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Menestheus Versus the Sons of Theseus:
Changes in Athenian Trojan War Iconography from the Sixth to Fifth Centuries B.C.

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Abstract

The objective of this thesis is to reinterpret traditional views of the introduction and manipulation of the Homeric epics in Athens during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. by focusing in on the minor Athenian heroes of the Trojan War – Menestheus the Homeric hero and Akamas and Demophon, the local Athenian heroes and the sons of Theseus. Chapter 1 analyzes the possible origins of these heroes within the mythic tradition. Chapter 2 examines the possible modes of transmission of the Homeric epics through time and how these epics eventually came to be introduced to Athens. Chapter 3 looks at all the iconographic and literary evidence involving Menestheus and the Theseïdai. The growing popularity of Theseus (and by association, his sons) together with Kleisthenes' tribal reforms would lead to the vilification and obscuration of Menestheus in Athenian art and literature, even in light of Homer's prestige.

Acknowledgements

The idea for this thesis came from a paper I wrote for Holt Parker's seminar on Homer. I am happy that through the research conducted for this thesis, I was eventually able to comprehend the wealth of scholarship introduced to me in this class. Although I will never consider myself an expert of any sort, my deeper understanding of the philological issues can only help in broadening my understanding of ancient Greek culture as a whole.

I would like to thank, first and foremost, my parents, who were always supportive, even when my life went down some crazy roads. I can never give enough appreciation to my readers, Kathleen Lynch and Holt Parker, who always had an open door and encouraging word. I also extend my gratitude to Jack Davis for being so patient with me in my bureaucratic-dazed confusion surrounding this thesis process. Thanks too to Barbara Burrell and her unofficial third-reader suggestions.

Thanks to Elizabeth McNearney for knowing how to keep any heavy situation light, and the entire wood side of library who always makes me laugh, hard, at least once a day.

I returned to graduate school full of apprehension and misgivings in my abilities to perform well academically after such a long and emotional hiatus in life. I hope that my work here, as well as in the department as a whole, proves to everyone (mostly myself) that I can make it in this strange and weird world we call Classics.

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Introduction

Interpretations of Homeric influence on the material record of Greece are inherently based on that model of Homeric study to which one ascribes. Since Homeric scholars very often support wildly differing chronologies and evolutions for the Homeric epics, it is up to the archaeologist to be aware of current trends in philology. Some of the most influential works on the epic influence in art, such as those of Karl Schefold and Knud Friis Johansen, are now outdated in light of recent Homeric scholarship, especially that which considers the interrelationships between the Homeric epics and the Epic Cycle. On the other hand, philologists have come to appreciate the findings of archaeologists in helping to reconstruct the material world during the time when these epics flourished. The environment is especially important when factoring in the performative aspects of the Homeric epics, a current trend that is forcing philologists to look beyond the words on a page and consider the inherent orality that is associated with epic composition.

In this study, I wish to re-explore Homeric influence on the art and culture of Athens, specifically in light of the recent scholarship of Gregory Nagy, Jonathan Burgess, and Anthony Snodgrass. Athens is unique among Greek poleis in that even in antiquity a strong connection was perceived between Athens and the Homeric epics. Unfortunately, this relationship was often described negatively in ancient accounts due to the contemporary imperial practices of Athens. It is important to separate the better-known features of Athenian culture in the fifth century B.C. from those of earlier centuries. It is equally important not to allow the overwhelming prestige Homer holds in our society to cloud our perceptions of how the Homeric epics might have been initially received by Athens. Since the evidence for Athenian art and politics is quite vast, as is the scholarship on the Homeric epics, I wish to concentrate on the Athenian heroes of the Trojan

War as a useful case study that could then be applied to Athens and Homer as a whole. Close study of the development of these heroes is less prone to subjective interpretation; their presence or non-presence in art and literature is more concrete than the usual intangible concepts surrounding philology. By focusing on only these heroes, a likely (and manageable) scenario can be reconstructed for how Athens came to receive, integrate, and finally propagate the Homeric epics, especially in contrast to their own local versions of myth.

To start, let us introduce our cast of characters. The Athenian leader who participates in the Trojan War according to Homer is Menestheus, the son of Peteos. However, according to local tradition, the Athenian leaders were the brothers Demophon and Akamas, the sons of Athens' most famous king, Theseus. The basic story that circulated throughout later antiquity concerning these characters is as follows:[1] during the course of Theseus' adventures abroad with his friend Perithoös, the Athenians, led by Menestheus, and helped by the Dioskouroi in revenge for Theseus' rape of their sister Helen, turn against him. Upon his return to Athens, Theseus is forced to leave after first sending his sons to Euboia for safety. Theseus himself goes to Skyros where he dies.[2] It is at this point presumably that Menestheus leads the Athenian contingent to Troy. The Theseïdai also go to Troy, apparently as common soldiers or as part of the Euboian contingent. The story of what happens afterwards varies, but eventually, Menestheus leaves Athens as a colonizer or as an exile, and one of Theseus' sons (usually Demophon) is reinstated as rightful heir to the throne. As we can see, there is an inherent conflict between the house of Theseus and Menestheus. However, this conflict was not apparent in the earliest known

[1] The most complete version can be seen in Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*.
[2] A slight variation is seen in Apollod. *Epit*. 1.23: Menestheus, who was in exile, was placed on the throne by the Dioskouroi when they invaded Attica to rescue their sister. Menestheus repels Theseus alone, who then retreats to Skyros.

accounts of Athenian history and literature; it is only later with the rise of Theseus that Menestheus is forced into the position of usurper to the throne.

By exploring these characters in more detail, we see that Menestheus is a strangely enigmatic character in later Athenian history who was much overlooked. It would be surprising if many even recognize his name – he is a relatively minor character in the *Iliad* and is only mentioned five times. The first time is in the famous "Catalogue of Ships" in Book II of the *Iliad*, lines 552-556:

> τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευ' υἱὸς Πετεῶο Μενεσθεύς.
> τῷ δ' οὔ πώ τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνὴρ
> κοσμῆσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας·
> Νέστωρ οἶος ἔριζεν· ὁ γὰρ προγενέστερος ἦεν.
> τῷ δ' ἅμα πεντήκοντα μέλαιναι νῆες ἕποντο.
>
> ...of these Menestheus, son of Peteos, was leader. No other man born on earth was like him in marshaling chariots and shield-carrying warriors. Only Nestor could rival him, for he was the elder. And with him fifty black ships followed.[3]

Other appearances (see Appendix A) include book 4.327-484, where he and Odysseus are chided by Agamemnon; in 12.331-501, he sends a herald to fetch Aias in order to help him fend off Glaukos and his men; in 13.195-196, Menestheus and another Athenian by the name of Stichios bear the body of Amphimachos to safety; and lastly, Menestheus is mentioned among the fighters attempting to fend off Hektor's advance to the ships in the so-called "Lesser Catalogue" in 13.689-691. There is no other mention of this character for the last half of the epic, although his companion Stichios is killed in 15.329-331. Otherwise, he makes very few appearances elsewhere in literature. He is mentioned in one fragment of the *Ilioupersis* and in a fragment of Hesiod. Later in the fifth century, he is either mentioned or alluded to in a few historical accounts. There are few artistic representations of his character in Greek art and no evidence of

[3] All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

cult worship in Athens. The city of Scyllacium in southern Italy claimed Menestheus as foundation hero (Strabo 6.1.10) as did Elaia in Asia Minor (Strabo 13.3.5; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἐλαία), at least in later antiquity.

Menestheus is even more negelected when compared to the other non-Homeric Athenian heroes of the Trojan War, the brothers Demophon and Akamas. Although they are not mentioned by Homer, the brothers do take part in the Trojan War according to the *Ilioupersis* of the Epic Cycle. Their most famous scene is that of the recognition and eventual rescue of their grandmother Aithra, who had been a slave of Helen's. The Athenians would later further develop these characters to take part in various other Trojan War scenes and local legends, including the granting of asylum to the Heraklidai. Most importantly, the Theseïdai were incorporated into Athenian political and cultural life through the induction of Akamas as an eponymous hero of the newly instituted tribal system of Kleisthenes, and through the various shrines and hero cults dedicated to them, a factor absent when dealing with Menestheus. They are fairly well represented in Greek art both in and out of Athens. Both brothers are involved in colonization and foundation of cities in Cyprus, Thrace, and the Troad.

It is not surprising that the Theseïdai exhibit a strong association with their father Theseus. Since Theseus has been the focus of numerous studies in the past,[4] I will not dwell too much on him individually; however, I do wish to explore his relationship with his sons and his supposed usurper, Menestheus, as well as Homer's knowledge of the Theseus legend in the epics. This means primarily looking at Theseus' earliest associations, including his origin, his earliest legends, his appearances in the Homeric epics, and eventual Athenian expansion of his story. It will be shown that the skyrocketing popularity of Theseus will have beneficial effects

[4] A good bibliography for earlier Theseus studies can be found in Sourvinou-Inwood 1971, p. 97, n. 13. More recent studies are listed in *LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 922, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).

upon his sons and detrimental effects upon Menestheus, even in the face of the great esteem for the Homeric epics.

Understanding the initial reception of a Homeric hero versus those who appear only in the Epic Cycle requires a section on the interrelationship between these two epic accounts. Burgess' recent book on the subject (Burgess 2001) has shown that many preconceived notions concerning the Epic Cycle as subsidiary stories, composed with the specific purpose of filling in the gaps left by Homer, are in fact unfounded. Study of the Epic Cycle has become popular among philologists of the neo-analysis school, especially in how Homer used or rejected material from these stories. Recent studies of depictions of the Trojan War in early Greek art, such as those of Snodgrass (1998), have also overturned prevailing theories on the influence Homer had in these depictions. It is now generally accepted that the stories related in the Epic Cycle are overwhelmingly more popular than Homer in early Greek art. Although Snodgrass takes an agnostic stance on the reason so few artists drew upon Homer as a source, current trends in philology have concentrated on the elitist context of performance and distribution of epic poetry. This would explain why socially lowborn potters would not have been regularly exposed to these forms of aristocratic entertainment. Moreover, the very important pan-Hellenic aspect of the Homeric epics, both in content and in context of performance, as espoused by Gregory Nagy (1990, 1996b, 1999) can be especially useful in illuminating the special circumstances surrounding their early fixation and their transmission through guild-type institutions.

Although I will present the evidence later in this paper, I will lay out here a few of my basic presumptions concerning epic poetry for the benefit of the reader:

1) The *Iliad* was a work of oral composition by a single author that gradually came to be fixed texts for memorization and recitation. I believe writing is not a prerequisite for fixation.

Although I believe that the Odyssey went through the same process, I will focus mostly on the *Iliad* in this study.

2) The Epic Cycle, for the most part, reflects in content mythological stories that had been circulating throughout the Greek world from before the time of Homer. Homer was cognizant of these stories and utilized many of the motifs found therein. However, the final fixation of these poems occurred well after Homer.

3) Although I attempt to stick with the more neutral term "Homeric epics" in my paper, I will occasionally use the name Homer as its composer for the sake of convenience.

Chapter 1: Origins of the Athenian Heroes

The Homeric Epics

When commenting on various Homeric heroes, many scholars have often expressed curiosity and puzzlement over Menestheus, leader of the Athenian contingent.[5] Much of the confusion lies in the apparent importance of Athens throughout the Bronze to Archaic Ages, presumably the period of time when these stories flourished, with the relative unimportance of their hero or their city within the story. He is almost entirely overlooked by the Athenians in later antiquity. Who is he and how did he end up in the *Iliad*? I wish to examine in this section the Homeric aspects of both Athenian heroes mentioned in the epics, Menestheus and Theseus, and how these heroes came to occupy the positions they have within the epics. As everyone knows, the study of Homeric composition and transmission is rife with controversy. I will by no means attempt to wrestle with this towering topic here, but instead will focus narrowly upon these Athenian heroes. Topics dealing with Athenian involvement in transmission and writing of the Homeric epics will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Homeric scholarship of the last century has been separated into two main schools of thought. Both schools focus on the unitarian, or single authorship, approach to Homeric composition. These two methods, the "neo-analyst" and the "oral tradition" interpretations, are not entirely exclusive of each other. Their main points of contention lay in their disagreement over the degree of Homer's "originality" and in the use of writing while composing the epics. In most other cases, moderate views of both interpretations can complement each other to achieve a

[5] Summarized most humorously by Page 1959, p. 146: "The king of Athens at the Trojan War ought to be one of the most famous of all heroes: unfortunately he was one of the obscurest, a nonentity and something of a ninny. His subsequent fate in Athenian hands is a tale of torture: he is stretched on the rack of hypothesis, elongated until he touches Theseus in a much earlier generation than his own; and a synthetic potion of theory is brewed to a thin consistency, palatable to the omnivorous."

full picture. I wish to see how both of these methods of Homeric interpretation reflect on the presence and transmission of Menestheus as an Athenian hero in the *Iliad*.

Neo-analysis was a term first coined by Kakridis in the early twentieth century in reaction to the analyst method of interpretation of the previous century, which had focused on the inconsistencies seen in the Homeric epics as evidence of multiple authorship.[6] The term was adopted as defining one method of interpretation, mainly espoused in Europe, that focused both on the single authorship of the Homeric poems and on the numerous, pre-existing stories concerning the Trojan War that were circulating at the time (and crystallized later in the writing of the Epic Cycle stories). Based on summaries given by later authors of the Epic Cycles, scholars focused on the *Aethiopis*, the Epic Cycle story relating the death of the Ethiopian general, Memnon, at the hands of Achilleus in revenge for the death of his friend Antilochos, and Achilleus' death at the hands of Paris and Apollo (See Appendix B1). This story seemed to follow closely the plot of the *Iliad* in that a major Trojan hero (Hektor) dies at the hands of Achilleus in revenge for his friend (Patroklos). And although Achilleus obviously does not die in the *Iliad*, many of the features of Patroklos' funeral seem to foreshadow Achilleus' eventual death, including Apollo's interference in Patroklos' death, the funeral games held in his honor, and the mourning of the Nereids. Since the Epic Cycle stories were traditionally held to be later and more degenerate than Homer, the concept of Homer copying the plot of one of these stories instead of vice versa was inconceivable. However, as more thorough studies of the Epic Cycle continued, and as scholars began to realize that almost all of the early narrative artwork of Greece portrayed Epic Cycle events rather than Homeric ones (see below), it soon became clear that although the Epic Cycle probably was not written until after Homer, the actual stories

[6] Kakridis 1949; see Willcock 1997, for an overview of neo-analysis and bibliography; the cause of neo-analysis is most forcefully argued by W. Kullmann, see especially Kullmann 1960 and 1984.

themselves were circulating long before then. Careful analysis of the Homeric epics themselves shows that Homer does seem to refer to these stories or at least assumes that the audience was familiar with them.[7] These close associations between the *Iliad* and the *Aethiopis* led scholars to assume that Homer had used the story of the *Aethiopis* as a template to relate a less well-known (or perhaps even completely invented) story of Achilleus' wrath. Homer's genius lay in his ability to adopt the earlier motif to a new cast of characters and to fit his subsidiary story into the timeline of events concerning the Trojan War.

The oral tradition interpretation of Homer, espoused mainly in America, is also nicknamed "Parryism" after the man who originally brought evidence to light that the Homeric epics are completely oral in nature, Millman Parry. Based on his work of oral poets in Yugoslavia, Parry was able to pinpoint the main feature of oral composition – repeated use of traditional formulaic phrases as building blocks for a longer story. He mathematically broke down lines of Homer to demonstrate the probability that certain formulaic phrases were used at specific points within a line of dactylic hexameter in order to fill out a specific number of feet. He believed these building blocks to come from a common stock of traditional phrases of which all oral composers made use. Other tools available to the oral poet were typical themes or scenes that could be repeated with exact or almost exact wording; these include scenes of feasting, sacrifice, arming, fighting, etc.[8] The originality of Homer was severely limited in that much of Homer's phraseology was based on formulae used by all epic poets. The genius of Homer, therefore, lies not in his original use of traditional material, but in his degree of skill in combining traditional formulae in new ways to form a cohesive whole.

[7] See n. 58, following chapter; Dowden 1996, suggests that Homer was making an artistic choice to refer to these scenes as a way of further enhancing the dramatic effect of his own story.
[8] See Lord 1960, pp. 68-98; Kirk 1962, pp. 72-80.

In theory, both schools of thought emphasize the fact that there were stories and phrases that existed long before Homer ever composed a single line of epic poetry. Both schools, in varying degrees, take away from Homer's creative genius. Although the two schools have contrary views to the use of writing for composition, one can see how the two viewpoints are not exclusively contrary to one another. As Willcock points out, the use of "typical scenes" or themes and the use of pre-existing motifs from another story more or less fall into the same category and "the two schools can fruitfully cross-pollinate."[9]

The Catalogue of Ships in Book 2 of the *Iliad* is where we first encounter the character of Menestheus. It has long been interpreted along the lines of neo-analysis and oral composition theory, even if not explicitly stated. This section, covering nearly 250 lines, is mostly an ancient lesson on Trojan War geography and kings. Most of the studies concerning the Catalogue of Ships specifically focus on its relationship with the rest of the *Iliad*;[10] discrepancies between the two occur to such a degree that few believe the Catalogue to be originally composed by Homer during the course of his composition of the *Iliad*. Among the most important discrepancies noted in the various studies include:

1) The differences in geographical realm for many of the most important characters in the *Iliad* including Agamemnon, Achilleus, and Odysseus,[11]
2) The fact that the Catalogue lists the men by geographic region, rather than by military formation, as one would expect,[12]

[9] Willcock 1997, p. 189.
[10] See Kullman 1960, pp. 64-65, for a listing and summary of the conclusions of those publications made before the mid-1950's. Since then, there have been a few more studies published, see Kirk 1985, pp. 169-170 for more recent publications.
[11] Page 1959, pp. 125-127.
[12] Earlier in Book 2.362-363, Nestor advises Agamemnon to:

> κρῖν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φῦλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, Ἀγάμεμνον,
> ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγῃ, φῦλα δὲ φύλοις.
> "Separate the men by tribes, by clan, Agamemnon,
> so that clan may aid clan and tribe tribe."

3) Again, the fact that this land maneuver also lists the numbers of ships they brought,
4) The listing of Philoktetes, Protesilaos, and Achilleus as among the leaders although all three are not present at this point in the story (explanatory lines describing what happened to them and their replacements follow),[13]
5) The prominence of the Boiotians who are named first and take up one-fifth of the Catalogue although they play a very small role in the rest of the *Iliad*.[14]

The last four points have led many to believe that the Catalogue was originally composed to describe the assembly of the Greek navy at Aulis *before* setting out for Troy. This leads to two broad and differing conclusions drawn up by the various scholars: the Catalogue was a pre-existing work that Homer incorporated during the course of his composition[15] or the Catalogue was a work that was inserted into the *Iliad* afterwards by some other poet/cataloguer/rhapsode.[16] However, a later addition seems less likely since the political geography laid out in the Catalogue does not reflect any known point in historical Greece, either because it reflects a time before history or is completely invented. But, as Page and Hope Simpson[17] emphasize, many cities that appear in the Catalogue were abandoned after the Mycenaean age and no longer remembered in later history. This, coupled with the absence of Dorians or Ionian cities in Asia Minor, seems to point to a time prior to historical Greece – an abbreviated snapshot of prehistory kept alive through the power of oral transmission. Although it is not necessary to take so extreme a view as

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This is strange advice for a military maneuver, especially in the tenth year of fighting. It seems that Homer needed to introduce a reason for the illogical grouping of the Catalogue by making Nestor order this beforehand.

[13] Philoktetes was still on the island of Lemnos, nursing his wound (2.716-728); Protesilaos was the first Greek to be killed upon reaching the Trojan shore (2.695-710); Achilleus was, of course, refraining from the fight (2.681-694).

[14] Allen 1921, p. 51, deems the Boiotian position at the beginning of the Catalogue not to be especially important from a political point of view. He believes that it would be a natural starting point in terms of geography, since it is in the center, and the Catalogue is listed by geographical regions. I find this reasoning to be lacking. I still would assume that any list of major players of the Trojan War ought to start with those most concerned, namely Agamemnon, Menelaos, or Achilleus. See, for example, the Catalogue of Ships in Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Aulis* (lines 235-288), which begins with Achilleus' contingent and ends with Aias.

[15] See especially Allen 1921; Burr 1944; Page 1959; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970.

[16] See especially Niese 1873; Leaf 1915.

[17] Page 1959, p. 121; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, pp. 154-155.

Page's, that the Catalogue was an actual Mycenaean document (in versified form?[18]), I do believe the Catalogue to be a pre-existing poem describing the Greek navy at Aulis and pre-dating Homer, the work, perhaps as Leaf and Page suggest, of a Boiotian cataloguer.[19]

Page also rightly points out the many similarities seen between the Catalogue and the *Iliad*: the major heroes have the same epithets, and the more obscure characters that reappear in the *Iliad* are remembered in terms of their companions and nationality.[20] These similarities are such that I believe that Homer was well acquainted with the content of the Catalogue and must have used it as his preliminary list of characters for the composition of his epic. Otherwise, any would-be Cataloguer would have to be well acquainted with the entire epic to the point that he could recall the obscure names scattered throughout and the relationships between these characters. This seems highly unlikely without the use of a written text as a tool, and as will be argued in the next chapter, a written text of the Homeric epics was not produced until well after any such major interpolation could have occurred, probably in the mid-sixth century B.C.

The similarities seen in the characters indicate that the tradition used by Homer and the tradition used by the "Cataloguer" stemmed from one common tradition. The dissimilarities could be a factor of time.[21] Certainly, the Trojan War was a popular story told by oral poets; the same characters would reoccur over centuries. If oral poets made use of typical scenes such as

[18] Although hexameter verse probably did exist in Mycenaean times, see West 1988; Janko 1992, p. 10.
[19] Leaf 1915, pp. 314-31 and Page 1959, p. 152, both wish to take into account the prominent position of the Boiotians within the Catalogue, as well as the apparent predilection for Catalogues seen among other Boiotian poets, namely Hesiod. See also the so-called "Little Catalogue" (*Il.* 13.685-700), in which Menestheus again appears, along with the Boiotians and their neighbors (Lokrians, Phthians, Epeians, Euboians). West 1988, p. 168, believes that the "amplification of the Troy saga," as opposed to other mythological traditions such as the Seven Against Thebes, was probably due to poets in or close to Euboia, as well as some early form of a Catalogue. Powell 1997, p. 31, believes that the composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and the development of the writing system in which they would be committed both occurred in or around Euboia.
[20] Page 1959, pp. 135-136.
[21] Page 1959, p. 136; This seems more likely especially in light of the fact that the major discrepancies occur over major characters in the *Iliad*, while the similarities occur between minor and obscure characters. I believe that the differences are the result of evolving traditions surrounding major characters like Agamemnon, Odysseus, and Achilleus, who are more likely to motivate various and, at times, differing versions of a story, whereas minor characters would be less a source of inspiration for new stories.

eating, arming, etc. as tools for composition, why then could the introduction of common characters and the places they come from not also be a tool of composition? Introduction of characters would have to occur at least once in every poem, just as the need for those characters to peform the common activities of eating, arming, etc. This introduction would eventually be repeated enough times to become a fixed and memorized text. In terms of the Catalogue, it is an unusually long "typical scene" compared to the others, but no different in basic function.[22] Although the process of original oral composition continued to occur for other parts of the Trojan story, this introduction of characters went through the same process that would eventually occur to the rest of the poem, fixation, but at a much earlier point in time. It is only because of its repeated use within the story that it reached a level of fixation much earlier than the rest of the poem. Therefore, whether one sees it as a typical tool of the oral composer (oral tradition), or as a pre-existing poem, utilized and adapted by the poet (neo-analysis), the result is the same. This particular part of the story retained the most antiquarian aspects of the Trojan War saga because of its early fixation, and most likely the poet of the *Iliad* borrowed from its content in filling out the rest of his poem.

If we assume that the Catalogue is earlier than the *Iliad* as we have it, then we must also conclude that the characters listed in the Catalogue were part of the earlier tradition as well. Although minor characters were often invented for the sole purpose of dying throughout the *Iliad*, Homer also economically used the characters provided by the Catalogue as a template for further elaboration. Since Menestheus first appears in the Catalogue, it is then logical to assume that he is a very old, pre-existing character (perhaps even Mycenaean) from before the time of

[22] In fact, Kirk 1962, p. 73, lists Catalogues as one of the established themes used in the Homeric epics.

Homer, and not a character invented by the poet.[23] In this light, the one fragment of Hesiod that mentions Menestheus probably also drew upon this common tradition, rather than following Homer:

> ἐκ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθηνέων μνᾶθ' υἱὸς Π[ετεῶο Μενεσθεύς]
> From the Athenians, Menestheus, son of Peteos, came to woo...[24]

It appears that Menestheus also took part in the events preceding the Trojan War, in the common mythologic tradition.

There can be no doubt that Theseus was also a character who was well known at the time of Homer. He appears in Homer, once in the *Iliad*, 1.262-265, when Nestor reminisces about the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs:

> οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι,
> οἷον Περίθοόν τε Δρύαντά τε, ποιμένα λαῶν,
> Καινέα τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον,
> Θησέα τ' Αἰγεΐδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν·
>
> I have never seen such warriors since, or will see,
> such as Perithoös, and Dryas, shepherd of men,
> and Kaineus, and Exadios, and godlike Polyphemos,
> and Theseus, son of Aigeus, peer of the immortals.

and twice in the *Odyssey*, 11.321-5, when Odysseus is in Hades:

> Φαίδρην τε Πρόκριν τε ἴδον καλήν τ' Ἀριάδνην,
> κούρην Μίνωος ὀλοόφρονος, ἣν ποτε Θησεὺς
> ἐξ Κρήτης ἐς γουνὸν Ἀθηνάων ἱεράων
> ἦγε μέν, οὐδ' ἀπόνητο· πάρος δέ μιν Ἄρτεμις ἔκτα
> Δίῃ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ Διονύσου μαρτυρίῃσιν.
>
> I saw Phaedra and Procris and beautiful Ariadne,
> the daughter of baneful Minos, whom once Theseus
> tried to bring from Crete to the hill of sacred Athens;

[23] Robert 1901, p. 406, brings up the possibility that Menestheus was a made-up character, but he also believes that the Catalogue was a later addition.
[24] Hesiod, fr. 200 (Merkelbach and West 1967).

but he had no enjoyment of her. Before that, Artemis slew her
in seagirt Dia because of the witness of Dionysus.

and 11.628-31:

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν αὐτοῦ μένον ἔμπεδον, εἴ τις ἔτ' ἔλθοι
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων, οἳ δὴ τὸ πρόσθεν ὄλοντο.
καί νύ κ' ἔτι προτέρους ἴδον ἄνέρας, οὕς ἔθελόν περ,
Θησέα Πειρίθοόν τε, θεῶν ἐρικυδέα τέκνα·

...but I stood my ground there, in the hope that someone of the heroes
might still come, those who died in the days of old.
And I would have seen yet others of the men of former times, whom I
wished to behold, Theseus and Perithous, glorious children of the
gods...

There have been accusations in the past of Athenian interpolation of these lines, which I will consider in the next chapter, but for now, let us assume these lines to be original.[25] In every case, Theseus is part of the earlier generation preceding the Trojan War. He is also consistently portrayed in scenes of his earliest associations, namely, the Cretan affair with Ariadne, and his adventures with Perithoös, the Centauromachy of the Lapiths and the attempted rape of Persephone (and subsequent imprisonment in Hades).[26] In addition, lines 3.141-144 of the *Iliad* name one of the handmaids of Helen as Aithra, daughter of Pittheus and mother of Theseus:

...αὐτίκα δ' ἀργεννῇσι καλυψαμένη ὀθόνῃσιν
ὁρμᾶτ' ἐκ θαλάμοιο τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα,
οὐκ οἴη, ἅμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δύ' ἕποντο,
Αἴθρη, Πιτθῆος θυγάτηρ, Κλυμένη τε βοῶπις.

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[25] Almost exact wording as *Il.* 1.262-265 can be found in Hesiod's *Shield of Herakles*, lines 178-182:

ἐν δ' ἦν ὑσμίνη Λαπιθάων αἰχμητάων
Καινέα τ' ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα Δρύαντά τε Πειρίθοόν τε
'Οπλέα τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε Φάληρόν τε Πρόλοχόν τε
Μόψον τ' Ἀμπυκίδην, Τιταρήσιον, ὅζον Ἄρηος,
Θησέα τ' Αἰγείδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν:

Hesiod, fr. 280 (Merkelbach and West 1967) gives another example of the relationship between Theseus and Perithoös. The Theognidea 2.1233 associates Theseus and Troy. I find it highly unlikely that the Athenians had such complete control over all Greek literature that they could successfully interpolate lines about Theseus into various works. It is much more logical to assume that Theseus was a character from early, common mythological tradtion and especially those lines quoted by both Homer and Hesiod to be part of the normal epic repertoire.

[26] See Neils 1987, p. 29, and Sourvinou-Inwood 1971, p. 98, n. 22.

> ...and immediately [Helen] veiled herself with shining linen, and started out of the chamber, letting fall tears, not alone, together with her followed two handmaidens also, Aithra, daughter of Pittheus, and ox-eyed Klymene.

Again, assuming the line is not a later Athenian interpolation, Homer indirectly refers to Theseus' Rape of Helen (another adventure with his friend Perithoös).[27]

A quick survey of early depictions of Theseus is enough to prove the internal consistencies of these lines. By far, the most popular and earliest depictions show Theseus' adventure with the Minotaur, often with Ariadne present with her thread, and sometimes with the other Athenian youths, as in the five identical gold relief plaques from Corinth, dated to 675-650 B.C. (Fig. 1).[28] Depictions of Theseus' adventures with Perithoös can be found on a shield strap from Olympia, dated to c. 580-570 B.C., showing the two imprisoned on their thrones in Hades about to be freed by Herakles (Fig. 2)[29]; the rape of Helen is a little harder to interpret directly, but two early depictions have often been understood as showing this scene. One is a Protocorinthian aryballos, dated to 680-670 B.C.[30] and found in Thebes (Fig. 3); the other is a bronze cuirass with incised decoration from Olympia, dated to c. 670-660 B.C. (Fig. 4).[31] These depictions both contain the common elements of a central female figure, usually grasped by one or both opposing groups of two men on either side, presumably the Dioskouroi and Theseus and Perithoös. Lastly, the famous Chest of Kypselos, traditionally dated to c. 600 B.C., in the

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[27] See Burgess 2001, p. 247, n. 75, for a summary of those who believe the line to be Athenian interpolation, those who see the name "Aithra" as a non-specific, stock name, and those who support the originality of the line. The scholiast to *Il*. 2.242 (= *Cypria*, Davies 12), refers to Helen's kidnapping by Theseus and claims that Alkman had written a lyric poem about the event. A full version of the story can be found in Plut. *Vit. Thes*. 34.1-2.; Jenkins 1999, emphasizes the authenticity of the line in light of the poems of Stesichoros. See also discussion below, chapter 3, pp. 56-57.

[28] Berlin, Staatl. Mus. GI 332-336, see Schefold [n.d.], p. 39, fig. 7.

[29] Olympia, Olympia Mus. B 4918/9; see *LIMC* VI, 1994, p. 946, no. 298, pl. 665, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils); see also line drawing in Schefold [n.d.], p. 69, no. 24; the Theseus-Perithoös connection can also be seen in a joint cult to them at Kolonos Hippios, see Soph. *OC*, 1590-1594 and Paus. 1.30.4. According to the historian Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328 F 117), this was among the oldest cults to Theseus. See also Wycherly 1959, pp. 155-156, and n. 20.

[30] Paris, Louvre CA 617; see *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 507, no. 28, s.v. Helene (L. Kahil).

[31] Olympia, Olympia Mus,; see *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 512, no. 58 (picture on p. 513), s.v. Helene (L. Kahil); both this depiction and the one above are highly contested.

Olympian Temple to Zeus and described by Pausanias (5.19.2-3), showed the rescue of Helen by the Dioskouroi and a cowering Aithra (Fig. 5).[32] It even had a short inscription saying, "Τυνδαρίδα Ἑλέναν φέρετον, Αἴθραν δ' ἔλκετον Ἀθάναθεν" (The sons of Tyndareos are carrying off Helen, and dragging Aithra from Athens) so that Pausanias' interpretation of the scene can be firmly believed. Lastly the Centauromachy of Theseus and (probably) Perithoös was depicted on the famous "Francois Vase," dated to c. 570 B.C.[33] All in all, the Greeks of the seventh and early sixth centuries were familiar with Theseus' Cretan adventure, Theseus' adventures with Perithoös, and Theseus' Rape of Helen – all of which are alluded to in the Homeric epics. Most importantly, these depictions occur all over Greece and are not localized in Athens, proving that these stories were not the result of any patriotic sentiment. Tinges of patriotism in the Theseus myth only seem to occur after c. 510 B.C., as discussed in Chapter 3.

Another sign of the antiquity of Menestheus and Theseus can be seen in their names themselves. The ending of –ευς for proper names has long been acknowledged as one very ancient and of uncertain semantics[34]; the practice of using these names died out in historical times.[35] It is not clearly of Indo-European origin, although many believe it is.[36] With the decipherment of Linear B, it is now clear that names with this ending go back at least to Mycenaean Greek. In fact more than 100 personal names ending in –ευς have been found in

[32] It also showed Theseus and Ariadne. The chest is generally dated to c. 600 B.C. For discussion of the Chest as if a still-existing artifact thanks to the full description by Pausanias, see Snodgrass 2001. The Chest also seems to portray an undeniably *Iliad*-inspired scene, the duel between Agamemnon and the obscure character Koön, as admitted by Snodgrass 1998, pp. 111-112.
[33] Florence, Nat. Mus., 4209; *ABV* p. 76, no. 1; see Schefold [n.d.], pl. 51.
[34] See Boßhardt 1942; Chantraine 1933, pp. 125-131.
[35] MacUrdy 1929, p. 23; Page 1959, p. 197
[36] Leroy 1951; *RE* XXII, 1954, col. 1518-1519, s.v. Die vorgriechischen Sprachreste (F. Schachermeyr); Page 1959, p. 215, n. 88.

Linear B tablets, as well as some Homeric names including Achilleus, Aias, and Hektor.[37] The usefulness of –ευς names for dactylic hexameter in particular is most clearly seen in the fact that Homer's two main characters are named Achilleus and Odysseus. These three syllable names with a meter of short-long-long are quite useful for rounding out the ends of dactylic hexameter lines.[38] Menestheus' name also has a short-long-long meter equal to Achilleus and Odysseus and therefore would be particularly familiar and easy for an epic poet to handle in the act of oral composition.[39] Although Menestheus' name does not appear in Linear B, as far as we know, the name of his grandfather, Orneus, does.[40]

The name Theseus also appears in tablets from Pylos, as do the names of father, Aigeus, and his best friend, Perithoös.[41] It is important reiterate the point that Linear B tablets were used strictly for bureaucratic purposes and do not relate any stories or myths. These names therefore are among the lists of palace staff, slaves, farmers, shepherds, and the like. Therefore the most we can say is that these names were among the stock of names available to Greeks from the

[37] Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 100.
[38] Of the 179 times that Achilleus' name appears in the nominative in both epics, 162 of those are at the end of the line. Of the 309 times that Odysseus' name appears in the nominative in both epics, 292 are at the end.
[39] Some scholars see the obscurity of Menestheus as good evidence against Athenian interpolation, since they would naturally have been inclined to replace him with Theseus or his sons, see Page 1959, p. 145 or Kirk 1985, pp. 179-180. However, whether the Athenians were tempted to do this or not (I do not believe they ever were tempted, nor ever had the opportunity – see the next chapter), there was a physical impossibility – Theseus' older son, Demophon (Δημοφῶν), who in later tradition was the successor to the throne, has a name that is impossible to use (in any case) in dactylic hexameter, long-short-long. Although using the patronymic Theseïdai is possible (just as Menelaos and Agamemnon are referred to as the Atreïdai), and although there are many brothers in the *Iliad*, none of the entries in the Catalogue are known by patronym only – each character is named separately and in the nominative case. It is therefore likely that the brothers were never named separately in the *Ilioupersis*; the one fragment we have calls them Theseïdai. The only other solution was to use a variant spelling of Demophon's name, which does occasionally occur, such as Δεμοφῶν, Δημοφόον, etc. This inability to name each brother separately in epic poetry perhaps led to some of the confusion over their identities and adventures in later tradition, i.e., both were paired with the Thracian princess, Phyllis, see n. 214 below. Proclus' summary of the *Ilioupersis* names each brother individually and uses the form Δημοφῶν, which implies he either supplied their individual names instead of the patronymic or mistakenly gave the more recognized spelling of Demophon.
[40] KN Dd1207; See Ventris and Chadwick 1956, pp. 100-1 and p. 422.
[41] Aigeus: PY 236. Perithoös: KN [Vc 171], Vc 195.

Mycenaean times.[42] Of course, the simple fact that these characters' names end in –ευς does not in and of itself prove their antiquity. My purpose here is to stress the consistent natures of these names within the epic poetry tradition.

There is nothing overtly stated in the *Iliad* concerning the political affairs of Athens and any possible conflict between Theseus and Menestheus. Of course, the *Iliad* is not generally interested in much of anything that has to do with Athens. However, in every case that Theseus is mentioned, there is no mention of Athens as being his home. This could stem from the theory that Theseus originally was not an Athenian hero, but from some other place, possibly Troizen, which is associated as his birthplace,[43] but more likely from Aphidna, which has a strong association with the Rape of Helen myth.[44] The Aphidna correlation seems especially strong in later tradition.[45] The Theseus myth itself shows much conflict between him and other descendants of Erechtheus, including the Pallantidai and Menestheus; this may be an indication of Theseus' forcible entry into the Athenian king list, proving that he (rather than Menestheus) was the real interloper.[46]

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[42] Although most accept the theory that Aias was a mythical hero remembered from early Mycenaean times through his associations with Mycenaean artifacts like a tower shield. West 1988, pp. 158-159, suggests that heroes who stem from Mycenaean tradition include Aias, Meriones (owner of the boar's tusk helmet), Idomeneus (grandson of Minos), Teukros (since the dual Αἴαντε appears quite ancient), and probably Odysseus, through his strong associations with Aias.

[43] Herter 1936, p. 204-205, believes Theseus to be a pan-Ionic hero and reflections of his birthplace in Troizen reflect the Ionic migrations in that land. See also Sourvinou-Inwood 1979, pp. 19-20, for the development of separate versions of the Troizenian and Attic stories and their eventual harmonization.

[44] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1884, p. 116; Schefold [n.d.], p. 13; Nilsson 1932, p. 167; Nilsson [1951] 1986, p. 52; Page 1959, p. 172, n. 78; Walker 1995, pp. 13-14; Kullmann 1960, p. 74; *OCD*[3], p. 1508, s.v. Theseus (E. Kearns).

[45] After Theseus' abduction of Helen, he left her in Aphidna, where the Dioskouroi eventually retrieved her: Paus. 2.22.6; Hdt. 9.73; Plut. *Vit. Thes*. 31.3; Schol. *Il*. 2.342 (= *Cypria*, Davies 12).

[46] Walker 1995, pp. 14-15; Kullmann 1960, p. 74-75; Nilsson [1951] 1986, p. 52; *OCD*[3], p. 1508, s.v. Theseus (E. Kearns); According to Plut. *Vit. Thes.* 13.1, Aigeus was actually only an adopted son of Pandion, making Theseus' claim to the throne even more tenuous than that of the Pallantidai. A few scholars have considered the possibility that Menestheus was not Athenian, but originally from Asia Minor, based on Strabo's account (13.3.5) that the city of Elaia claimed him as their foundation hero, Winter 1956, pp.184-191, based on Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1884, p. 249, n. 14. These associations are much later than the Archaic Age, and I believe that they stem merely from a desire to build connections with Athens, rather than any real ancient origin.

In all, both the Athenian heroes of the *Iliad* came from a time pre-dating Homer, from a common mythological tradition used by all oral poets. Homer's early fixation led to the transmission of very antiquarian (and pan-Hellenic[47]) aspects of Greek myth in a part of the world separate from the Athenian sphere (presumably Ionia and/or the neighboring islands). While these old versions of myth were transmitted by memorization, Athenian mythological tradition had continued to evolve. This included the eventual demise (or at least the utter obscuration) of a minor Athenian king, who probably was already ancient even by the time the Homeric epics were composed. Since he had no strong characteristics and no famous adventures to tie him firmly to tradition, king Menestheus gradually faded from Athenian memory, only to be reintroduced many generations later. How this reintroduction was initially received by the Athenians will be discussed later in this paper.

The Epic Cycle

Our other source of information concerning the mythology surrounding the Trojan War includes the epics that are known collectively as the Epic Cycle. In short, these stories were:[48]

1. The *Cypria*, which narrates the events that occurred before the *Iliad*, including the Apple of Discord and rape of Helen; it has been ascribed to both Stasinos of Cyprus and Hegesinos of Salamis.
2. The *Aethiopis*, which narrates the events that occurred after the *Iliad*, including the death of Achilleus, traditionally ascribed to Arktinos of Miletos (See App. B).
3. The *Little Iliad* or *Ilia Parva*, which relates the stories of the dispute of Aias and Odysseus over the arms of Achilleus and the construction of the Wooden Horse, traditionally ascribed to Lesches of Mitylene (See App. B).

[47] The pan-Hellenic nature of the Homeric epics, as emphasized by Nagy, will be discussed in the next chapter.
[48] See Allen 1908b, for a full list of ancient references made about the authors of these epics.

4. The *Ilioupersis*,[49] which relates the events that occurred during the sack of Troy, including the killing of Priam and Astyanax and the rape of Kassandra; it was also usually ascribed to Arktinos of Miletos, but Thestorides of Phokaia, Kinaithon from Sparta, and Diodoros of Erythrai have also been named as authors (See App. B).
5. The *Nosti*, which relates the stories of the various Greek generals (besides Odysseus) returning home, traditionally ascribed to Agias of Troizen.
6. The *Telegony* which relates the events that occurred to Odysseus and his family after the *Odyssey*, ascribed to Eugammon of Cyrene.

These stories have not survived into modern times, and we are therefore completely dependent on the quotations and summaries of other works. Our most important source for their content is the summaries in the *Chrestomathia Grammatiki* (Book of Useful Knowledge) by Proclus, traditionally identified as the famous Neoplatonist of the fifth century A.D.[50] If this is true, it is clear that our most important source for the Epic Cycle is over 1200 years distant from the original, according to the traditional dating of the Cycle. Moreover, the *Chrestomathia* itself has not survived; we know of it only through a summary description and quotation in the ninth century A.D. work of Photius (*Bibliotheca* 319a21) excerpts of which were included in various medieval manuscripts of the *Iliad*.[51] Therefore, those studying the Epic Cycle are forced to work with the slightest scraps of evidence – a summary of a summary, and a few fragments quoted by various people through history.[52] This has led to wildly divergent views of dating and technique,

[49] When referring to the work, I will italicize the word. When referring to the general story of the Sack of Troy, I will not italicize the word.
[50] Some scholars do not believe that the Cyclic poems could have survived to the fifth century AD and have thus identified Proclus as a less well-known person of the second century: see Burgess 2001, p. 198, n. 29, for a full bibliography of those for and against a fifth century date.
[51] See Allen 1908a, for a full list of sources for the Epic Cycle.
[52] The most recent collections of Epic Cycle fragments include Bernabé 1987; Davies 1988; West 2003. See also Davies 1989b.

very eloquently expressed by Allen: "Enough and too much has been written about the Epic Cycle."[53]

The problem of dating hinges first and foremost on the common derogatory view many scholars of the past had of the Cycle, starting from the Hellenistic times.[54] Because the style of the Cyclic poems were considered to be more decadent than Homer, they were always considered to date later than the eighth century B.C.[55] On the other hand, the prevalent view of epic poetry dying out in the late seventh and early sixth century to make way for the age of lyric poetry offered a tidy framework within which the date of the Epic Cycle could be attributed. Thus the general approximate date for the final, written form of the Epic Cycle has traditionally been the seventh century B.C. And although good evidence has been given which contradicts this (discussed below), most scholars accept the seventh century as a date, if they are forced to accept anything at all.[56]

This basic assumption of date has led to further misguided assumptions of content. If the Cyclic poems date later than Homer, then they must have used Homer as a source of inspiration both in style and content. By most accounts, the Cyclic poems are considered to have been expressly written in order to fill in the gaps of the Trojan War story left by Homer. This is certainly the impression given by Proclus' summary: after describing the main events that occur

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[53] Allen 1908a, p. 64.

[54] Pfeiffer 1968, p. 117, ascribes the influence of Zenodotus on all scholarship thereafter concerning the differences between Homer and the Epic Cycle. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1884, p. 374, ascribes the modern disparaging view towards the Cycle to Aristarchos; see Severyns 1928, for the views of Aristarchos towards the Epic Cycle. Kallimachos states in one scholion (Epigram 28 Pfeiffer [Epic Cycle test. 20 Bernabé = 5 Davies]), "ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν," generally believed to refer to the Cyclic poems: Burgess 2001, p. 15; Cameron 1995, pp. 387-412. See Monro 1883, pp. 328-334, who believes the term κυκλικός does not refer to the Cyclic poems, but to contemporary poets.

[55] Typical aspects of the Epic Cycle that many see as "later" include the fantastic or supernatural and the erotic. Although Homer did perhaps suppress many of these elements in his own works (thus making them unique), he cannot avoid them altogether. Burgess 2001, pp. 169-171, emphasizes that there is nothing inherently "late" about any of these features, and that in fact, Homer shares many of them; it is just as likely that these were features of both Homer and the Epic Cycle's common mythological tradition.

[56] Davies 1989a, p. 89; for example, Griffin 1977, p. 39, n. 9, acknowledges this contrary evidence, but then still follows the traditional date of seventh century B.C.

in the *Cypria*, he says, "following what was summarized is the *Iliad* by Homer, after which are five books of the *Aethiopis*..." After summarizing the events of the *Nosti*, he states, "after these things is the *Odyssey* of Homer; then two books of the *Telegony*..." In other words, it appears that the events of Homer's epics fit right into the sequence of events related by the Epic Cycle to make one continuous story of the Trojan War, from the Apple of Discord to the marriage of Odysseus' son Telemachos.

Strictly in terms of content, the stories of the Epic Cycle in the past were regarded as direct references to Homer or as later romantic expansions of local myth and cult practices.[57] With the advent of neo-analysis and oral tradition theory, this supposition had to be altered to account for common references to myth made by both stories.[58] What were once thought to be later accretions were now cast in a new light. Stories common to Homer and the Epic Cycle must now be considered as early features of the Trojan War myth; this leads to the conclusion that many of the stories related by the Epic Cycle could be as old or even older than Homer. And if this was the case, the argument could then be made that perhaps Homer was making direct references to the Epic Cycle and not vice versa; in other words, due to these new interpretations of Homer, the role, date, and priority of the Epic Cycle were suddenly reversed. Finally, these changing attitudes reveal the fact that Homer, contrary to traditional views that he was the authoritative mouthpiece for the sequence of events concerning the Trojan War, actually

[57] See Monro 1884, esp. pp. 10-11; Wade-Gery 1950, p. 80, n. 91 and p. 85, n. 114.
[58] For example: the Judgment of Paris, *Il*. 24.25-30; the death of the Dioskouroi, *Il*. 3.236-242 and *Od*. 11.298-304; the eventual return of Philoktetes, *Il*. 2.721-725; the Wooden Horse, *Od*. 11.523-532; Achilleus' fight with Memnon, *Od*. 11.522; the death of Lokrian Aias and Athena's hatred of him (for the rape of Kassandra), *Od*. 4.498-511; Telamonian Aias' suicide *Od*. 11.541-567; the Seven Against Thebes, *Il*. 4.376-410, 6.222-223. See Burgess 2001, p. 209, n. 1, for a list of non-Trojan War legendary material referred to in Homer. See Kullmann 1960, pp. 5-11, for a full list of Trojan War stories. See Allen 1924, pp. 75-76, for passages in the *Odyssey* that possibly refer to Epic Cycle events.

gave a divergent viewpoint from the accepted story.[59] Just how divergent is a matter of opinion, but most scholars are now conscious of his peculiar style and content.[60]

Problems in dating are often confusing because scholars did not distinguish between content, which is now considered to be very old, and linguistic evidence, which appears to be much later. Moreover, the various epics in the Epic Cycle are often lumped together into one date, regardless of the many authors and places they allegedly come from.[61] It is very likely that each epic in the Cycle was written at different times, and close study of the few fragments we possess does seem to indicate various degrees of "lateness."[62] Tantalizing evidence given by Davies, based on the results of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Wackernagel,[63] prove that many linguistic features in the fragments that cannot date earlier than the late sixth century B.C. And although some of these may be explained as textual interference and corruption during their transmission during the Classical and Hellenistic ages, Davies states, "when all such allowances have been made, there remains a solid core of suggestive linguistic features whose evidence cannot be ignored, especially given the dearth of any objective counter-evidence."[64]

Dating based on linguistic evidence is more convincing than dating based on the supposed identity of the Epic Cycle authors, as proposed by Allen,[65] especially considering the

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[59] Expressed most persuasively in Griffin 1977 and Dowden 1996, esp. pp. 53-55.
[60] Parryists tend to focus on Homer's manipulation of style (within the format of formular composition), while neo-analysts focus on Homer's manipulation of content; Nagy 1999, p. 7, n. §14n4, ascribes the uniqueness of the Homeric epics to their pan-Hellenic nature, in contrast to the Epic Cycle. See also n. 61 below.
[61] The associations of the Cyclic epics with local stories, particular authors, and particular places makes it very different from the pan-Hellenic nature of the Homeric epics, see Nagy 1990, pp. 70-77, and chapter 2.
[62] Davies 1989a, pp. 99-100: "Indeed, no-one is arguing (I hope) that all the poems of the Epic Cycle need to be dated to the same period." Wackernagel 1916 and Davies 1989a, see very many late features in the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad* and date it later than the other poems (c. 500 B.C.). West 2003, p. 13, also acknowledges the lateness of the *Cypria* and dates it to the last half of the sixth century (but not the *Little Iliad*, which he dates to the third quarter of the seventh century, p. 16). However, Davies 1989a, p. 97, points out that the later linguistic features seen in the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad* may be due to the fact that we have many more fragments of these two epics, and that there is only negative evidence for the earlier dating of the others.
[63] Davies 1989a, based on Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1884, p. 366, and Wackernagel 1916, pp. 178-183.
[64] Davies 1989a, p. 99.
[65] Allen 1908b, p. 88, dates the epics to 700-650 B.C.

fact that the authors of the Epic Cycle were not attested until much later. In fact, the earliest attestations to authorship for the Epic Cycle are to Homer,[66] and later to anonymous poets, i.e. "the poet of the *Little Iliad*."[67] Since neither Herodotos nor Aristotle seemed aware of any other assignation of authorship besides Homer, we can assume that Lesches, Arktinos, and the rest were only associated with the Epic Cycle after the fourth century B.C. The process of assigning authors to the Epic Cycle seems to fall squarely on the shoulders of the Alexandrian librarians of the third century.[68]

Moreover, according to the recent study of Burgess, it is quite likely that the Alexandrian scholars put the Epic Cycle stories through a considerable process of editing.[69] Homer's epics had by this time become *the* Greek epics, while the Cyclic epics were often disparaged as works of lesser quality (see above). This led to Aristarchos' obelization of lines in Homer, which he considered too "cyclic."[70] Furthermore, this is a fitting time for the Epic Cycle stories to have been cut and pasted to fit around the Homeric epics. The fact that the Epic Cycle stories appear to have been specifically written in order to fill in Homer's story seems to be one of the most established givens in scholarship regarding Greek epic and is the underlying basis for dating the Epic Cycle later than Homer. However, as one can see from modern interpretations of Homer and early Greek narrative art (below), the line between instigator and instigated is less defined. If the Epic Cycle reflects the accepted public narrative of the Trojan War, and Homer is seen as one who stepped outside and artistically beyond those accepted versions, then Burgess' belief

[66] For example, Herodotos, 2.117.1, acknowledges the apparent common belief that Homer was the author of the *Cypria*, although he himself disagrees. See Bernabé 1987, p. 3, for a full list of those who attribute various Cyclic poems to Homer. See also, Murray 1934, pp. 298-299; Davison 1962, p. 236; Lamberton 1997, p. 33.
[67] Aristotle, *Poet.* 1459a37 ff., makes a comparison between Homer and, "ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας καὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα."
[68] Except perhaps Lesches, whom Robert 1881, pp. 225-226, proposes was concocted through local Lesbian patriotism in the fourth century B.C.
[69] Burgess 2001, esp. pp. 15-19.
[70] Janko 1992, p. 27, "...his [Aristarchos'] mistaken denial that Homer knew many of the legends narrated in the Cycle led him to some especially egregious atheteses."

that the original versions of the Cyclic epics as independently standing stories is probably true.[71] Verse joins could have been added by Hellenistic scholars to the ends or beginnings of these epics so that they would flow seamlessly from one story to another.

If one accepts this view, then the Epic Cycle is an amalgamation of very old stories from the eighth century B.C. and before, written down at various points throughout the sixth to fifth centuries B.C., and most likely going through a process of editing in the third century B.C. The confusion surrounding the "authors" of the Epic Cycles, the variety of places they are said to originate, and their overlapping content all point to the hodgepodge nature of these epics. This indicates strongly that the Epic Cycle was not the work of any one individual from any one time or any one place. These stories were part of the public repertoire and only forced to take a chronology and author by the Hellenistic need for categorization and organization. Moreover, the episodic nature of these stories that often switched main characters and settings, leads me to believe that the Epic Cycle we now "possess" was more a result of anthologization, perhaps by those authors traditionally associated with them. In this light, the Epic Cycle poems were completely independent from Homer as separately existing stories. It was only later, most likely by the scholars of the Hellenistic period, that these stories were edited to fit around the Homeric epics which had long become the epic poems *par excellence*.

Epic and Early Greek Art

Despite the fact that the Cyclic poems probably were not written until later, we are able to determine that at least some of their stories were widely circulated throughout the Greek world

[71] Burgess 2001, see his conclusions pp. 172-175. That the Epic Cycle poems stood as independent lays is evident from the fact that two of these stories, the *Little Iliad* and the *Ilioupersis*, as summarized by Proclus, seem to overlap and have slightly differing versions of how the Wooden Horse ended up inside the walls of Troy. See Appendix B. See also Monro 1883, pp. 317-319, and Pausanias' account of the *Ilioupersis* of "Lescheos" (10.25.5) in chapter 3, n. 199, and in Appendix B.

from a very early age through the depictions seen in early Greek art. In the attempts made in recent years to find Homeric influence in Greek art by various scholars, each admits to the fact that stories of the Epic Cycle appear much earlier and more often than those found in the Homeric epics.[72] These results are best seen in the chart by Snodgrass who summarized the numbers of times epic influenced depictions are seen in early art, according to various studies (see Table 1).[73] The chart made by Burgess, who schematized the results of Cook, shows the relative dates of various Trojan War motifs (see Table 2).[74]

Interpretation of Homer's influence on art is greatly shaped by each scholar's perspective on the nature of Homer. Thus, the earlier studies of Schefold and Friis Johansen were based on analyst views of Homer and focused on how different parts of the epics affected art at different time periods.[75] Unitarian approaches to Homer forced scholars to be more conservative in interpretation. If all of Homer was available to artists from the beginning, then they should have been influenced by all episodes contained therein. The question then shifts to why an artist did not choose to portray scenes from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, especially the ones we would today consider the most important.[76] Snodgrass' and Burgess' charts reflect the growing realization among scholars that Homer was not the overnight success many would have assumed. Snodgrass's recent work on Homer's impact on artists has been termed, "the first major study

[72] For example, Friis Johansen 1967, pp. 38-39: "In quantity, both Iliad and Odyssey motifs are undeniably eclipsed in early Greek narrative art by subjects that belong to other Trojan epics, chiefly the *Cypria* and the poems that have been attributed to Arktinos, the *Aethiopis* and *Iliupersis*." See Snodgrass 1998; Fittschen 1969; Kannicht 1982; Cook 1983; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992; Burgess 2001 for recent studies in Trojan War narrative art.
[73] Snodgrass 1998, p. 141.
[74] Burgess 2001, p. 182, Appendix B, schematization of the results of Cook 1983.
[75] Schefold believed that there was an original, shorter version of Homer which was later expanded by what he terms the "*Iliad* poet" and the "*Odyssey* poet," whose influence in Greek art can be felt after c. 570 B.C., see Schefold 1992, pp. 236-237. Friis Johansen 1967, also a supporter of the analyst school, believes that the lack of certain Homeric scenes in Athens reflects an ignorance of the first two-thirds of the *Iliad*, which he suggests was only wholly introduced to Athens by Peisistratos at the end of the sixth century.
[76] Snodgrass 1998, pp. 69-70, lists what he considers to be major events in each book of the *Iliad*, few of which actually occur with a "disproportionate" frequency.

that does not express surprise, regret, or apologies for the absence of early Homeric images."[77]

He furnishes the following surprising statistic:

> First, if a picture has legendary or mythical but otherwise equivocal subject-matter and we are uncertain whether or not it portrays an event narrated in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* then, other things being equal, there is perhaps a one-in-ten chance, perhaps slightly better, that it does so.
>
> Secondly and more debatably, when we are sure that the subject-matter *is* taken for the events narrated in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* then, other things being equal, there is appreciably less than a one-in-ten chance that they demonstrably reflect a knowledge of the poem...
>
> If, as the above calculations suggest, one per cent or less of the surviving legendary scenes in early Greek art are likely to have a direct Homeric inspiration then, in any given instance, strong, specific and circumstantial arguments must be advanced to make the case for such inspiration. Anything less will risk being convicted of that wishful and sentimental thinking which, in my view, has too long prevailed this field.[78]

These general trends – the overwhelming popularity for Epic Cycle scenes over Homeric epics, and the late influence of the Homeric epics on narrative art – will factor into our exploration of the iconography of the Athenian Trojan War heroes, Menestheus and the Theseïdai, in Chapter 3. Although depictions of Menestheus do fall into this general chronology, surprisingly, the depictions of the Theseïdai do not. We shall then see how local factors come into play, independent from the influences of the Homeric epics.

[77] Burgess 2001, p. 55.
[78] Snodgrass 1998, p. 150.

Chapter 2: Developments of the Athenian Heroes

Homeric Transmission

The state of the Homeric epics when first introduced to the Athenian public in the sixth century B.C. is instrisically linked to their process of transmission. Understanding this process can help us determine in what context these epics came to Athens and to what extent the Athenians could manipulate them for their own self-interests, as is commonly believed in Homeric scholarship. It can also explain how the Athenians would first receive a character unknown in their mythology, namely Menestheus, and attempt to integrate him into their own local version of the Trojan War.

Since most scholars now agree with the conclusions reached by Milman Parry that the Homeric epics were composed using the tools of oral composition, the direction of debate has shifted to how writing and literacy would have affected these oral compositions. Given that these epics exist in written form, it is obvious that this transition from an oral work to a literary one certainly occurred; exactly when and under what circumstances are major points of contention in Homeric scholarship. Traditionally, the common problem lay in the assumption that Homer's *floruit* was the eighth century B.C., but that writing and literacy were still in their earliest stages of adoption and use at this time. Therefore, either composition of the epics must have occurred in a time period when writing such a monumental work was plausible (usually proposed as the sixth century B.C.), or the technology of writing must be brought back to coincide with Homer's world in the eighth century. There are certainly logistical problems with either of these solutions. It is doubtful that oral composition skills (to the degree seen in the Homeric epics) and early archaic word forms could have survived down to the sixth century, but it is equally doubtful that the physical means to write down such long works existed in the eighth

century. It is therefore more likely that the epics went through some sort of transitional phase between complete orality and complete literacy that could bridge the gap between these two periods of time.[79] I believe this step to be a period of fixation when an orally transmitted, memorized text existed.

Fixation is a key factor in understanding the history of the Homeric epics. The problem in the concept of fixation lies in the fact that many scholars in the past have equated fixation with a written text.[80] However, fixation can occur gradually and naturally within oral culture, and moreover, fixed poems can be memorized and transmitted without the use of writing. Kirk was a proponent of fixed transmission without writing in his *Songs of Homer*.[81] He conceptualized four stages of the "life-cycle of an oral tradition:" an originative stage; a long creative stage, which would have included the original composition of the Homeric epics; a reproductive stage, which saw the breakdown of oral technique with little new material added to the repertoire of a poet; and the degenerative stage, which saw the total breakdown of oral technique and the rise of rote memorization through the rhapsodes. For Kirk, the main basis for the breakdown of oral technique was the rise of literacy.

Fixation of the epic language of Homer at an early stage of Greek history has been argued effectively by Janko (see Table 3).[82] In his study of the language of the epic poems of Homer, Hesiod, and the Homeric Hymns, Janko was able to discern a relative chronology of arrested development, with the *Iliad* being the earliest to cease developing, followed by the *Odyssey*, followed by Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*, and so forth. Although absolute dates are of course

[79] Foley 1997, p. 163, strongly emphasizes the need to discard the "absolute categories of oral versus written" and to understand that there can exist something between the two; he prefers to see the Homeric epics as "oral-derived traditional texts."
[80] Those who believe fixation must have occurred through writing include Bowra 1950, p. 191; Cairns 2001, pp. 3-4; Janko 1998, p. 5; Haslam 1997, p. 81.
[81] Kirk 1961, pp. 96-97.
[82] Janko 1982, see chart on p. 200, fig. 4, reproduced here as Table 3.

impossible to determine in these cases, Janko originally assigned a date of c. 750-735 B.C. for the *Iliad*; he recently pushed these dates back to c. 775-750 B.C.[83]

More recently, Gregory Nagy has proposed another interpretation of fixation based on the fundamental concept of performance.[84] In particular, Nagy used Snodgrass' concept of early pan-Hellenism as seen in the establishments of the Olympic Games and the sanctuary and oracle at Delphi, organized colonizations, and proliferation of the alphabet,[85] as a basic model to help in the understanding of the Homeric epics. In essence, as the Homeric epics spread throughout the Greek-speaking world, each new recomposition would focus on, "traditions that tend to be common to the most locales and peculiar to none."[86] Eventually the epics would lose the interaction between performer and local audience and come to be repeated in each new setting. In other words, the wider the epics' diffusion, the more static they become in composition.[87] In this aspect also, fixation could occur without the need of writing. The result of this process can be seen in the pan-Hellenic content of the epics, which do not favor any particular polis or cult.

The extraordianry popularity of one type of epic, namely those of Homer's, led to the formation of specialized Homeric guilds, committed to exclusive rhapsodic training in the Homeric epics. History has left us the name of two: the Homeridai of Chios,[88] and the

[83] Janko 1998, p. 1; Janko, however, believes this fixation could only occur through writing via oral dictation.
[84] See especially Nagy 1990, 1992, 1996a, 1996b.
[85] Snodgrass 1980, summarized by Nagy 1999, p. 7.
[86] Nagy 1990, p. 54; this is in contrast to the local flavors expressed in the Epic Cycle stories, see Nagy 1990, pp. 70-77.
[87] Nagy 1996b, has found interesting parallels to this phenomenon in Indian epic recitation; I wish here to emphasize the fact that pan-Hellenism is a product of contact between elites – a feature mentioned by Nagy 1999, p. 7. The most common venues proposed for the performance of the Homeric epics are the nobleman's house or a religious festival, see Kirk 1965, p. 192; Notopoulos 1964, p. 15. Both settings would have encouraged the assemblage of elites throughout the Greek world, especially pan-Hellenic festivals. The emphasis on elitism is especially true when viewed against the backdrop of early narrative art, as already discussed – the Homeric epics did not exert a strong influence among the lower class yet. This class distinction will become important later when discussing tyrannical manipulation of the Homeric epics and their recitations.
[88] See quotes in Appendix C.

Kreophyleioi of Samos.[89] Perhaps it was through these institutions that the traditionally anonymous epics came to be associated with the concocted name "Homer,"[90] although it is still possible that there was an actual poet named "Homer."[91] In theory, these schools (as well as others that may have existed) would have worked from a relatively fixed version of Homer, although there were probably variations between each school, which would lead to the variations seen in the epics later in history. Also, once Homer became widely popular and was in high demand, I would assume that there were "knock-offs" – rhapsodes of lesser quality and training whose performances would lead to further variations of the epics.

One can judge just how well a professional guild such as the Homeridai[92] could faithfully transmit a fixed text based on the few historical references made about them in and a comparison with other oral cultures of the world, especially those of Africa, as studied by J. Vansina:

> The transmission of oral traditions may follow certain definite rules, but it may also be a completely spontaneous affair, left entirely to chance. Where special methods and techniques exist, their purpose is to preserve the tradition as faithfully as possible and transmit it from one generation to the next. This may be done either by training people to whom the tradition is then entrusted, or by exercising some form of control over each recital of the tradition. Whatever the method may be, accurate transmission is more likely if a tradition is not public property, but forms the esoteric knowledge of a special group. The employment of mnemonic devices may also contribute towards ensuring accurate repetition of traditions.[93]

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[89] See Burkert 1972, esp. n. 10 and 15, for full references of the Kreophyleioi in ancient literature. The most common stories revolve around their founder, Kreophylos, as a friend or host or even teacher of Homer, who received the epics as a gift from Homer.

[90] The concepts of authorship and ownership of epics are foreign to the traditional oral composition comception of shared access access to the same themes and formulae, see Bowra 1950, pp. 190-191; West 1999, sees "Homer" as an invention of the Homeridai to lend credence and authority to their version of the epics; Nagy 1999, pp. 297-300, believes the name "Homer" means syntactically "he who fits [the song] together" and was a general name used for the act of composing epic poetry.

[91] Parry made parallels between Homer and Huso Husein (or Husovitch), a Yugoslav oral bard known for his genius and still honored after his death, see Lord 1936, p. 107, and 1948, p. 40.

[92] I use the Homeridai as an example of the general trend seen in Homeric guilds; they were probably the original, oldest, and most famous of the guilds and receive the most frequent mention in history.

[93] Vansina 1965, p. 31.

Thus, the accurate transmission of a tradition can be effected by 1) the desire to accurately transmit a tradition, 2) the specialized training of people, 3) control over its recital, 4) esoteric knowledge of the material, and 5) mnemonic devices.

In terms of the Homeridai, each of these features can be proved or implied from the few scattered, surviving references we possess.[94] The name itself implies some sort of close relationship with Homer (Appendix C2) although a familial or tribal one seems unlikely.[95] According to various sources, they do seem to have the power to speak for Homer (Appendix C5 & C6) or to give prizes to those who do him justice (Appendix C3). They are not considered to be private rhapsodes, like Plato's *Ion* (Appendix C3). They appear to have "recondite verses" of Homer (Appendix C4), which they keep secretly.[96] Focusing on their organization, we can probably conclude that the Homeridai were professional rhapsodes, trained to recite the works of Homer;[97] they considered themselves to be the authority of Homer and to have the right to speak for him; they appear to have "secret" verses in their possession. Although the evidence is slight, the first four of the factors listed by Vansina seem to be present.[98]

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[94] See Allen 1907 for ancient references and Appendix C.

[95] West 1999, p. 371; see Allen 1907, pp. 136-137, who considers the Homeridai a sacral gens from Chios.

[96] ἀπόθετα has various meanings, including "stored up," "hidden," "secret," and "reserved or special"; Allen 1907, p. 136: "Again the Sons of Homer are not the vulgar; they have arcana."

[97] The diffusion of the Homeric epics was certainly based on the professionalism of the poet and his ability to travel widely, Nagy 1996b, p. 170. Rhapsodic training probably followed in these footsteps. The difference, according to Kirk 1962, pp. 96-97, between the training of an oral poet and a rhapsode, is that the oral poet would use what he learned to create new stories and formulae, while the rhapsode would simply repeat that which had been established. In the study of Herington 1985, pp. 41-57, on the transmission of later lyric poetry, he concludes that although these poems were written, the music and dance accompaniment were accurately transmitted through continuous re-performance of these songs. Perhaps writing was needed for non-professionals like symposiasts for accurate transmission; however, professional "re-performers," such as the rhapsodes, could faithfully transmit their words without writing.

[98] Many of these same conclusions are reached by Burkert 1972, p. 79, in his study of the Kreophyleioi. He compares these groups to those of the Asklepidai of Kos, a guild of doctors, and the Pythagoreans. Both groups are known to think of themselves as familial groups that guarded "ein besonderes 'Wissen'," considered to be a family possession and protected through the generations by oaths and strict prohibitions against sharing it with outsiders. The Asklepedai also had a library that housed their texts. It is quite likely that such features would be present also for Homeric guilds.

Vansina divides the last feature, mnemonic devices, into physical objects and mnemonic techniques, such as poetic meter or music. In fact, the stricter the rules of meter, the better the rate of retention – and dactylic hexameter is a very rigid meter.[99] Another tool for memorization in oral culture, and one not usually proposed for the Greeks, is a physical mnemonic tool of some sort, such as the notched stick used in Polynesia,[100] or the knotted strings, or *quipu*, used by the Inca.[101] We have no evidence for such a device being used by the Greeks, but rhapsodes of later epic performances are often portrayed with a ῥάβδος, or staff. As far as I know, no one has ever suggested that this staff served a practical function – and perhaps by the sixth century it no longer did – but the association of rhapsodes with a staff could be symbolic of its use as a mnemonic tool in the early days of Homeric memorization.[102] In these cases, the need for writing (the most obvious mnemonic tool of all for those of us in a literate society) is not necessary.[103]

Most important is the fact that the Homeridai considered their version of Homer to be the correct one, which presupposes that there was one fixed text for their guild. This was probably in reaction to other, namely non-Homeridai, rhapsodes who claimed to be reciting the correct version. With the rise in popularity of the Homeric epics and the number of venues at which

[99] Kirk 1962, p. 89: "since the more rigid the phraseology and the metre, the more important it is to reproduce it with precision – for mistakes and loose variations will immediately become conspicuous."
[100] Vansina 1965, p. 38.
[101] Vansina 1965, p. 37.
[102] I do not endeavor to speculate in detail in what way exactly a staff could be used as a mnemonic device. Perhaps it too could be notched to keep some sort of count of order or number of passages. Perhaps it simply served as a physical focus of concentration. Other types of physical mnemonic devices could also include narrative art in a variety of mediums: Markoe 1985, suggests the spread of narrative art from the east through Pheonician metal bowls; Hanfmann 1957, p. 73, also stresses the influence of the Near East and the rise of narrative art in the Oriental period, ostensibly the time when memorization devices would be needed for the Homeric epics. Art on non-permanent materials such as wood or textiles could therefore have served this purpose for early rhapsodes. One should also note that objects are often the focus of ekphraseis, such as Achilleus' shield.
[103] I am not completely adverse to the idea of using writing as a prompt for a longer passage, such as writing the first few lines of each episode, or a list of the order of episodes. In this case, neither great wealth nor great writing skills would be necessary. However, as I will discuss later, it seems unlikely that early rhapsodes would have even conceptualized writing as a mnemonic tool.

they could be recited, Homeridai assertions of possessing the authoritative version of Homer were probably overwhelmed by the many varying versions. The Homeridai then counteracted by at least asserting the role of connoisseur, and acknowledging those rhapsodes who performed in a way that was to their liking.[104] In other words, the Homeridai were the Dom Perignons in a world of Spanish sparkling wines – their names were synonymous with the trade, but by the fifth century B.C., they were far outnumbered by the "cheaper" (although not always less qualified) competitors, like Plato's Ion.

In each case named by Vansina, we can find or infer a Greek equivalent. According to Vansina:

> Traditions which have been transmitted with the aid of mnemonic devices will be less susceptible of distortion through failure of memory than others. The same is true of traditions in fixed form taught by specialists in schools. If in addition to the operation of these two factors a tradition has rights of ownership or substantial privileges attached to it, the possibility of failure of memory may be entirely eliminated.[105]

Since it seems the Homeridai possess many, if not all, the institutes needed for reliable transmission, I think it is safe to assume that the Homeric epics could be transmitted with very little change over many generations.[106] Although many have problems accepting the theory of fixation without writing, it does seem possible that with the institution of epic guilds, what were already static works would quickly become fixed through memorization without the need for

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[104] Their influence can also be seen in the way the term "Homeridai" came to be used for all rhapsodes in general. For example, Allen 1907, p. 139, believes Pindar's use of the word "Homeridai" (Appendix C1) refers to epic artists in general. Case in point: the rhapsode Kynaithos, described in the scholion of Pindar's poem (Appendix C2). West 1999, sees Kynaithos as an official Homeridai rhapsode with full Homeridai privileges, whose practice of changing lines and adding works under the name of Homer was standard among the Homeridai. However, the scholion makes a distinction in terminology of the word "Homeridai" – it used to be a select group of people who claimed descent from Homer, but later is applied to *all* rhapsodes. Kynaithos was not a member of the original Homeridai, but a rhapsode of another separate school. Therefore, the practice of deliberate interpolation and composition was NOT a trait of the original Homeridai, but of those outside their group who attempted to appropriate Homeric authority.

[105] Vansina 1965, p. 41.

[106] Other examples of this could include the *Rigveda* of India, which was also memorized and transmitted orally, see Finnegan 1977, pp. 135-136.

writing. This does not mean that each fixed epic was identical to each other (horizontally through space), but practically identical within its own transmission (vertically through time). The different guilds and rhapsodes of varying skill would have given rise to variation among themselves, as is clearly seen in the manuscript tradition, but these variations developed independently of one another and would only come to full conflict with the Alexandrians attempting to reach an authoritative written vulgate in the second century B.C.

The Homeric epics were relatively static works of art that came to be memorized texts transmitted faithfully by specialized Homeric guilds. Because they were fixed at a very early point in time, probably by the beginning of the seventh century B.C., many antiquarian aspects of language, style, and mythological content were preserved. This is not true of the Epic Cycle, which continued to evolve organically as works of oral composition. Methods of memorization within these Homeric guilds were well set by the time writing skills reached the level of competency to commit these epics to paper. These guilds, which appear to be independent organizations separate from the political sphere of their native Ionian cities, were most likely patronized by the elites throughout the Greek world. Their performances appear to have taken place within the context of pan-Hellenic gatherings, which would preclude the desire to emphasize any particular polis during their performance. The skill to spontaeneously compose new lines for these epics was slowly degenerating within the rhapsodic community anyhow. Conscious alteration of these epics does not seem possible during this period of Homeric history. Therefore, many scholars look to the period of transition from orally performed epics to written epics as a likely setting for manipulation to have occurred. As we will see in the next section, however, the usual charge that Peisistratos was responsible for some sort of textual interpolation does not fit our scenario of these epics' evolution.

Athens and the Homeric Epics

The Athenian role within the transmission of Homer has been closely associated with the tyranny of the Peisistratids. This has most notably led to the concept of the "Peisistratean Recension," an authoritative, written copy of the Homeric epics made at the behest of either Peisistratos or his son Hipparchos. There exist a number of sources linking Peisistratos (or his son) in various ways with the Homeric epics and Athens, especially with the Panathenaic festival.[107] The concept of the Peisistratean Recension provides an opportune and believable time period in which the Homeric epics could be written;[108] by extension, this would also be the best opportunity for Athenians to interpolate lines into the Homeric epics, as many scholars believe. However, the predilection for accusing Athenians of interpolation was most likely based on the imperial attitudes of the fifth century rather than based on any actual evidence of textual interference of the sixth century.

The main passages for which accusations of interpolation have been made can be divided into these categories:

1. Mentions of Athens (especially *Il*. 2.546-551 and *Od.* 7.78-81).
2. Mentions of and the basic important part played by Athena.
3. Mentions of Peisistratos, son of Nestor (*Od.* Books 3, 4, and 15).
4. Mentions of Theseus (*Il.* 1.263-265, *Od*. 11.631).
5. Glorification of the hero Menestheus (*Il.* 2.553-555).
6. Mention of Aithra, as discussed in Chapter 1 (*Il*. 3.144).
7. Most famously, line 558 of *Iliad*, Book 2 where the association of Ajax with Athens is interpreted as a political move on the part of Peisistratos.

[107] See Allen 1913, and Appendix D for ancient testimonia. Note that in general the ancient perception of the Homeric epics implies their existence somewhere outside of Athens, and that they were brought into Athens in some organized manner.

[108] Even if this was the first time that the Homeric epics were written down (which I believe unlikely), a change in the concept of this text as a transcript for memorization must also be effected. If memorization had been occurring for generations without a text, the mode of rhapsodic training from a text is highly improbable to happen all of the sudden.

These various lines must be interpreted against the backdrop of Homeric composition and transmission as already discussed. First and foremost, we must reiterate the basic fact that these epics had developed independently from Athens and Athenian politics. As already stated, Janko argued for the early fixation of these texts, dated roughly to c. 750 to 720 B.C.,[109] which chronologically negates any influence that the Peisistratids might have exerted in their composition. Second, from our slight knowledge of the Homeric guilds, it appears that schools of epic transmission were concentrated in Ionia and the eastern islands of the Aegean, which geographically negates any influence that the Athenians could have made during their transmission. Therefore, by the time the epics reached the hands of Peisistratids, either through a physical text[110] or a guild approved rhapsode,[111] they had little power or authority to change the content to reflect Athenian ideals. In addition, the Peisistratids would not only have to interpolate into the actual texts, but they would also have to somehow monopolize the market of written texts and rhapsodic schools, so that their version could infiltrate and overcome the original epics' content (especially in light of the peculiar accusation of *Il*. 2.558 above). Needless to say, this seems highly unlikely.[112]

Moreover, it is imperative to have a basic understanding of how such a written text would be viewed by the Greek mind. Those who propose an oral dictated text in the eighth century as

[109] To propose that the Homeric epics had not reached fixed form until the time of Peisistratos would force one to downdate all of the epic style poems to the late sixth or early fifth centuries B.C. (following Janko's timeline in Table 3); this seems highly unlikely since all these poems were well known and already considered "classics" by the fifth century, see Cairns 2001, p. 3.
[110] Janko 1992, p. 37, believes the Peisistratids "probably procured the first complete set of rolls to cross the Aegean;" others who support the purchase of a written text include Davison 1968, p. 100; Davison 1955, p. 13; Whitman 1948, p. 84.
[111] Nagy 1996a, pp. 60-70, n. 32, sees the Peisistratids as introducing "the Homeric *performance* tradition from Ionia, probably from Chios," emphasis his.
[112] For those who discount the Athenian interpolations, see Allen 1913; Scott 1911 and 1914; Davison 1955, pp. 20-21, who attributes the legend of a Peisistratean Recension to the Pergamene scholar Asclepiades to counteract the official recension of the Alexandrian scholars.

the means of its early fixation must confront the Greek mentality to writing at this early stage of literacy. The earliest known inscriptions using the Greek alphabet were conceived as an inherent speech-act of performance;[113] this can be seen in inscriptions found on vessels ("I am the cup of Nestor") or other inanimate objects (notably funerary monuments, "I am the *mnema* of so-and-so"), in which the objects speak in the first person. In other words, "writing was being used as an *equivalent* to performance, not as a *means* for performance."[114] Nagy sees this concept of writing beginning to break down c. 550 B.C. when inscriptions begin to be viewed as a "transcript" of an utterance.[115] Only at this time does the theoretic situation exist for Greeks to view a written copy of Homer as a mnemonic device.

If one were to examine these so-called interpolations objectively, there is nothing blatantly pro-Athenian or pro-Peisistratid about them. They are all masked in subtleties and innuendo; it is especially important to realize that many of these take up no more than a half or a whole line – difficult to notice for an audience member during an hours-long performance. I find these accusations of interpolation to be more a product of careful sifting by literary critics who have written copies of the text in front of them. That the Megarians accused the Athenians of interpolation even in antiquity certainly displays a unique awareness of text and some notion of the processes of textual criticism.[116] And, more to the point, it assumes both a fixed text that all

[113] Svenbro 1993, Nagy 1992, p. 35.
[114] Nagy 1992, p. 35. Powell 1997, pp. 22-25, and Powell 1991, pp. 119-186, discusses the fact that the earliest inscriptions seem to show a high level of sophistication and epic verse form. Powell does not, however, distinguish between the differences in the conceptualization of writing.
[115] Nagy 1992, p. 41; Svenbro 1993, p. 34, sees the first examples of funerary monuments written in the third person starting around 540 B.C., such as an inscription from Attica that reads, "This is the *sema* of Archias and his sister Phile..."; Nagy 1996, p. 110, sees a fivefold evolution of the Homeric texts. In each stage, the fixation becomes more rigid. The Homeric texts in writing go from a "transcript" to a "script" to a "scripture"; for definitions see Nagy 1996a, p. 112. When I refer to Nagy's terms, I will place the word in quotations.
[116] This is specifically in the context of *Il*. 2.558 where the Athenians apparently inferred rightful ownership of Salamis over the Megarians, as told by Strabo 9.394 and Plutarch *Solon* 10.1. The earliest accusations were made in the fourth century B.C. by the Megarian historians Dieuchidas (*FrGHist* 485 F 6) and Hereas (*FrGHist* 486 F 1). See Davison 1955, p. 16, for passages that speak of Megarian accusations. Allen 1913, pp. 49-51, and Scott 1914, pp. 407-408, see the legends surrounding Athenian interpolation of this line as a result of Megarian jealousy and

Greeks agree to and have access to. This again seems to stem more from the ability to read a text, a feat that is certainly more feasible in the fourth century B.C. (the time of these accusations), than in the sixth.

Instead, we should be seeking more obvious ways that a tyrant might use the Homeric epics to manipulate public opinion. Since, in the end, most scholars have to agree that Athens does not play any dominant role in the epics, nor indeed even a very respectable one, it seems highly unlikely that anything pro-Athenian could be inferred from the content of these epics.[117] Any benefit for the Peisistratids ought not to be sought from the content, but rather from the performance. Immediate and effective results can be seen if the Peisistratids were to introduce to the Athenian public epic poems of high quality, usually only heard in elite circles before then,[118] during a newly reorganized and more elaborate Panathenaic festival. In this way, the tyrant could gain popular support from the masses.

In terms of "inter-Hellenic" propaganda, again we could infer some degree of respect from non-Athenians for a newly reorganized Panathenaia. Moreover, during this time of high competition among tyrants, there is evidence of literature hoarding. This is the age of Anakreon, Simonides, and Pindar, poets of high caliber who were patronized by rich tyrants to write poems in their honor. In the quote from Plato's *Hipparchos* (App. D2), we can infer some degree of poet recruitment, whereby Hipparchos sent a boat to pick up Anakreon in Samos, ostensibly after the death of Polykrates left him as a free agent. Since tyrants could not exert control over the content of the Homeric texts, nor over the rhapsodic schools, they had to find other methods to

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mudslinging. It appears that all later mentions of Athenian interpolation were based upon these Megarian statements. Later papyri that omit this line were probably a result of these well-known stories.

[117] Allen 1913, p. 49, states: "No more chicken-hearted scheme of aggrandisement was ever carried out by a monarch and his advisors."

[118] The associations between the aristocracy and the composition and transmission of epic poetry are discussed in the next section, and n. 133.

control these pieces of literature; they found this control in owning a written text of Homer and in controlling the performance venues where Homer was recited.[119] The point of having a written text of Homer had nothing to do with using it as an official "script" to check rhapsodic contests, nor was it meant as a means for monopolization of the book trade; the point was simply a matter of possession. Once he obtained a written text, Peisistratos (or Hipparchos) perhaps hoarded it for his own personal library,[120] or more likely, dedicated it to a sanctuary.[121] The Homeric epics could then be an effective means of displaying Peisistratid wealth to obtain a written copy, Peisistratid piety to dedicate it to a sanctuary, and the Peisistratid ability to share "high literature" with the masses, which previously had been reserved for the elite.[122]

As a mark of authenticity, the Peisistratids most likely turned to the Homeric guilds for their copy, which probably was made through oral dictation by one of their rhapsodes.[123] Therefore, we can assume that the text that came into possession of the Peisistratids directly stemmed from a guild tradition, and not any Athenian one. Since rhapsodes had long lost the ability to creatively compose during recitals, an Athenian-tinged oral dictation, as proposed by

[119] This can be seen in the case of Kleisthenes, tyrant of Sikyon, who discontinued rhapsodic performances since they were too complimentary to Sikyon's archenemy, Argos (Hdt. 5.67).
[120] The notion of a Peisistratean Library seems rather to be an invention of Pergamene scholars attempting to relegate the position of the Library of Alexandria as the first library by claiming the Athenians (with whom the Pergamenes were closely associated) actually had a library long before, see Allen 1913, p. 51. Other accounts of personal libraries include the legend of Kreophylos (originator of the Kreophyleioi of Samos) which states that the epics were preserved in a "family archive," Herington 1985, p. 203.
[121] Herington 1985, pp. 201-203, quotes all credible accounts of "sanctuaries as repositories of texts;" most notable is the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, written out and dedicated at the Temple of Artemis on Delos, mentioned in the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, discussed by West 1999, pp. 381-382, and Janko 1982, pp. 256-258. According to West, it was dedicated during the great Delian festival of 523, organized by Polykrates of Samos. Although no specific connection is made between Polykrates and the dedication, we could assume that it was made under his direction.
[122] However, I am not adverse to the belief that this text might have been appropriated by the Athenian demos after the Peisistratids were overthrown. Perhaps it was made available through an archive or library, which could be used as a model on which later copying was based.
[123] Either the Peisistratids commissioned the written copy themselves or bought an already made copy, stored by the guilds, Janko 1992, p. 31; see also n. 110 and 111 above. The quote by Plato (Appendix D2) states that Hipparchos "brought" the poems of Homer to Athens, as if a pre-existing, whole body of work. That Hipparchos was a person who appreciated quality can be seen in his personal involvement in recruiting Anakreon. A parallel case of obtaining a copy of Homer from a guild can be seen in the story related by Plutarch's *Life of Lykourgos* (4.3-4), where Lykourgos copied the text of the Kreophyleioi and introduced the Homeric epics to the mainlanders.

Jensen, also could not be possible.[124] Therefore, any alleged interpolations would have to be textual. Since this written text was not viewed as a "script" at this early period,[125] textual interpolation made during the reign of Peisistratos would not have been integrated into public recitals until well after his rule. In the end, there does not seem to be either means or motive to add lines to the Homeric epics.

Athens and Hero Cults

Along with the rise of epic poetry in the eighth century B.C. there also was a prominent rise in hero cult activity. In general, hero cults can be separated into three distinct groups – cultic activity at a Bronze Age grave, cultic activity at the grave of someone recently deceased, usually a warrior or aristocratic city founder, and cultic activity centered on an epic hero that often involved a shrine or natural feature (like a cave), but not necessarily a grave. This third category is of special interest because it appears to be the product of community worship, as opposed to the first two that seem to be more an act of personal initiative.[126] Eventually, all three categories were fused into the general, communal worship of the emerging Greek polis.

The significance of hero worship and its contemporary rise with the Greek polis have encouraged many scholars to find connections between these two events. Some see hero and tomb cult as a way of defining space, either for the polis[127] or for individuals.[128] Others

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[124] Jensen 1980.

[125] Nagy 1996a, pp. 153-186, sees the Homeric texts as "script" beginning with the reforms of Demetrius of Phalerum at the end of the fourth century B.C. (he was in power from 317-307 B.C.), where rhapsodic performances were moved to the theater. It is at this point that an official "State Script" would have been used to prompt rhapsodes and check them for errors.

[126] Mazarakis Ainian 1999, p. 14; Antonaccio 1993, p. 63, sees hero cults as "deliberate and 'state-supported' forgeries"; Antonaccio 1994, pp. 401-402, remarks on the relatively short life span of tomb cults since families tend to remember ancestors no further than three generations back; hero cults, on the other hand, are not focused on a grave and tend to have recurrent rituals. Hero cults are therefore much more durable through time. See also Morris 1988, p. 753.

[127] de Polignac 1995, sees establishment of cults and sanctuaries outside of the polis as a means for defining polis borders.

[128] Snodgrass 1980, p. 39, sees it as a marker for new communities springing up during the population explosion of the eighth century; Whitley 1988, emphasizes the differences in offerings found in various parts of Greece as results

emphasize how the rapidly changing structures of Late Geometric Greek societies caused a need both to explain these sudden changes[129] and to establish links with the distant past.[130] Some, most notably Farnell, followed by Coldstream, have sought connections between hero worship and the spread of the Homeric epics.[131] Although there probably is no direct correlation between the two, they do seem to be the results of the same general ethos for which the aristocracy strove.[132] Many now see the rise of hero cults as stemming from the needs of the aristocracy to legitimize their claims to power through genealogical links with past heroes. In this same spirit, the Homeric epics, which praised the worth of aristocratic warriors, were naturally popular among the elites in Greek society, who patronized both their compositions and performances.[133]

There is very little evidence regarding hero cults in Athens specifically prior to the Kleisthenic reforms. Lines 2.547-551 of the *Iliad* imply some sort of early cult activity centered on Athena and Erechtheus on the Acropolis. Although the lawgiver Dracon of the late seventh century B.C. is quoted as saying that the Athenians should honor the gods and heroes according the νόμοις πατρίοις, "ancestral customs" (Porph. *Abst.* 4.2), this is likely a story post-dating the fifth century B.C. Instances of tomb cult have been found at Aliki Glyphada, Menidhi, Eleusis, and Thorikos, as well as reuse of tombs at Eleusis, Athens, and perhaps Marathon.[134] According to Herodotos 5.66.1, Athens had previously been divided into four tribes, each named after a son of Ion and presumably worshipped as eponymous heroes. There is slight evidence for a cult to Theseus before the establishment of the Theseion by Kimon in 476/5 B.C (one is

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of different developments of the emerging city-state. For example, cults in Attica seem more a product of individual worship, while cults in the Argolid seem directed by the political needs of the community.

[129] La Barre 1971, gives a bibliography of these "crisis cults" from throughout the world and throughout history.

[130] Morris 1988; Mazarakis Ainian 1999.

[131] Farnell 1921; Coldstream 1976.

[132] I agree with Morris 1988, p. 754, and Snodgrass 1987, p. 161, that the Homeric epics do not directly refer to the practice of hero worship, at least not in the way the Greeks practiced it in the Geometric and Archaic periods.

[133] For the association between the aristocracy and the Homeric epics, see Donlan 1980; Morris 2000, pp. 178-180; Morris 2001, pp. 80-88; Van Wees 1992, p. 253; Antonaccio 1993, p. 64.

[134] Antonaccio 1993, p. 57.

mentioned during the time of Pesistratos, *Ath. Pol.* 15.4); but, the relatively late prominence of Theseus resulted in few major sanctuaries in Attica.[135] Since the Theseïdai are very closely connected to the prominence of their father as well as the institution of the Kleisthenic reforms, as we shall see, it seems highly unlikely that any cult to them existed before the fifth century.[136]

There is no evidence for a cult to Menestheus at any point in Athenian history.[137] If, as we assume, he was a very ancient hero, it seems clear that he was either never considered significant enough for worship, or that the memory of him had long since faded in Athens. It is interesting then to see when and how he is depicted in early Athenian art and literature, and to understand what sort of relationship he had with the not-yet-famous Theseus.

[135] *OCD*[3] p. 1509, s.v. Theseus (E. Kearns).
[136] There are very few references to any of the eponymous heroes before 508/7 B.C.; see Rausch 1999, p. 67.
[137] Kearns 1989, p. 185.

Chapter 3: Reactions in Iconography and Literature

In this chapter, we will explore how the Athenian portrayal of their Trojan War heroes in art and literature in sixth century Athens versus fifth century Athens reflect their changing attitudes. Although the growing popularity of Theseus certainly had beneficial effects on his sons, the institution of Kleisthenes' reforms, making Akamas one of the ten new Eponymous Heroes, would greatly bolster the Theseïdai standing in Athens and in their participation in the Trojan War.

The Athenian Heroes in the Sixth Century B.C.

Unfortunately, there are no type-scenes and no attributes to help us in the identification of the hero Menestheus. His few appearances in the *Iliad* do not portray him in any memorable battles, scenes, or conversations (except getting rebuked by Agamemnon!). We must therefore rely on artists' inscriptions of their characters:

1) The earliest appearance of Menestheus on pottery is on an Attic kantharos of c. 550 B.C. in Berlin.[138] The scene portrays a group of standing Iliadic heroes; from left to right are Menestheus (ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΥΣ), Odysseus (ΟΛΥΤΕΥ), Patroklos (ΠΑΤΡΟϘΛΟΣ), Achilles (ΑΧΙΛΕΥΣ), Thetis (ΘΕΤΙΣ), and Menelaos (ΜΕΝΕΛΕΟΣ). The gestures between Achilles and Thetis indicate a leave-taking scene, whereby Odysseus and Menelaos have arrived to recruit Achilles. This scene, although not expressly taking place in the *Iliad*[139] or, as far as we know, in the *Cypria*,[140] is certainly an adaptation of the typical leave-taking scene-type prevalent in Athenian vase painting.[141] The placement of Menestheus in this scene is completely out of order from the mythical accounts. Friis Johansen

[138] Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F1737; *Para* 72, no. 1; *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 70, no. 189, pl. 76, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).
[139] *Il.* 11.767: Nestor speaks of how he and Odysseus went to recruit Achilles and Patroklos.
[140] According to the *Cypria*, Nestor and Menelaos were the ones who recruited Achilles.
[141] Friis Johansen 1967, p. 114, names this vase among his examples of "Achilleus' Arming in Phthia" type-scenes (making the distinction between the arming of Achilleus at home in Phthia before he sets off for the war, and the arming of Achilleus at Troy in Book 19 of the *Iliad*). Recently, this interpretation of different settings has been countered by Lowenstam 1993, (discussion of this particular vase, p. 206). However, he concedes that the Berlin kantharos is "the only vase that might be situated in Phthia," p. 213, n. 77.

attributes Menestheus' appearance to Athenian patriotism,[142] while von Bothmer suggests it was a scribal error for one of the captains of the Myrmidons named Menesthios (*Il*. 26. 173).[143] Friis Johansen notes that Menestheus is also singled out with the word HOΔI (ὁδί), "this one," which shows that the artist wished to emphasize Menestheus' participation in the scene.[144]

2) Roughly contemporaneous to this kantharos is a black figure Chalkidian psykter amphora of about 540 B.C. in Melbourne.[145] Various battles are occurring between Diomedes and Charops (defended by Hippolochos), Odysseus and someone whose name begins ME, and Menestheus and Glaukos. This scene is not attested in the *Iliad*. These are all known depictions of Menestheus in the sixth century.

One should note that none of the scenes in which Menestheus is portrayed are taken directly from the *Iliad*.[146] This is very likely based on the fact that there is nothing extraordinary about the scenes in which he appears. It is certainly possible that he is portrayed in generic battle scenes where the characters' names are not inscribed, but this is, of course, impossible to ascertain. In the end, it appears that the occasional appearance of Menestheus in art was at the sole discretion of the artist and not as a result of any particular narrative in which he takes part. Conversely, analysis of Homeric transmission in Chapter 2 showed that any knowledge of Menetheus from the sixth century onwards was based purely on the artist's knowledge of the Homeric epics. Therefore these two criteria combine to form the conclusion that Menestheus did not take place in any story where his presence was necessary and that any appearances he did make were solely from the recognition of the newly introduced Homeric epics. As Snodgrass states:

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[142] Friis Johansen 1967, p. 114.
[143] Von Bothmer 1949, p. 85, n. 5.
[144] Friis Johansen 1967, pp. 114-115, n. 185; the surprising appearance of Menestheus is noted by Simon 1981, p. 80, and Knittlmayer 1997, p. 50.
[145] Melbourne, Nat. Gall. 1643/4; *LIMC* III, 198, p. 400, no. 19, pl. 286, s.v. Diomedes (J. Boardman and C. E. Vafopulou-Richardson). Discussed by Lowenstam 1997, pp. 31-34.
[146] Although the particularity of the names inscribed on the Melbourne psykter (example 2 above), especially the pairing of Menestheus with Glaukos, leads Lowenstam 1997, p. 34, to conclude it was at least *Iliad*-inspired. See *Il.* 12.331-50, appendix A1.

> The vast majority of the figures in the enourmous cast-list of the *Iliad* are relatively unmemorable warriors, many of whom appear only to be killed. This is not to say that they are all characters of Homer's invention: many of them are credited with prominent geneaologies, and they could have had a place at least in the legend of their localities. But their very profusion meant that they were often fated to drop out of the broader network of Greek legend. Thus any work of art which introduces them is very likely to have been inspired by Homer, and indeed imply a very close familiarity with his texts. As we shall see, there are examples of such works in the ensuing centuries, although they are few and far between.[147]

Among these few examples are the "Euphorbos Plate" and the Chest of Kypselos (at least the panel portraying Menelaos and Koön), both works of art that contain very minor characters from the Homeric epics.[148] They are so minor, in fact, that the most logical conclusion for their presence is the influence of Homer. I believe that Menestheus can be counted among these minor heroes as a good indicator of familiarity with the Homeric epics.

The artists of the mid-sixth century were only somewhat knowledgeable of Homer, and they participated in few forums where they could hear and remember Menestheus' few appearances in the *Iliad*. Interestingly the two earliest and roughly contemporaneous instances of Menestheus are dated to around the time of permanent Peisistratid control in 546 B.C and possible introduction of the Homeric epics at the Panathenaia.[149] The reintroduction of this Athenian hero by the authority of Homer induced a few artists to portray him within the

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[147] Snodgrass 1998, p. 72.

[148] The Euphorbos Plate: London, Brit. Mus. BM A 749. See Snodgrass 1998, pp. 101-126, for discussion of possible Homeric inspired works, based mainly on the obscurity of the characters or the specificity of the scene.

[149] Although example 2 above is listed as a Chalkidian vessel, it more resembles a vessel of Attic manufacture and is perhaps misidentified, K. Lynch (pers. comm.) If we do accept its identification as Chalkidian, we must still accept that the particularity of the scene, as discussed by Lowenstam (n. 143 above), shows direct Homeric knowledge. Just where this artist was exposed to Homer is debatable. However, the strong connection between Athens and southwest Euboia in the sixth century B.C., seen, for example in the depiction of Theseus on the pedimental sculpture of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria (see Neils 1987, pp. 44-45), shows that there was much dialogue between the two areas. I do not believe it is too far a stretch to see either the artist himself traveling to the Panathenaia and hearing the epics firsthand, or a wealthy benefactor from Chalkis doing the same thing and later commissioning a work from a local potter, or the traveling rhapsodes stopping off for a festival in nearby Euboia on the way to or from Athens. My purpose here is to emphasize Homeric influence, and not patriotic sentiment that Athenians felt towards Menestheus (which was probably close to none). The appearance of this obscure character in two geographically close regions still could be the result of a common event.

framework of previously conceived Trojan War scenes, such as battles or leave-taking. The artist in example 1 wished to highlight this fact with his ὁδί; I believe this demonstrative was the artist's way of showing off his Homeric knowledge rather than making any patriotic statement. One would assume that many more Menestheis would appear in artwork if he were truly a vehicle for expressing one's pride of fatherland. In any case, this "fresh" look at an old story quickly lost its novelty and artists returned to portraying their Trojan War heroes as before. The next scattering of representations occur more than a hundred years later.

Depictions of the Theseïdai in pre-Kleisthenic Greek art are just as rare. Their most famous act – the rescue of their grandmother at Troy – is surprisingly difficult to find in early Greek art, even though this story was supposedly familiar by means of the Epic Cycle. I list here the most likely depictions of the Theseïdai appearing before the Klesithenic reforms:

1) A black-figured neck amphora in Berlin from c. 530 B.C. by the painter Exekias[150] shows two armed men walking next to their horses. The names [ΔΕ]ΜΟΦΟΝ and ΑΚΑΜΑΣ are inscribed (Fig. 8).
2) Another fragmentary amphora by Exekias now in Malibu,[151] shows the head and torso of a helmeted warrior holding a shield. The name ΑΚΑΜΑ[Σ] is inscribed next to him (Fig. 9).
3) A third fragment of Exekias, now in Lund,[152] has been suggested as showing the Theseïdai (Fig. 10). Only the head and shoulders of a bearded ΘΕΣΕΥ[Σ] appear on it, but based on an analogous scene depicting Tyndareus and the Dioskouroi in the Vatican, Beazley has reconstructed a similar scene of leave-taking between Theseus and his sons (Figs. 11-12).[153]

[150] Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 1720; *ABV* 143, no. 1.
[151] Malibu, J. Paul Getty Mus. 78.AE.305; See Shapiro 1989, pl. 66 d.
[152] Lund Univ. 655; *ABV* 145, no. 17.
[153] Beazley 1986, p. 63, based on the B side of the famous vase of Aias and Achilles gaming (Vatican 344, *ABV* 145, no. 13) which shows Tyndareus in a nearly identical pose and dress to the Lund Theseus.

4) A black-figured neck amphora in London dated to c. 530 B.C.[154] depicts two armed men leading a veiled woman between them and has been interpreted by some as Aithra and her grandsons. The inscription AΘE appears on the shield of one, which would point to an Athenian connection. However, there are no other obvious indications that this scene depicts Aithra and the Theseïdai (Fig. 13).

In all, there are only two sure attestations of the Theseïdai prior to the Kleisthenic reforms. Extraordinarily, both (and perhaps a third) are all painted by Exekias![155] Although it is impossible to restore the full scene of the Malibu fragment, I would at least conjecture that it did not show a rescue of Aithra. The warrior faces forward to an empty space that cannot be occupied by a standing woman, and he is not bent or gesturing down to any character lying prostrate on the ground, as is often the case in later red figure scenes. As is characteristic of Exekias, the scene most probably was a solemn and static one, and was most likely similar in composition to example 1, showing armed warriors in line. The black line on the very right of the Malibu fragment probably belonged to the helmet of a warrior walking in front. In conclusion, although the Theseïdai were apparently a favorite motif of a single artist, known for his personal and unique take on mythological subjects,[156] they are in each case shown in generic and non-narrative scenes.

Example 4 above is the only arguable instance of a Rescue of Aithra scene in the sixth century. Kron lists seven black-figure vases of the sixth century as possible depictions of Aithra in her *LIMC* entry.[157] All of these, except the example above, could just as easily be interpreted as a Rescue of Helen scene. In fact, a quick look at the given bibliography of these vases shows that they have also been attributed to Helen in each case. The major problem for interpreting

[154] London, Brit. Mus. B 173; *CVA* British Museum 3 [Great Britain 4], pl. 45 [165]:1b.
[155] This fact is noted by Boardman 1978, p. 15. He sees their appearance as one of the many examples of Exekias' anti-tyrannical message.
[156] Not only is Exekias' choice of the Theseïdai unique, but even his depiction of Theseus on the Lund fragment is unique for the sixth century, Neils 1987, p. 30.
[157] *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 426, s.v. Aithra I (U. Kron).

scenes of Aithra and her grandsons in black-figure is that they are very similar in composition to the scenes of Menelaos' recognition and leading away of Helen. In both cases there is a central woman who is being led away, usually framed by two warriors (Aithra + Akamas, Demophon; Helen + Menelaos, Agamemnon?). Since women are very rarely portrayed as old in black figure, we cannot rely on an indication of age to distinguish between Helen and Aithra. The major difference in context between the two scenes is emotional. While Menelaos acts in a threatening or menacing way towards Helen, the Theseïdai are caring and gentle. Therefore, scenes showing a warrior with a drawn sword or lance pointed at the woman could be safely identified as Menelaos and Helen. However, there are a number of scenes in which weapons are drawn but not specifically pointed at the woman, or not drawn at all. This could be a matter of the artists' sense of spacing and balance, or it could be an intentional device to show that the warriors are not threatening the woman and therefore interpret them as Aithra and her grandsons.[158] However the warriors are positioned in the scene, the woman is portrayed the same – she is always in the act of unveiling. This appears to be the main component (beside the threatening warrior) for all Helen-Menelaos scenes. Because this act of unveiling is present from the earliest representations of Helen and Menelaos, I am inclined to believe that all black figure vases showing an unveiling woman between two warriors are Helen and Menelaos;[159] the various stances of warriors and weapons are simply variations of the theme.

What then of example 4 above? The scene itself is no different than those already dismissed as portrayals of Helen. The one difference is the addition of the inscription AΘE in white paint on the shield of one of the warriors. Without this inscription, there would be nothing

[158] These scenes have also been interpreted as Helen being led away from Sparta by Paris, the departure of Polyxena, or the departure of Briseis, *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 558, s.v. Helene (L. Kahil). However, Kahil favors the Helen interpretation: "Cependant ces dernières hypotheses ne s'appuient point sur le schema iconographique qui convient au personage d'Aithra, encore moins à celui de Polyxène et de Briséis."
[159] See for example the relief amphora in Mykonos (Mykonos Mus. 2240), after Schefold [n.d.], pl. 35, b, Fig. 16.

in the scene to cause us not to confidently identify this as Helen. Indeed, a quick perusal of Helen-Menelaos depictions produces two very similar examples of nearly identical composition.[160] We must conclude either one of two things: either this vase (example 4 above) is the sole example portraying Aithra before the fifth century (with the next example not appearing for another thirty to forty years), which is highly unlikely, or this vase shows Helen. The addition of the inscription was merely an afterthought of the artist to show patriotism or even reality by copying shields he would see on the battlefield, and has nothing to do with the scene.

Based simply on the evidence before us, it seems that Athenian artists of the sixth century either were not interested or not aware of any specific narrative story dealing with the Theseïdai. Aithra's Rescue was among the episodes contained in the *Ilioupersis* and perhaps also the *Little Iliad*.[161] It is telling, therefore, that the important episodes of the *Ilioupersis* as summarized by Proclus are all depicted in early Greek art, except that of Aithra's Rescue. These would include: the Trojan Horse, the killing of Priam, the rescue of Helen, the rape of Kassandra, the killing of Astyanax, and the sacrifice of Polyxena.[162] The strong connections we have seen between the Epic Cycle and early Greek art (especially the stories of the *Ilioupersis*) point us towards the conclusion that Aithra's Rescue was never part of the original story. The absence of depictions is due to artists' ignorance rather than disinterest.

It appears that in the sixth century, the Theseïdai were recognized by name and generation only. Their father, at this time, was still only known as the basic monster-slaying,

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[160] 1) An amphora in Göteborg, Röhsska Konstslöjdmuseet 66-58, *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 549, no. 331, pl. 351, s.v. Helene (L. Kahil), shows similar stances of the warriors, who both are faced away from the woman but have turned their heads towards her, and whose spears are crisscrossed behind (Fig. 14).
2) An amphora in Tarquinia, Muz. Naz. RC 1646, *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 550, no. 344, pl. 354, s.v. Helene (L. Kahil), shows the same position of the woman and warrior on the right, whose elbow is bent in a similar manner as the "Aithra" example (Fig. 15).
[161] See n. 199 below.
[162] See Table 2.

woman-snatching hero. The brothers were most likely perceived as by-products of one (or two) of Theseus' many trysts with various women, and not much more.[163] They were seen as participants/leaders of the Trojan War probably only because they were of the right generation, but it seems doubtful whether they were associated with any extraordinary *aristeia*. The only example of the Theseïdai taking part in some narrative episode is from a fragmentary papyrus relating some stories of Stesichoros (P. Oxy. 2506 (S 193), fr. 26=Davies 193):

> ...αὐτὸ[ς δ]έ φησ[ιν ὁ] Στησίχορο[ς] τὸ μὲν ε[ἴδωλο]ν
> ἐλθεῖ[ν ἐς] Τροίαν, τὴν δ' Ἑλένην π[αρὰ] τῶι Πρωτεῖ
> καταμεῖν[αι· οὕτως δὴ ἐκ[α]ινοποίησε τ[ὰς]
> ἱστορ[ί]ας [ὥ]στε Δημοφῶντ[α] μὲν τ[ὸ]ν Θησέως ἐν
> τ[ῶ]ι νόστωι με[τὰ] τῶν θεσ[τια]δων [ ]
> ἀνενεχ[θῆναι λέγ]ειν [ἐ]ς [Αἴ]γυπτον, [γενέσθα]ι δὲ
> Θη[σεῖ] Δημοφῶ[ντα μ]ὲν ἐξ Ἰό[πης] τῆς Ἰφικ[λέους,
> Ἀ]κάμαν[τα δὲ ἐκ] Φα[ίδρας], ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀμ[αζόνος
> Ἱππο]λύτη[ς] ..λη.[...τῆς [Ἑ]λένης... Ἀγαμέμ[ν-...
> Ἀ]μφίλοχον...
>
> Stesichorus himself says that the phantom went to Troy while Helen remained with Proteus. He made such innovations in his stories that he says that Demophon, son of Theseus, was brought to Egypt with the Thestiadae in the homecoming from Troy, and that Demophon was Theseus' son by Iope, daughter of Iphicles, Acamas his son by Phaedra, Hippolytus by the Amazon... Helen... Agamemnon... Amphilochus...[164]

Although the sections dealing specifically with the Theseïdai is fragmentary, it appears that just as Stesichoros fabricated an aberrant version of the Helen saga by placing her in Egypt while her phantom went to Troy, he also ἐκαινοποίησε, or invented, a story in which Demophon went to Egypt, apparently in the company of the sons of Thestius who are connected to the story of Meleager and the Kalydonian Boar. The text begins to break down, but it appears that there is

[163] Plut. *Vit. Thes.* 29. 1-2, lists the many women associated with Theseus. This can be seen especially in the fact that the identity of Demophon and Akamas' mother(s) was never well established. Sometimes, they are the sons of Phaidra (Diod. Sic. 4.62.1; Apollod. *Epit*. 1.18), or the sons of Ariadne (schol. *Od*. 11.321). According to Plutarch (*Vit. Thes*. 28.2=Pind. fr. 175), Pindar states that Demophon was the son of the Amazon Antiope. The Stesichoros fragment discussed here names the mother of Demophon as Iope, daughter of Iphikles.

[164] Trans. D. A. Campbell, Cambridge, Mass., 1991, following Page's supplements.

some background told about Theseus' associations with various women, including probably his rape of Helen, and the children he produced by them.[165] However much Stesichoros may have elaborated on this story, it was obviously one that was never widely espoused in Athens itself. There are no associations between either of the sons of Theseus with a nostos to Egypt or the sons of Thestios in later Athenian tradition. It appears that this story was one of the many quirky versions of myth that Stesichoros originated, and was never considered to be part of the common mythological tradition. From the meager evidence that we possess, it appears that the Rescue of Aithra was not an event known in art or literature in the sixth century.[166]

If the Theseïdai were not strongly associated with any aspect of the Trojan War, and Menestheus was a character only newly reintroduced to Athenian mythology, the initial convergence of these two leaders of the of the Athenian contingent probably caused no real problems in the Athenian mindset. Differing, and often contradictory, versions of myth were standard practice for Greeks at all points of history. Contradictions would only lead to conflict when local versions of myth were integrated into international politics. Since Theseus had not yet become identified as Athens' preeminent hero, it seems likely that differing versions of just who led the Athenian contingent to Troy could peacefully coexist. It is perhaps during this period of time that one of the few lines of the *Ilioupersis* that is still preserved was composed:

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[165] That Stesichoros was fully cognizant of the Rape of Helen by Theseus is seen in Paus. 2.22.6: "Near the Lords is a sanctuary of Eilethyia, dedicated by Helen when, Theseus having gone away with Perithous to Thesprotia, Aphidna had been captured by the Dioscuri and Helen was being brought to Lacedaemon. For it is said that she was with child, was delivered in Argos, and founded there a sanctuary of Eilethyia, giving the daughter she bore to Clytaemnestra, who was already wedded to Agamemnon, while she herself subsequently married Menelaus. And on this matter the poets Euphorion of Chalcis and Alexander of Pleuron, and even before them, Stesichorus of Himera, agree with the Argives in asserting that Iphigenia was the daughter of Theseus." Trans. W. H. S. Jones, Cambridge, Mass., 1978. Jenkins 1999, p. 216, n. 22, believes the fragment mentions Iphigeneia as daughter of Helen and Theseus, due to "the style of the catalogue and the fact that Agamemnon is next mentioned (perhaps with reference to the subsequent adoption of Iphigeneia by Agamemnon and Clytemnestra)."

[166] The one exception perhaps is seen on the Tabula Iliaca, which claim to be depicting the Ilioupersis "κατὰ Στεσίχορον." However, this interpretation has been questioned. See discussion in next section.

> Θησείδαις δ' ἔπορεν δῶρα κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
> ἠδὲ Μενεσθῆι μεγαλήτορι ποίμενι λαῶν.
>
> To the sons of Theseus the lord Agamemnon gave gifts,
> and to great-hearted Menestheus, shepherd of peoples.[167]

Here in the epic poetry, we see the blending of the two traditions in what appears to be an equal relationship.

The Athenian Heroes of the Fifth Century B.C.

The rise of Theseus' popularity in the last quarter/decade of the sixth century has been the topic of numerous studies. It is important to stress the context of this popularity; in specific, many seek connections between Theseus and contemporary political situations. Although some have argued for the prominence and manipulation of Theseus as a national hero before the time of Kleisthenes,[168] the evidence strongly points to a connection between the rise of Theseus and the rise of the Alkmeonids in Athens. This argument is most fully argued by Schefold, who sees Kleisthenic patronage of an epic *Theseid* which would lead to the many depictions of Theseus' labors on pottery, nicknamed "Cycle Cups" (Fig. 17).[169] The popularity of Theseus would naturally affect the development of his sons, and it is no surprise that his sons are often cast in similar roles as their father's.

The rise of the sons of Theseus had a secondary stimulus. Akamas was made one of the ten new eponymous heroes of the tribes instituted by Kleisthenes in 508/7 B.C. Although *Ath. Pol.* 21.6 states that the Delphic Pythia chose these ten randomly from a list of one hundred, it seems more likely that these ten were pre-selected by Kleisthenes and then later upheld by the

[167] *FGrHist* 382 F 14. Trans. M. L. West, Cambridge, Mass., 2003.
[168] Shapiro 1989, pp. 144-149; Herter 1936.
[169] Schefold 1946, p. 66-67 and 89-90. The development of the Theseus myth in art was mentioned above, n. 4; Ancient testimonia for the existence of a *Theseid* can be found in West 2003, pp. 217-219.

Pythia.[170] The deliberate manipulation of the list seems more likely when considering that the heroes Hippothoön and Aias were among the ten in order to consolidate a unification of all Attica, including their home territories of Eleusis and Salamis respectively.[171] Centralizing effects can perhaps be construed for Akamas (and his brother?), who seem to have some connections with the Marathonian Tetrapolis, through an inscription found there.[172] Many have also noted the noticeable absence of the hero Theseus among the Eponymoi. This is generally explained by the fact that Theseus was probably regarded as too popular and too Athenian to relegate him to any one tribe.[173] If we accept deliberate choosing of the eponymoi, then the inclusion of Theseus' father (Aigeus), son (Akamas), grandfather (Pandion), and half-brother (Hippothoön) was certainly a means to garner the glory of Theseus' popularity without having to assign Theseus himself to a single tribe.[174]

There is little to say about Menestheus during this period. Most of the evidence for his role in Athenian political life during the fifth century is from anecdotes in history. The only sure attestations of him in vase painting occur well over a hundred years after the examples in the previous section. It is his non-presence in literature and art that should be noted, and how the

[170] Kearns 1989, p. 90: "the final choice of ten looks suspiciously 'significant'..."
[171] Garland 1992, p. 44; Anderson 2003, p. 129; Kearns 1989, pp. 81-82.
[172] *IG* II^2 1358, a sacrificial calendar which lists a sacrifice to the "ΑΚΑΜΑΣΙΝ" (line 32), perhaps to Akamas and his brother. See Kron 1976, p. 146, n. 668, for bibliography. This is one of the four known cults existing for Akamas (and his brother). The others include the monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the Agora, which, although the more famous remains date to the mid-fourth century B.C., probably had a predecessor. A round altar to Zeus, Hermes, and Akamas was found by the Dipylon Gate of the Kerameikos (discussed below), and there existed an altar described by Pausanias (1.1.4) in Phalerum to the "children of Theseus."
[173] *CAH*^{2} IV, p. 325 (M. Ostwald): "A possible reason is that Theseus, as author of the union of Attica, was too much revered as the hero of all Attica to give one single tribe the signal honour of worshipping him as its mythical forebear. Theseus belonged to Attica as a whole." Anderson 2003, pp. 142-143, sees the omission of Theseus from the list as a sign of his increasing politicization.
[174] The absence of Hippothoön, Aias, and Oineus, and the inclusion of the non-eponymous Theseus, Kodros, and the otherwise unknown Phileus on a monument at Delphi (Paus. 10.10.1-2) has led some to believe that Theseus was perhaps one of the original eponymoi but removed after a reorganization after the Persian Wars. See Kearns 1989, p. 81, n. 8. See also next chapter, example III.f and n. 205.

gradual development of the Theseïdai story meant that Menestheus was slowly replaced in his role as Athenian leader by the sons of Theseus.

1) Menestheus is depicted on a red figure cup of c. 440/30 B.C. in Bologna.[175] Aias, Athena, Lykos, and Melite (all inscribed) take part in another leave-taking scene, probably meant as their departure to Troy. This is the only certain depiction of Menestheus in vase painting of the fifth century (Fig. 18).[176]
2) There is also a bronze Trojan horse set up on the Acropolis and cited in Pausanias 1.23.8-9: "Menestheus and Teucer are peeping out of it, and so are the sons of Theseus."[177] It is dated tentatively to 420 B.C. Pausanias does not specify how he knows that these figures are who he says they are; it is doubtful that there could be any individual attributes to these characters, especially if they are mostly hidden inside the horse. His identification must be based, as many others, on the personal accounts of those he met.

All in all, this is a very poor showing for the Homeric leader of the Trojan War. It is most likely that example 1 above is simply a typical warrior leave-taking scene elevated to a heroic level through the addition of heroic names. If we accept Pausanias' identifications of the characters on the Acropolis dedication, then this would be another example of the blending of the two versions of Homeric and local myth as we saw stated in the *Ilioupersis* fragment.

On the other hand, depictions of the Theseïdai skyrocket in the fifth century B.C. One contributing factor for this may also be a result of the Kleisthenic reforms. The Kerameikos, from where all Athenian pottery (and presumably potters) came, was a deme that belonged to the tribe Akamantis; in other words, Athenians potters had Akamas as their eponymous hero. Interestingly, the only two occurrences of inscriptions of a tribal name on pottery both have

[175] Bologna, Mus. Civ. PU 273; *ARV*^{2} 1268.
[176] Simon 1963, has suggested that the identity of one of the figures on the reverse side of the name vase of the Niobid Painter (Paris, Louvre G 341, c. 450 B.C.) to be that of Menestheus. I find these identifications to be too uncertain to accept.
[177] Trans. W.H.S. Jones, Cambridge, Mass., 1978.

Akamantis.[178] An inscription on a round altar that apparently names Akamas in conjunction with Zeus and Hermes was discovered on the city side of the Dipylon Gate, which belonged to the deme of Kerameikos.[179] However, the rise in depictions of the Theseïdai is not limited to Attic potters. I wish here only to give a sample of the various scenes in which they appear in order to get a general idea of the development of these characters:[180]

I.) Trojan War themes:

a. The rescue of Aithra:

1) A red-figured calyx krater in London dated to c. 500-490 B.C.[181] depicts two bearded soldiers leading an old woman with a walking stick by the wrist. The names ΑΚΑΜΑΣ, ΑΕΘΡΑ, and ΔΕΜΟΦΟΝ are inscribed by the characters (Fig. 19).
2) A red-figured hydria from Naples, c. 480 B.C.,[182] by the Kleophrades Painter shows two soldiers, one bearded who grasps the wrist of a woman kneeling on the ground, and one unbearded who gestures to her reassuringly, while surrounded by scenes of the Ilioupersis (death of Priam, Ajax and Kassandra, escape of Aineas). The woman is shown with white hair. The two scenes of rescue (Theseïdai and Aithra, Aineas and Anchises) interestingly frame the scenes of slaughter and destruction (Figs. 20 and 21).[183]
3) A red-figure cup painted by Onesimos, c. 500-490 B.C. in Malibu,[184] also depicts scenes of the Ilioupersis on the interior. A white-haired woman is grasped by the hand of a warrior named [ΔΕ]ΜΟΦΟΝ. Directly opposite her on the cup appears another woman with white hair, whose name ends with [...]Ο, and who grasps the beard of a warrior named [...]ΕΥΣ, presumably Theano and Odysseus. Anderson links the two scenes

[178] Smith 1892-1893, p. 118.
[179] The inscription reads "ΔΙΟΣ ΕΡΚΕΙΟΥ ΕΡΜΟΥ ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ." It can be seen in the plan from von Alten 1878, pl. 3, no. 40, described on p. 37. This was interpreted by Schmidt 1879, p. 12, as an altar to Zeus Herkeios and Hermes Akamas; Koehler 1879, p. 288, interprets it as an altar to Zeus, Hermes, and Akamas – Zeus and Hermes as gods of gates and Akamas as hero of the area.
[180] A full list can be seen in *LIMC* I, 1981, s.v. Akamas et Demophon (U. Kron).
[181] London, Brit. Mus. E 458; *ARV*[2] 239, no. 16; *Para* 349, no. 16.
[182] Naples, Neapel Inv. 2422; *ARV*[2] 189, no. 74; *Para* 341, no. 74.
[183] See Ferrari 2000, for full discussion.
[184] Malibu, J. Paul Getty Mus. 83.AE.362, 84.AE.80, and 85. AE.385; Williams 1991, for discussion and illustrations.

symbolically of women beseeching and receiving aid from the Greek warriors (Figs. 22 and 23).[185]

b. At the sacrifice of Polyxena:

A red-figure cup in Paris by the Brygos Painter, c. 490 B.C.,[186] shows a warrior inscribed ΑΚΑΜΑΣ leading the maiden ΠΟΛΥΧΣΕΝΕ to the left while she turns to watch ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ kill ΠΡΙΑΜΟ[Σ] and Astyanax. The presence of Akamas in this scene has led some to believe that the artist mistakenly inscribed the wrong names for Menelaos and Helen,[187] but many scholars rightly assert the validity of the artist's inscriptions: the Brygos painter focuses on the tragedy of Polyxena who must witness the deaths of her father and nephew while being led to her own death.[188] Kron attributes the appearance of Akamas to a lost story from the Epic Cycle (Figs. 24 and 25).[189]

c. Struggle for the Palladion:

A red figure cup in the Hermitage,[190] painted by Makron and dated to c. 490/80 B.C., depicts the struggle between Diomedes (ΔΙΟΜΕΔΕΣ) and Odysseus (ΟΛΥΤΤΕΥΣ) over two false Palladia, a story not in the *Iliad*, but known from local traditions. The two warriors with drawn weapons are separated by two similarly dressed men named ΔΕΜΟΘΑΟΝ (sic), and ΑΚΑΜΑΣ. In the center, ΑΓΑΜΕΣΜΟΝ (sic) and ΦΟΝΙΧΣ also attempt to find a peaceful solution to the strife (Fig. 26).

II.) Local stories and themes:

a. Receiving the Heraklidai:

A South Italian column krater in Berlin[191] dated to c. 400 B.C. shows two young riders greeting an old man sitting at an altar accompanied by two young children, a woman holding a bearded, male figurine with thunderbolt in hand, and a herald holding a cadeuces. The

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[185] Anderson 1997, pp. 234-245, based on his earlier article, Anderson 1995. He believes the Onesimos Cup and the kalyx-krater by Myson to be the earliest representations of Aithra's Rescue. He stresses the relationship these red-figure painters saw in parallel representations of "Rescues" (Aineas and Aithra), and parallel supplications (Theano and Odysseus with Aithra and the Theseïdai).

[186] Paris, Louvre G 152; *ARV*^{2} 369, no. 1.

[187] See bibliography in *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 438, no. 11, s.v. Akamas et Demophon (U. Kron). Some believe the characters to be Menelaos and Helen, others as Akamas and Aithra.

[188] *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 442, s.v. Akamas et Demophon (U. Kron Kron); Anderson 1997, p. 230.

[189] Kron 1981, 442-3; in Euripides' *Hekabe*, lines 121-125, the Theseïdai took part in the decision to sacrifice Polyxena, but neither of them appear to fetch the maiden.

[190] St. Petersburg, Hermitage B649 (St 830); *ARV*^{2} 460, no. 13.

[191] Berlin (West) 1969.6; Discussed by Greifenhagen 1969 (pl. 1); Trendall and Webster 1971, p. 87 (III.3,21). Although this is not a work of local potters, it portrays a scene from a local playwright, namely Euripides.

scene can be safely interpreted as Iolaos as a supplicant with the children of Herakles, Alkmene holding a statue of Zeus, and the herald of Eurystheus, who is grabbing Iolaos by the shoulder. The two riders are generally agreed to be Akamas and Demophon (Fig. 27).[192]

b. In Amazonomachies:

An Attic dinos in London[193] shows various warriors battling Amazons, dated to 430 B.C. The figures are named ΘΕΣΕΥΣ, [ΠΕ]ΡΙΘΟΣ, Α[ΝΔ]ΡΟΜΑ[ΧΕ], hΙΠΠΟ[ΥΤ]Ε, ΑΚΑΜΑΣ, ΜΕΓΑΡΕΥΣ, ΣΘΕ[Ν]Ε[ΛΟΣ]. Akamas takes the famous stance of Harmodios, the Tyrannicide, as his father often did (Fig. 28).[194]

c. In the afterlife:

A hydria in London[195] by the Meidias Painter dated to 420-10 B.C. shows a scene of various heroes gathered in the afterlife. Four are Attic, ΑΚΑΜΑΣ and ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ are among them (Fig. 29).

d. As oikists:

A red figure pelike in a private collection in Japan, dated to c. 450 B.C.,[196] shows three young men named ΦΑΛΕΡΟΣ, ΔΕΜΟΦΩΝ, and ΑΚΑΜΑΣ taking their leave from two elderly men named ΠΟΝΠΕΥΣ and ΔΟΣΙΠ[Π]ΟΣ. Cahn interprets this scene as the three Attic heroes setting out to found the colony of Soloi on Cyprus, and coinciding with Kimon's attempt to take Cyprus (Fig. 30).[197]

e. In leave-taking scenes:

A bell krater in Syracuse dated to 410 B.C.[198] shows a typical leave-taking scene, elevated to a mythic scene through the inscriptions of heroic names. ΑΚΑΜΑΣ is depicted as a bearded man leaning on a walking stick gesturing towards the young hoplite ΠΑΝΔΙΩΝ who makes a libation at an altar. To the right, a woman shakes the hand of the departing youth ΟΙ[Ν]ΕΥΣ (Fig. 31).

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[192] See *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 439, no. 20, s.v. Akamas et Demophon (U. Kron), for a full bibliography for and against this interpretation.
[193] London, Brit. Mus. 99; *ARV*^{2} 1052, no. 29.
[194] For example, *LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 927, no. 46 and 47, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).
[195] London, Brit. Mus. E 224; *ARV*^{2} 1313, no. 5; *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 440, no. 26, pl. 340, s.v. Akamas et Demophon (U. Kron).
[196] Private collection, described by Cahn 1967, pp. 86-87, n. 166, pl. 55; *Para* 380, no. 5.
[197] Cahn 1967, p. 87; *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 443, s.v. Akamas et Demophon (U. Kron); Strabo 14.6.3 says that Soloi was founded by Akamas and Phaleros.
[198] Syracuse, Mus. Naz. 30477; *ARV*^{2} 1153, no. 17; *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 440, no. 25, pl. 340, s.v. Akamas et Demophon (U. Kron).

III.) In state sponsored art and abroad:

a) Both brothers appear in the Ilioupersis scenes painted by Polygnotos on the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi (c. 468-447 B.C.) and described by Pausanias (10.25.7-8 and 10.26.2). The brothers are surprisingly split up into two scenes: Demophon is portrayed with his grandmother Aithra standing before Helen;[199] Akamas is standing beside Polypoites, the son of Perithoös at the oath of the Lokrian Ajax, enforcing the Theseus-Perithoös bond.

b) Although not expressly described, most assume that the oath of Lokrian Ajax portrayed by Polygnotos on the Painted Stoa at Athens (c. 460 B.C.) also depicted the Theseïdai (Paus. 1.15.2). Theseus appears twice in this painting, once fighting the Amazons and again as a protecting spirit at the Battle of Marathon. Since Akamas appeared in this same scene painted by the same artist at Delphi, it is not a far stretch to assume he and his brother were present.

c) Both appeared along with Menestheus in the bronze Trojan Horse dedicated on the Acropolis (Paus. 1.23.8), dated to roughly the last quarter of the fifth century.

d) It is very likely that they were portrayed on various parts of the Parthenon. Some have proposed their depiction on the shield of the Athena Parthenos as Attic heroes fighting the Amazons.[200] For those who see the Eponymous Heroes depicted on the East Frieze of the Parthenon, Akamas would then be included. The close association of a young man and older man leaning against each other (figures 44 and 45),[201] would seem a likely depiction of Akamas and his grandfather Aigeus, another Eponymous Hero (Fig. 32).[202] Lastly the Ilioupersis scenes depicted on the metopes on the north side of the Parthenon almost certainly would have included a scene of Aithra's rescue.[203]

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[199] Pausanias ascribes this story, where Demophon and Akamas must receive permission from Helen before taking their grandmother, to the *Ilioupersis* of "Lescheos." He presumably means Lesches. However, Lesches is generally known as the author of the *Little Iliad*, not the *Ilioupersis*. At first glance, it seems that Pausanias either mixed up the names or mixed up the stories. It is more probable that the *Little Iliad* originally had a "Sack of Troy" story within it, and Pausanias is referring to one and the same author and story, see Monro 1883, pp. 317-319. See Frazer 1913, pp. 362-363 for those for and against this interpretation.

[200] Harrison 1966. See also *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 439, no. 23, s.v. Akamas et Demophon (U. Kron).

[201] Numbering based on Ferrari 2000.

[202] See Kron 1976, pp. 202-214, for bibliography and discussion of the interpretation.

[203] Ferrari 2000, p. 132; Hurwit 1999, p. 229.

e) Akamas, as Eponymous Hero, was included with the bronze group of the Eponymous Heroes in the Athenian Agora. The well-known monument in front of the Metroön is dated to the fourth century, but remains of an earlier monument have also been found.[204]

f) Pausanias describes another statue group including the Eponymous Heroes as well as Theseus, Athena, Apollo, Miltiades among others at Delphi (10.10.1-2). They were sculpted by Phidias and were a tithe of the spoils from the Battle of Marathon.[205] This roughly dates the group to the mid-fifth century.

g) The subject of Aithra's Rescue was also popular with the Romans. The famous Tabula Iliaca,[206] which portrays various scenes from the Ilioupersis, includes the figures of ΔΗ[ΜΟΦΩΝ] and ΑΙΘΡΑ. According to the inscription, it portrays the fall of Troy based on the *Ilioupersis* of Stesichoros. The tablets date to the last quarter of the first century A.D.

This quick overview of the material evidence should show two very striking differences between Menestheus and the Theseïdai – the depictions of the Theseïdai greatly outnumber those of Menestheus, and the Theseïdai are portrayed in much wider range of scene types. Most importantly, the Theseïdai occur in art outside of Athens and even in contexts not patronized by the Athenians. By the mid-fifth century, their story was known throughout the Greek-speaking world, and cities in Cyprus and Thrace claimed one or both brothers as their founders.

Here at the start of the fifth century, we see irrefutable depictions of the rescue of Aithra, which becomes the most popular subject involving the sons of Theseus, and is portrayed on many public buildings both in and out of Athens. Around the 490's it appears that Athenian

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[204] Shear 1970, pp. 203-222, suggests a rectangular base found beneath the Middle Stoa as a likely candidate for the earlier monument. He dates it to the third quarter of the fifth century.

[205] Pausanias' description leaves out three of the eponymous heroes, Aias, Hippothoön, and Oineus, which has been variously explained as an omission in the text or because something happenend to these three statues by the time of Pausanias. Also the chronology of the Battle of Marathon and the artist Pheidias is problematic since Pheidias is presumably ten years old at the Battle of Marathon. Explanations of this include a general mix up in perception of the Athenians between the Battle of Marathon and the Persian Wars in general, or that Pausanias mistakenly ascribed Pheidias as the sculptor. See Frazer 1913, pp. 265-267. Recently, some have theorized that these three were not among the original eponymoi and were included only after the Persian Wars; this monument, therefore, depicts the original eponymoi, which included Theseus, Kodros, and Phileus (corruption of Neleus or Philaios?), see Kearns 1989, p. 81, n. 8, and chapter 2, n. 171.

[206] Rome, Capitoline Mus. 316; *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 427, no. 77, pl. 334, s.v. Aithra I (U. Kron).

artists began to insert these heroes into other Trojan War events, including the fight over the Palladion and the sacrifice of Polyxena. Their role in granting asylum to the Heraklidai is certainly stemming from the same tradition as Euripides' drama, of the same name.[207]

Moreover, we can see a fairly direct correlation between the number and variety of portrayals surrounding Theseus' sons with the start of Theseus' own rise in popularity. Table 3 shows the dates and major themes for our three groups of heroes – Theseus, the Theseïdai, and Menestheus (see Table 3). As one can see, the rise in popularity of the Theseïdai is more or less contemporary with the start of Theseus' own cycle of labors. And, although it is difficult to say anything definitive for Menestheus, his portrayals do indeed stop very roughly at the time that Theseus and his sons are on the rise. The development of Theseus' labors, the writing of a *Theseid*, and the institution of Kleisthenes' tribal heroes led to an environment ripe for development and patriotism.[208]

If the Alkmaionid faction patronized the writing of a *Theseid*, I do not find it a far stretch to believe that a "Rescue of Aithra" poem was also composed sometime during the last decade of the sixth century or the first decade of the fifth. It would synchronize nicely with the iconographic and literary evidence available for both Theseus and his sons. My overview of the Epic Cycle shows that its episodic nature and the relative confusion surrounding the nature of its composition could indeed make it more susceptible to later interpolation. And, as already stated, the final writing/compilation of these texts could be dated to the fifth century if not later. Aithra's Rescue became widespread quite quickly, probably because of Athens' growing sphere

[207] Trendall and Webster 1971, p. 87 (III.3,21).

[208] This is probably true of all the ten Eponymous Heroes, none of whom had extensive backgrounds. Demosthenes' *Funeral Oration* relates the main characteristics of each of the ten heroes (60.27-31). Interestingly, he says that Akamas rescued his *mother* Aithra from Troy, a story related by the "epics (ἐπῶν) of Homer." Here again we see Homer's name used in relation to epic poetry, since this story obviously is not in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. It also shows that each of the ten tribes had to latch onto some sort of narrative story regarding many of these relatively minor heroes; in Demosthenes' speech, it is clear that some of the tribes were clearly grasping at straws. See Kearns 1989, pp. 86-87.

of power and influence in the fifth century. It was certainly well known outside of Athens by the mid-fifth century since Polygnotos incorporated it into his wall paintings on the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi.

Later, Aithra's Rescue would also strike a chord with the Romans of the early imperial period, as seen in the Tabula Iliaca (example III.g above). This is certainly a result of the strong association between Aithra's Rescue and the escape of Aineas and his family from Troy, a theme already present in Greek vase painting in example I.a.2 above. Although the Tabula Iliaca claim to depict the Ilioupersis "κατὰ Στεσίχορον," they do not appear to follow Stesichoros faithfully, and the artist probably added some stories of his own.[209] Since the main, central event of the Tabula was the exit of Aineas, the exit of Demophon and Akamas with their grandmother in the same scene was probably added as a mirroring event that had become by that time well known throughout the ancient world.

The Athenians often manipulated their participation at the Trojan War in an attempt to validate their claims with other cities. It is interesting to note that there is a gradual shift through time from mentioning Menestheus, the Homeric hero, to the Theseïdai, the local heroes. This can be seen from anecdotes of Athenian history.[210] In the conflict between Athens and Mytilene over the city of Sigeum in the Troad (late seventh century B.C.), the Athenians claimed rightful ownership because of their participation in the Trojan War.[211] During their conflict with Megara

[209] Horsfall 1979, esp. pp. 35-43.
[210] See also Richardson 1993, p. 27.
[211] Hdt. 5.94.2: ἐπολέμεον γὰρ ἔκ τε Ἀχιλληίου πόλιος ὁρμώμενοι καὶ Σιγείου ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν Μυτιληναῖοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἳ μὲν ἀπαιτέοντες τὴν χώρην, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὔτε συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποδεικνύντες τε λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Αἰολεῦσι μετεὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρης ἢ οὐ καὶ σφίσι καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι, ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενέλεῳ τὰς Ἑλένης ἁρπαγάς: "...for there was constant war over a long period of time between the Athenians at Sigeum and the Mytilenaeans at Achilleum. The Mytilenaeans were demanding the place back, and the Athenians, bringing proof to show that the Aeolians had no more part or lot in the land of Ilium than they themselves and all the other Greeks who had aided Menelaus to avenge the rape of Helen, would not consent," Trans. A. D. Godley, Cambridge, Mass., 1920. Although Homer is not explicitly mentioned, we can assume that this was a Homeric reference.

over Salamis (c. 600 B.C.), the Athenian Solon used Homer as a defense for his cause, the famous line 2. 558, which the Megarians came to regard as Athenian interpolation in later history (Arist. *Rh*. 1.15.13 and Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 10.1-4). During the Persian Wars, the Athenians again turned to Homer to defend their position to the Syracusans.[212] In all these instances, we can see the early reliance Athenians had on Homer for legitimacy– precedence set by the Homeric epics and recognized by all elites of the Greek world. In these cases, the Athenians were forced to use the few scrappy references made about them in the *Iliad*.

The politician Kimon appears to be a good bridge between the two attitudes. He set up a number of herms in the Agora that made reference to Menestheus[213]; again Kimon had to rely on 2.553-4, since this was basically the only positive thing spoken about Menestheus. The sponsorship of these herms may have been seen in the same light as the Peisistratid "Recension" of the previous era – manipulation of elitist stories made public to the common man to benefit their patron's public image. However, Kimon also made full use of the skyrocketing popularity of Theseus; in 476/5 B.C. Kimon symbolically returned the bones of Theseus to Athens, after ridding the island of Skyros of its pirate population (Plut. *Vit. Thes*. 36-1-3; *Vit. Cim.* 8.3-7). We can see how local legend and Homeric epic came to be viewed as equally important by the first quarter of the fifth century B.C.

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[212] Hdt. 7.161.3: τῶν καὶ Ὅμηρος ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἄνδρα ἄριστον ἔφησε ἐς Ἴλιον ἀπικέσθαι τάξαι τε καὶ διακοσμῆσαι στρατόν: "Homer the epic poet said that from them [Athenians] the best man at marshalling and mustering the army came to Ilion," trans. A. D. Godley, Cambridge, Mass., 1920. This is clearly a reference to 2.553-4 (quoted in introduction).

[213] Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 3.185: ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Ἑρμῇ: ἔκ ποτε τῆσδε πόληος ἅμ' Ἀτρείδῃσι Μενεσθεὺς ἡγεῖτο ζάθεον Τρωικὸν ἂμ πεδίον, ὅν ποθ' Ὅμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα χαλκοχιτώνων κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ἄνδρα μολεῖν. οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀεικὲς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι κοσμητὰς πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἠνορέης: "And on the third of the Hermae stands written: 'Once from this city Menestheus, summoned to join the Atreidae, led forth an army to Troy, plain beloved of the gods. Homer has sung of his fame, and has said that of all the mailed chieftains none could so shrewdly as he marshal the ranks for the fight. Fittingly then shall the people of Athens be honored, and called marshals and leaders of war, heroes in combat of arms,'" trans. C. D. Adams, Cambridge, Mass., 1919. Plut. *Vit. Cim.*, 7.1-5, has the same quote.

As the tribal system became more embedded into the everyday life of the Athenians, we can see a shift towards particular aspects of Akamas (and Demophon) that became beneficial to contemporary Athenian politics. A nostos was eventually conceived around these two, including a stop off in Thrace on the way home, and a liaison with the Thracian princess, Phyllis. Here we can plainly see the Athenian drive to substantiate claims to the Ennea Hodoi region during the later Peloponnesian War.[214] Connections to the Troad were strengthened by another liaison between Akamas and Priam's daughter Laodike, which produced a son by the name of Munitos.[215] Cities in Cyprus also laid claim to Akamas as a foundation hero; these attachments to Athens have usually been credited to Kimon's campaigns in the area.[216]

As the popularity of Theseus continued to rise, bolstering the rise of his own sons, it is no wonder that the status of Menestheus diminished, despite the growing prestige of Homer. The conflict that could be avoided or glossed over in the previous century, mainly because the Athenians had no vested interest in either parties involved, suddenly came to a head in the fifth century. With their growing imperial power, the Athenians turned to their new heroes for justification of this expansion instead, as they did in the sixth century, of relying on the few bare lines available to them from Homer. Not only were the Theseïdai inherently more affable and laudable, but there was no stigma attached to their manipulation as there was for interpolation of Homeric epic.

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[214] See Kearns 1989, p. 89, and Kron 1976, p. 143, for all associations between Akamas and Thrace and all variants of the Akamas-Phyllis story. In some variants, Phyllis is paired with Demophon.

[215] Kron 1976, p. 143; Kearns 1989, p. 89 and p. 187. This story is perhaps inferred to by the wall paintings of Polygnotos at Delphi, which showed Laodike and an unnamed old woman holding a child (Paus. 10.26.7-9), see Robert 1893, p. 66; literary reference made by Hegisippos of Mekyberna in the fourth century B.C. (*FGrHist* 391 F 1); called "Munichos" by Plut. *Vit. Thes.* 34.2.

[216] Strabo 14.6.3, names a district between the cities of Paphos and Arsinoe as Akamas. He also says the city of Soloi on Cyprus claimed as its founders Akamas and Phaleros. See Kearns 1989, pp. 88-89 and vase II.d above with n. 196.

The most common coping mechanism applied by the Athenians was to portray Menestheus as an enemy to Theseus. Apollodoros' version of the story (*Epit*. 1.23) that associates Menestheus' usurpation of the throne at Athens with a Spartan faction (the Dioskouroi), may have originated during the Peloponnesian War, since any enemy of Theseus was obviously also an enemy to Athens. If this version already existed before the breakout of the war, it certainly could not have been beneficial to Menestheus' image. Although there may have been occasional attempts to include Menestheus within the fold of Athenian identity, as seen in the bronze Trojan Horse dedicated on the Acropolis, on the whole, the Athenians viewed Menestheus as an obstacle whose presence had to be explained away. They remedied this by either getting him out of Athens or, more usually, completely ignoring his existence.[217] The most striking example of this can be seen in the plays of Euripides: in *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, a miniature "Catalogue of Ships" is recited, which says that the Athenian ships are led by "ὁ Θησέως παῖς" (line 247). In his *Hekabe*, lines 121-125, the Theseïdai take part in the decision to sacrifice Polyxena. In the *Trojan Women*, line 31, the Theseïdai are mentioned as among those who received Trojan captives. In Euripides' *Heraklidai* (depicted on vase II.a above), Demophon, as king of Athens, takes on many of the characteristics of his father in receiving the children of Herakles, just as Theseus received Oidipous and his family in the previous generation. Altogether from this selection, it is obvious that, as far as Euripides was concerned, Theseus' sons were the only Athenian leaders present at Troy. The non-presence of Menestheus would continue to be his main feature throughout the rest of Athenian history.

[217] Page 1959, pp. 173-175, n. 79, lists all appearances of Menestheus in ancient accounts. He divides these references in the categories of 1) allusions to the *Iliad*, 2) attempts to explain his relationship with Theseus and the Theseids, either by his expulsion, exile, or colonization, or by ousting Theseus for a short time, and 3) yarns and embroideries, of which he admits there are few.

Conclusion:

The evolution in attitude towards Menestheus, Akamas, and Demophon help us to understand the changing attitudes of the Athenians towards the Homeric epics in light of their own local myths. The early fixation of the Homeric epics led to the retention of many ancient and more obscure aspects of Greek myth. This included the presence of the Athenian hero Menestheus. Not only is he preserved in the *Iliad*, but he is in fact part of an even older tradition pre-dating Homer, since he is among those named in the Catalogue of Ships. As the Homeric epics were protected from newer intrusions of language, myth, and politics by the unique institutions of Homeric guilds, the local versions of the Menestheus myth had long since dropped out of the Athenian repertoire. Although many scholars believe that the Peisistratid regime had some role in the writing of the Homeric epics, and by extension, the insertion of certain pro-Athenian lines, it is most likely that the real impact of the Peisistratids was through the introduction of the Homeric epics to the Athenian common man by regulation of their performances. It is at this point, in the mid-sixth century, that the character of Menestheus was reintroduced to the Athenians, as is shown by his appearance in Attic art.

In the meantime, the myths of Theseus, already present in the Homeric epics themselves, continued with little change over the course of time in Athens. His sons, as by-products of Theseus' many unions with various women, were recognized by name and generation, and as participants in the Trojan War, but by little else. Thus, the initial convergence of Homeric and local versions of myth in the mid-sixth century B.C. did not spark any immediate conflicts. It was only after the Theseus myth was expanded and took on overtly political and patriotic tones that the Athenians became uncomfortable with the two coexisting versions. Many believe that this change in Theseus' identity was linked to the Alkmaionid family and Kleisthenes in

particular. Adding to the political overtones of the Theseus myth, Akamas was made one of the ten new eponymous heroes of Attica. This new tribal system, which remained more or less intact for the next 300 years, became fully integrated into the Athenian lifestyle. All of these factors led to the vilification and/or conscious ignorance of Menestheus, who was now cast as an enemy to Theseus' family. This would lead to his utter obscurity throughout the rest of Athenian history.

The evolution of these heroes in particular helps to illustrate the broader picture of Athens' relationship with epic works. Since Menestheus was never particularly tied to Athenian identity, his appearance in artwork or literature cannot be justifiably attributed to patriotism or Athenian self-interest. His obscurity is in fact the best indicator of Homeric influence, since there is no other sensible reason for his presence. His depictions in art in the mid-sixth century can therefore be logically construed as direct Homeric influence on the vase painters of Athens. This date of the mid-sixth century ties in with the known history of the Peisistratid regime and its connections to the Homeric epics and the Panathenaia mentioned throughout history.

The stories of the Epic Cycle, on the other hand, were not fixed at an early date like Homer. These epics continued to evolve throughout history and were only committed to writing perhaps as late as the fifth century B.C. The fluid nature of the epics led to easy manipulation of the material. Thus, the episode of Aithra's Rescue was most likely a late addition to the *Ilioupersis* epic, probably invented during the early fifth century due to the heavy politicization of Theseus and, by extension, his sons.

Homeric scholarship of recent years has led to radical new ways of interpreting the texts of the Homeric epics, specifically with regards to performance and reuse of older material. These new approaches, in turn, have an effect on interpretations of Homeric influence in art and

literature. For Athens in particular, which was considered a selfish and self-promoting interpolator of these texts even in antiquity, these new understandings have highlighted the unlikelihood of any conscious or regulated effort to alter the Homeric texts, at least in the formative period of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

Figures:

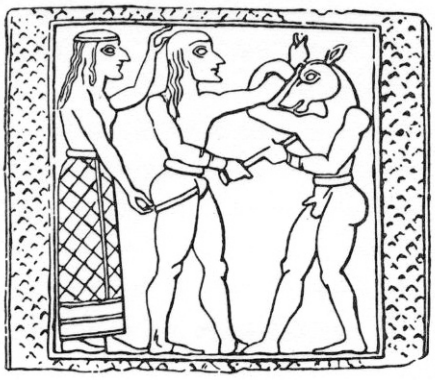

Figure 1: Theseus, Ariadne and the Minotaur from a gold relief plaque, Corinth, c. 650 B.C. (Berlin, Staatl. Mus. GI 332-336), after Schefold [n.d.], p. 39, fig. 7.

Figure 2: Theseus and Perithoös in Hades, with Herakles to the right, from a shield strap, Olympia, c. 580-570 B.C. (Olympia, Olympia Mus. B 4918/9), after Schefold [n.d.], p. 69, fig. 24.

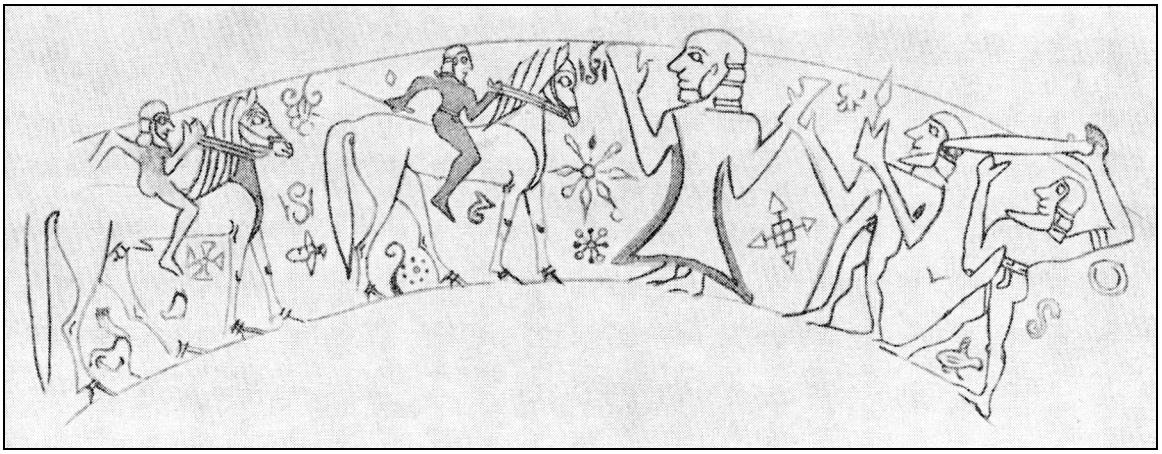

Figure 3: Protocorinthian aryballos, perhaps depicting the Rape of Helen by Theseus and Perithoös on right and the Dioskouroi on left, c. 680-670 B.C. (Paris, Louvre CA 617), after Schefold [n.d.], p. 42, fig. 9.

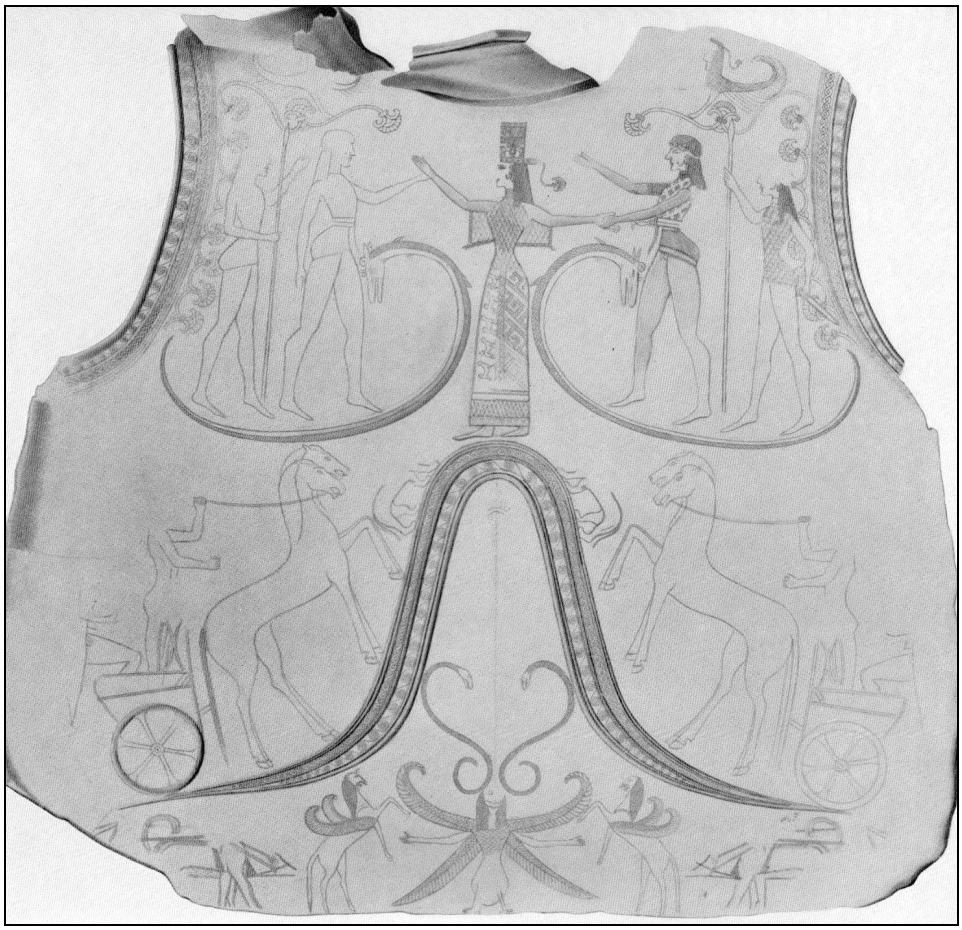

Figure 4: Bronze cuirass from Olympia, c. 670-660 B.C. (Olympia Mus.), after Schefold [n.d.], pl. 26.

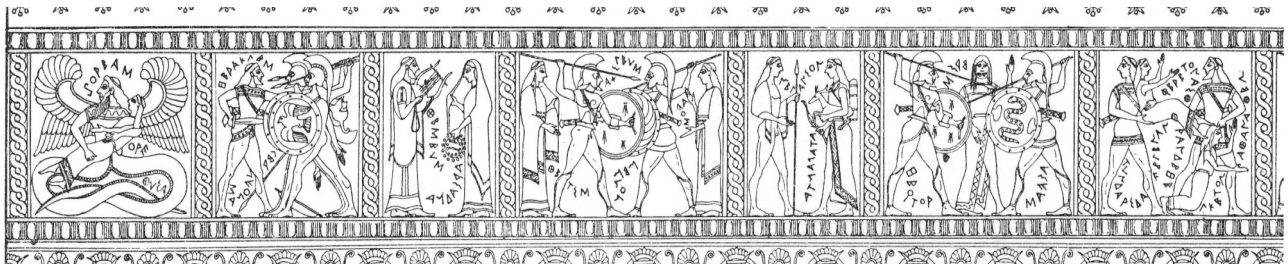

Figure 5: Detail from the Chest of Kypselos; Theseus and Ariadne are shown in the third panel; the Dioskouroi, Helen, and Aithra are shown in the seventh panel, "Τυνδαρίδα Ἑλέναν φέρετον, Αἴθραν δ' ἔλκετον Ἀθάναθεν" (The sons of Tyndareos are carrying off Helen, and dragging Aithra from Athens) is inscribed, c. 600 B.C., artist's rendering based on Paus. 5.19.2-3, after Schefold [n.d.], p. 72, fig. 26.

Figure 6: Kantharos showing from left to right: "HOΔI" Menestheus, Odysseus, Patroklos, Achilleus, Thetis, and Menelaos, c. 550 B.C. (Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F1737), after *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 70, no. 189, pl. 76, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

Figure 7: Psykter amphora showing from left to right: Hippolochos, Charops, Diomedes, Glaukon, Menestheus, Odysseus, and "Me..." (on ground), c. 540 B.C. (Melbourne, Nat. Gall. 1643/4, after *LIMC* III, 198, p. 400, no. 19, pl. 286, s.v. Diomedes (J. Boardman and C. E. Vafopulou-Richardson).

Figure 8: Neck amphora by Exekias, showing Akamas and Demophon, c. 530 B.C. (Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 1720), after Kron 1976, pl. 19, no. 2.

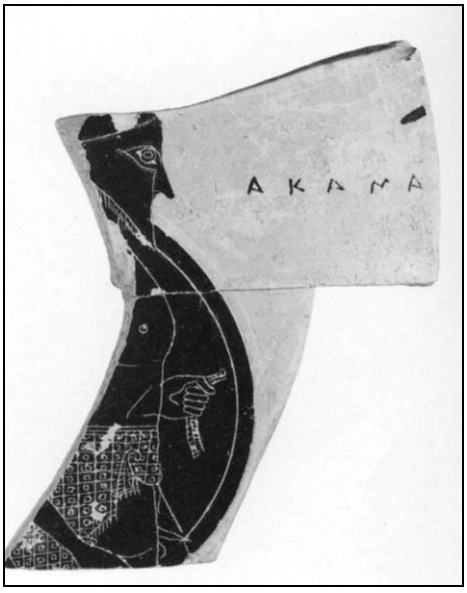

Figure 9: Exekias fragment showing Akamas, c. 530's (Malibu, Getty Mus. 78.AE.305), after Shapiro 1989, pl. 66 d.

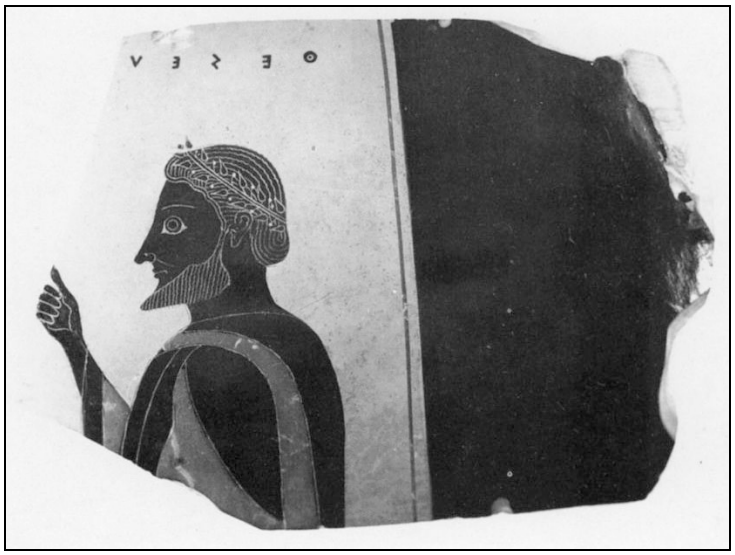

Figure 10: Exekias fragment, showing Theseus, c. 530's (Lund Univ. 655), after Shapiro 1989, pl. 66, c.

Figure 11: Amphora by Exekias, detail of Tyndareus, c. 530's (Vatican 344), after Beazley 1986, pl. 66, no. 3.

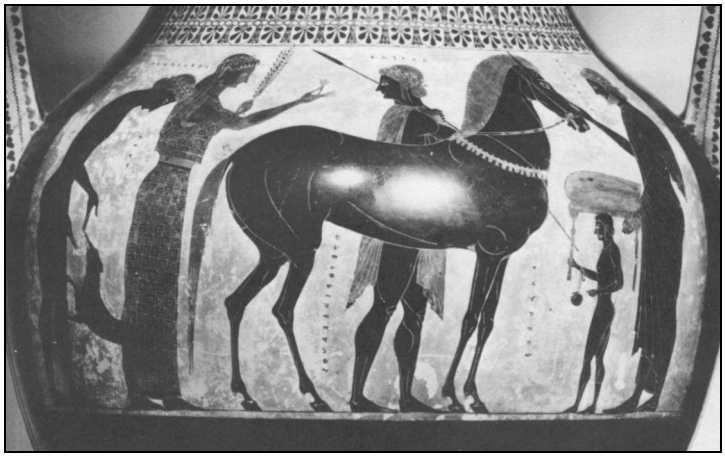

Figure 12: Wider view of figure 11 above, Tyndareus on right, after Beazley 1986, pl. 65.

Figure 13: Neck amphora showing woman and two warriors – Aithra and the Theseïdai? Helen and Menelaos? c. 530 B.C. (London, Brit. Mus. B 173), after *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 426, no. 61, pl. 332, s.v. Aithra I (U. Kron).

Figure 14: Helen led away from Troy, c. 510-500 B.C. (Göteborg, Röhsska Konstslöjdmusset 66-58), after *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 549, no. 331, pl. 351, s.v. Helene (L. Kahil).

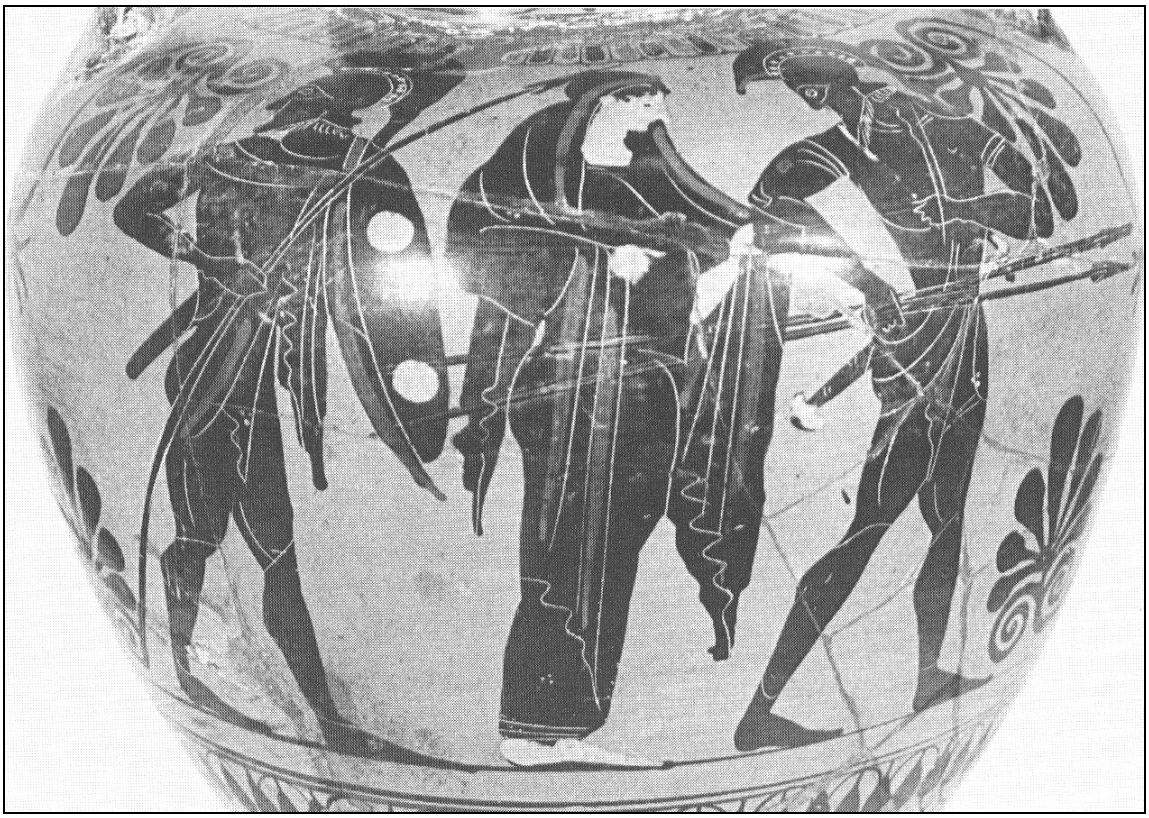

Figure 15: Helen led away from Troy, c. 525 B.C. (Tarquinia, Muz. Naz. RC 1646), after *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 550, no. 344, pl. 354, s.v. Helene (L. Kahil).

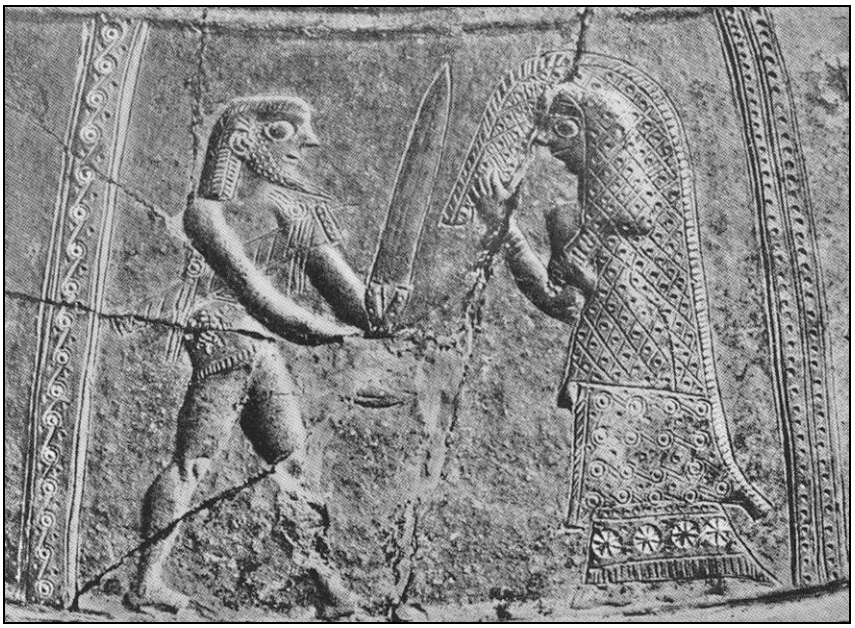

Figure 16: Relief amphora showing Menelaos threatening Helen, c. 670 B.C. (Mykonos, Mykonos Mus. 2240), after Schefold [n.d.], pl. 35, b.

Figure 17: Cycle Cup, c. 430 B.C (London, Brit. Mus. E 84), after Schefold 1988, p. 251, fig. 301.

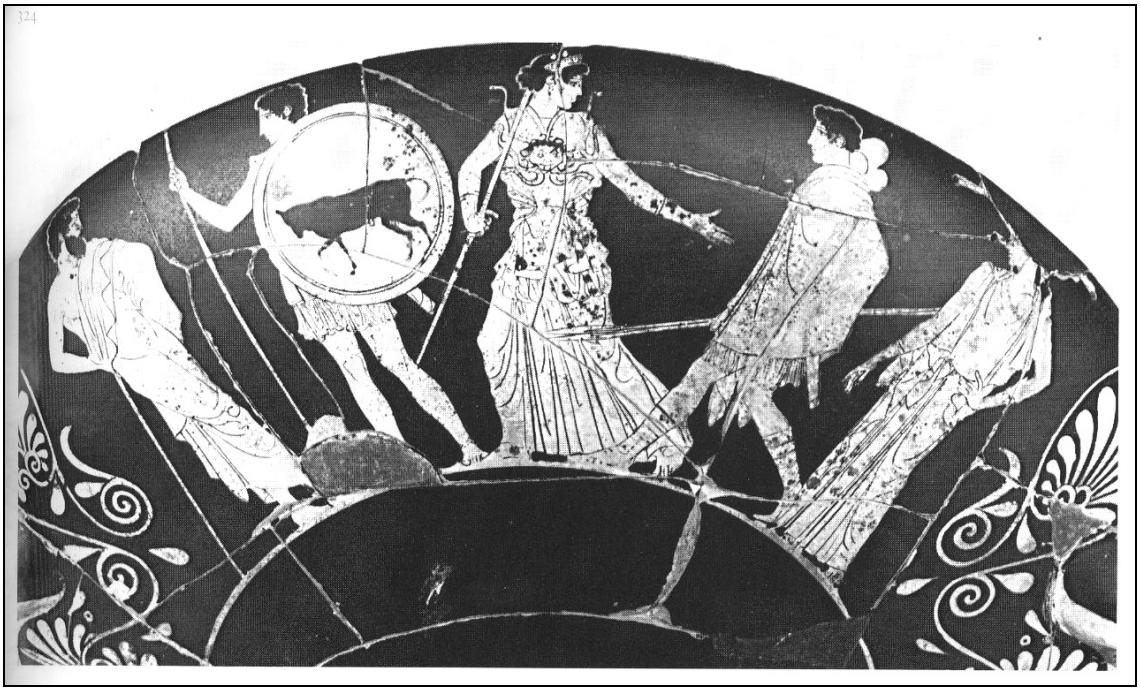

Figure 18: Cup showing from left to right: Lykos, Aias, Athena, Menestheus, Melite, c. 440-430 B.C. (Bologna, Mus. Civ. PU 273), after Schefold 1988, p. 273, fig. 324.

Figure 19: Detail of calyx krater showing Akamas, Aithra, and Demophon, c. 500-490 B.C. (London, Brit. Mus. E 458), after Kron 1976, pl. 22, no. 2.

Figure 20: Hydria by the Kleophrades Painter showing scenes from the Ilioupersis; Akamas and Demophon with Aithra on right, Aineas and Anchises on left c. 480 B.C. (Naples, Neapel Inv. 2422), after Beazley 1974, pl. 27.

Figure 21: Detail from figure 20 above, after *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 426, no. 67, pl. 333, s.v. Aithra I (U. Kron).

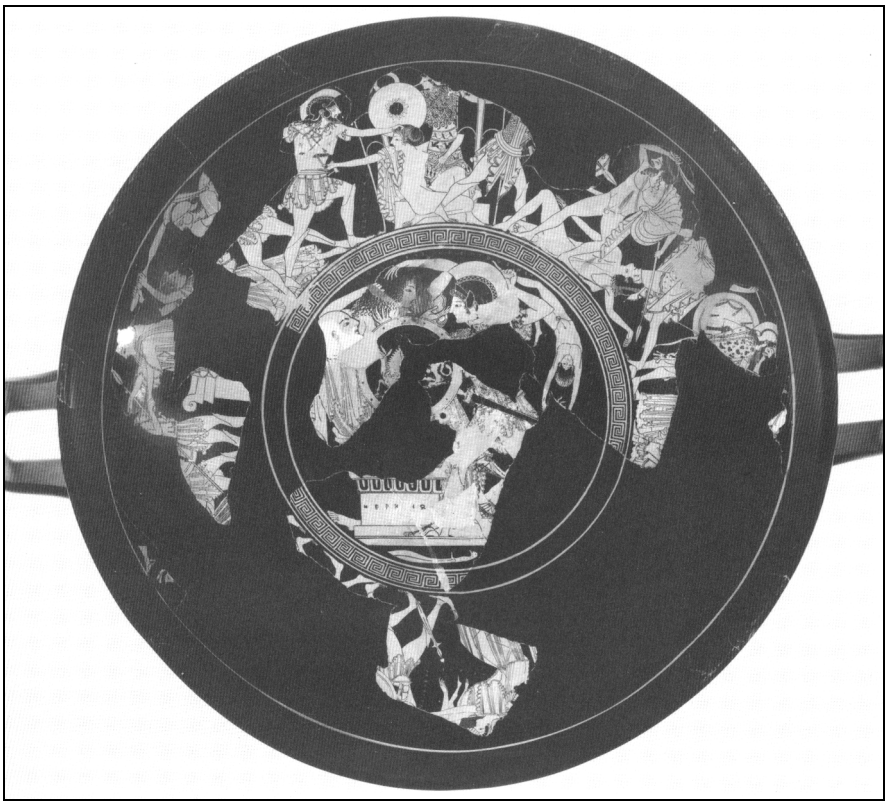

Figure 22: Cup by Onesimos, showing Ilioupersis. Note the arrangement of the parallel white-haired women supplicating – Aithra and Demophon, Theano and Odysseus, c. 500-490 B.C. (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Mus. 83.AE.362, 84.AE.80, and 85.AE.385.), after Williams 1991, p. 49, fig. 8d.

Figure 23: Detail of figure 22 above, after Williams 1991, p. 52, fig. 8j.

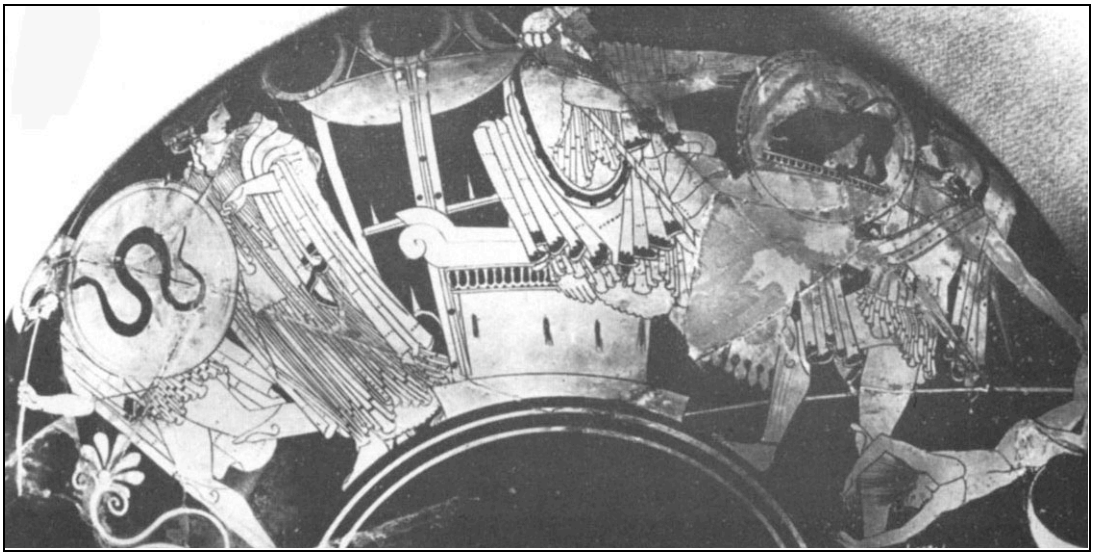

Figure 24: Cup by the Brygos Painter, depicting Ilioupersis scenes to right, Akamas leading Polyxena away to the left, c. 490 B.C. (Paris, Louvre G 152), after Wegner 1973, pl. 20.

Figure 25: Detail of figure 24 above, after *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 438, no. 11, pl. 337, s.v. Akamas et Demophon (U. Kron).

Figure 26: Cup showing struggle over the Palladion, from left to right: Diomedes, Demophon, Agamemnon, Phoinix, Akamas, Odysseus, c. 490-480 B.C. (St. Petersburg, Hermitage B649 (St 830)), after *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 437, no. 6, pl. 337, s.v. Akamas et Demophon (U. Kron).

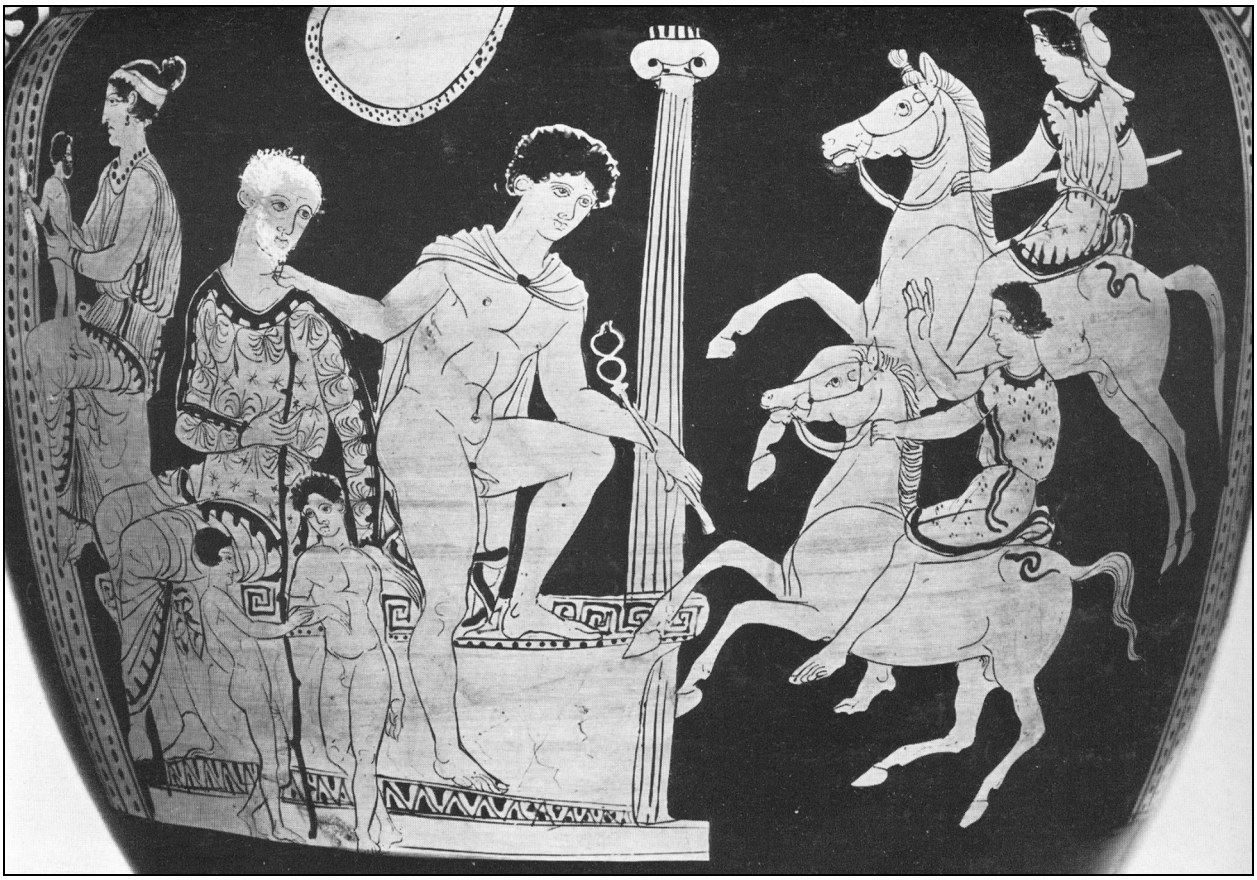

Figure 27: Column krater showing scene from Euripides' *Heraklidai*, Akamas and Demophon ride in from the right, c. 400 B.C. (Berlin 1969, 6), after Trendall and Webster 1971, p. 87, III.3,21.

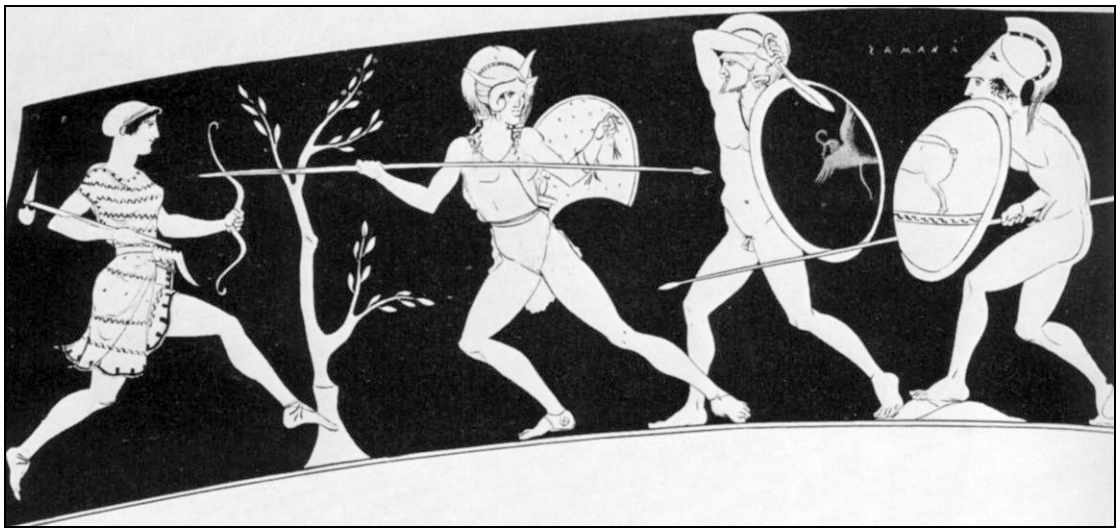

Figure 28: Detail of Attic dinos showing Amazonomachy, Akamas second from right, in stance of Harmodios the Tyrannicide, c. 430 B.C. (London, Brit. Mus. 99), after Kron 1976, pl. 24.

Figure 29: Hydria showing various Attic heroes in the afterlife, c. 420-410 B.C. (London, Brit. Mus. E 224), after *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 440, no. 26, pl. 340, s.v. Akamas et Demophon (U. Kron).

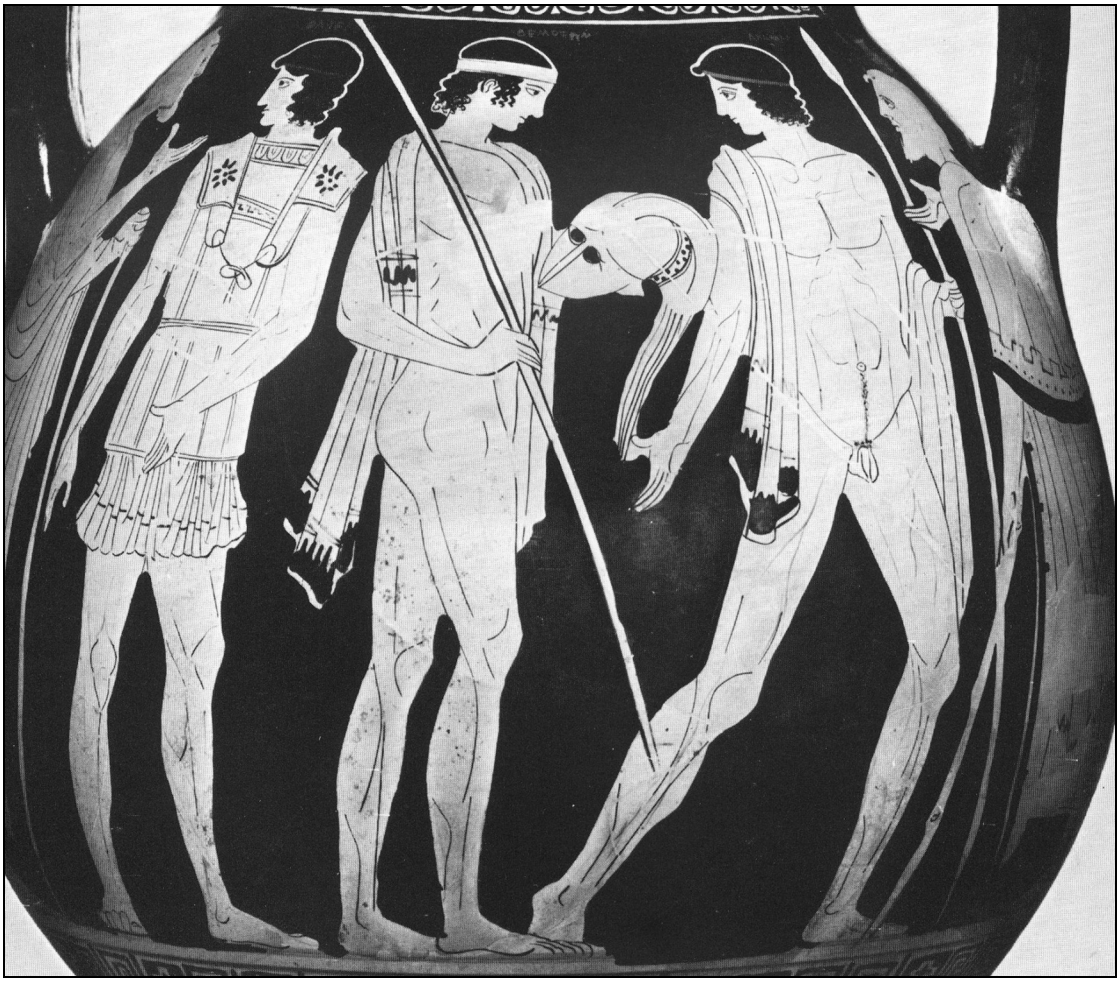

Figure 30: Pelike showing from left to right: Ponpeus, Phaleros, Demophon, Akamas, Dosippos, c. 450 B.C. (Japan, private collection), after Kron 1976, pl. 23.

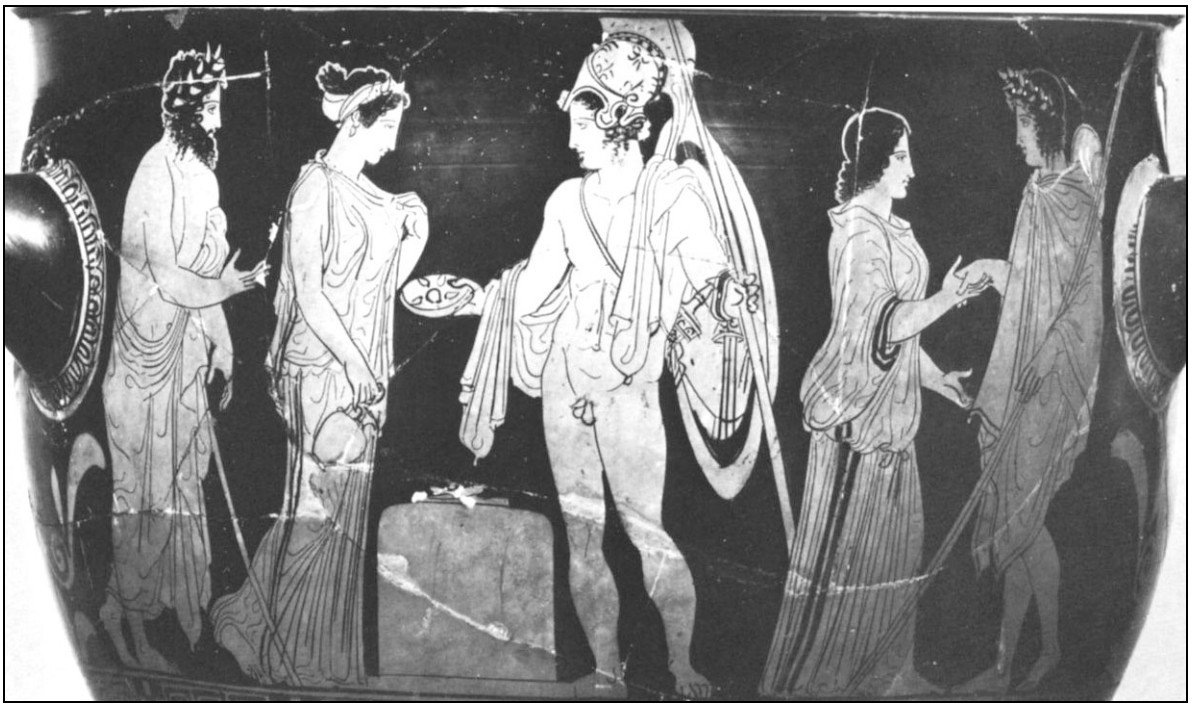

Figure 31: Bell krater showing from left to right: Akamas, woman, Pandion, woman, Oineus, c. 410 B.C. (Syracuse, Mus. Naz. 30477), after *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 440, no. 25, pl. 340, s.v. Akamas et Demophon (U. Kron).

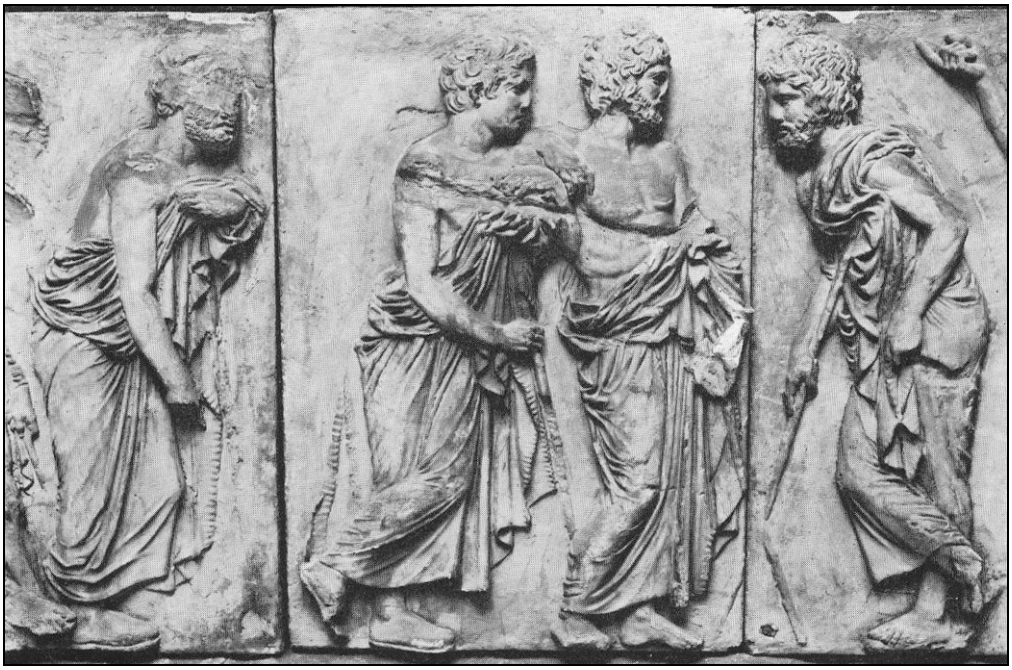

Figure 32: Detail of Parthenon frieze, perhaps showing Akamas leaning on Aigeus in middle, after Kron 1976, pl. 31, no. 2.

Appendix A: Mentions of Menestheus in the *Iliad*

Trans. A. T. Murray, Cambridge, Mass., 1999.

(A1) *Iliad* 4.327-48:

εὗρ' υἱὸν Πετεῶο Μενεσθῆα πλήξιππον
ἑσταότ'· ἀμφὶ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, μήστωρες ἀυτῆς·
αὐτὰρ ὁ πλησίον ἑστήκει πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς,
πὰρ δὲ Κεφαλλήνων ἀμφὶ στίχες οὐκ ἀλαπαδναὶ
ἔστασαν· οὐ γάρ πώ σφιν ἀκούετο λαὸς ἀυτῆς,
ἀλλὰ νέον συνορινόμεναι κίνυντο φάλαγγες
Τρώων ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν· οἱ δὲ μένοντες
ἔστασαν, ὁππότε πύργος Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν
Τρώων ὁρμήσειε καὶ ἄρξειαν πολέμοιο.
τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν νείκεσσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων,
καὶ σφεας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
"ὦ υἱὲ Πετεῶο διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος,
καὶ σύ, κακοῖσι δόλοισι κεκασμένε, κερδαλεόφρον,
τίπτε καταπτώσσοντες ἀφέστατε, μίμνετε δ' ἄλλους;

He found Menestheus, driver of horses, son of Peteos, standing there, and around him were the Athenians, masters of the war cry. And nearby stood Odysseus of many wiles, and with him the ranks of the Kephallenians, no weaklings, were standing there; for their army has not yet heard the war cry, but the battalions of the horse-taming Trojans, and begin the battle. At sight of these Agamemnon, lord of men, rebuked them, and spoke, and addressed them with winged words: 'Son of Peteos, the king nurtured by Zeus, and you who excel in evil wiles, you of crafty mind, why do you stand apart cowering, and wait for others?'

(A2) *Iliad* 12.331-50:

τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ῥίγησ' υἱὸς Πετεῶο Μενεσθεύς·
τοῦ γὰρ δὴ πρὸς πύργον ἴσαν κακότητα φέροντες·
πάπτηνεν δ' ἀνὰ πύργον Ἀχαιῶν, εἴ τιν' ἴδοιτο
ἡγεμόνων, ὅς τίς οἱ ἀρὴν ἐτάροισιν ἀμύναι·
ἐς δ' ἐνόησ' Αἴαντε δύω, πολέμου ἀκορήτω,
ἑσταότας, Τεῦκρόν τε νέον κλισίηθεν ἰόντα,
ἐγγύθεν· ἀλλ' οὔ πώς οἱ ἔην βώσαντι γεγωνεῖν·
τόσσος γὰρ κτύπος ἦεν, αὐτὴ δ' οὐρανὸν ἶκε,
βαλλομένων σακέων τε καὶ ἱπποκόμων τρυφαλειῶν
καὶ πυλέων· πᾶσαι γὰρ ἐπώχατο, τοὶ δὲ κατ' αὐτὰς
ἱστάμενοι πειρῶντο βίῃ ῥήξαντες ἐσελθεῖν.
αἶψα δ' ἐπ' Αἴαντα προΐει κήρυκα Θοώτην·
"ἔρχεο, δῖε Θοῶτα, θέων Αἴαντα κάλεσσον,
ἀμφοτέρω μὲν μᾶλλον· ὃ γάρ κ' ὄχ' ἄριστον ἁπάντων
εἴη, ἐπεὶ τάχα τῇδε τετεύξεται αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος.
ὧδε γὰρ ἔβρισαν Λυκίων ἀγοί, οἳ τὸ πάρος περ
ζαχρηεῖς τελέθουσι κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας.

εἰ δέ σφιν καὶ κεῖθι πόνος καὶ νεῖκος ὄρωρεν,
ἀλλά περ οἷος ἴτω Τελαμώνιος ἄλκιμος Αἴας,
καί οἱ Τεῦκρος ἅμα σπέσθω τόξων εὖ εἰδώς."

At the sight of them [Glaukos and Hektor], Menestheus, son of Peteos, shuddered,
for it was to his part of the wall that they came, bringing ruin;
and he looked in fear along the wall of the Achaeans, in the hope that he might see
one of the leaders, who would ward off disaster from his comrades;
and he caught sight of the two Aiantes, insatiate in war,
standing there, and Teucer, who had just come from his hut,
beside them; but it was in no way possible for him to shout so as to be heard by them,
so great a din was there, and the noise went up to heaven
of struck shields and helmets with crests of horsehair
and of the gates, for all had been closed, and before them
stood the foe, and sought to break them by force and enter in.
Quickly then to Aias he sent the herald Thoötes:
"Go noble Thoötes, run and call Aias,
or rather both of them, since that would be far best of all,
since here will sheer destruction soon be worked.
Hard on us here press the leaders of the Lycians [ie., Glaukos],
who have long been formidable in mighty combats.
But if with them over there, too, the toil of war and strife have arisen,
yet at least let valiant Aias, son of Telamon, come alone,
and let Teucer, who is well skilled with the bow, follow with him."

(A3) *Iliad* 13.195-196:
Ἀμφίμαχον μὲν ἄρα Στιχίος δῖος τε Μενεσθεύς,
ἀρχοὶ Ἀθηναίων, κόμισαν μετὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν·

Amphimachus then did Stichius and noble Menestheus,
leaders of the Athenians, carry to the army of the Achaeans.

(A4) *Iliad* 13.689-691:
οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίων προλελεγμένοι· ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν
ἦρχ' υἱὸς Πετεῶο Μενεσθεύς, οἱ δ' ἅμ' ἕποντο
Φείδας τε Στιχίος τε Βίας τ' ἐύς...

...there were picked men of the Athenians, and among them
Menestheus, son of Peteos, was leader, and there followed with him
Pheidas and Stichius and valiant Bias...

(A5) *Iliad* 15.329-331:
Ἕκτωρ μὲν Στιχίον τε καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαον ἔπεφνε,
τὸν μὲν Βοιωτῶν ἡγήτορα χαλκοχιτώνων,
τὸν δὲ Μενεσθῆος μεγαθύμου πιστὸν ἑταῖρον·

Hector laid low Stichius and Arcesilaus,
the one a leader of the bronze-clad Boeotians,
and the other a trusty comrade of great-hearted Menestheus...

Appendix B: The Epic Cycle

Trans. M. L. West, Cambridge, Mass., 2003.

Proclus, *Chrestomathy*, Summary of the *Aethiopis*:

Ἐπιβάλλει δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις [ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ] Ἰλιὰς Ὁμήρου· μεθ' ἣν ἐστιν Αἰθιοπίδος βιβλία πέντε Ἀρκτίνου Μιλησίου περιέχοντα τάδε.
(1) Ἀμαζὼν Πενθεσίλεια παραγίνεται Τρωσὶ συμμαχήσουσα, Ἄρεως μὲν θυγάτηρ, Θρᾷσσα δὲ τὸ γένος· καὶ κτείνει αὐτὴν ἀριστεύουσαν Ἀχιλλεύς, οἱ δὲ Τρῶες αὐτὴν θάπτουσι. καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς Θερσίτην ἀναιρεῖ λοιδορηθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀνειδισθεὶς τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Πενθεσιλείᾳ λεγόμενον ἔρωτα· καὶ ἐκ τούτου στάσις γίνεται τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς περὶ
τοῦ Θερσίτου φόνου. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀχιλλεὺς εἰς Λέσβον πλεῖ, καὶ θύσας Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ καθαίρεται τοῦ φόνου
ὑπ' Ὀδυσσέως.
(2) Μέμνων δὲ ὁ Ἠοῦς υἱὸς ἔχων ἡφαιστότευκτον πανοπλίαν παραγίνεται τοῖς Τρωσὶ βοηθήσων· καὶ Θέτις τῷ παιδὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Μέμνονα προλέγει. καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης Ἀντίλοχος ὑπὸ Μέμνονος
ἀναιρεῖται, ἔπειτα Ἀχιλλεὺς Μέμνονα κτείνει· καὶ τούτῳ μὲν Ἠὼς παρὰ Διὸς αἰτησαμένη ἀθανασίαν δίδωσι.
(3) τρεψάμενος δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεισπεσὼν ὑπὸ Πάριδος ἀναιρεῖται καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος· καὶ περὶ τοῦ πτώματος γενομένης ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης Αἴας ἀνελόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κομίζει, Ὀδυσσέως ἀπομαχομένου τοῖς Τρωσίν.
(4) ἔπειτα Ἀντίλοχόν τε θάπτουσι καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως προτίθενται. καὶ Θέτις ἀφικομένη σὺν Μούσαις καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς
θρηνεῖ τὸν παῖδα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἡ Θέτις ἀναρπάσασα τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον διακομίζει. οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ τὸν τάφον χώσαντες ἀγῶνα τιθέασι, καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως ὅπλων Ὀδυσσεῖ καὶ Αἴαντι στάσις ἐμπίπτει.

The aforementioned material [i.e., the contents of the *Cypria*] is followed by Homer's *Iliad*, after which are the five books of the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus of Miletus, with the following content:
(1) The Amazon Penthesilea arrives to fight with the Trojans, a daughter of the War god, of Thracian stock. She dominates the battlefield, but Achilles kills her and the Trojans bury her. And Achilles kills Thersites after being abused by him and insulted over his alleged love for Penthesilea. This results in a dispute among the Achaeans about the killing of Thersites. Achilles then sails to Lesbos, and after sacrificing to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, he is purified from the killing by Odysseus.
(2) Memnon, the son of the Dawn, wearing armor made by Hephaestus arrives to assist the

Trojans. Thetis prophesies to her son about the encounter with Memnon. When battle is joined, Antilochus is killed by Memnon, but then Achilles kills Memnon. And Dawn confers immortality upon him after prevailing on Zeus.
(3) Achilles puts the Trojans to flight and chases them into the city, but is killed by Paris and Apollo. A fierce battle develops over his body, in which Ajax takes it up and carries it towards the ships, with Odysseus fighting the Trojans off.
(4) Then they bury Antilochus, and lay out the body of Achilles. Thetis comes with the Muses and her sisters, and laments her son. And presently Thetis snatches her son from the pyre and conveys him to the White Island. When the Achaeans have raised the grave mound, they organize an athletic contest, and a quarrel arises between Odysseus and Ajax over the arms of Achilles.

Proclus, *Chrestomathy*, Summary of the *Little Iliad*

Ἑξῆς δ' ἐστὶν Ἰλιάδος μικρᾶς βιβλία τέσσαρα Λέσχεω Μυτιληναίου περιέχοντα τάδε.
(1) Ἡ τῶν ὅπλων κρίσις γίνεται καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ βούλησιν Ἀθηνᾶς λαμβάνει, Αἴας δ' ἐμμανὴς γενόμενος τήν τε λείαν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν λυμαίνεται καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀναιρεῖ.
(2) μετὰ ταῦτα Ὀδυσσεὺς λοχήσας Ἕλενον λαμβάνει, καὶ χρήσαντος περὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως τούτου Διομήδης ἐκ Λήμνου Φιλοκτήτην ἀνάγει. ἰαθεὶς δὲ οὗτος ὑπὸ Μαχάονος καὶ μονομαχήσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κτείνει· καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ὑπὸ Μενελάου καταικισθέντα ἀνελόμενοι θάπτουσιν οἱ Τρῶες. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Δηΐφοβος Ἑλένην γαμεῖ.
(3) καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκ Σκύρου ἀγαγὼν τὰ ὅπλα δίδωσι τὰ τοῦ πατρός· καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς αὐτῷ φαντάζεται. Εὐρύπυλος δὲ ὁ Τηλέφου ἐπίκουρος τοῖς Τρωσὶ παραγίνεται, καὶ ἀριστεύοντα αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνει Νεοπτόλεμος. καὶ οἱ Τρῶες πολιορκοῦνται.
(4) καὶ Ἐπειὸς κατ' Ἀθηνᾶς προαίρεσιν τὸν δούρειον ἵππον κατασκευάζει. Ὀδυσσεύς τε αἰκισάμενος ἑαυτὸν κατάσκοπος εἰς Ἴλιον παραγίνεται, καὶ ἀναγνωρισθεὶς ὑφ' Ἑλένης περὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως τῆς πόλεως συντίθεται κτείνας τέ τινας τῶν Τρώων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀφικνεῖται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα σὺν Διομήδει τὸ παλλάδιον ἐκκο-
μίζει ἐκ τῆς Ἰλίου.
(5) ἔπειτα εἰς τὸν δούρειον ἵππον τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐμβιβάσαντες τάς τε σκηνὰς καταφλέξαντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Τένεδον ἀνάγονται. οἱ δὲ Τρῶες τῶν κακῶν ὑπολαβόντες ἀπηλλάχθαι τόν τε δούρειον ἵππον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσδέχονται, διελόντες μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους, καὶ εὐωχοῦνται ὡς νενικηκότες τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Next are the four books of the *Little Iliad* by Lesches of Mytilene, with the following content:
(1) The awarding of the armor takes place, and Odysseus gets it in accord with the Achaeans' wishes. Ajax goes insane, savages the Achaeans' plundered livestock, and kills himself.
(2) After this Odysseus ambushes Helenus and captures him. Following a prophecy he makes about taking of the city, Diomedes brings Philoctetes back from Lemnos. He is healed by Machaon, and fights alone against Alexander and kills him. His body is mutilated by Menelaus, but then the Trojans recover it and give it burial. After this Deiphobus marries Helen.

(3) And Odysseus fetches Neoptolemos from Scyros and gives him his father's armor; and Achilles appears to him. Eurypylus the son of Telephus arrives to help the Trojans, and dominates the batltefield, but Neoptolemos kills him. The Trojans are penned in the city.
(4) Epeios, following an initiative of Athena's constructs the wooden horse. Odysseus disfigures himself and enters Ilion to reconnoiter. He is recognized by Helen, and comes to an agreement with her about the taking of the city. After killing some Trojans, he gets back to the ships. After this he brings the Palladion out of Ilios with Diomedes.
(5) Then they put the leading heroes into the wooden horse. The rest of the Greeks burn their huts and they withdraw to Tenedos. The Trojans, believing themselves rid of their troubles, take the wooden horse into the city by breaching a portion of the wall, and start celebrating their supposed victory over the Greeks.

Proclus, *Chrestomathy*, Summary of the *Ilioupersis*:
Ἕπεται δὲ τούτοις Ἰλίου πέρσιδος βιβλία δύο Ἀρκτίνου Μιλησίου περιέχοντα τάδε.
(1) ὡς τὰ περὶ τὸν ἵππον οἱ Τρῶες ὑπόπτως ἔχοντες περιστάντες βουλεύονται ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν· καὶ τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖ κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν, τοῖς δὲ καταφλέγειν, οἱ δὲ ἱερὸν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν δεῖν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἀνατεθῆναι· καὶ τέλος νικᾷ ἡ τούτων γνώμη. τραπέντες δὲ εἰς εὐφροσύνην εὐωχοῦνται ὡς ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ πολέμου. ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τούτῳ δύο δράκοντες ἐπιφανέντες τόν τε Λαοκόωντα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν παίδων διαφθείρουσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τέρατι δυσφορήσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν ὑπεξῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἴδην.
(2) καὶ Σίνων τοὺς πυρσοὺς ἀνίσχει τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, πρότερον εἰσεληλυθὼς προσποίητος. οἱ δὲ ἐκ Τενέδου προσπλεύσαντες καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ δουρείου ἵππου ἐπιπίπτουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος λαμβάνουσι. καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν ἀποκτείνει Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἑρκείου βωμὸν καταφυγόντα.
Μενέλαος δὲ ἀνευρὼν Ἑλένην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κατάγει, Δηΐφοβον φονεύσας.
(3) Κασσάνδραν δὲ Αἴας ὁ Ἰλέως πρὸς βίαν ἀποσπῶν συνεφέλκεται τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανον. ἐφ' ᾧ παροξυνθέντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καταλεῦσαι βουλεύονται τὸν Αἴαντα. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς βωμὸν καταφεύγει καὶ διασῴζεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικειμένου κινδύνου. ἔπειτα ἀποπλέουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ φθορὰν αὐτοῖς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος μηχανᾶται.
(4) καὶ Ὀδυσσέως Ἀστυάνακτα ἀνελόντος, Νεοπτόλεμος Ἀνδρομάχην γέρας λαμβάνει. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λάφυρα διανέμονται. Δημοφῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀκάμας Αἴθραν εὑρόντες ἄγουσι μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. ἔπειτα ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν Πολυξένην σφαγιάζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον.

This is succeeded by the two books of the *Sack of Ilion* by Arctinus of Miletus, with the following content:
(1) The Trojans are suspicious in the matters of the horse, and stand round it debating what to do: some want to push it over a cliff, and some to set fire to it, but others say it is a sacred objects to be dedicated to Athena, and in the end their opinion prevails. They turn to festivity and celebrate their deliverance from the war. But in the middle of this two serpents appear and they kill Laocoon and one of his two sons. Feeling misgivings at the portent, Aeneas and his party slip away to Ida.

(2) Sinon holds up his firebrands for the Achaeans, having first entered the city under a pretence. They sail in from Tenedos, and with the men from the wooden horse they fall upon the enemy. They put large numbers to death and seize the city. And Neoptolemus kills Priam, who has fled to the altar of Zeus of the Courtyard; Menelaus finds Helen and takes her to the ships after slaying Deiphobus.
(3) Ajax the son of Ileus, in dragging Cassandra away by force, pulls Athena's wooden statue along with her. The Greeks are angry at this, and deliberate about stoning Ajax. But he takes refuge at Athena's altar, and so saves himself from the immediate danger. However, when the Greeks sail home, Athena contrives his destruction at sea.
(4) Odysseus kills Astyanax, Neoptolemus receives Andromache as his prize, and they divide up the rest of the booty. Demophon and Acamas find Aethra and take her with them. Then they set fire to the city, and slaughter Polyxena at Achilles' tomb.

Pausanias, *Geography of Greece* 10.25.8:
Λέσχεως δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴθραν ἐποίησεν, ἡνίκα ἡλίσκετο Ἴλιον, ὑπεξελθοῦσαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὴν ἀφικέσθαι τὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων γνωρισθῆναι τῶν Θησέως, καὶ ὡς παρ' Ἀγαμέμνονος αἰτήσαι Δημοφῶν αὐτήν: ὁ δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐθέλειν χαρίζεσθαι, ποιήσειν δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἔφη πρὶν Ἑλένην πεῖσαι: ἀποστείλαντι δὲ αὐτῷ κήρυκα ἔδωκεν Ἑλένη τὴν χάριν.

Lescheos wrote of Aethra that when Ilion was being taken, she got out and made her way to the Greek camp and was recognized by the sons of Theseus; and that Demophon asked Agamemnon if he could have her. He said he was willing to grant him this, but only if he had Helen's agreement. He sent a herald, and Helen granted the favor.

Appendix C: The Homeridai in Ancient Sources

The case for applicable accounts about the Homeridai in ancient sources is complicated by the fact that the word "Homeridai" came to be associated with rhapsodes in general – an important distinction which I make in this work. In general, all the following excerpts are from a time when "Homeridai" was synonymous with rhapsode. Therefore, C1, C6, and perhaps C4 and C5, probably speak of rhapsodes in general. I believe C3 and C4 are more specific to the Homeridai themselves, as explained in C2. The most I can hope is that some of the general aspects of the Homeridai can be gleaned from these passages.

(C1) Pindar, *Nem.* II, line 1 (Trans. West 1999):
ὅθεν περ καὶ Ὁμηρίδαι
ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων τὰ πόλλ' ἀοιδοὶ
ἄρχονται, Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου...

Just as the Homeridae, the singers of woven verses, most often begin with Zeus as their prelude...

(C2) Scholion to Pindar, *Nem*. II (*FGrHist* 568 F 5) (Trans. West 1999):
Ὁμηρίδαι ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου γένους, οἳ καὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ᾖδον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ῥαψῳδοί, οὐκέτι τὸ γένος εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀνάγοντες· ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οὗς φασι πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησαν. ἦν ὁ Κύναιθος τὸ γένος Χῖος, ὃς καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Ὁμήρου ποιημάτων τὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα γεγραφὼς ὕμνον ἀνατέθεικεν αὐτῷ. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κύναιθος πρῶτος ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐρραψῴδησε τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη κατὰ τὴν ξθ′ Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς Ἱππόστρατός φησιν.

'Homeridai' was the name given anciently to the members of Homer's family, who also sang his poetry in succession. But later it was also given to the rhapsodes, who no longer traced their descent back to Homer. Particularly prominent were Cynaethus and his school, who, they say, composed many of the verses and inserted them into Homer's work. This Cynaethus came from a Chian family, and, of his poems that bear Homer's name, it was he who wrote the *Hymn to Apollo* and laid it to his credit. And this Cynaethus was the first to recite Homer's poems at Syracuse, in the 69th Olympiad (= 504/1 B.C.), as Hippostratus says.

(C3) Plato, *Ion* 530c (Trans. W. R. M. Lamb, Cambridge, Mass., 1975):
οἶμαι κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν περὶ Ὁμήρου, ὡς οὔτε Μητρόδωρος ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς οὔτε Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος οὔτε Γλαύκων οὔτε ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν πώποτε γενομένων... ὡς εὖ κεκόσμηκα τὸν Ὅμηρον: ὥστε οἶμαι ὑπὸ Ὁμηριδῶν ἄξιος εἶναι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθῆναι.

I consider I speak about Homer better than anybody, for neither Metrodorus of Lampsacus, nor Stesimbrotus of Thasos, nor Glaucon, nor any one that the world has ever seen, had so many and such fine comments to offer on Homer as I have... how well I have embellished Homer; so that I think I deserve to be crowned with a golden crown by the Homeridae.

(C4) Plato, *Phaedrus* 252b (Trans. H. N. Fowler, Cambridge, Mass., 1982):
λέγουσι δὲ οἶμαί τινες Ὁμηριδῶν ἐκ τῶν **ἀποθέτων** ἐπῶν δύο ἔπη εἰς τὸν Ἔρωτα, ὧν τὸ ἕτερον ὑβριστικὸν πάνυ καὶ οὐ σφόδρα τι ἔμμετρον·

But some of the Homeridae, I believe, repeat two verses on Love from the spurious* poems of Homer, one of which is very outrageous and not perfectly metrical.
* "Spurious" is not the usual meaning of ἀποθέτων; as discussed, it has the meaning of "secret" or "hidden."

(C5) Plato, *Republic* 10.599e (Trans. P. Shorey, Cambridge, Mass., 1980):
...σὲ δὲ τίς αἰτιᾶται πόλις νομοθέτην ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι καὶ σφᾶς ὠφεληκέναι; Χαρώνδαν μὲν γὰρ Ἰταλία καὶ Σικελία, καὶ ἡμεῖς Σόλωνα: σὲ δὲ τίς; ἔξει τινὰ εἰπεῖν;
– οὐκ οἶμαι, ἔφη ὁ Γλαύκων: οὔκουν λέγεταί γε οὐδ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ὁμηριδῶν...

...But what city credits you [Homer] with having been a good legislator and having benefited them? Italy and Sicily say this of Charondas and we of Solon. But who says it of you [Homer]? Will he be able to name any?"
- "I think not," said Glaucon, "at any rate none is mentioned even by the Homerids themselves."

(C6) Isokrates, *Helen* 65 (Trans. L. van Hook, Cambridge, Mass., 1968):
...λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ τῶν Ὁμηριδῶν ὡς ἐπιστᾶσα τῆς νυκτὸς Ὁμήρῳ προσέταξε ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν...

And some of the Homeridae also relate that she [Helen] appeared to Homer by night and commanded him to compose a poem on those who went on the expedition to Troy...

Appendix D: Peisistratos, the Panathenaia, and Homer

(D1) Lykourgos, *Against Leokrates*, 102 (Trans. J. O. Burtt, Cmabridge, Mass., 1980):
Βούλομαι δ'ὑμῖν καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου παρασχέσθαι ἐπῶν. οὕτω γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ὑμῶν οἱ πατέρες σπουδαῖον εἶναι ποιητήν, ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο καθ' ἑκάστην πεντετηρίδα τῶν Παναθηναίων μόνου τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ῥαψῳδεῖσθαι τὰ ἔπη, ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας...
I want also to recommend Homer to you. In your fathers' eyes he was a poet of such worth that they passed a law that every four years at the Panathenaea, he alone of all the poets should have his works recited...

(D2) Pseudo-Plato, *Hipparchus* 228b-c (Trans. W. R. M. Lamb, Cambridge, Mass., 1979):
Πολίτῃ μὲν ἐμῷ τε καὶ σῷ, Πεισιστράτου δε ὑεῖ τοῦ ἐκ Φιλαιδῶν, Ἱππάρχῳ, ὃς τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων ἦν πρεσβύτατος καὶ σοφώτατος, ὃς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα σοφίας ἀπεδείξατο, καὶ τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη πρῶτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνί, καὶ ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ῥαψῳδοὺς Παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διιέωαι, ὥσπερ νῦν ἔτι (c) οἵδε ποιοῦσιν, καὶ ἐπ' Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήιον πεντηκόντορον στείλας ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Σιμωνίδην δὲ τὸν Κεῖον ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν, μεγάλοις μισθοῖς καὶ δώροις πείθων· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίει βουλόμενος παιδεύειν τοὺς πολίτας, ἵν' ὡς βελτίστων ὄντων αὐτῶν ἄρχοι, οὐκ οἰόμενος δεῖν οὐδενὶ σοφίας φθονεῖν, ἅτε ὢν καλός τε κἀγαθός.
I mean my and your fellow-citizen, Pisistratus' son, Hipparchus of Philaïdae, who was the eldest and wisest of Pisistratus' sons, and who, among the many goodly proofs of wisdom that he showed, first brought the poems of Homer into this country of ours, and compelled the rhapsodes at the Panathenaea to recite them in relay, one man following on another, as (c) they still do now. He dispatched a fifty-oared galley for Anacreon of Teos, and brought him into our city. Simonides of Keos he always had about him, prevailing on him by plenteous fees and gifts. All this he did from a wish to educate the citizens, in order that he might have subjects of the highest excellence; for he thought it not right to grudge wisdom to any, so noble and good was he.

(D3) Cicero, *De Orat.* 3.137 (Trans. H. Rackham, Cambridge, Mass., 1977):
Quis doctior eisdem temporibus illis aut cuius eloquentia litteris instructior fuisse traditur quam Pisistrati? Qui primus Homeri labors confuses antea sic disposuisse dicitur, ut nunc habemus.
Who is recorded to have been wiser, at that same period, or better equipped with eloquence informed by learning than Pisistratus? He is said to have been the first person who arranged the previously disordered books of Homer in the order in which now we have them.

Table 1: Numbers of Trojan War Depictions

(after Snodgrass 1998, p. 141)

	Iliad and *Odyssey*	Trojan Cycle*	All legend
Fittschen 1969 [to 600 BC]	15	43	159
Kannicht 1982 [to 600 BC]	18	48	?
Cook 1983 [to 600 BC, extrapolated]	14	47	?
Ahlberg-Cornell 1992 [to 600 BC]	25[+]	59	165
Cook 1983 [to 530 BC]	94	324	?

*Exclusive of Orestes episodes, but inclusive of scenes from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

[+]Ahlberg-Cornell includes Geometric scenes of the Molione-Aktorione twins as inspired by Homer, which explains the large number.

Table 2: Dates of Trojan War Motifs

(after Burgess 2001, p. 182, Appendix B, schematization of the results of Cook 1983)

	Cypria	*Iliad*	*Aethiopis* and *Little Iliad*	*Iliou Persis*	*Cyclopeia**
subjects	Judgment of Paris; arming of Achilles (Phthia); Troilus 7 images (+1?)	Ajax vs. Hector; Patroclus sets out; Menelaus vs. Hector over Euphorbos; embassy 4 images (+3?)	Achilles vs. Penthesileia, Memnon; Ajax carries Achilles; suicide of Ajax 7 images	Wooden horse; death of Priam; Menelaus & Helen; death of Astyanax 9 images (+2?)	Cyclops images 7 Images (+1?)
700			√	√	
675	√		√	√	√
650	√		√	√	√
625	√	√	√	√	√

*Burgess believes that there was a separately existing story of the Cyclops, which was incorporated into the *Odyssey*. See Burgess 2001, pp. 94-114; Cook 1983, pp. 4-5, included Cyclops images in his category for Odyssean influence, although he acknowledges a separately existing folk tale as a likely common influence rather than the *Odyssey*. For a Cyclops story separate from the *Odyssey*, see Grimm 1887; Page 1955, pp. 1-20; Kirk 1974, pp. 168-9; Hansen 1997, pp. 449-451, esp. p. 450, n. 10. The most conclusive evidence for a separate Cyclops myth is that nowhere in the story does Homer mention the fact that the Cyclops had one eye. Obviously, he expected the audience to be familiar with the story already.

Table 3: Timeline of Epic Evolution According to Janko

(after Janko 1982, p. 200, fig. 200)

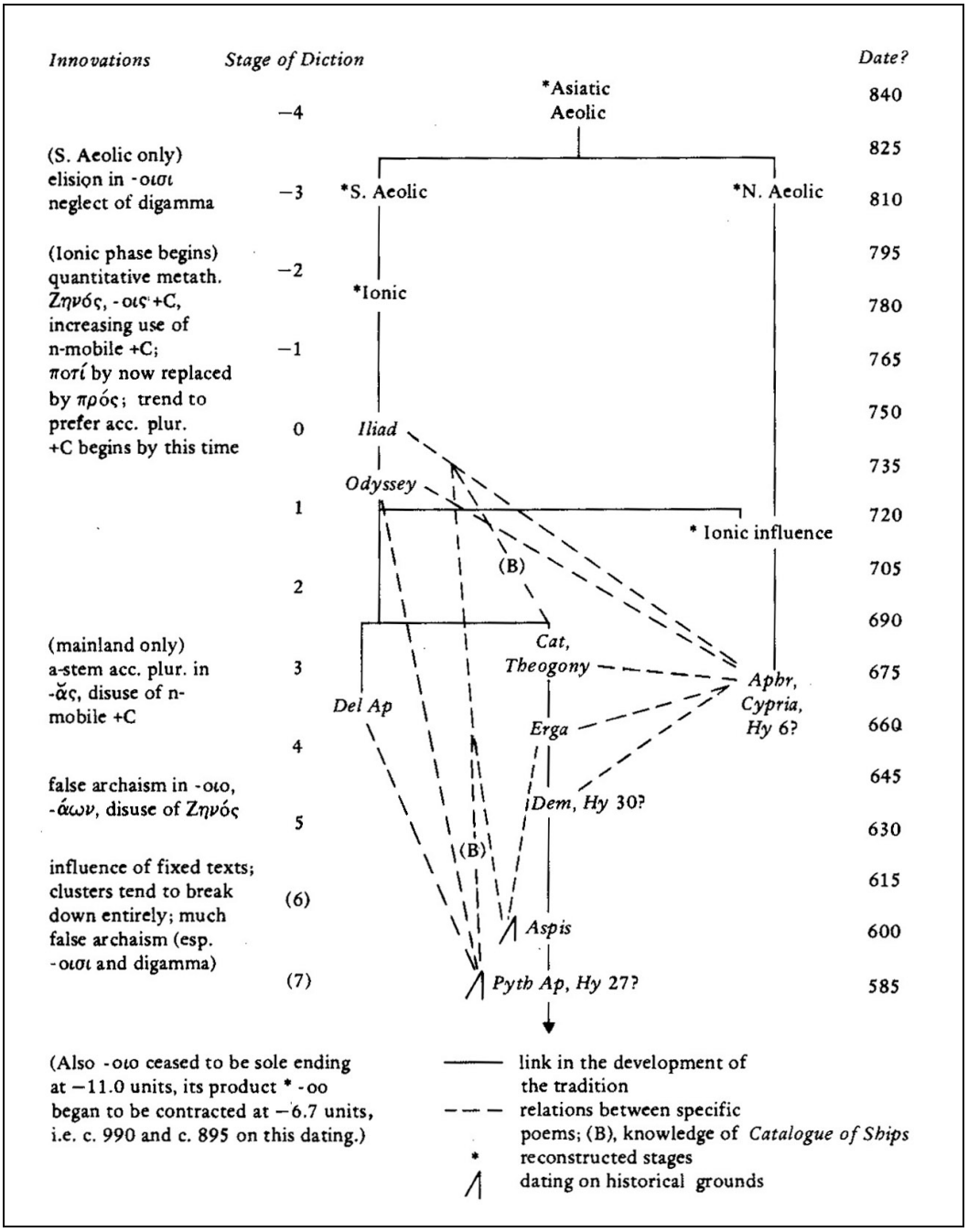

Table 4: The Iconography of the Athenian Heroes

Dates (BC)	**Theseus** **Examples in Chpt. 1 & 3**	**Theseïdai** **Examples in Chpt. 3**	**Menestheus** **Examples in Chpt. 3**
620			Hdt. 5.94.2 (Sigeum)
600	Theseus and Ariadne, Rape of Helen on Chest of Kypselos		Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 10.1-4 (Salamis)
590			
580	Rape of Helen?		
570	Centauromachy on François Vase		
560	In Hades w/ Perithoös		
550 **546?** **Panathenaia?**			"ὁδι" Menestheus
540			Battle w/ Glaukos
530		Exekias Vases (2+1?) BF Aithra?	
520			
510 **508/7** **Kleisthenes**	Start of Cycle Cups		
500		Aithra (I.a.1 and 3)	
490	Treasury of Athenians	Akamas & Polyxena (I.b) Palladion (I.c)	Hdt. 7.161.3 (Persian War)
480	Theseion	Aithra (I.a.2)	
470			Aeschin. 3.185 (Kimon's Stelai)
460	Painted Stoa	Lesche of Knidians (IIIa) Painted Stoa (IIIb)	
450	Hephaisteion	Theseïdai as Oikists (IId)	
440		Parthenon Metopes (IIId) Parthenon Frieze?	Leave-taking
430		Amazonomachy (IIb)	
420		Trojan Horse on Acr (IIIc) In Afterlife (IIc)	Trojan Horse
410			
400		Return of Heraklidai (IIa)	

Minotaur

Introduction of Homer?

10 Eponymous Heroes Established

Cycle Cups

Aithra

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Abbreviations used in this paper:
ABV = Beazley, J. D. 1956. *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford.
ARV^2 = Beazley, J. D. 1963. *Attic Ref-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd ed., Oxford.
Para = Beazley, J. D. 1971. *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd ed., Oxford.
LIMC= Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
CVA = Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
IG = Inscriptiones Graecae
CAH^2 *= Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed.

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