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

David Gilman Romano

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

Length of the Racecourse

Much of the criticism of the idea of a stadium existing on the Pnyx Hill has had to do with the proposed length of the dromos, which some believe to be too short to have been a *stadion* in length. In a published comment, G.R. Stanton and P.J. Bicknell² have made a number of constructive comments on my original arguments, the principle of which has to do with the length of the proposed dromos.

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

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

² Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 88-89.

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

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

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

	<i>Stadion</i> length	Foot length
Olympia Stadium ⁸	192.28 m.	0.3204+ m.

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

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

⁵ Romano (1993), 13-17.

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

⁷ Romano (1981), 277-285.

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

Isthmia Stadium ⁹	181.20 m.	0.302 m.
Epidauros Stadium ¹⁰	181.08 m.	0.3018 m.
Delphi Stadium ¹¹	177.414 m.	0.2956+ m.
Delphi Gymnasium <i>paradromis</i> ¹²	172.996 m.	0.2883 m.
Halieis Stadium ¹³	166.50 m.	0.2775 m.

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

There is no stadium length in Athens based on a measurement between two starting lines *in situ*, and therefore any argument based on a documented Athenian stadium length is not possible. The length of the dromos identified in the Athenian Agora is based on the location of five square blocks with vertical sockets near to the Altar of the Twelve Gods.¹⁷ The five square blocks have been identified as a simple starting line that was set into the Panathenaic Way in the second half of the fifth century B.C. The dromos has been projected to run across the Agora square¹⁸ (Fig. 54) as far as the terrace of South Stoa I. This dromos has a major drawback to its proposed location which has to do with the slope of the racecourse. The racetrack is reconstructed on a hillside and the difference in elevation between the lower level of the Panathenaic Way at the northern starting line and the higher level of the hillside at its southern extreme near South Stoa I is in the vicinity of 12 meters, based on an examination of the

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

- ⁹ Broneer (1973), 63-64. The measurement is made from the front edge of the post holes on the north starting line to the middle of the south starting line.
- ¹⁰ Kavvadias (1900), 108-109. Kavvadias found a difference of 0.22 m. as measured along the two sides of the stadium, 181.30 m. on the north side and 181.08 on the south side. The measurements were taken from the middle of the starting lines at each end.
- ¹¹ Aupert (1979), 67-68. This measurement was made between the front faces of the starting blocks at the east and west ends.
- ¹² Jannoray (1953), 50. The measurement was made between the middle of the starting line blocks at each end. See also Bommelaer (1991), 73-79, where the *paradromis* length is given as 172.71 m.
- ¹³ Romano (1981), 30-52. The final publication of the Halieis Stadium by D.G. Romano will appear as a part of Volume II of *Halieis*, to be published by Indiana University Press. The measurement was made between the front groove of the two starting lines.
- ¹⁴ For instance, at Priene, Wiegand and Schrader (1904), plate XIX, where the spectator facilities continue approximately 190 m. from the western starting line. See also Schede (1964), 86-89. At Miletus see von Gerkan (1921), plate III, where 191.39 m. is given as a measurement.
- ¹⁵ Miller (1977), 25.
- ¹⁶ Romano (1993), 43-75.
- ¹⁷ Shear (1975), 362-365.
- ¹⁸ Camp (1986), 89, fig. 66.

available topography maps and the elevation of neighboring monuments.¹⁹ This change of elevation is unparalleled in other stadia and dromoi of the Greek world of which I am aware. Usually a dromos of a stadium will have a gradual slope along its long axis for drainage purposes as well as a pitch to the racecourse surface.²⁰ A possible solution to this anomalous situation would be to shorten the length of the dromos to fit better with the topography of the Agora square. A racecourse length in the neighborhood of 130-140 meters would reduce the elevation difference from one end of the dromos to the other by about one-half to approximately 5-6 meters, ending the racecourse before the natural rise that occurs at the later location of the Middle Stoa.²¹ The original racecourse in the Agora may have been the Panathenaic Way itself, as has been suggested by H.A. Thompson and others.²² The length of the dromos of the Roman Panathenaic Stadium is not known since the northern starting line was never found by the excavator Ziller in the excavations of 1869-1870.²³ As discussed by Stephen Lloyd Glass, this measurement has been widely misused.²⁴ Ziller restored a hypothetical length of the dromos as 170.71 m. based on analogy with the southern starting line.

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

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

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

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

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

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

²³ Ziller (1870), 455 ff.

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

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

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

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

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

J.J. Coulton³⁰ has made the suggestion that there may have been different foot measures for different purposes in antiquity, which might mean, for instance, that the foot measure used by the architect to measure the stone at the quarry might differ from the foot measure used at the building site by the client for the actual measurement of architectural elements of the building, e.g., stylobate length.

The Embankments

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

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

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

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

³⁰ Coulton (1976), 59, n. 3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

time when it would seem to serve a most useful function. The specifications of Philo's arsenal in Peiraeus is known from *IG II² 1668* of 347/346 B.C. The building was indeed long and narrow, 400 feet by 55 feet, and it called for a central passage through the middle of the building and doors at the short ends. See Jeppesen (1958), 69-101. It is known that surplus beams from the arsenal were transferred to the board in charge of the Panathenaic Stadium in the years around 330 B.C. These accounts are included in the inscriptions *IG II² 1627*, lines 382-384; 1628, lines 540-542; 1629, lines 1017-1020; 1631, lines 243-244. For further discussion see Mitchel (1973), 196-197.

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

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

³⁶ Travlos (1971), 20, fig. 28.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Charadra

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

...καὶ τῷ σταδίῳ τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ τὴν κρηπίδα περιέθηκεν,
ἐξεργασάμενος τοῦτό τε καὶ τὴν χαράδραν ὁμαλὴν ποιήσας, Δεινίου

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

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

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

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

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

The *charadra* I have associated with the ravine or gully in front, to the east of, the West Foundation which was filled in and retained by the great wall (1.75 m. wide) immediately to the southwest of the assembly area and bordering the West Terrace to the northeast (Fig. 53). The same ravine would originally have continued from this high point down to the base of the theatral area to the east. The change in elevation is from 104.25 m. on the north end of the west terrace to 82.75 m. at the base of the assembly area to the north, near the location of the foundation for the monumental staircase (a difference of ca. 21.5 m.). This work is then to be associated with the great expansion of the theatral area including the construction of the great curved retaining wall to the northeast which I believe is referred to in *IG II² 351* where there is mention of Eudemos who “made a contribution of 1,000 yoke of oxen for the construction of the Panathenaic Stadium and Theater.” This reference to 1,000 yoke of oxen certainly implies an unusually great amount of work to be accomplished.⁴³

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

Panathenaic Theater

There have been objections raised to my proposal on the grounds that the Lykourgan Theater of Dionysos is known from a recently published inscription to have had a *skene*, a feature that the *theatron* on the Pnyx Hill does not have and therefore an argument against its being the theater mentioned in *IG II² 351*.⁴⁵ There is some misunderstanding about this which I should like to clarify.

I never suggested, nor was it my intention to imply, that the Lykourgan theater of Dionysos was to be found on the Pnyx Hill.⁴⁶ The confusion arises from the reading of *IG II² 351*⁴⁷ and the fact that some have attempted to see *εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοῦ σταδίου καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Παναθηναϊκοῦ* as a mistake by the stone mason who

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

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

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

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

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

meant to cut τοῦ σταδίου τοῦ Παναθηναϊκοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου. The Theater of Dionysos underwent major renovations or was completed in the time of Lykourgos. For this there are a number of ancient references.⁴⁸ I prefer to read the inscription as it is inscribed and would see a Panathenaic Stadium and Theater constructed by Lykourgos. I would understand the Lykourgan work on the Theater of Dionysos to have been a separate project and the two monuments to be individual and distinct. Therefore I would envision the Panathenaic Stadium and Theater on the Pnyx Hill⁴⁹ and the Theater of Dionysos on the south slope of the Akropolis.

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

From an inscription of the first half of the fourth century B.C., *IG II² 2311*, it is known that the musical contests of the Panathenaic Games included the following events:⁵⁰

In the men's category:

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁰ Shapiro (1992), 53-75.

⁵¹ Tracy and Habicht (1991), 187-236.

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

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

Terraces as Festival Place

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

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

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

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

<i>Pyrrhike</i>	pyrrhic dance (boys, youths, men)
<i>Euandria</i>	tribal contest in manly excellence

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

<i>Keles</i>	horse race
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⁵³ Thompson (1961), 224-231; Travlos (1971), 2; Camp (1986), 45-46; Neils (1992), 20.

⁵⁴ It is known for instance that the Assembly met in the Theater of Dionysos as early as 353 B.C. (*IG* II² 140, line 4) and continued into the early first century B.C. (*IG* II² 1029 of 94/93 B.C.). See Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 137. See also the discussion in McDonald (1943), 44-61.

⁵⁵ Romano (1985), 454, n. 58.

⁵⁶ Many but not all of the following events are preserved on *IG* II² 2311 of 370 B.C. See Kyle (1987), 178-194, for detailed consideration of the events of the Panathenaia.

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

Great Altar of Athena⁵⁷

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

The altar is a monumental rectangular stepped altar of Pentelic marble, with four steps in two courses along one of the two long sides, above a euthynteria, the outer blocks of which are of Peiraeus stone. The foundations are of conglomerate stone. The bottom step dimensions are 8.76 x 5.43 m. and at either end of the altar the steps are returned as a narrow ledge. The area at the top of the steps is 8.35 x 4.247 m. and a rectangular altar has been restored on this platform, 2.80 x 7.50 m. The preserved mouldings (Figs. 34-35) on the base of the monument consist of a torus carved with guilloche and surmounted by a cyma with Lesbian leaf, finished with a delicate bead and reel. The cap moulding has an ovolo with egg and tongue above a bead and reel. Above the ovolo is a broad fascia crowned with an inverted cavetto.⁶¹ The dimensions of the altar make it one of the largest known from ancient Athens⁶² and it is certainly one of the most handsome.⁶³

From a single inscription, *IG II² 334* of ca. 336-330 B.C. found on the Akropolis, is known the existence of a "Great Altar" of Athena in Athens. The altar has always been presumed to have been located on the Akropolis in the neighborhood of the Old Temple of Athena and the Parthenon, although the inscription does not provide a topographical

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From the fifth century "Hekatompedon inscription", *IG* I³ 4, line 9, comes the information that an altar may have existed to the east of the temple; some have restored this passage to read the "Great Altar", με[ταχρὺ τῷ ν]εὸ καὶ τῷ πρό[ς] ἑο μεγά[λ]ο β[ο]μῶ.⁶⁷ Others have restored the same passage as με[ταχρὺ τῷ ν]εὸ : καὶ τῷ προ[πύλο] καὶ τῷ β[ο]μῶ.⁶⁸ Certainly there were altars to Athena on the Akropolis,⁶⁹ but it must be emphasized that the "Great Altar" is certainly mentioned only in *IG* II² 334. The inscription can be assigned to the Lykourgan period of religious organization between 336 and 330 B.C. The exact date is dependent on the restoration of the name of the archon which is missing from the upper portion of the stele.⁷⁰ Apart from the otherwise unidentifiable cutting in the bedrock on the Akropolis, there exists no specific archaeological evidence for this altar on the Akropolis.⁷¹ There is, however, substantial archaeological evidence for the location of the "Great Altar" on the Pnyx Hill.

The reference to the "Great Altar" of Athena in *IG* II² 334 comes as part of the instruction voted by the people as a resolution of the *boulé* for the sacrifice of cattle on the occasion of the Panathenaia, the annual festival to Athena. The Panathenaia, and the larger quadrennial festival, the Great Panathenaia, were of course the most important religious festivals in Athens and included a *παννυχίς* and animal sacrifices.

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

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

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

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

⁶⁷ Paton (1927), 440, n. 4.

⁶⁸ Paton (1927), 440, n. 5.

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

⁷⁰ The upper part of *IG* II² 334 is discussed by Lewis (1959), 239-240. See also Sokolowski (1969), 63-66; and Schwenk (1985), 81-94.

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

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

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

- ~ι..
 [- ----- - ὅπως ἂν εὖ]σ[εβ]ῶς κα-
 [ι - ----- -] κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν κ-
 [αὶ πέμπηται ἡ πομπή] παρεσκευ[ασμ]ένη ὥς ἄριστα τῇ Ἀ-
 [θηνᾷ καθ' ἕκαστον] τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀ-
 5 [θηναίων καὶ τᾶλ]λα ὅσα δεῖ διοικῆται περὶ τὴν ἑορτή-
 [ν τὴν ἀγομένην] τῇ θεῷ καλῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν εἰς
 [τὸν αἰ χρόνον, ἐ]ψηφίσθαι τῷ δήμῳ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθά-
 [περ τῇ βουλῇ, θύειν δὲ τοὺς ἱεροποιούς] τὰς μὲν δύο
 [θυσίας τὴν τε τῇ] Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ὑγίει καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ ἄρ-
 10 [χαίῳ νεῷ θυο]μένην καθάπερ πρότερον καὶ νείμαντ-
 [ας τοῖς πρυτάν]εσιν πέντε μερίδας καὶ τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρ-
 [χουσιν τρεῖς] καὶ ταμίαις τῆς θεοῦ μίαν καὶ τοῖς ἱερ-
 [οποιοῖς μίαν] καὶ τοῖς στ[ρα]τηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχ-
 [οις τρεῖς καὶ τ]οῖς πομπ[εῦσι]ν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τα-
 15 [ῖς καινηφόροι]ς κατὰ (τὰ) εἰω[θότα], τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα Ἀθηαί-
 [ος μερίζειν· ἀ]πὸ δὲ τῶν τε[τταρ]άκοντα μυνῶν καὶ τῆς μι-
 [ᾶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς μ]ισθώσεως τῆς νέας βοωνήσαντες οἱ ἱερ-
 [οποιοὶ μετὰ τῶν βοωνῶν πέμψαντες τὴν πομπὴν τῇ θε-
 [ῷ θυόντων τα]ύτας τὰς βοὺς ἀπάσας ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῆς
 20 [Ἀθηνᾶς τῷ με]γάλῳ, μίαν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Νίκης προκρί-
 [ναντες ἐκ τῶν] καλλιστευουσῶν βοῶν, καὶ θύσαντες τῇ-
 [ι Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ] Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Νίκῃ ἀπασῶ-
 [ν τῶν βοῶν τῶν] ἀπὸ τῶν τετταράκοντα μυνῶν καὶ μιᾶς ἑω-
 [νημένων νε]μόντων τὰ κρέα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐν
 25 [Κεραμεικῷ] καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρεανομίαις· ἀ[π]-
 [ονέμειν δὲ] τὰς μερίδας εἰς τὸν δήμον ἕκαστον κατὰ [τ]
 [οὺς πέμπου]ντας ὅσους ἂν παρέχη ὁ δῆμος ἕκαστος· [ε]
 [ῖς δὲ τὰ μι]σθώματα τῆς πομπῆς καὶ τὸ μαγειρικὸν κα[ὶ]
 [κόσμησιν] τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα προσ-

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

⁷³ Parke (1977), 45.

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

- 30 [- - 8 - - -] εἶσθαι περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ εἰς παννυχίδα
 [διδόναι]: Π : δραχμάς· τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιοὺς τοὺς διοικ[κ]-
 [οὔντας τ]ὰ Παναθήναια τὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ποεῖν τὴν πα[ν]-
 [νυχίδα] ὥς καλλίστην τῇ θεῷ καὶ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπε[ι]-
 [ν ἅμα ἡ]λίῳ ἀνιόντι, ζῆμιούντας τὸν μὴ πειθαρχο[ύντ]-
 35 [α ταῖς ἐκ] τῶν νόμων ζῆμiais· ἐλέσθαι δὲ τὸν δῆμ[ον...]
 [- - - 18 - - - -] ἄν[δ]ρας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπ[άντων ο]-
 [ἔτινες - - - - -]

The inscription states, lines 8-10, that “the Hieropoioi are to sacrifice the two sacrifices, one to Athena Hygieia and the other “at” or “in” the Old Temple, as previously”. These two sacrifices were undoubtedly made on the Akropolis; the location of a sanctuary to Athena Hygieia on the Akropolis is well known⁷⁵ and the altar “at” or “in” the Old Temple gives us sufficient topographical reference beyond any reasonable doubt. It may well be the latter altar which is mentioned in the *Iliad* and in Thucydides.

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

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

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

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

With this in mind, we might reconsider the reading of lines 24 and 25 of *IG II² 334*. The restoration of ἐν [Κεραμεικῷ] “in the Kerameikos” as the site of the distribution of meat following the sacrifices has been thus far unchallenged. There is now another

⁷⁵ See Judeich (1931), 242, n. 3 and Raubitschek (1949), 185-188.

⁷⁶ Thompson and Scranton (1943), 307-308, fig. 21.

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

The importance of the date of the inscription *IG II² 334* must now be re-emphasized. It is dated securely to 336-330 B.C., the period of the religious reforms of Lykourgos, although a precise date within this period cannot be assured. It is well known that Lykourgos had a special interest in the cult of Athena Polias whose priestess was always from the clan of Eteoboutadai, as was Lykourgos himself.⁷⁹ We know from the law proposed by Lykourgos in 335/334 B.C., *IG II² 333*, that suitable gold and silver cult vessels were especially made for the Panathenaic procession to contribute to the proper splendor of the festival. One may also assume that Lykourgos added to the prestige of the Panathenaic festival by increasing the number of cows to be sacrificed to Athena Polias for distribution to the populace of the city. And although sacrifices were made on the Akropolis in former times (and continued to be made in limited quantities) I would suggest that from the time of Lykourgos a major sacrifice of cattle was made to Athena Polias on the Pnyx Hill. It seems most likely that the "Great Altar" was built hand in hand with the Panathenaic Stadium and Theater which was completed in 330/329 B.C.

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

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

ἐπεὶ σοι πολύθυστος αἰεὶ
τιμὰ κραινεται, οὐδὲ λάθει
μηνῶν φθινύς ἀμέρα,
780 νέων τ' αἰοδαὶ χορῶν τε μολπαί.
ἀνεμῶντι δ' ἐπ' ὄχθῳ
ὀλολύγματα παννυχίοις ὑπὸ παρ-
θένων ἰαχεῖ ποδῶν κρότοισιν.

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

⁷⁹ Mitchel (1973), 203-207.

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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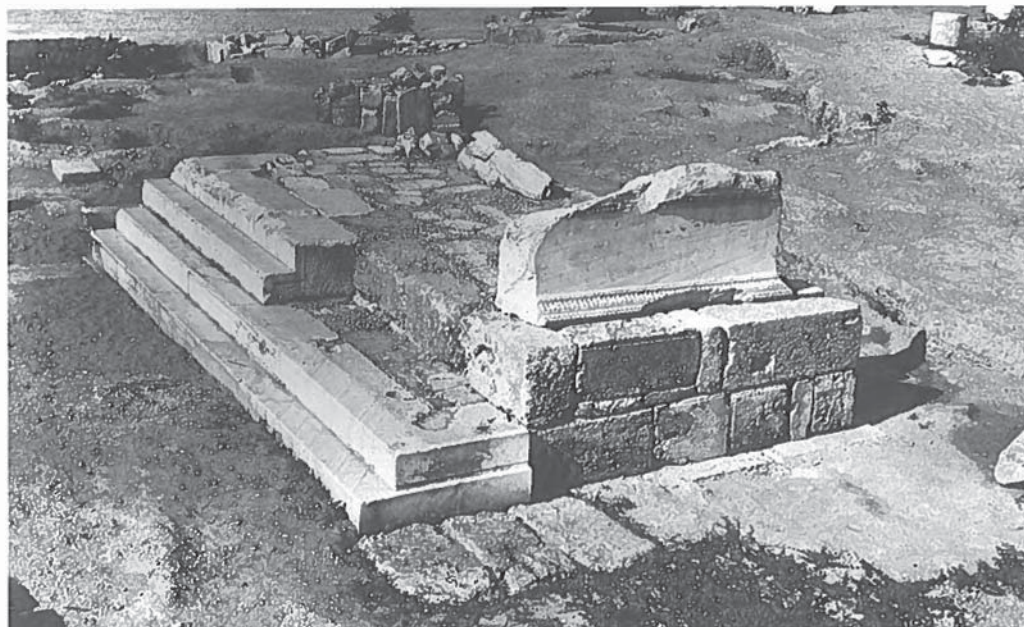


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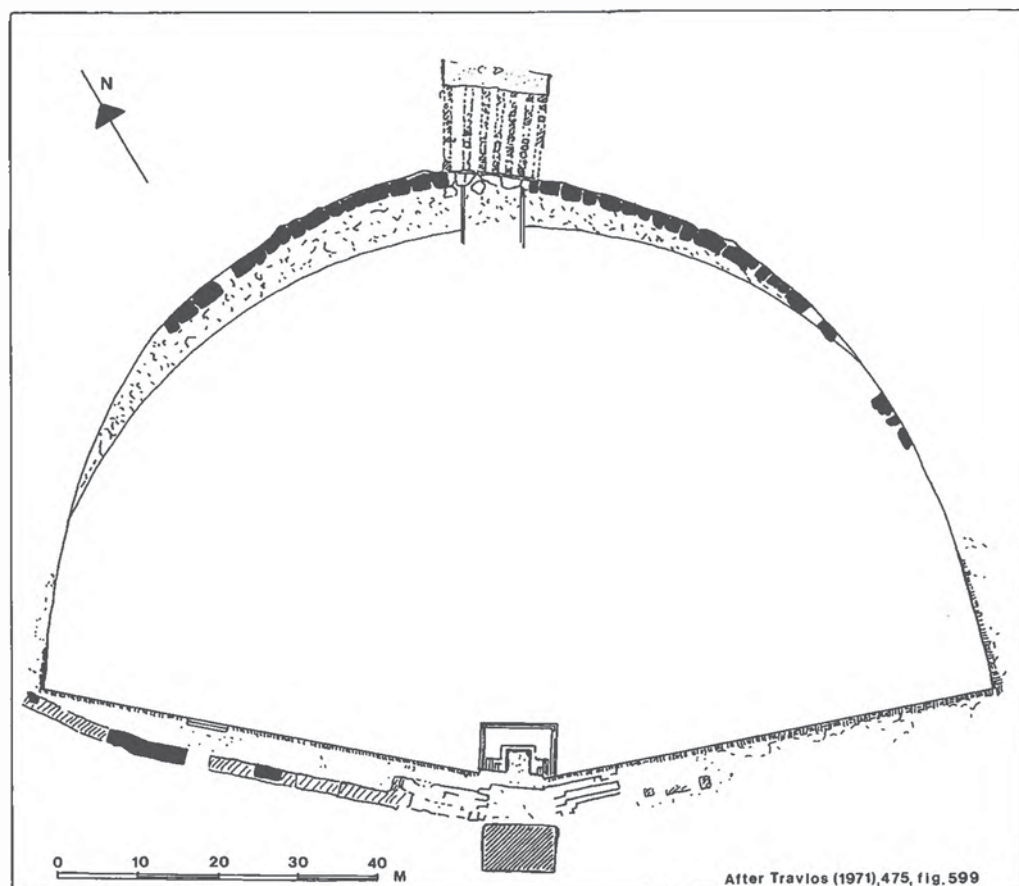


Fig. 33



Fig. 34

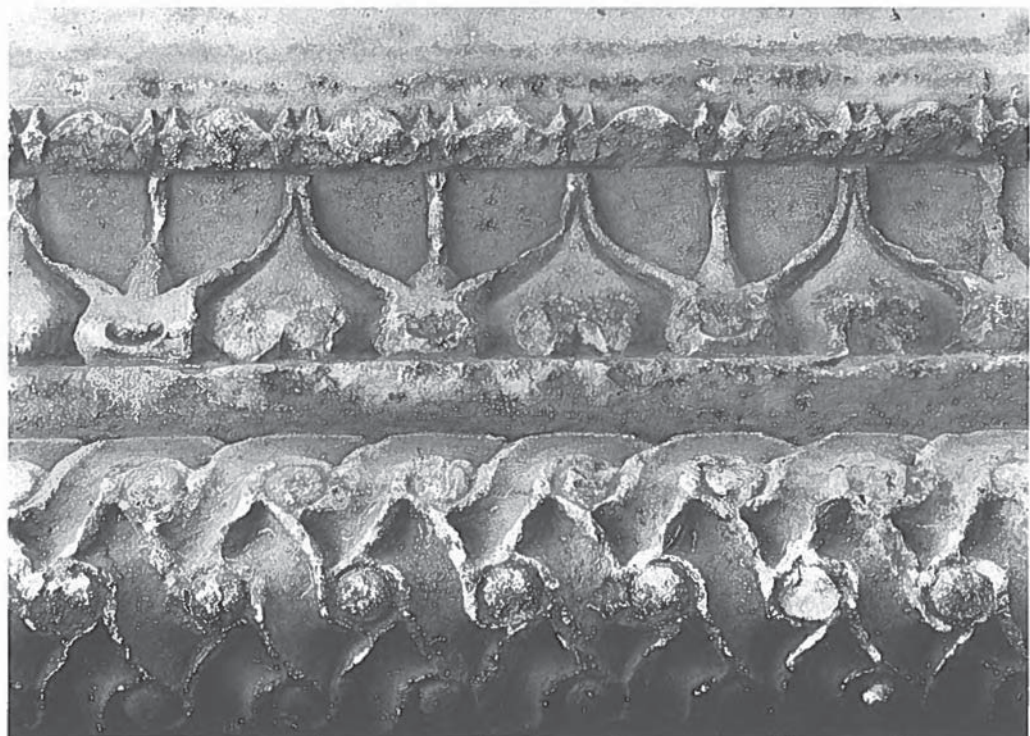


Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38

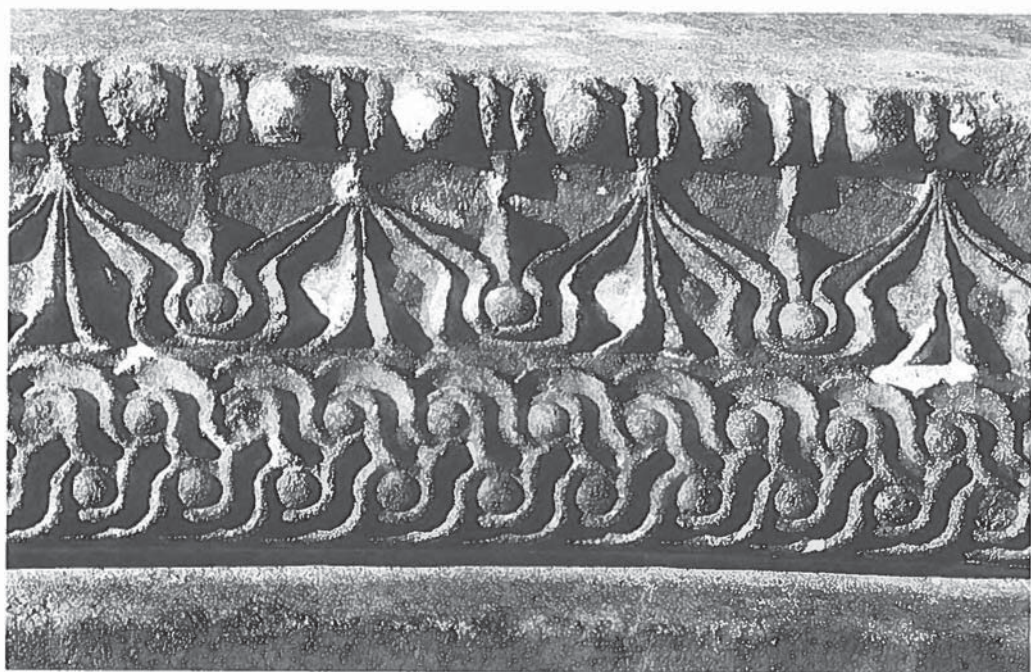
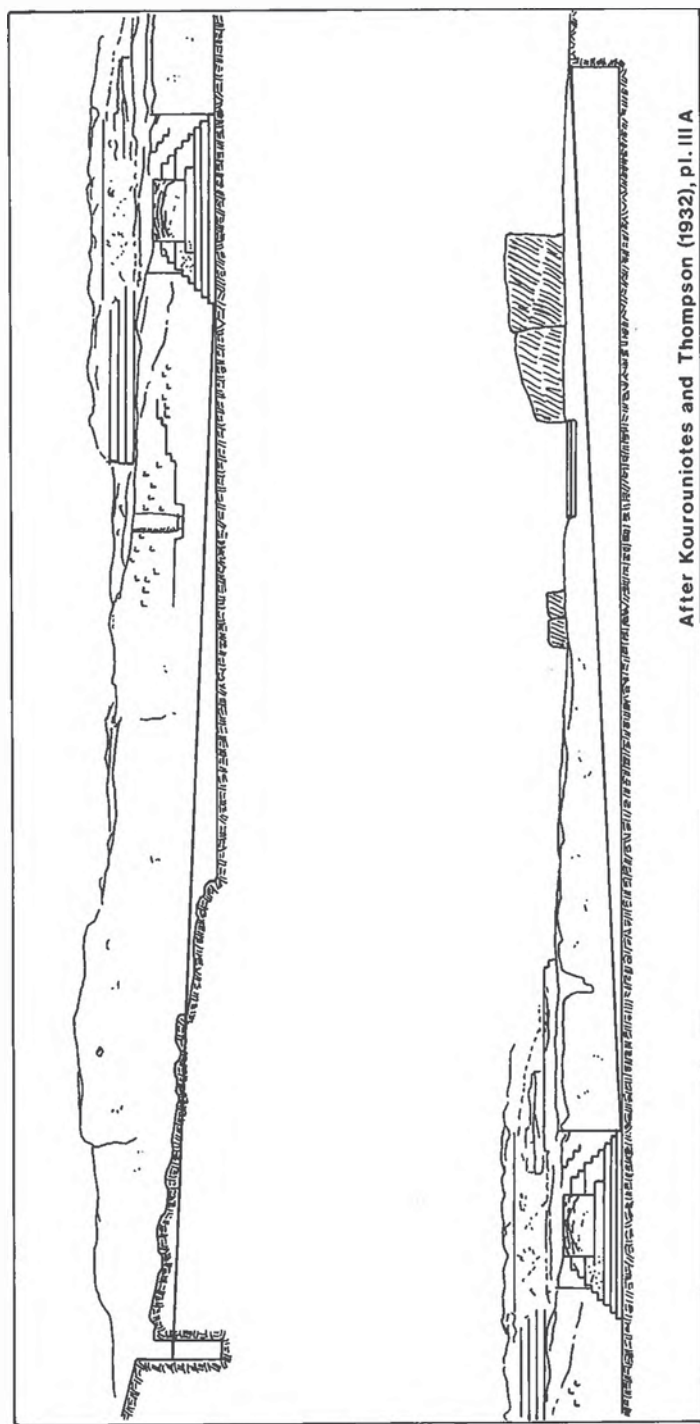


Fig. 39



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

Fig. 40

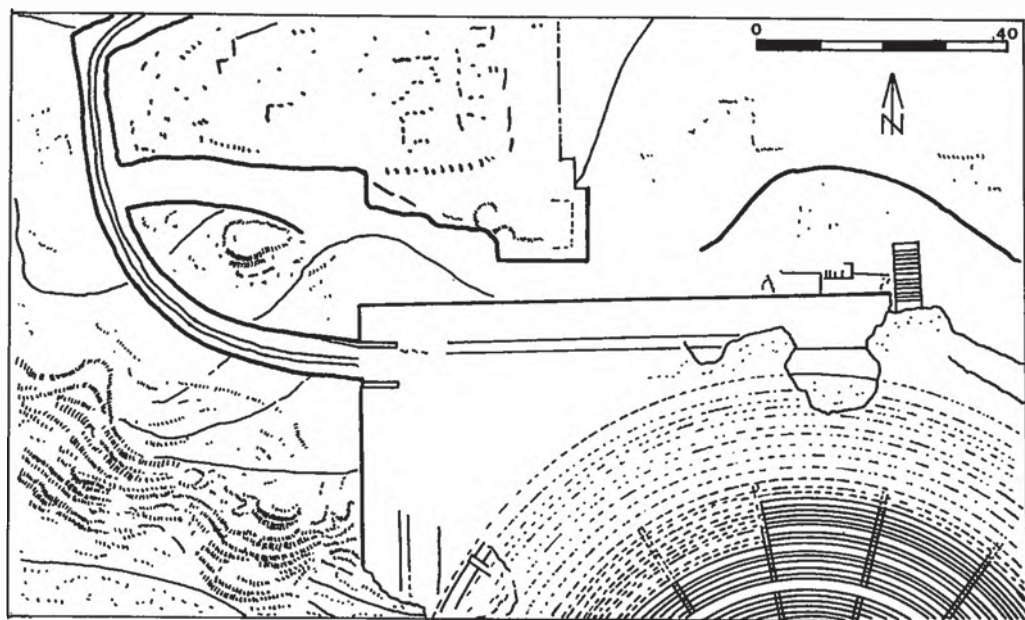


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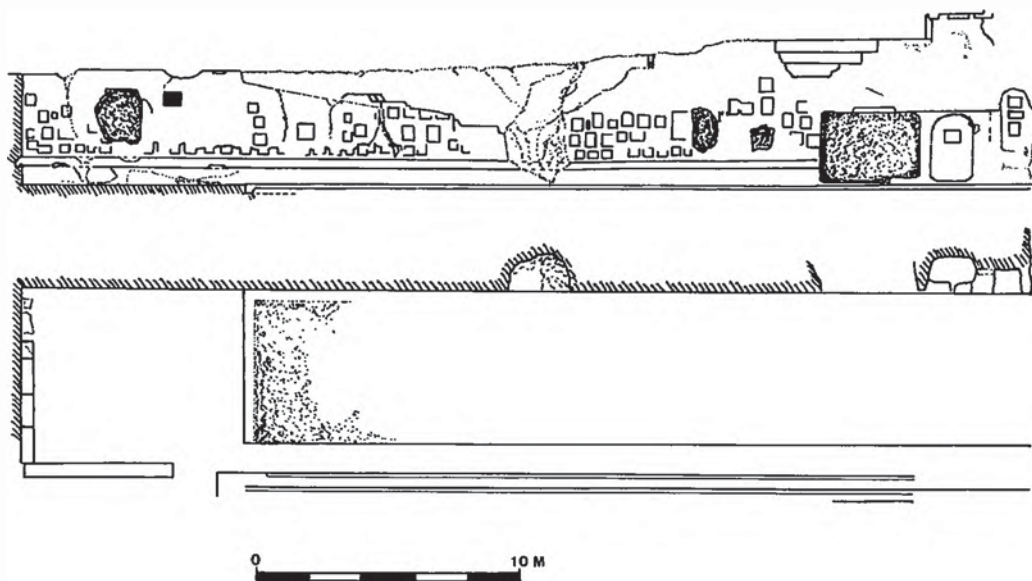


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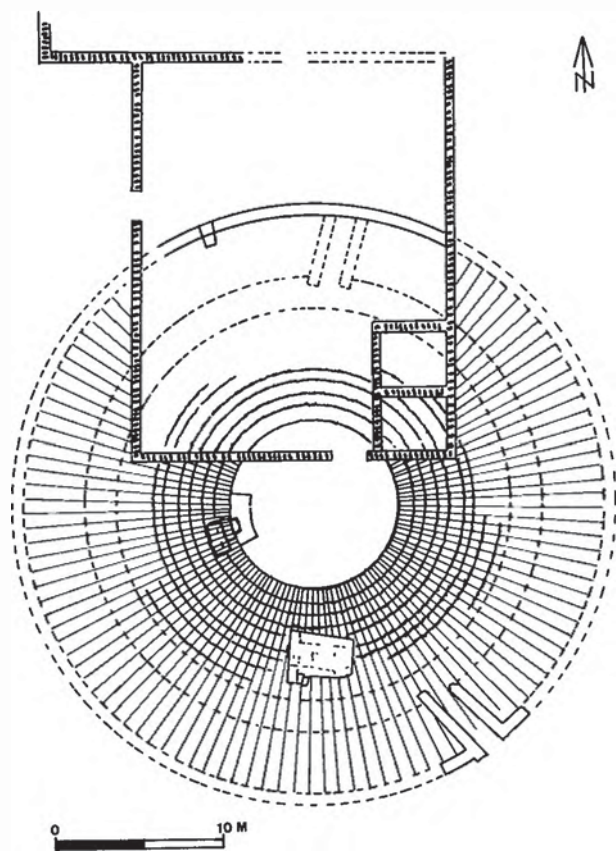


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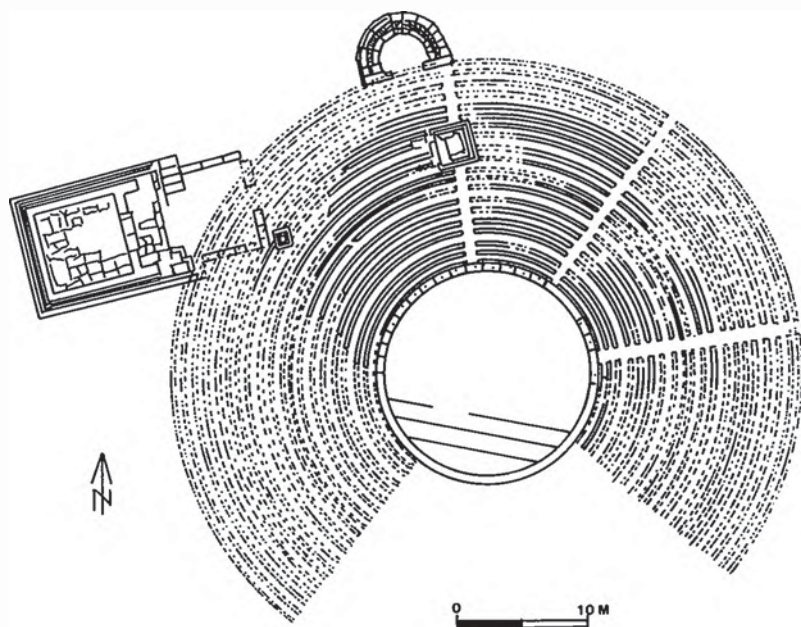


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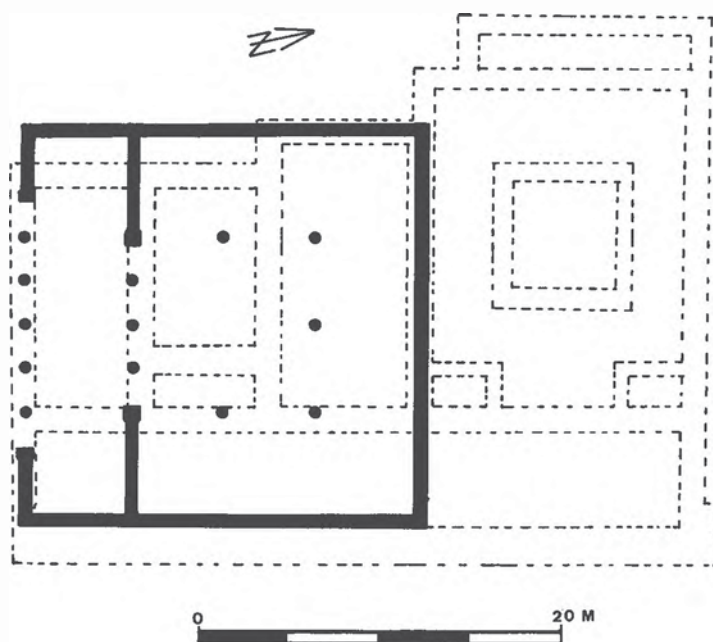


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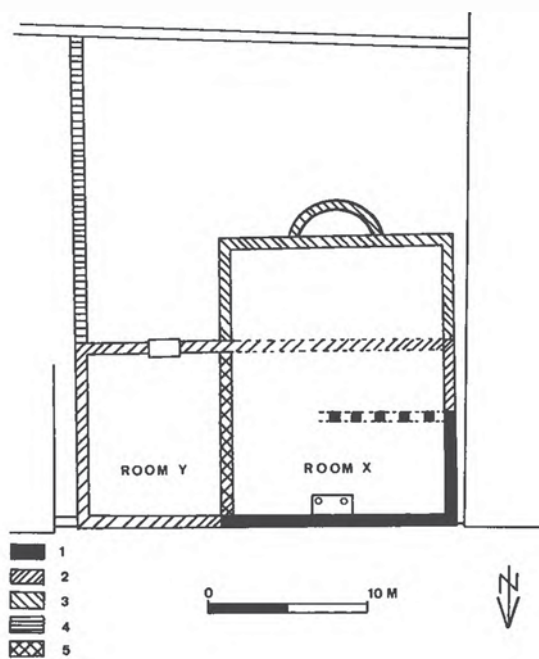


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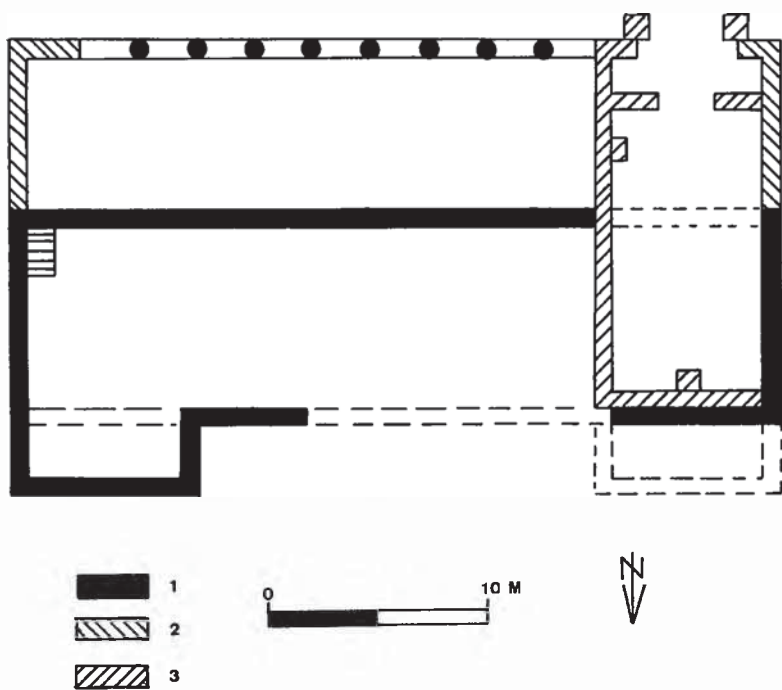


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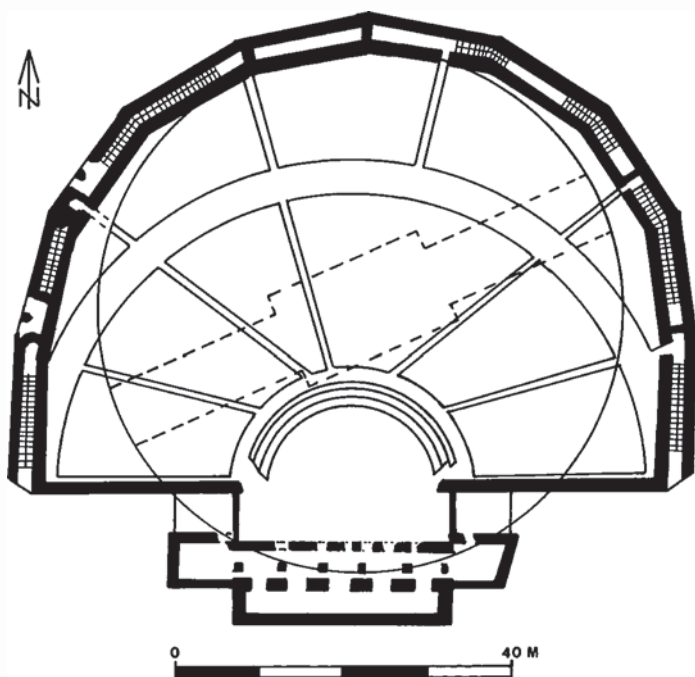


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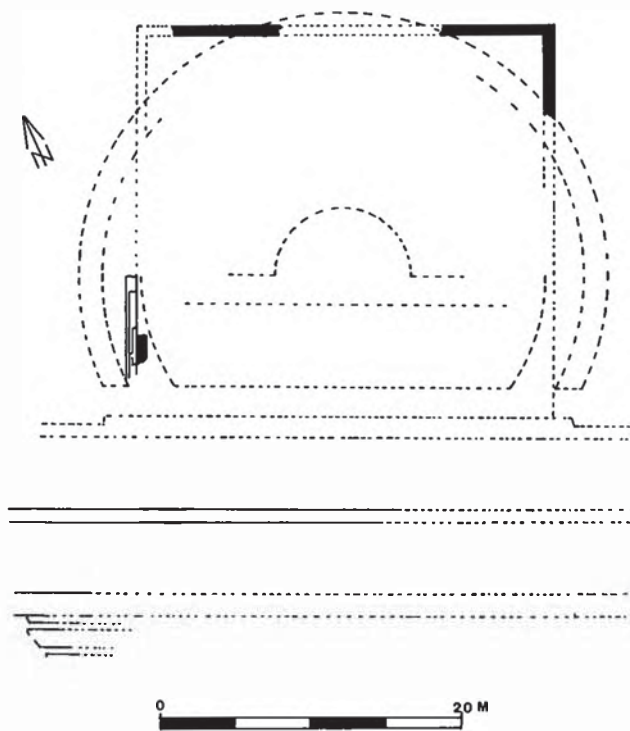


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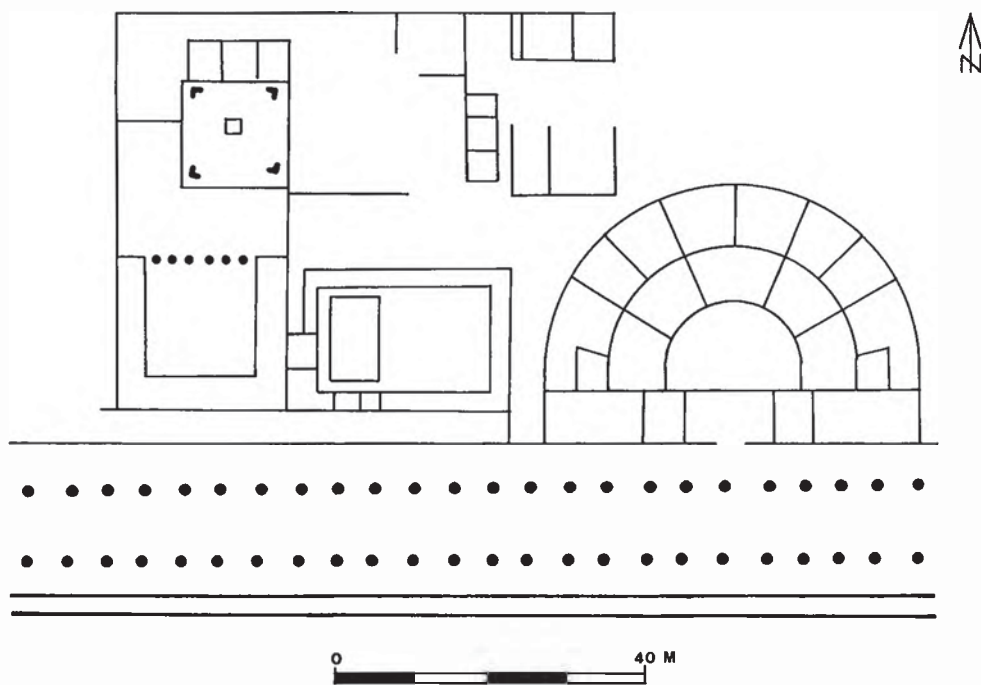


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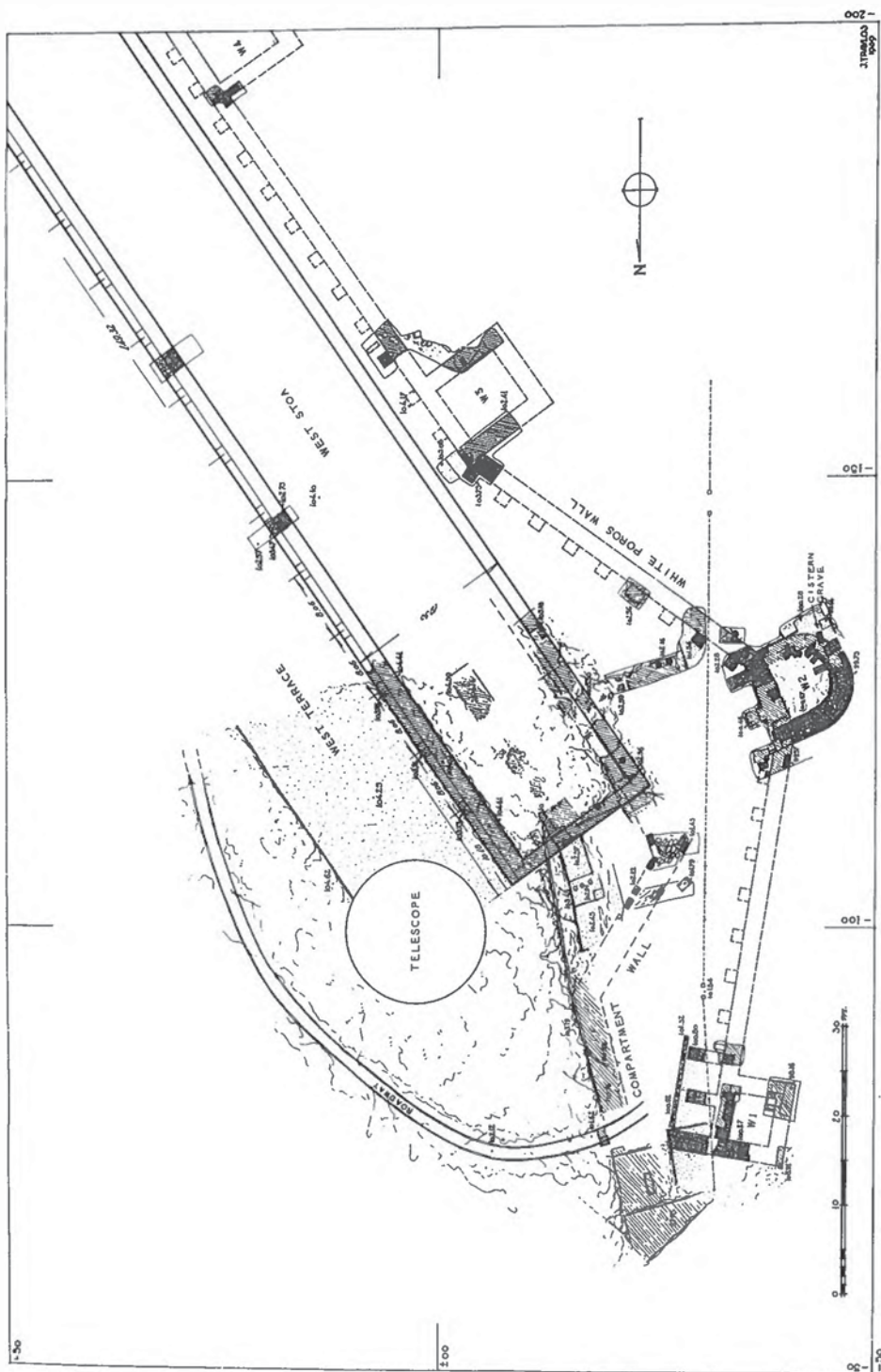


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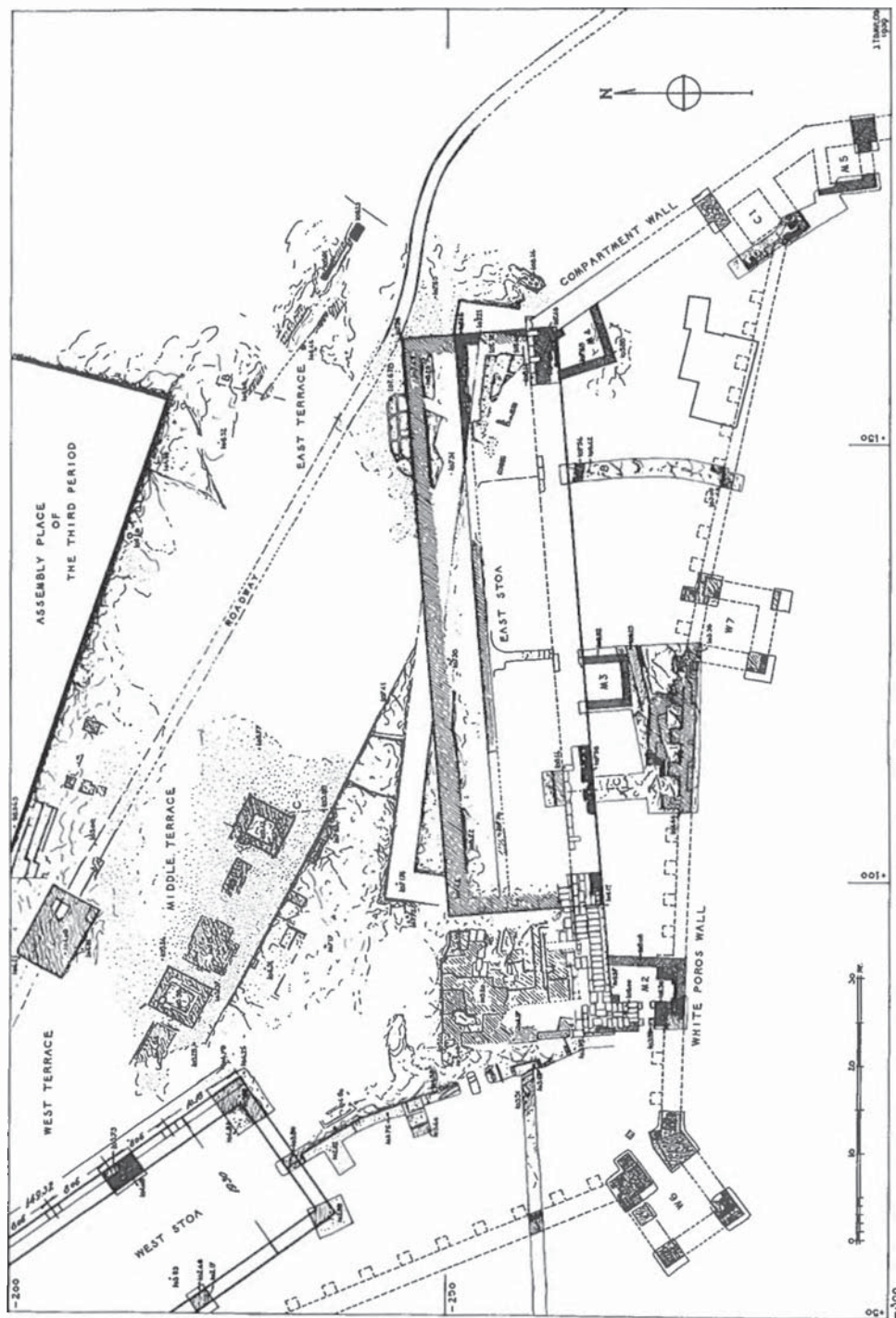


Fig. S2

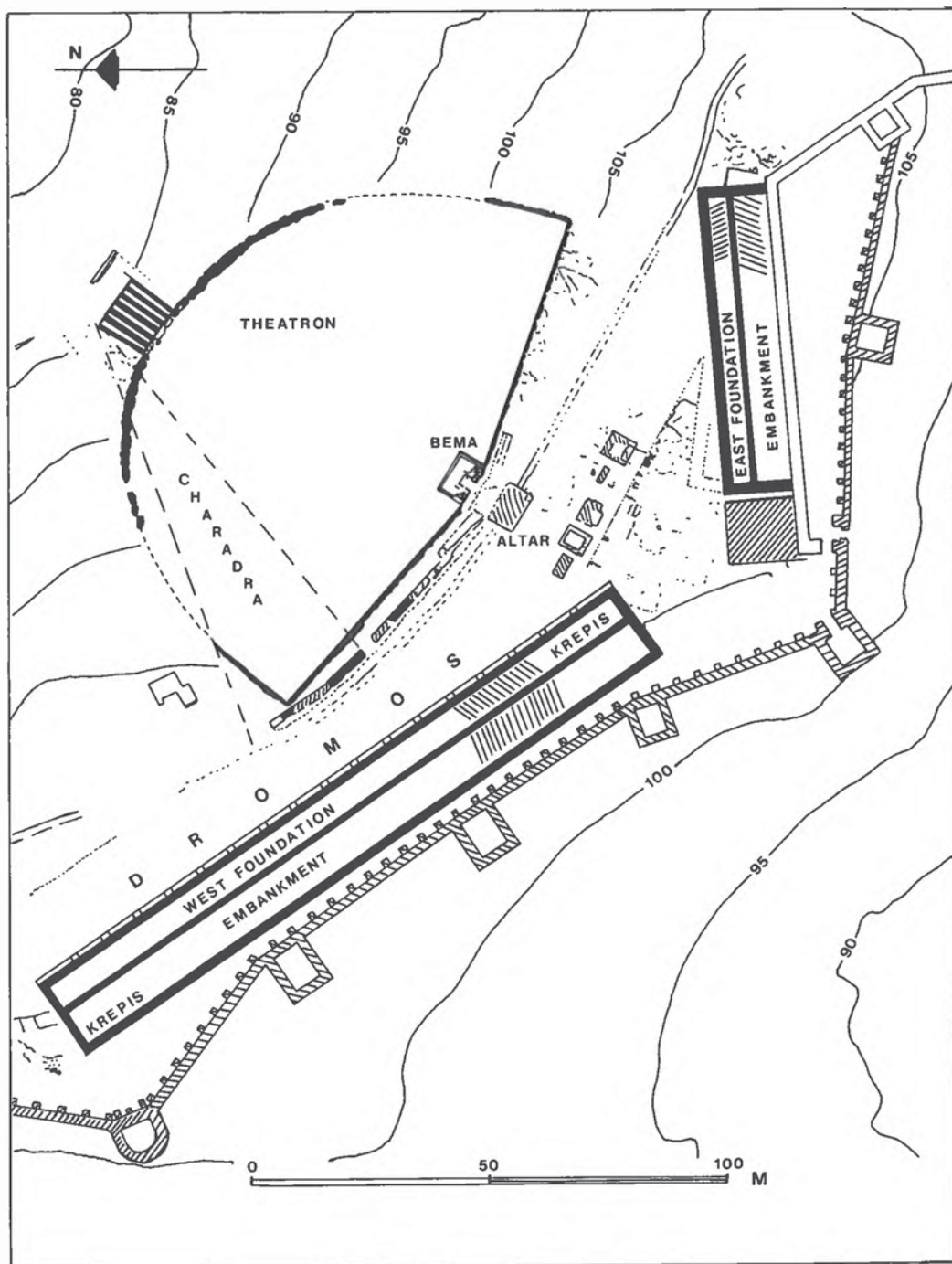


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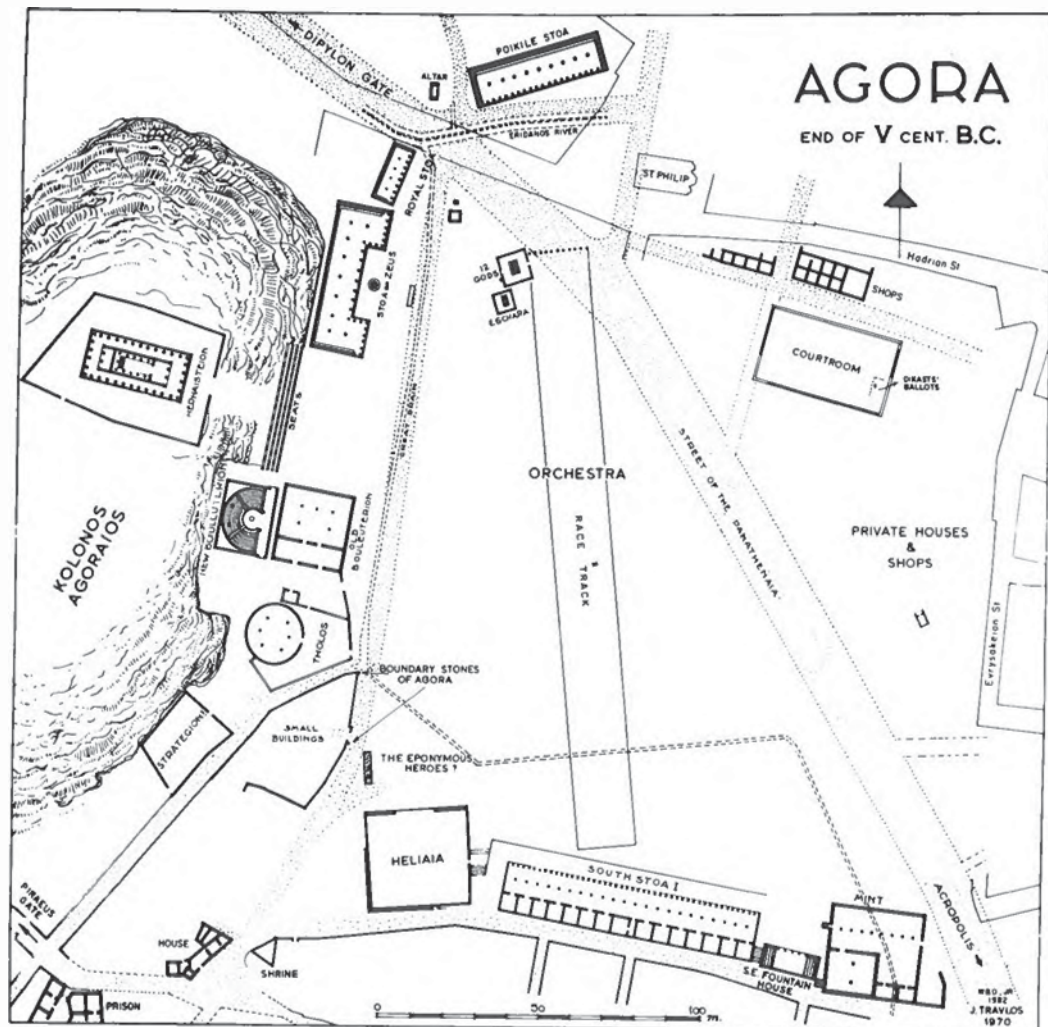


Fig. 54



Fig. 55

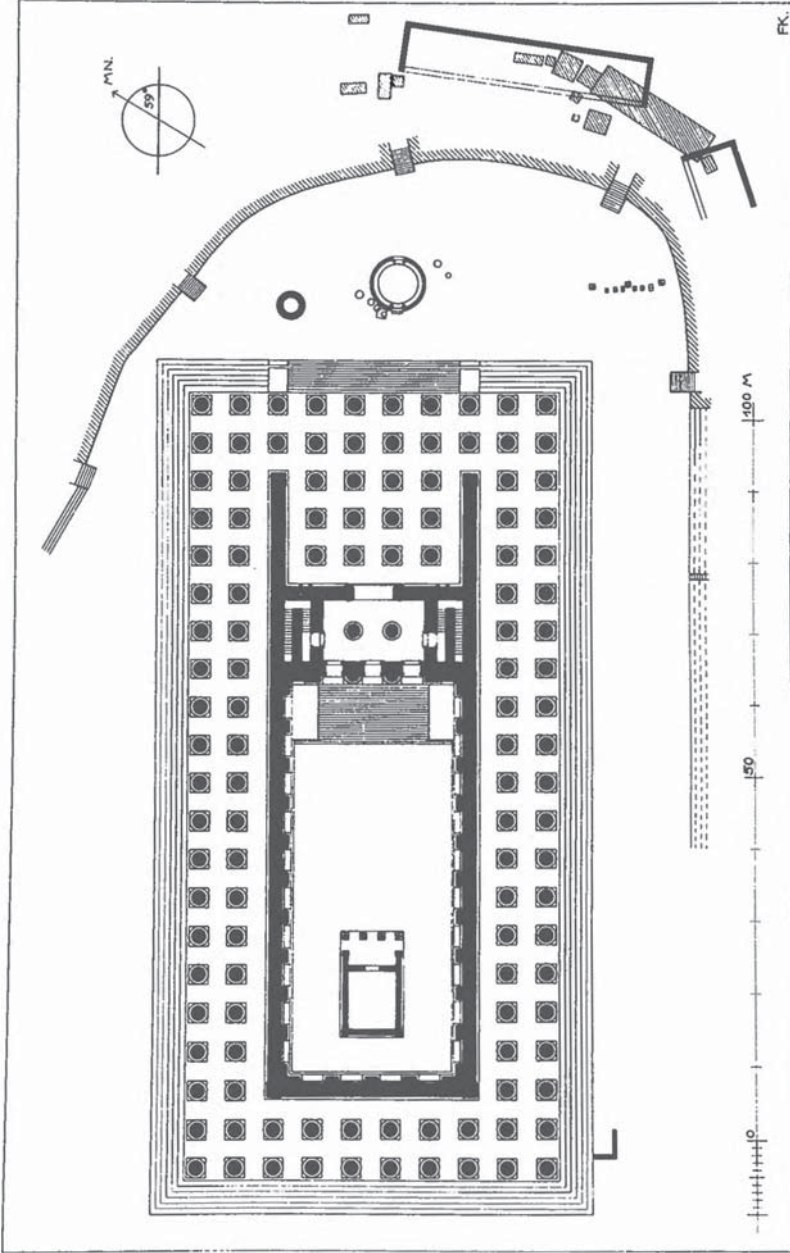
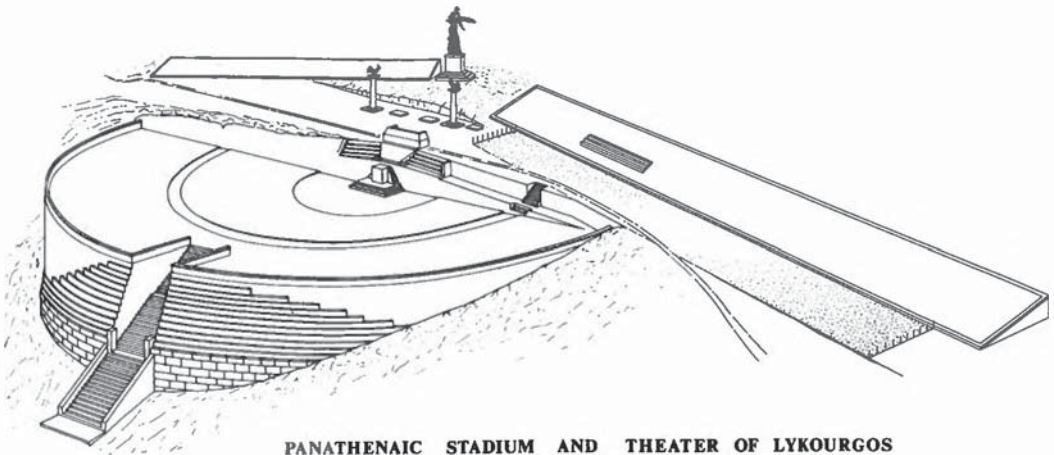


Fig. 56



PANATHENAIC STADIUM AND THEATER OF LYKOURGOS
CA. 329 B.C.

Fig. 57



Fig. 58



Fig. 59



Fig. 60



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