eastern side of the Acropolis. * But as this opinion is contested, I shall briefly recapitulate the arguments upon which it is founded.

In the first place, the Peribolus of this temple agrees very nearly with the dimensions which are assigned by Pausanias, to the Peribolus of the Olympium.

Secondly, it is of the Corinthian order; which Vitruvius states the Olympium to have been, and as it was an hypæthral temple, with ten columns in each front, and a double row on each flank, it is very probably the same to which that author alludes in a very obscure, if not corrupt passage of his third book. †

Thirdly, the number and magnitude of the columns which must have belonged to this temple when entire fully correspond with the notion that Vitruvius gives of its magnificence, and it would be absurd to appropriate them to any other building which Pausanias has mentioned. ‡

---

* These columns (of which 124 once surrounded the cell) are six feet in diameter and nearly sixty feet high. Vitruvius speaks of this temple in the following terms:—"Id autem opus non modo vulgo, sed etiam in paucis a magnificentia nominatur." And afterwards he proceeds,—"In Asty vero Olympium amplo modulorum comparatu, Corinthiis symetriis et proportionibus (uti supra scriptum est) architectandum Cossutius suscepisse memoratur." It is spoken of in the same terms of admiration by Livy:—"Magnificientiæ vero in deos vel Jovis Olympii templum Athenis, unum in terris inchoatum pro magnitudine dei, potest testis esse."

† Vitruvius in his third book, where he speaks of hypæthral temples, observes, that they had ten columns in each front, and a double row of columns in each flank, with other particulars, concluding what he had to say upon the subject of hypæthral temples, with the following remark:—"Hujus autem exemplar Romæ non est, sed Athenis octastylos, et in templo Olympio." Ed. Schneiderі. Here the allusion to an octastyle temple seems to be perfectly inconsistent with what precedes it, and therefore cannot have been originally intended by Vitruvius. It is evident that he alludes to some example of what he had been speaking of, and as he makes use of the expression Olympio, it is probable that he means the Olympium at Athens. But the difficulty lies in the word octastylos, and the MSS. afford us no ground for supposing it to be a corruption. We must therefore condemn it upon other grounds of criticism, and as the word contains the elements of its own correction, adopt Mr. Wilkins's ingenious conjecture by substituting *in asty*, which at once gives it sense and consistency.

‡ For instance, to the Pantheon, which has the best claim.

Fourthly, the situation of this temple is near the fountain of Enneacrunos or Callirŏe, where some old authors have placed * it; and there is reason to believe, from what Pausanias relates of the older temple built by Deucalion, that it occupies the same site as that, which we know from the passage of Thucydides already quoted to have been on this side of the Acropolis.

I am of opinion, that much of the obscurity which has hitherto attended this enquiry will be removed, if I add something on the history of this temple.

There were undoubtedly three temples erected at Athens to the Olympian Jupiter, at three very distinct and remote æras.

The first was built by Deucalion.

The second was begun by Pisistratus, and continued by his sons, but left unfinished.

The third, or the temple of which we see the remains, was begun by Perseus, or Antiochus Epiphanes, continued by the kings in alliance with Augustus, and completed by Hadrian. The first was probably a building of a very rude construction; the second, a Doric temple; the third, was Corinthian and hypæthral.

The participation of the sons of Pisistratus in the erection of the second temple, is intimated in a passage of the Politics of Aristotle (v. 11.), καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἡ οἰκοδόμησις ὑπὸ Πεισιστρατιδῶν, and the expression of Dicæarchus, (Ὀλύμπιον ἡμιτελὲς,) † shows that it was left unfinished. The following passage in the ninth book of Strabo, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Ὀλύμπιον, ὅπερ ἡμιτελὲς κατέλιπε τελευτῶν ὁ ἀναθεὶς βασιλεύς, as it evidently relates to the third temple, has been restored to its original reading by the learned and ingenious editors of the French Strabo, who substitute Ἀντίοχος for ἀναθείς. The next great effort to finish this structure, is recorded in the following passage of Suetonius:—

Aug. "*Cuncti* (*reges amici et socii*) *simul ædem Jovis Olympii Athenis*

* Ταραντῖνος δε ἱστορεῖ τὸν τῷ Διὸς νεὼν καλασκευάζοντας Ἀθηναίους Ἐννεακρούνῳ πλησίον, &c. Hierocles in Procemio Hippiatricorum.

† Vide B. E.

antiquitus inchoatam perficere communi sumptu destinaverunt; Genioque ejus dedicare." But it was reserved for Hadrian to put the finishing hand to this magnificent pile of building.

Pausanias takes the opportunity in this place of mentioning what other public buildings had been erected by that Emperor at Athens. After which, he continues his excursion eastward, noticing, first, the statue of Apollo Pythius, which appears to have stood in some consecrated building, Ἱερὸν; for immediately afterwards, he observes, ἐστι καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπίκλησιν Δελφινίου, implying the existence of two temples; the former of which being then perhaps in a ruinous state or absolutely destroyed, is not named. This interpretation of the passage is, I think, supported by Thucydides, who, among the temples enumerated on the south side of the Acropolis, mentions the Pythium; and still more so by Strabo, who tells us that it was near the Olympium. Of these two temples of Apollo, as well as that of Venus in the gardens; the temple of Hercules called Cynosarges; the Lyceum, &c.; all which lay in the direction which Pausanias is now taking, and attracted his notice; no remains are now extant.

Pausanias then comes to the Ilissus, which he crosses, and arrives at the district called Agræ, where he notices the temple of Diana Agrotéra; finishing this excursion with some account of the Stadium of Herodes Atticus; the site of which, now correctly ascertained by modern travellers, confirms the idea of Pausanias's general accuracy. Nor is the consistency of his narrative less apparent, in the circumstance of his returning at once to the Prytanéum, without mentioning either the Olympium, the Eleusinium, or Enneacrunos, which lay in his way, or near it, but had already been noticed.

Pausanias now starts again from the Prytanéum, which had been fixed by his narrative at the eastern base of the Acropolis hill. The street of the Tripods, he says, commences from this building; the same denomination being given to the quarter of the city, (τὸ χωρίον,) in which it stood. Of this street, one vestige only remains, the choragic monument of Lysicrates; the position of which, both with respect to the Acropolis and the Olympium, enables us to fix retro-

spectively with still more precision the site of the Prytanéum, which as he is now advancing towards the theatre he has left to the north.

Before his arrival at the theatre, however, Pausanias speaks of a temple of Bacchus of the highest antiquity, which seems to have been in his way towards it. This, without doubt, is the temple of Bacchus in Limnis, which is mentioned by Thucydides among those very ancient buildings which stood on the south-side of the Acropolis. Few of the temples at Athens have been oftener alluded to by ancient writers. The epithet evidently implies a low or marshy situation, and as there is no ground of this description in the present city, or even adjacent to it, the temple here mentioned by Pausanias has been generally supposed to be distinct from that of Bacchus in Limnis. There is, however, sufficient evidence of their identity. First, in the position assigned by Pausanias, which is in reality the lowest part of the city, and secondly, in some springs of brackish water, which, rising at the northern base of the Acropolis, and of the hill of the Areopagus, naturally flow in this direction; nor is it surprising, as the level of the ground in most parts of the city has been raised from 10 to 18 feet, that all traces of this marshy spot should have been obliterated.

After noticing the edifice in the form of Xerxes's tent, which stood between this temple and the theatre, and to which I shall presently have occasion to recur, Pausanias conducts us to the latter, the situation of which he points out with great precision; for we learn that it stood at the foot of the rock, on the southern side of the Acropolis, and that there was a grotto or cavern immediately above it. Nothing now remains of the theatre but the cavea; but this is exactly in the position here described, a grotto occurring just above it, which is faced with marble pilasters that support an entablature, on which are some inscriptions, which prove it to have been a choragic monument. Above this entablature is a statue of marble and two columns, on each of which are the marks of the feet of a tripod, and this may be regarded as a farther confirmation of the accuracy of Pausanias, who notices a tripod over the grotto and some statues.

Dicæarchus, too, speaks of the theatre in this position; ὁ καλούμενος Παρθενὼν ὑπερκείμενος τοῦ Θεάτρου, and both the Theatre and the Parthenon are represented on a bronze medal of Athens, in the same situation with respect to each other. In short, I believe it would be difficult to produce a more connected chain of topographical evidence than is contained in this part of Pausanias's narrative.

I shall now return to the building which has been previously mentioned, but without any denomination. On the authority of Plutarch and Suidas, as well as of a false reading of Jocundus in his edition of Vitruvius, this building has been generally supposed to be the Odeum of Pericles; but it is in reality the Odeum of Themistocles, as appears by the restoration of the text in the new and excellent edition of that author by Schneider:—"*Et exeuntibus e theatro sinistra parte Odeum, quod Themistocles columnis lapideis navium malis et antennis e spoliis Persicis pertexit, idem autem incensum Mithridatico bello rex Ariobarzanes restituit.*" Lib. v. cap. 9. *

The Odeum of Pericles, therefore, can be no other than that which is noticed by Pausanias in his excursion through the Ceramicus, and near Enneacrunos, in the following words:—Τοῦ Θεάτρου δὲ ὁ καλοῦσιν ᾠδεῖον; and by Suidas more particularly, Ὠδεῖον Ἀθηνῇσιν ὥσπερ Θέατρον, ὃ πεποίηκεν, ὡς φασὶ, Περικλῆς εἰς τὸ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τοὺς μουσικούς. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ᾠδεῖον ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τῆς ᾠδῆς, ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ δικαστήριον τοῦ Ἄρχοντος. διεμετρεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἄλφιτα ἔνθα. Demosthenes informs us, that it served not only for musical contests, but for assemblies of the people. Plutarch, however, appears to have confounded this with the other Odeum, for he tells us that in point of form it resembled the tent of Xerxes.

From the theatre Pausanias conducts us to the entrance of the Acropolis, which is about due west. On his way thither, which skirts

* This is the same building to which Appian alludes in the following words: Καὶ Ἀριστίων αὐτοῖς συνέφευγεν ἐμπρήσας τὸ Ὠδεῖον, ἵνα μὴ ἑτοίμοις ξύλοις αὐτίκα ὁ Σύλλας ἔχοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐνοχλεῖν. He adds, that Sylla permitted his soldiers to sack the city, but not to burn it. In the passage of Pausanias, ποιηθῆναι δὲ τῆς σ.;—σκηνῆς is probably the true reading.

along the foot of the rock, he notices the sepulchre of Kalos, and then the temple of Æsculapius, in which there was a spring of water, which affords occasion to speak of Halirrothius, the whole story respecting whom, like that which he had before related of the origin of the term Ceramicus, shows how much the Greeks were accustomed to disguise and ennoble the most trivial circumstances. * Farther on was a temple of Themis, the sepulchre of Hippolytus, and lastly, the temple which was appropriated to Tellus Curotrophus and Ceres Chloe, which are unquestionably different appellations of the same deity. And here it is, at the western end of the Acropolis, that Pausanias finishes his perambulation of the city: ἄχρι. In the course of his narrative there appears to be both method and selection, and we may observe that he carefully avoids any recurrence to the objects he had already noticed; for instance, he finishes his second excursion at the stadium, and in his way from the theatre, although the Ceramicus must have been pretty close on his left, he notices no one building which appertains to it; confining his observation to those which stood on a higher level, or nearer the foot of the rock, and passing over the spot, on which, soon afterwards, was erected the theatre of Regilla, which he notices when speaking of the Odeum at Patræ.

Having accompanied Pausanias thus far in his perambulation, we shall not follow him into the Acropolis, because there is no difficulty in recognizing from the remains which are extant there, almost every one of the public buildings which he describes. It is in this part of his narrative, however, that he incidentally mentions the hill of the Museum, on which was the monument to a certain Syrian (Philopappus), which still crowns the summit of a hill at no great distance from the Propylæa, on the south-west. This hill, too, he says, was within

* Such as a spring of brackish water and a place for the manufactory of tiles. Pausanias mentions a spring within the sacred enclosure; we may conclude it was not potable, from the nature of the two springs on the opposite side of the Acropolis, and the silence both of Pausanias and Strabo, when they speak of Enneacrunos. The true and ignoble origin of the term Ceramicus is given by Pliny, lib. xxxv. c. 12. Suidas in Κεραμ.

the old walls of the city, εντος του περιβόλε αρχαίε, which is literally true in respect to the building here spoken of, the foundations of the old walls forming an angle on the summit of the hill, and enclosing it.

On his return from the Propylæa, Pausanias points out a few more objects of curiosity on this side, before his final departure. Of these, the first in order is a grotto consecrated to Apollo and Pan, which was situated a little below the Propylæa, and near to a spring of water. Here, precisely in the situation pointed out by Pausanias, a grotto and a spring of brackish water are still observable; and a representation of the former, with all the circumstances which are requisite to fix its identity, may be seen on a bronze medal of Athens, which is engraved in the Atlas to the Anacharsis.

Pausanias next conducts us to the Areopagus, which was in the vicinity of the Propylæa, and there is a rocky eminence just opposite to that object, which, although no vestiges of a building are observable on it, is generally supposed to have been the site of this venerable tribunal. But there is a passage in the *Bis Accus.* of Lucian *, which, as it fixes its position with respect to the cave of Pan, the Propylæa, and Pnyx, and notices the ascent to it, removes nearly all doubt of its situation. It is remarkable, that Pausanias makes no mention of Pnyx; but his silence may, I think, be accounted for, as Pnyx had long ceased to be the place of assembly at the period when he visited Athens, the Romans having then nearly abolished the forms of an independent government. † Nor is it probable that any thing in the shape of a public building had ever existed here, for Aristophanes speaks of the people, when assembled, as seating themselves on a

---

The passage is rather too long for insertion; but a part of it, which more particularly regards the cave of Pan, has been already quoted. The ascent to the Areopagus is noticed in that speech of Pan, which begins with the words, Βαβαὶ τοῦ θορύβου.

† The complaint of Athenion (vide Athenæum, lib. v.) closes with the words, καὶ τὴν θεῶν χρησμοῖς καθωσιωμένην Πνύκα, αφηρημένην τοῦ Δήμου. According to Pollux and Hesychius, it continued to be made use of only when certain magistrates were to be elected. The pulpitum looks towards the city.

rock. There is a circumstance, however, mentioned in Plutarch's Life of Themistocles, which helps us to fix its situation, for he tells us it commanded a view of the sea. Now, there is a rocky eminence between the last-mentioned spot and the Museum, which answers to this description, and I know of no other within the old walls that does. The surface of the rock is there cut into a form which appears to be not ill calculated for the purpose to which Pnyx was appropriated. According to Plutarch, Pnyx must have been near the Museum, for he speaks of the hottest part of the combat of Theseus with the Amazons as having taken place between these two places; and Pnyx appears to have given its denomination to a quarter of the city, χωρίον, (vide Pollux,) which was inhabited, for Cimon dwelt there. Moreover, it was bounded by the city wall, for Suidas, in Μέτων, says, Προ Πυθοδώρα δὲ ἡλιοτρόπιον ἦν ἐν τῇ νῦν ὕστῃ εκκλησίᾳ πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν Πνυκί; and the scholiast on Aristophanes (in Avibus) tells us, on the authority of Philochorus, Ἡλιοτρόπιον Metonis extare πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν τῇ Πνυκί. (Salmas.) Enough, I believe, has been said, to fix the site of the Areopagus, Pnyx, and the Museum. The Piræan gate, as I have already mentioned, lay between the two last.

We are now arrived at the end of the topography of Athens, as it is given us by Pausanias; and in the course of these remarks, I have endeavoured to explain that topography by the help of the existing remains; but, as the progress of the narrative has been much interrupted, it may be useful to pass once more under review the whole series of positions that have been fixed by this enquiry.

The first point thus fixed, with reference to the plan of the ruins, is the Piræan gate; where Pausanias begins his description of the city. By the second, which was Enneacrunos and the Eleusinium, we obtained the general direction of the Ceramicus on the right, or to the south of the Acropolis, and thus acquired some idea of its extent. The third fixed point, is the situation of the new Agora; which is determined both by the order of the narrative, and by the remains of the Doric portal, which forms the entrance to it. The Gymnasium of Ptolemy and the Theseum are the two next. The

situation of the Temenos of Aglaurus on the eastern declivity of the Acropolis, which I have taken some pains to ascertain, determines pretty nearly that of the Anacéum and the Prytanéum, as well as the site of the temple of Ilithyia; all which are fixed with still more precision by the positions of the Olympium and the theatre; the last, and perhaps the least equivocal points in the topography of Athens.

Having thus established the claims of Pausanias to the merit of veracity and correctness, I shall beg leave to make some remarks on the method which is observable in his description of the antiquities of Athens, and on his omissions.

Proceeding directly from the Piræus in the direction of the northern long wall, Pausanias enters by the gate which was nearest to the Acropolis, when, turning to the right, he soon reaches the most ancient, most important, and most frequented part of the city, the Ceramicus. After making the tour of this quarter, and noticing some objects beyond it, he returns to the spot where he began, for the purpose, as it would appear, of mentioning a few buildings which he had omitted; and from thence he proceeds, with the Piræan gate on his left, to the north. His course however, on this side of the Acropolis, is more desultory; for when he has noticed the new Agora, (incidentally,) the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, and the Theséum, which two last lead him far to the left, he turns suddenly round, and retraces his steps towards the Acropolis, for the purpose of visiting the Anacéum, the sacred portion of Aglaurus and the Prytanéum. From hence, he continues his course easterly to the temples of Serapis and Ilithyia, the Olympium, the Delphinium, the temple of Venus in the gardens, Cynosarges, the Lycéum, the Ilissus, and the Stadium, where, in a direction about due south from the Prytanéum, he finishes his second excursion.

He starts again from the Prytanéum to commence his third excursion; and at first proceeds due south along the street of the Tripods; from whence he turns to the right, and approaches the eastern base of the hill of the Acropolis; describing some very remarkable edifices in this quarter, (the quarter of the Tripods;

ἀφ' ὗ δὲ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον,) and then continues his march round the upper slope of the hill, until he reaches the entrance of the Acropolis; without touching the line of his first excursion through the Ceramicus, which was on his left. It is proper to remark, that the term *excursion* which I have here made use of, cannot be applied in a literal sense, because Pausanias merely describes what objects were to be seen, without expressly mentioning that he had visited them,

Before Pausanias begins his account of Sparta, he thinks it necessary to observe, that he should follow the same rule as he had laid down in his description of Attica; not to describe every object that occurred without distinction; but to select what best deserved notice.

We may collect from this observation, that he had passed over a number of objects unnoticed in his description of Athens; but not without motives for such an omission.

Meursius has collected with much learning and industry, all that has been said by ancient writers on the subject of the public buildings which are thus omitted. Of these, many were no longer in existence at the period when Pausanias visited Athens, among which, I suspect, were the Pythium and the Leocorium, which from their celebrity he was not likely to have passed over unnoticed. Some, too, are of his own, or even of a later age. Pausanias, therefore, is responsible only for having omitted what he saw, and as the buildings which may be referred to this head, were, as far as we know, of a Macedonian-Greek or a Roman origin, it is probable, this his omission of these was deemed more consistent with the object he had in view, a description of the antiquities, and not, generally speaking, of the public buildings of Athens. Thus, for instance, he passes over without notice the temple of the Winds, because it was a modern structure; while he dwells with feelings of interest on the Anacéum and the sacred portion of Aglaurus. He dispatches, too, in a few words, and as it were in a parenthesis, the great additions which had been made to the city by Hadrian. For the same reason, Pausanias barely and incidentally notices the new Agora, the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, and the monu-

ment of Philopappus, and if he deigns to expatiate on the Olympium and the Stadium; it is, because they were classed among the greatest works then in existence.

Again, it appears that more than three-fourths of all the original public buildings at Athens, were either on the south, south-east, or south-western side of the Acropolis. Of the remainder, viz. the Theseum, the Dioscuréum, the Anacéum, the sacred portion of Agraulus, the Prytanéum, and the temple of Ilithyia; the first stood at some distance on the north-west, the second, third, and fourth on the north-eastern slope of the Acropolis hill, and the fifth and sixth at a short distance from the eastern angle of the Acropolis. The space therefore on the north of the Acropolis within the city walls, which contained no genuine monument whatever of Athenian origin, was above one half of the entire area of the city. In short, previous to the final subjugation of Athens by the Macedonians, and even long after that period, the whole northern half of the city seems to have been appropriated to private buildings.

Nor is there any difficulty in explaining how this came to pass. I have already quoted a passage from Thucydides, which points out the situation and extent of the original city previous to the time of Theseus. The choice of the spot had been already determined, first, by the convenience of a neighbouring spring and rivulet, and next by the natural strength of the hill of the Acropolis; to which all could speedily retire in case of alarm. In the progress of time, the habitations extended to a greater distance from both; and when Theseus prevailed on all the Demoi to assemble in one city; the space on the south of the Acropolis being no longer sufficient for so many inhabitants, the new settlers were obliged to erect their dwellings farther eastward, and to occupy the vacant portion of the periphery of the hill on the east and on the north.* The Prytanéum was built at this period, and precisely on the same spot, where the building described

* Vide Platonem in Critia.

by Pausanias under this name then stood*; and to this early extension of the city round the Acropolis, we may refer the rest of the ancient buildings, which he describes at the base of the hill or near it. No other public buildings, however, appear to have been erected on this side until after the Persian invasion, when the Theséum was built, for which in all probability no space that was sufficiently large, could be found unoccupied in the more ancient part of the city. The same reason must have induced the Macedonian conquerors and Hadrian, where the site was not already chosen, (as in the instance of the Olympium,) to decorate the northern part of the city with those public buildings, which were designed to commemorate their munificence; and consequently, it is in that quarter that we must look for their remains. The style of sculpture and architecture observable in these buildings, bear witness to the decline and corruption of the arts, and they have occupied perhaps more of the public attention than they deserved. †

If I am correct in the historical view which I have just taken of the antiquities of Athens, as well as in my opinion of their local disposition; my readers will not be inclined to admit a very fanciful, although ingenious application, of the inscriptions on the arch of Hadrian, which has been lately brought forward by ‡ Mr. Wilkins. The arch here spoken of, which stands at the north-western angle of the Peribolus of the Olympium, and appears to have had no connection with any wall of the city, has been generally considered

---

* Thucydides says only, that the Prytanéum was built by Theseus; but Plutarch tells us that Theseus erected it precisely on the spot where it then stood, ὅπου νῦν ἵδρυται.

† I allude here to the Stoa or Portico, as it is called by Stuart. Upon this building I find the following observation in my Journal:—"The uncertainty of antiquarians respecting this ruin is less to be regretted since there is so little to admire in its style of architecture; the swollen flutings in the lower half of the shafts of the columns, the sharp-pointed abacus's and the insulated and starting entablatures, producing a very bad effect, and proving it to have been built in the decline of Greek architecture, and not in the best period of the Roman."

‡ Atheniensia, or Remarks on the Topography and Buildings of Athens, p. 45.

as a monument of adulation, erected by the citizens of Athens to the Emperor Hadrian, who indeed had done much for their city, but in no instance so much, as in completing that magnificent structure the Olympium.

This opinion is confirmed by the two inscriptions on the entablature of the arch, the idea of which seems to have been borrowed from the celebrated column on the isthmus of Corinth, which pointed out the boundaries between Ionia and the Peloponnesus. In the same way, these two inscriptions were intended to point out the distinction between New and Old Athens; the former of which is here called the city of Hadrian, as it is called New Athens in the inscription over the aqueduct.

The compliment, however, was not wholly unmerited; for if the Athenians had more reason to be proud of the edifice which this arch directly faces, than of any other which had been for some ages erected; it is certain, that Hadrian had contributed in a material degree to its completion; as may be collected both from the testimony of Pausanias, and from some unequivocal proofs of the Roman school of architecture in this building, which are pointed out by Mr. Wilkins himself. (p. 159.) How much, too, the vanity of Hadrian was flattered by the connection of his name with this temple, may be seen by the title of Olympius, which was given him in a dedicatory inscription published by Stuart. Moreover, we are told by Pausanias, that the whole enclosure was full of statues dedicated to that Emperor; besides four which were within the temple, and a colossal statue and an altar, which were erected to him by the citizens of Athens.

I have already stated what has been the received opinion concerning these inscriptions, I mean their application; for some variation of the sense arises from the different collocation of the Greek letters. But according to Mr. Wilkins, these inscriptions refer to what is seen through the arch, and not from it; the arch itself being intended, as he says, to guide the reader of these inscriptions to the objects which they refer to. The result of this hypothesis is, that the Olympium

forms a portion of the city of Theseus, while the greater part of Athens bears the new denomination of Hadrianopolis!

Now admitting that this mode of interpretation is not constrained and artificial, and that it does not ill accord with the genius of those times; it will be found by no means to correspond with the local circumstances that are connected with the arch, which it pretends to illustrate. "On reading the southern inscription," says Mr. W., ΑΙΔΕΙΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΧΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ, the eye is immediately directed to the picture seen beyond the arched opening, over which it is placed, and of which it forms the frame. Through this, the greater part of the modern town presents itself lying in the plain, on the north-east side of the citadel, whilst the Acropolis itself is on the left, without the field of view." On consulting the plan of Athens, which is prefixed to Mr. W.'s work, we find a line drawn at right angles to the plan of the arch, which is evidently intended to mark the centre of the view here alluded to. This line nearly touches the eastern angle of the Acropolis; the Acropolis therefore is on the left, not as he says, without the field of view, but within it; or rather near the centre. That part of the city, too, which is on the left of this line, and which is the more ancient, has full as much claim to the distinction here conferred as that which lies to the right; and, if we apply the rule which has just been laid down, must equally bear the name of Hadrianopolis. But the position to the right of the line actually includes the Prytanéum, which we know to have been erected by Theseus, and consequently it includes that very city of Theseus, which it is the object of this new interpretation to exclude from it.

Equal inconsistencies arise on the other hand, from the application of the inscription on the north side of the arch, ΑΙΔΕΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ Η ΠΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ, to the objects on the south; for, waving the objection that might be made to a modern building on this side, which occupies so much of the ground, as being an argument equally available against the position of the old city on the north side of the arch; it will be seen by a reference to Mr. W.'s map, that the city of

Theseus is removed to a very inconvenient distance from the citadel to which it owed his protection; while a very considerable space directly to the south of the Acropolis remains wholly unoccupied. Mr. W. seems to have been aware of this objection, and has endeavoured to obviate it; first, by removing the Pelasgicum from the north side of the Acropolis to the south, and secondly, by occupying as much of the vacant space as he could on this side, with the southern extremity of the Ceramicus, and the left wing of his city of Theseus; which is thus conveniently made to extend beyond that line to which it was before limited. But that the situation of the enclosure called the Pelasgicum was on the northern side of the Acropolis, is proved by its connection with the cave of Pan, as it is stated in the following passage of Lucian:—καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει σπήλυγγα τάυτην ἀπολαβόμενος οἰκεῖ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ: and the cave here alluded to, is represented on this side of the Propylæa, on a bronze medal of Athens, which I have already mentioned. Besides, we learn from Plutarch, that the Κιμωνίον τεῖχος was the southern wall of the Acropolis, so that the Pelasgic wall which overlooked the enclosure, must have been the northern.

It is therefore clear, that if the author of this hypothesis means to be consistent, he must abandon the ground which he has thus endeavoured to occupy; the consequence of which is, that all that portion of the city which I have proved from Pausanias and other writers, to have comprehended the most ancient and most important part of it; and to have been best situated both in regard to security and a supply of water; will present in Mr. W.'s plan a blank space of ground, unaccountably interposed between the city and that fortress to which it looked for protection. But enough has been said to prove the weakness of this new hypothesis, and we may safely revert to the old explanation of these adulatory inscriptions, which are evidently intended to feed the vanity of the Emperor Hadrian; a proof of which, is the negation which is introduced into the southern inscription, showing that the northern is to be read first, and that the

reader is supposed to be advancing from the old city towards the Olympium. *

In the preceding enquiry, (the necessity for which in my opinion ought long ago to have been superseded,) an attempt has been made to settle some of the most leading and important points in the topography of Athens.

The enquiry may now be extended to the walls of that city, although with less prospect of success; for here unfortunately our intelligent guide forsakes us, and the information which we must now glean from a variety of other sources, is too scanty to afford us a competent idea of the plan of these walls; either in respect to the ground which they occupied, or the number and position of the gates.

As Thucydides was almost an eye-witness to their construction, we may justly regard whatever he says upon the subject as authentic; I shall therefore avail myself to the utmost of his information, and have recourse only to other writers when they are not in opposition to him.

We are told by that historian, that the inhabitants of Athens returned to the city immediately after the departure of the †Persians, and in the same year began to rebuild the walls; after which they proceeded to fortify the Piræus. An interval, however, of some years elapsed, before they began to erect the long walls which united the city with the Piræus; and completed the general plan of fortification recommended by Themistocles.

The length of the northern long wall, or the Piræan, according to Thucydides, was forty stadia, and that of the southern or Phaleric, thirty-five; which measures agree pretty well with the respective distances of the Piræus and Phalerum from Athens.

---

* In Stuart's plan of Athens the aqueduct of Hadrian lies to the south of the line of the arch, which stands, he says, nearly north-east and south-west. The inscription over the aqueduct shows it to have been in New Athens. The Olympium, therefore, even according to this hypothesis, must be in New Athens.

† A. C. 478. Olymp. lxxv. 2–3. Dodw.

The new walls round the city comprehended a greater space of ground than the old, and the part which it was necessary to guard, measured forty-three stadia.* Of the remainder, which we may conclude was the part shut up between the long walls, he does not give the measure; probably because it was insignificant. His scholiast, however, informs us, that it was seventeen stadia, which is highly improbable; the strength of the long walls, considered as lines of fortification, much depending upon the shortness of their distance from each other and their parallelism. But the position of the Piræan gate, which may now be regarded as fixed, and that of the Ilissus, fully demonstrate the impossibility of this wide † interval.

That it comprehended the Museum hill, might be inferred from the importance attached to this spot after it was fortified, both by Antigonus and his son Demetrius; who, by means of the garrison which they placed here, kept the city effectually under subjection. On the other hand, the vestiges of the city walls, (if they can be depended upon,) which inclose the monument of Philopappus, evidentally terminate on the summit of this pointed hill southwards, striking off nearly in a right angle to the east; so that the junction of the Phaleric with the city wall, must necessarily have taken place within this distance from the Piræan. ‡

The space thus left between the long walls, would admit of one gate of communication only between the city and the sea-ports, which

* It would appear from some passages in the writings of Xenophon and Thucydides, that the walls of the city had been extended farther than was necessary for the accommodation of the inhabitants, in consequence of which there was a considerable space of vacant ground. This must have been to the north of the Acropolis. Here, then, was room for the garden of Epicurus, and for all the public buildings which were subsequently added to the city by the Macedonian Greeks and the Romans. Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τά τε ἔρημα τῆς πόλεως ᾠκησαν, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ, καὶ τὰ ἡρῶα πάντα, &c. &c. Thucyd. Hist. Εἶτα ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλὰ οἰκιῶν ἔρημα ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν καὶ οἰκόπεδα." Xenoph. de Redit.

† The bed of the Ilissus bends so much to the north, after it has passed by the Museum hill, as to reduce this space very considerably. Chandler crossed it in his way to the town.

‡ Xenophon represents the long walls at Corinth as being at some distance from each other; but their length, according to Strabo, did not exceed twelve stadia.

some will think improbable. I am inclined, nevertheless, to adopt this supposition, and for the following reasons, which it will be proper to state at some length.

In the first place, I must observe, that we have proofs of the existence of a Piræan gate, but none of a Phaleric, at least of a gate so denominated;) which, if it had ever existed, must have been somewhere between the long walls, and probably as close to the Phaleric wall as the other was to the Piræan; and although Pausanias speaks of a gate as you entered the city from Phalerum; yet, it will be recollected, that he is silent with respect to the southern long wall which had been long demolished; and that it is the more direct as well as shorter road, which he is describing from that sea-port to the city.

In the next place, it is a circumstance well known, that the northern long wall was principally efficient in keeping open the communication between Athens and the Piræus, and it appears upon all occasions to have secured Athens from being closely invested. It was therefore of the most essential importance in either point of view, and not only the first of the two walls which was constructed, but in all probability the strongest; and this will explain the reason why so great a part of its foundations are still visible, while nearly all the traces of the Phaleric wall have disappeared. *

It is here too, that I conceive most of the towers to have been built, which are spoken of by Thucydides; because few or none were required for the defence of the other. † For the same reason, gates which would have impaired the strength of one of these walls, might not have been incompatible with the use of the other; and thus it is possible that the city which was least exposed to an attack on the

* Of the southern long wall a small fragment or two only remains, which M. Fauvel discovered by accident in the vineyards. These walls, he says, were parallel, except near Phalerum, and about forty paces asunder, as well as he could recollect without his notes. MS. Journal.

† I think this may be fairly concluded from the expression of Thucydides, — Τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο.

south side, may have had the choice of some points of communication with the interior of the long walls, besides that which the Piræan gate afforded. For instance, there were two, if not more gates, which opened into the Ceramicus; and the use of these might have been safely combined with that of a gate in the Phaleric wall, which was at a short distance.

The periphery of the city walls, according to the above supposition, could not much have exceeded the measure given by Thucydides, which is forty-three stadia*; and if we take that of the distance between Athens and the Piræus, as a scale for computing the length of the stadium here made use of, it would appear that there were about ten of these to a geographic mile. On applying this scale of measurement to the traces of the old walls of the city, as they are represented in Fauvel's plan, we shall find them not to exceed 30 stadia in circumference.

I have already observed, that no reliance is to be placed on what are called the vestiges of the ancient walls, with the exception of such as are perceivable on the Museum hill and near Pnyx; for these, besides something of a regular plan and connection, have historical evidence in favour of their antiquity. And although, the very near approach of these walls to the entrance of the Acropolis might justly excite some suspicion of the validity of their claims, yet it will be recollected that this was a most vital point in the general system of defence, and that Themistocles has probably adapted the plan of the walls on this side to the natural strength of the position. In like manner, it is evident that the bed of the Ilissus must have set some inconvenient limits to the extension of the walls on the southern side of the Acropolis; so that the fountain of Enneacrunos, which was probably not within, although immediately under the protection of the walls, may be regarded as the farthest point to which they advanced in that direction. And thus, after admitting as

* It is remarkable, that Dicæarchus, in his Metrical Fragment, gives the same measure to the walls of Thebes.

genuine those traces of the walls, which Fauvel and Stuart have laid down on this side of the Acropolis, and which amount to about one-third of their periphery, we may suspend the labour of further enquiry, for all beyond is doubt or conjecture.*

It is on account of these insuperable difficulties, in ascertaining the plan of the walls, that we are unable to fix the exact position of the gates. We have even no precise information respecting their number or denomination, and it is only by carefully comparing whatever may be gleaned from ancient authorities, with a few fixed points in the plan of Athens, that we can hope to satisfy our curiosity. The result, however, of this investigation has been more successful than I had anticipated.

To begin with Dipylon. The first object which Pausanias takes notice of, on the sacred way leading from Athens to Eleusis, is the tomb of Anthemocritus. Now, we are told by Plutarch that this personage was interred near the Thriasian gate, which was then called Dipylon†; a circumstance which derives some confirmation, if it needed any, from a passage in the oration of Isæus, πρὸς ‡ Καλυδῶνα. From which we may conclude, first, that the Θριασίαι Πύλαι and Δίπυλον were the only different donominations of the same gate, and secondly, that the Ἱεραι Πύλαι (if they ever existed) could have been no other than this gate. It is remarkable that the two roads which lead at present from Eleusis and the site of the Academy, met at one and the same gate of the modern town.

I have expressed a doubt, whether the denomination of Ἱεραι Πύλαι was ever given to Dipylon; for the sole authority for it is in a passage of Plutarch. I am inclined to believe, that Ἱεραι has been substituted

---

* We may collect from the following passage of Strabo, how far they extended towards the south-east: Ἔξι δ' αὐτὴ ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ολυμπίου. Lib. ix. Vitruvius says, that the walls on this side were of brick:—"Nonnullis civitatibus publica opera, et privatas domos, etiam regias, e latere structas licet videre; et primum Athenis murum, qui spectat ad Hymettum montem." Lib. xi. Pliny repeats this account, lib. xxxv. c. 14.

† Ταφῆναι δε Ανθεμόκριτον παρὰ τὰς Θριασίας πύλας, αἳ νῦν Δίπυλον ονομάζονται.

‡ Quoted by Harpocratio.

in it by mistake for Ηρίαι or the Sepulchral gate, which probably stood at the foot of the Muséum hill, and was the next in succession to the Piræan; for some sepulchres are still observable in the side of the rock which forms the base of that hill.* Here, too, the funeral rites might have been performed with less danger of interruption than on the other side, while the city was pressed by a besieging enemy. The evidence however, which results from all this, is far from being conclusive; and it amounts only to a high degree of probability, that the Sepulchral gate of the city stood in the situation which I have described.

That which is called by Philostratus † the gate of the Ceramicus, was, without doubt, the next in succession eastward; and either this or the preceding must have borne the denomination of Ἱππάδες or the Equestrian. The expression ὲ πόρρω τῶν Ἱππέων in the passage of Philostratus which I have just referred to, would lead to the conclusion that it was the Ceramic; on the other hand, there is a passage in Plutarch's life of Hyperides, which seems to show the connection of the Equestrian gate with the Sepulchral. ‡

The Ceramic gate must have been the same as that which has already been noticed near the Mercury of the Agora, and it is probably the same gate through which, at certain festivals, Xenophon recommends that the Athenian cavalry should issue, after they had made a procession round the Agora; and thence gallop off in

---

* "On our left," says Chandler, "were the door-ways of ancient sepulchres, hewn out in the rock." By a law of Solon the dead were not permitted to be interred within the city; and although many sepulchral monuments of persons of distinction are noticed by Pausanias, both on the road to the Academy and to Eleusis, yet it is not improbable that persons of inferior note were deposited in one particular situation, the gate leading to which was called Sepulchral. The author of the Etymologicon says, Ηρίαι, πύλαι Ἀθηνῆσι, διὰ τὸ τὴς νεκρὲς, ἐκφέρεσθαι ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ τὰ ἠρία, ὃ ἐστι τὲς τάφες. The choice of a western gate for this purpose seems to have been consistent with their mythology.

† Παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν βουλευτήριον, ὃ δὲ ωκοδόμηται πάρα τὰς τοῦ κεραμεικοῦ πύλας, ὲ πορρω τῶν Ἱππέων.—Philostratus in Philagro Soph. lib. xi.

‡ Τὲς δὲ οἰκείες, τὰ ὀστᾶ λαβόντας, θάψαι τε ἅμα τοῖς γονεῦσι, πρὸ τῶν Ἱππάδων πυλῶν. The ἅμα τοῖς γονεῦσι, probably referring to a place of common interment.

squadrons as far as the Eleusinium. As the Ceramic gate appears, from this passage of Xenophon, to have been at some distance from Enneacrunos, we must conclude that there was a point of communication with that public fountain through some gate which was nearer to it, if not directly opposite; although no such gate is expressly mentioned by any ancient author. A gate however, called Diochares, is mentioned by Strabo in this quarter; which I suspect to have been situated precisely in the spot where it was so much wanted. The passage is as follows: — Εισὶ μὲν οὖν αἱ πηγαὶ καθαρᾷ καὶ ποτίμῳ ὕδατος, ὡς φασιν, ἐκτὸς τῶν Διοχάρους καλουμένων πυλῶν, πλησίον τοῦ Λυκείου. This is the only fountain which Strabo speaks of at Athens. How improbable, therefore, is it, that he should have passed over in silence so important an object as Enneacrunos, while he mentions a fountain which must have been comparatively insignificant? Besides, I know of no springs (πηγαὶ) to the eastward of Enneacrunos; except one which is about a mile above the Stadium. But the words which follow my quotation more particularly designate Enneacrunos: — Πρότερον δὲ καὶ κρήνη κατασκέυαστο τις πλησίον πολλῇ καὶ καλῇ *ὕδατος. Nor could this be the fountain which is so commended in the Phædrus of Plato; for Strabo expressly mentions that fountain in another part of his narrative, and in a manner which shews that they were very distant from each other. †

The Itonian gate was probably the next as we advance in this direction. It is mentioned by Æschines the philosopher ‡, in the

---

* "When we had passed these columns (of Jupiter Olympius)," says Stuart, "and the eastern end of the Peribolus, of which we found two hundred and thirty feet not utterly demolished, we arrived immediately at the vestiges of the city wall and of one of its gates, probably that called Diochares. We were now on the side of the Ilissus; hence we descended to a copious and beautiful spring, at present called Callirŏe, flowing into the channel of the river." Vol. iii. p. 23. — Chandler, too, speaking of the foundations of this gate and Callirŏe, expresses his opinion that the passage of Strabo above quoted refers to the latter.

† See the passage in the Phædrus relating to these springs or fountains, and their situation.

‡ In Axiocho.

following words:—Ὡς δὲ ἧττον τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἤειμεν, ταῖς Ιτωνίαις (πλησίον γὰρ ὦκει τῶν πυλῶν, πρὸς τῇ Αμαζονίδι σήλῃ,) καταλαμβάνομεν αὐτόν. Now, Plutarch gives us pretty accurate information where this column was situated; for speaking of Hippolyta, the Amazon who was slain by Molpadia, in the battle between Theseus and the Amazons, he adds,—καὶ τὴν σήλην, τὴν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Γῆς τῆς Ολυμπίας, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ κεῖσθαι. The Itonian gate therefore must have stood on the eastern side of the Peribolus of the Olympium, or between that and the Pythium; for Strabo speaks of a wall, probably the wall of the city, in that situation. *

I must now conduct my readers back to the western side of the city, where the situation of the Melitensian gate seems to be clearly pointed out in the following passage of the life of Thucydides by Marcellinus:—Πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς Μελιτίσι πύλαις καλουμέναις εἰσὶν ἐν Κοιλῇ τὰ καλούμενα Κίμωνος μνήματα. According to Herodotus, the sepulchre of Cimon, the father of Miltiades, was in front of the Acropolis, beyond the wall called *through Coele.* We are told by an anonymous author, who is quoted by Meursius, that the dwelling of Cimon was in Pnyx, which would lead us to suppose that the monuments of that family, and consequently the gate which stood in their vicinity, could not have been very distant; and in reality, the form of the ground between Pnyx and the Areopagus, (a very remarkable hollow, and the only one at Athens,) fully confirms this supposition. †

The Melitensian gate was, therefore, the first as you advance northward from the Piræan gate, and probably at no great distance from it; then followed Dipylon; beyond which must have stood the

---

* Ἔστι δ' αὐτὴ (ἡ εσχάρα τῶ Δίος Αστραπαίου) ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ολυμπίου. Lib. ix.

† Chandler describes this spot very accurately:—"We now enter a valley," says he, "at the foot of the hill of the Acropolis, in which is a track leading between Pnyx and the Areopagus, toward the temple of Theseus. This region was called Coele or the Hollow. On the left hand is a gap in the mountain, where, it is believed, was the Melitensian gate, and within is a sepulchre or two in the rock. Going on, other sepulchres hewn in the side of the mountain like those first mentioned occur."

Acharnian; for such was the direction of Acharnæ in respect to Athens. The space now left for the remaining gates, supposing the intervals between them to be like the others, or nearly so, will admit of three more; one of which was probably the Dioméian. The other gates enumerated by Potter, are the πύλαι Θρακίαι or Thracian, the authority for which is taken by mistake from a passage of Thucydides relating to Amphipolis*; the πύλαι Σκαῖαι†, which is mentioned only in a monkish legend quoted by Meursius; Αἰγέως πύλαι, which was unquestionably no gate of the city; and the gates of Hadrian, of which I have already treated.

But a question of some importance remains to be answered,—How was Athens supplied with water?

The first settlers were undoubtedly influenced in the choice of their situation, by the proximity of Callirŏe and the Ilissus: and until the time of Theseus, it is probable that these were sufficient for the supply of the inhabitants. But the great addition which was then made to the population of the city, by causing the buildings to extend considerably to the north of the Ilissus, must have suggested other means of supply; and those inhabitants who dwelt at the greatest distance from Callirŏe and the Ilissus, doubtless, had recourse to wells.

Plutarch mentions a police law of Solon, respecting the use of wells. According to this law, every one who dwelt within the space defined by a Hippicon or four stadia around a well, might make use of it. Others, not within that distance, were enjoined to provide one of their own; and in case they should meet with no water at the depth of ten fathoms, they were allowed daily to fetch a limited quantity from their next neighbours' well. Plutarch says, that Solon enacted this law, because he thought it right to provide against the want of water, without holding out any encouragement to indolence; but, it is evident, that in such a country as Attica, it was necessary

* This is a most extraordinary instance of carelessness in such a writer as Meursius.

† Between the walls and Anchesmus is a little Greek church called Agia Scéa.

thus to limit the distance of the wells from each other, or they would have been very soon drawn dry.

This law, the very provisions of which demonstrate the insufficiency of such a resource for a condensed population, has, nevertheless, been very absurdly applied to the city alone; and the question seems never to have occurred, how Athens could have been better supplied? For the Athenians, at an early period, are known to have indulged in the luxury of baths *, and were not less nice than the Romans or even the present inhabitants of those countries, in the discrimination of water; nor could the practicability of conveying it by an aqueduct have escaped the observation of that ingenious and enterprizing people. On the contrary, there are some plain indications, I think, of this art having been understood and practised here at an early period, in the following passage of Phrynichus, Μέτων ὁ Λευκονοεὺς, ὃς τὰς κρήνας ἄγων. Upon which Salmasius (to whom I am indebted for this authority) observes, "*Metonem per ista, planè designavit*, qui etiam aquilex fuit, *non tantum astronomus;*" for according to the testimony of the same writer (Phrynichus), which is quoted by Suidas, it appears, that a fountain was constructed by Meton within the walls of Athens. Ἐν τῷ Κολώνῳ κρήνην τινὰ (ὁ Μέτων) κατασκευάσατο, φησὶν ὁ Φρύνιχος, Μονοτρόπῳ. (Meurs. Reliq. Att.) The Colonus here mentioned is supposed to have been an eminence somewhere near the Agora, and therefore called Ἀγοραῖος, to distinguish it from the Ἵππιος, which was situated near the academy.

In the Lysis of Plato, Socrates says, "I was going out of the Academy directly towards the Lycéum, by the way which lies without the city walls; but when I got to the gate where the fountain of Panops is, I there met with Hippothales." Now, when we recollect the position of the Academy from whence he started, and the intervention of the long walls which stopped his passage on the right, no

* It is said in one of the comedies of Aristophanes, "that the Gymnasia were empty; but the baths were always full." Demosthenes complains of the degree to which this usage had spread among the mariners of the fleet.

doubt can remain of the fountain of Panops having been situated on the north-eastern side of the city; where it could have had no communication with the Enneacrunos.

We have evidence of the existence of an aqueduct soon after this period in the Lycéum. It is mentioned by several writers *; but as Theophrastus seems to have been the original authority, I shall give it in his words:—"Ἡ γε οὖν ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ ἡ πλάτανος, ἡ κατὰ τὸν ὀχετὸν ἔτι νέα οὖσα περὶ τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα πήχεις ἀφῆκεν (ῥίζας) ἔχουσα τόπον τε ἅμα καὶ τροφήν. Pliny repeats this wonderful account of the plane-tree with some variations; noticing a fountain here:—"*Nunc est clara* (Platanus) *in Lycéo, gelidi fontis, socia amœnitate*," &c. It was, probably, one of those trees which Plato in the dialogue above quoted mentions as having been planted in the new Palæstra; the formation of which, as well as the planting of the trees †, is ascribed by Plutarch to the orator Lycurgus. ‡

It is remarkable, that at this very period, Dicæarchus, in the words, ἡ δὲ πόλις, ξηρὰ πᾶσα ἐκ εὐυδρος, appears to represent the city as very ill supplied with water. But according to Gataker §, the word πόλις here applies to the district or country of Attica, χώρα, and not to the city.

We have another proof of the existence of these public works for the supply of the city, in the offices of Κρηναρχη and Κρηνοφύλαξ. In the Politics of Aristotle, he is called επιμελητὴς κρηνῶν. Themistocles seems, at one period of his life, to have held an office, perhaps a superior one of this sort; for Plutarch says, ἦν αὐτὸς, ὅτε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑδάτων ἐπισάτης ἦν, ἐυρὼν τοὺς ὑφηρημένους το ὑδωρ καὶ παροχετεύσαντας, ἀνέθηκεν. An instance is given by Thucydides, how sensible the Athenians were of the importance of these works, in his account of the siege of Syracuse. Οἵ δε Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς δὲ ὀχετοὺς αυτῶν, οἵ δε ἐς

* Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. lib. i. c. x.; Varro, lib. i. c. 37.; and Pliny, lib. xii. c. 1.

† It is impossible that any tree, except the Pinus maritima or the olive, could have grown in such a dry and rocky soil as that of the Lyceum, without constant irrigation.

‡ Vide his Life in the X Rhet.

§ Adv. Post. cxiv.

τὴν πόλιν ὑπονομηδὸν ποτοῦ ὕδατος ηγμένοι ἦσαν, διέφθειραν. And it is not improbable, that the mischief thus described, was afterwards retaliated upon themselves; either on the invasion of Philip or the capture of the city by Sylla.

Whether it was in consequence of a violence like this, that the aqueducts were abandoned, or they had become useless by long neglect; we find that Athens at a subsequent period had relapsed into her former state; for Pausanias, who visited that city in the latter half of the second century, speaking of Enneacrunos, informs us, that Φρέατα μὲν καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεώς ἐςι, πηγὴ δὲ ἄυτη μόνη. Soon after this, however, as we learn from an inscription over the Ionic arcade at the foot of Mount Anchesmus, Athens was provided with an aqueduct, by the munificence of the Emperors Hadrian and Antonine. *

The modern city is abundantly supplied in the same way by a subterranean canal, which conveys to it the whole perennial stream of the Ilissus. It is, therefore, no wonder, that the bed of that river should present an appearance, at this time, so little corresponding with its poetical character; and that travellers should complain so feelingly of its degradation. †

* It was begun by Hadrian and finished by Antonine in his third consulate.

† The following extracts from my Journal will convey some information respecting the present state of the Ilissus:—

"Oct. 21.—Notwithstanding the heavy rains of the preceding evening, the bed of the Ilissus was quite dry, but as we were tracing its course upwards towards Enneacrunos, I discovered a subterranean canal immediately beneath it, which contained a small stream of clear water. It was about six feet below the bed of the river, hewn out of the solid micaceous rock, and measured about three feet six inches by two feet six inches."

"Nov. 14.—I observed in my walk this day, that notwithstanding the heavy rains which we had lately experienced here, a very small rivulet ran along the gravelly bed of the Ilissus. Fauvel informed me, that he had found the traces of seven or eight pipes belonging to Enneacrunos in the face of the rock, where the great fall is in the bed of the Ilissus, and that the subterranean canal which I observed draws off all the water, and has a stream the whole year. The source of this stream is probably the original Callirŏe."

Fourmont (Acad. Inscrip. xvi.) says, "that Enneacrunos and Callirŏe were not sufficient to supply the city with water: "On saigna l'Ilissus dès sa source, a deux lieues et demie de la ville." They also formed, he adds, subterraneous aqueducts, of which two remain now, distributing water to the town. Fourmont thought them of high antiquity.

The principal source of the Ilissus is near the monastery of Cyriani, just below the higher region of Mount Hymettus. The stream bursts forth there from the cavities of the marble rock, and soon loses itself in a deep ravine, which it has worn in the schistous basis of the mountain. At some distance below, the old bed of the river turns to the left, and is joined by several other ravines, which convey to it in the rainy season an additional supply of water. The stream, however, before it reaches the Eridanus, is turned off in a more straight direction towards the city, and conveyed during the remainder of its course under ground. This must have been an enterprize of considerable labour and expence, not unworthy of the better days of Greece; for a little to the north of Ampelokipo, I took notice of a number of shafts by the road side, sunk in the hard rock, which proved upon enquiry to belong to the city-aqueduct there, at a considerable depth under ground.

Stuart was of opinion, that the reservoir of Hadrian's aqueduct had been supplied with water by a raised aqueduct of no mean length; for he passed some ruined arches of it in several places, at a considerable distance from each other in his way to Cephissia; which is between six and seven miles from Athens. He supposes it to have led from that place. Chandler likewise noticed these remains of an aqueduct, and accounts for them in the same way. It appears extraordinary, however, that Athens should have been supplied in this direction, since the distance from which the water is conveyed by the present aqueduct is comparatively much shorter.

ON THE VALE OF TEMPE.

[*BY MR. HAWKINS.*]

THE Vale of Tempe is generally known in Thessaly by the name of the Bogaz. *

It is a pass of great natural as well as political importance; for it affords an outlet for the accumulated waters of a large province, and forms the only road into it; the pass by Velestin (the ancient Pheræ) excepted, which is not exceedingly difficult.

It has therefore been celebrated in all ages as the scene of great events; and has excited in modern times no small degree of curiosity.

And yet, in spite of its superior claims to our attention, I know few objects in this part of the world which have been so seldom visited or described; and I recollect no traveller before myself, who has deviated from his route, and made an excursion on purpose to view it. †

This circumstance may be ascribed, in some measure, to the wild and insecure state of the country in which it is situated, and in part, to the excessive heats which prevail there during the summer and

---

* In the middle ages it was called the pass of Lycostomo. The title of the bishop of the diocese is, Ἐπίσκοπος Πλαταμώνης καὶ Λυκοστόμου.

† Gyllius is, I believe, the first modern traveller who has visited Tempe. He says of it, "Vidi Penei ripas, quas amænas efficiunt illa nobilia Tempe Thessalica, in nemorosa convalle inter Ossam et Olympum sita, per quæ media Peneus viridis labitur, amœna, ut dicuntur, sed angusta et brevia, undique montibus in altitudinem immensam elatis coarctata, ut terror adsit prætereuntibus."—De Bosph. Thr. lib. i.

autumn; when it is scarcely possible to escape those dreadful intermittent fevers, which are the natural consequences of heat, fatigue, and marsh effluvia.

Such was the result of the first attempt which I made to visit Thessaly in July 1795, when I had nearly fallen a victim to my temerity. *

But in the year 1797, being more fortunate in the choice of the season, I was enabled most fully to gratify my curiosity. I landed at Volo on the 21st of May, and proceeded directly across the great plains of Thessaly to the vale of Tempe. The heat even now raised the thermometer at noon to 85°, but was not intolerable, nor was the air in any part of our route insalubrious.

We spent six days at Ambelakia, a large Greek town which overlooks Tempe; after which, we ascended the summits of Pelion and Ossa, visiting the plains of Pharsalia on our return to Volo. We had been prevented by the fear of the plague from proceeding to Larissa, and the ruins of some old towns beyond it, a circumstance which we much regretted.

My fellow-traveller, Mr. Randle Wilbraham, who had recently returned from Persia, was struck with the resemblance which the aspect of Thessaly bore to the provinces of Ispahan and Hamadan. This resemblance, he said, was most conspicuous in the vast extent of these open plains; in the bold rise as well as the bare and rocky surface of the mountains around them; and in the numerous hills which emerge like so many islands out of their stagnant level.

From the summit of Mount Ossa, (now called Kissavo,) we observed, how all the rivers of Thessaly poured themselves into the Peneus; and how the collected stream, in its course towards the gulf, forced its way through the high ridge on which we were seated. On its appearance again to the right of the mountains, we saw it meandering slowly through a plain of great fertility, which had been

* I mention this for the benefit of others. No English traveller can perambulate Greece with impunity in the months of July, August, and September.

evidently formed by its alluvions, and which it seemed to quit with reluctance.

The very hospitable reception which we met with at Ambelakia, as it enabled us to make four successive visits to the vale of Tempe beneath, afforded us ample leisure to contemplate its beauties, and to make a series of accurate drawings.

The Turkish word Bogaz, which signifies a pass or strait, is limited to that part of the course of the Peneus, where the vale is reduced to very narrow dimensions.

This part, I think, answers to our idea of a rocky dell; and is in length about two miles. * Travellers are prepared for their approach to it, by the gradual closing in of the mountains on each side of the river, and by a greater severity of character, which the scenery assumes around it.

At a short distance from the mouth of the dell, some groves of the oriental plane-tree adorn the banks of the river; and were the stream here as limpid as that of the Thames, or many other rivers in England, and the vegetation on either side of it as luxuriant, we might justly admit the truth of Ælian's description. † Not far beyond this spot, which has some degree of beauty, the river is seen to strike into the body of the ridge, where it is soon lost between the successive folds of the mountains.

---

* This distance was computed by time and the rate of motion.

† The breadth of the Peneus is generally about fifty yards. Its water was at this time very muddy, but is said to be much clearer in the latter part of the summer, and Brown, who was at Larissa in September, says, that Homer's epithet of αργυροδίνη is very applicable to this river, which has a clear stream. On the other hand, the Swedish traveller Biornstähl, who visited Larissa twice in the spring of the year, says, that the Peneus resembles the Tiber in its yellow colour, and that the inhabitants of that city, who have no other water, drink it after it has been kept a week in cisterns, where it deposits a sediment. Biornstähl is certainly mistaken in the colour of the water, and I cannot give credit to the assertion of Brown that it is ever clear.

It contains several sorts of fish, one of which, the Κολιανος, the Collanus of Belon, or Accipenser Huso of Linnæus, is much esteemed for its delicate flavour, and grows to a very considerable size.

The following extract from my Journal describes the remainder of the vale, or as it may be termed with more propriety, the Defile of Tempe.

"The road through the Bogaz is chiefly the work of art, nature having left only sufficient room for the channel of the river. This road is, nevertheless, broad enough for the use of wheel-carriages; and in some parts of its course consists of a paved causeway, which has been laid on the bank of the river; whilst in others, it is a solid terrace of rock, hewn out of the base of the mountain. It is carried on for a great way, at the height of 20 or 30 feet above the river; but towards the eastern end of the vale it rises much higher, in order to surmount the brows of some promontories, which fall there precipitately, and without any basement, into the water. In short, it appears to have been conducted with as much attention to the ease and safety of passengers, as the nature of the ground would admit of; and even, in its present neglected state, inspires a traveller with sufficient confidence, to contemplate the various beauties of the scenery.

"This scenery, of which every reader of classical literature has formed so lively a picture in his imagination, consists of a dell or deep glen, the opposite sides of which rise very steeply from the bed of the river. The towering height of these rocky and well-wooded acclivities above the spectator; the contrast of lines exhibited by their folding successively over one another; and the winding of the Peneus between them, produce a very striking effect; which is heightened by the wildness of the whole view, and the deep shadows of the mountains. The eye, however, dwells with pleasure only on the Peneus. The full but silent stream of that river is bordered nearly in all its course through the dell by the Oriental plane-tree, which supports the wild-vine thickly interlaced among its branches, and dropping in festoons to the surface of the water. This beautiful parasite was at the season when we visited Tempe in full bloom, and scented the air with a delightful odour. About midway, a fountain of the coldest water gushes out at the foot of a rock, which forms the

base of the causeway. Here travellers usually halt to refresh themselves and their cavalry; while many repose here; or devour, as we did, the contents of their wallets; cooling their wine in the chrystal fountain.

"Just beyond this spot and adjoining to the road, are the ruins of a fortress of no very ancient date, which once, perhaps, guarded the pass; but the peasants conceive it to be the monument of a princess, who met here with an untimely death, and in memory of whom, it is called τὸ ὡραῖο κάστρο or τῆς ὡραιῆς τὸ κάστρο. The remains of this old castle are situated at the mouth of a small dell, which is rendered in some degree remarkable by a ruined tower on the brow of a lofty cliff. One or two dells, of less magnitude, diversify this side of the river, as we proceed eastwards.

"On the north side of the Peneus, the mass of rock is more entire, and the objects which strike the eye are altogether more bold, but perhaps less picturesque.

"It is here, however, that the exposure of the strata suggests to the imagination some violent convulsion, which, in a period of the most remote antiquity, may have severed the ridge and drained the great basin of Thessaly."

The above account of Tempe, which was written almost immediately after visiting that celebrated spot, will convey to my readers a faint, but no unfaithful representation of the scenery which I observed there. It is scarcely necessary for me to add, that the scenery itself by no means corresponds with the idea that has been generally conceived of it; and that the eloquence of Ælian has given rise to expectations which the traveller will not find realised. In the fine description, which that writer has given us of Tempe, he seems to have failed chiefly in the general character of its scenery, which is distinguished by an air of savage grandeur rather than by its beauty and amenity; the aspect of the whole defile impressing the spectator with a sense of danger and difficulty, not of security and indulgence. In short, it is mortifying to be obliged to confess, that the highly-finished picture which Ælian has left us of Tempe,

is almost wholly an imaginary one; and that even those which are sketched with so much force by Livy and Pliny bear no very marked resemblance.* Were it possible to set aside the impression made by these writers, and to divest this celebrated spot of all the historical importance which is attached to it, I even doubt, whether it would attract that notice, which has been bestowed on many vales of the same wild character in the west of Europe.

But Tempe, had it even fewer pretensions to grandeur or beauty than it in reality possesses, would still be viewed with interest; for it *has been in all ages the theme of poetic encomium*, and it is moreover connected with some of the greatest events in ancient history.

We are told by Herodotus, that Xerxes advanced some way before his army, on purpose to survey this remarkable spot. Having enquired of his guides, how far it were practicable to turn the course of the Peneus; and being assured there was no other passage by which that river could find an issue towards the sea, Thessaly being surrounded by mountains — "The Thessalians," said he, "act with prudence in not offering any resistance; they seem to be aware of their own weakness; for, by filling up this valley, I could lay their whole country under water."

This boast, so hyperbolically expressive of the might of Xerxes, conveys a pretty accurate idea of the physical geography of Thessaly; for the closure of Tempe alone, whether effected by the labour of an immense army, or by an earthquake, would undoubtedly cause so extensive an inundation, as to cover the whole eastern half of that country. † In this state of things, (if I may be allowed to carry on

---

* "Sunt Tempe saltus, etiamsi non bello fiat infestus, transitu difficilis, nam præter angustias per quinque millia, qua exiguum jumento onusto iter est, rupes utrimque ita abscissæ sunt, ut despici vix sine vertigine quadam simul oculorum animique possit; terret et sonitus et altitudo per mediam vallem fluentis Penei amnis." *Livii His.* — "In eo cursu Tempe vocantur quinque mill. passuum longitudine, et ferme sesquijugeri latitudine, ultra visum hominis attollentibus se dextera lævaque leniter convexis jugis. Intus sua luce viridante adlabitur Peneus, viridis calculo, amœnus circa ripas gramine, canorus avium concentu." *Plin.* lib. iv. c. viii.

† That is, Perrhæbia and Pelasgiotis.

the supposition,) the first draught of the waters would be towards the Pagasæan gulf. * But were they to rise so much higher, in consequence of this stoppage, as to spread over the plains on the western side of Thessaly †, they would ultimately find an issue between Pelion and Ossa, near the modern town of Aia. In this case, I conceive, that a range of hills which separates the two great level districts, would be the only part of the interior above water. ‡

In reality, it is not possible to view the dead level of these extensive plains, and the very compact barrier of mountains which surround them, without forming some idea of the existence of such a primæval lake; which, as it has been evidentally drained off by the opening of Tempe, might be restored again by the closure of that passage. Nor would it be easy to explain the formation of Tempe itself, without attributing it, as the most ancient inhabitants of this country did, to the effect of some violent convulsion. And in this way, I think, we may account for all the traditional relations of such an event, to which Herodotus alludes. §

I am further confirmed in this opinion on the origin of Tempe, by the marks of similar revolutions, which I observed in other mountainous districts of Greece. For instance, several of the rivers of Arcadia run through deep and narrow glens, which must have been formed in the same manner. One of these, the Ladon, bursts its way through a vast chasm; which is reported to be several miles in length, and has the appearance of being inaccessible to a human being. ‖ The Gortynius and the Neda, two other Arcadian rivers, run through glens, the steep and lofty sides of which almost conceal their course from the view of the traveller. But the most

* Now the gulf of Volo. † Estiæotis.

‡ This range of hills connects Pheræ and Pharsalia with Tricca and the towns which lie on the south-western borders of Macedonia. The battles of *Cynocephalæ* and Pharsalia were fought on the skirts of these hills.

§ Strabo, who loves to dwell upon subjects of this kind, repeats these very ancient traditions.

‖ It is at a short distance above the ruins of Telphusa.

remarkable chasm of this description, which occurred to my notice, is that, which is known in Crete by the name of the Pharangi, Φαράγγι (from the old word Φάραγξ). The whole body of a mountain there, appears to have been rent asunder from the top to the bottom; the two sides of the fissure which form a narrow pass of four miles in length, threatening to close over the head of the adventurous traveller. It was by this formidable defile that I visited Sfackia; and I still feel the impression which it made upon me. *

To recur to the history of Tempe, which has been necessarily interrupted by these reflections on its origin. Whatever may have been the motive which induced Xerxes to view in person the defile of Tempe, it does not appear from what Herodotus says, that he had any intention of making use of it for the passage of his army; and indeed, it would be absurd to suppose this†; but the line of his march had been already settled; he was to cross the mountains into the country of the Perrhæbians, in the direction of the town of Gonnos; for that, says Herodotus, had been pointed out to him as the best route. On his return from Tempe, Xerxes remained some time in Pieria; whilst one third of his army were employed as pioneers, in clearing the way over the mountains.

The Thessalians, however, some time before this, when Xerxes was preparing to cross the Hellespont, seem to have been of opinion that he would attempt to penetrate into their country by the pass of Tempe; and the confederated army of the Greeks whom they had invoked to their assistance, had, in compliance with their advice, actually taken post in that situation. They remained there but a few days, for being secretly apprized by the son of the King of Macedonia, of the overwhelming force which would be brought to act against them; and hearing, at the same time, that there was another practicable

* I was above two hours inmured in the Pharangi, the ascent being in some places very rapid and much encumbered every where with the fragments of the fallen rock. It is mentioned by Pococke, who passed through it.

† When the very confined breadth of the road is considered.

way into Thessaly across the mountains, they judged the attempt to defend it would prove both useless and unavailing, and retreated to Thermopylæ, upon which the Thessalians reluctantly joined the standard of the invader.

It was accordingly by this route across the mountains that Xerxes marched into Thessaly; and there are two passages of Herodotus which point out the line of his march. Both of these mention Gonnos, as the point to which it led; and Macedonia, as the country from which it proceeded. But in one of these passages, we find the designation of Upper Macedonia, which creates some difficulty; for if Gonnos was the same town as the Gonni of a later period, of which, I think, there can be little doubt, the army must have began their march from the Lower, not the Upper Macedonia. Now Gonni is often mentioned by Livy, and the following passage of his 36th book describes the march of a Roman army, (if I am not greatly mistaken,) by the same route as is pointed out by Herodotus. After mentioning the irruption of Antiochus and the Ætolians into Thessaly, and their arrival before the walls of Larissa, which was then in the interest of Philip and the Romans, "M. Bœbius *interim, cum Philippo in Dassaretiis congressus, Ap. Claudium ex communi consilio ad præsidium Larissæ misit, qui per Macedoniam magnis itineribus in Jugum montium, quod super Gonnos est, pervenit. Oppidum Gonni viginti millia ab Larissa abest, in ipsis faucibus saltus, quæ Tempe appellantur, situm.*" The object of the Roman general being to relieve Larissa, it is evident, that no time was to be lost; and whatever may have been his reason for not taking a shorter road towards that city; or for not passing through the defile of Tempe, when he was so near it; (Gonni, which commanded the pass, being at that time in the possession of the Romans or their allies;) yet, it is plain that he reached Perrhæbia at the same point, and must have crossed the ridge of mountains in the same direction as Xerxes.

In the subsequent war with Perseus, the Romans seem to have acquired the knowledge of several practicable roads across the mountains, to the north as well as the south of Olympus; and by

one of these Quinctius Flaminius was fortunate enough to penetrate into that country; but the narrative of this transaction is so obscure, that it is impossible to fix with any degree of precision the line of his march. It appears, however, to have been a very difficult and desultory one.

At the present day, travellers, instead of passing through Tempe, not unfrequently take the road over the mountains to the north of that pass, which leads through the populous Greek town of Rápsiani (Ραψιανη).

I shall conclude these remarks on the history of Tempe, with observing, that the ruins of a fortified town, which I suppose to be Gonni, are still visible on the brow of a rocky hill, which commands the western entrance of the defile. It is hardly necessary for me to observe that these ruins are on the road side of the river, that is, on the right; and not on the left, where a fortified post would have been useless; but where nevertheless, on the authority of the above passage of Livy, it has been generally placed in the maps of ancient Greece.

As there is a classical interest attached to every thing which belongs to Tempe, I shall subjoin a list of some of the plants which I observed there.

Laurus nobilis, the Bay.
Punica granatum, the Pomegranate.
Jasminum fruticans, the yellow Jasmine.
Vitex Agnus castus, the Chaste-tree.
Cercis siliquastrum, the Judas-tree.
Quercus Ilex, the evergreen Oak.
Quercus coccifera, the Kermes Oak.
Olea Europæa, the wild Olive.
Arbutus Andrachne, the smooth-barked Strawberry-tree.
Arbutus unedo, the common Strawberry-tree.
Vitis vinifera, the wild Vine.
Platanus orientalis, the oriental Plane-tree.

Pistacia terebinthus, Turpentine-tree.
Fraxinus Ornus, the true Manna Ash.
Phillyrea, (the several varieties).
Zizyphus Paliurus, Christ's-thorn.
Spartium junceum, Spanish-broom.
Colutea arborescens, Bladder-Senna.
Coronilla Emerus, Scorpion-Senna.
Coronilla glauca or *Securidaca*.
A species of *Lonicera*, ditto of *Clematis*, and the white garden-lilly, which had not then expanded its petals, but flowered completely in my tin box eight days afterwards.

I found neither the myrtle nor the oleander. What Ælian says of the κιττὸς or ivy, and the σμίλαξ, (the Smilax aspera of Linnæus,) is untrue, for the former does not grow there, and the latter grows in a very different way from what he represents.

ON THE

SYRINX OF STRABO,

AND

THE PASSAGE OF THE EURIPUS.

[*BY MR. HAWKINS.*]

In the very short description which Strabo has transmitted to us of the celebrated Straits of the Euripus, there is an expression which has long exercised the ingenuity of critics, without having received any very clear or satisfactory explanation. The words of the geographer are the following:—Ἔστι δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεφύρα δίπλεθρος*, ὡς εἴρηκα· πύργος δ' ἑκατέρωθεν ἐφέστηκεν, ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Χαλκίδος, ὁ δ' ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας· διωκοδόμηται δ' εἰς αὐτὸν σύριγξ. Here, I believe, with the exception of αὐτὸν, for which some critics have substituted αὐτοὺς, the purity of the text has been generally admitted, but the meaning is nevertheless obscure, because the term σύριγξ seems not to be used in its ordinary acceptation; the passage accordingly has been variously rendered by translators, nearly all of whom have avoided giving any precise interpretation of the term σύριγξ, without which the whole is unintelligible.

We are indebted to Isaac Vossius† for the first successful attempt to remove this obscurity, by pointing out the true meaning of the verb which is here put in connection with σύριγξ. "Διωκοδομεῖν," he

* Two plethra amount to one hundred and seventy-one French feet, which may be stated as about twice the present breadth of the Euripus; according to Spons's evaluation it is ninety-one French feet, while Gyllius estimates it at seventy-three French feet only. No dependance can be placed on the accuracy of these measurements, which are unfortunately the only ones that have been taken by modern travellers.

† Observ. ad P. Melam. lib. xi. c. 7.

says, "*proprie est ædificationem separare et dividere, locumque intermedium vacuum relinquere. Dicit itaque Strabo, pontem istum Euripi non esse continuum, neque perpetuis fulciri fornicibus, sed ab ea parte qua est turris litori Bœotico vicina, habere unum canalem, qui sit apertus, quemque præsidiarii turris ponte pensili soleant tegere, tum securitatis gratia, tum etiam ut navibus pateat transitus.*"

The two towers of Strabo are thus very properly disposed opposite to each other, and with a navigable passage between them, instead of one being placed on the shore of Bœotia and the other on that of Eubœa, with the mole or long bridge between, as some commentators and translators have conceived; but why this fortified passage should be assigned to the Bœotian side in preference to the other, we are left to conjecture, nor is a word said to account for the very singular use which is here made of the term σύριγξ to designate a navigable canal between two towers.

It appears then that the passage thus simply considered by itself, is susceptible of no farther explanation than what Vossius has given to it, and it is only by examining it in an historical point of view, with all the aids which may be derived from a local acquaintance with the spot, that we can hope for any success.

Most fortunately there is a passage in Diodorus * which supplies in a great measure this deficiency; for it relates upon what particular occasion this work was constructed, the immediate purpose which it was designed to answer, and the manner in which it was executed. After his account of the naval engagement in the Hellespont, and the victory gained there by the Athenians, Diodorus proceeds as follows: "The Chalcidians, however, and almost all the inhabitants of Eubœa, had separated themselves in the mean while from the Athenian alliance, on which account they were very fearful lest their towns might be besieged and taken by the Athenians, who were now again become masters of the sea. A proposal therefore was made to the Bœotians to unite with them in the enterprize of damming up the Euripus, and

* Lib. xiii. 173.

connecting Eubœa with Bœotia. To this the Bœotians, who felt how much it was for their interest that Eubœa should be an island to all others but themselves, assented. Wherefore all the cities around concurred cheerfully in this undertaking, animating each other by their mutual example; and not only were all the natives called out upon this occasion, but even the strangers who sojourned with them, so that by means of the multitude employed about it the work was soon completed. A mole (χῶμα), therefore, was formed on the side of Eubœa near Chalcis, and on the side of Bœotia near Aulis; for this was the narrowest part.

"It is to be observed that there had been always a current in this place and frequent changes of the tides, but now the violence of these became much greater, the sea being confined within a narrow space, for a passage was left for one vessel only.

"They constructed likewise high towers on the ends of the two moles, and laid wooden bridges over the currents between."*

The above narrative would convey to us a very clear idea of the construction of the mole, were it not for the inconsistency observable in the last sentence of the description. This arises from the use of the plural in the words "bridges and currents;" when from all that precedes it is evident that there could have been only one bridge and one current or passage for the water. Nor can we get rid of this difficulty by a conjectural emendation, for the text bears no marks of corruption.

We are left, therefore, to the choice of two meanings, and in adopting that which naturally results from the former part of the narrative, we shall best reconcile Diodorus with himself as well as with Strabo.

I shall therefore take for granted that the χῶμα or mole, in reality, left only one passage for vessels between the two opposite shores, and that this passage was fortified by two towers, between which there was a bridge of wood.

---

* Ὠκοδόμησαν δὲ καὶ πύργους ὑψηλοὺς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἄκρων, καὶ ξυλίνας τοῖς διάρροις ἐπέζευσαν γεφύρας.

Such was the original plan of this great work, which was executed in the second year of the ninety-second olympiad, and in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war. (Dodwell.) Some alterations, we are told by Strabo, lib. x., were made by the Chalcidians at the period when Alexander marched into Asia, both in the fortifications of the town and in those of the mole; but in Strabo's time, or about four hundred years afterwards, it appears, from the very short description which he gives, to have been pretty much in the same state as when it was first constructed, although the term γεφύρα is substituted for χῶμα in both passages, and the new and very unusual term σύριγξ is made use of to designate a part of the work which I shall now proceed to consider.

In the first place, then, we must admit that the term σύριγξ evidently applies to the navigable passage described by Diodorus, which Strabo would not have passed over unnoticed. In the next place, taking it in its usual acceptation, it conveys an idea of a circular or cylindrical passage of some kind or other.

The obvious result of this is, that the Syrinx must have been a sort of tunnel, which is precisely the form which a civil engineer in these days would have recommended for this purpose.

Nor is there any difficulty in supposing that such must have been the construction of this passage in the time of Strabo, when the use of the arch was well known; although it may be necessary, with a view to establish this hypothesis, to point out in a practical way the mode of its application. Let us suppose, then, that two towers are to be built at the two opposite ends of such a mole, and that a navigable passage is to be left between, while some mode of communication is required above. It is evident that the foundation of the two walls contiguous to the passage ought to be laid on an inverted arch, there being no other effectual mode of giving it any stability. The communication above might be effected by the means of a moveable or an immoveable bridge. The Romans would undoubtedly in most cases have chosen the latter, and when we consider the importance which they attributed to this passage in a military point of view, it is

probable that such was the construction which they adopted. It is hardly necessary to add that the two opposite arches would form a tunnel.

The term Syrinx, however, could not with propriety have been applied to a passage which was not truly cylindrical, *i. e.* where the length of the passage was not greater than its diameter; and we have no other way of getting over this difficulty than by supposing that a more than usual breadth was given to the two towers in this direction, which is by no means inconsistent with the purpose for which they were built. *

After all, however, that can be said upon this subject, I confess that it amounts to no more than a plausible hypothesis, which every critic is at liberty to adopt or reject, although the form of the present bridge over the Euripus tends rather to confirm it.

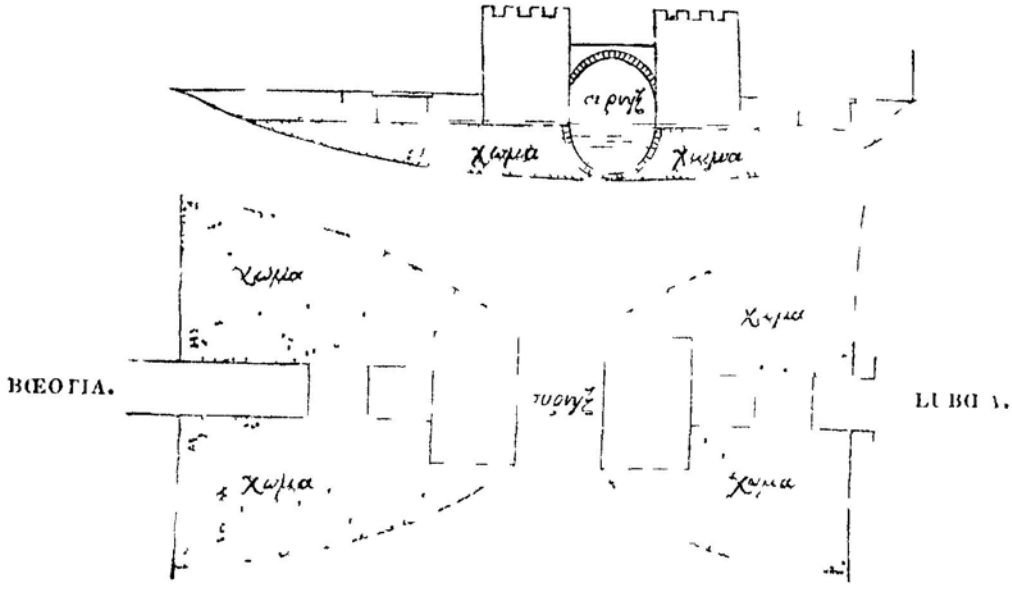
This bridge is evidently built on the χῶμα of Diodorus, and although of a barbarous style of construction, suggests an idea of its ancient plan. The western end, or that which is contiguous to Bœotia, has five small ill-shaped arches, which give a passage to the shallow part of the current. The navigable passage is at the eastern end, and this is flanked as well as fortified by two opposite square towers, between which there is a communication by means of a draw-bridge.

The tower on the eastern side of this canal projects far beyond the line of the city wall; but as this wall is washed by the current, and the ground within it is very low, it is not improbable that the west side of the city covers the eastern segment of the χῶμα, which will account for the canal or navigable passage being now no longer in the middle of the Euripus †, although I am inclined to think that it must always have been nearer to the walls of Chalcis than to the shore of Bœotia, for the purpose of a better system of defence.

I shall conclude with observing that the tower supporting the western half of the draw-bridge is connected with a small fort, which extends in length far to the southward of the line described by the two bridges.

* See the engraved plan which follows.

† Vide note * in p. 528.



In the preceding attempt to explain the Syrinx of Strabo, I have noticed only such particulars in the passage of Diodorus, as might assist in explaining the meaning of that term. I shall now observe that Diodorus has not very clearly or fully expressed what were the reasons for constructing the mole. The Chalcidians, he says, together with almost all the inhabitants of Eubœa, had abandoned the Athenian interest, but upon the unexpected restoration of the naval superiority of that power, in consequence of their victory over the Lacedæmonian fleet in the Hellespont, they became justly apprehensive of measures of hostility. A proposal therefore was made to the Bœotians to concur with them in closing the passage of the Euripus, and in joining the island by these means to the opposite continent.

The proposal, he adds, appeared to be so advantageous to the common interest, that the work was immediately began and carried on with so much spirit, that in a short time it was completed.

Now, it is evident that the closing of the passage of the Euripus alone, could not prevent the Athenians from over-running the island, at least, that portion of it which lay to the south of Chalcis; nor could it prevent Chalcis itself from being invested by land. We must

therefore conclude the meaning of Diodorus to have been, that when a communication of this kind was opened between the island and the main, it would be impossible for the Athenians to prevent the Bœotians from succouring their allies in Eubœa, as they had hitherto done. And this I conceive to have been the direct and immediate object in view when the work was undertaken. There was another object however of infinite importance, which could not have been overlooked when the work was projected, and this was the interception of all communication between Athens and the north of Greece, Thessaly, and Macedonia, during a great part of the year.

To explain this supposition, it will be necessary to state some peculiar circumstances in the navigation of the Ægean, which have been little attended to by the ancient as well as modern writers on the affairs of Greece.

There were two seasons of the year when the open navigation of this sea must have been either subject to great obstructions, or wholly interdicted to the Greeks; namely, the season of the Etesian winds, which prevail about four months of the summer and autumn, when all attempts to proceed northwards must have been fruitless; and the season of winter, which was deemed too perilous.

These remarks however, apply *only* to the open navigation of the Ægean, for there was still a very practicable passage in the worst seasons for vessels, between the main land and the neighbouring island of Eubœa, where the smoothness of the water enabled them to take every advantage of local winds and the land breezes. I speak here from personal experience, having myself navigated the two Eubœan gulfs in all seasons, the spring excepted, without any material obstacle or impediment.

On the other hand, the ancients appear to have had a singular dread of the passage round the Capharean promontory *, and they must have regarded the whole eastern coast of Eubœa, while the

* "Et Euboicæ cautes, ultorque Caphareus." Æneid, lib. xi.

Etesian winds blowed, as a most dangerous lee-shore. For here, if I mistake not, were the tremendous hollows (κοῖλα, Cœla) of Eubœa, where a detachment of the Persian fleet were wrecked; and even at this day, the navigators of these seas carefully avoid all approach to an iron-bound coast, which in a line of about thirty leagues presents only one place of shelter for a ship in distress. *

The harbour † which is thus situated being little frequented by the Greeks, was wholly unknown to navigators from the west of Europe, before I visited this inhospitable coast in the autumn of 1797, for the purpose of carrying on a series of triangles along the eastern side of Greece. After surveying this harbour, I was anxious to proceed round Cavo d'Oro (Caphareus), but such was the hollow form of the coast on my right, and so great the danger of being forced on a lee-shore, that the captain of the vessel (a polacre of Ipsera) thought it not advisable to attempt weathering that cape, until, at the end of two days, the violence of the northerly wind (Etesian) had a little abated. ‡

In proposing a new explanation of the Cœla of Eubœa, I have ventured to differ from some of the latest and best writers on ancient geography, such as D'Anville, Larcher, and Barbié du Boccage; but when it is considered how greatly the actual examination of a country must assist in clearing up the obscurities of its ancient geography, I trust I shall be acquitted of presumption; more especially when we observe how much the reports of ancient geographers are at variance with each other, and how many corruptions have been introduced into the text of their works. Even Strabo and his epitomiser are at variance upon this point, the former assigning to

* Kingsbergen observes, that, "on the whole north-eastern coast there is no landing-place. It is even dangerous to approach that shore." This is the observation of a seaman, but it is not strictly correct.

† Now called by the Greeks Πετρίαις.

‡ On my return to England I communicated to Mr. Arrowsmith the corrected form of this coast and the situation of this unknown harbour, which were engraved in his new map of the Ottoman empire.

the Cœla a situation between Aulis and Geræstus, and the latter placing them between Geræstus and Caphareus.

To prove how groundless the former supposition is, it will be only necessary to remark, that the coast of Eubœa on this side presents a series of noble harbours and roadsteads, without a shoal or sunken rock, and that in most winds it is distinguished by the smoothness of its water.

There is a passage indeed, in Valerius Maximus (lib. i. c. 8.) which countenances the idea of the Cœla having been on this side. "*In eam regionem secessit, quæ inter Rhamnunta nobilem Attici soli partem, Caristumque Chalcidis freto vicinam interjacens, Cœlæ Eubœæ nomen obtinet.*" But the situation here assigned, as I have already observed, so far from being dangerous to shipping, which was the character of the Cœla, affords every where the securest anchorage-ground.

The epitomiser of Strabo, too, must be equally mistaken; for the Cœla could not have been on a coast of so convex a form as that between the promontories of Geræstus and Caphareus. A much better authority in favour of this hypothesis is adduced by Larcher, in a passage of the Troad of Euripides, v. 84. Πλῆσον δε νεκρῶν κοῖλον Εὐβοίας μυχόν; in allusion to the vessels of Ajax, which, on their return from Troy, were shipwrecked on the promontory of Caphareus*; and in the words cited by him from the Scholia of Tzetzes on Lycophron, we find the Cœla placed in the neighbourhood of †Caphareus. It is remarkable, that both Philostratus and Euripides make use of the expressions, τὴν κόιλην Εὐβοιαν and κοῖλον Εὐβοίας μυχὸν, which are more agreeable to the hypothesis that I have ventured to propose. Having now proved how ungrounded every other idea of their position has been, I shall produce two ancient authorities which place the Cœla in that which I have assigned to them.

* Homer says only on the Gyræ, without mentioning where they were situated. Odyss. lib. iv.

† Ἤψε φρυκτὸν περὶ τὰ κοῖλα τῆς Ευβοίας καὶ ὂν εἴπομεν Καφηρέα. Scholia Tzetzæ, Ed. Müller. p 573.

The first is Ptolemy, who in his description of the coast of Eubœa mentions next after the port of Geræstus the promontory of Caphareus, and then the Cœla of Eubœa. The other is Livy, who after describing the capture of Oreus by Attalus and the Romans, observes, "that as the autumnal equinox was drawing near, and as that bay of Eubœa, which they call Cœla, was by sailors reputed dangerous, it was judged expedient to return without delay to the Piræus." * By the context it appears that at this time Chalcis was in the possession of their enemies, their fleet therefore could not pass through the Euripus, and as no other course remained towards the Piræus but along the eastern coast of Eubœa, it is there, and there only, that we must look for the bay denominated Cœla.

The near connection of the Cœla with the promontory of Caphareus, has been already proved by a series of quotations, for which I am indebted to Larcher; but I am sorry to differ as to the meaning which he has assigned to the term Τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβίοας; instead of designating the rocks near the promontory of Caphareus, the words more probably refer to the heights of Eubœa.

Having now explained what I conceive to have been the main object of the fortification of the Euripus, I shall produce some further proofs of its importance.

We learn from history, with what vigilance the Athenians for a long series of years maintained their sovereign influence over the vassal states of Eubœa; and of what importance they regarded this connection, we have two most convincing proofs in the popular feeling at Athens, excited at two different periods by the news of its rupture. The first happened upon the occasion already mentioned, or rather just before it, when, after the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Eretria, the Lacædemonians caused all the cities of Eubœa to

* Jam autumnale æquinoctium instabat; et est sinus Euboicus quem Cœla vocant, suspectus nautis; itaque ante hyemales motus evadere inde cupientes, Piræum, unde profecti ad bellum erant, repetunt.—Liv. lib. xxxi. c. 47.

The first is Ptolemy, who in his description of the coast of Eubœa mentions next after the port of Geræstus the promontory of Caphareus, and then the Cœla of Eubœa. The other is Livy, who after describing the capture of Oreus by Attalus and the Romans, observes, "that as the autumnal equinox was drawing near, and as that bay of Eubœa, which they call Cœla, was by sailors reputed dangerous, it was judged expedient to return without delay to the Piræus." * By the context it appears that at this time Chalcis was in the possession of their enemies, their fleet therefore could not pass through the Euripus, and as no other course remained towards the Piræus but along the eastern coast of Eubœa, it is there, and there only, that we must look for the bay denominated Cœla.

The near connection of the Cœla with the promontory of Caphareus, has been already proved by a series of quotations, for which I am indebted to Larcher; but I am sorry to differ as to the meaning which he has assigned to the term Τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβίοας; instead of designating the rocks near the promontory of Caphareus, the words more probably refer to the heights of Eubœa.

Having now explained what I conceive to have been the main object of the fortification of the Euripus, I shall produce some further proofs of its importance.

We learn from history, with what vigilance the Athenians for a long series of years maintained their sovereign influence over the vassal states of Eubœa; and of what importance they regarded this connection, we have two most convincing proofs in the popular feeling at Athens, excited at two different periods by the news of its rupture. The first happened upon the occasion already mentioned, or rather just before it, when, after the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Eretria, the Lacædemonians caused all the cities of Eubœa to

* Jam autumnale æquinoctium instabat; et est sinus Euboicus quem Cœla vocant, suspectus nautis; itaque ante hyemales motus evadere inde cupientes. Piræum, unde profecti ad Euboïam erant, repetunt.—Liv. lib. xxxi. c. 47.

revolt.* Thucydides informs us that the consternation produced at Athens by the news of this disaster was greater than had ever before been known there, greater even than that which was occasioned by the destruction of nearly all their forces, both naval and military in Sicily; "not only," says he, "on account of their fleet, but what was of more importance, *the loss of Eubœa*, ἐξ ἧς πλείω ἢ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὠφελοῦντο, on which they were more dependent for their supplies of provisions than even on Attica." L. viii. c. xcvi. The second happened in the 105th olympiad, when, in consequence of the revolt of Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, Cos, and Caria, from the sovereignty of Athens, Eubœa entered into a close connection with Thebes, and renounced her alliance with Athens, the receipt of which intelligence there produced such an effect on the public spirit, as stimulated it to make an exertion till then unparalleled, with a view to re-establish its dominion.

Now, the loss of subsidies and of a supply of provisions from the single island of Eubœa, will not sufficiently account for the feeling here described, unless we add to these assigned causes, the prospect of having all communication cut off between Athens and the northern parts of Greece and Macedonia; that is, all power of co-operating with their allies in those parts, and of procuring from them any farther supplies of grain, naval stores, &c.† In this enlarged sense, then, I take the passage above quoted from Thucydides; the loss of Eubœa alone, unconnected with the free navigation of the Eubœan gulfs and of the Euripus, not being sufficient to account for the alarm‡ occasioned by the news of its defection. In confirmation

* In the twenty-first year of the war, the departure of the Lacedæmonian force exposed the cities of Eubœa to the vengeance of the Athenians, and suggested the immediate necessity of fortifying the Euripus.

† And in this way its importance appears to have been estimated in subsequent times by the Romans. "Ut terra Thermopylarum angustiæ Greciam, *ita mari fretum Euripi claudit.*" Liv. lib. xxxi. c. 23. Chalcis was called by Philip one of the three shackles of Greece; Corinth and Demetrias were the two others.

‡ It is true indeed that the defection of Eubœa took place at a time when the Lacedæmonians, by having gained the ascendancy on the sea, were able to intercept the supplies of

of which, I shall observe that Eubœa, if we except the two plains of Oreus and Lelantus, could never have been a fruitful island, nor could the produce of the plain of Lelantus alone, or even that of the two plains, have been sufficient for the main supply of such a population as that of Attica.

If we take this view of the Euripus, we shall be at no loss to account for the importance attached by the Athenians at all periods, to the possession of a fortified sea-port, on so remote a part of their frontier as Oropus, or for the reasons which induced the Thebans, when they had captured that town, to remove it seven stadia from the sea.

ANTIQUITIES OF ATHENS.

Reference to the Engraving of the Vase facing p. 321.

This vase, which was found by Lord Aberdeen at Athens, is, unfortunately, not entire; it is remarkable for the fineness of its clay, the beauty of the varnish, and the spirit of the figures. The subject represented on it may allude to some prize obtained in a race at the public games by one or more horses; such successes were recorded on vases and marbles. An inscription in the Laconian dialect quoted by Muratori, and emended by Ruhnkenius (Greg. de D.) mentions a prize gained by Damoclidas, κέλητι, *equo singulari*.

From the posture of the man who is represented as examining the foot of the horse, we are not to suppose that any conclusion can be

corn which the Athenians drew from the Thracian Chersonesus and the Euxine, and this may have rendered the loss even of a small supply from Eubœa very sensible; but their chief supply on this side of the Ægæan, as I have observed, must have been derived, *through the Euripus*, from Macedonia.

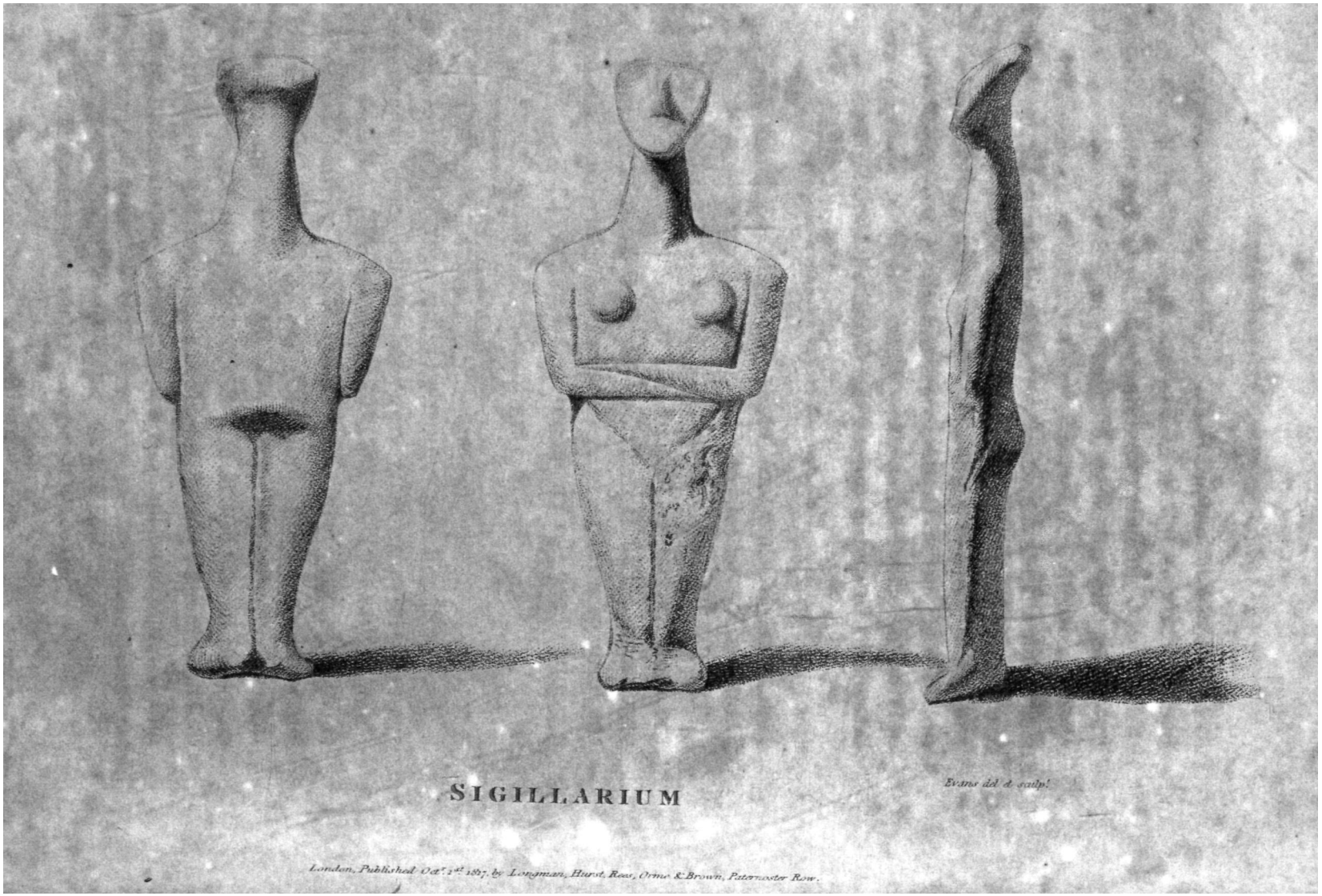
drawn respecting the practice of nailing iron shoes to the feet of that animal.* Beckmann, with his usual industry and research, has collected almost all that has been said on this point, and infers that there is no mention of iron shoes in the ancient writers. The hoofs of the horses of Alexander were worn out by constant journies. Diod. S. xvii. Those of Mithridates are described as χωλεύοντες ἐξ ὑποτριβῆς, at the siege of Cyzicum. Appian de B. M. To what Beckmann has said, we may add the remark of Wesseling: "*Ignotus erat solearum ferrearum quibus ungulæ equorum contra aspera et scruposa loca muniuntur, usus. Scio J. Vossius ad Catull. ex Xenophonte eas eruere, atque hinc* Χαλκοπόδας *Homeri equos illuminare conatum esse, sed irrita opera.*" D. Sic. xvii. 233.

Reference to the Engraving of the Vase facing p. 323.

This vase was also found by Lord Aberdeen in excavating a tomb at Athens; the ground of it is red, and the workmanship rather coarse; the figures partake of the Etruscan style. The word ΚΑΛΟΣ or ΚΑΛΕ occurs frequently on ancient vases; in many instances a proper name is connected with it, and we may enumerate at least ten in which this is the case. Various opinions have been offered respecting the meaning of the word. Mazzochi first pointed out the true sense of it, and his conjecture has been confirmed by Lanzi, Visconti, and Bœttiger. (See Millin, Dic. de B. A.) On the finger of a statue of Jupiter made by Phidias, were the words ΠΑΝΤΑΡΚΗΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ; one of Mr. Hope's vases bears the name Clitarchus, to whom this epithet is also given; and as it is of the most ancient style of art, we may suppose with Millin, that Phidias only imitated a custom already very prevalent and well known.

---

* "While the Lacedæmonians were encamped at Decelea, the Athenian cavalry were to little purpose employed in endeavouring to check their ravage and destruction. Many of the horses, the art of shoeing that animal being yet unknown, were lamed by unremitted service on rough and stony ground."—Mitford's Greece, ii. 498.



SIGILLARIUM

Evans del. et sculp.

London, Published Oct.r 2d. 1817, by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row.

In the vase before us the word may refer to some one who had been initiated in the Dionysiac mysteries. The allusion to the rites of Bacchus is not only found on vases, lamps, and ornaments deposited in tombs, but the sides of the sepulcral Latomia are often seen sculptured with symbols and figures relating to that deity. One of these monuments may be observed at Misitra near the site of Sparta; Bacchus is also figured on the *Mensæ sepulcrales.* These devices and symbols are explained by considering that Bacchus and Sol were in the ancient mythology one and the same god. This was the opinion of the Eleans, (see Etym. M. in v. Διονύσος,) and of the Athenians *; and in one of the Orphic hymns we read

Ἥλιος ὃν Διονύσον ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσι.

Reference is therefore made in such sepulcral monuments to Dionysus, or *Sol inferus.*

The flowing hair, the thyrsus, the spotted garment, (στικτὴ χλαμύς,) the Ionic capital on the altar, (Vitruv. l. i.) all refer to a Dionysiac procession. The figure near the altar bears a sistrum, which has the form of a mirror. A sistrum of similar shape is represented on a cymbalum in the Pittur. Hercol. T. i. Tav. 15.

Sigillarium.

This is one of the Sigillaria of the ancient mythology of Greece, symbolic of some deity respected by the early inhabitants of that country (*adorare ea pro Diis.* Arnob. l. 1.) When they were of small size, they were carried about; and we find instances of this superstitious custom frequently among the ancients. They were of different dimensions; and not always small images, as has been supposed by some writers. See Cuper Harp. 86.

The original figure from which the engraving is made is of stone, and is remarkable for its great antiquity; it was found by the Earl of

* See one of the arguments of the oration against Midias.

Aberdeen in a tomb in Attica. From its stiff and inexpressive form, (συμβεβηκὼς τοῖς ποσὶ,) it appears to belong to an æra preceding the time of Dædalus of Sicyon, who is said to have lived in the interval between 700 and 600 B. C. The position of the arms plainly points it out to be a representation of some deity; in this manner the Agathodæmon, and other Egyptian idols were depicted and sculptured; *brachia decussatim composita.* It may be a representation of Αφροδίτη, a goddess whose worship was familiar to the Greeks, before even that of Jupiter. "*Venus etiam ipso Jove antiquior sub* Αφροδίτης *nomine a Græcis censebatur, ut docet Schol. ad 3 Argon. Apollon.*" See Selden de D. Syris.

PANORAMIC VIEW OF ATHENS ILLUSTRATED

BY W. HAYGARTH, ESQ.

(*See page* 144.)

The hill of Musæus is a rocky ridge of land to the S. W. of the Acropolis; Athens with the most celebrated of its ruins, the Saronic gulph, the shores of Argolis, the citadel of Corinth, and the distant mountains of the Peloponnesus, names awakening a thousand interesting associations, are visible from its summit. During my residence at Athens, I employed some of my time in making a sketch of the surrounding scene. The plates containing the panoramic view are faithful copies of it. Beginning on the right hand of plate first, I shall proceed in my description towards the left. The reader will be able to find every place very exactly by marking the intersection of two imaginary lines, one drawn from the figures at the side, the other from the letters at the top of the plate. The right side of Plate II. connects with the left of Plate I., and continues the subject.

Plate I. Aspect from N.E. to N.W.

A. 1. Part of Hymettus.

B. 2. Entrance to the Stadium Panathenaicum.

A. 3. The situation of the fountain Enneakrounos.

A. 4. The bed of the Ilissus. It is now quite dry, except after the storms of winter. It was not very deep anciently, for Socrates and his companion, and Plato, speak of walking through it barefoot. Plato, Phæd. The banks of the Ilissus are now almost entirely destitute of buildings, although anciently adorned with temples; nor are they overshadowed, as formerly, with planes.

[The manner in which the Ilissus is mentioned by the ancient writers, does not lead us to suppose that it was a constant or regular stream. "What a flow of words is here;" (says Cratinus, speaking of an orator,) "Ilissus is in his throat." These expressions refer rather to a torrent, than an equable current of water. As however the rocky channel near the town, according to Mr. Raike's observation, seems to have been widened and formed by art, the stream anciently may have been more abundant than it is at present.

Wheler in three different parts of his work mentions the waters of the Eridanus and Ilissus being collected together, and carried under ground to supply the city; 352. 378. 450. Thucydides speaks of the κρῆναι* or artificial fountains, as well as of the φρέατα of Athens; and the former must have been supplied from the waters of the neighbouring mountains. Dicæarchus indeed says, ἡ δὲ πόλις οὐκ ἐνύδρος; but his words may refer to the *country* of Attica; and not to the *city*, as Gataker† has remarked; and applied in that sense, his observation is true; for Attica has few streams of water.

It is singular that the word Callirhöe should still be retained; τὴ

* Meto is said in Phrynichus, ἄγειν τὰς κρήνας. Μέτων ὁ Λευκονοεὺς ὃδ' ὁ τὰς κρήνας ἀγων. —See Heringa, Observ. Crit. 34.

† Regio (ita πόλιν capio, πολιν, χώραν, Hesych.) arida tota est, nec aquis irrigata.—Adv. Post. cxiv.

πρᾶγμα ἔναι * Καλλιρρόη! said some of the inhabitants of Athens to an English traveller, when a greater quantity of water than usual was running at the spot, after a heavy rain.

We may here notice the wrong application made by Chandler, p. 111., of a passage in Statius, (Theb. l. iv.) to the Ilissus of *Attica; anfractu riparum incurvus Ilissus.* The poet is speaking of a river in the *Peloponnesus.* See Hemsterh. ad Plutum, p. 182.] Ed.

D. 2. The ruins of the temple of Jupiter Olympius.

E. 6. The arch of Hadrian connecting New with Old Athens.

E. 7. Course of the Eridanus, which falls into the Ilissus a little below.

F. 8. The situations of the gardens, and temple of Venus. (Paus. l. i.) The modern village Ἀμπελοκήπο, which stands nearly on the site of the gardens, retains in its present name a memorial of the ancient ΚΗΠΟΙ.

G. 5. The Lycæum. It was formerly laid out in groves and gardens, (Ovid. Meta. xi. 710.) and was also used as a place for military exercises. Close to Lycæum was the gate of Diocharis, and fountains of water. (Strabo, l. ix.) We may here remark, that the situation of the Lycæum may assist us in finding the frontier town of Decelea; the Lycæum was in a direct line between that place and Athens; Agis leading out his troops from Decelea against the Athenians, was met by the army of the latter under Thrasylus at the Lyceum. Xenop. Hell. i. c. 1.

H. 8. The site probably of Cynosarges.

F. 9. The road to Marathon, passing at the foot of Mount Hymettus.

F. 1. The beginning of the range of Pentelicus.

F. 2. Part of the modern town of Athens. The whole space to the south of the Acropolis, between it and the Ilissus, was formerly

---

‡ I have written ἔναι (used by the modern Greek for ἐστι), instead of εἶναι; ἔναι occurs in Bessarion's letter, for the singular number, and ἔιναι for the plural; and in the catalogue of the Madrid MSS. in Cod. lvi. p. 184. ἔναι is written by Lascaris's own hand, ἔναι ἡ ἐνεργεσία. But in the Prolegomena of Longinus to the Enchirid. of Hephæstio, c. 2., we find εἶναι, which the scribe has inadvertently placed in the text for ἐστί.—See Gaisford's Hephæs. 143.

covered with temples and other edifices, as well as the part to the north of the rock. Thucy. l. 2. Plato in Crit. Dion. Chrys. Orat. vi.

I. 6. Round this point of the rock is the site of an ancient theatre, supposed by Chandler to be the theatre of Bacchus. At a short distance to the right in the town is the Choragic monument of Lysicrates.

[A representation of this theatre is given on a painted vase belonging to Yianachi Logotheti; it was found thirty years ago near Aulis; the eastern end of the Acropolis is there depicted; the corresponding part of the Parthenon above; below it, is the cavern of Apollo and Diana, and beneath, the Theatre.] Ed.

K. 8. The Choragic monument of Thrasyllus, placed before a grotto, which is at present a church dedicated to the Holy Lady of the Cave. Over it was a female figure clothed in a lion's skin; now in the possession of Lord Elgin.

[It has been considered under various denominations; and Visconti shows clearly that it represented the female Bacchus. In addition to what he has said respecting the character of this Deity, we may state the following references. Porphyry calls Bacchus, Θηλυμόρφος. Theodoret, H. Eccl. l. iii. c. 7., says that the Gentiles of Emesa consecrated a building Διονύσῳ τῷ γυναῖ; and Isidore, in Orig., remarks that he was depicted *muliebri et delicato corpore.*] Ed.

K. 10. The remains of an ancient portico supposed by Stuart to be either part of the peribolus of the temple of Bacchus, or the portico of Eumenes.

L. 11. The Parthenon, west front. *

M. 10. Ruins of a theatre. Wheler, Pococke, and Stuart, suppose

* Concerning the front or proper entrance of the Parthenon, see Visconti's Memoir. Theodosius Zygomalas in a letter to Martin Crusius, speaking of the ancient buildings remaining in the year 1575 at Athens, refers to what he calls the Πάνθεον; and mentions ἐπάνω τῆς μεγάλης πύλης ἵππους δύο φρυασσομένους ἀνδρομέαν εἰς σάρκα. A head of one of the horses now in the Elgin collection, and brought from the west tympanum of the Parthenon, is probably alluded to. It is a piece of sculpture of the highest merit.—Ed.

it to have been the theatre of Bacchus; Chandler and Barthelemy call it the Odeum of Herodes Atticus. From the situation of it, I should certainly conclude that it was the theatre of Bacchus. It appears from Pausanias that the theatre of Bacchus, the Cave of Pan, the Propylæa, and Areopagus were all near each other. If we allow the ruins to belong to the theatre of Bacchus, these particulars agree with Pausanias; they are irreconcileable, if we place * it at the S. E. angle of the Acropolis. Pausanias says, there was a cave above the theatre, and a tripod upon it; such a cave is still seen at the S. E. corner of the citadel; and this Barthelemy adduces as a strong argument for placing the theatre of Bacchus in that situation. But this is not sufficient to outweigh the rest of Pausanias's narrative; especially as there is another cave not far from the ruins of the S. W. point, on which Wheler supposes a tripod to have been placed.

N. 11. Modern tower, built near the site of the temple of Victory Apteros.

O. 1. An ancient building of white marble, and formerly a gallery for pictures. This and the temple of Victory Apteros were connected by a range of Doric columns, placed at the top of the steps of the Propylæa; and through this portico was the chief entrance into the Acropolis. The space between the columns has been filled up by a modern wall; and a very short time before my arrival at Athens, the Turks had knocked off the capitals of the columns, in order to erect one of their batteries on the summits.

L. L. Intersected by A. 12. That part of the city called Coele or the Hollow. In this spot were shown the tombs of Cimon, Herodotus, and Thucydides.

P. 1. The beginning of the range of the Icarian mountains, which terminates at the sea near Salamis.

Q. 4. Turkish burying-ground.

---

* Visconti entertains the same opinion with Mr. Haygarth respecting the situation of the theatre of Bacchus.