

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

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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

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ISSN 1237-2684

ISBN 951-95295-3-5

Printed in Finland by Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy, Vammala 1996

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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 Delmouso'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. Wählin. 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.

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 = *Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 28.1-28.2. *Die Inschriften von Iasos* I-II, Bonn 1985.

I.Ephesos = *Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 11.1-17.4. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* I-VIII, Bonn 1979-1984.

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923-

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FINNISH INSTITUTE
AT ATHENS

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