HERAKLES IN ATTIC VASE-PAINTING

OF THE PEISISTRATEAN PERIOD

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by

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

MASTER OF ARTS (1995) McMASTER UNIVERSITY

(Classical Studies) Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Herakles in Attic vase-painting of the Peisistratean period.

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SUPERVISOR: Professor W.J. Slater

NUMBER OF PAGES: vii, 136

ABSTRACT

During the second half of the sixth century B.C., the popularity of Herakles scenes in Attic vase-painting reached a peak. New scenes were developed, old scenes gained variants. This phenomenon was noticed by John Boardman who used it as the background to a novel theory, that Peisistratos and his sons were deliberately using Herakles as a propaganda tool to further their own interests, and moreover, that in this program there was some association of Peisistratos with Herakles. Furthermore, he argued that certain Herakles scenes reflected specific events from Peisistratos' career. This theory was developed in several influential articles in the 1970's, and subsequently attracted many followers. In this thesis however I shall argue that the theory is seriously flawed, so much so that it must be considered untenable.

The thesis will begin by setting out Boardman's side of the argument. First, the developments in the iconography of Herakles are laid out (Chapter One), then Boardman's (and his followers') interpretations of them (Chapter Two). A critical examination of the theory follows. The statistical evidence is not as supportive of Boardman's theory as he suggests (Chapter Three), nor do the developments occur in ways that would necessarily confirm his interpretation (Chapter Four). No more supportive are the historical events taken to lie behind the images (Chapter Five). The possible mechanisms for the transmission of the needed influence from the Peisistratids to the vase-painters create another major problem area (Chapter Six). A variety of other factors also argue against the political interpretation (Chapter Seven). As a result of the failure of this interpretation, a different explanation must be found for Herakles' popularity during this era (Conclusion).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES:

All dates are B.C. unless otherwise noted.

ABBREVIATIONS:

In the footnotes and bibliography, journal abbreviations follow those set forth in *AJA* 95 (1991), 1-16. Abbreviations for ancient authors and texts follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, second edition (Oxford 1970). Other abbreviations are given below.

ABV   Beazley, J.D. 1956 *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford. (Reprinted 1978. New York.)

ARV²   Beazley, J.D. 1963   *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. Second edition. Oxford. (Reprinted 1984. New York)

CVA   *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*.

FGH   Jacoby, F. 1923-   *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin & Leiden.

IG   *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

NC   Payne, H. 1931   *Necrocorinthia: A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period*. Oxford.

Para   Beazley, J.D. 1971   *Paralipomena*. Oxford.

SIG   Dittenberger, W. 1915-24   *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Third edition. Leipzig.

INTRODUCTION

In the history of Attic vase-painting a period of especial interest is that of Peisistratos and his sons.[1] In terms of style, black-figure reached its peak while the invention of red-figure enabled new approaches and new solutions to the problems of depicting forms. Although these stylistic developments are certainly noteworthy, no less important are the iconographical developments. There appears to have been a thorough change in the types of themes depicted - many scenes that had been popular lost their standing, while new scenes took their places.[2] Herakles scenes played an important role in the changes; in this period their popularity rose in general, new scenes appeared and some old scenes developed variants, and certain painters or groups of painters showed a definite preference for depicting Herakles.[3]

So much can be said with certainty; when an explanation for the changes and the popularity is sought, then the realm of speculation and controversy is entered. One scholar who has attempted an explanation is Boardman. He, claiming a great increase in the popularity of Herakles scenes and seeing this as a peculiarly Athenian, Peisistratean phenomenon, has argued that Herakles was used for propaganda purposes by Peisistratos and his sons, even to the extent that Peisistratos and Herakles

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[1] Because of the nature of the source material, the chronology of Peisistratos and his sons has been debated at great length, and unanimity has proved unattainable. For such a thesis however as this, in which the chronology will play a part, a decision between the competing proposals must be made. Rhodes' chronology is accepted here, although it is understood that other systems have merit as well. Peisistratos' first two tyrannies, especially the first one, are therefore seen as being very short, lasting perhaps as little as only a few months each. Peisistratos' first accession to power is dated to 561/0, his second to 557/6 or 556/5, and his third to 547/6 or 546/5. This third attempt at tyranny was successful; his rule lasted until his death in 528/7. His son Hippias then assumed power, and ruled until his expulsion in 511/0. Cf. Rhodes 1976, esp. 231, and also 219 n.1, in which a selection of the previous bibliography is given.

[2] Cf. Shapiro 1990. This argument will be explored more fully in Chapter Four.

[3] Cf. Chapter Three for a discussion of the statistical background to this assertion.

were sometimes assimilated to some degree. Certain Herakles scenes are thereby seen as direct reflections of historical events, and their usage as a promotion of the Peisistratids and their policies.[4] Other scholars, inspired by this example and not necessarily limiting themselves to Herakles scenes, have joined in the search for political allusions in the vase-paintings of this period.[5] Whatever their validity, such interpretations have at least forced much more thought to be given to the cultural context of the images.

Boardman's arguments have also been criticised,[6] but a full examination has so far been lacking. Such an examination is necessary, given the importance of this theory for the working of archaic Athenian society in general and specifically for the conditions under which the vase-painters of this period laboured, perhaps even for the political views of some. If his arguments are true, important insights into all these aspects of Athenian life could be obtained. In this thesis, however, I shall argue that the idea of Herakles as a propaganda tool, at least in the way Boardman and his followers have argued it, is untenable,[7] and that a different explanation for Herakles' popularity must be found.

The examination will begin by setting out the changes in Herakles scenes, as Boardman sees them. Following this will be a summary of the political interpretations of a comprehensive selection of scenes, both Herakles scenes and others. Next will come a discussion of the statistical background that Boardman has presented for his theory, in which I hope first to point out the flaws in Boardman's

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[4] Cf. Boardman 1972, 1975a, 1978a for the major statements of his views.

[5] Cf. Brijder 1984b; Glynn 1981; Keuls 1984; Shapiro 1983b, 1981b; and Williams 1983 for a selection of such arguments.

[6] Cf. Bazant 1982; Blok 1990; Cook 1987; Moon 1983b; Osborne 1983/4; and Viviers 1987b for a selection of the criticism offered.

[7] Cf. Boardman 1989, where a defence of his argument is presented. Although there has been some retreat from his previous position, he still feels that his theory is the best available.

method and then to present a better treatment of the same raw data. I shall then return to the subject

of the changes in the iconography of Herakles, in order to determine whether this is as unique a

phenomenon as it has been claimed to be. For the Herakles scenes, it will also be necessary to examine

their chronology: when did they begin, when were they most popular, and when did they die out. The

vases will then be set aside, while two other aspects of the problem are discussed. The first of these

involves a critical study of the historical events said to underlie certain images; the second looks at the

various influences that could have been acting upon the vase-painters. In the final chapter I shall

return to the question of the interpretation of the Herakles scenes, pointing out some further problems

with the narrowly political interpretations, and advancing some other possible explanations for the

popularity of these scenes.

Given the external constraints placed on this thesis, it will not be possible to discuss

exhaustively every scene, Herakles and other, that has so far been brought into this argument. I shall

therefore choose three Herakles scenes - his fight with Nereus/Triton, his Introduction to Olympos,

and his theft of the Delphic tripod - to be discussed in depth, in the chapters in which such discussion

is relevant. These scenes have played a major role in Boardman's theory; it is fitting that they receive

the closest scrutiny. In order to keep the broader picture in mind, however, a selection of the other

scenes will also be discussed in these chapters, but in lesser detail.

It is hoped that as a result of this investigation, some insights will indeed be gained into

Athenian society and the workings of the potters' quarter, but insights of a less speculative nature than

those which are currently on offer.

CHAPTER ONE: CHANGING SCENES

The iconography of Herakles, as has already been mentioned, changed in two ways during the sixth century - established scenes developed variants, and new scenes appeared. The purpose of this chapter is to describe these changes as they have been presented by Boardman and his followers. Scenes comprising the focus of this thesis will be dealt with first; of these, two are examples of scenes that gain variants - Herakles vs. Nereus/Triton and the Introduction to Olympos, and one is new - the Theft of the Tripod.[8] Following these will be a brief description of other relevant Herakles scenes.

Looking first at the battle of Herakles with Nereus/Triton, we actually see three main versions of the fight. The earliest (Plate 1), running from ca. 590-70, shows Herakles fighting an elderly male monster-figure, Nereus, who has a fishy body with snakes or flames and once, a lion's head projecting from it. Nereus may sometimes hold a snake as well. Herakles sits astride Nereus and grapples with him, all the while looking back to see the mutations.[9]

The second and third versions are roughly contemporary, each having begun before ca. 560.[10] In the second version we see Nereus not as a monster, but as a dignified, elderly man wearing a chiton and himation. He no longer mutates, but may hold a fish.[11] In the third version (Plate 2), Herakles again fights a fishy-bodied sea-monster, sometimes in the presence of Nereus. There are no mutations;

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[8] For comprehensive lists of these three scenes, see: Herakles vs. Nereus/Triton - Glynn 1981 and Ahlberg-Cornell 1984; Introduction to Olympos - Brommer 1973; Struggle for the Tripod - von Bothmer 1977 with the additions in Brommer 1985, 195 n.45.

[9] Boardman 1972, 59 with Glynn 1981, 123-4.

[10] Glynn 1981, 126.

[11] See the list in Glynn 1981, 125-6. The earliest extant examples are two Siana cups by the Heidelberg Painter: Basel Market, and once New York 12.235.3 = *ABV* 66.56. Cf. also Brijder 1991, 356.

even so, Herakles sometimes still looks around. On some vases this opponent is named, as Triton.[12]

The first such scene known is on a Siana cup;[13] the variant continues until it loses popularity ca.

510.[14]

With the Introduction to Olympos scenes, in the beginning we generally see a procession on

foot, with Athena leading Herakles to Zeus (Plate 3). Boardman gives a cup by Phrynos, dating to the

550's, as a typical example.[15] However a variant, depicting the formation of a chariot procession,

develops at around the same time and becomes the preferred scheme as the century progresses. Athena

either mounts the chariot or already stands in it, holding the reins, while Herakles stands beside her

or on the ground (Plate 4). Iolaos is often present. Other gods may also attend; when they do,

Boardman feels sure that the scene represents the Introduction to Olympos - the journey must be for

Herakles' benefit, and thus can only be this journey.[16]

The depiction of the Theft of the Delphic Tripod is a new scene, becoming important in

Athenian art in the 560's. Again there are two main schemes. In one (Plate 5), the Tripod stands on

the ground, between the contestants. The earliest known such depiction comes from a pyxis dating to

the middle of the sixth century. Besides Herakles and Apollo many other gods, but not Artemis or

Athena, are present.[17] The more usual version of the scene (Plate 6), with Herakles lifting up or trying

to escape with the tripod and with Artemis and Athena in attendance, begins around 540, first on a

Peloponnesian shield-band and then on Attic vases.[18]

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[12] Boardman 1972, 59 with Glynn 1981, 126-7.

[13] London BM 1947.7-14.16 = *ABV* 61, 8.

[14] Glynn 1981, 127.

[15] Boardman 1972, 60. Cup: London B 424 = *ABV* 168.

[16] Ibid, 60-2.

[17] Boardman 1978a, 229 with n.4. Pyxis: Boston 61.1256 = *ABV* 616,11.

[18] Ibid, 229; Boardman & Parke 1957, 279 (date).

The other changed Herakles scenes are those depicting his capture of Kerberos and his fight with the Nemean Lion. In the former, Herakles is usually shown as dragging Kerberos away, and maybe swinging his club or threatening Kerberos with it. Athena and Hermes often attend, rarely Persephone or Hades.[19] A variant, running from roughly 530-10, however shows a peaceful capture. Herakles may reach out to pat Kerberos on a head before putting him on a chain, and Hades and/or Persephone may be present along with Athena and Hermes. The 'capture' is accepted by all. This version is seen only in Athenian art.[20] Concerning the latter, Herakles' defeat of the Nemean Lion always had to be accomplished without weapons, and Athenian vases after the middle of the sixth century emphasised this point: on one vase, a bent sword lies discarded.[21] The wrestling aspect of the capture, and thus Herakles' athleticism, is stressed ever more as the century passes. Herakles and the Lion may wrestle lying down, for example, and specific wrestling manoeuvres such as throwing the lion over a shoulder may be used.[22]

Finally, there are several new Herakles scenes. One, beginning around 520, is a depiction of his fight with Alkyoneus, in which Herakles advances upon the giant, who sleeps on a rock.[23] Others are Herakles capturing the Kerynitian Deer (from the middle of the century on) - another peaceful capture; playing the kithara (roughly from 530-500) - often with Athena attending and sometimes with other gods too; feasting (from ca. 530) - often with Athena and frequently from ca. 510

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[19] Boardman 1975a, 7-8.

[20] Ibid, 8-9. For examples, Boardman gives two vases by the Andokides Ptr.: Moscow Historical Museum 70 = *ABV* 255,8 and Paris F 204 = *ABV* 254,1 = *ARV* 4,11.

[21] Ibid, 11. Vase: Villa Giulia, Castellani 472.

[22] Ibid. Shoulder throw: London B 193 = *ARV* 4, 8. Boardman had once thought that the Andokides Ptr. had pioneered both of these developments (Boardman 1975a, 11), but later realised that the lying-down fight was actually developed earlier (Boardman 1978b, 14, where he credits Exekias with the invention). Two works by Exekias show this version: a fragment in Ensérune and Berlin 1720 = *ABV* 143, 1*bis*.

[23] Williams 1983, 133.

Dionysos; driving a bull to sacrifice (from ca. 530); and wrestling with the Giant Antaios (from ca.

520).[24]

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[24] Boardman 1975a, 10-12.

CHAPTER TWO: IMAGES AND POLITICS

While the changes in the iconography of Herakles are undeniable, the reasons for the changes are not so obvious. It has been argued, first and foremost by Boardman,[25] that Herakles images came to be used as political propaganda, that in the Peisistratid period there was "...some degree of deliberate identification between tyrant and hero...mirrored by certain changes and innovations in the iconographic tradition of Herakles as represented on Athenian and only Athenian works of art of these years,"[26] and that at least some vase-painters "...abetted the political manipulation of myth by Peisistratos and his sons no less effectively than, no doubt, did their poets and ministers."[27] Elsewhere it is suggested that the leaders in spreading this propaganda would have been the priestly families of Athens, through both conversation and specially commissioned songs and hymns. The vase-painters would have noticed the prevailing atmosphere, and reflected it in their work.[28]

One of Boardman's supporters, Dyfri Williams, has argued that as the art of this period always had deeper meanings, it is therefore reasonable to believe that vase-painters could have picked up on the propagandistic messages present in other media. Moreover he points to Nikosthenes, who produced works directed towards the export market; it is possible therefore that other vase-painters could also have directed some of their output to a specific market, in this case the ruling class, or even that

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[25] In a series of articles, of which the most important are: Boardman 1972, 1975a, 1978a and 1989.

[26] Boardman 1975a, 1.

[27] Ibid, 12.

[28] Boardman 1984b, 246.

members of such a market could have commissioned appropriate vases.[29] In this context, one could also mention the Tyrrhenian amphorae and the vases of the Perizoma Group, which were also directed at a specific market, although their decoration has no political connotations.

Although this theory has not won universal support,[30] it has inspired many to search for political allusions in a wider range of archaic vase-paintings and also to develop further the alleged connections between Herakles images and politics.[31] This chapter is concerned first of all with setting forth Boardman's arguments as they pertain to the scenes discussed in the previous chapter, and then with a look at the much broader range of scenes that have been brought into the argument.

Advance notice of Boardman's later work may perhaps be found in an article he co-authored in 1957 with H. Parke. In it, it is suggested that the myth of Herakles' theft of the Delphic Tripod became associated with the First Sacred War. Herakles himself, it is claimed, had connections with the Krisaians, and his theft symbolised the Krisaian attempt to regain control of Delphi.[32] While Herakles is here seen as opposing the Athenians, the basic idea that a Herakles scene can have a deeper, political meaning is already clear. This idea was to be fully developed in his later series of articles.[33]

In these articles Boardman argues first for the association of the Peisistratids with Herakles. Should there be any question about the importance of myth to rulers, Boardman points to Kleisthenes of Sikyon, who banned epic recitals in Sikyon because Homer wrote well of the Argives.[34] With regards

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[29] Williams 1983, 132.

[30] Cf. Bazant 1982, Blok 1990, Cook 1987 and Osborne 1983/4 for a sampling of the criticism attracted by this theory.

[31] For example: Brijder 1984b, Glynn 1981, Keuls 1984, Shapiro 1983b, 1981b, and Williams 1983.

[32] Parke & Boardman 1957, 276-81.

[33] Cf. *supra*, n.25.

[34] Boardman 1972, 57, based on Hdt. 5.67.

to the political usage of myth, the post-Peisistratid interest in Theseus is referred to - after 510, images

of Theseus become very popular in Athenian art,[35] and Theseus himself is seen as the symbol of the

democrats.[36] As for Herakles, it is suggested that he would have been an appropriate symbol for an

Athenian ruler, even though he was not specifically an Athenian hero, since he - like Athens - had

Athena as a patron goddess.[37] Athena, in fact, comes to play an increasingly important role in this

argument, and it is her association with Herakles that Boardman stresses more, as his theory develops.

Thus just as Athena protected Herakles, so too she protected the Peisistratids, and just as Athena

could represent the state, so too could Herakles represent its rulers.[38]

Boardman's arguments have been advanced firmly, yet at times with an awareness of the

problems facing him. He admits that there is no direct evidence to support his arguments,[39] and that

his interpretations are "...totally speculative."[40] The suggestion that the vase-painters were directly

controlled by Peisistratos he dismisses as "nonsense," yet he does believe that the Peisistratids used the

Herakles stories for their own ends.[41] As for the degree of association between Peisistratos and

Herakles, he at one point suggested that "[a]t its most extreme it could amount almost to the

assimilation of hero and tyrant, as in the Phye episode,"[42] while later he discounted the possibility of

such a close connection: "I do not mean by this [i.e. political use of Herakles stories] that Peisistratos

believed he was Herakles, or was seriously persuading others that he was and instructing the vase-

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[35] Ibid, 57-8.

[36] See for instance: Boardman 1978b, 13, 15.

[37] Ibid, 59.

[38] Boardman 1978a, 227.

[39] Boardman 1984b, 240.

[40] Boardman 1972, 59, referring to the Nereus/Triton and Introduction to Olympos interpretations.

[41] Boardman 1984b, 240.

[42] Boardman 1978, 227.

painters to maintain the illusion..."[43] The occasional hesitancy does not affect the overall impression left by his articles though, that his interpretation is the correct one until a better one be found.[44]

Underlying this theory is Boardman's claim that Herakles scenes were notably popular in Athenian art of the Peisistratid period, particularly in vase-painting.[45] It is to these vase-paintings that we must now turn. Those scenes which first appear in the Peisistratid period, and those pre-existing scenes which experience some change, Boardman argues, may most profitably be examined for signs of Peisistratid connections.[46]

We can look first at the Herakles vs. Nereus/Triton battle. Athens had been at war with Megara over Salamis, and Herodotos writes that Peisistratos had led an expedition against Megara in the course of which he captured the Megarian port of Nisaea, an event dated by Boardman to 566.[47] This military success thus falls neatly into the interval between the old-style Herakles and Nereus scenes, and the new Herakles and Triton scenes. It is suggested that the scenes with Triton refer to Peisistratos' victory; Nereus was too respectable an opponent, and so was replaced by the more dangerous Triton.[48]

A different, but still political, interpretation of this scene has been proposed by Glynn. She argues that since the old Herakles vs. Nereus battle was carried on in the new-style Nereus scenes, the Triton scenes must represent a different story. As the vase-painters do not seem to have been dissatisfied with the design of the old scheme, she believes that some outside agency must have caused

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[43] Boardman 1984b, 240.

[44] Boardman 1989, 159.

[45] Boardman 1975a, 1, but see my chapter 3 for a discussion of this issue.

[46] Boardman 1972, 59.

[47] Hdt. 1.59; date - Boardman 1972, 60.

[48] Boardman 1972, 59-60.

the change.[49] In her view there were two important (for Athens) events during the sixth century in which Peisistratos played a role, and which he would have wanted the Athenians to remember: gaining control of Salamis, and, through the conquest of Sigeion, gaining control of the Hellespont.[50] In conjunction with the latter event, she reminds us that Herakles was also associated with this region, since he had once sacked Troy. This myth, however, would not have been judged suitable for commemorating the conquest, she argues, because Herakles killed a sea-monster and ruined the city.[51] Recalling the possibility that Peisistratos changed other myths to suit his ends, Glynn argues that he did the same with the Nereus myth; as Nereus was not a tough enough opponent, Triton was introduced. This new variant, as seen on the vases, celebrated Peisistratos' conquest of Sigeion.[52]

Yet a third interpretation has been offered by Ahlberg-Cornell. She does not consider the change from Nereus to Triton to be sudden, and suggests that Boardman's theory is "...too sophisticated."[53] Moreover, she does not draw as sharp a distinction between Nereus (in his old, fish-bodied form) and Triton as Boardman does - both are categorised as a sea-monster. The appearance ca. 590 of Herakles battling this monster might relate to Solon and his policies, she suggests. The monster represents social unrest, Herakles either Solon or his acts; the important feature in the scene is the monstrosity of Herakles' opponent.[54] This is still a political interpretation of the scene; just the time-frame has changed.

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[49] Glynn 1981, 126-7.

[50] Ibid, 130-1.

[51] Ibid, 131-2.

[52] Ibid, 132.

[53] Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, 103.

[54] Ibid.

Next, the Introduction to Olympos scenes. We must again return to Herodotos, this time for the story of Peisistratos' second accession to power. Megakles had been involved in ending Peisistratos' first tyranny, but finding himself in trouble thereafter, offered to help Peisistratos regain power if Peisistratos would marry his daughter. Peisistratos agreed; the two then devised a ruse in which Phye, a tall country woman, was dressed in armour and posed in a chariot, in which she and Peisistratos then rode through Athens and onto the Akropolis. Meanwhile, other associates had been preparing the citizens, telling them that Athena herself honoured Peisistratos and was bringing him back to her home. The Athenians apparently fell for the ploy, and Peisistratos was easily restored to power.[55]

Although doubting that all of the Athenians could have been taken in, Boardman suggests that an episode such as this had indeed occurred, and that the scenes of Herakles being taken, in a chariot, to Olympos by Athena recall it.[56] In this context he also refers to a (much later) vase by the Priam Painter, which shows Athena and Herakles in a chariot scene.[57] This is not an Introduction to Olympos scene; no other gods attend, and the setting - three Doric columns - perhaps suggests the Akropolis. In the scene, Athena appears to be labelled Ἡρακλέους κόρη, which Boardman interprets as 'Herakles' daughter.' This would be appropriate, he argues, since if Herakles is associated with Peisistratos, then Athena would be Phye, who by then was Peisistratos' 'daughter' in that she had married his son Hipparkhos.[58]

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[55] Hdt. 1.60.

[56] Boardman 1972, 62-3.

[57] Oxford 212 = ABV 331, 5, dating from after Peisistratos' death (Boardman 1972, 64).

[58] Boardman 1972, 64-5, following Beazley (CVA Oxford II) for the translation (but not the explanation of it). For the marriage, he refers to Kleidemos ap. Ath. XIII, 609 c,d = FGH 323, F15.

With our last scene we return to Herakles' theft of the Delphic Tripod. As stated earlier,
Boardman had once associated Herakles with the Krisaian side, but now found that the problems with
this were too great. Such an interpretation did not fit his new view of Herakles - it would suggest he
was an opponent of the Athenians and furthermore, would associate him with a losing side, which
would seem inappropriate. Moreover, it would also associate Herakles with the Kragalidai, who were
Dryopians - traditional enemies of his.[59]

While the myth of the theft of the tripod would still have been used to recall the First Sacred
War, Herakles would have to be seen instead as a symbol of the allies - the Athenians, Sikyonians, and
Thessalians. Of these, the Athenians are the most interesting to us, since they were led by an
Alkmaionid - it will be remembered that the Alkmaionids had once been cursed by Delphi, after the
killing of Kylon's supporters. If, Boardman argues, this curse entailed a refusal of purification, then
the Alkmaionids were in the same position as Herakles, who had also been refused purification by
Delphi.[60]

At first, then, the Herakles myth would have been connected with the Alkmaionids.
Peisistratos, it is claimed, took over the myth for his own ends: he was not always on bad terms with
the Alkmaionids, as the story of his second accession to power shows; the myth was, by the middle of
the century, no longer necessarily seen as 'Alkmaionid', since by then the combination of Herakles and
Athena (who often appears in the vase-paintings) represented more the state or even Peisistratos with
the state; Peisistratos and Delphi were not on the best of terms; and finally, Peisistratos had
introduced the oracular cult of Apollo Pythias to Athens in direct competition with, and without the

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[59] Boardman 1978, 231. Earlier, it had been argued that since Kragaleus had once settled an argument in favour of
Herakles, since the Dryopes were not always Herakles' enemies, and since Aeschines had referred to the Kirrhaians (= Krisaians) and
Kragalidai as being allies, then Herakles could have symbolised the Krisaian side in the battle. (Parke & Boardman 1957, 276-7,
referring to Aeschines *In Ctesiphontem* 107-23).

[60] Ibid, 232.

approval of, Delphi.[61] In this context one must recall one outcome of Herakles' theft of the Tripod - he did receive an oracle of his own.

The above paragraphs have dealt with the three scenes forming the focus of this thesis. It would not be inappropriate, however, to mention some of the other scenes brought into this discussion, whether by Boardman or others. We can start with other Herakles scenes: the captures of Kerberos and the Kerynitian deer and the fights with Kyknos, Alkyoneus, the Nemean Lion and Antaios. We can then examine sporting scenes, male courtship scenes, and fountain-house scenes. A look at the work of Exekias will conclude this section.

With regard to the capture of Kerberos, the variant showing a peaceful capture, according to Boardman, reflects the Athenian takeover of the Eleusinian Mysteries.[62] Athens had been involved with Eleusis since pre-Peisistratid days, but Boardman suggests that the period of greatest involvement may have occurred during the Peisistratean era. The Telesterion, for example, was probably completed in this time, if not in that of Peisistratos alone.[63] Herakles, meanwhile, after purification was adopted by an Athenian - Pylios, a relative of Nestor, from whom Peisistratos claimed to be descended - and initiated into the mysteries, thus providing the precedent for the initiation of foreigners.[64] The scene change thus depicts Herakles in his role as an Athenian-sponsored initiate, who can gain the support even of gods.[65]

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[61] Ibid, 233-4.

[62] Boardman 1975a, 7-8.

[63] Ibid, 5.

[64] Ibid, 6.

[65] Ibid, 9.

Just as Herakles was allowed to capture Kerberos, Boardman argues, he was allowed to capture

the Kerynitian Deer. This would be a reflection of Peisistratos' relationship with Artemis - his home

was Brauron, and he introduced the cult of Artemis to the Athenian Akropolis.[66]

According to the myth, Herakles fought Kyknos in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pagasae, at

Apollo's request since Kyknos had been robbing pilgrims to Delphi of their offerings.[67] Shapiro has

suggested that this myth might be connected somehow with Herakles' theft of the Tripod, since both

stories have Apollo and Delphi in common, and that any political interpretation of one should

therefore encompass both.[68] He argues that while Delphi was assuredly hostile to Peisistratos, the

converse may not necessarily have been true. That the Peisistratids promoted cults of Apollo, he

believes, does not show them as competing with Delphi, but rather as making efforts to satisfy the

Athenians, win the favour of Apollo, and lessen the influence of the Alkmaionids at Delphi. If we agree

with the idea that Herakles represents Peisistratos, then the relationship between Herakles and Apollo -

fight, settlement, fight on behalf of - might reflect Peisistratos' relationship with Apollo.[69]

Another Herakles scene depicts his battle with the cattleherd Alkyoneus, who lived at Pallene.

According to Williams, this scene may recall Peisistratos' third accession to power, in which his army

surprised and defeated, before the temple of Athena Pallenis at Pallene, an unready Athenian army.

Its members, having just eaten, were asleep or gaming.[70] The sleeping Alkyoneus could symbolise the

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[66] Ibid, 10.

[67] Shapiro 1984a, 271, referring to the *Shield of Herakles* 68-70 (location), 478-80 (cause).

[68] Ibid, 272-3.

[69] Ibid, 273-4.

[70] Williams 1983, 133-4. The story is given in Herodotos, 1.62-3.

sleeping soldiers. Williams also points out a version of the scene by the Priam Painter, in which

Alkyoneus is sleeping not on a rock but in a building, which could represent the temple itself.[71]

The last of the Herakles scenes to be mentioned depict his battles with the Nemean Lion and

Antaios. Because of the emphasis on Herakles as an athlete, a wrestler to be precise, Boardman has

wondered whether these scenes might have some connection with the Panathenaia, as reorganised by

Peisistratos.[72]

For other sporting scenes, we can examine some Siana cups by the C and Taras Painters.

Brijder has claimed that in the C Painter's late period (ca. 565-60), he is very much interested in

sporting scenes. Furthermore, in 25% of the tondos of this period he depicts a new subject: winged

youths. Because some of these youths could be mistaken for winged females - one wears a long dress

and a necklace - Brijder suggests they are male versions of Nikes. The interest in sporting themes is

thereby continued; moreover, nearly all the cups with such tondos are said to have sporting scenes on

the outside. In this same period, the Taras Painter is also concentrating on two themes: sporting scenes

and symposia, whereas before and after he rarely depicts the former.[73] Brijder suggests that the sudden

interest in these scenes could be a reflection of Peisistratos' reorganisation of the Panathenaia, which

is usually dated to 566/5.[74]

Shapiro has added male courtship scenes to the discussion. He argues that the popularity of

these scenes in the Peisistratid period is a reflection of the aristocratic customs promoted by the

Peisistratids, and that the connections of Athens with Ionia produced an atmosphere suitable for the

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[71] Ibid, 134. Vase: Private collection & Civitavecchia = *ABV* 332, 22.

[72] Boardman 1975a, 11.

[73] Brijder 1984b, 249-50.

[74] Ibid, 251, but cf. *infra*, 79-83 for a discussion of this date.

cultivation of this particular custom. The decline in the popularity of such scenes after 510 is seen as reflecting the democratic reaction against aristocratic ways.[75] This does not mean that the practice stopped, just that it was no longer an appropriate theme for art. The decline in scenes of hunting from horseback, another aristocratic pursuit, in this same period reflects the same new attitudes.[76] Conversely, while aristocratic themes grow less popular, scenes of heterosexual love-making are said to have reached the peak of their popularity in the first quarter of the fifth century.[77]

Fountain-house scenes need detain us only briefly. These are new, beginning around 530 and generally depicting women at a fountain-house. Hannestad has suggested that the inspiration for these scenes was the building of the Enneakrounos.[78] It could therefore be argued that such scenes also celebrate the deeds of Peisistratos.

Exekias' vase-paintings, and by extension Exekias himself, have been categorised by some as displaying either anti- or pro-Peisistratid sympathies. Boardman has argued the former case. He claims that while Exekias was relatively uninterested in Herakles scenes, he did treat Theseus in an "exceptional" way: rather than painting the usual (but rare) myth scenes, he depicted scenes of Theseus with his family.[79] Similarly, Exekias' handling of the Dioskouroi deserves mention. Whereas before they had been the main subject in vase-painting only once, Exekias by himself has them as the main

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[75] Shapiro 1981a, 133.

[76] Ibid, 142.

[77] Ibid, 142 n.64.

[78] Hannestad 1984, 252.

[79] Boardman 1978b, 13-15. Vases: i) a fragment in Lund, on which Theseus is named, said to probably be a domestic scene and ii) Berlin 1720 = ABV 143, 1bis, depicting Theseus' sons walking their horses.

subjects twice.[80] As the Dioskouroi were Spartans, they symbolised opposition to tyranny; taken together with the handling of Theseus, these scenes betray Exekias' anti-Peisistratid leanings.[81]

The treatment of Ajax and Achilles by Exekias, Boardman argues, leads to the same conclusion. The greatest of the Greek warriors, they are the embodiment of the Greek ideals,[82] but when they are seen gaming, as in the Vatican amphora, the viewer is meant to note that even they could be unprepared in a crisis.[83] For Athenian viewers, this would have reminded them of Peisistratos' third accession to power.[84] To see that even heroes had been caught out in such a way would have comforted the Athenians, but they would also have derived another message from the scene: a warning not to be caught again. Exekias produced two such scenes in all, and in each case the scene on the other side involved the Dioskouroi, further reinforcing the message.[85]

An alternate interpretation of vases depicting the Dioskouroi, implying that Exekias was not anti-Peisistratid, has been proposed by Hermary. He suggests that the period from ca. 550-10 was the only one, before the classical era, in which the Dioskouroi enjoyed some popularity in vase-paintings, and wonders whether it is just coincidental that this was also the Peisistratid period.[86] Moreover, he asks whether there could have been some connection between the Dioskouroi and Peisistratos' sons; although Hippias and Hipparkhos were not twins, he suggests that they were close enough to make the association possible.[87]

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[80] *ABV* 145, 13 & 15.

[81] Boardman 1978b, 16.

[82] Ibid, 17.

[83] Ibid, 21. Vase: Vatican 344 = *ABV* 145,13.

[84] Ibid, 24, based on the story as told in Hdt. 1.62-3.

[85] Ibid, 24.

[86] Hermary 1978, 70-2.

[87] Ibid, 74.

The Rampin Horseman is brought into this argument: it has been shown that there were originally two riders, and Hermary suggests they represented Hippias and Hipparkhos, not some victorious athletes. The statue group would have been a votive commemorating the battle at Pallene, in which the sons had taken part as members of the cavalry.[88] It is then argued that an Athenian viewer would have associated this group with the images of the Dioskouroi on the vases. This would mean downdating the sculpture slightly, but Hermary sees no problem with this, given the vagueness of archaic dating.[89]

Peisistratos therefore, Hermary argues, was trying to establish a connection between his sons and the Dioskouroi.[90] To conclude this argument, Hermary mentions an amphora in Copenhagen, depicting on one side the presentation of the Dioskouroi to Zeus, and on the other Athena with four men, one of whom is bearded.[91] Hermary suggests that the bearded man is Herakles, and that on this vase we might be seeing both Peisistratos (as Herakles) and his sons (as the Dioskouroi) in the presence of the gods, enjoying the same privileges.[92]

Although merely a brief survey, the preceding paragraphs have illustrated the wide variety of scenes that Boardman's theory has grown to encompass. With all the background information now in place, this theory can be examined in greater detail in the following chapters, beginning with the statistical evidence.

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[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid, 74-5.

[90] Ibid, 75.

[91] Copenhagen NM 14347 = *Para* 65.

[92] Hermary 1978, 76.

CHAPTER THREE: STATISTICAL ENQUIRIES

Boardman has claimed that Herakles enjoyed "exceptional popularity" in art produced in Athens under the Peisistratids,[93] and at first glance, the statistics he has used to back his statement are impressive. According to his calculations, the "...proportion of Herakles scenes to all myth scenes on Athenian vases down to about 510 B.C..." was 44%, but only 27.5% for Lakonian, 27% for Corinthian and 23% for Chalcidian myth-decorated vases, and 27.5% for Peloponnesian myth-decorated shield-bands.[94] If these numbers are accurate, they certainly indicate that during the Peisistratean era Herakles scenes were much more prevalent in Attic art than in the art of other centres, and that in Athens itself Herakles scenes were strongly favoured by at least one branch of vase-painters. Both conclusions could support Boardman's argument.

The numbers, however, do not stand up to closer scrutiny. Boardman himself has described his calculations as "rough and ready,"[95] but the problems are far more comprehensive than such a statement would imply. Although the numbers may be accurate after their fashion,[96] the method used by Boardman is fundamentally unsound, making any results obtained unreliable.

For all media, only objects decorated with myth scenes were examined, and of these, Gigantomachies and generic Dionysiac, satyr and komast scenes were ignored. The proportion of

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[93] Boardman 1975a, 1.

[94] Ibid. From his table and note 1, it can be seen that for Attic vases, only black-figure vases were taken into account, while for all cases, other limitations were also placed on the data. These issues will be discussed later in this chapter.

[95] Ibid.

[96] I have checked the calculations for *ABV*, and have been able to reproduce Boardman's figure of 44% using his method. I have been unable, however, to reproduce the other figures.

Herakles scenes for Attic vases was calculated using the Index to *ABV*, which indexes the vases by mythological subject - this is perhaps the reason for the aforementioned omissions, although it does include Gigantomachies. Only entries up to page 291 were tabulated; this, according to Boardman, gave "... a fair cut-off point for a rich sample of vases earlier than about 510 B.C." For the Lakonian and Chalcidian vases, the calculations were made from the catalogues in Stibbe's *Lakonische Vasenmaler* and Rumpf's *Chalkidische Vasen*. These vases are said to be contemporary with the Attic vases. The Corinthian percentage was calculated from the ninth chapter of Payne's *Necrocorinthia*, which again only deals in detail with selected mythological scenes, while the Peloponnesian shield-band calculations were made from the catalogue in Kunze's *Archaische Schildbänder*. Both sets of objects, according to Boardman, were made in the later seventh and first half of the sixth centuries.[97] Total counts are not given for any case, as they are felt to be "...hardly necessary," and as for limitations, Boardman does "...not believe [them] to be damaging."[98]

An examination of this method can begin by setting down some general parameters for such statistical enquiries. First, within the limits of the enquiry the broadest possible sample should be used; a percentage is not necessarily meaningful if it is a percentage of some subset of a total. Ideally therefore, all the vases or shield-bands already discovered would be studied. Next, these objects should all be from the same chronological period. Finally, if the authors of indexes or catalogues cast doubts on the comprehensiveness of these parts of their works, then such parts should be avoided, if possible.

If we now look at the various calculations, we can see that some or all of these conditions have been frequently violated. At times this was unavoidable. For instance, the only comprehensive lists of Attic vases are Beazley's, and essential as they may be they are restricted to attributed, and for the most

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[97] Boardman 1975a, 1 with n.1 for the method.

[98] Ibid, 1.

part decorated, vases. Moreover, they are only as up-to-date as Beazley could make them, and work on

ABV - the only source used by Boardman - stopped roughly 20 years before Boardman's article

appeared.[99] It is therefore clear that ABV lists but a subset of all known (especially by the 1970's) Attic

black-figure vases. Similarly, it would have been very difficult, given the problems inherent in dating

objects from the Archaic period, to choose for study only those objects dating to between 560 and 510.

Even so, some of the cases could have been narrowed down further chronologically, as will be argued

later.

While these limitations can be understood and accepted, the further limitations placed on the

data by Boardman are unacceptable. By eliminating from consideration all vases or shield-bands not

decorated with myth-scenes, a significant number of objects in each category was taken out of the

reckoning.[100] At this point, Boardman was no longer dealing with a representative sample. In like

manner, the elimination of Gigantomachies, and generic Dionysiac, satyr and komast scenes made the

sample even less representative. These scenes are not marginal; all of these themes were frequently

illustrated by the vase-painters and shield-band makers throughout the period in question, as a study

of Boardman's sources will show. They should therefore have been included in the calculations.

As has already been mentioned, these limitations may have been the result of using the Index

to ABV, and would perforce have had to be applied to all the cases tested. The Index has other

drawbacks as well. First, it is incomplete, as Beazley himself acknowledged.[101] Second, it is not an

index of vases, but of mythological scenes. Depending on the nature of the scenes it carried, the same

vase could therefore appear more than once in the Index, under a variety of headings. I maintain that

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[99] Boardman's article appeared in 1975, while the latest additions to ABV, published in 1956, had been made by July 1955 (ABV 716). The updates to ABV published in Para would have been available to Boardman, but he did not use them.

[100] Cf. my Table 1 for the numbers.

[101] ABV 723: "Such an index can be but partial..."

a vase with, for example, two Herakles scenes should not count for more than a vase with only one; the important point, I suggest, is the vase-painter's decision whether or not to put a Herakles scene on the vase in the first place. If there is to be any differentiation, then perhaps it should be along the lines of the relative importance of the scene in the overall decorative scheme - whether the scene is a main or subsidiary one. This however could get very complicated. In any case, the Index has too many problems to have been used for such important calculations.

The layout of *ABV* itself also deserves comment, as it affects Boardman's method. It is basically divided into two parts, large vases and small, although many small vases can in fact be found in the first section. Each section is roughly arranged into chronological order, with the first beginning with the start of black-figure and the second somewhat later - "...not indeed from the beginning, but from the middle [of black-figure]...".[102] The first section ends on page 417; by only tabulating entries up to page 291, Boardman has ignored in their entirety the remainder of the first section and the whole of the second part of the book, even though a large proportion of the vases there listed would have fallen within the relevant era.

Only black-figure vases have been mentioned until now, but it must not be forgotten that the first years of red-figure occurred under the tyranny as well.[103] Red-figure vases have been entirely ignored by Boardman. This is unjustifiable, because if outside pressures were leading the vase-painters to pick certain themes, then one would expect these pressures to affect red-figure artists as well.[104]

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[102] *ABV* viii.

[103] The red-figure period is generally considered to have begun around 530.

[104] That is, if such pressures continued under Peisistratos' successors. We can assume that Boardman thought that they did, since he does not limit his argument to Peisistratos alone: "...Herakles' political importance in the Athens of Peisistratos and his sons" (Boardman 1975a, 1).

Given the method he was using, checking the relevant chapters of ARV^2, would not have been difficult.[105]

Another class of vases omitted from the discussion is Black-painted ware. This was pottery without figural decoration, but not necessarily undecorated. It began to be of consistently high quality around the middle of the sixth century.[106] Although its omission is understandable, one must remember that this was yet another option available to the producers of vases, and thus another factor to be taken into account before conclusions can be drawn from statistical calculations.

Some comments on Boardman's choice of starting and ending dates are also necessary. Since his argument deals with the Peisistratean era, it would have been better to omit at least some if not all of the first eight chapters of *ABV*, as these generally consist of vases produced before 560.[107] The early vases should have been tabulated separately, and the percentage of Herakles scenes on them compared to the percentage of Herakles scenes on vases produced during the Peisistratean era. Only in this way would it be possible to see if there was indeed a sharp rise in the popularity of Herakles scenes during this period. Moreover, the Tyrrhenian amphorae, included in these early chapters, seem to have been especially made for export to Etruria, and so do not perhaps represent the normal output of the vase-painters. At the other end, it should be remembered that while the works of the Antimenes Painter and his circle may have provided Boardman with a convenient place to stop, we are not able to say definitively that all of their vases were produced before 510, and none after. The same qualification naturally applies to the 560 date as well, so at either end precision is not possible.

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[105] I have done so, and following his method have arrived at a figure of 26% for the proportion of attributed myth-decorated Attic red-figure vases produced from ca. 530-500. This is quite a drop from 44% - could this be the reason that red-figure vases were ignored in his calculations?

[106] Cook 1972, 211-13.

[107] But again, Boardman's method did not allow this to be done.

Turning now to the other objects in the study, it can again be pointed out that in each case the sample was made less than representative by Boardman's decision to eliminate scenes not dealing with myth, as well as Gigantomachies and generic Dionysiac, satyr and komast scenes. Moreover, in the case of the Corinthian vases, the chronological limits are rather too broad - Payne's chapter nine covers scenes ranging from 650 to 500.[108] Had Boardman chosen to use Payne's catalogue, he could have brought the start date down to 625, and so have his Corinthian sample roughly match the dates of his Attic sample. Payne did describe his catalogue as incomplete;[109] nevertheless, it is still more comprehensive than his chapter nine, which deals in depth with only selected myth-scenes. Finally, regarding the shield-bands, Kunze's catalogue runs from the last third of the seventh century to the early years of the fifth century.[110] As he does date his material, the objects from after 500 should have been omitted by Boardman, in order to keep more closely to his own chronological limits.

In summary, Boardman's method was seriously flawed. His calculations were based on an unsound footing, and then he used his sources improperly. In doing so he obtained artificially inflated figures for the proportions of Herakles scenes produced in all the cases he studied. To conclude this chapter, an alternative - and I believe better - treatment of the data that Boardman had available to him will be presented.

The following tables break the objects down into three categories: those with one or more Herakles scenes, those with no Herakles scene(s) but one or more other myth/hero scenes, and those with no Herakles or other myth/hero scenes at all. Each object was tabulated once only, using the following hierarchy: Herakles scene ⇒ other myth/hero scene ⇒ other scene. In this way it was

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[108] The dates have been extracted from Payne 1931, chapter VIII.

[109] Payne 1931, 264.

[110] Dates extracted from Kunze 1950, 7-44 (the catalogue).

possible to determine the proportion of objects produced that carried Herakles scenes, which is, I believe, the correct calculation to make, and which therefore gives us a better sense of Herakles' popularity. A total count for the objects in each class is given, along with the percentage of Herakles scenes. Finally, to see the effects of limiting the calculations to myth-decorated objects, a total count of such objects in each class has been given, as well as the revised percentage of Herakles scenes. These last two figures are not very precise, however, due to the occasional difficulties in separating myth/hero scenes from generic scenes.[111]

For each class of object, the actual lists produced by the various authors have been consulted, along with any updates to these lists that would also have been available to Boardman.[112] The limitations placed by Boardman on the data have, for the most part, been removed.[113] In the tables, the internal divisions[114] of the lists from which the data for Attic, Corinthian and Lakonian vessels were taken have been maintained, with totals given at the foot of each table. Any trends in the production of Herakles scenes are therefore more readily apparent. Due to the nature of the source material, such treatment was not possible for the Chalcidian vases or the shield-bands.

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[111] Which is yet another reason not to limit the study to only myth-decorated objects.

[112] These comprise the updates to *ABV* included in the Addenda to *ABV*, in *Para* and in *ARV²*, and the Addenda in *NC*. Although Boardman did not make use of any of these, they have been used in my calculations in the interest of greater accuracy.

[113] The unavoidable limitation is that only the material tabulated by Beazley *et al* is taken into account, in order to keep to the same sources that Boardman had available to him. The work done since these lists were compiled must however be acknowledged, even if the findings are not incorporated into the tables presented here. Brijder 1991, for example, is a comprehensive study of the Heidelberg Painter who, as will be seen, was one of the artists especially interested in Herakles. Brijder adds fifty-six vases, fifteen with Herakles scenes, to the ones tabulated here, with the result that the percentage of Herakles scenes to vases is actually 1.4% lower than the figure given in my tables. There are doubtless very few if any painters, or groups, for whom the numbers presented here can be taken as absolutes.

[114] Painters or groups of associated painters for Attic and Lakonian vases, chronological/stylistic divisions for Corinthian.

Table 1: Proportion of Attic black-figure vases with Herakles scenes

ABV	painters	herakles	other myth	other	total vases	% herakles	total myth	% herakles
I	earliest bf	1	26	28	55	1.82	27	3.70
II	early bf	8	257	189	454	1.76	265	3.02
III	siana cups I - c ptr	8	50	117	175	4.57	58	13.79
IV	siana cups II - heidelberg ptr	21	24	25	70	30.00	45	46.67
V	siana cups III - others	5	44	72	121	4.13	49	10.20
VI	kleitias	1	15	14	30	3.33	16	6.25
VII	nearchos and others	8	53	49	110	7.27	61	13.11
VIII	tyrrhenian group	29	97	39	165	17.58	126	23.02
IX	lydos and his companions	23	115	187	325	7.08	138	16.67
X	group e and exekias	56	66	51	173	32.37	122	45.90
XI	amasis ptr	10	46	42	98	10.20	56	17.86
XII	little master and droop cups	18	95	283	396	4.55	113	15.93
XIII	proto-a and a type cups	3	76	41	120	2.50	79	3.80
XIV	some stemless cups	6	39	25	70	8.57	45	13.33
XV	nikosthenes and pamphaios	18	78	87	183	9.84	96	18.75
XVI	bf mannerists	6	73	84	163	3.68	79	7.59
XVII	lysippides ptr	44	41	20	105	41.90	85	51.76
XVIII	antimenes ptr and his circle	144	126	32	302	47.68	270	53.33
totals	bf - *ABV* to p.291	409	1321	1385	3115	13.13	1730	23.64

Several aspects of this table, compiled from the same raw data that Boardman had available to him, are noteworthy. Most importantly, it shows how greatly Boardman's method affected his results. Handled correctly, the data reveals that only 13.13% of attributed Attic black-figure vases of the relevant period carried Herakles scenes. Even if all non-myth scenes are removed from the account, the percentage is still nearly 20% lower than his figure. The table also makes very clear that while there was no great preference for Herakles scenes amongst the vase-painters as a whole, some selected painters or groups of painters were indeed very much interested in such scenes: the Heidelberg Painter

(and his associates) - 30%, Group E and Exekias - 32.37%, the Lysippides Painter (and his associates) - 41.90%, and the Antimenes Painter (and his circle) - 47.68%. All of these painters and groups would have been active during the reign of the Peisistratids - the Heidelberg Painter around the beginning, the Antimenes Painter around the end, and the other two more in the middle.[115]

While the table does dispel the general impression left by Boardman that Herakles scenes were very popular across the board, the fact that only certain painters or groups of painters displayed a preference for Herakles scenes could be used to support his arguments. It would have been unlikely for the Peisistratids to have been able to influence all vase-painters, less unlikely that they could have influenced some. The rather dramatic preference of the Lysippides and Antimenes Painters for Herakles scenes may also be significant in another way. Coming as they did in the latter part of the tyranny, and assuming that Peisistratos had indeed used the iconography of Herakles for his own ends, could the sons have been using the same iconography - ever more heavily - to reinforce their own claims to power? A more prosaic explanation would be that as the Lysippides Painter was considered to be a "follower of Exekias" by Beazley,[116] he at any rate was merely continuing one of the thematic preferences of his leader. This still leaves unanswered the question of why Exekias and Group E emphasised Herakles scenes.

[115] Boardman's dates for these painters are: the Heidelberg Painter - ca. 575-55 (Boardman 1974, 31-3); Exekias - ca. 545-30 (Boardman 1974, 57); the Lysippides Painter (whom Boardman equates with the red-figure Andokides Painter) - ca. 530-15 (Boardman 1975b, 15); and the Antimenes Painter - ca. 530-10 (Boardman 1974, 109). The Heidelberg Painter has however been redated by Brijder in his study of the artist; his work is now judged to run from the late 560's to the late 540's, with three discernable periods - early (late 560's), middle (ca. 560-50), and late (ca. 550-late 540's) (Brijder 1991, 426-7).

[116] *ABV* 254.

Table 2: Proportion of Corinthian vases with Herakles scenes

Payne	corinthian vases	herakles	other myth	other	total vases	% herakles	total myth	% herakles
I	early corinthian	4	215	442	661	0.61	219	1.83
II	middle corinthian	7	200	228	435	1.61	207	3.38
III	late corinthian I	1	148	170	319	0.31	149	0.67
IV	late corinthian II	0	0	65	65	0.00	0	---
totals	payne's catalogue	12	563	905	1480	0.81	575	2.09

Noteworthy here is the almost total lack of interest of Corinthian vase-painters in Herakles, especially in the Late Corinthian period - which is contemporary with the greater part of the Peisistratean era. Payne's catalogue can be vague and is very much incomplete;[117] nevertheless, the percentage of Herakles scenes would certainly drop even lower were all the relevant Corinthian vases included in the study.

Table 3: Proportion of Lakonian vases with Herakles scenes

Stibbe	lakonian vases	herakles	other myth	other	total vases	% herakles	total myth	% herakles
I	naukratis ptr + others	0	29	88	117	0.00	29	0.00
II	boreads ptr + others	3	13	62	78	3.85	16	18.75
III	arkesilas ptr + others	1	4	10	15	6.67	5	20.00
IV	hunt ptr + others	5	18	55	78	6.41	23	21.74
V	rider ptr + others	3	21	24	48	6.25	24	12.50
VI	other painters	0	7	22	29	0.00	7	0.00
VII	unattributed	0	0	9	9	0.00	0	---
totals	stibbe's catalogue	12	92	270	374	3.21	104	14.54

[117] To give but one example, in a discussion of mid-sixth century quatrefoil aryballoi Payne mentions that "...well over 550 examples..." were found in three tombs at Rhitsona (Payne 1931, 320 with n.3). These vases are not in the catalogue; they do not have figural decoration though, so that if they were added, the proportion of Herakles scenes produced would drop.

Table 4: Proportion of Chalcidian vases and Peloponnesian shield-bands with Herakles scenes

source	object	herakles	other myth	other	total objects	% herakles	total myth	% herakles
Rumpf	chalcidian vases	7	101	171	279	2.51	108	6.48
Kunze	shield-bands	32	106	80	218	14.68	138	23.19

Once more, the vase-painters in Tables 3 and 4 display very little interest in Herakles. It is interesting however, that Herakles was slightly more popular with the Peloponnesian shield-band makers than the Attic vase-painters. This interest of the shield-band artists is perhaps not surprising though - Herakles' deeds would provide suitable themes for weapons' decorations.

In general, Tables 1-4 point out the inaccuracies of Boardman's figures. Even with the revised numbers though, it is still clear that Herakles scenes were much more popular with Attic vase-painters than Corinthian, Chalcidian or Lakonian vase-painters. In the following tables, an attempt is made to provide more precise figures for Attic vase-painting, by eliminating the early chapters of *ABV* while adding relevant chapters that Boardman ignored, and by adding the relevant chapters of *ARV*[2].

Table 5: Proportion of Attic black-figure vases with Herakles scenes (revised)

ABV	painters	herakles	other myth	other	total vases	% herakles	total myth	% herakles
IV	siana cups II - heidelberg ptr	21	24	25	70	30.00	45	46.67
V	siana cups III - others	5	44	72	121	4.13	49	10.20
VII	nearchos and others	8	53	49	110	7.27	61	13.11
IX	lydos and his companions	23	115	187	325	7.08	138	16.67
X	group e and exekias	56	66	51	173	32.37	122	45.90
XI	amasis ptr	10	46	42	98	10.20	56	17.86
XII	little master and droop cups	18	95	283	396	4.55	113	15.93
XIII	proto-a and a type cups	3	76	41	120	2.50	79	3.80
XIV	some stemless cups	6	39	25	70	8.57	45	13.33

XV	nikosthenes and pamphaios	18	78	87	183	9.84	96	18.75
XVI	bf mannerists	6	73	84	163	3.68	79	7.59
XVII	lysippides ptr	44	41	20	105	41.90	85	51.76
XVIII	antimenes ptr and his circle	144	126	32	302	47.68	270	53.33
XIX	psiax	8	22	10	40	20.00	30	26.67
XX	other pot painters	150	220	200	570	26.32	370	40.54
XXI	some signed strays	2	4	46	52	3.85	6	33.33
XXII	plaques	2	2	4	8	25.00	4	50.00
XXIII	leagros group	128	223	93	444	28.83	351	36.47
XXIV	nikoxenos ptr + companions	12	43	34	89	13.48	55	21.82
XXV	bf vases by rf ptrs	2	8	1	11	18.18	10	20.00
XXVII	panathenaics	0	1	6	7	0.00	1	0.00
XXVIII	oinochoai, trefoil, I	2	5	14	21	9.52	7	28.57
XXIX	oinochoai, less common	4	16	5	25	16.00	20	20.00
XXX	oinochoai, flat-mouthed	0	4	21	25	0.00	4	0.00
XXXI	oinochoai: olpai	6	42	28	76	7.89	48	12.50
XXXII	lekythos I: chiefly earlier	5	27	205	237	2.11	32	15.63
XL	small neck-amphorae	3	1	1	5	60.00	4	75.00
XLI	kyathoi and mastoids	1	8	13	22	4.55	9	11.11
XLII	skyphoi	1	15	2	18	5.56	16	6.25
XLIV	miniature vases - swan grp	0	0	146	146	0.00	0	---
totals	bf - *ABV*: ca. 560-500	688	1517	1827	4032	17.06	2205	31.20

Table 5 eliminates the early chapters of *ABV* - which can now be found in Table 8, and the Tyrrhenian amphorae - due to their doubtful status, and adds the remaining chapters of the first section of *ABV* save the chapters dealing with fifth century vases. It is difficult to decide whether to keep or omit Panathenaics, both prize vases and imitations; their special status might argue for their omission. I have included them, however. Had they been omitted, the percentage of Herakles scenes would rise slightly. The second part of *ABV* has also been included; due to the difficulty in ascribing dates to some of the painters, the figures listed must not be taken as absolutes.

Table 6: Proportion of early Attic red-figure vases with Herakles scenes

ARV^2	painters	herakles	other myth	other	total vases	% herakles	total myth	% herakles
I	earliest pot painters	11	29	19	59	18.64	40	27.50
II	pioneer group	19	62	73	154	12.34	81	23.46
III	early rf cup ptrs - eye cups	1	21	55	77	1.30	22	4.55
IV	oltos	21	80	69	170	12.35	101	20.79
V	epiktetos	11	72	62	145	7.59	83	13.25
VI	skythes	3	19	15	37	8.11	22	13.64
VII	euergides painter	7	68	163	238	2.94	75	9.33
VIII	kachrylion and others	1	30	28	59	1.69	31	3.23
IX	apollodoros	2	12	41	55	3.64	14	14.29
X	coarser wing I - nikosthenes	10	56	43	109	9.17	66	15.15
XI	coarser wing II	3	35	124	162	1.85	38	7.89
XII	coarser wing III	2	72	158	232	0.86	74	2.70
XIII	other early rf cup painters	9	94	115	218	4.13	103	8.74
totals	rf - ARV^2: ca. 530-500	100	650	965	1715	5.83	750	13.33

As a whole, the red-figure artists were much less interested in Herakles scenes than their black-figure counterparts. The percentage drop here recalls the drop seen when the same data was handled using Boardman's method.[118] Either way, it seems clear that red-figure artists in general were not very much interested in Herakles, even though they perhaps should have been.[119] The first entry in the table is interesting though. The Andokides Painter, whom many believe to be the same painter as the Lysippides Painter,[120] is included within this group. Fully 45% of his vases carried Herakles scenes - it will be remembered that the Lysippides Painter also preferred Herakles scenes.

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[118] Cf. *supra*, n.105.

[119] If we accept Peisistratid influence, unless of course only black-figure artists were involved in the propaganda exercise. This does not seem to me a reasonable assumption.

[120] For instance, Boardman. Cf. Boardman 1975b, 15-6 for a statement of his views.

Table 7: Total proportion of Attic vases with Herakles scenes (ca. 560-500)

ABV/ARV²	painters	herakles	other myth	other	total vases	% herakles	total myth	% herakles
totals	bf - ABV: ca. 560-500	688	1517	1827	4032	17.06	2205	31.20
totals	rf - ARV²: ca. 530-500	100	650	965	1715	5.83	750	13.33
grand total	attic vases	788	2167	2792	5747	13.71	2955	26.67

From Table 7, a combination of Tables 5 and 6, we can get a rough idea[121] of the proportion

of vases produced in Athens in and around the Peisistratean period that carried Herakles scenes. This

figure of 13.71% is a far cry from Boardman's 44%, but I would suggest that it is a far more accurate

reflection of Herakles' popularity than Boardman's figure, and that it has been derived from a sounder

calculation method. How it compares with the surrounding periods will be seen from the remaining

tables.

Table 8: Proportion of early black-figure Attic vases with Herakles scenes

ABV	painters	herakles	other myth	other	total vases	% herakles	total myth	% herakles
I	earliest bf	1	26	28	55	1.82	27	3.70
II	early bf	8	257	189	454	1.76	265	3.02
III	siana cups I - c ptr	8	50	117	175	4.57	58	13.79
VI	kleitias	1	15	14	30	3.33	16	6.25
VIII	tyrrhenian group	29	97	39	165	17.58	126	23.02
totals	early bf	47	445	387	879	5.35	492	9.55

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[121] Still only a rough idea because only the vases listed by Beazley are taken into account, and because the chronological limits must remain imprecise.

Table 8 gives some idea of the popularity of Herakles scenes before the Peisistratid era. The percentage is low as it stands; if the Tyrrhenians are removed it would drop even lower, to 2.52%.[122] This is a considerable difference from the figure as calculated for the Peisistratid era; even if the numbers are not as spectacular as Boardman's, it is still clear that Herakles scenes did gain in popularity under the Peisistratids.

Table 9: Proportion of fifth century black-figure vases with Herakles scenes

ABV	painters	herakles	other myth	other	total vases	% herakles	total myth	% herakles
XXVI	some very late std neck-amph	3	7	3	13	23.08	10	30.00
XXVII	panathenaics	1	24	72	97	1.03	25	4.00
XXVIII	oinochoai, trefoil, I	31	124	83	238	13.03	155	20.00
XXIX	oinochoai, less common	1	1	3	5	20.00	2	50.00
XXX	oinochoai, flat-mouthed	1	7	0	8	12.50	8	12.50
XXXI	oinochoai: olpai	0	4	5	9	0.00	4	0.00
XXXII	lekythos I: chiefly earlier	4	52	95	151	2.65	56	7.14
XXXIII	lekythos II: gela ptr	2	22	15	39	5.13	24	8.33
XXXIV	lekythos III: edinburgh ptr	22	64	36	122	18.03	86	25.58
XXXV	lekythos IV: class of ath 851	58	271	128	457	12.69	329	17.63
XXXVI	lekythos V: saph/diosph ptrs	12	56	90	158	7.59	68	17.65
XXXVII	lekythos VI: thes/ath ptrs	47	157	102	306	15.36	204	23.04
XXXVIII	lekythos VII: haimon grp	135	560	497	1192	11.33	695	19.42
XXIX	lekythos VIII: empo/bel ptrs	7	23	34	64	10.94	30	23.33
XL	small neck-amphorae	51	219	41	311	16.40	270	18.89
XLI	kyathoi and mastoids	5	54	11	70	7.14	59	8.47
XLII	skyphoi	8	104	105	217	3.69	112	7.14
XLIII	late cups	19	279	58	356	5.34	298	6.38

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[122] The Tyrrhenians seem to have been a special line, produced specifically for export to Etruria, in an Etruscan, not Athenian, style. Their special status argues against using them to help draw conclusions about the normal Athenian output. Cf. also *infra*, p. 92

XLIV	miniature vases	0	8	32	40	0.00	8	0.00
totals	bf - *ABV*: 5th century	407	2036	1410	3853	10.56	2443	16.66

Table 10: Proportion of late archaic Attic red-figure vases with Herakles scenes

ARV²	painters	herakles	other myth	other	total vases	% herakles	total myth	% herakles
14	kleophrades ptr	20	53	54	127	15.75	73	27.40
15	berlin ptr	17	178	125	320	5.31	195	8.72
16	nikoxenos/eucharides ptrs	8	80	76	164	4.88	88	9.09
17	myson + col. krater ptrs	11	100	66	177	6.21	111	9.91
18	syleus sequence	8	62	37	107	7.48	70	11.43
19	syriskos group	5	54	127	186	2.69	59	8.47
20	other large vase ptrs	28	170	177	375	7.47	198	14.14
21	ptrs of small vases	3	69	65	137	2.19	72	4.17
22	onesimos	6	61	156	223	2.69	67	8.96
23	antiphon ptr	3	74	170	247	1.21	77	3.90
24	colmar ptr	1	49	88	138	0.72	50	2.00
25	triptolemos ptr	1	28	88	117	0.85	29	3.45
26	brygos ptr & his circle	10	285	515	810	1.23	295	3.39
27	douris	9	87	244	340	2.65	96	9.38
28	ashby ptr and others	3	12	12	27	11.11	15	20.00
29	makron	4	131	230	365	1.10	135	2.96
totals	rf - *ARV²* late archaic	137	1493	2230	3860	3.55	1630	8.40

Tables 9 and 10 show Herakles' popularity in the post-Peisistratid period. For both black and red-figure, there is a drop-off in the fifth century as one would like to see, if support for Boardman's argument is desired.

In this chapter I have shown that Boardman's method was wrong, and that it therefore led to inaccurate results. Equally, I have shown that Herakles scenes were more popular in Attic vase painting than in the vase-painting of the other centres studied, and that they were more popular in the Peisistratean era than in the preceding and following periods. Furthermore, for whatever reasons

certain Attic vase-painters were very much interested in Herakles scenes. While the impressive statistical background that Boardman presented for his arguments has disappeared, his theory deserves further study; the revised statistics do not disprove his arguments, even if they no longer strongly support them.

CHAPTER FOUR: A CLOSER LOOK AT THE CHANGES

With the statistical background settled, we can return to the actual Herakles images and the changes observed in them. In Chapter One these changes were described as presented by Boardman and his followers; in this chapter, a critical examination of the changes will be undertaken. We need to know whether or not the changes were as clearcut as has been suggested, when they are first observed, and how long they lasted. Once this has been done for the scenes chosen for in-depth discussion, the changes will be placed into their context. Three questions will be discussed: whether Herakles becomes popular in more media than just vase-painting; whether any of the developments can be seen in the vase-paintings of other centres; and finally, whether Herakles scenes are the only scenes to undergo changes in Attic vase-painting of our period. If support for Boardman's theories is wanted, then any developments should be confined to Herakles scenes in Attic vase-painting of the Peisistratean period; the broader the range and/or timespan of any developments, the less likely that an explanation as narrow in scope as Boardman's will suffice.

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Looking first at the Herakles vs Nereus/Triton battle,[123] we can begin with a summary of the major developments observed during the scene's run, and then turn to the main problem areas: the chronological distribution of the examples, the difficulty in dating precisely the changeover from

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[123] The most recent, comprehensive study of this scene is Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, in which all the examples available to her (137 out of 161) are catalogued, classified, and analysed. Bibliography and references to Beazley's lists are given in her main catalogue.

Nereus to Triton, and the question of how widely acknowledged this change of identity actually was. As the scene is essentially confined to black-figure vases, this discussion will also be similarly limited.[124]

The earliest examples, Ahlberg-Cornell's Group I, date to ca. 590-70.[125] Six vases belong to this group; two are just fragments, showing little more than the monster's head. In the other four Herakles - in his usual position - stands astride the monster and, with the two upper bodies parallel, grapples with it from behind, all the while looking back at the animal protomes - serpents and once also a lion's head - projecting from the monster's body and symbolising its ability to change form. Both figures wear a short chiton. On a hydria by the KX Painter, the monster is named Nereus,[126] while on another, a column krater by Sophilos, there are spectators - two males and Hermes.[127]

Group II runs from ca. 570-60.[128] Noteworthy here is the de-emphasising of the protomes; only on a hydria in Taranto[129] do we have a certain example, a lion's head, but it seems to be there more out of convention than as an integral part of the scene - the head faces the monster's tail, and Herakles has not bothered to turn his own head to look at it. This vase, the latest of the group, is the last example we have with a protome. It also appears to be the first to have an old man, who on later vases will sometimes be named as Nereus, standing by watching the action. On a kylix in London[130] meanwhile, Herakles has turned his head to look back although there are no protomes; perhaps the scheme with protomes was still an influence, or, as Ahlberg-Cornell has suggested, there was just no

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[124] Brommer 1973, 150 lists only three red-figure examples, of which one is doubtful: Athens Akr. 147 = *ARV²* 89,19; once Chiusi = *ARV²* 1625; Rome, Barraco 226 (doubtful).

[125] Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, 14-17, 99.

[126] Samos Museum = Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, I.5.

[127] Athens NM 12587 = Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, I.6.

[128] Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, 18.

[129] Taranto 4343 = Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, II.4.

[130] London BM 1947.7-14.16 = Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, II.1, attributed by her to the Heidelberg Painter.

room to add them. This vase is also noteworthy for being the first example on which Herakles wears the lion's skin, henceforward his usual costume. The sea-monster no longer wears a chiton.[131]

Groups III and IV date to ca. 560-40,[132] and with them the main run of the scene begins. Although the old, parallel positioning of Herakles' and the sea-monster's upper bodies will linger, a new scheme with the bodies overlapping to form an "X" is developed, and becomes the scheme of choice.[133]

Ahlberg-Cornell's next three groups (V, VI, VII) date to the years around 530.[134] Only now do we again have inscriptions naming the figures. On a hydria in the Louvre,[135] Nereus is written in front of an old man, Amphitrite behind a woman onlooker, and Herakles in front of the combatants. This seems to confirm that the sea-monster and Nereus are viewed as independent entities, although it must be remembered that the old man was first seen back in Group II. Likewise on an amphora in the Villa Giulia,[136] the names Herakles and Triton - the latter's first appearance - frame the central scene. There are no onlookers here. On a third vase, a hydria in London,[137] Nereus is written above the old man, Herakles above the combatants, and Triton in front of them.

Groups VIII, IX, and X run between ca. 520 and 500.[138] Most noteworthy are two amphorae by the Euphiletos Painter,[139] on which two old men frame the central scene rather than the usual one, and a hydria in the Louvre,[140] on which Herakles pursues the monster. Our last inscriptions come from

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[131] Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, 20, 99.

[132] Ibid, 26, 31.

[133] Ibid, 30, attributes the first surviving examples of this development to the Painter of Berlin 1686.

[134] Ibid, 40, 44, 50.

[135] Louvre F293 = Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, V.9, from the Nikosippos Group.

[136] Villa Giulia = Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, V.10, from the Three-Line Group.

[137] London BM B223 = Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, VI.16, from the Group of Toronto 305.

[138] Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, 56, 61, 64.

[139] London BM B201 = Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, IX.7; Philadelphia market = Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, IX.8.

[140] Louvre C 10684 = Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, IX.9, related to Würzburg 315.

these groups, two from each of IX and X. All these vases are hydriae; on the Leningrad[141] and New York[142] examples Herakles is written above the combatants, on the Berlin example[143] the names Herakles and Triton frame the central scene, and on the Cambridge example[144] Herakles frames the figures' heads, Triton is added above the scene, and two of the Nereids who watch the fight are also named: Potnia and Kallikhora.

The last examples of this scene come from the early fifth century, and make up Groups XI and XII.[145] Of note is a skyphos in Marseilles,[146] on which Herakles sits on the sea-monster's back and the two are turned to face each other. The sea-monster's chiton, not observed since Group I, also differentiates this vase.[147]

The chronological distribution of the scenes is as follows: ca. 590-70 (Group I) - 6, ca. 570-60 (II) - 5, ca. 560-40 (III, IV) - 20, ca. 530 (V, VI, VII) - 46, ca. 520-500 (VIII, IX, X) - 42, after ca. 500 (XI, XII) - 18. The accidents of survival require any statistical observations to be used with caution, but over two-thirds of the known examples date to ca. 530 or later. The amount of propaganda value that could have been extracted from the scene at this time, roughly 25-30 years at the earliest after the event which it was supposed to commemorate, is doubtful. Moreover, the scene did not die out with the Peisistratids. A significant number of examples, possibly even more than a third depending on which side of 510 the vases in groups VIII, IX, and X fall, date to after the death

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[141] Leningrad B1516 (St. 25) = Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, IX.1, by the Pasikles Painter.

[142] New York 12.198.3 = Ahlberg-Cornell X.9, unattributed.

[143] Berlin F1906 = Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, IX.10, by the Rycroft Painter.

[144] Cambridge GR 33-1864 = Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, X.11, unattributed.

[145] Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, 70, 76. The one vase in Group XII is known only from a drawing, which may be inaccurate.

[146] Marseilles 7017 = Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, XI.1, by the Theseus Painter.

[147] Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, 74-5.

of Hippias. This would suggest that Herakles was not as unacceptable under the democracy as one would have expected him to be, if he had been as closely tied to the Peisistratidai as has been argued.

The problems in determining whether Herakles is fighting Nereus or Triton do not support the political interpretation of the scene either. To recap the inscriptional evidence, the sea-monster is named as Nereus on one early vase (Group I, ca. 590-70), and as Triton on four later vases - two from Group VI (ca. 530), and one from each of Groups IX and X (ca. 520-500). The old man is named as Nereus on two vases, one from Group V (ca. 530), and one from Group VI (ca. 530, on which the sea-monster is named Triton).

It seems very difficult, from the above evidence, to support an argument that the sea-monster was viewed as Triton already from the 560's. Granted there were changes around this time, such as Herakles gaining the lion's skin, the sea-monster losing its chiton and protomes, the parallel grappling scheme being supplanted by the "X" shaped scheme, and the first appearance of an old man as a spectator, but none of these necessitate a change in the monster's identity. If the old man is seen as Nereus right from the start, then it is permissible to ask whether his appearance and the loss of the monster's protomes are not connected. The vase-painters' habit of depicting several episodes of a story in one scene is well-known; perhaps here we have two stages of this story - Herakles must first wrestle with Nereus in his monster form, before acquiring the information he needs from Nereus in his human form.[148]

That the sea-monster was identified with Triton by at least some artists ca. 530 is not in doubt due to the four inscriptions, nor that for at least one artist Nereus and Triton were different beings. This is a very small subset of the total however, and perhaps these identifications were not universal.

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[148] Taranto 4343, on which both the old man and a protome are included, may perhaps be explained as a transitional stage.

If they were, then it is only at this point that we can be certain that the iconography changed. Again, we are at least 25-30 years after the war with Megara, and so the connection between scene and event must be questioned.

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There are, as claimed by Boardman, two basic depictions of Herakles' Introduction to Olympos. In one he is already on Olympos and is being led, on foot, before a seated Zeus. In the other a chariot procession is being readied to take him there. Athena acts as his charioteer; Iolaos and various gods and goddesses may also be present. In a variant of this scene, some examples portray Herakles and Athena riding in a chariot, either still on the way to Olympos or already there. Of the two basic schemes, the chariot introductions are much more prevalent; Moon counts over 170 examples, approximately six times the number of scenes showing the introduction on foot.[149]

Again, the dating of these chariot introductions as well as their chronological distribution cause problems for Boardman's interpretation of the scene. The earliest examples known are a hydria from the Tyrrhenian Group, dating to ca. 565-50,[150] and a Siana cup by Lydos, dating to the mid-sixth century.[151] Both depict the variant, not the standard chariot introduction. Further examples come from two members of group E - the Towry White Painter[152] and the Painter of London B213,[153] Exekias,[154] and the Swing Painter.[155] Exekias is interesting, in that we have two other scenes by him on this theme. One depicts the result - Herakles among the gods, the other the more standard chariot

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[149] Moon 1983b, 98.

[150] Ibid, 102; Cabinet des Médailles 253 = *ABV* 104, 127.

[151] Ibid; Taranto = *ABV* 112, 65.

[152] Cambridge 32.10 = *ABV* 141, 1*bis*.

[153] London BM B213 = *ABV* 143,1.

[154] Athens = *ABV* 145, 19.

[155] Naples 2460 = *ABV* 307, 56; Rhodes 14093 = *ABV* 307, 57.

procession,[156] which Exekias may have developed. Only in the last quarter of the century does this version become popular, according to Moon, who claims that one-half of the examples date to ca. 525-15, the other half to ca. 515-500.[157] In fact, the scene may carry on into the early fifth century; at any rate scenes with Herakles and Athena in a chariot were painted by, among others, the Berlin and Edinburgh Painters.[158]

It may be, therefore, that this scene began before the Phye episode; it certainly became popular only after Peisistratos' death; and it certainly outlasted the rule of his sons. Boardman has argued, reasonably enough, that we need not be concerned that a pre-existing scene was later taken over for propaganda purposes, because familiarity with a scene would ensure understanding of the message being put forth.[159] Much more problematical for his theory is the roughly 30 year gap between the rise in popularity of the scene and the event it is alleged to commemorate. To Boardman this difference is "irrelevant",[160] but one would have expected the scene to reach its peak of popularity when the event was still fresh in everyone's memory. Moreover there is, again, the continued popularity of the scene after the expulsion of Hippias to consider. Of all the possibly "political" scenes that hang on under the democracy this one is the most unlikely, in that it would commemorate the accession of a tyrant, not one of his perhaps still acceptable deeds.

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Concerning Herakles' struggle for the Delphic tripod, again the forms of the depiction present no problems, while the dates and distribution of the examples do. There are two basic schemes: old and

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[156] On Olympos: Orvieto 78 = *ABV* 144, 10; Chariot: Orvieto 187 = *ABV* 145, 11.

[157] Moon 1983b, 102.

[158] Berlin Ptr: Frankfurt, Städel Institut = *ABV* 409; Edinburgh Ptr: Vatican 402.1 = *ABV* 478, 3.

[159] Boardman 1989, 159.

[160] Ibid.

new.[161] In the former the tripod stands on the ground while Herakles and Apollo tug at it from opposite sides; in the latter Herakles has the tripod in hand and is trying to escape, pursued by Apollo who may also have taken hold of the tripod in an attempt to stop him.

Nine vases depict the old scheme: six Attic, two Boiotian, and one Chalkidian. Of these, two of the Attic and all three of the non-Attic examples predate the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (ca. 525); the other four date to the first quarter of the fifth century, showing that the scheme did linger.[162]

The Siphnian treasury is important in this context because its East pediment carried a depiction of Herakles stealing the tripod (Plate 7). The standing scheme was not followed here; instead we have the first appearance of the new scheme. Here Zeus stands between the two combatants. Following Apollo are Artemis, Leto, and a charioteer with chariot, while Athena, Iolaos with his chariot, and another male, possibly Hermes, precede Herakles.[163]

By far the greater number of the vase-paintings, 178 in all, postdate the Siphnian Treasury and follow the new scheme as depicted in its East pediment. The series runs through the first half of the fifth century. The question of sculptural influence on vase-paintings will be examined in greater detail in a later chapter,[164] but one must anticipate conclusions somewhat at this point and suggest that here we seem to have a clear case of influence, not however in details but in generalities. The painters were seemingly attracted by the running scheme; copying exactly the pediment, whether in layout or

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[161] Cf. von Bothmer 1977 for a complete list, broken down by scheme and within each scheme, by composition, of the vases known to him.

[162] Ibid, 51.

[163] Ibid, 52.

[164] Cf. *infra*, 97-107.

cast of participants, was not a concern.[165] An examination of von Bothmer's list uncovers twenty-two

compositional variants, some observed with great frequency, others on just one or two vases.

As only two extant Attic examples predate the Siphnian Treasury, it seems incorrect to claim

that this scene becomes important in Attic vase-painting in the 560's.[166] On current evidence, this

does not occur until the 520's, presumably under the influence of the Siphnian Treasury and therefore

possibly not until after Peisistratos' death. Moreover, the scene's popularity long outlives the

Peisistratidai, and as before, one must ask why the democracy would continue to accept the tyrants'

propaganda symbols. One must also ask why the Peisistratidai would wait until roughly 70 years after

the First Sacred War before beginning to refer to it in propaganda.[167] Even a prior connection with

the Alkmaionidai seems unlikely - they may have been more in power in the earlier part of the century,

between Peisistratos' various exiles, but except for perhaps those early examples the vases do not come

from this period.

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Turning to the broader picture, we can first mention Herakles' popularity in other media. A

full treatment of these points is reserved for the discussion of possible influences acting upon the vase-

painters;[168] it will be enough here to summarise the evidence. In and around the Peisistratean period,

Herakles scenes were not the exclusive preserve of Attic vase-painters. At Athens, his exploits also

found their way onto various pediments, discovered, with one exception from the Agora, on the

Akropolis. Elsewhere in Greece, we have the aforementioned East pediment of the Siphnian Treasury.

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[165] von Bothmer 1977, 52.

[166] As Boardman has done: Boardman 1978a, 229. One must however make allowances for the accidents of survival - there may have been more examples from this earlier period, which have not survived.

[167] Assuming that the First Sacred War even occurred, which is doubtful. Cf. *infra*, 67-78.

[168] Cf. *infra*, Chapter Six.

As for free-standing sculpture, a group including Herakles was apparently erected in Sikyon, slightly before our period.[169] In literature at least one epic poem dealing with Herakles, Stesichoros' *Geryoneis*, came from this period.[170] Robertson has made a case for another, the *Aegimius* of Kerkops of Miletos, claiming that it described Herakles' *katabasis*.[171]

Suggesting that Herakles was "popular" outside of Attic vase-painting would be rash, as we have so little evidence to work with. It can safely be said though that he was not unknown, and except for the Athenian pedimental sculptures, it would be very difficult to see the Peisistratidai and their propaganda behind the representations and poems.

As we saw in the last chapter, Herakles was not unknown in the vase-paintings of other centres either, even if he was chosen as a subject relatively rarely. In both Lakonian and Chalkidian vase-painting, there are too few examples to draw many conclusions. In Lakonian ware, myth scenes in general only appear between ca. 580-500,[172] while most of the Herakles scenes date to ca. 570-50.[173] Chalkidian vases date to ca. 550-10;[174] von Bothmer has given a more precise date to the example depicting Herakles' Theft of the Tripod: ca. 530.[175] Both fabrics show a wide range of scenes with few repetitions: nine (maybe ten) different Herakles scenes on fourteen (maybe eighteen) total Lakonian

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[169] Pliny *HN* 36.9-10.

[170] Cf. Robertson 1969; Page 1973.

[171] Cf. Robertson 1980.

[172] Pipili 1987, Introduction.

[173] Ibid, 1-13.

[174] Rumpf 1927, 139.

[175] Naples Stg. 120 = Rumpf 1927, pls. 173-4; von Bothmer 1977, 51.

vases with Herakles scenes,[176] and five different Herakles scenes on seven total Chalkidian vases with Herakles scenes.[177]

That Lakonian vase-painters only started depicting mythological scenes ca. 580 does point to a major change; however, it came before our period. Regarding the Herakles scenes, not enough survive to determine whether any of the changes observed in the Attic examples also occurred in the Lakonian. The fight with the Nemean Lion is the earlier, stand-up version; similarly, the Introduction to Olympos is the earlier version, with Herakles being led before a seated Zeus. While some Attic influence has been postulated,[178] Corinthian vase-paintings probably carried greater weight. In any case, most of the themes depicted by the Lakonian painters occurred earlier in Corinthian ware.[179]

The Chalkidian vases fall right into our period, but as with the Lakonian, too few Herakles scenes survive to comment on possible changes in their iconography. The Theft of the Tripod follows the old scheme, with the tripod standing on the ground, while the Nemean Lion scene is on a small fragment, too small to enable much to be said about it. The only change that can be noted is the general one, that this ware began to be produced.

More Corinthian depictions of Herakles survive - a perusal of Amyx uncovers roughly forty[180] - but only one[181] comes from our period. Most are earlier; three come from the later fifth century.[182]

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[176] There are discrepancies between the lists of Stibbe and Pipili: the latter has counted as Herakles scenes several which the former considered doubtful, and has added two Herakles scenes which were not known to Stibbe. Cf. Stibbe 1972, 269-90; Pipili 1987, 1-13, 111-12.

[177] Cf. Rumpf 1927, 7-39. One subject is unidentifiable - only a fragment with Herakles' name is preserved; the fight with Geryon is depicted twice, once at an early stage of the combat (Cabinet des Médailles 202 = Rumpf 1927 no.3, pls. 6-9), and once nearer the end (London BM B155 = Rumpf 1927, no.6, pls. 13-15).

[178] Pipili 1987, 1, for the Nemean Lion scene.

[179] Cf. Pipili 1987, 1-13.

[180] Amyx 1988, 627-31 gives a summary of Herakles scenes in Corinthian vase-painting.

[181] Amsterdam 1295 = Amyx 1988, 264 #2, depicting Herakles and Kyknos. There may have been more; Amyx admits that more kylikes exist than he has listed (Amyx 1988, 252), which raises the questions of how much has he omitted, whether kylikes or other shapes, and what scenes these vases carried.

The almost complete lack of interest in Herakles during the Peisistratean period is a noteworthy

change, but it can be explained by the fact that the mid-sixth century was the time when Corinthian

vase-painting, especially in terms of figural scenes, collapsed completely.[183]

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The last subtopic to be examined deals with the idea of a general change in sixth-century Attic

vase-painting. Both Shapiro and Schefold have studied this phenomenon, although from different

angles. The former has examined just the themes depicted through the century, while the latter has in

addition dealt with questions of style and interpretations of the changing moods of the era. Each

approach has its advantages, although Schefold's relies heavily on highly subjective factors which may

not be universally perceived. Nevertheless, both lead to the conclusion that change was not confined

to representations of Herakles, but that it can be observed throughout the vase-painters' mythological

repertoire.

In his study Shapiro has argued for three phases in sixth-century Attic vase-paintings. In the

first are the old scenes, which may run from as far back as the Protoattic period to ca. 550, after which

they decline noticeably or disappear; in the third are the new scenes, which start ca. 570/60 and run

to ca. 500 and beyond. Between the two lies a transitional period, dating to ca. 570-50, in which both

old and new scenes coexist.[184]

Amongst the old scenes, Shapiro includes depictions of Bellerophon and the Chimaira, the

full narrative version of Perseus and the Gorgons, the Theban Cycle, and the Polyphemos and Circe

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[182] Amyx 1988, 275.

[183] Ibid, 272.

[184] Shapiro 1990. 115-6.

episodes from the Odyssey, to name but a few.[185] In the new scenes, Herakles plays a major role. Portrayals of his labours involving the Nemean Lion, Hydra, Erymanthian Boar, Kerynitian Hind, Amazons, Apples of the Hesperides, Geryon, and Kerberos, also his dealings with Kyknos, Acheloos, Busiris, and the Kerkopes, and finally his Struggle for the Tripod and Introduction to Olympos all make their appearance.[186] Other new scenes include various episodes from the Trojan cycle, the Gigantomachy, the Birth of Athena, and portrayals of Dionysos and his circle.[187] A few scenes defy such classification, and remain popular throughout the century. Among them are various episodes in the life of Akhilles, and two Herakles scenes: his battles with Nessos and, as we have already seen, Nereus/Triton.[188]

Shapiro has also suggested that the output of certain painters seems to follow these phases. Early artists such as the Nessos and Gorgon Painters, Sophilos, and the Komast Group, for instance, only paint old and overlapping scenes. Transitional era painters such as the C and Heidelberg Painters, and Kleitias, paint all three classes. On the other hand, Lydos paints only overlapping and new scenes, even though old scenes still existed when he began his work, in the 560's.[189] This is an interesting approach, and deserves a fuller study of its own; it would not be unreasonable to expect some correlation between new painters and new scenes.

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[185] Ibid, 116-22, with the statistics.

[186] Ibid, 122-6.

[187] Ibid, 126-30.

[188] Ibid, 131-3.

[189] Ibid, 134.

Schefold also discerns three phases in both the century and the vase-paintings: the epic, dramatic, and lyric phases, which he correlates to perceived developments in the broader artistic world. Each phase occupies roughly a third of the century.[190]

In the first, epic, phase, the vase-painters are said to have concentrated on frieze-like scenes, involving groups rather than individuals. The figures are delicate; the stories detached from the viewer's world. Other characteristics are an attention to rich details, and a preference for themes of wrongdoing and the subsequent punishment that restores order. All these traits are linked by Schefold to a renewal of epic poetry, and its conversion from oral to written form. As examples of this stage, we can, for instance, look to the François Vase as well as representations of the Gigantomachy.[191]

Around 560 there was a change to the dramatic phase. Now a shift in scale and emphasis occurred, away from friezes containing large groups towards fewer but larger, more powerful and more individualised figures arrayed in more monumental compositions, placed in panels on a vase. Rather than the independence observed in the epic phase, myths were instead seen as having more relevance to, and influence on, daily life. In poetry, the changes were paralleled in the works of Stesichoros, and in the later invention of tragedy. As for subject matter, themes such as the Birth of Athena and the exploits of Herakles, which reflect Athenian self-confidence, were preferred.[192]

The construction of the Siphnian Treasury ca. 525, in the East frieze of which Schefold perceives a more lyric atmosphere in the composition and style, heralded the beginning of the third, lyric, phase. In vase-painting there was a return to broader contexts, with the addition of more figures to the scenes, and also even greater emphasis on the individualisation of the hero. Pre-existing scenes

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[190] Schefold 1992, 4.

[191] Ibid, 4-5, 305-6. Cf. also Schefold 1972, 19.

[192] Schefold 1992, 4-5, 307-8. Cf. also Schefold 1972, 22.

are said to have received a more atmospheric treatment, and all scenes, whether old or newly developed, could according to Schefold display a sense of divine ecstasy. *Kalos* names on vases enjoyed their peak popularity, while in poetry this was the age of Anakreon and Simonides, victory odes and symposium songs praising beautiful youths.[193]

There was also, according to Schefold, a change in the way the apotheosis of Herakles was viewed in these last two phases. In the dramatic phase, Herakles was seen as attaining divine status through his physical and heroic prowess, whereas in the lyric phase, the emphasis was placed on his moral excellence.[194]

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In sum, the evidence presented in this chapter argues against a narrowly political explanation for the changes observed in the iconography of Herakles. The chosen scenes do not always begin, or at least reach their greatest popularity, at the times we would have expected them to; nor do they end when expected. Artists in other media, and also other cities, displayed interest in Herakles. Finally, change in sixth-century Attic vase-painting was widespread, involving the entire mythological repertoire and encompassing both the themes represented and the style of the representations.

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[193] Schefold 1992, 4-5, 309-13.

[194] Ibid, 310.

CHAPTER FIVE: HISTORICAL ALLUSIONS IN VASE-PAINTINGS

Having looked in detail at the changes in the iconography of Herakles, we can now turn our attention to some of the events that Boardman and his followers see reflected in the vase-paintings. For the political interpretations to hold, these events must first have happened, at the appropriate times and with the appropriate participants. I shall discuss first the events which are claimed to underlie the scenes of Herakles' battle with Nereus/Triton, his introduction to Olympos and his theft of the Delphic tripod. A look at two of the other events brought into this discussion - the reorganisation of the Panathenaia, and the takeover of Eleusis - will conclude this chapter.

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It has already been noted[195] that three different events have been proposed as the background for the scenes of Herakles' fight with Nereus/Triton. The first of these is the alleged capture of the Megarian port of Nisaia by Peisistratos, a feat that is to be placed into the greater context of an ongoing struggle between Athens and Megara for the possession of Salamis. The cause and starting date of the war remain unknown. It is clear though that whoever possessed the island would be able to at least annoy the other; Legon suggests that such action would have hurt the Megarians the most, and so they, at the end of the seventh century, gained possession of the island and settled it with their own people.[196]

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[195] Cf. *supra*, 11-12.

[196] Legon 1981, 101. No sources support this assertion; Plutarch does state though that the war had been long-lasting before the Solonian intervention (Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 8). French 1959, 54, giving Salamis much more importance than Legon could accept, saw the eventual Athenian victory as the critical event for Attika in this era: it allowed for much easier Athenian access to the Isthmus and unhindered access to the Athenian port at Phaleron for all, thus greatly improving Athenian trade facilities. Cf. also French 1957, in which this argument is presented in detail.

A multitude of sources mention subsequent events in this war, but do not lead to a clear picture of it. In Herodotos there is just the bald statement that before he became tyrant, Peisistratos had distinguished himself in the war against Megara, having captured Nisaia amongst other achievements.[197] The *Athenian Constitution* first follows Herodotos in this, but omits mention of Nisaia.[198] A little later though, when commenting on the allegation that Peisistratos had been Solon's *eromenos*, it dismisses this as nonsense, as it does the possibility of Peisistratos' having been a general in the war for Salamis, because the men's ages would not have allowed it.[199] Later still, it claims that Peisistratos had been a popular leader and general before assuming power.[200] Pausanias mentions only the capture of Salamis, stating that some Megarian exiles betrayed the island to Athens.[201] Three authors - Aeneas Tacticus, Plutarch, Polyaenus - remain to be discussed; with them serious confusion begins.

Only Aeneas Tacticus, a fourth century writer, specifies how Peisistratos effected the capture.[202] Peisistratos, while still a general, learnt of a planned night attack by ship-borne Megarians on the women of Athens as they celebrated the rites at Eleusis. In response he laid a trap, and after the Megarians had landed and were on their way inland he attacked. Most of the Megarians were killed, and their ships were captured. Peisistratos then crewed these ships with his own troops, along with a few women, and sailed for Megara. Many Megarians went to the harbour to see the (as they thought) captives, but found themselves being attacked instead when the troops disembarked. The troops' orders,

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[197] Hdt. 1.59.

[198] *Ath. Pol.* 14.1.

[199] Ibid, 17.2.

[200] Ibid, 22.3.

[201] Paus. 1.40.5.

[202] Legon 1981, 126-7.

which they fulfilled, were to capture alive as many of the leading men of Megara as they could.[203]

Peisistratos now held hostages and Megara's port; whereas the loss of Salamis would have inconvenienced Megara, these losses would have been crippling. Legon suggests that this would have been the time for the Spartan arbitration,[204] as a result of which Athens gained control of Salamis while Megara regained Nisaia along with the hostages.[205]

Plutarch gives two versions, the first involving both Solon and Peisistratos. After a lengthy war Athens was clearly not in possession of Salamis when Solon, feigning madness to evade a law banning any suggestion to renew the struggle, recited a poem[206] in the agora urging just that. Peisistratos helped stir up support and the war was renewed, with Solon as commander.[207] Together they sailed to Cape Kolias, where the women of Athens were sacrificing to Demeter. Solon made plans for a trap and then sent a "deserter" to the Megarians on Salamis, who was to let them know that here was a chance to capture the leading Athenian women, if they would only sail back with him. The Megarians believed him, and sent some men. When the shipload of Megarians arrived, they saw what they thought was a group of women on the beach. Once they landed however, they discovered that the women were actually armed youths in disguise. As a result of this trick the Megarians were all killed, and the Athenians were able to sail over to Salamis and capture it.[208] Polyaenus's version is much the same as this one, except that more than one shipload of Megarians was involved.[209]

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[203] Aen. Tac. 4.8-11.

[204] Which is mentioned in Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 10 (Cf. *infra*, on Plutarch's second version of the story).

[205] Legon 1981, 137-9. He suggests the 560's or maybe the early 550's as the date of the arbitration.

[206] Solon, fragments 1-3 (West), of which fragment 1 is quoted in Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 8.2, and fragments 2-3 in Diogenes Laertius *Vita Philosophorum* 1.47 as well as partially in Plut. *Mor.* 813-14.

[207] From this point on, Plutarch's story is very similar to Aeneas Tacticus'.

[208] Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 8.

[209] Polyaenus *Strat* 1.20.2.

In Plutarch's second version, which he prefers, Solon with one warship and a number of fishing boats sailed out from Athens accompanied by 500 volunteers. They anchored off the island; the Megarians in the town of Salamis, seeing this, sent out a ship to investigate. This ship was captured by Solon; its crew was replaced by some of the Athenians, and it was sent back to the town. Meanwhile, the remainder of the force attacked the Megarians by land. In the course of this battle, the ship reached the city, and captured it.[210] The war continued nevertheless, until it was finally decided by a board of Spartan arbitrators.[211]

A third piece of information is also given by Plutarch, which is tied into the factional strife in Athens that led to the exile of the Alkmaionids at some time before the First Sacred War. It is claimed that in those unsettled times, both Salamis and Nisaia were again lost to the Megarians.[212]

The problems are clear, and resolving them is difficult. It is disconcerting that the greater the timespan between event and source, the greater the amount of detail given. Any interpretation presupposes selection and/or reconciliation of the data, and is therefore open to question.

Peisistratos' birthdate becomes important in this context. Davies, whose dating is accepted here, has suggested a date ca. 605-600, based on a combination of factors: the birth of Hippias, which he argues can not have occurred later than the late 570's, Peisistratos' death in 528/7, and Peisistratos' holding of a general's office before 561.[213]

In neither Herodotos nor the *Athenian Constitution* is there an indication of the interval between Peisistratos' achievements in the war and his accession to tyranny. It is however reasonable

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[210] Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 9.

[211] Ibid, 10.

[212] Ibid, 12.

[213] Davies 1971, 445.

to suggest that this interval could not have been too great, if as Herodotos suggests[214] Peisistratos was using the favour he won from the earlier operation to help him win the tyranny. A date in the 560's, and most probably not in the early 560's, is indicated.

Plutarch, on the other hand, who as we have seen gave Solon a leading role in the war, placed it before the First Sacred War,[215] and seemingly before Solon's arkhonship and reforms.[216] This would move the war back into the 590's, where Legon would like to place it,[217] but where Peisistratos would clearly have been too young to participate.

If one wants to preserve the involvement of both men, a lengthy war must be postulated. Solon initiated it, and won Salamis in the early years; Peisistratos captured Nisaia much later and thus helped bring about the lasting settlement. A lengthy war is not in itself unreasonable, nor the participation of Athens' leaders in it.

Such a solution is attractive, and does the least amount of damage to the sources. The inconsistency in *Athenian Constitution* 17.2 can be explained as a product of the author's confusion of the various stages in the war.[218] A similar solution may be proposed for the problem of Plutarch's two versions. Both Figueira and Legon assign the second version to the early stage of the war, and Solon. Likewise, the first version details Peisistratos' efforts.[219] The inclusion of Solon in the first version may be a result of Plutarch's, or his sources', confusion of the stages of the war,[220] or just

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[214] Hdt 1.59.

[215] Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 11.

[216] Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 13. Legon certainly interprets the timing in this way (Legon 1981, 126).

[217] Legon 1981, 126.

[218] Moreover, the assertion that Peisistratos could not have been Solon's *eromenos* need not be true: Solon would have been about 20-25 years older than Peisistratos if Davies' suggested birthdate of ca. 630-25 for him is correct. Cf. Davies 1971, 323.

[219] Figueira 1985, 281-2; Legon 1981, 126-7.

[220] Figuiera 1985, 281; Legon 1981, 124.

another example of the later tendency to attribute to Solon any noteworthy developments in Archaic Athens.[221]

As for Plutarch's third snippet of information, more confusion on the author's part is apparent. The idea that Salamis and especially *Nisaia* were lost *again* is troubling, considering that the other references imply two losses of Salamis but mention none of Nisaia, and only one capture of each. Figueira argued that the passage actually refers to the period between Solon's and Peisistratos' participation in the war.[222] This is possible, since Peisistratos' action implies that Salamis had been lost some time earlier. On the other hand, once we start admitting confusion it is equally possible that the kernel of truth in the passage lies in the claim that Salamis was lost in the post-Kylonian unrest, and thus in the late seventh century.[223] In either case, the reference to Nisaia needs explanation, which is not readily forthcoming. It would be better to put this passage aside as being totally unreliable.

This has taken us far away from our starting point, and necessitates belief in the various additional sources and the modern interpretations. A cautionary note has however been sounded by Podlecki, who in his study of parallels between the lives and careers of Solon and Peisistratos has included some remarks on this war. For all the cases he studied in which the two men are said to have experienced the same events or followed the same course of action, Podlecki suggests that "the only reasonable position...is one of total scepticism."[224] For this particular case, he suggests that the most drastic position would be merely to allow Solon a part in the issue, because of his poems, provided that one believes at all in the war's historicity and the reliability of the poems. Less drastic would be to

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[221] Figueira 1985, 283.

[222] Ibid, 284.

[223] As Hopper believes. Cf. Hopper 1976, 186.

[224] Podlecki 1987, 9.

accept the war as fact, but nevertheless to refrain from making any comment on the personages involved because of a lack of definitive evidence.[225]

Podlecki makes a valid point in stating that if we allow Solon a successful role in the war, we should not try to force a role for Peisistratos by postulating a subsequent loss of Salamis, just so that he could share in the glory of a victory.[226] Against this we could argue that neither in Herodotos nor in Aeneas Tacticus is there a mention of Solonian involvement. Furthermore, at least one later writer[227] expressly denied Solon a role. To be sure there is Solon's poem about Salamis, but if we deny any truth to it and moreover if we see the references to Solon in the *Athenian Constitution* and Plutarch as all representing that later tendency to attribute all archaic Athenian achievements to Solon, then we could equally ask why we should force a role for Solon in the war. These points illustrate a failing of the foregoing interpretation: is it in fact valid to try and incorporate all the sources? And if not, which sources should be rejected?

If Peisistratos' involvement is accepted, it must be with the realisation that a great deal of doubt surrounds the whole issue. Boardman's argument therefore appears very adventurous. If, on the other hand, we reject Herodotos and deny a role for Peisistratos, then Boardman's argument fails completely.

Peisistratos' conquest of Sigeion has also been proposed as the event underlying these Herakles scenes. According to Herodotos, Peisistratos took Sigeion from the Mytileneans, and later installed Hegesistratos, his son by an Argive woman, as ruler. The latter held his position with difficulty; a running fight with the Mytileneans at Akhilleion, in which the poet Alkaios was also involved, ended

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[225] Ibid, 10.

[226] Ibid.

[227] Daimachos of Plataia *FGH* 65, F7.

when both sides agreed to arbitration. Periander, chosen as the arbitrator, awarded each side what they already held, and so the Athenians kept control of Sigeion.[228] From the *Athenian Constitution* we learn that Hegesistratos' mother was Timonassa, and that there was some debate over whether Peisistratos married her during his first tyranny or first exile. Furthermore, Hegesistratos is said to have led an Argive force at Pallene in support of his father.[229]

A different version of the story is preserved in Apollodoros. We learn that Phrynon, a pankratist and Olympic winner, led a party of Athenian settlers to the area. The Mytileneans objected to this settlement, and Phrynon was killed after a single combat with Pittakos. Arbitration by Periander eventually settled the issue.[230] From Eusebius a date of 637/6 is obtained for the Olympic victory.[231] Jeffery places the settlement in the 610's, arguing that the position of *oikistes* required a mature man.[232] The date of Phrynon's death is also obtained from Eusebius: 607/6.[233]

Several problems must be dealt with if these accounts are to be reconciled. Chief among them is the idea in Herodotos that Periander and Alkaios were Hegesistratos' contemporaries, considering that the death of Periander is usually dated to ca. 590,[234] while the birth of Hegesistratos could not have occurred until ca. 560 at the earliest, if the *Athenian Constitution's* dating of Peisistratos' marriage to Timonassa is correct. Even if it is wrong there is not much room to manoeuvre, considering the proposed late-570's birthdate for Hippias - ca. 570 would seem to be the absolutely

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[228] Hdt. 5.94-5.

[229] *Ath. Pol.* 17.4.

[230] Apollodoros *FGH* 244, F27a-b.

[231] Eusebius *Chron.*, Armenian version (Karst 185-9), which also mentions the duel.

[232] Jeffery 1976, 89.

[233] Eusebius *Chron.*, Jerome's version (Helm 98b) and Armenian version (Karst 185-9). Jerome's version also preserves alternative dates of 606/5 and 604/3 in other manuscripts.

[234] Servais 1969, 41.

earliest date possible. In the other direction, the marriage to Megakles' daughter ca. 557 provides a

terminus ante quem.

Next comes the question of Hegesistratos' role at Pallene, considering that he could have been

at most about fourteen years old at the time.[235] This certainly seems too young an age for leading an

army, and on these grounds Viviers rejects the story. He suggests that Hegesistratos may have led an

Argive army at some later point in his life, and that the two events have become confused. To support

this Viviers argues that Hegesistratos, because of his Argive mother, would actually have been

considered Argive and as much the grandson of the Argive Gorgilos as the son of the Athenian

Peisistratos. The author of the *Athenian Constitution* was simply trying to mark the connection

between Argive forces and the marriage to Timonassa that produced Hegesistratos when he included

this information.[236] One can, however, question whether Hegesistratos ever led an army. Such a role

may have been attributed to him by later commentators as a result of his name, which means 'leader

of the army.'[237] As a result, his role at Pallene moves further into the realm of conjecture.

Lastly, Eusebius' information must be dealt with. Sealey would reject it outright - although

Herodotos does make chronological mistakes, such as attributing a visit with Kroisos to Alkmaion, he

is still to be preferred because his chronological data came with the stories he heard. Eusebius, on the

other hand, was writing at a time when the oral tradition available to Herodotos had been corrupted,

its chronological data turned into "...an artificial system by speculation and theorizing."[238] Another

potential area of concern is the idea of a single combat, which recalls gladiatorial fights. This has led

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[235] Again provided that the *Ath. Pol.'s* dating of the marriage to Timonassa is correct.

[236] Viviers 1987, 10-17.

[237] W.J. Slater, Pers. comm.

[238] Sealey 1976, 54. I shall return to the question of the reliability of Eusebius later in the chapter, in conjunction with the establishment of the Greater Panathenaia.

to the suggestion that this part of the story is a Roman invention.[239] It has also been argued that the connection of Phrynon the Olympic victor with the *oikistes* Phrynon may be tenuous, given the interval between the victory and the settlement.[240] Both of these are valid points, and do call into question Apollodoros' account.

One solution would be to postulate a single war, following Herodotos, and thereby accepting a "low" dating for Periander. This was in fact the solution proposed by Will, who argued that the war occurred in Peisistratos' first tyranny.[241] Accepting the resulting "low" dating for Periander however brings many problems of its own: the rest of the Kypselids and Alkaios must be downdated too,[242] and if Apollodoros' version is to be kept, Pittakos and Phrynon.

A much better solution, involving two wars over Sigeion and thereby allowing the traditional "high" dating for the Kypselids to be maintained, has been proposed by Servais. The first war occurred as Apollodoros recounted, ca. 600, and involved Periander and Alkaios. The second occurred ca. 540 and involved Peisistratos and Hegesistratos. It was necessary because at some point after Periander's arbitration, the Mytileneans had recaptured Sigeion.[243] If the suggested date of ca. 560 for Hegesistratos' birth is correct, then ca. 540 would be about the earliest that one could place his installation as tyrant; this does not necessarily help us in dating the conquest, but it is reasonable to suggest that the interval between conquest and installation could not have been too great.

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[239] Will 1955, 383, following Brouwers.

[240] Ibid.

[241] Ibid, 389-91. He dates this tyranny to 561/0-556/5.

[242] It is difficult, on present evidence, to justify a date after 580 for Alkaios. (W.J.Slater, Pers. comm.)

[243] Servais 1969, 41-2, followed by Viviers 1987, 8-9.

A funerary inscription[244] from Sigeion, commemorating a Phanodikos son of Hermokrates of Prokonnesos and dated to not earlier than ca. 575-50 by Jeffery on account of the letter-forms[245] may be relevant, but it too is not without its problems. Two texts were included, one in Ionic script and dialect and the other in Athenian script and dialect. The Athenian element suggests some Athenian presence; if the dating is true, then the inscription can not be used as evidence for Athenian presence in the late seventh century, but could support the idea of a Peisistratean conquest.[246] Further information concerning the prytaneion mentioned in the inscription could be of great help in this context.

The apparent inconsistency in Herodotos' account has also been ingeniously cleared up by Servais. He has shown that there are solid grounds for believing that most of the passage in question was actually a flashback, brought on by the statement that Hegesistratos did not easily retain his power. This led to a recapitulation of the earlier war, but not all the pertinent details were given. Thus, it seemed as if only one war was under discussion when Herodotos actually had two in mind.[247]

We need not doubt the Athenian interest in Sigeion, but we must admit that we do not know precisely when the Peisistratid capture of Sigeion and the installation of Hegesistratos occurred. Glynn needs a date no later than the late 560's for at least the capture, to fit in with the evidence of the vases. This, on the basis of the arguments presented here, is most unlikely. Her theory must therefore be discarded, as being based on insufficient evidence.

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[244] *SIG* 2 = Jeffery 1990, Northern Colonial Area #43-44.

[245] Jeffery 1990, 72, with a further discussion in 366-7, and an illustration in Plate 71, #43-44. The inscription is also discussed in Crawford & Whitehead 1983, 91 passage 41 with commentary.

[246] Ibid, 72 with n.5.

[247] Servais 1969, 43-8.

The third possible background event, Solon's reforms and the unrest that occasioned them, was argued by Ahlberg-Cornell. The main sources are Solon's own poems detailing his actions, which are quoted and enveloped in commentary in both the *Athenian Constitution* and Plutarch.[248] This is not the place to discuss the substance of the reforms,[249] but their timing is of great interest. At issue is the question of when Solon would have had enough power to see his reforms through - during his arkhonship or after, when he was a member of the Areiopagos. Related to this problem are the dates of his arkhonship and of the unrest.

Solon's arkhonship has generally been assigned to 594/3, a date which Hignett considers quite sure because it was most probably derived from Apollodoros, and therefore the official arkhon list.[250] Our information comes from Sosikrates though, through Diogenes Laertius, and there is the possibility that neither copied their sources accurately.[251] Miller once suggested a date of 573/2, based on her interpretation of Solon's reforms and the place of the *Wappenmünzen* within those reforms,[252] but more recent work has shown that these coins were actually Peisistratean.[253] The traditional date is accepted here.

The *Athenian Constitution* seems to place most of Solon's reforms in his arkhonship;[254] Plutarch divides them into two, with the debt cancellations and associated reforms in the arkhonship

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[248] *Ath. Pol.* 5-12; Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 13-25.

[249] Nor is this the place to discuss the veracity of the information in the poems. It must be acknowledged, however, that the works of a poet and a politician need not be entirely reliable.

[250] Hignett 1952, 316-7. Plato's *Hippias Maior*, 285e is said by Hignett to prove that all the eponymous arkhons from his time to Solon's were known, and thus that Apollodoros could have had precise knowledge.

[251] Sosikrates in Diogenes Laertius 1.62.

[252] Miller 1971, 25, 46, thus opposing her earlier acceptance of the traditional date. Cf. Miller 1968.

[253] Cf. Kroll & Waggoner 1984, esp. 326-33, and Kroll 1981, esp. 20-30.

[254] *Ath. Pol.* 6-10.

and the law reforms at a later time, after the people had seen that the earlier reforms were successful.[255]

The fourth century Atthidographers concurred with this dating.[256] Miller too argued initially in support of this, suggesting that the reform process began in the months immediately preceding Solon's arkhonship, with the debt reforms.[257] Constitutional reforms were enacted during his arkhonship, and then the law-codes, once Solon had become a member of the Areiopagos. All was finished by 591/0, when Solon went off on his travels; the state of *anarkhia* that prevailed in 590/89 is seen by Miller as no coincidence.[258]

A more compelling argument for a later dating of the reforms has however been made. The 580's were clearly troubled times: there were two periods of *anarkhia*, in 590/89 and 586/5, while a Damasias held onto the arkhonship from 582/1 through the first two months of 580/79. A group of ten arkhons then finished out the year.[259] Hignett noted these difficulties, and also pointed out that as Solon was supposed to have reformed the electoral process, this further change in the arkhonship needed explanation. It would be more reasonable, he thought, to see the ten arkhons as some sort of compromise solution, and that rather than following Solon's reforms, this whole period of unrest engendered them. Therefore, they should be placed in the 570's.[260] Sealey has also pointed out that after Damasias, no further unrest is encountered until Peisistratos' first accession to power.[261]

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[255] Plut. *Vit.Sol.* 14-16.

[256] Hignett 1952, 317.

[257] Miller 1968, 67.

[258] Ibid, 77-8. Cf. Cadoux 1948, 121 for the arkhon list for these years.

[259] Cadoux 1948, 121. Cf. *Ath. Pol.* 13.1-2 for an account of these happenings.

[260] Hignett 1952, 319-20, followed by Sealey 1976, 121-2. The assigning of the reforms to Solon's arkhonship is considered by Hignett to be no more than a conjecture by a later writer. Cf. Sealey 1979, esp. 241 where he points out other people who gained greater importance only after their arkhonships: Themistokles, Kleisthenes and Isagoras. Cf. also Markianos 1974, esp. 17.

[261] Sealey 1976, 122.

Confirmation for this dating, Hignett feels, can be found in the account of Solon's travels. He is said to have visited the ruler of Soloi on Cyprus, Philokypros, whose son Aristokypros was killed ca. 497 by the Persians. Working back from this date, Hignett claims that Solon's visit and therefore his travels and reforms can not have occurred before the 570's.[262] Another point in favour of this late dating is the question whether, in 594/3, Solon would have had the authority needed to make his reforms, as he would only have been 30-35 years old.[263] As Stanton has suggested, the requisite authority can more easily be imagined once Solon had already been a member of the Areiopagos for some time.[264]

For Ahlberg-Cornell's argument to stand, the reforms must have occurred during or soon after Solon's arkhonship, since she dates the beginnings of the Herakles vs. Nereus/Triton scene to ca. 590. The dating of the reforms to the 570's however has much to commend it, enough to cast reasonable doubt on her argument.

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The scenes depicting the Introduction of Herakles to Olympos were allegedly based on the story of Peisistratos and Phye, on the occasion of his second accession to power. The tale is told in several sources, with little variation.[265] Most notable is the disagreement over Phye: Herodotos identifies her as a country girl from Paiania, the *Athenian Constitution* repeats Herodotos, but adds an

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[262] Hignett 1952, 320. The story of this visit and Aristokypros' death is given in Hdt. 5.113; the visit alone is mentioned in Plut. *Vit.Sol.* 26. Cf. Rhodes 1981, 121-2 however, who while accepting this synchronism as solid, claims it need not reflect on the dating of the reforms at all.

[263] Davies 1971, 323. But cf. Rhodes 1981, 121-2, who disagrees with this suggestion.

[264] Stanton 1990, 36 n.3.

[265] Hdt. 1.60; *Ath. Pol.* 14.4; Kleidemos *FGH* 323 F15; Polyaenus *Strat.* 1.21.1; Athen. 13.609; Val. Max. 1.3.3; Hermogenes *De Inventione* 1.3. Also cf. *supra*, 13.

alternative view of her as a Thracian flower-seller from Kollytos, while Kleidemos calls her the daughter of a Sokrates and adds that she later married Hipparkhos.

Provided that the story is accepted as remembering an actual event,[266] the difficulty lies in the interpretation of it. The two questions can not be separated; further discussion of this issue is therefore postponed until the last chapter. It is enough for the moment to state that I believe the episode did occur, but that I do not accept Boardman's interpretation.

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The First Sacred War has generally been considered to be a historical fact,[267] on which any connection of Peisistratos with the scenes of Herakles stealing the Delphic Tripod rests. Ancient sources discussing the war are numerous,[268] and from them a clear picture of the course of the war has been developed.

Around 595 Kirrha, a coastal city on the plain beneath the sanctuary at Delphi, was attacked by a force that included troops from Athens, Sikyon and Thessaly led by Alkmaion, Kleisthenes and Eurylochos respectively. The Thessalians apparently pushed the defenders back into the city, which they then beseiged. In 591, after Kleisthenes of Sikyon had arrived with his fleet, the city was taken; although some Kirrhaians managed to flee into the mountains and continue fighting for several years, the fall of the city basically marked the end of the war. Kirrha was razed, and the plain was dedicated to Apollo. To commemorate the victory, Eurylochos held the Pythian games, giving as prizes money

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[266] There are those who would reject the story outright, for instance Beloch (*RM* 45: 469-71 and *Griechische Geschichte*² I: 288) and Meyer (*Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* II: 248-50).

[267] Cf. for instance Forrest 1956, upon which the following summary of the war is based.

[268] But according to Forrest 1956, 34 n.1, only some scholia to Pindar are reliable. Other early sources include Kallisthenes (*FGH* 124 F1), Aeschines *In Ctesiphontem*, 107-12, the Marmor Parium Ep. 37 (*FGH* 239), and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 540-3. Cf. also *supra*, 14-15.

derived from the spoils of war. The remaining enemies were dealt with, and then in 582, the Pythian Games proper were instituted.[269]

Forrest's reconstruction[270] of the war begins with a new interpretation of lines 540-43 of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. This passage implies some upheaval at Delphi; Forrest agrees with the association of this trouble with the First Sacred War, although he admits that this can not be proven. Previously, it had been thought that the war was fought to liberate Delphi from Kirrha;[271] Forrest argues instead that the passage credits Delphi with providing reason for the war, and that since Kirrha was attacked, then Kirrha and Delphi must have been associated, with the former presumably controlling the latter. The result of the war is also to be gleaned from the passage - a change in the organisational structure of Delphi.[272]

To find the reason for Athens' involvement in the war, Forrest believes that one must look back to Kylon's attempt at tyranny. The attempt failed, due to a misinterpretation of advice given by Delphi; that such advice was even given suggests Delphi was hostile to the then Athenian government. In the aftermath many of the conspirators were killed; the Alkmaionid arkhon was held responsible.[273]

In the following years, Forrest suggests, came further social unrest, with the Alkmaionids continuing to side with the reformers. By the turn of the century, two basic "parties" are envisaged: the reformers, including Solon and the Alkmaionids, and the reactionaries, including much of the aristocracy and the surviving supporters of Kylon. Then, a curse was placed on the Alkmaionids; as

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[269] Forrest 1956, 33.

[270] Ibid, 34-46.

[271] As is stated in: Paus. 10.37.5 (Kirrhaians acting impiously towards Apollo and appropriating his land), Aeschines In Ctesiphontem 107 (Kirrhaians and the Kragallidai acting impiously towards the sacred offerings and wronging the Amphiktions), Strabo P. 418 (Kirrhaians interfering with pilgrims to Delphi), and Kallisthenes FGH 124 F1 (Kirrhaians kidnapping some of the pilgrims).

[272] Forrest 1956, 34-5.

[273] Ibid, 39-40.

Delphi had supported Kylon, it is proposed as the source of this curse. The result was to stir up feeling against the Alkmaionids, until eventually, they were exiled. Thus, due to Delphi's interference, the reformers suffered, the reactionaries gained. Steps had to be taken by the reformers.[274]

Sikyon, or more precisely, Kleisthenes, also had reason to be displeased with Delphi. Forrest cites three acts of provocation; one - Delphic sympathy for the men of Pellene after Kleisthenes had defeated them in war - is undatable, but the other two, Forrest suggests, occurred before the First Sacred War. First, when Kleisthenes first gained power, the Kypselids of Corinth - friends of Delphi - may have been backing his opponents, possibly even to the point of warfare. Second, when Kleisthenes wished to expel Adrastos from Sikyon, Delphi opposed him, calling him a mere stonethrower whereas Adrastos had been a king. One last consideration is added by Forrest, that Delphi would not help a city that could potentially be a rival to both its overlords in Kirrha, and its close friend in Corinth.[275]

No such obvious reasons could be found for Thessaly's involvement. Forrest makes two suggestions. This may have been part of an attempt at expansion by Thessaly, to gain access to the Corinthian Gulf. Or, it may have been a response to an attempt by Kirrha either to gain influence in the Amphiktiony, or to increase what influence it had.[276]

As a result of the war, the Amphiktiony took over the running of Delphi. Thus, Delphi had still been, in a sense, 'liberated' from Kirrha. Previously, the god had been making unacceptable

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[274] Ibid, 40-2.

[275] Ibid, 36-9.

[276] Ibid, 42-4.

pronouncements; as gods are infallible, the mistakes must have been due to Delphi (or Kirrha). Now, no such mistakes would be made.[277]

This change in organisation might also explain what happened to the Kragallidai, who in Aeschines' account were attacked along with Kirrha. They would have been the pre-war priests of Delphi. The role would have been appropriate; their ancestor was Kragaleus, son of Dryops, and the Dryopes were noted for their connection with the worship of Apollo.[278]

For further confirmation of Forrest's reconstruction, we can, he suggests, examine the behaviour of Delphi and the allies after the war. The nature of those states coming to Delphi for aid or to make dedications changed: previously the preserve of Dorian states, now non-Dorian states such as Athens appear on the scene. Furthermore, Solon's reforms are approved by Delphi.[279] Kleisthenes too is now a friend. He introduced Pythian Games at Sikyon - a compliment rather than a challenge to Delphi. He also seems to have dedicated some buildings at Delphi; it is claimed that two earlier buildings underlie the Sikyonian Treasury there, dating to ca. 580 and ca. 560.[280] Delphi, meanwhile, erased Kypselos' name from the Corinthian Treasury after the tyranny was overthrown.[281]

There are some difficulties with Forrest's reconstruction. The Thessalians remain enigmatic - their motives for entering the war are weak when compared to those of the other allies, and they seem to derive no benefit from the war. In fact, Delphi soon turns against them. More seriously, the accounts of the cause of the war[282] all have parallels in either the Sacred Wars of 356 and 340, or the

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[277] Ibid, 45.

[278] Ibid, 45-6.

[279] Ibid, 48.

[280] Ibid, 36-9.

[281] Ibid, 47.

[282] Cf. *supra*, n.265.

Trojan War. Forrest sees the problem here, but fails to deal with it, preferring to accept just the general

impression of the accounts, that Kirrha was interfering with Delphi. Moreover, his interpretation of

lines 540-43 of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo must be accepted, as well as some assumptions of his:

that Delphi's insulting of Kleisthenes occurred before the war, and that it was possible for Alkmaion

to lead the Athenian contingent. Robertson considers this last item unlikely: since the Alkmaionids

had been exiled through a judicial process, a repeal of the verdict would have been needed before one

of them could have led an Athenian army, and we have no knowledge of such a decision.[283]

The problems need not be fatal, provided that the war actually happened. This particular issue

has recently been investigated at length by Robertson, who through an examination of the

archaeological and literary evidence has concluded that the war is a fourth century invention, designed

to provide a precedent for Philip of Macedon's actions in the Third Sacred War of 356-46.[284]

We can start by looking at the city that was allegedly destroyed in the war, Kirrha. There was

a harbour town of that name, for which there is epigraphic testimony dating from the fourth century

onwards. There is also literary evidence - Aeschines in a speech of 330 is said to make the first certain

reference.[285] Earlier however, Pindar had already specified Kirrha as a venue for several contests in the

Pythian Games. Robertson argues that since in Pindar's time both the stadium and the hippodrome

were located in the plain between Mt. Parnassus and the harbour town of Kirrha, then Pindar was most

likely referring to this plain, which shared the name with the town. This takes Kirrha back into the

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[283] Robertson 1978, 67 n.1.

[284] Cf. Robertson 1978.

[285] Robertson 1978, 41-2; Aeschines *In Ctesiphontem* 107-23.

early fifth century; how much earlier we can go is unknown, but Robertson suggests at least to the seventh century.[286]

Pindar also refers to the same location as Krisa. However, as the transformation of Krisa to Kirrha through Kirsa is, according to Robertson, explainable, Pindar must have been referring to the same place. This is to be expected; no instance of neighbouring sites bearing equivalent names has yet been found in Greece. Krisa, therefore, is to be thought of as an older, possibly poetic version of Kirrha.[287] This was, in fact, Pausanias' view, but he is of course much later. He also associated the names with the harbour town.[288]

Some later authors did distinguish Kirrha from Krisa, for instance Strabo, but Robertson points out that he is unreliable: Strabo gives a precise location for Kirrha, but leaves the site of Krisa vague, and claims that Kirrha was destroyed later than Krisa, but again gives no other details.[289] Similarly, some authors associated Kirrha with the Mycenaean ruins at Ay. Georghios, but Robertson points out that they are late, and suggests that they are outside of the tradition.[290]

To this point, everything seems clear: the sources for the First Sacred War demand a Kirrha, the harbour town is the most likely candidate. Problems now appear: whereas the Kirrha that withstood a siege for four years must have been heavily fortified, this town seems to have lacked such defenses.[291] This, if true, suggests that another site for ancient Kirrha must be found; according to Robertson,

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[286] Ibid, 40-2.

[287] Ibid, 42. The equivalence of the forms Krisa and Kirrha was already commented on by Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 1.266.9-13. The argument is also repeated in his Περὶ Παθῶν 2.385.27-34, where he also adds that a certain Leokrines, who thought that the two names denoted different sites was very much in the minority, for none of those who wrote about geography agreed with him.

[288] Ibid, with Paus. 10.37.5.

[289] Ibid, 46-7, referring to Strabo 9.3.3-4.

[290] Ibid, 44-5.

[291] Ibid, 40.

there is no other suitable site - defensible, with harbour and akropolis - around Delphi and furthermore, no traces of such a site have been found. As the city suffered violent destruction, such traces should have remained had the war actually occurred.[292]

Traces of the war are also conspicuously absent from two major early literary sources, Herodotos and Thoukydides, although both had cause to mention the war. Herodotos makes many references to Delphi, twice digresses to discuss Kleisthenes and also deals with Athens' early history, yet nowhere mentions the war that had such an impact on all of them. When he does mention the Krisaian plain, it is only in the context of the Persian wars.[293] Thoukydides also ignores this war. He writes that before the Persian Wars, possibly only the Lelantine War was not small in scale. The First Sacred War, however, involved several states and a lengthy siege - definitely not small-scale.[294] Whenever he mentions Krisa, he is referring to the Krisaian Gulf.

In fact, literary evidence for the war only begins in the 340's, with the earliest datable reference coming in 342.[295] The Homeric Hymn to Apollo, Robertson believes, should be left out of this discussion. He does interpret lines 540-3 as referring to the Amphiktiony and its takeover of power at Delphi, but not as a consequence of the war. None of the other sources for the war mention a change in the organisational structure of Delphi after the war either, only the razing of the city and the dedication of the plain. Robertson suggests that the takeover may have been associated with Thessalian expansion into central Greece, and thus may not have occurred until the second half of the sixth century.[296]

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[292] Ibid, 40-1.

[293] Hdt. 8.32.

[294] Robertson 1978, 50-1.

[295] Ibid, 51.

[296] Ibid, 48-50.

Speusippos credited an Antipater of Magnesia as his source, who in his history of the Amphiktiony equated the destruction of the Krisaians with Apollo's destruction of the Phlegyans and Herakles' of the Dryopians - all of these being examples of how some Amphiktionic members were replaced by new ones.[297] This is passed on without comment in Speusippos; Robertson argues that were the First Sacred War a reality, then Speusippos could have been expected to distinguish it somehow from the mythological events.[298]

Another version of the story was included in Kallisthenes' monograph on the third Sacred War, written also in the 340's.[299] In it, the First Sacred War seems like a copy of the Trojan War - it lasted 10 years, it began after the abduction of a woman by the Kirrhaians.[300] Again, the story seems more unreal than real.

Yet another source is Aeschines, whose handling of the story, Robertson claims, further confirms his views. In 343, Aeschines made no mention of the war in his *De falsa legatione*, a work which recalled how in 346 he had advised Philip on how to handle the losers of the Third Sacred War.[301] A little later, in 339, he used the First Sacred War as justification for Amphiktionic policy, as he did again in 330, when referring to the actions that led to the Fourth Sacred War. Robertson therefore concludes that Aeschines had learned by 339 what he had not known in 343 - the story of the First Sacred War.[302]

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[297] Ibid, 52, referring to Speusippos *Epistula ad Philippum Regem*, 8-9.

[298] Ibid, 53.

[299] Ibid, 51. Cf. *FGH* 124 F1.

[300] Ibid, 53.

[301] Ibid, referring to Aeschines *De falsa legatione* 114-16.

[302] Ibid, 53-4.

Finally, the last major literary source of this period is the *Register of Pythian Victors*, composed jointly by Aristotle and Kallisthenes, and later used by Plutarch. Robertson suggests that it was more than just a victor list. Rather, it was a comprehensive history of the Pythian Games, and as such would have included a full description of the First Sacred War.[303] The date of the work is unknown, but in 327 a citizen of Delphi received payment for having it inscribed, thus giving us a *terminus ante quem*.[304]

A closer estimate of the date of the *Register* is tied in with the reasons for the invention of the First Sacred War. The close of the Third Sacred War in 346, and Philip's actions in the aftermath, had left him unpopular with many, especially Athens. Moreover, he had been asked to officiate at the next Pythian Games. He therefore requested help, to improve his image. Aristotle was then living with Hermias, an ally of Philip's; his nephew Kallisthenes would have been recommended by his monograph on the Third Sacred War. Together they produced the *Register*, ca. 345-40, which had the definitive version.[305]

The First Sacred War was thus no more than a propaganda project, invented to give a precedent for the Third Sacred War, and so to justify Philip's actions. For models, both the Trojan War and the Third Sacred War were used; no doubt the latter was the primary model in this treatment. For example, both the First and Third Sacred Wars lasted 10 years, and were divided into two phases: first the defeat of the primary enemy after four years, then the elimination of guerilla-warfare from the

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[303] Ibid, 55-6, based on comments in Plut.*Vit. Sol.* 11.1.

[304] *SIG* 252, 42-3. Robertson assumes that an extract, not the whole work, was inscribed, which is reasonable considering the proposed scale of the work.

[305] Robertson 1978, 59.

mountains after another six.[306] Other details came from a local Delphic legend involving bandits and the Mycenaean ruins at Ay. Georghios.[307]

It is to be expected that such a conclusion would be challenged. Lehmann devoted an article to the issue, but spent most of it in merely summarising Robertson's work. A few criticisms did however emerge. Lehmann first points out that while Aeschines does not directly refer to a First Sacred War in his *De falsa legatione*, he does refer to the Amphiktionic Oath sworn at the first meeting of the Amphiktiony at Delphi: that no member state would henceforward destroy any other member state, nor deny it access to running water.[308] This oath, along with the undertaking to protect the sanctuary, Lehmann contends, presupposes the earlier Amphiktionic decision against Krisa, which had simply not been mentioned in the text.[309]

Lehmann also argues that Robertson has missed some allusions to the First Sacred War. The first occurs in Isokrates' *Plataicus*, dated by Lehmann to ca. 374/3.[310] The passage is a reminder of the fall of Athens in 404, and recalls the advice of several of the victors: that the city should be reduced to slavery and the territory returned to sheep-grazing, as had been done with the Krisaian plain.[311] Other references to this period in Athenian history mentioning utter enslavement and dedication of territory can be found in Andokides and Plutarch.[312] These references, according to Lehmann, show

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[306] Ibid, 65.

[307] Ibid, 39.

[308] Lehmann 1980, 245, referring to Aeschines *De falsa legatione*, 115.

[309] Ibid.

[310] Ibid. Lehmann claims the work is clearly (*deutlich*) before 371.

[311] Isokrates *Plataicus*, 31.

[312] Lehmann 1980, 245, referring to Andokides *De Pace*, 31 and Plut. *Vit. Lys.* 15.3.

that the First Sacred War was used to provide a precedent for such a decision; the War could not, therefore have been a mid-fourth century invention.[313]

Several other points should also be made. First, the fact that no suitable remains have yet been found need not mean that they never will be; if Kirrha and Krisa denote separate cities, then Krisa remains to be discovered. Related to this is the equation of the forms Kirrha and Krisa, which is not as definite as Robertson claims it to be.[314] Lastly, the identification of the plain behind Kirrha as the venue for the competitions mentioned by Pindar may be questionable. The plain lies far away from the sanctuary; rather nearer is a site in the mountains which may have been more suitable.[315]

Despite these criticisms, Robertson's main argument remains convincing. Whether one accepts his equation of Kirrha with Krisa or not, the fact remains that no suitable archaeological remains have yet been found. Until they are, this must remain a point very much in Robertson's favour. Even more so is the literary evidence. The interpretation of the Hymn to Apollo is very much an individual matter, but it is striking that without it, mentions of the war do not occur until the 340's, when such a precedent would have been very useful. The reference to Krisa in Isokrates is disturbing, and must somehow be explained.[316] In the other authors, no mention is made of Krisa, not even of a precedent in general. They can not, therefore, be taken as evidence for a First Sacred War. Lehmann's interpretation of the Amphiktionic oath is similarly questionable. An agreement between allies not to injure one another need not mean that they did so in the past; rather, it seems a natural part of an

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[313] Lehmann 1980, 245.

[314] W.J. Slater, Pers. comm.

[315] W.J. Slater, Pers. comm.

[316] Robertson does not ascribe sole authorship of the myth of the First Sacred War to Kallisthenes; the story, he admits, may have been circulating much earlier. The precedent would, as Lehmann points out, have been useful at the end of the Peloponnesian War as well. Moreover, the reference in Isokrates does not mention a First Sacred War, and does not necessarily imply that a war was the reason that the Krisaian plain was returned to sheep-grazing.

alliance. Nothing extraordinary is to be seen in their undertaking to protect the sanctuary either. As its keepers, this would have been just another of their duties. There is no need to read the First Sacred War into the passage.

The serious doubt cast over the authenticity of the First Sacred War has equally serious repercussions for Boardman's arguments. He needs the war to have occurred; without it, his interpretation of the scenes of Herakles' theft of the Delphic tripod can not stand.

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We can now turn to some other events that have been said to underlie certain vase-paintings, starting with the reorganisation of the Panathenaia by Peisistratos. This event, it will be remembered, supposedly forms the background to sporting scenes, whether involving Herakles or not, and those Herakles scenes, such as the battle with the Nemean Lion, in which he is engaged in athletic endeavours.

The origins of the Panathenaia are notoriously obscure, but have been placed in both mythological and real time by ancient sources. Discussion of the mythological origins can safely be omitted here;[317] it is enough to say that such accounts suggest that for these writers, the Panathenaia was an old, established festival, not a new foundation. This conclusion must however be tempered with the knowledge that these were all later writers - what was ancient and well-established to them would not of necessity have been so in the sixth century.

Nothing is known of the events of this early festival. It is however reasonable to assume that it had developed out of hero-cult or funeral games, and so had an aristocratic bias.[318] It is therefore

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[317] Harpocration, s.v. Παναθηναια, gives Erichthonios as the founder, as do scholiasts on Aelius Aristides' *Panathenaicus*, 189.4-5, a scholiast to Plato's *Prm*, 127A, and the Marmor Parium, Ep. 10. The scholiast to Plato also attributes to Theseus a reorganisation of the festival.

[318] Kyle 1992, 79-80.

probable that equestrian activities played a part in the festival. Such events are in fact mentioned in the Marmor Parium, which credits Erichthonios with taking part in a chariot contest, as well as in a forerunner to the later *apobates* event.[319]

For origins in real time, we are presented with three independent alternatives. Either, the Panathenaia were instituted during the arkhonship of Hippokleides, or, an athletic competition was added to a pre-existing festival in 566/5, or, Peisistratos instituted the four-yearly Greater Panathenaia, as opposed to the smaller, pre-existing yearly Panathenaia which then were held in the intervening years.[320] Each of these explanations is problematic.

The source for Hippokleides is Marcellinus, in whom we discover that: "Didymos testifies to these things, that Pherekydes, speaking in the first of his Histories, says as follows: Philaios, son of Ajax, settled in Athens, and from him was produced Daiklos, ... and from him Hippokleides, in whose arkhonship the Panathenaia were established <in Athens>..."[321] Davison has pointed out two possible problems. First, Marcellinus is quoting a source who is himself quoting a source - there are therefore two obvious stages at which Pherekydes' information could have been corrupted. Second, the statement about the festival comes in a genealogy; it is possible that the statement was originally a marginal gloss which was later incorporated into the body of the work, and thus is not attributable to Pherekydes.[322] Both of these problems may be associated with a third, the difference in time between Pherekydes, writing in the fifth century, and Marcellinus, writing in the Justinianic age. It is easy to imagine a text

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[319] Marmor Parium, Ep. 10.

[320] Corbett 1960, 57.

[321] Pherekydes (*FGH* 3, F2), quoted in Marcellinus *Vit. Thuc.* 2-4.

[322] Davison 1958, 28.

becoming corrupted over this length of time, even without the additional hazards of misquotations by other authors or interpolations of glosses.

The second alternative is equally unreliable. The source is Eusebius' *Chronicon*, in which for the years Ol. 53.3-4 (566/5) is written that "an athletic contest, which they call the Panathenaia, was established".[323] One problem is the source of the date - we do not know how it was determined.[324] The other is the date itself. As Corbett has already pointed out, Eusebius gets the date of Hipparkhos' assassination wrong;[325] when the date of such an important event is incorrect, can any other of his dates be trusted? In a case such as this, when no other corroborative evidence exists,[326] it may be hazardous to do so although it must be admitted that Eusebius does get dates right as well.

At this point, a slight digression is in order. Cadoux, in his article on early Athenian arkhons, has (tentatively) dated Hippokleides' arkhonship to 566/5.[327] Closer examination of his work however shows that he has based this conclusion on the passages in Marcellinus and Eusebius discussed in the preceding paragraphs. Given the problems with these authors, this dating must be considered purely conjectural.

Returning to the origins of the festival, the source for the third alternative is again a scholiast to Aelius Aristides *Panathenaicus* 189.4-5, who states that Peisistratos created the Great Panathenaia. No authority is given for this claim; no other sources corroborate it.[328] We must also remember that Aristides wrote in the second century AC. Once more, the source can not be considered reliable.

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[323] 102a-b, Helm.

[324] Ibid, 27.

[325] Corbett 1960, 58.

[326] Panathenaic amphorae do exist, but should not be used for this argument. Cf. *infra*.

[327] Cadoux 1948, 104.

[328] Corbett 1960, 57.

There is, therefore, little help to be found in the literature. About all that can safely be extracted is the idea of the reorganisation of a festival; neither the date nor the personalities responsible can be securely determined. Several other pieces of evidence deserve a mention though: Panathenaic and horse-head amphorae, certain inscriptions found on the Akropolis, and a concern for elaborating the Akropolis.

Panathenaic amphorae are well known as the holders of the official prize for many of the contests in the Panathenaia, olive oil. The earliest one we have is the Burgon amphora,[329] dated on stylistic grounds to the 560's.[330] This shows a chariot race; the earliest depiction of an athletic event is on the Halle fragment.[331] Given the very low survival rate of Panathenaics, however, we cannot be sure that these are in fact the earliest examples,[332] and so they are less helpful than we would like them to be in the question of dating the early stages of the Greater Panathenaia.

Horse-head amphorae are earlier than the Panathenaics, belonging to the first half of the sixth century. These vases generally had, for decoration, a profile horse's head in a panel on either side. Some, however, had a man's head in profile, and one, a woman's.[333] As Kyle has already suggested, it is tempting to associate these vases with the earlier festival.[334] If we accept an aristocratic, equestrian

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[329] London BM B130 = *ABV* 89, 1*bis*.

[330] Corbett 1960, 55.

[331] Halle 560 = *ABV* 120, top, dating to ca. 560, and depicting the footrace.

[332] Burgon, in his letter of 26 November 1831 to the Chevalier Bröndsted (quoted in full in Corbett 1960, 52-4) describes the discovery of the Panathenaic that now bears his name, and adds that four similar amphorae, found a little while earlier, had been discarded as being of no value - no-one had ever seen painted fineware of such size before, and so all large, thick vessels were thought to be coarseware. Once the value of the Burgon amphora had been perceived a search was made for the remains of the other four, but no traces could be found. Burgon concludes that he had unwittingly aided in the destruction of four Panathenaics. These Panathenaics could have been very important for the elucidation of the early development of the form, and the dating problem too.

[333] For a full account of horse-head amphorae, see Birchall 1972.

[334] Kyle 1987, 23.

bias to this festival, then the equestrian imagery on the vases would have been appropriate for both the contests and the recipients.[335]

The next possible pieces of evidence are three inscriptions discovered on the Akropolis.[336] They are all from stelai, and according to Raubitschek, all concerned with the Greater Panathenaia and dating to ca. 566-550.[337] The second inscription (327) mentions a δρόμος and an ἀγών; one or both of these elements are restored in the others. Both of these terms, Raubitschek argues, refer to the Greater Panathenaia. As for the dates, since in 326 the ἀγών is referred to as πρoτo[ι], then this inscription, it is claimed, must refer to the first Panathenaia in 566, and be an official record of the festival's establishment.[338] The others will therefore be later, but according to the letter forms, no later than ca. 550.[339]

The possible unreliability of the date 566 has already been discussed. Davison has further pointed out that in light of the various meanings of the terms, it is by no means certain that δρόμος and ἀγών refer to the Panathenaia, or specific elements within it.[340] It should also be pointed out that the third inscription has been very heavily restored by Raubitschek, who assumed that it came from a stele just like the other two.[341] It may, therefore, have had no connection with the other two. The only conclusion is that these inscriptions may have dealt with the Panathenaia; certainty is not possible.

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[335] The profile woman's head is especially interesting in this context - could she be a forerunner of the later Panathenaic Athena?

[336] Raubitschek 1949, numbers 326-8.

[337] Ibid, 347.

[338] Ibid, 352, since the first Panathenaia occurred during the arkhonship of Hippokleides.

[339] Ibid, 356, 358 suggests that 327 and 328 are from succeeding festivals, either those of 562 and 558 or 558 and 554.

[340] Davison 1958, 29-30.

[341] Raubitschek 1949, 357. Neither δρόμος nor ἀγών is visible on the stone.

Finally, there is the apparent elaboration of the Akropolis to consider. During the sixth century the Akropolis was turned into the cult centre for Athena Polias. A new ramp was built, for better access. Furthermore, sometime during the century the temple[342] that stood on what is now known as the Dörpfeld foundation was erected. There were also some smaller buildings, generally considered to have been treasuries, erected and a shrine to Athena Nike. Camp suggests that there were two temples on the Dörpfeld foundation, the first dating to before the middle of the century and the second to the last quarter of the century. In his view, the ramp and possibly some of these other buildings can be connected with the reorganisation of the Panathenaia.[343]

When all the evidence for the origins of the Greater Panathenaia is assembled, then the following conclusions would, I believe, be reasonable. First, the festival was indeed an elaboration of a pre-existing one; it seems inconceivable that Athens would not have had a festival for its patron goddess. This early festival may have developed out of funeral or hero-cult games, and so had an aristocratic - equestrian - bias in its events. The reorganisation included the addition of athletic contests.[344] The horse-head amphorae may well have been associated with the early festival. Their style does not develop much, suggesting that they were soon replaced by another type of vase. After the reorganisation this indeed happened, with the adoption of the Panathenaic amphorae as we know them.[345] The date of the reorganisation must however remain unclear - each of the various pieces of evidence has weaknesses, and using any one piece to date the others can easily lead to a dangerously circular argument. The best that can be done, I believe, is to suggest a date in the 560's.

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[342] Or temples - the number and dating of the temples erected on these foundations has been much discussed. I shall return to this question in the next chapter.

[343] Camp 1992, 36.

[344] Kyle 1992, 79-80.

[345] Kyle 1987, 23.

It therefore seems very unlikely that the reorganisation occurred while Peisistratos was tyrant; whether he would have had the power to do anything earlier is debatable. However, establishing a festival, or changing an aristocratic festival into one that encompassed a greater proportion of the populace, would have been a good way to earn public support, no less than performing some other public service such as building fountainhouses or elaborating the agora, which Peisistratos and/or his sons have been credited with doing.[346] The elaboration of the Akropolis would have been equally well-received, and although the connection with the Panathenaia is conjectural, the conjecture is a reasonable one. Furthermore, the Isthmian, Nemean and Pythian games were all apparently established not long before,[347] and an Athenian desire for a comparable festival is understandable. While solid evidence is lacking, it is nevertheless difficult to disassociate Peisistratos from the reorganised Panathenaia.

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Unlike the Panathenaia, Peisistratos' intervention in the affairs of Eleusis is perhaps more surely documented. This is best illustrated by certain building projects: at Eleusis a new Telesterion, boundary wall, temple to Plouton, Sacred House, and orientation to the sanctuary as a whole, and at Athens, the Eleusinion.

Around the middle of the sixth century, Mylonas suggests, the Solonian telesterion at Eleusis was replaced by a larger, fancier version. The foundations were of reddish Kara stone, a Peisistratean characteristic. Also characteristic was the mixing of styles - the mainly Doric temple had Ionic inner columns and roof tiles of Parian marble.[348] Two inscriptions found on blocks incorporated into the

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[346] Cf. Boersma 1970, 11-27 for building projects of the Peisistratidai; also Camp 1992, 39-47, and Pedley 1987, 63-8.

[347] Neils 1992b, 20 suggests 581, 573 and 582 respectively, but these should probably not be taken as definitive.

[348] Mylonas 1961, 78-82, crediting Dörpfeld with the comment about the Kara stone.

foundations have been dated to the first half of the century, thereby giving a *terminus post quem* for the construction.[349] Another indication of the date is given by the painted marble anthemia, which resemble those of the Temple of Apollo at Corinth. This latter temple has been dated to ca. 540.[350]

The sanctuary as well as Eleusis itself were also enclosed by a wall during this time. The wall's course is known almost in its entirety, and enough has survived to indicate its construction: limestone foundation, local stone socle, and then mudbrick. The masonry work, it is argued, proves the wall to be Peisistratean.[351]

Perhaps less certain are the Temple to Plouton and the Sacred House. Only some foundations, again of local stone and underlying a later foundation, remain of the former while of the latter, only some poros blocks and Parian marble roof tiles, recalling those of the Telesterion but smaller.[352]

The change in orientation of the sanctuary is the last piece of architectural evidence at Eleusis. In conjunction with the new construction the main gate of the sanctuary, which had previously faced away from Athens, was now relocated to face Athens. Some other changes went along with this, including the relocation of the orchestra to near the new main gate; the old one had the fortification wall built across it.[353] ,

At Athens meanwhile we have the Eleusinion, located below the Akropolis just east of the Panathenaic way. It consisted of a temple within a walled precinct; the wall dates to the middle of the

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[349] Ibid, 81-2.

[350] Boardman 1975, 5.

[351] Mylonas 1961, 91-4.

[352] Ibid, 99-102.

[353] Ibid, 103.

sixth century. Also belonging to this stage were some votives. At some later date, the temple was enlarged and a new wall was erected, using Kara stone for the foundations - the same material that has been found in other Peisistratean works. Pottery in the fill around the foundations runs to ca. 490; otherwise, Travlos would have dated the wall to the last quarter of the sixth century.[354]

It is reasonable to link the operations at the two sites - given the building at Eleusis, it is not likely that the Athenian end of the cult would have been ignored. The dating is nevertheless problematic; the Telesterion certainly seems Peisistratean, but there are dissenting opinions. While many scholars agree with Mylonas' dating, others attribute most of the projects to the Peisistratids instead.[355] It is unfortunate that the early history of the Eleusinion is not better understood - the date of its elaboration could help clarify the dating of the other buildings, and so shed more light on the activities, if any, of Peisistratos and/or his sons in this matter.

Another possible indicator of Athenian interest in Eleusis, according to Boardman, can be found in a group of votive plaques and vases found at Eleusis. The vases, tall-necked amphorae and loutrophoroi, are of shapes used in Athenian rituals; moreover, the clay and the decoration resemble the Athenian. Dating of this group is difficult, but Boardman feels they need not be much earlier than the 560's.[356]

The pottery evidence seems much weaker than the architectural - even if deposited by Athenian pilgrims, this does not imply Athenian, and specifically Peisistratid, intervention in the sanctuary. The

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[354] Travlos 1971, 198-9. It is of course possible that the fill has been contaminated.

[355] For instance, Boersma. Cf. Boersma 1972, 24 with notes 275-6, as well as the entries in his catalogue dealing with these works. He does agree, though, that the precinct wall of the Eleusinion as well as the Temple to Plouton at Eleusis could be as early as ca. 550.

[356] Boardman 1975, 5, but he is not certain that the vases are not, in fact, local Eleusinian products.

architectural evidence, on the other hand, is more suggestive of Peisistratean involvement. Even this evidence, though, is not as unambiguous as we would wish.

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We are left with the unsettling conclusion that very little precise information actually exists concerning the events discussed in this chapter. There is, to be sure, an abundance of literary references to the events, but as has been shown, these references are not always clear or consistent, whether internally or as a group. Some manipulation of the sources is generally needed to make sense of them, and while this is not necessarily bad, it does introduce a further element of doubt. Each interpretation requires some selection of the data, and is therefore highly subjective. Archaeological confirmation of those events for which such confirmation would be possible is for the most part absent or ambiguous. Only in the matter of Eleusis does it seem to support more clearly the claims made for a political interpretation, but even in this case there are doubts. In sum, too much doubt surrounds the events for them to be confidently used as the bases for the arguments we have seen presented to this point.

CHAPTER SIX: INFLUENCES

If, despite all the difficulties, the political interpretation is nevertheless to be maintained, one other aspect of the problem needs explanation: how did the Peisistratidai and/or their agents exert the appropriate influence on the vase-painters? There are two possibilities,[357] which are not necessarily mutually exclusive: direct and indirect influence. The former implies that vases with the desired scenes were directly commissioned, the latter that some factor, which was itself directly influenced by the Peisistratidai and/or their agents, was acting upon the vase-painters. Both options lead into the more general question to be investigated in this chapter: what kinds of forces could have been urging the vase-painters of our period to paint Herakles scenes.

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Although not even Boardman could accept that Peisistratos himself had directly commissioned vases to suit his propaganda purposes,[358] this idea of direct influence should nevertheless be explored. To do so, it will be necessary to examine, for the Peisistratean period: evidence for the commissioning of vases; a related issue, evidence for vase-painters directing their products to specific markets; evidence for rulers using art for propaganda purposes; and (again) the statistics for the popularity of Herakles scenes.

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[357] A third possibility must at least be mentioned - that the popularity of Herakles scenes in this period did not result from any external influences, but rather was the result of an independent decision by the vase-painters to depict Herakles. This option seems too remote to be given serious consideration.

[358] Boardman 1984b, 240.

That the production of an artist may be the result of, and therefore influenced by, a commission is a seemingly obvious statement, but finding confirmation of it in the period under discussion is not so easy.[359] Various vases do nevertheless suggest that this could have occurred. Robertson[360] mentions two on which inscriptions were surely added at the customers' demand; one falls outside our period[361] but the other, a dinos[362] attributed to Exekias and signed by him as potter, does not. Of interest to us is a second inscription, in the same hand as the potter signature, which states that the vase was a gift from Epainetos to Kharopos. Both inscriptions were added after firing, suggesting that the purchaser had seen the vase in Exekias' shop and had especially asked him to add the inscriptions. In a similar vein may be a cup[363] by the C Painter, on which a dedication to Apollo was added before firing.[364] Clearly, customers could have some control over the final appearance of their purchases.

Bespoke iconographic content is quite different from a special inscription, however. Imitation Panathenaic amphorae, produced between ca. 550-500, may be relevant in this context. These reproduced the shape and decorative schemes of prize Panathenaics, but lacked the official prize inscription and held only about half the amount of oil. Moreover, variants such as the reversal of Athena's pose or the replacement of the cock columns by figures were sometimes introduced into the decoration. Scenes on the reverses of these vases included depictions of the whole range of activities

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[359] Panathenaic prize amphorae are an obvious example, but are irrelevant in this context.

[360] Robertson 1991, 6-9.

[361] An aryballos (Athens 15375 = ARV^2 447, 274) attributed to Douris and signed by him as potter, with another inscription added before firing stating that the vase belonged to Asopodoros.

[362] Villa Giulia 50599 = ABV 146, 20.

[363] Boston 03.852 = ABV 51, 2.

[364] Webster 1972, 44. The problem with this cup lies in determining whether the inscription was added to an ordinary cup due to a special request, or whether the cup was deliberately made as a dedication, in which case it is useless for this argument.

in which contests were held, not just those for which oil was the prize.[365] Webster's suggestion[366] that these were vases specially commissioned for the winners' victory parties has great merit. A related possibility is that these vases were souvenirs for the victors.[367] An example by the Swing Painter[368] seems certain to fall into one or other category: on the obverse we see the Panathenaic Athena with Hermes and a bearded man, while on the reverse we see a youth with a tripod, a jockey on a horse, a bearded man and the inscription ΔΥΝΕΙΚΤΥ ΗΙΠΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΙ.[369] Without such a personalising inscription however, one need not see these vases as special commissions - they could have been produced in advance by the workshops, in anticipation of future sales to the victors.

Other functions for these vases have also been proposed. Neils for instance has raised the possibility that they were used by the state to dispose of excess oil; i.e. of the oil collected for the Panathenaia, the winners could sell their winnings but only the state could sell the remainder. The Panathenaic Athena may therefore have been used as an advertising image.[370] With this suggestion we approach the idea of vase-painters directing their output towards certain markets, but before this is explored further we must return briefly to Webster's theory of special commissions.

This theory is not just limited to imitation Panathenaics and victory parties. Rather, he sees a large proportion of Attic vases as having been produced to order, either from scratch or by the addition of personalising inscriptions to a stock scene. The majority of vases with *kalos* names, for instance, or those on which figures are named fall into these categories, he believes. Similarly, vases

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[365] Neils 1992c, 43-4.

[366] Webster 1972, 159-60.

[367] Shapiro 1989, 32-3.

[368] London B144 = *ABV* 307, 59.

[369] Webster 1972, 64, who also gives further examples.

[370] Neils 1992c, 44. This seems to have occurred again in the fourth century, with the miniature Panathenaics. These were apparently used to hold a scented oil - *panathenaikon*. Cf. Neils 1992c, 45, and Pliny *HN* 13.6.

with rare scenes are included in his theory. All these vases were commissioned, the theory states, by the leading men of Athens for their symposia; once used - and each vase would only have been used once, at the symposium for which it had been commissioned - they were discarded through the secondhand market. Associated with this concept is the suggestion that for this same period of ca. 550-450, the purchasers moved in the same social circles as the producers of at least the best fineware.[371]

Webster's is a bold theory, but perhaps a little too much so. Not enough credit seems to be given to the creativity of the vase-painters, and there is too great a readiness to see special commissions wherever possible. Scenes that are rare, for instance, may only be so due to the accidents of survival. *Kalos* names, meanwhile, may be used to support either argument. Boardman has pointed out that *kalos* names generally do not have long runs, but also that certain painters tend to prefer certain *kalos* names. The former point may, he suggests, indicate that the person who was *kalos* was not commissioning the vases, while the latter may indicate some kind of patronage.[372] As for the social standing of the artists, it is more likely, given the Greeks' opinion of trades,[373] that vases on which artists and the aristocracy are mingling are expressions of the artists' dreams rather than reflections of reality. In connection with this Boardman has claimed that of the roughly 125 potter and painter names he mentions in his handbooks, approximately half would have been inappropriate for both upper and lower class Athenians. By contrast, virtually none of the *kalos* names added to their vases would

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[371] Cf. Webster 1972, esp. chapters 2-5 which deal specifically with special commissions and chapter 20, which deals with purchasers and patrons.

[372] Boardman 1975b, 88.

[373] Cf. Xenophon *Oeconomicus* 4.2-3, where it is claimed that the occupations deemed βαναυσικαί are ἀδοξοῦνται, and Plut. *Vit. Per.* 2, where it is argued that no-one ever wished to be, for instance, a Polyklitos or Anakreon because of admiration for the sculptures of the former, or poems of the latter, and that an artist is not necessarily to be admired because his work is praiseworthy. In this vein, cf. also Burford 1972. For a different view, cf. Webster 1972, whose arguments have already been discussed, and most recently, Cavalier 1995, who argues for two classes of artists - a small group who did mix socially with the aristocracy, and a larger, much less socially privileged group, who did not.

have been inappropriate.[374] Nevertheless, the idea that special commissions existed should still be accepted, but not on as broad a scale as Webster envisaged.

The suggestion that vase-painters could direct their output towards specific markets is much more soundly based. In our period alone there are several clear examples of this process: Tyrrhenian amphorae, the workshop of Nikosthenes, and the vases of the Perizoma Group. The imitation Panathenaics discussed earlier have also been mentioned in this context, in yet another possible explanation of their purpose.

The Tyrrhenians have traditionally been dated to ca. 565-50,[375] but Carpenter has proposed a re-dating to ca. 560-30.[376] The majority of the vases found so far have been found in Etruria, along the Tyrrhenian coast.[377] For decoration, they generally have a figural scene in the shoulder zone along with several Corinthianising animal friezes on the body. Depictions of sex and violence are common in the figural scenes of these gaudy vases. They are unlike the normal Attic production of this era, but seem to have satisfied Etruscan taste. The Etruscans had preferred Corinthian vessels, but with these amphorae it seems as if Athens had decided to take over the market by combining Corinthian colour and animal friezes with Attic myth and genre scenes, all depicted in the manner preferred by the Etruscans.[378]

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[374] Ibid, 9-10. He gives several examples; the following are just a few of them: Lydos, Skythes (refer to a foreign land/race); Amasis, Brygos (derived from foreign names or more appropriate elsewhere in Greece); Epiktetos, Pistoxenos (nicknames or adopted names). He admits though that too little is known about names to draw firm conclusions. Cf. also Boardman 1987, for a detailed discussion of the implications of the name Amasis.

[375] Spivey 1991, 142.

[376] Cf. Carpenter 1983, where he bases his argument on elements of iconography and letter-forms. His argument has not been widely accepted.

[377] Spivey 1991, 141 claims that 87% of the 250 surviving Tyrrhenians have been found there.

[378] Boardman 1974, 36-7.

According to Neils, a similar catering to the Etruscan market may perhaps be observed with the imitation Panathenaics. In addition to the functions mentioned earlier, she has added yet another possibility, that the vases were made specifically for the Etruscans. For corroboration she claims that most of the imitation Panathenaics yet found have been found in Etruria, and that 30% of them carried boxing scenes as opposed to only 8% for prize Panathenaics of the same period.[379]

Nikosthenes, whose workshop ran from ca. 530 into the fifth century under his successor Pamphaios, is another who specialised in the Etruscan market. He took Etruscan bucchero shapes, decorated them in Attic style, and then shipped them to Etruria. The best example of this process is the distinctive Nikosthenic amphora, but it can also be seen with *kyathoi* and one-handled *kantharoi*.[380]

Vases from the Perizoma group, which began ca. 520, also included one-handled *kantharoi*, but even more noteworthy is the fact that the athletes, dancers and even symposiasts depicted on the vases of this group wear loincloths.[381] This was not a Greek custom, but Etruscan. With this group we see an Attic workshop catering to a foreign market in both shape and iconography.[382]

We have seen that special commissions could have existed, and that the satisfaction of market wishes by Athenian artists certainly existed. It is now necessary to examine what evidence we have for the rulers of our period using art/myth/cult for propaganda. Some examples that come immediately to mind are the stories mentioned earlier of Kleisthenes and Adrastos and Peisistratos and Phye,[383] and the herms of Hipparkhos.

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[379] Neils 1992c, 44.

[380] Spivey 1991, 139-40. He also claims that Nikosthenes copied other regions' shapes as well; cf. Boardman 1974, 64, where some of these shapes are specified: the Corinthian *skyphos* shape and the eastern *phiale*. For a general discussion of Attic imitation of Etruscan shapes, see Rasmussen 1985. For a specific discussion of *kyathoi* in this context, see Eisman 1975.

[381] Boardman 1974, 112.

[382] Rasmussen 1985, 36-7.

[383] Cf. *supra*, 13 (Peisistratos & Phye), 69 (Kleisthenes & Adrastos).

To recap the story of Kleisthenes and Adrastos, we are told by Herodotos that after a war between Sikyon and Argos, Kleisthenes banned the recitation of Homer's works in Sikyon because Homer had spoken well of the Argives. Moreover, Kleisthenes wished to rid his state of the influence of Adrastos, a former king, who had been an Argive. This led to that famous insult from Delphi, in which Kleisthenes was called a mere stonethrower as opposed to Adrastos who had been a king, which we have already discussed in connection with the question of the First Sacred War. Kleisthenes then, with the acquiescence of the Thebans, invited the Theban hero Melanippos, a mortal enemy of Adrastos having killed his brother and son-in-law, to Sikyon, where a sanctuary was built for him inside the government building. The rites which had previously been celebrated in honour of Adrastos were then transferred to Melanippos.[384]

The dating of this act has already been discussed,[385] and either way it would fall before our period. Provided Herodotos can be trusted in the details of the story however, it does indicate the manipulation of myth and cult by a ruler to serve his own needs. Another example may again come from just before our period, if it actually occurred and if Plutarch can be trusted: the Spartan arbitration of the dispute between Athens and Megara over Salamis. Solon is said to have first inserted appropriate verses into the Catalogue of Ships passage in the *Iliad*, and then used the passage - and Homeric authority - to back the Athenian claim.[386]

Right in our period was the Phye episode, in which Peisistratos and a woman named Phye who had been dressed up as Athena apparently rode in a chariot through Athens and onto the Akropolis,

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[384] Hdt 5.67.

[385] Cf. *supra*, 71.

[386] Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 10. The passage referred to is: *Iliad* II, 557-8.

while accomplices announced to the people that Athena had come to lead her favourite there.[387] If this is to be interpreted as a propaganda exercise, then no clearer example could be found.[388]

Also from our period were the herms of Hipparkhos, erected between 521 and 514[389] throughout the Attic countryside and best described in the dialogue *Hipparkhos*, attributed to Plato. They served many purposes, but perhaps the most important one was as a marker of the halfway point between Athens and each of the Attic demes. Each herm carried an elegiac couplet; the first verse contained the geographical information, while the second contained an inspirational or didactic saying of Hipparkhos', introduced with the phrase μνῆμα τόδ' Ἱππάρχου.[390] As Shapiro has pointed out, herms were generally objects for cult worship, yet here they have two other, seemingly more important, purposes. Herms would have been appropriate as markers because Hermes was the patron god of travellers; more importantly for our argument, Shapiro suggests that Hipparkhos' sayings may have carried greater weight with their readers if they appeared to have been spoken by a god.[391] If this was the case, then here we have another example of art/myth/cult being used for propaganda purposes.

The last possible evidence for the direct influence argument comes from the statistics for the popularity of Herakles scenes in the Peisistratean period. As my Tables 5-10 showed,[392] Herakles was a more popular subject for the vase-painters during the Peisistratean era than in the preceding and following periods, although the popularity was not as great as Boardman would have us believe. Nor was this preference for Herakles shared by all the painters. Rather, a small but select group - the

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[387] Hdt. 1.60.

[388] But cf. *infra*, 117.

[389] Shapiro 1989, 126.

[390] Plato *Hipparkhos*, 228c-229b. Two examples are quoted by Plato, one read στεῖχε δίκαια φρονῶν and the other μὴ φίλον ἐξαπάτα.

[391] Shapiro 1989, 125-6.

[392] Cf. *supra*, Chapter Three.

Heidelberg Painter, Group E and Exekias, the Lysippides Painter, the Antimenes Painter and his circle, and on the red-figure side Andokides - preferred Herakles. Of the surviving vases from these artists or groups of artists, 30% or more of the vases by the Heidelberg Painter and Group E and Exekias carried Herakles scenes, and 41% or more of the vases by the Lysippides Painter, the Antimenes Painter with his circle, and Andokides.[393]

These numbers could be seen as supporting an argument for direct influence. This is a relatively small group of painters and therefore much easier to control directly than vase-painters in general. However, they were all amongst the leading painters of their time. It is just this category of artist that one would expect to see leading the way in terms of changing established iconography, developing new scenes, and reflecting the mood of the time in its work.

We have seen, for the period in question, that purchasers could influence the output of the vase-painters, and that some evidence for direct commissions exists. Likewise, vase-painters could deliberately aim their products at specific markets. We have also seen that rulers could use art/myth/cult for propaganda purposes. What we lack is evidence for rulers commissioning art or taking part in events that portrayed themselves as gods, or at least heroes, which Boardman's theory implies. Even in the Phye episode there is no evidence that Peisistratos was dressed up as Herakles, no matter how Phye was costumed.

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We should broaden our view of the forces acting upon the vase-painters, and separate somewhat the popularity of Herakles with the vase-painters from the Peisistratidai and/or their agents. This does not necessarily mean that the Peisistratidai and/or their agents had no say in the matter, but

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[393] Two other groups are also noteworthy: the Leagros group at well over 28% and a catch-all group of other pot painters at just over 26%.

if they did, it was only indirectly. This saves us from having to make the leap of faith that the direct

influence theory needs, and allows us a much wider range of possible influences.

Two media which are often mentioned as sources of influence for vase-painters are sculpture

and epic poetry. These should be examined, to see if Herakles was prominent in either or both during

our period. Another possibility could be the vase-painters and vase-paintings of other centres, but we

have already seen that Herakles was not very popular outside of Athens,[394] and while Corinthian artists

may have emigrated to Athens,[395] the low artistic popularity of Herakles at Corinth does not argue in

favour of their being the cause of the later popularity of Herakles at Athens. If we are to look for

outside influences, then sculpture and epic poetry seem to provide the most likely sources.

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Starting with architectural sculpture, we have a series of pedimental sculptures, mostly from

the Akropolis and mostly of poros, in which Herakles either features or can reasonably be postulated

to have featured. From the Akropolis come two Herakles vs. Triton groups - small and large, one

whole, small pediment depicting Herakles' battle with the Hydra, and one scene depicting Herakles'

Introduction to Olympos, which may have been a small pediment, or part of a larger one. These were

all of poros; there is also a marble pediment depicting a Gigantomachy. Although no figure identifiable

as Herakles survives, it is not unreasonable to postulate his participation in the battle. Finally, there

is a marble group from the Agora depicting Herakles' battle with the Nemean Lion, which may also

have been part of a pediment.[396] In addition to these groups were found poros and marble groups of

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[394] Cf. *supra*, Chapter Three, Tables 2-4.

[395] Hurwit 1985, 178 suggests one Corinthian vase-painter moved to Athens ca. 620, and that others may well have followed. There certainly was a Corinthianising element in Attic vase-painting in the first quarter of the sixth century, of which the the Gorgon Painter is a good example (Cf. Hurwit 1985, 219-21).

[396] Boardman 1972, 69-70. Cf. Boersma 1970, 240, who dates it to ca. 530-20 and assigns it to an unidentified public building.

lions attacking bulls, a single lion, two poros serpents, the Olive Tree pediment, Bluebeard - a winged,

triple-bodied snaky-tailed creature, and a group with a figure of unknown sex climbing into a chariot,

a Hermes (?), and horses,[397] as well as a marble Gorgon, Perseus (?), and leopard.[398] Both the dating

of these sculptures, and their distribution among the various structures attested or postulated for the

Akropolis have proved controversial.

Before proceeding any further, it is therefore necessary to discuss these issues, starting with

the dating question. According to Boardman the marble elements are the earliest and latest, with the

Gorgon, Perseus (?) and leopard remains dating to ca. 580-70, and the marble Gigantomachy and

marble lions-and-bull group to ca. 520. The poros works, he suggests, are most likely later than ca.

550 except for the Hydra pediment which, due to its shallow relief, may be somewhat earlier. The

primitive appearance of the others, Boardman argues, may just be due to the medium and its inherent

limitations.[399] These dates, particularly for the poros sculptures, have not been universally accepted.

Stewart, for instance, dates them to ca. 570-40[400] and Ridgway to ca. 560-40,[401] while ca. 570-60

has been considered the traditional date.[402] A dramatically different date for the poros sculptures has

been proposed by Beyer, who suggests that they and thus the temple that carried them date to the

seventh century; this suggestion has not proved popular.[403]

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[397] Boardman 1972, 70-1.

[398] Boardman 1978c, 154.

[399] Ibid, 154-5. Cf. also Boardman 1972, 69 n.3 for an earlier statement of his views.

[400] Stewart 1990, 114.

[401] Ridgway 1977, 205.

[402] Dinsmoor 1947, 113 n.20.

[403] Beyer 1977, 55-72, basing his arguments on perceived similarities between the sculptures and seventh-century vase-paintings.

The marble Gigantomachy may also need redating; Childs has recently presented a strong case for dating this sculpture and thus its temple to after ca. 510, based on stylistic similarities between the Athena of the pediment and the ca. 490 Nike of Kallimakhos, as well as some late Akropolis *korai* (nos. 685, 615).[404] The musculature and contorted pose of one of the Giants are also used as evidence; Stewart points out that similar representations can be found on the Ball-player statue base of ca. 510-500, as well as in vase-paintings of the same period.[405] Both Childs and Stewart agree that this Gigantomachy is more advanced, and thus later than its counterpart on the allegedly Alkmaionid-elaborated Temple of Apollo at Delphi, but while Stewart would leave the dating of this temple's Gigantomachy at the traditional ca. 510-500, Childs would move it back to ca. 530.[406] Either way, the arguments for redating the Akropolis pediment are fairly sound. If they are correct, then the marble lions-and-bull group should also be similarly downdated.

Looking next at the relevant architectural remains, we have various fragments of a Doric temple, datable to ca. 570-50.[407] We also have, between the fifth-century Parthenon and Erechtheion, the sixth-century Dörpfeld Foundation. Underneath the Parthenon lie the remains of the Older Parthenon, still from the fifth century; no previous temple underlies the Erechtheion.[408] Finally, we have an inscription, dated to 485/4 according to Dinsmoor, which mentions a Hekatompedon.[409] Some scholars, Dinsmoor included, take this to refer to an actual temple, but others have argued that

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[404] Childs 1993, 403-6, following Stähler, who suggested a date of ca. 500 for the sculpture.

[405] Stewart 1990, 130.

[406] Ibid; Childs 1993, 431.

[407] Stewart 1990, 114.

[408] Dinsmoor 1947, 121 claims that traces only of shrines can be found under the Erechtheion.

[409] Ibid, 116-8. Inscription: *IG* I² 3-4.

it refers to a precinct instead. The dating has also been called into question; it may have been much earlier than traditionally thought.[410]

Of primary interest is the Dörpfeld Foundation. These remains consist of an inner and outer ring of foundations, the former of blocks of blue Akropolis limestone and the latter of larger, more carefully laid blocks of pink Kara limestone, suggesting the foundations of a cella and peristyle.[411] Within the inner ring are the remains of walls, also constructed of blue Akropolis limestone. In neither walls nor foundations were any fasteners used.[412] The superstructure was of poros, with possibly some marble elements.[413] The difference in construction quality of the rings suggests two possibilities: the inner ring had less of a load to bear, and so could be poorer, or, the inner ring belonged to an early temple, the outer to a later rebuilding. As for dating, Plommer suggests three possibilities: the inner ring from ca. 600 and the outer Peisistratean, both early, or both Peisistratean.[414]

Dörpfeld, Wiegand and other early scholars believed that a temple, called by them the Hekatompedon, was first erected on the site early in the sixth century, over the blue foundations. This was then rebuilt under the Peisistratids, with the addition of a colonnade, which rested on the pink foundations.[415] As for the poros sculptures, only the four large snaky-tailed groups - Herakles vs. Triton and Bluebeard in one pediment, the two serpents in the other - belonged to the early

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[410] Hurwit 1985, 242-3. Cf. also Tölle-Kastenbein 1993. Cf. Preißhofen 1977 for a discussion of this inscription, which he suggests could be from the sixth century. From the text as he restores it, the Hekatompedon in one passage where it is mentioned clearly seems to be a precinct, in which the treasuries stood: ...τὰ οἰκέματα [τὰ ἐν τοῖ ἑκατ]ομπέδοι.... Cf. also Bancroft 1979, 11-15 and, for the most recent discussion of the inscription which he dates to 499/8 or 498/7, Németh 1993.

[411] Plommer 1960, 129.

[412] Ibid, 130.

[413] Wycherley 1978, 144.

[414] Plommer 1960, 130.

[415] Wycherley 1978, 144.

Hekatompedon. The others came from purely hypothetical temples or treasuries, postulated to provide enough buildings to hold all the sculptures.[416]

Somewhat later, as more fragments of architectural elements were discovered, it became clear that the early temple would have been too wide to fit on the blue foundation. Schuchhardt therefore widened the proposed Hekatompedon, so that it used both foundations. In this way, the pediments would have been wider too, and so he proposed to add one of the lions-and-bull groups to the centre of the Bluebeard pediment. He was nevertheless left with architectural fragments he could not include in his restoration; these, along with the other lions-and-bull group he assigned to a second, contemporary, and again hypothetical temple underlying the Parthenon.[417]

Dinsmoor could accept none of the earlier solutions. We have already mentioned the preference for Kara stone as a Peisistratean characteristic; Dinsmoor has further pointed out that both foundation rings show the use on the euthynteria of the toothed chisel, a tool which he claims did not come into widespread use until late in the Peisistratean era. This instrument was used, he claims, on neither the pedimental sculptures nor on the remains of the Doric temple with which at least some of those sculptures have been associated - only the point and flat chisels were used on these. Dinsmoor therefore concludes that both foundation rings are contemporary, and belong to late in Peisistratos' reign.[418]

Neither the Doric temple fragments nor the poros sculptures can belong to these foundations, therefore, as they are some 40 to 50 years earlier. So, Dinsmoor postulates the existence of another temple underneath the Parthenon, of which no traces can now be seen, for obvious reasons. This

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[416] Dinsmoor 1947, 112-4.

[417] Ibid, 115-6.

[418] Ibid, 116-7.

temple he calls the Hekatompedon, based on the inscription discussed earlier. To it he assigns the four

large snaky-tailed groups and the two poros lions-and-bull groups - because of stylistic similarities, they

must all go together, he believes.[419] We are still left with the smaller pediments; these he assigns to

treasuries. No traces of these remain; some, he suggests, stood on the part of the Akropolis that was

later cut away to form the Khalkotheke terrace.[420]

Plommer, on the other hand, has argued that in very early temples the foundations of cella

and peristyle can be different, citing the temple at Thermon as evidence. Also, the outer foundation

supported only a euthynteria and stylobate, rather like the Heraion at Olympia only less developed.

Finally, the double-square layout of the cella may possibly be a third indicator of an early date. As for

the use of the toothed chisel, Plommer points out that it first appeared in freestanding sculpture before

the middle of the century, on Akropolis *kore* 593. Moreover, the highly polished finish of early Attic

marble statuary is said to be such that it has often removed all traces left by the sculptor's tools.

Furthermore, he suggests that in architecture, it was first used on horizontal surfaces such as the

euthynteria. Its use does not necessarily, therefore, imply a late date.[421]

Alternatively, if we nevertheless accept the use of the toothed chisel as a marker of a late date,

then the apparent contradictions can still be resolved by postulating two temples, one early and one

late, on the same foundations. The early temple would have been dismantled only down to the

euthynteria, which would then have been reworked with the toothed chisel before the new temple was

erected. This is the argument Plommer has followed; two successive peripteral temples on the Dörpfeld

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[419] Ibid, 117.

[420] Ibid, 125-6.

[421] Plommer 1960, 131-2.

foundation are postulated, the first coming early in the century, and the second ca. 525.[422] All of the

large poros pedimental sculpture, as well as the architectural fragments, are assigned by Plommer to

the first of these temples, the marble Gigantomachy pediment to the Peisistratean rebuilding.[423] The

marble lions-and-bull group presumably came from the other pediment of this building, as Boardman

has suggested.[424] According to Boersma, the rebuilding included new taller columns, a new entablature

and a new roof to go with the new marble pediments,[425] so Plommer's suggestion of a near-total

reconstruction does not seem unrealistic.

Beyer, of course, had to place the foundations in the seventh century, to match his date for

the sculptures.[426] He actually postulates three temples on these foundations. The first, carrying the

poros lioness and the small Herakles and Triton scene, he dates to ca. 650, the second, carrying the

rest of the large poros sculpture, to the last quarter of the seventh century, and the third, carrying the

marble pediments, to the period of the Peisistratids.[427] As he reconstructs the pediments of his second

temple, the Bluebeard pediment remains untouched, but into the other one he promotes the

Introduction to Olympos scene, previously considered an independent pediment, and to balance it,

postulates a Birth of Athena scene from some of the remaining fragments, which seem to indicate a

procession.[428]

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[422] Ibid, 133-4.

[423] Plommer 1960, 150-9. One architrave block causes problems due to its form, but Plommer believes it could still have come from the early temple as he reconstructs it.

[424] Boardman 1978c, 155. Cf. Shrader 1969, 345-87 for illustrations and a comprehensive discussion of these two marble pediments.

[425] Boersma 1970, 180-1.

[426] Beyer 1977, 45-54, lays out his arguments for this dating.

[427] Ibid, 74.

[428] Beyer 1974, 649-50. Cf. Bancroft 1979, 68 for a discussion of the problems of such a reconstruction. Essentially, she claims that the Introduction scene matches, in technical details, slope, and size, neither the rest of the sculptures, the slope of the pediment, nor the other elements of the pediment.

From even this brief summary, it is abundantly clear that little can be said with confidence about either the numbers or the dates of the temples and treasuries on the Archaic Akropolis. Dinsmoor has successfully pointed out the problems caused by the reconstructions of earlier scholars, but his solutions, particularly his Hekatompedon, are all too hypothetical. Moreover, his tristyle-in-antis Hekatompedon, lacking a peristyle, would have been rather primitive for the mid-sixth century, and as we have seen the Hekatompedon may be a precinct.[429] If some proper excavations could be carried out underneath the Parthenon we would be better able to assess Dinsmoor's proposals; until then, Plommer's idea of two successive temples on the Dörpfeld Foundation remains the most attractive.[430] Although Plommer would like to date the first temple to early in the century, Shapiro's suggestion that it was erected as part of the reorganisation of the Panathenaia is perhaps more reasonable.[431] Some smaller buildings must also have existed, to carry the smaller pediments and other architectural fragments, but little else can be said about them.[432]

It is also clear that from the third quarter of the sixth century Herakles, just as he did in vase-paintings, played a major role in the architectural sculpture of the Akropolis. As we are dealing for the most part with a temple (or temples) and the Akropolis, it is reasonable to suggest that the state would have exercised considerable control over the content of the sculptural scenes. If any of these buildings were erected while any of the Peisistratidai were in power, then perhaps it could be argued that the Peisistratidai may indeed have influenced the vase-painters, indirectly through the sculpture. Similarly,

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[429] Hurwit 1985, 242-3. Cf. also *supra*, n.410.

[430] For a different view see Bancroft 1979, 18 and 45, who, based on the evidence for the use of the toothed chisel, can not accept an early sixth-century date for the foundations, and thus asserts that the poros sculptures and associated temple remains are still in need of a foundation, even though she admits that this temple as reconstructed by her, would fit the Dörpfeld Foundation.

[431] Shapiro 1989, 21. Cf. Bancroft 1979, 109-36 for an interpretation of the poros sculptures that ties them in to the Panathenaia.

[432] Cf. Boersma 1970, catalogue entries 121, 122, 125, 128, 131 and Bancroft 1979, 46-64, 72-6 for summaries of what is known about these buildings, as well as various suggestions for their sculptural ornament.

at least some of the sculptural themes could have been chosen for their propaganda value, which may have then carried on into the vase-paintings.

We can not be sure however how many or how much of the buildings under discussion were actually erected while any of the Peisistratidai were in power, especially given the sporadic nature of Peisistratos' rule before 546 and, if Childs and Stewart are correct, the rebuilding of the Old Athena Temple under the democracy. Even if Peisistratos took part in the reorganisation of the Panathenaia and the initiation of the first temple, it was not as tyrant.[433] It is difficult to see how he could have injected propaganda with personal references into the sculptural program at this point. However, a temple takes time to build, so Peisistratos could have been in power during some stages of its construction. Even so the first two tyrannies were very brief, and for most of the time between 561 and 546 Peisistratos' opponents ruled Athens. One could hardly expect them to suffer propaganda glorifying their enemy, if Herakles was as closely tied to Peisistratos as Boardman wants us to believe. It is however possible, as Hurwit has suggested, that the temple was not finished until Peisistratos' third tyranny;[434] in this case Peisistratos must certainly have had a say in the choice of the pedimental sculptures. We still lack any evidence, though, that any propaganda was meant to be personal rather than for the state as a whole. Similarly, even if the rebuilding of the Old Athena Temple did begin under the Peisistratids, it seems likely that it was finished under the democracy, which one cannot expect to have countenanced propaganda favouring a tyranny.

Finally, although the suggestion that architectural sculpture could influence vase-painters is reasonable, it should also be pointed out that at least one of the scenes, that of Herakles and

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[433] For a discussion of possible Peisistratan involvement with the initiation of this temple see the article by Shear in Childs 1978 (*non vidi*).

[434] Hurwit 1985, 248.

Nereus/Triton, had already long before made an appearance on vases. Turning to a theme not represented on the Akropolis pediments, that of Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion, the version in which the two wrestle lying down as opposed to standing up also seems to appear first on vases, then on a pediment.[435] On the other hand, the pedimental sculpture from the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, depicting the struggle between Herakles and Apollo for the Delphic Tripod, seems certain to have influenced the vase-painters' depictions of the same event.[436] As has so often been the case, our evidence remains frustratingly ambiguous.

One group of freestanding sculptures also deserves a mention, although from Sikyon, if only because Boardman has brought it into his argument. From Pliny we learn that two Cretan sculptors had moved to Sikyon, and received a state commission to sculpt images of Apollo, Diana, Hercules, and Minerva. Pliny places them around the fiftieth Olympiad (580-77).[437] Boardman has suggested that this was a representation of Herakles' theft of the Delphic tripod, and that as Kleisthenes of Sikyon must somehow have been involved in the project, the group may refer to the recent First Sacred War.[438] We have already discussed the historicity of this war; other problems with this reconstruction exist as well. Stewart, for instance, has suggested that the date, tying the artists to Kleisthenes and Sikyon at the peak of their power, is too much of a coincidence,.[439] Furthermore, we know nothing else about these statues: how they were arranged, where they belonged, for example. There is no necessity for them to have depicted the theft of the tripod.

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[435] Boardman 1978b, 14-5 with n.19.

[436] Cf. von Bothmer 1977. Also cf. *infra*.

[437] Pliny *HN* 36.9-10.

[438] Parke & Boardman 1957, 279-80.

[439] Stewart 1990, 242.

As with the pedimental sculptures, our evidence does not allow a firm conclusion to be drawn. Strong arguments for rejecting a close connection between sculpture in general and vase-painting have recently been presented by Ridgway, however. Three reasons are given: the different purposes of sculpture and vases, which influenced the choice of themes depicted; the chronological differences that would appear were one to try to date objects in one medium by objects in the other; and the differences in the way clothes and folds in the clothes are depicted in the two media.[440] This point of view is perhaps too skeptical, and even Ridgway will admit the occasional influence; a different point of view will be given at the end of this chapter.

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Another possible source of influence is epic poetry, but here the evidence is equally elusive. We do however have fragments of the *Geryoneis* of Stesichoros, and a sudden increase in the popularity of this story among vase-painters just during the second half of the sixth century.[441] Stesichoros is dated to 632-556 by the Suda, and although these dates are disputed it is generally accepted that he flourished in the first half of the sixth century,[442] so there could be a connection between poet and painters. Other Herakles poems must have existed, but are much more hypothetical; Robertson suggests that one of these was the *Aegimius*, attributed by him to Kerkops of Miletus and having a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 540.[443] Aegimius himself was a king whom Herakles aided, and who in turn helped Herakles by looking after his children. Only eight and a half independent lines of the poem remain, none of which mention Herakles or even Aegimius, but Robertson argues that they would all

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[440] Ridgway 1987, 87.

[441] Robertson 1969, 207-8 with n.2. Cf. also Page 1973.

[442] Stewart 1983, 56; Shapiro 1994, 71.

[443] Robertson 1980, 279-83 (attribution to Kerkops), 276 (date). The *taq* is based on a black-figure amphora (Reggio 4001 = *ABV* 147, 6) depicting Herakles capturing Kerberos, which dates to ca. 540.

make sense if the poem dealt with Herakles' *katabasis*.[444] On the vase-painting side, we have the Reggio amphora already mentioned,[445] which is near if not right at the start of a run of Herakles and Kerberos vases that stretches into the fifth century.[446] Again, there may be a connection. Stesichoros too seems to have dealt with this theme - at least, he wrote a *Kerberos*, but too little is known about it to draw any conclusions.[447]

The possibility for influence certainly existed, but the degree and frequency of such influences are not easily determined. Some scholars believe strongly in the influence of epics. Schefold is a prime example; his works tend to leave the impression that an epic lies behind all representations.[448] While this approach may at times be valid, its limitations have been well expressed by many.

Cook, for instance, has laid down three criteria for determining whether a poem has influenced an artistic representation. In his order of importance: either the artist depicts something that was invented by the poet, or several scenes from the same epic come into view contemporaneously, or a wide range of scenes from one epic can be seen.[449] Concentrating on the Trojan cycle, he has pointed out that for a variety of epics - the *Cypria*, *Iliad*, *Iliupersis*, *Odyssey*, *Aithiopis*, and *Little Iliad* - representations in art are not overly abundant either in proportion to all scenes, or just to other myth scenes. Furthermore, nowhere do we see a sudden appearance of a variety of scenes from any of these epics in the repertoire, nor do we see a wide range of scenes from any one epic.[450] As for details

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[444] Ibid, 287-92.

[445] Cf. supra, n.443.

[446] Boardman 1975a, 7-8.

[447] Lloyd-Jones 1967, 226.

[448] Cf. for instance Schefold 1966, 1992.

[449] Cook 1983, 1.

[450] Ibid, 2. We should remember, however, that some of the minor epics were short, only two or three books in length, and so cannot be directly compared to the Iliad and Odyssey. (W.J. Slater, pers. comm.)

invented by the poets and then copied, Cook argues that only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are well enough known to be studied in this context, and that only two works of art can with certainty be said to fall into this category: a Corinthian plaque and the Chest of Kypselos.[451]

While agreeing that many more epics must have existed than just the ones we know, Cook does not see these as influencing the painters either. Rather, he suggests we look to folktales, which the painters would have known from childhood, as being the sources of the painters' influences.[452] This is a very reasonable suggestion, although the idea of now-lost poems making a contribution should not be discarded completely.

From looking at the images, it is apparent that the vase-painters were not following one set text - there are just too many variants, from image to image and in the cases where we know the text, between images and text. In his latest book Shapiro illustrates well the variety;[453] although he deals mainly with the Classical period, a few examples from around our period are also to be found: on a vase from the Leagros Group (ca. 510) depicting the dragging of Hektor's body, we see both Akhilles and a charioteer, but in the *Iliad*, Akhilles drives the chariot himself;[454] on the François Vase (ca. 570-60), we see the chariot race from the funeral games for Patroklos, but even though all five charioteers are named, only one name is the same as found in the *Iliad*.[455] Variants of this nature, of course, are quite different from the standard practice of compressing references to several episodes of one story into one image, to better tell that story.

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[451] Ibid, 2-5.

[452] Ibid, 5-6.

[453] Shapiro 1994.

[454] Ibid, 29. vase: Boston 63.473.

[455] Ibid, 35. François Vase: Florence 4209 = *ABV* 76,1.

The variety can be best explained if we see vase-painters as interpreters of, and contributors to, the story, rather than as passive illustrators. They may have learned of a myth from an epic, but given a society in which myths and legends played such an important role, it would be very surprising if they had not known the story, in some form, beforehand, nor had not at times used their own imaginations to help in forming a depiction.[456] Granted, it can be shown that some images do refer back to a specific text: returning to Stesichoros and his *Geryoneis*, we have two Chalcidian vases[457] that depict a winged Geryon, a feature not seen in other vase-paintings and present only in Stesichoros' work; we also have two Attic vases,[458] by Oltos and Euphronios, in which a grieving woman, taken by Page to be Geryon's mother, is added behind Geryon.[459] These, however, are the exceptions.

Amyx, in an article dealing with the possible influences of mural painting on Corinthian vases in which a series of varying representations of Herakles and the Hydra are studied, draws a conclusion which is generally applicable, and worth quoting at length:

> "...it seems far more likely that certain basic narrative configurations, once established through their invention in *any* medium, were then adapted, *with variations*, into subsequent works, in the same or in any other medium. As we have noted, such transmissions need not have been concerned with *techniques* or *styles*, but only with *types* of representation, so that the exact source of the borrowing really did not matter, ... [a] bronze relief or engraving; a relief sculpture in stone (which would then have been *painted*); a Chest of Kypselos; or another vase-painting, could equally well have served as the vehicle of transmission."[460]

To the last sentence we could easily add pedimental and freestanding sculptures as yet more potential vehicles of transmission. The East pediment of the Siphnian Treasury, in fact, is an excellent illustration of some of the points Amyx has made: while the vase-painters certainly picked up the new,

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[456] Shapiro 1989, 12, reasonably suggests that recitations of poetry, whether private or public, must have played some role in influencing the painters as well.

[457] Cabinet des Médailles 202 = Rumpf 1927, 46 no. 3, pls. 6-9; London BM B155 = Rumpf 1927, 47 no. 6, pls. 13-15.

[458] Oltos: ARV^2 62, 84 (now lost); Munich 2620 = ARV^2 16 and 1619, 17.

[459] Page 1973, 145, with Robertson 1969.

[460] Amyx 1983, 49.

running scheme of the fight, no vase-painting is an exact copy of the pediment, either in cast of characters or layout. When von Bothmer's list of vases carrying this scene is examined, twenty-two compositional variants are found.[461]

Amyx ends his article by recommending that we do not underestimate the originality of the vase-painters, nor their capabilities for influencing other media themselves.[462] There is no reason why his ideas would not have relevance for non-Corinthian vase-painters. When these ideas are combined with an acceptance of the capability of the painters for independent knowledge of the stories they were depicting, then it becomes difficult to see only an epic behind every image, and even with the little we know about Stesichoros or Kerkops or other epic poets, much more difficult to see a personal propaganda need behind the epics.

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The influences on the vase-painters were many, but attributing any to the personal propaganda needs of the Peisistratidai would be very risky. One should ask if the popularity of Herakles was not the result of a greater consideration, affecting both the Peisistratidai and the artists: that the qualities Herakles represented were generally attractive, and could be used by all in an attempt to mould Athenian society. I shall return to this suggestion in the conclusion of this thesis.

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[461] Cf. von Bothmer 1977.

[462] Amyx 1983, 49.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FURTHER CRITICISMS

In the preceding chapters I have shown that the political interpretation of the interest in Herakles can be attacked on four major fronts: the statistical background to the argument, the nature of the changes, the connections between the scenes and (allegedly) historical events, and the means whereby influence could have been exerted upon the vase-painters. These however are not the only areas in which criticisms can be levelled, and a look at some other failings of the argument would be instructive. The purpose of this chapter is to present and comment upon these criticisms.

Given the potential importance of the political interpretation, there have been surprisingly few detailed reactions published to date.[463] Bazant was the first, taking an extreme stance in his main argument by claiming that there was no symbolism - in our sense of the word - at all in Greek art of the period in question. There were attributes, which served as aids to identification, and signs - for instance, oracles - which pointed the way from the known to the unknown without actually identifying the unknown. There were no symbols, in which the true meaning of an image was hidden behind the apparent one; this would require subordination of one meaning to another, but in Bazant's view all meanings were equal. Words too were inseparable from the persons/objects they represented, their meanings inseparable from reality. Thus, Herakles could never represent anyone but himself, his image could not be used to make the populace think of Peisistratos and his deeds.[464]

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[463] The only published reactions I am aware of are those of Bazant 1982, Osborne 1983/4 and Blok 1990 in articles, Cook 1987 in a note, and Moon 1983b as part of an article dealing with the Priam Painter.

[464] Bazant 1982, especially 25-32. As an example Bazant cites Metrodoros' saying that Akhilles was the sun (fr. 4, *non vidi*). If this was true, Bazant argues, then the word 'Akhilles' must have changed its meaning and come to mean 'the sun'. This could not have happened, however, because the word could not be divorced from its meaning - the person Akhilles. Bazant thus concludes that since neither 'Akhilles' nor 'sun' could change, then Metrodoros must have been referring to a new being, composed of both elements.

A slightly more convincing argument was made by Osborne, who suggested that there was too much information in Herakles (and other) images to allow only a narrow interpretation of them. Rather, there could be many interpretations, and as the viewer could not have been forced to pick only a certain one of them, nor even to read the image in a specific order like a written text, then the propaganda value of the image would have been useless.[465] Recalling for example Exekias' depiction of Ajax and Akhilles gaming, Osborne argues that all Boardman's argument needed was a simple, generic picture of soldiers playing. Here though we have much more information; the participants are named as two great Greek heroes, there is a wealth of detail in their dress, the state of the game is given by added inscriptions, so that the scene is much too complex to allow the single meaning that a propaganda use requires.[466]

This argument perhaps gives too little credit to the Greeks' powers of interpretation. It also seems to imply that the worlds of heroes and ordinary people do not intersect. However, an image would surely have had a greater impact on a viewer if connections between these worlds did exist, if it was understood that what was true for heroes was also true for others. One can also argue that the appropriate interpretation of a vase was aided by context - the manner in which Herakles was depicted for example. Such hints would have indicated to the viewer which meaning out of a set of possible meanings was to be considered primary.[467]

Exekias and his work are, at this point, worth a slight digression. It should be noted that whereas Boardman has used the aforementioned scene to argue for anti-Peisistratid sympathies, he also used another possibly ("very close to the master...if not his") Exekian scene to support his argument

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[465] Osborne 1983/4, especially 66-9.

[466] Ibid, 64.

[467] W.J. Slater, Pers. comm.

for the Peisistratid takeover of Eleusis,[468] and acknowledged that Exekias seemingly invented the lying

down version of Herakles' battle with the Nemean Lion.[469] Exekias was also, if not the first, then at

least among the first to depict Herakles' Introduction to Olympos using the procession-being-readied

scheme.[470] He also painted at least one scene of Herakles on Olympos, among the gods.[471] For

someone claimed to be anti-Peisistratid, he seems to have been too much interested in the symbols of

the tyrants, and the deification of the mythological counterpart to a ruler whose policies he supposedly

found unattractive. As Moon has pointed out in his discussion of the Priam Painter's alleged

contributions to propaganda, the whole of a painter's output should be considered before generalisations

about his oeuvre can be made.[472] Exekias may, of course, have been catering impartially to both sides,

but given the ambiguity it is perhaps better not to suggest that his vase-paintings betray his political

leanings.

As for the interpretation of the Dioskouroi on, for instance, the reverse of Exekias' Vatican

amphora as another anti-Peisistratid symbol, this also seems unlikely. If we choose to believe

Herodotos, then the Spartans were on friendly terms with the Peisistratids even at the time of the

latters' expulsion, and took part in it only because they did not wish to offend Delphi and lose the

goodwill of the god.[473]

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[468] Reggio 4001 = *ABV* 147, 6, depicting Triptolemos, as also noticed by Osborne.

[469] Boardman 1975, 7; 1978, 14. Vases: Berlin 1720 = *ABV* 143, 1*bis*; Ensérune frr. It is noteworthy that the reverse of the Berlin amphora carries a scene of the sons of Theseus which, according to Boardman, along with other Exekian scenes involving Theseus and/or his family may show the painter foreshadowing the interest in Theseus that develops under the democracy! Cf. Boardman 1978, 15-16.

[470] Orvieto, Faina 187 = *ABV* 145, 11, Athens = *ABV* 145, 19. Moore 1986, 39 points out that the examples by the Swing Painter are at least contemporary with Exekias'.

[471] Orvieto, Faina 78 = *ABV* 144, 9, which also has a Herakles and Kerberos scene on the reverse.

[472] Moon 1983b, 114.

[473] Hdt. 5.63.

This obscurity in the symbolism extends also to the image of Herakles itself, and ties in with some of Osborne's arguments. In the Introduction to Olympos scene for instance, we have a depiction of Herakles about to receive the reward for his struggles - deification, and marriage to a goddess. Peisistratos, on the other hand, is about to make a second, ultimately doomed attempt at tyranny, which will fail along with his marriage to the daughter of the man who helped him in his attempt. As more information is extracted from the image, the less it resembles Peisistratos' career.[474]

Similarly, the battle with Nereus/Triton seems an odd choice to symbolise the events associated with it. Neither in the war with Megara nor in the war for Sigeion were there any naval battles - ships were used only as transports, while the fighting took place on land. As for Ahlberg-Cornell's suggestion, why would a sea-monster be chosen to represent land-based factional strife and the problems of the poor?

Another problem area lies in the very identification of Herakles with Peisistratos. Crucial to the whole argument, it nevertheless may be suspect because of the differing natures of the two, as both Blok and Cook have suggested.[475] The point is well taken that Herakles was subject to excesses in sex and violence and gluttony, whereas Peisistratos allegedly preferred to follow custom and the laws. Regardless of Herakles' good qualities, it may therefore be debatable whether Peisistratos would have wanted to identify himself with someone who could go mad, kill his family, and commit other acts of violence. Recalling however the dual nature of so many of the Greeks' gods and the fact that an outside agency, Hera, was the cause of many of Herakles' troubles, then it is not unreasonable to suggest that a propaganda program focusing only on the admirable facets of Herakles' character would be possible.

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[474] Osborne 1983/4, 66. It would be different if the vases dated to around the time of this attempt - then one could argue that the scenes reflected the optimistic mood of the would-be tyrant at the start of his reign. As has been shown however (cf. *supra*, Chapter Four), the vases are much later than the event. Regardless of the success of the third attempt, these scenes would still be documenting a failure.

[475] Blok 1990, 25-6; Cook 1987, 167.

To finish off the criticisms, we can briefly discuss four other points. First, there is the use of Theseus under the democracy. Boardman cites this as a parallel for the use of Herakles under the Peisistratids,[476] but the two cases are not similar. Theseus was himself seen as the founder of Athenian democracy, and no politician was being equated with him.[477] Second, there is the use of formulaic compositions by the vase-painters to consider. In his study of the Priam Painter, Moon has pointed out that this painter frequently uses the same composition, but with a different cast of characters, and wonders what effect this might have on a political interpretation.[478] It does not seem to me that this point can be pressed too far, for surely any message would lie much more in the characters than the composition.

Next we have Boardman's assertion that not all Herakles scenes need be relevant to his argument.[479] In a way this returns to the idea of the clarity of the symbol - how was the viewer then to know whether, in a given Herakles scene, Herakles was representing Peisistratos or had no further meaning? This usage of the Herakles scenes recalls his usage of only parts of Exekias' oeuvre to support his arguments. Finally, there is his claim that other rulers took myth seriously, and were interested in manipulating it.[480] This is true, as the case of Kleisthenes of Sikyon shows, but there the similarity stops. It is not recorded that Kleisthenes was equating himself with a hero or a god in any of his manipulations. There is a great step between using myth to support policies and using it to claim some kind of divine status - which the political interpretation implies - and as Cook has pointed out, we have

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[476] Boardman 1972, 57-8.

[477] Osborne 1983/4, 67.

[478] Moon 1983b, 102.

[479] Boardman 1975, 10.

[480] Boardman 1972, 57.

no record that before the fifth century the Greeks suffered such behaviour by anyone. That Peisistratos could have done so without comment would be surprising.[481]

With this last point we can return to the Phye episode which, as Connor[482] has recently and convincingly argued, can perhaps best be seen as some sort of ceremony. Many disparate elements made up the ceremony; one parallel suggested by Connor is the ritual wherein a young woman is compared to a goddess. As examples he cites Odysseus' greeting of Nausikaa, and the procession in honour of Artemis in Xenophon of Ephesos' *Ephesian Tale*, in which the heroine is costumed as Artemis while taking part in the parade.[483] Neither in this last example nor in the Phye episode are the witnesses considered to be dupes, but rather as willing participants in a shared ceremony. Other rituals in which males dress up as deities serve as anti-parallels. As even Boardman concedes, there is no evidence of Peisistratos dressing up to resemble Herakles.[484] To Connor, this reasonably suggests that Peisistratos, in the ceremony, was acting as a human assistant to Athena. As a whole, the ritual would have served to inaugurate and solidify the new political order and draw together the ruler and citizens, all under the protection of the supreme power in the state, Athena. The episode makes much more sense when viewed in this light; Herodotos' surprise can no doubt be explained as a result of writing so many years after the fact, when the original story had become garbled.

Attempted defences of Boardman's position are even fewer; in general, his arguments have simply been accepted by those who agree with him, and the process of searching out political allusions has proved ever more popular. The one published defence known to me is by Cavalier who, accepting

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[481] Cook 1987, 167.

[482] Cf. Connor 1987, especially 43-6.

[483] This Xenophon, however, is from a much later period, the second or third century AC, so the parallel may not be valid.

[484] Boardman 1989, 159 with n.4.

the fact that Herakles scenes seem to reach their peak popularity under Peisistratos' sons, argues that they rather than Peisistratos were behind the propaganda, because they needed to solidify their own positions.[485] Such an argument is, at first glance, attractive and, from the point of view of the Peisistratids, understandable. However, it must fail as well; the criticisms made here apply to the political argument as a whole, regardless of whether Peisistratos, or his sons, or all of them are seen as being answerable for the propaganda.

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[485] Cf. Cavalier 1995.

CONCLUSION

Although some of the lesser points may be argued either way, a close examination of the whole body of evidence leads to the conclusion that the Boardman argument is untenable. Herakles was not used as a personal propaganda tool by the Peisistratids; there was no equation of him with Peisistratos. A different explanation must therefore be found for Herakles' popularity in the Peisistratean period, for as has been shown his popularity did peak at this time.[486] Similarly, the other scenes brought into this discussion - sporting scenes and fountain-house scenes to name but a few - should also be removed from the realm of political propaganda.

If we disregard the negative aspects of Herakles' life and character, we are left with someone, a mortal, who through hard work, perseverance and his own abilities (and also, it must be admitted, the occasional help of the gods) successfully met the challenges facing him, and as a result received an appropriate reward. The attraction of such a story would cut across class distinctions, the message of the story would be palatable to all. In Herakles both the aristocracy and ordinary people could find an ideal; given the pursuits of the former class, his athleticism and musical abilities would be especially relevant.

Recent arguments concerning the status of finewares in antiquity lie beyond the scope of this thesis, but if the traditional thinking is maintained - and to a large extent it is to be preferred - then at least the best examples should be seen as being elite tableware, used primarily by the upper class

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[486] Cf. *supra*, Chapter Three, especially Tables 7-10.

rather than the masses.[487] It should not be a surprise therefore that the vase-painters would produce images suited to their clientele. We may question how close the interaction between painters and clients was, but we can not doubt this point. Nor should it be a surprise that the aristocratic tastes would be followed by the other classes and painters of lesser quality, especially when the image would have already been acceptable to them anyway, thus spreading the aristocratic imagery over a wider segment of the populace. In this sense there may still have been a propaganda element present in the images, but it would be propaganda of a general nature, good for the state as a whole rather than certain individuals within it, if the view of Herakles' popularity presented here is correct.

Looked at in this manner, we can see that certain Herakles scenes would be especially appealing. Given aristocratic tastes, scenes stressing Herakles' athleticism - the fight with the Nemean Lion for instance - or his musical ability - the Herakles Mousikos series - would fall into this category. So also might the Introduction to Olympos scene, considering its emphasis on chariots and horses.

Other scenes too may be explained as reflections of aristocratic taste. Male courtship scenes are an excellent example of this, as Shapiro has argued,[488] but sporting scenes in general would also be appropriate. For the latter though there may be an even simpler explanation. A reorganisation of the Panathenaia to include athletic events is assured, even if the personalities involved in the change are unknown. Given the importance of the new festival, it is not difficult to imagine the vase-painters reacting to the developments by using them as subject matter.

A similar process of reaction may also account for the fountain-house scenes, so that as with the sporting scenes, there is no need to read a propaganda program into the images. Considering that

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[487] Even if Gill and Vickers are right and the images on vases were only slavish copies of the designs on metalwares, there would be no difficulties with the interpretation proposed here; the arguments for the popularity of Herakles would be unaffected.

[488] Cf. Shapiro 1981a.

Peisistratos improved the city's water supply, it again seems natural that the painters would depict the new fountain-houses. Another factor may also have been at work here. Many of these scenes are on hydriai, vessels for carrying water. From the return of figural scenes in the late Geometric period onwards, when funerary vases carried funerary scenes, the Greek custom of matching a vessel's decoration to its purpose has been well-documented. From our period, we could point also to sympotic images on sympotic vessels; in like manner, scenes dealing with water - such as fountain-house depictions - would be highly appropriate for hydriai. Herakles' battle with Nereus/Triton, another marine theme, would also be suitable; a substantial number - over a quarter - of these scenes do in fact appear on hydriai.[489]

An interpretation such as the one presented here is much more broadly based than Boardman's, and can be applied to a much wider range of scenes. It does not rely purely on speculation, nor does it need close connections with events of questionable historicity or date. We need not be concerned with awkward gaps between when a scene should have been popular and when it actually was, and we need not postulate modes of behaviour for which no evidence exists. The art-as-political-propaganda interpretation ultimately has too many weak points; however valid it may be for later periods, on current evidence it does not seem to have been applicable for the Peisistratean period.

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[489] Of the 161 vases listed in Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, 7-11, 44 are hydriai.
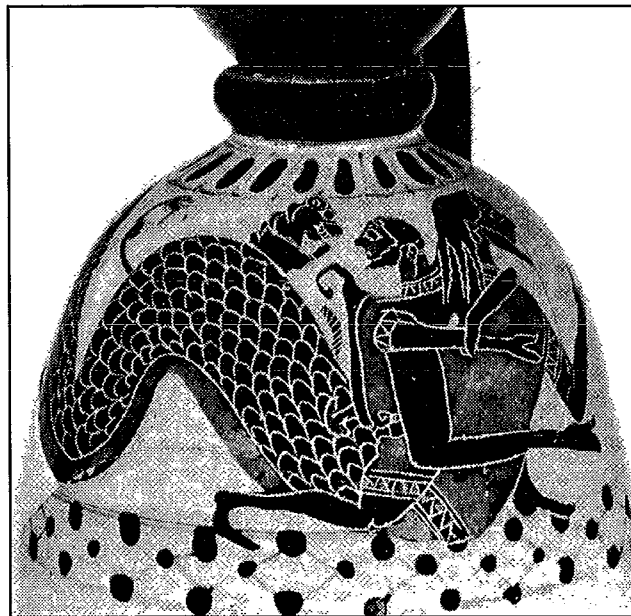
PLATES

Plate 1: B.f. lekythos, in the Manner of the Gorgon
          Painter (Louvre CA 823). Battle of Herakles and
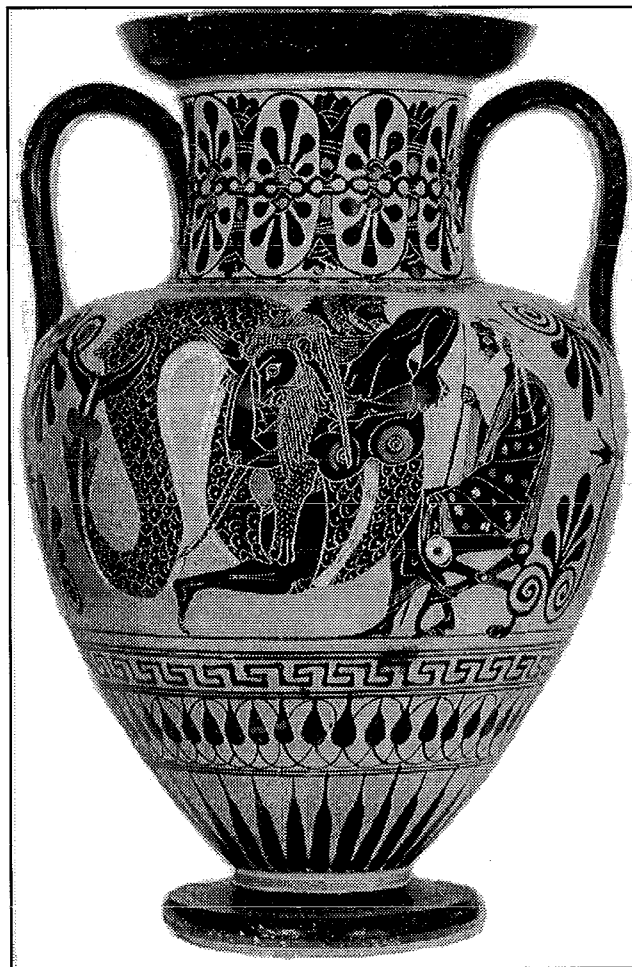   Nereus/Triton, old scheme.

Plate 2: B.f. amphora, from the Medea Group (New York
MMA 56.171.21). Battle of Herakles and
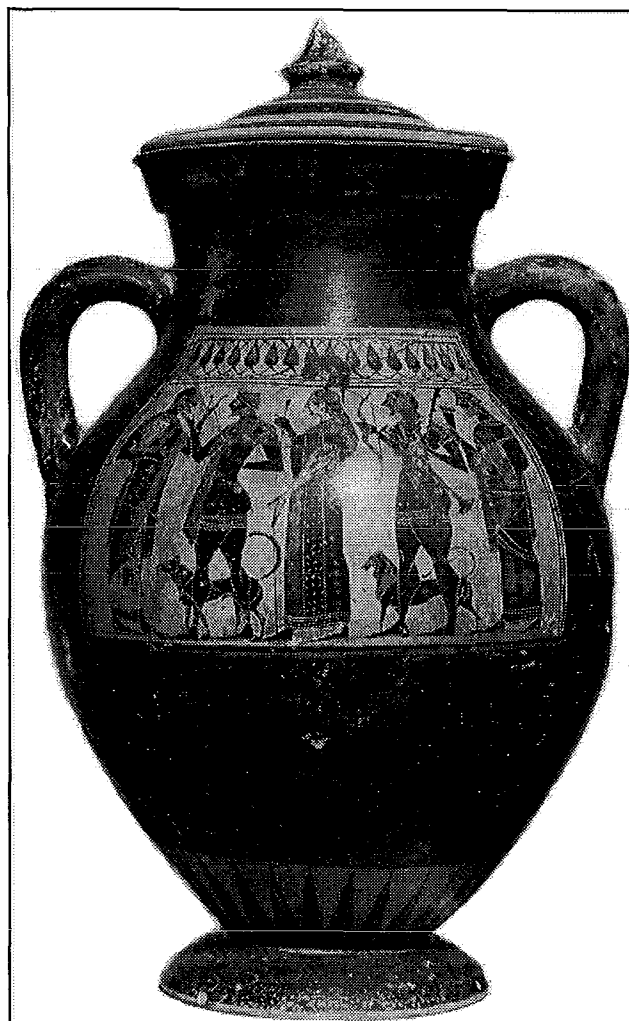Nereus/Triton, new scheme.

Plate 3: B.f. amphora, by the Amasis Painter (Orvieto,
Faina 40). Herakles' Introduction to Olympos,
procession on foot.

Plate 4: B.f. amphora, near the Madrid Painter (ex-Castle Ashby). Herakles' Introduction to Olympos, chariot procession.
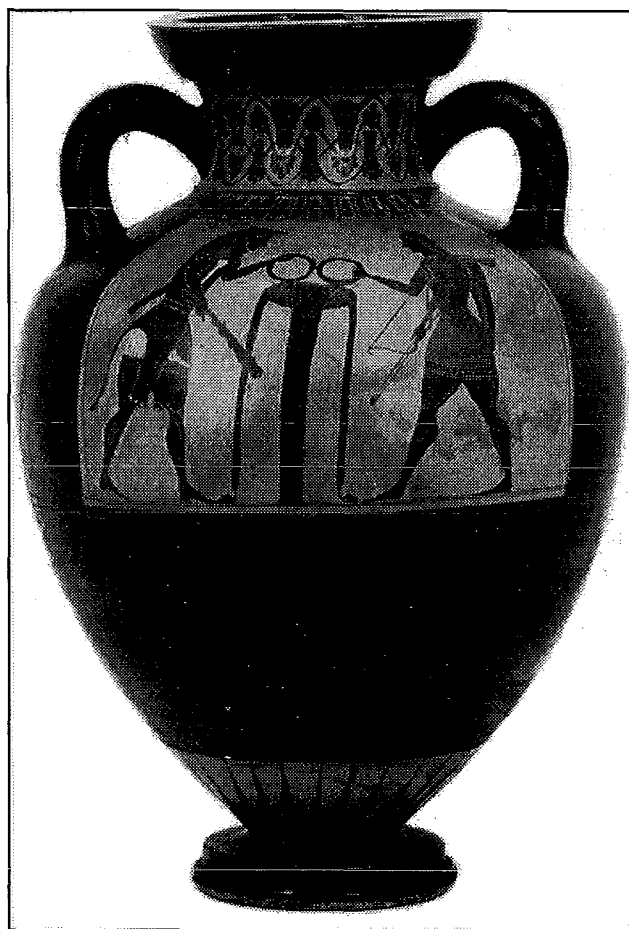
Plate 5: B.f. amphora (Vatican 16598). Herakles' Theft of the Tripod, standing scheme.

Plate 6: B.f. amphora, by the Rycroft Painter (Basel Antikenmuseum BS 409). Herakles'
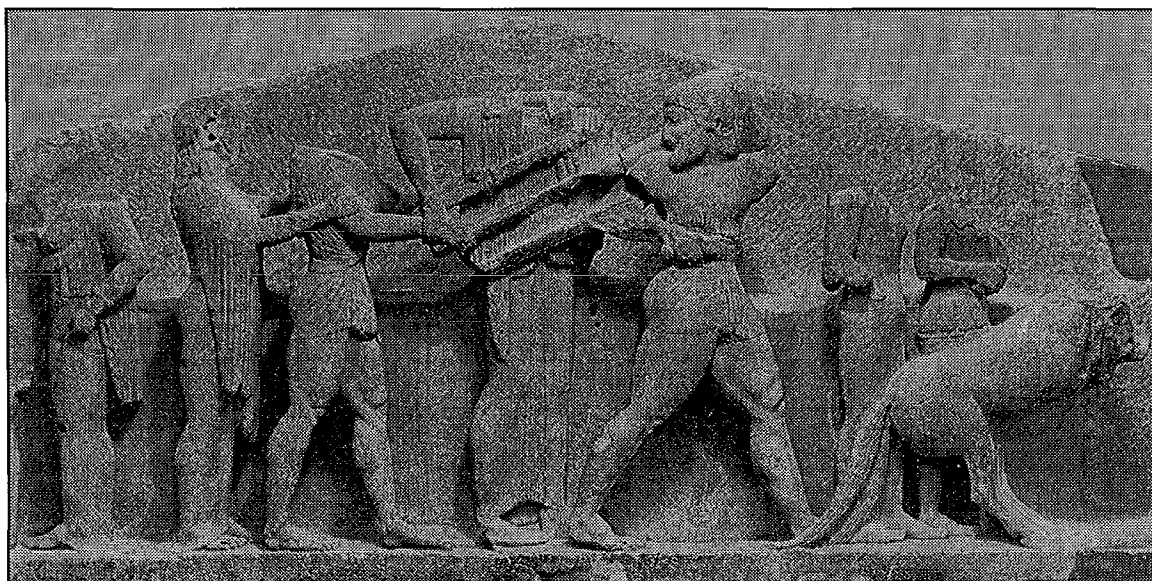Theft of the Tripod, running scheme.

Plate 7: East pediment of the Siphnian treasury, Delphi.

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