

# Pausanias at Athens, II

## A Commentary on Book I, Chapters 18–19

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SEVERAL years ago I discussed Pausanias' account of the Athenian Agora in this journal, in the light of the detailed archaeological knowledge of the site provided by the American excavations.<sup>1</sup> The next phase of his description of the city, intermediate between the Agora and the Acropolis with its nearer approaches, is concerned almost entirely with the southeastern quarter, dominated then as now by the great temple of Olympian Zeus. In this region as well archaeological research, supplemented by occasional lucky finds, has provided a good deal of new material since the time of Judeich,<sup>2</sup> though nothing so extensive or spectacular as the Agora; and the time has perhaps come to reconsider this section of Pausanias too, and to ask what has been gained in detailed interpretation and in the appreciation of his peculiar methods and unique value.

Since the writing of my earlier article, G. Roux' important book on Pausanias at Corinth<sup>3</sup> has appeared. M. Roux has worked out a convincing itinerary, more continuous than one had hitherto thought possible. He admits that many of the monuments cannot be identified beyond question, but rightly assumes that general coherence around even a few fixed points may be allowed to carry conviction. At the same time he emphasizes and illustrates the difficulties occasioned by Pausanias' peculiar method of writing. Pausanias was "affecté d'une certaine préciosité ampoulée commune à ses contemporains." Roux attributes to him "un abandon aux automatismes littéraires de

<sup>1</sup> GRBS 2 (1959) 23–49. N.B.: The Herms-Stoa is now attested by an inscription found NW of the Agora; BCH 86 (1962) 640.

<sup>2</sup> *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup> (Munich 1931); see especially 380ff and 415ff.

<sup>3</sup> G. Roux, *Pausanias en Corinthie* (Paris 1958); see especially pp. 10 and 12. Roux smooths out a major difficulty by showing that "Temple E", above the Agora to the west, may be and probably is Pausanias' temple of Octavia, in spite of alleged archaeological evidence for a later date (p. 112). Pausanias' mode of introducing this temple is in some ways like his treatment of the Hephaisteion at Athens (see GRBS 2 [1959] 23–49), involving a kind of backward glance after passing by.

l'époque," and again, "l'incapacité de pousser l'analyse jusqu'à la clarté parfaite"; and he castigates those commentators who emend away too freely the resultant obscurities. In this judgement Roux perhaps deals a little too severely with his author. But he makes amends by paying final tribute to Pausanias' fundamental veracity and reliability, to which Corinth and the Corinthia now bear still clearer witness. Roux' book strengthens one's confidence in Pausanias, and at the same time corroborates the view of his aims and methods suggested by study of Athens and especially the Agora. In spite of distractions and complications attributable to Pausanias the would-be literary artist, it is Pausanias the guide and topographer who determines the main lines of the periegesis; and the modern topographer, despite curious kinks and tangles, may normally assume that in Pausanias he is following a continuous clue of thread.

Returning to his account of Athens, one might first consider the place of this episode in the periegesis as a whole, and reflect on the attention which he devotes to it and his comparative neglect of other sectors. At Athens Pausanias was attempting his most formidable task at the very outset of his work. Here more than anywhere else the problems of selection and arrangement were all too apparent. Apart from the Acropolis (with the Areopagus) and the Agora, the south-east region is the only area which he covers in any detail. He seems to regard the whole of it as belonging to the city in the narrower sense, even that part which lay outside the walls in the Ilissos bed.<sup>4</sup> He makes no clear distinction between shrines which were inside and outside, and crosses the line of the wall repeatedly without mentioning it. By contrast, when he ultimately leaves by the way he entered at the northwest, to proceed to the Academy by way of the cemetery, he begins, "Outside the city too, in the demes and on the roads, the Athenians have sanctuaries." The parts of Athens on which Pausanias concentrates form a zone stretching from northwest to southeast. A large area in the north and another in the west and southwest are left almost untouched. The former may indeed have been almost entirely deficient in interest from Pausanias' point of view as an antiquarian with a religious bias. We know of no important public buildings or notable shrines in this quarter. No doubt it was predominantly a residential area. Yet even in such sections of the city we repeatedly find

<sup>4</sup> The wall may indeed have remained dilapidated and ineffective since the time of Sulla; see J. Travlos, *Πολιοδομικὴ Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1960) 93.

interesting shrines embedded amongst the houses.<sup>5</sup> The neglect of the western and southern hills is more surprising and unfortunate, and one could wish that at some stage Pausanias had followed their crests and given some useful guidance on their shrines and monuments.

His most important omission is the Pnyx, as Frazer noted.<sup>6</sup> Even if (as is likely) it was not used by the *Ekklēsia* in his time, the assembly place was a notable monument. The ancient name was interesting, and there were religious associations, with shrines of Zeus Agoraios,<sup>7</sup> Zeus Hypsistos<sup>8</sup> (a place of healing, attested by many dedications of Pausanias' own time), and possibly the Thesmophorion.<sup>9</sup> The deme Melite extended northwards from this region to include the Hephais-teion, which of course Pausanias mentions in connection with the Agora, and the Eurysakeion,<sup>10</sup> probably somewhat further south, which he mentions not in its topographical context but incidentally later when speaking of the shrine of Ajax at Salamis (1.35.3). The most famous shrine of Melite was that of Herakles Alexikakos, which, as I have tried to show elsewhere,<sup>11</sup> was probably on a road leading up to the saddle between the Pnyx hill and the hill of the Nymphs to the north. Pausanias does not mention it, nor yet the shrine of Artemis Aristoboule, established in Melite by Themistokles and known personally to Plutarch, probably to be identified with the small temple of Artemis recently discovered just north of the hill of the Nymphs.<sup>12</sup>

One has to bear in mind that some minor shrines may no longer have existed in Pausanias' time. The newly discovered small archaic shrine of the Nymph,<sup>13</sup> for example, south of the Acropolis, does not seem to have survived the destruction of the city by Sulla. But Athenian cults were very tenacious of life, and unless there is evidence to the contrary I think one should normally assume that important old shrines and cults continued in existence.

The hill of the Nymphs, so called now from the rock-cut inscription

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Artemis Amarysia, adjacent to a house in Kydathenaion, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 272.

<sup>6</sup> *Pausanias* II (London 1898) 375.

<sup>7</sup> See *The Athenian Agora* III, *Testimonia* (cited below as *Agora* III) 122–124.

<sup>8</sup> Judeich, 396; *Hesperia* 1 (1932) 196–7, 5 (1936) 154; *Agora* III, 124.

<sup>9</sup> Judeich, 398; see, however, *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 265 and *Agora* III, 82.

<sup>10</sup> *Agora* III, 90–93.

<sup>11</sup> *AJA* 63 (1959) 67b.

<sup>12</sup> Judeich, 390; *AJA* 63 (1959) 279; Travlos, *op.cit.* 52.

<sup>13</sup> *Tò Ἔργον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας* 1957, 9–12; 1958, 5–12; *AJA* 62 (1958) 321.

near its summit,<sup>14</sup> is not mentioned by Pausanias. It possessed a shrine of Zeus,<sup>15</sup> too, possibly of Zeus Meilichios, a deity whose cult was important at Athens and who seems to have had several shrines, though Pausanias mentions only an altar which he saw near the Kephisos (§37.4).

The hill called Mouseion too,<sup>16</sup> beyond the Pnyx to the south, is mentioned only incidentally (§§25.8, 20.2), in a historical narrative incorporated in the description of the Acropolis. The occasion is provided by the statue of Olympiodoros, which stood by the south wall of the Acropolis. It is as if Pausanias glanced momentarily across. But having done so he does go out of his way to add a note. The Mouseion is a hill opposite the Acropolis within the ancient peribolos (*i.e.* no doubt the Themistoklean wall). Mousaios is said to have sung and been buried there; later a monument was erected to “a Syrian.” Pausanias could hardly have failed to see the monument of C. Julius Philopappus, whom he dismisses thus curtly—it was unfortunately conspicuous then as now. But this passing glance is all the hill receives. Yet besides its other associations it figured prominently in the story of Theseus and the Amazons, as told by Plutarch on the authority of Kleidemos.<sup>17</sup>

All this serves to emphasize Pausanias’ special interest in the southeastern quarter and the emphasis he places upon it. It was richer in cult and legend than any part of Athens except the Acropolis and the Agora. I am increasingly convinced that this is what Thucydides had particularly in mind in his account of the primitive city, when he singled out a certain group of shrines as indicating the southward trend of the city away from the immediate neighborhood of the Acropolis; but that is a different story.<sup>18</sup> But it was also part of “the city of Hadrian” and the scene of his most splendid work at Athens. Pausanias commonly turns a blind eye to “modern” developments. The benefactions of Hadrian, however, excited his warm interest, and he digresses to pay a handsome tribute to them (§18.9). The western quarter may have lain comparatively neglected and desolate—not that this in itself would necessarily deter Pausanias, who elsewhere

<sup>14</sup> IG I<sup>2</sup>.854; Judeich, 398.

<sup>15</sup> IG I<sup>2</sup>.863; II<sup>2</sup>.4677, 4678; Judeich, 398; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II, 1114.

<sup>16</sup> Judeich, 91f, 162f, 424.

<sup>17</sup> *Theseus* 27.3.

<sup>18</sup> Thucydides 2.15.4; *cf.* *AJA* 67 (1963) 75ff. For an interesting and different view of these SE shrines see O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8, 54.

frequently mentions dilapidated monuments; but at Athens his task was in any case overwhelming.

§18.4. “As you go from this point to the lower part of the city there is a shrine of Sarapis.” Pausanias’ point of departure, when he finally leaves the Agora and its adjacent shrines and public buildings on the east, is the Prytaneion, which stood at some point still undetermined, southeast of the Agora and north of the Acropolis.<sup>19</sup> As so often, his topographical indication is unfortunately ambiguous. With Judeich (380) one might take it to mean that he is simply descending the slope below the Acropolis and that τὰ κάτω means northern Athens. But as we have seen he apparently has no interest in this region and no occasion to visit it. More probably τὰ κάτω means the region to which we are now proceeding, in the southeast on the bank of the Ilissos. Pausanias might recall this as conspicuously κάτω in relation to the Acropolis slopes, where we find him lingering both before and after (§20.1) this episode. What he says is not at all helpful for the location of Sarapis. This shrine, and the place where Theseus and Peirithous took their oath,<sup>20</sup> and the shrine of Eileithyia, might be almost anywhere between the Prytaneion and the Olympieion as far as he is concerned. One feels that once again he is supplying a formal connection in his list of monuments rather than giving a definite pointer.

The inscriptions relating to the cult of Sarapis, though found mainly near the Metropolitan church, do not go far towards fixing the site with any precision. Professor Sterling Dow<sup>21</sup> draws attention to EM 649, a dedication to Isis, Sarapis, Anoubis, and Harpokrates, not given in IG; it was found in Philothea Street, which leads southwards from the Metropolis. IG II<sup>2</sup>.4692, a dedication to Sarapis and Isis, was found at the north foot of the Acropolis; 4702, to “Isis Dikaiosyne,” at the Tower of the Winds.<sup>22</sup> A late bust of Sarapis, possibly from the shrine, has been found southeast of the Agora.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Judeich, 296f; *Agora* III, 166ff.

<sup>20</sup> Probably to be differentiated from the Horkomiosion of Plutarch, *Theseus* 27.5, which was near the Theseion; see Judeich, 380, and *Agora* III, 117.

<sup>21</sup> *HTR* 30 (1937) 208. In IG II<sup>2</sup>.1292.27 he restores ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὸ [Σαραπιεῖον?].

<sup>22</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>.3681 was found near the monument of Lysikrates. For a number of highly conjectural sites formerly suggested, see Hitzig and Bluemner’s note on §18.4. There may have been other shrines too, though none is actually mentioned; and Sarapis was also associated with other deities, such as Asklepios (cf. IG II<sup>2</sup>.4815; 4771, a dedication to Isis of Hadrianic date mentioning the dedication of pillars, a pediment, etc. to Isis, was found above the theatre and according to P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, 160ff, has nothing to do with Pausanias’ shrine).

<sup>23</sup> *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 397; for other finds relevant to the cult see also *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 58; 30 (1961) 252.

Professor Dow has discussed the cult of Sarapis and other Egyptian deities at Athens. Of the Sarapieion he remarks that since Pausanias merely mentions its existence, “the reasonable inference is that the temple was not impressively decorated or unusually large. It was only remarkable for its Egyptian connection.” We have in fact no information about the character of the shrine. Pausanias speaks only of a *hieron*, but this does not preclude the existence of a temple. Dow finds reason to believe that the Ptolemy from whom Pausanias says the Athenians took the cult is Ptolemy III (246–221 B.C.) rather than Ptolemy II, and that the event happened late in his reign. He takes IG II<sup>2</sup>.4692 (early second century B.C.), a dedication to Sarapis and Isis in the priesthood of Stesikrates, as an indication of the official public adoption of the cult.

§18.5. “Nearby is built a temple of Eileithyia.” Here too the inscriptions are not decisive. A fourth century dedication (IG II<sup>2</sup>.4669) was found like the Sarapis inscriptions near the Metropolis. But 4048 was found near the monument of Lysikrates. Another dedication has more recently been found southeast of the Agora.<sup>24</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>.4682, comes from near the Ilissos; but this no doubt belongs to a shrine of Eileithyia in Agrai, known from the theatre seat,<sup>25</sup> and not mentioned by Pausanias.

Another monument which, to judge by the finding-place of inscriptions, was somewhere in this part of Athens (*i.e.* northeast of the Acropolis) is the Diogeneion,<sup>26</sup> the Hellenistic gymnasium named in honour of a Macedonian general. In contrast with the Ptolemaion,<sup>27</sup> Pausanias does not mention it. Most of the inscriptions were found at the church of Demetrios Katephores, but this means only that a number of them were built into the late Roman fortification at this point. One cannot place much faith in a label “Diogeneion,” which

<sup>24</sup> *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 274, no. 2; SEG XVIII.88.

<sup>25</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>.5099; on 4682 see Jacoby on Kleidemos frag. 1. W. Peek, *Ath. Mit.* 67 (1942) publishes a dedication to the Eileithyiai, found in Pankrati and probably from the Ilissos shrine.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *G&R* 2nd Series, 9 (1962) 18f; and J. Delorme, *Gymnasion* (Paris 1960) 143–146. A recent discussion of the Diogeneion between S. Dow, *HSCP* 63 (1958) 423ff and *TAPA* 91 (1960) 381ff, and O. Reinmuth, *TAPA* 90 (1959) 209ff, has been mainly concerned with the meaning of the phrase *οἱ περὶ τὸ Διογένειον*.

For further inscriptions relating to the Diogeneion, found in the Agora, see *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 505; 11 (1942) 71; 22 (1953) 178.

A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios, in *Polemon* 3 (1947) 22–24, conjectures that remains in northern Athens, including the column of Roman date in the church of Hagios Ioannes *στην Κολώνα* should be associated with the Diogeneion.

<sup>27</sup> Delorme, *op. cit.* 146–7; *Agora* III, 142ff.

now hopefully appears at a site on Erechtheus Street. Pausanias' silence is hardly significant. Possibly the gymnasium, even if he passed that way, did not contain statues which interested him, unlike the Ptolemaion.

§18.6. "Before the entrance to the shrine of Zeus Olympios (Hadrian dedicated the temple and the statue) . . . are statues of Hadrian." After Eileithyia, we find ourselves before the Olympieion without more ado and with no indication of progress or topographical relation. Mr. Travlos' investigations north of the Olympieion<sup>28</sup> have shown that a road coming from the center of the city ran along the north side of the shrine. The Arch of Hadrian was built over it, but not in the line of the earlier Themistoklean wall. It has now been clearly shown that this wall ran further east, enclosing the site of the Olympieion. The Arch formed merely an ornamental approach. Pausanias would probably arrive by this way and pass beneath it, but he does not take occasion to mention it.<sup>29</sup> He could hardly fail to be aware that the inscriptions which it bears,<sup>30</sup> implying that in going through it one was passing from the city of Theseus to the city of Hadrian, were somewhat inept and misleading. In spite of the splendid new buildings<sup>31</sup> and the great eastward extension of the city in the Hadrianic period, the region beyond the arch was highly venerable, sanctified by many old legends and cults and associated in particular with Theseus and his family, as Pausanias well knew.

There is still no reason to believe that the great peribolos of Zeus had any entrance but the modest propylon towards the east end of its north side.<sup>32</sup> The foundation at the western end of the enclosure probably carried the colossus of Hadrian seen by Pausanias behind the temple. The columns before which stood the statues called ἄποικοι πόλεις (§18.6 if the text is correct) were probably some of those which were attached to the outer side of the precinct wall.

§18.7. "There are antiquities within the enclosure, a bronze Zeus and a temple of Kronos and Rhea and a precinct of Ge surnamed Olympia"; and here is a cleft through which Deukalion's flood-water

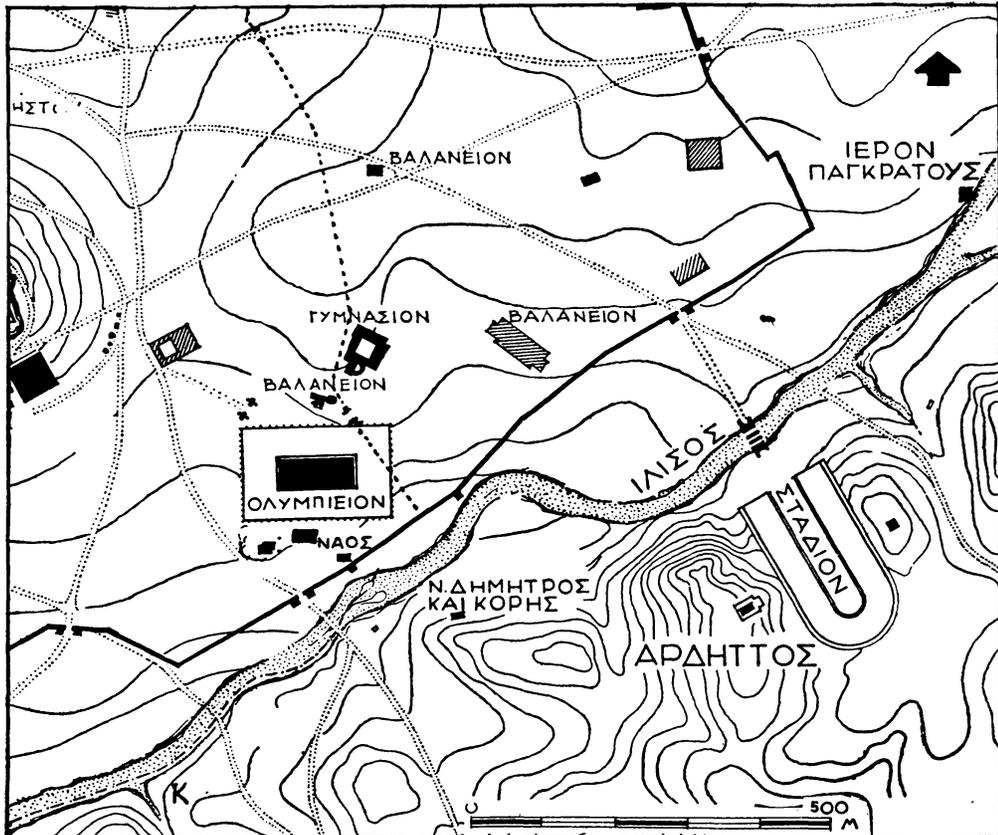
<sup>28</sup> *Athens* 53; cf. *AJA* 64 (1960) 267.

<sup>29</sup> It has indeed been suggested that it was unworthy of Hadrian and was actually built after Pausanias' visit; cf. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen* I, 225, and Jane Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* 194; Travlos, however, includes it in the Hadrianic programme, *Athens* 111.

<sup>30</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>.5185.

<sup>31</sup> Including baths, gymnasia, etc.; see Travlos, *Athens* 112 and fig. 70.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Graindor, *op.cit.* 219–20.



PLAN OF SOUTHEASTERN ATHENS IN THE TIME OF PAUSANIAS

(After J. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Pl. v)

The position of the Themistoklean Wall has been inserted as a dotted line. The "Delphinion," immediately south of the Olympieion, has also been inserted.

The "Gate of Aigeus" is immediately north of the Olympieion; the probable position of the Gate of Diochares is at the extreme north (the Lykeion was outside this gate).

K indicates the more eastern of the suggested sites of Kynosarges. Kallirrhoe is on the north side of the Ilissos, south of the Olympieion, near the rocks in midstream.

The Hadrianic eastward extension of the city contained many bathing and gymnastic establishments.

drained away. *Peribolos* here can hardly mean anything but the rectangular Hadrianic enclosure, as it does in §18.6, where Pausanias gives its total length fairly accurately. Such an identification creates an apparent difficulty, since certain other writers seem to indicate that both Ge and Kronos were outside the enclosure to the south. The Amazon monument, seen earlier by Pausanias on entering the city from Phaleron (§2.1; it must be remembered that he made a tentative approach from this direction but apparently decided “reculer pour mieux sauter”), is said by Plutarch<sup>33</sup> to be “beside the shrine of Olympia,” *i.e.* Ge. This statement would seem to place Ge to the southwest of the Olympieion, and some topographers, including most recently Travlos,<sup>34</sup> have suggested that the rocky outcrop in this region is a likely site. As for Kronos, a lexicographer says that his precinct was “beside the Olympion as far as the Metroon in Agra,”<sup>35</sup> which was to the southeastward across the river. Pausanias may have made a mistake, due to a lapse of memory, in writing up his account. But the contradiction may be only apparent. Both deities may have had precincts partly outside and partly inside the line of the Hadrianic enclosing wall; the *Κρόνιον τέμενος* might then stretch down towards the river from the northwest, to be confronted by the Metroon on the other bank. Then the imperial architects, laying out a strictly rectangular enclosure, with more regard for formal planning methods than their predecessors in earlier ages at Athens and fewer scruples about ancient cults, may have cut across these areas, though they still left the ancient deities a place within the splendid new scheme.

§18.8. “They say Deukalion built the ancient shrine of Olympian Zeus,” and they point to his grave not far from the temple. This is not the place for a detailed account of the Olympian temple itself. Pausanias mentions it somewhat casually, and gives only the beginning and the end of the fabulous story of the shrine. Between Deukalion and Hadrian came the comparatively modest pre-Peisistratid temple, the massive substructures and poros column drums<sup>36</sup> (Doric) of Peisistratos and his sons; the comparative neglect of the site in the

<sup>33</sup> *Theseus* 27.4.

<sup>34</sup> *Athens* 46.

<sup>35</sup> Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* I.273.20; see *Agora* III, 153; ἐν Ἀγρᾷ is an accepted emendation of ἐν ἀγορᾷ. Cf. Photios, *Κρόνια*.

<sup>36</sup> Judeich, 383; I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens* (London 1953) 212; Travlos, *Athens* 45f.

time of Perikles<sup>37</sup> and Lycurgus; the splendid Corinthian structure of Antiochos; the plundering of Sulla. The temple had become a byword for incompleteness.<sup>38</sup> Both Herakleides Kretikos<sup>39</sup> and Strabo (9.1.17) found it “half-finished,” whatever that may mean. Pausanias gives almost no help in answering the many questions which arise—for example, how much was built at each phase? What is the meaning of Vitruvius’ statement (3.2.8) that the temple was hypaethral? Pausanias says that Hadrian “dedicated” the temple and the statue; he does not speak of building. One is tempted to deduce from this that Hadrian found the main structure of columns and walls complete,<sup>40</sup> but the whole question remains open.

§19.1. “After the temple of Zeus Olympios, near at hand there is a statue of Apollo Pythios. There is also another shrine of Apollo, bearing the title Delphinios.” This passage has been taken to mean that Pausanias has gone on a little further south towards the Ilissos, and the discovery of the altar<sup>41</sup> and other inscribed stones long ago confirmed a location in this area. A little more epigraphical evidence has since been added.<sup>42</sup> Foundations of a small temple of Roman date, just south of the east end of the Olympieion, were excavated by Skias many years ago<sup>43</sup> and have now been further investigated by Mr. Travlos and Mr. Threpsiades in the course of a more systematic clearance of the whole area.<sup>44</sup> This temple may possibly have belonged to the Pythion. In fact we hear nothing of a temple at the

<sup>37</sup> J. H. Jongkees, *Mnemosyne* 1957, 154, has attempted to show, on the slight evidence of Aristophanes, *Clouds* 401f, that a temple of sorts stood on the site in the latter part of the fifth century. This is very dubious, but the Peisistratean foundations and débris would probably be impressive enough.

<sup>38</sup> Lucian, *Ikaromenippos* 24.

<sup>39</sup> “Pseudo-Dikaiarchos”; *On the Cities of Greece* I.1 (ed. Pfister, p. 72).

<sup>40</sup> See, however, P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* 221–2.

<sup>41</sup> *IG* I<sup>2</sup>.761; Judeich, 386; the altar was found a little to the south of Travlos’ excavations mentioned below, near the river.

<sup>42</sup> Mitsos, *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 263; W. Peek, *Ath. Mit.* 67 (1942) 41, no. 51 (*cf. Ath. Mit.* 66 [1941] 181ff).

Strabo’s statement that the *eschara* of Zeus Astrapaios (not mentioned by Pausanias) was “on (or in) the wall between the Pythion and the Olympion” (9.2.11; *cf. AJA* 63 [1959] 69) does not necessarily mean that the one shrine was inside, the other (Pythion) outside the Themistoklean wall, as shown in Judeich’s Plan I. This *eschara* is not mentioned by Pausanias—perhaps it had suffered in the dilapidation of the wall. The line of the wall is not yet clear at this point.

<sup>43</sup> *Praktika* 1893, 130ff. Skias suggested Hera; A. B. Cook, on the evidence of reliefs found in the river, Zeus Meilichios (see n.63).

<sup>44</sup> I am grateful to Mr. Travlos for information and plans; brief accounts appear in *AJA* 66 (1962) 389, *BCH* 86 (1962) 642f; *JHS Archaeological Reports* 1961–2, 4.

Pythion except in a dubious note of Hesychios;<sup>45</sup> indeed Pausanias' mention of a statue only, in contrast with his notice of the Delphinion would seem to imply that there was no temple (one may contrast his account of the shrine of Apollo Patroos in the Agora [§3.4]). As we have seen, he can speak of a *hieron* without mentioning an existing temple,<sup>46</sup> but that is not quite the same. It is not impossible that a temple was built here after Pausanias' time.

Elsewhere I have expressed doubts about the suggestion that the shrine of Apollo "beneath the long rocks" northwest of the Acropolis was yet another Pythion, in spite of its Delphic connections.<sup>47</sup> Here I would merely say that for Pausanias, Apollo Pythios is located on the Ilissos, and here only. On the northwest slope (§28.4) he simply speaks of "a shrine of Apollo in a cave," where the god met Kreousa.

The most recent excavations south of the Olympieion have gone a long way towards clearing up the topography of the area, though as so often happens the correlation of the finds with Pausanias and the other written evidence is not simple and obvious. At least the antiquity and religious importance of the site are further confirmed. Mycenaean pottery has been found, and pottery and walls of the Geometric period. Foundations of another temple, of classical Greek date (not yet more clearly defined), have come to light just below the middle of the south side of the Hadrianic enclosure of the Olympieion. Adjacent to this temple on the southwest is a curious complex consisting of a rectangular building divided into several rooms attached to an enclosure of irregular shape. The structure is said to be of the late sixth century B.C. To the south of it in Roman times a large peristyle court was built. Mr. Travlos' suggestion that here we have the Delphinion with its associated law court is very attractive, though confirmation is lacking.

The Delphinion more than any other monument illustrated the immemorial sanctity of the site. Pausanias knew of its association with Theseus. In this context he tells how the youthful Theseus to show his manliness hurled a yoke of oxen higher than the roof, which was just then being placed on the temple. Later (§28.10) he reverts to the Delphinion in his list of Athenian law courts appended to the Areopagus and says that Theseus was tried there for justifiable homicide.

<sup>45</sup> ἐν Πυθίῳ χέσαι· Πεισίστρατος ᾠκοδόμηει τὸν ἐν Πυθίῳ ναόν. . . .

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Roux, *op.cit.* n.3 above, 108, on Pausanias 2.2.6. Pausanias varies his mode of description somewhat arbitrarily.

<sup>47</sup> *AJA* 63 (1959) 71f, 67 (1963) 75ff.

Plutarch (12.3; 14.1; 18.1) adds other stories, and places the scene of Medea's attempt to poison Theseus "where now the fenced enclosure in the Delphinion is . . . for Aigeus was living there." Apparently he knew of some tradition of a royal residence hereabouts. "The Hermes to the east of the shrine," he adds, "they call the Hermes at the Gate of Aigeus." Mr. Travlos has now attached this name, Gate of Aigeus, to the gate in the Themistoklean wall,<sup>48</sup> built largely of Peisistratean column drums, which he has investigated just northeast of the Olympieion; but it is a little awkward for the identification that this gate is to the north, the Delphinion to the south, well separated by the Olympieion and its enclosure. One cannot be sure that the Gate of Aigeus was a city gate at all. It may have been an entrance to a shrine, though *pylai* implies something monumental.

§19.2. "With regard to the place which they call Gardens, and the temple of Aphrodite, the Athenians have no story to tell." This contrast with the Delphinion makes a somewhat forced and artificial transition; there is no hint of the local relation of one shrine to the other. Pliny (*NH* 36.16) says that Aphrodite in the Gardens was outside the walls. Pausanias, though he must have crossed the line of the walls, seems to treat the banks of the Ilissos as part of the city proper, not as a separate district.

He refers to Aphrodite in the Gardens again in §27.3, in connection with the ritual descent of the Arrhephoroi from the Acropolis. It was formerly assumed that he meant the same shrine, in spite of its distance and in spite of his description of the shrine as "not far away" and ἐν τῇ πόλει (neither of these is an insuperable objection). Today one has to take into account the shrine of Aphrodite excavated by Professor Broneer on the north slope of the Acropolis,<sup>49</sup> now usually accepted as the shrine of §27.3; but although it is more conveniently situated, it does not correspond precisely to Pausanias' account. Pausanias speaks of an underground passage though the shrine (δι' αὐτοῦ; Jahn δι' ἄντρον). The cleft in the Acropolis rock by which the Arrhephoroi are assumed to have descended is some distance farther west. Pausanias does not distinguish clearly two shrines of Aphrodite in the Gardens; and the north slope shrine appears to belong to Aphrodite (with no known epithet) and Eros. Of course Pausanias may be guilty of confusion, obscurity, or carelessness.

<sup>48</sup> *Athens* 53.

<sup>49</sup> *Hesperia* 1 (1932) 31ff, 2 (1933) 330ff; cf. Hill, *Athens* 101ff.

E. Langlotz has devoted a monograph to Aphrodite in the Gardens.<sup>50</sup> He is concerned mainly with the nature of the cult and the representation of the goddess, but he also makes some topographical observations. He accepts the suggested duplicate on the north slope of the Acropolis, though he sees no reason to believe that it is the older, parent cult. He rejects former identifications of copies of Alkamenes' famous statue, admired by Pausanias, and on the strength of a number of representations of Aphrodite on late fifth century vases, maintains that Alkamenes showed the goddess seated.

The Aphrodite on the vases is shown sometimes amongst vegetation which may well represent the Gardens, and sometimes apparently on a hill slope. In a picture on a lekythos in Bonn (p. 14, Tafel 7.1) she is accompanied not only by Eros but also by an archaic figure of Artemis, presumably Agrotera, holding a bow. The statue stood not in the temple but in the open, possibly in a stoa shown on a vase in London (p. 8, Tafel 3.3). Langlotz locates the shrine in the Gardens on the left (south) bank of the Ilissos, instead of on the right bank a little to the southeast of the Olympieion as do Judeich<sup>51</sup> and others. In this he may be right, especially if we are to look for a hill slope. But he goes further: he seeks the shrine at the foot of the hill Ardettos and finds it on a rock-cut terrace to the right (south) of the stadium, Artemis Agrotera too being in this region (p. 174 below).

I doubt whether one should make so much of the evidence of the vases, even if Langlotz's identification is accepted. Langlotz himself points out that the painters were not giving a faithful picture of the statue but rather a series of representations of the goddess which seem to be more or less influenced by Alkamenes' work. They may be allowed a similar freedom in matters of topography. The painter of the vase in Bonn may have had in mind that Aphrodite in the Gardens and Artemis Agrotera were in approximately the same quarter, without implying precisely that the one shrine was just above the other. One cannot accept Langlotz's location of Aphrodite without abandoning the idea of a workable sequence in this part of Pausanias' periegesis, and this I refuse to do without more cogent reasons. As we saw in the Agora, Pausanias' description seems to be based on such

<sup>50</sup> *Aphrodite in den Gärten* (Heidelberg 1954).

<sup>51</sup> 424. IG II<sup>2</sup>.1591, dealing with the lease of estates of Athena Polias, mentions gardens which were on the Ilissos and (restored with probability) in Agrai; cf. also Peek in *Ath. Mit.* 66 (1941) 181ff, lines 26-7.

sequences of monuments, if not on an entirely continuous itinerary. We shall do better to look for the Gardens farther downstream, whether on the right or left bank (or both). Langlotz, it should be noted, does not take Kynosarges sufficiently into account.<sup>52</sup>

§19.3 “There is a shrine of Herakles called Kynosarges,” with altars of Herakles and his friends and relations (there is no mention of the gymnasium—possibly it had gone out of use). Again we have no transition, though it is almost certain that Pausanias is now across the river (not normally a formidable barrier). Judeich (422ff) placed Kynosarges on the left bank of the Ilissos hereabouts. He rejected the site where the British School carried out inconclusive excavations, never fully published,<sup>53</sup> nearly 70 years ago—in a broad shallow trough between the hills, near the church of Panteleëmon—and sought to place it farther southwest and down stream, opposite the present Fix brewery. Now Mr. Travlos argues for the site near Panteleëmon,<sup>54</sup> associating the gymnasium with the *πρὸς Ἀγῶνας δρόμος* mentioned in *IG II<sup>2</sup>.2119*. I have discussed the question briefly and noncommittally in a recent account of the gymnasia and philosophical schools.<sup>55</sup> The site farther southwest is more open for a gymnasium and suits the epigraphical evidence better, including the tanners’ inscription (see below). Kynosarges like the other Athenian gymnasia remains elusive. But that it was indeed in this quarter of Athens has been confirmed since Judeich by further epigraphical and other finds;<sup>56</sup> and one can be sure that it was adjacent to the river, since it is given in a curious inscription concerning tanning as the point above which the stream must not be used for these somewhat offensive operations. Thus we can reasonably assume a sequence of monuments extending southwestwards from the Olympieion.

Another notable shrine which has sometimes been placed in this region of the Ilissos bed is the Dionysion in Limnai, not mentioned

<sup>52</sup> For a criticism of Langlotz see M. Milne’s long review in *AJA* 60 (1956) 201ff; Miss Milne thinks that Alkamenēs’ work was a standing figure after all, and was in fact the cult statue in the temple.

The little quick-growing “gardens of Adonis” (Plato, *Phaidros* 276b, see p. 174 below) are surely not topographically relevant, as Langlotz suggests (33; cf. 36, n.2).

<sup>53</sup> For preliminary reports see *ABSA* 2 (1895–6) 23; 3 (1896–7) 89, 232; *JHS* 16 (1896) 337.

<sup>54</sup> *Athens* 54, 91.

<sup>55</sup> *G&R* 2nd Series, 9 (1962) 13f; cf. Delorme, *Gymnasion* 45–49, 53–59. I. T. Hill, *Athens* 214, implies that Kynosarges was on the right bank, but this is almost certainly wrong.

<sup>56</sup> *Archaiologikon Deltion* 8 (1923) 85ff; *SEG* III (1929) 6, no. 18; 26, nos. 115–117; *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 137ff (cf. *Polemon* 4 [1949] 32); for the tanners’ inscription see also A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios, *Arch. Hellen. Epigr.* (Athens 1946) 73, no. 12.

by Pausanias (at least not under that name). Recently Mr. G. T. W. Hooker has returned to this view,<sup>57</sup> firmly and probably rightly rejecting Dörpfeld's Dionysion southwest of the Areopagus.<sup>58</sup> Hooker bases his topography on an interpretation of Aristophanes' *Frogs*, which, though ingenious and attractive, perhaps takes Aristophanes' fantasies too literally and seriously. In addition, Pausanias' apparent silence has to be explained. He has traversed the ground in question, noting shrines with some care. In Pausanias' day, says Hooker, "it seems probable that the cult had been largely forgotten and the sanctuary allowed to fall into disuse." One hesitates to accept this explanation in the case of a shrine and cult of such importance and venerability. The Dionysion in Limnai remains an enigma, to which the solution can probably be provided only by some definitive archaeological find. I am inclined to agree that it was somewhere to the southeast of the Acropolis<sup>59</sup> (as were the other ancient shrines mentioned in Thucydides 2.15); but we still have to take into account the possibility that the Dionysion in Limnai was closely associated with the theatre shrine of Eleuthereus, bearing in mind that Pausanias calls this the oldest shrine of Dionysos at Athens, whereas Thucydides says the same of the shrine in Limnai.

§19.4. "The Lyceum has its name from Lykos, but it is considered sacred to Apollo. . . . Behind the Lyceum is a monument of Nisos. . . ." At this stage we have a curious complication, of some interest for Pausanias' method. He is aware that eastern and southeastern Athens still has much to offer, and that the monuments are scattered over a wide area—there is no obvious line to follow. They include a place similar to Kynosarges, an ancient shrine with which a gymnasium is associated. It is some distance away, but he jumps across to it without telling us what he had done. The move would be clear enough to ancient users of the periegesis, but it has been very puzzling to modern commentators.

Fortunately one can now feel fairly confident about the site of the Lyceum too, though there is little prospect of its being excavated. Judeich (415) was right in placing it to the east of the city, but probably went too far east in assuming that it was situated where the Ilissos approached nearest to Lykabettos. All the evidence seems to indicate

<sup>57</sup> *JHS* 80 (1960) 112–117.

<sup>58</sup> *Ath. Mit.* 20 (1895) 161ff; Judeich, 291ff.

<sup>59</sup> See *AJA* 67 (1963) 78f.

that it was not far outside the Themistoklean wall and the Gate of Diochares, perhaps in the region of Syntagma and the Old Palace.<sup>60</sup> Mr. Travlos' study of the wall and gates,<sup>61</sup> and probably also Professor Vanderpool's re-examination of IG II<sup>2</sup>.2613 and 2614,<sup>62</sup> have added a little to our information, but the precise site remains uncertain. Judeich with comparatively slight material at his disposal gave a line for the city wall on the east which has proved remarkably correct. Travlos, making good use of the evidence provided at a number of points by unmistakable traces of the ditch which was subsequently added, gives the position of walls and gates with greater precision. The gate of Diochares cannot have been where Judeich shows it (Plan I); and Travlos finds that its most likely situation is somewhat farther south, on the line of Metropolis Street. The Lyceum was outside this gate, though it probably stretched some distance eastwards.

From time to time Pausanias digresses in order to list together monuments which are somehow related in character, without consideration of topographical sequence. Judeich enumerates the examples of this procedure at Athens (p. 14); but he is mistaken, I believe, in including the juxtaposition of the Kynosarges-gymnasium and the Lyceum-gymnasium here, and in calling the connection "rein stilistisch." Pausanias does not even mention the fact that Kynosarges and the Lyceum possessed gymnasia—in a sense *were* gymnasia—except incidentally later (§29.16) in the case of the Lyceum, when he refers to the work of Lycurgus. The list of works of Hadrian in §18.9 is a different matter; this is indeed a pure digression. There is no firm reason to place any of these monuments in the neighborhood of the Olympieion (if any of them was near, the temple of Hera<sup>63</sup> for example, that is incidental) and the library at least was in a different part of Athens. As Daux shows at Delphi,<sup>64</sup> Pausanias likes where possible to insinuate a certain logical connection or classification into the

<sup>60</sup> See *G&R* 2nd Series, 9 (1962) 10ff; cf. Delorme, *Gymnasion* 42–45, 54–58.

<sup>61</sup> *Athens* 53.

<sup>62</sup> *Arch. Ephem.* 1953–4, Part II (published 1958) 126ff; *SEG XVI* (1959) no. 149.

Langlotz, *op.cit.* 36, n.2, thinks that these "boundaries of the Garden of the Muses" belong to the Ilissos shrine (see below); but the finding-place of 2613 points rather to the Lyceum and the Peripatetic School.

A new ephebic inscription from the Agora, *Hesperia* 30 (1961) 12, no. 8, mentions a dedication by the ephebes ἐν Ἀ[υκείῳ].

<sup>63</sup> Tradition in the 15th cent. placed a *temenos* of Hera near the Ilissos and Kallirrhoe; see Anon. *Vindobonensis* 7; cf. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen* I, 735–6; Judeich, 420, n.5; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II, 1119, n.4.

<sup>64</sup> G. Daux, *Pausanias à Delphes* 189ff; cf. *GRBS* 2 (1959) 30.

mainly mechanical sequence of monuments. He is aware of an affinity in character between Kynosarges and the Lyceum, and this suggests his next step. The result is a particularly notable kink in the thread, rather than a break. His mode of reference to the monument of Nisos shows that he is still following an itinerary, even though a somewhat jumpy and erratic one.

§19.6. "The rivers of Athens are the Ilissos and its tributary the Eridanos." The springs of Eridanos<sup>65</sup> rose near the Lyceum, according to Strabo; and one can take Pausanias' reference to it to be a glance further northward towards Lykabettos, if it is not purely incidental and digressive. He goes on to mention certain deities more specifically associated with the Ilissos itself than the earlier group, beginning with Boreas. One would naturally presume that at this stage Pausanias is higher upstream than before. Judeich (14) takes this episode too as an example of the kind of special excursus mentioned above, in this case concerned with the Ilissos shrines and depending on Boreas. But I believe he was mistaken on certain points. Without good reason he identified Pausanias' "place where Kodros was killed" with the shrine of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile, known mainly from *IG I<sup>2</sup>.94*, found about 300 m. southwest of the Olympieion, which gives regulations for the maintenance of the cult.<sup>66</sup> This shrine is not mentioned by Pausanias—perhaps it was no longer maintained in his time; perhaps he was satisfied with his reference to the "Todesstätte" as far as Kodros was concerned. It was in any case probably not on the river, but farther north.<sup>67</sup> The shrine of the Ilissian Muses Judeich placed downstream (419, 424), at the foot of the Mouseion hill, assuming that the hill derived its name from the shrine. But this suggestion is unacceptable, even if one assumes that Pausanias is momentarily extending his view over the whole course of the Ilissos and not confining his attention to the particular stretch to which his immediate itinerary has brought him. The hill itself, or its summit, or the fort on top, could be called Mouseion; Leokritos, scaling the wall of the fort, "leapt into the Mouseion."<sup>68</sup> The hilltop must in some sense have been sacred to

<sup>65</sup> The identity of the Eridanos was formerly much disputed; see Frazer, *Pausanias II*, 199ff. I have no wish to disturb the now current identification as in Judeich (48) and Travlos (6–7).

<sup>66</sup> See *ABSA* 55 (1690) 60ff; cf. G. T. W. Hooker in *JHS* 80 (1960) 115.

<sup>67</sup> A boundary stone recently found *in situ* in the same region as *IG I<sup>2</sup>.94* (which was not actually *in situ*) probably fixes the site precisely. I owe this information to Mr. Travlos.

<sup>68</sup> Pausanias 1.26.2; cf. 3.6.6; Plutarch, *Theseus* 27.1 and 3; *IG II<sup>2</sup>.665.11*, 666.14.

the Muses, and this shrine should be kept distinct from the shrine of the Muses of the Ilissos.

There is no reason why one should not locate all the spots mentioned in §19.5 in a coherent group on the upper reach of the stream east of the Olympieion. In discussing the scene of Plato's *Phaidros*,<sup>69</sup> which is set in these parts, and in working out the path taken by Socrates and Phaidros, I have suggested that the most appropriate place for Boreas is near the large rocks in the bed of the Ilissos just above the spring Kallirrhoe. Pausanias says nothing of Plato's nymphs and Acheloos,<sup>70</sup> some two stades upstream from Boreas on the farther bank, nor of Pan, who was associated with these nymphs and also had a little rock-cut shrine still visible near the church of Photeine,<sup>71</sup> opposite Kallirrhoe, nor of Pankrates (apparently a chthonian Herakles) whose shrine, hitherto unknown, was discovered accidentally several years ago some distance upstream where Diochares Street now crosses the river.<sup>72</sup> The dedications to Pankrates extend into Roman imperial times. Perhaps this site was beyond Pausanias' purview. He has to set limits and even within these to be selective.

§19.7. "When you have crossed the Ilissos, there is a place called Agrai and a temple of Artemis Agrotera. . . . A marvel to behold is a stadium<sup>73</sup> of white stone. . . ." The crossing which Pausanias has in mind is probably the bridge by the stadium, the only actual bridge known from either remains or tradition.<sup>74</sup> The site of the temple of Artemis remains quite uncertain.<sup>75</sup> Pausanias does not mention the Metroon in Agrai.<sup>76</sup> This has been identified ("temple of Demeter"

<sup>69</sup> In a forthcoming article in *Phoenix*.

<sup>70</sup> 230b, 263d, 279b. Plato also brings in the Muses, 237a, 259b, 262d, and it is tempting to infer that their shrine too is nearby, perhaps just opposite; but he does not actually say anything definite.

<sup>71</sup> See G. Rodenwaldt, *Ath. Mit.* 37 (1912) 141ff; Judeich, 416.

<sup>72</sup> *Praktika A. E.* 1953, 47ff; 1954, 41ff; *Ergon A. E.* 1955, 3; *AJA* 57 (1953) 281; Travlos, *Athens* 91, n.5.

<sup>73</sup> There is still no evidence that a stadium existed here before Lycurgus' construction (not mentioned by Pausanias). H. A. Thompson suggests that in earlier times contests were held on the *dromos* which runs NW-SE across the Agora; see the *Agora Guide* (2nd ed. 1962) 75; *JdI* 76 (1961) 227; cf. Travlos, *Athens* 38ff.

<sup>74</sup> Judeich, 205, 418. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen* I, 237 and 326, preferred to place his crossing further upstream.

<sup>75</sup> For some highly conjectural sites see Frazer and Hitzig-Bluemner on 19.6; cf. Langlotz *op.cit.* (n.50 above) 14 and 42.

Artemis Agrotera is mentioned in a new fragment of a treasure list, *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 82 and 94.

<sup>76</sup> Judeich, 420; H. Möbius, "Das Metroon in Agrai," *Ath. Mit.* 60-61 (1935-6) 234 ff; Travlos, *Athens* 66ff. It has generally been assumed that Demeter, who had a cult in Agrai,

in the plan), just southeast of Photeine (Artemis then being somewhat farther east). I have been inclined to accept this identification, especially since it agrees well with the note quoted above (p. 165) on the Metroon and the precinct of Kronos. At the same time it is surprising that Pausanias should ignore this fine fifth-century temple, which must have been conspicuous in his time as it was until 1778 when the Turks demolished it to build fortifications.

Other monuments in this region not mentioned by Pausanias are the temple of Tyche and the altar of Poseidon Helikonios.<sup>77</sup> Clearly the periegesis is becoming rather tenuous, and he is making hardly more than a brief excursion across the Ilissos.

The next stage, which takes Pausanias to the gateway of the Acropolis itself, offers a contrast in its tightness and simplicity. Returning to base at the Prytaneion on the north slope, he makes his way around the east end along Tripods Street<sup>78</sup> and so along the south side, continually ascending (and apparently missing the lower ground below the site of the Odeion of Herodes), until we lose track of him in the confusion of the western slopes.<sup>79</sup> In spite of many outstanding problems, his way is almost entirely clear, and has nothing of the diffuse and erratic character of the previous episode. Pausanias' procedure varies and shows some adaptability and ingenuity; his basic method remains constant.<sup>80</sup>

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is simply called Meter here; Frazer however doubted the identity of the cults and shrines (*Pausanias* II, 204).

<sup>77</sup> Judeich, 419; remains on the hill west of the stadium, which is probably Ardettos (Helikon), may belong to the temple.

<sup>78</sup> On the course of this street see Travlos, *Athens* 7, 70, 81, 106.

<sup>79</sup> Recent finds under the Nike-bastion have thrown a little more light on the cults in this area, Aphrodite Pandemos, Demeter Chloe, etc.; see *Ergon A. E.* 1961, 10ff; *BCH* 85 (1961) 667; cf. *Agora* III, 50 and 224f; M. Ervin in *Archeion Pontou* 1958, 132; R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'Agora grecque* (Paris 1951) 256f.

<sup>80</sup> In addition to the debt I owe to his published work, including the plan, I should like to acknowledge help received from Mr. J. Travlos, by correspondence and on the site during a visit to Athens which was assisted by a generous grant from the American Philosophical Society; he would not, however, necessarily agree with all my opinions.