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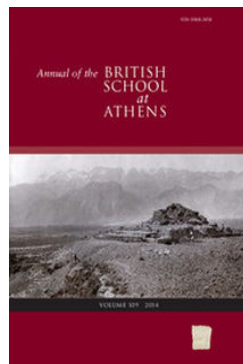
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The Literary Evidence for the Topography of Thebes

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THE LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THEBES.

(PLATE XIX.)

FABRICIUS' view,¹ based on archaeological evidence, that the lower town of Thebes extended over the high hills East and West of the Kadmeia (Pl. XIX. A) has in general been accepted by subsequent scholars: it has only been modified by the theory of Kalopais and Soteriádes, which makes the town extend yet further eastwards.²

How weak this archaeological evidence is, was shown by the criticisms of Wilamowitz³ and Frazer,⁴ and the literary evidence suggests quite a

¹ *Theben*, (Freiburg i. B. 1890). See Frazer, *Paus.* v. pp. 31 ff.; Hitzig und Blümner, *Paus.* iii. pp. 411 ff.; Tucker, *ed. Seven ag. Thebes*, pp. xi. ff.; Baedeker, etc. For earlier theories see H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen u. Forschungen*, ii. pp. 1 ff.; Bursian, *Geographie*, i. pp. 226 ff.; Forchhammer, *Topographia Thebarum* (Kiel, 1854, Progr.).

² Πρακτικά, 1892, pp. 41-6; 1893, pp. 18 ff.; Soteriádes, Παρνασσός, 1900, pp. 140-170.

³ *Hermes*, xxvi. pp. 191 ff., esp. 194.

⁴ v. p. 33. The chief objections to Fabricius' view are that the sherds he saw did not lie along the line of his supposed western wall, but scattered over a wide area, that they were not roof-tiles, and that he has to suppose that the walls of Thebes were not of stone but of mud-brick, which is improbable in itself, for Thebes is not far from stone quarries (see esp. Ulrichs, *op. cit.* p. 23, n. 4), and impossible in view of the legend of Amphion: Wilamowitz, p. 197, and see Eur. *Phoen.* 115-116, 797. So much for his west wall; his eastern wall just disappears on Soteriádes' map. For the fragments of stone foundations seen by him and Kalopais, see the illuminating remarks of Soteriádes, p. 157.

It may be added that Fabricius' view gave Thebes a circuit of from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 miles, which he compared with the statement of Dionysios Kalliphon (Il. 93-5, *Geogr. Gr. Min.* i. p. 241) that the circumference was 43 stadia; while the extension eastwards supposed by Soteriádes implies a circuit more nearly approaching the 70 stadia given by Herakleides (*ib.* i. p. 102). Thus does literature prove a useful handmaid to archaeology. Dionysios ('der arme Schächer,' as Wilamowitz, p. 208, calls him) is generally believed rather than Herakleides: the latter's statement is either an exaggeration (due to Theban 'Grosssprecherei' according to Fabricius; as though this writer were a flatterer of Thebes), or a mistake of the MSS. The MSS. of Dionysios would be more trustworthy as being in verse.

different view. It is to this that I wish to draw attention. Any theory based on such evidence is of course liable to be upset at any moment by fresh archaeological discoveries. But in the present uncertainty it may be useful to see to what theory this evidence seems to lead us.

Thebes is situate towards the East end of the long range of low, cultivated hills, running eastwards from Helikon as far as Mount Sorós, and dividing the Aonian plain on the North from that of Leuktra and Plataia on the South. Here is a small group of hills, none of them rising much above the general height of the range, divided by the three streams flowing from South to North, the Plakiótissa (identified with Dirke), a small and nameless brook, and the H. Joánnēs (the ancient Ismenos).

Of the four hills thus formed, that to the West of the Plakiótissa slopes for a short way, but steeply, on the West and South down to a shallow, and nearly always dry ravine separating it from the chain of hills stretching to Thespiāi; eastwards (down to the river) it slopes more gradually, and this eastern slope is itself cut into by a small tributary of the Plakiótissa running North-East. Between the Plakiótissa and the nameless stream is the rocky Kadmeia itself, with steep sides on West and East, but separated by a low hollow only from the hills to the South. Between the nameless stream and the H. Joánnēs is but a narrow ridge with steep slopes on either side; and beyond the latter river there is the last hill, with equally steep slopes on the West down to the river, but falling more gradually eastwards to join the range which continues as far as Mount Sorós. Also, all four hills slope northwards, and, except the Kadmeia, which has a fairly steep descent, very gradually. Both the hill to the West and that to the East of the Kadmeia are higher than the Kadmeia itself.¹

To the North of this line of hills lies the Aonian Plain, absolutely flat, stretching out as far as the pass of Onchestos and Lake Hylike; the river Dirke soon after passing below the Kadmeia joins the Ismenos, and the latter makes its way through the plain towards the lake. Immediately South of Thebes is hilly ground (where are the sources of the streams) sufficiently high to hide from view the plain of Plataia.

According to Fabricius, the town extended over the two hills East and

¹ Their highest points (to the South) are 90 and 80 m. respectively above the plain to the North; that of the Kadmeia 63 m. only: Fabricius, p. 11.

West of the Kadmeia, enclosing the Dirke and the nameless stream, but not the Ismenos (Pl. XIX. A): according to Soteriádes the Ismenos too, flowed through the town.

The literary evidence we have to consider in a reverse chronological order, because nearly all the definite evidence we possess concerns the latest period of the history of Thebes, after the restoration by Kassander in 315; and we can, in part, only infer from this what was the site of the earlier city. Our two chief authorities are, naturally, Herakleides the critic (the presumable author of the Dikaiarchos-fragment, end of the 3rd cent.), and Pausanias.

In his description of Sparta, the latter says¹: *Λακεδαιμονίοις [ἡ] ἀκρόπολις μὲν ἐς ὕψος περιφανὲς ἐξίσχουσα οὐκ ἔστι καθὰ δὴ Θηβαίοις τε ἡ Καδμεία καὶ ἡ Λάρισα Ἀργείοις· ὄντων δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει λόφων καὶ ἄλλων, τὸ μάλιστα ἐς μετέωρον ἀνῆκον ὀνομάζουσιν ἀκρόπολιν.* This statement about Sparta (exactly describing the situation of that city) would suit Thebes almost equally well according to the present view as to its site and extent, except that Thebes would have even less of an acropolis than Sparta, for the two hills to East and West included within the walls, are both higher than the Kadmeia. The Spartans had not much to choose from, but they did choose their highest. Pausanias, however, says that Thebes was unlike Sparta in this respect, but like Argos, with one high hill standing clear which was used as the acropolis. The comparison of the low Kadmeia with the lofty and conspicuous Larisa of Argos is a strange one at the best²; but it is made impossible by the assumption that the hills round the Kadmeia, either East or South or West, were occupied by the city. The part outside the Kadmeia must have been on lower ground, must have been really 'the lower city,' as Pausanias frequently calls it.³ It might be that *ἡ κάτω πόλις*, and similar expressions, were general terms used always to distinguish the rest of a city from its acropolis; but it could hardly apply in a case where 'the lower city' was actually higher than the acropolis. Yet Fabricius naturally has to suppose this: 'der letztere (*i.e.* Pausanias) nennt die eigentliche Stadt *ἡ πόλις ἡ κάτω* oder *αἱ κάτω Θῆβαι*, welcher Ausdruck als einfacher Gegensatz gegen *ἡ ἀκρόπολις* verständlich, in Wirklichkeit jedoch nicht zutreffend ist, da die

¹ iii. 17. 1.

² Cf. Fraser, iii. p. 344; Hitzig and Blümner, i. p. 800.

³ *ἡ κάτω πόλις*, ix. 7. 6, 5. 2; ii. 6. 4: *ἡ ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ*, ii. 5. 2.

zu dem Stadtgebiet gehörigen Höhen die Kadmeia sowohl im Osten wie an Westen beträchtlich überragen'¹

Herakleides² is even clearer: 'The city stands in the middle of Bocotia with a circumference of 70 furlongs. It is altogether flat, its shape is round . . . 'Εντεῦθεν (*i.e.* from Plataia) εἰς Θήβας στάδια π'. 'Οδὸς λεία πᾶσα καὶ ἐπίπεδος. 'Η δὲ πόλις ἐν μέσῳ μὲν τῆς τῶν Βοιωτῶν κείται χώρας, τὴν περίμετρον ἔχουσα σταδίων ο'. πᾶσα δ' ὁμαλή. στρογγύλη μὲν τῷ σχήματι, τῇ χρῶα δὲ μελάγγειος. This seems clear enough; but before we deal with it, a passage a few lines further down must be considered. In it he says: 'being everywhere well-watered and *undulating*, it is excellent for breeding horses.'³ . . . It is clear that he cannot be referring to one and the same spot in both these passages: in one of them he must mean the territory of Thebes, ἡ Θηβαϊκή, not the city; and that this is so in the latter, not the former passage is evident from the context in the former, ἡ δὲ πόλις . . . περίμετρον . . . σταδίων ο'. πᾶσα δ' ὁμαλή, and from the reference in the latter to horse-breeding, which would not be carried on in the midst of the town, and to the appearance of the ground, *χλωρά* green with young corn and grass, as opposed to the *μελάγγειος* of the streets and the mud-brick houses of the city, though even so the immediate reference to gardens is strange, *κηπεύματα* ἔχουσα πλεῖστα τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι πόλεων, unless, with Ulrichs, we suppose them to be outside the walls as well.⁴ Fabricius of course does not accept this view⁵; he supposes him to have meant first the Kadmeia only, then the lower city; 'denn dass die Schilderungen des Herakleides ausschliesslich auf eigenen an Ort und Stelle empfungenen Eindrücken und Erkundigungen beruhen und diese unmittelbar wiedergeben, ist nicht zu bezweifeln. Gerade die Beschreibung Thebens lässt recht deutlich erkennen, wie allmählich sich das Bild der Stadt in der Vorstellung des Reisenden erweitert . . . Erst sagte er also,

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 11. Pindar (*Fr.* 196, ed. Bergk) also speaks of the acropolis as 'the great rock,' *λιπαρὴν Θηβῶν μέγαν σκόπελον*; and cf., *ἕχθος ἀκρότατος* of the oracle, *ap. Schol. Eur. Phoen.* 638.

² *Geogr. Gr. Min.* i. p. 102 (*F.H.G.* ii. p. 258).

³ καὶ ἵπποτρόφος δὲ ἀγαθὴ, κάθυδρος πᾶσα, χλωρὰ τε καὶ γεώλοφος, κηπεύματα ἔχουσα πλεῖστα τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι πόλεων κ.τ.λ. Mr. Fraser (v. p. 27) translates γεώλοφος 'with deep soil'; and in his introduction (i. p. xlv.) he omits it altogether. The writer's use of the word is strange in any case, however, for he calls Chalkis hilly: ἡ δὲ τῶν Χαλκιδέων πόλις ἐστὶ μὲν σταδίων ο' . . . γεώλοφος δὲ πᾶσα καὶ σύσκιος, κ.τ.λ. Chalkis comprises one or two hills, but they are all very low (except Karababá, which is the other side of the Euripos, but probably belonged to Chalkis (§ 27)).

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 6.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 14. Soteriádes (pp. 169-170) only quotes Herakleides at the end of his article, letting him do his work of destruction.

die ganze Stadt sei eben, dann nennt er sie hügelig, erst heisst es, ihre Farbe sei schwarz nach dem Boden, dann wird dass frische grün gerühmt. Offenbar hat Herakleides anfangs nur die innere Stadt im Sinne, die geraden ungepflasterten Strassen des gewohnten Gebiets, das schon damals auf das ebene Plateau der Kadmeia beschränkt war: nur auf dieses passen die Ausdrücke *πᾶσα ὁμαλή, στρογγύλη τῷ σχήματι, τῇ χροῇ μελάγγειος*. Dann erst schweift sein Blick über die grünen Niederungen mit ihren wohl bewässerten Fruchtgärten, über die Hügel wo die Rosse weiden, und er fährt fort: *καὶ γὰρ δύο ποταμοὶ ῥέουσιν δι' αὐτῆς κτλ.* Gemeint sind hier natürlich die beiden Bäche, welche die Kadmeia einschliessen, nicht das grössere Flüsschen von Hagios Joannis, dessen ausserhalb der Stadt sich hinziehendes Thal durch die östliche Hügelreihe verdeckt ist. Dass der eine der beiden Bäche meist wasserlos ist, konnte dem Reisenden leicht entgehen.¹

But no one would refer to an acropolis as *πᾶσα ὁμαλή*, and that the writer is not doing so here is certain from his statement made just previously as to the size of the city. 'It is 70 stades in circumference and is *all* flat.' The Kadmeia is not flat nor round, nor has it such a large circuit. And the lower city too would not be 'green' and suited for horse-rearing any more than the Kadmeia itself; for it was some time later than the period at which this was written that the inhabitants of Thebes were confined to the Kadmeia.² Moreover, Fabricius has to juggle over the two rivers: in the first place, the H. Joannis is now, owing to the excavations of Kalopais, included within the city wall; and it would, as Fabricius says, be invisible from the Kadmeia, if the city stretched simply to East and West of the acropolis; and secondly, the fact of a river having no running water in it but being merely a dry bed, is just what would attract the attention of a writer like the author of this fragment. He was not deceived into thinking Athens was well-watered because two streams ran through it, and one close by.³ It is the first sentence, not

¹ This of a traveller who apparently spent a winter and a summer in Thebes, and knew the inhabitants well.

² Cf. Fraser, *Introd.* i. p. xliii. n. 1: 'the prosperous condition of Thebes which the writer depicts came to an end after Sulla's rigorous treatment of the city in 86 B.C. (Paus. ix. 7. 5 ff.).'

³ When the 'two rivers' of Thebes are mentioned the Dirke and Ismenos seem always to be meant. See Aesch. *Sept.* 273, Eur. *Bacch.* 5, and the Schol. to Eur. *Phoen.* 818-825; and cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 621. If Fabricius were right, it would mean that Herakleides does not mention the Ismenos among the rivers 'that water the plain.' Note, too, that Pausanias never mentions the smaller stream (cf. Forchhammer, p. 9).

the second, which must be taken as the description of the city of Thebes.

Now, this might very well be a description of Argos, lying in the flat plain at the foot of the Larisa, or even of Athens built round its acropolis,¹ or of Orchomenos—certainly of almost any town in Greece rather than Thebes, as it is supposed to have been. No more hilly site could have been chosen for a town, four separate hills with steep slopes (*ὄντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λόφων καὶ ἄλλων*), and the one on the West divided up still further by ‘deep fissures and depressions.’ Herakleides is speaking of the entire city, not of the Kadmeia only: he says it is ‘altogether flat, and round, *πάσα ὁμαλή, στρογγύλη*.’ And this does not fit in with the modern idea as to the direction of the walls.²

Lastly, the same writer says that water was brought to the city by means of conduits from the Kadmeia.³ But how was water to be taken from the Kadmeia to higher hills to right and left? Ulrichs⁴ treats the passage boldly, and after *ἀγόμενον* writes ‘d.h. ἐπὶ τὴν Καδμείαν ἀγόμενον,’ referring the words to the aqueducts which bring water from Kithairon to Thebes. But *ἀπὸ τῆς Καδμείας* cannot be equivalent to *ἐπὶ τὴν Καδμείαν*. Water was apparently brought to the Kadmeia from the south as well; but in this case Herakleides is referring to the supply within the city itself: the headquarters, so to speak, of this supply was the Kadmeia, and from it water was taken in underground channels to the rest of the city. This could only have been the case if the latter was on a lower level than the acropolis, was in fact as well as in name *ἡ κάτω πόλις*. Fabricius,⁵ indeed, if I understand him rightly, would leave *ἀπὸ τῆς Καδμείας* in the text as merely a careless mistake on the part of the writer: he only half heard his informant: ‘Er ist sich wohl kaum bewusst gewesen dass er bereits vorher von der Kadmeia gesprochen hatte ohne sie zu nennen.’ But one can prove anything on the assumption that all our authorities were half-witted.

All this literary evidence shows that in the third century and until its virtual destruction by Sulla in 86 B.C., Thebes, like other cities, consisted

¹ Cf. Strabo, ix. 1. 16, p. 396: τὸ δ’ ἄστυ αὐτὸ πέτρα ἐστὶν ἐν πεδίῳ περιοικουμένη κύκλῳ.

² Varro is the only ancient writer who says Thebes was hilly: *de Re Rust.* iii. 1. 6; so Bursian, i. p. 225. But Varro is not comparable as an authority on such a point with the Greek travellers.

³ *Op. cit.* i. p. 102. Καὶ γὰρ ποταμοὶ ῥέουσι δι’ αὐτῆς δύο τὸ ὑποκείμενον τῇ πόλει πεδῖον πᾶν ἀρδεύοντες. Φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Καδμείας ὕδωρ ἀφανὲς διὰ σωλήνων ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ Κάδμου τὸ παλαιόν, ὡς λέγουσι, κατεσκευασμένων.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 4. See also Unger, *Thebana Paradoxa*, p. 111.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 14.

of an acropolis and the rest of the city, distinct from, and much lower than the acropolis; and that this lower city was flat and circular and extensive, while water was brought from Kithairon to the Kadmeia and thence to the rest of the town. This gives only one position for the lower town, neither to the South nor to the East and West of the Kadmeia, but in the low flat plain to the North immediately joining the Kadmeia and the small hill called by most authorities the *Ἀμφεῖον*.¹ (Pl. XIX. B). The city was of large extent, and the walls would have included the modern suburb of Pyrrhé, but not H. Theódoros, which is further to the East and on a hill. Their extent northwards can only be judged by the size we would give to the city, 43 stadia in circumference with Dionysios Kalliphon, or 70 stadia with Herakleides, or some size we invent for ourselves on grounds of the probable size of any ancient city. We have to picture a rather low acropolis with higher hills to right and left (the ground *κάθυδρος πᾶσα, χλωρά τε καὶ γεώλοφος*) and behind, adjoining hills with the road to Athens winding amongst them and soon lost to sight, as far as Plataia *ὁδὸς λεία καὶ ἐπίπεδος*, and below to the North a wide-stretching circular town in the plain, all flat, with two small streams, the Dirke and the Ismenos, running through it northwards towards Lake Hylike. *‘Ἐνθερίσαι μὲν ἡ πόλις οἷα βελτίστη· τό τε γὰρ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἔχει καὶ ψυχρὸν καὶ κήπους· ἔτι δ’ εὐήνεμός ἐστι καὶ χλωρὰν ἔχουσα τὴν πρόσοψιν. ἐχόπωρός τε καὶ τοῖς θερινοῖς ὠνίοις ἄφθονος· ἄξυλος δὲ καὶ ἐγχειμῖσαι οἷα χειρίστη διὰ τε τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰ πνεύματα· καὶ γὰρ νίφεται καὶ πηλὸν ἔχει πολύν.’*²

But the question remains whether this site for the town, as I suppose it to have been, was also the site before its restoration by the Macedonians, whether they merely built on the old lines, or deserted the ancient city entirely and built a new one on the more convenient site in the plain. It is possible that Thebes in classical times, and still more in the prehistoric ages, if it extended beyond the Kadmeia at all, may have occupied one or other of the sites chosen by archaeologists for it.³ On this question our

¹ Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 8; Arrian, i. 8. 6; Plut. *de gen. Socr.* 4, p. 577 B; cf. Ulrichs, *op. cit.* p. 17; Fabricius, pp. 19, 31.

² Cf. Eubulos, *ap.* Athen. x. 11, p. 417.

κοπρῶν ἔχει πρὸς ταῖς θύραις ἕκαστος

to complete the picture. The former statement of Herakleides about the climate of Thebes I can well believe: it is at the present day very much fresher and greener than most towns in Greece. To the latter I can testify from personal experience, ranging from November to March. Cf. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* p. 207, who alone of modern scholars has suggested an extension of the town northwards.

³ Neither Fabricius nor Soteriádes suggest the possibility of a change.

evidence is vaguer and more unsatisfactory than on that of the later town : we have to deal largely with probabilities and generalities ; but before touching on the question in general, there are one or two passages in ancient literature which must be considered, passages bearing on the development of the city as well as on some details of its topography.

The first is the description by Arrian¹ of the taking of Thebes by Alexander the Great. As in this passage he expressly says he is following the account of Ptolemy, son of Lagos,² his evidence is important for the question as to the site of Thebes before its destruction in 336.

Alexander, marching with his army from Onchestos, advanced as far as the shrine of Iolaos, and there encamped.³ For this he must have marched right across the North of Thebes, and encamped on its Eastern side, for the shrine of Iolaos, together with a gymnasium and stadion dedicated to him, was outside the gate Proitides⁴ ; and this gate was that through which passed the road to Chalkis in the East.⁵ The natural place for this gate would be on the North-East of the town, where a road from Chalkis would reach Thebes ; but if the road, as is very possible, followed an older direction before Thebes had extended much, a direction more towards the Kadmeia itself, the gate may have been further South, just North-East of the Kadmeia, below the Ampheion : this would be more probable if the agora were in the flat hollow here,⁶ where Ulrichs⁷ (followed in this case by Fabricius) supposed it to be. Aeschylus tells us that it was the gate near the Ismenos.⁸

¹ *Anabasis*, i. 7 ff.

² *Ibid.* i. 8 ; and cf. the opening words of the preface.

³ *Ibid.* i. 7. 7.

⁴ Paus. ix. 23. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.* ix. 18. 1. Note that a hippodrome, a stadion, and the theatre were all near this gate, the first two *πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν*, the latter *κατὰ τὰς πύλας* (Paus. ix. 23. 1) The stadion was a *γῆς χῶμα*, like that at Epidaurous and Olympia, that is, the sides were formed by artificial embankments : it was not formed by the side or sides of a hill as at Delphi and to some extent at Athens ; though in the hilly country at Thebes one might have expected it : this perhaps is additional evidence that the gate was down in the flat plain.

⁶ The *Ἀμφείων* is near the *στροδ* (i.e. the *ἀγορά*) in Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 8 ; cf. 2. 29 ; Paus. ix. 17. 1-2 (and Fraser, *ad loc.*) ; Soph. *O.T.* 161 ; Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 20, fin.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 8.

⁸ *Sev. ag. Thebes*, l. 377. If Dr. Verrall (ed. *Seven ag. Thebes*, 1887, Introd. p. xix.) was right in supposing the order of the gates as enumerated by Aeschylus to be the topographical order too, then the Proitidian Gate will be on the South-East, for it is next to the Elektran on the South (v. *infra*). And the Neistan (leading to the West) will be S.W. of the town, not N.W., where Fabricius places it. If Fabricius' views on the topography of Thebes are correct, the Neistan Gate could not possibly be to the South-West. Note that an *Ἀγοραῖος Ἐρμῆς* and the shrine of Artemis Soteira (which was in the agora, Soph. *O.T.* 161) was near the gate Proitides (Paus. ix. 17. 1, 2).

Alexander waited a day to see whether the Thebans would surrender, but the latter were so far from thinking of this, that they sent out a squadron of horse and light-armed troops to attack the outworks of the Macedonian camp; but these were soon repulsed. This would be a more likely manœuvre, if the shrine of Iolaos, and consequently also the gate Proitides, were not on the hills to the East but down in the plain. Alexander then led his army round to the gate leading to Athens in order to be near to the Kadmeia, held by a Macedonian garrison, but still refrained from attacking the walls. (The Thebans had surrounded the Kadmeia διπλῶ χάρακι¹ to prevent any communications passing between the garrison and the besiegers.) This gate we know to have been the Elektran.² Its exact position is uncertain, but it must have been to the South of the town.³ Then followed a delay occupied by fruitless negotiations.

But according to Ptolemy, son of Lagos, Perdikkas grew impatient and suddenly attacked the outer Theban lines (the χάραξ), and Amyntas and Alexander soon followed him. They routed the Theban defenders and pursued them ἐς τὴν κοίλῃν ὁδὸν τὴν κατὰ Ἡράκλειον φέρουσιν,⁴ and as far as the Herakleion: then the Thebans turned and routed their pursuers; seeing this, Alexander turned his phalanx on to them, οἱ δὲ ὠθοῦσι τοὺς Θηβαίους εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν. The latter were unable to close the gates after them, and the Macedonians poured in and then, joining with their countrymen in the Kadmeia, made an attack on the hill Ἀμφεῖον, where the last Thebans had gathered for defence, drove them from it and

¹ ὥς μήτε ἔξωθεν τινὰ τοῖς ἐγκατελιγμένοις δύνασθαι ἐπωφελεῖν, μήτε αὐτοὺς ἐκθέοντας βλάπτειν τι σφᾶς, ὅποτε τοῖς ἔξω πολεμίοις προσφύγοιντο. This implies, I think, that it was necessary for the Thebans to get between the Kadmeia and the besiegers, and hence that, except on one side (the North), the lower town did not touch the Kadmeia—did not, as supposed, surround it on three sides. Cf. the parallel passage in Diodoros (xvii. 8. 4): τὴν Καδμείαν τάφροις βαθείαις καὶ σταυρώμασι πυκνοῖς περιέλαβον, ὥστε μήτε βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς δύνασθαι, μήτ' ἀγορὰν εἰσπέμψαι. But Diodoros is perhaps not much help: see below.

² Paus. ix. 8. 7. Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 780 ff.; *Suppl.* 651 ff.

³ Fabricius and Soteriades on their maps give the line of the ancient road to Athens, and the position of the Elektran gate, below the Kadmeia to the East.

⁴ To do this it was necessary to capture and cross the two χάρακες or προφυλακαὶ that the Thebans had formed: they then pursued them within these till they reached the Herakleion. This indicates, too, that the κοίλῃ ὁδός is the bed of the stream just below the Kadmeia to the East, and that the defences of the Thebans were at its Southern end and along the hill East of it (as well, presumably, as West of the Kadmeia). On Fabricius' plan there would be no room for a pursuit between the outworks and the wall of the town. (Soteriades, however, *loc. cit.* p. 163, thinks it unlikely that the Thebans would have built outworks on all three sides of the Kadmeia; and hence that the Eastern and Western walls of the citadel were within the city circuit.)

spent the rest of the day in allowing Phocians, Plataeans, and other Boeotians to massacre the citizens οὔτε γυναικῶν οὔτε παίδων φειδόμενοι. From this it is evident that wherever the Elektran Gate was, the κοίλη ὁδός was *outside* the town, for it is some time after the fighting there that the Macedonians first made their way in. Now, though we do not know exactly where this Ἡράκλειον was, it is probable that the κοίλη ὁδός (if its name has any real relation to its natural appearance) is the nearly always dry bed of the stream just East of the Kadmeia;¹ and therefore this could not have been enclosed within the walls, as Fabricius and Soteriádes have supposed. And, if the gates mentioned in this passage (εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν, etc.) are the same as those opposite which Alexander encamped, as is probable, the Elektran gate must have been to the South of the lower town, at the North end of the κοίλη ὁδός where all the fighting had taken place. It did not lead straight into the Kadmeia.²

Thus the supposition that the lower town of Thebes lay to the North of the Kadmeia in the plain receives support from this passage in Arrian, and if he is closely following the account of Ptolemy, son of Lagos, then we have some grounds for assuming that in classical times, before its destruction by Alexander the Great, Thebes occupied much the same site as in Hellenistic times after its rebuilding by Kassander.³

¹ See Fabricius, pp. 18, 31.

² This would suit very well, too, with the position of the Ἡράκλειον to which the κοίλη ὁδός led, if the shrine mentioned by Arrian is the same as that mentioned by Pausanias as near the Elektran Gate. 'Left of the gate called Elektran is the house of Amphitryon . . . Ἐνταῦθα Ἡράκλειόν ἐστι' (ix. 11. 4). Ulrichs (p. 7) and Fabricius (p. 22) suppose it to have occupied the site of the present chapel of St. Nicholas, South of the Kadmeia. It was clearly outside the city. Arrian implies this, and Pausanias seems to do so too; for the house of Amphitryon, next door to the shrine, was 'left of the gates' just as the Ismenian hill was 'to the right of the gates'; and τοῦ Ἡρακλείου γυμνάσιον ἔχεται καὶ στάδιον (ix. 11. 7), and the latter at least must have been outside. Pherekydes, *fr.* 39 (*ap.* Anton. Lib. 33. 3), supports this view of the site of the Elektran Gate: after the defeat of Eurystheus, Hyllus and the other Herakleidae returned to Thebes: ἔκουν δὲ παρὰ τὰς Ἡλέκτρας πύλας, ὅθι περ καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. For the Agora was probably situated in the hollow just East of the hill called Ampeion (see Fabricius' map reproduced on Pl. XIX. A.). Herakles was born near this gate according to Schol. T. on *Iliad*, xix. 99. (In the Teubner ed. of Antoninos, Wachsmuth's conjecture ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὥρᾳ for ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ is adopted.)

If this gymnasium and stadion near the Herakleion is the same as the gymnasium and stadion of Iolaos, near the Proitidian Gate (see above, p. 36) which seems possible, though Pausanias would be guilty of a confusion if this were so, then the Proitidian Gate would certainly be next the Elektran, where Dr. Verrall placed it.

³ Diodoros' account of the capture of Thebes does not help us much (xvii. 8-14): it differs largely from Arrian's account, and always for the worse: he never seems to speak with anything like the same authority. He is much vaguer in telling the story, and the details that he does give concern the turning of the water of the Dirke into blood and not the military operations of Alexander and the Thebans. As far as it goes (if it has any topographical value at all) it supports

The second point in this connection is the question of the rivers of Thebes. Did the Dirke and the Ismenos flow through the town or round and outside it? In the third century they certainly flowed through it, as Herakleides definitely asserts.¹ Ulrichs would have it that he is here only talking of the suburbs and gardens:—"Dicaearch . . . begreift die ausge-dehnten Vorstädte und Gärten mit, welche Dirce und Ismenus bewässerten."² But the traveller says distinctly the streams flow δι' αὐτῆς, that is, διὰ τῆς πόλεως, watering the plain lying below the city, not flowing round it and watering the gardens on its way. The gardens may have been outside the town.

But there is a passage in the work περὶ ποταμῶν, included among Plutarch's *Moralia*, which seems to contradict this statement with regard to the Ismenos, and another in Aelian which contradicts it with regard to the Dirke. The first says that the Ismenos flowed κατὰ πόλιν Θήβας.³ But not much reliance can be placed on the geographical statements in these odd mythological essays. This particular one deals chiefly with the mythology of Kithairon and Helikon. In the second,⁴ Aelian is referring to the portents that occurred before the capture of Thebes by Alexander: among them was the disturbance in the Dirke. It is just possible again that this is from a contemporary writer, who knew Thebes before its the view that the town lay in the plain; for the fighting takes place outside the city, and cavalry and the Macedonian phalanx, both unsuited for operations on hilly ground, play a prominent part; §11. 2. ἰππεῖς ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος (round the city wall), αὐτοὶ μάχην πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡτοιμάζοντο . . . μέγας ἀγὼν συνίστατο . . . διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς φάλαγγος. Finally (§12. 3) Alexander sends Perdikkas in by τινὰ πυλίδα inadvertently left open . . . 4. εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρησαν (sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι) ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν . . . 5. οἱ . . . ἰππεῖς . . . συνέτρεχον εἰς τὴν πόλιν . . . 6. οἱ δὲ τὴν Καδμείαν φρουροῦντες ἐκχυθέντες ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀπήντων τοῖς Θηβαίοις καὶ τεταραγμένοις ἐπιπεσόντες πολλὸν ἐποιοῦν φόνον. No other military details does he give. Wilamowitz (*op. cit.* p. 202, Anm. 1) considers the whole to be a poetized account, a κατεψευσμένη ἱστορία, modelled on Euripides' *Supplices*; while the description in *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* (i. 46) is still more highly poetized. Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 11 tells us nothing about the topography, but gives us the number of casualties (6,000 killed, 30,000 taken prisoners; with which Diodoros § 14, agrees). Justin (xi. 2-4, the epitome of Pompeius Trogus) gives us no information either.

In general, note Eur. *Suppl.* 618, τὰ καλλίπυργα πεδία πῶς ἰκοίμεθ' ἄν; and observe that in the *Phoenissae* all the enemy's forces can be seen at the same time from one spot on the Kadmeia (ll. 1356-8; cf. 101-2). This would be easy enough if they surrounded a town down in the plain; so that it is not necessary to adopt Dr. Verrall's hypothesis of a town confined to the Kadmeia (see below, p. 48, n. 3).

¹ See above, p. 34, n. 3.

² *Op. cit.* p. 6.

³ Ps. Plut. *de fluv.* ii. (ὁ Ἰσμηνός), I (init.).

⁴ *Var. Hist.* xii. 57. ἡ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰσμήνιον καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ τεῖχη βέουσα κρήνη καλουμένη Δίρκη καθαρῶ καὶ ἡδεῖ βέουσα ὕδατι παρὰ πάντα τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον ἄφρω καὶ παρ' ἐλλπίδα αἵματος ἀνεπλήσθη.

destruction, and therefore it would not contradict Herakleides' words ; but it does not look like it ; and no reliance can be placed on Aelian, who makes a bad mistake in saying that the Dirke flowed past the hill Ismenion (or the Sanctuary of Ismenian Apollo). For the hill and sanctuary were to the *right* of the Elektran Gate as you entered from Athens, and therefore to the East of the Kadmeia, while the Dirke flowed on the western side of the acropolis.¹

Strabo² too, implies that the Ismenos did not flow through the town. But Strabo's accuracy on detailed points of the geography of Greece proper, unless corroborated from other sources, is always open to question ; and in this very passage, he is hopelessly at a loss. The *πεδῖον τὸ πρὸ τῶν Θηβῶν* can only be the Teneric or Aonian plain North of Thebes, which is watered by the Ismenos ; but the Asopos is not near it. Even if Strabo had meant the plain watered by the Asopos, the *Παρασωπία*, he is then wrong about the Ismenos, which rises in the hills to the North of the plain, only a little way South of Thebes.

But there is a passage in Pausanias describing the position of Pindar's house, which would seem to imply that the Dirke flowed without the walls : 'Pausanias returns to Thebes (from the North) and follows the road which leads from the Neistan Gate Westward to the Sanctuary of the Cabiri, Onchestus, and Thespiae (ix. 25. 1-26. 8). As Pausanias, following this route, crossed the Dirke after he had quitted the Neistan Gate (§ 3), it appears that the Neistan Gate was on the Eastern side of the Dirke, not on the Western side as Mr. Fabricius supposes. Further it is clear that Pindar's house (§ 3) must have been outside the walls, not inside them as Mr. Fabricius supposes (*Theben*, pp. 25-26)'³ This was the view held by Ulrichs too, who referred to a passage in Euripides' *Phoenissae*,⁴ to which we shall return later on, in connection with the topography of Thebes before the time of Alexander the Great. Pausanias has just described⁵ the tomb of Menoikeus as *τῶν πυλῶν ἐγγύτατα τῶν Νηιστῶν* (the position of the Neistan Gate, as of the Elektran and

¹ Paus. ix. 10. 2. Pausanias says nothing as to whether the river Ismenos flowed through or outside the walls, merely adding here that it flowed by the hill Ismenion.

² ix. 2. 24, pp. 408-9 : ὁ Ἑρεωνὸς δὲ Σκάρφη μετωνομάσθη, καὶ αὕτη δὲ τῆς Παρασωπίας. ὁ γὰρ Ἀσωπὸς καὶ ὁ Ἰσμηνὸς διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ῥέουσι τοῦ πρὸ τῶν Θηβῶν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Δίρκη κρήνη καὶ Πότνια . . .

³ Fraser, V. pp. 134-5.

⁴ vv. 823 ff., see below, p. 44, n. 3.

⁵ ix. 25. 1-2.

Proitidian, we know approximately: it was on the West side, and through it went the road to Thespiæ and Onchestos,¹) the place where the sons of Oedipus slew one another as τοῦ δὲ Μενουκίως οὐ πόρρω τάφου, and then the Σύρμα Ἀντιγόνης, the place where Antigone dragged the body of Polynceikes to the pyre of Eteokles. It is obvious that the two latter at any rate, must have been outside the walls.

Then he goes on:² διαβάντων δὲ ποταμὸν καλούμενον ἀπὸ γυναικὸς τῆς Λύκου Δίρκην . . . διαβᾶσιν οὖν τὴν Δίρκην οἰκίας τε ἐρείπια τῆς Πινδάρου καὶ μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ἱερόν. Πινδάρου μὲν ἀνάθημα τέχνη δὲ κ.τ.λ. . . . Then finally κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν [τὴν] ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Νηιστῶν τὸ μὲν Θεμίδος ἐστὶν ἱερόν κ.τ.λ. Obviously, if Pausanias walked straight from the gate outwards on the Onchestos road, the river Dirke and Pindar's house must have been outside the Neistan Gate. This did not suit Fabricius, who supposed that Pausanias (at 25.1) left the town by the Neistan Gate, walked round to the North, entered the Kadmeia again, then descended to the Dirke, crossed it, passed Pindar's House, and left again by the Neistan Gate;³ all without a word. But this is too much to assume. He relied on the statements of Pindar's biographers that he lived ἐν ἄστει,⁴ and that Alexander destroyed every house *in* Thebes except that of Pindar; but it would be absurd to lay any stress on such vague statements as these as to the actual position of Pindar's house. Hitzig leaves the question unsolved: "Es muss anerkannt werden dass diese Bedenken [of Mr. Frazer against Fabricius] sehr schwerwiegend sind; andererseits ist die Ansetzung der Westmauer auf dem Abhang westlich von der Dirke durch die Untersuchung von Fabricius und Sotiriadis als erwiesen zu betrachten, und diese verträgt sich nicht mit der Ansetzung des Neistischen Tores im Osten der Dirke. Es bleibt hier also eine ungelöste Schwierigkeit bestehen."

We have seen the weakness of the evidence of Fabricius and Soteriades; but there are still two alternative solutions, both of which seem to me to be possible (and one of them necessary, in face of Herakleides' statement). Pausanias may simply have walked within the

¹ Paus. ix. 25. 5, 26. 5.

² ix. 25. 3.

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 25-6.

⁴ Ulrichs (*op. cit.* p. 8) supposed that Pindar lived in Kynoskephalai where he was born, and that Kynoskephalai was a suburb of Thebes immediately West of Dirke; but this Fabricius (*loc. cit.*) showed to be unfounded. See the references in Frazer (v. p. 135) and Hitzig (iii. pp. 466 and 468).

city from the gate back to Pindar's house and the shrine of the Mother of the Gods,¹ and then again to the gate; in which case both the river and Pindar's house would be inside the walls, and the latter to the East, not the West, of Dirke. The language of Pausanias is not against this, *διαβάντων δὲ ποταμόν* and then *κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν* (*i.e.* to Onchestos) afterwards; and if he had assumed it as well known that the Dirke flowed within the walls, he would have seen that everybody could understand the direction he was taking when he 'crossed the river' from the Neistan Gate.

The second alternative is as follows:—Pausanias says that the famous Seven Gates were in existence when he visited Thebes.² Now these Seven Gates were, of course, the gates of the early city wall, that built presumably by Amphion and Zethos or by the Boeotians after the expulsion of the Kadmeans by the Epigonoî, not the gates of the extended wall of the Lacedaemonians, still less of the wall rebuilt by Kassander. Pausanias himself says *ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους*, and their gates would have been well within the circuit of walls as seen by Pausanias;³ so, too, *may* have been the spot where Eteokles and Polyneikes fought, and the *Σύρμα Ἀντιγόνης*. Therefore, on the assumption of Ulrichs and Frazer that he walked straight from the gate along the Onchestos road, the Dirke might still have flowed through the newer city as Herakleides says, though it would have flowed outside the oldest city, and Pindar would have lived outside the walls. If Pausanias turned back, however, from the gate, as I think possible from his own language, then the Dirke would have flowed inside the earlier city, too. If my view of the site of the city is the correct one, we must accept this latter alternative. For even though Thebes in earlier times was smaller than the Hellenistic city, its circuit must in any case have extended beyond the two rivers, as a

¹ Or he may be supposed to be *approaching* the city from the North (ch. 24-5), mentioning first what was to be seen near the gate, then entering as far as Pindar's house, then returning to the road westwards.

² ix. 8. 4: *Θηβαίοις δὲ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, μένουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι.* (Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, claims that there never were seven gates; but at any rate their supposed sites would be shown to Pausanias, and that is sufficient for following his topography.)

³ In which case Arrian's 'Gate leading to Eleutherai and Attica' might not be the same as the Elektran Gate, but a new one in the new town-wall. But there would not be much difference in the position of gates on the South side of the town. Keramópoulos ('*Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1909, pp. 110-111, n. 1) recognizes that the 'old wall' of Pausanias is not the same as the later circuit wall, but thinks it was the acropolis wall, and that all the seven gates were in the Kadmeia.

glance at the map will show (Pl. XIX.). These rivers converge and unite only a short distance North of the Kadmeia.

But some passages in earlier writers would seem to show that the Dirke and the Ismenos flowed outside the city. These are from the pseudo-Apollodoros (assuming that his sources are writers of the classical period), Aeschylus and Euripides; and the descriptions by the two latter¹ of the Seven Gates and the Seven heroes, are written in a way to suggest that, at the time, the former were neither archaeological remains nor mythical imaginings; that is, that the old city wall remained much as it had been in the days of the Epic poets. Apollodoros' description of the flight of Amphiaraos after the battle of the Seven implies that the Ismenos was outside the city walls.² Similarly, in Aeschylus' account of the assault on Thebes, the seer would not let Tydeus cross the river to attack the city.³ He had to get over the river before he could reach the gates to storm them.

This is supported by some lines from Euripides' *Suppliants*.⁴ Theseus is ordering his ambassador to proceed to Thebes from Eleusis:—

ἐλθὼν δ' ὑπέρ τ' Ἀσωπὸν Ἰσμηνοῦ θ' ὕδωρ
σεμνῷ τυράννῳ φράζε Καδμείων τάδε.

Euripides' geography is here at fault: a man setting out from Eleusis to Thebes would go by the Eleutherai pass and then join the road from Plataia, which would nowhere cross the Ismenos before reaching the city, as the river runs East of the road, and in the same direction as it, almost due North and South, and rises but a mile or so South of Thebes. Only a traveller coming from the East, from Athens by Oropos or Phyle would pass the Ismenos before reaching Thebes. One going by Phyle would cross the Asopos too; so Euripides may have been thinking of this road—

¹ Aesch. *Seven ag. Thebes*, 358–660; Eur. *Phoenissae*, 1120–54.

² Apollodor. iii. 77 (ed. Wagner): Ἀμφιαράφ δὲ φεύγοντι παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰσμηνόν, πρὶν ὑπὸ Περικλυμένου τὰ νῶτα τρωθῆναι, Ζεὺς κεραυνὸν βαλὼν τὴν γῆν διέστησεν. So too Pindar (*Nem.* ix. 22 f.)—

Ἰσμηνοῦ δ' ἐπ' ὄχθαισι γλυκὺν
νόστον ἐρεϊσάμενοι κ.τ.λ.

³ *Seven ag. Thebes*, 377–9.

Τυδεὺς μὲν ἤδη πρὸς Πύλαισι Προϊτίσιν
βρέμει, πόρον δ' Ἰσμηνὸν οὐκ ἐξ περᾶν
ὁ μάντις· οὐ γὰρ σφάγια γίγνεται καλά.

In Apollodoros (iii. 68) it is Amphiaraos who is stationed at the Proitidian gate, and so near the Ismenos.

⁴ Il. 383–4.

though it was one rarely used. But Euripides, in any case, suggests that the Ismenos flowed outside the city, not through it.

The difficulty, however, is not insoluble if we suppose (as well we might) that reference is here made to the upper course of the river (that part of it, that is, which coincides almost exactly with the section included within the walls on Soteriádes' plan), which, on my view, would be outside the city. This necessitates bringing the Proitidian Gate, where was posted Amphiaraios, according to Apollodoros, and Tydeus according to Aeschylus, round to the South-East of the lower city and just North-East of the Kadmeia (next to the Elektran gate, where Dr. Verrall would place it¹); and this is by no means impossible.² This evidence is at any rate fatal to Soteriádes' view.

The evidence with regard to the Dirke is apparently contradictory. In a chorus of the *Phoenissae* Euripides appears to suggest that it flowed outside the walls.³ Ulrichs⁴ took Euripides to mean that the walls were situated between the Dirke and the Ismenos (and in consequence supposed that Herakleides meant suburbs and gardens when he spoke of the city); Fabricius⁵ accepted Herakleides' statement (for it agreed with his archaeological data) and tried a forced interpretation of Euripides' lines, taking διδύμων ποταμῶν with πύργος instead of with πόρον ἀμφὶ μέσον Δίρκας (a view apparently shared by Hitzig⁶). This both the language and the rhythm forbid. The real sense of the passage is doubtful: the Scholiasts give two interpretations: while one gives that followed by Ulrichs,⁷ others assert that the Dirke split into two above Thebes, and

¹ See above, p. 36, and n. 8.

² It is perhaps supported by Pausanias (ix. 8. 3), who says that the place where Amphiaraios was swallowed up by the earth was to the right of the road from Potniai to Thebes, that is, to the South-East of the town.

³ 818 ff.

Ἄρμονίαν δὲ ποτ' εἰς ὕμεναίους
ἦλυθον οὐρανίδαί, φόρμιγγι τε τείχεα θήβας
τᾶς Ἀμφιονίας τε λύρας ὕπο πύργος ἀνέστησαν
διδύμων ποταμῶν πόρον ἀμφὶ μέσον
Δίρκας, χλοερότρόφον ἃ πεδίον
πρόπαρ Ἴσμηνοῦ καταδεύει.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 8.

⁵ *Op. cit.* pp. 25-6.

⁶ *Op. cit.* iii. p. 466.

⁷ Dindorf, *Scholia in Euripidis tragoedias*, iii. p. 231: λείπει τὸ ὄσ' ὅς ὁ πόρος κατὰ τὸ πεδίον τῆς Δίρκης ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ἴσμηνοῦ καταδεύει. οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ δύο ποταμοί, ἡ τε Δίρκη καὶ ὁ Ἴσμηνός. See Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* p. 200, who says the whole passage as it stands is unintelligible, and would read (after Schenkl): πόρον ἀμφὶ μέσον, Δίρκα χλοερότρόφον ἃ πεδίον κ.τ.λ. But the corruption must be older than the Scholiast, who has apparently read ἄμ πεδίον. Wilamowitz also takes the 'two rivers' to be Dirke and Ismenos.

surrounded it with its two branches.¹ It is simpler (in spite of the difficulties of the language) to take the passage with Ulrichs, as meaning that 'Amphion und Zethus hatten die Mauern der Stadt so angelegt dass die Dirce und der Ismenus sie von zwei Seiten einschlossen.'²

Again, before the attack, Eteokles and Kreon counsel together as to the best means of defence: the former advises a sortie in the dark, which Kreon deprecates on the ground that it might create a momentary panic among the enemy but would not lead to victory: then Eteokles rejoins:—

*βαθύς γέ τοι Δικραῖος ἀναχωρεῖν πόρος,*³

which implies that the Dirke was outside the walls. Two more passages in the *Phoenissae* point the same way:

*τὸν δ' ἐξαμβέβοντ' οὐχ ὁράς Δίρκης ὕδωρ
λοχαγόν; (sc. Tydeus)*⁴

and Menoikeus' speech, where he says he will fling himself from the battlements into the dragon's cave, which was by the spring of Ares, one of the sources of the Dirke now called the Paraporti, just below the

¹ ἀνέστη (i.e. τῆς πόλεως τὰ τεῖχη) δὲ περὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν δύο ποταμῶν τῆς Δίρκης, ἡγουν οὐδ' ἡ Δίρκη ποιεῖ σχιζομένη, ἥτις καταρρέει εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ἰσμηνοῦ ποταμοῦ (*ibid.* p. 229, l. 28), and on v. 825: ἄλλως. περὶ τὸν μέσον πόρον τῶν διδύμων ποταμῶν τῆς Δίρκης, ἥτις σχιζομένη δύο ἀποτελεῖ ποταμούς, οὓς καὶ διδύμους ἐκάλεσαν. ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς οἱ δύο ἀποτελοῦνται (*ibid.* p. 231). Others seem to combine the two meanings, as (on v. 825): ἥτις Δίρκη εἰς δύο σχιζομένη τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ἰσμηνοῦ πεδῖον καταρδεύει. οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ δύο ποταμοὶ ἡ τε Δίρκη καὶ ὁ Ἰσμηνός (*ibid.*, and cf. the confusing η. to l. 818, *ibid.* p. 229, l. 8). The latter of these two interpretations, that supposing that the Dirke divided into two, certainly appears to fit the Greek of Euripides better. And there are other instances where the Greeks supposed that a river might divide into two near its source and become two rivers: the Danube was thought to have a long branch flowing southward into the Adriatic, as well as that flowing into the Euxine (Bunbury, *Hist. Gk. Geogr.*, i. pp. 384, 388; cf. ii. pp. 25-6, 357, 398), and Aristotle thought that the Tanais was a branch of the Araxes (that is, probably, the Iaxartes), which flowed into the Palus Maeotis (the Sea of Azov), while the main river flowed into the Caspian (*ibid.* pp. 399-400, 433-4; cf. the 'island' formed by the Oeroe near Plataia, Hdt. ix. 51). But to believe this of great and very distant rivers is one thing; to believe it of a small stream so near as Thebes is very different. No one who had been on the spot, or who was in contact with people who had been on the spot, could have had so strange a notion about the Dirke.

² Two other lines in the same play (101-2) perhaps support this view, though they are not conclusive; the retainer says to Antigone:

*σκόπει δὲ πεδία καὶ παρ' Ἰσμηνοῦ ῥόας
Δίρκης τε νῆμα, πολέμιον στρατεύμ' ὄσον.*

³ *Phoen.* 730.

⁴ ll. 131-2. No other details of Tydeus' station are given here. At ll. 1119-20 he is at the gate Homoloides.

of the lower town, not to the East or North-East, where it would most naturally be (Pl. XIX. B). One can only say that it is probable that if Aeschylus and Euripides made any mistakes about Thebes, they would be more likely to confuse the names and positions of the seven gates, than to forget general features of the topography. They may not have known anything about it at all, in which case we have no direct fifth-century evidence. But many Athenians, and perhaps Aeschylus himself, had been to Thebes after the battle of Plataia; and the agreement in some details between these various writers themselves, and in others between them and Pausanias, would otherwise be remarkable.¹

We may conclude then that the authorities before 336 do not at all contradict, while in some matters they confirm, the view which the evidence of Herakleides and Pausanias made almost certain, and that all quite decisively contradict the theories of Fabricius and Soteriádes. Moreover, if the topography of the town for the period after its rebuilding by Kassander is nearly certain, we should require very strong evidence that the town had changed its site, before we could believe that its earlier site was different from its later one,—a general consideration which takes us not only to the classical but also to the prehistoric, period.

Had such a change taken place, only some very important event in tradition or history could have caused it. Citizens of a town would not for nothing change their abodes, deserting their accustomed market-place and their shrines. If the Orchomenians moved from the plain to the slopes of Akontion, it was for an exceptional reason, the flooding of Kopais.² But of such an event in the history of Thebes we hear nothing. Pausanias plainly implies that no change was made by Kassander,³ and after the battle of Tanagra the Lacedaemonians merely enlarged the circuit, but did not alter the site.⁴

Had Thebes moved from the hills to the plain in earlier times even, we must have heard of it. Pausanias would know something of it in

¹ Fabricius tries to reconcile the evidence of the Tragedians with his theories; Soteriádes, more logically, denies their trustworthiness on the matter—a very possible view—but then his plan is even more inconsistent with Arrian, Herakleides, and Pausanias than with the fifth-century evidence. (The description of the battle before Thebes in Euripides *Supplikes* is not sufficiently clear to us to afford any valuable evidence, and the text may have been disturbed.)

² Strabo, ix. 2. 42, p. 416.

³ *Θηβαίους δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Κασσάνδρου πᾶς ὁ ἀρχαῖος περίβολος ἀνῆλθῃ* (ix. 7. 4); neither Diodoros (xix. 53. 2, 54. 1) nor Plutarch (*de republ. ger.* xvii. 9) hints at any change.

⁴ *τῆς μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως μείζονα τὸν περίβολον κατεσκεύασαν* (Diod. xi. 81. 3).

tradition; as it is he is blissfully ignorant: 'when Amphion and Zethos reigned, they added the lower city to the Kadmeia and called it Thebes as Homer says.'¹ No suspicion here that 'the lower city' occupied another site than when Pausanias travelled. He saw all the seven gates in their original positions; and would, in case of change, have had to record old and perhaps deserted temples and a disused agora outside the walls, and many other remains consequent on a change of dwelling on the part of large numbers of people.² An argument from silence may generally be a dangerous one; but in this case it could hardly be stronger.

How far the town extended in Kadmean times we cannot tell, but we need not suppose it to have been much, if at all, smaller than it was in the classical period. The walling of the 'lower town' was traditionally given by most writers to Amphion and Zethos,³ and the seven gates, which were certainly not all in the Kadmeia, are as old as Homer.⁴ The remains of the house of Lykos, which Pausanias saw and which may have marked a Kadmean site, were apparently near the gate Proitides,⁵ and so down in the plain. The modern village of Thebes (rather openly built, it is true) which occupies the Kadmeia only, as did the town of Pausanias' day,⁶ had but 3,500 inhabitants in 1901, and only 5,500 in all with its two suburbs Pyrrhé (to the North-West) and H. Theódoros (to the East) added.⁷ This does not make a big town, and Kadmean Thebes was doubtless much larger.⁸

¹ ix. 5. 6.

² As he does in the case of the Arcadian Orchomenos, which was once on a hill, afterwards in the plain below: 'Ορχομενίους δὲ ἢ προτέρα πόλιν ἐπὶ ὄρους ἦν ἄκρα τῇ κορυφῇ, καὶ ἀγορὰς τε καὶ τειχῶν ἐρείπια λείπεται· τὴν δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν περιβόλων οἰκοῦσι τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους (viii. 13. 2).

³ Cf. esp. Paus. ix. 5. 6; ii. 6. 4; Diod. xix. 53. 4. 5. See Unger, *Thebana Paradoxa* (Halle, 1839), i. chaps. 1 and 2.

⁴ *Od.* xi. 263-5.

⁵ Paus. ix. 16. 7.

⁶ Paus. viii. 33. 2; ix. 7. 6; cf. Dio Chrys. *Orat.* vii. vol. i. p. 136, ed. Dindorf (p. 263, ed. Reiske); Strabo, ix. 2. 5, p. 403; 25, p. 410.

⁷ *ΕΛΛ. Χωρογραφία* (3rd ed. Athens, 1901), i. p. 116.

⁸ Dr. Verrall, however (ed. *Sev. ag. Thebes*, pp. xix. ff.), held that in the *Septem* Aeschylus definitely thought of the city as occupying even less than the entire surface of the Kadmeia; and though what Aeschylus thought about the early extent of Thebes would not be very important or relevant, yet, as Dr. Verrall has shown that he is in all probability following a very old version of the story, it may be worth while to examine this contention. Dr. Verrall argued principally on the ground that on two points Aeschylus and Pausanias disagree, namely, as to the positions of the altar of 'Αθηνᾶ Ὀργα or Ὀργα, and of the grave of Amphion, both of which Aeschylus states to be *outside* the gates, while Pausanias (he claimed) says they were *inside*. With regard to Athena Onka, Aeschylus is quite clear: the shrine was near the Elektran Gate, outside the city (ll. 164-5,

We are to imagine then, if the literary evidence is to be believed, the citadel of the Kadmeia inhabited and fortified by a wall and towers from the earliest times; the considerable remains which were to be seen in Leake's day¹

486-7, 501-2). 'But Pausanias says it was in the upper city.' This is certainly what he implies; but it is to be noted that his language is vague: *ἔδει δὲ ἄρα Κάδμον καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μαντείαν, ἔνθα ἡ βοῦς ἐμελλε καμοῦσα ὀκλάσειν. ἀποφαίνουσιν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ βωμὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα [Ἀθηνᾶς]. ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸν Κάδμον λέγουσι* (ix. 12. 2). He then proceeds to mention the house of Kadmos, the site of which was in the agora of Pausanias' day, on the Kadmeia itself (see now Keramópoulos, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1909, pp. 57-122). Now if Pausanias really means by this that the image of Athena stood on the acropolis, we can only say that he is wrong; for every other author who mentions it says or implies that it was outside the walls (see the references given by Frazer, v. pp. 48-9): there is even said to have been a village Onkai on the spot (Schol. ad Pind. *Ol.* ii. 48; Tzetzes ad *Lyk.* 1225). But we need not take Pausanias too literally; for the legend of the cow grew up because of the shrine, not *vice versa*, and a little way off from the Kadmeia would have sufficed for the myth-makers. The cow might have 'grown tired and sat down' a little early, and not had sufficient strength left to climb up to the acropolis. It is to be noted that Pausanias is here giving mythological, not geographical, information. He has just mentioned the sacrifices to Apollo Spodios. This is important, owing to his habit of going out of the true topographical order to talk about any myth or religious custom that at the moment may be relevant.

If the order of the gates in Aeschylus is the topographical order, then this shrine of Athena was to the West or North-West of the town, not South-West of the Kadmeia, where Ulrichs (p. 15) and Fabricius (p. 28) place it.

The grave of Amphion was also outside the walls, near the Πύλαι Βορραῖαι, the North Gate (*Septem*, 526-8; cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 145, Schol. ad loc., *Suppl.* 663). Pausanias mentions it (ix. 17. 4) immediately after his description of the agora, and evidently wishes to imply that it was within the gates. But though it was inside in his day, and outside in early days, this would not confine the early city to the Kadmeia only, but merely make it of less extent than the city (or rather its ruins) of Pausanias' own day: which no one would deny. Pausanias certainly implies that the tomb was *not* on the acropolis.

The difficulties in the way of Dr. Verrall's view are, firstly, that the Ismenos is evidently supposed to be quite near the gate Proitides, for the seer would not have opposed Tydeus' advance beyond it, if there was such a wide intervening space as exists between the Ismenos and the Kadmeia (ll. 377-9; above, p. 40); and, secondly, that he had perforce, to suppose the *Καδμεία πόλις* was divided into an ἀκρόπολις and a lower area, all enclosed by the walls (p. xxii; and see his nn. on ll. 88-90, 204, 257). In this he had the support of Wilamowitz, who would 'die Kadmeia auf eine Citadelle auf der Südkuppe beschränken' (*op. cit.* p. 238). But no such division is possible; the Kadmeia is not two hills, but one hill, gently sloping without a break from South to North, till it reaches the steeper slopes at the Northern end. There is no 'Südkuppe.' Keramópoulos holds that in prehistoric times the Kadmeia had four separate peaks, and that the palace of 'Kadmos' was on the peak furthest North but one, the smooth surface which it now possesses being due to later accretions of soil ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1909, pp. 107-9). But none of these would have been sufficiently isolated to form an acropolis. (Nor would Aeschylus have known of this.) If the Kadmeia only, was occupied at the time of the *Seven*, then there was no lower town, only an acropolis. And this is, I think, improbable on other grounds.

¹ *Travels in Northern Greece*, ii. p. 226. Leake says the walls were 28 ft. thick, built of large, roughly-hewn stones, like the *Τιρόνθιον πλίνθευμα*. These were at the North end of the acropolis, near the Frankish tower. But Keramópoulos ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1907, pp. 205-8) asserts that Leake was mistaken and that they belonged to the early classical period. There are some remains of a later wall in the same place, built of isodomous masonry; and it may be remarked that the stones were quarried from the hills round Thebes.

have now nearly all disappeared and do not belong to the heroic period. Then owing to its advantageous position in the midst of the plain, the town extended downwards into the flat plain to the North, till it became necessary to wall the lower town too: this is put by the saga in the time of Amphion and Zethos. How far it extended we do not know. It probably retained its early circuit till its enlargement by the Lacedaemonians; and it included parts of the two rivers within its walls. After its destruction by Alexander, it was only 'rebuilt in its entirety' by Kassander. It was a *πόλις εὐρύχωρος*, a great city in the plain, not a fortification on a rock, not 'eine echte Hügelsstadt,'¹ or 'a great fortress city'²; it had no natural limit, but extended easily, like Athens and Argos and many another Greek city (Pl. XIX. B).

A. W. GOMME.

NOTE.

In his article in *Hermes*, after successfully demolishing Fabricius' theories as to the topography and the seven gates of Thebes, Wilamowitz proceeds—partly on the ground that those theories will not work—to the supposition that the seven gates never existed, were but the creation of the poetic imagination of the later epicists, more especially perhaps of the author of the *Thebais*.³ His chief reasons are, firstly, that though Pausanias mentions and names the traditional seven gates, in his description of the city he speaks only of three, and that his statement that the gates remained to his day must in any case be untrue, because after the destruction of the walls in 290 B.C. by Demetrios, they were never rebuilt; and, secondly, on *à priori* grounds, that it is unlikely that an ancient city would have had so many gates, as each gate is a source of weakness to the defenders; and Thebes has only three natural exits.

That Pausanias subsequently mentions only two gates after the one by which he had entered is not strange, for he only mentions them at all because he leaves Thebes by them: there was no need for him to go out

¹ Bursian, *Geographie*, i. p. 225.

² Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 36.

³ xxvi. (1891), pp. 131–242: 'Nur für den Angriff auf die sieben Thore hat es Bedeutung dass sieben Argeienhelder gezählt werden; nur für den Sturm der Sieben gegen Theben ist Theben die Stadt der sieben Thore.'

of the city six times and come back again, in order that he might describe it, and so mention all the gates. He left by the gate Proitides to go to Chalkis and to Akraiphnion, and by the Neistan Gate to go to Onchestos : in so doing he mentions in some detail the monuments in the immediate neighbourhood—here there would be more points of interest if, as is probable, they were the principal gates after the Elektran ; to the rest he only gives a passing mention, for he did not go through them ; they led to unimportant places that he did not wish to visit. But it is strange that of the numerous other references to the gates in Aeschylus, Euripides, and the Scholiasts, we are told practically nothing about the position of any gate other than those three, although, as Wilamowitz points out, many of the Scholia are derived from Aristodemos called *ὁ Θηβαῖος*.¹ It is also strange that Pausanias should leave to go to Akraiphnion by the gate Proitides on the East which led to Chalkis. Had there been seven gates, one surely must have been in the North wall, the *Βορραῖαι Πύλαι* of Aeschylus, and that would have been the natural exit for the road to Akraiphnion. There may of course have been nothing of any interest along that road. But a peculiarity of this kind is not sufficient to upset the statements of so many authors from Homer to Pausanias that there were seven gates.

More serious, if tenable, is the objection that Pausanias' statement *μένουσι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι* must in any case be wrong, because no walls existed in his time (after the capture of the city in 290) and consequently no gates. Herakleides² mentions three destructions of Thebes ; and these must, as Wilamowitz points out, refer to the three destructions by the Epigonoι, by Alexander the Great in 335, and by Demetrios in 290,³ for there was no destruction of Thebes in 479 B.C. after Plataia. And he goes on to argue that the walls were completely destroyed at this last capture, and never rebuilt. This argument has been sufficiently refuted by Mr. Frazer.⁴ 'Diodorus says that Demetrius "having destroyed the

¹ Pausanias says the *πύλαι* "ἴψισται were near a sanctuary of Zeus "Ἰψιστος (ix. 8. 5) ; and Aristodemos (*ap. Schol. ad Eur. Phoen.* 419) says the *πύλαι* 'Ομολωίδες were so called διὰ τὸ πλῆσιον εἶναι τοῦ 'Ομολώου ἥρωος (or ἔρους, see Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* pp. 215 f., and Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ομόλη ; and cf. C. Müller, *F. H. G.* iii. p. 309). Neither of these explanations tells us anything ; but they may have been full of meaning to a contemporary.

² *loc. cit.* p. 258, 12 : [πόλις] ἀρχαία μὲν οὖσα, καὶνῶς δ' ἐρρυμοτομημένη διὰ τὸ τρις ἥδη, ὥς φασιν αἱ ἱστορίαι, κατεσκάφθαι διὰ τὸ βάρος καὶ τὴν ὑπερφανίαν τῶν κατοικούντων.

³ Diodoros, *frag.* xxi. 14 ; Plut. *Dem.* 39-40.

⁴ *Op. cit.* v. pp. 26-7.

walls by siege operations carried the city by storm" (*πολιορκία τὰ τεῖχη καθελὼν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος εἶλε*). From this statement Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff appears to infer that Demetrius razed the whole circuit of the walls to the ground. But as, in Diodorus' narrative the destruction of the walls precedes the storming of the city (Alexander destroyed the walls after capturing the city), it would seem that Demetrius merely made a breach in the wall with siege-engines, then stormed the breach and captured the city. But no sure inference can be based on this passage of Diodorus, as it is not merely a fragment but an abridgement, and an ungrammatical abridgement to boot.¹ Plutarch mentions the huge unwieldy battering engine employed by Demetrius, but he does not say that Demetrius razed the walls to the ground.'

Moreover, if the walls had been completely destroyed, there is nothing to show that they were not built up again, though there is no mention of the fact: rebuilding would naturally follow destruction in a case where the city continued to be inhabited. (The rebuilding in 315 is specifically mentioned, because after twenty years' desolation it was a great occasion under the auspices of Kassander, and had a political motive.) And it is curious that the Thebans, *μεγαλόφυχοι καὶ θαυμαστοὶ ταῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον εὐελπιστίαις*: *θρασεῖς δὲ καὶ ὑβρισταὶ καὶ ὑπερήφανοι, πλήκται δὲ καὶ ἀδιάφοροι πρὸς πάντα ξένον καὶ δημότην καὶ κατανωτισταὶ παντὸς δικαίου*,² should have rebuilt their streets (*καινῶς ἐρρυμοτομημένη*) and omitted to build their walls, and that a critical traveller should have failed to notice the fact. But grant this, and Willamowitz' contention yet falls to the ground. He says Pausanias must be wrong in asserting the existence of the gates in his time, because there were no walls (how long must Thebes through a troubled period have remained unlike all other Greek cities of any importance, an unwallied town, only to be fortified again to resist Alaric in 396 A.D.);³ yet he admits that Pausanias saw and went through three gates, and partly bases his arguments on this fact: according to him

¹ The entire description of the campaign is summed up in about four lines (*frag.* xxi. 14): *ὅτι Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ δεύτερον ἀποστατήσαντων Θηβαίων πολιορκίᾳ τὰ τεῖχη καθελὼν, τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος εἶλε, δέκα μόνους ἀνδρας ἀνελὼν τοὺς τὴν ἀποστασίαν κατεργαζομένους*. This was evidently *not* a repetition of the events of 335.

² Herakleides, 14.

³ Zosimos, v. 5 (Frazer, *loc. cit.*). Wilamowitz attributes the very weak and vacillating policy of Thebes during the wars of 197 and 146 B.C. to its defenceless condition: Livy, xxxiii. 1-2; Plut. *Tit.* 6; and Paus. vii. 15. 10; Polyb. xxxix. 9; Livy, *Epit.* lii.

these three gates ought to have been non-existent too. But if they existed, why not the other four also?

Pausanias visited Thebes, and it is absurd to suppose he would accept on hearsay only, a statement that the famous gates still existed, when everyone of his readers who had travelled or who knew travellers would know not only that there were no gates because there were no walls, but also that there never had been seven gates except in the imagination of poets. It cannot be even that he was only shown the supposed *sites* of the gates by a guide: no one giving a description of London would assert that its gates exist at the present day, because the sites of Moorgate, Aldersgate, Newgate, and the rest had been pointed out to him. And it may be noted that if anyone were to infer from those names only, that gates *had* stood in their vicinity, he would be correct: if Pausanias had only inferred the existence of the gates from some such names we should be justified in assuming that he was right.

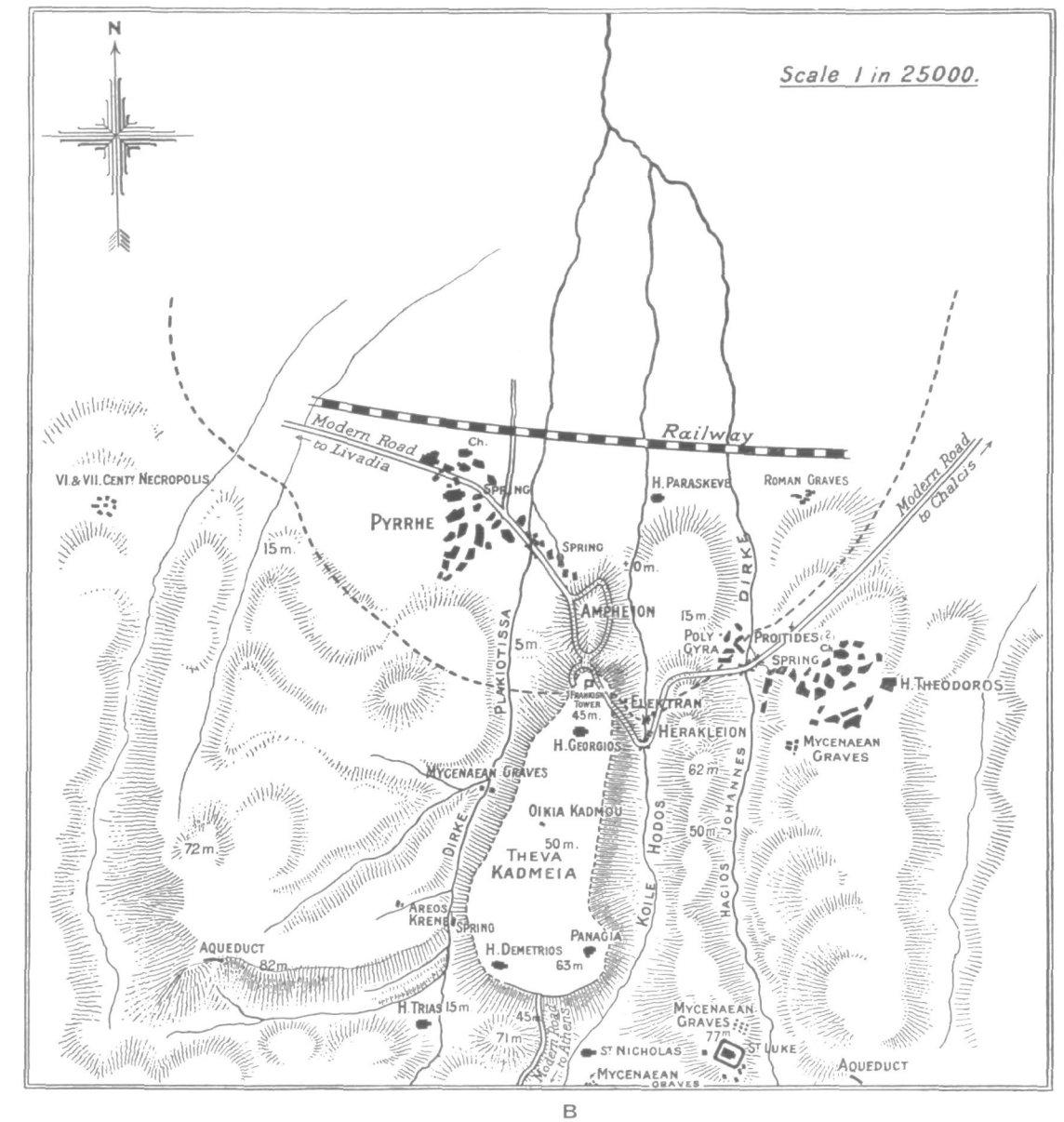
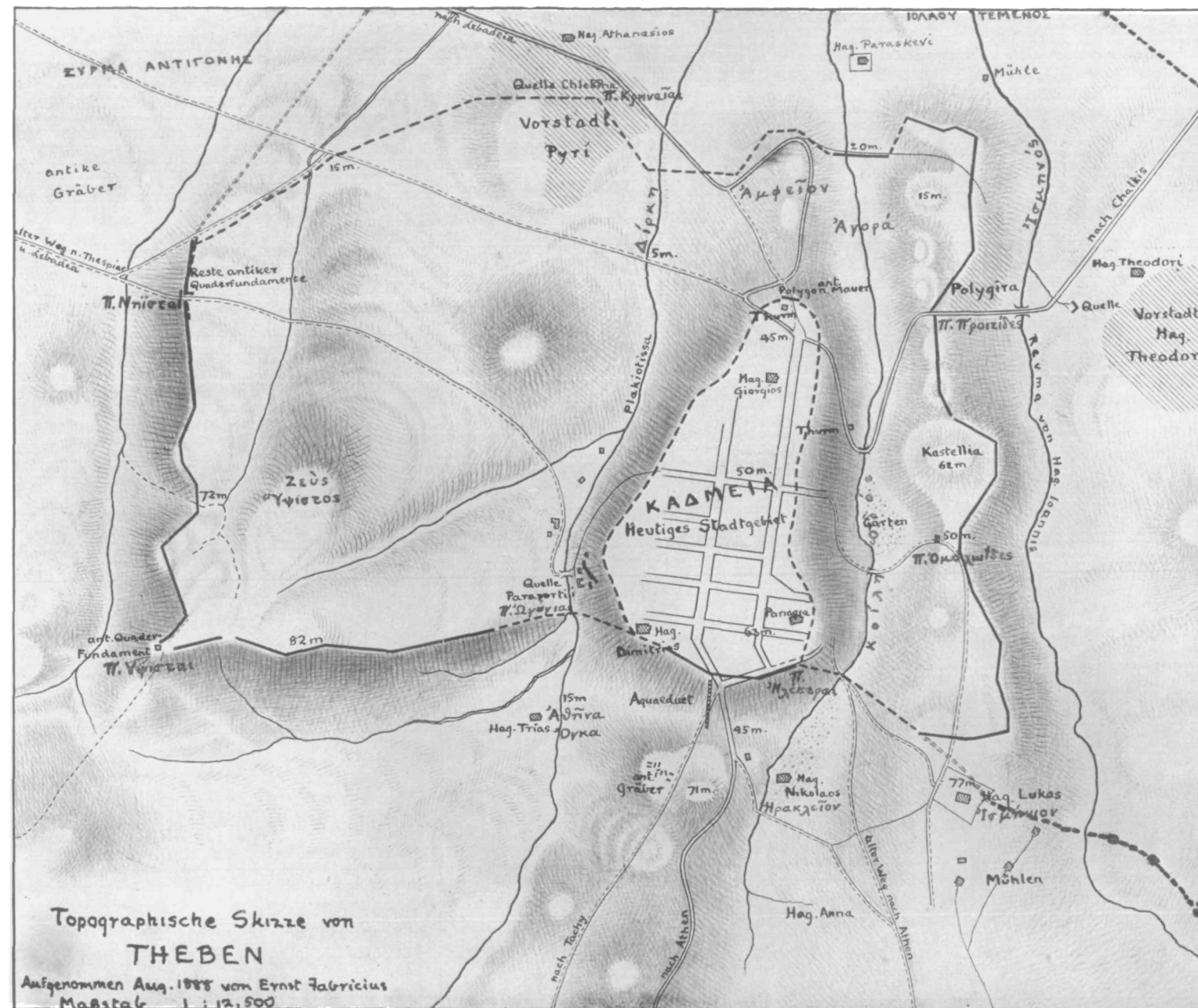
Wilamowitz' second line of argument is that the cities of the heroic age did not have many gates; and he instances the island-fortress of Gla in the Kopais, and Troy: 'Selbst (why 'selbst'?) auf der ummauerten Insel des Kopaissees sind nur zwei Thore, und Ilios hatte zwar unbedingt auch ein "rechtes" Thor, aber Homer erwähnt nur die Σκαίαι.'¹ These were unfortunate instances to choose, because excavations were undertaken after Wilamowitz had written. The island of Gla has four gates;² and Gla is but a palace and a fortress, not a big town with trade. If a fortress can have four gates, a town can have seven. At Troy, of the second city in its third period, in the one half of the wall preserved, three gates are known, and of the sixth, three large gates and a postern. In its entire circuit Thebes might very well have had seven.

Whether epic poets, such as the author of the *Thebais*, were in the habit of inventing facts at will about places so close at hand as Thebes, is another question.

A. W. G.

¹ p. 224.

² De Ridder in *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, xviii. (1892), pp. 271-310; Noack, *Athenische Mittheilungen*, xix. (1894), pp. 154, 405-85.



THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THEBES: A—ACCORDING TO FABRICIUS B—ACCORDING TO GOMME.