construction was reinforced by



Fig. 49. The two final sections of the descent to the North Fountain, built on the rock (Broneer, Hesperia VIII, 1939, fig. 19).

other beams, horizontal and parallel to the wall of the rock. These were fastened to the interior of the vertical beams, which were thus held in place. This formed a wooden framework, a sort of loose lattice, with a series of roughly square divisions along the face of the wall of the fissure. The framework was filled with a mixture of mud plaster and relatively small stones. On top of all this the steps were placed. These consisted of coarsely worked limestone slabs, joined to the infrastructure with a layer of yellowish clay that held them firmly in place (Fig. 48).

This kind of construction reinforced by timbering was not unknown in Mycenaean times and was used in wall construction as well.⁴¹⁸ It is quite strong as long as the wood is not exposed to dampness.

The few steps of the sixth flight of the descent were of stone, held on a substructure of wood but wedged into both walls of the narrowing fissure. They were thus held in place even after the wood disintegrated.

The seventh and eighth flights did not present the same difficulties of construction. At this depth, the limestone comes to an end and schist (*kimilia*), which is much softer, begins. This they managed to dig into and they prepared a strong stone substructure on which the steps were laid. The final step of the eighth flight, 1.55 m. wide and much larger than the others, was inserted beneath the other steps, which it thus supported (Fig. 49).

Below this final flight of the descent, was a well, 8 m. deep. It was dug out of the schist and its walls were therefore in danger of collapsing. Traces of wood show that the walls had been shored up with boards and small beams.

THE HOUSES

Within the Acropolis, remains of houses were preserved in the Pinakothek, in the SE corner of the fortification wall and S of the Parthenon. There is in addition the earlier LH I house N of the Erechtheion, the construction of which, with a stone foundation and a fine floor on the interior, has already been described.

The later LH III houses are all built in the following way: the lower part of the walls is constructed of small unworked stones, set with a small amount of mud-plaster. In wall 3 on Plan 32, this substructure reached a height of around 1 m.⁴¹⁹ In other cases the wall substructure was founded directly on the rock,⁴²⁰ or on the fill, which had collected on the surface.⁴²¹ Above this foundation, rose a wall of unbaked brick. Only in one case has a floor sur-

418. See also Wace, *BSA* 25, 1921-1923, pp. 42, 88 f. and fig. 20.

419. Montelius, *VHAM* 1889, p. 51.

420. *Ibid.* p. 51, Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 59.

421. Kavvadias-Kawerau p. 103.

vived. It was made of a layer of small irregular stones covered over by a layer of mud-plaster.⁴²²

The houses of the NE ascent have floors of tamped earth and walls roughly built of small stones and stone slabs that served as bases for wooden roof supports.⁴²³ Although these are simple, crudely made constructions by comparison with the houses erected within the Acropolis, they were evidently built according to the following general rules: stone foundations, superstructure of unbaked brick and wooden columns that rested on stone bases.

The preservation of these remains is in general so poor that it is impossible to have any idea of the arrangement of space. As far as can be observed, the rooms were rectangular and ample.

THE PALACE

Of the palace, only a single column base and the sandstone steps remain, and these are not in their original places. As evidence they are admittedly insufficient for a restoration of the palace. They are not even enough for positive conclusions as to the appearance of the palace. To be sure, the building had wooden columns, and evidently a second floor if the stairway from which the steps come belongs to the palace and not to the terraces. For the rest, we can only surmise what it may have looked like, based on comparisons with the palaces of Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos and, perhaps, Gla.

THE STAIRWAYS

The stairways, with wooden or stone steps, and sometimes cut out of the rock itself, are constructed without any symmetry whatsoever. This is clear from the measurements. Such a conception was first applied in Classical times. It was inherited by the Roman architects and in turn by the Renaissance, which passed it on to modern times. Popular architecture ignores it altogether.

422. Kavvadias - Kawerau p. 103.

423. Broneer, *Hesperia* II, 1933, p. 355.

It is rare to find two steps in a Mycenaean stairway that have exactly the same measurements. Many are far from ample, with narrow treads and high risers. In the descent to the North Fountain, which we have already discussed, the steps of the last built sections have treads ranging in width from 0,26 to 0,40 m. and risers varying between 0,12 and 0,25 m. In the NE ascent, the steps discovered by Broneer are few and divided into many units, so that there is no group suitable for study. The others, excavated by Kavvadias, were consolidated by him with mortar and by the addition of marble in places, so that it is uncertain whether they still have their initial proportions. Furthermore, neither their number nor their arrangement agree precisely with Kawerau's plan. Even the sandstone steps of the palace, which belonged to a large and imposing stairway, are not precisely similar in all their measurements.

Certainly, in the stairways preserved, the steps, when the incline allows, alternate with short ramps, the surface of which consists of tamped earth and pebbles. The steps themselves are not always horizontal, but are sometimes on a slant. They are made of coarsely hammered stone slabs, occasionally set on edge, the rest of the tread being formed by the same mixture of earth and pebbles as used for the sloping surfaces.

THE GRAVES

All the LH graves on the Acropolis are cist graves, the sides lined with small irregular slabs set without any binding material, and covered with other, similar slabs.⁴²⁴ They are dug into the fill and rest directly on the rock (see Fig. 28, left).

424. Kavvadias - Kawerau pp. 37, 39, p. XXXIV, fig. 5).
95, 99 and Wolters (Graef - Langlotz I

EPILOGUE

THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS
IN RELATION TO THE OTHER MYCENAEAN CITADELS

The remains of the Acropolis of Athens are few and in poor condition. Yet the picture they present is clear and comprehensible. It is completely reminiscent of the citadels of Mycenae and of Tiryns both in general and in detail. As were they, it too was inhabited without a break from very early times, well before it became a fortress. After that, during LH times, it saw more systematic and intensive use. Apart from the remains of the room N of the Erechtheion,⁴²⁵ nothing is left of the first periods of this era. Until the construction of the terraces, there is an intervening gap of centuries. Yet there are ceramic finds from the first great excavation of the rock, as well as evidence provided by the graves found and excavated by the American School of Classical Studies in the Ancient Agora.⁴²⁶ These, dating from Early LH II to the final years of LH III, show that the area immediately around the Acropolis and, to be sure, the Acropolis itself continued to be inhabited throughout this time.

Building activity at Mycenae falls into three phases, including both the fortification wall and the palace. The first phase belongs to the LH IIIA period. Dating to that time are the N Cyclopean wall and the first palace construction, including the Pillar Room. During the second phase, in LH IIIB, the SW wing of the palace was renovated and the N Postern Gate, the Lion Gate and the section of the fortification that included Grave Circle A were added to the fortification wall. Later on, during LH IIIC times, the grand staircase of the palace was built and the small extension taking in the Perseian fountain was added to the fortification.⁴²⁷ The acropolis of Tiryns likewise has three building phases, all three Late Helladic⁴²⁸ as at Mycenae.⁴²⁹

425. Supra, pp. 73-75.

426. Furtwängler-Löschke, *M.V.* p. 35, fig. XVI, Graef-Langlotz I pp. 6-22 and pls 2-7, Travlos, *Πολεοδ.* fig. 7, Shear, *Hesperia* IX, 1940, pp. 274-291, E. Townsend Vermeule, *Hesperia* XXIV, 1955, p. 188, and n. 4, with relevant information and bibliography. Also Mountjoy p. 16.

427. For the various building phases of

Mycenae and their chronology see Mylonas, *EpistEpetAth* 1955/1956, pp. 167-177, *Ancient Mycenae* pp. 37-38, 64-66, and *Ephemeris* 1958, pp. 153-207, *Ergon* 1959, pp. 93, 96-97; 1961, pp. 149-150, 154. See also Wace, *Mycenae* pp. 86-90.

428. Müller, *Tiryns* III pp. 205-209.

429. Mackeprang, *AJA* 1938, pp. 556-559.

In terms of building development, the Acropolis of Athens has much in common with these two citadels, especially during the last two phases. Indeed the second period of the Athenian Acropolis, the time of the terraces, coincides, with some delay, with the second phase of Mycenae and Tiryns. The third period of the Athenian Acropolis, when the fortification was erected, coincides with the third phase at the other two citadels. After that, only the houses and graves were added. In other words, some time after Mycenae and Tiryns had constructed fortification walls for the first time, the Acropolis of Athens acquired a series of terraces, constructions which preceded the fortifications and the purpose of which was not defensive. The Athenians of that time clearly felt no need of protection. Perhaps they were not important enough to be in any serious danger. Be that as it may, by the time they arrived at their first building phase, the other two sites had gone beyond this phase and had become citadels. Soon, however, either in anticipation of some specific danger, or because power politics was on the rise, Athens too built a fortification system complete with bastion, thus copying the developed phase of the fortifications of her two models. This was the time when Mycenae and Tiryns extended their fortifications and built the first bastions, and Gla in Boeotia was fortified.⁴³⁰ The third phase was not followed by Athens, evidently because there was no reason, since at Mycenae the extension was made specifically to include Perseia,⁴³¹ whereas at Athens the corresponding North Fountain, constructed after the wall, lay within the fortification. The purpose of the

430. See *Γλας* I (Athens 1989) 256-258.

431. In his introduction to the Greek edition, Professor Marinatos rejected this view with the argument that since the pipe through which the water of the spring flows ended so close to the fortification wall, rather than adding such a length of wall, it would have been simpler just to lengthen the channel a few more metres, thus bringing the water within the already existing wall. The morphology and composition

of the citadel hill of Mycenae, however, preclude this apparently simple solution. Indeed, the pipe runs underground as close as possible to the base of the rock, but it cannot be taken any further because the limestone was too hard for the tools and technical means of the time, which were inadequate for opening the channel required. Thus, because of the gradient of the rock, the underground cistern where the channel ended and the water was collected,

extension at Tiryns, which by now is being systematically explored, appears to have been to increase the fortified area, whereas at Athens the wall already included all the available space.

Thus the Acropolis of Athens, with initial delay, reached the same state of fortified strength as that achieved by the other two great citadels at about the same time, around the end of LH IIIB. In the course of this period, the characteristically Mycenaean principles governing the construction of fortifications were finally worked out and applied, according to which the fortifications, that is the Cyclopean wall, were built adapted to the rock formation, thus creating a protected but accessible area. The invention and building of bastions for protecting the entrances form part of this same concept. In Athens, all this was carried out as part of a fully-fledged program without preliminary stages of development and without the possibility of subsequent changes.

In the other citadels, the fortification systems show a long, inherent development, crystalised after changes and experiments which we can see applied from stage to stage. Despite a slow beginning, the Acropolis of Athens shows a sudden application of these principles in fully developed form, at almost the same time as the others. There is thus no doubt that they found these principles ready, and they imitated them. This conclusion is supported also by chronological facts; for the fortification of Athens belongs chronologically to the final years of LH IIIB, whereas at the other sites, the second phase goes back to the advanced years of the same period. Thus it is somewhat – but only slightly – earlier. The imitation is indeed worthy of the prototype. In some details it may be even better.

had to be built a few metres beyond and lower than the brow of the rock (on which the fortification wall was founded), and therefore outside the fortified area. So, using a natural crevice in the rock at the foot of the NW corner of the original fortification wall, the Mycenaean technicians made a stepped descent to the spring, the beginning of which was protected by the

NE extension of the wall. The further course of this extension was suggested by its adaptation to the somewhat lower brow of the little hollow plateau east of the old fortification, so that by adding almost 140 metres of wall, a small area was adjoined to the citadel, which obviously cannot be characterised as a “lower citadel”.

The material remains on the Acropolis are, admittedly, very few and it is therefore not possible to draw completely firm conclusions from comparisons with the details of the other citadels. Even so, on the basis of what is preserved, it can be seen first of all that the Acropolis has more in common with Tiryns than with Mycenae, from which it borrowed the form of its entrance. For the rest, the diameter of the column base agrees with the diameters at Tiryns and the stones of the fortification wall show the same careful choice and workmanship. At Mycenae, except for the Lion Gate and the N Postern Gate, where the conglomerate stones of the façade are regular and the surface is the result of the type of stone used,⁴³² the limestone blocks of the Cyclopean wall of the second, and even the third, phase, are practically unworked. At Tiryns, however, both on the preserved sections of the first wall and on the remnants of the second, we may observe the same quality of work as at Athens.⁴³³ The fortification wall at Athens, made up of large but not enormous stones, placed lengthwise like stretchers, with a few spaces between them, shows similar dimensions in its construction and the same arrangement of the stones as that of the first wall at Tiryns.

As for the architect, the man who undertook the entire work and made the decisions about its details, it is impossible to pick out and determine precisely the origin of the influences to which he will have been exposed. We would say, however, that the technicians who carried out the work in all likelihood learned their trade, directly or indirectly, at Tiryns.

The massive and overwhelming sight presented by the fortifications of the Acropolis of Athens fully justifies the veneration shown by the ancients, who recorded that they were built by beings of supernatural strength, to whom they referred with the suitably invented names Hyperbios (the all-forceful) and Agrolas (huge boulder).⁴³⁴ It explains too the outlook of the vase painter who represented Athena leading a giant who carries on his shoulder a huge stone destined for the wall.⁴³⁵ Its construction bears witness to the capability and

432. Marinatos-Hirmer, *Κρήνη καὶ Μνηναϊκὴ Ἑλλάς* p. 58.

433. See Müller, *Tiryns* III pp. 55-57.

434. Paus. I 28, 3.

435. See Hauser, *Strena Helbigiana* pp. 115-121, fig. p. 116.

high technical level of its builders, whose work is preserved in few and barely accessible remains so that it is difficult to appreciate it fairly. To conclude with the words of Blegen⁴³⁶: “The regal magnificence of the walls themselves, which places them on a qualitative level with those at Mycenae, has seldom been adequately recognized.”

436. *HSCP* 1940, suppl., p. 1, n. 1.

APPENDIX I

ANCIENT TESTIMONIA

(By topic and chronological order)

I. THE FORTIFICATION WALL BUILT BY THE PELASGIANS/ TYRRHENIANS

1. Herod. VI 137 (Hecataeus, 545-475 B.C.)

Πελασγοὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν, εἴτε ὦν δὴ δικαίως εἴτε ἀδίκως· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὅτι Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Ἡγησάνδρου ἔφησε ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι λέγων ἀδίκως· ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώραν, τὴν σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμησσὸν ἐοῦσαν ἔδοσαν Πελασγοῖσι οἰκῆσαι μισθὸν τοῦ τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κοτὲ ἐληλαμένου, ταύτην ὡς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εὔ, τὴν πρότερον εἶναι κακὴν τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίην, λαβεῖν φθόνον τε καὶ ἥμερον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτω ἐξελαύνειν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην πρόφασιν προῖσχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, δικαίως ἐξελάσαι. κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησσῷ ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμωμένους ἀδικεῖν τάδε· φοιτᾶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφίσι

When the Pelasgians were cast out of Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or unjustly, – as to that I can say nothing, beyond what is recorded, namely, that Hecataeus the son of Hegesandrus declares in his history that the act was unjust; for (says Hecataeus) when the Athenians saw the land under Hymettus which, being their own, they had given to the Pelasgians as a dwelling-place in reward for the wall that had once been built round the acropolis, – when the Athenians saw how well this place was tilled which erewhile had been bad and worthless, they grudged and coveted the land, and so drove the Pelasgians out on this and no other pretext. But the Athenians themselves say that their reason for expelling the Pelasgians was just. The Pelasgians, they say, issued out from their settlement at the foot of Hymettus and dealt wrongfully with the Athenians in this wise: neither the Athenians nor any other dwellers in Hellas had as yet servants at that time, and their sons and

κω οὐδὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήσι οἰκέ-
 τας· ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὐται, τοὺς
 Πελασγούς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλι-
 γωρίας βιάσθαι σφέας. καὶ ταῦτα
 μέντοι σφι οὐκ ἀποχρᾶν ποιεῖν,
 ἀλλὰ τέλος καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπι-
 χείρησιν φανῆναι ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ.
 ἑωυτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσοῦτ' ἐκεί-
 νων ἄνδρας ἀμείνονας, ὅσῳ παρεὼν
 ἑωυτοῖσι ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγούς,
 ἐπεὶ σφεας ἔλαβον ἐπιβουλεύοντας,
 οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ σφι προειπεῖν
 ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξιέναι. τοὺς δὲ οὕτω ἐκ-
 χωρήσαντας ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία
 καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον. ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ
 Ἑκαταῖος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι
 λέγουσι.

daughters resorted to the Nine Wells for
 water; and whenever they came, the Pe-
 lasgians maltreated them out of mere
 arrogance and pride. Nor yet were they
 content with so doing, but at last were
 caught in the act of planning to attack
 Athens. The Athenians, by their own
 showing, dealt so much more rightly than
 the Pelasgians, that when they might
 have killed them, caught plotting as they
 were, they would not so do but bade
 them depart out of the country. There-
 upon the Pelasgians departed, and took
 Lemnos in possession, besides other
 places. This is the Athenian story; the
 other is told by Hecataeus. (Loeb, A. D.
 Godley)

2. Aristoph. *Av.* 1139 (414 B.C.)
 (the wall of Cloudeuckooland is being built)

....Ἔτεροι δ' ἐπλινθοφόρουν πελαρ-
 γοὶ μύριοι.

....another ten thousand storks (πελαρ-
 γοὶ) made bricks. (Loeb, J. Henderson)

3. Dion. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* A, XXVIII, 4 (1st cent. B.C.)

Μυρσίλος δὲ τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἀποφαινό-
 μενος Ἑλλανίκῳ τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς φη-
 σιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξέλιπον, ἐν
 τῇ πλάνῃ μετονομασθῆναι Πελαρ-
 γούς... καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ τεῖχος
 τὸ περὶ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν, τὸ Πελαρ-
 γικὸν καλούμενον, τούτους περιβα-
 λεῖν.

But the account Myrsilus gives is the
 reverse of that given by Hellanicus. The
 Tyrrhenians, he says, after they had left
 their own country, were in the course
 of their wanderings called Pelargoi or
 "Storks"... and they built the wall round
 the citadel of Athens which is called the
 Pelargic wall. (Loeb, E. Cary)

4. Paus. I 28, 3 (2nd cent. A.D.)

Τῇ δὲ ἀκροπόλει, πλὴν ὅσον Κίμων

The Acropolis is surrounded by a wall; a

ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτῆς ὁ Μιλτιάδου, περιβαλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν λέγεται τοῦ τείχους Πελασγούς οἰκήσαντάς ποτε ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· φασὶ γὰρ Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ὑπέρβιον τοὺς οἰκοδομήσαντας εἶναι, πυνθανόμενος δὲ οἵτινες ἦσαν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐδυνάμην μαθεῖν ἢ Σικελούς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντας ἐς Ἀκαρνανίαν μετοικῆσαι.

part was constructed by Cimon, son of Miltiades, but all the rest is said to have been built round it by the Pelasgians, who once lived under the Acropolis. The builders, they say, were Agrolas and Hyperbius. On inquiring who they were I could discover nothing except that they were Sicilians originally who emigrated to Acarnania. (Loeb, W. H. S. Jones)

5. *Schol. Aristoph. Av.* 1139

πελαργοί: διὰ τὸ Πελαργικὸν τεῖχος τοὺς ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας ἦκοντας ἀναστῆσαι.

πελαργοί: in allusion to the building of the Pelargic wall by men who came from Tyrrhenia. (William G. Rutherford, MacMillan ed.)

6. *Schol. Aristoph. Av.* 832

Τὸ Πελαργικόν: <ὅτι> Ἀθήνησι τὸ Πελαργικὸν τεῖχος οὗ μέμνηται Καλλίμαχος· “Τυρσηνῶν τεῖχισμα Πελαργικόν”.

Τὸ Πελαργικόν: observe that the wall of this name was at Athens. It is mentioned by Callimachus: —“The Pelargic wall of Tyrrhenian building”. (William G. Rutherford, MacMillan ed.)

7. I. Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* I (Berlin 1814) p. 299, ll. 16-18

Πελαργικόν: Τὸ ὑπὸ Τυρρήνων κατασκευασθὲν τεῖχος, οὓς θεασάμενοι διὰ τὰς σινδόνας, ἃς ἐφόρουν, πελαργούς ὠνόμασαν.

Pelargicon: The wall built by the Tyrrhenians, whom they named storks (πελαργούς) for the garments of fine cloth which they wore.

8. Hesych. s.v. Πελαστικόν (5th cent. A.D.)

πελαστικόν· τειχίον οὕτω ἐν Ἀθήναις καλούμενον Τυρρηνῶν κτισάντων.

Pelasticon. A wall of that name built by the Tyrrhenians.

9. Phot. *Lexicon*, s.v. Πελαργικόν (820-891 A.D.)

Πελαργικόν· τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν κατασκευασθὲν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τεῖχος· τούτους γὰρ κληθῆναι Πελαργούς, οἷον Πελασγούς, ὡς πλάνητας τινάς· ἢ ὅτι ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς πρῶτον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι σινδόνας λαμπράς περιβεβλημένους πελαργοῖς εἶκασαν.

Pelargicon. The wall of the Acropolis, built by the Tyrrhenians. These were named Pelargoi, as it were Pelasgoi, being migrants. Or, because the Athenians, when they saw them, likened them to storks (πελαργοὶ) because they wore bright garments.

10. *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. Πελαργικόν (10th cent. A.D.)

Πελαργικόν, τὸ ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν κατασκαφὴν τεῖχος, οὓς καὶ θεασάμενοι τινές, Πελαργούς ὠνόμασαν διὰ τὰς σινδόνας, ἃς ἐφόρουν.

Pelargicon, the wall which was razed to the ground (κατασκαφὴν, obviously instead of κατασκευασθὲν, built, *supra nos* 7, 9) by the Thyrrhenians, whom they named Pelargoi for the garments which they wore.

II. THE FORTIFICATION IN GENERAL

11. Herod. V 64-65 (484-410 B.C.)

Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἅμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐπολιόρκεε τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεϊ. καὶ οὐδὲν τι πάντως ἂν ἐξεῖλον Πεισιστρατίδας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην ἐπενόεον ποιήσασθαι, οἳ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι σίτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι εὖ παρεσκευάδατο· πολιορκήσαντές τε ἂν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην.

Then Cleomenes, when he and the Athenians that desired freedom came before the city, drove the despots' family within the Pelasgic wall and there beleaguered them. And assuredly the Lacedaemonians would never have taken the Pisistratid stronghold; for they had no mind to blockade it, and the Pisistratids were well furnished with food and drink; and the Lacedaemonians would but have besieged the place for a few days and then returned back to Sparta. (Loeb, A. D. Godley)

12. Herod. VIII 51-53 (484-410 B.C.)

(Οἱ βάρβαροι) ... ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθη-

(the barbarians) ... arrived in Attica, Calliades being then archon at Athens.

ναίοισι. καὶ αἰρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ ἄ-
 στυ, καὶ τινὰς ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἑόντας,
 ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀν-
 θρώπους, οἱ φραζάμενοι τὴν ἀκρό-
 πολιν θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνον-
 το τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθε-
 νείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σα-
 λαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐ-
 ξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον τὸ ἢ Πυθίῃ
 σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνά-
 λωτον ἔσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶναι
 τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον
 καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζό-
 μενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκρο-
 πόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέ-
 ουσιν Ἀρήιον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρό-
 πον τοιόνδε· ὅπως στυππεῖον περὶ
 τοὺς ὀιστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτό-
 ξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθη-
 ναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὁμῶς ἡμύ-
 νοντο, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ
 ἀπιγμένοι καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προ-
 δεδωκότος. οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισι-
 στρατιδῶν προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμο-
 λογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλ-
 λα τε ἀντεμνηχανῶντο καὶ δὴ καὶ
 προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς
 τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν,
 ὥστε Ζέρξην ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπο-
 ρίησι ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενον σφέας
 ἐλεῖν. χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη
 δὴ τις ἐξοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε
 γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν
 τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γε-
 νέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. ἔμπροσθε ὦν
 πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν
 πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὲ οὔτε
 τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἂν ἥλπισε μή κοτέ

There they took the city, then left
 desolate; but they found in the temple
 some few Athenians, temple-stewards
 and needy men, who defended themsel-
 ves against the assault by fencing the
 acropolis with doors and logs; these had
 not withdrawn to Salamis, partly by rea-
 son of poverty, and also because they
 supposed themselves to have found out
 the meaning of the Delphic oracle that
 the wooden wall should be impregnable,
 and believed that this, and not the ships,
 was the refuge signified by the prophecy.
 The Persians sat down on the hill over
 against the acropolis, which is called by
 the Athenians the Areopagus, and be-
 sieged them by shooting arrows wrap-
 ped in lighted tow at the barricade.
 There the Athenians defended themsel-
 ves against their besiegers, albeit they
 were in extremity and their barricade
 had failed them; nor would they listen to
 the terms of surrender proposed to them
 by the Pisistratids, but defended themsel-
 ves by counterdevices, chiefly by rolling
 great stones down on the foreigners
 when they assaulted the gates; insomuch
 that for a long while Xerxes could not
 take the place, and knew not what to do.
 But at the last in their quandary the
 foreigners found an entrance; for the
 oracle must needs be fulfilled, and all the
 mainland of Attica be made subject to
 the Persians. In front of the acropolis,
 and behind the gates and the ascent
 thereto, there was a place where none
 was on guard and none would have
 thought that any man would ascend that
 way; here certain men mounted near the

τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίη ἀνθρώπων, ταύτη ἀνέβησαν τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου· ὥς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἐωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκοίτε πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐφόνευσον· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφί πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

13. Herod. IX 13 (484-410 B.C.)

(Ὁ Μαρδόνιος) ... ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, πυθόμενος πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ Πausανίῳ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχώρει ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας.

14. Aristoph. *Lys.* 1150 seq. (411 B.C.)

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ: .. Οὐκ ἴσθ' ὅθ' ὑμᾶς οἱ Λάκωνες αὖθις αὖ | κατωνάκας φοροῦντας ἐλθόντες δορὶ | πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας Θετταλῶν ἀπώλεσαν | πολλοὺς δ' ἐταίρους Ἰππίου καὶ ξυμμάχους ...

shrine of Cecrops' daughter Aglauros, though the way led up a sheer cliff. When the Athenians saw that they had ascended to the acropolis, some of them cast themselves down from the wall and so perished, and others fled into the inner chamber. Those Persians who had come up first betook themselves to the gates, which they opened, and slew the suppliants; and when they had laid all the Athenians low, they plundered the temple and burnt the whole of the acropolis. (Loeb, A. D. Godley)

(Mardonius) when he could not move them, and learnt all the truth of the matter, he drew off from before Pausanias' army ere it entered the Isthmus; but first he burnt Athens, and utterly overthrew and demolished whatever wall or house or temple was left standing. (Loeb, A. D. Godley)

LYSISTRATA: ...Do ye not mind, when ye | Wore skirts of hide, how these Lacedaemonians came | And stood beside you in the fight alone, And slew full many a stout Thessalian trooper, | Full many of Hippodamides' s friends and helpers... (Loeb, Benjamin Bickley Rogers)

15. Aristot. *Ath. Const.* XIX 5-6 (384-322 B.C.)

(Οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι) ... Κλεομένην ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν βασιλέα στόλον ἔχοντα μείζω κατὰ γῆν, ὃς ἐπεὶ τοὺς τῶν Θετταλῶν ἵππεῖς ἐνίκησεν κωλύοντας αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν παριέναι, κατακλείσας τὸν Ἱππίαν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Πελαργικὸν τεῖχος ἐπολιόρκει μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. προσκαθημένου δ' αὐτοῦ συνέπεσεν ὑπεξιόντας ἁλῶναι τοὺς τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν υἱεῖς· ὧν ληφθέντων ὁμολογίαν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν παίδων σωτηρίᾳ ποιησάμενοι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἐκκομισάμενοι παρέδωκαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ Ἀρπακτίδου ἄρχοντος ...

...they dispatched their king Cleomenes by land with a larger army; he won a victory over the Thessalian cavalry who tried to prevent his reaching Attica, and so shut up Hippias in the fortress called the Pelargicon and began to lay siege to it with the aid of the Athenians. While he was sitting down against it, it occurred that the sons of the Peisistratidae were caught when trying secretly to get away; and these being taken they came to terms on the condition of the boys' safety, and conveyed away their belongings in five days, surrendering the Acropolis to the Athenians; this was in the archonship of Harpactides ... (Loeb, H. Rackham)

16. I. Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* I p. 419, l. 27 (Cleidemus, middle of 4th cent. B.C.)

Ἄπεδον· τὸ ἰσόπεδον καὶ τὸ ὀμαλόν. Θουκυδίδης. τὰ ἰσόπεδα. Κλείδημος· καὶ ἠπέδιζον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, περιέβαλλον δὲ ἐννεάπυλον τὸ Πελαργικόν.

Ἄπεδον: that which is even and level. Thucydides: The level grounds (ἰσόπεδα). Cleidemus: they levelled the Acropolis and surrounded it with the Pelargicon of the Nine Gates.

17. *Parian Chronicle* l. 60 (264/3 B.C.) (ed. Jacoby, Berlin 1904)

ἄφ' | οὗ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ [Ἀριστογε]ίτων ἀπέκτε[ιναν] | Ἱππαρχον Πεισιστράτου δ[ιὰ]δ[οχ]ον (:) καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι [ἐξανέστ]ησαν | τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας ἐκ τ[οῦ] Π[ε]λα[ρ]γικοῦ τεῖχους, ἔτη ΗΗΔΔΔΔΠΙΙΙ, | ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀ[ρ]π[α]κτίδου].

Since Harmodius and Aristogeiton killed Hipparchus, successor (?) of Peisistratus, and the Athenians expelled the descendants of Peisistratus from the Pelargicon enceinte, 248 years, in the archonship of Harpactides.

18. *Schol. Aristoph. Lys.* 1150

...ὀργισθέντες οἱ Λάκωνες Κλεομένη
τὸν βασιλέα σὺν μείζονι ἐξέπεμψαν
στόλῳ· καὶ νικήσας τοὺς Θετταλοὺς
εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὸν
Ἱππίαν συνέκλεισεν εἰς τὸ Πελαρ-
γικὸν τεῖχος ἕως οἱ παῖδες τῶν τυ-
ράννων ἐάλωσαν.

... the Lacedaemonians got angry and
sent their king Cleomenes with a larger
force. He defeated the Thessalians and
entered into Attica and shut Hippias
up in the Pelargicon, till the children of
the tyrants were captured. (William G.
Rutherford, MacMillan ed.)

19. *Suda* s.v. ἄπεδα and ἡπέδιζον (end of 10th cent. A.D.)

Ἄπεδα. τὰ ἰσόπεδα. Κλείδημος· καὶ
ἡπέδιζον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, περιέβαλλον
δὲ ἐννεάπυλον τὸ Πελασγικόν.
Ἥπέδιζον. ἄπεδα γὰρ τὰ ἰσόπεδα.
Κλείδημος· καὶ ἡπέδιζον τὴν ἀκρόπο-
λιν, περιέβαλλον δὲ ἐννεάπυλον τὸ
Πελασγικόν.

Ἄπεδα: Level ground. Cleidemos: And
they levelled the Akropolis and built
around it the Pelargicon of the Nine Gates.
Ἥπέδιζον: ἄπεδα i.e. level ground. Clei-
demos: And they levelled the Akropolis
and built around it the Pelargicon of the
Nine Gates.

III. THE PELARGICON AFTER THE PERSIAN WARS

20. *Cratinos* fr. 321 (528-423 B.C.)

Χαῖρ' ὦ χρυσόκερω βαβάκτα κή-
λων, | Πάν, Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἐμ-
βατεύων.

Hail, revelling he-beast, golden-horned
Pan, Whose haunt is in the vacant Pe-
lasgicon. (John Maxwell Edmonds,
Brill ed.)

21. *Thuc.* II 15-17 (470-394 B.C.)

Τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἢ ἀκρόπολις ἢ νῦν
οὔσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν
πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον.
τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ <τὰ> ἐν
αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν
ἐστί, καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέ-
ρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἱδρυται, τό

Before this what is now the Acropolis
was the city, together with the region at
the foot of the Acropolis toward the
south. And the proof of this is as follows:
On the Acropolis itself are the sanctua-
ries of the other gods as well as of
Athena, and the sanctuaries which are

τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ <τοῦ> ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ὧς τὰ ἀρχαιότατα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. Ἰδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτως σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένη, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρόῃ ὠνομασμένη ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐγγὺς οὖσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι. καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτῃ κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις. τῇ δ' οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτονόμῳ οἰκῆσει [μετεῖχον] οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνωκίσθησαν, διὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὅμως οἱ πλείους τῶν τε ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενοί τε καὶ οἰκῆσαντες, οὐ ραδίως πανοικησίᾳ τὰς ἀναστάσεις ἐποιοῦντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρτι ἀνειληφότες τὰς κατασκευὰς μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ· ἐβαρύνοντο δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἰκίας τε καταλείποντες καὶ ἱερὰ ἃ διὰ παντὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας πάτρια, δίαίταν τε μέλλοντες μεταβάλλειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὀλίγοις μὲν τισιν ὑπῆρχον οἰκῆσεις καὶ

outside the Acropolis are situated more in that quarter of the city, namely those of Olympian Zeus, of Pythian Apollo, of Earth, and of Dionysus in Limnae, in whose honour are celebrated the more ancient Dionysia the twelfth of the month Anthesterion, just as the Ionian descendants of the Athenians also are wont even now to celebrate it. In that quarter are also situated still other ancient sanctuaries. And the fountain now called Enneacrunos, from the fashion given it by the tyrants, but which anciently, when the springs were uncovered, was named Callirrhoe, was used by people of those days, because it was close by, for the most important ceremonies; and even now, in accordance with the ancient practice, it is still customary to use its waters in the rites preliminary to marriages and other sacred ceremonies. And, finally, the Acropolis, because the Athenians had there in early times a place of habitation, is still to this day called by them Polis (or city). Because, then, of their long-continued life of independence in the country districts, most of the Athenians of early times and of their descendants down to the time of this war, from force of habit, even after their political union with the city, continued to reside, with their households in the country where they had been born; and so they did not find it easy to move away, especially since they had only recently finished restoring their establishments after the Persian war. They were dejected and aggrieved at having to

παρὰ φίλων τινὰς ἢ οἰκείων καταφυγή, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τε ἔρῃμα τῆς πόλεως ὥκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρώα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν· τό τε Πελαργικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καὶ τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώλυε, λέγον ὡς “τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον”, ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξωκλήθη.

leave their homes and the temples which had always been theirs, – relics, inherited from their fathers, of their original form of government – and at the prospect of changing their mode of life, and facing what was nothing less for each of them than forsaking his own town. And when they came to the city, only a few of them were provided with dwellings or places of refuge with friends or relatives, and most of them took up their abode in the vacant places of the city and the sanctuaries and the shrines of heroes, all except the Acropolis and the Eleusinium and any other precinct that could be securely closed. And the Pelargicum, as it was called, at the foot of the Acropolis; although it was under a curse that forbade its use for residence, and this was also prohibited by a verse-end of a Pythian oracle saying: “The Pelargicum should better be left vacant” nevertheless under stress of the emergency was occupied. (Loeb, C. F. Smith)

22. W. Dittenberger, *SIG*³ 83

(Decretum de primitiis Eleusina consecrandis, ca. 423/2 B.C.)

[Λ]άμπων εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ αἱ χτυγγραφαὶ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς τῷ καρπῷ τοῖν θεοῖν... τὸν δὲ βασ[ι]-λέα ἡορίσαι τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐν τ[ῷ] Πελαργικῷ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὲ ἐνὶ ἡδρύεσθαι βομὸς ἐν τῷ Πελαργικῷ ἄνευ τῆς βολῆς καὶ τῷ δέμο. μεδὲ τὸς λίθος τέμνειν ἐκ τῷ Πελαργικῷ μεδὲ γένε ἐχσάγεν μεδὲ λίθος. ἐὰν δὲ

Lambon said: The rest according to the decree regarding the first fruit offerings to the gods... and let the basileus delimit the sanctuaries in the Pelargicon. And let no one in the future found altars in the Pelargicon without the consent of the Council and the People, nor quarry stones from the Pelargicon or carry out soil or stones. And if someone trans-

τις παραβαίνει τούτον τι ἀποτι-
νέτο πεντακοσίας δραχμάς, ἔσαγγε-
λέτο δὲ ἡ[ο] βασιλεὺς ἐς τὸν βολέν.

gresses the above let him pay 500
drachmas and let the basileus impeach
him to the Council.

23. Aristoph. *Av.* 832-836 (414 B.C.)

ΕΥΕΛΠΙΔΗΣ: Τίς δαὶ καθέξει τῆς πό-
λεως τὸ Πελαργικόν;

ΕΠΟΥ: Ὅρνις ἀφ' ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους
τοῦ Περσικοῦ, ὅσπερ λέγεται δεινό-
τατος εἶναι πανταχοῦ Ἄρεως νεοτ-
τός.

ΕΥΕΛΠ.: ὦ νεοττὲ δέσποτα· ὥς δ'
ὁ θεὸς ἐπιτήδειος οἰκεῖν ἐπὶ πετρῶν.

EVELPIDES: And who shall hold the
citadel's Storkade? (Pelargicon)

HOOPOE: A bird of ours, one of the
Persian breed, Everywhere noted as the
War-god's own Armipotent cockerel.

EVELPIDES: O, Prince Cockerel! Yes,
He's just the God to perch upon the
rocks. (Loeb, Benjamin Bickley Rogers)

24. Luc. *Pesc.* 42 (120-200 A.D.)

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ: Βαβαῖ, ὥς πλήρης μὲν
ἡ ἄνοδος ὠθιζομένων, ἐπεὶ τὰς δύο
μνᾶς ἤκουσαν μόνον. παρὰ δὲ τὸ Πε-
λασγικόν ἄλλοι καὶ κατὰ τὸ Ἀσκλη-
πιεῖον ἕτεροι καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἄρειον
Πάγον ἔτι πλείους, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ
κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Τάλω τάφον, οἱ δὲ
καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἀνακεῖον προσθήμενοι
κλίμακας ἀνέρπουσι βομβηδὸν νῆ
Δία καὶ βοτρυδὸν ἐσμοῦ δίκην, ἵνα
καὶ καθ' Ὅμηρον εἶπω, ἀλλὰ κα-
κεῖθεν εὖ μάλα πολλοὶ κἀντεῦθεν...

PHILOSOPHY: Aha! What a lot of them!
The road up to the gate is full of men
hustling after the two minas, as soon as
they heard of them; others are coming
up beside the Pelasgicon; others by the
precinct of Asclepius; even more of them
along the Areopagus; some, too, by the
tomb of Talus; and some have set lad-
ders against the temple of the Twin
Brethren and are climbing up with a
hum, by Heaven, and "in clusters" like
swarming bees, to use the words of Ho-
mer; from that side right many, as also
from the other... (Loeb, A. M. Harmon)

25. Luc. *Pesc.* 47-48 (120-200 A.D.)

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ: Τί πράττειν ἀνὴρ δια-
νοεῖται;

ΙΕΡΕΙΑ: Δελεάσας τὸ ἄγκιστρον ἰσχά-
δι καὶ τῷ χρυσίῳ καθεζόμενος ἐπὶ

PHILOSOPHY: What does the man intend
to do?

PRIESTESS: Baiting the hook with the fig
and the gold, and taking his seat on the

τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ τειχίου καθῆκεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ: Τί ταῦτα, ὦ Παρρησιάδη, ποιεῖς; ἢ που τοὺς λίθους ἀλιεύσειν διέγνωκας ἐκ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ;...

(Ὁ Παρρησιάδης, ἀλιεύσας ἓνα ἐκ τῶν φιλοσόφων, λέγει:)

Τί τοῦτο, ὦ γενναιότατε; εἴληψαι λιχνεύων περὶ τὰς πέτρας, ἔνθα λήσειν ἥλπισας ὑποδεδυκώς;

crest of the wall, he has made a cast into the town!

PHILOSOPHY: Why are you doing that, Parrhesiades? Have you made up your mind to fish up the stones out of the Pelasgicon? ...

(Parrhesiades pulls up a philosopher and says:)

How about it, my fine fellow? Caught, were you, gormandizing about the rocks, where you hoped to slip under cover and keep out of sight? (Loeb, A. M. Harmon)

26. Luc. *Bis Acc.* 9 (120-200 A.D.)

ΕΡΜΗΣ: '... Ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ λόγων ἤδη πλησιάζομεν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ὥστε τὸ μὲν Σούνιον ἐν δεξιᾷ καταλίπωμεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπονεύωμεν ἤδη. καὶ ἐπεὶ περ καταβεβήκαμεν, αὐτῇ μὲν ἐνταῦθά που ἐπὶ τοῦ πάγου κάθησο ἐς τὴν πνύκα ὀρῶσα καὶ περιμένουσα ἔστ' ἂν κηρύξω τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Διός, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀναβὰς ῥᾶον οὕτως ἅπαντας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπηκόου προσκαλέσομαι.

ΔΙΚΗ: Μὴ πρότερον ἀπέλθης, ὦ Ἑρμῇ, πρὶν εἰπεῖν ὅστις οὗτος ὁ προσίων ἐστίν, ὁ κερασφόρος, ὁ τὴν σύριγγα, ὁ λάσιος ἐκ τοῖν σκελοῖν.

ΕΡΜΗΣ: Τί φῆς; ἄγνοεῖς τὸν Πᾶνα, τῶν Διονύσου θεραπόντων τὸν βακχικώτατον; οὗτος ὥκει μὲν τὸ πρόσθεν ἀνὰ τὸ Παρθένιον, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν Δάτιδος ἐπίπλουν καὶ τὴν Μαραθῶνάδε τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπόβασιν ἤκεν ἄκλητος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ξύμμαχος, καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ

HERMES: ... But in the course of our talk we are already drawing near to Attica, so let us leave Sunium on our right, and now let us glide down to the Acropolis. Now that we have alighted, you sit down here on the Areopagus somewhere, facing the Pnyx, and wait until I cry out the proclamation from Zeus. If I climb the Acropolis it will be easier for me to summon everybody from that point of vantage for the voice.

JUSTICE: Don't go Hermes, until you have told me who comes here, the person with the horns and the shepherd's pipe and the hairy legs.

HERMES: What! Don't you know Pan, the most bacchanalian of the servants of Dionysus? He formerly lived on Parthenion, but when Datis approached by sea and the barbarians landed at Marathon, he came unasked to fight on the side of the Athenians; and since then, accepting this cavern under the Acropolis, a little

ἀκροπόλει σπήλαιον τοῦτο ἀπολα-
βόμενος οἰκεῖ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πε-
λασγικοῦ ἐς τὸ μετοίκιον συντε-
λῶν...

above the Pelasgicon, he lives in it, pay-
ing the usual tax as a resident alien.
(Loeb, A. M. Harmon)

27. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II, a, V (ca. 200 A.D.)

...Κάκεϊνα περὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων
τούτων ἤκουον· πέπλον μὲν ἀνῆ-
φθαι τῆς νεῶς ἡδίῳ γραφῆς ξὺν
οὐρίῳ τῷ κόλπῳ, δραμεῖν δὲ τὴν
ναῦν οὐχ ὑποζυγίων ἀγόντων, ἀλλ'
ὑπογείοις μηχαναῖς ἐπολισθάνουσιν,
ἐκ Κεραμεικοῦ δὲ ἄρασαν χιλίᾳ κώ-
πη ἀφεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον καὶ
περιβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸ παραμεῖψαι τὸ
Πελασγικὸν κομιζομένην τε παρὰ τὸ
Πύθιον ἐλθεῖν, οἳ νῦν ὥρμιστα.

Moreover, I have been told the following
facts concerning this Panathenaic fest-
ival. The robe of Athene that was hung
on the ship was more charming than any
painting, swelling before the breeze, and
the ship, as it took its course, was not
hauled by animals, but slid forward by
means of underground machinery. Setting
sail at the Cerameicus as if with a thou-
sand rowers, it arrived at the Eleusinium,
and after circling it, passed by the Pe-
lasgicum: and thus escorted came by the
Pythium, where it is now moored. (Loeb,
Wilmer Cave Wright)

28. *Schol. Aristoph. Av.* 836 (Didymus: 63 B.C.-10 A.D.)

Ὡς δ' ὁ θεὸς κτλ: Δίδυμος φησὶ τὸ
Πελαργικὸν τεῖχος ἐπὶ πετρῶν κεῖ-
σθαι.

Ὡς δ' ὁ θεὸς κτλ: Didymus says that
the Pelargic wall rests upon a rocky foun-
dation. (William G. Rutherford, Mac-
Millan ed.)

29. Pollux *Onom.* VIII 101 (2nd cent. A.D.)

... οὗτοι παρεφύλαττον μή τις ἐντὸς
τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ κείρει ἢ κατὰ πλεόν
ἐξορύττει, καὶ τῷ ἄρχοντι παρεδί-
δοσαν. τὸ δὲ τίμημα ἦν τρεῖς δραχ-
μαὶ καὶ ἀπλοῦν τὸ βλάβος.

... they watched closely that nobody
would crop the plants nor dig in the
Pelasgicon and turned the offenders over
to the magistrate. The fine was three
drachmas and the damage considered to
be limited.

30. *Schol. Luc. Bis Ac.* 9

... τόπος Ἀθήνησιν, ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν
ἐν αὐτῷ οἰκησάντων. γράφεται καὶ
διὰ τοῦ ρ.

... a place in Athens, after the Pelasgians
who dwelled there. Spelled also with
an *r*.

31. Hesych. s.v. Πελαργικόν (5th cent. A.D.)

Πελαργικόν· ἀντὶ τοῦ Πελασγικόν.
Πελαργοὺς γάρ φασι τὴν Ἀττικὴν
οἰκῆσαι· ἀπὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν μετα-
φέροντες ἐπὶ τὰ πτηνά.

Pelargicon: instead of Pelasgicon; They
say that the Pelargoi (storks) dwelled in
Attica; transferring it (the name) from
the Pelasgoi to the birds.

32. Eust. *Thes. Schol. Dion. Per.* 347 (end of 12th cent. A.D.)

... ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις τεῖχος
Πελασγικόν ἦτοι Πελαργικόν, ὡς ὁ
Κωμικὸς δηλοῖ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρνισιν, οἷα
τῶν Πελασγῶν, φησί, καλουμένων
παρ' Ἀττικοῖς καὶ Πελαργῶν, διὰ τὸ
πλανητικόν.

... there is a wall in Athens, Pelasgicon
i.e. Pelargicon as the comic poet states in
his *Birds*, alluding, he says, to the Pe-
lasgians, called also by the inhabitants
of Attica Pelargoi, (storks) for being
migrants.

IV. THE NINE GATES

33. K. Müller, *FHG* III p. 131: Polemon fr. 49 (210-170 B.C.)

Τῆς δὲ πομπῆς ταύτης Ἑσυχίδαι, ὁ
δὴ γένος ἐστὶ περὶ τὰς Σεμνάς θεάς,
καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχει. Καὶ προθύ-
ονται πρὸ τῆς θυσίας κριὸν Ἑσύχω
ἱερὸν ἦρω, τοῦτον οὕτω καλοῦντες
διὰ τὴν εὐφημίαν· οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐστὶ
παρὰ τὸ Κυλώνειον, ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἐν-
νέα Πυλῶν.

This procession [is led] by the Hesy-
chidae who are the clan in charge of the
worship of the Eumenides. And before
the sacrifice they offer a ram to the hero
Hesychos whom they call thus as a
compliment; whose sanctuary is next to
the Cyloneion, outside the Nine Gates.

34. *Schol. Soph. Oed. Col.* 489

(Ἡσυχος ἥρως) ... οὗ τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι
παρὰ τὸ Κυλώνειον ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐν-
νέα πυλῶν.

(the heros Hesychos) ... whose sanctuary
is next to the Cyloneion outside the Nine
Gates.

V. VARIA ON THE ACROPOLIS

35. *Hom. Od.* 7, 80-81

(Ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ) ἵκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα
καὶ εὐρυάγυιαν Ἀθήνην, | δῦνε δ'
Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον.

She (i.e. Athena) came to Marathon and
broad-wayed Athens, | and entered the
well-built house of Erechtheus. (Loeb,
A. T. Murray)

36. *Herod. VIII* 55 (484-410 B.C.)

Ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρε-
χθεὺς τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι
νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσᾳ
ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Πο-
σειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαν-
τας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέ-
σθαι.

On that acropolis there is a shrine of
Erechtheus the Earthborn (as he is
called), wherein is an olive tree, and a
salt-pool, which (as the Athenians say)
were set there by Poseidon and Athene
as tokens of their contention for the land.
(Loeb, A. D. Godley)

37. *Apollod. Bibl.* III 178 (180-109 B.C.)

Ἦκεν οὖν πρῶτος Ποσειδῶν ἐπὶ
τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πλήξας τῇ τριαίνῃ
κατὰ μέσσην τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπέφηνε
θάλασσαν, ἣν νῦν Ἐρεχθίδα κα-
λοῦσι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἦκεν Ἀθηνᾶ,
καὶ ποιησαμένη τῆς καταλήψεως Κέ-
κροπα μάρτυρα ἐφύτευσε ἐλαίαν, ἣ
νῦν ἐν τῷ Πανδροσείῳ δαίκεται...

So Poseidon was the first that came to
Attica, and with a blow of his trident on
the middle of the acropolis, he produced
a sea which they now call Erechtheis. After
him came Athena, and, having called on
Cecrops to witness her act of taking pos-
session, she planted an olive tree, which is
still shown in the Pandrosium. (Loeb, Sir
James George Frazer)

38. Paus. I 26, 5 (2nd cent. A.D.)

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον ... ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἔνδον θαλάσσιον ἐν φρέατι ... καὶ τριαίνης ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ σχῆμα· ταῦτα δὲ λέγεται Ποσειδῶνι μαρτύρια ἐς τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν τῆς χώρας φανῆναι.

There is also a building called the Erechtheum ... sea-water in a cistern ... On the rock is the outline of a trident. Legend says that these appeared as evidence in support of Poseidon's claim to the land. (Loeb, W. H. S. Jones)

39. Paus. I 27, 2 (2nd cent. A.D.)

Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίας οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν ἄλλο εἰπεῖν ἢ τῇ θεῷ μαρτύριον γενέσθαι τοῦτο ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ.

About the olive they have nothing to say except that it was a token the goddess produced when she contended for their land. (Loeb, W. H. S. Jones)

40. Clemens, *Protr.* III 45 (160-220 A.D.)*

... Ἀθήνησιν δὲ ἐν ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπος (ἐνν. τάφος), ὥς φησιν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν.

... and at Athens, on the Acropolis, is that of Cecrops, as Antiochos says in the ninth book of his Histories.

41. Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* VI 6 (beginning of the 4th cent. A.D.)*

In historiarum Antiochus nono Athenis in Minervio memorat Cecropem esse mandatum terrae.

Antiochos, in the ninth book of his Histories, relates that Cecrops was buried in the temple of Minerva, at Athens.

42. Theodoretos, *Ἑλληνικῶν θεραπευτικῇ παθημάτων, περὶ τῆς τῶν μαρτύρων τιμῆς* H 30 (5th cent. A.D.)*

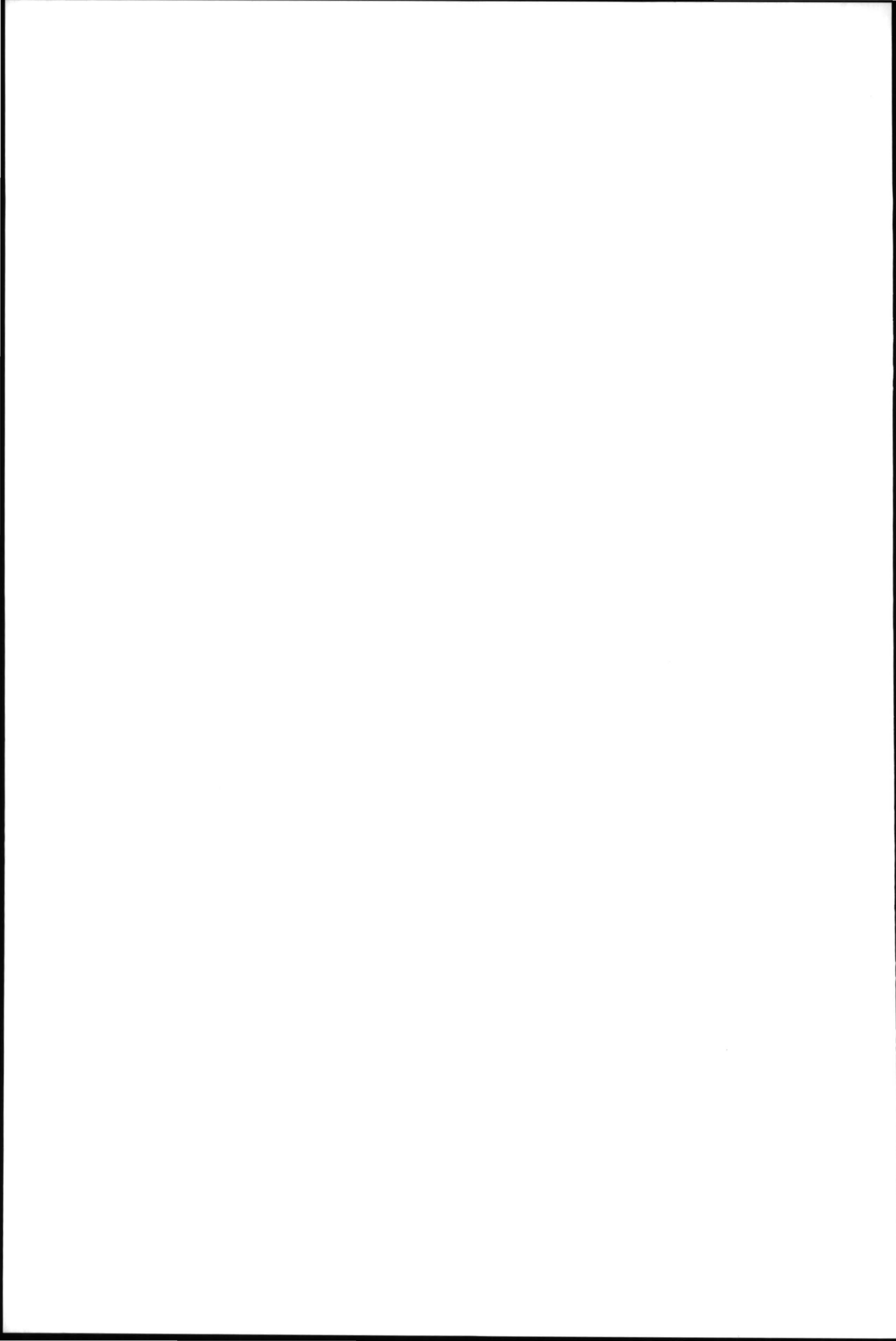
Καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν, ὥς Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ γέγραφεν ἱστορίᾳ, ἄνω γε ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπος ἐστὶ τάφος παρὰ τὴν Πολιοῦχον αὐτήν.

And in Athens, as Antiochos writes in his ninth book of Histories, there is on the Acropolis the tomb of Cecrops next to the patron goddess herself.

* The source of information common to these three Fathers of the Church is the

historian Antiochos the Syracusan who lived in the 5th cent. B.C.

APPENDIX II

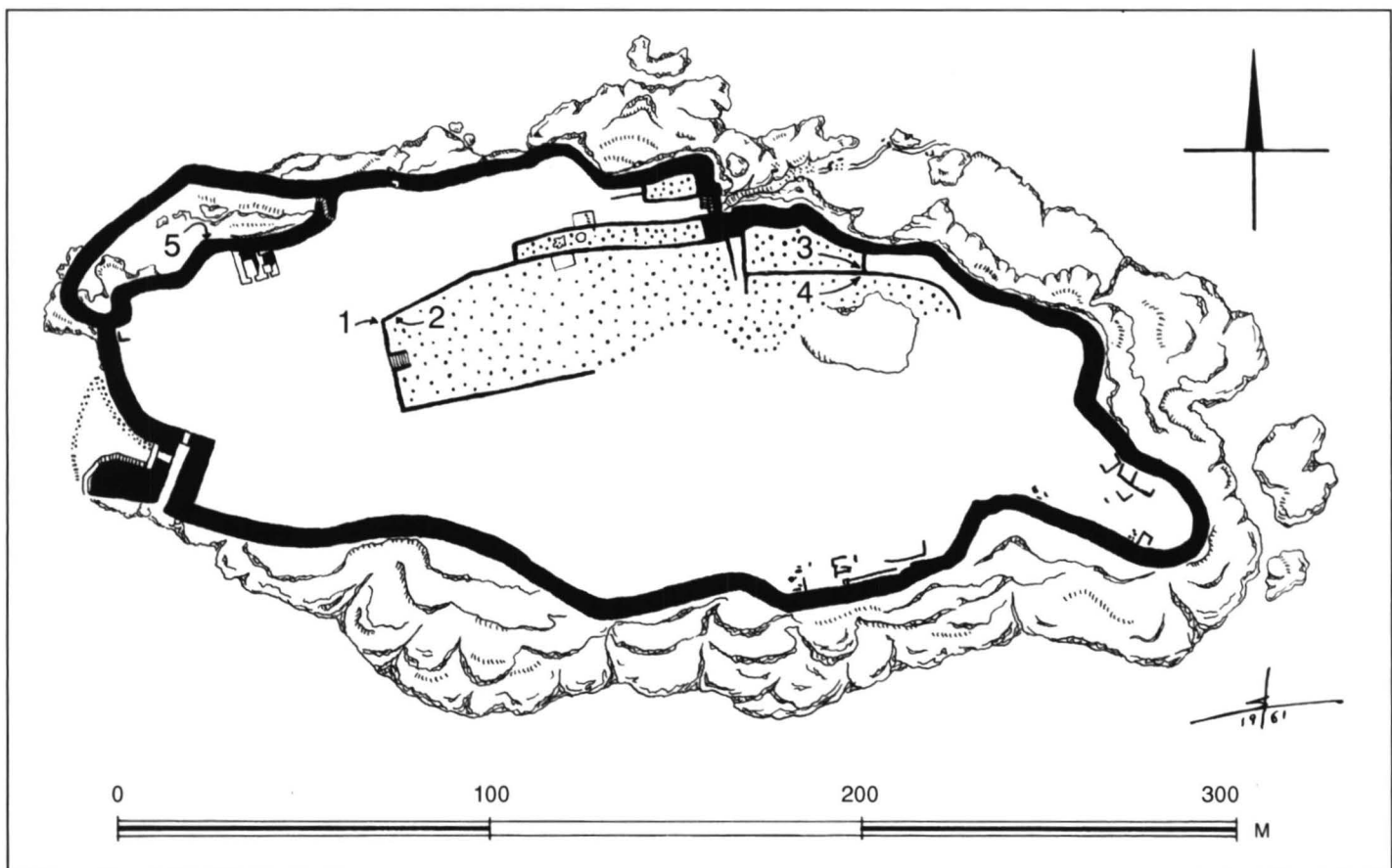


THE POTTERY SHERDS

(that date the terraces and the fortification wall)

GROUP 1

The sherds were found in a hollow of the rock at the NW corner of the W terrace wall of terrace III (see Plans 9, 7 and 39, 1) in a fill composed of light coloured soil and 4-5 stones of medium size, placed in order to even out the hollow and to prepare it for setting the corner of the terrace wall. The hollow was not excavated by Kavvadias, and the contents had thus remained



Plan 39. The find-spots of the material dating the terraces and the wall.

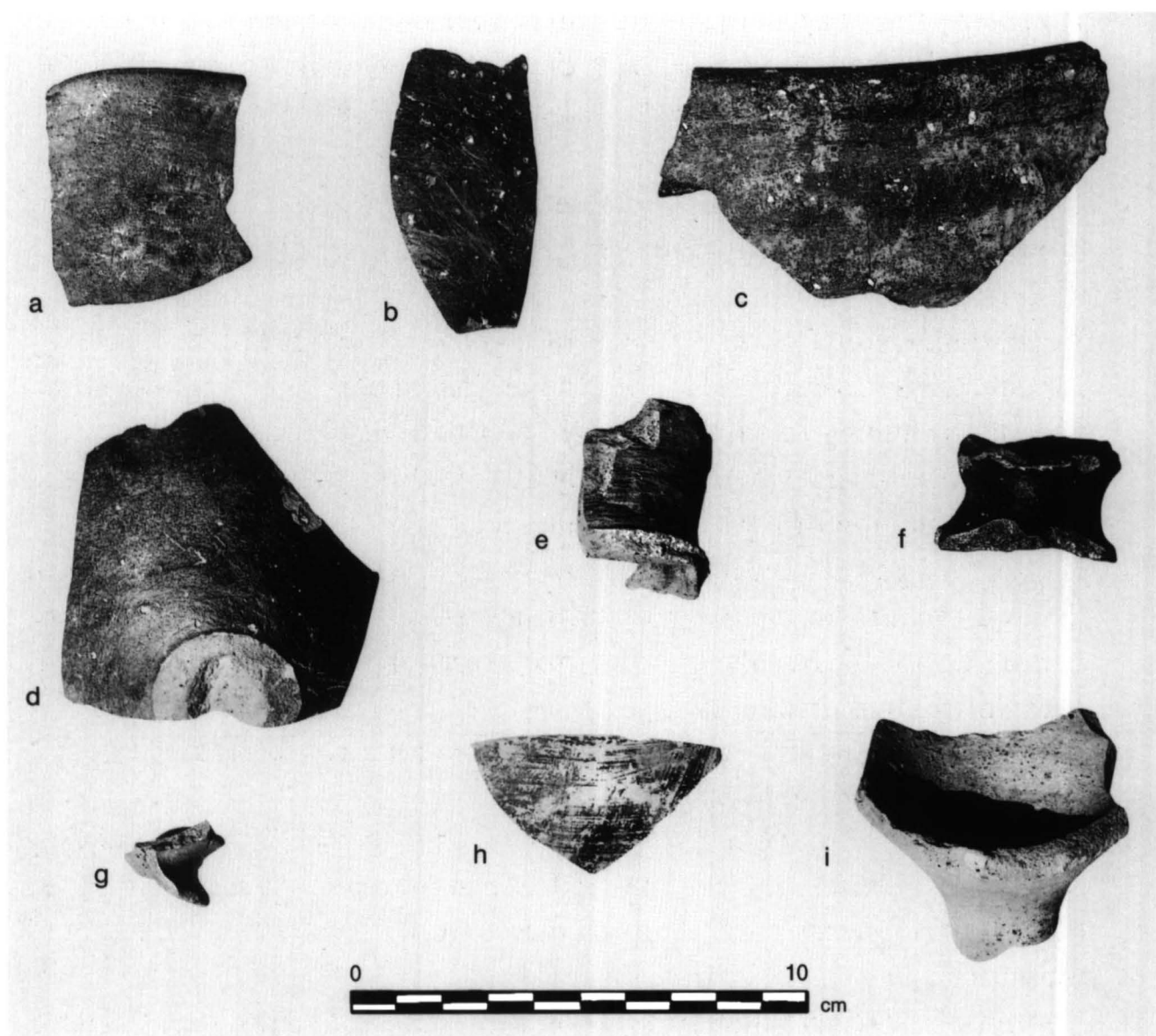


Fig. 50. Sherds of Group 1 (phot. by N. Tombazis).

undisturbed. The fill contained a mixture of sherds, mostly MH, but with some earlier and later as well. Published here are the most characteristic, representing the various categories found (Fig. 50).

- a. Rim fragment of an EH shallow bowl. Clay reddish, fine, slip of lighter colour unevenly applied with a brush. Max. pres. dim. 49 mm., th. of wall 3 mm.
- b. Wall fragment of an open vase, probably phiale, similar to the previous. Clay reddish, unrefined, very micaceous. Exterior painted red, interior brownish red. Max. pres. dim. 60 mm., th. of wall 4 mm.

- c. Part of the rim of a wide-mouthed pithoid vessel, decorated with horizontal relief bands, datable in latest EH times. Clay reddish, coarse and unrefined, with traces of a thin yellowish-white slip. Max. pres. dim. 95 mm., th. of wall 5-6 mm.
- d. Fragment of the lower part of a large goblet (*kylix*) of late MH times. Clay brownish red, unrefined. Matt grey paint. Max. pres. dim. 65 mm., th. of wall 4-5 mm.
- e. Approximately half of the low foot of a goblet (*kylix*) of late MH or early LH times. Preserved at each end is the beginning of the bottom of the bowl and the beginning of the base. Clay yellowish with greyish wash covered with a yellowish shiny paint, unevenly applied. Pres. h. 35 mm., pres. diam. 36 mm. Imitation of a yellow Minyan goblet.
- f. Low-footed goblet (*kylix*) with hollow base. Preserved is the beginning of the bottom. Similar to the previous. Clay reddish, unrefined, paint brown unevenly applied over the entire surface excepting the hollow of the base. Pres. h. 35 mm., pres. diam. 34 mm.
- g. Part of the discoid base of a LH II vase with a narrow bottom. Clay light brown, wash reddish. Max. dim. 32 mm.
- h. Wall fragment of an open vase, probably a *kylix*, of early LH III date. Clay red, refined. Interior thickly painted brown and well preserved, exterior thin brown unevenly applied and in places worn. Max. dim. 54 mm., th. of wall 4 mm.
- i. Bottom of a *kylix* of late LH IIIA or early LH IIIB times, coarse fabric. Clay reddish unpainted, wash likewise, unevenly applied. Walls slightly curving, almost straight. Pres. h. 41 mm., pres. diam. 65 mm., diam. of stem 20 mm., th. of wall 5-6 mm.

GROUP 2

The group comprises a few MH and LH sherds, which were found within the clean soil on which the stones of the northern supporting wall of terrace III rested (see Plans 9, 9 and 39, 2). Published are the following diagnostic samples (Fig. 51):

- a. Minute sherd with clay of reddish orange colour, traces of bright red paint on one side. Datable to early LH times. Max. dim. 24 mm., th. of wall 4 mm.

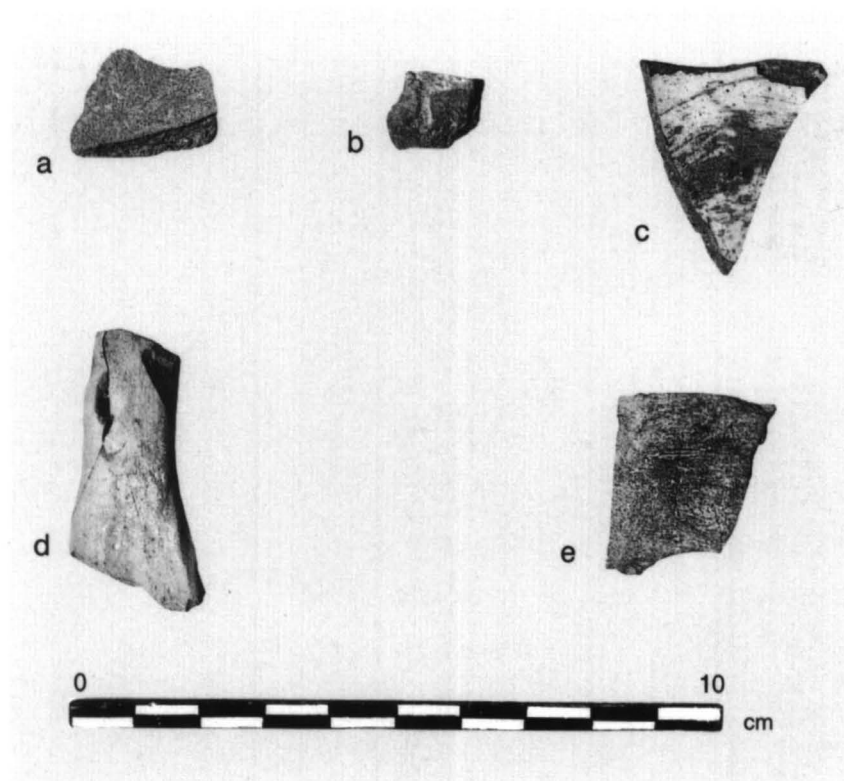


Fig. 51. Sherds of Group 2 (phot. by N. Tombazis).

- b. Minute sherd similar to the previous, but from another vase. Max. dim. 14 mm., th. of wall 5 mm.
- c. Wall fragment from a large, probably open LH I vase. Clay grey. Interior has a worn wash of bright yellow. Imitation of Minyan. Max. dim. 32 mm., th. of walls 7 mm.
- d. Fragment of a strap handle mended from two joining fragments. Carelessly made. LH I or II. Clay reddish, slip similar, lighter in shade. Pres. l. 41 mm., cross-section of handle 8-13 mm.
- e. Sherd from an early LH vase, clay bright red. Exterior has brownish grey slip, unevenly applied. Max. dim. 27 mm., th. of wall 5 mm.

GROUP 3

These sherds are numerous and were found in the undisturbed dull yellow clay that sealed the joins between the stones of the N supporting wall of terrace V, at the point where it meets the E supporting wall of terrace IV (Plans

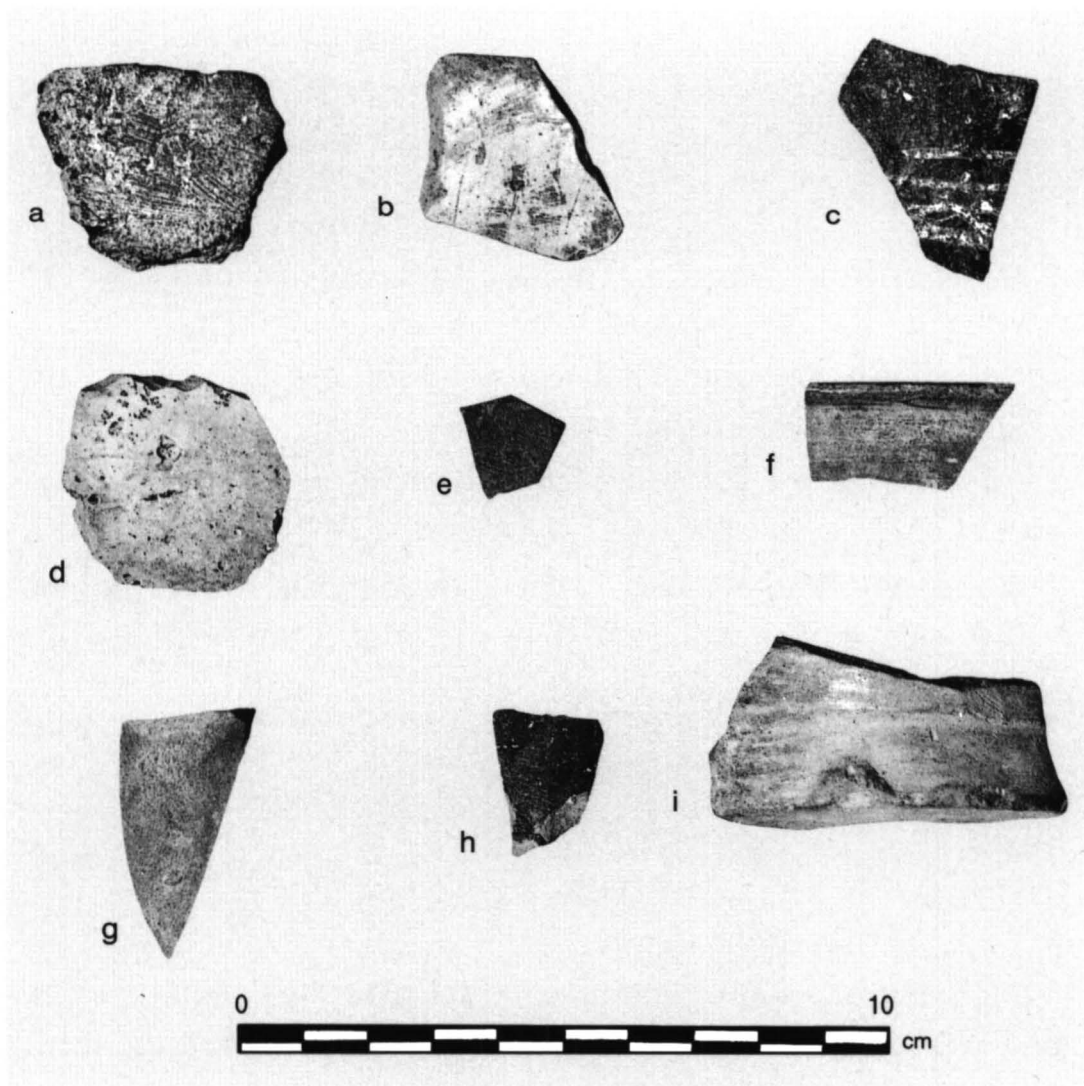


Fig. 52. Sherds of Group 3 (phot. by N. Tombazis).

13, 12 β and 39, 3). They were collected from among the lowest courses of the supporting wall, from places untouched by Kavvadias' excavation. The sherds published below represent all the categories to which the finds belong (Fig. 52).

- a. Sherd from a NL vase, clay unrefined and spongy, colour brownish grey. The surface shows traces of uneven smoothing by burnishing. Max. dim. 39 mm., th. of wall 7 mm.
- b. Rim fragment of an EH shallow bowl. Clay yellowish, slip similar and not very shiny. Max. pres. dim. 30 mm., th. of wall 3,5 mm.
- c. MH sherd, interior surface uneven. Clay reddish. Exterior painted a matt brownish grey. On this fine horizontal lines in a dilute white. Between the lines a band of broken zig-zag. Max. pres. dim. 34 mm., th. of wall 4 mm.

- d. Early LH I sherd, markedly curved. Clay grey. Exterior has a dilute yellow wash, in places worn off. Imitation of Minyan. Max. dim. 38 mm., th. of wall 4 mm.
- e. Minute sherd of reddish clay with traces of bright red paint on both interior and exterior surfaces. LH I. Max dim. 16 mm., th. of wall 4 mm.
- f. Rim fragment from a small LH I open vase. Clay reddish, painted bright red inside and out. Max. dim. 32 mm., th. of wall 3,5 mm.
- g. Sherd of reddish clay, with relatively shiny slip of the same colour. LH I. Max. dim. 40 mm., th. of wall 4 mm.
- h. Sherd of reddish clay. Exterior painted a rather dull brownish grey. LH I-II. Max. dim. 23 mm., th. of wall 4 mm.
- i. Fragment of the flat base of a fairly large platter of the beginning of LH IIIA. The side walls are thicker than the base. Clay reddish, slip similar and fairly shiny. Pres. diam. 55 mm., pres. h. 27 mm.

GROUP 4

Group 4 comprises a few sherds, collected from the same place as those of the previous group, but at a lower level, between stones of the terrace wall foundations and beneath them (Plan 39, 4). The most representative are the following (Fig. 53):

- a. Wall fragment from a fairly large EH vase, of uncertain shape, slightly curving. Clay reddish. Paint on exterior red. Interior unpainted. Max. dim. 73 mm., th. of wall 5 mm.
- b. Part of the base of an unpainted LH II-III goblet. Clay pale reddish yellow. Pres. semi-diameter 29 mm., th. 3,5-5 mm.
- c. Fragment of the rim of a small vase, everted obliquely, probably from an amphoriskos or alabastron, early LH III. Interior brown paint, exterior dull grey, fading. Max. dim. 20 mm., th. 4-5 mm.
- d. Rim fragment of a skyphos with relatively thick walls. Clay pale red. On the interior the surface is covered by brown paint, thickly and evenly applied. The exterior is decorated with a panel of clumsily drawn pendent concentric semi-circles bordered by vertical lines framed by a

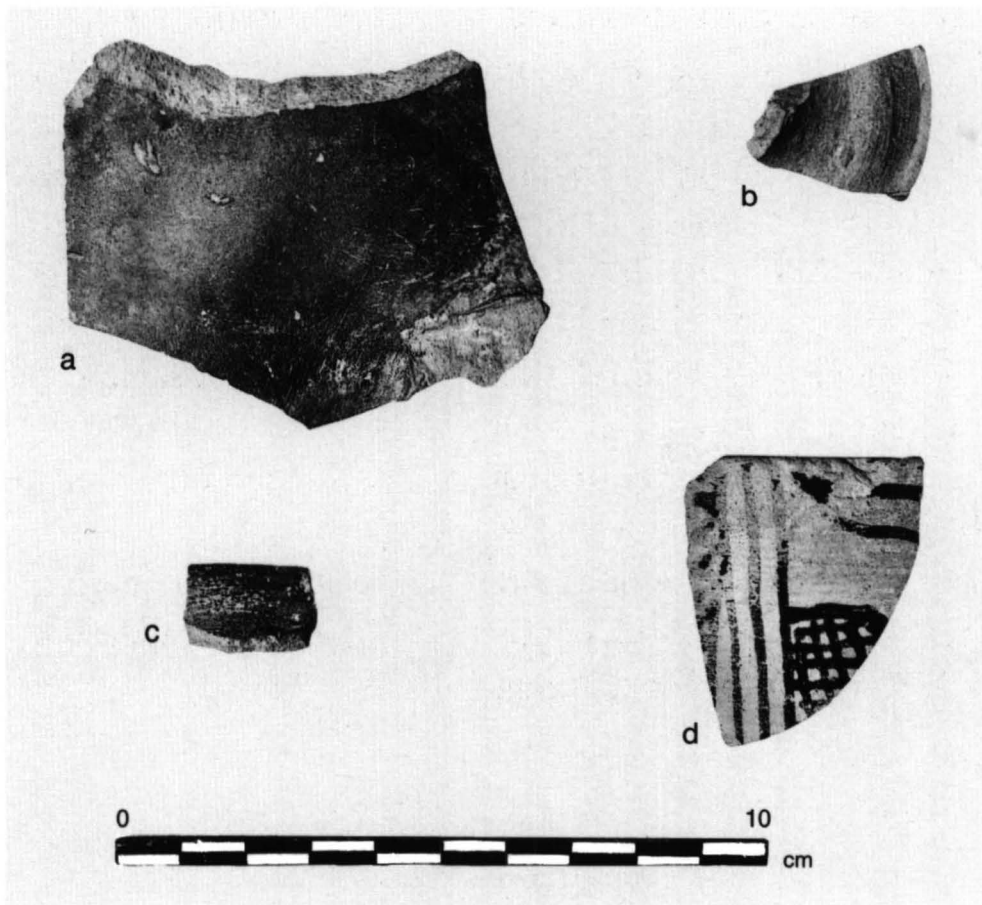


Fig. 53. Sherds of Group 4 (phot. by N. Tombazis).

cross-hatched semi-circle. LH IIIB2. Max. dim. 45 mm., th. of wall 5 mm.

GROUP 5

This group comes from the North fortification wall, where it runs beside the Mediaeval buttress, NE of the Pinakothek (Plans 22 and 39, 5). A great many sherds, mainly LH but also some earlier, were recovered from the refined yellow clay between the stones of the fill and the rock. The sherds published here represent the various categories found. The latest date the construction of the wall (Fig. 54).

- a. Small sherd of a MH vase with slight curvature. Clay greyish brown, with surface imperfectly burnished. The exterior is decorated directly on the clay in brownish red matt paint. Max. dim. 34 mm., th. of wall 4 mm.

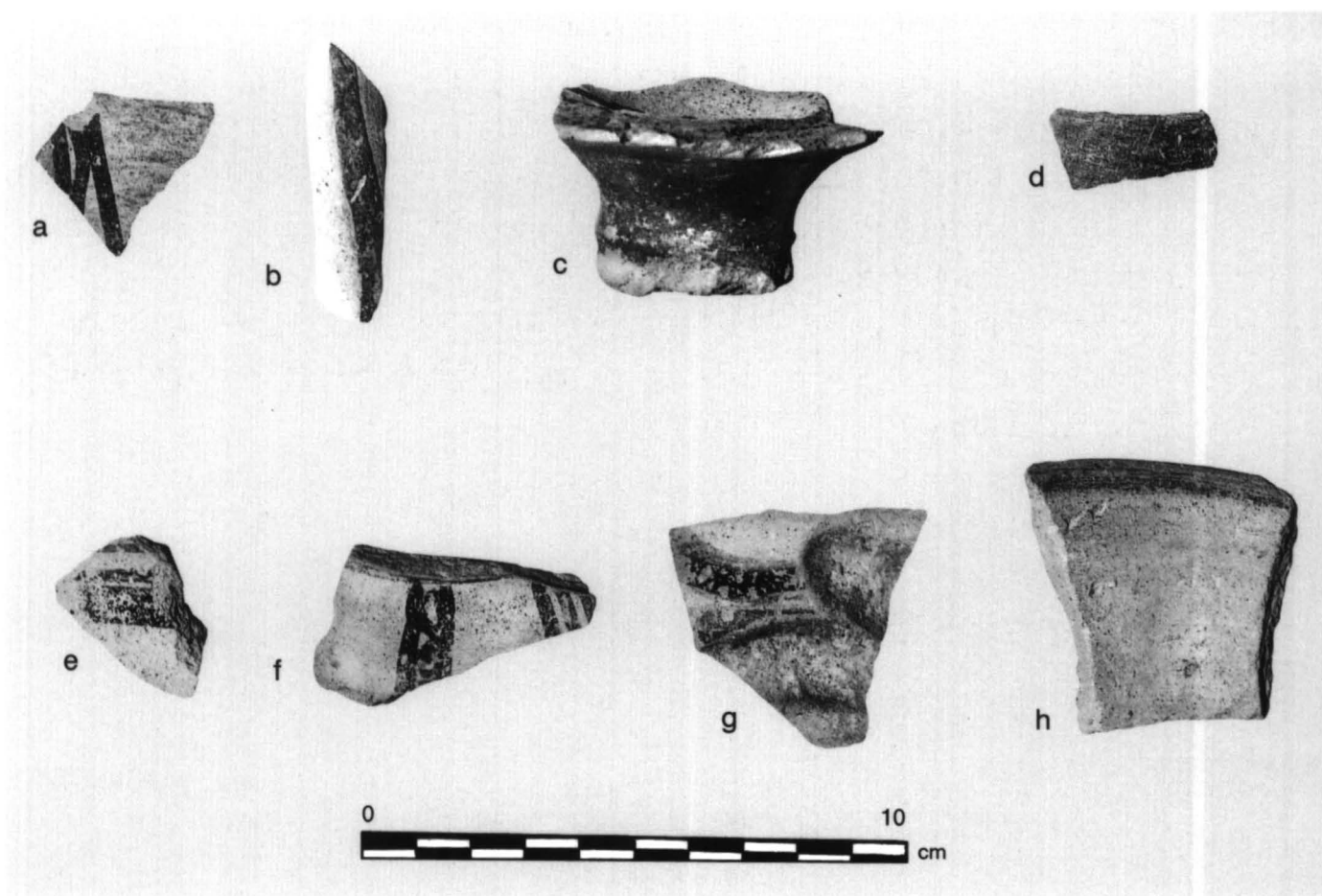


Fig. 54. Sherds of Group 5 (phot. by N. Tombazis).

- b. Handle fragment. Vertical stripe in matt grey along spine. MH. Pres. l. 51 mm., diam. 12 mm.
- c. Low foot of a goblet preserving part of the bottom and the beginning of the slightly hollow base. Around the stem a narrow relief band. Clay reddish, not greatly refined. Exterior covered by bright red paint. LH IIB-III A1. Pres. h. 30 mm., pres. diam. 66 mm.
- d. Minute sherd covered inside and out with a thick, shiny, red paint. LH I. Max. dim. 30 mm., th. of wall 5 mm.
- e. Small sherd from a thick-walled vessel. Surface rough and uneven, without slip. Clay yellowish. Decorated with two parallel lines in brownish black paint, peeled off in places. LH IIIA-B. Max. dim. 32 mm., th. of wall 5 mm.
- f. Fragment of the beginning of the shoulder of a small wide-necked vessel. Clay reddish. Decoration in thick red paint. Preserved between neck and shoulder is a trace of a horizontal band and descending from this a thin

vertical zig-zag column dividing the shoulder into panels decorated with pendent semi-circles. LH IIIB2. Max. dim. 58 mm., th. of wall 7 mm.

- g. Fragment of a large vase, the surface of which is destroyed in places. Clay fine reddish, slip same but lighter tone, paint orange-yellow. Preserved are traces of a horizontal band, with a curved band above. LH IIIB. Max. dim. 46 mm., th. of wall 6,5 mm.
- h. Fragment of the lip of a jug. Clay rough, yellowish green. Interior of lip preserves trace of a band in dilute grey paint. Developed LH IIIB1. Max. dim. 50 mm., th. of wall 7-8 mm.

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(Photographs listed without credits are by the author)

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ABBREVIATIONS - BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PERIODICALS

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AbhBerlin</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologische Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>ASAtene</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BdA</i>	<i>Bolletino d'arte</i>
<i>BerlPhilolWoch</i>	<i>Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>Deltion</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον</i>
<i>Ephemeris</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς</i>
<i>EpistEpetAth</i>	<i>Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν</i>
<i>Ergon</i>	<i>Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας</i>
<i>FuF</i>	<i>Forschungen und Fortschritte</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>JdI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>MemAcInscr</i>	<i>Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et belles lettres</i>
<i>ÖJh</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i>
<i>Praktika</i>	<i>Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας</i>
<i>PraktAkAth</i>	<i>Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Reinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>SBBerlin</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprache, Literatur and Kunst</i>
<i>VHAM</i>	<i>Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Månadsblad</i>

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