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THE TYRANNICIDES, THEIR CULT AND THE PANATHENAIA: A NOTE

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Abstract: The story of the Athenian Tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton is well known to modern scholars who agree that the two men were figures of cult. The occasion for these rituals has inspired rather less agreement and the rites have often been connected with the Epitaphia. In this article, I re-examine the ritual setting of the cult. As I argue, evidence not previously brought into these discussions identifies the Panathenaia as the primary occasion for the Tyrannicides' rituals. This connection is further reinforced by other visual imagery (Panathenaic amphorae, sculpture, vase-painting) which links Harmodios and Aristogeiton to the festival of Athena and its celebration of divine victory over the Giants.

Keywords: Athens, religion, Tyrannicides, Panathenaia

At the Panathenaia of 514 BC, Harmodios and Aristogeiton assassinated Hipparchos, the son of Peisistratos and the brother of the tyrant Hippias.¹ Although these killers did not succeed in ending the tyranny, they were nevertheless soon identified as Tyrannicides by the Athenians and they were awarded a cult and bronze statues in the Agora (Fig. 1).² These events and the subsequent honours for the two dead assassins were well known to ancient Athenians, as they are today to modern scholars. In the scholarship, there is agreement that Harmodios and Aristogeiton were indeed figures of cult.³ The occasion for these rituals has inspired rather less agreement. It has not infrequently been identified as the Epitaphia and this association has been explained because 'the tyrannicides and the war-dead were closely associated ideologically'.⁴ Ancient evidence not hitherto brought into these discussions, however, points to a different setting: as I shall argue, the Panathenaia, not the Epitaphia, was the primary occasion for the rituals for Harmodios and Aristogeiton. This context for their cult further explains why, on Panathenaic amphorae, in sculpture and in vase-painting, the two men were linked with the festival for Athena and its celebration of the divine victory over the Giants. These representations, in turn, reinforce the connection between their rituals and the celebration for the goddess.

* juliashear@googlemail.com. In the course of my work on the Tyrannicides, I have benefitted greatly from the help and advice of many colleagues and friends. Thanks are particularly due to: Joe Day, Simon Goldhill, Danielle Kellogg, Robin Osborne, Robert Parker, P.J. Rhodes, Ian Ruffell, T. Leslie Shear, Jr and John Tully. Some of this material was presented in rather different forms at 'Perceptions of Polis-Religion: Inside/Outside. A Symposium in Memory of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood' at the University of Reading, at the University of Glasgow and at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Chicago in 1998; I would like to thank the participants on these occasions for their comments. Any remaining mistakes are, of course, my own.

¹ Hdt. 5.55–56.2; Thuc. 1.20.2, 6.53.3–59.1; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 18.3–6.

² Tyrannicides: for example Harmodios *skolia PMG* nos 893, 895, 896 = Ath. 15.695a–b, nos 10, 12, 13; Ar. *Lys.* 630–35; Andok. 1.96–98; Thuc. 1.20.2. Cult: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 58.1; Dem. 19.280; Cic. *Mil.* 80; see also n.3. Statues: Pliny *NH* 34.17; Paus. 1.8.5; Arr. *Anab.* 3.16.7–8, 7.19.2; Val. Max. 2.10. ext. 1; Lucian *Philops.* 18; *IG XII.5 444 = FGrHist* 239, A54, lines 70–71.

³ Especially Taylor (1991) 5–8; Garland (1992) 94–96; Parker (1996) 123, 136–37; Shear (2001) 208–22; see also, for example, Kearns (1989) 55, 150; Rausch (1999) 59–61; Anderson (2003) 202–04; Raaflaub (2003) 65; Parker (2011) 121.

⁴ Quotation: Currie (2005) 95. Epitaphia: Mommsen (1898) 302–03, 307; Deubner (1932) 230; Calabi Limentani (1976) 11–12, 26; Taylor (1991) 7–8 with earlier bibliography; Ermini (1997) 20; Anderson (2003) 202.

I. The cult and its festival context

Our clearest evidence both for the existence of the Tyrannicides' cult and for its occasion is provided by the literary sources. For our purposes, the two most important passages come from Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* and from Philostratos' *Life of Apollonios of Tyana*, and, together, they provide important evidence for the context of the rituals. The text from the *Athenaion Politeia* has often been understood as locating the cult at the Epitaphia, but, as we shall see, this association is not secure. Better evidence for the setting is provided by Philostratos who places the rituals at the Panathenaia.

In describing the duties of the various Athenian archons, the *Athenaion Politeia* reports that:

ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος θύει μὲν θυσίας τὴν τε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ ἀγροτέρα καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ, διατ[ί]θησι δ' ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον {καὶ} τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἀρμόδιῳ καὶ Ἀριστογεῖτον ἐναγίσματα ποιεῖ.

The *polemarchos* makes the sacrifices to Artemis Agrotera and to Enyalios, and he arranges the funeral games for those who have died in the war, and he makes *enagismata* to Harmodios and Aristogeiton.⁵

The problems of this passage hinge on the word καὶ which, in the text transmitted by the papyrus, comes immediately before τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν.⁶ If it is retained, then the games and the *enagismata* should have been for both the war-dead and the Tyrannicides. When Pollux quoted this passage, however, he presented it slightly differently: διατίθησι δὲ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγῶνα τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντων, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἀρμόδιον ἐναγίζει; 'and he arranges the funeral games of those who died in war, and he makes the *enagismata* for Harmodios'.⁷ Although Pollux's quotation is not as precise as we would like, he clearly thought that the funeral games and the *enagismata* were separate rituals for different individuals and he must have known a text of the *Athenaion Politeia* which omitted the word καὶ before τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν.⁸ For this reason, recent editors such as Mortimer Chambers have followed F.G. Kenyon and deleted this καὶ.⁹ Furthermore, as Gunnel Ekroth has shown, in the Classical period, the Athenian war-dead received standard *thusia* sacrifices rather than *enagismata*, offerings which were wholly destroyed so that the meat was not subsequently divided among the participants.¹⁰ Different sorts of sacrifices, therefore, were made to the war-dead and to Harmodios and Aristogeiton, as Aristotle will have been well aware, and this evidence should indicate that the Epitaphia was a separate occasion from the offerings to the Tyrannicides.

The *Athenaion Politeia*, however, does not indicate the ritual context of these *enagismata*. This information is provided by a hitherto neglected passage in Philostratos' *Life of Apollonios of Tyana*. Apollonios was no friend to tyrants and this text comes from part of a description of his efforts against the despotic emperor Domitian. At this moment, Apollonios is trying to persuade the governors of the Roman provinces to move against the emperor:

⁵ Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 58.1 (Chambers).

⁶ On the problems of the text, see the *apparatus criticus* of Chambers (1994); Rhodes (1981) 650–52.

⁷ Poll. *Onom.* 8.91. The phrase τοῖς περὶ Ἀρμόδιον should be a periphrasis for the named person himself, as at Plut. *Pyrrh.* 20.1; see LSJ s.v. περὶ C I.2, which notes that this usage is a later one. Accordingly, there is no reason to identify the passage as possibly corrupt; contra Currie (2005) 95, n. 33.

⁸ When Aristotle's passage was quoted in the *Lexeis*

retorikai, it was reduced to: καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ διατίθησι τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον; 'he [the *polemarchos*] also arranges the funeral games for Enyalios'; *Anecd. Bekk.* 290, 27–29.

⁹ Above n.6. Following Papageorgios, Rhodes prefers to emend the καὶ to ἐπί; Rhodes (1981) 650–51.

¹⁰ *Thusia* for war-dead: Pl. *Menex.* 244a3–6; Dem. 60.36; Ekroth (2002) 84–85, 197, cf. 203–04; *enagismata*: Ekroth (2002) 88–89, 126–28; cf. Parker (2005a) 40–41; (2011) 148–49.

διήει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ Παναθήνια τὰ Ἀττικά, ἐφ' οἷς Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἄδονται, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔργον, ὃ καὶ τριάκοντα ὁμοῦ τυράννους εἴλε, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων δὲ αὐτῶν διήει πάτρια, ὡς κάκεῖνοι δήμος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες τὰς τυραννίδας ἐώθουν ὅπλοις.

He discussed with them both the Attic Panathenaia, at which Harmodios and Aristogeiton are celebrated in song, and the deed from Phyle, when the Thirty Tyrants were conquered together, and he also went through the ancestral history of the Romans themselves, that, in antiquity, they, too, were a *demos* accustomed to throw out tyrannies with arms.¹¹

The songs for the Tyrannicides are also mentioned by Demosthenes and Cicero, who both associate the singing with a cult setting.¹² Like Philostratos, Demosthenes uses the verb ἀείδω. In the *Life of Apollonios*, this verb is used in a variety of different ways, including the singing of songs or hymns in a ritual context.¹³ The closest parallel for our passage comes from a section about the people of Gadeira (modern Cadiz): they are ordered ‘to make a sacrifice of thanksgiving for good news, celebrating in song (ἄδοντας) Nero as a triple Olympic victor’.¹⁴ When this sacrifice was made, the songs not only commemorated the emperor’s achievements, but they also made it clear why these rituals were taking place. In the same way, Harmodios’ and Aristogeiton’s deed was the subject of song at the Panathenaia. In contrast to the sacrifice for Nero, which was a unique event, the festival for Athena was held regularly.

The passage about the Panathenaia reflects a series of authorial decisions by a man who was well-informed about the rituals in Athens. Apollonios’ encouragement of the Roman governors would have been intelligible to readers without the references to the songs or the festival; indeed, elsewhere in his work, Philostratos has chosen to mention the Tyrannicides as models in speeches and in connection with their statues commemorating their deed done at the Panathenaia, but he does not repeat the information provided in this passage.¹⁵ Here, consequently, he has deliberately decided to juxtapose the men, the songs and the festival, and he expects his readers to understand the references because otherwise Apollonios’ point would not have made sense to them. Since Philostratos was both an Athenian citizen and hoplite general in about AD 205, he will have been well informed about the city’s religious rituals.¹⁶ His *Life of Apollonios*, therefore, provides us with a context for the *enagismata* and the songs for Harmodios and Aristogeiton: they were part of the Panathenaia. This festival was an especially appropriate occasion for these rituals because it was the setting of their deed and of Harmodios’ death. The addition of their cult to the celebration emphasized and continued exactly these connections. Since the *Athenaion Politeia* indicates that the rituals were performed annually by the *polemarchos*, they will have been part of both the Great and the Little Panathenaia. Very likely, they took place on 28 Hekatombaion which was the anniversary of the events.

II. Harmodios, Aristogeiton and the Panathenaic amphorae

The association between the Tyrannicides, their cult and the Panathenaia is further reinforced by our visual evidence and especially by vase-painting. At the end of the fifth century, depictions of Harmodios’ and Aristogeiton’s statues were used as Athena’s shield device on some Panathenaic prize amphorae, vessels which were directly connected with the celebration because they contained the prize oil given to victors in the individual athletic and hippic events in the games. This context specifically linked the Tyrannicides’ imagery with the goddess’ festival and it shows that the connection was not a later, Roman development. As we shall see, comparison

¹¹ Philostr. *VA* 7.4.3 (text as Jones (2005)).

¹² Dem. 19.280; Cic. *Mil.* 80.

¹³ Philostr. *VA* 1.14.1, 1.30.1, 3.14.3, 3.17.2, *cf.* 5.42.2.

¹⁴ Philostr. *VA* 5.8.1.

¹⁵ Philostr. *VA* 5.34.3, 8.16.

¹⁶ *Agora* XV 447.4–6, 448.4–5; Traill (1971) 323–25; Follet (1976) 101–02; Byrne (2003) 262, no. 152; Bowie (2009) 19–20.

with the shield emblems employed on other prize vases, and especially contemporary depictions of Nike, suggests that the association was specifically between the Tyrannicides' cult and the celebration. By the end of the fifth century, consequently, Harmodios and Aristogeiton will have been receiving offerings at the Panathenaia.

Among the many whole or fragmentary Panathenaic prize amphorae connected with the Kuban Group and dated to the period between 410 and 390 BC, four vessels stand out because they all use the statues of the Tyrannicides as the emblem for Athena's shield (Fig. 2).¹⁷ Scholars have usually connected these four amphorae with the Great Panathenaia of 402, the first penteteric festival after the overthrow of the Thirty.¹⁸ Since more than 2,000 prize vases were needed for each festival in the late 380s and early 370s, as we know from the early fourth-century list of prizes,¹⁹ these four jars must represent only a small part of the total presented in 402. Some, but not all, of these other amphorae will also have shown Athena's shield decorated with the Tyrannicides.²⁰ Depictions of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, however, were not common on Attic vase-painting in this period: the only other known contemporary examples are two choes, one of which is said to have been found in Dexileos' cenotaph in the Kerameikos.²¹ The rarity of depictions of the Tyrannicides at this time will have made the amphorae stand out from other vessels and it will have emphasized the connection between Harmodios and Aristogeiton and the Panathenaia.

That the shields on the prize amphorae show the statues, rather than the deed itself, is evident from the vase in the British Museum which clearly depicts the figures' base (Fig. 2). As Martin Bentz notes, the statues on these prize vases mark the first known instance when the choice of the shield's emblem was openly political.²² The figures of the Tyrannicides stand out from the other emblems used on Athena's shields in the sixth and fifth centuries for two further reasons: they are the only representations of statues and they show actual humans performing a known deed.²³ Normally, the devices were real or mythical animals or inanimate objects; the only other figure is the divine Nike.²⁴ As the only other anthropomorphic being used to decorate Athena's shield, the Nike provides an important parallel for the statues of the Tyrannicides.

¹⁷ Kuban Group: Bentz (1998) 156–63, nos 5.228–315. Amphorae with Tyrannicides as shield emblem: British Museum, London, B 605: Bentz (1998) no. 5.239, pl. 95; Cromey (2001) pl. 28.4; Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, 1253, 1254: Bentz (1998) nos 5.244, 5.245, pl. 97; Cromey (2001) pl. 28.5–6; Archaeological Museum, Cyrene, no inventory number: Bentz (1998) no. 5.246 with Maffre (2001) 26–27, no. 1, pl. 9.3.

¹⁸ For example, Süsserott (1938) 69–72; Beazley (1986) 89; Robertson (1992) 260, n.165; Shapiro (1996) 221; Tiverios (1996) 170; Bentz (1998) 50–51, 157; Maffre (2001) 27; Cromey (2001) 96–99; contra Eschbach (1992) 41–47, 55–56.

¹⁹ *SEG* LIII 192; Shear (2003) 102.

²⁰ At least two other amphorae have a star with a gorgoneion at its centre as the emblem for the shield: Bentz (1998) 157–58, nos 5.237–38, pls 92–93; Cromey (2001) 97, 98, pl. 28.3. Both Bentz and Cromey date these amphorae to the festival of 402. To 398, Bentz assigns an amphora with a crown as the shield's decoration: Bentz (1998) 157, 159, no. 5.247; *cf.* Cromey (2001) 98.

²¹ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 98.936: Vermeule

(1970) 94–98, 103–07, no. 3, fig. 7; Brunnsåker (1971) 105–06, no. 7, pl. 24.7; Neer (2002) 177, fig. 88. This chous is connected with Dexileos' cenotaph. Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, 44.205: Brunnsåker (1971) 106, no. 8, pl. 24.8. In the period between 470 and 450, the statue group is shown once on a black-figure lekythos: Österreichisches Museum, Vienna, 5247 = *ABL* 264, 39; Brunnsåker (1971) 102–04, no. 5, fig. 15, pl. 23.5; Neer (2002) 173; *cf.* Beazley (1948) 28, n.6. The actual deed is shown on two other vessels: Martin von Wagner Museum, University of Würzburg, Würzburg, L.515 = *ARV*² 256, 5: *Add.*² 205; Brunnsåker (1971) 108, no. 1a, fig. 16; Neer (2002) 173, 174, figs 84–85; Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, no inventory number: Beazley (1948) 26–28, fig. 1; Brunnsåker (1971) 108–09, no. 1b; Neer (2002) 173, 175, fig. 86.

²² Bentz (1998) 50.

²³ Tiverios notes that 'the Tyrannicide Group may be the first example' of statues, but Bentz gives no other instances in his list of shield devices: Tiverios (1996) 170; Bentz (1998) 204–06.

²⁴ Bentz (1998) 204–06.

With one exception from the sixth century, the Panathenaic amphorae with a Nike as the shield emblem date to between about 430 and 390 BC.²⁵ On these vessels, the Nikai fly forward with a crown in their outstretched hands so that they recall the Nike held by Pheidias' gold and ivory Athena in the Parthenon.²⁶ Nike was a particularly appropriate device for Athena's shield on Panathenaic amphorae because of her connections to the Akropolis, which was also the location of her sanctuary. She has a further association with the festival: in the 330s, Athena Nike was receiving sacrifices of the standard type at the Little Panathenaia, and, in the middle of the third century BC, a dedication was made to her at the Great Panathenaia.²⁷ The sacrifices do not seem to be a new addition in the 330s, when we hear of them, and they were very probably also being offered to the goddess in the late fifth century.²⁸

Nike, accordingly, provides us with an important parallel for Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Both the goddess and the Tyrannicides were used as shield devices on Panathenaic prize amphorae and they stand in contrast to other such emblems. On these vessels, the figures are at the same time statues or closely linked to them and portrayals of animate individuals. The associations between the festival and Nike are not limited to the jars because she also received cult rituals, specifically sacrifices, during the Panathenaia. These offerings provide yet another parallel between her and the tyrant-slayers and they reinforce Harmodios' and Aristogeiton's links to the celebration's rituals, as identified by Philostratos. The appropriateness of both Nike and the Tyrannicides as shield emblems on the amphorae, accordingly, is not merely their general association with the festival, but their specific cultic connections. In turn, the prize vessels show that their rituals were already associated with this celebration, but no other one, at the end of the fifth century BC.

III. The statues, the Gigantomachy and the Panathenaia

The associations between Harmodios, Aristogeiton, their cult and the Panathenaia are not limited to these prize amphorae and they are reinforced by additional visual evidence. The figure of Harmodios in Kritios' and Nesiotes' statue group in the Agora also had links to the festival through its iconography which the sculptors seem to have borrowed from the *peplos* given to the goddess. Subsequently, in Attic vase-painting, the Tyrannicides are invoked in some versions of the Gigantomachy, the event commemorated by the celebration. These interconnections show that the associations between the Panathenaia and the tyrant-slayers were not a new development at the end of the fifth century, nor were they the whim of a few painters of prize vases. Instead, Harmodios and Aristogeiton were already linked with the festival by 477/6 BC, when the statues made by Kritios and Nesiotes were set up in the Agora,²⁹ and they must also have been receiving offerings at that time as part of the rituals of the celebration.

Kritios and Nesiotes used a dynamic composition for their group which showed Harmodios and Aristogeiton just before they killed the tyrant, as we know from Roman copies and representations on the prize amphorae and other vases (Figs 1–2).³⁰ The naked Harmodios steps forward with his right foot and holds a sword in his right hand which is raised up above the top of his head; his left hand is down and behind him.³¹ Although modern scholars frequently describe this

²⁵ Nikai: Bentz (1998) 204–05.

²⁶ For example, Bentz (1998) pls 76, 77, 91.

²⁷ Sacrifices: Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 81B.20–24; dedication: *IG II²* 677.3–6.

²⁸ Compare Parker (1996) 245, n.98; Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 402–03; Parker (2005b) 266, n.58; contra Rosivach (1991) 439–42.

²⁹ *IG XII.5* 444 = *FGrHist* 239, A54, lines 70–71; on these statues, see also Paus. 1.8.5; Lucian *Philops.* 18.

³⁰ On the evidence for the statue group, see

Brunnsåker (1971).

³¹ The right hand of the statue of Harmodios in Naples is not in the correct position, as we know both from the depictions in vase-painting and from the remains of struts intended to support the forearm on two marble heads of the Roman period in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (26.60.1) and in the Museo Nazionale in Rome (80722); Brunnsåker (1971) 69–70, no. H3, 71–72, no. H4, 113–14, 149; nn. 17, 21. This evidence indicates that Harmodios' arm was distinctly



Fig. 1. Roman copies of the Tyrannicides by Kritios and Nesiotes (Museo Archeologico, Naples G103–04; courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut-Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 1958.1789, photograph by Bartl). The bronze originals were erected in the Athenian Agora in 477/6 BC. Note that the Roman copyist has changed the position of Harmodios' right arm.

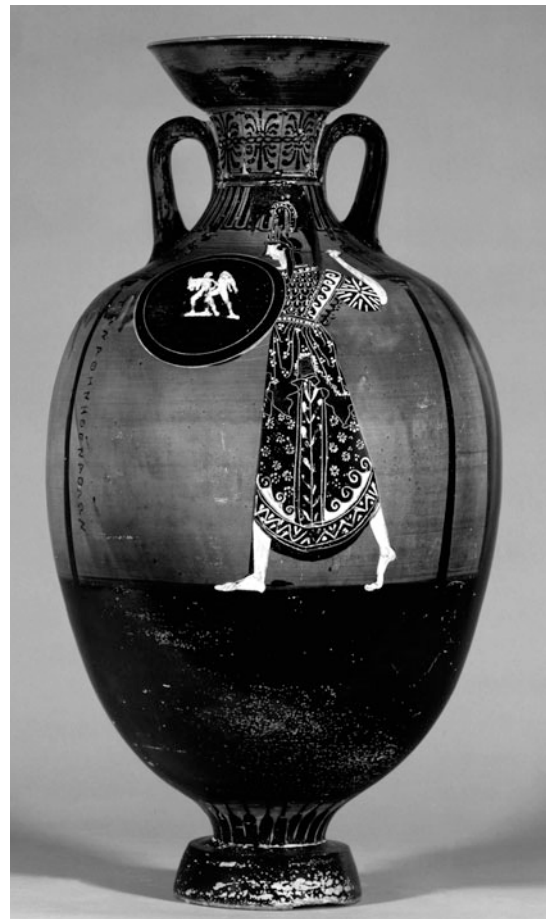


Fig. 2. Panathenaic prize amphora with the statues of the Tyrannicides as the emblems of Athena's shield (British Museum, London, B 605; © Trustees of the British Museum). It was probably awarded at the Great Panathenaia of 402 BC.

stance as the ‘Harmodios blow’, it was not first used for the younger Tyrannicide. Instead, as Brian Shefton and Thomas Carpenter show, this pose first appeared at the end of the sixth century in Attic vase-painting where it was used for sword-wielding warriors in combat.³² This stance was not limited to humans: from about 500, it was also used in Attic depictions of the Gigantomachy for Apollo who now regularly fights with a single-edged slashing sword rather than his traditional bow (Fig. 3); this iconography remained in use throughout the fifth century for depictions of the god fighting the Giants and it was also employed on the east metopes of the Parthenon.³³ Carpenter rightly stresses that this iconography represents a new way of showing Apollo in the Gigantomachy and its sudden appearance in vase-painting needs explanation.³⁴ Carpenter plausibly suggests that this new image of Apollo was used on and promulgated by the *peplos* given to Athena at the Panathenaia, hence its sudden appearance on multiple contemporary vases.³⁵ When Kritios and Nesiotes chose this pose for their statue of Harmodios, it was already well established for Apollo in the Gigantomachy.³⁶

For Athenians, the Gigantomachy had very specific associations: it was connected with the Panathenaia which some ancient sources state was held because of the death of a Giant named Aster or Asterios.³⁷ This aetiology was reinforced by the decoration of Athena’s *peplos* which showed the gods fighting the Giants.³⁸ In Attic vase-painting, this battle appears quite suddenly during the second quarter of the sixth century BC and it seems very likely, as Francis Vian suggests, that the gods’ conflict with the Giants first became associated with the Panathenaia at the time of its reorganization in 566 BC.³⁹ When Kritios and Nesiotes designed their statues of the Tyrannicides, using Apollo’s pose for Harmodios linked the younger Tyrannicide explicitly with both the Gigantomachy and the Panathenaia. Nor were they the only individuals in Athens to make this association: when Harmodios was depicted killing Hipparchos on a stamnos in Würzburg, he was shown in exactly the same way and with the same clothes as Apollo fighting the Giants on earlier stamnoi by the Tyszkiewicz and Kleophrades Painters (Fig. 3).⁴⁰ The choice

bent and his forearm and hand were positioned above his head (cf. Fig. 2); cf. Neer (2002) 169, fig. 83. In contrast, the Naples copy incorrectly has the hand and arm up and in front of the figure’s body (Fig. 1).

³² Shefton (1960) 173–75; Carpenter (1997) 171.

³³ Carpenter (1997) 171–75. Apollo’s single-edged slashing sword contrasts with the double-edged sword normally used by warriors. As Carpenter shows, Dionysos’ iconography also changes at this same time.

³⁴ As a matter of method, we can not consider iconography important only when it supports our argument and ignore it when it does not. Both change to accepted ways of depiction and deviation from the standard are marked (in linguistic terms) and, therefore, important. Context also matters: Apollo fighting the Giants is not an anonymous warrior in any combat.

³⁵ Carpenter (1997) 175. On the *peplos* and its decoration with the Gigantomachy, see n.38. On the history of the *peplos*, see Shear (2001) 97–103, 173–86 with Aleshire and Lambert (2003) 71–72, 75–77; Parker (2005b) 268–69, n.71. Despite Mansfield’s claims to the contrary, the *scholia vetera* on Aristophanes’ *Knights* do not state that the *peplos* was first dedicated after the Athenians’ victories in the Persian Wars; *scholia Ar. Knights* 566a (III); Mansfield (1985) 51–53. Consequently, there is no evidence that the Athenians were not already dedicating *peploi* to the goddess in the sixth century.

³⁶ Carpenter (1997) 175–76.

³⁷ Arist. *Peplos fr.* 637 (Rose); quoted by scholia Aristid. *Or.* 1.362 (Lenz and Behr) = Dindorf iii, p.323; cf. *scholia Ar. Knights* 566a (II); repeated by *Suda s.v. πέπλος*; Vian (1952) 262–64; Pinney (1988) 471; Shear (2001) 31–35; Parker (2005b) 255–56. The Giant’s name, which means ‘star’ or ‘starry’, may have inspired painters of Panathenaic amphorae to use a star for the emblem of Athena’s shield; for examples, see Bentz (1998) 205–06; Cromey (2001) 99. The connection can not have been particularly strong because many other items were also used to decorate the goddess’ shield, as Bentz’s list shows; Bentz (1998) 204–06.

³⁸ Pl. *Euthphr.* 6b7–c4; Stratt. *fr.* 73 (PCG); scholia Ar. *Knights* 566a (II); repeated by *Suda s.v. πέπλος*; *scholia Eur. Hek.* 467–68, 472 (Schwartz); cf. *Eur. Hek.* 466–73; *IT* 221–24; Shear (2001) 32–35.

³⁹ Vian (1952) 41, 95–101, 246; cf. Pinney (1988) 473; Shear (2001) 35–38.

⁴⁰ Würzburg stamnos: n.21; stamnos by Tyszkiewicz Painter: British Museum, London, E 443 = *ARV*² 292, 29; *Para.* 356; *Add.*² 210; Vian (1951) no. 344, pl. 34; *LIMC* 4 s.v. Gigantes, no. 330; Carpenter (1997) 173, fig. 2; stamnos by Kleophrades Painter: Musée du Louvre, Paris, C 10748 + Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1976.244.1a–d = *ARV*² 187, 55; *Add.*² 188; *LIMC* 4 s.v. Gigantes, no. 324; Carpenter (1997) 173, fig. 3. On this point, see Carpenter (1997) 175–76, figs 2, 3, 7.



Fig. 3. Stamnos by the Tyszkiewicz Painter with Apollo fighting the Giants (British Museum, London, E 443; © Trustees of the British Museum). It is dated to c. 490–480 BC.

of this pose is particularly striking on the Würzburg stamnos because all the figures are clothed and taking part in the festival rather than on a battlefield where such a stance would have been appropriate. The representations and the decisions behind them are not neutral here and they require explanation. If Carpenter is correct that the image of Apollo wielding a sword in the battle was promulgated on Athena's *peplos*, then these associations would have been particularly clear at the Great Panathenaia when the Athenians conveyed the robe with its depiction of the battle by the statue group in the Agora. Since, in the Archaic and Classical periods, the Gigantomachy does not seem to have been used to adorn public monuments outside of the Akropolis, Harmodios' pose will always have linked him to the Panathenaia and Athena's sanctuary.⁴¹ At other times of the year, these connections brought out and reinforced the Tyrannicides' associations with the goddess' festival: it was the occasion both of their deed and of their cult.

These links were subsequently picked up and used in Attic vase-painting. They are particularly clear on two Gigantomachies depicted on calyx kraters dating to the middle of the fifth century BC. On the earlier vessel from about 460–450, Apollo is not shown in the pose of Harmodios, his normal iconography at this time, but, instead, in the position of Aristogeiton's statue with his left arm extended and his right hand holding a straight double-edged sword down and behind him (Fig. 4).⁴² The imitation of the tyrant-slayer is so close that Apollo's left arm is covered by a mantle, which looks very out of place in the middle of the battle. The unusual depiction of the god without his single-edged slashing sword draws our attention to him. On the second krater, which is dated to about 450, Athena is shown in the centre of side A as

⁴¹ Harmodios' pose must always have been incongruous and, therefore, noticeable and significant because his deed, as commemorated both in monument and story, took place at the goddess' celebration and not on a battlefield where such a stance would normally be expected. This contrast will have been especially strong when the statues were crowned, as representations in vase-painting suggest they were: Roemer- und Pelizaeus

Museum, Hildesheim, 1253, 1254: n.17; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 98.936 and Österreichisches Museum, Vienna, 5247: n.21; Brunnsåker (1971) 150; for a parallel, see *I.Erythrai* 503.15–17.

⁴² Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Ferrara, 2891 = *ARI*² 602, 24; 1661: *Para.* 395; *Add.*² 266–67; Vian (1951) no. 338, pl. 37; *LIMC* 4 s.v. Gigantes, no. 311.

Aristogeiton: she holds a double-edged sword in her lowered right hand and her extended left arm is protected by her *aegis*, just as the Tyrannicide's arm is protected by his mantle (Fig. 5).⁴³ Her sword is extremely unusual because she is normally armed with a spear (Fig. 4); this anomalous depiction here is, therefore, significant. Similarly, on the other side, Apollo is also not shown with his usual iconography. Rather, he is portrayed in a modified form of Aristogeiton's stance with his left arm lowered and bent (Fig. 6); as on the first calyx krater, this arm is protected by the god's mantle. In his right hand, he holds a double-edged sword rather than his usual single-edged slashing weapon. This substitution of the Tyrannicides' swords for Apollo's normal weapon in the Gigantomachy emphasizes the connections on these two vases between the god, the Tyrannicides and the statues. Since these depictions of Athena and Apollo as Aristogeiton are located in the battle between the gods and the Giants, they also bring out the associations between the tyrant-slayers, the Panathenaia and the festival's aetiology.

These uses of this iconography represent deliberate decisions on the part of the artists and they are certainly not haphazard. Kritios' and Nesiotes' initial choice of Apollo's pose in the Gigantomachy for their statue of Harmodios testifies to the links which already existed in 477/6 between the tyrant-slayer and the Panathenaia. They were subsequently reinforced in the middle of the fifth century when Aristogeiton's imagery was borrowed back into the Gigantomachy for Athena and Apollo. That the point of connection is the battle between the gods and the Giants, one the festival's central mythological stories, suggests that the Tyrannicides were linked to the Panathenaia by more than their assassination of Hipparchos. Instead, this association reinforces the conclusions which we drew from the prize amphorae and from Philostratos' description, that the cult of Harmodios and Aristogeiton took place at Athena's festival. The evidence of the statue group and the calyx kraters from the middle of the fifth century indicates that the connections were already well known in 477/6 when Kritios' and Nesiotes' figures were set up in the Agora. By this time, the Tyrannicides' cult must have been well established as part of the rituals taking place at the Panathenaia.⁴⁴



Fig. 4. Calyx krater decorated with the Gigantomachy and dated to c. 460-450 BC (Museo Archeologico, Ferrara, 2891; courtesy of the Hirmer Fotoarchive, neg. 571.0052). On the left, Apollo, in the pose of Aristogeiton; on the right, Athena.

⁴³ Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel, Lu 51 = *ARV*² 609, 7bis; 1661: *Para.* 396; *Add.*² 268; *LIMC* 4 s.v. Gigantes, no. 312; Tiverios (1994) 137, fig. 8.

⁴⁴ Compare Parker (2011) 121. I discuss the early history of the Tyrannicides' cult in more detail in Shear (2012).



Fig. 5. Calyx krater decorated with the Gigantomachy and dated to *c.* 450 BC (Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel, Lu 51; courtesy of the Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, photograph by Andreas F. Voegelin). Athena, in the pose of Aristogeiton, fights a Giant.



Fig. 6. Calyx krater decorated with the Gigantomachy and dated to *c.* 450 BC (Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel, Lu 51; courtesy of the Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, photograph by Andreas F. Voegelin). Apollo, in the pose of Aristogeiton, fights a Giant.

IV. Consequences

Collectively, our evidence indicates that Harmodios and Aristogeiton were the recipients of *enagismata* offered by the *polemarchos* and songs, presumably sung by the Athenians when the offerings were made. These ritual actions took place at the Panathenaia, very likely on 28 Hekatombaion, the day of their deed and of Harmodios' death, hence the repeated associations in the visual sphere between the Tyrannicides and the festival. The decision to use the statues as Athena's shield emblem on some late fifth-century prize vases particularly brings out these close connections. In addition, the multiple parallels between Harmodios and Aristogeiton and divine figures point specifically towards the sphere of cult, rather than to the celebration more generally. Since these relationships are visible in Kritios' and Nesiotes' statue of Harmodios, the cult should already have been part of the Panathenaia when the statue group was erected in 477/6 BC. It then continued over the centuries until at least Philostratos' day in the earlier part of the third century AD.

Together, the rituals and the statue group in the Agora kept the Tyrannicides' deed permanently in front of the Athenians. On a regular basis, they remembered that Harmodios' and Aristogeiton's actions had overthrown the tyrant and brought *isonomia* and democracy to Athens, hence their unparalleled honours of statues and cult.⁴⁵ Beyond the time of the festival, the figures in the Agora not only linked the present with these events in the city's history, but they also provided a connection with the Tyrannicides' rituals through the pose chosen for Harmodios. They made it impossible for Athenians ever to forget that Harmodios and Aristogeiton were closely connected with the Panathenaia and with no other celebration in the city.

The Athenians' decision to include the cult for the Tyrannicides at the Panathenaia also had important ramifications for Athena's festival which can only be briefly sketched out here. The main focus of the occasion will always have been Athena and her deeds, particularly her actions against the Giants, and Erichthonios, her son who founded the celebration in her honour,⁴⁶ but the Tyrannicides' cult added commemoration of further moments in the city's history: the removal of the tyrant and the establishment of democracy, more recent events which were instrumental in creating the present circumstances in which the Athenians lived. Consequently, with this addition, the Panathenaia became the festival in the city most closely associated with democracy and one which commemorated its foundations. In this context, the participation of the city's magistrates and officials was particularly appropriate, as was the focus on both *demes* and tribes, both units introduced with democracy at the end of the sixth century. The decision to entrust the offering of the *enagismata* to the *polemarchos* gave a prominent role to a magistrate of the whole *demos* rather than to the Tyrannicides' families which, in an earlier period, might well have supplied the necessary official. The *polemarchos*' role as the leader of the Athenian military also fitted in with and reinforced the festival's overall military nature as the celebration of the divine victory in the Gigantomachy. Once the Tyrannicides' cult was included in the Panathenaia, it could never simply be an occasion for the glorification of all Athenians, as the celebration's name might otherwise suggest.

There were also consequences for visitors to the city: while anyone could rejoice in and celebrate the gods' victory over the Giants, commemorating the institution of Athenian democracy was of especial relevance only to inhabitants of the city, her colonists and her allies.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Above n.2.

⁴⁶ Athena and Giants: n.37. Erichthonios: Hellanik. *FGrHist* 323a F2 and Androt. *FGrHist* 324 F2, both cited by Harp. s.v. Παναθήναια; [Eratosth.] *Kat.* 13; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.6; scholia Aristid. *Or.* 1.362 (Lenz and Behr) = Dindorf iii, p.323; Phot. *Lex.*; *Suda* s.v. Παναθήναια; scholia Pl. *Prm.* 127a8; *IG* XII.5 444 =

FGrHist 239, A10, lines 17–18, 21; Shear (2001) 43–48; Parker (2005b) 254–55.

⁴⁷ While, in the years immediately after 511, other cities and particularly Sparta may have taken an interest in commemorating the demise of the Athenian tyranny, the importance of this event to them will have diminished as the years passed and the events receded into the past.

With the addition of these new rituals, as well as contests for teams representing the Kleisthenic tribes, the focus of the Panathenaia shifted towards the city and away from visitors who were now less closely connected with the main elements of the occasion and so less important.⁴⁸ Their lesser status was further emphasized in the games because they could only participate in the open contests, while Athenians also competed on behalf of their tribes in events which were, therefore, only open to citizens. The Tyrannicides' cult, consequently, made this festival all about Athenians in ways in which it had never been previously and it made Athens and democracy into one and the same thing. Holding the Panathenaia was now also about celebrating the rule of the *demos* in the city.

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⁴⁸ Some of the competitions for tribal teams, particularly the *euandria* and the torch-race, may have been introduced about 500 BC; Shear (2001) 349; *cf.*

Anderson (2003) 167–69. Any pre-existing contests limited to Athenians must have been altered at this time.

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