

Voting in Tribal Groups in the Athenian Assembly

G. R. Stanton and P. J. Bicknell

FROM TIME TO TIME it has been suggested that the Athenian citizens voted according to tribes when they met in the assembly. Staveley, for example, has argued that the citizens were divided into tribal groups to facilitate the checking of credentials as well as the counting of votes.¹ But majority opinion has been against such a view. Thus M. H. Hansen hoped to have demonstrated that the Athenians were not seated in tribal divisions in the assembly.² Three notable contributions bearing on the issue appeared during 1982. One of the excavators of the Pnyx in the 1930's returned to the subject after fifty years and noted changes that were needed in earlier interpretations (Thompson 133–47). Hansen argued that one of the ten tribes, the 'presiding tribe', was stationed separately at the front of the arena during meetings in the third phase of the Pnyx.³ And Siewert (10–16) concluded that not only on the Pnyx but also in the Agora and at the naval station in Piraeus the citizens were in the fifth century B.C. assembled in some way according to trittyes, at least for purposes of controlling entry to the assembly place.

¹ E. S. Staveley, *Greek and Roman Voting and Elections* (London 1972) 81f. The following will be cited by authors' names: J. M. CROW and J. T. CLARKE, "The Athenian Pnyx," *Papers ASCA* 4 (1885/6) 205–60; E. CURTIUS, "Pnyx und Stadtmauer," *Attische Studien* I (= *AbhGöttingen* 11 [1862]) 1–57 (= *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* I [Berlin 1894] 289–338, omitting Tafel I); K. KOUROUNIOTES and H. A. THOMPSON, "The Pnyx in Athens," *Hesperia* 1 (1932) 90–217; W. A. McDONALD, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks* (= *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology* 34 [Baltimore 1943]); P. SIEWERT, *Die Trittynen Attikas und die Heeresreform des Kleisthenes* (= *Vestigia* 33 [Munich 1982]); M. H. HANSEN, *The Athenian Ecclesia: A Collection of Articles 1976–1983* (= *Opuscula Graecolatina* 26 [Copenhagen 1983]: hereafter *AE*); H. A. THOMPSON, "The Pnyx in Models," *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool* (= *Hesperia Suppl.* 19 [Princeton 1982]) 133–47; J. TRAVLOS, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London 1971).

² *GRBS* 18 (1977) 123–37 (= *AE* 103–17; cf. 29, 228), and *Die athenische Volksversammlung im Zeitalter des Demosthenes* (= *Xenia* 13 [Konstanz 1984]) 44–46.

³ *GRBS* 23 (1982) 241–49, esp. 244ff (= *AE* 25–33).

I. Trittys Markers on Pnyx I

The excavation of the 1930's showed that there were three stages in the development of the assembly place on the Pnyx. The crucial evidence for voting in trittys groups on the original Pnyx (hereafter 'Pnyx I') is the following inscription:

EM 10634 (not 10634a). *IG* I² 884=I³ 1120. Height 67 cm., width 29, thickness 15; letter height 1.7–2.0 cm., width 1.7–1.9. PLATE 1.

Λακιάδων
τριττύς

K. S. Pittakis reported in the *editio princeps*⁴ that he found the inscription on 18 January 1846 not far from the 'Bema' of the Pnyx (what we now regard as the *bema* of the second reconstruction of the Pnyx, 'Pnyx III'). Not only was the marble inscription found near the *bema*, it could not have been moved very far from its original position (especially uphill) since it was still embedded in its base, which Pittakis described as "stone of the Acropolis." A. R. Rangabé subsequently republished the inscription as reading *Λακιάδων τριττύος* and suggested that the people were seated in their political assemblies by trittyes—this inscription indicating the place occupied by the deme Lakiadai in its trittys.⁵ The republication provoked Pittakis into presenting the text again.⁶ Among several corrections⁷ Pittakis took issue particularly with Rangabé's statement that the plaque had, according to Pittakis, been found in a cutting in the horizontal rock of the Pnyx. He reiterated that the stone was inscribed in Attic script on a rectangular stele of Pentelic stone and that it was found not far from the *bema* of the Pnyx,⁸ standing in its base, which was composed of stone of the Acropolis. The inscription, then, was not found *in situ*, but near the *bema* of Pnyx III, embedded in a lump of local stone. The marble stele has now been reinserted in the large lump of pinkish limestone in which it was originally found, and the combination stands in the

⁴ *ArchEph* (1853) 773f no. 1289.

⁵ A. R. Rangabé, *Antiquités helléniques* II (Athens 1855) 586 no. 890.

⁶ *ArchEph* (1856) 1357 no. 2700. Siewert (12 n.58) pointed out that, although Pittakis' reports are regarded as often unreliable, it has not been questioned that *IG* I² 883 and 884 were found in the vicinity of the Pnyx. Cf. C. Schaefer, *AM* 5 (1880) 87; E. Meyer, *RE* 21.1 (1951) 1114f s.v. "Pnyx."

⁷ The first letter is written √, not Λ; the second-to-last letter in the first line is *omicron*, not *omega*; the second word is *τριττύς*, not *τριττύος*, and is written with a three-barred *sigma*.

⁸ Modern scholars would like greater precision. If, however, the inscription had been found more than 35 m. north or north-east of the *bema*, one would expect the landmark to be the great retaining wall rather than the *bema*.

corner of a room in the Epigraphical Museum. Some 20 cm. of the front surface has been smoothed, leaving 5 cm. at the top and 42 below that have been rough-picked. The inscription occupies only the top 7 cm. of the smoothed surface. Each letter of the second line (word) stands neatly under a letter in the first line (word). Now, what was a stele marking the “trittys of Lakiadai” doing on the Pnyx unless, at the time when it was inscribed and inserted in a large lump of limestone, the Athenians voted in trittys groups when they met in the assembly on the Pnyx?

Siewert raised the discussion to a new level by classifying six of the pillar-like trittys markers found in Athens with the five examples from Piraeus. Apart from the distinction of *IG I*² 901 in being written retrograde, these share several features: they are of similar material (poros-limestone), bear the same epigraphical formula, and were written about the same time. The other four—*IG I*² 883, 884, *SEG* 10.370, 21.109 (*IG I*³ 1118, 1120, 1119, and 1117 respectively)—can be distinguished because they use marble instead of poros and employ the simple formula ‘trittys of *x*’.⁹ Siewert pointed out that the four marble *horoi*, insofar as their original measurements can be determined, would fit into the three slots (two of which were measured) uncovered by the excavators on the Pnyx, whereas the series of poros stones from Athens and the Piraeus would not.¹⁰ Now, trying to match inscriptions with holes is a risky enterprise (one can still ask where the tribute lists were set up), but in this case there are several factors that encourage us to believe that a series of marble *horoi* with the formula ‘trittys of *x*’ were set up on the Pnyx. First, the stump of a marble stele, broken below any inscription engraved on it, was found *in situ* in one of the rock-cut slots (the very one that was not, unfortunately, measured) on the original Pnyx.¹¹ Second, the example found between the Pnyx and the Agora (*IG I*² 883), removed from the base in which it once stood¹² and probably no wider than 23 cm., can have been moved easily from its original site. The two examples found in the south-east corner of the Agora¹³ may also have been moved a relatively short distance for re-

⁹ Siewert 10–12. On the use of retrograde script see M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca I* (Rome 1967) 408, and A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*² (Cambridge 1981) 28f. Siewert (11 n.52) pointed out the parallel of the three *horoi* on poros blocks from Corinth: R. S. Stroud, *CSCA* 1 (1968) 233–42 [*SEG* 25.331f].

¹⁰ Siewert 12 with nn.59f.

¹¹ Kourouniotes/Thompson 104.

¹² Pittakis (*supra* n.4) 1003 no. 1798 inferred from the rough shaping of the lower part that the marble pillar once stood in a base and was used as a boundary marker. Cf. A. Kirchoff *ad IG I* (1873) 500: *inferiore parte non laevigata*.

¹³ B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 53f no. 1 [*SEG* 10.370], 30 (1961) 265 no. 82

use as building material.¹⁴ But the fully-preserved example quoted at the beginning of this section cannot have been moved very far from its original site, because when found in the middle of the nineteenth century it was still embedded in the irregular block of limestone.¹⁵ Third, the purpose of having marble *horoi* announcing the trittyes fastened with lead into blocks of limestone is confirmed by another example, belonging to Pnyx III, found by the excavators of the 1930's: the heavy lumps of limestone were used to stand the *horoi* upright in the earth fill that formed the floor of the lower part of the auditorium.¹⁶ By contrast, in the upper (southern) part of the auditorium slots for the pillars were cut directly into the dressed rock surface that formed the floor of the original Pnyx for about 30 metres from south to north.¹⁷

Now, the four marble *horoi* isolated by Siewert do not belong to the same series in the sense that they were all set up on the Pnyx at the same time. There are some differences in letter forms and in disposition of the text on the stone. *SEG* 10.370 has the word *τριττύς* first, unlike the other three. *SEG* 21.109 is composed of Hymettian marble, the other three of Pentelic.¹⁸ But in view of the broken stump of a

with Pl. 49 [*SEG* 21.109]. The former, found in Section Ω (south-east corner of the Agora), is only 22 cm. high and 9.5 wide, but the latter, found just outside the south-east corner of the Agora at the Church of the Holy Apostles, is complete at a height of 68 cm. and width of 24. For the location of Section Ω see T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 312 fig. 1; for the location of the church see, for example, the plan included in *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavation and Museum*³ (Athens 1976) or H. A. Thompson/R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora XIV* (Princeton 1972) 216.

¹⁴ Cf. Siewert's comment (11) on the shape of the *horoi* predestining them for re-use as building material. The heaviest stone (*SEG* 21.109) of the three could be readily transported on a donkey from the Pnyx to the edge of the Agora.

¹⁵ Because the combination was difficult to move—the lump of limestone is roughly 100 cm. long, between 30 and 60 wide and 35 deep—it must have been buried as fill in both of the subsequent reconstructions of the Pnyx. Pnyx II and Pnyx III, because they reversed the natural slope of the hill, required enormous amounts of rock and earth fill. Here the combination of rock and stele remained until sufficient of the earth cover had been washed away over the centuries to reveal it.

¹⁶ The westernmost of the series of six beddings for stelae in Pnyx III is not cut into bedrock, as are the other five, but is worked in the top of a large, roughly squared block of limestone that rested on earth filling 40 cm. above bedrock (Kourouniotes/Thompson 156 and fig. 36). This, surely, is how the block of limestone that houses *IG* I² 884 was used in Pnyx I (recognised as a possibility by Kourouniotes/Thompson 105 n.2). Hence it belongs to the front part of the auditorium where earth filling was used to provide a level section on which the speaker's platform stood. For the retaining wall used to buttress this earth fill see section III below.

¹⁷ Kourouniotes/Thompson 98 and Pl. II (dressed rock surface), 104f (beddings); McDonald 68.

¹⁸ See the report of J. McK. Camp and J. Binder quoted by Hansen, *Volksversammlung* (*supra* n.2) 132 n.211, and in *GRBS* 26 (1985) 241–50 at 248f and n.23. We are most grateful to Professor Hansen for sending a copy of this article in draft and to the editors of *GRBS* for providing advance copies of the page proofs. The letter heights

marble stele actually found in the floor of Pnyx I and a similar broken stele led into a bedding in the floor of Pnyx III, there is no difficulty in supposing that marble stelae erected on the assembly place were liable to damage and had to be replaced in the course of the fifth century. If the city trittys of Akamantis (tribe V) was renamed, *IG I² 883* must have replaced an earlier stele,¹⁹ perhaps contemporary with *IG I² 884*. Indeed, *IG I² 883* and *SEG 10.370* (with the later word order?) both carry four-barred *sigma*, whereas *IG I² 884* and *SEG 21.109*, with three-barred *sigma*, may have been set up simultaneously despite the difference in marble. The crucial points, however, are that these marble *horoi* will all fit the slots prepared on the original Pnyx, whereas the poros stelae will not; they are all of marble, not poros; and they bear a simple epigraphical formula that contrasts with those of the poros *horoi*. The set of four marble *horoi* argues strongly for a grouping of citizens by trittyes on the Pnyx.

Siewert, however, concluded from the trittys pillars that the citizens were arranged by trittyes not only on the Pnyx but also at two other central assembly places in the fifth century B.C.: in the Agora and at the naval station in the Piraeus.²⁰ He found confirmation in a passage of Aristophanes (*Eq.* 163–67) where the Agora, the harbours, and the Pnyx are mentioned together as places of which the sausage-seller will be master. But attention is not restricted to these three items. In the next breath Aristophanes mentions the council and the generals, and the whole passage leads up to a joke (“and in the Prytaneion . . . suck

might be more accurately reported as 1.6–2.0 cm. on Agora I 5053 (*SEG 10.370*), 1.5–2.0 cm. (but *nu* only 1.0 cm.) on Agora I 6699 (*SEG 21.109*), 1.7–2.0 cm. on EM 10634 (*IG I² 884*), and 1.7–3.0 cm. on EM 10072 (*IG I² 883*). So one could conclude that even with replacement stones a tradition was retained of keeping the letters generally within the range of 1.7–2.0 cm.—appropriate for a citizen who was walking about the auditorium to read.

¹⁹ Cholargeis is attested as the city trittys of Akamantis on the early inscription *IG I² 900*, whereas 883 can scarcely be restored in any other way than [Κερ]αμέων | [τρ]ιτ-*τός*. The *nu* is carved around the corner of the stone, on to a lower level, and is complete (though not on the squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study: B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 9 [1940] 53 n.2). For the change of name see A. E. Raubitschek, *AJA* 60 (1956) 279–82; D. M. Lewis, *Historia* 12 (1963) 28; Siewert 14; cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *Mélanges Glotz II* (Paris 1932) 883 n.4.

²⁰ Siewert 12f. Arrangement of citizens by trittyes was postulated a century ago by C. Schaefer, *AM* 5 (1880) 85–88 (referring to *IG I² 883* and 884). The association of the two inscriptions with the Pnyx was supported by E. de Miro, *Kokalos* 5 (1959) 190–94, but he was unsure whether to assign the subdivision into trittyes to tribal assemblies or to the assembly of all Athenian citizens. Kourouniotes/Thompson (105 n.2) questioned the association of the series of marble *horoi* bearing trittys names with the Pnyx, but Thompson (137 n.16) apparently accepted prior to publication Siewert’s view (cf. 12f n.61) that these *horoi* were set up in the auditorium of Period I to mark the places assigned to the citizens of the various trittyes.

cocks”).²¹ It seems that Siewert would go far beyond the use of trittys-divisions so that the thirty ‘*syllogeis* of the *demos*’ could control entry to meetings of the assembly, for he stressed the fundamental importance of the trittys not as a local unit of administration but for grouping citizens in the central functions of the state (13). But we must not forget that three of the five *horoi* found in the Piraeus come from the neighbourhood of the chief naval station (Siewert 10); the trittys-pillars there are surely connected with the assembly of the citizens for naval expeditions. *Equites* 165f indicates that the sausage-seller will be chief not only of all the people in the audience but also of the home and foreign trade and of politics.²² The Agora is *not* attested as a meeting-place for the assembly in the fifth century, although it was used for voting on ostracism-day.²³ As far as the assembly is concerned, we must concentrate on the Pnyx, where the marble pillar reading “trittys of Lakiadai” was found, still embedded in a lump of limestone.

II. Tribal Subdivisions of the Auditorium of Pnyx III

The north-facing *bema* that can now be seen on the Pnyx belongs to the second rebuilding of the Pnyx, that is, to Pnyx III. It was cut out of the living rock, and hence the existing scarps running on either side of it to the east and west (strictly north-west) were cut at the time of this second reconstruction. (We argue below that there were scarps, not so far south, in Pnyx II.) Six beddings for stelae have been found in the rock in front of the scarps, four to the west and two to the east of the front of the *bema*.²⁴ Five are cut into the rock, while the westernmost is cut in a square block (*supra* n.16). The fact that they run parallel to the scarps of Pnyx III, although they were cut in three out of six cases into the dressed surface of rock that formed the floor of Pnyx I, indicates that they belong to Pnyx III.²⁵ Evidently marble slabs, with or without

²¹ For the substitution of *fellatio* for eating see H. D. Jocelyn, *PCPS* n.s. 26 (1980) 12–66 at 34f and 61 n.262.

²² R. A. Neil, *The Knights of Aristophanes* (Cambridge 1901) 29.

²³ Of course we cannot rule out the possibility of *occasional* meetings in the Agora, such as the gathering of Athenians “from the city” in 403 B.C. (*Ath.Pol.* 38.1). The Agora may have been used for the assembly before Cleisthenes’ reforms (*cf.* Hdt. 1.59.4, Plut. *Sol.* 30.1–3). But the lack of evidence for assembly meetings in the Agora in the fifth century is laid out by Hansen in *AE* 3–7, 21. For a meeting in the Agora in 88 B.C., perhaps preceding a formal assembly in the theatre, see Ath. 5.212E–F; *cf.* Thompson/Wycherley (*supra* n.13) 51.

²⁴ Kourouniotes/Thompson 156. The six beddings are shown on their Plate II; *cf.* Travlos 475 (fig. 599) and Hansen (*supra* n.3) 247 (fig. 1; the easternmost bedding has failed to be reproduced in *AE* 31).

²⁵ So Hansen (*supra* n.3) 244f (= *AE* 28f).



*IGI*²884(=*EM*10634)



*IGI*²882 (=EM10069)

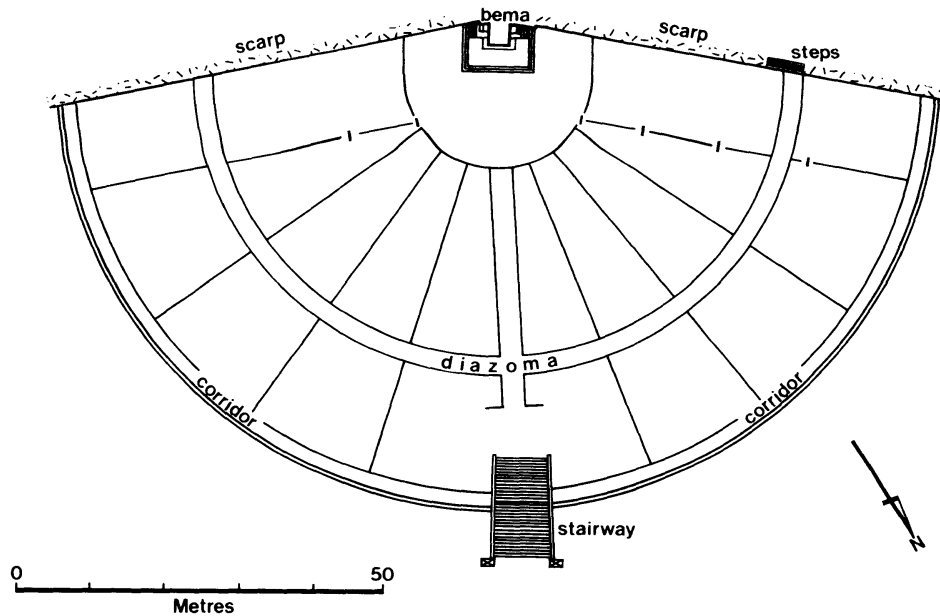


Figure 1. Pnyx III (Kourouniotes and Thompson)

inscriptions on them, were inserted in these beddings, and they rose above the earth floor of Pnyx III. What was their use?

The excavators of the 1930's suggested that these stelae marked off ten wedge-shaped subdivisions of the auditorium, the wedges spreading out from a point at the centre of the front of the *bema*, with the exception of the two lines along the stelae beddings, which centre on a point 3.40 m. in front of the *bema* (Fig. 1).²⁶ Boegehold suggested that ten was a logical number for the subdivisions and that the Athenians were divided in a random fashion, perhaps to make counting of the vote easier; but when a vote concerned the interests of an individual, the demarcated areas were for tribes.²⁷ As we have noted, Staveley and others have held that the ten subdivisions were in fact tribal subdivisions, and that the Athenians were seated in tribal areas not merely to facilitate the counting of votes but more importantly to enable the thirty 'collectors' to check the credentials of those who voted.²⁸

²⁶ Kourouniotes/Thompson 156–58; cf. 155 for the centre of the auditorium at the mid-point of the front edge of the speaker's platform.

²⁷ A. L. Boegehold, *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 373f.

²⁸ E. S. Staveley (*supra* n.1) 81f; cf. F. Kolb, *Agora und Theater, Volks- und Festversammlung* (=AF 9 [Berlin 1981]) 93.

Hansen disputed the view that the Athenians were grouped according to their tribes in the assembly, citing the passage in Aeschines (2.64–68) where Amyntor of tribe II (Aigeis) testified that, in a meeting of the assembly on 19 Elaphebolion 346 (in Pnyx II), he was seated next to and talked to Demosthenes of tribe III (Pandionis), who regularly sat beneath the scarp. Hansen linked the wedges with the nine *proedroi* and suggested that the auditorium could have been divided into nine, not ten wedges.²⁹ Subsequently, however, he put forward a quite different interpretation. He argued that if the auditorium were divided into ten wedge-shaped sectors, the beddings near the *bema* should have been placed much closer to the scarps, while the westernmost bedding should not be 10.45 m. from the scarp, but about 14.50. He stressed that the six known beddings all run parallel to the two scarps and proposed that they marked off a section about 10.50 m. in width at the front of the auditorium between the line of beddings and the scarps. Rather than have this area left free, he preferred the view that it was reserved for one tribe, that one which according to Aeschines (1.33f, 3.4) was entrusted with the maintenance of order during a meeting of the assembly. Hence he envisaged ‘the presiding tribe’ being accommodated in the area immediately below the scarps that was roped off to both east and west along the line of the stelae (*Fig. 2*).³⁰

One might wonder why stelae rather than simple solid posts³¹ were needed to fence off the area at the foot of the scarps for all members of one of the ten tribes. Moreover, a series of long, thin slabs standing at right angles to the scarp is not suitable for a rope running parallel to the scarp. In Hansen’s more recent reconstruction the two stelae closest to the *bema* serve a double purpose: they define the area for the ‘presiding tribe’ and they mark off the so-called ‘orchestra’ around the speaker’s platform. Might not the other stelae have served to mark lines in two directions also? If so, the lines dividing the auditorium may have run perpendicular to the scarp of Pnyx II.

Now, if we try to retain Hansen’s suggestion that the presiding tribe was in the fenced-off area immediately below the scarps, we must look for nine subdivisions in the rest of the auditorium. The tribes would, of course, rotate from one subdivision to another as the conciliar year

²⁹ Hansen (*supra* n.2) 123–37 (=AE 103–17), esp. 125f and 134–37 (=AE 105f and 114–17). For Demosthenes’ usual position *κάτω ὑπὸ τῆ κατατομῆ* see Hyper. 5.9.

³⁰ Hansen (*supra* n.3) 244–49 (=AE 28–33). *ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλή*: Aeschin. 3.4, [Dem.] 25.90; cf. Aeschin. 1.33, *φυλὴν . . . ἥτις προεδρεύσει*.

³¹ The six beddings that presumably supported the posts of a railing around the speaker’s platform are almost square (Kourouniotes/Thompson 163 with 159 fig. 38).

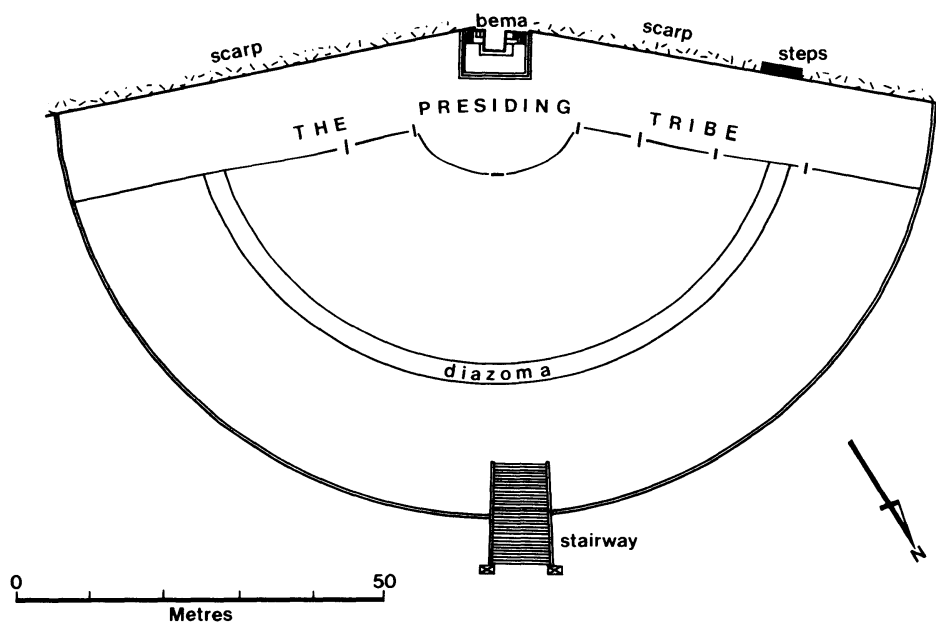


Figure 2. Pnyx III (Hansen)

progressed. There could still be voting by tribes, but there would be no stelae inscribed with the names of the tribes permanently in place in the auditorium. Such an arrangement in Pnyx III would not, of course, rule out permanent tribal divisions in Pnyx I. Indeed, there are a number of cases in which the Athenians originally elected officials according to tribes and later without regard to tribe. Thus, for example, the ten generals were originally elected tribe by tribe, one from each tribe (*Ath. Pol.* 22.2), but later from all Athenians without regard to tribe (61.1). (The parallel is not exact, since the Athenians originally—with the exception of Hippothontis, which met at Eleusis—selected their generals in tribal assemblies meeting somewhere in the city,³² not necessarily in the place where the assembly of all Athenian citizens met.)

There are, however, difficulties in envisaging the auditorium of Pnyx III being divided into nine sections running out from the scarps (in addition to a tenth area along the scarps). For there are four beddings for stelae on the western side of the *bema*. Together with the

³² Cf. G. R. Stanton, *Chiron* 14 (1984) 40 with n.142.

boundaries suggested by the outside limit of the auditorium (where the scarp turns through a right angle and runs north for 18 m.)³³ and the centre of the auditorium, they will mark off in the western half of the auditorium five slices running out perpendicularly from the scarp. Moreover, there is another bedding for a stele 15 m. north of the centre of the *bema*, on the axis of the auditorium. Hansen interpreted this bedding as simply marking off the semi-circular area ('orchestra') in front of the speaker's platform.³⁴ But if indeed this bedding was re-used from Pnyx I, the stele it contained also may have indicated a corner, one line being the arc of the semi-circle around the speaker's platform, the other a straight line running along the axis away from the platform and separating one tribe from another along the axis of the auditorium. A stele rather than a post can be explained by the convenience of an inscription that said, for example, 'Here tribe V ends and tribe VI begins' or 'Here tribe V ends, and trittys *p*, and tribe VI begins, and trittys *q*' (cf. *IG I*² 900, from the Piraeus).

Confirmation of the lines running perpendicular to the scarps can be discerned in the spacing of the stelae. The distance between consecutive stelae increases as one moves away from the *bema*. The distance between the two stelae beddings closest to the axis of the auditorium on the west is 7.5 m. (and 9.05 between the corresponding stelae on the eastern side). Then the distance between neighbouring stelae increases successively to 10.4, 10.75, and finally (using the edge of the auditorium as the boundary) to 15.5 m.³⁵ The distance between successive stelae is largest where the auditorium is most shallow, at the edge, and smallest where the auditorium is much deeper. In this way the area allocated to each sector will be roughly the same. Moreover, there may have been stelae leaded into blocks of limestone and sunk into the earth fill near the northern rim of the auditorium, so that citizens could find their tribal subdivisions readily as they walked around the semi-circular corridor (see *Fig. 3*). For a rough mass of limestone, worked only on the face into which the stele would have

³³ Curtius 24f; Kourouniotes/Thompson 139.

³⁴ Kourouniotes/Thompson Pl. II; Hansen (*supra* n.3) 245 (=AE 29). Hansen described the bedding as "some 12 meters" north of the centre of the *bema*, but that he meant 15 m. is indicated by his reference to an 'orchestra' with a radius of some 15 m. (Hansen based his restoration on Travlos 475 fig. 599.) Kourouniotes/Thompson (104f) discussed this bedding only in connection with Pnyx I. To fix the line of their 'orchestra' they used (158; cf. 179 fig. 51) a small square stele bedding that lies in the line of the four beddings on the western side, but is 4.15 m. (cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *AJA* 37 [1933] 182 n.1) closer to the *bema* than the easternmost of those four beddings. This gives a radius of about 12 m. to the 'orchestra'.

³⁵ The distances are indicated on Plate II by Kourouniotes/Thompson.

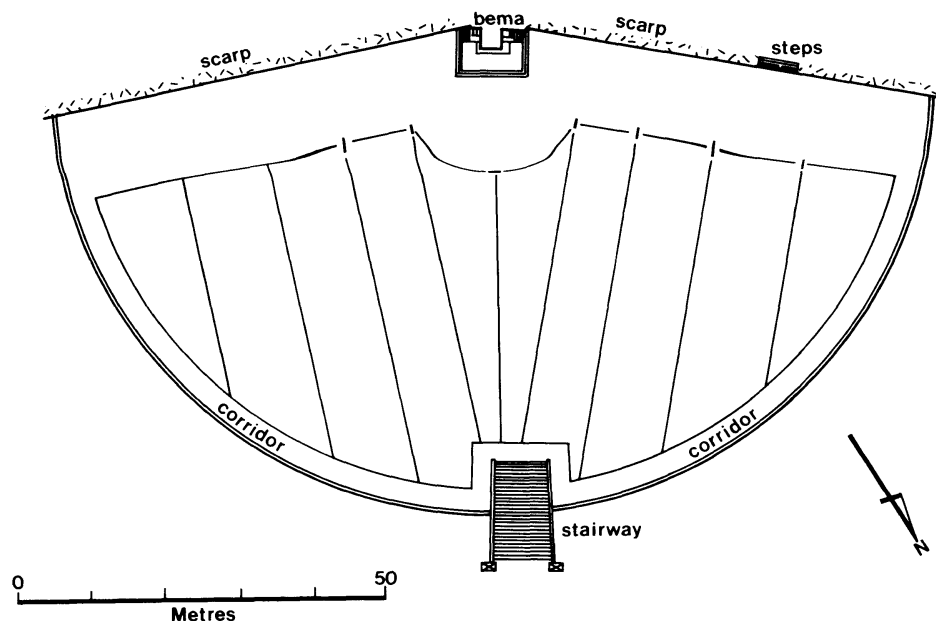


Figure 3. Pnyx III with suggested tribal blocs

been sunk, has been found some 16 m. north of the great retaining wall. It may have tumbled down as the northern rim of the earth embankment washed away over the centuries.³⁶

It is preferable, then, to have ten divisions marked off by lines running away from and perpendicular to the scarps. As indicated on Fig. 3, most tribal subdivisions will thus have areas of approximately similar shape. But the two central divisions, on either side of the axis of the auditorium, will have a roughly triangular area. However, they will not be noticeably smaller in area than the rectangular divisions because they are wider than the other divisions near the speaker's platform and run along the axis into the deepest part of the auditorium. Now, Hansen concluded that "the only subdivisions of the auditorium indicated by the archaeological evidence are the *orchestra*, the *diazoma*, and the roping off of the front part of the cavea."³⁷ The *diazoma*, however, has been suggested largely because the auditorium

³⁶ See Kourouniotes/Thompson 156 and 174 fig. 47. The slot for the stele is 38 cm. (not 18) long, 15 wide, and 10 deep, hence quite comparable with the other stele beddings of Pnyx III, which are about 34 cm. long.

³⁷ Hansen (*supra* n.3) 246, cf. 249 (=AE 30, cf. 33).

is thought to need a walkway between seating areas so that citizens can reach a vacant area. There are remains of a few steps cut into the scarp 32 m. west of the *bema*, and this is where scholars have started the *diazoma*.³⁸ But there are no steps in the eastern scarp that encourage one to draw a semi-circular walkway through the auditorium, as Hansen and his predecessors have done.³⁹ W. A. McDonald, in defence of his view that the *bema* of Pnyx II was nearly as far south as the surviving *bema* of Pnyx III, suggested that scarps were similarly cut for Pnyx II, but not quite so deep or so far south.⁴⁰ This would explain not only the cutting away of the seats behind and above the *bema* in the further scarping for Pnyx III⁴¹ but also the incomplete flight of steps in the western scarp. The surviving three steps here belong to Pnyx II, not Pnyx III. The lower steps were cut away⁴² when the scarp was taken

³⁸ Kourouniotes/Thompson 155; Travlos 475 fig. 599; Hansen (*supra* n.3) 245 (=AE 29).

³⁹ Kourouniotes/Thompson 179; McDonald Pl. II; Hansen (*supra* n.3) 247 fig. 1 (=AE 31). Professor Hansen informs us by letter that the *diazoma* may be omitted, as it is of no consequence for his more recent reconstruction of the organisation of the citizens in the auditorium. (See now M. H. Hansen, *GRBS* 26 [1985] 242 fig. 1.)

⁴⁰ McDonald 72. Dinsmoor (*supra* n.34) 181 argued that the *bema* of Pnyx II was *ca* 12 m. further south than the excavators wished to place it (Kourouniotes/Thompson 121 and 126 fig. 16); for their reply to this and other objections by Dinsmoor see *AJA* 37 (1933) 652–56.

⁴¹ McDonald 72–75. Kourouniotes/Thompson (122 and n.1) could find no trace of a bedding for the *bema* of Pnyx II, despite numerous trenches in the expected area. If the *bema* was nearly as far south as the western scarp of Pnyx III, any bedding may have been cut away in the quarrying that resulted in this existing scarp (so McDonald 72). The seats cut into during the scarping of Pnyx III would be those where the *prytaneis* sat facing the audience (*cf.* Ar. *Eccl.* 87, τῶν πρυτάνεων καταγκρῦ), as McDonald (75 and n.134) observed.

⁴² While one should not expect precise alignment of the steps with the scarp of Pnyx III if, as many believe, the steps belong to that final phase, we point out that the lowest surviving step is 39 cm. wide at the western end but only 31 cm. at the eastern end. Crow and Clarke 229f reported the lowest step as “two or three feet” from the sloping earth floor of the auditorium. But from the diagram in Kourouniotes/Thompson (171 fig. 44) showing a side elevation (and giving a height from the bottom of the quarry trench of 2.22 m.), it can be calculated that, if the steps were all cut into the rock and there was not (say) a wooden ladder for the bottom steps (surely out of the question in view of the width—4.68 m.—of the steps), ten more steps of the same height would have been needed to take the stairway to the rock floor of Pnyx III in front of the scarp. (For the steps see *Hesperia* 12 [1943] 291 fig. 14.) Kourouniotes/Thompson (140, 153, Pl. IIIa) envisaged earth filling not merely covering the quarry chips on the rock surface but rising from the edge of the ‘orchestra’ along the western scarp (and similarly on the eastern scarp) to a height of 4 m. above the level of the bottom of the *bema* at the side scarp (Kourouniotes/Thompson 154). Admittedly earth filling had to be provided on the eastern scarp if the mass of unquarried rock in the south-eastern corner of the auditorium was to be covered and used (Kourouniotes/Thompson 153). If, however, the three steps that we believe belong to Pnyx II were re-used in Pnyx III, the sloping earth floor must have had a level section at the steps, and not have covered the western end of the bottom step as shown in Kourou-

further back in the reconstruction that resulted in Pnyx III, for the scarp had to be recut to allow the speaker's platform to protrude. And even in Pnyx II, we suggest, the steps simply gave a means of entry to the auditorium, from the area on top of the scarps, just as the two stairways through the retaining wall on the northern end of the auditorium gave citizens entry from the direction of the Agora.⁴³ In Pnyx III citizens entered from the northern side by a wide staircase running through the retaining wall of enormous blocks that still stands in the middle of the rim to three courses.⁴⁴ They may also have entered at the end of the side scarps, where the floor of the auditorium seems to have approximated the level of the ground adjacent.

Finally, how should we interpret the references in the literary sources to the 'presiding tribe'? Aeschines 1.26 and 33 imply that one tribe was chosen by lot, after a disgraceful display on the *bema* by Timarchus, to maintain high standards of behaviour by speakers.⁴⁵ Since the two passages referring to the 'presiding tribe' list the *pry-*

notes/Thompson Pl. IIIa. Moreover, are we to believe that for the convenience of the contractors (*cf.* Kourouniotes/Thompson 140) huge blocks of stone were quarried from this scarp, moved fifty or sixty metres to the great retaining wall, and were then replaced for much of the scarp by a large quantity of stone and earth filling? Perhaps, rather, there was only a thin layer of earth along most of the western scarp. Two points suggest that the slope in 1930 was a poor guide to the floor of Pnyx III: Kourouniotes and Thompson (*AJA* 37 [1933] 654) found the sloping surface only a few centimetres below the lowest step in the scarp, whereas Crow and Clarke (229f) reported a gap of two or three feet (*cf.* 216: the western scarp "varies in altitude from two to three metres"); and in 1903 there was no similar sloping floor along the *eastern* scarp (see Kourouniotes/Thompson 93 fig. 1). That the three steps 4.68 m. wide belonged to an earlier stage is further suggested by the narrow passageway—scarcely 1.50 m. wide—leading through the terrace wall above the scarp towards one end of these steps (Kourouniotes/Thompson 170f and fig. 42 on 167). If the steps do belong to Pnyx II and were sunk through the scarp of Pnyx II, we can calculate that that scarp was no more than 3.12 m. north of the scarp of Pnyx III at this point (assuming that the steps continued to be of the same size); indeed, if the rock floor was not so deep in Pnyx II, the scarp of Pnyx II would be closer still to that of Pnyx III.

⁴³ The rock-hewn approach to the western stairway can still be seen disappearing under the massive retaining wall of Pnyx III. See Crow and Clarke 224, 228f; Kourouniotes/Thompson 125, 202, and figs. 16, 46f, 63f; Thompson 138 and Pl. 18b.

⁴⁴ Single broad stairway on northern side: Kourouniotes/Thompson 174–78; Thompson 141 and Pl. 19. Massive retaining wall: Crow and Clarke 223f; Kourouniotes/Thompson 141–53; McDonald 77f. One additional course rather than two or more in the original reconstruction: Kourouniotes/Thompson 148–54, 217, and *AJA* 37 (1933) 656; McDonald 77 and n.137 (contrast Crow and Clarke 223f and Dinsmoor [*supra* n.34] 182); Curtius (28) suggested at least one more course.

⁴⁵ Restraint on the part of speakers is the theme of 1.26–34. Hence for each meeting of the assembly ἀποκληροῦν φυλὴν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἥτις προεδρεύσει (33). The members of that tribe are to sit (καθῆσθαι), Aeschines says, as defenders of the laws and democracy.

taneis separately,⁴⁶ it does not seem likely that the presiding tribe was the tribe ‘in prytany’ and delegated its task to the *prytaneis*. On the other hand, nothing in our sources compels us to believe that the presiding tribe sat in a special place in the auditorium. If it is necessary to postulate a special site, modern conceptions of how to maintain order in a mass meeting might suggest that the presiding tribe should be in the centre, along the axis of the auditorium. Hansen would like the presiding tribe to be literally sitting in front of the other nine. But when business began, eyes would have turned to the *bema*; hence the ‘orchestra’ rather than the area along the scarps would be more appropriate for his interpretation.⁴⁷ But *προεδρεύουσα*, like related words, does not necessarily have its literal meaning of sitting in front; it can mean simply being in charge of the meeting and keeping order. There is no way of telling whether the presiding tribe sat in its regular place and supported the *proedroi* in keeping order or whether it moved to a separate position. What is certain is that, in the reconstruction that resulted in Pnyx III, beddings were cut into the rock floor and into roughly-hewn blocks for stelae. Since wooden posts would be easier than stelae for affixing temporary notices, we can conclude that the blocks allotted to tribes were permanent. If—and, to repeat, nothing compels this idea—the presiding tribe moved to a special place, the other nine tribes stayed in their allotted position. Unless the stelae were removed (or broken off, as was at some time the second stele from the west on the western side)⁴⁸ soon after they were set up, the innovation of the presiding tribe did not disrupt the pattern of tribal blocks. It is, however, quite possible that the innovation was contemporaneous with the rebuilding of the Pnyx.⁴⁹ In that case the stelae beddings rule out Hansen’s more recent idea that all citizens apart from those in the presiding tribe sat without division in the remainder of the auditorium: the stelae beddings marked out five blocks in each

⁴⁶ Aeschin. 3.4: τῆς δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων ἀκοσμίας οὐκέτι κρατεῖν δύνανται οὔθ’ οἱ νόμοι οὔθ’ οἱ πρυτάνεις οὔθ’ οἱ πρόεδροι οὔθ’ ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλή, τὸ δέκατον μέρος τῆς πόλεως; [Dem.] 25.90: οὐ πρυτάνεις, οὐ κῆρυξ, οὐκ ἐπιστάτης, οὐχ ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλή τούτου κρατεῖν δύναται.

⁴⁷ If the ‘orchestra’ were occupied by the presiding tribe, citizens arriving at the auditorium would not be able to cross it in order to reach their tribal grouping. If the presiding tribe sat in the area immediately below the two scarps, that corridor also would be unavailable. On our preferred view, however, citizens could walk to their place along the area left free along the scarps as well as around the outer rim of the auditorium where the excavators of the 1930’s postulated a corridor.

⁴⁸ Kourouniotes/Thompson 156.

⁴⁹ Aeschines in 346/5 B.C. refers to the law *περὶ τῆς προεδρίας τῶν φυλῶν* as a new one (1.33f). For its acceptance at least by 330 B.C. see Hansen (*supra* n.3) 248 (=AE 32). For the dating of the beginning of construction of Pnyx III to the 340’s see Thompson 144f.

half of the auditorium. The spacing of the blocks reinforces the assumption that the blocks ran north-south in a manner similar (as is argued in the next section) to the tribal areas in the original Pnyx.⁵⁰

III. Grouping by Tribes in the Auditorium of Pnyx I

We have an inscription that strongly suggests that the Athenians were grouped by trittyes in the earliest period of the Pnyx (section I). Grouping of the citizens by tribes in meetings of the assembly can be envisaged for the reconstruction we know as Pnyx III (section II). Is there archaeological evidence that indicates that the citizens were grouped by tribes in Pnyx I? One must remember that in the first rebuilding of the Pnyx, resulting in what we call Pnyx II, the orientation of the auditorium was completely reversed.⁵¹ Citizens attending the assembly in the earliest period of the Pnyx faced in the direction opposite to that indicated by the surviving remains from Pnyx III: they looked across the Agora towards the inland region of Attica.⁵² Instead of the retaining walls buttressing the parts of the auditorium furthest from the speaker's platform, as in Pnyx II and Pnyx III,⁵³ the original retaining wall, some 42 m. from the *bema* of Pnyx III on this later axis, supported a terrace on which the speaker's platform of Pnyx I stood. The natural contours of the hill, running down towards the north where the speaker's platform was situated, were made more regular by filling hollows with earth and by dressing the surface of the rock. Hammers and chisels were used to cut away projecting parts of rock.⁵⁴ The southern limit of this work, furthest from the speaker's platform, can be fairly securely determined by following the line of the dressing, and is clearly indicated on the large plan of the excavation of the 1930's.⁵⁵ Only where the workmen of Pnyx III cut into this dressing as

⁵⁰ Such a division is not seen in extant theatres where subdivisions are apparent, but the Pnyx is significantly different from these (*cf.* n.60 below). Note especially that the scarps meet at an angle of 158° and that the 'orchestra' is somewhat smaller than a semi-circle, whereas theatres often have a full circle, with seating extending beyond 180°. The auditorium of Pnyx III was simple and unfinished, though it was surely used for quite some time.

⁵¹ Thompson 138.

⁵² So Kourouniotes/Thompson 111.

⁵³ In fact Kourouniotes/Thompson (122f, 136, 155) argue for a floor that, rising well above the retaining wall, was at its outer edge slightly higher than the speaker's platform, thus giving protection from northerly and north-easterly winds.

⁵⁴ Kourouniotes/Thompson 98–103; Thompson 134 and Pl. 18a; *cf.* Crow and Clarke 225f.

⁵⁵ Kourouniotes/Thompson 98, 104, and Pl. II; *cf.* Thompson 134f. The continuity of the dressed rock surface was confirmed by the further clearing in 1932 and 1934: Thompson, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 151.

they quarried away the rock in front of the existing *bema* is the southern limit of the dressing uncertain. But there is a fairly clear arc on a radius of 40 m., which marks the southern limit of the dressed rock surface. This dressing continues for some 30 m. in the middle towards the speaker's platform; then there must have been an area covered with earth (and perhaps grass), still sloping down towards the speaker. Finally, if the supporting wall was about 2 m. high, as the excavators of the 1930's suggested, there would have been a level terrace about 7 m. wide.⁵⁶ The majority of the citizens, then, sat directly on the rock. Whereas wooden seating cannot be ruled out in Pnyx II or Pnyx III, since such seats might have been fixed in the earth fill that everywhere covered the rock,⁵⁷ there would have to have been cuttings in the dressed surface of the rock that makes up the greater part of the auditorium floor if there had been wooden seating in Pnyx I. No such cuttings have been found, nor is there evidence of stone or rock-cut seats.⁵⁸ The literary evidence accords with the idea that citizens had no more than a cushion for comfort.⁵⁹ The boundaries of Pnyx I show that it was a rather shallow auditorium⁶⁰ with the main entrance from the east at the back of the auditorium, where the natural track from the Agora is seen in a photograph of 1903 entering the auditorium of Pnyx III.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Kourouniotes/Thompson 102 with Pl. IV. Cf. McDonald 68. J. T. Allen, *Aristophanes and the Pnyx* (=CPCP 12.2 [Berkeley 1936]) 27 and 34 n.31, suggested that the sloping area covered with earth could be eliminated in the reconstruction if the retaining wall was 3 m. high, thus yielding a level terrace about 10 m. wide.

⁵⁷ Cf. Thompson 140 (second period of the Pnyx); for his earlier view that there were no seats, see Kourouniotes/Thompson 123. Literary evidence for seats, presumably wooden benches, on Pnyx II: Ar. *Eccl.* 20–23, 86f (cf. 96f).

⁵⁸ Kourouniotes/Thompson 103; *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 151; Thompson 135. Before a second phase of the Pnyx was established by K. Kourouniotes and D. Antoniadis (*Prakt* [1911] 51–53), and before the dressed rock surface was excavated by Kourouniotes and Thompson, A. Willems challenged the idea that the wooden benches were fixed on the bare, rough rock of the Pnyx (*BACRBel* [1905] 809–19).

⁵⁹ Ar. *Eq.* 754, 783–85; *Vesp.* 42f (cf. 31–33); Kourouniotes/Thompson 111f; McDonald 69; Thompson 135; Hansen, *AE* 213.

⁶⁰ See the reconstruction in Kourouniotes/Thompson 106 (fig. 6) or the model by Travlos (Thompson Pl. 18a). A good idea of the auditorium of Pnyx I can be gained from the photograph taken after conservation work (for which see *Hesperia* 5 [1936] 151, 153) in H. A. Thompson and R. L. Scranton, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 271 fig. 2. Thompson (135 n.5) found a parallel to the shallowness of the auditorium in the first main phase of the theatre at Thorikos, which was used for civic as well as dramatic purposes. See T. Hackens in *Thorikos III: 1965* (Brussels 1967) 74–96, and H. Mussche et al., *Thorikos and the Laurion in Archaic and Classical Times* (=Miscellanea Graeca I [Ghent 1975]) 45–61. Diagrams of the theatre at Thorikos: W. Miller, *PapersASCA* 4 (1885/6) 12 Pl. I, fig. 2 (the upper section of tiers is later); W. Dörpfeld and E. Reisch, *Das griechische Theater* (Athens 1896) 110 fig. 43; M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*² (Princeton 1961) 57 fig. 231. Aerial photograph: P. Spitaels in *Thorikos VIII: 1972/1976* (Ghent 1984) 154 fig. 96.

⁶¹ Kourouniotes/Thompson 103 (cf. 107, 112) and fig. 1. Thompson 135 (cf. Pl.

While there are no cuttings in the dressed rock surface for seating in Pnyx I, there are stele beddings similar to the beddings for stelae in Pnyx III. The excavators of the 1930's recorded three such beddings. One, 15 m. north of the northern edge of the surviving *bema* of Pnyx III, was discovered by J. M. Crow in 1882/3 and should have been noticed by earlier excavators, who typically dug a trench along the axis of Pnyx III.⁶² (E. Curtius in 1862, for example, took his trench as far north along the axis of Pnyx III as the bedding for the retaining wall of Pnyx I, though he regarded this bedding as tiny steps leading to an altar.)⁶³ Kourouniotes and Thompson discovered two more. One they describe as "a few metres to the north of the northwest corner" of the surviving *bema*, but on their restoration it is seen to be about 20 m. from the great *bema*.⁶⁴ The other was found on the eastern side of the auditorium, just over a third of the distance from the retaining wall for Pnyx I towards the southern limit of the dressed rock surface. It confirms that the purpose of these slots for Pnyx I was the same as for Pnyx III, for the stump of a stele was still heavily leaded into the bedding when discovered. The excavators note that "given 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."⁶⁵ They do not, however, allow for the further slots found by J. M. Crow and not placed on the plan by J. T. Clarke, although they presume that they missed these stele beddings by cutting their Trench B on the eastern side of the earlier trenches.⁶⁶ On the basis of this report and plan, which is specific only about the stele bedding 15 m. north of the surviving *bema*, we can accept that there was a line of stelae (perhaps only two or three in number) running perpendicular to

18a) suggested entrances on both sides between the southern ends of the lateral retaining walls and the limit of the dressed surface of rock. Cf. McDonald 70.

⁶² See "Slot" on J. T. Clarke's survey; cf. Crow and Clarke 225.

⁶³ Curtius 23–28 with Pl. I. Crow and Clarke (225f, 228f, and survey) also discovered the stepped footing for the retaining wall but called it "Pre-Pnyxian Steps," like the steps of Pnyx II that protrude north beyond the retaining wall of Pnyx III. On these early views see also G. M. Whicher, *AJA* 6 (1890) 130–33 at 132.

⁶⁴ Kourouniotes/Thompson 104, 106 (fig. 6); cf. Pl. II.

⁶⁵ Kourouniotes/Thompson 104f; for the stump of a stele leaded into one of the beddings of Pnyx III, see 156.

⁶⁶ Kourouniotes/Thompson 104 n.2; cf. 95 and Crow and Clarke 225. On the approximate measurements given by Crow and Clarke ("from six to eight inches long, four or five inches wide") these slots would be too small for *SEG* 21.109—which, however, as a marker for a city tritrys was probably embedded in the earth fill, not erected in a rock-cut bedding (see section V). The marker that survives from a non-city tritrys (*SEG* 10.370) could have been accommodated in these slots even if its original width was twice that preserved. In any case, it may be preferable to base conclusions on the precise measurements given at Kourouniotes/Thompson 104 for the slot 15 m. from the surviving *bema*: 34 cm. × 22 × 8 deep.

the retaining wall behind the speaker's platform of Pnyx I. The archaeological evidence for a line of stelae makes it possible that there were subdivisions running parallel to the axis of Pnyx I. By superimposing the trench of 1882/3 on the plan of Pnyx I drawn up by Kourouniotes and Thompson in 1930/1, one can show how the auditorium of Pnyx I might have been marked by stelae so that citizens grouped themselves by tribes. The stelae along the axis of Pnyx III should mark a line of gathering points just to the east of the axis of Pnyx I. If there were ten such lines of stelae, one for each of the Cleisthenic tribes, the bedding in the eastern sector will on this reconstruction have marked the third tribe to the east of the axis. And the stele bedding to the north of the north-west corner of the *bema* of Pnyx III may have marked the location for the second tribe to the west of the line of stelae that roughly followed the axis of Pnyx III (see *Fig. 4*).

M. H. Hansen has recently denied that the citizens could have assembled in tritlys groups in Pnyx I. His argument in fact turns on the number of people who could be accommodated in the auditorium of Pnyx I, since the Agora was not, apparently, used for assembly meetings in the fifth century B.C. If, he argues, more citizens were present from one tritlys (*e.g.*, Kydathenaion) than from another (*e.g.*, Paiania), strictly-defined sections could not have accommodated a tritlys from which large numbers attended. But we are not talking about boundaries within which the members of the tritlys must crowd together. Whereas in Pnyx III the stelae marked boundaries within which a tribe's members were encouraged to remain, in Pnyx I we have a series of gathering points, stelae marked "tritlys of Lakiadai" and the like. If there were a crowd around one stele, members of that tritlys would simply have spread out towards other gathering points. There is a similar fallacy in assessing the capacity of Pnyx I by modern western attitudes, reflected in building regulations, as to how much space is desirable per person at large open-air meetings. If more citizens attended than normal, people would naturally have moved closer together; they could, for example, have stood rather than sat in order to make room for members of their tritlys. Indeed, two views currently held by Hansen throw doubt on his conclusion that 6,000 was the maximum capacity of the auditorium of Pnyx I. If (a) 6,000 citizens was a normal attendance at meetings of the assembly in the fourth century, and (b) the adult male citizen population living in Attica was at least a third greater in the fifth century than it was in the late fourth century, it seems unlikely that (c) "the auditorium of Pnyx I (*ca* 2,400 m.²) could accommodate no more than 6,000 citizens." It is difficult to

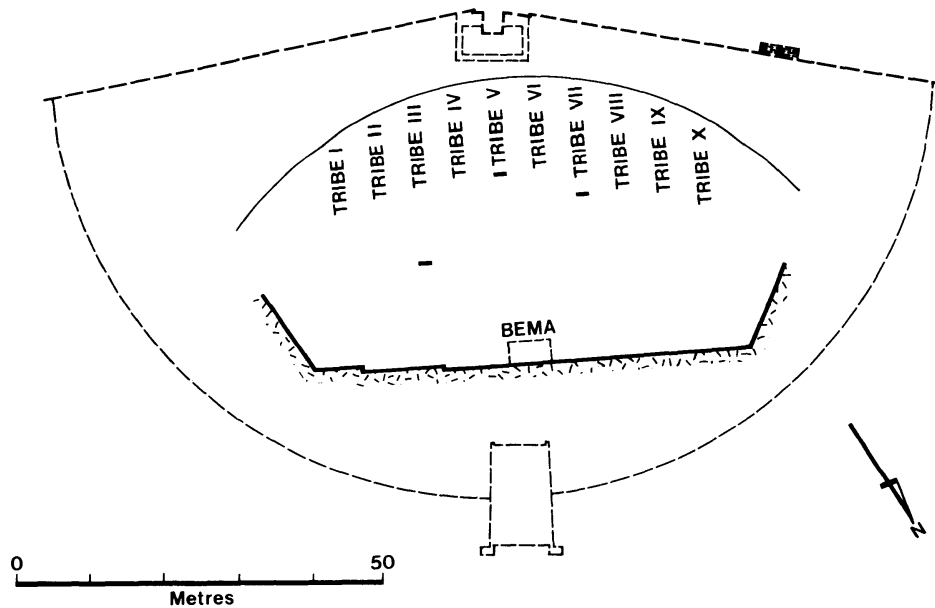


Figure 4. Pnyx I with suggested tribal groupings

believe that pay for attendance at the assembly meant that so many more people, proportionately, attended meetings in the fourth century and that less than one-sixth of those eligible (and perhaps as few as one-ninth, if there were 55,000 adult male citizens in Athens shortly before the Peloponnesian War) could actually be accommodated in the original auditorium on the Pnyx.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Hansen, *GRBS* 26 (1985) 241–50, esp. 247–50. We agree with Hansen that the Agora was not used for meetings of the assembly in the fifth century: see section I and n.23 *supra*. The literary evidence mentioned by Hansen (249f) is discussed in sections IV and VI *infra*. On Hansen's attempt to assess the maximum number of people that Pnyx I could accommodate, see also n.73 *infra*. For Hansen's view (a) see *AE* 7f, 16, 18f, 22, 27f, 227; for (b) *AJAH* 7 (1982) 172–89; the quotation for (c) comes from *GRBS* 26, 248. For the difficulty of excluding a figure of 55,000 adult male citizens *ca* 431 B.C. see *AJAH* 173f. Hansen's view that booths (*skenai*) "in the neighbourhood of the Agora" ran right up to the foot of the staircase that gave entry to the Pnyx (*GRBS* 26, 246f) makes us question his dismissal of *IG* I² 883 [I³ 1118], found between the Agora and the Pnyx, as associated with the Pnyx (247–49). For a discussion of the attractiveness of assembly pay see M. M. Markle in P. A. Cartledge, F. D. Harvey, ed., *Crux: Essays Presented to G. E. M. de Ste Croix (=History of Political Thought* 6 [Exeter 1985]) 265–97, esp. 273–76.

IV. Literary Evidence on Tribal Subdivisions in Pnyx I

The evidence of Aristophanes for the orientation of Pnyx I and for the lack of seats for ordinary members of the assembly (as distinct from the *prytaneis*) has been extensively discussed.⁶⁸ With respect to other features of the auditorium in the fifth century, the literary sources are frustratingly devoid of clear indications. The context in which meetings took place was largely taken for granted and is generally not mentioned in our sources. We proceed to display and discuss such literary evidence as there is, aware that it is not probative but believing that at least it does not contradict our central contentions.

In the archonship of Callias of Angele (406/5), as a result of an *eisangelia* to the assembly,⁶⁹ the latter chose to exercise its judicial power and tried a number of generals accused of misconduct at the critical battle of Arginusae. The relevant account is furnished by Xenophon at *Hell.* 1.7.⁷⁰ The assembly met to try the generals shortly before the festival of the Apatouria and was addressed by the generals' accusers and by the generals themselves speaking in their defence. Proceedings were cut short by darkness and it was finally resolved that the council of five hundred should submit a resolution to a further meeting of the assembly regarding the manner in which the accused should be tried.

The second assembly, held after the Apatouria, was confronted with the following *probouleuma* drafted by one Callixenus:

It is resolved that the Athenians, since they have heard in the previous assembly both those accusing the generals and the generals themselves in their defence, should cast ballots each and every one by tribes. Two urns are to be supplied to each tribe. In each tribe a herald is to proclaim that whoever considers the generals guilty for not picking up those victorious in the sea battle shall place his ballot in the front urn, and whoever considers them not guilty shall place his in the rear urn. If the generals shall be considered guilty, it is resolved to punish them with death and hand them over to the

⁶⁸ Crow and Clarke 213f; Willems (*supra* n.58) 809–19; Kourouniotes/Thompson 109–12; Allen (*supra* n.56) 27–34.

⁶⁹ So M. H. Hansen, *Eisangelia* (=Odense University Classical Studies 6 [Odense 1975]) 23, 84f.

⁷⁰ Hansen did not discuss this account when he argued against grouping by tribes in the assembly, though he referred to the crucial statement (1.7.9) in another context to show that the Athenians regarded a decree passed by those attending the assembly as a decision of all citizens (*GRBS* 17 [1976] 116 n.11 [=AE 2 n.11]; cf. *AE* 33 and n.22=*GRBS* 23 [1982] 249 and n.22).

Eleven; their property is to be confiscated and a tenth of it is to belong to Athena.⁷¹

How was the assembly seated when this resolution was presented? If the citizens had taken their places entirely indiscriminately, it would be necessary for them to regroup by tribes so that the urns could be appropriately deposited and the heralds each give instructions to their respective tribes. The upheaval involved would be considerable and also quixotic. If citizens could sit wherever they liked, why could not such an unorganised assembly not vote, irrespective of population division, under the supervision of the *prytaneis*, into urns strategically deposited at various points in the Pnyx? The special arrangement was not an attempt by Callixenus to gain an underhand advantage. It is true that he was accused by Euryptolemus and others of making an illegal proposal. But the alleged illegality, in our view, had nothing to do with voting by tribes. What was unlawful was the provision that the generals be judged collectively by a single vote. Hence Euryptolemus' insistence on separate verdicts.⁷² Surely the reason why the *probouleuma* was framed in terms of voting according to tribes was that the assembly always sat in tribal groups, at least when it met in its judicial capacity to try and to pass judgement on those accused in the process of *eisangelia*. Given mandatory tribal division at trials it is natural to suppose that the assembly also sat by tribes on other occasions when it voted by ballot⁷³ and, further, that such organisation would have facilitated assessment of the majority when the assembly voted by a show of hands.

Are there any counter-indications, in the sources for the period of Pnyx I, to an assembly regularly sitting in tribal divisions that were in turn subdivided into three? On occasion, Thucydides' report of the

⁷¹ *Hell.* 1.7.9f: ἐπειδὴ τῶν τε κατηγορούντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐκείνων ἀπολογουμένων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκηκόασι, διαψηφίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους ἅπαντας κατὰ φυλάς· θεῖναι δὲ εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἐκάστην δύο ὑδρίας· ἐφ' ἐκάστη δὲ τῇ φυλῇ κήρυκα κηρύττειν, ὅτω δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, εἰς τὴν προτέραν ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτω δὲ μὴ, εἰς τὴν ὑστέραν· ἂν δὲ δόξωσιν ἀδικεῖν, θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι καὶ τοῖς ἑνδέκα παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημοσιεῦσαι, τὸ δ' ἐπιδέκατον τῆς θεοῦ εἶναι.

⁷² *Hell.* 1.7.12 (accusation), 23 (separate votes).

⁷³ It might be objected that the auditorium of Pnyx I was too small to allow movement to urns if 6,000 citizens were in attendance. But it is not possible to specify a maximum number of people for the auditorium on the basis of modern western attitudes as to how much space is desirable per person at large open-air gatherings (cf. Hansen, *ClMed* 33 [1981–82] 43f n.55, and *AE* 17, 25f, 212f, where he assumed benches or cushions on Pnyx I). An indication that less space was allowed in Greek auditoria than western excavators would expect is given in R. Stillwell, *Corinth II* (Princeton 1952) 31f. If more citizens attended than normal, people would simply have moved closer together.

debate on the Sicilian expedition has been taken to indicate that Alcibiades grouped his supporters together in the assembly. Granted that Alcibiades' following constituted a broad cross-section of the citizen body, this would be difficult in an assembly subdivided down to trittys level. In fact, the relevant account implies just the opposite. Nicias, one of the protagonists, is represented (6.13.1) as making a plea to those older citizens who happen to be sitting beside one of the followers whom his rival had induced to attend the crucial meeting. The correct inference is that Alcibiades' supporters were scattered throughout the gathering. This conclusion is reinforced by Thucydides' report (6.24.4) that if indeed at the end of the debate there was anyone who did not approve the expedition, he was afraid to vote against it lest he seem unpatriotic to those sitting around him.

Another passage presented as incompatible with an assembly divided into population groups is Plutarch *Per.* 11.2. After a reference to competition on the *bema* between Pericles and Thucydides son of Melesias, Plutarch goes on to note that Pericles' opponent no longer permitted the nobles to be scattered up and down and mingled (ἐνδισπάρθαι καὶ συμμεμίχθαι) with the common people. By culling them out and gathering them into one body he weighted their collective influence. For Staveley, who believed in tribal divisions of the assembly, this passage is not decisive against it. It may be the case, Staveley suggested, that political cliques held themselves apart only as far as gathering into tribal groups allowed.⁷⁴ True enough, but is not this line of argument disabled when confronted with an assembly divided not only into tribes but also into trittys groups? Not necessarily. Few, we think, would seriously dispute that the majority of the nobles belonged to families that had at their disposal a city residence and had at the time of Cleisthenes' reforms registered in city demes.⁷⁵ Thucydides' supporters would still be in a position to concentrate, for the most part, in ten subdivisions and moreover, if our view as to the location of the city trittyses in the assembly is correct (section V *infra*), in those subdivisions that were closest to the *bema*.

The literary sources do not provide proof that the assembly always sat in tribal groups in the fifth century, but the probability seems to us to be high. Xenophon's account of the trial of the generals after Arginusae (late in the history of Pnyx I)⁷⁶ indicates that the voting proce-

⁷⁴ Staveley (*supra* n.1) 81.

⁷⁵ Even if they possessed ancestral estates far beyond the city walls: cf. P. J. Bicknell, *Studies in Athenian Politics and Genealogy* (= *Historia Einzelschr.* 19 [Wiesbaden 1972]) 74.

⁷⁶ See section VI and n.106 *infra*.

ture when ballot was recommended by the *probouleuma* was intended to parallel as closely as possible in other respects the voting by show of hands in tribal groups. Grouping by tribes may, in the light of this passage, have been normal in meetings of the assembly on the Pnyx, and it is not in that case surprising that our literary sources do not refer to it more often. Of course, if our interpretation of *IG I² 884* and related evidence is correct, not only did those who attended the assembly occupy tribal divisions, but each of those groups was subdivided into three further sections, one per trittyts. Such an arrangement, calibrated as it is to all the major units of the citizen body as reorganised by Cleisthenes, would have been even more conducive than mere grouping by tribes to orderly voting, as well as facilitating checks of the credentials of those attending the assembly.

V. Implications for the Nature of Politics

Pnyx I had markers for the grouping of citizens by trittyes. Where the rock surface had been dressed, in the upper (southern) part of the auditorium, slots were cut into the rock and stelae were leaded into the slots. The stump of one such stele from Pnyx I was discovered by the excavators of the 1930's, still fastened in its bedding. Other beddings, devoid of their stelae, were found in the rock floor of Pnyx I (see section III). Where a terrace was built up at the front of the auditorium and supported by a retaining wall on its northern limit, it was necessary either to have very long stelae rise from the rock through the earth fill or to arrange in some other way for the stelae to be held upright in the soil. *IG I² 884* (section I) shows what was done. The stelae for the front part of the auditorium were leaded into lumps of limestone that were embedded in the earth fill so that the marker stood upright. Did this arrangement go back to Cleisthenes?

The excavators of the 1930's dated the construction of Pnyx I to *ca* 500 B.C. on purely historical grounds, since there was no decisive archaeological evidence.⁷⁷ Recently one of those excavators, H. A. Thompson, has favoured a later date, *ca* 450 B.C. (after the reforms of Ephialtes), in line with his down-dating of civic buildings in the Agora: the Old Bouleuterion, the Tholos, the first substantial phase of what is

⁷⁷ Kourouniotes/Thompson 109, 216. The few scraps of plain pottery found in association with the retaining wall of Pnyx I could not be more closely dated than within the Archaic-early Classical period: Kourouniotes/Thompson 107; Thompson 136. A date at the very beginning of the fifth century was accepted by E. Sjöqvist, who, however, sought as many parallels as possible with the Comitium in Rome: G. E. Mylonas, ed., *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson I* (St Louis 1951) 400–11 at 407.

believed to be the Heliaia, and the Stoa Basileios.⁷⁸ We must, of course, await the full argument for the down-dating of these buildings in the Agora offered as parallels. But a caution can be issued concerning one element in the reasoning.⁷⁹ The inference of a date later than the Persian sack of Athens from the fact that blocks re-used in the Old Bouleuterion and Heliaia were fire-damaged is not secure. Great conflagrations can happen at times other than Persian invasions; and why should we believe that blocks were re-used thirty years after the fire? Moreover, attention to the Agora as a civic centre is indicated as early as *ca* 500 B.C. by the boundary stelaē inscribed “I am a boundary marker of the Agora,” as Thompson readily admits;⁸⁰ yet the Agora was not a regular site for meetings of the assembly (as distinct from *ostrakophoriai*) in the fifth century.⁸¹

In Hansen’s opinion the major reason for down-dating Pnyx I is the boundary inscription of the Pnyx found on the hilltop south of the *bema* of Pnyx III by K. S. Pittakis:⁸²

EM 10069. *IG* I² 882=I³ 1092. Broken below smoothed surface and chipped on top and at left. Height 27 cm., width 20, thickness 7; letter height 3.0–4.2 cm. PLATE 2.

ῥόρο|ς Πυκ|γός

Briefly in 1932 and more extensively in 1982 Thompson referred to inscriptions dated to *ca* 450 B.C. whose lettering seemed parallel to that of the Pnyx boundary stone.⁸³ Now, there are only four or five letters on the Pnyx *horos* that show sufficiently marked variations to be of use for

⁷⁸ Thompson 136f.

⁷⁹ Thompson 136 n.11. Professor Thompson has kindly provided us with more details of his reasons for down-dating the Old Bouleuterion: (1) The extensive use of old, including fire-damaged, material is paralleled in the Stoa Basileios (in his view built after the Persian sack) and in the Mnesiclean Propylaea. (2) The absence of a layer of *Perserschutt* within the limits of the Old Bouleuterion is best explained on the assumption that the building is post-Persian. (3) The foundations of the Old Bouleuterion are strikingly similar to those of the back wall of the Stoa Basileios and thus likely to be post-Persian.

⁸⁰ Thompson 136. Boundary markers: *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 205f; 37 (1968) 61–63; Thompson/Wycherley (*supra* n.13) 117–19.

⁸¹ See Thompson 136 n.10 and *supra* n.23.

⁸² *Supra* n.3: 242 n.8 (=AE 26 n.8 [cf. 23]). Cf. Thompson 137: “It is highly probable, therefore, that this formal delimitation of the Pnyx is to be related to its earliest recorded improvement as a meeting place, *i.e.* to Period I.” On the find-spot of this *horos* see K. S. Pittakis, *ArchEph* (1853) 774f no. 1290; W. Vischer, *Kleine Schriften* II (Leipzig 1878) 80–82; Kourouniotes/Thompson 108, 196f, 210, and Pl. I.

⁸³ Kourouniotes/Thompson 109 n.1; Thompson 137 n.16. Photographs of the Pnyx *horos*: Kourouniotes/Thompson 108; Travlos 467 fig. 588; Pl. 2 herein. Line drawing (misleading on *rho* and *sigmas*): Vischer (*supra* n.82) Pl. VII.1.c, facing p.80. The stylised drawing at *IG* I 501 is more accurate than that of E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* II (Cambridge 1905) 490.

dating purposes. The *kappa* and *sigma* can indeed be paralleled from the inscriptions listed by Thompson belonging to the period 464–ca 450. But it is not easy to find both a *rho* with a rounded loop and an *upsilon* with a join of curved upper strokes low on the vertical stroke. One might claim that the scanty material from the beginning of the fifth century, such as the monuments set up shortly after the battle of Marathon, would allow the Pnyx *horos* to be placed as comfortably (but no more comfortably) in that period.⁸⁴ But the drawing of parallels based on letter forms is hampered by the lack of securely dated comparative material for the first half of the fifth century.⁸⁵

The crucial point, however, is surely that the boundary inscription of the Pnyx does not have to belong to the inauguration of the assembly area. As the excavators of the 1930's put it, "the boundary stone, naturally, may have been set up long after the construction of the auditorium."⁸⁶ Indeed, the need for boundary inscriptions often comes later, when there is competition for the area. In the case of rural demes, boundaries were only marked in exceptional cases and long after the reforms of Cleisthenes, when there was competition for non-arable land far from the deme centre.⁸⁷ In the case of the Pnyx, encroachment is not, perhaps, as likely from private landholders, though we do have literary evidence for squatters on the borders of the Pnyx in the late fifth or early fourth century.⁸⁸ The need to demarcate the boundary of the Pnyx is more likely to have arisen from the enthusi-

⁸⁴ Lists 1 and 2 (454/3, 453/2) of Athenian tribute exhibit a distinctly angular *rho* (see B. D. Meritt *et al.*, *ATL I* [Cambridge, Mass., 1939] figs. 5f, 8), as do some later lists (e.g. List 5 of 450/49 in J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*² (Berlin 1948) Pl. 14 no. 33). Even where the *rho* has a rounded loop, as in List 3 of 452/1 (*ATL I* figs. 8, 10, 14f, 17), the *upsilon* has straight arms that join the vertical stroke about half way up the letter height or has no vertical stroke. The best parallels in Thompson's lists are part of the accounts for the construction of the Athena Promachos statue and the casualty list of 464 (*IG I*² 928). But the *upsilons* of the former scarcely have curved arms (see Meritt, *Hesperia* 5 [1936] 363), and the latter exhibits angular as well as rounded *rho* (see Kirchner Pl. 13 no. 32; D. W. Bradeen, *Hesperia* 36 [1967] Pl. 70a–b). For earlier inscriptions, see for example the dedication of [Nau]lochos (*IG I*² 706), dated 480–475 by L. H. Jeffery at *IG I*³ 828, in R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions* (Oxford 1938) Pl. 3(b), and the memorial of Callimachus (*IG I*² 609) in Kirchner Pl. 8 no. 18; but neither of these stones preserves an *upsilon*.

⁸⁵ See for example R. Meiggs, *JHS* 86 (1966) 90, and M. B. Walbank in D. W. Bradeen and M. F. McGregor, ed., *Φόρος: Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt* (Locust Valley [N.Y.] 1974) 161 n.2, 168 (=Athenian Proxeny of the Fifth Century B.C. [Toronto 1978] 35, 43f n.2).

⁸⁶ Kourouniotes/Thompson 109.

⁸⁷ G. R. Stanton, *BSA* 79 (1984) 289–306, esp. 298ff.

⁸⁸ According to Aristophanes (*Eccl.* 243f, on which see further n.110 *infra*), when 'squatting' on the Pnyx as refugees Praxagora and her husband lived so close that they could actually hear the speakers. So Thompson 140.

asm of stall-holders selling take-aways and other wares to the citizens conveniently brought to one place by the calling of an assembly meeting. But it is not impossible that the area where the Pnyx *horos* is thought to have stood was cultivated.⁸⁹

There is, then, no reason not to continue to respect the historical considerations adduced by the excavators of the 1930's: we should attribute the dressing of the natural hollow of the hillside in order to construct the original Pnyx to the period immediately after the reforms of Cleisthenes. But even if the construction were some decades later, it is likely that the subdivisions of the auditorium reflect a means of grouping the citizens at meetings of the assembly from the time of Cleisthenes. The grouping of citizens by trittyes was simply transferred to the Pnyx upon its completion and formalised by the insertion of stelae naming trittyes in the floor of the auditorium. Now, it is unlikely that the Athenians actually voted by tribes in the sense that the number of tribes in favour and the number of tribes against a particular motion was what really mattered. Otherwise we would expect that such a procedure would have been mentioned in the literary sources, as it is in the case of the tribal assembly in Rome.⁹⁰ Rather, the citizens were grouped by tribes—indeed, in the earliest period by trittyes—so that the votes could be estimated with greater accuracy. (We accept Hansen's claim that neither he nor experienced officials of the Swiss Landsgemeinde could count votes in an assembly of 3,000–6,000 people with accuracy.)⁹¹ Consequently a significant aspect of this grouping by tribes was that members of a tribe were subject to precisely the same influence from leaders of aristocratic families as they encountered in tribal assemblies or on the tribal committee (as *prytaneis*) in the council of five hundred. In the period after Cleisthenes' constitutional changes, the citizens were grouped in trittyes on the assembly place. Those noble families that had compact geographical trittyes where they could readily organise support for their views in advance of an assembly meeting were able to capitalise on this preparation because the fellow members of their trittyes were assembled together in the auditorium.

In an earlier study⁹² a suggestion originally made by W. G. Forrest⁹³

⁸⁹ Areas to the south, on top of the scarps of Pnyx III, were cultivated in 1882, while the auditorium itself was planted with wheat in 1876: see the survey facing Crow and Clarke 207.

⁹⁰ See, for example, U. Hall, *Historia* 13 (1964) 267–306, and L. R. Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies* (Ann Arbor 1966) 76–81 with notes.

⁹¹ *AE* 118; cf. 115 n.30, 117, 214, etc.

⁹² G. R. Stanton, *Chiron* 14 (1984) 1–41.

⁹³ *The Emergence of Greek Democracy* (London 1966) 199f.

was refined to reach the conclusion that Cleisthenes or the commission set up under his bill deliberately grouped city and coastal trittyes in three tribes, Erechtheis (I), Kekropis (VII), and Antiochis (X)—in which the family of Cleisthenes had influence—so as to enhance their political power. The establishment of compact trittyes in which the Alcmeonidae were resident (contrasted with scattered and divided trittyes where they had no influence) was seen as providing a direct boost to their candidates in tribal assemblies and to their organisation of support in the tribal committees of the council. Only a spillover effect in the organisation of retainers was postulated for the assembly (or, for that matter, for ostracism votes),⁹⁴ yet the link between the trittys markers and the original Pnyx points to a direct effect on voting in the assembly of all Athenian citizens. There was no need for a special effort on the part of the great families such as the Alcmeonidae to organise their retainers so that they could ensure that their clients voted in the way they wanted. For the organisation of the assembly place was such that supporters of the great families would already be grouped with their leaders and open to their influence. The Alcmeonidae seem to have been the major beneficiaries since, as far as our evidence goes,⁹⁵ they had compact trittyes in which to exert influence. When their supporters in due course attended meetings of the assembly on the original Pnyx, they were actually grouped in the same trittys subdivisions as their patrons.

In the event that the reconstruction of Pnyx I suggested in section III is correct, where would the supporters of the Alcmeonidae be stationed? There are several indicators of the order of the tribes in the fifth century, but they do not all point to the same conclusion. From the trittys markers from the Agora and Piraeus, if one may legitimately combine a stone from the latter (*IG I² 900*) with a marker from the Agora (*SEG 10.371*), the run Aiantis-Akamantis-Hippothontis is suggested.⁹⁶ Now, modern conceptions of how to influence a mass meeting would encourage one to believe that Cleisthenes should have placed his supporters in the centre of the auditorium, in contact with the rostrum, and left his opponents' supporters on the wings. It is possible to suggest an order of tribes that would conform to this conception and the evidence of the chronologically separated markers. One example, among several, is:

⁹⁴ Stanton (*supra* n.92) 40f.

⁹⁵ Stanton (*supra* n.92) 23–38.

⁹⁶ P. J. Bicknell, *Antichthon* 7 (1973) 1–4. At the foot of page 2 the last two entries in the column for Athens should read *SEG X 372* and *X 374* (not *X 373*).

VOTING IN TRIBAL GROUPS

IX	V	VIII	IV	X	I	VII	VI	II	III
P	P	M	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
M	M	A	M	M*	M*	M*	M	M	M
A	A	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A

bema

A=city trittys, M=inland trittys, P=coastal trittys; =postulated pro-Alcmeonid trittys; * =postulated anti-Alcmeonid trittys.⁹⁷

The casualty lists, on the other hand, point to the establishment of the official order of tribes from I Erechtheis to X Antiochis in the fifth century as well as the fourth. Thus, for example, in *Agora XVII 15* one uninscribed line is left above the heading Aiantis (perhaps for another name) and the heading Antiochis follows Aiantis after five names. In *XVII 18* the order Aigeis-Pandionis is preserved,⁹⁸ while *XVII 23* apparently had the tribe names from Erechtheis to Antiochis across the top of columns I–X, with further casualties listed by tribes in column XI or XII.⁹⁹ There are other fifth-century inscriptions that show officials listed in a sequence suggesting that the official order was from I Erechtheis to X Antiochis: *Hellenotamiai* (*IG I³ 281, 285, and perhaps 287 and 289*), the *epistatai* for a set of unidentified accounts (433), and treasurers for the statue of Athena (455). *IG I³ 472* selects

⁹⁷ This example places the run Aiantis-Akamantis-Hippothontis on the right wing of the auditorium. If one could extrapolate from battle order, the collocation of Leontis and Antiochis in the centre at Marathon (Plut. *Arist.* 5.4) could be used to support the placement of IV next to X here. Of course in the early fifth century the tribe of the polemarch (Aiantis in the case of Marathon) would have been placed out of order on the right wing. But Herodotus may be saying that the other tribes were in the official order of the time (6.111.1, *ὡς ἀριθμείοντο*). Is it possible that the official order, apart from the tribe of the polemarch, was maintained for set battles (not, of course, for other tasks, such as guarding the prisoners after Marathon: Plut. *Arist.* 5.6) despite any military exigencies of strategy that demanded that a particular tribal contingent fight in a different place? The case for Alcmeonid influence in the city and coastal trittyes of Antiochis, Erechtheis, and Kekropis is argued by Stanton (*supra* n.92) 12f, 22–38. Despite the argument there (17–21) that Leontis had divided trittyes in both city and coastal sectors, Bicknell is attracted to the idea that in some cases a trittys of supporters was cobbled together from scattered demes; hence he would extend the suggested pro-Alcmeonid trittyes to the four tribes in the centre in this example.

⁹⁸ The heading Oineis occurs earlier on the monument, but this is probably because the names of the tribes were repeated at least three times under different geographical headings (see D. W. Bradeen, *Hesperia* 33 [1964] 39).

⁹⁹ B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 82–91; A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 37–48; Bradeen (*supra* n.98) 43–55 and *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 238–40. See also *IG I²*

one or two treasurers of the other gods and names them first in each of the years 421/0 and 418/7, but then lists the remaining treasurers in strict order from tribe I to tribe X. The secretaries of the *Hellenotamiai* suggest that there was no regular rotation by tribes in the 450's and 440's, since secretaries came from Leontis in each of 451/0, 447/6, 444/3, and 440/39 (*IG I*³ 262, 265, 268, 272). But for a decade from 439/8 there was apparently a sequence from tribe X to tribe I.¹⁰⁰ If this order were followed in the auditorium of Pnyx I, whether the tribes ran from Erechtheis to Antiochis or from Antiochis to Erechtheis as the speaker faced the audience, two of the tribes in which the Alcmeonidae had supporters would be at the two wings of the auditorium. In that case one can imagine the city and coastal trittys groups of Antiochis (X), no doubt led by the deme of Alopeke, in which so many Alcmeonidae were resident, cheering the appropriate side during the assembly meeting and the cries being taken up by the city and coastal trittyes of Erechtheis (I) at the other end of the auditorium.

Whatever the order of the tribes, there is reason to believe also that Alcmeonid supporters were entrenched right across the front section of the assembly place. For Cleisthenes apparently placed a city element (trittys) in each tribe because his enfranchisement of aliens, or restoration of citizenship to those who had lost it, ensured him a concentration in the city and its port of people who regarded the Alcmeonidae as the guarantors of their citizenship.¹⁰¹ If we can judge from the single example of the marker for the "trittys of Lakiadai" leaded into a large lump of limestone, the markers for the city trittys were planted in the earth fill at the front of the auditorium. The evidence of this lump of limestone is supported by the fifth-century markers from the Agora and Piraeus. On these, priority is given to the city trittys in all tribes except Hippothontis (which had its cult centre in the coastal trittys at Eleusis and where the markers give priority to the coastal trittys).¹⁰² We may conclude that the plan was to have supporters of the Alcmeonidae right across the front of the arena, in tribe after tribe.

What happened afterwards is not as clear as one would like. Cer-

943, 947, 949f. For discussion of the order of the Athenian tribes and the bearing this might have on the order of the Dorian tribes, see N. F. Jones, *CP* 75 (1980) 197–215; cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *AJA* 60 (1956) 281.

¹⁰⁰ See *IG I*³ 273–80; cf. *ATL I* 567f, II 125, III 359.

¹⁰¹ Stanton (*supra* n.92) 39f; cf. Bicknell, *ParPass* 24 (1969) 34f.

¹⁰² Priority of the city trittys when the markers move from the third trittys of one tribe to the first trittys of the next: *SEG* 21.111 (Agora), *IG I*² 900 (Piraeus). Priority of the coastal trittys in Hippothontis: *IG I*² 885 (probably) and 897. See further section VI *infra*.

tainly the efforts of Cleisthenes to give special advantages to his own family seem to have failed. The Alcmeonidae were discredited sufficiently some twenty years later for a number of their leaders and connections to be the victims of ostracism.¹⁰³ The literary sources for Pnyx I do not mention the division by trittyes of the auditorium. The trittys inscriptions were in place and everyone took it for granted. It is only in exceptional circumstances, as when a ballot in the assembly is prescribed by a *probouleuma* in the aftermath of the battle of Arginusae in 406 (section IV), that voting of all Athenians “according to tribes” is mentioned. As we shall see in the next section, the Thirty in their reorientation and reconstruction of the Pnyx instituted an arrangement of the auditorium that persisted long after their brief period of power. Similarly the success of the Alcmeonidae in gaining an advantage from the subdivisions of Pnyx I seems to have been relatively short-lived. But as with the tribal reform of Cleisthenes, the council of five hundred, and ostracism, the innovations were maintained by the Athenians.

VI. The Auditorium of Pnyx II

Pnyx I, we have tried to show, is likely to have been divided into ten tribal slices that were each further subdivided by having gathering points for the members of the three constituent trittyes of the tribe. The curious but definite physiognomy of *IG I² 884* combined with the stone into which it was embedded suggests that in the case of Oineis, at least, the members of the city trittys occupied the section of their tribal area closest to the *bema*. Such a situation presumably connoted priority of the trittys concerned. Indication that in the fifth century priority of the city trittys was normal is provided by the extant tribal and trittys markers found in the Agora and at Piraeus. For both locations the regular order of trittyes was city/inland/coastal. The only exception evident is Hippothontis, the order of whose trittyes is coastal/city/inland. This apparent anomaly, involving priority of the coastal trittys, may be explained by the fact that the Hippothontion, the meeting place of the tribesmen of Hippothontis, was situated at Eleusis in the coastal trittys instead of in Athens itself, as was the case with the cult centres of other tribes. On analogy, then, with the trittys sequence of the Agora and of Piraeus, it may be inferred that the normal order of trittyes in the Pnyx of the first period was city/inland/coastal, with the

¹⁰³ See, for example, G. R. Stanton, *JHS* 90 (1970) 183 n.27; P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 274–77.

city trittyes closest to and the coastal trittyes furthest from the *bema*. In the case of Hippothontis alone the order would have been coastal/city/inland, with the inland trittys positioned at the rear of the tribal area. Like Pnyx I, Pnyx III comprised ten tribal blocks (section II). There is no evidence indicating that the blocks were triply divided like those of Pnyx I, although the possibility of such further subdivision cannot be entirely ruled out.

We turn now to Pnyx II, the assembly place of the great orators of the fourth century, for which the archaeological evidence is unfortunately minimal. Given division of the auditoria of Pnyx I and Pnyx III into tribal slices, one would, *a priori*, expect a similar sectioning of Pnyx II. Is there any literary evidence to such effect? Further, if the probable existence of tribal areas can be established, are there any indications in favour of subdivisions, counterparts of those of Pnyx I that correspond to the constituent trittyes of the tribes?

We return first to Aeschines 2.64–68, the passage employed by Hansen to disprove, as he thought, grouping by tribes in the assembly for any period.¹⁰⁴ To reiterate, at an assembly meeting held in Pnyx II on 19 Elaphebolion of 346, Demosthenes (*PA* 3597) of Pandionis (III) and Amyntor (*PA* 749) of Aigeis (II) were sitting next to each other and able to discuss a draft motion. Whatever the official order of the tribes during the fifth century (see section V), the order operating throughout the fourth century until 307/6 was the familiar succession Erechtheis, Aigeis, Pandionis, and so on through to Antiochis. Given tribal grouping in the period of Pnyx II, before any complication (such as periodic rotation of tribes through tribal areas) that may conceivably have been necessitated by the innovation of ‘the presiding tribe’, Aigeis and Pandionis should have been contiguous. Amyntor’s testimony duly presents us with members of Aigeis and Pandionis in closest proximity during an assembly meeting. Given the tribal divisions in Pnyx I and Pnyx III we are reluctant to dismiss such juxtaposition in the intermediate Pnyx II as mere coincidence.

To remain with Demosthenes and Amyntor: the former belonged to the inland deme Paiania, while Amyntor’s deme was Erchia, also inland. Do we at this stage fall back on coincidence or are we to go on to infer that the tribal slices of Pnyx II, like those of Pnyx I, were subdivided by trittyes, so that the proximity of a Paianieus and an Erchieus, like that of tribesmen of Pandionis and Aigeis, is not adventitious? At this juncture we anticipate objection based on Hyperides 5.9: it was Demosthenes’ habit, we are informed, to sit in the lowest

¹⁰⁴ *Supra* n.2: 135f (=AE 115f).

part of the auditorium beneath the scarp (κάτω ὑπὸ τῆ κατατομῆ). In Pnyx III, then, he was customarily positioned at the front of the assembly,¹⁰⁵ conveniently close to the *bema* and the presiding officers. Given conducive seating arrangements we would expect him to have occupied a similar position in Pnyx II. The proximity of the *proedroi* implicit at Aeschines 2.68 (ἀνακοινοῦσθαι αὐτὸν αὐτῶ, εἰ δῶ τοῖς προέδροις) indicates that on 19 Elaphebolion in the archon year of Themistocles, Demosthenes was indeed ensconced in his favourite place. But how could that be? Demosthenes belonged to a deme of his tribe's inland trittys, and would not the city trittyes of all tribes, with the exception of Hippothontis, have been closest to the *bema* as they were in the period of Pnyx I? Despite their 'priority', inasmuch as the city trittyes contained tribal meeting places, perhaps no longer. It will be recalled that the reconstruction of the auditorium, which resulted in the arrangements of Pnyx II, involved a complete change of orientation. The *bema* of Pnyx I looked towards the sea, that of Pnyx II faced the interior of Attica. Plutarch (*Them.* 19.6) reports that an ideological reason lay behind this dramatic reversal. The Thirty, who were responsible for the reconstruction of the Pnyx and so its second phase, "turned the *bema*, which had previously been constructed so as to look towards the sea, towards the land; they supposed that maritime supremacy was the origin of democracy, whereas the tillers of the soil chafed less at oligarchy." Despite contentions to the contrary,¹⁰⁶ we see

¹⁰⁵ At *GRBS* 18 (1977) 136, Hansen took Hyperides' phrase in such a way as to involve the impossibility of Demosthenes speaking to any citizen from another tribe. By *GRBS* 23 (1982) 246 (=AE 30) he came to accept that it need only mean that Demosthenes sat in the lower part of the auditorium near the fence that Hansen postulated along the line of stelaē beddings—that is, close to the scarp when seen from the upper part of the auditorium.

¹⁰⁶ R. A. Moysey, *AJA* 85 (1981) 31–37, sought to down-date the first rebuilding of the Pnyx, resulting in Pnyx II, to the restored democracy of 403 B.C. and the year following. Kourouniotes/Thompson (135f) agreed with Plutarch's assignment of it to the Thirty. The later dating has commended itself to Hansen (*supra* n.3: 243 n.9 [=AE 27 n.9]). A sufficiently trenchant and convincing critique of Moysey's view is to be found at Thompson 139f. Thompson, while convinced that the motivation ascribed by Plutarch to the Thirty was not his own invention or the product of non-contemporary fantasy, nevertheless hesitated to credit the oligarchs with such crude propagandism. He suggested that contemporaries read political symbolism into a change dictated only by considerations of comfort. This strikes us as unwarranted. It has been put to us that had the Thirty rather than the democracy been responsible for Pnyx II, the auditorium would have been considerably smaller, given the oligarchs' drastic restriction of the franchise (to 3,000 hoplites and the *hippeis*, in our view: see *Xen. Hell.* 2.4.2, 9). This line of argument is not merely inconclusive but susceptible to being turned on its head. The Thirty are more likely than not to have envisaged regular attendance at the assembly by almost all those whose affluence both qualified them to serve as members and removed any economic obstacle to actual participation. The numbers of the privileged would hardly have been expected to remain

no cause to doubt that the revamping of the Pnyx that yielded the auditorium of period II at least commenced under the régime of the Thirty and that by the time of their fall its main design features were entrenched. We conjecture that a further ideologically-motivated aspect of the new Pnyx was a reassignment of the tritty subdivisions. The sections of the tribal slices closest to the front were now allocated to the inland trittyes. In these, citizens engaged in rural pursuits and particularly alienated from democracy as a result of continual deprivations of war could be calculated to constitute a substantial majority. The city trittyes, many of them dominated by the pro-democratic “seafaring mass” (Thuc. 8.72.2), were relegated to the subdivisions most remote from the *bema*.¹⁰⁷

Are there any other indications whatsoever that might lend substance to such inferences and conjectures? Possibly. We shift attention now to Aristophanes’ *Ecclesiazusae*, produced in 393¹⁰⁸ or perhaps a year later, early in the period of Pnyx II. In the play’s first ‘scene’ (1–310) we encounter the formidable Praxagora, two henchwomen, and a chorus of other women of Athens. Disguised as men they meet before dawn with the intention of proceeding to the day’s assembly on the Pnyx (84f; *cf.* 281) in order to make and carry a proposal that control of the city’s affairs should be placed in the hands of its women-folk.¹⁰⁹ At verses 279–82 it emerges that Praxagora and her entourage are city dwellers,¹¹⁰ for either Praxagora herself or one of her fellow protag-

static at the low level existing immediately after the Peloponnesian War, and it would be natural to make adequate provision for an anticipated increase. While financial considerations (*misthos ekklesiastikos*) might in any circumstances have encouraged the restoration democracy not to plan for assembly meetings much in excess of 6,000 citizens, it is at least arguable that had they, rather than the Thirty, been in a position to design Pnyx II from scratch they would have opted for an auditorium whose capacity approached that of its Pnyx III counterpart. Responding to Moysey’s article, P. Krentz, *AJA* 88 (1984) 230f, suggested that the renovation was started before a final decision had been taken on the size of the citizen body. This is not impossible, but it seems to us unlikely that the extremists in effective control of the new order were ever unclear about the acceptable maximum of full citizens.

¹⁰⁷ As to why the restored democracy allowed such arrangements to remain in force, we would adduce the spirit of compromise and accommodation that on the whole characterised the new régime’s first years and, in particular, the necessity of avoiding any semblance of provocation and affront to Sparta.

¹⁰⁸ R. G. Ussher argued well for production in the spring of this year at pp.xx–xxv of the introduction to his edition (Oxford 1973).

¹⁰⁹ For the motion see 210f, 229, 430, 555–57.

¹¹⁰ Praxagora herself must reside in a deme of a city trittys but outside the city walls. At 243 she explains that *ἐν ταῖς φυγαῖς* (necessitated by the Spartan presence at Dekeleia from 413 to 405 B.C.) she, with her husband, ᾤκησ’ ἐν πυκνί. This would have been unnecessary if her home had been in an inner city deme. Although some city dwellers found employment on the land, there is no need to diagnose Lamius (77) as one of these. According to a scholiast Lamius was δεσμοφύλαξ. Like the

onists (the distribution of verses is unclear at this point) notes that a further group of women, from the countryside (ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν), is heading for the Pnyx independently. Yet, just before (277–79), Praxagora has enjoined her cohorts en route to the assembly to sing a traditional song in the manner of countryfolk (βαδίζετ' ἄδουσαι μέλος πρεσβυτικόν τι, τὸν τρόπον μιμούμεναι τὸν τῶν ἀγροίκων). The inference seems inevitable, and R. G. Ussher in his excellent edition duly drew it, that Praxagora and her company, albeit denizens of the city, find it expedient to pose as country dwellers.¹¹¹ It is in the spirit of this adopted rustic rôle that subsequently (300–02) the chorus picture themselves, having reached the Pnyx, as jostling and shoving city riffraff in the queue for admission (ὄρα δ' ὅπως ὠθήσομεν τοῦσδε τοὺς ἐξ ἄστεως ἤκουτας).¹¹² The women's motivation in pursuing a double masquerade, urban dwellers as rustics on top of women as men, is scarcely self-evident but unlikely to be mere caprice. What is the explanation?

At 86f one of Praxagora's two close associates draws attention to the importance of the women's spokesperson obtaining a seat beneath the *bema* (where the scarps meet) opposite the *prytaneis* (ὑπὸ τῷ λίθῳ τῶν πρυτάνεων καταντικρῦ). They must sit at the front (98, ἦν δ' ἐγκαθεζόμεσθα πρότεροι), Praxagora warns, but not only to conceal their sex: at 297–99, heading after Praxagora and her two friends who have gone on ahead, the chorus comment that they will sit close (πλησίοι καθεδόμεθ') to their leader and her two companions in order to vote (χειροτονῶμεν) for whatever they propose.¹¹³ We envisage the following scenario. In 393 B.C., as in 346, the assembly was grouped by tribes and

σκύταλον (76), the διφθέρα (80), also borrowed by his wife (so, rightly, K. H. Lee, *AJP* 106 [1985] 225), is part of the gear of his office. We take it that the subject of 79–81 is Lamius' wife, with the endings of ἐπιτήδειος and so on masculine because of her male rôle. Joking with the other women Praxagora envisages the success of their *coup d'état* and the possible necessity of disposing of opponents. Taking over her Argos-like husband's job as well as his uniform and truncheon, Lamius' wife would then be the ideal person to beguile (βουκολεῖν in its metaphorical sense) the executioner.

¹¹¹ *Supra* n.108: 118 *ad* 300f. Hence too, in part, the agreement with Praxagora that the potential female participants in the assembly sun-tan themselves all over (60–64). In this they were evidently unsuccessful, since the shoemaker-like pallor of the disguised women (383–87) enabled Chremes to distinguish them in the assembly from bona fide rustics (431–33).

¹¹² τοὺς ἐξ ἄστεως ἤκουτας are genuine males, not disguised women as M. M. Markle inferred (*supra* n.67: 275). Praxagora's instructions at 277–79 are addressed to *all* members of a homogeneous audience. There is no question of the chorus dividing into a rustic and a city group with the former criticising and envisaging jostling the latter as part of their masquerade. Either τοῦσδε is by way of anticipation (so Ussher in his annotation: *supra* n.111) or, on their way to the Pnyx, the women observe townsmen heading for the same destination.

¹¹³ For the need of all the women to vote (χειροτονητέον) without revealing their sex, see 263–67.

trittyes, and the members of the inland trittyes occupied the front sections, closest to the *bema* and scarps, of their tribal blocks. It was essential for Praxagora and her henchwomen, who were not familiar and habitual speakers, to sit at the very front of the auditorium in order to ensure that they would attract the attention of the *prytaneis* and be accorded an opportunity to address the assembly. The only way to guarantee a seat in the desired position was to pose as a member of an inland deme. Hence the otherwise incomprehensible masquerade of 277–79 as applied to Praxagora and her two colleagues from the city. As for the chorus, they too pose as rural demesmen so that they also can sit in the front of the auditorium as close as feasible to Praxagora and in the best position to influence the votes, by way of an anticipated bandwagon effect, of those behind them. We assume (it may be worth spelling out) that the *symbola* that the citizens received on arrival at the Pnyx (296f), tickets of admission probably redeemable for pay when the meeting ended,¹¹⁴ were marked with indications of tribe and trittys. Each citizen, on arrival at the Pnyx, and until the auditorium was filled, requested and received an appropriately marked token, which might be inspected at any time during proceedings by whatever officers (the thirty *syllogeis*?) were entrusted with ensuring that the seating arrangements were correctly observed. In short, then, we suggest, provided that the above exegesis has foundation, that the implications of the initial scene of the *Ecclesiazusae* support the natural inference from Aeschines 2.64–68 that citizens gathered by trittyes and not just tribes in the auditorium of Pnyx II and, moreover, that inland trittyes were located at the front. The literary evidence is admittedly jejune, but it affords some reason for concluding that, like the auditoria of Pnyx I and Pnyx III, that of Pnyx II featured ten tribal divisions; moreover, as with Pnyx I so in the case of Pnyx II, the tribal blocks were further subdivided to trittys level.

Finally, a possible difficulty requires attention. At the time of Cleisthenes' reform, the trittyes of each tribe were, it is often presumed, more or less equal in population. It is unlikely that such equality survived until the fourth century.¹¹⁵ If the trittyes had unequal populations by the period of Pnyx II, what sense would it make to retain subdivisions of the auditorium calibrated to them? One possible answer¹¹⁶ is to suppose that the trittyes catered for in the sub-tribal

¹¹⁴ So Hansen (*supra* n.3) 243 (=AE 27).

¹¹⁵ So Hansen, *GRBS* 24 (1983) 227–38. He assumes, however, that bouleutic quotas are an accurate guide to trittys population (*e.g.* 229).

¹¹⁶ Favoured by Bicknell, who feels constrained to abandon the assumption in his essay on Cleisthenes (*supra* n.75) that the fairness or otherwise of the bouleutic

divisions of Pnyx II were not the purely topographical ridings of Cleisthenes, but the modified counterparts that have been discerned by some scholars in certain lists of *prytaneis* and councillors of the fourth century. On this view, what had been a city, inland, or coastal trittys continued to have a majority of city, inland, or coastal demes; but more equal units for civil and military purposes were secured by transferring demes from now over-populous topographical ridings to such as were underpopulated.¹¹⁷ A different answer¹¹⁸ derives from the conservatism of the Athenians in constitutional matters. Just as the quotas of representatives for the demes arguably remained unchanged through major demographic upheavals, so the topographical trittyes of Cleisthenes continued to be used by the designers of Pnyx II, who were primarily concerned to impose their ideological views (including the priority of the inland trittyes) on the assembly. Moreover, the difficulty disappears if the trittyes were not originally equal in population. The very large proportion of Antiochis councillors from the coastal trittys¹¹⁹ suggests that this is the case.

VII. Conclusion

There is evidence that in other Greek cities also the citizens gathered in tribal (or trittys) groups when they met in their assemblies. In the theatre at Megalopolis, which must be later than the foundation of the Arcadian Confederacy in 370 B.C., the names of the territorial tribes (Ἄρκα[δ]ισίας, Ἀπ[ο]λλωνίας, and four others) were inscribed on the backs of the superior benches that constituted the front row at the foot of each wedge-shaped section of the auditorium. These inscribed tribal names were assigned a probable date of second century B.C. by G. C. Richards; they were apparently replaced in, perhaps, the second century A.D. by a different set of tribal names on the fronts of five benches,

quotas assigned to the demes by Cleisthenes can be assessed by the tallies of demesmen known from later centuries (1–53). Moreover, if (as he now believes) deme quotas changed and new demes emerged in the fourth century, we can say little of the quotas assigned by Cleisthenes. The idea of modified geographical trittyes emerged from the work of W. E. Thompson, *Historia* 15 (1966) 1–10. For the modified trittyes as multi-functional cf. J. S. Traill, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 98f. Neither of us is able to countenance Traill's after-thoughts expressed in an addendum (109); here he toys with ascription to Cleisthenes of trittyes that were not strictly topographical.

¹¹⁷ Neither Aigeid Erchia nor Pandionid Paiania, of course, were subject to such manipulation in the creation of modified trittyes. For suggested manipulations of demes in the two tribes concerned see Traill (*supra* n.116) 101–03.

¹¹⁸ Favoured by Stanton, who has argued against the postulated modified trittyes: *supra* n.92, 3–7, 29–32; *supra* n.87, 289–91, 303f.

¹¹⁹ See *supra* n.92: 4.

a set that retains only two names from the earlier list.¹²⁰ At Corinth the assembly met on one famous occasion in the theatre,¹²¹ but it seems likely that in the fifth century it met northeast of the (late Roman) amphitheatre, where two poros markers have been found. These markers bear not simply abbreviations for tribal names, but a further letter that can be plausibly supplemented as a trittys indication (*e.g.* Ϝ for φαστικοί, Π for Πάραλοι).¹²² At Samos designated areas for subdivisions of tribes (as the *chiliastyes* apparently were) were set aside for elections in the theatre *ca* 200 B.C., and members of each *chiliastys* were obliged to sit in the appropriate area demarcated by signs.¹²³ In Athens itself, when the assembly met in the theatre of Dionysus, as it often did in the Hellenistic period, it seems to have assembled in tribal groups. For three tribal dedications to Hadrian (*IG* II² 3287A–C) are aligned with wedges of the theatre, in the correct tribal order.¹²⁴

Gathering in trittys groups in the time of Hadrian is unlikely. Whether citizens assembled around trittys markers when Pnyx III was first constructed cannot be determined. But divisions for tribes suggested by the archaeological remains in the third phase of the Pnyx encourage one to look for similar divisions in the earlier phases. For Pnyx I, dated soon after the reforms of Cleisthenes, the epigraphical and archaeological evidence indicates that citizens were grouped by

¹²⁰ See G. C. Richards in E. A. Gardner *et al.*, *Excavations at Megalopolis 1890–1891* (= *Soc. Prom. Hell. Stud. Suppl. Papers* 1 [London 1892]) 122–41. For the later tribal names *cf.* 74f with fig. 25 (on 38).

¹²¹ After Aratus' great feat in capturing Acrocorinth in 243 B.C. (Plut. *Arat.* 23.1); *cf.* McDonald 61 and n.88, referring also to a meeting of his Macedonians called by Philip (Polyb. 5.25.5).

¹²² Stanton has presented the case for these conclusions in "The Territorial Tribes of Korinth and Phleious," *ClassAnt* 5 (1986) 139–53. For the poros markers (a third was also found along the line of the eastern wall of the city, but further south, high up on the slope of Acrocorinth), see R. S. Stroud (*supra* n.9) 233–42.

¹²³ *Syll.*³ 976.3–6. For a recent edition and commentary see G. Thür and C. Koch, *AnzWien* 118.5 (1981) 61–77. (We owe this reference to P. Siewert.)

¹²⁴ So A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*³ (Oxford 1907) 337 and n.5; *cf.* A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*² (Oxford 1968) 270. It is not surprising, in an auditorium originally built for another purpose (*cf.* Richards [*supra* n.120] 126), that the number of wedges does not correspond to the number of tribes. Haigh's suggestion is more plausible than the complicated seating arrangement for meetings of the assembly conjectured by J. N. Svoronos (*RIN* 11 [1898] 459–502, with diagram facing 492; *cf.* *BPW* 18 [1898] 317f), who tried to link one type of bronze token found in Athens with a few isolated letters on the backs of seats in the eastern half of the theatre of Dionysus. Since no letters could be read in the western half of the auditorium, Svoronos was driven to postulate letters written on wooden posts embedded in the steps. While this may have worked for the 1896 Olympic Games, as he reported (*RIN* 496), the ancient Athenian practice was to inscribe stelae. See also A. L. Boegehold, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 393–401, and Pickard-Cambridge 270f.

trittyes and that the city trittyes, in which those who owed their citizenship to Cleisthenes were probably concentrated, were placed across the front of the auditorium. The interests of the Alcmeonidae were served by such an arrangement. Trittys, and not merely tribal, groupings seem to have been continued in Pnyx II. The conjecture that the inland trittyes were now at the front conforms with the evidence about Demosthenes and Amyntor and with the indication of assembly practice in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*.¹²⁵ Here we may discern the hand of another political group, the Thirty, at work.

APPENDIX I: The Panathenaic Stadium

In a recent article (*AJA* 89 [1985] 441–54) D. G. Romano suggests that the long rectangular foundations on top of the Pnyx hill and to the south and west of the auditorium, which were identified by the excavators of the 1930's as foundations for two unfinished stoas, were built as support for two artificial embankments on which spectators could watch the athletic contests of the Panathenaic games. He identifies the artificially levelled terrace between the western 'stoa' foundations and the Pnyx auditorium as a racecourse. The consequence for our enquiry is that the Pnyx in its third phase is viewed as "the Panathenaic Theater" rather than as an auditorium for the assembly (but *cf.* Romano 451). In favour of the interpretation of the 'stoa' foundations as foundations for spectator embankments are the off-centre interior wall paralleled in the stadium at Halieis and the lack of dressing on the inside of the exterior southern wall of East Foundation B. But the stadium at Halieis has artificial embankments along *both* sides of the *dromos*, and there are other difficulties also.

(1) The enormous expenditure involved in building up the floor of the auditorium against the natural slope so that it could be used as an adjunct, as a theatre for the musical contests that accompanied the athletic festivals of the Panathenaia, seems unlikely. (2) What has happened to the earth contained by the long rectangular foundations, if built up into embankments? Some earth apparently remains on the eastern side of the stadium at Delos, where several ashlar blocks ("seats") survive *in situ* (Romano 447). (3) The East Foundation is in a peculiar position for spectators wishing to watch races along the front of the West Foundation, and Romano is driven (454) to suggest that it was used for watching sacrifices and other non-athletic and non-musical activities of the festival. (4) Romano wants to treat as "fairly reliable" (444 n.13, 450) the evidence of [Plut.] *Mor.* 841D, which refers to the levelling of a ravine; yet the

¹²⁵ It is not, therefore, as Hansen thought (*GRBS* 26 [1985] 249), impossible for Aristophanes' *ekklesiazousai* all to be seated at the front of the auditorium if the citizens there had been organised into thirty separate *trittys* sections. On the contrary, the women could boost their cause by sitting in the inland trittys sections at the front.

contour lines on his illustration 2 show that this “ravine or gully” was a gentle slope of 1.0–1.5 m. (5) Since we are dealing with actual and not unfinished embankments, in Romano’s view, the lack of starting blocks at either end of the postulated racecourse (449) is startling. (6) The length available for the *dromos* proper, 130 m. along the front of the West Foundation, is a good deal shorter than any other excavated *dromos* (the shortest known is 166.5 m., at Halieis) and produces a very short ‘foot’ of approximately 0.213 m. The fact that the stylobate lengths of the Old Athena Temple (as restored) and the Peisistratid Temple of Olympian Zeus are in the ratio 5:2 can be explained in other ways than by a postulated foot of 0.21575 m. If, for example, the stylobates were 150 and 375 feet respectively, the foot would be 0.2877 m., close to that of Halieis and within the generally accepted limits of 0.27 to 0.33 m. (449 n.32). Such a foot would require a level area for *dromos* (600×0.2877 m. = 172.62 m.) and overruns (18 m.) of 190 m., some 40 more than is available on the Pnyx hill, with the foundations for monuments beginning at the eastern end of the West Foundation and extending across the Middle Terrace, which was built in the fifth century B.C. (451f with ill. 7).

APPENDIX II: Athenians Politically Active in Pnyx II

If our representations in section VI are correct, in the period of Pnyx II citizens belonging to inland trittyes sat at the front of the auditorium, closest to the *bema* and the presiding officers. Given the advantages that such proximity ought to have conferred upon would-be participants in assembly debates, we might expect to find members of, but not necessarily resident in, inland demes more strongly represented than their counterparts from coast and city among those who sponsored resolutions or addressed the assembly for whatever other purpose. Is this expectation confirmed? A convenient data base for a rough check is provided by entries in the inventory of 368 Athenian citizens politically active in the fourth century as *rhetores* or *strategoï* published by Hansen in 1983.¹²⁶

The following list includes the names of all *politeuomenoi*¹²⁷ of known deme whose attested activity falls entirely within the period of the restoration democracy¹²⁸ and who are recorded by Hansen as proposers of assembly decrees and riders to such or as having addressed the assembly for some other

¹²⁶ *GRBS* 24 (1983) 151–80.

¹²⁷ Hence exclusion from the list of Ἀριστόμαχος Κριτοδήμου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, Φωκίων Φώκου Ποτάμιος (?), and Τιμόθεος Κόνωνος Ἀναφλύστιος. Aristomachus addressed the assembly in 353/2 as the diplomatic representative of Charidemus and Cersobleptes (Dem. 23.13). Whether or not one of the *strategoï* of 357/6, Timotheus will have addressed the assembly that year in support of a campaign in Euboea (Dem. 8.74f) in a professional capacity. So too Phocion, forty-five times general (Plut. *Phoc.* 8.2), on the numerous occasions that Plutarch suggests (7.5f); no extant decrees carry his name nor did he lend it to any political prosecution.

¹²⁸ Hence exclusion of Ἀνδοκίδης Λεωγόρου Κυδαθηναίεὺς and Θρασύβουλος Λύκου Στειριεύς, both prominent figures in the last years of the old democracy.

reason from 400/399, by which year Pnyx II should have been fully operational, to 346/5, which ought to take us close to the inauguration of Pnyx III. The Roman numerals and letters after each demotic identify tribe and Cleisthenic (topographical)¹²⁹ trittys with *a* standing for *asty*, *m* for *mesogeia*, and *p* for *paralia* (as in section V above). There follow bald statistics of activity (for details, dates, and references see Hansen's compendium), with D standing for decree, R for rider, and A for address.

1. Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης (VI *p*); A (more than once)
2. Ἀλεξίμαχος Πήληξ (IV *m*); D
3. Ἀνδροτίων Ἀνδρωνος Γαργήτιος (II *m*); D (5), A (3)
4. Ἀπολλόδωρος Πασίωνος Ἀχαρνεύς (VI *m*); D
5. Ἀριστοτέλης Μαραθώνιος (IX *p*); D
6. Ἀριστοφῶν Ἀριστοφάνους Ἀζηνιεύς (VIII *p* or *m*);¹³⁰ D (7), A
7. Ἀρχέδημος Ἀρχίου Παιονίδης (IV *m*); D
8. Ἀστύφιλος Φιλάγρου Ἀλαιεύς (VII¹³¹ *p*); D (2)
9. Ἀφαρεὺς Ἰσοκράτους Ἐρχιεύς (II *m*); A (more than once)
10. Βλέπυρος Πειθάνδρου Παιονίδης (IV *m*); R
11. Γνάθων Λακιάδης (VI *a*); D
12. Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς (III *m*); D (5)
13. Διοπίθης Διοπίθους Σφήτιος (V *m*); R
14. Διόφαντος Θρασυμήδους Σφήτιος (V *m*); D (3)
15. Ἐξηκεστίδης Χαρίου Θορίκιος (V *p*); D
16. Ἐπικράτης Κηφισιεύς (I *m*); A
17. Ἐπικράτης Μενεστράτου Παλληνεύς (X *m*); R
18. Ἐπικράτης . . . οτήτου Παλληνεύς (X *m*); D
19. Εὐβουλίδης Ἀντιφίλου Ἀλιμούσιος (IV *a*); D
20. Εὐβουλος Σπινθάρου Προβαλίσσιος (III *p*); D (2)
21. Εὐριπίδης Ἀδειμάντου Μυρρινούσιος (III *p*); D
22. Ἡγήσανδρος Ἡγησίου Σουνιεύς (IV *p*); D, A
23. Ἡγήσιππος Ἡγησίου Σουνιεύς (IV *p*); D (2)
24. Θεαίτητος Ἐρχιεύς (II *m*); A
25. Ἰεροκλείδης Τιμοστράτου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν (X *a*); D (2)
26. Καλλικράτης Χαροπίδου Λαμπτρεύς (I *p*); D
27. Κάλλιππος Παιανιεύς (III *m*); D
28. Καλλίστρατος Καλλικράτους Ἀφιδναῖος (IX *m*); D (3), R

¹²⁹ Pace J. S. Traill; see *supra* n.116 end.

¹³⁰ The trittys affiliation of several Hippothontid demes remains depressingly unclear. Azenia, a case in point, has been tentatively assigned to the coastal trittys by J. S. Traill (*Hesperia* Suppl. 14 [1975] 52; *Hesperia* 47 [1978] 106 n.56). Arguably such indications as there are weigh marginally in favour of the inland trittys. At *Agora* XV 20 we find the following sequence within one column: Azenia, Anakaia, Dekeleia, Elaious (?), Hamaxanteia. At *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 272 no. 4, Anakaia, Azenia, and Hamaxanteia are together although the disposition of Elaious is dissimilar. Dekeleia is certainly inland, and considerations reviewed by A. Milchhöfer (*Karten von Attika, Erläuternder Text* VII–VIII [Berlin 1895] 5) could be deployed in favour of assigning Hamaxanteia to the same trittys.

¹³¹ See *Agora* XV 7.7.

29. Κέφαλος Κολλυτεύς (II a); D (many), R
30. Κηφισόδοτος ἐκ Κεραμέων (V a); D (4), A
31. Κηφισοφῶν Καλλιβίου Παιανιεύς (III m); D
32. Λεπτίνης ἐκ Κοίλης (VIII a); A
33. Μειδίας Κηφισοδώρου Ἐναγυράσιος (I p); A (often)
34. Μελάνωπος Λάχητος Αἰξωνεύς (VII p); D, A (often)
35. Μενίτης Μένωνος Κυδαθηναιεύς (III a); D
36. Ναυσικλῆς Κλεάρχου Ὀῆθεν (VI p); A
37. Πάνδιος Σωκλέους ἐξ Οἴου (VIII¹³² m); D (2)
38. Περίανδρος Πολυαράτου Χολαργεύς (V a); D
39. Πολύευκτος Τιμοκράτους Κριωεύς (X m); R
40. Πολύευκτος Σωστράτου Σφήττιος (V m); D
41. Πολυκράτης Πολυεύκτου Φηγαιεύς (II p); D
42. Πύρρανδρος Ἐναφλύστιος (X p); D, A
43. Στέφανος Ἀντιδωρίδου Ἐροιιάδης (VIII a?¹³³ or X m); D (many)
44. Τίμαρχος Ἀριζήλου Σφήττιος (V m); D (many)
45. Φιλέψιος Λαμπτρεύς (I p); A (often)
46. Φιλοκράτης Πυθοδώρου Ἐγνούσιος (V m); D (7), R
47. Φιλωτάδης Φιλοστράτου Παλληνηεύς (X m); D
48. Φρύνων Ἐραμνούσιος (IX p); D

For 46 of these 48 individuals, trittys affiliation in terms of the Cleisthenic organisation of the citizen body is certain. Of these 46, 22 (2–4, 7, 9, 10, 12–14, 16–18, 24, 27–28, 31, 37, 39–40, 44, 46–47), or 48%, were registered in demes of the inland; 16 (1, 5, 8, 15, 20–23, 26, 33–34, 36, 41–42, 45, 48), or 35%, belonged to coastal demes; 8 (11, 19, 25, 29–30, 32, 35, 38), or 17%, were members of city demes. Azenia, the deme of the active Aristophon (6), may well have been inland. If Antiochid, Eroiadai, the deme of Stephanus (43), was again inland; if Eroiadai in Hippothontis, it was most likely city.

If the Cleisthenic trittyes remained unmodified until the creation of the Macedonian tribes, then assessment can proceed directly on the basis of the above statistics. The preponderance of *politeuomenoi* from inland demes is striking, and all the more so given that Androtion (3), Demosthenes (12), Callistratus (28), and Philocrates (46) are among the most active.

If, as one of us believes, the trittyes of the fourth century were no longer strictly topographical but modified in accordance with demographic exigencies, some adjustment is necessary. The putative modifications of relevance in the present context are the transfer of Erechtheid Anagyrous from coast to inland, of Pandionid Probalinthos from coast to city, of Aiantid Rhamnous from coast to city, and of Antiochid Eroiadai and Krioa from inland to city.¹³⁴

¹³² See at PA 13076.

¹³³ That Hippothontid Eroiadai was a city deme is suggested, first, by its position at *Agora* XV 11 (between Thymaitadai and Keiriadai) and (between Peiraieus and Korydallos) at *IG* II² 1927 (*diaitetai*?) and, second, by the appearance at Chaidari of *IG* II² 6090, recording the burial of . . . Δημάρχου Ἐροιιάδης.

¹³⁴ These transpositions are proposed and discussed by Traill at *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 98–106. Subsequently at *Hesperia* Suppl. 19 (1982) 166f he argued that Anagyrous remained a coastal deme and that Upper Lamprai was shifted from coast to inland.

Taking into account these transpositions we now have 47 *politeuomenoi* whose trittys affiliation is certain (since both Hippothontid and Antiochid Eroiadai are now city demes, Stephanos [43] is no longer in limbo). Of these 47, 22 (2–4, 7, 9, 10, 12–14, 16–18, 24, 27–28, 31, 33, 37, 40, 44, 46–47), or 47%, belonged to inland demes; 13 (1, 5, 8, 15, 21–23, 26, 34, 36, 41–42, 45), or 28%, were registered in coastal demes; 12 (11, 19–20, 25, 29–30, 32, 35, 38–39, 43, 48), or 25%, were members of city demes. Affiliates of inland trittyes, now including the influential Meidias (33) in addition to Androtion, Demosthenes, Callistratus, and Philocrates, still significantly preponderate.

Whether or not the original trittyes underwent modification, expectation based on the conclusions of section VI appears forcefully confirmed.¹³⁵

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Against this revised view militate, first, the treatment of Upper and Lower Lamprai as a single entity at *Agora* XV 42 (*cf.* Stanton [*supra* n.92] 31 and n.101) and, second, the loss, regretted by Traill himself, of a tidy scheme by which Erechtheis would have provided a Macedonian tribe with one deme from each of its trittyes. In both articles (105 of the former and 169 of the latter) Traill countenances transfer of part of Acharnai from inland to city Oineis. This presupposes that Acharnai was bi-nuclear. In view of the numerous grave-markers of Acharnians discovered there, Menidi, one of the alleged nuclei, is more likely to be the location of the deme's cemetery than the site of a second population centre of the living. In the view of Bicknell, Oineis was certainly modified to the extent that Phyle was transferred from coast to city (see the first column of *Agora* XV 17), but it continued perforce to include a trittys that was disproportionately large.

¹³⁵ A final point. When the ex-slave Pasion, father of Apollorodus (4), achieved citizenship he registered in inland Acharnai rather than an inner city deme or Peiraieus, the location of his bank ([*Dem.*] 49.22; 52.8,14). His choice has long been a puzzle, and J. K. Davies (*Athenian Propertied Families* [Oxford 1971] 430) postulated the influence of an agent of Pasion, Πυθόδωρος Ἀχαρνεύς, in order to account for it. If our present contentions are correct, prospective political advantage may have been at least a contributory inducement.

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