PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. II

THE PNYX IN THE HISTORY OF ATHENS

Edited by
Björn Forsén and Greg Stanton

The Pnyx in the History of Athens

PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. II

The Pnyx in the History of Athens

Proceedings of an International Colloquium Organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens, 7-9 October, 1994

Edited by
Björn Forsén and Greg Stanton

HELSINKI 1996

© Suomen Ateenan-instituutin säätiö (Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens) 1996

ISSN 1237-2684
ISBN 951-95295-3-5

Printed in Finland by Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy, Vammala 1996

Contents

Introduction and Acknowledgements

Björn Forsén and G.R. Stanton

Introduction

Since the large-scale excavations done on the Pnyx in the 1930s there has been no excavation activity in this area. The excavations of the 1930s, conducted by H.A. Thompson, first in collaboration with K. Kourouniotes and later with R.L. Scranton, were published in an exemplary way.[1] The conclusions drawn in these publications were mostly accepted, although details were criticised by both W.B. Dinsmoor and W.A. McDonald.[2] However, some questions seemed to be left unsolved — for instance, how Pnyx III was to be dated. In the first report of the excavations it was dated to the Hadrianic period,[3] a date that later was changed to the 4th century B.C. In connection with the re-dating of Pnyx III to the 4th century B.C. Thompson and Scranton, however, wrote "A final decision should be deferred until the stratification behind the great retaining wall can be re-examined and the masonry of the various walls compared more closely on the spot."[4]

For a long time after the reports of the excavations in the 1930s had been published little research was done concerning the Pnyx. Many of the finds from the excavations were published during the 1940s and the 1950s,[5] without changing any of the broad conclusions drawn in the excavation reports. However, during the last twenty years discussion concerning different aspects of the Pnyx has grown steadily. Therefore it seemed justified to organise an international colloquium concerning the Pnyx, where new ideas could be presented and the relevant issues discussed.

Published discussion during the last twenty years has mainly been concerned with the following questions: 1) How many Athenians could be accommodated in the three different phases of the assembly place? 2) Were the Athenians in the assembly place divided into tribes or not? 3) How should the three building phases of the assembly place be reconstructed and dated? 4) Could the Panathenaic Stadium have been situated on the Pnyx?

All these questions were discussed again during the Pnyx colloquium of 1994, and new arguments were put forward. In this volume the papers delivered to the colloquium are printed after additions and changes have been made to them as a result of the discussion during the colloquium and the comments provided by the readers of the papers. S.I. Rotroff's and J. McK. Camp's full-scale discussion of the dating of Pnyx III, in which they finally carry out what Thompson and Scranton had asked for in 1943, i.e., a careful re-examination of the stratigraphy and the finds from behind the great

---

1 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932); Thompson (1936); Thompson and Scranton (1943).
2 Dinsmoor (1933); cf. answer by Kourouniotes and Thompson (1933); McDonald (1943).
3 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 180-192.
4 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 297-301; quotation from 299.
5 Davidson and Thompson (1943); Philippaki, Edwards and Grace (1956).

retaining wall and a presentation of exact parallels to the masonry of the wall, will be published separately in *Hesperia*. However, their separate papers in this volume do include some treatment of these topics.

Discussion at the colloquium, both in the lecture hall and on the site, traversed all stages of the Pnyx. Were there in fact three stages, or does the trimming of the living rock in the auditorium belong to a single operation? Was the same technique for quarrying stone employed over a period of 150-200 years? Where were the inscriptions of the fifth century B.C. discovered? Do the steps in the western scarp belong to Pnyx II or Pnyx III? Was admission to the assembly place controlled, and if so, how? What organisation was imposed on the assembly place by such features as 'the presiding tribe'? What was the maximum attendance for various stages of the auditorium? What conclusions should be drawn about the Roman pottery found in the major excavations of the arena? What are the characteristic features of the retaining wall? Is a floor sloping down from the rear of the auditorium feasible? How was the auditorium reused for religious purposes? How does the date of the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos correlate with the stages of the Pnyx? Were the so-called East and West Foundations embankments for spectators rather than unfinished stoas? What can be concluded about the walls that cross the Hill of the Pnyx?

Some matters which were not directly brought up by any of the speakers, but nevertheless were the subject of lively discussion during the colloquium, e.g. the stone quarrying on the Pnyx and the question of whether the auditorium that Thompson designated Period I ever existed, are unfortunately reduced to short comments in some footnotes of this volume. Similarly we regret that A. Ajootian at a late stage had to withdraw her paper "Sculptors and Sculpture on the Pnyx". D. Peppas Delmousou's paper was unfortunately received at such a late stage that it was no longer possible to obtain readers' comments nor to illustrate it.

All students owe a debt to Homer A. Thompson for the fundamental excavations in the 1930s of the Pnyx arena and of the terrace above the auditorium, for the remarkable perspicuity of his reporting of the excavations (how often with the reports of other archaeologists do we wonder precisely what they mean?), and for his continuing interest in the problems of this intriguing site. Even now, sixty-five years after he began excavating there, his mind is active on the question of the movement of the Altar above the bema to the Agora. The precision with which the Altar stood on the eastward extension of the axis of the New Bouleuterion/Metroon complex is characteristic of the early Roman period and the Altar was fitted as close to the complex as a busy north-south road would allow. Professor Thompson would assume that in its new position the Altar was intended to serve Zeus, who was of course already worshipped in the Bouleuterion as Zeus Boulaios. As he says, a god of oratory was as relevant to the Boule as to the Pnyx, and the change in location was consonant with the reversal in relative power of Demos and Boule between the fourth century B.C. and the Julio-Claudian period.

The speakers and discussants at the colloquium could not agree on all questions put forward, a fact which is also reflected in the papers in this volume. We hope, however, that this open disagreement might lead to new ideas and research. Some of the questions might never be settled, but others could probably be answered by small-scale excavations and clearing operations on the Pnyx. We hope that the colloquium and this publication of the proceedings will encourage someone to carry out such projects in the near future. Until then, we hope that this volume will offer a useful synthesis of the current strands of research regarding the Pnyx and constitute a more up-to-date basic work on the Pnyx than the nowadays partly out-of-date discussion in the excavation reports of the 1930s and 1940s.

Acknowledgements

The Pnyx colloquium was organised in collaboration between Björn Forsén and Greg Stanton under the auspices of the Finnish Archaeological Institute at Athens in October 1994. We are much obliged to the Finnish Institute and its Director at the time, Professor Gunnar af Hällström, for agreeing to host the colloquium. Among the staff and members of the Institute we would also like to thank Dr. P. Pakkanen, Mr. J. Pakkanen, Mrs. M. Martzoukou, Mr. S. Vesterinen and Mrs. M. Vesterinen for their help in solving practical problems concerning the organisation of the colloquium.

The colloquium was held at the Acropolis Centre and ended with a wide-ranging discussion on the site itself. We express our deep thanks to the First Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and especially to its Director, Dr. P.G. Calligas, not only for giving us the opportunity to use the Ephorate's facilities and to visit the site, but also for encouraging us in organising the colloquium.

We also want to express our thanks to the Board of the Finnish Institute at Athens for accepting the proceedings of the Pnyx colloquium for publication in its series *Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens*. Professor P. Castrén, former Director of the Finnish Institute and member of the Board of the Finnish Institute, and Dr. A. Arjava, secretary of the Board of the Finnish Institute, gave us help and advice concerning printing matters and other practical problems.

The printing of this volume was financed by a generous grant from the Foundation for Hellenic Culture in Athens. We owe great thanks for this financial help to the Foundation for Hellenic Culture and its President, the Academician, Professor M. Sakellariou.

While organising the colloquium we have received help and support from a number of colleagues. First of all we want to thank the authors of the papers. Gratitude also goes to all the participants in the colloquium for showing their interest and taking part in the discussions. After the colloquium every paper was read by anonymous readers, which was of great help in improving the arguments of the papers and in avoiding unnecessary mistakes in this publication.

Among those colleagues whom we especially want to mention here for their help at various stages in the organising of the colloquium and the editing of the proceedings are: Dr. B. Alroth, Professor M. Bell III, Dr. P.J. Bicknell, Dr. J. Binder, Professor J.McK. Camp II, Professor J.-P. Descoeudres, Dr. K.-V. von Eickstedt, Dr. J. Forsén, Dr. M.H. Hansen, Mrs. A. Karivieri, Dr. H. Kienast, Dr. M. Leiwo, Dr. M.H. McAllister, Professor P.J. Rhodes, Professor S.I. Rotroff, Dr. J. Stroszeck, Dr. P. Zerner and Professor C.K. Williams II. Technical assistance was given by Mrs. A. Ince, Mr. O. Ohlson, Mr. P. Prohaszka, Mrs. K. Wagner and Mr. A. Wåhlin. The Norwegian and Swedish Institutes at Athens also most kindly helped with the last print-out version of the proceedings.

Finally we would like to thank Professor H.A. Thompson for his continuous support and encouragement during the preparation of this colloquium. Many of the questions at this colloquium would never have been put forward had it not been for the excavations of the Pnyx made by Homer Thompson, first in collaboration with K. Kourouniotes and J. Travlos and later with R.L. Scranton. These excavations, conducted and published in an exemplary way, gave us the foundation on which most of the research concerning the Pnyx to the present day has been based. Therefore we think it is more than appropriate to dedicate the proceedings of the Pnyx colloquium to Professor H.A. Thompson.

To Students and Friends of the

PNYX

Assembled in the Acropolis Center and on the Site of the Pnyx

October 7-9, 1994

I greatly regret that I could not accept a warm invitation to be with you today. At the same time I am happy to know that so many lovers of ancient Athens have come together from far and near to pay special attention to the Pnyx as a significant monument in the history and life of the ancient city.

I am glad to know from the program that Greek scholars too will be joining in your deliberations. As I look back on my own activity on the Pnyx of more than sixty years ago I have warm memories of its international character. My chief colleague was Dr. Constantine Kourouniotes, then head of the Department of Antiquities, collaboration with whom was an experience that gave me a high regard for that branch of Greek bureaucracy. Our architect was also Greek: John Travlos, then just completing his studies in the Polytechneion, who was to become a close life-long associate and, in my opinion, the greatest archaeological architect of our time. I'm happy to realise the studies prompted by this colloquium are based in part on the results of our work in the 1930s. Equally important, they are going to correct some of the errors committed in the publication of that early work, youthful and hasty as it was. From the program I infer that you will be concerned largely with the physical form of the assembly place and an effort to arrive at greater precision in tracing its history in relation to the overall history of the city.

But can generations of research, and the expenditure of a good deal of money, be justified as the cost of learning a little more about a monument of which the physical remains are, to say the least, undistinguished? My own response is "yes", and let me say briefly "why".

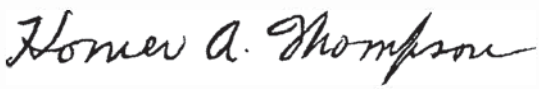
The assembly place on the Pnyx has few if any parallels for the rôle it played as the operational base of the sovereign element in the government of the city state in the heyday of classical Athens. The choice of the Pnyx as a meeting place represented a clear break with practice in the time when Athens was ruled by kings or tyrants. In those days, when assemblies of the people were held, they took place on the west slope of the Acropolis or at its north foot. After moving to the Pnyx the assembled citizens could look across at the Acropolis with a sense of independence. In the same way they could look down on the Agora: the seat of the Boule and the Dikasteria, as well as the business centre of the city. Likewise the Pnyx commanded a fine view of much of the best farmland of Attika and of the mountains that yielded its much prized marble.

Equally visible from the assembly place were some of the glories of Periclean architecture made of that marble. On many days from the hilltop just above the assembly place I recall beautifully clear views of Aegina and Salamis, occasionally also of Acrocorinth, all of which had played such important rôles in Athens' foreign relations.

From long days spend directing excavation on the hillside I came to realise the severe physical conditions under which the Assembly operated. Any citizen who aspired to an active role in political life had to be able to address and hold the attention of an audience of thousands seated or standing in the open air in summer heat or winter cold. This will account in large part for the emphasis on the loud voice and vulgar manners of the demagogues. One thinks also of the special personality required of the modern politician who must face not only thousands but millions of his fellow citizens from the television screen.

It is intriguing to recall, in the light of this, that when Aristophanes in his *Ekklesiazousai* proposed his post-modern communistic state completely dominated by women, he chose as a setting the assembly place on the Pnyx.

But these are only the reflections of a far distant retiree. Let me wish for you who are still active a fruitful discussion indoors and fine weather on the site.



Archaeological Research on the Athenian Pnyx

P.G. Calligas

To the south-west of the rocky height of the Acropolis there stretches a series of low hills known as the Hill of the Muses, the Hill of the Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs (Plan 1). This series of hills is separated from the western foot of the Acropolis by a small valley between the Areopagus and the Pnyx. In ancient times this little valley and the slopes surrounding it pulsed with activity, as proven by the earliest excavations in the area: streets, houses, workshops, and places of worship were identified, stretching from remote antiquity to the Late Roman period. This little valley joined together the three most important areas of the ancient city of Athens: the Acropolis (the religious centre), the ancient Agora (the commercial centre) and the Pnyx (the centre of political life).

These nuclei of life and power in the ancient city have, however, been the object of uneven treatment by modern archaeological investigation. During the earliest excavations on the Acropolis during the 1880s, the Greek Archaeological Service uncovered evidence which elucidated many of the problems connected with the history of the Sacred Rock. These large-scale excavations added immensely to our knowledge of antiquity by providing a wealth of new information about ancient Athenian religion and art. Subsequently, in the ancient Agora, the systematic excavations of the American School, which began in the 1930s and continue to this day, have uncovered the true nature of the administrative and commercial hub of the ancient city with an immense trove of archaeological data about the daily life of its citizens.

On the other hand, the third important site, the Pnyx, the place of assembly of the citizens of Athens where issues facing the polis were debated and political decisions were made, has not, paradoxically, received the same attention from modern excavators.

Lord Elgin's contemporary and fellow-countryman, George, Earl of Aberdeen, was the first (in 1803) to excavate on the slope of the Hill of the Nymphs facing the Acropolis. The slope was under cultivation, but near the level summit of the hill Aberdeen's search revealed the rock scarp, the bema sculpted from the rock, and small niches in the scarp, which indicated that ex-votos were dedicated here. It was here that Aberdeen discovered a total of 12 small inscribed marble tablets dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos. These inscriptions eventually found their way to the British Museum, where they remain today. Even at this early date the configuration of the area around the bema made it recognisable as the Pnyx

of ancient Athens.[1]

After the liberation of Greece from the Turks, and in the expectation that Athens would be proclaimed the capital of the new state, a number of people sought to buy property in the still small city. Among them was the Austrian ambassador von Prokesch-Osten, who purchased the region of the Pnyx from its Turkish owner in 1832. Eventually, in 1857, the land was given by the ambassador's son to the Greek government.[2] In 1842 King Otho had already laid the foundations of the National Observatory (designed by Th. Hansen) on the summit of the Hill of the Nymphs. At the same time, in 1842-1843, a small excavation is recorded behind the Pnyx.[3]

In 1862 the German, E. Curtius, began the first systematic excavations on the site. He uncovered and painstakingly cleaned the colossal semicircular retaining wall, the rock scarp on both sides of the bema and the level surface above it. He also published some of his conclusions.[4] Curtius's trenches were reopened in 1882-1883 by the Americans, J.M. Crow and J.T. Clarke, who published their observations under the title "The Athenian Pnyx".[5] In 1898 R. Zahn of the German Archaeological Institute opened up some small trenches, probably in the area of the ancient walls.[6]

It was not until the 1910s that any new excavations were carried out in the region of the Pnyx. Until then the only archaeological discoveries were some burials,[7] a few sculptures, including the well-known, half-finished, Lenormant Athena,[8] and several inscriptions, some of them carved into the rock itself at different places on the hills. Of these inscriptions the most important are: a) one which reveals the existence of a shrine of the Mother Goddess near the Chapel of Ayios Demetrios Loumbardiaris;[9] b) one which bears witness to the worship of Zeus[10] and c) one which testifies to a shrine of the Nymphs and Demos on the Hill of the Nymphs.[11] These inscriptions provide firm evidence for the existence of important sacred areas around the Pnyx. Of particular importance is the inscriptional evidence for the worship of the personified Demos of the Athenians which is now dated to the mid-5th century B.C., to which period is also dated the well-known boundary stone of the Pnyx (found in the area and now in the Epigraphical Museum).[12] This synchronicity supports the hypothesis that the state, during the period when Athenian democracy was at its height, sought to define systematically the boundaries of those parts

---

1 For the excavations of George, Earl of Aberdeen, cf. Dodwell (1819), 401-405. For the twelve tablets found, cf. Smith (1892), 367-369, nos. 799-808 and *IG* II^2 4766 and 4798-4807.

2 Kaloyeropoulou and Proune-Philip (1973), λϵ΄.

3 For the founding and design of the observatory, cf. Papageorgiou-Venetas (1994), 34-35. For the excavation of 1842-1843, cf. Petrakos (1987), 29.

4 Curtius (1862), 23-28. Curtius did not, however, believe this was the site of the Pnyx. The landscape before Curtius' work is illustrated in the handsome waterpainting of the Swiss painter Rudolf Müller (signed and dated: Rome 1863), now in the Benaki Museum (inv. no. 25193) — cf. Tsigakou (1991), 30-31, no. 3. For an early description (from 1846) of the Pnyx and the great retaining wall, cf. also Koumanoudes (1990), 53.

5 Crow and Clarke (1885-1886), 205-260.

6 Jantzen (1963), 431-439.

7 P. Pervanoglou excavated tombs west of the Pnyx in 1860 (cf. Petrakos (1987), 43) and in 1862 (Pervanoglu (1862), 145-150). Also Soteriades excavated in 1898 Roman tombs on the Hill of the Nymphs (Kavvadias (1898), 12).

8 Athens National Museum 128. Cf. Leipen (1971), 3, figs. 1, 23, 63 with further references.

9 Skias (1899), 239-240, no. 2; Peek (1942), 149-150, no. 323; SEG XLI 121.

10 *IG* I^3 1055; Ritchie (1984), 163-167, no. TA 33 and 538-542, no. TA 112.

11 *IG* I^3 1065. For the sanctuary, cf. Kron (1979), 63-75. For Demos, cf. Alexandri-Tzahou (1986), 375-382.

12 EM 10069. For the findspot of the Pnyx horos stone, cf. Pittakes (1853), 774. For further debate on the boundary stone, cf. the references at *IG* I^3 1092 and Peppas Delmousou in this volume, 103.

of the city which were used for public and religious activities. The increase in population and building activity which extended throughout the area necessitated the precise definition of boundaries in the face of likely encroachments.[13]

Notwithstanding the importance of these finds, systematic excavation in the area was delayed and it was not until the 1910s that the Archaeological Society at Athens, under the direction of K. Kourouniotes, the Ephor of Antiquities, took up excavation on the Pnyx. Kourouniotes' excavations were conducted in the region of the auditorium in which the Assemblies were held and were based in a large trench at an oblique angle leading toward the interior from the large retaining wall. He determined the composition of the artificial fill and the existence of a second, older retaining wall which formed a smaller arc concentric with the larger retaining wall. Thus it followed, at this early stage, that there were two chronologically distinct periods in the large auditorium, each with its retaining wall. The precise chronological sequence, however, was still unclear, and Kourouniotes himself expressed reservations about the identification of the area as the ancient Pnyx, particularly because of the limited extent of the area which, in his opinion, covered an insufficient amount of space for the large public assemblies of the Athenians.[14]

The 1930s were the greatest period of excavation activity on the Pnyx, under the direction of the distinguished American archaeologist, Homer Thompson. Originally in collaboration with Kourouniotes (Plan 2) and later with R.L. Scranton and J. Travlos, Thompson excavated throughout the area — the auditorium, the retaining walls, the bema, and the upper terrace of the Pnyx. He also extended his excavations into the area of the Hill of the Nymphs and the Hill of the Muses.

The fundamental result of these excavations was a clearer understanding of the sequence of phases in the area. The first phase (I) of the theatre-like area of the Pnyx is dated to the first years of the Athenian democracy (ca. 500 B.C.). For its construction the natural slope of the hill was utilised, with a view toward the Acropolis and the Agora. It probably held about 5,000 citizens. In the second phase (II) which was dated to 404/3 B.C. the semicircular retaining wall with its two stairways was constructed to support an artificial fill used for the auditorium. The new arrangement reversed the earlier direction and increased the seating capacity of the auditorium to 6,000. The third phase (III), dating from 330-326 B.C., is attributed to Lykourgos' ambitious building program which, however, remained only half complete. In this phase the capacity of the auditorium was increased to 13,500 by the construction of a large retaining wall with one stairway, an increase in the amount of fill and the cutting back of the rock scarp where the new bema was placed.[15]

Thompson's investigations extended to the upper terrace of the rock where, he hypothesised, was the site of the shrine of Demeter Thesmophoros: the Thesmophoreion of Aristophanic fame.[16] He also made note of and investigated the two stoas which enclosed the region to the south and west, and those portions of the fortification wall which are thought to be part of the well-known Diateichisma, built for the better protection

---

13 For squatters on the edge of the assembly place see Ar. *Eccl.* 243-244. Cf. Thuc. II.17.1. For concern over boundaries see also Ritchie (1984).

14 Kourouniotes (1910), 127-136; Kourouniotes and Antoniades (1911), 106-109; Kourouniotes (1916), 46-47.

15 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932); Dinsmoor (1933), 181-182. The third phase of the assembly place was first dated to the Hadrianic period, but later Thompson and Scranton (1943), 297-301, suggested a dating of this phase to the 4th century B.C. Cf. also Travlos (1971), 446-476; Townsend (1982), 229-233. The attendance figures given here are based on Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932); see, for further discussion, the next two papers in this volume.

16 Thompson (1936), 156-192. See also the theory of Romano (1985), 441-454.

of the city in this area. Here two gates opened in the wall: one called "the Dipylon above the Gates", located near Ayios Demetrios Loumbardiaris, and the second known as "the gates of the Melitidai", a name thought to be associated with the deme of Melite. It is assumed that the stoas were never finished and eventually were torn down, partly as a result of the building of the Diateichisma at the end of the 4th century B.C.[17] Thompson deposited the finds from his excavations in the Agora Museum and published detailed reports, mostly in the journal *Hesperia*.

Further investigations uncovered on the west slope of the Hill of the Muses an erotic inscription, carved into the rock, which refers to a 'nobly handsome Antinoos', although the inscription is dated to the mid-5th century B.C.[18] In the region of the gate near Ayios Demetrios Loumbardiaris in the 1950s a small naiskos was excavated and some burials of the 4th century B.C. From the remains of a cremation pyre emerged part of the lid of a red-figure lekanis now in the Acropolis Museum, attributed to the Wedding Procession Painter.[19] Some excavation work was also executed in 1948 by R. Young to the north of the Pnyx,[20] while at different times until 1984 the Archaeological Service excavated on the Hill of the Nymphs.[21] Finally the layout of the site was organised in 1982-1983 by the Acropolis Ephoreia under the direction of J. Travlos and the fencing was completed.

The chronological sequence of the phases and the way in which the region of the Pnyx was used during the later Hellenistic and Roman periods is not clear, despite the careful excavations of Thompson and his colleagues. There are a number of problems that remain unsolved, whereas for others appealing solutions have been proposed. Thompson's suggestion that the Altar of Zeus Agoraios was originally situated on the Pnyx, and only later (in the 1st century B.C. or the 1st century after Christ) moved to the Agora, is a particularly intriguing one.[22] However, the dating of the worship of Zeus Hypsistos, which took place at the rock scarp, in the imperial period[23] should be carefully re-examined because it might indicate that the Pnyx was abandoned by then, since it is well-established that at this period other venues were used for citizen assemblies. The early finds of Kourouniotes — those which he illustrated — derive from the artificial fills and date to later historical periods (i.e. Roman). Furthermore, the dated finds are in line with Thompson's original dating of the large retaining wall to the time of Hadrian, although they do not coincide with his more recent opinion, which dates the wall to the end of the 4th century B.C., an opinion which is shared by Travlos.[24]

In any event, following the decade of the 1930s no extensive excavations were carried out in the region of the Pnyx. Important studies have of course appeared since then, but they are interpretative works based on the results of earlier excavations. It is obvious that new excavations are needed, along with measures to protect the exposed antiquities which have now been subject to decades of decay and are exhibiting marked signs of deterioration. It is also imperative that the auditorium of the assembly place be investigated again, at those points where the original fill is still preserved, as well as the structures

17 Thompson and Scranton (1943).
18 *IG* I^3 1403.
19 For the lid, Acropolis Museum 6475; cf. Valavanis (1991), 303, figs. 159β' and 162δ'. Generally about the Wedding Procession Painter, cf. Valavanis (1991), 296-312. For the excavations, cf. Meliades (1956), 265 and Charitonides (1979), 161-187.
20 Thompson (1949), 219.
21 Zachariadou (1984), 11 and Koilakou (1984), 60.
22 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 300, n. 38; Thompson (1952), 92-93; Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 161; Townsend (1982), 272-274.
23 Forsén (1993), 507-521.
24 Travlos (1971), 466-467.

which border the area on the south and west. The course of the walls, both the Diateichisma and the Late Roman ones, needs to be clearly determined, as well as the burial places which lie outside of them. Also in need of attention are the ancient roads which led to the demes of Koile and Melite. Parallel to this, the ancient habitations and workshops which encircled the Pnyx and the slopes of the surrounding hills and were themselves hewn out of the natural rock, need to be investigated. This area of habitation, which spread northward from the little valley, also needs to be carefully studied, in the expectation that it will add much new information about everyday life in ancient Athens.

Also in need of study are the morphology of the area and the way it was used during the Roman Imperial period, especially during the time of Hadrian. To his time should be attributed the large pediments with their luxurious vegetation decoration which were found on the Hill of the Nymphs and the handsome head, "the Athena of the Pnyx", which was found a short distance to the north of the large retaining wall.[25] The Late Roman wall — that ultimate memorial of the ancient world — also stood in the region of the Diateichisma and the East Stoa before the region was finally abandoned in the Middle Ages.[26]

All of these investigations are especially necessary today when the unification of the city's archaeological sites is being considered. These new excavations and the accompanying expropriation of land and new town-planning regulations which will close down a number of modern streets, will provide us with a clearer understanding of the heart of the ancient city — the pre-eminent religious centre, the Acropolis, the commercial centre, the Agora and the meeting place of the free and democratic Athenian people, the Pnyx.

---

25 For the large pediments with luxurious vegetation decoration, cf. Börker (1976), 264-278. For "the Athena of the Pnyx" (Athens National Museum 3718), cf. Theophaneides (1930-31), 171-176, Karouzou (1967), 66 and Travlos (1971), 476, fig. 601.

26 For evidence concerning the Slavic destruction of A.D. 582, cf. the osteotheke and its contents excavated in 1947 in Sophroniskos Street on the east slope of the Philopappos Hill. Cf. Threpsiades (1971), 10-11, no. 2, fig. 1 and Metcalf (1962), 144-145 and 157. Metcalf wrongly believed that Sophroniskos Street was situated to the south of the Temple of Olympian Zeus. This mistake is repeated by Frantz (1988), 94.

The Shape and Size of the Athenian Assembly Place in its Second Phase

G.R. Stanton

When the report of the joint Greek-American excavation of the great Assembly place in Athens, the Pnyx, appeared in the inaugural volume of *Hesperia,*[1] it received a favourable review from W.B. Dinsmoor. He took issue with only a few of the conclusions, including two which concerned the second stage of the Pnyx, the reconstructed auditorium of 404/3 B.C. that we traditionally refer to as "Pnyx II". He suggested that the front wall of this auditorium and the bema should be placed further south, allowing a full semi-circle for the auditorium and an area of about 3,200 rather than 2,600 sq.m. He also did not believe that the Thirty reversed the slope of the hill; a horizontal auditorium seemed more credible.[2] In their reply to this review the excavators deferred an answer to the first criticism — the one that primarily concerns us here — until they had completed the further clearing that they hoped to carry out in the southern part of the area.[3] Although the southern part of the arena was cleared in 1932-34 in order to show interested visitors how the auditorium of the first phase looked,[4] and although important changes were

---

1 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 90-217. As is shown by his contribution to the Festschrift volume for Eugene Vanderpool (Thompson (1982)) and his comments on an earlier article by P.J. Bicknell and me (see Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 74, n. 79 and 92, following n. 135), Homer Thompson has retained a lively interest in questions concerning this intriguing site. I am particularly grateful to him for discussing several issues with me on the site in the summer of 1986 — fifty-six years after he began excavating there. I offer my deep thanks to M.H. Hansen for considering an early draft of this paper on the site of the Pnyx in November 1992, to N.G.L. Hammond and P. Siewert for their advice on the presentation of my ideas, to Homer Thompson (again) for comments on successive drafts, and to Björn Forsén for his considered comments both in writing and orally on the site. Finally, I thank Dr. P.G. Calligas, Director of the First Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, for permission to re-measure the island of incompletely quarried rock in the eastern sector of the arena and the flight of three steps in the western sector, and G.J. Oliver for assistance with the measurements. Responsibility for the final form of the article rests with me.

2 Dinsmoor (1933), 180-182, especially 181.

3 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1933), especially 653. As they there make clear, the conclusion on the sloping floor of the auditorium depends entirely on the analogy of the sloping floor of Pnyx III and the supposed archaising tendencies of its architect(s). For some cautions see Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 62-63, n. 42.

4 Thompson (1936), 151 with 152, figs. 1-2. See especially the photograph in Thompson and Scranton (1943), 271, fig. 2.

made in the interpretation of the assembly place — in particular, the dating of the final reconstruction to the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. rather than to the Hadrianic period — in a report published in 1943,[5] no further statement on this issue seems to have been published by the excavators until 1982, when H.A. Thompson emphasised the lack of evidence for locating the front of the auditorium and questioned whether the front part of it was ever completed. In the meantime, as Thompson noted,[6] W.A. McDonald had agreed with Dinsmoor that the bema should be placed further to the south and M.H. Hansen had tried to calculate how many Athenians could fit into the auditorium.[7]

The 1990s have already seen a further attempt to locate the front of the auditorium in its second phase. My colleague B. Forsén has recently suggested that the eastern scarp of Pnyx II was about 11 m. north of the scarp of Pnyx III. He argues that the recessed area in the great scarp east of the bema predates, perhaps by centuries, its use for dedications to Zeus Hypsistos (for which niches were cut into — and outside — the recessed area) and he links that recessed area with some cuttings in the floor of Pnyx III about 11 m. away from the scarp at that point. He interprets the jagged line in the western end of the recessed area as traces of some four steps and so he has the stairway initially run parallel to the scarp and then turn through 90° until it reaches the postulated scarp of Pnyx II.[8] But if there are preserved ends of steps down to *ca.* 2 m. above the Pnyx III floor, the rest of the steps bringing the stairway out to a point 11 m. north of the scarp will have an extremely small riser. It might, perhaps, be suggested that such a stairway (of at least 2.65 m. in width) was used for quarrying in connection with Pnyx II and not as an entrance way for Assembly participants, that is, it had only a temporary function. But surely the easiest area from which to quarry blocks for the retaining wall or for fill behind the wall was the scarp at the front of the planned auditorium and not the shoulder of the hill. So, if there *was* a stairway in this position — and the evidence is far from conclusive — it should be for participants, as Forsén originally suggested.[9]

Admittedly there are steps suitable for participants in the Assembly on the approach to the Pnyx from the Agora and Areopagos which have a riser of only 7-8 cm.: the steps of Pnyx II that disappear under the great retaining wall of Pnyx III (Fig. 1) and another set (undated) near the intersection of Dhim. Eghinitou with the main road, Apostolou Pavlou (Fig. 2).[10] But the explanation for the small riser in these cases lies in the gentle slope of the hill at these points: steps were cut to assist pedestrians on the slippery rock surface (even the steps below the wall of Pnyx III are slippery in wet weather, as I can testify).

---

5 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 269-383, especially 297-299; a date of 330-326 B.C. is suggested on 300-301; cf. 290, fig. 13. For the Hadrianic date see Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 183-188, 217. Thompson now holds to a date in the 340s: Thompson (1982), 144-145.

6 Thompson (1982), 138, n. 18, 139, n. 19. His conclusions on the front of the auditorium appear in the text of these two pages.

7 McDonald (1943), 71-75; Hansen (1976), 130-134 = Hansen (1983), 16-20.

8 Forsén (1993), 507-521, especially 517-520 with fig. 2. On this figure the proposed stairways are stippled; the attested stairways at the rear of the auditorium are shown as close parallel lines. Cf. Travlos (1971), 473, fig. 595. I am grateful to Björn Forsén for sending me a copy of his article in advance of publication. Looking critically at his own reconstruction (as well as those of others), Forsén has generously pointed out to me a difficulty in his placement of the scarp of Pnyx II 11 m. north of the scarp of Pnyx III: in this position it is inside the dressed rock surface which Kourouniotes and Thompson ((1932), 98) assigned to the auditorium of Pnyx I (see their plate II reproduced as Plan 2 at the back of this volume). Of course, Forsén may be attracted to the idea that there was no Pnyx I and so this dressed rock surface must be attributed to something else, such as the quarrying for Pnyx II or Pnyx III. I for my part think that three retaining walls require three phases of the Pnyx.

9 Forsén (1993), 520.

10 See further n. 42 below.

When steps were cut through the shoulder of a scarp the architect (or the workers) would surely prefer a riser about two-thirds of the depth of the step. This is the case with the surviving three steps in the western scarp of Pnyx III (belonging to Pnyx II in my view) and with the outline of four steps in the scarp behind and above the steps on the western side of the extant bema. It is perhaps also the case with the jagged outline of four "steps" in the recessed area to the east of the bema — but in this case the steps are interrupted by a horizontal stretch over a metre in length.[11] The steps at right angles to these four outlined steps, that is, the steps down to the floor that are envisaged by Forsén in his fig. 2, would have involved a great amount of unnecessary cutting through the rock shoulder of the scarp. An incision at least 11 m. long would have been required (actually shown as some 30 m. in that figure) when it need only have been 3-4 m. long to reach the floor from a height of *ca.* 2 m. For this reason I prefer to set aside Forsén's suggested link between the recessed area in the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos and the cuttings 11 m. north of the scarp (cuttings which Kourouniotes and Thompson associated with the sanctuary[12]) and the suggestion that the scarp of Pnyx II was as far north of the surviving scarp of Pnyx III as 11 m.

I would like to suggest that there are clues to the front line of the auditorium of Pnyx II in both the eastern and western sectors of the auditorium, clues which survived the construction work for Pnyx III. In the eastern wing, for example, there seem to be the remains of a scarp about 7 m. north of the scarp of Pnyx III on the edge of an island of rock that can still be examined today. These remains are far more extensive than the cuttings 11 m. north to which Forsén drew attention. Moreover, there is some confirmation of the clues at the front of the auditorium in a rough estimation of the axis of the auditorium derived from archaeological evidence at its rear.

The Eastern Scarp

When the architect responsible for building Pnyx III was faced with finding enormous blocks of limestone for the massive retaining wall and also for fill behind the wall, where were they to come from? As Kourouniotes and Thompson commented in 1933, the builders would seek a source of rock above and not below the new site and preferably with a smooth path to it.[13] As each course was put into position in the new wall the area behind it (south of it) had to be filled in with rocks and earth and levelled off (at least at some points) so that the blocks for the next course could be rolled across it. The obvious source for the wall blocks and fill was the living rock behind the scarp of Pnyx II.[14]

---

11 Fig. 1 in Forsén (1993), 509.

12 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 195, n. 1. What they described (*ibid.*) as a pivot socket can still be seen on the site, despite Forsén's doubts ((1993), 518). However, it seems to be merely coincidence that the distance (1.6 m.) between this socket and the slot for a trittys marker on Pnyx III matches the width of the recess below the large central niche in the scarp (Forsén (1993), 518, n. 37). Forsén is right to point out that the cuttings extend well beyond the 1.6 m. between socket and slot (Forsén (1993), 518).

13 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1933), 654; cf. Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 141. For a description of quarrying on the Pnyx see Dworakowska (1975), 140-142; cf. also 13, 23, and Osborne (1985), 96-97.

14 In 1992 M.H. Hansen made to me the point that, if Pnyx II lasted into the Hadrianic period (as he then preferred: Hansen (1989b), v, 141; I would place Pnyx III in the fourth century B.C.) and not merely to *ca.* 345 B.C., there is firm evidence for a scarp in Pnyx II in Hypereides's statement (5.9) about Demosthenes sitting "under the scarp" (*κάτω ὑπὸ τῇ κατατομῇ*).

Blocks were obtained by cutting deep trenches to the south of the scarp that formed the front wall of Pnyx II and then removing the blocks of limestone thus isolated. As the excavators noted,[15] the trenches were cut in one stage down to a uniform level, that of the base of the new bema.

In the south-eastern corner of the arena the rock in front of the trench was never completely removed (Fig. 3), so that a trench about 55 cm. wide at the bottom and 70 cm. wide at the top can still be seen today running alongside the eastern scarp of Pnyx III, which rises as much as seven metres above this floor.[16] In the western part of the eastern scarp (closer to the bema) all of the rock between the old scarp and the trench beside the new one was removed, leaving "a rock floor, level but rough, in front of the scarp, extending outward" (to a maximum of 18 m. on the other side, at the western end of the western scarp). But, as the excavators noted concerning the eastern side, "apparently the builders had secured sufficient material before removing all the rock, so that a great island of it was left in the southeast corner, isolated by the initial trenches along the south and east and by minor quarry trenches on the north and west."[17] The reason why the quarrying was completed in the western part of the arena before that in the eastern part is perhaps that more blocks and more rock fill were needed in the north-western sector of the outer semi-circle and especially near the area where the monumental stairway was to come over the wall (the stairway is slightly off-centre,[18] to the west of the axis of Pnyx III). Here the wall sometimes had four courses. Indeed, the excavators reported in 1933 that "some of the last ... blocks cut [for the massive retaining wall of Pnyx III] must have been taken from the surface of the mass of rock in the southeast wing. This surface has now been fully cleared. The outlines of the last blocks removed may be traced: they were all enormous."[19] Alternatively, quarrying may have proceeded simultaneously on both east and west of the bema of Pnyx II, but the lower altitude of the western scarp meant that quarrying was completed there before quarrying in the eastern wing of the arena.

I suggest that the "minor quarry trench on the north" of the island of living rock is not merely a trench but, at least in its western portion (closer to the bema), the lower part of the scarp of Pnyx II. The excavators noted that "even the northern front of the mass of rock remaining in the southeast corner is remarkably smooth".[20] They thought it marked nothing more than the side of a quarry trench, but it could well be the remains of the scarp of Pnyx II and/or a continuation of that scarp. The excavators probably assumed that the outer line of the auditorium of Pnyx II ended west of this island of rock, since they believed that the retaining wall of Pnyx II reused the dressed beddings of the Pnyx I wall in its eastern part and thus swung inside the semi-circle indicated by the surviving section of wall.[21] Reuse of beddings where no blocks of the wall remain in place is difficult to establish, so I have continued to assume that the actual traces of the wall give better

15 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 139.

16 Well illustrated by fig. 21 in Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 140. These figures for the trench apply in the south-eastern corner: closer to the bema the trench narrows to about 49 cm. Two trenches used to remove a higher course of blocks from the island are visible (Fig. 4); these subsidiary trenches cutting across the island from north to south are between 30 and 46 cm. wide at the bottom. Crow (Crow and Clarke (1885-1886), 216) recorded the maximum height of the scarp on the eastern side as 7.40 m.

17 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 139-40. Photograph: Thompson (1936), 153, fig. 3.

18 So Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 178, 179, fig. 51 and plate II (here Plan 2).

19 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1933), 654, n. 2.

20 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 140; so Kourouniotes and Thompson (1933), 655.

21 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 116-117.

guidance.[22] M. Korres points out to me that a smooth face such as we see on the scarp of Pnyx III and on the northern side of this island of rock could have been produced progressively by ancient quarry workers if the supervisor insisted on it. Moreover, as he also points out, in the pit left open since the 1930s for visitors to see part of the retaining wall of Pnyx II[23] there is still to be seen a huge block which for some reason was not used for the monumental wall of Pnyx III but as fill. It has one very smooth surface protruding (Fig. 5), a surface which may well have formed part of the scarp of Pnyx II before the block was quarried.

There is another clue that the northern edge of the island of rock belongs to Pnyx II and was not established only in the excavation of rock for Pnyx III: the northern edge is not aligned with the scarp of Pnyx III. Although the trench beneath the scarp of Pnyx III narrows slightly as it goes towards the bema,[24] the island of rock is not a true rectangle. At the eastern (far) end where the scarp of Pnyx III turns through a right angle to the north, the island of rock extends 8.4 m. out from the scarp, but at the (western) end closest to the bema it extends only 6.9 m. into the auditorium of Pnyx III (Fig. 6). Over a distance of 17.8 m. from the corner of the scarp of Pnyx III the outer edge of the island of rock draws 1.5 m. closer to that scarp. The line of the outer edge of the island lies at an angle of 4° - 5° to the scarp. The line of the outer edge has in fact been recorded on plate II of the excavation report (see Plan 2 at the back of this volume), though somewhat tentatively, since the island of rock was not completely cleared until later.[25] A third clue lies in the benches cut into the stone above and behind the extant bema, to which W.A. McDonald drew attention. Making the points that the seats are slightly asymmetrical with the bema of Pnyx III and that the scarp of Pnyx III apparently cut into these benches, he affirmed that "they agree better in orientation and general characteristics with the reconstruction of Period 2".[26] So we may postulate a scarp along the northern edge of the island of incompletely quarried rock. Now, what happens if the line of this scarp is projected westwards towards the bema of Pnyx III? It crosses the platform of the bema just in front of the cube of living rock and runs into the decorative step at the front of the cube of rock (Figs. 6-7).

The Western Scarp

About 32 m. west of the bema of Pnyx III there begins a set of three steps, 4.7 m. long, cut into the shoulder of the scarp of Pnyx III (Fig. 8). In an article published in 1987 P.J. Bicknell and I noted that the lowest surviving step cut into the scarp is perceptibly wider

---

22 If, however, the excavators were correct, I would have to regard the northern edge of the island of rock as wholly a continuation of the scarp rather than the actual scarp of Pnyx II. I suspect that it is the actual scarp and that it continues so far east because there was an entrance to the Pnyx II auditorium here.

23 Thompson (1936), 153-154.

24 See n. 16 above.

25 See n. 19 above. However, it is drawn firmly on the survey by J.T. Clarke (Crow and Clarke (1885-1886), plan facing 207). The outline of the incompletely quarried island of rock is also shown on a plan dated 1862 in Curtius (1868), between 16 and 17; cf. Curtius (1862), 25-26 = Curtius (1894), 1.309-310.

26 McDonald (1943), 74. Cf. Crow (Crow and Clarke 1885-1886), 223: "These facts would lead to the supposition that they are older than the bema and rock wall [i.e., the scarp]." A glance at fig. 38 on Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 159 confirms the asymmetry of the benches with respect to the bema of Pnyx III.

at the western end than at the eastern end. Scholars who believed that this set of three steps belonged to the final phase of the Pnyx cautioned us against expecting too much precision from the ancient craftsmen.[27] However, the other two steps are no more than two centimetres wider at one end than at the other (and the top step is wider at the eastern, not the western, end). Over a distance of 4.7 m. in length considerable precision has been achieved in the cutting of the top two steps. I therefore reiterate the 1987 suggestion that the steps belong to Pnyx II and that the scarp of Pnyx III was cut at an angle to the scarp of Pnyx II, thus producing the trimming of the third step.[28] One might expect that greater accuracy would be obtained by measuring the overall excision in the shoulder of the scarp of Pnyx III, but because the top two steps are so uniformly cut, the result is virtually the same. Whether one bases one's calculations on the third step being 31 cm. wide at the eastern end and 39 cm. wide at the western end or on the total excision being 98 cm. wide at the eastern end and 107 cm. wide at the western end,[29] the conclusion is that the scarp of Pnyx III has been cut at an angle of about 1° to that of Pnyx II.

As mentioned in 1987, ten further steps of the same height as the three surviving steps were needed to reach the rock floor of Pnyx III. In fact, if we average the measurement of 0.64 m. given by Kourouniotes and Thompson (presumably for the western end, where the steps are complete) and our measurement of 0.68 m. for the vertical height of the three surviving steps at the eastern end, precisely ten extra steps cut through the scarp of Pnyx II would carry people down to the floor of Pnyx III (Fig. 9). The tenth step is on to the floor, so nine widths of steps would be needed beyond the preserved scarp of Pnyx III for ten further steps down. Since the existing cutting for three steps is 1.07 m. wide at the fully preserved end, nine further widths of the average size of the three surviving steps will extend into the Pnyx III arena some 3.21 m. north of the Pnyx III scarp.[30] Or, if we could be so precise, they would extend 3.30 m. further north at the eastern end (where the bottom surviving step has been cut away) and 3.21 m. further north at the western end. This, I suggest, is where the western scarp of Pnyx II was situated. Now since the three surviving steps are of different widths, these calculations must be regarded as approximate. What is clear, however, is that it would be simpler for the contractors of Pnyx III if the quarrying of rock on the western side of the arena began where the scarp of Pnyx II met the rock floor of Pnyx II. So, although the precise number of further steps is unknown, let us assume that the flight of steps continued another 3.30 and 3.21 m. north of the present scarp at points 32 and 37 m. west of the surviving bema.

If a line along the front edge of this flight of twelve steps, that is, along the scarp of Pnyx II according to my suggestion, is projected in an easterly direction, it runs into the side of the bema platform about 3.6 m. north-east of the point where that platform joins the scarp of Pnyx III (Figs. 10-11).[31] It meets the line from the northern edge of the

27 Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 62, n. 42.

28 As indicated in the previous section, McDonald (1943), 72-75, especially 74, found further support for a trimming of the Pnyx II scarp to form Pnyx III in the orientation and general characteristics of the benches above (south of) the existing scarp near the bema.

29 Kourouniotes and Thompson evidently tried to average the width of the steps, and gave a figure of 1.04 m. for the excision: Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 171, fig. 44. They believed, of course, that the steps were cut for the auditorium of Pnyx III, not that of Pnyx II.

30 Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 62-63, n. 42. There is a striking photograph of the steps and the scarp below them (not visible since 1934: see Thompson (1936), 152, fig. 2) in Thompson and Scranton (1943), 291, fig. 14.

31 The photograph published in *Πολέμων* 6 (1956/1957) *νδ΄* gives a good impression of the line of the western scarp (without seats for *son et lumière* or poles for loud-speakers). It was taken inside the auditorium of Pnyx III but close to the scarp I have proposed for Pnyx II. The island of incompletely quarried rock can be seen beside the eastern scarp of Pnyx III.

island of rock in the south-eastern corner of the arena at a point just in front of the northern face of the cube of living rock on the platform of the extant bema. These indications of the Pnyx II scarp suggest that the bema for Pnyx II was on the surviving platform of Pnyx III or that the bema for Pnyx II began where the front step of the platform of the Pnyx III bema stands. This was a possibility considered and rejected by the excavators of the 1930s. They believed that the bema of Pnyx II "fell ... within the auditorium of the First Period" and they looked in vain north of the surviving bema for a cutting in the bed-rock in which the platform was founded. They therefore presumed that the bema of Pnyx II rested simply on earth fill and they arbitrarily placed it about ten metres in front of the surviving bema.[32] McDonald, supporting Dinsmoor's suggestion, estimated that only one bench behind the extant bema was cut away in the construction of Pnyx III and believed that the bema of Pnyx II was only 1-2 m. north of the extant bema.[33] Subsequent commentators did not go so far: I.N. Travlos placed the bema about 4 m. south of the position suggested by the excavators (apparently because the locus of the arc he drew for the seating area was there) and B. Forsén placed the bema another five or six metres closer to the bema of Pnyx III.[34] In view of my reconstruction it seems that Dinsmoor and McDonald may have been closer to the truth.

Positioning of the bema of Pnyx II on the platform of the later bema or immediately in front of it fits neatly with some slight evidence for a stairway by which it may have been approached from the terrace above and behind it. As noted in the introduction, there are signs of four steps in the form of an outline on the face of the scarp of Pnyx III above the western steps of the extant bema.[35] If the stairway then turned north and descended through the scarp of Pnyx II it would end where the western steps of the surviving platform were later cut. Less secure is the suggestion of steps on the other side, at the western end of the recessed area used later for dedications to Zeus Hypsistos. What looks like the ends of two steps is followed by a horizontal stretch for more than a metre and then what looks like the ends of two further steps.[36] These remains seem too far away from the bema to have provided access to the speaker's platform of Pnyx II, yet too close to the bema to match any proposed diazoma. The additional cutting work implied by the horizontal stretch is also puzzling. However, a stairway in the position suggested by the outline of four steps behind the western part of the extant bema is easy to understand if the bema of Pnyx II was close to such a stairway.

Now, we must check whether the rather short distance between the surviving scarp of Pnyx III and the suggested position of the scarp of Pnyx II would have provided sufficient blocks, of a sufficient size, for the retaining wall of Pnyx III (Fig. 12). Two of the largest blocks in the wall measure 2.9 m. long x 1.3 m. wide x 2.5 m. deep and 3.6

---

32 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 120-122. In fig. 16 (on 126), however, the bema is placed about 13 m. in front of the surviving bema. The comparisons with Travlos and Forsén below are based on the figure (used by Forsén), not the statement in the text (121). In Thompson (1936), 153, there is confirmation that the excavators kept looking for signs of the bema of Pnyx II as they stripped the coating of earth from the dressed-rock floor of Pnyx I (*ibid.*, 151).

33 McDonald (1943), 72-75. Unfortunately, he retained the excavators' placement of the bema of Pnyx II in his composite diagram of the three periods of the Pnyx (plate II). Dinsmoor's suggestion: n. 2 above.

34 Travlos (1971), 473, fig. 595; Forsén (1993), especially 517-520 with fig. 2.

35 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 160 with 157, fig. 37 and plate IIIa; Forsén (1993), 518, 520 and plate 88:c. On page 520 read "descent" for "ascent".(a typographical error): "the ... stairway ... might ... have provided a descent to the bema of the Second Period".

36 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 193 with fig. 58 on 194; Forsén (1993), 507, 509, fig. 1, 517, 520.

m. x 1.4 m. x 2.2 m.[37] They could easily have been quarried from the slice between the two scarps. The scarp at the three steps in the western sector is deep enough for blocks up to 2.85 m. high to be cut. The horizontal space between the scarps of Pnyx III and Pnyx II (as reconstructed) on the western side ranges from 3.6 m. at the bema to 3.3 m. at the steps, so for most of the distance to the steps two rows of blocks some 1.4 m. wide could have been quarried here, even allowing for a quarry trench *ca.* 60 cm. wide. There is far greater depth to the scarp on the eastern side. On a very rough calculation, based on the unbroken central section of the surviving wall measuring *ca.* 79 m. in length,[38] the top course may have been 145 m. long, the top surviving course 95 m., the third course about 60 m. and the fourth course about 15 m. long. 315 m. of blocks 1.4 m. wide could have been cut from two-three rows of stone in the 38 m. between the island in the south-eastern corner and the bema and from two rows of stone in the 32 m. between the bema and the set of three steps in the western sector of the scarp if we allow that two or three courses were available to the contractors in the eastern sector. In addition, there are 18 m. or so of quarry to the west of the steps in the western scarp and further quarrying for the wall of Pnyx III seems to have taken place on the shoulder of the hill.[39] Given all these sources of huge blocks, there is sufficient rock both for the huge retaining wall and for fill (mainly, I presume, blocks damaged in the quarrying process).

The Axis of the Auditorium of Pnyx II

We have, then, a line along the northern side of the island of rock in the south-eastern corner of the site gradually coming closer to the eastern scarp of Pnyx III (Fig. 6) and a line along the postulated edge of the flight of steps gradually drawing away from the western scarp of Pnyx III (Fig. 10). The fact that they meet near the northern face of the cube of living rock at an angle of 155° suggests that the axis of Pnyx II was only slightly to the west of the axis of Pnyx III at the front of the two auditoria. This is not what the excavators suggested — they placed the focal point of Pnyx II further into the western half of the Pnyx III auditorium and the bema further again from the surviving bema — but they based their conclusion, as noted above, not only on the arc formed by the retaining wall at the rear of the auditorium of Pnyx II but also on the supposed reuse of the beddings of the retaining wall for Pnyx I. They also seem to have adopted as the axis of Pnyx II the centre line of the great stairway for Pnyx III,[40] which is slightly off-centre with regard to the axis of Pnyx III. By contrast, given the clues above, we may postulate that the bema of Pnyx II was just to the west and north of the cube of living rock and rose from part of what became the bema platform of Pnyx III, or rose immediately in front of that platform, and was cut away in the remodelling that shaped the platform for Pnyx III. In this position it would have projected from the scarp of Pnyx II in a manner similar to the surviving bema of Pnyx III.

Is there some way of confirming the axis suggested by the angle at the front of the auditorium? I direct attention to the rear of the auditorium. It is not, in fact, easy to join

37 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 148.
38 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 148.
39 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 142.
40 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 126, fig. 16. But on 122 they indicate that they based the axis on the arc of the retaining wall as they reconstructed it.

the traces of the retaining wall of Pnyx II in a smooth arc[41] — for example, to continue the curve at the base of the retaining wall adjoining the eastern stairway through the single block *in situ* at the northern end of Trench B and the dressed rock surface for the retaining wall in the northern part of Trench A (the blocks in position and the dressed rock surface are shown on plate II of the excavators' report; see Plan 2 at the back of this volume). This difficulty is to be explained by the poor quality of the work evident to the excavators in much of the Pnyx II construction. However, there does seem to be a means of estimating in an approximate manner the axis of Pnyx II from the rear of the auditorium if we may assume that the two stairways were more or less symmetrically placed. The excavators found two blocks in position (under a large block not in its original position) adjacent to but not part of the retaining wall of Pnyx II in the western extension of Trench A. They suggested that these blocks marked one edge of the western stairway corresponding to the preserved eastern stairway, presumably (to judge from their position) the western end of the steps.[42] If we join the two points where the stairways intersect the base of the retaining wall, we can fix the axis of Pnyx II half-way between these points. (This can be done on the excavators' plate II (= Plan 2) or on their proposed restoration of Period II.[43]) Two tantalising conclusions emerge from this geometrical construction (Fig. 13). The axis so obtained turns out to be remarkably close to (though not identical with) the axis obtained at the front of the auditorium by bisecting the angle where the reconstructed scarps meet in front of the cube of living rock. Secondly, the axis so calculated for Pnyx II is virtually parallel to that calculated by the excavators for Pnyx III. It begins to seem that the architect for Pnyx III started with the orientation of Pnyx II and decided that the axis for Pnyx III should be about four metres to the east.

There seems also to be some slight confirmation in the benches above and behind the bema of the later Pnyx that the axis suggested by the indications at the front is approximately correct. McDonald noted, as had J.M. Crow before him, that these benches (east and west) are asymmetrical with respect to the bema of Pnyx III.[44] In the first public announcement of their finds the excavators proposed that they belonged to Pnyx I, though they later treated them as belonging to Pnyx III.[45] Although they claimed that the eastern benches were perfectly aligned with the great scarp, the lowest bench is closer to the scarp at its western than at its eastern end. Also, the western benches are closer to the great scarp at their western than at their eastern end.[46] One should, I think, presume that one bench has been cut away on the eastern side in the creation of Pnyx III (but not on the western side, because of the greater distance, 2.16-2.42 m., between the

41 Note the slightly staggered line representing the foundation for the rear of the auditorium drawn by Travlos (1971) on 473, fig. 595.

42 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 124-125 with fig. 15. The series of steps that disappears under the wall of Pnyx III (Fig. 1) must have turned and joined the stairs giving access to the western half of Pnyx II. There is another set of steps, now with a channel cut through them (Fig. 2), on the eastern side and well below the wall of Pnyx III. These steps, on Odhos Dhim. Eghinitou near its intersection with Odhos Apostolou Pavlou, would have given ready access over the slippery rock surface for those coming up the hollow between the Areopagos and the Observatory hill. Just as today steps have been made in the side of the Areopagos to reduce the number of tourists slipping on the well-polished rock, so in ancient times steps here would have been welcome. These two sets of rock-cut steps vary widely in width (the most common width is *ca.* 42 cm.) but share a very small riser (generally 7-8 cm.).

43 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 126, fig. 16.

44 McDonald (1943), 74; cf. Crow and Clarke (1885-1886), 222-223, already surmising that the benches "are older than the bema and rock wall" (223). See n. 26 above.

45 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 165-166; cf. Karo (1931), 220-221.

46 So Crow and Clarke (1885-1886), 222; cf. Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 166.

scarp and the first bench). So if the front of the first surviving bench (which would correspond to the back of the first original bench) is extended on the excavators' plan[47] and the same is done with the back of the first bench on the western side — the protruding rock shows that these benches never met in reality — the two lines meet at an angle of about 160°. But the significant point is where they meet: behind the steps whose traces in the scarp lead down to the platform on the western side (p. 13 above). Similarly, if the lines of the back of the first surviving bench on the eastern side and the back of the second bench on the western side are projected, and the back of the second surviving bench on the east and the back of the third bench on the west are projected, the lines meet behind the position where I have placed the bema of Pnyx II.

Perhaps I should draw together some of the uncertainties in my reconstruction. The northern edge of the island of incompletely excavated rock in the eastern sector of the Pnyx III auditorium is sufficiently smooth to form the scarp of Pnyx II; however, since it extends beyond the likely limit of the Pnyx II arena, one would have to conclude either that it was extended eastwards in the quarrying for Pnyx III or that a passageway was cut here to facilitate entry to the auditorium of Pnyx II. Secondly, we do not know how many further steps were cut through the western scarp of Pnyx II; I have estimated a scarp about 3 m. north of the surviving scarp at the steps. Such a scarp meets the projected line of the eastern scarp in front of the cube of living rock on the extant bema platform. The axis for Pnyx II obtained by assuming that the two stairways at the rear of the auditorium were symmetrically placed comes close to the point where the restored eastern and western scarps meet in front of the cube of living rock, but this suggested axis does not precisely bisect the angle (it meets the proposed line of the western scarp before it has run into the proposed line of the eastern scarp, but if it did meet at the angle, the smaller angles would be approximately 80° and 75°). I presume that it is the calculation of the axis of the auditorium which is subject to greater error than the estimation of the scarp based on the island of rock and the steps at the front of the auditorium. When one tries to draw in the complete stairways at the rear (as in Fig. 14), the proposed axis seems slightly too far to the west. In any case, the natural place to look for the bema is where the eastern and western scarps meet, and a location for the bema of Pnyx II on the platform for Pnyx III seems very suitable. This location would explain the failure of the excavators to find any trace of a bedding in the floor of Pnyx I for the bema of Pnyx II. There are, then, some uncertainties, but there is a remarkable degree of coherence in the shape of the auditorium derived from the clues at the front (both eastern and western sectors) and at the rear of that auditorium.

The Size of Pnyx II

The outer limit of the floor for sitting or standing in Pnyx II lies about 8 m. inside the curve of the bedding for the retaining wall if the height of that wall together with an embankment is as much as the 11.5 m. conjectured by the excavators.[48] Because the wall decreases in height, the limit of the auditorium floor will be much closer to the traces of rock dressing at the extremities of this dressing in the eastern and western sectors of the site. The point on the axis of the auditorium that produces the best-fitting semi-circle for the floor is at the northern edge of the platform of Pnyx III (Fig. 14). A semi-circle with a

47 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 159, fig. 38.
48 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 120 with fig. 14 on 121.

radius of 50 m. has an area of more than 3,900 sq.m. However, since the two suggested scarps meet at an angle of about 155°, the arc is less than a semi-circle and the auditorium floor is about 3,400 sq.m. A total area of this size is considerably larger than that proposed by the excavators and larger even than that proposed by Dinsmoor.

Admittedly, if the bema is at the level of the Pnyx III platform, that is, about 1 m. above the base of the later platform and not about 1 m. below it (as the excavators placed it in their reconstruction[49]), more space is lost in order to obtain greater height above the natural ground level at the rear of the auditorium. However, one must question whether the slope of the auditorium was as much as the 3° allowed by the excavators.[50] If people must be able to stand, the slope should be negligible. Recent work by D.G. Romano suggests that the embankments for the sixth- and fifth-century *stadia* at Olympia and Isthmia had very gentle slopes and were more suited to standing than sitting.[51] The excavators contemplated a Pnyx II auditorium which may even have been smaller than that of Pnyx I.[52] But if the front wall of Pnyx II has been located even approximately correctly above, the auditorium in its second phase was noticeably larger than in its first phase. Consequently the auditorium did not need to slope towards the bema as much as in the excavators' reconstruction. The need for more height if the bema of Pnyx II is placed at a higher level may be discounted as not being a significant factor.

Moreover, Dinsmoor's suggestion (see the opening paragraph) that the auditorium of Pnyx II was horizontal and not sloping seems increasingly attractive as scholars find parallels for Pnyx II and/or Pnyx III in embankments for standing at athletic contests rather than in stone theatres. However, in order to be conservative with my figures I do not press the possibility of an auditorium extending further north and close to (or right up to) the line of the retaining wall. I conclude that the number of citizens who could attend meetings of the Assembly in Pnyx II was much closer to the number who could attend in Pnyx III than is generally supposed.

Maximum Attendances for Meetings of the Athenian Assembly

How many people could fit in the space of 3,400 sq.m. that I have suggested for Pnyx II? Because of their steep incline, Greek stone theatres require vertical stairways and horizontal passageways; they are not a good guide to the space available in a level or gently sloping auditorium. Rather, we should envisage an auditorium without seats where citizens tried to sit comfortably on the ground if they could, but where they squeezed closer together as more people came and finally stood up if the auditorium became crowded.[53] In Pnyx I there was a definite slope down towards the speaker's platform, and it is for Pnyx I that we have allusions to people bringing cushions (Ar. *Eq.* 783-785; cf. 754). Whether the auditorium was level or sloped downwards slightly in Pnyx II and III we do not know (but it is hard to sit comfortably if the ground rises from back to front). Unless the auditoria of Pnyx II and III sloped steeply, there was no need for

---

49 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 121-122 and plate IVC.

50 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 121, fig. 14 and plate IVC.

51 Romano (1993), especially 21-22, 26 ("Since the stone packing was relatively modest, the embankment would have been low in elevation with a small degree of slope.") and 38.

52 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 121.

53 On the need to be flexible in our estimations of attendance see Sinclair (1988), 118 and Todd (1990), 172 and n. 224.

passageways and the whole arena, apart perhaps from a small area near the speaker's platform, could be occupied by citizens attending the Assembly. Anyone who has watched contemporary Athenians force their way through half of an impossibly crowded bus because the closest machine for validating tickets was inoperative will not doubt that ancient Athenians wishing to address the Assembly could make their way to the side or front in such an auditorium.

Now, P.J. Bicknell and I have already expressed reservations about the guidelines used by M.H. Hansen to calculate maximum attendance. Hansen began with Danish building regulations, which allow 0.5 sq.m. per person, but wisely reduced this to 0.4 sq.m. for people attending a large open-air meeting and sitting on narrow benches or cushions. This produced the following figures for the three stages of the Pnyx:

Pnyx I	*ca.* 2,400 sq.m.	6,000 citizens max.
Pnyx II	*ca.* 2,600 sq.m.	6,500 citizens max.
	(excavators' scheme, then preferred by Hansen)	
	ca. 3,200 sq.m.	8,000 citizens max.
	(Dinsmoor-McDonald reconstruction)	
Pnyx III	*ca.* 5,550 sq.m.	13,800 citizens max.[54]

There is evidence that a century ago 0.4 sq.m. rather than 0.5 sq.m. was considered sufficient for Western European and North American[55] spectators: the concrete stadium constructed in Athens on the site of the second century *stadion* of Herodes Attikos for the 1896 Olympic Games allows only 0.8 m. between one tier and the next (and the accepted modern allowance of lateral space is 0.5 m.). The allowance of 0.8 m. per person back to front should in turn be reduced by 20% as Hansen did with the Danish regulations. Moreover, the 0.5 m. allowed for modern western buttocks (or for western attitudes to personal space) should be reduced to the 0.36 m. indicated by markings on the benches in the Greek theatre at Korinthos.[56] If one allows both of these reductions for an arena which has an open floor without tiered or any other kind of seating, the allowance per person is 0.23 sq.m. We can go close to doubling the figures for maximum attendance in the first and third stages of the Pnyx and, in view of the larger area for Pnyx II suggested above, increase the capacity of Pnyx II by nearly two and a third times the figure for maximum attendance earlier preferred by Hansen. Thus:

Pnyx I	*ca.* 2,400 sq.m.	approx. 10,400 maximum attendance
Pnyx II	*ca.* 3,400 sq.m.	approx. 14,800 maximum attendance
Pnyx III	*ca.* 5,550 sq.m.	approx. 24,100 maximum attendance

54 These are the figures for maximum attendance given by Hansen (1976), 130-131 = Hansen (1983), 16-17 (with his preference indicated at 23, 28), with the arithmetical correction of the last figure in Hansen (1987), 17. The figures can be questioned: see Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 68-69, 71, n. 73.

55 See the account by a chauvinistic American in Holmes (1984), especially 58-59, 76 (photograph). Another American, J.T. Clarke, thought that 18,000 seats could be provided in the auditorium of Pnyx III, which he calculated as 6,080 sq.m. That is, he allowed 0.3 sq.m. per person. He also thought that there was standing room for 25,000-30,000 participants in the auditorium. See Crow and Clarke (1885-1886), 218, note E. Crow found the width of the trench beside the island of rock "barely sufficient to allow a man to work in the trench" (Crow and Clarke (1885-1886), 227), thus implying that 19th century men were larger than their ancient predecessors.

56 Stillwell (1952), 31-32.

That this great increase in the estimates of maximum attendance is feasible is suggested by some further considerations. No seats are marked in the reconstructed theatre of Herodes Attikos; if more come, people simply move closer to one another. To a western observer the capacity of Greek buses at peak hour, or when there has been a long period since the previous bus, seems limitless. It is not only in Greek buses that people are willing to cram together; trains in Tokyo and London can be very crowded. People stand for an hour and a half on commuter trains into and out of Sydney and on buses all the way from Korinthos to Athens. Moreover, people in the eastern Mediterranean often sit on their haunches[57] rather than sit on the ground with their legs in front of them. Finally, at some outdoor sporting events people stand in some areas of the arena. If the Swiss are satisfied with 0.25 sq.m. per person when standing at meetings of the Landsgemeinden,[58] ancient Athenians were probably prepared to endure less than the 0.23 sq.m. per person I have suggested above. Many of them would probably have been sitting at this density, for Hansen admits that — without making allowances for vertical stairways and horizontal passageways — "a spectator in a Greek theatre [that is, in a theatre with stone seats] required no more than ca. 0.30 $m.^2$."[59]

In response to an earlier version of this paper sent to him some months before the colloquium, Hansen has raised the objection that there is no evidence that Athenians attended the Assembly standing.[60] It does not seem to me surprising that there are references in passing to people sitting on the ground in the Pnyx (e.g. Aristophanes, *Wasps* 31-33, 42-43), but none to them standing. Consider modern newspaper reports. Up to the present some spectators have stood at British soccer matches (as, of course, television has confirmed), though this is rarely mentioned in our written sources; but it can be presumed for those pressed against the fence in the 1989 Hillsborough tragedy. Newspaper reports may mention that spectators were sitting on "the Hill" at the Sydney Cricket Ground and that there was a brawl on "the Hill" late in the day after much sun and beer had been absorbed. The latter incident presumes that people were standing without its being mentioned, just as allusions to the bringing of cushions to the Pnyx in its first stage (see above) presume the desirability of sitting without mentioning it explicitly. Romano has argued from the evidence for embankments that standing was the norm at early *stadia* (the term itself is suggestive).[61] Standing may well have been normal on the Pnyx also. Contemporary witnesses (notably, Hansen himself and his photographs) inform us that the majority of people stand in a Swiss Landsgemeinde, while a few sit on wooden benches. Unfortunately we have no comparable evidence for the Pnyx. Understandably, citizens preferred to sit on the ground. Aristophanes's *Ekklesiazousai* (95-97) suggests that late comers would naturally attempt to step over people already seated in order to find a spot to sit; the women must not lift their clothes and inadvertently reveal their sex.

---

57 For an example on an early Attic red-figure cup see Boston 01.8024 = Beazley (1963), 173, no. 9. Photograph: Boardman (1975), fig. 119. A photograph syndicated by Associated Press in late July 1995 shows Bosnian refugees from Srebrenica waiting on their haunches.

58 Hansen (1983), 213, based on photographs taken in 1977 and 1981 (224 n. 18).

59 Hansen (1983), 213, as reiterated in the next paper in this volume (p. 27).

60 See the next paper, especially 25-26. For an earlier discussion as to whether people stood or sat in Greek assemblies, especially in Sparta, see Vischer (1873).

61 Romano (1993), 38-41. As well as the embankments for the fifth-century *stadia* at Olympia and Isthmia, Romano points to shallow terraces sometimes only 0.2 m. high, and so more comfortable for standing than sitting, at both Epidauros and Nemea in the fourth century B.C. On the term *stadion*, *ibid.*, 3, 14, 16.

Hansen points out that ἕδρα can be used in a metaphorical sense, and warns that καταλαβεῖν ἕδρας in *Ekklesiazousai* 21, 86 may mean "sit down" directly on the ground rather than on a bench. However, ἕδρα means "position" as well as "seat" or "rump".[62] In Euripides's *Phoinissai* 293 ἕδραι cannot refer to sitting because it is qualified by the adjective γονυπετής; a kneeling posture is the inevitable interpretation.[63] Indeed, the word is used figuratively by both Herodotos (IX.41.1) and Thucydides (V.7.2) to refer to inactivity or lack of contact with enemy forces. The phrase τὴν ἕδραν κατέχον, used of τὸ ἕν, means "occupying the position" (Plato, *Parmenides* 148e). So, while it is attractive to render ἕδρας καταλαβεῖν by "take a seat", it may mean "occupy the positions". In *Ekklesiazousai* 21-23 Praxagora fails to say that the women must occupy the other positions and, by a slip, says they must occupy the prostitutes' positions (with the *double entendre*, take possession of prostitutes' rumps) and, settling their limbs, escape detection.[64] At 86-87 one of Praxagora's close associates insists that their spokesperson is to take up her position (καταλαβεῖν ἕδρας) beneath the bema, opposite the *prytaneis*.

Hansen found a convenient coincidence in his maximum figure of 6,000 citizens able to attend an Assembly meeting on Pnyx I: when the auditorium was full, the Athenians knew that the quorum required for some measures (such as grants of citizenship) had been met.[65] But, as I indicated above, it is difficult to tell when an open-air auditorium (or a Greek bus or a Tokyo train) is full: there always seems to be room for more. Again, Hansen believes that the auditorium of Pnyx II was closed: those inside were the only ones who received pay for attendance (see also his idea of wicker screens to mask the assembly place from foreigners).[66] However, it is quite possible that sufficient pay was provided only for the first 6,000 to arrive; they were to keep inside the *miltos* in order to justify their being paid.[67] In Aristophanes's *Ekklesiazousai*, which belongs to the period of Pnyx II, the women simply say that they must be early enough not to miss out on their pay (290-292; cf. 378-381). Other citizens would gather on the perimeter of the auditorium proper, where the floor of the arena approximated that of the surrounding ground (as it must have on both east and west). We should not look for rigid arrangements, but for a certain fluidity. In conclusion, I might point out that a second stage of the Pnyx which had room for *ca.* 15,000 voters seems more satisfactory (than room for 6,500 or 8,000) for the larger figure of adult male citizens (about 30,000) proposed for fourth-century Athens by Hansen.[68] Not that I think the Thirty or their architect made a calculation as to how large an auditorium would be needed for half the Athenian citizens: Hansen has shown that the Athenians did not know accurately the number of their citizens.[69] Rather, they looked at the current Pnyx and decided how much larger the reconstructed Pnyx should be.

---

62 See Sommerstein (1982), 232 (on *Clouds* 1507).

63 On this passage see Stanton (1968), 4.

64 Cf. Ussher (1973), 75-76.

65 Hansen (1976), 132 = Hansen (1983), 18 (reiterated at 212-213 and in the next paper in this volume, 28-29).

66 Hansen (1982), 243-244 = Hansen (1983), 27-28. Wicker screens: Hansen (1985a), 241-247 = (1989b), 129-135.

67 A suggestion by Hansen: (1982), 243, n. 11 = Hansen (1983), 27, n. 11; cf. Hansen (1986), 93-97 = Hansen (1989b), 147-151.

68 Hansen (1985b), 7, 66-68 and *passim*.

69 Hansen (1985b), 13-16.

Preconceptions of Athenian Society

Much of the debate between Hansen and other scholars seems to me to stem from different preconceptions of ancient Athenian society.[70] He quotes correspondents hinting at this: "But it is also true that this kind of 'institutional thinking' was not as central to the Athenian constitution (especially in the sixth and fifth centuries) as it is for us"; "Stanton and I do not envisage that x positions in the auditorium were rigidly set aside ...".[71] Let me try a parallel from the contemporary world. There are regions in Europe today where city councillors resign when they are shown to have accepted gifts around the time a building application was approved, where trains run on time, where buildings have wheelchair access, where WC facilities are provided for dogs being walked, where cars stop when a pedestrian even approaches a marked crossing and pedestrians wait at red traffic lights, where public lectures by visiting speakers begin within five minutes of the advertised time, where a customer would be astounded to be served by someone smoking in a shop selling food or at an airport check-in counter. In other regions — eastern in spirit and not necessarily in geographical position (does the Orient really begin as far south-east as Lyon?) — household garbage and tree prunings are stacked on the footpaths, members of the audience walk around the front of the auditorium while a learned paper is being delivered, multiple hiring of taxis is standard practice, coach drivers cannot be located in any of the likely cafés at departure time, footpaths are interrupted by holes where trees once stood, and cars are routinely parked on the very apex of a corner between two cars already parked illegally. And some people prefer the values in these regions — they emigrate to them from (for example) Australia.

I think we should imagine ancient Athens as a place where demes tried to discourage others from using up their rough grazing resources by means of boundary inscriptions cut without any legislative backing or even cadastral survey; where the state failed to update the quotas of representatives on the Council of Five (or Six) Hundred as the population of electorates changed; where speakers in the law courts were not prevented from dragging in much irrelevant material; where Sokrates did not answer all the charges against him because he thought he could get away with it (or didn't care) and not because he had neatly divided up his defence with supporting speakers (*sunegoroi*); where generals were given few explicit instructions but were penalised when they used their initiative and failed; where euergetism flourished in a legislative vacuum and beneficiaries (demes, tribes, etc.) stated in their decrees that they intended the compensatory praise and privileges to encourage others to be zealous in making benefactions. The messy, informal nature of Athenian democracy is attested by the body of inscriptions from Rhamnous: the members of the deme of Rhamnous join with numerous bodies ("those citizens living at Rhamnous", "the *koinon* of those stationed at Rhamnous", "all those living at Rhamnous") in passing decrees. Even the citizen/non-citizen divide is breached.[72] In such a society it would not be surprising to find citizens crowded on the Pnyx in a manner unacceptable to modern western Europeans.

---

70 Note Hansen (1989a), 107-113 = Hansen (1989b), 263-269.

71 Hansen (1989b), 214-215, 163. Hansen does recognise (e.g. *ibid.*, 179, 193) that some modern democracies blatantly defy their constitutions.

72 Osborne (1990), 279-285 with Appendices A and B (287-293). Osborne also restates the conservatism of the Athenian democracy (285-286).

Reflections on the Number of Citizens Accommodated in the Assembly Place on the Pnyx

Mogens Herman Hansen

Having read Björn Forsén's recent article in *Hesperia* and heard the papers by Susan Rotroff and John Camp I am persuaded that the second rebuilding of the Pnyx, i.e. the construction of Pnyx III, took place in the fourth century B.C. The three objections I stated in 1989[1] have all been answered and disposed of. As the evidence stands I will endorse the conclusions reached in both articles, and return to the fourth century date. I did in fact myself believe in that date when I wrote and published my four articles about the Pnyx.[2] It was only in 1989, in the addendum to my third article, that I changed my mind and preferred the Roman date. I have now again accepted the fourth century B.C. dating, as will be apparent in the forthcoming German and Italian editions of *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*. My only reservation is signalled by the words "as the evidence stands", because I believe that the problem of the date of Pnyx III can only be solved once and for all by a new excavation of the Pnyx itself. Let me add, however, that I do expect such an excavation to confirm the conclusions of Forsén, Camp and Rotroff.

Some Consequences of the Dating of Pnyx III into the Fourth Century B.C.

I am not only persuaded that Pnyx III is a fourth century monument, I have also been persuaded by Susan Rotroff's contribution that the construction of it must be dated "some years before the end of the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.", that is, to state it a little less cryptically, in the 330s.[3] This was the date arrived at by Homer Thompson when

---

1 Hansen (1989b), 141; Hansen (1991), 128.

2 Hansen (1982), 241-248 = Hansen (1983), 25-33 with addenda at 34; Hansen (1985a), 241-250 = Hansen (1989b), 129-140 with addenda at 141; Hansen (1986), 89-98 = Hansen (1989b), 143-152 with addenda at 153; Hansen (1988a), 51-58 = Hansen (1989b), 155-162 with addenda at 163-165; Hansen (1987), 12-19.

3 Rotroff and Camp (forthcoming); cf. Rotroff in this volume, 40 ("a terminal date of not before *ca.*

in 1943 he changed his mind and brought Pnyx III back from the Hadrianic period to the 4th century B.C.[4] But in his article in *Hesperia* Supplement 19 he suggested a date in the mid-340s.[5] His reasons for this small but not unimportant updating of Pnyx III were historical rather than archaeological. One source especially seemed suggestive: in the speech *Against Timarchos*, delivered in 346/5, Aischines refers to a notorious meeting of the assembly in which a report from the Areopagos about a building programme concerning the Pnyx was drowned in laughter during the discussion.[6] On the assumption that the rebuilding of the Pnyx was carried out immediately afterwards Thompson preferred to connect Pnyx III with Euboulos rather than with Lykourgos, and thus dated it in the 340s instead of in the period 336-324. Susan Rotroff's careful examination of the 4th century pottery, however, seems to confirm Thompson's earlier suggestion made in 1943, i.e. that the construction of Pnyx III was part of the magnificent Lykourgan building programme carried out in the prosperous period after the peace of 338.[7]

The lower date of Pnyx III means that three important literary sources must now be associated with the remains of Pnyx II, and not with Pnyx III as would have been the case if the reconstruction had taken place in the mid-forties and not in the mid-thirties or later. The three sources are:

1. The law about the presiding tribe, *he proedreuousa phyle*, proposed and carried in 346/5 and upheld by the *dikasteria* in spite of the *graphe nomon me epitedeion theinai* brought against it. Aeschin. 1.34: *ἀναγνώσεται οὖν ὑμῖν τοὺς νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας κειμένους τῶν ῥητόρων. τὸν γὰρ περὶ τῆς προεδρίας τῶν φυλῶν νόμον Τίμαρχος οὑτοσὶ καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι ῥήτορες συνελθόντες γεγραμμένοι εἰσὶ μὴ ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι, ἵν' ἐξῇ αὐτοῖς καὶ λέγειν καὶ ζῆν ὡς αὐτοὶ βούλονται.* Cf. Aeschin. 3.4: *τῆς δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων ἀκοσμίας οὐκέτι κρατεῖν δύνανται οὔθ' οἱ νόμοι οὔθ' οἱ πρυτάνεις οὔθ' οἱ πρόεδροι οὔθ' ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλή, τὸ δέκατον μέρος τῆς πόλεως.* Dem. 25.90: *οὐ πρυτάνεις, οὐ κῆρυξ, οὐκ ἐπιστάτης, οὐχ ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλὴ τούτου κρατεῖν δύναται.* — The latter two passages show that, although introduced when the Athenians assembled on Pnyx II, the law was still in force during the period of Pnyx III.

2. Demosthenes' famous description in the speech *On the Crown* of the *ekklesia synkletos* held in 339 after Philip's capture of Elateia. Dem. 18.169: *ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τούς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον καὶ τὰ γέρρ' ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐκάλουν. καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην*

335 for the fill of Pnyx III").

4 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 269-283.

5 Thompson (1982), 145.

6 Aeschin. 1.81-84.

7 In the discussion of this paper Susan Rotroff pointed out that the 4th century pottery found in the fill could probably not be dated so exactly that a construction date in the 340s could be ruled out; but then Judith Binder reminded us that the 4th century pottery found in the fill was fragmentary and worn which indicates that the earth in which it was found was not used as fill of Pnyx III immediately after the pottery was produced but only some years later. Susan Rotroff agreed and consequently, as the evidence stands, a date in the Lykourgan period is to be preferred to a date in the 340s. The building programme may well have been discussed in the assembly in 346/5 as indicated by Aischines' description at 1.80-83, but the rebuilding itself seems to have been undertaken more than a decade later.

χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεῦσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο.

3. Apollodoros' description in the speech *Against Neaira* of how citizenship decrees passed in one *ekklesia* must be ratified by the quorum of 6,000 immediately before the opening of the following *ekklesia*, when citizens are gathering in front of the assembly place. Dem. 59.89f.: *ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὰν πεισθῇ ὁ δῆμος, καὶ δῷ τὴν δωρέαν, οὐκ ἐᾷ κυρίαν γενέσθαι τὴν ποίησιν, ἐὰν μὴ τῇ ψήφῳ εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπερεξακισχίλιοι Ἀθηναίων ψηφίσωνται κρύβδην ψηφιζόμενοι. τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις κελεύει τιθέναι τοὺς καδίσκους ὁ νόμος καὶ τὴν ψῆφον διδόναι προσιόντι τῷ δήμῳ πρὶν τοὺς ξένους εἰσιέναι καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἀναιρεῖν, ἵνα κύριος ὢν αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ ἕκαστος σκοπῆται πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄντινα μέλλει πολίτην ποιήσεσθαι, εἰ ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς ὁ μέλλων λήψεσθαι.*

After these preliminary remarks on chronology I shall focus on two problems: (a) how many citizens could be seated in the auditorium of Pnyx I, II and III? and (b) what is the relation between the introduction of assembly pay in the 4th century and the number of citizens attending a session of the *ekklesia*?

The Maximum Attendance of Pnyx I, II and III

1. Like all other Greeks[8] the Athenians sat down during the sessions of the *ekklesia*. There is no evidence whatsoever that they ever attended standing. This applies to all periods: the fifth century (= Pnyx I),[9] the fourth century down to the 330s (= Pnyx II)[10] and the age of Lykourgos (= Pnyx III).[11]

In the fifth century the people sat on the bare rock (perhaps on cushions),[12] whereas the *prytaneis* were seated on wooden benches.[13] In the fourth century the *prytaneis* were still given *proedria*, even after the chairmanship of the *ekklesia* had passed to the board of nine *proedroi*.[14] For the ordinary citizens who attended a session our only sources are two passages in Aristophanes' *Ekklesiazousai* where he uses the expression *ἕδρας καταλαβεῖν* about the audience.[15] McDonald took *ἕδραι* to mean some kind of artificial seats, perhaps wooden benches.[16] Homer Thompson, on the other hand, is sceptical.[17] Both in *The Athenian Ecclesia* and in *The Athenian Assembly* I have followed McDonald,[18] but on reflection I have to sound a warning. There are quite a few attestations of *ἕδρα* being used in a metaphorical sense,[19] and in the two Aristophanes passages mentioned above *ἕδρας*

8 H. *Od.* II.239; Thuc. I.87.3; VIII.76.3; Xen. *Anab.* VI.2.5; VII.1.33; Cic. *Flacc.* 16; cf. Vischer (1873), 380-390.

9 Thuc. VI.13.1; Ar. *Eq.* 754.

10 Ar. *Eccl.* 23, 86, 94, 98-9; Aeschin. 2.68; Dem. 18.169.

11 Hyp. 1.9; Dem. 10.75; Theophr. *Char.* 26.5.

12 Ar. *Eq.* 754, 783; *Vesp.* 31-33, 42-44.

13 Ar. *Ach.* 25.

14 Din. 2.13.

15 Ar. *Eccl.* 22, 86.

16 McDonald (1943), 75.

17 Thompson (1982), 141-142: "Wooden seating for the whole auditorium would have been so costly for both installation and maintenance as to be virtually unthinkable."

18 Hansen (1987), 18 with note 130; Hansen (1983), 17, 29 with n. 17: "Following McDonald I am less pessimistic than Thompson about wooden seating for the whole of the auditorium. The seats in the 'Periclean' theatre were probably of wood, see Pickard-Cambridge (1946), 19, and I can see no reason to be sceptical about similar seating facilities on the Pnyx."

19 E.g. Hdt. VII.37.2; Pl. *Leg.* 904b; Arist. *Hist. An.* 619b32.

καταλαβεῖν may mean 'to take a seat' in the sense of 'to sit down', perhaps on a bench, but possibly directly on the ground or on some kind of chair. There is one more piece of evidence that there were benches in the auditorium of the *ekklesia*, viz., Suda s.v. ἴκρια (275 Adler): ὀρθὰ ξύλα ἢ σανιδώματα τῆς νηός. καὶ τὰ τῶν θεάτρων, ἃ ἦσαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. ἐπὶ ξύλων γὰρ ἐκάθηντο.[20] If we could trace the Suda's source this note might settle the question, but it is not advisable to trust a lexicographer without supporting evidence. So we cannot be sure that the Athenians in Pnyx II and III sat on narrow benches. They may well have, but they may also have been sitting on cushions or perhaps on low stools[21] or on folding stools like those described by Athenaios[22] and attested both in vase-painting and in sculpture.[23]

2. Now how many citizens could be squeezed into the assembly place on the Pnyx? No matter how we make our calculations it is important to remember the distinction between a standing audience and a seated one. In a Swiss *Landsgemeinde* most citizens are standing during the meeting, but some are sitting (on wooden benches), especially the elderly and disabled. In the densely packed parts of the *Landsgemeindeplatz* in Sarnen I measured the attendance to be 4 persons per square metre if standing and 2.5 persons per square metre if seated.[24]

Obviously more people than that can be squeezed together in a train or a bus, and perhaps the British, being patient, and the Japanese, being small, have the record — I will not dispute that.[25] But again: persons seated in a bus or a train will unquestionably take up more space than those standing. Stanton reminds us that "people in the eastern Mediterranean often sit on their haunches rather than sit on the ground with their legs in front of them."[26] This is undoubtedly true, but not supported by the sources we have for the Pnyx. On the contrary, in Aristophanes' *Knights* the sausage-seller provides Demos with a cushion he has had sewn and points out that the alternative to sitting on a cushion is to sit on the hard rock; but that would not have been the case if Demos had been sitting on his haunches.[27]

In his paper Stanton does not take the distinction between standing and being seated into account, e.g. when he writes "If the Swiss are satisfied with 0.25 sq.m. per person when standing at meetings of the Landsgemeinden, ancient Athenians were probably prepared to endure less than the 0.23 sq.m. per person I have suggested above."[28] The comparison made here is, in my opinion, false since the Athenians were invariably seated during a session of the *ekklesia* whereas almost all the Swiss citzens are standing in the *Landsgemeinde* (apart from a small minority of mostly old and disabled who are seated).

3. What is then the minimum space required for a seated person who is attending a large meeting? I would suggest that the answer is 0.4 m.^{2}, and my guidelines used to calculate the maximum attendance are *not* the Danish building regulations, as Stanton seems to

---

20 See also Schol. Ar. *Thesm.* 395: ὡς ἔτι ἱκρίων ὄντων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ ξύλων καθημένων.

21 Cf. the χαιμαίζηλος δίφρος mentioned at Pl. *Phd.* 89b.

22 Athen. 512c: ὀκλαδίας τε αὐτοῖς δίφρους ἔφερον οἱ παῖδες, ἵνα μὴ καθίζοιεν ὡς ἔτυχεν.

23 See for example the kalyx krater by Euphronios in Berlin (F 2180). For a full discussion see Richter (1966), 38-40, 43-46.

24 Hansen (1983), 213.

25 Stanton in this volume, 19.

26 Stanton in this volume, 19. — This way of sitting is attested on red-figure Athenian vases; cf. e.g. the cup by the Ambrosios painter in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8024.

27 Ar. *Eq.* 783-785; cf. 754.

28 Stanton in this volume, 19.

assume, but — more importantly — (a) information obtained from architects constructing sports centres, (b) personal inspection of political mass meetings, especially the Swiss *Landsgemeinden*, and (c) the study of ancient Greek theatres.

Stanton questions my calculations and arrives at a much smaller figure, namely 0.23 m.^{2}, in the following way: he takes the 36 cm attested in Corinth to be the width of a seat, then he allows for 64 cm only for the depth of a seat from back to front. 36 by 64 cm is 0.23 m.^{2}, a figure Stanton now applies to the entire floorage of Pnyx II, on his calculation 3,400 m.^{2}, and assumes a maximum attendance of 14,800, whereas my estimate would be that an auditorium of 3,400 m.^{2}, if filled, must have accommodated *ca.* 8,500 persons.

Which figure is right, 0.4 m.^{2} or 0.23 m.^{2}? I suggest that instead of using artificial minima, not attested anywhere, we should rather supplement the study of actual modern mass meetings with the preserved remains of Greek theatres. After all, most Greek *poleis* seem to have used their theatre for meetings of the assembly.[29] Thus it would not be all that strange if the seating density on the Pnyx was of the same order as the seating density in an ancient theatre.

Let me quote what I wrote in 1983: "The figure 0.4 m.^{2} for a seated person is corroborated by an examination of the preserved Greek theatres. In the theatre of Dionysos in Athens the width of a row of seats is 75 cm, in Epidauros the figure is 75-76 cm, and in Corinth 77-81 cm. In Athens the front of each row of seats is marked with vertical lines ca. 41 cm apart, and Schultz suggested convincingly, with reference to the practise in London theatres, that these lines mark the limits of individual seats. In Corinth similar marks are found 36 cm apart." So a spectator in a Greek theatre required no more than ca. 0.30 m.^{2}. "But we must allow for vertical stairways between the blocks (*kerkides*) and semicircular passages dividing the blocks horizontally (*diazomata*)."[30]

Here I would like to elaborate two points. (a) In a Greek theatre with stone seats the benches fill only 50-80% of the entire koilon. One example will suffice: in Aspendos the rows of seats fill *ca.* 55% of the entire *koilon*, the rest being filled by the *orchestra* and the *diazomata*. Again, the steps between the *kerkides* fill more than 10% of the rows of seats. Thus the actual seats add up to no more than about half the entire theatre. In an *ekklesiasterion* the free space around the bema was undoubtedly much smaller than an orchestra in a theatre, and the passages between the seats did not have to be as wide as in a theatre; still, if the citizens were seated on wooden benches, there must have been vertical and horizontal passages between the benches, and even if people were sitting on the ground or on stools they cannot have filled the entire floorage in the way imagined by Stanton. For one thing, it would in that case have been impossible for a "backbencher" to come forward to the bema and address his fellow citizens. Furthermore, to have the floor of the auditorium filled to the last seat with 0.23 m.^{2} per participant would require more discipline and organisation than even I am prepared to expect from a crowd of Athenian citizens. In all mass meetings I have studied I have noted that people tend to stand densely packed in some parts of the auditorium whereas in others they stand (or sit) far more dispersed. That is how people behave unless under military discipline and we have no evidence that the *syllogeis tou demou* or other magistrates interfered with how the Athenians were seated in the auditorium. I feel that there is a contradiction between Stanton's calculation of the maximum attendance and his sketch of the Athenian national character.[31]

---

29 Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994), 48-53.

30 Hansen (1983), 213.

31 Stanton in this volume, 21. Let me add that I find the sketch somewhat one-sided. Stanton does not mention, for example, that several thousand Athenian jurors every second day or so conducted the

(b) The theatres in Athens and Korinth are the only ones for which we know the width of an individual seat. But the depth of a row of seats is of course known for a considerable number of stone *koila*, and a study of this figure alone can shed further light on the way in which the Greeks were seated in theatres and assembly places of similar construction. For political meeting places equipped with benches of stone, several of them probably *ekklesiasteria* or perhaps *dikasteria*, the width of the steps ranges from 35 to 90 cm.[32] Again proper theatres with an *orchestra* and a *skene* show a considerable variation too.[33]

The attested variations indicate that there were at least three different ways of being seated. In *koila* with deep seats, as for example in the theatres in Athens and in Korinth, people must have been seated on the front part of a step with their feet placed on the rear part of the step below.[34] In *koila* with shallow seats, as for example the meeting places in Lato and Samothrake, there is not room enough for the feet of the men seated on the step behind, and one of two possible ways of seating the audience must have been adopted. Either the individual seats must have been considerably broader than the 36-41 cm. attested in Korinth and Athens so that a person seated above could place his feet not behind but between two persons seated below, or, alternatively, people must have been seated on the second, fourth and sixth steps with their feet on the first, third and fifth steps, etc. The first method is attested in Sophilos' famous picture of spectators watching a horse race (Fig. 15).[35] The second method is not attested in any source, but it is a possibility we cannot preclude.[36]

As stated above, the actual area of an individual seat in a Greek theatre as far as it is known seems to be *ca.* 0.30 m.^{2}, considerably more than the 0.23 m.^{2} calculated by Stanton. Second, if we allow for vertical and horizontal passages on the analogy of Greek theatres, 0.4 m.^{2} per person seems, once more, to be the correct figure for the auditorium as a whole. It is in my opinion unrealistic to imagine that the 3,400 m.^{2} were filled to the last square inch with citizens squeezed into the minimum space required for an individual but not attested for large meetings. Instead of operating with artificial maxima, I prefer to rely on observations of actual mass meetings combined with a study of Greek theatres.

4. So I uphold my contention that there is a significant connection between the quorum of 6,000 and the dressed auditorium of Pnyx I which seems to have covered an area of 2,400 m.^{2}. I am much attracted by Stanton's reconstruction of the auditorium of Pnyx II and prepared to accept a floorage of 3,400 m.^{2}, but that does not imply that it was constructed to accommodate many more than the required quorum of 6,000. It is rather the size of the auditorium of Pnyx III that has become the bone of contention after Susan Rotroff's and John Camp's renewed inspection of the site. John Camp has pointed out, in my opinion convincingly, that it is unbelievable that the amount of earth-filling required by Thompson's and Travlos' reconstruction can have disappeared by erosion without leaving

---

complicated sortition outlined by Aristotle in the *Ath. Pol.* 63-66. Or that every speech delivered in a private suit was measured by the water clock, etc. etc.

32 Lato: 35-36 cm.; Samothrake: 40 cm.; the Panionion: 55 cm.; Kassope: 66 cm.; Poseidonia: 72 cm.; Metapontion: 75 cm.; Rhegion: 83 cm.; Argos: 90 cm. See Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994), 57-76.

33 Chaironeia: 55 cm. (measured by Rune Frederiksen); Aptera: 61 cm.; Thorikos: 61-65 cm.; Delphi: 65 cm.; Mantineia: 66.5 cm.; Priene: 68.5 cm.; Aigeira: 65-72 cm.; Boiotian Orchomenos: 67-71 cm. (measured by Rune Frederiksen); Segesta: 70 cm.; Megalopolis 70 cm.; Isthmia 70 cm.; Argos: 72 cm.; Dodone 73-81 cm. (measured by Kirsten Kvist Hansen); Epidauros: ca. 75 cm.; Eretria: 74-82 cm.; Sikyon: 78.5 cm.; Syracuse: 83 cm. See especially Dilke (1950), 21-62.

34 See the seated persons depicted on the so-called Asterita vase, a Corinthian column-krater of *ca.* 560 B.C., published by Beazley (1957), 233-244.

35 Athens National Museum 15499.

36 Suggested for the theatre at Chaironeia by Dilke (1950), 36.

any trace either of the fill itself or of an upper part of the retaining wall needed to support it. The inference is either (a) that there was no earth filling and that the floor of Pnyx III sloped downwards from the bema — but that is hard to reconcile with the fact that the Athenians were seated during the sessions; or (b) that there was some fill to bring up the floor of the auditorium to the level of the bema, but that the auditorium was much smaller than the 5,550 m.^{2} calculated by Thompson and Travlos in their reconstruction.

The *ekklesiastikon* and its Connection with the Attendance Numbers of the Assembly

1. The auditorium of Pnyx I was open, the auditorium of Pnyx II (and of Pnyx III) was closed on all sides. It was closed off to the north by the retaining walls and to the south by scarps. There was no natural delimitation of the auditorium to the east and west, between the points where the side scarps and the retaining wall ended, but the *gerra* mentioned in the Neaira speech, and probably in the speech *On the Crown* as well, show that a temporary fence was set up before each session; a fence which must have run from the western end of the western retaining wall along the promenade above the scarps to the south and to the eastern end of the retaining wall.[37] Furthermore, the auditorium was closed on all sides by *miltos* — presumably sprinkled on the ground.[38]

Why this change from an open to a closed auditorium? In my opinion the new type of auditorium must be connected with the introduction of the *ekklesiastikon*. We know from the *Ath. Pol.* that Agyrrhios first introduced a fee of 1 obol; later Herakleides of Klazomenai raised it to a fee of 2 obols; and then again Agyrrhios to a fee of 3 obols.[39] In the *Ekklesiazousai* Aristophanes provides us with an additional piece of information, namely that the fee was paid out to a fixed number of participants only,[40] perhaps the required quorum of 6,000. From Aristophanes' play we can infer that the *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the *ekklesiastikon* was 393/2, but it is perfectly possible that the fee of 3 obols was paid already in or before 400 B.C., i.e. contemporarily with the construction of Pnyx II.[41]

We must assume that as soon as citizens were paid for attending the assembly, control became necessary and with the control came the change in the physical form of the meeting place, the *ekklesiasterion* on the Pnyx. But why did the Athenians introduce the *ekklesiastikon*? and what is the relation between assembly pay and the size of the auditorium of Pnyx II? Again the answer is stated explicitly by Aristotle in the passage just mentioned: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 41.3: *μισθοφόρον δ' ἐκκλησίαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπέγνωσαν ποιεῖν. οὐ συλλεγομένων δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ σοφιζομένων τῶν πρυτάνεων, ὅπως προσιστῆται τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τὴν ἐπικύρωσιν τῆς χειροτονίας, πρῶτον μὲν Ἀγύρριος ὀβολὸν ἐπόρισεν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον*

37 Hansen (1989b), 129-135.

38 Ar. *Eccl.* 378-379: *καὶ δῆτα πολὺν ἡ μίλτος, ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε, γέλων παρέσχεν, ἣν προσέρραινον κύκλῳ.*

39 Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 41.3.

40 Ar. *Eccl.* 291-292, 389.

41 Hansen (1989b), 154, cf. Hansen (1987), 13. Plutarch's report that the assembly place was rebuilt under the Thirty is probably anecdotal but may contain a core of truth, in which case the most reasonable explanation is that the Thirty used the reconstruction as a pretext for having the assembly place closed. On this interpretation the actual reconstruction was carried out only after the restoration of the democracy in 403. For this interpretation see Moysey (1981), 31-37.

Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Κλαζομένιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπικαλούμενος διώβολον, πάλιν δ' Ἀγύρριος τριώβολον.

There is no reason to doubt the explanation offered by Aristotle; the problem is how to interpret the passage. The ratification of decrees took place before the opening of an *ekklesia*,[42] and, accordingly, Aristotle's piece of information allows for two different interpretations:

(a) If too few citizens attend the *ekklesia* a dole will stimulate attendance and help to bring up the number of participants. (b) If many participants arrive late, a dole paid out to first comers or to those who arrive before a certain hour will stimulate punctuality. The number of participants during peak hours may be the same, but a sufficient number, e.g. the required quorum, will be present already when the meeting begins.

Some historians (including myself) have stressed (a) as the principal motive for the introduction of the *ekklesiastikon*[43] but, on the analogy of a famous inscription from Iasos, Philippe Gauthier has argued that (b) must be the true reason for the *ekklesiastikon*.[44] In Iasos a waterclock was set up in front of the meeting place, the jar was unbunged at sunrise and the dole paid out to citizens who arrived while the water was still flowing.[45] Combining this source with the information that the Athenian *ekklesiastikon* was paid out to first comers only, Gauthier assumes that assembly pay was introduced exclusively in order to ensure punctuality, not to ensure a better attendance.

Gauthier is right in emphasising an aspect often neglected by historians, but, in my opinion, he overstates his case when he tries to argue that ensuring punctuality was the only reason for the introduction of the *ekklesiastikon*. The two objectives, to get more citizens to attend and to make them arrive earlier, are in no way mutually exclusive:[46] the *ekklesiastikon* would in itself ensure a better attendance, and if paid out to first comers only or only to those who arrived before sunrise, the result would be that a quorum was present already when the meeting was opened.

That the Athenian *ekklesiastikon* had both effects is apparent from the *parodos* of Aristophanes' *Ekklesiazousai*. The first lines of the strophe support the view that the introduction of the *ekklesiastikon* stimulated more citizens to arrive in time for the opening of the session: *χωρῶμεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ὦνδρες. ἠπείλησε γὰρ ὁ θεσμοθέτης, ὃς ἂν μὴ πρῳ πάνυ τοῦ κνέφους ἥκῃ κεκονιμένος ... μὴ δώσειν τὸ τριώβολον.* But the first lines of the antistrophe show that the *ekklesiastikon* also had the effect that many more citizens turned up for the meetings: *ὅρα δ' ὅπως ὠθήσομεν τούσδε τοὺς ἐξ ἄστεως ἥκοντας, ὅσοι πρὸ τοῦ μέν, ἡνίκ' ἔδει λαβεῖν ἐλθόντ' ὀβολὸν μόνον, καθῆντο λαλοῦντες ἐν τοῖς στεφανώμασιν, νυνὶ δ' ἐνοχλοῦσ' ἄγαν.* In his commentary on the play R.G. Ussher has the following note on *ἐνοχλοῦσι*: "they make themselves a nuisance by crowding the meetings, whereas before they never came at all."[47]

Furthermore, the reference to the threat uttered by the *thesmothetes* may suggest that in classical Athens, as in Hellenistic Iasos, the dole was paid out only to those who arrived before a certain hour; yet two other passages in the play show that the dole was paid out to a fixed number of citizens in the order they arrived regardless of when they arrived.

---

42 Dem. 59.89 quoted above; cf. Hansen (1983), 13, Hansen (1989b), 130-133.

43 Hansen (1983), 18-19.

44 See Hansen (1989b), 148, n. 14; Gauthier (1993), 231-250.

45 *I. Iasos* 20 = Michel (1900), 345-346, no. 466, republished with an excellent and extensive commentary by Gauthier (1990), 417-443.

46 Correctly pointed out by D. Musti in the discussion of Gauthier's paper; see Gauthier (1993), 249.

47 Ussher (1973), 119.

Chremes complains that he was too late to obtain the *ekklesiastikon*, but the reason he states is not that he arrived later than usual, but that an unexpected crowd had shown up before him (380-384); the inference is that he would have been paid if the session had been attended only by the usual number of participants. Similarly, although it is already morning (312), Blepyros envisages the possibility of attending the *ekklesia* and *being paid for it* (352ff., 389); again the presumption is that a certain number of citizens were paid and that even late comers might obtain the allowance if only they arrived before the fixed number of *symbola* had been handed out.[48] In this important respect the Athenian practice differed from what was done in Iasos, where the dole was paid out for a fixed period measured by the clock. All who arrived before the water ran out would be paid, all who arrived later would have to attend (or to leave) unpaid.

Finally, the reconstruction of the *ekklesiastikon* based on Aristophanes' play must be supplemented with what we know about assembly pay in the 320s. Aristotle's mention of the *ekklesiastikon* at *Ath. Pol.* 62.2 conveys the impression that all participants were paid. We know that *symbola* were still being handed out to participants in 341/0,[49] but we have no way of deciding from the simple reference to *symbola* whether only first comers got a *symbolon* or whether everybody did. But if the Athenians continued the practice of handing out a restricted number of *symbola* only, as Gauthier believes,[50] the most likely interpretation of *Ath. Pol.* 62.2 is that 6,000 *symbola* were distributed, but that only a few more citizens showed up, so that — by and large — everyone was paid when the session was over.

This interpretation of the *Ath. Pol.* squares well with two passages in Aristophanes' *Ekklesiazousai*. In verses 282-284 Praxagora urges on the women, telling them that usually men who arrive after dawn have *to go back home* (*ὑπαποτρέχειν*) without pay. She does not say that they have *to attend* the *ekklesia* without pay, and the presumption is that many who arrived after the handing out of *symbola* had stopped did not bother to stay on and attend the session unpaid. Yet some undoubtedly did attend without pay, and the inference is that a meeting of the *ekklesia* was regularly attended by the 6,000 who were paid plus some more who attended without obtaining the pay, perhaps a total of 6,500 or 7,000. We do not know.[51]

Occasionally, however, so many citizens turned up that the auditorium could not accommodate all who arrived. That happened after the women in disguise had ousted many of the men[52] and were in control of the majority when Praxagora proposed to transfer all powers to the women. In his conversation with Blepyros Chremes says that he had never before seen such a crowd approaching the Pnyx and that he and many others did not get their pay.[53] A passage later in the play indicates that Chremes stayed on as a spectator, not as an active participant.[54] In reply to Chremes' description of this notorious

---

48 Hansen (1989b), 149.

49 *IG* II^2 1749, lines 75-76 = Meritt and Traill (1974), 48, no. 38, lines 78-79: ... *ἐπειδὴ καλῶς κ[αὶ δ]ικαίω[ς] ἐπεμελήθησαν τῆς συλλογῆς τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς δ[ι]αδόσε<ω>ς τῶν συνβόλων* ...

50 Gauthier (1993), 248, n. 48.

51 In my earlier work (Hansen (1989b), 147-151) I suggested that there was an institutional link between assembly pay and attendance: the *symbolon* handed out served a double purpose: it was both a ticket to the *ekklesia* and a token to be exchanged for the fee after the meeting was over. Citizens who arrived too late to get a *symbolon* were not only deprived of the fee, they were not even admitted. In the light of the criticism of this view raised for example by Gauthier ((1993), 240, n. 19) I retract it and suggest instead the alternative interpretation argued in this paper.

52 Ar. *Eccl.* 300.

53 Ar. *Eccl.* 383-388.

54 Ar. *Eccl.* 431-434:

session of the people Blepyros asks what the reason could be for bringing so vast a crowd together that early: *ἄταρ τί τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἦν, ὅτι τοσοῦτον χρῆμ' ὄχλου οὕτως ἐν ὥρᾳ ξυνελέγη;*[55] The two words *ἐν ὥρᾳ* are in my opinion crucial. Blepyros' surprise is caused not so much by the fact that the *ekklesia* was attended by a large crowd, but rather by the curious circumstance that the participants had shown up so early. Obviously it was not unknown to find "the house full" during the peak hours of a session, and at least occasionally the auditorium of Pnyx II must have been filled to the last seat.

2. It is still a moot point what the maximum attendance was, but let me end with some reflections on the normal attendance.

(a) The quorum of 6,000 goes back to the 5th century[56] when there were twice as many citizens as in the 4th century.[57] Nevertheless even then the Athenians seem to have had difficulties both in gathering a sufficient number of citizens to the sessions (Thuc. VIII.72.1) and in getting them to arrive early (Ar. *Ach.* 22 with scholia). When democracy was restored in 403 a natural consequence of having half as many citizens as in the age of Perikles would have been to reduce the quorum to 3,000.[58] But the Athenians were not prepared to do that. They kept the quorum at 6,000 and preferred instead to introduce assembly pay in order to ensure that the traditional quorum would come to the sessions and come early. That they attained their end is apparent not only from Aristophanes' *Ekklesiazousai* but also from the preserved citizenship decrees, which must all have been ratified by the prescribed quorum.[59]

(b) A comparison between the *ekklesiastikon* and the *dikastikon* suggests that the Athenians had some difficulties throughout the 4th century in getting the quorum gathered. The dole paid out to jurors was 3 obols per session and that amount was not changed for a century, from the 420s until the 320s.[60] During that period prices and wages had gone up a good deal and assembly pay was correspondingly raised from 3 obols in the 390s to 1 - 1 1/2 drachmas in the 320s. So for a meeting that went on for a whole day the jurors got less than someone who attended the assembly, whose meetings usually lasted only a few hours. We do not know why this anomaly remained but a modest guess may be worth making. On a normal court day the Athenians had to use 2,000-3,000 men from the jury list to pick up by lot some 1,500-2,000 jurors.[61] For an assembly they had to use 6,000 participants to get the prescribed quorum. Presumably, while 3 obols were enough to ensure that on any court day enough qualified people turned up for allotment, it was harder

---

55 Ar. *Eccl.* 394-395.

56 Hansen (1983), 26.

57 Hansen (1991), 53, 55. Rhodes (1988), 275; Hansen (1988b), 14-28.

58 The quorum of 6,000 is first attested in connection with the introduction of the law on ostracism, but we do not know when it was first used in connection with a meeting of the assembly. Probably contemporarily with the construction of Pnyx I; cf. the discussion in Hansen (1983), 26. But was the floor of Pnyx I dressed *ca.* 500 as traditionally believed? or *ca.* 460 in connection with Ephialtes' reforms? We do not know. If Pnyx I (and the quorum requirement) goes back to *ca.* 500 when there must have been fewer citizens than in the age of Perikles it is easier to understand how the Athenians could uphold the quorum requirement in the 4th century in spite of the loss of population during the Peloponnesian War. But even assuming that the construction of Pnyx I and the introduction of the quorum date from *ca.* 500, the presumption is that originally very few meetings of the people were called and that only a few of these required the presence of 6,000 Athenians, whereas the quorum had to be present in most of the numerous 4th-century sessions of the *ekklesia*; cf. Hansen (1987), 15-17. Thus there are good reasons to believe that there was a close connection between the severe drop in the number of citizens during the Peloponnesian War and the introduction of assembly pay immediately after the war.

59 Hansen (1987), 17 with notes 123-125.

60 Hansen (1991), 188-189 with further references.

61 Hansen (1991), 186-188 with further references.

to get 6,000 to turn up regularly for the assembly. The inference is that a normal attendance of 6,000 or more could only be obtained by an increase in the *ekklesiastikon*, and a further inference from that is that an attendance of many more than 6,000 must have been exceptional throughout the 4th century.[62]

62 For helpful comments I would like to thank Tobias Fischer-Hansen, Lise Hannestad and all who joined in the discussion of my paper during the symposium.

Pnyx III: Pottery and Stratigraphy

Susan I. Rotroff

The chronology of the third period of the Pnyx assembly place presents problems that have never been satisfactorily solved: despite careful excavation and extensive study, there still remains doubt whether the monument is to be dated in the 4th century B.C. or the 2nd century after Christ. In the course of their excavations, Konstantinos Kourouniotes and Homer Thompson extracted 150 baskets of pottery from the fill of Pnyx III. Among a majority of pottery dating to the 4th century B.C., they found a substantial minority (12 baskets) of Roman material, mostly from the northern ends of their trenches, behind the enormous wall that retains the fill. On the basis of this later material, the excavators initially dated phase three of the monument in the reign of the emperor Hadrian.[1] Eleven years later, however, Thompson revised this dating. His work on the terrace south of the assembly place had revealed well-dated 4th-century buildings that he felt certain were a part of the same project as the third period of the Pnyx. In his 1943 joint article with Robert Scranton, which presented the results of those excavations, Thompson abandoned a Roman date for the third phase of the Pnyx and placed the monument instead in the 4th century B.C.[2] He pinpointed the latter years of the régime of Lykourgos (330-326 B.C.) as historically the most likely time for the monument's construction. He reiterated support for a 4th-century date in 1982, but argued then for a slightly earlier date, in the 340s.[3]

Most scholars have found a 4th-century Pnyx more palatable than a Roman one, but rather, I think, because it places the great monument in a period when Athens was still an independent political power than for any compelling archaeological reason. The stratigraphical situation and the ceramic evidence, however, have never been satisfactorily accounted for. If the monument dates in the 4th century, the substantial bulk of Roman pottery requires explanation. If, on the other hand, the monument is Roman, the isolation of the Roman sherds in only a few places rather than throughout the fill equally needs elucidation. This classic stratigraphical problem — how to tell the intrusion from the latest sherd that truly dates the monument — can be solved only by returning to the ceramics themselves and to the original records of excavation.

---

1 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 180-188. There is a discrepancy here between the published account and the excavation notebooks. The notebooks list a total of 124 baskets of pottery for the 1930-31 excavations: 105 from the auditorium itself (10 described as mostly Roman); three from clearing the top of the retaining wall; ten from below the retaining wall; six from elsewhere. Possibly some of the excavated baskets were combined before the notebook analysis was made. Further statistics in this paper are drawn from the notebook accounts.

2 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 297-301.

3 Thompson (1982), 141-145.

The Roman Material — A Later Intrusion in the Fill

Homer Thompson's notes, which are housed in the Stoa of Attalos, run to four volumes, written with good ink and in a clear hand, with sketches of finds, plans, and stratigraphic sections. While lacking the details and statistics we are accustomed to nowadays, they give a clear picture of the work as it proceeded day to day. Thompson's notes confirm the published account that there was, indeed, a remarkable amount of Roman pottery in the fill. It is difficult to extract figures, but perhaps about 8% of the sherds and 13% of the lamps were Roman in date. This material came from three areas:

1. On top of the monumental wall built to retain the auditorium fill. The material is described as "almost solid Roman." This was the source of the five Roman pots that the excavators illustrated in their 1932 *Hesperia* article.[4]
2. The slope below, or north of, the auditorium. Over half of the ceramics are described as Roman.
3. Within the auditorium, concentrated in the northern ends of three trenches: A (the big trench almost on the axis of the auditorium), C, and D.[5] Roman material was found at all depths, sometimes on bedrock, and sometimes lying *under* the large limestone blocks that form part of the fill there. Amounts were fairly modest in trenches C and D, but Thompson described ten of the twelve baskets from the northern end of trench A as almost purely Roman.

The excavators apparently identified deposits from locations 1 and 2 (on top of the retaining wall and below it) as fill from the auditorium that had washed down the hill. Whatever it might be, however, it is not auditorium fill *in situ*, and it is therefore relatively easy to dismiss it as evidence for the date of the monument. The material from location 3, however, comes from within the auditorium, deep below the surface and against the retaining wall; it must either be contemporary with that wall or be accounted for as an intrusion.

Of the original 150 baskets of material recovered from the fill, about 1,600 fragments of pottery and lamps and two trays of loomweights are extant. Just 39 fragments of pottery and 11 lamps remain of the Roman objects found within the auditorium — rather than on top of the wall or to the north. Sketches in the notebooks illustrate more objects of the same types, however, suggesting that the surviving collection is indeed representative.

At the time of the excavation, very little was known about local Roman pottery. Oscar Broneer's study of the lamps from Corinth, however, had just appeared, in 1930, and Kourouniotes and Thompson therefore relied heavily on the lamps for their dates. The latest lamps in the fill belong to the distinctive class known as Broneer Type XXVII, recognisable from their crisp outlines and their fine, pale fabric (Figs. 16-17). The excavators published five of these,[6] and, following Broneer's new chronology, they dated them in the early 2nd century.[7] It followed that the monument must have been constructed some time in the first half of the 2nd century; the reign of Hadrian,

4 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 182-183, nos. 1-5, figs. 52, 53.

5 For a plan of the trenches see Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), pl. II (reproduced at the end of this volume as Plan 2).

6 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 184-185, nos. 2-6, fig. 54. Thompson's notebooks preserve sketches of at least 19 more lamps of the same type.

7 Broneer (1930), 90-102.

sometime archon of Athens and a prodigious philhellene, seemed an obvious suggestion.

More recent studies, however, have precipitated considerable revision in the chronology of Roman lamps. Judith Binder, in her work on lamps from the Agora, was the first to point out problems in Broneer's dating of Type XXVII.[8] Subsequently other scholars have followed her lead, with the result that lychnologists now suggest a much lower dating for the type. Manufacture of the earliest variety, Group A, is thought to have begun in the late 1st or early 2nd century. The Pnyx fill, however, contained at least two lamps of Group B, characterised by a vine pattern on the rim (Fig. 17; for a complete example compare Fig. 22, from the Athenian Agora). This variety seems not to have been made before the *end* of the 2nd century and flourished in the 3rd century, substantially later than Broneer's original estimate.[9] If this dating is correct, the fragments of Type XXVII lamps are fatal for a Hadrianic dating for the third period of the Pnyx.

Well-developed chronologies for Roman ceramics, lacking in the 1930s, now make it possible to date the pottery from the fill with some accuracy. Among the 39 Roman sherds[10] are three pieces of Western Sigillata dating to the 1st century after Christ and seven fragments of Eastern Sigillata B dating to the 1st and 2nd centuries. Among the 15 pieces of local red ware, however, is at least one fragment that dates to the 3rd century: a flat-bottomed bowl with overhanging rim (Fig. 18), which finds a parallel in a bowl from Robinson's Group K (cf. Fig. 23).[11] A fragment of a large vessel with a painted inscription (Fig. 19) resembles Athenian "motto mugs" of the 3rd century (cf. the two pots in Fig. 24, from Group M in the Athenian Agora).[12] A distinctive moldmade fragment (Fig. 20) comes from a jug of the so-called "oinophoros" variety.[13] These are generally dated in the 3rd century: Fig. 25 shows a more complete example from the Athenian Agora, found with material of the 3rd to the 5th century. A related piece, somewhat different in detail, has been found intact in Herulian destruction debris at the Agora.[14] A toe from a micaceous water jar (Fig. 21) has the profile characteristic of the mid-2nd to early 3rd century (cf. Fig. 26, a detail from a complete jar from the Athenian Agora).[15] In short, the latest pottery, like the latest lamps, dates to the 3rd century after Christ.

This rather surprising discovery — that the latest pottery and lamps date well after the reign of Hadrian — puts the dating of the third period of the Pnyx in a completely new light. It seems beyond the realm of possibility that anyone, either Athenians or

---

8 Perlzweig (1961), 8.

9 For recent discussions of the dating see Williams (1981), 39-40 and Slane (1990), 13-17. In the latter volume, Kathleen Slane (1990), 16, writes, "Early variants of vine-and-ray lamps (subgroup B) appear in the late 2nd century, but the type is probably not fully established before the beginning of the 3rd century."

10 There are also 20 Hellenistic objects ranging in date from the 3rd to the 1st century B.C.

11 PN III 31. Cf. Robinson (1959), 60, K 5, pl. 68: first half of 3rd century. The type is described by Robinson (*loc.cit.*) as "a group of stamped plates, apparently of local fabric, which occur commonly in 3rd century pre-Herulian fills."

12 PN III 45. Cf. Robinson (1959), 64, K 58, pls. 13 and 97-98, M 145-147, pls. 24, 57: mid-3rd century.

13 PN III 37. Cf. Hausmann (1954-1955), 137, nos. 9-11, pls. 43-44 for complete examples closely similar to the Pnyx fragment.

14 See Thompson (1948), 183-184, pl. 64 (P 17877).

15 PN III 39. Cf. Robinson (1959), 55-56, J 46, pls. 11, 41. The piece does not come from Group J, but rather from deposit B 12:1, at a level dated generally to the 1st to 3rd century. It is illustrated by Robinson as a complete example comparable to fragments from levels I-III of his Group J, dating from after 138 to the mid-3rd century.

imperial donors, would have constructed anything as monumental as the Pnyx auditorium in the middle of the 3rd century after Christ. One is forced, then, to view the Roman material as intrusive[16] and to fall back on the only other date that is likely from the point of view of archaeological evidence. The third phase of the Pnyx must be a monument of the 4th century B.C.

The source of the later pottery and the mechanism whereby it was deposited remain a matter of speculation, but some suggestions may be made. This part of Athens was not deserted in the early centuries after Christ. The sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos flourished there from the 1st to the 3rd century. Well-to-do patrons left stone inscriptions as votives, but the less-well-heeled (or less generous) would have left simpler gifts, like pottery or lamps, which then washed down the hill to furnish some of our Roman material. The Roman pottery, however, also includes coarse wares that are unlikely to have been votive gifts. These are more difficult to account for, but may have come from houses in the area. Both Curtius and Thompson report that they encountered "late walls" during their excavations, and these might have been the remains of such structures. The fact that the latest pottery dates to about the time of the Herulian raid of 267 is itself suggestive, for it is just at this point that we would expect habitation in this area to have been abandoned.

How did the pottery find its way from shrines and homes into fill along the inner face of the Pnyx retaining wall? The Pnyx auditorium is so designed that water drains towards the center of the area, then down the hill, emerging at a point near the center of the retaining wall. This pattern of drainage was well established in the 19th century, as is clear from two early plans of the Pnyx: that of Ernst Curtius, published in 1862, and the more accurate survey published by John Crow and Joseph Clarke in the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies* in 1888.[17] Both show a substantial gully located at about mid-point, slightly to the east of the north end of Trench A, where the bulk of the Roman pottery was found. The position of this gully probably did not remain constant throughout the centuries, and what Kourouniotes and Thompson found in Trench A may have been deposited by runoff washing material down the hill.

Human agency may well have initiated or encouraged this process. During the reign of Valerian (253-260) the Athenians undertook the rebuilding of the walls of the city, following, it seems, the old Themistoclean circuit. Part of these defenses ran across the Pnyx, and indeed a tower there shows traces of extensive rebuilding in the 3rd century.[18] The old retaining wall of the Pnyx would have been a convenient source of building stone, and explorations along its line might have introduced some of the intrusion described above — although the size of the stones may ultimately have defeated the quarrymen's efforts.

A brief history of the Roman Pnyx, then, might run something like this. The sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos is established in the 1st century, at a time when the area no longer functions as a meeting place. It continues to attract the faithful for the next two

---

16 The invocation of "intrusion" is always suspect in a stratigraphical account, and one would be more comfortable with some observation in the written record to support it. As it happens, Thompson's notes *do* provide some support. On a section drawing of the north end of trench D, the deep auditorium fill is clearly labeled "Fill of Period IV" (a term equivalent to the Period III of the published sequence). The northernmost eight or nine meters — approximately the area where Roman pottery was found — is hatched differently from that further south (see Rotroff and Camp [forthcoming]). Although Thompson makes no comment in his notes, this drawing suggests that he observed some difference between these two areas of the fill.

17 Curtius (1862), pl. I; Crow and Clarke (1885-1886), plan facing 207.

18 Frantz (1988), 1, 11, pl. 4; Thompson and Scranton (1943), 366-372.

centuries, accumulating the clutter of offerings characteristic of Greek shrines. Meanwhile, houses are built on the nearby slope; possibly the area is even farmed, as it was in the 19th century. In the mid-3rd century, workmen searching for convenient building material to repair a nearby tower dig behind the retaining wall, leaving behind the kind of messy hole that attracts unwanted refuse the world over. The Herulians ravage the area in 267, and surviving householders abandon the neighborhood, moving to safety within the new, smaller city wall. Houses fall into ruin, the shrine of Zeus Hypsistos is untended, and winter storms wash whatever objects have been left behind down the hill, concentrating them in ditches left by the quarrymen and in gullies created by natural erosion.

The Fourth-Century Material — Evidence for the Dating of Pnyx III

We may now return to the 4th-century B.C. material and examine it for clues to a more precise dating for the monument. Such an undertaking, however, must be prefaced by a host of warnings. Ceramics and, at this period, even coins can offer only a rough chronological yardstick. Their dates are relative, not absolute, and they shift as new dating points are discovered and developed. Except for fine painted wares, pottery can rarely be dated to closer than a quarter of a century. And, perhaps most importantly, the fill in question was never sealed in by any impermeable covering and was always open to intrusion — as has been demonstrated emphatically above. It is easy enough to spot the much later intrusions, but there is no way of knowing whether any single coin or potsherd is certainly a part of the original fill rather than a later addition. This said, however, there are four classes of objects that can be helpful in pursuing a date for the final period of the Pnyx: red-figured pottery, lamps, the stamped handles of transport amphoras, and coins.

Red-figured pottery. In an article in *Hesperia* Supplement 10, Lucy Talcott and Barbara Philippaki published the red-figured pottery from the Pnyx excavations, including both the auditorium material and pottery from excavations on the terrace to the south. According to their analysis, all but a single sherd dates before the middle of the 4th century. The exception is a small fragment of a bell-krater, only 4.6 cm. in height, near the Filottrano painter and dating early in the third quarter of the 4th century.[19]

Lamps. A selection of the lamps from the Pnyx excavations was published in *Hesperia* Supplement 7. The publication does not specifically state the provenience of each piece, a fact that has led to confusion about which types were actually present in the fill.[20] Re-examination of the lamps themselves reveals that most find parallels at Olynthos, where the bulk of the objects date before the destruction of the city by Philip II in 348. There are, however, seven fragments of lamps of types that are not present at that site and should therefore be dated after 348: two fragments of type 25B, four of

19 Talcott and Philippaki (1956), 6, 64-65, no. 312, pl. 31.

20 For a complete list of lamp fragments from the fill, based on the original excavation records and on autopsy of the context material, see Rotroff and Camp (forthcoming).

type 25B′, and one unusual fragment that is perhaps a variant of type 25D′.[21] This suggests a date somewhat, but not too much, later than 348.

Transport amphoras. The fill contained a large number of Thasian amphora handles, published in detail by Virginia Grace in *Hesperia* Supplement 10. The early history of Thasian containers is marked by a major change: the two names that appear on almost all of the earliest stamps are replaced by a single name. All of the over 50 Thasian handles in the Pnyx fill pre-date this development. In an article published in 1946, Virginia Grace estimated that this change occurred around the middle of the 4th century.[22] On the basis of the date for the Pnyx fill suggested by the red-figured fragment mentioned above, however, Grace subsequently adjusted this estimate downward, to 340. This was the year when Philip II added Thasos to his kingdom, and Grace connected the change with this event, arguing that the conquest would have been likely to bring administrative reorganisation in its wake.[23] Although French scholars working on Thasos no longer insist on a connection with Philip, in a recent discussion of Thasian amphora chronology, M. Debidour still accepts a date of approximately 340 for the changes in question.[24] Since the Pnyx fill has been used as evidence for dating the amphoras, to turn around and use the amphoras to date the fill is perhaps a dubious process. The chronology is, however, supported by subsequent finds from dated contexts, particularly by amphoras from Alexandria, and cannot be far off the mark.[25]

Coins. Possibly the most useful information comes from the coins, which were published by Kourouniotes and Thompson and have been discussed more recently by John Kroll. The most closely datable of the eight Greek coins from the fill is an Athenian bronze with a double-bodied owl reverse.[26] Minting of the double-bodied owl, a very prolific emission, must have begun after *ca.* 350, the earliest likely date for the pi-style silver coins it imitates. Kroll favors a date after 338 and places the bulk of the coins in the 330s and 320s.[27] If this dating is correct (and if the coin is not intrusive), the double-bodied owl coin is the latest datable object in the original fill; Kroll prefaces his date with a *circa*, however, and an initial date in the later 340s is presumably not impossible.

A final important hint comes from the extremely fragmentary condition of the pottery and the lamps. There are almost no complete vessels; the fragments are small and do not mend up into whole shapes. Even if the latest of the amphoras was manufactured before 340, it had to be transported to Athens, broken, and reduced to small fragments before making its way into the fill. It is a process that could have taken some time. This and the double-bodied owl coin argue for a terminal date of not before *ca.* 335 for the fill of Pnyx III and thus favor the Lykourgan dating advocated by Thompson in 1943.

---

21 25B: e.g. Davidson and Thompson (1943), 52, no. 42, fig. 19. 25B′: e.g. Davidson and Thompson (1943), 55-56, no. 67, fig. 24. 25D′: Davidson and Thompson (1943), 58, no. 87, fig. 19. For the types, see Howland (1958).

22 Grace (1946), 31, 35.

23 Grace (1956), 119, 122-123 and pers. comm. of July 1992.

24 Debidour (1986), 311, 313.

25 Debidour (1986), 313, comments: "Il est frappant de voir combien la datation traditionnelle de 340, proposé par V. Grace, peut, avec le minimum de distorsion, répondre aux témoinage des timbres d'Alexandrie." See also Garlan (1985), where hypothetical acceptance of 340 for the change produces a chronology for a Thasian deposit that is in close accord with the chronology of coins and other pottery from the same deposit.

26 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 211, no. 1.

27 For Kroll's dating, see Kroll (1993), 31-32, 41-42 (varieties 41-43), and, for further comments on coins from the fill, 299-300.

The Form of Pnyx III

J. McK. Camp II

It seems clear that the date of the third period of the Pnyx can now be fixed with a fair degree of certainty in the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. In addition to the date, the form of the third phase has also been the source of some controversy. In their initial publication, Kourouniotes and Thompson restored an auditorium of banked earth sloping down toward the bema with an incline of 4° (Fig. 27). In his analysis of the niches of the Zeus Hypsistos sanctuary, B. Forsén has opted for a slope of only 2.2°, and as early as 1933 W.B. Dinsmoor argued for a completely level floor. There are both physical and conceptual reasons for restoring the Pnyx with as slight a slope as possible.[1]

Let us begin with the physical evidence:

1. *The Earth Fill.* The rock-cut bema or speaker's platform has its base some 13.40 meters above the bedrock which serves as the base for the great retaining wall. The great wall stands only 5.35 m. high and the levelling along its top — in contrast to the stepped coursing lower down — suggests that it did not rise much, if at all, higher. Even a level floor requires that fill be mounded up and retained to a height of over eight meters. The original restoration, with a slope of 4°, requires an additional 3.5-4.5 m. of fill, a total of 11.50-12.50 meters of earth rising above the top of the great curved retaining wall as preserved. The original restored drawing shows a stepped retaining wall of masonry 29 courses high in order to retain this mass of fill (Fig. 27). Not a trace of either the wall or the banked earth survives and we must ask ourselves if it ever existed. Leaving aside the masonry, such a mass of earth fill might be expected to have survived, despite the possibilities of considerable erosion. Had such a mass eroded down, over the top of the great wall, some of it should have remained, banked up and obscuring the outer face of the wall. Here E. Dodwell's description of the Pnyx as it appeared in 1805 is of interest.

---

1 For the basic account of the Pnyx, see Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 90-217, and for the third period especially Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 139-192 . For the date of Period III see Rotroff and Camp (forthcoming) and Rotroff in this volume. For Dinsmoor's review of the Pnyx and the theory of a level floor: Dinsmoor (1933), 180-182, with a rebuttal by Kourouniotes and Thompson (1933), 652-656. For Forsén's theory of a 2.2° slope, see 53-54 in this volume. It is a pleasure and appropriate to thank B. Forsén for bringing together so many interested parties for such a congenial meeting on matters concerning the Pnyx. I am indebted also to several colleagues for useful and stimulating discussions on the Pnyx over the years, in particular J. Binder, A.L. Boegehold, M.H. Hansen, J. Magness, E. Meyer, K. Morgan, D. Romano, and S. Rotroff.

> Proceeding from the above-mentioned church, along the eastern foot of the Pnyx hill, in a northwest direction, for about 100 yards, I arrived at the great circular wall, which is the support or buttress to the declivity of the Pnyx, which is opposite the Areiopagos and faces the northeast. This colossal fabric, which Wheler takes for a theatre, and Spon for the Areiopagos, is worthy of the builders of Mycenae and Tiryns, and is composed of large quadrilateral stones well united. The most perfect part of the wall contains three layers of blocks.[2]

In short, Dodwell saw what is visible today: three courses of masonry, apparently with no eroded fill spilled over against the face of the wall.

The use of mounded earth to create a seating slope is, of course, not without parallel in the Greek world. The three best instances, perhaps, are the theaters of Eretria and Dion, and the stadium at Olympia.[3] In all three cases, the earth remains substantially mounded *in situ*, despite centuries of exposure and erosion. The lack of any trace of earthen fill at the Pnyx, either banked up *in situ* or eroded over the face of the great wall, does not inspire confidence in the restoration of a floor sloping down to the bema.

2. *The Stele Cuttings*. Dinsmoor's primary objection to a sloping floor centered on a series of stele beddings cut into the bedrock along the west side (Plan 2 and Fig. 28), usually understood as carrying inscribed posts dividing the orchestra into sections. He noted that a sloping floor of 4° requires that the two western stelai had to be 1.95 and 2.10 m. high just to reach the surface of the floor, and more if they were to be visible and of any practical use. The beddings measure 0.16 m. by 0.34 m., roughly the size of an average boundary stone, such as those used to delimit the Agora (0.155-0.194 m. by 0.326 m.) or the Kerameikos (0.16 m. by 0.235 m.). Both the Agora and Kerameikos series of boundary stones stand 1.20 m. high. Of over 100 boundary stones known from Athens, the tallest stands only 1.29 m.[4] To be functional (Fig. 28), the Pnyx markers would have to be a meter taller than our tallest known example.

3. *The Quarrying*. Dinsmoor also pointed out several anomalies in the way the quarrying was carried out. First, it seems counter-intuitive to cut out large masses of hard limestone in an area which was intended to be covered with fill. This is the case along the northwest (Fig. 28), where the bedrock was dressed down a full 2.50 meters below any floor restored with a 4° slope; and the same arrangement was clearly planned also in the unfinished southeast area (Fig. 28).

Finally, the duplication in the excavators' interpretation of quarry marks and stele beddings is cumbersome (Plan 2). The stele beddings lying parallel to the great scarp are assigned to Period III, whereas those found 15 m. northeast of the bema (and 2.00 m. below it) are assigned to Period I. Similarly, depending on where they survive, traces of quarrying are assigned to either Period I or III, though the technique used — long grooves cut with a point and wedges then inserted to remove individual blocks — is identical. To be sure, quarry techniques will have changed little over the 120-160 years between Periods I and III, but when such traces are found immediately adjacent to one

---

2 Dodwell (1819), 401.

3 Eretria: Auberson and Schefold (1972), 62-69; Dion: Karadedos (1985), 26-30; Olympia: Mallwitz (1972), 180-186, with earlier references.

4 Ritchie (1984), esp. 633. The westernmost boundary stone was apparently socketed into a separate block *ca.* 0.75 m. above the dressed floor; even so, it would have to rise to a height of 2.10 m. just to reach floor level if the slope were 4°. I have no explanation as to why the stone had a separate base.

another in a single monument, as they are northeast of the bema, economy of hypothesis suggests that they (and the stele beddings) are better dated to a single period.

In short, the physical evidence noted here and by W.B. Dinsmoor suggests that the bema is the high point rather than the low point of the auditorium. A raised seating area is not consistent with the evidence or the present state of preservation of the Pnyx, and even a level floor presents difficulties.

In addition to the physical evidence, there is a conceptual assumption which has long been made about the Pnyx which needs re-examination. We are drawn to the idea of a raised and sloping seating area by the example provided by numerous Classical and Hellenistic theaters. There are good examples from very early times. The Athenians in the 6th century B.C. are known to have watched theatral events in an area of the Agora known as the orchestra seated on *ikria*, raised wooden bleachers or grandstands. It was the disastrous collapse of this temporary seating during a performance which led to the establishment of the theater of Dionysos on the south slope of the Acropolis early in the 5th century B.C.[5] Raised seating areas are also attested for early stadia. The embankments of the early stadium at Olympia, for instance, are to be dated in the archaic period, and the magnificent early black-figure dinos by Sophilos showing the funeral games of Patroklos has the spectators seated on rows of raised seats.[6] Such viewing arrangements are necessary when there is a spectacle or performance which primarily needs to be seen: the movements of a chorus, the action of an athletic event, or the passing of a procession.

When, however, the action is limited or non-existent and the performance involves a need to be heard rather than seen, then the provisions necessary for both performer and audience are very different. In such circumstances it is far easier to raise a single performer than several thousand members of the audience. Both architectural and iconographic evidence survives to show that this was done when appropriate. From Plutarch (*Perikles* 13.9) we learn that the Odeion of Perikles was used starting in the mid-5th century for performances of musical events in the Panathenaia. The Odeion was a huge structure, over 60 meters on a side, capable of holding thousands of people, built in imitation of the tent of king Xerxes which was captured from the Persians in the battle of Plataia in 479 B.C. The prototypes, the great palaces and audience chambers in Persia, had level floors. The present remains in Athens, which represent a rebuilding of the structure in the mid-1st century B.C., have not been fully excavated, but there is nothing to suggest that the Odeion had anything but a level floor. Presumably the performers stood on a raised platform, while the audience sat around.[7]

Additional evidence may be gleaned from the numerous representations on black- and red-figured vases. Scenes of singers, kithara players, and flautists were popular and a great many of them show the performer standing on a raised stepped platform, with anywhere from one to three steps.[8]

When we move from the world of theater and spectacle to public deliberation, this distinction still seems to hold true. Descriptions of early instances of public oratory have the speakers raised. In the early 6th century, for instance, when Solon wished to address the Athenians in the Agora concerning control of the island of Salamis, we are told by

---

5 For the early orchestra and *ikria*: Wycherley (1957), 162-163, 220-221, and Pickard-Cambridge (1946), 12.

6 Sophilos dinos: Athens National Museum 15499 = Beazley (1956), 39-40, no. 16. For a photograph, cf. Béquignon (1931), pl. 19, Neils (1992), 19, fig. 5 or Fig. 15 in this volume.

7 For the Odeion: Travlos (1971), 387-391, with bibliography.

8 Shapiro (1992), 52-75; of the 22 illustrations of standing musicians, 13 show the performer raised.

Plutarch (*Solon* 8.2): "he got up on the herald's stone". In the 5th century we are on firmer (and higher?) ground. On the occasion of Perikles' funeral oration, delivered in 431 B.C., Thucydides is specific about the setting (II.34.8): "Now over these, the first victims of the war, Perikles the son of Xanthippos was chosen to speak. And when the proper time came, he advanced from the sepulchre and took his stand on the bema which had been built high in order that his voice might reach as far as possible in the throng and spoke as follows". As the audience included not only Athenian citizens but also women and foreigners, the crowd may well have been larger than any meeting of the *ekklesia*.

The principle that the speaker is raised rather than the audience in Athenian deliberative bodies can be attested throughout the Classical period. There is no evidence for a raised or sloping floor in either the Old or New Bouleuterion in the Agora of Athens,[9] whereas Antiphon (6.40), in a speech dated 419 B.C., refers to the bema, the raised platform from which the speakers addressed the *boule*: "The crowning point was reached in the bouleuterion, in front of the *boule*, when Philokrates himself stood with me on the bema..."

In Athenian law courts, too, the speakers spoke from a raised position. In the Areopagos, according to Pausanias (I.28.5): "The unwrought stones on which the accused and the accusers stand are named respectively the stone of Injury and the stone of Ruthlessness". A. Boegehold's collection and detailed analysis of the law courts of Athens indicates that the bema was a standard feature; there are numerous references to speakers and witnesses mounting and dismounting it.[10] Various buildings have been identified as law courts or are known to have served as law courts: the Stoa Poikile, the square peristyle, and the Heliaia/Aiakeion; all have level floors.[11]

The picture most of us have of a handsome stone council chamber with banked rows of marble seats, such as at Priene, is a phenomenon of the Hellenistic period. In the Classical period the few identifiable council chambers such as those at Olympia, Delphi, Delos, Argos, Olynthos, Orchomenos, and Athens all have level floors.[12] The transition may be seen in the Thersilion at Megalopolis, a building laid out in *ca.* 369 B.C. to accommodate the 10,000 representatives of the Arcadian League. It is a large hypostyle hall with the interior columns placed so as to permit good sight-lines; the floor slopes down very gradually toward the speaker's area.[13]

The balance of evidence, both archaeological and literary seems clear. In the Agora or in the Kerameikos the Athenians were used to standing in large numbers, being addressed by a speaker who was elevated. And in buildings or areas reserved for their deliberative bodies — the Areopagos, the Bouleuterion, and the dikasteria — the Classical Athenians sat on level ground with the speaker mounted on a raised bema. Think of this concept as the "sermon on the mount".

Back now to the Pnyx, first laid out in *ca.* 500 B.C. or *ca.* 460.[14] I would argue that the first, primitive arrangement provided for a speaker raised above his audience and that

---

9 For the latest views on the Old Bouleuterion: Shear, Jr. (1994), 225-248. The New Bouleuterion was cut back into the hillside of Kolonos Agoraios and was provided with a floor dressed level, rather than sloping.

10 Aeschines 2. 59, 143; Lysias 20. 29. Boegehold (forthcoming).

11 Square Peristyle: Townsend (1995); Stoa Poikile: *IG* II^2 1641, lines 25-30 and *IG* II^2 1670, lines 34-35 and Camp (1990), 101-109; Heliaia/Aiakeion: Boegehold (forthcoming), Stroud (1993), 308-309 and Stroud (1994), 1-9.

12 Gneisz (1990).

13 Gneisz (1990), 331-332 with references.

14 Originally associated with the Kleisthenic reforms, the 1st phase of the Pnyx has also been dated to the time of the reforms of Ephialtes: Thompson (1982), 133-147.

this same concept guided all later refurbishments of the area. That is, of course, the arrangement as it in fact survives today, in the form we know as Pnyx III. The raised bema remains *in situ*, carved out of the living rock, and a bema is attested in the 5th century comic poets as well as the 4th century orators.[15]

Based on the physical remains as well as archaeological and literary evidence, it seems clear that the auditorium of the Pnyx, as Dinsmoor would have it, was level and never sloped down toward the bema. Indeed, if the audience stood rather than sat one would be tempted to argue that the auditorium sloped up toward the bema, a true "sermon on the mount", and a configuration familiar to the Athenians in their other large gatherings, with the speaker raised high above them.[16]

In either configuration — level or with the audience lower — there are two useful consequences. First, the audience was well below the level of the top of the high rock-cut scarp on either side of the bema and presumably was not intended to watch anything taking place on the terrace above.[17] Second, the well-known anecdote preserved in Plutarch (*Themist.* 19.6) makes more sense. According to the passage, the Thirty tyrants in 404/3 B.C. "turned the bema, which was constructed so as to look at the sea, so that it looked toward the countryside, believing that maritime empire was the origin of democracy, but that farmers bore oligarchy more easily".[18] This passage, difficult to interpret for a variety of reasons, makes little sense if the speaker faced only a sea of faces rising up in front of him. With a level floor, however, a speaker standing on the bema would indeed look out over the audience toward the Attic countryside.[19] Whatever the political interpretation of this passage, the physical arrangement of Pnyx III at least conforms. In this final phase — as in all Athenian deliberative venues of the Classical period — the orators literally, if not figuratively, looked down on their audience.

An alternative to this hypothesis is to leave open the question of the intended final form of Pnyx III and concentrate instead on the evidence that the plans for the area were never brought to completion. Within the auditorium we note that the bema itself was never finished[20] and that, while the area northwest of the bema was finished and dressed level with the bottom of the bema, the area to the southeast was left very rough and unfinished (Fig. 28), still preserving extensive quarry marks and uncut masses of bedrock. Most telling, perhaps, is the unfinished state of the great stoas planned for the terrace above, abandoned soon after their foundations were laid out.[21]

As noted, the date for Pnyx III seems to be *ca.* 340: soon thereafter we find the Athenians in an uncertain state following the battle of Chaironeia in 338 B.C. When neglected building projects were resumed, the Athenians turned their attention to the great

---

15 Dem. 18.66; Ar. *Ach.* 44, *Eq.* 956, *Pax* 421, *Eccl.* 86 ff. and Eupolis, *Poleis* fr. 207.

16 The weight of evidence seems to indicate that the Athenians sat when in assembly: Vischer (1873), 380-390.

17 This would seem to preclude the area being used as an auditorium for spectators for a race-track on the upper terrace as proposed by Romano (1985), 441-454, with a revised version in this volume.

18 *διὸ καὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πυκνὶ πεποιημένον ὥστ' ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὕστερον οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν ἀπέστρεψαν, οἰόμενοι τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν γένεσιν εἶναι δημοκρατίας, ὀλιγαρχίᾳ δ' ἧττον δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς γεωργοῦντας.*

19 It seems to me possible that in the earliest phase the meeting place was on the northwest side of the ridge, where a raised speaker would look toward the sea. The opening lines of the *Acharnians* describe crowds in the Agora but do not require Dikaiopolis to be looking down on it. And the verb used to describe the late comers' arrival, "flowing down" (*καταρρέοντες*), makes better sense if they have come over the top of the ridge.

20 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 160-161.

21 For the unfinished stoas see Thompson and Scranton (1943), 269-383.

theater of Dionysos under Lykourgos in the 330s.[22] This proved a congenial meeting place, and numerous meetings of the *ekklesia* in the theater are attested.[23] Indeed, though the date of the shift is not specified, Pollux (VIII.132) tells us that the theater supplanted the Pnyx for almost all meetings:

> Of old they met in assembly in the Pnyx. The Pnyx was a place close to the Acropolis, arranged in ancient simplicity, not with the complexity of a theater. Subsequently the other business was done in the theater of Dionysos and only the elections were held in the Pnyx, from which the comic poets speak of the tumult of the populace as "Pnyxian".

Athenaios, describing events in Athens in 88 B.C., clearly indicates that the shift in function from Pnyx to theater had already taken place by that time. Though the Pnyx is mentioned, it is clear that the theater is the usual venue for the *ekklesia*. Interestingly enough, in the meeting of the *ekklesia* described, Athenion addresses the assembly in the Agora, from the raised bema built in front of the stoa of Attalos (Athenaios 212-213).

In short, it may well be that the function of Pnyx III was found to have been largely fulfilled by the construction of the new theater and the costly project was simply abandoned, left for centuries to be puzzled over eventually by scholars from Dodwell to the participants in the conference represented by these papers.

---

22 For the Lykourgan theater: *IG* II^2 351, line 17 (330-329 BC), *IG* II^2 457b, line 6, and Plutarch, *Moralia* 841D, 852C; also Travlos (1971), 537-552 and Townsend (1982), 90-142.

23 The theater was in fact used for meetings of the *ekklesia* as early as 353/2 B.C. (*IG* II^2 140, line 4) and its use through the Hellenistic period is attested in the preambles of numerous decrees, down to as late as 94/3 B.C. (*IG* II^2 1029).

The Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos and the Date and Construction of Pnyx III*

Björn Forsén

When in 1803 George, Earl of Aberdeen, as the first one in modern times, conducted excavations on the Pnyx, he found twelve marble plaques that evidently had fallen from the niches in the scarp to the east of the bema.[1] The inscribed plaques were dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos, seemingly indicating the existence of a cult of Zeus Hypsistos at this place. At that time it was not yet totally clear that the Pnyx Hill really was the ancient Pnyx, although this had been suggested already by Chandler at the end of the eighteenth century.[2] The identification of the hill as the ancient Pnyx should have been finally settled when Pittakes in the 1840s found the Pnyx boundary stone on the hilltop above and behind the bema.[3] However, some German scholars, above all Welcker and Curtius, still did not believe that the hill was to be identified as the Pnyx and that the architectural remains — the great retaining wall, the scarps and the bema — were those of the assembly place. According to Welcker and Curtius the whole area was to be considered as a sanctuary of Zeus and the bema as an altar.[4]

The thorough and convincing study of Crow in the 1880s[5] and the excavations by Kourouniotes in the 1910s[6] finally proved that the great retaining wall, the scarps and the bema were remains of the assembly place and that the hill they were situated on was to be identified with the ancient Pnyx. Kourouniotes showed that there had existed an

* During the various stages of my work concerning the Pnyx, I have received generous help from a great number of colleagues. I wish here to thank especially the First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and its director, Dr. P.G. Calligas, for granting permission to restudy the remains of the assembly place and the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos but also Dr. J. Binder, Professor J. McK. Camp, Professor P. Castrén, Mr. A. Diehl, Dr. V. von Eickstedt, Dr. J. Forsén, Dr. H. Kienast, Mr. J. van Leuven, Mr. H. Lundberg, Professor S.I. Rotroff, Dr. F. Rumscheid, Professor D. Rupp, Professor G. Stanton and last but not least Professor H.A. Thompson, for comments and generous help.

1 Dodwell (1819), 401-405.

2 Chandler (1817), 76-78.

3 Pittakes (1853), 774.

4 Welcker (1852); Curtius (1862), 20-46.

5 Crow and Clarke (1885-1886), 205-260.

6 Kourouniotes (1910), 127-136; Kourouniotes and Antoniades (1911), 106-109; Kourouniotes (1916), 46-47.

earlier assembly place on the same spot[7] and tried to date the later construction with the help of pottery found in the fill behind the great retaining wall. This proved to be tricky, as the fill apart from Attic red-figure sherds from the fourth century B.C. also contained some later material. Thus Kourouniotes first dated this construction to a period not earlier than the second century B.C.[8] and in a later report speaks about the fourth century B.C.[9] As all the votive offerings dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos were of Roman date, Judeich in his book on the topography of Athens remarked that such a date had to imply that the cult of Zeus Hypsistos was founded at a time when the Pnyx had lost its importance as a political meeting place.[10]

In the 1930s the excavations on the Pnyx were resumed by Kourouniotes and Thompson. It was now established that there had existed three building phases of the assembly place, and that the visible remains belonged to the third phase of construction.[11] The difficult question of the date of Pnyx III was, however, not convincingly solved. In their excavation report Kourouniotes and Thompson proposed a Hadrianic date for Pnyx III.[12] As the votive offerings to Zeus Hypsistos could be dated both before and after the suggested date of the final building phase of the assembly place, the excavators proposed that the sanctuary had existed before Pnyx III as a small room or pit sunk into the shoulder of the hill a short distance to the south of Pnyx II (Fig. 29).[13]

Kourouniotes and Thompson thought that the bottom and entrance of this early sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos was still outlined by a recessed area and four steps in the great scarp to the east of the bema (Fig. 30). When the assembly place was enlarged towards the south during the construction of Pnyx III, most of the sanctuary would have been quarried away, leaving intact only the south wall of the sanctuary and the niches in it. According to the excavators, the worship would however have continued, witnessed by new niches cut to the west and east of the recessed area, in the middle of which a great central niche was cut, presumably to hold a statue of the god.[14]

The theory of the priority of the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos vis-à-vis the Third Period of the assembly place, which when it was first proposed seemed possible, lost its credibility when Thompson in 1943 changed the dating of Pnyx III to the end of the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.[15] Travlos in his *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* tries, however, to stick to the old theory of the priority of the shrine, and thus makes the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos earlier than 330 B.C.[16] Such an early date of the shrine is impossible, as all votive offerings found belong to the Roman period and since the cult of Zeus Hypsistos generally is known as a latecomer to Greece.[17]

---

7 Kourouniotes (1910).
8 Kourouniotes (1910), 135.
9 Kourouniotes (1916), 47.
10 Judeich (1931), 396.
11 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 90-217.
12 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 180-188.
13 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 198-200.
14 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 193-200.
15 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 297-301.
16 Travlos (1971), 466, 569.
17 The earliest dedications to the cult of Zeus Hypsistos are from Edessa and date to the first half of the 2nd century B.C. See Cook (1925), 876-890; Cook (1940), 1162-1164; Nock (1972), 414-443; Tačeva-Hitova (1978), 59-75.

The Relative Date of the Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos vis-à-vis Pnyx III

In an article in *Hesperia* in 1993, I reviewed the arguments cited by Kourouniotes and Thompson in favour of their theory of the priority of the sanctuary vis-à-vis Pnyx III. Let me quote these arguments and the comments which can be made against them once again.[18] Firstly Kourouniotes and Thompson thought the only explanation as to why the architect of the final construction of the assembly place did not set the scarp further back, thus cutting away the scar representing the earlier recess, was that he respected the sanctity of the place. This is, however, hardly a convincing argument, especially as another scar representing some steps was left above the western stairs leading to the bema, although these steps cannot have belonged to the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos (Fig. 31).

As their second argument Kourouniotes and Thompson held that if the bottom level of the recessed area was taken as the floor of the original shrine, then the majority of the niches would have been at a suitable height above the floor. This would imply that the niches originally were set at a height between 0.2-0.3 and 1 m. in the southern wall of a small pit dug in the shoulder of the hill above Pnyx II (Figs. 29-30). This reconstruction seems highly unlikely to me. Other rockcut sanctuaries, for instance, seem to have their niches set at a height between 1.5 and 3 m. above the ground level. If, on the other hand, the rockcut floor of Pnyx III had constituted the floor level of the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos, then the niches in the scarp would have been at a height between 2 and 3.3 m., which is more in line with similar sanctuaries, especially if one takes into account that the rockcut floor of Pnyx III can have been covered with some earth.

There is, however, another major objection that can be made against the theory that the bottom level of the recessed area was the original floor level of the sanctuary, and that is the fact that the niches cut to the west and east of the recessed area, and which according to the excavators were cut after the construction of Pnyx III, are at the same level as the niches inside the recessed area. If the floor level of the sanctuary really was dropped by two metres as a result of the construction of Pnyx III, one would logically expect that the niches correspondingly would have been cut at a lower level. The fact that all niches, whether inside the recessed area or outside it, are placed roughly at the same level seems to indicate that they were cut during a period when the floor level was more or less the same.

While trying to assign the plaques to their respective niches, no chronological difference could be found between those niches situated within the recessed area and those situated outside it in the way that Kourouniotes and Thompson had suggested. Therefore there should not be any doubt that the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos was founded at a time when the construction of Pnyx III was finished. The jagged line in the scarp in between the niches must represent part of a construction that existed before Pnyx III and, thus, has nothing to do with the sanctuary. Judging from the inscriptions found in the sanctuary, the latter seems to have been founded at the end of the first century after Christ.

Now the question is, was the sanctuary founded at a time when the assembly place was, at least partly, still in use or was the sanctuary founded after the final abandonment of the hill as an assembly place? I think the second alternative is the case. First, it would

18 For the following paragraphs, see Forsén (1993), 507-521, especially 508, 510-511.

be very surprising if a totally new cult from the east, with influences from perhaps Thracian as well as Jewish religious thinking,[19] had been allowed to carve niches in one of the scarps of the assembly place. Secondly, the cult must have required more space than just the niches in the wall. There are still preserved, for instance, several altars,[20] a dedication in the form of an eagle on top of a small column[21] and another in the form of a *protome* of a bearded man,[22] which all probably originate from the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx. These altars and dedications cannot have been accommodated in the niches, but must have stood on the floor of the assembly place beneath the niches, thus implying that at least this corner of the assembly place cannot have been in use for meetings of the *ekklesia*.

The "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" and the Date of Pnyx III

When did Pnyx III cease to be used as an assembly place? The so-called "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" has been used as an argument in giving an answer to this question. This altar is of great interest, as a closer study of it might also give clues as to when Pnyx III was constructed. This altar, once called "the handsomest altar found in the Agora",[23] was found in the Agora just opposite the Metroon (Fig. 32). It was ascribed by H.A. Thompson to Zeus Agoraios, although Thompson admits himself that the identification is by no means certain.[24] More recently attempts have been made to identify it with the altar of Eirene[25] and with the great altar of Athena.[26]

Even if the identification of the altar remains uncertain, it cannot be denied that the altar, as shown by R. Stillwell and H.A. Thompson, originally had been situated somewhere else, from where it was at a later stage transplanted to the Agora.[27] As the altar, which measures 8.76 by 5.43 m., seems to fit extremely well into a foundation bedding directly to the south of and above the bema of the auditorium of Pnyx III, which measures 8.90 by *ca.* 6.00 m. (Fig. 33), Thompson suggested that the altar originally might have stood in the assembly place on the Pnyx and subsequently been moved to the Agora when Pnyx III had been abandoned as an assembly place.[28]

Already R. Stillwell noted that some masons' marks on the blocks of the altar, especially an alpha with a broken bar, could give an indication as to when the altar was moved to the Agora.[29] Unfortunately the masons' marks cannot be dated exactly. Most recently H.A. Thompson and R. Wycherley proposed a date for these in the 1st century

19 Cf. the references in n. 17 above. The Thracian influence has recently been stressed by Tačeva-Hitova (1978), 59-75.

20 *IG* II^2 4738; 4811; Thompson (1936), 155-156, figs. 5, 6a; Meritt (1948), 43, no. 34; Meritt (1954), 256, no. 40; Meritt (1957), 89-90, no. 35; Meritt (1960), 63, no. 108.

21 *IG* II^2 4782.

22 *IG* II^2 4737.

23 Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 160.

24 Thompson (1952), 93. See also Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 161-162.

25 Robertson (1993), 243, n. 130.

26 Romano in this volume.

27 Stillwell (1933), 143-148; Thompson and Scranton (1943), 300, n. 38; Thompson (1952), 92-93; Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 161.

28 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 300, n. 38; Thompson (1952), 92-93; Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 161. Robertson (1993), 243, n. 130 does not believe that the altar originally stood in the assembly place on the Pnyx. According to him the altar is to be identified with the altar of Eirene, which originally stood in the old agora east of the Acropolis.

29 Stillwell (1933), 144-145.

B.C. or 1st century after Christ,[30] but I do not think we can exclude the possibility even of a second century B.C. date. Anyway, it seems obvious that the "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" was removed from the assembly place before the cult of Zeus Hypsistos was founded here, i.e., the cult of Zeus Hypsistos was established here at a time when the Pnyx had lost its significance as a meeting place for the *ekklesia*.

The "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" and above all the ornament of the base and cap of the orthostate can when compared with similar ornaments be dated fairly well.[31] The base of the orthostate of the "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" consists of a torus carved with guilloche, surmounted by a cyma with a Lesbian leaf, which in turn is finished off with a delicate bead and reel. The cap, in its turn, carries an ovolo with egg and tongue above a bead and reel (Figs. 34-35). The ornament of the base and the cap of the orthostate have their closest parallels in the ornament of the base of the famous Alexander sarcophagus from Sidon (Figs. 36-37) and the base for the statues in the Philippeion in Olympia (Figs. 38-39). The Alexander sarcophagus is to be dated to sometime between 330 and 312 B.C.,[32] whereas the statue base in the Philippeion probably belongs to around 330 B.C.[33]

On the basis of the parallels of the Alexander sarcophagus and the statue base of the Philippeion in Olympia, it seems as if the "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" most likely should be dated to sometime between, let us say, 340 and 310 B.C. As F. Rumscheid most kindly informs me, we cannot, however, totally exclude the possibility of a somewhat earlier or later date of the altar. A similar ovolo with egg and tongue as on the "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" can for instance already be found in the Mausoleion in Halikarnassos, which was constructed around 350 B.C., whereas a similar cyma with a Lesbian leaf can still be found at a temple in Kastabos from shortly after 300 B.C.[34] Thus, the date of the "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" confirms that Pnyx III is to be considered a fourth century B.C. construction, but cannot unfortunately tell us whether Pnyx III was constructed during Lykourgos' régime (338-326 B.C.) as Thompson first suggested,[35] or during Euboulos' time in power in the 340s, as Thompson more recently has proposed.[36]

---

30 Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 161. Earlier dating proposals include Stillwell (1933), 147 who only speaks inexactly about the "Hellenistic period", Thompson and Scranton (1943), 300, n. 38, who suggest "a time not earlier than the advanced Hellenistic period" and Thompson (1952), 93 who finally suggests "a time toward the middle of the first century B.C."

31 Previous scholars have dated the "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" roughly to the latter part of the fourth century or late in the fourth century B.C. Cf. e.g. Stillwell (1933), 147; Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 161; Townsend (1982), 274. Shoe (1936), 52; 90; 141 and 151 thinks that the orthostate mouldings only "represent copies of the original late 5th or early 4th cent. mouldings made at the time of the removal (of the altar), presumably in Hellenistic times, probably in the 2nd cent. (B.C.)". This opinion of Shoe is also followed by Yavis (1949), 195.

32 Schefold (1968), 28 and 33-34, and Messerschmidt (1989), 90-92 prefer a date for the sarcophagus during the early stage of the reign of Abdalonymos, whereas von Graeve (1970), 13 speaks about a later date, around 312 B.C.

33 Schleif and Zschietschmann (1944).

34 Rumscheid (1994), 17-19, Taf. 46.7; 53.3 and 53.4.

35 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 300-301.

36 Thompson (1982), 144-145.

The Later Roman Material in the Fill of Pnyx III — an Alternative Explanation

What speaks against a dating of Pnyx III in the fourth century is primarily the fact that some lamps, glass, potsherds and fragments of terracotta figurines, dated to the Roman Imperial period, were found in the fill of Pnyx III.[37] This material was mostly found in limited areas close to the great retaining wall — and Thompson and Scranton[38] state that it "may have reached that position in the course of a completion or repair of the retaining wall". Apart from this small sample of material from the Roman Imperial period, most of the finds from the fill of Pnyx III can be dated to the fourth century B.C. The fill did also contain two coins that can be only roughly dated to the end of the third or the second or first century B.C.[39] and some pieces of Hellenistic pottery,[40] but the Hellenistic finds are substantially fewer than the Roman. Thus it seems as if Pnyx III was constructed in the fourth century B.C. and that the finds from the Roman Imperial period belong to some later activity in the area, which also might have caused the incursion of the few Hellenistic sherds into the fill.

Now, should this later activity be interpreted as evidence for a completion or repair of the assembly place or is there any other explanation to be given? I would like to propose that this Roman Imperial material, recently dated by S. Rotroff as spanning from the first to the third century after Christ,[41] should be connected with the later use of the area as a sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos. We have, for instance, evidence that an altar[42] and two dedicatory plaques[43] from this sanctuary were buried in the fill of Pnyx III, probably in connection with a cleaning out of older dedications in the sanctuary or because the niches of the plaques had been destroyed when the great central niche was cut. Another dedicatory plaque was found in a deeper layer just outside the great retaining wall.[44] Of course other objects connected with the cult of Zeus Hypsistos, besides these dedications, may be expected to have been buried in the neighbourhood, either intentionally or unintentionally as a result of drainage, as S. Rotroff suggests.[45] The Roman Imperial finds — lamps, terracotta figurines, small glass unguentaria and terra sigillata vessels — are mostly of a kind that very well might have been used in a religious cult like the one of Zeus Hypsistos.

---

37 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 180-186.

38 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 299.

39 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 211, nos. 2 and 3.

40 Kourouniotes (1910), 133-135; Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 181-184. S. Rotroff most kindly informs me that there remain today among the finds from Kourouniotes' and Thompson's excavation 20 objects dating to the Hellenistic period and 12 more that are sketched in the notebooks. This is to be compared with 66 extant objects from the Roman period and 47 more sketched in the notebooks. It is not clear, however, if these figures are quantitatively representative. Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 181-184 give the impression that the difference in quantity between Roman and Hellenistic finds was even greater.

41 Cf. Rotroff and Camp (forthcoming) and Rotroff in this volume.

42 Thompson (1936), 155-156, figs. 5, 6a.

43 Curtius (1862), 27. One of these has recently been identified as EM 3221; cf. Forsén (1990), 10-11.

44 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 197 and 196, fig. 59; *IG* II^2 4783.

45 Rotroff and Camp (forthcoming) and Rotroff in this volume.

The Floor Level of the Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos and the Construction of Pnyx III

If we look carefully once again at the level of the niches in the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos above the rockcut floor of Pnyx III, we notice that the niches to the east are on average somewhat higher than those to the west, implying that the floor at the time the niches were cut was sloping gently in relation to the rockcut floor of Pnyx III. With the help of regression analysis a line can be drawn through the field of the niches, which according to the method of least mean squares has the minimum distances to the central points of the lower edge of every niche.[46] This line, which slopes at an angle of *ca.* 2.2°, should approximately indicate the inclination of the floor, when the niches were cut, compared to the rockcut floor (Fig. 30). According to Kourouniotes' and Thompson's reconstruction of Pnyx III the seating floor of the assembly place was sloping down towards the bema from all sides with the help of an artificial filling of earth, which covered the rockcut floor. Kourouniotes and Thompson estimated the gradient of the sloping floor to be about 4°, based on the assumption that the unquarried rock island in the southeast corner of the auditorium had to be covered by earth (see Fig. 28).[47]

The regression analysis suggests that the niches were cut at a time when the rockcut floor of Pnyx III probably was covered by earth, creating a floor sloping down towards the bema with a gradient of 2.2°. As the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos was founded after the construction of Pnyx III, the sloping floor must logically be interpreted as a feature of Pnyx III.[48] A floor rising at an angle of 2.2° to the horizontal rockcut floor would attain a maximum height above the base of the bema of 2-2.5 m. at the eastern extremity of the scarp. Such an earth filling would cover the westernmost third of the unquarried rock in the southeast corner of the auditorium, but would leave the other two thirds of it exposed a couple of centimetres above the soil level (Fig. 40), a reconstruction that does not seem altogether impossible. Interestingly, Kourouniotes and Thompson mention that the earth filling at the beginning of the thirties had "a maximum depth of over 2 m." at the outer edge of the scarp to the east of the bema,[49] thus indicating that the earth filling then would still have been here, close to the scarp, more or less *in situ*.

---

46 If the rockcut floor is taken as the x-axis and the left side of the frame of Fig. 30 as the y-axis, we get a coordinate for the central point of the lower edge of every niche. The line created by the regression analysis can be described as $y = ax+b$. Its distance to a point i is then $y_i-(a+bx_i)$ and the sum of the squares of the distance is $f = \sum_i [y_i-(a+bx_i)]^2$. This function will reach a minimum for the a and b values for which $\frac{\partial f}{\partial a} = 0$ and $\frac{\partial f}{\partial b} = 0$. To calculate the line manually in this way requires a good deal of work. Nowadays the calculation can however be done quite easily with the help of calculation programs on computers, whereby a line with a slope of 2.16° will be reached.

47 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 153-155.

48 Dr. P.G. Calligas and Dr. L. Karlsson suggested after this paper was given, that new soil might have accumulated here after the abandonment of Pnyx III and before the founding of the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos. If this were the case, the sloping floor would not have to be a feature of Pnyx III. On the other hand, any accumulation of soil would logically have been distributed roughly horizontally along the foot of the scarp. According to me the sloping floor can only be explained as created by man, and is then most logically connected with the construction of Pnyx III.

49 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 153.

Kourouniotes and Thompson also say that, before the excavations in the 1930s had begun, there was an artificial fill next to the western scarp, gently rising upward from the bema.[50] After the excavations this fill was reconstructed in the same way as Kourouniotes and Thompson had proposed that the southeastern corner looked like, i.e., with an inclination of 4°, which would imply that the fill rose in the west to a maximum of 4 m. above the rockcut floor, and that the steps in the western scarp were reached from the level of the earth fill. If we suppose an original inclination of only *ca.* 2.2° of the slope here at this point as well as on the other side of the bema, the earth fill would at most reach the top of the scarp at the western extremity of the scarp, whereas the steps would end in the air (Fig. 40).This would not be surprising, if we like Stanton assume that these steps actually belonged to Pnyx II.[51]

If the seating floor of Pnyx III on both sides of the bema next to the scarps rose gently upwards from the bema, one would be tempted to suggest that this was the case for the whole auditorium. With an inclination of 2.2° an enormous amount of earth, with a height of 11 m. above the uppermost preserved line of blocks in the retaining wall to the north, must have eroded downslope at some point in time. As the fill which remains close to the retaining wall contains Roman material, this assumed erosion must have taken place before the Roman period. Otherwise the Roman artifacts would have been deposited at a depth exceeding 11 m. below the surface, which seems highly unlikely. Another explanation is, of course, that the construction of Pnyx III never was completed,[52] thus leaving the seating floor in the north, contrary to that next to the scarps to slope downwards from the bema. Unfortunately we cannot tell if this was the case without opening new trenches on the Pnyx and scrutinising the stratigraphy once again.

It should, finally, be stressed that if Pnyx III was used as a meeting place of the *ekklesia* even if the construction of it had been left uncompleted, then this would influence our calculations as to how many persons could attend the meetings in Pnyx III. All calculations so far are based on the assumption that the enormous earth filling necessary to create a seating floor sloping towards the bema had a slanting outer edge in order to keep the soil in place. Thus the outer line of the auditorium would not be represented by the retaining wall but rather by the crest of the earthen embankment (Figs. 27 and 33).[53] If, however, we abandon the idea of a seating floor sloping down towards the bema all the way round, the outer line of the auditorium could well have been formed by the line of the retaining wall. This would increase the area of the auditorium by *ca.* 6 percent and allow a greater number of people to attend the meetings of the *ekklesia*.

50 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 153.

51 Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 62-63, n. 42 and Stanton in this volume.

52 The bema of Pnyx III clearly never was finished. The rock island in the southeast corner of the auditorium of Pnyx III has also been explained by the fact that the construction of Pnyx III never was completed. The stoas on the terrace above the auditorium, which were described by Thompson and Scranton as part of the same building program as Pnyx III, also clearly were left unfinished. Cf. Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 160-161; Thompson and Scranton (1943), 269-286 and Camp in this volume.

53 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 155.

Conclusion

Pnyx III must be regarded as a fourth century B.C. construction, but the "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" alone cannot tell us if it was constructed during the régime of Lykourgos or that of Euboulos. Although the German scholars back in the nineteenth century were wrong in trying to deny that the architectural remains on the Pnyx were the remains of the assembly place, they were right in stating that the area had been used as a sanctuary of Zeus with the epithet Hypsistos. This cult, however, was not established until after the abandonment of the area as an assembly place in what earlier had been the southeastern corner of the auditorium of Pnyx III. I also hope to have shown that our better knowledge of the hitherto neglected sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos gives reason to reconsider the reconstruction of Pnyx III as proposed by Kourouniotes and Thompson.

Assembly Places and Theatres in the Greek World and their Later Reuse for Religious Functions*

Adolfo J. Domínguez

The importance that the different collective decision-making bodies have in Greek *poleis* can be observed in the variety and number of buildings devoted to housing them. Among them, the Pnyx in Athens is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable and representative buildings, due in part to the particular prestige of the political system which it served: Athenian democracy. The history of the Pnyx is extremely complex, and here I cannot mention it more than briefly; however, even before it was excavated in the thirties,[1] the existence of a number of marble plaques was already known, whose original location was the Pnyx hill. Kourouniotes' and Thompson's excavation revealed the existence of an area that had, at some point, been consecrated to Zeus Hypsistos;[2] the chronology of the sanctuary, as well as its relation with the whole structure, is still at the centre of a debate, as this conference itself proves.

In any case, an assembly place, clearly identified as such, has experienced at a particular moment a process of reuse that has eventually converted it into a place for cult worship, a sanctuary. This is what has provoked my interest and what justifies my participation in this colloquium, since this is a fact that has a parallel in other places of the Greek world. The aim of this paper is to review the evidence available concerning the re-use, mainly for religious purposes, of other assembly places throughout the Greek world.[3] The analysis will concentrate on *ekklesiasteria*, like the Pnyx itself, and *bouleuteria* in which this type of reuse appears to be proven; I will not include, except for

* I would like to thank Prof. G.R. Stanton and an anonymous reader for reading and suggesting improvements to an earlier draft of this paper. Needless to say, the faults that remain are entirely my own responsibility.

1 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 90-217.

2 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 193-200.

3 I am referring primarily to the type of reuse that modifies or disregards the original use; therefore I will not take into consideration reuses involving the use of assembly places as places for public spectacles, a situation which is relatively frequent, as shown by McDonald (1943), 278-279 who mentions in passing two examples which are, nevertheless, of interest for the present study — Mantineia and Delos: *ibid.*, 279. However, he did not study in depth the topic of our concern here.

one case, other types of constructions such as theatres and odeia because, although their political function in many instances appears to be clear,[4] there are so many of them that it would take us far from our objective in this paper. The only exception will be the theatre in Syracuse, for which we have a substantial number of references concerning its use during a large part of its history as the almost certainly exclusive headquarters of the assembly of the Syracusian *demos*; as well, there exists at Syracuse the possible remains of a reuse similar in type to the one noted in the Pnyx in Athens. As will be shown, this reuse for religious purposes is found more clearly in some places than in others.

As will be seen, there are four ways in which reuse takes place:

1) The earlier architectonic structure is retained, as in the Pnyx at Athens and the theatre in Syracuse.
2) The earlier architectonic structure is buried and new cults are established on top of the old structure (e.g. Poseidonia and Agrigento).
3) The old structure is retained but its function changes (e.g. Delos and Mantineia).
4) The old structures are upgraded and possibly retain their function, though they may now be used for public spectacles (e.g. Metapontion and Gortyn).

Particularly where the meeting place is buried, but in other cases as well, religious reuse is determined by new power structures. Quite often, the transformation coincides with the presence of Rome as a governing power.

I. Retention of the Earlier Architectonic Structure

Athens. The Pnyx (Figs. 29-30)

I will start my analysis with Athens, concentrating on the Pnyx. I will not get involved in a description of the Pnyx and its building stages, facts which are well-known and which will be dealt with by other papers, but will move on to the evidence concerning its reuse.

The remains in question are of two types: on the one hand, niches which are still visible in the scarp to the east of the bema of the last period; on the other hand, marble plaques (*pinakes*) with representations of figures and inscriptions which, without doubt, belonged to those niches.

Let us look at the niches first. They are located in the scarp to the east of the bema, although as observed by Kourouniotes and Thompson "not all the niches were cut in the smooth face of the scarp. The majority of them are found over an area having a more roughly dressed surface lying in a plane behind that of the general surface of the scarp, set back to a maximum of 0.20 m.";[5] the authors counted a total of 58 niches, 33 of which were found in the depressed area.[6]

The relative chronology of the niches has always been related to the agreed succession of the three building stages of the Pnyx; thus, for Kourouniotes and Thompson, the sanctuary would have appeared in the first century B.C., when the Pnyx was no longer being used as a meeting place for the *demos*. The sanctuary would have been respected during the third stage of the building process — regarded by Kourouniotes and

4 Kolb (1981), 88-89 with the epigraphic and literary references; see also Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994), 24.

5 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 193.

6 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 195-196.

Thompson as belonging to the age of Hadrian — which would not only not extirpate the worship but would in fact encourage it.[7] In later studies Thompson modified his earlier chronology, locating the third stage in the second half of the fourth century B.C., so that the niches on the face of the scarp would be from a time after the end of the political use of the Pnyx;[8] it was the theatre of Dionysus that ultimately housed the assembly of the *demos*.[9]

As for the *pinakes*, Kourouniotes and Thompson identified 20 in total, as well as making reference to fragments of other *pinakes*. From the type of script they dated them between the first and the third century after Christ — mostly belonging to the second century;[10] in later work some new ones have appeared and others have reappeared.[11] They are rectangular plaques of little thickness that usually display representations of parts of the human body (eyes, feet, breasts, etc.), of women generally; the most frequent ones are female breasts and *pudenda*.[12] The names on the epigraphs are mostly women's names. This suggests that "Zeus Hypsistos with his healing aspect was worshipped mostly by the Athenian women",[13] even though this fact is only explicitly mentioned in one of the inscriptions known today (*θ]ερα πευ[θεῖ]σα*).[14] The pattern of the dedication is very simple: there appears the name of the worshipper in the nominative case; sometimes, in the dative case, the name and/or epithet of the god, followed by the type of offering, a vow (*εὐχήν*), and only occasionally a verb (*ἀνέθηκεν*).

Van Straten, in his catalogue of Greek votive offerings representing parts of the human body, included most of these plaques,[15] but the most thorough study to date is that by Forsén. This author has measured the niches and those plaques which are intact or almost complete, and has not found noticeable chronological differences between the niches cut in the depressed area of the scarp and those cut in the elevated part; he attributes the existence of two different surfaces to structures belonging to some stage preceding the third one.

Similarly, Forsén attributes to the sanctuary a *floruit* of about two hundred years, between the middle of the first and the third century after Christ, after the Pnyx had ceased to be used as a meeting place for political purposes.[16] The fact that the god receiving tribute is Zeus Hypsistos would also seem to guarantee its later use as a place for cult worship;[17] there does not seem to be a direct relation between this cult worship and that of Zeus Agoraios, which took place there when the Pnyx was operating as the meeting place for the Assembly.[18] The testimony of Athenaeus is of great interest, concerning Athenion's speech around the year 87 B.C., in which reference is made to

---

7 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 216-217; according to their own words (105) "the worship when once rooted could not really be displaced".

8 Thompson (1982), 133-147.

9 On the theatre of Dionysus see Pickard-Cambridge (1946); cf. Travlos (1971), 537-552 and, recently, Polacco (1990a). On the use of the theatre as the seat of the assembly, McDonald (1943), 56-61 and Kolb (1981), 92-96; cf. also Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994), 44-45.

10 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 196-198; chronology re-asserted in Thompson (1982), 142; other plaques found later come from the same dates (cf. Łajtar (1987), 165-166).

11 Thompson (1936), 154-156; Forsén (1990), 9-12; all the bibliography in Forsén (1993), 507-521.

12 Derda and Łajtar (1987), 163-164.

13 Derda and Łajtar (1987), 164.

14 Thompson (1936), 156; Derda and Łajtar (1987), 163-164.

15 Van Straten (1981), 116-119.

16 Forsén (1993), 507-521; on the abandonment of the Pnyx, McDonald (1943), 60-61, citing a notice by Athen. V.212e-f, 213d; see Judeich (1931), 396.

17 Cumont (1914), 444-450; Cook (1925), 876-877, 889-890.

18 Schol. ad Aristoph., *Eq.* 410; cf. Wycherley (1957), no. 381.

both the sacred nature of the Pnyx ("once consecrated to sacred uses by divine oracles") and the abandonment of the Pnyx at the time of the speech.[19]

Consequently, the Pnyx in Athens gives us one of the clearest examples of the reuse of an assembly place for religious purposes; in this case, a popular religion, linked to a divinity apparently with healing gifts related to illnesses affecting several parts of the body, but "specialising" perhaps in the healing of illnesses affecting women.[20]

Syracuse. The Theatre (Figs. 41-42)

The theatre in Syracuse seems to have been used as the habitual headquarters of the people's assembly at least from the fourth century B.C.;[21] it is to this period, and more precisely to that of Timoleon, that is normally attributed the building of the first circular theatre which would reach the area of the middle *diazoma* of the later Hieronic theatre (the so-called Syracuse IV).[22] This signifies that at this point the theatre was still independent from the sacred area situated to the north, in the area of the Temenites hill. It is during the next stage (Syracuse V, in the age of Hieron II, *ca.* 230 B.C.) that the connection between the two locations is established. In fact, in the age of Hieron the *koilon* was artificially extended to the point where it reached the rocky edge that divided the area of the theatre from that of the Temenites hill.

In this place there existed a grotto, perhaps dedicated to the Nymphs, which became part of a big L-shaped terrace which was used as a base for a large portico. On the northwestern side of that terrace was the access to the other important sacred area, connected through the so-called *Via dei Sepolcri.*[23] It seems that after the fall of the city into Roman hands (212 B.C.) and until the age of Nero we have no evidence about any particular activity in the theatre; the total transformation of the old Greek theatre could have taken place in the second century after Christ.[24]

The part that concerns us here is that belonging to the Upper Terrace and the approaches to the sanctuary *in summis*; during the age of Hieron II the rocky areas surrounding the *koilon* were sculpted to build the terraces and porticoes by means of two large cuts, which are called *katatomai* due to their resemblance to the theatre of Dionysus in Athens. At the centre of the northern *katatome* was a great Nymphaeum, which was later modified. In the northwestern corner there was a rectangular area, possibly of a sacred nature; however, it seems that the project as a whole was not completed until the second century after Christ. Until then the walls of the *katatome* were bare and attention was paid only to the façade of the Nymphaeum, the northwestern room and the access to the *Via dei Sepolcri.*[25]

Throughout the *katatome* and in the northwestern room there are numerous small niches carved into the wall; it is possible that some of them predate the development of the area, but others almost certainly postdate it, since they are carved in the plaster covering

---

19 Athen. V.213d.

20 On the relations between the votive offering and the illness whose healing is asked for, see the remarks by van Straten (1981), 149-151.

21 Plut. *Dion* 28, *Timol.* 34, 38; see Anti (1948), 50, 77; cf. Kolb (1981), 91-92.

22 Polacco and Anti (1981), 179-187; Anti (1948), 77. Bernabò Brea (1967), 100-102 argues for a construction in a single stage, in the time of Hieron II. In any case, it does not matter for our purpose.

23 Polacco and Anti (1981), 191-200; Anti (1948), 92-93.

24 Polacco and Anti (1981), 201-212; cf. Anti (1948), 95-113.

25 Polacco (1990b), 31-58.

the walls.[26] The *Via dei Sepolcri*, which is carved into the rock face, already existed before the construction of the theatre's Upper Terrace, but access to it was made a part of the new development.[27] Along this road there are many small niches — obviously related to the niches in the upper terrace of the theatre — together with Christian rock-cut tombs, which evidently belong to a later period, and with larger niches which also belong to another period; in fact, the small niches are sometimes cut by the other two kinds of structure. There are 47 of these small niches in the north wall and 94 in the south wall, up to the point where they are no longer found, at about 34 metres from the entrance.[28]

The whole group of niches in the upper part of the theatre in Syracuse and the sanctuary *in summis* have not been properly investigated, but they are of great complexity; while there is some indication that some of them may predate the construction of the Upper Terrace,[29] others could only postdate the cutting of the *katatomai* that delimit the northwestern area of the theatre. The phenomenon of niches carved on the walls, however, is not restricted to this area, but is very common in the rocky areas of Syracuse[30] and its colonies.[31]

The niches were used, undoubtedly, for *pinakes,* or even painted decorations; unfortunately, fewer than ten examples are known from various locations, though in some cases their origin is in this part of the city.[32]

It seems to be beyond doubt that the whole zone had been a sacred area since the origins of Syracuse; however, it is not until the end of the third century B.C. that the monumentalisation took place which established both a physical and a symbolic connection with the theatre.[33] The main outlines of the new group of monuments had been drawn since Hieron II; however, until the middle of the first century B.C. the area does not seem to have experienced much activity. The definitive layout, with its clearly monumental purpose, seems to correspond to the age of imperial Rome. Therefore, I would argue that, between the end of the third century B.C. and the middle of the first century B.C., the whole area of the Upper Terrace of the theatre must have been in a certain state of disuse. The numerous niches in the walls of the area would have been carved at that time, for if the area had been in active use, it seems unlikely that worshippers would have been able freely to carve their own niches. Thus, one is led to suppose that the theatre and its extensions, abandoned in practice but still retaining their religious nature, became the recipient of the tribute of a popular religious feeling. This reuse would come to an end when, at the time of imperial Rome, the area would be regained for the use of the theatre. This reuse is, then, somewhat different from that attested in the Pnyx in Athens, but with some common features: in particular, the seemingly popular nature of this reuse and the use of rock walls for the carving of niches.

---

26 Polacco (1990b), 46-47; Bernabò Brea (1967), 99-100 believes that the custom of carving niches, which spread through all of south-eastern Sicily under the influence of Syracuse, is not earlier than the fourth century B.C.

27 Polacco (1990b), 53; cf. Polacco, Trojani and Scolari (1989), 37-46.

28 Polacco, Trojani and Scolari (1989), 37-38; *id.* (1984-85), 839-846.

29 Polacco, Trojani and Scolari (1989), 76-77.

30 Polacco, Trojani and Scolari (1989), 104-105.

31 On the niches at Akrai see Bernabò Brea (1956), 51-62 (urban quarries, curiously very near the complex theatre-*bouleuterion*) and 73-78 (extra-urban quarries); on Noto see Orsi (1897), 69-90.

32 Polacco, Trojani and Scolari (1989), 104-105; 107. Cf. Orsi (1891), 393-394; *id.* (1904), 276-280; *id.* (1925), 308. See Pace (1946), 510-518.

33 Pace (1938), 313-314, with the references in the written sources to the sacred areas existing in that part of the city.

This type of place for cult worship, whose main characteristic is the presence of niches, is quite frequently found in the Greek world.[34]

II. Burial of the Earlier Architectonic Structure

Poseidonia. The *Bouleuterion* (Fig. 43)

This Achaean colony of Magna Graecia has also provided evidence of a meeting place which, some believe, could have been used as the place for a *boule* — or even an *ekklesia*,[35] although those who discovered it argue in favour of the former.

In the central part of the *agora* of Poseidonia, and to the east of it, a circular (35 m. diameter) structure carved into the rock and built around 470 B.C. was discovered. Around 270 B.C., after the foundation of the Roman colony of Paestum, the building was taken down and sealed with earth from different places, possibly during the celebration of a religious rite in which cattle were sacrificed (a hecatomb?).[36] Only a *stele* with inscriptions, a small altar, and the blocks of stones which formed the terraces of seats in that area remained *in situ*, though buried of course. Once the building was sealed, a small Roman religious precinct with a fountain next to it was built on top; its chronology is difficult to specify, but it is undoubtedly from Republican times; the southern part of this Roman sanctuary is located on the same site and has almost the same width as the diameter of the earlier assembly place. A few metres further south there is a fountain, connected to the Roman sanctuary, which coincides exactly with the southern border of the Greek seating terraces. The entire area of the old Greek *agora* was for a long time outside the urban development of the rest of the Roman city, it being an area of eminently sacred nature.[37] Greco has emphasised the importance of the suppression of a construction symbolic of the earlier political context — though carried out with respect for the gods — and its replacement by a completely new sanctuary immediately above it.[38]

There is, however, another fact to be taken into account regarding this construction in Poseidonia. As is well known, towards the end of the fifth century B.C. the city was invaded by the Lucans, who retained the public areas of the old Greek city, making very few changes.[39] It is in the *bouleuterion* that one of the few remains of Lucan activity has been found. We are talking about the *stele* found *in situ* in the penultimate terrace of the building, used as a base for a bronze statue and preserved after the closing of the building. The *stele* dates from around the year 300 B.C. and has inscriptions in Greek letters and Oscan language. It reads:

[σ]τ̣α̣τ̣[ι]ς [----ι]|[2]ες
ιουϝηι [----] α̣|[3]να̣ρ̣ηι
α[----] fεδ|[4]
βρατ̣ηις δατας

the translation into Latin of which would be something like:

---

34 Cf. Orsi (1891), 394 (note) with a catalogue of sanctuaries with niches.
35 Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994), 69-71.
36 A different interpretation in Pedley (1990), 80 who thinks that the area was used for a time as a waste deposit.
37 Greco and Theodorescu (1983), 34-49.
38 Greco and Theodorescu (1983), 83-84.
39 Greco and Theodorescu (1983), 81-83.

Statius ... ius
Ioui ... anari
dicauit (?)
gratiae datae

It is, then, a dedication by somebody called Statius (a magistrate representing the community?) to Jupiter in gratitude for something.[40] Without doubt the place where the inscription was located must have had a strong religious significance for the Lucans of Paestum, which would explain the choice of location. Similarly, the Romans must have been aware of the sacredness of this part of the building as they demonstrated respect when it was taken down and buried.

In summary, we have in Poseidonia two kinds of reuse of the Greek *bouleuterion*; the first, in Lucan times, which adds religious symbolism to the building by the erection of the *stele* of Jupiter. We cannot determine, however, whether it was still being used as a meeting-place, but this would not be unlikely. The second reuse is marked by the ritual closing of the political and religious area and the placing of a sacred precinct and a fountain on top of the space gained by burying the old *bouleuterion*. The relation between the second reuse and the primary use, which is repeated in Agrigento, is not accidental, but represents a deliberate attempt to regain the sacredness inherent in the previous structure, although in a different way.

Agrigento. The *Ekklesiasterion* (Fig. 44)

In Sicily as well we find an example of an assembly place with a possibly circular ground plan which shows indications of a later reuse.

In contrast with the circular building in Poseidonia, that in Agrigento has not been the object of detailed research and there are only brief references to it. In the central part of the old city, *poggio di San Nicola*, it had always been known that there existed a small Roman building, traditionally called the Oratory of Phalaris, but there had been no detailed studies of the area.[41] When excavations took place there around the sixties a *koilon* carved into the rock was found. Doubts remain as to whether it was totally circular or whether it extended to just over three quarters of the circumference. Its maximum diameter is forty-eight metres, and it is estimated that it could hold about three thousand people. There is also uncertainty about its chronology: De Miro assigned it to a somewhat late period, around the end of the third century B.C., in part because of a wish to establish a chronological connection with the Oratory of Phalaris.[42] However, Greco believes that the date of the *ekklesiasterion* in Agrigento must be earlier than that suggested by De Miro, proposing that it dates from the fifth or fourth centuries B.C.; the archaeological materials corresponding to the third century would be signs in his opinion of the abandonment of the building.[43] In this area there appears to have existed, since ancient times, a sanctuary devoted to Demeter and Kore.

Once the meeting place was abandoned, there appeared, perhaps around the second century B.C., immediately on top of the place it had occupied, a series of buildings formed by a podium temple (the so-called Oratory of Phalaris), and its altar, in line with the axis of the temple, 13 metres to the west. To the south of the altar, and about 5 metres

40 Greco (1981), 245-250; Greco and Theodorescu (1983), 137-138.
41 Marconi (1926), 93-148 at 106-118.
42 De Miro (1963), 57-63; *id.* (1967), 164-168; more recently, *id.* (1992), 151-156.
43 Greco and Theodorescu (1983), 80.

away, there was a small *exedra*, perhaps intended to house a statue. Curiously, the altar is positioned directly above one of the corridors in the *ekklesiasterion* below.[44] Greco has already pointed out the striking similarities between Poseidonia and Agrigento; in both cases a Roman temple is built on top of an earlier circular Greek building as though to mark the emergence of a new political order.[45] Torelli suggests that the new sacred buildings are contemporary with the *deductio* of the Roman colony by Scipio in 197 B.C., and could have been dedicated to the newly heroised founder. In any case, according to this author, the temple should be seen as a symbol of an expiatory action (*piaculum*), which follows the suppression of an earlier public or religious space.[46]

Here we would have, consequently, a situation similar to that in Poseidonia, and one also promoted by the Romans. The sacredness of the place is recognised by the new occupants, but its real and symbolic meaning is suppressed by means of some kind of *translatio* or symbolic transference. Once again we can talk about reuse, but what is being reused here is not so much the physical space for the assembly place, but its symbolic and ideological significance. Here, in my opinion, there is a strong influence from the idea of Roman *euocatio*, by which Rome attracts to its side the ancient tutelary divinity, which allows the desanctification of the place. After this, however, Rome reinstates a different cult, which to some extent, as previously suggested, is an attempt to expiate the earlier desanctification.[47]

Athens. The Old Bouleuterion (Fig. 45)

The Old Bouleuterion in Athens was built *ca.* 500 B.C. in the western part of the *agora*; to the north there would have been a temple dedicated to the Mother of the Gods; this cult worship was probably transferred to the Old Bouleuterion, together with the cult's statue, after the Persian Wars. It seems that between 415 and 406 B.C., immediately to the west of it, another building was erected for the same purpose, the New Bouleuterion which among other elements had a shrine dedicated to Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia, as well as altars for Hestia Boulaia and other gods.[48] Here I will not go into details concerning the internal structure of the two buildings.[49] From then on the Old Bouleuterion, which still contained the statue of the Mother of the Gods, stopped being used for political purposes and became an archive and a place for cult worship. Perhaps from the middle of the fourth century B.C. the old building had begun to be known only for the latter function, receiving the name *Μητρῷον*, although it remained the official archive. Around 140 B.C. a new building was erected on top of the Old Bouleuterion. It

---

44 The succession of the two complexes appears to be undoubted, despite the fact that some authors seem to suggest a contemporaneity between the two: e.g. Guido (1967), 128. Likewise must be rejected the function of the Oratory of Phalaris as the *heroon* of a Roman woman, which has been supposed since Marconi (1926), 111.

45 Greco and Theodorescu (1983), 80: "la costruzione di un tempio o di un santuario sopra quello che era stato un edificio pubblico si spiega benissimo con un nuovo ordine politico ed istituzionale; e quale può essere dal III secolo a.C. in poi questo nuovo ordine se non quello romano?".

46 Coarelli and Torelli (1984), 152-153.

47 On this subject see Alvar (1985), 236-273; *id.* (1984), 143-148.

48 References in Wycherley (1957), 128, and nos. 387-433.

49 See a recent discussion in Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994), 42-43; on the chronology of that part of the *agora*, see Shear (1993), 383-482.

had two functions: to house the cult of the Mother and, at the same time, to be used as an archive for the state.[50]

It is, consequently, a clear instance of reuse; the old assembly place loses its primary function completely, but retains that of an archive, which had previously been its secondary function. In this case, moreover, the religious reuse seems to be closely related to both the original function and the function fulfilled by the New Bouleuterion immediately next to it, since archives and many legal documents were kept under Rea's protection.[51]

III. Retention of the Earlier Architectonic Structure, but Change of Function

Delos. The *Ekklesiasterion* (Fig. 46)

We find another possible instance of reuse in Delos. There, to the north of the northern portico of the Artemision, a building was excavated in the twenties which was identified as the *ekklesiasterion*. This has a complex history of architectonic modification which I will not go into here. However, I would like to mention that during the first century B.C. a longitudinal wall was erected on that same spot, dividing the building in half. In one of the resulting rooms, called "X" during the excavation process (16.60 x 14.50 m.), a small *naiskos* appears to have been built later and devoted to the imperial cult and, additionally, benches from the theatre were placed there. There was perhaps a statue of Augustus, and it is not unlikely that assemblies would have continued to take place here. In the other room there is another base for a statue, but a smaller one.[52]

The complex building history of the *ekklesiasterion* in Delos, owing to its age and intricacy, provides data which are difficult to interpret. What is certain, however, is that the size of the space devoted to political assembly gets smaller and the place is transformed into a shrine for the imperial cult. It is also conceivable that this reduction in space is related to the decline of the civil administration, and that their meetings are now guided by a new divinity, the *genius imperatoris*; perhaps this situation is similar to that attested by Cicero regarding the *bouleuterion* in Syracuse, which contained statues of Marcellus and Verres.[53] In any case, it is possible to consider this a certain kind of reuse of an assembly place for religious purposes.

Mantineia. The *Bouleuterion* (Fig. 47)

Some similarities with the case just described are found in what at the time of its

---

50 Thompson (1937), 115-217; an early criticism of this reconstruction in Picard (1938), 97-101. See also McDonald (1943), 131-138, 170-179; Travlos (1971), 191-193, 352-356; Rhodes (1972), 30-48; Camp (1986), 52-53, 90-94, 179-180. The references in the ancient authors have been collected by Wycherley (1957), nos. 465-519.

51 McDonald (1943), 161-165; Camp (1986), 93-94.

52 Vallois (1929), 185-315 at 278-312; McDonald (1943), 91-96; Bruneau and Ducat (1983), 159.

53 Cic. *II Verr.* II. 19, 21, 59; *ibid.* IV. 53, 61, 64.

discovery was considered to be the *bouleuterion* of Mantineia in Arcadia.[54] It is a rectangular building, situated in the *agora* and facing into it; its measurements are 35 by 19 metres, and it has wings at each side. In its main, northern, façade, there were several bases for statues. Its initial stage belongs to the fourth century B.C. and the building was extended during the Hellenistic period (third century B.C.). During the Roman Empire some alterations take place which change the building as a whole. In the western wing some walls are erected which delimit a rectangular space (15.90 x 8.35 m.) from the rest of the construction; its orientation is radically changed, since a door is opened on the southern side, with two columns supporting a pediment. Through the lobby, there is access to an *oikos* in which two bases for statues were found. It has been suggested that this could be a shrine for the imperial cult. There has not been any recent work here either, with the exception of some cleaning and consolidation work in the sixties.[55]

In Mantineia, the meeting place is finally closed down after the construction of a chapel devoted to the imperial cult. The suitability of the location could not be better: next to the *agora* and in a prominent place in the old Hellenic city, as in some of the cases described above. The reuse, therefore, must have had a clearly symbolic nature in this case as well. Moreover, the change in the general orientation of the building is most significant, and is possibly a consequence of the new requirements and demands of the Roman city.

IV. Upgrading of the Earlier Architectonic Structure, with Possible Retention of its Function

Metapontion. The *Ekklesiasterion*-Theatre (Fig. 48)

We return now to the colonial Greek world, to look at one of the newest and most representative political assembly places in the Greek world as a whole, the *ekklesiasterion*-theatre in Metapontion.

In the northwestern part of the *agora* in Metapontion, near a *temenos* devoted to Zeus Agoraios, a wooden platform, *ikria*, was erected towards the end of the seventh century B.C., which was possibly of trapezoidal shape and which was later destroyed by fire; it was perhaps replaced by a rudimentary earth bank supported by large stones. In the middle of the sixth century the monumentalisation on the site was begun, by means of the construction of a circular structure devised to contain an earth bank bounding on the inside a flat, rectangular space or *orchestra*, with access through two axial *dromoi*; this could hold about 7,500-8,000 people. During the first quarter of the fifth century, it was covered with stone to form terraces of seats and delimit the space inside. This most original structure was used for both political and athletic activities, with an important religious background. From the second half of the fifth century it seems that the structure began losing its function; during the first half of the fourth century it was abandoned and partially dismantled; from the second half of the fourth century onwards a period of

54 This is the general opinion, though Anti (1947), 275-276 considers this building to be a royal stoa, similar to that in Athens and those in Tarsos and Calauria. In any case, at least in Athens the Royal Stoa was sometimes used as a meeting place for the Areopagus, certainly from the fourth century B.C.: cf. McDonald (1943), 130; Camp (1986), 104. Recently, Gneisz (1990), 330-331 has accepted that the building in Mantinea could be a *bouleuterion*, but Winter (1987), 240-241 rejects this hypothesis.

55 Fougères (1887), 486-487; *id.* (1890), 256-260; *id.* (1898), 174-177; McDonald (1943), 198-200; Demakopoulou (1965), 178.

growth for the city leads its inhabitants to recover the old meeting place, although music and athletic contests now dominate its uses. In consequence, a theatre is built on the remains of the old *ekklesiasterion*, possibly because in that period the theatre had already become the habitual meeting place for political assemblies.[56]

If the term reuse can be applied to this case, one must admit that the reuse is of a special type. If we accept, with Mertens, that there is a similarity between the uses of the first circular building and the theatre, it would be inappropriate to speak of reuse *per se* since there is a certain continuity; however, the building of a new construction, which is totally different from the previous one, indicates an undoubted separation. In both periods the assemblies held there can be observed to be generally — though not exclusively — religious; this is reinforced by the proximity to the *temenos* of Zeus Agoraios. Moreover, there is no doubt that the theatre was built on that site because that was where the remains of the previous building were; thus the recovery of a previously partly-abandoned area of the *agora* is emphasised. Therefore, in Metapontion it is possible to speak of a symbolic space which is reused and takes on similar functions, although under a different formal appearance.

Gortyn. The *Bouleuterion*-Odeion (Fig. 49)

From Magna Graecia we move on to Crete, to the city of Gortyn, where we may find a similar case to that witnessed in Metapontion.

At the beginning of this century the Italian Mission excavated a group of monuments with a complex history; it seems that the oldest part belonged to a quadrangular construction, of about 28.74 x 34 m., which may possibly be a *bouleuterion*; its date has not been determined. Possibly on the same site another building was erected during the first half or the middle of the fifth century B.C., this time of a circular layout, in the walls of which was carved the famous Law Code of Gortyn. Guarducci suggests that it was a portico in which public meetings were held. However, with the knowledge we now have of other examples of circular meeting places, it may not be at all unlikely that it could have contained circular or semi-circular terraces of seats. The whole construction was dismantled in the first century B.C. in order to erect another building, also in the same place and almost certainly with a circular ground plan as well. The blocks of stone with ancient laws were placed within, suggesting that it still maintained a political function. In Roman times (Trajan) all the space would be retaken in order to build an odeion and the wall with the inscription would become part of the external *diazoma* of the odeion.[57]

In spite of some uncertainty regarding the stratigraphical sequence of the group of buildings, it seems quite likely that the precinct was used for political purposes in Greek times;[58] the construction of an odeion in Roman times may have partially changed its character, but the reuse of the legal inscription may perhaps indicate that there was some continuity in use — for political purposes — of the new odeion in Roman times.

---

56 Mertens (1982), 1-60; cf. Mertens (1985), 664-668.

57 Pernier (1914), 373-376; *id.* (1925-26), 1-69; cf. McDonald (1943), 189-192; Anti (1947), 158; Guarducci (1969), 68-76. On the elaborate process of transformation see Meinel (1980), 177-178, 183-187, 253-259. On the inscription and its chronological problems, Willetts (1967).

58 Against, Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994), 55, n. 123.

Ephesos. The *Bouleuterion*-Odeion (Fig. 50)

For a long time it was thought that this building had been an odeion; however, more recent studies have finally identified it as a *bouleuterion*; it is also near the city's *agora* and the prytaneion. It is of late construction, from the first century after Christ; as indicated by certain epigraphical evidence, it had great symbolic and political importance within the city. It must have been in the middle of the second century after Christ when a Roman senator of Ephesian origin, Publius Vedius Antoninus, transformed it into an odeion,[59] perhaps for the festivities honouring the Emperor Hadrian every four years.[60]

Not much more can be said about this building, except that thanks to the epigraphy[61] we know that it was presided over by a golden statue of Artemis as well as other images; given that its political and religious use is obvious, it does not seem strange that it should be converted from a *bouleuterion* into an odeion, where its use for cult worship and public spectacle was continued, in connection with the worship of the Emperor Hadrian. It can be included, then, among the other examples of the transformation of political assembly places into places of public spectacle.[62]

Conclusion

Having finished this brief overview, and as a conclusion to what we have seen so far, we should first recall that political assembly places had an obviously sacred nature, which was reinforced through sacrifices whenever an assembly took place. As Hansen asserts, referring to the Athenian assembly: "When the citizens had settled in the auditorium, proceedings began with a sacrifice: a pig was slaughtered and the *peristiarchos* dragged it round the Pnyx and purified the Assembly-place with its blood. Then the crier (*keryx*) declaimed a prayer (*euche*) and a curse (*ara*) upon any speaker (*rhetor*) who should attempt to lead the people astray";[63] as stated in an inscription from the year 228/7 B.C., it was an ancestral custom (*patrios*) to offer sacrifices to Apollo Prostaterios, Artemis Boulaia and other divinities before the beginning of the assembly;[64] the existence of altars and images of gods within those places is also known,[65] and frequently there is a relation between assembly places and the *agora*,[66] sanctuaries and places of cult worship. There are also those who have established a relation between political assembly places and the

59 *I.Ephesos* 460.

60 Eichler (1966); Fossel (1967), 72-81; cf. Meinel (1980), 125-133; see also Rogers (1991), 86-87. On the quarter in which the odeion-*bouleuterion* is located, Alzinger (1972-75), 229-300.

61 *I.Ephesos* 27, lines 157-158.

62 It is, however, quite common that these small political assembly places ultimately acquire more varied functions in Roman times, as can be seen, among other cases, in Iasos, which is very similar to that of Ephesos; cf. Parapetti (1985), 105-136.

63 Hansen (1991), 142; it seems that the same thing can be said about the meetings of the *boule*; cf. Rhodes (1972), 36-37 and McDonald (1943), 281-282.

64 Wycherley (1957), 56, no. 119, lines 10-13.

65 E.g. for the *bouleuterion* in Athens: McDonald (1943), 131-138: Zeus Boulaios, Athena Boulaia, Apollo, Demos, Hestia; also, *ibid.*, 274-275 and the list of gods usually related to the assembly places in 279-284.

66 McDonald (1943), 275; this is true, even, in the case of the Athenian Pnyx as Joyner (1982), 121-130 has shown.

cult of heroes.[67] Thus, the main explanation for the religious reuse of these constructions would appear to be found in what we could call the "inherent sacredness" of the place.

As we have been able to observe in the cases analysed here, reuse can take place in four different ways:

1) The earlier architectonic structure is retained. This is what we find in the Pnyx in Athens and the theatre in Syracuse. In both instances, the reuse does not bear much relation — in terms of its function — to the earlier structure; on the contrary, advantage is taken of the abandonment of the structure, and of the religious nature of the place, to establish religious manifestations which are completely alien to the original purpose of the constructions. In both cases, additionally, such manifestations have a distinctly popular character.

2) The earlier architectonic structure is destroyed. The clearest examples of this are Poseidonia and Agrigento, which show significant similarities. In both cases, the meeting place is carefully buried, and Roman cults originate on top of the same spot. As has been said before, Rome would assimilate the sacred character of the previous place, but would transform it for its own benefit. This type of reuse is much more subtle since it involves an ideological transfer in favour of a new political and cultural structure which, while it retains a symbolic connection with the past, channels the past through its own ways of expression.

We could also possibly see the case of the Old Bouleuterion in Athens as some kind of a transition between the first and the second model, since it is relatively easy to follow the transformation of the Old Bouleuterion into a Metroon: for a long period of time the old structure is retained, already devoid of its political function, basically for religious use until a temple is erected on that spot at a given moment.

3) The old structure is retained, but its function changes. This would be the case in Delos and Mantineia. In both instances, the old assembly places suffer architectonic alterations by which specific places are reserved, apparently, for the imperial cult. Perhaps here it is possible to think of a symbolic transference between the old power centres in the independent Greek *poleis* and the new type of power that Rome represents. We do not know, however, if the resulting places continue to fulfil political functions. But this would not be at all improbable.[68]

4) The old structures are upgraded and possibly retain their function. This would be a specific situation which I have not gone into here in detail and which involves the transformation of political assembly places into places for public spectacles, such as theatres or odeia. The cases we know of are Metapontion, Gortyn and Ephesos, and some others which are not as well documented.[69] Evidence for the possible frequency of this type of change is seen in the lengthy time-span during which such processes took place (from the sixth century B.C. to the second century after Christ). Old political assembly places undergo, because of the particular circumstances of each case, transformations which convert them into theatre-like structures, such as theatres and

---

67 McDonald (1943), 276; cf. Kolb (1981), 5-19 and Anti (1969), 14 which includes the theatres also.

68 See, for instance, the case of the *bouleuterion* in Syracuse, still in use in the age of Cicero (*II Verr.* II. 19, 21, 59; *ibid.* IV. 53, 61, 64), although a statue of Marcus Marcellus, the Roman conqueror, was erected within it; cf. McDonald (1943), 153.

69 We are referring to cases such as the *synedrion* of Messene and the *bouleuterion* of Miletus, as well as the example of Tralles mentioned by Vitruvius (*De Archit.* VII. 5.5); McDonald (1943), 63, n. 101, 204-217; Gneisz (1990), 333-334, 335-336. On the *ekklesiasterion* in Argos, where the odeion is built upon the terraces of the previous construction, McDonald (1943), 80-84, and Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994), 57-61. In the first three cases, it seems that a stage for theatrical purposes was added to the old political meeting places.

odeia. Although the new buildings are likely to continue to fulfil political functions as well, the emphasis on their new form seems to have changed their appearance into that of places of public spectacles. It is also possible that a modification in the religious underpinning of such structures may have taken place, even when, as in the case of Ephesos, it seems that the transformation of the old *bouleuterion* into an odeion is related to religious festivities honouring the Emperor Hadrian.

Another aspect which arises out of the analysis above is that, in most cases, religious reuse follows a clear direction established by the power structures. The most obvious examples of this are Poseidonia and Agrigento, where the enormous task involved in the urban and symbolic transformation can only be attributable to an explicit intention on the part of the political powers; the same can be said about some of the other transformations considered here. As opposed to these, the examples of the Pnyx in Athens and the theatre in Syracuse appear to be manifestations of religious feelings which are popular in character, and which express, by means of extremely simple and inexpensive procedures, the kind of religious sentiment of the average citizen.

We have also observed that in a great number of cases the period of the transformation coincides with the Roman presence, which sometimes played an instrumental role in such processes. In other instances, however, the role played by Rome is almost passive; in fact, it is the Roman presence that, by keeping the old political assembly places in disuse, favours the growth of accompanying, and somewhat marginal, religious manifestations.

Finally, and although I have not dealt with the topic here at all, it might be worth reflecting further about the eventual formal connection between the Greek and Roman assembly places, especially in relation to the question concerning the origin of the Roman *comitium*;[70] this is of course outside the scope of our present purposes but there is no doubt that there exists a clear connection between them.

In this paper I have tried to integrate the phenomenon of the growth of the cult of Zeus Hypsistos found in the Pnyx with other more or less similar instances which have taken place in different parts of the Greek world. The common factor is the reuse of places for political assembly; the main conclusion is that similar patterns of reuse can be observed. This may provide another means of understanding the evolution of the Greek city, especially in its transition into a Roman city, or a city of the Roman period.[71]

---

70 Sjöqvist (1951), 400-411; Krause (1976), 31-69.

71 On this topic, see Domínguez (1994), 125-126.

Lykourgos, the Panathenaia and the Great Altar of Athena: Further Thoughts Concerning the Pnyx Hill

David Gilman Romano

The occasion of the meeting at the Finnish Archaeological Institute at Athens was a welcome opportunity to reconsider the physical arrangement and use of the structures and facilities on the Pnyx Hill. I profited from the talks and discussion at the meeting and from comments made in response to my own paper, and offer here further thoughts on the subject.[1] Some of the following are in response to questions raised at the conference, others to criticism that has been published since my original article appeared. Others still are observations and theories that have occurred to me during the course of my study of the Pnyx Hill and which I have not verbalized. My earlier ideas about the history and use of the Pnyx remain as presented in "The Panathenaic Stadium and Theater of Lykourgos: A Re-Examination of the Facilities on the Pnyx Hill" in the *American Journal of Archaeology* in 1985.

Length of the Racecourse

Much of the criticism of the idea of a stadium existing on the Pnyx Hill has had to do with the proposed length of the dromos, which some believe to be too short to have been a *stadion* in length. In a published comment, G.R. Stanton and P.J. Bicknell[2] have made a number of constructive comments on my original arguments, the principle of which has to do with the length of the proposed dromos.

The West Foundation (West Stoa) on the Pnyx Hill measures 148 meters in length. The most suitable location for a dromos remains the levelled west terrace, 15.80 m.

---

1 I thank especially my colleagues from the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, John Camp and Susan Rotroff, for numerous interesting and provocative discussions concerning the history of the Pnyx Hill during the course of the year 1994-1995.

2 Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 88-89.

wide,[3] and approximately a length equal to the foundation, which is located immediately to its east (Plan 1, Fig. 51). I originally suggested that a length of approximately 130 meters would be appropriate for the 600 foot dromos in order to give *ca.* 9 meters at each end for overrun space.[4] My assumption has been, of course, that the dromos would be a *stadion* in length, since one of the essential meanings of the word *stadion* is a unit of linear measure, as first defined by Herodotus (II.149.3) as 6 *plethra,* 100 *orguiai* or 600 feet.[5] Foot lengths could vary considerably in antiquity as is perhaps most clearly demonstrated when comparing 600 foot stadium lengths. Of the stadia with preserved starting lines *in situ* in mainland Greece the greatest difference is between Olympia at 192.28 m. or a foot of 0.3204+ m. and Halieis at 166.50 m. or a foot of 0.278 m.

There is, of course, the additional space on the Middle Terrace of the Pnyx which would have required a bend to utilize fully, and which would reduce the width of the dromos to approximately 10 meters, both by the existence of monument foundations on the south side of the terrace, and the large foundation to the north. This additional space could add approximately 40 meters of length, should there have been a need. In addition, the 9 meters of overrun space at each end of the terrace could be reduced in length to *ca.* 5 meters each, which is paralleled in other Greek stadia.[6] There is also the possibility that the West Terrace could have been built up artificially at its north end for 5-10 meters, to give additional length to the dromos, although there exists no direct evidence for this (Fig. 51). In short, there are ways in which the proposed racecourse could have utilized more space on the terraces of the Pnyx Hill, by one or another of these methods, and as a result could have been somewhat longer. I chose the shorter distance (*ca.* 130 m. dromos length) because of reasons having to do with the measurement of, and possible foot length of, Peisistratid buildings in Athens, even though it may have been possible to lengthen the available space for the dromos on the Pnyx Hill by a fairly significant amount. Although I still believe this to be true I am pointing this out in order to emphasize that there are two issues to consider, the available space on the Pnyx Hill and, separately, the actual measured length of the dromos as 600 feet.

The reaction to a "short" foot length — I proposed a foot of 0.2157 m. for the Pnyx Hill — is partially due to comparison with other known stadium lengths, based on the actual measurement between two starting lines that are *in situ.* Since there are relatively few of these measured *stadion* lengths I shall list these below.[7]

	Stadion length	Foot length
Olympia Stadium[8]	192.28 m.	0.3204+ m.

3 The width of the terrace is within the limits of known stadia widths, e.g., the dromos at Didyma which is ca. 10 m. wide. See Knackfuss (1941), 79, fig. 618 and Fig. 56. For comparison, the width of the Panathenaic Way, where it is defined and can be measured, varies between 10 and 20 meters. See Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 192-194.

4 My suggestion is that the *dromos* of the stadium on the Pnyx Hill will have measured 129.45 m. using a foot of 0.2157+ m.: Romano (1985), 448-449.

5 Romano (1993), 13-17.

6 At the late fourth century B.C. stadium at Nemea the distance to the south of the southern starting line varies from 3.5 to 8 m. See Miller (1978), fig. 7. In the Classical stadium at Isthmia the distance to the west of the *balbides* triangular pavement is approximately 3-5 m. See Broneer (1973), plan VII. See also Romano (1981), 107, n. 51.

7 Romano (1981), 277-285.

8 Mallwitz (1967), 36-39. See also Mallwitz (1972), 180-186. This measurement was made between the middle of the starting lines. The measurement between the front grooves of the two starting lines

Isthmia Stadium[9]	181.20 m.	0.302 m.
Epidauros Stadium[10]	181.08 m.	0.3018 m.
Delphi Stadium[11]	177.414 m.	0.2956+ m.
Delphi Gymnasium *paradromis*[12]	172.996 m.	0.2883 m.
Halieis Stadium[13]	166.50 m.	0.2775 m.

There are, of course, additional stadia that have been assigned lengths based on a restored measurement or on the existence of spectator facilities of a specific length.[14] In each case there may be some kind of evidence that will contribute to the understanding of the foot length employed in the structure. For instance at Nemea the existence of *plethron* (100 foot) markers in the stadium gives a reliable indication of the foot measure (0.296+ m.) utilized in the projected stadium length (177.60 - 177.70 m.) even though the northern one-third of the dromos is no longer preserved.[15] At Corinth the foot length of the dromos has been reconstructed based on the existence of starting lines at the east end of the Upper Lechaion Valley and the available space to the west, as well as other internal evidence.[16] Similar kinds of evidence have been used to estimate the stadium lengths for a series of stadia from Greece and Asia Minor. Sometimes the available space is the only indicator.

There is no stadium length in Athens based on a measurement between two starting lines *in situ*, and therefore any argument based on a documented Athenian stadium length is not possible. The length of the dromos identified in the Athenian Agora is based on the location of five square blocks with vertical sockets near to the Altar of the Twelve Gods.[17] The five square blocks have been identified as a simple starting line that was set into the Panathenaic Way in the second half of the fifth century B.C. The dromos has been projected to run across the Agora square[18] (Fig. 54) as far as the terrace of South Stoa I. This dromos has a major drawback to its proposed location which has to do with the slope of the racecourse. The racetrack is reconstructed on a hillside and the difference in elevation between the lower level of the Panathenaic Way at the northern starting line and the higher level of the hillside at its southern extreme near South Stoa I is in the vicinity of 12 meters, based on an examination of the

---

is 192.08 m. The length of the *xystos* of the Olympia gymnasium is likely to be the same length since the two end walls of the *xystos* were excavated 212.056 apart in comparison with the dromos of the stadium, including overrun, which is 212.54 m.

9 Broneer (1973), 63-64. The measurement is made from the front edge of the post holes on the north starting line to the middle of the south starting line.

10 Kavvadias (1900), 108-109. Kavvadias found a difference of 0.22 m. as measured along the two sides of the stadium, 181.30 m. on the north side and 181.08 on the south side. The measurements were taken from the middle of the starting lines at each end.

11 Aupert (1979), 67-68. This measurement was made between the front faces of the starting blocks at the east and west ends.

12 Jannoray (1953), 50. The measurement was made between the middle of the starting line blocks at each end. See also Bommelaer (1991), 73-79, where the *paradromis* length is given as 172.71 m.

13 Romano (1981), 30-52. The final publication of the Halieis Stadium by D.G. Romano will appear as a part of Volume II of *Halieis*, to be published by Indiana University Press. The measurement was made between the front groove of the two starting lines.

14 For instance, at Priene, Wiegand and Schrader (1904), plate XIX, where the spectator facilities continue approximately 190 m. from the western starting line. See also Schede (1964), 86-89. At Miletus see von Gerkan (1921), plate III, where 191.39 m. is given as a measurement.

15 Miller (1977), 25.

16 Romano (1993), 43-75.

17 Shear (1975), 362-365.

18 Camp (1986), 89, fig. 66.

available topography maps and the elevation of neighboring monuments.[19] This change of elevation is unparalleled in other stadia and dromoi of the Greek world of which I am aware. Usually a dromos of a stadium will have a gradual slope along its long axis for drainage purposes as well as a pitch to the racecourse surface.[20] A possible solution to this anomalous situation would be to shorten the length of the dromos to fit better with the topography of the Agora square. A racecourse length in the neighborhood of 130-140 meters would reduce the elevation difference from one end of the dromos to the other by about one-half to approximately 5-6 meters, ending the racecourse before the natural rise that occurs at the later location of the Middle Stoa.[21] The original racecourse in the Agora may have been the Panathenaic Way itself, as has been suggested by H.A. Thompson and others.[22] The length of the dromos of the Roman Panathenaic Stadium is not known since the northern starting line was never found by the excavator Ziller in the excavations of 1869-1870.[23] As discussed by Stephen Lloyd Glass, this measurement has been widely misused.[24] Ziller restored a hypothetical length of the dromos as 170.71 m. based on analogy with the southern starting line.

My point here is that there are so very few stadia preserved for which we have the length, that can be accurately measured between two starting lines, and since there exists no accurately measured *stadion* in Athens from any period, it is dangerous to assume that all stadia must necessarily conform to the measured lengths of the few stadia preserved to us. In antiquity there were probably tens of hundreds of stadia all over the Greek and Roman world, from locations in both rural and urban sanctuaries as well as from *stadion* length *xystoi* of gymnasia. In the Greek period local standards of linear measure may have differed greatly as is the case with monetary standards, e.g., the drachma. Our preserved sample of accurately measurable stadia may be skewed since most come from the Peloponnesos and many are from the most prestigious athletic sanctuary sites of antiquity, many of which continued to be used well into the Roman period. It is not necessarily correct therefore to assume that all stadia will need conform with the Panhellenic sanctuary lengths. Since the "foot" is an anthropomorphic measure, I would assume that there could be a considerable amount of variation in its measurement, just as there is in the modern day.[25]

There is another bit of evidence that should be mentioned in the context of foot measure and stadium lengths which has to do with Pausanias' description of Olympia. Pausanias (V.16.2-3) mentions that athletic contests for unmarried girls are held at Olympia in honor of Hera.[26] He describes elements of the festival and mentions that the unmarried girls run their foot races in the same stadium where the men have their

19 Camp (1986), 23, fig. 7 and compare topographical contour lines with the projected racecourse from 89, fig. 66.

20 For instance in the late fourth century B.C. stadium at Nemea, the slope of the racecourse floor is from the higher south end to the lower north end of the stadium, and is approximately 1% or 1 m. for the first 100 m. of the racecourse floor. See Miller (1979), 95.

21 Another possibility might be that during some periods the racecourse ran east-west across the Agora square.

22 There are three sixth century inscriptions all of which have similar texts and have to do with the early dromos in the Athenian Agora. See Raubitschek (1949), 350-358, nos. 326-328. See also Thompson (1961), 224-231; Travlos (1971), 2.

23 Ziller (1870), 455 ff.

24 Glass (1967), 93, n. 281, where he points out that Jannoray (1953), 50-51, n. 3, cites an incorrect length of 184.96 m.

25 See Dekoulakou-Sideris (1990), 445-451 for discussion of a new metrological relief from Salamis which includes the measures of two metrical systems.

26 Romano (1983), 9-16; and Scanlon (1984), 77-90.

contests in the festival of Zeus: "the Olympic stadium is reserved for their *agon* also but they shorten the *dromos* of the *stadion*, by one-sixth for the girls." This would create a length for the dromos of approximately 160 meters.[27] There are several possible ways to explain this. Either the unmarried girls are not running a full *stadion* length race, or the measurement of the racecourse is less than 600 feet long or the *stadion* that the unmarried girls run is 600 feet of a shorter foot measure.

There exists the possibility that there could have been other 'short' stadium lengths.[28] The idea that a stadium could have been used in antiquity for contests from more than one festival is interesting as well. This would suggest the possibility that with a fairly long stadium, it might be possible for shorter *stadion* races to be run within the available space. The possibility might exist for a "city" stadium to include different length dromoi for different festivals.[29]

J.J. Coulton[30] has made the suggestion that there may have been different foot measures for different purposes in antiquity, which might mean, for instance, that the foot measure used by the architect to measure the stone at the quarry might differ from the foot measure used at the building site by the client for the actual measurement of architectural elements of the building, e.g., stylobate length.

The Embankments

I have interpreted the two long foundations on the Pnyx Hill as artificial earth embankments bordered by low foundation walls on all four sides, used for the accommodation of spectators.[31] Both foundations (originally published as stoa foundations) are characterized as long and narrow with an off-center inner foundation along the long axis.[32] I have argued that the off-center inner foundation is characteristic of such known spectator embankments from stadia at other sites, e.g., Halieis and Delos.[33] The inner, off-center, walls are located closer to the inner (terrace side) than

---

27 Romano (1983), 13-14, where I suggest that the length of the dromos of the Hera Festival is related to the foot used to measure the length of the stylobate of the Hera Temple at Olympia.

28 Several possible short stadia are known to me. Two unexcavated stadia in Lycia are described as short. At Arycanda, the stadium is located on a high terrace of the city, above the theater, measured as 16 m. wide and 80 m. long, although it is not possible to correctly estimate the original length (Toksoz (1988), 136-139). Also at Cadyanda where the stadium is described as 30 feet wide and over 100 yards in length (Bean (1978), 43-45). My own observations at Pleuron in Aetolia suggest that a previously unidentified and unexcavated stadium within the Hellenistic city walls will be fairly short, in the neighborhood of 150 m. in length, although this is only an estimate.

29 At Tegea, for instance, Pausanias (VIII.47.4) tells us that two festivals are celebrated in the stadium, the Alea and the Halotia. At Argos, Pausanias (II.24.2) mentions that the stadium was known to be the site of the games to Argive Hera as well as to Nemean Zeus.

30 Coulton (1976), 59, n. 3.

31 For the latest dating of the third phase of the construction on the Pnyx Hill, see Rotroff in this volume. Earlier, see Thompson (1982), 144-145.

32 The West Foundation measures 148.105 x 17.21 m. and the East Foundation measures 65.80 x 17.86 m. It should at least be mentioned that the measurement of the East Foundation comes remarkably close to the measurements (62.36 x 17.54 m.) given by Fauvel for a structure on the north hill of the Roman Panathenaic Stadium. J. Tobin has argued that this structure was built to house the Panathenaic ship. See Tobin (1993), 81-89.

33 Romano (1985), 446-447. I thank my colleague Manolis Korres for suggesting to me the possibility that the two long foundations on the Pnyx Hill may have originally been constructed as arsenals. There seem to be several difficulties with the restoration of arsenals on these foundations. The off-center central foundations are difficult to explain as is the fact that when the Compartment Wall was constructed across the back wall of the foundations the arsenal would have been put out of use at a

the outer side of the long foundations.[34] One would expect the off-center wall to be found closer to the back wall of a retaining system, as is found at the west foundation of the stadium at Halieis as well as at the Classical Stadium at Isthmia (north embankment). This raises the question, if the foundations were designed as artificial embankments of earth, which way were the spectators facing? Was the off-center wall an interior form of support or could the foundations have provided double-sided embankments in order to provide spectators a view of the east, middle and west terraces on the Pnyx Hill as well as a view to the south and southwest?[35]

It is known that the location of the facilities on the Pnyx Hill lay between two city gates, the so-called Dipylon above the Gates (Travlos Gate XIV) and the Militides Gate (Travlos Gate XV) (Fig. 55).[36] Presumably the roadways preceded the construction of the gates and it is known that roadways connected these gates with the Pnyx Hill itself.[37] The artificial embankment of the East Foundation could have provided spectators with an opportunity to watch processions entering the area of the Dipylon above the Gates, Gate XIV. Perhaps this could also better explain the re-orientation of the Eastern Embankment, to better situate the spectators to watch what was approaching the Pnyx Hill from the south as well as the activities on the East and Middle Terraces.[38]

What about the West Foundation that also shows an off-center central foundation? If spectators were using this to view the south-west, what would they have been viewing? Certainly they could have viewed the Athens-Phaleron roadway. It is known that the equestrian contests of the Panathenaic games were held somewhere between the long walls of Athens between the city and New Phaleron.[39] The view from the Pnyx Hill towards Phaleron is extremely good. Is it possible that before the fortification walls were constructed spectators could have viewed some aspect of the equestrian contests from the Pnyx Hill? This would not in itself rule out the possibility of additional spectators at the hippodrome.[40] The boat race which was also a part of the Panathenaic

---

time when it would seem to serve a most useful function. The specifications of Philo's arsenal in Peiraeus is known from *IG* II^2 1668 of 347/346 B.C. The building was indeed long and narrow, 400 feet by 55 feet, and it called for a central passage through the middle of the building and doors at the short ends. See Jeppesen (1958), 69-101. It is known that surplus beams from the arsenal were transferred to the board in charge of the Panathenaic Stadium in the years around 330 B.C. These accounts are included in the inscriptions *IG* II^2 1627, lines 382-384; 1628, lines 540-542; 1629, lines 1017-1020; 1631, lines 243-244. For further discussion see Mitchel (1973), 196-197.

34 I thank John Camp for discussing this issue with me at the Pnyx on October 9, 1994.

35 Such a double-sided embankment may be depicted on a fragment of Sophilos, Athens National Museum 15499. See Neils (1992), 19, fig. 5 and Fig. 15. It is known that during the period of Antigonus in the third century B.C., there is a reference to an *ikrion* being set up near the Hermae in the Agora in order that the mistress of Demetrius of Phaleron's grandson could view the Panathenaia (Athen. IV.167). This should be approximately the same time as when the Compartment Wall of the Pnyx Hill was constructed, and when the spectator embankments (in my view) would have been out of use. See Romano (1985), 452-454.

36 Travlos (1971), 20, fig. 28.

37 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 312-317, fig. 27. The authors describe the ancient road passing through the Dipylon above the Gates and heading south and west as a principal road between the Long Walls from Athens to Phaleron. See Conwell (1992), 230-233 for a recent discussion of this roadway.

38 Of course when the long foundations were built on the Pnyx, there were no nearby city walls to obstruct the view to the south and southwest. Although the so-called Compartment Wall and the later White Poros Wall do cross the Pnyx Hill, the earlier Themistoklean Wall did not. It is presumed to have followed a course to the south and west of the Pnyx Hill, so that the entire Pnyx Hill would have been within the Themistoklean circuit. See Fig. 55.

39 Neils (1992), 27; Kyle (1987), 253, nn. 95, 96.

40 This would also be dependent on the schedule of the Panathenaia. For instance, Neils (1992), 15, has outlined a schedule of events that puts the equestrian competitions on a separate day of the

festival, and probably held at Peiraeus, would have been too far away to be seen in any detail.

An examination of the two long foundations reveals that there still remains some fill *in situ*, more from the East Foundation than from the West Foundation.The East Foundation shows a raised interior elevation from both of the long sides. As much of the West Foundation remains unexcavated the area today is covered with trees and bushes.

There may be a parallel for the artificial embankments on the Pnyx Hill with respect to a racecourse and a festival place (see discussion below) within another well known sanctuary of the Greek world. At the Sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma there exist two long and narrow foundations, that are considered to be the foundations for possible stoas that date to the late sixth century B.C. (Fig. 56). They are situated to the east of the east end of the successive Archaic and Hellenistic temples and are found on the low Archaic terrace that borders the circular foundation (altar?) and the Hellenistic starting line.[41] The northeast foundation measures 34.50 x 7.20 m. and the south foundation measures 7.69 m. wide although the total length is unknown. Both have been restored as facing towards the temple and in both cases no colonnade or superstructure has been found. Could these foundations have been built as retaining systems for artificial embankments for spectators to watch the processions, dedications and later the athletic contests in the area? The starting line and the stadium, in its present form, dates from the Hellenistic period. The dromos of the stadium runs along the south long side of the Hellenistic temple, and the 6 rows of steps of the temple were used as seats for the spectators, as can be observed by the names that have been carved on the seat blocks. Opposite the temple steps, on the south side of the dromos at the east end, are the beginning of an additional series of seats, four or five rows, providing approximately 10 m. between for the width of the dromos itself. The starting line is located roughly 10 m. to the east of the east end of the Hellenistic temple and on axis with the round structure. The temple is approximately 110 m. long (stylobate length) and it has been suggested by Naumann that the length of the dromos should be 184 m. based on the length of the Attic foot.[42] If the dromos extended only an additional *ca.* 10 m. to the west end of the temple (as is the case on the east) the total dromos length would fall in the neighborhood of 130 m. which would be similar to the proposed length of the dromos on the Pnyx Hill.

The Charadra

There has been some concern expressed about the identification of the *charadra* which is mentioned by Pseudo-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators* 841D, in his description of the construction of the Panathenaic stadium.

> *...καὶ τῷ σταδίῳ τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ τὴν κρηπῖδα περιέθηκεν, ἐξεργασάμενος τοῦτό τε καὶ τὴν χαράδραν ὁμαλὴν ποιήσας, Δεινίου*

---

festival which would make this theory less necessary. If, on the other hand, the equestrian and the athletic and musical contests were scheduled during the same day then such an arrangement might be more attractive.

41 Coulton (1976), 35, 36, 236. See also Knackfuss (1941), 134-135 and Gruben (1963), 99.

42 Naumann (s.a.), 47-49. The dromos length of 184 m. divided by 600 gives a foot of 0.306+ m.

τινός, ὃς ἐκέκτητο τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ἀνέντος τῇ πόλει, προείπαντος αὐτῷ χαρίσασθαι Λυκούργου.

And he put the foundation wall (KREPIS) around the Panathenaic Stadium. This he accomplished, and also the levelling of the ravine (CHARADRA) because a certain Deinias who owned this plot of land gave it to the city when Lykourgos suggested to him that he make the gift.

The *charadra* I have associated with the ravine or gully in front, to the east of, the West Foundation which was filled in and retained by the great wall (1.75 m. wide) immediately to the southwest of the assembly area and bordering the West Terrace to the northeast (Fig. 53). The same ravine would originally have continued from this high point down to the base of the theatral area to the east. The change in elevation is from 104.25 m. on the north end of the west terrace to 82.75 m. at the base of the assembly area to the north, near the location of the foundation for the monumental staircase (a difference of *ca.* 21.5 m.). This work is then to be associated with the great expansion of the theatral area including the construction of the great curved retaining wall to the northeast which I believe is referred to in *IG* II^2 351 where there is mention of Eudemos who "made a contribution of 1,000 yoke of oxen for the construction of the Panathenaic Stadium and Theater." This reference to 1,000 yoke of oxen certainly implies an unusually great amount of work to be accomplished.[43]

Much of the discussion from the on-site examination of the monuments, as part of the conference, on Sunday October 9, 1994, had to do with this ravine and the consequences of the erosion and water movement, and resulting Roman pottery that may have accumulated as the result of such movement down the steep slope.[44]

Panathenaic Theater

There have been objections raised to my proposal on the grounds that the Lykourgan Theater of Dionysos is known from a recently published inscription to have had a *skene*, a feature that the *theatron* on the Pnyx Hill does not have and therefore an argument against its being the theater mentioned in *IG* II^2 351.[45] There is some misunderstanding about this which I should like to clarify.

I never suggested, nor was it my intention to imply, that the Lykourgan theater of Dionysos was to be found on the Pnyx Hill.[46] The confusion arises from the reading of *IG* II^2 351[47] and the fact that some have attempted to see εἰς τὴν ποίησιν τοῦ σταδίου καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Παναθηναϊκοῦ as a mistake by the stone mason who

---

43 For description of the individual blocks of the curved retaining wall, see Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 148. Numerous of the quarried blocks of stone would have weighed between 25 and 35 tons each. For further discussion of the masonry techniques of this construction and comparanda for the style of masonry, see Rotroff and Camp (forthcoming). See also the discussion of the construction in Kyle (1987), 92-97.

44 This was especially crucial in the discussion of the pottery, especially Roman pottery, that had been found in the fill of the assembly area behind the great curved retaining wall to the northeast. See Rotroff in this volume.

45 Heisserer and Moysey (1986), 177-182; Moysey (1986), 212. A reference to this criticism is also found in Robertson (1992), 56, n. 91.

46 Nor did I suggest that there should be a *skene* building as a part of the theater on the Pnyx hill.

47 See Romano (1985), 450-451, n. 43. See also the discussion in Schwenk (1985), 232-238.

meant to cut *τοῦ σταδίου τοῦ Παναθηναϊκοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου.* The Theater of Dionysos underwent major renovations or was completed in the time of Lykourgos. For this there are a number of ancient references.[48] I prefer to read the inscription as it is inscribed and would see a Panathenaic Stadium and Theater constructed by Lykourgos. I would understand the Lykourgan work on the Theater of Dionysos to have been a separate project and the two monuments to be individual and distinct. Therefore I would envision the Panathenaic Stadium and Theater on the Pnyx Hill[49] and the Theater of Dionysos on the south slope of the Akropolis.

With respect to the use of the theater on the Pnyx Hill for the musical contests of the Panathenaic Festival, I should like to make some further observations which have to do with the physical setting of the contests known from the available archaeological evidence.

From an inscription of the first half of the fourth century B.C., *IG* II^2 2311, it is known that the musical contests of the Panathenaic Games included the following events:[50]

In the men's category:

Kitharodes	singing and accompanying oneself on the *kithara*
Aulodes	singing to the flute
Kitharists	playing the *kithara*
Auletes	playing a solo flute
Agon for Rhapsodes	singing epic poetry

Probably lost from the inscription are two events for boys, aulodes and kitharists.

It is worthy of note that none of these musical events would require a *skene*, since they do not include dramatic performances of any kind. From another source is information that dramatic contests in the Panathenaic Games were only staged for the first time in 162 B.C.[51]

It is Plutarch (*Perikles* 13.9-11) who mentions that Perikles instituted the musical contests of the Panathenaia and that spectators viewed them both at that time and from then on in the Odeion of Perikles. There is however fairly good evidence that musical contests were a part of the Panathenaia from the sixth century B.C.[52] H.A. Shapiro believes that Perikles did not introduce or reintroduce but rather re-organized the musical contests and officially enacted the new program as law much as Peisistratos or the Archon Hippokleides had done for the athletic festival in 566 B.C.

---

48 See Heisserer and Moysey (1986), 181, n. 23.

49 Such stadium-theater complexes are not unknown in the Greek and Roman world. They are known at Sardis, Tralles, Pergamon, Rhodes, and Aizanoi. See Romano (1982), 588.

50 Shapiro (1992), 53-75.

51 Tracy and Habicht (1991), 187-236.

52 Davison (1958), 36-41 and Shapiro (1992), 53-75. Shapiro cites the multitude of black- and early red-figure vases showing musical performances in a Panathenaic setting and illustrates numerous examples. For instance catalogue no. 19, pp. 52, 71, 156, a black-figured neck-pelike, *ca.* 500 B.C., MMA Rogers Fund, 1907, 07.286.72 showing obverse: kithara player standing on a one-step bema and reverse: aulodic contest, men standing on a one- or two-step bema; red-figured amphora, p. 67, fig. 44, attributed to the Andokides painter, *ca.* 530-520 B.C. Musée du Louvre, Paris, reverse: kithara player standing on a two-step bema; Panathenaic shaped amphora, p. 74, fig. 50, *ca.* 520 B.C. Rhapsodist standing on a one-step bema, Stadtmuseum, Oldenburg.

It has been previously suggested, of course, that the contests were originally held out of doors in the Agora along with the athletic contests.[53] My interpretation of the facilities on the Pnyx Hill includes the suggestion that the musical contests were held in the *theatron*, at least from the time of Lykourgos and possibly earlier, and that the contestants stood on the stone bema, a type similar to the ones depicted from the vase painting scenes of an earlier period (Fig. 53).

Terraces as Festival Place

My intention is to propose that the place of the Assembly on the Pnyx Hill was converted into a grander multipurpose facility by Lykourgos during the end of the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. This would not seem to contradict the evidence that, during the Hellenistic period, the Theater of Dionysos gradually took over the function of the meeting place of the assembly,[54] although inscriptions indicate that the *ekklesia* and the *boulé* could meet in the Panathenaic Stadium in the third, second and first centuries B.C.[55]

Apart from the musical contests of the Panathenaia that would have been held in the *theatron*, most of the remaining contests as well as the processions and sacrifices, feasting and celebrations, could have been held on the terraces above. The athletic contests, mostly held in three age categories (boys, youths, men), would have included the following events:[56]

Stadion	footrace 600 feet long
Diaulos	footrace 1,200 feet long
Dolichos	long distance footrace
Hoplitodromos	hoplite race
Pentathlon	pentathlon (wrestling, long jump, discus, javelin, footrace)
Pale	wrestling
Pugme	boxing
Pankration	pankration

The tribal events could have been conducted on the Pnyx as well:

Pyrrhike	pyrrhic dance (boys, youths, men)
Euandria	tribal contest in manly excellence

It is possible that the torch race could have finished on the Pnyx Hill (discussion below). The events that could not have been accommodated on the Pnyx would include the following:

Keles	horse race

53 Thompson (1961), 224-231; Travlos (1971), 2; Camp (1986), 45-46; Neils (1992), 20.

54 It is known for instance that the Assembly met in the Theater of Dionysos as early as 353 B.C. (*IG* II^2 140, line 4) and continued into the early first century B.C. (*IG* II^2 1029 of 94/93 B.C.). See Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 137. See also the discussion in McDonald (1943), 44-61.

55 Romano (1985), 454, n. 58.

56 Many but not all of the following events are preserved on *IG* II^2 2311 of 370 B.C. See Kyle (1987), 178-194, for detailed consideration of the events of the Panathenaia.

Synoris	two horse chariot race
Tethrippon	four horse chariot race
	two horse chariot procession
Apobates	chariot dismounting
	javelin throw on horseback
Anthippasia ?	cavalry display
	contest of ships

Great Altar of Athena[57]

Located on the Middle Terrace of the Pnyx Hill above and to the south of the bema is a large bedding, 8.90 x 6.00 m., cut from the bedrock. H.A. Thompson has suggested that this bedding was likely to be for a monumental altar which would have faced the theater.[58] R. Stillwell discussed a monumental altar found to the east of the Metroon (Fig. 32) in the Agora which Thompson later proposed was originally located on this foundation bedding on the Pnyx.[59] The altar is made of Pentelic marble, and from the style of workmanship it has been dated generally to the late fourth century B.C. and has been associated with the third phase of construction of the Assembly area on the Pnyx, 330-326 B.C.[60]

The altar is a monumental rectangular stepped altar of Pentelic marble, with four steps in two courses along one of the two long sides, above a euthynteria, the outer blocks of which are of Peiraeus stone. The foundations are of conglomerate stone. The bottom step dimensions are 8.76 x 5.43 m. and at either end of the altar the steps are returned as a narrow ledge. The area at the top of the steps is 8.35 x 4.247 m. and a rectangular altar has been restored on this platform, 2.80 x 7.50 m. The preserved mouldings (Figs. 34-35) on the base of the monument consist of a torus carved with guilloche and surmounted by a cyma with Lesbian leaf, finished with a delicate bead and reel. The cap moulding has an ovolo with egg and tongue above a bead and reel. Above the ovolo is a broad fascia crowned with an inverted cavetto.[61] The dimensions of the altar make it one of the largest known from ancient Athens[62] and it is certainly one of the most handsome.[63]

From a single inscription, *IG* II^2 334 of *ca.* 336-330 B.C. found on the Akropolis, is known the existence of a "Great Altar" of Athena in Athens. The altar has always been presumed to have been located on the Akropolis in the neighborhood of the Old Temple of Athena and the Parthenon, although the inscription does not provide a topographical

---

57 I thank the following for reading earlier drafts of this aspect of the paper and for making suggestions for its improvement: J.J. Coulton, L. Daly †, M.H. Jameson, A.J. Graham, F. Mitchel †, A.E. Raubitschek, I.B. Romano, D. Rupp, J. Rutter.

58 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 299-300, n. 38.

59 Stillwell (1933), 140-148. Thompson has suggested that the altar was sacred to Zeus Agoraios although he has noted that this identification is by no means certain. See Thompson (1952), 92-93; Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 160-162.

60 Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 161. For the dating of the altar, see also Forsén in this volume.

61 See Stillwell (1933), 140-148, figs. 23-30.

62 The dimensions of the foundation of the altar in front of the Temple of Ares in the Agora are 6.30 x 8.90. See Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 164. The dimensions of the rectangular foundation of the altar near the Temple of Dionysos at the Theater of Dionysos are 11.50 x 3.30 m. See Yavis (1949), 186.

63 Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 160-161.

reference. Two specific sites have been suggested for the location of the altar. The first is a very large area, approximately 25 x 15 meters, on the highest part of the Akropolis some 40 meters to the east of the Old Temple.[64] The other site is closer to the Old temple, only 15 meters to the east where a stretch of bedrock has been cut down, approximately 5 meters in length.[65] No physical remains of the "Great Altar" have been discovered on the Akropolis.

There are, of course, literary references to an altar to Athena on the Athenian Akropolis. It is known from very early times (*Iliad* II.547) that a sanctuary of Athena Polias and an altar existed there. Herodotus (V.71) mentions that Kylon, *ca.* 635 B.C., took refuge by the statue of Athena, and, referring to the same event, Thucydides (I.126.10) records that some of Kylon's followers took refuge in the sanctuary and sat as suppliants at the altar on the Akropolis.[66]

From the fifth century "Hekatompedon inscription", *IG* I^3 4, line 9, comes the information that an altar may have existed to the east of the temple; some have restored this passage to read the "Great Altar", *με[ταχσὺ τô ν]εὸ καὶ τô πρὸ[ς ἔο μεγάλ]ο β[ο]μô*.[67] Others have restored the same passage as *με[ταχσὺ τô ν]εὸ : καὶ τô προ[πύλο καὶ τ]ô β[ο]μô*.[68] Certainly there were altars to Athena on the Akropolis,[69] but it must be emphasized that the "Great Altar" is certainly mentioned only in IG II^2 334. The inscription can be assigned to the Lykourgan period of religious organization between 336 and 330 B.C. The exact date is dependent on the restoration of the name of the archon which is missing from the upper portion of the stele.[70] Apart from the otherwise unidentifiable cutting in the bedrock on the Akropolis, there exists no specific archaeological evidence for this altar on the Akropolis.[71] There is, however, substantial archaeological evidence for the location of the "Great Altar" on the Pnyx Hill.

The reference to the "Great Altar" of Athena in *IG* II^2 334 comes as part of the instruction voted by the people as a resolution of the *boulé* for the sacrifice of cattle on the occasion of the Panathenaia, the annual festival to Athena. The Panathenaia, and the larger quadrennial festival, the Great Panathenaia, were of course the most important religious festivals in Athens and included a *παννυχίς* and animal sacrifices.

In light of the proposal that the facilities on the Pnyx Hill comprised the Panathenaic Stadium and Theater, it would be well to consider the possibility of identifying this monumental altar with the "Great Altar" of Athena. Centrally located on the Middle Terrace of the Pnyx, between the east and west spectator embankments (but much

---

64 Cavvadias and Kawerau (1907), plates A΄, D΄; D'Ooge (1908), 69, plan VII. See Travlos (1971), fig. 91, for locations of both sites.

65 Dörpfeld (1919), 8-30; Judeich (1931), plan II, 269-270. Both Dörpfeld and Judeich assign the larger area to the east as the precinct and altar to Zeus Polieus, as does Travlos (1971), pl. 91 (Shrine of Zeus Polieus).

66 For a discussion of the evidence for sculpted Athenas on the Akropolis, see Ridgway (1992), 119-142. A marble helmeted head of Athena (0.30 m. high) was found in 1931 next to the Great Stairway of the Pnyx Hill. It is dated to the second century after Christ and is National Archaeological Museum, Athens, no. 3718. See Travlos (1971), 476, fig. 601.

67 Paton (1927), 440, n. 4.

68 Paton (1927), 440, n. 5.

69 From the Erechtheum accounts of 409/408 B.C. (fragm. VIIIA, lines 20-21) and 408/407 B.C. (fragm. XVII, col. I. 36 and 64 and col. II. 48) are references to an altar, *βομός*, which have been generally identified as the "Great Altar" although there is no specific reference to it. See Paton (1927), 328-329, 390-391, 396-397.

70 The upper part of *IG* II^2 334 is discussed by Lewis (1959), 239-240. See also Sokolowski (1969), 63-66; and Schwenk (1985), 81-94.

71 To my knowledge, there is no other literary evidence to verify the location of the "Great Altar" on the Akropolis. Pausanias, for example, makes no mention of such an altar.

closer to the west one), the altar was situated at the southeast end of the racecourse and immediately opposite and above the bema of the Assembly area. Considering the dimensions of the altar, its prominent location between the Panathenaic Stadium and Theater and the primary use of these facilities, it is likely that the altar would have been dedicated to Athena, the major divinity worshipped at the site. Such an altar would have had many purposes. It would have been used in connection with the musical and athletic contests of the Panathenaia;[72] it may have served as the altar where the torch race of the Panathenaia ended and where the winner's torch was probably used to light the flame for the sacrifices.[73]

As mentioned above, the only unequivocal evidence for the existence of the "Great Altar" is the following *IG* II² 334:[74]

- ι..
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - ὅπως ἂν εὖ]σ[εβ]ῶς κα-
[ι - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -] κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν κ-
[αὶ πέμπηται ἡ πομπὴ π]αρεσκευ[ασμ]ένη ὡς ἄριστα τῆι Ἀ-
[θηνᾶι καθ' ἕκαστο]ν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀ-
[θηναίων καὶ τἆλ]λα ὅσα δεῖ διοικῆται περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴ-
[ν τὴν ἀγομένην τ]ῆι θεῶι καλῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν εἰς
[τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἐ]ψηφίσθαι τῶι δήμωι, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθά-
[περ τῆι βουλῆι, θ]ύειν δὲ τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς τὰς μὲν δύο
[θυσίας τήν τε τῆι] Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Ὑγιείαι καὶ τὴν ἐν τῶι ἀρ-
[χαίωι νεῶι θυο]μένην καθάπερ πρότερον καὶ νείμαντ-
[ας τοῖς πρυτάν]εσιν πέντε μερίδας καὶ τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρ-
[χουσιν τρεῖς] καὶ ταμίαις τῆς θεοῦ μίαν καὶ τοῖς ἱερ-
[οποιοῖς μίαν] καὶ τοῖς στ[ρα]τηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχ-
[οις τρεῖς καὶ τ]οῖς πομπ[εῦσι]ν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τα-
[ῖς κανηφόροι]ς κατὰ (τὰ) εἰω[θότα], τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα Ἀθηναίο-
[ις μερίζειν· ἀ]πὸ δὲ τῶν τε[τταρ]άκοντα μνῶν καὶ τῆς μι-
[ᾶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς μ]ισθώσεως τῆς νέας βοωνήσαντες οἱ ἱερ-
[οποιοὶ μετὰ τ]ῶν βοωνῶν πέμψαντες τὴν πομπὴν τῆι θε-
[ῶι θυόντων τα]ύτας τὰς βοῦς ἁπάσας ἐπὶ τῶι βωμῶι τῆς
[Ἀθηνᾶς τῶι με]γάλωι, μίαν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶι τῆς Νίκης προκρί-
[ναντες ἐκ τῶν] καλλιστευουσῶν βοῶν, καὶ θύσαντες τῆ-
[ι Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι] Πολιάδι καὶ τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Νίκηι ἁπασῶ-
[ν τῶν βοῶν τῶ]ν ἀπὸ τῶν τετταράκοντα μνῶν καὶ μιᾶς ἐω-
[νημένων νε]μόντων τὰ κρέα τῶι δῆμωι τῶι Ἀθηναίων ἐν
[Κεραμεικῶ]ι καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρεανομίαις· ἀ[π]-
[ονέμειν δὲ] τὰς μερίδας εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἕκαστον κατὰ [τ]
[οὺς πέμπον]τας ὁπόσους ἂν παρέχηι ὁ δῆμος ἕκαστος· [ε]
[ἰς δὲ τὰ μι]σθώματα τῆς πομπῆς καὶ τὸ μαγειρικὸν κα[ὶ]
[κόσμησιν] τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα προσ-

---

72 It is known from a number of major as well as minor sanctuaries of the Greek world, from the Archaic through the Hellenistic periods, that the altar of the divinity in whose honor athletic contests and religious festivals were held was often situated close to the racecourse where the athletic contests took place. Such, for example, is the case at Olympia, Isthmia, Messene, Didyma, and Halieis to name only a few. See Romano (1982), 588, n. 17.

73 Parke (1977), 45.

74 For a discussion of the inscription, see Deubner (1956), 25-28; Herington (1955), 31-32; Sokolowski (1969), 63-66; Parke (1977), 46-50 and Schwenk (1985), 81-94.

[- - 8 - - -]εῖσθαι περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ εἰς παννυχίδα
[διδόναι] : Π : δραχμάς· τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιοὺς τοὺς διοι[κ]-
[οῦντας τ]ὰ Παναθήναια τὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ποεῖν τὴν πα[ν]-
[νυχίδα] ὡς καλλίστην τῆι θεῶι καὶ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπε[ι]-
[ν ἅμα ἡ]λίωι ἀνιόντι, ζημιοῦντας τὸν μὴ πειθαρχο[ῦντ]-
[α ταῖς ἑκ] τῶν νόμων ζημίαις· ἐλέσθαι δὲ τὸν δῆμ[ον...]
[- - - 18 - - - - ἄ]ν[δ]ρας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἁπ[άντων ο]-
[ἵτινες - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

The inscription states, lines 8-10, that "the Hieropoioi are to sacrifice the two sacrifices, one to Athena Hygieia and the other "at" or "in" the Old Temple, as previously". These two sacrifices were undoubtedly made on the Akropolis; the location of a sanctuary to Athena Hygieia on the Akropolis is well known[75] and the altar "at" or "in" the Old Temple gives us sufficient topographical reference beyond any reasonable doubt. It may well be the latter altar which is mentioned in the *Iliad* and in Thucydides.

Later, in lines 19-25, the inscription continues that the Hieropoioi are "to sacrifice to the goddess all these cows on the Great Altar of Athena except for one on the Nike Altar, having chosen it in advance from the best quality cows....when they have sacrificed to Athena Polias and Athena Nike out of all the cows bought from the 41 minas they are to distribute the meat to the people of Athens [restored by Kirchner as "in the Kerameikos"] as in the other distributions of meat". In line 22 the reference to the two goddesses, Athena Polias and Athena Nike, would seem to indicate that the first goddess mentioned, Athena Polias, can be associated with the "Great Altar".

Since the inscription specifies that the Hieropoioi are to sacrifice to Athena Hygieia and "at" or "in" the Old Temple, as previously, and then proceeds to describe how the great majority of cattle are to be sacrificed to the goddess on the "Great Altar" of Athena, it is clear that the "Great Altar" is a different altar (and possibly a new one) from the one "at" or "in" the Old Temple. It seems possible that, at least from the date of the inscription, the sacrifice of great numbers of cattle was not made in the area of the Old Temple.

In addition, the situation of large scale animal sacrifice on the Akropolis has never seemed entirely satisfactory. The logistics of distributing meat from great numbers of animals slaughtered on the Akropolis to the people of Athens in the Kerameikos has never been fully understood. A more suitable location for the sacrifices and for the distribution may now be suggested to be the Pnyx Hill.

I propose that the cows of the Panathenaic sacrifice were led to the hill of the Pnyx where a roadway,[76] largely separate from the long terraces, led directly to the "Great Altar" from two directions, southeast and northwest, and connected directly with two.of the city's gates (Figs. 51-52). The roadway would have served to bring the victims to the site of the altar and to remove the sacrificed meat afterwards. Such an altar would have met the needs of the Panathenaic procession and festival; the altar was close to the stadium and the theater although strictly not a part of either.

With this in mind, we might reconsider the reading of lines 24 and 25 of *IG* II^2 334. The restoration of ἐν [Κεραμεικῶ]ι "in the Kerameikos" as the site of the distribution of meat following the sacrifices has been thus far unchallenged. There is now another

75 See Judeich (1931), 242, n. 3 and Raubitschek (1949), 185-188.
76 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 307-308, fig. 21.

candidate for the lacuna, namely *ἐν [τῶι σταδίω]ι*, "in the stadium". This restoration preserves the spacing of the stoichedon of 42 letters per line of the inscription, as well as provides a much better solution to the problem of the transportation of great amounts of slaughtered meat from the site of the festival and sacrifice to the hungry throngs of Athenians waiting in the Kerameikos.[77] This proposal would provide that the cows were sacrificed on the "Great Altar" on the Pnyx Hill and the meat distributed from the neighboring stadium. The artificial embankments would have provided spectators with ample room to watch the processions, the sacrifices as well as other related religious ceremonies held in the same area. In addition, the Pnyx terraces would have been a logical location to hold the *πανυχίς* of the Panathenaia (Figs. 53, 57).[78]

The importance of the date of the inscription *IG* II^2 334 must now be re-emphasized. It is dated securely to 336-330 B.C., the period of the religious reforms of Lykourgos, although a precise date within this period cannot be assured. It is well known that Lykourgos had a special interest in the cult of Athena Polias whose priestess was always from the clan of Eteoboutadai, as was Lykourgos himself.[79] We know from the law proposed by Lykourgos in 335/334 B.C., *IG* II^2 333, that suitable gold and silver cult vessels were especially made for the Panathenaic procession to contribute to the proper splendor of the festival. One may also assume that Lykourgos added to the prestige of the Panathenaic festival by increasing the number of cows to be sacrificed to Athena Polias for distribution to the populace of the city. And although sacrifices were made on the Akropolis in former times (and continued to be made in limited quantities) I would suggest that from the time of Lykourgos a major sacrifice of cattle was made to Athena Polias on the Pnyx Hill. It seems most likely that the "Great Altar" was built hand in hand with the Panathenaic Stadium and Theater which was completed in 330/329 B.C.

---

77 I am aware of at least one literary reference to a stadium being used for a large gathering and feast. Plutarch, *Dion* (23.3) describes when in 357 B.C. Dion, after attempting to oust Dionysos the younger from Syracuse, gave a great banquet for the Achaean mercenaries in the stadium of Zakynthos following a great sacrifice.

78 There is very little information about the *πανυχίς* of the Panathenaia. The most descriptive source is the *Herakleidai* of Euripides, 777ff., which is dated to *ca.* 430 B.C.

ἐπεί σοι πολύθυστος αἰεὶ
τιμὰ κραίνεται, οὐδὲ λάθει
μηνῶν φθινάς ἀμέρα,
780 *νέων τ' ἀοιδαὶ χορῶν τε μολπαί.*
ἀνεμόεντι δ' ἐπ' ὄχθῳ
ὁλολύγματα πανυχίοις ὑπὸ παρ-
θένων ἰαχεῖ ποδῶν κρότοισιν.

The mention of the windy hill in line 781 could apply as well or better to the Pnyx than to the Akropolis. Is it possible that the all-night festival was held on the Pnyx Hill from the fifth century B.C.? See Romano (1985), 451, n. 47.

79 Mitchel (1973), 203-207.

The City Walls on the Pnyx Put into Context

Lars Karlsson

The city walls on the Pnyx were excavated in the 1930s by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The excavations were published in an exemplary way by Homer A. Thompson and Robert L. Scranton in *Hesperia* in 1943.[1] According to these scholars, the wall ran along the crests, from the Observatory to the Mouseion Hill, where traces of a fort were found. The Pnyx wall thus cut off a section of the city towards the Peiraeus. This whole ridge had been included in the Athenian wall circuit of the fifth century. Thompson and Scranton realised immediately that the wall on the Pnyx must be the diateichisma mentioned in several ancient sources.[2] The city thus had two sets of walls and gates opening towards the walled corridor, which in turn led to the Peiraeus (see Plan 1 and Fig. 52).

However, the walls on the Pnyx do not seem to have been built during one single period of construction. Scranton could distinguish two main periods: (a) an early Hellenistic phase, the "Compartment Wall", dating to the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. and (b) a middle Hellenistic phase, the "White Poros Wall", dating to after 229 B.C. These dates were based primarily on the results of the archaeological excavations along the walls. At that time there was little to compare in terms of publications of city walls available to the excavators. Today, several fortifications of both types of walls have been found, and in this paper I would like to strengthen the conclusions reached by Scranton and Thompson by furnishing some examples for comparison from the world of Greek fortification, extending from Sicily to Pamphylia. The purpose of my paper is to present the current state of research concerning the Pnyx walls and show how they fit into the history of fortification in the Greek world of the Hellenistic period. I will start with a short discussion of the Compartment Wall, and then move on to the White Poros Wall, which is the more interesting wall type. I will however not analyse the architecture of the fort on the Mouseion Hill further, nor will I discuss the role of the diateichisma in Athenian history.

---

1 Thompson and Scranton (1943). The section on the walls was written by Scranton.

2 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 333-340. Traces of walls were recorded here also by Judeich (1931), pl. 1.

The Compartment Wall

The Compartment Wall is a wall very typical of its time. Originally it ran across both the Mouseion and Observatory Hills, but today it can be traced primarily on the Mouseion Hill. The Compartment Wall has an average width of 3 metres and is built with two separately constructed wall faces (Fig. 58).[3] The wall-faces are built with large ashlar blocks laid as stretchers, but they are connected at intervals by means of blocks laid perpendicular to the course of the wall (Fig. 61a). These transverse walls are located at intervals of about 3 metres and the rooms or compartments thus formed in the interior of the wall were filled with rubble or mud-brick.

The compartment wall technique is a hallmark of fourth-century wall construction, but remained in use until the introduction of Roman concrete. In my book, *Fortification Towers and Masonry Techniques in the Hegemony of Syracuse, 405-211 B.C.*, I have argued that the use of the compartment technique in the Greek world can be traced back to the impressive stone fortification wall of Dionysios I in Syracuse around 400 B.C. Afterwards, the technique seems to have been brought to Mainland Greece by Epaminondas, where the best example is the walls of Messene, built after 369 B.C. The transverse walls in Messene are also located at intervals of about 3 metres, a measurement that I believe equals ten Greek feet. The Macedonians inherited this technique, and thus the compartment wall technique is the most common wall type in the latter half of the fourth and the first half of the third century, when most of the Mediterranean cities built fortifications. For this reason, and for its similarity to wicker-work, in Greek *το πλέκτον*, I have connected the compartment wall technique with Vitruvius' description of the *emplekton* technique. As there is a lengthy discussion of this issue in my book mentioned above, I will leave the discussion of the Pnyx Compartment Wall at this point in order to analyse further the White Poros Wall.

The White Poros Wall

The White Poros Wall can be found along and behind the East and the West Stoas on the Pnyx. It consists primarily of a substantial exterior wall-face. Thus there is no separately constructed inner wall-face and no filling of rubble inside. The wall is built as a solid structure, measuring about two metres in width (Fig. 61b). The ashlar blocks are laid in horizontal layers of stretchers alternating with layers of headers, i.e. if one looks at the face of the wall one would not see any mixing of headers and stretchers in the *same* course. But behind the headers in one course there is a stretcher, and behind the stretcher in another course there are headers (see Fig. 61b). This gives a wall where, for example, a layer of headers in the front face is matched in the same course on the back side of the wall by a layer of stretchers. This technique, because of its frequent use in Roman walls, has been called *la maniera romana*.[4] (The technique is not Roman in origin, but, rather, it reflects the fact that many Roman walls were built in the Hellenistic period.)

As the White Poros Wall is only about 2 m. thick, it was considered necessary to reinforce the back side by means of a series of spur walls, i.e. small sections of walls

---

3 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 304-305; the width varies between 2.80 and 3.38 m.

4 The term was coined by Giuseppe Lugli; see discussion in Karlsson (1992). Examples in Italy include the walls of Rome (Säflund (1932)), Ostia, Falerii Novi, Anagni. The technique was also used in city walls by the Etruscans (Veii, Tarquinia).

which were placed perpendicular to and bonded with the course of the main wall (Fig. 59).[5] The intervals between the spurs are *ca.* 4.60 m. The spur walls project about 1.35-1.40 m and they are of about the same width, making them square in plan.[6] This type of city wall seems to have been employed primarily during the hundred-and-fifty-year period from Demetrios Poliorketes to Antiochos III.[7]

The towers of the White Poros Wall are built in the same technique with alternating layers of headers and stretchers. The blocks, however, are furnished on their exterior face with panels of rustication surrounded by drafted margins (Fig. 60).

The earliest safely dated example of city walls with spurs can be found in Gela in Sicily, where it represents the final reconstruction of the wall, before the city was destroyed in 282/80 B.C. This construction technique was probably employed during the reign of king Agathokles of Syracuse.[8] The spur walls are here longer, but spaced more closely together in comparison with those on the Pnyx (Figs. 61c and 62). These two traits are typical for early spur walls. In Gela the spurs project about 2.20 m. and are located at intervals of about 3.10 m. (i.e. 10 ft). The wall itself and the spur walls of Gela are all built only one block in width, another characteristic typical of early spur walls.

A further early example comes from Naples in Campania. As at Gela, the spurs and the city wall have a wall-width of one block only. The spurs are located at intervals averaging 3 m. (again 10 ft) and they project about 2 m. (Fig. 61d).[9] The date of these walls is very uncertain. They may possibly be connected with the fortification of the city in 312 B.C. In Greece itself there are several examples of this early spur-wall group. The wall found on the acropolis of Halai in Lokris is the best studied. The spurs and walls are built with a thickness of one block. The spurs project 2.5 m. and are located at intervals of about 3.5 m. (10 ft, Fig. 61e) or of about 7 m. (20 ft). This wall type was dated by Hetty Goldman to "not later than the end of the third quarter" of the fourth century.[10] It is thus likely that this early group of spur walls dates towards the end of the fourth century.

The spurs of the Pnyx walls, however, were located at larger intervals and were shorter (Fig. 61b). This is also the case at Rhodes, where emergency excavations have brought to light curtain walls of two kinds. The first type of curtain wall resembles the wall on the Pnyx. It is built with courses of headers alternating with courses of stretchers, *la maniera romana* technique, and measures about 2 m. in width. The projection of the spurs is about 1.5 m. and the interval between them is approximately 6.75 m. (Fig.

---

5 I prefer to call these "stumps" of wall "spur walls", rather than buttresses, since their purpose was not only to buttress the wall itself but more importantly to support the wall-walk. The shortness of the Pnyx type of spurs might argue for the use of the term "buttress", but in order to be stringent I have chosen to call all the transverse walls "spur walls".

6 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 341 and 348. A short stretch of White Poros Wall behind the East Stoa has a reduced thickness of only 1.35 m. (*ibid.*, 346). Here the spurs are located closer to each other: 3.93 m. (*ibid.*, 348).

7 The spurs that can be found on the interior of certain Roman walls are probably of another kind and will not be discussed here: see e.g. Maiuri (1929), pls. 1-6, located at intervals of 3 m. (10 ft); Säflund (1932), 52, fig. 23 and pl. 13.

8 See discussion in Karlsson (1992).

9 For the walls of Naples, see Karlsson (1992), 82; Gàbrici (1951); Vecchio (1985), 156-158.

10 Goldman (1940), 396; cf also Karlsson (1992), 64 and 82. The other examples are: Curtain wall between Towers IV and VIII at Sounion, see Mussche (1964), 426 and plan on p. 425; on the date Karlsson (1992), 96-97. In the fort around the temple of Demeter at Lepreon, see Knell (1983), 115, fig. 1. Lawrence (1979), 128, dated the fort at Lepreon to the period of Philip V. There are smaller spurs between the windows in the crenellations of the walls at Chalkis; see Noack (1916), 237-238, fig. 17. Finally, I find the spurs in certain sections of the 'Dema' wall to be of another kind. They are located at intervals of about 10 m. or more.

61f).[11] The construction of these walls at Rhodes can possibly be connected with the reconstruction of the city after the earthquake of 226 B.C.[12] I will return to the other type of Rhodian spur wall below.

The towers at Rhodes are built with blocks with rusticated panels and drafted margins, just as the towers along the White Poros Wall are.[13]

Spurs of the Pnyx type can also be seen along certain stretches of the city wall at Demetrias. These spurs, which measure about 1.5 x 1.5 m., are also laid out here at intervals averaging 6 m. (Fig. 61g).[14] The width of the city wall itself varies between 1.90 and 2.55 m.[15]

What was the purpose of these spur walls in Hellenistic fortifications? Unfortunately, none of the examples cited above remains standing to a height above one to two metres, and so they do not preserve any of the superstructure of these walls. The well-preserved Hellenistic city walls at Perge and Side in Pamphylia can, however, furnish us with the missing clues.[16] At Perge the thickness of the wall is about 2.25 m., while the spurs have both a projection and a width of about 1.2 m. They are located at intervals of about 5.35-5.65 m. (Figs. 61h and 63).[17] A characteristic trait of the towers at Perge is the *maniera romana* technique built with rusticated blocks with drafted margins (Fig. 64), just as on the Pnyx and in Rhodes.

At Side the width of the city wall is 1.70 m., but the lengths of the intervals between the spurs are of two types: the first type employs spurs at intervals averaging 4.30-4.40 m. (Figs. 61i and 65), while the length of the intervals in the second type is 8 m. (Fig. 61k).[18] What is interesting to note here is that the spurs of the first type with narrow intervals carry a wall-walk on corbelled arches (Fig. 65), while the arches in the second type are built with vossoirs. Also, the spur walls at Perge carry a wall-walk on vossoir arches (Fig. 63). Clearly, then, this must be the explanation. That is, the function of the spur walls is not only to strengthen the wall itself, but also to support the arches and thus the wall-walk, the *parodos*, above.[19]

Can any clues be drawn from the ancient texts? Yes, I think so. Philon of Byzantion discusses spur walls on at least one occasion in his book *Poliorketika*, dating from the

---

11 These measurements are taken from published drawings in Konstantinopoulos (1968), 444, fig. 7; see also Konstantinopoulos (1990), pl. 27:2.

12 Hieron II of Syracuse gave 6 talents of silver for the reconstruction of the city walls of Rhodes after the earthquake, according to Diodoros XXVI.8, but Polybios (V.88.5) gives the sum as 100 talents. The Rhodians had rebuilt portions of their walls already after the siege of Demetrios Poliorketes in 304 B.C. (Diodoros XX.100.4). An indepth study of the walls of Rhodes would be important in order to shed some light on the chronology of the Hellenistic spur wall system.

13 Konstantinopoulos (1967), 117, fig. 2a and pl. 15. The semicircular towers on the Pnyx are exactly paralleled on Rhodes; see *ibid.*, 116, fig. 1.

14 The spurs at Demetrias were noted already by Scranton; see Stählin (1934), 58, fig. 11 and p. 82. Stählin gives the following measurements: projection of spur: 1.10-1.20 m.; width: 1-1.0 m., and free space between spurs: 4-6.70 m. Measurements in this article are taken from the excellent new plan of the city in Böser and Marzolff (1975), pls. 4c, 4d, 5c. Cf. plan in Garlan (1974), 346, fig. 46. The walls of Demetrias are complex and were probably built over a long period of time. The sections with spurs cannot therefore be dated properly.

15 Stählin (1934), 58-62.

16 The date of the walls at Side and Perge is not entirely clear, but proposals around or after the year 200 B.C. seem fair: McNicoll (1978); Mansel (1963), 39: Side walls date in the period 188-102 B.C.

17 Lanckoronski (1890), 62, fig. 49.

18 Mansel (1963), 28-32.

19 Vitruvius (I.5.4) says that wall-walks should be wide enough for two soldiers to pass. Cf. Lawrence (1979), 345.

second half of the third century B.C. (Fig. 61l). In I.17-19 Philon writes: "But some (curtains) should be enclosed (above) by vaulting as at Rhodes ... with wall-walks[20] 7 cubits wide, and 7-bed barracks underneath, of which the inward-running walls be 10 cubits long and thick, while the frontage (walls) will have a length equal to the inward-running but a width of only 3 cubits. By so building, the expense is less, the 10-cubit (walls) will not be affected by stone-projectors, and if those of 3-cubit thickness get damaged by hits we shall quickly block up that (particular) barrack-room".[21]

Philon's city wall had a width of about 1.47 m. (when computed with the Doric foot of 0.326 m.), but it was strengthened by spur walls measuring about 4.9 m. in width and in length (it is probable that Philon in this latter measurement included the 1.47 m. thickness of the main wall), supporting a wall-walk with a width of 3.43 m. The interval between the spurs should be as long as the inward-running of the spurs (i.e. 10 cubits [4.9 m.]). These measurements indicate very heavy spur walls, and certain sections of walls at Rhodes do conform to Philon's figures.[22] However, this second type of curtain wall at Rhodes does not employ spur walls of an equal size. Instead, there is an alternation between larger and smaller spurs. The larger spurs measure approximately 6 m. in width x 5 m. in projection (cf. Philon's 4.62 m. square), while the smaller spurs project 4 m. and have a width of about 3 m. (Fig. 61m; they are thus smaller than Philon's specifications). The interval between the spurs is always about 10 m., which corresponds exactly to those indicated by Philon. The alternation between larger and smaller spur walls is not indicated by Philon, and I will not discuss it further in this paper.

In conclusion, then, there seem to be two groups of Greek fortifications incorporating spur walls. The walls of the early group were less substantial, only one block in width, but the spurs were located at closer intervals. There is no hint, at those sites, what these spurs supported, but, clearly, they must have supported the wall-walk in some way.[23] It does not seem probable that the narrow width of the spurs could have had the strength to support vossoirs of an arch on which the wall-walk would have run, as at Perge. A more likely solution is that the spurs not only buttressed the curtain wall but also supported a wall-walk built with planks. The interval between the spurs was 10 feet and this space could have been difficult to cover with wooden beams. Additional wooden props might have been added to support the beams of the wall-walk from underneath, as has been suggested by Winter in an article about the meaning of *ikria* in Greek walls.[24] This term comes from Philon who in I.15 writes: "some curtains, in suitable places, should be finished with battlements and no wall-walks but have overlays of beams and planks between 'ikria' built into the walls" (transl. Lawrence). He continues by saying that these planks could be removed in case of danger. The reason for such removals was to prevent an attacking enemy from capturing the entire city wall through advancing along the wall-walk. This is also suggested by Vitruvius (I.5.4).

---

20 Lawrence (1979), 77, writes "corridors".

21 Translation by Lawrence (1979), 77.

22 See Konstantinopoulos (1969), 453 and fig. 1 on p. 452; Zerboudake (1970), 500 and fig. 1 on p. 501; the wall-width, however, is 3.2 m., and this is much wider than Philon's 1.5 m. Cf. Konstantinopoulos (1973), 115, fig. 1 and 122.

23 Lawrence (1979), 366 suggests that the spurs at Halai were meant to divide the pressure from an earthen embankment heaped up against the wall on the inside. Though this is possible for the lower levels of the wall, it is probable that the spurs continued up to the level of the wall-walk, which it supported in some way.

24 Winter (1959), 166-168. Cf. also Caskey (1910).

Stählin,[25] in discussing the spur walls at Demetrias, believed these *ikria* to be the stone spur walls discussed in this paper. This was rejected by Winter, who showed, with support from Liddell and Scott, that *ikria* almost always has the meaning of *wooden* support. Lawrence has rightly suggested that these *ikria* must have been cantilevered beams that carried the projecting wall-walk.[26] Thus Philon does not give us a term for the stone spurs.

Spur walls of the later type exhibit thick, but shorter spurs, placed at wider intervals. As the walls preserved at Perge show, these spurs supported vossoir arches, in some instances, corbelled arches. The American excavations of the Pnyx walls did not uncover any traces of vossoir blocks, according to Scranton. Either this is a coincidence and the blocks of the walls were completely removed sometime in the past, or the spaces between the spurs were covered with corbelled arches, as at Side in Pamphylia. Further work on other sections of the walls in Athens might give us an answer.

The walls of this second group can be said to represent a medium way between a material-saving wall (arches supporting the wall-walk), and a catapult-proof wall (the sturdy *maniera romana* technique). The use of the sturdier masonry must have been a response to the increasing use of catapults in Hellenistic Greek poliorketics. The large artillery bastions of the third century were given up and replaced by concentrated forts (like the Mouseion fort).

The revival in the Byzantine period of the Hellenistic spur-wall fortification, as exemplified in the heightened walls of Rome (Honorius, early 5th century) and in the *proteichisma* of Constantinople (Theodosius II, 412-*ca.* 440), was responsible for its survival into the Middle Ages. I conclude with a photo of the well-preserved 13th century wall at Visby (Fig. 66), a city on the Swedish island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea. The arcade on the inside of the wall, built in the Gothic period, shows a series of pointed arches. These arches in Visby continue a 1,500-year-old tradition, one of the first examples of which was the White Poros Wall on the Pnyx in Athens.

25 Stählin (1934).
26 Lawrence (1979), 347-348, 367.

The White Poros Wall on the Athenian Pnyx: Character and Context

David H. Conwell

An essential part of Athens' ancient defensive system crossed the Pnyx.[1] Generally identified as the diateichisma referred to in *IG* II² 463, this fortification wall is best known for its early Hellenistic phase. The present discussion addresses a portion of the successor to that original construction, the so-called White Poros Wall. Our understanding of this monument's structural and historical importance has yet to proceed beyond the interpretations supplied in the final excavation report — which appeared more than fifty years ago.[2]

Thanks to the conscientious work of excavation and publication by Homer Thompson and Robert Scranton, it is possible to revisit a variety of issues relative to the White Poros Wall. This paper (1) synthesizes the descriptive information provided in the final report, (2) considers the date of the wall, and (3) places the structure in its architectural context.

The Pnyx diateichisma's second phase consisted of two quite different constructions (Plan 1). The southern portion, from the area of the East Stoa to the Mouseion, consisted of the refurbished phase-one diateichisma, known to its excavators as the "Compartment Wall". This structure does not concern us for the most part, for the work on it at this time was minor in scale.[3] The important gateway in this particular stretch of the diateichisma and a tower on the Mouseion, however, will be discussed below. North of the refurbished Compartment Wall, on the central portion of the Pnyx Range — the Pnyx

1 I would like to thank Dr. Forsén and Professor Stanton for inviting me to speak at the Pnyx colloquium, and the Finnish Institute for hosting this important event. I am deeply indebted also to Dr. Judith Binder, who in my absence delivered this paper; we are indeed fortunate to have such a devoted student of Athens' past. I am grateful to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, particularly its director, Professor W.D.E. Coulson, for permission to publish illustrations from *Hesperia* and to refer to one of the Agora excavation notebooks. For various sorts of assistance, I thank also Dr. D.G. Romano, Professor R. Rosen, Miss O. Sander, and Mr. T. Zachmann.

2 The Pnyx excavations by Thompson and Scranton were carried out in 1932, 1934, 1936 and 1937. Thompson and Scranton (1943) constitutes the final publication of the diateichisma excavation, while Thompson (1936), 192-200 publishes a short account of the first two seasons' work.

3 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 340 ("incidental repairs"), 352.

proper, that is[4] — a construction now known as the "White Poros Wall" replaced the original diateichisma.[5]

The sole material used in the new wall's fabric, so far as preserved, was a light-colored limestone of a sort often imprecisely labelled "poros".[6] The blocks of the curtains were laid in a simple fashion.[7] Each course consisted of blocks laid in two rows, one of stretchers, the other of headers.[8] Either face of the wall consisted of alternating courses of headers and stretchers, for from one course to the next, the rows of headers and stretchers traded positions, switching from one side of the wall to the other. The White Poros Wall was about 2.00 m. thick.[9] Its original height is unknown, although Scranton concludes that the wall's superstructure was built out of masonry rather than mudbrick.[10]

Augmenting the curtains were buttresses, towers and gates. The buttresses lined the construction's inner face, generally at intervals of about 4.60 m. (Plan 1 and Figs. 51-52).[11] They were built of stacked pairs of ashlar blocks, and measured some 1.35-1.40 m. per side. Whether the buttresses were joined by vaults or not is unclear. Since the excavation turned up no voussoirs, Scranton concludes that there was no vaulting;[12] Thompson, more recently, suggests the opposite.[13]

Seven constructions projecting from the White Poros Wall are identified as towers (Plan 1). That the installation at W6 (Fig. 52) was a tower is not to be doubted, for it had a ground-floor room. But no published evidence conclusively demonstrates the nature of the other structures, and at least some of these could have been bastions. Whatever the truth may be, in order not to confuse matters I here simply maintain the original designation of all the constructions as towers.

The towers were generally some 40 m. distant from one another.[14] Tower W2 (Fig. 51) had a rounded shape, but the others were rectangular, some nearly square.[15] Along the front, the towers measured a little more than 10.00 m. and their projection from the

---

4 On defining the Pnyx Hill (Pnyx proper) and the Pnyx Range, see Thompson and Scranton (1943), 302-303. Note that while it is evident that the Compartment Wall crossed the Hill of the Nymphs (*ibid.*, 305), it is not at all clear what sort of construction, if any, took place there in the period of the White Poros Wall. The observatory atop the hill along with quarrying in the area have completely obscured the evidence here (*ibid.*, 306-307). In discussing the area immediately north of the northern end of the White Poros Wall, Scranton (*ibid.*, 342) assumes that the lack of remains of white poros there indicates that this portion of the Compartment Wall was simply repaired when the White Poros Wall was built.

5 Described and discussed by Thompson and Scranton (1943), 340-358. This final excavation report is the source for the following description; it has not been thought necessary to supply specific page references for every last bit of descriptive information drawn therefrom.

6 Fig. 51. Concerning the term "poros", cf. Wycherley (1974).

7 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 341.

8 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 344, fig. 45; 345, fig. 46.

9 East of the postern between towers W6 and W7 the wall is only about 1.35 m. thick, however (Thompson and Scranton (1943), 346-348).

10 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 341; also Thompson (1982), 146.

11 This figure corresponds to the distance from center to center of adjacent buttresses. Note the spacing of *ca.* 3.93 m. between the centers of the buttresses along the wall's eastern end, east of the postern between towers W6 and W7 (Fig. 52).

12 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 342.

13 Thompson (1982), 146.

14 The precise figure is 39.67 m. This is based on the curtain-lengths supplied by Scranton (Thompson and Scranton 1943) for W2/W3, W3/W4 and W4/W5, and my own *approximate* measurements from his illustrations, including *ca.* 35.00 m. for W1/W2 (*ibid.*, pl. XV), *ca.* 30.00 m. for W5/W6 (*ibid.*, pl. XIV) and *ca.* 53 m. for W6/W7 (*ibid.*, pl. XVI).

15 Tower W5, for example, is *ca.* 8.00 by 8.50 m.; cf., on the other hand, tower W1, with dimensions of 6.60 by 9.30 m.

curtain was on average just over 9.00 m.[16] Tower construction, as we have it, was simple, with ashlar-block faces about 2.00 to 2.50 or more meters in width retaining cores composed of working chips and other stone material (Figs. 51-52). The outer faces of at least some towers were given a batter.[17]

Scranton recognizes a gate at the northern end of the White Poros Wall (Fig. 51),[18] and there was a postern between towers W6 and W7 (Fig. 52).[19] Southeast of the White Poros Wall, the main gate in the old Compartment Wall was extensively remodelled when the new portion of the diateichisma was built (Fig. 67).[20] Here in the saddle between the Pnyx proper and the Mouseion, the single-gated passageway through the Compartment Wall now became a double gate.[21] Buttresses built against the gate towers reduced the width of the passageway so that it could be closed by a second gate.

Other aspects of the White Poros Wall include both the expected and the unexpected. There exists slight evidence for a stairway behind tower W5, which would have led to the wall-walk.[22] Less standard would have been the "sort of fortress" at the top of the steep slope towards the wall's eastern end (Fig. 52). This fort was enclosed by the White Poros Wall, the refurbished Compartment Wall, and a "bastion-like structure" built of conglomerate blocks.[23] Within this area there was, perhaps, a platform measuring 8.00 by 3.60 m. just west of tower W7.[24] Scranton characterizes this possible platform as "obviously an afterthought" and it was apparently not precisely contemporary with the construction of the White Poros Wall itself.[25]

The White Poros Wall on the Pnyx, in sum, was a skillfully-built and substantial structure. The quality of the work is clear in the great tower W2 (Figs. 51, 68), both

---

16 The exact figures are 9.125 m. (projection) and 10.17 m. (length). These calculations are based on the figures supplied by Scranton (cf. Thompson and Scranton 1943), including dimensions of *ca.* 9.00 by 11.00 m. for the rounded tower W2. Scranton does not publish measurements for tower W4, and I have simply assigned it the same size as W3 (*ca.* 10.00 by 11.00 m.); according to Scranton (*ibid.*, 344), these two towers were "built in the same fashion". Tower W6 projects *ca.* 9.40 m. on one flank, and 12.00 m. on the other, both of which figures were included in the calculation of average projection.

17 Towers W2 and W4, at least. We cannot assume that all the towers were built in this way; Thompson and Scranton (1943), 344, for example, thought that W5 had no batter.

18 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 342. The supposed gateway would have been located between the extreme northern end of the White Poros Wall and the thickened Compartment Wall just to the east (see *ibid.*, pl. XV). There must in any case have been a gateway somewhere in this area, since a road, apparently of some importance (*ibid.*, 307), approached the wall from the city side.

19 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 348 speculate that another postern might have been located at the very eastern end of the White Poros Wall, at the point near tower C1 where that structure approached the Compartment Wall.

20 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 352-356.

21 Scranton identifies the original gateway here as the "Dipylon above the Gates" of *IG* II^2 463, line 53 (Thompson and Scranton (1943), 317, 334), although it had only "one actual door that could be closed" (*ibid.*, 324, contra the misleading statement *ibid.*, 317).

22 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 344.

23 Scranton supposes that the conglomerate installation was originally designed to form part of a great artillery bastion, but after a change of plan, it served instead to enclose the fortress partially; see Thompson and Scranton (1943), 346, 348-352. See also Thompson (1936), 193-194, with 193, fig. 25; 194, fig. 26, for aspects of the bastion's construction (referred to as a "tower" in the figures' captions).

24 See Thompson and Scranton (1943), 348, 351 with n. 76. In fact, according to Scranton, the structure's identification "is not clear" (*ibid.*, 348), and the construction associated with the remains (cuttings in bedrock) might rather be identified as repairs to or strengthening of the White Poros Wall, or else as a room for storage or guards (*ibid.*, 351, n. 76).

25 See Thompson and Scranton (1943), 348 on its relative chronological position.

rounded in shape and battered at the same time.[26] Only highly capable architects and masons could have successfully combined these features. The well-dressed blocks with carefully drafted margins at the southwestern corner of tower W7 were also the work of skillful builders.[27]

Also impressive was the strength of the White Poros Wall. Although the limestone forming the structure's fabric was relatively soft, it was actually more than adequate for a defensive barrier. As Scranton notes, this stone "when fresh from the quarry, is almost as soft as chalk, but when dry or after long exposure to the air, becomes reasonably firm and strong".[28] The efficacy of this material is evident from the fact that Athenian military engineers saw fit to use it in major fortifications. Prominent examples include the circuit wall at Piraeus and the Long Walls joining Athens and Piraeus.[29]

The towers in the White Poros Wall evoke the power of the new structure, most evident at tower W2.[30] The curtain walls between the towers were also strong, as will become clear in the final portion of this paper. Behind the curtains were buttresses so solid that they must not only have supported a wall-walk, but also have strengthened the wall.[31]

Note that the structure's designers took pains not only to bring the older diateichisma back into working order, but to improve upon that wall's design. In its course along the central Pnyx Range, the White Poros Wall followed the brow of the ridge more closely than had the Compartment Wall (Plan 1). Thus the approaches to the diateichisma became steeper than they had been, in accordance with the basic design principle that defensive walls ought to make optimum use of the natural contours. As well, at the time of the White Poros Wall's construction, the main passageway through the diateichisma was strengthened with the addition of a second gate.

The excavators date the White Poros Wall to the late third century B.C.[32] The most important evidence is the context pottery which was found among the remains of houses destroyed to make way for the new diateichisma. Scranton assigns this pottery to the late third century,[33] while Thompson dates it *ca.* 200.[34] One might, then, place the White Poros Wall's construction in the year 200 B.C. By that time, following the "Acarnanian incident" in autumn 201, hostilities between Athens and Philip V of Macedon had become likely.[35] The outcome of that situation was the devastation of Attica in 200.

The ongoing revisions in our Hellenistic pottery chronology, however, suggest a different interpretation of the evidence. Scranton compares five of his diagnostic ceramic finds to Hellenistic Group C.[36] Homer Thompson originally dated that group to the

---

26 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 343.

27 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 349, fig. 51.

28 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 340.

29 Von Eickstedt (1991), 18-60 (circuit at Piraeus); Conwell (1992), 291-413 (Long Walls).

30 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 338, figs. 43 and 44, 343 (referring to the tower as "magnificent").

31 So also Thompson and Scranton (1943), 341; Thompson (1982), 146. Cf. Karlsson (1992), 82.

32 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 358-362. This date is generally accepted, most recently by Karlsson (1992), 82.

33 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 358-360.

34 Thompson (1982), 146.

35 Cf. Thompson and Scranton (1943), 360. While Ferguson (1911), 268 n. 4, dates Philip's participation in the Acarnanian raid on Attica to 201, in fact Philip could not have become directly involved in the Athenian-Acarnanian conflict until spring 200, after his return from Asia (Walbank (1940), 311-312; Green (1990), 306).

36 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 360; for the finds, see *ibid.*, 359 with fig. 60. Note that Scranton thinks that the pottery on the whole is "probably a little earlier" than Group C (*ibid.*, 358), although Thompson suggests that it is not susceptible to precise dating (Thompson (1982), 146).

beginning of the second century, but Susan Rotroff now reckons that it was deposited in the period 175-150.[37] It is tempting to downdate the pottery — and therefore the wall. One might accordingly suggest that the White Poros Wall was not built as part of the city's preparations for conflict with Philip V of Macedon,[38] but rather at a later date, perhaps during the decade of animosity between Athens and the Achaean League after 166 B.C.[39]

There is other, non-ceramic evidence which is considered useful in dating the White Poros Wall. Scranton tentatively suggests on the basis of literary and archaeological evidence that the phase-two diateichisma had been completed by the year 200.[40] His excavations on the Mouseion hill demonstrate that the city circuit was out of use when the white poros tower C7 was built (Plan 1).[41] If the Athenian enceinte no longer enclosed the southwestern slopes of the Pnyx Range, then the Long Walls which joined the city wall at the base of the range would have been useless — and so must also have been out of service by the time tower C7 was constructed.

Scranton combines with this evidence the statement of Livy that the Long Walls between Athens and Piraeus were "half-ruined" by 200 B.C.[42] He posits a cause-and-effect relationship between the construction of the phase-two diateichisma and the abandonment of the southwestern city wall together with the Long Walls. Scranton thus assumes that these other fortifications had begun deteriorating when the new diateichisma was built. That the Long Walls were half-ruined in the year 200 would mean that this second-phase diateichisma had rendered them out of service before this time.

The white poros tower C7 on the Mouseion may well serve as evidence that the southwestern circuit at Athens was given up with the construction of the refurbished diateichisma. Yet this need have had nothing to do with the fate of the Long Walls, which had begun falling into ruins long before the advent of the White Poros Wall. In fact they had probably ceased functioning from about 300 B.C., and were certainly out of use by the end of the Chremonideian War in 261.[43] That the deterioration of the Long Walls was

---

The sherds, in any case, are no longer available for study (Pnyx excavation notebook VIII, 1730 [the notebook was kindly made available to me at the Stoa of Attalos by Ms. Jan Jordan, and is referred to here courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens]).

37 Rotroff (1987), 6.

38 The character of the structure also suggests that we sever the connection with the threat from Philip V. In 200, once the relationship between Philip and the Athenians went sour, events moved quickly; there would have been little time to build fortifications, while the White Poros Wall exhibits no sign of hasty construction. My thanks to Dr. Judith Binder for pointing this out to me (pers. comm., 9 October and 22 October 1994).

39 See Ferguson (1911), 323-328.

40 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 360.

41 Thompson and Scranton (1943), 357. C7 is the tower in the southwestern corner of the circuit on the Mouseion Hill.

42 Livy XXXI.26.8.

43 Conwell (1992), 153-158. Note that the Compartment Wall's construction may not have occasioned the abandonment of the Long Walls (cf. also Thompson and Scranton (1943), 337, 340). The Long Walls were reconditioned in 307-304 (Conwell (1992), 141-146). The Compartment Wall was begun (according to the original reading of the pottery) in the later fourth century. These two projects of fortification would hardly have run concurrently if the latter was intended to render the former obsolete. The early Hellenistic pottery chronology, however, is presently undergoing revision. Pending the definitive publication of the new, lower chronology, it may be that the Compartment Wall was not begun at the end of the fourth century. Thompson and Scranton (1943), 333 cite parallels between context pottery associated with that wall and Agora Groups A and B as well as the latest pottery at Olynthos. Rotroff (1987), 6 now dates the deposition of Groups A (lower fill) and B to *ca.* 260 and *ca.* 240, respectively, while she suspects that the Olynthos pottery also includes at least some material which should be dated later than it has been hitherto (Rotroff

well-advanced in the year 200, then, indicates nothing about the current status of defenses on the Pnyx.

Finally, some identify useful chronological evidence in the inscription *IG* II^2 834, where lines 15-16 record the repair of Athens' defenses.[44] Now dated *ca.* 215 by Habicht,[45] this document honors the statesman Eurykleides for his accomplishments on behalf of Athens. It is typically — and rightly — thought that the fortification work with which he was associated would have occurred soon after 229.[46] In this year, Athens regained her independence after decades of Macedonian control. Restoring the city's defenses was precisely the sort of realistic measure a newly independent government would quickly undertake. One should not necessarily assume, however, that the phase-two diateichisma belongs to the work with which Eurykleides was associated, since the earliest date allowed by the pottery is *ca.* 200.[47]

Built during the mid-Hellenistic period, in any case, the White Poros Wall was not quite on the cusp of Hellenistic fortification design, even if it displays advances on its predecessor. The two different sorts of towers, generally orthogonal but for one example with a curving face, had both been known in Greek fortifications for centuries. Towers were typically rectangular, and even with the proliferation of rounded and multi-sided towers in Hellenistic times, rectangular towers were still built regularly.[48] Rounded towers occurred already in Archaic times.[49]

Even the mix of rounded and orthogonal towers was normal by the fifth century.[50] Placing a rounded tower at an important angle in a fortification wall, like tower W2 in the White Poros Wall, was a regular feature of both Classical and Hellenistic fortifications.[51] And while the towers were substantial in size, averaging about 9.00 by 10.00 m., they were nevertheless hardly larger than some towers of earlier times, like Aigosthena tower A, at 8.90 m. per side,[52] and fell short of various impressive Hellenistic examples, such as the southern tower of the Upper Gate of Acrocorinth, at about 12.75 m. per side.[53] Finally, in Hellenistic times towers tended to occur at shorter intervals along the curtains than before, but the distance of some 40.00 m. between the towers in the White Poros Wall was not particularly short.[54]

(1990), 176). In fact, Thompson (1982), 146, n. 44 now suggests that a "considerable down-dating" of at least a part of the Compartment Wall may be necessary; see also Romano (1985), 452-453.

44 Maier (1959), 80; Habicht (1982), 122 n. 22.

45 Habicht (1982), 120-124.

46 Ferguson (1911), 237; Thompson and Scranton (1943), 360; Maier (1959), 79. This would be confirmed if, as Habicht (1982), 119 believes, the activities are listed in chronological order. The reference to Eurykleides' work on the fortifications immediately follows a reference to his role in freeing the city in 229.

47 See also Thompson and Scranton (1943), 360.

48 Winter (1971), 191-193; Lawrence (1979), 378.

49 Winter (1971), 192; Lawrence (1979), 378-379. According to Winter (1971), 194, during the Hellenistic period, rounded towers "do not appear to have been relatively any more frequent" than in previous times.

50 Winter (1971), 194.

51 Winter (1971), 194-195.

52 See Ober (1987), 587. Ober (1987), 586 dates the circuit at Aigosthena *ca.* 343; Winter (1971), 142, n. 56, however, dates the walls after 300, and Lawrence (1979), 388-389 attributed them to Demetrios Poliorketes.

53 Winter (1991), 113; see Winter (1991), 118-119 on dating the tower, once attributed to Demetrios Poliorketes, but now placed by Winter in the later third century.

54 The sloping, sometimes steep local topography was doubtless thought to render closer spacing unnecessary.

All this is not to suggest, however, that the White Poros Wall was not built with an eye to surviving the sorts of offensive threats current in the middle of the Hellenistic period. The towers, if not the grandest on record, were nevertheless quite large, surely in order to carry plenty of defensive artillery.[55] Moreover, the formidable construction of the towers' foundations evokes their builders' awareness of the powerful threats from current siege-techniques. The towers' impressive size and tremendous strength, in contrast to the less substantial power of the curtains, demonstrates the preeminence granted towers since the introduction of siege artillery in the fourth century.[56]

The curtains in the White Poros Wall, if less imposing than the towers, were massive nevertheless. As already noted, the curtain walls were solid-block constructions, their entire width composed of ashlar masonry.[57] This feature identifies the White Poros Wall as unusual, generally-speaking, since Greek fortification walls were customarily in-filled constructions.[58] Athenian builders, however, did not observe the rule; at and near Athens, solid-block built fortification walls enjoyed a long history.

According to Thucydides, the city circuit built at Piraeus after the Persian Wars was made completely of blocks.[59] The solid-block, so-called "Perikleian" peribolos and retaining wall at Eleusis dates to the fifth century as well.[60] During the fourth century, solid-block construction became more prevalent in and around Athens. Earlier on in the

---

55 If these "towers" are instead thought of as bastions (cf. above, p. 94), they would serve to buttress a suggestion by Marsden (1969), 145: "we may possibly suspect that, about the middle of the third century, some designers were beginning to favour the abandonment of high, but relatively flimsy, artillery-towers and the introduction of low bastions with powerful walls."

56 Winter (1971), 167; cf. also McNicoll (1986), 312 on the "concentration of firepower" during Hellenistic times.

57 One might object that to consider this fortification a solid-block structure is misguided — since the blocks of either face met one another within the wall, the structure is a "solid-block" construction simply due to the fact that its builders had exerted the minimum effort necessary to create a wall. Yet the White Poros Wall could certainly have been built as an in-filled structure, and this with a good deal less trouble. The builders could have formed each face from blocks placed as stretchers, filling the space between the faces with other materials. In the two-meter-wide White Poros Wall, in which the blocks are about 65 cm. in width, the space to be filled would have been some 70 cm. wide. The time and expense in cutting and fitting blocks would have been considerably reduced had the wall's designers opted for an in-filled construction. Moreover, abundant material for in-filling was immediately at hand, what with the remnants of the old Compartment Wall adjacent to its replacement, and the spolia from a number of buildings apparently destroyed to make way for the new diateichisma. In the excavation trenches alone there were four instances in which structures were removed from the course of the wall (Thompson and Scranton (1943), 342-345).

58 Maier (1961), 105; Tomlinson (1961), 139; Martin (1965), 376; Orlandos (1968), 124-125; Winter (1971), 70, n. 3, 135, 136; Lawrence (1979), 214, 302; Karlsson (1992), 68.

59 Thuc. I.93.5. That Thucydides referred to solid-block walls is emphasized by von Eickstedt (1991), 25, n. 89. There are numerous stretches of solid-block walls in the extant remains of fortifications at Piraeus, but identifying which of these belong to the city's Themistokleian wall remains a dubious enterprise. Among the various known stretches of solid-block walls in Piraeus, one at the west side of the entrance to Zea Harbor is frequently associated with this first phase of Piraeus' enceinte; see Tsirivakos (1968), 113-114; Fraser (1968/69), 6; Garland (1987), 164; von Eickstedt (1991), 26. The initial phase of the Asty Gate might be Themistokleian; see Judeich (1931), 152; Scranton (1941), 119, 176, D2, no. 26; Garland (1987), 164, 166; von Eickstedt (1991), 57. Hornblower (1991), 138 assigns to Themistokles a solid-block section on the east side of Akte, presently visible in the Maritime Museum.

60 Noack (1927), 185-188, pls. 41a/c; Travlos (1988), 140 figs. 165-166. On dating the wall, see Wrede (1933), 16, no. 37-39; Scranton (1941), 112, 176, D2, no. 11. Whether the "Perikleian" structure was a solid-block construction to the very top or had a mudbrick superstructure is still unresolved; see Noack (1927), 187-188; Wrede, *loc. cit.*; Winter (1971), 158, n. 25, Lawrence (1979), 206.

century, a fortress at Phyle was built with solid-stone walls.[61] The mid-fourth-century peribolos and retaining wall at the south side of the Demeter sanctuary in Eleusis was also a solid-block construction.[62]

During the second half of the fourth century, solid-block fortifications were notably popular. The walls of the fort at Myoupolis (ancient Oinoe) were made up of coursed ashlar blocks.[63] There were plans in 337/6 to rebuild a round tower at Mounychia in the solid-block technique,[64] although the project was perhaps never realized.[65] An inscription dating from 329/8 calls for the reconstruction at Eleusis of a tower in the same form of construction;[66] a solid-block tower excavated in the so-called "Peisistrateian" peribolos there has long been recognized as the one with which the inscription was concerned.[67]

In Athens the reconstruction of the Dipylon Gate with a core of conglomerate blocks occurred in the years after 307.[68] Many other stretches of the Asty's enceinte were also built solidly of conglomerate blocks.[69] These are regularly ascribed to the fourth century, often with no more specific date. On occasion, stratigraphic or other evidence is thought to place them either immediately after the battle of Chaironeia in 338,[70] or at the end of the century.[71] The dating of these portions of the Athenian city wall remains uncertain, and Maier correctly suggests that they could even date to the third century instead of the fourth.[72] Whatever their actual date may be, these remains are prominent reminders of the importance of solid-block fortification walls at Athens.

---

61 See Wrede (1924), 172. The stones of the core, while disposed in courses essentially corresponding with those of the faces, were rather roughly shaped compared to most of the walls cited in the present discussion. On the fort's date, see most recently Munn (1993), 9, n. 16, 168, suggesting *ca.* 378-375. Cooper (1986), 195 dates the fortress shortly before 334.

62 Noack (1927), 203-205, pl. 42a. The structure's date is debated. Munn (1993), 7, n. 8 suggests the 370s or 360s, Mylonas (1961), 131-133 and Travlos (1988), 95 favor 370/60, and others place it later in the fourth century, including Scranton (1941), 123-130, 178, D4, no. 3 (330s) and Wrede (1933), 21-22, no. 53, 29, no. 71 (350-325).

63 Wrede (1933), 25-26, no. 59; Ober (1985), 154-155, no. 4b.

64 *IG* II^2 244, lines 81-98 (on the inscription's date, see Conwell (1992), 129-130). It is certain from lines 47-48 that these specifications applied to a project in Mounychia, while lines 87-90 demonstrate that the solid-stone work was to be in cut blocks (cf. *IG* II^2 1666b, lines 57-58, 63-64 on the Prostoon at Eleusis).

65 A tower excavated by Threpsiades on Mounychia (Threpsiades (1935), 160-164; Travlos (1988), 350, fig. 431; von Eickstedt (1991), 48) may well be the one referred to in this inscription (Maier (1959), 18, 46-47; von Eickstedt (1991), 49). If so, its in-filled construction demonstrates that the builders did not follow the specifications (von Eickstedt (1991), 49, n. 213; cf. Maier (1959), 47).

66 *IG* II^2 1672, line 48.

67 For the tower itself, as well as its association with the one mentioned in the inscription, see Noack (1927), 184, 187, 211-214 (Tower D3); Kourouniotes (1933/35), 41-48 (Tower H21); Maier (1959), 101-102 (Tower F).

68 Gruben (1970), 125-126; Knigge (1988), 40, 50, 69-71, with description of the remains, Knigge (1988), 70-72.

69 See, for example, Judeich (1931), 134; Vanderpool (1958), 321; Philippaki (1966), 55-57, no. 1; Alexandri (1967), 70, no. 24, 79-83, no. 33, 106-108, no. 61; Alexandri (1968), 102-105; Alexandri (1969), 28-31, no. 10, 41, no. 17; Alexandri (1973), 36-37, no. 20. Maier (1959), 16 lists further examples.

70 See, for instance, Alexandri (1968), 105.

71 For example, Alexandri (1969), 31. Cf. also Maier (1959), 16, on a solid-block tower near the Piraeus Gate at Athens.

72 See Maier (1959), 16, 19, 67 suggesting possible dates of 337/6, 307/6 or the third century. I am grateful to Dr. Judith Binder for an informative discussion on 31 August 1994, in the course of which I learned a great deal about issues involved in dating the conglomerate portions of the city circuit at Athens.

Like the Athenian circuit, the remains of Piraeus' enceinte include numerous examples of solid-block construction.[73] Some of these can be dated with confidence. In the Asty Gate's second phase, drafted blocks of poros, or Piraeus limestone, masked a core of conglomerate blocks. This phase of the gate should be approximately similar in date to the late-fourth-century Dipylon Gate in the Kerameikos at Athens,[74] given the marked similarity in both construction and masonry style.[75] A solid-block curtain-wall bonding with the phase-two Asty Gate on the west would be of the same date, as also — perhaps — the other solid-block stretches in the landward portion of Piraeus' circuit wall.[76]

Solid-block construction, then, had a long history in and around Athens, so that the White Poros Wall was perfectly at home.[77]. It is natural to wonder why the Athenians relied so often on solid-block construction for more than three centuries. What most impresses the observer about a wall built in this technique is its evident strength and internal stability. The Athenians perhaps favored this form of construction in order to compensate for the softness of the stone, whether conglomerate or so-called "poros", which they regularly employed in their fortification walls.[78]

The White Poros Wall, in sum, was a powerful structure, but one which was economically built. Although Athens experienced an economic revival after regaining her independence in 229 B.C., the city had no hope of regaining the prosperity which had facilitated the great building projects of previous times.[79] The construction of a new defensive structure, however, would have been undertaken only if it was believed that the result would prove solid enough to withstand at least a substantial assault. Built during the second quarter of the second century B.C., the White Poros Wall was not lavish in its dimensions and was made of a stone easily cut, yet it was capably built and strong. Even if Athens no longer possessed a leading place in Mediterranean affairs by the time the phase-two diateichisma was built on the Pnyx, the city's distinguished architectural tradition lived on.

---

73 In addition to the examples listed here, see above, n. 59.

74 See above, n. 68 for sources concerning the date of the early Hellenistic Dipylon Gate.

75 Wrede (1933), 22-23, no. 54: "Der reine Steinbau führt in nachkononische Zeit, die absolute Übereinstimmung in Anlage, Quadermaassen und Arbeitsart mit dem Dipylon zweifellos auf Gleichzeitigkeit mit diesem." Cf., however, Judeich (1931), 152 with n. 1; Maier (1959), 19; von Eickstedt (1991), 60 with n. 246. Recent photographs of the gate can be found in von Eickstedt (1991), 59, figs. 35 and 36 and a drawing at *ibid.*, 57, fig. 32.

76 For this stretch of Piraeus' enceinte, see von Alten (1881), 15-20; Judeich (1931), 144-145, 145-146, 148; von Eickstedt (1991), 50-60. Some scholars mistakenly assert that the *entire* surviving city wall on this side of Piraeus was built in the solid-block technique (Maier (1959), 18-19; Garland (1987), 166).

77 The conglomerate "bastion-like structure" already discussed (above, p. 95 with n. 23) emphasizes the continued currency of solid-block construction at the time the White Poros Wall was built.

78 Cf. above p. 96 with n. 29.

79 Cf. Ferguson (1911), 246-48.

The Pnyx and the Mouseion Hill Inscriptions Reconsidered

Dina Peppas Delmousou

Invited by the organising committee of this important colloquium to speak on a topic based on one or more inscriptions found on the hill of the Pnyx and its surrounding area I have been very hesitant in choosing my contribution. On one side there is the enormous and steadily increasing bibliography on the history and topography of this site and on the other the poor epigraphical evidence, virtually deprived of any sure indication concerning the find-spot, and in some cases the unknown location of the inscribed monuments. Additionally it must be taken into account that, for several published inscriptions, there exists constant doubt and speculation about the way they have been read and transcribed. This situation can be attributed to the general problem which is characteristic of the longevity and deterioration of the public areas of the ancient world such as, in our case, the area of the Pnyx.

This area suffered very early from the first period of radical alterations deriving from political ideas and passions. So it is possible that the well-known boundary marker *IG* I^3 1092 (EM 10069) *ὅρος Πυκνός*, dated at circa 500-450 B.C.,[1] found together with pieces of marble and two fragments of reliefs in a pit (depth 0.75 m., diam. 0.90 m.) which was "cleaned" in 1853 by Pittakes, was stored in the earth when the Thirty Tyrants decided to apply their program of rearranging the seats of the auditorium by placing them in an opposite direction, facing the Acropolis and not the sea, which had in the past inspired democracy (Plut. *Themist.* 19.5-6). As a result of these changes, they had to replace this marker (which was in the earth) with another one adapted to the contemporaneous post-Euclidean writing, in order to indicate the locality by the common form *Πνυκός*. The fact that this boundary marker was thrown away while partly joined by lead to its original base could not be an example of barbarism, as Pittakes claimed ("*κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς βαρβαρότητος*"),[2] but it was perhaps dictated by a serious attempt to reorganise this important public locality, in the last decade of the fifth century

1 Pittakes (1853), 774-775; Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 108; Travlos (1971), 466-467 with fig. 588; Ritchie (1984), 301-306, no. TA 61, with plate 57; Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 73-76 with photograph in plate 2 (SEG XXXVII 40).

2 Pittakes (1853), 774-775, no. 1290.

B.C. It is obvious to us that this stone can not be considered as conclusive evidence for the date of the original construction of an assembly place on the Pnyx hill, especially if Pnyx I belongs to the period immediately following the reforms of Kleisthenes, as has been proposed.[3]

The ideological conception of the Thirty Tyrants, expressed some years before them as the return to the *πάτριος πολιτεία* by the Eleven, could be the motive for dislodging the heavy marker *Λακιαδῶν τριττύς* (*IG* I^3 1120, EM 10634) embedded with lead into Pnyx I original rock, which had a kind of pink-coloured "Acropolis limestone". There is no difficulty in accepting the function of this horos and others carrying the name of a trittys, as a "gathering point" for the citizens ready to vote and generally to exercise their duties in tribal groups.[4] Undoubtedly this heavy stone with its characteristic colour has the priority in testifying to the function of the assembly over the other horoi of trittyes *IG* I^3 1118 (EM 10072), *IG* I^3 1119 (*SEG* X 370) and *IG* I^3 1117 (*SEG* XXI 109).

Found in the ruins of a shrine in the area between Pnyx and Areopagus, the horos *IG* II^2 2507 (Lalonde (1991), 22, no. H2) together with two more blocks carrying the inscription *hόρος* | *λέσχης* (*IG* II^2 2620) are not to be discussed here. It is obvious that we must neglect a couple of private mortgage horoi, the opisthographic *IG* II^2 2697 (EM 229) and *IG* II^2 2761. Although they were also found on the Pnyx these categories of inscriptions are far from its history, as is the gravestone *IG* II^2 5886 (EM 11681). As a result of the above it should be clear that epigraphical help for the better understanding of the Pnyx's function, its changes and development is less than one would expect.

As I started to review the Pnyx epigraphical material as a whole, I decided to leave aside all the inscribed dedications which were made to Zeus Hypsistos, i.e. the ex-votos and arulae found on the Pnyx hill and elsewhere in Athens and Piraeus, most of which are kept at the British Museum (*IG* II^2 4766 and *IG* II^2 4798-4807), as well as in the Epigraphical Museum and in the Agora Museum. Their sure provenance from the Pnyx homonymous shrine[5] constitutes one of the more striking examples from the ancient world, when a part of the public domain was set aside for religious purposes and dedicated to the cult of a divinity closely related to the activities practised there. The installation of such a sanctuary for worship of the Great Zeus, keeper of the laws and supreme judge, conforms with the belief that he was the protector, manager and supervisor of the assembly's work. Taking into consideration B. Forsén's description of the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx[6] with the accurate measurements of each one of the 58 rock-cut niches, one hopes that this unique homogeneous group will be further studied by this scholar.

Trying to insert the published inscriptions into the Pnyx historical-religious and topographical context I compiled my list[7] for the larger area from the Areopagus to the north-western slope of the Mouseion Hill, if not for any other methodological reasons, at least motivated by the need to verify their find-spot; the relevant evidence is about 150 years old and their "editio princeps" is written by eminent Greek scholars of this epoch. Some of these inscriptions have never been included in the Corpora. My task, then, is to review some rupestral inscriptions and graffiti (an attractive category for the certainty of their original place), and two decrees found in this area: *IG* II^2 1277 (EM 7845) of a

---

3 Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 73-76.

4 Ritchie (1984), 521-526, 847-848, no. TA 109 (on the trittyes, 833-854, nos. 101-111); Traill (1986), 96; Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 51-92; Hansen (1989b), 155-165 (cf. SEG XXXV 14).

5 Travlos (1971), 569.

6 Forsén (1993), 507-521.

7 I wish to thank Dr Sara Aleshire for providing me with her computerised data.

"thiasos" honouring three men, "epimeletai" of an unnamed goddess, and the well-known *IG* II^2 1368 (EM 8187), decree of the Iobacchoi.

The graffiti, with names or not, cut on the rock of the Pnyx and some rupestral inscriptions in the larger area provoked the interest of Werner Peek many years ago.[8] Having studied their first publication, he noticed how many of the same category were omitted in the Corpus. He was also disappointed that his efforts to rediscover them finished in vain, so he called them ironically "Besucherinschriften", instead of the formal "tituli memoriales" in the Corpus.[9] He was informed that the casts of some graffiti and rupestral inscriptions, made at the time of their discovery, were kept at the Epigraphical Museum. But it had been impossible to find them at such a difficult period, during the Second World War and the occupation of Greece.

In my own research on the graffiti I expected to find in the Epigraphical Museum — which was last reorganised after the repairs in the sixties and seventies, as well as after the 1981 earthquake — the cast of three of them brought in by the excavators[10] and inventoried in the normal way in the EM catalogue.

EM 12705 *ΜΕΤΑ*[---], a graffito-name

EM 12704 a name *ΠΙΤΑΛΛΟΣ*, dated in the late fifth century B.C.; W. Peek didn't find it again

EM 12703 *ΕΙΙΙΦ*-, considered as "uncertain"

All three were perishable due to the bad quality of the material used for the cast. Luckily Kourouniotes and Thompson provide us with photographs in their article in *Hesperia*, where they published one more graffito-name reading *ΠΟΛΥΞΕ*[- - -], *Πολύξε*[*νος*] or *Πολυξέ*[*νη*].[11]

Despite the loss of the above-mentioned graffiti I found in the Epigraphical Museum the cast of the most important rupestral inscription for the topography of this region, referring to the cult of the Mother; made from a stronger material, a combination of plaster and cement, it was kept in the Museum without any inventory number. It served to make the photograph in the "editio princeps" in the year 1899.[12] Located on the south-western slope of the Pnyx in the immediate vicinity of the Church of Ayios Demetrios Loumbardiaris and 10 metres above a Roman tomb, the so-called *Κιμώνειον σῆμα*, this two-line inscription is cut in the rock (length of the first line 0.32 m. and of the second line 0.43 m). The letters, 0.05-0.10 m., are dated by scholars in the fourth century B.C. The first editor distinguished some horizontal and vertical traces on the inscribed surface and he thought that the first letter was an H, *ιερόν* (line 1) with *Μητέρος* (line 2).[13] Ten years ago C.E. Ritchie described the inscription as "covered with lichens" and he

---

8 Peek (1942), 147-152, nos. 322-326; SEG XLI 121, 232.

9 Peek (1942), 151. He did not find two inscriptions, *IG* II^2 13244, found *ἐπὶ τοῦ βράχου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Πνυκί* (Pittakes [1852b], 683) and one reading *ΠΥΡΑΜ*[*ΙΣ*?] (Pittakes [1852a], 683). Nor did he find another rupestral inscription reading *Πίταλλος* (Kourouniotes and Thompson [1932], 214), a cast of which was destroyed at the Epigraphical Museum (cf. below).

10 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 213-215 with figs. 68-70; SEG X 467, nos. 1-3.

11 Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 134 with fig. 19.5.

12 Skias (1899), 239-240, no. 2; Fowler (1900), 488; Judeich (1931), 398 with Map I, 6D; Lolling (1892), 100-103, 110-111, no. 109; Papayiannopoulos-Palaios (1939), 76-77, no. 15; id. (1947/48) 94-96; Pantazopoulos (1947/48), 119-121; Peek (1942), 149-150, no. 323; Oikonomides (1964), 75-76, n. 54; Travlos (1971), 466-467; Ritchie (1984) 268-271, no. TA 55, 791-792, plate 51; Lalonde (1991), 8, n. 25; SEG XLI 121.

13 Skias (1899), 239-240.

also read [*ἱ*]*ερὸν Μητέρος*.[14] Eliminating these subtle distinctions on the rock surface I have simplified the reading as *ἱερὸν*| *Μητρός*, following Judeich and Peek,[15] which means "Sacred to the Meter"; so the natural wall carrying this inscription was sacred to the mother and indicated probably one side of her sanctuary, like a boundary marker.

Unfortunately this inscription is omitted from the Corpus so it is necessary to point out the most important comments of scholars. Papayiannopoulos-Palaios was the first to identify this inscription as a boundary marker belonging to the sanctuary of the Mother, and relate it to the tradition concerning the death of the seer Metragyrtes.[16] Furthermore, he suspected a correlation between the sanctuary and the "Square with the Seven Seats" on the north-western slope of the Mouseion Hill, where are the two rupestral inscriptions, *IG* I^3 1403 and the enigmatic *ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ*. He verified the incomplete study of these three inscriptions in spite of their importance for the topography of the region, where the literary evidence indicated not only the sanctuary, but also a "bouleuterion" (or "dikasterion") dedicated to the Meter.

Additionally, he thought that the female divinity mentioned without name in *IG* II^2 1277 (EM 7845) of the year 278/7 B.C., published first by H.G. Lolling, found *κατὰ τὴν δυτικομεσημβρινὴν κλιτὺν τῆς Πνυκός* (in a quarry on the south-western slope of the Pnyx) could be the *Μήτηρ θεῶν*; the same hypothesis was also made by the first editor in a footnote.[17] I point out that Lolling, skilful topographer and epigraphist, in trying to identify the original location of the stele *IG* II^2 1277, left to us the description of a building without a roof, as a miserable one, *ἄθλιον ἵδρυμα*, situated on the western side of the Mouseion Hill.[18] The description of such a building reminds us of the characteristic open-air construction of the Athenian law-courts together with a reference to a *δικαστήριον* instead of the *βουλευτήριον* in a correction to the lemma, s.v. *Μητρῷον*, by a very late writer, Apostolios (XI.34).

It seems that W. Peek reached independently after Papayiannopoulos-Palaios a similar view of the Mother's sanctuary. He strongly supported the same thesis, rejecting the first editor's idea that the cult of the Meter, attested here on the south-western slope of the Pnyx, should be subordinate to another sanctuary of greater importance, perhaps the Metroon of the Agora. Peek considered that this place is the sanctuary of the Meter and that there is sufficient room for a shrine, a "kleine Kapelle".[19] He pointed out the need to conduct investigations in this region, as have so many other scholars since this time and as the Ephoros P.G. Calligas said at the opening session of this Colloquium.

Nevertheless, a proposal for a larger area dedicated to the Mother of the Gods is advanced by Lolling, Pantazopoulos and especially by Papayiannopoulos-Palaios,[20] identifying with this region the testimonia for the foundation of the sanctuary, as well as the expiatory act for Metragyrtes' death; this area beginning from the "barathron" at the

14 Ritchie (1984), 268, 270. He observes that in the second line of the inscription the top horizontal of the letters tau and epsilon is "the base of a triangle or letter delta"; cf. the facsimile in Skias (1899), 239.

15 Judeich (1931), 398; Peek (1941), 149.

16 Papayiannopoulos-Palaios (1939), 76-77, no. 15.

17 Lolling (1892), 100-113 at 111 (note); cf. *IG* II^2 1316.

18 Lolling (1892), 110-111.

19 Peek (1942), 150; SEG XLI 121.

20 Lolling (1892), 110-113 (the whole south-western area of the Mouseion Hill); Papayiannopoulos-Palaios (1939), 76-77, no. 15; id. (1947/1948), 94-96; Pantazopoulos (1947/1948), 119-121; Ritchie (1984), 791-792, no. TA 55, providing (plate 51) a photograph of "the outcrop from the northeast", where are visible "three rock-cut footings to facilitate one's ascent to the top of the north face of the outcrop" (791). See also Loukas (1988), 15-23 on Metragyrtes and the syncretism between the Rhea and Cybele cults in Attica.

west includes the "bouleuterion", i.e. the "Square with the Seven Seats", situated on the north-western slope of the Mouseion Hill, at a distance of "about 160 paces due west"[21] from the rupestral inscription *ἱερὸν Μητρός*, which indicates the eastern limit of the sanctuary, according to Papayiannopoulos-Palaios.

So the "Square with the Seven Seats" is distant from the bema of the Pnyx only 290 m. and, carrying several names such as the *Ἑπτάθρονον*, the "seven thrones" or the "*ἑπτὰ ἑδώλια*" (Lolling), it is indicated on the 19th century maps of Athens as the "Siebensesselplatz". W. Judeich described this square 13 x 10 m. as a resting place and refused to recognise a public building ("eine Gerichtsstätte, wie man gemeint hat", as somebody suggests — without giving us his name).[22] Anyway, this "Square with the Seven Seats", cut in the rock one after the other, in a series at the longer south side and with an exedra as a bench in the eastern wall, provided with a natural floor and staircases, seems to be the "bouleuterion". It is a small assembly place, suitable also for ritual performances, not in a later stage of reuse, but for the first moments of its foundation and its consecration to the Mother of the Gods, as the sources narrate. In fact, in restudying the inscription *ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ* and *IG* I^3 1403, cut in the nearby rocks and both misunderstood for over a century now, I think that these two documents focus on the same topic, the *epos*, which is referring to one of the oldest traditions: on the Mouseion Hill lived a famous *ἐποποιός*, the poet Mousaios, a foreigner and predecessor of Homer, giving utterances and settling obscure ceremonies. An entire anthology, the *Εὐμολπία*, was attributed to him: the last part of the *Θεογονία*, the hymn to the goddess Demeter, worshipped in Attica by the Lykomidai, and some kind of choral song (Paus. I.14.3; IV.1.5; X.5.6). In all probability he has been buried on the hill, and the name is to be attributed to him and not to the Muses, as Pausanias wrote (I.25.8).

At this point it is necessary to summarise briefly the literary tradition for the Mother of the Gods related to the seer Metragyrtes, victim of the religious conservatism of the Athenians in the fourth century B.C., which was tragically negative to the introduction of *καινὰ δαιμόνια*, as the charge against Socrates reveals; a striking example of the instability in public life is the erection *post mortem* of the philosopher's statue but there exists as far as we know no parallel in Metragyrtes' statue in the "bouleuterion", because the seer was a foreigner — not an Athenian citizen like Socrates — and the dedication of his *ἀνδριάς* comprised a large ritual program of purification, dictated by the oracle.

Tradition says that a man called Metragyrtes came to Attica and was trying to initiate women into the Mother of the Gods Mysteries; so the Athenians condemned him to death by pushing him headlong into the "barathron" (see Photius, s.v. *Μητρῷον* and Suda, s.v. *Μητραγύρτης*). After Metragyrtes' death, when a plague was sent by the goddess in anger, the oracle revealed to the Athenians the cause and ordered them to *ἱλάσασθαι τὸν πεφονευμένον*. So the Athenians, first among the Greeks, learned the Mother's cult through *ἔργοις*, i.e. divine acts,[23] and applied a propitiatory program:

1. they built a "bouleuterion" *ἐν ᾧ ἀνεῖλον τὸν μητραγύρτην*, in which they took up the body for burial (translated here by using the common meaning of the verb *ἀναιρέω* and not something derived from the legal term *ἀναίρεσις*);[24]

---

21 This is the distance given by Ritchie (1984), 792, no. TA 55.

22 Curtius-Kaupert (1878), map III 4C; Judeich (1931), 398, map I 7D; Papayiannopoulos-Palaios (1947/1948), 96 (photograph of the "seven seats").

23 Julian, preface to the hymn *Εἰς τὴν Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν*, 159a; on the Metroon in the Agora, cf. Wycherley (1957), 155-156, nos. 478-488. See also Loukas (1988), 23-27.

24 Compare LSJ^9, s.v. *ἀναιρέω*, I.4 ("take up" bodies for burial), II. 3-4 ("destroy" an argument, "annul" boundary-stones, rules, etc) and s.v. *ἀναίρεσις* ("direct confutation" of arguments).

2. *περιφράττοντες αὐτό* (i.e. *τὸ βουλευτήριον*), surrounding it by an enclosure, they erected the expiatory statue of the murdered Metragyrtes;
3. they dedicated it to the Mother of the Gods; and
4. they covered with earth the "barathron", i.e. the cleft into which criminals were thrown in the south-west of the city of Athens.[25] In Suda, s.v. *βάραθρον* it is described as a big gap like a pit, *χάσμα φρεατῶδες*.

In the scholion on Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 431 Metragyrtes is said to have predicted the goddess Demeter's arrival in searching for her daughter Persephone. A unique piece of information is also provided here, that Metragyrtes was a Phrygian, revealing the provenance of this mystic cult.[26]

Despite their anxiety to accomplish the divine order given to them by the oracle, the Athenians had to perform immediately a legal-religious ceremony — to revoke their previous decision to condemn the seer to death — and in this way they insulted the goddess. It seems to me necessary that such a procedure could be the first step. This act of destroying the previous decision and refuting themselves, combined with some ritual practice to exorcise by sacrifices, libations and prayers, could take place in a legal-religious ceremony, probably inside the "bouleuterion". Through this process the Athenians should be freed from their blame in order to reconstruct the holy image of the murdered seer and to reorganise this area, which was polluted from the neighbouring "barathron", quite recently after the crime against the seer; they are able to perform a purification because Mousaios was famous for his expertise at *λύσεις*, that is, to dissolve the magic *κατάδεσμοι* (i.e. the *defixiones*), to make mystic *τελεταί* (Orphic ceremonies) and to execute *καθαρμοί* (purifications).[27]

Luckily the two rupestral inscriptions mentioned above, the "enigmatic" *ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ* omitted in the Corpora of Attic inscriptions and the rupestral inscription *IG* I^3 1403, presented here in a new light, as texts as well as in their own context and function on the Mouseion Hill, will be two sure testimonia on religious and spiritual life in Athens.

The inscription *ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ*, cut on the rock in one line (inscribed surface 1.11 m.) above and at the right of the "seven seats" is dated by the letter forms (0.125 - 0.13 m. high) in the fourth century B.C. by the first editor, S.N. Dragoumes. This date was accepted by all the other scholars who wrote on this inscription with the exception of W. Peek, who made an autopsy and ranged the date from the fourth to the third century B.C.[28] I agree with this date, proposed by Peek, especially for the letter phi which presents a tendency to be an arch. This inscription has remained without any valid interpretation for more than 100 years until this International Colloquium. Its meaning has so far been hermetically closed through several factors: firstly, the negative attitude of scholars towards Dragoumes' reading in the *editio princeps* — then provided with Prott's facsimile — expressed much later by O. Kern,[29] who pointed out that a new autopsy of the inscribed surface on the rock with "more sharp eyes" could be worthwhile; secondly, the misleading idea that the context of this inscription — brief and surely incomplete — was the phenomenon of the echo, the idea that vibration effects return back the sound-

25 *Βάραθρον*: Hdt. VII.133.1; Ar. *Nub.* 1450; Pl. *Gorg.* 516d; Comica adespota 24.10 Demiańczuk; Schol.Ar. *Plut.* 431. See also Travlos (1960), 52; id. (1971), 121.

26 That the goddess was a Phrygian one, cf. Pollux III.11; for the origin of Metragyrtes, cf. Schol.Aeschin. 3.187.

27 Steuding (1894-1897), 3235-3237; Rzach (1933), 757-767; Kauffmann-Samaras (1992), 685-687.

28 Dragoumes (1898), 202-204, with Prott's facsimile; Judeich (1931), 398; Papayiannopoulos-Palaios (1939), 76, no. 14; id. (1947/1948), 95-96; Pantazopoulos (1947/1948), 121; Peek (1942), 150-151, no. 324, with Taf. 9.2; Ritchie (1984), 792; SEG XLI 232.

29 Kern (1940), 26.

waves sent from this wall of the rock. The idea of referring to the echo existing in this area was written in a simple footnote by Dragoumes,[30] but soon after was adopted by Judeich. Faced with such an insoluble problem, scholars thought the reechoing voice was the only solution.

Some years later the results of W. Peek[31] were published after several visits to the locality at different times, in which he was accompanied by A.M. Schneider. He carefully examined the letters cut on the rock and tried to verify the reechoing sounds, unsuccessfully. He justified the lack of echo during his time by attributing it to geological and environmental changes in this region. Concerning the inscription, Peek concluded that Dragoumes saw the letters well and that even the traces of the eighth letter, the omega, were sure (despite exposure to the weather for longer than forty years). He also confirmed that no other traces of letters exist before and after the inscription; pieces of information such as this present an important and useful clue for scholarship. By changing the structure and taking the conjunction as a free and poetic *δέ* he made a new interpretation, i.e. "zum Wort (kommt) die Stimme". *ἔποσδε φωνή* means "the voice follows the word". He confessed that it was impossible to understand more than a reference to the natural phenomenon of the echo.

It is interesting to realise how Peek rejected Dragoumes' wondering "If really there is here part of an *epos* or an utterance of the magnificent Mousaios (*Μή τοι ἔχωμεν ἐνταῦθα ... ἀπόσπασμα ἔπους ἢ χρησμοῦ τοῦ σεμνοῦ Μουσαίου;*)"[32] and presented an objection related to the purpose of cutting this inscription on the rock, and questioned the possible profit that an Athenian, living in the fourth or third century, would have from an utterance of Mousaios in such a fragmentary shape. It was concluded that this made no sense. His thesis has nothing to do with the further reconstruction of this inscription which has been accessible to the public with its message.

The puzzles have confronted all scholars who have considered the inscription, including me. On one side the integrity of the incomplete inscription, leaving no room for corrections and "brackets", and on the other the implication by the lexicographers under the relevant words *λόγος, ῥῆμα, ἔπος, φωνή*, that the two nouns (*τὸ*) *ἔπος* and (*ἡ*) *φωνή* are very close, if not synonymous. Both have multiple significances, especially the word *ἔπος*, which includes many specific kinds of the art of speech.[33] These two nouns survived in time through oral tradition, as well as in the literary and epigraphical sources ranging from Homer to the New Testament till today. Their variety of meaning is also very close if not identical. The common use of the substantive *φωνή*, which qualifies a main function of human beings, gradually takes on the meaning of *λόγος* and *ἔπος*, when in late antiquity the verb *φωνέω* is frequently used instead of *λέγω τῇ φωνῇ*, as well as the verb *λαλέω*.

Keeping in mind the integrity of this brief inscription, I intervene by changing the last word from the nominative case to the dative, sure that, in this period (fourth to third century B.C.) the iota of the dative could be omitted:[34]

---

30 Dragoumes (1898), 204 n. 2.

31 Peek (1942), 150-151 with Taf. 9.2; SEG XLI 232.

32 Dragoumes (1898), 204.

33 I take for example Hesychius s.v. *ἔπος*: *ῥῆμα, λόγος, φωνή*. Cf. Suda, s.v. *ἔπος*: *λόγος, στίχος ἔμμετρος;* s.v. *ἐποποιΐα*: *ἡ δι' ἡρωϊκοῦ μέτρου ἱστορία. καὶ γὰρ στερομένη μύθου ποίησις ἐποποιΐα ἐστίν.*

34 Schwyzer (1939), 200-201; Teodorsson (1974), 92-93, 187-188; Threatte (1980), 353-358 (noting that the monophthongisation of *ηι* to *η* occurs before similar developments in *αι* and *ωι*).

ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ<Ι>

ἔπος δὲ φωνῇ means that "the epos should be pronounced in a loud voice". This is a motto. The conjunction *ΔΕ* is to reinforce the meaning; the antithetical schema *μὲν ... δέ* is excluded as there is not a correlative sentence.

It is well known that the pitch of one's voice has been an indispensable quality in rhetorical doctrine, always flourishing in the political and/or the judicial activity of the Athenian citizens. But I think that this rupestral inscription has not been properly related to the public domain. Indeed, in the light of the information concerning the cult of the Mother of the Gods in her sanctuary and in the "bouleuterion" — also dedicated to her, according to the lexicographers — which is in all probability identified with the "seven seats" area where this rock-cut notice is present, it seems more suitable that the *ἔπος* in this case was one of the variants of poetry which belongs to a religious context, possibly a song, or hymn or even something like a psalm.

Nevertheless I have at my disposal the same structure *εἶπε τῇ φωνῇ* in the passage from Lysias' speech against Andokides (6.51) where is preserved the accusation against Alkibiades and the hermokopidai for the profanation of the mysteries, one of the severest cases of *εἰσαγγελία*, the urgent state prosecution: *οὗτος γὰρ ἐνδὺς στολήν, μιμούμενος τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπεδείκνυε τοῖς ἀμυήτοις καὶ εἶπε τῇ φωνῇ τὰ ἀπόρρητα ...* They accused him of wearing the official robe, imitating the "sacra" (*τὰ ἱερά*), exposing them to the view of persons not initiated (in their mysteries) and saying in a loud voice the "aporrheta", i.e. the sacred items and signs always prohibited from being revealed.

This precious passage, full of legal and ritual terms related to the sacred laws valid in the fifth century B.C. and to the most important mysteries, is helpful in confirming the reconstruction of the rupestral inscription by taking *ΦΩΝΗ* in the dative form as I proposed. Mottos containing a guiding rule or restriction are often without a verb. Here *epos* is linked directly to a kind of oral expression. In order, however, to grasp more about its meaning (how it spread, and the conditions and the purpose of why it was cut in a religious ambience) suitable epigraphical evidence should be found through the Attic inscriptions.

Finally the solution of the enigma came out, as I was restudying the well-known decree of the Iobacchoi *IG* II^2 1368 (EM 8187), found between the Areopagus and the Pnyx;[35] in the second part containing a new statute of the association I suddenly saw the three words of the rupestral inscription well exhibited after two free letter spaces (lines 107-110) in a developed structure using the verb *φωνέω* in place of the substantive *ΦΩΝΗ*. The meaning is the same as in my reconstruction with the dative, but it differs in the decree for it is a complete negative sentence with *μηδείς*. It introduces a prohibition, followed by a sanction where a fixed sum is to be paid in case of disobedience:

νν Μηδεὶς δ' ἔπος
φωνείτω μὴ ἐπιτρέψαντος τοῦ ἱε-
ρέως ἢ τοῦ ἀνθιερέως ἢ ὑπεύθυνος
ἔστω τῷ κοινῷ λεπτοῦ δρ(αχμῶν) Λ ΄.

I translate: Nobody should pronounce in a loud voice the *ἔπος*, without having obtained

35 On *IG* II^{2}1368 see, for example, Nilsson (1957), 95-101; Follet (1976), 138, 140, 147 and, on the date, 141; Moretti (1986), 247-259; Kapetanopoulos (1990-1991), 87-91.

the priest's or the vice-priest's permission, or (in the contrary case) he will be responsible to the *κοινόν* (i.e. to the association of the Iobacchoi) for owing thirty drachmas called "light", *λεπτοῦ* drachmas.

This prohibition is placed among the most important new regulations of the second part of *IG* II^2 1368, referring to the priest's duties, libations and sacrifices, as well as determining festivals on a fixed date. The existence of these regulations completely refutes the arguments put forth by L. Moretti in support of his view that there was a lack of religiosity in the Iobacchoi association. Despite the obvious implications of this passage, the penalty of 30 drachmas *λεπτοῦ* is not heavy at all; according to the most recent researches on Athenian coinage of the second century after Christ the bronze "light" drachma, *λεπτοῦ δ(αχμή)* in the Iobacchoi inscription, was worth one-sixth of a silver denarius.[36] And it is striking to read in the same inscription that for insulting behaviour the sum to pay is fixed at 25 *λεπτοῦ δ(αχμάς)*, "light" drachmas, especially if it is compared with the normal fee of 50 denarii for admission to the association (line 38).

But what kind of *ἔπος* was this one which necessitated a loud voice, in a more or less high pitch? The severe restriction on practising is applied in cases where the priest or the vice-priest had not given their consent. That authorises us to think of a religious poem or hymn expressed in a short recitation or hymnody. The exact same impression has been given to us from the rupestral inscription, *ἔπος δὲ φωνῇ*, like a motto, which coincides with the Iobacchoi regulation in this abbreviated form.

It is hard to define here the "epos" through conflicting information about the mystic and orgiastic ceremonies established first in this area by the *epopoios* Mousaios. In comparing the two examples I explained how both came out of the same religious context, i.e. the above-mentioned Lysias passage referring to Alkibiades' case of impiety and the Iobacchoi decree. The chronological distance between these two documents and the rupestral inscription, dated in the fourth or third century B.C., should be of less importance, if we consider that the "aporrheta" of the mysteries were constantly kept in secrecy, and were surely unchangeable. Also it is important to remember that the precinct of Eleusis was highly valued by the emperor Hadrian in the second century after Christ, at a time when the Iobacchoi association was probably at the apex of its activity. The common feature with the rupestral inscription is the use of the noun *φωνή* with the verb *εἰπεῖν* (hermokopidai case) or the later *φωνεῖν* (Iobacchoi regulation) in reference to the "aporrheta" of the mysteries or to the *ἔπος* as a hymn to the deity depending on the necessary consent of the priest in Roman times. For the profanation of the mysteries the blame lay on Alcibiades for one more reason, (as I think) for using his voice, in spite of the cultural practice that the mystic words and signs are not to be said, but to be proclaimed, *ἐξαγγέλλονται*, by the priest-minister in a specific moment of the mystic ceremonies or during the process of the initiation. The regulation of the Iobacchoi informs us about a constant care of the priesthood that they personally or another qualified person should present publicly the *ἔπος*, a holy poem, hymn or psalm during some ceremonies — unknown to us, but well known to them — mystic or not.

These two different examples of ancient religious life lead us to clarify the grammatical and structural difficulties as well as those found in reaching the inner meaning of the motto *ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ*. It is more than probable that the *ἔπος* is openly voiced by one

36 I wish to thank Dr Vasso Penna, Ephoros at the Numismatic Museum, for discussing the *λεπτοῦ δραχμαί* in the second century after Christ in Athens. See for the value Howgego (1985), 55-56 and Kroll (1993), 83-84.

Iobacchos during the ceremonies of his association (2nd century after Christ) and the *epos* in the notice on the rock above the "seven seats" (4th to 3rd century B.C.) although its religious character was deprived of any mystic meaning. Anyway there is a striking similarity between the context of these two inscriptions, despite the distance of four centuries of religious life, which enables us to clarify the functioning of this motto and consequently its purpose, that is, why it was cut in the rock. Contrary to W. Peek, who wondered if any message could be given to an Athenian in the fourth or third century B.C. through a fragmentary inscription, we must now look at the semantic function of this brief motto, which is used to maintain order and to remind the devotees of the restrictions in the ritual. In addition it is possible that this inscription precisely indicates the position where somebody had to be standing at the right of the "seven seats" to execute the *epos* in all its possible varieties that could occur during ceremonies or ritual performances organised there, for example by the *κοινά* established in the area or by other associations which temporarily frequented the meeting places, as the Iobacchoi possibly did in Roman Imperial times. The installation of the Iobacchoi at the Baccheion[37] is located in the area excavated, not far from the Mouseion Hill and the "Square with the Seven Seats".[38] With the acclamations of the members after the elections and regulations included in the old and the new statute, this association seems to be quite dynamic, characterised by vitality and the usual tendency for propaganda and a striking adulation of Herodes Atticus, the founder of the institution. Concluding the reciprocal exchange of elements between *IG* II^2 1368 and this rupestral inscription, I should like to mention that some of the Iobacchoi assembly's acclamations (lines 24-28) present a similar incomplete structure to *ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ*, cut on the rock. I wish to return to the Iobacchoi inscription and the column EM 8187 at a later date.

Now I will examine *IG* I^3 1403 as the third rupestral inscription[39] of the group related, by some scholars, to the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and the "bouleuterion" dedicated to her, according to the lexicographers. Located in the vicinity of the "Square with the Seven Seats", which is identified with the "bouleuterion", this inscription dated in the fifth century B.C., published first by Skias, is inserted in this group for topographical reasons, as well as due to an idea—brought out by Skias, Papayiannopoulos-Palaios and Pantazopoulos—that the person honoured here for his beauty and virtuosity of rhetoric, should be an orator among the founders of the cult on the Mouseion Hill or even a follower of the famous poet Mousaios.

It is a three-line inscription cut in the rock surface (length 0.82 m., height 0.15 m.) and composed of two sentences connected by the correlatives *μὲν ... δέ*. It was first published by A. Skias in 1899. In the first line it is easy to read *καλός* (with the *Λ* Ionic), which has until now been considered to belong to a type of inscription well known for expressing admiration to a young man. Unfortunately at the very beginning of this inscription a few letters are not clearly legible, while three or four others at the end of the second line are less deeply cut than the rest. The second sentence (lines 2-3) has been distorted in the "editio princeps" by Skias himself, who attributed to the cutter mistakes

---

37 For the *Βακχεῖον* on *IG* II^2 1368 as a clubhouse, cf. Travlos (1971), 274 with figs. 351 and 353. Only in line 101 is *τὸ Βακχεῖον* a building; elsewhere (lines 8, 16, 37, 56, 148-149) it refers to the institution.

38 Cf. n. 22 above.

39 Skias (1899), 237-240; Judeich (1931), 398; Papayiannopoulos-Palaios (1939), 75; id. (1947/1948), 95-96; Pantazopoulos (1947/1948), 121; SEG X 400a; Peek (1942), 147-149, no. 322, with Taf. 9.1; Hansen (1983), 246, no. 441; Oikonomides (1984), 127-128; SEG XXXIV 42; Ritchie (1984), 792; SEG XLI 121.

and displacement of letters. Skias did, however, transcribe the letters (height 0.035 - 0.05 m.) accurately. The transcript printed in capital letters in the Corpus (*IG* I² 923) was taken from a plaster cast made by Skias which can be seen reproduced in the "editio princeps".

The crucial point of corruption of this interesting inscription was the arbitrary reading offered by Skias and the fact that it has been accepted by most other scholars. He wrote:

[*Ὄλυ]νθος καλὸς μὲν ἰδεῖν,*
τερπνὸς δὲ προσειπεῖν

changing the succession of letters by replacing *ΤΕΡΠΟΝΝΟΣ* with *τερπνός* and *ΠΟΡΣ - - - ΣΕΙΠΕΝ* with *προσειπεῖν* and disregarding the letters *E Π* at the end of the second line. The name *Ὄλυνθος* supplied by Skias as an example became in *IG* I² 923 the Attic name [*Ἀλφί]νοος* (Hiller von Gaertringen "exempli gratia"). In 1939 Papayiannopoulos-Palaios read on the rock *Ἀν[τ]ίνοος*; three or four years later W. Peek did the same, and thus established the title "Antinoos-Inschrift";[40] in confirming the reading of all the letters he left the name free of "brackets", as it appears in *IG* I³ 1403:

Ἀντίνοος καλὸς μὲν ἰδεῖν <
τερποννὸς δὲ πορσ-
σειπεῖν.

This text of D.M. Lewis is based on the analytical commentary by Peek, who mainly agreed with Skias' facsimile in his own transcription *Ἀντίνοος καλὸς μὲν ἰδεῖν τερποννὸς δὲ προσσειπεῖν.* For Peek, an expert in verse inscriptions, the second sentence points out the different quality of the lover towards the young Antinoos, in an atmosphere of spiritual relations, *ὁμιλία*. He concluded that the writer of the second sentence was not in control of Attic and/or of Homeric poetry, but rather he used a "'vulgäre' Orthographie".[41] Additionally, he compared some of the names associated with the adjective *καλός* painted on Attic vases, including some other examples of names of young men carrying similar mistakes. This material now comprises part of the monumental work on phonology of the Attic inscriptions such as *τερποννός = τερπνός* as an example of "vowel anaptyxis" and *πορσειπεῖν* instead of *προσειπεῖν* as an example of "metathesis" by the writer of an erotic text from the late Archaic Period.[42]

At this point one must consider that it is hazardous to say that in this rock-cut inscription there are no mistakes and omissions, apart from the loss of a few letters at the beginning; a loss which destroys the rhythm and context of the epigram, generally speaking. I prefer to use the Skias facsimile as it is printed in *IG* I² 923, but it is incomplete; consequently it is important here to keep in mind that Skias in his first edition supplied the name [*Ὄλυ]νθος* because he descried a scarcely legible *N* and interpreted the following letter wrongly as a theta, seeing a dot inside the *O* on his plaster cast and not on the rock surface. So it is fair to acknowledge here the *N* as the first secure letter.

Also, one of the most important remarks concerning the second line of Skias' facsimile was made by Peek. Whereas Skias saw the letters *E Π* at the end of the line, Peek read *E*

40 Peek (1942), 149, n. 1.
41 Peek (1942), 148.
42 Threatte (1980), 408, 476 (metathesis involving the liquids r and l).

I Π as "die drei letzten Zeichen dieser Zeile".[43] It has therefore been accepted that the cutter found the surface inadequate and began the next line with a repetition of *ΣΕΙΠ*. Given that Papayiannopoulos-Palaios made the penultimate letter a dotted omikron, I now reconstruct:

> [ὅττι] νόος καλὸς μὲν ἰδεῖν, <
> τέρπον νοῦς δ' ἔπορσ' ἔπ̣[ο]-
> ς εἰπεῖν.

My reconstruction is based on the second part (lines 2-3) of this metrical inscription, for its structure comprises two principal sentences with the correlatives *μὲν ... δέ*. The second sentence needs a verb to govern *εἰπεῖν*.

Line 1. Consideration of the reading of the following two lines argues against the erotic context; there remains, after a loss of about four letters, the noun *νόος* (*ὁ*), gen. *νόου*, "the mind", "the intellect". The aorist infinitive *ἰδεῖν* after the adjective *καλός* in the nominative case is to be related to the verb **εἴδω* and its aorist *ἴδον*, the Homeric "perceive", "behold" before my eyes, (*ἐν*) *ὄμμασι*. The supplement *ὅττι* at the beginning fits the verticle bars discerned here better than *τοῖος* (which fits well with *ἰδεῖν*) or *οἷος* (which means "excellent", "alone", "single in its kind").

Lines 2-3. *νόος*, the same noun, is repeated here in the Attic contracted form; it is the subject of the sentence with the verb *ἐπῶρσε* or *ἔπορσε*, aorist of the poetic verb *ἐπόρνυμι* (or *ἐπορνύω*), meaning "to stir up", "arouse", "excite"; the phrase concludes with the very legible infinitive *εἰπεῖν*, supplemented now as (*τὸ*) *ἔπος εἰπεῖν* (lines 2-3). This supplement is based on a combination of Skias' and Peek's similar readings; excluded is any suggestion that the cutter abandoned three rather illegible letters and judged that it was necessary to repeat them in a better incision with deeper letters[44] at the beginning of the third line.

The context refers to the *epos*, which here appears to be related to the mind which created it, i.e. the *τέρπων νοῦς*, which is in the mood to offer entertainment; this is the most common relationship between the two words because the verb *τέρπω* appears normally connected with *ἔπεσι* and *τὰ τέρποντα*, *τὰ τέρψοντα ἔπη* are "the delights". I am tempted to remind the reader that at least the Muses *Τερψιχόρη* and *Εὐτέρπη* are compounds of *τέρπω* and *τέρψις*.

Before I translate this text, a new version of *IG* I^3 1403, I wish to point out that the metre of this inscription may be dactylic tetrameter. Irregularity can be explained by the appearance of two quotations marked by the "distinctio rarissima", the diacritical sign (h. 0.04) mentioned in the Corpus.[45] Perhaps it was cut into the rock intentionally in order to make a distinction between the two sentences, so as to remind readers of an old utterance glorifying the mind (line 1) and to provide evidence (lines 2-3) for the local importance of the *epos* on the Mouseion Hill. The following is the translation I have derived using *ὅττι*:

> That a mind is beautiful to behold,
> but the mind, which gives delight, stirs (us) up
> to develop (i.e. invent) the *epos*.

---

43 Peek (1942), 149; cf. Skias (1899), 238 and Hansen (1983), 246, no. 441.

44 See previous note.

45 The wedge placed sideways and opening to the right occurs in Greek inscriptions of the Roman period, see Avi-Yonah (1940), 38.

I think that there exists here a reference to the *epos*, as to a privilege given to humanity for a collective practice. In fact, I think that the inscription *ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ* and *IG* I^3 1403, cut in nearby rocks and both misunderstood for over a century now, focus on the same topic, the *epos*, which is one of the oldest traditions of humankind.[46]

46 My warmest thanks go to Dr. David Jordan for discussing the metre of this inscription; any remaining error is mine. Influenced by the comment ad *IG* I^3 1403 ("quae scripsit Oikonomides totius reiicimus"), I read his article (n. 39) only at the end of my work, but am happy to see the coincidence of interpretation in *τέρπων νοῦς* as against *τερπονόος*.

General Bibliography

References to ancient authors in the Proceedings follow the abbreviations of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*[2], with occasional expansion for clarity. The references to modern literature follow the Harvard system, giving only the author's name and the date of publication in the footnotes, whereas the full bibliographical references are printed in this bibliography. All abbreviations of serials in this bibliography follow the system used in *The American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991), 1-16.

In addition the following abbreviations have been used in the Proceedings:

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873-
I.Iasos = *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 28.1-28.2. *Die Inschriften von Iasos* I-II, Bonn 1985.
I.Ephesos = *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 11.1-17.4. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* I-VIII, Bonn 1979-1984.
SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923-

Alexandri, O., *Γ ' Ἐφορεία Κλασσικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων Ἀθηνῶν*, in *ArchDelt* 22 B1 (1967), 37-130.
-------, *Τοπογραφικὰ Ἀθηνῶν*, in *AAA* 1 (1968), 101-6, with English summary, p. 107.
-------, *Γ ' Ἐφορεία Κλασσικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων Ἀθηνῶν*, in *ArchDelt* 24 B1 (1969), 25-88.
-------, *Γ ' Ἐφορεία Κλασσικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων*, in *ArchDelt* 28 B1 (1973), 25-45.
Alexandri-Tzahou, O., Demos, in *LIMC* III.1 (1986), 375-382.
von Alten, G., Die Befestigungen der Hafenstadt Athens, in E. Curtius and J.A. Kaupert (eds.), *Karten von Attika, Erläuternder Text* I, Berlin 1881, 10-22.
Alvar, J., La fórmula de la *evocatio* y su presencia en contextos desacralizadores, in *ArchEspArq* 57 (1984), 143-148.
-------, Matériaux pour l'étude de la formule *sive deus sive dea*, in *Numen* 32 (1985), 236-273.
Alzinger, W., Das Regierungsviertel. Grabungen in Ephesos von 1960-1969 bzw. 1970, in *ÖJh* 50 (1972-75), 229-300.
Anti, C., *Teatri greci arcaici. Da Minosse a Pericle*, Roma 1947.
-------, *Guida per il visitatore del Teatro antico di Siracusa*, Florencia 1948.
Auberson, P. and Schefold, K., *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern 1972.
Aupert, P., *Le stade* (Fouilles de Delphes II. Topographie et architecture), Paris 1979.
Avi-Yonah, M., *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions (The Near East, 200 B.C. - A.D. 1100)* [Suppl. to the Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine 9], Jerusalem 1940.
Bean, G.E., *Lycian Turkey: An Archaeological Guide*, London 1978.
Beazley, J.D., *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford 1956.
-------, *ΕΛΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΑΙΤΗΣΙΣ*, in *ProcBritAc* 43 (1957), 233-244.

-------, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*[2], Oxford 1963.
Béquignon, Y., Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques dans l'Orient hellénique, in *BCH* 55 (1931), 450-522.
Bernabò Brea, L., *Akrai*, Catania 1956.
-------, Studi sul teatro greco di Siracusa, in *Palladio* 16 (1967), 97-154.
Boardman, J., *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period*, London 1975.
Boegehold, A.L.,*The Lawcourts at Athens* (The Athenian Agora XXVIII), Princeton forthcoming.
Börker, C., Zwei vergessene Giebel in Athen, in *AA* 1976, 264-278.
Böser, W. and P. Marzolff, *Demetrias* II: *Kartenwerk*. Karlsruhe 1975.
Bommelaer, J.F., *Guide de Delphes, Le Site*, Paris 1991.
Broneer, O., *Terracotta Lamps* (Corinth IV:2), Cambridge, MA 1930.
-------, *Topography and Architecture* (Isthmia II), Princeton 1973.
Bruneau, P. and Ducat, J., *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1983.
Camp II, J. McK.,*The Athenian Agora. Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens*, London 1986.
-------, *The Athenian Agora. A Guide to the Excavation and Museum*[4], Athens 1990.
Caskey, L.D., The Roofed Gallery on the Walls of Athens, in *AJA* 14 (1910), 298-309.
Cavvadias, P. and Kawerau, G., *Ἡ ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως ἀπό τοῦ* 1885 *μέχρι τοῦ* 1890 (*Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 13), *ἐν Ἀθήναις* 1907.
Chandler, R., *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece* II, London 1817.
Charitonides, S.I., *Ἀνασκαφὴ παρὰ τὸν Ἅγιον Δημήτριον τὸν Λουμπαρδιάρην ἐν Ἀθήναις*, in *ArchEph* 1979, 161-187.
Coarelli, F. and Torelli, M., *Sicilia*, Bari 1984.
Conwell, D.H., *The Athenian Long Walls: Chronology, Topography and Remains* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania), University Microfilms 1992.
Cook, A.B., *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion* II, Cambridge 1925.
-------, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion* III, Cambridge 1940.
Cooper, F.A., Epaminondas and Greek Fortifications (abstract), in *AJA* 90 (1986), 195.
Coulton, J.J., *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, Oxford 1976.
Crow, J.M. and Clarke, J.T., The Athenian Pnyx, in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 4 (1885-1886), 205-260.
Cumont, F., *Ὕψιστος*, in *RE* IX.1 (1914), 444-450.
Curtius, E., *Attische Studien* I. *Pnyx und Stadtmauer*, Göttingen 1862.
-------, *Erläuternder Text der sieben Karten zur Topographie von Athen*, Gotha 1868.
-------, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Berlin 1894.
Curtius, E. and Kaupert, J.A., *Atlas von Athen,* Berlin 1878.
Davidson, G.R. and Thompson, D.B., *Small Objects from the Pnyx* I (Hesperia Suppl. 7), Princeton 1943.
Davison, J.A., Notes on the Panathenaea, in *JHS* 78 (1958), 23-42.
Debidour, M., En classant les timbres thasiens, in J.-Y. Empereur and Y. Garlan (eds.), *Recherches sur les amphores grecques* (BCH Suppl. 13), Paris 1986, 311-334.
Dekoulakou-Sideris, I., A Metrological Relief from Salamis, in *AJA* 94 (1990), 445-451.
Demakopoulou, A., *Ἐργασίαι καθαρισμοῦ καὶ διαμορφώσεως χώρου ἀρχαίας Μαντινείας*, in *ArchDelt* 20 B1 (1965), 177-178.
De Miro, E., I recenti scavi sul pogetto di S. Nicola in Agrigento, in *CronCatania* 2 (1963), 57-63.

-------, L'ekklesiasterion in contrada S. Nicola di Agrigento, in *Palladio* 16 (1967), 164-168.
-------, L'urbanistica e i monumenti pubblici, in *Agrigento e la Sicilia Greca*, Roma 1992, 151-156.
Derda, T. and Łajtar, A., An Athenian Dedicatory Inscription to Zeus Hypsistos Reconsidered, in *ZPE* 70 (1987), 163-164.
Deubner, L., *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1956.
Dilke, O.A.W., Details and Chronology of Greek Theatre Caveas, in *BSA* 45 (1950), 21-62.
Dinsmoor, W.B., review of *Hesperia* 1 (1932), in *AJA* 37 (1933), 180-182.
Dodwell, E., *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the Years 1801, 1805, and 1806* I, London 1819.
Dörpfeld, W., Das Hekatompedon in Athen, in *JdI* 34 (1919), 1-40.
Domínguez, A.J., Roma y las ciudades griegas del Mediterráneo Occidental: Adaptaciones e innovaciones urbanas, in *XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica* II, Tarragona 1994, 125-126.
D'Ooge, M.L., *The Acropolis of Athens,* London 1908.
Dragoumes, S.N., *Πεταλα 'Επιγραφὴ τοῦ Μουσείου,* in *AM* 23 (1898), 202-204.
Dworakowska, A., *Quarries in Ancient Greece* (Bibliotheca Antiqua 14), Wrocław 1975.
Eichler, F., Die österreichischen Ausgrabungen in Ephesos im Jahre 1965, in *AnzWien* 103 (1966), 7-16.
von Eickstedt, K.-V., *Beiträge zur Topographie des antiken Piräus* (*Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν 'Αθήναις 'Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 118), Athens 1991.
Ferguson, W.S., *Hellenistic Athens: An Historical Essay*, London 1911.
Follet, S., *Athènes au II^e^ et au III^e^ siècle: Études chronologiques et prosopographiques*, Paris 1976.
Forsén, B., A Rediscovered Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos, in *Tyche* 5 (1990), 9-12.
-------, The Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos and the Assembly Place on the Pnyx, in *Hesperia* 62 (1993), 507-521.
Fossel, E., Zum sogennanten Odeion in Ephesos, in *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler zum achtzigsten Geburtstag*, Wien 1967, 72-81.
Fougères, G., Rapport sur les fouilles de Mantinée, in *BCH* 11 (1887), 485-490.
-------, Fouilles de Mantinée (1887-1888). II. Topographie intérieure, in *BCH* 14 (1890), 245-271.
-------; *Mantinée et l'Arcadie orientale*, Paris 1898.
Fowler, H.N., Archaeological News: Notes of Recent Excavations and Discoveries, in *AJA* 4 (1900), 477-520.
Frantz, A., *Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700* (The Athenian Agora XXIV), Princeton 1988.
Fraser, P.M., Archaeology in Greece, 1968-69, in *AR* 15 (1968/69), 3-39.
Gàbrici, E., Contributo archeologico alla topografia di Napoli della Campania, in *MonAnt* 41 (1951), 553-674.
Garlan, Y., *Recherches de poliorcétique grecque*, Paris 1974.
-------, Un remblai thasien du IV^e^ siècle avant notre ère: B. Amphores et timbres amphoriques, in *BCH* 109 (1985), 727-746.
Garland, R., *The Piraeus: From the Fifth to the First Century B.C.*, London 1987.
Gauthier, Ph., L'inscription d'Iasos relative à l'*ekklesiastikon* (*I. Iasos* 20), in *BCH* 114 (1990), 417-443.

-------, Sur l'institution de *misthos* de l'assemblée à Athènes (*Ath.Pol.* 41.3), in M. Piérart (ed.), *Aristote et Athènes, Fribourg (Suisse) 23-25 mai 1991,* Paris 1993, 231-250.
von Gerkan, A., *Milet, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899* II.1, Berlin und Leipzig 1921.
Glass, S.L., *Palaistra and Gymnasium in Greek Architecture* (PhD. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania), University Microfilms 1967.
Gneisz, D. *Das antike Rathaus. Das griechische Bouleuterion und die frührömische Curia* (Diss. der Universität Wien, 205), Wien 1990.
Goldman, H., The Acropolis of Halae, in *Hesperia* 9 (1940), 381-514.
Grace, V.R., Early Thasian Stamped Amphoras, in *AJA* 50 (1946), 31-38.
-------, Stamped Wine Jar Fragments, in *Small Objects from the Pnyx* II (Hesperia Suppl. 10), Princeton 1956, 113-189.
von Graeve, V., *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt* (Istanbuler Forschungen 28), Berlin 1970.
Greco, E., Iscrizione osca da Paestum, in *PP* 36 (1981), 245-250.
Greco, E. and Theodorescu, D., *Poseidonia-Paestum* II. *L'agora*, Roma 1983.
Green, P., *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 1), Berkeley and Los Angeles 1990.
Gruben, G., Das archaische Didymaion, in *JdI* 78 (1963), 78-182.
-------, Der Dipylon-Brunnen B_1. Lage und Befund. Datierung des Dipylon, in *AM* 85 (1970), 114-128.
Guarducci, M., *Epigrafia Greca* II, Roma 1969.
Guido, M. *Sicily: An Archaeological Guide. The Prehistoric and Roman Remains and the Greek Cities*, London 1967.
Habicht, C., *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit* (Hypomnemata 73), Göttingen 1982.
Hansen, M.H., How Many Athenians Attended the Ecclesia?, in *GRBS* 17 (1976), 115-134 = Hansen (1983), 1-20 with addenda at 21-23.
-------, The Athenian Ecclesia and the Assembly-Place on the Pnyx, in *GRBS* 23 (1982), 241-249 = Hansen (1983), 25-33 with addenda at 34.
-------, *The Athenian Ecclesia. A Collection of Articles 1976-1983* (Opuscula GraecoLatina 26), Copenhagen 1983.
-------, Two Notes on the Pnyx, in *GRBS* 26 (1985a), 241-250 = Hansen (1989b), 129-140 with addenda at 141.
-------, *Demography and Democracy: The Number of Athenian Citizens in the Fourth Century B.C.,* Herning 1985b.
-------, The Construction of Pnyx II and the Introduction of Assembly Pay, in *ClMed* 37 (1986), 89-98 = Hansen (1989b), 143-152 with addenda at 153.
-------, *The Athenian Assembly in the Age of Demosthenes*, Oxford 1987.
-------, The Organization of the Athenian Assembly. A Reply, in *GRBS* 29 (1988a), 51-58 = Hansen (1989b), 155-162 with addenda at 163-165.
-------, *Three Studies in Athenian Demography* (Historisk-Filosofiske Meddelelser fra Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab 56), Copenhagen 1988b.
-------, On the Importance of Institutions in an Analysis of Athenian Democracy, in *ClMed* 40 (1989a), 107-113 = Hansen (1989b), 263-269.
-------, *The Athenian Ecclesia II. A Collection of Articles 1983-89* (Opuscula GraecoLatina 31), Copenhagen 1989b.
-------, *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*, Oxford 1991.

Hansen, M.H. and Fischer-Hansen, T., Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis. Evidence and Historical Significance, in D.Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius. Sources for the Ancient Greek Polis* (Historia Einzelschriften 87), Stuttgart 1994, 23-90.

Hansen, P.A., *Carmina epigraphica Graeca saeculorum viii-v a.Chr.n.*, Berlin 1983.

Hausmann, U., *ΟΙΝΟΦΟΡΟΙ*, in *AM* 69-70 (1954-1955), 125-146.

Heisserer, A.J., and Moysey, R.A., An Athenian Decree Honoring Foreigners, in *Hesperia* 55 (1986), 177-182.

Herington, C.J., *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias. A Study in the Religion of Periclean Athens*, Manchester 1955.

Holmes, E.B., *The Olympian Games in Athens, 1896: The First Modern Olympics*, rep. New York 1984.

Hornblower, S., *A Commentary on Thucydides* I: *Books I-III*, Oxford 1991.

Howgego, C.J., *Greek Imperial Countermarks: Studies in the Provincial Coinage of the Roman Empire* (Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publ. 17), London 1985.

Howland, R.H., *Greek Lamps and their Survivals* (The Athenian Agora IV), Princeton 1958.

Jannoray, J., *Le gymnase* (Fouilles de Delphes II. Topographie et architecture), Paris 1953.

Jantzen, U., Archaische Grabstele von der Pnyx, in *AA* 1963, 431-439.

Jeppesen, K., *Paradeigmata: Three Mid-Fourth Century Main Works of Hellenic Architecture Reconsidered* (Jutland Archaeological Society Publications 4), Aarhus 1958.

Joyner, G., The Pnyx and the Ekklesia in Athens, in G.H.R Horsley (ed.), *Hellenika. Essays on Greek Politics and History*, North Ryde (N.S.W.) 1982, 121-130.

Judeich, W., *Topographie von Athen*[2] (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaften 3.2.2), München 1931.

Kaloyeropoulou, A.G. and Proune-Philip, N.M., *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερὶς. Εὑρετήριον πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας περιόδου* 1837-1874 I, *ἐν Ἀθήναις* 1973.

Kapetanopoulos, E., The Archons Flavius Harpalianos and Arrius Epaphrodeitos, in *Ὅρος* 8-9 (1990-1991), 87-91.

Karadedos, G., *Τό ελληνιστικό θέατρο του Δίου*, in *Οι αρχαιολόγοι μιλούν για την Πιερία. 28-29 Ιουλίου και 4-5 Αυγούστου* 1984, *Θεσσαλονίκη* 1985, 26-30.

Karlsson, L. *Fortification Towers and Masonry Techniques in the Hegemony of Syracuse, 405-211 B.C.* (Acta Rom-4°, 49), Stockholm 1992.

Karo, G., Archäologische Funde vom Sommer 1930 bis Juni 1931, in *AA* 46 (1931), 211-308.

Karouzou, S., *Ἐθνικὸν Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Μουσεῖον. Συλλογὴ γλυπτῶν. Περιγραφικὸς κατάλογος, Ἀθῆναι* 1967.

Kauffmann-Samaras, A., Mousaios, in *LIMC* VI (1992), 685-687.

Kavvadias, P., *Ἔκθεσις τῶν πεπραγμένων τῆς Ἑταιρείας*, in *Prakt* 1898, 9-26.

-------, *Τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ καὶ ἡ θεραπεία τῶν ἀσθενῶν (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 2), Ἀθήνησιν* 1900.

Kern, O., Das Prooimion des orphischen Hymnenbuches, in *Hermes* 75 (1940), 20-26.

Knackfuss, H., *Didyma* I. *Die Baubeschreibung*, Berlin 1941.

Knell, H., Lepreon. Der Tempel der Demeter, in *AM* 98 (1983), 113-147.

Knigge, U., *Der Kerameikos von Athen: Führung durch Ausgrabung und Geschichte*, Athens 1988.
Koilakou, Ch., *Ναός Αγίας Μαρίνας Θησείου*, in *ArchDelt* 39 B1 (1984), 60.
Kolb, F., *Agora und Theater, Volks- und Festversammlung* (Archäologische Forschungen 9) Berlin 1981.
Konstantinopoulos, G., *Ροδιακά ΙΙ· Πύργοι της ελληνιστικής ροδιακής όχυρώσεως*, in *ArchEph* 1967, 115-128.
-------, *Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία Δωδεκανήσου*, in *ArchDelt* 23 B2 (1968), 432-449.
-------, *Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία Δωδεκανήσου*, in *ArchDelt* 24 B2 (1969), 451-485.
-------, *Νέα εύρήματα έκ Ρόδου και Αστυπηλαίας*, in *AAA* 6 (1973), 114-124.
-------, Städtebau im hellenistischen Rhodos, in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988*, Mainz am Rhein 1990, 207-213.
Koumanoudes, S.A., *Ημερολόγιον* 1845-1867 (*μεταγραφή* S.N. Koumanoudes), *Αθήνα* 1990.
Kourouniotes, K., *Ανασκαφή Πνυκός*, in *Prakt* 1910, 127-136.
-------, *Ανασκαφαί παρά την Πνύκα*, in *Prakt* 1916, 46-47.
-------, *Ανασκαφή Ελευσίνος* 1934, in *ArchDelt* 15 (1933-1935), Suppl., 1-48.
Kourouniotes K., and Antoniades, D., *Ανασκαφή «Πνυκός»*, in *Prakt* 1911, 106-109.
Kourouniotes K., and Thompson, H.A., The Pnyx in Athens. A Study Based on Excavations Conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service, in *Hesperia* 1 (1932), 90-217.
-------, reply to Dinsmoor (1933), in *AJA* 37 (1933), 652-656.
Krause, C., Zur baulichen Gestalt des republikanischen Comitiums, in *RM* 83 (1976), 31-69.
Kroll, J.H., *The Greek Coins* (The Athenian Agora XXVI), Princeton 1993.
Kron, U., Demos, Pnyx und Nymphenhügel. Zu Demos-Darstellungen und zum ältesten Kultort des Demos in Athen, in *AM* 94 (1979), 49-75.
Kyle, D.G., *Athletics in Ancient Athens* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 95), Leiden 1987.
-------, The Panathenaic Games: Sacred and Civic Athletics , in J. Neils (ed.), *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, Hanover, NH 1992, 77-101.
Łajtar, A., An Athenian Vow to Zeus Hypsistos, in *ZPE* 70 (1987), 165-166.
Lalonde, G.V., Horoi, in *Inscriptions: Horoi, Poletai Records, Leases of Public Lands* (The Athenian Agora XIX), Princeton 1991, 1-51.
Lanckoronski, K.G., unter Mitwirkung von G. Niemann und E. Petersen, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* I, Wien 1890.
Lawrence, A.W., *Greek Aims in Fortification*, Oxford 1979.
Leipen, N., *Athena Parthenos. A Reconstruction*, Toronto 1971.
Lewis, D.M., Law on the Lesser Panathenaia, in *Hesperia* 28 (1959), 239-247.
Lolling, H.G., *Αθηναϊκόν Θιασωτικόν ψήφισμα και ιερόν*, in *Δελτίον Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 8 (1892), 100-113.
Loukas, J.K., *Η Ρέα-Κυβέλη και οί γονιμικές λατρείες της Φλύας*, Halandri 1988.
McDonald, W.A., *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology 34), Baltimore 1943.

McNicoll, A., Some Developments in Hellenistic Siege Warfare with Special Reference to Asia Minor, in *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Ankara 1973*. Ankara 1978, 406-419.
-------, Developments in Techniques of Siegecraft and Fortification in the Greek World ca. 400-100 B.C., in P. Leriche and H. Tréziny (eds.), *La Fortification dans l'histoire du monde grec* (Actes du colloque international, Valbonne, décembre 1982), Paris 1986, 305-313.
Maier, F.G., *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften* I (Vestigia 1), Heidelberg 1959.
-------, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften* II (Vestigia 2), Heidelberg 1961.
Maiuri, A., Studi e ricerche sulla fortificazione di Pompei, in *MonAnt* 33 (1929), 113-276.
Mallwitz, A., Das Stadion, in E. Kunze, *Olympiaberichte* VIII: *Über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Berlin 1967, 16-82.
-------, *Olympia und seine Bauten*, München 1972.
Mansel, A.M., *Die Ruinen von Side*, Berlin 1963.
Marconi, P., Girgenti. Ricerche ed esplorazioni, in *NSc* (1926), 93-148.
Marsden, E.W., *Greek and Roman Artillery: Historical Development*, Oxford 1969.
Martin, R., *Manuel d'architecture grecque* I: *Matériaux et techniques* (Collection des manuels d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art), Paris 1965.
Meinel, R., *Das Odeion. Untersuchungen an überdachten antiken Theatergebäuden*, Frankfurt 1980.
Meliades, I., *Ἀνασκαφαὶ Νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*, in *Prakt* 1956, 262-265.
Meritt, B.D., Greek Inscriptions, in *Hesperia* 17 (1948), 1-53.
-------, Greek Inscriptions, in *Hesperia* 23 (1954), 233-283.
-------, Greek Inscriptions, in *Hesperia* 26 (1957), 24-97.
-------, Greek Inscriptions, in *Hesperia* 29 (1960), 1-77.
Meritt, B.D., and Traill, J.S., *Inscriptions. The Athenian Councillors* (The Athenian Agora XV), Princeton 1974.
Mertens, D., Metaponto: il teatro-ecclesiasterion, in *BdA* 16 (1982), 1-60.
-------, Metapont. Ein neuer Plan des Stadtzentrums, in *AA* 1985, 645-671.
Messerschmidt, W., Historische und ikonographische Untersuchungen zum Alexandersarkophag, in *Boreas* 12 (1989), 64-92.
Metcalf, D.M., The Slavonic Threat to Greece *circa* 580: Some Evidence from Athens, in *Hesperia* 31 (1962), 134-157.
Michel, C., *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, Bruxelles 1900.
Miller, S.G., Excavations at Nemea, 1976, in *Hesperia* 46 (1977), 1-26.
-------, Excavations at Nemea, 1977, in *Hesperia* 47 (1978), 58-88.
-------, Excavations at Nemea, 1978, in *Hesperia* 48 (1979), 73-103.
Mitchel, F.W., Lykourgan Athens: 338-322, in *University of Cincinnati Classical Studies* II (Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple, Second Series), Cincinnati 1973, 163-214.
Moretti, L., Il regolamento degli Iobacchi Ateniesi, in *CEFR* 89 (1986), 247-259.
Moysey, R.A., The Thirty and the Pnyx, in *AJA* 85 (1981), 31-37.
-------, A New Reference to the *Skene* of the Lykourgan Theater of Dionysios, in *AJA* 90 (1986), 212.
Munn, M.H., *The Defense of Attica: The Dema Wall and the Boiotian War of 378-375 B.C.*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1993.
Mussche, H.F., Note sur les fortifications de Sounion, in *BCH* 88 (1964), 423-432.
Mylonas, G.E., *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961.

Naumann, R., *Didyma Führer*, Istanbul s.a.
Neils, J., The Panathenaia: An Introduction, in J. Neils (ed.), *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, Hanover, NH 1992, 13-27.
Nilsson, M.P., *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age*, Lund 1957.
Noack, F., Untersuchungen in Ätolien und Akarnanien über befestigte griechische Städte, in *AA* 1916, 215-239.
-------, *Eleusis: Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtumes*, Berlin 1927.
Nock, A.D., The Gild of Zeus Hypsistos, in *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* I, Oxford 1972, 414-443.
Ober, J., *Fortress Attica: Defense of the Athenian Land Frontier 404-322 B.C.* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 84), Leiden 1985.
-------, Early Artillery Towers: Messenia, Boiotia, Attica, Megarid, in *AJA* 91 (1987), 569-604.
Oikonomides, A.N., *The Two Agoras in Ancient Athens*, Chicago 1964.
-------, An Etruscan in Fifth Century Athens (*IG* I^2 923), in *AncW* 10 (1984), 127-128.
Orlandos, A.K., *Les Matériaux de construction et la technique architecturale des anciens grecs* II (Ecole française d'Athènes, Travaux et mémoires 16bis; trans. V. Hadjimichali and K. Laumonier), Paris 1968.
Orsi, P., Siracusa. Nuove scoperte di antichità siracusane, in *NSc* 1891, 377-416.
-------, Noto Vecchio (Netum). Esplorazioni archeologiche, in *NSc* 1897, 69-90.
-------, Siracusa. 4°- Latomia di S. Venera, in *NSc* 1904, 276-280.
-------, Siracusa. Necropoli greco-arcaica nel predio ex Spagna, in *NSc* 1925, 296-321.
Osborne, R.G., *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika*, Cambridge 1985.
-------, The *Demos* and its Divisions in Classical Athens, in O. Murray and S.R.F. Price (eds.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, Oxford 1990, 265-293.
Pace, B., *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica* II. *Arte ingeneria e artigianato*, Milano-Genova-Roma-Napoli 1938.
-------, *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica* III. *Cultura e vita religiosa*, Genova-Roma-Napoli-Città di Castello 1946.
Pantazopoulos, N.I., *Ἀττικά: Ὀργεῶνες*, in *Polemon* 3 (1947/1948), 97-128.
Papageorgiou-Venetas, A., *Athens. The Ancient Heritage and the Historic Cityscape in a Modern Metropolis* (*Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 140), Athens 1994.
Papayiannopoulos-Palaios, A.A., *Ἀρχαῖαι Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἐπιγραφαί*, Ἀθῆναι 1939.
-------, *Ἀττικά: Ἱερὸν Μητρὸς παρὰ τὸ βάραθρον, ἱδρυθὲν πρὸς ἐξίλασμον τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Μητραγύρτου*, in *Polemon* 3 (1947/1948), 94-96.
Parapetti, R., Il Bouleuterion: aspetti architettonici e decorativi, in *Studi su Iasos di Caria. Venticinque anni di scavi della Missione Archeologica Italiana* (BdA Suppl. 31-32), Roma 1985, 105-136.
Parke, H.W., *Festivals of the Athenians*, Ithaca 1977.
Paton, J.M. (ed.), *The Erechtheum*, Cambridge, MA 1927.
Pedley, J.G., *Paestum. Greeks and Romans in Southern Italy*, London 1990.
Peek, W., Attische Inschriften. Nachträge und Verbesserungen zu IG. I^2. II^2, in *AM* 67 (1942), 1-217.
Perlzweig, J., *Lamps of the Roman Period: First to Seventh Century after Christ* (The Athenian Agora VII), Princeton 1961.

Pernier, L., Scavo dell'edificio della grande iscrizione nell'agorà di Gortina, in *ASAtene* 1 (1914), 373-376.
-------, L' "Odeum" nell' "agorà" di Gortina presso il Leteo, in *ASAtene* 8-9 (1925-26), 1-69.
Pervanoglu, P., Sepulcri scavati in Atene, in *BdI* 1862, 145-150.
Petrakos, V.Ch., *Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρεῖα. Ἡ ἱστορία τῶν 150 χρόνων τῆς, 1837-1987* (*Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 104), *Ἀθῆναι* 1987.
Philippaki, B., *Γ ' Ἐφορεία Κλασσικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων*, in *ArchDelt* 21 B1 (1966), 55-71.
Picard, C., Le complexe Métrôon-Bouleutérion-Prytanikon, à l'Agora d'Athènes, in *RA* 12 (1938), 97-101.
Pickard-Cambridge, A.W., *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens*, Oxford 1946.
Pittakes, K.S., *Πύραν[δρος*;, in *Arch Eph* 1852a, 683.
-------, *Κόνω[ν*, in *ArchEph* 1852b, 683.
-------, *Ὅρος Πυκνός*, in *ArchEph* 1853, 774-775.
Polacco, L., *Il teatro di Dioniso Eleutereo ad Atene* (Monografie della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente 4), Rome 1990a.
-------, *Il teatro antico di Siracusa* II, Rimini 1990b.
Polacco, L. and Anti, C., *Il teatro antico di Siracusa* I, Rimini 1981.
Polacco, L., Trojani, M. and Scolari, A.C., Ricerche e scavi nell'area del teatro antico di Siracusa (1970-1983), in *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Studi sulla Sicilia Antica*, *Kokalos* 30-31 (1984-85), 839-846.
-------, *Il santuario di Cerere e Libera ad summam Neapolim di Siracusa*, Venezia 1989.
Raubitschek, A.E., *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis: A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.*, Cambridge, MA 1949.
Rhodes, P.J., *The Athenian Boule*, Oxford 1972.
-------, *Thucydides History II*, Warminster 1988.
Richter, G.M.A., *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, London 1966.
Ridgway, B.S., Images of Athena on the Akropolis, in J. Neils (ed.), *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, Hanover, NH 1992, 119-142.
Ritchie, C.E., *The Athenian Boundary Stones of Public Domain* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Colorado), University Microfilms1984.
Robertson, N., *Festivals and Legends: The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual* (Phoenix Suppl. 31), Toronto 1992.
-------, Athens' Festival of the New Wine, in *HSCP* 95 (1993), 197-250.
Robinson, H.S., *Pottery of the Roman Period: Chronology* (The Athenian Agora V), Princeton 1959.
Rogers, G.M., *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City*, London 1991.
Romano, D.G., *The Stadia of the Peloponnesos* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania), University Microfilms 1981.
-------, The Stadium of Eumenes II at Pergamon, in *AJA* 86 (1982), 586-589.
-------, The Ancient Stadium: Athletes and Arete, in *AncW* 7 (1983), 9-16.
-------, The Panathenaic Stadium and Theater of Lykourgos: A Re-Examination of the Facilities on the Pnyx Hill, in *AJA* 89 (1985), 441-454.

-------, *Athletics and Mathematics in Archaic Corinth: The Origins of the Greek Stadion* (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 206), Philadelphia 1993.

Rotroff, S.I., Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery: Preface, in H.A. Thompson and D.B. Thompson, *Hellenistic Pottery and Terracottas* (reprinted from *Hesperia*), Princeton 1987, 1-8.

-------, Athenian Hellenistic Pottery: Toward a Firmer Chronology, in *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin, 1988*, Mainz 1990, 173-178.

Rotroff, S.I., and Camp, J. McK., The Date of the Third Period of the Pnyx, in *Hesperia*, forthcoming.

Rumscheid, F., *Untersuchungen zur kleinasiatischen Bauornamentik des Hellenismus* (Beiträge zur Erschliessung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur 14), Mainz 1994.

Rzach, A., Musaios, in *RE* XVI.1 (1933), 757-767.

Säflund, G., *Le mura di Roma repubblicana* (Acta Rom-4°, 1), Lund 1932.

Scanlon, T., The Footrace of the Heraia at Olympia, in *AncW* 9 (1984), 77-90.

Schede, M., *Die Ruinen von Priene,* Berlin 1964.

Schefold, K., *Der Alexander Sarkophag*, Berlin 1968.

Schleif, H., and Zschietschmann, W., Das Philippeion, *Olympische Forschungen* 1, Berlin 1944, 1-52.

Schwenk, C.J., *Athens in the Age of Alexander. The Dated Laws and Decrees of 'the Lykourgan Era' 338-322 B.C.*, Chicago 1985.

Schwyzer, E., *Griechische Grammatik* I, München 1939.

Scranton, R.L., *Greek Walls*, Cambridge, MA 1941.

Shapiro, H.A., *Mousikoi Agones*: Music and Poetry at the Panathenaia, in J. Neils, *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens,* Hanover, NH 1992, 53-75.

Shear, T.L., Jr., The Athenian Agora, Excavations of 1973-1974, in *Hesperia* 44 (1975), 331-374.

-------, The Persian Destruction of Athens. Evidence from Agora Deposits, in *Hesperia* 62 (1993), 383-482.

-------, *Ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποιησάτην*: The Agora and the Democracy, in W.D.E. Coulson, O. Palagia, T.L. Shear, Jr., H.A. Shapiro and F.J. Frost (eds.), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy.* Proceedings of an International Conference Celebrating 2500 Years since the Birth of Democracy in Greece, Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, December 4-6, 1992, Oxford 1994, 225-248.

Shoe, L.T., *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, Cambridge, MA 1936.

Sinclair, R.K., *Democracy and Participation in Athens,* Cambridge 1988.

Sjöqvist, E., Pnyx and comitium, in G.E. Mylonas (ed.), *Studies Presented to D.M. Robinson* I, Saint Louis 1951, 400-411.

Skias, A.N., *Ἀθηναϊκαὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπὶ βράχου*, in *ArchEph* 1899, 237-240.

Slane, K.W., *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Roman Pottery and Lamps* (Corinth XVIII:2), Princeton 1990.

Smith, A., *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* I, London 1892.

Sokolowski, F., *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969.

Sommerstein, A.H., *Aristophanes: Clouds* (The Comedies of Aristophanes 3),

Warminster 1982.
Stählin, F. *et alii, Pagasai und Demetrias. Beschreibung der Reste und Stadtgeschichte*, Berlin 1934.
Stanton, G.R., The Oriental Background of the Compound *γονυπετεῖν*, in *Glotta* 46 (1968), 1-6.
Stanton, G.R., and Bicknell, P.J., Voting in Tribal Groups in the Athenian Assembly, in *GRBS* 28 (1987), 51-92.
Steuding, H., Musaios, in W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* II.2 (1894-1897), 3235-3237.
Stillwell, R., Architectural Studies, in *Hesperia* 2 (1933), 110-148.
-------, *Corinth* 2: *The Theatre*, Princeton 1952.
van Straten, F.T. Gifts for the Gods, in H.S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* (Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 2), Leiden 1981, 65-151.
Stroud, R., The Sanctuary of Aiakos in the Athenian Agora, in *AJA* 97 (1993), 308-309.
-------, The Aiakeion and Tholos of Athens in POxy 2087, in *ZPE* 103 (1994), 1-9.
Tačeva-Hitova, M., Dem Hypsistos geweihte Denkmäler in den Balkanländern, in *BalkSt* 19 (1978), 59-75.
Talcott, L. and Philippaki, B., Figured Pottery, in Talcott, L., Philippaki, B., Edwards, G.R. and Grace, V.R., *Small Objects from the Pnyx* II (Hesperia Suppl. 10), Princeton 1956, 1-77.
Talcott, L., Philippaki, B., Edwards, G.R. and Grace, V.R., *Small Objects from the Pnyx* II (Hesperia Suppl. 10), Princeton 1956.
Teodorsson, S.-T., *The Phonemic System of the Attic Dialect* (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia XXXII), Lund 1974.
Theophaneides, V.D., *Ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τῆς Πνυκός*, *ArchDelt* 13 (1930-1931), 171-176.
Thompson, H.A., Pnyx and Thesmophorion, in *Hesperia* 5 (1936), 151-200.
-------, Buildings on the West Side of the Agora: Metroon-Bouleuterion Complex, in *Hesperia* 6 (1937), 115-217.
-------, The Excavation of the Athenian Agora. Twelfth Season: 1947, in *Hesperia* 17 (1948), 149-196.
-------, Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1948, in *Hesperia* 18 (1949), 211-229.
-------, Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1951, in *Hesperia* 21 (1952), 83-113.
-------, The Panathenaic Festival, in *AA* 1961, 224-231.
-------, The Pnyx in Models, in *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool* (Hesperia Suppl. 19), Princeton, 1982, 133-147.
Thompson, H.A. and Scranton, R.L., Stoas and City Walls on the Pnyx, in *Hesperia* 12 (1943), 269-383.
Thompson, H.A. and Wycherley, R.E.,*The Agora of Athens. The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center* (The Athenian Agora XIV), Princeton 1972.
Threatte, L., *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I, Berlin 1980.
Threpsiades, I.C., *Ἀνασκαφικαὶ Ἔρευναι ἐν Καστέλλᾳ τοῦ Πειραιῶς*, in *Prakt* 1935, 159-195.
-------, *Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ τυχαῖα εὑρήματα Ἀττικῆς, Βοϊωτίας καὶ Εὐβοίας*, in *ArchEph* 1971, Chr. 8-38.
Tobin, J., Some New Thoughts on Herodes Atticus's Tomb, his Stadium of 143/4 and Philostratos *VS* 2.550, in *AJA* 97 (1993), 81-89.
Todd, S.C., *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and the Attic Orators: The Social Composition of

the Athenian Jury, in *JHS* 110 (1990), 146-173.
Toksoz, C., *Ancient Cities of Lycia*, Istanbul 1988.
Tomlinson, R.A., *Emplekton* Masonry and 'Greek Structura', in *JHS* 81 (1961), 133-140.
Townsend, R., *Aspects of Athenian Architectural Activity in the Second Half of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina), University Microfilms 1982.
-------, *The East Side of the Agora. The Remains beneath the Stoa of Attalos* (The Athenian Agora XXVII), Princeton 1995.
Tracy, S.V., and Habicht, C., New and Old Panathenaic Victor Lists, in *Hesperia* 60 (1991), 187-236.
Traill, J.S., *Demos and Trittys: Epigraphical and Topographical Studies in the Organization of Attica*, Toronto 1986.
Travlos, J., *Πολεοδομικὴ Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, *Ἀθῆναι* 1960.
-------, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London 1971.
-------, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika*, Tübingen 1988.
Tsigakou, F.-M., *Through Romantic Eyes*, Alexandria, VA 1991.
Tsirivakos, I.K., *Εἰδήσεις ἐκ Πειραιῶς*, in *AAA* 1 (1968), 113-15, with German summary, pp. 115-16.
Ussher, R.G., *Aristophanes: Ecclesiazusae*, Oxford 1973.
Valavanis, P.D., *Παναθηναϊκοὶ ἀμφορεῖς ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐρέτρια. Συμβολὴ στὴν ἀττικὴ ἀγγειογραφία τοῦ 4ου π.Χ. αἰ.* (*Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 122), *Ἀθήνα* 1991.
Vallois, R., Topographie délienne II: Les édifices du groupe Nord, in *BCH* 53 (1929), 185-315.
Vanderpool, E., News Letter from Greece, in *AJA* 62 (1958), 321-325.
Vecchio, G., Le mura di piazza Bellini, in *Napoli antica* (Exhibition catalogue, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli), Napoli 1985, 156-158.
Vischer, W., Sitzen oder Stehen in den griechischen Volksversammlungen, in *RhM* 28 (1873), 380-390.
Walbank, F.W., *Philip V of Macedon*, Cambridge 1940.
Welcker, F.G., *Der Felsaltar des höchsten Zeus oder das Pelasgikon zu Athen, bisher genannt die Pnyx*, Berlin 1852.
Wiegand, Th., and Schrader, H., *Priene*, Berlin 1904.
Willetts, R.F., *The Law Code of Gortyn* (Kadmos Suppl. 1), Berlin 1967.
Williams, H., *The Lamps* (Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth V), Leiden 1981.
Winter, F.E., Ikria and Katastegasma in the Walls of Athens, in *Phoenix* 13 (1959), 161-200.
-------, *Greek Fortifications* (Phoenix Suppl. 9), Toronto 1971.
-------, Arkadian Notes, 1. Identification of the Agora Buildings at Orchomenos and Mantinea, in *EchCl* 31 (1987), 235-246.
-------, The Chronology of the Ancient Defenses of Acrocorinth: A Reconsideration, in *AJA* 95 (1991), 109-121.
Wrede, W., Phyle, in *AM* 49 (1924), 153-224.
-------, *Attische Mauern*, Athens 1933.
Wycherley, R.E., *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (The Athenian Agora III), Princeton 1957.

-------, Poros: Notes on Greek Building-Stones, in D.W. Bradeen and M.F. McGregor (eds.), *Φόρος. Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt* , Locust Valley, NY 1974, 179-187.

Yavis, C.G., *Greek Altars. Origins and Typology, Including the Minoan-Mycenaean Offertory Apparatus*, Saint Louis 1949.

Zachariadou, O., *Οδός Ερυσίχθονος* 23 (*οικόπεδο Γ. Αντύπα*), in *ArchDelt* 39 B (1984), 11.

Zerboudake, E., *Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου. Ἀνασκαφαί· Πόλις Ρόδου*, in *ArchDelt* 25 B2 (1970), 500-517.

Ziller, E., Ausgrabungen am Panathenäischen Stadion, in *Erbkams Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 20 (1870), 455 ff.

Index of Written Sources

Inscriptions

Addresses of Contributors

P.G. Calligas	Acropolis Center, Makriyanni 2-4, GR-11742 Athens, Greece
J. McK. Camp II	American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Souidias 54, GR-10676 Athens, Greece
D.H. Conwell	1112 Crown Point Road West, Signal Mountain, TN 37377, U.S.A.
A.J. Domínguez	Departamento de Historia Antigua, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 28049 Madrid, Spain
B. Forsén	Finnish Archaeological Institute at Athens, Zitrou 16, GR-11742 Athens, Greece
M.H. Hansen	Copenhagen Polis Centre, Njalsgade 94, DK-2300 København S, Denmark
L. Karlsson	Istituto Svedese di studi classici a Roma, Via Omero 14, 00197 Roma, Italy
D. Peppas Delmousou	Epigraphical Museum, Tositsa 1, GR-10682 Athens, Greece
D. G. Romano	Mediterranean Section, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 33rd and Spruce Streets, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6324, U.S.A.
S.I. Rotroff	Department of Classics, Washington University, Campus Box 1050, One Brookings Drive, St. Louis, MO 63130-4899, U.S.A.
G.R. Stanton	Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of New England, Armidale NSW 2351, Australia
H.A. Thompson	School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, Olden Lane, Princeton, NJ 08540, U.S.A.

List of Illustrations

Fig. 33. Plan of Pnyx III. The hatched area just above the bema indicates the probable foundation bedding of the Altar of Zeus Agoraios. The dotted area represents the slanting outer edge of the auditorium, which was not used as a seating floor. After Travlos (1971), 475, fig. 599.

Figs. 34-35. Crowning and base mouldings of the orthostate of the Altar of Zeus Agoraios. Cf. Travlos (1971), 109, figs. 147-148. Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations, neg. no. I-51 and I-52.

Figs. 36-37. Crowning and base mouldings of the Alexander sarcophagus. Photo by W. Schiele. Courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul, neg. no. R 198801 and R 198901.

Figs. 38-39. Crowning and base mouldings of the statue base of the Philippeion in Olympia. Cf. Schleif and Zschietschmann (1944), pl. 20. Courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Athen, neg. no. OL 2661-2662.

Fig. 40. Section through front of auditorium showing proposed reconstruction of the sloping floor of Pnyx III on the basis of the height of the niches of the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos above the rock-cut floor. After Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), pl. IIIA.

Fig. 41. Syracuse. Theatre. Upper terrace and *Via dei Sepolcri*. After Polacco et al. (1984-85), 842, fig. 1.

Fig. 42. Syracuse. Theatre. Northern *katatome*. Plan and elevation. After Polacco (1990b), pl. IX. 2-3.

Fig. 43. Poseidonia. The *bouleuterion*. After Greco and Theodorescu (1983), fig. 8.

Fig. 44. Agrigento. The *ekklesiasterion* and the Oratory of Phalaris. After De Miro (1967), 166, fig. 3.

Fig. 45. Athens. The Old Bouleuterion and the Metroon (dotted line). After Shear (1993), 419, fig. 2.

Fig. 46. Delos. The *ekklesiasterion*. After Bruneau and Ducat (1983), 158, fig. 36.

Fig. 47. Mantineia. The so-called *bouleuterion*. After McDonald (1943), pl. IX (below).

Fig. 48. Metapontion. The *ekklesiasterion* (dotted line) and the theatre. After Mertens (1984), 648, fig. 2.

Fig. 49. Gortyn. The *bouleuterion* and the odeion (dotted line). After Anti (1947), 159, fig. 46.

Fig. 50. Ephesos. Plan of the northern part of the *agora* showing the *bouleuterion*-odeion. After Alzinger (1972-75), 251-252, fig. 1.

Illustrations

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

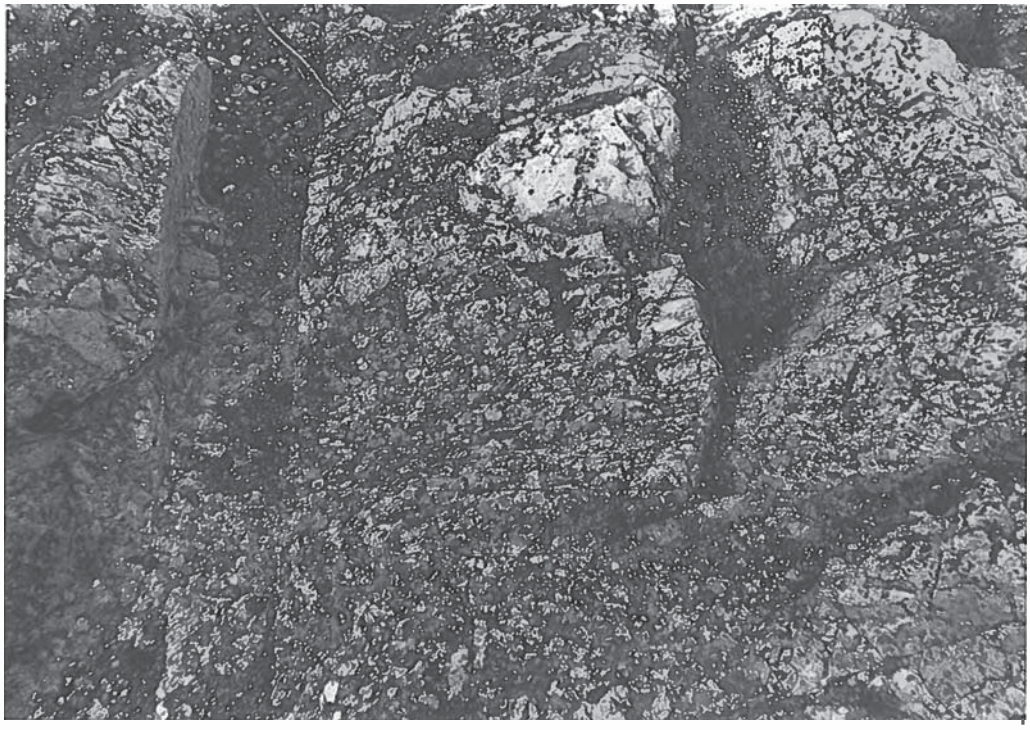


Fig. 4

Fig. 5

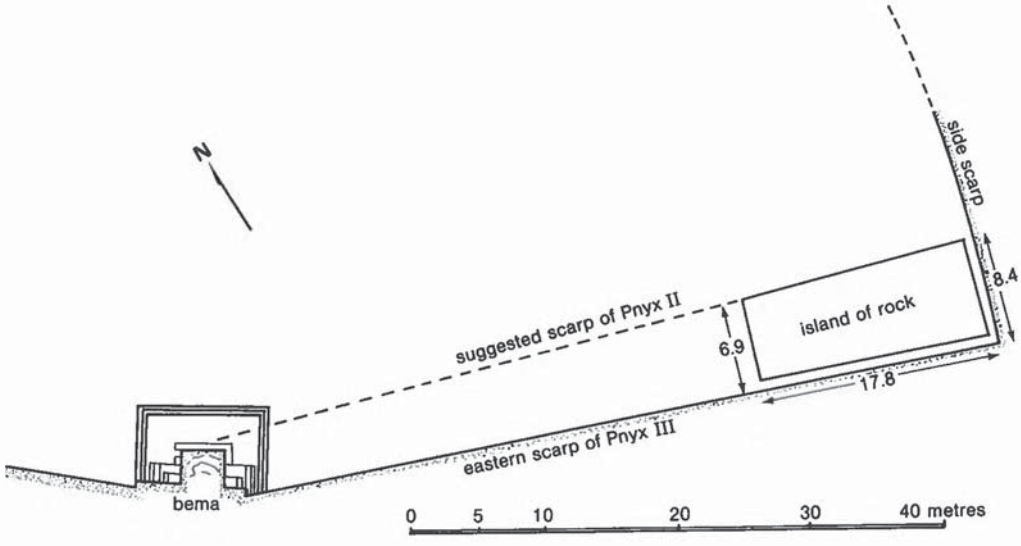

N
side scarp
8.4
suggested scarp of Pnyx II
island of rock
6.9
17.8
eastern scarp of Pnyx III
bema
0
5
10
20
30
40 metres

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

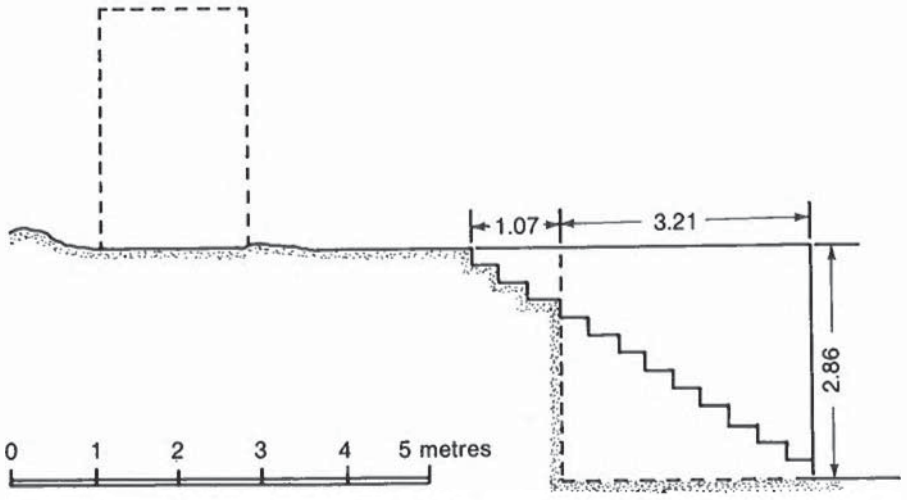

1.07
3.21
2.86
0
1
2
3
4
5 metres

Fig. 9

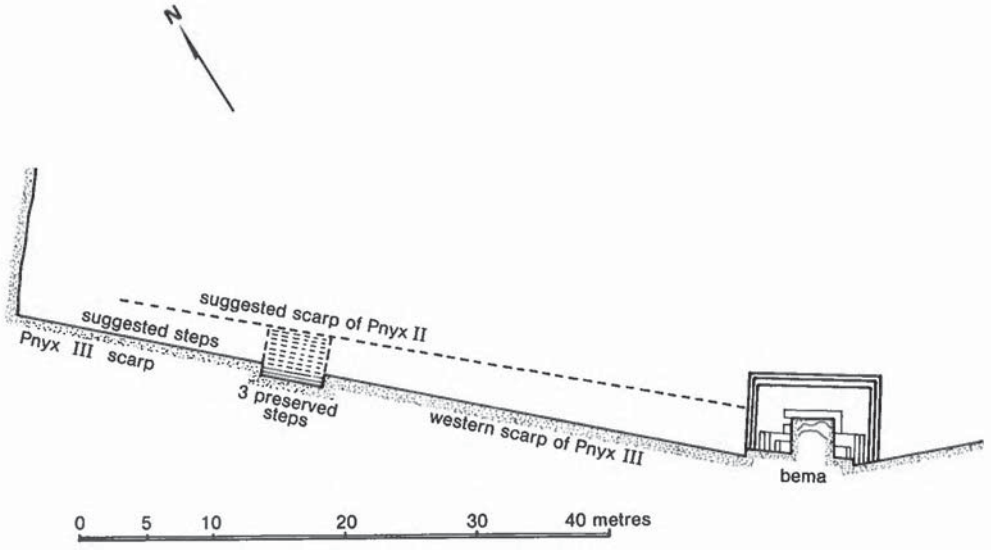

N
suggested scarp of Pnyx II
suggested steps
Pnyx III scarp
3 preserved steps
western scarp of Pnyx III
bema
0
5
10
20
30
40 metres

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

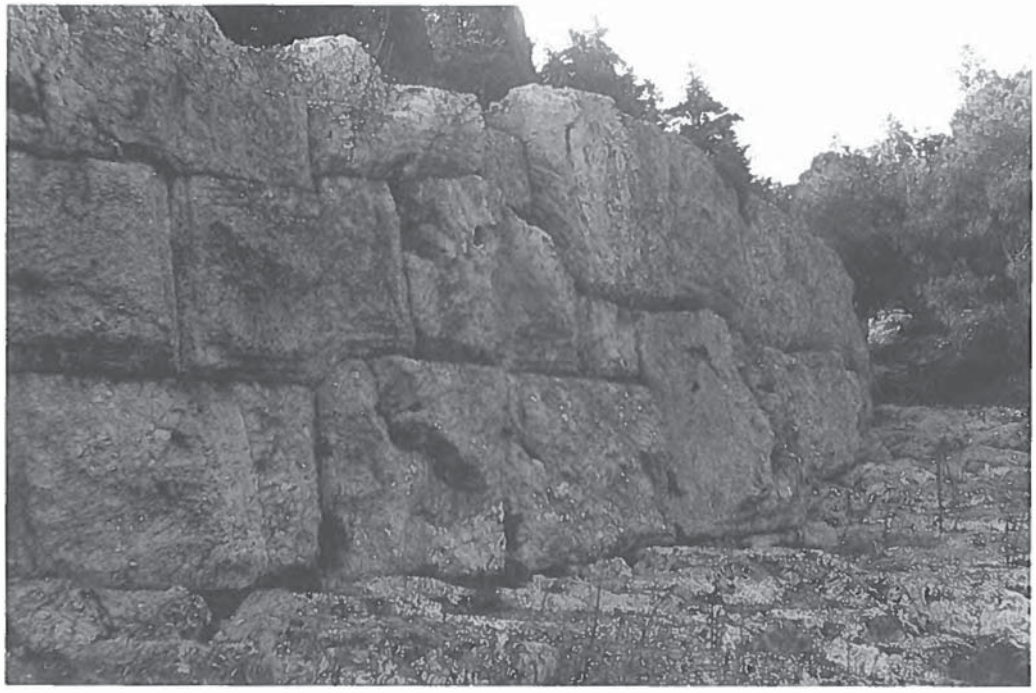


Fig. 12

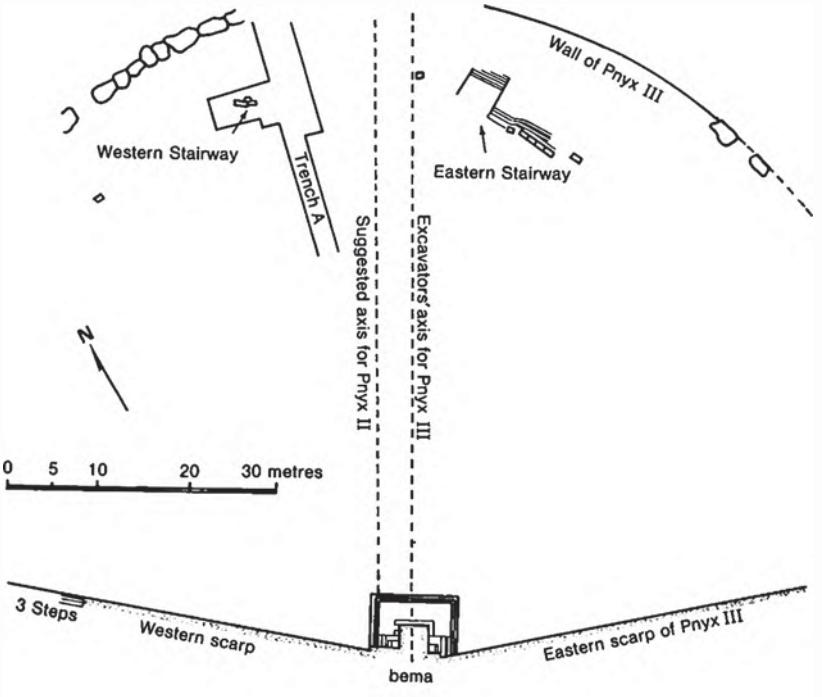

Wall of Pnyx III
Western Stairway
Trench A
Eastern Stairway
Suggested axis for Pnyx II
Excavators' axis for Pnyx III
N
0 5 10 20 30 metres
3 Steps
Western scarp
Eastern scarp of Pnyx III
bema

Fig. 13

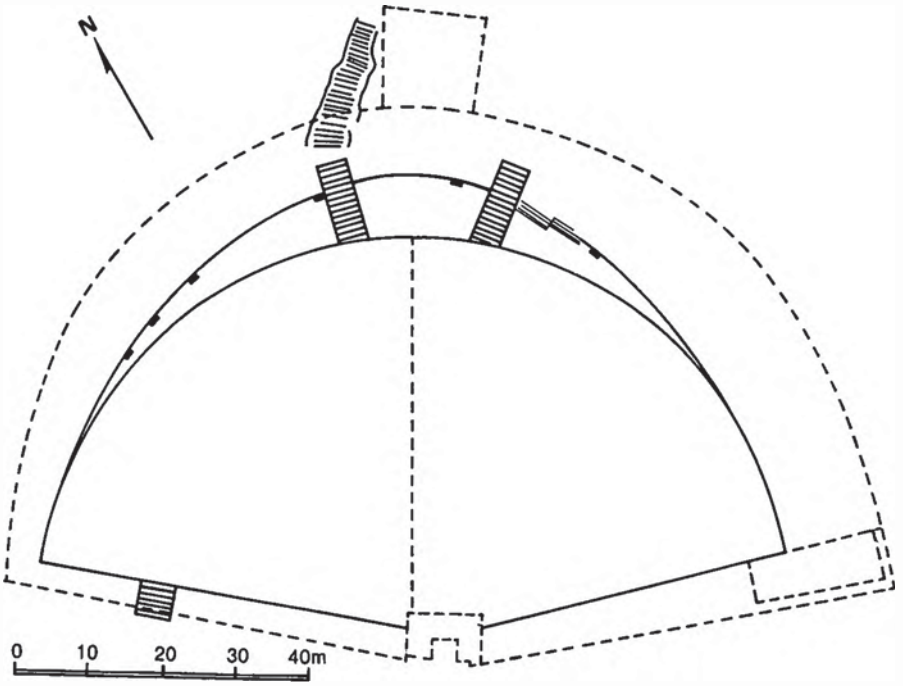

N
0 10 20 30 40m

Fig. 14

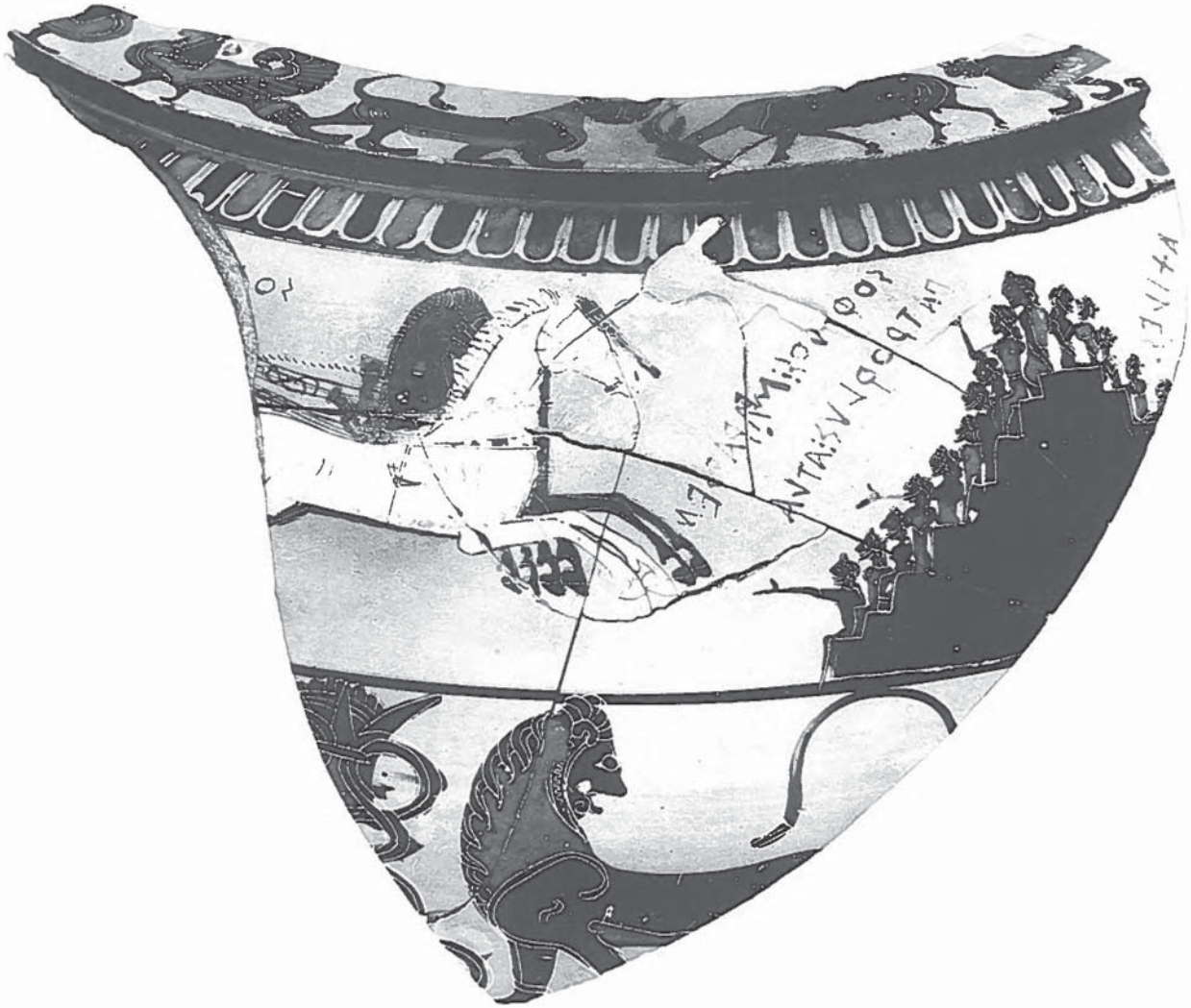
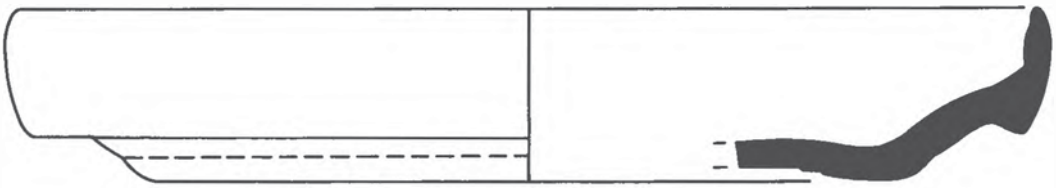


Fig. 15

Fig. 16

Fig. 17



Pnyx (PN III 31)

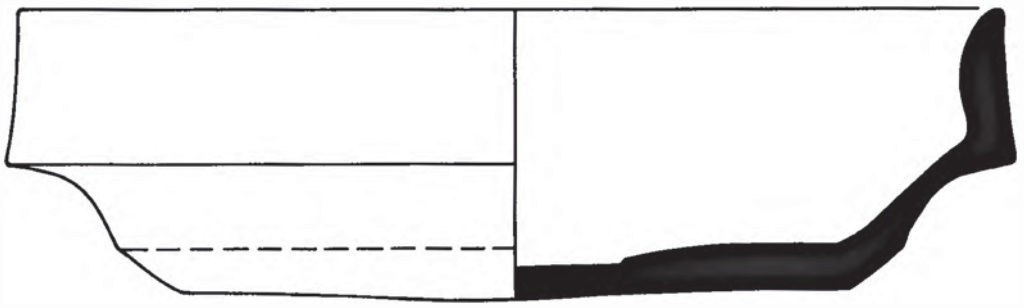
Fig. 18

Fig. 19

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

Fig. 22



Agora V, K5

Fig. 23

Fig. 24

Fig. 25

Fig. 26

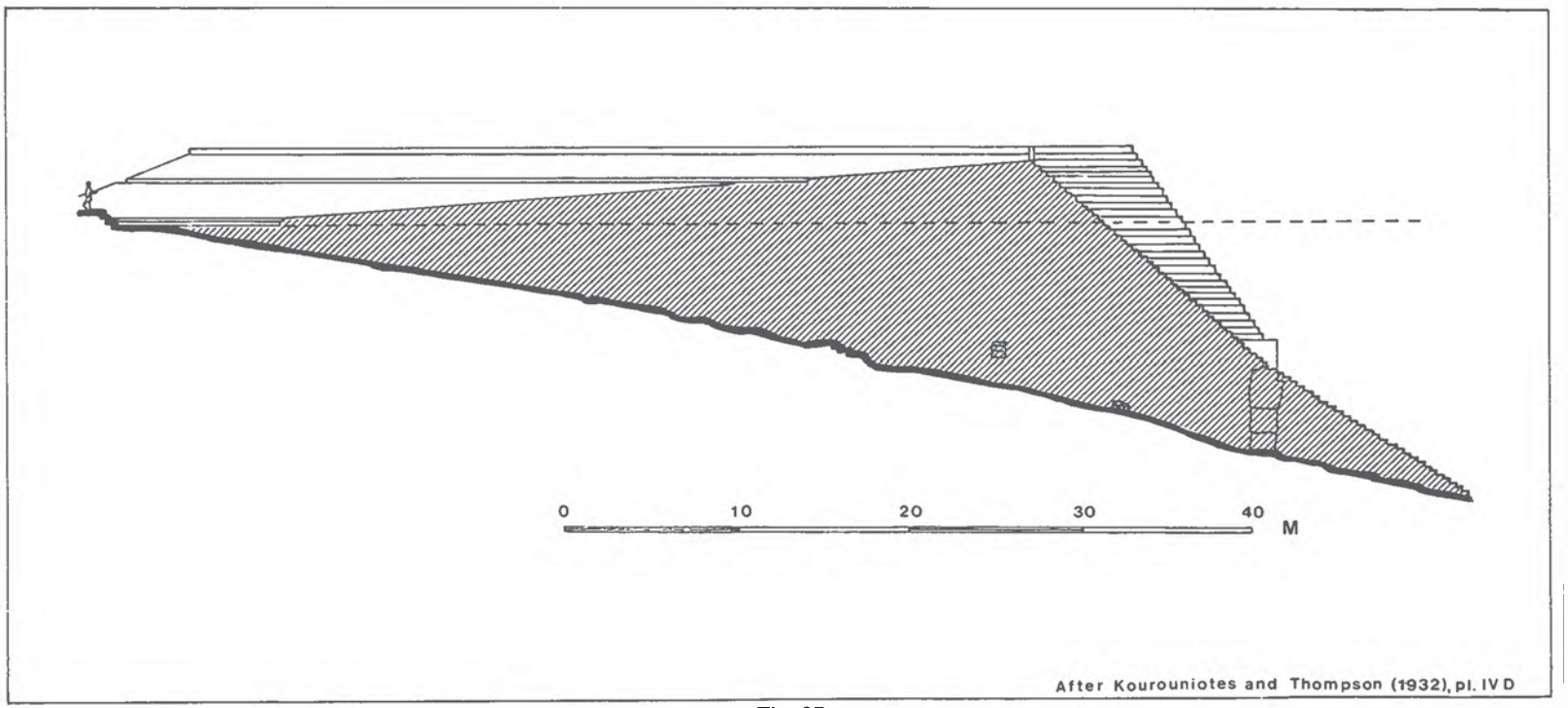


Fig. 27

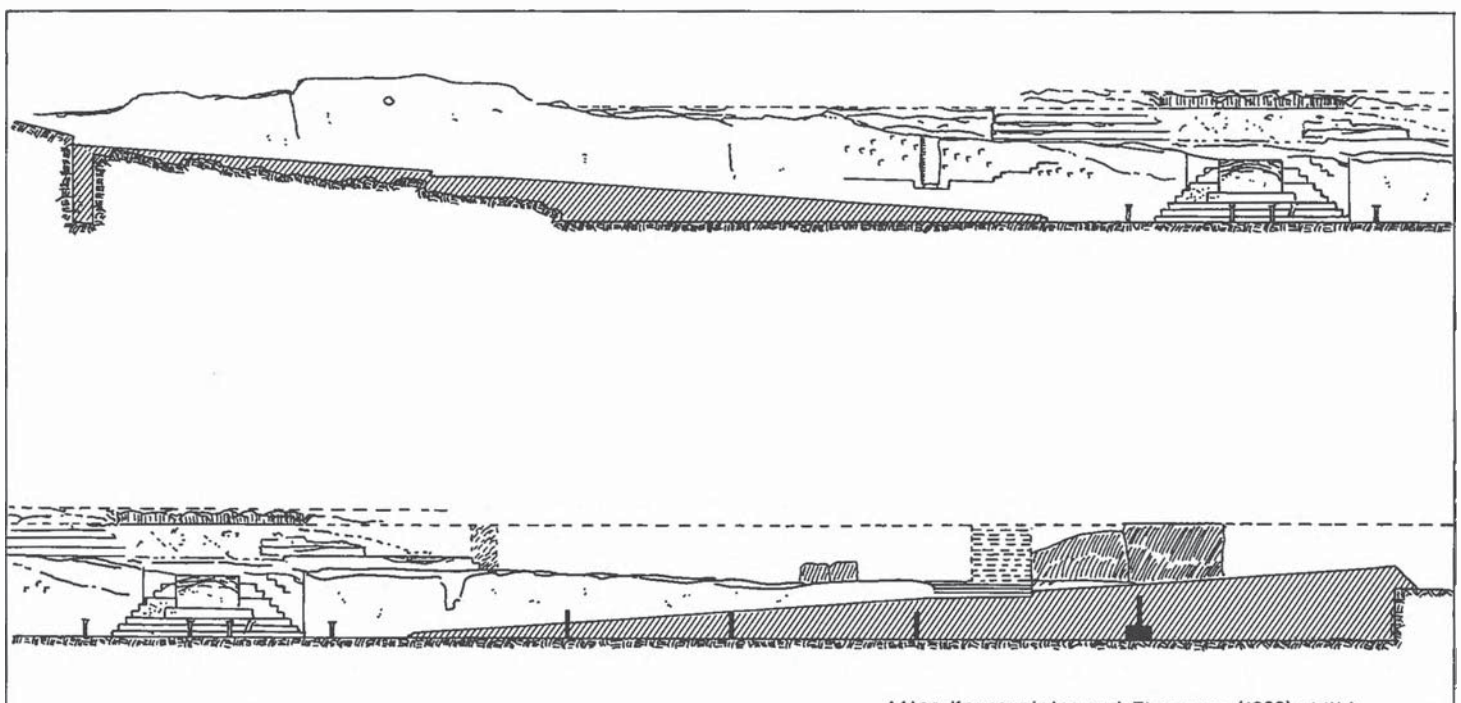


Fig. 28

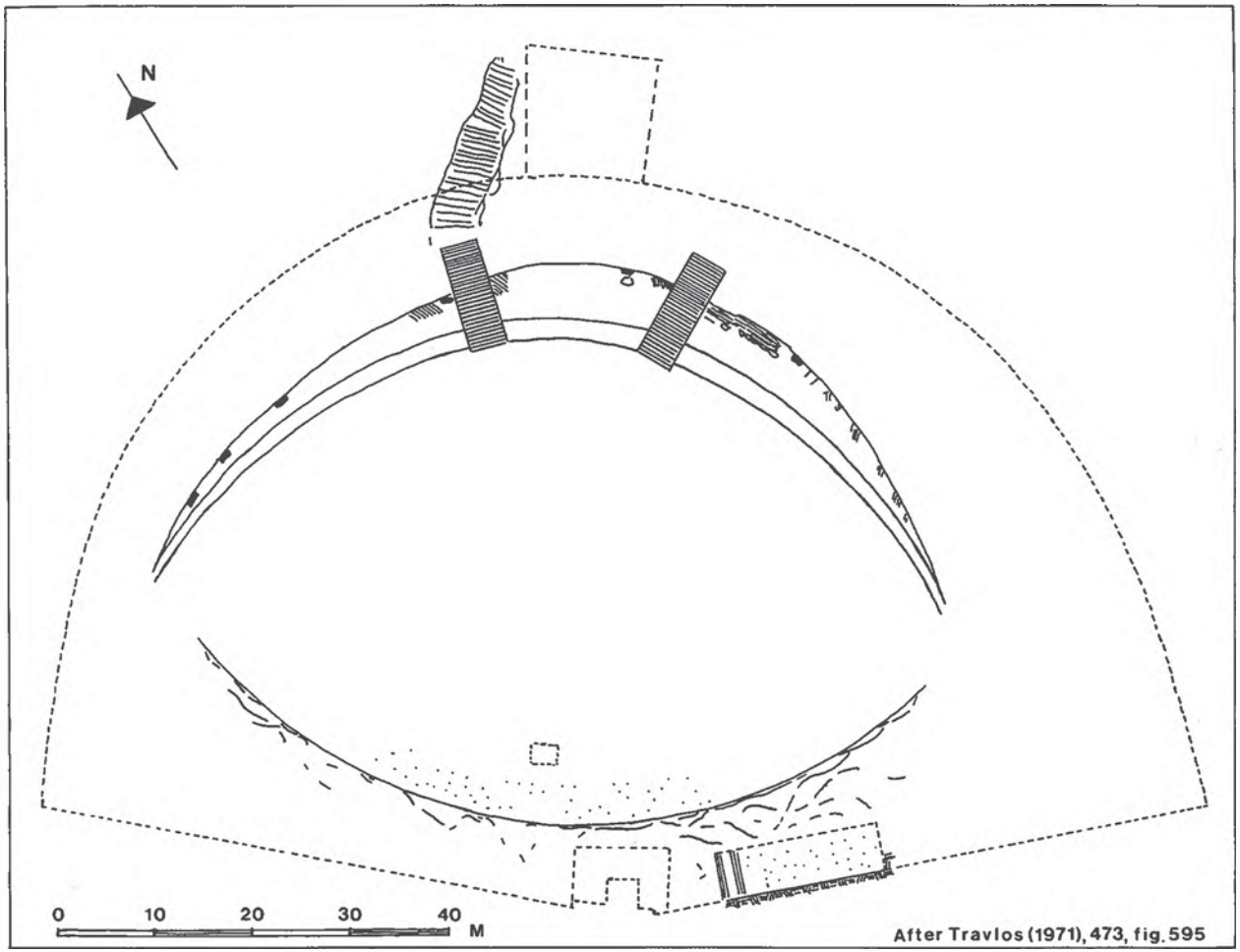


Fig. 29

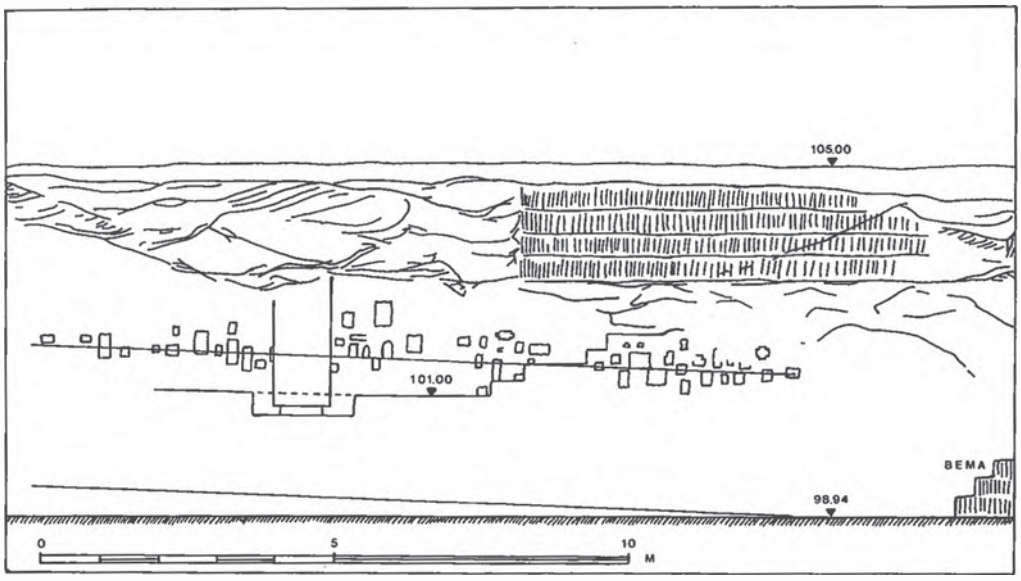


Fig. 30

Fig. 31

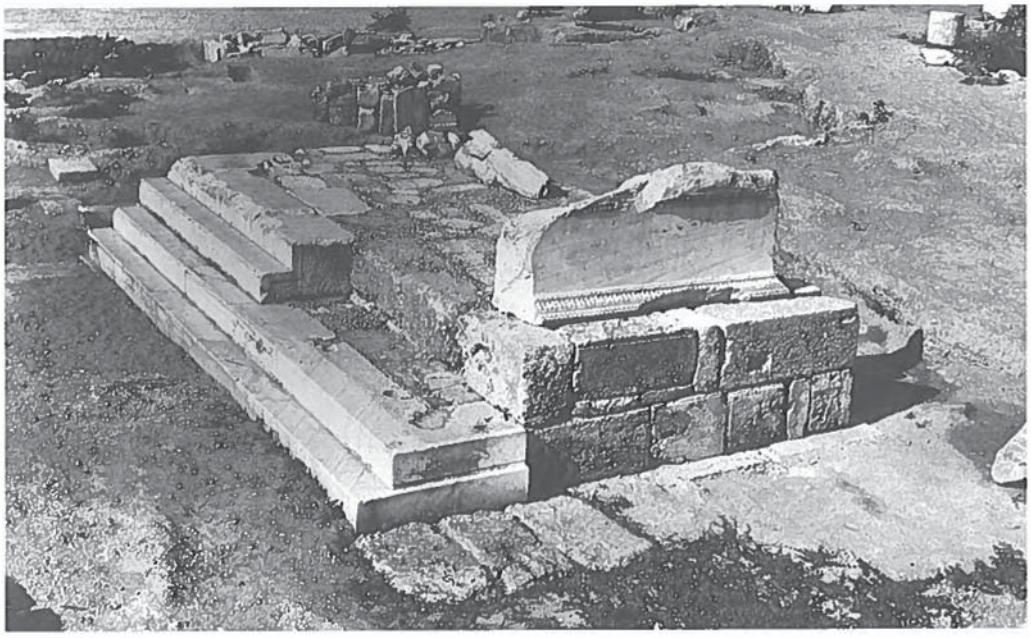


Fig. 32

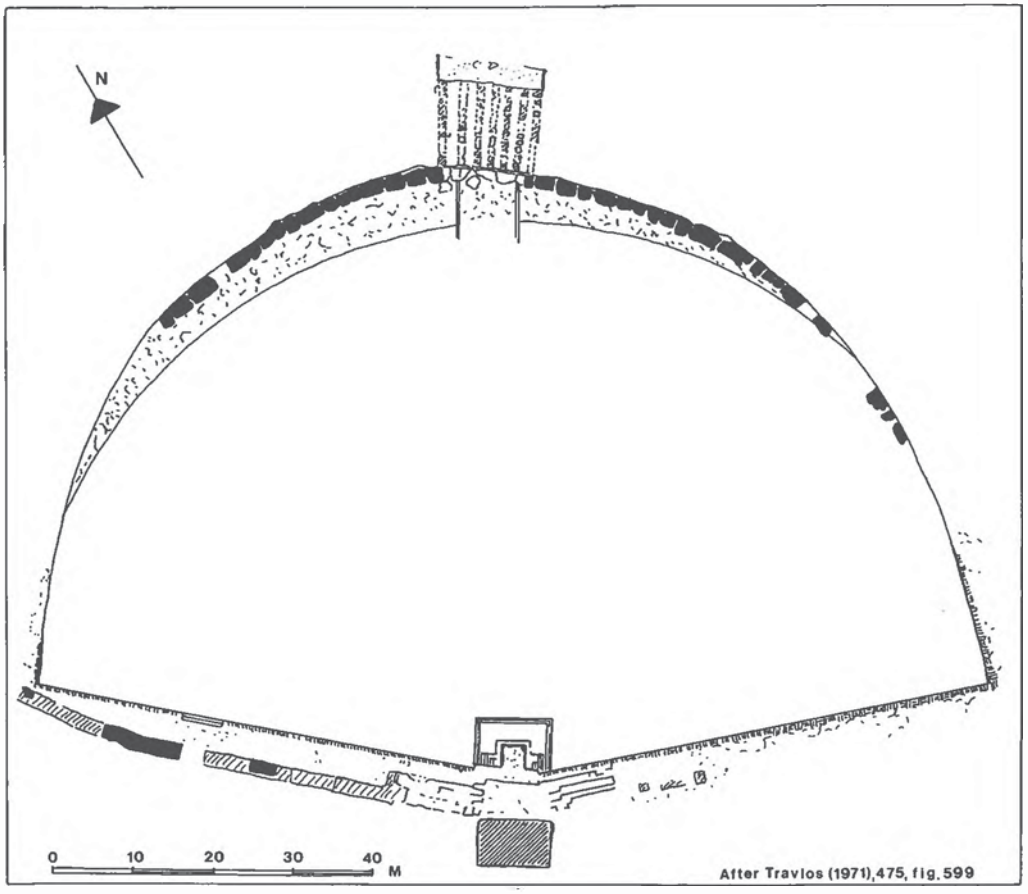


Fig. 33

Fig. 34

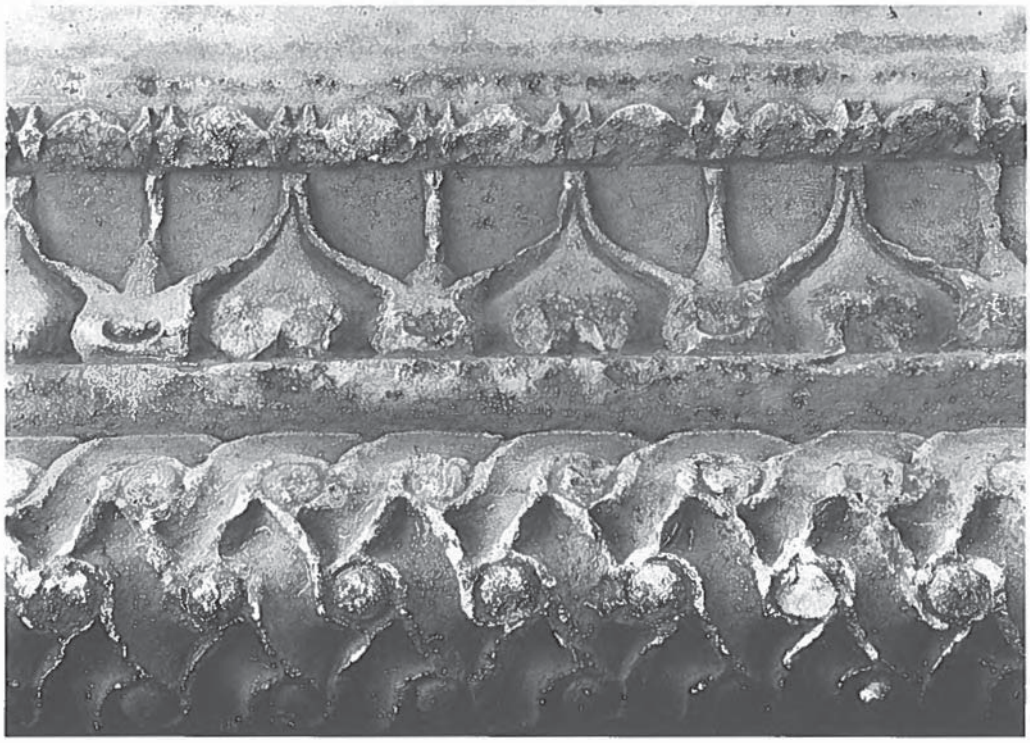


Fig. 35

Fig. 36

Fig. 37

Fig. 38

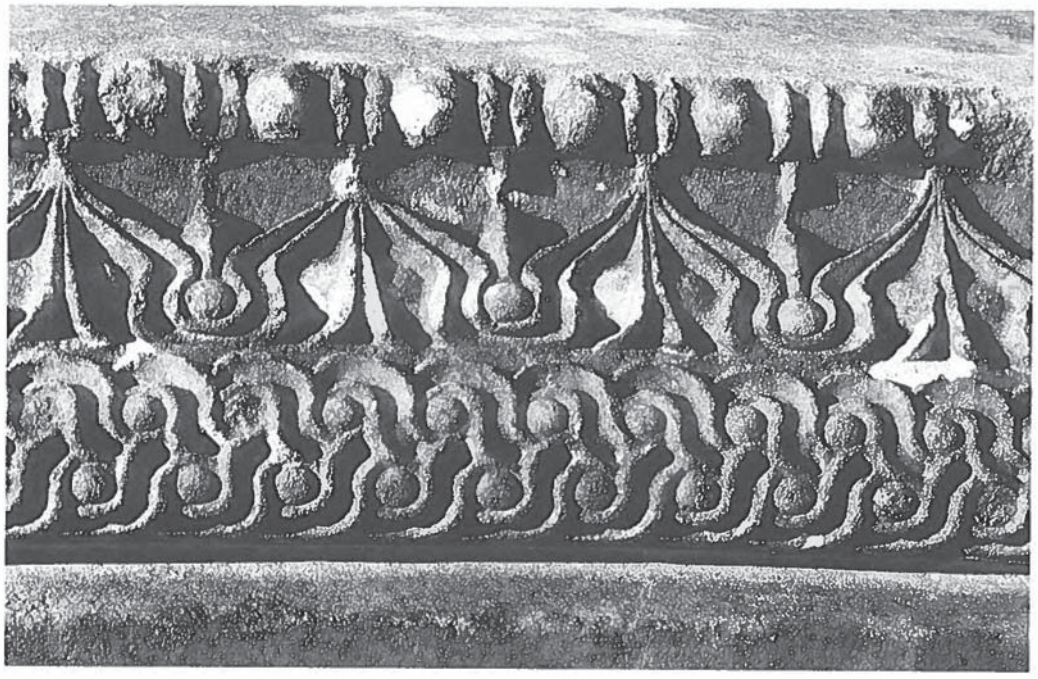


Fig. 39

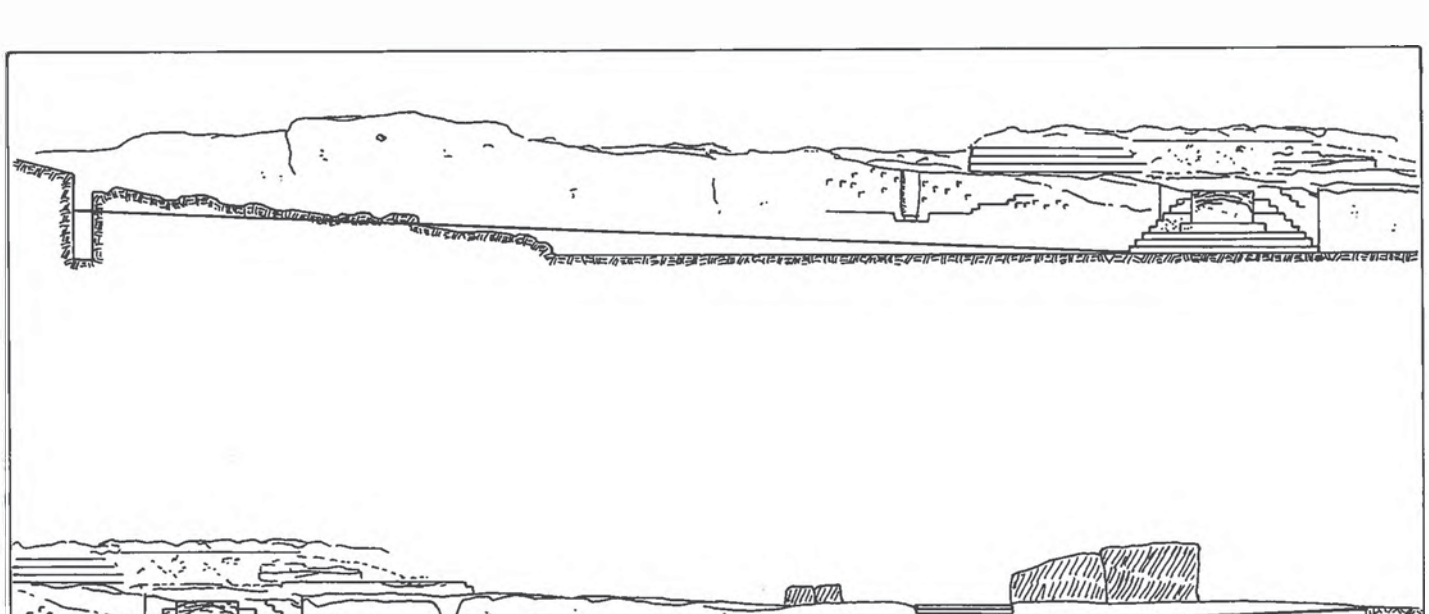


Fig. 40

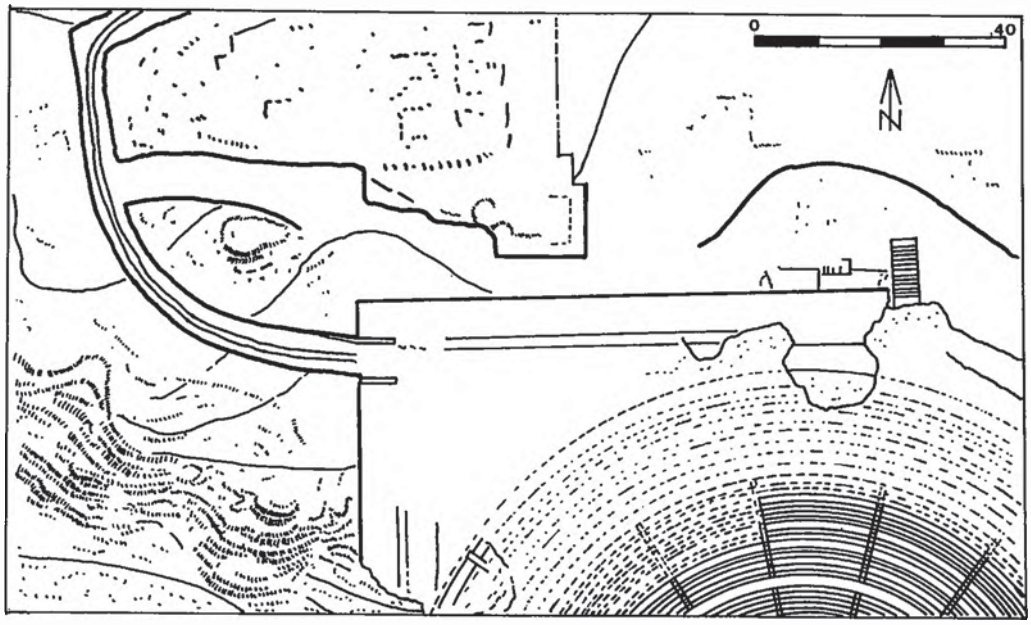


Fig. 41

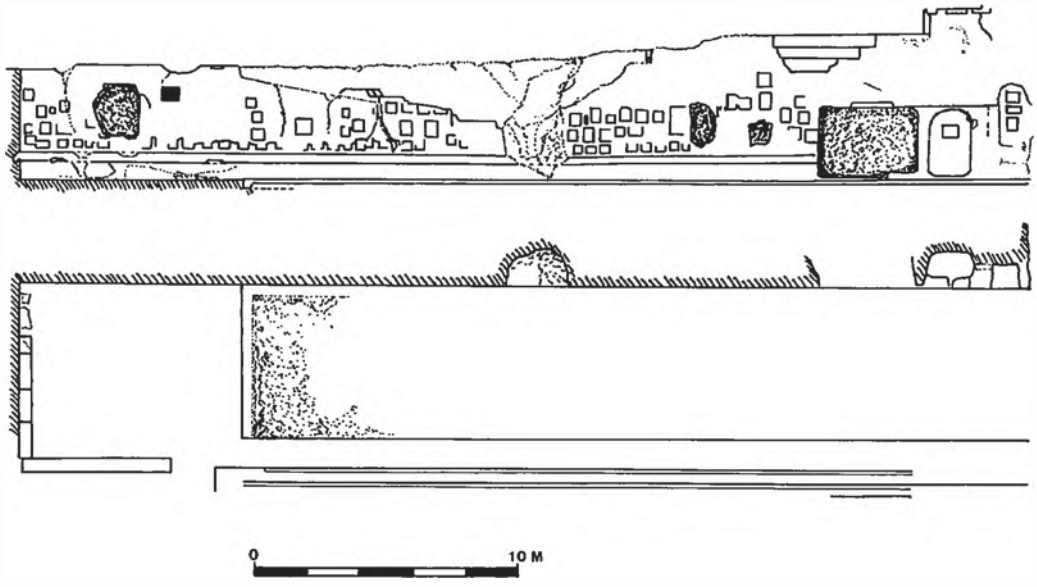


Fig. 42

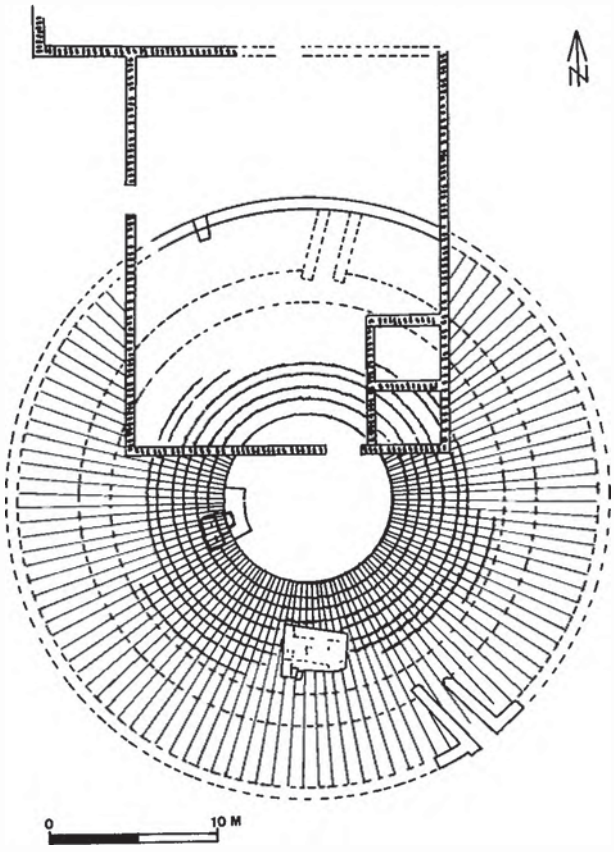


Fig. 43

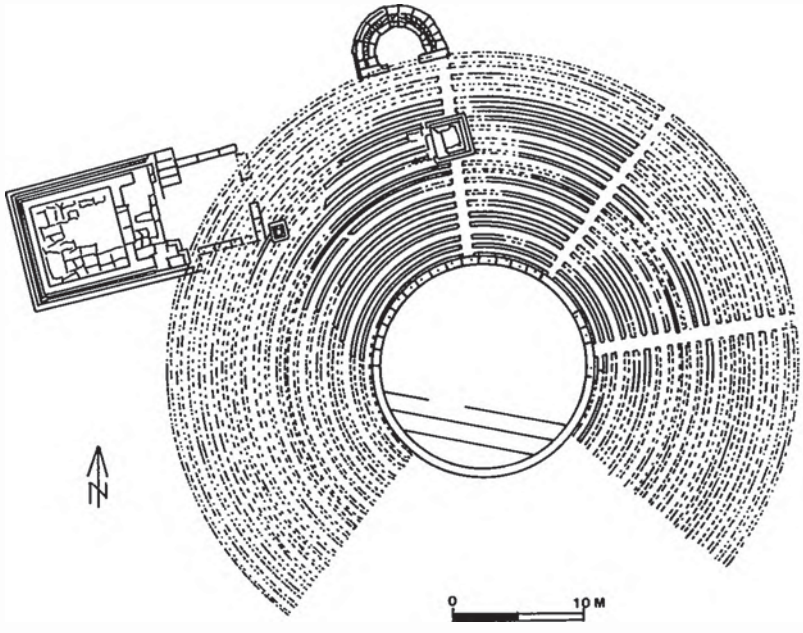


Fig. 44

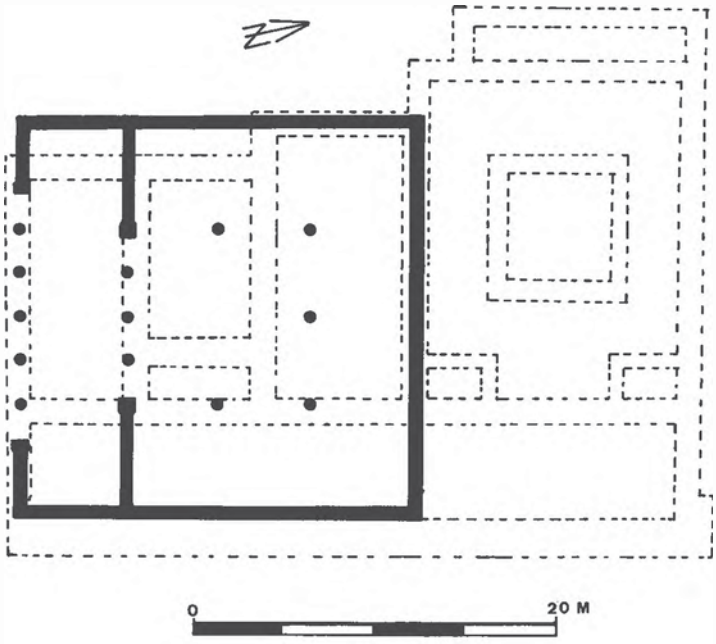


Fig. 45

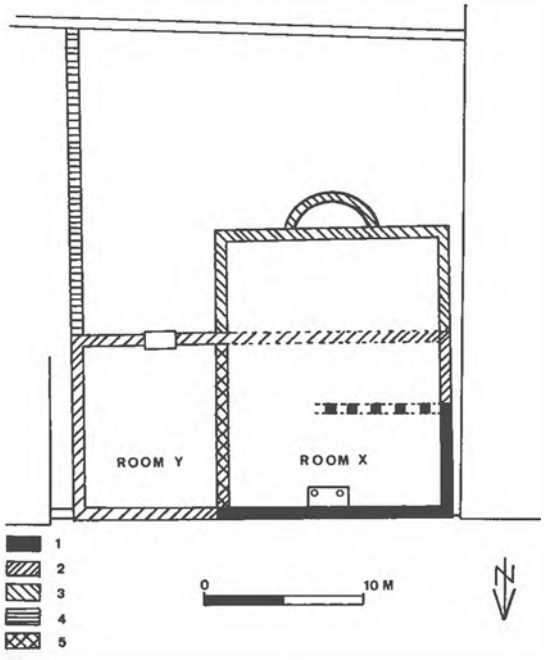


Fig. 46

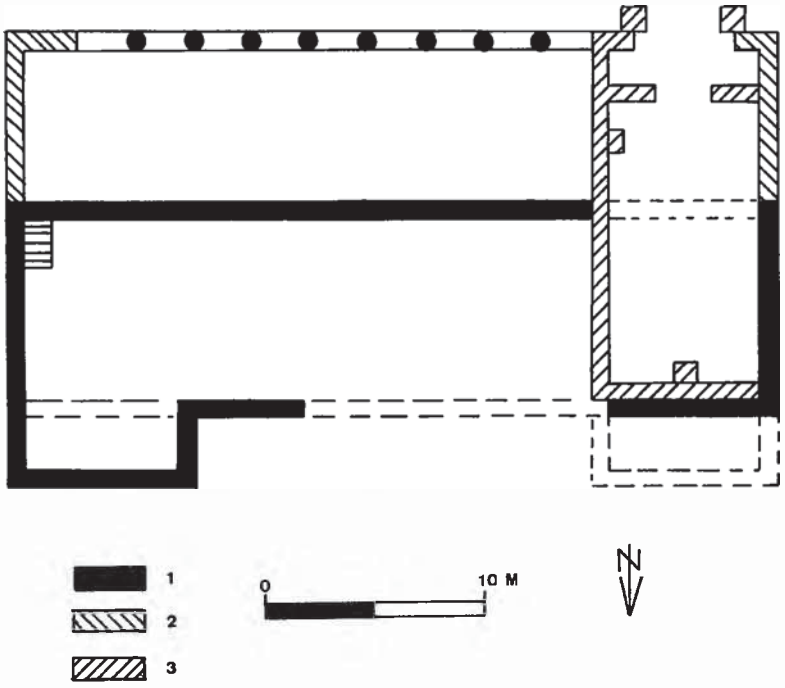


Fig. 47

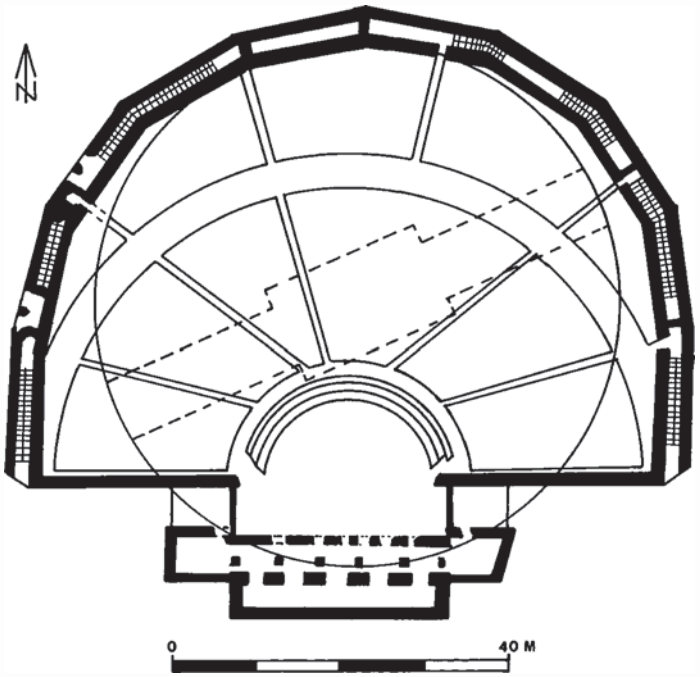


Fig. 48

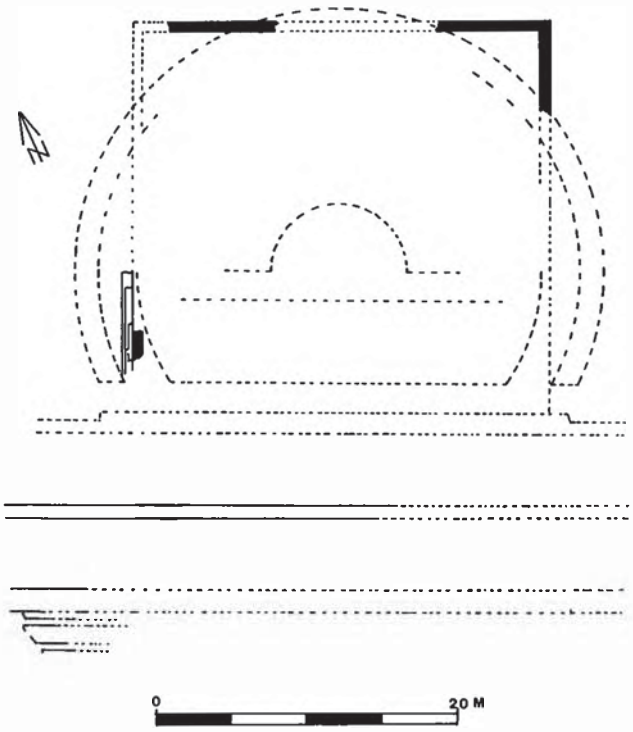


Fig. 49

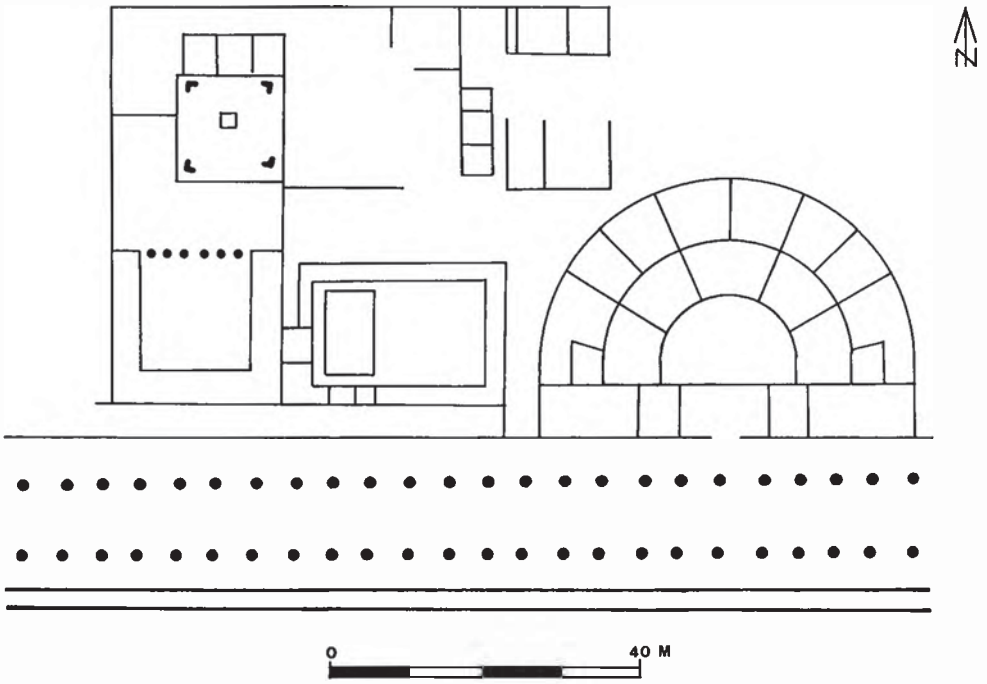


Fig. 50

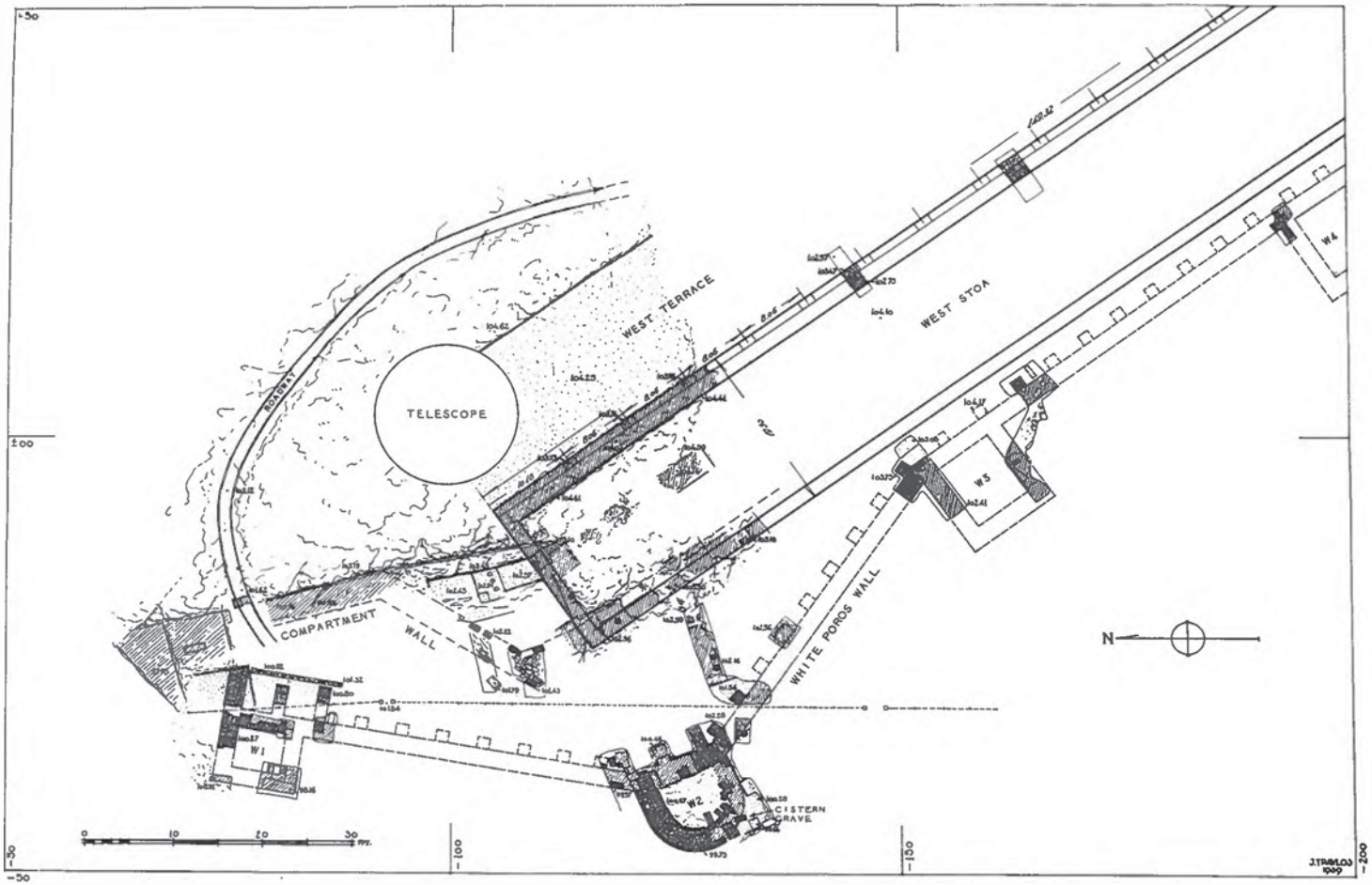

TELESCOPE
ROADWAY
WEST TERRACE
WEST STOA
COMPARTMENT WALL
WHITE POROS WALL
W1
W2
W4
W5
CISTERN GRAVE
N
0 10 20 30 FEET
J.TRAYLOS 1969

Fig. 51

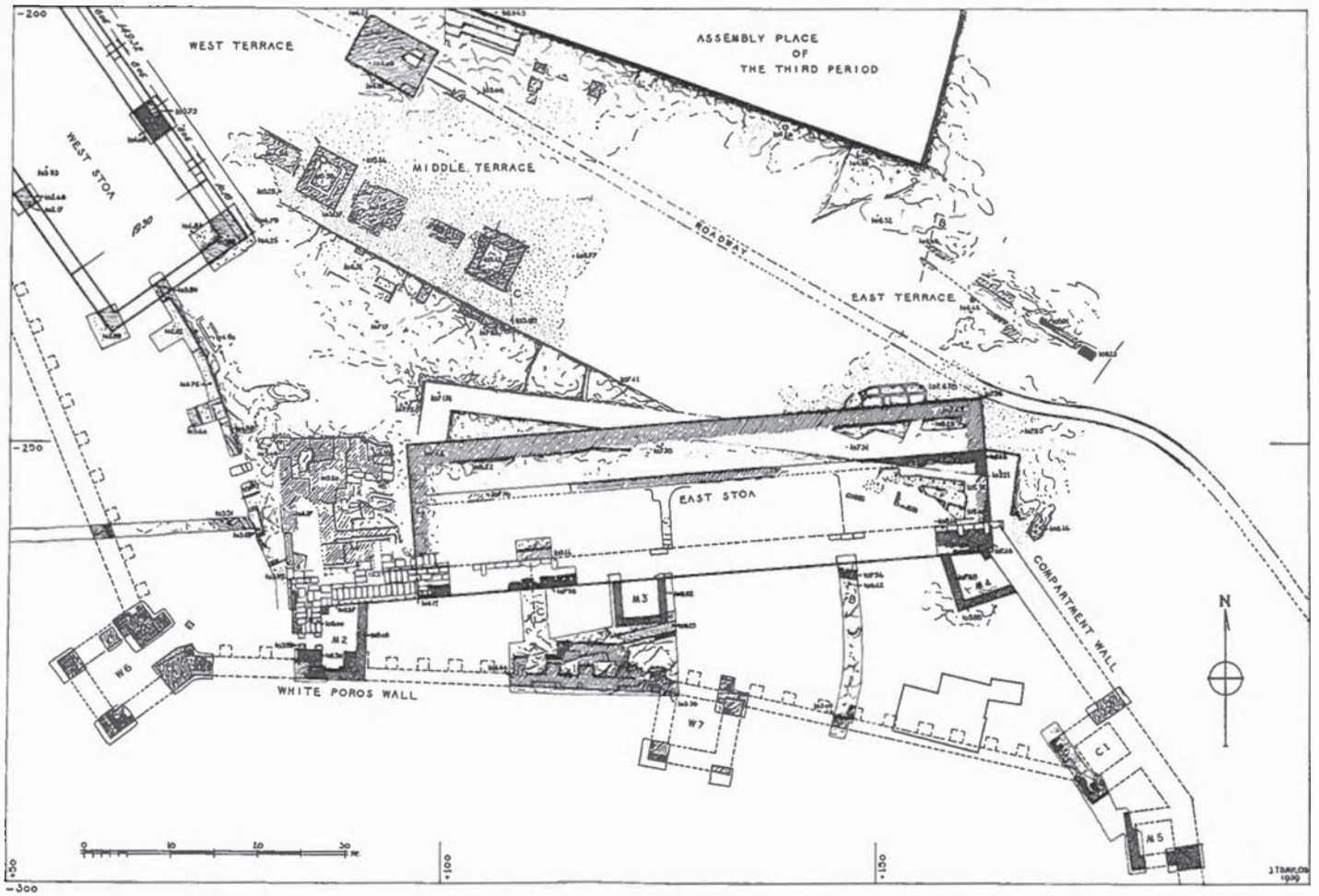

WEST TERRACE
ASSEMBLY PLACE
OF
THE THIRD PERIOD
WEST STOA
MIDDLE TERRACE
ROADWAY
EAST TERRACE
EAST STOA
COMPARTMENT WALL
WHITE POROS WALL
M1
M2
M3
M4
M5
W6
W7
N
0
10
20
30 M.
-200
-250
-300
+50
+100
+150

Fig. 52

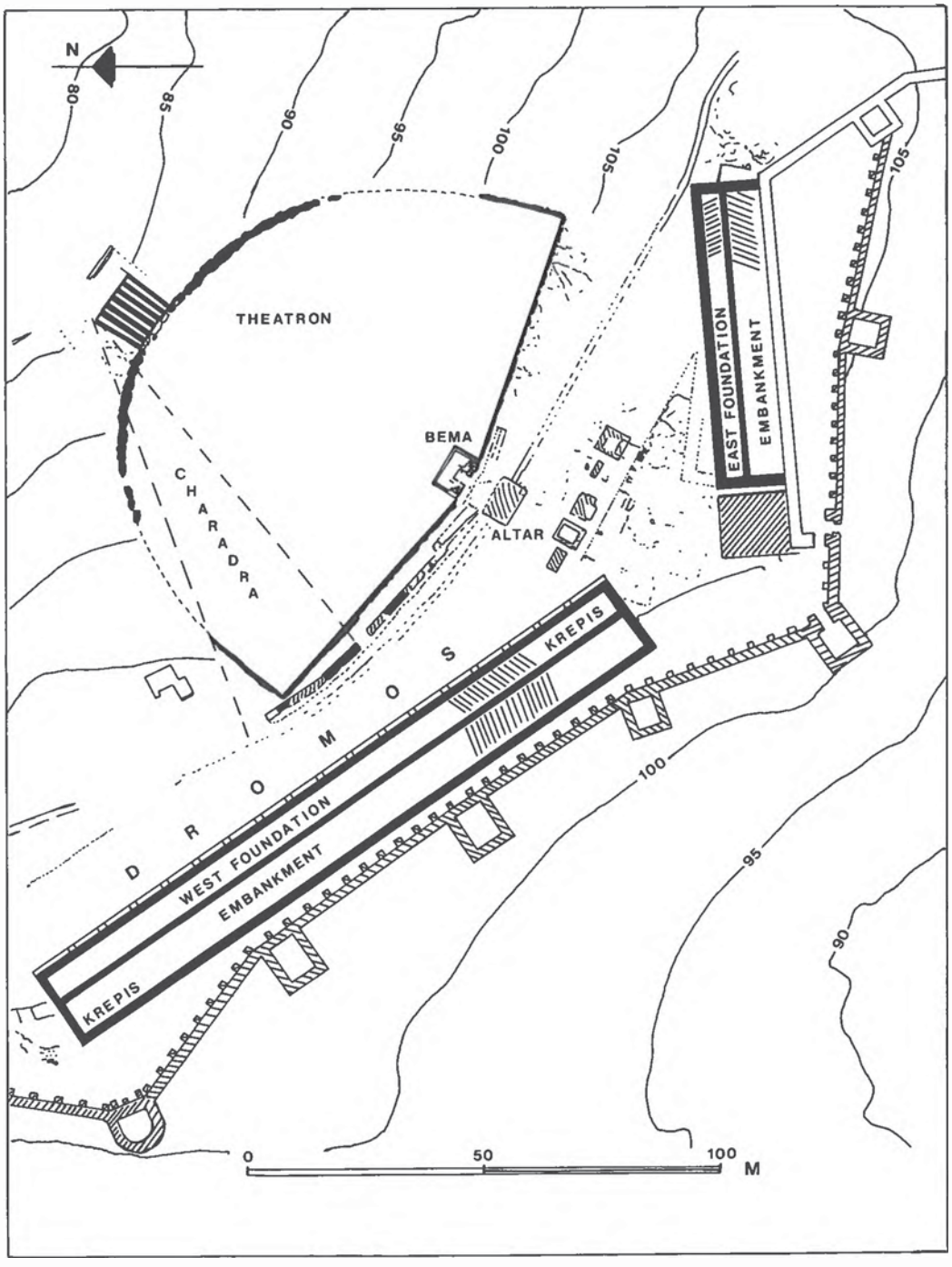

N
80
85
90
95
100
105
105
THEATRON
BEMA
ALTAR
CHARADRA
EAST FOUNDATION
EMBANKMENT
DROMOS
KREPIS
WEST FOUNDATION
EMBANKMENT
KREPIS
100
95
90
0
50
100
M

Fig. 53

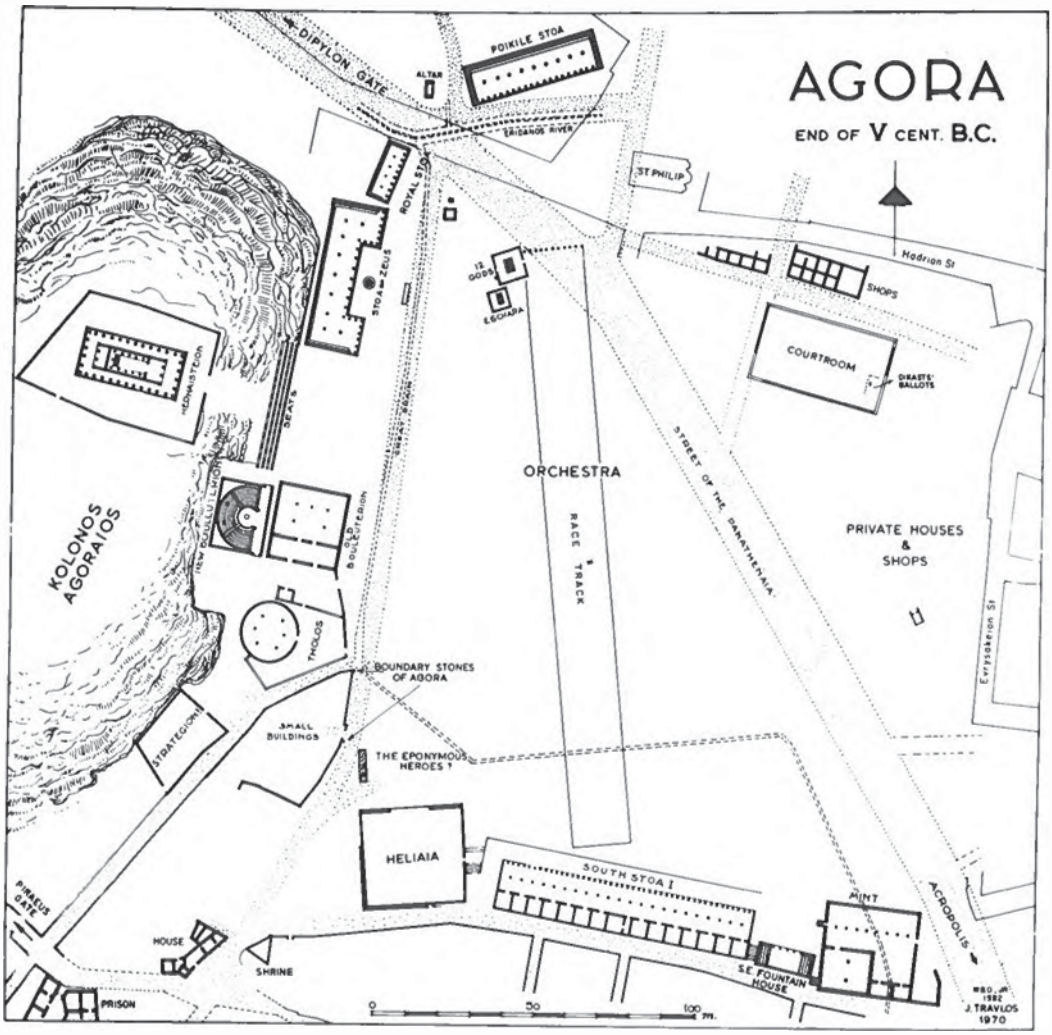

AGORA
END OF V CENT. B.C.
DIPYLON GATE
POIKILE STOA
ALTAR
ERIDANOS RIVER
ROYAL STOA
ST PHILIP
Hadrian St
SHOPS
12 GODS
ECHADRA
COURTROOM
DIKASTS' BALLOTS
STOA OF ZEUS
HEPHAISTEION
SEATS
NEW BOULEUTERION
OLD BOULEUTERION
ORCHESTRA
STREET OF THE PANATHENAIA
RACE TRACK
PRIVATE HOUSES & SHOPS
KOLONOS AGORAIOS
THOLOS
BOUNDARY STONES OF AGORA
STRATEGION
SMALL BUILDINGS
THE EPONYMOUS HEROES ?
Eirysakeion St
HELIAIA
SOUTH STOA I
MINT
ACROPOLIS
PIRAEUS GATE
HOUSE
SHRINE
S.E. FOUNDATION HOUSE
PRISON
0
50
100 m.
J. TRAVLOS 1970

Fig. 54

Fig. 55

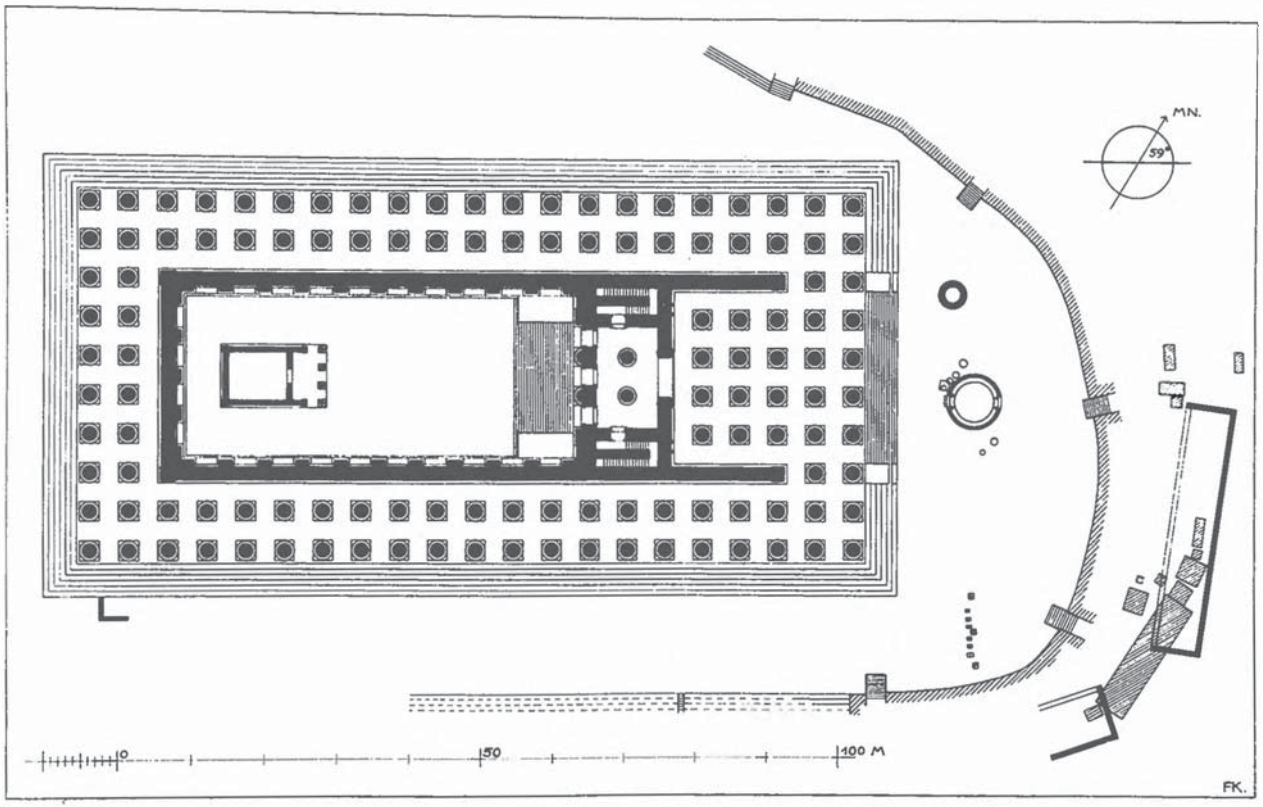
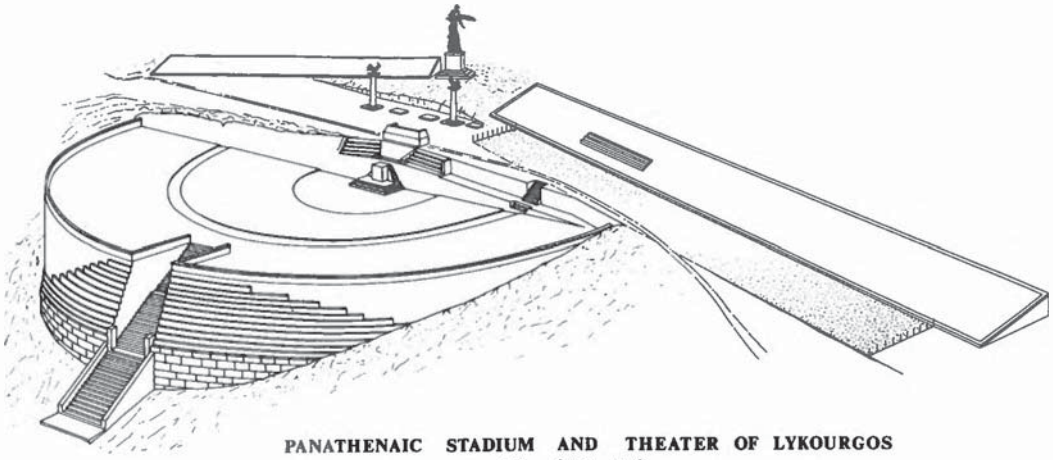


Fig. 56



PANATHENAIC STADIUM AND THEATER OF LYKOURGOS
CA. 329 B.C.

Fig. 57

Fig. 58

Fig. 59

Fig. 60

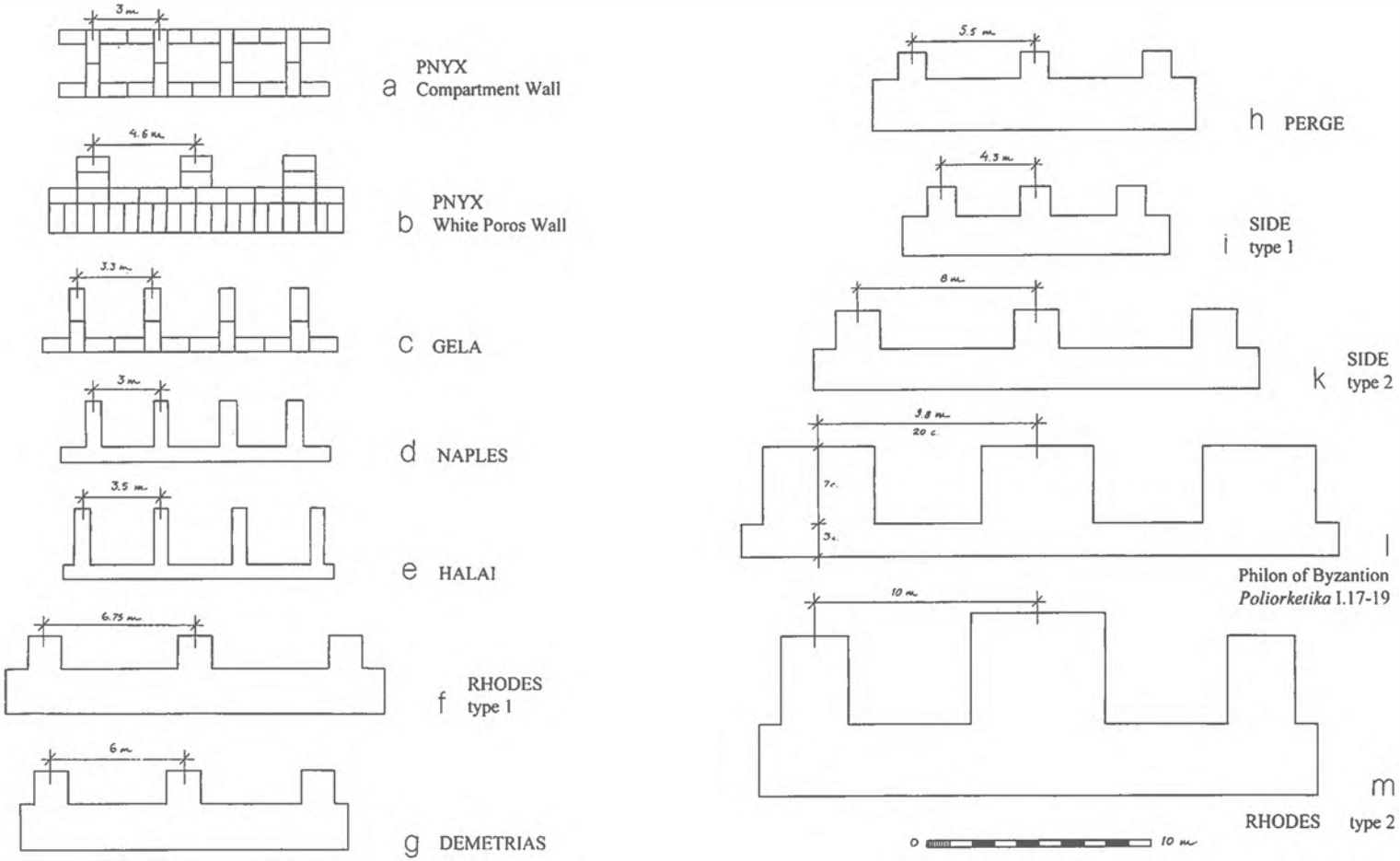

3 m.
a PNYX
Compartment Wall
4.6 m.
b PNYX
White Poros Wall
3.3 m.
c GELA
3 m.
d NAPLES
3.5 m.
e HALAI
6.75 m.
f RHODES
type 1
6 m.
g DEMETRIAS
5.5 m.
h PERGE
4.3 m.
i SIDE
type 1
8 m.
k SIDE
type 2
3.8 m.
20 c.
7c.
3c.
l
Philon of Byzantion
Poliorketika I.17-19
10 m.
m
RHODES type 2
0
10 m.

Fig. 61

Fig. 62

Fig. 63

Fig. 64

Fig. 65

Fig. 66

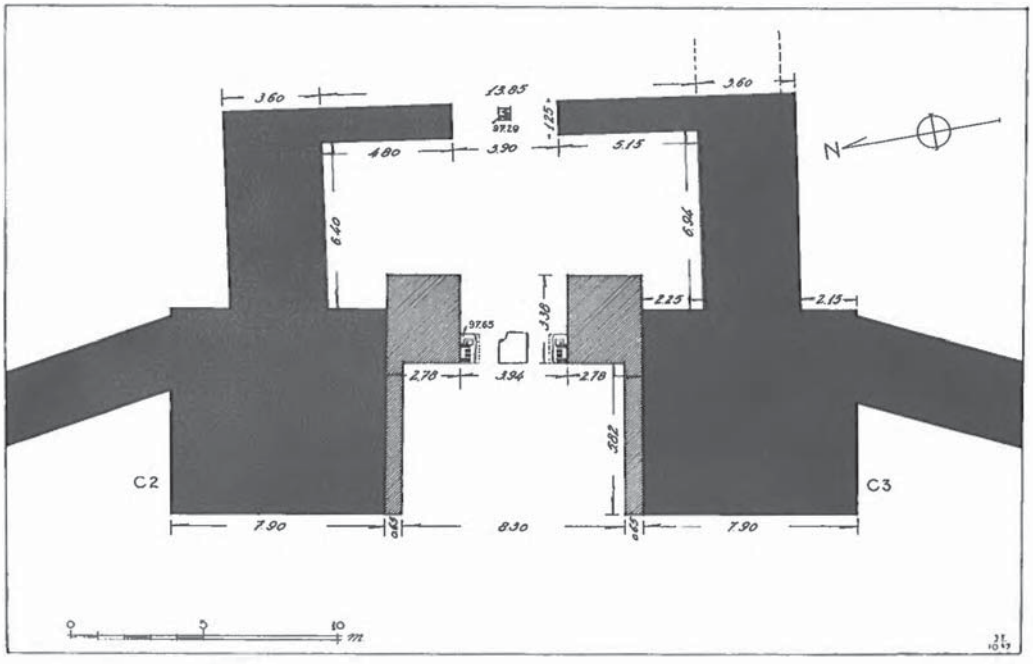
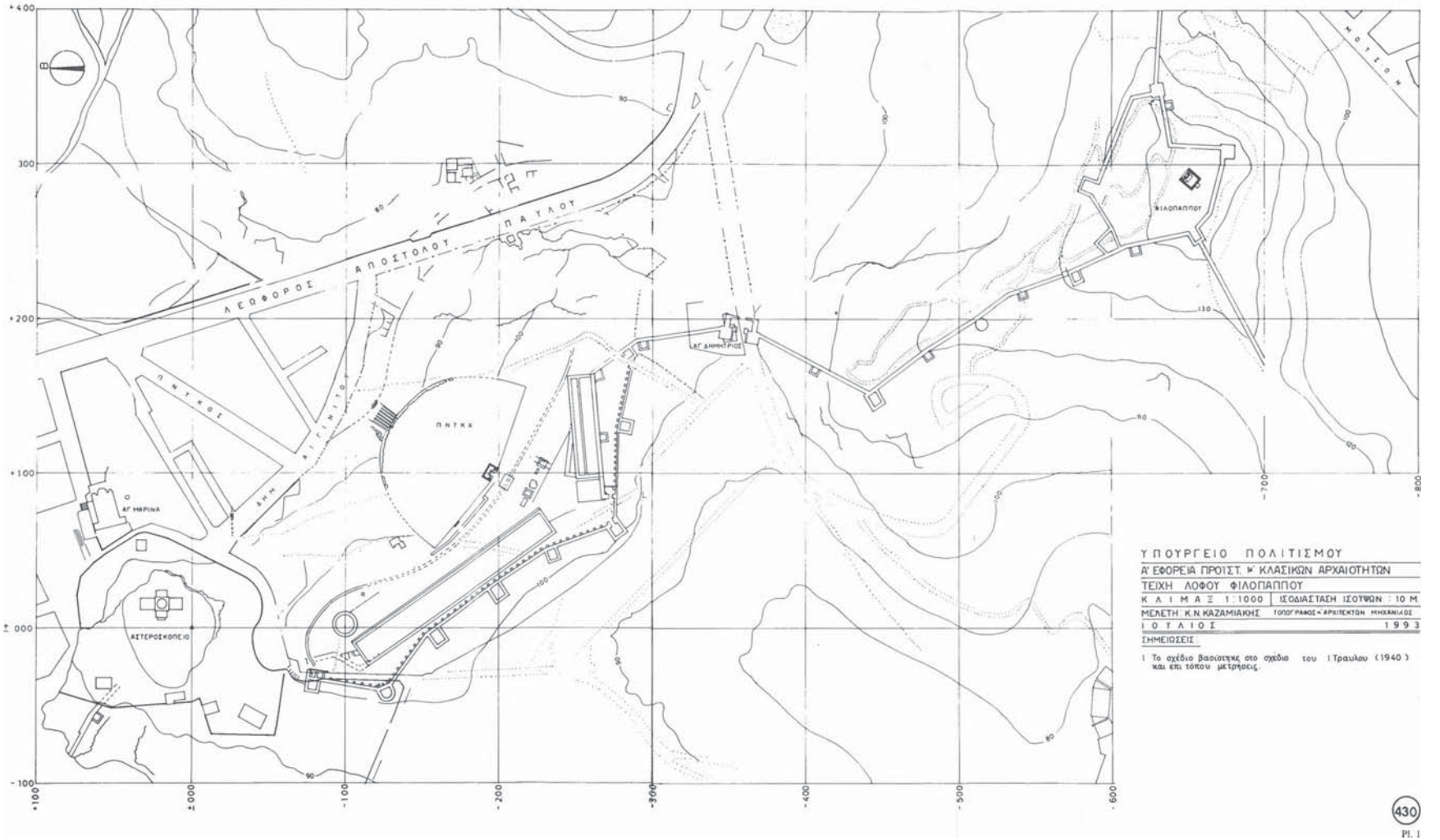

3.60
13.85
97.29
-.125
3.60
4.80
3.90
5.15
N
6.40
6.94
2.25
2.13
97.65
3.16
2.70
3.94
2.78
3.82
C2
C3
7.90
.65
8.30
.65
7.90
0
5
10
m

Fig. 67

Fig. 68



ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ

Α' ΕΦΟΡΕΙΑ ΠΡΟΪΣΤ. Κ' ΚΛΑΣΙΚΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΩΝ

ΤΕΙΧΗ ΛΟΦΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΠΠΟΥ

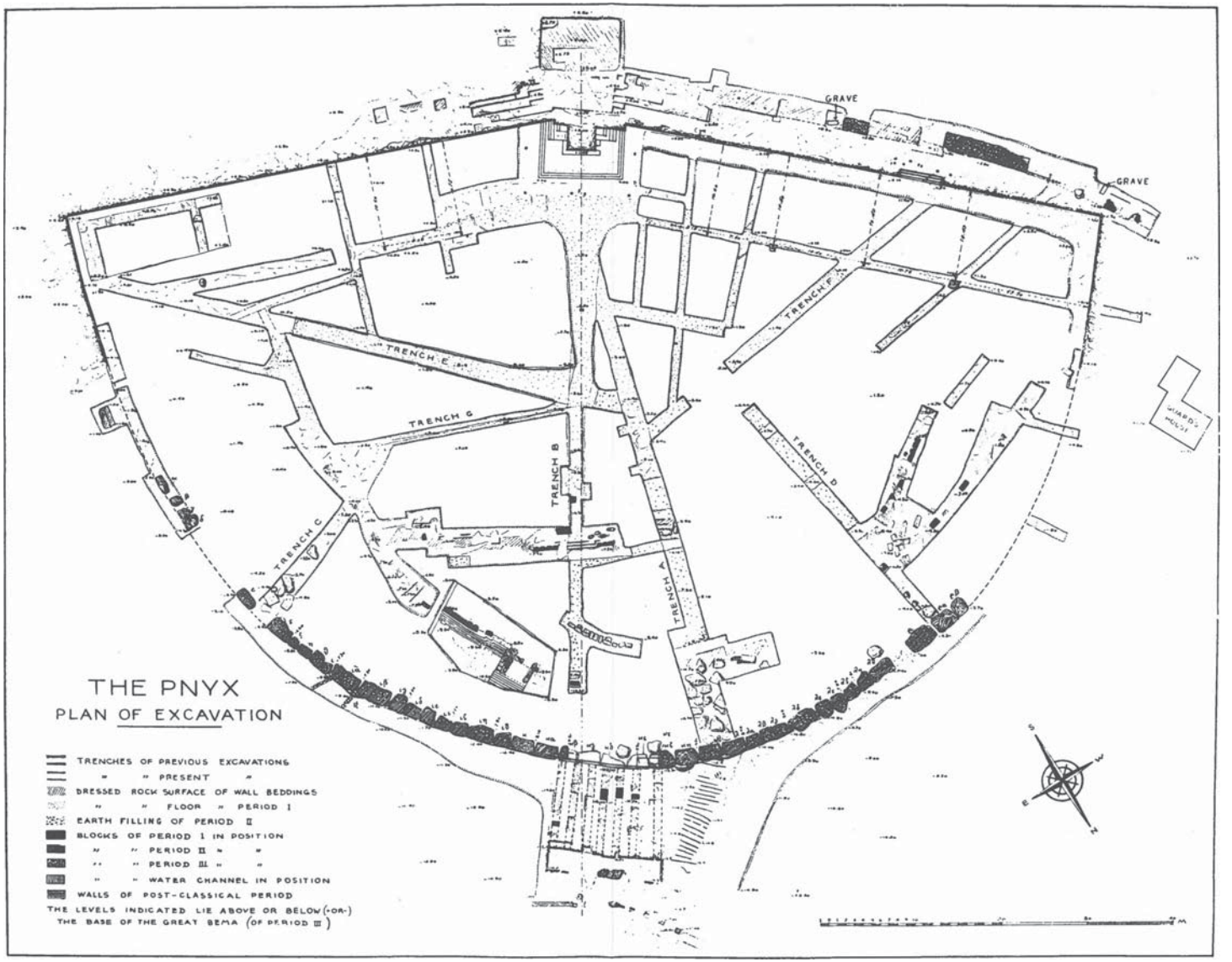
ΚΛΙΜΑΞ 1:1000 | ΙΣΟΔΙΑΣΤΑΣΗ ΙΣΟΥΨΩΝ : 10 Μ.

ΜΕΛΕΤΗ: Κ.Ν. ΚΑΖΑΜΙΑΚΗΣ ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΦΟΣ-ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΩΝ ΜΗΧΑΝΙΚΟΣ

ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ 1993

ΣΗΜΕΙΩΣΕΙΣ:

1. Το σχέδιο βασίστηκε στο σχέδιο του Ι. Τραυλου (1940) και επι τόπου μετρησεις.


GRAVE
GRAVE
TRENCH F
TRENCH E
TRENCH G
TRENCH B
TRENCH D
TRENCH C
TRENCH A
GUARD'S HOUSE
THE PNYX
PLAN OF EXCAVATION
TRENCHES OF PREVIOUS EXCAVATIONS
" " PRESENT "
DRESSED ROCK SURFACE OF WALL BEDDINGS
" " FLOOR " PERIOD I
EARTH FILLING OF PERIOD II
BLOCKS OF PERIOD I IN POSITION
" " PERIOD II " "
" " PERIOD III " "
" " WATER CHANNEL IN POSITION
WALLS OF POST-CLASSICAL PERIOD
THE LEVELS INDICATED LIE ABOVE OR BELOW(-OR-)
THE BASE OF THE GREAT BEMA (OF PERIOD III)

FINNISH INSTITUTE
AT ATHENS

ISSN 1237-2684
ISBN 951-95295-3-5