

# THE PERICLEAN ENTRANCE COURT OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS<sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

The important buildings of the ancient Greeks were usually designed with the utmost simplicity. The builders aimed at rigid symmetry, sunny beauty through the use of exterior colonnades, and perfection in proportion, execution and detail. These features, however, did not entirely satisfy the sensitive taste of the Greeks. Color, discreetly used, added life to their architecture. And the seemingly straight lines of their buildings were often slightly curved and the vertical faces inclined, to correct certain optical illusions which their acute observation had detected. As a result, their noblest buildings display a perfection which has never been surpassed.

The same praise, however, cannot be accorded before Hellenistic times to the manner in which their ensembles were designed. Today even the casual visitor in Greece finds those sites which have been occupied from a remote antiquity—Olympia and Delphi, for example—a jumble of buildings. The trained architect admires the beauty of the individual buildings of early date, but he calls the grouping of the buildings by its real name—a mess. And he wonders how the ancient Greeks, who were famous for their keen artistic appreciations of all kinds, tolerated such unsightly group planning. Early Greek indifference to formality in group compositions is undoubtedly due to the gradual growth of the sacred enclosures and to the deep respect for the holy shrines; the former permitted no well conceived plan of expansion, while the latter forbade radical changes. In the case of early Greek civic architecture the lack of funds, without which no extensive building

<sup>1</sup> The writer wishes to state that what follows largely records the observations and deductions of an architect. He will take it for granted, however, that his readers are familiar not only with such established facts as the date of the principal buildings on the Acropolis, the existence of a propylon before the time of Mnesicles, and many other kindred matters, but also with the chief books dealing with the history and monuments of the Acropolis, such as Jane Harrison's "*Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*," J. G. Frazer's "*Pausanias's Description of Greece*," R. Bohn's "*Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen*," and Kavvadias and Kawerau's "*Ἡ Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*."

The published investigations of the past dealing with the Acropolis are far too numerous to be reviewed in this work. The reader, therefore, is asked to consider the present discussion—small as it is—as a supplement to what others have already contributed to the subject.

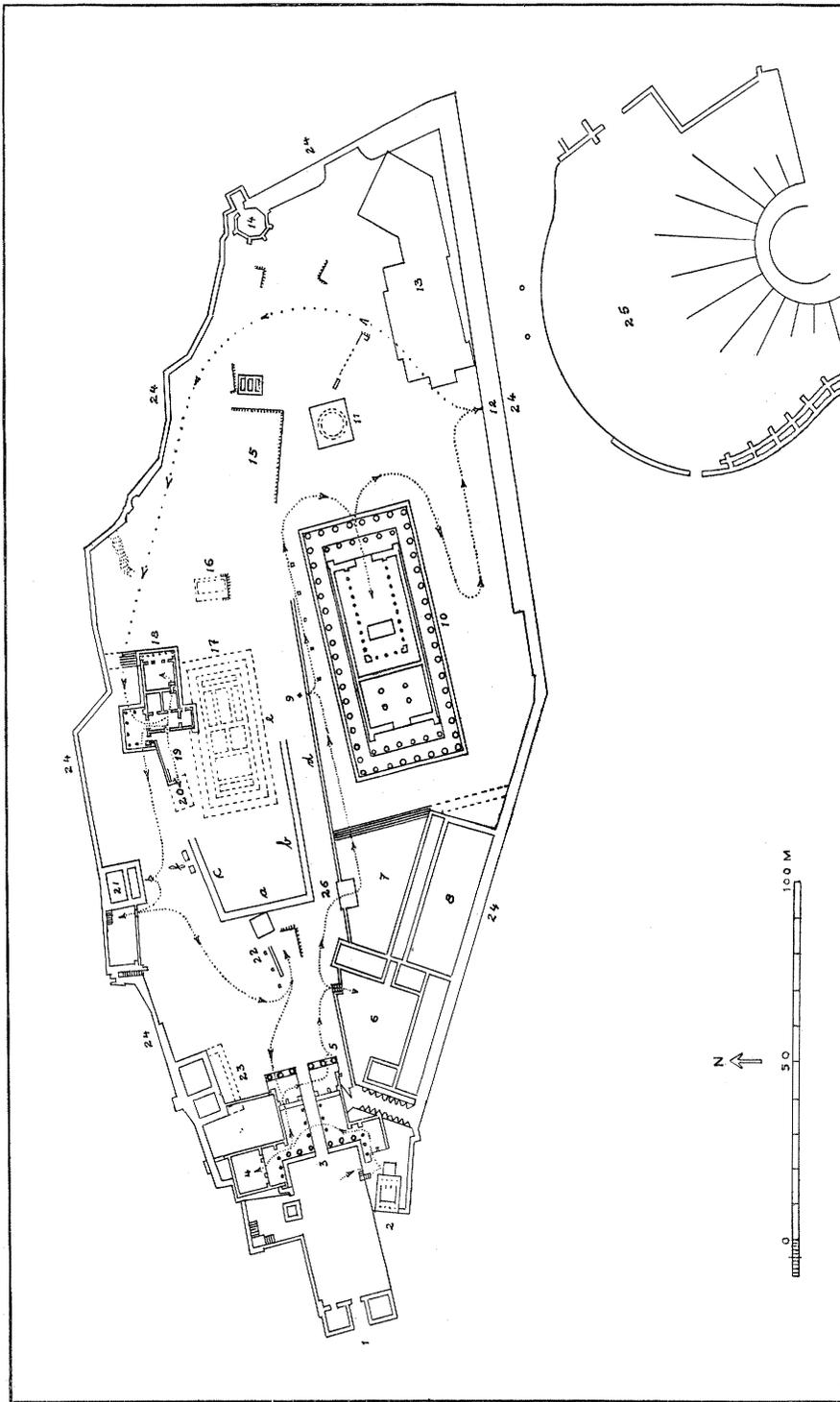
To Bert Hodge Hill the writer owes special thanks for valuable advice, which has saved the text from numerous blunders. Important suggestions were likewise due to Oscar Broneer, who has kindly read the proofs.

operations can be carried out, must have precluded the erection of any group of public buildings according to a well devised general scheme. The latter, however, appears in Greek architecture just as soon as the Greeks acquired wealth and political prestige.

But, there is considerable evidence that even before Hellenistic times the analytic mind of the Greeks felt, that, if their rambling ensembles could be made more orderly, greater beauty would ensue. Athens led the way, as the present study, it is hoped, will demonstrate. The national enthusiasm that followed the expulsion of the Persians, the glory and wealth that accrued to Athens as the champion of all Greece, and the fact that the Persians had left the Acropolis in ruins, created an unusually auspicious moment for the erection of a remarkable set of new buildings. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that Pericles and his artistic advisers of surpassing skill—such men as Phidias, Ictinus, Mnesicles, and others—appreciated the importance of the opportunity to create an ensemble worthy of the greatness of Athens. And we shall endeavour to show in what ways these artists succeeded in relating the various new buildings one to another, and in thus giving a more orderly appearance to the Acropolis as a whole than had existed before the time of the Persian invasions.

The Entrance Court of the Acropolis and its dependences, that is, the space lying immediately to the east of the Propylaea and comprising about one half the area of the Acropolis, can be studied to the best advantage by following the route of Pausanias. He is the fullest and most trustworthy of all the extant ancient writers upon Athenian topography, and, furthermore, there can have been little change in the general appearance of the Acropolis between the completion of the Periclean monuments—let us say about 400 B.C.—and the time of Pausanias's visit in the middle of the second century A.D. His route, according to the known points he visited, was as follows: Nike Temple, Propylaea and Pinakotheke, Statue of Athena Hygieia, Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis, Statue of Ge, Parthenon, south wall of the Acropolis at a point north of the Theatre of Dionysus, Erechtheum, Pandroseum, House of the Arrephoroi, and the colossal statue of Athena "Promachos"; he then left the Acropolis by way of the Propylaea (Fig. 1). As these monuments are described in the above order by him, and, furthermore, as it is natural to visit them in this order, there can be little doubt but that he actually took the route as outlined above. If this be true, the monuments which he mentions between his description of any two consecutive known monuments can be roughly located. We must, however, remember that there were far too many statues and monuments for him to mention every one. Does he not say, when he obtains his first glimpse of the Entrance Court, as though he were overwhelmed by the number of monuments before him, "I do not mean to mention inconspicuous statues"?<sup>1</sup> Thus, if we would attempt a restoration of the western portion of the Acropolis, there is no better method to pursue than to study the route of Pausanias in relation to the actual archaeological evidence along the route,—the evidence, in this particular case, consisting chiefly of architectural remains and rock cuttings.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, I, 23, 4.



1. Beulé's Gate; 2. Nike Temple; 3. Propylaea; 4. Pinakotheke; 5. Statue of Athena Hygieia; 6. Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis; 7. Court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon; 8. Chalkotheke; 9. Inscription of Ge; 10. Parthenon; 11. Temple of Roma; 12. Votive group of Attalus; 13. Modern museum; 14. Modern belvedere; 15. Altar(?), highest point of the Acropolis rock; 16. Altar(?); 17. Old Temple of Athena; 18. Erechtheum; 19. Court of the Pandroseum; 20. Temple of Pandrosus; 21. Dwelling of the Arrephoroi; 22. Group of the "Promachos"; 23. So-called Heroon of Pandion; 24. Wall of the Acropolis; 25. Theatre of Dionysus

Fig. 1. Plan of the Acropolis showing the route of Pausanias

For the sake of clarity, our discussion will be divided into the following six headings: I, the Propylaea; II, the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis; III, the Court in front of the West Façade of the Parthenon together with certain matters pertaining to the Parthenon itself; IV, the Old Temple of Athena and the Erechtheum; V, the Group of the "Promachos"; VI, the part the Periclean Entrance Court played in the general scheme of the Acropolis. The above division of the material will thus take us over the route of Pausanias.

## I. THE PROPYLAEA

Pausanias first visits the Nike Temple (Fig. 1, 2). During the winter of 1935–1936, the bastion on which this temple stands began to fail so badly, that both bastion and temple had to be taken down: they are now being carefully restored. In the process of demolition, a small early temple in poros stone was found under the fifth century temple in marble. The earlier temple had an orientation which differed by about  $20^{\circ}$  from that of the later temple. The exposed position of the poros temple must have courted destruction at the hands of the Persians. When the fifth century temple was erected, the new orientation brought the new temple more nearly perpendicular to Mnesicles' Propylaea: in other words, the new temple accorded better with the Propylaea of Mnesicles than if the earlier orientation had been preserved. We may, therefore, reasonably infer that the erection of the larger temple in marble, begun soon after the middle of the fifth century B.C., formed part of the Periclean embellishment of the Acropolis.

From the Nike Temple, Pausanias goes to the Pinakotheke (Fig. 1, 4), where he spends some time admiring an exhibition of pictures.

Having thus, in methodical manner, disposed of the two most important sections of the Acropolis immediately outside the central portion of the Propylaea, Pausanias proceeds to discuss the main part of the Propylaea itself. He notes that there were two pieces of sculpture "just at the entrance," one a Hermes and the other a representation of the Graces. There is proof that, in many places, the floors and walls of the Propylaea never received their final finish. In the case of the floors, about 0.008 m. of marble was left above the finished floor line. The excess marble was designed to protect the final surface during building operations and was removed only at the last moment. The pavement at G and H, figure 2, was dressed down to its final surface, each to receive the base of a monument. The care with which these surfaces were cut indicates that the monuments were put in place at, or about, the time the Propylaea was built. There are two sets of cuttings, however, at G: one is like that at H; the other is designed for a considerably larger base which was approximately square in plan; the second set of cuttings is later in date than the first, judging from the roughness of the tooling. Although we cannot definitely assert from Pausanias's wording that the Hermes and the Graces occupied positions G and H respectively, there is a possibility that the former, which was probably a statue,

was placed, at least in Pausanias's time, over the square cutting at G, and that the representation of the Graces, which often occurs in ancient sculpture in the form of a bas-relief, was located at H, upon a rectangular base, which is suitable for the support of a bas-relief.

We should note that the monuments at G and H were placed in deep niches and were at a considerable distance from the main axis of the Propylaea, so that they in no way interfered with the circulation of large crowds passing through the building.

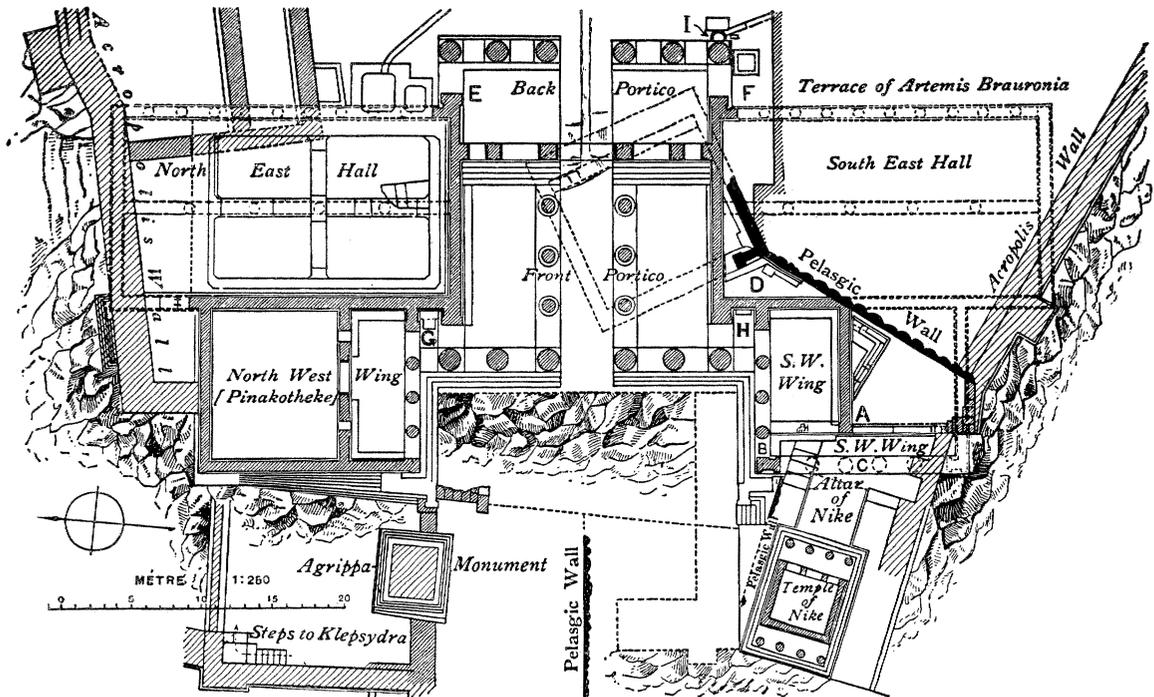


Fig. 2. Plan of the Propylaea (Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons. of Ancient Athens*, p. 352)

Still another matter to be noted in this connection is that monuments of late date either rest directly upon, or are roughly countersunk (about 0.025 m. to 0.05 m.) in, the unfinished surface of the pavement, as we shall see when the statues in the east portico of the Propylaea are discussed.

Five doors lead from the central portion of the Propylaea into the east portico (Figs. 2 and 3). The north and south doors are the smallest; the central door, through which the Panathenaic procession passed, is by far the largest. All but the central door are approached by a flight of five high steps.<sup>1</sup> A study of the central passage is complicated by the fact that it has been in continuous use since the second half of the sixth century B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Riser of top step, 0.33 m.; risers of the others, 0.29 m.; treads, 0.40 m.

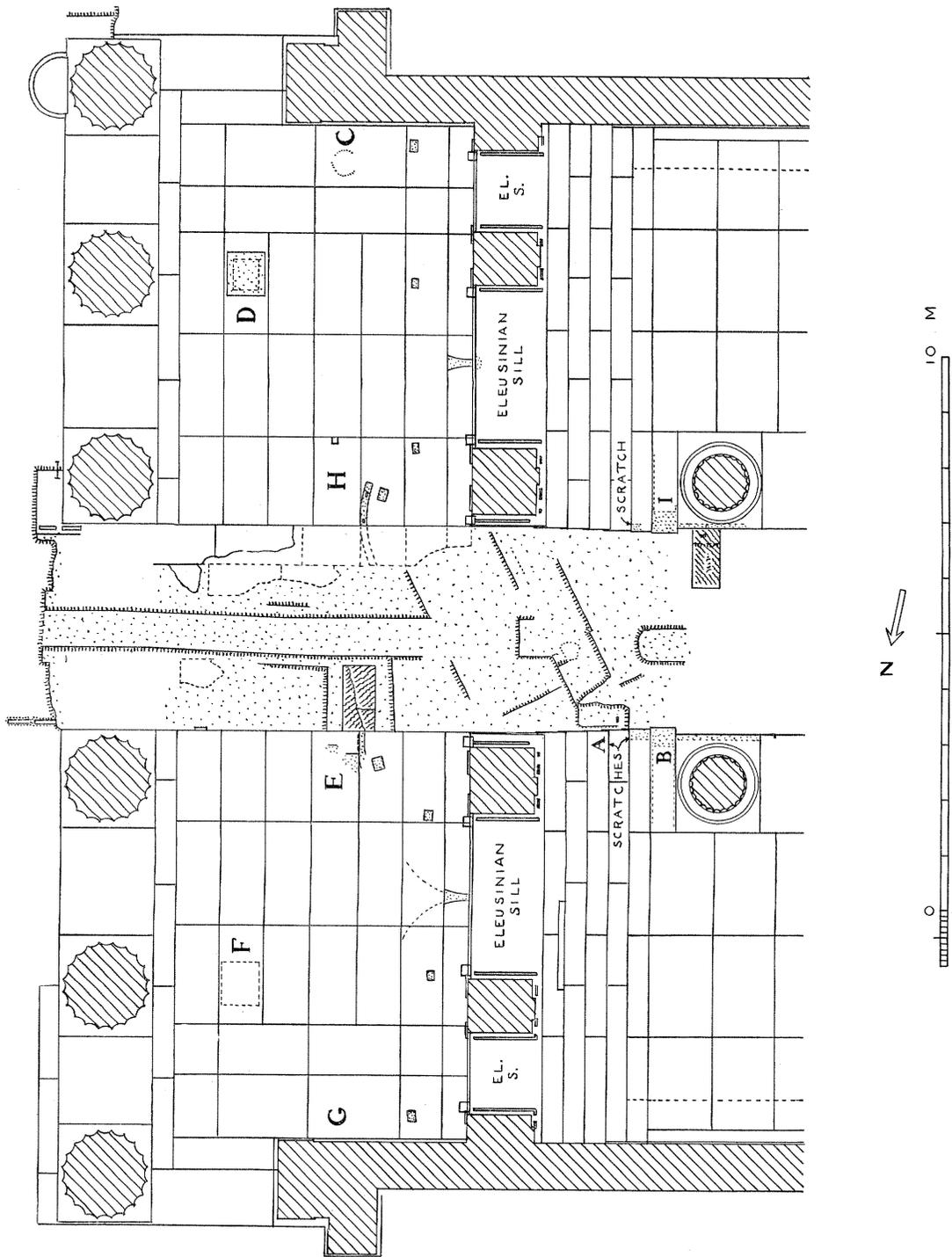


Fig. 3. Plan of the east portico of the Propylaea

until our own day—for the internal entrance of the propylaea which antedated the Propylaea of Mnesicles practically coincided with that of Mnesicles (Fig. 2). Consequently many building periods are encountered here. Fortunately the first two periods of Mnesicles' Propylaea can be distinguished without too much difficulty. He left the Acropolis rock visible in the central passage (except for a small section near the western part of the flight of five steps). This fact is proved by the manner in which the stones facing the central passage—some bedded in the Acropolis rock—are finished on their vertical exposed faces, namely, those faces which are toward the main axis of the building. None of these faces is dressed with an anathyrosis of contact. Most are finished with well dressed bands along the four edges of the exposed face, while the center of the face is slightly raised and left unfinished,—characteristics of faces which are not to be hidden

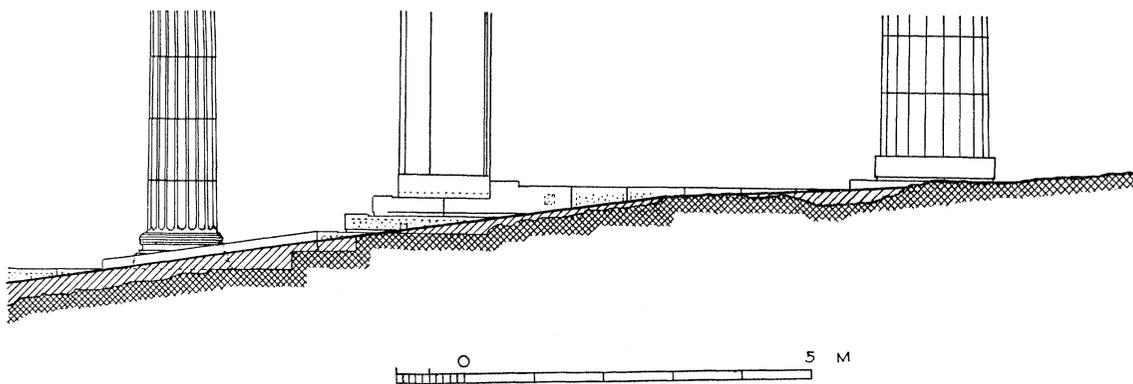


Fig. 4. Section, looking north, through the east portico of the Propylaea: first period

by contact with the faces of neighboring blocks. Others of the vertical surfaces have a band of final finish along the bottom of the vertical face, with a projecting surface immediately above, which was destined to be removed just before the completion of the building. Still others of the vertical surfaces are beautifully finished and were evidently intended to be seen (not to be covered by blocks). These are sure signs that, when the Propylaea was first built, the Acropolis rock was visible in the central passage-way. Furthermore, the slope of the Acropolis rock here is gentle enough for the transit of processions and of animals destined for sacrifice, and for the passage of blocks of stones for building purposes, and heavy and bulky materials of all kinds.<sup>1</sup> A fairly even incline could have been obtained by filling the few holes in the Acropolis rock which occur here with damp earth, ramming and covering it with gravel. The rock-cuttings for the pre-Mnesiclean Propylaea, which lie near the westernmost of the five steps, were too high for animals to negotiate; here Mnesicles was obliged to construct a small ramp with retaining

<sup>1</sup> Four meters east of the east face of the stylobate of the east portico and almost on the axis of the central passage is a rock-cutting suitable for anchoring a tackle for hauling materials up the incline. The rock-cutting measures 0.13 m.  $\times$  0.16 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. deep.

cheeks on either side, as will be seen by glancing at figures 3 and 4. With little doubt, it was soon discovered that heavy rains sent a stream of water, coming from the higher portions of the Acropolis, through the central passage of the Propylaea—streams for which even a covered rock-cut transverse drain (with inlets) about 0.30 m. wide and 0.30 m. deep, approximately 12 m. east of the portico (Figs. 63, 66), proved insufficient, for we find that the stylobate of the east portico was made continuous at a fairly early date, thus effectually keeping water out of the central passage-way (Fig. 5). Other changes in the central passage of about this time were:

1. A marble pavement, 0.11 m. thick, in the east portico;
2. A rock-cut drain, 0.50 m. wide and 0.30 m. deep, destined to carry away, under the new pavement, rain-water which banked up against the new section of stylobate;

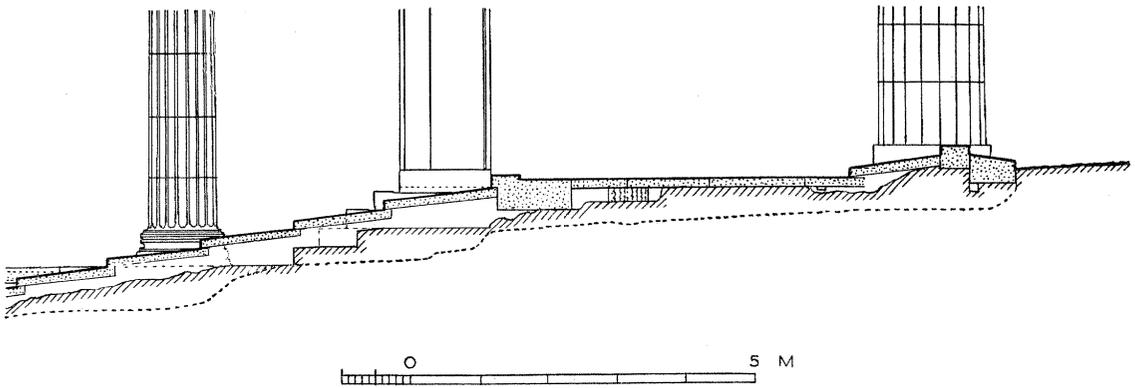


Fig. 5. Idem: second period

3. A stepped ramp leading down from the east portico (Fig. 5). The height of the steps was only half that of the five steps (destined for human beings) at either side of the ramp, and was, therefore, not too high for sacrificial animals. As the new ramp was somewhat higher than the first ramp, broader cheeks were required than before (Fig. 3, A, B and I). Although the dressing on the pavement at B and I, figure 3, is rough (probably a repair of late date), the vertical scratch on the second riser at A, and lining with the rough dressing at B, is exactly similar to the scratches on the building, which obviously belong to the first building period, such as the scratch lines under columns, for example. In this particular scratch at A we have a possible indication that the ramp was changed at a fairly early date.

A study of the east side of the five entrances leading into the east portico of the Propylaea reveals the fact that all the entrances were closed by doors, or possibly grilles (see Fig. 3). In general, propylaea are entrances, and, as such, the proper places to cut off the circulation of people. The black Eleusinian sills are slightly raised, for the bottom of the doors to strike against (Figs. 3, 5); the pivot holes are cut in a surface which is lifted a few centimeters above the general pavement of the east portico, so that the

bottom of the doors would be sure to swing clear of the pavement (Fig. 5). These two features are usually employed in good Greek times for swinging doors.

The cuttings for the bumpers seem to be of the best Greek workmanship, that is, of the time of Mnesicles. All the cuttings for the pivot and center bolt holes have been repaired in late times, as we should expect to find in the case of doors which have been in use for centuries. The cutting for the metal circular track upon which the southern valve of the big central door ran is of fairly good workmanship: it may, or may not, date from the time of Mnesicles.

The manner in which Mnesicles intended to close the big central passage-way alone presents difficulties. A study of figures 3 and 4 will show that no swinging door descending to the Acropolis rock could be opened, unless the lower part of the door had some special contrivance at the bottom, which could be dropped in place when the door was in a closed position,—an awkward arrangement. Possibly the door was of the port-cullis type, which does not swing; but then the cuttings for its bumpers must date from the time the circular track was installed. Mnesicles had a reputation for ingenuity. Perhaps his device for closing the opening did not stand the test of time successfully, and it was found necessary to put in a sill at the level of the black Eleusinian sills which we see today, so that the central passage-way might be closed with the usual type of swinging door (Fig. 5).

Obviously the cutting for the circular track under the southern valve of the central door does not belong to the first door which closed the central opening, for originally there was no pavement in the central passage-way upon which the track could rest. This means that the track was installed when, or after, the pavement in the central passage-way was laid. The purpose of the track is clear,—a heavy swinging valve needs a wheel and track beneath it to prevent the valve from sagging and to relieve the strain upon the jambs.

We must suppose that all five doors stood open upon days of important festivals and upon extraordinary occasions. One small door, however, would give better control for ordinary days,—fewer guards were required, there was greater certitude that the same number of persons passed out that entered, and, in case of rioting or surprise attacks of any kind, one small door was more quickly shut than five doors, some of which were far from small. As Pausanias's visit seems to have taken place upon an ordinary day, it is thus probable that he found but one door open, and that that door was a small one. Through which did he pass? There are three indications that he used the small northern door:

1. After the Pinakothek the next fixed point in Pausanias's route is the statue of Athena Hygieia (Fig. 1, 5; Fig. 2, I, and Fig. 11). The base for this Athena is *in situ*, and the inscription, cut upon it, an absolute identification. In between the Pinakothek and the Athena, Pausanias mentions the following: a Hermes, the Graces, a Leaena, an Aphrodite, and a Diftrephes. The probable location of the first two in the western portion of the Propylaea has been discussed (p. 446). It is, therefore, natural to place the other three in the eastern portico, provided we can show that statues once stood there. As a matter of fact there are traces for pedestals at C and D, figure 3, and possibly the trace for another

at E. The traces, however, are quite different from those we have already noted in the western portion of the Propylaea (p. 446). The round base at C rested directly upon the unfinished surface of the pavement; the rectangular base at D was countersunk 0.025 m. below the unfinished surface of the pavement, and the workmanship of the sinkage is poor (the cutting also shows that the pedestal was not a solid block—its core was sheathed with some sort of stone); the pavement at E is so badly damaged that only a small part of the sinkage remains—it is countersunk 0.06 m. and is exceedingly roughly cut. The monuments at C, D and E were well located, for they interfered as little as possible with the east and west circulation of the throngs of people which must have passed through the Propylaea upon festival days; monument C was placed so that the valve of the door next to it opened freely, and it also had the advantage of a plain marble wall for a background. As it is probable that all the monuments in the east portico were symmetrically placed, we may think of three additional monuments in the portico, their locations being H, F and G. There is a most uncertain weathering at H, so uncertain, in fact, that there is extreme doubt that a base ever stood over it. Furthermore, the cutting at E is so crude that it can be assigned to a date long after that of Pausanias: it hardly seems possible, therefore, that statues stood over H and E at the time of Pausanias's visit. The possibilities of F and G alone remain to be discussed. The pavement at F is too badly destroyed to assert anything; the same reasons, however, for placing a statue at D apply equally well here. A good deal of the pavement at G is now hidden by a monument which is not *in situ*: although we cannot say definitely that a monument once stood here, yet the chances favor such a supposition, for, if C were found to be a suitable place for a monument in antiquity, position G was equally suitable. Thus, in the time of Pausanias, there is some ground to believe that monuments stood at C, D, F and G. How soon did monuments begin to be placed in the east portico of the Propylaea? The fact that we find only traces of monuments which were either placed directly upon the unfinished pavement or countersunk in the unfinished pavement does not exclude the possibility that monuments may have been installed here soon after the building began to be used. There are numerous examples of both types of traces for pedestals in Greek buildings contemporary with the Propylaea. The statues of Diitrephes, Aphrodite and Leaena all commemorate events prior to 400 B.C.: for Diitrephes died about 409 B.C.; the dedicator of the Aphrodite fought in the battle of Marathon; while the statue of Leaena commemorated an event which occurred before 500 B.C. Thus these three statues, which Pausanias presumably saw in the east portico, had stood there, in all likelihood, for many years. Now, we have seen, that, from actual traces of bases, or inferences therefrom, there are four good places for statues in the portico (Fig. 3, C, D, F and G). Fortunately the base of the Diitrephes is still preserved; it is now lying about 35 m. west of the Parthenon. The base of the Aphrodite, although described by a number of modern writers, has not fared so well, for its present whereabouts is unknown.<sup>1</sup> As both these bases were rectangular, neither could have gone over the circular trace at C, figure 3. Therefore, the Diitrephes probably

<sup>1</sup> Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons. of Ancient Athens*, p. 387. Also, *I. G.*, 1<sup>2</sup>, 607.

went at D, for this trace of a pedestal is the nearest to the Athena Hygieia of all the traces within the portico, and the order of the Diitrephes and the Athena would thus agree with that in Pausanias's description. The base of the Diitrephes (of Pentelic marble) measures 0.695 m.  $\times$  0.755 m.  $\times$  0.478 m. high and has the inscription on the short side. The top of the block shows that the statue had a base, probably of bronze, which was set back on the front, sides and rear 0.01 m. from the vertical faces of the base.<sup>1</sup> There are uncertain shallow cuttings in the top of the block, which may have been necessitated by the protruding portions of bronze required to re-enforce the junction between the feet and the



Fig. 6. Rock-cut path leading from the northernmost intercolumniation of the east portico of the Propylaea toward the Erechtheum

bronze base. As the rough sinking at D, figure 3, measures 0.675 m.  $\times$  0.795 m.  $\times$  0.025 m. deep, and consequently is too narrow for the inscribed base of the Diitrephes, if the base ever stood at D—certainly a possibility from the order in which Pausanias mentions the statues in this portion of his route—it must have been removed after Pausanias's visit and replaced by some other base and statue. This is not an impossibility, if we remember the great number of statues which, after Pausanias's day, were taken to Italy, Constantinople and other places, or which found their way into the melting pot during the late political disturbances. Let us, then, assume that the Diitrephes was standing at D on the day Pausanias visited the Acropolis. The Aphrodite would then go at F and the Leana at G,

<sup>1</sup> One would expect to have the set-back appear on all four sides. Fortunately enough of the traces of the set-back remain to make the above statement possible.

“near the Aphrodite,” as Pausanias says. This logical distribution of the statues brings Pausanias through the small north door.

2. The second reason for supposing that Pausanias entered the east portico of the Propylaea through the small north door is the following: From the Athena Hygieia he goes almost due east as far as the east front of the Parthenon. If we follow his example, we



Fig. 7. Rock-cutting, probably for the base of the Lemnian Athena. The columns belong to the east portico of the Propylaea

encounter two fixed points in his route, namely, the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis and the statue of Ge (Fig. 1); we are thus certain of this portion of his route. When he leaves the Acropolis, he comes from the general direction of the Erechtheum, and in all likelihood he passes along a rock-cut path which, starting from the northernmost intercolumniation of the east portico of the Propylaea and, consequently, from the small north door as well, heads in the direction of the Erechtheum (Fig. 6). The last statue which he mentions before leaving the Acropolis is the famous Lemnian Athena. If he has already disposed of all the statues in the east portico of the Propylaea, as we believe he has, it is probable that the Athena stood just outside the portico and near the rock-cut path. And in fact we find

a suitable rock-cutting in just this position (Figs. 7, 62 and 63). If this be conceded, then Pausanias is on his way out of the Acropolis through the small north door of the east portico of the Propylaea.

3. The third reason for believing that Pausanias passed through this particular door can be quickly set forth. The treads of the steps in front (to the west) of the small door in question are much more worn by the passage of feet than in the case of any of the other doors (Fig. 8). Of course it is possible that in Christian and Turkish times the internal arrangements of the Propylaea were such as to force the circulation of pedestrians through this particular door. But it is tempting to believe that Pausanias and the thousands who visited the Acropolis in classic times are responsible for the largest portion of the wear upon the steps in front of the small north door.

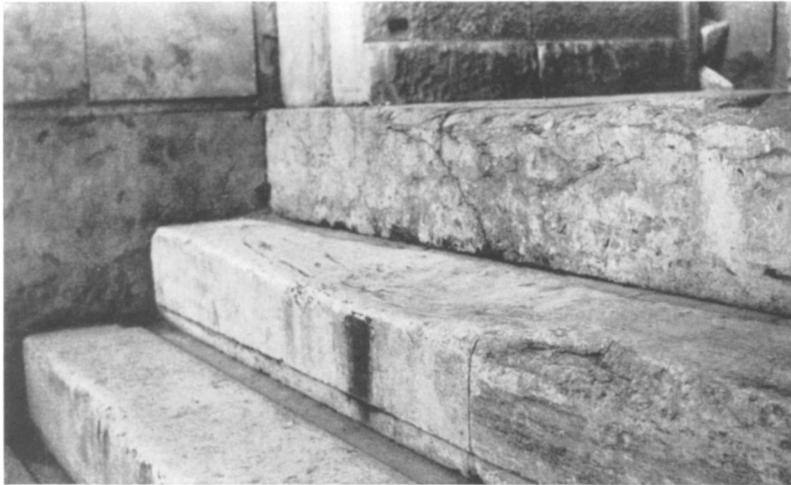


Fig. 8. Steps to the west of the north door leading into the east portico of the Propylaea

Before leaving the east portico, a word or two may be said about the character of the monuments which adorned it. Following Greek precedent, they would differ widely from one another in both subject and material—a variety which was firmly and pleasingly bound together in this case by the formal and vigorous architecture of the portico itself. Monument C, as its base was round, was undoubtedly some sort of small column supporting a votive offering. A bronze cock would be appropriate—a cock on a small column almost always accompanies Athena on Panathenaic amphorai, and, furthermore, the Acropolis was dedicated to Athena. D, the bronze Diitrephes, is, in all likelihood, represented on the vase shown in figure 9: a warrior is sinking backward, his legs pierced with arrows. The inscription on the marble base tells us that Cresilas was the sculptor. Nothing is known about the Aphrodite at F except that it was of bronze, judging from the cuttings on the top of the base, and that the sculptor was Calamis according to the inscription on the base.

As for the Leaena at G, various ancient authors give us the following information: it was of bronze, and represented a lioness with its tongue cut out, to signify that Leaena, even in the agony of death, did not betray her associates: the sculptor was Amphicrates. As a large statue at G would be a hindrance to the passage of many people, it is possible that the representation of Leaena had the form of a small votive offering somewhat similar to that at C, figure 3 (see frontispiece).

Pausanias's next fixed point after that of the Athena Hygieia is the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis (Fig. 1). Between the two he must have seen a variety of monuments. A few meters to the east of the Athena Hygieia he passed the altar used in connection with the worship of the goddess (Figs. 10 and 11). It is a typical altar, with a platform on the west side, so that the priest, while officiating, might face east. After the altar comes a great variety of rock-cuttings indicative of stelai, statues, commemorative monuments, votive offerings, and the like (Fig. 12).



Fig. 9. Diitrephes pierced with arrows: vase painting (J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, Vol. II, Fig. 13)

The rock-cuttings are of the shallow variety used for heavy monuments of stone or of a combination of stone and bronze. We find here no deeply countersunk cuttings such as are required for wooden posts which cannot stand firmly without being well held in a socket. The "Promachos" group, mentioned later on, will furnish good examples of the deep cuttings required for wooden posts. The cutting directly east of the altar of the Athena Hygieia (Fig. 10, L, and Fig. 12) is the only one of all the cuttings between the altar and the entrance to the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis to which a statue can even tentatively be assigned. The cutting measures 0.82 m.  $\times$  0.77 m. and is thus the

right size to receive the base of the Diitrephes, which is 0.755 m.  $\times$  0.695 m. It must be admitted, however, that the cutting is too well made to suppose that after Pausanias's visit a Diitrephes in the east portico was removed to this new location east of the altar. There is some possibility that the Diitrephes stood over this rock-cutting from the beginning instead of in the east portico of the Propylaea; for the statue of the Athena Hygieia is hidden behind a column of the Propylaea to anyone who has not actually passed through the east portico, whereas the Diitrephes, if placed east of the altar, would be a conspicuous object from the colonnade of the Propylaea, and, therefore, would be likely to attract attention before the Athena did. The "pros" and "cons" for the location of the Diitrephes thus nicely balance each other. If we believe, however, that Pausanias did not "double back" in this description of the statues he saw, which seems likely, then the scales of the balance slightly favor the site in the Propylaea.





Fig. 11. Altar and pedestal of Athena Hygieia



Fig. 12. Rock-cuttings for some of the monuments between the Propylaea and the entrance to the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. The statue of Diitrephes possibly stood over the one in the immediate foreground

## II. THE SANCTUARY OF THE BRAURONIAN ARTEMIS

Back of the cuttings between the Propylaea and the entrance to the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis is a wall of rock formed artificially by cutting away the natural rock perpendicularly (Figs. 11, 12 and 13). Its orientation is almost exactly that of the Propylaea, an indication that the date of the two is the same. Mnesicles undoubtedly desired that the approach to the Propylaea from the side of the Acropolis should be as dignified and orderly as possible, especially as he was obliged to abandon his ambitious



Fig. 13. Entrance to the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis and the wall of rock to the west of it

wings to the north and south of the east portico of the Propylaea. The top of the artificial wall of rock is dressed in a series of steps and originally carried an ashlar wall of poros stone, of which many of the blocks, about 0.53 m. thick, are still *in situ* at the western end of the wall. The wall is the northern boundary of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis (Figs. 1 and 10). The entrance to the Sanctuary is at the east end of the wall of rock, where we find an obvious rock-cut flight of steps, bordered by a row of stelai on its western side (Fig. 13). Advancing within the Sanctuary, we note, without too much difficulty, that it originally covered an area of considerable size, half rock-cut, half fill,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ancient Greek terraces on rocky slopes may be classified under three headings:

I. Those that avoid all cutting of the rock by the use of a high retaining wall with an earth fill back of it. They are the cheapest. The wall is often utilized for defensive purposes on account of its height. Such terraces occur more frequently in early than in late times. (Continued on p. 460.)

bordered on the east and south with stoa-like structures. The area extended on the west to a portion of the Mycenaean wall, here immensely thick (6 m.), which formed part of the western defences of the Acropolis (Fig. 10). If we follow the east stoa to its northern extremity, we find that we are standing directly between the Propylaea and the Parthenon (Fig. 1); that is, the stoa must have concealed a large part of the Parthenon from those emerging from the east portico of the Propylaea. Strange to say,

this is rather a new conception. To determine how much of the Parthenon the stoa hid, we shall be obliged to marshal all the literary and archaeological data possible, and then to re-enforce what we succeed in bringing together with a careful study of both the rock-cuttings and the scanty architectural remains of the sanctuary.

From inscriptions<sup>1</sup> it is known that at least as early as 346–345 B.C. there were two images of the goddess Artemis within the precinct,—an old stone idol, probably seated, and an upright statue in bronze (?) by Praxiteles. Were there two separate shrines in which these two statues were placed? Possibly. Pausanias mentions the statue by Praxiteles. But he is tantalizing in his silence about many features which are needed for a faithful reconstruction of the sanctuary.

He also speaks of a bronze copy

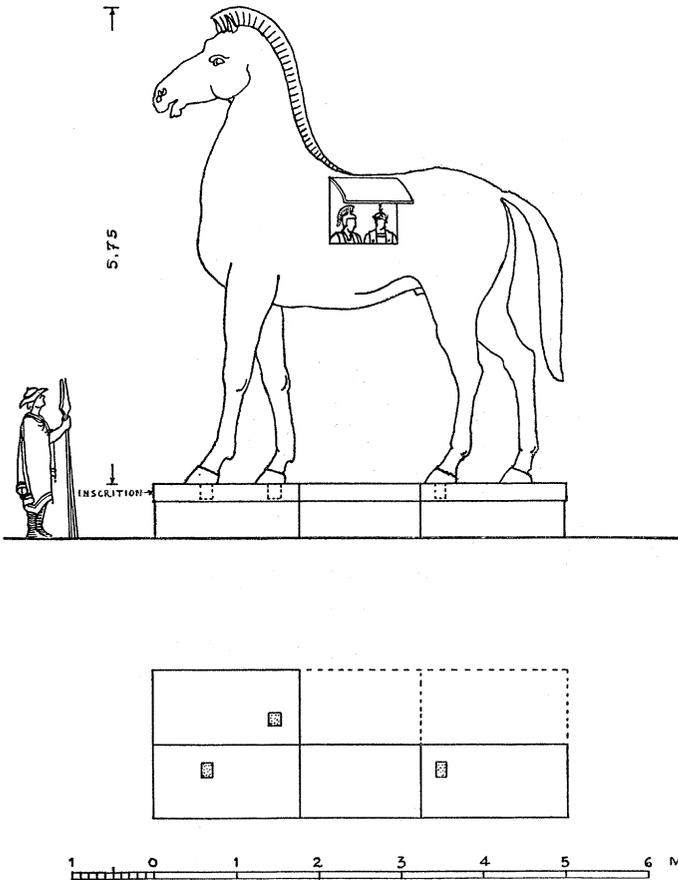


Fig. 14. Bronze copy of the Trojan Horse: restoration

of the Trojan Horse, which, from his ambiguous wording, we may place either inside the precinct or immediately outside of it. Fortunately there are good reasons from

- II. Those that are half rock-cut and half fill; what is cut out of the rock is immediately thrown where the level is to be raised. This type of terrace requires a lower retaining wall than in the first type, and access to the terrace is easier for those coming up the slope, as less climbing has to be done.
- III. Those that are entirely rock-cut. They are rare on account of their expense, and usually narrow for the same reason.

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1517, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1522, 1524.

a literary source for putting the horse in the precinct,<sup>1</sup> and, furthermore, two of the six huge marble blocks which formed the base were actually found in the Sanctuary, although not *in situ*. Pausanias says that "Menestheus and Teucer are shown looking out from the inside of the horse; so also are the sons of Theseus." Probably two heroes on each side were peeping out of the horse. The top of the head of the horse must have reached to a height of about 5.75 m. above the base, judging from the distance between the front and rear hoofs. The horse was so large, that the men peeping out of it could be represented at natural size



Fig. 15. Rock-cuttings for the north end of the east stoa of the Brauronian Artemis: A, cuttings for two stelai antedating the stoa

(Fig. 14). These are scant data so far for a reconstruction of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis.

Fortunately, a study of the rock-cuttings and the few architectural remains yields considerably more information, although at first glance this does not seem likely. Starting with the rock-cuttings at A, figure 10, we observe that three stelai were removed when the north wall of the east stoa was built (Fig. 15 shows at A two of the stelai). The rock-cuttings for the part of the precinct wall which ran from the northwest portion of the stoa to the entrance of the sanctuary also passed directly over a cutting for a stele (Fig. 10, B). Three to four meters south of A and B, figure 10, are rock-cuttings for a wall with quite a different orientation from that of the east stoa. The deduction that there were at least two building periods over the area in question is clear. Further confirmation of different building periods is found south of the shallow rock-cut trench C (in which the west façade

<sup>1</sup> Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons. of Ancient Athens*, pp. 405–406.



these reasons the free standing columns can be advantageously spaced nearer together than the engaged columns. The circular trace of the column at H, figure 10, measures 0.345 m. in radius: this gives a diameter of 0.69 m., the same as that at G, and establishes the fact that the two orders at H and G were identical (except that one order was engaged and the other was not). There is a further indication that the orders were the same, for the buildings on the east and south of the sanctuary were the same in width, as will be shown later on (see Fig. 20)—the same width is an indication that the façades were the same in height. The order was Doric. For, if we suppose the lower diameter



Fig. 17. Stylobate blocks and rear wall (the lower portion rock-cut for almost its entire length) of buildings along the east side of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis

of the column to be 0.69 m., that is, equal to the diameter of the trace of the column on the stylobate, the intercolumniation, with an axial distance of 2.235 m., becomes a little less than  $2\frac{1}{4}$  diameters—a wide intercolumniation even for the Doric order, but a possible intercolumniation. If, on the other hand, the order be Ionic with a base measuring 0.69 m. over all, the lower diameter of the column becomes about 0.46 m., the intercolumniation about  $3\frac{7}{8}$  diameters (that of the Nike Temple is 2 diameters), and the height of the column about 3.54 m. (0.46 m. less than that of the Nike Temple). These are quite impossible proportions for our building. In the case of the Doric order, a wide intercolumniation of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  diameters means that there were two triglyphs between the columns, like the arrangement of triglyphs over the central openings of the Propylaea. The building will be shown later on to date from the fifth century B.C. Using fifth century

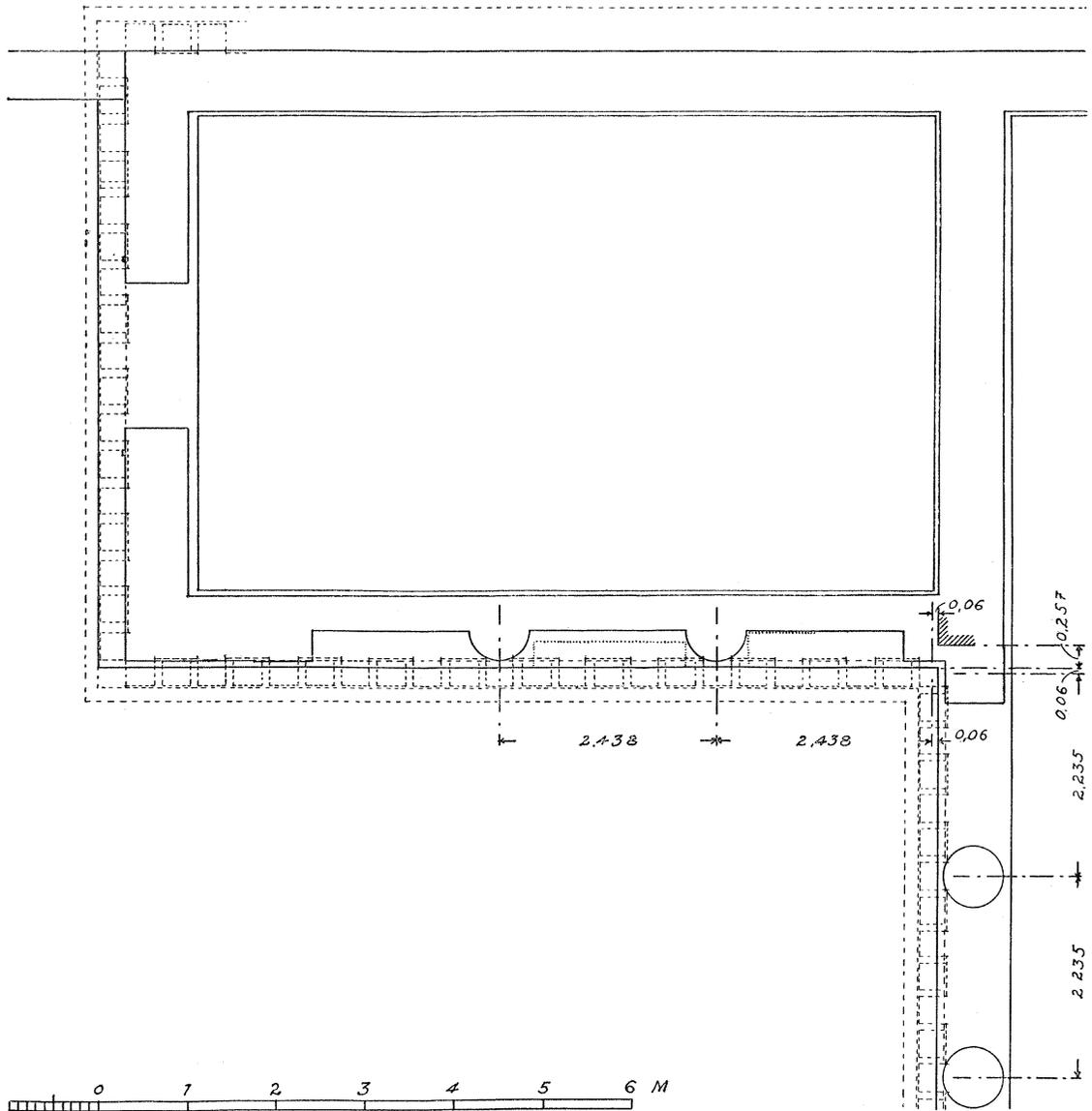


Fig. 18. Calculations for axial distances of columns in the southeast corner of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis

proportions, the various heights connected with our Doric order may be calculated as follows:

Stylobate, from the actual remains	0.38 m.	
Column, 5.78 diameters high	3.99	
Cornice,	<u>1.45</u>	
Total height of order		5.82 m.
From top of cornice to top of ridge-pole, 1 : 4 slope		<u>0.95</u>
Total height above rock-cutting under stylobate		6.77 m.
Level above sea of rock-cutting under stylobate		<u>148.93</u>
Level of top of ridge-pole		<u>155.70 m.</u>

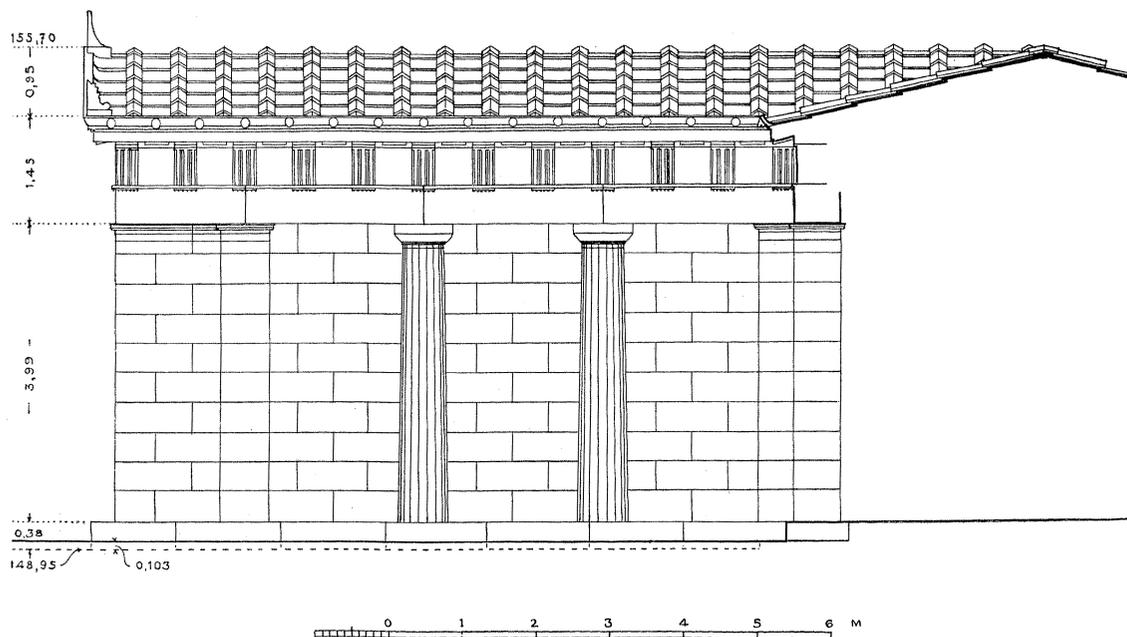


Fig. 19. Elevation at "G," figure 10: restoration

Using these dimensions, the restored elevation at G, figure 10, becomes as represented in figure 19.

Buildings AD and FI, figure 10, although separate, had many features in common. Block D and stylobate G are both of poros stone, and the top of block D lies in the same plane with that of the stylobate G. The rock-cuttings for the west portions of both buildings have the same orientation and practically line with each other, the only difference being that the width of the rock-cutting for building AD is 0.12 m. wider and 0.04 m. lower—small differences and easily accounted for, if we remember that the two buildings were probably of different date. The walls of the two buildings have the same thickness. It is likely that building FI had a projecting base on its north side, like that which building AD had on its south side, as we have already noted. The west stylobates of the two

buildings were physically united by a sill, as the rock-cutting between the buildings, at E, shows: the top of this sill probably lined with the rabbet of block D (see figure 16), to allow rain-water falling in the uncovered area between the two buildings to escape freely into the central court. There are two additional features which indicate that building AD was carefully designed to harmonize with building FIH—there was a solid angle at the northwest corner of AD similar to the solid portion at the northwest corner of building FI, and the axial unit of the columns for building AD was the same as the axial unit of those at H: these two features will be explained in some detail later on.

We are now ready to attempt restorations of the Sanctuary in both periods.

First, or Cimonean, period (Figs. 20 and 21): Wall K, figure 10, was probably cut, as we have seen, at the time of the erection of the Mnesiclean Propylaea. It is likely, therefore, that before Mnesicles' time there was some such wall as A, figure 20, which is parallel to the risers of the steps leading into the Sanctuary. There is a rock-cutting about 3 m. southwest of 81, figure 10, which has the same orientation as that of wall A, figure 20. It is a rougher cutting than those near it, which have the orientation of Mnesicles' rock-cut wall and are, consequently, either contemporary with, or later than, his wall. The cutting in question was, perhaps, made for the base of a monument which stood in front of wall A (Fig. 20) and which had the same orientation as that of the wall. All traces of wall A itself were obliterated by Mnesicles.<sup>1</sup> The rock-cut steps of the entrance to the Sanctuary seem to have been in use during both periods. East of the rock-cut steps we have already noted the rock-cuttings for wall B, figure 20. The north boundary of the Sanctuary is thus complete. Let us turn to the south boundary. We will begin with the only architectural remains of this period which we have not so far discussed, namely, the start of a wall at J, figure 10. This is none other than the beginning of the west wall of stoa E, figure 20. It is almost parallel to the east face of the Mycenaean wall on the west side of the Sanctuary, and not exactly perpendicular to the outside of the south wall of the Acropolis. A further important feature about the west wall of stoa E is that it is solidly bonded into the south wall of the Acropolis, which, at this point, was built by Cimon (see Fig. 10, J). Stoa and wall are of the same date—about the middle of the fifth century B.C. The blocks at J (Fig. 10) tell us, also, another important fact, namely, the width of stoa E, figure 20. For, if wall IH, figure 20, be continued westward to L, then the stoa at LJ will be the same width as stoa C; the foundations at M, figure 10, will be, by position and direction, suitable for the southeast corner of the south stoa; and the roofing of C and E becomes a simple matter. Furthermore, proper defence of the south Acropolis wall required that the south stoa be kept back from the south face of the Acropolis wall. Note that the rear wall of the Chalkotheke (which touches our stoa and which, furthermore, only leans against the Acropolis wall, see Fig. 1) and that of our stoa formed, together, a long stretch of Acropolis wall which might occasionally have to be defended. This stretch of wall need not have been either high or thick, as the Acropolis

<sup>1</sup> It is also possible that the cutting gives the position and direction of wall A itself.

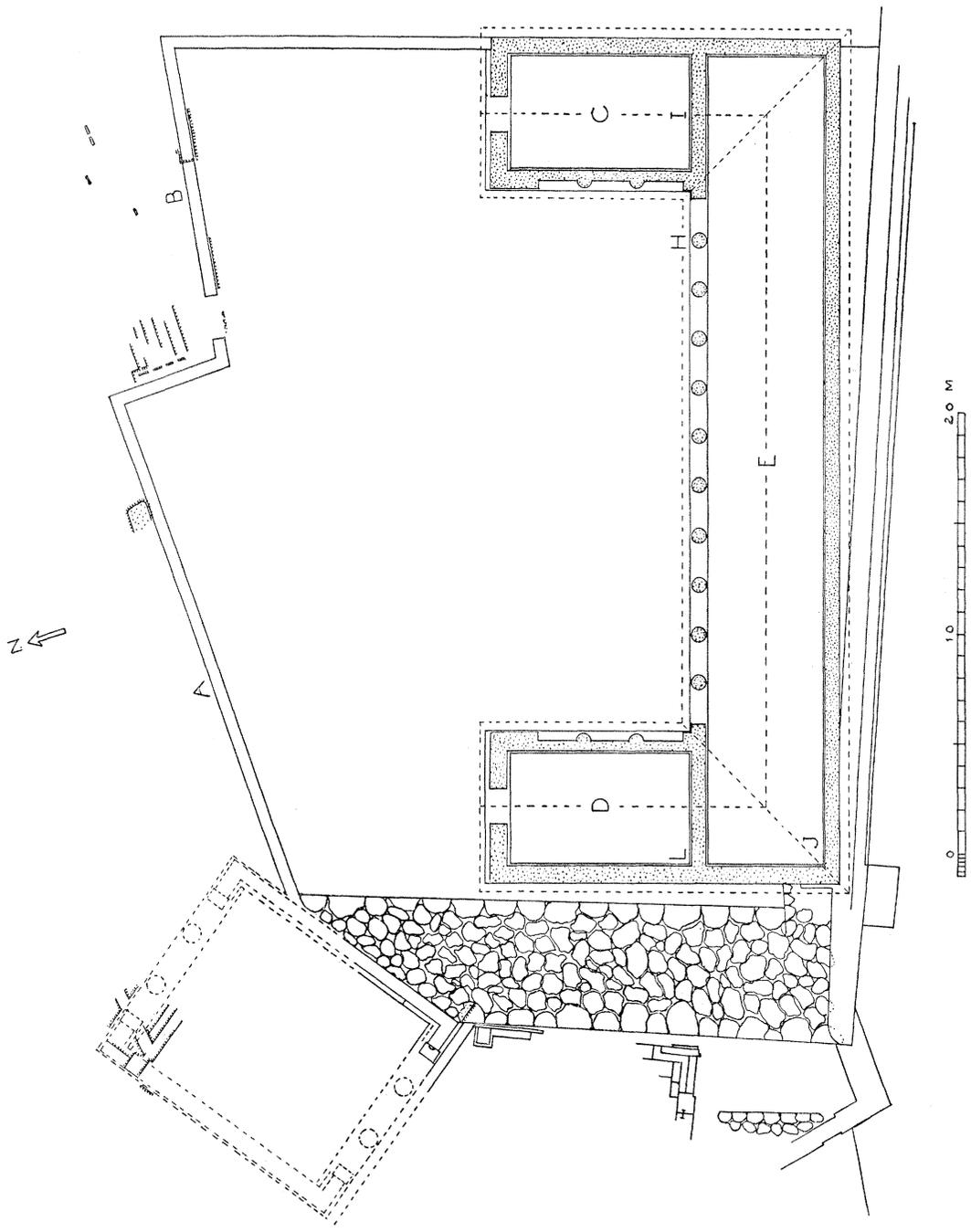


Fig. 20. Plan of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis shortly before the erection of the Mnesiclean Propylaea: restoration

rock here falls away precipitously forming a natural defence. Hence the necessity of some sort of "chemin de ronde," with a minimum width for soldiers to pass each other, plus a parapet. On the west side of the Sanctuary rose the Mycenaean wall, already referred to, which was no less than 6 m. thick. It reached at least as high as the cornice of the south wing of Mnesicles' Propylaea, for the cornice of that wing was cut at an angle to fit against the Mycenaean wall. The Acropolis rock west of this Mycenaean wall has a comparatively gentle slope, which necessitated a good defensive wall at this point. A glance at figure 10 will show that the different defensive possibilities along the south and west of the southwest portion of the Acropolis were fully appreciated in Mycenaean times; and the Greeks of the time of Pericles must have also seen the same possibilities: for the Mycenaean wall toward the west was much thicker than that along the south. The wall along the south, therefore, was probably less high than that along the west in both Mycenaean and classical times. On the east side of the Sanctuary there seems to be

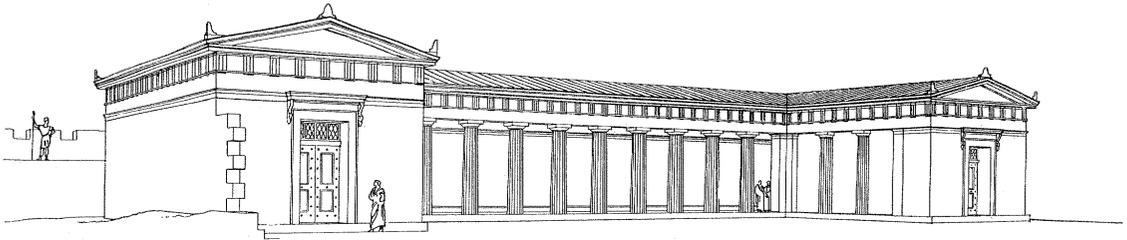


Fig. 21. Pre-Mnesiclean stoa along the south side of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis: restored perspective view

no reason for not continuing the east wall of building C, figure 20, northward until it meets wall B. We must consider one more feature before attempting a restoration of the precinct. We have already spoken of the inscriptions of 346–345 B.C., which prove that at that time two images of Artemis were objects of veneration within the Sanctuary. As the religion of the Greeks was conservative—like all religions—it is highly probable that there were two cult statues at the time of Mnesicles. Two separate shrines would be appropriate for the two statues. (If we could have gazed upon the Sanctuary just after the sack of the Acropolis by the Persians, we would probably have seen, somewhere within the precinct, the ruins of an archaic temple of Artemis, facing east, no traces of which exist today.) The above, then, are the various elements we must endeavour to incorporate in our restoration of the first period (Figs. 20 and 21). Note that stoa E, figure 20, has the same width as that of the projecting wing C, and that there is room south of the stoa to man the Acropolis wall. Stoa E is suitable for the location of cult offerings which needed protection from the sun or rain. The projecting wings C and D may have housed the two cult statues (see p. 520). The reason for isolating the building from the Mycenaean wall on the west, instead of building it against the wall, was, doubtless, to allow soldiers, with their various fighting materials, easy access to this important defensive wall.

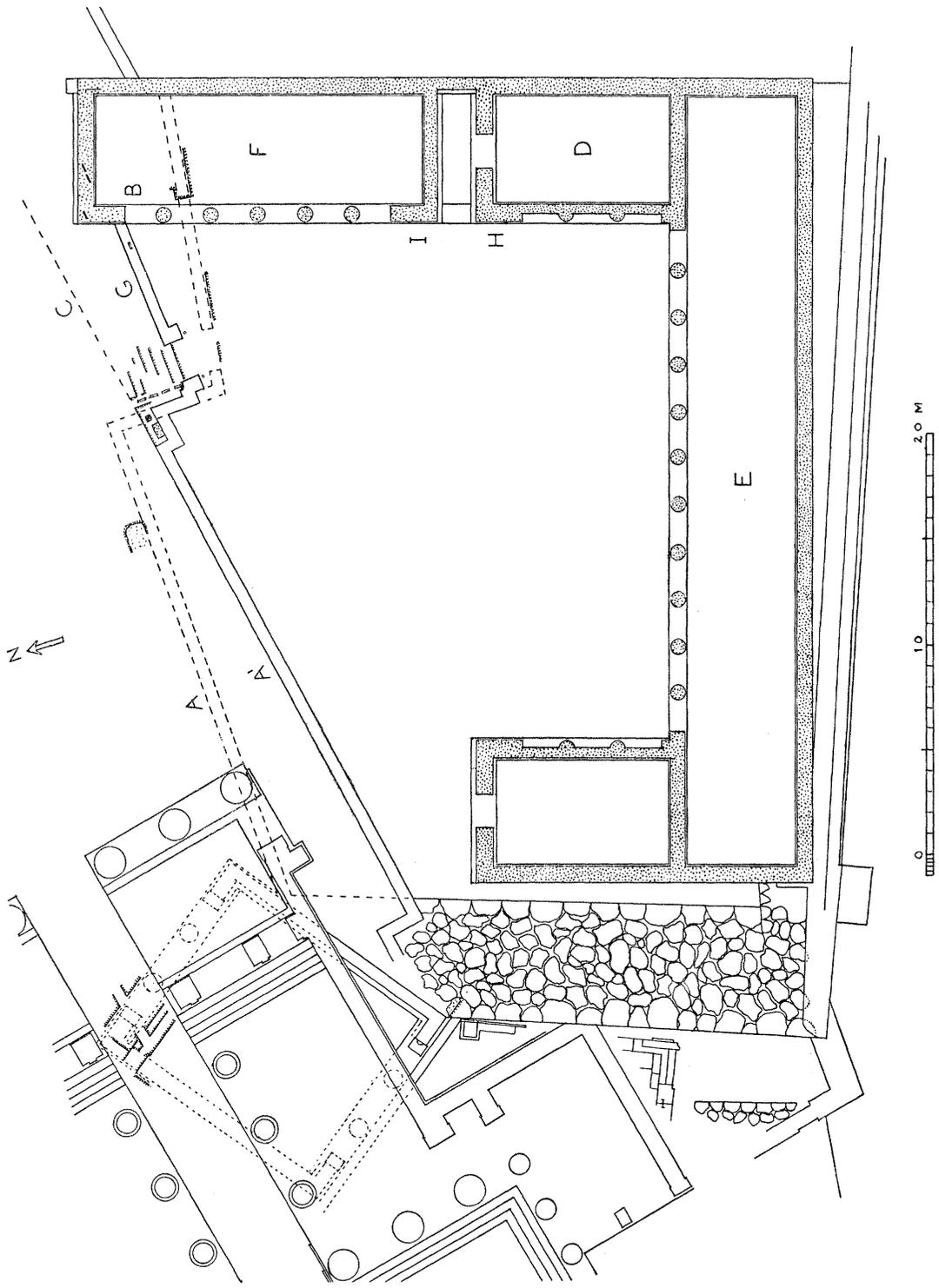


Fig. 22. Plan of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis at about the time of the erection of the Mnesiclean Propylaea: restoration

Second, or Mnesiclean, period (Fig. 22): The removal of wall A to A' decreased the size of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis without interfering with proper access for military purposes to the large Mycenaean defensive wall along the western boundary of the Sanctuary. To compensate for the lost area, it seems likely that the Sanctuary was increased by an area at B. That the area B was intended to be greater is, perhaps, indicated by the line C—a trace actually cut in the Acropolis rock and lying in the prolongation of the north face of wall A': if C were the boundary line of the Sanctuary, the additional area would be more equal to the lost area north of A'. There seems to have been a change of plan which may be explained as follows. If, by the time of Mnesicles, stoa E had become overcrowded with votive offerings, due to increased wealth and increased population after the Persian wars, we may suppose that a compromise was reached whereby less land was given at CB in exchange for a new stoa at F, destined to accommodate the great number of new votive offerings. Turning our attention to stoa F, we may draw three conclusions, as follows:

1. The wall at G, for which the rock-cut traces are certain, shows that stoa F had a solid end at B, like that at H, for wall G could not be properly received against stoa F if the northwest angle of the latter consisted of an anta only;
2. As a corollary to conclusion number one, we may place a similar solid end at I;
3. As the distance between the two solid ends can be exactly filled with a colonnade whose axial unit is the same as that of stoa E, and as stoa F had many features in common with structure D and consequently with stoa E, as already explained, we may restore stoa F as an open stoa with an order like that of stoa E.

It has been necessary to study the architectural remains of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis in some detail for three reasons:

1. Stoa F, figure 22, was visible from the Entrance Court of the Acropolis. If we would know what in this direction greeted the eye of the ancient Greek as he entered the Acropolis, we must needs establish the architectural elements of the stoa;
2. As part of stoa F lay directly between the Propylaea and the Parthenon, the height of its ridge-pole had to be determined to know how much of the Parthenon was hidden by the stoa;
3. Pausanias tells us that the crest of the Athena "Promachos" and the head of her spear were visible to sailors as they came from Sunium to Piraeus. When we stand on the site of the "Promachos" we can see the Aegean Sea in a southwesterly direction, the sight line passing directly over the terrace of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis (Figs. 1 and 48). Therefore, if the crest and the spear-head of the "Promachos" were visible from the sea, they must have been at a higher level than the ridge-pole of stoa E, figure 22, a fact which will be proved when the Group of the "Promachos" is considered. The sight line in question will give us a fairly accurate idea of the total height of the "Promachos" and her pedestal (Fig. 49).

### III. THE COURT IN FRONT OF THE WEST FAÇADE OF THE PARTHENON TOGETHER WITH CERTAIN MATTERS PERTAINING TO THE PARTHENON ITSELF

Pausanias now leaves the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis and proceeds eastward along the Processional Way, mentioning monuments and statues as he goes (Fig. 1). The location of these monuments is uncertain until we come to that of the Goddess Ge (Fig. 1, 9). "Earth praying Zeus to send rain upon her," is what Pausanias says about

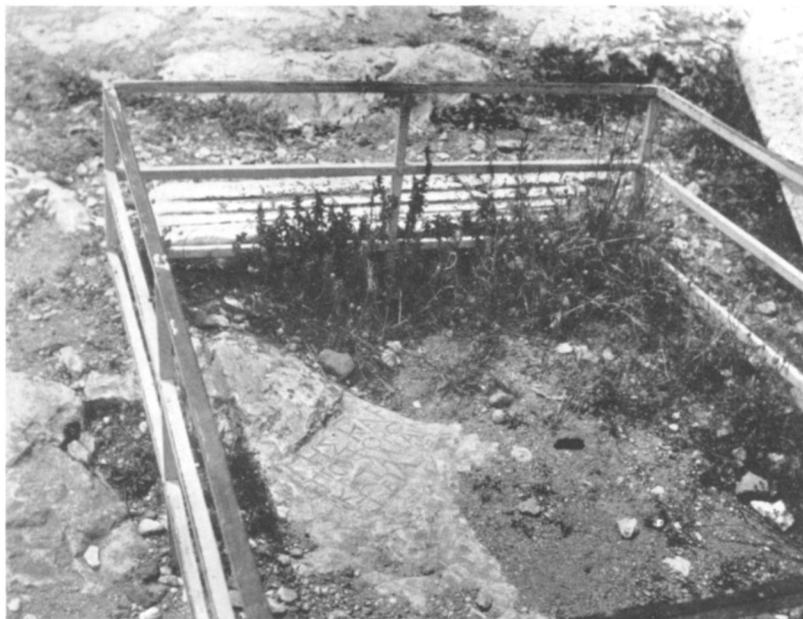


Fig. 23. Inscription of Ge

her. Her inscription is cut in the rock of the Acropolis, thus making the location absolutely assured (Fig. 23). Let us, too, take the route between the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis and the statue of Ge. As we leave the entrance to the Sanctuary we note that the Processional Way, where unusually steep, is provided with a series of approximately parallel grooves, 0.06 m. to 0.14 m. on centers, running across the direction of the Processional Way. They are intended to provide good footing. They start at the Propylaea and can be followed for a distance of about 25 m. beyond the entrance to the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. There they suddenly turn to the right, that is, to the south, through an angle of about  $90^{\circ}$  (Figs. 24 and 52). In an easterly direction from the turning point the Acropolis rock has no more grooves whatever, although this portion of the Acropolis rock is as steep as those we have just traversed. Clearly the circulation over the Processional Way turned at this point to the south. Let us follow the grooves. We may discover the reason for this sudden turn.

As we advance southward, we find that the grooves lead to a series of small rock-cut platforms (Figs. 25 and 52). Passing over these for the time being without comment, we come to a large terrace or court (Fig. 1, 7), partly rock-cut and partly fill, just as in the case of the terrace of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. A high flight of rock-cut steps on the side toward the Parthenon indicates how much rock-cutting—a laborious and expensive kind of work—had to be done (Fig. 26). The steps are parallel to the west façade of the Parthenon, and are cut with a vertical curvature similar to that of the Parthenon steps. As a person standing in the court sees the rock-cut steps projected against the



Fig. 24. Rock-cut grooves for good footing at 26, figure 1: their change in direction shows that the Processional Way turned toward the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon

steps of the Parthenon, it follows that the architect who designed the rock-cut steps felt the necessity of harmonizing them with the steps of the Parthenon. The rock-cut steps originally went as far as the Acropolis wall on the south, as is proved by a foundation wall which continues the line of the steps southward as far as the Acropolis wall.<sup>1</sup> As this foundation wall was partly built of stylobate blocks of the Old Temple of Athena taken from beneath the Porch of the Maidens, we are led to believe that the foundation and the steps it supported were laid a few years after the Porch of the Maidens was started—410 B.C. seems a justifiable approximate date for the rock-cut steps.<sup>2</sup> The steps led to the platform upon which the Parthenon stood: but, on the axis of the Parthenon, where the

<sup>1</sup> Kavvadias and Kawerau, *Ἡ Ἀνασκαφή τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*, Πίναξ Ζ' 78 and pp. 124, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Kavvadias and Kawerau, *Ἡ Ἀνασκαφή τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*, p. 126.



Fig. 25. Rock-cut platforms viewed from the north for the small propylon leading into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon



Fig. 26. Rock-cut steps in front of the west façade of the Parthenon

rock-cut steps which we see today reach their highest level, the seven upper steps were built of poros stone—there are rock-cuttings for the foundation of these poros stone steps. From this highest level the Acropolis rock falls away to right and left, and, where the rock was lacking, the steps were made of poros stone. There are many cuttings in the rock-cut steps for small stelai. They must be looked upon as an accumulation of centuries. On the south side of the court stood the Chalkotheke, a “place of deposit for bronzes” (Fig. 1, 8)—a large building with a portico toward the court (Fig. 27). The Chalkotheke made a considerable angle with the rock-cut steps in front of the Parthenon, because



Fig. 27. Rock-cutting for the stylobate of the portico of the Chalkotheke, on the south side of the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon

the Chalkotheke was built parallel to the Acropolis wall back of it (Fig. 1). As the Chalkotheke was built up against the Acropolis wall, not bonded to it, it follows that the Chalkotheke was erected after the time of Cimon. The date of the Chalkotheke may be precised even more closely, for its northeast corner was built over the rock-cut steps in front of the Parthenon: the Chalkotheke was, then, probably built a few years after the steps were cut. We may, therefore, assign to it an approximate date of 400 B.C. On the west, the court extended as far as the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis; what was cut out of the Acropolis rock to form the long flight of steps in front of the Parthenon was utilized, without doubt, as a filling against the east wall of the east stoa of the Sanctuary.

To determine the nature of the northern boundary of the court presents more difficulties than we have encountered on the other three sides. We must make a patient study of rock-cuttings. A convenient place at which to begin is the northern end of the rock-cut

steps in front of the Parthenon. At A, figure 28, we find a dressing of the Acropolis rock and a block of poros stone, inserted in a hole of the Acropolis rock, upon which rested the foundation blocks (about 0.80 m. wide) of a wall. Following the wall westward, we encounter, first, two stele cuttings, B and C, on the south side of the wall and parallel to the wall, then a series of stele cuttings, D, seven of which run at exactly right angles to the wall, while one, at T, is parallel to the wall and in line with the stele cuttings B and C (Fig. 29). To the west of the stele cuttings at D is the series of small rock-cut platforms over which we passed when first entering the court (Fig. 25).

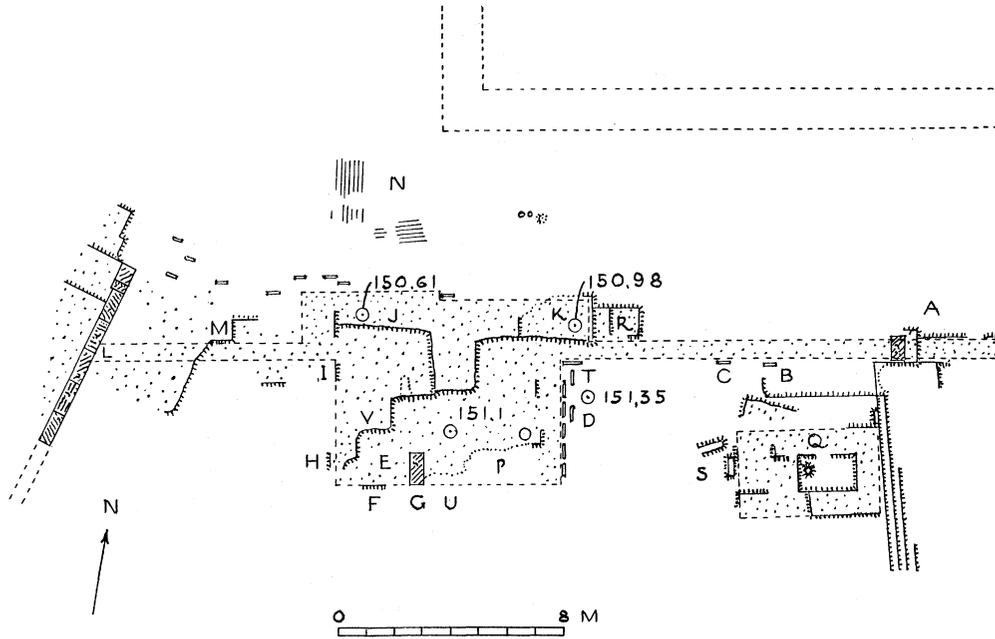


Fig. 28. Plan of rock-cuttings on the northern side of the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon

It is apparent that the stelai at D indicate a wall, or raised platform—for the time being we shall assume a wall—running at right angles to the first wall. The two eastern stelai of the group of seven parallel stelai at D were evidently put in place after the row composed of the other five stelai was complete. Therefore the wall parallel to the direction of the seven stelai was located to the west of the stelai. The width of the foundation blocks of this wall is given by two rock-cuttings to the west of the five stelai (O is one of these; the cutting north of it, the other),—the width of the foundation was about 0.80 m. The stele cutting at T, running east and west, clearly indicates the interior angle between the two walls. The wall parallel to the stelai at D certainly ran south as far as the southern face of the southernmost stele; but we have here no indication of how much farther south the wall ran. If, however, we stand over the southernmost stele cutting and turn to the west, we observe that the rock-cut platform at E is terminated on the south

by the rock-cutting F, that the south end of the block of poros stone at G (inserted in a hole of the Acropolis rock to make the level of platform E continuous) lines with cutting F, and that the line FG is perpendicular to the stelai at D. We have only to prolong line FG eastward to obtain the southern extremity of the wall west of the stelai at D. In a somewhat similar way the wall which bordered the west side of the small rock-cut platforms is determined by rock-cuttings H and I. On the north side of the small rock-cut platforms



Fig. 29. Rock-cuttings, viewed from the north, for stelai along the east side of the small propylon leading into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon

are cuttings J and K, which can only be interpreted as cuttings suitable for steps to overcome a difference of level of 0.74 m. between T and J. To return to wall AT for a moment: If we follow it westward from the series of small rock-cut platforms until it encounters the rear wall of the Stoa of Artemis at L, we find that the Acropolis rock is dressed from I to L, and that there is a rock-cutting at M, with the same orientation as that of the wall, and in which a monument probably stood, with the wall at its back. From the above it follows that an important monument stood over the series of small rock-cut platforms. Its nature is indicated by the turning of the grooves at N—thousands of people were passing through some sort of gate or small propylon in wall AL on their way into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon. Figure 1 shows that the small propylon was visible from the Entrance Court of the Acropolis, and that it and the wall in which it was located partially concealed the Parthenon from people coming up the

Processional Way. If we are to have some idea of how much of the Parthenon the small propylon hid, we are called upon to attempt a restoration of it.

The series of platforms on which the small propylon stood measures, over all, 8 m. east and west by 6.75 m. north and south (including the cuttings for the steps on the north). Comparing other small propylaea of about the same date and, especially, of about the same width with our propylon, we conclude that ours had three openings and was probably of the Doric order. For instances, the width of the propylon at Sunium was 8 m.; that of

the Temple of Aphaia on the Island of Aegina was 7.50 m.;<sup>1</sup> both had two Doric columns *in antis*, with the central passage-way considerably wider than the two side passage-ways; both probably had pediments. If the main propylaea for the entire Acropolis required five passage-ways, we would expect to find three passage-ways in the propylon which led into the court in front of the west façade of the most important building on the Acropolis. Moreover, the type of Doric propylon with three passage-ways is usual for small propylaea in the days of Pericles. Let us see if this type can be made to fit our rock-cuttings. The steps from J to K, extending across the whole façade, may very well indicate columns on the northern side of the small propylon. The difference in level between J and the level inside the court is 0.74 m., a drop of three steps, with risers of 0.247 m.; K is a step and a half below the level of the court: the difference in level between J and K is due to the natural slope of the Acropolis rock, which pitches downward from K to J. If we follow classical precedent, we should have within the small propylon a cross wall pierced with three openings and closed either with doors or grilles: the rock is suitably dressed in two places for such a cross wall; either from O, figure 28, westward as far as wall HI, or from V eastward as far as the stelai at D. We should like to see the rear façade exactly like the front façade, except for one step toward the court instead of three or four toward the north (Fig. 30). Such an arrangement would bring a column at P, figure 28; but, unfortunately, the rock there has been left so uneven that no good builder would believe the foundation suitable for a stone column carrying a stone cornice and pediment. We would expect to find good rock-cuttings for the whole stylobate under the columns. Two possible solutions of the difficulty are presented (Figs. 31 and 32). In the first solution (Fig. 31) the plan is the same as that of the typical propylaea (Fig. 30), except that the two rear columns are omitted. The side walls which project southward from the cross wall are here supposed to support a projecting wooden roof in line with the main roof. In the second solution (Fig. 32), the cross wall has been supplanted by a colonnade exactly like that of the north façade, and, south of the colonnade, there is nothing more than a projecting marble platform. We shall try to decide later on which of the two plans is to be preferred. There is no difficulty in restoring the façade of the typical propylon of the Periclean Age (Fig. 33).

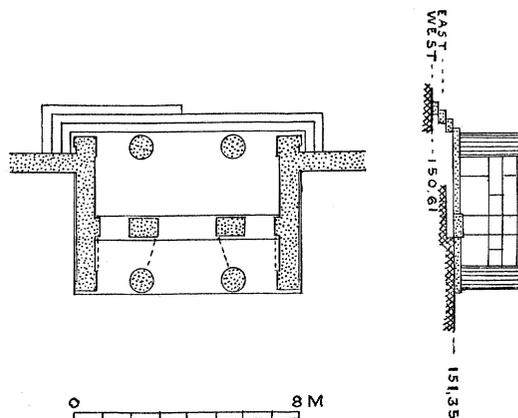


Fig. 30. Plan of the small propylon leading into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon: normal restoration

<sup>1</sup> Additional examples are found at Olympia, Eleusis, Delos, and many other places in Greece proper. They also occur in Asia Minor, Magna Graecia and northern Africa.

But there is some doubt that the propylon was of the classical type, for there is another variety found in Greece, but only in Roman times, which fulfils the conditions just as well. We refer to the type of the small inner propylon at Eleusis, which has three openings, like our small propylon at Athens. In another way, too, the cases are similar, for the main propylaea at both Eleusis and Athens have five openings. Undoubtedly the small propylon at Eleusis had a prototype, but, whether or not that prototype was our small propylon on the Acropolis at Athens, we have no means of saying; on account of the

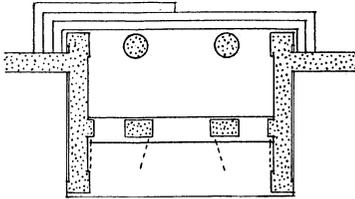


Fig. 31. Idem: first alternative restoration

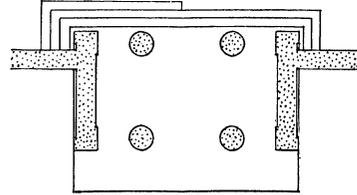


Fig. 32. Idem: second alternative restoration

remote possibility, however, we submit to the reader a sketch plan and elevation, showing our propylon restored in the manner of the Eleusinian type (Fig. 34), so that he may form his own judgment.

Were there doors (or grilles) in our small propylon? The platform around the Parthenon does not seem to have had an enclosure at the east. Why, then, keep people out of the court at the west if they could enter by going around by the east? If this be true, the

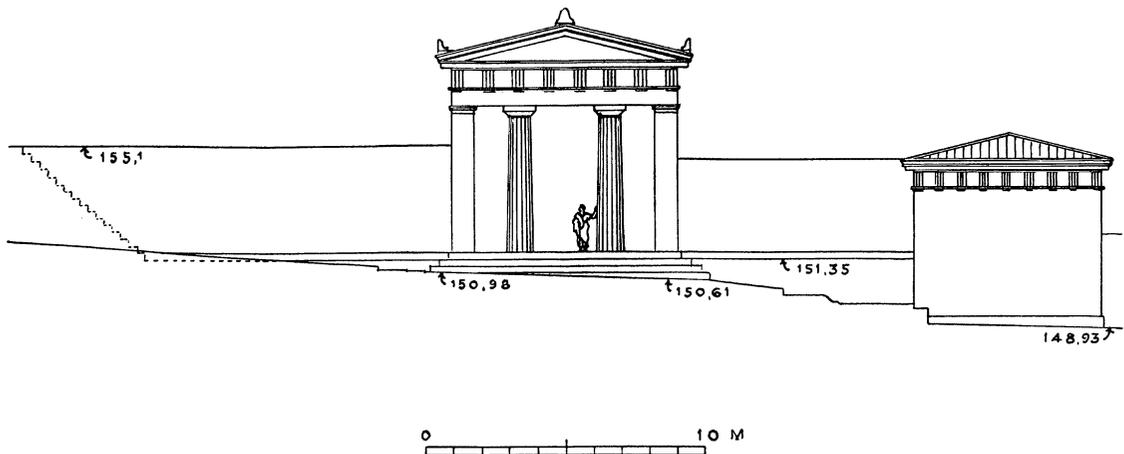


Fig. 33. Elevation of the small propylon leading into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon: restoration

small propylon becomes simply a glorified entrance. The scheme represented in figure 32, which has no doors, becomes just as possible as the scheme represented in figure 31, in which doors are provided. The former scheme is perhaps preferable to the latter. To choose between the classical and Eleusinian types on the evidence of the rock-cuttings is more difficult, as the evidence is so evenly balanced; but, as the classic type is more in keeping with the severe character of the Parthenon, the chances, we believe, are in favor of the classic propylon (see frontispiece).

Both types of propylaea would conceal the Parthenon to about the same degree from people in the Entrance Court.

To return for a moment to figure 28. There are many rock-cuttings at Q for votive offerings and monuments of various kinds. If it be granted that a propylon protruded into the court, there is a plausible explanation for these rock-cuttings. They lie in the dead space between the propylon and the rock-cut flight of stairs—they are out of the line of general circulation. As there are no other cuttings in the platform of the court for votive offerings—of course there may have been many monuments in the western half of the court, where the platform was a fill—the cuttings at Q assume a special importance. We shall refer to them later on.

There are six features which testify to the importance of the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon:

1. We have seen that the grooves for good footing on the Processional Way turn southward toward the court (Fig. 28, N). This indicates that ceremonial trains, such as the Panathenaic, headed at the turning for the court;
2. A special propylon of no mean proportions marked the entrance into the court;
3. The court itself was spacious, especially in its original form, when the flight of steps in front of the Parthenon extended to the southern wall of the Acropolis, and when there was no Chalkotheke (see Fig. 1);
4. The spacious court required an enormous amount of expensive rock-cutting;
5. As time went on, many stelai were placed on the rock-cut flight of steps in front of the Parthenon;

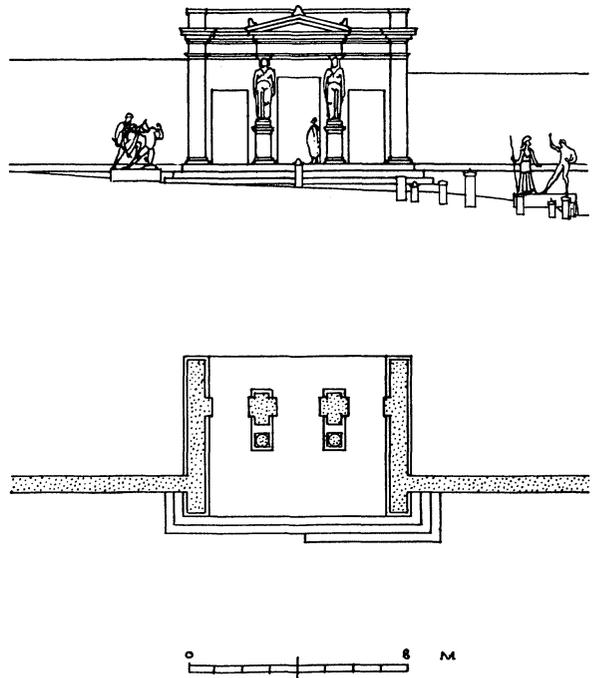


Fig. 34. Plan and elevation of the small propylon leading into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon: restoration in the manner of the small inner propylon at Eleusis

6. The west façade of the Parthenon was ornamented with just as much sculpture as the east façade—one façade was considered as important as the other. If there had been no court, the expensive sculptures of the western pediment could not have been well seen and, consequently, would probably have been omitted.

For these six reasons, therefore, the court must be considered an essential element in the design of the Parthenon.

The court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon would hardly be made so important, as indicated in the last paragraph, without reason. We have seen that the grooves of the Processional Way turn into the court, indicating that important processions passed through the court; and we arrive at the same conclusion if we study the cuttings for the stelai and votive monuments along the Processional Way. They are found in great numbers along the south side of the Processional Way as far as the small propylon, but no farther: and they begin again immediately after traversing the small propylon, this time between the open space of the court and the north wall of the court (Fig. 28, D, T, C, B, S, and Q). Once in the spacious court, the Panathenaic procession—if we suppose the most important religious procession in Athens to be approaching the Parthenon—may have manoeuvred so that half the procession could proceed along the north side of the Parthenon and the other half along the south side, just as the Panathenaic marble frieze of the Parthenon does, to meet, finally, before the main entrance of the temple at the east. The sacrificial animals, however, could not follow this route, as the rock-cut steps between the court and the west façade of the Parthenon were too numerous and too steep for the passage of such animals. They, doubtless, did not pass through the small propylon, but kept straight on in an easterly direction from the point where the Processional Way turns into the court (Fig. 28, N). The western part of this route for animals is marked by a series of regular depressions in the Acropolis rock, which suit the gait of large animals, such as oxen, for example (Fig. 28). The eastern part of their route is less steep and so did not there require special footing for animals. Furthermore, the route from N eastward passed between two high walls, which were fairly near together, as we shall see later on. Under such a condition this part of the route could never have been made attractive—it was more or less a service road. A preliminary manoeuvre, then, took place outside the propylon—the pedestrians in the procession turned south through the propylon, while the sacrificial animals were led off toward the east, in the direction of the great altar of Athena (Fig. 1).

The Acropolis rock fell away so rapidly at the northwest corner of the Parthenon, that here the terrace upon which the temple stood was wholly artificial, and, consequently, had to be sustained on its north side by a retaining wall. The latter was none other than the prolongation of the wall along the north side of the court to the west of the Parthenon. The wall can be traced by its rock-cuttings eastward to a point about north of the fifth column of the Parthenon, counting from the northeast corner of the temple; here the level of the Acropolis rock rises to the level of the terrace and makes a retaining wall farther east unnecessary. One of the rock-cuttings for the retaining wall, which can be easily located, occurs south of the inscription of Ge; the axis of the wall is 1.80 m. from the

center of the inscription, and the dressing of the Acropolis rock shows that the bottom course of the wall was about 0.80 m. thick—a thickness similar to that of the bottom course of the same wall (already noted) on the north side of the court. It is doubtful if the terrace of the temple had a parapet, as the retaining wall averaged only 1.88 m. in height and thus presented little danger if a person were to fall over the edge. The level of the terrace at the northwest corner of the Parthenon is 3.77 m. above the level of the court on the west, and, as this is a good height for a precinct wall, the top of the wall on the north side of the court probably had the same level as that of the terrace platform: the broad flight of steps to the west of the Parthenon could then be received against the precinct



Fig. 35. Panathenaic frieze as seen from the terrace of the Parthenon

wall in a simple and logical manner (Fig. 66). But by far the most interesting feature about the retaining wall is that it was made parallel to the south side of the Old Temple of Athena, and not parallel to the north flank of the Parthenon (Fig. 1). There was a good reason for this, as we shall see later on.

The bottom of the marble Panathenaic frieze is considerably raised above the bottom of the main architrave of the temple. As a result, this important decorative element could be seen only in perspective, the best angle for viewing it making as much as  $45^{\circ}$  with the horizon. In fact, the frieze could be seen well only from the platform which surrounded the temple (Figs. 1 and 35), and not at all from the peristyle of the temple. This emphasises the importance of the terrace upon which the Parthenon was built—it clearly indicates where crowds of people were expected to gather. The many statues which once probably decorated the four terraces about the Parthenon have left no rock-cut traces, as

all the terraces were artificially made (except at the northeast corner of the temple, where the Acropolis rock rises to the level of the platform upon which the temple rests, and where we do find numerous rock-cuttings for various kinds of monuments). However, we have a good indication that there were monuments on all the terraces, for there are traces for pedestals on the tread of the middle step of the temple in front of many of the columns and on all sides of the temple, except the east side where the tread has been too badly worn to make any assertion. The terrace on the south was extended to the Acropolis wall by means of a high and expensive retaining wall and an immense amount of fill. The north façade was to have as much "elbow room" as the south façade, for Pericles and his advisers certainly intended to take down the Old Temple of Athena when the Erechtheum was built, as will be shown later on,—the observer was to be able to back away from the Parthenon as far as the Erechtheum. At the east, too, there was as much open space as at the west. Evidently, the Parthenon, with its elaborate and beautiful sculptures on all four façades, with ample room on every side, was designed to be a complete architectural jewel—a glorious national shrine, more imposing than anything of its kind erected up to that time, and a monument to inspire future generations with an idea of true beauty. It was rightly classed among the wonders of the world.

Pausanias does not definitely state that he entered the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon. But he mentions so many statues and votive offerings between the Trojan Horse and the Ge—undoubtedly those he describes being only a portion of what he actually saw—that some of the statues he describes may well have stood in the court, where they would be entirely appropriate. Indeed, it is probable that he actually passed into the court, mounted the flight of rock-cut steps near its northern extremity and proceeded to the east front of the Parthenon along the northern part of the temple platform. Objection to this route may be raised, because Pausanias would have to look down upon the statue and inscription of Ge (Figs. 1 and 23): this is not too serious an objection, however, when we note that the Acropolis rock at the Ge is only 1.38 m. below the platform of the Parthenon, and that the inscription is turned at an angle of about  $45^{\circ}$  to the temple terrace and therefore would not have to be read absolutely upside down. Pausanias makes no mention of the inscription, although it must have been there in his day, as the letters date from about Hadrian's time. Thus Pausanias does not seem to have taken the route over which we believe that the sacrificial animals were led, the route which started eastward at N, figure 28; as we have said, there are no cuttings for monuments along it until the Ge is reached. On the other hand, we have seen that there were a quantity of cuttings at Q, figure 28, inside the court, between the small propylon and the broad flight of rock-cut steps. We cannot say how many monuments, if any, stood on the terrace to the east of Q, for, as previously pointed out, the terrace there is artificial (except for its eastern end, where various cuttings do occur). But votive monuments are certainly better displayed upon a large raised platform than along a narrow inclined way between high walls. And certainly it was more dignified for the Panathenaic procession to advance along the raised temple platform than to walk through what was hardly more than a tunnel

—more inspiring for both participants and spectators. We can almost see the procession as it passes between the many votive monuments, with the majestic Parthenon for a background: and, if by chance members of the procession glanced upward at the temple, they saw themselves carved in marble in the Panathenaic frieze—a beautiful and permanent reminder of the importance of their mission in life (Fig. 35).

None of the many statues and monuments which Pausanias saw between the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis and the Statue of Ge can be definitely located. Tentative positions may, however, be assigned to three. After speaking of the bronze copy of the Trojan Horse, which we have seen probably stood in the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis, he mentions five statues. This would bring him somewhere near the entrance into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon. He says at this juncture, “Here there is also a statue of Athena



Fig. 36. Athena and Marsyas; vase-painting (J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, Vol. II, Fig. 17)

striking Marsyas the Silenus, because he took up the pipes when the goddess meant them to be flung away. Opposite the monuments I have described is a representation of Theseus and the bull called the Minotaur, . . .” At R, figure 28, is a rock-cutting suitable for a group, and there is another cutting at M with various smaller cuttings in its immediate vicinity. If Pausanias were about to pass through the small propylon and saw the Athena and Marsyas at M and the Theseus and the Minotaur at R, is it not possible that he described the two monuments as being “opposite each other,” as they were on either side of him as he went through the propylon? Both groups were popular works of art in antiquity, as representations upon Athenian coins and Greek vases testify, and it would therefore be fitting to give them places of honor on either side of the propylon. The first was from the hand of Myron, and, as he worked in bronze, the group was probably in that material. Athena is said to have invented the double flute, and the story of how Marsyas incurred her ire in connection with it was a familiar tale in antiquity.



Fig. 37. Theseus and the Minotaur: Athenian coin (Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons. of Ancient Athens*, p. 410)

Pausanias's description of the group agrees fairly well with the known representations of it, one of which is given in figure 36. The second, Theseus and the Minotaur, is depicted on three different Athenian coins (Fig. 37)—a testimonial to its popularity. An excellent marble torso of the Minotaur, which was found near the Tower of the Winds, is now preserved in the National Museum at Athens. It is probably a copy of the original on the

Acropolis. The distance between the elbow and the top of the head in the copy is 0.90 m., a space which measures only 0.65 m. in a normal man. The original, therefore, was probably an imposing group.

The third monument to which a tentative position may be given—we must announce at once that the assignment is extremely tentative—is the so-called Temple of Athena Ergane (Athena the Worker). She was the goddess of the arts of life and, as such, was worshiped by artisans. Pausanias's text is defective. He may have seen any kind of monument which could be used in connection with the worship of the goddess, such as an image, an altar, and the like. Under the circumstances we prefer to call what he saw "a monument to Athena Ergane." Five inscriptions containing dedications to Athena Ergane were discovered on the Acropolis, two of which came to light in the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon.<sup>1</sup> When Pausanias mentions the monument, he must have been standing somewhere near the northwest corner of the terrace of the Parthenon. In fact, when we examine the rock in the northeast corner of the court in front of the Parthenon, we find a series of shallow cuttings (Fig. 28, Q) of the same general width (0.80 m.). They are suitable for a monument of fair size. Some of the cuttings to the north of Q seem to have been made when the Acropolis rock was being excavated to form the court in front of the Parthenon, and they appear to have been left unfinished because they were hidden by the monuments in front of them. The cutting to the southwest of B seems to antedate somewhat the cutting at Q—perhaps this is an indication that a monument was removed when that at Q was put up. The monument at Q may have been erected to replace one destroyed by the Persians, which had stood possibly on, or near, the same site. It was built against the rock-cut steps, thus making the date of the monument later than that of the steps. The character of the rock-cuttings under the monument is so good, however, that the difference in date cannot be great. The situation, then, is this: Pausanias has reached Q, approximately, when he mentions a monument of Athena Ergane. As we find rock-cuttings at Q for a monument, there is at least a slight probability that her monument stood on that spot. We admit, however, that the monument may have been located on the terrace of the Parthenon, near the northwest corner of the terrace: as the latter at this point was artificially made to a considerable depth, the monument would leave no traces in the Acropolis rock.<sup>2</sup>

Thus Pausanias seems to have followed the route of the Panathenaic procession. And that route was, apparently, the usual one for visitors to take. He omits, it is true, to mention the small propylon: but he makes more serious omissions; for example, he says nothing about the Great Altar of Athena, although, as we shall see later on, he must have passed near it.

We shall pause briefly at only three features along Pausanias's route between the Monument of Ge and the Erechtheum (Fig. 1):

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, Vol. II, p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> The connection of Athena Ergane with the Acropolis has been a favorite subject of discussion among archaeologists. Consult J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, Vol. II, p. 297.

1. The first is the socket for the vertical wooden post which formed the central support of the armature for the colossal chryselephantine statue of Athena in the Parthenon (Fig. 38). The marble base of the statue, presumably about 1.50 m. high, rested upon a foundation of poros stone. Some of the blocks of the marble base have been identified and replaced over the foundation. It is evident that a rectangular socket measuring 0.55 m.  $\times$  0.76 m. ran through the marble base and down into the foundation of poros stone. It is equally clear that a wooden mast was inserted in the socket, the function of which was to support the statue. The rectangular form



Fig. 38. Remains of the pedestal of the gold and ivory statue of Athena in the Parthenon, showing the socket (0.55 m.  $\times$  0.76 m.) for the timber which acted as a central support for the armature of the colossal statue

of the timber permitted secure attachment (by bolting, countersinking, or a combination of the two) of the various cross timbers, which, in turn, must have supported some sort of rough form, probably of wood, of the statue itself. The gold plates—it is known that all were removable—and the ivory parts were then fastened to the rough form in their proper positions. As this complicated internal mechanism of posts, struts, etc. reached a total height of about 13.50 m. above the pavement, and was called upon to support a considerable weight, we are not surprised at the large size of the timber which acted as the central support of the armature. Attention is called here to the nature of the socket for a vertical timber destined to be strained under a loading some of which was excentric, as all parts of the statue could not have been perfectly balanced. The rock-cuttings which we have

encountered thus far were designed for marble bases supporting either marble or bronze statues. Such cuttings, as already explained, do not require to be counter-sunk in the rock to any great depth, as the weight of the monument is sufficient to prevent overturning. Later on we shall come to large deep cuttings, or sockets, in the Acropolis rock, and their function will be found to be similar to that of the socket in the base of the Athena in the Parthenon, namely, to support a vertical timber under strains of various kinds.

2. Pausanias, after leaving the Parthenon, turns in a southerly direction. He mentions a number of statues some of which may have stood upon the broad terrace south of the Parthenon. That this terrace was of considerable importance is proved, as has been shown, by its width, costliness of construction, and the row of statues against the southern columns of the Parthenon, traces of which are to be seen on the middle step of the temple. How many monuments stood on the terrace itself we cannot say, as it was formed by filling: probably many. Pausanias describes four votive groups in considerable detail: they stood at the south wall; they were dedicated by Attalus I, King of Pergamon, to commemorate his victories over the Gauls; they were half life size; the subjects of the groups were a) the war with the giants, b) the war of the Athenians against the Amazons, c) the battle of Marathon, d) the destruction of the Galati. Ten of the individual statues are known today by marble copies in various museums, but there must have been many more in the original groups. Plutarch says that the figure of Dionysus in the group representing the battle of the giants was blown over into the Theatre of Dionysus during a violent storm.<sup>1</sup> Plutarch's statement thus locates the group of the battle of the Giants—it was on the wall of the Acropolis directly above the Theatre of Dionysus (Fig. 1, 12).
3. Pausanias does not speak of the chief altar of Athena on the Acropolis, although he must have passed near it. Many authorities place it at 15, figure 1, the highest point of the Acropolis rock. Others prefer to locate it at 16 over a rock-cutting of considerable width; they believe that this was the altar connected with the Old Temple of Athena, and that it continued to be used after the erection of the Parthenon and Erechtheum, because it was conveniently placed between these two temples, and also because there was a good deal of space about it for the accommodation of large crowds of people. The writer favors the second theory.

#### IV. THE OLD TEMPLE OF ATHENA AND THE ERECHTHEUM

Pausanias now goes to the Erechtheum (Fig. 1, 18). If we follow his account literally, he passed through the principal entrance, namely, its north door, and then visited the various sections of the temple in the following order: the west cella, the east cella (Temple of the Polias), the Court of the Pandroseum, and, finally, the Temple of Pandrosus (Fig. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Antonius*, 60.

The route is logical if we suppose that there was an interior staircase connecting the western and eastern cellas, between which there is a difference of level amounting to 3 m. Unfortunately the interior of the temple has been so damaged by fires and alterations, that there is no positive evidence today that such a staircase existed. A staircase is possible, however. There is, moreover, a classic reference which implies an interior staircase precisely between the western and eastern cellas. This is the famous passage of the antiquary Philochorus. As quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus it runs thus: "On the Acropolis the following portent took place. A female dog entered the Temple of the Polias, and, having gone down into the Pandroseum, ascended the altar of Zeus, and there lay down. Now, it is an old established custom with the Athenians that no dog shall ascend the Acropolis."<sup>1</sup> It is highly probable that this profane dog found the east door of the east cella open, entered, and ran down a stair into the west cella and out into the Pandroseum through the door in the western wall of the temple. Pausanias possibly did not find the east door leading into the east cella open, as the dog did. The door may have been closed, forcing him, and visitors in general, to use the main entrance in the north portico. After visiting the "House of Erechtheus," where Poseidon, Erechtheus, Butes, Hephaestus, Athena Polias, Hermes and Pandrosus were worshipped almost side by side, he was probably let out again by the same main door in the north portico, his exit being thus controlled. We have seen that Pausanias passed through a single door in the Propylaea, and it is in keeping, therefore, to find a similar one door control in the case of the complex Erechtheum. On festival days, of course, all the doors of the temple would be thrown open; and more guards would be required for supervision than on ordinary days (see p. 520).

There has been much controversy over the Old Temple of Athena—a complicated controversy which is far from being settled (Fig. 1, 17). Briefly, the history of the site is as follows: A building existed here in Mycenaean times, perhaps the megaron of a Mycenaean palace, judging from the two Mycenaean bases for columns (shown in figure 39, enclosed in railings) and the Mycenaean foundations for walls in the vicinity of the column bases. Some authorities believe that the column bases indicate a Mycenaean temple, and they argue, in support of their theory, that, when a temple fell into ruin, a new temple was usually built on the same sacred site. As there are remains of two later temples on this particular site, the two Mycenaean bases may, therefore, indicate a Mycenaean temple. There was a pre-Pisistratean Doric temple of the *in antis* type. This is known today as the Old Temple of Athena. In the sixth century B.C. Pisistratus, according to most authorities, made the Old Temple of Athena more imposing by the addition of a Doric peristyle: the Old Temple of Athena thus became the cella of Pisistratus's temple. Pisistratus's temple was destroyed by the Persians when they sacked the Acropolis in 480 B.C. After the return of the Athenians the temple was probably hastily rebuilt, but without its peristyle, to house temporarily religious and valuable public property, until the Erechtheum could be completed. About 420 B.C. the Erechtheum was started, and in 406 B.C. the

<sup>1</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Dinarcho iudicium*, 3.

temple was practically finished. That the Erechtheum was designed to replace the Old Temple of Athena is definitely proved by the fact that the elaborate Porch of the Maidens almost touches the long blank north wall of the cella of the Old Temple of Athena as rebuilt after the Persian wars. If the restored temple remained standing after the completion of the Erechtheum, it must have completely hidden the beautiful Caryatids—a condition which an art-loving people such as the ancient Athenians would not have tolerated, it seems justifiable to believe, for a great length of time. Thus the artists who were responsible for the building operations on the Acropolis at the time of the erection of the



Fig. 39. Podium of the Porch of the Maidens of the Erechtheum, from the south; Mycenaean bases (railed in); foundations of the Old Temple of Athena in the foreground; to the left of the steps of the Porch of the Maidens the foundations for the north colonnade of the peristyle with which Pisistratus surrounded the Old Temple

Erechtheum certainly intended that the Old Temple of Athena as restored after 480 B.C. should come down. But, was it really demolished in 406 B.C. when the Erechtheum was completed? If not, how long was it before it actually came down? Some authorities believe that it was removed as early as 406 B.C.; others, as late as Byzantine times. For the two reasons just stated—that is, on account of (1) the certainty that Pericles and his advisers intended to remove it and (2) the possibility that it actually came down at a fairly early date—we have purposely omitted to represent it both in the frontispiece and in figure 44. We shall appreciate some of the difficulties, briefly described above, if we place ourselves in the middle of the east cella of the Old Temple of Athena and look toward the southwest corner of the Porch of the Maidens (Fig. 39). We can easily make

out the four building periods: 1) the bases enclosed with railings are Mycenaean; 2) the roughly dressed blocks (of blue Acropolis rock) in the foreground are the foundations of the Old Temple of Athena; 3) the better dressed blocks (of Kara stone) to the left of the steps of the Porch of the Maidens are the foundations and part of the stylobate for the north colonnade of Pisistratus's peristyle; 4) the marble podium upon which the Caryatids stand is part of the Erechtheum. Unfortunately it is extremely doubtful if all the complicated questions relating to the Old Temple of Athena will ever be completely solved.

Little is known about the Temple of Pandrosus, except that it seems to have formed a subdivision of the Erechtheum. Pausanias mentions the olive tree in the court of the Pandroseum and then goes on to say that the Temple of Pandrosus adjoins the Erechtheum.



Fig. 40. Foundations of the House of the Arrephoroi from the southeast

If it actually touched the Erechtheum, as we are led to infer from the wording of Pausanias, we may conjecture that the Temple of Pandrosus was the small building which abutted the west wall of the Erechtheum, traces of which exist over the small door in the west wall of the Erechtheum. A more probable conjectural position for the temple is at the west of the court of the Pandroseum, where there is a rock-cutting which was possibly made to carry the eastern façade of the temple (Fig. 1, 20). A temple occupying this position would be physically bonded to the Erechtheum by the wall along the north side of the Court of the Pandroseum, and also there were, probably, structures on the south side of the court, which likewise united the two temples.

Immediately after mentioning the Temple of Pandrosus, Pausanias speaks of the Arrephoroi. They were four girls of noble birth, between the ages of seven and eleven, who served Athena. We learn from Pausanias that they dwelt near the Erechtheum, and

that they periodically descended from the Acropolis by way of a "natural underground descent," carrying mysterious bundles on their heads. Plutarch<sup>1</sup> informs us that they had a court for hand ball on the Acropolis. The above data permit us to identify their residence (Fig. 1, 21 and Fig. 40). The technique of the foundation blocks shows that the structure was erected in the fifth century B.C., but, as it is not bonded into the Acropolis wall back of it, the date must be later than the time of Cimon, who here built the Acropolis wall. The building was square in plan and was composed of one large room with a portico on the south. It was built over a stoa of earlier date. Of particular interest to us, however, is a staircase to the northwest of the square building, with its upper portions within the foundations of the stoa of earlier date. The stair is modern in its upper portion, but it ends abruptly in a void, against the rough walls of which are the traces of an ancient wooden stair leading to the grotto of Aglauros below. The remains of the ensemble correspond so closely to Pausanias's description, that we can have little doubt but that we are dealing with the House of the Arrephoroi. The square structure was the house proper, the court for hand ball utilized the foundations of the earlier stoa, and the secret staircase started downward from within the court, where it was concealed from general view. Pausanias may perhaps have seen the secret staircase, for he makes little mystery about it.

A fairly accurate restoration of the House of the Arrephoroi can be made (Figs. 44 and 66). The foundations of the house proper are thick enough to carry three steps and a Doric order (which would not compete with the Ionic order of the Erechtheum).<sup>2</sup> The bottom of the lowest step lined with the bottom of the lowest step of the North Portico of the Erechtheum, an indication that the two buildings were related to each other in date and possibly in other ways. As the main building of the house was square in plan, it was probably covered with a pyramidal roof (a pediment would compete with the pediment of the Erechtheum, and, furthermore, give little domestic character to the home of the Arrephoroi). The building was far enough removed from the Acropolis wall to allow defenders to pass along the wall behind the house. As the south wall of the court for hand ball abuts upon the square building between the east-west cross wall of the house and the colonnade of the south, the columns of the portico were *in antis*. The columns themselves must have been about 4.85 m. in height, if we suppose that there was but one triglyph between each column—a sturdy proportion suggested by the solid foundations. We admit that the residence is substantial, especially for only four young girls. But we must remember that the Arrephoroi were of noble birth, and that they served Athena. They were considered so important, that it became the common practice to set up on the Acropolis statues of girls who had been Arrephoroi, as several bases inscribed to this effect testify.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Vit. X, *Orat.* p. 839 b.

<sup>2</sup> Kavvadias and Kawerau do not believe that such thick foundation walls would be used for a dwelling; but the set-backs which three steps require account fully for the thick foundations (Kav. and Kaw., *Ἡ Ἀνασκαφή τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*, pp. 76–78).

The House of the Arrephoroi was by far the most important monument which greeted Pausanias's eyes as he stepped out of the North Portico of the Erechtheum. After describing the house, he seems to look about him and to notice smaller monuments, such as groups and statues. This section of the Acropolis was once covered with Mycenaean buildings. They were levelled off in classic times and covered with a fill which raised the ground considerably. There is scant evidence, therefore, of the grandeur of this part of the Acropolis in the fifth and following centuries. The few traces of monuments consist in a series of cuttings for stelai and statues in the foundations of poros stone of the North Portico of the Erechtheum, and two foundations of conglomerate, still *in situ*, situated about 15 m. south of the House of the Arrephoroi (Fig. 1, *f*, and Fig. 41). The two foundations are not in line with each other (a difference of about 0.30 m.) and their tops are not at the same level (a difference of 0.20 m.), and, moreover, there is a clear space of undressed rock between them of about 1.50 m.—proof that they did not belong to the same monument. They are suitable for the foundations of groups. There are a number of other conglomerate blocks lying near at hand, but not *in situ*, which were probably used for similar foundations.



Fig. 41. Foundation blocks of conglomerate, probably for groups of statues, at *f*, figure 1

#### V. THE GROUP OF THE "PROMACHOS"

Pausanias now approaches a unique group of monuments which were carefully related both to each other and to the Acropolis as a whole (Fig. 1, 22). We shall call this cluster of monuments "the Group of the Promachos," because it was dominated by a colossal bronze statue of Athena. This statue was known at first as the "Great Bronze Athena," but later as the "Promachos" (Champion): the name "Promachos" clung to it to distinguish it from other statues of Athena on the Acropolis. A convenient way to understand quickly the nature of the group is to consult figures 42, 43 and 44. We shall forthwith endeavour to justify the restoration of figure 44.

It is fitting to begin with the "Promachos," as she undoubtedly was the first figure in the group to attract attention on account of her colossal size. There can be no doubt about the site of the large base upon which she stood, with its careful rock-cuttings and foun-

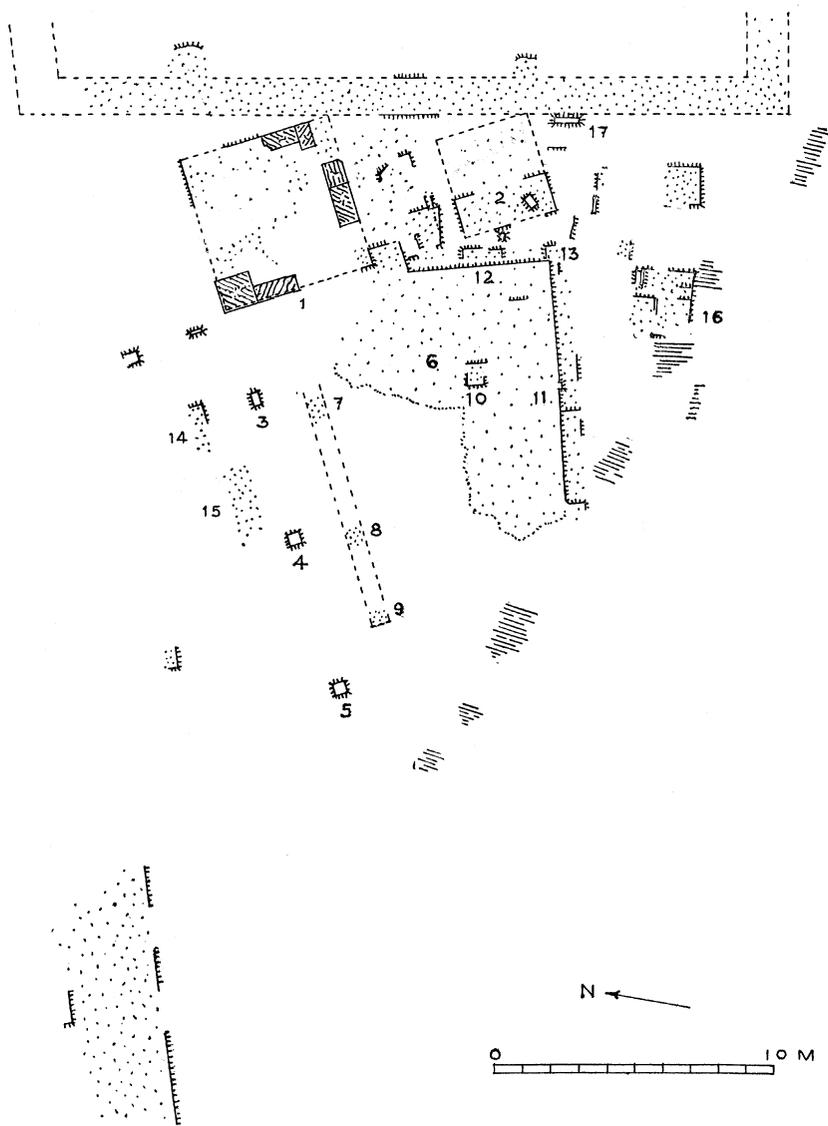


Fig. 42. Plan of the Group of the "Promachos": actual state

dation blocks of poros stone (Fig. 42, 1). Much is known about the statue itself from literary sources. Pausanias tells us, that: 1) she was a bronze figure from the hand of Phidias, 2) she was made out of the spoils captured from the Medes at the battle of Marathon, 3) her shield was decorated with a scene representing the battle between the Lapiths and Centaurs by the well-known engraver Mys, and 4) the tip of the spear and

the crest of the helmet were visible by mariners approaching the port of Athens over the route from Sunium. Three inferences may be drawn from what Pausanias says. First—as an engraver makes decorations which are either incised or extremely low in relief, the

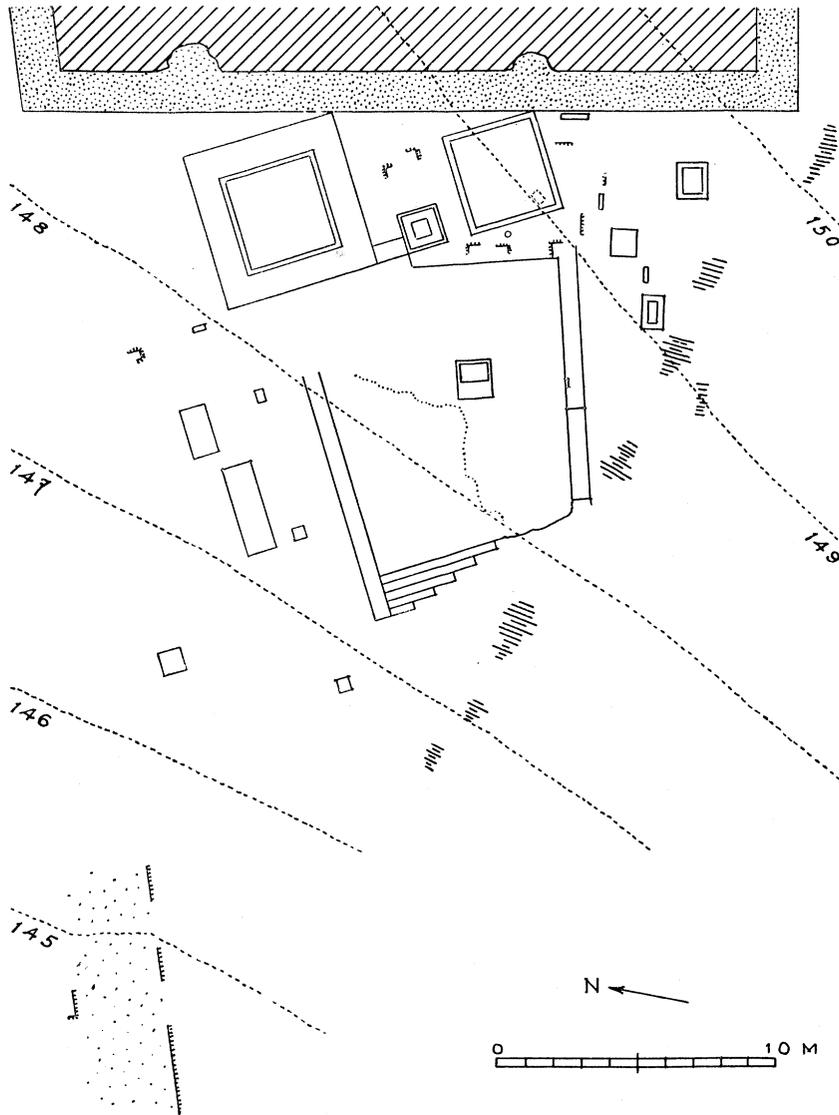


Fig. 43. Plan of the Group of the "Promachos": restoration

ornament by Mys was probably near the ground, where it could be appreciated. In other words, the pedestal was probably low, with the shield resting on the pedestal, similar to the arrangement for the Athena Parthenos. Second—the spear was carried in an upright position, for only the head of the spear was visible from some part of the Gulf of Aegina. Third—as the Gulf of Aegina is visible from the base of the "Promachos" only in the

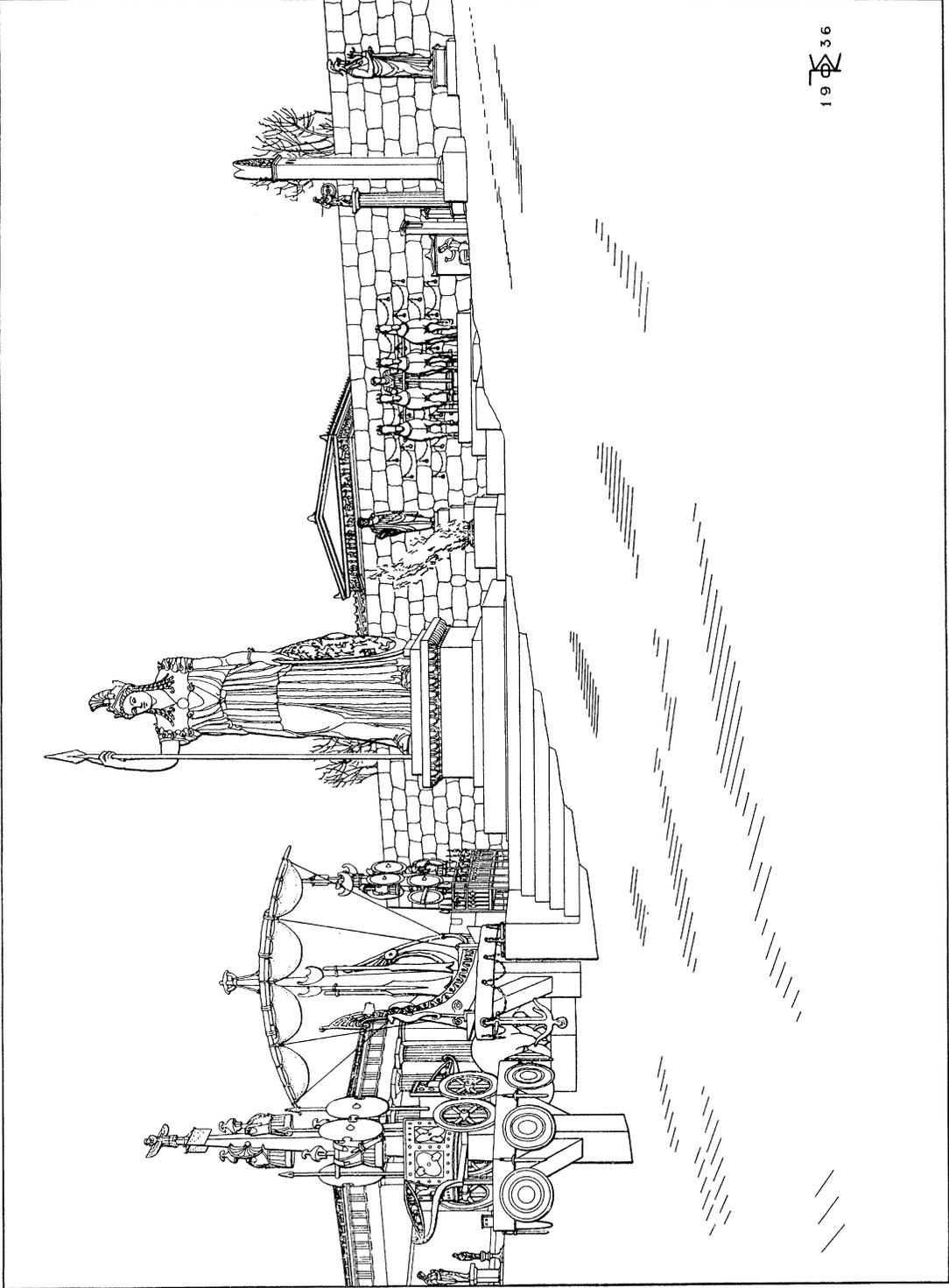


Fig. 44. Perspective view of the Group of the "Promachos" from the Processional Way: restoration

direction of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis, the spear head and crest must have been higher than the ridge-pole of the stoai of the Sanctuary (it has been shown that the Acropolis wall back of the south stoa of the Sanctuary was probably not as high as the ridge-pole).

The "Promachos" stood on the Acropolis until the time of Justinian, when she was taken to Constantinople and set up in the Agora. In 1203 the superstitious people of Constantinople broke up the statue, because, after the first siege and capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders, they fancied that the outstretched hand of the statue (by that time she had lost both the spear and the shield seen by Pausanias) had summoned the invaders from out of the west. Fortunately the mediaeval historian Nicetas Choniata has left us a minute description of the statue in the condition in which he saw it in Constantinople. After relating how the image was destroyed, he tells us that the statue had the following characteristics: 1) a standing bronze figure, 30 feet high, 2) helmet with a horse-hair plume, 3) hair plaited and fastened at the back of the head, but with some locks straying over the brow from beneath the helmet, 4) a benign expression, 5) tunic falling to her feet, 6) aegis on her breast, 7) tight-fitting girdle, 8) left hand lifting her tunic (probably at the point where the upper part of the shield rested against the tunic), 9) right hand stretched out in front of her and her face turned in the same direction, as if she were beckoning to someone.<sup>1</sup> This is a remarkably full description for a mediaeval historian.

Before the height of 30 feet given by Nicetas was available for scholars, A. Michaelis, in 1877, had estimated the height of the statue at 25 feet and the height of the pedestal at 5 feet.<sup>2</sup> Nicetas did not say whether his 30 feet included the base or not, but, as he did not mention a base, the presumption is that the 30 feet referred to the statue alone. If he estimated the height by merely looking at the statue, he may very well have been 5 feet out. But there is a direct method of checking the total height of the statue and base, which we will now explain. We shall begin with the pedestal, and then endeavour to establish the level of the top of the spear and crest. That the pedestal was low in proportion to the statue, because the delicate decorations on the shield could be appreciated only if the shield were near the ground, has already been suggested. A coin of Athens (Fig. 45), representing the "Promachos" between the Propylaea and the Parthenon, confirms the probability of a low base. Furthermore, the huge egg-and-dart moulding (the eggs are no less than 0.305 m. on centers), represented in figure 46,<sup>3</sup> has always been associated with the pedestal of the "Promachos." For the large scale of the moulding suggests that it was used with some object of big size; a carved moulding of



Fig. 45.  
Coin of Athens,  
representing the  
"Promachos"  
between the Propylaea and the Parthenon (Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons of Ancient Athens*, p. 523)

<sup>1</sup> Nicetas Choniata, ed. Bekker, pp. 738-740.

<sup>2</sup> A. Michaelis, *Mitteil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 89 sq.

<sup>3</sup> One whole block and a piece of another are on the Acropolis, both between the "Promachos" Group and the Propylaea. Another whole block is in the court of the "Library of Hadrian."

this type is appropriate for a standing figure above it—witness the Caryatids of the Erechtheum with the carved egg-and-dart moulding below them, an association which may well have been inspired by a similar combination in the case of the “Promachos” (earlier in date than the Maidens) and the crowning moulding of her pedestal; the carving of the huge eggs, the cramps and dowels all belong to the fifth century B.C. These facts help to associate the big egg-and-dart moulding with the pedestal of the “Promachos.” There is a weather line on the top surface of the huge egg-and-dart moulding, which indicates that there was a course of stone above; the latter was set back 0.04 m. from the face of the



Fig. 46. Crowning moulding of the pedestal of the “Promachos”

pedestal. With these data, then, we may restore the pedestal as shown in figure 47. The bottom of the egg-and-dart moulding is about on the level of a man’s eye when he is standing on the rock-cut platform in front of the “Promachos,” which may well be considered the ground line for the statue. This is about the lowest level at which the moulding can be placed, for a carved egg-and-dart moulding is not intended to be seen below the eye. The pedestal proper is shown resting upon a platform of marble—marble, because the egg-and-dart is marble—two steps high, which would keep people at the distance from the colossal statue desired by Phidias. The marble platform rested in turn partly upon a foundation of poros stone, of which many blocks are still *in situ*, and partly upon the Acropolis rock, which is unusually well dressed to receive it. A 25-foot “Promachos” may now be placed upon the pedestal (Fig. 47). The top of her crest rises to level 158.54 m. above the sea (Fig. 47). If we stand on the site of the pedestal and look in all directions,

we can see the ocean—and this through a horizontal angle of about  $30^{\circ}$ —only in the direction of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. The sight line has a southwestly direction, and the middle of the south stoa of the Sanctuary is about in the middle of the strip of visible ocean. Evidently it was the stoai of this Sanctuary which prevented the ancient mariners from seeing more of the “Promachos” than the head of her spear and the crest of her helmet; and, as the south stoa is nearer the sea than the east stoa, it is the ridge-pole of the south stoa—the ridge-pole of both stoai being at the same height—which concealed all but the upper part of the statue. To find out how much of the statue was hidden from mariners, we may proceed as follows: We have seen that the level of the ridge-pole of the south stoa was about 155.70 m. above the sea. From measurement we ascertain that the horizontal distance from the vertical axis of the “Promachos” to the ridge-pole at the center point of the south stoa is about 57 m. Furthermore, ships which round Cape Sunium must pass Cape Zoster before they can hold a straight course for Piraeus, the port of Athens (Fig. 48). The shortest distance between this course and the Acropolis lies in a southwestly direction from the Acropolis and in length amounts to about 10 k. Could the spear head and crest be seen at this distance, even on a clear day? We shall attempt to answer this question. We have just presented the necessary data for drawing a sight line through the vertical axis of the “Promachos,” the top of the ridge-pole of the south stoa at its middle point, and the eye of a mariner 10 k. away from the ridge-pole.<sup>1</sup> These data are represented graphically in figure 49. Placing level 156.62 m. (Fig. 49) on figure 47, we see that 1.92 m. of the upper part of the statue could be seen by mariners 10 k. off. Mariners might also hug the coast between Cape Zoster and Piraeus, instead of holding a straight course.

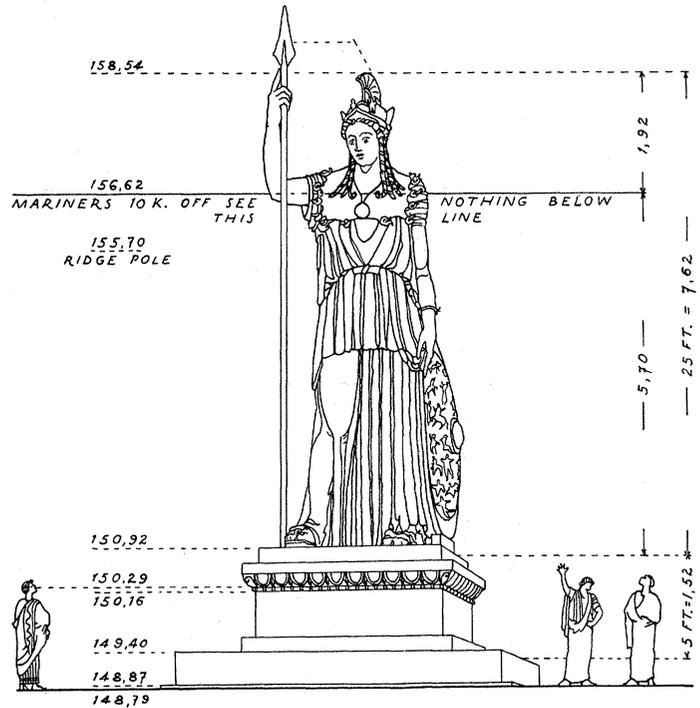


Fig. 47. Levels for the “Promachos”

seen at this distance, even on a clear day? We shall attempt to answer this question. We have just presented the necessary data for drawing a sight line through the vertical axis of the “Promachos,” the top of the ridge-pole of the south stoa at its middle point, and the eye of a mariner 10 k. away from the ridge-pole.<sup>1</sup> These data are represented graphically in figure 49. Placing level 156.62 m. (Fig. 49) on figure 47, we see that 1.92 m. of the upper part of the statue could be seen by mariners 10 k. off. Mariners might also hug the coast between Cape Zoster and Piraeus, instead of holding a straight course.

<sup>1</sup> The reason why the top of the ridge-pole was probably higher than the Acropolis wall south of the stoa was discussed in connection with the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. At a great distance, then, the ridge-pole was visible above the wall. In other words, the ridge-pole governs the sight-line we are considering.

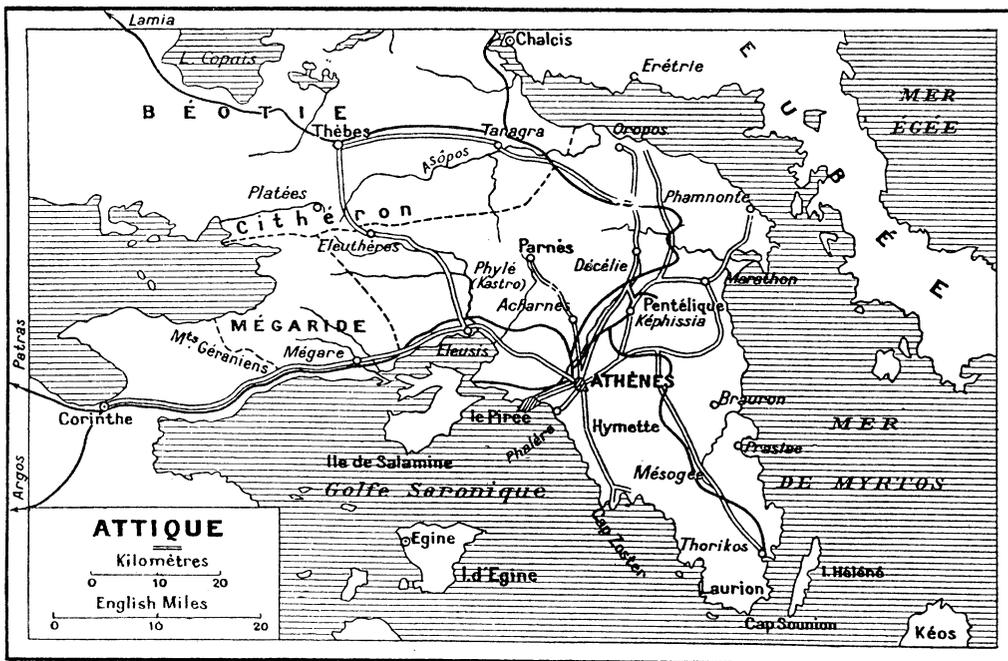


Fig. 48. Map of Attica (*Guide Bleu, Grèce, XCII*)

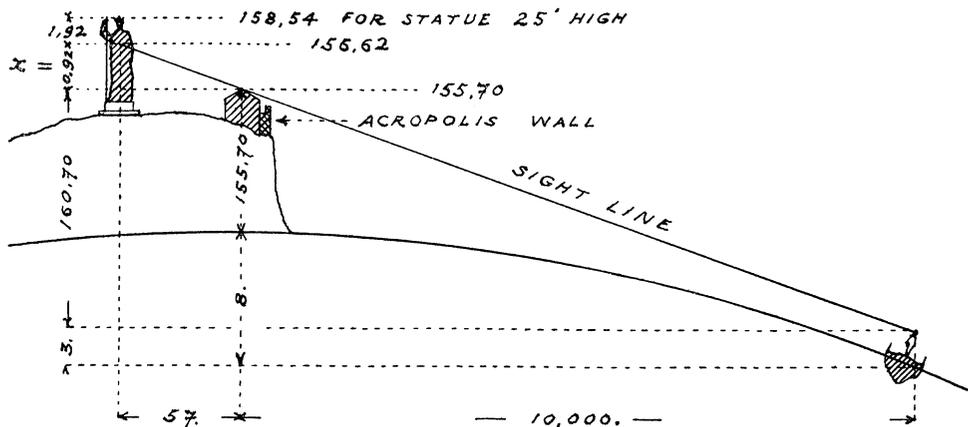


Fig. 49. Sight line for mariners ten kilometers off, through the center point of the ridge-pole of the south stoa of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis and the vertical axis of the "Promachos"

In this case the distance of 10 k. is reduced to about 7 k., and the corresponding sight line cuts off 0.39 m. more of the statue: we find that only 1.53 m. of the upper part of the statue remains visible.<sup>1</sup> An experienced Greek sea captain, *Ἀναστάσιος Νικήτας* by name, trained, like all sea captains, to search for objects in the distance, expresses the opinion that an ungilded bronze statue, 1.92 m. high, might possibly be seen by the naked eye at a distance of 10 k., but only upon exceptionally bright days. Only those who have visited Greece can appreciate how remarkably clear the atmosphere can be after a good rain storm. The above sight line establishes the total height of the pedestal and statue quite accurately. Add to this the archaeological evidence at hand and especially the



Fig. 50. Pisistratus's foundation wall for the Old Temple of Athena, viewed from the west

information supplied by Pausanias and Nicetas, and the reader will gather that the chief characteristics of the statue are fairly well determined.

In the restored view of the Group of the "Promachos" (Fig. 44), the high terrace wall represented directly behind the colossal statue is not the western foundation wall of the Old Temple of Athena as restored by Pisistratus (Fig. 50); the latter foundation wall is about 30 m. back of the colossal statue. What indications are there that a high terrace

<sup>1</sup> If absolutely nothing but the crest and spear head were visible, say about 0.60 m. of the top of the statue, a somewhat similar calculation will show that the Acropolis wall might be raised 1.20 m. above the ridge-pole of the south stoa. It is difficult to believe, however, that an object only 0.60 m. high could be seen by the naked eye at a distance of 10 k. or even 7 k., unless that object were some sort of mirror expressly designed to flash in the sunlight.

wall stood so near the "Promachos," as shown in figure 44? If we take up a position about 0.75 m. east of the southeast corner of the pedestal of the "Promachos" and look north and south, we find that we are in a sort of shallow trench. It is about 1.50 m. wide; but in one place the width is 2.00 m. and in another 2.40 m. (Fig. 42)—in these places probably unusually large stones were laid. The shallow trench is especially noticeable when viewed from the small propylon leading into the court in front of the



Fig. 51. Shallow trench for the Mycenaean wall immediately behind (to the east of) the pedestal of the "Promachos," viewed from the small propylon leading into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon

west façade of the Parthenon (Fig. 51). As a rule only the high points of the Acropolis rock in the trench are knocked off, but here and there the face of the wall, especially the western face, is fairly well defined by rock-cuttings. Such a rough shallow trench would be used in Mycenaean times for a retaining wall about 1.50 m. thick at its base (Fig. 1, *a*). Can the northern and southern limits of the wall be determined? Yes: the southern one with precision, the northern one less accurately. Starting from the southeast corner of the "Promachos" base, we are able to follow the trench southward as far as the

Processional Way, but no farther. Here a portion of the Acropolis rock (marked with an arrow in figure 52), which is worn smooth by the passage of thousands of feet, marks the corner of the wall. There are no such positive traces of wearing by feet to the north of this smooth place, while there are many to the south. Figure 52 also shows the parallel grooves in the Acropolis rock cut to aid the footing of many people as they passed the corner. Looking westward from this corner, we observe that we are exactly in line with the north face of the wall which forms the northern boundary of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. The wall back of the "Promachos" turned eastward at the corner



Fig. 52. South corner of the Mycenaean wall behind the "Promachos." In the background are the rock-cut platforms for the small propylon leading into the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon

we are considering, and its exact easterly direction may be established in the following manner: We have seen that wall *d*, figure 1, was parallel to wall *e* (the foundation wall for the southern colonnade of the Old Temple of Athena). Therefore, as wall *b* lies between two parallel walls, it is highly probable that all three walls were parallel. We see now, in fact, why wall *d*, a later wall than either *b* or *e*, was not made parallel to the Parthenon—it was wall *b* which dictated the direction of wall *d*. It will be shown how far east wall *b* probably ran, when, later on, the height of the terrace which walls *a*, *b*, and *c* supported is discussed. We find two indications to assist us in determining the northern end of wall *a*. First: the rock-cut trench can be followed northward from the southeast corner of the "Promachos" base for a distance of about 12 m. If we suppose that wall *a* continued still farther northward, it will encounter small Mycenaean cross

walls (covered in classical times) at a distance of about 18 m. from the southeast corner of the "Promachos" base.<sup>1</sup> As wall *a* is Mycenaean in date (as will be proved later), and as there is no evidence that it met the small Mycenaean cross walls, we may conclude that it stopped somewhere between the last rock-cuttings in the trench and the small Mycenaean cross walls. Second: as already stated, the two foundations of conglomerate blocks at *f*, figure 1 (see also Fig. 41) are still *in situ*. They neither line with each other nor are their top surfaces at the same level, and they were, therefore, probably foundations for groups of statues. But the fact that they are parallel to each other suggests that there was a wall parallel to them and at no great distance from them. In fact, if we draw such a wall on figure 1 to the south of the foundations, wall *c*, we find that it will meet wall *a* not far north of the last rock-cutting in the trench back of the "Promachos." Wall *c* cannot be traced eastward beyond the conglomerate foundations.

The purpose of walls *a*, *b*, and *c* is made clear when we examine the Acropolis rock inclosed by them. In this enclosure there is not a single rock-cutting for a monument or building to be found. Clearly, from the earliest times the Acropolis rock was here covered with earth. In other words, walls *a*, *b*, and *c* were retaining walls of the Mycenaean period; they supported a terrace of earth.

We have two good indications as to the height of the retaining walls (Fig. 1, *a*, *b*, *c*):

1. As they lie well within the circuit of the Mycenaean Acropolis walls, they were not military walls. Therefore the thickness of the wall would not be determined by military needs, but by the magnitude of the pressure caused by the earth fill and by whatever the terrace carried in the way of buildings, trees, etc. Now, a Mycenaean stone wall, 1.50 m. to 2.40 m. at its base, is a substantial retaining wall, and it consequently must have had a respectable height—say 4 m. to 5 m.
2. When Pisistratus built his peristyle about the Old Temple of Athena, the foundations of his west façade were not exposed to view: for the blocks of the west face of the foundations were left rough, not dressed as an exposed face would be (Fig. 50). If further proof be necessary, we may cite the case of this same foundation under the Porch of the Maidens, where the rough projecting blocks of the foundation are dressed to a vertical surface for a distance of 5 m. to 6 m.—how much farther we cannot say, as the foundations of the Erechtheum conceal the finished surface beyond this distance (Fig. 53): the dressed surface has the orientation of the Old Temple of Athena, not that of the Erechtheum, and can be explained only if the wall were exposed in pre-Erechtheum days. We must suppose, therefore, that the west foundation wall of Pisistratus's temple was concealed by an earth terrace, which left visible only the stylobate (0.42 m. high) and the one well dressed course (0.30 m. high) beneath it. Furthermore, as there is no trace of a retaining wall between the Old Temple of Athena and the wall back of the "Promachos," we must believe that the terrace covered the whole area included between the Old Temple of Athena and

<sup>1</sup> Kavvadias and Kawerau, *Ἡ Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, Πίναξ Γ'*.

walls *a*, *b*, and *c*, figure 1. Now, the level of the course upon which the exposed portions of the Old Temple rested is 152.94 m., and the level of the rock-cutting for the "Promachos" base is 148.41 m.: the wall, then, back of the "Promachos" was 4.53 m. high, a height which we have seen was about correct for a retaining wall 1.50 m. to 2.40 m. thick at its base. If we assign a level of 152.94 m. to the top of wall *b*, the latter will cease to be a wall at about the point shown in figure 1, because the Acropolis rock rises at this point to the same level. The inclined route south of *b*, then, runs between two walls, one of which, wall *d*, is slightly more than 2 m. higher than the other. But we have seen that the Panathenaic procession probably did not pass through this unattractive portion of road, and that, moreover, the route here was, possibly, reserved for sacrificial animals and purposes of general service.

It appears that the Mycenaean terrace *a*, *b*, *c* (Fig. 1), and the Mycenaean structure replaced by the Old Temple of Athena are in some way to be associated with each other, for they had the same level, and both dated from Mycenaean times. Perhaps the builders of the Old Temple of Athena utilized a pre-existing Mycenaean general platform; and they probably left an open space to the west of the temple, so that the sculptures of the western pediment could be seen. Space always adds dignity to a building.

Where have all the stones of the retaining walls *a*, *b*, and *c* (Fig. 1) gone, for there is not one of them in place today? As the walls were not for defensive purposes, there was no need for huge stones such as we find in the Acropolis wall west of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. The stones were probably of ordinary building size, and on that account the inhabitants of the Acropolis in mediaeval and Turkish times found them convenient for the many houses which we know were built upon the Acropolis in post-

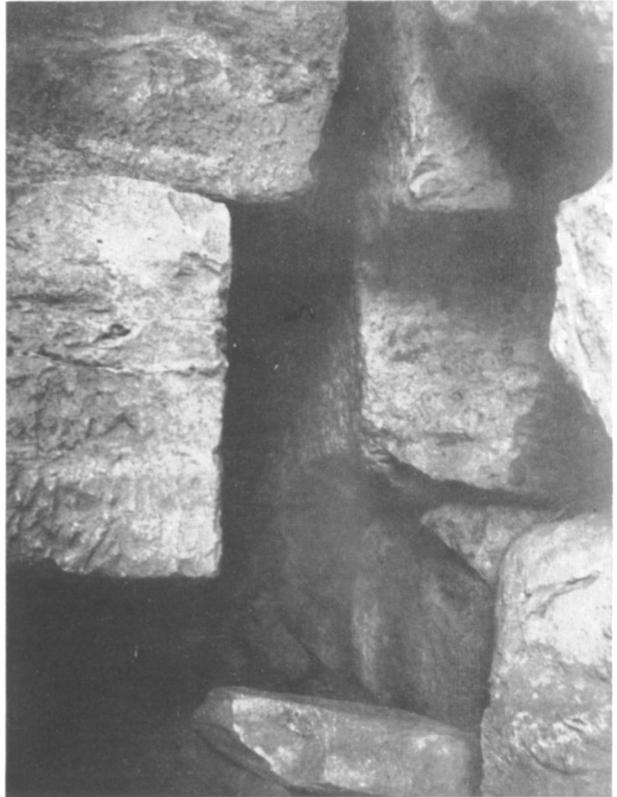


Fig. 53. Foundation wall of the Old Temple of Athena, beneath the Porch of the Maidens

classic times. These particular Mycenaean walls were well above ground, not like the many other Mycenaean walls on the Acropolis, which were deeply buried in classic times. For this reason, then, there is little wonder that the stones of our terrace walls found their way into the walls of more modern constructions. When the mediaeval and Turkish buildings were pulled down almost in our own time, the stones were thrown over the south wall of the Acropolis, where they may be seen in vast heaps to this day.

A glance at figure 42 will show us that the southeast corner of the pedestal of the "Promachos" just touches the Mycenaean wall back of it. Evidently the wall was there when the "Promachos" was set up. But why was the pedestal not made parallel to the wall, instead of being turned through a considerable angle? The reason for this, too, is evident upon reflection. By twisting her around somewhat, she was made to face the Processional Way, so that all participants in the sacred procession might see her well (Figs. 1 and 44).

One important point in regard to the Mycenaean retaining wall back of the "Promachos" remains to be mentioned. If we stand at the southern end of the wall, we note that our position lies on a line joining the middle of the north façade of the Parthenon and the central intercolumniation of the east portico of the Propylaea (Fig. 1). If the Mycenaean wall were high enough, it would surely hide part of the Parthenon from those coming through the Propylaea (frontispiece). If we now go to the northern end of the Mycenaean wall, we note that, in a similar way, the Mycenaean wall was likely to hide all the Erechtheum except the North Porch and the gable over the Main Building. In other words, only the north portico—the main entrance of the temple—was plainly visible from the Propylaea (frontispiece). It is possible that this hiding of the western portion of the Erechtheum had a good deal to do with the curiously irregular western façade of the temple. If the façade were to be largely concealed, why take any particular care in the design of the hidden portions (see p. 520)?

Pausanias, immediately after his account of the "Promachos," mentions another trophy, namely, a "bronze chariot made from a tenth of the spoils won from the Boeotians and Chalcidians in Euboea." It commemorated a victory of about 507 B.C., when the Athenians defeated the Boeotians and took some seven hundred prisoners. It is said that on the same day, after the victory, the Athenians crossed into Euboea and defeated the Chalcidians and captured some of them. The prisoners were taken to Athens and kept in chains until they were ransomed, when the fetters were hung up on certain walls within the Acropolis. Herodotus records the fact that the chains were suspended on *walls injured by the fires of the Persians, over against the megaron that faces west*.<sup>1</sup> Out of the tithe of the ransom the Athenians made a four-horse chariot in bronze, which Herodotus saw on the left as he entered the Propylaea. He and other writers quote the inscription on the base. It was an elegiac couplet, in which allusion was made to the chains. There are two fragmentary bases, both belonging to the quadriga, as the inscriptions on them prove,

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, V, 77.

now preserved in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens. The first is made of dark, almost black, Eleusinian limestone, 0.305 m. high, with letters (0.025 m. high) belonging to the last part of the sixth century B.C. (*I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 394, p. 190). Part of a vertical joint, passing through the inscription, is preserved: the joint has a band of anathyrosis, 0.05 m. wide, along the top and a similar band on the front. The bottom surface has no relieving of the pressure along the front edge. The second base is of Pentelic marble, height not preserved, letters of the middle of the fifth century, of the same height as those of the earlier inscription and the same distance below the top of the base (*I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 394, p. 190). But of special interest to us is the fact that we find, upon comparing the two inscriptions, that on the second base the two hexameter lines, the lines quoted by various writers, have suffered a partial transposition. On the first base the chains *are emphasized*, as though they were not near the pedestal; on the second base the chains are *not emphasized*, as though they were near at hand where everyone looking at the chariot could see them. Bert H. Hill has restored the length of the inscription from the height of the preserved letters and from the wording given by the ancient authors: he finds that the length of the inscription must have been about 2.76 m. From the above data we may infer that:

1. The original chariot was destroyed, or carried off, by the Persians in 480 B.C.;
2. Soon after 450 B.C., perhaps immediately after the conquest of Euboea in 446 B.C., the Athenians restored the trophy, setting up a new pedestal;
3. Both Herodotus and Pausanias saw the new chariot;
4. In Herodotus's time the chariot stood outside the Propylaea, on the left as one enters;
5. Pausanias saw the chariot somewhere near the "Promachos";
6. The chariot may have been brought inside the Acropolis at the time of a second victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidians in 330 B.C.;
7. Herodotus possibly saw it in the position afterward occupied by the monument of Agrippa, in which case it may have been moved inside at the time the monument of Agrippa was built;
8. The length of the inscription indicates a quadriga in which the horses and charioteer were about life size;
9. As the vertical joint in the black base passes through the center of the inscription, it follows that the base was jointed in the middle. The jointing of the entire base can, then, be restored, with almost certainty, as shown in figure 54;
10. The fact that the bottom of the Eleusinian base did not have its pressure relieved shows that the base rested on some stone softer than itself (probably poros stone, in which case there would be no danger of chipping the front face of the base at its bottom);
11. Since the second inscription copied closely the first inscription, it is a reasonable presumption that the two bases were alike in other respects (except for the color of the base, already noted);

12. Because the second inscription does not emphasize the chains, it may possibly be inferred that the chariot was moved somewhere near the chains, that is, somewhere near the *walls over against the megaron that faces west*;
13. The "megaron that faces west" is probably the Old Temple of Athena, temporarily restored (without the columns of Pisistratus).

Let us now examine the site itself, to see if any rock-cutting will indicate the position of the quadriga. Pausanias mentions the quadriga immediately after describing the "Promachos." Therefore the quadriga was probably near the "Promachos," but secondary to it in importance. There is a rock-cutting at 2, figure 42, suitable in width for our quadriga and also in depth (that is, west to east), if the monument ran back to the Mycenaean wall. The foundation of the monument seems to have been stepped down toward the front, due to the unevenness of the Acropolis rock and to the desire to secure a good and suitable foundation of poros stone for the front of the monument. The cutting has the same

orientation as that of the "Promachos," but is rougher and therefore probably later in date. The fact that the two orientations are the same probably means that the lines of the later monument were designed to harmonize with those of the earlier—the "Promachos." The west faces of both monuments actually line with each other. But the feature of special interest is the

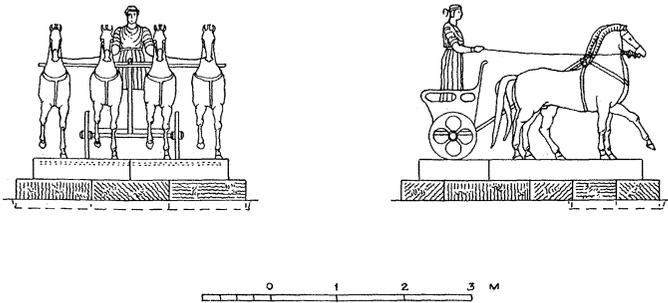


Fig. 54. Bronze quadriga erected to commemorate a victory }  
over the Boeotians and Chalcidians: restoration.

rectangular cutting immediately south of 2, figure 42. This has a different orientation from the cutting which surrounds it. Clearly we are dealing with two periods of rock-cutting, one later than the other, the later being the large cutting for the quadriga, judging from its inferior workmanship. The rock-cuttings of two periods suggest the transference at a late date of the quadriga from outside the Acropolis to this place within the Acropolis. We have, then, enough data not only to assign a possible position to the quadriga, but also to attempt a restoration with some degree of plausibility (Fig. 54). The charioteer in figure 54 is as high as the famous bronze charioteer at Delphi. There is a space of 0.09 m. between the inscription as restored by Hill and the side edges of the base. The chains are hung on the Mycenaean wall directly behind the quadriga (Fig. 43). They are near the quadriga, as possibly inferred from the transposition which occurred in the inscriptions on the bases. The general relation of the quadriga, thus restored, to the "Promachos" and the Mycenaean wall behind the colossal statue is illustrated in figure 44.

As we have established the fact that the Mycenaean terrace at *a*, *b*, and *c*, figure 1, still existed in the fifth century B.C., we may now discuss the use to which Pericles and

his advisers intended to put it. And in the discussion we shall include the area originally occupied by the Old Temple of Athena. The monuments which must have stood upon the Mycenaean terrace, as well as the Old Temple of Athena, were certainly destroyed by the Persians; the designers in charge of the rearrangements on the Acropolis had, then, to all intents and purposes, a free hand to do whatever they wished in so far as the area under consideration is concerned. Perhaps the chief requirement which they had to keep in mind was the large increase in population in Athens immediately after the Persian wars,—more people need more space to move about in. There seems to be but one possible theory as to the intentions of the designers, which we will attempt to set forth in the following paragraph.

As already stated, the artists under Pericles, who were responsible for beautifying the Acropolis, certainly intended to demolish the temporary structure erected upon the foundations of the Old Temple of Athena immediately after the Persian wars, and it seems highly probable that they actually removed it, if we may judge by the more radical innovations they succeeded in accomplishing on the Acropolis. Was not the complete removal of the Old Temple of Athena the only way to open up a space in front of the Caryatids, so that their beauty might be properly appreciated? It seems probable, then, that the entire area, consisting of the Mycenaean terrace, the Old Temple of



Fig. 55. Deep rock-cutting for a large vertical wooden post at 4, figure 42

Athena, and also some ground to the east of the latter, was to be converted into a large open space destined to be decorated with monuments of all kinds, and with, perhaps, a tree here and there in its western portion where there was plenty of earth. On the north of this area was to be the Erechtheum, and on the south the Parthenon, with a generous distance between the two. Toward both the east and the west the impression was to be that of openness, with mountains, in each case, off on the horizon. The Propylaea was so much lower than either the Erechtheum or Parthenon, that it would count for very little in this composition, except from the extreme western portions of the

Mycenaean terrace, and even in such positions the observer was to look through the Propylaea, thus considerably prolonging the east and west axis of the area between the Erechtheum and Parthenon. The Acropolis wall toward the east need not have been high, for the precipitous Acropolis rock on that side forms a natural defence in itself. Note that the open area occupies almost the center of the Acropolis, and that its long axis emphasizes the long axis of the Acropolis itself. Thus it was the east and west axis of the Acropolis which Pericles and his advisers intended to develop. They had in mind an excellent general scheme.

We will now consider the rectangular cuttings in the Acropolis rock at 3, 4 and 5, figure 42. Number 3 measures 0.50 m.  $\times$  0.37 m.; numbers 4 and 5 are alike and measure 0.46 m.  $\times$  0.46 m. (Fig. 55). Débris of all kinds has accumulated in them since the excavations of 1885–1890. Today the meter stick descends into the holes for a distance of about 0.50 m. without striking the Acropolis rock at the bottom. This depth is sufficient, however,

to show that the holes were intended to carry large vertical timbers. The holes are sockets, similar in function to that for the central support of the armature of the chryselephantine colossal statue of Athena in the Parthenon, already discussed. They are placed in line with each other, and the distance between them is laid out with almost military precision. But, more significantly, they have the same orientation as that of the base of the "Promachos," and on that account we may suppose that they date from about the time of the "Promachos."



Fig. 56. Coins, both of the fourth century b.c., representing the erection of small trophies. Left, from Herakleia in Bithynia, Heracles erecting a trophy on a central post. Right, from Syracuse, a Victory, hammer in hand, in the same act

What did they support? "Spoils from the battle of Marathon" seems the most likely answer to this question, since the "Promachos" was erected to commemorate that battle. Moreover, we know that the Persians disembarked some war material at Marathon, which they were obliged to abandon, and that three of their ships were captured. After a successful battle the ancient Greeks almost invariably erected a trophy out of the captured arms. There are many literary references to the practice: two, selected at random, may be cited:

1. Simonides, epigram 134: "These weapons of the hostile Medes the sailors of Diodorus dedicated to Leto as a monument of the naval battle."
2. Demosthenes, Third Olynthiac, 19–32: "... and many glorious trophies they erected for victories won by their own fighting on land and sea..."

Coins, too, contribute their evidence—witness figure 56. The coin to the left represents Heracles erecting a trophy on a central post; the coin to the right depicts a victory in the same act, hammer in hand. The rock-cuttings for our posts are so big that the posts were capable of supporting a large number of arms, both light and heavy. A restoration of the three trophies is attempted in figure 44 (see p. 520).

If we look southward from the cutting for the central trophy (Fig. 42, 4), we will note a rock-cut platform a few meters away (Fig. 42, 6, and Fig. 57). Its southern and eastern edges, where the rock rises above the platform, are well defined by vertical rock-cuttings. The northern and western edges of the platform, however, are not determined in any way. Clearly, we are dealing with a platform of the half-cut, half-fill type, a type which we have already noted in the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis and also in the court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon. If the supposition be correct, a search for traces of retaining walls on the north and west may be fruitful. On the north we are successful; the Acropolis rock has been dressed in three places, 7, 8, 9, figure 42, for a width of



Fig. 57. Rock-cut platform in front of the "Promachos"

0.65 m. to 0.70 m. to receive a retaining wall parallel to the row of three trophies. The similar orientation of wall and trophies probably indicates that both were of the same date. On the west side of the platform we find no rock-cuttings, but, as the platform here faces the Processional Way, it is possible that steps which have left no traces took the place of a retaining wall. The rock-cuttings at 10, 11, 12 and 13 lead one to suppose that at an early date some monument stood over them, possibly a shrine, judging by the east-west orientation of the cuttings. There could have been no large building on the platform after the erection of the "Promachos," as some writers suppose, because such a building would hide the numerous monuments which stood along the east side of the platform, the existence of which is certain from the many rock-cuttings in which they stood (Fig. 42). Probably the shrine at 10, 11, 12 and 13, if it ever existed, was destroyed by the Persians

and not rebuilt at the time of the erection of the "Promachos"; and very possibly the terrace was further enlarged by means of the retaining wall at 7, 8, 9. This theory would accord well with the general embellishment of the Acropolis at this time. It is also barely possible that the shrine was either built, or rebuilt, after the Persian wars, and was not taken down until the days of Agrippa, when the quadriga may have been taken inside the Acropolis (as previously explained).



Fig. 58. Theseus lifting the rock: coin of Athens (Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons. of Ancient Athens*, p. 522)

There are only two more rock-cuttings in this entire group to which statues may be assigned even tentatively. The cuttings are numbers 14 and 15 in figure 42, and the statues are the second and third mentioned by Pausanias immediately before he speaks of the "Promachos." The statue which he first mentioned represented Theseus lifting the stone; the second, Theseus driving the bull of Marathon. The former appears on Athenian coins (Fig. 58), and on a few Graeco-Roman reliefs. Theseus is in the act of raising a large stone beneath which are the tokens of his birth (sword and sandals). Pausanias tells us that the stone was real stone, and that the rest of the monument was bronze. Theseus driving

the bull of Marathon, which Pausanias describes immediately after Theseus lifting the rock, was a more popular subject in both ancient art and literature. We find representations of this group on Athenian coins (Fig. 59), on ancient vases, and on one of the metopes of the "Theseum." Some of these, in agreement with what Pausanias says, represent him as driving the bull; others picture Theseus as struggling with it. From these data it is not difficult to make fairly accurate restorations of both groups. They are tentatively assigned to positions 14 and 15, figure 42, because 1) the rock-cuttings suggest bases suitable for such groups; 2) the nearness of the cuttings to the "Promachos" agrees with Pausanias's account; 3) Athena was Theseus' protecting deity, and it is appropriate that groups in which he appears should be placed in the actual shadow of her statue.



Fig. 59. Theseus driving the bull of Marathon: coin of Athens (Jane Harrison, *Myth. and Mons. of Ancient Athens*, p. 522)

There are many rock-cuttings in figure 42, about which nothing can be said, except to remark that the cuttings for stelai can be distinguished from those for other types of monuments. A further exception may be made for cuttings 16 and 17. Number 16 shows cuttings of two periods, one over the other. The larger and later cutting effaced some of the grooves for pedestrians. Evidently monuments of late date encroached upon the Processional Way. Number 17 is a cutting for a stele which

was placed against the Mycenaean wall: the stele helps to locate the western face of the wall. If we attempt to restore the monuments which once stood in these various cuttings, the best that can be done is to select monuments the bases of which fit the cuttings—for the size of the cutting is a rough indication of the size of the monument—and to select monuments which are appropriate for the position (Figs. 43 and 44).

Pausanias is now near the end of his visit, for he speaks of only two more monuments before he leaves the Acropolis. These are the Pericles and the Lemnian Athena, which, as we have seen, probably stood near the northeast corner of the east portico of the Propylaea. But, on his way from the group of the "Promachos" to the east portico of the Propylaea, he must have observed a building to the north of the portico (Fig. 1, 23).

The *Guide Bleu* for Greece (1932, p. 55) is the only publication known to the writer in which an attempt has been made to give a name to this structure. It is there tentatively called the "Heroon of Pandion." Pandion was a legendary king of Athens and had



Fig. 60. Junction of the two interior foundation walls of the so-called Heroon of Pandion, viewed from the northwest

a heroon somewhere on the Acropolis; but there is no proof that this particular building was connected with him; it was more probably a dwelling for priests or priestesses, or an office of some kind. We shall refer to it, however, as the "so-called Heroon of Pandion," but only because no name can yet be assigned to it with certainty. Although there is nothing left of the building except impressive foundations of poros stone (Fig. 60), yet, after close examination, we may draw a number of conclusions. The foundations were built above and across a cistern (or possibly only a system of water channels) of the time of Pisistratus. The foundation walls of the east and west sides of the building are bonded into the north wall of the Acropolis, a proof that the building and the Acropolis wall back of it were contemporaneous. As the Acropolis wall here was rebuilt soon after the Persian invasion of 480 B.C., we have a good indication that the building was standing

when Mnesicles started the Propylaea in 437 B.C. Furthermore, the level selected upon which to build the structure was much higher than the Pisistratean level of the cistern (Fig. 60). The new level corresponded closely to the level of the Acropolis rock at the east of the center of the Propylaea—a level which Mnesicles seems to have inherited from the Propylaea of Pisistratus.

The original structure was practically a square building with a portico toward the south, consisting probably of six Doric columns *in antis*. Two rooms of unequal size lay between

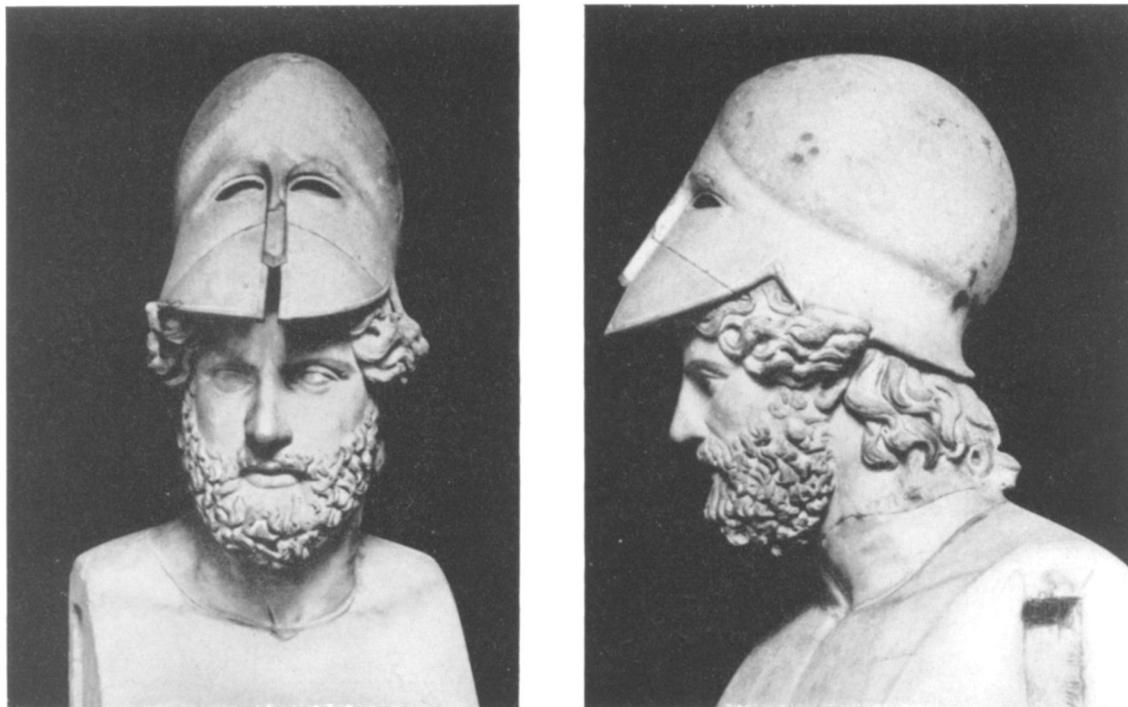


Fig. 61. Bust of Pericles in the British Museum (Furtwängler, *Meist. d. griech. Plastik*, Tav. X)

the portico and the Acropolis wall (Fig. 66). As the building was practically square in plan, the roof may well have been pyramidal in form.

Most probably the building was considerably altered sometime in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. The façade of columns seems to have been removed, leaving the two rooms back of it, however; for wall *a*, figure 66, was built at that time between the Propylaea and the south wall of the two rooms. The arrangement had six advantages: 1) the Entrance Court of the Acropolis became practically square; 2) there was more "elbow room" about the Propylaea; 3) a good rectangular appearance was given to the northwest corner of the Entrance Court; 4) competition between the colonnade of the building and that of the east portico of the Propylaea was avoided; 5) the plane wall surfaces on either side of the Propylaea balanced each other better; 6) the service space



Fig. 62. Antique marble copy of the Lemnian Athena at Dresden  
(Furtwängler, *Meist. d. griech. Plastik*, Tav. II)

to the west of wall *a*, figure 66, was screened from public view. Judging from the rock-cut drain at *a*, figure 66, a reservoir to collect rain-water falling in the Entrance Court of the Acropolis was at least one of the possible utilitarian purposes to which this space was put. Although the direction of the Acropolis wall dictated the orientation of the building, yet the Acropolis wall is here so nearly perpendicular to the east façade of the Propylaea (Fig. 1, 3, 23 and 24), that the south front of the so-called Heröon of Pandion, which could only be seen in perspective, would appear to be perpendicular to the east façade of the Propylaea.

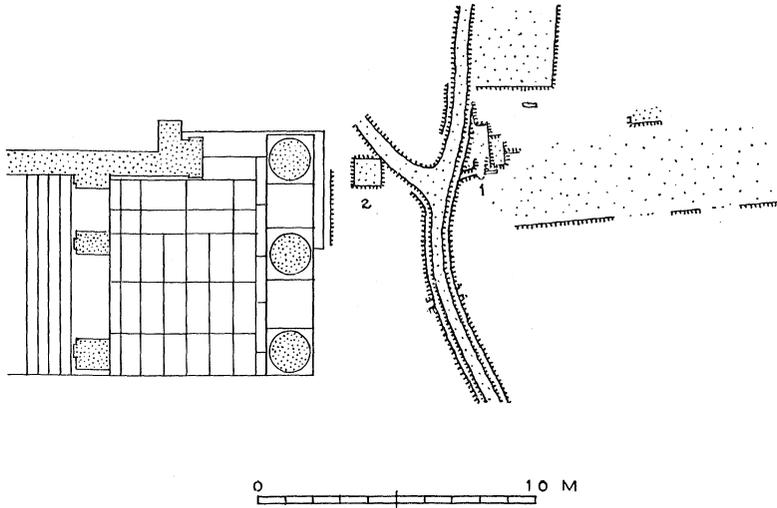


Fig. 63. Tentative locations for the statue of Pericles (at 1) and the Lemnian Athena (at 2)

There could be no more fitting climax to Pausanias's visit than the statues of Pericles and the Lemnian Athena. There are three extant ancient busts of the great statesman, all copies of one original, probably the head of the statue which Pausanias saw. The best bust is in the British Museum (Fig. 61). The face is serene and noble, and is worthy of the character of the man. He who was chiefly responsible for the conception and successful execution of the great projects undertaken by Athens after the Persian wars, who encouraged arts and letters and in general exercised a beneficial influence of vast magnitude over his fellow citizens, whose name is indelibly associated with the most brilliant age the world has ever known, richly deserved to have his statue placed upon the Acropolis. Unfortunately the exact spot where it stood cannot be determined with precision. A tentative position, however, will be assigned to it, when, in the next paragraph, the Lemnian Athena is discussed.

The Lemnian Athena presented a climax of beauty at the end of Pausanias's visit. He considered this statue to be the most marvelous of Phidias's works, for he declared it "...the most worth seeing of the works of Phidias." And his judgment agrees with that

of other ancient writers. Lucian says in one of his dialogues—"and, of the works of Phidias, which do you hold to be the most admirable?" The answer is—"Why, the Lemnian, surely, upon which Phidias deigned to carve his name."<sup>1</sup> In the same dialogue he goes on to say—"The Lemnian Athena is to furnish the outline of the whole face, the tenderness of the cheeks, and the shapely nose." Pliny writes: "Phidias made of bronze a statue of Minerva so beautiful, that it took its name from beauty."<sup>2</sup> The statue is known—the identification, however, is not accepted by all authorities—from several copies, the best being that in Dresden (Fig. 62). The position of the stump of the left arm in figure 62 may indicate that she held a vertical spear in the left hand; furthermore, she may have carried her helmet in her right hand, instead of wearing it. These two details, however, are surmises and have, therefore, been omitted in the perspective drawing of the Entrance Court (frontispiece, on the left). We are more fortunate in regard to the location of this statue than we are in regard to that of Pericles. As the Lemnian Athena is the last statue Pausanias mentions before passing through the small north door of the Propylaea on his way out of the Acropolis, there is a good chance that the statue actually stood in the rock-cutting represented at number 2 in figure 63 (see also Fig. 7). If this position be accepted, then there is some possibility that the statue of Pericles stood at number 1, figure 63, the chief reasons for advancing this theory being that Pausanias mentions the two statues almost in the same breath, and that there are no other rock-cuttings in the immediate neighborhood, in which the bases of the two statues might have been located.

Were these two statues purposely placed at the end of the usual route for visitors, so that the latter should leave the Acropolis properly impressed with Athenian statesmanship and Athenian art at their best?

#### VI. THE PART THE PERICLEAN ENTRANCE COURT PLAYED IN THE GENERAL SCHEME OF THE ACROPOLIS

Let us stand for a moment in the central intercolumniation of the east portico of the Propylaea. This is the opening from which the Panathenaic procession emerged, and from which those in the procession first caught a view of the interior of the Acropolis. From this same portico, too, every visitor to the Acropolis received his first impression of the interior of the far-famed Sanctuary of Athena Polias. It was thus an especially important point of view for those in charge of the Periclean improvements to consider. And let us contrast what we see with what those in the procession saw. We observe two ancient buildings in the distance, the Parthenon and the Erechtheum. The former first arrests our attention on account of its dominating mass and the vigorous shadows of its majestic peristyle. There is nothing between us and the temple to obstruct the view (Fig. 64), and the

<sup>1</sup> Lucian, *Imagines*, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV, 74.

temple is wholly unrelated to everything around it. The Erechtheum is second in importance, because its mass is smaller. But it "plays second fiddle" for other reasons as well. We wonder why its façade, which faces the entrance of the Acropolis and on that account should have been carefully studied by its designer, is so irregular; and we are not at all favourably impressed with the subtle architectural quality called "proportion" which we expected to find conspicuously displayed in such a famous building (Fig. 65). After these first impressions, we become aware that we must walk over that uninteresting rocky incline before us, littered with battered blocks. Where are the statues which Pausanias says, at exactly this point in his route, were so numerous, that he was forced to mention only the most remarkable? Gone, all gone! We must even hunt for the rock-cuttings in which the statues stood to prove that Pausanias was not uttering idle words. The ensemble today is entirely lacking in both order and beauty. It is impossible to believe the ancient Athenians guilty of such an outrage upon good taste.

The ancient Greek of, let us say, 400 B.C., received an entirely different impression as he emerged from the Propylaea. He found himself in what may be called the Entrance Court of the Acropolis. The court was almost square in proportion, measuring, roughly, 45 m. east and west by 40 m. north and south. On the east side rose a Mycenaean wall which averaged about 4 m., or more, in height. On the south the equally high wall of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis met the gaze of our ancient Greek. In the north-west angle of the court was the building of the so-called Heroon of Pandion, with its businesslike façade, 17.50 m. long, which materially helped to give a rectangular impression to the court. But what impressed our ancient Greek most—he was probably only subconsciously aware of the rectangular form of the court—must have been the number and variety of the votive offerings, with the colossal "Promachos" of Phidias as the dominating feature of the composition. There she stood ahead of him, on the other side of the court, backed against a high wall, with the subsidiary monuments of her group so arranged about her as to set her off to the best advantage.

Our ancient Greek, after the thrill caused by the marvels in the court has subsided, begins to look around him more in detail. What does he see? Probably the upper part of the Parthenon first catches his eye—the decorated portion. It rises above the east stoa of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis (frontispiece).<sup>1</sup> Then his eye wanders to the North Porch of the Erechtheum—the principal entrance of that temple. The high Mycenaean wall back of the "Promachos" fortunately hides the rest of the Erechtheum—the uninteresting portion.<sup>2</sup> To the left of the Erechtheum he sees the House of the Arrephoroi,

<sup>1</sup> In drawing the frontispiece the station point, or position of the observer's eye, was taken in the east portico of the Propylaea, 1.50 m. above the pavement at *b*, figure 66. If the observer were to move to the west portico of the Propylaea, the ridge-pole of the east stoa of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis would be seen running across the frieze and cornice of the Parthenon, thus hiding more of that temple than indicated in the frontispiece.

<sup>2</sup> For the same reason as stated in the preceding footnote, if a person were standing in the east portico of the Propylaea, the top of the Mycenaean wall would appear to line with the bottom of the epi-*cranitis* of the Erechtheum.



Fig. 64. The Parthenon today from the central intercolumniation of the east portico of the Propylaea



Fig. 65. The Erechtheum today from the central intercolumniation of the east portico of the Propylaea

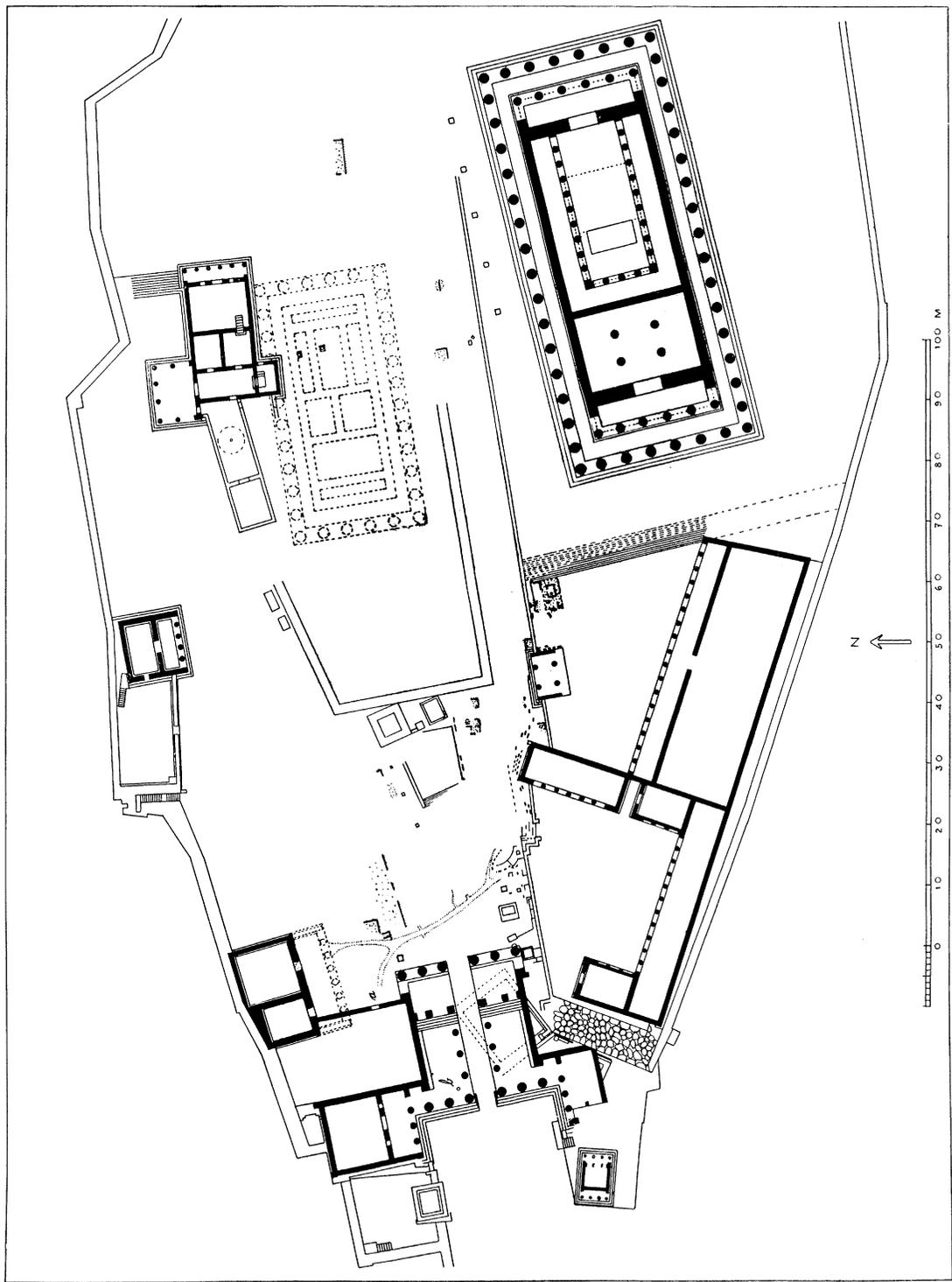


Fig. 66. Plan of the central and western portions of the Acropolis toward the end of the fifth century B.C.: restoration

and on his extreme left, the so-called Heroon of Pandion. He notes several exits from the court. Near the eastern end of the high wall on the right lies the entrance to the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis. Two routes, bordered with monuments of every description, start from the Propylaea. The first, much broader than the second, and provided with grooves for good footing, traverses the court diagonally in a southeasterly direction, and is headed for the Parthenon. It is the Processional Way. From where he stands, the route seems to pass through a triumphal gateway in the southeast corner of the court itself. Surely, that handsome gateway must lead into a court in front of the west façade of the Parthenon (frontispiece). The second route, rock-cut at the start, makes its exit from the Entrance Court in its northeast corner. Our ancient Greek knows that it will take him to the north portico of the Erechtheum, for he can see the route from one end to the other.

The buildings and high walls about the Entrance Court make the latter one of the various units in the general scheme of the Acropolis. The rectangular form gives that unit an orderly appearance which contrasts admirably with the diversity of the many monuments. Our ancient Greek is thus enticed to linger and admire the handsome monuments which adorn it; but, at the same time, he is subconsciously aware that there are other sections of the Acropolis of supreme interest for him to explore later on. He can actually see portions of the other sections from where he stands in the Entrance Court. Thus, the Entrance Court of the Acropolis serves the same purpose as the entrance hall of an important museum of today, but on a much grander scale. The entrance hall of a museum is handsomely decorated with exhibits, but, at the same time, it is a center from which the visitor starts to see the different subdivisions of the museum. And some of the exhibits of the other sections are even partially visible from the entrance hall, to warn him that he must not linger too long in the entrance hall, however interesting he may find the objects there exposed.

The high Mycenaean wall back of the "Promachos" was the deciding factor in orienting the Propylaea of Mnesicles. Pericles and his advisers evidently found that the irregularity of the entrance into the Acropolis in the days before the Persian wars left much to be desired. The pre-Mnesiclean Propylaea had quite a different orientation from that of Mnesicles' (the difference is not far from 30°); perhaps the earlier orientation was due to some defensive requirement. Considerable order, however, was infused into the western portion of the Acropolis by making the new Propylaea parallel to the big Mycenaean wall back of the "Promachos" and by giving the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis a new northern boundary wall perpendicular to the Propylaea. As for the north side of the Entrance Court, the so-called Heroon of Pandion was already perpendicular to the new Propylaea in so far as the eye was concerned. Furthermore, the new wall required to support the north terrace of the Parthenon also became perpendicular to the Propylaea, because it was made perpendicular to the big Mycenaean wall back of the "Promachos." Thus, those who were responsible for the changes on the Acropolis in the Age of Pericles succeeded to a large degree in bringing order and beauty out of confusion and ugliness (Fig. 66).

Honor and glory to the men who conceived and successfully carried into execution the noble undertakings a few of which we have endeavoured to outline. They have left the world a precious heritage, the beauty of which will never cease to uplift man and to inspire him with the desire to accomplish great and useful deeds.

GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS

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ADDENDA

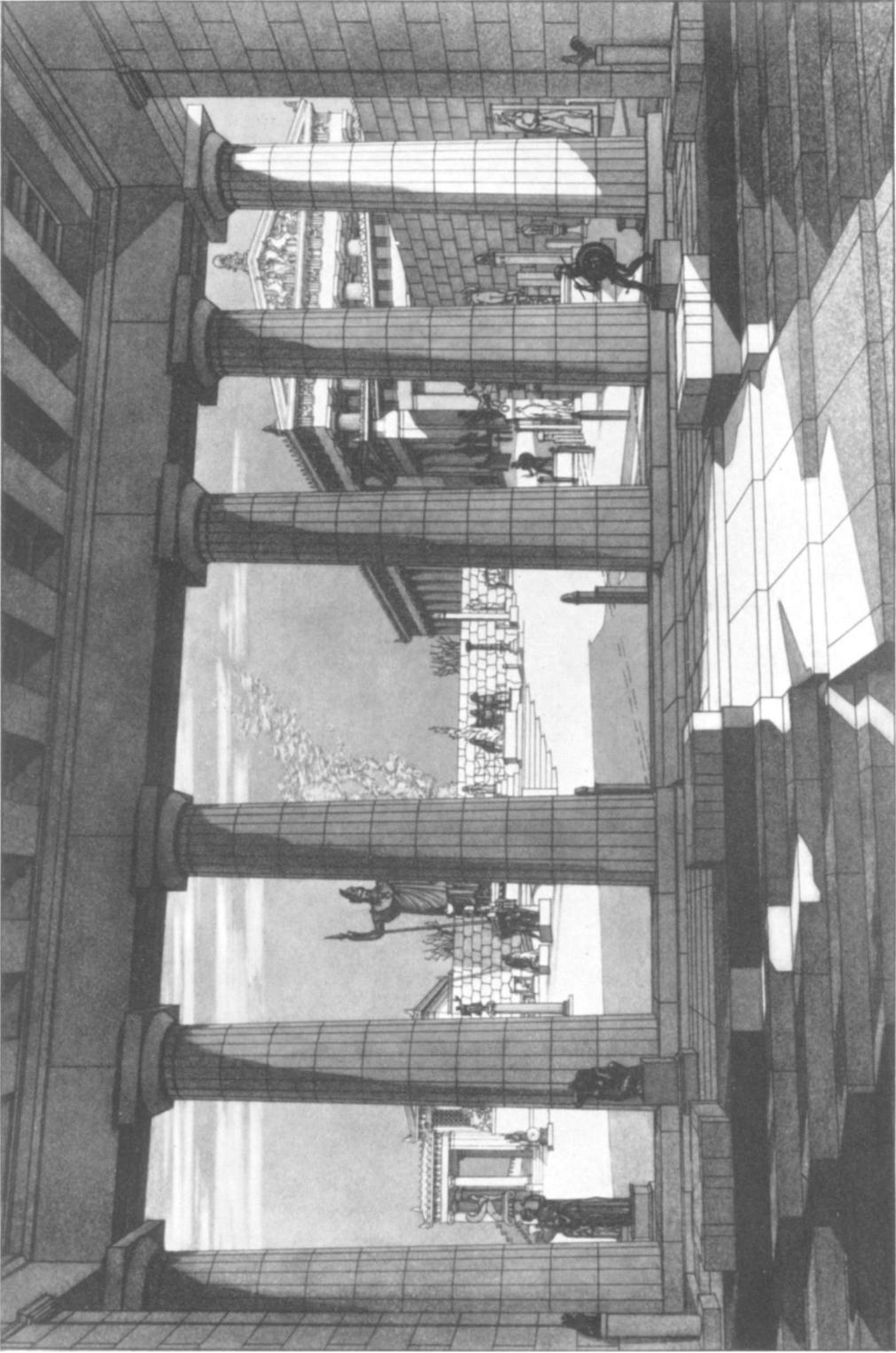
Page 468, third line from the bottom:—The manuscript was sent to the printers in October of 1936. Since then the heavy rains of November and December have thoroughly cleaned the Acropolis rock. As a result an additional statement concerning the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis can be made. By marking out the four angles of wing D, figure 20, on the site, and examining carefully the Acropolis rock between the angles, we observe that the rock is dressed for the foundations in at least six places. They are as follows: north and west sides, in two places each; south and east sides, in one place each. In all likelihood other places would be found were the site to be cleared of the blocks and earth which now cover a large portion of the area in question. Obviously the dressed places noted above help to confirm the existence of wing D.

In general, the projecting wings C and D would be suitable for specially revered or valuable objects which needed to be kept under lock and key, stoa E for votive offerings requiring protection from rain or sun, the open area of the precinct for monuments of robust character.

Page 487, eighteenth line from the bottom:—We know from an inscription (*I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 44, lines 14–17) that about 440 B.C. the number of the guards on the Acropolis was only three.

Page 504, fourteenth line from the bottom:—The fact that in Roman times the western frieze of the main building of the Erechtheum had no sculptured figures attached to it while all the other friezes were decorated with them (see Paton and Stevens, *The Erechtheum*, text, p. 240) is perhaps an indication that even in Greek times this section of the frieze was unadorned. This is another implication that the west façade was not considered from the first as important as the other façades.

Page 508, last line:—The only other possible use for the holes which occurs to the writer is that wooden masts for large banners or flags may have been inserted in them. But in that case we would expect to find circular holes, as the round form of the tree from which a flagpole is made is usually preserved.



The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis: perspective view