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Edited by
Björn Forsén and Greg Stanton

The Pnyx in the History of Athens

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The Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos and the Date and Construction of Pnyx III*

Björn Forsén

When in 1803 George, Earl of Aberdeen, as the first one in modern times, conducted excavations on the Pnyx, he found twelve marble plaques that evidently had fallen from the niches in the scarp to the east of the bema.¹ The inscribed plaques were dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos, seemingly indicating the existence of a cult of Zeus Hypsistos at this place. At that time it was not yet totally clear that the Pnyx Hill really was the ancient Pnyx, although this had been suggested already by Chandler at the end of the eighteenth century.² The identification of the hill as the ancient Pnyx should have been finally settled when Pittakes in the 1840s found the Pnyx boundary stone on the hilltop above and behind the bema.³ However, some German scholars, above all Welcker and Curtius, still did not believe that the hill was to be identified as the Pnyx and that the architectural remains — the great retaining wall, the scarps and the bema — were those of the assembly place. According to Welcker and Curtius the whole area was to be considered as a sanctuary of Zeus and the bema as an altar.⁴

The thorough and convincing study of Crow in the 1880s⁵ and the excavations by Kourouniotes in the 1910s⁶ finally proved that the great retaining wall, the scarps and the bema were remains of the assembly place and that the hill they were situated on was to be identified with the ancient Pnyx. Kourouniotes showed that there had existed an

* During the various stages of my work concerning the Pnyx, I have received generous help from a great number of colleagues. I wish here to thank especially the First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and its director, Dr. P.G. Calligas, for granting permission to restudy the remains of the assembly place and the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos but also Dr. J. Binder, Professor J. McK. Camp, Professor P. Castrén, Mr. A. Diehl, Dr. V. von Eickstedt, Dr. J. Forsén, Dr. H. Kienast, Mr. J. van Leuven, Mr. H. Lundberg, Professor S.I. Rotroff, Dr. F. Rumscheid, Professor D. Rupp, Professor G. Stanton and last but not least Professor H.A. Thompson, for comments and generous help.

¹ Dodwell (1819), 401-405.

² Chandler (1817), 76-78.

³ Pittakes (1853), 774.

⁴ Welcker (1852); Curtius (1862), 20-46.

⁵ Crow and Clarke (1885-1886), 205-260.

⁶ Kourouniotes (1910), 127-136; Kourouniotes and Antoniadès (1911), 106-109; Kourouniotes (1916), 46-47.

earlier assembly place on the same spot⁷ and tried to date the later construction with the help of pottery found in the fill behind the great retaining wall. This proved to be tricky, as the fill apart from Attic red-figure sherds from the fourth century B.C. also contained some later material. Thus Kourouniotes first dated this construction to a period not earlier than the second century B.C.⁸ and in a later report speaks about the fourth century B.C.⁹ As all the votive offerings dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos were of Roman date, Judeich in his book on the topography of Athens remarked that such a date had to imply that the cult of Zeus Hypsistos was founded at a time when the Pnyx had lost its importance as a political meeting place.¹⁰

In the 1930s the excavations on the Pnyx were resumed by Kourouniotes and Thompson. It was now established that there had existed three building phases of the assembly place, and that the visible remains belonged to the third phase of construction.¹¹ The difficult question of the date of Pnyx III was, however, not convincingly solved. In their excavation report Kourouniotes and Thompson proposed a Hadrianic date for Pnyx III.¹² As the votive offerings to Zeus Hypsistos could be dated both before and after the suggested date of the final building phase of the assembly place, the excavators proposed that the sanctuary had existed before Pnyx III as a small room or pit sunk into the shoulder of the hill a short distance to the south of Pnyx II (Fig. 29).¹³

Kourouniotes and Thompson thought that the bottom and entrance of this early sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos was still outlined by a recessed area and four steps in the great scarp to the east of the bema (Fig. 30). When the assembly place was enlarged towards the south during the construction of Pnyx III, most of the sanctuary would have been quarried away, leaving intact only the south wall of the sanctuary and the niches in it. According to the excavators, the worship would however have continued, witnessed by new niches cut to the west and east of the recessed area, in the middle of which a great central niche was cut, presumably to hold a statue of the god.¹⁴

The theory of the priority of the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos vis-à-vis the Third Period of the assembly place, which when it was first proposed seemed possible, lost its credibility when Thompson in 1943 changed the dating of Pnyx III to the end of the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.¹⁵ Travlos in his *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* tries, however, to stick to the old theory of the priority of the shrine, and thus makes the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos earlier than 330 B.C.¹⁶ Such an early date of the shrine is impossible, as all votive offerings found belong to the Roman period and since the cult of Zeus Hypsistos generally is known as a latecomer to Greece.¹⁷

⁷ Kourouniotes (1910).

⁸ Kourouniotes (1910), 135.

⁹ Kourouniotes (1916), 47.

¹⁰ Judeich (1931), 396.

¹¹ Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 90-217.

¹² Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 180-188.

¹³ Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 198-200.

¹⁴ Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 193-200.

¹⁵ Thompson and Scranton (1943), 297-301.

¹⁶ Travlos (1971), 466, 569.

¹⁷ The earliest dedications to the cult of Zeus Hypsistos are from Edessa and date to the first half of the 2nd century B.C. See Cook (1925), 876-890; Cook (1940), 1162-1164; Nock (1972), 414-443; Tačeva-Hitova (1978), 59-75.

The Relative Date of the Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos vis-à-vis Pnyx III

In an article in *Hesperia* in 1993, I reviewed the arguments cited by Kourouniotes and Thompson in favour of their theory of the priority of the sanctuary vis-à-vis Pnyx III. Let me quote these arguments and the comments which can be made against them once again.¹⁸ Firstly Kourouniotes and Thompson thought the only explanation as to why the architect of the final construction of the assembly place did not set the scarp further back, thus cutting away the scar representing the earlier recess, was that he respected the sanctity of the place. This is, however, hardly a convincing argument, especially as another scar representing some steps was left above the western stairs leading to the bema, although these steps cannot have belonged to the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos (Fig. 31).

As their second argument Kourouniotes and Thompson held that if the bottom level of the recessed area was taken as the floor of the original shrine, then the majority of the niches would have been at a suitable height above the floor. This would imply that the niches originally were set at a height between 0.2-0.3 and 1 m. in the southern wall of a small pit dug in the shoulder of the hill above Pnyx II (Figs. 29-30). This reconstruction seems highly unlikely to me. Other rockcut sanctuaries, for instance, seem to have their niches set at a height between 1.5 and 3 m. above the ground level. If, on the other hand, the rockcut floor of Pnyx III had constituted the floor level of the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos, then the niches in the scarp would have been at a height between 2 and 3.3 m., which is more in line with similar sanctuaries, especially if one takes into account that the rockcut floor of Pnyx III can have been covered with some earth.

There is, however, another major objection that can be made against the theory that the bottom level of the recessed area was the original floor level of the sanctuary, and that is the fact that the niches cut to the west and east of the recessed area, and which according to the excavators were cut after the construction of Pnyx III, are at the same level as the niches inside the recessed area. If the floor level of the sanctuary really was dropped by two metres as a result of the construction of Pnyx III, one would logically expect that the niches correspondingly would have been cut at a lower level. The fact that all niches, whether inside the recessed area or outside it, are placed roughly at the same level seems to indicate that they were cut during a period when the floor level was more or less the same.

While trying to assign the plaques to their respective niches, no chronological difference could be found between those niches situated within the recessed area and those situated outside it in the way that Kourouniotes and Thompson had suggested. Therefore there should not be any doubt that the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos was founded at a time when the construction of Pnyx III was finished. The jagged line in the scarp in between the niches must represent part of a construction that existed before Pnyx III and, thus, has nothing to do with the sanctuary. Judging from the inscriptions found in the sanctuary, the latter seems to have been founded at the end of the first century after Christ.

Now the question is, was the sanctuary founded at a time when the assembly place was, at least partly, still in use or was the sanctuary founded after the final abandonment of the hill as an assembly place? I think the second alternative is the case. First, it would

¹⁸ For the following paragraphs, see Forsén (1993), 507-521, especially 508, 510-511.

be very surprising if a totally new cult from the east, with influences from perhaps Thracian as well as Jewish religious thinking,¹⁹ had been allowed to carve niches in one of the scarps of the assembly place. Secondly, the cult must have required more space than just the niches in the wall. There are still preserved, for instance, several altars,²⁰ a dedication in the form of an eagle on top of a small column²¹ and another in the form of a *protome* of a bearded man,²² which all probably originate from the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx. These altars and dedications cannot have been accommodated in the niches, but must have stood on the floor of the assembly place beneath the niches, thus implying that at least this corner of the assembly place cannot have been in use for meetings of the *ekklesia*.

The "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" and the Date of Pnyx III

When did Pnyx III cease to be used as an assembly place? The so-called "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" has been used as an argument in giving an answer to this question. This altar is of great interest, as a closer study of it might also give clues as to when Pnyx III was constructed. This altar, once called "the handsomest altar found in the Agora",²³ was found in the Agora just opposite the Metroon (Fig. 32). It was ascribed by H.A. Thompson to Zeus Agoraios, although Thompson admits himself that the identification is by no means certain.²⁴ More recently attempts have been made to identify it with the altar of Eirene²⁵ and with the great altar of Athena.²⁶

Even if the identification of the altar remains uncertain, it cannot be denied that the altar, as shown by R. Stillwell and H.A. Thompson, originally had been situated somewhere else, from where it was at a later stage transplanted to the Agora.²⁷ As the altar, which measures 8.76 by 5.43 m., seems to fit extremely well into a foundation bedding directly to the south of and above the bema of the auditorium of Pnyx III, which measures 8.90 by ca. 6.00 m. (Fig. 33), Thompson suggested that the altar originally might have stood in the assembly place on the Pnyx and subsequently been moved to the Agora when Pnyx III had been abandoned as an assembly place.²⁸

Already R. Stillwell noted that some masons' marks on the blocks of the altar, especially an alpha with a broken bar, could give an indication as to when the altar was moved to the Agora.²⁹ Unfortunately the masons' marks cannot be dated exactly. Most recently H.A. Thompson and R. Wycherley proposed a date for these in the 1st century

¹⁹ Cf. the references in n. 17 above. The Thracian influence has recently been stressed by Tačeva-Hitova (1978), 59-75.

²⁰ *IG II²* 4738; 4811; Thompson (1936), 155-156, figs. 5, 6a; Meritt (1948), 43, no. 34; Meritt (1954), 256, no. 40; Meritt (1957), 89-90, no. 35; Meritt (1960), 63, no. 108.

²¹ *IG II²* 4782.

²² *IG II²* 4737.

²³ Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 160.

²⁴ Thompson (1952), 93. See also Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 161-162.

²⁵ Robertson (1993), 243, n. 130.

²⁶ Romano in this volume.

²⁷ Stillwell (1933), 143-148; Thompson and Scranton (1943), 300, n. 38; Thompson (1952), 92-93; Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 161.

²⁸ Thompson and Scranton (1943), 300, n. 38; Thompson (1952), 92-93; Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 161. Robertson (1993), 243, n. 130 does not believe that the altar originally stood in the assembly place on the Pnyx. According to him the altar is to be identified with the altar of Eirene, which originally stood in the old agora east of the Acropolis.

²⁹ Stillwell (1933), 144-145.

B.C. or 1st century after Christ,³⁰ but I do not think we can exclude the possibility even of a second century B.C. date. Anyway, it seems obvious that the "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" was removed from the assembly place before the cult of Zeus Hypsistos was founded here, i.e., the cult of Zeus Hypsistos was established here at a time when the Pnyx had lost its significance as a meeting place for the *ekklesia*.

The "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" and above all the ornament of the base and cap of the orthostate can when compared with similar ornaments be dated fairly well.³¹ The base of the orthostate of the "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" consists of a torus carved with guilloche, surmounted by a cyma with a Lesbian leaf, which in turn is finished off with a delicate bead and reel. The cap, in its turn, carries an ovolo with egg and tongue above a bead and reel (Figs. 34-35). The ornament of the base and the cap of the orthostate have their closest parallels in the ornament of the base of the famous Alexander sarcophagus from Sidon (Figs. 36-37) and the base for the statues in the Philippeion in Olympia (Figs. 38-39). The Alexander sarcophagus is to be dated to sometime between 330 and 312 B.C.,³² whereas the statue base in the Philippeion probably belongs to around 330 B.C.³³

On the basis of the parallels of the Alexander sarcophagus and the statue base of the Philippeion in Olympia, it seems as if the "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" most likely should be dated to sometime between, let us say, 340 and 310 B.C. As F. Rumscheid most kindly informs me, we cannot, however, totally exclude the possibility of a somewhat earlier or later date of the altar. A similar ovolo with egg and tongue as on the "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" can for instance already be found in the Mausoleion in Halikarnassos, which was constructed around 350 B.C., whereas a similar cyma with a Lesbian leaf can still be found at a temple in Kastabos from shortly after 300 B.C.³⁴ Thus, the date of the "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" confirms that Pnyx III is to be considered a fourth century B.C. construction, but cannot unfortunately tell us whether Pnyx III was constructed during Lykourgos' régime (338-326 B.C.) as Thompson first suggested,³⁵ or during Euboulos' time in power in the 340s, as Thompson more recently has proposed.³⁶

³⁰ Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 161. Earlier dating proposals include Stillwell (1933), 147 who only speaks inexactly about the "Hellenistic period", Thompson and Scranton (1943), 300, n. 38, who suggest "a time not earlier than the advanced Hellenistic period" and Thompson (1952), 93 who finally suggests "a time toward the middle of the first century B.C."

³¹ Previous scholars have dated the "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" roughly to the latter part of the fourth century or late in the fourth century B.C. Cf. e.g. Stillwell (1933), 147; Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 161; Townsend (1982), 274. Shoe (1936), 52; 90; 141 and 151 thinks that the orthostate mouldings only "represent copies of the original late 5th or early 4th cent. mouldings made at the time of the removal (of the altar), presumably in Hellenistic times, probably in the 2nd cent. (B.C.)". This opinion of Shoe is also followed by Yavis (1949), 195.

³² Schefold (1968), 28 and 33-34, and Messerschmidt (1989), 90-92 prefer a date for the sarcophagus during the early stage of the reign of Abdalonymos, whereas von Graeve (1970), 13 speaks about a later date, around 312 B.C.

³³ Schleif and Zschietzschmann (1944).

³⁴ Rumscheid (1994), 17-19, Taf. 46.7; 53.3 and 53.4.

³⁵ Thompson and Scranton (1943), 300-301.

³⁶ Thompson (1982), 144-145.

The Later Roman Material in the Fill of Pnyx III — an Alternative Explanation

What speaks against a dating of Pnyx III in the fourth century is primarily the fact that some lamps, glass, potsherds and fragments of terracotta figurines, dated to the Roman Imperial period, were found in the fill of Pnyx III.³⁷ This material was mostly found in limited areas close to the great retaining wall — and Thompson and Scranton³⁸ state that it “may have reached that position in the course of a completion or repair of the retaining wall”. Apart from this small sample of material from the Roman Imperial period, most of the finds from the fill of Pnyx III can be dated to the fourth century B.C. The fill did also contain two coins that can be only roughly dated to the end of the third or the second or first century B.C.³⁹ and some pieces of Hellenistic pottery,⁴⁰ but the Hellenistic finds are substantially fewer than the Roman. Thus it seems as if Pnyx III was constructed in the fourth century B.C. and that the finds from the Roman Imperial period belong to some later activity in the area, which also might have caused the incursion of the few Hellenistic sherds into the fill.

Now, should this later activity be interpreted as evidence for a completion or repair of the assembly place or is there any other explanation to be given? I would like to propose that this Roman Imperial material, recently dated by S. Rotroff as spanning from the first to the third century after Christ,⁴¹ should be connected with the later use of the area as a sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos. We have, for instance, evidence that an altar⁴² and two dedicatory plaques⁴³ from this sanctuary were buried in the fill of Pnyx III, probably in connection with a cleaning out of older dedications in the sanctuary or because the niches of the plaques had been destroyed when the great central niche was cut. Another dedicatory plaque was found in a deeper layer just outside the great retaining wall.⁴⁴ Of course other objects connected with the cult of Zeus Hypsistos, besides these dedications, may be expected to have been buried in the neighbourhood, either intentionally or unintentionally as a result of drainage, as S. Rotroff suggests.⁴⁵ The Roman Imperial finds — lamps, terracotta figurines, small glass unguentaria and terra sigillata vessels — are mostly of a kind that very well might have been used in a religious cult like the one of Zeus Hypsistos.

³⁷ Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 180-186.

³⁸ Thompson and Scranton (1943), 299.

³⁹ Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 211, nos. 2 and 3.

⁴⁰ Kourouniotes (1910), 133-135; Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 181-184. S. Rotroff most kindly informs me that there remain today among the finds from Kourouniotes' and Thompson's excavation 20 objects dating to the Hellenistic period and 12 more that are sketched in the notebooks. This is to be compared with 66 extant objects from the Roman period and 47 more sketched in the notebooks. It is not clear, however, if these figures are quantitatively representative. Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 181-184 give the impression that the difference in quantity between Roman and Hellenistic finds was even greater.

⁴¹ Cf. Rotroff and Camp (forthcoming) and Rotroff in this volume.

⁴² Thompson (1936), 155-156, figs. 5, 6a.

⁴³ Curtius (1862), 27. One of these has recently been identified as EM 3221; cf. Forsén (1990), 10-11.

⁴⁴ Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 197 and 196, fig. 59; *IG II²* 4783.

⁴⁵ Rotroff and Camp (forthcoming) and Rotroff in this volume.

The Floor Level of the Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos and the Construction of Pnyx III

If we look carefully once again at the level of the niches in the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos above the rockcut floor of Pnyx III, we notice that the niches to the east are on average somewhat higher than those to the west, implying that the floor at the time the niches were cut was sloping gently in relation to the rockcut floor of Pnyx III. With the help of regression analysis a line can be drawn through the field of the niches, which according to the method of least mean squares has the minimum distances to the central points of the lower edge of every niche.⁴⁶ This line, which slopes at an angle of *ca.* 2.2°, should approximately indicate the inclination of the floor, when the niches were cut, compared to the rockcut floor (Fig. 30). According to Kourouniotes' and Thompson's reconstruction of Pnyx III the seating floor of the assembly place was sloping down towards the bema from all sides with the help of an artificial filling of earth, which covered the rockcut floor. Kourouniotes and Thompson estimated the gradient of the sloping floor to be about 4°, based on the assumption that the unquarried rock island in the southeast corner of the auditorium had to be covered by earth (see Fig. 28).⁴⁷

The regression analysis suggests that the niches were cut at a time when the rockcut floor of Pnyx III probably was covered by earth, creating a floor sloping down towards the bema with a gradient of 2.2°. As the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos was founded after the construction of Pnyx III, the sloping floor must logically be interpreted as a feature of Pnyx III.⁴⁸ A floor rising at an angle of 2.2° to the horizontal rockcut floor would attain a maximum height above the base of the bema of 2-2.5 m. at the eastern extremity of the scarp. Such an earth filling would cover the westernmost third of the unquarried rock in the southeast corner of the auditorium, but would leave the other two thirds of it exposed a couple of centimetres above the soil level (Fig. 40), a reconstruction that does not seem altogether impossible. Interestingly, Kourouniotes and Thompson mention that the earth filling at the beginning of the thirties had "a maximum depth of over 2 m." at the outer edge of the scarp to the east of the bema,⁴⁹ thus indicating that the earth filling then would still have been here, close to the scarp, more or less *in situ*.

⁴⁶ If the rockcut floor is taken as the x-axis and the left side of the frame of Fig. 30 as the y-axis, we get a coordinate for the central point of the lower edge of every niche. The line created by the regression analysis can be described as $y = ax + b$. Its distance to a point i is then $y_i - (a + bx_i)$ and the sum of the squares of the distance is $f = \sum [y_i - (a + bx_i)]^2$. This function will reach a minimum for the

a and b values for which $\frac{\partial f}{\partial a} = 0$ and $\frac{\partial f}{\partial b} = 0$. To calculate the line manually in this way requires a good deal of work. Nowadays the calculation can however be done quite easily with the help of calculation programs on computers, whereby a line with a slope of 2.16° will be reached.

⁴⁷ Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 153-155.

⁴⁸ Dr. P.G. Calligas and Dr. L. Karlsson suggested after this paper was given, that new soil might have accumulated here after the abandonment of Pnyx III and before the founding of the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos. If this were the case, the sloping floor would not have to be a feature of Pnyx III. On the other hand, any accumulation of soil would logically have been distributed roughly horizontally along the foot of the scarp. According to me the sloping floor can only be explained as created by man, and is then most logically connected with the construction of Pnyx III.

⁴⁹ Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 153.

Kourouniotes and Thompson also say that, before the excavations in the 1930s had begun, there was an artificial fill next to the western scarp, gently rising upward from the bema.⁵⁰ After the excavations this fill was reconstructed in the same way as Kourouniotes and Thompson had proposed that the southeastern corner looked like, i.e., with an inclination of 4°, which would imply that the fill rose in the west to a maximum of 4 m. above the rockcut floor, and that the steps in the western scarp were reached from the level of the earth fill. If we suppose an original inclination of only *ca.* 2.2° of the slope here at this point as well as on the other side of the bema, the earth fill would at most reach the top of the scarp at the western extremity of the scarp, whereas the steps would end in the air (Fig. 40). This would not be surprising, if we like Stanton assume that these steps actually belonged to Pnyx II.⁵¹

If the seating floor of Pnyx III on both sides of the bema next to the scarps rose gently upwards from the bema, one would be tempted to suggest that this was the case for the whole auditorium. With an inclination of 2.2° an enormous amount of earth, with a height of 11 m. above the uppermost preserved line of blocks in the retaining wall to the north, must have eroded downslope at some point in time. As the fill which remains close to the retaining wall contains Roman material, this assumed erosion must have taken place before the Roman period. Otherwise the Roman artifacts would have been deposited at a depth exceeding 11 m. below the surface, which seems highly unlikely. Another explanation is, of course, that the construction of Pnyx III never was completed,⁵² thus leaving the seating floor in the north, contrary to that next to the scarps to slope downwards from the bema. Unfortunately we cannot tell if this was the case without opening new trenches on the Pnyx and scrutinising the stratigraphy once again.

It should, finally, be stressed that if Pnyx III was used as a meeting place of the *ekklesia* even if the construction of it had been left uncompleted, then this would influence our calculations as to how many persons could attend the meetings in Pnyx III. All calculations so far are based on the assumption that the enormous earth filling necessary to create a seating floor sloping towards the bema had a slanting outer edge in order to keep the soil in place. Thus the outer line of the auditorium would not be represented by the retaining wall but rather by the crest of the earthen embankment (Figs. 27 and 33).⁵³ If, however, we abandon the idea of a seating floor sloping down towards the bema all the way round, the outer line of the auditorium could well have been formed by the line of the retaining wall. This would increase the area of the auditorium by *ca.* 6 percent and allow a greater number of people to attend the meetings of the *ekklesia*.

⁵⁰ Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 153.

⁵¹ Stanton and Bicknell (1987), 62-63, n. 42 and Stanton in this volume.

⁵² The bema of Pnyx III clearly never was finished. The rock island in the southeast corner of the auditorium of Pnyx III has also been explained by the fact that the construction of Pnyx III never was completed. The stoas on the terrace above the auditorium, which were described by Thompson and Scranton as part of the same building program as Pnyx III, also clearly were left unfinished. Cf. Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 160-161; Thompson and Scranton (1943), 269-286 and Camp in this volume.

⁵³ Kourouniotes and Thompson (1932), 155.

Conclusion

Pnyx III must be regarded as a fourth century B.C. construction, but the "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" alone cannot tell us if it was constructed during the régime of Lykourgos or that of Euboulos. Although the German scholars back in the nineteenth century were wrong in trying to deny that the architectural remains on the Pnyx were the remains of the assembly place, they were right in stating that the area had been used as a sanctuary of Zeus with the epithet Hypsistos. This cult, however, was not established until after the abandonment of the area as an assembly place in what earlier had been the southeastern corner of the auditorium of Pnyx III. I also hope to have shown that our better knowledge of the hitherto neglected sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos gives reason to reconsider the reconstruction of Pnyx III as proposed by Kourouniotes and Thompson.

General Bibliography

References to ancient authors in the Proceedings follow the abbreviations of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*², with occasional expansion for clarity. The references to modern literature follow the Harvard system, giving only the author's name and the date of publication in the footnotes, whereas the full bibliographical references are printed in this bibliography. All abbreviations of serials in this bibliography follow the system used in *The American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991), 1-16.

In addition the following abbreviations have been used in the Proceedings:

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873-

I.Iasos = *Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 28.1-28.2. *Die Inschriften von Iasos* I-II, Bonn 1985.

I.Ephesos = *Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 11.1-17.4. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* I-VIII, Bonn 1979-1984.

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923-

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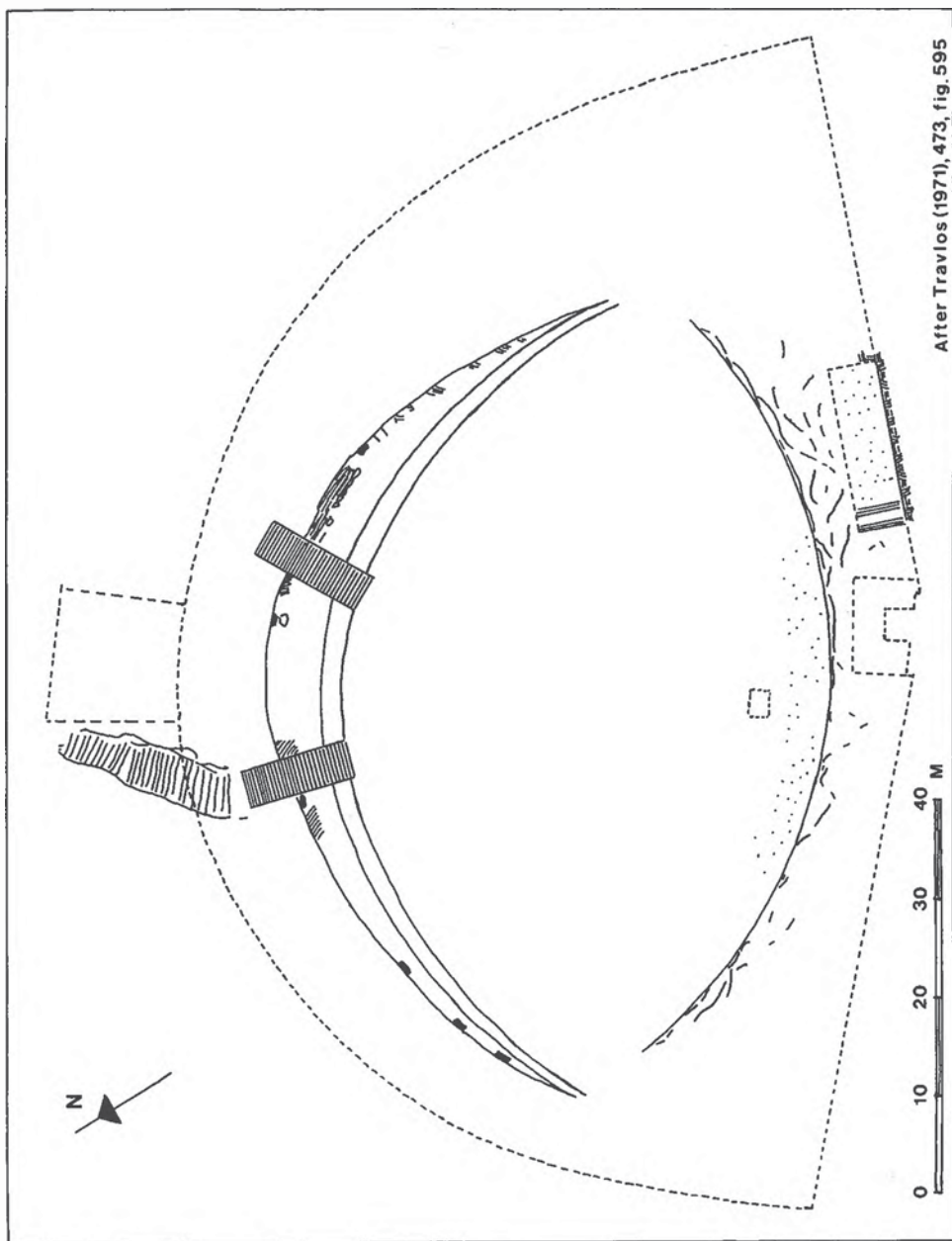


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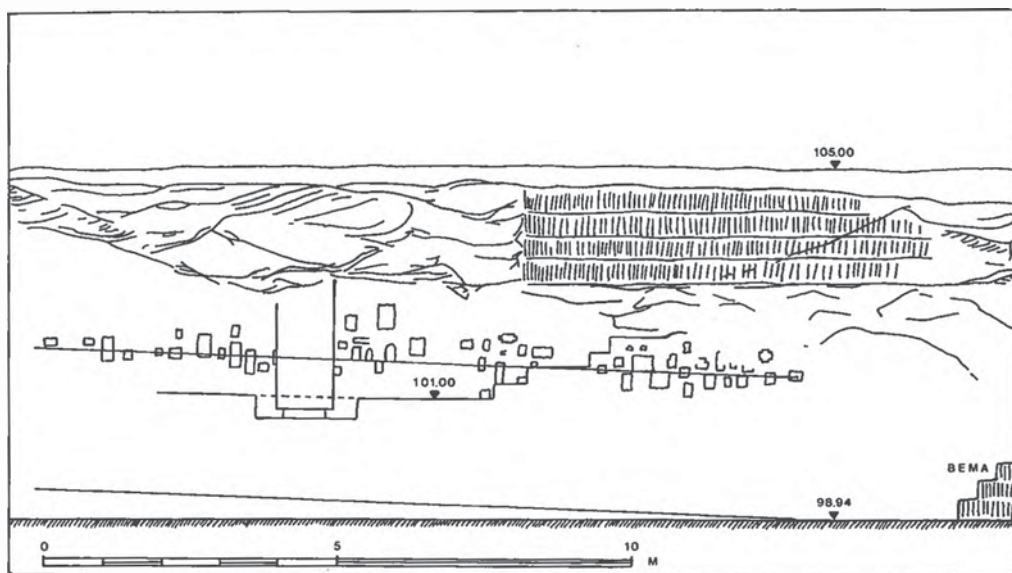


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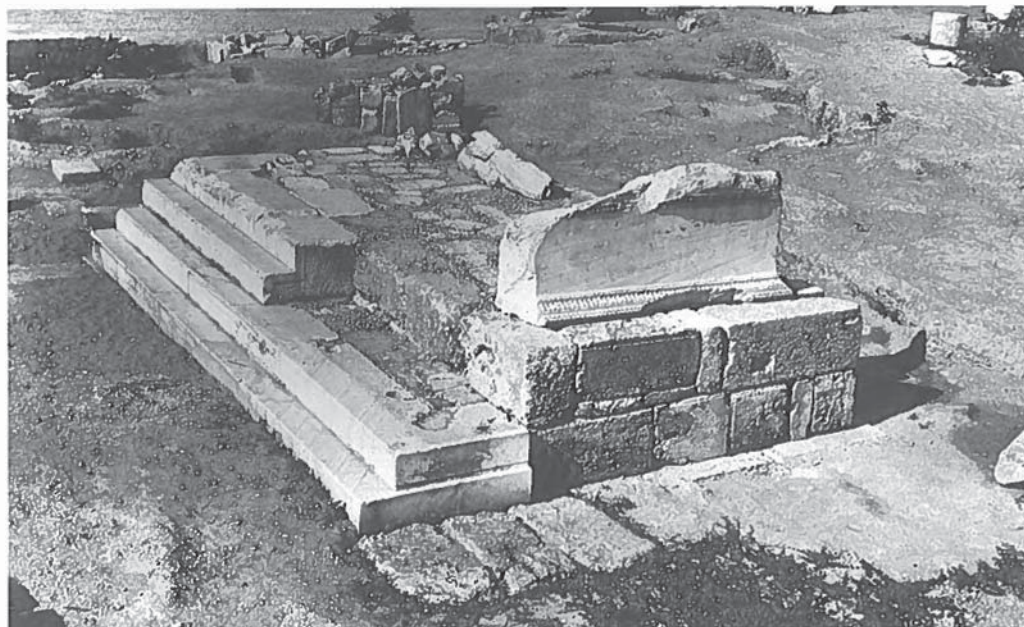


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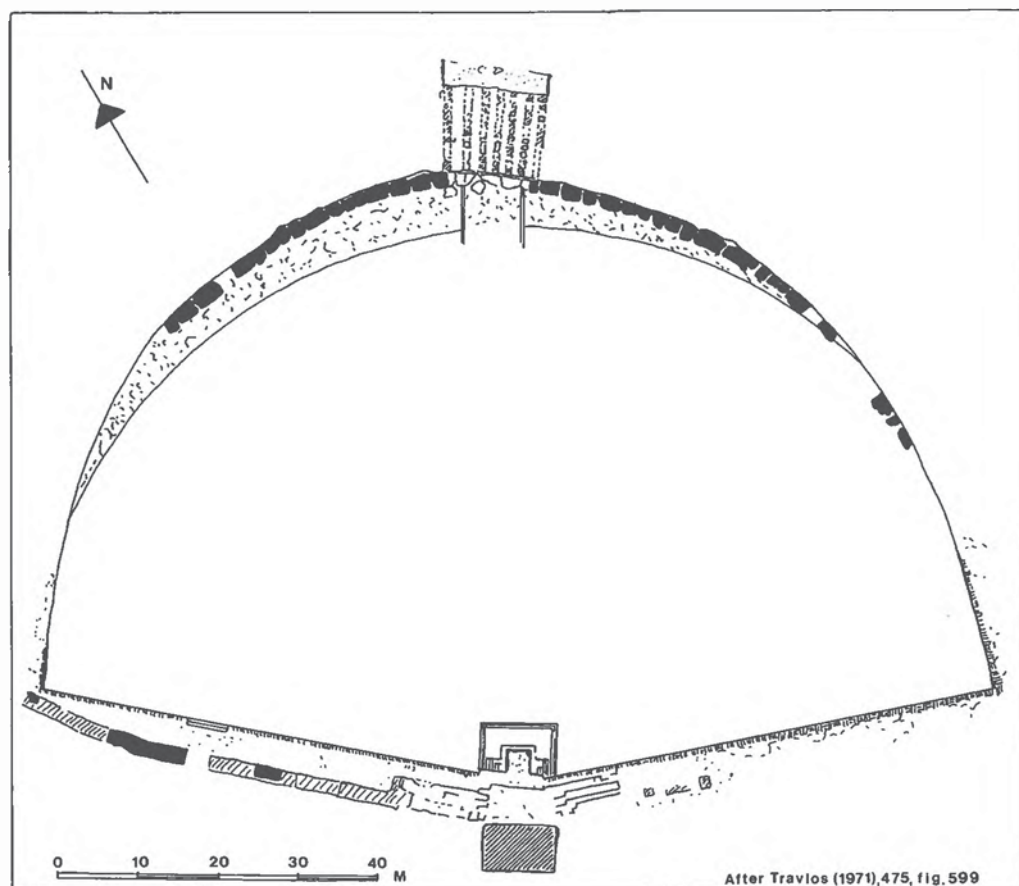


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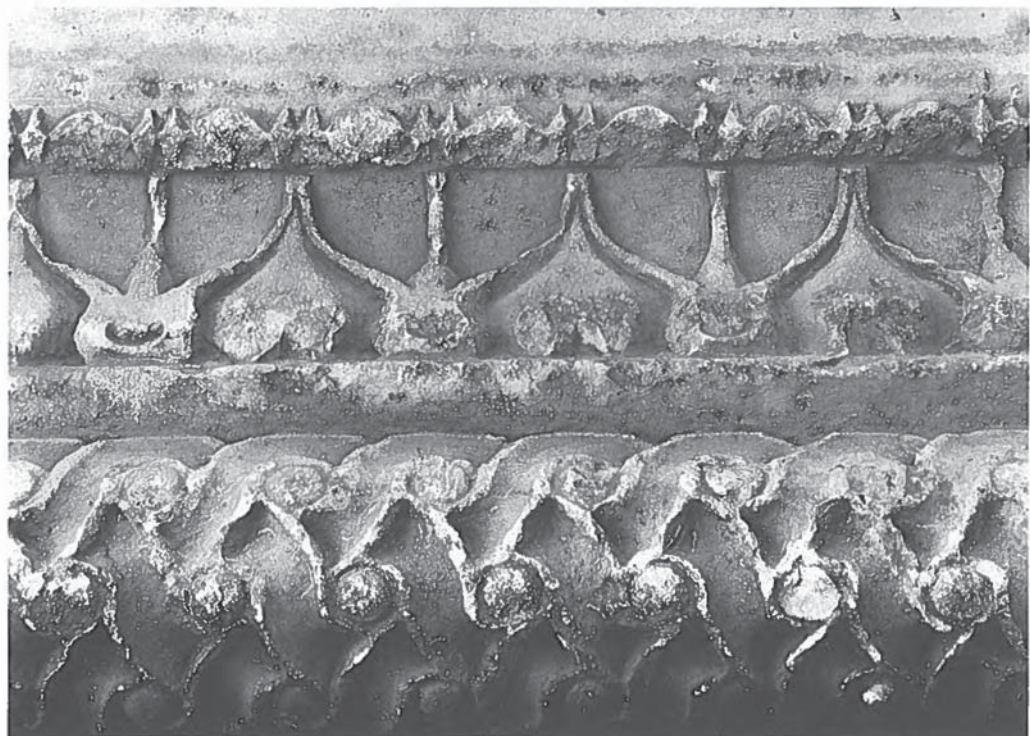


Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38

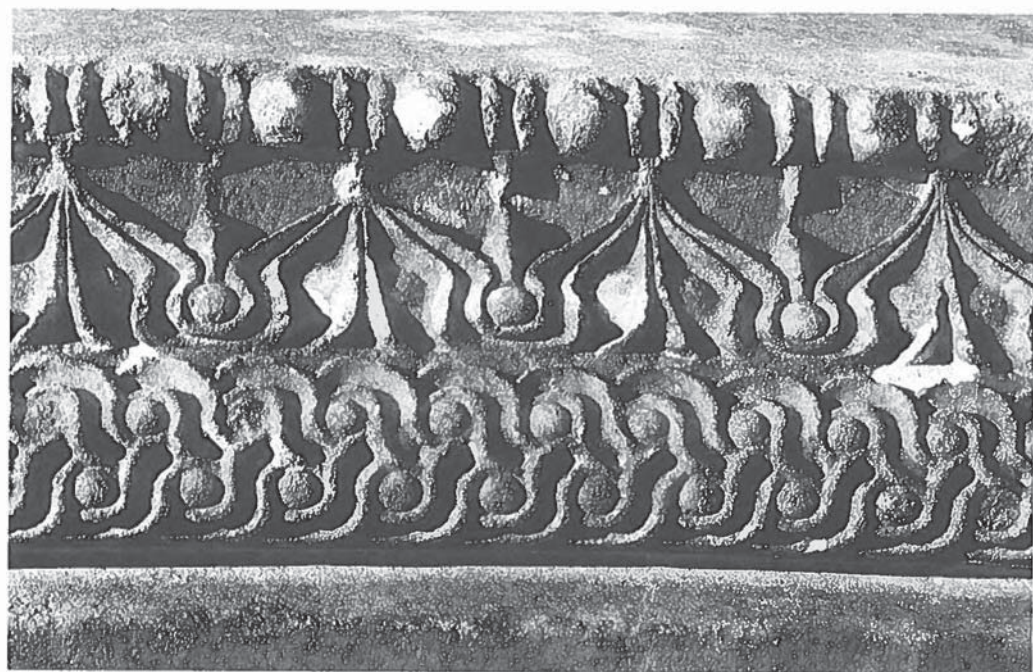
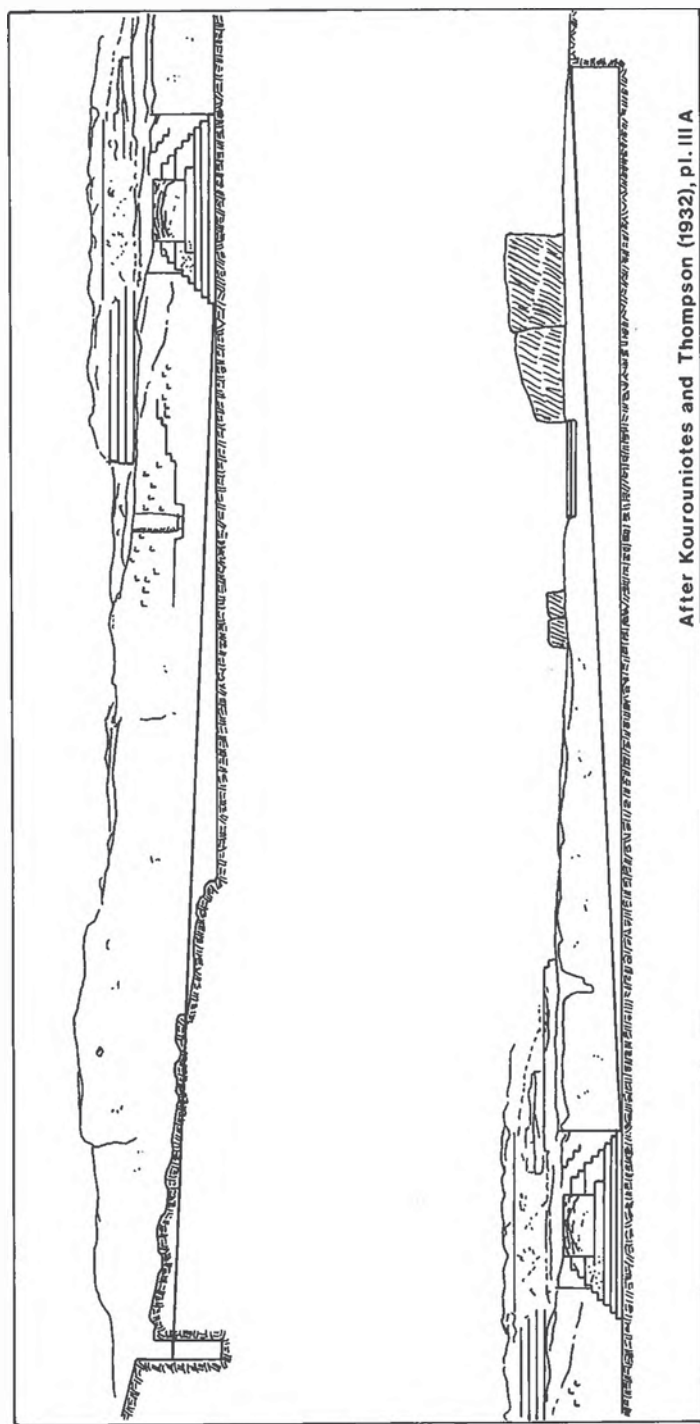


Fig. 39



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Fig. 40



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