

The City of Athens: Space, Symbol, Structure

TONIO HÖLSCHER

INTRODUCTION

THE CITY is the most important focus of cultural life.¹ As such it serves three purposes.² First, it satisfies all basic needs of communal and personal life. Second, it gives this life an explicit meaning. Third, it shapes and mirrors the general structure of life. These three aspects are inseparable and must be viewed in relation to each other: the city is simultaneously a natural space and a structure that provides meaning, an essential condition and an all-embracing symbol, a total environment and a monument of society.

On the one hand, the city provides the necessities: a place to live, shelter from weather, streets for communication and transportation, food supply, access to fields and pastures, market places, water supply through wells or pipelines, removal of refuse and garbage, places for handicrafts in houses and workshops, supply and transport of materials, and protection from outside enemies. These functions mark the city as a living-space: they are the subject of descriptive sociology.

On the other hand, there are the institutions and monuments that the community uses in reminding itself of its own identity: shrines and temples of

1. Throughout this chapter, I use the following abbreviations: Boersma, *Building Policy* = J. S. Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.* (Groningen, 1970); Camp, *Agora* = J. M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora* (London, 1986); Judeich, *Athen* = W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft III.2.2 (2nd ed., Munich, 1931); Kolb, *Agora* = F. Kolb, *Agora und Theater, Volks- und Festversammlung* (Berlin, 1981); Kolb, "Peisistratiden" = F. Kolb, "Die Bau-, Kultur- und Religionspolitik der Peisistratiden," in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 92 (1977) 99ff.; Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora* = H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens*. The Athenian Agora XIV (Princeton, 1972); Travlos, *PD* = J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (Tübingen and New York, 1971).

For bibliographical references on individual monuments and buildings I mostly give only Travlos, *PD*, where earlier literature is listed; more recently, see the summary in R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton, 1978). Important is the following new edition with commentary of Pausanias' description of Attica: *Pausania, Guida della Grecia I: L'Attica*, ed. D. Musti and L. Beschi (1982).

Maps illustrating the topography of Athens in the archaic age and Agora in the 4th century B.C. are at the end of this chapter.

2. For similar criteria concerning a classification of the functions of the city, cf. also U. Eco, *La struttura assente* (Milan, 1968) Chapter C.

various gods that provide the city and its individual parts with a kind of religious topography and thereby contribute to an ideological interpretation; public buildings and squares that reflect power structures; monuments at central points that express the contents of the community's collective self-consciousness, keep its past alive, and help to shape the present norms of behavior. Through all these elements, the life of the community is meaningfully formed in rituals and public actions. This is the city as a symbol of life. These aspects of the city are the subject of sociological semiotics.

Finally, the total structuring of social life, as it is reflected in architectural forms, can be approached by questions such as whether the citizens live in large or small families, in common or separated rooms; whether there are large or small differences in the way the aristocracy and the commoners, the rich and the poor live, and whether they live in mixed or separated neighborhoods; what role meeting places play, whether one meets often and lives an active social life or leads a solitary existence with little communication; and if people meet, whether they do so at political, religious or entertainment events, whether in sanctuaries, in the agora, in the gymnasium and palaestra, in the theater or in the baths, and whether they meet in places that serve as catalysts for the whole community or only for single groups. These categories define the city as a structure; these aspects of the city are the subject of structural sociology.

When focusing on these classifying criteria, the questions of whether, when, and how a settlement can be defined as a city become secondary.³ This is not to say that such a discussion would not produce enlightening insights, but it entails the danger of reducing the problem to the simple alternative between city and "non-city" and of ignoring the plurality and complexity of the phenomena involved. In the following analysis, which is but a first attempt, I will use the notion of city in neutral terms. It is my goal to sketch the basic structures of settlement forms in the context of community life during the different periods of the history and development of Athens. Thus for my present purposes the classification as a "city" is of secondary importance.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE EARLY ARCHAIC CITY: MONUMENTS OF MYTH

In Athens as in other places, the basic precondition for the emergence of the polis was the destruction — or at least disappearance — of earlier compact power structures. The preceding form of city, in the Mycenaean civilization, was, like all other cities of that period, centrally organized and hierarchically focused on the king.⁴ In Max Weber's terms, we are dealing with a

3. For more information on this problem, concerning both Greek and Roman antiquity, see F. Kolb, *Die Stadt im Altertum* (Munich, 1984) 11ff.

4. For Athens in the Mycenaean period, see I. Travlos, *Poleodomiki exelixis ton Athenon* (Athens, 1960) 20ff.; I. Thallon Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens* (London, 1953) 8ff.; Sp. Iakovidis, *He mykenaike akropolis ton Athenon* (Athens, 1962); id., *Late Helladic Citadels*

"Fürstenstadt" with a differentiated economy of crafts and trade that was concentrated primarily around and on the king's palace. The palace, as the center from which power, religion, and politics emanated, was also the most important object of politics and administration. The acropolis where the palace was located was the only fortress; it was both a bastion of rule and power and a shelter for the community. The populace lived in the surrounding countryside, probably in loose settlements; some concentration is found in the southeast in the area of the later Olympieion, which fits the information given by Thucydides on the location of old Athens before the time of Theseus.⁵ Those settlements probably had no close connection among one another; unity was established through the common orientation toward the palace.

At various sites in the area covered by the later city, religious life is attested through cults that must date back to Mycenaean times. Two types of cults are characteristic: on the one hand, the old natural landmarks in the area of the Olympieion that were sacred to Ge Olympia, Kronos and Rhea, Zeus and Eileithyia;⁶ on the other hand, the cults of the necropolis in the area of the agora that, according to their particular characteristics, were located at the fringes of the residential area.⁷ Both these groups of sacred places clearly reveal their subordination to the center, that is, the palace. There probably was neither opportunity nor space for a "public" life which would have brought together the people independently of their ruler. The image of the city densely clustered beneath the king's fortress must have clearly impressed upon everybody the hierarchical nature of their relationships.

Although Athens seems to have escaped capture and destruction, here as in other places the end of the Mycenaean period around 1200 B.C. marked the end of the traditional rule of kings and of a culture focused on the palace. The subsequent centuries, in which the archaic polis emerged, are characterized by an increase in population paralleled by a decrease of central power. There is no doubt that Athens at that time, in accordance with Weber's categories, changed economically from a type of "Fürstenstadt" to that of a "Marktstadt" whose inhabitants bought what they needed and earned their living in a market system independent of the ruler. The changes of this period undoubtedly occurred in a process of many small steps over a long period of time. It is not possible to fix individual stages of this development chronologically; the

on Mainland Greece (Leiden, 1983) 73ff.; S. Immerwahr, *The Athenian Agora XIII: The Neolithic and Bronze Ages* (Princeton, 1971) 147ff. On the relationship between Athens and other places in Attica in the Mycenaean period, see S. Diamant, "Theseus and the Unification of Attica," in *Studies E. Vanderpool, Hesperia Suppl. 19* (Princeton, 1982) 41ff. Generally on the *wanax*-ideology and palace culture, see K. Kilian, "The Emergence of *wanax* Ideology in the Mycenaean Palaces," *Oxford J. of Archeol.* 7 (1988) 291ff. (citing earlier literature).

5. Thuc. 2.15. Travlos, *PD* 289ff. (listing earlier literature).

6. As described by Pausanias 1.18.5 and 7. For attempts at localizing these cults, see R. E. Wycherley, "Pausanias at Athens, II: A Commentary on Book I, Chapters 18-19," *Greek, Roman, and Byzant. St.* 4 (1963) 157ff.; id., *Stones of Athens* (n. 1) 164ff.; Travlos, *PD* 290, 325.

7. The sanctuary of Dionysos Lenaios (with *eschara* and black poplar), Leokoreion, and others: see Kolb, *Agora* 29ff.

phenomena can only be blended together into a model that can serve as an "ideal type." Yet the characteristic shape of the new political and urban structures most likely was developed relatively late, that is, in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.⁸

On the one side, first the power of the rulers was strongly reduced until finally they were replaced by a plurality of magistrates whose term of office was restricted, eventually to one year. On the other side, the city developed new political strength. Beginning already in the eleventh century, an increase in population, due perhaps to an influx of foreigners, and the need for new settlement space become apparent in the spreading of dwellings across the area of the later agora and in the establishment of a new necropolis farther out at the Eridanos river. In general, people seem to have lived in loose and scattered groups of settlements in the wider vicinity of the acropolis.⁹ Probably in the eighth century, all of Attica was united in a process that as *synoikismos* received a quasi-mythical interpretation.¹⁰ Athens became the capital of a territorial state which, except for Sparta, was larger than any other Greek polis. In that period the city was probably fortified by a new wall, which, although not comparable with the enormous Mycenaean fortifications on the acropolis, enclosed a much larger area.¹¹ The economic and cultural prosperity is mirrored in the highly sophisticated and widely influential pottery production. The self-confidence of the leading aristocracy expressed itself in the most luxurious sepulchral monuments typical of that time. What were the consequences of all this for the appearance of the city?

The weakened kingship could not hold its position on the acropolis. The palace must have been given up; some sub-Mycenaean tombs might indicate a short period of settlement, but after that for two centuries the citadel yields no finds;¹² only the cult of the palace goddess seems to have been continued in one form or another (see below). This change is reflected in myth as well: while the old kings, following the example of Erechtheus, are supposed to have lived on the acropolis, Aegeus' house is said to have been below near the Olympieion, in the area close to the Ilissos river, which formed the heart of the earliest urban settlement.¹³ This location, which cannot have been fundamentally different from that of the residences of the aristocratic families, is

8. For an interesting, though in many respects hypothetical attempt at reconstruction, see I. Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society: The Rise of the Greek City-State* (Cambridge, 1987), esp. 171ff.

9. Thompson-Wyherley, *Agora* 9, 16f. Cf. the plan of Athens' necropoleis in the 9th to 8th centuries in A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980) 29 fig. 5.

10. On Theseus' *synoikismos*, see Diamant (n. 4) 38ff.; Snodgrass (n. 9) 34f.

11. Cf. E. Vanderpool, "The Date of the Pre-Persian City Wall of Athens," in *Phoros: Tribute to B. D. Meritt* (Locust Valley, New York, 1974) 156ff. (terminus post quem non: second quarter of the sixth century); H. Lauter and H. Lauter-Bufe, "Die vorthemistokleische Stadtmauer Athens nach philologischen und archäologischen Quellen," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1975) 1ff.; F. E. Winter, "Sepultura intra urbem and the Pre-Persian Walls of Athens," in *Studies Vanderpool* (n. 4) 199ff.

12. Immerwahr (n. 4) 154.

symptomatic of the king's position as a *primus inter pares*, as it can be discerned in the Homeric epics. The value of such mythical traditions might appear questionable but a similar development can be observed in Eleusis: around the middle of the eighth century, the old Mycenaean seat of the sovereign, in an elevated location, was transformed into a temple; since then, the family of the ruler and priest lived at the bottom of the hill.¹⁴

The shift from the life-long rule of a king — no matter how weakened his position was — to the colleges of magistrates with shorter tenure must have stimulated the formation of new centers. As a result — at least in the long run — the identity, typical of the monarchy, of personal residence and seat of office or government could not be maintained. The establishment of permanent seats of office doubtless enforced the awareness of, and the confidence in, impersonal institutions and also quickly provided them with a strong sense of tradition. At the same time, clear consequences concerning spatial arrangements were drawn from the distribution of royal power among different officials: each received his own seat. We know of a Prytaneion, the seat of the Archon Eponymos, which must have had a particularly centralizing effect on the new polis community because it was the place of the municipal hearth; we also know that the Archon Basileus, the Archon Polemarchos, the Thesmothetai as well as the Phylobasileis had their own buildings.¹⁵ New discoveries indicate that the Prytaneion must have been situated east of the acropolis,¹⁶ outside the old center (around the Olympieion) which probably expanded northwards at that time; the other officials' buildings most likely were in the same general area without, however, forming an architectural and spatial unity. Thus the magistrates' powers were not even cumulated topographically.

Such division of political power meant, however, that in early archaic times the city did not have a strong political center. This corresponds to the site of the agora. The location of the place where people met before the later agora was established cannot be identified archaeologically, and can be deduced from the evidence of written sources only with great uncertainty.¹⁷ Yet all attempts to locate an early agora in the "old city" in the southeast or near the magistrates' buildings are pure speculations without any support in the texts

13. Plutarch, *Theseus* 12; Travlos, *PD* 83.

14. J. Travlos, "Athens and Eleusis in the 8th and 7th Century B.C.," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 61 (1983) 323ff.; id., *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika* (Tübingen, 1988) 91f.

15. Judeich, *Athen* 297ff. (with sources). On the location of the Prytaneion and the other early officials' buildings, see S. G. Miller, *The Prytaneion* (Berkeley, 1978) 38ff. On the significance of the communal fire and hearth and of Hestia for family and state, see J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs* (3rd ed., Paris, 1985) 153ff. On the Boukoleion (of the Archon Basileus) see S. G. Miller, "Old Discoveries from Old Athens," *Hesperia* 39 (1970) 227ff.

16. G. Dontas, "The True Aglaurion," *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 48ff., whose conclusions confirm the location suggested by Miller (n. 15).

17. The only source on the "old agora" is Apollodorus in Harpokration s.v. Pandemos Aphrodite, *FGrHist* 224 F113.

or archaeological evidence.¹⁸ On the contrary, the site of the meeting place must have been precisely in the opposite direction, away from the heart of the settlement: according to an uncertain source, it was immediately west of the acropolis near the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos;¹⁹ possibly it was even further to the northwest, in the area where the agora is attested from the sixth century.²⁰ The square served numerous purposes: people met for religious celebrations, for political assemblies, perhaps also to muster the army. Politics did not yet dominate, and the agora on its peripheral site was not yet an obvious center of the community's life.

The fact that there was no strong replacement for the palace after the Mycenaean period must have created a vacuum that is hard to imagine. In the times of cultural depression from the eleventh to the ninth century, the lack of a center of communication corresponded to the economic and social reality. Beginning in the eighth century, however, the growth in population, increasing economic prosperity, and the unification of Attica must not only have brought about new tasks for government and administration, but also stimulated new forms of cultural interaction among the citizens.

In this situation it is understandable — actually, difficult to imagine otherwise — that the search for new focal points of communal life centered on religion and the sanctuaries. Everywhere in Greece, panhellenic as well as local shrines experienced an enormous rise in popularity as centers not only of religious but also of economic, political, and social life.²¹ In Athens, as the most obvious symbol of this development, the acropolis was transformed into a citadel of the gods and isolated from the residential areas;²² the same pattern can be observed in that period in other places, too, even on the Capitol in Rome.²³ While previously the old palace goddess had been worshipped in the king's domestic sanctuary, in Homer the mythical hero Erechtheus has become a fellow occupant of the temple of Athena.²⁴ The political power that had collapsed was replaced — in a concrete topographical sense — by religious power. As a consequence, the gods assumed the role of providing the weak-

18. Above all, the attempt of A. N. Oikonomides (*The Two Agoras in Ancient Athens* [Chicago, 1964]) to locate the old agora south of the acropolis must be considered a failure.

19. This is the location that is traditionally assumed; see, for example, R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque* (Paris, 1951) 255ff.; id., *L'urbanisme dans la Grèce antique* (2nd ed., Paris, 1974) 294; R. E. Wycherley, "Archaic Agora," *Phoenix* 20 (1966) 285ff.; Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora* 19; Travlos, *PD* 1f.; J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (New York, 1977) 315.

20. P. Siewert, review of Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora*, in *Gnomon* 49 (1977) 392 n. 58; Kolb, *Agora* 20ff.

21. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece* (n. 9) 49ff.

22. The chronology of this process is unclear. According to the archaeological finds, Mycenaean habitation on the acropolis ended in the twelfth century; after that, the earliest datable testimonia of new life come from the ninth century, apparently from a sanctuary: B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I* (Berlin, 1925) 4ff., 23ff.; J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968) 13, 55, 399.

23. Being an acropolis, the Capitol in Rome was not included in the four regions of Servius Tullius, which only covered the inhabited areas of the city: Livy 1.43.13.

24. *Iliad* 2.546ff.; a slightly different version in *Odyssey* 7.78ff.

ened kingship and the short-term magistracies that succeeded it with much-needed legitimacy.

At the same time, many other sanctuaries must have become focal points of communal life. The center of gravity of the emerging polis at first remained in the south and southeast, toward the Ilissos river — where, apart from “Aegeus’ house,” many old cult sites are known to have existed — but the city must soon have expanded toward the north and northwest, with new sanctuaries and rich necropoleis.²⁵ In the course of time, these sanctuaries increasingly became important meeting places, where the citizens developed new forms of religious and social communion. Initially, the citizens must have experienced their common identity primarily as a religious community.

In this context, it was decisive that, for the first time, the appearance of the city came to express a collective memory. Everybody remembered the “Mycenaean” period as a great past. This memory was tied, on the one hand, to the colossal architecture of past ages, such as the “Pelasgian” fortress walls that could not be equalled by the present; on the other hand, perhaps even more importantly, this memory focused on the sanctuaries which not only served the need of worshipping timeless divine powers but often pointed at events and situations of the mythical past. Thus, for example, the temple of Athena on the acropolis had once been Erechtheus’ palace; the sanctuary of Aglauros occupied the site where she had thrown herself off a cliff after opening the basket that contained little Erichthonios; the cleft near the Olympieion was the opening through which the last remains of the great flood had drained after Deucalion had been saved; and the temple of Apollo Delphinios had just been erected up to the roof by Aegeus when Theseus arrived in Athens.²⁶

It does not matter how much “historical” memory and how much creative “reconstruction” has been preserved in these myths. Rather, what is most crucial is the new consciousness with which the life of the city was shaped: in this way the city received a mythical topography which made the dimension of the past accessible. The structure of this past is no continuous “history” that step by step led from the beginnings to the present; rather, it is the great time of origins, a mythical founding period which is separated from the present by long and quasi-empty centuries.²⁷ Cults, sanctuaries and “monuments” serve as carriers of this mythical memory. The present moves within

25. The site of the Prytaneion provides an indication: see above, at n. 16.

26. Temple of Athena and palace of Erechtheus: see n. 24. Sanctuary of Aglauros: n. 16. Cleft at the Olympieion: Judeich, *Athen* 385. Temple of Apollo Delphinios: *ibid.* 387; Travlos, *PD* 83ff.

27. On this, see Hölscher, “Tradition und Geschichte. Zwei Typen der Vergangenheit am Beispiel der griechischen Kunst,” in J. Assmann and T. Hölscher (eds.), *Kultur und Gedächtnis* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988) 115ff.; K. Raaflaub, “Athenische Geschichte und mündliche Überlieferung,” in J. von Ungern-Sternberg and H. Reimann (eds.), *Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung*. Colloquium Rauricum I (Stuttgart, 1988) 197ff., esp. 208-211 (see also other contributions to this volume, esp. that of J. von Ungern-Sternberg on the early Roman tradition, 237ff.).

this framework, which is totally shaped by the mythical past but filled by contemporary religious rituals. This mythical-religious horizon of life, however, must have been of great importance for shaping the identity of the polis, as it was not a general past of humankind, or even of all the Greeks, that was created here, but a specific past of an individual city. Thus through these sanctuaries and rituals the polis gave itself an individual profile.

Beyond that, however, the existence of such "monuments" is in itself a highly significant historical phenomenon. The community of citizens puts up "signs" which it uses to establish and express its identity. Such signs attest to a state of communal development, in which the community exceeds the simple execution of concrete ways of living by achieving an active awareness of the meaning and structure of communal life. It is certainly not appropriate to connect a new definition of "city" with this development, but there can be no doubt that such transformation of the city into a semantic structure represents a decisive step toward more complex forms of life and settlement.

THE ARCHAIC CITY: MONUMENTS OF NOMOS

It took a long time and required a fundamentally new impulse for the slowly growing and changing settlement to be structured as a whole. This was achieved only in the fully developed aristocratic order of the sixth century B.C. Various circumstances must generally have led to a more conscious shaping of the environment: through trade and colonization people were familiarized with the possibilities of urban planning in the highly developed civilizations of the East; at the same time they became more aware of their own particular ways of life. Moreover, trade extended the financial possibilities, which in turn made it possible to realize new concepts. Finally, the social and political crisis of the seventh and sixth centuries, which brought forth sages and lawgivers as well as ambitious tyrants, must generally have sharpened the idea of public order. In the history of the city of Athens, the periods of Solon and of the Pisistratids belong together; in this respect as well, tyranny proves to be a special form of aristocracy.

Being an old and "organically grown" city, Athens cannot, however, document all the possibilities of archaic city planning. Cities are to a high degree bound to their past. Free planning according to the new principles of the archaic age was only possible in the newly founded colonies.²⁸ There the ability to organize urban space rationally expressed itself in orthogonal street systems. But in some cases, even in older, grown cities, the same tendencies brought about considerable changes in urban structures, particularly concerning public buildings. Athens probably was not the earliest example of this

28. See, in general, F. Castagnoli, *Orthogonal Town Planning in Antiquity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971); E. Greco and M. Torelli, *Storia dell'urbanistica I: Il mondo greco* (Rome, 1983) 149ff.

process, but the changes occurring there are especially marked and more easily understandable in their historical context than anywhere else.

The archaeological evidence surviving from that time does not allow us to observe the conditions of life or the social differentiation of individual houses and of larger districts in Athens. In general, the differences in dwelling forms must have increased: the richer houses probably often possessed dining rooms, a luxury poor people did not enjoy.²⁹ At best, it might be possible to distinguish a social classification in the district of the Kerameikos with its concentration of craftsmen. A series of new public construction projects, including an extensive water pipeline with many well houses in different parts of the city, served the needs of the whole population;³⁰ on the acropolis, votive offerings were dedicated not only by the aristocracy but also by members of the working class.³¹ This was the time when the aristocracy built its sports grounds outside the city, which are the scene of many late archaic vase paintings: at least the academy, maybe the Lykeion as well, seems to have been established by the tyrants already in the sixth century.³² Thus the living spaces of the social classes must partially have become separated.

On the whole, this development introduced into the layout of the city of Athens a strong element of structure and monumentality. Most important was the decision to move the agora into the center of communal life.³³ For centuries, the flat zone northwest of the acropolis had been the site of graves and chthonic sanctuaries, and more recently of increasing numbers of houses and potters' workshops; if it served, in addition, as a meeting place for the assembly, it did so only in the midst of this conglomerate of diverse spheres of life. But after around 600 B.C. no more houses, graves or wells were built in a fairly large area between three important streets; the space was levelled, and a couple of wells were refilled. Up to the middle of the sixth century, the open space was extended, particularly toward the east. This can only have been achieved through considerable expropriation of privately owned land, partly at the expense, and perhaps against the will, of influential families. Thus indeed, this was a measure that reflects not only forceful urban planning but

29. On the general development of the Greek house in the archaic period, see H. Drerup, "Prostashaus und Pastashaus," *Marburger Winkelmannsprogramm* (1967) 6ff.; C. Krause, "Grundformen des Griechischen Palasthauses," *Archäol. Anz.* (1977) 164ff.

30. Cf. J. M. Camp, *The Water Supply of Ancient Athens from 3000 to 86 B.C.* (Princeton, 1977) 62ff.; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, "Kallirrhoe und Enneakrunos," *Jahrb. des Deutschen Archäol. Inst.* 101 (1986) 55ff.

31. A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge, 1949) 464f.

32. See J. Delorme, *Gymnasion* (Paris, 1960) 36ff. Confirmation is found in the rapid increase of palaestra scenes on late archaic vases; for a preliminary study, see A. Bruckner, *Palästradarstellungen auf frührotfigurigen attischen Vasen* (Basel, 1954).

33. R. Martin, *Recherches* (n. 19) 261ff.; Boersma, *Building Policy* 15ff.; Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora* 19ff.; Kolb, "Peisistratiden" 106ff.; T. L. Shear, Jr., "Tyrants and Buildings in Archaic Athens," in *Athens Comes of Age: From Solon to Salamis* (Princeton, 1978) 4ff.; Camp, *Agora* 37ff.; Th. Lorenz, in *Perspektiven der Philosophie. Neues Jahrbuch* 13 (1987) 395f.; H. von Steuben, "Die Agora des Kleisthenes — Zeugnis eines radikalen Wandels?" in W. Schuller, W. Hoepfner and E.L. Schwandner (eds.), *Demokratie und Architektur* (Munich, 1989) 81-87.

also the precedence of central institutions over particular interests. The intention obviously was to give an unrestricted place of public character both to the assembly and to the trade that was increasing rapidly.

Equally, it must have been the result of conscious planning that other political institutions were concentrated there. The first public building seems to have been erected in the second quarter of the sixth century at the site of the later Bouleuterion (although it remains unlikely that this was the meeting house of the archaic *boule*).³⁴ Soon thereafter, a building was added to the south that has the characteristics of a representative house with a central court and two porticos. Its interpretation as the palace of the Pisistratids, though uncertain, is supported by the similar location and structure of the Regia at the forum in Rome, which was a relic of the old royal palace.³⁵ Further to the north, the Stoa Basileios, that is, a seat of office of the Archon Basileus, has been identified beyond any doubt; in this case, however, chronology is still controversial, the proposed dates ranging from the middle of the sixth century to after 480 B.C.³⁶ If the early date were true, this would be highly significant for the character of the archaic agora. One has to keep in mind that this most traditional of all Athenian offices since the earliest times had its building, the Boukoleion, in the diametrically opposite part of Athens. Usually such official buildings remain firmly established at their old sites, and in this particular case the traditional Boukoleion continued to be used for some ancient religious purposes. Taking all this into account, one can imagine the amount of conscious planning that was necessary to achieve the construction of a new building for this official at the agora.

The new concept of the agora as the heart of communal life was reinforced by the establishment of new cults that corresponded to that concept. An archaic sanctuary, which must have already been dedicated to Zeus, is situated underneath the later Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios.³⁷ Next to it is the temple of Apollo Patroos, that is, the god of the archaic aristocratic family groups.³⁸ The old religious stratum of the necropolis with its cults of chthonic gods and

34. Thompson-Wyherley, *Agora* 25ff. The archaic *boule* probably met not here, as has often been assumed, but on the areopagus: Judeich, *Athen* 299f. Or else, one might think of the Thesmotheteion where Solon brought together the archons who had so far used separated buildings: Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 3.5.

35. Thompson-Wyherley, *Agora* 27f. Interpretation as palace of the tyrants: Boersma, *Building Policy* 16f., with support by Camp, *Agora* 44f. Kolb, "Peisistratiden" 104ff., follows the traditional opinion in placing the mansion of the Pisistratids on the acropolis. For a comparison with the Regia in Rome, see C. Ampolo, "Analogie e rapporti fra Atene e Roma arcaica. Osservazioni sulla Regia, sul Rex Sacrorum e sul Culto di Vesta," *La parola del passato* 26 (1971) 443ff., who, however, interprets the Athenian building as the Prytaneion, which is hardly tenable.

36. T. L. Shear, "The Athenian Agora. Excavations of 1970," *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 243ff.; id., "The Athenian Agora. Excavations of 1973-1974," *ibid.* 44 (1975) 365ff.; Thompson-Wyherley, *Agora* 83ff.; Kolb, "Peisistratiden" 107f.; G. Kuhn, "Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Säulenhalle in archaischer und klassischer Zeit," *Jahrb. des Deutsch. Archäol. Inst.* 100 (1985) 200ff.; Camp, *Agora* 53ff., 100f.; von Steuben (n. 33) 82f.

37. Thompson-Wyherley, *Agora* 96.

38. Thompson-Wyherley, *Agora* 136f.; Camp, *Agora* 161.

heroes thus was overlaid by a newer stratum of state religion. In those sanctuaries the city consciously articulated its character as a political organism and celebrated it in public cults.

The central position of the agora is most strongly symbolized by the Altar of the Twelve Gods built by the tyrant's son, Pisistratus the Younger, in 522/21 B.C.³⁹ The fact that all Olympian gods were thus united in one place attests to the highest possible religious concentration. The distances to all villages in Attica were measured from this spot; the erection of the famous Herms halfway between Athens and the other settlements in the country — a measure introduced by the tyrant's brother, Hipparchus, as a deliberate step toward political centralization — did not refer to the acropolis but to this altar on the agora.⁴⁰

It is generally characteristic of this period that the agora in its function as the public center remained open toward the surrounding city. Deep into the classical period, craftsmen and traders continued to push forward almost uncontrollably into the periphery of the square.⁴¹ All aspects of the city's life could be integrated there. At the same time, it is typical of the early period of Athens that the central sanctuary and the agora were separated. It is not just the specific history of Athens with its "Mycenaean" acropolis that provides an explanation of this bipolarity of the religious and forensic centers, for the same phenomenon appears in the newly founded cities of the archaic period (see below). Only much later, when politics increasingly became an autonomous and self-contained sphere of life, was the agora marked off step by step from the outside and shaped into a representational center of the state that was connected with a central state cult.⁴²

This development did not occur in Athens alone. Similar structures are generally characteristic of cities of that period,⁴³ including archaic Rome.⁴⁴ In Athens as well as in Rome the city originated on a hill, the acropolis and the Palatine respectively, and expanded to a flatter hill, the Olympieion and Esquiline. Just as in Athens the first kings had their palace on the citadel and Aegeus later was said to have lived below at their feet, so in Rome Romulus' hut on the Palatine was succeeded by the palaces of later rulers further down on the Velia.⁴⁵ In both places, the most important necropolis that was more

39. Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora* 129ff.

40. H. Wrede, *Die antike Herme* (Mainz, 1985) 5ff.

41. Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora* 170ff.

42. Cf. the *horoi* (boundary markers) of Cleisthenes: Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora* 117ff. On the Hephaisteion, see below at n. 81.

43. For example, Metapontum: D. Mertens and A. De Siena, "Metaponto. Il teatro-ekklesiasterion," *Bollettino d'arte* 67.16 (1982) 23ff.; id., "Das Theater-Ekklesiasterion auf der Agora von Metapont," *Architectura* 12 (1982) 102ff. For a comparison with Athens and Rome, see F. Coarelli, *Il foro romano II: Periodo repubblicano e augusteo* (Rome, 1985) 15ff.

44. On the development of archaic Rome, especially of the forum, see recently C. Ampolo, "Die endgültige Stadtwerdung Roms im 7. und 6. Jh.: Wann entstand die *civitas*?" in D. Papenfuss and V. M. Strocka (eds.), *Palast und Hütte: Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum* (Mainz, 1982) 319ff.; F. Coarelli, *Il foro romano I: Periodo arcaico* (Rome, 1983).

45. On the kings' palaces in Rome, see Coarelli, *ibid.* 56ff.

and more interspersed with dwellings was situated at the edge of the settlement in a depression toward the northwest. In early times, assemblies were held out there, in both cases close to sanctuaries: here that of Dionysos Lenaios, and there that of Vulcanus.⁴⁶ In Athens as in Rome, since around 600 B.C. it was prohibited to use this area for burials and houses, and a big square was laid out instead. In both places, its usability was improved by extensive and costly sewage systems: in Rome, on account of the marshy nature of the area, this was achieved very early by means of the Cloaca maxima built by the elder Tarquinius; in Athens, the same need was met by constructing a great drain on the west side which dates from the time of the Pisistratids. The old assembly site with its sanctuary was preserved as a marked-off part of this square: in Athens the so-called Orchestra, in Rome the Comitium. Later on, the memory of the old necropolis found expression in shrines for heroes that were tied to the founding phase of the city: in Athens the Leokorion, in Rome Romulus' grave underneath the Lapis niger.⁴⁷

In both cities, the genesis of the square makes it understandable that the public buildings of the preceding, early archaic period were not directly situated at the agora or at the forum: in Athens, this applies to Aegeus' palace, the buildings of the early officials and, in particular, the Prytaneion with the public hearth; in Rome to the royal palaces, the temples of the Lares and Penates and, in principle, also the Vesta temple with the sacred fire.⁴⁸ Only after the construction of the new squares were new public buildings concentrated here: while in Athens the Archon Basileus probably received a new stoa in the agora at that time (and the tyrants possibly established their "palace" there, too), in Rome the part of the royal palace that was oriented toward the forum gained special significance and was kept after the fall of the monarchy to serve as the official building of the Rex sacrorum and the Pontifex maximus. In Athens it is quite controversial where the archaic council met; whether this happened on the areopagus or, less probably, at the site of the later Bouleuterion, a spatial relation to the site of the assembly must have been evident. In Rome, this connection was firmly established by the Curia Hostilia at the Comitium. And similar to the agora in Athens, cults of an explicitly political character, such as those of Saturn and Castor, were concentrated in the forum in Rome, especially at the beginning of the Republic. Finally, in both cities the main temple and the forensic center were separated. While in Athens this was the result of a historical constellation — that is, the traditional location of the sanctuary of Athena on the acropolis — in Rome such bipolarity was intentional because the cult and the temple of the Capitoline Triad were planned at the same time as, if not even — and more probably — at a later date than the forum. In both Athens and Rome, the square and the

46. On the latter, see Coarelli, *ibid.* 161ff.

47. Lapis niger: Coarelli, *ibid.* 189ff.

48. Even in later times, the temple of Vesta had its entrance on the side away from the forum; this entrance was connected with the Domus publica that, according to its function, did not belong to the forum.

temple on the citadel were ritually connected by a processional road, the Dromos of the Panathenaea and the Via sacra; as urban units, however, they remained independent of each other.

Like the Roman forum, the Athenian agora was certainly not "passively" incorporated into the expanding city but actively and intentionally founded according to a new concept. The city was given a new center. In contrast, for example, with the Mycenaean palace, it was the concrete function of this center to bring the citizens together. In archaic times, there still were various reasons for such gatherings, including religion, politics, and trade. Among these purposes, however, politics became increasingly important.

This development went hand in hand with the emergence of a new political self-confidence, which was primarily expressed, in the sixth century, by transforming the acropolis into a representative sanctuary of the newly shaped polis. As the first and most important step, the citizens erected for their city goddess, Athena, the first monumental temple, which probably succeeded a number of smaller structures.⁴⁹ One must be aware that at that time such great building projects required communal decisions, financial expenditures, and collective organization on a completely new scale. All this attests to a stronger spirit of communal unity and cohesion which, at the same time, was displayed in a monumental ritual, that is, the Panathenaea (or festival of all Athenians) that was newly founded in 566 B.C. In order to express theologically the new character of the goddess, her sanctuary and her festival, the old sanctuary on the entrance bastion of the acropolis was at about the same time transformed into a cult place of Athena Nike.⁵⁰ The extent to which these events relied on the equally focused consciousness of many individuals can be observed in the emergence of private representation as reflected in monumental grave statues since the end of the seventh century, and in the dedications on the acropolis since the time the first great temple was constructed.

Likewise, the firm unification of Attica was made visible by other new sanctuaries in the capital: the cult of Artemis of Brauron was established on

49. Travlos, *PD* 143ff.; T. L. Shear, "Tyrants and Buildings" (n. 33) 2ff.; I. Beyer, "Die Datierung der grossen Reliefgiebel des alten Athenatempels der Akropolis," *Archäolog. Anz.* (1977) 44ff. F. Preisshofen, "Zur Topographie der Akropolis," *ibid.* 74ff., has demonstrated that this temple was not the Hekatompedon. Beyer's date certainly is too high. Conversely, for historical reasons it is impossible to connect this temple with Pisistratus: if its construction is connected with the reorganization of the Panathenaea in 566 B.C., it must have been started earlier; for as was the case with the the classical temple of Zeus in Olympia, the festival most probably was reorganized at the time of the dedication. Even if the temple was begun only in 566 (which for reasons of style seems rather unlikely) this date precedes Pisistratus' rise to power in 561 B.C. Moreover, the renewal of the temple by Pisistratus' sons makes little sense if they chose for this project of reconstruction none other than the most beautiful temple erected by their father. Generally it seems a typical scholars' prejudice to think that great buildings could only have been erected by tyrants; against this assumption, see T.E. Kalpaxis, *Hemiteles* (Mainz, 1986) 26ff., and below at n. 54.

50. Travlos, *PD* 148ff.; I. S. Mark, *Nike and the Cult of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis* (New York, 1979).

the acropolis, that of Demeter of Eleusis on the northwest slope, and that of Dionysos of Eleutherai at the foot of the citadel in the south.⁵¹ Several of these cults — those of Artemis Brauronia and of Dionysos Eleuthereus, as well as the sanctuary of Neleus that was probably established at the same time⁵² — are associated with the family of the Pisistratids and, therefore, emphasize the role of the tyrants as unifying and centralizing factors. The Altar of the Twelve Gods, representing the official starting point of all roads in Attica, was only the last step in this development. The ideological counterpoint of this altar was the Olympieion, the gigantic temple for Olympian Zeus who, like Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome, as the highest religious authority was to protect the hierarchical political structure established by the tyrants.⁵³

This process of providing structure, monumentality, and theological meaning was, on the whole, an achievement of the archaic aristocracy. The decisive changes on the acropolis, the agora, and at the Olympieion were all initiated in the early sixth century.⁵⁴ The tyranny, which has often been credited with giving the decisive impulses, mostly enhanced developments that had already begun before. Thus in this respect, too, the tyranny proves to be a variant of archaic aristocracy.⁵⁵

As a result, the city was given both a functional and a theological topography. The city was divided in a more conscious way into the public space of the agora, the central sanctuary of the acropolis, the residential districts of the citizens, and the sporting grounds of the aristocracy as well as the necropoleis outside the gates. This structure was defined by specific sanctuaries whose cults celebrated in religious rituals the distinct character of the different places. The organically grown and, therefore, traditional order of life appeared to be shaped through monuments, ritualized, and thus sanctioned.

THE DEMOCRATIC CITY: MONUMENTS OF POLITICS

It is difficult to recognize to what extent the political change toward democracy influenced and transformed the housing and living conditions in Athens. Only a few main features are evident. The citizens who had been united in a

51. Artemis Brauronia: Travlos, *PD* 124f.; S. Angiolillo, "Pisistrato e Artemide Brauronia," *Parola del pass.* 38 (1983) 351ff. — Demeter of Eleusis: Travlos, *PD* 198ff. — Dionysos Eleuthereus: Kolb, "Peisistratiden" 124ff.

52. Travlos, *PD* 332ff.; H. A. Shapiro, "Painting, Politics, and Genealogy: Peisistratos and the Neleids," in W. G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison, 1983) 94.

53. Travlos, *PD* 402ff.; Kolb, "Peisistratiden" 111f.; Kalpaxis (n. 49) 20ff.

54. The old temple of Athena on the acropolis was certainly built before Pisistratus' rise to power (above, n. 49). The earliest measures on the agora were initiated around 600 B.C. (see above, at n. 33ff.). Even the Olympieion had a monumental early-archaic predecessor that can hardly have been erected, as G. Gruben, *Die Tempel der Griechen* (Munich, 1967) 221, thinks, by Pisistratus; for, as in the case of the old temple of Athena (n. 49), it seems highly unlikely that the sons would have torn down a monumental building put up by their father.

55. Kolb, "Peisistratiden" 99ff. and, in summary, 136ff. See in general also Kalpaxis (n. 49) chapter I. The highly interesting book by H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz, 1989) came to my attention only when this article was already in press.

new way by Cleisthenes were able to experience and express their solidarity when rebuilding their city after the Persian Wars. The immediate construction of the new town wall, in particular, must have mobilized among all ranks of society a sense of forceful communal action and given the city a new symbol of its unity as well as a new demarcation between inside and outside, between the polis of the living and the necropoleis.⁵⁶

The excavations have provided us with only a very fragmentary picture of the residential areas that were inhabited by more than 100,000 people in Pericles' time. Basically, we have information only about the districts of the craftsmen and lower class citizens around the agora and in the southwest.⁵⁷ The houses were of moderate size, covering up to 250 square meters and containing six to eight rooms around a courtyard, sometimes with an upper floor. The living area was differentiated into the men's reception room, the women's chambers and, in addition, rooms with special functions such as bath, kitchen, weaving room, a room with a fireplace, bedrooms and storage rooms. We do not know anything about the houses of the nobility and the rich, who doubtlessly lived in a more luxurious way.⁵⁸ Yet the differences cannot have been too great as no houses are known in all of classical Greece that significantly surpassed this standard. Nor do the written sources say anything about marked social differences in the residential areas.

At any rate, it is certain that even the richest houses did not equal by far the Italian palaces of the later Middle Ages or the Renaissance. As a result of a comparative study we would undoubtedly learn that in classical Greece the culture of domestic life was developed rather poorly. Each culture sets its own specific priorities, be it in domestic or public life, in the importance attributed to religion, career, or leisure activities, and so on. The people of classical Athens developed their identity first of all in public life.

Immediately, new political signs were put in place to mark this new order. The Olympieion, the tyrants' costly prestige project, was abandoned as an unfinished ruin.⁵⁹ The large official building at the agora which dated from the time of the tyrants and probably was their palace, was occupied by the prytaneis, that is, the executive committee of the new council.⁶⁰ On the acropolis a bronze pillar was erected with the names of all those who had been involved in the tyrants' rule.⁶¹

56. Travlos, *PD* 158ff.

57. Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora* 173ff.; H. Lauter and H. Lauter-Bufe, "Wohnhäuser und Stadtviertel des klassischen Athen," *Mitteil. des Deutsch. Archäol. Inst. Athen* 86 (1971) 109ff.; H. Lauter, "Zum Straßenbild in Alt-Athen," *Ant. Welt* 13.4 (1982) 44ff.; W. Höpfner and E.-L. Schwandner, *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland* (Munich, 1986).

58. Judeich, *Athen* 85 (referring to the fourth century but certainly valid for earlier times as well). Thucydides 2.17 is characteristic. I cannot discuss here the ideas concerning the classical "Typenhaus" developed by Höpfner and Schwandner (n. 57); the authors themselves concede that they do not apply to classical Athens.

59. Vitruvius VII praef. 115 seems to me to support this interpretation. A different explanation in Kalpaxis (n. 49) 38f.

60. Boersma, *Building Policy* 17; Camp, *Agora* 95.

61. Judeich, *Athen* 68, 235.

Above all, however, the Athenians immediately began completely to restructure the political spaces of the city in order to comply with the new political needs. Hitherto the agora had been serving a variety of different functions, including cults, competitions of all sorts (*agones*), dramatic performances, jurisdiction, and meetings of the assembly; all these functions had their place in, and were united by, a religiously sanctioned concept of the order of life. As a result of the great changes introduced shortly before 500 B.C., however, all these public activities tended to assume some degree of autonomy. The choral performances at cult celebrations developed into a highly sophisticated theater culture with moral and entertainment value. The athletic and poetic competitions became the symbols of an aristocratic way of life, as praised in vase paintings depicting musical and gymnastic scenes. The political and judicial activities evolved into highly specific domains with their own rules and laws. It is a reflection of such differentiation that these functions finally were separated spatially as well: on the southern slope of the acropolis, a theater with stage building was constructed for the dramatic performances at the festivals of Dionysus, and on the Pnyx a new site was established for the meetings of the assembly.⁶² In both cases the exact date is controversial and difficult to determine: the oldest theater must have been in use at the latest in the early fifth century, while the earliest installation on the Pnyx was probably not built before the middle of the fifth century, that is, around the time when democracy was fully developed under Pericles.

The competitions which were sanctioned by the cult continued to be held on the agora until they were moved to the stadium built by Lycurgus in the fourth century. Above all, except for the assembly, the political and judicial institutions remained on the site. A Bouleuterion was erected for the new Council of the Five Hundred. Having first used the converted archaic "palace" house, the prytaneis then were given an unusual circular building (Tholos). For the jury courts large areas were marked off by walls, most important among them the Heliaia.⁶³ It is controversial whether and to what extent this new building activity was started soon after 508 B.C. or whether it began only after the destruction of Athens by the Persians in 480 B.C.: both the Bouleuterion and Heliaia are sometimes dated around 500, sometimes not before the

62. Theater: Travlos, *PD* 537ff.; E. Pöhlmann, "Die Proedrie des Dionysostheaters im 5. Jahrhundert und das Bühnenspiel der Klassik," *Museum Helveticum* 38 (1981) 129ff.; id., "Bühne und Handlung im Aias des Sophokles," *Antike und Abendland* 32 (1986) 20ff. For a discussion of the date of the transfer, see Kolb, *Agora* 55ff. — Pnyx: Travlos, *PD* 466ff.; Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora* 18ff.; H. A. Thompson, in *Stud. E. Vanderpool* (n. 4) 133ff.; M. H. Hansen, "The Athenian Ecclesia and the Assembly Place on the Pnyx," *Greek, Roman, and Byzant. St.* 23 (1982) 241ff. = id., *The Athenian Ecclesia: A Collection of Articles, 1976-83* (Copenhagen, 1983) 25ff. with addenda on p. 34.

63. Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora* 29ff. (Bouleuterion), 41ff. (Tholos), 52ff. (jury courts, Heliaia); von Steuben (n. 33) 84f. and the contributions by M.H. Hansen and E. Ruschenbusch in the same volume (87f.). On the Bouleuterion, see also G. Kuhn, "Das neue Bouleuterion von Athen," *Archäol. Anz.* (1984) 17ff.; on the Heliaia also Camp, *Agora* 46f. (dating the structure before Cleisthenes, which I consider unlikely). For the possibility of dating the Stoa Basileios to this period, see above, at n. 36.

second quarter of the fifth century, and the Tholos of the prytaneis certainly was not built long before 460 B.C., most likely after the reforms of Ephialtes and Pericles. But without doubt the new *boule* and the expanding institutions of jurisdiction were at once established right at the agora, even if initially in provisional quarters. Accordingly, already in the time of Cleisthenes, the square was marked off from the rest of the city by boundary stones (*horoi*) in order to emphasize its special status.⁶⁴

At that time, the agora must have totally changed its character: it suddenly became a center which continuously attracted from all over Attica hundreds and soon thousands of citizens for political and judicial functions. Activity and officiousness, pomposity and ambition must have been condensed here to a "présence civique" previously unknown.⁶⁵

It was a new kind of political identity that was gradually developed — and immediately given a new kind of symbol: the group of statues of the tyrant slayers on the agora.⁶⁶ Having no concrete religious function, this was the first exclusively political monument in Greek history, put up in memory of the protagonists of the new political order. The location of these statues was significant: they were set at the old Orchestra, that is, in the center of the assembly's ancient site, which probably still was in use at that time.

The succeeding generations continued, each in a different way, to express by such monuments the great themes of their political concepts and self-understanding. The circle around Cimon commissioned the famous cycle of paintings in the "Painted Hall" (Stoa poikile), in which the recent battles of Marathon and Oinoe were linked with the mythical models of the battle against the Amazons and the conquest of Troy, thus producing an almost canonical catalogue of Athenian heroic deeds.⁶⁷ Probably during the time of Pericles' leadership a group of statues representing the heroes of the ten Attic tribes (*phylai*) was put up as a monument of the entire citizen body.⁶⁸ After Athens' recovery from the defeat in the Peloponnesian War, the cityscape was more and more characterized by the genre of honorary statues,⁶⁹ a custom that started with the statue of Conon, celebrated as the city's savior in the early fourth century B.C. Shortly thereafter, having refounded the Delian League,

64. See above, n. 42.

65. C. Meier, "Kleisthenes und die Institutionalisierung der bürgerlichen Gegenwärtigkeit in Athen," in id., *Die Entstehung des Politischen bei den Griechen* (Frankfurt/Main, 1980) 91ff., 129ff. = "Cleisthenes and the Institutionalizing of the Civic Presence in Athens," in *The Greek Discovery of Politics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1990) 53ff., 73ff.

66. St. Brunnsäker, *The Tyrant-Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes*, 2nd ed., (Stockholm 1971); B. Fehr, *Die Tyrannentöter* (Frankfurt am Main, 1984).

67. T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Würzburg, 1973) 50ff. On the stoa, see T. L. Shear, "The Athenian Agora. Excavations of 1980-1982," *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 5ff.

68. Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora* 38ff.; U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen*. *Mitteil. des Deutsch. Archäol. Inst. Athen*, Beiheft 5 (1976) 228ff.

69. Pausanias 1.3.2.

the Athenians gave themselves a new conceptual symbol in the statue of Eirene, the peace goddess, in the center of the agora.⁷⁰

By this genre of political monuments the city was given a political-ideological topography. It was now possible to stress political aspects and set political accents by putting up monuments at all political centers, whether in the agora, the sanctuaries, the Prytaneion, or the theater, and, by doing so, to define the meaning of these sites.

Those monuments were used to keep alive the memory of the great events of the recent past and contemporary history. As a result, the citizens were confronted with a new concept of the historical past. While in archaic times the city's mythical beginnings were kept present by cults forming a static frame of life, now a monumental succession of heroic deeds was displayed by a continuous sequence of memorials celebrating contemporary events. Thus out of a world of static traditions the city moved into a world of dynamic history.⁷¹

Although this time with a certain chronological difference, that is, in the late fourth and early third centuries, once again the forum in Rome reveals a similar development.⁷² This process too was the result of the transformation of the old "organically grown" aristocracy into a new nobility based on wealth, office and achievement — which in turn created a new awareness of politics as a sphere in its own right. As at Athens, this process was reflected in various kinds of political monuments. A series of honorary statues began with C. Maenius and Sp. Camillus in 338 B.C. At the same time, the prows of the fleet of Antium, attached to the speaker's platform (Rostra) on the Comitium, formed the first secular monument set up to celebrate a military victory. And in 263 B.C. the first historical painting, the Tabula Valeria, depicting the Roman victory over Hieron and the Carthaginians, was displayed on the exterior wall of the Curia Hostilia.

As in Athens, in a parallel and closely linked development, the functions of the forum were fundamentally changed and differentiated. Shortly before 310 B.C. the grocers were expelled from the tabernae and obviously assigned different quarters; in the course of time, various specialized markets were created that provided the population with food. The tabernae of the forum, by contrast, were reserved for the money-changers, that is, for the upper levels of economy. In commenting that by this measure "the dignity of the forum was enhanced" (*forensis dignitas crevit*), Varro clearly understood the fundamental significance of this action. Immediately afterwards, the tabernae

70. B. Schlöb-Vierneisel, *Glyptothek München, Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (1979) 255ff.; N. Eschbach, *Statuen auf panathenäischen Preisamphoren des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1986) 58ff. (dating it to 361 B.C., which is not convincing).

71. See Hölscher (n. 27).

72. For Rome's development in the fourth and third centuries B.C., see T. Hölscher, "Die Anfänge römischer Repräsentationskunst," *Mitteil. Deutsch. Archäol. Inst. Rom* 85 (1978) 315ff.; K.-J. Hölkeskamp, *Die Entstehung der Nobilität* (Stuttgart, 1987) 204ff.; see also L. Richardson's contribution to the present volume.

were decorated with a long row of gilded shields from the booty of the Samnite Wars providing the square with a new homogeneous monumentality. Finally, the level of abstract reflection behind this process was revealed in Rome by the temple of Concordia, just as in Athens it found its expression in the altar and statue of Eirene. Thus Rome, too, was given a political topography, more than a century later than Athens, but due to similar political developments.

Many sanctuaries and temples that were founded in Athens during this period reflected this new political character as well. First, the Persian Wars were the most important focal point for sanctuaries expressing the Athenians' new political identity. True, some of these cults stayed within the traditional conceptual framework; this was the case, for example, with the cult of Pan established in a cave on the northwestern slope of the acropolis, in recognition of the god's help during the battle of Marathon.⁷³ Other sanctuaries, however, demonstrate a new political emphasis. The forceful heroic pride prevalent after the Persian Wars received a new focus in the sanctuary of Theseus, which was established by Cimon after the transfer of the hero's bones from the island of Skyros in 475 B.C.⁷⁴ From then on Theseus remained, through all phases of Athenian history, a mythical symbol of the communal identity of the Athenians. This state cult found its private counterpart in the small sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule that Themistocles established for his divine advisor near his house in the city district of Melite. Although this was a personal and individual project, it was very ambitiously adorned with a portrait of its donor, thus openly referring to the politician himself.⁷⁵ There can be little doubt that both sanctuaries were built in rivalry to each other, that of Themistocles probably representing a slightly later egoistic reaction to Cimon's successful action. In listing the sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule among the reasons for Themistocles' exile, Plutarch seems to be aware of the potentially explosive political power of such cults. Thus cultic topography became a political stage.

Even old nature cults could be reinterpreted in a new political sense. Around the middle of the fifth century, a cult of the Demos was added to an old sanctuary of the Nymphs on a rocky hill northwest of the Pnyx:⁷⁶ thereby those nature divinities became divine protectors watching over the well-being of the Athenian demos, which probably began to meet nearby at exactly that time. Later, patriotic consciousness was enhanced primarily by the Peloponnesian War; for example, it was probably in those years that a sanctuary of the ancient heroic couple of Neleus and Basile was complemented by a cult of the mythical king Codrus who, in this area at the Ilissos river, had

73. Travlos, *PD* 417ff.; cf. the cults of Boreas and of Oreithya: Judeich, *Athen* 416.

74. Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora* 124ff.; S. N. Koumanoudis, *Theseos sekos*, *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1976) 194ff.

75. Travlos, *PD* 121ff.

76. U. Kron, "Demos, Pnyx und Nymphenhügel. Zu Demos-Darstellungen und zum ältesten Kultort des Demos in Athen," *Mitteil. Deutsch. Archäol. Inst. Athen* 94 (1979) 49ff.

repelled the Dorians in an act of heroic self-sacrifice and therefore received topical importance as a model of devotion to the community.⁷⁷ Thus the cults, too, in many ways provided the city with a political-ideological topography.

Above all, it was Pericles who, when rebuilding the acropolis, consciously aimed at creating political identity. The Parthenon was not only a cult temple but also a kind of representational treasury and a monumental symbol of the Athenian state.⁷⁸ Accordingly, Phidias' Athena Parthenos not only represented the venerated goddess but in a way also personified Athens itself: the statue's material splendor and rich figurative decoration described the character of the city as a center of political power. In addition, the decision was made to build a new temple of Athena Nike on the old bastion at the entrance of the Mycenaean fortification.⁷⁹ The construction of this temple, in the first decade of the Peloponnesian War, was influenced by recent successes against the Spartan invasions of Attica. Just as from this bastion the invading Dorians were said to have been repelled already in mythical times, so their descendants, the Spartans, were supposed to fare now, in the Peloponnesian War. Soon thereafter, behind this bastion the most important cults and symbolic monuments of Athens' invincible autochthony — the ancient cult statue of Athena, the imprint of Poseidon's trident, the tomb of Cecrops and the palace of Erechtheus, together forming, in some way, the holiest sanctuary of the Athenian state — were united in a precious architectural shrine, that is, the Erechtheion.⁸⁰ Thus through the monuments mythical prehistory and the cults of the gods blended with current politics.

At the same time as the Parthenon a temple was erected above the agora for Hephaestus and Athena; in a strictly axial arrangement, a number of seating steps were laid out below the temple's front in a wide gap between the Bouleuterion and the Stoa of Zeus, thus consciously making this temple the focal point of the entire square.⁸¹ But whereas the Parthenon designated the acropolis as the center of power of the Delian League, the temple of the Athenians' mythical parents, who were also the patron gods of craftsmen, created a powerful link between the agora and the Athenian citizens who at that time based their political identity primarily on the idea of autochthony. This communal ideology was supplemented by the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios that, around 430 B.C., represented the highly topical concept of liberty in a monumental formulation in the very center of the "freest city," that is, as a

77. Travlos, *PD* 332ff.; U. Kron, *Phylenheroen* (n. 68) 222; cf. Shapiro (n. 52). It is not explicitly attested that Codrus was added when the sanctuary was reorganized; but this is a plausible assumption.

78. F. Preisshofen, "Zur Funktion des Parthenon nach den schriftlichen Quellen," in E. Berger (ed.), *Parthenon-Kongress Basel* (Mainz, 1984) 15ff.

79. Travlos, *PD* 148ff. On the date, B. Wesenberg, "Zur Baugeschichte des Niketempels," *Jahrb. Deutsch. Archäol. Inst.* 96 (1981) 28ff. On the decoration, E. Simon, "La decorazione architettonica del tempio di Athena Nike sull' Acropoli di Atene," *Museum Patavinum* 3 (1985) 271ff.

80. Travlos, *PD* 213ff.

81. Thompson-Wyherley, *Agora* 140ff.

cause uniting all citizens.⁸² A bit later, shortly before 420 B.C., the old Altar of the Twelve Gods was rebuilt, but in a significantly different fashion: now it was the central point of asylum in the city, the altar of Eleos (Pity) and hence a symbol of yet another ideological motif of Athens, stressing its role as the protector of all those in Greece who needed help.⁸³

Moreover, statues of gods put up at crucial points were intended to accentuate and interpret the topography of the city in a new way. Many old sanctuaries now received new effigies. At the beginning of the new planning, Pericles marked the entire acropolis as a sacred district by putting up, right in front of the old Propylon, a statue of Hermes Propylaios.⁸⁴ At the same time, the statue of Athena Lemnia, set up inside the entrance and celebrating Pericles' policy of founding military colonies, documented his claim to be the initiator of this central sanctuary.⁸⁵ Shortly thereafter, during the construction of the new propylaea, a statue of Athena Hygieia was erected as a sign of gratitude for the lucky outcome of an accident on the building site.⁸⁶ And after the construction of the new temple of Athena Nike the defensive character of the bastion was emphasized by an apotropaic figure of Hekate Epipyrgidia.⁸⁷ Similar images of deities were put up at other places. Thus at its central points the city was interpreted and defined by statues.

On the whole, these changes in the city strongly induced the citizens to concentrate on politics and on the rituals of state religion. The citizens were brought together and united particularly in matters of politics. By comparison, the votive offerings in the sanctuaries seem to indicate that people in the fifth century paid less attention to private cults that focused on personal and family life. To a large extent, the intensity of political life must have absorbed the citizens' energies.

THE LATE CLASSICAL CITY: MONUMENTS OF CULTURE

The catastrophe of the Peloponnesian War brought all ambitious building projects to a standstill. The temple of Athena Nike and the Erechtheion on the acropolis, and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios on the agora were the last big buildings erected by the polis as monumental political-religious symbols. The subsequent centuries illustrate well what kind of contradictions could develop

82. K. Raaflaub, "Athens 'Ideologie der Macht' und die Freiheit des Tyrannen," in J. M. Balcer, H. J. Gehrke, K. A. Raaflaub, and W. Schuller, *Studien zum Attischen Seebund*, Xenia 8 (Konstanz, 1984) 68ff.; cf. id., *Die Entdeckung der Freiheit*, Vestigia 37 (Munich, 1985) 233ff., especially 245f.

83. Thompson-Wycherley, *Agora* 133ff.

84. D. Willers, "Zum Hermes Propylaios des Alkamenes," *Jahrb. Deutsch. Archäol. Inst.* 82 (1967) 86f.

85. On the setup, T. Hölscher, "Die Aufstellung des Perikles-Bildnisses und ihre Bedeutung," *Würzburger Jahrb. für die Altertumswiss.* 1 (1975) 192f.

86. A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications* (n. 31) 185ff. no. 166.

87. M. D. Fullerton, "The Location and Archaism of the Hekate Epipyrgidia," *Archäol. Anz.* (1986) 669ff.; E. Simon, "Hekate in Athen," *Mitteil. Deutsch. Archäol. Inst. Athen* 100 (1985) 271ff.

in a society that had shaped its civic space in a period of collective energy and power, but later on focused its perspectives more and more on private and personal goals. As was the case after the end of the Mycenaean palace culture, new conditions now required a transformation of the city's structures, while from the preceding era monuments survived that could no longer be filled completely by contemporary life. As in those early days, in this situation there now emerged a new experience of the past and a new state ideology that reassumed an almost mythical character.

The population of Athens and Attica must have shrunk greatly during and after the War, and even at the end of the fourth century the number of adult male citizens was only half of what it had been under Pericles.⁸⁸ Even if the migration of the rural population into the city partly made up for the shrinking population of the capital and, in addition, the share of foreigners and slaves increased, the overall population must have been smaller. Some quarters, particularly in the rocky southwest, were given up.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the standard of living among the rich was rising.⁹⁰ So far, the excavations have only exposed residential quarters of craftsmen, but the written sources tell of increasing luxury in the living style of the noble families. Thus the social differences, as expressed in housing conditions, must have become bigger. Demosthenes' well-known complaint that public building projects were overshadowed by private building activities may well reflect a fairly general attitude.⁹¹

Thus it is not surprising that the most important new sanctuary of that era was not dedicated to the deity of a political state cult but to Asclepius, the god of healing.⁹² The extreme concentration on politics that was characteristic of the fifth century and that, to a large extent, had also focused religious energies on the cults of state gods, was reduced considerably already during the Peloponnesian War and disappeared almost completely thereafter. Cults pertaining to personal religion were revived or newly established everywhere in the city and outside the gates.⁹³ Apart from the central political sites and sanctuaries, the city's life was thus given new focal points. It was no longer the political community of all citizens that ideally met here, but people rather got together in smaller groupings that were characterized by personal motives such as profession, family, illness or fate.

But the great political sanctuaries remained and continued to present a monumental challenge to the present. The Athenians certainly identified with these symbols of great politics, but they did not add anything new; down to

88. M. H. Hansen, *Die athenische Volksversammlung im Zeitalter des Demosthenes*. *Xenia* 13 (1984) 27 = id., *The Athenian Assembly in the Age of Demosthenes* (Oxford, 1987) 19.

89. H. Lauter and H. Lauter-Bufe (n. 57) 116f.

90. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum I* (Leipzig, 1874) 607; Judeich, *Athen* 85.

91. Demosthenes 3.25f.; 13.29f.; 23.207f.

92. Travlos, *PD* 127ff.

93. Thus, for example, the sanctuary of Herakles Pankrates at the Ilissos (Travlos, *PD* 278ff.) or the revival of the sanctuary of Amynos (Travlos, *PD* 76f.).

the time of Augustus, the city itself built no large temples. With an increasing historical distance and detached view of the past, the magnificent buildings of Athens' heyday became objects of veneration and glorification.⁹⁴ The Athenians, so to speak, made themselves comfortable in their own past, used it as a criterion and canon of historical dignity, and justified with it their claim of lasting importance for their city. Under the auspices of an enlightened intellectualism, the cityscape was mythologized for the second time.⁹⁵

In principle, the same also holds true for the only major project of a political building in those times, namely the extension of the assembly site on the Pnyx.⁹⁶ In comparison with the era of Pericles, the seating capacity was doubled, although the number of voters had diminished by half. Even if we take into account the migration of rural population into the city in the fourth century, which must have facilitated participation in the assemblies, the decision to extend the Pnyx cannot have been dictated by real political needs. With its gigantic revetment wall and its huge central flight of stairs, this new Pnyx equally was a monument designed to symbolically illustrate Athens' character as the birthplace of democracy.

Yet from the fourth century the reality of the present almost everywhere caused a significant shift in emphasis. As the political greatness of the past could only be claimed in a restricted way for the present, it is the cultural achievements, proving less ephemeral, that were increasingly emphasized. The idea of basing the city's claim to leadership also on cultural achievements was probably developed as a refined concept for the first time in the circle around Pericles. Since the fourth century, however, the city was consciously shaped into a monument of its own culture.

The central state rite that continued Athens' grandeur up to the present was the procession of the Panathenaea. For the formation of the procession and for other ceremonies, above all for banquets, the Pompeion was erected in the early fourth century, a representational building with halls around a large inner court.⁹⁷ The ceremonial self-representation of the community was thus institutionalized in a monumental way in the cityscape. Half a century later, a statue of Socrates, who probably had spent much time in this area, was put up in the Pompeion.⁹⁸ Thus religious rites and cultural achievements of the past were equally supposed to visualize the great traditions of the city.

The building activity under Lycurgus after the middle of the fourth century represented the climax of this development. Now even the athletic parts of the games of the Panathenaea that hitherto had still taken place on the agora were given their own site in a new stadium.⁹⁹ But the city's most im-

94. On the Propylaea: B. Wesenberg, in *Kunst in Hauptwerken: Von der Akropolis bis Goya*, UR Schriftenreihe der Universität Regensburg 15 (1988) 10f.

95. Cf. H. von Hesberg, "Bemerkungen zu Architekturepigrammen des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *Jahrb. Deutsch. Archäol. Inst.* 96 (1981) 88, referring to Demosth. 3.25.

96. Cf. the literature cited in n. 62. For the number of voters, n. 88.

97. W. Höpfer, *Das Pompeion und seine Nachfolgebauten*, *Kerameikos* 10 (1976).

98. G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (1965) 109ff.

99. Travlos, *PD* 498ff.

portant cultural monument was the new Theater of Dionysus. Right at the time of its dedication, the historical dimension was programmatically emphasized by displaying the statues of the three classical tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides.¹⁰⁰ Just as the political-religious topography of the city was thought to have reached its final shape with the temples of the late fifth century, thus too the heyday of Athenian drama was considered a complete cultural monument.

The present, on the other hand, defined itself as bearer and advocate of this classical culture. In the fourth century, an old street east of the acropolis that led from the Prytaneion to the theater became the most popular site for exhibiting the tripod monuments of victorious choregoi whose splendor is illustrated by the Monopteros of Lysicrates.¹⁰¹ At that time, this street of the tripods was terraced on the downsloping side, while on the side of the acropolis, in the course of time, the monuments multiplied to form a dense and highly distinguished gallery honoring cultural expenditure for theater and dithyramb.

Finally, for the same reason, public and private institutions devoted to educating the young received special support. The gymnasia developed into centers of philosophical teaching; Plato's and Aristotle's schools were attached to the sports grounds in the sanctuaries of the hero Hekademos (better known as Akademos) and Apollo Lykeios outside the city gates. In accordance with general changes occurring in Greece, at that time the architectural design and layout of the gymnasia must have been adjusted to their new needs as educational institutions.¹⁰² While organizing the military training of the young citizens (the *ephebeia*), Lycurgus remodeled the Lykeion and probably adorned it with a famous statue of Apollo.¹⁰³

On the whole, Athens' development in the fourth century must have gone hand in hand with an incisive transformation of communal life. The sites of politics and the sanctuaries of state gods no longer determined so strongly the reality of life but rather became public monuments that functioned as detached symbols. When people met in the city, they did so less as citizens than as members of an educated community. Thus the primacy of political identity characteristic of the fifth century was replaced by an identity of culture and sociability.

This development was continued even under the changed conditions of the Hellenistic Age. The increasing loss of political importance suffered by Athens, as by the other Greek poleis, under the rule of the new monarchies led to a further decrease in public building activity. A vacuum emerged into

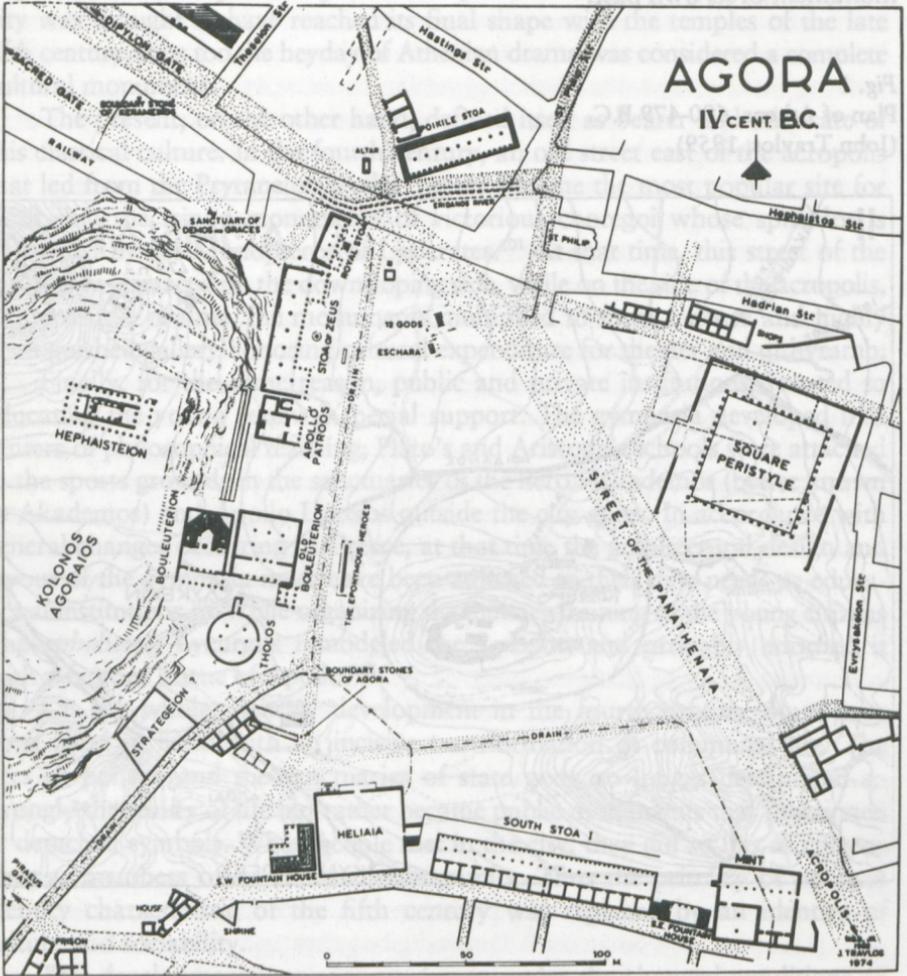
100. Travlos, *PD* 537ff.; Rh. F. Townsend, "The Fourth Century Skene of the Theater of Dionysos at Athens," *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 421ff. For the statues of the tragedians, Richter (n. 98) 121ff., 124ff., 133ff.

101. Travlos, *PD* 566ff.

102. J. Delorme, *Gymnasion* (Paris, 1960) 51ff.

103. St. F. Schröder, "Der Apollon Lykeios und die attische Ephebie des 4. Jh.," *Mitteil. Deutsch. Archäol. Inst. Athen* 101 (1986) 167ff.

Fig. 2
Athenian Agora, 4th century B.C.
(John Travlos, 1974).



the Hellenistic Age. The increasing loss of political importance suffered by Athens as by the other Greek cities, under the rule of the new monarchs, led to a further decrease in public building activity. A vacuum emerged in

100. Travlos, *PD 137ff.*; *Rh. F. Townsend, "The Fourth Century Scene of the Theatre of Dionysos at Athens," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 11 (1891) 114-124.*
101. On the agora in Hellenistic times, see for example, H. J. Kantor, "Die Agora von Athen," *Arch. Anz.* 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 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