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STRUCTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PROPYLAEA AND THE NW BUILDING OF THE ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS

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(Plates 46 – 56, plans 11 – 12, figures 1 – 2)

The following study is, in a way, dependent on the study of the pre-Mnesiclean
cistern. For the interpretation of the remains of the cistern\(^1\), I had to observe
and explain some of the characteristics of the remains in their immediate vicinity;
I think that these observations add valuable information for the building activity
in the area after the cistern went out of use, after the departure of the
Persian army in 479 B.C. This information will be presented in the following
study.

It is useful, before entering the main part of this study, to introduce the reader to the buildings involved in the present investigation (plan 11): a) The
Mnesiclean Propylaea, built between 437 and 432. I attribute to this building
a part of poros foundation crowned by a row of poros blocks, because it occupi-

\(^1\) T. Tanoula, The pre-Mnesiclean cistern on the Athenian Acropolis, in this issue, pp. 129 ff.;
from now on referred to as: Tanoula, Cistern. A first version of this study was presented as
part of a lecture delivered in the year 1988 at the National Polytechnic School of Athens; for a
summary of the lecture see: T. Tanoula, Η περιοχή στα βορειοανατολικά των Προπυλαίων της
Αθηναίας, Περιοδικό της Εθνικής Πολυτεχνείου, Τμήμα Αρχιτεκτόνων, Σχολή Αρχιτεκτονικής, (1988) 27 – 29. I would like
to express my thanks to Judith Bender and Mary Lee Coulson for improving my English text.
Abbreviations: see the abbreviations used in: Tanoula, Cistern (above pp. 129 ff.).
Sources of illustrations: All plates and drawings by the author, except for figure 1, drawn by
E. Boulaas after Cavvadias – Kawerau, Ausgrabung pl. I.

\(^2\) In the few cases where this remnant of wall is mentioned, it is not identified: Cavvadias –
Kawerau, Ausgrabung 63 – 64; J. H. Middleton, Plans and drawings of Athenian Buildings
(1900) pl. 4 V, p. 8; G. P. Stevens, The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis at Athens,
Hesperia 5, 1936, 512, fig. 66; Bundgaard, Mnesicles, note 139.

\(^3\) See: Cavvadias – Kawerau, Ausgrabung 63 – 64, 67 – 70, pls. B, I; Bundgaard, Excava-
tion, pl. 14; W. Judeich, Topographie von Athen (1931) 246.
accepted that Mnæsicles, in his attempt to advance the construction of the NE wing of the Propylaea, mutilated or even demolished the «portico».

c) The pre-Mnæsiclean cistern, dated most probably between 510 and 480 B.C.

d) The northern wall of the Acropolis considered as Themistemoclean, or Kimonian, or Periclean.

e) The Mnæsiclean channel, along the inner side of the northern wall of the Acropolis; Kawerau considered this structure to be later than the archaic cistern; it has been attributed to Mnæsiclean building activity by Bundgaard, because two of its cover slabs belong to the apsidal Building B, of which practically all the architectural members have been built in the foundations of the Propylaea, mainly in the foundation of the northern wing.

Later Bundgaard changed his mind, and dated the drain channel between 474 and 454.

In my study on the pre-Mnæsiclean cistern, it has been observed that the cistern must have been destroyed a considerable time before the construction of the foundations of the NW Building; this conclusion is dictated by the fact that, when the latter was being constructed, the fill which had accumulated among the ruins of the cistern was dense enough to make the builders of the NW Building trust this fill enough to build on it, without digging down to the rock (pls. 46, I – 2). The foundation of the wall between the two

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4 G. P. Stevens, op. cit. 511 – 514; Bundgaard, Mnæsicles 79 – 80, and notes 138, 139; Boersma 229; Travlos, Athens pl. 91; Bundgaard, Parthenon 39 – 40, pl. F. The latest treatise on this building is included in: P. Hellström, The planned function of the Propylaea, Oplath XVII.7, 1988, 111 – 114.

5 See: Tanoulas, Cistern.


10 Bundgaard, Mnæsicles, note 138.

11 Idem, Parthenon 38 – 40, pl. K. 2. – Middleton dates the drain in the 5th c. (Middleton, op. cit., pl. 1, p. 3); later on (Middleton, op. cit., pl. 4 IV, p. 9) he says it is Themistemoclean, built when the older conduit, the one related to the pre-Mnæsiclean cistern, was blocked up; Iakovidis says it is archaic (Iakovidis 118). They both present no arguments.

12 Tanoulas, Cistern, note 63.
northern rooms of the NW Building was founded on a 1.6 m. deep fill, which reached the same level inside and outside the pre-mnesiclean cistern; in this case, outside the cistern means between the northern wall of the cistern and the northern Acropolis wall. If one takes into account the lowest surfaces of the lowest courses of blocks of the NW Building’s foundation, one concludes that the level of the fill in the cistern would be approximately 139.7 m. above sea level, that is 4.8 m. below the level of the stylobate of the Propylaea eastern portico. This fill must have been quite solid, and subsequently old, since the foundation did not sink at all.¹³

The accumulation of fill in the area to the north of the cistern presupposes the existence of a wall to the north; this would be the Mycenaean wall, which must have been incorporated in, or replaced by, the surviving 5th c. wall; this wall was built after the destruction of the pre-Mnesiclean cistern. This is certain because at least one block of the cistern has been incorporated in the lowest foundation courses for the northern wall of the NW Building west room. The direction of the wall at its lowest courses has a pronounced divergence to the south-west, in relation to the upper courses which are aligned with the northern wall of the western room of the NW Building, which is approximately east – west (pl. 47, 1); the same divergence can be observed on the outside of the low courses of the wall. It is very clear that the lower courses were built in that direction in order to conform to the natural contours of the rock. Originally I thought that these observations could be interpreted as an indication that these lowest wallcourses belong to an early phase of the reconstruction of the Acropolis walls after 479 B.C.; the abrupt slope of the rock in this particular area could justify the early building of a protecting wall bordering the top of the cliff. But this is not true, as it will be shown just below.

The lowest courses of the northern wall which diverge to the SW – as described in the previous paragraph – interlock with the corresponding lowest foundation courses of the western wall of the NW Building. In the 9th course from the top of this foundation at least two blocks belonging to the wall of the apse of Building B have been incorporated (pl. 48, 1); the one of them (pls. 47, 2; 48, 1), which can be measured, is 1.46 m. long and 0.5 m. high. It belongs to a circle with a radius about 5 m. This block lies at the level of the Mnesiclean drain channel to the west of the wall, among the cover slabs of which two

¹³ Under the part of the foundation of the intermediate wall of the rooms of the NW Building to the north of the cistern, the fill has been replaced with modern masonry (pls. 46, 1 – 2); under the part of the foundation of the same wall inside the cistern, the fill has been removed and the only block which does not rest on the natural rock, is supported by a modern iron post, instead of being supported by masonry; the gap thus created provides an outlet for the rain-water absorbed by the earth in the area to the east of the wall.
blocks from Building B’s apse have been identified.\textsuperscript{14} The northern side of the eastern part of the Mnasiclean drain channel (\textit{pl. 49, 1}) is made up of blocks which form part of the foundation of the NW Building western wall which, at its northern end, forms a stepped projection westwards; this projection was dictated by the form of the rock which, as already mentioned in the previous paragraph, in this area falls abruptly and forms a recess. The result of this situation is that the eastern end of the Mnasiclean drain channel is directed from SE to NW. Furthermore, it is clear that the seven uppermost courses of the foundation of the NW Building western wall interlock with the corresponding courses of the foundation of the northern wall (\textit{pls. 47, 2; 48, 1}); these upper courses of the northern Acropolis wall have a direction roughly from E. to W., and further to the west they form the northern side of the Mnasiclean drain channel. It seems certain to me that these courses of the Acropolis northern wall, the foundation of the NW Building western wall, and the Mnasiclean drain channel were built together.

It is worth discussing here some particularities of the southern half of the foundation of the NW Building western wall (\textit{pls. 48, 1–2; 50, 1}). The lowest courses of this southern half, which starts about 0.5 m. to the south of the northern wall of the cistern, differ in appearance from the rest of the structure. This appearance is due to the fact that these courses include ten blocks set so that the ends bearing anathyroses show; they also project and are obliquely placed in regard to the rest of the eastern face of the foundation; at least eight of those blocks originally belonged to the pre-Mnasiclean cistern. Nevertheless, the superimposed courses conform to the northern half of the foundation\textsuperscript{15}. One might be tempted to conclude that the lower courses of the southern half of this foundation belong to a different structural phase, but I believe that this is not true: the different appearance is due mainly to the particular characteristics of the second hand building material; furthermore, the structure of the foundations of the NW Building is nowhere uniform.

The above mentioned structures must be attributed to the Mnasiclean building activity, because of the blocks of Building B incorporated in several parts of them. Since the foundation of the eastern wall of the Propylaea northern wing contains a great number of the architectural members of Building B’s superstructure (\textit{pl. 49, 2}), one would easily assume that the foundations of this wall of the Propylaea was built first, and for the construction of the other structures only left-overs from the lower parts of Building B were available.

\textsuperscript{14} Tanoules, Cistern, note 54.
\textsuperscript{15} The southernmost part of the upper foundation courses of the NW Building western wall has been destroyed by the NE corner of the Justinianic cistern.
This assumption is corroborated by the fact that the northward extension of the foundation for the Pinakotheke's eastern wall goes through the northern Acropolis wall and projects outside the northern wall (at this point the Mnesticlean drain channel uses the northern Acropolis wall for its north side): if it were later than the ancient wall in this point, the foundation would stop at its inner side. But there is another fact which seems to oppose this assumption: the northward extension of the foundation rests on the western end of the Mnesticlean drain channel. The only way to explain the complicated relations between the structures named above, with regard to the order in which they were constructed, is to accept that they were executed while building activity was progressing all over this area of the Acropolis.

According to the conclusions reached in the previous paragraph the foundation of the western wall of the NW Building was built at the same time as the Mnesticlean drain channel, the corresponding part of the northern Acropolis wall, and the foundation of the eastern wall of the Propylaea northern wing. But this wall of the northern wing was also meant to be the western wall of the Propylaea NE wing. The foundation of the eastern side of this wing which was never built, is related to the foundation of the NW Building in a way, which makes the above conclusion apply to this structure as well (plan 11 – 12). The orientation of the foundation of the eastern side of the NE wing is north-south; in particular, its uppermost course consists of a row of rectangular blocks, absolutely parallel to the eastern wall of the Pinakotheke. The blocks being of unequal width, their eastern sides are arranged in a straight line, in order to offer a properly designed toichobate for the eastern front of the NE wing; I use toichobate and not stylobate, because the fact that the backs of the blocks are not on a straight line suffices to prove that they would have been concealed under or behind a wall, because otherwise they would have been exposed to view from the outside. The two northernmost blocks of the toichobate are higher than the rest, because they are placed on the westernmost block in the top foundation course for the southern wall of the NW Building northern rooms (pl. 50, 2); the underlying blocks of this foundation being higher than the corresponding ones of the eastern wall of the NE wing, the northernmost blocks of the courses of the NE wing below the toichobate have been cut to form sockets to receive the westernmost blocks of the

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16 See also Bundgaard, Mnesticles, note 138.
17 Many scholars have also restored walls at the eastern sides of the eastern wings of the Propylaea; see: W. B. Dinsmoor, The Architecture of Ancient Greece (3rd reprint 1975) 204 – 205, fig. 75, 76. Bundgaard, Mnesticles 79. Travlos, Athens fig. 614. G. Gruben, Die Tempel der Griechen (1976) fig. 155. Dörpfeld restored colonnades for the façades of the eastern wings, see: W. Dörpfeld, Die Propyläen der Akropolis von Athen, AM 10, 1885, 38 – 56, pl. 2, 3.
NW Building. The way these blocks interlock makes it clear that the southern wall of the rooms of the NW Building rests on the eastern wall of the NE wing of the Propylaea, at least as far as the three courses visible from the west are concerned; the rest of the structures, which would give more information about the subject, has been destroyed or concealed by the Justinianic cistern. The above observations could make it appear that the NW Building is later than the Propylaea. But this is not true, as becomes clear from the following fact: the westernmost blocks in the three uppermost courses of the NW Building's foundation under discussion, project considerably to the south of the lower courses in the same foundation; this projection ties them with, and presupposes, the eastern wall of the NE wing of the Propylaea.

The observations discussed in the previous paragraph prove that the foundations of these two walls were constructed in the same period of building activity in the area; the fact that the evidence of the relation between the lower courses of blocks is not available, makes us consider this conclusion as certain only for the two courses of the above mentioned foundations below the tectorbute of the eastern wall of the NE wing of the Propylaea. Middleton\textsuperscript{18} describes this wall as a «late wall built on made earth» and, after him, Bundgaard\textsuperscript{19} mentions only its two upper courses. Certainly it consists of at least four courses of blocks, which can be detected on the western side. Underneath, courses of blocks could be concealed in the mass of the eastern wall of the Justinianic cistern. It is true that the greatest part of the eastern side of this wall (\textit{pl. 51, 1}), including the two lowest of the courses seen in the lower visible part of the western side, is concealed by modern masonry, similar to that which was substituted for earth under the parts of the walls of the NW Building which were not founded on the rock. The part of the substructure of the eastern wall of the NE wing of the Propylaea which corresponds to the western wall of the «portico» has settled a little, and this makes it certain that it was founded on earth; considering that the parts of the walls of the NW Building which were also founded on earth have not settled, it seems probable that they rested on compact – and most probably older – fill, while the substructure of the NE wing rested on looser – and most probably more recent – fill. It is not clear if the lower courses of the foundation of the northern wall of the «portico» interlock with the foundation of the NE wing of the Propylaea, but it is most probable that they continue to the west, passing under the four visible upper foundation courses for the eastern wall of the Propylaea NE wing (\textit{pl. 51, 2}). If one accepts that the lower foundation courses for the northern wall of the NW Building «portico» advance westwards under the

\textsuperscript{18} Middleton, op. cit. (note 2) pl. V, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{19} Bundgaard, Mnæsicles, note 139.
foundation of the eastern wall of the wing, only the following explanation of the facts is satisfactory: the lower courses of the foundations of the NW Building were being built according to a preliminary plan which included a portico all along the front of the northern rooms; before the builders had reached the four uppermost of the existing courses, it was decided to construct the substructure of the eastern wall of the NE wing of the Propylaea; this construction took into account the fill which had already been accumulated in the portico area deliberately (chips from the stone work or even material transported from other areas of the Acropolis) by building directly on it.

The three surviving blocks which form the northern end of the toichobate and of the underlying course of the foundation of the eastern wall of the Propylaea NE wing project eastward and westward respectively, forming the beginnings of the two parts of the southern wall of the western room of the NW Building (plan 12). It is important that these projections to both sides are at right angles with the toichobate of the NE wing; this means that the direction of the superstructure of the NW Building at this area was intended to conform with the direction of the Propylaea. The block which projects to the west is set at a level corresponding not to the superstructure, but to the uppermost existing foundation course of the NW Building; it is built here in a second hand use and is very characteristic: it is 0.386 m. high, 0.1015 m. long, 0.525 m. wide, and bears a smooth recessed band, which is 0.042 m. wide and 0.004 m. deep, along the bottom of its front. It seems to be similar to the blocks which are built in the northern and eastern walls of the north-eastern room of the NW Building; but these blocks have different dimensions: height 0.549 m., length 1.257 m., width 0.7 m.; width of the band at the bottom 0.043 m., depth of the band 0.003 m. It is also interesting to note that a block similar to the one mentioned above can be observed in the foundation of the western façade of the central building of the Propylaea, below the southernmost intercolumniation.

Another interesting feature is a gutter cut partly in the second and partly in the third from the north blocks of the toichobate of the NE wing (pl. 50, 2; plan 12). It is clear that this gutter was opened in order to give way out for the rain-water gathered in the area between the eastern portico of the central building of the Propylaea and the southern wall of the two northern rooms of the NW Building; this means, of course, that the «portico» of the latter remained incomplete, without roof, pavement, and front; evidence corroborating this conclusion will be presented below.

The way the foundation of the eastern side of the NE wing of the Propylaea bonds with the western end of the foundation of the southern side of the NW Building, makes it clear that they are contemporary: the westernmost blocks of the latter have been carved obliquely in order to match exactly with
the corresponding blocks of the foundation of the NE wing. In any case, the bonding makes it clear that in no case is the «portico» earlier than the NE wing of the Propylaea, as has been believed to date; because, in that case, there would be no reason to cut the foundation of the «portico», since it could be incorporated in the foundation of the eastern wall of the Propylaea NE wing. Furthermore, the upper surface of the NE wing toichobate was finished only at the north and was left rough west of the middle of the western end of the NW Building’s south foundations (plan 12); about 0.60 m. to the north of the southern end of this finished upper surface, two pry holes can be observed. These observations mean that upon this part of the toichobate of the eastern side of the NE wing, a superstructure – most probably a wall of some kind – had been erected; this could have taken place at the same time, or sometime later.

The rest of the surviving part of the toichobate to the south retains the original roughly pointed surface. Only a part of it has been dressed in order to receive an isolated construction, for the installation of which a pry hole has been cut in the dressed surface. Anyway, the just mentioned observations make it certain that between the SW corner of the NW Building and the projecting doorpost still marking the southern end of the eastern wall of the Propylaea NE wing, an ashlar masonry was never built.

The form of the uppermost course of blocks of the foundation of the southern side of the NW Building – which differs in the form from all the rest of the foundations of the NW Building – and its relation to the toichobate of the eastern wall of the NE wing of the Propylaea, make it clear that it was destined to play the role of euthynteria (see: Tanoulas, Cistern, pls. 28, 2; 29, 1 – 2; 38, 1). If it were to be a stylobate or a toichobate it would rather consist of one row of wider blocks; in particular, if it were meant to be a toichobate, there would be a threshold built in it. As it is now, it corresponds directly to the euthynteria of the eastern wall of the NE wing.

The euthynteria of the NW Building’s southern side stops to the east before it meets the foundation of the eastern wall of the same building (pl. 52, 1, also see: Tanoulas, Cistern, pl. 38, 1). The upper surface of the row of poros blocks is continued to the east by the horizontal surface of the dressed natural rock, showing the eastern end of the supposed superimposed course (stylobate or toichobate) of blocks; but even this end, attested by the socket carved for the last to the east block, lies between 0.4 and 0.6 m. to the west of the western side of the eastern wall of the NW Building. The rock to the east of the socket is left in its natural state and rises enough to make it clear that it is impossible to ever have been occupied by a part of the NW Building. This makes obvious that the eastern end of the southern side and, consequently, the south-eastern corner of the building could never have been built. This is
true also for the southern half of the eastern wall of the »portico« of the NW Building; the surface of the rock on which this part of the wall would have rested – if it had ever existed – has preserved its natural state, rising considerably to the south-east.

Although the southern half of the eastern wall of the »portico« obviously never existed, its northern half retains its orthostate (pls. 52, 1–2, also see Tanoulas, Cistern, pl. 38, 1); its remnants consist of two blocks 0.755 m. high, the northern of which retains its full length (1.205 m.) and its full width (0.57 m.), while the other one has lost its eastern and southern ends. They rest on a toichobate 0.175 high, formed mainly by underlying poros blocks; nevertheless, a marble slab was inserted in the toichobate which corresponds to the northern half of the northern block of the orthostate. This slab seems to be in situ and its height is less than that of the toichobate in which it belongs; the part of toichobate below is formed by the underlying poros slab – the main body of which lies to the west – which rises awkwardly, producing an amorphous passage from the horizontal surface to the perpendicular one. It is interesting that of the inner (western) face of the surviving part of the orthostate, only the upper part of the inner surface of the northern block is chiseled, though not very finely; the rest is pointed.

The slabs bordering the rock at the eastern end of the »portico« – one of which continues, as already mentioned, under the orthostate – obviously are not pavement slabs, but they were built there as part of the foundation of the eastern side of the »portico«. This is proved by the fact that they correspond to the course below the uppermost of the surviving courses of the southern and northern sides of the »portico«; consequently the level, on which the existing part of the toichobate of the eastern wall of the »portico« rests, corresponds to the foundation and not to the superstructure of the »portico«.

This happens also in the case of the other existing parts of superstructure of the NW Building, namely those of the eastern and northern walls of its NE room: they also have toichobates which rest on the uppermost course of the corresponding foundation blocks (pls. 52, 2–56, 1); but the level of the upper surface of the latter is by 0.28 m. below the general level of the upper surface of the existing foundations of the rest of the building. In the case of the eastern wall of the room, the toichobate is, according to Kawerau\(^\text{20}\), the uppermost of three courses of poros blocks which make a wall abutting the eastern side of the foundation originally intended for the eastern wall of the NE room. The foundation of the toichobate of the eastern wall is, also according to Kawerau, built partly in a socket formed in the original foundation

and partly on earth (fig. 1). The way the superstructure of the NE room has 
been built on the bulky poros foundations of the NW Building, caused Kawena
 to conclude that it was added to them later, and I have no reason to disagree.

I think it is worth drawing attention to the following anomaly of the toichob-
bate of the eastern wall (pl. 54, 1). The toichobates of the northern wall and 
the northern part of the eastern wall of the NE room are 0.305 m. high; 7.28 m. 
from the northern wall, the toichobate of the eastern wall becomes lower, 
forming a step 0.057 m. high, dressed in the upper surface of a toichobate 
block. The wall blocks placed on the lowered surface of the toichobate are 
higher than the rest of the blocks to the north, the result being that the upper 
surfaces of all the wall blocks are level.

However, the way the surviving parts of superstructure relate to the founda-
tion of the NW Building seems particularly bizarre: in all cases the super-
structure was built lower than the level originally intended for the final 
superstructure of the building. The toichobate of the eastern wall of the «portico» 
was built not on the level of the euthynteria of the southern side as it ought 
to have been, but 0.52 m. lower, at a level corresponding to the upper surface 
of the uppermost course of the foundation of the «portico». The same thing 
happens with the superstructure of the NE room; the fact that it is built at a 
level higher than the existing superstructure of the «portico» (pl. 52, 2), is due 
to the fact that, as is normal, the level of the «portico» floor was planned lower 
than the floor inside the building. It becomes obvious that the builders had 
to build the superstructure at a level lower than the one planned originally. 
The way this compromise was realised in the surviving remains proves that 
the building was given a usable form, with little care for the original plans, 
for the architectural discrepancies produced and, as in the case of the eastern 
wall of the «portico», for the quality of the craftsmanship. The slapdash manner 
of intervention becomes even more obvious as considerable parts of the build-
ing were left incomplete, e.g. the south-eastern corner. The same reasons 
explain the fact that both walls which start from the eastern and western ends 
of the superstructure of the northern wall of the north-eastern room directed 
to the south, do not correspond to the pre-existing foundations on which they 
could very well rest, but they have been built a few centimetres further to the 
east.  

21 The poros ashlar blocks which now continue to the south the wall which starts at 
the western end of the superstructure of the northern wall of NW Building's north-east room, do 
not belong to the original structure but they were built in that place later; this is attested by 
the different formal characteristics of these blocks and, also, by the fact that between them and 
the northern wall lies a part of wall with rubble, brick fragments and lime mortar, which seems 
Turkish (pl. 56, 1). — A later, medieval or Turkish, pier occupies the NE corner of the super-
structure of the same room (pls. 53, 2 – 54, 2).
It is important to note that the foundation originally intended for the eastern wall of the NE room rests on the rock — which in this area rises to the east — and interlocks with the northern wall of the Acropolis at this point; so we have to accept, together with all the other demonstrations up to now, that these two walls are contemporary.

The foundation intended for the dividing wall of the two northern rooms of the NW Building, as already mentioned above, does not bond with the wall to the north and, for its greater part, was built on earth (pls. 46, 1–2). Partly on earth was built also the other intermediate wall of the NW Building, namely the one dividing the rooms from the "portico"; the earth, on which it rested originally, has been removed and replaced with modern masonry (pl. 50, 1). Considering that: a) the western and eastern walls of the NW Building’s northern rooms are founded directly on the rock; b) they are bonded with the northern wall, which is also founded on the rock; c) the intermediate wall was founded for its greater part on earth; d) the latter is not bonded with the northern wall (pls. 46, 2; 55, 1–2), one inevitably reaches the following conclusion: the eastern, western and northern walls were built together; the intermediate wall was built the last, on an older fill safely retained between the previously built walls to the west, north, and east, while to the south it was retained by the rising natural rock.

There is other evidence corroborating the conclusion reached in the previous paragraph. This evidence consists of the eastern end of a socket cut in the southern edge of the uppermost course of blocks of the northern wall (pl. 56, 2); there is no doubt that this socket was meant to receive the northern end of the now missing northernmost block of the uppermost course of the foundation of the intermediate wall; this form of bonding resulted from the fact that the two walls were built at different times and mostly with second hand material, and therefore, the courses of their blocks did not correspond to each other.
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

It has become clear that the Propylaea, the NW Building, the northern Acropolis wall and the Mnesiclean drain channel are closely interrelated. It is true that there still are parts of these structures which are not fully known, and additional excavation would be needed for safer interpretation of some elements; but the installation of the existing work-site to the NE of the Propylaea makes extensive excavation impossible for the present time and for the near future. However, I think that the good deal of new information presented in this study makes it worth attempting a restoration of the evolution of the building activity in the area.

In the preceding part of this study, it was concluded that the foundations of the NW Building, the foundations of the eastern wall of the Pinakotheke and those of the eastern wall of the NE wing of the Propylaea, the Mnesiclean drain channel, and the Acropolis wall to the north of these structures were constructed in one period of building activity, which must be 437 - 432, while the Mnesiclean Propylaea were being built.

One has to agree with Bundgaard that Mnesicles knew from the beginning that the NE wing of the Propylaea would not be built in the same period of building activity as the other parts of the Propylaea finally executed22. I think that one of the reasons for this was the simultaneous construction of the NW Building. It seems reasonable to accept that the preliminary plan of the NW Building included a portico occupying all its southern front. It seems that having finished with the building of the foundations of the Propylaea and proceeding to the orthostates of the northern wing and the central building of the Propylaea, Mnesicles started building the existing courses of the foundation of the eastern wall of the NE wing. The building of the four courses visible today of the substructure of the eastern wall of the NE wing of the Propylaea meant the cancellation of the preliminary plan for the western end of the NW Building's portico. The initial building of the lower courses of the foundations with the intention of producing a portico which would occupy the whole front of the NW Building, would explain sufficiently why the lower courses of the eastern side of the foundation of the eastern wall of the NE wing recede westwards: they could lean on a fill accumulated in the area during the works. The same fill could explain the fact that the foundation of this wall did not rest on the rock23. Mnesicles took care that the toichobate

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22 Bundgaard, Mnesicles 81.
23 It seems that the foundation of poros walls on enclosed dense earth was considered
of the eastern wall of the Propylaea NE wing and the toichobate (or stylobate) of the NW Building southern front were at the same level, with the intention to establish an orderly relationship between the two adjacent buildings.

I believe that the upper level of the NW Building’s foundations as built could hardly have exceeded their present level; only on the upper surface of the blocks of the >portico<’s northern wall one can detect some indications that a superimposed course could have existed: I refer to some areas where this surface has been dressed and cut down, as if it were to conform to the irregularities of the lower surface of the blocks of a super-imposed course. But the existence of such a course would be strange, since the marks presuppose that the superimposed course would be irregular in plan and consequently would be a foundation course, while its level corresponds to the level of the existing superstructure of the northern and eastern wall of the northeastern room of this building.

When the foundations of the NW Building had reached the existing levels, the northern Acropolis wall must have reached the level corresponding to the existing foundations, that is just under the toichobate of the existing northern wall of the NW Building NE room. To the west of the NW Building the wall must have been built up to the height of the Mnseiclean drain channel at a first phase, allowing to the foundations of the eastern wall of the existing northern wing of the Propylaea to pass above it and reach its outer (northern) face.

The evidence described above leads to the conclusion that the NW Building was not completed. Or, to be more accurate, it seems that the building activity stopped rather suddenly, and that the substructure did not reach the anticipated levels: the southern side of the portico remained at the level of the euthynteria without the stylobate; the foundations of the wall needed one more course, on which the toichobates would be placed. On the incomplete substructure a superstructure was installed, obviously not as originally planned. On the top of the northern wall bordering the building to the north, the superstructure of the northern wall of the Acropolis was extended, employing the same sort of masonry which must have been used for the rest of the northern Acropolis wall to the east, particularly at the part to the west of the Arrephorion. A similar masonry has survived on the foundation added along the existing foundation of the eastern side of the building. Both parts of superstructure rest on toichobates which correspond to the level of the upper course of the existing foundations of the western, dividing and southern walls of the rooms, which makes it clear that the fairly well worked toichobate of the surviv-

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safe by the builders of poros buildings on the Acropolis; see above, the cases of the intermediate walls of the NW Building.
ing parts of superstructure and the irregular uppermost blocks of the founda-
tions of the other walls would be exposed in the same way in the rooms 
(fig. 2). Since the irregularity of the uppermost course of the foundations 
would make them very inconvenient if they projected above the ground, I 
think that these courses and the toichobate of the superstructure were buried 
in the ground, which would have been level with their upper surfaces. I think 
that the built superstructure of the NW Building enclosed no roofed spaces 
but a single open air court. This solution would not demand that the projection 
of the western end of the existing part of the northern wall superstructure coincided with the pre-existing foundation of the intended dividing wall 
between the intended rooms: the top of the northern wall would turn there 
to the south, not to form the beginning of a dividing wall, but in order to 
follow the outline of the underlying structure of the wall.

However, the reason which dictated the erection of the superstructure of 
the NW Building eastern side in a position demanding the construction of an 
additional foundation, still remains a problem. The masonry of this wall is 
thinner than that of the northern wall. The anomaly of the step in the toichobate 
of this wall is, obviously, to be explained: for building the lowest course 
of the blocks, the builders had at their disposal blocks of two different heights, 
originally intended for different structures; they made the step in the toichobate, 
so that it would not be easily perceptible from the outside, and they 
made the upper surface of the course horizontal, in order to insure the regularity 
of the upper and more conspicuous courses.

The superstructure was extended only to a part of the area which was intended 
for the portico. As already mentioned, the northern half of the eastern side 
of the portico area was occupied by an orthostate resting on a toichobate 
formed at a level corresponding to a level which was meant for the upper 
courses of the foundation; this toichobate was partially formed by dressing 
the upper blocks of the pre-existing foundation. Pry holes on the orthostate 
indicate the existence of at least one superimposed course of blocks. On the 
toichobate of the eastern wall of the NE wing of the Propylaea a sort of wall 
was built, corresponding to the western side of the portico area. There is no 
doubt that the stylobate or toichobate of the southern side and of the south-
eastern corner of the NW Building were never built. The area intended for 
the portico was levelled with earth and the same must have been done in the 
area between the southern side of the NW Building and the northern side of 
the eastern portico of the central building of the Propylaea. The water flooding 
the area in front of the southern wall of the court – to which the NW 
Building was finally reduced – needed some outlet: this was provided by 
cutting the gutter in the blocks of the toichobate of the eastern wall of the 
Propylaea’s NE wing.
It is most probable that the rain-water from this gutter was conducted to the southern part of the Mnesticlean drain channel which must have extended in the area now occupied by the Justinianic cistern. I believe that this drain was constructed to provide an outlet for the rain-water previously collected in the pre-Mnesticlean cistern. For this purpose a new drain was cut in the natural rock, leading the rain-water from the pre-Mnesticlean rock-cut conduit\(^{24}\), to the Mnesticlean drain. The latter certainly continued southwards from the

\(^{24}\) Tanoulas, Cistern 140 f. with note 22; 144 with note 33; 159 with note 68.
southern end of its surviving part near the foundation of the western wall of
the NW Building, and its southern end would reach the south-western corner
of the ἑπείροιος area, where it would communicate with the new rock-cut
drain. The level of the Mnesticlean drain channel was low enough to be below
the floor level of the NE wing of the Propylaea, if it were ever built. The new
rock-cut drain is still visible: it starts to the east of the NE column of the Propy-
laea East Porch, and continues to the north-west where it disappears; originally
it would continue further down in the same direction, but its traces must have
disappeared under the ante-chambers of the Justinianic cistern.

The conclusions reached above are different from most of the ideas formerly
suggested by scholars; but one has to admit that these former ideas were
based on much flimsier evidence and, moreover, that they differed among
each other considerably. The conclusion that the Propylaea, the foundation
of the eastern wall of their NE wing, the NW Building, the Mnesticlean drain
channel, and the corresponding part of the northern Acropolis wall were built
in the same period corroborates both Travlos’ idea that the Acropolis wall
belongs to the Periclean building period and Bundgaard’s idea about the
effect of the Kallias decree on this building programme. Bundgaard main-
tains that the Acropolis wall to the east of the NW Building dates after 438
B.C. and the wall to the west of the latter after 437 B.C.; not having inves-
tigated the remains in the area as closely as is now possible, he adopts the
older idea that the NW Building was curtailed by Mnesticles, and he attribu-
tes this and, consequently, the corresponding part of the northern Acropolis
wall, to a building activity before 448 B.C. It now becomes obvious that the
conclusions of the present study establish the more reasonable conception
that all the western part of the northern Acropolis wall was built after 437 B.C.
with the possible exception of the lower courses. The fact that the building
activity in the area stopped suddenly leaving even an ambitious building like
the Propylaea in an incomplete state and, furthermore, the way that the anti-
cipated NW Building was reduced to a mere courtyard, can be very well
explained with Bundgaard’s interpretation of the Kallias decree. Bundgaard
maintains that the decree was passed in the year 434 – 433 B.C. and inten-
ded to curtail building activity on the Acropolis; the architect of the Propy-
laea, Mnesticles, was charged both with the building of the northern wall using,
as far as possible, existing material, and with handing over the Acropolis in

26 Bundgaard, Parthenon 121 – 133.
27 Ibid. 125.
28 Ibid. 121.
29 Ibid. 127 – 129.
a usable condition. I think that the building of the extant, not particularly fine, foundation of the eastern wall of the Propylaea NE wing shows Mnesicles' persistence in carrying out his preliminary plans for his splendid building, even at a moment when all expectations for further building were dwindling.

Athens

Tasos Tanoulas
1.–3. Rumpffragment einer weiblichen Gestalt Akr. 7127
1. NW Building. The western side of the foundation of the wall dividing the northern rooms, seen from SW (1991).

2. NW Building. Conjunction of the foundation of the wall dividing the northern rooms and the northern Acropolis wall, seen from SW (1991).
1. The inner (southern) face of the Acropolis northern wall, corresponding to the NW Building NW room, seen from south (1991)

2. Conjunction of the foundation of the NW Building western wall and the northern Acropolis wall, seen from SE (1991)
1. NW Building, NW room. The eastern face of the foundation of the western wall, seen from east (1991)

2. NW Building, NW room. Lower courses of the southern and western walls foundations, seen from NE (1987)
1. The Mnesiclean drain channel and the Acropolis wall to its north, seen from SE (1985)

2. The northward extension of the eastern wall foundation of the Propylaea northern wing, the western end of the Mnesiclean drain channel and the northern Acropolis wall (1985)
1. NW Building, NW room. The foundation of the southern wall, seen from north (1991)

2. Northern half of the eastern wall substructure of the Propylaea NE wing, western face, seen from west (1987)
1. The western end of the NW Building -portico- area, with the three uppermost courses of the foundation of the Propylaea NE wing, seen from east (1987)

2. The conjunction of the substructure depicted in pl. 50, 2 with the foundation of the wall of the -portico's- northern side, seen from SE (1987)
1. NW Building, eastern end of the -portico- area, seen from SW (1987)

2. NW Building. The eastern part of the building from the southeastern corner, looking north. In the foreground the NE corner of the -portico- (1987)
1. NW Building, NE room. The northeastern corner as seen from the wall dividing the two northern rooms, looking east (1991)

2. NW Building. The northern part of the NE room, seen from south (1991)
1. NW Building, the eastern wall of the NE room, seen from SW (1991). One can distinguish the step formed in the toichobate.

2. NW Building, NE room. The northern wall and the northwestern corner seen from SE (1991).
1. NW Building, NE room. The northwestern corner seen from east (1991)

2. NW Building, NE room. The junction of the foundations of the Acropolis northern wall and the wall dividing the two northern rooms, seen from SE (1991)
1. NW Building, NE room. The northwestern corner seen from east; the two poros blocks belong to a later construction (1991).

2. NW Building. The junction of the uppermost courses of the Acropolis northern wall foundations and the wall dividing the two northern rooms, seen from south (1991). In the centre of the picture one can distinguish the block with socket.
The substructure of the eastern wall of the Propylaea NE wing. Plan and western elevation.