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William Martin Leake
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THE
TOPOGRAPHY OF ATHENS,
WITH
SOME REMARKS UPON ITS ANTIQUITIES.

SECTION I.

The Description of Athens by Pausanias.

As the only detailed description of ancient Athens is found in the work of Pausanias, I shall begin by submitting to the reader a translation of all his information upon the topography of the city;—retaining his more important remarks upon the buildings, monuments, and works of art, but omitting the greater part of the history or mythology which he has introduced.

After having described the remains of the maritime city, Pausanias speaks of the two roads, which led from thence to Athens, in the following terms :

“ In the road which leads to the city from Cap. 1.

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- Cap. 1. Phalerum there is a temple of Juno, without doors, and without a roof. It is said to have been burnt by Mardonius, son of Gobrias¹. The statue which it now contains is said to be the work of Alcamenes. At the entrance into the city is the tomb of Antiope the Amazon. The Athenians possess likewise a tomb of Molpadia².

“ In the ascent from Piræus are the ruins of the walls built by Conon, after the sea-fight at Cnidus; for the walls of Themistocles, built after the departure of the Medes, were destroyed under the government of the men called The Thirty. The most illustrious tombs on the road are those of Menander, son of Diopeithes, and of Euripides, the latter of which is empty, Euripides having been buried in Macedonia. Near the gates is a monument, upon which is the statue of a soldier standing by a horse. Who it is I know not; but Praxiteles made both the horse and the soldier.

¹ Pausanias (Phocic. c. 35.) again mentions this half-burnt temple on the Phaleric road (*ἐπὶ ὁδῷ τῇ Φαληρικῇ*.)

² It appears from Pausanias (in this place, and in c. 15.) to have been the Athenian tradition that Antiope was brought to Athens by Theseus, when he made war upon the Amazones, in company with Hercules, and took Themiscyra on the Thermodon. When the Amazones invaded Attica, Antiope was slain by an arrow from Molpadia, and Molpadia was slain by Theseus.

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“ Entering the city, the first object that Cap. 2. occurs is a building set apart for the equipment of certain processions, some of which occur every year, and others at longer intervals¹. Adjacent to it is a temple of Ceres, containing statues² of Ceres, of Proserpine, and of

¹ By the latter, Pausanias seems to allude to the greater Panathenæa, which were celebrated every fifth year. The *Πομπεία*, or vases of gold and silver used in the sacred processions, (Meurs. Attic. Lect. l. 2. c. 15.) were kept in this building, which itself also bore the name of Pompeium, and contained a brazen statue of Socrates, by Lysippus, (Diogen. Laert. in Socrat.) a picture of Isocrates, (Plutarch. de X Rhet. in Isocrat.) and the portraits of certain comedians by Craterus.—(Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 35. c. 11.) At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the vases, together with the Persian spoils, were valued at 500 talents, (Diod. Sic. l. 12. c. 40.) They were renewed out of the property of the Thirty Tyrants, (Philochor. ap. Harpocrat. in *Πομπεία*) and again by Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, (Plutarch. de X Rhet. in Lycurg.) and again by Androtion, (Demosth. adv. Androt.) Alcibiades was accused of applying some of them to his own use. (Plutarch. in Alcib.—Andocid. cont. Alcib.)

² It may be right to remark, in entering upon this description of Athens, that Pausanias has four words to express our words *statue*, *image*, *figure*, namely, *ἄγαλμα*, *ξέανον*, *ἀνδριάνς* and *εἰκων*—the two former applicable to gods, or deified or ideal persons, the two latter to portraits of men. *Ξέανον*, though employed by Strabo (p. 396) in speaking of one of the most celebrated works of Phidias in marble, is reserved by Pausanias exclusively for statues in wood: *εἰκων* is the only general word applicable to figures of animated

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Cap. 2. Iacchus holding a torch. It is written on the wall, in Attic letters, that these statues are the works of Praxiteles. Near the temple of Ceres is a Neptune on horseback, hurling his spear at the giant Polybotes; but the inscription which is now upon the statue ascribes it to another, and not to Neptune. Before the porticoes, (*στώσι*) which lead from the city gates to the Cerameicus, are several images in brass of illustrious men and women. One of the porticoes contains certain temples of the gods, the gymnasium of Mercury, and the house of Polytion, wherein some noble Athenians are said to have

beings of every kind. When Pausanias makes mention of detached and entire statues, he joins one of the four substantives above-mentioned to the verbs *ἵστημι*, *κειμαι*: in speaking of works in relief (which he sometimes calls *τύποι*) he employs the verb *ἐπεργάζομαι* or *ἐπεξεργάζομαι*. Paintings are always described by *γράφω*, and its derivatives; *ποιῶ* is applied to all the arts, to poetry, painting, and sculpture.—*Νῶος* is a closed building, or temple properly so called, but *ἱερὸν*, (a sanctuary of any kind,) is also frequently used by Pausanias, in speaking of a building which we know to have been a *νάος*, as of the temples of Theseus and of Mars, at Athens, and of Ceres, at Phalerum; of the temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, in Ægina; of the temple of Latona, at Argos, &c. So that in Pausanias *ἱερὸν*, without any other designation, may generally be taken in the same sense as *νάος*, and the more so as he has the expressions, *ἱερὸν τέμενος*, and *ἱερὸς περὶ βολος*, to describe sanctuaries where there was no *νάος*, or where the *νάος* is not particularly referred to.

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imitated the Eleusinian ceremony¹. The house Cap. 2. is now sacred to Bacchus, who is surnamed Melpomenus, for the same reason that Apollo is called Musagetes. Here are statues of Minerva Pæonia, of Jupiter, of Mnemosyne, of the Muses, and of Apollo; the last of which is the work and dedication of Eubulides. Here also is seen the face of Acratus, one of the companions of Bacchus, projecting from the wall. Near this building is another containing images in clay, which represent Amphictyon, king of the Athenians, entertaining Bacchus and the other gods. Here is also Pegasus of Eleutheræ, who introduced the worship of Bacchus among the Athenians.

“ The quarter called Cerameicus receives its Cap. 3. name from the hero Ceramus², who is said to have been the son of Bacchus and Ariadne. The first object on the right is the Stoa Basileus, where the (Archon called) Βασιλεύς holds

¹ Pausanias here alludes to Alcibiades, and his companions, who were accused of having privately represented in derision the Eleusinian mysteries. Thucyd. l. 6, c. 27.—Plutarch in Alcib.—Plato, in Phædr.—Andocides de Mysteriis.

² The Greeks were fond of tracing their names of places to heroes: but Herodotus, (l. 5, c. 88.) in alluding to the Athenian *pottery* manufactured for exportation in very ancient times, suggests a more probable derivation of Cerameicus than that given by Pausanias.

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Cap. 3. his court¹. His office, called βασιλεια, lasts for one year. Upon the roof of this Stoa are statues of baked earth, representing Theseus throwing Scyron into the sea, and Aurora carrying away Cephalus. Near the same Stoa stand statues of Conon, of his son Timotheus, of Evagoras king of Cyprus, of Jupiter Eleutherius, and of the Emperor Hadrian². Behind it is another Stoa, which contains paintings of the gods, called the Twelve, and other paintings on the further side, of Theseus, Democracy, and the People, signifying that Theseus first esta-

¹ Before the Stoa Basileus was a brazen statue of Pindar, wrapt in a cloak, and seated in a chair, with an open book lying upon his knees. Æschin. in Epist. 4.

² The statue of Conon was of brass, (Demosth. Orat. in Leptin.) and the others were probably of the same material. The statue of Jupiter Eleutherius gave name to the portico, which was adjacent to it, and which follows next in the description of Pausanias. (Harpocrat. in Βασιλειος Στόα. Plato in Theagen. Xenoph. in Œconom.) Jupiter Eleutherius was also called Jupiter Soter. (Isocrat. in Evagor. Hesychius in Ἐλευθέριος. Menander ap. Harpocrat. in Ἐλευθ.) He was erected after the Persian war. (Aristid. in Panathen.) The proximity of the Royal and Eleutherian stoæ is confirmed by Harpocraton (in Βασιλειος Στόα,) and by Hesychius (in eadem voce,) and that of the portico of Jupiter Eleutherius, and the Pompeium, by Diogenes Laertius (in Diogen. Cynic.) Shields of distinguished warriors were hung up in the portico of Jupiter Eleutherius. They were carried off by the soldiers of Sylla. (Pausan. Attic. c. 26. Phocic. c. 21.)

blished equal rights of citizenship among the Athenians. There is also a picture¹ of the exploits performed near Mantinea, by the Athenians who were sent to assist the Lacedæmonians. Xenophon and others have described the whole war. There is a battle of horsemen in the picture, in which Gryllus, son of Xenophon, is the leading figure among the Athenians, and Epaminondas in the Bœotian cavalry. Euphranor made these pictures for the Athenians²; and he made also the statue of the god in the neighbouring temple of Apollo Patrous. Before the same temple are two other statues of Apollo, one of which is by Leochares, and the other by Calamis. The latter is surnamed Alexicacus, which name it is said to have received because Apollo, by means of the oracle of Delphi, put a stop to the plague which seized the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war³. Here also is a temple of the Mother of the Gods⁴,

This picture is again mentioned by Pausanias in *Arcad.* c. 9.

¹ These pictures by Euphranor, in the Stoa Eleutherius, were much celebrated. *Plutarch. de Glor. Athen.*—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* l. 35. c. 11.

² See also *Pausan. Arcad.* c. 41. Neoptolemus, son of Nicocles, was honoured with a statue in the Agora, because he had covered the altar of Apollo with gold. *Plutarch. de X Rhet. in Lycurg.*

⁴ The Metroum served also as a place of deposit for the

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- Cap. 3. whose statue was wrought by Phidias; and near it¹ is the *βουλευτήριον*, or council-house of those called the five hundred, who form the yearly council of the Athenians. The building contains a wooden image of Jupiter Bulæus², an Apollo by Peisias, and a statue of the Athenian people by Lyson. Protogenes of Caunus painted the Thesmothetæ. Olbiades, son of Callippus, was he who led the Athenians to Thermopylæ to protect Greece against the invasion of the Gauls³. Near the council-house
- Cap. 5.

archives and written laws of the state. (Athen. l. 5. c. 14. l. 9. c. 17. Liban. in Declam. 13, 16. Diogen. Laert. in Epicur. Suidas in *Μηπραγύρητης*, Harpocrat. in *Μητρωων*.) And it was the tribunal of the first Archon or Archon Eponymus. (Suidas in *Ἄρχων*.) It once contained a brazen statue of a young woman, three feet high, called the *Ἐδροφορος*, because it had been dedicated by Themistocles when he held the office of *ὑδάτων ἐπιστάτης*. The statue was carried by Xerxes to Sardes, where Themistocles afterwards saw it. (Plutarch in Themist.)

¹ Æschines (in Ctesiph. p. 576, Reiske.) also observes that the Metroum was near the senate-house. And, according to Arrian, (l. 3. c. 16.) it was over-against the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton.

² In the senate-house there was also a chapel dedicated to Jupiter Bulæus and Minerva Bulæa, (Antiphon *περὶ χορευέτου*), and a statue or altar of Vesta Bulæa. (Plutarch. de X Rhet. in Isocrat. Dinarchus ap. Harpocrat. in *Βουλαία*.)

³ This event is related at length in the Phocics. c. 19, et seq.

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of the five hundred is a building called Tholus, ^{Cap. 5.} where the Prytanes sacrifice¹, and where are some small silver images of the gods. Higher up are statues of the heroes, who gave name to Athenian tribes. These Eponymi, for so they are called, are Hippothoon, son of Neptune, and of Alope, daughter of Cercyon; Antiochus, son of Hercules by Meda, daughter of Phylas; Ajax, son of Telamon, and the following Athenians: Leos, who, in obedience to the divine oracle, gave up his daughters for the common safety; Erechtheus, who defeated the Eleusinii in battle and slew their leader Immaradus, son of Eumolpus; Ægeus; Ceneus, bastard son of Pandion; Acamas, son of Theseus; Cecrops, and Pandion². To these ten ancient Eponymi Attalus the Mysian, and Ptolemæus the Egyptian, have been added, and in my time the Emperor Hadrian. ^{Cap. 8.} Next to the statues of the Eponymi are those of Amphiarus, and of Peace³, bearing her son Plutus; of Lycurgus,

¹ The Prytanes, or tribe of the council of five hundred in office, dined here every day, as well as sacrificed. Pollux. l. 8. c. 15. (Harpocrat. et Suidas in Θόλος.) The Tholus was also called Scias. (Suidas in Σκιάς. Ammonius ap. Harpocrat. in Θόλος.)

² Pausanias here expresses a doubt, whether it was the first or second kings of the names of Cecrops and Pandion, who had the honour of being Eponymi.

³ This statue was the work of Cephisodotus of Athens.

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Cap. 8. son of Lycophon, in brass ; of Callias, who, as most of the Athenians say, made peace with Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes ; and of Demosthenes¹. Near the last is the temple of Mars, where are two statues of Venus, a statue of Mars by Alcamenes, a Minerva by Lœcrus of Paros, and a Bellona by the sons of Praxiteles. Around the temple stand Hercules, Theseus, Apollo, having his head bound with a riband ; Calades, who is said to have written laws for the Athenians, and Pindar, who, having praised the Athenians, received this and other rewards from them. Near these stand Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who slew Hipparchus. Some of these statues of men are made by Critias, but the most ancient are the work of Antenor. These Xerxes, when he took Athens, and when the Athenians abandoned the city, carried away with him as spoils. They were afterwards sent back to the Athenians by Antiochus².

See Bœot. c. 16. where Pausanias commends the wisdom of the artist in making wealth the child of peace. Cephisodotus was brother to the wife of Phocion. (Plutarch. in Phoc.)

¹ According to the biographer of the ten orators this statue was the work of Polyeuctes, and stood near the altar of the twelve gods. (Plut. de X Rhet. in Demosth.)

² It appears that there were two sets of statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton ; the more ancient made by Antenor, the others, made to supply the place of the former, by Praxiteles. (Compare this passage of Pausanias with Plin. Nat.