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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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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 Wheeler 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 stèle 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 theatrical 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* II² 1641, lines 25-30 and *IG* II² 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 finished²⁰ 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 Πυκίᾳ πεποιημένον ὥστ' ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὕστερον οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν ἀπέστρεψαν, οἰόμενοι τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι δημοκρατίας, ὀλιγαρχία δ' ἦν ττον 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* II² 351, line 17 (330-329 BC), *IG* II² 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* II² 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* II² 1029).

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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Fig. 26. Detail of toe of micaceous water jar of mid-2nd to early 3rd century. Agora P 7671; Cf. Robinson (1959), 55-56, J 46, pls. 11, 41. Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations.

Fig. 27. Cross-section of Period III of the Pnyx, as restored by Kourouniotes and Thompson, showing the bema at left and the great retaining wall at right. After Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), pl. IVD.

Fig. 28. Section through front of auditorium, as restored by Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932). Drawing has stelai 1.40 m. in height added to show relationship to a floor of 4° incline, as proposed by Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932). Note the levelling of the bedrock from the area in front of the bema to the rock-cut scarp at the extreme northwest. Note also the mass of unquarried stone, with the trench at the extreme southeast. After Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), pl. IIIA.

Fig. 29. Pnyx II and the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos as a small room or pit sunk into the shoulder of the hill to the south of it. Pnyx III is indicated by the dotted line. After Travlos (1971), 473, fig. 595.

Fig. 30. The niches belonging to the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos from the north. The floor of the auditorium of Pnyx III is indicated by the elevation of +98.94 m., and the bottom of the recessed area (dotted) by the elevation of +101.00 m. Through the field of niches runs the line drawn by regression analysis, which indicates the inclination of the floor when the niches were cut. After Travlos (1971), 570, fig. 714.

Fig. 31. Part of the bema of Pnyx III, from the north. Ends of four steps of earlier, destroyed staircase visible at right, above western stairs. Photo by B. Forsén.

Fig. 32. Altar of Zeus Agoraios in the Agora. Cf. Travlos (1971), 108, fig. 146. Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations, neg.no. XLVIII-63.

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. Mantinea. 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.

Fig. 51. Pnyx, state plan of the north end of the West Foundation (West Stoa), including the location of the West Terrace and the roadway. At the lower edge the western end of the White Poros Wall, including the area of the northern gate directly east of tower W1. Cf. Thompson and Scranton (1943), pl. 15. Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Fig. 52. Pnyx, state plan of the eastern area showing East Foundation B and East Foundation A (East Stoa), the levelled West and Middle Terraces, the large bedding, the East Terrace and the roadway. Also visible are the Compartment Wall and the White Poros Wall. In connection with the White Poros Wall can be seen (1) the postern between towers W6 and W7; (2) the possible fortress, enclosed by the White Poros Wall (to south), the Compartment Wall (to east and west), and the "bastion-like structure" (to northwest); (3) the possible platform, just west of tower W7. Cf. Thompson and Scranton (1943), pl. 16. Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Fig. 53. Pnyx Hill, third period of the assembly place, showing West and East Foundations, dromos, theatron, charadra, bema and altar. After Travlos (1971), 469, fig. 590.

Fig. 54. Athens, Agora, ca. 400 B.C. showing hypothetical location of dromos. Cf. Camp (1990), 25, fig. 4.

Fig. 55. Athens, showing Themistoklean circuit wall, city gates, and general location of Pnyx Hill. Cf. Travlos (1971), 169, fig. 219.

Fig. 56. Didyma, Sanctuary of Apollo, showing Hellenistic temple, circular structure (altar?), starting line, dromos. To the east are the Archaic terrace and the two Archaic foundations. Cf. Knackfuss (1941), fig. 618.

Fig. 57. Athens, Panathenaic Stadium and Theatre of Lykourgos, hypothetical view, ca. 329 B.C.

Fig. 58. Athens. Interior view of Compartment Wall on Mouseion Hill. Cf. Thompson and Scranton (1943), 326, fig. 36. Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Fig. 59. Athens. Excavated section of White Poros Wall on the Observatory Hill (cf. Fig. 61b). (A) Curtain wall, (B) Spur wall. Cf. Thompson and Scranton (1943), 344, fig. 45. Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Fig. 60. Athens. Tower W7 of White Poros Wall on the Observatory Hill. Rusticated panels with drafted margins. Cf. Thompson and Scranton (1943), 349, fig. 51. Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Fig. 61a-m. Plans of spur walls discussed by L. Karlsson. All drawn to the same scale (1:200).

Fig. 62. View of inner side of city wall of Gela (at Caprosoprano), showing spur walls. Photo by L. Karlsson.

Fig. 63. View of inner side of city wall at Perge, showing vossoir arches on spur walls. Photo by L. Karlsson.

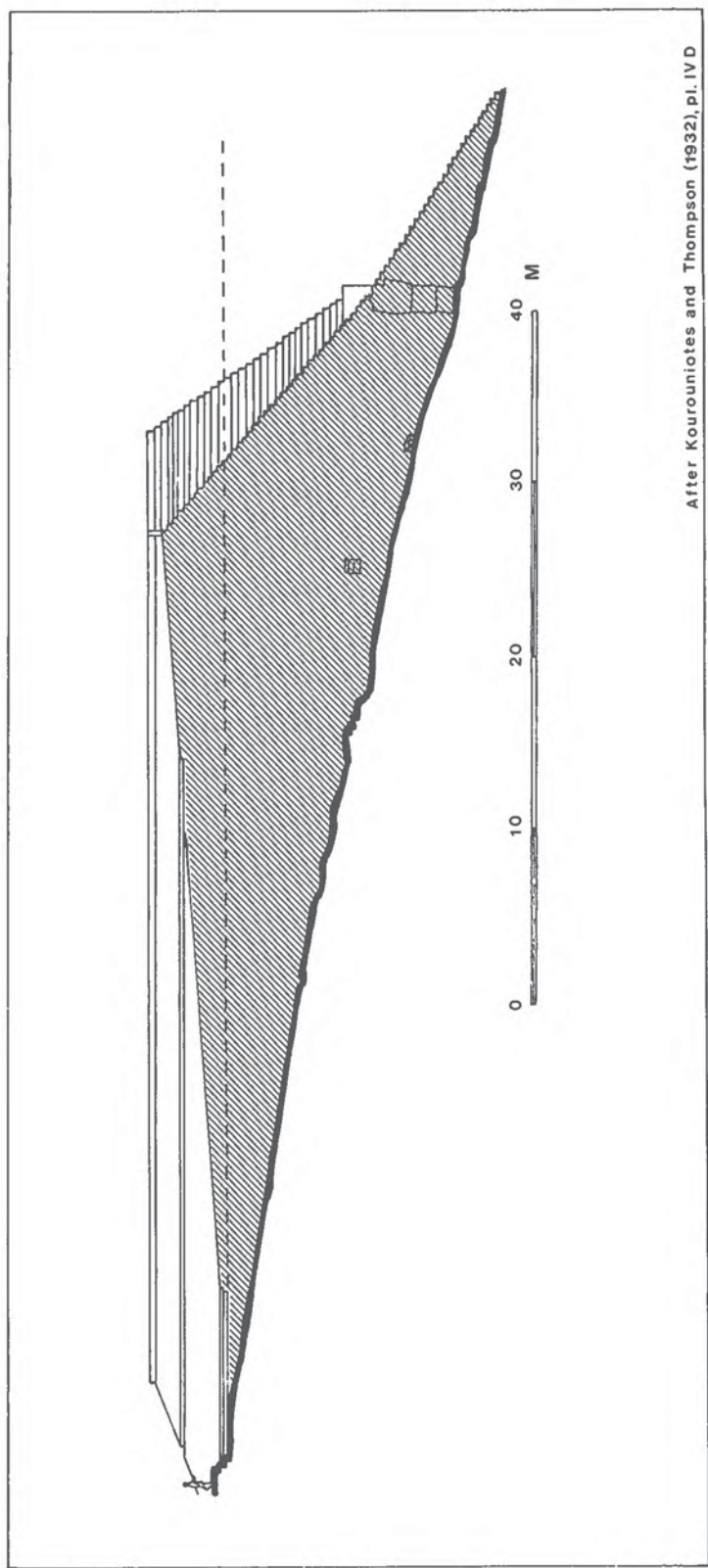
Fig. 64. Perge. Close-up view of masonry of round tower at main gate. Note the alternating layers of headers and stretchers (*la maniera romana* technique) and the panels of rustication with drafted margins. Photo by L. Karlsson.

Fig. 65. View of inner side of city wall at Side. Corbelled arches on spur walls discernible behind bushes. Photo by L. Karlsson.

Fig. 66. View of inner side of 13th-century city wall at Visby, showing Gothic pointed arches on spur walls. Photo by L. Karlsson.

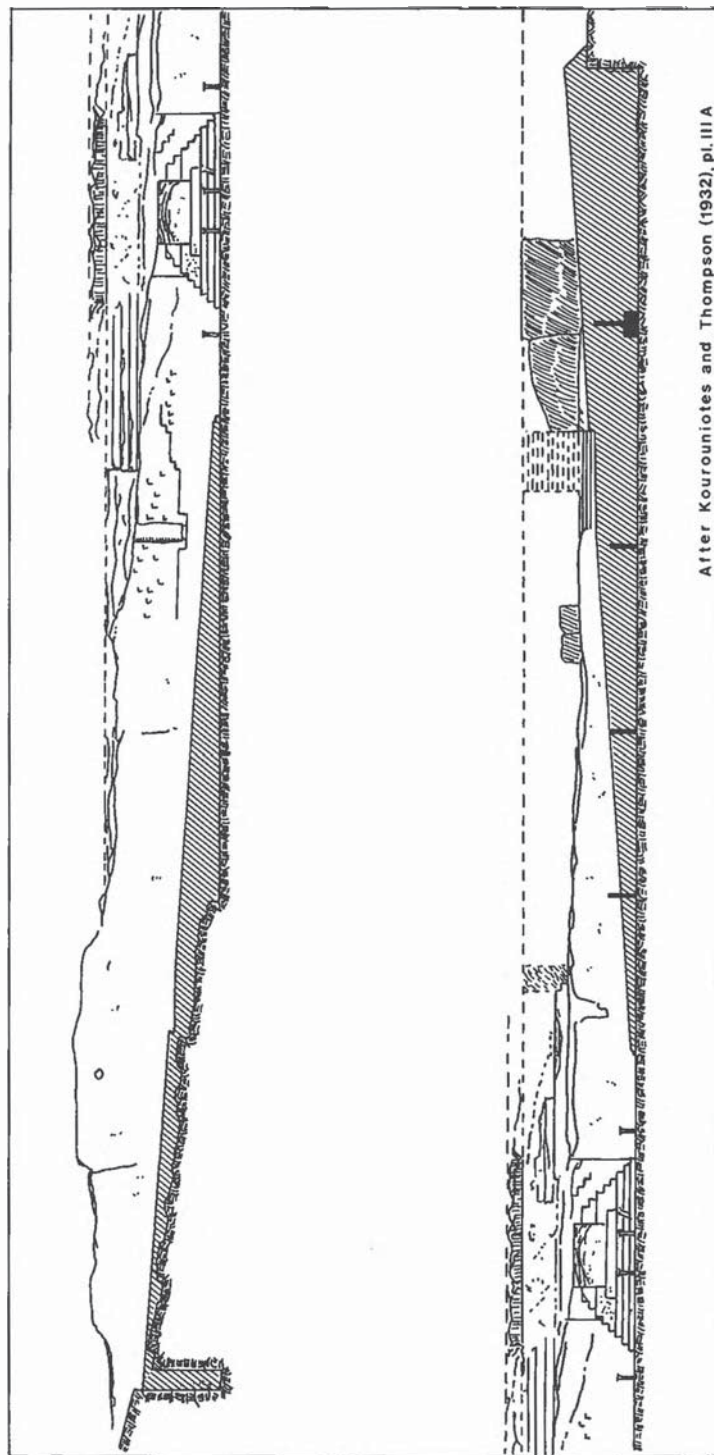
Fig. 67. Main gateway through the Compartment Wall, with (1) original portions shown in solid black; (2) additions contemporary with the White Poros Wall distinguished by hatching. Cf. Thompson and Scranton (1943), 318, fig. 29. Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Fig. 68. Tower W2 in the White Poros Wall, seen from the west. Cf. Thompson and Scranton (1943), 339, fig. 44. Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.



After Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), pl. IV D

Fig. 27



After Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), pl. III A

Fig. 28



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