The Pnyx in the History of Athens

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The Pnyx in the History of Athens

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

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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

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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).

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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]

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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

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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

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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

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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).

Contents

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:

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Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

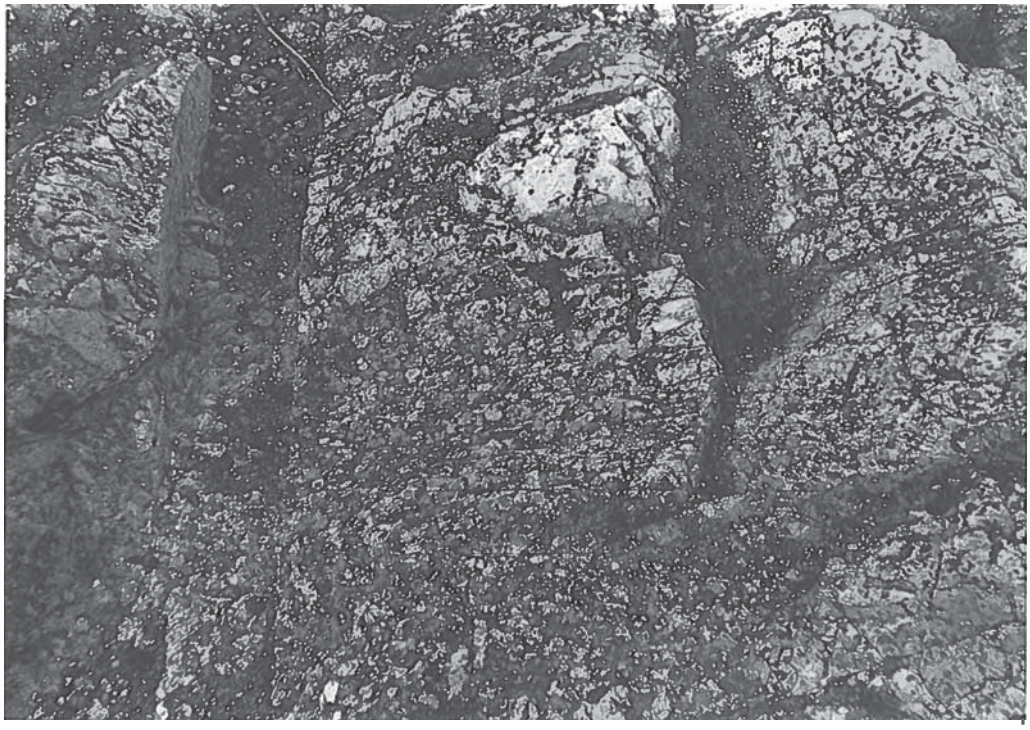

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

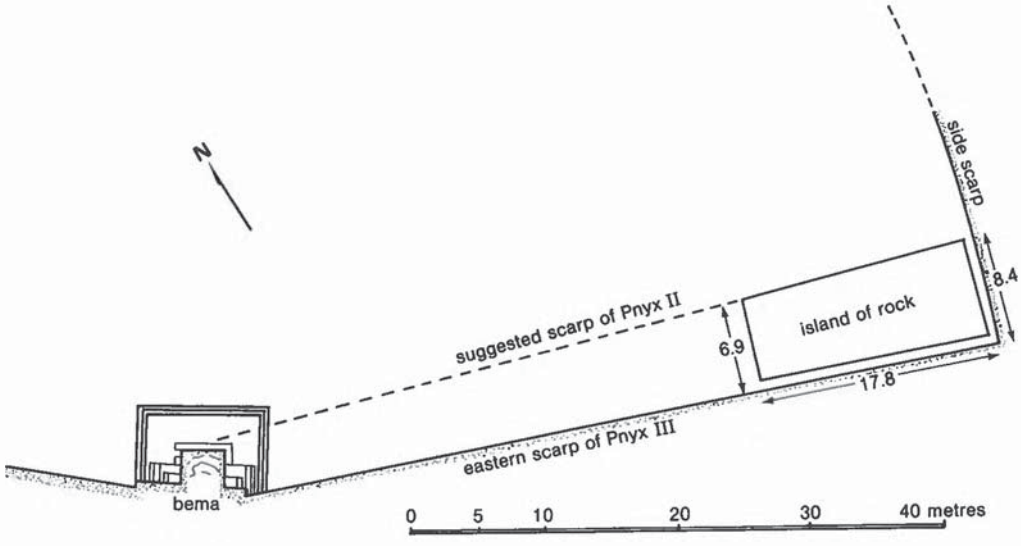
N
side scarp
8.4
suggested scarp of Pnyx II
island of rock
6.9
17.8
eastern scarp of Pnyx III
bema
0
5
10
20
30
40 metres

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

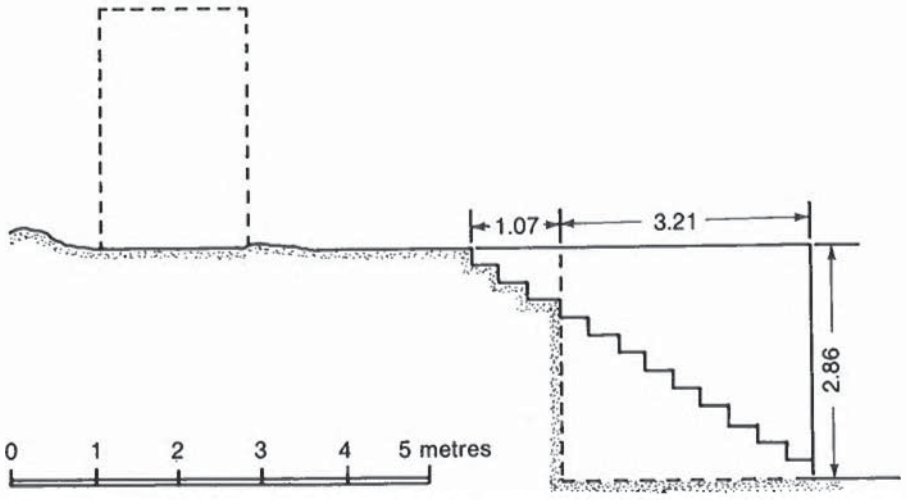
1.07
3.21
2.86
0
1
2
3
4
5 metres

Fig. 9

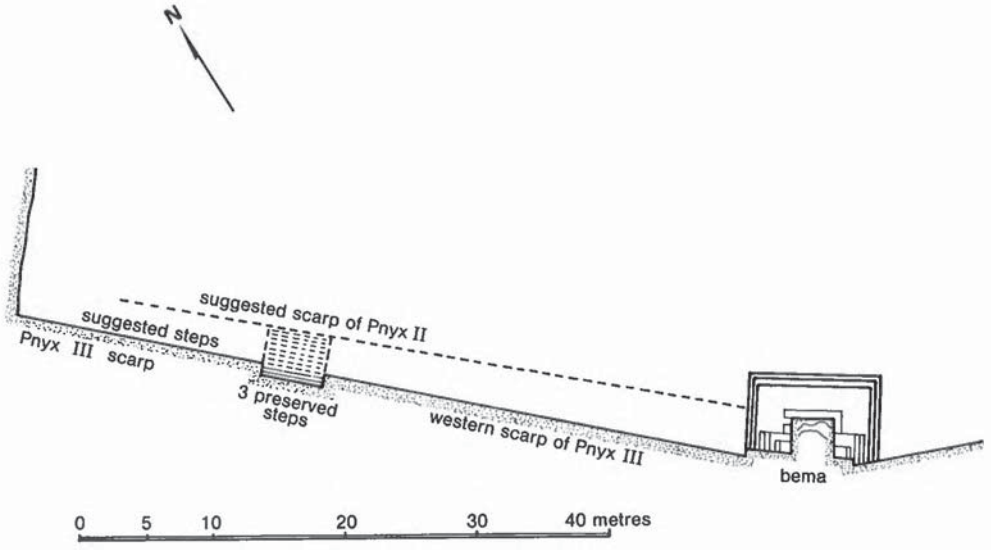
N
suggested scarp of Pnyx II
suggested steps
Pnyx III scarp
3 preserved steps
western scarp of Pnyx III
bema
0
5
10
20
30
40 metres

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

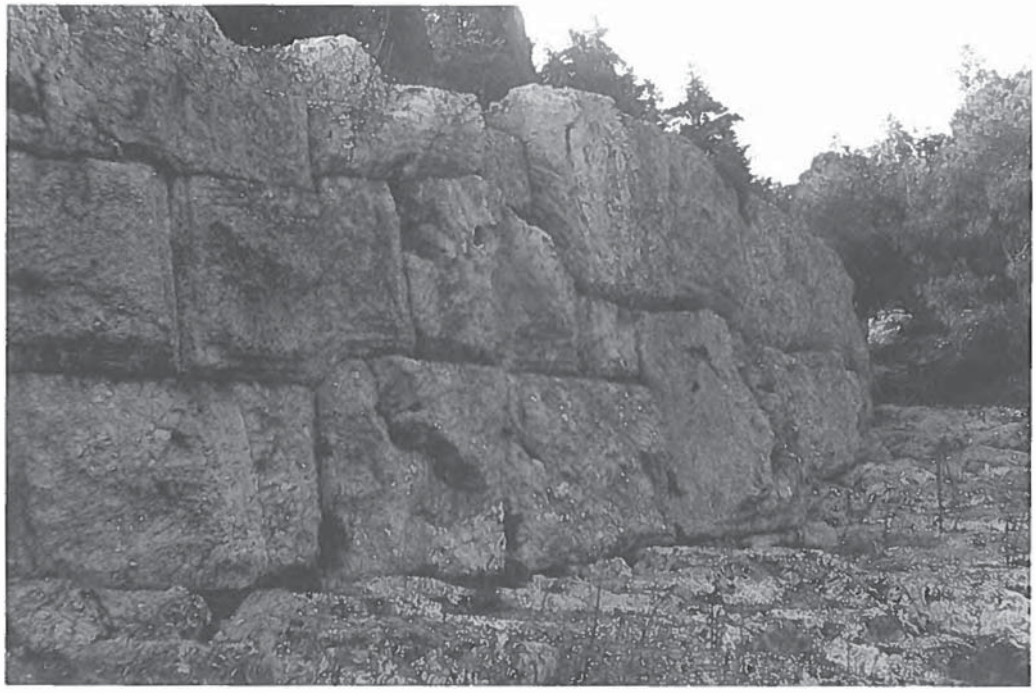

Fig. 12

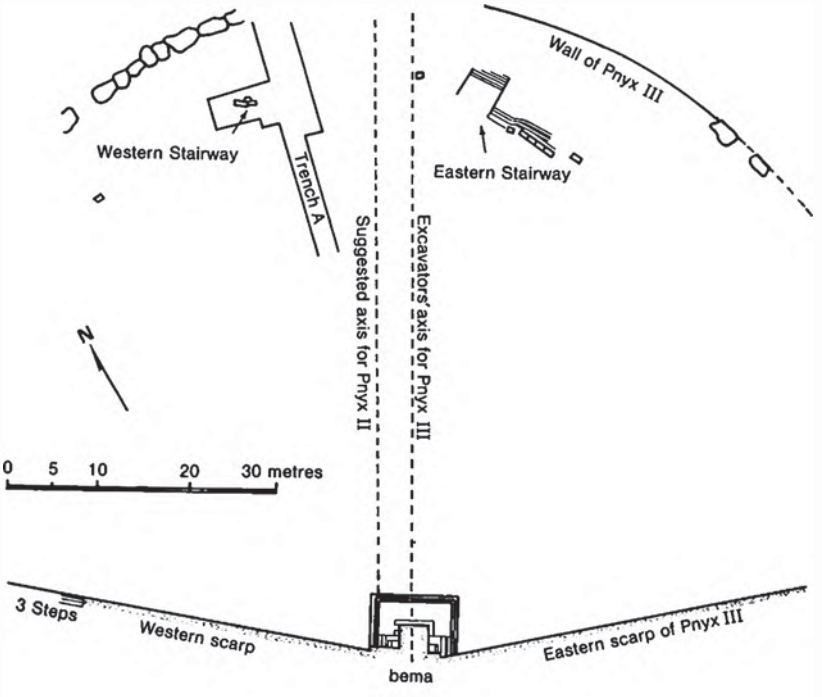
Wall of Pnyx III
Western Stairway
Trench A
Eastern Stairway
Suggested axis for Pnyx II
Excavators' axis for Pnyx III
N
0 5 10 20 30 metres
3 Steps
Western scarp
Eastern scarp of Pnyx III
bema

Fig. 13

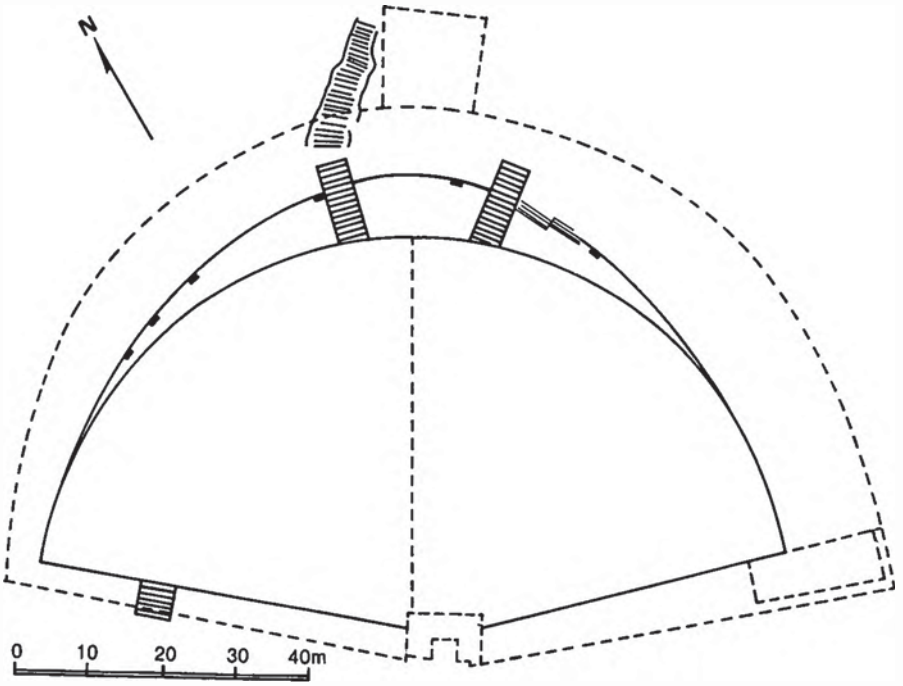
N
0 10 20 30 40m

Fig. 14