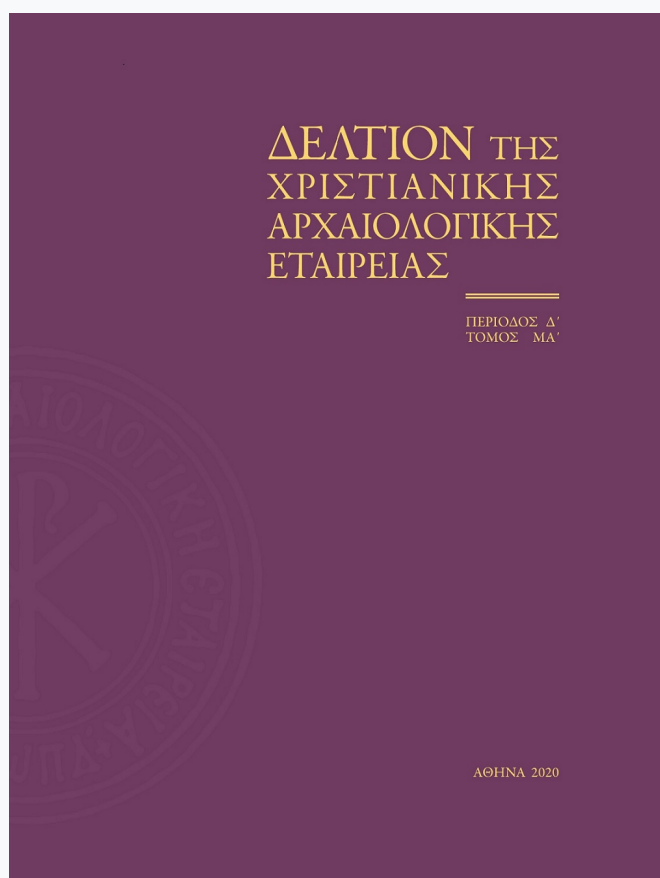


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Οι μεταλλάξεις της Αθήνας απο την επιδρομή των Ερούλων το 267 μ.χ. εως τα τέλη του 4ου αιώνα

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THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF ATHENS FROM THE TIME OF THE HERULIAN INVASION (267 CE) TO THE END OF THE 4TH CENTURY

Μετά από την επιδρομή των Ερούλων στην Αθήνα (267 μ.Χ.) η πόλη υπέστη μεταμορφώσεις αντίστοιχες αυτών που βίωσαν άλλες πόλεις του ελλαδικού χώρου κατά την ίδια εποχή. Όπως μαρτυρεί η οικοδομική δραστηριότητα, έως τα τέλη του 4ου αιώνα ένας εσωτερικός οχυρωματικός περίβολος κατασκευάστηκε, αρχαία δημόσια κτήρια εγκαταλείφθηκαν ή αποδομήθηκαν, εργαστήρια εγκαταστάθηκαν σε παλαιούς δημόσιους χώρους, ενώ το κέντρο βάρους της πόλης μεταφέρθηκε από τα δυτικά προς τα ανατολικά, στην περιοχή της σημερινής Βουλής και του Εθνικού Κήπου.

After the Herulian invasion (267 CE) Athens was transformed just like other Greek cities were at that time. The analysis of the Athenian building activity shows that from the late 3rd to the 4th century an inner, reduced wall was constructed, ancient public buildings were abandoned or dismantled, workshops were installed in ancient public places, while the city's core was transferred from the west to the east, to the area of the nowadays Greek Parliament and the National Garden.

Λέξεις κλειδιά

Υστερος 3ος και 4ος αιώνας, Ερουλοι, μεταμορφώσεις πόλεων, Υστεροροωμαϊκό τείχος, Αθήνα.

Keywords

Late 3rd and 4th century; Heruli; city transformations; post-Herulian wall; Athens.

For a long time, the Herulian invasion in Athens (267 CE) was considered as an unmitigated disaster for the city, as an event disrupting the city's life.¹ Indeed, from an analysis of the destruction layers that can be attributed to the invasion, it is clear that a large part of the city suffered, with the parts to the northwest and to the south of the Acropolis Hill suffering the most (Fig. 1). Public buildings devastated at the time of the invasion have been unearthed within the Athenian Agora – the city's Greek and Roman administrative center, as well

as in the Eso Kerameikos next to the Dipylon gate. On the Acropolis, the Erechtheion's destruction has been linked to the Herulian invasion. It now seems likely that the Parthenon too suffered at that time; it seems rather difficult to connect the temple's destruction to Alaric's invasion in the late 4th century, as argued by some scholars.² It is possible that more public buildings

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¹ I. Threpsiades, “Ρωμαϊκή ἔπαυλις ἐν Ἀθήναις”, *Πολέμων* 5 (1954), 136-138. H. A. Thompson, “Athenian Twilight: A.D. 267-600”, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 49 (1959), 62. G. E. Wilson, *The Herulian Sack of Athens A.D. 267*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Washington, Washington 1971, 116. A. Frantz, *Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700* (The Athenian Agora 24), Princeton, New Jersey 1988, 3.

² A. Frantz, “Did Julian the Apostate Rebuild the Parthenon?”, *AJA* 83 (1979), 397-401. Ch. Bouras, “Alaric in Athens”, *DChAE* 33 (2012), 1-6. E. Lamprinou, *Η υστεροροωμαϊκή επισκευή του Παρθενώνα και τα χρησιμοποιηθέντα σε αυτήν ελληνιστικά στωικά κτήρια*, unpublished PhD thesis, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Faculty of History and Archaeology, Athens 2015, 30-48. L. Chioti, *Η επιδρομή των Ερούλων στην Αθήνα (267 μ.Χ.). Συμβολή στη μελέτη των επιπτώσεων της επιδρομής και της ανασυγκρότησης της πόλης έως τα τέλη του 4ου αιώνα*, Ph.D. Thesis, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Faculty of History and Archaeology, Athens 2018, 118-123, 207-212, 451-453. O. Palagia, “The Gold and Ivory Cult Statues of Pheidias in Athens and Olympia”, O. Palagia (ed.), *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, Berlin – Boston 2019, 345.

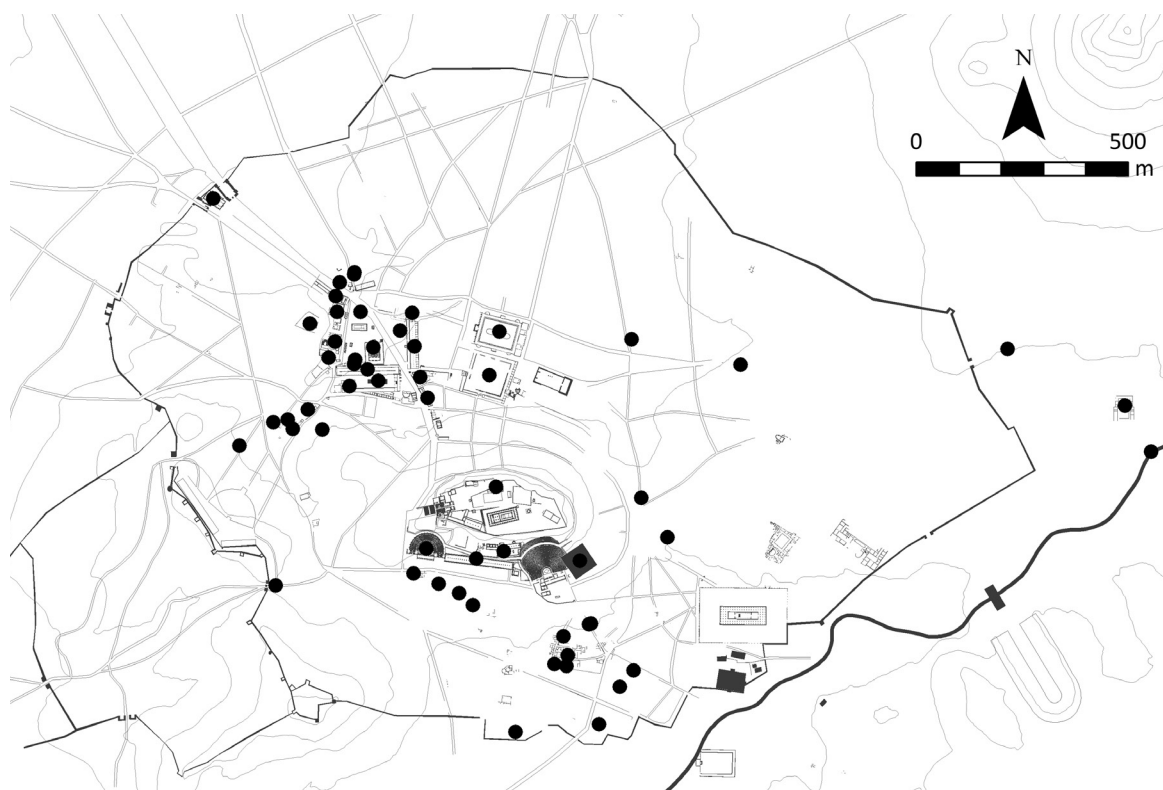


Fig. 1. Athens in the mid-3rd century. Dots indicate where destruction evidence connected to the Herulian invasion has been unearthed.

–the Roman Agora and the Library of Hadrian– suffered during the Herulian invasion. The destruction of buildings discovered on the South slope of the Acropolis has also been connected to the event; this connection has been further enhanced in the last decades by the increasing number of destruction layers excavated within the Roman residential district to the south – in the nowadays Koukaki district and in the Makriyiannis lot where the Acropolis Museum now stands. More destruction layers have been excavated within the Roman districts surrounding the Athenian Agora: in the area northwest of the Agora square, on the north slope of the Areios Pagos and in the ‘industrial district’ to the southwest of the Agora. A few destruction layers have been discovered in the eastern part of the city. On the contrary, it seems that the residential districts lying within the walls in north and in the west were left intact.³

³ On the destruction layers that can be connected to the Herulian invasion: Chioti, *op.cit.* (n. 2), 117-167.

In decades following the Herulian invasion Athens kept on being inhabited. By 400 the city was transformed and stretched back to its original dimensions (Fig. 3).⁴ A question arises whether its transformations were analogous to those experienced by other Greek cities at that time. It should be noted that Sodini and Petridis have studied and listed the transformations sustained by other Greek cities from the 3rd–4th to the 6th century.⁵

The major transformation sustained by Athens was the construction of an inner reduced wall, the so-called

⁴ Chioti, *op.cit.* (n. 2), 461-462.

⁵ Sodini studies the cities within the Provinces of Macedonia and Epirus. J.-P. Sodini, “The Transformation of Cities in Late Antiquity within the Provinces of Macedonia and Epirus”, *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond, Proceedings of the British Academy*, ed. A. Poulter, Oxford 2007, 311-336. Petridis studies cities within the modern Greek state. P. Petridis, “Late Roman/Early Byzantine Archaeology in Greece: a ‘gateway’ to the Period of Transformations”, J. Bintliff (ed.), *Recent Developments*

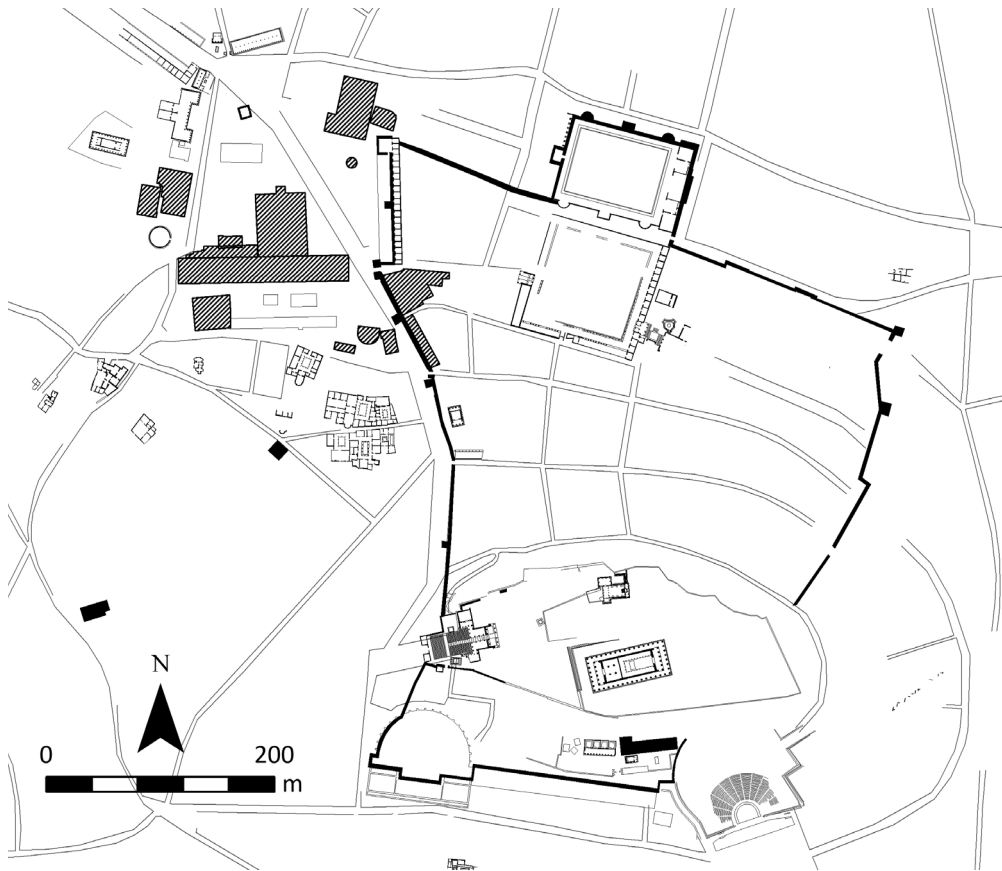


Fig. 2. Athens in the late 4th century. The post-Herulian wall, the Acropolis and the Athenian Agora. Buildings standing in ruins in the Agora are marked by diagonal lines.

post-Herulian wall (Fig. 2) that enclosed the Acropolis Hill. In the north, it ran along the east side of the Panathenaic Way, from the Acropolis to the Stoa of Attalos, then it turned to the east enclosing the area of the Library of Hadrian, the Roman Agora and the so-called “Pantheon” on Adrianou street and then turning to the south it reached the North Slope of the Acropolis; in the south, it enclosed the western part of the South Slope of the Acropolis. The wall fortified only the central part of the city, leaving the ancient public places, the Eso Kerameikos and the greater part of the Athenian Agora, as well as the residential districts unprotected. Walls of ancient

buildings standing along the course of the post-Herulian wall were incorporated into it, for example the Odeion of Herodes and the Stoa of Eumenes on the South Slope. Furthermore, building material was extracted from ancient public buildings and reused into the wall.

The wall's construction has not been unanimously dated; it has been dated either before the Herulian invasion in the mid-3rd century or after the invasion, during the reign of Probus (276-282) or to the late 5th century or even to the 6th century in the times of Justinian I (527-565). Based on the archaeological evidence now available, termini are provided and it is concluded that the wall's construction cannot be earlier than the middle of the 3rd century nor later than the second half of the 4th century.⁶ It should be noted that such reduced walls

in the Long-term Archaeology of Greece, *Pharos Journal of the Netherlands Institute at Athens* XX.1 (2014), 269-290. Also: P. Petridis, “Παρατηρήσεις στις πόλεις και τις αστικές οικίες της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας στον ελληνικό χώρο”, *DChAE* 29 (2008), 247-257.

⁶ Chioti, *op.cit.* (note 2), 180-202, 362-366. Baldini and Bazzocchi



Fig. 3. Post-Herulian Athens. Triangles indicate the industrial activity and dots indicate the building activity in Athens, dated from the late 3rd to the late 4th century and in late Roman times.

were constructed in other Greek cities too, at Dion, Nikopolis and Iolkos.⁷

are sceptical about dating the post-Herulian wall to the 3rd century noting that this would make Athens the first city to construct a reduced wall. I. Baldini – El. Bazzechi, “About the Meaning of Fortifications in Late Antique Cities: The case of Athens in context”, R. Frederiksen – S. Muth – P. I. Schneider – M. Schnelle (eds), *Focus on Fortifications. New Research on Fortifications in the Ancient Mediterranean and the Near East*, (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 18), Oxford and Philadelphia 2016, 708. It should be noted though that a date to the late 4th century, as suggested for the wall at Dion (n. 7), would reduce the time span between the two cities to a century or less. On the post-Herulian wall: E. Sironen, “Life and Administration of Late Roman Attica in the Light of Public Inscriptions”, P. Castrén (ed.), *Post-Herulian Athens. Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens. A.D. 267-529*, Helsinki 1994, 19-22, nos 2-5. Ch. Bouras, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα, 10ος-12ος αι.*, Athens 2010, 30-33, 41-44. A. M. Theodoraki, “The Ancient Circuit Wall of Athens. Its Changing Course and the Phases of Construction”, *Hesperia* 80 (2011), 84, 133-134. A.M. Theodoraki, *Τα αρχαία τείχη των Αθηνών*, Athens 2015, 62-64, 147-152, 239-242.
⁷ The walls at Dion have been dated either in the last quarter of the

After 267, the outer Athenian wall, the so-called “Valerian” wall, was still standing (Fig. 1). The latter had been constructed in the mid-3rd century expanding the ancient fortification to the east, enclosing the area of the present-day Greek Parliament and the National Garden. Its construction, first connected to the Emperor Valerian (253-260), has recently been dated to the reign of Emperor Gallienus (260-268). It is possible that the so-called “Valerian” wall was repaired in the late 4th century. Another

4th century or in the late 7th century. The walls at Nikopolis are now dated towards the end of the 5th century, not during the reign of Justinian. Sodini, op.cit. (n. 5), 319-320. Baldini – Bazzechi, op.cit. (n. 6), 700-702 note 29. Karagiorgou dates the walls at Iolkos to the late 5th century, after 482. O. Karagiorgou, “Demetrius and Thebes: the fortunes and misfortunes of two Thessalian port cities in late Antiquity”, L. Lavan (ed.), *Recent Research in Late-antique Urbanism* (JRA Suppl. 42), Portsmouth 2001, 208-209, 215. The reduction of the fortified part of the city occurred also in cities in the west part of the Roman Empire. J. Crow, “Fortifications and urbanism in late antiquity: Thessaloniki and the other eastern cities”, Lavan (ed.), op.cit., 90.

Late Roman wall fortified the West Slope of the Acropolis Hill; it is thought to be coeval with the post-Herulian wall, though it has been connected to the “Valerian” wall too.⁸

As in other Greek cities,⁹ in post-Herulian Athens ruined ancient public buildings were abandoned and dismantled. In the Athenian Agora, building material from the Odeion of Agrippa, the Middle Stoa, the Southeast temple and the Southwest temple was incorporated into the post-Herulian wall (Fig. 2). These buildings were never reconstructed and a mass of debris was accumulated on the Agora square. Judging only from the state of preservation of ruined buildings at the time of their discovery, it is not clear to what extent they were damaged during the invasion and to what extent they suffered from the dismantlement that followed in the hands of the Athenian builders. In the Eso Kerameikos the 2nd-century building that succeeded the Pompeion was also abandoned. On the South Slope of the Acropolis, walls of the Stoa of Eumenes and the Odeion of Herodes were incorporated into the post-Herulian wall, while the Theater of Dionysus shows no signs of reuse until the 5th century (Fig. 2).¹⁰

It is interesting that the abandonment of the buildings and dismantlement occurred only after the Herulian invasion and the destruction it brought to the city; it was not the outcome of a long process, as for example the Christianization or displacement of the population. Nor is there any evidence that the abandoned buildings had already fallen into disuse before the invasion.¹¹

Furthermore, ancient public places were occupied by

workshops and houses. Immediately after the Herulian invasion in the late 3rd and during the 4th century, an industrial zone developed to the west of the Acropolis Hill including ancient public places, i.e. the Athenian Agora and the Eso Kerameikos (Fig. 3).¹² Likewise, pottery workshops were installed in the Agora of Thessaloniki and in the Agora of Thessalian Thebes (Nea Anchialos).¹³ Moreover, the archaeological evidence from the Athenian Agora indicates that from the mid-4th century on, houses occupied a part of its west side: the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and the area extending to the south of it. The Metröon was remodelled to accommodate a tavern or a cheap eating place.¹⁴

The installation of private and industrial activity within the ancient public places inevitably brought the change of their status; this transformation cannot be seen as irrelevant to the preceding destruction connected to the Herulian invasion, nor to the fact that no care was taken for the restoration of old or the erection of new public buildings.

The post-Herulian building activity in Athens indicates that the city's core was transferred from the west to the east; restoration works were intensive in a previously inhabited spot of the town in the east, not in a new, unused spot as Petridis¹⁵ remarks in the case of other

⁸ T. Tanoulas, *Τα προπύλαια της αθηναϊκής ακρόπολης κατά τον Μεσαίωνα*, Athens 1997, 265-266. Sironen, op.cit. (n. 6), 32-33, no 16. Bouras, op.cit. (n. 6), 29-30, 44-45. Theocharakī, “The Ancient Circuit Wall”, op.cit. (n. 6), 84, 131-135, 151. Theocharakī, *Τα αρχαία τείχη*, op.cit. (n. 6), 60-62, 64-67, 232-239. Chioti, op.cit. (n. 2), 27-30, 202-207.

⁹ Petridis, op.cit. (n. 5), 286. The theater at Demetrias was abandoned in the mid-4th century. Its building material was incorporated into a Basilica and the walls at Iolkos. Karagiorgou notes though that the dismantlement of buildings occurred already in the 2nd century. Karagiorgou, op.cit. (n. 7), 199-201, 206, 211.

¹⁰ H. A. Thompson, “The Excavation of the Athenian Agora: 1940-1946”, *Hesperia* 16 (1947), 200-202. Thompson, op.cit. (n. 1), 62. Chioti, op.cit. (n. 2), 195-199, 201, 219-220, 224-225, 227-240, 260. On the Eso Kerameikos: n. 12.

¹¹ Chioti, op.cit. (n. 2), 475.

¹² In the Athenian Agora, a bronze-working establishment was installed within the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, in the Early Roman Stoa annex in the west. It seems that the workers' goal was not to cast statues, but to melt and turn any scrap of bronze into utilitarian objects. H. A. Thompson, “Buildings on the West Side of the Agora”, *Hesperia* 6 (1937), 77, 115. In the Eso Kerameikos workshops were installed in the area of the Pompeion and the 2nd century building that succeeded it, as well as to the south of the Sacred Way. W. Höpfner, *Das Pompeion und seine Nachfolgerbauten* (Kerameikos, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen, Band X), Berlin 1976, 173-175, 188-189. U. Knigge, *Ο Κεραμεικός της Αθήνας. Ιστορία - Μνημεία - Ανασκαφές*, Athens 1990, 45, 94. J. Stroszeck, *Der Kerameikos in Athen. Geschichte, Bauten und Denkmäler im archäologischen Park*, Athens 2014, 119, 122, 130. Chioti, op.cit. (n. 2), 260, 263-264.

¹³ The Agora of Thessaloniki was in use in the 4th century. Pottery workshops were installed in the Agora from the 5th century on. A pottery workshop was operating in the Agora of Thebes at least from the 3rd century. P. Adam-Veleni, *Αρχαία αγορά Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessaloniki 1997, 26. Karagiorgou, op.cit. (n. 7), 196.

¹⁴ Thompson, op.cit. (n. 12), 77, 171, 197-198, 200. Chioti, op.cit. (n. 2), 231-232.

¹⁵ Petridis, op.cit. (n. 5), 286. In the case of Demetrias, Iolkos was inhabited and possibly the administrative center too was trans-

Greek cities. Soon after the invasion, in the late 3rd and the early 4th century, building complexes standing in the east, both within and beyond the “Valerian” wall, in the area of the Greek Parliament and the National Garden, were restored and extended. The Roman building complex – possibly constructed in the 2nd century – discovered on Vas. Olgas and Vas. Amalias avenue was restored, a late 3rd- early 4th-century bathing complex was added to the west; another late 3rd- early 4th-century bathing complex was erected to the north, on present-day Syntagma square. The 2nd-century building complex in the northeast corner of the National Garden was expanded and a bath was added in the early 4th century. During the first half of the 4th century a bath was constructed to the north of the Olympieion; a building complex with an apse in the area of the Parliament was in use until the mid-4th century (Fig. 3).¹⁶

Zachariadou, one of the excavators, links the building complexes with the philosophical schools operating in Athens at that time.¹⁷ These complexes can be connected to people of high social and economic status. If this hypothesis is correct, it could perhaps explain why a great part of the Athenian industrial activity was installed away from the complexes, in the western and northern part of the city.

The habitation of the area goes back to the 2nd and 3rd century. The area of the National Garden was inhabited under the Emperor Hadrian, replacing an earlier cemetery, when Athens was expanded to the east. Later, the area was enclosed by the “Valerian” wall (Fig. 1); its course indicates which buildings were chosen to be protected or not, while the buildings to the south of the

Olympieion were sacrificed to provide building material for the wall’s construction.¹⁸

On the contrary, the old administrative center, the Athenian Agora, was neglected and divided in two; its space was diminished, as the post-Herulian wall occupied its eastern part. As mentioned before, workers settled in the Agora, public buildings were dismantled and left in ruins (Figs 2, 3). In the northwest, the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and the Basileios Stoa were perhaps still in use. It is interesting that the Athenians did not restore any administrative buildings until almost a century after the invasion had passed: the Tholos was reconstructed in the mid-4th century; this is perhaps the only Agora building that maintained its public character in the post-Herulian years. Then, in the second half of the 4th century, the long stoa standing at the entrance of the Agora, to the south of the Panathenaic Way, was restored (Fig. 2).¹⁹

Unfortunately, it cannot be said where the post-Herulian administrative center was established. No building, either preexisting or new, being in use in the late 3rd or in the 4th century, has so far been safely identified as an administrative one. It seems that the Roman Agora and the Library of Hadrian were in use after the Herulian invasion, enclosed by the post-Herulian wall. But, the traditional view that after 267 the administrative and commercial center was transferred to these buildings is not confirmed by the available archaeological data; nor is Schmalz’s suggestion that the administrative and commercial center was transferred beyond the post-Herulian wall, in the area of the church of Hagia Aikaterini to the east of the Acropolis Hill.²⁰ It

ferred there. Karagiorgou, op.cit. (n. 7), 207.

¹⁶ St. Koumanoudis, *ΙΑΕ* 1889, 16. E. Spathari – M. Chatzioti, *AD* 38 (1983), B1, 25. O. Zachariadou, *AD* 49 (1994), B1, 30-31. O. Zachariadou, *AD* 50 (1995), B1 Chronika, 34-35. O. Zachariadou – G. Kavvadias, *AD* 53 (1998), B1, 54-58. A. D’Amico, “Le terme dell’ Olympieion di Atene”, *ASAtene* 84 (2006), 659-715. Chioti, op.cit. (n. 2), 271-278, 321-324.

¹⁷ O. Zachariadou, “Η ανατολική περιοχή της Αθήνας κατά τη ρωμαϊκή περίοδο”, St. Vlizos (ed.), *Η Αθήνα κατά τη ρωμαϊκή εποχή. Πρόσφατες ανακαλύψεις, νέες έρευνες* (4th Supplement), Benaki Museum, Athens 2008, 162-163. As Petridis notes, it is difficult to distinguish a private luxurious villa from a public building or an official’s residence operating both as private and public. Petridis, op.cit. (n. 5), 253.

¹⁸ Chioti, op.cit. (n. 2), 60.

¹⁹ H. A. Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors* (Hesperia Supplements 4), Baltimore 1940, 54, 136. H. A. Thompson – R. E. Wyckley, *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center* (The Athenian Agora 14), Princeton, New Jersey 1972, 210. T. L. Jr. Shear, “The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1972”, *Hesperia* 42 (1973), 370-380. Frantz, op.cit. (n. 1), 25-28, 54. J. M. Camp., *Η αρχαία αγορά της Αθήνας. Οι ανασκαφές στην καρδιά της κλασικής πόλης*, Athens 2004, 236. Chioti, op.cit. (n. 2), 232, 308-309, 372-375.

²⁰ J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, New York 1971, 29, 161, 244. G. C. R. Schmalz, “The Athenian Prytaneion Discovered?”, *Hesperia* 75, (2006), 36, 51-55. Regarding the remains discovered in the area of the Hagia Aikaterini Church: Chioti, op.cit. (n. 2), 62-64.

should be noted though that the part of the city lying within the post-Herulian wall provides us with data dating only in the late 4th – early 5th century.²¹ Is it possible that the restoration of the building complexes in the east part of Athens soon after 267 indicates their public character or a connection to people holding offices at that time? This possibility cannot be excluded.

During the late 3rd and the 4th century the street layout in Athens did change, though not dramatically. The post-Herulian wall blocked a few preexisting streets, but, as it incorporated walls of ancient buildings, its west and north flanks ran along two main streets, the Panathenaic Way and the street running between the Roman Agora and the Library of Hadrian. This way, the two streets served as a peripheral zone free of buildings. The main ancient road, the Dromos, running beyond the “Valerian” wall was narrowed; in the north, it seems that the Acharnian street, leading from Athens to Acharnes, fell out of use.²²

In Late Roman Athens the total number of baths increased, as did their dimensions (Fig. 4).²³ As mentioned above, bathing complexes were erected in the eastern part of the city: in the area of the Parliament, on the intersection of Vas. Amalias and Vas. Olgas avenue, to the north of the Olympieion and to the east of the National Garden. Hence, a zone with a high concentration of baths developed along Vas. Amalias avenue, possibly including the bath underneath the Russian Church too.²⁴ The earliest post-Herulian baths are dated to the late 3rd and the early 4th century. Also, for the first time baths were constructed in new spots within the city; a late 4th-century bath was discovered in the northwest part of the city, while more baths were re-

vealed in the southwest – unfortunately dated vaguely to the Late Roman times.²⁵

Sodini and Petridis speak of the emergence of Christian buildings. Indeed, in other Greek cities Christian buildings were erected from the 4th century on;²⁶ in Thessaloniki, Galerius’ Rotonda, an ancient building, was turned into a Christian church, while more churches replaced Roman public buildings.²⁷

Instead, in Athens ancient temples were still in use after the Herulian invasion, for example the temple of Aphrodite Ourania and the Shrine of Hekate in the Athenian Agora.²⁸ Based on recent finds, it is argued that the temple of Asclepius on the South Slope of the Acropolis was restored after 267. The Erechtheion is believed to have been restored during the 4th century and this seems possible for the Parthenon too.²⁹ A few

²⁵ On the bath on 29-31 Sarri street: F. Stavropoulos, *AD* 20 (1965), B1 Chronika, 49. Travlos, *op.cit.* (n. 20), 181, bath S. On the baths on 21 and 27 R. Galli street and on Fratti street: O. Alexandri, *AD* 31 (1976), B1 Chronika, 41-43. O. Alexandri, *AD* 27 (1972), B1 Chronika, 48-52. Th. Eliopoulos, *AD* 56-59 (2001-2004), B1 Chronika, 216.

²⁶ Sodini, *op.cit.* (n. 5), 326, 328. Petridis, *op.cit.* (n. 5), 286. Such buildings appeared in Thessalian Thebes, both intra and extra muros, during the 4th century: Basilica H has been dated to the 4th century; the Baptistry to the southwest of Basilica C probably to the same century; a group of rooms to the southwest of Basilica C, serving probably as the episcopal palace, probably to the late 4th century. Extra muros, Basilica K has been dated to the early 4th century. In Demetrias, a basilica was erected extra muros towards the end of the 4th century. Basilicas were constructed and were still in use during the 5th-6th centuries. Karagiorgou, *op.cit.* (n. 7), 187-191, 193-194, 200-201, 212. Basilicas in Thessaloniki are dated to the 5th century. M. Vitti, *Η πολεοδομική εξέλιξη της Θεσσαλονίκης. Από την ίδρυσή της έως τον Γαλέριο*, Athens 1996, 65-66. N. Gkioles, *Παλαιοχριστιανική Τέχνη: Ναοδομία (π. 200-600)*, Athens 1998, 106-110. During the 4th century there were six bishoprics in Boeotia. V. Aravantinos, *Το Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο των Θηβών*, Athens 2010, 350.

²⁷ Vitti, *op.cit.* (n. 25), 66. Gkioles, *op.cit.* (n. 26), 107.

²⁸ The Shrine of Hekate went out of use during the second half of the 4th century. H. A. Thompson, “Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1958”, *Hesperia* 28 (1959), 96. H. A. Thompson, “Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1959”, *Hesperia* 29 (1960), 333. Frantz, *op.cit.* (n. 1), 8, 19. Chioti, *op.cit.* (n. 2), 237-239.

²⁹ A. L. Lesk, *A Diachronic Examination of the Erechtheion and its Reception*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati 2005, 303-305, 316, 320-322, figs 506-507, 573. V. Papafthimiou, “Recent excavations at the Asklepieion of Athens”, *Il*

²¹ The remains of a floor discovered in the west stoa of the peristylum of Hadrian’s Library are the only safely dated remains, indicating that the building was in use after 267, before its repair in the early 5th century. Based on inscriptions the Eleusinion seems to have been in use during the 4th century, though no building activity is attested in the sanctuary. Its use is believed to have ended in the late 4th century. A. Spetsieri-Choremi, *AD* 60 (2005), B1 Chronika, 63. Chioti, *op.cit.* (n. 2), 215-216, 253-260, 382-388.

²² L. Ficuciello, *Le Strade di Atene* (SATAA 4), Athens-Paestum 2008, 187, no 84, 197-199, no 94. Chioti, *op.cit.* (n. 2), 318, 344-345, 458.

²³ Chioti, *op.cit.* (n. 2), 464-465.

²⁴ Chioti, *op.cit.* (n. 2), 395-408.



Fig. 4. Athens. Baths dated from the late 3rd to the late 4th century and in late Roman times.

ancient sanctuaries were abandoned in the late 3rd and in the 4th century: the Sanctuary of Pancrates and the Sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule, both with small dimensions;³⁰ the Southwest and the Southeast temples in the Athenian Agora apparently went out of use, as their building material was extracted and incorporated into the post-Herulian wall, as mentioned above.

The area beyond the “Valerian” wall was mostly reserved to the dead, as it was before the Herulian invasion

(Fig. 5). The old cemeteries were still in use, except for the cemetery before the Archarnian gates in the north; the area was occupied by pottery kilns operating until the mid-4th century. The ancient cemetery of Cynosarges was the largest one in the city; it was put back into use in the late 3rd century, after an interval of at least a century. It lay in the area of the so-called Gymnasium of Cynosarges, to the southeast of the city. Its location causes no surprise, since the city’s core was transferred to the east, as noted above.³¹

In contrast to other Greek cities,³² only a few burials have been discovered within the walls in Athens. It should be noted though that in most cases both the date and the finding spots within the “Valerian” wall are puzzling; the burials have been found either where

Culto di Asclepio nell’Area Mediterranea. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, eds E. De Miro – G. Sfameni Gasparo – V. Calì, Rome 2009, 86-87. A. Papanikolaou, *Η Αποκατάσταση του Ερεχθείου (1979-1987). Η Απόδοση του Έργου*, eds F. Mallouchou-Tufano – Ch. Bouras, Ministry of Education, Religion, Culture and Sports, Acropolis Restoration Service, Committee for the Conservation of the Acropolis Monuments, 2, Athens 2012, 501, plan 131-132. Lamprinou, op.cit. (n. 3), 43-48. Chioti, op.cit. (n. 2), 207-213, 221.

³⁰ I. Meliadis, “Ἀνασκαφὴ παρὰ τὴν κοίτην τοῦ Ἰλίου. Συμπληρωματικὴ ἔκθεσις περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Παγκράτους”, *ΠΑΕ* 1954, 45. Chioti, op.cit. (n. 2), 312, 325.

³¹ Chioti, op.cit. (n. 2), 314-345, 417-421.

³² Petridis, op.cit. (n. 5), 286. Burials within the city walls have been discovered in Thessalian Thebes and in Demetrias. Karagiorgou, op.cit. (n. 7), 194-196, 201.

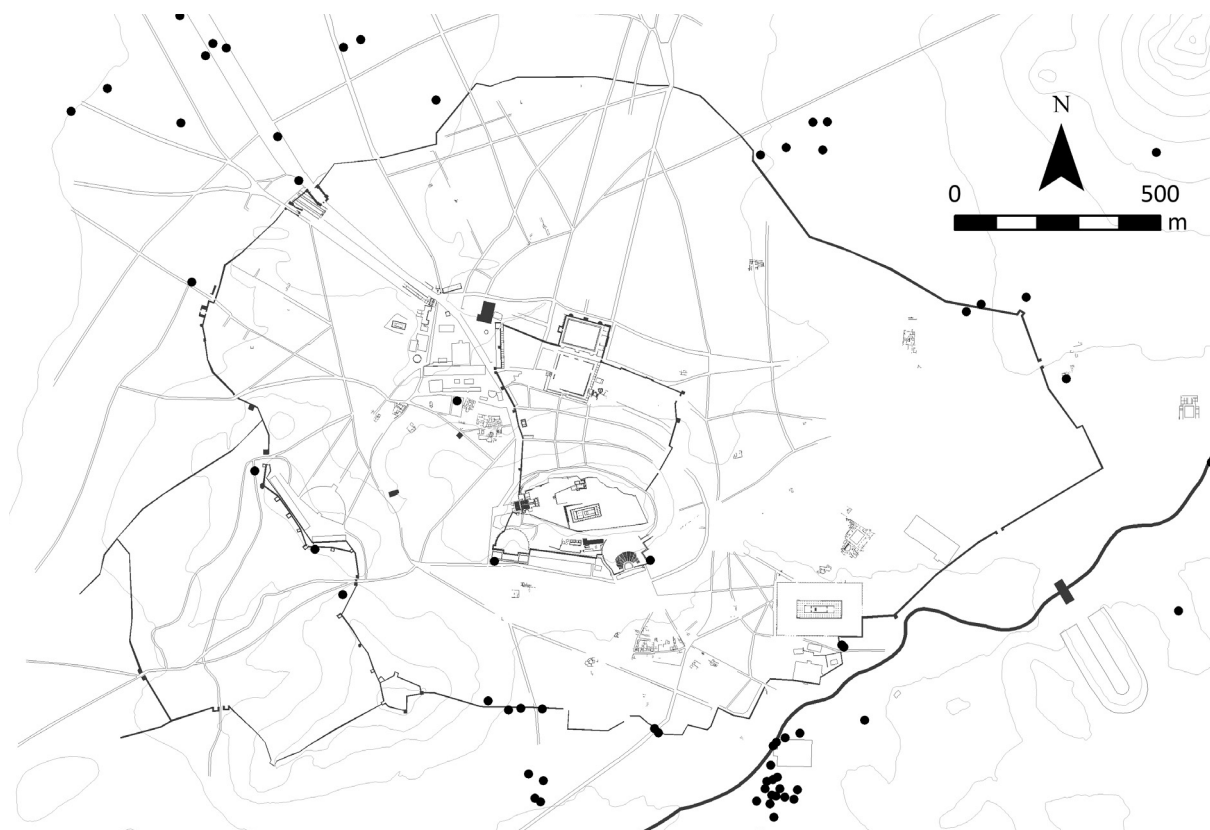


Fig. 5. Post-Herulian Athens (from 267 to the end of the 4th century). Dots indicate the findspots of burials dated from the late 3rd to the late 4th century and in late Roman times.

later cemeteries developed or within the city's periphery, close to the walls. A single child's grave, dating to the middle / second half of the 4th century, has been unearthed on the North Slope of the Areios Pagos; it should be reminded though that the grave was in close proximity to the metal workers of the Athenian Agora; the area was not inhabited until the last quarter of the 4th century, when luxurious villas were erected. So, based on the archaeological data, no organized cemetery seems to have been developed within the "Valerian" wall during the late 3rd and the 4th century.³³

It is concluded that it was only after the Herulian invasion that the transformations of the urban fabric were activated in Athens. After 267 the city focused on its defense; both the funds and the building material

available at that time was invested in the construction of the post-Herulian wall. The central part of the city was isolated and turned into a fortress. This function was maintained in the next centuries; part of the wall was incorporated in the 13th century Rizokastro and in the Ottoman Serpentze fortification walls.³⁴

Judging from the architectural remains, the city's Christianization was gradual. The martyrion of Leonides is the only safely identified Christian structure constructed in Athens from 267 till the end of 4th century and the earliest Christian structure in the city. Some 4th-century remains have been unearthed on 11-13 Aghiou Markou street and interpreted as a martyrion, but this identification has been questioned.³⁵ The city's Christianization is clearly

³³ On the child's grave: T. L. Shear, "The Campaign of 1937", *Hesperia* 7 (1938), 353-355. Thompson, op.cit. (n. 1), 71. Chiotti, op.cit. (n. 2), 252, 380-381, 443-446.

³⁴ Bouras, op.cit. (n. 6), 31-33.

³⁵ G. A. Sotiriou, "Παλαιὰ χριστιανική βασιλικὴ Ἰλίου", *ΑΕ* 1919, 8-14. G.A. Sotiriou, *Εὐρετήριο μεσαιωνικῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Μεσαιωνικὰ μνημεῖα Ἀττικῆς*, 1, Athens 1927, 53, 55.

reflected in the construction of Basilicas from the 5th century on.³⁶ It should not escape our attention that these were built both intra and extra muros, unlike the martyrion of Leonides which stood beyond the “Valerian” wall, away from the residential districts, having no effect on the urban planning. On the contrary, from the late 3rd to the late 4th century the Athenians invested in the restoration of the most important pagan temples, those on the Acropolis and on its South Slope. Other pagan sanctuaries were kept in use, while those abandoned were not occupied by the Christians.

No works for the reconstruction of ancient administrative buildings were conducted –except for the restoration of the Tholos. Besides, the reuse of their own building material in the post-Herulian wall made their reconstruction difficult. It is interesting that no building programme was implemented within the post-Herulian wall; the plans of the Roman Agora and of the Library of Hadrian seem not to have been altered. The old public places, the Eso Kerameikos and the square of the Athenian Agora, were neglected, left to the hands of the workers.

This way, room was made for the builders of the early 5th century. New buildings were erected in the Athenian Agora: the Palace of the Giants occupied the greatest part of its square, while the Round and the Square buildings were constructed to the north. A building programme was eventually implemented within the inner wall: the Library of Pantainos, partly incorporated into the post-Herulian wall and partly left in ruins, was replaced by a building with an apse; Hadrian’s Library was restored by the Prefect of Illyricum, Herculus; later, during the second quarter of the 5th century the Tetraconch was erected in the middle of the Library’s courtyard, a quatrefoil building of uncertain function, probably a church, the earliest church within the inner wall. Together with the Palace of the Giants, both these imposing buildings with large dimensions, probably planned by the same architect, have been connected to

the Empress Eudocia and her intention to support the city’s Christianization.³⁷

In the Eso Kerameikos, a pair of Late Roman stoas occupied the place of the Pompeion. Their date is uncertain; based on the archaeological data, it cannot be excluded that the stoas were erected in the late 4th – early 5th century. They have been identified by a few scholars as an imperial work, but their function was rather humble: they housed potters.³⁸ In the east, the building complexes and baths in the area of the Parliament and the National Garden were reconstructed.³⁹ In the residential district to the south of the Acropolis, a large building, including a bath, occupied the place of smaller earlier houses; it was erected in the mid-5th and expanded during the first half of the 6th century.⁴⁰

It is concluded that the years after the Herulian invasion can be considered as the start of a transitional period for Athens; a slow process of transformation started at that time and went on into the 4th and 5th centuries. Eventually, pagan Athens was transformed into a Christian city.

³⁷ Sironen, *op.cit.* (n. 6), 50-54, no 31-33. J. Burman, “The Athenian Empress Eudocia”, P. Castrén (ed.), *op.cit.* (n. 6), 81-83. A. Karivieri, “The So-Called Library of Hadrian and the Tetraconch Church in Athens”, Castrén (ed.), *op.cit.* (n. 6), 105-113. Gkioles, *op.cit.* (n. 35), 38-45. Bouras, *op.cit.* (n. 6), 256.

³⁸ Knigge, *op.cit.* (n. 12), 85-86. A. Rügler, “Die Datierung der ‘Hallenstrasse’ und des ‘Festtores’ im Kerameikos und Alarichs Besetzung Athens”, *AM* 105 (1990), 279-287. Stroszeck, *op.cit.* (n. 12), 93. Chioti, *op.cit.* (n. 2), 260-263, 388-390.

³⁹ The building complex standing in the northeast corner of the Garden was repaired and a 5th-century villa was erected to the west. The bathing complex on Syntagma square was reconstructed; so did the bath and the building complex on the intersection of Vas. Amalias and Vas. Olgas avenues. Mosaics were placed in the bath standing to the north of the Olympieion. M. Spiro, *Critical Corpus of the Mosaic Pavements on the Greek Mainland, Fourth / Sixth centuries, with Architectural Surveys*, New York – London 1978, 36-58. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *op.cit.* (n. 35), 124-125, no 64, 129-133, no 69. Spathari – Chatzioti, *op.cit.* (n. 16), 25. Zachariadou, *AD* 49, *op.cit.* (n. 16), 31-34. Zachariadou, *AD* 50, *op.cit.* (n. 16), 34. D’Amico, *op.cit.* (n. 16), 711. Chioti, *op.cit.* (n. 2), 275-276, 337-338.

⁴⁰ St. Eleutheratou, *Μουσείο Ακρόπολης. Η ανασκαφή*, Athens 2019, 93-111.

Illustration credits

Figs 1-5: Maps designed by L. Chioti.

O. Alexandri, *AD* 27 (1972), B1 Chronika, 86. P. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα των παλαιοχριστιανικών ψηφιδωτών δαπέδων της Ελλάδος*, 2, Thessaloniki 1987, 117-118, n. 118. Gkioles, *op.cit.* (n. 26), 104. N. G. Laskaris, *Monuments funéraires paléochrétiens (et byzantins) de Grèce*, Athens 2000, 422-423. N. Gkioles, *Η Αθήνα στους πρώτους χριστιανικούς αιώνες. Πολεοδομική εξέλιξη*, Athens 2005, 47. Chioti, *op.cit.* (n. 2), 286, 329, 410.

³⁶ On the Basilicas: Gkioles, *op.cit.* (n. 35), 45-50, 53-59.

ΟΙ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΔΡΟΜΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΡΟΥΛΩΝ ΤΟ 267 Μ.Χ. ΕΩΣ ΤΑ ΤΕΛΗ ΤΟΥ 4ου ΑΙΩΝΑ

Κατά την επιδρομή των Ερούλων στην Αθήνα (267 μ.Χ.) ένα μεγάλο μέρος της πόλης επλήγη, κυρίως αυτό στα βορειοδυτικά και τα νότια της Ακρόπολης (Εικ. 1). Δημόσια κτήρια κατεστραμμένα κατά τον χρόνο της επιδρομής έχουν έρθει στο φως στην Αρχαία Αγορά, δηλ. στο παλαιό διοικητικό κέντρο της πόλης, και στον Έσω Κεραμεικό. Η καταστροφή του Ερεχθείου πάνω στον λόφο της Ακρόπολης έχει συνδεθεί με την επιδρομή των Ερούλων. Πιθανώς τότε να επλήγησαν επίσης ο Παρθενώνας, η Ρωμαϊκή Αγορά και η Βιβλιοθήκη του Αδριανού. Η καταστροφή κτηρίων στη νότια κλιτύ της Ακρόπολης έχει επίσης αποδοθεί στην επιδρομή· η σύνδεση αυτή έχει ενισχυθεί τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες από το αυξανόμενο πλήθος στρωμάτων καταστροφής που έχουν ανασκαφεί στη ρωμαϊκή οικιστική περιοχή στα νότια της Ακρόπολης. Στρώματα καταστροφής έχουν επίσης βρεθεί πλησίον της Αρχαίας Αγοράς, ενώ λιγότερα στρώματα έχουν αποκαλυφθεί στο ανατολικό τμήμα της πόλης. Αντιθέτως, ανέπαφη φαίνεται ότι έμεινε η οικιστική περιοχή στα βόρεια και στα δυτικά, εντός του εξωτερικού περιβόλου της πόλης.

Μέσα στα χρόνια που ακολούθησαν την επιδρομή των Ερούλων, η πόλη μεταμορφώθηκε. Η μεγαλύτερη μεταμόρφωση ήταν η κατασκευή ενός εσωτερικού περιβόλου, μειωμένης περιμέτρου, του υστερορρωμαϊκού τείχους (Εικ. 2). Το τείχος περιέβαλλε μόνο την περιοχή γύρω από την Ακρόπολη, αφήνοντας ανοχύρωτο το παλαιό διοικητικό κέντρο και τις οικιστικές περιοχές. Με βάση τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα, η κατασκευή του τείχους δεν μπορεί να είναι προγενέστερη των μέσων του 3ου αιώνα, ούτε μεταγενέστερη του β' μισού του 4ου αιώνα. Μετά το 267 ο εξωτερικός περιβόλος των μέσων του 3ου αιώνα, το λεγόμενο «Βαλεριάνειο» τείχος, ίστατο ακόμη ένα υστερορρωμαϊκό τείχος οχύρωνε τον λόφο της Ακρόπολης από τα δυτικά.

Αρχαία δημόσια κτήρια εγκαταλείφθηκαν και αποδομήθηκαν. Στην περίπτωση της Αρχαίας Αγοράς (Εικ. 2) οι τοίχοι και το οικοδομικό υλικό κτηρίων ενσωμα-

τώθηκαν στο υστερορρωμαϊκό τείχος. Είναι ενδιαφέρον ότι η εγκατάλειψη και η αποδόμηση των κτηρίων έλαβε χώρα μόνο σε συνέχεια της επιδρομής των Ερούλων· δεν υπήρξε το αποτέλεσμα μιας αργής διαδικασίας.

Εργαστήρια και οικίες κατέλαβαν αρχαίους δημόσιους χώρους. Κατά τον ύστερο 3ο και τον 4ο αιώνα μεταλλουργοί και αγγειοπλάστες εγκαταστάθηκαν στον χώρο της Αρχαίας Αγοράς και του Έσω Κεραμεικού (Εικ. 3). Από τα μέσα του 4ου αιώνα οικίες κατασκευάστηκαν στη δυτική πλευρά της Αγοράς.

Η μεθερούλεια οικοδομική δραστηριότητα στην Αθήνα δείχνει ότι το κέντρο βάρους της πόλης μεταφέρθηκε από τα δυτικά προς τα ανατολικά (Εικ. 3). Οικοδομικά συγκροτήματα στα ανατολικά της πόλης, τόσο εντός όσο και εκτός του «Βαλεριανείου» τείχους, στην περιοχή της σημερινής Βουλής των Ελλήνων και του Εθνικού Κήπου, αποκαταστάθηκαν και επεκτάθηκαν. Αντίθετα, το παλαιό διοικητικό κέντρο, η Αρχαία Αγορά, παραμελήθηκε και ο χώρος της μειώθηκε, καθώς το υστερορρωμαϊκό τείχος κατέλαβε το ανατολικό τμήμα της. Στα βορειοδυτικά φαίνεται ότι παρέμεινε σε χρήση η Στοά του Διός Ελευθερίου και η Βασίλειος Στοά. Στα μέσα του 4ου αιώνα ανακατασκευάστηκε η Θόλος αργότερα, αποκαταστάθηκε η μακρά στοά στην είσοδο της Αγοράς (Εικ. 2).

Δυστυχώς, δεν μπορεί όμως να γίνει λόγος ειδικότερα για το διοικητικό κέντρο της πόλης. Κανένα κτήριο, προϋπάρχον ή νέο, το οποίο ήταν σε χρήση τον ύστερο 3ο ή τον 4ο αιώνα, δεν έχει ερμηνευτεί με ασφάλεια ως διοικητικό. Η παλιά άποψη ότι το διοικητικό και οικονομικό κέντρο της πόλης μεταφέρθηκε μετά το 267 στον χώρο της Ρωμαϊκής Αγοράς και της Βιβλιοθήκης του Αδριανού, δεν επιβεβαιώνεται από τα διαθέσιμα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα· ούτε επιβεβαιώνεται η άποψη ότι το διοικητικό και οικονομικό κέντρο μεταφέρθηκε εκτός του υστερορρωμαϊκού τείχους στην περιοχή του ναού της Αγίας Αικατερίνης στα ανατολικά της Ακρόπολης. Η αποκατάσταση των οικοδομικών

συγκροτημάτων στο ανατολικό τμήμα της πόλης, μόλις μερικά χρόνια μετά από την επιδρομή των Ερούλων, θα μπορούσε να υποδεικνύει τον σημαντικό ρόλο των ενοίκων τους στη δημόσια ζωή της Αθήνας.

Το οδικό δίκτυο της πόλης παρουσίασε αλλαγές, όχι όμως δραματικές. Επίσης, κατά τους υστερορρωμαϊκούς χρόνους αυξήθηκε το πλήθος των λουτρών, όπως και οι διαστάσεις τους. Λουτρά ανεγέρθηκαν για πρώτη φορά σε νέες θέσεις μέσα στην πόλη (Εικ. 4).

Σε αντίθεση με ό,τι συνέβη σε άλλες πόλεις, στην Αθήνα μόνο μερικά αρχαία ιερά εγκαταλείφθηκαν κατά τον ύστερο 3ο και τον 4ο αιώνα. Αρχαίοι ναοί εξακολούθησαν να είναι σε χρήση μετά το 267· το Ερέχθειο θεωρείται ότι αποκαταστάθηκε κατά τον 4ο αιώνα, πράγμα που φαίνεται πιθανό και για τον Παρθενώνα.

Εκτός του «Βαλεριανείου» τείχους κυρίαρχη παρέμεινε η ταφική χρήση, όπως και παλαιότερα. Τα αρχαία νεκροταφεία παρέμειναν σε χρήση, με εξαίρεση εκείνο των Αχαρνικών πυλών. Το νεκροταφείο του Κυνοσάργου λειτουργήσε εκ νέου και αποτέλεσε το μεγαλύτερο νεκροταφείο της πόλης. Το μαρτύριο του Λεωνίδα κατασκευάστηκε εκτός του «Βαλεριανείου» τείχους και υπήρξε η πρώτη βεβαιωμένα χριστιανική κατασκευή στην πόλη, χωρίς όμως να επηρεάσει τον σχεδιασμό αυτής κατά τον 4ο αιώνα. Λίγες ταφές έχουν

αποκαλυφθεί και εντός του «Βαλεριανείου» τείχους, όμως τα σχετικά αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα είναι προβληματικά. Ως εκ τούτου, δεν μπορεί να γίνει λόγος για λειτουργία οργανωμένου νεκροταφείου εντός του «Βαλεριανείου» τείχους κατά τον ύστερο 3ο ή τον 4ο αιώνα.

Συμπεραίνεται ότι μετά από την επιδρομή των Ερούλων άρχισε για την Αθήνα μια μεταβατική περίοδος· η μεταμόρφωση του ιστού της πόλης ξεκίνησε ως μια αργή διαδικασία και συνεχίστηκε μέσα στον 4ο και τον 5ο αιώνα. Μόνο σε συνέχεια της επιδρομής το κεντρικό τμήμα της πόλης μετατράπηκε σε οχυρό· αυτόν τον χαρακτήρα διατήρησε με κάποιες τροποποιήσεις κατά τους βυζαντινούς χρόνους και κατά την περίοδο της Τουρκοκρατίας. Βάσει των αρχιτεκτονικών καταλοίπων ο εκχριστιανισμός της πόλης ήταν σταδιακός· η αλλαγή αυτή αντανακλάται με σαφήνεια στην οικοδόμηση Βασιλικών από τον 5ο αιώνα και εξής. Δεν υπήρξε προγραμματισμός για την αποκατάσταση των αρχαίων διοικητικών κτηρίων εντός του υστερορρωμαϊκού ή του «Βαλεριανείου» τείχους έως τα τέλη του 4ου αιώνα – με εξαίρεση τη Θόλο. Έτσι, υπήρξε χώρος για την έντονη οικοδομική δραστηριότητα του 5ου αιώνα.

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