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Annotated Bibliography: Spatial Rhetorics in Antiquity

Introduction

In this annotated bibliography, I survey some of the scholarship in architecture and rhetorical studies to become acquainted with the baseline arguments and commonly held assumptions and claims about (mainly) Greek architecture and public spatial practices. Specifically, I am interested in how these arguments relate to how the spatial and material affect, produce, and alter human practices and our constructions of social ontologies. All of this work, I hope, will help me also bridge ideas on how these influence the digital as well. Yet, to note, this is an aim that I personally do not address within the annotations, rather it is my reason for choosing these texts. I chose to focus on the authors' arguments and ideas, because I wanted to devote more space to understanding their arguments of the text, as the author intended, rather than use the space to also attempt to weave my own ideas into the summaries, as I was also trying to interpret their ideas. These processes, as I have learned over the years, are distinct and separate, and I believe they should be treated iteratively on the page, rather than intermingled, so I can use this document in the future as a quick reference to the original text.

Source Synthesis and Generative Ideas

In the process of reading, writing, and synthesizing information for this project, I learned that most rhetoricians use the surviving source texts in conjunction with architectural and art historical works to aid their analyses to construct their methodologies. Wycherley's *How the Greeks Built Their Cities* (1949, items #1-4), part of the first section on Greek Public Spaces and Architecture, seems to have played a pivotal role in the (re)construction of Greek culture, and

seemingly has greatly influenced rhetorical inquiry in its wake. Also, Wycherley imbues his own architectural-historical work with texts and ideas from Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, so it is easy to see why rhetoricians have utilized his work—documentation goes a long way! For these reasons, I am surprised that he fails to mention in his survey of gymnasiums (item #4) the cultural value of the *agon* of argumentation and dialectic, as a way of political life deeply interconnected to the sport and physical activities. In addition, Isocrates is not mentioned in his text either, despite how Isocrates mentions wrestling positions as an influence in his *paideusis*. As I began to read more into these works, I also learned about Paul Zucker's research (mentioned in Fleming, item #7), who also seems to have produced foundational works and understandings of Greek architecture and art. In the future, perhaps, and even for the final project of this class, I may also read Paul Zucker's work, as well as more recent architectural and archaeological studies that build on this mid-20th century scholarship. Considering this goal of mine, I would greatly appreciate any suggestions for further reading.

After reading Wycherley's work, I read historical and rhetorical scholarship that focuses, as mentioned, mainly on Greek antiquity, but also moves into the Roman transition period with the inclusion of K.S. Lamp's article (item #9) on the Augustan cultural campaign. This second section, Spatial Affects on & Greek Spatial Practices of the *Polis*, starts with an excerpt from H.D.F. Kitto's book, *The Greeks* (1951), which seeks to articulate the nuances of the Greek *poleis* (items #5). The remainder of the scholarship focuses on the rhetorical practices conducted in public spaces; for the most part, the *agora* takes precedence in this scholarship (notably of focus in items #6 & 7). Detienne's article on the formation of the agora (item #6) defines some characteristics of the space, such as its locality, the people, and the speeches delivered there, which, as he argues, influenced its ability for the *polis* to “face itself” (). from Although, Johnstone's article focuses more on the Pnyx, and how its material and spatial environment posed considerable challenges for rhetors. Because of these challenges

addressed, I also am starting to wonder how this most certainly pushed Isocrates, a firm believer in the practice of the *polis*, to hone his craft of education and bent toward writing, since he himself notes his inadequate physical qualities to engage such a large audience. Considering Lamp's discussion of how Roman rhetors utilized spaces in their oration, I now in retrospect wonder how the Greeks may have also utilized such rich artifacts and public memories attached to spaces, and if any scholarship of this focus has been produced in this area. Additionally, I wonder how this translates into digital rhetorics, spaces, materials and publics, and, even more closely akin to my rhetorical code studies work, I wonder how her mode of inquiry could be applied to the rhetorical and writing practices of source code texts.

Considering this small range of scholarship, I am now beginning to generate questions about communal types of code writing practices, and how both material and spatial environments, coupled with the types of digital environments written in source code, are more connected than we think. What are the ideological functionalities of digital spaces? How are application programming interfaces (APIs) spaces, or gateways, to the organization, business, or institution how published them? Detienne's construction of the agora and the polis makes me question who gets to be a citizen in the digital age? How do the networked infrastructures make it difficult for us to pinpoint and articulate a centering of a “clash of discourses,” so what would be the modern day equivalent or manifestation of the agora? How does this change our conception of space, urban life, the city, etc.? Overall, this annotated bibliography has enabled me to begin to ask questions that may prove to yield research, methodologies, and scholarship that can communicate the rhetoricity of my work in software and code with the broader field of rhetorical and literacy studies itself.

Annotations

Greek Public Spaces and Architecture

1. Wycherley, R.E. (1949). How the Greeks built cities. London: Macmillan & Co.

Wycherley surveys a variety of ancient Greek-Hellenic architecture and town-planning strategies, as it intimately relates to the Greek way of life. He focuses on sites between 6th and 4th centuries B.C.E., moving his discussion from city growth and planning into the delicate balance of technique and artistry in the production of the following key structures and spaces: 1) fortifications, 2) *agoras*, 3) shrines and official buildings, 4) gymnasiums, stadiums and theatres, 5) Greek houses, and 6) fountain buildings. For the purposes of my project, I am focusing on *agoras*, but within my summary and due to the vital nature of the agora as the "heart of the city," I will also include some notes on Wycherley's remarks on the *stoas* and gymnasiums, since Wycherley also integrates commentary from and uses of these sites by Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Despite this focus, I recognize the other structures and spaces, too, have significance in their own ways and could be sites for future rhetorical research. For example, in the same way Lamp articulates Augustus' use of rhetorical principles in the construction of Rome, Wycherley discusses the robust definition of *techne* in terms of Greek masonry of fortifications, which "came into play in the shaping of a simple block and the building of a wall" (p. 49), manifest as what he describes as an intentional "appearance of rugged strength."

2. Wycherley, R.E. (1949). The agora. *How the Greeks built cities*. London: Macmillan & Co.

Wycherley emphasizes the centrality of *agora* as a public space for and in Greek life—both metaphorically and physically. *Agoras* were often the first sites conceptualized in the center of a new *polis* from which its development sprung outward. Around and amidst the *agora* retained the lion share of the daily social, business, and political life, where around its open space, the Greeks often integrated rows of commercial sites of trade with political spaces such

as council houses and offices for the magistrates, shrines and temples, the more general, all-purpose, yet highly significant *stoa*, as well as a fountain-house. The shape and grouping of these buildings around a*goras* differed widely amongst different poleis, but many incorporated “minor monuments” (p. 53), statues of gods, heroes and men. Wycherley finds connections between the meaning of the word *agora* dating back to the works of Homer (*Illiad* xvii. 497 ff.; cf, *Illiad* xi. 807; and *Odyssey* xii. 439), where justice is administered and concerns of politics are practiced in the assembly of the people. Yet, he also cites Demosthenes' *Clouds*, which depicts the flip side of the space, where men often gossiped and practiced more of a malicious “chattering” (p. 67), rather than the holistic education pursued in the later conceptualization and construction of the “bright and shining” experience of the gymnasium. He also notes how Aristotle suggests in *Politics* (vii. II.2) that “there should be one *agora* free from trade and of a religious (and, it appears, somewhat snobbish) character.” Aristotle's desire never came to fruition, as the Greeks “thoroughly mixed” these activities in the *agora*. Overall, though, Wycherley claims that the health of a polis was indicative of the activity of its *agora,* so if it became nothing but a mere space, however grand, this meant a certain disintegration of the city” (p. 83).

3. Wycherley, R.E. (1949). Shrines and official buildings. *How the Greeks built cities*. London: Macmillan & Co.

As the very idea and growth of the *polis* occurred through space and time, Wycherley notes how the *stoa* served as a general-purpose building architecturally and for Greek life, serving “all sorts of political, commercial and general functions” (p. 117). Simple in design, it consisted “of an open colonnade, normally a back wall, to which columns were joined by a roof” (p. 110). Due to this simplicity, *stoas* could be adapted to easily become “an entrance porch, or façade;” it could be placed on one or more side of a court and could form an internal or external

peristyle," which tells of its usefulness as wings to buildings. Yet, as Wycherley notes, it also became an important independent building. Longer *stoas* were built, which often hosted merchants and sheltered citizens with a place "to do business or take his [sic] ease" (p.111). The Greeks often stored food, as some integrated large fish tanks, and others, such as the Long Stoa in Peiraeus, incorporated storagehouse for food supplies (p. 115). Stoas became the integral part to Greek cities, as they were found along streets, "especially leading to the agora" (p. 117), as well as a part of every significant shrine, and even gymnasiums. Early on, stoas also housed deliberative and even judicial meetings, albeit not ideal for these purposes, prior to the Greeks creating "distinctive and practical" (p. 119) buildings for such meetings. Overall, Wycherley's account of this building-type shows not only its usefulness, but, perhaps, how such a general-purpose, ad hoc meeting space manifest from a very communal, tight-knit community, who often needed space to meet, discuss, relax, often mixing business and leisure.

4. Wycherley, R.E. (1949). Gymnasium, stadium and theatre. *How the Greeks built cities*. London: Macmillan & Co.

Among the already discussed buildings, gymnasiums were vital to Greek life and the focus of this summary. Wycherley notes that every town had one, and it was an element "like the *agora* without which the *polis* was incomplete" (p. 141). Beyond physical training, he mentions its "profound effect on educational practice, and the union between *gymnastike* and *mousike* and even *philosophia,* [which] was reflected in the life of the gymnasium and in its arrangement and architectural form" (p. 140). Religious ties were strong, too, as many were even attached to shrines and adorned with deities or local heroes. Specifically, in Athens, Wycherley finds textual evidence to also support how its open and often serene setting provided citizens numerous "pleasant spots" (p. 144), which were often built in conjunction shrines and parks. He claims that these environments enriched the Greek "athletic, social, and intellectual

life," where the *polis* "blossomed freely." He supports these claims with evidence of how the gymnasium "became the seat of a philosophical school" (p. 145). It was a space frequented by many thinkers, rhetors, or citizens alike, who held informal discussions of politics and ethics. He writes, "Socrates frequented the Lyceum and other gymnasium," and how Plato even established his school in one of the old gymnasiums. If Wycherley's claims are true, the Greek *polis* clearly integrated and mixed much of their public activities.

Spatial Affects on & Greek Spatial Practices in the Polis

5. Kitto, H.D.F. (1951). The polis, (excerpt from *The Greeks*). R.T. LeGates & F. Stout (Eds.). *The City Reader*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 65-70

In a very much nostalgic survey of the Greek word, *polis*, Kitto discusses the nuances of the word so central to Ancient Greek life. Beyond its mere English translation as "city-state," he emphasizes how "Without a clear conception what the *polis* was, and what it meant to the Greek, it is quite impossible to understand properly Greek history, the Greek mind, or the Greek achievement" (p. 66). Kitto first reviews the various population sizes of the poleis, then provides brief points about possible economic and geographical influences on the character of the polis, as well as the Greek cultural character itself, which he discusses in terms of the political and religious. He, at times, integrates remarks from orators, such as Thucydides' Pericles and Aristotle. From Pericles' "Funeral Speech," Kitto claims that the *polis* embodied the robust way of life for the Greeks, incorporating "the drama, tragic and comic, the performance of choral hymns, public recitals of Homer, [and] games" (p. 69). Furthermore, Kitto states that the Greek way of life involved the drive to "play his [sic] own part in running the affairs of the community"—in pursuit of a comprehensive education, the training of virtues, and religion—that manifest in these communal practices. Kitto surmises from Aristotle's Politics "that the *polis* is the only

framework within which man[1] can fully realize his spiritual, moral and intellectual capacities" (p. 70).

6. Detienne, M. (1996). Public space and political autonomy in early Greek cities. (Eds.) *Public Space and Democracy*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 41-52.

Detienne conducts a "comparative approach" (p. 41) to analyzing the spatial practices of the ancient Greeks, 18th century French revolutionaries, and that of contemporary Ochollo tribe in Ethiopia to strengthen his argument that the Greek's invented, or gave "birth" (p. 42) to, public space. He chooses these cultures and corresponding time periods, since they all share a "sudden self-awareness"—commonalities that he traces back to the Greeks. For the purposes of this annotated bibliography, I am focusing on his claims regarding the early evolution of Greek cities, unless otherwise noted. Specifically, he addresses the formation and space of the Greek *agora*, which he defines as being comprised of the following characteristics: it "is the *locality*, the place where assemblies are held; it is the *people* who make up the 'deliberative' assembly, the men at arms; and, finally, it is the *speech* pronounced at the assembly." He goes on to describe it as "a place of words and of debate on the communal affairs of the assembled group" (p. 45) rich with "rituals and symbolic dimensions." Symbolically, he remarks on the reflexive relationship between the political, human categories and religious powers of the *agora*, which is often a point of scholarly contention.

On one hand, the *agora* embodies "the divine figure of deciding speech" (p. 45), Themis, who opens and closes the space and the time of assembly" On the other hand, It embodies a "'clash of discourse,'" where this political place is modeled after, as he argues, the body and practices of the Greek warrior. Materially, the *agora* is elliptical in shape, where speakers move

1 Here, Kitto refers to "man" in the Greek sense, since women were unfortunately unable to be heard in public.

into the center and take up the *sképtron*, or staff, before they speak on public affairs, or *démionti*, which are subjects that must concern the community, writ large. In this way, the *agora* was a vital space in which the *polis* “faced itself” (p. 48), developed new rules through *politeia*, “*a certain way of reacting* in the political domain” (p. 49), as means to assemble the affairs and ways of living of both the gods and citizens. In essence, Detienne claims that any design or redesign of the assembly, whether in law or *thesmoi*, “'firmly established words,'” alters the “will,” or course, of its citizens. Such evidences of the unified *polis* are found in its oratorical practices, such as “'we, the city,'” or in the later inscriptions of literal writings on the walls as a means to gather and unite people, where buildings serve parts as a material form of public memory. Considering the complex ways in which the Greeks formed, deliberated upon, and stabilized the very idea and material and spatial practice of the material structures, space and *polis*, Detienne leaves the reader with a question to consider: “how does [any group] give itself rules?” (p. 52) to which I hope to contribute how such rules *and roles* arise from a culture's interaction with the space itself.

7. Fleming, D. (Summer 2002). The streets of Thurii: Discourse, democracy, and design in the classical polis. *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, 32, pp. 5-32.

Fleming seeks to illuminate the mysteries behind the vision of building the polis, Thurii, around 444 B.C.E. Using surviving texts and thoughts of three people, Pericles, Hippodamus, and Protagoras, he chooses to focus on the vision of Thurii's *polis*, as a possible rhetorical artifact, because it was a first of its kind. At its core, it covers the typical *modus operandi* for a new settlement, where fortifications are built and “land is apportioned through some centralized authority or procedure” (p. 8). Fleming notes that the rhetor Pericles crafted its democratic vision, designer Hippodamus laid out the orthogonal city-planning strategy, and the sophist Protagoras “advocated for a new kind of civic education centered on language, literacy, and

debate" (p. 6). According to Fleming, the project was "panhellenic" (p. 5), or a mixture of "Ionic and Doric" (p. 8) design and the overall vision seems to have been one more iteration in the evolution of the Greek conceptualization of what the ideal social and political body should be.

He begins with **Pericles' vision** of a democratic *polis*. What Fleming refers to as a "bounded democracy" (p. 13), he claims that Pericles sought a politic in which the power of assemblies, juries, and magistrates were free to be exercised. Yet, such civic duty and equal standing remained the privileging certain "superior" (p. 11) people, so such equal standing did not produce necessarily equal results. Like so many other Classical scholars, Fleming remarks on the Greeks' value in competition, and Pericles and his political philosophies sought an oscillation between the "daring and deliberative, initiation and judgment, action and discussion, courage and wisdom" (p. 11-12). Fleming reconstructs a version of the Periclean political community in relation to a particular image of "civic space" (p. 12) from Aristotle's *Politics* (7.4 1326a35; 1.2 1252b15). First, for the balance between deliberation and action to occur, the polis must be of a particular size. If too small, oration is not necessarily needed, since logos is not required "bind themselves together." If too large, speeches may not help enact and remind people of a "shared" and "concrete reality that makes 'community' more than just a word." The second, which is not quite as clear, seems to straddle the lines between open, yet constrained modes of "free communication," which is connected to the third: urban topography. For citizenship to be practiced and honed, a centralized space, such as the *agora*, must remain the pivotal "image of political and spatial equality."

Such spaces were constructed through **Hippodamus's city designs**, who revolutionized the ability for settlement planners to abstract the processes of precise measurement and spatial regulation of the social. He utilized orthogonal street layouts, which enabled a city to be equally dispersed amongst its citizens, as well as enable the creation of public, private, and sacred zones that still remained connected and accessible. Fleming argues that his designs involved

straight streets, producing the city grid and linkages between zones of activity. Such a straight, simple and linked design, suggests Fleming, was an expression of the Greek appreciation for "truth and correctness" (p. 15). Overall, like Pericles' belief in the goodness of Athenian ways of governance, Hippodamus' designs were culturally deemed as "*good*" (emphasis original) for all citizens and their engagement and practice of the polis.

Fleming connects **Protagoras' involvement** in this project through his documented friendship with Pericles and "Plato's depiction of the sophist as deeply interested in law, discourse, education, and the *poleis*" (p. 19, emphasis original). I deem this connections tenuous at best, but he moves forward, because his rhetorical principles align with the Thurrian civic discourse to reflect "both Periclean politics and Hippodamian space" (p. 21). According to Fleming, Protagoras' stress on debate through his concept of "anti-logic" upheld the values of opposition and negotiation, and the "discursive *agon*" that should occur in the process of argumentation. This rhetorical purview embraced the notion that human truth is impossible to "grasp," but through a dialogue, in these constraints of time and space, the *polis* can better manage the decisions and actions necessary for all citizens to engage. Fleming also connects Protagoras' *orthos logos*, or "*correctness* in language and belief" (p. 22), where one logos, through dialogue and testing, is stronger, or "straighter" than the other, and therefore the best fit and deemed good and just for a *polis*.

Fleming concludes by metaphorically gathering his ideas into a discussion of the *agora*. Citing architect and art historian Paul Zucker, he builds on the claim, as many others do, that the *agora* is vital to the condition and practice of the *polis*, and as Zucker claims, "the true Greek contribution to town planning" (qtd. in Fleming, p. 25). The *agora* was equated with Greek democracy and where "citizenship was enacted." Fleming closes with a short comparison of these interconnected Greek principles and spatial and discursive practices with a claim that Americans dwell in spaces void of such public potential, but, to note, provides a small caveat

that the *polis* is not the ideal to strive for, but “worth recalling” (p. 27).

8. Johnstone, C.L. (1996). Greek oratorical settings and the problem of the Pnyx: Rethinking the Athenian political process. In C.L. Johnstone (Ed.) *Theory, Text, Context: Issues in Greek Rhetoric and Oratory*. Albany: SUNY Press, pp. 97-127.

Johnstone begins his article by noting how rhetoric aims to exam "how discourse functions in practice" (p. 98). He adds, despite these aims, such examinations have yet to closely consider how the spatial and physical setting affect oratorical events. He defines oratorical events as an assemblage of "the utterance, reception, and interpretation of public speech" (p. 98), and his inquiry includes discussions regarding affects of time, seating configurations, architectural designs, and the acoustics of spaces. He utilizes scholarship from archaeological research and architectural handbooks to articulate the efficacy of speech in a variety of Athenian spaces and links certain types of Athenian spaces with Aristotle's 3 species of rhetoric – epideictic, forensic, and deliberative – using them as cultural proxies, examining how physical settings may have "served" (p. 100), inhibited, or even detracted the effectiveness of oratorical events. Based on both epideictic and forensic species, he focuses his inquiry on public spaces such as the open and outdoor *agora*, as well as the partially-closed setting of the *stoa*. For deliberative species, he examines both council houses (*bouleuterion*), where smaller bodies met, but devotes considerable space to the Pnyx: an "open-air assembly-place or amphitheater" (p. 106). Athenian *rhetores* often publicly deliberated on civic policies in the Pnyx (*ekklêsia*), so it was a vital and crucial space where citizens deliberated and made their final decisions on which to cast their vote.

Johnstone provides a short history of the Pnyx amphitheater, focusing his analysis on its first of three iterations, during 5th century B.C.E. Despite the importance of the Pnyx in civic deliberation, seating up to 5,000 citizens, his analysis reveals that its spatial, material, and

environmental features manifest numerous deficiencies and obstacles for *rhetores*. In his analysis of the space, he first discusses the Pnyx's “exposure to the northeast winds” (p. 116), common weather conditions, the Pnyx's spherical shape, audience noise, which is then coupled with his calculations on the “frequency and intensity” (p. 120) of sound transmission and the common range of perception of the human ear. Considering these variables, he reveals how even under *optimal physical conditions* with a “strong-voiced, trained speaker” (p. 122), as well as the complete attention of the *ekklêsia*, it is plausible that one-fifth of an “audience could not have heard well enough to understand more than about 85 percent of what was said” in the Pnyx. He concludes by problematizing the ability for a hearer to hear a rhetor—let alone listen and dwell on a rhetor's arguments—in the course of political deliberation. Considering these physical constraints and the nuances of the Greek language, Johnstone concludes by highlighting the significance for rhetors to have considerable “vocal strength and formal oratorical training” (p. 126) to effectively influence a smaller portion of citizens at the assembly. Additionally, his analysis opens a new space for inquiry for scholars interested in oratory in the Classical Period and beyond.

9. Lamp, K.S. (2011). 'A city of brick': Visual rhetoric in Roman rhetorical theory and practice. *Philosophy and Rhetoric,* 44, pp. 171-193.

Lamp takes on some compelling questions considering the relationships between the visual-rhetorical practices of the Augustan cultural campaigns (27 B.C.E. To 14 C.E.), as it manifested in city planning efforts and the architecture of Rome. Lamp hopes to provide new ways of revealing such rhetorical practices in the principate by redefining “what counts as a rhetorical artifact” (p. 174) and how the material and spatial environment has strong connections with the canon of memory. She begins to construct a Roman rhetorical framework from Quintilian and Cicero, drawing from their ideas on the rhetoricity of the nonverbal modes of communication,

space, and memory. Both Quintilian and Cicero discuss rhetorical memory and space with regards to mnemonic devices, when memorizing a speech. Yet, Lamp also draws from Dio (1987), Favro (1996), and Vasaly (1993), who also indicate that public spaces were also used by rhetors as a means to elicit public memory, but also discusses the Roman desire to buy property, because the buildings and other public spaces “served as a kind of history, if not public memory” (p. 184). Overall, Lamp indicates that both Quintilian and Cicero discuss nonverbal in persuasion, where memory and the emotions it can invoke, can produce persuasive effects. Based on these Roman rhetorical ideas, also influenced by Aristotle's psychological model (*enargeia* and *phantasia*, pg. 179-180), Lamp reveals how important public spaces were in the ability for rhetors to establish a connection with an audience within the metes and bounds of the principate. She concludes by summarizing how the rhetors, through mnemonic devices, gained closer connections to a shared narrative and “emotion associated with a structure” (p. 188), or even the potential to alter such associations. Furthermore, she claims that such mnemonic systems also informed Augustan architecture and city planning; thereby, such infrastructure served a rhetorical function, “instructing [citizens] as to how to conceive of the principate and how to participate as citizens in the new Roman Empire.”