

# THE DATE OF THE THIRD PERIOD OF THE PNYX

(PLATES 77–80)

ON December 8 of 1930, Homer Thompson began a new archaeological investigation of the ancient Athenian Pnyx. Excavation within the assembly place proper would continue until June 13 of the following year, supervised by Thompson and sponsored and advised by Konstantinos Kourouniotes, then Director of the Greek Archaeological Service, who had sunk test trenches into the site earlier in the century. Although subsequent years saw further excavation on the hill, the only additional work done within the assembly place was conservation of walls and redistribution of fill to provide a more vivid picture of the monument's original appearance. Thompson's six months of work, analyzed and reported in detail in the first number of *Hesperia* a year later,<sup>1</sup> form the basis for the modern conception of the meeting place of the Athenian Assembly.

Kourouniotes and Thompson presented evidence for three distinct periods of the assembly place: the original phase, arranged in the normal manner of a theater, with the seating on the natural slope of the hill; and two subsequent phases in which the orientation of the structure had been reversed. Epigraphical and literary evidence place the first phase in the first half of the 5th century, and construction of the second phase can be dated near the end of the 5th century on the basis of pottery recovered from the associated fill.<sup>2</sup> The chronology of the last phase, however, has proven a thorny problem. Here, too, the primary evidence is pottery from the fill that was brought in to raise the level of the auditorium; but the story told by that pottery is anything but straightforward.

The excavators encountered the fill of Period III almost everywhere they dug within the auditorium. They extracted about 150 baskets of pottery from their trenches, most of it dating within the 4th century B.C. But a fairly substantial minority of the material—12 baskets (8%)—was Roman, and Roman lamps accounted for about 80 (13%) of the 600 lamps found. They noted that Roman material was concentrated in the area behind the megalithic wall that retained the fill, at the northern ends of their trenches A, C, and D (Fig. 1), but its position, deep below the surface and sometimes lying on the bedrock itself, persuaded them that it was not intrusive, and they therefore concluded that the third phase of the monument was of Roman date. Additional support for this conclusion came from comparisons between the megalithic retaining wall and Roman masonry in Athens, and

<sup>1</sup> Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932.

We would like to acknowledge the work of Sylvie Dumont, who drew Figures 2 to 21, and of Craig Mauzy, who took the photographs on Plates 77 and 78. The plan (Fig. 1) was drawn by John Travlos. We are also grateful to John Hayes, who examined the Roman pottery at our request, but is not to be held responsible for the dates and comparanda given here. J.McK.C. is (further) indebted to Professor Kathryn A. Morgan, from whom he learned much about the Pnyx when she was a student at the American School and with whom he first explored the walls of Panopeus. Authorship of the various sections of the article is indicated by initials at the end of the section. Translations are based on those of the Loeb Classical Library unless otherwise specified.

<sup>2</sup> See Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, pp. 96–138 and, for Thompson's more recent thoughts, Thompson 1982, pp. 134–140.

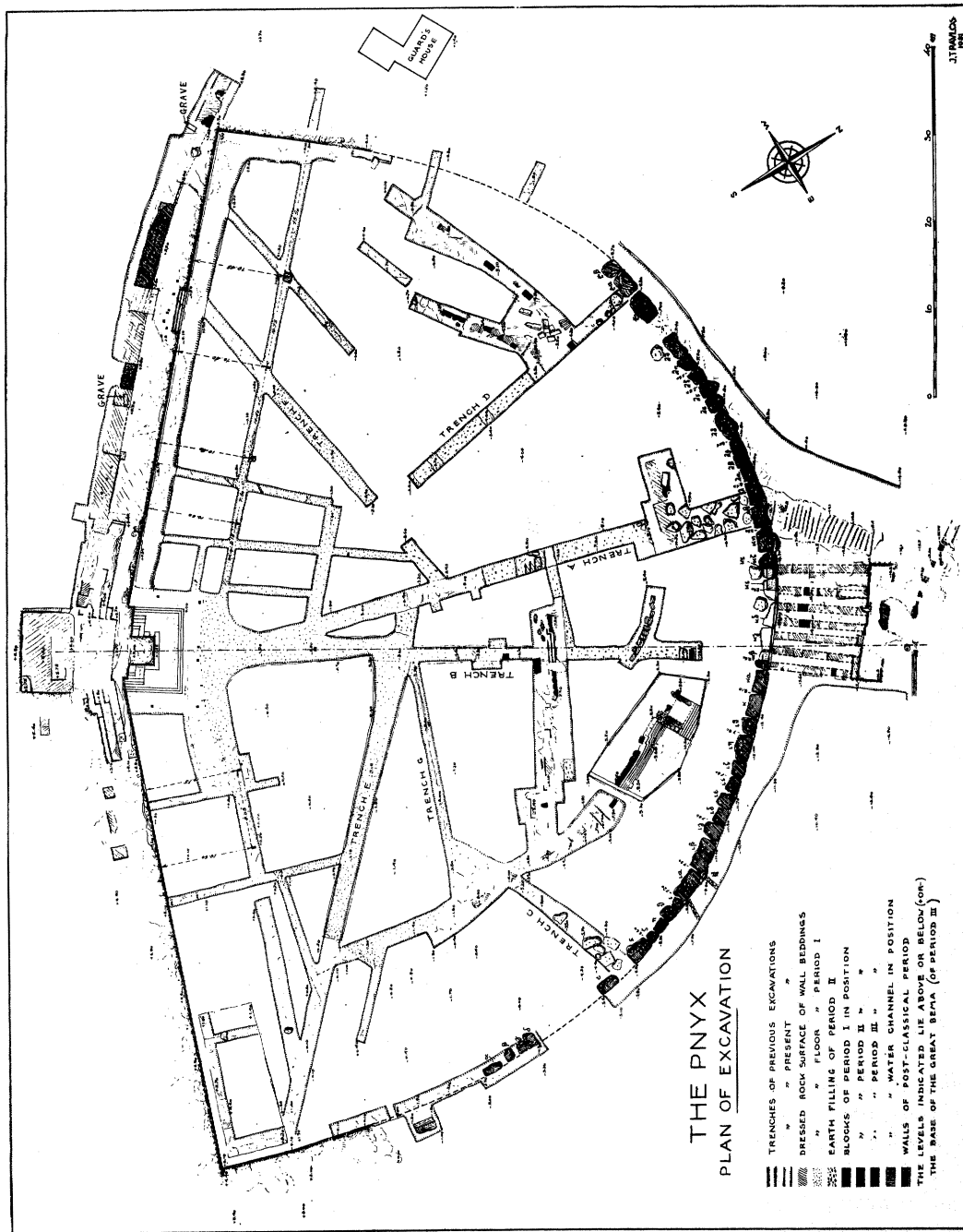


Fig. 1. Plan of the Pnyx, with trenches of 1930–1931 excavation

from the excavators' understanding of the relationship of the Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos to Pnyx III. Primarily on the basis of the Corinthian lamps, they dated the assembly place in the reign of Hadrian, on historical grounds a reasonable period for the construction of a large monument in Athens.<sup>3</sup>

Subsequently Thompson returned to the Pnyx to excavate the terrace to the south, where he uncovered the remains of two unfinished stoas and parts of the city wall. His work there convinced him that the stoas, which could be firmly dated to the 4th century, were part of a single project with the third phase of the assembly place. He therefore revised his dating and, now taking the Roman material as intrusive, placed the construction of the assembly place in the third quarter of the 4th century.<sup>4</sup> While most scholars have accepted this dating, the possibility of a Hadrianic date has remained open.<sup>5</sup> Reexamination of the pottery from the excavation now makes it possible to discard that possibility once and for all.

### THE EVIDENCE OF THE OBJECTS AND THE NOTEBOOKS

Only a small part of the excavated pottery is now available for study. Of the 150 baskets mentioned in the publication, 128 were listed in the notebooks at the time of excavation. In a note in the field books dating no earlier than 1957, Thompson recorded that the material "has been worked over repeatedly and greatly reduced in bulk" and listed twenty tins of material (probably the *tenekedes* traditionally used for Agora storage, measuring 23 × 23 × 35 cm.): four of Greek fine ware, nine of coarse ware, two of Roman pottery, two of lamps, and three of loomweights. At some later time this material was reduced further and placed in wooden trays (measuring 37 × 76 × 8 cm.): four trays of Greek fine ware, one of coarse ware, one small bag of Roman pottery, two trays of lamps, and two of loomweights. What remains comes to about 1100 fragments of fine ware and 485 of lamps; a rough estimate would suggest this is less than 1% of what was originally recovered. Nonetheless, restudy of this material has produced some surprising results.

The most important observation comes from the Roman objects. Here the evidence consists not only of the preserved ceramics (fragments of thirty-nine pots and eleven lamps), but also of the many sketches of objects that Thompson made day by day in the notebooks, as the material came to light, and of his analysis of the 128 lots of pottery mentioned above. Occasional Roman or possibly Roman sherds were recorded in many of the trenches, but no more than might be expected in an area that had been disturbed by farming and repeatedly excavated over the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries.<sup>6</sup> Heavy concentrations of Roman material in what were taken to be undisturbed areas were encountered in only three locations:

<sup>3</sup> Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, pp. 181–190, 199–200.

<sup>4</sup> Thompson and Scranton 1943, pp. 297–301; he continued to support a 4th-century date in Thompson 1982, pp. 141–145.

<sup>5</sup> Mogens Hansen has recently expressed support for the Roman date (Hansen 1989, p. 141; Hansen 1991, pp. 4, 128).

<sup>6</sup> For a summary of earlier excavations see Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, pp. 90–94. Plans showing some of the early trenches may be found in Kourouniotes 1911, p. 128, fig. 1 and Crow and Clarke 1888, opposite p. 207; the latter labels part of the west side as planted in wheat in 1876.

1. In clearing the top of the megalithic retaining wall. This earth was apparently considered to be part of the fill of Period III that had washed down the hill; the material is described as "almost solid Roman."
2. In the fill below (i.e., north of) the retaining wall. This seems to have been associated with the fill of Period III on the assumption that the leveling of this area would have been contemporary with the construction of Period III or because the fill of Period III might reasonably be assumed to have washed further down the hill here. Every basket here contained a large amount of Roman material; the accounts suggest that at least 60% of the pottery was Roman.
3. At the northern ends of trenches A, C, and D. In all three of these areas Roman material was found from top to bottom, with some items lying on bedrock and among the large rocks that lie behind the retaining wall, stretching some twelve meters south of it. The concentration of Roman material in this part of Trench A was particularly striking. Thompson recorded nine baskets of pottery from the area he described as "behind Great Wall" (baskets 33–41) and three from "N. end of trench" (baskets 1, 7, and 9); all but two are described as almost purely Roman, with only a few Greek sherds (the two exceptions contained a few Roman sherds among mostly Greek ones). Thompson further asserted that he found "no difference either in the shapes or quality of the Roman pottery at the different levels behind the Great Wall." In contrast, pottery found further south was almost purely Greek. The concentration of Roman material was less marked in trenches C and D. In C there were only a few Roman pieces, lying among the large rocks behind the retaining wall. In D there were somewhat more, with Roman material described as coming from "what appears to be an absolutely undisturbed section of the fill" (Pnyx notebook, p. 273) and a Corinthian lamp lying on the bedrock (*ibid.*, p. 318). Hellenistic and Roman material had also been found in the Greek excavations of 1910 that uncovered the retaining wall of Period II.<sup>7</sup>

It is easy enough to dismiss the Roman pottery found in clearing the top of the retaining wall and in earth to the north of the assembly area, for the deposits in these areas do not constitute fill *in situ*. The material found deep in the fill behind the retaining wall, however, is difficult to divorce from the building project. Nonetheless, a new look at the pottery and lamps in the light of advances in dating made during the last 60 years suggests that this material too is intrusive.

Kourouniotes and Thompson published five Roman pots and six lamps to illustrate the Roman finds.<sup>8</sup> The labels still attached to the pots indicate that they were found in the clearing of the top of the retaining wall, and their value as evidence for its date may be contested. The six lamps, however, were found behind the wall.<sup>9</sup> The earliest of these is an alpha globule

<sup>7</sup> Kourouniotes 1911, pp. 134–136, figs. 8, 9, including an alpha globule lamp (cf. *Agora* VII, no. 427, p. 107, pl. 14, second half of 1st century and early 2nd century after Christ).

<sup>8</sup> Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, pp. 182–183, nos. 1–5, figs. 52, 53; pp. 184–185, nos. 1–6, fig. 54.

<sup>9</sup> The locations of five could be confirmed from sketches in the notebooks. Two were found in a pocket of Roman material 2 to 5 meters south of the wall and about 2 meters below the modern surface (Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, p. 184, fig. 54:2, 3 [Pnyx inventory nos. L 232, L 233]), along with at least seventeen more Roman lamps; two come from between 0 and 4 meters south of the wall at a depth of 1 to 2 meters

lamp (Broneer's Type XX). Lamps of this type were fairly common in the fill; three were inventoried, and several more could be identified from the notebook sketches. Following Broneer's dating, Kourouniotes and Thompson placed the example they published in the late 1st century B.C. or the first half of the 1st century after Christ.<sup>10</sup> Subsequent research, based largely on contexts excavated in the Athenian Agora, has prompted substantial downward dating; alpha globule lamps are absent from the Augustan deposits there and are now thought to have been produced from the mid-1st century to the end of the 2nd century after Christ.<sup>11</sup>

The other five lamps published by Kourouniotes and Thompson are Corinthian imports, Broneer's Type XXVII, which, following Broneer's chronology, they dated in the early 2nd century (Pl. 78).<sup>12</sup> These distinctive lamps, with their characteristic pale clay and crisp outlines, were also a common item in the fill; the notebook sketches and descriptions indicate that at least nineteen more were recovered. Their dating, too, has undergone substantial revision. It now appears that the earliest lamps of this type, Broneer's Group A, probably began to be manufactured in the late 1st or early 2nd century. But lamps of his Group B, characterized by a vine on the rim and present in one inventoried example (Pl. 78:c) and another sketched in Thompson's notebook, did not begin to be made until the latter half of the 2nd century, and the type was not established in its canonical form until the 3rd century.<sup>13</sup> If this dating is correct, any connection of the Pnyx with the emperor Hadrian must be abandoned.

Examination of the pottery from within the fill proper, now much better understood than it was in the 1930's, leads to a similar conclusion. The datable pieces among the thirty-nine surviving fragments range from the 1st to the 3rd century after Christ (Figs. 2–5). Three pieces of Italian sigillata (Fig. 2) date in the 1st century, and seven fragments of Eastern Sigillata B (Fig. 3) may be placed in the 1st and 2nd centuries. (For details and comparanda, see the list, pp. 292–293 below.) The local red ware goes later, with at least one piece dating in the 3rd century (Fig. 5). Also dating in the 3rd century are a fragment of a large motto-mug resembling material from Robinson's Groups K and M (Pl. 77:a); a moldmade relief jug of the "oinophoros" variety, which finds a parallel in a fragmentary jug found in Herulian destruction debris (Pl. 77:b); and the foot of a micaceous water jar with a profile characteristic of the mid-2nd to early 3rd century (Pl. 77:g).

The difficulty of dating the third phase of the Pnyx has always revolved around the impossibility of answering either of two questions: If the monument is Roman, why is the Roman pottery localized rather than spread throughout the fill? or, If the monument is 4th century, why is there so much Roman pottery in the fill? The answers are still elusive, but the redating of the Roman pottery to as late as the middle of the 3rd century precludes a Roman date for the monument. For while we may easily imagine Hadrian gracing the city with yet

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below its top (*ibid.*, p. 184, fig. 54:4, 5 [L 235, L 234]), along with at least eight more Roman lamps; one comes from 1.3 m. south of the wall and 1.5 m. below its top (*ibid.*, p. 184, fig. 54:1 [L 230]).

<sup>10</sup> Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, p. 184; *Corinth* IV, ii, pp. 71–73.

<sup>11</sup> *Agora* VII, p. 15; production was most intensive in the late 1st and early 2nd centuries.

<sup>12</sup> For Broneer's original classification and discussion see *Corinth* IV, ii, pp. 90–102.

<sup>13</sup> This expanded chronology was first advanced by Judith Binder in *Agora* VII, p. 8. For recent discussions of the dating see *Corinth* XVIII, ii, pp. 13–17 and *Kenchreai* V, pp. 39–40.



FIG. 2. Western Sigillata. PN III 13, 12. Scale 1:2

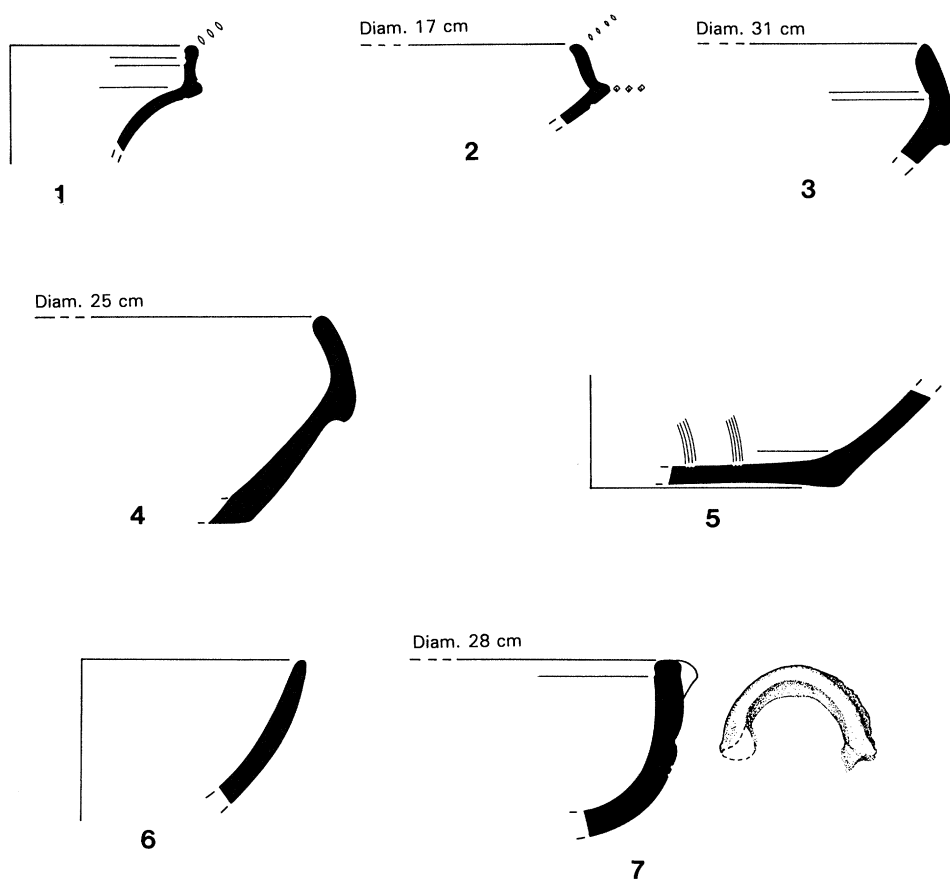


FIG. 3. Eastern Sigillata B. PN III 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 18, 22. Scale 1:2



FIG. 4. Base of jug. PN III 15. Scale 1:2

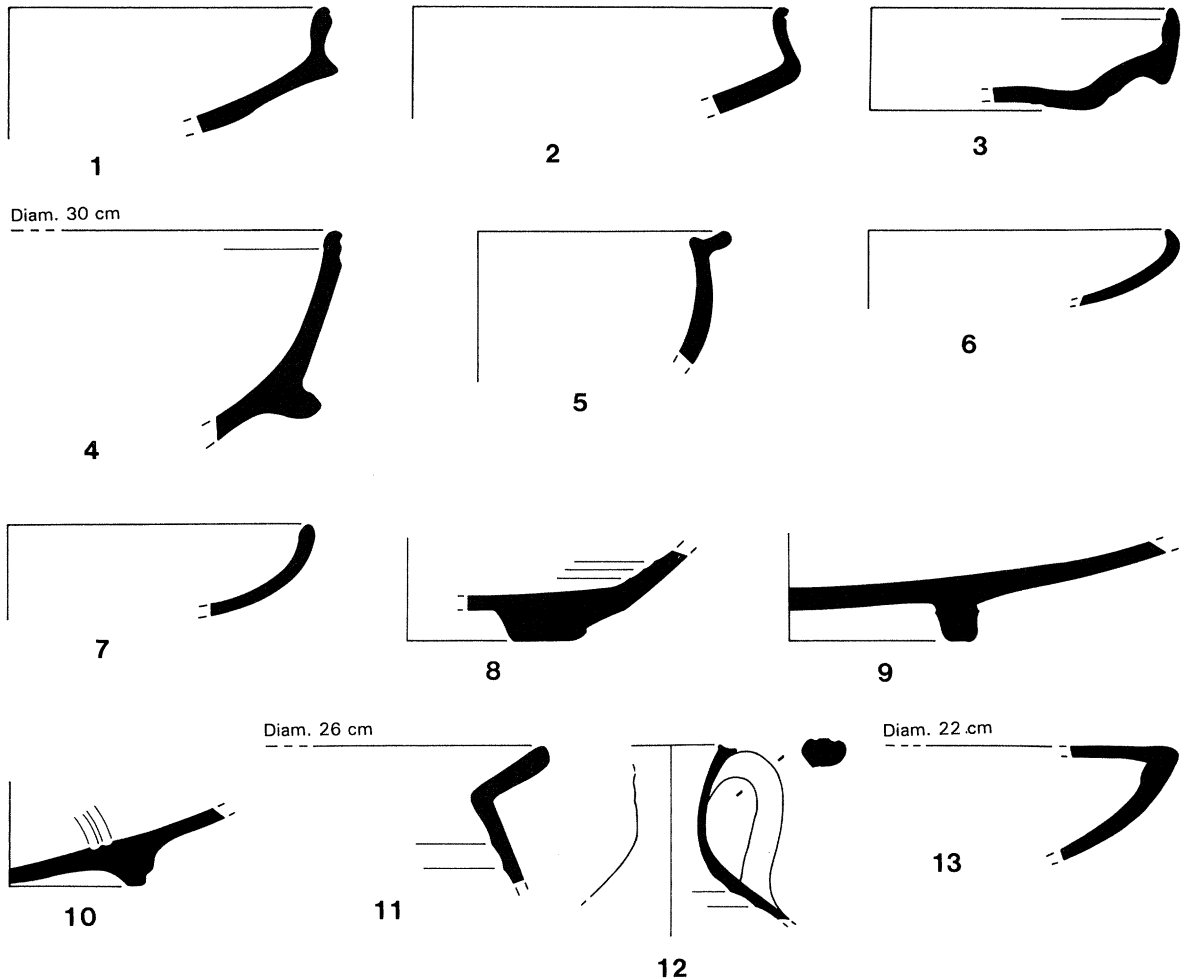


FIG. 5. Red ware. PN III 29, 30, 31, 32, 28, 34, 33, 23, 24, 25, 42, 36, 35. Scale 1:2

another monument to her illustrious past, it is impossible to imagine anyone, either Roman emperor or the Athenians themselves, undertaking a construction project of this magnitude in the chaotic years of the 3rd century. We are thus forced to the conclusion that the Pnyx is a monument of the 4th century before the common era.

If not part of the original fill, the Roman material must comprise a vast intrusion or disturbance. A section of the north end of Trench D that Thompson drew in the notebook shows that he made a distinction between different areas of the fill here at the time of excavation (Pl. 78:f). Although the whole fill is labeled "Fill of Period IV" (= Period III of the published sequence), the area over the large rocks and to a distance of eight or nine meters to the south, more or less the area in which Roman pottery was found, is hatched differently from that farther south. The distinction appears on the published section as well,<sup>14</sup> but Thompson makes no further comment.

<sup>14</sup> Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, pl. III.

What caused this disturbance, and where did the pottery come from? Clearly, this area of the city did not remain untenanted throughout the centuries. The cult of Zeus Hypsistos flourished up the hill, to the south, along the scarp east of the bema, where marble plaques were dedicated from the 1st to the 3rd century after Christ.<sup>15</sup> The faithful might also have left small offerings, like lamps, which ultimately formed part of the Roman deposit. In addition, "late" walls were encountered by both Curtius and Thompson in Trench B, near the axis of the auditorium (see Fig. 1).<sup>16</sup> These may have been the remains of Roman houses, and, if so, they must have been furnished with pottery and lamps, which could have formed part of the debris.

The natural pattern of drainage on the site would have worked to move this material downhill. The bedrock of the hill slopes towards the north-south axis of the auditorium, and water from the entire area drains along bedrock, through the large rocks at the bottom of the fill, bringing material downslope with it. Thompson observed the phenomenon in a rainstorm on January 14, 1931: "The rainwater from the upper area poured down Trench A and disappeared among the loose rocks in large part composing the 'fill' beneath the strosis and issued in almost a single stream from beneath the Great Wall at about its mid point."<sup>17</sup> This pattern of runoff is also clear from early plans of the site, which show a gully behind the retaining wall, just east of the north end of Trench A.<sup>18</sup> It would have provided a handy dumping place for debris while the hill was populated; and, once the hill was abandoned, it would have continued to receive debris washed down the hill. The position of this gully may not have remained the same throughout time, and perhaps it was once slightly farther to the west, in the area explored by Trench A. The striking amount of Roman material in the northern part of the trench, then, may be debris that washed down the hill and into the gully over the centuries. This process of natural drainage would account for the wide range in date of the post-Classical material and for Roman pottery found within and under the large rocks behind the retaining wall. And it is striking that the latest pottery dates to the time of the Herulian sack of Athens, an event that is likely to have resulted in the abandonment of dwellings in this part of the city.

It is possible, too, that natural forces were abetted by the hand of man, as some person or persons unknown dug or enlarged the hole along the inside of that wall. If such a thing did happen in the 3rd century after Christ, the motive might have been the acquisition of building stone for one of the Late Roman fortifications of Athens. During the reign of Valerian, the walls of the city were rebuilt along the line of the old Themistoklean circuit, which included fortifications running across the Pnyx, and one of the gates there shows evidence of extensive reconstruction in the second half of the 3rd century, for which material salvaged from the old retaining wall of the Pnyx could have been useful.<sup>19</sup> There is nothing to indicate that stones were robbed from the retaining wall, but attempted quarrying might have been abandoned as the searchers were defeated by the huge size of the wall blocks.

S.I.R.

<sup>15</sup> Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, pp. 193–200. For a recent study of the sanctuary see Forsén 1993.

<sup>16</sup> Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, pp. 190–191; Curtius 1862, p. 27.

<sup>17</sup> Excavation notebook. See also Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, p. 180.

<sup>18</sup> Curtius 1862, pl. I; Crow and Clarke 1888, plan facing p. 207.

<sup>19</sup> *Agora XXIV*, pp. 1, 11, pl. 4; Thompson and Scranton 1943, pp. 366–372.



## THE WALL OF PNYX III

The great wall of the final period of the Pnyx is one of the most impressive monuments of Classical Athens. Immense blocks of limestone were laid so as to form a curving retaining wall over 100 meters long, which in places rises in three courses to a height of 5.35 m. above the bedrock on which it is founded (Pl. 79:a). Three features of this wall are distinctive and essentially without parallel in Athens, a fact (noted by the excavators K. Kourouniotes and H. A. Thompson) which contributed to the difficulties in dating the final phase of the monument.<sup>20</sup>

1. Megalithic construction. The blocks of the Pnyx are among the largest ever quarried in Greece, averaging 2.40 m. in length and 1.90 m. high (Pl. 79:a). The thickness of individual blocks is not easy to determine, but the few that can be measured are *ca.* 1.50 m. thick.<sup>21</sup> The great and unparalleled size of these blocks is due in large measure to their location. Quarried from the ridge immediately above, they could be rolled down the slope directly into position. The costs and difficulties of transport which afflicted so many Greek building projects could, therefore, be avoided. Traces of the quarrying are preserved to the southeast, indicating that the blocks had to be moved no more than fifty meters. The large size of the blocks presumably made them especially effective for their primary function of retaining fill.
2. "Trapezoidal" style (Pl. 79:a). The second unusual feature is the masonry style of the wall, a form of trapezoidal with offsets. Top and bottom surfaces of individual blocks are generally parallel to one another, whereas the sides often are not. Notches cut into the blocks allow the heights of the three individual courses to vary somewhat throughout their length. This interlocking system of few vertical joints and no long horizontal ones resulted in a strong and stable retaining wall. Again, it is virtually without parallel in Attica, where both polygonal and ashlar masonry were regularly used for retaining.
3. Tooling on the face of the blocks. The third distinctive feature is the treatment of the faces of the individual blocks. Most of the surface bulges out in a largely unworked quarry face. Near the joints, however, the faces of the blocks have been cut back in a series of parallel grooves, usually three or four, each groove set progressively deeper into the blocks down to the joint at the edge (Pl. 79:c). The grooves were presumably cut with a point and create a visually arresting border around each block. This treatment, too, is without parallel among the walls of Athens and Attica.

Surprisingly, perhaps, the best parallels for all three features of the Pnyx retaining wall are to be found at the Phocian town of Panopeus. Lying between Chaironeia and Daulis, Panopeus is distinguished among ancient sites as the place Pausanias (10.4.1) describes as having virtually none of the elements of a proper Greek city.

It is twenty furlongs from Chaeronea to Panopeus, a city of Phocis, if city it can be called that has no government offices, no gymnasium, no theater, no market-place, no water conducted

<sup>20</sup> For a description of the wall and comments on its date see Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, pp. 139–153, 187–188.

<sup>21</sup> For dimensions and weights of blocks of Period III see Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, p. 148.

to a fountain, and where the people live in hovels, just like highland shanties, perched on the edge of a ravine. Yet its territory is marked off by boundaries from that of its neighbors, and it even sends members to the Phocian parliament.

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Pausanias does describe the most conspicuous feature of the site, a handsome and well-preserved fortification wall ringing the acropolis. It is here, especially in the eastern half of the south wall, that all three distinctive elements of the Pnyx retaining wall find a parallel (Pl. 79:b, d). (1) The style of construction is megalithic. The blocks are not, to be sure, as large as the largest blocks used in the Pnyx, but they are appreciably larger than those used in most Greek fortifications. Several measure well over a meter and a half in length, and one of the largest measures 2.57 m. long by 0.86 m. high. As with the Pnyx, only the proximity of the quarry, some twenty-five to fifty meters away and higher up, permitted the use of such large blocks in the wall. (2) The wall is built in a mixture of styles, and trapezoidal predominates on various stretches. Much of the south wall serves as a retaining wall with only the southern face exposed, and both the megalithic construction and interlocking coursing of the trapezoidal masonry will have served to strengthen the wall, as at the Pnyx. (3) The treatment of the faces of the individual blocks is identical to those at the Pnyx: a rough quarry face projecting in the middle, cut back in a series of parallel and progressively deeper grooves up to the edges.

### *The Quarries*

Though aesthetically interesting, the grooved edges of the blocks at both the Pnyx and Panopeus are primarily a product of the quarrying techniques used (Pl. 79:c, d). Some fifty to seventy-five meters south, up the slope of the ridge of the Pnyx, traces of tooling and partially cut blocks allow one to determine how the blocks were removed. Deep channels *ca.* 0.30 m. wide were cut around the blocks, which were then partially undercut before being broken out by means of wedges, cuttings for which remain in the rock (Pl. 80:a, b). The deep channels and the undercutting were both done by means of a point, and the resulting distinctive parallel grooves can be seen both at the bottoms of the channels and on the bedrock where the block was broken out and the lower surface of the undercutting survives. Deeply cut traces of this quarrying were left in the rough and unfinished southeast part of the auditorium of the Pnyx, *ca.* seventy meters from the wall, and distinct traces of both parallel grooves and wedges can also be made out in the more carefully dressed slope between the bema and the great wall. At Panopeus there are signs of quarrying on the acropolis only twenty-five meters from the largest blocks in the south wall (Pl. 80:c). They are the same as those on the Pnyx: long channels *ca.* 0.30 m. wide with parallel grooves along the bottom, running the length of a block. At right angles to these channels are the remains of cuttings for the narrow ends of several wedges. The cuttings most clearly visible are for a substantial block, measuring up to 2.75 m. long and 1.10 m. high. In short, the situation at Panopeus and Athens is identical: huge blocks cut for use in a retaining wall were quarried from the local limestone in exactly the same manner and moved a short distance into their final position.

*Athens and Panopeus*

These similarities of quarrying and construction techniques used at Athens and at an obscure Phocian town need further discussion if the parallels are to have any relevance. Athenian ties with Phocis generally were traditionally strong, as is attested by Thucydides (3.95.1), Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.3.1), Demosthenes (19.61–62), Diodorus Siculus (16.29), Plutarch (*Perikles* 21), and Pausanias (10.3.3), and relations with Panopeus were especially close. The city lay on the sacred way to Delphi, and every other year Athenian women, known as Thyiads, while on their way to Delphi to dance with Phocian women on Mt. Parnassos, stopped first to dance at Panopeus (Pausanias 10.4.3). A second Athenian association can be found on the acropolis of Panopeus itself, where there is a small open-air sanctuary with rock-cut votive niches.<sup>22</sup> Beneath the largest niche is the fragmentary dedication: “Dexios the Athenian dedicated this to Herakles.” From letter forms the inscription would seem to date to the second half of the 4th century B.C.

*Chronology*

A final Athenian-Phocian connection has considerable relevance for the date of both walls. According to Diodorus Siculus (16.60.2), at the end of the Sacred War in 346 B.C. the Phocians were required to abandon their cities, the walls of which were dismantled.

τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἀπάσας τῶν Φωκέων κατασκάψαι καὶ μετοικίσαι εἰς κώμας, ὧν ἐκάστην μὴ πλεῖον ἔχειν οἰκιῶν πεντήκοντα, μὴδ' ἑλαττον διεστάναι σταδίου τὰς κώμας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.

... all the cities of the Phocians were to be razed and the men moved to villages, no one of which should have more than fifty houses, and the villages were to be not less than a stade distant from one another.

Pausanias (10.3.1–2) also refers to the demolition of the Phocian towns:

Δεκάτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἔτει μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν ἐπέθηκεν ὁ Φίλιππος πέρας τῷ πολέμῳ, Φωκιῶν τε καὶ ἱερῶν κληθέντι τῷ αὐτῷ, Θεοφίλου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχοντος, ὀγδόης δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ἔτει πρώτῳ, ἣν Πολυκλῆς ἐνῆκα στάδιον Κυρηναῖος. καὶ ἐς ἑξαφός ἀλοῦσαι κατεβλήθησαν τῶν Φωκέων αἱ πόλεις· ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἦν αὐτῶν Λίλεια καὶ Ὑάμπολις καὶ Ἀντίκυρα καὶ Παραποτάμιοι καὶ Πανοπεύς τε καὶ Δαυλὶς. τούτων μὲν δὴ ὄνομα ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ οὐχ ἥμισυ ἐπὶ ἔνεκα τῶν Ὀμήρου· τὰς δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ στρατιὰ καταπρήσασα ἢ μετὰ Ξέρξου γνωριμωτέρας ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐποίησεν, Ἐρωχὸν καὶ Χαράδραν καὶ Ἀμφικλείαν καὶ Νεῶνας καὶ Τιθρώνιον καὶ Δρυμαίαν. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πλὴν γε δὴ Ἑλατείας τὰ πρότερα οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖς ἦσαν, Τραχίς τε ἡ Φωκικὴ καὶ Μεδεῶν ὁ Φωκικὸς καὶ Ἑχεδάμεια καὶ Ἀμβροσσος καὶ Λέδων καὶ Φλυγόνιον ἔτι καὶ Στίρις. Τότε δὲ κατεσκάφησάν τε αἱ κατειλεγμέναι καὶ ἐς κώμας πλὴν Ἀβας ὤκισθησαν αἱ ἄλλαι.

In the ninth year after the seizure of the sanctuary Philip put an end to the Phocian, or, as it is also called, the Sacred War: this was when Theophilus was archon at Athens, in the first year of the hundred and eighth Olympiad, in which Polycles of Cyrene won the foot-race. The cities of Phocis were taken and razed to the ground: they were Lilaea, Hyampolis, Anticyra, Parapotamii, Panopeus, and Daulis. These cities were renowned of old, chiefly through the verses of Homer. Others again, Erochus, Charadra, Amphiclea, Neon, Tithronium, and Drymaea, became more generally known in Greece from having

<sup>22</sup> Umholtz and McInerney 1991.

been burned down by the army of Xerxes. The other cities, with the exception of Elatea, were previously unknown to fame, namely, Phocian Trachis, Phocian Medeon, Echedamia, Ambrosus, Ledon, Phlygonium, and Stiris. All the cities I have enumerated were now leveled with the ground, and their inhabitants dispersed in villages.

Trans. Frazer

Soon thereafter the continuing threat from Philip of Macedon led the Athenians and Thebans to help the Phocians to refound their cities and to refortify them (Pausanias 10.3.3).

ἀνὰ χρόνον μέντοι τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν αἱ πόλεις ἀνωκίσθησαν καὶ ἐς τὰς πατρίδας κατήχθησαν ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἀνοικισθῆναι τινὰς ἐκώλυσεν ἀσθένειά τε ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡ τῶν χρημάτων ἐν τῷ τότε ἔνδεια· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι σφᾶς ἦσαν οἱ κατάγοντες, πρὶν ἢ τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ συμβῆναι πταῖσμα Ἑλλήσι.

In course of time, however, the cities of Phocis were rebuilt, and the inhabitants were brought back from the villages to the homes of their fathers, though some cities were not rebuilt because they had always been weak, and were then too poor to afford it. It was the Athenians and Thebans who brought back the Phocians before the overthrow of the Greeks at Chaeronea.

Trans. Frazer

This program presumably included the walls of Panopeus and was carried out before the battle of Chaironeia in 338 B.C. It should be noted that helping an ally to build or rebuild fortification walls often meant the provision not just of money but of both labor and skilled workmen. In 417 B.C. when the Argives decided to build long walls, according to Thucydides (5.82.6), “the whole Argive people, men, women, and slaves set to work upon the walls; and from Athens also there came to them carpenters and stone masons.”<sup>23</sup> Diodorus Siculus (14.85.3) describes the rebuilding of the walls of Athens and Piraeus in 394/3 B.C. as follows: “Accordingly Conon hired a multitude of skilled workers, and putting at their service the general run of his crews, he speedily rebuilt the larger part of the wall. For the Thebans too sent 500 skilled workers and masons, and some other cities also gave assistance.”<sup>24</sup> For this same occasion Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.8.10) also refers to volunteers from Boiotia and *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1657, lines 7–8, records payments to a Boiotian contractor. And in 391 B.C., when the Athenians decided to help the Corinthians to build their long walls, Xenophon reports (*Hell.* 4.4.18): “So they came with their full force, accompanied by masons and carpenters, and completed within a few days the wall toward Sicyon and the west, making a very excellent wall of it.”<sup>25</sup> These passages suggest that both Athens and Thebes were accustomed to help allies with skilled labor and that the parallels between the walls of Panopeus and the third phase of the Pnyx at Athens are likely to be the result of direct interaction between the architects and masons of the two cities. We are provided with a welcome and unusually precise date

<sup>23</sup> καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι πανδημεῖ, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ οἰκέται, ἐτείχιζον· καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν αὐτοῖς ἦλθον τέκτονες καὶ λιθουργοί.

<sup>24</sup> ὁ δ' οὖν Κόνων μισθωσάμενος πλῆθος τεχνιτῶν, καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν πληρωμάτων ὄχλον εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν παραδούς, ταχέως τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἀνωκοδόμησε· καὶ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι πενταχοσίους τεχνίτας καὶ λιθοτόμους ἀπέστειλαν καὶ τινες ἄλλαι τῶν πόλεων παρεβοήθησαν.

<sup>25</sup> καὶ ἐλθόντες πανδημεῖ μετὰ λιθολόγων καὶ τεκτόνων τὸ μὲν πρὸς Σικυῶνος καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρας ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πάνυ καλὸν ἐξετείχισαν. . .

of 346–338 B.C. for the walls of Panopeus and, by extension, for the similar construction of the Pnyx retaining wall. The architectural evidence, based on parallels with Phocian Panopeus, suggests that the great Pnyx retaining wall was built in the years around 340 B.C., a date in harmony with the independent analysis of the ceramic evidence presented below.

J.McK.C.

### THE CLASSICAL MATERIAL FROM THE FILL OF PERIOD III

#### *Evidence for the Date*

Even though the 4th-century fill of Pnyx III is disturbed, the bulk of the material, used with caution, can still provide a useful dating point for ceramics and lamps, for it falls at a time when similarly well-dated deposits are lacking in Athens. The seventy-five stamped amphora handles it contained were published by Virginia Grace in 1956. At that time she dated the latest of them around 340.<sup>26</sup> None of the forty-six Thasian handles recovered from the deposit show the innovations in stamping that have been attributed to administrative changes in the wake of Philip's conquest of Thasos in 340 B.C. In a conversation in 1992, Miss Grace confirmed that she still considered this date to be about right, although it could be lowered a decade or so; the continuing researches of the French excavators on Thasos support it as well.<sup>27</sup> Lucy Talcott and Barbara Philippaki, in their analysis of the figured ware, could point to only one piece that could be dated with certainty after the middle of the 4th century.<sup>28</sup> The small collection of coins from the fill also provides some tentative support: five of the eight recorded can be comfortably placed before *ca.* 330.<sup>29</sup> There are a few fragments of lamps of Howland's Types 25 B and 25 B', which are unknown at Olynthos but common in later 4th-century deposits, suggesting a date not far advanced in the second half of the century.<sup>30</sup> The datable finds thus agree in placing the lower *terminus* of this fill somewhat, but not very much, after the destruction of Olynthos in 348 B.C. These indications agree extraordinarily well with the historical considerations outlined above, making the Pnyx

<sup>26</sup> Grace 1956, pp. 119, 122–123. Two Late Hellenistic handles were excluded from this count; see the list on p. 291 below.

<sup>27</sup> Debidour 1986, pp. 311, 313.

<sup>28</sup> Talcott and Philippaki 1956, p. 6; no. 312, pp. 64–65, pl. 31, early third quarter of 4th century.

<sup>29</sup> The coins are Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, nos. 1–3, 5–9, pp. 211–212. In addition to the two 1st-century coins listed on p. 293 below, they include one double-bodied owl (*Agora* XXVI, varieties 41–43, pp. 41–42, *ca.* early or mid-330's to 322–317) and four coins of Salamis (*Agora* XXVI, variety 640, pp. 214–215, 4th century, certainly in circulation before 348). There was also a coin of Peparethos (4th–2nd century). See *Agora* XXVI, p. 300.

<sup>30</sup> Among the *ca.* 460 Greek lamps that can be identified to type, only two are of Type 25 B and four of Type 25 B'. The only published Type 25 B' lamp from the fill is an unusual early one, very large and with two glazed bands around the filling hole (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 67, pp. 55–56, fig. 24 [Pnyx L 86]). An exact parallel has been excavated in the Agora (*Agora* L 5809), unfortunately not in a closed context. A more canonical example from the fill is unpublished (Pnyx L 73). Note that the Type 25 B' lamp cited by Howland as coming from the fill (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 82, p. 57, fig. 24 [Pnyx L 2]; see *Agora* IV, p. 74) actually comes from a mixed Greek and Roman fill to the north of the retaining wall, not from the fill of Pnyx III. For a Type 25 B lamp from the fill see Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 42, p. 52, fig. 19 (Pnyx L 43).

fill a valuable chronological landmark. With the exception of the obvious intrusions listed below (pp. 291–293), the latest black ware may be presumed to date, with the coins, amphora handles, and figured pottery, some years before the end of the third quarter of the century.

### *The Pottery*

Talcott and Philippaki suggested that the pottery originated from a dump that “had lain about for some time before its use in construction work.”<sup>31</sup> In this they are certainly correct. Like the figured pottery that they published, the black ware and lamps are very fragmentary, and there is a considerable range in date (see below). Possibly the dump of a potter’s shop provided the debris, for the bulk of the pottery and lamps show great uniformity, and the fill contained at least five draw pieces used to monitor the firing process,<sup>32</sup> as well as fragments of fourteen clay rings perhaps used to stack pottery in a kiln. Over a quarter of the fragments show signs of burning, and fires are a frequent occurrence in potters’ establishments. There is also, however, a very heavy concentration of rilled-rim plates and saucers of the types found in pyres (although other pyre shapes are missing), and a sanctuary may also have furnished much of the material, as Kourouniotes and Thompson opined in 1932.<sup>33</sup>

Although the pottery is badly broken, many full profiles are present, and it seems worthwhile to provide drawings that give some notion of the range of variation within each of the well-represented shapes (see Figs. 6–21, pp. 280–288). A listing of the sherds that remain is appended (pp. 278–289 below) to give a rough idea of the relative representation of shapes and range of date; it is important to note, however, that because the material has been so drastically reduced in bulk, this may not reflect its original character very accurately. An analysis of the fragments of both lamps and pottery that can be dated with some accuracy shows that the material covers a fairly wide chronological range, as is commonly the case in large fills. There are a few Archaic pieces, and at least 10% of the fragments date to the 5th century, mostly in its last quarter. Probably about 40% date from the middle to the third quarter of the 4th century according to the chronologies expressed in *Agora IV* and *Agora XII*.

The stamped decoration shows that, as one would expect at this date, rouletting was well established; it appears on the floors of two thirds of the cups, plates, and bowls. The most developed of the Attic skyphoi (Fig. 6) is near the end of the evolution of that shape, suggesting that that stage may have been reached somewhat earlier than Sparkes and Talcott placed it. The kantharoi (Fig. 8) are low and broad, larger in diameter than in height. They are without stems, and all have stamped decoration on their floors. Even the poorest of the rilled-rim plates (Fig. 19) are still fully glazed on the outside, a practice that was to be abandoned in the Hellenistic period. Rolled-rim plates (Fig. 20) generally have well-defined cyma-reversa profiles, topped by an offset, but two have slightly angular profiles (Fig. 20:6, 12), the latter with a groove rather than an offset at the top of the wall. These were to become common features in the 3rd century but were already, it seems, occurring sporadically as early as the third quarter of the 4th century. One or two fragments have analogies with vessels that have been dated slightly later by Talcott and Sparkes (e.g., a fragment of a black

<sup>31</sup> Talcott and Philippaki 1956, p. 6.

<sup>32</sup> Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 61–63, p. 55, fig. 23 (L 116, L 126, L 127), and two uninventoried pieces.

<sup>33</sup> Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, pp. 186–187.

squat lekythos similar to *Agora* XII, no. 1141 ["325–300"] and an Attic skyphos similar to *Agora* XII, no. 353 [*ca.* 320", Fig. 6:3]). The firm dating of the fill that emerges from the present study suggests that the dates of the pots should be extended slightly upwards.

### *The Lamps*

Richard Howland used the fill of Pnyx III as an important anchor for some of the dates expressed in his publication of Greek lamps from the Agora. He seems to have relied on the lamps as published in *Hesperia*, Supplement 7 (Davidson and Thompson 1943) and apparently did not go back to the original records. The comparison of notebook accounts, inventory cards, and publication undertaken in the course of the present study has revealed a number of instances where the published contexts are at variance with the original records. The objects presented in the two *Hesperia* Supplements (7 and 10) devoted to the Pnyx derive not only from the various fills of the assembly place but also from excavations on the terrace above and to the south of that monument. The inventory cards that were used by the authors to prepare the publication were created some years after the excavation (some certainly as late as 1936); their context notations, which are general and imprecise, do not always agree with the context information provided by the notebooks, where many pieces destined for inventory were sketched at the time of excavation. A certain lack of rigor in the recording of contexts in the publication of the lamps exacerbates the problem. The discussion of the lamps in *Hesperia*, Supplement 7 gives the impression that nos. 1–87 come from the fill of the third phase of the assembly place, while in fact excavation records show that about a quarter of them come from other contexts.<sup>34</sup> Among those that do not come from the fill is no. 65,<sup>35</sup> of Howland Type 25 C'; according to the inventory card it was found in a trench along the city wall, excavated in 1936, and unrelated to the fill of the assembly place. But in *Agora* IV, Howland used the presence of the type in the Pnyx fill as evidence for its initial date, assuming, as the publication implies, that the published example came from the assembly-place fill. Examination of the inventoried material and the context pottery has revealed no example of a Type 25 C' lamp, and the beginning of the type should probably be placed later. The same difficulty occurs with Type 25 D'. Howland dated its beginning *ca.* 330 on the basis of an example from the Pnyx.<sup>36</sup> But that lamp too comes from a trench dug in exploring the city wall in 1936. One small fragment of what may be an anomalous variant of Type 25 D' does indeed come from the fill of Period III;<sup>37</sup> but this is very slight evidence for the inception of the type. The fragmentary state of the Pnyx material and the complexity of Howland's system make identifications difficult, but the list on pp. 289–291 below gives the types that can now be documented as certainly coming from the Pnyx III fill.

S.I.R.

<sup>34</sup> Davidson and Thompson 1943, pp. 41–45. Nos. 4, 7, 8, 13, 36, 38, 43, 49, 51–53, 65, 68, 70, 71, 73–76, 81–83, and 86 are not from the assembly-place fill.

<sup>35</sup> Davidson and Thompson 1943, p. 55, figs. 19, 24 (L 242).

<sup>36</sup> *Agora* IV, p. 79, citing Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 83, p. 57, fig. 24 (L 243).

<sup>37</sup> Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 87, p. 58, fig. 19 (L 123).

The Pnyx remains a fascinating site that has still not given up all its mysteries; questions about its peculiar orientation, its capacity, the regularity of its use by the Assembly, and the internal arrangements of the third period remain. But the date of Period III now seems fixed. In a note published in 1989, Mogens Hansen listed the three arguments that had inclined him to return to the Roman dating originally proposed by Kourouniotes and Thompson: the lack of any 4th-century parallel for the masonry of the retaining wall; the positions of the niches in the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos; and the Roman pottery from the fill.<sup>38</sup> Björn Forsén's recent examination of the Zeus Hypsistos niches proves them compatible with a 4th-century date for Pnyx;<sup>39</sup> the current study, we believe, answers the remaining objections.

### POTTERY, LAMPS, AND OTHER DATABLE OBJECTS FROM THE FILL OF PNYX III

The following lists record the identifiable fine but unfigured pottery and lamps that remain from the fill. Classical coarse ware, amphora handles, and loomweights have not been included. Numbers preceded by PN III are control numbers given to uninventoried objects from the fill; numbers preceded by AH, L, or P are Pnyx inventory numbers.

#### ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL BLACK AND RELATED POTTERY

Pieces are listed by shape, in the order established by *Agora* XII. Comparanda from *Agora* XII have been included, along with the dates (B.C.) expressed there.

Pelike lid: 2		Stemless cup: 1	
		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 483 (ca. 450)	1
Hydria: 1			
		Stemless cup(?): 3	
Large bowl: 5		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 488 (ca. 430)	3
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 80 (ca. 350)	3		
other	2		
		Bolsal: 17 (Fig. 7:1–3)	
Mug: 1		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 532 (ca. 430)	1
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 192 (ca. 480)	1	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 541 (ca. 420)	1
		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 558 (380–350)	7
		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 561 (ca. 350)	7
Skyphos, Corinthian: 24 (Fig. 6:1, 2)		Other	1
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 323 (ca. 380)	3		
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 325 (ca. 350)	6		
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 326 (350–330)	12	Cup-skyphos: 26 (13 with rouletting; Fig. 7:4, 5)	
other	3	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 605 (ca. 375)	4
		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 608 (ca. 380)	5
Skyphos, Attic: 3 (Fig. 6:3)		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 608,	
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 350 (375–350)	1	but ungrooved resting surface	14
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 353 (ca. 320)	1	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 621 (early 4th century)	1
other	1	other	2

<sup>38</sup> Hansen 1989, p. 141.

<sup>39</sup> Forsén 1993, pp. 508–516.



Kantharos/Cup-kantharos: 66 (Figs. 8 and 9)		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 841 (ca. 325)	10
Cup-kantharos		other	14
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 652 (ca. 380)	9 feet,	Small bowl: 49 (Fig. 12)	
	1 body fragment	Later and light	
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 661 (350–325)	3	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 870 (425–400)	3
	[1 with rim]	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 876 (ca. 380)	7
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 667 (375–350)	1	other	6
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 684 (340–325)	16 feet	Projecting rim	
other (Fig. 8:4 [PN III 159])	1	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 879 (425–400)	1
Cup-kantharos?		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 880 (400–375)	1
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 678 (ca. 350)	1 foot	Broad base	25
Kantharos		Other small bowls	6
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 699 (ca. 350)	1 body fragment	Saltcellar: 153 (Figs. 13 and 14)	
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 700 (350–325)	1 body fragment	Convex wall	
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 701 (350–325)	1 body fragment	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 894 (480–450)	1
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 707 (375–350)	2 body fragments	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 897 (ca. 425)	2
Kantharos or cup-kantharos		Echinus wall	4
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, nos. 672, 700, 707	20 feet	Concave wall	
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 708	3 feet	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 933 (425–400)	1
body fragments	6	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 934 (425–400)	1
		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 935 (425–400)	2
One-handler: 20 (Fig. 10)		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 936 (375–350)	19
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 731 (ca. 500)	1	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, nos. 937, 938 (350–325)	59
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 759 (375–350)	2	other	26
other (e.g. Fig. 10 [PN III 112–116])	17	Footed	
Bowl, outturned rim: 15		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 944 (375–350)	3
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 801 (400–375)	1	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 946 (ca. 350)	3
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 802 (ca. 380)	1	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 947 (ca. 350)	2
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 803 (ca. 380)	1	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, nos. 948–950 (350–325)	21
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 806 (350–325)	4	other	9
other	4	Plate: 400 (Figs. 15–20)	
small	4	Broad rim	
Bowl, convex-concave: 3		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1002 (520–500)	1
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 821 (425–400)	1	other (e.g. Fig. 15:11 [PN III 3])	2
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 822 (ca. 375)	1	Thickened edge	
other	1	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1016 (375–350)	4
		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1018 (375–350)	1
Bowl, incurved rim: 14 (Fig. 11)		other (e.g. Fig. 15:1–8 [PN III 1, 2, 4–8, 85])	16
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 828 (375–350)	8	Rilled rim: all glazed	
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 830 (ca. 350)	2	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1022 (ca. 430)	1
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 832 (350–325)	1	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1024 (ca. 425)	1
other	3	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1030 (ca. 400)	2
Bowl, rim not preserved: 57		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1032 (ca. 400)	1
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 803 (ca. 380)	9	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1035 (375–350)	2
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 806 (350–325)	7	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1036 (ca. 325)	6
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 828 (375–350)	4	other, good glaze	
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 832 (350–325)	13	(Fig. 18: 2, 4 [PN III 77, 89])	2
		other, poor glaze, rilled rim	
		(e.g. Fig. 19:11 [PN III 99])	27
		other, poor glaze, plain rim	28

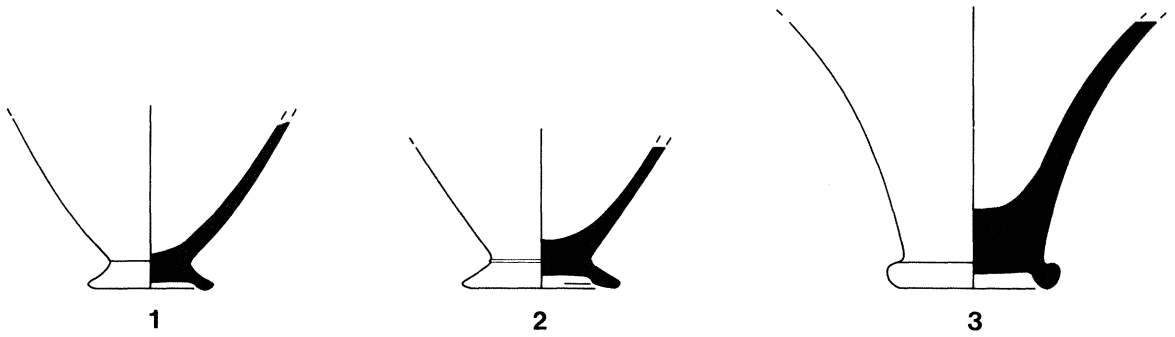


FIG. 6. Skyphos. 1, 2: Corinthian, with cross-hatching. 3: Attic. PN III 111, 110, 109. Scale 1:2

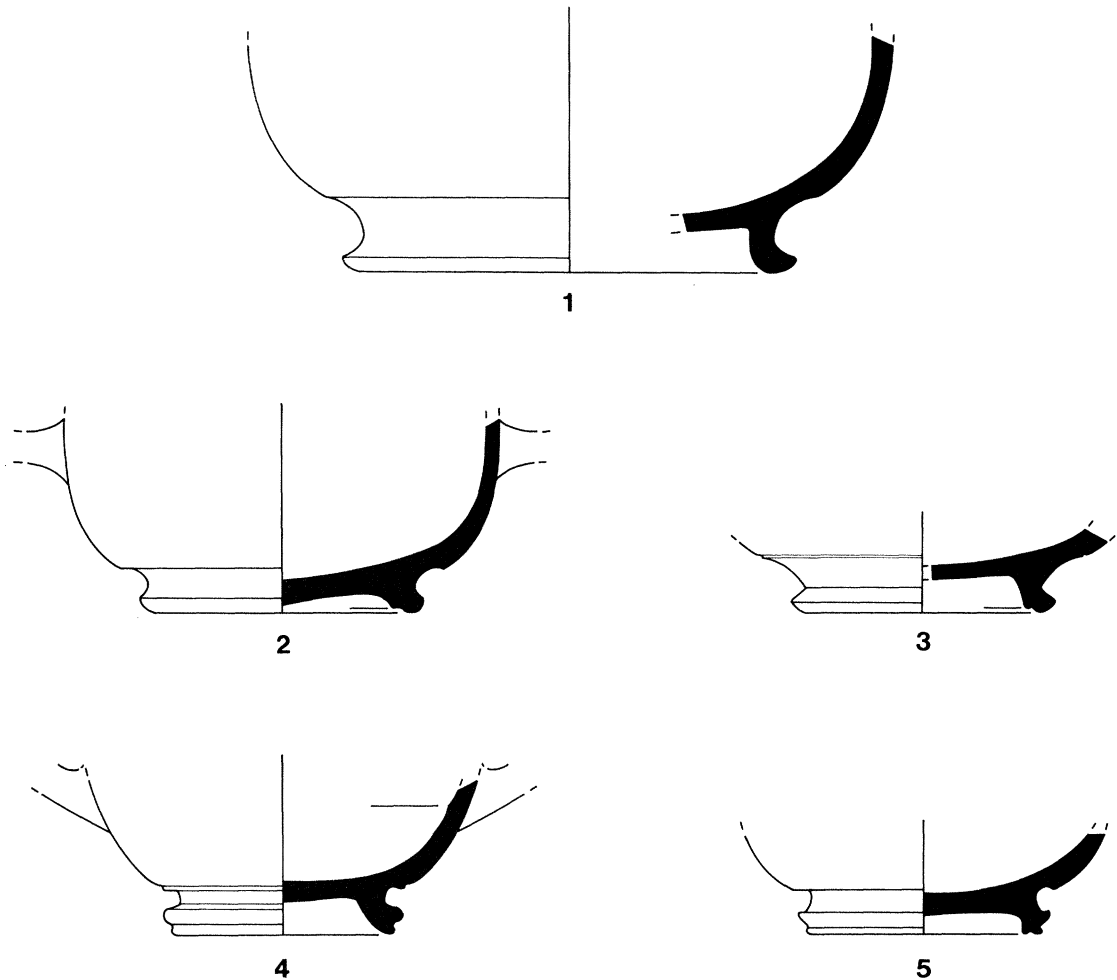


FIG. 7. 1-3: Bolsal. 4, 5: Cup-skyphos. PN III 119, 118, 117, 131, 130. Scale 1:2

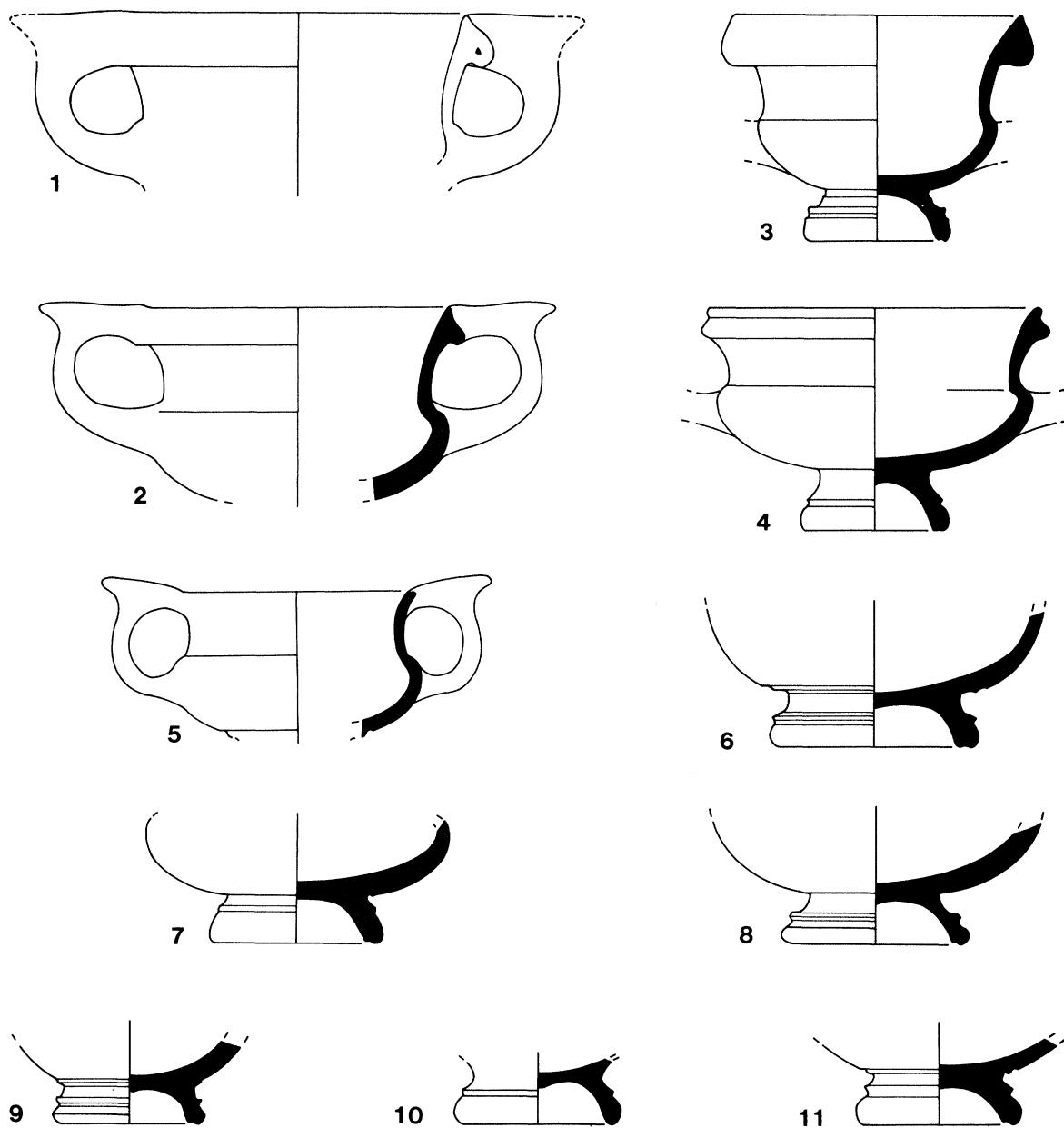


FIG. 8. Kantharos and cup-kantharos. PN III 124, 157, 160, 159, 158, 123, 127, 128, 129, 126, 125.  
Scale 1:2

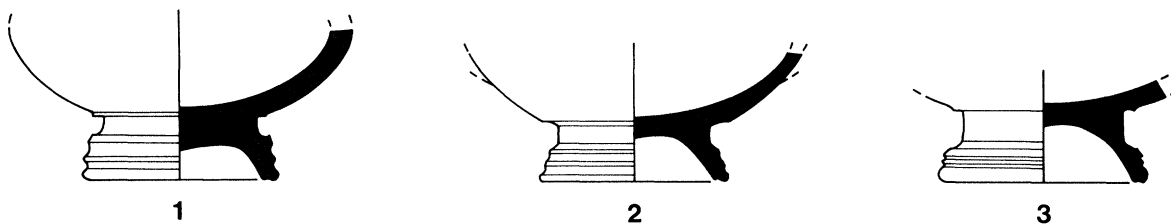


FIG. 9. Cup-kantharos, squat rim? PN III 121, 122, 120. Scale 1:2

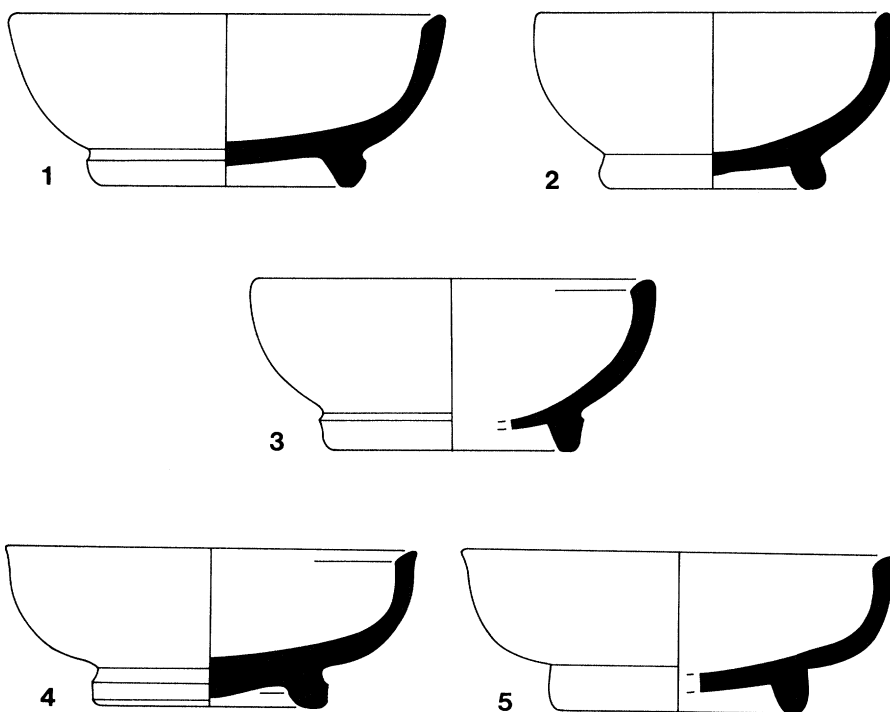


FIG. 10. One-handler. PN III 113, 114, 116, 112, 115. Scale 1:2

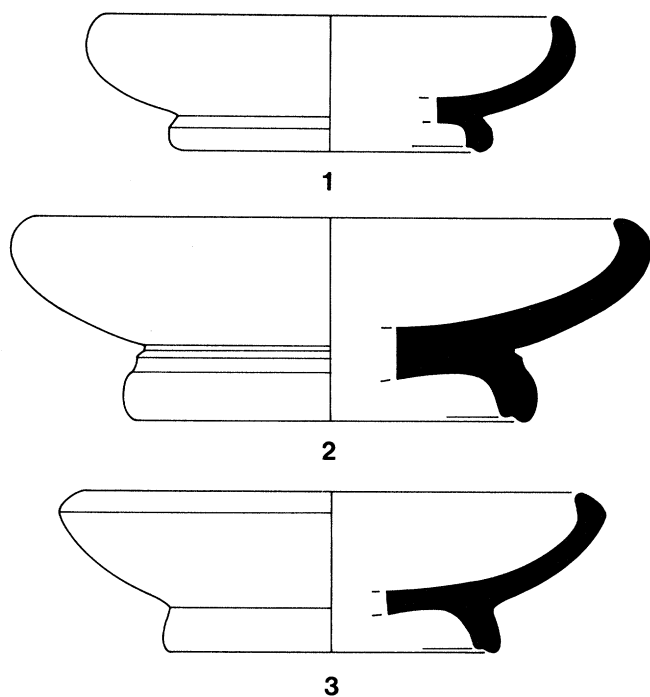


FIG. 11. Bowl with incurving rim. PN III 138, 137, 135. Scale 1:2

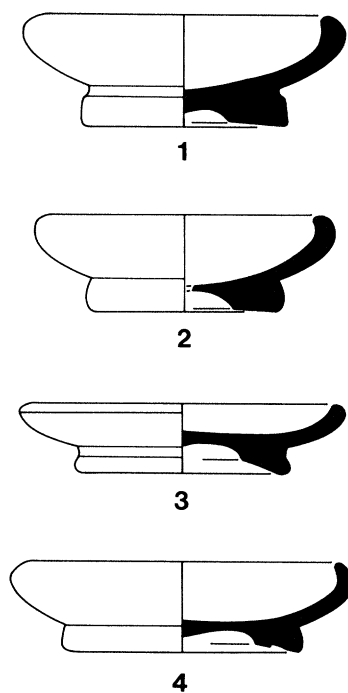


FIG. 12. Small bowl with broad base. PN III 136, 132, 133, 134. Scale 1:2

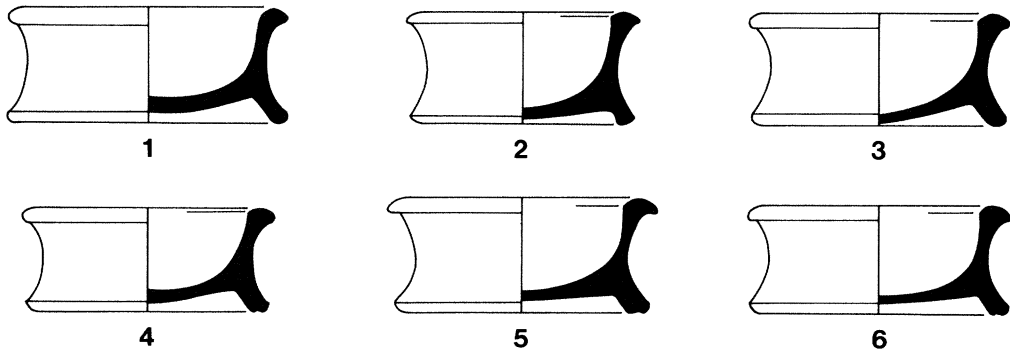


FIG. 13. Saltcellar with concave wall. PN III 155, 106, 107, 108, 170, 105. Scale 1:2

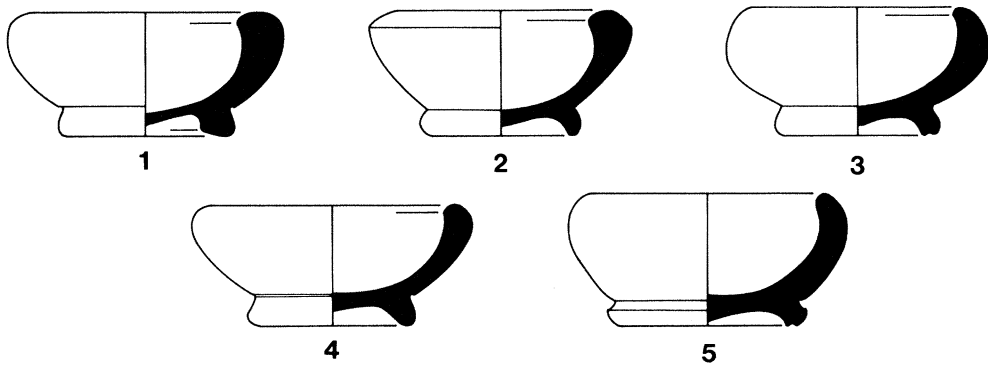


FIG. 14. Footed saltcellar. PN III 101, 104, 100, 103, 102. Scale 1:2

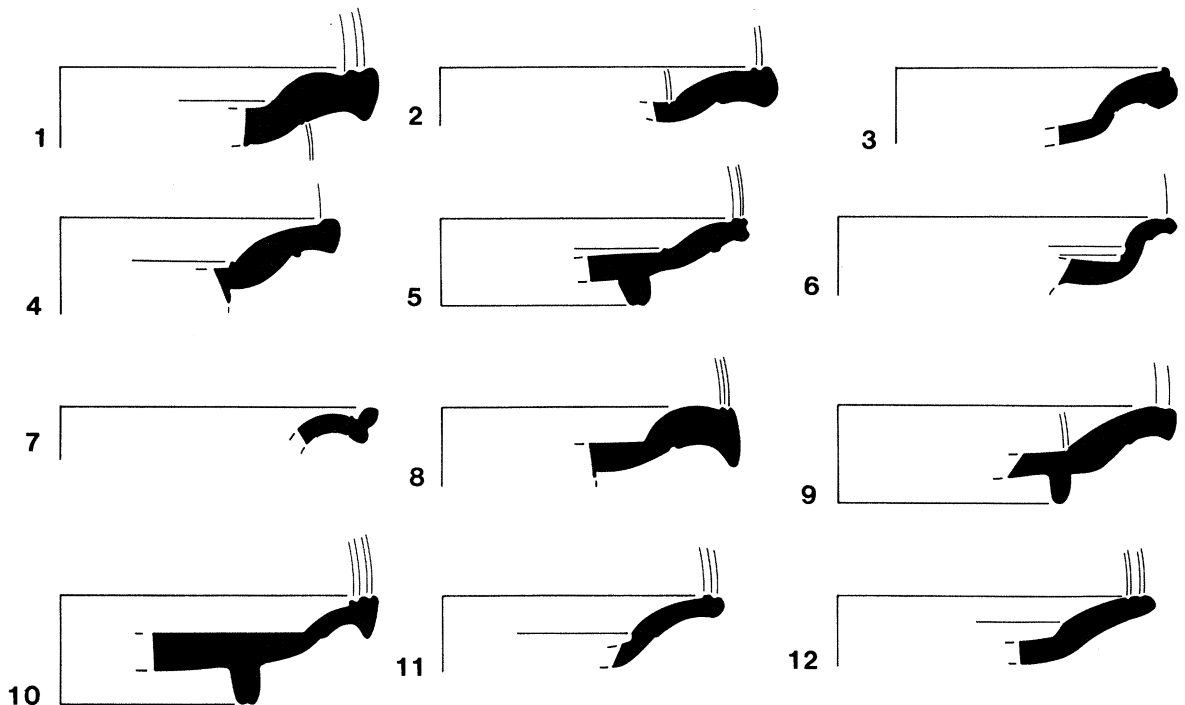


FIG. 15. Plate with thickened edge. 1-8, 11: unglazed. 9, 10, 12: glazed. PN III 1, 2, 7, 5, 6, 8, 4, 85, 84, 90, 3, 82. Scale 1:2

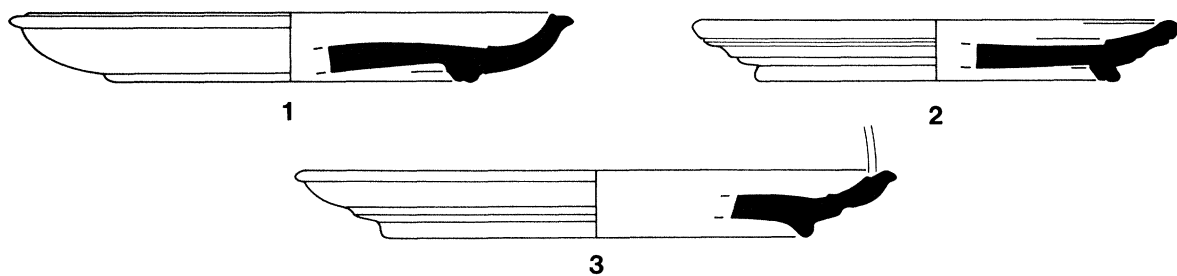


FIG. 16. Plate with rilled rim: unglazed. PN III 10, 9, 11. Scale 1:2

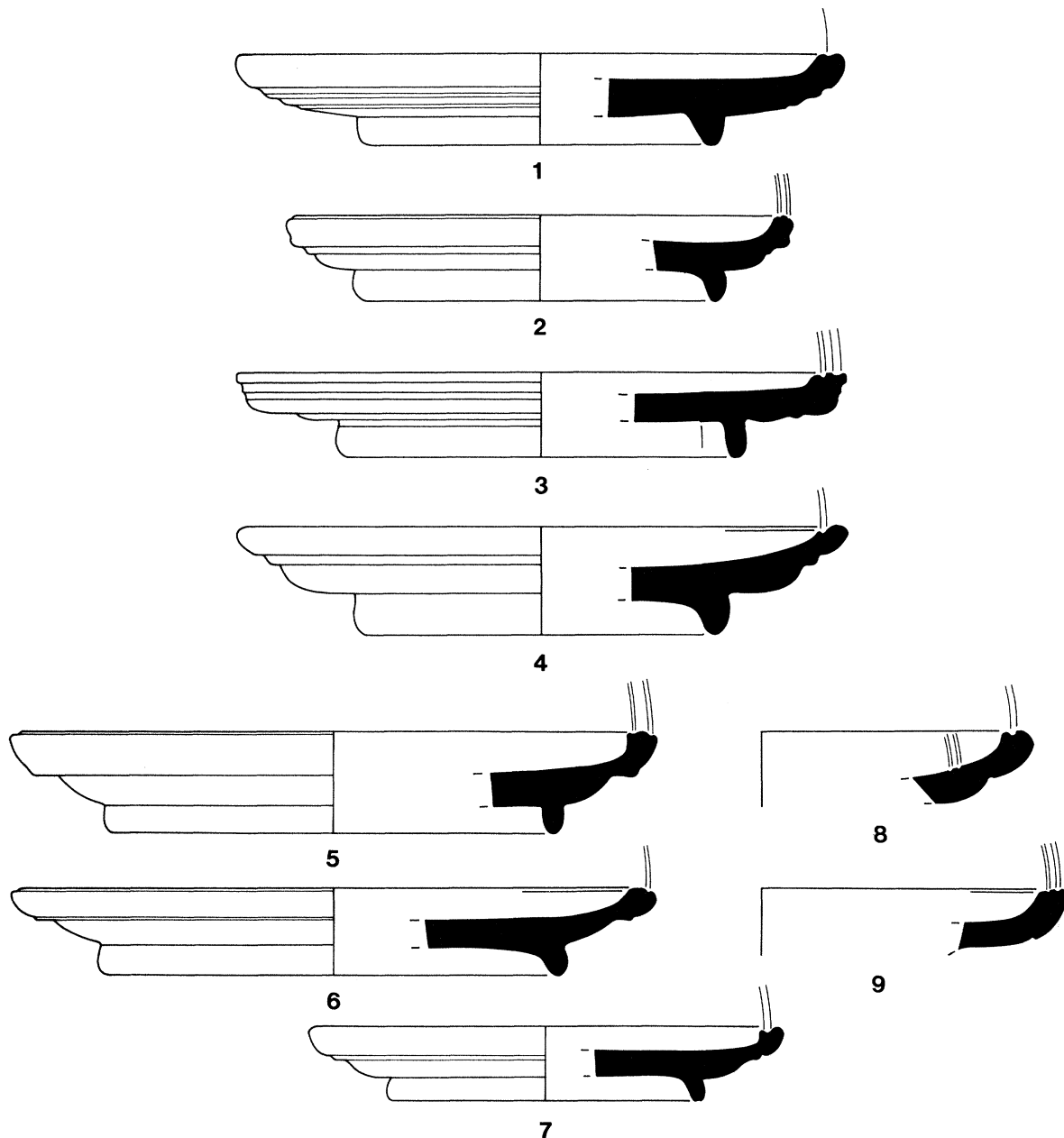


FIG. 17. Plate with rilled rim: glazed. PN III 80, 81, 79, 74, 71, 72, 73, 70, 69. Scale 1:2

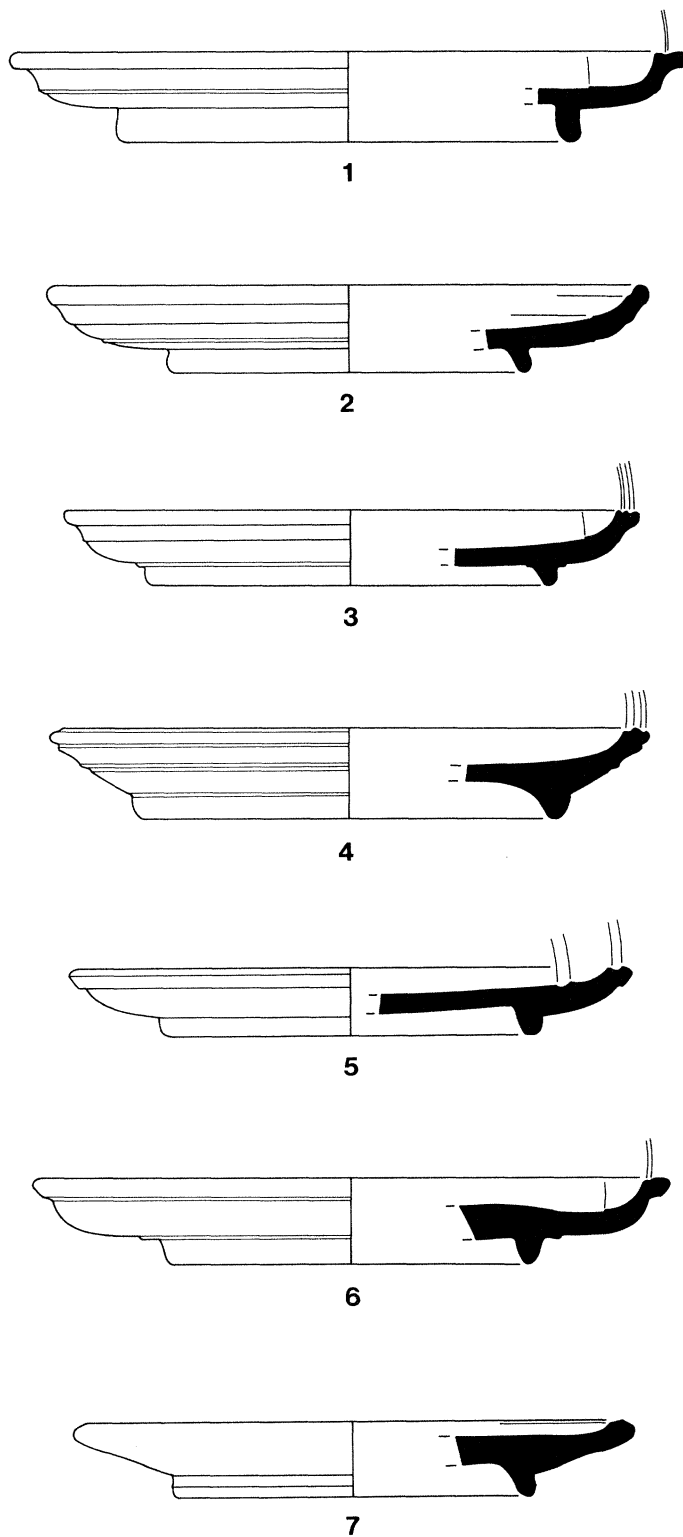


FIG. 18. Plate with rilled rim. 1, 2, 4-7: totally glazed. 3: reserved rim. PN III 83, 77, 78, 89, 75, 76, 68.  
Scale 1:2

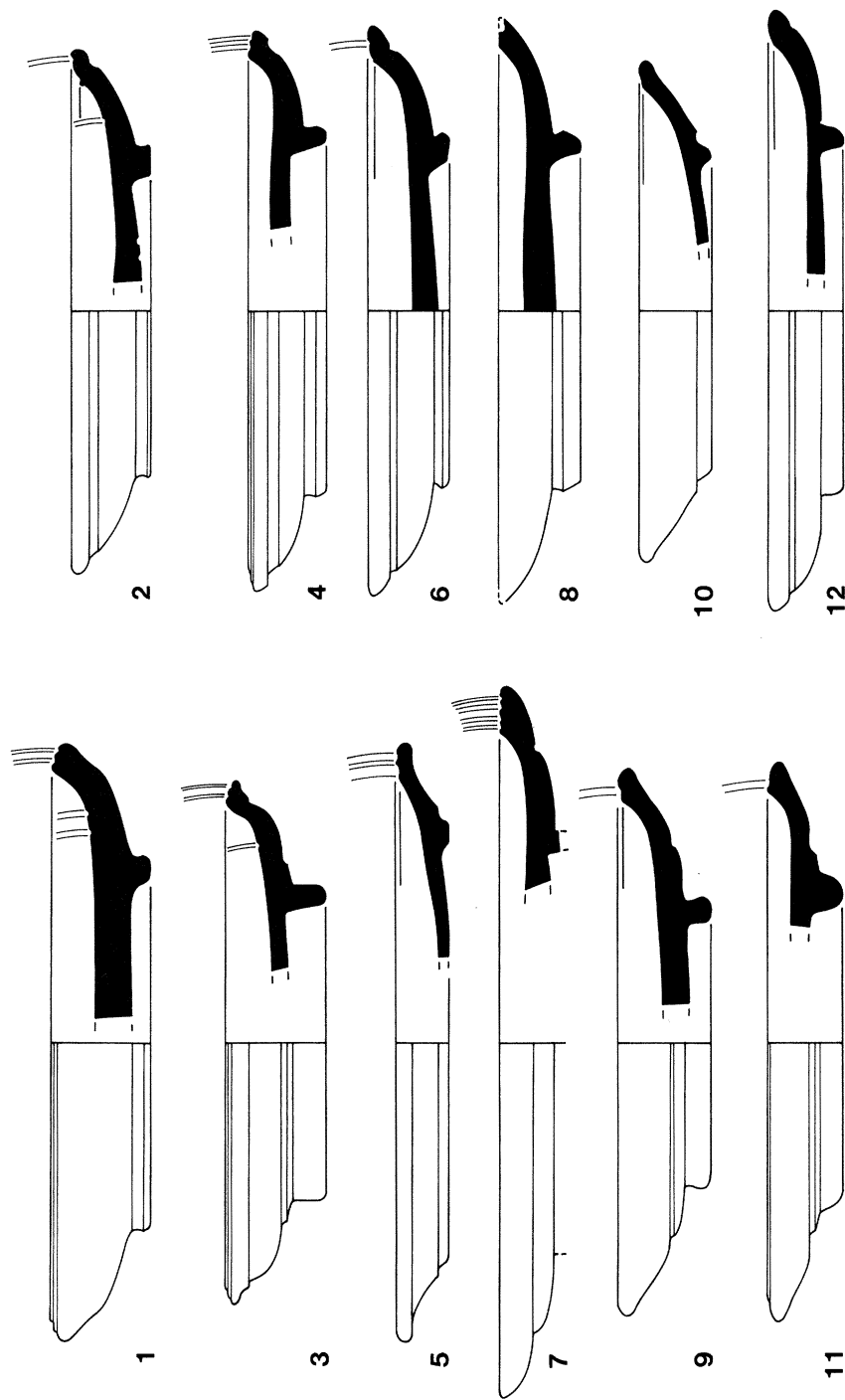


Fig. 19. Plate with rilled rim. 11: totally glazed. PN III 87, 95, 93, 96, 98, 92, 88, 86, 91, 97, 99, 94. Scale 1:2



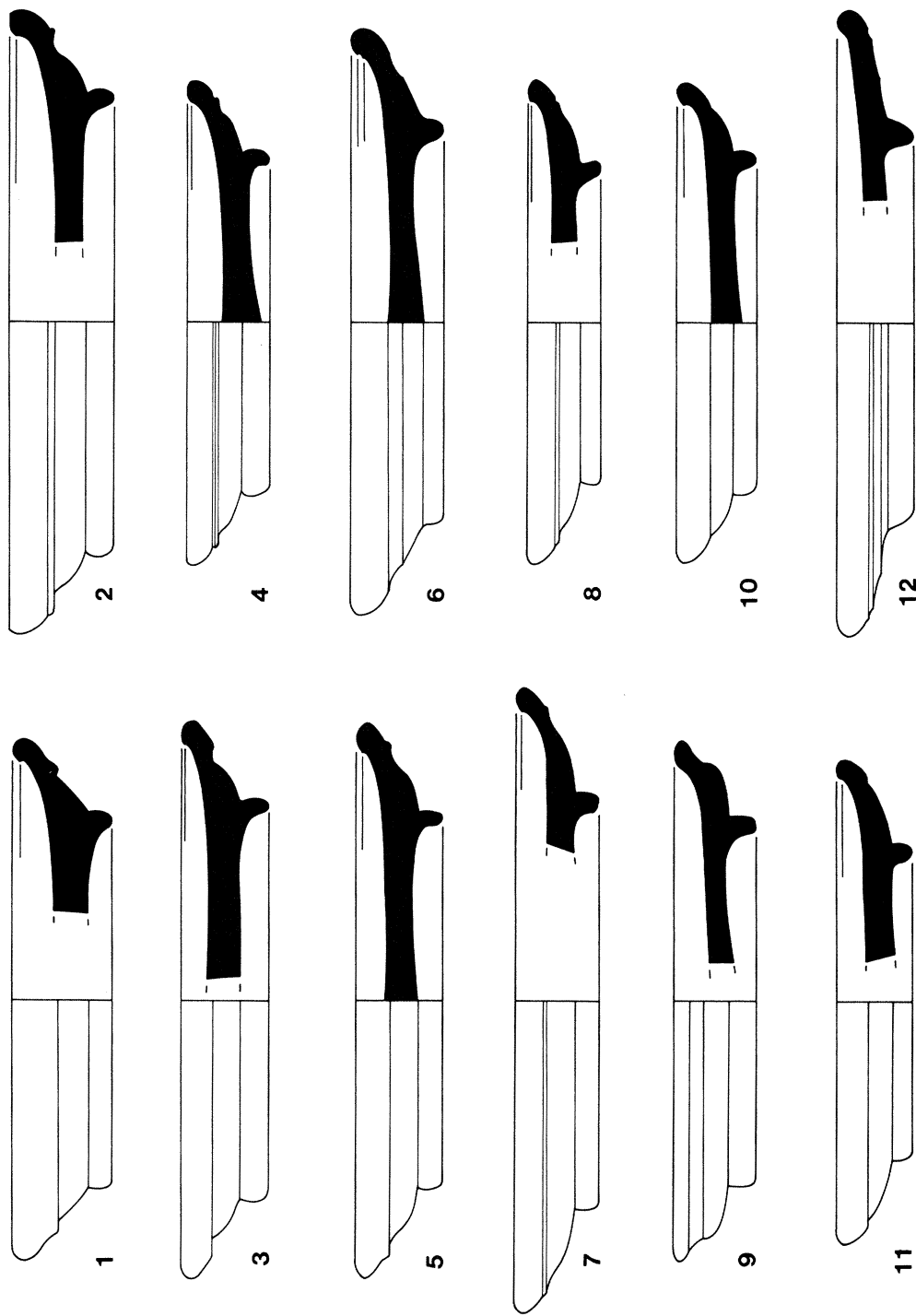


FIG. 20. Plate with rolled rim. PN III 153, 144, 146, 142, 145, 143, 148, 152, 147, 149, 151, 150. Scale 1:2

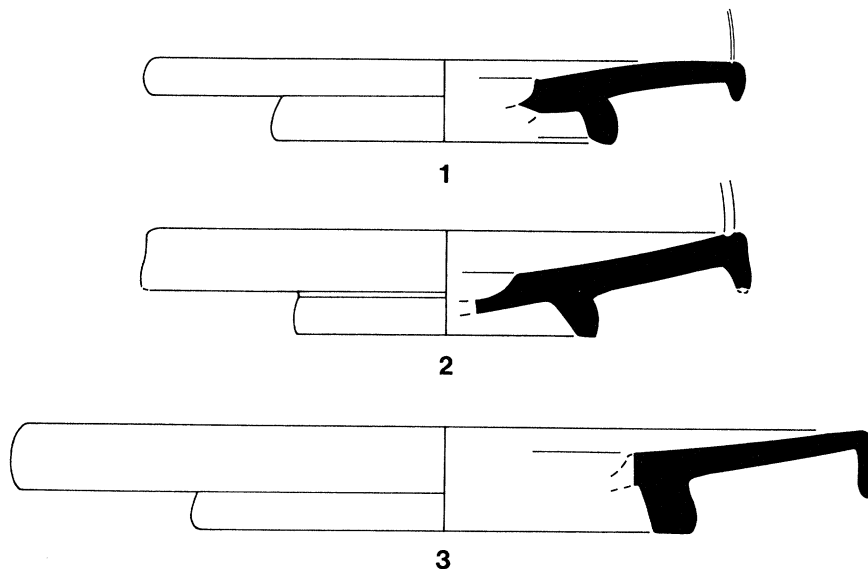


FIG. 21. Fish-plate. PN III 141, 140, 139. Scale 1:2

Rilled rim: unglazed (Fig. 16 [PN III 9–11])	3	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1071 (ca. 350)	2
Rilled rim: reserved rim		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1072 (350–325)	2
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1038 (ca. 375)	1	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1074 (ca. 325)	2
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1039 (ca. 375)	1	plain resting surface, patterned underside	10
poor glaze, 2 or more rills (e.g. Fig. 19:2–5, 7 [PN III 88, 93, 95, 96, 98])	122	grooved resting surface, plain underside	3
poor glaze, 1 rill (e.g. Fig. 19:6, 9 [PN III 91, 92])	37	other (e.g. Fig. 21 [PN III 139–141])	4
poor glaze, plain rim (e.g. Fig. 19:8, 10 [PN III, 86, 97])	39	Tray: 3	
base only	31	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1084 (ca. 350)	3
base, plate with thickened or rilled rim	8	Lekythos: 17	
Rolled rim		White ground	1
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1048 (400–375)	1	Squat, palmette	
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1049 (ca. 375)	5	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1139 (375–350)	5
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1050 (375–350)	6	other	1
others with rilling on rim (e.g. Fig. 17:1–4, 6, 8, 9 [PN III 69, 70, 72, 74, 79–81]: 400–350)	16	Squat, black	
with plain rim (e.g. Fig. 20 [PN III 142–153])	60	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1139 (375–350)	2
bases only	8	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1140 (350–325)	4
Fish-plate: 32 (Fig. 21)		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1141 (325–300)	1
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1064 (ca. 400)	2	other	2
foot as <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1068 (ca. 375)	4	Plastic	1
foot as <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1069 (375–350)	3	Amphoriskos, stamped class: 1	
		Askos: 9	
		Deep	1
		Shallow	
		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1177 (400–375)	1
		other	4
		with lion spout	2
		Guttus type	1

Feeder?: 1		bowl (cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1420, late 5th century)	1
Lekanis: 6		one-handed cup (cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1432, 4th century)	1
Ribbon-handled	3	krater	
body			
lekanis lid		cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1427 (late 5th century)	1
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1239 (ca. 400)	1	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1433 (350–325)	5
cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1241 (350–325)	2	eschara	1
Pyxis: 4		Pyre saucer: 55	
Type B		Diam. < 7 cm.	
body	1	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1576 (375–350)	33
lid	1	Diam. > 7 cm.	22
Type D		Blisterware aryballos: 2	
body	1	cf. <i>Agora</i> XII, no. 1681 (350–300)	2
lid	1		
Kernos?: 1		Clay rings: 14	
Miniatures: 17		TOTAL: 1054	
oinochoe	1		
two-handed cup	7		

## ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL LAMPS

The following list includes all fragments that could be identified to Howland type with reasonable certainty. I give inventory numbers where they exist; references to Davidson and Thompson 1943 are added if the lamps are published. I have made some corrections to the published type identifications.

## Type 16 B: 1

L 172 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 1)

## Type 21: 67

A: 1

A or B: 1

L 164 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 5)

B: 4

L 156

B or C: 1

L 159

C: 24

L 158, 160, 165, 166 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 3)

A–D: 21

B–D: 14

Variant: 1

L 174 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 9)

## Type 21 D or 23 B: 1

L 170 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 6)

## Type 22: 3

B: 1

B(?): 1

L 97

C: 1

L 133 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 23)

## Type 23: 152

A: 24

L 109, 110, 114, 117, 134, 163 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 24–26)

A(?): 2

L 128, 161

A': 1

L 173 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 2)

A or C: 3

L 32, 116, 118 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 29, 45, 61)

B: 5

L 120, 168 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 22, 30)

B or C: 1

L 121

C: 48

L 100, 104, 106, 111, 115, 119 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 27, 31, 32)

D: 34

L 103, 105, 108, 112, 113 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 28, 34, 35)

A–D: 33

E: 1

L 131

## Type 24: 144

A: 34

L 60, 135, 137–143, 146–155 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 10, 12, 15–21)

A(?): 3

L 25, 50, 145 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 58)

A': 12

L 67, 68, 74, 77, 78, 80, 125, 136, 144 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 11, 14, 64)

C: 6

L 36, 37, 54, 58 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 41, 57)

C(?): 5

L 15, 45, 47, 55, 107 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 33, 56)

C': 80

L 8, 62, 65, 70, 71, 162 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 77–79, 84)

C'(?): 4

L 64, 72, 75, 76

## Type 24 A or 25 A: 1

L 34 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 60)

## Type 25: 72

A: 14

L 4, 12, 33, 35, 39, 40, 42, 51–53 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 40, 55)

A(?): 2

L 48, 49

- A or B: 14  
 L 6, 9, 26, 29–31, 38, 41, 46, 56, 59, 61, 124, 127 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 39, 44, 46, 48, 50, 54, 63)
- A': 14  
 L 63, 69, 82–84, 87, 90 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 66, 69)
- A' or B': 19  
 L 66, 79, 85, 88, 89 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, nos. 72, 80)
- B: 2  
 L 43, 57 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 42)
- B': 4  
 L 73, 86 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 67)
- D': 1  
 L 123 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 87)
- Variant: 1  
 L 122 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 37)
- Variant(?): 1  
 L 27
- Type 26: 11  
 A: 11  
 L 93, 95, 99, 126 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 62)
- Type 27: 10  
 A: 8  
 L 94  
 A(?): 1  
 L 92 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 85)
- A': 1
- Inventoried unclassified fragments: 5  
 L 28, 44, 129, 130, 167 (Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 59)
- TOTAL: 467

### LATER OBJECTS

(all are fragmentary unless otherwise noted)

#### Hellenistic

##### 20 extant objects

- Four rolled-rim plates (PN III 57–60): 3rd century.  
 One bowl with outturned rim (PN III 63): late 3rd century.  
 One white-ground high-stemmed vessel (PN III 66): 3rd century?  
 Two Hellenistic rilled-rim plates (PN III 64): 3rd or 2nd century.  
 Six moldmade bowls (PN III 51–56) and one mold (P 309, Edwards 1956, no. 93, p. 103, fig. 2 on p. 86, pls. 47, 50, labeled “below Great Wall” but according to the notebooks found in the fill *behind* the wall): late 3rd to first half of 2nd century.  
 One Ionian gray-ware platter (PN III 61): 1st century B.C.–1st century after Christ.  
 One moldmade lamp (PN III 62): second half of 3rd century or later.  
 One lamp close to Type 27 B (L 98 [complete]): 225–180 B.C.  
 Two Knidian amphora handles (AH 43, AH 38, Grace 1956, nos. 176 and 183, pp. 162–163, not identified there as coming from the fill but found in contexts identified as Pnyx III fill in the notebooks): 107–97 and 97–88 B.C.

In addition to extant objects, at least 12 more objects are sketched in the notebook.

One brazier: 2nd century?

Seven fusiform unguentaria: 2nd century.

One late Hellenistic lamp.

At least 3 moldmade bowl fragments.

## Roman

### 66 extant objects

Rim (PN III 14), base, and wall fragments (Fig. 2 [PN III 12, 14]) of Italian sigillata: 1st century after Christ.

Seven pieces of Eastern Sigillata B (Fig. 3 [PN III 16–22]): 1st and 2nd century.

Fig. 3:1 (PN III 16): rim. Cf. *Agora* V, G 18, p. 24, pl. 61: first half of 1st century.

Fig. 3:2 (PN III 17): rim. Cf. *Agora* V, G 19, pp. 24–25, pls. 4, 61: first half of 1st century.

Fig. 3:6 (PN III 18): rim. Cf. *Agora* V, G 30, p. 25, pl. 62: first half of 1st century.

Fig. 3:3, 4 (PN III 19, 20): rims. *EAA: Atlante* II, Form 60, one very close to *ibid.*, pl. XIV:7.

Fig. 3:5 (PN III 21): base. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. XVI:7, possibly also Form 60.

Fig. 3:7 (PN III 22): rim of bowl, with lug handle.

15 pieces of local red ware ranging from 1st to mid 3rd century in date

Bases (Fig. 5:8–10 [PN III 23–25], plus PN III 26, 27), one (Fig. 5:10, PN III 25) similar to *Agora* V, G 185, p. 42, pls. 7, 67: late 1st to early 2nd century.

Rims (Fig. 5:1, 2, 4–7, 11 [PN III 28–30, 32–34, 42]).

Fig. 5:5 (PN III 28). Cf. *Agora* V, G 77, p. 29, pls. 4, 67: first half of 1st century.

Fig. 5:1 (PN III 29). Cf. *Agora* V, H 4, p. 47, pls. 8, 68: first half of 2nd century.

Fig. 5:4 (PN III 32). Cf. *Agora* V, H 8, p. 47, pl. 8: first half of 2nd century.

Bowl (Fig. 5:3 [PN III 31]). Cf. *ibid.*, K 5, p. 60, pl. 68: first half of 3rd century.

Jug (Fig. 5:12 [PN III 36]).

Unidentified shape (Fig. 5:13 [PN III 35]).

Base of jug or mug of Aegean type (Fig. 4 [PN III 15]). For a complete example of the shape see *Agora* V, G 103, p. 32, pl. 7; J 43, p. 55, pl. 9; M 80, p. 92, pl. 21; for the type see Hayes 1983, p. 107, with further references.

Large, globular, closed vessel with a white-painted motto (Pl. 77:a [PN III 45]), larger but otherwise similar to motto-mugs such as *Agora* V, K 58, p. 64, pl. 13 and M 145–148, pp. 97–98, pls. 24, 57: mid 3rd century.

Moldmade relief jug of the “oinophoros” variety (Pl. 77:b [PN III 37]). Cf. Hausmann 1954–1955, pls. 43, 44: first half of 3rd century.

Moldmade vessel in form of head of a bovine (Pl. 77:c [PN III 43]).

Two fragments of micaceous water jars (PN III 38, 39), one with characteristic toe of mid 2nd to early 3rd century (Pl. 77:e, g). Cf. *Agora* V, J 46, pp. 55–56, pls. 11, 41.

Eight fragments of coarse ware (PN III 40, 41, 44, 46–50): three ledge rims and base of flat-bottomed basin (same general type as *Agora* V, G 187 and K 78–K 81, pp. 42, 66, pls. 7, 13, 14); ring base and vertical handle of closed vessel (Pl. 77:d); stamped fragment from closed vessel (Pl. 77:f); lid.

Early Roman lamp (L 183 [complete], Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 105, p. 60, fig. 25). Similar to *Agora* IV, Type 55 B, pp. 202–203, pl. 53: late 1st century B.C. to first quarter of 1st century after Christ.

Leaf-shaped shield from Broneer Type XXI lamp (L 208). Cf. *Agora* VII, no. 19, p. 74, pl. 1: first half of 1st century after Christ.

Three complete alpha globule lamps (L 230, Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, p. 184, no. 1, fig. 54; L 182, Davidson and Thompson 1943, no. 109, p. 61, fig. 26; and L 181). Cf. *Agora* VII, nos. 426, 427, p. 107, pl. 14: second half of 1st and early 2nd century after Christ.

Fragments of five unglazed Corinthian lamps of the 2nd and 3rd centuries:

L 232 (Pl. 78:a, Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, p. 184, no. 2, fig. 54), Type XXVII A, early. Cf. *Corinth* XVIII, ii, no. 18, p. 28, pl. 1: first half of 2nd century.

L 233 (Pl. 78:b, Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, p. 184, no. 3, fig. 54), Type XXVII A. Cf. *Isthmia* III, no. 2782, p. 67, pl. 30; *Corinth* XVIII, ii, no. 20, p. 28, pl. 2: early 3rd century.

L 235 (Pl. 78:c, Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, p. 184, no. 4, fig. 54), Type XXVII B. Cf. *Agora* VII, no. 271, p. 94, pl. 8; *Isthmia* III, nos. 2796, 2797, p. 67, pl. 30: late 2nd to early 3rd century.

L 234 (Pl. 78:d, Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, p. 184, no. 5, fig. 54), Type XXVII C. Cf. *Agora* VII, nos. 236, 284, pp. 92, 95, pls. 8, 9: 2nd to early 3rd century.

L 223 (Pl. 78:e, Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, p. 184, no. 6, fig. 54), Type XXVII.

Lamp with phallos nozzle (L 202).

14 fragments of blown glass

Two Athenian coins of the Augustan period, Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, pp. 211–212, nos. 2, 3, and Davidson and Thompson 1943, p. 17, no. 19. Cf. Svoronos 1923–1926, pl. 80:36–43 and 18–21; *Agora* XXVI, varieties 152 and 153, p. 108, mid-20's to 19 B.C. See *Agora* XXVI, p. 300.

In addition to the extant objects, 47 fragments are sketched in the notebook.

Bases of two round-mouth jugs?

Four Roman jugs

One keel-rim bowl

Nine alpha globule lamps

Nineteen Corinthian lamps

Twelve Roman lamps of uncertain type

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GR-106 76 Athens  
Greece





a.



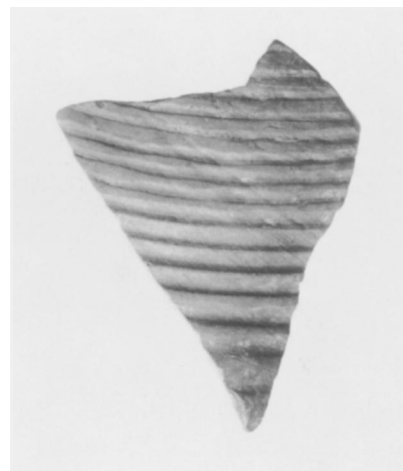
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c.



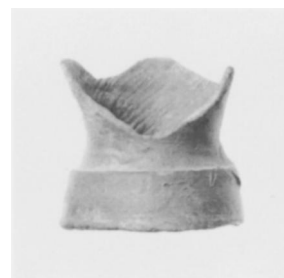
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e.



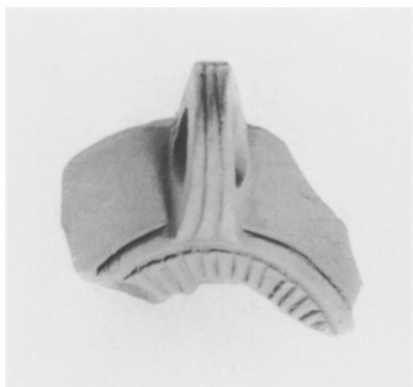
f.



g.

Roman pottery from fill of Pnyx III (PN III 45, 37, 43, 47, 38, 49, 39)

SUSAN I. ROTROFF AND JOHN McK. CAMP II: THE DATE OF THE THIRD PERIOD OF THE PNYX



a.



b.



c.

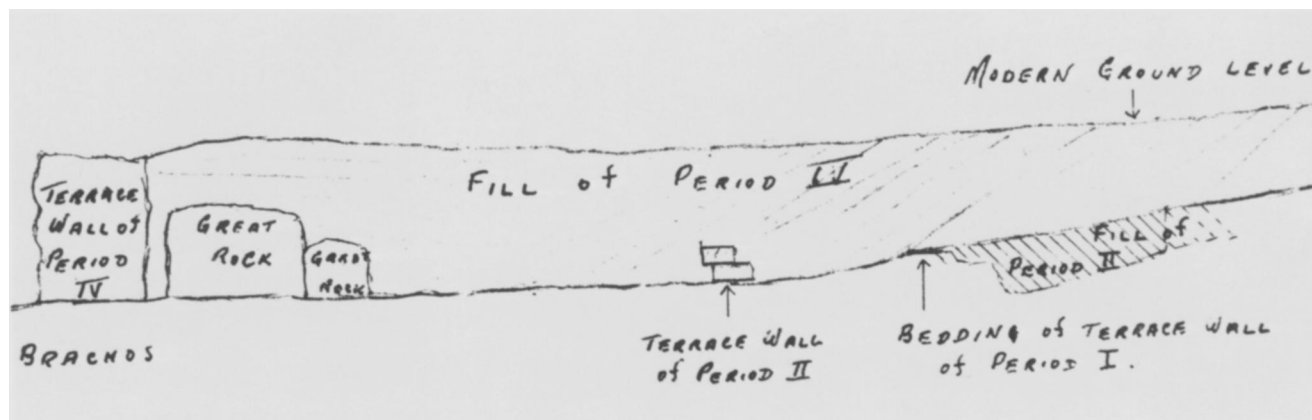


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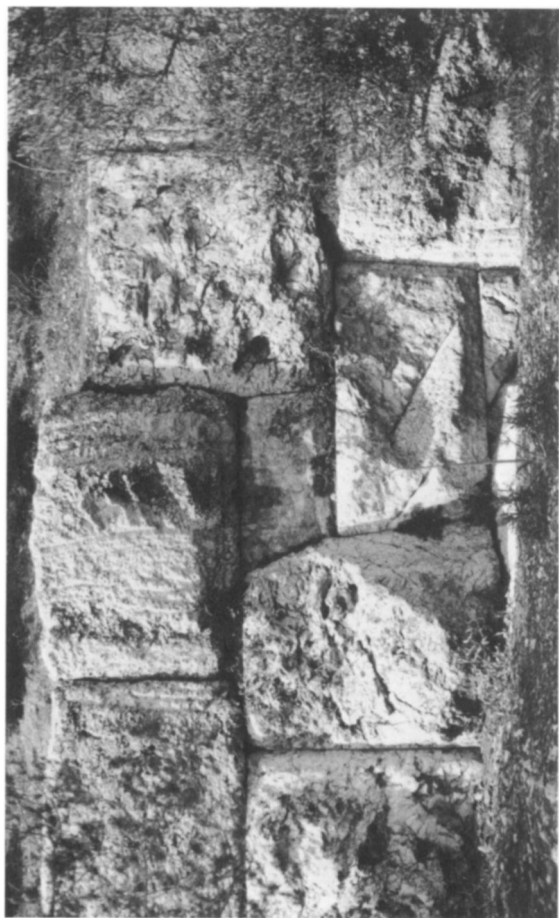


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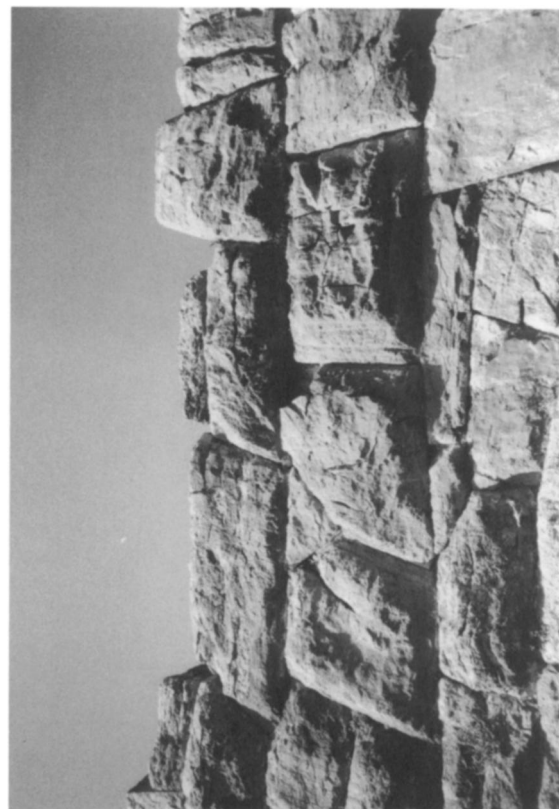
Roman lamps from fill of Pnyx III (L 232, 235, 233, 234, 223)



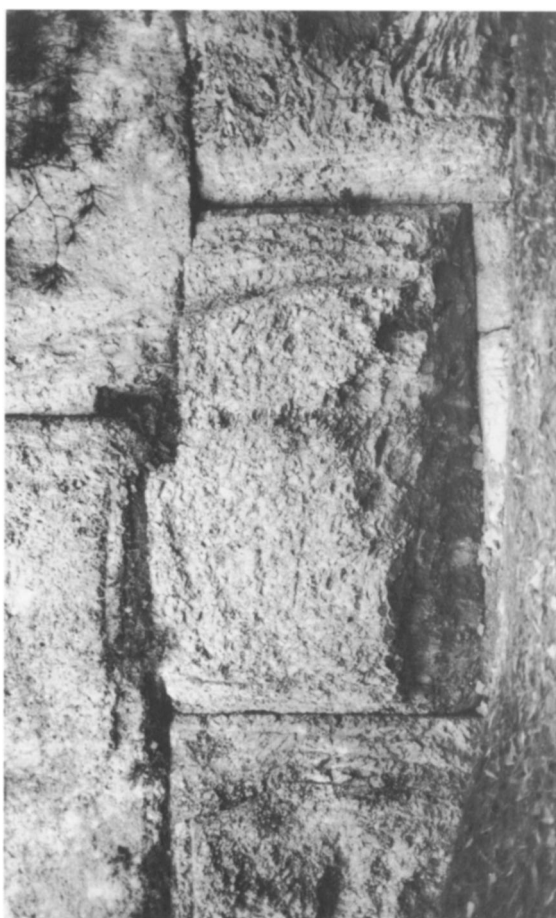
f. Section through Trench D, from field notebook



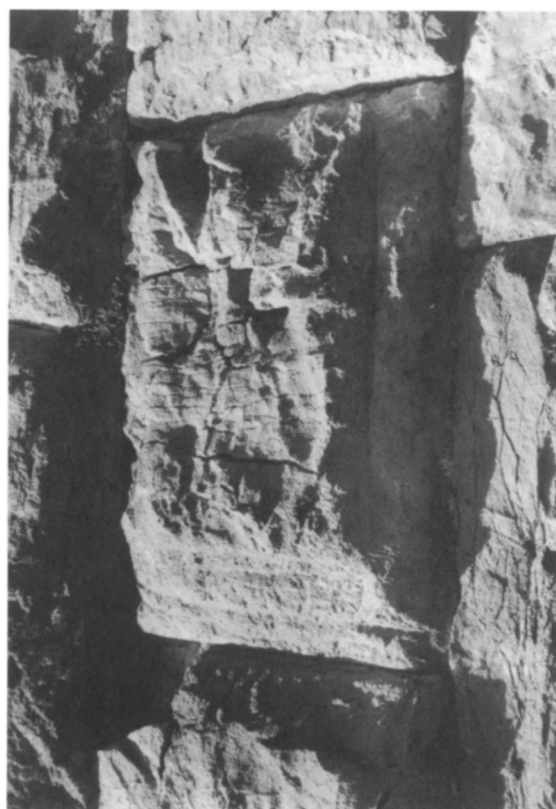
a. Pnyx retaining wall



b. Panopeus, south wall



c. Pnyx retaining wall, detail of block and tooling



d. Panopeus, south wall, detail of block and tooling



a. Pnyx, general view of quarry, looking north from east scarp



b. Pnyx, detail of quarry channel



c. Panopeus, quarry marks on acropolis: channel (left) and wedge marks (foreground)