



Review

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religion as priestesses, their activities are generally confined to cults of goddesses and deities concerned with fertility. The symbolic place of such cults in the city, as well as women's uncertain control of cult finances, may in fact make them religious officials on different and perhaps more marginal terms.

John Oakley's article argues that the use of wedding iconography in nonwedding scenes on Greek vases deepens "the meaning of a scene beyond its immediate action" (72). Consideration of the broader (and much discussed) cultural and linguistic context, which also repeatedly blurs the boundary between brides, wives, rape victims, concubines, and so forth, would have substantially enriched the argument, however. The same is true of Margot Schmidt's narrow and unfocused essay on sorceresses. Mary Lefkowitz's essay on the Greek *parthenos* aims at a reader with no knowledge of Greek culture and does not attempt an original argument.

The catalogue generally brings Reeder's substantial talents as curator to the fore. Since each object receives a full discussion, however, constant repetition is required to contextualize it sufficiently. If she had offered a general introduction to each section, she might have highlighted more effectively the special aspects of each object, and made the whole more interesting. As it is, the catalogue is much more accessible and interesting to readers examining objects in isolation from each other.

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THE PNYX IN THE HISTORY OF ATHENS: PROCEEDINGS OF AN INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ORGANIZED BY THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS, 7-9 OCTOBER 1994, edited by *Björn Forsén* and *Greg Stanton*. (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 2.) Pp. vi + 142, figs. 68, foldout plans 2. Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens, Helsinki 1996. FIM 200; \$45. ISBN 951-95295-3-5; ISSN 1237-2684.

This volume includes 11 essays (and a brief introductory letter from Homer Thompson) presented at an international colloquium on the Pnyx, the meeting place of the Athenian democratic assembly. Although the Pnyx was extensively excavated in the 1930s, many questions have been raised in the last two decades concerning its reconstruction, organization, and historical phases. The papers in this collection focus on specific problems of form and date but also relate this important archaeological site to more

general issues of political and religious institutions in the ancient world.

P. Calligas offers an excellent overview of research on the Pnyx and neighboring areas that introduces many of the issues addressed in the volume and highlights several key problems that could be resolved through further excavation. A few of the contributors offer new comments on their earlier studies of topics such as the number of citizens accommodated in the assembly place (Stanton, Hansen), the role of the Pnyx in the Panathenaic festival (Romano), and the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos (Forsén). Others discuss the nearby fortification walls and how they fit into the history of Hellenistic defensive architecture (Karlsson, Conwell), and one scholar relates several enigmatic inscriptions found in the area to the general religious character of the Pnyx and Mouseion hills (Peppas Delmoussou).

At times, it is clear that the scholarly exchange of the colloquium has forced the authors to reevaluate or modify earlier opinions, while at other times they openly disagree. For example, G. Stanton's new reconstruction of the second architectural phase of the Pnyx significantly increases the available seating area, which he argues provided space for about 10,400 citizens in the late fifth century B.C. M. Hansen, on the other hand, accepts Stanton's restoration, but rightly disagrees with his method of calculation and prefers a substantially smaller number of ca. 8,500 citizens who could sit in the assembly. The distinction is historically significant since the capacity of the auditorium may be directly related to the number of male Athenian citizens at the time, the quorum required for certain measures, and the introduction of the *ekklesiastikon*, or pay for attendance.

The date and form of the third phase of the Pnyx is the subject of important essays by S. Rotroff and J. Camp (a more detailed article has since appeared in *Hesperia* 65 [1996] 263-94). Rotroff addresses two major problems associated with the construction date of Pnyx III: the large amount of Roman pottery found in several deposits, and the precise chronology of the fourth century B.C. material. Advances in the chronology of Roman lamps and ceramics since the 1930s now make it possible to date the latest material in the fill to the third century A.D., thereby ruling out the possibility of a Hadrianic building phase. Refinements in the study of Greek ceramics, lamps, amphora handles, and coins suggest a terminus post quem of ca. 335 B.C., clearly favoring a Lycurgan date for the construction of Pnyx III. (Readers should note that this presumably supersedes the date of "c. 340 B.C." suggested in the *Hesperia* article, where it is argued that Pnyx III was constructed before the Battle of Chaironeia in 338 B.C.) While the excavators of the Pnyx had originally restored a theater-like seating area on a huge earthen embankment sloping down toward the speaker's platform (*bema*), Camp presents several compelling reasons against such a restoration and argues that the seating area of Pnyx III was level and that the *bema* was raised above the crowd—a solution first proposed by W.B. Dinsmoor in his review of the Pnyx publication (*AJA* 37 [1933] 180-82). Camp also raises the

intriguing possibility that this most impressive and monumental phase of the Pnyx may not have been completed, an idea supported by the unfinished nature of the bema itself and the two large "unfinished stoas" on the terrace above.

D. Romano reconsiders both the form and function of Pnyx III and responds to criticism of his earlier theory (*AJA* 89 [1985] 441–54) that the Pnyx was the site of the "Panathenaic Theater and Stadium" constructed by Lycurgus. Despite admonitions that there are very few stadia for which we know the precise length between starting lines, and no accurately measured stadia in Athens from any period, Romano's proposed foot length of 0.2157 m for his hypothetical stadium on the terrace above the bema is still far shorter than any attested elsewhere in the Greek world. His restoration of double-sided spectator embankments on the foundations usually identified as the "unfinished stoas" is also unconvincing. The most controversial aspect of this paper, however, is its new suggestion that the Great Altar of Athena Polias is to be located on the Pnyx instead of on the Acropolis. Romano's argument is based upon his interpretation of a fourth-century B.C. inscription (*IG* II², 339), which is the only preserved text to mention the "Great Altar" by name. Although Romano correctly points out that the inscription does not refer to the "Great Altar" as being on the Acropolis specifically, there is also nothing in the text itself to suggest that any of the sacrifices or shrines mentioned are to be located anywhere else. Romano produces no archaeological evidence to support his theory apart from a rock-cut bedding for a large altar on the terrace behind the speaker's platform, tentatively identified by previous scholars as the so-called "Altar of Zeus Agoraios."

The cult of Zeus Hysistos on the Pnyx in the Roman period is reviewed briefly by B. Forsén, who proposes that the height of the rock-cut niches in the shrine suggests a slightly sloping ground level, possibly a feature of Pnyx III. The religious aspect of the Pnyx is further explored by A. Domínguez, who discusses the establishment of the cult as part of the transformation of Greek assembly places into religious precincts during the Roman period. Seen in this larger context, the reuse of the older political center for either popular or state cults provides insight into the evolution of the Greek city and its institutions in the Roman empire. Domínguez distinguishes four different types of reuse, ranging from full or partial reuse or renovation to the destruction or burial of the earlier political structure and the establishment of a new cult on the same location. The discussions and comparisons are informative, but sometimes unclear (e.g., the theater at Syracuse [61], where twice "1st century A.D." should be substituted for "1st century B.C.") or seem forced (e.g., the Old Bouleuterion at Athens as an example of a building destroyed or buried).

This volume presents an important collection of current research on the Pnyx and will be most useful to scholars who are already familiar with the history and topography of Athens. Each paper is thoroughly documented and there is an extensive unified bibliography at the end,

along with an index of literary and epigraphical sources and an annotated list of illustrations. The numerous illustrations are well chosen and generally of very high quality. The editors have missed only a few typographical errors and minor inconsistencies, and several passages of Greek are not translated.

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THE HILL-FORTS OF THE SAMNITES, by *S.P. Oakley*. (Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 10.) Pp. xi + 164, pls. 88, figs. 57, map 1. British School at Rome, London 1995. £35. ISBN 0-904152-28-6.

THE SAMNITES OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BC AS DEPICTED ON CAMPANIAN VASES AND IN OTHER SOURCES, by *G. Schneider-Herrmann* (edited by *Edward Herring*, with a foreword by *A.D. Trendall*). (*BICS* Suppl. 61; *Accordia Specialist Studies on Italy* 2.) Pp. xxxiii + 143, pls. 166, figs. 75. Institute of Classical Studies, University of London; Accordia Research Centre, London 1996. £45. ISBN 0-900587-64-4.

I SANNITI: CAUDINI, IRPINI, PENTRI, CARRICINI, FRENTANI, by *Gianluca Tagliamonte*. (*Biblioteca di archeologia* 25.) Pp. 322, pls. 92, figs. 53. Longanesi, Milan 1996. Lit. 56,000. ISBN 88-304-1372-0.

The height of the revolution in Samnite studies was in the 1970s and early 1980s. The excitement of these times is best represented in the catalogue of the exhibition held in Isernia, *Sannio: Pentri e Frentani dal VI al I sec. a.C.* (Rome 1980), and a companion volume of conference proceedings with the same title, published in Campobasso in 1984. Both the availability of new material evidence and methodological advances in the study of it hinted at a brave new world within which the cultural, social, and political history of the Samnites would no longer be centered on Livy's account of the Samnite Wars with material evidence used more or less as "illustrations" of that story. In short, by the early 1980s, the Samnites were beginning to look a good deal more complex than the harsh-living heroes of E.T. Salmon's book, *Samnium and the Samnites* (Cambridge 1967): the concepts of "urbanism" and "Hellenism" now seemed more applicable than images of cultural isolation and "backwardness." Perhaps inevitably, the excitement of those years has not continued with the same intensity, although no one would want to deny that a good deal of necessary and