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THE PNYX IN THE HISTORY OF ATHENS



Edited by
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The Pnyx in the History of Athens

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The City Walls on the Pnyx Put into Context

Lars Karlsson

The city walls on the Pnyx were excavated in the 1930s by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The excavations were published in an exemplary way by Homer A. Thompson and Robert L. Scranton in *Hesperia* in 1943.¹ According to these scholars, the wall ran along the crests, from the Observatory to the Mouseion Hill, where traces of a fort were found. The Pnyx wall thus cut off a section of the city towards the Peiraeus. This whole ridge had been included in the Athenian wall circuit of the fifth century. Thompson and Scranton realised immediately that the wall on the Pnyx must be the *diateichisma* mentioned in several ancient sources.² The city thus had two sets of walls and gates opening towards the walled corridor, which in turn led to the Peiraeus (see Plan 1 and Fig. 52).

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

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

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

The Compartment Wall

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

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

The White Poros Wall

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸ See discussion in Karlsson (1992).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁵ Stählin (1934), 58-62.

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

¹⁷ Lanckoronski (1890), 62, fig. 49.

¹⁸ Mansel (1963), 28-32.

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

second half of the third century B.C. (Fig. 61l). In I.17-19 Philon writes: "But some (curtains) should be enclosed (above) by vaulting as at Rhodes ... with wall-walks²⁰ 7 cubits wide, and 7-bed barracks underneath, of which the inward-running walls be 10 cubits long and thick, while the frontage (walls) will have a length equal to the inward-running but a width of only 3 cubits. By so building, the expense is less, the 10-cubit (walls) will not be affected by stone-projectors, and if those of 3-cubit thickness get damaged by hits we shall quickly block up that (particular) barrack-room".²¹

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

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

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

²¹ Translation by Lawrence (1979), 77.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁵ Stählin (1934).

²⁶ Lawrence (1979), 347-348, 367.

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.

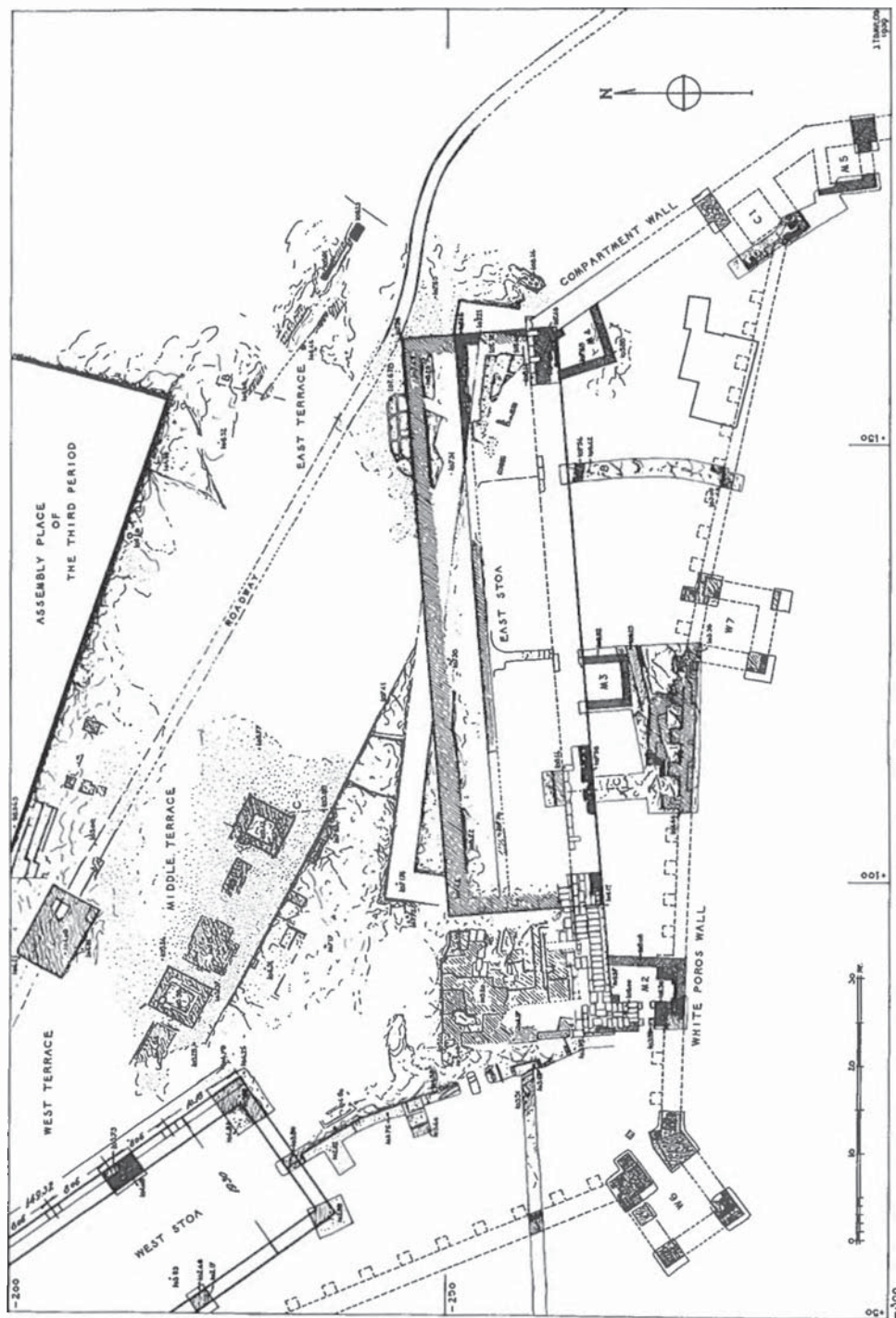
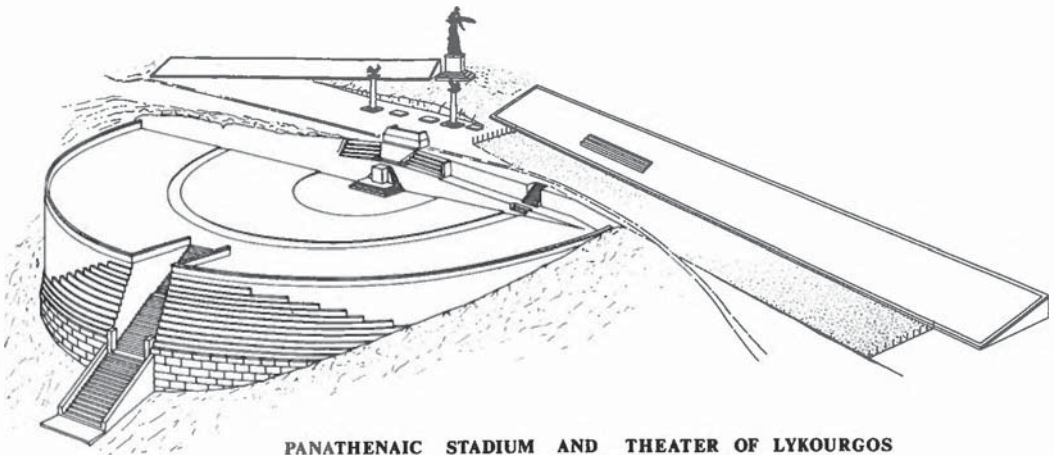


Fig. S2



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

Fig. 57



Fig. 58



Fig. 59



Fig. 60

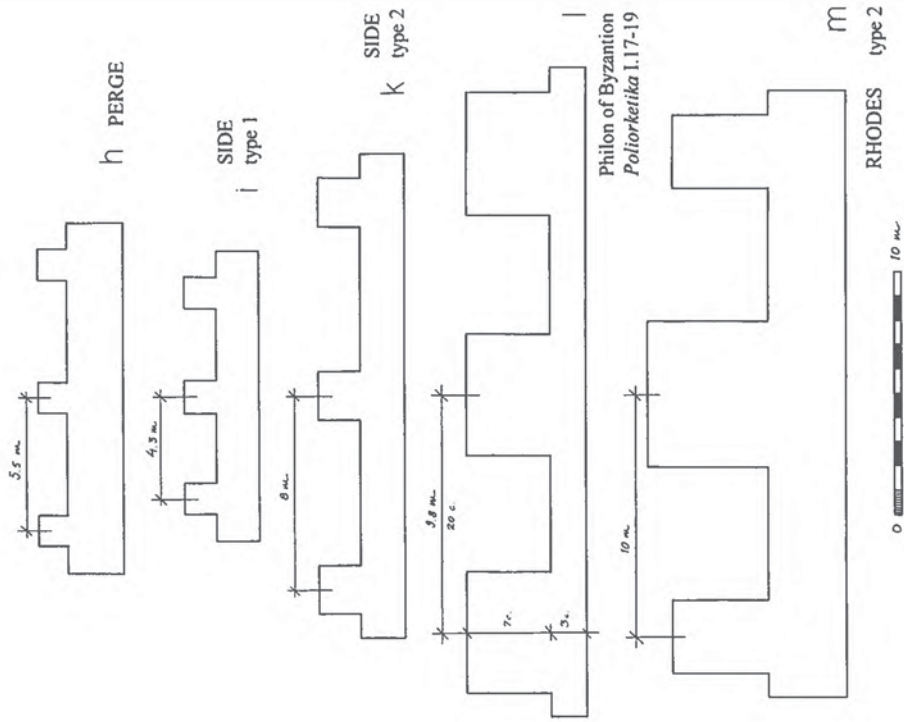
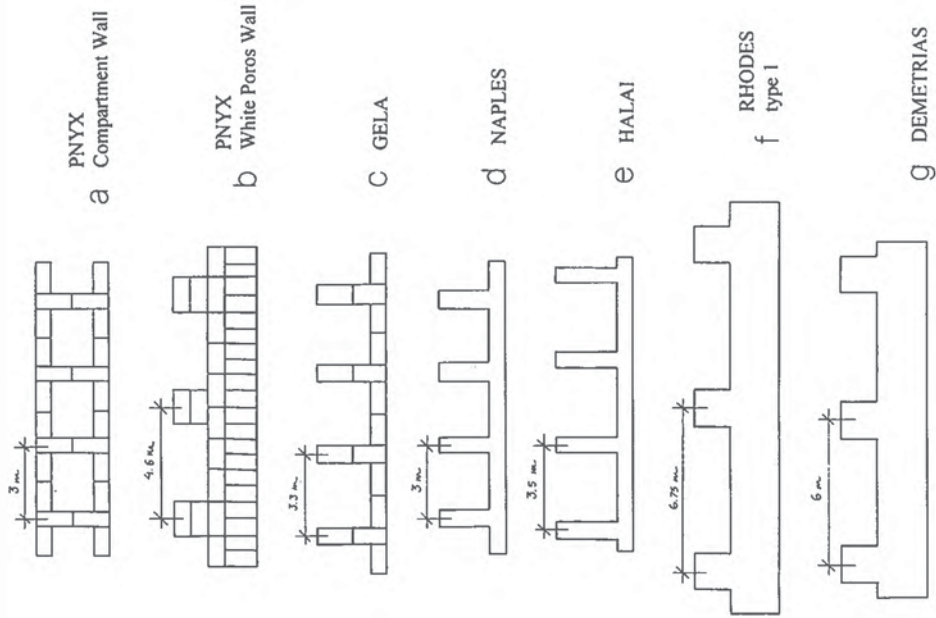


Fig. 61



Fig. 62



Fig. 63

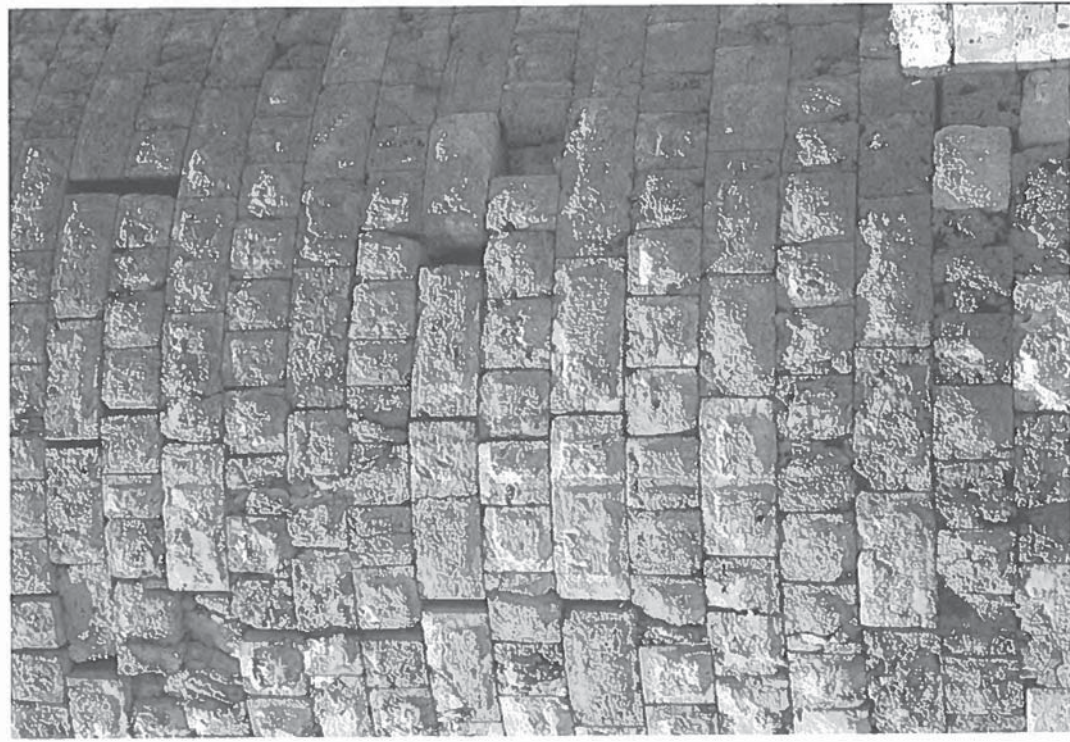


Fig. 64



Fig. 65



Fig. 66

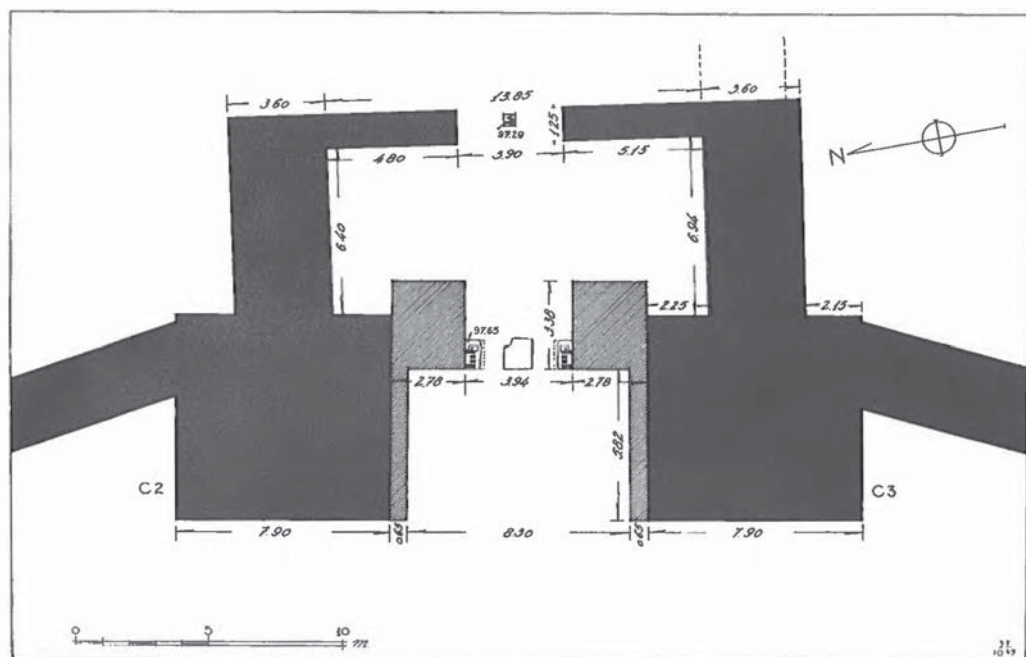


Fig. 67



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