

NOTES ON THREE ATHENIAN CULT PLACES

The name of the late Professor ANT. D. KERAMOPOULLOS is closely linked to the study of early Athens. The following article is dedicated to his memory.

PYTHION AND OLYMPION

A crucial problem in the topography of early Athens has to do with the two primitive sanctuaries of Pythian Apollo and Olympian Zeus, which Thucydides (II 15) cites as proof of the location and extent of the early city. Near these two cult places was an altar of Zeus Astrapaïos from which, as Strabo informs us¹, the Pythaistai watched for the lightning to flash over Harma, before they set out for their sacred mission to Delphi. Were these the shrines located on the North Slope of the Acropolis, a little above the Klepsydra (Fig. 1), or are they the sanctuaries of the same name, in the southeastern section of the ancient city²? The arguments for the former view were set forth by A. D. KERAMOPOULLOS in 1929³, so convincingly that some scholars regard the problem as definitely settled⁴.

It is not necessary to discuss here all the factors that have a bearing on the question, since this has been done many times in the past, and especially in the article by KERAMOPOULLOS. But there are still scholars who hold to the view that there was no cult of Zeus on the North Slope of the Acropolis and that the Pythion par excellence was that near the Temple of Zeus southeast of the Acropolis. In an article published in 1959 R. E. WYCHERLEY⁵ reviewed the evidence for the location of the Pythion and Olympion, and concluded that the shrines to which both Thucydides and Strabo refer are those near the Ilissos. He cites the only new evidence that has a bearing on this problem, two boundary stones from the Agora excavations. One of these⁶ is inscribed, ὄρος ἱερῶς | ὁδὸ δι' ἧς πορεύεται ἡ Πυθαίαις ἐς Δελφός. The other

1 STRABO, Geography, IX 2, 11.

2 For an attempt to explain the many duplications of Athenian cult places see my article in Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear, Hesperia Supplement VIII, pp. 47-59.

3 ANT. D. KERAMOPOULLOS, 'Αρχ. Δελτ. XII, 1929, pp. 86 ff. The earlier literature on the subject is given in IDA T. HILL's Ancient City of Athens, pp. 99 ff. and 233, notes 12-14, and pp. 211 ff. See also ARTHUR W. PARSONS, Hesperia XII, 1943, pp. 233 ff.

4 See Hesperia XI, 1942, p. 263; XII, 1943, pp. 233 ff. IDA T. HILL, op. cit. p. 200, connects the mission of the Pythaistai with the cult places on the North Slope, but on p. 214 she takes the passage in

THUCYDIDES III 5 to refer to the sanctuaries near the Ilissos. For a more recent view see IOANNES N. TRAVLOS, Πολεοδομική Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, Athens 1960, p. 27, Fig. 9, and cf. his plan, p. 35, Fig. 14. TRAVLOS (p. 61) follows KERAMOPOULLOS in locating the early Olympion and Pythion in the North Slope Caves. See also p. 59 note 3.

5 AJA LXIII, 1959, pp. 68 ff.

6 Hesperia XII, 1943, p. 237; R. E. WYCHERLEY, Testimonia, p. 224, No. 730. Throughout the present article the numbers preceded by T within parenthesis refer to R. E. WYCHERLEY, The Athenian Agora, Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia, Princeton 1957.

gives the boundary of the «temenos of Zeus Olympios»¹; but neither was found *in situ*. Although the two stones could have been brought to the Agora from any part of the ancient city, it is certainly more likely that they had been carried down from the

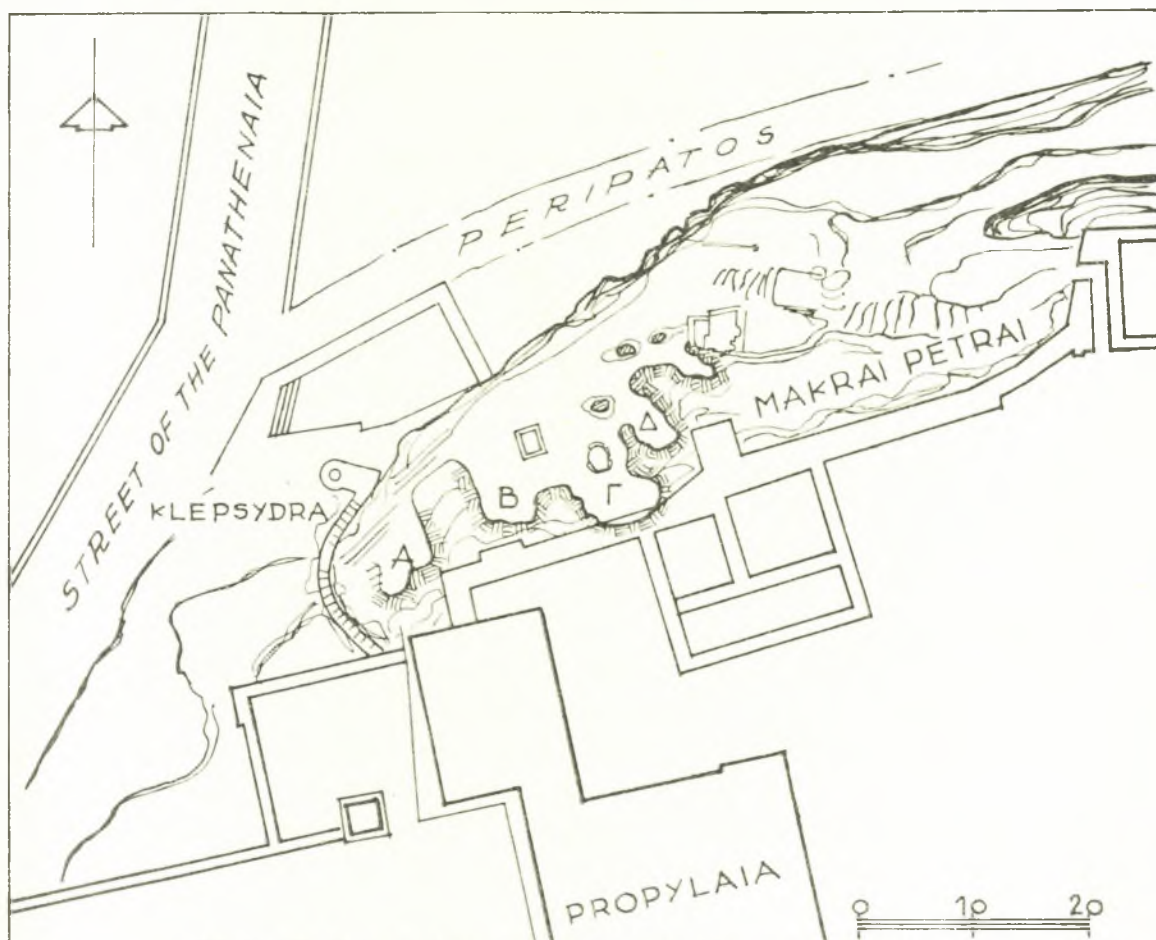


Fig. I. The Northwest Slope of the Acropolis, Showing the Cult Caves.

North Slope of the Acropolis than that both should have come from the more distant sanctuaries in the Ilissos valley. I shall attempt to show that the evidence for the Olympion as well as for the Pythion on the Acropolis slope is incontrovertible.

The late A.W. GOMME, who dealt extensively with the problem², argued that the cave sanctuary of Apollo on the North Slope was «not as far as we know (sacred) to Apollo Pythios», and that «the only known *hieron* of Olympian Zeus at Athens was that south-east of the Acropolis». WYCHERLEY takes a less extreme view: «one should perhaps assume that Apollo beneath the Long Rocks was sometimes called Pythios»³.

¹ WYCHERLEY, *op. cit.* p. 124; *Hesperia* XXVI, 1957, p. 91, No. 39. [hó]po[s] | [te]mén[os] | [Δι]ός [Ἵ]οι | [υμ]πι[ο]. In the present article Olympion refers to the Cave sanctuary of Zeus Olympios; Olympieion to the Temple and sanctuary southeast

of the Acropolis.

² *Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, 1956, II, pp. 51-61.

³ *AJA* LXIII, 1959, p. 72, and cf. his *Testimonia*, pp. 54, 179.

But he regards the altar of Zeus Astrapaïos of the Strabo passage as being not on the North Slope but on the city wall near the Temple of Zeus Olympios. He believes that Harma could be seen from this locality, and cites the observation of EUGENE VANDERPOOL who «reports that after climbing up the hill across the Ilissos (presumably the Ardettos) still below the epistyle of the Olympieion he had a full clear view of Harma.» This surprising statement seems rather to support the opposite view. The altar of Zeus, which Strabo calls an *eschara*, would not have been situated at the level of the temple epistyle; even if it be conceivable, however unlikely, that it was on top of the city wall, between the Olympieion and the Pythion. If that is where it was, then either the shrine of Olympian Zeus or that of Pythian Apollo would have been outside the city wall in Thucydides' day, and such a sanctuary would hardly have been cited as proof for the limited extent of early Athens. Moreover, recent excavations in the vicinity of the Olympieion have shown that this whole area was enclosed within the wall of Themistokles¹. Both sanctuaries lay on the same side of (inside) the city wall (Fig. 2). Neither then nor at any later time could the wall (τείχος) possibly have run between them. This in itself is sufficient to show that the Strabo passage cannot refer to the Olympieion and the Pythion in the southeast sector on the city.

WYCHERLEY finds it all «but unbelievable that Strabo means not this temple (of Zeus Olympios in the Ilissos valley) but an obscure shrine which has left no other trace in literature or in archaeological remains, that is, no trace unless one assumes that Thucydides too, in II, 15, is referring to the shrine on the Acropolis Slope». The answer to this objection is that Strabo is not here describing Athens; he is explaining the existence of two places called Harma, and he recalls the well-known saying, «When lightning flashes at Harma», which had come to denote an event that occurred very infrequently. Not only the saying but the *theoria* of the Pythaistai and, presumably, the starting place and route of their mission would have been known to Athenian readers so as to make it unnecessary to define further the location of the altar. But why should we assume that Strabo knew the exact location, or that he was aware of the existence of two sets of sanctuaries? He must have gathered his information about the lightning from other writers, perhaps Polemon, who knew Athens intimately. It is unlikely that Strabo ever visited Athens (see HORACE L. JONES in his introduction to *The Geography of Strabo*, in the Loeb Classical Library, vol. I, p. xxii). WYCHERLEY «would more readily assume that Strabo was mistaken about the business of the signal than that he was not referring to this Olympion» in southeastern Athens. The opposite is more likely to be the case. Strabo, notably ill informed about the topography of Greek cities, is rather to be trusted in his explanation of the adage about the lightning at Harma. But whether he located the Athenian shrines correctly matters very little, for we have the explicit testimony of a fifth century Athenian showing the connection of the sacred mission of the Pythaistai with the sanctuaries on the North Slope of the Acropolis.

¹ See I. N. TRAVLOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, note 4, and 53; also Pls. III-VII.

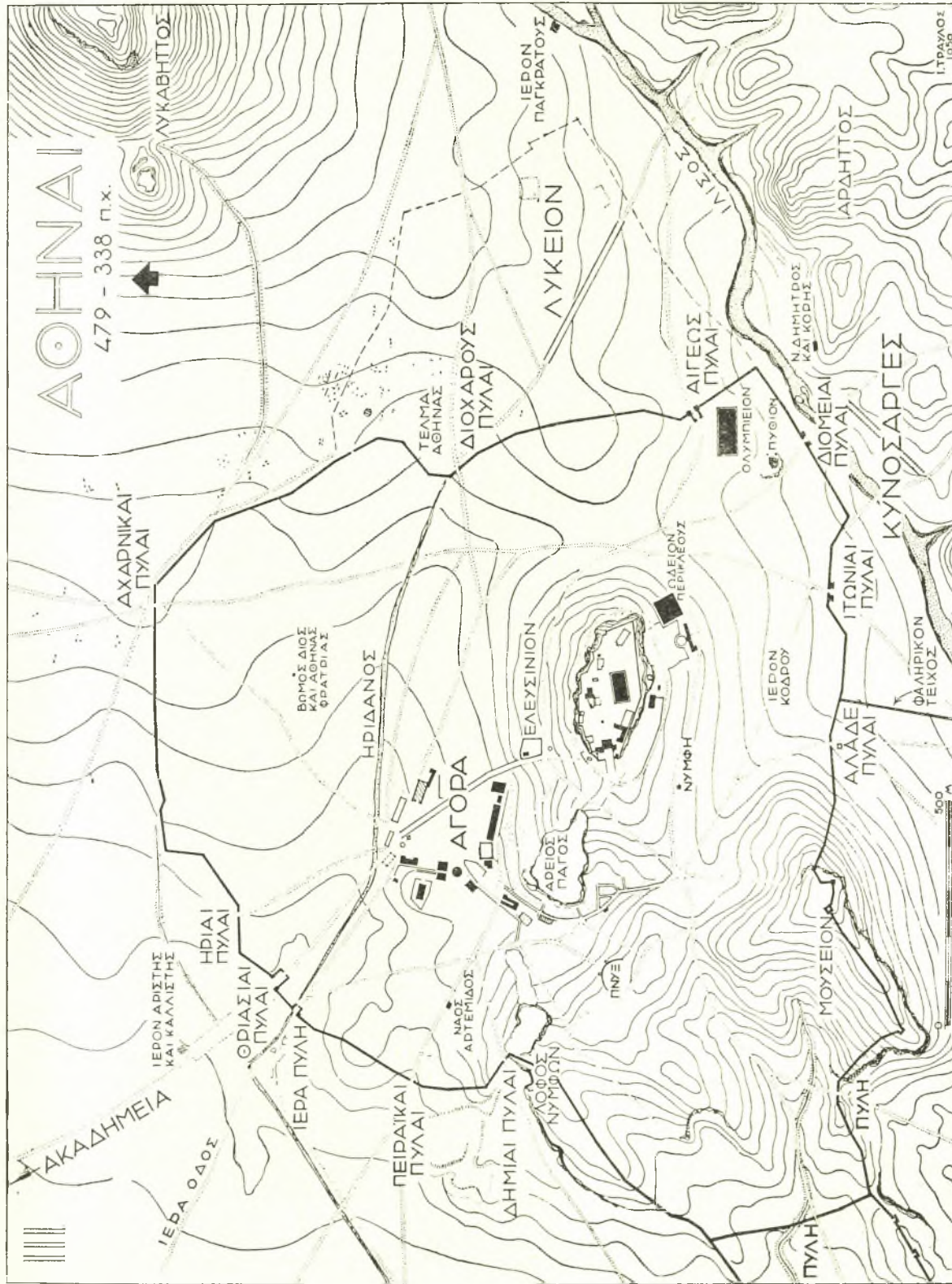


Fig. 2. Plan of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B. C. (From I. Travlos, Πολεοδομική εξέλιξη των Ἀθηνῶν, Plate III).

The solution is not to be sought in a re-interpretation of the text of Thucydides or that of Strabo but in a passage of Euripides' *Ion*, to which neither GOMME nor WYCHERLEY gives adequate attention. The latter dismisses the passage by remarking that «Euripides in the *Ion* is poetically vague in his Pythian allusions to the shrine on the Acropolis slope». The fact is that Euripides purposely worded the passage vaguely to prevent *Ion* from revealing his identity, but to Kreousa and to Athenians of Euripides' time it was anything but vague. And in view of Strabo's description of the signal by which the mission was sent on its way, the poet's description of the area involved becomes perfectly clear. When *Ion* questions Kreousa about Athens he mentions specifically the lightnings, the meaning of which the Athenians knew. In speaking of the Long Rocks he asks (l. 285): *Τιμᾶ σφε Πύθιος ἀστραπαί τε Πύθιαι*; Since the conversation is represented as being held in Delphi, Apollo might here be called Pythios because of his Delphic cult name¹, but what are the «Pythian Lightnings» other than the signal for the Pythais? Apollo was not normally the god of lightning²; it was Zeus Astrapaioi³, who sent the lightnings over Harma, as shown by the fact that the observation had to be made from his altar. To make sure that the topographical references are understood by the spectators, Euripides takes pains to explain in the prologue, spoken by Apollo's brother Hermes, that the cave where Apollo's tryst with Kreousa took place was beneath the Mount of Pallas, where the north-facing rocks, called Long Cliffs are located. These are the rocks later spoken of as being honored by Pythios and by the Pythian Lightnings. In plain prose this can only mean that these are the sacred haunts of the god, where the Pythian Lightnings play a role in the worship of Pythian Apollo. The Pythais demonstrated the claim of the Athenians to their close connection with Delphi. *Ion* was the human and divine link which proved their descent from the Pythian god, and it seems obvious that the *theoria* should start from the very cave where *Ion* was conceived. Euripides' dramatization of this story draws heavily on the events in the procession, which the spec-

1 That the Apollo sanctuary on the Acropolis slope was also called Pythion is clear from PHILOSTRATOS' *Vitae Sophistarum*, II 1, 7, which WYCHERLEY, *Testimonia*, p. 77, admits as referring to the shrine on the North Slope. PAUSANIAS I 28, 4, too speaks of the cave sanctuary of Apollo, to which he relates the myth of Kreousa's tryst with the god. Both he (*loc. cit.*) and EURIPIDES, *Ion*, ll 492-509, speak of the cult of Pan in the same connection, and the easternmost of the three caves (Fig. 1 Δ) has on plausible grounds been ascribed to Pan.

2 AXEL BOETHIUS, *Die Pythais*, pp. 8, 160 f., would have it that it was Apollo who sent the Pythian lightnings and he cites another instance in which Apollo appears in a similar role. He believes, however, that the lightnings over Harma, which he ascribes to Zeus Semaleos, were distinct from the Pythian Lightnings in the Euripides passage. This interpretation of the Strabo text seems to me

most unlikely. It results from BOETHIUS' attempt to refer the watching of the Pythaiatai to the area near the Ilissos. His explanation stands as an isolated attempt to harmonize the unmistakable reference in the *Ion* of Euripides to the Pythian Lightnings on the North Slope of the Acropolis with the theory that Strabo had in mind the two sanctuaries of Zeus Olympios and Apollo Pythios in the south-east section of the city. On the basis of such identifications the two testimonia can not be reconciled without ignoring one, as GOMME and WYCHERLEY did, or doing violence to the other.

3 There seems to have been a statue of Zeus hurling the thunderbolt (Astrapaioi) in Athens, and it is assumed that it was on the Acropolis, but we do not know where it stood. See IMHOOF-BLUMER and GARDNER, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pp. 137 ff., Pl. BB I; IDA T. HILL, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

tators had watched and in which many of them had doubtless participated¹. It has never, as far as I know, been suggested that the cave of Apollo in the Ion passage is any other than the cave above the Klepsydra Fountain. The reference to the Pythian Lightnings which honor the Long Rocks shows that it was from here that the Pythaistai set out for Delphi. From Strabo we know that there was a shrine of Olympian Zeus near that of Pythian Apollo, hence the Pythion and the Olympion were both on the Acropolis slope. The location of the former is definitely fixed by an inscription cut in the rock (Figs. 1Γ and 3); the Olympion can not be far away.

Although WYCHERLEY prefers to connect the Strabo passage with the sanctuaries of Olympian Zeus and of Pythian Apollo in the southeast section of the city, he makes a very plausible suggestion regarding the interpretation that he rejects; namely that the altar of Zeus Astrapaios, which KERAMOPOULLOS located below the Acropolis wall, would more naturally be placed on or within the Acropolis wall itself². Whether the Olympion of Strabo was Cave Γ in KAVVADIAS' plan³ (cf. our figure 1) or somewhere in the vicinity must remain uncertain. But in view of the clear reference in the Ion to the Pythian Lightnings, there seems to me to be no room for doubt that Strabo, or rather his sources, referred to the Cave of Apollo and a nearby Olympion on the North Slope of the Acropolis. These, then, are two of the early cult places which Thucydides adduced as proof of the limited extent of the early city. To apply this passage (II 15) to the shrines near the Ilissos would be to prove the very opposite. The locations of the other monuments that he mentioned are not directly affected by this interpretation. The problems regarding the Enneakronos, the Dionysion in the Marshes, the Lenaion, still await satisfactory solutions.

By way of recapitulation I would again emphasize the evidence, which seems to me conclusive, for locating the Olympion and the Pythion of Thucydides as well as of Strabo on the North Slope of the Acropolis.

1. The North Slope is admittedly the better place from which to watch the lightnings at Harma.

1 For description of the procession see AXEL BOËTHIUS, *op. cit.*, especially his summary, pp. 137-141.

2 The phrase *ἐν τείχει*, as WYCHERLEY points out, should refer to a fortification wall and could well apply to the wall around the Acropolis. This does not necessarily mean that the Acropolis wall separated the Olympion from the Pythion. The caves are directly below the Acropolis wall, so that an altar located on the wall or just inside it, half way between the two caves, might well have been loosely referred to as being *ἐν τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου*. It is conceivable that an ancient cult place of Zeus Astrapaios was inside the Acropolis wall of Classical times and became the reason for the abandonment of Mnesikles' plan for the northeast hall of the Propylaea; just as the Brau-

ronion apparently prevented the completion of the corresponding southeast wing and the Temple of Athena Nike caused the curtailment in the southwest corner of the building.

3 The plan is reproduced in KERAMOPOULLOS' article referred to above, p. 54 note 3, and in JANE E. HARRISON's *Primitive Athens*, p. 72, Fig. 22; and the caves are shown in W. JUDEBICH, *Topographie von Athen*, Plan II. The photograph of the caves published here in figure 3 is also reproduced in IOANNES N. TRAVLOS, *op. cit.*, p. 27, Fig. 9. It is a copy from a photographic plate in the German Archaeological Institute, made before the trees had grown up so as to obscure the ancient landmarks. I am indebted to JOSÉ DÓRIG and to CHRYSOULA KARDARA for providing me with the print.



Fig. 3. Northwest Slope of the Acropolis, Showing Caves above the Klepsydra (Aufnahme des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Athen, Akr. 324).

2. The phrase *ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου* in Strabo's Geography cannot apply to the area in the southeast, since the Olympieion and the Pythion were both situated within the city wall¹.

3. The two boundary stones found in the Agora and referring to the route of the Pythaistai and the temenos of Zeus Olympios are more likely to have come down from the slope of the Acropolis than to have been carried all the way from the Ilissos region.

4. In the Ion of Euripides, the *Πύθια ἀστραπαί*, which must be identified with the lightnings over Harma, are inseparably associated with the Sanctuary of Apollo in the North Slope of the Acropolis. This is the clinching argument for taking the Strabo passage to refer to the Cave Sanctuaries rather than to the distant shrines in the southeast part of Athens.

5. Having established the existence of a Pythion and an Olympion close to the Acropolis wall, we are justified in identifying those with the primitive cult places which Thucydides cites as being *πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως*².

Addendum: In a more recent article which appeared (AJA LVIII, 1963, pp. 75 - 79) after the present article had been sent to the printer, R.E. WYCHERLEY presents some additional points in support of his views concerning the Pythion in Athens. Admittedly, he adduces no new evidence, and with scholarly modesty he acknowledges the fact that the difficulties involved in his interpretation have not all been cleared away. He comments on the passage in Euripides' Ion but passes too lightly over the crucial point which ties the Pythian lightnings inextricably to the Long Rocks on the north slope of the Acropolis. As if to remove every doubt in the matter Euripides informs us that not only Pythios himself but the Pythian lightnings love the place called *Makrai Petrai*. Can this have any other meaning than that it was here that the lightnings, *πύθιαί τε ἀστραπαί*, sent by Zeus over Harma were observed which became the signal for the start of the Pythaistai? Those who contend that the mission started from the Pythion near the Temple of Zeus Olympios ought to find an explanation of this statement consistent with their views. Euripides puts this information in the mouth of Ion in the form of a question; he leaves the reply, well known to the Athenian spectators, unexpressed.

In the rest of his article WYCHERLEY presents a new interpretation of the vexed passage in Philostratos regarding the route of the Panathenaic ship. Because the des-

1 WYCHERLEY, AJA LXIII, 1959, p. 70, refers to, but does not accept, another interpretation of the meaning of *ἐν*, by which *ἐν τῷ τείχει* would be the equivalent of *ἐντὸς τείχους*. This would obviously be meaningless as applied to the city wall, though it could conceivably refer to the area of the Acropolis.

2 In the interpretation of this much discussed

passage I fully agree with DÖRPFELD *et al.* that *τοῦτο τὸ μέρος* must be construed as referring to the Acropolis, which is mentioned at the beginning of the same sentence, not to the South Slope to which the reference is made in the preceding sentence. See JANE E. HARRISON, *Primitive Athens*, pp. 5-10, 66-82, who gives the references to DÖRPFELD's articles.

cription has to do with a very special procession, staged by Herodes Atticus, WYCHERLEY mentions the possibility, but does not insist upon it, that the ship may have taken the longer route through the southeastern section of the city, perhaps even as far as the Stadium then just rebuilt in marble at Herodes' expense. He is doubtless right in thinking that the procession departed from the straight Panathenaic Way to go around (*περιβαλοῦσαν*) the Eleusinion because the gradient here was too steep for the mechanically operated ship to negotiate. I cannot agree with WYCHERLEY that Thucydides mentioned the more distant monuments within his early city so as to define the area, as it were. Even if the statement, *καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἴδονται* could refer to buildings so far away, it stretches the meaning of Thucydides' words to the thin edge of intelligibility to say that the region about the Olympieion lies *ὑπ' αὐτήν* (i.e. the Acropolis). The historian is not trying to prove the large extent of the early city but the opposite.

THE LEOKORION

In the Athenian Agora (Fig. 4) there were three important monuments which Pausanias does not name: the Altar of the Twelve Gods, the Orchestra, and the Leokorion. They were well-known landmarks, frequently mentioned by other writers and integrated into the traditions and early history of the city, and thus seem to meet the requirements for inclusion in his minute description of Athenian monuments. Why were they omitted? In the case of the first and second there are, it seems to me, convincing explanations. The altar is mentioned, but by another name¹. The Orchestra was no longer visible in the second century A.D., after the construction of the Odeion during the reign of Augustus². The reason for Pausanias' failure to mention the Leokorion may be twofold: (a) In his account of the Eponymoi he told the story of the sacrifice of the daughters of Leos, which was believed to have occasioned the establishment of the shrine, and he may have considered this brief mention sufficient; (b) at the reorganization of the Agora in Augustan times the Leokorion had lost its prominence as a landmark in the middle of the Agora, and the cult may have declined in importance. Its location within the ancient Agora has never been determined with any degree of probability.

R. E. WYCHERLEY, in his publication of the «Testimonia of the Athenian Agora», lists 24 references by ancient authors to the Leokorion (T. 144, 245, 317-338). From these we learn that it was the reputed shrine of the three daughters of Leos, who were sacrificed by their father to end a famine that threatened Attica; that it was a well-known landmark of the Agora, situated «in the middle of the Kerameikos,» where

¹ See MARGARET CROSBY, *Hesperia Supplement VIII*, pp. 102-103; and WYCHERLEY, *Testimonia*, p. 122, No. 378.

² This need not mean that the Old Orchestra was on the exact spot or that it covered the same

area as that later occupied by the Odeion. But after the construction of the Temple of Ares and the Odeion there was not enough open space left, nor was there any further need for the Orchestra as a theatrical area.

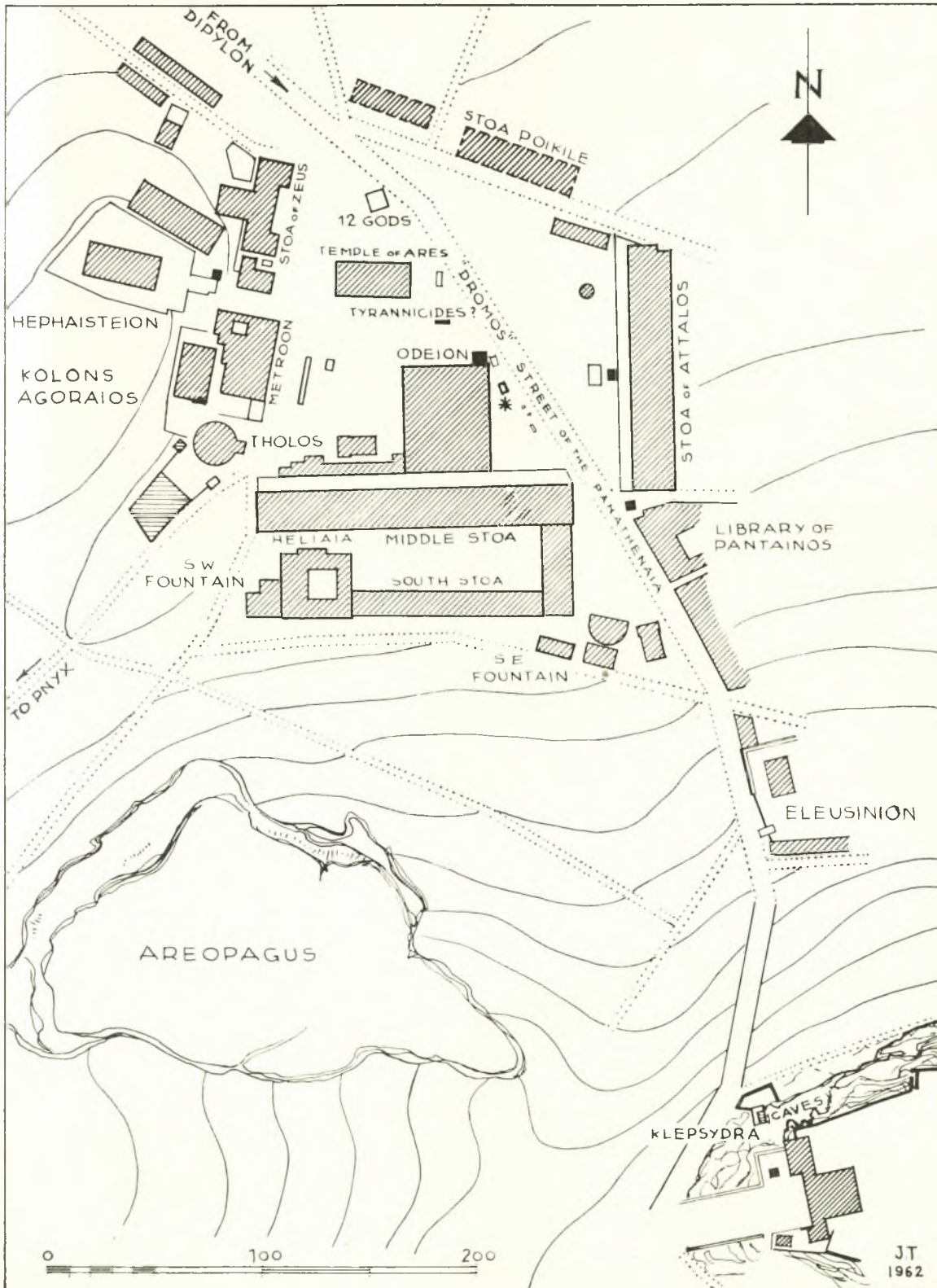


Fig. 4. The Agora, with the Street of the Panathenaia.

the Panathenaic procession was arranged in final order before leaving the public square for the Acropolis. Unlike many other monuments in the Agora, which are known only from late authors or from epigraphical sources of doubtful meaning, the Leokorion was considered well enough known to be used as a point of reference. Authors of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. — Thucydides, Aristotle, and Demosthenes — refer to it as a place familiar to Athenians of their day.

The literary sources do not make specific reference to its location within the Agora, except for the phrase *ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ*, which occurs in Harpokration (T 326), Hesychios (T 327), Photios (T 329), and in a scholion on Demosthenes LIV, 7 (T 324). On the basis of the information gathered from these sources the Leokorion has been placed at various points within or close to the ancient Agora. There is a tendency among scholars to push it as far toward the north as possible. In their attempt to find a place for it in the middle of the market place and also near the north edge, scholars have arrived at strangely contradictory conclusions. Thus DYER¹ (1873) thought that it may « have stood about the middle of the Agora, which eventually may have embraced a space outside the ancient wall as well as within it. » WACHSMUTH² in 1874 (vol. I) put it in the north half of the Agora, but also in the middle (« sicher auch *ἐν μέσῳ Ἐγορᾷ* und wahrscheinlich in der Nordhälfte »); later in volume II (1890)³, he emphasizes that it was not at the edge but in the middle of the market place (« und zwar lag es nicht am Rande des Marktes, sondern mitten auf dem freien Areal desselben »). ERNST CURTIUS⁴ (1891) related its origin to the cleansing of the city and compared it to the later purification by Epimenides, whose statue stood near the Eleusinion on the lower North Slope of the Acropolis. CHARLES WELLER⁵ (1913) « judged that it was on the edge of the Agora, at the north ». This is hardly more than a translation from WALTHER JUDEICH⁶ (First edition 1905, second, 1931), who put it « am Nordabschluss des Stadtmarktes ». FORSTER SMITH⁷ (1919) states categorically that it stood « in the Inner Cerameicus, near the Temple of Apollo Patrous », but cites no authority. KOCK⁸ (1925) also would have it « wohl auf der Nordhälfte des Marktes, an der älteren Feststrasse ». His authority is chiefly Thucydides⁹, who states that Hipparchos was slain at the Leokorion.

The modern authors cited above arrived at their conclusions before the Agora had been excavated. None of the many foundations uncovered in the excavations has been identified as the Leokorion, and recent literature about the Agora has not thrown much new light on the problem. DÖRPFELD¹⁰ (1937, 1939) took the monu-

1 T. H. DYER, *Ancient Athens, Its History, Topography and Remains*, pp. 247-248.

2 C. WACHSMUTH, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum I*, p. 212.

3 *Ibid.* II, pp. 413-418.

4 *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, pp. 63, 64.

5 *Athens and its Monuments*, p. 128.

6 *Topographie von Athen*, II, p. 338.

7 THUCYDIDES, *Loeb Classical Library*, vol. III, p. 283, note 1.

8 KOCK in PAULY-WISSOWA-KROLL, *RE* XII, 2, cols. 2000-2001.

9 THUCYDIDES I 20; VI 57.

10 *Alt-Athen und seine Agora*, I, p. 39; II, p. 236.

ment identified by the Leagros inscription as the Altar of the Twelve Gods to be the Leokorion. Two of the publications that have appeared since World War II, «The Ancient City of Athens» (1953) by IDA THALLON HILL and the «Guide to the Athenian Agora» (1954) make no mention of the Leokorion. NATHAN VALMIN¹ (1953) follows CURTIUS in relating the shrine to the cleansing of the city from the pollution and suggests that it was identical with the Kyloneion². The latter, however, was near the Areopagos and could hardly have been thought of as being in the middle of, or even very near, the Kerameikos. BARBARA HUGHES FOWLER³ reviews the topographical implications of the Demosthenes passage (T 323) in which the Leokorion is twice mentioned and concludes that «the Leokorion must have been located just north of the American excavations, or just beyond the Athens-Piraeus railroad.» WYCHERLEY⁴ too finds that «the literary evidence points vaguely towards the north.» More recently I. N. TRAVLOS would look for it very close to the Altar of the Twelve Gods. He proposes to identify it with a circular structure found in 1891 when the Athens-Piraeus railroad was made⁵.

One consideration, which seems to have been overlooked by all these scholars, would help us fix the location within very narrow limits. Thucydides in two different passages⁶ states that Hipparchos was dispatched close to (*περί, παρά*) the Leokorion, where he was marshalling the Panathenaic procession; and Aristotle (T 321), whose account of the event differs from that of Thucydides in other respects⁷, agrees about the location of the slaying. Thucydides further tells us that the tyrant's guards set upon the slayers and that Harmodios perished immediately on the spot (*αὐτοῦ*), i.e. where the tyrant had been killed, and that Aristogeiton was seized and tortured to death. The two slayers were buried among the honored dead along the road to the Academy; their statues were set up in the Agora, and the polemarch offered hero sacrifices (*ἑναγίσματα*) in their honor (T 258), presumably on the anniversary of the slaying.

It is reasonable to assume that the statues were erected on the spot marked by the slaying both of Hipparchos and of Harmodios. There is no express statement to that effect in the testimonia; but, aside from mere probabilities, there is some evidence to support the supposition. The erection of the statues represented a break in the tradition of the city, so violent that several writers, Aristotle (T 259), Demosthenes (T 261), and Pliny (T 271), comment upon it. More than a century was to pass before the next statue in honor of a mortal was set up in the Agora (T 261). The area around the Tyrannicides was inviolable for a long time after it had become a practice to permit the erection of honorary statues elsewhere in the Agora (T 261).

1 Forntidens Athen, p. 41.

2 But see JUDEICH, op. cit., p. 63.

3 Class. Phil. LIII, 1958, pp. 174-175.

4 Testimonia, p. 113.

5 Op. cit. p. 41, note 1.

6 See p. 64 note 9.

7 On the discrepancies between the two accounts in Thucydides and Aristotle see MABEL LANG, Historia III, 1954/55, pp. 395-407.

When the ban was lifted and statues of Antigonos and Demetrios were set up in the same place, the newcomers received divine honors as « Saviors » of the city, and were thus placed on a par with the Tyrannicides (T 264).

The monument was something more than a memorial of their daring deed, it was regarded as a heroon. It seems to have been used for asylum (T 265); and when the original statues came to Rhodes on their return journey from Persia they were there treated with honors accorded heroes (T 277). The enagismata were probably offered at the monument in the Agora rather than at the tomb. It seems likely that the statues were endowed with so much sanctity precisely because they had been erected on the spot hallowed by the action of the two heroes.

There were other monuments in Athens dedicated on the very spot of action in commemoration of events of special interest to the city. Most of these, to be sure, were connected with mythological heroes and events, e.g. the shrine of Aigeus below the Nike Bastion, the Tomb of Kalos above the Theater, the Aglaurion on the North Slope of the Acropolis, the Amazonion near the Areopagos. There were others, however, with definite historical significance, such as the shrine of Kodros¹, the Kylo-
neion², and the altar to Demetrios Kataibates³.

If we are correct in assuming that the statues of the Tyrannicides were set up where Hipparchos was slain, it follows that the Leokorion was located near the place where the Odeion was built in the time of Augustus. The statues stood near the Odeion and the Temple of Ares in the most central spot in the Agora⁴. Many graves of Mycenaean and Protogeometric times have been found in this vicinity, and it is likely that a cult of the self-sacrificing girls was somehow related to ceremonies that centered around a tomb. A cult of this kind could have originated from the accidental discovery of an ancient grave⁵, especially if located in a public place in the Athenian Agora, where burials were normally forbidden. Peculiar circumstances of discovery might have contributed in giving the cult the distinctive form that it assumed. The rich mythological lore of Athens could have furnished a suitable religious framework to which the cult could be attached. The monument is called *τέμενος*, *λερόν*, *delubrum*, *ἡρώων*, *μνημεῖον*, *τόπος*, and one late author speaks of « shrines and altars » of the daughters of Leos. It is nowhere referred to as a *τάφος*, but the word *μνημεῖον* is frequently used of tombs of specially honored individuals. The cult place is not mentioned in any extant inscription, although writers of the fifth and fourth centuries, as we have seen, refer to it as a landmark and point of reference. Inscriptions mentioning the Tyrannicides contain the proviso that a given statue may be set up anywhere « except by Harmodios and Aristogeiton » (T 278, 279). If the two monuments were close together, the prohibition could have applied to both.

1 JUDEICH, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

2 JUDEICH, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 286.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 412; R. E. WYCHERLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

4 R. E. WYCHERLEY, *op. cit.* pp. 93-98; EUGENE VANDERPOOL, *Hesperia* XVIII, 1949, pp. 128-137.

5 This seems to have happened more than once; cf. EMILY D. TOWNSEND, *Hesperia* XXIV, 1925, p. 202; and see below, p. 67 note 3. For similar practices in Corinth, see BRONEER, *Hesperia* XI, 1942, pp. 128-161.

Objections against this location might be raised on the ground that in an area so centrally located in the Agora, it would not have been permitted to erect booths such as are known to have existed near the Leokorion. Demosthenes (T 323) specifies that the incident which he relates took place at (*κατά*) the Leokorion, near (*ἐγγύς*) the establishment of Pythodoros. Whatever sanctity prevailed in areas devoted to religious observances, the Athenians seem to have drawn no clear line of demarcation between such places and the areas of purely secular activities. There are many references in ancient authors to commercial establishments near known monuments in the Agora¹, and elsewhere in the city, and the « booth of Pythodoros » need not have been in immediate contact with the monument. It might have stood in the area a little farther to the south which later became the site of the commercial market.

In the area between the Panathenaic Road and the Odeion there are several foundations of unknown monuments. One of these is a deep, stonelined chamber² originally covered with stone slabs that rested on two transverse beams of stone. This « tomb » seems to have been constructed in early Hellenistic times, before the Middle Stoa was built in the second century B.C. An interesting feature is a row of five cuttings for stelai and a sixth cutting of a different nature. It has been suggested that this is « a tomb, presumably of someone to whom divine honors were granted after death. » From the nature of the monument this seems very probable, but we can hardly assume that the person so honored had lived as late as the fourth century B.C. It is more likely that the chamber was constructed to contain the bones of someone who had been buried in the same spot at a very early date³. I would suggest that this monument (Fig. 4*) may be the Leokorion. Since the cult can be traced as far back as the fifth century, and was probably much earlier, we must assume that another form of monument, perhaps a simple grave with a sculptured or inscribed stele, preceded the existing chamber. The original stele, which would have been retained, might have occupied the square cutting, and the other stelai perhaps contained regulations concerning the cult.

There is as yet no publication of the Hellenistic monument, beyond the brief mention in the «Guide to the Athenian Agora», and the proposed identification of it with the Leokorion is no more than a tentative suggestion. But apart from this conjecture, I believe that the location of the Leokorion, based on the assumption that the statues of the Tyrannicides marked the spot where the slaying occurred, can be defined within very narrow limits. It should not be placed at the north edge of the Agora but near its very center, and very close to the later Odeion of Agrippa⁴.

OSCAR BRONEER

¹ JUDEICH, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-359.

² This monument is briefly described in «The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavations», p. 64.

³ There is another example in the same vicinity of what appears to be a hero cult of some kind. See HOMER A. THOMPSON, *Hesperia* XXVII, 1958, pp. 148-153.

⁴ The manuscript of this article was read by

several members of the Agora Staff — HOMER THOMPSON, EUGENE VANDERPOOL, JOHN TRAVLOS and by R.E. WYCHERLEY, and I have profited by their criticism: which, however, does not imply agreement on their part with all the conclusions reached in my studies. To JOHN TRAVLOS I am also indebted for the drawings in figures 1, 3 and 4.