

THE PNYX IN ATHENS

A STUDY BASED ON EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY THE GREEK ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICE

DIRECTED AND DESCRIBED BY

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INTRODUCTION: HISTORY OF THE EXCAVATION¹

The problems of the Pnyx have been attacked with the spade on at least five previous occasions. The site had been identified with assurance as that of the ancient assembly place by Chandler in 1765.² We are told that George, Earl of Aberdeen, K.G., in 1803 cleared away earth from around the bema and from in front of the great scarp and in doing so came upon twelve marble tablets bearing dedications to Zeus Hypsistos, which had evidently fallen from the niches in the face of the scarp to the east of the bema.³ In 1862 Ernst Curtius investigated the site in the belief that the so-called Pnyx was a sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos.⁴ In his report he stated that he exposed the great

¹ The plans and architectural drawings have been prepared by Mr. J. Travlos, a recent graduate of the Polytechnion in Athens, to whom we are greatly indebted for painstaking service on our behalf in the midst of many other preoccupations. The photographs are the work of A. Petritsis of the staff of the National Museum and of Hermann Wagner, Photographer of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens. The text has been written by Mr. Thompson but every point has been discussed together and the authors assume joint responsibility for the views expressed. Among published works we must acknowledge our especial indebtedness to the earlier study of the Pnyx by John M. Crow and Joseph Thacher Clarke whose names will constantly appear in the following pages; and to Professor Walter Judeich's *Topographie von Athen*. We regret that the second edition of that excellent work (1931) might not have included the results of this study. We are grateful too for the suggestions and criticisms of the many scholars who visited us while the excavation was in progress. The authors desire to express their appreciation of the generosity of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in assuming the burden of publication and of Professor Rhys Carpenter, the General Editor of this Annual, in guiding the article through the press and in reading the proofs. Mr. Thompson acknowledges his particular obligation to the Committee for the Excavation of the Ancient Agora for the freedom which they have allowed him while holding a Fellowship under them and likewise to Miss Lucy Talcott who relieved him of his proper duties for some time while this study was under way. Miss Ann Hoskins rendered invaluable assistance in preparing the manuscript.

It is hoped that the pottery and other small objects found in the excavation may be published shortly in a separate article.

² *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, London, 1817, II, pp. 76-78.

³ Cf. Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, London, 1819, I, pp. 401 ff.

⁴ The report of the excavation is given in *Attische Studien*, I, Göttingen, 1862, pp. 23-28; plan and section in pl. I. Cf. also the sketches in *Sieben Karten zur Topographie von Athen*, Gotha, 1868, 5, 1 and 2 and the Beilage to p. 10 of the accompanying volume of text; and in Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, Berlin, 1878, Blatt V.

retaining wall throughout its length. The scarp on either side of the "bema" was cleared to the bottom, as were also the side scarps which run out from the eastern and western extremities of the main scarp. He laid bare the rough island of rock in the southeast corner of the assembly place and saw in it, not a mass of stone left by the quarry men, but a raised platform, originally completed in masonry, from which the high officers of the state might observe the sacrifices being made about the altar, i.e. the so-called "bema." The clearing of the bed-rock around the huge blocks which stand on the upper terrace above the western part of the scarp failed to reveal any continuation of what appeared to be a surviving fragment of a cyclopean wall. Next, Curtius opened a trench over four feet wide from the "bema" northward on the axis of the structure represented by the then visible remains. At a distance of 36 m. from the edge of the "bema" he came upon some medieval walls which were removed, revealing three steps partly cut in the rock, partly built of stone slabs. He believed that he had found both ends of this working; and on the plan which accompanies his report it appears to have a length of between two and three metres. According to Curtius this was not a stairway, but the approach to an altar hewn from the rock above the southern edge of the steps, which had been cut away in later times to make room for the structure represented by the above-mentioned late walls. On account of the great rocks lying in the filling, Curtius found it impracticable to continue his investigation of the terrain below, i.e. north of, the newly discovered steps. In digging the trench he found fragments of two marble plaques which doubtless came from the sanctuary of Zeus above. Next he cleared out the peculiar opening in the northern face of the great retaining wall in the expectation that it might prove to be the mouth of a drainage canal; but no trace of such was found. In clearing along the foot of the same wall he came upon a flight of rock-hewn steps which disappeared beneath it. Finally, he investigated the possible approaches to the area, was unsuccessful in finding any leading up to the interval between the northern ends of the side scarps and the southern extremities of the great terrace wall, where he supposed that entrances to the semicircular enclosure might have existed, but did trace a broad, rock-hewn way leading along the crest of the ridge from the northwest toward the upper terrace.

These discoveries were undeniably valuable. But subsequent investigation has shown that many of the conclusions which Curtius drew from his excavation were singularly infelicitous, notably in regard to the mass of rock in the southeast corner of the semicircular area, the inner rock-cut steps and the remains of the great wall on the upper terrace. This was due in part to his preconceived notions regarding the identity of the whole establishment, in part also to a too superficial examination of the newly exposed areas. Moreover, serious errors in the plan and section which accompany his report militated against their usefulness in further investigation.¹ Curtius himself admitted that additional excavation was required, but nevertheless regarded his discoveries as conclusive

¹ Cf. *A. J. A.* (First Series) 6, 1890, pp. 130 ff.; see below, p. 98.

proof for the correctness of the identification of the site as that of a religious rather than a political gathering place.

The continued unsatisfactory state of the problem in 1882–83 led an American scholar, John M. Crow, to a systematic reconsideration of the ancient literary evidence bearing on the question; and this he supplemented by a personal investigation of the site.¹ He reopened Curtius' trench on the axis, exposing once more the three rock-hewn steps but only as much of them as Curtius had discovered. Small pits were sunk at various points in the semicircular area to permit of measuring the levels of the rock surface. Along with his article he published a plan and cross-section of the Pnyx prepared by J. T. Clarke, who also added numerous notes. These drawings are much the most satisfactory available up to the present time. In conclusion Crow stated, "while we cannot say with absolute certainty that the so-called Pnyx is the real Pnyx, the evidence taken collectively is strongly in favor of this conclusion."

In 1910, on the suggestion of Professor Drerup of Munich, the Greek Archaeological Service undertook the further investigation of the site to determine if possible the date of the great outer retaining wall. During the season of 1910 the excavation was directed by Mr. Tsountas in collaboration first with Mr. Rhomaios, later with Dr. K. Kourouniotes. It was continued the following year under the direction of Dr. Kourouniotes and Mr. D. Antoniadēs.² In the course of digging through the filling behind the great terrace wall in search of dateable objects, an inner terrace wall was discovered following a semicircular course roughly parallel to that of the great wall. It was immediately apparent that there were at least two periods in the history of the place. The excavators concluded that in the first period the floor had sloped gently down from the great "bema" to the top of the inner terrace wall, whereas by the building of the great outer wall the slope was reversed so that the floor rose from the bema on all sides like that of a theatre. From the objects found in the filling behind the outer terrace wall it was inferred that this structure could not be earlier than the second century B.C. Not enough material was gathered from the filling behind the inner wall to fix the date of the earlier period. Further clearing was done along the western part of the southern scarp, and the existence of an actual wall on the upper terrace above the scarp was proven by the discovery of beddings worked in the rock. Because of the late date of the outer wall and the small area of the earlier enclosure the excavators expressed grave doubts as to the correctness of the identification of the site as that of the ancient assembly place.

In 1916 a further attempt was made by Dr. Kourouniotes, excavating for the Greek Archaeological Service, to fix the chronology of the great terrace wall and the identification of the site.³ The rock of the hillside was cleared to the north of the terrace

¹ *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Boston, IV, 1885–1886, pp. 205–260.

² See *Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας*, 1910, pp. 57–58, 127–136; 1911, pp. 51–53, 106–109. Cf. the notices by Karo, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 26, 1911, p. 120; 27, 1912, pp. 237 ff.

³ Cf. *Πρακτικά*, 1916, pp. 46–47.



Fig. 1. The Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs seen from the Areopagus in 1903; in the left middleground the early Agora

Figure 1 is reproduced from their collection by the kind permission of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens

wall, revealing once more the rock-cut steps discovered by Curtius. The objects found in the earth below, which was regarded as an artificial filling probably contemporary with that supported by the great wall, were found to date not later than the fourth century B.C. and it was conjectured that the wall was built in that century.

The present excavators have taken for granted that the site in question is correctly identified as that of the Pnyx, the meeting place of the Athenian political assembly. This identification seemed certain from the balance in its favor resulting from the careful weighing of the ancient literary evidence by Clarke and Crow, whose results have been favorably reviewed by Judeich in both editions of his *Topographie von Athen* (1905 and 1931). The evidence from this source was strongly confirmed by the discovery on the hilltop of a boundary stone inscribed "Ὄρος Πυκνός" (cf. below, p. 108). The unprejudiced mind would be further convinced by the impossibility of finding another site of which the location would conform at all to the topographical notices of ancient writers and which might at the same time have served the purposes of a large political assembly meeting regularly and frequently. If the conclusions set forth below are accepted, there should no longer be any difficulty standing in the way of this identification.

But apart from the identification of the site, the time seemed ripe for clearing up some of the problems which still hung about one of the major monuments of ancient Athens. Consequently, the object of the present excavation was to determine if possible the number of periods in the history of the Pnyx, to ascertain the form of the assembly place in each and to fix their respective dates.¹

The excavation was conducted under the auspices of the Greek Archaeological Service and under the joint direction of the undersigned. The field work proceeded continuously from December 8, 1930, until June 13, 1931, with a force of workmen averaging twelve and never exceeding twenty in number.

Although the necessary evidence might have been secured more simply and quickly by the removal of all the earth from behind the great retaining wall, this plan was rejected in favor of the system of cutting trenches through the area. The earth and stones comprising the fillings of the various periods are as much an integral part of the structure of the respective auditoria as the stone walls themselves and consequently should be left where found. Nor could the remains of any one period be favored to the detriment of those of another.

Three trenches, A, C and D, each two metres wide, were cut on as many radii of the semicircle on an arc of which the great terrace wall lies (Plate II). In Trench A the filling associated with that wall, i.e. the filling of the Third (last) Period, was entirely removed from above that belonging to the inner, curved retaining wall, i.e. to the

¹ For the early literature on the subject readers are referred to the article by Clarke and Crow cited above and for the status of opinion prior to the present excavation to Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², 1931, pp. 390-396. Since the recent discoveries have antiquated most of the previous views, only scanty reference will be made to them below.

Second Period; and the latter was left undisturbed save for certain pits dug in search of sherds and in the clearing of the terrace wall of the First Period (Plate III b; Figs. 17, 30). The bedding of the inner, curved retaining wall of the Second Period was exposed; and in order to facilitate the examination of it, the trench was opened to a width of 11 metres at this point. Between the line of the bedding and the great outer terrace wall the filling consisted largely of enormous blocks of stone thrown in at random, so that it seemed impracticable to dig deeper than 2·5 metres below the top of the outer wall. In Trench C, which lay outside the area occupied by the First and Second periods, the filling of the last period was entirely removed, exposing the bed-rock throughout the length of the trench up to the outer terrace wall (Fig. 31). Trench D cut across the line of the retaining walls of both early periods (Fig. 9). Here again the filling of the Second Period was unmolested save for two pits dug in search of dateable objects. The filling of the final period was entirely removed, revealing the bed-rock between the lines of the two curved retaining walls.

The axis of the final period, already exposed by both Curtius and Crow, was once more opened up by a trench (B), 1·5 m. wide, lying for the most part to the east of the old cutting, so that the undisturbed stratification might be studied in its eastern wall. In due course the rock-cut steps reported by the earlier investigators were discovered; but it was observed that the cuttings continued both to east and west beyond the walls of the trench, so that the two or three metres recorded by the earlier plans have now developed into a system of cuttings extending some 60 metres across the shoulder of the hill and providing certain evidence of an early and hitherto unsuspected (first) period in the history of the assembly place. Toward the east these cuttings were cleared to their end. Westward of Trench B they were exposed for a distance of 5 m. They came to light in the bottoms of Trenches A and D; and beyond the latter they were opened up to their western limit. Trench B was continued beyond these cuttings toward the north; but its direction was slightly altered so as to be perpendicular to the line of the cuttings. In this continuation of Trench B the fillings of both the Second and Third Periods were removed for a distance of 5 m.; but thereafter that of the Second Period was left undisturbed. The bedding of the retaining wall of the Second Period and two blocks lying *in situ* were exposed. The trench was continued only 1·20 m. beyond this point. The continuation of Trench B also cut across the peculiar mass of blocks indicated on the plan (Plate II, cf. below, pp. 178 f.) and apparently unknown hitherto. It was completely cleared.

The bedding for the inner, curved retaining wall was cleared to its eastern end beyond the point to which it had been explored in the excavation of 1911-12. Beyond Trench D to the west it was followed to its other end. Some further clearing was done around the section of this wall exposed in 1911-12 and left open since then.

In the southern part of the area a number of shallow trenches were opened in order to examine the rock surface and to fix its contours. These in all cases were cut to bed-rock.

On the upper terrace the bedding for the great wall above the western part of the scarp was cleared to its eastern end behind the bema and westward to a point 5.5 m. beyond the western end of the scarp, although here the end of the wall was not found.

The outer face of the great curved terrace wall was cleared to bed-rock throughout its length. Below this wall to the north a little shallow clearing revealed traces of the main entrance of the final period and the remains of two water channels.¹

THE FIRST PERIOD: ITS REMAINS AND RESTORATION

Its topographical position must have assured to the Pnyx a prominent place in the early city. The three hills, of the Nymphs, of the Pnyx and of the Muses, known collectively as the range of the Pnyx, formed the western boundary of the settlement; and the central hill, marked by the artificial assembly place of later times, sloped gently up from the early Agora and the very heart of the ancient town (Figs. 1 and 2). We may suppose that in the earliest days, when the citizens had begun the practice of gathering together for the formal discussion of civic and political questions, they would gladly seek a quieter and roomier meeting spot than that afforded by the crowded noisy market place. There was no more inviting slope than that of the central Pnyx Hill. The earliest assemblies were doubtless satisfied with the scantiest accommodation: the earth covered hill slope, a speaker's platform at its foot built of timber or rough stones, a few wooden benches for the dignitaries.

But as the city grew and its political assemblies increased in the frequency of their meetings and in dignity, they would feel the need of some more substantial and convenient arrangement. Of this earliest period for which any literary or archaeological evidence survives, we are fortunate in being able to trace the principal features on the hill side. Fig. 2 affords a clear idea of the configuration of the northern face of the hill. If one can think away the great semicircular retaining wall and the mass of earth behind it there is left a gently sloping, slightly hollow area on the side of the hill. Reason would demand that the earliest gatherings should have availed themselves of the natural slope and assembled with the audience above, facing north, the speaker below, facing south.²

¹ While clearing the remains of a terrace wall on the shoulder of the ridge a few metres to the southeast of the southeastern corner of the great scarp we came upon numerous miniature cups and terracotta figurines which suggest the existence of a sanctuary in the neighborhood. No certain clue as to the identity of the deity has yet come to light and further investigation is required.

² The hill slope occupied by the assembly place of all periods actually faces almost due northeast. The reader is warned that in the following pages this direction is sometimes loosely described as "north." Nor are the plans oriented with the north to the top, but present the site as one naturally sees it in approaching from the city. It is hoped that the indication of the geographical north on the plans will obviate any confusion.



Fig. 2. Left: Acropolis and Areopagus; middle: early Agora; right: Hill of the Muses and the Pnyx.
Taken from the Observatory, August, 1931

The remains prove conclusively that such was the arrangement in the First Period. The early investigators observed but did not satisfactorily explain the fact that, in the southern part of the semicircular area which is bounded on the north by the great retaining wall, the rock surface is artificially dressed. The numerous trenches opened in this area in the course of the present excavation have enabled us to fix closely the extent of the dressing. Two sets of working must be distinguished. Of these one is level and lies immediately in front of the great southern scarp. This is late and dates from the time when the shoulder of the hill was quarried away to produce that scarp. The earlier dressing lies to the north of the later; in the middle they meet, at the sides they are separated by areas of rough and undressed rock surface. In the plan of the excavation, Plate II, the early dressing is indicated by dotting in the bottom of the trenches. It will be seen that the southern limit of this worked surface forms the arc of a very large circle opening toward the north, the mid-point of the arc falling approximately in front of the great surviving bema. From this back-line the dressed surface slopes gently down toward the north and from the sides in toward the middle. A north-south section through its central part is given in Plate III b. The surface is by no means perfectly smooth. The quarry marks are very evident: heavy striations left by the chisel and lines of wedge holes indicate where considerable masses of stone had been removed, while elsewhere slight depressions filled with virgin soil represent the bottoms of natural cavities in the original hill side. The surface shows the effects of much wear and weathering despite the fact that it has been covered with earth for at least the last 2000 years, a circumstance which proves that it must have been exposed for a considerable time in its earlier history. Toward the north the dressed area terminates in an irregular line, attaining a maximum north-south breadth of about 30 m. near its middle.

We are compelled to assign the dressing to the earliest period because, as we shall see, this area was buried under earth in the subsequent periods; so that, if we were to associate it with either of them, the considerable effort involved in the cutting would be unjustified. The smoothed area has the form of the upper or back part of a broad but shallow cavea. That it was intended as such is proven by the remains farther down the hill slope.

These consist of an irregular line of dressed rock surface extending across the face of the hill, approximately parallel to the general line of the southern scarp and somewhat below the mid-point between the great surviving bema and the colossal outer retaining wall (Plate II).¹ The cuttings are most characteristic where revealed by Trenches A and B (Fig. 3). Here they present the appearance of a rude stairway cut in the sloping rock, three or four steps high. Elsewhere there are one or two steps or

¹ Curtius reported the discovery of these cuttings at a distance of 36 m. from the northern edge of the great surviving bema and so they appear on his plan. Cf. *Attische Studien* I, p. 27 and pl. I. On the plan prepared by Clarke and Crow they appear correctly at a distance of 42 m. from the same point.



Fig. 3. Line of retaining wall of Period I, from the northwest. A: post-classical wall

Wherever numbers appear on the figures the Roman numerals I, II and III indicate the retaining walls, or their beddings, of the First, Second and Third Periods respectively; the Arabic numerals 1, 2 and 3 refer to the earth fillings of the corresponding periods

only a level dressed surface, the amount of working varying with the irregularities of the hill side. In the central part the workings in general have a uniform direction; but toward the east the line is broken by a couple of slight jogs, and finally the last 11 m. at this end are bent sharply southward at an angle of about 120° to the general line. At the western extremity the final 11 m. are turned southward at about the same angle. Slightly west of the northeast bend in the wall there is a 3 m. section somewhat wider than usual and projecting south beyond the general line of the wall. The purpose of this irregularity is not apparent. On the surface of the rock nearby there

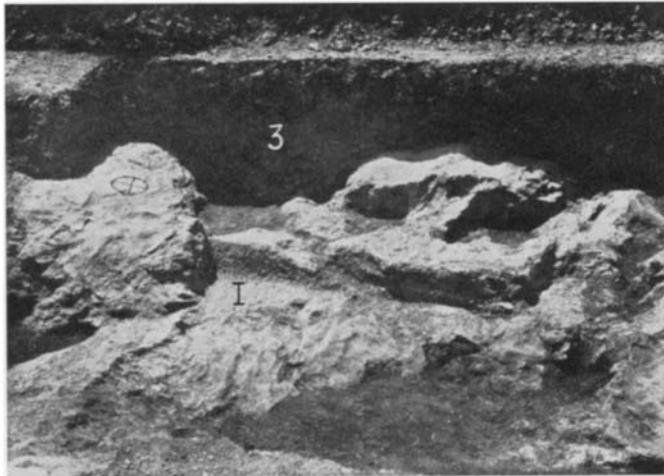


Fig. 4. Bedding for retaining wall of Period I, near its east end

is lightly scratched a figure resembling an archaic theta, 0.25 m. in diameter, which may possibly have been cut by the architect to serve as a point in laying out the work (Fig. 4). Time was lacking, unfortunately, to expose that part of the workings lying between Trenches A and D; but there is no reason to doubt that they continue under the earth here and in the same direction as the main portion farther toward the east. The total length of the continuous central section is approximately 56 metres. The great antiquity of these remains is attested by the fact that the earth fillings of the two later periods lay undisturbed above them (Plates III b, IV a).

Curtius, having cleared only some two or three metres of their length, supposed that the steps had formed the approach to an altar which was demolished in later times. But there is no trace of such a structure in the vicinity and in any case the great extent of the workings precludes such an hypothesis. Crow and Clarke presumed that the steps antedated the use of the site as an assembly place and had been cut simply to facilitate the ascent of the hill side at this point. But this theory too is impossible in view of the length of the cuttings and because of the irregularities in the rock surface immediately above and below the steps. The dressed surfaces, moreover, are too fresh

and rough ever to have been exposed to the weather for any length of time, let alone to have been continuously trodden upon.¹ The steps have an average width of about



Fig. 5. Western end of retaining wall of Period I, from the northeast

0.35 m. and height of about 0.20 m. Both these dimensions are too small to permit one to suppose that the steps had ever served as seats.

The only adequate explanation seems to be that the cuttings served as the bedding for a stone retaining wall. Of the masonry proper very little remains. A few blocks

¹ Crow (*Papers of the American School* IV, pp. 226, 229) considered that these steps were much worn and rounded. Careful examination, however, proves that this is not the case.

were found in position on either side of Trench B (Fig. 3), here bedded on hard packed earth; a tiny fragment still lies in its rock-cut bedding near the eastern end of the central part; a number more are to be seen in the part at the western end which bends toward the south (Fig. 5). These blocks are of the coarse local limestone and show an average thickness of about 0.22 m. and width of about 0.50 m. Their length is quite irregular, varying from 0.20 m. to 0.80 m. Front, top and bottom are rough picked; the back, i.e. southern, edge is unworked; the ends are very roughly jointed. At no point is more than a single course preserved, so that the exact character of the wall must remain uncertain. The stepped bedding and comparison with the retaining wall of the Second Period lying farther to the south (Fig. 8) suggest that it inclined inward, presenting a stair-like outer face at least in its lower parts. This is confirmed by the presence of a rough setting line for the outer face of the second course running 0.10 m. to 0.15 m. inside the edge of the first (surviving) course. Such a style of construction might be paralleled, for instance, in the retaining wall of the Treasury Terrace at Olympia¹ and in the wall supporting the inner terrace of the pre-Periclean Telesterion at Eleusis.²

The rock surface between the upper dressed area and the line of the retaining wall remains in its natural state, rough and irregular. The purpose of the wall was clearly to support a low terrace which would cover up these irregularities and make the area available as the lower, front part of the auditorium. Toward the close of the First Period the retaining wall gave way, permitting the terrace to wash down hill. Consequently, only a very little of the filling remains, lying in the hollows immediately south of the line of the wall in Trenches A and B (Plates III b, IV a). It consists of dark earth freely intermingled with broken rock of the size of a man's fist. Potsherds are rare. Its surface is hard tramped, indicating that the place continued in use even after the retaining wall had broken down and most of the earth disappeared. This filling lies on top of the little virgin soil which remains in the depths of the hollows and is readily distinguishable from the red earth of the later filling which covers it.

As may be gathered from the sectional drawing, Plate IV b, a retaining wall about 2 m. high at about the mid-point of the front of the auditorium would provide a level terrace around 7 m. wide, from the south side of which would rise an earth-covered slope to join the dressed rock slope above. The configuration of the rock in the northeast corner of the auditorium makes it clear that the retaining wall sloped up toward its extremities so that the seating floor might be carried around with a uniform gradient into the wings. But since the rock of the hillside along the line of the wall also rises toward the sides, the wall need not have been much higher at the points where it bends southward than in the middle. At its eastern end the wall abutted against a steep shoulder of the natural rock, the top of which shows the distinctive

¹ Cf. *Olympia* II, p. 44; pl. XXXI, 2.

² Cf. F. Noack, *Eleusis*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927, pp. 23 ff., 48; pl. 14 and 21 (e).

dressing of the first auditorium. The top of the wall at its end here would have lain about 1.5 m. below the bottom of the great surviving bema (Plate II). Toward the west the hillside does not carry around in such a favorable slope; so that it was undoubtedly necessary to build up a higher wall, necessitating also a greater mass of artificial filling.

Notwithstanding the absence of positive evidence, the position of the entrance may be fixed with a high degree of probability. At no point along the retaining wall so far as it was cleared did we find traces of a stairway which might have led up over it from the north. Indeed, the bed rock along its northern foot is all very rough and irregular. Nor are there any surviving remains of an approach from the western side. The remoteness of that side from the centre of the town and from the natural paths leading up the Pnyx Hill from the city make it improbable that the chief entrance at any rate should have been there. The same consideration tells even more strongly against a location in the back, i.e. south side, of the auditorium. We are left with the eastern side, where the natural conformation of the hill strongly favors this point as the site of the principal entrance. There are distinct traces of an ancient roadway leading up the northeastern shoulder of the Pnyx Hill. It is significant to observe that before the erection of fences in recent years the popular modern pathway led up over the same shoulder and across the very line where we have placed the eastern side of the early assembly floor (Fig. 1). Here the neighboring rock surface was on a level with the seating floor and there was nothing to obstruct free entrance.

The speaker's platform would naturally be placed on the front terrace near the mid-point of the retaining wall. It must have rested on the earth filling and, since this has disappeared, it seems hopeless to recover any remains of the platform. Benches for the officials were probably placed on the same terrace behind or to the sides of the bema.

The seating accommodation for the mass of the audience is of interest. The greater part of the assembly floor consisted of the roughly dressed rock surface as described above. There is nothing to suggest that this had ever been cut into the form of stone seats. But there is no more evidence that wooden benches had ever been placed upon it. Had they been, we should expect to find some trace of cuttings in which they might have been bedded; for without such it would have been distinctly difficult to arrange the benches on the sloping, irregular surface. In the absence of regular seating accommodation either of stone or wood, we can only suppose that the citizens seated themselves on the floor, the less hardy possibly bringing with them their own stools or cushions. We know that even in later theatres the stone-cut seats were sometimes so low that the spectators must have supplemented them with cushions,¹ so that a still simpler arrangement is not altogether surprising in a more primitive gathering place. It is possibly to be explained in part as a tradition surviving from the days when the earliest assemblies must have met on the hill slope as yet untouched by the hand of man. We shall see too that the

¹ In the Theatre of Dionysus, for instance. Cf. Dörpfeld-Reisch, *Das griechische Theater*, pp. 43, 46.

literary evidence, scanty as it is, distinctly favors the view that the citizens sat in immediate contact with the hill side.

We can fix fairly closely the original area of the seating floor. It is true that the late quarrying in front of the great scarp cut away the top of the ancient auditorium along most of its back-line and so much rock was removed at that time as to make it difficult to recover the original configuration of the shoulder of the hill. But we have a means of control at a significant point, *viz.*, immediately in front of the great surviving bema (Plate IV). Now the floor of the earliest auditorium extends up to within 2 m. of the front of this bema. But the sectional drawing shows that, had the floor continued upward much beyond this point, it must have abruptly changed its gradient and risen at a steeper angle. We hope to show that the top of the massive cube at the back of the bema represents the natural slope of the hill. On its surface there is no trace of dressing comparable to that found in the floor of the auditorium of the First Period. Consequently, it is highly probable that that floor originally reached not more than a metre or two above its present upper limit in front of the great bema. It is unlikely that it continued much, if any, above the corresponding level toward the sides. The resultant seating floor has an area of approximately 2400 sq. m. In the absence of any standard of comparison for the spatial requirements of an audience seated as the early assemblies must have been, it is impossible to fix definitely the seating capacity of such an area. At any rate, after due allowance is made for an open space around the bema and for corridors, it may well have accommodated 5000. There is no need to suppose a greater capacity, since according to Thucydides (viii, 72) the citizens had never gathered in political assembly to the number of 5000 up to the closing years of the fifth century. When a quorum of 6000 was required, as in the case of ostracism, proceedings took place in the Agora.¹ It is doubtful, however, if such a number actually gathered together at one time. It is more probable that they were simply required to record their vote sometime in the course of the appointed day.

A number of stele beddings cut in the rock surface suggest that the seating area was divided in some manner. One of these was found in the eastern half of the area alongside of a shallow quarry trench from the sides of which the rock was never completely removed and which must have been covered by the earth filling of the First Period (Plate II). The stele faced approximately northeast and southwest. Only its base remains, heavily leaved into the bedding. It is of Hymettian marble and measures 0.14 × 0.34 m. in section. Another bedding is cut a few metres to the north of the northwest corner of the great surviving bema (Plate II). The cutting measures 0.38 × 0.19 × 0.08 m. deep, but nothing of the stele remains. A third bedding is to be seen 15 m. north of the northern edge of the great bema. It measures 0.34 × 0.22 × 0.08 m. deep.² Given

¹ Cf. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, Leipzig, 1890, II, pp. 312 ff.

² Clarke and Crow report that they discovered several similar slots in their axial trench but on their plan only the third bedding noted above is indicated (*Papers of the American School IV*, p. 225). Our Trench B probably missed them through being cut too far toward the east.

only these three fixed points it is impossible to plot any system of division, though such might be revealed by the discovery of other similar stele beddings.

It is uncertain whether we have to do with a formal arrangement according to which the citizens were required to seat themselves. On ordinary occasions it seems probable that they sat where they pleased. This is especially clear from the freedom with which the women in the "Ecclesiazousae" of Aristophanes selected their station close by the bema before they even entered the assembly place (cf. *Eccl.* 86 f.). So far as we know, a formal division of the citizen body, and that by tribes, was required only on the occasion of a vote which affected an individual, notably in ostracism.¹ And in the case of ostracism at any rate, proceedings took place not in the Pnyx but in the Agora.²

¹ Cf. Philochorus, *fr.* 79 (b), *F. H. G.* I, p. 396; Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* II³, p. 995.

² Two inscriptions, long known, have been connected with the assembly place on the Pnyx, *viz.*, I. G. I² 883: [Κε]ραμείοι | [τε]ρατός and 884: Λακιάδων | τερατός. Schäfer (*Ath. Mitt.* V, 1880, p. 87) regarded these as boundary stones "welche auf dem Volksversammlungsplatz der Pnyx jedem attischen Bürger seinen Platz anwiesen." Wilamowitz (*Aristoteles und Athen* II, pp. 166 f.) supposed that a *συλλογὸς τοῦ δήμου* was chosen from each trittys to control the attendance of the members of that trittys. He took his stand by a stone carrying the appropriate name and there the citizens of the trittys reported on their arrival. But W. admits a serious objection to this view as revealed by I. G. II 872 (341/40 B.C.) from which it appears that the three *συλλογεῖς* of the tribe Aegaeis were all drawn from one trittys and that the inland.

There is nothing in the stones themselves to hinder their association with the Pnyx of the First Period. In size they correspond closely enough with the beddings found. The stele which carries 884 is set in a base consisting of a rough block of limestone which might presumably at one time have been bedded in the earth terrace of the assembly place. This stone, according to its discoverer, Pittakes, was found not far from the bema of the Pnyx. The other stele is fragmentary and, according to the same authority, was found west of the Areopagus. The lettering in both cases is of the fifth century.

But there are objections to connecting them with the Assembly. Did they belong to the same system we should expect them to be contemporary, whereas 884 is distinctly earlier. Moreover, had this stone originally stood in the assembly place of the First Period its almost perfect preservation must be regarded as a strange play of chance; for the earth terrace of that period had undoubtedly almost completely disappeared before the end of the fifth century, and that the stone should have survived unscathed through the subsequent vicissitudes of the Pnyx is well nigh incomprehensible. On the historical side too it would appear strange that the artificial division based on the trittys should have figured so prominently in the auditorium whereas in the only instance where we know of the Assembly acting according to a formal division the unit was the tribe.

It is possible that these stelae marked simply the topographical bounds of their respective trittyes. In this connection it is significant that in both cases a city trittys is concerned, that of the *Κεραμειῖς* belonging to the tribe Acamantis; that of the *Λακιάδαι* to the tribe Oeneis. The place of finding of a fragment so small as 883 is not very significant but the point where it is said to have been discovered is probably not far from the boundary of the deme *Κεραμεικός* which gave its name to the trittys. The other stone is much heavier and it is not likely that it was carried far, especially up hill. The deme *Λακιάδαι*, which gave its name to the city trittys of the tribe, lay beyond the Ceramicus on the Sacred Way to Eleusis. But of the other city demes belonging to the same trittys, the exact location in several cases is unknown. One of these may have adjoined the Pnyx Hill since it is not established that the trittys was a compact topographical unit like the deme. On the distribution of the city demes cf. Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 165 ff.; especially p. 174.

If Svoronos is justified in the elaborate seating order which he devised for the political assembly meeting in the Lycurgan Theatre of Dionysus we should expect to find some corresponding system in the Pnyx. But the evidence so far available from the latter place is too meagre on which to base further speculation. Cf. Svoronos, "Tessères en Bronze du Théâtre Dionysiaque de Lycourgos" in *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* XI, iv, 1898; *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1898, 317 f.

In the auditorium of our First Period we have recovered the general features of what is probably one of the earliest known gathering places in the Greek world. It may be of interest to note in what respects it resembles other comparable monuments of early date.

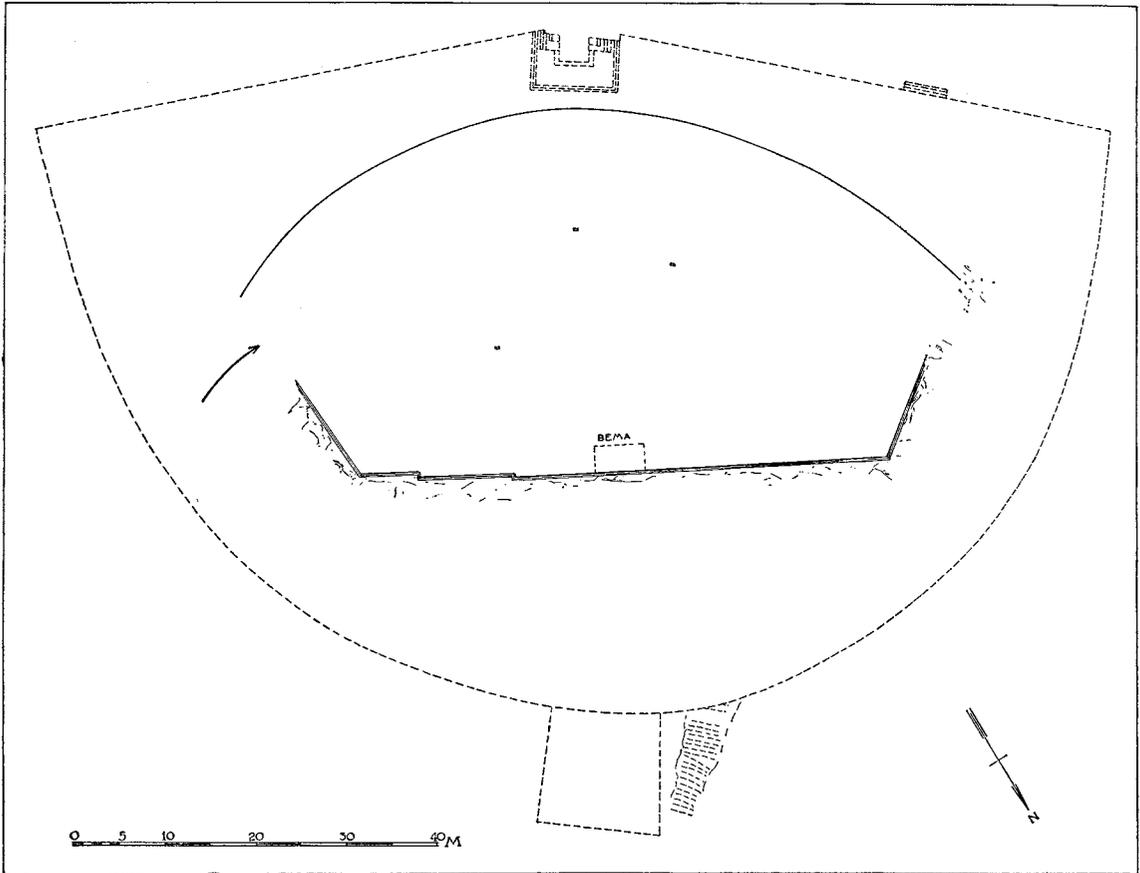


Fig. 6. Sketch illustrating proposed restoration of Period I

In the first place, a hillside was chosen which shows a very gentle concavity, and the whole seating floor is flat and open as compared with the deeper bowl or true *koilon* of the later theatre. This is true also of the Theatre of Thoricus¹ and still more of the ancient assembly place cut in the slopes of the Argive Larissa slightly to the south of the great theatre.² There the auditorium was set, for the most part at any rate, not in

¹ Cf. *Papers of the American School IV*, pp. 1 ff.; H. Bulle, *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern*, Munich, 1928, I, pp. 9-15; II, pl. I.

² Cf. *B. C. H.* 34, 1920, p. 223. The lower part of the early auditorium was partially destroyed and concealed by a small Roman odeum. Professor Vollgraff made a preliminary investigation of the site in 1912 and it is to be hoped that the excavation may soon be completed. For the accounts of travellers see the literature cited by Frazer, *Pausanias*, 1898, III, p. 196.

a hollow but actually on an out-thrust shoulder of the hillside. The early builders, working with limited means, naturally found it simpler to provide the necessary level area at the foot of the auditorium by throwing up a terrace at the foot of a hillside rather than by hollowing out the hillside. The early Pnyx in this respect too finds an excellent parallel in the Theatre of Thoricus. But one is also reminded of the great orchestral terrace of the sixth century Theatre of Dionysus in Athens and again of the primitive theatre at Icaria.¹ The general outline of the Pnyxian auditorium is reminiscent of that of Thoricus, in its irregularity and in the great breadth from side to side compared with its depth from front to back. In the old assembly place at Argos one may see an entrance way resembling that which we have suggested for the early Pnyx. In Argos, an approach led up from the city over the shoulder of the Larissa and entered the auditorium at about the mid-point of its northern side. Access to the seating floor above and below this point was facilitated by stairways branching from the end of the roadway.

THE FIRST PERIOD: ITS CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY

The best hope of securing archaeological evidence for the dating of the original structure lay in an examination of the little which survives of the filling associated with the earliest retaining wall. To this end, as much of it as remained in the bottoms of Trenches A and B was carefully removed and in the eastern wall of each trench a pit was sunk permitting the removal of more of this lowest stratum (Plate II). The results were disappointing. In all only a few handfuls of sherds were recovered and most of these were very coarse and much worn. Some 6 tiny fragments of finer ware carried black glaze. The glaze is firm and lustrous save in one case where it is rather thin and brown. Not a single figured sherd was found, nor a lamp, nor a coin.

Caution is necessary in arguing from the style of masonry employed in so simple a terrace wall as that represented by the surviving remains. Its construction seems identical with that of the wall supporting the inner terrace of the earliest period in the Sanctuary at Eleusis. The remains of that wall lie beneath Periclean foundations and are dated by Noack to around 700 B.C.² On the other hand, an equally close parallel may be found for this earliest wall of the Pnyx in that of the Second Period, a few metres to the north. This, as we shall see, is to be dated to the close of the fifth century.

The comparison of the general scheme of the assembly place with that of the two best parallels, *viz.*, the old meeting place at Argos and the Theatre of Thoricus in its original form, is of little help for the chronology. At present there is no clue to the date of the

¹ Cf. Bulle, *op. cit.* I, pp. 4-6; II, pl. I.

² Cf. F. Noack, *Eleusis*, pp. 23 ff., 48; pl. 14 and 21 (e).

former. The most recent investigator of the latter places its original construction, at the latest, in the second half of the sixth century; but the evidence is meagre.¹

There is no adequate reason for attributing the foundation to Themistocles. The connection is suggested by the passage in the *Life* by Plutarch (19) where the alteration in the direction of the bema is mentioned at the close of the section on Themistocles' efforts to establish Athens as a maritime power (cf. below, p. 134). But an examination of the language makes it clear that there was not necessarily any association in the author's mind between Themistocles and the bema in its original state.



Fig. 7. Boundary stone of the Pnyx

The form of the lettering on the boundary stone of the Pnyx is suggestive. This stone was discovered by Pittakes lying in a small pit roughly cut at the corner of the so-called Altar (cf. below, p. 208) on the upper terrace.² It is one of a familiar type of early Greek boundary markers: a slab of white Pentelic marble (Ht. 0.27 m., W. 0.20 m., Th. 0.07 m.) smoothly dressed on only one face which is inscribed *ἡρόοις Πυκλός* (Fig. 7). According to the finder the stele had been set into and secured by poured lead to a *poros* block of which a fragment was still attached at the time of discovery. This, however, has disappeared in the subsequent vicissitudes of the stele. Pittakes believed that the stele had originally stood in a bedding neatly cut in the rock of the hill top 10 m. south of the point where it was found, i.e. about 20 m. south

of the great bema; and presumably he could verify this by comparing the measurements of the bedding and of the fragment of the *poros* base which he found attached to the stele. It is no longer possible to check this comparison, but the cutting in the rock may still be seen; it appears to be quite appropriate for the purpose (Plate I). Consequently we are justified in accepting Pittakes' statement. The stone marked, not the bounds of the actual auditorium, but the limits of the public property in which the auditorium lay. Now the lettering on the stele may be dated to about the

¹ Cf. Bulle, *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern* I, pp. 9–15, especially p. 10. The few black-figured sherds found in the excavation can afford nothing but a *terminus post quem* for the construction.

² Cf. Pittakes, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1853, pp. 774 f.; W. Vischer, *Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1878, II, pp. 81 f.; *I.G.* I² 882.

middle of the fifth century.¹ It might be tempting to suppose that the boundary stone was erected at the time when the auditorium of our first period was built, in which case it would provide a ready clue to the date of the latter. But two considerations weigh against setting the date so late as the middle of the fifth century. There is no trace of an artificial assembly place on the site earlier than our First Period, yet historical circumstances seem to demand some such formal arrangement at least as early as the first half of the fifth century. In the second place, to date the earliest period around 450 B.C. would give it, as we shall see, a life of barely fifty years, which does not appear adequate. The boundary stone, naturally, may have been set up long after the construction of the auditorium.

Historical considerations would suggest a date in the neighborhood of 500 B.C. It is doubtful if the Assembly, even after the new constitution of Solon, had acquired sufficient importance or prestige to secure a permanent home apart from the Agora. The tyrants were not likely to have provided such for the people. But the reforms of Cleisthenes must have made the populace conscious of its sovereign power and the new political organization would encourage the citizens to drop their old social jealousies and participate more freely in public debates and the exercise of their new responsibilities. For their frequent and regular meetings some more comfortable and substantial arrangement was needed than was forthcoming in the Agora or the theatre of the time. The answer may have been the Pnyx of our first period. Its remains agree in general with what we know of the theatrical assembly place of that time as exemplified in the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens and perhaps in the early form of the Theatre at Thoricus. Such a date also leaves ample time for the auditorium to have become antiquated and ruinous and finally to be replaced by the building of the Second Period.

Of the passages in ancient authors which may be referred to the assembly place of the earliest period the opening scene of Aristophanes' "Acharnians" (425 B.C.) occupies first place. The scene is laid in the Pnyx; and as a contemporary account this must be regarded as an inescapable touchstone for the correctness of any proposed restoration of the assembly place of this time. Its significance in this regard must justify a lengthy quotation:

II. 19-33 οὔσης κυρίας ἐκκλησίας
 ἑωθινῆς ἔρημος ἢ Πνυξ ἀντήι,
 οἱ δ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ λαλοῦσι κἄνω καὶ κάτω
 τὸ σχοινίον φεύγουσιν τὸ μεμιλωμένον.
 οὐδ' οἱ πρυτάνεις ἦκουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀωρίαν
 ἤκοντες, εἶτα δ' ὠστιοῦνται πῶς δοκεῖς
 ἑλθόντες ἀλλήλοισι περὶ πρώτου ξύλου.
 ἀθεοὶ καταρρέοντες· εἰρήνη δ' ὄπως

¹ Cf. *I. G.* I² 24 (448 B.C.) = Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Bonn, 1913, p. 14 *supr.*; *I. G.* I² 195 and 196 (450/449-449/448 B.C.).

ἔσται προτιμῶσ' οὐδέν· ὦ πόλις, πόλις.
 ἐγὼ δ' αἰεὶ πρῶτιστος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
 ροστῶν κάθημαι· κῆρ' ἐπειδὴν ὦ μόνος,
 στένω, κέχηρα, σκορδινῶμαι, πέροδομαι,
 ἀπορῶ, γράφω, παρατίλλομαι, λογιζομαι,
 ἀποβλέπων ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν, εἰρήνης ἐρῶν,
 στρυγῶν μὲν ἄστνυ, τὸν δ' ἐμὸν δῆμον ποθῶν.

- II. 37–42 νῦν οὖν ἀτεχνῶς ἤκω παρεσκευασμένος
 βοῶν, ὑποκρούειν, λοιδορεῖν τοὺς ῥήτορας,
 ἐάν τις ἄλλο πλὴν περὶ εἰρήνης λέγη.
 ἀλλ' οἱ πρυτάνεις γὰρ οὐτοὶ μεσημβρινοί.
 οὐκ ἠγόρευον; τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' οὐγὼ ἔλεγον·
 εἰς τὴν προεδρίαν πᾶς ἀνὴρ ὠστιζέται.

(Dicaeopolis speaks)—

“Here's the fixed Assembly Day,
 And morning come, and no one in the Pnyx.
 They're in the Agora chattering, up and down
 Scurrying to dodge the vermeil-tinctured cord.
 Why even the Prytanen are not here! They'll come
 Long after time, elbowing each other, jostling
 For the front bench, streaming down all together
 You can't think how. But as for making Peace
 They do not care one jot. Oh, City! City!
 But I am always first of all to come,
 And here I take my seat; then, all alone,
 I pass the time complaining, yawning, stretching,
 I fidget, write, twitch hairs out, do my sums,
 Gaze fondly country-wards, longing for Peace,
 Loathing the town, sick for my village-home,

So here I'm waiting, thoroughly prepared
 To riot, wrangle, interrupt the speakers
 Whene'er they speak of anything but Peace.
 —But here they come, our noon-day Prytanen!
 Aye, there they go! I told you how 'twould be;
 Every one jostling for the foremost place.”¹

¹ Rogers' text and translation: B. B. Rogers, *The Acharnians of Aristophanes*, London, 1910.

The passage is significant for the direction of the slope of the seating floor at this period. Dicaeopolis had clearly taken his seat and could look down from it into the Agora, i.e. the later Agora beyond the western tip of the Areopagus. He could also gaze across to his farm.¹ Now if he had sufficient interest in public affairs to be the first in the assembly place, and especially if he intended, as he says, to annoy the speaker, he would naturally have chosen a seat close down by the speaker's platform and the front of the auditorium. If we suppose for a moment that at this date the seating floor sloped toward the sea, as some would have it do, i.e. against the natural gradient of the Pnyx Hill, Dicaeopolis would find himself looking directly away from the Agora and farm and, if he were to turn his head, would see nothing but the rising seating floor above and behind him. But if our proposed restoration of the early auditorium be accepted, we might place him directly opposite the bema, or in fact at any point in the auditorium open to a private citizen, with the assurance that he would command an excellent view of the Agora. Thus too the Attic country-side would be spread out before his eyes and, if we accept his own statement that he was a citizen of the deme Cholleidae, he would probably be looking toward his home fields.² This passage alone might be taken as sufficient proof that the floor of the fifth century auditorium sloped with the slope of the hill.³

These lines are valuable too for their indication of the actual seating accommodation. *Πρωτον ξύλον* can mean nothing in this connection if not a wooden bench;⁴ and since the prytanes, as presiding officials, must necessarily have had their places near the front of the auditorium, we find justification for supposing that wooden seats were placed for the dignitaries on the level terrace of the assembly place. Dicaeopolis too, as a private citizen, sat; and that the mass of the audience was seated at this period is clear from passing references in the "Knights" of Aristophanes (424 B.C., ll. 396, 754, 783). But nowhere is there mention of wooden benches of any sort for the audience. The recognized place for the populace was the bare rock, as we gather from lines in the "Knights":

(l. 754) *ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ ταυτησὶ καθῆται τῆς πέτρας;*

(l. 783) *ἐπὶ ταῖσι πέτρας οὐ φροντίζει (sc. ὁ Κλέων) σκληρῶς σε (i.e. τὸν Ἀἴμον) καθήμενον οὕτως.*

¹ According to Starkie (*The Acharnians of Aristophanes*, London, 1909, *ad. loc.*), *ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν* can mean only "to my farm" not "to the country."

² Cf. l. 406. The site of Cholleidae is uncertain. Milchoefer thinks it probable that it lay in the upper valley of the Cephissus, i.e. in the northern part of the central Attic plain (cf. *R. E.* III, 2368).

³ Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 394, persists in the belief that the early auditorium, as the later, sloped against the natural gradient of the hill. Consequently he is obliged to place Dicaeopolis on the very rim of the auditorium, at the greatest possible distance from the speaker, and make him look backwards. Karo, *Arch. Anz.*, 1912, p. 237, has been vindicated in his opposite contention.

⁴ Cf. Aristoph., *Vesp.* 90; Pollux viii, 132 f. (cited below, p. 190).

And that they actually sat upon the ground can scarcely be doubted in view of a passage from the "Wasps":

(II. 31–33) ἔδοξε μοι περὶ πρῶτον ἕπνον ἐν τῇ πυκνῇ
ἐκκλησιάζειν πρόβητα συγκαθήμενα,
βακτηρίας ἔχοντα καὶ τριβῶνια

and (I. 42 f.) ἐδόκει δέ μοι Θέωρος ἀντῆς πλησίον
χαμαὶ καθῆσθαι.

But it is probable that many a citizen did for himself what the Sausage-seller did for Demus in the Knights, i.e. provided a cushion.

It has been supposed that the prytanes, on making their appearance, came streaming down the rock-cut steps beside the great bema which still survives. The anachronism involved will become apparent in the later discussion. If our placing of the entrance in the upper part of the eastern side of the auditorium be accepted, it is clear that the officials must have hurried from there down the sloping seating floor, in full view of the impatient Dicaeopolis, in order to take their places at the front.

The reference to the "vermeil-tinctured cord" is obscure and there seems insufficient evidence for a certain choice between the explanations offered by the ancient scholiast and by Wilamowitz. The scholiast says that on an assembly morning all exits from the Agora were blocked, save that leading to the Pnyx. A ruddle-daubed rope was stretched across the Agora and drawn gradually toward the assembly place, sweeping the citizens before it. Anyone flecked by the fresh ruddle paid a fine or suffered some loss. Wilamowitz maintained that the rope was simply placed as a barrier around the auditorium. Such an arrangement must have been especially necessary in the First Period when the limits of the assembly place were ill defined. This consideration probably underlay the herald's cry at the opening of the assembly in the "Acharnians" (I. 43 f.):

πάριτ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν,
πάριθ', ὡς ἂν ἐντὸς ᾗτε τοῦ καθάρματος.¹

The one explanation has the weight of ancient authority, the other of reason.²

As the focal point of the entire structure, the speaker's platform naturally received notice. In Aristophanes' "Peace" (421 B.C.) it is certainly referred to as λίθος (I. 680):
δοτις κρατεῖ νῦν τοῦ λίθου τοῦ 'ν τῇ Πυκνῇ.³ This term should imply a block of detached

¹ Cf. *Eccl.* 129; *Eq.* 751.

² Cf. the Schol. *ad. loc.*; Suidas *s. v.* μεμιλωμένον σχοινίον; also the Schol. to *Eccl.* 378; Pollux viii 104; Photius, *s. v.* σχοινίον μεμιλωμένον; Hesych., *s. v.* σχοινίον; Wilamowitz, *Philologische Untersuchungen* I, Berlin, 1880, p. 165, note 77; Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* II³, p. 994, note 2. It is not certain if the same procedure is referred to in *Eccl.* 378 f. In any case, the passage in the *Ecclesiastousae* (393 B.C.) must be referred to the following period.

³ Cf. Schol., *ad. loc.*: λίθῳ δὲ τῷ βήματι τῷ ἐν τῇ Πυκνῇ.

stone of sufficient size to accommodate the orator. But the same author apparently alludes to the platform elsewhere with the word *πέτρα* (*Eg.* 956): *λάρος κεχηγῶς ἐπὶ πέτρας δημηγορῶν*.

Πέτρα in classical Greek ordinarily connotes living rock, undetached. Thus the literary evidence on this point simply cancels out, and we must content ourselves with the most probable restoration suggested above, based on the surviving remains. A passage from the comic poet Eupolis does, however, indicate that the platform was of some size (*Poleis*, frag. 207 [423/2 B.C.?] *apud* Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, Leipzig, 1880, I, p. 315):

*Συρακόσιος δ' ἔοικεν, ἦνικ' ἂν λέγη,
τοῖς κνυθίοισι τοῖσιν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχίων·
ἀναβάς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἄλακτεῖ περιτρέχων.*

The Pnyx seems to have been the usual, but not the invariable meeting place of the Assembly in the fifth century. The assembly called by Peisander for the revision of the constitution in the spring of 411 B.C. gathered at Colonus Hippius outside the city (*Thuc.* viii, 67, 2). Later in the same year the hoplite-citizens gathered in the theatre on Munychia in a meeting of protest against the rule of the Four Hundred. They agreed to hold a subsequent assembly in the precinct of Dionysus, i.e. in Athens, but this was forestalled by the report of an approaching Peloponnesian squadron (*Thuc.* viii, 93–94). In September of the same year, after the revolt of Euboea, the people gathered once more in the Pnyx as if to their traditional seat, to effect the deposition of the Four Hundred and the re-establishment of the democracy (*Thuc.* viii, 97, 1): *ἐς τὴν Πύκνα καλουμένην, ὅππερ καὶ ἄλλοτε εἰώθεσαν*. But in 404 B.C., immediately before the establishment of the Thirty, the Assembly met again in the theatre on the slopes of Munychia to consider the revelations made to the Council by Agoratus (*Lysias* xiii, 32). It may have been the desire to meet on the spot where the informant was taken that led the people to gather in the Piraeus on this occasion. But it is also probable that the old terrace wall of the Pnyx had given way by this time so that the auditorium was not fit for use before the reconstruction which we have designated as the Second Period.

THE SECOND PERIOD: ITS REMAINS AND RESTORATION

The existing remains of the Second Period do not, unfortunately, lend themselves to so precise a restoration as those of the First. They belong almost exclusively to the retaining wall of the new auditorium. It was the principal achievement of the excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1911–12 to have discovered this inner wall and to have determined its course approximately. The present excavation has enabled us to fix its original line and extent, so far as this is possible from the surviving remains (Plate II).

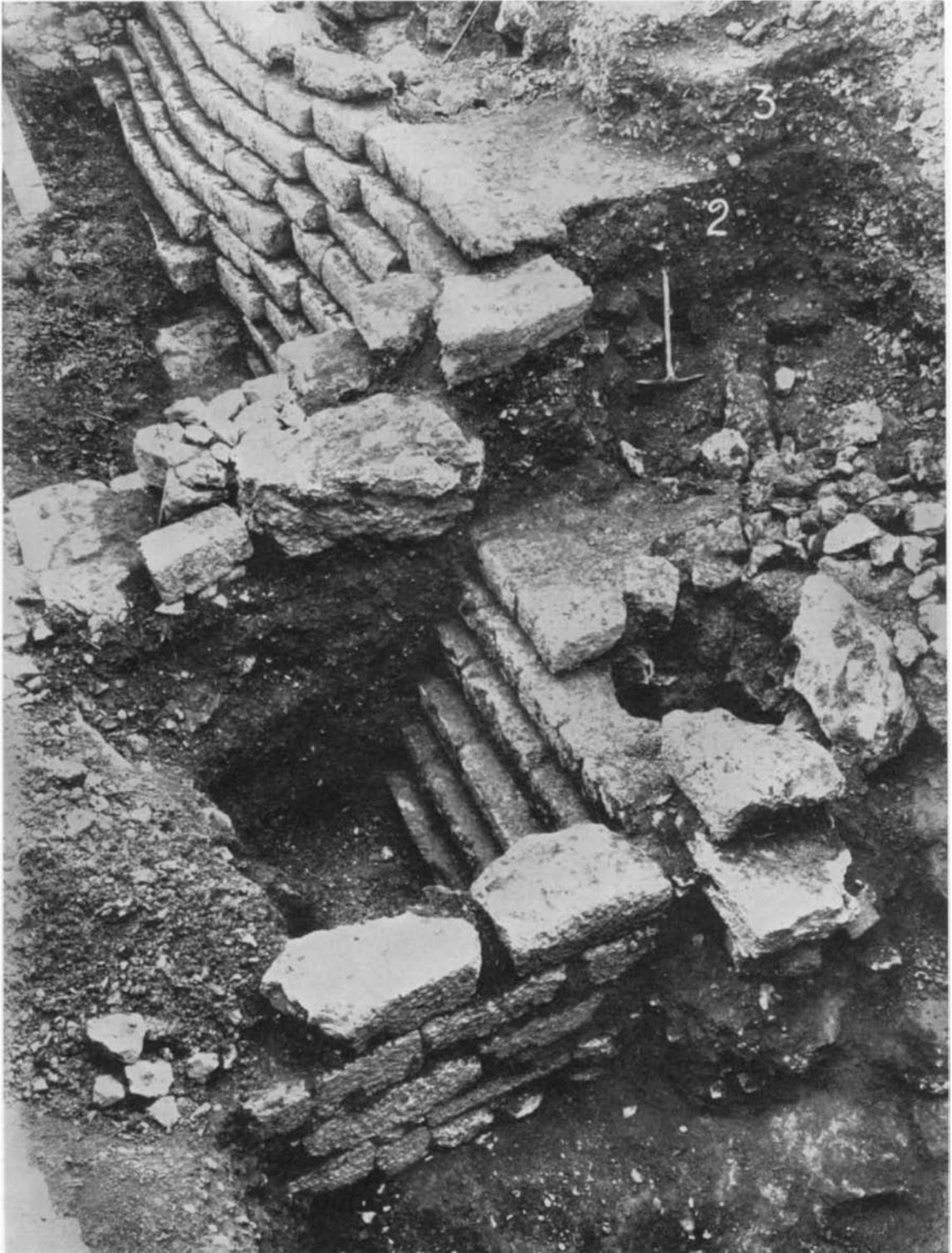


Fig. 8. Retaining wall and eastern stairway of Period II, from the northwest

It is now clear that the retaining wall of the Second Period swung across the shoulder of the hill in a parabolic curve opening toward the south and lying about midway between the earlier wall and the great exposed terrace wall of the Third Period below. Its



Fig. 9. Trench D, looking northwest

course is approximately parallel to that of the latter; but it appears that the axes of the auditoria represented by these two walls did not coincide exactly, since at its eastern end the wall of the Second Period lies much farther inside the great outer wall than at its western.

The best preserved portion, toward the eastern end, had already been revealed in 1911-12 and the deep excavation pit lined with modern walls had become a familiar

feature of the site. The retaining wall proper was exposed more completely at this point and a little additional clearing removed any doubt that the structure rising against it was a stairway (Figs. 8 and 12). As may be seen on the plan (Plate II), only one



Fig. 10. Western ends of retaining walls; left, of Period I; right, of Period II

block remains *in situ* beyond this pit toward the southeast; but the dressed beddings permit one to follow its course further. From the plan of the excavation it is clear that the second retaining wall followed the line of the first in its eastern, north-south part and it is probable that some of the earlier wall still survived to be included in the new structure. This section does not exactly fall in with the general curve of the

arc of the second wall, but it occupies the most advantageous position topographically. The later wall likewise seems to have terminated at the same steep shoulder of rock, the natural stopping point chosen by the earlier builders; and no trace of dressed wall beddings is to be found beyond. Toward the west of the old pit we found two blocks, superimposed, lying in position in the bottom of Trench B. Trench A revealed the dressed bedding and many of the building blocks scattered at random on the surface of the bed-rock (Fig. 15). In the bottom of Trench D are two superimposed blocks, the lower one being *in situ* (Figs. 9 and 32). Immediately to the west is a mass of loose blocks and still farther on are two more single blocks resting undisturbed on the bed-rock (Fig. 10). The dressed beddings continue some distance beyond.

The beddings in general were very roughly worked. Of those now visible the section immediately east of the above-mentioned stairway appears to be the most carefully prepared. From the side of the stairway the surface of the rock slopes up steeply toward the east. The rock surface was worked down with the chisel to give the appearance of a set of stairs rising in the line of the wall with treads from 0.60–1.10 m. wide and risers 0.10–0.30 m. high. On these the blocks of the wall were laid readily and so securely that they have not stirred from their places. The stepped bedding which led up over the steep shoulder of the slope farther to the east

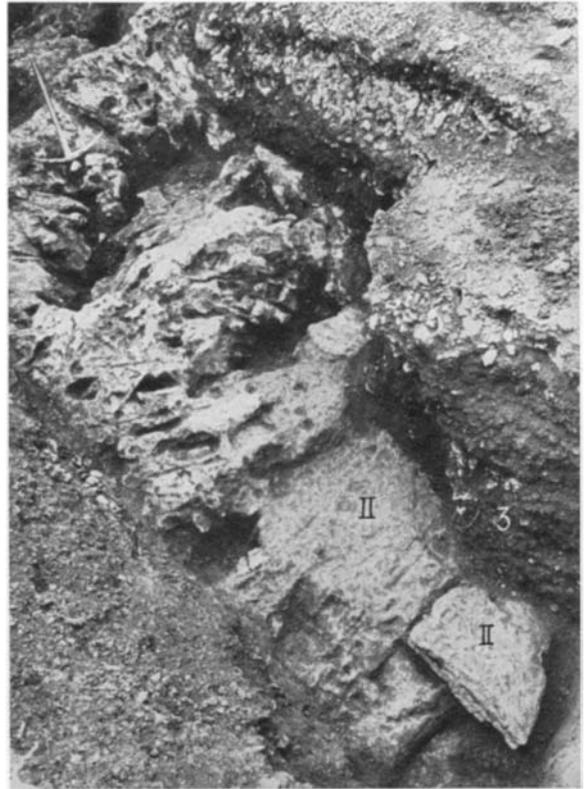


Fig. 11. Bedding for retaining wall of Period II

is much more roughly cut (Fig. 11) while to the west of Trench D the wall climbed up over a rising rock surface which shows not a trace of cutting (Fig. 10). Toward the two extremities only an occasional individual bedding was prepared by levelling off projections with the hammer, the hollows being filled in with earth.

The builders of the Second Period undoubtedly availed themselves of the blocks from the earlier terrace wall, since very few of the latter remain *in situ* in spite of the fact that but little time could have elapsed between the demolition of the terrace of the First Period and the construction of that of the Second. All the blocks are of the same gray, local limestone. The additional material may have been quarried on the hill top above, resulting in the upper terrace to the south of the assembly place. We shall

see reason to believe that this cutting occurred after 433–432 B.C., while the number and character of the beddings for buildings of various sorts which mark its surface make it probable that the terrace existed before the time of the Third Period. The height of the scarp which now bounds its south side suggests that a very considerable mass of stone was removed (Figs. 40 and 42).

The blocks are of random length, varying from 0.40–1.35 m. Nor are they much more regular in their width which, with extremes of 0.40 and 0.60 m., shows an average

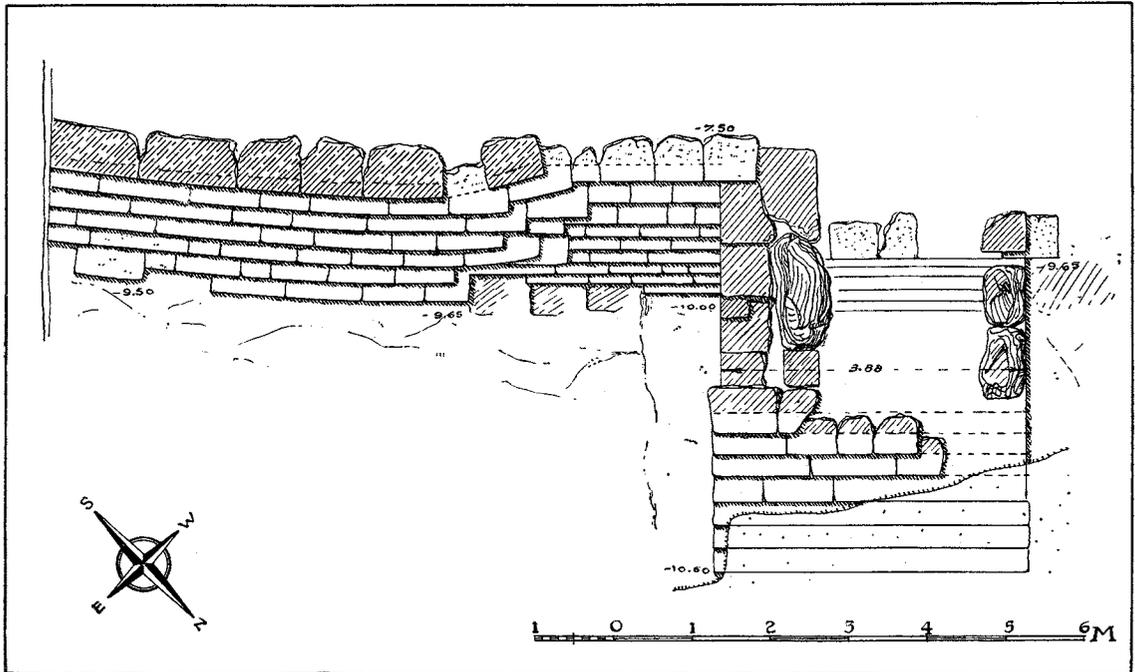


Fig. 12. Plan of part of retaining wall and of surviving stairway of Period II

of *ca.* 0.50 m. The mean height of the courses adjacent to the stairway is 0.255 m. though this dimension too is subject to variation.

The stones are so laid that the outer edge of each succeeding course falls some 0.18 m. within the edge of the previous one; so that the wall when completed gave the appearance of a continuous stairway of very narrow steps. In the section immediately east of the stairway this produces an inward inclination of about 30° to the perpendicular. The blocks were roughly dressed with a single point on the upper and lower surfaces, the front edge and both ends, the unexposed rear edge being left quite rough. The ends were cut back in such a way that the joint at the rear might be open several centimetres, but no effort was made to secure a close joint even in front. There is no trace of the use of clamps or dowels. The outer edges of the individual blocks show no regular curvature. Wall and filling behind it must have been carried up course by

course together, affording each other mutual support, the loose material holding up the edges of the inward projecting blocks, the masonry preventing the earth and small stones from slipping down. Such a wall, if carefully constructed and continued upward with the same inclination, might have been carried to a considerable height. That it gave way was due probably not so much to the principle of construction as to the slovenly manner in which it was built.

That the inner wall and the surviving stairway are contemporary is indicated by the identity in the style of construction and by the fact that they are in part bonded



Fig. 13. Retaining wall and eastern stairway of Period II, from the north

into each other. The base of the stairway projects 3·50 m. from the bottom edge of the wall and measures 4·0 m. in width. The six lower courses of the wall continue behind the stairs; and the ends of the sidewalls of the latter rest usually on the projecting ledges of the wall (Figs. 8 and 12). The stairway consists of a hollow shell of masonry filled in its lower part with earth and small stones. But above the sixth course of the wall the filling behind the wall carries through unbroken into the body of the stairway, and from this point upward great blocks of rough stone were thrown in to take up space in the latter. Two of these remain apparently undisturbed. The sides of the stairway are built up perpendicularly of blocks closely resembling those in the wall behind. The stairs proper are supported by these end walls and by the mass of earth between them. They show no more careful finish and are laid in the same manner as the blocks of the terrace wall, save that each succeeding course is drawn back so as to leave a stair tread of an average width of slightly over 0·28 m. The average

height of the stairs is 0.26 m. The ends of the treads are left rough and project as much as 0.17 m. beyond the face of the side walls. The seven lowest steps remain *in situ*. There is no trace of a railing. The upper surfaces of the treads, especially in their central parts, are smoothly worn, a circumstance which conclusively proves that the structure was a stairway and a much used entrance to the assembly place.

The filling supported by this wall is made up largely of broken rock (Figs. 8 and 13). Immediately behind the wall and in many places lying on the surface of the bed-rock we found rough masses half the size of a man's body. But in general the pieces are much smaller, approximating rather the size of a man's fist. In places the filling consists of such stones alone; elsewhere they are mingled with a clean, red earth which makes the filling of the Second Period readily distinguishable wherever found. Potsherds and other artificial objects are extremely rare.

Our conception of the form of the auditorium must depend largely on the original height and length of the retaining wall. The minimum height may be determined roughly by a simple calculation (Fig. 14). If we project upward the line of the outer face of the wall at its present angle at a point immediately east of the surviving stairway and likewise the line of the outer edges of the stair treads until they meet, it is clear that the wall must have been carried up to that point at least, in order to support the stairway. An alternative, *viz.*, that the stairway may have ended before that point by terminating in a level platform lying outside the face of the wall, is rendered altogether improbable by the additional masonry and expense entailed; for economy seems to have been a leading consideration in the minds of the builders. The other alternative, *viz.*, that the lines of wall and stairs may have crossed at this point and both continued upward, seems the probable solution and will be discussed below. At any rate, the point of intersection may be taken as representing the minimum height of the wall, which must accordingly have risen at least 6.5 m. above the bed-rock immediately behind the surviving stairway. The builders of the Second Period having reared a wall of that height and thrown in an artificial filling behind it, it is inconceivable that they should any longer have intended to avail themselves of the natural slope of the hill. Moreover, we now find the north side of the auditorium delimited by a line having a regular and decided outward curve. This would be quite without parallel as the front line of a Greek auditorium. These two considerations compel us to suppose that the assembly place had undergone a complete transformation: that this curved line now represented its back, and that the artificial terrace was carried up to a height sufficient to turn the slope down toward a speaker's platform set at the southern edge of the auditorium.

The greatest desideratum left by the present excavation is definite evidence for the placing of the front line of the second auditorium. Two possibilities must be considered: either that it lay to the south of the front line of the great surviving bema and was entirely cut away in the quarrying of the Third Period, or that it fell to the north of the later bema and so within the auditorium of the First Period. Had the first been the case, the result would have been an auditorium exceptionally deep from front to

back and especially so in comparison with its predecessor. The seating floor, moreover, would have considerably exceeded in area that of the First Period whereas, as we shall gather from the historical circumstances of the reconstruction, the probabilities are that

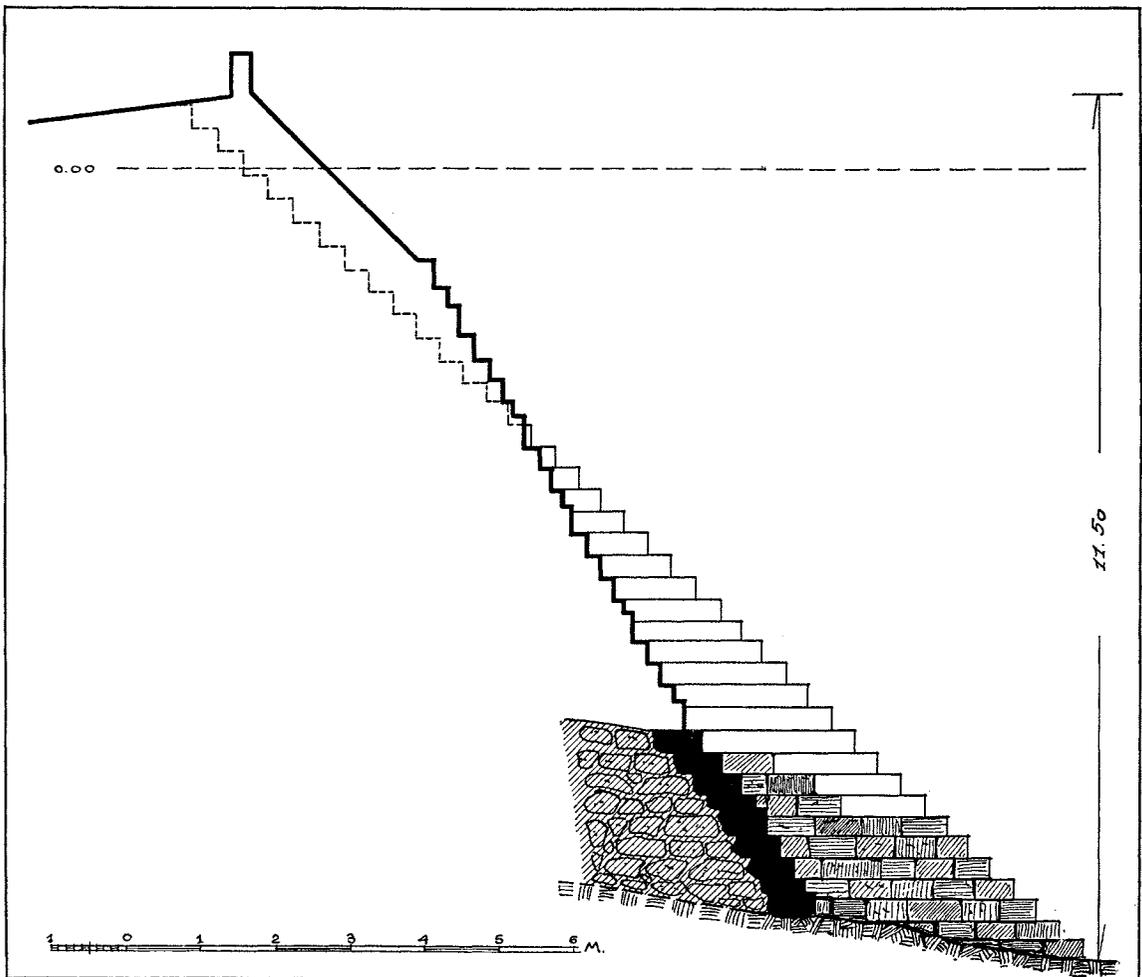


Fig. 14. Proposed restoration of retaining wall and stairway of Period II: completed section through surviving stairs

the second auditorium was little larger than the first, possibly even smaller. Finally, if placed so far south, the bema must have stood at such an elevation as to make necessary an enormous amount of filling for the northern side of the auditorium, and for this it is little likely that time or means were available. Thus it seems imperative to accept the second possibility.

We have, accordingly, arbitrarily placed the bema of the Second Period about 10 m. in front of the surviving bema (of the Third Period) (Fig. 16). Thus its base would lie

about 1 m. below that of the later platform and the distance between it and the retaining wall would be adequate for an auditorium of reasonable depth. On our sketch it appears somewhat west of the great bema. This is because the axis of the Second Period, as fixed approximately by the arc of the retaining wall, does not coincide with that of the Third but lies closer to the direction northeast-southwest. The platform proper was presumably built of masonry which, one would suppose, should have been founded in a shallow cutting in the bed-rock. But, to judge from the hasty workmanship apparent in the terrace wall of this period, it is not impossible that the structure rested simply on the earth filling and so has completely disappeared.¹

We must now attempt to fix more definitely the original height of the new retaining wall and of the back of the auditorium. The general plan of the excavation (Plate II) shows that the last certain trace of rock dressing designed as the bedding for the terrace wall toward the west lies 1.50 m. below the base of the great surviving bema. The top of the wall must have lain higher than this by the thickness of at least one course of blocks. Toward the east the last certain trace of dressed bedding is at a level about 1.90 m. below the bottom of the great bema. But, as already observed, the logical stopping place for the wall on this side was the steep shoulder of rock slightly to the south of this point and the final few metres of the terrace wall may perfectly well have been bedded only on earth. Now this shoulder lies about 1.60 m. lower than the base of the great bema. It is clear, then, that the last traces of the wall at both eastern and western extremity are practically at the same level. We may with reasonable certainty place the original top of the wall at about this level, i.e. slightly more than a metre below the bottom of the surviving bema.

But, granted this, the difficulties of the restoration are not all solved. The top of the retaining wall, carried up even to that height would still lie slightly below the bottom of our restored second bema. Now it may be taken as axiomatic that the seating floor of such an auditorium sloped downward toward the speaker's platform. This is made certain by the invariable tradition of Greek assembly places and by the more immediate example of the auditorium of the First Period. Hence it is obvious that in determining the additional height to be gained above the top of the retaining wall we must add to the deficiency already calculated the difference in height between the base of the speaker's platform and the surface of the rising seating floor measured at its outer edge. In order to be of any value this difference must have been at least 2 m. Consequently, at the outer edge of the auditorium we must gain a minimum additional height above the top of the retaining wall of about 2.30 m.

A possible solution would be to suppose that the seats were carried on wooden supports (*ἵζκια*). But this is improbable in view of the one or more disasters already

¹ Numerous trenches cut through the area failed to reveal any certain remains. It is possible that the removal of the shallow earth from above all the dressed rock surface of the earliest auditorium would prove rewarding.

occasioned by such an arrangement in the Theatre of Dionysus.¹ Moreover, the original cost of the timber, together with the expenses of constant repairs and renewals in a large and permanent auditorium must have been prohibitive in a timber-poor land. The only possible alternative would seem to be that the seating floor of the auditorium rested on an artificial earth embankment sloping gently inward toward the bema and steeply outward toward the top of the retaining wall (Plate IV c). Such an arrangement may seem unparalleled in the history of Greek auditorium building. But it must be remembered that the conditions imposed on the architect were at least equally exceptional, explain the motive behind them as one may. We know that the Greeks did not hesitate to build up an auditorium on a level plain. One might point out as surviving examples of this practice the Theatre of Eretria, especially in its earliest period when the auditorium was formed almost entirely of a great artificial embankment sloping steeply down toward the outside and unsupported by retaining walls, so far as has been observed, save along the parodi. At Megalopolis the central part of the cavea rests on a natural hill slope, but the wings were carried on earthen embankments unsupported toward the outside and originally of a height much greater than that required by the proposed restoration of the Second Period of the Pnyx. The early, fourth century auditorium of the theatre at Tegea rested on a free standing embankment until the magnificent marble retaining wall was thrown about it in the second century. The theatre of Mantinea was likewise built in the plain; but its auditorium from the beginning seems to have been supported by a retaining wall.² If we suppose, then, that the aim of the architect was to secure an area approximately level by building up an artificial terrace supported by a retaining wall and that on top of this he raised his seating floor by throwing up a simple embankment, the whole proceeding appears in a less exceptional light. If it be objected that the construction was unreasonable in principle and not likely to last for long, we can only reply that the event proved the validity of the criticism.

It is not improbable that in the Second as in the First Period the audience was unprovided with seats. At any rate, no trace of seating accommodation has come to light, either in stone or wood.

A problem arises in connection with the entrance into the auditorium. We have seen that there is certain evidence for one stairway leading into the rear of the auditorium over the retaining wall. But these stairs have a maximum width of a scant four metres, and so seem inadequate to have served alone for a gathering place of this size. The plan also indicates that this stairway is far from being symmetrically placed with relation to the main axis of the second auditorium. These two circumstances are sufficient to drive one in search of a corresponding second stairway. If placed on the western side of the axis at the same distance from it as the eastern stairs, the second entrance

¹ Cf. Bulle, *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern* I, p. 71.

² For the description and references to the individual publications of these various theatres cf. Bulle, *op. cit.*

way should have fallen approximately in the bottom of Trench A. The bottom of the trench was widened and cleared at this point so far as permitted by the enormous masses of rock thrown in with the filling of the Third Period (Fig. 15). As already noted,



Fig. 15. Bedding of retaining wall of Period II in extension of Trench A, looking northwest

no blocks of the retaining wall remain in position here; but the bedding of the wall may be clearly traced, cut in the bed-rock. Just west of the western side of the trench, however, two roughly worked blocks lie in their original position, levelling up a depression in the rock surface. They may be seen in figure 15 immediately beneath the end of the great block which lies in the middle of the cleared area. These two slabs lie outside the northern edge of the bedding worked for the wall and so it is improbable that they

were intended to serve it. But it is altogether possible that they formed part of the bedding for one of the side walls, probably the western, of a stairway abutting against the terrace wall. So far as the area could be cleared, no other block was found *in situ* nor any certain trace of worked beddings for the walls of the stairway. But the walls of the other stairway are laid very roughly and chiefly on earth filling the irregularities in the rock, which is nowhere dressed to receive the foundation blocks. Consequently, had those blocks been removed, absolutely no trace would have been left of that stairway either. The northern face of that which remains of the filling of the Second Period as revealed by Trench A rises almost perpendicularly to a height of over 2 m. just inside the bedding of the retaining wall (Plate III b). This scarp could not long have stood at such an abrupt angle without some support. It is altogether probable that the support was furnished by the remains of the original retaining wall, which were removed only by the builders of the Third Period who wished to salvage the material. Now it is remarkable that the only other point where that terrace wall and the filling behind it are preserved to any height is where they were buttressed by the surviving stairway. Between that stairway and Trench A practically nothing remains of the wall, and the filling as indicated by the section (Plate IV a) slopes very gently down to the line of the bedding. Toward the two ends both wall and filling have almost completely disappeared. The survival until a late date of a second stairway in the line of Trench A would thus provide a satisfactory explanation for the preservation of retaining wall and filling.

Trench A was laid out designedly in the hope that it might reveal the continuation of the rudely cut stairway which leads up the hill slope from the north and disappears under the great outermost terrace wall (Figs. 46 and 47). Unfortunately, the huge blocks of stone lying in the filling behind that wall rendered impracticable the clearing of the bed-rock at this point. It is noteworthy, however, that the line of those steps if continued inward would cut across the line of the second retaining wall precisely at the point where we have proposed to place the western stairway. It is just possible that the rock-cut steps are earlier and were meant to serve the auditorium of the First Period. In that case we should have expected to find some continuation of them beyond the line of the second retaining wall. But not a trace of such was found and actually the bed-rock is very rough and irregular along the southern side of that bedding. Consequently, there can be little doubt that the rock-cut steps are contemporary with the Second Period and that they led up to a second stairway set against the terrace wall approximately in the line of Trench A. The hasty and careless manner in which the rock-hewn steps were cut is thoroughly in keeping with all that we know of the construction of the Second Period.

How these stairways were continued above the top of the retaining wall is problematic. As suggested in our restored section (Fig. 14) they may have been carried up through the top of the retaining wall and the shoulder of the earth embankment at the bottom of a shallow trench. Such an arrangement would both reduce the gradient of the stairway and carry its mouth farther into the auditorium.

It is possible that the approaches to the two stairways united in a single broad avenue leading down into the city. This could be determined only by clearing a greater area of the rock surface north of the colossal retaining wall and so tracing the path which must have led up to the surviving eastern stairs and corresponded to the rock-cut

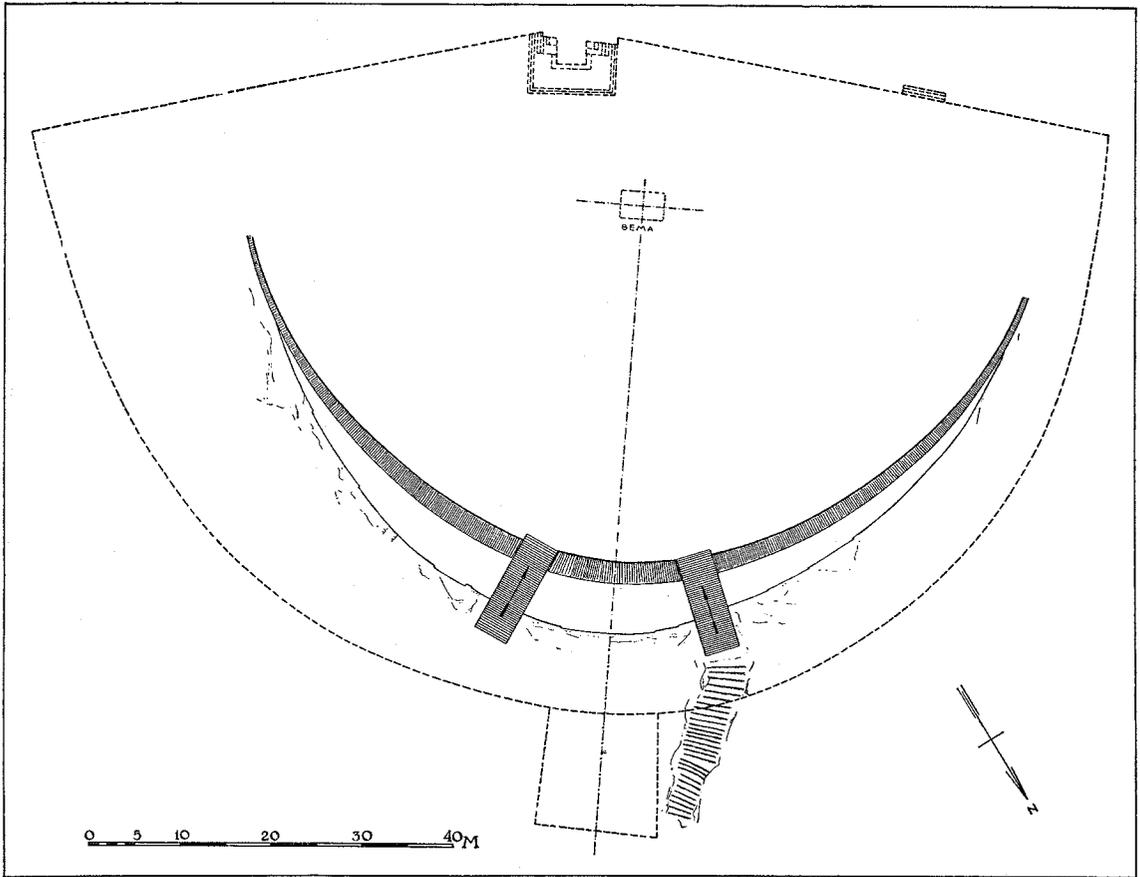


Fig. 16. Sketch illustrating proposed restoration of Period II

steps now visible farther to the west. Certainly these approaches provided adequate and convenient entrance from the side of the city and were undoubtedly used by the great majority of the attending citizens. Whether they were supplemented by other approaches from the sides or front of the auditorium we shall never know.¹

If we suppose that the front line of the auditorium passed close behind the bema, the seating floor would have a total area of around 2600 sq. m. It is possible that the

¹ As examples of Greek theatres having approaches from the rear of the auditorium we might refer to that of the Second Period in Thoricus and to those of Mantinea and Tegea. The last mentioned is especially interesting for comparison with our suggested restoration since there the stairways were carried up through the embankment at the bottom of a trench which may or may not have been covered.

dressed rock surface at the back of the earlier auditorium was still used for seating, thus increasing the total available area. But this again must be reduced by the extent of the inevitable open spaces around the bema and in passages, so that the actual seating capacity of the second auditorium was probably little greater than that of the first.

About 4 m. north of the mid-point of the great outer terrace wall there may be seen the base of a small stele of Pentelic marble (0.27 m. wide, 0.11 m. thick) bedded in the surface of the rock and facing northward (Fig. 47). Standing solitary on this expanse of barren limestone, it lends itself to no more satisfactory interpretation than that it is the base of a boundary stone. It is improbable that it belonged to the First Period since it does not agree in size or manner of setting with the surviving stone of that period. It was covered over by the northern approach to the auditorium of the Third Period and so could have been of no use at that time. Consequently, if the stele actually served as a boundary stone, it may with great probability be assigned to the Second Period and be regarded as marking the northern limit of the public property at that time.

It must already be evident that the auditorium of the Second Period had reached a very ruinous state before it was covered over by the filling of the following period, beneath which it has lain hidden until the present generation. The retaining wall gave way and its blocks were carried off, permitting the earth embankment to wash down. This process continued until the surface of the area occupied by the auditorium actually sloped northward once more. The surface of the remaining filling falls closely in line with the rock dressing of the first auditorium; for this was the natural point for the earth slide to cease or at least to slacken (Plates III b, d; IV a).¹



Fig. 17. Trench A, looking toward bema of Period III. Retaining wall of Period I cuts across Trench A at its intersection with first trench on left

¹ In a preliminary report given to Dr. Karo for publication in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* we expressed the opinion that the rock dressing which we have now assigned to the auditorium of the First Period had been done in later times to provide a floor continuous with what remained of the earth filling of the Second Period; thus introducing another period intermediate between the present Second and Third. This view seems now impossible. Cf. *Arch. Anz.* 46, 1931, p. 223.

Toward the north its outline and levels are irregular, varying according to what remained of the terrace wall. That the area continued as open, public property is indicated by the complete absence of the remains of private houses or the like. The hard-tramped surface of the earth, studded with smoothly worn pebbles, as revealed in Trenches A, B and D proves that the place was still much frequented (Figs. 9 and 17). But we cannot say whether it still served for formal gatherings of any sort or whether it had become merely a popular loitering place.

THE SECOND PERIOD: ITS CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY

The only archaeological evidence available for dating the Second Period is the *terminus post quem* derived from the objects found in the filling associated with the inner, curved retaining wall. Not a single coin was found in this deposit. As noted above (p. 120), the sherds from this filling were very scanty and provokingly uncommunicative, consisting for the most part of the broken fragments of the water jars used by the workmen engaged in its construction, which were quite indistinguishable from similar sherds left by the excavating workmen. In a search for more certain evidence a pit, measuring about 1 m. \times 2 m., was dug down behind the retaining wall immediately opposite the eastern stairway. (Cf. Fig. 8. The pit was afterwards somewhat enlarged.) Since most of the material removed came from beneath the inward projecting upper courses of the wall as preserved and must all have lain beneath the original upper courses, there can be no question as to the validity of the evidence: the filling matter was thrown in as the wall was built up so that the latter must be as late or later than any object coming from the filling. Fortunately, a basketful of finer sherds was gathered from this pit, and in view of their importance for the chronology it has seemed well to illustrate all the figured pieces and other distinctive fragments. In the filling removed from the heart of the eastern stairway two figured sherds were found; and since, as has been pointed out above, wall and stairs were contemporary, these pieces are of equal significance for the chronology. They are numbers 5 and 6 in Fig. 18. The clay in all cases is Attic.

RED-FIGURED SHERDS (Fig. 18)

1. Fragment from the wall of a stout vase.

Ht. 0.033 m., W. 0.046 m. Convex. Inside a glossy black. Part of a naked male (probably a warrior) seated, holding in his left hand a staff or spear. In the lower right corner is a trace of some object, reserved. Relief-contour lines are very narrow and the black glaze was not carried up to them along the arm or staff. The lines of chest and abdomen are emphasized by narrow bands of hatching.



Fig. 18. Red-figured sherds from the filling of Period II

2. Fragment of a crater.

Ht. 0.04 m., W. 0.04 m. The head, right shoulder and arm of a female figure, to the left, the right hand raised to the level of the chin. Her curly hair is painted in thinned glaze. She wears a sleeveless chiton fastened by a brooch over the shoulder and a necklace with pendant is indicated in white. Relief-contour for face but not for arm. Interior a glossy black.

3. Fragment of an oenochoe.

Ht. 0.05 m., W. 0.033 m. From the shoulder of the vase. The interior reserved below, covered with thin black glaze above. Outside, along upper edge, a band of egg and dot. Below, the top of a female head, to right. The hair is indicated by ruffled lines in thinned glaze and confined by a narrow hair band, raised. No relief-contour.

4. Fragment from the wall of a large vase.

Ht. 0.035 m., W. 0.035 m. Convex. The interior is a dull black. The middle part of a female figure, erect, facing front, left arm held behind back. She wears a figured chiton, belted. The long thin gores below the girdle are filled in with thinned glaze. No relief-contour.

5. Fragment from the wall of a large vase.

Ht. 0.045 m., W. 0.04 m. Convex. The interior glossy black. There remains the left leg of a figure striding toward the left. A tip of flying drapery hangs behind. Relief-contour on leg and drapery.

6. Fragment from the wall of a large vase.

Ht. 0.05 m., W. 0.03 m. Convex. On the interior, a reddish glaze, flaked off below. A shoulder and extended right arm, the hand resting on the head of a staff. Relief-contour.

7. Fragment from the wall of a large vase.

Ht. 0.057 m., W. 0.06 m. Convex. The interior a dull black. The glaze of the exterior is slightly metallic, blotchy and cracked. The wing tip of a figure flying right. Below it is the right knee of the same figure. To the left, the edge of some object, reserved. The texture of the upper part of the wing is indicated by long fine lines. Relief-contour.

8. Fragment of a small oenochoe.

Ht. 0.022 m., W. 0.028 m. The fragment is from the shoulder of the vase. Interior unglazed save for a trickle of black. In a panel bounded above by a line of ovules and at the left side by a reserved line, a pitcher is suspended. In the lower right corner there remains the middle part of the figure of a child apparently crawling to the right. The glaze is firm and lustrous. A relief-contour around child's body but not

around pitcher. The small size and the subject make it certain that this is one of the common class of miniature oenochoae or "choes" probably given as gifts to children at the Anthesteria.¹

9. Fragment from the wall of a small vase.

Ht. 0.02 m., W. 0.035 m. Convex. Inside black glazed. Parts of two palmettes with tendril between. Glaze firm and lustrous. Relief-contour on either side of tendril save on the inner part of the spirals.

10. Fragment of a stout vase.

Ht. 0.045 m., W. 0.055 m. Convex. On inside, streaky black glaze. A reserved rectangle is decorated by diagonal lines with a perpendicular line set in the field at either side. In each of the four angles formed by the intersecting diagonals is a dot. The border continues toward the left. The diagonal and perpendicular lines in brown glaze. No relief-contour.

11. Fragment of a small vase.

Ht. 0.032 m., W. 0.037 m. Convex. Inside rough and unglazed. There remains only the left end of a border of egg and dot. Relief-contour along left side but not along bottom.

12. Fragment.

Ht. 0.05 m., W. 0.037 m. Convex horizontally; straight vertically. On inside, good black glaze. To the right, the edge of a palmette. In the field to left, indeterminate objects. No relief-contour.

Several of these fragments are to be dated in the last third of the fifth century. Number 2 cannot be far removed in time from the work of the painter of the Berlin Dinos.² The figured chiton appearing in number 4 was in fashion during the late fifth century, reaching its climax in the magnificent dresses of the Talos crater.³ The style of hairdressing and the manner of indicating the texture of the hair noted in number 3 find parallels, among others, in the work of the Eretria master.⁴ The miniature Anthesteria oenochoae are generally dated from the middle to the end of the fifth century.⁵ Yet the quality of the drawing and of the glaze and the rare occurrence of white make it improbable that the group of fragments, or indeed any of them, is later than the turn of the century.

¹ See Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923, II, p. 518.

² J. D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler*, Tübingen, 1925, p. 447, 2; Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, Berlin, 1930, p. 11 and pl. 12 (a).

³ Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, fig. 574; Hahland, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁴ Cf. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, fig. 560; Hahland, *op. cit.*, p. 11, pl. 21 (a) and (b); Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 429, 2.

⁵ Cf. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, p. 518; Beazley, *C. V. A., Great Britain 3, Oxford 1*, pl. XLIII, 6, 7, and 8; Robinson Hareum and Iliffe, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, 1930, nos. 367, 368, 369.

GLAZED VASES WITHOUT FIGURES (Fig. 19)

1. Ribbed Cup.

Ht. 0·07 m., W. 0·078 m. The lower part of the body is marked by shallow ribbing. The broad rim above is deeply concave. Rim and body are separated by a narrow beading consisting of a slender ridge indented at close intervals. The cup stood on a low foot-ring. No trace of a handle remains but there was doubtless one. The fabric is thin and covered inside and out with a lustrous black glaze. This is a not uncommon type of cup, an early imitation of metal-work, and is to be dated to the close of the fifth century.¹

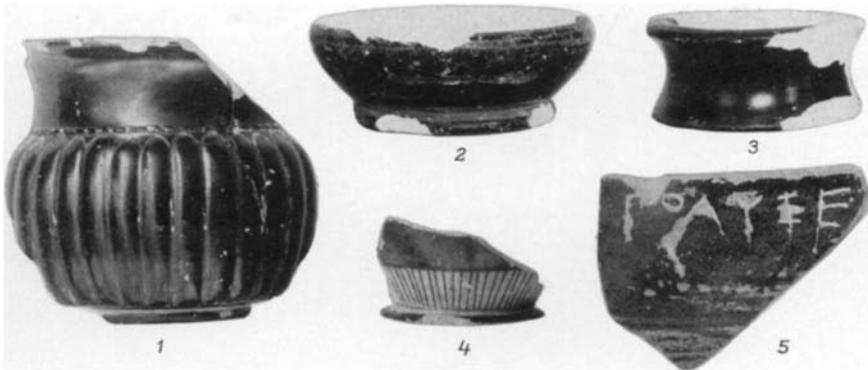


Fig. 19. Fragments from the filling of Period II

2. Bowl with stamped design.

Ht. 0·03 m., diam. of lip 0·085 m., of foot 0·061 m. About one third of the vase is restored in plaster; the profile is complete. A small open bowl standing on foot-ring. Black glaze inside and out; somewhat flaked. Reserved: a narrow band around joint between body and foot, bottom of foot-ring, the centre, and a narrow band on bottom of vase. Inside, on bottom, a ring of six small palmettes lightly impressed and joined by curved lines similarly impressed. Such bowls, black glazed and ornamented with stamped designs, came into common use between the middle and the end of the fifth century.²

¹ Two similar cups are to be seen in the Thebes Museum among the objects found in the Polyandreion at Thespieae, which covered the remains of those who fell in the Battle of Delium in 424 b.c. Two others of closely parallel shape, one in silver, the other in terracotta, have been found in a grave in southern Bulgaria with red-figured vases dating from the end of the fifth century. (Cf. *Jahrbuch* 45, 1930, p. 296, no. 5, fig. 10; p. 305, no. 16, fig. 24.) See also Beazley, *C. V. A.*, *Great Britain* 3, *Oxford* 1, pl. XLVIII, 15; Lamb, *C. V. A.*, *Great Britain* 6, *Cambridge* 1, *Fitzwilliam Museum*, pl. XLI, 9.

² Cf. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, I, pp. 410 f.; Technau, *Ath. Mitt.* 54, 1929, pp. 42 ff., fig. 32, 1; Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles et Recherches, 1902-1914*, 1931, I, pp. 658 f.

3. Black-glazed "Salt-cellar."

Ht. 0.028 m., diam. 0.063 m. About one-half of the vase restored in plaster. The wall of the bowl is deeply concave; symmetrical above and below. The side wall is carried down so as to form a foot-ring. Both inside and outside are covered with a lustrous black glaze. This too is a common type of household bowl which was undoubtedly being made already in the late fifth century.¹

4. Fragment of cotyle.

Ht. 0.028 m., W. 0.042 m. From a sharply-moulded foot-ring the wall rises in an almost straight line at an angle of about 45°. Above the foot-ring is a reserved band striped with vertical parallel lines. The body of the vase above is black. The bottom is reserved, but carried at least one black circle. Cotylae having bases of this type were being made in the late fifth century, although they continued to be popular into the fourth.² The profile and the good quality of fabric and glaze suggest a date in the fifth century for this specimen.

LAMPS

Fragments of three terracotta lamps were found in this same pit (Fig. 20)

1. Ht. 0.015 m., L. 0.035 m. A fragment from the wall of the lamp preserving a little of the nozzle. Rim narrow and curving slightly inward. Side convex. The point of



Fig. 20. Fragments of lamps from the filling of Period II

attachment of a strap handle remains. Top of nozzle flat and wick hole comparatively small. The lamp is of Broneer's Type IV which extends from the sixth to the fourth century. The flat nozzle and small wick hole of this specimen preclude a date as early as the sixth century; the quality of the glaze and workmanship is superior to that found in the latest examples of the type and point to a date in the fifth century.³

¹ Cf. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, I, p. 410. The discovery of a precisely similar bowl in the great temple deposit at Lindos in Rhodes justifies one in attributing the origin of the type to the fifth century, although it was probably in more common use through the fourth. Cf. Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 652 f., no. 2751.

² For such a cotyle, painted by the Schuwalow Master, cf. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, Berlin, 1927, fig. 128; Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 439, 19. For fragments of similar cups see Furtwängler, *Aigina*, I, p. 463, nos. 322, 323, fig. 392; II, pl. 121, 46.

³ Cf. Broneer, *Corinth, Vol. IV, Part II, Terracotta Lamps*, 1930, pp. 39 ff. The profile of our piece approaches most nearly that shown by Broneer, *op. cit.*, fig. 14, no. 20.

2. Ht. 0·024 m., L. 0·05 m. Preserved: the nozzle and a section of wall and rim. The side is almost vertical; the shoulder square; the rim doubly rilled; the nozzle long and flat on top; the wick hole small. Glazed inside and out. Reserved: a narrow band around filling hole inside and out. The glaze is slightly metallic and flaky and fired to brown on the underside of nozzle. This specimen may be assigned to Broneer's Type V, second variety, which he considers was in most common use in the first half of the fifth century. But our fragment seems to be later than any illustrated by Broneer and the long nozzle with small wick hole and the metallic glaze suggest the second half of the fifth century.¹

3. Ht. 0·019 m., L. 0·044 m. Fragment from wall and rim including a little of the nozzle. Side straight; shoulder sharp; rim wider than in preceding and sloping gently inward. Nozzle short and flat on top; wick hole comparatively small. Deep chocolate glaze inside and out. Scratched in the dry clay of the rim: |IKV|. The lamp is of Broneer's Type VI and is undoubtedly of the fifth century.²

INSCRIBED SHERD (Fig. 19, 5)

Ht. 0·051 m., W. 0·071 m. Fragment from the rim of a large, straight-walled cotyle. Inside a lustrous black. The glaze on the outside is mottled black and brown and much flaked. Scratched through the glaze and into the dry clay along the rim outside: Γ·ΟΛΥΞΕ[ΝΟΞ or [ΝΟΥ.

Among the finer sherds gathered from various other parts of the filling of the Second Period, are a few pieces of red-figured vases on which, however, the figures are too fragmentary to be helpful, and another fragment of a cup similar to that illustrated in figure 19, number 4. Nothing was found which need be dated later than the objects coming from the pit behind the wall. Hence these fragments prove that the reconstruction took place not earlier than the closing years of the fifth century, nor is there any internal evidence to suggest that it occurred later than that date.

There is then nothing in the archaeological evidence to prevent us from identifying the rearrangement in the assembly place represented by the building of the Second Period with the change ascribed by Plutarch to the Thirty Tyrants of 404–3 B.C. (*Themistocles* 19, 4): *Διὸ καὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πνυκί πεποιημένον ὥστ' ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὑστερον οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν γῶραν ἀπέστρεψαν, οἰόμενοι τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἄρχην γένεσιν εἶναι δημοκρατίας, ἀλλοτριχίᾳ δ' ἦντον δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς γεωργοῦντας.* "Wherefore in after time the Thirty turned toward the land the bema in the Pnyx made so as to

¹ Cf. Broneer, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 f.; for the profile, fig. 14, no. 24. For the wall and rim cf. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus, Part II*, 1930, fig. 300, no. 31.

² Cf. Broneer, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff.; for the profile see fig. 14, no. 28.

look toward the sea, supposing that maritime supremacy was the origin of democracy whereas the tillers of the soil chafed less at oligarchy."¹

To one who is familiar with the site there could be no more convenient or intelligible way of describing the change, for in facing as the speaker of the earlier period did, one looks exactly in the direction where, as every Athenian knew, the sea lay; whereas if one stands on the spot where we have proposed to place the later bema, the land, i. e. the central Attic plain with its enclosing mountains, forcibly thrusts itself upon one's notice. This statement of Plutarch has too frequently been disregarded or rejected as a blunder of the author. But whatever we may think of the grounds assigned for the change, we have no reason to doubt the statement of fact. Plutarch knew Athens from years of actual residence and he was writing for readers familiar with the city's topography and history. Consequently, any reconstruction of the history of the Pnyx refusing to take account of this statement must be open to serious question.

It remains difficult, nevertheless, to find an adequate motive for the alteration, especially in view of the condition of Athens at the close of the disastrous Peloponnesian War. The reason given by Plutarch can scarcely suffice; it would seem to be rather an aetiological explanation devised in later times for an otherwise incomprehensible move. The almost complete disappearance of the filling belonging to the earliest retaining wall suggests that that wall had given way with the result that at least the lower part of the auditorium would be unusable. The active political life of the period would demand a speedy reconstruction. The work may have been undertaken in that difficult time partly to relieve the unemployment which must inevitably have followed the return of the citizen army to civil life. It is probable that, for some time previous, people had been growing discontented with the rude accommodation of the early assembly place. We have seen that already in the time of Aristophanes' "Knights" (424 B.C.) Demos welcomed a cushion to ameliorate his rough stone seat. It would add greatly to the point of the line from the "Knights" (l. 783) and would be thoroughly in keeping with the poet's practice, could we suppose that about that time some move toward improving the assembly place had been opposed by Cleon. The want of better seating accommodation for the political assemblies would be more keenly felt in view of the recent improvements in the Theatre of Dionysus, attributed to the time of Nicias.²

In considering the construction of the curved retaining wall of the Second Period we have noted the hasty, careless workmanship and the striving for economy evident throughout. Such shabby work would be almost inconceivable on any ordinary occasion in the course of the fifth century. Nor is it a structure of which any ambitious Athenian

¹ Some scholars have supposed that the phrase ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν necessarily implies that the sea was actually visible from the earlier bema, as it certainly could not have been if our reconstruction is correct. But this does not inevitably follow: πρὸς with the accusative may well bear in this context its common meaning "in the direction of." Cf. the phrases indicating the points of the compass: πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, ἐσπέραν, &c.

² Cf. Bulle, *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern*, I, pp. 79 f.

politician of a later time, such as Lycurgus, or any magnanimous foreign benefactor might justly be proud. But if the archaeological evidence points to a date around 400 B.C. we can do no better than assign its construction to a period of almost unparalleled political unrest and economic depression, i. e. to the time of the Thirty Tyrants, 404–3 B.C.

In reversing the relative positions of speaker and audience, the builders may have been led by the desire to secure a more seclusive gathering place, the entrance to which might be more readily controlled. Such a consideration would be of weight especially with the Thirty, who had established a select and limited citizen body. It has also been suggested that if the auditorium were carried up to a sufficient height along its north side, it would furnish to speaker and audience a welcome protection against the prevailing north wind which sweeps across the exposed ridge from the Attic plain. This is a factor which one can best appreciate by frequent visits to the site through the winter season. There must have been many days when it would have been utterly impossible to hold a public meeting on the place unless some protection were available against the whistling, piercing wind. On such days, however, the Theatre of Dionysus would lie in perfect calm and comparative warmth as a result of the shelter afforded by the Acropolis to the north.

The passages in ancient authors which may with certainty be assigned to the assembly place of the Second Period are neither many nor helpful.

Aristophanes, *Ecll.* (393 B.C.) 86 f.:

Γν. νῆ τὸν Δί', ὥστε δεῖ σε καταλαβεῖν ἔδρας
ὑπὸ τῷ λίθῳ, τῶν πρυτάνεων καταντικρῶ.

By *λίθος* the poet undoubtedly meant the speaker's platform, but because of the indiscriminate use of *λίθος* and *πέτρα* in reference to the bema of the earlier period one cannot be certain that *λίθος* in this instance indicates a platform consisting of a detached stone opposed to one hewn from the rock. We do, however, gain a hint as to the position of the prytanes: they must have had their place close by the bema and sat facing the mass of the audience.¹ From the same passage it is certain that in the Second as in the First Period the Assembly met seated.²

Hypereides, *contra Demosth.* (324/3 B.C.) IX, 18 ff.: *καὶ καθήμενος κάτω ὑπὸ τῆς(ι) κατατομῆς(ι), οἴσπερ [εἶω]θε κα[θ]ῆ[σ]θ[αι], ἐκέλευ[ε] (sc. ὁ Δημοσθένης) Μνηστῆρα τὸν χορευτῆ[ν] ἔρω[τ]ῆσαι τὸν Ἀρχαλον, ὅποσα εἴη τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἀνοισθησόμενα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.*

The context indicates that the incident occurred in the course of a public assembly. At this period the meeting place might have been either the Pnyx or the Theatre of

¹ In the fourth century an entire tribe was chosen on the occasion of each assembly to discharge the presidency and especially to be responsible for the behavior of the speaker. Their selection is described as follows: *καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ἀποκληροῦν φυλὴν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἥτις προεδρεύσει.* (Aeschines I, 33. Cf. *idem* III, 4; Pseudo-Demosthenes XXV, 90; Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* II³, p. 980.) They too must have had places adjoining the platform.

² Cf. also Aristoph. *Ecll.* 94, 98, 100; Demosth. XVIII, 169, 170. There is no mention of stone seats for this period.

Dionysus. In the theatre there was certainly a part designated as *κατατομή*, i.e. an artificial scarp. This, in all probability, was the vertical face of rock which rises above the rim of the auditorium and into which the monument of Thrasylus was set.¹ But it is inconceivable that an orator of Demosthenes' interest and activity should have been in the habit of sitting at the most distant possible point from the speaker's platform. Moreover, the adverb *κάτω*, if applied to the scarp of the theatre, could mean "down" only in relation to the Acropolis above. But there would be much more point to its use could we apply it to the lower, front part of an auditorium and understand it with reference to a rising cavea and audience. Thus it seems very difficult to apply the passage to the Theatre of Dionysus. But if we suppose that the Pnyx was the assembly place in question the language is more intelligible. Demosthenes would naturally be in the habit of sitting close to the speaker's platform. Here, if our proposed restoration is correct, he would be seated at the bottom of the sloping rock-cut floor which formed the back part of the first auditorium but bounded the front of the second. Such a seat might appropriately be described as "down below" (in reference to the rising seating floor), and "at the foot of the scarp."²

Both Demosthenes and Aeschines quote a law which required that the Assembly should meet for the first time after the Dionysia, to deal with sacred matters and *probolai* of the senate arising out of misdemeanours in connection with the festival, *ἐν Διονύσῳ*, i.e. in the precinct of Dionysus.³ Since the Theatre of Dionysus was included in his precinct we cannot but suppose that the people assembled in the theatre.⁴

It was perhaps from an appreciation of the greater comfort and convenience enjoyed on this annual occasion that the practice developed of meeting in the theatre at other times and for miscellaneous business. In the preambles to decrees passed at such meetings the place of assembly is designated as *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ* or *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐν Διονύσῳ* whereas the old phrase *ἐν Διονύσῳ* continued both in literary and epigraphic use in connection with the first assembly held after the Great Dionysia, being suggestive of the special character of the business then transacted.⁵ The decrees in which the precinct or the theatre is given as the meeting place date from 353/2 B.C. (*I.G.* II² 140, 4) into the early first century B.C. (*I.G.* II² 1029 [94/3 B.C.]).

¹ Cf. Hypereides and Philochorus *apud* Harpocration, *s. v.*; Pollux iv, 123; Photius, *s. v.*; Bekker, *Anecd.* I, 270, 21. The last passage indicates that there was confusion regarding the meaning of the term even in ancient times. See Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 314 f.

² Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 394, also refers this passage to the Pnyx.

³ Dem. XXI, 8; Aesch. II, 61.

⁴ Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 316, note 2, supposes that precinct and temple were regarded as separate, at least from early Hellenistic times. But this is quite inconsistent with *I.G.* II², 1011, 74 (n.c. 107-6): *ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐν Διονύσῳ* or Pseudo-Plut. X *Orat. Vit.*, 841 D: *τὸ ἐν Διονύσῳ θεάτρον*. Demosthenes used the phrase *ἐν Διονύσῳ* where he certainly had only the theatre in mind (V, 7): *εἰ γὰρ ἐν Διονύσῳ τραγωδοῦς ἐθροῖσθε*. See Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* II², p. 991, note 2.

⁵ Cf. Demosth. XXI, 9; Aesch. II, 61; *I.G.* II², indices p. 50, *s. v.* *ἐκκλησία*; Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 991. In the interpretation of these terms we favour the view of Dittenberger (*S.I.G.*³ 227, note 13) as against that of Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 316, note 2.

In addition to the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens, the theatre in Piraeus was occasionally used by the Assembly at this period. We hear of a meeting there in the fourth century for the discussion of naval matters.¹ In the preambles to decrees of the third and second century the Piraeus is occasionally mentioned as the place of meeting.² Since none of these concern naval affairs, we may presume that the theatre on Munychia and later the new theatre by the harbour of Zea had become an alternative place of meeting for ordinary business.

No regularity seems to have been observed in the insertion or omission of mention of the meeting place in the preambles of the decrees, at least so far as they have survived on stone; so that it is impossible to base any certain conclusions on its absence or on the comparative frequency of its appearance during this period. We are certainly not justified in assuming on this evidence that the Pnyx was entirely forsaken as the meeting place of the deliberative assembly from the middle of the fourth century. To be sure, its name never appears in a preamble; but this very omission might suggest that it was still regarded as the regular place of gathering whereas a meeting in the theatre was looked upon as something of an irregularity which required special notice in the published decree.

But there can be little doubt that the theatre grew in popularity, and it may be that it had become the recognised seat of the assembly by the first century B.C.; so that once again there was but a single meeting place and no mention of it was required in official publications. Such an usurpation of the theatre would be quite in keeping with the general practice of Greek cities of this period.³ We are told definitely that in the time of the Mithridatic War the people were deprived of the use of the Pnyx, for what reason we do not know.⁴ At the same time a platform was erected in front of the Stoa of Attalus by or for the use of the Roman generals.⁵ But this was probably only a temporary affair and we hear nothing further of it.

A long darkness has settled on the Pnyx. The site is of interest chiefly to visitors from abroad whom it serves to remind of the glorious days of Attic oratory.⁶ The next mention of it by an ancient author is probably to be referred to the later reconstruction.

¹ Cf. Demosth. XIX, 60.

² *I.G.* II², 785, 849, 850, 890, 910, 946, 971, 974, 977, 978.

³ For Syracuse cf. Trogus Pompeius, xxii, 9, 10 (317 B.C.); for Rhodes cf. Cicero, *de Republica* iii, 35, 48; for Miletus see Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³ 683, 45 (ca. 140 B.C.); for Ephesus cf. *Collection of Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* III, 481, 11. 339 f., 392 ff. (103/4 A.D.)

⁴ Cf. Poseidonius, *apud* Athenaeus V, 213 d: *καὶ μὴ περιδόμεν τὰ ἱερὰ κεκλεισμένα, ἀγχιῶντα δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια, τὸ θέατρον ἀνεκκλησίαστον, ἄφωνα δὲ τὰ δικαστήρια, καὶ τὴν θεῶν χρησιμοῖς καθωσιωμένην Πύκν' ἀφηρημένην τοῦ δήμου.* The speaker is the philosopher Athenion, just returned from a diplomatic mission to Mithridates and now urging the Athenians to resist the Romans. The language used leaves no doubt that the theatre was the regular place of assembly. It is to be noted also that the citizens, carried away by the speech, immediately elected Athenion strategus and the election took place in the theatre (213 e).

⁵ Cf. Poseidonius, *l. c.*, 212 f: *τὸ βῆμα τὸ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττάλου στοῶς ἄποδομημένον τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς.*

⁶ Cf. Cicero, *de fin.* v, 2, 5: *eun locum libenter invisit (L. Cicero) ubi Demosthenes et Aeschines inter se decertare soliti sunt.*

THE THIRD PERIOD: ITS REMAINS AND RESTORATION

The restoration of the earlier periods leaves practically untouched the familiar and monumental features of the site. These constitute members of a unified plan and belong to a pretentious reconstruction of a comparatively late date. The base-line of the plan is formed by the two sections of the southern scarp which, if continued, would meet in an obtuse angle in the centre where the bema lies. The retaining wall of this period lies approximately on a semicircle, the diameter of which (119 m. long) is given by a straight line joining the eastern and western extremities of the southern scarp. Along the western half of the front of the auditorium a great stone wall, running closely parallel to the scarp and slightly south of it, supported an upper level terrace. A narrow entrance way led down from this terrace into the auditorium. The principal entrance was on the side toward the city, i.e. the north. We shall now describe these various elements in their present condition and attempt to gain some conception of the original form of the whole.

The first task of the architect in charge of the reconstruction was to establish his base-line. This he did by cutting deep trenches in the shoulder of the hill immediately south of the auditoria of the earlier periods so that the southern walls of the trenches formed the scarp which one sees today. At the eastern and western extremities the trench was turned outward, toward the north, so as to lie roughly in the circumference of the great semicircle. The side scarps so formed extend outward 18 m., beyond which point the slope of the hillside reduces the depth of the trench, the bottom of which is level, to nothing. These initial trenches were carried down to a uniform level, *vis.*, that of the base of the new bema. It is probable that they were cut to the bottom in the beginning, since one cannot detect any interruption in the vertical face of the scarp such as must have been left had the trenches been worked down gradually during the process of quarrying. The trenches were just wide enough to permit a single workman to swing pick or hammer (Fig. 21). Near the eastern end of the eastern scarp, where the inner wall of the trench still rises to a height of nearly four metres, the channel measures 0.70 m. wide at the top. The width of the bottom, which can still be traced throughout the length of the whole scarp, averages about 0.55 m. The resultant scarp has a maximum height of 7 m. in the eastern half; the western part is lower, rising at the most only 3.50 m. above the level of the bottom of the bema.

The next move was to cut away the shoulder of rock thus isolated in front of the scarp and the bema, and to use the material so acquired in the construction of the new terrace wall to the north. Work began on the western side, where the rock was removed throughout down to the level of the bottom of the initial trench. This left a rock floor, level but rough, in front of the scarp, extending outward to a maximum width of 18 m. at its western end. The quarrying continued toward the east; but apparently

the builders had secured sufficient material before removing all the rock, so that a great island of it was left in the southeast corner, isolated by the initial trenches along the south and east and by minor quarry trenches on the north and west. Between this mass and the bema, the floor was worked down level and comparatively smooth. We shall see



Fig. 21. Quarry trench along south scarp of Period III

that these level areas were to be covered up by the sloping earth floor of the auditorium, which must also have concealed the lower face of the scarp at least in the parts farthest from the bema. One might then ask why the builder should have been at pains to remove the rock down to a level plane and to leave so smooth a face on the great scarp, even to its very bottom. This scarp is most impressive in its trueness and regularity. Yet it is certain that the level areas in front of the scarp were never used as floors because of the jagged nature of their surface and the fact that quarry dust and chips were found lying undisturbed upon them, indicating that they had been covered with earth immediately after the quarrying. Supposing that the quarrying had been let out to various contractors, the easiest way of controlling the amount of rock to be removed by each would have been to use the initial trench as a base and work the whole area down to a uniform level. The smooth surface of the scarp, even in its lower parts where it was undoubtedly concealed, seems to have been

the natural result of the system of quarrying followed. Even the northern front of the mass of rock remaining in the southeast corner is remarkably smooth, although it certainly represents nothing more than the side of a quarry trench. There is no trace of subsequent dressing to be found anywhere on the face of the scarp.

The diameter for the semicircle of the back line of the auditorium was now established by joining the extremities of the great scarp, the resultant line passing 4.30 m. in front of the bema. The lines of the side scarps and the remains of the new terrace wall do not exactly follow the circumference of the semicircle resting on this base-line. Close to the scarp the actual line indicated by the remains falls slightly within the circumference; toward the north it protrudes beyond, showing a maximum aberration of *ca.* 5.20 m. slightly to the west of the point where the main axis intersects the terrace wall (Plate II). An explanation for this irregularity will be suggested below (p. 155). In any case, the

two lines coincide so closely as to leave no doubt that the procedure in the design was as indicated above and that scarp and outer terrace wall belong to a unified plan. That the scarp could not have served as the front of the auditorium of the Second Period¹ is proven by the fact that it is disproportionately wide for the arc of the earlier retaining wall and there is absolutely no sign of a lateral extension of the scarp such as might be supposed to have occurred in the final reconstruction and enlargement.

The construction of the great terrace wall deserves some notice. The blocks employed, so far as they now survive, are all of the same material, *viz.*, the native, gray limestone. Numerous natural cavities and faults render its working difficult; but when once in place it has proven an admirable stone for such heavy construction. The enormous size of the blocks precludes the supposition that they were transported any distance or ever moved up hill. Some of the smaller stones may have been cut on the upper slopes of the hill to east and west of the assembly place, where there are occasional traces of the quarrying of such blocks. But the great mass of the material was undoubtedly taken from the shoulder of the hill in front of the great scarp. The isolated mass of unremoved rock in the southeast corner of the auditorium has long been pointed to in

proof of this; the trenches which were cut through the earth of the area in the course of the present excavations have further illustrated the process of quarrying.

When the front of the auditorium had been delimited by the deep trenches mentioned above, the quarrymen set to work along the south edge of the seating floor of the previous period and proceeded to remove the intervening rock down to the level of the bottom of the new bema. This they did by cutting a series of smaller trenches parallel to the trenches on the base-line at intervals equal to the length of the desired blocks. Clear traces of the cuttings were exposed in the bottom of the trenches in the southern part of the area (Fig. 22). Commencing at the end of one of the resultant long islands



Fig. 22. Quarry marks in front of auditorium of Period III

¹ As presumed by Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 393.

of rock, the quarrymen proceeded to "break out" the individual blocks. Their method is well illustrated by some cuttings visible on the shoulder of the hill near the southeast corner of the great semicircle of the last period which, judging by the size of the blocks to be cut (*ca.* $3 \times 1.30 \times 0.60$ m.) are probably contemporary with the construction of that period (Fig. 23). One great stone had already been removed, leaving exposed one face of the next block. A narrow trench (0.30 m. wide on top, 0.20 m. at the bottom)



Fig. 23. Traces of quarrying on the hilltop. The boy stands in a quarry trench

was sunk along the line of the other side of this stone, a task rendered unnecessary at the ends by the presence there of natural fissures. Now along the base of the exposed face a shallow undercutting or guide line was cut and in the bottom of it a series of 10 slits was chiselled in the same plane as the top of the block, measuring *ca.* 0.15 m. long, 0.05 m. wide and 0.018 m. deep. Into each of these was inserted an iron wedge, probably between thin iron plates to prevent it rebounding; and these wedges, when driven in together, split and raised the block. Traces of precisely similar cuttings are to be seen on the face of one of the great blocks in the outer retaining wall (Fig. 24) and at several other points in the same wall. Ordinarily the smooth faces left by the trenching served with a minimum of further working as the surfaces of the joints; the top and the bottom of the block being left in their rough state to take their places in either face of the wall. The edges of the outer face were ordinarily bevelled with a chisel driven parallel to the edge, leaving a series of 3–6 deep grooves (Fig. 25). This had the practical value of providing a straight edge from which the joint might be more

easily worked and the block aligned, and also removed the unsightly quarry marks. It also gave the effect of a heavy rustication. That this was deliberately aimed at is proved by the fact that the edges were chamfered even on certain blocks whose outer face had been left smooth by the quarrying (Fig. 26).¹

The problem of securing a satisfactory bedding for the wall was rendered difficult by the slope of the rock surface both from above and from the sides. Yet the stones in the central section designed to carry two or more courses above them were regularly given a level bedding, though with a minimum of cutting. In some 12 places small cut stones were inserted to even up irregularities; but the greater part of the block invariably rests on the bed-rock. The effective manner in which the foundation was laid is attested by the fact that not one of all the great blocks which remain has stirred from its place nor has a single joint opened. The absence of the other than natural causes. The bedding for blocks ϵ and ζ was roughly dressed down at an angle of about 30° following the slope of the original rock surface (Fig. 33). In the single course which continues with interruptions above this point, the stones rest merely on the undressed rock and the earth which fills up the hollows (Fig. 27).



Fig. 24. Quarry wedge marks on block of retaining wall of Period III

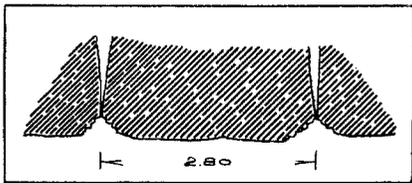


Fig. 25. Horizontal Section through retaining wall

The method followed in building the wall is obvious. When the first course of blocks had been laid, earth

¹ Clarke (*Papers of the American School* IV, p. 227, note I) supposed that in order to split out the blocks circular holes were drilled, into which wooden pegs were driven and wetted, the resultant swelling cracking the stone. The drafting on the edges of the finished blocks he imagined to be the remains of channels cut to conduct and hold the water around the wooden pegs. But a careful examination of every block in the great wall has failed to reveal a trace of an (ancient) circular drill hole; and in view of the abundant evidence for the system described above, there is no reason to doubt that this latter was the practice followed by the authors of the final reconstruction of the Pnyx. The system is perfectly familiar to the Greek quarryman of the present day. Clarke further conjectured that much of the rock had been removed through raising it to a high temperature by fire and then by throwing water or other liquid upon it. But in the extensive areas of quarried surface revealed in the present excavation not a sign of firing was detected, nor did any calcined limestone come to light in any of the fillings examined.



Fig. 26. Detail of retaining wall of Period III

and great stones were thrown in behind it, flush with its top level. The blocks for the next course were then rolled down, the upper surfaces of the blocks now *in situ* were dressed to receive them, and they were moved out and set in position. The hard-packed surface of this working floor was found on a level with the top of the second course from the bottom in the north end of Trench A. Great masses of the fine chips from the final dressing of the joints were found along the outer foot of the wall when cleared. The entire surface of the course *in situ* was not worked down uniformly, but usually an individual bedding was prepared for each block of the succeeding course. In many cases the dressing was not carried to the extreme outer edge, but a low rim was left, representing an economy of effort and a guarantee against the outward sliding of the upper blocks (Fig. 28). How the stones were actually moved into their final position is difficult to explain. Their enormous size and the absence of lewis cuttings preclude the supposition that they were raised and dropped into their beddings by any arrangement of ropes and pulleys above. Nor are any pry holes to



Fig. 27. Blocks α - δ in retaining wall of Period III, from the northeast

be seen in the upper surfaces. It is possible, however, that some peculiar cuttings in the outer edges of a number of the upper blocks in the northeast section of the wall were employed in this connection (Fig. 28). Two of the stones, γ and ϵ , show two each, a third, β , has one. These apertures, sometimes round in section with a diameter of *ca.* 0.04 m., or oval with the long axis horizontal (*ca.* 0.04 \times 0.07 m.) were cut down immediately behind the outer edge of the blocks, leaving a round isthmus of stone from 0.05–0.09 m. in thickness. They were made after the surface had been dressed for the reception of the blocks of the upper course. Yet those blocks, when once *in situ*, must, in some cases at least, have covered the holes. The edges of the cuttings are rounded as though for ropes, and it is not impossible that they served as anchor holds for capstans used in drawing the blocks (on rollers) to their approximate final positions.¹

The great size of the blocks has attracted more notice than the careful manner of their fitting. Yet the latter is equally worthy of admiration. The vertical faces of the

¹ The height of these cuttings above the ancient ground level makes it improbable that they were used for tying animals.

stones show along the front edges of their ends a band of *anathyrosis* of an average width of 0.12 m. This is smoothly dressed with a toothed chisel, permitting such close setting that in many cases it is impossible to insert the point of a knife anywhere in the length of a joint. The surface of the stone behind this band was worked down more roughly with a single point and cut back so heavily that the joints are sometimes open



Fig. 28. Blocks $L\beta$ and $L\gamma$ in retaining wall of Period III

as much as 0.20 m. in the unexposed inner surface (Fig. 28). In the broken single course on the east side no effort was made to joint the stones nor indeed to bring their ends into immediate contact with one another. The horizontal joints were not worked so carefully. Only rarely are traces of the toothed chisel visible on them. The upper and lower faces were dressed to a smooth plane with a fine single point, assuring a firm gripping contact over the entire area. The wall at its highest parts shows a slight and irregular inward inclination of a few centimetres.

This wall is commonly described as polygonal, a term likely to be misleading, since in the present instance the style employed partakes more of the nature of ashlar than of true polygonal masonry. All the major joints are almost or exactly horizontal or vertical. The coursing in the lower part was considerably disturbed by the irregularities

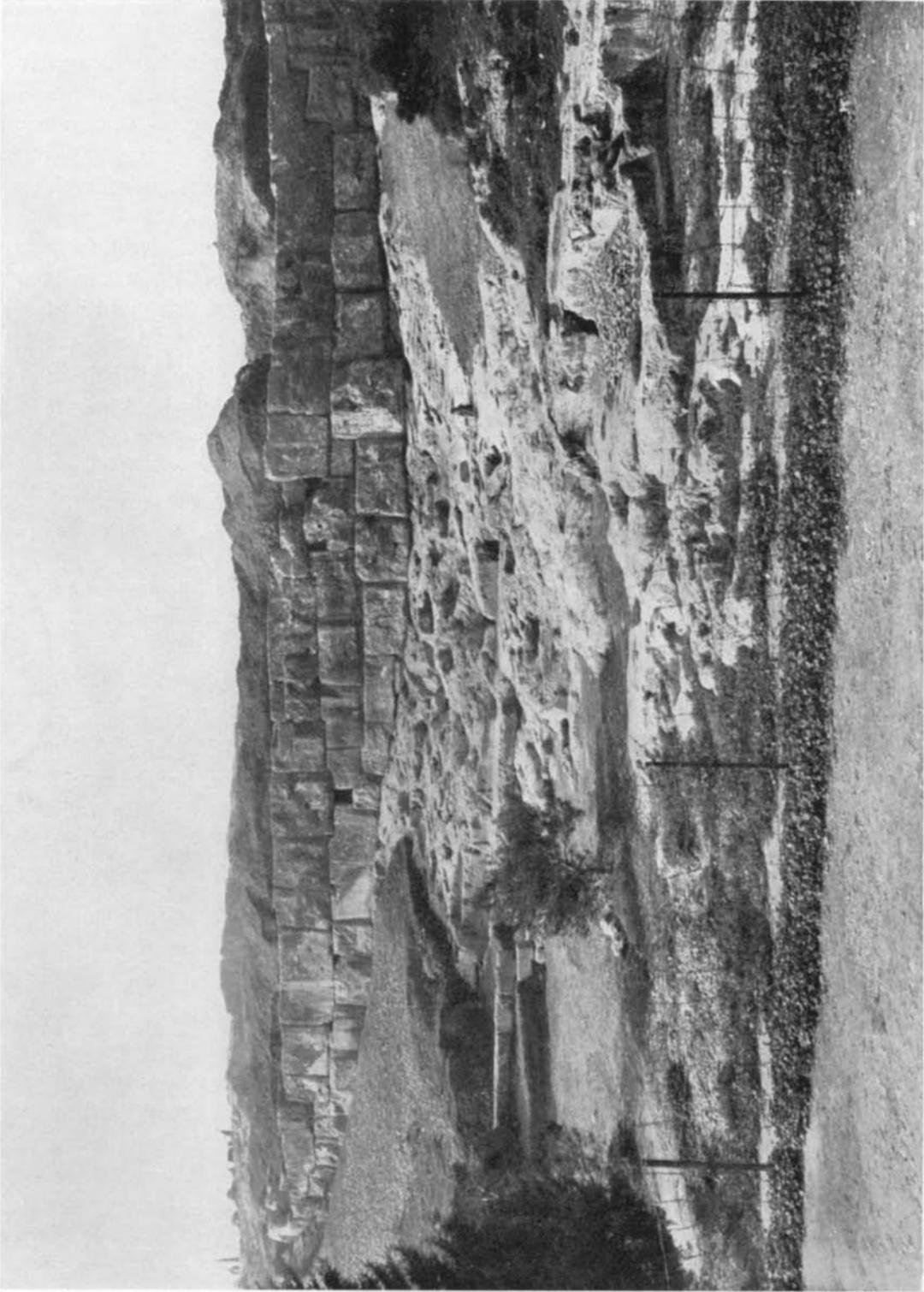


Fig. 29. Retaining wall of Period III, from the north

of the ground level; but the aim of the architect was clearly to correct this unevenness. He succeeded so far as to secure a practically level bedding for the entire length of the fourth which, as we shall find reason to believe, was the last course (Fig. 29). Its top undoubtedly presented a level and unbroken line. He seems not to have been concerned, however, that the vertical joints in alternate courses should fall one above the other, i.e. that the wall should be truly isodomic.¹



Fig. 30. Trench A, looking north

A few figures may serve to indicate the size of the blocks employed. The present top course of the unbroken central section, measuring *ca.* 79 m. in length, comprises 33 stones of an average length of almost 2.4 m. The mean height of a full course is approximately 1.90 m. The width of the blocks varies greatly: many of those in the central part are 1.50 m. or more wide. Those in the southeast part, designed to carry not more than one additional course, are narrower. The dimensions of three of the larger blocks from the uppermost surviving course are given below together with their approximate weights:²

Block	Length	Width	Depth	Cubical Content	Weight in Kilograms	Weight in Tons
$\alpha\theta$	2.80 m.	1.55 m.	2.00 m.	8.68 cu. m.	23,436	25.84
$\alpha\alpha$	2.90 m.	1.30 m.	2.50 m.	9.425 "	25,447	28.05
$\alpha\beta$	3.60 m.	1.40 m.	2.20 m.	11.088 "	29,938	33.01

The filling associated with the terrace wall of the Third Period is distinctive and not easily to be confused with that of the Second Period. The space between the line of the inner, curved retaining wall and the outermost wall is largely occupied by the great blocks already mentioned. Many of these approach in size the blocks used in the latter wall and usually show two or more faces quite smooth and marked by the parallel

¹ The restored plan and section of this wall given by Judeich (*Topographie*², figs. 51 and 52) lend an entirely false impression since they show a double course of blocks in the thickness of the wall and make the outlines of the individual blocks irregular and polygonal, whereas the actual thickness of the wall is that of a single block and practically every individual stone is rectangular in section.

² Reckoned from a specific gravity of 2.7.

striations of the chisel commonly found in the traces of quarrying of the last period (Fig. 30). They were, in all probability, blocks which split or broke in the quarrying and so were rendered useless for the wall.

In their present position they not only occupy space in the filling but serve to relieve the wall itself of much of the outward thrust of the enormous mass of earth above and behind, thus doing the work of the system of internal buttressing commonly employed in connection with terrace walls of this magnitude. The interstices among these great blocks are filled largely by quarry chips of the size of a man's fist. Within the line of the wall of the Second Period and above what remains of the filling of that period there is a great mass of the filling of the final reconstruction. Here it consists chiefly of earth, interspersed with many small pebbles. The earth is black or gray and so quite different from the distinctive red material of the earlier filling. The two deposits are further distinguishable by the great quantity of potsherds to be found in the later, either scattered through the earth or sometimes lying in pockets practically unmixed with earth. The lines of the filling, sloping downward toward the north, indicate that the process of throwing in the material commenced in the southern part and continued outward (Fig. 32).

The original height and extent of the outer retaining wall are matters of cardinal importance in determining the form of the assembly place in the final period. The question has given rise to some debate. Curtius concluded that there is now lacking at least one course of stones similar to those which still survive.¹ Clarke and Crow believed that there was equally good evidence for the view that there had originally been at least two additional courses, while their restoration is based on the supposition that there were actually many more.² In the restoration section as it appears in both the first and second editions of Judeich, the outer wall is carried up in uniform masonry and practically perpendicular to a height sufficient to turn the level of the seating floor in toward the bema.



Fig. 31. Trench C, looking northeast

¹ *Attische Studien* I, p. 28.

² *Papers of the American School* IV, p. 223.

In our opinion the actual remains afford convincing evidence that there was one but only one additional course of blocks similar to those which remain. It has been pointed out above that in the construction of the wall one course was laid at a time and only when its blocks had been placed were their surfaces prepared for the succeeding course. Now the upper surfaces of the blocks in the last surviving course have been so



Fig. 32. Eastern wall of Trench D above lines of retaining walls of Periods I and II

prepared over the central part of the wall's circuit save in the case of blocks $\kappa\gamma$, $\kappa\delta$, $\kappa\epsilon$ (for which cf. below, pp. 175 f.). In places one may distinguish the individual beddings dressed for the succeeding course, and their dimensions prove that that course consisted of huge blocks such as those which survive. That this course was actually laid and that the work was not interrupted at this point is indicated by the height of earth within, which could not have remained in place through all the centuries had there not been something to support it for at least part of the time. On the eastern side this dressed surface continues up to the western end of block ς (Fig. 33). The western end of this block shows *anathyrosis*, clearly meant for the joint with the neighboring block of a course now missing. Its top, however, is very irregular; and that this unevenness was not caused by the hacking of later destroyers is proven by the

absence of any trace of later cutting. Its surface is in fact so irregular that it would have been quite impossible to set another great block, or even a block of any kind, on top of it. The neighboring stone to the southeast is missing. The top of the next block, ϵ , is smooth; but clearly this dressing must have been done in the process of quarrying since the surface slopes in at such an angle as to preclude the possibility of another block on top of it; nor is there any indication that the stone has shifted from its



Fig. 33. Blocks ϵ and ζ in retaining wall of Period III

original position. Beyond this point there is a complete gap of over 8 m., succeeded by a row of four large blocks *in situ* (Fig. 27). Since no bedding was prepared for them and since their tops are very irregular, they could not possibly have carried a second course. Between them and the end of the side scarp there is no other stone in line. Whether there were blocks here originally is uncertain: the bed-rock is very irregular and quite unworked but, on the other hand, no bedding was prepared for the four last-mentioned blocks. From the north end of the side scarp to the great scarp there is absolutely no trace of a bedding for a wall which, had it ever existed, must have survived on the exposed rock surface. A large block which lies just outside the line of the semicircle near the outer edge of the side scarp might be thought to have belonged to a wall running along here and to have rolled out of position (Plate II; Fig. 34). But this seems not to have been the case, since the ancient stratification extends unbroken around and above it. It probably rolled out here by chance from the quarry and was left to fill up the hollow in which it lies.

The situation on the western side is closely parallel. Figure 35 shows in the third place from the left the last great block, $\lambda\theta$, remaining in the continuous line of the wall on that side. As may be seen from the photograph, the irregularity of its surface precludes the supposition that it carried a block of an additional course. That its surface is now in the condition in which it left the quarry is proven by a line of 9 wedge marks along the outer edge of its top. These broad and regularly spaced cuttings are identical with traces of the original quarrying to be seen on other blocks of the



Fig. 34. Block near southeast corner of auditorium of Period III

great wall and quite different from the narrow, carelessly cut and irregularly placed wedge holes which betray the later vandal. The top of the neighboring stone to the east is dressed to receive another block; and the missing course probably extended to this point. Its neighbor to the west has been pulled out of its bedding and of it nothing remains. There follow three more great blocks. The top of the first of these is quite smooth, probably as it left the quarry, since there is no trace of reworking; the surface of the next shows an original unevenness; while the top of the last has suffered from late stone-seekers and is riddled by their wedge holes. These three rest on roughly worked beddings; and the dressing of the rock surface continues one metre beyond them toward the southwest. No other block survives in the possible line of the wall farther to the south on this side; and a series of short cross trenches failed to reveal any trace of a dressed bedding. It is not impossible, however, that there was originally a single course of blocks here as in the corresponding place on the other side.

Granting, then, that there was originally not more than a single course of blocks on either side from the great scarp down to the blocks ζ and $\lambda\eta$ respectively, one might still argue that the central section of the retaining wall was carried up many courses higher to support a filling of earth, which, along the sides, where the level of the outside rock surface is higher, was allowed to spill out over the line of the wall without support. But this is an impossible supposition since it would mean that the single course of stones, which certainly existed on the east side at any rate, would have been completely buried and so served no useful purpose.

Another significant clue to the original height of the retaining wall is the fact that the huge rocks thrown into the filling behind rise nowhere, so far as they have been

great wall and quite different from the narrow, carelessly cut and irregularly placed wedge holes which betray the later vandal. The top of the neighboring stone to the east is dressed to receive another block; and the missing course probably extended to this point. Its neighbor to the west has been pulled out of its bedding and of it nothing remains. There follow three more great blocks. The top of the first of these is quite smooth, probably as it left the quarry, since there is no trace of reworking; the surface of the next shows an

exposed, more than a metre above the present top of the wall. In Trench A these rocks are still covered by 2 m. of earth; so that it is impossible to suppose that many, or indeed any, of them have disappeared. Now, had the retaining wall been carried up much higher in the same style of masonry, we should have expected the accompanying filling to be continued upward in the same manner. As has been pointed out above, these rocks are simply the quarry waste from the cutting of the huge blocks for the retaining wall; and it would seem that when the quarrying ceased, no more of these great "chunks" were available.

We must conclude that the outer retaining wall in its original state was carried up between the stones marked ζ and $\lambda\theta$ on Plate II by the height of one additional course of great blocks above the present level of its top, while from those points possibly to the outer ends of the side scarps it continued as a single course of blocks very roughly laid.

In spite of the apparent difficulties which this conclusion carries in its train, it seems certain that the seating floor of the auditorium of the Last Period sloped down toward the bema from all sides. There is positive evidence for this slope in the western wing. The great mass of earth which rises gently upward from the bema on this side is an artificial filling and lies *in situ* (Fig. 1; Plate IIIa). This is certain because, as pointed out above, the rock floor was covered over shortly after the quarrying and so great a mass of earth could have found its way here only by artificial means. A rising floor was also necessary on this side if use was to be made of the three rock-cut steps which, as we shall find reason to believe, were cut in the western scarp in the course of the final reconstruction. The evidence in the case of the eastern wing is equally cogent. Here too there still remains a great mass of artificial filling rising from the bema outward. At the outer edge the earth filling now shows a maximum depth of over 2 m. That it was originally much higher is indicated by the presence, in the southeast corner, of the rough mass of unquarried rock. It is altogether improbable that this unsightly bulk should have been left exposed in the corner of the assembly place. That it was actually covered over by a sloping seating floor is further suggested by the fact that its surface shows a regular inclination toward the bema, although there was a greater depth of rock to be cut away on the inner, i.e. western side.



Fig. 35. Blocks $\lambda\zeta$ - $\mu\alpha$ in retaining wall of Period III

In determining the original gradient of the floor in the wings we must then fix upon a slope at least as steep as that of the mass of filling which remains in the west side, steep enough also to cover the unquarried rock in the southeast corner, and yet at an angle which would not raise the floor above the steps in the western scarp. The slope most nearly fulfilling these conditions would produce a floor rising at an angle of 4° to the horizontal and attaining a maximum height above the level of the bottom of the bema of 4 m. at the extremities of the great scarp. This is calculated on the supposition that a level area was left around the bema extending out *ca.* 5.40 m. from its sides (cf. below, p. 158).

It must be admitted that there is no positive evidence for supposing that the seating floor in its central, or northern, part rose outward from the bema at this period. But it is difficult to see why the architect should have gone to very considerable pains to provide a satisfactory seating accommodation for the occupants of the wings while totally disregarding the greater part of the audience to be seated in front of the bema. The universal tradition of Greek and Roman assembly places would demand that the floor should have been at least level, as for instance in the Forum at Rome. But if in Rome it was found necessary to place the speaker on the Rostra at a height of three metres for the convenience of an audience standing on a level floor it is impossible that a speaker's platform only one metre high should have sufficed for a similar level gathering place in Athens. The height of the Pnyxian bema, it should be observed, closely approximates that of the stage of the Roman theatre of the same period which was regularly associated with a sloping auditorium. The only reasonable conclusion is that in the Last Period the seating floor rose outward from the bema with a uniform slope at all points.

Having established this essential feature of the auditorium in its final period we are still faced with the difficult problem how the architect gained the necessary height in the cavea, especially toward the north. We have seen reason to believe that the retaining wall was originally carried up above the present level of its top by one (but only one) course of great blocks, representing a probable increase in height of about 2 m. This would still leave the top of the wall at a point directly opposite the bema *ca.* 7 m. lower than the base of the bema. To this difference we must add the height of the outer edge of the cavea above the base of the bema, i.e. *ca.* 4 m.; so that the total additional height to be secured was *ca.* 11 m. Various solutions suggest themselves. Was the retaining wall carried higher in a lighter style of stone masonry? We have seen, however, that the surfaces of the blocks in the single course surviving in the eastern side are too rough and irregular to have supported dressed stones of any size. Besides there is no trace of a suitable bedding for such in the wings. Had a system of arches and interior supporting walls of brick or *opus incertum* been employed, as so frequently in Roman theatres and amphitheatres of the period, some trace of it must have remained. Actually there is absolutely no evidence for the use of these building materials anywhere in the auditorium of the Last Period. The use of a timber framework as underpinning for the seats is rendered highly improbable by the large area of the assembly place and

by the expense of maintenance; and the possibility of its having been employed is practically excluded by the complete absence of beddings for wooden posts or beams in those surviving parts of the top of the retaining wall which were never covered by another course and in the living rock in the wings. In our opinion the most probable solution remains that which we have already suggested for the Second Period,—an earth embankment with a slope toward the bema to carry the seats and a steeper slope down to the top of the retaining wall on the outside. This would mean that the top of the retaining wall was not intended to represent the outer line of the cavea but that this line was formed by the crest of the earthen embankment. This view is strengthened by the irregularities already noted in the laying out of the great retaining wall. As has been said, this lies in general on the semicircle whose diameter is formed by a straight line joining the extremities of the great scarp. Now the greatest irregularity is to be noted near the mid-point of the wall, where it lies 5.20 m. outside the circumference of the true semicircle. Such an aberration on a radius of only 59.50 m. would appear excessive if regarded as a mere blunder on the part of the architect,¹ who seems, so far as we may judge from other parts of his work, to have been no incompetent master. The irregularity is explicable, however, on the supposition that it was absorbed by the earth slope which at this point was highest and so necessarily widest.

The actual outer line of the cavea was probably a true semicircle in keeping with the regular practice in theatres of this period. But it is doubtful if this semicircle was described from the centre which served for the laying out of the great wall, *viz.*, the mid-point of the straight line joining the extremities of the scarp. In the plan of our proposed restoration we have fixed the centre of the auditorium proper at the mid-point of the front line of the speaker's platform and used as radius the distance between this point and either extremity of the scarp. Thus the speaker would be equidistant from every point in the outer edge of the seating floor. This would be consistent with the principle of construction in theatres of this period, in which the auditorium is usually centred on the mid-point of the stage front.² By shifting the centre of his seating floor to the south the architect would also secure a wider interval between the lip of the auditorium proper and the terrace wall, thus gaining greater width for the outward slope of the earth embankment.

An auditorium of this size would require at least one diazoma. The only logical place for it is suggested by the stairs cut in the western scarp; and on our restored plan we have placed it so as to open on them. No trace of diazoma or entrance way is to be found at the corresponding point of the eastern scarp. Nor should we have expected any, since the diazoma was undoubtedly paved only with packed earth and, as we shall see, there was no need of another entrance here. There was, presumably, an open passage way around the outer edge of the auditorium.

¹ As supposed by Clarke, *Papers of the American School IV*, p. 217, note B.

² Cf. Fiechter, *Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters*, Munich, 1914, pp. 84 f.; fig. 72.

We must presume too that the seating floor was divided radially into wedges. Some clue as to this division is perhaps given by two lines of beddings for stelae running parallel to the great scarps, one on either side of the bema (Plate II). On the west side four were found, on the east two only. The beddings are about 0.34 m. long, 0.16 m. wide and 0.08 m. deep, with the long axis invariably at right angles to the line of the scarp.



Fig. 36. Bedding block for stela in filling of Period III

The westernmost bedding on the western side, instead of being cut like the others in the bed-rock, is worked in the top of a large, roughly squared block of limestone, the bottom of which rests on the earth filling, 0.40 m. above bed-rock (Fig. 36). The filling lies undisturbed around it, so that we must suppose it to have been placed in position as the filling was thrown in. The purpose of the block was clearly to obviate the necessity of a stela of great height, most of which would be buried in the earth at this point in the rising seating floor. We failed to find another similar block outside this one on the western side; but a pit had been dug in recent times at the critical point and the block may have disappeared. The corresponding line on the eastern side was also probably completed in the same way, since a trench failed to reveal more than two beddings cut in the living rock. Of the stelae themselves only the base of one remains: of Hymettian marble leaded into the second bedding from the west on the western side. The only apparent explanation for these

stelae is that they rose above the floor and marked certain divisions of the auditorium. The beddings lie at closely uniform intervals from the scarp, the distance varying from 10.40 to 10.75 m. Thus the area lying between each line of stelae and its respective scarp (*ca.* 567 sq. m.) would represent about one tenth of the total seating floor. The stelae of other similar division lines, if such existed, were presumably bedded in blocks set in the filling and have disappeared with the gradual detrition of the latter. It is not impossible that one of these blocks now lies below the great retaining wall, some 16 m. north of it (Fig. 47). This is a rough mass of limestone worked only on one face, in which there is a sinking 0.18 m. long, 0.15 m. wide and 0.10 m. deep. As the earth filling of the embankment washed away it may have rolled down with it. The two lines established by the existing remains, if projected inwards, would meet at a point 3.40 m. in front of the mid-point of the face of the bema. Granted that there were originally other corresponding lines, one would be inclined to

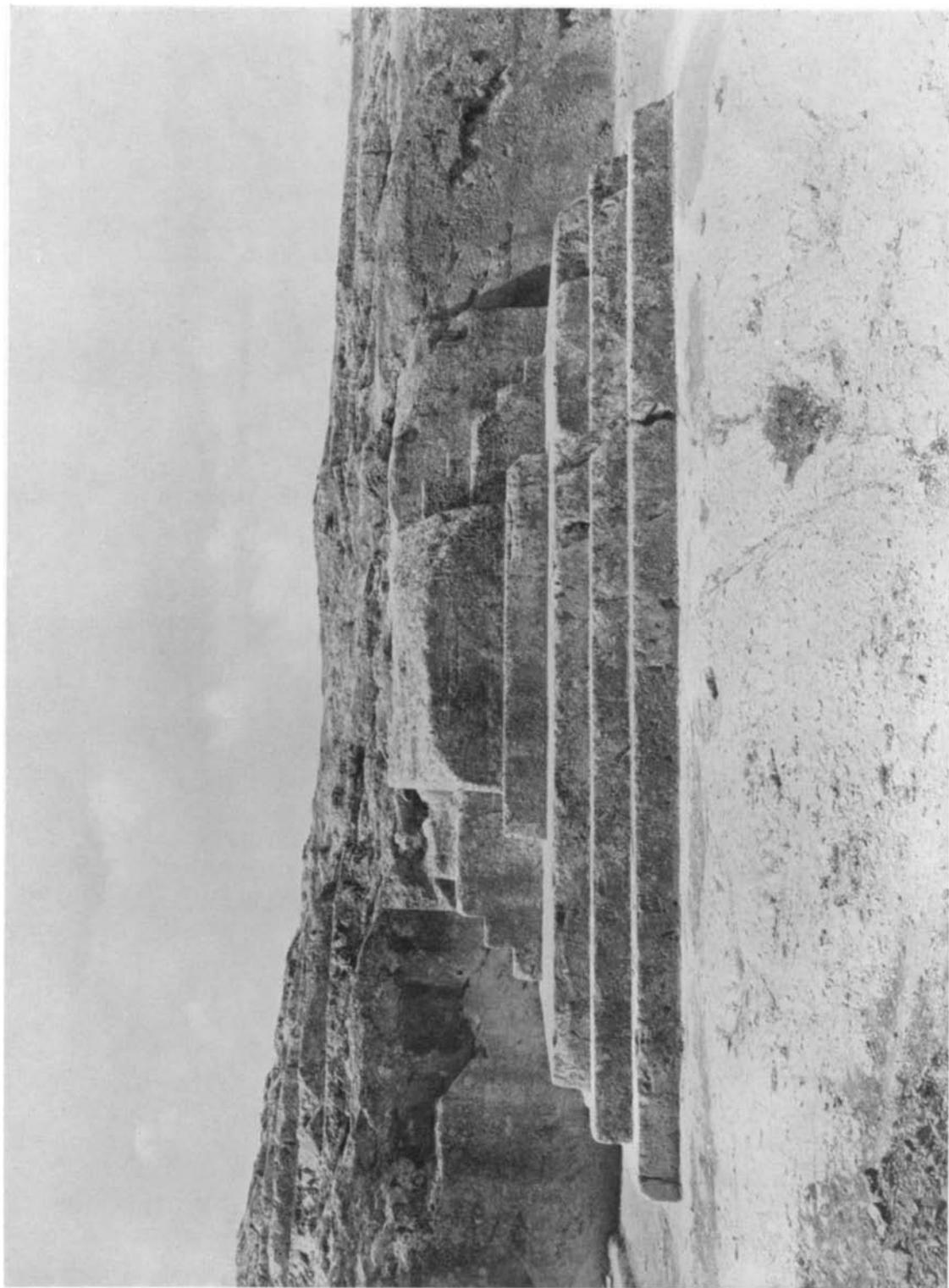


Fig. 37. Bema of Period III

suppose that they all radiated from this as a common centre. But this point lies 4 m. to the north of that which we suppose to have served as centre for the auditorium. Such a duality of centres would result in a disturbing lack of symmetry. It is possible, then, that the (existing) first lines were established with reference to the scarps, and that the other (hypothetical) lines were directed to a centre on the front line of the bema. At any rate, the substantial reasons in favor of accepting the point on that line as the centre for the back of the auditorium, together with the uncertainties regarding the lines of stelae, do not justify one in moving forward the centre of the auditorium to the point suggested by the intersection of those lines.

There was undoubtedly an "orchestra" or level area in front and to the sides of the bema. Evidence is lacking to enable us to fix its extent with complete certainty. In our restoration sketch (Fig. 51) its bounding line has been placed on the basis of a clue furnished by a small square stele bedding (0.13 m. square, 0.10 m. deep) in the line of the larger beddings lying parallel to the western side of the scarp. Its small size proves that it did not belong to the same system. It is not impossible that it supported a post marking the limits of the orchestral area. If symmetrically disposed about the bema, this area would have had a total width of about 20 m. The rock surface as far out as this proposed limit is either smooth or lies slightly lower than the bottom of the bema, so that it might be levelled up with earth; whereas beyond this point on the western side the rock floor becomes impossibly rough.

The actual seats, if indeed such existed, probably consisted of wooden benches, since, had they been of stone, it is difficult to understand how so vast an amount of material could so completely have disappeared.

The suggested restoration indicates a maximum radius for the auditorium of 60 m. The seating floor, inclusive of "orchestra" and *diazomata*, would measure about 5550 sq. m. and this, after deductions are made for passage ways, might accommodate over 10,000 seated persons: probably a liberal estimate of the number of those interested in politics at the time of the reconstruction.

That the speaker's platform of the Last Period, for long the most distinctive landmark of the site, is contemporary with the great scarp in front of which it rises, is suggested by the similarity in the workmanship of the two and proven by the quarrymarks around the bema. As observed above, the first task of the architect of the final reconstruction was to secure his base-line by cutting two deep trenches in the shoulder of the hill approaching each other so that they should have met at an angle of 158 degrees. But instead of actually coming together, they turned northwards at their inner ends so that each of them marked one side (6.35-6.37 m. long) of the bema-to-be. The ground plan of the platform was completed by a transverse trench (9.67 m. long) across its front. The rock of the hill side was then quarried away leaving the massive central cube which was now worked into shape. The bottom of the quarry trench, of uniform width, can still be traced in an unbroken line along the foot of the scarp and on the three exposed sides of the bema.

The bema is a substantial but simple arrangement (Figs. 37 and 38). It consists essentially of two parts: a lower podium or speaker's platform proper, and, resting on the back part of this, a mass of living rock carrying on either side a flight of steps leading to its top. The platform was rendered accessible on its exposed sides by three continuous steps having a combined height of 1.04 m. The level area on top available for the speaker has a maximum length of 8.35 m. and a minimum width of 2.20 m.

The cube of rock at the back is surrounded, save where the stairways rise against it, by a bank of the living rock 0.48 m. high and of the same width. Above this its walls rise vertically to a maximum height of 3 m. above the base of the bema. Its top behind, i. e. in its southern part, is roughly dressed. In front, however, it is quite irregular and slopes sharply down toward the north. On either side, behind, a flight of five steps leads up from the lower platform to the top of this massive cube. On the western side, the second and third steps from the top were cut only for the inner half of their breadth from the rock, the outer half consisting of stone blocks set in, while the topmost step in its entire width was thus built up (Fig. 38). These blocks have disappeared; but their original presence is to be inferred from bands of *anathyrosis* on the joint faces and from the pry holes on the horizontal surfaces. On the eastern side as well, it had been found necessary, apparently, to supplement the living rock in the same way; but here the work was never completed and the rough quarrymarks are still visible (Fig. 39). A close examination leaves no doubt that this irregularity is original and not due to later vandalism.

A glance at the plan (Fig. 38) will indicate an irregularity in the cutting of the western side. The main back quarry trench of the western scarp, instead of being continued, like its eastern counterpart, in an unbroken line above the western stairway, jogs outward at the line of the western side of the lower platform. In the face of the mass of rock thus left above the western stairs one may trace a jagged line which is clearly all that was left by the late quarrymen of an earlier stairway (Fig. 37). Leading down from a platform a few centimetres higher than the topmost level of the late bema, the ends of four steps can be traced with certainty; it is possible, but improbable, that other lower steps were cut away without leaving any remains. The earlier stairway lay immediately over the present and descended at a slightly steeper gradient. The early stairs must have been destroyed at some time prior to the construction of the bema, since their existence at that time would presuppose a sufficient mass of rock to have obviated the necessity of completing the later steps with stone slabs. The early stairway presumably provided a southern entrance to the auditoria of the First and Second Periods.

The purpose of this massive cube of rock is somewhat puzzling. It may have been left simply to support the stairways which afforded communication between the speaker's platform and the upper terrace. It is altogether improbable that it was regularly used by the speaker, in view of the limited area of its top, the absence of any trace of a guard railing, the unfinished state of the eastern stairway and, above all, because of the presence of an admirable speaker's stand on the lower platform. It has been conjectured that the altar of Zeus Agoraios stood on its top, on which altar, presumably, sacrifice

was offered before the business of the assembly began.¹ But on the analogy of the ancient theatre and of such an assembly place as the Ecclesiasterium of Priene, the altar should have stood on the floor of the auditorium in front of the bema. Certainly we should



Fig. 39. Bema of Period III; unfinished eastern stairs

expect it to have been before the eyes of the speaker. It is quite possible that the present top of the cube represents the original sloping surface of the hillside and that it was left in this rough state, unused. This is made clear by the sectional drawings

¹ Scholiast on Aristoph., *Eq.* 410: Ἀγοραῖος Ζεὺς ἴδονται ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. See Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 351, note 3; p. 394.

(Plate IV). The floor line of the First Period projected upward appears almost continuous with this surface; and it is probable that only a minimum depth of rock was removed in the making of the earliest auditorium. The working on the back surface of the cube, moreover, suggests that only a very little rock was cut away from there in the final reconstruction (Fig. 39). There is absolutely no trace of vandalism on the surface as it now exists and indeed, presuming that the top had once been carried out squarely by the living rock, it is quite improbable that the bema should have suffered either by human or natural agencies so severely at this point and not at all in its other parts. There is no trace of beddings cut to receive ashlar masonry with which the irregularities might have been made good; nor can one find the holes of pins such as might have served to hold marble revetments.¹ It will be objected that this rude mass would be very unsightly in such a prominent position. But it must have been effectually masked by the four tall stelae rising in front of it.

These stood in well cut beddings let into the top of the stone bank in front of the great cube (Fig. 38). The size of the beddings suggests that the stelae were of a considerable height. One can only guess at the purport of the documents which they carried. Another bedding suitable for a stele is cut in the northwest corner of the lowest step of the platform, while still another inscription may have stood on the step above near the same corner.

The bedding for a larger monument is apparent on the western side. Here a section of the bench surrounding the central mass of stone was cut away so that a base, probably of marble, might be set in, its bottom resting in the same plane as the speaker's platform, its eastern side abutting against the western face of that central cube. Traces of *anathyrosis* are visible around the outer edges of the joint surfaces. The pry hole used in thrusting home the base block is cut in the speaker's platform 0.19 m. from the line of the western face of the stone bench, and the surface of the platform is dressed down slightly below the general level out to this point.

The free area available for the speaker was somewhat reduced by numerous objects set along the front and the eastern side of the platform. Their original presence there is proven by numerous cuttings in the rock which lend themselves to interesting speculation but to no certain restoration (Fig. 38). Along the front are some six rectangular beddings of various sizes and two circular, while the smaller cuttings indicated in the plan held iron pins secured in the rock below and in the object above by molten lead run through "pour-channels." In all, there are beddings or sets of cuttings to support possibly twenty-three different objects.² Among these, we may imagine, were herms and one or more small desks or tables for the convenience of the speaker.³

¹ Cf. Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 393.

² Most of these appear on the plan of Clarke and Crow (*Papers of the American School* IV, p. 219) but several more were found in our examination of the bema.

³ This multiplicity of objects on the bema finds its parallel in the great number of honorary statues which stood on the Rostra in Rome. Cf. Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London, 1929, p. 450 and the references given there.

A series of six rectangular beddings cut in the rock floor from which the bema rises probably supported the posts of a light railing separating the platform from the body of the assembly place (Fig. 38). Since there is no trace of attachment to the great scarp on either side, the approach to the small stairs was left open. There was also a narrow opening in the middle of the front, probably to admit the speakers.¹

The character of the workmanship is in keeping with all that we know of the final period. The steps are cut with great precision, varying in width or height not more



Fig. 40. Rock-cut bedding south of bema of Period III, from the north

than a few millimetres from end to end. Both inner and outer corners are cut clean and sharp. The surface of the stone was dressed down somewhat more carefully so that it presents a smoother face than that of the great scarp. A small cutting in the edge of the middle step on the west side probably held a piece of stone set in to make good a natural cavity in the limestone. The general aspect of the platform is completely in harmony with the obvious attempt at rugged simplicity apparent throughout the remains of the Last Period.

A little shallow clearing on the upper terrace south of the bema revealed the dressed area which appears on the plan of the excavation (Plate II) and in figures 38 and 40. The outer limits of the dressing form a rectangle measuring *ca.* 6 × 8.90 m. The worked

¹ Fougères (*Guide de Grèce* [Joanne], 1911, p. 86; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, s. v. Pnyx) supposed that the speaker's platform proper was enclosed by a railing. But the cuttings on its surface do not lend themselves to such a restoration which is now rendered unnecessary by the discovery of the beddings in the lower floor.

surface lies 5.40 m. above the base of the bema, so that along the north side the cutting is open save in the northeast corner, whereas along the south side as much as 0.90 m. of rock had to be removed, resulting in a jagged scarp of that height. Not all the rock within the outer rectangle was cut away. Parallel to the north side an island was left having a width of 1.80 m. At the eastern end it rises to a height of 0.35 m., its top representing the unworked surface of the hill slope; but toward the west it is dressed away until its surface merges with the general plane of the rectangle. In the southeast corner also a mass of rock was left. Its surface is roughly dressed and lies in a plane 0.38 m. above that of the rectangle. Not a block was found in position.

This working is undoubtedly to be associated with the assembly place of the Third Period. As may be gathered from the plans, it is placed almost exactly in symmetrical relation with the bema of that period. That it lies slightly too far toward the east is probably due to the desire of the architect to secure as high a level as possible for his dressed floor without having to build up a foundation of masonry. Since the rock surface slopes down toward the west he was driven to shift his cutting toward the east. The style of the rock working, moreover, especially around the unquarried mass in the southeast corner, closely resembles that in what we shall find to be the northern entrance of the Third Period.

Two possible restorations suggest themselves. The upper terrace was closely associated in the architect's mind with the auditorium of the final period and we shall see that he actually extended the terrace westward. Some monumental entrance was desirable from this upper area to the assembly place proper. Accordingly, it is tempting to place here a propylon or ornamental gateway of some sort and in front of it a flight of stairs leading down to the back of the bema. Two objections might be raised. The first is the height and the irregularity of the rock to the south. In the second place the unfinished state of the eastern stairs leading up from the speaker's platform makes it improbable that there was ever much traffic over this course.

A more probable explanation is that the cutting was designed as the foundation of an exedra containing seats of distinction for dignitaries, available also on special occasions, let us say, as an imperial box.¹ For the latter purpose it would be admirably suited by its prominent position, since its occupants must have sat on a level just slightly above that of the highest spectators in the auditorium.² Unfortunately, the rock surface between the front of the rectangular cutting and the back of the bema has suffered so much as to make difficult the restoration at this point. Only one certain cutting remains, close behind the bema and parallel to its back line. We may suppose that the area was originally occupied by benches for lesser officials and secretaries or by a flight of stairs. In either case the natural rock must have been supplemented by masonry of some sort.

¹ This is the suggestion of Mr. B. H. Hill.

² Cf. the prominence of the "imperial boxes" in the Theatre of Dionysus (Dörpfeld-Reisch, *Das griechische Theater*, p. 93) and in the Theatre of Argos (*Arch. Anz.* 1931, p. 260; fig. 30).

The rock-cut seats lying on either side of this area above the great scarp require a word of notice (Figs. 38 and 41). Here, too, heavy weathering has combined with the attentions of late vandals to render difficult the determination of the original arrangement. The surviving remains may be described briefly as follows. To the east of the bema there are three benches, of which the two lower show an average width of about 1 m. and height of 0·37–0·40 m. The topmost was apparently designed as a seat only, no provision



Fig. 41. Front of the auditorium of Period III, from the east

being made for the feet of a higher row of spectators. Consequently it is only 0·62 m. wide although its height is identical with that of the others. That these benches were actually designed as seats is proven by their appropriate dimensions. They continue down to the very edge of the scarp, the lowest being separated from the vertical wall in front only by a passage 1 m. wide, i.e. the width of one entire bench. This passage lies 0·85 m. higher than the dressed surface of the central mass of the bema. All the benches terminate squarely at a point 7·50 m. east of the easternmost edge of the bema. Toward the west their ends are confused by late cutting. The seats are utterly plain; there is no undercutting in the faces of the risers and no depression in the back of the horizontal surface to receive the feet of those in the row above. On the western

side traces of only two benches remain. The face of the lower lies 2.42 m. back from the edge of the scarp at its eastern end, 2.16 m. at its western. The horizontal surface is 0.64–0.70 m. wide and lies 0.50–0.56 m. above the level area between it and the scarp. The broken line of this bench can be traced to a point 9.30 m. west of the western side of the bema. Toward the east it ends abruptly against a mass of rock. Above its eastern end a short section remains of another similar bench, 0.60 m. wide. These benches show the same simple design as those on the eastern side. The contour of the rock surface precludes the supposition that the two sets of benches ever joined in a continuous line.

The horizontal surface of the first bench from the bottom on the eastern side has been dressed down over an area measuring roughly 0.90×0.65 m. near its eastern end; and in this especially prepared surface are two cuttings, one of them provided with a pour channel for lead (Fig. 38), which were evidently designed to support dedications to Zeus Hypsistos, the presiding deity of the little sanctuary marked by the niches for votive plaques in the scarp immediately in front.

It has been supposed that these benches are earlier than the great bema and scarp.¹ Their extremely simple design would admittedly suggest an earlier period in the history of auditorium building than that to which we must assign the bema. The irregularities, moreover, in the dimensions of the benches and the slovenly style of their cutting compare unfavorably with the precision and exactitude which mark the workmanship of the bema. Yet the perfect alignment between the eastern benches and the great scarp and the obvious symmetry in the arrangement of the two banks of seats about the bema seem unaccountable by chance and provide evidence of contemporary origin and design.

But even granted their contemporary origin it is difficult to see for whom they were intended. We know little of the civic organization at this late date. Supposing, however, that it was still the practice, as in the fourth century B.C., for an entire tribe to serve as presidents, some of them may have been seated here. But as seats of honor they would have appeared very mean, especially in comparison with the elegant *prohedria* of the closely contemporary Odeum of Herodes Atticus. The unfinished state of the eastern stairway of the bema, moreover, must have rendered undignified, not to say dangerous, the ascent and descent of the officials.

The three great blocks standing on the upper terrace in a line approximately parallel to the western side of the scarp of the Last Period have long been a familiar landmark on the site and on its plans. The further clearing done around them in the course of the present excavation has enabled us to fix more accurately the extent and purpose of the wall which they represent.

¹ Cf. Crow, *Papers of the American School* IV, pp. 222 f. In the preliminary notice for the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (46, 1931, pp. 220 f.) we suggested the possibility of assigning these seats to the First Period. But it seems improbable that the auditorium of that period extended so far up the hillside.

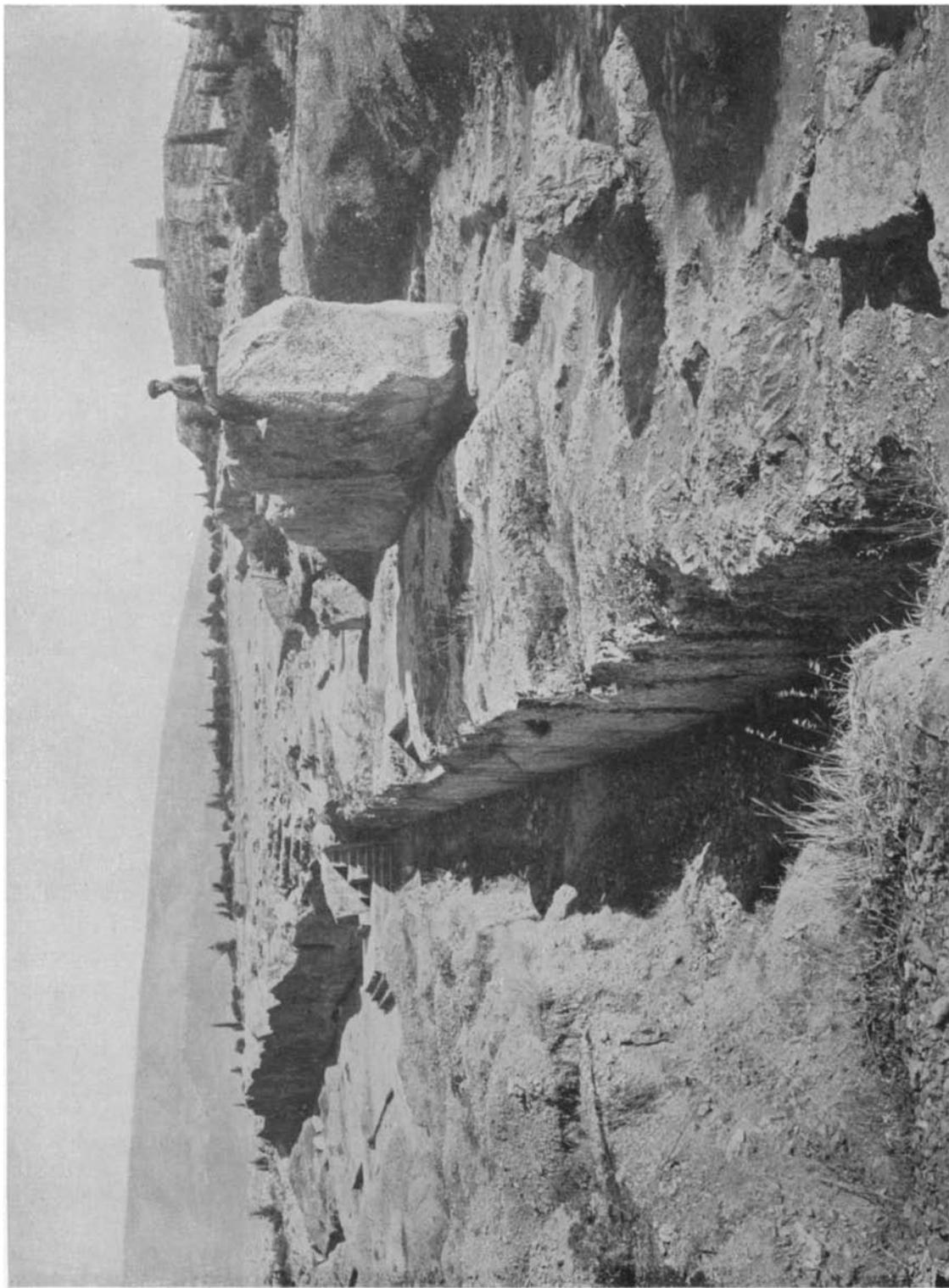


Fig. 42. Front of the auditorium of Period III, from the west

The eastern end of its rock-cut bedding was found some 5 m. behind the southwest corner of the great bema (Plate II, Fig. 42). Thence its line runs westward, including the three surviving blocks. In the course of this distance it approaches the scarp slightly, so that at a point 7 m. from the western end of the latter it is 3 m. from it. It now bends more sharply northward, passing the western end of the scarp at an interval of only 1 m. Beyond this point its course was followed some 5.50 m. farther; but its western limit was not discovered. For the eastern 10 m. of its length it was designed to receive blocks about 1 m. thick, while elsewhere it would accommodate blocks up to 2 m. in thickness. It is not worked down uniformly but in broken lengths each having a level floor, while in places individual beddings were prepared for huge blocks. Near the southwestern corner of the auditorium small dressed slabs were set in to even up depressions in the rock surface (Fig. 42).

Near the eastern end a series of three small rectangular cuttings in the bedding may have served as pry holes; for they seem to have been made after the rock surface was dressed, and yet when the stones were in position they must have been covered and so useless.¹ Farther to the west there is a shallow cutting 0.90 m. long, 0.60 m. wide, its south side coinciding with the north edge of the bedding and its mid-point lying at what must have been a joint in the wall. It was seemingly cut in relation to the wall; but its purpose is not apparent. Another curious cutting is to be seen in the bottom of the main bedding. There is a shallow trench (0.33–0.50 m. wide, 0.25 m. deep) with perpendicular sides which, commencing at the point where the wall turns toward the north, continues in a straight line for 20.60 m. eastward, ending abruptly. At its western end it lies on the north side of the bedding, while its eastern end is in the middle of the wall bedding. The builders of the wall filled the western end of the channel to its top with small blocks to carry the great stones of the wall. It clearly antedates the construction of the wall; but its significance is obscure.

The surviving blocks are all of the local limestone. They were completely detached and moved into position from elsewhere, so that the wall is not hewn in part from the bed-rock as is sometimes stated.² Although left comparatively rough on both sides, the northern faces of the blocks were worked down with some attempt at regularity, indicating that the wall was designed to face toward the assembly place. The cutting and fitting of the stones is closely similar to that of the great terrace wall below. The ends carry a band of smoothly worked *anathyrosis* along their northern edges only, behind which the surface is roughly picked away so that the joints would gape on the southern side. The two western blocks are set together with a carefully worked rabbet-joint sloping at an angle of about 30° to the perpendicular. Elsewhere on the surviving blocks a simple square-joint was used. The same system of rough rustication was employed on the

¹ From east to west they measure 0.24×0.17×0.10 m. deep; 0.20×0.12×0.10 m. deep; 0.20×0.14×0.12 m. deep.

² Cf. Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 392.

northern face, though not cut so deeply, as on the great retaining wall. The westernmost stone is larger than any in that wall, measuring 6.20 m. long, 2.90 m. high and 1.80 m. wide.¹ The others, though smaller, are by no means inconsiderable.

The top of the most westerly of the three surviving blocks is finished level and smooth and, as may be gathered from the section through the front of the auditorium (Plate III a), rises to the level of the rock-cut bedding south of the great bema. The top of the middle block is very rough and broken and much of it may have disappeared by natural weathering. The eastern block has suffered from late vandals and its top is riddled by their wedge marks. We may safely infer, however, that the wall throughout its course was originally carried up at least to the level of the top of the western block since otherwise there would have been no point in using a monolith of such dimensions. The close identity of elevations between rock-cut floor and the top of the great block suggests that that floor was continued westward. This would naturally be effected by throwing in an earth filling behind the wall under discussion. That this was originally intended as a retaining rather than a free standing wall is proven by the fact that it has only one faced side, that looking north. The stratification to the south of the wall as revealed by the clearing of the bedding also makes it certain that a great mass of filling was deposited at one time. The earlier ground level may be detected along the southern edge of the bedding which had clearly been cut down through it. Originally the rock surface had been overlaid only by a thin covering of soil which did not suffice to conceal many of the higher ridges. Above this there now lies a uniform mass of earth and broken rock rising to a maximum height of about 1.50 m. near the middle of the exposed course of the wall. At this point the present surface of the earth lies almost a metre below the top of the great block; the disappearance of so much of the filling is to be readily accounted for by natural erosion and constant cultivation. In its original form this upper terrace doubtless extended southward to Cleon's Cross Wall and westward to the extremity of the central Pnyx Hill where the rock rises higher again (Fig. 1). This would necessitate the continuance of the retaining wall westward beyond the corner of the scarp, a phenomenon difficult to explain on the hypothesis that the wall is to be associated only with the auditorium proper. Although the bedding of the retaining wall stops about a metre short of the western side of the rectangular cutting south of the bema, the terrace undoubtedly continued up to the side of the structure which stood there, and the earth surface would be approximately on a level with its floor. The result would be an open terrace extending the full length of the crest of the hill and commanding a magnificent view of city and Attic plain: a convenient loitering place before and after meetings of the Assembly and, if one may judge from modern practice, a popular resort at all times.

¹ These figures indicate a cubical content of 32.364 cu. m., and a weight of 87,383 kilograms or 96.34 tons. The dimensions given are maximum so that a considerable reduction in volume and weight must be allowed for because of irregularities in the block. Notwithstanding, it may take its place among the largest of building blocks used in Greece at any period.

From this upper terrace access was afforded to the auditorium by a gateway leading through the retaining wall and communicating with the stairs, already mentioned, cut in the scarp below (Fig. 43). The western side of this passageway was formed by the eastern end of the middle surviving block which shows no *anathyrosis* and consequently could not have been a joint surface (Fig. 45). Moreover, between the end of this block and the bedding of the next stone toward the east there is an interval of 2.75 m. of

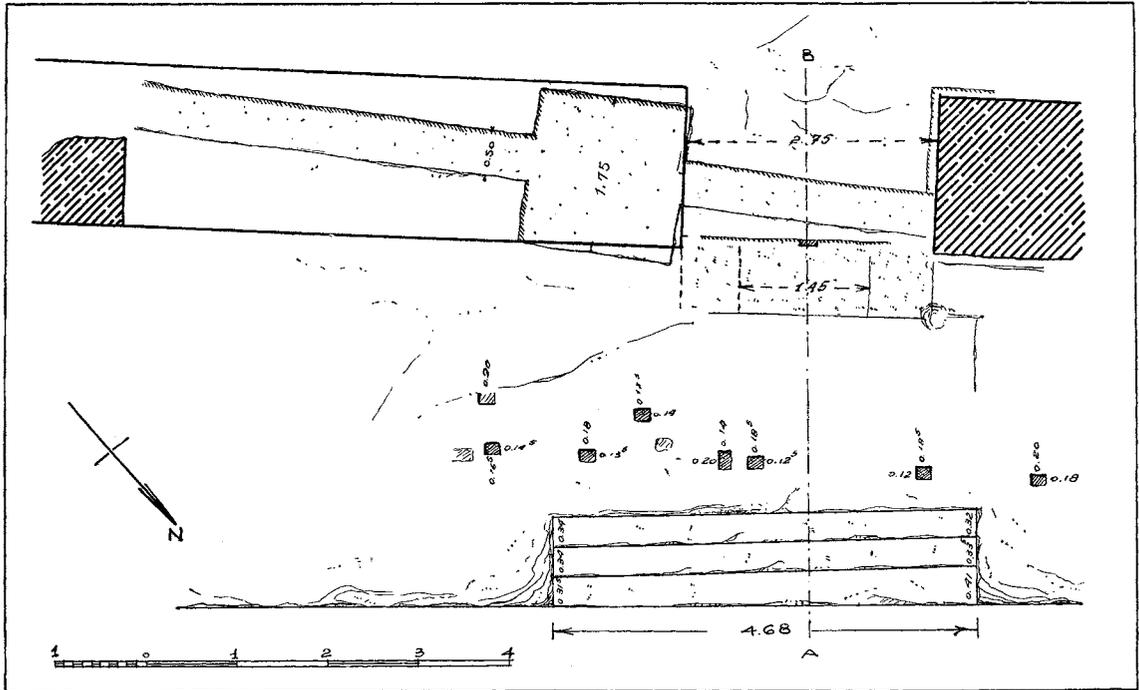


Fig. 43. South entrance of Period III

unworked rock surface never designed to receive a block. Along its northern edge there is a smoothly dressed bedding, 0.72 m. wide, for a threshold, and at either end an area worked not quite so deeply to receive a door post 0.72 m. square. The resultant useful passageway would scarcely exceed 1.50 m. in width. In the middle of it, at the edge of the bedding for the threshold, is a small cutting presumably for a door bar. A stairway must have led down from the terrace above to this threshold; but no trace of it survives. The steps probably consisted of stone slabs bedded in the earth, or possibly only of wooden planks. The rock surface between the threshold and the three steps cut in the scarp to the north is dressed level. The series of shallow rectangular beddings sunk in this surface just south of the top step was probably intended to support some supplementary barrier, such as a turn-stile, before the entrance to the auditorium. The steps in the scarp are 4.68 m. wide; i. e. more than three times the width of the gateway

in the wall behind, and, as may be seen in the plan, they are not placed symmetrically in relation to that door; for, whereas the western ends of both are almost in alignment, the stairway extends much beyond the eastern side of the doorway. It seems probable, therefore, that the stairs were designed to communicate not merely with the terrace above but also with the passage between terrace wall and scarp leading toward the east.

That this was intended for use is proven by the fact that its surface was levelled off, although the effect of this has been largely obscured by some comparatively modern

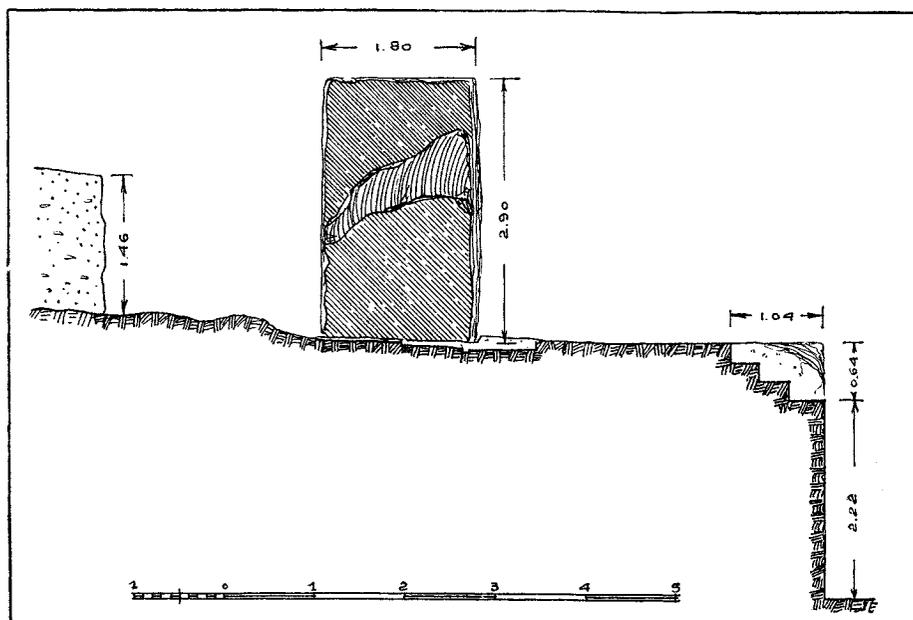


Fig. 44. South entrance of Period III. Section on line AB of figure 43

breakage and possibly quarrying along the shoulder of the scarp. It is not impossible that this narrow area was at least partially shut off toward its eastern end by a wall set at right angles to the main terrace wall at the point where the change occurs in the width of the dressed bedding. Certain cuttings between this point and the scarp could best be explained as the beddings for such a cross wall (Plate II). It is probable, however, that an open passage was left immediately above the scarp and leading eastward to the bema. The semi-enclosed area so formed may conceivably have served as a meeting place for select committees; at any rate, there is no trace of such necessary accommodation to be found elsewhere about the assembly place. The space between retaining wall and scarp west of the steps was not used as a passage since its surface was left rough and irregular (Fig. 42) and also because the narrow interval between the wall and the corner of the scarp was probably completely blocked by the edge of the embankment of the cavea.

In the foregoing discussion it has been tacitly assumed that the upper terrace is contemporary with the Last Period.¹ This seems certain from the similarity between the terrace wall and the retaining wall for the cavea of that period: in both, enormous blocks were employed, the system of jointing was identical and there was a striving after a rugged and heavily furrowed wall face. It is altogether improbable that a style of



Fig. 45. South entrance of Period III, from the southeast

masonry so distinctive should have been employed on the site at two widely separated periods. Moreover, the grand conception of the spacious upper terrace is thoroughly in keeping with the spirit manifest in the Last Period. Finally, on the basis of the interpretation which we have given to the remains, they all combine as elements of a reasonable scheme.

It is doubtful whether there was ever any barrier or balustrade above the eastern side of the great scarp. The rock surface is tolerably well preserved here and shows a great variety of cuttings and workings; but it seems impossible to trace any definite system of

¹ Crow and Clarke (*Papers of the American School IV*, pp. 228 f.) supposed that the wall of this upper terrace was much older than the bema; but this view was based only on a general impression.

beddings. The vertical height of the scarp rendered unnecessary any further protection against trespassing, and it was desirable that there should be an unobstructed view northward from the upper terrace.

It has been commonly supposed that the sole entrance way to the auditorium represented by the remains which we have assigned to the Third Period led down over



Fig. 46. Northern approaches of Periods II and III, looking southeast

the three rock-cut steps in the western part of the scarp. This single means of ingress has been pointed to as evidence for the strict control of admission to the assemblies and for the secrecy of the gatherings.¹ But when we consider that the effective width of that entrance was practically limited to the width of the gateway in the wall behind, i.e. *ca.* 1·50 m., it seems ridiculously inadequate for an auditorium of such a size. This southern entrance had the additional disadvantage of being turned away from the city, whereas in the earlier periods we have found that the most convenient possible approach was provided from the side of the Agora and the centre of the city.

¹ Cf. Hermann-Thumser, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Staatsaltertümer*, Tübingen, 1913, II⁶, pp. 508 ff.; Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 392, 394.

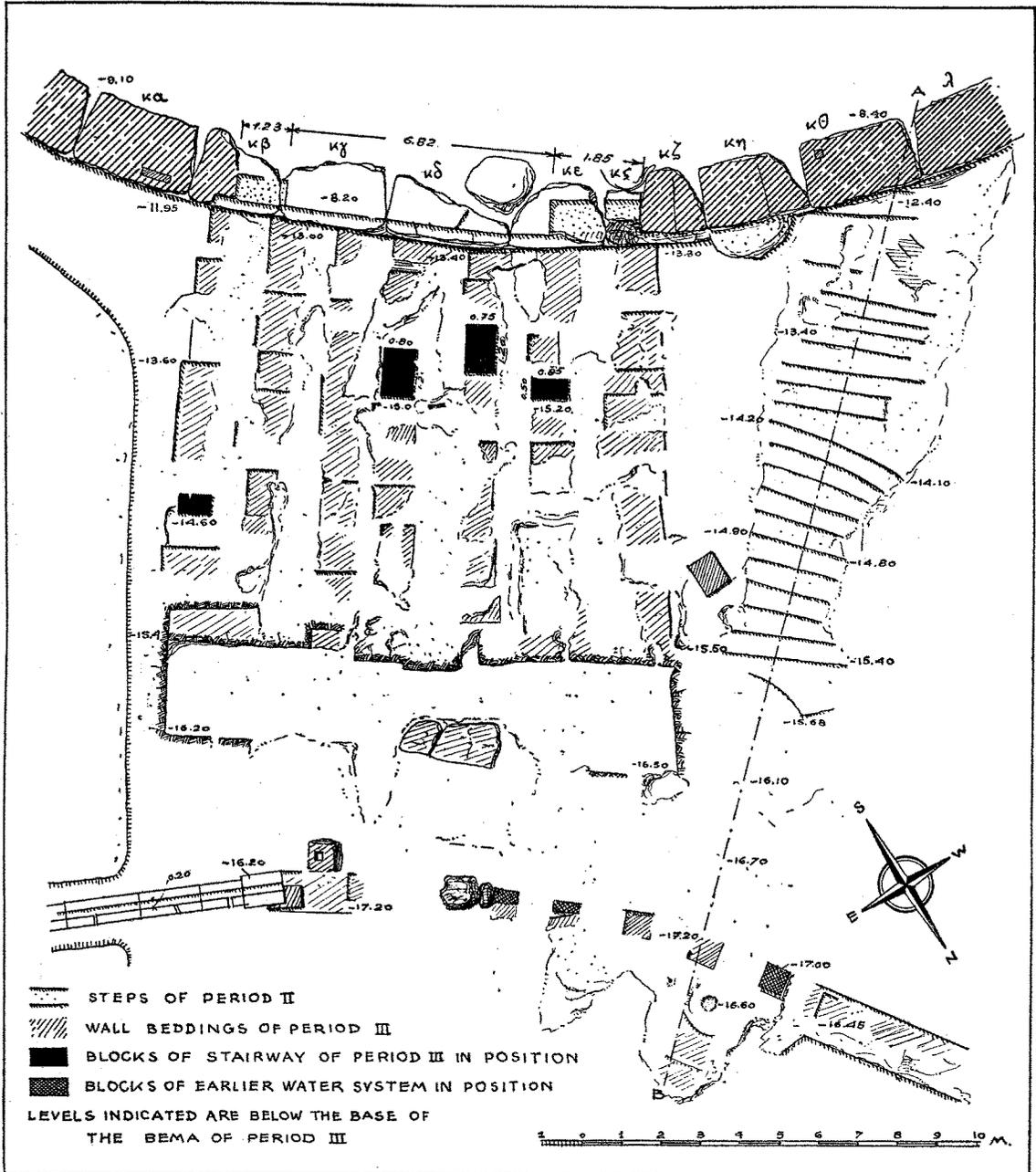


Fig. 47. North entrance of Period III

The solution to the problem of an adequate entrance is to be found in a series of cuttings in the surface of the bed-rock immediately north of the terrace wall of the Third Period where it is preserved to its greatest height (Figs. 46 and 47). These were

partially exposed in the excavations of 1916 but have now been completely cleared and examined. The beddings may be traced for seven parallel walls which leave the terrace wall at right angles and run northward to a broad transverse cutting. The wall beddings show an average width of *ca.* 0.80 m. and their centres are spaced at intervals of *ca.* 2 m. The total width of the entire set of beddings measured along the face of the terrace wall is 11.40 m., while the length of the transverse cutting is 13 m. The seven beddings are roughly worked and the sections for individual stones are by no means always level. The outer cutting on either side shows somewhat better workmanship. Numbering the beddings from the east, single blocks remain *in situ* in the



Fig. 48. Top of retaining wall of Period III where crossed by north entrance, looking north

first, fourth, fifth and sixth. The slab in the last agrees closely in size and workmanship with those of the retaining wall of the Second Period and no doubt many blocks were pulled out of that wall in its ruinous state to be reused in the Third Period. The transverse cutting which joins the outer ends of the seven narrow beddings is 2.30 m. wide at its eastern end. At this end, because of the slope of the bed-rock, the cutting is 1 m. deep on the south side, only 0.30 m. on the north. At the other end it is open in front, 0.60 m. deep on the south side. The bottom of the bedding is worked smooth and level. In the middle of its front edge, where the bed-rock failed, it was supplemented by two large limestone blocks fitted in. Since the southern ends of the seven beddings terminate abruptly along the face of the great wall, it is clear that they were cut subsequent to its building and in definite relationship to it. The rock surface between and on all sides of the dressed beddings is very rough and irregular showing no signs of working, so that it seems impossible to restore here any sort of a free standing house or building.

On the top of the great terrace wall immediately above, another set of peculiar cuttings calls for explanation. We have already observed that the tops of the blocks in the surviving topmost course of this wall were dressed level to receive another

course, save in the case of blocks $\alpha\gamma$ and $\alpha\delta$. Of these the tops are worked flat for a distance of only 0.40 m. back from the front edge; the rear part sloping upward and inward (Fig. 48). On such a surface it would be quite impossible to set another wall block in the hope that it would remain in position. The northern faces, moreover, of the uppermost blocks within the range of the seven beddings below are dressed smooth to an average depth of 0.70 m. from their top (Fig. 29). That this working was done after the blocks were set is proven by the fact that the dressing continues unbroken across three joints. At no other point in the wall are the blocks treated in this fashion.

The occurrence at this point of these two unique sets of cuttings, the one at the foot, the other on the top of the wall, leaves no doubt that they are related. The only common explanation to suggest itself is that they mark the site of a grand entrance way to the auditorium: a stairway commencing in the broad transverse cutting below, the actual steps consisting of stone or marble slabs supported on the tops of seven walls rising from the above-mentioned beddings, and passing through the retaining wall at the level of its present top. If further evidence for this interpretation be required, it is forthcoming through the discovery of the remains of an earth ramp which sloped gently up from the north to the edge of the transverse cutting (Figs. 46 and 65). Its surface consists of hard packed gravel, from above which the loose upper earth came away freely and easily. The greater part of this approach has been washed away by the floods of water which issue from beneath the great terrace wall during heavy rains. Fortunately, however, a section 3 m. wide is preserved on the eastern side.

We have postulated the original existence of one additional course of great blocks in the central part of the terrace wall. This course must have continued right up to the edge of the stairway since the dressed beddings for it are prepared up to those points. Thus at the line of the wall the stairs proper must have lain at the bottom of a trench around 2 m. deep. This channel, presumably, continued upward through the shoulder of the embankment so that the entrance way would debouch at a point some distance within the lip of the auditorium. This arrangement would prove of practical advantage inasmuch as it would reduce the maximum height to be climbed by the mass of the audience who would be seated below the mouth of the entrance. The sides of this stair canal were probably bordered by walls of masonry although nothing of them has been found. The peculiar cuttings in the top of the great wall terminate on either side in deep-set beddings. The disappearance of one or more small blocks on the west side obscures the original arrangement there, but it is perfectly clear on the east side (Figs. 47 and 48). The bedding is cut in from the front of the block and has a depth of 0.30 m., width of 0.90 m. and length of 1.20 m. It is improbable that this served as the bedding for an ordinary block of the original top course, since in that case it should have been cut through to the back of the stone as elsewhere. But this and the corresponding cutting on the other side may well have served for heavy posts or

parastades terminating the terrace wall. Such an arrangement would slightly reduce the width of the stairway above this point.¹

It may be asked why dressed surfaces were not prepared on the face of the terrace wall to receive the ends of the seven walls carrying the steps. But a perfect joint was



Fig. 49. Pile of blocks in filling of Period III, looking southeast

quite unnecessary, since the pressure on the seven walls was entirely downward rather than lateral. It is interesting to observe that in the Theatre of Thoricus, where there occurs a comparable arrangement of stairways leading over the vertical retaining wall at the back of the auditorium, that wall continues unbroken behind the stairs, absolutely

¹ It is probable that the line of the stair was broken, both below and above the great wall, by level stretches in order to make the ascent less fatiguing. But in the absence of evidence for their placing, we have omitted them from the sketch of our proposed restoration (Fig. 51).

no dressed surfaces were worked for the supporting walls of the western stairway, and only very rough beddings for those of the eastern.

From the plan (Plate II) it is clear that the stairway was not exactly centred on the axis of the auditorium but lay slightly too far toward the west. It is possible that the architect aimed to place it in the middle of the exposed northern expanse of the terrace wall. Or again he may have found it necessary to consider its relation to an existing thoroughfare leading up from below. In this connection it is perhaps worthy of note that the stairway of the Third Period is centred on the axis of the Second (Fig. 16). The discovery of this great approach for the Third Period lying between the two smaller entrances of the Second Period makes it probable that those two branched from a common artery and that we should restore on our plan of Athens a broad thoroughfare leading down from the Pnyx in the direction of the Agora.



Fig. 50. Hole for missing block in retaining wall of Period III

It is possible that in addition to the northern and southern entrances there were other supplementary approaches in the wings of the auditorium as suggested on the plan of Crow and Clarke. But there is no evidence for their existence.

In the top of the block α , i.e. immediately east of the stairway, there is a rectangular bedding containing the base of a stele of Pentelic marble (0.60×0.16 m.) set in lead (Fig. 48). There is no reason to suppose that the original top course of the terrace wall stopped short

of the side of the stairway; so that it is altogether probable that this bedding was covered and so rendered useless while the wall was intact. In this case we must assume that the stele had been erected and served its purpose before the block was quarried. Now this block is one of the largest in the entire wall and must certainly have been cut from the shoulder of the hill above. Whether the stele had any connection with the assembly place cannot be said with certainty.¹

In the northern part of Trench B we cut across the line of what appeared at first sight to be the lower courses of a stone wall (Plate II, Fig. 49). Commencing near the eastern edge of the trench it extends some 7 m. in a northwesterly direction. In Trench B

¹ That the stele rose in a niche in the wall and was in service during the Third Period is rendered improbable by the fact that the outer face must have been turned slightly away from the line of vision of one mounting the stairs and not directly into it as we should expect (Fig. 47).

it rests on the surface of the red filling belonging to the Second Period. But at the other end it lies in the body of the filling of the Third Period, because the surface of the red filling slopes sharply down and outward at this point whereas the base of the wall lies level. This indicates that the structure was built after the retaining wall of the

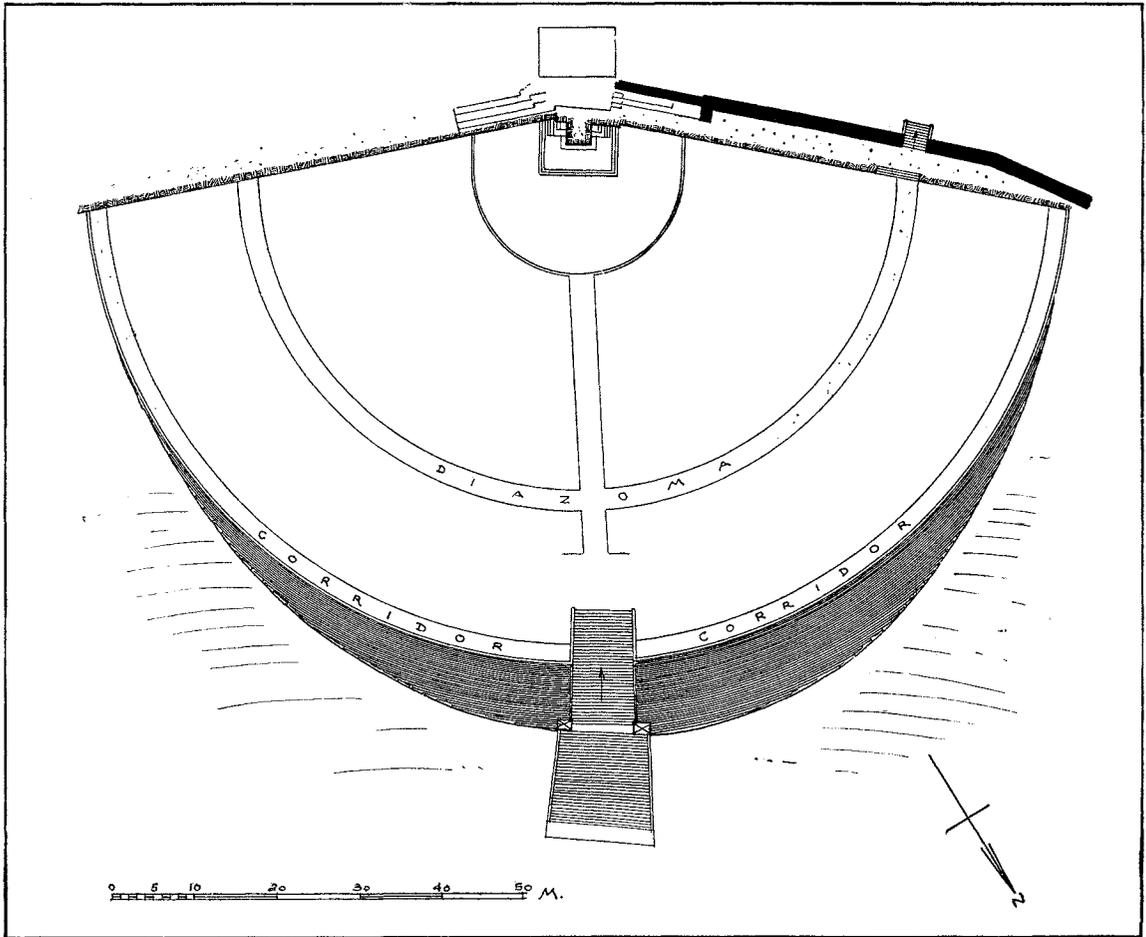


Fig. 51. Sketch illustrating proposed restoration of Period III

Second Period had given way and while the Last Period was in process of construction. The blocks employed are of the same size and character as those used in the two earlier retaining walls and were undoubtedly removed from the ruins of the Second Period. They are laid with the utmost irregularity and are placed indiscriminately as headers and stretchers. The thickness of the wall is about double the width of the blocks. The outer, i.e. the northeastern face, is slightly the more presentable of the two. At the southeastern end three courses remain, rising to a height of 0.80 m., whereas at the other end only a single course is left.

The irregularity and carelessness with which the blocks are laid must have rendered them unsuitable as the foundation for a wall of any height. Their very unsightly appearance makes it impossible that they were meant to be left exposed. No distinctive stratification could be detected to indicate that they had supported a permanent terrace. But it is possible that they were thrown together during the construction of the Last Period in order to regulate the earth filling in some way while the section of the outer retaining wall immediately opposite was being built.

The adequate drainage of the great auditorium might appear a serious problem; for not only did the water from the entire cavea flow down toward the bema, but much from the upper terrace also gathered to the same point. Actually, however, the solution was very simple. Above the north-south axis, toward which in general the hill slopes gently in from either side, the filling of the Second Period consists largely of coarsely broken rock. In the Third Period this bottom layer was probably continued in the same sort of material to a point close in front of the great bema. The water, following the smooth rock surface, finds free passage among these stones and pours out through the crevices between and below the blocks of the terrace wall of the Third Period near its mid-point. This simple but effective arrangement was undoubtedly deliberately planned and served the Second and Third Periods. It has been supposed that the square opening in the northeastern face of the great terrace wall was an outlet for an underground drainage canal (Fig. 50).¹ But repeated observation during heavy rain storms has demonstrated that this aperture is the driest place on the Pnyx on such occasions. On the inner side it is blocked by an enormous mass of rough stone lying in the filling, so that no drain could ever have issued from it. The inner faces of the neighboring blocks enclosing the hole all show *anathyrosis*; so that originally it was filled, or was intended to be filled, by a wall block. How this could have fallen out or have been removed, leaving the adjacent stones undisturbed, must remain a mystery.

THE THIRD PERIOD: ITS CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY

In determining the date of the final reconstruction we must rely almost entirely on internal evidence, of which the most important item is the *terminus post quem* afforded by the material found in the filling associated with the great terrace wall. The wall and the filling behind it were built up simultaneously: the one could not have stood without the other. Since the wall shows no trace of repairs or rebuilding, it is clear that it must be as late as, or slightly later than, any object found in the filling.

Coins were conspicuous by their absence. As will be seen from the catalogue of coins (pp. 211 f.) only nine were found in the body of the filling. The possible dates of

¹ Cf. Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 393.

these range from *ca.* 430 to 30 B.C. Those significant for the question at issue are the two late Athenian pieces (nos. 2 and 3) which were struck the one after 229 B.C. the other after *ca.* 220 B.C. Thus the numismatic evidence would not bring the date below the end of the third century B.C.

The terracotta figurines, of which several score were found in a much broken state, belong for the most part to types of the fourth century B.C. Several are Hellenistic, while a number of fragments may be assigned on the basis of fabric and workmanship to early Roman times.

Over 500 terracotta loom weights were found. Of these the vast majority are black glazed and have the form of a truncated pyramid similar to many weights found at Olynthus which, according to the excavator's belief that the city remained uninhabited after its destruction in 348 B.C., cannot be later than the middle of the fourth century.¹ The filling also yielded some dozens of weights conical in shape resembling those of the latest type found at Olynthus and common elsewhere in later contexts, e.g. in strata of the Roman period at Corinth (subsequent to 44 B.C.).

Numerous fragments of glass were found, especially in the northern end of Trench A behind the great terrace wall. All were of clear, blown glass. The process of blowing, at least in clear glass, seems not to have been known until close to the beginning of the Christian era at the earliest.² The types of small unguentaria represented by the fragments found are common furniture in tombs of early imperial times throughout the Mediterranean basin. Thus their presence in this filling serves to bring down its date at least to those times.

From the filling of the same period about 150 basketsful of potsherds were gathered, washed and examined. The earliest detected were two fragments of geometric craters. Apart from 6 pieces of Panathenaic amphorae not a single black-figured sherd came to light. But red-figured Attic ware was found in abundance, and this chiefly from around 400 B.C. or later. There is likewise represented a great quantity of small, black-glazed domestic vessels: little bowls and saucers and especially canthari showing the influence of metallic vessels. To judge from the general excellence of the glaze, the simple, strong profiles and the absence of painted decoration commonly applied over the black glaze of such canthari in Hellenistic times, the specimens from the Pnyx should be dated for the most part to the fourth century. Hellenistic ware is scantily represented by a few fragments of "Megarian bowls," together with two fragmentary moulds for the same, and by a number of fusiform unguentaria of dark grey clay showing the usual white bands. Of Arretine ware only 3 fragments were found, none bearing a signature.

Of provincial terra sigillata, however, a considerable number of pieces came to light and these, representing the latest type of pottery coming from the filling, deserve closer

¹ Cf. *Excavations at Olynthus, Part II*, 1930, Chapter VI, "The Loom Weights."

² Cf. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, Leipzig, 1908, I, pp. 295 ff.; Trowbridge, *Philological Studies in Ancient Glass*, The University of Illinois, 1930, p. 107.

attention. The specimens appearing in Figs. 52 and 53 will serve to illustrate the more common forms. The clay of Fig. 53, 1-3, and Fig. 52, 2 is closely similar: brick-red in colour, somewhat coarse, with a few particles of grit but scarcely a trace of mica. It resembles the clay used in lamps of Broneer's Type XX which were undoubtedly an Athenian product, manufactured in the time of Augustus and through at least the first half of the first century A.D. It is doubtful, however, if the clay of Fig. 52, 1 is Attic. It is buff in colour, somewhat flaky, and contains more mica.



Fig. 52. Fragments of a pitcher and a dish from the filling of Period III

1. Fragment from the wall of an open bowl (Fig. 52, 2).

The profile is preserved from the lip almost to the centre of the base; the remainder is restored in plaster. Ht. 0.05 m., diam. of rim 0.16 m., of base 0.06 m. The rim is flat, sloping slightly downward toward the outside and terminating in a thin, projecting lip. The wall curves gently in to a low, coarsely modelled foot-ring. In the bottom inside is a shallow double groove forming a circle 0.045 m. in diameter.

Particles of grit, coming to the surface in the throwing process, left unsightly scratches especially around the lower part of the outside. Red glaze, thin and flaky, covers the interior; on the outside it extends down only 0.03 m. below the lip.

2. Base and fragment from the wall of a small bowl (Fig. 53, 1).

Ht. preserved 0.03 m., diam. of foot 0.035 m. The profile is complete save possibly for a very little worn off the rim. The profile is marked by a broad keel, above which rises a low rim. The wall slopes down in an irregular curve to a foot-ring. The clay is soft and crumbly. A very thin red glaze was applied inside and over the upper part of the exterior. Wheel marks are prominent inside and out.

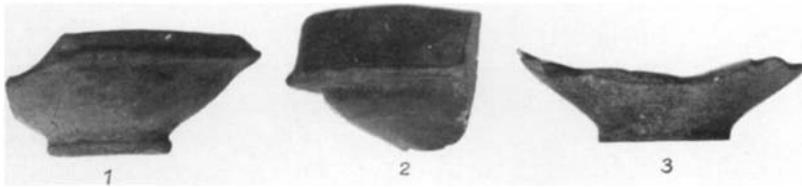


Fig. 53. Sherds of terra sigillata from the filling of Period III

3. Fragment from the wall of a similar bowl (Fig. 53, 2).

Ht. preserved 0.032 m. The rim rises higher above the keel. The fabric is thinner and harder and the red glaze, which covers both surfaces of the entire fragment, is of better quality. Scratches caused by particles of grit are prominent on the outside.

4. Base of cup or small pitcher (Fig. 53, 3).

Ht. preserved 0·025 m., diam. of foot 0·035 m. The walls of the vessel slope sharply out from a foot 0·005 m. high. There is no trace of a foot-ring and the bottom is almost perfectly flat, rising only 0·001 m. in the centre. The clay is baked hard, the outside covered by a thin red glaze fired to black along the upper edge of the fragment. The interior was left quite rough from the throwing on the wheel.

5. Upper part of two-handled pitcher (Fig. 52, 1).

Ht. 0·12 m., diam. of body 0·117 m., of lip 0·047 m. The body was bulbous, the neck short, the mouth, which is set off from the neck by a fine raised line, is slightly flaring. The strap handles are crudely attached and show two grooves on their outsides. The body of the pitcher is decorated by broad, shallow corrugations extending to the shoulder. There is no trace of glaze.

In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to date very closely terra sigillata of this period from the Greek mainland. The small carinated bowls, Fig. 53, 1 and 2, are obviously derived from Arretine shapes, yet the lack of sharpness in the profile of keel and foot-ring indicates that they are considerably removed from their originals. The plain base of Fig. 53, 3, showing one of the commonest of the late profiles found in this filling, occurs on two cups and a small pitcher of similar fabric recently found in a grave at Corinth together with a lamp of Broneer's Type XXVII, 1 (cf. below, p. 185).¹ The fabric, glaze, and profile of Fig. 52, 2 find general parallels in vessels, as yet unpublished, found in Roman graves at Corinth dated by coins from the middle of the first to the beginning of the third century A.D.² The pitcher, Fig. 52, 1, may be paralleled from the same collection and also among late pottery from Asia Minor found in Olbia.³ We should probably not be far wide of the mark in assigning the pieces illustrated to a period from the middle of the first through the early part of the second century A.D. Among the mass of fragments of this late fabric some are inferior in quality but not necessarily later in date; so that in the lower limit suggested here we have arrived at the *terminus post quem* for the construction of the Third Period, as given by the pottery.

The terracotta lamps furnish perhaps the most definite data for the chronology of the final reconstruction. The filling of this period yielded about 600 lamps or fragments sufficiently preserved to admit of at least an approximate classification. Of these over 500 are Greek and of types as early or earlier than the latest of those found at

¹ Cf. also Knipowitsch, *Die Keramik römischer Zeit aus Olbia in der Sammlung der Eremitage*, Frankfurt a. M., 1929, p. 41, no. 21,364; pl. III, 38. Type 38 is included in Class E which the author dates roundly from the middle of the first to the fourth century A.D.

² Cf. also Oswald and Price, *Terra Sigillata*, London, 1920, p. 183, pl. XLVI, 1: a dish which the authors assign to the period Domitian—Hadrian.

³ Cf. Knipowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 42, no. 20,155; pl. III, 41: a single-handled pitcher, in which the form of the handle, the profile of body and lip and the corrugated surface are closely reminiscent of our Fig. 52, 1. It likewise is assigned to Class E.

Olynthus, i.e. presumably earlier than the middle of the fourth century B.C. There are not more than a score of Hellenistic pieces. Broneer's Type XX is represented by about the same number of lamps or fragments. Type XXI is represented by two specimens, Type XXII by three, Type XXV by one. The latest lamps found in the body of the filling belong to Type XXVII. Of this class, 21 specimens were found in Trench A alone, and that between the terrace walls of the Second and Third Periods and at levels lower than 0.50 m. below the top of the latter. Several more came to light in the end of

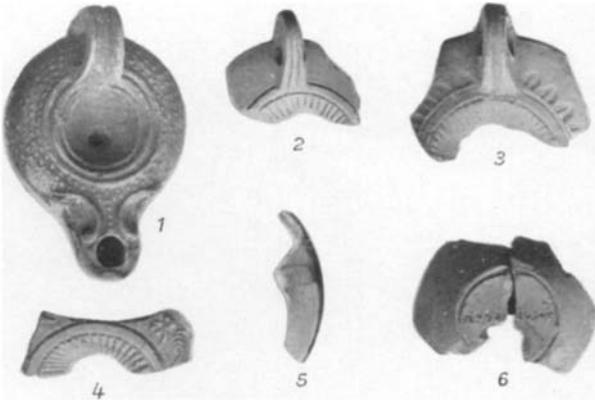


Fig. 54. Fragments of lamps from the filling of Period III

Trench D among the great rocks immediately behind the outer terrace wall, and still others were found in clearing the top of this wall. Most of these lamps were very fragmentary; but their distinctive clay and shape makes their classification certain. Six representative pieces are illustrated in Fig. 54. Of these, number 1 belongs to Broneer's Type XX, the rest to Type XXVII.

1. Complete except for small puncture in side.

Ht. (exclusive of handle) 0.03 m.,
L. 0.075 m., W. 0.055 m. Clay: pale

buff in colour coated with thin red glaze much flaked. Sides and rim covered by raised dots. Double volutes on throat. Three raised lines divide rim from discus. Vertical strap handle with single groove. On base, within two raised lines, **A**. These lamps of Type XX are Athenian made and dated by Broneer to the time of Augustus and the first half of the first century A.D.¹ In view of the fact that we found very few imported Italian lamps of types intermediate between XX and XXVII it is probable that in Athens the local makers were able to hold the market and that lamps of Type XX continued in use even beyond the middle of the first century A.D.

2. Preserved: handle and fragment of rim and discus.

L. 0.04 m., W. 0.045 m. Clay: greenish yellow, unglazed. Rim plain and set off from discus by narrow raised band. Discus decorated by rays. Two moulded grooves in handle. Broneer's Type XXVII (1).

3. Preserved: handle and part of rim and discus.

L. 0.045 m., W. 0.055 m. Clay: buff, unglazed. Rim divided from discus by raised band and row of ovules. Rays on discus. Broneer's Type XXVII (1).

¹ Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 70-73.

4. Preserved: fragment of rim and discus.

L. 0.055 m., W. 0.026 m. Clay: buff, unglazed. On rim a cluster of grapes and tendrils in raised relief; discus decorated by rays and set off from rim by raised band. Broneer's Type XXVII (2).

5. Preserved: fragment of rim and side wall.

L. 0.046 m., W. 0.014 m. Clay: buff, unglazed. On rim a low rectangular knob. Broneer's Type XXVII (3).

6. Preserved: part of base and side walls.

Diam. of base 0.032 m. Clay: buff, unglazed. Within a single groove, incised while the clay was still soft: ΠΡΕΙ[.]ΙΩΝΟ̅ = Πρεῖ[μ]ίωρος. The name Πρεμίων occurs in Galen.¹ Broneer's Type XXVII.

The fragmentary condition of the lamps of Type XXVII in most cases prevents their attribution to the subclasses of that type. Of at least five, however, enough remains to make certain that they belong to class (1). Of class (2), distinguished by the grapes and tendrils on the rim, only two specimens were found, and of class (3), of which the rim is panelled, one only, that illustrated in Fig. 54, 5. Of the other fragments, the majority appear to be early specimens of Type XXVII, to judge from the large size of the holes in the handles and the good quality of the workmanship. Not a single fragment of a discus carrying a relief, another distinctive feature of classes (3) and (4), was found in the filling of the Last Period. Type XXVII was a distinctive Corinthian product and the clay and workmanship of our fragments correspond closely to those of the hundreds of lamps of this type found in Corinth. Consequently, the chronology established in the study of the Corinthian lamps may safely be applied to these. Broneer concluded that Type XXVII came into common use about the beginning of the second century and was fully developed by the time of Hadrian.² In the Antonine period classes (3) and (4), marked by reliefs on the discs, were still in vogue,³ but toward the close of the Antonine period the technique had begun to decline. Considering the early forms and good technique of our specimens we should probably not be wrong in placing the group in the early part of the second century A.D.

The occurrence of objects of the Roman period was isolated. They were found chiefly in the northern ends of the radial Trenches A, C and D and in the clearing of the top of the great terrace wall. Twelve basketsful of sherds of Roman date were gathered from these various places. A number of loom weights of the late conical shape were discovered in the southern part of the filling in Trenches E and F and a pocket of Roman potsherds was found in clearing the northern end of the eastern side scarp.

¹ Ed. Kühn, vol. 13, p. 748.

² Cf. Broneer, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

³ Cf. *Fouilles de Delphes* V, pp. 190, 191; Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* I, p. 255.

Comparatively few as these objects may be, their evidence is irrefutable, for they cannot be chance intrusions. In the northern ends of Trenches C and D, for instance, Roman pottery and lamps were found lying on bed-rock immediately behind the blocks of the terrace wall and in the end of Trench A, where the presence of the huge rocks thrown in behind the terrace wall rendered it impracticable to dig lower than 2·50 m. below



Fig. 55. East front of Library of Hadrian

the top of the latter, such late objects were found throughout this depth. The great preponderance of "finds" of the early Greek period may seem surprising, but in reality it may illustrate a well-known phenomenon in the history of Athens. The region of the Pnyx had been a popular district of the city in the fifth century. Later, the trend in the city's growth was toward the north and the east, so that by the middle of the fourth century the Pnyx Hill was left desolate.¹ Now it is natural to suppose that as much as possible of the filling material required in the last reconstruction should have been

¹ Cf. Aeschines I, 81 f.; Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 86.

gathered from the immediate neighbourhood. That such was the case is confirmed in an interesting way by the discovery in the body of the filling lying in the southeast corner of the late auditorium of a number of miniature cups identical with many such which came to light in exploratory trenches cut through the site of the sanctuary on the crest of the ridge not more than thirty metres to the east (cf. above, p. 96, n. 1). Since such objects were not found elsewhere in the filling we may conclude that the earth thrown into this corner was taken from close beside the nearby sanctuary. Such being the case, we should expect the majority of the objects found in the filling of the final



Fig. 56. Peribolos wall of Olympieion; west side near northwest corner

reconstruction to date between the time of the building of the Second Period, i.e. from the close of the fifth century, when much of the earth from the hill slopes must have been gathered and thrown into the filling of that period, and the time when the district had ceased to be thickly populated, i.e. toward the middle of the fourth century. This is undoubtedly true of the pottery, loom weights and lamps.

If we seek parallels in Athens for the style of masonry employed in the terrace wall of the final period we may find the best in a group of three buildings, *viz.*, the Library of Hadrian (Fig. 55), the peribolos wall supporting the terrace around the temple of Olympian Zeus (Fig. 56) and the reconstructed Pompeion by the Dipylon Gate. In all three a cheap stone, *poros*, i.e. Peiraic limestone, was freely used in exposed public places. In each case comparatively large blocks were employed; the coursing and the placing of vertical joints are not always regular; and the surface of the wall is broken up by the heavy drafting around the edges of the blocks. Now these are precisely the

features which distinguish the great terrace wall of the Pnyx. If the local limestone was used in place of *poros* it was due to its ready availability; if in general larger blocks were employed it was because the problem of transportation was simpler,—it was necessary to move them a very short distance and that downhill. But the general effect was the same and so too the pervading spirit: an affectation of rugged simplicity. All three structures mentioned above are now known to date from the time of Hadrian.¹ This fashion of building seems to have passed in Athens by the time of Herodes Atticus when a more refined and elegant effect was sought. The walls of his odeum (built in the 60's of the second century)² were largely revetted with marble; where exposed they present unbroken plane surfaces. It was Herodes too who clothed the Panathenaic stadium in marble (completed *ca.* 143 A.D.).³ This comparison of architectural styles provides us with a *terminus ante quem* fixed at about the middle of the second century. If now we take into consideration the *terminus post quem* approximately established by the objects from the filling, we are driven to the second quarter of the second century as the time of the final reconstruction.

One may well enquire into the circumstances which led to such a pretentious effort at a time when the public assembly was presumably comfortably accommodated in the Theatre of Dionysus and when interest in political affairs was undoubtedly at a low ebb. It is inconceivable that the city of Athens should have made the move on its own initiative. If we seek an outside donor or instigator of the project there can be no more likely figure than the Emperor Hadrian. The spirit which prompted the restoration of this monument of Athens in her glory, in which the general features of the old structure were copied even to the unreasonable principle of the whole arrangement, finds its best parallel in the completion of the temple of Olympian Zeus and in the rebuilding of the Pompeion. In none of these cases was the effort justified, nor could it have been motivated, by the contemporary needs or wants of the city. The combination of adequate interest and resources from without was not forthcoming either before or after the time of Hadrian.

The general character of the work supports this conclusion. From a close examination of its various parts one gathers the impression that the undertaking was executed hurriedly and yet with no lack of means. The inference is perhaps not overbold that a great effort was made to complete the reconstruction for the occasion of one of the imperial visits and that the effort succeeded save for a few finishing touches which no one had the energy to execute after the Emperor's departure. Finally, the conception of the undertaking, in its magnitude and monumentality, are typically Hadrianic.⁴

¹ Cf. Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 377 f.; 382 ff.; 361. In addition to the literature cited by Judeich see for the Library of Hadrian the recent study by M. A. Sisson in *Papers of the British School in Rome* XI, 1929, pp. 50-72, pls. 17-26.

² Cf. Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 f.

³ Cf. Judeich, *l. c.*

⁴ Cf. W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 269 f.

It is surprising that so prominent a landmark as the reconstructed assembly place should not have made more impression on ancient authors. This is especially puzzling in the case of Pausanias. Granted that his account of Athens is to be dated between 143, the year in which Herodes' work on the stadium, mentioned by Pausanias (i, 19, 6), was completed, and the 60's of the same century when, in all probability, the Odeum of Herodes was built, a work not yet begun at the time of the writing of the *Attica* (vii, 20, 6),—it is clear that the periegete, if our conclusions be correct, must have seen the reconstruction either under way or, more likely, complete. As a work of Hadrian it should at least have received mention in the author's list of that emperor's building activities (i, 18, 9). But indeed the failure to mention the assembly place in any connection is difficult to understand. As a profane rather than a sacred building it would be less likely to arouse the interest of Pausanias¹ and, supposing that he actually did see it in its reconstructed form, its very newness may have proved repugnant to the antiquarian.²

Lucian makes two references to the assembly place: *Jur. tragoed.* 11: *πῶς ἂν καὶ προεδρεύοις* (*sc.* the Colossus of Rhodes), *εἰ μὴ δεήσει ἀναστῆναι πάντας ὡς μόνος καθέζοιο, τὴν Πνύκα ὄλην θατέρω τῶν πυγῶν ἐπιλαβῶν; ὥστε ἕμεινον ποιήσεις ὀρθοστάδην ἐκκλησιάζων, ἐπικεκρωῶς τῷ συνεδρίῳ*: "How could you enjoy a front seat unless everyone else were obliged to stand up so that you alone might be seated, occupying the whole of the Pnyx with one of your buttocks? So you will do better by standing during the meeting, leaning over the assembly." The picture which the passage suggests is that of the Colossus standing behind, i.e. north of the great outer terrace wall, stooping over and resting his weight on the upper rim of the auditorium. The words are quite pointless if we try to apply them to the Pnyx in the ruinous state in which it must have lain for generations before the last reconstruction. Hence it may be taken as certain that Lucian at the time of writing was familiar with the assembly place in its final form. Modern critics place the date of composition of this dialogue in the years 161–165 A.D.³ which consequently may be regarded as a lower limit for the completion of the great reconstruction. The same dialogue indicates that the Pnyx was once more in common use as an assembly place at that time. To settle a difficult point, Hermes proposed to call an assembly of the people (§ 5); as a matter of course it met in the Pnyx.

The other passage from Lucian is of interest only for its suggestion as to the topographical position of the Pnyx and so does not concern us here.⁴

The well-known passage in Pollux (*Onomasticon* viii, 132) is also to be referred to the assembly place in its final form since the "Onomasticon" is dedicated to Commodus as Caesar. The dedication could have been made in this form only between 166 and

¹ Cf. Fraser, *Pausanias*, London, 1898, I, p. xxxv.

² Cf. Fraser, *l. c.*, p. xxxiii.

³ Cf. Helm, *R. E.* 13, 1765.

⁴ *bis. accus.* 9: Hermes has led Justice to the Areopagus where he addresses her as follows: *ἀντὶ μὲν ἐνταῦθά σου ἐπὶ τοῦ πάγου κάθησο εἰς τὴν Πνύκα ὄρωσα*. The assembly place must have been visible from the top of the Areopagus.

177 A.D., the years in which Commodus became Caesar and Augustus respectively.¹ The passage reads: 'Ἐνεκκλησίαζον δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Πνυκί· Πνύξ δὲ ἦν χώριον πρὸς τῇ Ἀκροπόλει, κατασκευασμένον κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἀπλότητα, οὐκ εἰς θεάτρον πολυπραγμοσύνην. αὐθις δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐν τῷ Διονυσιακῷ θεάτρῳ, μόνας δὲ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐν τῇ Πνυκί, ἀφ' ἧς τὸν τοῦ δήμου θόρον πνυκίτην φασὶν οἱ κωμικοί. ἐκάλουν δὲ τὴν προεδρίαν καὶ πρῶτον ξύλον καὶ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τὴν πρῶτην καθέδραν: "Of old they met in assembly in the Pnyx. The Pnyx was a place close to the Acropolis, arranged in ancient simplicity, not with the complexity of a theatre. Subsequently the other business was done in the Theatre of Dionysus and only the elections were held in the Pnyx, from which the comic poets speak of the tumult of the populace as 'Pnyxian.' They called the first bench also 'first wood' and in the law court 'the first seat.'" In spite of the grand proportions of the structure in its final form, its general appearance was undoubtedly that of bareness and simplicity especially when compared with the Roman theatre of the period, as exemplified, for instance, in the newly-built Odeum of Herodes. The assembly place lacked the permanent marble seats, the colonnade about the top, the richly ornamented *scaenae frons*, and the various rooms of the scene building. Though it is not clear to what extent he is drawing on ancient sources, it is probable that Pollux refers to the practice of his own day in observing that only elections were held in the Pnyx.²

Of the subsequent history of the place we know little or nothing. The water channel which runs across the earth ramp leading up to the foot of the great stairway must have effectually blocked the entrance; so that at the time of the laying of this water pipe the northern entrance, and so presumably the auditorium, was out of use. As to the date of the water system we can only say that it was built later than the time of Pausanias (cf. below, pp. 202, 206). Its substantial construction and the use of heavy iron clamps suggest a time not too late. This would curtail the period of service of the assembly place but it is unlikely that this huge auditorium should long have been maintained in addition to the Theatre of Dionysus.

There is little evidence of other late building on the site. In Trench B we came upon the remains of two late foundation walls which had been largely broken away by Curtius.³ Of the more northerly of these a section slightly over a metre long remains, lying roughly parallel to the line of the bedding for the earliest retaining wall and along its southern edge, immediately to the east of the point where Trench B cuts across it (Plate II; Fig. 3). Toward the east it terminates in an original square end; farther west it was destroyed in earlier excavations. It is about 0.60 m. thick, is roughly bedded on the rock, and now rises to within 0.50 m. of the modern ground level, doubtless having been cut away somewhat by the plow. It consists of small field stones set in clay mortar

¹ Cf. P. v. Rohden, *R. E.* 2, 2466 and 2468.

² Hesychius, s. v. Πνύξ· τόπος Ἀθήνησιν, ἐν ᾧ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι ἤγοντο πάλαι μὲν πᾶσαι, νυνὶ δὲ ἕναξ, ὅταν στρατηγὸν χειροτονῶσιν appears to confirm the statement of Pollux; but because of our ignorance of the date of Hesychius and his sources the passage is of no chronological value.

³ Cf. *Attische Studien* I, p. 27.

and is so unsightly that one must suppose it to have been covered by the earth and so insubstantial as to have supported nothing more than a private house. About 9·50 m. farther to the south the end of another late wall was exposed in the eastern side of Trench B (Plate II). It lies parallel to the first, is likewise set down on the rock, has a thickness of about 1 m., rises practically to the modern ground level, and is made of small, rough stones set in lime mortar. It may have been connected with the same



Fig. 57. Late terrace walls at foot of retaining wall of Period III

building as the other. In the clearing of the outer face of the great terrace wall the ends of three rude walls were found abutting against its eastern side (Plate II; Fig. 57). They consist of unhewn field stones and reused, broken building blocks set in clay. They were probably rough terrace walls in connection with a private residence. Quantities of late Roman pottery were found around them. A few late Roman lamps (Broneer's Type XXVIII) came from the surfaces of the trenches in the semicircular area above and not more than a dozen glazed Byzantine potsherds. In addition, a coin of Constantius II was found to the north of the great terrace wall, 0·50 m. below modern ground level, 4 m. to the south of the most southerly of the three rough walls just described. One each of Arcadius, Alexius I and William of Villehardouin were found near the surface

of the area within the great terrace wall. These are scanty evidence for late habitation on the site; but it is probable that late house walls, pottery, etc., may have been washed away as the great mass of earth from the embankment of the auditorium gradually worked down over the top of the outer terrace wall.

Two late graves were opened on the upper terrace. Of these one lay 1 m. east of the easternmost of the three great blocks preserved in the upper terrace wall (Plate II). Its top lay 0.50 m. deep. The orientation was roughly east and west. The covering consisted of one concave roofing tile (0.80 m. long, 0.46 m. wide at one end, 0.40 m. at the other) and two fragments of similar tiles. The occupant was a child. The head lay toward the west. Only the skull remained and the arm bones lying alongside it. There was no trace of burial offering. The other grave lay 3 m. south of the southwest corner of the auditorium of the Last Period and was oriented approximately north and south (Plate II). Its top was 0.15 m. below modern ground level. It was covered by two concave tiles, similar to the above, set on edge and overlapping above. The body was that of a child, head to south, resting on the right side, one arm lying under and behind the head. There was no burial offering.

Fragments of iron cannon balls strewn through the upper 1.50 m. of the earth enclosed by the great terrace wall suggest that the auditorium suffered severely from the warfare of the Middle Ages. It may be due to cannonading that the top course of the wall gave way. The work of destruction was continued by the housebuilders of the later city in search of building material; they have left their wedge marks on many a great block. The general appearance of the place has changed little since depicted in the sketches of early travellers.¹ Until late in the last century fields of grain mercifully clothed the scars of time. At present the area is an open park and on the sunny afternoons of spring and fall is still a favorite gathering place of the Athenian people.

¹ The earliest certain mention of the Pnyx on the part of modern travellers seems to be the brief account by Spon who visited Athens in 1675-6. He believed it to be the Areopagus. Cf. Spon and Wheeler, *Reise-Beschreibung*, Nürnberg, 1690, II, p. 38, Plan facing p. 52, no. 20. Spon's plan is practically useless so far as indicating the contemporary state of the structure. Nor do the plans based on the work of the Capuchins, *viz.*, that published by Guillet in his *Athènes ancienne et nouvelle*, etc., Paris, 1675, and that brought to Paris in 1687 by Gravier d'Ortières, provide any reliable information on this point. Both are published in convenient form by Omont, *Athènes au XVII^e Siècle*, etc., Paris, 1898, pls. XXXIX and XL; cf. also Wheeler, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XII, 1901, pp. 221-230; figs. 1 and 2; Judeich, *Topographie²*, pp. 30 f. In the former, no ruin is shown on the Pnyx Hill which could possibly be identified with the assembly place. If the theatre-like structure at the foot of the same hill (no. 82), named the "Théâtre de Bacchus ou du Lenaion" by Guillet, was intended on the original as the Pnyx (as Judeich suggests, *Topographie²*, p. 31, note 1) then the original drawing must have been based entirely on fancy or at most on literary sources since not only is one of the most distinctive features of the site, *viz.*, the great southern scarp, missing, but the semicircular back wall is made to open toward the Acropolis. In the other plan, a vast ruin is placed on the Pnyx Hill; but this too is almost completely fanciful. An apse-like structure in heavy masonry carried up to a height of six courses, extended toward the sides by wing-like projections, forms the back of a rectangular open area which is bounded on the front by a straight wall carried up to a great height and pierced by four large windows or niches. The "kernel of truth" was clearly the semicircular outer retaining wall and the great scarp but the fantastic additions and distortions destroy

SANCTUARY OF ZEUS HYP SISTOS

This little sanctuary, which has played so prominent a part in the struggle over the identification of the site of the Pnyx, has been known since 1803, in which year Lord Aberdeen unearthed 12 votive plaques of marble at the foot of the great scarp to the east of the bema (cf. above, p. 90). These had certainly fallen from the niches cut in the face of the rock above, and, fortunately, the inscriptions upon them leave no doubt as to the name of the deity to whom the place was sacred, *viz.*, Zeus Hypsistos: "Zeus the Highest." These inscriptions formed the keystone to the theory developed by Ulrichs, Welcker and Curtius, that the Pnyx was an age-old sanctuary of Zeus and a place of religious assembly. Of late it has been supposed that the cult was established at a time when the site had been abandoned as the meeting place of the political assembly.¹

In view, however, of our revised conception of the history of the Pnyx we must reconsider the problem and try to correlate the history of the sanctuary more precisely with that of the assembly place.

A more careful consideration of the physical features of the former will assist in this attempt (Fig. 58). The visible remains on the site consist of the above-mentioned niches cut in the face of the great scarp to the east of the bema of the Last Period. It is to be observed, however, that not all the niches were cut in the smooth face of the scarp. The majority of them are found over an area having a more roughly dressed surface lying in a plane behind that of the general surface of the scarp, set back to a maximum depth of 0.20 m. The interval between the two planes is greatest at the western end, i.e., 5.80 m. from the east side of the bema, diminishing to nothing at a point 14 m. east of the bema. The outline of the area in general is jagged. The base-line lies horizontal, about 2 m. above the foot of the scarp; the back-cutting continues to the top of the scarp. At the western end the area terminates in a broken line which seems to preserve the ends of four steps roughly cut in the rock. It is altogether improbable that the face of the scarp was hacked back at this point for the reception

all confidence in the result and one is certainly not justified in using this as evidence for the presumption that the outer retaining wall originally continued much above its present top. Cf. Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 396. For the study of the Pnyx the best of the early plans is one compiled in 1687 by an engineer named Miller in the company of the Venetian army. Cf. Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 11, pl. XXXIII. The ruin on the Pnyx Hill is unnamed but unmistakable. The outer terrace wall is indicated as of great blocks, rising three courses high. The double scarp is placed in correct relation to it and the two sides meet in an obtuse angle at the bema. The eastern and western sections have approximately the same height and this may indicate that more of the great wall above the western scarp was standing in the seventeenth century than today. An examination of the original drawing might prove rewarding. In 1898 it reposed in the archives at Marbourg.

¹ Cf. Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 396.

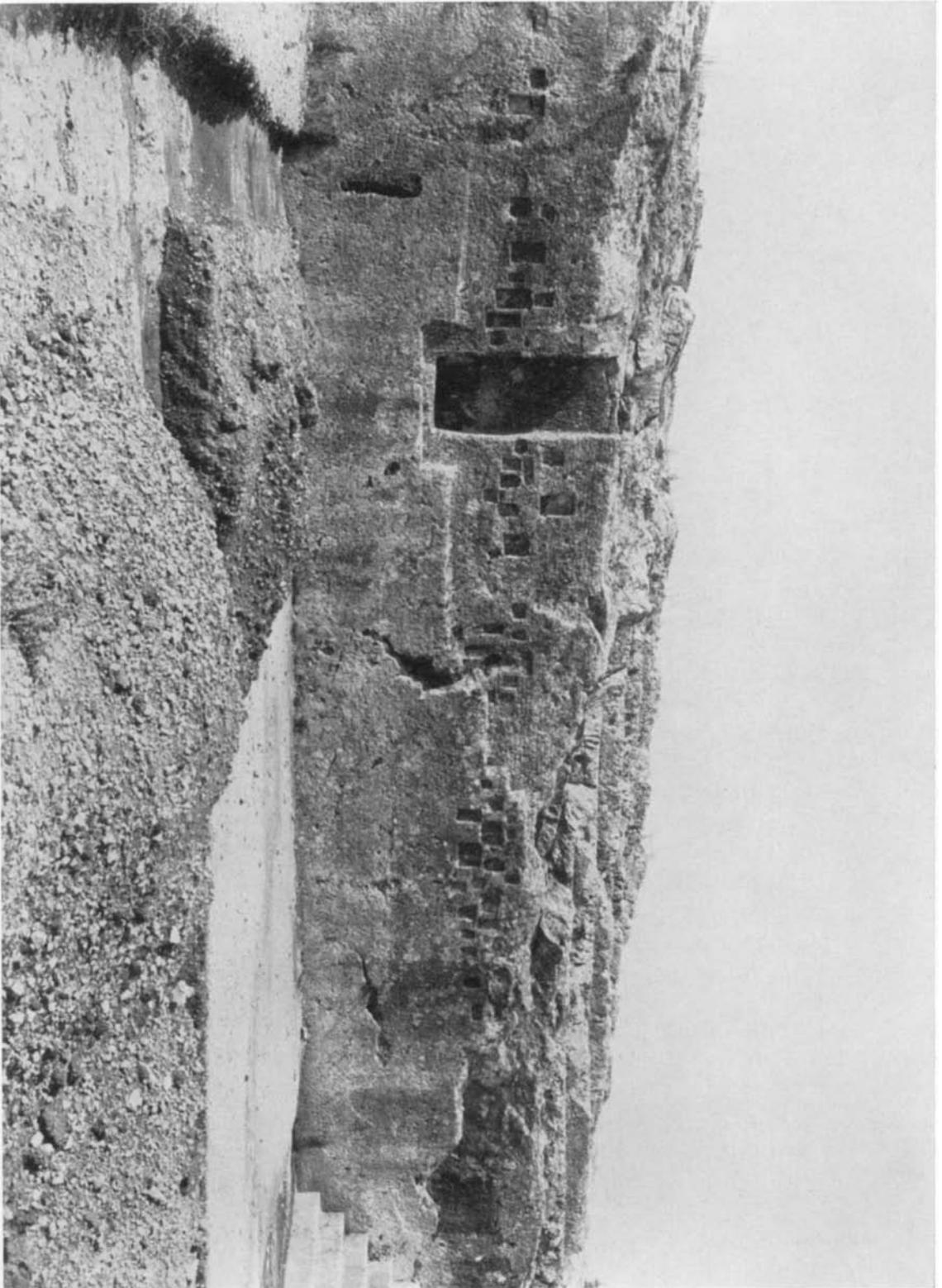


Fig. 58. Sanctuary of Zeus Hysistos

of the niches after the great cutting had been made, since the plaques would have appeared to better advantage set in the smoothly cut face of the scarp itself. Inferring then that the smaller cutting is the earlier we must suppose that it represents the southern end of a room or pit sunk in the shoulder of the hill before the quarrying of the Last Period had taken place. It may originally have been a quarry pit left by the builders of the retaining wall of the Second Period. It would have been approached by the short flight of steps from the west.¹ This jagged depressed area is the only irregularity which mars the impressive face of the great scarp, and that too at a point where it could not have been covered by the earth of the artificial filling supporting the seats, but must have occupied one of the most conspicuous places in the whole auditorium. Why then should not the architect have set back his base-line a few centimetres farther to the south and so cut away this unsightly scar? There is only one apparent answer, *viz.*, that before the cutting of the Last Period some of the plaques were already set in the face of the wall, and the builder respected the sanctity of the place to the extent of leaving so much of the shrine. That the worship continued is proven by the presence of additional niches farther to the west which are certainly cut in the true face of the scarp. A further indication of the priority of the sanctuary is the height of the niches from the floor. If measured from the floor of the auditorium, which at this point must have lain little above the dressed rock, the lowest niche would be about 2 m. high. In view of the small size of the lettering on the surviving plaques this would appear to be an excessive height. But if we consider the bottom line of the depressed area to represent the floor level of the original sanctuary, we find that the height of the majority of the niches above the ground level is more in keeping with the practice observed in similar sanctuaries elsewhere, e. g. in that of Eros and Aphrodite recently unearthed on the north slope of the Acropolis,² of Apollo on the same slope,³ and of Aphrodite bordering the Sacred Way to Eleusis.⁴ As we shall gather from a study of the inscriptions it is clear that the worship was in progress at a time when the assembly place was still in use. But it is inherently improbable that the authorities should have tolerated the establishment of a cult, of which the votaries seem to have been largely of the lower classes, in such a conspicuous part of a political gathering place; whereas, if we place its establishment some time prior to the construction of the Last Period, it probably lay entirely outside the actual assembly place of the time. The worship when once rooted could not readily be displaced.

Of the niches designed to receive plaques some 58 remain. Of this number 33 (one of which was reused) are in the depressed area; 21 (4 reused) were cut in the face of

¹ It is possible that we should connect with the sanctuary in its early form some rock cuttings which came to light at the edge of the quarrying of the Third Period 11 m. north of the scarp containing the niches. The cuttings may be interpreted as the pivot socket and threshold of a door about 1.60 m. wide (Plate II). Consequently, we might restore here a northern entrance leading up to the sanctuary by a short stairway which was cut away in the quarrying of Period III.

² Cf. above, p. 39, figs. 6 and 7.

³ Cf. *'Eφ. Άελ.*, 1897, pp. 6 f., pl. III, 1.

⁴ Cf. *'Eφ. Άελ.*, 1910, pp. 35 ff., figs. 2 and 3.

the scarp to the west and 4 to the east of this central section. In addition there are beddings for at least four other dedications cut in the narrow ledge at the foot of the receding surface, and for probably two more in one of the rock-cut benches above. Other offerings were suspended from iron pins set in holes drilled in the face of the rock; traces of two remain. The niches are for the most part rectangular in outline, having the greater dimension either horizontal or vertical. Two were shaped for the reception of *tabellae ansatae*, while several show other irregularities in their outline. The cuttings vary in height from 0.07 m. to 0.44 m., their average depth being 0.05 m. In

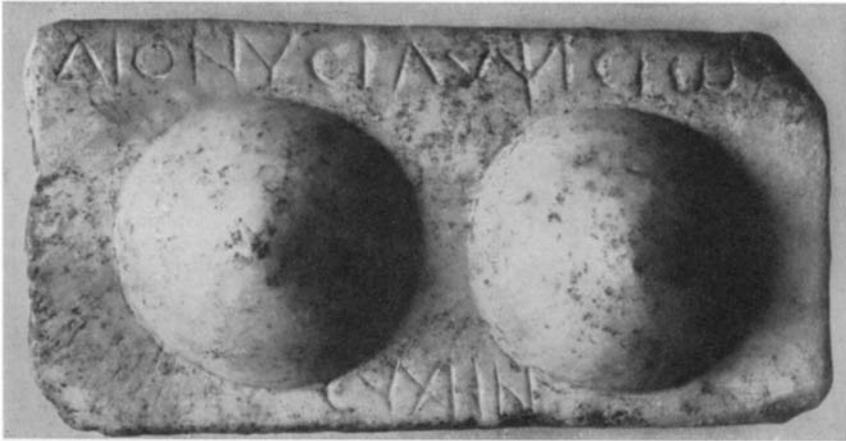


Fig. 59. Votive plaque of Zeus Hypsistos found on the Pnyx

many cases the plaques were secured by iron pins set in lead, of which either the holes or the actual metal remains, while others must have been held fast by metal wedges or poured lead.

Of the plaques themselves, mention has already been made of the twelve discovered by Lord Aberdeen in 1803. These were acquired by Lord Elgin and are now in the British Museum.¹ Four tablets were found built into the wall of a modern house north of the Acropolis. In view of the close similarity in style, dedicatory inscriptions and the subjects of the reliefs which they carry, and in the absence of any certain knowledge of a second sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos in Athens, these four may be assumed to have belonged to the same group as the foregoing. Their exposed position and convenient size rendered them a ready prey to the late housebuilder. They are now to be found in Berlin.² Pittakes in 1853, while clearing the shallow pit cut in the rock at the

¹ Cf. *Museum Marbles* IX, pl. XLI; *I. G.* III, 147–156, 237, 238; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, Cambridge, 1925, II, ii, pp. 876 f.

² Cf. *Ann. d. Inst.* XV, 1843, pp. 330 ff.; Ross, *Die Pnyx und das Pelasgikon*, 1853, p. 15; *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen*, Berlin, 1891, nos. 718–721; Cook, *l. c.*

northwest corner of the so-called Altar of Heracles, which yielded also the boundary stone, came upon fragments of marble reliefs which probably belonged to this same sanctuary; and Curtius in his excavation on the site of the Pnyx in 1862 found fragments of two more.¹ Of the further fate of these we have no record.

In the course of the present excavation yet another plaque of the same group came to light, lying immediately below the great outer retaining wall close by block θ and one metre below the modern ground level (Fig. 59). It is of Pentelic marble, measures 0.20 m. in length, 0.10 m. in width, and has a total thickness of 0.062 m., the relief being 0.032 m. high. The front is smoothly dressed, the edges and back roughly picked with a single point. It is complete and the surface is fresh and well preserved. The relief depicts two female breasts and the dedicatory inscription reads: *Διονυσία Ὑψίστω(ι) | εὐχῆν*. The letters are carefully cut, 0.013 m. in height. Lunate *epsilon*, *sigma* and *omega* are used.

Still another plaque, undoubtedly belonging to the same series, has recently been found in the excavation at present being conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service in the Marketplace of Caesar and Augustus (Fig. 60). It is of Pentelic marble, and measures 0.30 m. high, 0.235 m. wide and 0.08 m. thick. It appears to have been made from a waste scrap of material, tapering in thickness to practically nothing along the right side. A square shoulder was cut in each upper corner, probably to permit of the tablet being secured by metal pins. Edges and back are roughly picked; the front was originally smoothly finished but is now slightly pitted. On the face is depicted a pair of foot prints, so to speak, the soles and toes being outlined by a band in low relief. The inscription is carefully cut in characters resembling those of the preceding tablet, about 0.007 m. high, and placed by the help of guide lines. It reads: *Ἐντυχία εὐχῆν Θεῶ(ι) | Ὑψίστω(ι) ἀνέθηκα*.

These plaques in general are of the same character, bearing in relief some member of the human body (in two cases the relief is entirely broken away), accompanied by a brief dedicatory inscription. On one of the completely preserved Berlin pieces, however, there is no trace of an inscription, while on one of the plaques in London the lettering has probably completely disappeared. The votaries, to judge from the names preserved, were predominantly women. The following names occur: *Διονυσία*, *Εἰσιάς*, *Εἰσιδότη*, *Ἐβδος*, *Ἐὐπραξίς*, *Ἐντυχία*, *Ἐντυχίς*, *Κλαυδία Πρέπουσα*, *Ὀλυμπιάς*, *Ὀνησίμη*, *Σύντροφος*, *Τεγτία*, *Φιλημάτιν*, and *Ἰείνη* on behalf of *Ἐδφρόσσνος*. The name of the deity is given three times in full: *Διὶ Ὑψίστω(ι)*, twice as *Θεῶ(ι) Ὑψίστω(ι)*; eight times as *Ὑψίστω(ι)* only, while twice the god's name is certainly omitted. Among the reliefs, the female breast or breasts appear six times, the human eye four times, the lower part of the female body occurs twice; there is also the lower part of a human face, a pair of arms, a foot, "foot prints" and a human shoulder(?). It would seem that the votaries dedicated these plaques as thank-offerings after experiencing the healing power of the deity in the members depicted.

¹ Cf. Pittakes, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1853, p. 774; Curtius, *Attische Studien* I, p. 27.

This is especially clear from the presence on the ball of one of the eyes of a slit,—apparently the scar from a successful operation.

So far as one may judge from the character of the lettering, the surviving plaques date from the first into the third century of the Christian era, the majority probably being of the second century. Because of the rough original outlines and the present

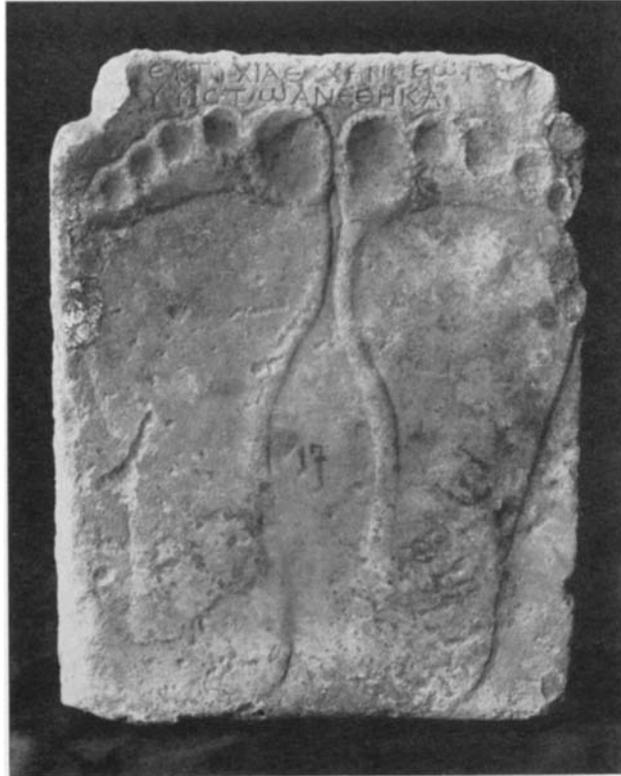


Fig. 60. Votive plaque of Zeus Hysistos found in the Market of Caesar and Augustus

fragmentary condition of many of the plaques and the weatherworn state of the niches, it is difficult to assign the tablets to their proper places. It has been possible, however, to place with a fair degree of probability all the tablets previously discovered. One of the plaques now in the British Museum (*Museum Marbles* IX, pl. XLI, 7) may be assigned with complete certainty to a niche in the face of the great scarp to the west of the depressed area, i.e. the plaque must have been inserted after the great scarp had been cut. Now the character of the sculpture on this piece (the lower part of a human face) is typically Hadrianic and the lettering is that distinctive of the first half of the second century of our era. The tablet is probably not later than 150 A.D. and so must have been dedicated shortly after the final reconstruction.

No niche can be found to accommodate exactly the plaque discovered in the present excavation. It is just possible, however, that the appropriate bedding has been broken away in later times by natural causes, since the stone in the face of the scarp above the westernmost niches is crumbly and the upper edge of it has certainly weathered away, leaving only the lower parts of some of the niches. But this particular plaque seems to be exceptionally well preserved, and had it remained in or near its original place until modern times it is difficult to see how it could have reached the spot in which it was found without suffering greater damage. The surface of the marble, moreover, is so fresh and smooth that it could not have remained *in situ* for many years exposed to the weathering in that northern rock face. The most probable account of its history would seem to be that it had been placed in the sanctuary before the time of the last great reconstruction, that the builders had found it necessary to cut away that part of the wall in which it was set; the plaque was then carried down, thrown into the filling behind the outer retaining wall and, when the upper course of this wall was carried away, fell outside the wall and was buried by the down-washing earth. The character of the lettering unfortunately affords no definite clue to the date of the tablet: with its lunate letters and careful workmanship it might belong to the first or early second century A.D.

Another piece of evidence pointing to the disturbance of the sanctuary is furnished by the presence in the top of block *ia* in the great terrace wall of a rectangular cutting, 0.22 m. long, 0.17 m. wide and 0.04 m. deep. When the wall was complete this cutting must have been covered, and so rendered useless, by the top course. Since it is impossible to see how such a shallow cutting could have been of use in the construction of the wall, we are compelled to believe that it had been cut in the surface of the stone before the block was quarried. Now it agrees very closely in dimensions and workmanship with the niches in the rock face above, and that it was cut from one of the walls of the sanctuary at the time of the final reconstruction is rendered still more probable by its present position in the retaining wall: almost directly below the sanctuary.

That the worship continued after the final reconstruction is proven by the presence of some niches in the face of the newly-cut scarp and also by the late date of the lettering on some of the tablets. It is further demonstrated by the position of the large cutting which appears in the photograph, Fig. 58, in the middle of the depressed area. That this cutting was made after the great scarp is certain from the fact that its lower part extends below the line of what we have taken to be the floor of the original sanctuary. Two of the small niches were broken into by its cutting, while several more must have been covered over by the pilasters which framed the large niche. Occupying such a prominent position in the midst of the sanctuary it must have been connected with the cult. Its dimensions (2.38 m. high, 1.10 m. wide, 0.38 m. deep in the upper part) suggest that it sheltered a statue, probably that of the god worshipped. It is not impossible that the large niche was cut and the statue dedicated by the builders of the

last period of the assembly place to atone in some measure for the damage which they had done to the sanctuary.¹

We may conclude that the worship of Zeus Hypsistos as a healing divinity was established, possibly in the first century A.D.,² in a depression in the shoulder of the Pnyx Hill to the south of the assembly place proper as it existed at that time. Some votive plaques had already been set into its walls when the sanctuary was cut through by the line of the southern limit of the assembly place of the Last Period, at which time the greater part of the sanctuary proper was quarried away, including the side walls with some of the tablets. The south wall, however, was left; the worship continued, new tablets were dedicated, filling what had once been the wall of the sanctuary and also some of the newly-cut scarp, while possibly at the time of this reconstruction, the great central niche was cut, presumably to hold a figure of the god.

WATER SYSTEMS

In the course of our clearing to the north of the great retaining wall certain traces of water systems came to light which are of interest both for their interrelation with the history of the Pnyx and for the clues which they afford to the fluctuations in the habitation of this quarter of the city.

To the north of the main entrance of the Last Period there is a series of shallow rectangular beddings cut in the rock. These continue toward the northwest in an unbroken line as far at least as the modern street, beyond which point it was impossible to explore them (Plate I; Fig. 61). Toward the southeast they are covered deeply for some distance beneath the earth of the hillside but reappear on the northeast shoulder of the Pnyx hill, where the rock has been exposed. The beddings measure 0.65 m.—0.70 m. square and their centres lie at intervals of 1.80 m.—1.90 m. Where the bed rock rises higher a shallow, continuous trench was cut, in the bottom of which the square beddings were worked. In a number of the cuttings, both in front of the assembly place and on the northeast shoulder of the hill, there remain *in situ* squared blocks of a soft, yellow and very friable *poros* stone. Figure 62 illustrates a longitudinal section of a typical part.

¹ May this have been due to the personal interest of Hadrian? We know that the Emperor built a temple to Zeus Hypsistos near Mt. Argarizon (Gerizim) in Syria so that he might well have honoured the same deity in Athens. Cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, II, ii, pp. 887 f.

² Nothing more than a *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of the sanctuary can be derived with certainty from the earliest of the surviving plaques, since even in ancient times old tablets may have been removed and cast aside to make room for new. On the other hand, this was not so likely to occur in the present sanctuary since there was ample room available. Moreover, of the many sanctuaries of Zeus Hypsistos scattered throughout the Greek world the great majority date from the early centuries of the Christian era. (Cf. Cook, *l. c.*, pp. 876–889.)

These are undoubtedly the base blocks of short square pillars which carried the water pipes, probably in the form of stone troughs. Toward the east this series of beddings is interrupted by a narrow ravine in the slope of the Pnyx Hill, but beyond this the



Fig. 61. Line of water channels, looking southeast

line is continued by an open, rock-cut channel which clings to the northeast shoulder of the hill and thence is taken up by the tunnel now opening in front of the chamber which Dörpfeld supposed to be the original Callirrhoë. The level of this in turn permits one to connect it with the underground water main which leads through the former Royal, now the Public, Gardens and below the Theatre of Dionysus and the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, a work which has for long been associated with the name of Peisistratus.

Now the German architect Ziller, in his illuminating study of the Athenian water system, records that he found certain traces of a water channel north of the Pnyx, the levels of which proved its connection with the above-mentioned stone-cut channel and tunnel which follow around the northeast shoulder of the Pnyx Hill. Accordingly on his plan he indicated a water conduit north of the assembly place on very much the same line as that of the square beddings.¹ He must have found some of the worked beddings described above, although the majority of them were not revealed until the excavation done by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1916. Dörpfeld, however, after discovering and identifying the site of the Enneacrunus, supposed that the Peisistratean main had been carried to the eastern foot of the Pnyx Hill to supply only the fountain with water

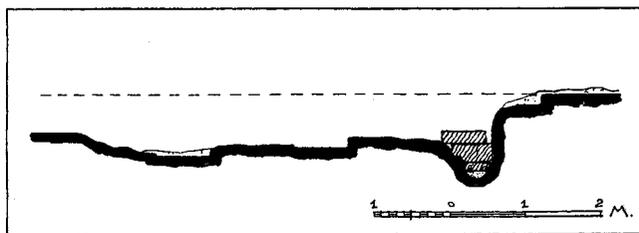


Fig. 62. Typical longitudinal section through bedding of early water channel

and that it was not until after the Enneacrunus had gone out of use, i.e. later than the time of Pausanias, that a water channel was carried northward beyond the site of the fountain. He traced its course only to the edge of the above-mentioned ravine, beyond which point he conjectured that it continued along the northern slope of the Pnyx Hill, or, more probably, that it was carried around the western end of the Areopagus into the late Agora. These conclusions were endorsed by F. Gräber who made a detailed study of the Enneacrunus.²

But the line of beddings running to the north of the assembly place cannot possibly be so late. Indeed they must antedate the rock-cut stairway which disappears beneath the great wall; and this stairway, as we have seen, was in use possibly as early as the First Period, certainly in the time of the Second. The priority of the water line is proven by the fact that the cuttings for the steps stop 6.50 m. to the south of it, although the intervening rock surface is so rough as to have been quite impossible for a much-used thoroughfare (Fig. 63). The explanation would seem to be that the roadway was carried over the water channel on an earth bridge leading down into the same main street to the city which served the entrance of the final period (Fig. 64). The painstaking style of work-

¹ *Ath. Mitt.* II, 1877, pp. 107-131, especially 113-115.

² Cf. Dörpfeld, *Antike Denkmäler* II, p. 2, pl. 38; Gräber, *Ath. Mitt.* XXX, 1905, p. 29; Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, pp. 122f.; Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 201.

manship evident in the cutting of the beddings also points to a much earlier date. Now the excavation in the vicinity of the Enneacrunus revealed evidence which indicates clearly that the fountain was not the sole goal of the Peisistratean main, but that in its original state the main was carried past the Enneacrunus which was fed by a branch line.¹ This latter pipe left the main at a point almost 10 m. from its present end.



Fig. 63. Rock-cut approach of Period II. In the foreground, remains of early water channel

This 10 metre section is well built of *poros* blocks and is undoubtedly contemporary with the terracotta branch pipe which led off to the reservoir of the Peisistratean fountain. In the *poros*-built section the excavators found the remains only of the late terracotta pipes which had supplied the fountain as restored in later times. According to their theory that the fountain was the goal of the Peisistratean main these 10 metres of beautifully constructed conduit must have been quite useless in the original system. The explanation suggested by the excavators, *viz.*, that the main was continued beyond

¹ Cf. the plans in *Ant. Denk.* II, pl. 38 and *Ath. Mitt.* XXX, pl. I and II. The pertinent part of our Plate I is based on these plans.

the point where the branch pipe to the fountain left it in order to mislead enemies who might desire to cut the water line, is unsatisfactory, since the more piping there was the easier it would be to find. Furthermore, had the original builders intended that this 10 metre section should lie idle one would expect to find some trace of an original obstruction in it immediately beyond the point where the branch pipe quits it. But none such exists. (Cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXX, p. 27, Fig. 9.) The inevitable conclusion is that

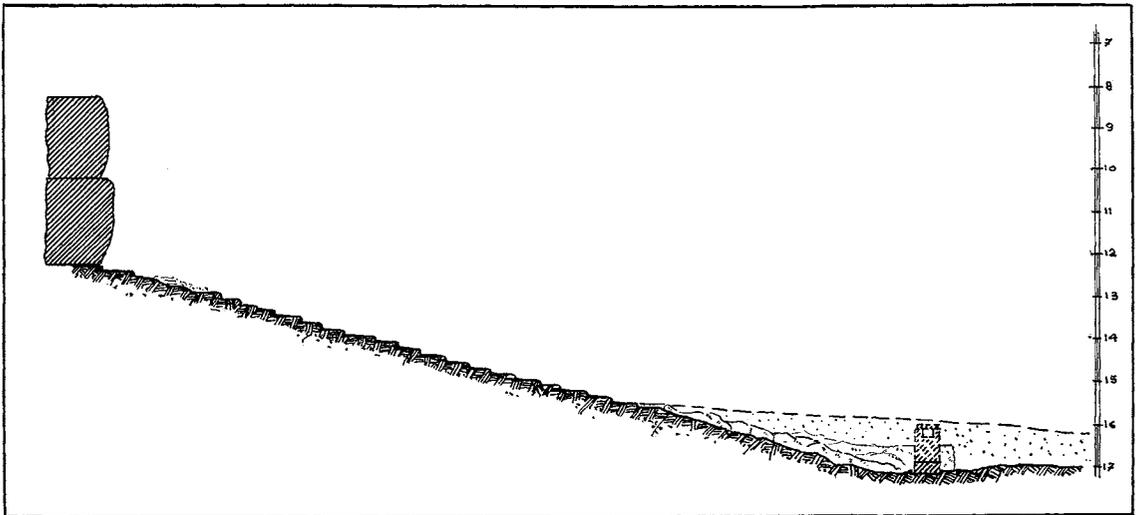


Fig. 64. Western approach of Period II carried over early water channel: restored section on line AB of figure 47

the original conduit was continued beyond its present end, but that the blocks of its further course, as so many others in this neighbourhood, have disappeared. Since now we can trace the water line of which the square beddings to the north of the assembly place form a part, to within a few metres of the surviving end of this Peisistratean conduit and the levels of the two correspond, and since the former must be earlier than the end of the fifth century, it is practically certain that the two are one and are the work of the tyrants.

This has its bearing on the history of the city, for it indicates that in the Peisistratean period there was a growing demand for water in the district around the north foot of the Pnyx Hill and the Hill of the Nymphs, and that consequently this was already, or was becoming, a well settled region.

It is interesting to observe that the cuttings in the rock, doubtless to accommodate the foundations of private houses, which are to be seen to the west of the approach to the assembly place and again on the northeast shoulder of the Pnyx Hill, were determined by the line of this water system. Consequently these structures cannot boast

the great antiquity which has been assigned to them by such scholars as Curtius.¹ Some of the beddings for the water channel to the west of the approach were encroached upon by later cuttings, doubtless due to alterations made in the houses at a time when the water system had ceased to function (Fig. 61).

Immediately to the north of the line of beddings below the great terrace wall and just to the west of the point where the downward continuation of the rock-cut steps must have crossed the water pipe, the bed rock thrusts itself up in a low "hog's back" (Figs. 47 and 63). On the southern end of this a bedding is roughly worked to carry a round base about 0.30 m. in diameter, the centre of which lies 0.75 m. from the side of the bedding for the water pipe. Leading up to this bedding are two low steps hewn in the rock. It is not impossible that we should imagine here a small fountain, fed by the water main and refreshing the citizens as they passed up to the assembly.

This water main likewise cut across the line of the road which ran up the north-eastern shoulder of the Pnyx Hill (Plate I). It is not now apparent how this thoroughfare, if indeed it actually existed at the time when the channel was in use, negotiated the crossing. In later times the roadway was carried over this point on an earth filling covering the rock, so that in order to clear the ancient beddings we found it necessary to dig through a stratum of very hard packed earth and gravel.

There is no evidence for the existence of a water conduit along this line at the time when the assembly place of the last period was in use. It is probable that there were not then sufficient residents in this quarter of the city to justify the maintenance of a water main.

The most conspicuous remains of waterworks preserved in this neighbourhood must be dated to a time when the Pnyx had ceased to be an assembly place or at any rate when the main approach from the north was no longer used, since they constitute an obstruction across the approach which would be quite intolerable if that were in constant use (Figs. 29 and 65). The late system seems to have been laid closely over the line of the old, which indeed followed a course admirably chosen to maintain its level and furnish water to a large section of the city below. Time permitted of the examination of only a limited extent of this late conduit, lying to the north of the approach of the Last Period and extending eastward. The water channel proper, rectangular in section, 0.20 m. wide, 0.15 m. deep, was hewn in blocks of *poros*, some of them obviously reused building blocks, others roughly cut for the purpose (Fig. 65). They are of random length varying from 1 m. to 1.90 m. The joints were secured by iron clamps, \vdash -shaped, *ca.* 0.18 m. in length, heavily bedded in lead, and were rendered watertight by plaster applied to the bottom and side of the channel at these points. In the three westernmost joints, however, there is no trace of clamps nor cuttings for them. The walls of the water channel were raised by fragments of tile bedded in mortar, traces of which remain only in the last block toward the west. None of the

¹ Cf. *Attische Studien I, Pnyx und Stadtmauer*, especially p. 17.

cover slabs are preserved. When this water system was laid, the western part of the earth approach to the great stairway had apparently been washed away, leaving exposed the beddings cut for the pillars of the early system. The western end of the westernmost



Fig. 65. Late water channel, looking southeast

surviving block of the late channel was supported on one of the *poros* plinths of the early main set on edge and on a (probably reused) *poros* building block. Where the hard packed surface of the ancient earth ramp is preserved the stone troughs are simply laid on it.

This conduit is probably identical with the late northward extension from the site of the Enneacrunus discussed by the excavators of the fountain. The late builders

undoubtedly availed themselves of the existing tunnel and open rock-cut channel in negotiating the shoulder of the hill.

The demand for water proven by this reconstruction indicates an interesting revival at so late a period of the popularity of this quarter of the city.

At a still later date, when the water had failed, the water channel was apparently converted into a sewer. The stone conduit was blocked 10 m. from its western end and a rectangular terracotta trough leading down from the south was introduced through a gap cut in the wall immediately to the west of this obstruction. This is just visible in the end of the trench in Fig. 65.

METON'S SUNDIAL

According to the historian Philochorus (writing in the fourth or third century B.C.) the astronomer Meton placed a sundial in the assembly place in the archonship of Apseudes (433/2 B.C.): *ὁ δὲ Φιλόχορος ἐν Κολωνῷ μὲν αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν Μέτωνα) οὐδὲν θεῖναι λέγει, ἐπὶ Ἀψεύδου δὲ τοῦ πρὸ Πυθοδώρου ἡλιοτρόπιον ἐν τῇ νῦν οὔσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν τῇ Πνυκί*: "Philochorus states that he (*sc. Meton*) set up nothing on Colonus but that in the archonship of Apseudes, who preceded Pythodorus, he placed an *heliotropion* in the present place of assembly close to the wall on the Pnyx."¹ It has commonly been supposed that the instrument in question was a dial consisting of a pointer set in the vertical face of a wall and throwing its shadow on a scale inscribed on the surface of the wall. Meton's device has consequently been placed either on the northern face of the great terrace wall of the assembly place or on the high scarp which bounds its southern side.² It is now certain, however, that neither of these surfaces was available in Meton's day. The corresponding members of the Second Period are ruled out likewise by their late date. The terrace wall of the First Period was rendered unsuitable by a consideration which might be urged with equal force against any of the above-mentioned locations: it looks toward the north so that a pointer set in its face would catch the rays of the sun only for a few hours on summer days and scarcely at all in winter.

But the form of the sundial in use at that time relieves us of the necessity of finding a vertical face on which to place it. It consisted of an upright standard (*γνώμων*) set in an inverted hemisphere (*πόλος*) the inner surface of which carried the scale and served as a "shadow catcher."³ The instrument was mounted on a base of some height and

¹ Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Av.* 997.

² Cf. Judeich, *Topographie*¹, p. 352; *Topographie*², p. 394.

³ Cf. Rehm, *R. E.* 8, 2417f.

would naturally be most effective if set on an eminence open to the sun at all seasons and hours of the day.¹

On the rock-cut level floor above the assembly place proper, at a point some 22 metres southwest of the bema of the Last Period, there is to be seen a mass of the living rock hewn vertically on all four sides (Figs. 66 and 67). It consists simply of a core of



Fig. 66. Base of Meton's sundial (?), from the southeast

limestone left in the process of cutting down the surrounding rock to a plane surface. As preserved it has a maximum height of *ca.* 0.50 m. and the contour of the neighboring unworked surface of the hilltop proves that it could never have been much higher. The top is now rough and irregular and was probably always left in its natural state. This core is surrounded by a shallow channel, 0.80 m. wide on the north, west and south sides, 0.70 m. on the east; its bottom lying *ca.* 0.10 m. below the surface of the surrounding floor. Pry holes cut at intervals in this trench indicate that it was intended as the

¹ Cf. Plutarch, *Dion* 29, 2: ἦν δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὰ Πεντάπυλα, Διονυσίου κατασκευάσαντος, ἡλιοτρόπιον καταφανὲς καὶ ὕψηλόν. ἐπὶ τοῦτο προβάς (sc. Δίων) ἐδημηγόρησε καὶ παρώρμησε τοὺς πολίτας ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας. Dionysius came to power in 405 b.c. His *heliotropion* may well have been modelled on that of Meton.

bedding for a wall of ashlar masonry. The original cutting was admirably done, the bottom of the channel is smooth and perfectly level. The rectangle formed by the outer

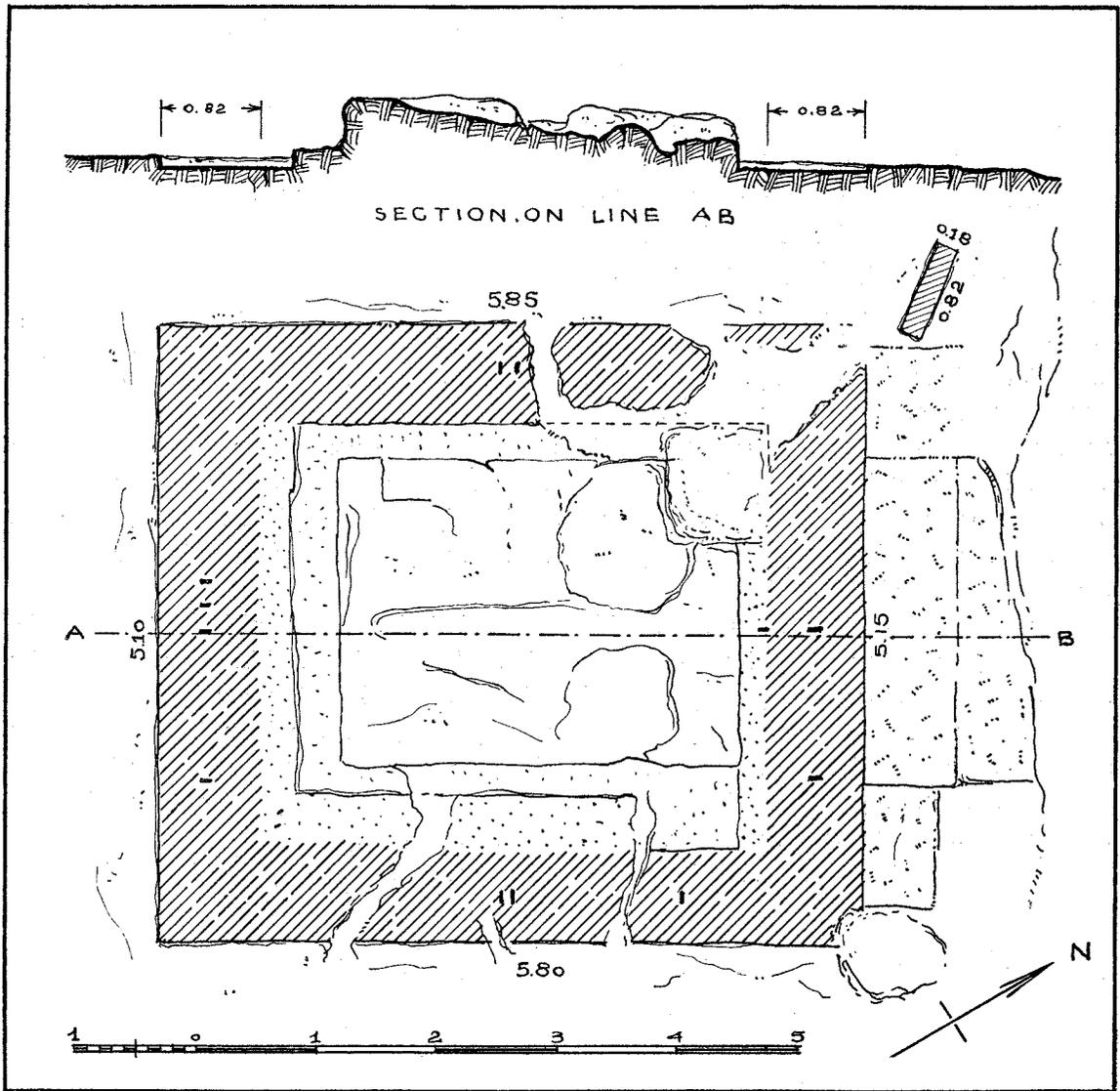


Fig. 67. Foundation bedding of Meton's sundial (?)

edge of the bedding measures 5.85 m. from north to south and 5.10 m. from east to west. At a later time the core was reworked, the beddings being widened on all four sides toward the middle. To this reconstruction belongs also the shallow dressing along the north side. The workmanship of this alteration is much inferior to that of the original.

On previous plans of the region this rock-hewn mass has ordinarily been designated as an altar, with or without an accompanying question mark.¹ For the deity worshipped two names have been suggested, *viz.*, Zeus Agoraios and Herakles Alexikakos. The former, as we have seen, had an altar on the Pnyx. But if, as seems probable, it was on his altar that sacrifice was made at the commencement of each session of the assembly, we should look for the altar at some point in the actual assembly place visible to the entire gathering. The rectangular base on the upper terrace, however, could not, in any period, have been visible to more than a small fraction of the audience. Herakles Alexikakos, we know, had a sanctuary in the district of Melite which included the Pnyx. But the remains under discussion would represent an altar unreasonably large for a mere hero and especially for one of whom we know little save that sacrifices to him consisted of apples. If we eliminate these two there seems to be no other worthy claimant for an altar on this site. But indeed there is an objection to regarding this as part of an altar of any deity. In such we should have expected to find a step or steps leading up on one side for the convenience of the officiating priest. But no trace of such an arrangement remains; all four sides seem to have been walled up alike. This same objection might be urged against the view that we have to do with a speaker's platform for meetings on the upper terrace. Equally telling against this theory is the fact that the base is not symmetrically situated with respect to any possible arrangement for an assembly place on this area.²

In view of these difficulties we would suggest that this rock working served as the foundation for the podium of Meton's *heliotropion*. That it lay within the official limits of the assembly place (*ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*) is clear if we accept Pittakes' statement as to the original position of the boundary stone found by him; for the base in question lies some 15 metres northeast of the cutting which he regarded as the bedding for the stele. Its proximity to the city wall, i.e. Cleon's *diateichisma*, likewise corresponds with the description of Philochorus.³ The wall, to be sure, probably did not exist at the time when the sundial was erected, but the historian would naturally fix its position by

¹ See Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 396f., for references to the literature and the present state of the problem.

² Walter wishes to see in these remains the foundation for the heroon of Herakles Alexikakos (*Jahreshefte* XVIII, 1915, Beiblatt, pp. 97f.). We have a reliable guide to the appearance of this structure in a marble relief in Boston depicting the hero directing an ephebe to a shrine which had probably four Doric columns (only two of which show in the relief) standing on a base of three steps and supporting an epistyle. On the face of the topmost step is the inscription ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΣ | ΑΛΕΞΙΚΑΚΟ (stoichedon) (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, no. 47; A. Frickenhaus, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXVI, 1911, p. 121, pl. II). Such a structure appears in close association with Herakles on a number of other reliefs and vase paintings (collected by Frickenhaus, *l. c.*, pp. 121-127). These representations vary in minor details but agree closely in depicting the heroon as having approximately the height of a grown man and a maximum width about one half as great. The foundation in question is impossibly large for such a structure.

³ *πρὸς τῷ τείχει*: giving the preposition its common meaning of "close to" rather than "upon" and taking the neuter noun *τείχος* to refer to a fortification wall, as it regularly does, rather than to the wall of a building which is ordinarily designated as *ὁ τοῖχος*.

reference to prominent landmarks familiar to his readers. The situation was excellent for the purpose since here the instrument would catch the earliest beams of the rising and the latest beams of the setting sun summer and winter alike.¹ The admirable workmanship of the original cutting is worthy of the fifth century. The restoration of the *heliotropion* must remain a matter of conjecture. Presumably the surrounding walls of masonry were carried up to form a massive podium completely covering the rock core and supporting the hemisphere in which the pointer stood. Whether the bedding continued to serve the same purpose after the reworking noted above cannot be said with certainty.²

COINS³

The entire excavation yielded only sixteen coins, all bronze. Of these, two were illegible. The remainder may be described as follows:

ATHENS

1. Size, 0.013 m. Obverse: head of Athena, to right. Reverse: $\begin{matrix} [A] \\ [\text{O}] \end{matrix} \exists$; double-bodied owl, head facing; [above on either side, an olive spray; beneath, calathus]. Dated by the British Museum cataloguer to the period *ca.* 430–322 B.C.;⁴ by Svoronos to 297–255 B.C.⁵
Trench A, filling of Last Period.
2. Size, 0.018 m. Obverse: head of Athena, to right. Reverse: $\begin{matrix} A \\ \text{O} \end{matrix} E$; owl on prow of ship. New style, 229–30 B.C.⁶
Trench A, filling of Last Period.
3. Size, 0.02 m. Obverse: head of Athena, to right. Reverse: $A \text{O} [E]$; Sphinx wearing modius, seated right: the whole in olive wreath. About 220–83 B.C.⁷
Trench B, filling of Last Period.

¹ The prominence of the ridge and its comparative isolation from the city fit it for astronomical purposes and it is an interesting coincidence that the telescope of the modern observatory stands on the crest of the Pnyx Hill some 150 metres west of the rock-hewn base while the observatory itself rises from the Hill of the Nymphs which is the northwestern extremity of the Pnyx range (Fig. 66).

² Granted the identification of this base it follows that the cutting of at least the western end of the upper terrace, possibly all of it, took place after 433/2 B.C., because the bedding of the *heliotropion* was clearly cut down in the unworked hill top.

³ We are indebted to Mr. Frederick O. Waage III, Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for cleaning and identifying the coins.

⁴ *B. M. C., Attica*, p. 21, no. 224.

⁵ Svoronos, *Trésor des Monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. 22, no. 43.

⁶ Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 80, no. 38.

⁷ *B. M. C., Attica*, p. 83, nos. 570–2.

4. Size, 0·01 m. Obverse: head of Athena in Corinthian helmet, to right. Reverse: A^{\ominus}
 H ; owl to left. Probably to be dated between the reigns of Hadrian (117–138 A.D.) and
of Gordian III (238–244 A.D.).¹

Clearing course of retaining wall on upper terrace.

PEPARETHUS

5. Size, 0·014 m. Obverse: head of bearded Dionysus, to right, crowned with ivy.
Reverse: ΓE ; cantharus wreathed with vine-branch. 400–200 B.C.²

Trench F, filling of Last Period.

SALAMIS

6. Size, 0·017 m. Obverse: female head, to right (Salamis?), wearing stephane, earring
and necklace. Reverse: $\Sigma\text{A}\ \Lambda\text{A}$; shield of Ajax; on it, sword in sheath with strap
(ca. 350–318 B.C.).³

Trench F, filling of Last Period.

7. As above.

Trench E, filling of Last Period.

8. As above.

Trench A, filling of Last Period.

9. As above.

Trench B, filling of Last Period.

10. As above.

Clearing terrace wall of Last Period in east wing.

IMPERIAL

11. Size, 0·019 m. Obverse: **D. N. CONSTANTIUS P. F. AUG.**; bust of Emperor, with
diadem and drapery, to right. Reverse: **FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO**; in exergue
CONSB; helmeted warrior to left, shield in l., sword in r., threatens a rider falling
from horse; in field, a shield. Constantius II, 337–361 A.D.⁴

Clearing northeastern face of terrace wall of Last Period, 0·50 m. deep.

¹ Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 88, nos. 49–50; Head, *Historia Nummorum*, pp. 389 ff.

² *B. M. C., Thessaly to Aetolia*, p. 53, nos. 1–3.

³ *B. M. C., Attica*, p. 116, nos. 1 and 2.

⁴ Cohen, *Description historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain VII*, p. 447, no. 46.

12. Size, 0·015 m. Obverse: **D. N. ARCADIU[S P. F. AUG.]**; bust of Emperor, to right, with diadem and drapery. Reverse: **SALUS REI[PUBLICAE]**; Victory striding to left, carrying palm and dragging captive; in field **Ϝ**. Arcadius, 395–408 A.D.¹

Trench A, north end, surface.

13. Size, 0·022 m. Obverse: inscription not clear; bust of Alexius I, bearded, facing, holding in r. cruciform sceptre and in l. globus crucifer. Reverse: **[C] [Φ]**
ΑΛ Δ; Greek cross, jewelled; at extremities, globus; in center, **X**. Alexius I, 1081–1118 A.D.²

Trench D, surface.

FRANKISH

14. Size, 0·016 m. Obverse: **+·G· PRINCEPS·** between two *grènetis*; head of William, facing. Reverse: **+·ΑchΑIE**, between two *grènetis*; Greek cross with dot between each two limbs. William of Villehardouin (Prince of Achaia), struck before 1250 A.D.³

Trench C, north end, surface.

INSCRIPTIONS

During our work on the site three inscriptions were detected cut in the surface of the rock. These had all been exposed previously but seem not to have been published.⁴ Copies of them were made in plaster and deposited in the Epigraphic Museum where they received the inventory numbers indicated in the following descriptions.

1. Figure 68; EM 12,705.

Cut in the rock immediately to the west of the lower end of the rock-hewn stairway which disappears beneath the terrace wall of the Last Period. The letters are roughly formed by successive blows of a blunt point. Height of letters 0·07–0·10 m.

¹ Sabatier, *Monnaie Byzantine* I, p. 106, no. 41.

² *B. M. C., Imperial Byzantine Coins* II, p. 551, type 9.

³ Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, p. 312, no. 1.

⁴ We did not come upon the two single-word inscriptions which Pittakes discovered, the one in 1831, the other in 1840, cut in the rock of the Pnyx (*ἐπὶ τοῦ βράχου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Πνυκί*): *Πόρην*[δρος(?)] and *Κόνω*[ρ]. Cf. Pittakes, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1852, nos. 1136–7 = Göttling, *Das Pelasgikon und die Pnyx in Athen*, Jena, 1853, pp. 18 and 20.



Fig. 68. Inscription cut at foot of approach of Period II

The mark between the *epsilon* and *tau* is not a letter but a natural fault in the stone. The significance of the letters is not apparent.

2. Figure 69; EM 12,704.

Lightly cut in the upper surface of block δ in the terrace wall of the Last Period. Height of letters 0.05–0.08 m.

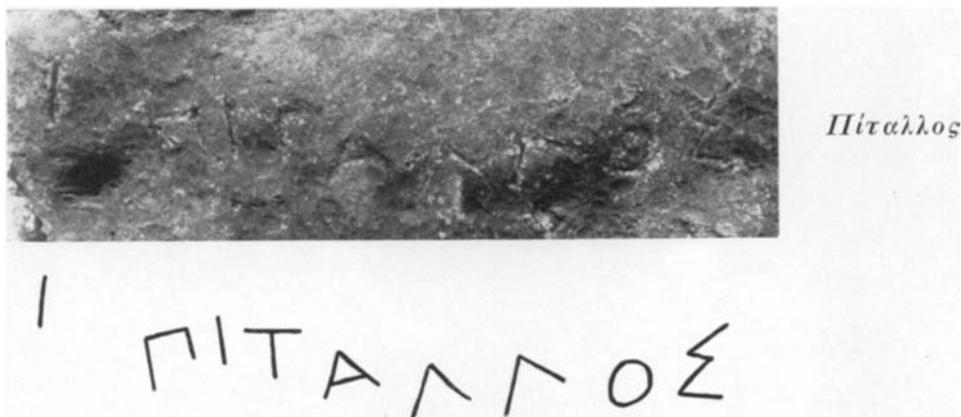


Fig. 69. Inscription on block δ in the retaining wall of Period III

A vertical hasta to the left of the *pi* is certainly artificial but seems not to belong to the word. The name is probably the equivalent of *Πιταλλος*. There was a public physician of this name at Athens in the fifth century.¹ The letters are cut in the natural face of the stone and must already have been there before the block was quarried since their form suggests a date in the late fifth century B.C.

¹ Cf. Aristoph., *Acharn.* 1032, 1222; *Vesp.* 1432.

3. Figure 70; EM 12,703.

Cut near the western end of the lower of the two rock-hewn benches behind and to the west of the bema of the Last Period. Characters are lightly and carelessly cut. Height of *epsilon* 0.295 m.



Fig. 70. Inscription cut in upper terrace

The *epsilon* is certain. It seems to be followed by three vertical hastae. The final character may be a *phi*. The meaning and purpose of the inscription is obscure.

CONCLUSION

The history of the Pnyx may be briefly summarized. The northeastern slope of the central Pnyx Hill was probably frequented by the popular assembly early in the city's history. At this time the site was undoubtedly still in its natural state, so that no archaeological record remains.

Of the First Period of artificial construction the ruins provide us with a tolerably clear picture. The builders took advantage of the natural slope of the hill. They secured the upper part of the seating floor by dressing down the rough rock surface so as to present the appearance of a segment from the rim of a shallow bowl. Farther down the hill they built a stone retaining wall, approximately straight in its middle part, bending southward at either end. The earth filling which it supported served to provide an adequate upward slope for the seating floor in the wings, while in the centre front

its surface probably formed a level terrace. On this terrace, presumably, were placed the speaker's platform and a few wooden benches for the officials; the audience seated themselves as best they might on the sloping stone and earth floor above. The citizens entered the auditorium through its open eastern side. In 433/2 B.C. the astronomer Meton erected a sundial within the limits of the assembly place; its rock-hewn base probably still remains on the upper terrace. Historical considerations suggest a date for the construction of the First Period in the neighborhood of 500 B.C., with which the evidence from the remains, scanty as it is in this particular, agrees. In the First Period, then, we recognize the Assembly Place of the fifth century, from whose bema Themistocles, Pericles and Cleon swayed the minds of the populace and the fortunes of the city.

Toward the close of the century the retaining wall broke down and the terrace gave way, necessitating the reconstruction which we have named the Second Period. A new retaining wall was erected lower down on the hill-slope to the north of the old. In shape it was a great parabolic curve opening toward the south. At its eastern end it followed the line of its predecessor, at the western it swept out beyond it. The pronounced curve forbids us to suppose that the line of the terrace wall still formed the front of the auditorium. The height to which the wall was carried proves that its builders no longer cared to avail themselves of the natural slope of the hill. The only explanation for these two circumstances is that the assembly place had been completely changed about, its back now lying toward the north, the speaker's platform toward the south. It is regrettable that so far it has proven impossible to fix certainly the front line of the auditorium and the position of its platform. It is probable, however, that they lay to the north of the great surviving bema (of the Third Period), i.e. within the old auditorium. Nevertheless, an earth embankment rising above the top of the retaining wall must have been required to assure a seating floor sloping down toward the platform. Of the original floor nothing remains; and we cannot say whether the people sat as before or whether benches were provided. One entrance is definitely fixed by the remains of a stairway leading up over the retaining wall in its eastern part; and a second stairway may be restored with great probability in the corresponding position farther westward. The latter stairway was probably approached by the rock-cut steps which now disappear beneath the great terrace wall of the Third Period. These in turn were continued downward on an earth filling over a water channel which may with reasonable assurance be assigned to the Peisistratids.

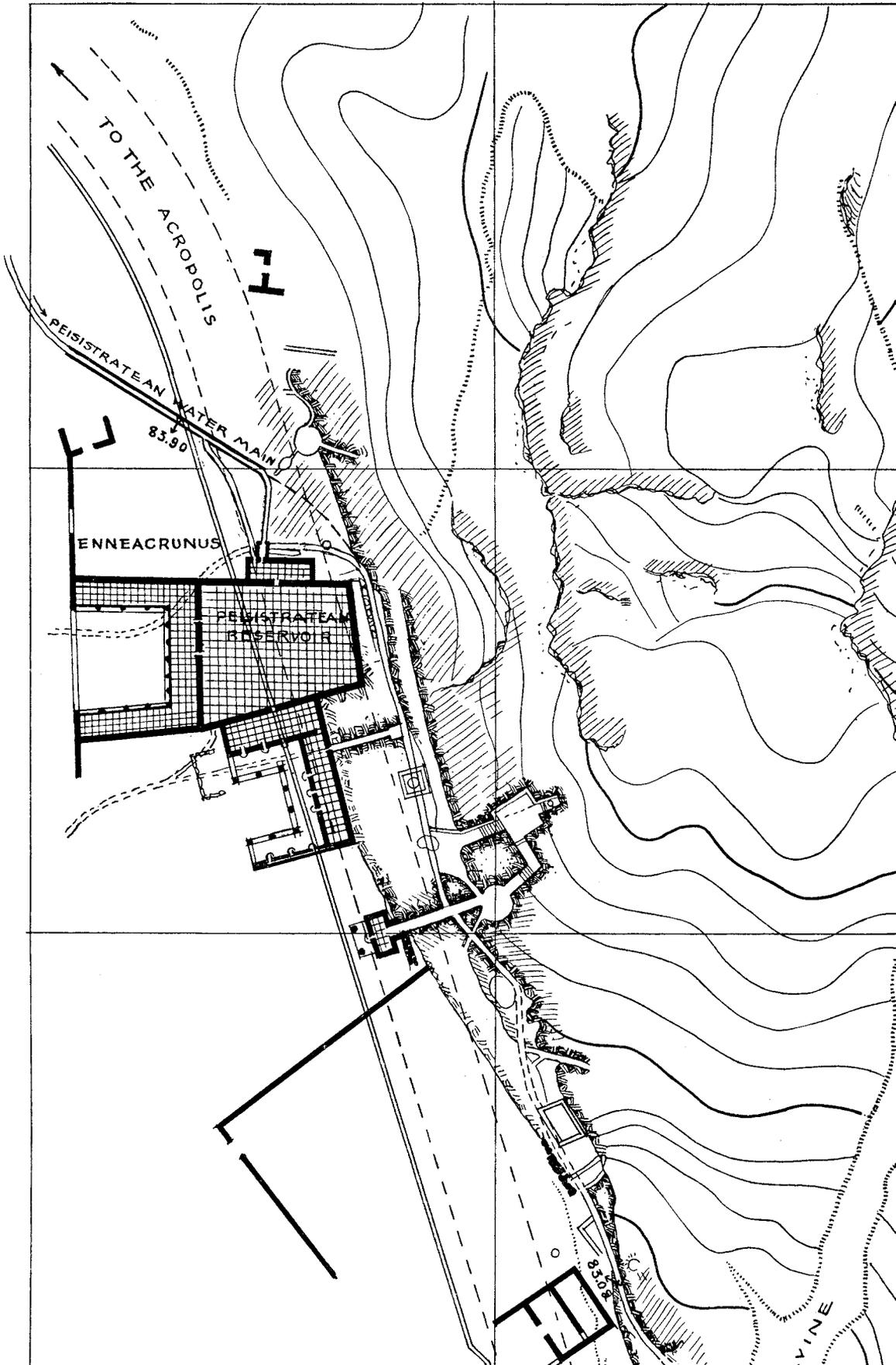
The archaeological evidence substantiates the explicit statement of Plutarch that this transformation is to be attributed to the Thirty Tyrants of 404/3 B.C.; for they, says Plutarch, turned so as to face the land the bema which had been made to look in the direction of the sea. This, then, was the gathering place which was to be hallowed in the eyes of future generations by the contests of Aeschines and Demosthenes. That it continued to serve its original purpose for long after their time is doubtful. Its own faulty construction and the neglect induced by the growing popularity of the Theatre of Dionysus led to its gradual ruin. Already in the first century B.C. it had probably

ceased to serve as the official meeting place of the Assembly. Sometime thereafter a sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos was established on the shoulder of the hill to the south of the auditorium; and for generations the worshippers at this shrine were probably the most regular attendants on the site.

The Third Period represents a reconstruction of the second auditorium and an enlargement on a grandiose scale. The general disposition remained unaltered, with the speaker looking toward the land and the audience toward the sea. A new retaining wall was thrown in a great semicircle about its predecessor. The front of the auditorium was delimited by the scarp left in quarrying the material for that wall; and in the centre of this front line the new bema was carved from the living rock. On all sides the floor sloped outward and upward from the bema. Since there is reason to believe that the retaining wall originally rose higher by only one additional course, we must believe that in this as in the preceding period the seating floor was carried on a free standing embankment of earth. Whether there were actually seats we cannot say; that they were of stone seems impossible. Above and to the south of the bema certain rock cuttings make probable the restoration here of a prominent exedra or box for the presiding officials or for distinguished visitors. The stone-cut seats to either side seem contemporary but we cannot be certain for whom they were intended. The principal entrance in this as in the previous period was toward the city and was carried up over the retaining wall on a great stairway. The architect further enhanced the magnificence of his design by continuing northwestward the upper terrace, supporting it along its northern edge by a wall in the same distinctive style of masonry as that of the curved retaining wall below. From this new terrace a southern entrance led down into the western wing of the auditorium by a double set of stairs.

The data derived from the objects found in the filling associated with the great retaining wall, and from comparison between the architectural features of this period and other dateable monuments, combine to establish for the final reconstruction a date in the second quarter of the second century A.D. The only conceivable person having sufficient interest or means to initiate such an undertaking at this period was the Emperor Hadrian. It is not improbable that the work was suggested by him and rushed to completion in anticipation of one of his later visits. That the place was used frequently or for long thereafter is unlikely. Much of the free standing embankment must have washed away in the first few centuries. The top course of the retaining wall probably survived into the Middle Ages. After its disappearance the process of detrition set in once more and continues to the present day.

K. KOUROUNIOTES
HOMER A. THOMPSON



TO THE ACROPOLIS

PEISTRATEAN WATER MAIN

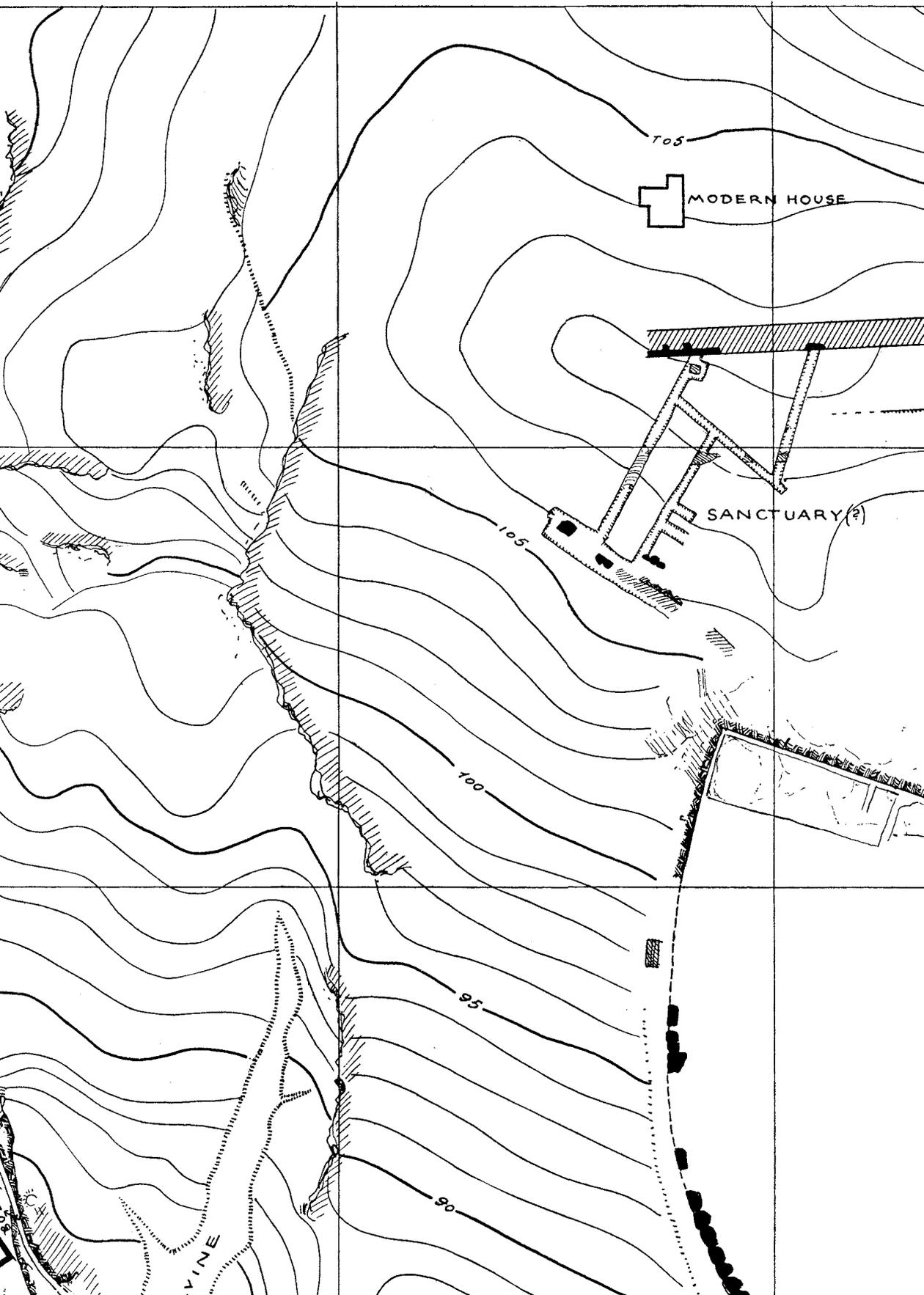
85.90

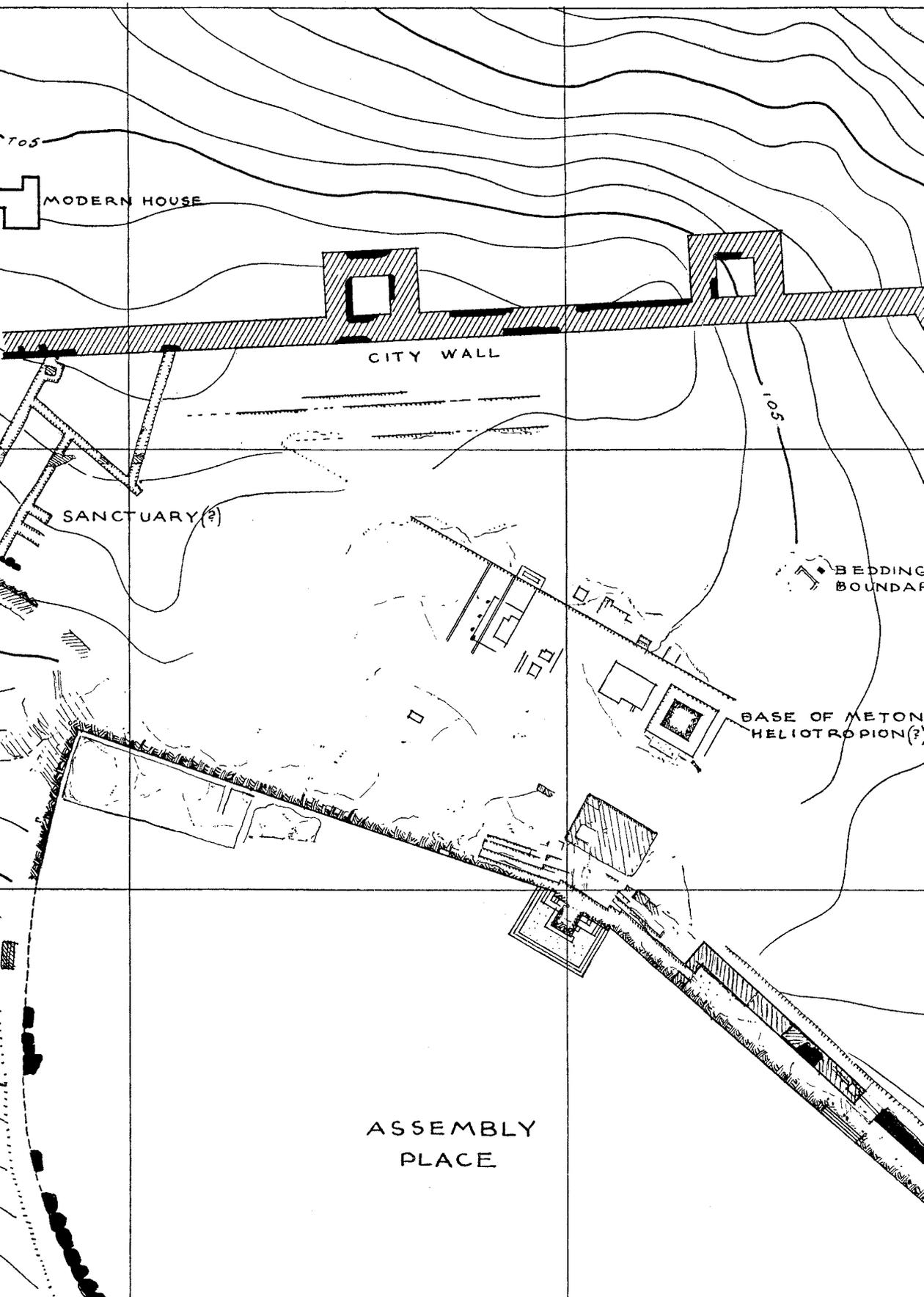
ENNEACRUNUS

PEISTRATEAN RESERVOIR

VINE

83.0





1105

MODERN HOUSE

CITY WALL

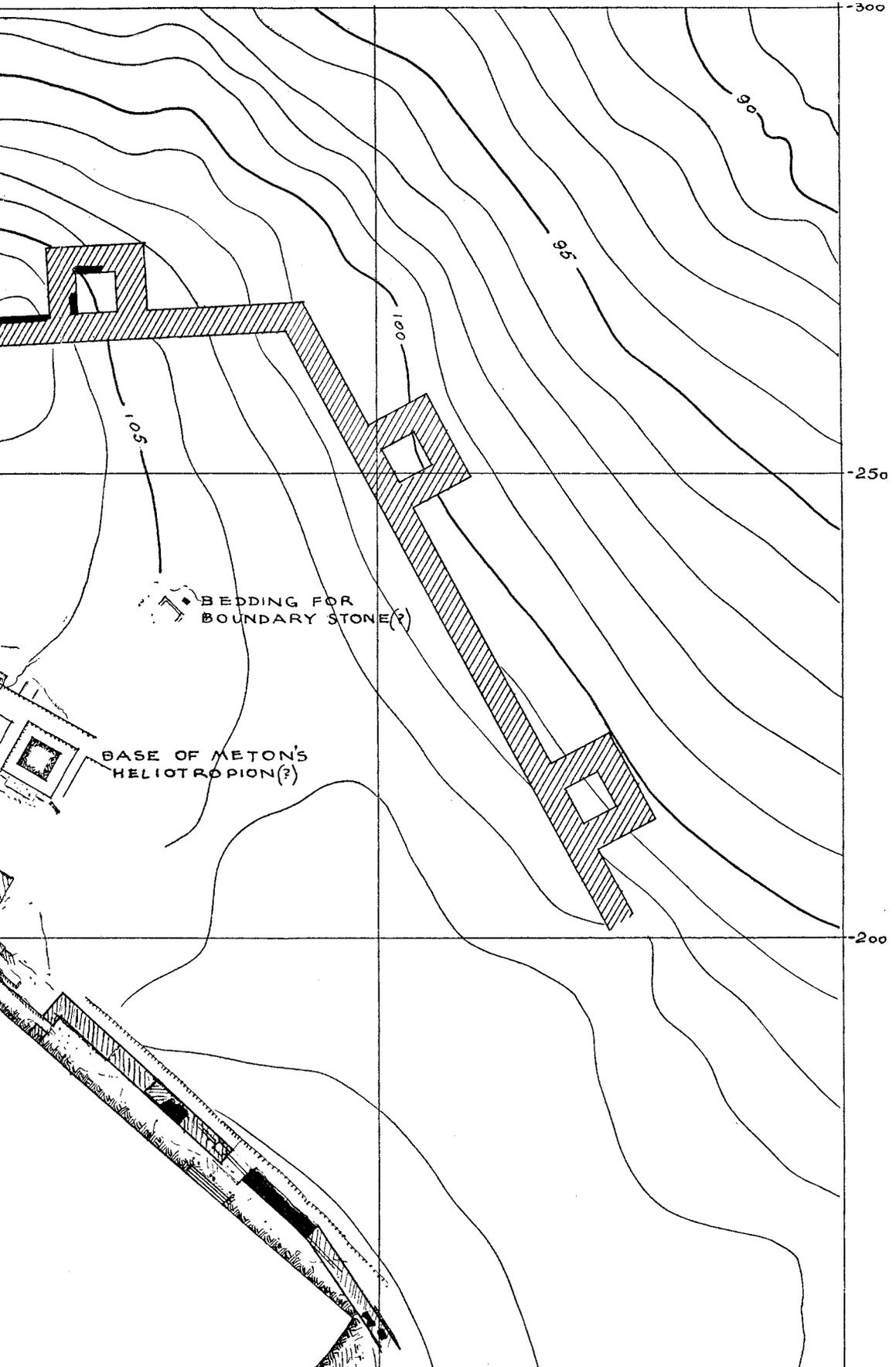
SANCTUARY (?)

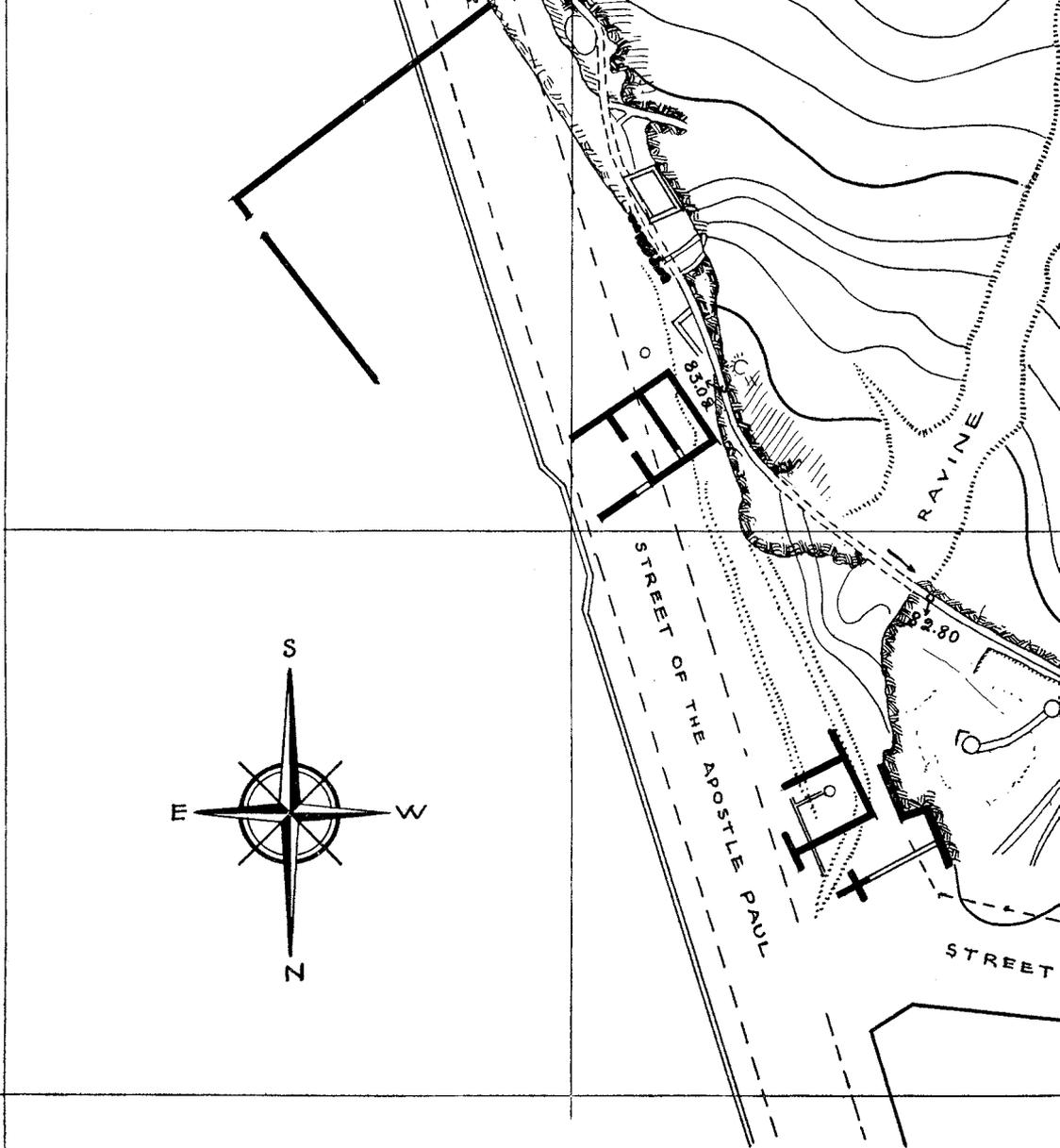
105

BEDDING
BOUNDARY

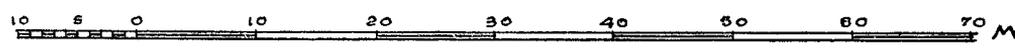
BASE OF METON
HELIOTROPION (?)

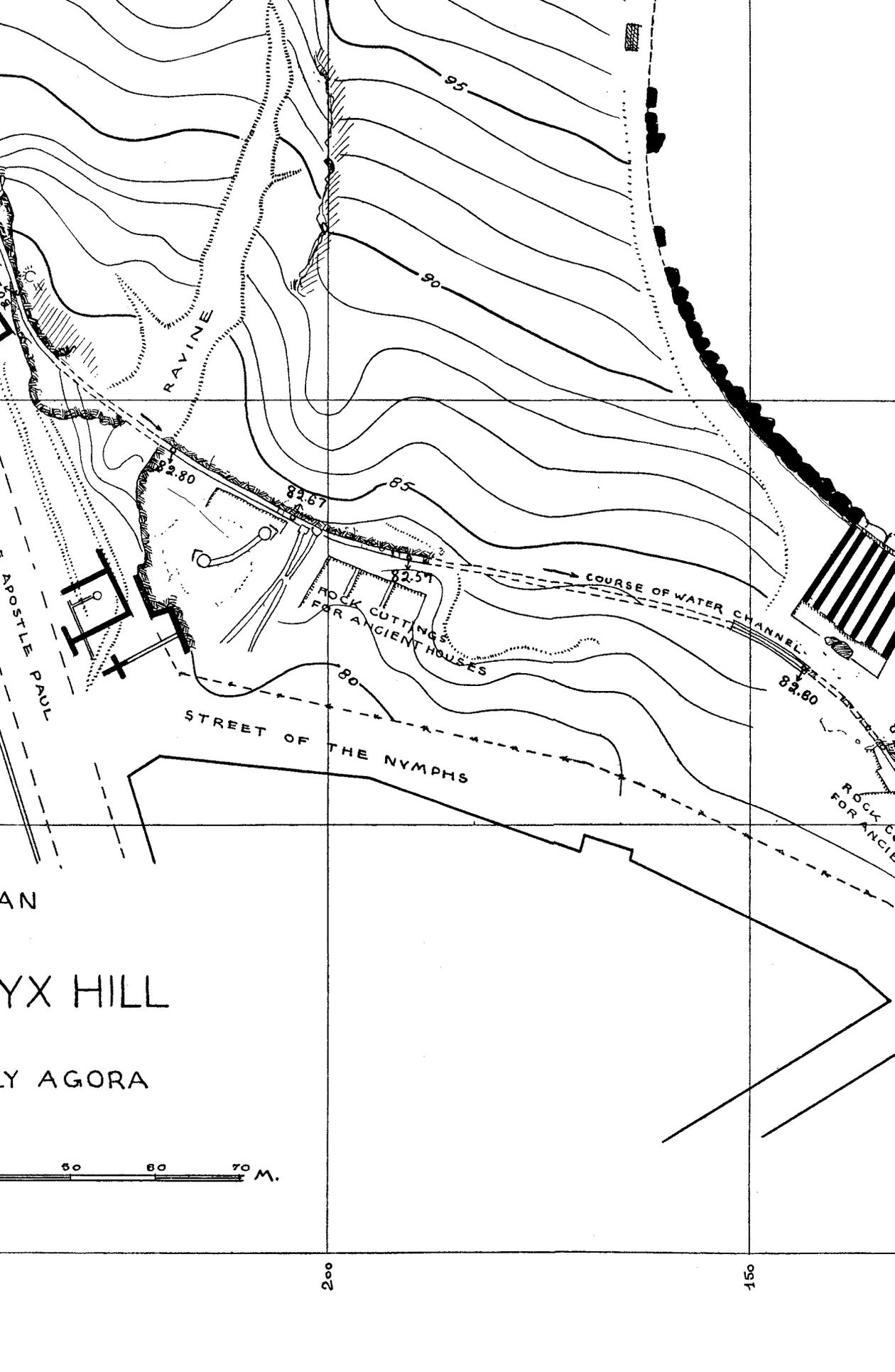
ASSEMBLY
PLACE





GENERAL PLAN
 OF THE
 CENTRAL PNYX HILL
 INCLUDING
 PART OF THE EARLY AGORA





RAVINE

95

90

82.80

82.67

85

82.57

COURSE OF WATER CHANNEL

82.80

80

STREET OF THE NYMPHS

200

150

50 60 70 M.

APSTLE PAUL

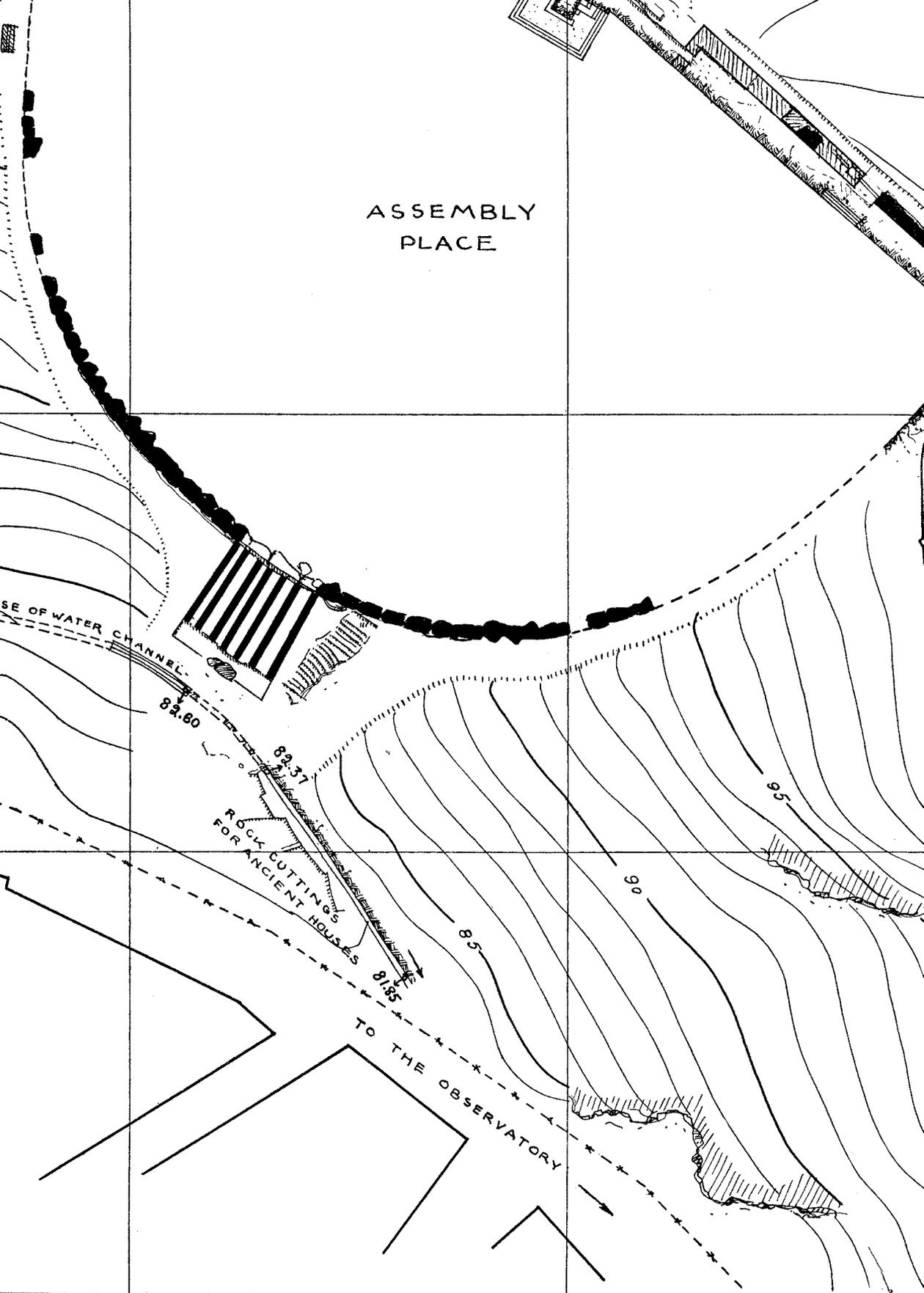
AN

YX HILL

Y AGORA

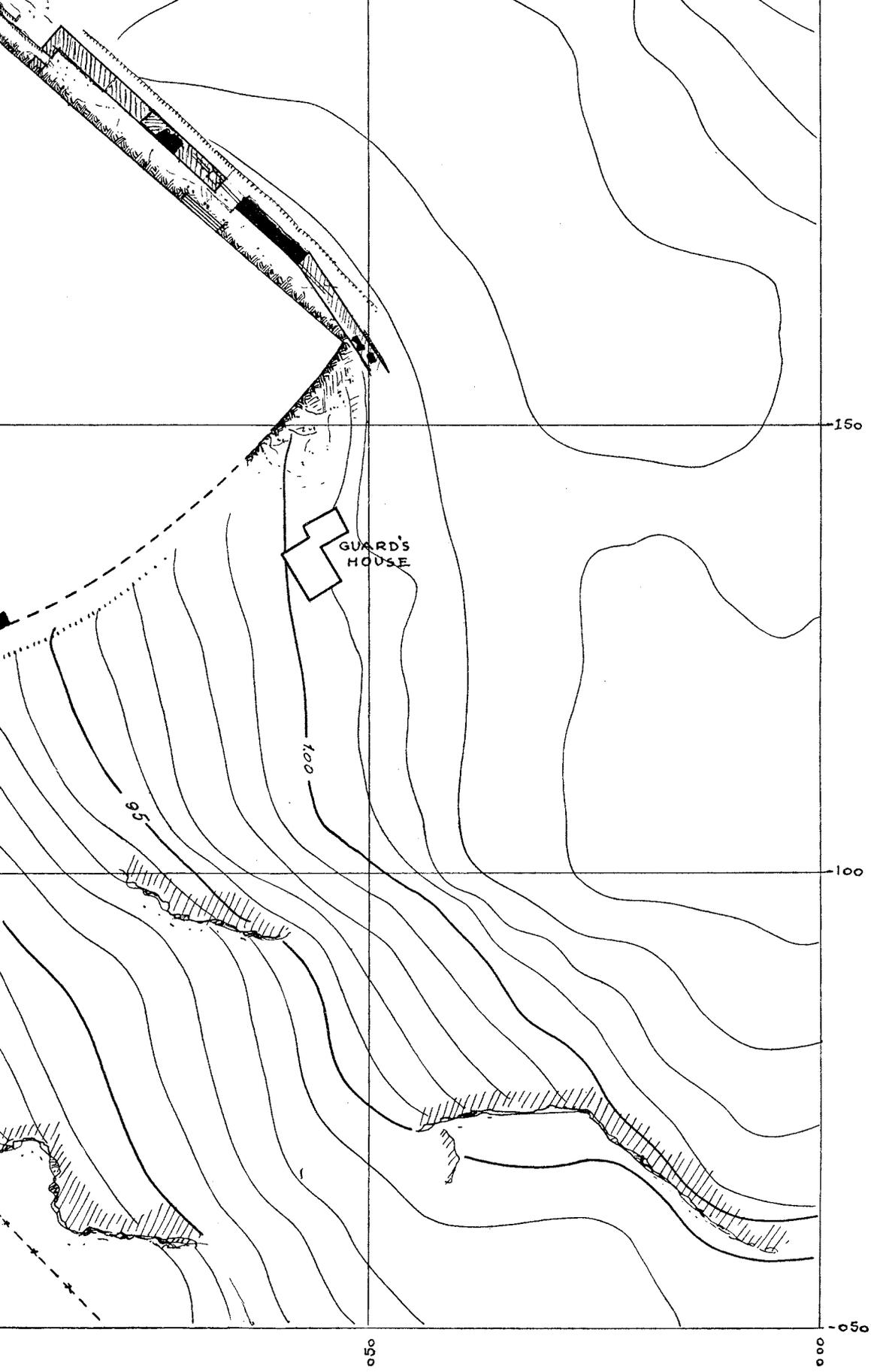
ROCK CUTTINGS FOR ANCIENT HOUSES

ASSEMBLY PLACE



150

100



GUARD'S
HOUSE

050

000

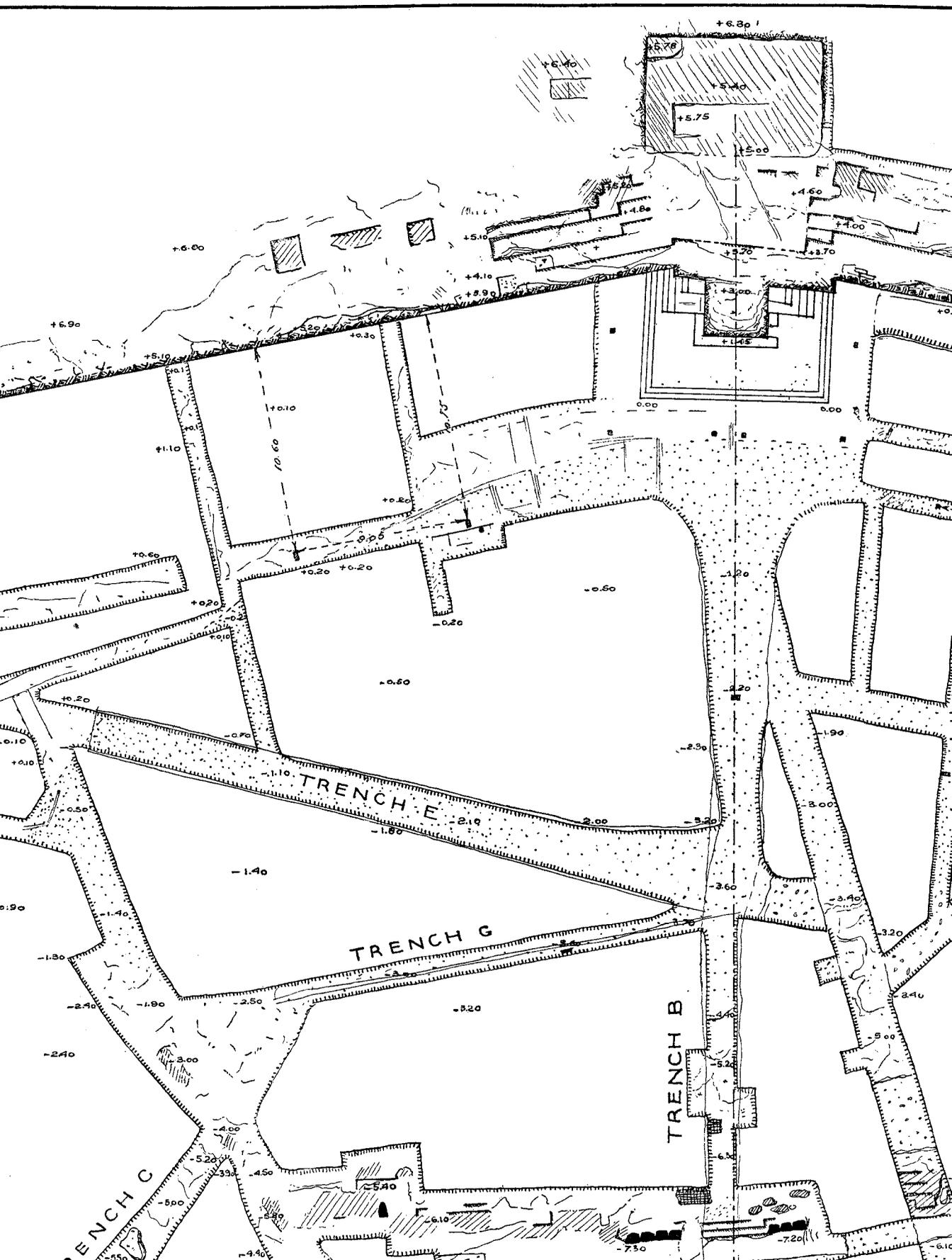
150

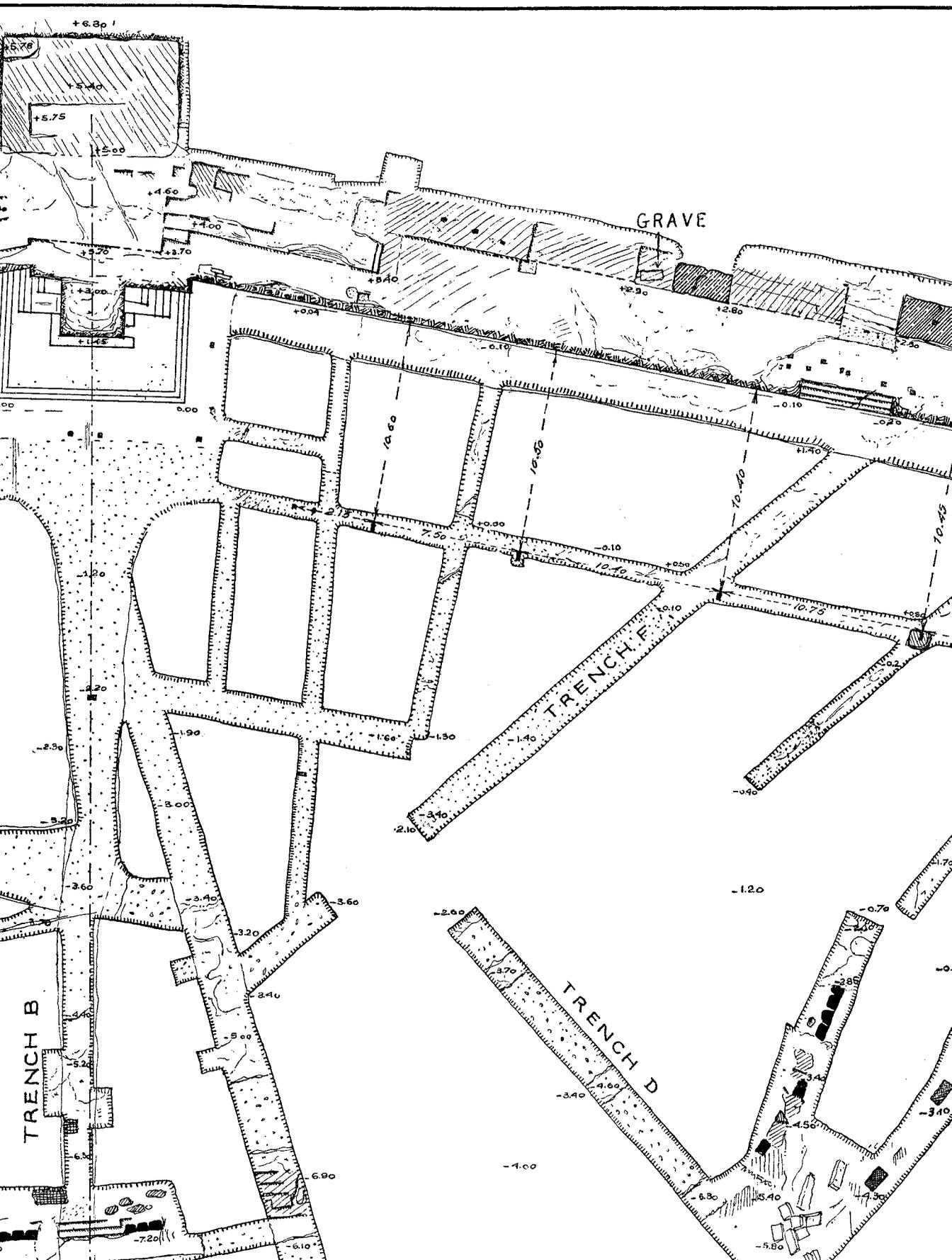
100

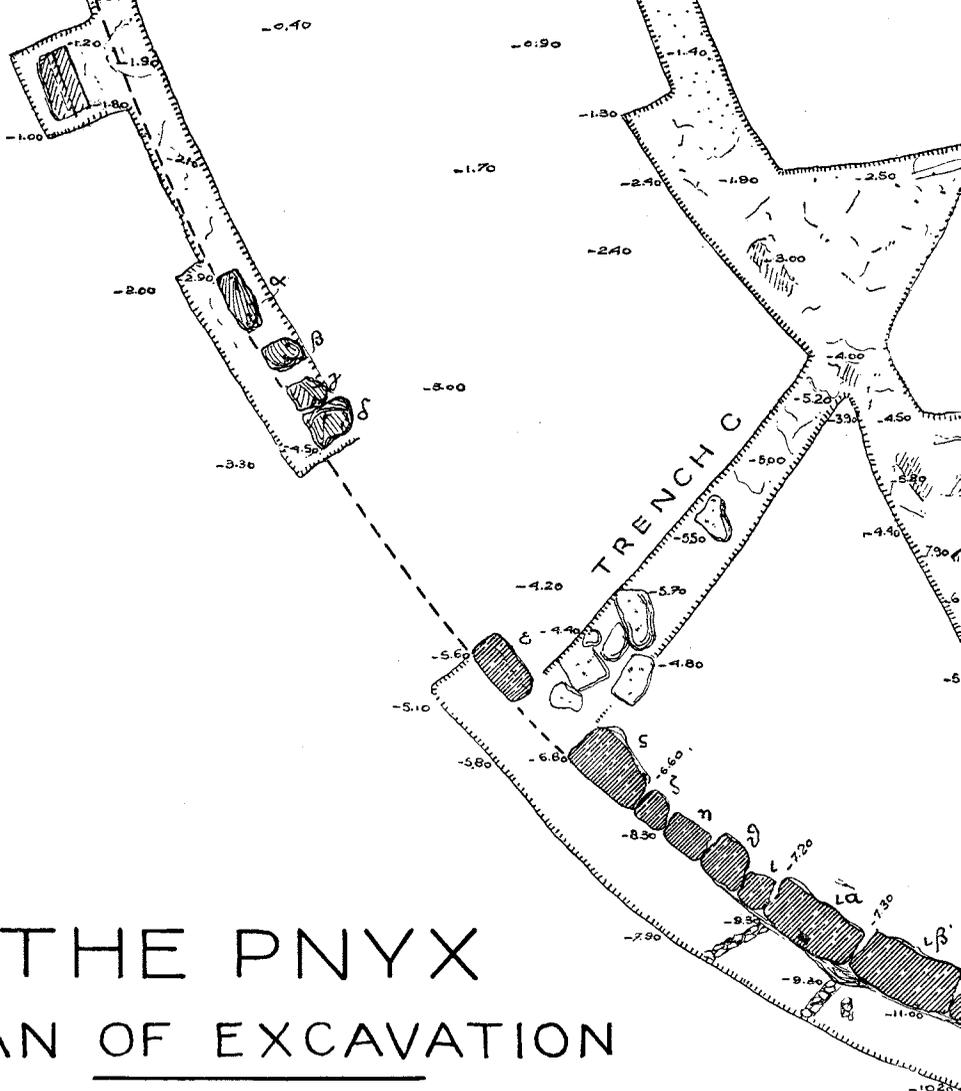
050

100

95



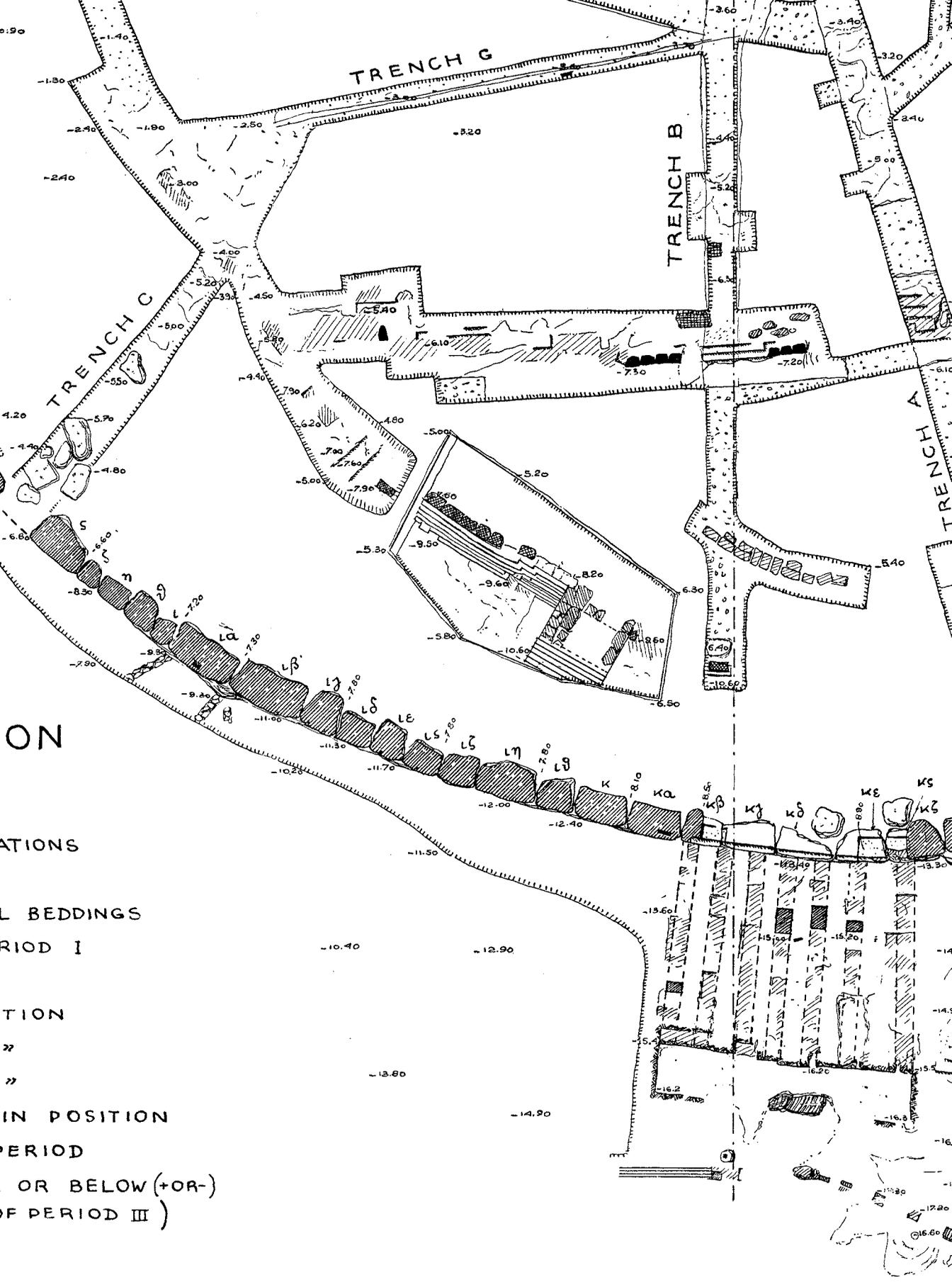




THE PNYX PLAN OF EXCAVATION

-  TRENCHES OF PREVIOUS EXCAVATIONS
-  " " PRESENT "
-  DRESSED ROCK SURFACE OF WALL BEDDINGS
-  " " FLOOR " PERIOD I
-  EARTH FILLING OF PERIOD II
-  BLOCKS OF PERIOD I IN POSITION
-  " " PERIOD II " "
-  " " PERIOD III " "
-  " " WATER CHANNEL IN POSITION
-  WALLS OF POST-CLASSICAL PERIOD

THE LEVELS INDICATED LIE ABOVE OR BELOW (+OR-)
THE BASE OF THE GREAT BEMA (OF PERIOD III)



ON

ATIONS

L BEDDINGS

RIOD I

TION

>>

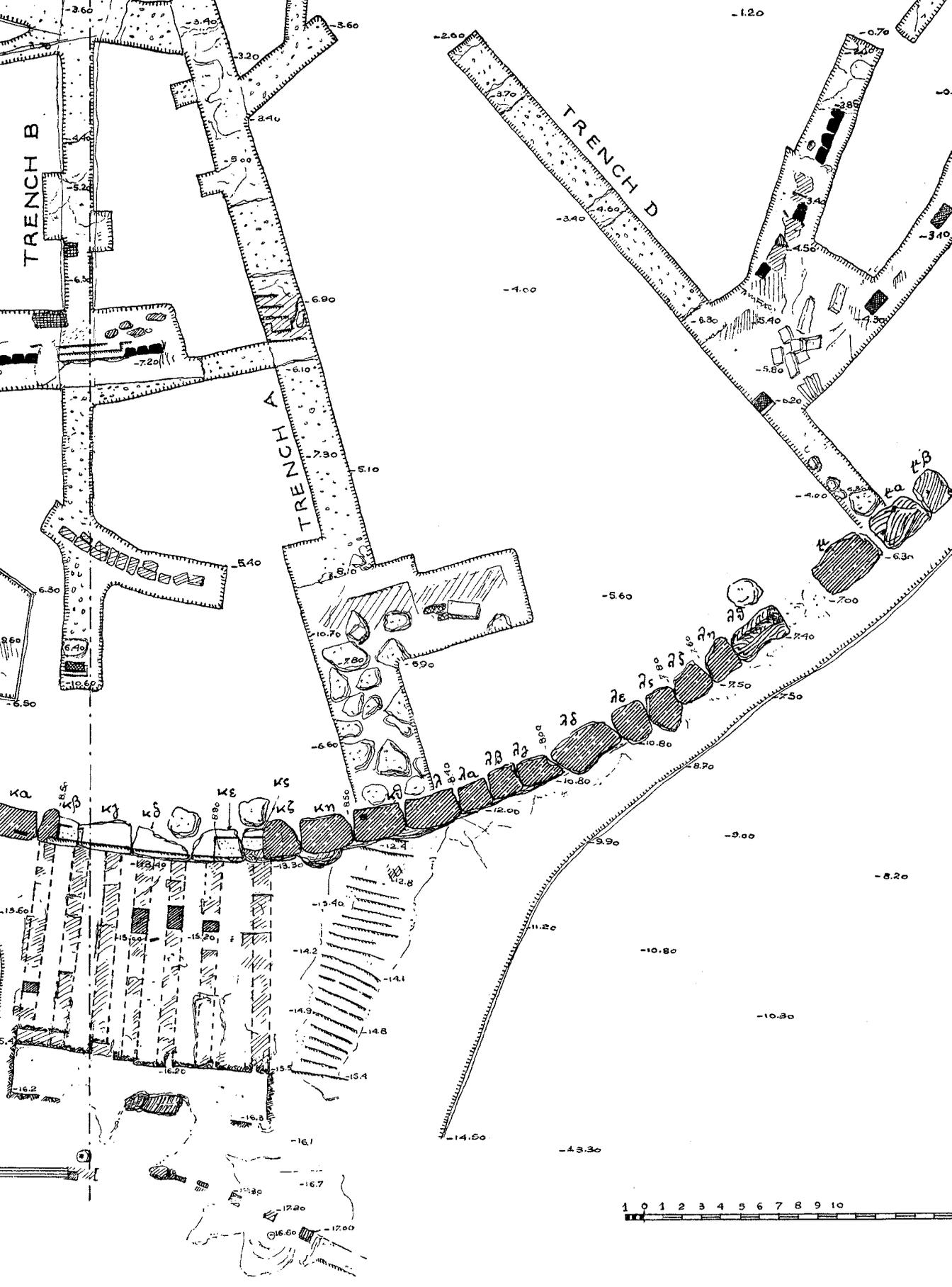
>>

IN POSITION

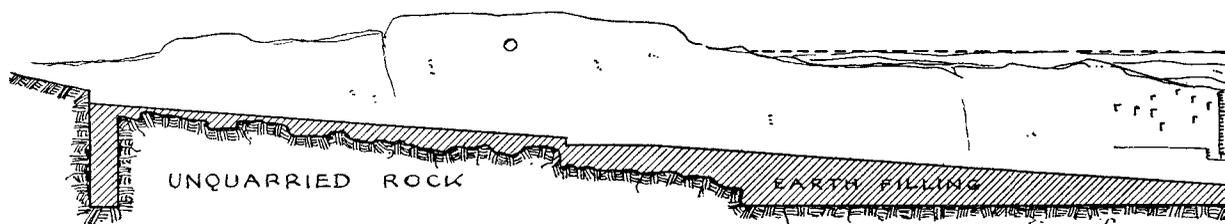
PERIOD

OR BELOW (+OR-)

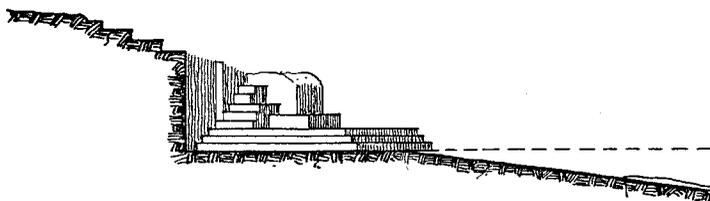
OF PERIOD III)



A. SECTION THROUGH FRONT OF AUDITORIUM
 ILLUSTRATING PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION OF PERIOD III



B. LONGITUDINAL SECTION THROUGH TRENCH A
 SHOWING EXISTING REMAINS



CONVENTIONS FOR SECTIONS B, C AND D



FILLING OF PERIOD I



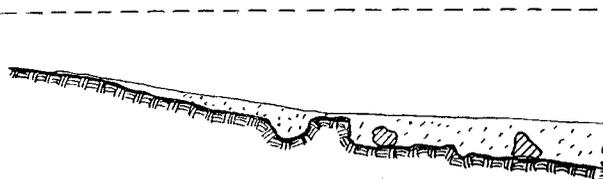
>> >> >> II

(LIGHTER HATCHING INDICATES THAT
 FILLING HAS BEEN REMOVED)

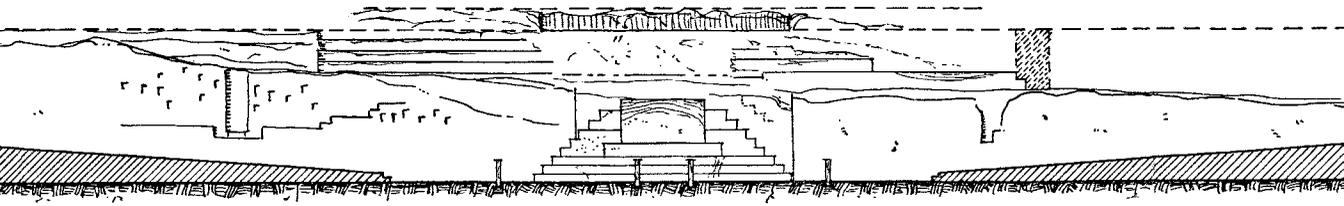


FILLING OF PERIOD III

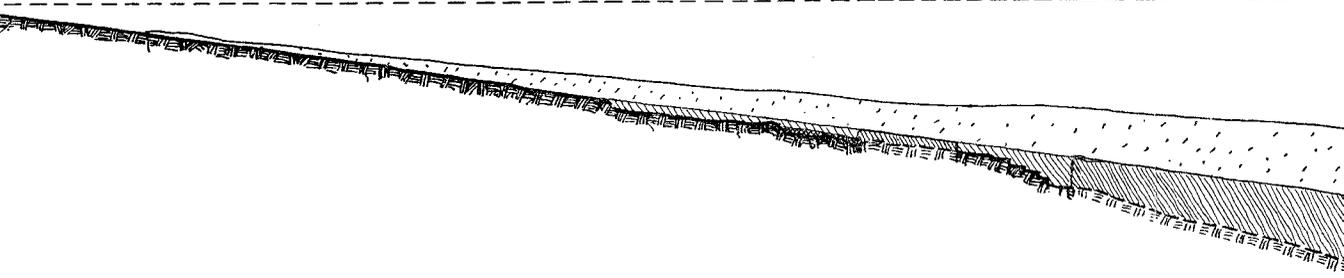
C. LONGITUDINAL SECTION
 THROUGH TRENCH C



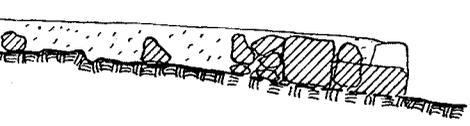
A
F PERIOD III



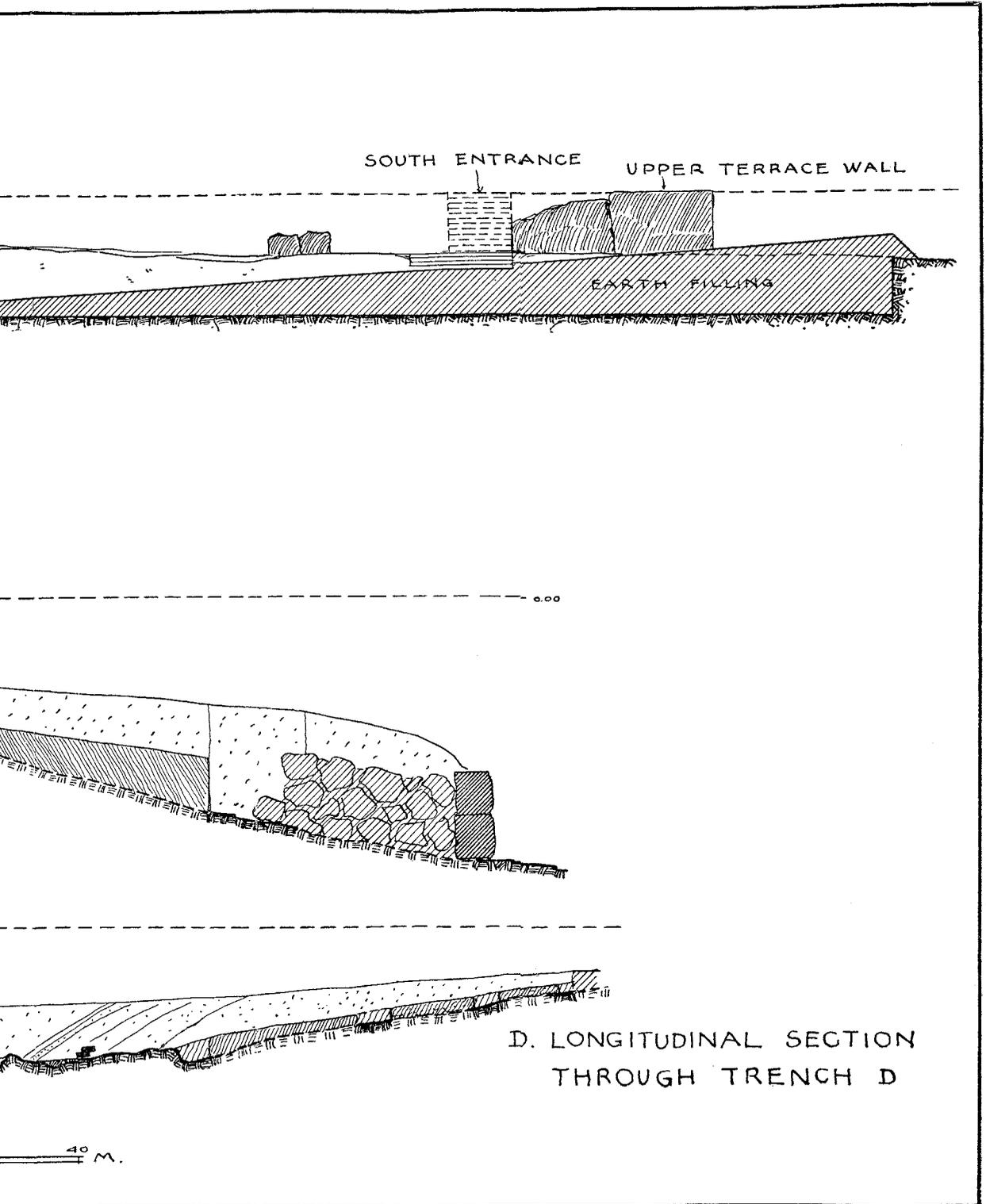
H A

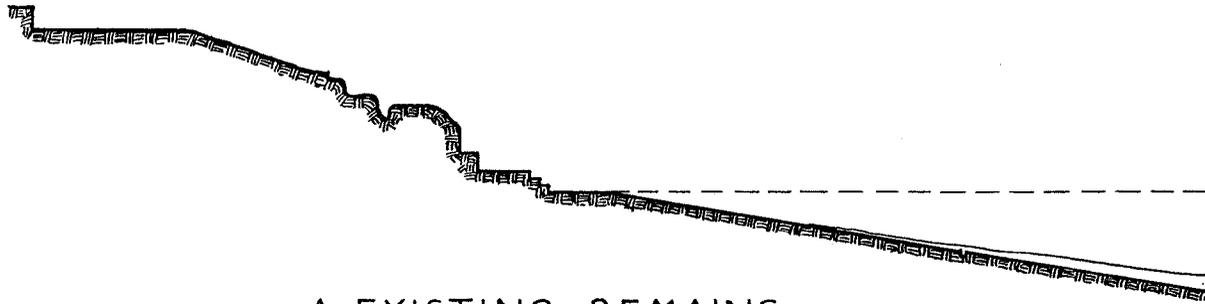


0.00 0.00

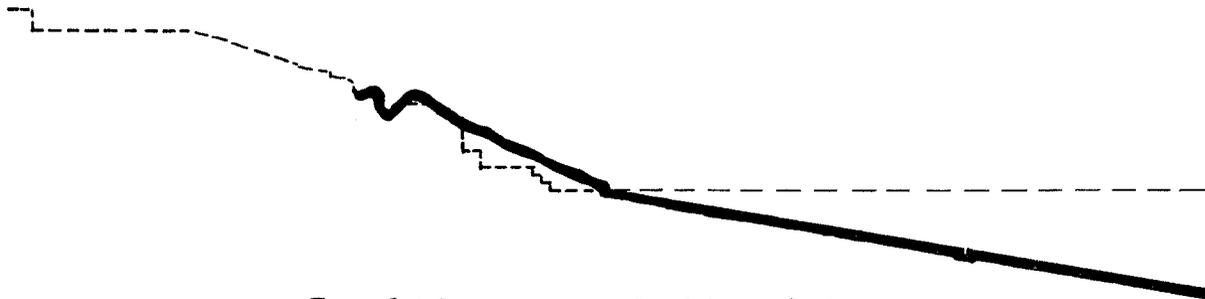


1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 20 30 40 M.

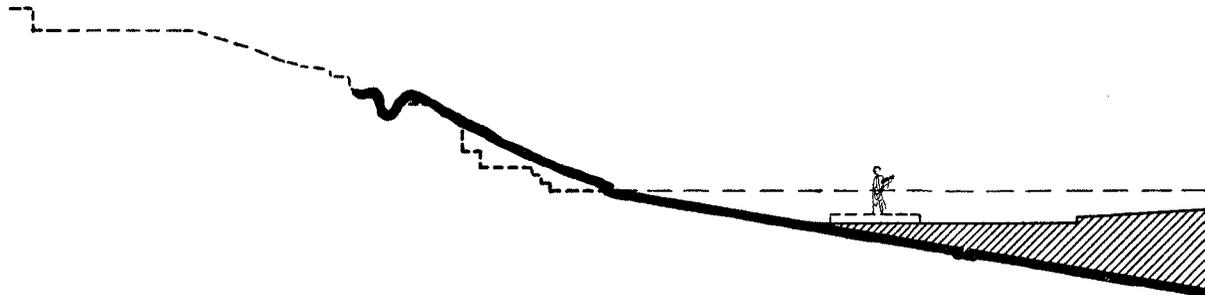




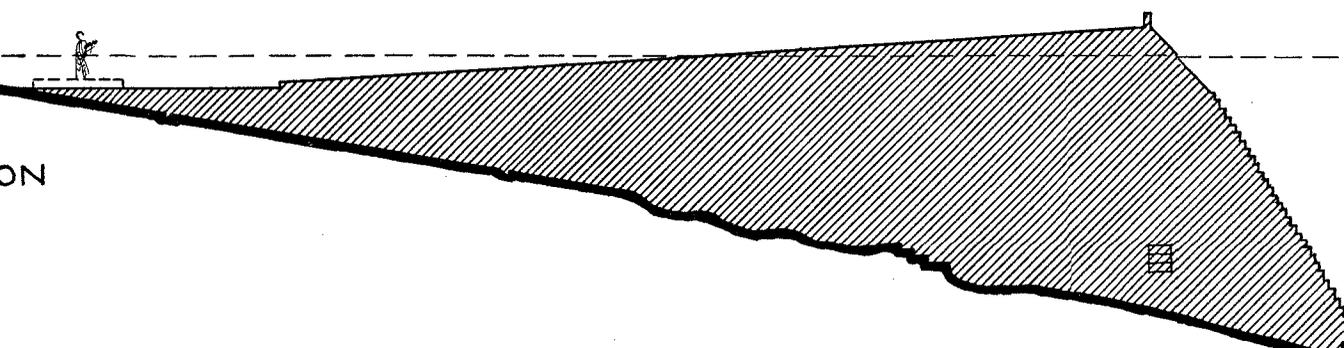
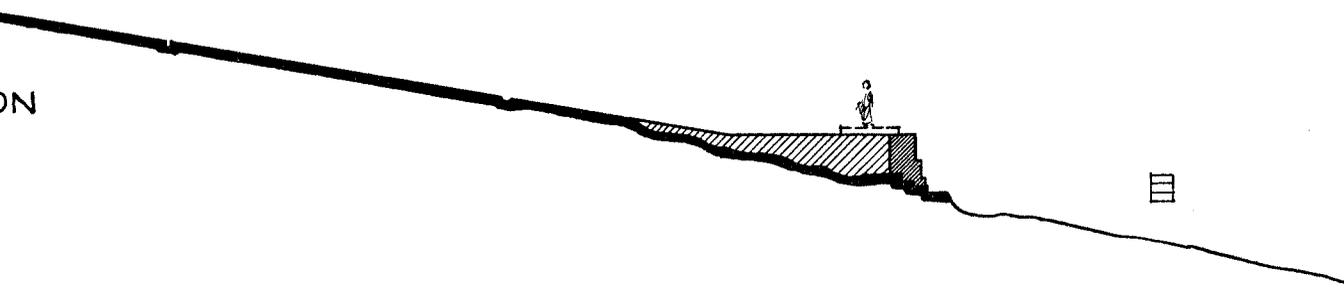
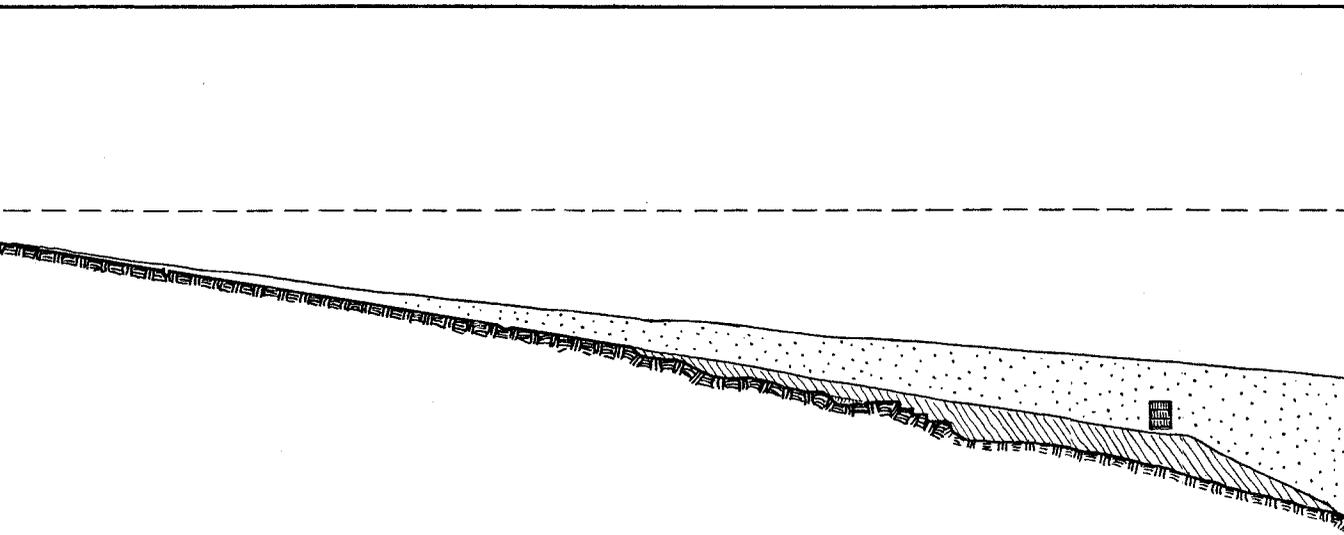
A. EXISTING REMAINS

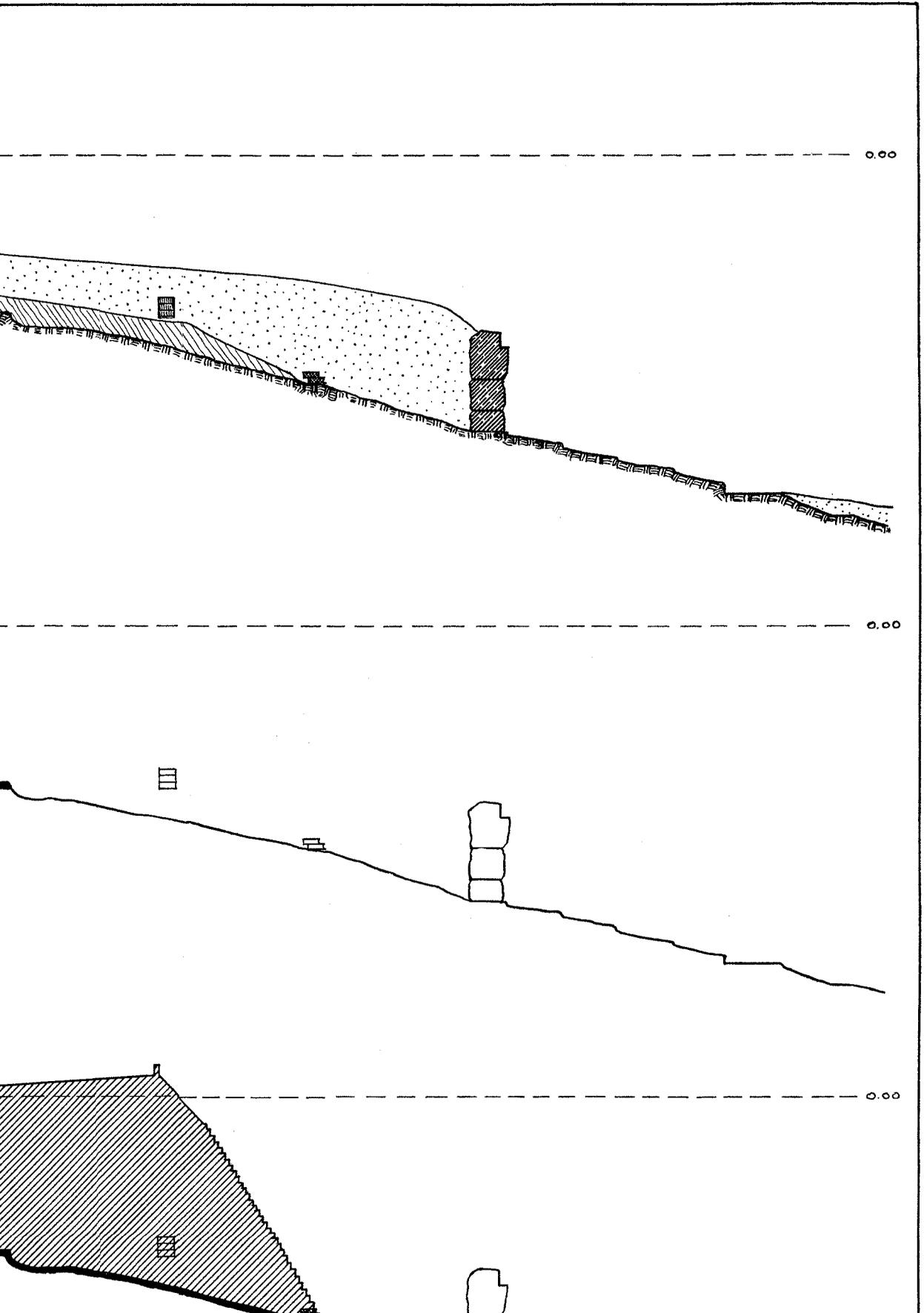


B. PROPOSED RESTORATION
of
FIRST PERIOD

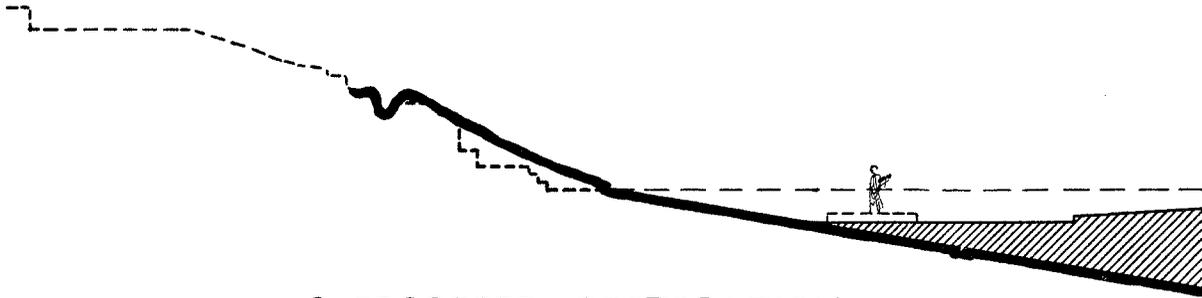


C. PROPOSED RESTORATION
of
SECOND PERIOD

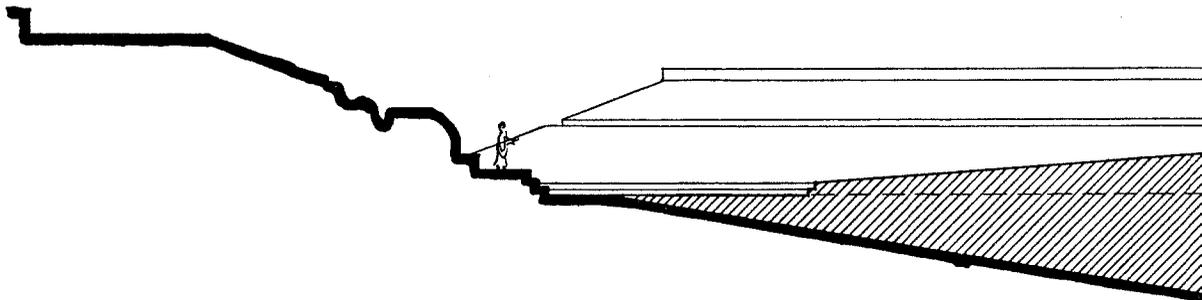




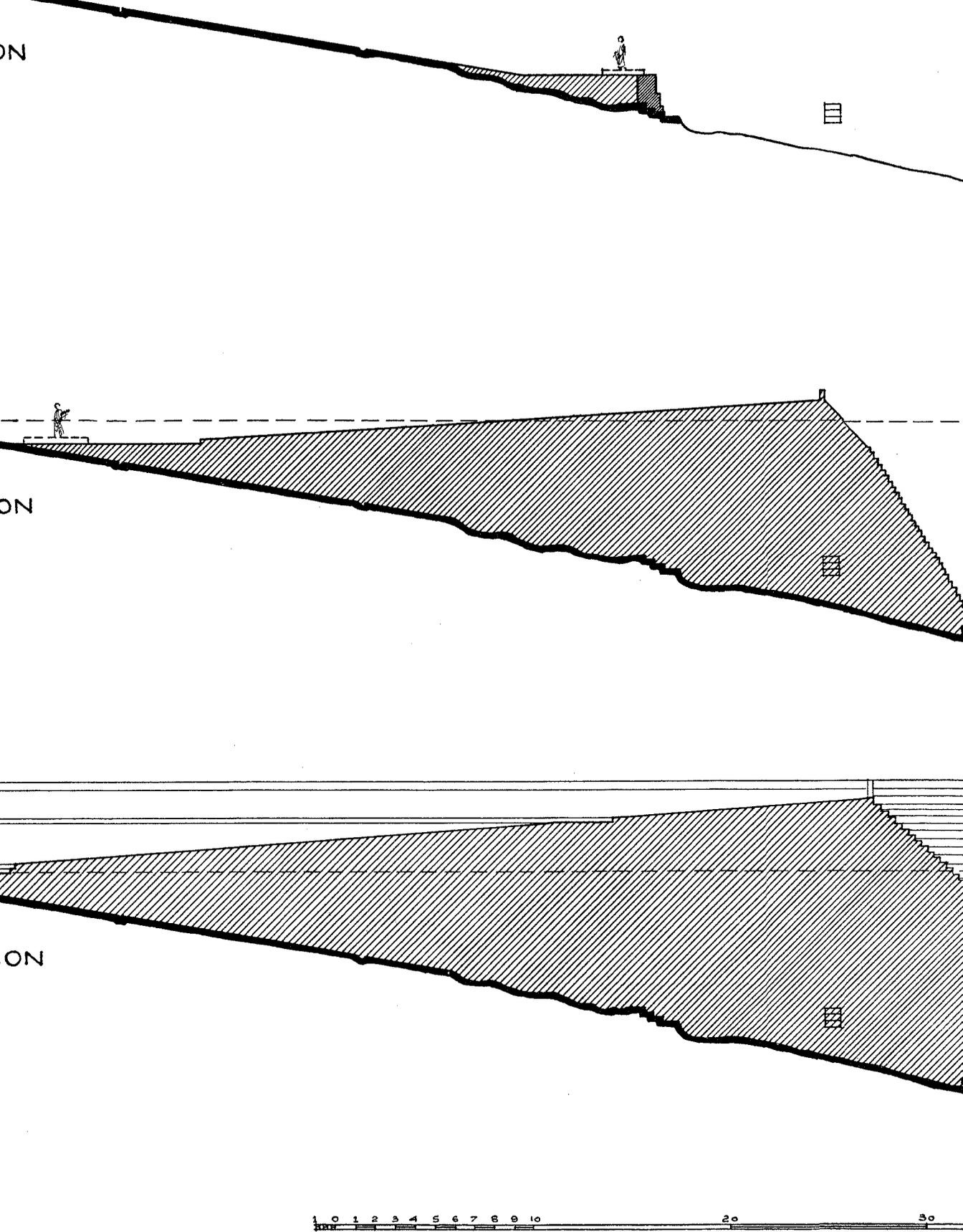
B. PROPOSED RESTORATION
of
FIRST PERIOD



C. PROPOSED RESTORATION
of
SECOND PERIOD



D. PROPOSED RESTORATION
of
THIRD PERIOD



Sections on axis of Period III

