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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 Pnyx and the Mouseion Hill Inscriptions Reconsidered

Dina Peppas Delmousou

Invited by the organising committee of this important colloquium to speak on a topic based on one or more inscriptions found on the hill of the Pnyx and its surrounding area I have been very hesitant in choosing my contribution. On one side there is the enormous and steadily increasing bibliography on the history and topography of this site and on the other the poor epigraphical evidence, virtually deprived of any sure indication concerning the find-spot, and in some cases the unknown location of the inscribed monuments. Additionally it must be taken into account that, for several published inscriptions, there exists constant doubt and speculation about the way they have been read and transcribed. This situation can be attributed to the general problem which is characteristic of the longevity and deterioration of the public areas of the ancient world such as, in our case, the area of the Pnyx.

This area suffered very early from the first period of radical alterations deriving from political ideas and passions. So it is possible that the well-known boundary marker *IG I³ 1092 (EM 10069) ἡρόρας Πυκλός*, dated at circa 500-450 B.C.,¹ found together with pieces of marble and two fragments of reliefs in a pit (depth 0.75 m., diam. 0.90 m.) which was “cleaned” in 1853 by Pittakes, was stored in the earth when the Thirty Tyrants decided to apply their program of rearranging the seats of the auditorium by placing them in an opposite direction, facing the Acropolis and not the sea, which had in the past inspired democracy (Plut. *Themist.* 19.5-6). As a result of these changes, they had to replace this marker (which was in the earth) with another one adapted to the contemporaneous post-Euclidean writing, in order to indicate the locality by the common form *Πυκός*. The fact that this boundary marker was thrown away while partly joined by lead to its original base could not be an example of barbarism, as Pittakes claimed (“κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς βαρβαρότητος”),² but it was perhaps dictated by a serious attempt to reorganise this important public locality, in the last decade of the fifth century

¹ Pittakes (1853), 774-775; Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 108; Travlos (1971), 466-467 with fig. 588; Ritchie (1984), 301-306, no. TA 61, with plate 57; Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 73-76 with photograph in plate 2 (SEG XXXVII 40).

² Pittakes (1853), 774-775, no. 1290.

B.C. It is obvious to us that this stone can not be considered as conclusive evidence for the date of the original construction of an assembly place on the Pnyx hill, especially if Pnyx I belongs to the period immediately following the reforms of Kleisthenes, as has been proposed.³

The ideological conception of the Thirty Tyrants, expressed some years before them as the return to the *πάτριος πολιτεία* by the Eleven, could be the motive for dislodging the heavy marker *Λακκιάδων τριττύς* (IG I³ 1120, EM 10634) embedded with lead into Pnyx I original rock, which had a kind of pink-coloured "Acropolis limestone". There is no difficulty in accepting the function of this horos and others carrying the name of a trittys, as a "gathering point" for the citizens ready to vote and generally to exercise their duties in tribal groups.⁴ Undoubtedly this heavy stone with its characteristic colour has the priority in testifying to the function of the assembly over the other horoi of trittyes IG I³ 1118 (EM 10072), IG I³ 1119 (SEG X 370) and IG I³ 1117 (SEG XXI 109).

Found in the ruins of a shrine in the area between Pnyx and Areopagus, the horos IG II² 2507 (Lalonde (1991), 22, no. H2) together with two more blocks carrying the inscription *ὁρίζων | λέσχης* (IG II² 2620) are not to be discussed here. It is obvious that we must neglect a couple of private mortgage horoi, the opisthographic IG II² 2697 (EM 229) and IG II² 2761. Although they were also found on the Pnyx these categories of inscriptions are far from its history, as is the gravestone IG II² 5886 (EM 11681). As a result of the above it should be clear that epigraphical help for the better understanding of the Pnyx's function, its changes and development is less than one would expect.

As I started to review the Pnyx epigraphical material as a whole, I decided to leave aside all the inscribed dedications which were made to Zeus Hypsistos, i.e. the ex-votos and arulae found on the Pnyx hill and elsewhere in Athens and Piraeus, most of which are kept at the British Museum (IG II² 4766 and IG II² 4798-4807), as well as in the Epigraphical Museum and in the Agora Museum. Their sure provenance from the Pnyx homonymous shrine⁵ constitutes one of the more striking examples from the ancient world, when a part of the public domain was set aside for religious purposes and dedicated to the cult of a divinity closely related to the activities practised there. The installation of such a sanctuary for worship of the Great Zeus, keeper of the laws and supreme judge, conforms with the belief that he was the protector, manager and supervisor of the assembly's work. Taking into consideration B. Forsén's description of the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx⁶ with the accurate measurements of each one of the 58 rock-cut niches, one hopes that this unique homogeneous group will be further studied by this scholar.

Trying to insert the published inscriptions into the Pnyx historical-religious and topographical context I compiled my list⁷ for the larger area from the Areopagus to the north-western slope of the Mouseion Hill, if not for any other methodological reasons, at least motivated by the need to verify their find-spot; the relevant evidence is about 150 years old and their "editio princeps" is written by eminent Greek scholars of this epoch. Some of these inscriptions have never been included in the Corpora. My task, then, is to review some rupestral inscriptions and graffiti (an attractive category for the certainty of their original place), and two decrees found in this area: IG II² 1277 (EM 7845) of a

³ Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 73-76.

⁴ Ritchie (1984), 521-526, 847-848, no. TA 109 (on the trittyes, 833-854, nos. 101-111); Traill (1986), 96; Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 51-92; Hansen (1989b), 155-165 (cf. SEG XXXV 14).

⁵ Travlos (1971), 569.

⁶ Forsén (1993), 507-521.

⁷ I wish to thank Dr Sara Aleshire for providing me with her computerised data.

“thiasos” honouring three men, “epimeletai” of an unnamed goddess, and the well-known IG II² 1368 (EM 8187), decree of the Iobacchoi.

The graffiti, with names or not, cut on the rock of the Pnyx and some rupestral inscriptions in the larger area provoked the interest of Werner Peek many years ago.⁸ Having studied their first publication, he noticed how many of the same category were omitted in the Corpus. He was also disappointed that his efforts to rediscover them finished in vain, so he called them ironically “Besucherinschriften”, instead of the formal “tituli memoriales” in the Corpus.⁹ He was informed that the casts of some graffiti and rupestral inscriptions, made at the time of their discovery, were kept at the Epigraphical Museum. But it had been impossible to find them at such a difficult period, during the Second World War and the occupation of Greece.

In my own research on the graffiti I expected to find in the Epigraphical Museum — which was last reorganised after the repairs in the sixties and seventies, as well as after the 1981 earthquake — the cast of three of them brought in by the excavators¹⁰ and inventoried in the normal way in the EM catalogue.

EM 12705 *META*[---], a graffito-name

EM 12704 a name *ΠΙΤΑΛΛΟΣ*, dated in the late fifth century B.C.; W. Peek didn't find it again

EM 12703 *ΕΙΛΙΦ*-, considered as “uncertain”

All three were perishable due to the bad quality of the material used for the cast. Luckily Kourouniotes and Thompson provide us with photographs in their article in *Hesperia*, where they published one more graffito-name reading *ΠΟΛΥΞΕ*[- - -], *Πολύξε*[νος] or *Πολυξέ*[νη].¹¹

Despite the loss of the above-mentioned graffiti I found in the Epigraphical Museum the cast of the most important rupestral inscription for the topography of this region, referring to the cult of the Mother; made from a stronger material, a combination of plaster and cement, it was kept in the Museum without any inventory number. It served to make the photograph in the “editio princeps” in the year 1899.¹² Located on the south-western slope of the Pnyx in the immediate vicinity of the Church of Ayios Demetrios Loumbardiaris and 10 metres above a Roman tomb, the so-called *Κιμώνειον σῆμα*, this two-line inscription is cut in the rock (length of the first line 0.32 m. and of the second line 0.43 m). The letters, 0.05-0.10 m., are dated by scholars in the fourth century B.C. The first editor distinguished some horizontal and vertical traces on the inscribed surface and he thought that the first letter was an H, *ἡιερόν* (line 1) with *Μητέρος* (line 2).¹³ Ten years ago C.E. Ritchie described the inscription as “covered with lichens” and he

⁸ Peek (1942), 147-152, nos. 322-326; SEG XLI 121, 232.

⁹ Peek (1942), 151. He did not find two inscriptions, IG II² 13244, found *ἐπὶ τοῦ βράχου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Πνυκί* (Pittakes [1852b], 683) and one reading *ΠΥΡΑΝ*[ΙΣ?] (Pittakes [1852a], 683). Nor did he find another rupestral inscription reading *Πιτάλλος* (Kourouniotes and Thompson [1932], 214), a cast of which was destroyed at the Epigraphical Museum (cf. below).

¹⁰ Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 213-215 with figs. 68-70; SEG X 467, nos. 1-3.

¹¹ Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 134 with fig. 19.5.

¹² Skias (1899), 239-240, no. 2; Fowler (1900), 488; Judeich (1931), 398 with Map I, 6D; Lolling (1892), 100-103, 110-111, no. 109; Papayiannopoulos-Palaios (1939), 76-77, no. 15; id. (1947/48) 94-96; Pantazopoulos (1947/48), 119-121; Peek (1942), 149-150, no. 323; Oikonomides (1964), 75-76, n. 54; Travlos (1971), 466-467; Ritchie (1984) 268-271, no. TA 55, 791-792, plate 51; Lalonde (1991), 8, n. 25; SEG XLI 121.

¹³ Skias (1899), 239-240.

also read [Ι]ερὸν Μητέρος.¹⁴ Eliminating these subtle distinctions on the rock surface I have simplified the reading as *Ιερὸν Μητρός*, following Judeich and Peek,¹⁵ which means “Sacred to the Meter”; so the natural wall carrying this inscription was sacred to the mother and indicated probably one side of her sanctuary, like a boundary marker.

Unfortunately this inscription is omitted from the Corpus so it is necessary to point out the most important comments of scholars. Papayiannopoulos-Palaios was the first to identify this inscription as a boundary marker belonging to the sanctuary of the Mother, and relate it to the tradition concerning the death of the seer Metragyrtes.¹⁶ Furthermore, he suspected a correlation between the sanctuary and the “Square with the Seven Seats” on the north-western slope of the Mouseion Hill, where are the two rupestral inscriptions, *IG I³ 1403* and the enigmatic *ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ*. He verified the incomplete study of these three inscriptions in spite of their importance for the topography of the region, where the literary evidence indicated not only the sanctuary, but also a “bouleuterion” (or “dikasterion”) dedicated to the Meter.

Additionally, he thought that the female divinity mentioned without name in *IG II² 1277* (EM 7845) of the year 278/7 B.C., published first by H.G. Lolling, found *κατὰ τὴν δυτικομεσημβρινὴν κλιτὺν τῆς Πνυκός* (in a quarry on the south-western slope of the Pnyx) could be the *Μήτηρ θεῶν*; the same hypothesis was also made by the first editor in a footnote.¹⁷ I point out that Lolling, skilful topographer and epigraphist, in trying to identify the original location of the stele *IG II² 1277*, left to us the description of a building without a roof, as a miserable one, *ἄθλιον ἱδρυμα*, situated on the western side of the Mouseion Hill.¹⁸ The description of such a building reminds us of the characteristic open-air construction of the Athenian law-courts together with a reference to a *δικαστήριον* instead of the *βουλευτήριον* in a correction to the lemma, s.v. *Μητροῶν*, by a very late writer, Apostolios (XI.34).

It seems that W. Peek reached independently after Papayiannopoulos-Palaios a similar view of the Mother’s sanctuary. He strongly supported the same thesis, rejecting the first editor’s idea that the cult of the Meter, attested here on the south-western slope of the Pnyx, should be subordinate to another sanctuary of greater importance, perhaps the Metroon of the Agora. Peek considered that this place is the sanctuary of the Meter and that there is sufficient room for a shrine, a “kleine Kapelle”.¹⁹ He pointed out the need to conduct investigations in this region, as have so many other scholars since this time and as the Ephoros P.G. Calligas said at the opening session of this Colloquium.

Nevertheless, a proposal for a larger area dedicated to the Mother of the Gods is advanced by Lolling, Pantazopoulos and especially by Papayiannopoulos-Palaios,²⁰ identifying with this region the testimonia for the foundation of the sanctuary, as well as the expiatory act for Metragyrtes’ death; this area beginning from the “barathron” at the

¹⁴ Ritchie (1984), 268, 270. He observes that in the second line of the inscription the top horizontal of the letters tau and epsilon is “the base of a triangle or letter delta”; cf. the facsimile in Skias (1899), 239.

¹⁵ Judeich (1931), 398; Peek (1941), 149.

¹⁶ Papayiannopoulos-Palaios (1939), 76-77, no. 15.

¹⁷ Lolling (1892), 100-113 at 111 (note); cf. *IG II² 1316*.

¹⁸ Lolling (1892), 110-111.

¹⁹ Peek (1942), 150; SEG XLI 121.

²⁰ Lolling (1892), 110-113 (the whole south-western area of the Mouseion Hill); Papayiannopoulos-Palaios (1939), 76-77, no. 15; id. (1947/1948), 94-96; Pantazopoulos (1947/1948), 119-121; Ritchie (1984), 791-792, no. TA 55, providing (plate 51) a photograph of “the outcrop from the northeast”, where are visible “three rock-cut footings to facilitate one’s ascent to the top of the north face of the outcrop” (791). See also Loukas (1988), 15-23 on Metragyrtes and the syncretism between the Rhea and Cybele cults in Attica.

west includes the “bouleuterion”, i.e. the “Square with the Seven Seats”, situated on the north-western slope of the Mouseion Hill, at a distance of “about 160 paces due west”²¹ from the rupestral inscription *ἱερὸν Μητρόδος*, which indicates the eastern limit of the sanctuary, according to Papayiannopoulos-Palaios.

So the “Square with the Seven Seats” is distant from the bema of the Pnyx only 290 m. and, carrying several names such as the *ἑπτὰθρονον*, the “seven thrones” or the “*ἑπτὰ ἐδῶλια*” (Lolling), it is indicated on the 19th century maps of Athens as the “Siebensesselplatz”. W. Judeich described this square 13 x 10 m. as a resting place and refused to recognise a public building (“eine Gerichtsstätte, wie man gemeint hat”, as somebody suggests — without giving us his name).²² Anyway, this “Square with the Seven Seats”, cut in the rock one after the other, in a series at the longer south side and with an exedra as a bench in the eastern wall, provided with a natural floor and staircases, seems to be the “bouleuterion”. It is a small assembly place, suitable also for ritual performances, not in a later stage of reuse, but for the first moments of its foundation and its consecration to the Mother of the Gods, as the sources narrate. In fact, in restudying the inscription *ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ* and *IG I³ 1403*, cut in the nearby rocks and both misunderstood for over a century now, I think that these two documents focus on the same topic, the *epos*, which is referring to one of the oldest traditions: on the Mouseion Hill lived a famous *ἑποποιός*, the poet Mousaios, a foreigner and predecessor of Homer, giving utterances and settling obscure ceremonies. An entire anthology, the *Εὐμολπία*, was attributed to him: the last part of the *Θεογονία*, the hymn to the goddess Demeter, worshipped in Attica by the Lykomidai, and some kind of choral song (Paus. I.14.3; IV.1.5; X.5.6). In all probability he has been buried on the hill, and the name is to be attributed to him and not to the Muses, as Pausanias wrote (I.25.8).

At this point it is necessary to summarise briefly the literary tradition for the Mother of the Gods related to the seer Metragyrtes, victim of the religious conservatism of the Athenians in the fourth century B.C., which was tragically negative to the introduction of *καινὰ δαιμόνια*, as the charge against Socrates reveals; a striking example of the instability in public life is the erection *post mortem* of the philosopher’s statue but there exists as far as we know no parallel in Metragyrtes’ statue in the “bouleuterion”, because the seer was a foreigner — not an Athenian citizen like Socrates — and the dedication of his *ἀνδριάς* comprised a large ritual program of purification, dictated by the oracle.

Tradition says that a man called Metragyrtes came to Attica and was trying to initiate women into the Mother of the Gods Mysteries; so the Athenians condemned him to death by pushing him headlong into the “barathron” (see Photius, s.v. *Μητρῶον* and Suda, s.v. *Μητραγύρτης*). After Metragyrtes’ death, when a plague was sent by the goddess in anger, the oracle revealed to the Athenians the cause and ordered them to *ἰλάσασθαι τὸν πεφονευμένον*. So the Athenians, first among the Greeks, learned the Mother’s cult through *ἔργοις*, i.e. divine acts,²³ and applied a propitiatory program:

1. they built a “bouleuterion” *ἐν ᾗ ἀνεῖλον τὸν μητραγύρτην*, in which they took up the body for burial (translated here by using the common meaning of the verb *ἀναίρῃω* and not something derived from the legal term *ἀναίρεσις*);²⁴

²¹ This is the distance given by Ritchie (1984), 792, no. TA 55.

²² Curtius-Kaupert (1878), map III 4C; Judeich (1931), 398, map I 7D; Papayiannopoulos-Palaios (1947/1948), 96 (photograph of the “seven seats”).

²³ Julian, preface to the hymn *Εἰς τὴν Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν*, 159a; on the Metroon in the Agora, cf. Wycherley (1957), 155-156, nos. 478-488. See also Loukas (1988), 23-27.

²⁴ Compare LSJ⁹, s.v. *ἀναίρῃω*, I.4 (“take up” bodies for burial), II. 3-4 (“destroy” an argument, “annul” boundary-stones, rules, etc) and s.v. *ἀναίρεσις* (“direct confutation” of arguments).

2. περιφράττοντες αὐτό (i.e. τὸ βουλευτήριον), surrounding it by an enclosure, they erected the expiatory statue of the murdered Metragyrtes;
3. they dedicated it to the Mother of the Gods; and
4. they covered with earth the "barathron", i.e. the cleft into which criminals were thrown in the south-west of the city of Athens.²⁵ In Suda, s.v. βάραθρον it is described as a big gap like a pit, χάσμα φρεατῶδες.

In the scholion on Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 431 Metragyrtes is said to have predicted the goddess Demeter's arrival in searching for her daughter Persephone. A unique piece of information is also provided here, that Metragyrtes was a Phrygian, revealing the provenance of this mystic cult.²⁶

Despite their anxiety to accomplish the divine order given to them by the oracle, the Athenians had to perform immediately a legal-religious ceremony — to revoke their previous decision to condemn the seer to death — and in this way they insulted the goddess. It seems to me necessary that such a procedure could be the first step. This act of destroying the previous decision and refuting themselves, combined with some ritual practice to exorcise by sacrifices, libations and prayers, could take place in a legal-religious ceremony, probably inside the "bouleuterion". Through this process the Athenians should be freed from their blame in order to reconstruct the holy image of the murdered seer and to reorganise this area, which was polluted from the neighbouring "barathron", quite recently after the crime against the seer; they are able to perform a purification because Mousaios was famous for his expertise at λύσεις, that is, to dissolve the magic κατάδεσμοι (i.e. the *defixiones*), to make mystic τελεταί (Orphic ceremonies) and to execute καθαρμοί (purifications).²⁷

Luckily the two rupestral inscriptions mentioned above, the "enigmatic" ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ omitted in the Corpora of Attic inscriptions and the rupestral inscription IG I³ 1403, presented here in a new light, as texts as well as in their own context and function on the Mouseion Hill, will be two sure testimonia on religious and spiritual life in Athens.

The inscription ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ, cut on the rock in one line (inscribed surface 1.11 m.) above and at the right of the "seven seats" is dated by the letter forms (0.125 - 0.13 m. high) in the fourth century B.C. by the first editor, S.N. Dragoumes. This date was accepted by all the other scholars who wrote on this inscription with the exception of W. Peek, who made an autopsy and ranged the date from the fourth to the third century B.C.²⁸ I agree with this date, proposed by Peek, especially for the letter phi which presents a tendency to be an arch. This inscription has remained without any valid interpretation for more than 100 years until this International Colloquium. Its meaning has so far been hermetically closed through several factors: firstly, the negative attitude of scholars towards Dragoumes' reading in the *editio princeps* — then provided with Prott's facsimile — expressed much later by O. Kern,²⁹ who pointed out that a new autopsy of the inscribed surface on the rock with "more sharp eyes" could be worthwhile; secondly, the misleading idea that the context of this inscription — brief and surely incomplete — was the phenomenon of the echo, the idea that vibration effects return back the sound-

²⁵ Βάραθρον: Hdt. VII.133.1; Ar. *Nub.* 1450; Pl. *Gorg.* 516d; Comica adespota 24.10 Demiańczuk; Schol.Ar. *Plut.* 431. See also Travlos (1960), 52; id. (1971), 121.

²⁶ That the goddess was a Phrygian one, cf. Pollux III.11; for the origin of Metragyrtes, cf. Schol.Aeschin. 3.187.

²⁷ Steuding (1894-1897), 3235-3237; Rzach (1933), 757-767; Kauffmann-Samaras (1992), 685-687.

²⁸ Dragoumes (1898), 202-204, with Prott's facsimile; Judeich (1931), 398; Papayiannopoulos-Palaios (1939), 76, no. 14; id. (1947/1948), 95-96; Pantazopoulos (1947/1948), 121; Peek (1942), 150-151, no. 324, with Taf. 9.2; Ritchie (1984), 792; SEG XLI 232.

²⁹ Kern (1940), 26.

waves sent from this wall of the rock. The idea of referring to the echo existing in this area was written in a simple footnote by Dragoumes,³⁰ but soon after was adopted by Judeich. Faced with such an insoluble problem, scholars thought the reechoing voice was the only solution.

Some years later the results of W. Peek³¹ were published after several visits to the locality at different times, in which he was accompanied by A.M. Schneider. He carefully examined the letters cut on the rock and tried to verify the reechoing sounds, unsuccessfully. He justified the lack of echo during his time by attributing it to geological and environmental changes in this region. Concerning the inscription, Peek concluded that Dragoumes saw the letters well and that even the traces of the eighth letter, the omega, were sure (despite exposure to the weather for longer than forty years). He also confirmed that no other traces of letters exist before and after the inscription; pieces of information such as this present an important and useful clue for scholarship. By changing the structure and taking the conjunction as a free and poetic *δέ* he made a new interpretation, i.e. "zum Wort (kommt) die Stimme". *ἔποσδε φωνή* means "the voice follows the word". He confessed that it was impossible to understand more than a reference to the natural phenomenon of the echo.

It is interesting to realise how Peek rejected Dragoumes' wondering "If really there is here part of an *epos* or an utterance of the magnificent Mousaios (*Μῆ τοι ἔχωμεν ἐνταῦθα ... ἀπόσπασμα ἔπους ἢ χρησμοῦ τοῦ σεμνοῦ Μουσαίου*)"³² and presented an objection related to the purpose of cutting this inscription on the rock, and questioned the possible profit that an Athenian, living in the fourth or third century, would have from an utterance of Mousaios in such a fragmentary shape. It was concluded that this made no sense. His thesis has nothing to do with the further reconstruction of this inscription which has been accessible to the public with its message.

The puzzles have confronted all scholars who have considered the inscription, including me. On one side the integrity of the incomplete inscription, leaving no room for corrections and "brackets", and on the other the implication by the lexicographers under the relevant words *λόγος*, *ῥήμα*, *ἔπος*, *φωνή*, that the two nouns (*τὸ ἔπος* and *ἡ φωνή*) are very close, if not synonymous. Both have multiple significances, especially the word *ἔπος*, which includes many specific kinds of the art of speech.³³ These two nouns survived in time through oral tradition, as well as in the literary and epigraphical sources ranging from Homer to the New Testament till today. Their variety of meaning is also very close if not identical. The common use of the substantive *φωνή*, which qualifies a main function of human beings, gradually takes on the meaning of *λόγος* and *ἔπος*, when in late antiquity the verb *φωνέω* is frequently used instead of *λέγω τῇ φωνῇ*, as well as the verb *λαλέω*.

Keeping in mind the integrity of this brief inscription, I intervene by changing the last word from the nominative case to the dative, sure that, in this period (fourth to third century B.C.) the iota of the dative could be omitted:³⁴

³⁰ Dragoumes (1898), 204 n. 2.

³¹ Peek (1942), 150-151 with Taf. 9.2; SEG XLI 232.

³² Dragoumes (1898), 204.

³³ I take for example Hesychius s.v. *ἔπος*: *ῥήμα, λόγος, φωνή*. Cf. Suda, s.v. *ἔπος*: *λόγος, στίχος ἔμμετρος*; s.v. *ἐποποιία*: *ἡ δι' ἡρωικοῦ μέτρου ἱστορία. καὶ γὰρ στερομένη μύθου ποιήσεις ἐποποιία ἐστίν*.

³⁴ Schwyzler (1939), 200-201; Teodorsson (1974), 92-93, 187-188; Threatte (1980), 353-358 (noting that the monophthongisation of *η* to *η* occurs before similar developments in *αι* and *ωι*).

ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ<Ι>

ἔπος δὲ φωνῇ means that “the epos should be pronounced in a loud voice”. This is a motto. The conjunction ΔΕ is to reinforce the meaning; the antithetical schema μὲν ... δέ is excluded as there is not a correlative sentence.

It is well known that the pitch of one’s voice has been an indispensable quality in rhetorical doctrine, always flourishing in the political and/or the judicial activity of the Athenian citizens. But I think that this rupestral inscription has not been properly related to the public domain. Indeed, in the light of the information concerning the cult of the Mother of the Gods in her sanctuary and in the “bouleuterion” — also dedicated to her, according to the lexicographers — which is in all probability identified with the “seven seats” area where this rock-cut notice is present, it seems more suitable that the ἔπος in this case was one of the variants of poetry which belongs to a religious context, possibly a song, or hymn or even something like a psalm.

Nevertheless I have at my disposal the same structure εἶπε τῇ φωνῇ in the passage from Lysias’ speech against Andokides (6.51) where is preserved the accusation against Alkibiades and the hermokopidai for the profanation of the mysteries, one of the severest cases of εἰσαγγελία, the urgent state prosecution: οὗτος γὰρ ἐνδὺς στολήν, μιμούμενος τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπεδείκνυε τοῖς ἀμύητοις καὶ εἶπε τῇ φωνῇ τὰ ἀπόρρητα ... They accused him of wearing the official robe, imitating the “sacra” (τὰ ἱερὰ), exposing them to the view of persons not initiated (in their mysteries) and saying in a loud voice the “aporrheta”, i.e. the sacred items and signs always prohibited from being revealed.

This precious passage, full of legal and ritual terms related to the sacred laws valid in the fifth century B.C. and to the most important mysteries, is helpful in confirming the reconstruction of the rupestral inscription by taking ΦΩΝΗ in the dative form as I proposed. Mottos containing a guiding rule or restriction are often without a verb. Here *epos* is linked directly to a kind of oral expression. In order, however, to grasp more about its meaning (how it spread, and the conditions and the purpose of why it was cut in a religious ambience) suitable epigraphical evidence should be found through the Attic inscriptions.

Finally the solution of the enigma came out, as I was restudying the well-known decree of the Iobacchoi IG II² 1368 (EM 8187), found between the Areopagus and the Pnyx;³⁵ in the second part containing a new statute of the association I suddenly saw the three words of the rupestral inscription well exhibited after two free letter spaces (lines 107-110) in a developed structure using the verb φωνέω in place of the substantive ΦΩΝΗ. The meaning is the same as in my reconstruction with the dative, but it differs in the decree for it is a complete negative sentence with μηδείς. It introduces a prohibition, followed by a sanction where a fixed sum is to be paid in case of disobedience:

ἢ Μηδείς δ’ ἔπος
φωνεῖτω μὴ ἐπιτρέψαντος τοῦ ἱε-
ρέως ἢ τοῦ ἀνθιερέως ἢ ὑπεύθυνος
ἔστω τῷ κοινῷ λεπτοῦ δραχμῶν Λ’.

I translate: Nobody should pronounce in a loud voice the ἔπος, without having obtained

³⁵ On IG II²1368 see, for example, Nilsson (1957), 95-101; Follet (1976), 138, 140, 147 and, on the date, 141; Moretti (1986), 247-259; Kapetanopoulos (1990-1991), 87-91.

the priest's or the vice-priest's permission, or (in the contrary case) he will be responsible to the *κοινόν* (i.e. to the association of the Iobacchoi) for owing thirty drachmas called "light", *λεπτοῦ* drachmas.

This prohibition is placed among the most important new regulations of the second part of *IG II² 1368*, referring to the priest's duties, libations and sacrifices, as well as determining festivals on a fixed date. The existence of these regulations completely refutes the arguments put forth by L. Moretti in support of his view that there was a lack of religiosity in the Iobacchoi association. Despite the obvious implications of this passage, the penalty of 30 drachmas *λεπτοῦ* is not heavy at all; according to the most recent researches on Athenian coinage of the second century after Christ the bronze "light" drachma, *λεπτοῦ δραχμῇ* in the Iobacchoi inscription, was worth one-sixth of a silver denarius.³⁶ And it is striking to read in the same inscription that for insulting behaviour the sum to pay is fixed at 25 *λεπτοῦ δραχμάς*, "light" drachmas, especially if it is compared with the normal fee of 50 denarii for admission to the association (line 38).

But what kind of *ἔπος* was this one which necessitated a loud voice, in a more or less high pitch? The severe restriction on practising is applied in cases where the priest or the vice-priest had not given their consent. That authorises us to think of a religious poem or hymn expressed in a short recitation or hymnody. The exact same impression has been given to us from the rupestral inscription, *ἔπος δὲ φωνῇ*, like a motto, which coincides with the Iobacchoi regulation in this abbreviated form.

It is hard to define here the "epos" through conflicting information about the mystic and orgiastic ceremonies established first in this area by the *epopoios* Mousaios. In comparing the two examples I explained how both came out of the same religious context, i.e. the above-mentioned Lysias passage referring to Alkibiades' case of impiety and the Iobacchoi decree. The chronological distance between these two documents and the rupestral inscription, dated in the fourth or third century B.C., should be of less importance, if we consider that the "aporrheta" of the mysteries were constantly kept in secrecy, and were surely unchangeable. Also it is important to remember that the precinct of Eleusis was highly valued by the emperor Hadrian in the second century after Christ, at a time when the Iobacchoi association was probably at the apex of its activity. The common feature with the rupestral inscription is the use of the noun *φωνή* with the verb *εἰπεῖν* (hermokopidai case) or the later *φωνεῖν* (Iobacchoi regulation) in reference to the "aporrheta" of the mysteries or to the *ἔπος* as a hymn to the deity depending on the necessary consent of the priest in Roman times. For the profanation of the mysteries the blame lay on Alcibiades for one more reason, (as I think) for using his voice, in spite of the cultural practice that the mystic words and signs are not to be said, but to be proclaimed, *ἐξαγγέλλονται*, by the priest-minister in a specific moment of the mystic ceremonies or during the process of the initiation. The regulation of the Iobacchoi informs us about a constant care of the priesthood that they personally or another qualified person should present publicly the *ἔπος*, a holy poem, hymn or psalm during some ceremonies — unknown to us, but well known to them — mystic or not.

These two different examples of ancient religious life lead us to clarify the grammatical and structural difficulties as well as those found in reaching the inner meaning of the motto *ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ*. It is more than probable that the *ἔπος* is openly voiced by one

³⁶ I wish to thank Dr Vasso Penna, Ephoros at the Numismatic Museum, for discussing the *λεπτοῦ δραχμαί* in the second century after Christ in Athens. See for the value Howgego (1985), 55-56 and Kroll (1993), 83-84.

Iobacchos during the ceremonies of his association (2nd century after Christ) and the *epos* in the notice on the rock above the “seven seats” (4th to 3rd century B.C.) although its religious character was deprived of any mystic meaning. Anyway there is a striking similarity between the context of these two inscriptions, despite the distance of four centuries of religious life, which enables us to clarify the functioning of this motto and consequently its purpose, that is, why it was cut in the rock. Contrary to W. Peek, who wondered if any message could be given to an Athenian in the fourth or third century B.C. through a fragmentary inscription, we must now look at the semantic function of this brief motto, which is used to maintain order and to remind the devotees of the restrictions in the ritual. In addition it is possible that this inscription precisely indicates the position where somebody had to be standing at the right of the “seven seats” to execute the *epos* in all its possible varieties that could occur during ceremonies or ritual performances organised there, for example by the *κουλὰ* established in the area or by other associations which temporarily frequented the meeting places, as the Iobacchoi possibly did in Roman Imperial times. The installation of the Iobacchoi at the Baccheion³⁷ is located in the area excavated, not far from the Mouseion Hill and the “Square with the Seven Seats”.³⁸ With the acclamations of the members after the elections and regulations included in the old and the new statute, this association seems to be quite dynamic, characterised by vitality and the usual tendency for propaganda and a striking adulation of Herodes Atticus, the founder of the institution. Concluding the reciprocal exchange of elements between IG II² 1368 and this rupestral inscription, I should like to mention that some of the Iobacchoi assembly’s acclamations (lines 24–28) present a similar incomplete structure to ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ, cut on the rock. I wish to return to the Iobacchoi inscription and the column EM 8187 at a later date.

Now I will examine IG I³ 1403 as the third rupestral inscription³⁹ of the group related, by some scholars, to the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and the “bouleuterion” dedicated to her, according to the lexicographers. Located in the vicinity of the “Square with the Seven Seats”, which is identified with the “bouleuterion”, this inscription dated in the fifth century B.C., published first by Skias, is inserted in this group for topographical reasons, as well as due to an idea—brought out by Skias, Papayiannopoulos-Palaios and Pantazopoulos—that the person honoured here for his beauty and virtuosity of rhetoric, should be an orator among the founders of the cult on the Mouseion Hill or even a follower of the famous poet Mousaios.

It is a three-line inscription cut in the rock surface (length 0.82 m., height 0.15 m.) and composed of two sentences connected by the correlatives *μὲν ... δέ*. It was first published by A. Skias in 1899. In the first line it is easy to read *καλός* (with the *Α* Ionic), which has until now been considered to belong to a type of inscription well known for expressing admiration to a young man. Unfortunately at the very beginning of this inscription a few letters are not clearly legible, while three or four others at the end of the second line are less deeply cut than the rest. The second sentence (lines 2–3) has been distorted in the “editio princeps” by Skias himself, who attributed to the cutter mistakes

³⁷ For the *Βακχεῖον* on IG II² 1368 as a clubhouse, cf. Travlos (1971), 274 with figs. 351 and 353. Only in line 101 is τὸ *Βακχεῖον* a building; elsewhere (lines 8, 16, 37, 56, 148–149) it refers to the institution.

³⁸ Cf. n. 22 above.

³⁹ Skias (1899), 237–240; Judeich (1931), 398; Papayiannopoulos-Palaios (1939), 75; id. (1947/1948), 95–96; Pantazopoulos (1947/1948), 121; SEG X 400a; Peek (1942), 147–149, no. 322, with Taf. 9.1; Hansen (1983), 246, no. 441; Oikonomides (1984), 127–128; SEG XXXIV 42; Ritchie (1984), 792; SEG XLI 121.

and displacement of letters. Skias did, however, transcribe the letters (height 0.035 - 0.05 m.) accurately. The transcript printed in capital letters in the Corpus (*IG* I² 923) was taken from a plaster cast made by Skias which can be seen reproduced in the "editio princeps".

The crucial point of corruption of this interesting inscription was the arbitrary reading offered by Skias and the fact that it has been accepted by most other scholars. He wrote:

["Ολυνθος καλὸς μὲν ἰδέν,
τερπνὸς δὲ προσειπέν

changing the succession of letters by replacing *ΤΕΡΠΙΟΝΝΟΣ* with *τερπνός* and *ΠΙΟΡΣ* - - *ΣΕΙΠΕΝ* with *προσειπέν* and disregarding the letters *Ε Π* at the end of the second line. The name "Ολυνθος" supplied by Skias as an example became in *IG* I² 923 the Attic name [Ἀλφί]νοος (Hiller von Gaertringen "exempli gratia"). In 1939 Papayiannopoulos-Palaios read on the rock Ἀμ[τ]ίνοος; three or four years later W. Peek did the same, and thus established the title "Antinoos-Inschrift";⁴⁰ in confirming the reading of all the letters he left the name free of "brackets", as it appears in *IG* I³ 1403:

Ἀντίνοος καλὸς μὲν ἰδέν <
τερποννός δὲ πορσ-
σειπέν.

This text of D.M. Lewis is based on the analytical commentary by Peek, who mainly agreed with Skias' facsimile in his own transcription Ἀντίνοος καλὸς μὲν ἰδέν τερποννός δὲ προσσειπέν. For Peek, an expert in verse inscriptions, the second sentence points out the different quality of the lover towards the young Antinoos, in an atmosphere of spiritual relations, *ὁμιλία*. He concluded that the writer of the second sentence was not in control of Attic and/or of Homeric poetry, but rather he used a "vulgäre" Orthographie".⁴¹ Additionally, he compared some of the names associated with the adjective *καλός* painted on Attic vases, including some other examples of names of young men carrying similar mistakes. This material now comprises part of the monumental work on phonology of the Attic inscriptions such as *τερποννός* = *τερπνός* as an example of "vowel anaptyxis" and *πορσειπέν* instead of *προσειπέν* as an example of "metathesis" by the writer of an erotic text from the late Archaic Period.⁴²

At this point one must consider that it is hazardous to say that in this rock-cut inscription there are no mistakes and omissions, apart from the loss of a few letters at the beginning; a loss which destroys the rhythm and context of the epigram, generally speaking. I prefer to use the Skias facsimile as it is printed in *IG* I² 923, but it is incomplete; consequently it is important here to keep in mind that Skias in his first edition supplied the name ["Ολυ]νθος because he descried a scarcely legible *N* and interpreted the following letter wrongly as a theta, seeing a dot inside the *O* on his plaster cast and not on the rock surface. So it is fair to acknowledge here the *N* as the first secure letter.

Also, one of the most important remarks concerning the second line of Skias' facsimile was made by Peek. Whereas Skias saw the letters *Ε Π* at the end of the line, Peek read *Ε*

⁴⁰ Peek (1942), 149, n. 1.

⁴¹ Peek (1942), 148.

⁴² Threatte (1980), 408, 476 (metathesis involving the liquids *r* and *l*).

I Π as “die drei letzten Zeichen dieser Zeile”.⁴³ It has therefore been accepted that the cutter found the surface inadequate and began the next line with a repetition of ΣΕΙΠ. Given that Papayiannopoulos-Palaios made the penultimate letter a dotted omikron, I now reconstruct:

[ὅττι] νόος καλὸς μὲν ἰδέν, <
 τέρπον νόος δ' ἔπορος' ἔπ[ο]-
 ς εἰπέν.

My reconstruction is based on the second part (lines 2-3) of this metrical inscription, for its structure comprises two principal sentences with the correlatives μὲν ... δέ. The second sentence needs a verb to govern εἰπέν.

Line 1. Consideration of the reading of the following two lines argues against the erotic context; there remains, after a loss of about four letters, the noun νόος (δ), gen. νόου, “the mind”, “the intellect”. The aorist infinitive ἰδεῖν after the adjective καλός in the nominative case is to be related to the verb *εἶδω and its aorist ἶδον, the Homeric “perceive”, “behold” before my eyes, (ἐν) ὄμμασι. The supplement ὅττι at the beginning fits the verticle bars discerned here better than τοῖος (which fits well with ἰδεῖν) or οἶος (which means “excellent”, “alone”, “single in its kind”).

Lines 2-3. νόος, the same noun, is repeated here in the Attic contracted form; it is the subject of the sentence with the verb ἐπώρσε or ἔπορσε, aorist of the poetic verb ἐπόρνημι (or ἐπορύνω), meaning “to stir up”, “arouse”, “excite”; the phrase concludes with the very legible infinitive εἰπεῖν, supplemented now as (τὸ) ἔπος εἰπεῖν (lines 2-3). This supplement is based on a combination of Skias’ and Peek’s similar readings; excluded is any suggestion that the cutter abandoned three rather illegible letters and judged that it was necessary to repeat them in a better incision with deeper letters⁴⁴ at the beginning of the third line.

The context refers to the *epos*, which here appears to be related to the mind which created it, i.e. the τέρπων νόος, which is in the mood to offer entertainment; this is the most common relationship between the two words because the verb τέρπω appears normally connected with ἔπαισι and τὰ τέρποντα, τὰ τέρψοντα ἔπη are “the delights”. I am tempted to remind the reader that at least the Muses Τερψιχόρη and Εὐτέρπη are compounds of τέρπω and τέρψις.

Before I translate this text, a new version of IG I³ 1403, I wish to point out that the metre of this inscription may be dactylic tetrameter. Irregularity can be explained by the appearance of two quotations marked by the “distinctio rarissima”, the diacritical sign (h. 0.04) mentioned in the Corpus.⁴⁵ Perhaps it was cut into the rock intentionally in order to make a distinction between the two sentences, so as to remind readers of an old utterance glorifying the mind (line 1) and to provide evidence (lines 2-3) for the local importance of the *epos* on the Mouseion Hill. The following is the translation I have derived using ὅττι:

That a mind is beautiful to behold,
 but the mind, which gives delight, stirs (us) up
 to develop (i.e. invent) the *epos*.

⁴³ Peek (1942), 149; cf. Skias (1899), 238 and Hansen (1983), 246, no. 441.

⁴⁴ See previous note.

⁴⁵ The wedge placed sideways and opening to the right occurs in Greek inscriptions of the Roman period, see Avi-Yonah (1940), 38.

I think that there exists here a reference to the *epos*, as to a privilege given to humanity for a collective practice. In fact, I think that the inscription ΕΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΩΝΗ and IG I³ 1403, cut in nearby rocks and both misunderstood for over a century now, focus on the same topic, the *epos*, which is one of the oldest traditions of humankind.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ My warmest thanks go to Dr. David Jordan for discussing the metre of this inscription; any remaining error is mine. Influenced by the comment ad IG I³ 1403 ("quae scripsit Oikonomides totius reiicimus"), I read his article (n. 39) only at the end of my work, but am happy to see the coincidence of interpretation in τέρπων νοῦς as against τερποννός.

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. 2. Steps with small riser cut into the natural slope to the north-east of the Pnyx III retaining wall, near the intersection of Dhim. Eghinitou and Apostolou Pavlou. Photo by G. Stanton.

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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.



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