

Münchener Studien zur Alten Welt



Constanze Graml, Annarita Doronzio,
Vincenzo Capozzoli (eds.)

Rethinking Athens Before the Persian Wars

Proceedings of the International
Workshop at the Ludwig-
Maximilians-Universität München
(Munich, 23rd–24th February 2017)

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Münchner Studien zur Alten Welt

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Coming Back to the *polis trochoeides*. Dealing with the Topography of Pre-Classical Athens*

VINCENZO CAPOZZOLI

Deconstructing Pre-Classical Athens, Putting Aside Classical Athens

A detailed examination of each individual component of such a complex organism as the city is crucial for an innovative approach to the topography of pre-Classical Athens: if the temptation to seek its unity, find its limits and define its form at all costs – i. e. the sense of it – is resisted, then deconstructing the information and de-composing the city is a possible way of rethinking pre-Classical Athens¹. Stressing the historical and ideological interpretation in a way, it seems to me that the first who chose such an approach for pre-Classical Athens, was no other than Themistokles himself in the aftermath of the battle of Salamis. The reconstruction of houses, walls, and sanctuaries destroyed during the Persian siege – as Herodotus sadly reminds us² – offers an extraordinary opportunity to the Athenian *strategos*: the conception of a new urban plan for a new Athens, which would remain substantially unchanged until Justinian. Themistokles'

intention is incontrovertible in his new perception of space and spaces. Indeed, the new walls are not rebuilt *sic et simpliciter* over the pre-existing walls, as opposed to what was to be the case hereafter and until the end of the Hellenistic Age. Undoubtedly, the Persian destruction constituted a unique, extraordinary occasion – in the literal sense – to accomplish something not easily feasible during 'normal times'. A mighty wall is erected, greater than the previous one, dividing initially united spaces into distinct neighbourhoods. And, what is more, there is no hesitation to reuse the *semata* of the Athenian ancestors themselves for the foundations of the new fortifications³: Thucydides' autopsy attests it and archaeology confirms it in numerous archaeological soundings of the Classical walls. We can observe that the presence of reused funerary material characterizes all contexts in which the excavations have allowed the existence of a Themistokleian building phase to be verified. The old road-system is respected (at least partially), but the construction of new and numerous city gates on every side of the city implies a profound urbanistic

* I am very grateful to my friends Nikolaos Arvanitis and Alain Duplouy for many stimulating discussions on Athenian archaeology and history.

1 A few years ago, F. de Polignac, rightly pointed out that the history of the Greek Archaic world is built in the first place around the examination of the "dynamiques plutôt que des formes" (Polignac 2006, 223).

2 Hdt. 9, 13, 9–11.

3 Something similar happened again in the second half of the 4th century B.C. with the reconstruction and strengthening of the Athenian wall circuit. Indeed, in his speech against Ctesiphon, Aeschines blames Demosthenes for having ravaged a significant number of burials, during the excavation of the moat and the realization of palisades around the walls: Aeschin. 3, 236.

(with a renewed *inside-outside* dialectic), topographical, architectural (not only in a military sense) and ritual review. New limits and a new form (finally also known to us moderns), new senses, new ideologies⁴: with the later erection of the Long Walls, Athens will set up the project of a *polis* without a territory, an island on the continent. The next enemy – the Lacedaemonians – will not be faced in the plains of Marathon and Plataea but awaited within the city walls (together with the so-called Long Walls and the walls of Piraeus)⁵.

These are just some of the features of the above-mentioned Themistokleian “deconstructing/reconstructing”. Bearing in mind our meagre knowledge of pre-Classical Athenian topography, we may state that the new Athens overlaps the old one rather than being its direct evolution⁶. Indeed, the passage of the Persians through Ath-

ens represents a horizontal cut, a broad negative stratigraphic unit – which we are called to record and evaluate – thus making somewhat farfetched any comparison between the two Athens⁷. Yet, if we are to discuss pre-Classical Athens, one gets the impression that there is no other solution than “chasing down informations” in the Athens of the Classical period. Emblematic in this regard the view of E. M. Dimitriadou in the introduction of her recent study on the topography of pre-Classical Athens. Almost echoing L. Costaki thirteen years earlier in her work on the Athenian road-system⁸, Dimitriadou states: “Through the overall assessment of the continuous interaction between the areas of burial and of settlement, we try to detect the limits of habitation in each period, as this becomes clear from the development of the Submycenaean cemeteries in Geometric times, the Archaic settlement remains, and the successive changes in the uses of space down until the Persian destruction”⁹. Nonetheless, this quest for boundaries – which indeed seems to place bonds on any full understanding of the Athenian complexity at this time – is biased by Dimitriadou’s own explicit stance: “The

4 Emblematic is the reconstruction of the Acropolis’ northern wall with the column drums of the first Parthenon: maybe a first extraordinary operation of political propaganda (Di Cesare 2004).

5 Cf. Lauter-Bufé – Lauter 1975, 8; Weir 1995, 251. See also the Perikles’ speech to the Athenians on the eve of the Peloponnesian War: Thuk. 1, 143, 3–5; 2, 13–14.

6 From this point of view, I do not agree with the Dimitriadou’s view: “The urban tissue made up of the above *demoi* was destroyed by the Persians in 480/479 BC, but this event was not taken as an opportunity to remodel it on the basis of a better planned layout. After the Persian Wars and on account of the rapid development of the new *agora*, habitation turned to the northeast and the north, where it was to spread beyond the Eridanos, about as far as the old Submycenaean cemeteries. In one sense, the Persian invasion could be considered as having cut short the settlement development of the Archaic city. In another sense, perhaps it speeded up its development in area. The city was rebuilt very quickly in the same as well as in new areas of habitation, wherever the circuit

wall “extended in every direction” (Thucydides 1. 93. 2) permitted”: Dimitriadou 2019, 225.

7 As an example, it is emblematic that in most of the known roads (many of which certainly should have existed already during the Geometric period), stratigraphic analysis does not allow one to trace back beyond the early 5th century B.C.

8 Costaki 2006 (introduction): “This is a comprehensive study of the road system of Athens within the circuit of the Classical city wall, from the Geometric through the Roman periods, based both on the excavated remains and the literary sources”.

9 Dimitriadou 2019, 1.

geographical boundaries within which the present study moves coincide with those of the walled *asty* and of an area of small compass outside these. This peripheral zone was imposed by the material itself, so as to include the early cemeteries that were founded close to the Submycenaean nuclei of habitation and to basic, very ancient thoroughfares linking Athens with the outskirts, but at a distance from the Acropolis and the Mycenaean settlement¹⁰. But how would one look for the borders of the inhabited area by starting from limits that coincide with the *asty* of the Classical period? And again, why use a buffer zone defined by the localization of Submycenaean evidence just around the Classical city (and what about the other possible Submycenaean evidence beyond this buffer zone)? Thereby, Dimitriadou's research goals end up to a teleological assumption, imposed *at sic* at the beginning of the volume rather than being demonstrated.

The assertiveness of all those who tried to retrace the "*forma urbis*" based on one of the many reconstructions (purely hypothetical!) of the pre-Themistokleian walls, raises even greater issues. The existence of such a wall is certain beyond any doubt, but using it to discuss urban planning and topography of pre-Classical Athens, has serious repercussions in terms of historical interpretation. In this regard, and among many examples, I would remind us of what I. Morris wrote about the well-known Archaic necropolis on the north-west slope of the Areopagus¹¹: "[...] it was clearly a very unusual burial ground, and is not evidence for a general continuation of

areas for the disposal of the dead within the civic space. The break in intra-mural burial after 700 B.C. is a most significant development¹²." According to Morris, this new funerary pattern, in action at the end of the 8th century B.C., directly relates to the erection of the first Athenian walls, since after their construction *intra-muros* burials would have been forbidden. But one might ask: why would have Athens felt the need for a defensive wall at this particular moment? Who would have ordered the construction of such a collective work? Where would this circuit pass through? In the end, although attractive, Morris' reconstruction raises more questions than it solves. Moreover, reading between the lines it emerges how Morris was influenced by the reconstruction proposed by H. Lauter and H. Lauter-Bufé, which identified 700 B.C. as a *terminus ante quem* for the pre-Themistokleian walls¹³. Lauter and Lauter-Bufé made two main arguments for dating the walls to the end of the 8th century B.C.: if the first, the high ceramic production of this period, seems anything but decisive, the second, the presence of a fortification in the settlement of Lathoureza hypothetically dated back to 700 B.C., is downright the consequence of an embarrassing archaeological misunderstanding. Indeed, as explained by A. Mazarakis Ainian, who had access to until then unpublished data/diaries¹⁴, the Lathoureza's excellently conserved 'defensive wall' was actually built in the 20th century by the Greek excavators with the materials brought to light during the dig. Of course, it is not impossible that

10 Dimitriadou 2019, 1.

11 For the necropolis see Young 1951.

12 Morris 1987, 68.

13 Lauter-Bufé – Lauter 1975.

14 Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 235 f.

the walls of Athens were erected at the end of the 8th century B.C., but it cannot yet be proved on archaeological basis, and it doesn't authorize such historical reconstructions as the ones of Morris. Moreover, at least in Athens, the wearily common connection drawn between the 'erection of the walls' and the 'interruption of burials in the newly fortified area' seems to be very problematic. Reading the funerary record is indeed an extremely complex affair for the Archaic age: the child graves of the *agora* are always mentioned, but their presence raises no debate¹⁵, and the same applies to two 6th century B.C. incinerations near the Areopagus¹⁶. Yet these burials found themselves in the very heart of Athens. Moreover, how to solve the enigma of the above-mentioned necropolis of the Areopagus? Necropolis *intra-muros* or *extra-muros*, without forgetting that we do not know the course of the wall? Multi-family necropolis or necropolis of Peisistratos' clan?

This brief review shows how the pre-Themistokleian walls, one of the two great phantoms of the pre-Classical Athenian archaeology – the other being the so-called *archaia agora* on the east slopes of the Acropolis – are often used and abused for several historical and topographical reconstructions that sometimes contradict each other and are very weak from a methodological point of view. I therefore suspect – as I had already observed elsewhere¹⁷ – that behind these arguments there is a certain overestimation of the true significance of the walls

15 Doronzio 2018, 201.

16 Morris 1987, 67 f. with bibliography; Dimitriadou 2019, 179.

17 Capozzoli 2012, especially 89–93.

for the ancient Greek *polis*, especially for the period in question. Despite what R. Frederiksen tried to demonstrate¹⁸, it appears clear that before the Classical Age, the walls, although important – it seems superfluous to even assert it – do not categorically make nor define the city itself, in the sense that other variables are in action too. And there is certainly no need to bring into play the exceptional case of Sparta or to continue to bother Nikias¹⁹, to realize that Athens did not need to erect walls in order 'to feel' like a *polis*. The division of space between the living and the dead *could*, but *does not necessarily have* to be related to the construction of a wall circuit, even less when little or nothing is known about it. The walls are one feature of a *polis* but the *polis* itself is much more than that²⁰. Moreover, it is good to remember once and for all that with the exceptions of the pre-Themis-

18 Frederiksen 2011.

19 Cf. the discussion in Capozzoli 2012, 83 with previous bibliography.

20 I would like to draw attention to some very clear observations made by de Polignac: "La dispersion ou le regroupement, la régularité ou non de l'habitat ne sont donc pas de critères déterminants de l'urbanisation; ceux-ci sont à rechercher plutôt dans le degré d'intégration et de spécialisation fonctionnelles de différents types d'aménagement qui peuvent être analysés soit selon une logique « locale » (même dans un habitat groupé) ou selon une logique « globale » (même dans un habitat éclaté), soit encore en mêlant les deux ; ce qui suppose une étude comparative approfondie qui dépasse le simple constat, en lui-même insuffisant, de l'apparition d'une place publique, d'un lieu de culte ou d'une nouvelle nécropole [...]. A côté des relations qui sont susceptibles d'unir différents quartiers et habitants respectifs autour du « centre », il faut constamment introduire la question de l'insertion des composantes urbaines dans le territoire environnant [...]" (de Polignac 2006, 218 f.).

tokleian walls of Athens and those of the second Telesterion of Eleusis²¹, there are no other fortifications in Attica before the 5th century B.C.

For these reasons, I'm convinced that, in order to understand what and how the civic center of Athens was prior to 479 B.C. and to verify its possible relationship to the so-called *polis trochoeides* in Herodotus, the pre-Themistokleian walls issue appears anything but decisive. Which is why in the following part of my paper I will focus on other aspects²². I will exploit, in particular, the new data made available in recent and fundamental works on Athenian topography – primarily those of Costaki, Ficuciello and Dimitriadou respectively on the road-system and the funerary documentation²³ – reassessed by the results of my own study on the Themistokleian walls²⁴. In the last part of my contribution I will return to the issue of *polis trochoeides*, trying to provide an alternative reading to those previously proposed.

A Walk Through Graves and Streets of Pre-Classical Athens

Reevaluation of the funerary data is a mandatory step for the study of pre-Classical Athens, where – as is commonly

known – the particularly scarce evidence relating to the worlds of the living and gods, at least until the middle of the 6th century B.C., is more than a good reason for headaches. In this paper, therefore, I will proceed from this kind of documentation. Thanks to the above-mentioned study by Dimitriadou, there is no longer a need to reconsider the whole data set, so I decided to focus my attention on some key contexts, which seem crucial to my line of reasoning. When doing so, I identified primary and secondary data: primary data come directly from known burial contexts, while secondary data refer to reused funerary monuments in the Themistokleian non-funerary contexts.

Primary Data: Necropolis and Graves of the Archaic Athens

I begin my analysis with the plan of Dimitriadou related to the Archaic Age²⁵, based on which I was able to draw up my own distribution map of the funerary remains of the same period (fig. 1). It becomes very clear that most of the necropoleis are located in the north/north-west and in the south/south-east areas, at a considerable distance from the Acropolis and the *agora* of the Kerameikos. To the north-west and to the north, lie the necropoleis of Kerameikos, Platia Eleftherias and Platia Kotzia; to the south one finds the late Archaic necropolis of Odos Propileon and, most of all, a series of small funerary areas to the south-east, that probably belonged to an extensive single necropolis that stretched along the road connecting Athens to

21 The chronology of this intervention is uncertain and ranges between the middle of the 6th century B.C. (cfr. Ziro 1991, 9–18) and the time of Kleisthenes (Hayashi 1992, 19–29).

22 Since this is an ongoing study, the results presented here are meant to be a basis for future reflection rather than definitive conclusions.

23 Costaki 2006; SATAA 4; Dimitriadou 2019.

24 This is part of my dissertation “*Studi sulle mura di Atene dall'età arcaica al sacco di Silla*” defended in 2008 at the Scuola Superiore di Studi Storici in San Marino (supervisor T. Hölscher) and currently under review for the final publication.

25 Dimitriadou 2019, fig. 4:19. 4:20. See also the online digital plans: <<http://www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/node/254>>; <<http://www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/node/255>>; <<http://www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/node/256>> (09.12.2019).

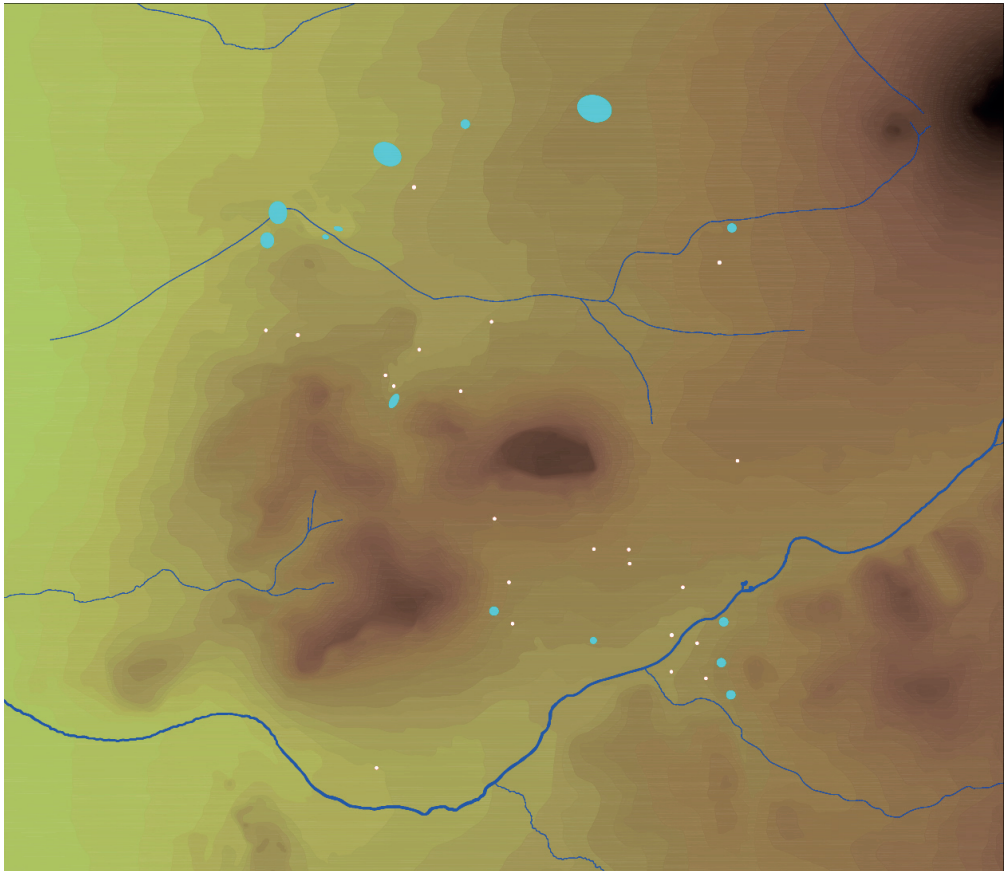


Fig. 1. The funerary evidence of the Athenian civic center during the Archaic period: necropolis or grave groups in cyan, while the white dots indicate single burials (elaboration by the author).

Phaleron. In many cases, the Archaic necropoleis occupy burial areas that already existed in Geometric times (at the latest) and remained in use throughout the Classical period²⁶. We must therefore take into account two key-points right away:

- a temporal one, set by the uninterrupted use of many funerary areas from the Submycenaean period (though with several quantitative and qualitative variations);

- a spatial one, set by the topographical continuity of those funerary areas.

Undoubtedly, we should perceive this twofold space-time continuity in a broad sense, but we cannot lose sight of the existence of a much more articulated reality. As is well known, there are in fact many other necropoleis, as well as isolated graves, in particular in the area of the agora, the Areopagus and south of the Acropolis. Unlike the great secular burial grounds mentioned above, these contexts are limited to the Archaic period and end by the year 500 B.C., the period to which the most recent burials of the necropolis

²⁶ As becomes apparent by comparison with Dimitriadou's plans of the Submycenaean and Geometric periods: <<http://www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/node/248>> (09.10.2019).

of the Areopagus have been dated by Young. In fact, along with the graves from the central part of the *agora* interrupting at the end of the 8th century B.C.²⁷, we should remember the presence of several burials ‘belonging’ to a topographical and chronological discontinuity. If their relationship with the pre-Classical walls is unclear, it is certain that after the erection of the Themistokleian walls they became *intra-muros*. Besides the famous cemetery of the Areopagus – to which I will shortly return – I would like to point out:

- two graves located ca. 15 m north-west of the Areopagus necropolis (and separated from the latter): one inhumation (grave 49) dating back to the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. and one cremation burial (grave 50) dated to the early fourth quarter of the 6th century B.C.²⁸ It should be noted that grave 49 to the north-west of the Areopagus was associated with three trenches – discovered empty during the excavations –, perhaps to be interpreted as the remains of burials from a completely lost Archaic funerary area;
- four graves found adjacent the new Acropolis Museum: the burials are unpublished and according to Dimitriadou they should be dated to the Archaic period²⁹. One is located to the north-east, the other three to the south of the Weiler Building;
- one grave discovered at the intersection of Odos Dionissiou Areopagitou with Odos Propileon, and dating back to the second quarter of the 6th cen-

ture B.C.³⁰. Assuming its relation with another tomb found further south at the intersection of Odos Kavallotti 24 with Odos Propileon (late 6th century B.C.)³¹, it could prove the existence of an (at the latest) Archaic street linking the spot of the later Odeion of Herodes Atticus with the necropolis of Odos Erechteiou, where yet another Archaic grave should have existed³².

Along with these seven burials, we have to take note of child graves. Supplementing Dimitriadou’s catalogue³³ with the online inventory of the Research Project “EMA”³⁴ returns twelve child graves for the period between the end of the 8th century B.C. and the beginning of the 5th century B.C. Commonly, there is a tendency to include the *intra-muros* child graves among the “normal” exceptions of the funerary evidence³⁵. Personally, I believe that in cities like Athens the reasons for

30 Dimitriadou 2019, 433–434

31 Dimitriadou 2019, 452–453.

32 The excavation only brought to light several Archaic pedestals (Stavropoulos 1965, 86 f. (22–23). Ἐρεχθείου 25 καὶ Ἐρεχθείου 21/23) but it is certain they belonged to destroyed graves (by the Persians?).

33 Dimitriadou 2019, 276; 280, fig. 6. Dimitriadou 2012, Region I, no. 14. Dimitriadou 2019, 207 f.: “On the basis of this evidence, and until assemblages M 18:6 and N 20:8 have been studied in detail and published, their identification as child graves should perhaps not be taken for granted.”

34 <<http://www.mae.u-paris10.fr/ema/>> (09.12.2019).

35 Cf. for instance, Kurtz – Boardman 1971, 70: “It is true that burials in central parts of the city – for example in the *agora* – appear to end by about 500, but there are *intra-mural* burials of the Classical period – mostly of children, and children are a well-known exception to funerary legislation”. For a first analysis of the Greek evidence during the Iron Age see Mazarakis Ainiian 2010, especially 72–77.

27 Agora 8, 113. Doronzio 2012, 28; Doronzio 2018, 201.

28: Young 1951, 108 f. Cf. also Dimitriadou 2019, 178 f.

29 Dimitriadou 2019, 470.

this exception – which already R. S. Young pointed out and tried to justify³⁶ – still need a satisfactory explanation. However, restricting the analysis to the area of the *agora* and the Areopagus, a strong reduction becomes visible when compared to the Protogeometric and Geometric evidence (22 and 47 burials respectively are documented in the EMA catalogue). This trend becomes further evident in the following periods: complete absence for the entire Classical period and only two cases for the Hellenistic (last quarter of the 4th century B.C. and first half of the 2nd century B.C.), we can then state that both adult and child burials endured throughout the Archaic period³⁷, disappearing entirely or rather mainly after the construction of Themistokleian Athens.

I shall now analyze the above-mentioned necropolis on the north-west slopes of the Areopagus³⁸, a ‘true’ necropolis compared to the previously examined graves. Excavated by Young in the mid-20th century,

36 Young 1951, 133: “More difficult of explanation is the fact that cremation of infants within the city continued to be permitted into Hellenistic times. [...] There seems, on the other hand, no likelihood that the bodies of dead infants could have been cremated in the town without the whole neighborhood knowing of it. We must conclude, therefore, that the religious ban on burial within the city either did not include a sanction against the burial of children as opposed to adults, or that it did not include a sanction against cremation as opposed to burial.”

37 Cf. Dimitriadou 2019, 207, who, with regard to three late 7th century B.C. child burials of the Tholos cemetery, states: “The fact that after an interruption in its operation, three child burials (enchytrismoi) were made in the late seventh century BC indicates that the cemetery still kept its old identity.”

38 Most recently discussed in Dimitriadou 2019, 273–277.

two main phases were identified: the first one, dating back to the late Geometric period, is represented by four graves; the second one, after an apparent gap of a century³⁹, is represented by eighteen graves dating to the 6th century B.C.⁴⁰. The necropolis is protected by a *peribolos* which, perhaps after being damaged during the Persian occupation, was rebuilt during the first quarter of the 5th century B.C. Moreover, there is no self-evident rationale behind the orientation of the single burials and the necropolis was definitively abandoned around 500 B.C., as Young states⁴¹. This discovery, together with its peculiar location – i. e. the proximity to the south-eastern corner of the *agora* – and the great number of burials (51 in total, 29 of which are undated), has caused much ink to be spilled indeed. On this issue, there are four main positions:

- Young considered it a necropolis within the pre-Themistokleian walls, therefore an exception to the Athenian funerary pattern that did not admit *intra muros* burials⁴²;
- F. E. Winter preferred to consider the necropolis outside the pre-Themistokleian walls: he thought they ran some 25 to 30 m uphill from the Areopagus cemetery, making it an *extra-muros* burial plot⁴³;

39 Compare Doronzio 2018, 201 for residual ceramic of the 7th century from the area of the necropolis and also SATAA 1, 1, 244–247.

40 Outside the *peribolos* wall, the American archaeologist also found the already mentioned graves 49, 50 and in addition the grave 51: a cremation belonging to a child and dating between the 7th and the 6th century B.C.): Young 1951, 109 f. On the grave 51, cf. also Dimitriadou 2019, 179.

41 Young 1951, 77. 132.

42 Young 1951, 133.

43 Winter 1982, 203.

- Morris, accepting Young's *intra-muros* hypothesis, proposed to identify it as the necropolis of Peisistratos' family⁴⁴.
- E. Greco pre-dates – though without the corroboration of any apparent evidence – the interruption of the necropolis to 520–515 B.C., and links this “updated” chronological record to the construction of the first Athenian city walls by the tyrant Hippias. Placed within the new city walls, according to this interpretation, the necropolis went out of use because of people respecting the ban on the burials *infra urbem*⁴⁵.

However fascinating, Greco's statement should be rejected for at least two reasons. First of all, it does not follow the chronology of the necropolis' latest graves as proposed by Young (500 B.C.)⁴⁶. Secondly, it seems to clash with Thucydides' statement, who, concerning the wall of Themistokles erected not long after, remembers that it was greater than the previous on each side. Thus, assuming Greco's hypothesis were true⁴⁷, we should believe that in the time span of just 35–40 years the Athenians felt the need to reconsider and enlarge the

entire wall circuit⁴⁸. This would be rather more understandable – at least in my opinion – if we admit for the walls a higher chronology than the Peisistratid one. The Young – Morris hypothesis does not seem convincing neither. Firstly, because it takes for granted that the defensive wall incorporated this cemetery: this is not supported by hard evidence (in this regard, Winter's hypothesis does indeed seem not to be entirely impossible⁴⁹). On the other hand, the association of the burial plot with Peisistratos' family presupposes a lot of guessing, since it is just one out of many other exegetical possibilities and it is not corroborated by solid archaeological, anthropological, or indeed literary data. But above all, how would the complete lack of regularity in the graves' placement be explained⁵⁰? In addition, what about the six burials of the 8th century B.C. and the pottery of the 7th found in the whole area of the necropolis (probably belonging to destroyed burials)? Moreover, if it really is the Peisistratids' cemetery, why would the 5th century B.C. Athenians have felt the need to leave it intact and even to rebuild part of the damaged (probably by the Persians) *peribolos*? Whatever the

44 Morris 1987, 68.

45 Greco 2008a, 8–10; Greco 2008b, 14; SATAA 1, 1, 28.

46 We should resume the study of the grave goods in order to possibly raise the dating of fifteen years as Greco proposed. But, as far as I know, this has not yet been done and we are therefore forced until then to accept Young's chronology.

47 Actually, a Peisistratid chronology was first proposed by E. Curtius: Curtius 1862, 110. A completely different position was expressed some years later by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. For him, indeed, the pre-Classical wall was destroyed (he speaks of “Entfestigung”) at the time of the Peisistratids: von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1881, 97–106.

48 The same view is found in Lauter-Bufé – Lauter 1975, 9.

49 Winter's hypothesis, never much taken into account by modern scholarship, does not seem to me completely unreasonable. In this regard, I would like to recall that the fortification walls built in 1778 during the Ottoman occupation (Ali Chaseki), ran on the Areopagus Hill to the east of the necropolis, as we can admire in a beautiful plan of Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel (<<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8494927j>> [09.12.2019]).

50 It is not impossible that it was a multi-family cemetery, in which each family used a different alignment.

explanation might be, the debate on the necropolis of the Areopagus is indeed far from over. We are faced with a monumental temporal marker, a true “*lieu de mémoire*”⁵¹, which does not begin with Peisistratos but much earlier. Established at the end of the Geometric period, it represents the only Archaic necropolis consciously incorporated into the city of the Classic Age, and what is more, it was not simply spared by the Athenian *pietas* but even repaired. These few but grounded pieces of archaeological evidence should be the starting point for a solid discussion of this pre-Classical context. An archaeological *indicium* out of the ordinary, that points more than all the others to the above-mentioned discontinuity.

The Secondary Data: the Reuse of the Pre-Classical Grave Monuments in the Themistokleian Walls

I now turn briefly to the analysis of the mobile data in secondary use, in other words to funerary elements reused as building material in fortifications of the Classical period. Yet another testimony to discontinuity, perhaps the most emblematic, these amazed even Thucydides himself⁵²: after Salamis, every Athenian, including women and children, contributed to the reconstruction of the new walls with massive re-use of every kind of material at their disposal, including the remains of destroyed buildings along with funerary steles and statues, which is the material most relevant to us. An extensive survey of what we know of the Classical city walls (those of Themistokles in particular) fully confirms the validity of Thucydides’ testi-

mony. In addition, it also points to the fact that the Athenians were quite indiscriminate regarding the types of material they employed. As far as the Classical period is concerned, I mapped 269 fragments attributed to more than 100 funerary monuments and some material coming from the unfinished temple of the Olympian Zeus⁵³. Of course, it is not possible to discern between the materials coming from the Persian destruction and those consciously dismantled by the Athenians themselves. In this regard, Greco rightly argued that the demolition of (most) burials was a natural consequence of the city walls widening: following his interpretation, many Archaic graves would have become intra-mural and as such unacceptable⁵⁴. I will come back to this issue. Meanwhile, it should be pointed out that it cannot be excluded that the Persians destroyed at least some of the funerary monuments⁵⁵. Indeed, as the recent deeds of ISIS at Nimrud, Mosul, Palmyra etc. have shown, the fury of the enemy against the “*lieux de mémoire*” may be extremely violent and highly symbolic. Themistokles’ *pietas* is a further possible element, which should not be underestimated. In addition to the possible partial reconstruction of the *peribolos* of the Areopagus necropolis, I would like to recall here the grave 114 from Kerameikos: a Protogeometric grave, incorporated and perfectly respected during the construction of one of the

⁵³ They are unpublished data coming from my already mentioned dissertation.

⁵⁴ Greco 2001, 36.

⁵⁵ On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that some graves were opened and damaged after the departure of the Athenians to Salamis.

⁵¹ Assmann 1997, especially 33 f. 38 f. 56–63.

⁵² Thuk. 1, 93, 2.

two Themistokleian towers of the Dipylon Gate⁵⁶.

Of course, these are just some plausible guesses at a much more complex concatenation of events. Nevertheless, a correct approach to the Athenian funerary documentation of the late Archaic age (at least) cannot simply disregard the heuristic value of these secondary data. In fact, we should not forget that these *semata* were at the same time *mnemata*, i.e. “*lieux de mémoire*” or “*Gedächtnisorte*”. Erasing or even moving them must have had a significant impact on the Athenians, which still preserved the memory of those monuments. Conclusively, I wonder whether this displacement/obliteration in turn had specific consequences on both the road system and the organization of funerary rituals and dedicated spaces.

The Pre-Classical Road System: Some Insights

This review of primary and secondary funerary data leads us to the second point of my investigation: the pre-Classical Athenian road-system. Unfortunately, in a similar manner to the funerary contexts, our knowledge of pre-Classical roads in Athens is not great; indeed, we possess very few remains of streets (or extensively published streets) for this period. As I already pointed out at the beginning of this paper, I believe that the lack of evidence should be read in the light of two historical facts that represent a real watershed between Archaic and Classical Athens: 1) the invasion of Athens in 480 B.C. by Mardonios, who, according to Herodotus, destroyed whatever was standing; 2) the following reconstruction of Athens first by

Themistokles and then by Kimon. In spite of these operations of vertical obliteration (in the wall stratigraphy) and horizontal leveling, for the time being we benefit from recent and wide studies carried out by Costaki and Ficuciello: their different methodological approaches notwithstanding, both scholars examined (almost at the same time) the documentation available on the Athenian road-system from the Geometric period to Late Antiquity⁵⁷. Here I will focus only on some elements of the pre-Classical documentation, which is not an easy task as it often relies on *argumenta e silentio* or even on hypothetical reconstructions that are not verifiable without stratigraphic soundings. Nonetheless, given all the necessary precautions and by combining all the reliable and reconstructed data, a very interesting picture of the Athenian pre-Classical road system is the result (fig. 2). I would like to point out three key features⁵⁸:

1. the almost complete absence of roads in the north and north-east (according to the studies of Costaki and Ficuciello), with the exception of a short section in the area of the Acharnian Gates, dating to the end of the 6th century B.C.⁵⁹. Nearly all roads are grouped around the Acropolis and, on its west side, by the *agora* of the Kerameikos, the Pnyx hill, as well as in the area between the future

57 Costaki 2006 and SATAA 4. See also Korres 2009 and Costaki 2009.

58 The elaboration of the map at fig. 2 is based on Costaki 2006 and SATAA 4 (with all bibliographical references). For the 7th century B.C. layer of the *Hiera Odos* see Doronzio 2018, 124, fig. 107.

59 Obviously, this absence may also be due to the great (and partially violent) reconstruction of the city in the second half of the 19th century: Bastea 2000.

56 Willemsen 1963, 148–153.

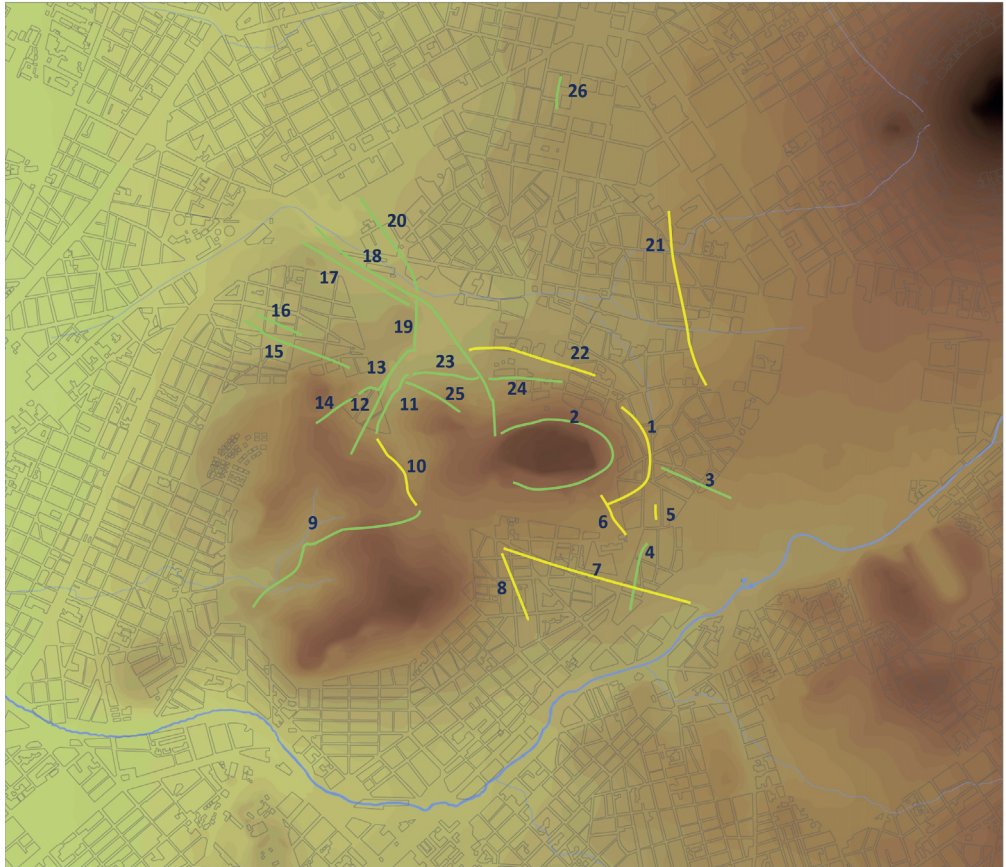


Fig. 2. The pre-Classical road system of the Athenian civic center: in green, the streets attested from the Archaic period (at the latest); in yellow those hypothetically reconstructed (elaboration of the author).

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Odos Tripodon | 14. Street leading from the agora to the Nymph Hill (current Odos Otryneon) |
| 2. Peripatos | 15. Pireaus Street (current Odos Iraklidon) |
| 3. Street leading to the Olympieion (current Odos Lysikratous) | 16. Parallel street to the Pireaus Street (current Odos Pouloupoulou and Vasilis) |
| 4. Street leading to the Phaleron (current Odos Makrygianni) | 17. Hieria Odos |
| 5. Possible northern trench of the street no. 4 (current Odos Vyronos) | 18. <i>Dromos</i> of the agora |
| 6. Street to the east of the Theatre of Dionysos | 19. West Road agora |
| 7. Street leading to the Sounion (current Odos Chazichristou and Rovertou Galli) | 20. Street leading to the Kolonos Hippios |
| 8. Street leading from the Acropolis to the necropolis of Odos Erechtheiou | 21. North-south street not otherwise known |
| 9. Odos dia Koiles | 22. Street linking the agora of the Kerameikos with the Roman agora |
| 10. Stenopos Kollytos | 23. South street of the agora |
| 11. Areopagus street | 24. Street of Peisistratos' aqueduct (current Odos Mitroou) |
| 12. Street leading from the agora to the Pnyx | 25. Street linking the south-western corner of the agora with the northern side of the Areopagus |
| 13. Street of the Marble Workers | 26. Street leading to Acharnae |

Piraic Gate and the so-called Hip-pades Gates (also known previously as “Eriai Gates”);

2. the presence of an alignment following a north-west/south-east direction both to the west and the east of the Acropolis (fig. 3a);
3. the presence of a number of roads with a clearly circular pattern (fig. 3b). Besides the Peripatos (no. 2), I would call attention to the case of Odos Tripodon (no. 1), and the system consisting of the roads no. 10 (Stenopos Kollytos), no. 11 (Areopagus street), no. 23 (south street of the *agora* dating from the 7th century B.C. onwards) and 24 (the current Odos Mitroou, the street of Peisistratos’ aqueduct), which according to Manolis Korres represents the continuation of Odos Tripodon. Finally, also the roads no. 13 (the street of the Marble Workers) and no. 22 (which links the *agora* of the Kerameikos with the Roman *agora*) are worth noting: its stratigraphy does not allow us to go beyond the 5th century B.C. but it is quite certain for topographical reasons that this street already existed during the Archaic period.

These alignments, perfectly integrated into the Classical city, shed some light on the spatial organisation of Athens during pre-Classical times, exposing, *inter alia*, a very close relationship with the funerary topography. Undoubtedly, the streets define the texture of the urban fabric, along which both sacred and private processions and itineraries are gradually organized (e. g. carrying the deceased to the great necropolis mentioned above). The large rectilinear axes, as they will directly influence the location of the Themistokleian gateways, mark a sacred topography on the ground. Emblematic on this matter

is the case of the two gates of the Kerameikos: they frame two roads that are practically adjacent, which makes sense only if we take into account the general ritual and sacred context to which they belong. In my opinion, this apparent anomaly is explained by the pre-Classical urban layout, that ended up crystallizing and has been respected uninterruptedly throughout the Antiquity. The same applies, of course, to the circular roads, which, in spite of their relatively late chronology, seem to belong to the most ancient phases of the Athenian civic centre, developed concentrically from the *Pelargikon* of the Acropolis indeed.

A First Overview

Continuity and discontinuity in exploiting funerary areas represent two different yet complementary elements, essential for rethinking pre-Classical Athens. The former clearly informs us that if we really want to rush and seek the limits of the pre-Themistokleian *asty* we do not need to look for walls nor to compare the Themistokleian walls with their (unknown) precursors: after all, the locations preferred by the Athenians for their funerals remained substantially unchanged before and after Themistokles. Then again, if there were no walls or if the pre-Classical walls had a shorter perimeter – as Thucydides explicitly attests – what caused the last burials of the *agora* to date at the end of the 8th century B.C.? And what prevented the other necropolis from being implanted in an area close to the *agora* (except, of course, the isolated burials and the necropolis of the Areopagus)? Could it be that the pre-Classical *asty* was a much more extensive concept than ours (even heuristically limited), and consequently independent of

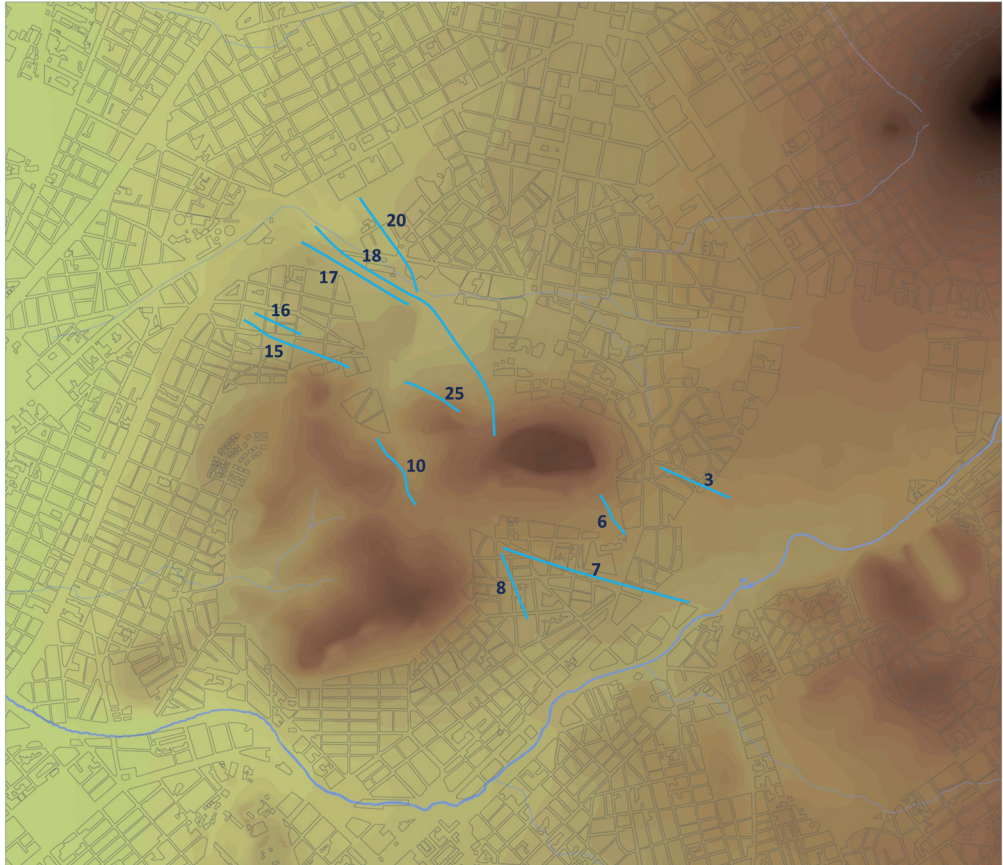


Fig. 3a. The pre-Classical road system of the Athenian civic center: the north-west/south-east orientated axes (elaboration of the author).

the presence of a wall circuit? Can we or at least should we even assume the existence of some kind of “*pomerium*” even in the Greek world?⁶⁰ For the time being, the answer to these questions is still pending, but I believe that at a workshop that wants to rethink pre-Classical Athens, one must also consider and reflect in such terms.

Obviously, the perception itself of the necropolis as “*lieu de mémoire*” and “*lieu*

de passage” should have played a major role in the choice of open spaces for the great Athenian burial-grounds, preferred to those much more confined ones in the city center⁶¹. My short examination shows

61 Cfr. de Polignac 2006, 218: “C’est en tout cas à partir de la fin de l’époque géométrique et au long de l’époque archaïque que se met en place une « géographie funéraire » d’Athènes où les différentes nécropoles rayonnant autour de la cité expriment chacune, par la composition de la population qu’ils accueillent (en particulier la proportion variable de très jeunes enfants), par les types d’aménagements, de rites et d’offrandes, l’un ou l’autre aspect de l’idéologie civique (valeur guerrière, valeurs de l’*oikos*, capacités reproductives) : une forme de spécialisation qui

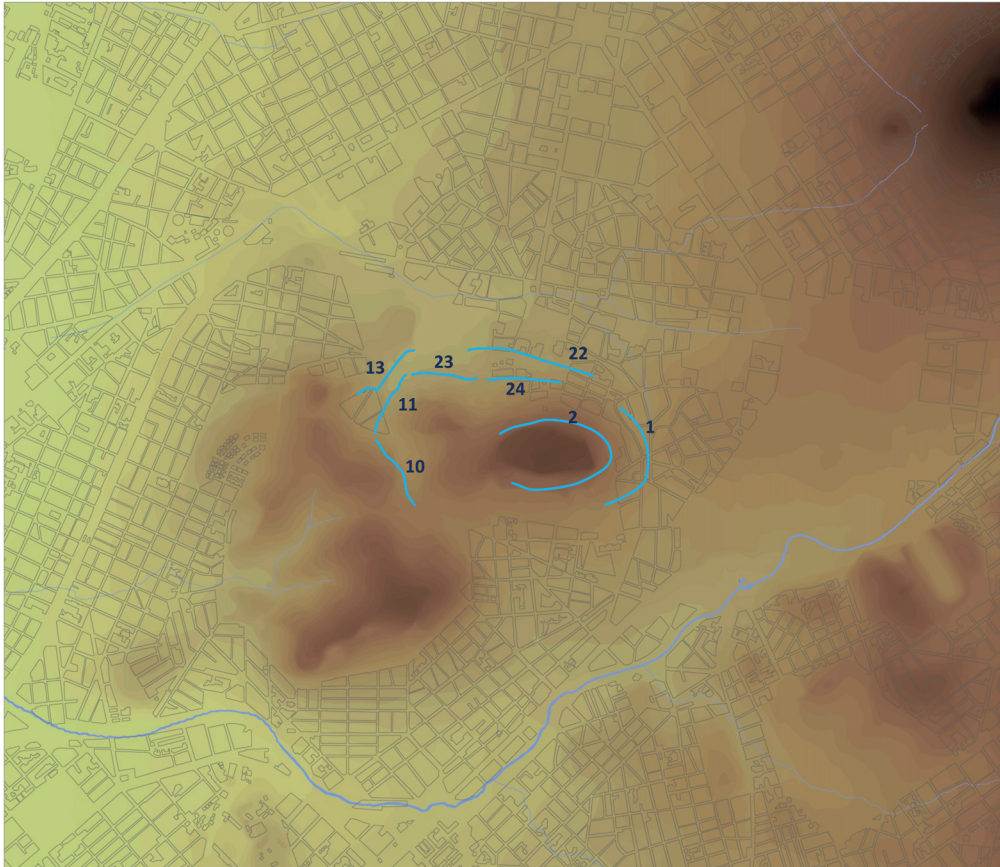


Fig. 3b. The pre-Classical road system of the Athenian civic center: roads with a circular pattern (elaboration of the author).

that, with the exception of the necropolis of the Areopagus, the other burials around the *agora* and the Acropolis were mostly isolated tombs, almost “hidden” in the urban landscape⁶². Rather than exceptions

implique une rupture par rapport à une simple logique de proximité.”

62 We should definitively reject the existence of another Archaic necropolis reported several years ago by G. Schmalz in a contribution on the Prytaneion (Schmalz 2006, 52, fig. 22). One of his plans reports the precise location of four 6th century burials, which would seem to be aligned with the axis of *Odos Lisikratous*. Indeed Schmalz’s reconstruction is simply a misunderstanding of the archaeological report of the *Archaïologikon Deltion* (G’ *Archaïologiki Periphēria* 1963b, 37,

to the rule, it seems to me that these data demonstrate how the definition of the funerary topography was a far from linear process. It appears, indeed, as the result of numerous historical, political, social and military events that left several traces on the ground⁶³. Although partial and often

no. 17; *Ἀνασκαφή οδοῦ Ἀθανασίου Διάκου – Αναπαύσεως*): here the archaeological report only contains a vague reference to a coin hoard and some vases founded there, but no explicit mention of the graves. We read instead of trenches, which in the case of Schmalz ended up (erroneously) as graves. See also Doronzio 2012, 23, n. 106.

63 Of course, it cannot be excluded that the isolated tombs are the only trace left of a real

ambivalent, these “traces” carry high heuristic value: an expression of a vibrant community expressing itself according to resilient behaviors that had important repercussions also for the urban layout of the *polis* of Athens⁶⁴.

Such reflections lead to the issue of pre-Classical Athenian funerary legislation. The question was raised unequivocally when the necropolis of the Areopagus was first discovered. Young, as I have already said, saw it as an *intra urbem* necropolis, meaning *intra muros* (a synonym that does not seem so obvious nor even sure for pre-Classical Athens) and as such, it would constitute an exception to the religious ban preventing any burial within the city, as mentioned in an letter of Sulpicius Rufus to Cicero⁶⁵. This religious ban – according to Young – came into effect in Athens in the second half of the 6th century B.C., during the erection of the first walls of Athens, under Peisistratos or his sons⁶⁶. As we have seen, after Young, Greco returned to Cicero’s testimony, trying to date this ban at the time of the Peisistratids and to relate it directly to the construction of the pre-Themistokleian walls.

Can we really speak of a “religious ban”, implying the existence of some kind of funerary law, or should we simply think of a practice, a funerary custom? It appears quite astonishing, in fact, that Cicero never mentions this prohibition in book 2

necropolis that almost completely disappeared due to post-depositional processes.

64 Cf. Duplouy 2019.

65 Cic. Fam. 4, 12, 3: “Ab Atheniensibus, locum sepulturae intra urbem ut darent, impetrare non potui, quod religione se impediri dicerent, neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant.”

66 Young 1951, 133.

of his *De Legibus* where he discusses Athenian funeral legislation in great detail and familiarity (see *infra*). Moreover, on the basis of the examination conducted so far, I do not think it is necessary to put it in direct relation – however it is interpreted – to the construction of the pre-Themistokleian walls; if so, we could also date back the erection of these walls already to the end of the 8th century B.C., as was explicitly proposed by Morris⁶⁷. In fact, I believe that when Sulpicius Rufus declares “*neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant*”, he is simply stating that this privilege was never granted to anyone in the past. Therefore, it is useless to date “*antea*” since in the context of the letter it is synonymous with “never”. Of course, that a funerary legislation existed at Athens is well known, and Cicero himself provides some fundamental information on the matter in the just-mentioned second book of *De Legibus*. Here we can read about the so-called “*post aliquanto*” legislation, an expression that comes from a passage in which Cicero recalls the measures taken some time after Solon (hence the name “*post aliquanto*”) in order to regulate the size and style of grave monuments⁶⁸. The expression “*post aliquanto*” is vague and ambiguous making it difficult to date the Athenian way of dealing with this issue, and in fact the solutions proposed by modern scholars have been very different and variously place it in relationship with Peisistratos, Kleisthenes or even Themis-

67 See *supra*.

68 Cic. Leg. 2, 26: “sed post aliquanto, propter has amplitudines sepulcrorum, quas in Ceramico uidemus, lege sanctum est ne quis sepulcrum faceret operosius quam quod decem homines effecerint triduo”.

tokles⁶⁹. Combining written sources and archaeological data, J. Engels proposes the period between Kleisthenes and Themistokles, admitting a preference for Themistokles and the years around 480 B.C.⁷⁰. In my opinion, this chronology could be further polished by putting the introduction of the decree in relation to the erection of the new walls, when, indeed, Themistokles himself reused numerous funerary monuments in the foundations of the fortification. Was the Themistokleian operation the inaugural act of the new funerary legislation?⁷¹ Maybe. However, it is clear that the dismantling of funerary monuments and their secondary use as simple building material must have deeply transformed the layout of some secular burial grounds in Athens – a fact that we must take into account when evaluating the funerary data of pre-Classical Athens. On the other hand, can we imagine that a similar dynamic – destruction and partial modification of the necropolis topography – also occurred during the construction of the pre-Themistokleian walls? With this question, which necessarily remains open, I finally turn to the last section of the paper.

A polis Like a Wheel

At Athens, already before Themistokles, there were walls surrounding the city⁷². The skepticism raised over a century ago by W. Dörpfeld and A. von Gerkan⁷³, further exacerbated by J. Papadopoulos⁷⁴, has no foundation, although it certainly enriched the debate from a methodological point of view, as we will soon see. Contrary to some modern scholars, for the Athenians of any period there was no doubt about it: after all, the mention of a circuit wall in Athens prior the Themistokleian one constantly returns in both Greek – with the only exception of Isokrates⁷⁵ – and Latin literature. Quoting exclusively the two extremes, we move from Herodotus – the first who explicitly recalls the destruction of such walls by the Persian Mardonios – to Aelius Aristides. The latter, in the 2nd century A.D. – i. e. seven centuries after the first mention – remembers how even the Athenian guides maintained perfect memory of a pre-Classical wall shorter than the Themistokleian one⁷⁶. In Aelius Aristides, the concept expressed by Thucydides of a Themistokleian “*meizon*” *peribolos* returns, and the orator is aware to the point where in another oration, the *Panathenaic*, he states that after the

69 Discussion in Engels 1998, 98–106.

70 Engels 1998, 104–106.

71 Since a *Ringstraße* surrounded the Themistokleian walls (on the topic of the “Ringstraßen” surrounding the Classical walls, see most recently SATAA 4, 200 f.), can we not conceive that such a belt might also have run around the older walls? Themistokles could have destroyed it, with the consequence of having to “throw outside”, in the foundations of his new walls, the *mnemata* that marked the belt around the first walls.

72 For a detailed examination see Capozzoli 2004 and Capozzoli 2012, especially 93–101.

73 Dörpfeld 1929; von Gerkan 1924, 23–28.

74 Papadopoulos 2008 with previous bibliography.

75 Isoc. Or. 12, 50.

76 Aristid. 46, 276 Dindorf: “ἀπελθόντων γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων, εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν ἤγεν εὐθύς αὐτοὺς ἄνω καὶ συνώκιζε κατὰ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ μείζω γε τὸν περίβολον, ὡς φασιν οἱ ἐξηγηταί, ἐξήγαγε πανταχῆ, τειχίαι τε δεῖσαν μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων εὖρεν ὅπως δυνήσονται”. For the translation of this oration see Behr 1986, 151–279.

erection of the Themistokleian walls, the city had come to occupy areas before “ἀοικήται”⁷⁷. Therefore, the presence of a pre-Classical fortification in Athens was a well-known fact; so much so that it was even included in the last great homage to the city, the oration composed during the Greater Panathenaea of 155 A.D.⁷⁸

The true dilemma of the pre-Classical walls is not their archaeological invisibility, which, *per se*, does not constitute a valid basis on which to deny their existence – how would we then deal with the so-called *archaic agora* to east of the Acropolis or even with the great number of pre-Classical monuments known only from written sources, but which no one doubts? – but rather the lack of information about their course and their chronology. The only certain information is *the terminus ante quem*, 514 B.C., suggested by the mention in Thucydides of a *pyle*, a gate, near which Hipparchos (Hippias’ brother) was killed by Harmodios and Aristogeiton⁷⁹. From this

77 Aristid. 13, 241 f. Dindorf: “τοῦτο δὲ τὰς ἄλλας τιμὰς τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνήψε, κρεῖττον ἀπάσης Ἑλληνικῆς δυνάμεως, τὰ μὲν οἴκοι, τὰ δ’ ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ: αὐτὴ τε παρήλαθε τοὺς ἀρχαίους ὄρους πανταχῆ κατ’ ἀξίαν τῶν ἔργων καὶ τὴν τοῦ κύκλου προσθήκην ποιουμένη: ὡς δ’ εἰπεῖν συνελόντι, μόνη μὲν δι’ ἀρετὴν ἀοικήτος ἐγένετο, μόνη δ’ ἐξ ἀρετῆς ὤκισθη τε αὖθις καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀοικήτων ἐπέλαβεν ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ καλλίων τε καὶ μείζων γενομένη”. For the translation and the commentary of this oration see Oliver 1968; Behr 1986, 5–7.

78 On the dating of this oration to 155 A.D. see Behr 1986, 428 (with previous bibliography). The explicit mention of uninhabited spaces is also explicitly attested in the 4th century B.C. by Xenophon (Vect. 2, 6), who seems to imply as well the new strategy of the Themistokleian *peribolos*, designed to incorporate a larger portion of the territory than the one actually inhabited.

79 Thuk. 6, 57, 1–4.

passage we understand that such a gateway had to be near the so-called *Leokoreion*; and here another documentary rift opens, since, contrary to what we were supposed to believe for many years, there is no trace of this monument. The traditional proposal of identifying it with the so-called cross-roads sanctuary, located in the north-west corner of the *agora*, should be definitively abandoned, primarily for chronological reasons⁸⁰.

Our knowledge of the pre-Themistokleian walls stops here and we must point out the following:

- a *rigore*, every date prior to 514 B.C. is theoretically possible and we are absolutely not compelled to fix it during the 6th century B.C., as almost all scholars have suggested doing⁸¹. A few years back, I personally suggested a time-span between the Kylonian Affair and 514 B.C.⁸², by relating the first to Kylon’s high chronology, which perhaps should be reconsidered and in any case is anything but certain⁸³. However, I now believe that even this time-span is not completely exhaustive and that an even higher proposition than the second half of the 7th century B.C. is at least theoretically acceptable.
- The walls opened into at least one known gate to be sought in an unknown area between the north-west corner of the *agora* and the sector immediately north of the Kolonos

80 See for example the new identification proposals put forward by Santoro 2014 and Monaco 2017.

81 See discussion in Capozzoli 2004, 19–21.

82 Capozzoli 2012, 94 f.

83 See discussion in the introduction of this volume.

Agoraios⁸⁴ or maybe even in the area immediately east of the present day Kerameikos.

Beyond this clue, any planimetric reconstruction of these walls is doomed to be suspended in the realm of pure speculation. Certainly, we cannot ignore some recently proposed reconstructive hypotheses. I refer in particular to M. Korres' proposition, which has the merit of emphasizing the question of the state-owned spaces. According to Korres, the course of the pre-Themistokleian wall could have occupied several areas of the city, then expropriated in the Classical period and left unbuilt and available for public use. Notably, one of these areas was the one later transformed into the Odos Tripodon: but before becoming a street, it would have been occupied by the pre-Classical wall⁸⁵. Indeed, this hypothesis raises some doubts, as already pointed out by Greco⁸⁶. However, Korres' argumentation has its own logic, and could be applied, for instance, to the north, assuming that the wall lay outside of the Eridanos, and ran in the area where later the Aqueduct of Kimon was constructed, probably by exploiting the space left after the removal of the pre-Classical walls.

Wherever it may have been placed in space and time, it is clear that from Kylon to Mardonios, passing through Peisistratos and Kleomenes I of Sparta, this wall does not seem to have had any real defensive effect. The detractors of the walls often use this as an argument: yet a quick exam-

ination of the existing Greek fortifications – also outside mainland Greece – would highlight that, before the 5th century B.C., battles are fought outside the walls⁸⁷.

This short review briefly shows that the archaeology of pre-Classical Athens is something much more complex than the search for a wall circuit, invisible indeed archaeologically and – let's say – also historically⁸⁸. As fascinating as the different theories and various (sometimes extravagant) reconstructions of these walls may seem, I am today – contrary to what I used to state – persuaded that the issue of these pre-Themistokleian walls is not exactly helping the topographic and urbanistic problems of pre-Classical Athens. We risk making up images of the city ourselves, and then trying to build a historical narrative based on our modern conceptions. This is the argument I have been trying to highlight in the previous pages in relation to the exegetical problem of the necropolis of the Areopagus, which has been used as a chronological (Greco) or topographic (Winter) reference, but without any convincing and final solution. Moreover, we would also risk reading the ancient sources inadequately, charging them with quite anachronistic imperatives. Among the ancient testimonies, there is one in particular that has been used, or rather abused, in the modern recon-

84 This is the hypothesis – in some ways very attractive – of Valdés Guía 2004a, 285–308.

85 See Korres 2009, 77.

86 Greco 2001, 30; Greco 2008a, along with SATAA 4, 73.

87 Cfr. Garland 1974, 20–22; Garland 1989, 103–106.

88 From this point of view – but not with his conclusions on the absence of a pre-Classical fortification – I completely agree with Dörpfeld's view, according to which Athens was until the 5th century B.C. an "offene Stadt": Dörpfeld 1929, 8 f.

structions of pre-Classical Athens⁸⁹. I am referring to the well-known passage from Herodotus where the Pythia, on the eve of Salamis, advises Themistokles to leave Athens⁹⁰:

“ὦ μέλει, τί κάθησθε; λιπῶν φεῦγ’ ἔσχατα
γαίης
δῶματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα
κάρηνα.”

Accordingly, the oracle defines Athens with the very strong metaphor as “*polis trochoeides*”, an expression that I too suggested to interpret as an indirect proof of the existence of a pre-Classical wall that would have given a “circular” shape to the urban center of Athens⁹¹. As far as I know, the term “*trochoeides*” is attested for the first time in Theognis regarding the shape of Delos’ lake⁹², and it appears for a second time in Herodotus, in reference to the same lake at that time called “*trochoeides*”⁹³, but characterized by an oval and non-circular shape indeed. Thus, this term had to be well known to a Greek of the 6th and 5th century B.C., and, above all, it did not necessarily have to evoke a perfectly circular form.

Whatever the case, one should remember that “*trochoeides*” does not simply mean circular, but “wheel-shaped”⁹⁴.

That the wheel is (or could be) circular is then another matter. Athens is not a circular *polis*, meaning “*polis*” as a synonym of “urban center”, but Athens is a wheel-shaped *polis*, meaning “*polis*” as “the combination of the urban center and its *chora*”. It is quite obvious, in fact, that the Pythia exhorts the Athenians to evacuate not only the area of the *agora* and the Acropolis but the whole of Athens (and undoubtedly Attica too)! Unlike to us moderns, using “wheel” to indicate one’s own city must have been something rather normal for the Athenians of the 5th century B.C. Of course, we should not underestimate that the oracle’s style could make use of characteristic expressions, apt to identify places with well-known features. Maybe, it is no coincidence that the first Athenian coin series, the so-called *Wappenmünzen*, presents, among others, several pieces – dated to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. – that bear the motif of the wheel⁹⁵.

But why the wheel itself? The answer might be anything but simple. However, I believe that the term “*trochoeides*” is more understandable if we read it in combination with a Pindaric dithyramb quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Pindar’s fragment 75 SM). The quote opens with:

Δεῦτ’ ἐν χορόν, Ὀλύμπιοι,
ἐπὶ τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν, θεοί,
πολύβατον οἷ τ’ ἄσπεος ὀμφαλὸν θυθέντ’
ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθῆναις
οἰχνεῖτε πανδαίδαλον τ’ εὐκλέ’ ἀγοράν.

89 Cf. already Dörpfeld 1929, 10: “die radförmige Gestalt der Stadt in vorpersischer Zeit wird von niemandem bezweifelt”.

90 Hdt. 7, 140, 2.

91 Capozzoli 2004, 6 f.

92 Thgn. 1, 5.

93 Hdt. 2, 170, 7.

94 Cfr. Caliò 2012, 49: “Per il resto le notizie sulla forma urbana di Atene si limitano al testo di Erodoto che riporta i versi dell’oracolo delico prima della battaglia di Salamina, in cui Atene è chiamata polis trochoeides, città a forma di ruota. Quale sia il senso dell’oracolo non è ancora accertato, ma

il riferimento è chiaramente concettuale e forse può giocare su un equivoco, quello della forma fisica, che tuttavia per la città di VI secolo non è riconoscibile, e quello della struttura sociale e politica, della centralità della polis all’interno di un regime di isonomia.”

95 Cf. Davis 2015. See also van der Vin 2000.

The fragment is very rich in topographical insights⁹⁶ – among them the mention of an *agora* – but here I limit myself to putting the emphasis on the fact that in Athens there was a “τ᾽ ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν”, i. e. a “navel” of the urban center. Despite certain doubts, it is very likely that Pindar might be referring to the altar of the Twelve Gods, which in 522/1 B.C. became the central point of the city from which distances from the city were measured⁹⁷. From this point of view, the altar may be seen as a “navel”, a “*point zéro*”⁹⁸, from which a series of roads would allow the measurements indeed. Without stressing too much the interpretation of the Pindaric text, it seems to me that the image of the “*omphalos*” and the image of the wheel overlap. The wheel, as mentioned, refers to the *polis* as a whole, while the “*omphalos*” is just a part of this wheel, the central point located in the urban center, from which its spokes branch off. In short, I think that behind the term “*trochoeides*” we should see not a trivial reference to the pre-Themistokleian walls nor even to the shape of pre-Classical Athens, but rather the perception of the *polis* as a whole.

In conclusion, I do not think we will grasp the shape and chronology of the pre-Themistokleian walls any time soon, nor we will be able to determine the family (if ever there was only one in the first place) of the Areopagus cemetery. Nevertheless, the discussion is never useless when it allows us to reflect – as I have tried to do – on the relationships established at multiple levels by the formation

and the urban and architectural evolution of the pre-Classical city. Relationships between the space of the living, the space of the dead and the space of the gods. Relationships between streets, graves and gates (and fortifications of course). Relationships between men and their city because, as Nikias said after the Athenian expedition in Sicily⁹⁹: “Men make the city and not walls or ships without men in them”. It is perhaps from this angle that we should intend the “*trochoeides*” Athens in the Delphic oracle: an organism based on a system of close relationships just like the spokes of a wheel¹⁰⁰.

99 Thuk. 7, 77, 7.

100 In order to ensure innovative thinking about pre-Classic Athens, it is necessary to further develop the work on the Athenian urban demes inaugurated already at the end of the 19th century by B. Haussoullier (Haussoullier 1884), and masterfully resumed by R. Osborne (Osborne 1985; most recently in Osborne 2007) and D. Whitehead (Whitehead 1986). It will be necessary to understand how the organism of Athens worked beyond its physical limits (present or reconstructed), whose relationship with the concept of *polis* is far from clear. But to this matter, I will return in a forthcoming study.

96 See now the very interesting discussion in Neer – Kurke 2014.

97 Thuk. 6, 54, 6.

98 Chatzivasiliou 2011.

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