

VISUALIZING AUTOCHTHONY:
THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ATHENIAN IDENTITY
IN THE LATE FIFTH CENTURY BCE

by
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ABSTRACT

Autochthony, or the belief of an earthborn ancestry, was a potent aspect of Athenian democratic ideology, closely linked to the political equality of citizens in the Classical polis. Moreover, the concept became a pervasive notion in the visual and verbal atmosphere of fifth century BCE Athens. It permeated multiple facets of Athenian political, social, and religious life, and was a point of pride for the Athenians, who in referring to themselves as αὐτόχθονες believed they were descendants of an early line of kings who were literally born from the Attic soil. Infused with this notion were aspects of the mythological and historical traditions that were at the very heart of the city's understanding of its origins and relationships with the gods, in particular to Athena and Hephaistos. There is evidence that autochthony was known from the mythological traditions of the early kings Kekrops and Erechtheus, dating to the Homeric tradition of the eighth century BCE, leading scholars to posit that the Athenians believed they had always lived in Attica and had not migrated from the outside.

Although it became a popular visual tool in the iconography of Athenian red-figure vases after the defeat of the Persians in 479 BCE, I argue that autochthony saw a decisive shift in meaning during the Peloponnesian Wars of 431 to 404 BCE. This is reflected in the literature of the time, particularly in the tragedies of Euripides, but more prominently in a number of complex scenes of Late Classical red-figure vase painting. Furthermore, the concept of autochthony is evident in the narrative of the sculpted frieze of the Erechtheion, as first proposed by Ludwig Pallat. Today, iconography from vase painting that was unknown to Pallat more than a century ago allows for a greater understanding of the Erechtheion frieze's function as a part of the visual landscape of the Acropolis and Athens.

Truly a city of images in the latter years of the fifth century BCE, Athens promoted the iconography of autochthony first as a means of building empire and then as a instrument to provide comfort and understanding of identity through its exploration of Athenian ancestry as tied to the land threatened by Spartan invasion during the Peloponnesian Wars.

Through the analysis of the material culture and the spatial relationships in the topography of the city of Athens, this project makes several important contributions to the study of autochthony and Athenian identity in the late fifth century BCE. In addition to an in depth survey of the presentation of Erichthonios in vase painting, the dissertation brings together for the first time in nearly a century all related fragments of the Erechtheion frieze, which depicted themes of autochthony. With these fragments, I reflect upon the implications for the monumental depiction of the myths of Erechtheus and Erichthonios on the Athenian Acropolis and within the topography of Athens. Moreover, I consider these fragments of the sculpted frieze of the Erechtheion in the broader context of what I refer to as a “landscape of autochthony” that was present in Athens during the Peloponnesian War. Through a programmatic iconography of myths and histories related to the ancestry and identity of the Athenians, I explore the concept of autochthony on an expansive scale in the Attic landscape, suggesting that it was an omnipresent force in the iconographic fabric of the Late Classical city.

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ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΣ

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCING AUTOCHTHONY: HISTORY, MYTHOLOGY, AND IDENTITY IN LATE FIFTH CENTURY BCE ATHENS

*“It was good to have a stately temple building to provide
orientation when in chaos and distress.”¹*

Introduction

Identity and states of belonging are expressed in a number of ways, including verbally and orally, through the written word, and through imagery. Ancient Athens was not so very different from modern cultures in its desire to express who they were and how they came to be, and moreover, how these two concepts were intertwined. Although their horizons were small at first, the Athenian efforts to establish their identity through language, location, and ancestry echoed their expansion and increasingly dominant control of the Mediterranean in the fifth century BCE.² One way that the Athenians sought to accomplish their sense of identity was through the development of a concept known as autochthony, or the earthborn status from which their race came into being. Embodied within this concept were not only notions of deep-seated mythological histories, but also close connections to the land of Athens and Attica. Both of these themes were played out in a number of ways, through the language of history and tragedy to visual expressions of mythology.

This project seeks to explore the literary and visual manifestation of the theme of autochthony, particularly in regards to iconography. The subject at hand has already received a great deal of attention both in the past as well as continuing into the present, but these approaches, often succinct, tend to approach the concept of autochthony from a one-sided

¹ Burkert 1988, 39. This quotation is eminently applicable to the Erechtheion, built during a time of much uncertainty during the Peloponnesian War.

² See Shapiro 1998 for more on this phenomenon.

perspective, and for the most part have been unsatisfactory in their lack of depth and breadth.³ With a particular emphasis on the last years of the fifth century BCE, I ask such questions as: how did the Athenians give visual expression to their beliefs regarding their identity and ancestry? How did this iconography change over time, and what was the impetus for its development? What can we determine about autochthony's place in the Athenian psyche during the Classical period, and especially, how was it impacted by the effects of the Peloponnesian War - or vice versa?

Answers to these questions, or at the very least more ideas to ponder, can be found, I believe, in the iconographical fabric of the city of Athens itself, both in the imagery of vase painting and temple sculpture, but also in the topographical placement of these themes and motifs. As such, this project explores the multifaceted realms of autochthony from a visual perspective. In a series of five chapters, it moves from the literary sphere, to an overview of the theme of autochthony in Attic vase painting, to the sculpted frieze of the Erechtheion, and finally, to an understanding of the visual dimensions of autochthony within Athens and Attica. Ultimately, the project takes into account previous studies of autochthony's relationship to the growing imperial reign of Athens after the Persian Wars, but it also encourages the understanding of the changes in perspective regarding autochthony that emerged in the following decades. I argue that autochthony takes on a new dimension during Athens' struggle with the Spartans during the Peloponnesian War, and thus autochthony's meaning becomes closely entangled with an understanding of the deep relationship between the land and Athenian identity.

³ See, for example, the recent article by Forsdyke (2012), which examines the political nature of autochthony and uses imagery in a superficial way to illustrate points without contextualizing it (as does Loraux 2000). Others provide excellent analyses of autochthony without much discussion of iconography (such as Rosivach 1987 and Blok 2009a). And some scholars focus on particular aspects of autochthony in various genres: Calame 2011 (drama), Pappas 2011 (philosophy), and Pelling 2009 (history), to name a few. This dissertation seeks to provide equal balance to the literary and visual sources that illuminate the meaning of autochthony for the Athenians, rather than favoring one genre over another.

Chapter Overview

This project is organized in such a way that literary sources from antiquity bracket complementary visual evidence and at the same time are interwoven with its analysis. In this first chapter, alongside a review of the literature, I consider autochthony from a historical perspective, tracing its roots primarily through the writings of Herodotus and Thucydides, historians who wrote narrative accounts of the Greeks in the broad context of Mediterranean history with a special focus on the Athenians and their growing imperial power. Herodotus and Thucydides' aims were different, but each of their perspectives was born out of periods of war, strife, and uncertainty.

Autochthony is also explored in the broader scope of Athenian identity and ethnicity, as well as its occurrences beyond Athens. This chapter also covers other aspects of the realm of autochthony in history beyond the Mediterranean, including contemporary Africa, where struggles to define identity within emerging nations are a constant presence. With this chapter, I seek to understand autochthony in terms of both its political connotations but also its cultural undercurrents. A concept not unique to the Athenians, this cultural exploration gives breadth to the subject, helping to see how autochthony is a tool that can be molded to suit a variety of purposes.

The second chapter carries on the theme of literary sources first explored with the historians, and looks at autochthony in depth from the perspective of the tragedian Euripides. While other playwrights dealt with the theme of autochthony sporadically, it is through Euripides that we can best see the heightened concerns with Athenian ancestry and identity that emerged during the Peloponnesian War. In depth, I examine two of Euripides' so-called "patriotic plays," the *Ion* and the *Erechtheus*. Similar in their themes of autochthony, the two plays are divergent in terms of their respective states of preservation, which makes

the analysis of the *Erechtheus* particularly challenging.

Like a fragmentary vase, however, much can still be gleaned from the remaining fragments. The *Ion* is also particularly helpful for the study of autochthony, as it exemplifies the myth of Athens as “mother city” of the Ionian Greeks⁴ while it also illuminates how challenging it is to understand the concept of being “born from the earth.” This theme will echo throughout both plays, and would have resonated strongly with the chiefly Athenian audience attending them. A short analysis of autochthony’s preservation in the funeral oration of Lysias and the preservation of fragments of the *Erechtheus* in Lycurgus’ *Against Leocrates* rounds out this chapter, suggesting that there is a wealth of study for autochthony’s power even into fourth century BCE Athens after the collapse of the Athenian empire.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are all devoted to the iconography of autochthony in the material culture of ancient Athens, both small scale and monumental. The first of these chapters traces the history of autochthony in Attic vase painting, where scenes related to Erichthonios’ birth appear in a handful of vases, starting in the late sixth century BCE and reaching into the fourth century. Although small in number, these vases represent the most complete iconography for autochthony and are valuable resources for the understanding not only the myth, but how it was represented visually. I examine their history diachronically, arguing that the “birth of Erichthonios” should instead be read as a presentation scene, and that the gift of the child from Ge to Athena is an important moment for the understanding of autochthony as a reciprocal concept that closely linked the Athenians to the gods and the land of Attica. Included with this is an extended analysis of Hephaistos’ representation in the fifth century as the father of Erichthonios, and how his nude, virile image in several vases was perhaps an outgrowth of the era overseen by the statesman Kimon. This discussion will

⁴ Champion 2009, 91.

reappear in Chapter 5's analysis of the Temple of Hephaistos, where Athena and Hephaistos were worshipped jointly above a sculpted base depicting Erichthonios' presentation. Chapter 3 thus becomes a chapter grounded in notions of ancestry, iconography, and relationships between humans and the gods.

In Chapter 4, the Erechtheion becomes the figural and literal center of this project. As a peculiar architectural monument, the temple, I argue, regarded the past in its incorporation of ancient cult places from this area of the Acropolis, but also looked forward to the present state of Athens in its pronouncement of Athenian mytho-historical subjects. In enunciating the continuity of cult in its acknowledgement of the Acropolis' past, the Erechtheion incorporated the very land upon which it was built into its unique foundations, becoming a temple that is itself seemingly born from the earth. The six female *korai*, as witnesses to the presentation of Erichthonios, also mimic the libation-making figures who are often part of this iconography in vase painting. Furthermore, in an extended analysis of the fragments of the frieze of the Erechtheion and parallels in vase painting, support is provided for Ludwig Pallat's early 20th century theory regarding the theme of autochthony present in the frieze. A separate catalogue of nearly 160 fragments from the frieze (**Appendix 2**) brings together all known fragments for the first time since the initial monograph on the Erechtheion nearly 90 years ago.

Chapter 5 brings the various pieces of the autochthony puzzle together. Building upon my analysis of autochthony in vase painting and architectural sculpture, I propose that the concept in fact permeated in the Athenian landscape in the expression of this temple, both in its architecture and its sculpture. This suggestion focuses on the iconography of the Parthenon and the Hephaisteion, but it also considers autochthony in a civic context (the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the Agora) and furthermore reaches beyond

Athens to examine Athenian identity that was present in the iconography of the cult statue base at Rhamnous. This broad survey of the Athenian landscape suggests that autochthony and the understanding of Athenian identity was not only an iconographic motif in vase painting, but one that was firmly embedded in the topography of the Classical *polis*. With this as the culmination of the project, I hope to have opened new avenues for further research into the understanding of Athenian identity in the late fifth century BCE, considering broad perspectives that focus on iconography, topography, and mythology.

Literature Review

The study of autochthony is not a new subject and has been broadly examined from a number of angles. I came first to this topic while studying the frieze of the Erechtheion, which is thought to depict myths related to autochthony, including the birth of Erichthonios. As such, I naturally first turned to the standard studies of autochthony, including those by Nicole Loraux (1993 and 2000). Most closely related to my aims of studying the visual dimension of autochthony is H. Alan Shapiro's 1998 article, which uses vase painting as a platform for understanding the Athenian use of autochthony as an imperial claim to their land after the Persian defeat of 479 BCE. As part of an edited volume by Boedeker and Raaflaub (*Democracy, Empire, and the Arts in Fifth Century Athens*), the book as a whole explores the intersecting themes of Athens' political sphere in the fifth century and its visual manifestation;⁵ Boedeker's contribution to this volume is also of use.

Within a broader understanding of autochthony in the realm of ideas of ancient race and ethnicity, recent research is extensive. In the last fifteen years, publications regarding ancient Greek identity have included edited volumes by Malkin (2001), Hall (2002), Zacharia

⁵ Burn 1989 explores similar themes in her article, as does Castriota 1992.

(2008), and McInerney (2014). Kennedy et al. have recently (2013) published a volume on ancient sources in translation regarding race and ethnicity in the ancient world, and Gruen (2013) has looked at how entwined identity and ethnicity were in Antiquity. Lape's 2010 study of race and its relationship to citizen identity in Classical Athens has been particularly beneficial, as its primary goal is to examine the ways in which the Athenians defined themselves as citizens. Essays in Boegehold and Scafuro (1994) also explore the theme of Athenian identity.

Autochthony is just one aspect of this search for identity. Within a broad historical context, the concept can be more easily studied and understood as a product of specific times and places. Valdés Guía (2008) looks at autochthony in sixth century Athens, while Montanari (1981) provides a broad understanding of the myths related to autochthony. Rosivach (1987) remains a primary source for Athenian autochthony, while Cruccas (2007) examines Erichthonios specifically. Autochthony's relationship to heroes is also of concern, as Erichthonios and especially Erechtheus were both considered heroes by the Athenians; Miller (1983), Kearns (1989), Tiverios (2005), Sourvinou-Inwood (2011) and Shapiro (2012a) provide rich sources for how Erechtheus and Erichthonios, from their status as Athenian heroes, contribute to the understanding of autochthony's effects in the daily and civic sphere of ancient Athens.

From the perspective of studying the Peloponnesian Wars and historiography, Rubel (2014) has been an essential source for contemplating how richly the religious attitudes of the Athenians influenced their approach to the struggle against the Spartans. Leventi (2014) also concentrates on the Peloponnesian War, with a particular focus on architectural sculpture of the Late Classical period; this, too, has been of particular importance for interpreting the Erechtheion frieze. Pelling (2009) is the most up-to-date source for themes

of autochthony in Herodotus and Thucydides. Other sources for the understanding of Periklean imperialism, Thucydides' historiography, and the state of Athens after the Persian Wars and in the Peloponnesian Wars include Foster (2010), Taylor (2010), and Fragoulaki (2013).

Furthermore, Euripides' *Ion* has been a rich source for materials related to autochthony. Particularly fruitful have been sources that situate the tragedy within its historical context. These include Blok (2009a), Saxonhouse (1986), T. Cole (1987), Dougherty (1996), and S. Cole (2008). Identity, and particularly Athenian identity, is also of primary interest in the *Ion*; see Loraux 1990 as well as Connor 1993a. While Euripides' *Erechtheus* has not been studied as in depth, Austin's 1967 publication of the fragments was the first step in recognizing the importance of Euripides' fragmentary play, and was followed by Carrara's commentary (1977). Other scholars attempted to date the *Erechtheus* and the *Erechtheion* as contemporary works, with varying levels of success.⁶ More recent studies, such as Calame (2011), have approached the *Erechtheus* from the perspective of anthropology and performance studies. Furthermore, recent studies on imagery in Euripides have illuminated the rich visual language with which the dramatist wrote; see Barlow (2008) and especially Stieber (2011). Stehle and Day (1996) also take up the theme of visual imagery in Euripides, looking at the chorus' *ekphrastic* description of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi in the *Ion*.

A more recent study, by Räuchle (2015), builds upon Loraux with a similar theoretical methodology. Räuchle examines motherhood in particular, and how it was conceptualized in the iconography of ancient Athens, particularly on the Acropolis. Her study has been supported by the work of other scholars regarding feminist themes on the

⁶ See, for example, Calder 1969 and the response by Clairmont 1971.

Athenian Acropolis, such as Connelly (1996) and Barringer (2005), as well as Detienne (2013). Räuchle's article is particularly helpful in that it is one of the few sources that considers a reading of the Erechtheion frieze as part of the narrative of mothers and motherhood on the Acropolis, offering a fresh perspective on the temple.⁷ The original studies of the Erechtheion frieze by Pallat (1912, 1935, and 1937) are still of use, but I have also considered alternative theories of the frieze's meaning, such as Felten's (1984), which purports that the frieze depicts an Athenian festival. In addition, Trianti (1988) has been an important source for clear photographs of fragments of the frieze, as well as Boulter (1970), who studied the individual master hands that created it. Lesk (2004) has been the most important source for the Erechtheion's history and the impact of its construction on the Acropolis.

The birth of Erichthonios has received substantial treatment from the perspectives of Loeb (1979), who groups the myth alongside the births of other gods such as Athena, Dionysus, and Aphrodite, as well as Bérard (1974). Erichthonios' birth is categorized as an *anodos* - a progression upwards, which includes various mythological risings from the earth; all are examined in vase painting by Bérard.⁸ A large portion of my study of Erichthonios' presentation hinges on an understanding of reciprocity, gift-giving, and exchange in ancient cultures; for these matters, I turned to Mauss (1967) as well as Gill, Postlethwaite, and Seaford (1998), in addition to the edited volume by Satlow (2013). This analysis was supplemented by a new reading of the Arrephoria, for which I consulted Burkert (1966), Robertson (1983), and Shapiro (1995b). Lyons' recent (2012) study of exchange in ancient Greece was thoroughly informative, as are general sources on religion in ancient Greece,

⁷ Darthou 2005 and Sebillotte Cuchet 2005 in the same journal (*Kernos*) also explore the concepts of patriotism and autochthony in relationship to the earth.

⁸ See also Metzger for further study on *anodoi*. Brulé (1987, 45-58) also explores the iconography of Erichthonios' birth in vase painting.

such as Burkert (1983 and 1985), Garland (1992), Parker (1996 and 2005), Patton (2009), and Kindt (2012).

More recently, autochthony has been studied in regions beyond Athens as well as with cross-cultural approaches. Recent broad-ranging work on autochthony includes Champion (2009) and Roy (2014); these studies, along with those of modern day autochthony in sub-Saharan Africa,⁹ have assisted in giving this study a depth that could not have been possible if autochthony were restricted to Athens alone. Balanced with a careful understanding of Athens' modeling of the construct of autochthony, the examination of these sources emphasizes the malleability of autochthony in different cultures and times. In touching upon these diverse sources, a more complete understanding of autochthony in Athens as a product of its time can be construed.

A number of sources have aided in the understanding of material culture on the Acropolis and its relationship to autochthony. Most prominent among these is Hurwit (1999, and in a condensed version, 2004), who broadly surveys the themes of the Acropolis.¹⁰ Palagia's 2009 edited volume on *Art in Athens During the Peloponnesian War* was another inspiration for this project, paving the way for a discussion of autochthony during this specific time period. Few other sources consider the theme of autochthony within the landscape of monuments on the Acropolis and elsewhere in Athens, however, which also became a primary marker of gestation for this project; in effect, I seek to bring together former studies of autochthony alongside the voice of material culture, seeing how each informs the other in their respective (and often complementary) understandings of autochthony.

⁹ See in particular Geschiere 2009, 2011, and 2013, as well as Keller 2013.

¹⁰ Other sources for the visual culture of the Acropolis are too extensive to list here; see the bibliography for all, as well as Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

At its core, autochthony is closely related to understandings of Greek ethnicity and Athenian identity. Erich Gruen rightly points out that ancient peoples, including the Greeks, did not actually have a word for ethnicity in and of itself.¹¹ Equivalents could be found, however, in words such as *ethnos* and *genos*. For some scholars, “Greekness” could be easily contrasted with what the Greeks were not, i.e, barbarians.¹² The fifth century BCE was a time of heightened awareness of other cultures, especially in light of the Persian Wars and the continual threat of outside invasion. Identities of “us” and “them” developed largely out of the exposure to other cultures, including through wars and strife.¹³ Hand-in-hand with this was the knowledge brought forth by Greek expansion into other lands, especially with the rise of Greek colonies in South Italy and Sicily. Scholarly debate in the last two decades has moved away from seeing Greek identity as a “monolithic whole” into its understanding as a “multi-layered, constantly changing, and culturally-constructed” concept.¹⁴

Ethnicity was clearly a major concern to the Athenians, no more apparent in the political sphere than the creation of Perikles’ Citizenship Law, examined in more detail below. After the threat of the Persians diminished, as part of its imperial expansion, Athens called into question what it meant to be a Greek, Athenian, and citizen. Ethnicity thus became a conceptual construct, shaped by the Athenians themselves; scholars have recently shifted to this model, seeing it for the ways in which it is “constructed and promulgated on the basis of a repertoire of features that may be pressed into service as markers of identity.”¹⁵

Arguing for a new rendering of Athens not just as a *polis*, but as an *ethnos* in and of

¹¹ Gruen 2013, 1.

¹² See, for example, Hornblower 2008, 37-44.

¹³ See the discussion in Malkin 2001, 7-9.

¹⁴ K. Lomas in Shefton and Lomas 2004, 2.

¹⁵ Konstan (2001, 29), with additional bibliographic references.

itself, Cohen sees a dichotomy between *astoi* and *xenoi*, which in turn reflected the development of Athens' strong identity based on citizenship status.¹⁶ Autochthony is a similar construct as well, one that “offers insight into the cultural construction of Athenian ethnicity.”¹⁷ In many instances in ancient textual sources, in fact, αὐτόχθων is used synonymously with γηγενής, where other times it is used to describe those who are indigenous.¹⁸ Ancient authors described the myth of autochthony, which will be discussed in more depth in Chapters 2 and 3, as a successive line of kings, all of whom lived in remote times. Konstan notes that Pausanias, oddly enough, does not seem to have a particularly strong interest in autochthony, although he does note an interest in the origins of peoples; autochthony instead becomes an “unmarked element” and his interests lay in the diversity of peoples instead.¹⁹

This is not the place for a full survey of the concept of Greek and Athenian ethnicities, but it is important to note their various treatments and approaches. The same can be said for autochthony, which suited a variety of purposes and had a number of meanings. Different authors approached autochthony in different ways, and with varying agendas. The following section will briefly survey the goals of Herodotus and Thucydides in their writings on autochthony. For both, autochthony, already well established and known, became an undercurrent to which they could refer with subtlety.²⁰

¹⁶ See the discussion in E. Cohen 2000, 49-78. I am hesitant to rely too heavily on Cohen's hypothesis, as he is factually incorrect regarding autochthony in visual sources in Athens, saying they are suspect because they “entirely lack ideological or historical context.” He quotes illustrations of Erechtheus' life “in the sculptural decorations of various classical temples in Attika,” which suggests a lack of understanding of the appearance of the myth. See Cohen (2000, 93-94) for his criticisms regarding visual sources.

¹⁷ Cohen 2000, 91.

¹⁸ Rosivach 1987, 297.

¹⁹ Konstan 2001, 37-39. This seems to be in contrast with Pausanias' strong interests in nostalgia, especially for the Greek past (see Konstan 2001, 41).

²⁰ As Pelling (2009, 474) argues, stating that “autochthony-thinking becomes ingrained *during the good times* of Athenian democracy.” Pelling (2009, 476) also notes the general skepticism of the historians when dealing with autochthony.

Herodotus and Thucydides: The Aims of Autochthony

Two of the most important Greek historians, Herodotus and Thucydides, examined the theme of autochthony within their writings.²¹ Both authors had different ideas of what constituted “Greekness,” as explored above; Herodotus, for example, defined Hellenism by the characteristic shared features of blood, language, religion, and customs.²² Yet each historian, greatly concerned with cultural constructs and histories, also conveyed thoughts about autochthony. Autochthony for the Athenians functioned as both a myth and history - and indeed for the Athenians, the two were often intertwined. As Fragoulaki states, “the fluidity between modern conceptions of the categories of myth and history is well illustrated in our sources by the coexistence of mythical and historical founders of settlements.”²³ Reaching back into the distant past, historians were primarily concerned with giving substance to the foundations of distant eras.

Herodotus demonstrates how autochthony was not limited to the Athenians; in fact, many ancient cultures considered themselves to be autochthonous. One example are the Kaunians who spoke Carian and thought themselves to be from Crete, but Herodotus made them autochthonous.²⁴ For the Athenians, then, he portrays them as a mixed race of diverse origins, standing in stark contrast to the Thucydidean image.²⁵ The Athenians, Herodotus tells us (8.44.2), were descended from the Pelasgians. As Thomas notes, despite the Athenian proclivity for changing their name, they were still thought of as a unified group.²⁶ Rather than focus on the mytho-historical relationship between autochthony and identity,

²¹ The theme was important to other historians as well, many of whom drew upon Thucydides’ writings on autochthony; see Cohen 2000, 92.

²² See Zacharia 2008a.

²³ Fragoulaki 2013, 17.

²⁴ See Fragoulaki 2013, 160.

²⁵ Cohen 2000, 92.

²⁶ Thomas 2001, 225. Lape (2010, 153-154) sees that Herodotus’ rationalization in the process of Hellenization is due to a change of language to Greek.

“Herodotus underscores that Athenian identity is a historical and ultimately political creation rather than an emanation of essence or primordial attachment,” according to Lape.²⁷

Yet elsewhere, Herodotus also took care to note the Athenian indigenous nature. They are referred to as “the most ancient people of Greece, the only Greeks who never migrated.”²⁸ According to Rosivach, these statements are due to the absence of memory of migration, which was “transformed into a positive assertion that the Athenians had always been in Attica.”²⁹ His interest in what makes one Greek, and Athenian, is closely related to the “bipolar distinction between democracy and Greeks, on the one hand, and Persians and tyranny, on the other, cunningly rolls enough up to suggest again that the Athenians are the most outstanding examples of what is Greek,” i.e, they are the ones who defeated the Persians.³⁰ Herodotus was thus certainly aware of the Athenian claim to autochthony, although from his perspective, they were certainly not the only ones to embody this trait.³¹

It is in Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian War* that autochthony first takes a clear and illuminated stand in the history of Athenian understandings of their identity. As a theme within Perikles’ Funeral Oration, the notion tied in well with the aims of epideictic prose, illuminating the Athenians, their past, and their achievements, so much of which were the consequence of their autochthonous origins. Fragoulaki notes that the concept of autochthony, in fact, opens the Funeral Oration, even though the word itself – αὐτοχθονία – does not appear in the course of the History itself.³² Autochthony is thus an underlying theme, unstated and subdued, but nonetheless ever present, like many themes of the past in

²⁷ Lape 2010, 152.

²⁸ Herodotus 7.161: ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι, μῶνοι δὲ ἔοντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων.

²⁹ Rosivach 1987, 296. See also the discussion in Osborne 2010, 250.

³⁰ Thomas 2001, 224.

³¹ See Thomas 2000, 117-118. Zali (2014, 286) argues that Herodotus deliberately plays down the Athenians’ autochthony as it would pit them against the Arcadians, who were also autochthonous (see Loraux 2000, 43).

³² Fragoulaki 2013, 221.

Thucydides.³³ Likewise, neither Erechtheus nor Erichthonios is mentioned in the funeral oration; as Nimis puts it, “democratic discourse has incorporated autochthony and translated it into an ideal devoid of any mention of Erechtheus or Athena.”³⁴ Without these references, however, autochthony was still present; as Fragoulaki points out, the idea of autochthony was continually present in contemporary funerary oratory.³⁵

From the viewpoint of scholars, autochthony is sometimes posited as a “collective snobbery,” bound up in imperialistic ideas that are often uncomfortably close to what we would today call racism.³⁶ The exclusivity of autochthony took form in concrete ways such as Perikles’ Citizenship Law, which limited citizenry – and its benefits – to a select few, based on birth. “Jealously guarded,” this exclusiveness had an even longer history, dating to Kleisthenes.³⁷ Again, the long reach of autochthony into the distant past shows that it was firmly embedded in ideas of Athenian history and culture, but with a certain restrictive nature.

References to Kleisthenes suggest that it is worthwhile to reach back into the end of the sixth century and view autochthony alongside the process of synoikism. Although von Reden states that, “autochthony and synoikism wrote different and conflicting topographies of Athens in the fifth century,”³⁸ there were a number of shared aspects between the two. For one, each had a representative mythological character, specifically early kings: Erichthonios and Theseus, respectively.³⁹ In addition, Erechtheus was one of the original eponymous heroes, established as part of Kleisthenes’ political reorganization of the late

³³ See Pelling (2009, 476-477) for this phenomenon.

³⁴ Nimis 2007, 399.

³⁵ Fragoulaki 2013, 228.

³⁶ See, for example, Shapiro (1998, 151) and Fragoulaki 2013, 221. Parker (1987, 195) was the first to refer to autochthony as a sort of “collective snobbery.”

³⁷ Champion 2009, 90.

³⁸ Von Reden 2002, 177.

³⁹ This will be discussed more fully in Chapter 5’s analysis of the Hephaisteion.

sixth century.⁴⁰ But moreover, both autochthony and synoikism are cogent aspects of Perikles' Funeral Oration, where Thucydides' rhetorical structures convey a close attachment to the land, especially through the developing notions of colonization and the establishment of cities.⁴¹ As Fragoulaki sums it up, "If autochthony was the mythical and oldest expression of the city's unity, then synoikism was the political expression of this unity carried through to more historical stages."⁴²

Perikles' Citizenship Law

The concerns that were present in the minds of the Athenians during the fifth century are highlighted by what is known of the Periklean Citizenship Law, which in 451-50 BCE was established as a means of restricting Athenian citizenship to those born of two Athenian parents.⁴³ Long regarded as something of a perplexing law, the law has been studied from multiple angles regarding Athenian identity.⁴⁴ Its establishment marked the beginning of increased tightening of Athenian exclusivity in the fourth century.⁴⁵ Beyond this, the law also prevented Athenian aristocrats from branching out into foreign alliances through marriage. The Periklean Citizenship Law had a number of ramifications in the daily life of Athenians, both in its aspects of inclusion but also of exclusion, its very nature one that let some in but not others.

Pelling points out that it is not coincidental that the increased use of the word

⁴⁰ See Hall 1997, 53.

⁴¹ See Fragoulaki 2013, 232.

⁴² Fragoulaki 2013, 230. Fragoulaki goes on to say that "the continuation of this unity is well depicted in the mytho-historical space of the Acropolis and its sacred landmarks;" I devote a significant portion of Chapter 5 to fleshing out this sentence.

⁴³ See Kennedy et al. 2013, 53-55. Basic sources on the Citizenship Law include Patterson 1981 and, more recently, Blok 2009b.

⁴⁴ See Raaflaub 1998.

⁴⁵ Osborne 2010, 34.

“autochthony” occurs at roughly the same time as the Citizenship Law.⁴⁶ Indeed, the two bore a number of similar traits in their aspects of exceptionalism. As Saxonhouse emphasizes, the myth of autochthony both unify the city but also exclude that which is the “other,” or those not from or necessary to the city.⁴⁷ Some scholars have even posited that the Citizenship Law was motivated *by* autochthony,⁴⁸ yet others are more cautious, reminding us that the myth of autochthony was construed via a notion of always dwelling in the same land, rather than by issues of descent.⁴⁹

Recent research by Blok and Lambert, however, has shown a strong correlation between aspects of descent in Athenian priesthoods, whereby cultic associations were formed via family ancestry.⁵⁰ Such analysis of epigraphical sources gives concrete evidence that Perikles’ law changed the ways citizenship was viewed in Classical Athens and resulted in the “reshaping of the citizen body on a more exclusive model, embedding aspects of *genos* ideology, including autochthony, in the ideology of citizenship.”⁵¹ This case study provides us with the understanding that Perikles’ Citizenship Law had a powerful impact regarding who could be considered an Athenian. Perhaps it was a combination of both parentage, through the law, and ancestry, through the autochthony myth, that made a citizen an Athenian.

*This Land is Athenian Land: The Attic Soil during the Peloponnesian War*⁵²

⁴⁶ Pelling 2009, 474.

⁴⁷ Saxonhouse 1992, 112.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Ogden (1996, 66) and Block (2009a, 271-272).

⁴⁹ Hall 2002, 204-205.

⁵⁰ Blok and Lambert 2009; see also Lambert 2010 and Blok 2009b.

⁵¹ Lambert 2010, 143.

⁵² For this section, I owe a debt of gratitude to Rebecca Futo Kennedy, whose comments at the 110th Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and the South in 2014 provided much inspiration and led to its inception.

“Born of the earth” is the most common maxim related to autochthony, as the Athenians believed they literally were sprung from the soil of Attica, a soil that was in fact not known for being particularly rich.⁵³ Rather than make autochthony the result of a miraculous birth, however, the Athenians are also “children of the earth since they have lived there forever.”⁵⁴ Etymologically speaking, according to Rosivach, the word compound αὐτός + χθών does not actually mean born from the earth, but rather living in the same land since the beginning of time. Rosivach shows as well that the chthonic origins of the Athenians had a special, unique meaning, and hence the mythologies of Erichthonios and Erechtheus came into being for the purposes of political ideology in the developing democracy.⁵⁵ Yet the stability of the Athenians’ placement in their land – having always been, being, and will always be in the future – made autochthony an exceptional tool for claiming their close relationship to the land of Attica.⁵⁶

This land, in addition, was rich in a multitude of other ways, from providing the clay with which the Athenians crafted their pottery to the olives that provided sustenance. Land-ownership, too, was thus important to citizenship; as Osborne states, “this autochthony [of owning the land] provided the fundamental support for the equality of all Athenian citizens.”⁵⁷ Most people were *autourgoi*, “farmers of their own land,” according to Thucydides (1.142.1).⁵⁸ Thus the earth and the land appear again and again in discussions of Athenian autochthony, and as we shall see, this preoccupation with the land and landscape begin to take on a presence of its own in vase iconography of the period of the Peloponnesian War.

⁵³ Zacharia 2008, 32.

⁵⁴ Saxonhouse 1986, 257.

⁵⁵ Rosivach 1987, 301. This development happened relatively late (in the fifth century BCE), according to Rosivach. See also Montanari 1981.

⁵⁶ Pappas (2011, 78) sets up this conclusion *contra* Montiglio’s (2005) understanding of wandering as an aspect of beggar tendencies, stating that “If only Athenians claimed permanent existence in their homeland, that difference alone set them above their peers.”

⁵⁷ Osborne 2010, 106.

⁵⁸ Strauss 2014.

Furthermore, early in the Classical period, vase painters gave a special focus to images of workmen from various classes; they belong primarily to the period of about 520-480 BCE and many sources attest to a class of *demiourgoi* that grew in status in Athens after the reforms of Solon and Kleisthenes.⁵⁹ This importance of the land for the Athenians can be further strengthened by the increasing Athenian focus on the god Hephaistos, a god closely related to the land for his relationship to metalworking, during Classical times but especially during the Peloponnesian War.⁶⁰

The threat to the land of Athens and Attica became no more apparent than in the Spartan takeover at Dekeleia in northern Attica. Herodotus (9.73) relates that the village had a special relationship with Sparta, and they had a military presence there.⁶¹ In 412 BCE, however, the village was fortified and occupied fully by the Spartans, thus cutting off large swathes of Attica from food imports and routes for travel along the eastern coast, as well as access to Athens' silver mines at Laurion, a large source of revenue (Thuc. 7.27-.3-5).⁶² The monumentally disastrous effects of this simple action may have sparked an increase in Athenian concerns with the land, especially given the belief in their autochthonous origins from it. Beyond the land of Athens and Attica, the imperialistic hegemony over lands outside of Greece also surely influenced the *polis*' status; one example is the grain-rich region around the Hellespont referred to by Athena in Euripides' *Ion* (lines 1585-1588), which was also threatened during the Peloponnesian Wars.⁶³

The multiplicity of meanings connected to the Attic land is nowhere better illuminated than in Perikles' funeral oration, where Nimis points out that Athenian orators

⁵⁹ See Pipili 2000, 153.

⁶⁰ See my analysis in Chapters 3 and 5. Hephaistos' cult was late to come to Attica, but when it did, he had special relationship to craftsmen and metallurgy, i.e., technological pursuits. See Parker 1986 and Parker 2005, 409.

⁶¹ See McCredie (1966, 56-58) for an overview of the site.

⁶² Burford (1993, 160-161), as well as Evans 2010, 155.

⁶³ Meltzer (2006, 181) provides further discussion.

“praised the dead sons of the fatherland (*patriis*) as they were buried in the civic soil (*chora*) from which they had sprung in terms that emphasized their equality to each other.”⁶⁴ The ascent from and descent into the soil of Attica is intrinsically bound up with notions of family and an equality of a common birth and death for the common good: as the soil brings the warriors into the world, so too does it receive them upon their death protecting it. And as the soil brought sustenance and nourishment to the Athenian people, its very nature became that much more important alongside the burgeoning ideas of Athenian autochthony.

Autochthony, Nostalgia, and Foundation Mythologies

Autochthony also bears a close association with concepts of nostalgia; both notions look to the past. As Saxonhouse states, “autochthony can give the patina of that which is ancient to the city and thus, at a time when age and nature fuse, it can give to the city the appearance of being in accord with nature.”⁶⁵ The correlation between autochthony and nostalgia has been seen in a number of parallels in literature. For example, the concept of nostalgia was at the heart of Euripides’ *Ion*, which looks closely at the Athenian descent from Ionian tribes.⁶⁶ This stress, according to Zacharia, was reflected in tribal names that survive in Ionian cities such as Miletus; the Athenian presence in Ionian cities therefore had a lasting effect.⁶⁷ In addition, nostalgia factors into the reuse of the myths of autochthony in the time of Lykurgos, bound up in the analysis of Athenian identity in the fourth century after the fall

⁶⁴ Nimis 2007, 399; see also Loraux 1993, 43-44.

⁶⁵ Saxonhouse 1992, 112.

⁶⁶ Meltzer 2006 discusses the tool of nostalgia in Euripides’ plays, including the *Ion*. Fragoulaki (2013, 224) states that the “play echoes the pride of the Athenians both in their Ionian descent...and in their role as metropolis of Ionia.”

⁶⁷ Zacharia 2003, 51. At n. 31, Zacharia also refers to epigraphical evidence that the Ionian tribes still played a role in Athenian cult practice until the end of the fifth century BCE.

of Athenian imperialism.⁶⁸

A project on autochthony would not be complete without a consideration of nostalgia; both concepts mediate between one another in that they look to the past, be it through the lens of history, mythology, or, as it was in the minds of the ancient Greeks, both. Regarding the overlapping of autochthony and nostalgia, in particular, I look at the themes of autochthony as visually spanning a generation between the end of the Persian Wars and the end of the Peloponnesian Wars. Vase painting is a particular rich source for the understanding of the Athenian desire to look to the past.⁶⁹ This “lifespan” of iconography covers ground that is imbued with multiple meanings and associations. Nostalgia and autochthony share a common trait in that they are both protean substances, liable to mean different things to different audiences at different times.

Although Sarah Morris states that “the object of these claims [Athens’ imperial conquests in the fifth century BCE] was the present and the future, not the past: the state that had defended itself in the past deserved to lead a defensive alliance among other states, once vindicated by a historical myth,”⁷⁰ autochthony always looks to the past. These intimations overlap into other aspects of nostalgia and views of the past that developed in the course of fifth century Athens, which placed a particular focus on myth as history.⁷¹ The interweaving of nostalgia and autochthony shares the common theme of looking to the past, both in terms of history, myth, and combinations of the two.

⁶⁸ For more on this phenomenon, see Hanink 2014, 65. Rosaldo 1989 broadly covers the correlation between nostalgia and imperialistic pursuits.

⁶⁹ Topper 2009 has recently investigated the concept of the “sympotic past” whereby symposiasts dined in certain positions as a reflection of their past ancestral customs.

⁷⁰ Morris 1992, 329.

⁷¹ See Shapiro 2012a for further analysis of Athenian heroes in the construction of past history. Boardman 2002, especially Chapter 1, also covers the complicated intersections of archaeological evidence and nostalgia.

The myth of autochthony was one with strong visual connotations, so it is no wonder that it would hold a certain appeal for the Athenian philosopher Plato, who often relied on strong verbal iconographies in his philosophies of myth. Both the *Statesman* and the *Menexenus* deal with the theme of autochthony,⁷² and they “provide the foundation for a unified vision, in one case of the city [the *Menexenus*], in the other of the cosmos itself [the *Statesman*].”⁷³ Here I will concentrate on the *Menexenus* for its focus on the Athenian *polis*. The dialogue is composed primarily of a funeral oration that covers events from the Battle of Marathon to the Common Peace of 386 BCE, thus encompassing a large swathe of history. Loraux envisioned autochthony as a “noble theme” for the orators;⁷⁴ as a “state-supported mechanism of ennoblement of all the Athenian citizens,” its “benefits were reaped on the civic and the interstate level.”⁷⁵ Although a minor myth in Plato, autochthony in the *Menexenus* is closely bound up with notions of the city’s birth. Autochthony is also entwined with Athenian customs and culture in the dialogue.⁷⁶

Plato’s retelling of the autochthony myth is relatively simple, and is, in fact, a parody based on reality (*Menexenus* 237b-c):⁷⁷

τῆς δ'εὐγενείας πρῶτον ὑπῆρξε τοῖσδε ἡ τῶν προγόνων γένεσις οὐκ ἔπηλυσ οὔσα, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτους ἀποφηνάμενη μετοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἡκόντων, ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονας καὶ τῶ ὄντι ἐν πατρίδι οἰκοῦντας καὶ ζῶντας, καὶ τρεφομένους οὐχ ὑπὸ μητρυνῆς ὥς οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μητρὸς τῆς χώρας ἐν ἣ ᾤκουν, καὶ νῦν κείσθαι τελευτήσαντας ἐν οἰκείοις τόποις τῆς τεκούσης καὶ θρεψάσης καὶ

⁷² As do other Platonic dialogues such as the *Timaeus*, *Republic*, and *Critias*; see Loraux 2000, *passim*, as well as Pappas 2011, 68f.

⁷³ Saxonhouse 1992, 111.

⁷⁴ Loraux 1986, 149-153.

⁷⁵ Fragoulaki 2013, 221. On the other hand, the common descent behind the concept of autochthony could set the Athenians up against oligarchy and tyranny. See Rosivach 1987, 303-304.

⁷⁶ See Kennedy et al. 2013, 61.

⁷⁷ For the myth of autochthony in the *Menexenus* as an extended parody, see Leão 2012, 143-144.

ὑποδεξαμένης.

The origin of our ancestors is not that of arrivals, nor were their descendants made metics thereby, established in this land as immigrants: rather they were *autochthones*, living and dwelling authentically in their own fatherland, and nourished not by a stepmother like others, but by a mother, the earth where they lived; and, now that they are dead, they lie in their own places of her who gave them birth, nourished, and took care of them.⁷⁸

As the funeral oration is given by Aspasia (spoken through Socrates at Menexenus' request), Plato sets up a contrast to Perikles' funeral oration; Saxonhouse notes it is a "perverse response," having Aspasia pose as the author with references to the original version.⁷⁹ Her speech is meant to resolve tensions between public and private, and the city and the family.⁸⁰ In contrast to Perikles' speech, which nearly eliminates historical references, Aspasia gives a voice to the past, using the autochthonous nature of the Athenians to elucidate matters of unity between the city and its deceased. As Saxonhouse eloquently states, "The present, an immortal present where past and future are one, where death is meaningless because the soldiers killed in battle live on in the memory engraved in the hearts of the citizens, dominates the Athenian leader's speech. It is a speech that virtually denies the dead by making them one with a vital and vibrant city that lives."⁸¹ In this regard, Aspasia uses autochthony to highlight the unique status of Athens' origins and how it relates to the present state of the funeral oration, the necessity of which ensure the memory of the deceased.

In effect, the *Menexenus* is particularly important for the study of autochthony in relationship to the city of Athens in particular. Beyond race or ethnicity, the city itself is thought of as autochthonous. Earth provides her children-citizens with nourishment,

⁷⁸ As translated by S. Stewart in Loraux 2000, 117-118.

⁷⁹ Saxonhouse 1992, 113-114.

⁸⁰ See the discussion in Saxonhouse 1992, 118.

⁸¹ Saxonhouse 1992, 118.

recalling the Homeric imagery of nourishment provided by Athena.⁸² In considering the *Menexenus*' story of autochthony as evidence that Athens' preoccupation with its origins could embody a philosophical slant, the dialogue fits into the broader sphere of Athenian ideas about ancestry and identity.⁸³ Pappas suggests that Plato "reinterprets" the myth as a "celebration of the *technai* that distinguish the city."⁸⁴ Furthermore, the autochthony myth in the *Menexenus* also gives substance to the ideas of Athenian superiority, as has been explored by a number of scholars already.⁸⁵ The static and stable position of the Athenians gave them a certain claim to fame as they were intrinsically bound to their homeland.

Cicadas as Symbols of Autochthony

Since this project focuses primarily on the visual aspects of autochthony, it is intriguing to look for other manifestations of the concept in the sphere of iconography. One potent symbol of autochthony in Classical Athens is the cicada (τέττιξ, an onomatopoeic word which mimics the sound made by cicadas), a creature known for its regenerative properties and relationship to the earth. After being conceived in the soil, the cicada emerges from the earth, literally born from it and perhaps reminding Athenians of their own earthborn ancestor, Erichthonios. Cicadas embodied a multiplicity of meanings and symbols: they were said to be immortal and given to ecstasy, were often eaten as a medicinal diet, and were symbolic of song.⁸⁶ Plato writes of the cicada's life cycle (*Symposium* 191c), while Thucydides (1.6.3) reflects upon how wealthy Athenian elders wore golden cicadas

⁸² *Il.* 2.547-9.

⁸³ See Strijdom 2013, 84.

⁸⁴ Pappas 2011, 76.

⁸⁵ For example, see Rosivach 1987 and Shapiro 1998.

⁸⁶ See Hoffmann 1997, 116; sources date back to Hesiod. Also see Tsagalis 2008, 116 and *passim*.

(χρυσῶν τεττίγων) fastened in their hair, similarly to the Ionians.⁸⁷ The gold color or material from which they were created surely denoted a certain level of wealth, appropriate for the old, aristocratic men. Foster notes how the creatures “represent a claim to a stability of habitation so reliable that it is conceived of as organic.”⁸⁸

The cicada’s relationship to autochthony may have grown out etymological associations with Kekrops and the Kekropidai; Κέκρωψ and κερκώπη are etymologically related, the latter being a kind of cicada.⁸⁹ As such, a “dense web of mythological associations” involving cicadas thus extends to the mythologies also surrounding Kephalos, son of Herse and Hermes; in a long chain of relationships, Tithonos was seized by Eos and was the father of Kephalos, who was transformed into a cicada and secluded in a θάλαμος, similarly to Erichthonios, who was kept from sight in a chest.⁹⁰ These close (albeit rather loose) associations between cicadas, Kekrops’ ancestors, and Erichthonios’ presentation may shed some light on the understanding of the weaving of these two scenes in Athenian vase painting during the fifth century BCE.⁹¹

In iconography, the cicada does not appear frequently in Attic vase painting.⁹² One exception to this is a plastic cicada in the tondo of a horizontally fluted phiale signed by the Sotades Painter, dating to about 460 BCE.⁹³ As this vase came from a tomb, the connection with autochthony takes on a deeper dimension, similar to the Meidian pyxis (**Catalogue 21**).

⁸⁷ Aristophanes, *Knights* 1331 with scholia, also makes this observation. Lee (2015, 74) suggests that the cicadas were hair clips. Other sources for cicadas are discussed in Davis and Kathirithamby 1986, 113-133.

⁸⁸ Foster 2010, 24.

⁸⁹ See Fragoulaki 2013, 211.

⁹⁰ These parallels are eloquently discussed by Tsagalis 2008; the myth of Eos and Kephalos will be discussed more in depth in Chapter 3.

⁹¹ See Chapter 3, pp. 111-114.

⁹² It was, however, a popular motif in coinage, particularly bronze coins of the late 2nd to early 1st BCE; see the discussion in Kroll 1993, 53-54. Kroll (54) suggests that the “Hellenistic revival of this ancient symbol and the elevation of the cicada to a quasi-official status within the repertoire of Athenian state emblems are a prime expression of what has been called in the context of other antiquarian revivals of 2nd-century B.C. Athens ‘the outbreak of sentimental nationalism which accompanied the Roman conquest of Greece.’”

⁹³ *BAPD* 209544; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 98.886. See Hoffmann 1988.

It is also interesting to note the vessel's shape: a phiale, a shape that recurs in the narrative of a number of vases associated with Erichthonios.⁹⁴ The iconography of libation was thus closely connected with the myths of autochthony as well. Unfortunately, few other visual sources for cicadas exist in Attic vase painting, but the strong correlation between the Sotades phiale and its allusions to libations, the symbolism of death and the afterlife, and the regenerative qualities of the cicada lends itself well to the understanding of these earthborn creatures in the realm of autochthony, and merits further study.

Greek Autochthony Outside Athens

It is not uncommon to find parallels for myths and understandings of autochthony beyond Athens; sources for it as a construct have been largely confined to the city given its wealth of literary sources.⁹⁵ For example, according to Thucydides (6.2), the Sikanoi (the ancient Sicilians) “were apparently the first to have settled after these races; or rather, according to their own account, they were there earlier because they were autochthonous.”⁹⁶ This demonstrates that other peoples were thought to have autochthonous origins besides the Athenians. Thucydides’ use of the term here is curious, in part, because although he never uses it for the Athenians, he was certainly aware of it.⁹⁷ Furthermore, it is reflective of his – and Athens’ – knowledge of the expanse, history, and culture of Sicily even before the disastrous Sicilian Expedition.⁹⁸

A more frequently quoted example of autochthony outside of Athens comes from

⁹⁴ See, for example, **Catalogue 9, 14, and 22**, all of which will be discussed in Chapter 3.

⁹⁵ Roy 2014, 244. For more on autochthony outside Athens in the Classical period, see Roy 2014, 247-250.

⁹⁶ See Kennedy et al. 2013, 21.

⁹⁷ See Zacharia 2008a, 32.

⁹⁸ Smith 2004.

ancient Thebes, where the Thebans had their own version of the myth.⁹⁹ According to myth, the Spartoi were warriors who sprang from the ground when Kadmos killed the serpent that guarded a local spring and sowed its teeth in the ground at the behest of Athena. Self-destructive by their very nature, the Spartoi killed each other until only five remained, left to found the city of Thebes. The most popular of the non-Athenian myths of autochthony, according to Zacharia, the story was “clearly intended to communicate the military qualities of the newly-born city both to its citizens and then to the whole of Greece.”¹⁰⁰ Even this myth of autochthonous origins has a second layer, however: the city “originates first from outside (Kadmos comes from the Orient in search of his sister Europa) and afterwards from the earth (the Spartoi).”¹⁰¹ The myth also functions in the opposite fashion of the Athenian autochthony myth in that it produces conflict rather than the equality and harmony that is the outcome of Athens’ version.¹⁰² Furthermore, autochthony outside Athens typically lacks the connotations of politics and the democracy that is found in fifth century Athenian versions of autochthony.¹⁰³

As written by the playwright Euripides, who demonstrated concerns with autochthony in the *Ion* and the *Erechtheus*, the concept was also an underlying theme in the *Medea*. While written for an Athenian audience, the tragedy is markedly non-Athenian in its locale: the *Medea* is a play that deals frequently with issues of identity and foreignness from its setting at Corinth, as *Ion* did from Delphi. Invoking the origin of autochthony in Athens, the chorus even alludes to its early history in lines 824-826. Furthermore, Loraux saw aspects

⁹⁹ Detienne 2001-2002 draws parallels between the traditions of Athens and Thebes in regards to autochthony. See also Zeitlin 1990.

¹⁰⁰ Zacharia 2003, 58-59. Ancient literary sources for the Theban myth of autochthony include Apollodorus 3.4.1, although he is by no means the earliest. Pindar, for example, names the Spartoi several times, including at *Py.* 9.82-83 and *Is.* 1.30 and 7.10. See Gantz 1993, 468, who notes, however, that the story is not set out in full before the fifth century and Pherekydes.

¹⁰¹ Buxton 1994, 192.

¹⁰² See Nimis (2007, 408) and Loraux (2000, 56-57).

¹⁰³ Block 2009a, 252.

of autochthony in the desire of Jason to see reproduction occur without women (573-575).¹⁰⁴

The otherness of Medea herself reflects her status as a foreigner, not a citizen, and thus unable to conform to the standards of Perikles' Citizenship Law. As Turner points out, via the "shared blood" aspects of autochthony (or lack thereof), issues of paternity, maternity, and origins are cogent aspects of tragedy and myth's exploration of autochthony.¹⁰⁵

Finally, one of the most often-cited examples of autochthony beyond Athens can be found in the traditions of the Arcadians, who were thought to have a chthonic origin as well, with a Pelasgus who was born from the earth.¹⁰⁶ Herodotus (8.73) also believed that the Arcadians were autochthonous, although little evidence exists for their political union in the fifth century, so the unity of their ideology is lacking. In the 360s, however, they founded a confederacy that was involved in politics between the Greek *poleis*.¹⁰⁷ Arcadian monuments and literary sources also refer to their autochthonous nature, and they had a particularly rich system of foundation myths. In particular, beyond their common descent and territory, one could be considered to "be Arcadian" because of their colonization of multiple regions in the Mediterranean, including the Pontos area, Crete, and Italy, amongst others. The Arcadian myth of autochthony is thus reflective of the multiple associations and benefits that this ancestry could entail: Arcadians could, in effect, have the dual identity of being both Arcadian as well as links to other genealogies.¹⁰⁸

These variations and deviations of the myths of autochthony aid in the

¹⁰⁴ Loraux 1993, 72-110.

¹⁰⁵ See Turner 2015, 89. For more on the correlation of the myths of Medea and even Theseus as exemplary indicators of the theme of autochthony, see Turner 1995, 87f. Turner (1995, 89) states that "the myth of autochthony declares in an even more radical way that the father is the sole parent, the mother is irrelevant." Yet this contradicts the Athenian evidence we will examine in vase painting and architectural sculpture later in this project, where Ge and Athena's roles are paramount in the myth of Erichthonios.

¹⁰⁶ Sources for the origins of the Arcadians include Strabo (5.2.4) and Pausanias (2.1.4-2.2.1), amongst others. See Rosivach 1987, 305.

¹⁰⁷ Roy 2014, 247.

¹⁰⁸ Scheer 2011 provides the most helpful overview of Arcadian autochthony; also see Roy 2011. For Arcadian myths in Imperial Rome, see Scheer 2010.

understanding of just how diverse a concept it could be, and indeed was. Zeitlin warns of the danger of “treating autochthony as a unitary phenomenon, since it can take many different forms in different locales.”¹⁰⁹ Athenian autochthony was just one aspect of multiple different approaches and mindsets of autochthony, reflected here in a limited set of examples from antiquity. With that in mind, it will also be constructive to view some notions of autochthony from the perspective of modernity and a changing world.

Autochthony in a Modern World

In modern studies of ethnicity, autochthony is closely paralleled with autonomy and the desire to establish nations or countries independent from outside rule. This is particularly true within the realm of modern sub-Saharan Africa, where political clashes have led to claims of autochthony. By using autochthony, local peoples could gain special political rights within specific geographical regions. Using the anthropological studies of Marcel Detienne as a platform for understanding relationships between peoples and governments,¹¹⁰ references to Athenian autochthony have been used by scholars to understand situations in modern Africa, yet the reverse has thus far not been attempted fully.¹¹¹

The 2006 proclamation by the United Nations entitled “Declaration on the Rights of autochthonous peoples” paved the way for new studies on the understanding of national and cultural identity, both in Europe as well as Africa, studying the complexities of indigenous

¹⁰⁹ Zeitlin 1990, 149 n. 20.

¹¹⁰ See, for example, Detienne 2003, Detienne 2007, and Detienne and Lloyd 2008.

¹¹¹ See Geschiere 2009, 9-11. Strijdom 2013 has taken the first steps in reconciling the two approaches. A prime example of the use of Thucydidean approaches to modern warfare can be found in Sahlin 2004, who examines anthropological and ethnographic aspects of culture from the fifth century and their applicability to the understanding of the 19th century war in the Fiji Islands of the South Pacific.

cultures.¹¹² Current studies have gone hand-in-hand with studies of colonialism, industrialization, and other aspects of settlement and growth. “Indigenous” has come to be defined as people who are native or original inhabitants of a particular area or territory, and has often been used as argument for their political, social, and economic individualistic characteristics.¹¹³ Autochthony therefore emerges as a political construct when times are difficult and uncertain, according to Pelling, and thus it resonates even more strongly in the Peloponnesian War, as I argue in this project.¹¹⁴

Ultimately, autochthony in the modern world both grants membership to some while excluding others, much like Perikles’ Citizenship Law.¹¹⁵ The situation is made more complicated by the various meanings of the terminologies; the Dutch anthropologist Peter Geschiere points out that “both indigenous and autochthonous are terms used to emphasise localist claims to belonging that have come back with a surprising force in a world that now pretends to be globalizing.”¹¹⁶ Nationalist claims notwithstanding, current scholarship is concerned with who makes claims of autochthony, and whose interests are served in such claims.¹¹⁷ In considering aspects of colonialism, autochthony is also often used to define “rigid ethnic classifications not only to contain and better govern indigenous groups;” Strijdom calls for alternatives to the inherent exclusivity that results from this methodology.¹¹⁸

Returning to the Mediterranean, even modern Greece has continually sought to

¹¹² The United Nations, in fact, defined indigenous and *autochtone* as equivalents; see Geschiere 2009, 19-20.

¹¹³ See Gausset et al. 2011, 136.

¹¹⁴ Pelling 2009, 474.

¹¹⁵ See Geschiere 2009.

¹¹⁶ Geschiere’s response to Bellier in Bellier and Geschiere 2011, 207.

¹¹⁷ Strijdom 2013, 80.

¹¹⁸ Strijdom 2013, 87-89.

define itself against the current political and economic backdrop.¹¹⁹ A campaign launched in October 2014 by the Greek National Tourism Organization (www.visitgreece.gr) encourages visitors and inhabitants alike to question what it means to be an Athenian.¹²⁰ The interactive and participatory campaign, “I’m an Athenian, too”¹²¹ invites participants to visually capture, via the means of photography and Instagram, what makes one an Athenian.¹²² The resulting actions indicate a reciprocal arrangement between the advertising agency (in this case, the tourism board) and visitors (outsiders) to Greece, who offer a perspective of Greece that is not necessarily the reality of Greece’s situation but boosts interest and tourism in the country.

This campaign is accomplished through images of the sights, images, culinary delights, and music and culture of modern Athens, stamped with a watermark-like icon that proclaims Athenian identity through an application called the “Aθenian app.” The payoff is the possibility of winning a trip for two to Athens (ironic, presuming one must already be in Athens in order to capture said images).¹²³ In addition, at Athens’ Eleftherios Venizelos international airport, advertisements greet incoming visitors with mixtures of Roman letters with Greek script that pronounce the modernity of the Athenian people against the backdrop of antiquity and history, providing evidence for Greece’s struggle to define its identity in the Eurozone of Western Europe. As for the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War, this modern approach to autochthony is inspired, in part, by the uncertainty of identity in a

¹¹⁹ The most complete study of Greek identity and the emergence of nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries is Hamilakis 2007.

¹²⁰ “People from all around the world declare ‘I’m an Aθenian, too,’” *Marketing Greece*: <http://www.marketinggreece.com/en-GB/blog/digital-marketing/people-from-all-around-the-world-declare-im-an-aθenian-too>; accessed 24 March 2015.

¹²¹ <http://imanathenian.com/>

¹²² For all intents and purposes, being an Athenian seems to be the same as being a Greek; this is not surprising, given that the vast majority of Greece’s population lives in the capital city and its metropolitan area; see http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE/BUCKET/General/GREECE_IN_FIGURES_2014_EN.pdf; accessed 27 March 2015.

¹²³ “I’m an Aθenian too” Application Advertises Athens,” *Greek Reporter*: <http://greece.greekreporter.com/2014/10/01/im-an-aθenian-too-application-advertises-athens/>; accessed 29 March 2015.

contemporary atmosphere.

To quote Peter Geshiere, “Autochthony seems to anchor one’s belonging (how can one belong more than if one is born from the soil?). Yet in practice this seems to be contradicted by a deep insecurity: someone’s autochthony can always be put into doubt since belonging can always be redefined at closer range.”¹²⁴ While the concept itself seems to be something that is not malleable, the examples covered in this chapter represent a rich reality of autochthony as a broader topic than may have been previously understood. Autochthony was additionally for the Athenians an idea that underwent a number of significant changes that were dependent on time, place, and circumstance. McGovern confirms that “autochthony is an ostensibly fixed logic of identity that is in fact negotiable and fluid.”¹²⁵

In trying to sort through these questions of their background, the Athenians of the Classical period turned to a variety of ways to express their conception of origins and heritage after their victory over the Persians in 479 BCE. The suppleness of the concept of autochthony allowed them to create a myth that would ground them in their own land from which they were born and in which they had always lived. This chapter has endeavored to explore how autochthony was, in fact, a pliable concept, its meaning shaped by the historical, literary, and cultural circumstances of its surroundings. With this in mind, we can better understand how autochthony worked for the Athenians, first as a means of justifying their building of empire but later how it became a pervasive notion in the topography of late fifth century Athens, during the Peloponnesian War, when the struggle over the land of Attica became a preoccupation in the Athenian mentality.

¹²⁴ Geshiere 2011, 205.

¹²⁵ McGovern 2012, 736.

CHAPTER 2

MODELS OF AUTOCHTHONY IN EURIPIDES' *ION* AND *ERECHTHEUS*

Introduction

Athenian literature, like historical sources, was no stranger to exploring themes of identity, especially at its height in the fifth century. Two plays by the dramatist Euripides dating to the last quarter of the fifth century BCE exemplify especially well these concerns with identity and the autochthonous roots of the Athenian people. In the *Ion* and the *Erechtheus*, the general theme of origins forms the backdrop for one of Athens' responses to the question of her identity that came to light in the disastrous effects of the ongoing conflict with Sparta between 431 and 404 BCE. This chapter seeks to contextualize Euripides' *Ion* and *Erechtheus* within the socio-historic fabric in which these two plays were produced. I argue that Euripides elucidated traditions already present in literature to highlight the nature of the Athenians' autochthonous background in the atmosphere of the unrelenting Peloponnesian War. His approach was not so different, then, from that of the vase painters and sculptors who also dealt with imagery having to do with Athenian identity and ancestry,¹ only his imagery was played out on the stage through words rather than the visual language of artistic media.

First performed during the late fifth century BCE, the *Ion* and the *Erechtheus* distinctly define Athenian preoccupations with their past, present, and future, performed in a manner that links these concerns closely with one another along with the mythological atmosphere of the time period. Difficulties of such a study are numerous: neither play has a concrete date, although both are assumed to have been produced during the Peloponnesian War. Like

¹ As will form the core of Chapters 3 and 4.

any tragedy, each play also had a temporal aspect that was solidly grounded in contemporary events; they would surely be interpreted differently in subsequent performances, but our focus here is on their initial presentation to the Athenian public at the time of their production. Furthermore, while the *Ion* exhibits an abundance of scholarship that focuses particularly on its symbolism, the *Erechtheus*, which has been studied recently by Sonnino, is rich with potential for its interpretation.² Despite their differences, we can still examine both plays alongside one another, and by highlighting their comparable themes, we will see that the *Erechtheus* accords well with the *Ion* in that its main topics include a strong interest in the common themes of Athenian ancestry and identity in the late fifth century BCE.

Euripides' Sources

The stories concerning Erechtheus, the earliest king of Athens, have been reconstructed from a variety of sources, including both the fragments of Euripides' play, as well as testimonia, other literary sources, and visual imagery such as that found in vase painting, particularly vases from the Archaic and Classical periods.³ We are told of Erechtheus' origins first in some of the earliest poetry of Greece, that of Homer. Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* refer to Erechtheus' connection to Athens and Athena, and specifically his worship on the Acropolis.⁴ In addition, the *Iliad* describes how Erechtheus was nourished (θρέψε) by Athena after his birth from the earth (Book II, line 548), receiving sustenance from the earth that bore him and the primary goddess of the Athenians. These sources attest to the strong association between the Athenians, the Acropolis, and Erechtheus, even as

² Sonnino 2010. The lack of bibliography on the *Erechtheus* is due, in part, to its recent discovery in 1962 and initial publication in 1967 by Austin. See below, p. 47.

³ For visual sources, see Chapter 3.

⁴ *Il.* II.546-551 and *Od.* VII.81. See Parker (1986, 193), as well as references in Chapter 3.

early as the seventh century BCE,⁵ which provided the rich source material for Euripides to further explore his concerns with Athenian identity nearly three centuries later, molding these myths into his own tragedies of autochthony.

Indeed, by the late sixth century BCE, Erechtheus had come to be identified as one of the eponymous heroes of Athens and was associated with the tribe Erechtheis, one of the ten democratic *phylai* established by Kleisthenes in his systematic reformation of the organization of the Attic landscape.⁶ Erechtheus therefore functioned as an ancestral hero with whom many Athenians were able to identify. He also was credited with the establishment of the original Panathenaia, Athens' predominant festival in honor of the goddess Athena.⁷ By the late fifth century BCE, the myths and iconography of Erechtheus were surely well established within Athenian daily life,⁸ and this background set the stage for Euripides' elaboration and expansion of the myths concerning his birth and rule. The *Erechtheus* is one of the few surviving sources that deals exclusively with this early Athenian king and his mythological background, and Erechtheus maintained a rather important role in the socio-political life of Classical Athens.

Each of Euripides' two plays exemplifies common themes that deal with the descendants of Erechtheus and his successors. As is typical of Euripides' female characters, each portrays a strong, powerful, and even outspoken woman to an audience for whom in daily life it was far more customary that women were to remain silent and in the home. This

⁵ Early sources such as Homer but also later authors such as Pausanias will be discussed elsewhere in conjunction with Erechtheus' topographical relationship to the Athenian Acropolis. Shapiro (1998, 132) acknowledges that it is significant that Homer, who provides one of the earliest mentions of Athens in the literary tradition, already links the city to Erechtheus.

⁶ See Chapter 5. Kron 1976 provides a thorough analysis of the history of Kleisthenes' reforms in addition to a study of the visual and literary evidence for each of the tribes. Also see Kearns 1989, 80f.

⁷ Mikalson 1976.

⁸ Valdés Guía 2008 argues for the rise of the depiction of myths of autochthony in literature and iconography as an outgrowth of the overthrow of the tyranny and the establishment of democracy in the early fifth century BCE.

underlies a theme common to the concept of autochthony: the role of women as part of the fabric of the autochthony myth, which will be highlighted throughout this study. In the *Ion*, it is Kreousa, begetter of Ion, who serves in part as a conduit for the understanding of Ion's true identity. Her travels to Delphi in search of a child result in the unexpected discovery of her son, thought to be dead after she abandoned him years before. Praxithea in the *Erechtheus*, on the other hand, surprises our expectations about what a mother should be: she advocates for the sacrifice of her children in order to save the city, offering her progeny for the greater good of the people who are under her husband's rule. Both Kreousa and Praxithea thus act (out) in ways that women do not typically act, which is also standard in Euripides' tragedies, and simultaneously they fulfill roles that explore the importance of family, heritage, and community. In the broader scheme of the study of autochthony, these themes work together to augment Euripides' study of the Athenian preoccupation with their earth-born state of being. In the late fifth century BCE in particular, Athens' response to the issues surrounding her ancestral background and mythical heritage is of major import in the dialogues of both the *Ion* and the *Erechtheus*.

THE ION: IDENTITY AND RECOGNITION

Although later in date of Euripides' two plays in question, the *Ion* is, as a complete play, most readily correlated to our discussion of issues of Athenian autochthony. It has been conventionally dated, based on its style, to around 413 BCE.⁹ Scholars have often analyzed it intensively as a platform for Athenian concerns with identity and recognition. Although a "complex drama of recognition"¹⁰ that unfolds over the course of time, the *Ion*'s

⁹ Lee 1997, 40.

¹⁰ Kuntz 1993, 38.

plot is still relatively simple, and like many Greek tragedies, it includes a number of allusions to past events. Quite possibly, the *Ion* was largely constructed by Euripides himself into a cohesive whole from various earlier references.¹¹ At the opening of our story, the youthful Ion, a product of Apollo's rape of the Athenian princess Kreousa, is an attendant in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, having been exposed by his mother as an infant and left to die. In the meantime, Kreousa has married the foreigner Xouthos, and, unable to bear children (ἄτεκνος, mentioned over twenty times in the play),¹² she and her husband travel to Delphi to consult the oracle.

While at the Temple of Apollo, Kreousa and Xouthos encounter Ion, and after consulting the oracle, Xouthos asserts that Ion is his son and invites him to join the couple on their journey back to Athens. A priestess, however, reveals Ion's true identity, and Kreousa eventually recognizes Ion as her own offspring by Apollo. At the end of the play, Athena appears on stage as a *dea ex machina* to confirm that Ion is indeed a son of Apollo and destined to be the founder of the Ionian race, the "Ἴωνες."¹³ The connection to the Ionians would have been important to the Athenian audience, for it gives credence to the Athenian idea of Athens as the "mother-city" of Ionia.¹⁴ But moreover, the *Ion*'s connection to the Ionians also, strangely and almost conversely enough, helps to elevate Ion's own Athenian

¹¹ Saxonhouse (1986, 260) suggests its codification from numerous older sources, woven together and expanded by Euripides.

¹² Lape 2010, 106. This word appears quite frequently especially in Euripides, and is often paired with other asyndetic alpha privatives, including ἄγαμος, ἄπολις, and ἄπαις. See Willink 1986, 119.

¹³ Kearns (1989, 109), who argues that "if Ion really expressed to the Athenians a deep consciousness of being Ionian we might expect him to appear in rituals which also expressed this," but we have little evidence. For more on Ion's connection to the Ionians, see Zacharia 2003, 48-55.

¹⁴ Zacharia 2008, 32.

nature: in general, Parker states, “being an Ionian was very much secondary to the central business of being an Athenian.”¹⁵

It is interesting, too, to note that it is not Apollo who confirms Ion’s identity, but Athena; instead, Apollo plays the role of “absent father” while Athena encroaches upon his territory at Delphi.¹⁶ As a patron goddess of Athens, her action is particularly important, as her revelation of Ion’s identity “reclaim(s) for Athens the positive valences of autochthony.”¹⁷ With this knowledge in hand, Ion departs for Athens with his mother and stepfather, rediscovering and regaining his heritage in a new light. Unlike many plays by Euripides and the majority of Athenian tragedies in general, the conclusion to the *Ion* is one that can be classified as a both a “happy ending” as well as one that is resolved.¹⁸

Marked by a series of flashbacks and revelations that undulate throughout the storyline, the *Ion* is a play that encompasses the present as well as the past and the future. Thus it encompasses a wide time frame and even exceeds temporality, as myth so often does. The audience is made aware of the *Ion*’s sequence of events from the past and allusions to the future through minor characters and deities, such as the collective chorus, the priestess, Hermes, and Athena. Ultimately, the story reveals Ion’s identity, who transforms from a mere temple boy raised at Delphi into one with parents, a family history, and a “home of his own” in Athens.¹⁹ His return to his true ancestral home of Athens can also be seen as a departure from his “foster” home of Delphi, perhaps ironically, as it is at Delphi

¹⁵ Parker 1986, 207. Dougherty (1996, 250) points out the inherent dichotomy in these two versions of Athens’ origins and sense of civic identity. They are, according to her, “two competing representations of Athenian civic identity” (257).

¹⁶ For Apollo’s role, or absence thereof, see Shapiro 2003, 87. It is Zeitlin (1996, 299) who suggests that Athena stands in for Apollo, and “does so on his own home ground.” See also Meltzer (2006, 155), who understands Hermes, Athena, and others as characters who “work as substitutes for the voice and will of Apollo, compensating for his absence and for the deceptiveness of his oracle.” Saxonhouse (1986, 254) also believes that Apollo is absent “lest his presence call forth old recriminations” (i.e., his rape of Kreousa).

¹⁷ Zeitlin 1996, 299.

¹⁸ Mastronarde 1975, 163.

¹⁹ Zeitlin 1996, 287.

that his true father, the god Apollo, resides. The course of the play marks Ion's move from the known to the unknown, and from his father to his mother, perhaps ironic outcomes of the discovery of his identity.

Back and Forth: Ion's Journey

Ion's story is very much a journey, and it aptly begins with a monologue by the messenger god, Hermes. His speech provides us with the setting of the play – Delphi – and proceeds to explain to the audience the background of the story that is about to unfold before them. The way in which Hermes describes the genealogical background of not only the main players but also that of himself - particularly intriguing considering that he is a god - is conceivable for Euripides' goals within the play, and is also indicative of the strong sense of order that the playwright sought to bring to the story from the outset.²⁰ Hermes' choice words in regards to Apollo, one who “sings to mortals, continually explaining in prophecy the things that are and those that are to be” (ὑμνωιδεῖ βροτοῖς τὰ τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα θεσπίζων ἀεί, lines 6-7), are paramount to one of the play's themes: the aspect of time, and how it unfolds, looking back to the past as well as the future,²¹ resonates throughout the course of the story. In this manner, then, Hermes' opening speech lays the groundwork for how the story will play out for the already-engaged audience. They are aware of Ion's identity from the start, although Ion himself is not, nor is his mother or her husband, Xouthos. As is often the case, the gods here are aware of more than is apparent to mere, ignorant mortals.

²⁰ Mastronarde 1975, 165.

²¹ Translations of the *Ion*, except where noted, are by Lee 1997. For the idea of the past realizing the present, see Wolff (1965, 171), who argues that “the retelling of a story of the past marks the stages of its fulfillment in the present.”

Hermes continues his prologue by providing the audience with the scenario of how Ion came to Delphi, a fitting beginning to a story that will conclude with Ion's departure for Athens, coming full-circle as he recognizes his own identity as a son of Kreousa and Apollo. As is typical of stories of exile and return, the oscillation between the two places emphasizes the importance of each, one a sanctuary (Delphi) that serves as the setting, while the other a well established *polis* (Athens) that functions as an eventual goal.²² The city of Athens is also representative of Ion's own personal background, as it was there that he was conceived, born, and will return again. Furthermore, Ion's story is a common account of the child who is born of a mortal and a god, a narrative that would have been replete with themes familiar to the Athenians: a daughter of Erechtheus, Kreousa was raped by Apollo in a cave below the Acropolis, and she then exposed the infant in the very same cave after his birth.²³ Apollo had Hermes travel to Athens, "rescue" Ion, and bring him to Delphi (as Hermes recalls in lines 11-36), thereby saving the child from an otherwise certain death. When a priestess discovers Ion on the steps of the Temple of Apollo, the place where Hermes left him, it is Apollo who stops her from removing the child from the temple, and she takes Ion and nourishes him without the knowledge that Apollo is his father (lines 42-51).

As the years pass, Ion grows to youthful maturity and performs the role of a temple boy for Apollo until the (re)appearance of his mother Kreousa and her husband at Delphi. Unbeknownst to him, the god he serves is in reality his father, and this fact remains hidden from Ion until late in the course of the play. The story, in addition, is complicated by the fact that Ion must not only undergo both the recognition of his own identity, but also hold the

²² cf. Kuntz 1993, 58.

²³ It is in this first mention of Kreousa that we are told she is a child of Erechtheus (παῖδ' Ἐρεχθέως, line 10). She confirms this herself when she says at lines 260-261 that she comes from Erechtheus, and her "homeland" is the city of the Athenians (ἐκ δ' Ἐρεχθέως πέφυκα, πατρίς γῆ δ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις).

knowledge that such identity is a result of a violent act, one that until this point has been largely buried with the progress of time.²⁴ In fact, it is Ion himself who injects a sense of disbelief into the dialogue between himself and Kreousa towards the end of the play. When he asks Kreousa, “Is the god’s oracle true or misleading?” (ὁ θεὸς ἀληθὴς ἢ μάτην μαντεύεται, line 1537), he does not trust her answer, but proceeds to ask Apollo himself. At this point Ion is interrupted by Athena, who assumes Apollo’s place and reveals Ion’s identity.²⁵ It is Athena, then, “conqueror of monsters,” who quells Kreousa’s strong emotions and mediates between Ion and Kreousa so that mother and son can recognize one another and be formally reunited.²⁶

Perhaps ironically, it is worthy to note that the Hermes who conceals Ion at Delphi is the same Hermes who opens the play by explaining Ion’s situation. The process of his speech makes the audience aware of Ion’s identity even before his own mother learns what has become of her son after she left him exposed in the cave. After the prologue given by Hermes, which is an introduction given by a singular figure that is a common convention in Euripides,²⁷ the play proceeds to a dialogue between Ion and the female chorus, who speak to both Ion and Apollo. Upon Kreousa’s entrance at line 247, we are again transported back into the past: when she sees Apollo’s temple for the first time, she “retraced an age-old memory” (ἀνεμετρησάμην, which Lee notes is a verb which “expresses a very deliberate, careful recall of detail”).²⁸ As Meltzer points out, Kreousa employs this same metaphorical terminology of measuring and measurements when she compares Ion’s age to that which her lost, exposed child would have been (σοὶ ταὐτὸν ἥβης, εἴπερ ἦν, εἴχ’ ἂν μέτρον, line

²⁴ Kuntz 1993, 41. Saxonhouse (1986, 264) emphasizes that myths of autochthony are “unifying myths that cover up the violence at the foundation of the city.”

²⁵ See Meltzer 2006, 146-148, as well as 178-80.

²⁶ See Mastronarde 1975, 170.

²⁷ Lee 1997, 160.

²⁸ Lee 1997, 188. Stieber (2011, 302) notes that this is indicative of the play’s “escalating Athenocentrism,” as here we witness the collision of two cities, Delphi and Athens.

354). This creates a sense of irony in that she recognizes the child's age as similar to her own lost child, although she does not yet comprehend his identity.²⁹ Kreousa is thus set up early in the play as one of the main protagonists who will help to reveal Ion's character, a role that unfolds throughout most of the course of the play as she moves through a range of emotions, from incredulity to disbelief to acceptance.

A Model Woman: Kreousa

Although Euripides' story is named after the character of Ion, it is indeed just as much a story about his mother, Kreousa.³⁰ Her monody from lines 859-922 is both literally and figuratively the center of the story's narrative, as we are at the crossroads regarding the revelation of Ion's true identity.³¹ She is a sentimental figure for which the audience has sympathy (after all, Apollo took her against her will and then abandoned her), and she does not recognize the figure of Ion at once, despite the fact that he is her son.³² Kreousa's advent upon Delphi places her at a critical point, the place where "everything leads,"³³ and she is conveyed by her own volition between her home of Athens and the place where she seeks answers, Delphi.

Kreousa therefore serves as a physical and personal connection for the two settings of the *Ion*. She journeys from Athens to Delphi, where she encounters the long-abandoned son whom she had exposed back at home.³⁴ We are first given a flashback of the abandonment of her child Ion, who was born as a result of Apollo's rape rather than a

²⁹ Meltzer 2006, 160.

³⁰ Loraux 1990, 172.

³¹ Lee 1997, 257.

³² Burnett (1962, 91) says that Kreousa's charge "is not one of rape but of desertion and nonsupport."

³³ Loraux 1990, 172.

³⁴ Kuntz (1993, 50) notes the link between Kreousa, the Long Caves at Athens, where her rape by Apollo took place, and Delphi, to which she has journeyed, as a "ritual procession that is a palpable ritual link," akin to that performed by the Arrephoroi or the Hersephoroi (with bibliography at n. 27).

seduction, in Hermes' prologue (lines 16-26).³⁵ The ritual of Kreousa's exposure of Ion is described by Kuntz as a "reenactment of Athena's own efforts to protect Erichthonios," alluding to the myth in which Athena gave the child Erichthonios to the daughters of Kekrops for safekeeping.³⁶ If this is the case, it demonstrates Euripides' strong familiarity with this aspect of the myth, which was demonstrated in vase painting of his time, as we will examine in more detail in Chapter 3.

In contrast to the tragic consequences of the revelation of Erichthonios, Ion finds a safe haven when Apollo bids Hermes to "rescue" him and transport him to Delphi. In addition, as an Athenian by birth, Kreousa's own heritage is carefully alluded to in her exchange with Ion, where she discusses with him her ancestry (for example, at lines 260-261f.). Theirs is a shared background, as the audience knows their true relationship before even Ion or Kreousa become aware themselves; however, slight hints emerge here and there that arouse Kreousa's suspicion when Ion encroaches too close to home. For example, he asks about the Long Rocks, and she responds that he reminds her of something:

Ion: Μακραὶ δὲ χῶρός ἐστ' ἐκεῖ κεκλημένος;

Kreousa: τί δ' ἱστορεῖς τόδ'; ὥς μ' ἀνέμνησάς τινος.³⁷

This interplay of mother and son will go on for quite some time, however, until intermediaries, including Athena, intervene upon the dialogue.

³⁵ Lape (2010, 99), who states that "the issue of rape is elided rather than resolved." For more on Kreousa's rape, see Loraux 1990, 201-203.

³⁶ Kuntz 1993, 52. Parker (1986, 195-197) discusses the relationship between the Kekropids and the ritual of the Arrephoroi. For the myths surrounding the daughters of Kekrops, see Gantz (1993, 237) and also Burkert (1985, 229), as well as Chapters 3 and 5.

³⁷ Lines 283-4.

Although Meltzer argues that “the drama reduces the female presence at Delphi” to only a priestess who acts on behalf of the god Apollo, the appearance of Kreousa’s voice throughout the play actually adds an element of emotional relevance to the discovery of Ion’s true identity.³⁸ And, although Kreousa is technically a foreigner and visitor to Delphi, she is at the same time representative of everything that is Athenian and possesses strong ancestral roots. On the other hand, her husband epitomizes the exact opposite status. As a foreigner, Xouthos is most certainly not autochthonous, and especially not in Athens. We are told he is an Achaian and a son of Aiolos,³⁹ who in turn was a son of Zeus, so he at least exhibits a divine connection (οὐκ ἐγγενὴς ὦν, Αἰόλου δὲ τοῦ Διὸς γεγῶς Ἀχαιός, lines 63-4).⁴⁰

In the dialogue between Ion and Kreousa where Ion inquires into Kreousa’s background, she describes how her marriage to a foreigner came to be: after he allied himself with the Athenians in war, Xouthos was given her as a dowry, a sort of reward for his efforts in battle (lines 289-98). His foreignness is emphasized in her words that he is “not a citizen, but a man brought in from another country” (οὐκ ἄστος ἀλλ’ ἐπακτὸς ἐξ ἄλλης χθονός, line 290). Particularly interesting is the fact that he is from another land (ἄλλης χθονός), a place that is certainly not Athens. Xouthos also plays the part of a sort of comic relief within the *Ion*, as he easily accepts the boy as his son. Without question, he sees Ion as a son “whom he has absolutely no recollection of fathering,” as Saxonhouse demonstrates.⁴¹ Most importantly, however, the point remains that Kreousa and Xouthos remain childless

³⁸ See Meltzer (2006, 153), who does not deny Delphi’s strong female connotations in that it is the seat of the earth goddess Ge, which “associates the oracle directly with the female’s ability to procreate.”

³⁹ As is, interestingly enough, Kephalos, whom Eos pursues. Kephalos is discussed in Chapter 3.

⁴⁰ Lee (1997, 166) notes that “though Xouthos’ ancestral home was Thessaly, the area ruled by Aiolos, Euripides links him here with the northwest Peloponnese.” Why Euripides shifts the location of Xouthos’ homeland is not particularly clear. See also Smith 2012 for more information on Xouthos’ identity, particularly within the realm of theater in Sicily.

⁴¹ Saxonhouse 1986, 269-272. In other traditions, Xouthos actually *is* the father of Ion; see Cole 1997, *passim*, for the implications of this.

largely because even if they were to have children, they would not be “authentically” Athenian.⁴²

Collective Women: The Ion's Chorus

As a part of the theme of collective identity, another group stands out in the *Ion*, and that is the chorus, which is made up solely of Athenian women. Between Kreousa and this all-female chorus, the voices of women clearly play a dominant role in the message put forth in the *Ion*. They thus are the loudest voices regarding the theme of identity that resonates throughout the play. Upon their entrance to the play at line 184, the chorus approaches the Temple of Apollo at Delphi and professes their admiration for its sculptural decoration, which depicts the Gigantomachy and other familiar myths.⁴³ Their lengthy description of how the temple appears is, according to Stieber, a “clever and entertaining way to infuse with *enargeia* the distinctive topographical setting for both the recollection of past events and the events to come” as the play continues.⁴⁴ As the chorus ruminates on the themes of the temple's iconography, it is apparent that they have a particular way of looking at visual symbolism that sets them apart from the other figures in the play.⁴⁵ Their focus on the gods' role in the imagery reflects their concern with the nature of the gods, and by extension, the “nature of truth,” as discussed by Meltzer.⁴⁶ By extension, their concerns with truth accords well with the interest in revealing Ion's real identity and his origins.

⁴² Loraux 1990, 183.

⁴³ The sources for the ekphrasis of the Temple of Apollo are vast and much discussed in the bibliography. See, for example, Barlow 2008 and Zeitlin 1994.

⁴⁴ Stieber 2011, 284.

⁴⁵ I am indebted to H.A. Shapiro for bringing this observation to my attention during a lecture by Kathryn Gutzwiller in March 2012; future exploration of this topic could be quite fruitful. See also Stehle and Day 1996.

⁴⁶ Meltzer 2006, 159-160.

More than just simple statements of what lies before them or visual descriptions of a newly-encountered place, the chorus' extended ekphrasis can also be seen as richly emblematic of the effects of perspective, distance, and detachment.⁴⁷ As the chorus plays no small part in any tragedy, their collective voice serves to see things that may otherwise pass by our attention. In effect, their concentration on the known, familiar myths depicted within the specific context of Delphi's temple decoration would have encouraged the Athenian audience to recollect but also to recontextualize their prior knowledge of such stories, which was ultimately one of Euripides' goals in writing and performing the two tragedies that revolved around the myth of autochthony. The ekphrastic description of the temple's iconography thus serves two functions: one, it demonstrates the powerful and engaging effect of images within the context of ritual space, and two, it focuses the attention of the play's viewers on the efficacy of myth to communicate ideas about history and the past.⁴⁸

FRAGMENTS OF AUTOCHTHONY: EURIPIDES' *ERECHTHEUS*

Another play by Euripides that deals with issues of autochthony and ancestry and that also places a strong female character at the center of the stage is the *Erechtheus*. The *Erechtheus* is more closely connected to the myths of one of the earliest kings of Athens himself than the *Ion*, which places Erechtheus in the background as the father of Kreousa and, by extension, the grandfather of Ion. While the autochthonous themes of the *Ion* are subdued, then, those of the *Erechtheus* are front and center within the plot. Both plays, however, would certainly still have been intriguing to an Athenian audience that was

⁴⁷ As discussed by Wolff 1965, 179-180.

⁴⁸ See Mastronarde 1975.

captivated by the issues surrounding their own ancestry and lineage, since they considered themselves to be autochthonous as well.

A number of fragments of Euripides' *Erechtheus* were first discovered in 1962 as part of a Ptolemaic mummy cartonnage and are now located in the Sorbonne in Paris. The play has been reconstructed through this variety of small, largely incomplete papyrus fragments, first published comprehensively by Austin in 1967, which doubled the length known previously with solely Lycurgus' speech at hand.⁴⁹ To date, the play exists in just 23 fragments, some of which are as short as one line or even one word.⁵⁰ The *Erechtheus* is typically dated to about 423-1 BCE, about a decade earlier than the *Ion* and well within the timespan of the other "patriotic plays" of the Peloponnesian War, such as Euripides' *Herakleidae* (performed around 430 BCE) and the *Hiketides* (423 BCE), several of which involve individuals, usually youths, dying on behalf of a larger collective body.⁵¹

An Individual War: Erechtheus and Eumolpos

The *Erechtheus*' central theme is not that of the birth of Erichthonios or Erechtheus, popular themes in Archaic and Classical iconography and what we might expect for a theme heavily focused on autochthony. Instead, the story revolves around that of the Athenian king Erechtheus' war with the Thracian invader Eumolpos, a new twist on the autochthony genre. Already established in the literary tradition as a prominent figure at Eleusis, Eumolpos

⁴⁹ Austin 1967.

⁵⁰ See, for example, fragments 21-23 in Sonnino 2010. Collard and Cropp (2008, 391) note the absence of at least one hundred lines or so of the messenger's report as well as dialogue between Praxithea and the chorus; in other instances, it is not clear in how many lines are missing.

⁵¹ Collard and Cropp 2008, 364. A date of 422 was first proposed by Calder 1969. See also Wilkins 1990, 177. Calame (2011, 3) rightly points out that the play was probably produced "at the end of the first phase of the Peloponnesian War." See also Sonnino (2010, 27-34) who is in accord with other scholars in dating the play to 423/2 based in part by the ancient testimonia.

here plays a different role.⁵² A son of Poseidon and the eponymous ancestor of the Eumolpidai, Eumolpos in the *Erechtheus* sought to take over Athens and Attica before becoming established at Eleusis. The mytho-historic war is referenced in Thucydides as an example of a war waged against Athens and Attica (ὥσπερ καὶ Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμόλπου πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα, II.15).⁵³ In the *Erechtheus*, Erechtheus consults the oracle at Delphi when the Thracians threaten to invade his city, and he is told that he must sacrifice his daughters.⁵⁴ The theme of virgin sacrifice in Greek tragedy, particularly in Athens, is not uncommon; Wilkins lists several examples, including Aglauros and the daughters of Kekrops as well as the daughters of Leos.⁵⁵ This theme in tragedy plays on the idea of sacrifice of the young for the greater good of a city, an often necessary component for survival that is decreed by a god.

Word Choices and Meanings

In a lengthy speech perhaps made by Erechtheus, although it is uncertain, one character says that children serve as a sort of safety net for the protection of one's homeland, emphasizing the collective power of the *polis* over the individual: "The city as a whole has a single name, but many inhabit it: why should I destroy them when I can give one child to die for all?" (πόλεως δ' ἀπάσης τοῦνομ' ἓν, πολλοὶ δέ νιν ναίουσι· τούτους πῶς διαφθεῖραί με χρή, ἐξὸν προπάντων μίαν ὕπερ δοῦναι θανεῖν, lines 16-18). If read literally, it is therefore preferable to sacrifice one rather than suffer the

⁵² Gantz (1993, 244) notes that Eumolpos is first mentioned in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. For more analysis, see Sonnino 2010, 67-70.

⁵³ For further references, see Simms 1983.

⁵⁴ Other sources have Erechtheus sacrificing just one of his daughters, and Euripides himself is sometimes contradictory as to the number.

⁵⁵ Wilkins 1990, 187. See also Kearns 1989, 57-59. Austin (1967, 56) notes that the myths of Erechtheus' children are similar to those of Leos. Connelly 1996, *passim*, discusses a number of examples in both tragedy and visual sources as part of her larger (and much-debated) study of the east frieze of the Parthenon.

ramifications of losing many. On the other hand, a more positive reading of this theme could emphasize the power of the individual to rescue the *polis*, which would elevate singular figures to the status of heroes or heroines. These figures are often female, as can be seen in the *Erechtheus* as well as in Iphigenia's character in Euripides' plays concerning her.⁵⁶ In the *Erechtheus*, the lack of a voice from the daughters of Erechtheus and Kreousa lends credence to the idea that while their role seems minor, and they have little say in the matter of their own lives, the decree of the god at Delphi supersedes all other voices.

In addition, it is interesting to note that the sacrifice here can be seen as a gift to be given, *δοῦναι*.⁵⁷ This adds plausibility to the idea that the speaker is indeed Erechtheus, as it would be foremost his decision, as both a father and king, to sacrifice his daughters. His decree goes above even his wife's, should she voice any objections, but not beyond the gods'. Ultimately, the play concludes with a victory for Athens, but at great personal cost for the family of Erechtheus, for both he and his daughters perish in Euripides' version of the myth (Erechtheus having died after being struck down by Poseidon's trident even after the defeat of Eumolpos). The visual image conjured here perhaps represents a reversal of Erichthonios' birth from the soil.⁵⁸ As Erechtheus arose from the earth when he was born, so he sinks back into it upon his death, being absorbed into the chthonic powers of the Acropolis.⁵⁹ Loraux sees these actions as two sides of the same coin: "the birth founds the human order of the *polis*, and the death ensures its permanence."⁶⁰ One brings a beginning, the other an ending – or in the case of this complicated mythological tradition, perhaps the possibility of a renewed beginning? In contrast to the peaceful and "happy ending"

⁵⁶ See Wilkins 1990 for more on this theme of self-sacrifice.

⁵⁷ For this verb, and its relationship to gifts and gift-giving in the Arrephoria festival, see Chapter 5.

⁵⁸ Calame 2011, 2. Loraux (1990, 196) makes the interesting point that Erechtheus is both born on the Acropolis and dies on it.

⁵⁹ This point will be an important factor in our topographical understanding of autochthony, discussed in Chapter 5.

⁶⁰ Loraux 1993, 47.

atmosphere of the *Ion* discussed above, however, the *Erechtheus* truly is a tragedy, albeit one in which sacrifice ultimately leads to the salvation of the city. The livelihood of the individual is thus displaced by the needs of the collective community.

Collective Themes, Collective Goals

The beginning of the *Erechtheus* has been largely lost, although both Austin and Carrara would prefer to see Poseidon deliver the prologue to the play, in juxtaposition to Athena's role at the end.⁶¹ If this were the case, it would set up a stimulating contrast between the two competitors for Athens' patronage, Poseidon and the goddess Athena, who was victorious, as the audience knew well. The fragments are often very short, sometimes only one line or even just a portion of a line, and the central portion of the action (the war against Eumolpos itself) is lost. Yet the collective theme of the fragments becomes readily clear in the segments of the dialogue that are preserved: the sacrifice of the daughters of Erechtheus is a necessary action for the survival of Athens, as proclaimed by the Delphic oracle.

The role of the other characters in the *Erechtheus* is rather sketchy and unclear, apart from the central roles played by the king and Praxithea. The chorus' lines are largely lost, although they do refer to an eventual victory of Athens over the Thracians (fragment 369, lines 4-5). In this sense, the chorus helps to predict future events, as they so often do, seeing things more clearly than the audience or the main characters. Yet with our remaining fragments, it is Erechtheus, Praxithea, and moreover Athena who come to the forefront of the story, and our understanding of the play is comprehensively aided by the chorus' brief lines as well as the opening testimonia. Erechtheus himself lacks any doubt about what is

⁶¹ Austin (1967, 19) and Carrara (1977, 28).

necessary to save the city: his sacrifice is, of course, what the god demands, and one of the fragments (362) also enunciates his concern with that which is “honorable and valuable” (παραινέσαι κειμήλι’ ἐσθλὰ καὶ νέοισι χρήσιμα, lines 3-4), which he vocalizes to the Athenian audience in a manner vaguely reminiscent of Hesiod’s advice to his brother in the *Works and Days*.

Praxithea’s Commanding Speech

The largest and consequently most important fragment of the *Erechtheus* is preserved in a 55-line quotation from the fourth century orator Lycurgus in his speech *Against Leocrates*, known long before the 1962 discovery of the other fragments of Euripides’ play. This section is not only important for its content, but also for the ways in which it can be contextualized within the setting of the anti-Macedonian orator Lycurgus, as discussed below. Lycurgus thereby “informs us of the centrality of the myth within the consciousness of the Athenians” by placing it within the context of his oratorical speech, intended to evoke the memory of his audience’s familiarity with the play.⁶² Designated as fragment 360, the quotation is a speech of Praxithea, wife and queen of Erechtheus, who encourages the sacrifice of her daughters for the sake of the city. The *Erechtheus*’ Praxithea, similarly to Kreousa, serves as a commanding speaker throughout the story, particularly in the oft-absent and fragmentary voice of her husband Erechtheus. Although Praxithea’s importance in the play may be skewed by the act of preservation, the fragments of her discourse that remain serve to paint a memorable picture of a woman who speaks in a voice that resonates with the concerns of men.⁶³

⁶² Connelly 1996, 100.

⁶³ Calame 2011, 5.

Praxithea, again in a manner akin to Kreousa, has important words to proclaim within the course of the play's action, but here her speech supports her husband's actions and carries on his honor. As a daughter of the local river god Kephisos, she already had a strong claim to the land of Attica before her marriage to Erechtheus. Fragment 360, which is directed to Erechtheus, sums up her intentions. Praxithea's words here echo the order already given by the oracle to her husband, supporting and compelling him to carry out the decree of the god: "Citizens, use the offspring of my womb, be saved, be victorious! At the cost of just one life I surely shall not fail to save our city" (χρησθ', ὧ πολῖται, τοῖς ἐμοῖς λοχεύμασιν, σώζεσθε, νικᾶτ'. ἀντὶ γάρ ψυχῆς μιᾶς οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ τήνδ' ἐγὼ σώσω πόλιν, lines 50-52).⁶⁴ Her sentiment in fragment 360a also echoes her decision: "I love my children, but I love my homeland more" (φιλῶ τέκν', ἀλλὰ πατρίδ' ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶ).⁶⁵ The strong, powerful words of this prominent woman, wife of a king, mother of the city's future progenitors, provide a voice for her husband and the Athenians as to what they should do, and what is best for their *polis*.⁶⁶ She is, in effect, an exceedingly patriotic figure, and a voice for mothers and wives in a time in which women did not typically vocalize their thoughts.

The Voice of Athena

As in the *Ion*, Athena also makes an important appearance towards the end of the fragments, constituting a large group of sixty lines. She is invoked early by Praxithea, when the queen says to a group of women (presumably the chorus), "Raise a cry, women, so the

⁶⁴ Translations are from Collard and Cropp 2008. I also follow Collard and Cropp's system of numbering the fragments.

⁶⁵ A grammatical note regarding word choice order in this sentence is interesting: Praxithea's first-position use of **πατρίδα** before the verb is surely not coincidental.

⁶⁶ In a number of ways, Praxithea's speech is reminiscent of Perikles' Funeral Oration in its emphasis on the collective versus the individual and service to the state. Tzanetou (2012, 95-98) explores the notions of the sacrifice of women and the hegemony of the Athenian Empire using both Euripides' *Erechtheus* and *Suppliant Women*, comparing aspects of the tragedies with the format of funerary orations.

goddess may come to the city's aid, wearing her golden Gorgon" (ὀλολύζετ' , ὦ γυναῖκες, ὥς ἔλθῃ θεὰ χρυσοῖν ἔχουσα Γοργόν' ἐπίκουρος πόλει, fragment 351). Athena in her protective role naturally comes to the aid of the city, and later, when Athena appears as a *dea ex machina* (as in the *Ion*), she dispenses certain instructions to Praxithea regarding the sacrifice of their daughters. Her first words in the speech also refer to her contest with Poseidon for patronage of the city, imploring the god to "not uproot my land, nor ruin my fair city" (lines 55-57, fragment 370).⁶⁷ That contest established her firm roots in the city named for her, as we will explore in Chapter 5, and demonstrates the agonistic character of the two gods and their involvement in the actions of mortals upon the earth.

Athena also instructs the Athenian queen to erect a precinct for her husband (σηκός, line 90) in the center of the city (ἐν μέσῃ πόλει), typically thought to be the late fifth century temple on the Acropolis, the Erechtheion, which was linked to the cult of Poseidon-Erechtheus.⁶⁸ As we examined earlier, the cultic associations of Erechtheus with the Acropolis were long-established by this point; even Herodotus refers to a sacred place to Erechtheus – again, earth-born (γηγενέος here) on the hill where there is an olive tree and a spring, established after the contest of Athena and Poseidon ("Ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσᾳ ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι, VIII.55). Chapter 4 will explore in more depth these connections between the mythological tradition and the Classical Erechtheion. For now, however, Euripides' text helps to provide a literary link to the concrete monuments on the

⁶⁷ This myth was depicted on the west pediment of the Parthenon. Cf. Parker (1986, 198-199) and Shapiro (1998, 145-149). Austin (1967, 51) classifies Athena's appearance as a *dea ex machina*.

⁶⁸ See Christopoulos (1994, 127) and also Clairmont 1971. The word σηκός can also denote a tomb, a sepulcher or burial place; the aspects of commemoration and sacredness are still present either way. See Simon. 4.6 and Molyneux 1992, 186.

Acropolis, and Athena's appearance not only inaugurates these new rituals, but also offers hope and reinstates a new sense of order for Praxithea and Euripides' Athenian audience.⁶⁹ Upon hearing her words, the audience would understand better the close associations between cult places on the Acropolis and their relationship with the myths of Erechtheus.

Furthermore, Athena's speech to Praxithea in the *Erechtheus* also establishes the aetiology for the cult surrounding the transition of Erechtheus' daughters into the Hyacinthid goddesses (Ὑακινθίδας θεάς) upon their deaths and the rituals surrounding their worship.⁷⁰ Collard and Cropp also note that Euripides here replaces the Hyacinthids, daughters of a Spartan immigrant, with the Erechtheids.⁷¹ Although Calame is unsure of the reason for this, perhaps it was a move by Euripides that would have been similar to the association of Helen with Nemesis by the Athenians in the fifth century, as I suggest in Chapter 5.⁷² Both manipulations of the mythological tradition, then, serve both to educate and influence the primarily Athenian audience watching the play. And finally, Athena herself chooses Praxithea to be her priestess – effectively the first priestess of Athena Polias – and thereby grants to Praxithea “the right to make (literally, *give*) burnt sacrifices for the city on my altars” (...δίδωμι βωμοῖς τοῖς ἑμοῖσιν ἔμπυρα πόλει προθύειν, fragment 370, lines 96-97).⁷³ In effect, Athena's direct speech in the *Erechtheus* makes allusions to the formation of a number of Athenian institutions, cults, and rituals, all of which are important for understanding the functions of religious procedure on the Acropolis during the fifth century BCE.

⁶⁹ Calame 2011, 9.

⁷⁰ Calame (2001, 181) and also 2011, 9-10. Wilkins (1990, 187) notes the role that the Hyacinthids played in the training of epebes in the fourth century BCE. See also Kearns (1989, 201-202) and Harding (2008, 215-216).

⁷¹ Collard and Cropp 2008, 397 n.15.

⁷² In this tradition, Helen is moved away from her Spartan origins to align her more closely with Athenian political ideals during the period after the Persian wars, seen most readily in her depiction in the statue base of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous. See Lapatin 1992.

⁷³ Parker 1986, 202.

Playing with Locale: Delphi and the Acropolis

As he was writing for a primarily Athenian audience during a time in which homage to one's homeland was often revered, Euripides was surely careful to construct a strong sense of topographical place in his dramas, particularly in regards to Athens. Geography plays an important role in both of Euripides' plays, especially in the *Ion*, which oscillates in discussion between the two locales of the city of Athens and the sanctuary of Delphi. The *Erechtheus* takes place solely in Athens, although testimonia refer to an earlier journey of Erechtheus to Delphi to request advice on how to be victorious over his enemies (test. ii). Several references to the Acropolis are made throughout this play that situate the story on the Acropolis, such as in fragment 370, in which the chorus or perhaps Praxithea allude to the "cliffs of Pallas" (ἄγμοις Παλλάδος, line 3). The audience, situated in Athens in the theatre of Dionysus on the south slopes of the Acropolis as they viewed the tragedies, is continually reminded of Athens, and the autochthonous state of the city makes its history appear more natural and perhaps even ancestral itself, more so than the effect other locales might have. This theme and this setting would be familiar and perhaps even consoling to the Athenian citizens who were viewing the play.⁷⁴

The *Ion*, on the other hand, is situated entirely at Delphi, where we discover "innocent serenity fostered by Apollo,"⁷⁵ although Athens is often alluded to. As a sanctuary, Delphi functions differently than the *polis*; it is both situated in a far more compact area as well as serves as a Panhellenic haven to which peoples from all over the Mediterranean world would travel, seeking advice from Apollo's oracle. Apart from the local sanctuary

⁷⁴ Saxonhouse (1986, 255) states that "an autochthonous origin gives it [the city] the appearance of being according to nature." Some elaboration of this statement is helpful: that the city itself as autochthonous would give it an air of antiquity and also of belonging.

⁷⁵ Mastronarde 1975, 165.

personnel, however, this environment is populated primarily by Athenian characters in Euripides' *Ion*: Kreousa and the chorus, for example, come from Athens, whereas Xouthos is a foreigner-turned-Athenian by marriage, and all except Ion himself are theoretically visitors to the seat of Apollo's oracle, as is typical of the sanctuary. And, from the start, Delphi is described as the "very navel of the earth" (ὀμφαλὸν μέσον, lines 5-6), and its location as the center of the *Ion*'s action is surely not coincidental.

In addition, by setting the *Ion* away from Athens and yet at the same time having the previous events of the play continually reference the city of Ion's home, Euripides encouraged his audience to consider their own city from a "detached" perspective "which visibly defines the context of the tragic performance and...the identity of its audience," as argued by Kuntz.⁷⁶ Moreover, the audience is continually reminded of Athens, which for many of them was surely the place of their birth: after all, Ion also originally came from Athens, although unbeknownst to him, and Kreousa travels from there to Delphi.⁷⁷ These continual and steady hints to Athens throughout the course of the play allude to the eventual conclusion that results in Ion's return to his ancestral city, however tenuous his connection to it may seem.⁷⁸ His actual return to Athens, although not discussed in the play itself, would have been filled with a sense of the "new," as he had not been resident there since he was an infant, but at the same time, the "old" would be ever present, as he was born there.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Kuntz 1993, 39.

⁷⁷ After Kuntz (1993, 47), who states that "like the gods whose appearances introduce and conclude the dramatic action, Athens provides a larger context for the immediate events at Delphi." See also Steiner (2011, 278), who notes numerous topographical reminders of Athens that are crafted for the audience.

⁷⁸ Parker 1986, 206.

⁷⁹ Ion discusses his fears about returning to Athens, where he believes he will be seen as the son of an outsider and born out of wedlock, in lines 589-601. Lee (1997, 225-226) discusses the apolitical life of Delphi in contrast to the political competition of Athens, a source of Ion's anxiety until his fears are assuaged by Apollo.

Autochthonous Roots

Within the literary landscapes of both the *Ion* and the *Erechtheus*, whether it be in Delphi or in Athens itself, the issue of humanity's identity, and especially that of the Athenians, comes to the forefront. Both plays recognize the background of the Athenian people as a *genos* that was born from the earth. The word *αὐτόχθων* and its cognates has a long history dating to Herodotus, who in his *Histories* describes such peoples as the Libyans and Aethiopians (interestingly, non-Athenians) as autochthonous, in addition to other *gené*, including several of the groups (*ἔθνεα*) in the Peloponnese (VIII.73).⁸⁰ The word *autochthonous* is used frequently as well to describe the Athenian people themselves, especially in regards to their lineage from the early king Erechtheus, which will be elaborated upon momentarily.

At the same time, several other words also denote an earth-born state, such as *χθόνιος*, a word that is used for giants and monsters born from the earth, and *γηγενής*, also used to describe the Spartoi of Thebes, the group of armed heroes who battle one another to become the ancestors of the House of Thebes.⁸¹ Words related to *χθόνιος* therefore can have both positive, earthly connotations, and also more threatening, potentially deadly ones. For example, in the *Ion*, snakes - chthonic creatures who move freely above and below the soil, shedding their skin and seemingly being born anew - are mentioned a number of times throughout the play. They serve as potent, multivalent symbols of autochthony which "create one side of the contrast which is central to the serious theme" of the play, in

⁸⁰ Blok 2009a, 251. See also Rosivach 1987, 297.

⁸¹ As discussed in Chapter 1. See Rosivach (1987, 296) for examples from literary sources such as Sophocles and Euripides. Saxonhouse (1986, 255) discusses the Theban ancestors, whose "claim to nobility and to the Theban land found its origin in their autochthonous birth." Blok (2009a, 257) distinguishes *αὐτόχθων* from *χθόνιος* and *γηγενής*, however, noting that the latter two terms are usually used for "numerous unattractive creatures." Zacharia (2003, 58-59) discusses how not all those who are *γηγενής* are monstrous.

antithesis to other symbols of order and civilization.⁸² Snakes also clearly evoke images of the ancestral, earliest Athenian kings Erechtheus and Erichthonios, who are shown in the company of serpents, and especially Kekrops, who is often described in literature and depicted in visual form as having a snake-like lower body with a human torso.⁸³

The compound *αὐτόχθων* is, however, more complex, and with the inclusion of the *αὐτο-* prefix, it denotes a sense of self-agency.⁸⁴ It is this word that best served the Athenian people in the construction of their ideology regarding their own identity, and the myths of Erichthonios and Erechtheus formed the framework for how the Athenians perceived themselves as being a part of the land in which they resided and, by extension, in which they sought to defend themselves throughout the course of the Peloponnesian War. This perception was particularly pertinent during Euripides' time. The background of the story of the early kings of Athens holds that Erechtheus (or Erichthonios, with whom he was often conflated)⁸⁵ was born from the earth's soil after the failed pursuit of Athena by Hephaistos. This story of "amorous mischief" befitting Hephaistos surely had an underlying aition, to "put the proto-Athenians under the joint patronage of Athena and Hephaistos."⁸⁶ With both Athena and Hephaistos in prominent positions within the *polis*' mythology, especially in the late fifth century BCE, the Athenians could claim a strong relationship with them. This is evidenced by the focus on the two Olympians in Athenian rituals and festivals dedicated to the two deities, such as the Panathenaia and the Hephaisteia, as well as their

⁸² Mastronarde 1975, 164-165.

⁸³ See Parker (1986, 193) for more examples.

⁸⁴ Rosivach 1987, 299.

⁸⁵ Burkert (1983, 156) states that "Erechtheus and Erichthonios are obviously merely variants" and cites various testimonia. Parker (1986, 200-201) says that Erechtheus is more common prior to the fifth century, while "Erichthonios is not securely attested until about 440/30." This anomaly is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, including explanations of its visual manifestations.

⁸⁶ Parker 1986, 194.

visual iconography.⁸⁷ Born from Mother Earth (Ge), however, Erichthonios was thus truly autochthonous, although his godly origins from the mixing of Hephaestus' seed in the soil with Athena nearby would surely not have been forgotten.

Although some scholars such as Saxonhouse attempt to argue that earlier myths of autochthony and the foundations of cities excluded women, Erichthonios' birth from Ge negates this theory, as does his associations with Athena.⁸⁸ In fact, most versions of the myth have a female figure (either Ge or Athena) as a predominant player in the birth of this early Athenian figure. By extension, then, it is no wonder that female characters play such prominent roles in the *Ion* and the *Erechtheus*. In addition, as early as Homer, Erechtheus is described as literally born from the "life-giving soil" (τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα, *Il.* 2.548), a feminine noun itself; Rosivach thereby uses Homer as a *terminus ante quem* for the Athenian association with their homeland's roots, although it is difficult to say how long this people had been in Attica, and ultimately he argues that the concept of Erechtheus as born from the earth developed independently from the Athenian ideas of their own birth from Attic soil.⁸⁹ Shapiro, on the other hand, modifies this viewpoint, seeing ideas about autochthony as a direct outgrowth of Athens' supremacy as a leader of the Delian League after the Persian Wars.⁹⁰ Whether to explain their origins or their increasing dominance of the Mediterranean world, the flourishing concepts of autochthony surely shaped Athenian ideas about their ancestry and background in the fifth century BCE, despite the variant readings of the myths concerning the early kings of Athens. The chthonic origins of Kekrops and Erichthonios/Erechtheus confirmed the Athenian preoccupation with heritage literally rooted in the very soil that they both inhabited and cultivated.

⁸⁷ As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

⁸⁸ Saxonhouse 1986, 259. See also Mueller 2010, 366.

⁸⁹ Rosivach 1987, 294-295 and 301.

⁹⁰ Shapiro 1998, 130.

A Concealed Identity

In a similar use of symbolism, Ion's birth is made to be analogous with that of Erichthonios. Hermes describes how Ion's exposure included his placement in a basket like his ancestors and Erichthonios, according to custom (νόμον) (lines 18-21), and how he was given to another for care and nourishment.⁹¹ The word for this basket, ἀντίπηξ, is a *hapax legomenon* found in Euripides alone, and denotes a round, covered, woven basket, as analyzed by Young in both visual and literary examples.⁹² Like all baskets and containers, the basket in which Ion was placed conjures up numerous metaphors (for example, birth and death as it is both opened and closed).⁹³ When Hermes leaves this basket on the steps of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, he folds back its lid in order that the child might be seen (ἀναπτύξας κύτος ἐλικτὸν ἀντίπηγος, lines 40-41). Ironically, although a priestess discovers Ion, she is still unaware of his identity; years later he must go through the process of multiple discourses among Apollo, Kreousa, Xouthos, and Athena before his true nature can be discerned. In this manner, then, Ion's first physical appearance is different from that of Erichthonios in that it does not automatically lead to his recognition; it is not until he is reunited with Kreousa years later that this has the potential to come to light.

In fact, Ion also cannot be truly recognized while on his own at Delphi, as he has been transported to a foreign place where he himself is an outsider. It is only when his mother, Kreousa, comes to Delphi as a representative of Athens that the stage is finally set for the revelation of his identity. The symbolism of the basket comes to the forefront once again near the conclusion of the play, when it is mentioned for a third time, this time in the

⁹¹ This is just one of many instances in the *Ion* which give reference to Erichthonios; see Lush (2008, 93) for more parallels between Erichthonios and Ion.

⁹² Young 1941, although the word also appears in the later grammarians Aelius Herodianus and Georgius Choeroboscus.

⁹³ Cf. Mueller 2010, 389-91. For more on containers as metaphors, especially for women, see Reeder 1995, 195-199.

context of Kreousa's recognition of Ion (lines 1391f.). And then, as simple as that, Ion's identity is recognized by all.⁹⁴ Ion's knowledge "becomes the legitimization of the heir of Erechtheus and the justification for him to return to Athens and assume his place there," under the command of Athena (lines 1571-1578).⁹⁵ The multiple intimations of Ion's similarity to Erechtheus and Erichthonios would have stirred within a chiefly Athenian audience a strong reminder of their own autochthonous roots, concepts that were clearly important by this late in the fifth century BCE, given the long history of the word's usage and its escalation throughout the course of the fifth century.

Belonging and the Land

After the Persian Wars and in light of the Athenian victory over the foreign enemy who encroached upon their land, the concepts of localized identity through the myths of autochthony became particularly significant for the Athenians, the concept already having been established in the Archaic period.⁹⁶ Their earth-born status in Attica in particular is a central aspect of their *kleos*, their reputation, as is emphasized in Ion's words when he mentions that "they say that the renowned earth-born inhabitants of Athens are not a people brought in from outside" (εἶναί φασι τὰς αὐτοχθονας κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας οὐκ ἐπείσακτον γένος, lines 589-90). A very similar proclamation occurs in the *Erechtheus*, spoken by Praxithea herself: "In the first place, we are not an immigrant people from elsewhere, but born in our own land" (ἥ πρώτα μὲν λεῶς οὐκ ἐπακτὸς ἄλλοθεν, αὐτόχθονες δ' ἔφυμεν; lines 7-8, fragment 360). Euripides' two plays make it abundantly

⁹⁴ It is anything but simple, of course, but the sardonicism is borrowed from Mueller 2010, 365.

⁹⁵ Kuntz 1993, 56. For more on the symbolism of the basket, see Loraux 1990, 203-204.

⁹⁶ See Shapiro (1998, 151), who states that "it would be a mistake to regard autochthony as an artificial construct created in wake of the Persian Wars to serve the needs of democracy or empire." Also see Lape (2010, 18): "In the wake of the Persian Wars, autochthony gave the Athenians a way to conceptualize their identity as citizens that retrospectively explained their remarkable military successes."

clear that the Athenians thought of themselves as autochthonous, from the soil of Athens itself, a concept that was based on their mythological heritage.

These words emphasize the long-standing association of Athenian citizens with one place in particular, the land of Athens and Attica. As Saxonhouse argues, in the *Ion*, Euripides “forces the citizens of Athens to look critically at the Athenian myth of autochthony, not so as to make them question whether their first ancestors were indeed born from Athenian soil, but rather to make them reflect on the implications of such a myth.”⁹⁷ In doing so, Athenian citizens could confront their beliefs about their origins and come to understand better their sense of being in and a part of the predominant *polis* of ancient Greece. These concepts fit into the broader picture of what it meant to be an Athenian citizen in the fifth century, as Athenians sought to define themselves and their heritage. Such thoughts first became pervasive and persuasive convictions in the early sixth century under the leadership of Solon, who passed laws that replaced the older Archaic statutes of Draco. Solon’s laws both “redefined the way birth and ancestry were understood for purposes of familial civic membership” as well as reshaped notions of ethnicity, slavery, and legitimacies and birthrights.⁹⁸

Similarly, Athenians were obviously concerned with certain aspects of their parentage and lineage. As one unidentified character in the *Erechtheus* states, “Where is the advantage in adopted children? We should consider those truly born better than mere pretenses” (θετῶν δὲ παίδων ποῦ κράτος; τὰ φύντα γὰρ κρείσσω νομίζειν τῶν δοκημάτων χρεῶν, fragment 359). Those who were born from parents who were both Athenians were thought to be “superior” (κρείσσω) to others. This concept, however, is overridden in the

⁹⁷ Saxonhouse 1986, 254.

⁹⁸ Lape 2010, 13. Lape (11-17) traces the understanding of civic identity in Athens from Solon through the Kleisthenic period as well.

Ion, where our main character, born of one female princess and one god, could be classified a bastard, but at least he is an Athenian one.⁹⁹ In many ways, Ion could be compared to Erichthonios in this regard, who was born of an old Athenian deity (Athena) and a one whose predominant nature was foreign but had a new importance in the Athenian religious sphere (Hephaistos).¹⁰⁰

Perhaps it is in linking themselves to Erichthonios that both Ion and the Athenians, as descendants of the founder of the Ionian race, could also claim to have a certainly godly descent. Their dual nature thus marked themselves as both born from the earth but also “children of blessed gods,” as Euripides calls the Erechtheidai in the *Medea* (θεῶν παῖδες μακάρων, line 825).¹⁰¹ Of course, not all Athenians considered themselves to be direct descendants of Erichthonios and Erechtheus, and “outsiders” such as Theseus were gradually incorporated into other myths concerning the *polis*’ political standing and significance,¹⁰² suiting the circumstances of the times into which they were written.

Further Studies: Funerary and Epideictic Oratory

For additional reflection, it is worthwhile to consider how and why the afterlife of tragedy manifests itself in fifth and fourth century BCE oratory. Funerary oratory in particular served as a fertile genre for expounding ideas of ancestry and origins, as evidenced most clearly and famously in the *Funeral Oration* for the war dead, pronounced by the statesman Perikles in Book II of Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Since this *epitaphios logos* dates to the first winter of the war in 431 BCE, it is most likely slightly earlier than

⁹⁹ Lape 2010, 100.

¹⁰⁰ As I will explore in Chapter 3, the Athenian interest in Hephaistos takes on a new dimension in the course of the fifth century BCE.

¹⁰¹ Parker 1986, 194-195.

¹⁰² See Shapiro 1998, 130-131.

Euripides' own treatment of the themes of autochthony in his plays. In addition, Thucydides also set the stage for fourth century orators such as Lycurgus to follow suit in their encomia of the war dead and ruminations on what it means to be an Athenian.

For example, the orator Lysias' *Funeral Oration* for those fallen in the Corinthian War of the early fourth century also links autochthony to ideas about citizenship and one's homeland (ἀλλ' αὐτοχθονες ὄντες τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκέκτηντο καὶ μητέρα καὶ πατρίδα, II.17). As Parker states, a canonical set of myths of Athenian heroism and sacrifice was instituted and organized by Athenian orators as part of a large effort to fashion a "distinctively Athenian blend of righteousness and valour in the communal enterprise of warfare."¹⁰³ It is easy to see how this fashioning of myths was so successful. Myths woven into the fabric of speeches in epideictic oratory, be it in praise of the living or in eulogy for the dead, would have triggered memories and responses in the minds of those listening, forging associations between the past and the present in the surviving ancestors of those having died in battle. The autochthony myth of Euripides was particularly striking during the fourth century, as it was a time in which the Athenians "sought to mould the shape of the past in an attempt to define their identity and direct the course of their future."¹⁰⁴

As the largest extant fragment of the *Erechtheus* comes from Lycurgus' *Against Leocrates*, it is certainly no coincidence that Praxitheia's speech exemplifies the sense of community and sacrifice that were concomitant aspects found in both tragedy and epideictic commemoration. As a side note, it is intriguing to learn that Lycurgus was a member of the Eteoboutadai, descendants of Boutes with priestly connections to the cult of Poseidon-

¹⁰³ Parker 1986, 201. See also Blok (2009a, 255), who says that "Athenian orators frequently drew on Athens' autochthony as a source of civic virtue to live up to." This demonstrates that even into the fourth century, the concept of autochthony had an air of antiquity to it, as well as idealized nature.

¹⁰⁴ Hanink 2014, 5.

Erechtheus.¹⁰⁵ His knowledge of Euripides' play is evident in not only his use of it in *Against Leocrates*, but in the specific passage that he chose to utilize.¹⁰⁶ In Lycurgus' speech, the anti-Macedonian orator uses the words of Praxithea in lengthy quotation to make a powerful statement about Athenian citizenship and loyalty to the *polis*. Lycurgus additionally lauds the poet himself, proclaiming that Euripides is worthy of praise for providing a model for citizens to follow in regards to the notion of self-sacrifice.¹⁰⁷ In particular, Lycurgus utilizes this section of the *Erechtheus* as a model of a heroic tale "from which all the fathers of the city were shaped."¹⁰⁸ The recent study by Johanna Haninck underscores Lycurgus' use of Euripidean quotations in the post-Chaironeia theatre of the courtroom, where listeners would be keenly aware of the hazard from the Macedonian north that threatened Athenian stability.¹⁰⁹ This anxiety would be justified in the coming years of late fourth century Athens.

Further studies of this employment of Euripidean text would surely be fruitful for a greater understanding of how tragedy takes on a newly interpreted life in the works of the orators in regards to both their political agenda as well as their own personal encomia for the deceased. The analysis by Tsagalis of a fourth-century epigram from Brauron (*CEG* 594) that bears subtle references to a number of lines from Euripides' *Erechtheus* is also representative of the tip of the iceberg for such a larger study of these occurrences.¹¹⁰ In examining other funerary inscriptions and epigrams that are similar to *CEG* 594, a greater understanding may be reached regarding how the quotation and appropriation of famous "words of the past" were employed. These appropriations can then be studied within the

¹⁰⁵ Christopoulos 1994, 129.

¹⁰⁶ As Hanink (2014, 141) states, "Euripides 'made' Praxithea's speech (πεποίηκε); he portrayed her nobly (ποίησε); and in doing so he 'displayed' (ἐνδεικνύμενος) an important lesson for Athenian citizens." See Lycurg. 1.100-101 and Hanink 2014, 39, who also states: "Euripides' very choice of subject material should thus, Lycurgus argues, be rated as nearly equal to the great historical deed which the tragedy commemorates."

¹⁰⁷ Wilkins 1990, 180.

¹⁰⁸ Calame 2011, 4.

¹⁰⁹ Haninck 2014, 33-39

¹¹⁰ Tsagalis 2007.

framework of how they functioned both to conjure in the listeners' memories myths such as those told in the the *Erechtheus* while at the same time commemorating and memorializing the patriotic deceased.

Conclusions

To return to the fifth century BCE, Euripides treats the concept of autochthony in his Athenian-focused dramas, the *Ion* and the *Erechtheus*, as a platform for exploring local civic identity in light of the Peloponnesian War. At a time when Athenian supremacy and influence were being questioned, and the Athenian dominance over other Greek city-states was continually weakened, these two plays connected the Athenian *ethnos* to a locale of strong roots and earth-born status. As Rosivach states, "autochthony is not simply a matter of difference but one of superiority."¹¹¹ By using Ion's status as founder of the Ionian race, Euripides distinguishes the Athenians – who thought of themselves as descendants of Ion – as children of Apollo as well.¹¹² As descendants of a son of Kreousa, daughter of Erechtheus, the Ionian race and the citizens of Athens were also therefore related to the autochthonous kings of Athens, shaping and continuing a long lineage of ancestry. This stature was certainly not met without criticism, as autochthony could easily be aligned with elitism or superciliousness.¹¹³ It surely set Athens apart from other Greek city-states, making it at once unique but also contentious, not surprising given Athens' gradual loss of power in the course of her war with Sparta.

In addition, in what is preserved of the *Erechtheus*, the notions of self-sacrifice for the good of the state are given prominence above all else, again revealing the importance of

¹¹¹ Rosivach 1987, 297.

¹¹² Shapiro 2003, 87. Dougherty (1996, 251) accounts for the variations of Athenian narratives as a challenge to "preserve their contradictions, for they provide us with a view that transcends historical developments and individual experience." This accords well, however incongruously, with the themes of collective identity observed in this chapter and elsewhere throughout this project.

¹¹³ See Parker 1986, 195.

community and citizenry in Euripides' time period. As Wilkins states, "the plays are 'political' in the sense that they show sacrifices being made for divine support before battles or equivalent critical moments."¹¹⁴ Within the collective framework of their autochthonous identity, Athenian citizens viewing and listening to the *Erechtheus* would have been reminded of the true Athenian nature of self-sacrifice, as evidenced in the actions of Erechtheus' daughters. While the *Ion* does not include a literal sacrifice, the behavior of Kreousa in giving up her son and then rediscovering him may have reminded the audience of a sort of sacrifice, and at the very least conjured images of the difficult decision such an act for a parent would be.¹¹⁵ And certainly, Ion's time at Delphi would have contributed to his growth, and his coming to maturity there would have been one step in the cycle towards learning his own identity.

These two tragedies, then, play on the themes of the individual versus the collective in light of what it means to both *be* an Athenian as well as to *become* an Athenian, and what is innate versus what is discovered through the passage of time. For *Ion*, the realization of his own identity confirms his true status as an Athenian, although in his pilgrimage homeward he leaves us wondering what that might entail for his future. And in the *Erechtheus*, viewers of the play would be left to examine what it meant to give up one's own life for the sake of the city and the community. It is important to bear in mind, indeed, that Euripides' focus on the theme of autochthony in both the *Ion* and the *Erechtheus* surely shaped and perhaps even shifted the thoughts of the Athenians concerning their own identities as a people of the earth and the land of Athens and Attica, and their place in and upon it, especially in the late fifth century BCE. Ironically, however, the Athenians' attention to their autochthonous

¹¹⁴ Wilkins 1990, 190.

¹¹⁵ Admittedly, Kreousa is not immediately convinced regarding the recognition of her son. Her plot to kill Ion (lines 1015 and *passim*) is echoed by a similar plan of revenge on his part, yet neither carries out the act. The plot is, according to Weiss, a reenactment of her abandonment of him as a child; see Weiss 2013, 36.

roots would not have the same effects in the Peloponnesian War as it had after the Persian War. Yet Euripides surely gave comfort to his Athenian audience when he used the *Ion* and the *Erechtheus* to accentuate the myths of autochthonous origins of the land that they called their home.

CHAPTER 3

ENVISIONING AUTOCHTHONY IN ATTIC VASE PAINTING

Introduction

The Athenian belief in their earthborn status and the nature of autochthony became increasingly important throughout the course of the Classical period, and manifested itself in a variety of iconographic formats. The theme was explored in both the written word, as we have already examined in our historical and literary sources, as well as by the means of visual imagery, particularly within the realm of local myths and customs related to Athens' history and beginnings. Even though images related to the myths of Athenian autochthony have their origins in sixth century BCE vase painting, they were heightened and promoted in the fifth century. The victory of the Athenians in the Persian Wars provided fertile ground for the exploration of Athenian identity and ancestry as Athens began to build what would eventually become a hegemonic empire that encompassed the Greek world.¹ In tracing the development of the iconography of autochthony, we can better comprehend its use as a political and social implement in the developing perception of Athenian identity, which in turn heightens our understanding of the means by which the Athenians gave a visual vocabulary to their mythological history of their origins.

It was in this atmosphere of victory and defeat after the Persian Wars that the stories of Erichthonios and other early Athenian kings, including figures such as Kekrops and Erechtheus, began to develop and take on more symbolic meanings related to the Athenian construction of their own identity and roots. In iconography, this was made manifest most

¹ The first to explore of autochthony's growth in the fifth century BCE was perhaps Ermatinger 1897. See Rosivach 1987 for an overview of the understanding of the relationship between Athenian identity after the Persian Wars.

clearly in narratives that appear in vase paintings that displayed the birth and presentation of the baby Erichthonios. Other myths related to autochthony were portrayed in vase iconography as well, such as Hephaistos' pursuit of Athena in addition to the daughters of Kekrops, to whom the baby Erichthonios was entrusted by Athena.² In this chapter, I explore these myths, illuminating Hephaistos' role in the autochthony myth from a new perspective, while also investigating related myths such as Eos' pursuit of Kephalos, which appears on a number of autochthony-related vases, and I also consider the significance of the various findspots of the vases discussed. Moreover, I argue that the iconography related to autochthony and Athenian identity can be seen not only as a potential reflection of Athens' rise to power after the Persian Wars, but that it also gained momentum and underwent significant changes in iconographic format during her substantial defeats in the Peloponnesian War. The loss of physical land that was imminent for the Athenians was intrinsically tied to their loss of identity, exhibiting an anxiety of being and belonging, which was reflected in a concentration on the myths of Athenian origins.

Such apprehension in the Athenian psyche is reflected, I argue, in the increasingly visually complex imagery related to the presentation of Erichthonios to the goddess Athena. Although exhibited most readily in a small group of vases, the iconography is in turn echoed on a monumental scale with the sculpture and architecture of the time, as I discuss in the following chapters regarding the Erechtheion, the Hephaisteion, and the topography of the Athenian Acropolis. With this framework in mind, I consider first the scenes of the birth, or "presentation," as I re-designate it, of Erichthonios in a chronological manner, interweaving related scenes such as those with the Kekropids and an investigation into Hephaistos' role in

² The full catalogue of vase paintings with scenes related to autochthony can be found in Appendix 1.

the concept and conception of Athenian autochthony.³ The “family affair” that is demonstrated by the multivalent union of characters who attend the birth is likened to the increasing concerns and correlation between Athenian identity and family, citizenship, and ancestry that are manifest in the historical record, which is in turn demonstrated in, for example, Perikles’ Citizenship Law of 451/0 BCE.⁴ This regulation decreed that the rights bestowed upon citizens were limited to those who were born from two Athenian parents, thus ensuring the continuity of Athenian birth status from one generation to the next.⁵ In effect, the Citizenship Law as well as images of Erichthonios are part of a broader trend that is interested in where and how the Athenians had their roots.

A good deal of attention has already been devoted to the subject of autochthony from the perspective of how it, as a concept, paralleled shifting ideas of identity for the Athenians during the fifth century BCE, particularly in the aftermath of the Persian Wars. These observations have been undertaken, for the most part, from a literary and sociological perspective, with certain exceptions, such as H. Alan Shapiro’s 1998 article, “Autochthony and the Visual Arts in Fifth-Century Athens,”⁶ which examines the history of vase painting scenes of autochthony and fits within a larger study organized by Deborah Boedeker and Kurt Raaflaub on the parallel development of Athenian democracy, its expansion into empire, and the floruit of the arts.⁷ Other scholars have chosen specific vases to look more

³ Reclassifying the birth of Erichthonios as “presentation” rather than strictly a birth gives weight to the idea of the child as a gift to the Athenians. His presentation to Athena, and Athens, echoes that of other mythological characters, such as Dionysus to the Nymphs of Nysa, to whom Zeus entrusted him. See *HomH* 26.

⁴ Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 26.3, Plutarch, *Per.* 37.3, and Aelian, *Varia Historia* 6.10 all discuss aspects of this law.

⁵ For further reading on Perikles’ citizenship law, see Patterson 1981, as well as Chapter 1 for its implications and relationship to the development of Athenian status.

⁶ Shapiro 1998. Other strictly literary approaches are covered in Rosivach 1987, as well as Loraux 1993 and 2000. Most recently, see Blok 2009b.

⁷ See Boedeker and Raaflaub 1998, 1-11.

closely at autochthonous themes through the concentrated lens of one vase at a time, usually within a particular museum collection.⁸

In this chapter, I draw upon the ideas of Shapiro and other scholars as a platform to explore the iconography of autochthony in vase painting more in-depth, looking at the themes and variations of vases that depict the presentation of Erichthonios as well as other related imagery. By unifying vases with this subject matter into a diachronic whole, we can begin to see the patterns that emerge in terms of the choices of visual language for depicting autochthony.⁹ This methodology is undertaken in order to demonstrate that the iconography of autochthony as a concept is at once somewhat standardized but exhibits intriguing variations as well. These variations in turn allowed for a diversification of the myth, illustrating its multivalence that is echoed in the literary sources; this diversity in turn accounts for the potential to consider the complexity of the myth of autochthony.

Each vase, unique in its choices of characters, narrative, and execution, shares the common theme of imagery related to autochthony that heightens myth into history, a stage upon which the performance of Athenian identity could be acted out in ways that visually and physically connected the Athenians to their land in a concrete and recognizable manner. Ultimately, I demonstrate how these vases enrich our understanding of autochthony via the medium of visual imagery, serving as a pendant to the literary sources and contributing to a broader study of how the Athenians conceived of themselves and their identity through an exploration of their mythology, imagery, and ancestry in the broad physical landscape of ancient Athens. Beyond the widely-traveled terrain of vase iconography in this chapter, the following chapters subsequently utilize this study of vase painting as the building blocks for

⁸ See, for example, Neils 1983 and Oakley 1987, or, more recently, Weiß 2013.

⁹ Kron 1976 and Brulé 1987 have undertaken similar studies.

how the imagery of autochthony can be witnessed in other artistic media, architectural forms, and the topographical space of Athenian religious ritual practice.

Literary Sources and Early History

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the literary sources for autochthony were rather scant before being gradually built up and expanded in detail between the middle and the late fifth century BCE. They surely became particularly well known through the dramas of Euripides, including his *Ion* and the *Erechtheus*. Autochthony soon became closely correlated with Athenian ideology, and the initial compendia of the kings of Athens were compiled as early as the fifth century BCE such as Atthidographers, including Hellanicus, demonstrating an interest in Athenian heritage and ancestry.¹⁰ The work of this group of authors, who compiled and composed a wealth of sources with a heavy interest in *aitia* (myths of origins), were chiefly concerned with the goal of arranging “the varied, often contradictory traditions about the monarchic period of Athenian history with a view to enhancing Athens’ sense of national identity at a time when that identity was experiencing crisis and eventual eclipse.”¹¹ Attic vase painters of the fifth century BCE also appear to have been wrestling with this sense of national (i.e., Athenian) identity at this time, as it is then that the vases depicting autochthony begin steadily to emerge.

It is helpful to review briefly the attributes that make up the vocabulary of autochthony in visual culture, including its main characters. One of the simplest ways of depicting autochthony is to pay homage to the chthonic roots embedded in the term, and vase painters accomplished this particularly well with the figure of Kekrops. This earliest

¹⁰ As we explored in Chapter 1. See also Parker 1987, 189 and n. 11. Kron (1976, 106) provides more sources, as does Fowler 2000. See also Harding 2008, Ch. 1.

¹¹ Garland 1992, 157.

king of Athens remains to us little more than a shadowy form, known as one of the ten eponymous heroes of Kleisthenes' late-sixth century tribal system and described briefly in works such as Euripides' *Ion* (lines 1163-4) and Aristophanes' *Wasps* (line 438).¹² Usually, Kekrops is shown as a snake-like figure in vase painting, with a human body that gradually morphs in to a scaly lower body. This perhaps owes to his own indigenous roots from within Attica, specifically the Athenian Acropolis, where he was worshipped in the vicinity of the Erechtheion.¹³ His snaky form is seen in examples such as a lekythos in Palermo, a kylix by the Codrus Painter, and a rhyton by Sotades (**Catalogue 4, 10, and 14, respectively**), but Kekrops' appearance in Attic vase painting on the whole is somewhat limited.¹⁴ Usually shown in images of the contest of Athena and Poseidon, and the presentation of Erichthonios, Kekrops is mainly utilized as a character who is a "witness of his successor's birth," as Parker states.¹⁵ He is therefore an integral figure in the ancestral line of kings who affirm Athenian identity.

With little known from literary sources about Kekrops and his origins, writers and artists chose for a variety of reasons to focus instead on the mythology of Erichthonios and, to a lesser extent, Erechtheus. These two mythological figures are often confused and their names are sometimes used interchangeably, partially dependent on the time period in which ancient sources were consulted. By late antiquity, for example, Gantz remarks that there existed a "suspicion that Erichthonios and Erechtheus were a doublet of the same figure."¹⁶ Other scholars see them as an evolution of Erichthonios into Erechtheus over time.¹⁷

Aligned with this, Parker points out that until 440 or 430 BCE, Erichthonios lacks

¹² According to Parker 1987, 193.

¹³ See Kron 1976, 87.

¹⁴ Knittlmayer 1992 (*LIMC* s.v. Kekrops) provides a survey of the vases that depict Kekrops.

¹⁵ Parker 1987, 193.

¹⁶ Gantz 1993, 235. Scholars have dealt with (or perhaps avoided) this issue to some extent by grouping the two together as "Erichthonios/Erechtheus" (see, for example, Parker 1987).

¹⁷ See, for example, Mikalson 1976, 141 n. 1.

attestation in literary sources, but this is not the case for vase painting, where the child appears a generation before this date.¹⁸ The distinction of Erichthonios and Erechtheus as two separate figures therefore seems to have been made clearer visually before it was elaborated in Athenian literature.

Other scholars posit that Erichthonios is the child who later becomes known as Erechtheus, or the two are completely separate characters of myth; in some instances, Erechtheus is a successive king to Erichthonios.¹⁹ Ogden, on the other hand, describes the two as “complexly intertwined figures,” but ultimately still as separate characters with different narratives.²⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood, in her recent posthumous study, provides a more nuanced interpretation. She sees first the figure of Erechtheus, who is followed by Erichthonios and a “post-split” or “complex” Erechtheus - essentially, two entirely separate figures whose distinct identities become more codified over time.²¹ The subtleties of Sourvinou-Inwood’s interpretation reflect strongly the malleable character of myth. By the late fifth century, it appears, the two separate characters of Erichthonios and Erechtheus fulfill two different functions: one is the eponymous ancestor of the Athenian race, and the other is his descendent, another ancestor who bears a close connection to the Kleisthenic tribal system.

In terms of literary references, these figures of autochthony appear as early as the eighth century BCE. In the *Iliad*’s Catalogue of Ships (2.547-9), we find what is perhaps the first reference to the earthborn nature of Erichthonios, who at this early date was surely conflated with Erechtheus, in a passage describing the massing of the armies:

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον ἔκτιμένον πτολίεθρον

¹⁸ Parker 1987, 200.

¹⁹ As suggested by Avramidou in her catalogue entry on the Codrus Painter’s kylix in Shapiro and Kaltsas 2008, 178, as well as Avramidou 2011, 33.

²⁰ Ogden 2013, 263.

²¹ Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 51f.

δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ, δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα,²²
κάδ' ἐν Ἀθήνης εἷσεν ἐῶ ἐν πίονι νηῶ·
ἔνθα δέ μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἄρνειοῖς ἰλάονται
κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν·

Next the men who held the strong-built city of Athens,
realm of high-hearted Erechtheus. Zeus' daughter Athena
tended him once the grain-giving fields had borne him,
long ago, and then she settled the king in Athens,
in her own rich shrine, were the sons of Athens worship him
with bulls and goats as the years wheel round in season.²³

A number of important points are inferred from this early reference to autochthony and the connection between Athena and Erechtheus. The hero is described with the epithet **μεγαλήτορος**, “great-hearted,” a descriptive characteristic used in Homer used for Erechtheus and other characters such as Aeneas²⁴ and “precious proof” of his important status as an ancestor-hero.²⁵ Athena nourishes him (θρέψε), even though it is the earth who bore (τέκε) him, similar to the iconography of Erichthonios' birth in later vase painting. In addition, Sourvinou-Inwood points out a passage in the *Odyssey* where Athena enters Erechtheus' “sturdy house,” linking the early king to Athens itself.²⁶ This is certainly the palace to which Athena retires, “perhaps for purposes of being worshipped,” according to Gantz,²⁷ and maybe even one of the first references to the vicinity of the Acropolis where the Erechtheion would be built later.²⁸

Kekrops is not mentioned in this passage, and for this early date, Sourvinou-Inwood's interpretation of the names of Erechtheus and Erichthonios seems to be the most logical explanation for their conflation. In both literary and artistic sources, little is actually

²² See Chapter 2, p. 59, for a discussion of this phrase.

²³ Translation is from Fagles 1990, 117.

²⁴ See, for example, *Il.* 5.468

²⁵ Parker 1996, 20.

²⁶ *Od.* 7.80-1: see Sourvinou-Inwood 2001, 52 and n. 95.

²⁷ Gantz 1993, 233.

²⁸ See Chapters 3 and 4.

revealed in terms of a narrative for the story of the birth of Erichthonios; instead, we have to look to the later author Apollodorus for a description of Hephaistos' pursuit of Athena, which will be discussed in more detail below. Yet it is this story, as well as the follow-up myth of the daughters of Kekrops, that is one of the most central to the autochthony myth, and as such we turn to the iconography of late Archaic and Classical vase painting. Despite our paucity of literary sources, the variety of scenes of the "birth" of Erichthonios and their complex variations on a central theme of Athenian autochthony, all produced in vase painting within about a sixty year period, suggests that the myth was both well-known and visually compelling.

The iconography of autochthony appears in a fairly standard format from its inception, but it becomes more visually descriptive and elaborate over time: Ge, personification and symbol of the Earth, rises up from the ground as she holds forth a child, Erichthonios. Athena accepts him with open arms, a central scene that is witnessed by a variety of others, including both gods, personifications, and mortals. The key players are identifiable by inscriptions in three core vases, a kylix by the Codrus Painter (**Catalogue 10**), the Richmond calyx-krater by the Nikias Painter (**Catalogue 12**) and a pyxis attributed to the Meidias Painter or his workshop (**Catalogue 21**), all of which are discussed in more depth below.

A number of variations to the birth scene occur, including the style and dress of the figures, the elaboration of certain details, the presence or absence of Athena's armor, and the posture of Ge and how much her body emerges from the earth, as well as the occurrence of different witnesses to the scene before them. These distinctions, though not drastic, provide diversity and certain emphases on each character present in the story, substantiating the idea that myth - and in particular *this* myth - is inherently complex and multifaceted, open to

being read, understood, and interpreted from a variety of perspectives among vase painter, viewer, and recipient of the vase.

In addition, as the years of the fifth century pass, these scenes related to Erichthonios become increasingly complex, each with their own differences and unique qualities. In this chapter, I present a diachronic survey of these “variations on a theme,” as well as a discussion of other scenes related to the early ancestry of Athens. The first section of this study will serve to illustrate both the consistency and the changes to the iconography of the presentation of Erichthonios over time. In this analysis, I demonstrate that the presentation of Erichthonios to Athena (more than his birth) was presented as an extraordinary moment, fixed in time, while at once serving as a narrative that highlights the past as well as the future of the Athenian race. A narrative that is almost epiphanic in nature, it is witnessed by gods and mortals alike, reminding Athenian viewers of the vases of their autochthonous roots.

Autochthony in the Sixth Century BCE

The iconography of autochthony is surprisingly not common in the mythological vocabulary of black-figure vase painting. Images related to Erichthonios, however, may first appear earlier in the sixth century than we might have anticipated, despite the rise in popularity of the myth only after the Athenian victory over the Persians. This shows that the narrative, or at least the key players, were of interest to the Athenians even before their decisive defeat of the Persians in 480 BCE.²⁹ Furthermore, the iconography of autochthony is primarily restricted to vase painting, although, as I will argue in Chapter 4, it was also the

²⁹ Shapiro 1998, 133.

primary focus of the late-fifth century frieze of the Erechtheion.³⁰ As Alan Shapiro has argued, however, at this early date, images of the family of Erichthonios may not have had the same connotations or carried the same symbolic weight as later imagery, which was solidified by the Athenians in their growing control of the Greek world after the Persian Wars.³¹ Instead, he suggests, we can use these images to prove the presence of the myths of autochthony and their heroic and cultic associations on the Athenian Acropolis in the sixth century BCE.

For example, two black-figure sherds from the Acropolis attributed to Sophilos (**Catalogue 1 and 2, Figures 1 and 2**) are probably from the same skyphos-krater, based on their similar shape and style. Sourvinou-Inwood proposed that the scenes on each fragment are related; the first is of Kekrops and his daughters, and the other depicts the contest of Athena and Poseidon, to which they are witnesses.³² The inscription ΠΑΝΔΡΟΣΟΣ on one of the sherds confirms that we are most likely looking at two of the three Kekropids. On the other fragment, the head of a horse, another inscribed name (ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ), and a male and female pair face to the right.³³ Although the context of this contest will be discussed more fully in Chapter 5, Sourvinou-Inwood notes that the presence of Kekrops and the Kekropids alongside the contest between Athena and Poseidon “would be

³⁰ There is, in addition, a rather fragmentary terracotta relief of about 460 BCE from Melos that is said to have come from an Athenian grave “beyond the Ilissos.” Illustrated in this scene were Athena, Ge, and the baby Erichthonios, along with Kekrops. See *LIMC* s.v. Erechtheus 23 and Cruccas 2007, fig. 10, as well as the discussion in Brulé 1987, Chapter 1 and fig. 5: Berlin, Staatliche Museen 6281.

³¹ Shapiro 1998, 133.

³² Sourvinou-Inwood 2008.

³³ The female figure is perhaps Amphitrite (as proposed by Bakır 1981, 26-27 and 68, and Shapiro 1989, 104-105), which would support the identification of the male figure as Poseidon.

correlative with, and thus would have signified proleptically to the ancient viewers, Athena's victory and the establishment of that cult."³⁴

Before the two fragments were proposed to be related, Alan Shapiro rightly pointed out that this scene is of importance because the "heroic and cultic traditions on which the belief in autochthony is in part based were genuinely old and not first created in the fifth century."³⁵ Working on the assumption that the two fragments belong together based on their similar size and shape, Sourvinou-Inwood's subtle reading of these mythological characters alongside an important Athenian foundation myth demonstrates the close correlation between autochthony, the early history of Athens, and the establishment of an Athenian repertoire of the iconography of identity for the *polis*. It also makes the attractive suggestion that the Kekropids were witnesses to one of the earliest and most formative events of Athenian history and mythology. If they are indeed fragments of one vase, the scene carries the same sort of function as the imagery of the Acropolis, where the iconography of the Parthenon and the Erechtheion worked in tandem in the following century, accentuating themes of mythological history tied to the earth.

As we have noted, however, autochthony was certainly neither a frequent nor popular theme in the repertoire of Athenian black-figured iconography. In total, Kron lists just two examples of Athenian black-figured pottery related to autochthony. Included in this count, besides the lekythos in Palermo discussed below (**Catalogue 4**), are a number of loutrophoros fragments, grouped together and all from the Athenian Acropolis and now located in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.³⁶ Kron saw in these fragments

³⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood 2008, 130. Alexandridou (2011, 63) rightly points out, however, that the myth of Athena and Poseidon's contest cannot be confirmed on the second fragment. This may be the case, but the two fragments belonging to one vase puts the daughters of Kekrops in a narrative that also included Poseidon.

³⁵ Shapiro 1998, 132.

³⁶ These include NAM 1191, 1188, 1189, 1195, and 1192. See Kron, *LIMC* s.v. Erechtheus 2a-e for corresponding Graef/Langlotz numbers. In other words, Kron list just two examples of black-figure vases

Athena, the child Erichthonios, and several snakes.³⁷ Another loutrophoros fragment shows a small child, delineated in white, near to a snake and holding a large phiale; this, too, has been interpreted as Erichthonios, a likely suggestion that is worth further investigation.³⁸ Another example, a fragmentary white-ground cup from the Acropolis, shows Athena, Erichthonios, and snake.³⁹ Although it is difficult to reconstruct these narratives, it is important to note that their findspots were on the Acropolis, where the myths of autochthony appear to have been centered, and that the myth therefore certainly had its beginning as early as the late sixth century BCE.

A few other artifacts can be linked to the emergence of a narrative related to autochthony in Athenian art, irrespective of Erichthonios' presence. One potential example is a black-figure votive pinax, probably meant for display in one of the buildings on the Acropolis. It was found on the South Slope and dates to the middle of the sixth century BCE (**Catalogue 3, Figure 3**). Here, two females follow behind a male figure, dressed in elaborate garb with braided hair, holding what appear to be ritual objects as they move to the right. The threesome might be identified as Kekrops and two of his daughters,⁴⁰ or perhaps even the Arrephoroi behind a priest (their role in Athenian ritual will be discussed in Chapter 5). Although they bear no apparent resemblance to the story of Erichthonios, their presence on the Acropolis may be witness to sixth-century interests in Athens' ancestral history.

It is finally around the turn of the century, at the transition between the sixth and the fifth, when the scenes of the birth of Erichthonios become a recognizable narrative. The sole extant example from black-figure vase painting is a lekythos attributed to the Ampurias

related to Erichthonios: the Palermo lekythos, and the group of scattered black figure loutrophoros fragments, which certainly do not all come from the same vase, and thus there must have been a number of other examples.

³⁷ Kron *LIMC* s.v. Erechtheus, p. 929.

³⁸ Kron s.v. *LIMC* s.v. Erechtheus 32 (Athens, National Archaeological Museum Akropolis 1193).

³⁹ Kron s.v. *LIMC* s.v. Erechtheus 33 (Athens, National Archaeological Museum Akropolis 433).

⁴⁰ Shapiro in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 169.

Painter, now located in Palermo and dated to about 500 BCE (**Catalogue 4, Figures 4 and 5**). This is an exceedingly important vase, for as a complete vessel it demonstrates a number of “firsts,” particularly in that it is the first vase to depict fully that which will become in red-figure vase painting the recognizable scene of Erichthonios’ presentation to Athena. The vase is thought to have originally been found in Selinunte, and is quite damaged.⁴¹ Athena is discernible, however, wearing her aegis and standing on the right, receiving the child from the arms of Ge, who rises from the ground line.⁴² Unfortunately, the details of Erichthonios’ figure have been lost, and we must rely on other, less damaged vases to fill in the presumed gaps of the child’s outline.

To Ge’s left is the early king Kekrops, who is identifiable by his snaky form, much like a Triton figure.⁴³ Besides being the earliest image of the birth of Erichthonios and the sole black-figure example, the Palermo lekythos is also the first vase in which Kekrops is present.⁴⁴ Kekrops’ autochthonous roots are emphasized in the same way as on later red-figure vases: he is human only from the waist and above, and decidedly snake-like in his physical form that is closest to the earth. The gesture he makes with his left hand toward the scene before him is intriguing: is it a mark of surprise or wonder regarding the event in front of him? It is similar to one of the Kekropid’s gestures on the kylix by the Codrus Painter discussed below (**Catalogue 10**), and seems to indicate the wondrousness of the central scene.

Most intriguingly, between Kekrops and the birth scene is another figure who wears a mantle, his right arm raised and bent as he looks toward the right. He carries a walking

⁴¹ See *LIMC* s.v. Erechtheus, p. 928.

⁴² See Bérard (1974, 34-38) for more on the motif of Ge rising up from the ground. Her iconography is restricted largely to scenes of the Gigantomachy (rare in Attic vase painting) and the majority of her appearances are in the presentation of Erichthonios, of which the Palermo lekythos is the earliest example. See Moore, *LIMC* s.v. Ge, especially 175-176.

⁴³ de la Genière 1971, 4.

⁴⁴ Shapiro 1995b, 46.

stick or staff in his right hand as well. Brommer and other scholars suggest that this figure is Hephaistos, which is possible given his appearance in other scenes of the presentation of Erichthonios.⁴⁵ If so, this is the earliest known representation in which the two parents of Erichthonios appear together in the scene of his birth, but the certainty of their identification is not clear. The relationship with autochthony in this vase still remains most evident with the inclusion of Kekrops, whose serpentine lower form would have formed the most immediate connections with chthonic ancestry in the mind of viewers.

The Palermo lekythos is the only confirmed vase painting scene of autochthony *vis-à-vis* the birth of Erichthonios from Late Archaic black-figure vase painting, and it is by far the most complete image. It solidifies the iconography of a narrative of autochthony that will become more common in red-figure vase painting during the Classical period. Instead, it is with the advent of the fifth century, and by extension, the end of the Persian Wars, that we begin to see a more conscientious effort on the part of Athenian vase painters to include autochthony narrative alongside other popular iconographies of the time.

Autochthony in the Fifth Century BCE

Red-figure vase painting of the fifth century BCE marks the beginning of a concentrated effort by vase painters to depict the story of Erichthonios' birth, most likely as a response to Athens' victory over the Persians, the emergence of democracy, and the "imperialist ambitions" of the Athenian state.⁴⁶ The multivalent combination of meanings related to imagery of Erichthonios and Erechtheus is aligned in a visual manner with increasing concerns of Athenian citizenship and its development: as the Athenians wished to

⁴⁵ Brommer 1978, 21.

⁴⁶ See Shapiro (1998, 131) and *passim*. For more on the subject of the imperialistic notions of Athenian civic identity, see Connor 1994.

define their ancestry within their much-fought for (and recently won) Attic landscape, they turned to their customary mythologies to explore these concepts. Such mythologies accord well with what Thucydides tells us about the Athenians always dwelling in Attica “from generation to generation,” and Athenian viewers would have been reminded of their longevity in Attica when examining such vases, a continuity of livelihood in a place that Thucydides reminds us of in Book 2.⁴⁷

This presentation of Erichthonios to the goddess Athena clearly captivated vase painters of the fifth century BCE, who actually selected not the birth itself, but the moment after, to depict in a number of slight variations. I argue throughout the course of this chapter that this specific moment is not coincidental: while Erichthonios’ birth from Ge, the earth, is of great importance as part of the ongoing dialogue of autochthony, what is even more important is his gift-like conveyance to the goddess Athena, who nourishes him, just as she does the city of Athens. Furthermore, in choosing this moment to depict visually, vase painters appear to have given equal emphasis to Erichthonios’ complicated birth, as he is nearly always placed between Ge and Athena. This compositional technique accentuates his connections to the earth while also reminding us of his close association with the city of Athens. In addition, it is Athena who receives the child, tending to him and protecting him, just as we have seen already in a passage from the *Iliad*.⁴⁸ This is, according to Loraux, an acknowledgement of her association with Erichthonios, important for their pronounced bond.⁴⁹

In this chapter, I attempt to give particular attention to Athena’s relationship to the iconography of autochthony and to Erichthonios. Athena’s protective nature is accentuated

⁴⁷ Thuc. 2.36.1; see Connor 1994 for elaboration, as well as Chapter 1.

⁴⁸ See the discussion above, p. 75-76.

⁴⁹ Loraux 1993, 64. See also Shapiro 1998, 135.

in a number of vases of Erichthonios' presentation where she is depicted with less armor and with her gaze focused on the child as she receives him from Ge, an aspect of her that is usually not emphasized in other narratives. Her protective qualities are highlighted by her aegis and weaponry being turned away from the child in some scenes, such as in the Codrus Painter's kylix (**Catalogue 10**). She is not, however, disarmed: just as she protects him by still wearing her armor, she is also at the ready to watch over the city of Athens. The imagery can thus be read as an extension of Athena's protective nature of the city of Athens itself, as highlighted in the use of her epithet *Polias* on the Acropolis and elsewhere.⁵⁰

The question of where exactly the presentation of Erichthonios takes place is also of considerable intrigue within the course of this chapter. Can we give topographical indicators to pinpoint Athens' autochthonous roots, based on our observations from vase painting? In all likelihood, the scenes are intended to be read as taking place on the Acropolis, where the child was born, as scholars have argued.⁵¹ For example, this theory is nowhere more clear than on the calyx-krater in Eichenzell, where a tree most likely represents the sacred olive tree of Athena on the Acropolis, historically thought to be located on the north side of the sanctuary (**Catalogue 22**).⁵² In first examining the corpus of vases that illustrate the presentation of Erichthonios to the goddess Athena, we will begin to understand how vase painters approached the subject and brought it to life through this particular iconography,

⁵⁰ Kennedy (2009, 153) makes the intriguing statement that "in many ways, Athena was the city itself. So, when the city began to change, Athena, too, changed. The dynamic of the fifth century in Athens was a powerful combination of a community identity rooted in abstract principles and an unusual constitution, coupled with military power given free rein under pretext of the threat of foreign attack and embodied in their namesake goddess who stood for skill in war, politics and the arts. It was a perfect case of city and patron melding their identities completely. Or, rather, it was a case of city perfectly melding itself to the image of its patron." For Athena Polias and her iconography, see Herington 1955 and Hurwit 1999, 15 and 20-21.

⁵¹ More will be made of the topographical associations between Erichthonios, autochthony, and the Acropolis in Chapter 5. I will demonstrate that the indicators of landscape found on vase paintings are not enough to draw these concrete conclusions, but the strategic placement of certain markers of the iconography of autochthony in and around the Acropolis helps support this position.

⁵² This idea is proposed by Shapiro 2009, 262.

and, by extension, confirms the inherent relationship between the early Athenian ancestor Erichthonios and the patron goddess of the city of Athens.

Autochthony Comes to Life: the Presentation of Erichthonios

Let us first explore the miraculous event itself that captured the attention of Athenian vase painters most fully. Each image of Erichthonios' presentation to Athena is unique in its composition and the choice of performers on the surface of the vase, but this group shares the theme of a central focus on the baby shortly after his birth from the earth, Ge, and surrounded by a host of various characters, usually divinities but personifications as well. For such an important myth and birth scene, there are surprisingly only nine scenes on complete or near-complete vases that depict the Erichthonios story with certainty. While one of these is in black-figure (the Palermo lekythos discussed earlier, **Catalogue 4**), the other eight scenes of the presentation all occur on red-figure pottery, which date from about 470 BCE until near the end of the fifth century. This study, for the most part, will omit images that are not particularly clear, such as a red-figure lekythos in the Louvre which depicts Athena holding up a child, perhaps Erichthonios.⁵³

The small group of vases with the presentation of Erichthonios thus spans a period of time between the end of the Persian Wars and through the Peloponnesian War, and as I argue, are thus closely tied to Athenian notions of ancestry and identity, developing alongside ideas of citizenship and what it means to be an "Athenian." The scene of

⁵³ Louvre CA 681 (*BAPD* 265; *LIMC* s.v. Erechtheus 35), a red-figure lekythos dated to about 450 BCE. Loraux (1993, vii and pl. 1) uses this as her first illustration of the "birth" of Erichthonios, stating that it is "an original representation of the scene, in which the isolation of the two protagonists emphasizes what matters most." The image lacks many of the clear markers of the Erichthonios myth, however, such as the presence of other gods and personifications, the snakes and/or basket, etc., yet it does have a tree and an altar. It is difficult to confirm the vase's iconography as related to autochthony but it seems a definite possibility.

Erichthonios' presentation appears on a variety of types of vessels, though calyx-kraters are apparently common, as they allowed for complex narratives upon a large pictorial space; a complex story, after all, deserves room for exploration, elaboration, and a host of witnesses. These calyx-kraters include examples today found in Richmond, Palermo, and Eichenzell, and they are among the richest tellings of the narrative (**Catalogue 12, 13, and 22**).

This section presents an overview of scenes that focus on the baby Erichthonios, while exploring other aspects of each vase, including related iconography. I also explore questions of whether Ge should be considered the "true mother of Erichthonios,"⁵⁴ while looking at the alternative ideas of the child's parentage, that is, the two Olympian deities Athena and Hephaistos. Such manipulation of mythological ancestries was not uncommon for the Athenians, as we shall see in the story of Helen and Nemesis at Rhamnous, and this complex parentage was shaped in such a way as to relate to contemporary Athenian concerns. Together, then, the iconography of the presentation of Erichthonios presents a picture that is both simple and at the same time complex, imbued with subtle meanings.

Besides the lekythos in Palermo discussed above, a second rather early example of a scene of the presentation of Erichthonios occurs on a red-figure hydria thought to be from Chiusi, now in the British Museum (**Catalogue 5, Figure 6**). The vase has been dated to the Early Classical period, approximately 470-460 BCE, and is perhaps one of the earliest red-figure depictions of this scene and roughly contemporary with the Munich stamnos discussed below. It has been attributed to the Oinante Painter, a pupil of the Leningrad Painter who was classified as a "Late Mannerist."⁵⁵ Athena, at the center of the scene, threatens to push out from its frame as her helmet touches upon an upper band of ivy leaves. Behind her stands Nike, who offers a long sash to a small child, her gesture echoing

⁵⁴ Reeder 1995, 254.

⁵⁵ For an overview of the Oinante Painter, see Mannack 2001, 19-21.

the movement of Athena, who holds an elaborate tapestry towards the child. Her gesture here, according to Shapiro, “heralds the meaning of the birth for the future glory of Athens.”⁵⁶ Nike will be seen again, on the stamnos in Munich discussed below (**Catalogue 9**), where she is shown winged on the reverse of the vase, standing beside a seated Zeus.

Yet here our attention becomes especially focused on the elaborate cloth that Athena holds on the Oinante Painter hydria. Simon points out that this cloth also makes an appearance on the calyx-krater in Palermo (**Catalogue 13**) as well as other vases. She states that it is not simply a diaper, but is meant to shield the child and cover him, much the same way that the chest shields him from the eyes of the daughters of Kekrops.⁵⁷ The cloth thus serves a ritual function, made more apparent by its elaborate nature, the product of careful and deliberate weaving. Bundrick develops this idea further, comparing the scene to other (mortal) family groups, and stating that the cloth embodies ideas of both the well-ordered functioning of the oikos, as well as of Athens itself.⁵⁸

The scene on the hydria in the British Museum is particularly interesting because of the presence of Zeus. He stands behind Gaia, holding his thunderbolt above her in his left hand while his right rests upon his hip. According to Reeder, he is a substitute for Hephaistos, who appears in the Munich stamnos (**Catalogue 9**) as well as several other vases with the birth of Erichthonios.⁵⁹ On the Richmond calyx-krater (**Catalogue 12**), however, Zeus is located to the right of the main scene, while Hephaistos is still present, appearing on the left side of the image. The pose of Zeus on the Oinante hydria, however,

⁵⁶ Shapiro 1998, 139.

⁵⁷ Simon 1959, 51.

⁵⁸ Bundrick 2008, 327.

⁵⁹ Reeder 1995, 254. In the case of the Munich stamnos, Zeus is depicted on the reverse, so his presence is not particularly idiosyncratic. Loraux (1993, 136 n. 116) also notes that Zeus is seen as a “substitute” for Hephaistos on the Oinante hydria.

with his right hand on his hip, is visually comparable to that of Hephaistos on the Munich stamnos.

Furthermore, a unique female figure stands behind Zeus, exhibiting a similar pose with her right hand on her hip and her left on his shoulder; above her are two words, a *kalos* inscription, while her identity remains unclear: ΟΙΝΑΝΘΕΚΑΛΕ (Οἰνάνθη καλή, *Oinante is beautiful*).⁶⁰ Despite this unexpected figure and the inscription, unlike the others we will examine, it is clearly an early image of the birth of Erichthonios, one in which what will become the standard iconography has not yet been worked out by vase painters. The cross-belt that Erichthonios wears can perhaps also be read as an elaborate ritual object akin to the cloth Athena holds for him in other vases.

In addition, Jenifer Neils makes a comparison in style between this hydria by the Oinante Painter and a pelike by another Late Mannerist vase painter, now located in Leipzig, which has been dated to about 470-460 BCE (**Catalogue 6, Figures 7 and 8**). Although it is fragmentary, several figures can be discerned. In the principal scene on one of the fragments, Ge looks forward, instead of towards the child, with her hands in a gesture suggesting an epiphany, as Athena holds the baby, who is wrapped in a cloth.⁶¹ The child wears an amulet as well, and reaches his hands outward. Castor notes that Erichthonios is equipped with the amulet here and in other scenes before he is handed to Athena, and it

⁶⁰ All other scenes of the birth of Erichthonios have inscriptions in the form of names, so this *kalos* here is unique, and the inclusion of Oinante suggests a possible alternative reading of the vase as the birth of Dionysus. A Late Antique source, Nonnus (*Dionysiaca* 14.225), lists her as a nurse of the wine god as a child. This reading was proposed by Reeder 1995, 255 (see also Metzger 1944-45), but without much support. The lateness of this source probably discredits this theory; see Bérard 1974, 37. The child also wears a cross-belt typical of Athenian infants (see Beaumont 2012, 252 n. 55 for more examples), an attribute that would be foreign to the iconography of Dionysus. For more on depictions of the birth of Dionysus, see Laager 1957, 112-150, as well as a short summation in Beaumont (1995, 341).

⁶¹ Neils 1983, 288 n. 8. Neils suggests this iconography is a “confusion with Pandora or Aphrodite who are born thus,” again suggesting that the iconography of Erichthonios is not quite worked out at this early date. But as I demonstrate elsewhere throughout the course of this chapter, Erichthonios’ birth and presentation really is an epiphany of sorts, a monumental change in the conception of Athenian ancestry and identity.

may, instead of being an apotropaic device, be a mark of ancestry.⁶² A second fragment from the same pelike (**Figure 8**) depicts the lower portions of three figures as well as a chest, which Robertson likens to a pelike in the British Museum of about 440-430 BCE, examined below, that depicts Erichthonios emerging from a chest with snakes flanking him (**Catalogue 7**). Robertson highlights these woven baskets as part of his understanding of the correlation between the daughters of Kekrops, who were depicted on these vases as part of the birth scene, and the ritualistic activities regarding the Arrephoroi, making a cogent link between the illustrated story and the reenacted ritual.⁶³

A recent study by Weiß also points out that this is most certainly the scene of the Kekropids about to throw themselves from the Acropolis, as one of them clearly is standing on a rock.⁶⁴ The pelike in Leipzig thus contains two stories related to Erichthonios, both his presentation by Ge to Athena as well as the follow-up narrative of the Kekropids. Such multiplicity of myths concerning the baby Erichthonios is repeated only on one other vase, the later pyxis attributed to the Meidias Painter, discussed below (**Catalogue 21**), in which topographical indicators also appear. First, however, we shall take a slight detour and examine the core group of vases that depict Erichthonios' presentation, which include the presence of Hephaistos. The common overlapping theme of this group of vases begins with a singular pursuit scene, that of Athena by Hephaistos.

The Conception of Autokhthony: Hephaistos in the Myth of Erichthonios

The scenes of the presentation of Erichthonios are most intriguing when they consider Erichthonios' complicated parentage from not only the earth but from two

⁶² Castor 2006, 626.

⁶³ Robertson 1983, 248.

⁶⁴ Weiß 2013, 2.

Olympian deities. By tracing his divine heritage, we can clearly see how Hephaistos in the iconography of Erichthonios emerges as a key player. Of the nine scenes depicting the birth, five of the vases include both divine parents of Erichthonios.⁶⁵ Four of these are red-figure, and one is the black-figure lekythos in Palermo discussed above (**Catalogue 4**). Hephaistos thus appears in at least half of the depictions of the scene in which Ge hands the baby Erichthonios over to Athena. In this section, I argue that Hephaistos' presence is not coincidental and that he is not simply a bystander or witness to this scene. Although typically not considered the most virile of gods to help in the procreation of Athens' eponymous ancestor, as father of Erichthonios, Hephaistos becomes crucial for the understanding of Athenian identity and Athens' relationship to the gods, the arts, and the ideal citizen as well.

Allusion to the future birth of Erichthonios is seen explicitly on just one vase, a red-figure neck amphora in Bologna attributed to the Providence Painter (**Catalogue 8, Figure 11**). Poorly preserved and only with one photograph available, there is a nearly-as-poor drawing in Cook as well (**Figure 12**). Dated to about 460 BCE, the vase depicts Athena, who wears her aegis and helmet, moving swiftly to the right as a male figure pursues her from the left; she carries a spear that compositionally serves as a divider between them. Nude except for a mantle draped around his shoulders, the male is probably Hephaistos. Another male figure to the left is bearded, holding a scepter; this is most likely Zeus. Hephaistos' nudity, coupled with the action-filled pose, emphasizes his virility here. In order to understand the vase painters' decisions to depict Hephaistos in this manner, it is necessary to take a step back and look at the lame god himself and how he came to take on a more dominant role in Erichthonios' narrative and the myth of autochthony.

⁶⁵ One of the red-figure vases is too damaged to determine whether Hephaistos was originally part of the scene; this is the Meidian pyxis in Athens (**Catalogue 21**). See also *LIMC* Hephaistos s.v. 216-222.

Hephaistos is a strange god. His most popular narrative in vase painting is his Return to Olympus, a story that is far more about Dionysus than Hephaistos himself.⁶⁶ His is not the highest position in the “divine pecking order,” as Bremmer refers to his Olympian status.⁶⁷ He is repeatedly described in such terms as famed worker (κλυτοτέχνην) and renowned for his skilled inventions (κλυτόμητιν), but he is also frequently referred to as lame, in Homer and Hesiod, with the epithets as ἀμφιγυήεις and κυλλοποδίων.⁶⁸ Whereas some visual representations of Hephaistos refer to his lameness quite prominently, in general it is difficult to discern his physical deformity in vase painting, especially with the advent of the fifth century BCE.⁶⁹

I argue that even so, his appearance in scenes of the presentation of Erichthonios illuminates a much different god than is seen in other examples from vase painting. The Late Antique author Harpokration, in defining the term *autochthonoes*, also describes Hephaistos as born from the earth, just as Erichthonios.⁷⁰ Other literary sources outline the strange quest of the lame god for the affections of Athens’ patron goddess. The myth is best told in Apollodoros (*Bibliotheca* 3.14.6).⁷¹ A version of the story is laid out that is almost absurd in its brevity:

Ἀθηνᾶ παρεγένετο πρὸς Ἥφαιστον, ὅπλα κατασκευάσαι θέλουσα. ὁ δὲ ἐγκαταλειμμένος ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ὤλισθε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ διώκειν αὐτὴν ἤρξατο· ἡ δὲ ἔφευγεν. ὥς δὲ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο πολλῇ

⁶⁶ The primary source for an exploration of the interweaving of Hephaistos’ return and Dionysus’ ascent to Olympus is Hedreen 2004. Hephaistos, in fact, becomes a secondary character in the story of his return, which Hedreen emphasizes.

⁶⁷ See Bremmer 2010.

⁶⁸ Most likely, these references to physical deformities marked Hephaistos as club-footed or with crooked feet. Bazopoulou-Kyrkanidou 1997 presents an overview of Hephaistos’ lameness from a medical perspective, including a number of epithets and descriptive qualities that refer to his lameness, from the eighth century BCE through the fifth century CE.

⁶⁹ Most clearly, see a Caeteran hydria in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (IV 3577; *LIMC* Hephaistos 103a).

⁷⁰ Harpokration attributes this myth to the epic Danaids and to Pindar (fr. 2 *PEG*; Pindar fr. 253 SM. See Gantz 1993, 233.

⁷¹ This passage concerns other aspects of Athenian history, from the contest between Athena and Poseidon to the lineage of Athenian kings from Kekrops to Theseus. For a summation, see Scarpi 2001, 597f.

ἀνάγκη (ἦν γὰρ χωλός), ἐπειρᾶτο συνελθεῖν. ἡ δὲ ὥς σώφρων καὶ
παρθένος οὔσα οὐκ ἠνέσχετο · ὁ δὲ ἀπεσπέρμηεν εἰς τὸ σκέλος τῆς θεᾶς.
ἐκείνη δὲ μυσσυχθεῖσα ἐρίῳ ἀπομάξασα τὸν γόνον εἰς γῆν ἔρριψε.
φευγούσης δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς γονῆς εἰς γῆν πεσοῦσης Ἐριχθόνιος γίνεται·

Athena came to Hephaistos wanting him to fashion arms. But he, having been rejected by Aphrodite, began to desire Athena and started to pursue her, but she fled. When he came near her with a great deal of distress - for he was lame - he attempted to have sex with her, but she, being chaste and a *parthenos* would not suffer him to act thus, and he ejaculated onto the leg of the goddess. In disgust, she wiped off the semen with wool, and threw it on the ground; and as she fled the semen fell on the ground, Erichthonios was born.”⁷²

Emphasized in this short passage are a number of signifiers that paint a portrait of Hephaistos’ role, none of which is particularly admirable: his desire for Athena, the perpetually virgin goddess, his lameness (χωλός, mentioned almost as an afterthought), and Athena’s rejection of him. The child Erichthonios is born from Hephaistos’ spilled semen, an odd occurrence but one that could almost be considered a creation myth. In this telling of the myth, Froma Zeitlin has noted, “the myth of Erichthonios functions as a middle term that mediates between the two alternatives: birth from two parents, birth from the earth. Athena retains her virginity yet participates in motherhood; the child is engendered by an immortal couple but is still of autochthonous birth.”⁷³ The strangeness of the story plays into this mediating quality. While Athena and Hephaistos carry equal weight in Erichthonios’ creation, Hephaistos is truly the biological father; his biological mother is technically Ge, although Athena takes the credit for being his mother, integral with the emphasis imparted by the concept of autochthony.

The wool, too, is also of importance in our narrative: etymologically (ἔριον is the Greek word for wool), its physical connection to the earth with the semen of Hephaistos

⁷² Translation from Deacy 2008, 53.

⁷³ Zeitlin 1996, 323. Zeitlin summarizes the eloquent thoughts of John Peradotto (1977, 94), who states that “Erichthonios not only resolves the old autochthony contradiction by being at one and the same time autochthonous and a product of a bisexual transaction, he also permits his Athenian heirs to claim that they are offspring of Earth, of Hephaestus, whose cult was so strong among them, and even of Athena, and this without any damage to her virginity.”

results in Erichthonios' name but also the genesis of his nature.⁷⁴ The wool thus serves as a catalyst for the semen to connect to Athena and cultivate the child Erichthonios within the earth, Ge.⁷⁵ Wool is also one of Athena's attributes, symbolic of her primary craft, and as Susan Deacy points out, wool is just one of the "raw, dangerous, and elemental objects" linked to Athena with the potential to be transformed into something else, something more powerful.⁷⁶

A second passage related to Hephaistos' role in Erichthonios' myth is quoted in Pseudo-Eratosthenes' *Catasterismi* (13)⁷⁷ but here Hephaistos is not described as lame.

Athena's status as a *parthenos*, however, is still ever-present:

λέγει δὲ καὶ Εὐριπίδης περὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον·
 Ἥφαιστον ἐρασθέντα Ἀθηνᾶς βούλεσθαι αὐτῇ μιγῆναι, τῆς δὲ
 ἀποστρεφόμενης καὶ τὴν παρθενίαν μᾶλλον αἰρουμένης ἔν τινι τόπῳ τῆς
 Ἀττικῆς κρύπτεσθαι, ὃν λέγουσι καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσαγορευθῆναι
 Ἥφαιστεῖον· ὃς δόξας αὐτὴν κρατήσειν καὶ ἐπιθέμενος πληγαῖς ὑπ' αὐτῆς
 τῷ δόρατι ἀφῆκε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, φερομένης εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς σποράς·

Euripides tells the following story with regard to the birth of him [i.e., Erichthonios]. Hephaistos was in love with Athena and wished to have intercourse with her, but she turned away from him and preferring her virginity, hid from him in some place in Attica, which they say was called 'Hephaisteion' after him. He expected to conquer her and attacked her, and in turn received a heavy blow from her spear, and he released his desire, and the semen fell on the earth.⁷⁸

Rather than being lame, as in Apollodoros, Hephaistos exhibits a sense of power. His

strength is emphasized here in the use of the verbs *krateo* and *epitithemi*. Susan Deacy

observes that these two terms denote a violent attack on both the part of Hephaistos as well

⁷⁴ Tyrrell and Brown (1991, 140) also connect Erichthonios' name to strife or struggle (*eris*), as does Eldin 2013, 24.

⁷⁵ Loraux 1993, 24.

⁷⁶ Deacy 2008, 58. For more on the symbolic power of wool (and other fabrics) in the Athenian *polis*, see Bundrick 2008.

⁷⁷ Attributed originally to a lost work of Euripides (Eur. fr. 925 Radt; see Gantz 1993, 235), the fragment is thus closer to our time period. If we are to accept the Pseudo-Eratosthenes' attribution to Euripides, that would place the earliest version of the myth in the third quarter of the fifth-century BCE or even later, the *terminus post quem* for its composition roughly contemporary with the series of vases depicting the myth of Erichthonios.

⁷⁸ Translation is from Deacy 2008, 53.

as Athena's rebuttal,⁷⁹ which brings us back to the iconography of the Bologna amphora. Perhaps the only clear visual representation of Hephaistos' pursuit, the scene itself was apparently not particularly popular in vase painting, given this *hapax* example. One other example of the pursuit of Athena by Hephaistos is known from ancient art, but it survives only in a literary description. This was the Throne of Amyklai, which Pausanias claims to have seen himself (3.18.13). Dating to the mid- to late sixth century BCE and dedicated by Bathykles of Magnesia to the Graces,⁸⁰ the throne was a complex monument depicting all kinds of figures from mythology, from gods and heroes to narratives of individuals and groups. Here, Hephaistos is described as in pursuit of Athena, but little else is told of the narrative.

It may well be that the story was not depicted in vase painting because the attempted rape of one god by another was seen as uncouth. This is still somewhat surprising, given that the union of Hephaistos and Athena - mishap though it was - resulted in one of the most important autochthonous ancestors of the Athenians. The birth story is one that effectively turns "a crude story of lust and imperiled virginity into one of miraculous birth, divine favor, and the autochthony of which the Athenians were so proud."⁸¹ As scholars have noted, a line in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus (13) even refers to the Athenians as "children of Hephaistos," so the divine linkage was apparently persistent and rich with meaning.⁸² As progenitors of Erichthonios, Athena and Hephaistos provide the Athenian race with a "double divine ancestry," "all without violating Athena's virginity."⁸³ I suggest that Hephaistos' pursuit of Athena was thus essential for the understanding of the story and the

⁷⁹ Deacy 1997, 43-63.

⁸⁰ See Cook (1940, 221) as well as Zeitlin 1996 (323 n. 107) for references.

⁸¹ Shapiro 1995, 1.

⁸² See Simon (1983, 51) as well as Shapiro 1995a, 1. Blok (2009b, 152) notes that this may be the first example of the Athenians' belief in their descent from Erechtheus (Erichthonios), son of Hephaistos and Ge. Sophocles' *Ajax* (lines 201-202) also refers to the Athenians as children of Erechtheus.

⁸³ Forsdyke 2012, 129.

linking of the two deities, both increasingly important in stature in Athens during the course of the fifth century BCE, to the ancestral history of the Athenians. It is not simply a matter of burying the past, but of keeping it as a cogent part of the story. Hephaistos' importance to Athenian myth and religion is no more apparent than in his role in the birth of the Athenians' eponymous ancestor.⁸⁴

Although Nickolas Pappas states emphatically that “in Athens, everyone involved appears to be ready to forget that Hephaestus fathered Erichthonios,”⁸⁵ our evidence from vase painting could not be further from the truth: in the majority of vases that depict the presentation of Erichthonios, Hephaistos is a presence, although unlike Athena, he does not receive the child in his arms. Hephaistos was, after all, no stranger to miraculous births, having been a witness to the birth of Athena herself, as well as Pandora.⁸⁶ In addition, the inclusion of Hephaistos in the parentage of Erichthonios “introduces the leadership of Athens in the world of art.”⁸⁷ Both he and Athena are important figures in the creation of works of art, as can be seen in numerous examples where they oversee potters' and metallurgical workshops.⁸⁸

We know, too, about festivals for Hephaistos, including one that was reorganized in the year 420/1 BCE. Although the details of this festival, the Hephaisteia, are not clear,⁸⁹ it seems as though Hephaistos held a prominent position of growing importance for the

⁸⁴ Shapiro (1995a, 1f.) traces the relationship of Athena and Hephaistos and the god's meaning for Athenian identity back to the sixth century.

⁸⁵ Pappas 2011, 74.

⁸⁶ The iconography of these similarly odd births appears on the Acropolis, which I will examine in Chapter 5.

⁸⁷ Morris 1992, 331.

⁸⁸ See, for example, the exterior of the kylix by the Foundry Painter in Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 2294 (*BAPD* 204340; *ARV*² 400.1). See *LIMC* s.v. Athena 39-58 for more examples from the Archaic through Hellenistic periods. Hephaistos is depicted as a creator of works of art, most notably with the arms of Thetis; *LIMC* s.v. Hephaistos 1-10, and 11-42 for other examples.

⁸⁹ A recent reinterpretation of the festival's primary source, *IG* I³ 82, argues that it refers to the Theseia rather than a Hephaisteia. See Makris 2014. For the earlier interpretation, see Mattingly 1974, 282, followed by Thompson 1977, who expresses reservations. Also see Deubner (1932, 212-213) for torch-races related to the Hephaisteion, and Harrison 1977c, 414-416. Further summation can be found in Simon 1983, 53.

Athenians in the mid to late fifth century BCE.⁹⁰ The following section discusses vases in which Hephaistos takes on the form of a nude, virile god on two vases in Munich and Berlin, and other vases in Richmond and Palermo of the presentation of Erichthonios emphasize his attributes as a craftsman. I suggest that vase painters were not only aware of the backstory of the myth of Hephaistos and Athena in their portrayal of the god's physical characteristics, but that they used him as a mythological model for connecting Erichthonios to a newly fashioned divinity, driving home the idea that Athens' eponymous ancestor was of both divine and earthly parentage.

A Cosmic Event: A Stamnos in Munich

The name vase of the Painter of Munich 2413 presents a group of four main figures, Hephaistos, Athena, Ge, and Erichthonios (**Catalogue 9, Figures 13 - 16**).⁹¹ Said to be from Vulci, it has been dated to 470-455 BCE. The stamnos' tall, narrow shape allows for compositions that are divided by elaborate floral patterns, as well as Erotes on the sides of each scene (**Figures 15 and 16**).⁹² The Erotes are not coincidental or merely decorative. As Greifenhagen argues, they function like stage props, bordering a "cosmic event" that has implications for the history of the Athenians from this point onwards.⁹³

In the central scene, Hephaistos and Athena flank Ge as she hands the child upwards. Ge in this image is nearly sunk into the earth; only the highest part of her torso emerges as she hands the baby to Athena. As in the Codrus Painter's kylix discussed below (**Catalogue 10**), Athena's aegis and its snaky decoration is turned away from her breast, away

⁹⁰ Chapter 5 will explore this notion more fully in a discussion of the Hephaisteion.

⁹¹ The vase was previously attributed to Hermonax; see Robertson 1992, fig. 186, who argues that the vase is "near Hermonax," a vase painter who had a penchant for painting large vessels such as stamnoi and pelikes (Robertson 1992, 173-177).

⁹² Robertson 1992, 177.

⁹³ Greifenhagen (1957, 26 and 72) compares the Erotes to a fragment of Alkman.

from the child. She is also without helmet, and her hair is instead tied with a simple ribbon. A star-patterned garment covers Athena's torso, including her right arm, which she reaches out towards the baby. Although it is not nearly as elaborate as the cloth in the Oinante Painter hydria, the cloth held by Athena is about to be used to wrap the child. According to Bundrick, the use of a textile in the reception scene denotes a multitude of intimations, including the wool with which Athena wiped off Hephaistos' semen as well as the relationship between Athena and weaving.⁹⁴

To the left of Gaia, a bearded Hephaistos towers over the scene, nude save for a mantle draped over his shoulders and with his right hand resting on his hip.⁹⁵ The Eros behind him replicates his pose in reverse, with his hand on his left hip. Thus Hephaistos and Athena are presented as "proud and slightly anxious parents," and the god is just as much of a player in the birth scene as she is.⁹⁶ The family grouping, which forms a tight-knit reverse triangular composition, is just as much a symbol of the home as the cloth is, giving a sense of the protection of both parents as the frame for the far smaller and vulnerable child.⁹⁷ In addition, in viewing an image such as this, Athenians would have been reminded of both Erichthonios' ancestry, from the earth and from two deities, but also, by extension, their own relationship to Athena and Hephaistos.

Besides the parents of Erichthonios and the Erotes, no other witnesses attend Ge's presentation of the child to Athena, a departure from other vases in this series. On the reverse, which is most likely related to the obverse, Zeus is seated on a throne or folding chair, holding out a phiale with his right hand as if making a libation to the opposite scene.

⁹⁴ Bundrick 2008, 327.

⁹⁵ A "favourite early classical pose," according to Robertson 1992, 177.

⁹⁶ Reeder 1995, 256. See also Shapiro 2008, 165.

⁹⁷ Räuchle 2015 discusses the relationship between the family groupings of Erichthonios scenes and the political life of the *polis*, and a running theme of Bundrick 2008 is the correlation between fabric and the workings of the Athenian city.

Before him stands Nike with large wings, and flanking them are two more Erotes, one of whom holds a lyre. The two Erotes visually echo the others, and each of them is likewise carefully integrated into the floral decoration, one holding a lyre in his hands, while the other gestures outwards with his right hand while holding onto a vine with his left. Robertson suggests that Zeus is approving of the scene on the other side of the vase, and could thus play a similar role in his presence on the British Museum hydria discussed above.⁹⁸ In addition, Zeus, as father of Athena and therefore grandfather to Erichthonios, imparts a genealogical link. As father to all of the gods, he continues the theme of ancestry and lineage, and within the Athenian mindset of autochthony, must be viewed here as another ancestor of the Athenians. It is Hephaistos, however, who truly dominates the composition of the Munich stamnos, imparting notions of civic nudity and virility in his strong, upward stance, similar to his appearance on the Codrus Painter's kylix.

Athenian Genealogy and the Codrus Painter's Kylix

A brilliant kylix attributed to the Codrus Painter (**Catalogue 10, Figures 17 - 19**) has been dated to 440-430 BCE and was excavated at Tarquinia.⁹⁹ The Codrus Painter was known for his scenes of Athenian heroes and interests in genealogy, so it is not surprising to find one of the finest and most well-known examples of autochthonous imagery within his repertoire.¹⁰⁰ As Shapiro claims, the Codrus Painter “captures the Athenian Zeitgeist of a critical decade, that of the 430s,” concentrating on genealogies and by extension identities of

⁹⁸ Robertson 1992, 177.

⁹⁹ Or “from Corneto,” according to Reeder 1995, 258.

¹⁰⁰ See Avramidou 2011 for a full treatment of the Codrus Painter. Other examples of his work include images of the deeds of Theseus, divine assemblies, and Dionysiac subjects.

Athenian heroes and ancestors.¹⁰¹ The Codrus Painter's kylix with the presentation of Erichthonios, then, represents the culmination of his exploration of such subject matter, and this vase is particularly helpful in our understanding of the genealogy of autochthony because each figure, all of whom are witnesses to Erichthonios' birth, bears an identifying inscription.

Often known as the "Erichthonios Cup" for its central scene, this kylix by the Codrus Painter depicts multiple generations of early Athenian kings, each of whom is named by inscription.¹⁰² The figures come together on the frieze-like exterior of the cup in a harmonious, carefully delineated composition, reminiscent of contemporary Ionic friezes on the Athenian Acropolis.¹⁰³ They are divided into two groups of five figures on each side, separated only by the vessel's two handles and a plethora of floral decoration, and standing quiet contrast to the tondo's central image of Eos and Kephalos.

On the principal side of the Codrus Painter kylix's exterior (**Figure 17**), the standard image of Ge handing the baby Erichthonios to Athena dominates the center, and is at this point of focus an immediately recognizable image. Here, Erichthonios looks directly at Athena, and reaches out towards her in a gesture that resembles longing as she moves forward to take him in her arms.¹⁰⁴ He is a substantially larger figure than in other scenes of his presentation, as Seifert has recently noted, and is thus easier to direct our focus towards.¹⁰⁵ The snaky Kekrops wears an olive wreath and holds a staff and the fabric of his

¹⁰¹ Shapiro 2012, 182.

¹⁰² As is often the case, the terminology for these vases can be confusing. Often the "Codrus cup" refers to the name vase of the Codrus Painter, another kylix from Vulci that depicted the legendary kings Ainetos and Codrus (Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico G595; *BAPD* 217210; *ARV*² 1268.1); within the context of this discussion, I will refer to the Erichthonios cup as the "Codrus Painter's kylix," to distinguish it from Erichthonios scenes by other vase painters.

¹⁰³ Such as the Parthenon frieze, the Nike Temple frieze, and, slightly later, the Erechtheion frieze. I thank Shana O'Connell for this astute observation.

¹⁰⁴ Räuchle (2015, 5) notes that this is a gesture indicative of need as well as recognition.

¹⁰⁵ Seifert 2011, 84.

mantle, while Ge, not fully emerged from the ground, also holds a staff, as does Athena to her right, forming a V-shaped composition that focuses our attention on Erichthonios.¹⁰⁶

Interestingly, apart from her downward-pointing spear, Athena is unarmed, and her helmet - her defining attribute - is conspicuously missing, similar to the Munich stamnos. Athena's aegis, too, is turned behind her here, as if to keep the baby from being frightened. The lack of emphasis on her primary attributes makes her seem more matronly than martial, and also reminds us of the pelike by the Erichthonios Painter mentioned above (**Catalogue 7**).¹⁰⁷ To the right of Athena, a male figure stands at attention: this is Hephaistos with his walking stick or staff, bearded and nude except for a mantle draped over his shoulder, and he is followed by a female figure, Herse, who with her left hand gestures toward the main scene. Hephaistos and Herse together encourage the viewer of the vase to look towards the central scene. As the wife of Hermes, Herse gives birth to Kephalos, who is depicted in the tondo, and her gesture alludes to her future marriage to Hermes and the child that is to come.¹⁰⁸

Besides Herse, Aglauros and Pandrosos appear on the other side of the cup from the main presentation scene, forming a visual correspondence between the two sides. They are joined by Erechtheus, Aegeus, and Pallas, forming a "procession of Attic luminaries."¹⁰⁹ The presence of the Kekropids foreshadows their own future narrative, and their gestures are particularly interesting, especially Pandrosos, who holds up both hands, reaching outwards.¹¹⁰ Her hands in this position are reminiscent of scenes of flight, and they stand in stark contrast to the male figures on the vase; as McNiven describes a calyx-krater by the Persephone

¹⁰⁶ Avramidou (2011, 33) notes the triangular composition of the figures. Reeder (1995, 259) notes that Ge's staff is unusual and is a signifier of her divine nature.

¹⁰⁷ Räuchle 2015 also points out Athena's matronly attitude.

¹⁰⁸ Reeder 1995, 260. See Apollodorus 3.14.3 for Herse and Hermes, as well as Gantz 1993, 238.

¹⁰⁹ Gantz 1993, 236.

¹¹⁰ This unusual gesture was pointed out to me by Jenifer Neils; I have yet to find a concrete explanation for its meaning other than McNiven's suggestions (below, n. 111)

Painter, where two women flee from Odysseus threatening Circe with similar gestures: “pose and gesture reveal the woman’s emotional nature in contrast to the man’s rationality.”¹¹¹

Perhaps, in the case of Pandrosos, she anticipates shock of the discovery of the child after he is placed under her and her sisters’ care.

Behind each of the Kekropids are Erechtheus and Aegeus, and finally, almost unexpectedly, Pallas, Aegeus’ brother. Both Pallas and Aegeus are figures who are not known in other scenes of the presentation of Erichthonios, although they are certainly mythological subjects closely tied to Athens and Attica. The inclusion of Aegeus would have sparked a reference to Theseus, creating a link between him and the much earlier king Kekrops - what Shapiro calls a “semblance of a continuous and uninterrupted dynasty of early kings,” existing “where none is ever recorded by the mythographers.”¹¹² In effect, all of these genealogically-linked figures are witnesses to an extraordinary moment in time, where Erichthonios is not only born from Ge, but gifted to Athena, that transitional moment in which the future of the Athenian race is set down.

This implied continuity between generations is therefore created visually, although the appearance of all figures at once is rather anachronistic. Both Kekrops and the later kings Erechtheus and Aegeus are shown as important witnesses to the presentation scene of Erichthonios, suggesting that by the mid-fifth century BCE, vase painters conceived of Erichthonios and Erechtheus as separate figures. An alternative reading of the vase posits that the Codrus Painter’s kylix depicts Erechtheus as the king that Erichthonios will become, insinuating that Erichthonios and Erechtheus are the same person.¹¹³ Avramidou, on the

¹¹¹ McNiven 2000, 81. Persephone Painter calyx-krater: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.83; *ARV*² 102.3; *BAPD* 214160. An even closer comparable gesture is the scene of the abduction of the daughters of Leukippos shown on a calyx-krater of about 440 BCE and discussed and illustrated by McNiven (2000, fig. 3.4; Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Spina 44893; *ARV*² 1680; *BAPD* 275447).

¹¹² Shapiro 2012, 182.

¹¹³ Shapiro 1998, 139.

other hand, sees Erichthonios and Erechtheus as quite separate figures; this seems a more likely possibility, given that the vase depicts Kekrops, Aegeus, and Pallas in the presence of the birth scene as well. Avramidou also suggests that the figure of Erechtheus is that of the Erechtheus of the ten tribes of Kleisthenes, adding a political dimension to the mythological scene that is echoed by the inclusion of Kekrops and Aegeus.¹¹⁴ By providing this vase with a multifaceted reading, the Codrus Painter kylix opens the door for a new and unattested way of viewing the presentation of Erichthonios.

Hephaistos' Nudity in the Munich Stamnos and the Codrus Painter's Kylix

As on the Munich stamnos (**Catalogue 9**), Hephaistos' nude, virile stature imparts a physicality of form and stance that is recognizably different from the usual depiction of the god in both literature and vase painting, as discussed briefly above. In the Codrus Painter's kylix, he is one of a number of generations who are witnesses to the birth, his Olympian status setting him apart from all others except Athena. And, in the Munich stamnos, his large form dominates the vase, where scholars have described him as "benign" as well as a "proud father" who is part of a sort of "holy trinity."¹¹⁵ What is most intriguing, however, is Hephaistos' nudity, where his only source of clothing is a scant mantle draped over his shoulders. Some might argue that Hephaistos' nudity is connected to his status as a craftsman; artisans were often depicted in the nude, such as the bronzeworkers on the exterior of the exquisite kylix by the Foundry Painter in Berlin.¹¹⁶ Yet such nudity begs the

¹¹⁴ Avramidou in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 178.

¹¹⁵ As benign: Reeder 1995, 256; as a "proud father" in a "holy trinity:" Shapiro 1998, 135; see also Neils 1983, 275.

¹¹⁶ Although here it is interesting to note that Hephaistos is depicted in the tondo wearing clothing. The kylix by the Foundry Painter from Vulci (c. 490-480 BCE) is Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2294 (BAPD 204340; *ARV*² 400.1). See Mattusch 1980.

question of a relationship to the newly born Erichthonios and the parental roles of Hephaistos and Athena and is worthy of further exploration.

On the Munich stamnos, Hephaistos stands in a contraposto pose with his right hand on his hip, one that mimics that of contemporary statues such as Oinomaos from the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia and the statue of Anakreon from the Athenian Acropolis.¹¹⁷ The large marble statue also stands in a contraposto pose, nude except for a mantle draped around both of his shoulders. Alan Shapiro has recently argued that Anakreon's nudity, coupled with his maturity as evidenced by his beard, is closely tied to Athenian ideals of *sophrosyne*, which emphasized eroticism that was restrained and rather conservative.¹¹⁸ The same pose is reflected in Hephaistos' stance on the Munich stamnos, with the same effects, and it is also replicated in the Eros who stands behind him, his left arm crooked with hand resting on his hip in a pose that mirrors Hephaistos'. Likewise, the garment worn by Anakreon, as Shapiro notes, "serves more to set off and call attention to the nudity than to cover it,"¹¹⁹ much the same can be said for Hephaistos' mantle, which on both the Munich stamnos and the Codrus Painter's kylix does little to actually clothe him.

Thus Hephaistos' nudity might perhaps be read as part of the same idealizing civic identity that Shapiro projects onto Anakreon. If we are to use Jeffrey Hurwit's recent study of the different forms of nudity in Classical art as an example, we can begin to see a god who is representative of the idealized Athenian man.¹²⁰ This unprecedented nudity for the god in Erichthonios' myth may be then linked as an aesthetic construct to the socio-political atmosphere of aristocratic Athens, and perhaps even to an important figure of the time,

¹¹⁷ Anakreon's statue, the original of which was dated to c. 450-440 BCE, is preserved in a Roman copy in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 491. See most recently Shapiro 2012b, 13, and Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 70-72.

¹¹⁸ Shapiro 2012, 44.

¹¹⁹ Shapiro 2012, 21.

¹²⁰ Hurwit 2007. See also the discussion of the idea of "civic nudity" in (M.) Lee 2015, 179-181. Such sentiments are also echoed by Cohen 2001.

Kimon. This statesman, who gained ascendancy in Athenian political life of the 470s BCE as the son of Miltiades and a prominent general of his own campaigns in the far reaches of the east, from Thrace to Skyros to the Eurymedon River, may have played a role in the refashioning of Hephaistos in the second quarter of the fifth century BCE. Kimon left an indelible effect on the Athenian landscape in the form of public buildings such as the Stoa Poikile, even beautifying the city of Athens by planting trees in the Agora and giving new life to the Academy, which lay just outside the city.¹²¹ All of these projects were part of the democratic and civilizing efforts in the fifth century that shaped Athens into the leading *polis* of the day.¹²²

But Kimon may have left his mark on Athenian life in another way, that of the visual culture of the time and the fashioning of Hephaistos into a father-like figure in the story of Erichthonios' birth. First, it is helpful to look at how Hephaistos came into the myths of Athens and Attica. Most recently, Robertson has supported the idea that the cult of Hephaistos was brought from Lemnos to Athens in the aftermath of Miltiades' late 6th century capture of the island.¹²³ Although there is no firm evidence for this, Miltiades' contact with Lemnos may have created an atmosphere ripe with the potential for "rewriting" the god Hephaistos into a more prominent position within the Athenian pantheon of deities. Like father, like son: could Kimon have a special interest in the promotion of Hephaistos in the story of Erichthonios?

As a point of comparison, we can look at another Athenian mythological figure who was popular with Kimon. Theseus, whose bones were brought back from the island of

¹²¹ Plutarch, *Life of Kimon* 13.7-8; see the discussion in Camp 2001, 63-72.

¹²² For more on Kimonian Athens, see Castriota 1992, 33-95, and Camp 2001, 63-72.

¹²³ Robertson 1983, 288.

Skyros by Kimon in 475/4 BCE, was therefore firmly established as a new Athenian hero.¹²⁴ A ram's head rhyton in Richmond of about 480-470 by the Triptolemos Painter and signed by Charinos as potter (**Catalogue 11, Figures 20 and 21**) emphasizes the importance of establishing a kind of royal genealogy in the Classical period: Theseus is depicted with Kekrops, and most likely his father Aegeus, and grandfather Pandion as well, all of whom are seated on the ground rather than the typical sympotic *klinai*, a phenomenon that Topper has recently observed.¹²⁵ Even though "old kings are seldom shown on Athenian vases,"¹²⁶ identities are reinforced in their interactions with one another other as they drink at the symposium, as well as by the vase's inscriptions. If we are to accept Topper's recent theory that the symposium-on-the-ground is indicative of the pre-*polis* space in time which this event occupies, we can then take it a step further, reading this vase in particular as demonstrating a deliberate emphasis on figures of autochthony and their literally close relationship to the earth as they dine upon the ground from which their eponymous ancestor was born.

While this vase looks to the genealogical past of the Athenian hero Theseus and his "acceptance into their ranks,"¹²⁷ the scenes of Erichthonios with Hephaistos could be read as looking forward towards the future line of kings that will come from the divine and chthonic birth. These elements are emphasized quite well in both the stamnos in Munich as well as the Codrus Painter's kylix by the inclusion of an old Olympian god presented in a novel way that lends strength to the Erichthonios myth. Hephaistos in these vases marks a departure

¹²⁴ Plutarch, *Life of Kimon* 8.6. See Podlecki 1971. See also Castriota 1992, Garland 1992, 82-98, Connor 1993b, Walker 1995, McCauley 1999, Kennedy 2009, 70 n. 62.

¹²⁵ Guy 1981, especially 11-12; Neils 1981, 84-87. Topper (2012, 24-26 as well as 27f.) observes the symposium taking place on the ground as an especially significant trope, indicative of the primitive, pre-*polis* aspects of the banquet. See also Topper 2009, 14-15. For the relationship between symposia and Athens' autochthonous origins, see Topper 2009, 21.

¹²⁶ Matheson 2014, 141.

¹²⁷ Neils in Shapiro 1981, 86.

from the typical literary portrayal of the god, as well as other artistic representations of him in vase painting, and his virile, anthropomorphic nudity in the Munich stamnos and Codrus Painter's kylix attests to his growing importance in the Athenian conception of their identity and autochthony.¹²⁸ In subsequent decades of the fifth century BCE, Hephaistos is no longer portrayed as nude, but he is still in divine attendance in scenes of the presentation of Erichthonios.

*Variations on a Theme:
Two Calyx-Kraters with the Presentation of Erichthonios*

Several vases of Erichthonios' presentation exhibit variations in their inclusion or exclusion of certain characters, deepening our understanding of these scenes: each vase is unique but follows patterns of composition that make it immediately recognizable. Two of the vessels discussed in this section are calyx-kraters, dated to around the last decade of the fifth century BCE; a third calyx-krater of contemporary date will be discussed within the repertoire of Meidian imagery later in this chapter. As in contemporary monumental wall painting, the large surface of the calyx-krater allows for a packed composition filled with multiple characters.

A large calyx-krater in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond has been dated to about 410 BCE and attributed to the Nikias Painter (**Catalogue 12, Figures 22 and 23**).¹²⁹ Most of the vase is intact, with the obverse depicting Erichthonios' presentation to Athena, while the reverse shows Eos' pursuit of Kephalos. Ge rises from the earth

¹²⁸ Hephaistos' nudity in scenes of the presentation of Erichthonios is even more intriguing after a brief survey of scenes of the Return of Hephaistos. These images reveal that the god rarely appears in the nude in this particular myth. Exceptions include just three examples, one of which is South Italian; see *LIMC* s.v. Hephaistos nos. 110 (*BAPD* 362), 111 (*BAPD* 218148), and 170 (*ARV²* 1114).

¹²⁹ This is one of only two calyx-kraters attributed to the Nikias Painter. Oakley suggests that this vase adds greatly to his otherwise scant mythological repertoire. Oakley 1987, 124. See also Neils and Oakley 2003, 208.

wearing an elaborate crown “of special dignity,” her body still partially obscured by the ground line, as in the Codrus Painter’s kylix (**Catalogue 10**).¹³⁰ Athena, wearing a highly decorated helmet and aegis, bends forward to reach the child, his arms overlapping with hers. Unlike other representations of Erichthonios, this one stands out because he is rendered in white, as are several other elements on the vase, including the plume of Athena’s helmet. He also wears an amulet over his shoulder. Oakley here explores how these amulets were worn by young children as apotropaic devices,¹³¹ and we have seen them elsewhere, including on the Leipzig pelike. Hephaistos, as on the Munich stamnos, watches the scene from the left, his arm resting on a staff. Although he is not nude, as in earlier examples,¹³² his beard, pose, and laurel wreath all help to identify him - as does an inscription. In fact, all of the human figures, save for Ge and Erichthonios, bear inscriptions.

This calyx-krater in particular provides us with a good example of the deities who attend Erichthonios’ presentation to Athena. Unlike on the Berlin kylix, where the additional characters lend an air of genealogical links, here they are a primarily divine grouping. Besides the “parents” of Erichthonios, Athena and Hephaistos, Nike, Aphrodite, and Apollo are present, and Aphrodite may be a subtle reference to the erotic connection between Athena and Hephaistos.¹³³ Furthermore, Hermes gazes down upon the scene, watchful in his role as a guardian of children,¹³⁴ the first appearance he makes in the presentation scene. Apollo’s presence is possibly related to the scene as part of a dithyramb performed at the Thargelia, a

¹³⁰ Reeder 1995, 261.

¹³¹ See Oakley 1987, 126. See also Castor 2006.

¹³² Unlike earlier examples, Hephaistos here wears elaborate clothing, including a patterned tunic and mantle as well as slippers, echoing the intricate fabrics of the other deities who attend the scene.

¹³³ Evelyn Harrison, in fact, wished to include Aphrodite in her reconstruction of the cult statue base of the Hephaisteion, a likely possibility. See Harrison 1977b; the Aphrodite type with which she works is the “Aphrodite in the Gardens” type; most recently, see Delivorrias 2008 for an overview and further sources.

¹³⁴ Oakley 1987, 127.

festival related to Apollo, and the vase may have been a dithyrambic prize.¹³⁵ Oakley makes this observation based on the inclusion of a tripod near Apollo, as well as the owl carrying a wreath, a typical prize for a victor.

Such iconography represents a unique combination of the presentation of Erichthonios along with reference to an Athenian festival, but even more intriguing is the appearance of an unprecedented character: Epimetheus, whom Oakley recognized by inscription.¹³⁶ Oakley proposed a subtle interpretation for his appearance: as the husband of Pandora, Epimetheus anticipates the actions of the daughters of Kekrops in their shared mythological tradition of opening jars and baskets.¹³⁷ Oakley's reading is intriguing: the relationship to an Athenian festival, dithyrambic contests, and the subdued foreshadowing and references to mythical events (even the owl seems to allude to Athena's guardianship over the city of Athens) make this a highly intellectual rendition of Erichthonios' presentation.

The Richmond vase recalls a second calyx-krater, this one in Palermo, which is also dated to the late fifth century. In the manner of the Talos Painter, and said to be from Chiusi (**Catalogue 13, Figures 26 and 27**), this vase exhibits some apparent differences in iconography. Both vases devote one side to the presentation of Erichthonios, and the reverse side to Eos' pursuit of Kephalos. As on the Richmond calyx-krater, Hephaistos in the presentation scene has traded his nudity for an elaborate tunic, wearing sandals and a wreath. He also holds tongs in his hand, indicative of his craftsman status. Athena is also

¹³⁵ Oakley 1987, 129. The Athenian festival involved both a ritual purification of the city of Athens via two *pharmakoi* (scapegoats), followed by contests of dithyrambic choruses that culminated in the erection of tripods for the winning Kleisthenic tribe. For more on the Thargelia, see Simon 1983, 76-79.

¹³⁶ Oakley (1987, 127) admits it could be Prometheus instead. Fig. 1 illustrates the preservation of the inscriptions, and Oakley describes the inscription as "sloppily written;" he reads the letters as ΕΙΜΗΘΟΥΣ. To my eyes, it looks like the letters spell -ΤΙΜΗΘΟΥΣ. Epimetheus was rarely depicted in Attic vase painting; a LIMC entry for him redirects the reader to Pandora and Prometheus. See Gantz 1993, 163-164.

¹³⁷ Oakley 1987, 128.

shown somewhat differently on this vase than in other examples: helmeted and with spear, she stands upright, almost statue-like, and does not reach for the child with the same immediate eagerness that we saw in earlier vases. Her dignity and stature apparent in her pose, she looks more towards Hephaistos than she does toward the newly born Erichthonios.¹³⁸

For a third time, an ornate cloth, held here in the arms of Athena, makes an appearance in the reception of Erichthonios. As Bundrick states: “How appropriate cloth and the idea of weaving become in that regard: a symbol of the self-sufficiency and harmony of the *oikos* when appearing in contemporary household scenes of textile production, here textiles express the *harmonia* and self-sufficiency of Athens itself.”¹³⁹ On the Richmond calyx-krater. Erichthonios’ mantle is matched only by the one worn by Ge; the textiles are “omnipresent and elaborate” and are related to Athena’s pursuits and patronage of the production of woven articles. Reeder also interprets the fabrics as objects which stress the “formality of the occasion,” which is in turn echoed by the solemnity of the figures, the Nikai with the honoring garlands, and the wonder of Kekrops’ subtle and surprised gesture.¹⁴⁰

The Palermo calyx-krater brings together a number of important elements in scenes of Erichthonios’ presentation. For example, it may be the earliest image to provide subtle references to the Athenian landscape by including an olive tree and an uneven, rocky terrain. Ge, too, breaks the conventions of typical ground lines and gives a sense of greater depth of space on the surface of the vase. The family grouping is present once again, with Athena and Hephaistos both an equal presence in Erichthonios’ transfer to Athena, although Athena is

¹³⁸ As observed by Reeder 1995, 263.

¹³⁹ Bundrick 2008, 327.

¹⁴⁰ Reeder 1995, 264.

compositionally more centralized. And the richness of textiles points to the momentousness of the occasion at hand. Kekrops, to the right of the scene, drives home the concept of autochthony and the continuing line of kings to which the presentation scene draws attention, and the Nikai carrying wreaths impart a sense of formal ritual action. As with the Richmond calyx-krater, the broad expanse of the vase's surface provides ample room for a host of deities to witness the extraordinary birth.

Eos and Kephalos

On three vases with the presentation of Erichthonios – the Codrus Painter's kylix and the calyx-kraters in Richmond and Palermo – the myth of Eos and Kephalos is also depicted in tandem with the primary scene.¹⁴¹ Eos and Kephalos appear together in vase painting throughout the course of the fifth century BC; Kephalos is most readily recognizable as a hunter.¹⁴² They were, in fact, among the most popular Attic portrayals of heterosexual pursuits and abductions; amongst Eos' numerous loves, this may be the one with the strongest local connection for the Athenians.¹⁴³ While the scene is on the reverse of the Richmond and Palermo calyx-kraters, on the Codrus Painter's kylix, the imagery is depicted in the tondo. This places the iconography of Eos and Kephalos literally dead-center: in the tondo, it is separated from the Erichthonios and Erechtheus scenes that frame

¹⁴¹ In addition, a fourth cup, a red-figure kylix dated to about 480 BCE by Douris, formerly in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu (84.AE.569, deaccessioned in 2007 to the Republic of Italy), depicts Eos and Kephalos between three figures, including Pandion and Kekrops, who are named by inscription. This aligns Eos' pursuit of Kephalos within the same iconographic atmosphere of two Athenian kings, both of whom are related to Erichthonios. See Buitron-Oliver 1995, cat. 120, Gantz 1993, 238, and Dipla 2009, 130 n. xxxiii.

¹⁴² See Oakley 1987 (124 n. 13-16), where Oakley notes that the Richmond calyx-krater is one of the last to depict the story. *LIMC* s.v. Eos 775-779 and *LIMC* s.v. Kephalos 3-4 provide more commentary.

¹⁴³ See Pache (2011, 129) as well as Stewart 1995, 74-90. Kaempf-Dimitriadou (1979, 16-21) provides a discussion of Eos' pursuits, and a full catalogue from 81-93. Gantz (1993, 36) also discusses Eos' amours, including Orion, Kleitos, and Tithonos.

the exterior sides of the vase. As Neils and Oakley suggest, while it seems as though the scene might be read as one of sexual exploitation of a youth by a goddess, instead it could be interpreted as a mortal being admired by a divinity.¹⁴⁴ In this regard, that admiration is echoed in the parallel myth of Erichthonios, where the divinities surrounding the presentation scene admire the newly born child as he is handed to Athena.

There are two narrative strands concerning Kephalos: one, his abduction by Eos, and two, his relationship to Prokris.¹⁴⁵ Later sources have Kephalos married to a daughter of Erechtheus, Prokris. In their main myth, told in Pherekydes, Kephalos leaves Prokris for eight years as a test of fidelity, only to return as a disguised and trickster lover offering gifts, ultimately resulting in her death at his hands.¹⁴⁶ The story, in fact, contains elements of disguise and revelation of identity that are reminiscent of Euripides' *Ion*, as discussed in Chapter 2, albeit with different undertones and outcomes. These subtle connections may have been intriguing points of comparison to vase painters as they sought to provide iconography related to the narratives of Erichthonios, so that while the two scenes were not immediately connected, they served as intellectual counterparts when viewing and reflecting upon the ramifications of the myths.

The relationship between the tondo of the scene in the Codrus Painter's kylix and its exterior is clearly relevant, as Avramidou points out.¹⁴⁷ Yet this is also the case with the calyx-kraters in Richmond and Palermo. These two scenes are actually closely similar to one other, illustrating three figures each. On the Richmond calyx-krater, Eos and Kephalos are labeled, and to their left stands a youthful male figure, arm raised and about to hurl a stone. The unevenness of the ground and traces of vegetation above Kephalos' head may be

¹⁴⁴ Neils and Oakley 2003, 208.

¹⁴⁵ Pache 2011, 124.

¹⁴⁶ Gantz (1993, 245-247) wades through the complicated mythology of Eos and Kephalos.

¹⁴⁷ Avramidou 2011, 34.

references to Mt. Hymettos, providing us with topographical references that link the story specifically to the Attic countryside. On the Palermo calyx-krater, another winged Eos pursues Kephalos, but here his arm is upraised as he wields his staff. The unnamed male figure to the left runs away, neither threatening nor assisting Kephalos.

This more popular narrative of Kephalos and Eos' relationship is mentioned in Euripides' *Hippolytos* (Line 455), where Eos snatches him up and abducts him. This scene occurred in a variety of formats in vase painting, ranging the depiction of a Kephalos who flees Eos to images that emphasize Kephalos' skills in hunting.¹⁴⁸ The Palermo and Richmond calyx-kraters fall into Pache's third category of pursuit scenes of Eos and her lover, which depicts the abduction itself. Pache demonstrates that the Codrus Painter's kylix is an atypical depiction of the scene in that that Eos and Kephalos look in the same direction on both vases, rather than toward each other.¹⁴⁹ The gestures of Kephalos on each of the vases are indicative of his "unmanly" fear and supplication, reversing the roles of men and women as Eos plays the part of the desiring abductress.¹⁵⁰

Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, the myth of Eos and Kephalos is one with strong Attic roots, just as is Erichthonios' presentation. The story of the goddess of the dawn's pursuit of the Aeolian hero took place on Mount Hymettos, near the center of Athens, and Kephalos was also the recipient of sacrifices in the Attic deme of Thorikos, along with his consort Prokris, one of the daughters of Erechtheus.¹⁵¹ And, as we will explore with Helen's role as depicted on the cult statue base of Rhamnous, the myth of Eos and Kephalos was one that was fashioned uniquely by the Athenians to fit their developing

¹⁴⁸ See *LIMC* s.v. Eos p. 775-779 for discussion.

¹⁴⁹ Pache 2011, 135-137.

¹⁵⁰ See McNiven (2000, 84-85), Winkler (1990, 65-72), and Dipla 2009.

¹⁵¹ Neils 1983, 288 n. 12. See also Oakley 1987, 124. For more elaboration on Kephalos' hero status, see Kearns 1989, 99-100.

mythology. Landscape, topography, and myth are intrinsically bound together in both Erichthonios' arrival into the Attic land as well as Eos' capture of Kephalos from his homeland. The myths at once mirror each other in complementary ways, but they also contrast each other sharply: the presentation scene is one of giving and receiving, and the abduction scene is one of capture.

For Eos and Kephalos, the interpretations are far more varied, but the readings of the scene as a model of transformation and of the encounters between gods and mortals may provoke more nuanced comparison with the presentation of Erichthonios.¹⁵² Pache, for example, argues that the scenes evoke myths of early Athens, and the maternal Athena taking charge of Erichthonios is similar to Phaithon's seizure by Aphrodite, ultimately resulting in the evocation of "notions of marital, maternal, and erotic bond between gods and mortals."¹⁵³ This can be taken a step further, however, in considering the aspect of viewing the presentation of Erichthonios as an outcome of another type of pursuit. As the gods witness Erichthonios' story in its development, passed from a chthonic deity to an Olympian deity, from the soil of the earth to the protectress of Attica, a transformative event occurs, one which not only the gods are privileged to witness, but one which the mortals viewing the vases are a part of as well.

Outside the Box: A Pelike by the Erichthonios Painter

This concludes our study of the mid- to late-fifth century group of vases that depict the presentation of Erichthonios. Before looking at the remainder of the late-fifth century renderings of the iconography of autochthony, we will first examine a complementary,

¹⁵² A helpful overview of the meaning of scenes of Eos and Kephalos can be found in Pache 2011, 129-131 and *passim*.

¹⁵³ Pache 2011, 139, with more discussion on 19-22.

related theme. Within the repertoire of myths about Erichthonios is another engaging image, however less frequently depicted: his unveiling from the basket in which he had been kept since birth. Although usually a complex narrative in which the daughters of Kekrops are included, such as on the fragments in Leipzig, a strand of this episode is also illustrated on a red-figure pelike of the mid-fifth century BCE in the British Museum. The vase has been attributed to the Erichthonios Painter and was excavated at Kamiros in a tomb in the Fikellura Cemetery on Rhodes.¹⁵⁴ In this scene, mentioned briefly in conjunction with the Leipzig pelike (**Catalogue 6**), only Athena and Erichthonios are present on the primary side of the vase (**Catalogue 7, Figures 9 and 10**), and here the Kekropids are not part of the narrative.

While rather haphazardly drawn, the vase's simple, clear subject is important for our study. Only two figures are depicted on the obverse of the vase. Athena stands facing towards the right, observing a small child who emerges from a cylindrical basket, which, along with its lid, rests on a pile of rocks. Athena is identifiable by the Corinthian helmet held in her left hand; in her right, she holds a spear. Her hair is tied back in a bun with a simple headband, and she wears an ungirt peplos. Uncharacteristic is her lack of other attributes: she does not wear the aegis, and she is not carrying her shield. She is more statue-like than in other representations, and Reeder notes that this is not so much a reunion between herself and Erichthonios but more a "solemn and official second introduction" between herself and the future king.¹⁵⁵ This contradicts our reading of Erichthonios as a separate figure from Erichthonios, yet the direct encounter between goddess and child is of particular note.

¹⁵⁴ Reeder 1995, 257. The website for the British Museum lists the findspot as the Fikellura Cemetery.

¹⁵⁵ Reeder 1995, 257.

Unlike most other depictions of Erichthonios, this child is clearly not a baby: his hair is nearly shoulder-length and curly, and his chest bears traces of musculature. Gazing towards Athena, he gestures at her with his right arm, his left hidden by his cloth garment. Ge is not present here, and instead, Erichthonios is encapsulated by the basket, and he is hidden from view below his torso. On either side of the basket are two snakes rearing upwards, one of which is bearded.¹⁵⁶ Both of them are spotted, and Smith makes the comparison between them and the *δισσὼ δράκοντε* mentioned in Euripides' *Ion*.¹⁵⁷

Erichthonios' basket, as well as its lid, rests on a rocky outcrop, situating this scene on the Acropolis and reminding us of the basket on the Leipzig pelike. The lid is decorated with olive leaves on its exterior, and from the interior appears to be made of a wicker material. Keuls interprets the chest as a "substitute for Athena's non-functioning womb."¹⁵⁸ This seems to be over-reading the iconography, and perhaps the chest should instead be seen as an indicator of the close relationship among viewing, seeing, and prohibitions.¹⁵⁹ Erichthonios is not so much presented here but is instead more revealed, and only to Athena, not other deities or witnesses. It is a scene different than others of Erichthonios which we have encountered so far, yet retains a number of elements related to his myth: Athena's presence, the chthonic snakes, and the aspects of unveiling and revelation.

On the reverse of the vase, two figures move from the left to the right (**Figure 10**). They have traditionally been seen as male *epheboi*, but it has also been suggested that on an earlier prototype for the scene, the two figures were instead female, perhaps Herse and

¹⁵⁶ The other snake may or may not be bearded; it is difficult to tell based on the angle of its head. References to bearded snakes are few and far between in Greek literature, and do not occur in dramatic or mythological sources. I thank Laura Gawlinski for this observation.

¹⁵⁷ Smith 1896, 243. One would almost expect more snakes to be depicted in conjunction with scenes of Erichthonios, given their presence in the *Ion* and the general associations of snakes with Erichthonios' relative Kekrops.

¹⁵⁸ Keuls 1985, 123. Keuls sees boxes, chests, and the like as symbols for earth and motherhood.

¹⁵⁹ For more on the correlation between females, both divine and mortal, and boxes and chests, see Lissarrague 1995.

Aglauros, as might be more commonly expected.¹⁶⁰ More recent research has returned to their interpretation as females. Their dress makes it difficult to determine with much precision, but the way the garment is wrapped around the figure on the left, as well as her head covering, makes this a likely scenario. According to Reeder, one of the few modern scholars to offer commentary on this scene, “their speed and the backward glance at the cause of their terror and evidence of their wrongdoing.” This in turn assists in their identification as two of the daughters of Kekrops,¹⁶¹ which leads us to the series of vases in which the myths of Erichthonios are closely connected to Kekrops’ daughters, a new iconographic scheme to explore in the repertoire of the imagery of autochthony.

Kekrops and His Daughters

Earlier in this chapter, we examined how the iconography of Kekrops served as a cogent signifier of the concept of autochthony and its relationship to the earth. His daughters, by extension, thus are intrinsically linked to this paradoxical figure of early Greek mythology, one who had a strong iconographical tradition but few references in extant literature.¹⁶² This section will provide an extended analysis of Kekrops’ contribution to images of autochthony as well as the role of his daughters in the autochthony myth. In extant literary sources, Kekrops is consistently referred to as Athens’ first king.¹⁶³ Apollodorus (3.14.1), the earliest source to give a full account of this “anguiform” hero, tells us that he was born from the earth, making him chthonic from the start, and it is easy to see

¹⁶⁰ Smith 1896, 243.

¹⁶¹ Reeder 1995, 257,

¹⁶² The most complete and comprehensive study of Kekrops to date is Gourmelen 2004.

¹⁶³ See *LIMC* s.v. Kekrops. Ogden (2013, 259 n. 85) also provides a thorough overview of the sources mentioning Kekrops.

how the Athenians came to associate this with autochthony.¹⁶⁴ His placement among the ten eponymous heroes of Kleisthenes gave him a political connection as well,¹⁶⁵ as we examined in Chapter 1.

The serpentine iconography of Kekrops depicts him as half-human, half snake-like, and usually bearded. Later authors referred to him as “bi-form” (διφυής), such as Philochorus of Athens, who wrote: “Kekrops, the bi-form, ruled for fifty years what was Akten then, and is Attika now. He was named in this way...either from the length of his body or because, being Egyptian, he knew two tongues.”¹⁶⁶ In vase painting, Kekrops’ autochthonous nature was emphasized in his clearly chthonic, non-human form, which marks a distinction from images of Erichthonios, who is always represented as a fully human child.

Kekrops appears most frequently in red-figure vase painting rather than in black-figure. He is also present on several vases with the presentation of Erichthonios or in connection with his daughters. On the Eichenzell calyx-krater discussed below (**Catalogue 22**), he takes on a unique role of both human and divine maker of sacrifices. It is through these images that his connections with autochthony are most strongly emphasized, in addition to his snake-like and chthonic aspects. His bi-form appearance is at once human but also something more, something beyond the range of normal human experience and thus appropriate to be present in the strange myth of Erichthonios. According to Hoffmann,

¹⁶⁴ Apollodorus also lays out the genealogy of the early kings of Athens, assigning Erichthonios as the fourth king and grandfather of Erechtheus.

¹⁶⁵ See Gantz 1993, 234. Kron 1976, 84f. is also a useful source.

¹⁶⁶ *FGrHist* 328 F 93; translation is from Forsdyke 2012, 125. The Egyptian origins of Kekrops are long-standing and curious, given he is supposed to be autochthonous to Attica. See also Harding 2008, 20-21 and 191-195.

this iconography of Kekrops helps to “emphasise his chthonic nature and to establish him as a being that slips easily between realms.”¹⁶⁷

In addition, Kekrops is always ancestrally linked to Erichthonios. Reeder points out that while Hephaistos is the “natural father” of Erichthonios, “Kekrops will be a strong earthly paternal presence,” and the two figures frame the composition of the central scene in the Codrus Painter’s kylix.¹⁶⁸ Ogden observes that his appearance depends on the type of scene in which he appears: he is an anguipede in most scenes of the birth of Erichthonios.¹⁶⁹ As one of the tribal heroes of Athens, however, on the rhyton in Richmond discussed earlier (**Catalogue 11**), he is depicted as fully human in form. And in scenes between Athena and Poseidon in their great contest, Kekrops is depicted in both manners.¹⁷⁰

Ogden speculates that these variances are due to the “pressing significance” of Kekrops’ “earthborn quality” and its relationship to autochthony, which makes sense for the birth of Erichthonios as well as the contest between Athena and Poseidon, which was closely related to the Acropolis and the earth. Taking this argument a step further, I would also posit that Kekrops’ appearance as a snake-like creature provides him with an “otherly” aspect. This would also explain his far more typically human appearance in scenes where he is depicted as one of the *eponymoi*; these images denote Kekrops’ political dimensions within the mortal realm of Athen’s history, and a strictly anthropomorphic iconography makes more sense. Both iconographies reflect different modes of communication in regards to the spectrum of mytho-historical significance; one situates Kekrops in the other-worldly mythological sphere, the other in a more historical, anthropocentric context.

¹⁶⁷ Hoffmann 1994, 77.

¹⁶⁸ Reeder 1995, 260.

¹⁶⁹ Ogden 2013, 261-262.

¹⁷⁰ Aston (2011, 123) provides an overview; see *LIMC* s.v. Kekrops 24-28.

In vase painting, Kekrops is more often than not faithful to his chthonic roots, especially when appearing in scenes dealing with Athenian ancestry, heritage, and autochthony. His snaky form appears on a rhyton, for example, one of many of this form attributed to the Sotades Painter and found in Tomb II (the so-called “Brygos Tomb”) at Capua and now located in the British Museum (**Catalogue 14, Figures 28 - 30**).¹⁷¹ A popular Sotadean shape,¹⁷² the rhyton consists of two parts: the sphinx statuette, and the *keras* (the drinking horn) upon it that bears figural decoration. Kekrops is depicted on the *keras*, making a libation to a winged female figure, perhaps Nike or Iris. His chlamys has been removed and placed over his shoulder, accentuating his male form, and he holds a staff in his left hand while offering a phiale to the winged woman in front of him.¹⁷³ The ritual of pouring a libation may be related to the other figures in the scene.¹⁷⁴ Behind Kekrops sits a youth, who is identified as Erysichthon.¹⁷⁵

Aglauros, who stands facing Erysichthon, is identifiable by the scepter that she holds in her left hand, as she was both a *kourotrophos* responsible for youths as well as a patroness of ephebic initiation.¹⁷⁶ To the right of Nike or Iris are most likely Kekrops’ other daughters, Herse and Pandrosos, both of whom are running from right to left.¹⁷⁷ All of the children of Kekrops are therefore players in this scene, and Alan Shapiro suggests that the family

¹⁷¹ See Hoffmann 1997, 154-168 for a discussion and catalogue of the various types of Sotadean rhyta. Williams 1992 discusses all of the finds from this tomb, which included images of Eos and Kephalos as well, interestingly.

¹⁷² See Hoffmann (1997, 16-17) for a discussion of the rhyton’s longevity as a form.

¹⁷³ Ogden (2013, 262) points out that the phiale and the scepter seem to be attributes of Kekrops, and the phiale in particular after 420 BCE.

¹⁷⁴ See Hoffmann (1994, 78), who states that “the focal act of libation here links the visible and invisible worlds and brings the past and the future together in the nexus of present ritual action spelling immortality.”

¹⁷⁵ Kron, following Robert’s proposal, suggested that Erysichthon would have been an appropriate addition to the scene, being the only son of Kekrops. See Robert (1881, 89) and Kron 1976, 68-70.

¹⁷⁶ Hoffmann 1994, 78.

¹⁷⁷ Hoffmann (1994, 78 and 85) interprets the two as an opposed pair that are part of an initiation scene similar to maenadism, one more timid, the other running excitedly, her hair flying, the leader of the Bacchic carousal, but this theory seems implausible.

grouping points to the birth of Erichthonios, but the child himself is curiously not depicted.¹⁷⁸ The “divine reality”¹⁷⁹ imparted by the inclusion of the winged Nike/Iris, the libation in the hands of Kekrops, and the interactions of deities and humans all point to this rhyton as bearing subtle allusions to autochthony, and this is reinforced by the action of Kekrops’ daughters, whose presence hints at the events to come.

The Daughters of Kekrops

The daughters of Kekrops, or “Kekropids,” as they are often called, are three in number, although sometimes only two appear: Aglauros and Herse are the disobedient girls, while Pandrosos is representative of good behavior.¹⁸⁰ Both Herse’s and Pandrosos’ names are linked to words meaning “dew” in Ancient Greece; *drosos* is the word for dew, and *eerse* has to do with moist, generative air.¹⁸¹ The daughters of Kekrops fall into the category of “Attic heroines” as they, by virtue of their ancestry, had a special connection to the city of Athens and its history.¹⁸² As such, they were a strong presence in the visual iconography of the Acropolis, possibly appearing in the frieze of the Erechtheion, as I argue in Chapter 4, as well as the west pediment of the Parthenon. They also received a special cult place on the North Slope and north side of the Acropolis, in the Cave of Aglauros and the Pandrosion, and possibly also made an appearance in the Archaic period on the Olive Tree Pediment, as discussed in Chapter 5.

The myth most closely associated with the Kekropids takes place after Erichthonios’ birth and his presentation to Athena, forming a secondary narrative related to autochthony.

¹⁷⁸ Shapiro 1995b, 45.

¹⁷⁹ Hoffmann 1994, 78.

¹⁸⁰ For a summation of the daughters of Kekrops in literature, see Harding 2008, 199-202.

¹⁸¹ Boedeker 1984, 5.

¹⁸² See Shapiro 2008, 163. See also Kearns 1989 s.v. Ἀγλαυρος, ῥση, and Πάνδροσος.

Athena, having received the child, entrusts him to the daughters. She first, however, hides the baby in a *kiste*, a kind of basket, and forbids them to open it. But their curiosity gets the better of them.¹⁸³ Their inability to see the child is at once a prohibition made by Athena as well as a hint at the overwhelming miracle of his birth. One literary fragment describes their death in a fit of madness instigated by Athena as they jump from a cliff behind the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia.¹⁸⁴ In another variant, Athena kills the girls for their transgression. Whatever the variations of the Kekropids' myth are, they are all illustrative of the multivalence of myth - "whether sacrificed, self-immolated, or whatever," the Kekropids illustrate the danger of disobeying the goddess Athena.¹⁸⁵ As Barringer states, the Kekropids "reveal Greek perceptions about female curiosity, obedience, self-discipline, and hysteria."¹⁸⁶

An alternative rendering of the Kekropid myth depicts one or more of the daughters sacrificing themselves to save the city, reminiscent of the themes of Euripides' *Erechtheus*. A related, though muted, version of this myth may appear on a fourth-century fragmentary red-figure calyx-krater close to the Black Fury Painter in the J. Paul Getty Museum (**Catalogue 15, Figure 31**). Here, Pandrosos, the "virtuous sister," holds the chest of Erichthonios to her chest as she sits, her head lowered as though in silence.¹⁸⁷ To the right, her two sisters are shown fleeing to the right in tandem as they presumably are about to jump from the Acropolis. Athena is to the left of Pandrosos, and the sacred olive tree is located between them, acting almost as a barrier - a motif seen before, on the Palermo calyx-krater, where it is situated between Hephaistos and Ge (**Catalogue 13**). Depicting a rare scene in the repertoire of South Italian vase painting, the Getty calyx-krater may be derived

¹⁸³ See Euripides' *Ion*, lines 269f. This basket is illustrated several times in vase painting, such as on the Leipzig pelike (**Catalogue 6**).

¹⁸⁴ Euphorion, cited in Robertson 1983, 275. For a more complete account of the various literary sources, see Ogden 2013, 264.

¹⁸⁵ Gantz 1993, 243.

¹⁸⁶ Barringer 2008, 103.

¹⁸⁷ Shapiro 2008, 166.

from a South Italian tragedy about the daughters of Kekrops;¹⁸⁸ its intrigue derives primarily from the fact that it is a local Athenian myth but one that was created in Southern Italy instead of Athens. The Getty calyx-krater thus encourages further consideration regarding its manufacture and intended audience, possibly for an Athenian colony in southern Italy, and calls into consideration autochthony's presence and meaning outside of Athens and Attica.

In vase iconography, the Kekropids do not appear overtly in connection with Erichthonios until after the Persian Wars, suggesting that the myth evolved throughout the course of the fifth century,¹⁸⁹ similar to the concept of autochthony, within increasingly complex scenes towards the end of the century. When the daughters of Kekrops are depicted in vase iconography, it is not always with the baby Erichthonios, either, such as on an Early Classical red-figured column krater in San Antonio (**Catalogue 16, Figures 32 and 33**), dated to c. 470-460 BCE.¹⁹⁰ In this image, three females plus Athena form the central composition. Athena reaches towards one of them, while the one on the right flees; Shapiro suggests she is Pandrosos.¹⁹¹ Their punishment was not frequently depicted, and only appears on a handful of vases, including the Basel lekythos, the Leipzig fragments, the Athens alabastron, and the Meidian pyxis.¹⁹² By the mid-fifth century, however, the Kekropids appear in scenes with Erichthonios (such as the Meidian pyxis). This seems to elaborate the myth beyond Ge's presentation of Erichthonios to Athena, a relatively simple scene in composition and narrative structure, to also incorporate an expanded narrative of how the child was to be raised and nurtured.

¹⁸⁸ Taplin (2007, 221-222); see also Mayo 1982, 89.

¹⁸⁹ Shapiro 1995, 44.

¹⁹⁰ See Shapiro 1981, cat. 3, 20-23.

¹⁹¹ Shapiro 1995, 44.

¹⁹² See **Catalogue 18, 6, 17, and 21**, respectively. See Shapiro (1981, 22), who notes that this is the only extant vase that depicts Athena with all three Kekropids; the exception to this may have been the pyxis from Athens attributed to the Meidias Painter (**Catalogue 21**).

The daughters of Kekrops are not always shown together as a threesome. A red-figure alabastron in Athens, for example, has been attributed to the Karlsruhe Painter and is dated to about 470-460 BCE (**Catalogue 17, Figures 34 and 35**). A female moving towards the right has been identified as Aglauros based on similar representations with inscriptions from the Acropolis.¹⁹³ She is pursued by Athena, who reaches out toward her. Similarly, a red-figure lekythos in Basel by the Phiale Painter and dated to about 435-430 BCE, shows a solitary female figure (**Catalogue 18, Figure 36**), this time moving to the left with her hands upraised as Athena, stern in her composure, reaches out and grabs her wrist. Aglauros is recognizable on fragments from a skyphos by the Lewis Painter in Athens with inscriptions; here, the tell-tale same gesture helps to identify her and her sisters.¹⁹⁴

The Basel lekythos differs markedly from the alabastron in one key way, however. Between Athena and Aglauros on the lekythos, there is a basket with a single snake emerging from it. Reeder notes that it is overturned, thus indicating a scene immediately after Aglauros disobeyed Athena's instructions not to open it.¹⁹⁵ We do not see the baby, however; rather, a snake has just materialized from the basket and looks directly at Aglauros. Ogden has proposed that this could be Erechthonios depicted as a snake himself, as some literary traditions suggest.¹⁹⁶ Rather than a decorated cloth, here the basket appears to be intricately woven, and is quite similar to another basket on a fragment of a red-figure vase in the Louvre (**Catalogue 19, Figure 37**). John Oakley has proposed that this fragment, which includes not only the basket but a child emerging from it with outstretched hands, is in fact a

¹⁹³ Giannopoulou in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 182.

¹⁹⁴ Athens, Acropolis 508 (E51) and 509 (E50). *ARV* 973, 7-8. See Smith 1939, cat. 7 and 8 and pl. 22b and 22f, as well as the discussion in Oakley 1990, 35, and also Oakley 2009, 74.

¹⁹⁵ Reeder 1995, 252.

¹⁹⁶ Ogden 2013, 266. Euripides' *Ion* (lines 1227-31) hints at this and is further discussed, with appropriate bibliography, in Ogden 2013, 265 n. 130.

depiction of the discovery of Erichthonios.¹⁹⁷ The snake could thus easily stand in as a visual substitute for the baby Erichthonios, a variant on the myth much in the same way that one Kekropid could easily act as a single stand-in for the more typical three.

Furthermore, with this vase, Reeder makes a visual comparison between Hephaistos' pursuit of Athena and Athena's pursuit of Aglauros. Both narratives "remind the viewer of Athena's narrow escape from Hephaistos' assault and Aglauros' newly acquired sophistication in sexual affairs."¹⁹⁸ Yet at the same time, the pursuit of Athena by Hephaistos was an entirely different matter from Athena's pursuit of Aglauros: the former was invoked because of Hephaistos' lust for Athena, the latter, because of the Kekropids' failure to abide by the rules of the goddess. Reeder's observation, while intriguing, seems almost implausible in meaning. Visually, the iconography is reminiscent from one scene to another, but there the comparisons end. In the images of Athena's pursuit of the daughters of Kekrops, a reminder of the obedience to the gods is implied, as well as the consequences of disobeying those instructions. It is not surprising, then, that the iconography of the daughters of Kekrops seems to occur with greater frequency as the scenes of Erichthonios become increasingly complex throughout the course of the fifth century.

Late Red-Figure & Autochthony: Meidias and his Circle

In the later part of the fifth century BCE, the presentation of Erichthonios and the narrative of autochthony become increasingly complex in both style and narrative. This is best exemplified in several examples by the Meidias Painter and his circle.¹⁹⁹ His vases are

¹⁹⁷ Oakley 1982.

¹⁹⁸ Reeder 1995, 252.

¹⁹⁹ The floruit of the Meidias Painter and his followers occurred during the last two decades of the fifth century BCE; see Burn 1987, 7.

paradigmatic of the style typical of Late Classical vase painting of the fourth quarter of the fifth century BCE, where a plethora of figures fill the body of the vase, well-proportioned and harmonious. Meidian vases are found in a wide variety of shapes and sizes, from large hydriai, as can be seen in his famous name vase in London, to smaller, more intimate lekythoi and pyxides, which were more frequent in his repertoire.²⁰⁰ In the sphere of Meidias, vase painting truly becomes a medium where complex narratives can be played out with multiple characters, similar to a stage. Flowing, draped figures in active poses inhabit rich landscapes of vegetation, bounded by elaborate floral motifs and harmonious compositions.²⁰¹

Meidian images thus explore themes of mortals and deities from myth such as heroes, goddesses, and personifications of abstract concepts, often in other-worldly locales. According to Smith, personifications were deployed with increasing frequency throughout the course of the Classical period in order to “remark on their [the Athenians’] *polis* or ‘citizen state,’” functioning in-between the world of gods and mortals and “therefore adaptable to any narrative situation.”²⁰² Moreover, the Meidias Painter had a special affinity for subjects related to Athens and Attica, and it is in viewing his squat lekythos in Cleveland, discussed below (**Catalogue 20**), that we see most readily his affinity for Athenian subject matter.²⁰³

In this atmosphere of the late fifth century BCE, the imagery of the presentation of Erichthonios became increasingly complex. As I have suggested elsewhere in this project, the stories surrounding Erichthonios and Erechtheus took on a different tone in the late

²⁰⁰ The London hydria: British Museum E 224. See Neils 1983, figs. 19 and 20, as well as Burn 1987, 15-25.

²⁰¹ For an overview of the Meidias Painter’s style, see Burn 1987, 4-6. See also Hahland 1930 and Becatti 1947, although they are examples of earlier scholarship and thus were not aware of the examples discussed here of the presentation of Erichthonios.

²⁰² Smith 2011, 2.

²⁰³ Neils 1983, 285.

fifth century BCE, most likely as a result of the Peloponnesian War and Athens' desire to maintain control of her land. The political, social, and religious tenor of Athens and Attica during this time period surely influenced the iconography of Late Classical vase painting near the end of Athens' empire. The lush vegetation and utopian settings led Burn to suggest, for example, that the "paradisiacal imagery" that was popular within the repertoire of the Meidias Painter was a way of offering comfort during times of war.²⁰⁴ Yet at the same time, these images seem almost anxious in their crowded surfaces, offering less of a narrative and more cause for reflection. By extension, Becatti also saw an allegorical paradise in the Meidias Painter's works, but also a sense of Attic nationalism in the Late Classical painter's depiction of heroes and their deeds.²⁰⁵

It should come as no surprise, given what we know about the Meidian frame of mind and subject matter, that the Meidias Painter and his workshop devoted at least two vases to the subject of autochthony and the presentation of Erichthonios. For example, Jenifer Neils has attributed a red-figure squat lekythos in the Cleveland Museum of Art (**Catalogue 20, Figures 38 - 40**) to the Meidias Painter.²⁰⁶ Building on an existing paradigm of other scenes of the presentation of Erichthonios, the vase illustrates well the changing sensitivities of late fifth-century vase painting towards the story of Erichthonios' birth.²⁰⁷ Rather than the host of deities that we saw on the calyx-kraters in Richmond and Palermo, here a number of unidentified females surround the presentation scene. Burn reads this vase as a sort of "retrospective, even nostalgic" hearkening to the past, an appropriate attitude for such a

²⁰⁴ Burn (1987, 95), who admits that we should not "overlook the fact that the last years of the century were not a time of unrelenting gloom for the Athenians."

²⁰⁵ Becatti 1947, 10-11.

²⁰⁶ Neils 1983.

²⁰⁷ Rosenzweig (2004, 51) suggests that the Meidias Painter worked from an established tradition of Erichthonios scenes.

gathering.²⁰⁸ With the Meidian lekythos, a clear sense of the connection between Athens' earliest myths and the present is made.

The essence of the scene remains similar to other representations: to the left, Ge sits holding the baby Erichthonios, whose mass of dark hair is surrounded by a headband. Unlike other depictions of Ge, which depict her emerging from the ground, she is shown on this vase seated as a full-figure. Smith suggests she could be a personification of Attica,²⁰⁹ but this would be an unparalleled example. The idea of the gift of Erichthonios from Attica to Athena is intriguing, however; Ge and Attica could perhaps be considered one and the same by this date. Lorenz has made another proposal: Ge is instead an ordinary woman, just like the others who surround the scene.²¹⁰ Lorenz suggests that she is a “generic Athenian woman passing her baby to Athena,” which earmarks the iconographic format as an “all-embracing patriotic image,” one that fits in well with wartime propaganda’s aim to produce Athenian offspring.²¹¹ Lorenz builds her argument on the concept of anonymous female figures in the scene as an aid to helping the audience to identify with the imagery.

If Lorenz’s interpretation is the case, the Meidias lekythos would make a sharp departure from other scenes with the presentation of Erichthonios in which the gods are present, or in the case of the Meidian pyxis (**Catalogue 21**), where a number of personifications are labeled. While her proposal is intriguing, it reads Erichthonios’ birth as a mythological parallel to human births, disregarding other subtle interpretations of the scene. Since the presentation of Erichthonios from Ge to Athena, patron goddess of the city of Athens, is so integral to the understanding of autochthony, such a revisionist departure in

²⁰⁸ Burn 1987, 21.

²⁰⁹ Smith 2011, 161; see also *LIMC* s.v. Attike. The geographical personification is often conflated with Ge, and Gratia Berger-Doer, the author of the entry, lists her as the mother of Erichthonios on both the Cleveland squat lekythos and the Eichenzell calyx-krater.

²¹⁰ Lorenz 2007, 138.

²¹¹ Lorenz 2007, 140-141. Räuchle 2015 also explores the concept of the iconography of motherhood in relationship to the myth of Erichthonios, but does not consider this vase as an example.

iconography in the late fifth century seems to be unlikely, especially given contemporary examples.

While the matronly aspects of Ge are maintained in the Meidias Painter's lekythos, Athena is less motherly than other examples we have considered. Her stance is activated as her right foot reaches outward, gesturing toward the child, but more importantly, her full helmet and elaborate aegis are still prominently on display. In other scenes, such as the Munich stamnos and the Codrus Painter's kylix (**Catalogue 9 and 10**), Athena's warrior nature is more subdued and turned away from the child, emphasizing her more "motherly" aspects. In this regard, the Meidias lekythos is in fact more similar to the calyx-kraters in Richmond and in Palermo (**Catalogue 12 and 13**), where Athena is also easily recognizable.

Above the main scene, the upper torsos of three female figures emerge from a wavy ground line; these could be the daughters of Kekrops, watching over the scene from their home on the Acropolis.²¹² Their isolation from the other female figures suggests they are different from the others, and their grouping of three makes this scenario even more likely. The indications of a ground line give a sense of topography, and Rosenzweig would prefer to situate the scene below the Acropolis, in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens.²¹³ Such topographical indicators situate the narrative in a specific place and time, giving a sense of the growing importance of the imagery of autochthony and its relationship to the Athenian and Attic landscape in the late fifth century BCE.

The nine other females present, who surround Ge, Athena, and Erichthonios, are of new interest; until this point, deities have been the primary observers of Erichthonios' presentation. The females could be personifications, or even simply observers, of the

²¹² As suggested by Neils 1983, 177. Smith (2011, 161), on the other hand, posits that they could instead be the daughters of Erechtheus, but she does not offer commentary to support this notion.

²¹³ Rosenzweig 2004, 52.

extraordinary event that takes place before them. Their identities are difficult to confirm or speculate about: they lack the identifying attributes that would allow them to be identified as certain personifications.²¹⁴ Neils, ruling out the Muses because of the absence of Apollo, has linked the nine to a number of Attic personifications, including Peitho, Eunomia, Eukleia, Paidia, Hygieia, Eudaimonia, Eutychia, and Harmonia, all aspects appropriate for the presentation of an Athenian child and ancestor.²¹⁵

There is another possibility, however: comparison with a contemporary pyxis in Athens, attributed to the Meidian circle and bearing striking named inscriptions, could be fruitful (**Catalogue 21**), and the relationship between the personifications who exemplify aspects of Athenian political life is worthy of more consideration. Neils emphasizes the positive aspects of the personifications and their sense of “good order,”²¹⁶ yet taking this a step further, their presence surrounding the ancestor of the Athenians provides a visual prominence to the undeniable intimate relationship between the myth of autochthony and the harmony of the Athenian state, desperately needed during the Peloponnesian War. The Meidias Painter will again accentuate this theme on a pyxis from Athens, roughly contemporary to the squat lekythos in Cleveland.

A Narrative of Autochthony: A Pyxis in Athens

A red-figure pyxis attributed to the Meidias Painter or his workshop, dating to about 420-400 BCE (**Catalogue 21, Figures 41 - 45**), was excavated in 1976 from a funerary pyre in Athens outside the Acharnaian Gates, providing it with a secure archaeological context

²¹⁴ The lack of identifying attributes is actually quite often a problem in identifying personifications. See Shapiro 1993, 14-16.

²¹⁵ Neils 1983, 281-283.

²¹⁶ Neils 1983, 283.

that is unknown in the rest of the corpus of this study.²¹⁷ The pyxis has not, as of this date, been fully published, but it is crucial to our discussion because it depicts not one but *two* scenes related to Erichthonios and autochthony, similar to the Leipzig pelike (**Catalogue 6**) but far more complete. Secondly, the vase is of great importance because thirteen of its fourteen figures bear identifying inscriptions,²¹⁸ some previously unattested and certainly unlike any other representation of Erichthonios' myth that we have examined thus far. The vase is thus representative of the potency of the imagery of autochthony in the last decades of the fifth century.

On the lid of the pyxis (**Figure 43**), Erichthonios appears in the standard (although fragmentary) presentation scene with a host of characters; he is accompanied by the partial inscription ΕΠΙΧΘ-. Athena has once again assumed her martial role with her helmet and aegis. Figures identified as Basile and Soteria watch the scene along with the snaky Kekrops. The Nike charioteer to the left is wreathed and has golden wings as she drives a quadriga of galloping horses. To fill the space of the lost sections of the lid, I suggest that the chariot was led by Hermes, and perhaps the daughters of Kekrops were witnesses to the scene, as I have posited in a reconstruction drawing (**Figure 44**), as they are also present in the Meidian lekythos (**Catalogue 20**) and the Eichenzell calyx-krater (**Catalogue 22**).

On the body of the vase, the frieze-like cylindrical surface (**Figures 42 and reconstructed in Figure 45**) again depicts Erichthonios as the center of attention, his head protruding from the woven basket that encloses his body. With his left hand, he grasps the

²¹⁷ Avradmidou (2011, 34-35) attempts to draw a comparison between the findspot and its iconography, suggesting that the minor deities escorted the deceased into the afterlife. While an intriguing suggestion, the correlation between salvation and Erichthonios' birth is tenuous at best.

²¹⁸ The inscriptions, which Smith (2011, 162) notes were probably in white dipinti, are as follows: on the lid, ΚΕΚΡΟΥ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕ, ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ, ΑΘΗΝΑ, ΕΡΥΧΘ[ΟΝΙΟΣ]; on the body, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ, ΧΡΥΣΙΣ, ΕΥΝΟΗ, ΦΥΛΟΝΟΗ. Pylios is also listed on the body (*LIMC* s.v. Pylios I 1), but is not listed by Smith. Nyseis is also said to be present (see *LIMC* s.v. Nyseis 1), but is also not listed by Smith. See Tzachou-Alexandri 1976.

head of one of the snakes, and the other one is behind him. The leafy branches of a ripe olive tree are present, another indicator of specificity of place. Of interest here are supplementary figures who witness not the presentation of Erichthonios, but the secondary scene: as Erichthonios is exposed, Athena chastises the daughters of Kekrops for their disobedience. These additional figures are identified as Basileia, Khryseis, Eunoe, Pylios, and Philonoe, some of whom are minor Attic heroes and heroines, and not the Kekropids, who are not labeled. Some of them, as personifications, appear nowhere else in the history of Classical art, and although Smith reads them as rather “ad hoc” additions to the scene,²¹⁹ they may be of greater significance. For example, Burn believes Basileia and Pylios carry subtle references to sanctuaries important to Athenian religion.²²⁰

Even more intriguingly, Basileia’s name means “kingdom,” “sovereignty,” or “monarchy” and in Aristophanes, as a gift to the hero Peisthetairos, she is concerned with the giving of gifts, including *eunomia*.²²¹ On the other hand, Soteria (“salvation”) could be read as a metaphor for Erichthonios himself, as he defeated tyrants, according to one tradition.²²² Shapiro interprets their presence as indicative that “Erichthonios will carry on the institution of legitimate kingship (*basileia*), which is essential to the preservation (*soteria*) of the Athenian people.”²²³ Particularly within the scope of the Peloponnesian War, “salvation and deliverance were what the city most needed” in the face of the Spartan

²¹⁹ Smith 2011, 83.

²²⁰ Burn 1989, 66-67. See also Shapiro 1986, who draws a comparison between Pylios and the royal Neleid dynasty of Pylos and its relationship to a sanctuary shared by Basile with Neleus and Kodros in Athens.

²²¹ Aristophanes, *Birds*; see Shapiro 1993, 37-38, who notes the contemporary dates of the Meidian pyxis and the production of the *Birds* (414). There is some disagreement on the meaning of Basileia’s name, and whether she is the same as the Basile who appears on the lid is unclear.

²²² Smith 2011, 83-84. Furthermore, Parker (1986, 196) suggests that the protection of the snake represents the salvation of the city of Athens.

²²³ Shapiro 1998, 144.

invasion.²²⁴ Thus, read in the context of late fifth century Athens, the Meidian pyxis should be seen primarily as a reflection of the concern for continuing the tradition of autochthony through the sanctioned – and constitutional – relationship between the Athenians and their place of birth and habitation.

Topography and Autochthony: The Eichenzell Calyx-Krater

Several vases have suggested landscape elements, mainly in the form of olive trees and vegetation. This includes one final spectacular vase, the name vase of the Kekrops Painter, which is dated to about 410-400 BCE and said to be from Sicily (**Catalogue 22, Figures 46-48**). The large vessel is located today in Schloss Fasanerie in Eichenzell near Fulda,²²⁵ along with another equally-impressive calyx-krater by the same painter that depicts Theseus and the Marathonian Bull.²²⁶ It is an important vase for a number of reasons, including its large cast of characters, its allusions to Athenian topography, and a “new” scene of Erichthonios’ myth, a moment between Athena’s reception of the child from Ge and the Kekropids’ transgression. The Kekrops Painter thus represents yet another departure and variation on the theme of the myths surrounding Erichthonios, and with multifaceted meanings.

On the obverse of the vase, the image is divided into roughly two registers, with no ground line separating them. The space is crowded with figures, filling the space with little breathing room. Most noticeable among these characters is Athena near the top and center. She grasps a staff in her left hand and a phiale in her right, which she holds over a tree and

²²⁴ Smith 2011, 84. This sense of “national pride” is discussed by Zafeiropoulou in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 181.

²²⁵ As such, I refer to it as the “Eichenzell calyx-krater” here.

²²⁶ These two vases are studied side-by-side in Shapiro 2009b.

basket in the center of the scene. To the left of the basket is Kekrops, recognizable by his snaky lower body. He, too, holds a phiale in his right hand, and with his left, gestures towards the tree and the basket while holding a small lamb and branches. For Simon, this joint ritual honors the birth of a divine child, Erichthonios.²²⁷ The lamb is unprecedented; according to Durand, Kekrops is representative of a double sacrifice, the lamb being a sacrifice undertaken by humans, while the phiale is representative of sacrifices made by the gods.²²⁸ In this way, Kekrops alludes to his bi-form nature by both his physical, half-snake, half-human form, as well as by means of his actions.

Several other figures upon the crowded surface of the vase stand out. Poseidon, below the main scene, reclines while holding a trident. Nearby, a tripod and wreath carried by a winged boy have led Reeder to suggest that, like the Richmond calyx-krater (**Catalogue 12**), this vase could be a commemoration of a victorious dithyramb.²²⁹ To the right, under the handle, Hephaistos also reclines, holding a phiale in his right hand, his craftsmen's tongs in his left. A seated woman to the right of Athena holds a helmet with her arm resting upon a shield; her identification has been debated, ranging from a personification of Attica to the charioteer Zeuxippe to a Nike figure.²³⁰ Nike is a plausible suggestion, as she was already well represented in cult places on the Acropolis by this time, and her appearance on other vases with the presentation of Erichthonios (**Catalogue 5**, the Oinante hydria, and **Catalogue 9**, the Munich stamnos) also supports this notion.

Furthermore, Hermes, Aphrodite, and Eros are all witnesses to the scene, and two girls between Poseidon and Zeus might be, according to Simon, two priestesses of Athena

²²⁷ Simon 1985, 194-195.

²²⁸ Durand 1986, 25-27.

²²⁹ Reeder 1995, 266. For more regarding the appearance of tripods on vases, see Froning 1971, 16-28.

²³⁰ See Shapiro (2009, 264-265 and n. 39-42) for an overview and bibliography.

who are part of a Deipnophoria festival in which food is brought for the daughters of Kekrops.²³¹ Yet this iconography would be unprecedented, and they could be instead read as personifications, such as on the Meidian squat lekythos. Above the left handle of the vase, the daughters of Kekrops overlook the scene, one of them holding the hand of her sister. This allusion of intimacy is replicated on the east frieze of the Parthenon between Artemis and Aphrodite,²³² and may have been present in the Erechtheion frieze as well.

The Kekrops Painter thus reveals a narrative not seen elsewhere. Lochin, for one, sees this not as an episode of myth, but one of a civic rite in which the presence of Athena as protectress of the city evokes multiple meanings.²³³ Such a rite, however, could certainly be communicated through myth, as it is on this vase. On a similar note, Reeder claims that the scene's primary purpose is "the official and solemn implications of the ceremony and therefore the special ancestry claimed by the Athenian citizenry."²³⁴ This still begs the question as to why this later scene is depicted, rather than Erichthonios' presentation. The mid-narrative moment is both revelatory and anticipatory; Erichthonios, born from the earth but concealed on the Acropolis, awaits his discovery by the daughters of Kekrops. The episode reflects the magnitude of the autochthony narrative for the Athenians, a dignified moment in which deities are not just witnesses, but participants as well.

The references to landscape are especially intriguing on this vase; the olive tree sits squarely at the center of the scene, protecting the basket that holds Erichthonios. By the late fifth century BCE, when this large calyx-krater was produced, Athenians were concerned with not only linking their autochthonous ancestry to the earth, but to a particular place. A

²³¹ Simon 1983, 52. Simon had earlier suggested that they were Arrephoroi: see Simon, Hirmer, and Hirmer 1976, 153.

²³² As proposed by Reeder 1995, 266.

²³³ Lochin 2000, 330.

²³⁴ Reeder 1995, 265.

number of scholars have long seen the Athenian Acropolis as the location of this scene.²³⁵

The centered focus towards both the *kiste* of Erichthonios as well as the olive tree, driven by the dedications of Kekrops and Athena, summarizes quite well the culmination of the narrative of autochthony: that by the late fifth century, Athenian vase painters were deeply concerned with linking autochthony to a topographical locale specific to Athens. Given the struggle for the Attic land during the Peloponnesian War, it should come as no surprise that this aspect becomes a driving force in narratives concerning Erichthonios, born from the earth, but not just any earth – the land of Attica specifically.

Conclusions

In this comprehensive study of the visualization of myths regarding autochthony in Athenian vase painting, we have covered a great deal of ground, spanning a wide stretch of time from the late sixth century until the end of the fifth century BCE. The narratives concerning Erichthonios, although not overwhelming in number, span a significant time period in the development of Late Archaic and Classical Athens. Although the myth is concentrated in vases produced in the city of Athens, some of them were undoubtedly marketed to audiences in Italy and Sicily, given their reported provenances, which raises questions of audience and markets.²³⁶ In this time, moreover, the narrative of autochthony gains a firm visual vocabulary, with subtle and overt differences in styles and choices of subject matter, characters, and presentation.

²³⁵ See, for example, Lochin 2000, as well as Shapiro 2009.

²³⁶ I am grateful to David Saunders for bringing this to my attention. Avramidou (2011, 66-70) gives a discussion of the Etruscan market's relationship to the Codrus Painter, but the meaning of these vases in other contexts is worthy of further study.

In particular, within this chapter I have explored several main points and themes: the rereading of the “birth” of Erichthonios as a “presentation;” the witnesses who attend the presentation, both deities and personifications; the imagery of Eos and Kephalos in tandem with the presentation scenes; and the significance of topography in later fifth century iconography. Moreover, I have dedicated significant sections of this chapter to the iconography of Hephaistos, exploring how the lame god takes on a prominent and dominant role in more than half of the vases that depict the presentation of Erichthonios. His inclusion is meant to be regarded as a genealogical link to the child’s ancestry, augmenting the understanding of Erichthonios’ birth from the earth: Erichthonios is the child of not one, but two Olympian divinities who were integral to Athenian civic and religious life.

When we compare the narrative of Erichthonios to the monuments that hail from the landscape of Late Classical Athens in subsequent chapters, we will see that the concept of autochthony was of a great concern, especially in visual iconography, during the last decades of the fifth century, right at the height of the Peloponnesian War. Why this concentrated interest in Erichthonios and autochthony? The vases of this time, with their multitude of figures who are witnesses to the scene, visually accentuate more than just an imperialistic claim to fame. Both deities and personifications are witnesses and even participants in the scene, demonstrating the multiplicity of involvement in the historical moment. What is at once a cosmic event becomes focused and grounded in the physical landscape of the Acropolis, Athens, and Attica, and the presentation scene becomes one to which deities, personifications, and even viewers of the vases could all relate.

CHAPTER 4

CULT, AUTOCHTHONY, AND IDENTITY IN AND UPON THE ERECHTHEION

Introduction

Complications lie at the heart of the Erechtheion, the last monumental temple to be completed on the Athenian Acropolis during the Classical period. Nearly all aspects of its construction, dating, and purpose have been vigorously debated. Yet at the same time, as a key monument in the last phase of fifth century BCE Athens, situated prominently on the north side of the Acropolis, it has so far not been sufficiently tapped for its interpretive potential. In fact, the Erechtheion was rarely discussed in detail in Antiquity, nor was it even a substantial subject for discussion in the great travelers' accounts of the 17th and 18th centuries,¹ even with the continued interest in the south porch's *korai*. Despite this, however, the Erechtheion is a temple truly unlike any other, displaying a plethora of architectural sculpture and adornment, with two unique porches on its south and north sides. Its function as a monument was firmly embedded in the topography into which it was built, incorporating the physicality of the landscape into its very identity. The Erechtheion is thus deserving of a closer look within the scope of Athenian autochthony, as its construction during a crucial period of Athenian history reflects concerns with myth, history, and identity, visualized especially well in its iconographic schemes. The Erechtheion, in effect, is the embodiment of the concept of autochthony in physical and monumental form.

Central to this study are two main points for consideration: the Erechtheion as an architectural monument and its placement in the topography of the Acropolis and Athenian landscape, and secondly, its sculptural decoration, which is essential for the understanding of

¹ For thoughts on this phenomenon, see Lesk 2004, 259-260.

autochthony in the late fifth century. While other thorough studies of the Erechtheion have been undertaken in the past, including Paton et al.'s 1927 monograph as well as Lesk's 2004 dissertation, individual aspects of the temple are worthy of deeper considerations in light of the comprehensive study of autochthony that is central to this project.²

This chapter, then, examines the Erechtheion from multiple angles, including its construction, plan, topographical importance, and iconographical significance during the last decades of the Peloponnesian War. The core of this study focuses on the frieze of the Erechtheion, which has rarely been studied comprehensively and in depth due to its fragmentary nature. I propose that myths related to autochthony and Athenian ancestry were most certainly depicted on the Erechtheion frieze, as first proposed in a series of articles by Ludwig Pallat more than a century ago,³ and that the temple was erected as a mytho-historical pendant to the themes of the nearby Parthenon, which will be covered in greater detail in Chapter 5. By examining architectural form alongside its iconographical program, I explore the Erechtheion as a monumental reflection of Athenian identity.

At the heart of this chapter, then, lies a reconsidered understanding of the sculptured frieze of the Erechtheion, which is examined as fully as possible for the first time since Boulter's 1970 study of the presence of various hands in its sculptural styles.⁴ In previous scholarship, the frieze has been studied from several angles but infrequently from the perspective of the larger picture of narrative sculpture in the High Classical period and as a reflection of contemporary ideals and concerns. If, as has been suggested more than a century ago, the frieze represents a series of scenes related to the life and mythology

² Lesk's dissertation is the most up-to-date and comprehensive source for the entire history of the Erechtheion, including its post-Classical phases, which will be only briefly discussed within this chapter.

³ Pallat 1912, 1935, and 1937.

⁴ Boulter 1970. A recent MA thesis (Smoke 2010) attempts to give an interpretation of the frieze, importing Connelly's 1996 reading of the Parthenon frieze onto the Erechtheion, but has not been published nor does it particularly succeed in thorough analysis.

surrounding early Athenian figures such as Erichthonios and Erechtheus, then it is a noteworthy example of the Athenians' visual engagement with their ancestral roots. In addition, the *korai* from the south porch will be examined in this new light for their interactions with the temple and the space surrounding it.

In turn, this study will lead to a broader understanding on the Erechtheion's strategic placement in the landscape of the Acropolis, and how it fulfills the implications of autochthony during late fifth century Athens. Brought to life by the medium of architectural sculpture during the Peloponnesian War, the location of the Erechtheion in the topography of Athens situates the monument in an extremely prominent position, and provides a visual stage for the imagery of autochthony to be played out, within and around a temple central to the worship of the goddess Athena and her primitive cult image, and witnessed by Athenian citizens in the heart of their religious space.

Siting the Erechtheion: History of a Monument

First, however, it is helpful to recognize that even before the temple that is known today as the Erechtheion was constructed, the location of its placement on the Acropolis had a long history that was closely linked to the mythology of the landscape. It became almost a sort of “museum of curiosities” for the collections of religious objects it embodied as well as the multitude of other cult places which it incorporated into its area and plan.⁵ Located on the north side of the Acropolis' sprawling rock, the Erechtheion was situated in an area rich with history (**Figure 49**). Unlike the fate that has befallen other temples, the Erechtheion is fortunate to have preserved the majority of its substructure and

⁵ Wycherley 1978, 150. I thank Michael Lane for describing the Erechtheion as a “museum of curiosities,” which is an apt rendition for the relatively small, treasury-like temple. See also Kontoleon 1949.

superstructure. Its reconstruction, however, complicates our understanding of the use of the immediate area before the Late Classical period. The site around the Erechtheion shows traces of Bronze Age remains, which were first studied by L.B. Holland, who suggested the presence of a palace.⁶ Holland's theories were met with skepticism, and since this study, Iacovides and Bundgaard determined instead that the area had traces of Bronze Age habitation. Although no traces of a palatial structure were found, small houses, pottery, and children's graves support the idea of habitation, though the extent of which Bronze Age peoples occupied the citadel is not entirely clear.⁷ For the present purposes of this study, it is sufficient to note that there is evidence for a long-standing history of human presence in this particular area of the Acropolis.⁸

The area of the Erechtheion had a rich literary tradition surrounding it as well. It is known that the Athenian hero-king Erechtheus was worshipped on the Acropolis, thanks to the writings of Herodotus, who in Book 8 refers to there being on the Acropolis a shrine of Erechtheus. He describes the Athenian king as the "Earthborn," and noted that he had a shrine (νηός, not a σηκός as in Euripides' *Erechtheus*) that included an olive tree and a pool of salt water that marked the spot where the struggle between Athena and Poseidon took place, according to the Athenians (Ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσᾳ ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης μαρτύρια

⁶ See Holland 1924.

⁷ Lesk (2004, 17f) provides a helpful summary of the Bronze Age inhabitation of the site. Some beginning sources include Iacovides 1962 (especially 47-96), Bundgaard 1974 and 1976, and Hurwit 1999. See also Hurwit 1999, 70-84.

⁸ Given the scope of this project, the entire history of scholarship on the Erechtheion and the Acropolis is simply not possible. Lesk 2004 provides the most valuable contribution to the history of excavation and study of the Erechtheion and its surroundings, and serves as a model for bibliographic references. In addition, since her 2004 study, few substantial contributions have been made to the understanding of the Erechtheion.

θέσθαι).⁹ Clairmont suggests that we look to the north of the Temple of Athena Polias for this shrine,¹⁰ which would give it a location somewhere in the vicinity of the current Erechtheion.

Centuries later, such a shrine was thought to have still existed in the time of Cicero as well, for he wrote in *On the Nature of the Gods* (*de Natura Deorum*) that “if Amphiaraus and Trophonius are gods, unquestionably Erechtheus is one, whose shrine and priest we have seen at Athens.” (sed si sunt i di, est certe Erechtheus, cuius Athenis et delubrum vidimus et sacerdotem).¹¹ It seems logical to believe that this shrine was on the Acropolis, as that was where the myths concerning Erichthonios and Erechtheus were centered, including Homeric references that most certainly refer to that location.¹² And indeed, the shrine described by Cicero could have actually been the temple that is seen today. Ultimately, the writings of Homer, Herodotus, and Cicero all suggest a centuries-long continuity on the Acropolis linking the autochthonous Erechtheus to this place and most likely to the Erechtheion as well.

The older sacred space occupied today by the Classical temple has been referred to by Hurwit as the “Pre-Erechtheion.”¹³ A rough sketch plan (**Figure 50**) of what this area might have looked like in the time of Herodotus (that is, after the Persian wars and during the construction of the Parthenon) shows the exposed foundations of the Archaïos Naos and, to the north, a loosely-defined sanctuary area incorporating the Kekropion, with the Pandroseion just outside of it and the Temple of Athena Polias to the east.¹⁴ Various

⁹ Herodotus 8.55.2-5.

¹⁰ Clairmont 1971, 474.

¹¹ Cicero, *de Natura Deorum* 3.49.

¹² Discussed previously in Chapter 3, p. 75-76 (Hom., *Il.* 2.547-9).

¹³ Hurwit 1999, *passim*.

¹⁴ This sketch is provided by Hurwit 1999, 145, fig. 115. In his footnotes, Hurwit notes that the sketch is “as of this writing, unpublished but that was exhibited in Athens and elsewhere in Europe in the 1980s and is currently on display in the ‘Erechtheion Room’ of the Center for Acropolis Studies (Makriyianni).” This center

interpretations of this area have been proposed since the time of Orlandos, from suggestions of simple temples to enclosures to sacred temene, with little concrete evidence for the actual architectural remains.¹⁵ To say just how “religious” or “sacred” this area was would be misleading, as insufficient evidence exists to support a claim for interpretation.

These issues of defining the pre-Erechtheion area account for some of the difficulties embedded in the term “Erechtheion” itself, and help to explain why even the name of today’s Late Classical temple can be perceived as problematic. The building accounts from the Acropolis, for example, refer to it not as the Erechtheion, but rather as the “temple in which the ancient image is.”¹⁶ In addition, as Lesk points out, referring to the temple by the names of its probable predecessor, the Temple of Athena Polias and the “Archaïos Naos” (as some scholars have done), is “generic and cumbersome” as well as “unacceptable because of the polemic surrounding this terminology.”¹⁷ Scholarship has shown time and again that the Temple of Athena Polias and the Archaïos Naos refer not necessarily to today’s Erechtheion, but its predecessors to the south of it as well, and the term “Archaïos Naos” was sometimes used for what we call the Erechtheion today. Yet at the same time, ancient sources indeed only refer to a building called the “Erechtheion” twice: once in Pausanias, and once in Pseudo-Plutarch.¹⁸ Neither of these authors, however, is particularly helpful in confirming that the building we see today is, indeed, the Erechtheion, and both are later than the Classical period.

As such, some scholars have argued that the small temple to the north of the Parthenon is not actually the Erechtheion, and that that temple should be located elsewhere

no longer exists since the opening of the New Acropolis Museum, but is it possible that the plan is within the storerooms and/or offices of the museum.

¹⁵ For an overview, see Lesk 2004, 19-20.

¹⁶ See *IG I³* 474, discussed more in depth below, p. 160.

¹⁷ Lesk 2004, 7. See her discussion (7-8) for a good summation of the problems of what to call the temple in question.

¹⁸ Pausanias I.26.5, Pseudo-Plutarch, *Decem Oratorum Vitae*, Lycurgus 843E.

on the Acropolis, such as the “House of the Arrephoroi” to the northeast and closer to the north slope, as Jeppesen has argued.¹⁹ This chapter will help lay the matter to rest by examining Erechtheion with the sculptural decoration from the temple, suggesting that its name correlated to the themes of autochthony in its frieze and is thus appropriate. Another way to settle this debate is to look at the literary sources directly. Even though the building accounts do not use the term “Erechtheion,” the second century CE author Pausanias is, as usual, our most helpful source for our knowledge of the Acropolis’ topography. Pausanias’ passage identifies the Erechtheion as follows (1.26.5):

- ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον· πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου Διὸς ἔστι βωμὸς Ὑπάτου, ἔνθα ἔμψυχον θύουσιν οὐδέν, πέμματα δὲ θέντες οὐδέν ἔτι οἶνω χρήσασθαι νομίζουσιν. Ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ εἰσι βωμοί, Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ’ οὗ καὶ Ἐρεχθεῖ θύουσιν ἕκ του μαντεύματος, καὶ ἥρωος Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ Ἥφαιστου· γραφαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ γένους εἰσὶ τοῦ Βουταδῶν καὶ - διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἶκημα - ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἔνδον θαλάσσιον ἐν φρέατι. τοῦτο μὲν θαῦμα οὐ μέγα· καὶ γὰρ ὅσοι μεσόγαιαν οἰκοῦσιν, ἄλλοις τε ἔστι καὶ Καρσίην Ἀφροδισιεῦσιν· ἀλλὰ τόδε τὸ φρέαρ ἐς συγγραφὴν παρέχεται κυμάτων ἤχον ἐπὶ νότῳ πνεύσαντι. καὶ τριαίνης ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ σχῆμα· ταῦτα δὲ λέγεται Ποσειδῶνι μαρτύρια ἐς τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν τῆς χώρας φανῆναι.

...there is also a building called the Erechtheion: before the entrance is an altar of Zeus Hypatos (the Highest), on which they sacrifice no living thing but offer cakes, the custom also being not to use wine. Those who enter find altars of Poseidon, on which they also sacrifice to Erechtheus according to an oracle, of the hero Boutes, and third, of Hephaistos. On the walls are paintings of members of the Boutadai family, and also inside - for the building is double - there is sea-water in a reservoir. This is no great marvel, for other peoples who live inland also have such things - the Aphrodisians in Karia, for example. But this cistern is worth writing about because it produces the sound of waves when a south wind blows. And in the rock there is the form of a trident: these marks, it is said, appeared as evidence for Poseidon during the dispute over the land.²⁰

¹⁹ Jeppesen 1987. Noel Robertson (1996, 37-44) proposed another location, at the so-called “Heroön of Pandion.” Also known as Building IV, this possible sanctuary was located in the southeast angle of the Acropolis; see Hurwit 1999, 188-189.

²⁰ Translation is from Hurwit (1999, 308), and is slightly modified from Jones’ translation (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, 1918).

Pausanias' passage reveals a number of important aspects regarding the temple, all of which must have still been recognizable as defining characteristics of the Erechtheion in the second century.

His description leaves little doubt that the treasury-like temple on the north side of the Acropolis must be the Erechtheion of which he speaks, particularly in regards to his location and his description of cult places. For one, altars graced both its exterior and interior. These altars were meant for gods and heroes alike (Zeus Hypatos, Poseidon, and Hephaistos, and Boutes and Erechtheus, respectively), indicating the presence of multiple figures of worship, rather than just a single deity or hero.²¹ Although the altars have long disappeared, archaeological excavation has revealed thrones of the priests of both Hephaistos and Boutes, both of which have been found and are inscribed with fourth century BCE letterforms, ΙΕΡΩΣ ΒΟΥΤΟΥ and ΙΕΡΩΣ ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΥ .²² Furthermore, the building had the wall space for paintings, which, like the space and architecture itself, emphasized familial lineages and ancestry, and the temple's architectural plan was also designated as "double" ($\delta\iota\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\nu$), a term to which we will return. And although "no great marvel," according to Pausanias, the sea-water in a reservoir which he mentions surely imparted a certain lore to its antiquity, along with all of the other embedded histories in the Erechtheion.

In sum, the Erechtheion was a temple that incorporated spaces that were sacred to multiple figures of myth and history. Yet its popular name, "Erechtheion," suggests at the same time that its primary importance bore some connection to the history of the early kings of Athens, even if this name was not widely used in antiquity. Within this framework, I argue

²¹ For more information on Zeus in Athens, see Wycherley 1964, 175f. Zeus Hypatos was worshipped on the Pnyx as well, where he had a healing shrine.

²² As illustrated in Paton et al. 1927, Figure 206.

that the Erechtheion as a temple was closely related to the most common themes of autochthony, including birth, ancestry, and Athenian identity, which we have already discussed in the iconography of fifth century vase painting. This will give weight to our understanding of the Erechtheion's iconographic program. Although the incorporation of multiple earlier cult places was of great importance in defining the Erechtheion's "identity," its architectural adornment was also of chief concern, and its abundant imagery in its frieze and *korai* was surely related to themes of autochthony and Athenian identity, as we will see. Past and present became the guiding factors in the Erechtheion's form, design, and meaning, and its completion at the end of the fifth century BCE made a conspicuous mark in the realization of the landscape and topography of the Acropolis as a sanctuary imbued with multiple associations to Athenian history, religion, and mythology.

Architectural Form and Meaning

In its simplest form, today's Erechtheion is an Ionic hexastyle, prostyle temple with two annex porches on its sides (**Figure 51**). Much of what we know about the temple has been aided by the reconstructions of Balanos, and the primary monograph publication, which includes all aspects of the temple, from architecture to inscriptions to sculpture, was undertaken during the same time period in the 1920s by Paton et al.²³ This has allowed for a fairly accurate understanding of the temple's architecture, though further restorations in the late 1970s and 1980s added to our knowledge.²⁴ While every block of the Erechtheion has been studied in depth thanks to Paton and his successors' efforts, the unusual form of the Erechtheion still remains to this day rather perplexing. According to Dinsmoor, the irregular

²³ Paton et al. 1927; Balanos 1938.

²⁴ See Papanikolaou 1994 for an overview.

layout of the temple must have been “not that which any architect could have desired,” and modifications had to be made based on the foundations of the nearby Peisistratid temple and the irregular geography of the landscape.²⁵ This difficulty of planning and construction gives further support to the notion that the Erechtheion in and of itself was closely connected to the earth and the earlier cult places it encompassed, insofar as deliberate care was taken not to disturb its own architectural ancestry.²⁶ It was, in effect, the very model of autochthony in its architectural form, seemingly born from the earth itself.

The Erechtheion was also constructed of multiple types of stone, which surely gave it a multi-layered look and a richness that was far more common in Roman monuments.²⁷ These techniques reflect the thought and care that went into the Erechtheion’s planning and construction, mirroring its long conception: soft, yellow poros was used for the foundations and the euthynteria, Aeginetan poros limestone was incorporated here and there, Kara limestone formed the building blocks of the foundations of the south porch and south walls of the cella building, and Pentelic marble was utilized in the foundations, the euthynteria, the krepis, superstructure, tiles (which were of a Corinthian type), and the figures of the frieze. Furthermore, Eleusinian limestone was used for the entablature of the frieze, which will be discussed in more detail below.²⁸ The temple’s walls were constructed in ashlar isodomic masonry, and there is evidence that wooden grills were placed between the columns.

Two of the three porches of the Erechtheion, which were built on its south and north sides, might at first appear incongruous and unexpected, but in fact they work quite

²⁵ Dinsmoor 1950, 190.

²⁶ In contrast to the nearby Parthenon, the construction of which entailed massive leveling of the south side of the Acropolis, with deep foundation trenches that were set into place for the Older Parthenon. See Hill 1909.

²⁷ See Paton et al. (1927, 181) for information on the types of stone used in the Erechtheion’s construction.

²⁸ Types of building materials: Boersma 1970, 182. Eleusinian limestone entablature: see Frickenhaus 1906, especially Plate IV.

harmoniously with the landscape and surrounding structures. For example, Lawrence notes that the south porch “points like a blunt finger at the Parthenon,” while the north porch, on the other hand “acts as a counterpart to the sturdy pteron by providing a flimsy, airy cluster of columns.”²⁹ While the locations of the porches might seem unexpected compared to other temples, they actually still fit in quite well with the earlier topography. These peculiarities of form were even noticeable in antiquity, at least for Vitruvius, who noted how the Erechtheion uniquely placed on its sides what is normally reserved for the front, although a third short porch lay to the east of the temple, as was more typical.³⁰

Each porch also embodies aspects unique to the Erechtheion and different from other temple architecture. The south porch’s highlight was its famous *korai*, and it was built not only atop the foundations of the old Athena temple, but it incorporated parts of its foundations as a sort of “symbolic relic for the caryatids of the little south porch to stand on.”³¹ Reading the *korai* as symbolic markers, as Kontoleon and Scholl proposed, it has been suggested that the south porch incorporated the Tomb of Kekrops, also referred to as the Kekropeion.³² Other scholars see the porch more simply as a “(narrow and twisted) physical bridge between the old cult place of Athena Polias and her new home in the western portion of the Erechtheion.”³³

On the other hand, the north porch of the Erechtheion incorporated important aspects related to the other cults associated with the temple. In particular, the ceiling, which was made of marble coffers, had an opening which has been suggested “betokened the trajectory of the trident of Poseidon, or alternatively, the spot where Zeus sent a thunderbolt

²⁹ Lawrence 1996, 123.

³⁰ Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 4.8.4.

³¹ Rhodes 1995, 134.

³² Kontoleon (1949, 69-71 and 75) and Scholl 1995 and 1998.

³³ See Lesk (2004, 60) for an overview of the scholarship.

at the end of the contest between Athena and Poseidon.”³⁴ It was this porch that Vitruvius claimed to be the entrance to the Temple of Athena Polias,³⁵ demonstrating how even he conflated the temple with its predecessor. As Lesk points out, “Vitruvius’ identification of the transverse temple as belonging to Athena is the most concrete evidence for the cult of Athena Polias in the Ionic temple rather than in the Archaic temple of Athena or solely in the east part of the Erechtheion.”³⁶ This porch was of considerable height in contrast to the south porch, and dominates the Acropolis when viewed from the Agora below, even today, illuminating the important aspects of its topographical significance.

The rest of the Erechtheion’s architectural form was somewhat more typical, although even its interior design deviated from standard temple plans. The cella of the Erechtheion itself had a shallow eastern porch of six Ionic columns in style similar to the north porch. To the west, in the back of the temple, a two-story wall divided a basement of ashlar masonry with one door, while above four Ionic engaged columns framed five windows that were Roman additions, a result of renovations undertaken during the reign of Augustus.³⁷ Within the building, things become somewhat murkier, as the temple was converted into a church, as was often the case after Antiquity. Travlos most recently and quite extensively has covered the architectural remains of the interior, and although his proposal was met with some resistance, his is the generally accepted and most logical theory.³⁸ Excavations have revealed trace evidence that there was a wall running north-south that divided the cella in two: the “double building” (διπλοῦν οἶκημα) that Pausanias saw. Hurwit suggested that the eastern room, slightly smaller than the room to the west, was

³⁴ Jenkins 2006, 122.

³⁵ Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 4.8.4.

³⁶ Lesk 2004, 65.

³⁷ Hurwit 2004, 168.

³⁸ Travlos 1971b. For an overview of the differing opinions in regards to the interior of the temple, see Lesk 2004, 42.

where the cult statue of Athena Polias was located, as it was in this room that there were two windows for natural light.³⁹ The architects of the Erechtheion were acutely cognizant of keeping intact the sacred surrounding landscape.

Dating the Erechtheion

Traditionally, the beginning of the Erechtheion's construction has been dated to 421 BCE, during the Peace of Nikias, and it was completed in 406 with only a short interruption due to the effects of the Peloponnesian War. The date of 421 is a conventional date: the Peace of Nikias gave to Athens what Boersma refers to as a "breathing space in which an economic revival was possible," and an atmosphere ripe with the potential for new construction.⁴⁰ This included activity in Athens as well as Attica, including a great deal of work on sanctuaries and other religious spaces, and also takes into account both new construction as well as the resumption of projects that had to be postponed during the first phase of the Peloponnesian War.⁴¹ In addition, a date of 421-406 BCE is based in part on the fact that there is no mention of the Erechtheion (or even the "temple on the Acropolis in which is the ancient image") in the Kallias Decree of 434/3 BCE, nor is it included in Plutarch's list of Periklean building projects.⁴² If this date is to be accepted, it would place the Erechtheion outside the realm of the Periklean building program.

The last phases of the Erechtheion's construction, within the last decade of the fifth century, on the other hand, have been dated largely by the temple's building accounts, which

³⁹ Hurwit 1999, 203.

⁴⁰ Boersma 1970, 86. Boersma further states (87) that such recovery can be seen in the construction of wealthy Athenian houses such as the Dema house and others in Thorikos, which are a "vivid witness to Athens' rapid though temporary revival."

⁴¹ Boersma 1970, 87. In essence, architectural construction took place both on the private level as well as the level of the *demos*.

⁴² As demonstrated by Hurwit 1999, 158.

are well preserved. In addition, literary sources, and chiefly the composition of Euripides' *Erechtheus*, have made an argument for the late 420s BCE. With the accepted date of the first performance of Euripides' *Erechtheus*, some scholars have suggested a simultaneous dating for the beginning of the construction of the Erechtheion in about 422/421 BCE. Calder, for one, tried to date Euripides' *Erechtheus* to 422 BCE, based on the period of the construction of the Erechtheion.⁴³ He formulated his observation on Paton's date for the temple of 421 BCE, resulting in a circuitous argument.⁴⁴ Other scholars have considered the date of the construction of the Erechtheion as tied closely to the mention of the *sekos* in Euripides' text.⁴⁵ These scholars, primarily philologists, have tried to set a date by working under the assumption that the construction of an architectural monument is synonymous with the dating of the written source that describes it, a methodology which should be viewed with a dose of skepticism.

This literary means of dating the Erechtheion, based on a fragmentary play of already uncertain date, is a drastically different approach towards the complex understanding of the topography of the Acropolis: in using literary sources to attempt to give dates to architectural structures, the potential of archaeology's ability to give firm dates undermined. Until recently, however, this attempt at dating was the norm for the temple, and the Erechtheion was thought of as a largely post-Periklean project, perhaps not even part of the Acropolis transformer's original plan. In the 1980s, however, Manolis Korres proposed that unfluted column drums from the Old Propylon, which became available for use only after construction of the "new" Propylaia was begun in 437/6 BCE, were used in the construction of north wall of the Erechtheion. Such findings thus placed the beginning of

⁴³ Calder 1969, 154.

⁴⁴ Clairmont (1971, 488f.) dismisses Calder's theory and discusses possible reasons for Euripides' composing of the *Erechtheus*.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Treu 1971, who dated the start of construction to 423 BCE.

the construction of the Erechtheion to before 431 BCE and he attributed its plan to Mnesicles,⁴⁶ thus giving an earlier date to the temple's construction than had been understood through Euripides. This idea is corroborated by Hans Goette, who states that "the Erechtheion is a Perikleian temple both in its plan and in its foundation."⁴⁷

Dix and Anderson suggest a similar date based on a decree from the Eteocarpathians, who sent a cypress beam to Athens to be used in the Erechtheion's construction.⁴⁸ This action was an effect of the intervention of Athens on the island of Karpathos shortly before 434/3 BCE and the reciprocal relationship established between the koinon of the Eteocarpathioi there and the Athenians. The decree was originally given a date in the fourth century BCE, but was subsequently redated to about 445-430 instead.⁴⁹ With this proposal, Dix and Anderson suggest the cypress beam mentioned in the inscription was meant for the Erechtheion instead of the Parthenon. From this proposition, they extrapolate a date for the beginning of the Erechtheion's construction in the early 430s as well.⁵⁰

Both Korres and especially Dix and Anderson's suggestions are not without problems, however. Korres' suggestion merely gives a *terminus post quem* for the beginning of construction, but the completion of the Erechtheion is still known to be 406 BCE, based on its building accounts. For Dix and Anderson, dating the construction of a temple based on the re-dating of an inscription seems somewhat tenuous, just as is dating a temple based on scattered fragments of a Euripidean play.⁵¹ It seems best to adhere to Hurwit's rather conservative suggestion that the Erechtheion may very well have been planned in the mid-430s as part of the original Periklean building program - after all, a new temple to Athena

⁴⁶ Korres 1988, 612.

⁴⁷ Goette 2001, 28.

⁴⁸ First see Dix and Anderson 1997, followed in more detail by Anderson and Dix 2004.

⁴⁹ Originally, the decree was dated to 393 BCE (Paton et al. 1927, 462n. 2). Others have dated it to 377 BCE (Dinsmoor 1932, 155-156) and 394-390 BCE (Mansfield 1985, 202).

⁵⁰ Anderson and Dix 2004, especially 22-23.

⁵¹ Yet their findings accord well with Korres 1988.

Polias was needed after the destruction of the Old Athena Temple by the Persians - and the Erechtheion may have even broken ground by then, but construction certainly was slowed by the beginnings of the Peloponnesian War.⁵²

Whether or not the entirety of the Erechtheion's sculptural decoration was determined at its conception or modified or even drastically changed in the intervening years is difficult if not impossible to determine. In any case, we have already seen how the iconography of autochthony gained new traction after the Persian Wars. Scenes from the myths of Erichthonios were already in circulation by the time the Erechtheion broke ground. With the advent of the Peloponnesian War, however, the myths of autochthony certainly took on new, deeper meanings, and given what we know and will discover about the sculptural decoration of the Erechtheion, we will begin to see this temple's narratives fit well within the specific time in which the temple was constructed. I argue that regardless of the temple's inception, its architectural sculpture in both style and subject matter reflect the mindset of the effects of the Peloponnesian War and the atmosphere of the late fifth century.

Given the complicated nature of the Erechtheion, its planning may have taken a significant amount of time as well. The temple's elevations exist on multiple levels (**Figure 52**), emphasizing its complicated geography that incorporates a variety of cult places. Its plan, too, is asymmetrical; unlike other Greek temples, its ground plan is not immediately clear and formulaic. According to Lawrence, both plan and elevation are explicably intended to be an "unobtrusive counterweight" to the nearby Parthenon; Rhodes also believes this it was a conscious decision not to level the site with fill, and instead it was the goal to "express

⁵² Hurwit 1999, 158. Hurwit's suggestion appears to take into account Korres' proposal.

emphatically those irregularities” that were present in the natural topography of the site.⁵³ The topography was thus kept as it was, dropping some three meters from the east to the west end of the building.⁵⁴ Rhodes notes, too, that while the temple is largely Ionic in decoration, its plan and elevations “are the architectural expression of the complex aggregation of myths, of narratives that surround the foundation of the city of Athens.”⁵⁵ If the Erechtheion’s architectural structure reflects this history and mythological background, then so does its iconography; both elements come together to accentuate the Athenian preoccupation with the topography of the Acropolis and its relationship with autochthony in the late fifth century BCE.

The Old Athena Temple: An Archaic Predecessor to the Erechtheion

Part of the difficulties in dating the Erechtheion and also determining its function in the Classical landscape is the unanswered question of its relationship to the earlier foundations just to its south. This space, which lies between the Erechtheion and the Parthenon, is one of the most problematic areas of the Acropolis. The foundations there are usually referred to as the Archaïos Naos, or the Old Athena Temple, but the earlier structure is also often called the “Dörpfeld Temple” after the late 19th century excavator Wilhelm Dörpfeld.⁵⁶ In the Archaic period, this temple lay in the area immediately south of today’s Erechtheion; its construction dates to the late sixth century, although this has also often

⁵³ Lawrence (1996, 120), and Rhodes (1995, 134).

⁵⁴ Jenkins 2006, 121.

⁵⁵ Rhodes 1995, 140.

⁵⁶ Dörpfeld recognized the foundations in 1885; for early excavation reports, see Dörpfeld 1885 and 1886 as well as Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906.

been contested.⁵⁷ Dinsmoor determined that with the transfer of the ancient cult image of Athena from the destroyed Archaic temple to the Erechtheion after the Persian Wars, the terminology for the temple followed, ultimately resulting in a shift of nomenclature.⁵⁸ Thus the fifth century Erechtheion could technically also be referred to as the Archaios Naos, and may have been known by several names, even in antiquity.⁵⁹ Its title as “Archaios Naos” has been seen as more of an “honorary title rather than a descriptive one,” according to Gerding.⁶⁰

The general scholarly opinion regarding the Erechtheion’s function is that the structure was a “combined temple,” planned to house primarily two deities. Athena Polias was represented in the eastern portion of the temple, and Poseidon Erechtheus and other assorted cults were located in the western part of the temple (**Figure 5**).⁶¹ This would explain the division of the interior cella quite well, and also accounts for how the Erechtheion rests on the foundations of the north side of the Old Athena Temple. For many years, the accepted scholarly opinion has been that the Erechtheion fulfilled a triplicate purpose in its interior design: to “replace the Old Temple [of Athena], to house the old image, and to unite in an organized building several shrines and places of religious significance.”⁶² This multifaceted purpose of construction may have been one of the contributing factors and the primary reason for the Erechtheion’s unusual layout and design.

An earlier Temple of Athena Polias was, according to Boersma, a temporary structure, a “shrine of light construction” whose traces were found in the foundations of the

⁵⁷ See Stähler 1972 and 1978 as well as Childs 1994. Dörpfeld 1885 and 1886 originally proposed an earlier temple dating to the 570s; this is most likely the so-called Hekatompedon. For an overview of the issues with chronology, see Paga 2012, 51f., including 63 n. 28 for issues of nomenclature.

⁵⁸ Dinsmoor 1932, 324 n. 2.

⁵⁹ Dinsmoor 1932, 308-309.

⁶⁰ Gerding 2006, 389.

⁶¹ See most recently Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 73.

⁶² Lawrence 1996, 120.

Erechtheion.⁶³ It was constructed of limestone towards the end of the sixth century BCE and was meant to house the cult statue of Athena Polias. The “Dörpfeld theory,” in contrast, argued for a restoration of the Old Temple of Athena at the site of the foundations south of the Erechtheion.⁶⁴ Gloria Ferrari attempted to resurrect this hypothesis in an article which suggested that the Old Athena Temple was left preserved, to some extent, after its destruction by the Persians, and that it was used as a sort of commemorative monument, remaining the with the title “Archaïos Naos” and still housing the cult statue of Athena Polias. Basing her argument on literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence, Ferrari came to the conclusion that the Erechtheion was a temple of Erechtheus, and that the temple where the ancient image of Athena Polias was kept was the same structure that dated to Archaic times, its ruins left on display on the Acropolis.⁶⁵ Ferrari’s argument even pushes the visibility of the cella of the Old Athena temple down into the Roman period, where it was preserved in a partially-ruined state that was “the background against which the new Periclean buildings acquire[d] their meaning.”⁶⁶

Ferrari argued that the building accounts from the Erechtheion referred to blocks used for repairs to the Old Athena Temple. Pakkanen, however, challenged this notion, and instead assigned these blocks to the Erechtheion itself.⁶⁷ While we have instead accepted the idea of the Archaïos Naos as equated with the Erechtheion in the last quarter of the fifth century, Ferrari’s ideas still have some merits, particularly in terms of the topography of the Acropolis in and after the Periclean building program. A return to the focus on the

⁶³ Boersma 1970, 181 (Cat. 49). Boersma does not elaborate what form or materials these traces constitute.

⁶⁴ Gerding 2006. Korres 1997b provides an overview of the various scholarly debates; see Figure 1 for an illustrated chart that plots out the Older Parthenon, H architecture, etc.

⁶⁵ Ferrari 2002, 16.

⁶⁶ Ferrari 2002, 11.

⁶⁷ Pakkanen 2006.

Erechtheion as the central repository for the cult image of Athena Polias is also important,⁶⁸ as it describes how this temple functioned as a monument to a history both old and new, housing not only the ancient image of Athena but also giving new life to the iconography of autochthony through imagery related to the early kings of Athens. As the meanings of autochthony shifted in the second half of the fifth century BCE to an intense concern with the correlation between identity and local topography, the Erechtheion's construction also accentuated these themes in the development of its architectural form and decoration.

Housing Antiquity: The Athena Polias and Other Objects

Finally, a discussion of the Erechtheion and its predecessors must include a discussion of the temple's primary purpose: to house illustrious objects, including the most famous image of Athena on the Acropolis, the Athena Polias. A theme common to the Old Athena Temple and the Erechtheion was that its chief purpose, as is generally accepted, was to house the ancient image of Athena Polias, the most primeval sculpture on the Acropolis.⁶⁹ Like the temple in which it stood, the statue of Athena Polias presents us with a complicated and incomplete picture. For one, it is unknown what form the cult image took, whether it was aniconic or figural, whether it was seated or standing, and whether it may have changed form or gathered adornments over time.⁷⁰ What we do know is that the Athena Polias was one of the three most famous statues of Athena on the Acropolis, although they were not the only ones of the goddess.⁷¹ The Polias was most probably a non-warlike Athena, in

⁶⁸ As argued by Paga 2012, 127: "The name *archaios neos* refers to the building in which the ancient *agalma* of Athena Polias was located."

⁶⁹ This was first proposed by Paton et al. 1927, 465-478.

⁷⁰ For a recent overview of the various suggestions, see Platt 2011, 92. Kroll 1982 also discusses the literary and archaeological sources for what the image looked like.

⁷¹ Ridgway 1992 discusses the various types of images of Athena on the Acropolis.

contrast to the Promachos outside and the Parthenos in the Parthenon.⁷² In addition, since the Polias no longer survives except in images on coins and small replicas, much has been lost that could aid our discussion of how the cult image functioned within the Erechtheion. The Polias, however, certainly stood in contrast to the Parthenos, not only in its iconography but also since it was imbued with a sense of antiquity, much like the earliest stories of Athens themselves. And, like Erichthonios' birth, it had a strange inception.

The statue of Athena Polias is generally referred to as a *xoanon*, a class of object often associated etymologically with a certain material, wood (ξύλον, and the related adjective ξοανός, made from wood) which has been carved. Apollodorus (3.14.6) tells us that this *xoanon* of Athena was set up together with one of Erichthonios, but little else about the image. Pausanias, on the other hand, refers to the statue as simply an *agalma* (1.26.6), but this terminology is typical for his time period.⁷³ He also relates, with some skepticism, that the statue fell from the heavens in a moment of revelation; indeed, she was “epiphanic in origin,” as Platt points out (φήμη δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπέζειμι ἢ ἴτε ἄλλως ἔχει).⁷⁴ The connections to Erichthonios made in Apollodorus' description are intriguing, and Pausanias' addition that suggests that the statue had a divine origin and was not crafted by human hands adds an otherworldly dimension to this image.⁷⁵ It also had a close association with ritual activity, specifically to the Panathenaia, and regularly underwent actions more common to humans, such as being dressed in a peplos and ritual bathing at the Plynteria.⁷⁶

⁷² Simon (1983, 46) suggests that she was seated and without weapons.

⁷³ See Donohue 1988, 119.

⁷⁴ Platt 2011, 105.

⁷⁵ Eusebios, *Praeparatio Evangelica* x.9.15, similarly attributes the statue's origin to Kekrops.

⁷⁶ Simon (1983, 47-48) discusses the Plynteria.

Of course, Athena was not the only Greek deity associated with the Erechtheion. The temple also incorporated earlier cult places while illuminating deities who had a long history in Athenian mythology, such as Poseidon and Erechtheus.⁷⁷ We have already seen how there was a focus on both gods (Athena, Poseidon, Hephaistos) as well as heroes (Erechtheus, Boutes) within and surrounding the temple. Along with their worship came a number of votive offerings, paintings, and other objects of veneration, all of which suggest that the Erechtheion became almost like a treasure house, a repository of sacred things. The temple is different from others, however, in its sanctity towards both the gods above but also the more mortal heroes of history – another aspect which was expressed in the iconography of its frieze. For example, Boutes, who most likely appeared on the west pediment of the Parthenon, was associated with the worship of Poseidon and Erechtheus and was the eponymous ancestor of the Eteoboutadai.⁷⁸ While not much is known about Boutes, Erechtheus' presence in the Erechtheion was strongly felt, including the myths related to Athenian history that were part of its iconography.

The Erechtheion also became a repository for numerous sacred objects, most of which are known today only from inscriptions, as their precious materials were lost, melted down, or otherwise disappeared. One extant artifact, for example, is a bronze lamp in the shape of a boat and inscribed with the letters **ΙΕΡΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΣ**.⁷⁹ The plethora of objects compiled by Harris suggests that the Erechtheion was a well-organized repository for both the sacred image of Athena as well as other sacred objects.⁸⁰ A further sense of antiquity in the area is confirmed by the modern belief that the Erechtheion, and specifically

⁷⁷ See Clairmont 1971, 488.

⁷⁸ Spaeth 1991, 359. Hurwit (1999, 209) also suggests he may have been the subject of one of the south metopes. See Simon 1975 and Harrison 1979 and 1984.

⁷⁹ Paton et al. 1927, p. 572. Bronze lamp = Akr. X 7038. See Vokotopoulou 1997, 272 no. 197.

⁸⁰ Harris 1995.

the south Maiden porch, was the site of the tomb of Kekrops, based in part by the discovery of a large Ionic column found built into the north Acropolis wall to the east of the Erechtheion, which Korres proposed was part of an “independent monument” that was commemorative in nature. Korres suggested that the column was original set up near the Kekropeion near the Maiden porch, near the intersection of the walls of the Erechtheion and in place at the time of the temple’s construction.⁸¹

The Erechtheion’s Building Accounts

The building accounts for the Erechtheion are particularly important in that they provide us with information about the construction of the temple and its decoration. As the first detailed records of a building project, the inscriptions outline the report of a commission organized in 409/8 BCE with the goal of finishing the temple.⁸² The accounts never refer to the Erechtheion by the name as it is known today, but rather it is designated as the “the temple in which the ancient image is.”⁸³ Furthermore, with these building accounts we are able to discern lapses in the temple’s construction as well; they suggest that progress had been stalled on at least one occasion. They inscribed primarily in order to take an inventory of all finished and unfinished blocks of the temple, and the commissioners (*epistatai*) were assisted by an architect and a secretary.⁸⁴ The inscriptions also provide a

⁸¹ Korres 1997a.

⁸² They are compiled in Chapter IV of Paton et al. 1927 by L.D. Caskey (277-422), the primary source for the transliteration and analysis. Frickenhaus 1906 provided a preliminary study of the inscriptions, as did Dinsmoor 1913. Coulton (1977, 27) notes they are the first detailed records, and notes that the payment of one drachma per day for the skilled workmen was equivalent to other workmen in contemporary Greek sanctuaries such as Eleusis, Delphi, and Delos. The workforce, according to Dinsmoor (1984, 3) was quite varied.

⁸³ i.e., *IG I³ 474*.

⁸⁴ Cook 1987, 37. See also the personal communication of D. Schaps, unpublished, in Epstein 2013, 134. Unfinished blocks of the temple include a “half-finished” area near the Kekropeion: see *IG I³ 474*, lines 8 and following. This section of the inscription was the impetus for Ferrari’s proposal that these blocks belonged to the Old Athena Temple, which was rejected by Pakkanen 2006. Other sections of the temple were, in fact,

wealth of information regarding the progress of the temple's construction, those responsible for its carving, and the payments the laborers received. In this regard, the building accounts can add to our understanding of the Erechtheion's construction and its motives as well.

For the most part, the building accounts focus on the final years of the Erechtheion's construction and decoration, from 409-407 BCE, after a lull in construction during the Peloponnesian War.⁸⁵ The exact causes of the delay in construction the Erechtheion are not known, however, though the effects of the disastrous Sicilian expedition in 415 to 412 BCE have been suggested.⁸⁶ But the secure dates of these building accounts give a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the Erechtheion,⁸⁷ and demonstrate that the temple was in the continual process of being finished as of 409/8 BCE. This acknowledgment allows us to situate the building's completion firmly near the end of the Peloponnesian War, and it is interesting to consider what changes may have occurred in the design and iconography of the structure over time from when the structure was first planned to its completion.

The Erechtheion's building accounts are particularly useful as they inform us that the specific workforce was comprised of many workmen of various craft specialties who came from different social statuses.⁸⁸ In effect, several observations can be made regarding the workmen who built and decorated the temple. Truly a joint effort, there were over 110 workers that constituted the Erechtheion work force, including masons, carpenters,

never finished, even after the inscriptions were set up. See, for example, Paton et al. 1927, 308f, for ornamental details that were left unfinished.

⁸⁵ Several fragments are dated to the start of the commission, from 409/8 BCE, but others are assigned to the following years as well. Another fragment, *IG* II 829, records repairs after a fire, presumably inside the Erechtheion, which took place in 406 BCE. See Dinsmoor 1913, 264-265.

⁸⁶ Paton et al. 1927, 277.

⁸⁷ Frickenhaus 1906, 16, argued that the temple was effectively finished by the summer of 407 BCE, but Paton disputed this, bringing the date of completion down to 405.

⁸⁸ Some scholars posit that the process of temple building was a migratory position, in which architects and artisans roved Greece for work, which would account for the spread of ideas and styles See, for example, Burford 1969.

sculptors, painters, and laborers.⁸⁹ They worked both in groups together as well as alone, and some had assistants; this is reflected in the building accounts' description of payments received for their labors.⁹⁰ The uneven distribution of labor is at first startling: while perhaps it would be expected that slaves would comprise the largest percentage of workers, they in fact instead made up just twenty percent of the workers.

Metics, on the other hand, comprised over fifty percent of the labor force.⁹¹ Epstein has reflected on the reasoning for the use of metics far more than slaves, suggesting that slaves were a more risky economical choice, as the purchase of slaves for the sole purpose of a short-term project like the Erechtheion would net a selling price at the end of the project that was probably less than what the slaves were purchased for.⁹² Economically speaking, Schumacher compares and contrasts the use of slaves versus free workers in a discussion of productivity and the varied workforce.⁹³ In addition, the status of several workers and their names are not known and it is assumed by some scholars that this anonymity suggests they were slaves as well.⁹⁴ In any case, this analysis shows that Athenians and non-Athenians worked together in the construction of the temple.

Hurwit points out, furthermore, that the building accounts provide the personal names responsible for the various carved elements.⁹⁵ This was not particularly common in antiquity, and they are the most intriguing elements of the building accounts, for two reasons: the uncommon use of workers' names, which establish their identities, and the prices associated with the carving of specific figures. Burford, in her studies of the

⁸⁹ Dinsmoor 1984, 3.

⁹⁰ Epstein (2013, 136), who uses lines *IG I³* 475.31-51 and 476.192-218 as examples for these phenomena.

⁹¹ Hurwit 1999, 205.

⁹² Epstein 2008.

⁹³ Schumacher 2001, 131-136.

⁹⁴ See *IG I³* 475.272-285. Kuznetsov 2000, as summarized by Epstein 2008, 108 n. 1-2. Other lists of numbers of workers do not refer to their purpose, and possibly they were short-term workers; see Epstein 2008, 108 n. 2.

⁹⁵ Hurwit 2004, 178.

Epidaurean building accounts, suggests that the inclusion of artists' names is akin to votive inscriptions: that they "ensue[d] the excellence of the work" and that the inscriptions "enhanced the activity which they recorded."⁹⁶ For the Erechtheion, the lists also reflect the concerns of the late fifth century in recording the contributors to the temple's construction, displaying another rather unique aspect of this temple in the chronology of Greek architecture.

In sum, the building accounts of the Erechtheion provide us with a wealth of knowledge concerning various aspects of the temple's construction. They stand out from other inscriptions related to the Periklean program of buildings on the Acropolis, which include few construction details for the most part; on the other hand, the Erechtheion's lists of workers' names is similar to accounts from Eleusis.⁹⁷ The Erechtheion building accounts also give us a firm date for the completion of the temple just before the end of the Peloponnesian War, suggesting that monumental construction still took place on the Acropolis even in a time of uncertainty. Secondly, the building accounts give us rich details concerning the cadre of people, citizens and non-citizens alike, who brought the project to fruition, despite a lapse of some years in construction. This furthers our understanding of the status of workers and artisans in late fifth century building accounts, giving a sense of the community that must have worked together to create both the architectural form as well as its imagery in a cohesive manner. Later in this chapter, we will also see how the building accounts can be used in studying the frieze of the Erechtheion and its narrative structure.

⁹⁶ Burford 1971, 75.

⁹⁷ See Epstein 2013, 128. Epstein writes, regarding the other Periklean buildings and the Erechtheion, that "the former parade huge sums but remain obscure as to technical, organizational and even financial details. In the latter, the sums are modest but we can see what was built in which prytany, how much did it cost, who performed the work and how he was paid for it."

The Erechtheion's Sculptural Adornment

Perhaps what is most visually captivating about the Erechtheion, beyond its unusual architectural form, is its sculptural adornment. It has been suggested that the temple's sculpture was first undertaken in early spring or summer of 408 BCE;⁹⁸ this would mean that the iconographical elements were saved until near the completion of the Erechtheion. Of particular note are the six full-size sculpted female figures known as "caryatids" who so gracefully direct the viewer's attention towards not only their unique form but also towards the nearby Parthenon. In addition, the Erechtheion's use of decorative architectural elements in a variety of styles is quite extensive, which match the elaborateness of the temple's design and purpose. Yet at the same time, sculpture is missing in places where we would expect to see it; for example, all three pediments of the temple - north, east, and west - are empty and bear no traces of architectural sculpture.⁹⁹ Although Ridgway suggests that the Erechtheion may have had floral akroteria, there is little evidence to actually support this theory.¹⁰⁰ The richness of the temple, despite these absences, attests to its captivating nature, and its *korai* must have stood out quite prominently.

Today the presence of another element of major architectural sculpture is all but missing from the extant monument as well: the Erechtheion's frieze, which has today been partially reconstructed in the New Acropolis Museum. Although quite fragmentary regarding its theme or themes, the frieze and its many sculpted figures surely had a story to tell, and portrayed a narrative similar to other examples from architectural sculpture, although different in execution. It stands to reason that the frieze that wrapped around the majority of

⁹⁸ Frickenhaus 1906, 16 but also confirmed by Paton et al. 1927.

⁹⁹ It is possible that they were painted, although to my knowledge, this has not been suggested in the scholarship. See Paton et al. (1927, 359-362) for discussion of work on the pediments in the building accounts of the Erechtheion. There has been, to my knowledge, no traces of evidence that there was sculptural adornment in the form of pedimental sculpture or akroteria.

¹⁰⁰ Ridgway 1981, 62.

the building held the same weight and symbolic value as the sculpted maidens of the south porch and illuminated similar themes. These sections will concentrate on examining the narrative potential of the frieze and the topographical implications of its placement for the Erechtheion and the Acropolis, despite its difficulties in reconstruction. First, however, we will survey the famous maidens, or caryatids, which have been far more extensively studied than the frieze.

Architectural Maidens: The Erechtheion's South Porch

The six maidens who stand erect, supporting the roof of the south porch of the Erechtheion, have long captured the attention of visitors to the Acropolis and have already been studied in depth by many scholars – they are, as Lesk refers to them, the Erechtheion's “most quotable feature.”¹⁰¹ Today, five of them are located in the New Acropolis Museum, having undergone recent restoration, while one is in the British Museum; the six statues *in situ* today on the Erechtheion's south porch are casts (**Figure 54**).¹⁰² Their extensive study has incorporated a large range of approaches, from stylistic analysis to symbolic meaning to more daring interpretations. In addition, the female architectural supports have been considered from a perspective of symbolic meaning within the larger context of ritual on the Acropolis, especially in regard to the Panathenaic procession. Within the framework of autochthony, I place the *korai* within this broad understanding of the iconography of women on the Acropolis. As an unusual element of architectural sculpture, the female statues from the Erechtheion function as both architectural elements as well as iconographic ones and fulfill a dual role as support as well as imagery.

¹⁰¹ Lesk 2007, 26.

¹⁰² The *korai* also underwent restoration in 1908; see Paton et al. 1927, 111.

The small south porch has been the subject of nomenclature issues itself, referred to by a variety of terms, including the “Porch of the Maidens,” the “Caryatid Porch,” or just simply (and probably more accurately), the “South Porch,” and the women variously called “caryatids,” “maidens,” and “*korai*.” The building accounts refer to them only as *korai*, however.¹⁰³ The designation of “caryatid” can refer to a female figure, reminiscent in pose of an Archaic kore, who supports something such as the entablature of a building. The term has been used for architectural supports, as in the case of the Erechtheion, where the caryatids appear to serve as columns, and carries with it connotations of decoration rather than express purpose.¹⁰⁴

The term “caryatid” was first used by Vitruvius in the *De Architectura*. According to him, the term came from the women of Caryae, who were taken into slavery after the Peloponnesian town’s medizing alliance with the Persians in 480 BCE:

Carya civitas Peloponnensis cum Persis hostibus contra Graeciam consensit, postea Graeci per victoriam gloriose bello liberati communi consilio Caryatibus bellum indixerunt. Itaque oppido capto viris. Interfectis civitate desacrata matronas eorum in servitutem abduxerunt, nec sunt passi stolas neque ornatus matronales deponere, uti non una triumpho ducerentur sed aeterno servitutis exemplo gravi contumelia pressae poenas pendere viderentur pro civitate. Ideo qui tunc architecti fuerunt aedificiis publicis designaverunt earum imagines oneri ferundo conlocatas, ut etiam posteris nota poena peccati Caryatium memoriae traderetur.

Caria, a Peloponnesian state, conspired with the Persian enemy against Greece. Afterwards the Greeks gloriously freed from war by their victory, with common purpose went on to declare war on the inhabitants of Caria. The town was captured; the men were killed; the state was humiliated. Their matrons were led away into slavery and were not allowed to lay aside their draperies and ornaments. In this way, and not at one time alone, were they led in triumph. Their slavery was an eternal warning. Insult crushed them. They seemed to pay a penalty for their fellow-citizens.

¹⁰³ Paton et al. 1927, 232. See, for example, *IG I³* 474, lines 83-89.

¹⁰⁴ The term has also been used in other areas of material culture; for example, there is a class of bronze mirrors referred to as “caryatid mirrors,” where maidens act as the handle of the mirror. See examples in Reeder 1995, cat. 2 (a mirror of c. 470 BCE in Geneva’s George Ortiz Collection), Cat. 3 (a mirror of c. 460 BCE in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore [54.769]), and cat. 15 (a mirror depicting Aphrodite of c. 490-480 BCE in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, B 815). Congdon 1981 provides a comprehensive overview of the genre; see also Oberlander 1967.

And so the architects of that time designed for public buildings figures of matrons placed to carry burdens; in order that the punishment of the sin of the Cariatid women might be known to posterity and historically recorded.¹⁰⁵

Other female architectural supports were discussed by Pliny, who referred to Praxitelean sculptures of dancers as such (*Natural History* 36.23).¹⁰⁶ A large number of naming issues and associations attached to the term “caryatid” has thus arisen, including the sense that the caryatids of the Erechtheion are long-suffering, punished figures who carry the weight of the porch’s roof upon their heads.¹⁰⁷ For the sake of consistency, in this section I designate these six standing female sculptures as *korai*, as they are referred to in the building accounts of the Erechtheion.¹⁰⁸ This eliminates the surrounding symbolic connotations that only came into play after the Erechtheion’s construction, which, while interesting, most likely detract from the original meaning of the sculptures. Instead, we will focus on what is known about their placement within the Erechtheion and Acropolis topography.

Predecessors and Historical Heritage

The employment of standing figures in place of columns was not a new technique by the time of the Erechtheion’s construction. Some scholars suggest this visually intriguing use of sculpture may have had its origins in the Near East and in Egypt.¹⁰⁹ Female sculptures in the form of architectural supports also appeared in Greece long before the Erechtheion with the two females who grace the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi. Ione Shear argues that the

¹⁰⁵ Vitruvius 1.1.5; translation from F. Granger.

¹⁰⁶ These issues are discussed well by Lesk 2004, 155f.

¹⁰⁷ Such rhetoric has been applied in contemporary times as well, as the caryatids have been used as modern propaganda for the return of the Parthenon sculptures, crying for the return of their sister and portrayed as imprisoned, anthropomorphic figures. See Hamilakis 2007, 255 and 279.

¹⁰⁸ *IG* I² 372.86 = *IG* I³ 474.8.

¹⁰⁹ See Schmidt (1982, 33-48) for an overview.

Erechtheion caryatids were copied from these early examples.¹¹⁰ Her analysis is based on the Ionic and Aeolic nature of the treasuries at Delphi, which had strong ties to Anatolia and thus older, more primitive forms of the standing female architectural support. While her suggestion is a possibility, it also raises a question regarding the meaning of these copies, and how the *korai* would have functioned in their unique architectural space on the Acropolis.

Vitruvius' definition ultimately establishes caryatids as architectural supports in the form of females, a sort of female version of the *telamon*.¹¹¹ Their weight-bearing arrangement serve, according to him, as a memory of their wrongdoing for future generations. In the history of scholarship, Vitruvius' account has often been ridiculed as rubbish or nonsense.¹¹² Francis and Vickers, however, refused to accept this dismissal of Vitruvius as an outright "vapid aetiology." They instead noted his preoccupation with the term as a reflection of its importance within the broader scope of historical knowledge that is necessary for the architect as part of his education,¹¹³ an analysis with which I concur. Vitruvius' terminology for the *korai* is fraught with difficulties, but his interest in the symbolic meanings of them reflects a long-standing history.¹¹⁴ Despite the fact that no knowledge of the *korai* of the Erechtheion being called "caryatids" exists before Vitruvius, they may very well have been known as such, according to Francis and Vickers. In effect, the meaning of the maidens

¹¹⁰ Shear 1999.

¹¹¹ Rykwert 1996, 133. In architectural terminology, *telamones* were male figures in the form of column supports. Often colossal and also referred to as *atlantes*, they are named for the Homeric hero Telamon (or, alternatively, Atlas for atlantes); monumental examples include those placed between the columns of the Temple of Olympian Zeus at Agrigento (after 480 BCE).

¹¹² For an overview of scholars' dismissal of Vitruvius' passage, including remarks of Frazer and Lessing, see Francis and Vickers 1983, 60.

¹¹³ Francis and Vickers 1983, 60 and 62.

¹¹⁴ The Augustan period and its recycling of caryatid forms as an iconographic motif perhaps had an influence on Vitruvius' symbolic readings; see Lesk 2007 for more information.

from the Erechtheion would have been carried down into Roman times and is a reflection of the tenacity and shifting sensibilities of symbolism.¹¹⁵

Earlier scholars, on the other hand, attempted to connect the *korai* to the space upon which they stood, an approach that deserves more recognition; Kontoleon, for example, saw their function, and by extension, the function of the south porch, as marking a *heroön* for the space that was associated with the Tomb of Kekrops immediately to the south of the temple proper.¹¹⁶ Scholl carried on this theory, making correlations between the *korai* and other female figural architectural supports that were used in tombs.¹¹⁷ His points of comparison include other tombs such as the “Tomb of the Prince” (also known as the “Heroön of Perikle”) at Limyra in Lycia, which is dated to about 370 BCE.¹¹⁸

In addition, Scholl utilizes a wide variety of comparanda from other media, such as imagery of women making libations at tombs on contemporary white-ground lekythoi, even reaching back in time to mourning female figures on Geometric and black-figure vases.¹¹⁹ Both Kontoleon and Scholl have made intriguing propositions regarding the meaning of the *korai*, as they take into account the idea that the *korai* function specifically in their given location, above the supposed Tomb of Kekrops, which the Erechtheion incorporated into its very foundations. They would thus serve as a physical marker of a chthonic element that lay below the earth and was closely connected to one of Athens’ earliest kings and early history.

¹¹⁵ A similar modern day comparison might be made with the Sears Tower in Chicago, known as such from 1973-2009. Now officially referred to as the Willis Tower after the expiration of the Sears’ naming rights, it is still referred to as the Sears Tower in everyday parlance.

¹¹⁶ Kontoleon 1949, 69-79; see also Scholl 1995, 210.

¹¹⁷ Scholl 1995 and 1998.

¹¹⁸ Scholl 1998, 50. For the Heroön of Perikle, see Rykwert (1996, 135) and most recently Şare 2013, who compares the Lycian tomb’s caryatids to those of the Erechtheion. To this discussion, the Sveshtari tomb in Bulgaria, dated to the 3rd century BCE, might also be added; see Chichikova 2012. Furthermore, recent discoveries in the excavations of the large tomb at Amphipolis (Summer 2014) have brought to light an additional two caryatids in a funerary context.

¹¹⁹ See Scholl 1998, 40 and 43-45.

The fame of the *korai* carried throughout antiquity as well, as they were referenced in numerous other monuments, such as the caryatids found at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, or, closer to home, in the propylon of Appius Claudius Pulcher at Eleusis. Margaret Miles has recently studied this monument and convincingly suggested its architectural figures acted in a similar role in the evocation of festival processions such as the Panathenaia on the Acropolis and the Eleusinian festivals at Eleusis.¹²⁰ Thus even after the Classical period, the presence of *korai* as structural supports, embedded in both the architecture and in the landscape of Athens and Attica, was felt beyond simply their original location on the Acropolis.

The Erechtheion *korai* were, according to Lesk, the most commonly copied sculptures from the Greek east,¹²¹ and this popular use and reuse surely led to the multiplicity of meanings that they came to embody. This demonstrates just how captivating the *korai* were, in Antiquity and beyond, and contributes to our understanding of how their original meanings may be skewed or misinterpreted. In the quest to return to the original understanding of the Erechtheion's *korai*, it is necessary to examine them in light of two main issues: their use in the architectural program of the Erechtheion itself, and secondly, their strategic location on the Acropolis and the topographical implications that inherently lie within.

The South Porch's Location and Style

The south porch of the Erechtheion is a unique feature on the Acropolis, and although not unheard of in Greek architecture, figural supports in monumental building are relatively rare,¹²² and are a unique feature in Athens and on the Acropolis. Pausanias forgoes to mention the south porch of the Erechtheion, similarly to his glossing over of the

¹²⁰ Miles 2012.

¹²¹ Lesk 2007, 25.

¹²² See Wurz 1906 for more analysis of sculptural supports in Greek architecture.

Parthenon frieze, which is surprising given its prominent location facing the Parthenon and its unique visual aspects. Rather than being supported by columns, the six statues of females draped in heavy clothing frame a porch that was accessible through a small entry to the east, and supposedly stood over the location of Kekrops' tomb, a symbolic marker for the place of his heroön.¹²³ This porch was perhaps meant to act as balance to the north porch, although it is smaller in scale and area.¹²⁴ Visually, however, the south porch also provides evenness to an already unusual building. The building accounts refer to the south porch as being nearly complete in 409 BCE;¹²⁵ all that was left to complete this area included the dressing of the ceiling blocks, and the rosettes needed to be carved, but in fact, this aspect of the Erechtheion was never completed. According to Hurwit, the caryatids were carved and put into their places early on in the construction of the Erechtheion, which pushes their date back closer to about 420 BCE, contrasting with the frieze, which was implemented towards the very end of construction.¹²⁶

The maidens are dressed in heavy drapery, their folds resembling the fluting of the Parthenon opposite from them.¹²⁷ Although graceful, they are simultaneously stocky and denote a certain heaviness, no doubt related to their function as weight-bearing architectural supports. While each appears to be identical, upon closer examination, their subtle differences begin to emerge. The women are posed with *poloi* on their heads and were once thought to have had one or both arms raised, as if carrying a burden, which led to the various symbolic readings discussed earlier. Today, it is clear that the *korai* carried *phialai* held

¹²³ See Paton et al. 1927, 110f. for architectural information. Kontoleon, followed by Scholl, argued for the connection to the Kekropeion. See Kontoleon 1949 and Scholl 1995 and 1998.

¹²⁴ Dinsmoor 1950, 192. In fact, as Lawrence (1996, 122) rightly points out, the two porches “differ tremendously in all three dimensions and rise from very different levels.” Yet care was taken to create a visual balance between the two porches, such as the raising of the south porch on a terrace that puts its roof on the same level as the north porch's capitals.

¹²⁵ BM Inscriptions 35, lines 83-92; see Jenkins 2006, 125 n. 64.

¹²⁶ Hurwit 2004, 175.

¹²⁷ Lawrence 1996, 122.

in their right hands, which were lowered beside them.¹²⁸ In this regard, they bear resemblances to figures who make libations as witnesses to the presentation of Erichthonios, such as the figure of Zeus on the reverse of the Munich stamnos (**Catalogue 9**) and Kekrops on the rhyton by the Sotades Painter in the British Museum (**Catalogue 14**), or even Athena and Kekrops on the name vase of the Kekrops Painter (**Catalogue 22**), even though they do not hold out their libations.

Furthermore, the Erechtheion stand in contrast to many of the female figures on the Erechtheion frieze, who move more swiftly, wearing flowing garments. The *korai* are, in fact, much more similar to some of the figures on the lower-relief Parthenon frieze, especially those from the east frieze, as Scholl noted.¹²⁹ Indeed, as Ridgway has noted, the *korai* are archaizing in style, reminiscent of an earlier time period and style of sculpture, whereas the Erechtheion frieze's figures are clearly products of their time.¹³⁰ They are excellent examples of the tendency to "archaize" features in Classical art, a characteristic connected to the work of the sculptor Alkamenes. Burn suggests that this sort of archaizing "may perhaps be connected with the general nostalgia...apparent at this time."¹³¹ Jenkins rightly notes their physical resemblance to other examples of Late Classical sculpture, such as Alkamenes' statue of Prokne and Itys, which also stood on the Acropolis.¹³² Moreover, Barringer sees a symbolic correspondence as well: both the statue group of Prokne and Itys as well as the Erechtheion's maidens refer to Athens' early mythical-historical background. As the *korai*

¹²⁸ Lesk 2004, 24 and 106. This was determined after the discovery of the *korai* at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli in 1952. They can be compared to the maidens carrying *phialai* on the Parthenon frieze; cf. Neils 2001, 154-158.

¹²⁹ Scholl 1998, 33-34.

¹³⁰ On the Erechtheion *korai*'s archaizing features, see Ridgway 1993, 459. Her analysis is in regards to their hairstyles in particular, and not so much their poses or dress.

¹³¹ Burn 1989, 71. Such notions are explored more fully, though not in regards to the Erechtheion's *korai* specifically, in Palagia 2009.

¹³² Jenkins 2006, 126.

physically stand above the early king Kekrops' tomb, Prokne's story is intrinsically tied to her position as a daughter of another early king, Pandion.¹³³

Lesk suggests that the archaizing features of the Erechtheion *korai* are a result of “officially-sanctioned replacements for the plethora of Archaic *korai* destroyed by the Persians” and buried in the *Perserschutt* to the northwest of the Erechtheion.¹³⁴ That would explain their Archaic hairstyles, but *korai* of the Erechtheion fulfill a different role than the personal dedications of Archaic *korai*. Their placement within the architecture of the Erechtheion begs for an association that is more in line with their specific location. The visual interaction of the *korai* with the Parthenon, too, as well as their iconography related to dedicatory offerings, suggests that they were firmly embedded within the religious sphere of activity on the Acropolis. Here, suggests Lesk, they stand in “perpetual readiness” to make offerings to Athena above her home as Polias.¹³⁵ An alternative reading posits a direct relationship to autochthony, which is possibly apparent in their iconography of offerings, similar to vase painting images of libations. In effect, the *korai* can be read as witnesses to the iconography of Erichthonios, as well as participants in the plethora of religious rituals that would have taken place on the Acropolis.

In this regard, Barringer's interpretation of Prokne and Itys as related to early Athenian history is both recent and timely for the study of autochthony, and opens the door for further comparisons and associations with the *korai* as well. If viewed from the perspective of the iconography of autochthony, the Erechtheion *korai* function on a symbolic level of meaning that is devoid of the long-standing associations with suffering and burdens that can be traced to Vitruvius. Instead, they can be viewed as attendants to

¹³³ Barringer 2008, 98.

¹³⁴ Lesk 1994, 63. See also Hurwit 1999, 206.

¹³⁵ Lesk 1994, 159.

Kekrops, and by extension, to the earliest myths of Athens. In many ways, they also echo, albeit differently in style, the maidens who surround the scenes of the presentation of Erichthonios, as seen in examples such as the squat lekythos by the Meidias Painter in Cleveland (**Catalogue 20**). As pendants to the Erechtheion frieze, they are also witnesses to the presentation scene. But unlike the figures of the frieze, they are actively engaged in the environment of the Erechtheion and the Acropolis as a whole, creating a visual dialogue between temples and space. Although disparate in style, technique, and purpose, both the *korai* and the frieze support each other in their shared iconographic themes and participatory nature.

THE FRIEZE OF THE ERECHTHEION

Introduction

The frieze of the Erechtheion is problematic, to say the very least. Spanning three sides of the main cella of the Erechtheion as well as three sides of its smaller north porch, the frieze was visible from virtually all angles when viewing the Erechtheion. Almost a meter high, the frieze was composed of individually-carved figures of Parian marble that were secured to a background of dark Eleusinian limestone. With individual fragments of figures excavated around the Erechtheion and on the North Slope of the Acropolis, this in turn has made the reconstruction of the frieze nearly impossible, and without a cohesive order to the figures, it is difficult to determine even its subject matter. At the same time, however, much can still be said about it, and its study is imbued with significant potential for the study of autochthony.

In these sections, I give a full overview of the scholarship on the frieze, as well as a new comprehensive catalogue of its fragments, adding nearly fifty percent more to the

original compendium (**Appendix 2**). As reconstructed in the New Acropolis Museum (**Figure 55**),¹³⁶ a number of fragments from the frieze are on display, while many others are kept in storage. The aggregate analysis of individual figures together with insight into the frieze as a whole will, I believe, add greatly to the discussion of autochthony. If the frieze depicts imagery related to the stories of Erichthonios, as Ludwig Pallat first proposed over a century ago, it places a visually-demanding mytho-historical cycle right in the center of Athenian religious life on the Acropolis in the late fifth century BCE and in the final years of the Peloponnesian War.

Whether the iconography of the Erechtheion frieze was planned as part of the original temple design earlier in the fifth century may be impossible to determine; but my concern here is the reading of the frieze at the time of its actual construction, and the changes in how autochthony was viewed and construed in the last two decades of the fifth century, when the Erechtheion was completed. The theme of autochthony in a prominent location on the Athenian Acropolis aids in our understanding of the importance of these myths within the specific cultural, religious, and social timeframe of a turning point in Athenian history. The frieze borrows an already powerful theme from vase painting and places it on the visual stage of Athens' religious center, integral to a structure that housed the oldest and most venerated statue of Athena and emphasizing the myth of Athens' origins and roots of autochthony in a prominent public and religious locale.

In terms of its figural decoration, the Erechtheion is a prime example of the style of Late Classical sculpture. Even though many of its figures are badly damaged, they still exhibit characteristics particular to this time period in terms of their drapery, poses, and carving styles. Rare in the history of Classical sculpture and sculpted friezes, the technique of

¹³⁶ See also the interesting reconstruction of architrave, frieze, and cornice in the British Museum, as illustrated in Paton et al. 1927, 239.

attaching figures to the background entablature by means of dowels was replicated in only one other obvious example, the cult statue base from the Hephaisteion, which also depicted a subject closely related to autochthony and known otherwise from vase painting, that of the presentation of Erichthonios.¹³⁷ Apart from this, it appears as though the much-damaged metopes from the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea employed a similar technique, but in that example, inscriptions help to identify the figures.¹³⁸ Unlike the cult statue base from the Hephaisteion, however, reconstructions of the Erechtheion frieze other than Pallat's have never been undertaken, despite the fact that over one hundred fragments from the frieze survive.¹³⁹ These sections trace the history of the frieze and its scholarship, compile its multiple fragments into an updated catalogue, and seek to understand how an interpretation of its iconography can aid in our understanding of autochthony and its place on the Athenian Acropolis and within the Late Classical *polis*.

Technique and Display

In terms of technique, the white marble figures of the Erechtheion frieze were attached to a background of dark Eleusinian limestone by the means of dowels (**Figure 56**).¹⁴⁰ Lucy Shoe suggested that the use of contrasting stones was original to the Peisistratid period, and was also used in the Periklean building program.¹⁴¹ The technique was far more common in statue bases, however, such as the base of the Promachos Athena, which stood

¹³⁷ See Chapter 3 for information on scenes of the presentation of Erichthonios, and Chapter 5 on the cult statue base of the Hephaisteion.

¹³⁸ Stewart 1977, 30-32, 57-58, and 62-66. See also Glowacki 1995, 325 n. 2.

¹³⁹ Ironically in stark opposition to the Hephaisteion's cult statue base, which preserves none of the original figures.

¹⁴⁰ In today's restorations, missing portions have been replaced by blue Pentelic marble; see Paton et al. 1927, 181.

¹⁴¹ Shoe 1949, 342.

near the Erechtheion and consisted of Eleusinian stone crowned with Pentelic moulding.¹⁴²

It was also used in architecture, however, as still can be seen today in the lower courses of masonry on the Propylaia. The Erechtheion's use of sculpted figures attached to a background of a different type of stone was unique to building construction.¹⁴³ Fowler suggests that the decision to construct the frieze this way may have been due to the economy of the material (for surely Eleusinian limestone was cheaper than an entire entablature of marble), or the economy of the labor, as the figures could be carved from smaller and thus less expensive pieces of marble.¹⁴⁴

The use dark stone as a background for the bright marble figures is particularly striking, as it would have given a depth to the sculpture previously and subsequently unparalleled in architectural sculpture. In addition, on rainy or cloudy days, the contrast is even more apparent, and the figures would have stood out brightly against the dark background (**Figure 57**). Shoe suggests that the Eleusinian stone was meant to replicate the paint that was applied with regularity to the background of friezes, and Fowler also mentions that it was therefore unnecessary to apply paint to the background, another possible economic move.¹⁴⁵

The dowel holes that remain in this entablature contribute to, as Lesk explains it, the “large margin of uncertainty owing to the comparatively large size of the dowel holes in the frieze blocks (to receive the iron dowel and lead) versus the small size of the dowel hole in

¹⁴² See Shoe 1949, 343 n. 9.

¹⁴³ This stone is described in the Erechtheion's building accounts as *ho 'Eleusiniakòs líthos* (Ferrari 2002, 20). See also Frickenhaus 1906, 6 (= *AE* 22 i.41); Ridgway 1981, 93.

¹⁴⁴ Fowler in Paton et al. 1927, 239.

¹⁴⁵ Fowler in Paton et al. 1927, 239. Some examples of painted backgrounds on Ionic and Doric friezes included the Parthenon, which had a faded blue background by the late fourth century. See Lesk 2004, 69. In addition, around 300 BCE, the Macedonian tomb at Lefkadia replicated this technique for the copies of eight metopes from the Parthenon; see Bruno 1981.

the back of the marble figures.”¹⁴⁶ Thus, it is virtually impossible to come up with a firm reconstruction of the placement of the figures of the frieze. In sum, the reasons for this short-lived method of attaching figures individually to a background to form an Ionic frieze are not entirely clear. Shoe suggests that the individual dowelling of figures perhaps exceeded the time saved by not painting the background, and, without significant savings in time or money spent, the technique as such was never duplicated.¹⁴⁷ Whatever the impetus for this unique construction technique was, it served both to create a unique display of iconography as well as to complicate our understanding of the narrative structure of the Erechtheion frieze.

The Erechtheion's Building Accounts and the Frieze

The Erechtheion frieze has been fairly securely dated to the years 408/7 BCE, based on the building accounts examined earlier.¹⁴⁸ In addition, the figures that have been attributed to the frieze are easily recognizable as dating to the Late Classical style with regards to their flowing drapery and poses that exhibit a great deal of movement and energy.¹⁴⁹ Although all of the figures were carved in a similar style, both the building accounts and the analysis of Patricia Neils Boulter have helped to determine that there were multiple hands at work in the carving of these figures. Thus, the building accounts of the Erechtheion also do more than just mention the architectural construction: they also reference the sculptors of the frieze, and how much they were paid for their labors, although

¹⁴⁶ Lesk 2004, 71.

¹⁴⁷ Shoe 1949, 348.

¹⁴⁸ Lesk 2004, 69.

¹⁴⁹ Ridgway 1981, who notes that “by and large, the body asserts itself under the cloth, which only color would once have made noticeable in places.” Such stylistic characteristics are typical of the nearly contemporary Nike temple frieze as well.

little else is known about these artisans.¹⁵⁰ We do, however, have notations of how much sculptors were paid for individual and groups of figures, and it is also possible to determine that many of the artisans of the frieze were metoikoi, as discussed above.¹⁵¹

Paton's transcription of *IG I³ 474* provides information about the amount paid for stoneworking on the frieze during each prytany, and the prices for frieze blocks in particular.¹⁵² Far more interesting, however, are the indications of what kinds of figures were sculpted. Unfortunately, in terms of subject matter, the building accounts are quite vague about the identities of the sculpted figures themselves. In Slab XVII of the building accounts, for example, there is mention of a man holding a spear, a youth beside a breastplate, a horse and man, a chariot, another youth, a man leading a horse, a man leaning on a staff beside an altar, a woman with a little girl leaning against her, and others.¹⁵³ Although the extant figures are mostly female, those mentioned in the building accounts are primarily male figures and youths;¹⁵⁴ this could perhaps simply be a matter of preservation. In addition, because the building accounts probably do not progress in a way that the frieze is "read" (for example, from left to right), it is also impossible to utilize them as a means of reconstructing the frieze. The inscriptions instead are chiefly focused on payments for various figures, and the sculptors to whom they are attributed.¹⁵⁵

History of Scholarship on the Erechtheion Frieze

¹⁵⁰ Wesenberg 1985.

¹⁵¹ See the discussion on p. 161-163. In addition, Schumacher (2001, 134) provides a helpful chart of the slaves who worked on the Erechtheion, including both carpenters as well as stonemasons who helped craft the frieze.

¹⁵² Paton et al. 1927, 342f.

¹⁵³ Paton et al. 1927, 389.

¹⁵⁴ Burn 1989, 72.

¹⁵⁵ See Wesenberg 1985.

An overview of scholarship on the Erechtheion frieze is necessary to see where gaps exist that could be potential avenues for further study. Rare is the scholar who has taken an approach to the frieze as a whole; most references to the frieze occur in a matter of pages or footnotes, and one architectural historian even insinuates that the frieze has not survived.¹⁵⁶ Some scholars have published newly found fragments of the frieze,¹⁵⁷ while others, such as Evelyn Harrison and Bernard Holtzmann, have undertaken the focused study of one or two specific figures, which is helpful but does not add to an understanding of the possible themes and motives of the frieze. Only a few recent sources examine the frieze in a broader context; Leventi, for one, considers it as part of the architectural sculptural trends of the late fifth century.¹⁵⁸ Räuchle, furthermore, examines the frieze as part of an exploration of how mothers were characterized in the imagery of the Athenian Acropolis.¹⁵⁹

The fragments of the frieze were first fully compiled by H.N. Fowler in the monograph on the Erechtheion by Paton et al. in 1927.¹⁶⁰ He documented some 112 fragments, 56 of which were assigned to the slightly taller frieze of the North Porch, while a number of them were uncertainly attributable to the frieze.¹⁶¹ The seventy dowel holes that remain in the entablature suggest that approximately eighty percent of the figures are preserved, although as we can easily see, which figures belong to which dowels is open for debate. Much of this section of the temple had been completed by time of the

¹⁵⁶ Psarra (2004, 92), who writes that “the scenes that were carved on the Erechtheion’s frieze did not survive.” Perhaps this is correct to some extent, but I argue that is rather an issue of preservation and difficulty of interpretation; we do, in fact, have a large number of figures from the frieze intact. The difficulties of reconstructing the frieze, while frustrating, are small in comparison to what can be gleaned from the extant fragments.

¹⁵⁷ See, for example Koukouli 1967 and Brouskari 1998.

¹⁵⁸ Leventi 2014.

¹⁵⁹ Räuchle 2015. Both of these recent studies have been quite valuable for considering the narrative of the frieze and its broader context on the Acropolis in late fifth century Athens.

¹⁶⁰ The bibliographic record for this monograph is listed under Paton et al. in the bibliography.

¹⁶¹ Fowler in Paton et al. 1927, 239-276. Fowler was using Pallat’s study of the North Porch as part of his analysis for the frieze fragments; this is reflected in the catalogue Appendix 2. For those that are disputed, see Fowler 1927, Appendix (270-276); I have also noted each of them in the catalogue.

commissioning of the Erechtheion's building accounts in 408/7 BCE, but Fowler deemed that the frieze was probably not complete by then and still needed to be carved.¹⁶²

The first study of the frieze of the Erechtheion on a larger scale was an endeavor of Ludwig Pallat in a series of articles in the early twentieth century, even before the publication of the Erechtheion's monograph.¹⁶³ Pallat's chief concern was providing a reconstruction of the frieze in an attempt to discern its narrative. As is evident throughout the course of this study, one of the primary problems of dealing with the frieze of the Erechtheion is its reconstruction. Such difficulties are not limited to the Erechtheion; for example, the placement of the metopes from the Athenian Treasury at Delphi has been the subject of much debate from a thematic perspective, and the arrangement of the slabs of the south frieze of the Parthenon has also been a topic for discussion.¹⁶⁴ With the Erechtheion frieze, however, the problem is particularly prominent, as it is not just a matter of rearranging the slabs of the frieze's background, but knowing where to put each individual figure along the course of the frieze in order to reconstruct a possible narrative.

In his series of articles, Pallat attempted to rectify this situation and compared the sculptural fragments to the dowel holes in the frieze's entablature. Pallat's study encompassed a close reading of the figures, their sculptural styles and physical characteristics, and he grouped the figures by their action (or lack of), their gender, and other qualities.¹⁶⁵ He found, for example, that male figures tended to be engaged in action more often than female figures, who should instead be regarded as spectators.¹⁶⁶ Alongside these

¹⁶² Paton et al. 1927, 314. The blocks needed for carving the frieze were probably on hand, however (315).

¹⁶³ Pallat 1912, 1935, and 1937.

¹⁶⁴ For the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, see, for example, Neer 2004. On the Parthenon's south frieze, consult the discussions in Jenkins 1995 and 2006, who proposes a sequence hypothesized by Michaelis that supersedes the general consensus of arrangement developed by Dinsmoor.

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, Pallat 1912, 182f. One group, for example, he determines based on their smaller proportions, which he deems to be humans rather than gods.

¹⁶⁶ Pallat 1912, 187.

observations, Pallat also studied the Erechtheion's building accounts and their mentions of certain figures.¹⁶⁷ Pallat suggested that various events were represented in the frieze of the main building, not one action, but instead several actions with a great number of participants.¹⁶⁸ Most scholars have seen no reason to doubt this interpretation but have done little to expand upon it or see how it fits into a larger picture of architectural sculpture, monumental narrative, or the imagery of autochthony.

On the other hand, Pallat also found that forty-eight figures and three “galloping teams” including horses constituted the north porch's separate frieze. Apart from the horses, Pallat observed that there is far less action than in the case of the figures from the main building's frieze.¹⁶⁹ The position of the dowel holes in the entablature blocks from the north porch suggests a composition with the “birth” of Erichthonios, and Pallat made room for figures such as Ge and Kekrops, who would have been a part of the composition, as well as a kneeling figure, whom he determined to be Pandrosos, waiting to receive the baby Erichthonios from Athena.¹⁷⁰ His first analysis was published as a simple drawing of only the existing fragments, with no reconstruction;¹⁷¹ a subsequent article formulated a reconstruction of the frieze of the north porch, culminating in a elaborate though thoroughly hypothetical drawing (**Figure 58**, with extant fragments highlighted in yellow).¹⁷² As can be observed, a number of his reconstructions are based on little surviving evidence, although Pallat may have used images of vase painting to aid in his narrative descriptions.

After the studies of Ludwig Pallat, the Erechtheion frieze was largely left alone, passed over in the Acropolis museum and often forgotten in the shadow of the controversy

¹⁶⁷ Pallat 1912, 188-191.

¹⁶⁸ Pallat 1912, 191.

¹⁶⁹ Pallat 1912, 191-192.

¹⁷⁰ Pallat 1912, 194-196.

¹⁷¹ Pallat 1935, Attachment 1. The 1937 article basically replicates this reconstruction.

¹⁷² Pallat 1937.

surrounding the Parthenon frieze.¹⁷³ In a lengthy article, on the other hand, Boulter analyzed the various figured fragments of the frieze and their stylistic characteristics in order to identify seven “master” hands that were responsible for the frieze’s construction. Ridgway notes that the differences between hands are less obvious than on the balustrade from the Temple of Athena Nike,¹⁷⁴ so Boulter’s study is particularly useful for the subtle understanding of how sculpture is carved, and how one can recognize certain craftsmen’s identities in drapery and figural styles.

Today, the path is open for not only a review of the scholarship of the past, but also a more timely understanding of how the frieze relates to the concept of autochthony, especially with Leventi and Räuchle’s recent studies.¹⁷⁵ To the original number of fragments of the Erechtheion frieze compiled by Fowler, there can be several more fragments added to the repertoire from the studies of Boulter, Broneer, and Glowacki, as well as more recent articles and catalogue entries by Brouskari, Koukouli, and Trianti, who have analyzed various fragments and groups of fragments from the frieze, all of which I have assembled in **Appendix 2.**¹⁷⁶ In the following sections, I utilize these more contemporary analyses, particularly in regards to individual fragments of the frieze, in addition to more recently discovered depictions of the presentation of Erichthonios. I suggest that Pallat’s original theory of multiple scenes related to autochthony was most certainly viable in the visual narrative of the Erechtheion frieze, and moreover, it contributes greatly to our understanding of the place of autochthony in the iconography of the late fifth century BCE.

¹⁷³ Even today, the frieze is displayed in the museum in a rather nondescript location between the end of the escalator and the passage to the Caryatids and the Nike Temple display, with little in the way of pedagogical discussion on the wall texts.

¹⁷⁴ Ridgway 1981, 94.

¹⁷⁵ Leventi 2014 and Räuchle 2015.

¹⁷⁶ See especially Glowacki 1995, Brouskari 1998, Koukouli 1967, and Trianti 1998.

Two studies of individual fragments are highlighted both to illustrate the advantages of looking at fragments apart from the frieze as well as the possible risks of such approaches. Evelyn Harrison has studied closely one fragment of the Erechtheion frieze (**Akr. 1071, Figure 59**).¹⁷⁷ This fragment of the frieze, like many others, is problematic in terms of the identification of its subject matter and even the gender of the figures. Two figures, both dressed in flowing drapery, move swiftly to the right. Their lower legs, faces, and arms are all but lost. The two figures were identified by Boulter as females, possibly even Demeter and Kore.¹⁷⁸ Harrison, however, identified them as a female and male figure. More specifically, she regards them as the aged Pelias being helped by his eldest daughter, a subject known from contemporary iconography.

Harrison compared the two figures to a marble Neo-Attic relief in the Vatican depicting three figures of the late fifth century BCE.¹⁷⁹ She also finds comparanda in a depiction of Pelias at the cauldron on an Attic red-figured kylix in the Vatican,¹⁸⁰ dated to about 410 BCE, as well as Medea's depiction on an Attic red-figure hydria in London.¹⁸¹ The iconography depicts the scene immediately before the elderly Pelias was murdered by his young daughters. The renderings of this narrative became more complex over time and may have been influenced by Euripides' *Peliades* of 455 BCE.¹⁸² Harrison sees a direct correlation - "not simply a stylistic similarity, but a direct imitation by the artist" - between the drapery depicted on these vases and the folds of the Argive peplos on the woman on the right side

¹⁷⁷ Harrison 2002.

¹⁷⁸ Boulter 1970, 12.

¹⁷⁹ Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano, ex-Lateran 9883. Illustrated in Harrison 2002, pl. 36c. Harrison dates this relief to the last decade of the 5th century BCE, despite other scholars' reading of it as c. 420 BCE.

¹⁸⁰ Vatican, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano 16538 (*BAPD* 5361; *LMC* s.v. Pelias 21 (A)).

¹⁸¹ London, British Museum E 224, attributed to the Meidias Painter (*BAPD* 220497; *ARV²* 1313.5, 1690)

¹⁸² Harrison 2002, 138-139.

of Akr. 1071.¹⁸³ She also reinterprets the other figure, traditionally seen as another woman, as a “bent old man in a thin chiton and himation,” based on a discovery by Carl Blegen that shows more clearly the drapery of the thigh and knee.¹⁸⁴

While Harrison’s stylistic comparisons are intriguing, they are problematic because they examine only two figures from the frieze. Not seeing the fragments as part of a larger picture raises more questions than it provides answers. For example, would these figures be part of a larger series of related (or even unrelated) narratives depicted on the Erechtheion frieze? A footnote in Harrison’s article refers to lines in Aristophanes’ *Knights* (1321-1334) in which the aged and corrupted Demos “is restored by boiling to youth and beauty and old-time virtues,” perhaps thus also forging a connection between the elderly Pelias and the personification Demos.¹⁸⁵ Personifications would fit in well with a theme related to Erichthonios’ presentation, as Neils has demonstrated,¹⁸⁶ but would Demos be a part of that scene?

What Harrison leaves us with, however, is a sentiment also expressed in Felten: that the frieze represented not only rituals, but also mythical subjects.¹⁸⁷ Given the length of the frieze around the entirety of the building as well as the North Porch, such a suggestion appears quite plausible, as it was very common for myth and ritual to be comingled in Greek religion as well as iconography. In addition, Pallat had also suggested that multiple scenes, rather than a unified theme, were at work in the Erechtheion frieze.¹⁸⁸ Yet at the same time, the persistent difficulty with Harrison’s reading of the frieze fragments is that she does not see them as part of a larger picture. While it would not be necessary or perhaps even possible

¹⁸³ Harrison 2002, 142.

¹⁸⁴ See the discussion in Fowler 1927, 262.

¹⁸⁵ Harrison 2002, 146, n. 64.

¹⁸⁶ Neils 1983, regarding the squat lekythos in Cleveland, **Catalogue 20**.

¹⁸⁷ Felten 1984.

¹⁸⁸ Pallat 1912, 191.

for Harrison to have reinterpreted the entire frieze, her analysis of a handful of many figures calls for the correlation between them. Placing the figural grouping within the larger group of multiple figures becomes a tricky pursuit, and it is the same issue encountered by other scholars, such as Holtzmann.

A second study of an individual grouping of figures was undertaken by Holtzmann.¹⁸⁹ Several fragments of two figures (**Akr. 1073, Figure 60**) are what Holtzmann refers to as an “irritating enigma.”¹⁹⁰ One male figure leans slightly, as if observing the other, who kneels towards the ground. Uniquely, this preserved composition allows for overlapping of the figures, which is otherwise difficult to discern in the Erechtheion frieze’s individually carved figures.¹⁹¹ Hurwit suggests that the pose of the standing figure resembles that of the twisting Itys of Alkamenes’ Prokne and Itys group, which is quite reasonable,¹⁹² and he thus places the figures alongside examples of contemporary sculpture such as the *korai* from the south porch. The similar styles of drapery and form is perhaps what led Hurwit to examine them within the context of other Late Classical sculpture such as Alkamenes.

Based on a revision of a theory by Robert that saw the kneeling figure as part of an oracular scene, Holtzmann shows how he kneels to write something on the ground.¹⁹³ Holtzmann also establishes a possible correlation between the figures and the building accounts, specifically *IG I² 374*, lines 27-29, an attempt that has not been undertaken by other scholars to date and which is quite intriguing. These lines describe a youth who is writing and a man standing beside him. In addition, Holtzmann shows that this sculptural

¹⁸⁹ Holtzmann 2000.

¹⁹⁰ Holtzmann 2000, 221.

¹⁹¹ Holtzmann 2000, 225.

¹⁹² Hurwit 2004, 177.

¹⁹³ Robert 1890, 437-439 and Holtzmann 2000, 225.

group is described in a fragment from one of the building accounts joined with another inscription published by Dow and Merritt.¹⁹⁴ With a “double figure” netting a payment of 100 drachmai (rather than 120 drachmai, as Caskey had suggested),¹⁹⁵ Holtzmann argues for an attribution to this group in particular. As Lesk points out, since 60 drachmai “was the going rate for each figure, it is reasonable to suppose that the extra 40 drachmai implies something like the overlapping kneeling figure.”¹⁹⁶

In this case, Holtzmann regards inscription and sculpture as belonging together, and notes that it is an “exceptional fragment,” with the kneeling figure in a unique position.¹⁹⁷ He notes, too, that it is different from the other scenes on the Erechtheion involving divine figures. He also suggests that it would have been part of a larger scene, with women in a cart pulled by two mules.¹⁹⁸ Mules are mentioned in the building accounts (*IG I²* 374, lines 33-34), but to date, I have been unable to find sufficient fragments that match. While several fragments of horses and chariots have been discovered (see, for example, **Akr. 1235 [Figure 61]**, as well as **Akr. 13821, 13130, and 13820**), mules are, as yet, still unattested. Holtzmann’s study, however, adds to our understanding of the Erechtheion frieze’s figures and their potential interpretations, and suggests that mortals were an integral part of the composition along with deities. As part of a larger picture, both Harrison’s and Holtzmann’s studies of individual figures from the frieze of the Erechtheion contribute to a discussion of both the problematic aspects of reconstruction as well as the potential value of such attempts.

Reconstructing the Erechtheion Frieze

¹⁹⁴ EM 2504, which joined to EM 6667b, part of the Erechtheum building accounts (Fragment “L”); See Merritt 1934, 69-70.

¹⁹⁵ Caskey in Paton et al. 1927, 389.

¹⁹⁶ Lesk 2004, 125.

¹⁹⁷ Holtzmann 2000, 224.

¹⁹⁸ Holtzmann 2000, 226.

The primary difficulty in reconstructing the frieze of the Erechtheion is due to its construction technique: since figures were attached to the entablature individually instead of being sculpted from it directly, it is nearly impossible to tell in what order they were originally arranged. In addition, the poor quality of many of the fragments (see **Appendix 2** for photographs and descriptions) makes it quite complicated to understand who exactly the figures are. The building accounts, for all of their vagueness, are of not much help in identifying characters beyond gender and small actions. Several figures are also Roman replacements, or possibly additions, that were added to the frieze during Augustus' repairs.¹⁹⁹ Attempts to fully reconstruct the frieze, even with close examination of all of the figures, would necessitate an examination of the entablature blocks as well, and even then would still be tenuous, as Pallat demonstrated with his careful measurements.²⁰⁰

The greatest challenge in studying the Erechtheion frieze is determining its subject matter. This is a task for the study of any Classical Greek Doric or Ionic frieze; for example, Connelly's theory, that the Parthenon frieze actually depicted scenes of self-sacrifice related to Euripides' *Erechtheus*, was not widely accepted and was later applied to the Erechtheion by Smoke, who thought it might work better for the Erechtheion frieze, but without much success.²⁰¹ But as Harrison has demonstrated, the tragic themes of Euripides' *Erechtheus* were not well suited for the stage of any contemporary frieze; the same could be said of the Erechtheion.²⁰² If still regarded as mythological, however, the Erechtheion frieze could be a representation of any number of mythological narratives, not necessarily drawn from tragedy, and could even have an historical dimension, as did the nearby and contemporary

¹⁹⁹ See, for example, the figure holding an omphalos discussed below (Akr. 1293).

²⁰⁰ See, for example, Pallat 1912.

²⁰¹ Connelly 1996, Smoke 2010.

²⁰² Harrison 1996, 206.

Temple of Athena Nike.²⁰³ Palagia points out that, however, that it was not uncommon for contemporary statue bases and vase painting to lack a narrative.²⁰⁴ The similarity of the figures and the continuity of the Ionic frieze of the Erechtheion suggests that narrative was present, however. This narrative may have, in fact, consisted of multiple narratives with multiple embodied meanings.

Another way of tackling the subject matter of the Erechtheion frieze is to write it off as deliberately generic. Ridgway, for example, has suggested that architectural sculpture and friezes may have been intentionally abstruse, dependent on the familiarity of the myths represented.²⁰⁵ Burn takes this a step further, making the apt comparison between visitors to the Acropolis and visitors to the modern British Museum, who do not question the subject matter of the portico's entrance to the main building.²⁰⁶ Could this be the case with the Erechtheion frieze as well, that it simply depicted a variety of figures, engaged in a smoothly flowing Ionic narrative that need not be read precisely but looked aesthetically pleasing? An attempt to understand these figures in relationship to one another, the temple upon which they were placed, and the broader context of the surrounding landscape, may be the most fruitful approach.

Ridgway states that, "as for composition, nothing can be said except that groups exist, carved in one piece, and must have provided the only possible overlapping."²⁰⁷ The figures have been described in a variety of ways by scholars, mostly as being posed "fairly quietly," and "peaceful and inactive."²⁰⁸ In comparing such figural arrangements to the Parthenon, the Hephaisteion, and the Temple of Athena Nike, Glowacki, aligned with Paton

²⁰³ As discussed in Chapter 5; see Harrison 1972, Pemberton 1972, Stewart 1985, Palagia 2005b, and Schultz 2009.

²⁰⁴ Palagia 2000, 54.

²⁰⁵ Ridgway 1981, 85.

²⁰⁶ Burn 1989, 63.

²⁰⁷ Ridgway 1981, 94.

²⁰⁸ See, for example, Hurwit 2004, 177, and Burn 1989, 71.

and Pallat, suggested that “seated and quietly standing figures probably represent divine or heroic spectators watching some type of action, perhaps a procession.”²⁰⁹ Burn also points out how each figure seems to be isolated from one another, and there is little interaction between them, perhaps because of how they were constructed as individual figures.²¹⁰

Apart from the theories of Pallat, little has been done in trying to reconstruct the frieze’s overall subject matter. The general consensus seems to be that the stories have to do with the life of Erichthonios and Erechtheus. A more recent interpretation, however, has been posited by Felten, who in a 1984 study of Greek friezes suggested that, like the Parthenon, the Erechtheion frieze has elements that suggest a procession.²¹¹ If the Parthenon frieze, slightly earlier in date, depicts the Panathenaic procession, as has been generally agreed,²¹² then Felten posits that it is possible that the Erechtheion frieze depicts scenes related to the Skira festival. As is the case with many Athenian festivals, the Skira is lacking in information, particularly related to visual imagery. The festival took place on 12 Skirophorion, two weeks after the related Plynteria (where Aglauros played a role)²¹³ and two days before the Dipoleia. It was comprised of both an Athenian celebration as well as a local component, celebrated by deme women in Attica.²¹⁴ From there, much of our information about the Skira festival comes from Late Antique sources, and their interest lies chiefly in the etymological origins of the festival.²¹⁵

²⁰⁹ Glowacki 1995, 328; See also Paton et al. 1927, 244, and Pallat 1912, 182.

²¹⁰ Burn 1989, 71. See also Avramidou 2011, 76.

²¹¹ Felten 1984, 114-117. Burn (1989, 72) is supportive of Felten’s theory.

²¹² Neils 1992, *passim*.

²¹³ Robertson 1983, 283.

²¹⁴ See Parker (2005, 75), who suggests that the women of Piraeus had a Themophoria and a Skira of their own.

²¹⁵ See Lysimachides, *FGrHist* 366 F 3 = Harpokration s.v. Σκίρον (via Lykourgos fr.47 B.-S.) Schol. Aristoph. Eccl. 18 also discusses the festival as linked to Demeter and Kore. Pausanias 1.37.2 discusses a seer called Skiros alongside his discussion a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore as well as Athena and Poseidon. See Burkert 1983, 144 n. 35 for more references. See also Harding 2008, 217.

Deubner attempted to connect a ritual involving piglets and cakes thrown into caves to the Skira festival; these items were sacrificed to Demeter and then placed on altars to her and Persephone, but little evidence confirms this hypothesis.²¹⁶ As is also typical of festivals, there was a certain secrecy to its rituals. Sourvinou-Inwood connected both Demeter and Athena to the festival, where a procession moved from the Acropolis to Skiron, on the road to Eleusis and near the Kephissos River, which was the boundary between Athenian and Eleusinian territory.²¹⁷ Here, the priestess of Athena Polias and the priest of Poseidon Erechtheus were escorted under a canopy (*skiron*) that was carried by the Eteoboutadai.²¹⁸ In this way, the festival could theoretically be linked to the Erechtheion, as it was to this temple that this priest and priestess of the Eteoboutadai family were assigned. Sourvinou-Inwood argued for a relationship between the Acropolis and the frontiers of the *asty*, linking sanctuaries both poliadic (center) and rural (periphery). The Skira festival has also been connected to Athena, who bore the epithet “Skiras” at both Salamis and Phaleron, and in antiquity this association was made.²¹⁹ All of this would do much to add to a discussion about city and rural relationships, but still does not help much with the Erechtheion frieze itself.

The Skira festival could certainly be localized in the topography of the Acropolis, and there is a definite connection between it, the Panathenaia, and the Arrephoria, all of which have ties to the Athenian king Erechtheus.²²⁰ Ultimately, however, the Skira is difficult to connect concretely to the Erechtheion frieze via its subject matter, save for the observation

²¹⁶ Deubner 1932, 40-50.

²¹⁷ See Simon 1983, 23.

²¹⁸ Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 173-4. See also Burkert 1983, 144. Fowler no. 57 (no Akr. acc. #) (**Appendix 2**) preserves the head of a female figure who has a hole drilled into the head, perhaps for a *meniskos*, suggesting a possible correlation with the Skira festival. The umbrella connotation is perhaps an etymological anomaly, however; see Robertson (1996, 73-74, n. 98), and Ridgway 1990 suggests that *meniskoi* were used for the attachment of a variety of headgear, even helmets.

²¹⁹ Herodotus 8.94 for Salamis; Pausanias 1.1.4 for Phaleron.

²²⁰ Burkert 1985, 233.

that it was a festival chiefly concerned with women's ritual,²²¹ and the acknowledgement that many female figures were depicted on the Erechtheion frieze. Iconography from vase painting does little to elucidate an iconography for the festival, and it seems to have been celebrated in different locations in Attica, and not closely connected to any one certain place.²²² The Erechtheion, as we have seen, was a temple fully grounded in a specific locale, and it encourages an interpretation related to the mythological history of the Acropolis. As Avramidou reminds us, the common concern with autochthony and a keen interest in local cults and Attic heroes, especially in connection between the Erechtheion and the Acropolis' topographic location, suggests a return to Pallat's original idea.²²³

A Closer Look at Some Fragments of the Erechtheion Frieze

In this section, I explore some of the fragments of the Erechtheion frieze that were published separately from Paton's monograph. Between the years 1931 and 1939, Oscar Broneer undertook excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis.²²⁴ The area of concentration for Broneer was the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite on the north slope of the Acropolis, from which a number of small finds emerged, including many votive objects, marble reliefs, pottery, and terracotta figurines, in addition to rupestral inscriptions that helped to identify the sanctuary and the nearby *peripatos* route that encircled the Acropolis.²²⁵

²²¹ See Burkert 1983, 145.

²²² Parker (2005, 173) suggests that the Skira had multiple local celebrations. The festival indeed may have had a closer connection to Eleusis than to Athens; even the argument for the priest of Poseidon's involvement can be linked to Eleusis, where Poseidon was worshipped as Poseidon Pater and was the eponymous ancestor of the Eleusinian Eumolpidae. See Simon 1983, 24.

²²³ Avramidou 2011, 76.

²²⁴ In terms of his publications, of chief interest are Broneer 1933 and Broneer 1935. See Broneer 1940 for a summation of Broneer's findings and Glowacki 1991 for further exploration.

²²⁵ Broneer's excavations also included an analysis of the Mycenaean stairway that led down from the Acropolis, which will be discussed later in Chapter 5 for its possible connections with the Arrephoria. See Broneer 1933, 351-356 and figs. 22-25.

Needless to say, this area of the North Slope had a particularly rich ancestral history, dating to some of the earliest phases of Athenian settlement and religious and ritual activity.²²⁶

Other finds from Broneer's excavations were closely related to the Erechtheion, which sits above the North Slope. Most importantly, Broneer uncovered a number of sculptural fragments that were quickly assigned to the frieze of the Erechtheion, based on their material, style, and technique, as well as their similarity to other figures already attributed to the Erechtheion frieze.²²⁷ One of these fragments, a seated female figure, was found in a test trench dug between the sanctuary and the subterranean entrance to the Acropolis, a point placed to the west of the Erechtheion.²²⁸ Probably from the north porch of the temple, it bears traces of a dowel hole, which aided its identification.²²⁹ Another small fragment of a left arm and left breast of a female figure was found in the lower area east of the cave, also with dowel holes.²³⁰

An additional six fragments from the Erechtheion frieze were found in Broneer's campaign of Fall 1933 and the Spring of 1934.²³¹ One of these fragments joined with a piece of a shoulder later found in 1935 to create a nearly complete torso identified as a female. In addition, a small female head was found in late fill of the lower area of the excavations (**Akr. 13815, Figure 62**).²³² Broneer described her facial features as having "deeply set eyes" with "high eyebrows, and a distinct furrow on the forehead" that provides "a serious, almost

²²⁶ See Glowacki 1992.

²²⁷ Glowacki 1995, Appendix A.

²²⁸ Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 9. "No inventory number," according to Glowacki 1995, 329. It has since been assigned the number Akr. 1285.

²²⁹ Broneer 1933, 349.

²³⁰ Broneer 1933, 340.

²³¹ A number of these were assigned to Boulter for analysis, including AS [AS = "Akropolis Sculpture"] 61, AS 63, AS 123, AS 158, AS 164, AS 175, AS 187, and AS 196, all of which are now located in the New Acropolis Museum.

²³² When Broneer describes "late" fills, he never means undisturbed contexts, but instead the results of erosion and modern building activity, sometimes including "soil dumped from the early excavations on the Akropolis." See Glowacki 1995, 326.

melancholy expression to the face.”²³³ One of very few heads that have been found from the Erechtheion frieze, this example illustrates quite well the subtle craftsmanship that was put into these small figures. In addition, several fragments of various body parts were found in Broneer’s excavations of late fill from the upper area, including two left feet (both of which were missing their toes) and the upper part of an arm with drapery thrown over it.²³⁴ Their size seems to support their identification as part of the Erechtheion frieze.

Another fragment of drapery, found in marble chips collected throughout the excavation, has a smooth back; this is just one of a number of fragments that have been only tentatively assigned to the frieze.²³⁵ Finally, two fragments related to horsemanship came to light in Broneer’s excavations: one, part of a draped figure standing in a chariot, which was found in the northeast corner of the excavations near the small cave Q (so, southeast of the Peripatos inscription, according to Glowacki).²³⁶ This fragment is much weathered, but the drapery and a portion of the chariot are visible (**Akr. 13820, Figure 63**). And, the hind leg of a horse (or perhaps another animal) attached to a base was found in fill above the ramp leading to the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite. Broneer notes that a running drill was “clearly used,” based on its numerous markings.²³⁷

Quite possibly the most important of the sculptured fragments attributed to the Erechtheion from Broneer’s excavations is a small Corinthian helmet (**Akr. 7236 [= AS 196]), Figures 64 and 65**), but it had not been attributed to the frieze until recently.²³⁸ In his study of the helmet, Glowacki focuses on one particular fragment of sculpture that differs

²³³ Broneer 1935, 138. This fragment is Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 11. While previously without an inventory number, it has now been assigned Akr. 13817.

²³⁴ Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, nos. 12, 13, and 14, respectively (now known as Akr. Mus. nos. 13818, 13819, and 13820). Akr. 13818 has recently been published by Jacob (2014) as attaching to several other fragments.

²³⁵ Broneer 1935, 139. Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 15 (now Acr. Mus. 13821).

²³⁶ Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 16 (no inventory number).

²³⁷ Broneer 1935, 140. Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 17 (no inventory number).

²³⁸ North Slope Excavation Notebook 13: JRC-I, 1939, p. 150. See Glowacki 1995, 325.

from all of the others, and is unique to those fragments that were discovered earlier. Rather than being a fragment of a human or animal figure, it is a simple helmet, Corinthian in form. It was found in 1939 in a mixed fill level of the lower North Slope, below the *peripatos* and “near the area of the so-called “Skyphos Sanctuary,” an odd sanctuary of the first quarter of the third century BCE in which over two hundred miniature cups were discovered *in situ*.²³⁹

The Corinthian helmet from the Erechtheion frieze was carved on a mass of stone that is also smooth on the bottom, indicating it rested on a flat surface,²⁴⁰ probably the shelf-like edge of the Erechtheion’s entablature. Like other fragments from the Erechtheion frieze, the marble is Pentelic. And while it does not have a dowel hole for attachment to the entablature, the upper right portion of the helmet that is missing indicates it may have been fastened there and broke at some point.²⁴¹ It is obvious that the helmet could belong to a warrior who was in the process of arming or disarming, a motif that commonly appears in vase painting.²⁴² Aesthetically, the helmet could have filled the space below the warrior’s raised leg; the composition is already crowded with other figures, and the helmet would help to balance it. The Erechtheion’s sculpted helmet could have fulfilled a similar motive on the frieze, but other possibilities exist as well.

Glowacki, for example, makes the attractive suggestion that the helmet actually belongs to Athena. He cites late fifth century BCE sculptural examples of the goddess holding a helmet in her hands, on her lap, or by her side, including a depiction of a seated Athena on the Nike temple parapet as well as a contemporary votive relief from the

²³⁹ For more information on this sanctuary, see Glowacki 1991, 65-73.

²⁴⁰ Glowacki 1995, 326 and 328.

²⁴¹ Glowacki 1995, 326.

²⁴² Glowacki 1995, 328. As comparanda, see an amphora by the Amasis Painter in New York dated to about 550 BCE depicts a warrior putting on his greaves. On the ground below him rests a Corinthian helmet with two plumes. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.69. Purchased 1906, Rogers fund. See Clark 2002, Fig. 126.

Acropolis, where she is seated on a rocky seat with a Corinthian helmet nearby.²⁴³ If this identification is correct, then that would place Athena within the frieze's identifiable iconography, a likely scenario given her importance within the temple.²⁴⁴

It might be helpful to push this identification a step further and compare the Erechtheion frieze's Corinthian helmet to vase paintings in which Athena is not wearing her helmet. Athena's helmet is removed in several of the vase paintings depicting the presentation of Erichthonios - and on occasion, she is without it entirely. For example, Athena carries her helmet in the pursuit scene by Hephaistos in Bologna; her disarming could be perhaps be related to her vulnerability in this scene (**Catalogue 8**). Vases in which the maternal qualities of Athena are emphasized also depict her without her helmet, including the stamnos in Munich and the Codrus Painter's kylix (**Catalogue 9 and 10**). Most famously, Athena on the calyx-krater in Eichenzell is depicted without her helmet as she makes a libation over Erichthonios' basket; a seated female figure behind her holds her armor instead (**Catalogue 22**). It is possibly that the designers and sculptors of the Erechtheion frieze wished to depict Athena in a similar manner to the iconography of the presentation of Erichthonios, particularly in the later decades of the fifth century BCE, when her reception of the child was emphasized more frequently than her martial nature.²⁴⁵ Her presence on the frieze of the Erechtheion would certainly not be surprising, and adds an additional depth to the already rich and varied repertoire of images of Athena on the Acropolis.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ See examples in Glowacki 1995, 328, with bibliography.

²⁴⁴ Glowacki reminds us that she is a "chief divinity" (1995, 329).

²⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that this is not the case, however, on the calyx-krater in Richmond (**Catalogue 12**), where the Nikias Painter indulged in depicting Athena with an elaborate helmet.

²⁴⁶ See especially Ridgway 1992 for the variances in images of Athena on the Acropolis.

Another fragment from the Erechtheion frieze may perhaps be fruitful for further study. This figure is of a draped form, seated and holding an omphalos in his or her lap (**Akr. 1293, Figure 66**). The gender of the figure is difficult to identify, especially since much of the upper half of the figure is missing. A second point of difficulty lies in the fact that since the carving style is different from other figures on the Erechtheion, it could actually be a Roman copy. The question then arises whether it replicates the original form as a replacement for a lost or damaged original.²⁴⁷ Another question is to which part of the building the original belonged; Lesk suggests that the west façade of the temple displayed replacements that were made during repairs from the Hellenistic period, as evidenced by π -clamps that were common from the fourth to second centuries BCE.²⁴⁸ Given the wide range of possible dates for the replacement copy, it is difficult to say how distant its creation from the original was. But in essence, this replacement figure may have been a copy of an original, similar figure.

Furthermore, Boulter compares the figure holding the omphalos to Athena on the Nike parapet in terms of its drapery pattern and object held in her lap (in the case of the Nike parapet Athena, it is a helmet).²⁴⁹ Pallat, on the other hand, had earlier suggested Ge or Themis, or, the most obvious identification, Apollo, a suggestion that Ridgway echoes.²⁵⁰ Numerous examples of Apollo seated on an omphalos exist in various media,²⁵¹ and given our knowledge of vase painting, Apollo would not be an unknown visitor in scenes of autochthony, as he is present in imagery of the presentation of Erichthonios, such as on the Richmond calyx-krater (**Catalogue 12**). But the iconography of the omphalos is not

²⁴⁷ Boulter 1970, 19.

²⁴⁸ See the discussion in Lesk 2004, 123, 128. She uses comparanda from Samothrace to the Stoa of Attalos and the Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora.

²⁴⁹ Boulter 1970, 19.

²⁵⁰ Ridgway (1981, 93-94), as does Hurwit 2004, 177. See also the note in Boulter 1970, 19 n. 54.

²⁵¹ For example, a Seleukid tetradrachma from c. 281-261 BCE in Malibu (JPGM 80.NH.2.27). For a sculpture in the round as well as several Attic votive reliefs, see the discussion in Wace 1902/1903.

restricted to Apollo, and given the heaviness of the drapery and the similarities to other figures from the Erechtheion frieze, it seems safer to presume that this figure is female. Hestia has also been linked to the omphalos; both hearth and the navel are seen as symbols of centrality, and the maternal qualities of Ge (the earth) and Hestia (the earth) cannot be understated,²⁵² but visual comparanda for Hestia and the omphalos do not exist.

A closer point of comparison might be found in a red-figure pyxis from a tomb in Spina, now located in the Archaeological Museum of Ferrara. Attributed to the Marlay Painter, the pyxis has been dated to about 425 BCE.²⁵³ As on the roughly contemporary Meidian pyxis with the scenes related to Erichthonios (**Catalogue 21**), a host of characters is depicted on the surface of the pyxis. Usually, the omphalos is a place marker for Delphi,²⁵⁴ and is often associated with imagery of Apollo and sometimes Artemis, but here, the figure of a crowned Delos, her name clearly indicated by an inscription, holds a patera with her left hand and raised towards the central scene of Artemis and Apollo. While Delos' placement on the Erechtheion might be considered strange, it is not hard to picture her alongside the Apolline triad; Apollo's presence was almost certain, and while Artemis is not seen in other images of Erichthonios' presentation, she would not be out of place. The maternal qualities of Delos as a personification were often emphasized, and her connection with Athens is apparent.²⁵⁵ Delos as a personification would also fit in well with the other female personifications that are possibly a dominant aspect of the Erechtheion frieze, as discussed below.

There is a second connection between Delos and the myths of autochthony. This relates to the tradition that Erysichthon, the only son of Kekrops, brought the oldest image

²⁵² Loraux 1990, 204, and Loraux 1994, 233.

²⁵³ *BAPD* 216209; *ARV*² 1277.22.

²⁵⁴ See *ThesCRA* 6.a, "Divination," 23-24 (2005).

²⁵⁵ See the discussion in Smith 2011, 34-35.

of the birth goddess Eileithyia from Delos to Athens.²⁵⁶ While the daughters of Kekrops held far more renown for their role in Erichthonios' story, Erysichthon's narratives are much more subdued. As an Attic hero, whose shrine was at Prasiai on the eastern coast of Attica (according to Pausanias), Erysichthon should certainly be present in the Erechtheion frieze. Kearns also suggests that Erysichthon, although little known, would have served as a protective figure in Attica, and thus would also be appropriate on the frieze as well.²⁵⁷ His appearance in vase painting was varied, variously portrayed as youthful and ranging from clothed to nude. We might perhaps look for him as the kneeling youth in the group discussed by Holzmann (**Akr. 1073, Figure 60**) or one of the other fragmentary male figures from the frieze.²⁵⁸ In addition, Erysichthon's presence might help to explain Delos as a personification as well. A subtle connection to Eileithyia would be an apt theme for the Erechtheion frieze, and would accord well with the motherly connections seen in the abundance of mother-child figures on the frieze – perhaps she was also a figure in the frieze's imagery.²⁵⁹ Despite being a copy, then, the figure with the omphalos in her lap surely reflected an important theme in the iconography of the Erechtheion frieze.

Bringing Together the Fragments of the Frieze

One of the dominant themes that stands out in terms of the figural fragments from the Erechtheion frieze is that the vast majority of them are female. Several of these are seated, holding children on their laps (for example, **Akr. 1075, Figure 67**).²⁶⁰ Although

²⁵⁶ Paus. 1.18.5. and 1.31.2. For other sources, see Kearns 1989, 162.

²⁵⁷ Kearns 1989, 53. Erysichthon is present in only two scenes related to Erichthonios and autochthony, the Sotades red-figure rhyton (**Catalogue 14**) and the fragment of the red-figure calyx-krater, close to the Black Fury Painter (**Catalogue 15**).

²⁵⁸ Such as Akr. 1229, 1239a, 1242, 1271, or 1275.

²⁵⁹ For more analysis of the theme of mothers on the Erechtheion frieze, see Räuchle 2015.

²⁶⁰ See Koukouli 1967 and those referenced below in Boulter 1970 (1237 and 1075).

Hurwit states that “the woman with the boy in her lap also makes one think of (or hope for) Athena and Erechtheus/Erichthonios...there were other such mother-child groups, so the identification is weakened.”²⁶¹ Indeed, there are no images of Athena holding Erichthonios in her lap that are known from vase painting. Acting as a *kourotrophos*, including nurturing and rearing the child, is not in Athena’s job description, however; instead, at the core of the presentation scene is Athena’s reception of the baby, and her subsequent entrustment of him to the Kekropids. Instead, it might be possible to view these seated female figures as generic *kourotrophoi* who were witnesses to the presentation of Erichthonios and who emphasized the motherly and nurturing aspects of autochthony in the Athenian race’s historical roots, their plentitude augmenting the bountiful aspects that autochthony brought to the Athenians.

The term *kourotrophos* is rather hard to pin down, carrying different meanings in different parts of the Greek world during various eras.²⁶² Generally, however, it refers to a nursing mother figure, and is often applied to various goddesses, including Ge. *Kourotrophoi* have been identified elsewhere on the Acropolis, including hypothetical images from the west pediment of the Parthenon that were related to the daughters of Kekrops and other myths of Athenian autochthony.²⁶³ These include Praxithea with a daughter of Erechtheus, as well as Kreousa with Ion.²⁶⁴ As motherly figures, the seated women can be viewed as enhancing the themes of autochthony that were present on the Erechtheion frieze. A recent suggestion by Räuchle takes on this issue for the Acropolis in general, suggesting that the placement of these figures on the Erechtheion frieze in particular “conveyed a genealogical message and [was] aimed at praising the exemplary mothers and

²⁶¹ Hurwit 2004, 177.

²⁶² As covered by Hadzisteliou Price 1978, 1-13.

²⁶³ For examples from the west pediment of the Parthenon, see Brommer 1963 as well as Palagia 1993.

²⁶⁴ See Brommer 1963, as well as below, pp. 219-220 in Chapter 5.

venerable offspring of the Athenians.”²⁶⁵ A plethora of similar figures would expand upon this notion and magnify the connections among birth, motherhood, childhood, and myth.

In addition, it can be observed that a number of figures are in motion, rather than being static observers (for example, **Akr. 2825, Figure 68**). Lesk suggests that those in motion, both to the right and to the left, are arriving at the central scene of Erichthonios’ birth.²⁶⁶ Instead, however, this proposal should be reversed: those in movement could be interpreted as the Kekropids, who flee the scene after Erichthonios’ unveiling from the basket. Compare, for example, the body of the Meidian pyxis, where the daughters of Kekrops hurry away from Athena’s impending wrath. (**Catalogue 21**). Aglauros flees from the outstretched hand of Athena, her sisters in front of her. Indeed, Pallat had proposed that this imagery would have been present in the Erechtheion frieze,²⁶⁷ using more fragmentary figures and with the Meidian pyxis unknown to him. The vase, discovered in the 1970s, lends credence to the idea that this scene may have also been present in the sculpted frieze of the Erechtheion.

Other female figures on the frieze could be witnesses to the birth, such as those that are present, though unnamed, on the Meidian squat lekythos in Cleveland (**Catalogue 20**). In addition, Boulter suggests that two of the female figures with children in their laps (**Akr. 1075 and 1237, Figures 67 and 69**) may actually be derived from Figures S and T from the west pediment of the Parthenon, and she interprets them as Athenian ancestors, as Palagia and other scholars had proposed for the Parthenon.²⁶⁸ Or, as Neils has suggested for the Meidian lekythos, they could be personifications, related to the ideals and themes of

²⁶⁵ Räuchle 2015, 10.

²⁶⁶ Lesk 2004, 74.

²⁶⁷ Pallat 1937, 24 and Slab IX, figures 1-5.

²⁶⁸ Boulter 1970, 13 n. 33. Figures S and T from the West Pediment of the Parthenon have been identified with Ion and Kreousa (see Palagia 1993, 50 and 58, n. 189, for additional bibliography).

Athenian politics and social life.²⁶⁹ Kourotrophoi, personifications, Athenian ancestors – these various interpretations may not have a simple solution other than to suggest that each figure was a witness to the presentation of Erichthonios, and the abundance of female figures is quite similar to contemporary vase painting.

Male figures, on the other hand, could often perhaps be construed as deities, as comparisons to vase painting recognize the presence of several important Olympian divinities, including Apollo, Hephaistos, and Zeus. On the Erechtheion frieze, examples such as **Akr. 1196 (Figure 70)** reveal that there were a number of male figures present; it is possible that this example could even be Hephaistos, given the similarity between the mantle draped over his arms and parallel motifs in vase painting.²⁷⁰ Hephaistos would be a necessary component in the myth of Erichthonios, as we already examined in several examples from vase painting in Chapter 3. Perhaps he was even depicted as a nude figure, as Jacob has recently posited with the joining of several fragments from the Erechtheion frieze.²⁷¹

In effect, the Erechtheion frieze, although nearly impossible to reconstruct based on more than one hundred and fifty fragments of human figures,²⁷² is still worthy of consideration within the context of autochthony. Surely there existed the common iconographical motif of the presentation of Erichthonios, as Pallat suggested more than a century ago, which was instantly recognizable from its vase painting antecedents and contemporary comparanda. But more recently discovered vases that depict this iconography so closely related to Athenian identity, such as the Meidian pyxis in Athens, also give

²⁶⁹ See Neils 1983.

²⁷⁰ For example, **Catalogue 8, 9, and 10**.

²⁷¹ See Jacob 2014, who joins Akr. 1271 with nos. 7171, 4254, and 13816 and designs a hypothetical reconstruction of a nude male figure leaning on a staff or walking stick (fig. 8).

²⁷² At last count, I have found 159 fragments that can be attributed to the frieze, substantially more than the initial compilation by Fowler in 1927, although some are questionable as to whether they belong to the monument.

substance to the idea that the frieze constituted a complex narrative or multiple narratives, images that were best played out in the paratactic format of an Ionic frieze.

The Meidian pyxis (**Catalogue 21**), for example, includes not one, but two narratives related to Erichthonios: that of his presentation on the lid, and the daughters of Kekrops fleeing from Athena after their transgression, which was narrated on the body of the vase. Roughly contemporary with the Erechtheion frieze, the Meidian pyxis provides a fine example for the multiplicity of narratives that emerged in the visual repertoire of Athenian iconography as the myth of autochthony grew more complex in the late fifth century. These myths, in turn, were also played out on the frieze of the Erechtheion on a monumental scale, one that was well suited for this particular temple, given its longstanding history related to autochthony, ancestry, identity, and the earliest cult places of Athens and the Acropolis.

In addition, the plethora of figures who witness, move towards and away from, and experience the presentation also underscores the importance of the myth for this time and this place. Hadzisteliou Price argues for a close connection between kourotrophoi figures and the social systems of ancient Greece that tied the individual to the state in a system initially derived from familial ties and obligations.²⁷³ This, too, describes quite well the presence of so many female figures in the Erechtheion frieze, even if their specific identities cannot be discerned. The figures of the frieze fit into a socio-cultural understanding of Athens in the late fifth century BCE, during a time when the construction of the temple picked up again after a lull and was brought to completion, despite the effects of the Peloponnesian War and the increasing encroachment of the Spartans. With autochthony at the center of the frieze's iconographic scheme, the Erechtheion surely became a temple of

²⁷³ Hadzisteliou Price 1978.

multiple statements of iconography and narratives, all of which were clustered around the theme of autochthony and Athenian ancestry.

Conclusions

Identifying the central theme of the Erechtheion frieze is intensely problematic, as we have seen. For one, it is incredibly fragmentary, and the individual fragments of sculpture do little to suggest position or identification of the figures. As we have seen in both vase painting and several fragments from the Erechtheion frieze, scholars will often approach single figures or groups of figures, rarely looking at all pieces of the puzzle together. Thus both general identification as well as narrative sequence, if any, is nearly impossible to determine. In addition, the scholarship on the frieze has, to this point, been largely lacking in discussions of overall meaning. With the exception of Felten, not since Pallat has there been a novel scholarly reading of the frieze's fragments as a whole.²⁷⁴ The updated catalogue in this study (**Appendix 2**) helps to reaffirm these themes, systematize the comprehensive number of fragments discovered to date, and open the forum for further discussion regarding the Erechtheion's contribution to the study of Late Classical architecture and its sculpture.²⁷⁵

As we have seen throughout this chapter, one approach to dealing with the issue of themes and iconography is to compare the fragments of the Erechtheion frieze with contemporary Athenian vase painting, especially those vases that were not known to Pallat. This is not an entirely new approach; Riezler and other scholars looked to vases in what they referred to the "Pheidias spirit" in style to help date the Parthenon frieze to around 450

²⁷⁴ Apart from Smoke 2010, that is.

²⁷⁵ Also discussed by Leventi 2014, 145-164.

BCE.²⁷⁶ Although no system of dating vases and architectural sculpture is perfectly precise, we have seen in several instances how the stylistic and thematic comparisons between vase painting and sculpture are intriguing. In several instances, we have also seen how comparing the Erechtheion frieze fragments to contemporary vase painting, such as that of the Meidias Painter, lends itself not only to stylistic observations, but thematic ones as well, furthering our understanding of the frieze's subjects in regards to their iconography.

This chapter has endeavored to present an overview of a well-known and much studied Acropolis temple, the Erechtheion. In many ways, the Late Classical temple is an anomaly among Greek temples in form, structure, and decoration. Rhodes attributes this to its Ionic design, which “bound it to no strict canon.”²⁷⁷ Surely this lack of traditional approach to building the temple was influenced by the surrounding landscape and the history of earlier cults in the area, however, and the Erechtheion is unique in its deliberate attempt to both perpetuate and accentuate this earlier history. Ultimately, there is no better monumental example than this temple for our understanding of how architectural form can be modified and manipulated to incorporate the topography and the history of the landscape surrounding it. In addition, the Erechtheion as a temple looks not only to the past and Athens' early history in its iconographic program, but it is also firmly embedded in the contemporary atmosphere of late fifth century Athens.

By tracing the history of the Erechtheion's construction, we have considered multiple viewpoints that have shaped our perspective on the the dating of the temple and thus its purpose. While scholars argue as to whether the Erechtheion should be ascribed to the monumental building program of Perikles or whether it should be a later project, a moderate viewpoint that allows for its planning during the Periklean era and subsequent

²⁷⁶ For an overview, see Avramidou 2001, n.5.

²⁷⁷ Rhodes 1995, 136.

finishing touches later, during the Peloponnesian War, serves two purposes. As part of the “spirit of reconstruction”²⁷⁸ in the decades after the sack of the Acropolis by the Persians, the temple explains how the myth of autochthony aligns with the rise of democratic ideals that focused on citizens and ancestry. Secondly, it allows for the Erechtheion to become truly a product of its time. Much as we have seen in vases from the last decade of the fifth century BCE, the Erechtheion’s iconography of autochthony fits in well with our understanding of the complexity and importance of this myth during the Peloponnesian War.

Within the socio-historical setting of the Acropolis, we can ascribe to the iconography of the Erechtheion the manifestation of Athenian ideas and ideals regarding their own identity in the face of the Peloponnesian War. For one, the *korai* and the fragments of the frieze come together in a melded and harmonious understanding of both past, present, and future. The *korai*, standing above the Tomb of Kekrops, look to the past in their location, but they also look towards the present in their gaze towards the Parthenon and their associations with the Panathenaic festival, over which they also direct their eyes at the procession’s point of culmination. On the other hand, the frieze illustrates aspects of Athens’ past history. The lines of ancestry prominent in the Erechtheion frieze also portray a hope for the future, and give concrete visual form to the ideas of Athenian autochthony. Just as the temple itself appears to have been born from the earth in the incorporation of its foundations into the natural landscape of the Acropolis, so too does the frieze strengthen the concept of Athenian identity in its subjects of maternal women, mortal and mythical figures, and emphasis on the iconography of autochthony.

²⁷⁸ Rhodes 1995, 113.

CHAPTER 5

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF AUTOCHTHONY: THE ACROPOLIS AND BEYOND

Introduction

The combination of the natural landscape with the built environment was merged into a symbolic whole, imbued with multiple meanings, in the concentrated area of the Athenian Acropolis. The Acropolis and other locations in Athens and Attica became grounds upon which themes of autochthony and Athenian identity were explored. In this chapter, I seek to consider the monumental architecture, shrines, sculpture, and other elements that drew associations in the minds of Athenians viewing them regarding their own identity and ancestry in the very place they inhabited. Monuments in the Archaic period and the early years of the democracy, and even more frequently throughout fifth century, I argue, functioned as “one of the most conspicuous forms of making ‘history without historians,’” their placement within the landscape crucial to their understanding and meaning.¹ Through this analysis, I seek to bring autochthony into a discussion of the topography of Athens, illustrating how as a concept it was embedded firmly within the ancient landscape and the strategic placement of monuments within that landscape.

This concept of a “topography of autochthony” thus functions as a social construct that was omnipresent in the city of Athens by the end of the fifth century, demonstrating the ways in which the Athenians quite literally wove these themes related to their identity into the very fabric of their city and its physical space, providing visual sustenance in the uncertainties of the Peloponnesian War. The Acropolis is an apt place to center a discussion of this topography of autochthony, as it is a site already rich with history from the earliest of

¹ Shapiro 2012, 160.

times that continued for centuries (**Figure 49**). As such, the rock was a palimpsest of embodied histories, a prominent landmark in and of itself within the valley of the Greek landscape of Attica. As Hurwit points out, each visitor to the Acropolis “was enmeshed in a network...of meaning and reference,” one that allowed the viewer visually to engage in an iconographic and stylistic discourse.² Adding to this sentiment, I would stress that this discourse, based on sight and movement through the landscape, was not just iconographic and stylistic, but also intellectual and symbolic, filled with references to the building of the Athenian empire and the resolute Athenian interests in their genealogy, ancestry, and identity.

After a discussion of the Erechtheion in depth in Chapter 4, this chapter highlights other points of interest on the Acropolis, including the Parthenon itself, as well as the Temple of Athena Nike and other smaller monuments and sculptural groups. From there, a consideration of the Erechtheion’s visibility from the Athenian Agora leads to a discussion of the Agora as the seat of Athenian political and social life. Visually, the Erechtheion was situated high above the Agora and, in fact, was even more observable than the Parthenon behind it to the south, which has implications for the understanding of autochthony within the center of Athens. Athens’ most prominent hill was thus resplendent with references to Athenian ancestry, paying homage to the long history of the Acropolis itself and the events that occurred there earlier in what were historical times for the Athenians. The Parthenon in particular functioned as a visual storyteller for this imagery. As the last major temple to be built on the Acropolis, however, the Erechtheion not only tied multiple cult places together, but as I will argue, visually balanced the Acropolis’ other references to origins, birth, and identity, culminating in a late fifth century plethora of images. To begin,

² Hurwit 2004, 239.

however, let us briefly examine an architectural structure on the Acropolis that long pre-dates the Classical Periklean building program.

The Archaic Period: The Olive Tree Pediment

Monumental architecture may have exhibited a connection with autochthony from an early time period, similar to the black-figure vase fragments and votive pinax examined in Chapter 3.³ Predating all of the major structures on the Acropolis of today, a small pediment of poros limestone from the Archaic period (**Figure 71**), which has been dated to about 560-550 BCE, is thought to be a fragment of an early shrine in the vicinity of where the Erechtheion stands today. While this smaller building is now lost and its precise location on the Acropolis has not been sufficiently determined, the pediment is, in fact, quite well preserved. Known as the “Olive Tree pediment,” it is unique in two regards for architectural sculpture of its time period: for one, it has clear indications of an olive tree inscribed on it, giving it its nickname and suggesting a surrounding landscape, easily situating the pediment’s narrative in a precise location.⁴ Secondly, a small architectural structure is also represented along with the olive tree, and fragments of two female figures in the round, one more complete than the other, are preserved, amongst several other smaller fragments.⁵

The Olive Tree pediment is unique, at least to the Archaic and Classical Acropolis, in that it depicts an architectural structure within an architectural structure; in this case, a pseudo-isodomic building is placed in the center of the pediment, jutting out from the flat surface of the tympanum. Both landscape and architectural elements are relatively rare

³ See **Catalogue 3**.

⁴ Küllerich (1989, 10) provides the identification of the leaves as from an olive tree.

⁵ The fragments, seven in total, have been catalogued by Küllerich 1989, 1-3.

occurrences in architectural sculpture, especially at this early date.⁶ Although some scholars early on posited that the pediment resembles a fountain house, this has been contested.⁷ Should we choose instead to situate the Olive Tree Pediment's scene on the Acropolis itself, as a number of scholars have suggested,⁸ its self-referential qualities would be unique; as Hedreen rightly notes, it is "a kind of snapshot in stone of a real building and tree - indeed, a building or tree that one might have been able to see as one viewed the representation of them in the pediment" and that it "would be unprecedented in early Archaic Greek architectural structure,"⁹ and thus would belong to an especially important building. The scholarship has generally acknowledged that the Olive Tree Pediment's subject matter thus must be related to an early structure on the Acropolis, perhaps a predecessor to the Erechtheion (or the Old Athena Temple, both of which refer to the *Archaios Naos*),¹⁰ or even the Pandroseion where the olive tree on the Acropolis grew, although scant architectural remains for these structures have been found on the Acropolis.

The two standing female figures might help to support this notion of an Acropolis locale, however; their frontality and resemblance to the *korai* of the Erechtheion has led Shapiro to suggest they might in fact be the daughters of Kekrops.¹¹ One of them, whose frontal stance would have caught the eye of a visitor to the building, seems to wear a cushion

⁶ Better examples date to the Hellenistic period, such as the Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar at Pergamon (dated to the reign of Eumenes II, between 197-159 B.C.E.).

⁷ Boardman (1972, 70-1), for example, argues with Buschor's early interpretation (1922), which suggested the setting at a fountain house, and thus a scene of the ambush of Troilos, as was shown on the François vase and other examples. See the sources in Hedreen 2001, 126-129, including n. 28, who notes that trees were often combined with fountain houses in the depiction of Troilos' ambush. Dickens (1912, 69-72) also argued for a setting at a fountain house, but instead suggested the Pelasgian rape of Athenian women fetching water by the Enneakrounos, a notion that has not received much support. Shapiro (1995, 43) rightly points out that a story related to Troy had no relevance to an Acropolis setting during this time period, though Trojan motifs would become popular after the Persian Wars in other Acropolis architectural sculpture. Ridgway (1977, 204) states that "so many women would be surprising for an ambush of Troilos." Marconi (2007, 20) ironically remarks "these alleged two main characters are simply not visible."

⁸ Such as Shapiro 1995, 43.

⁹ Hedreen 2001, 128.

¹⁰ See Dinsmoor 1950, 71.

¹¹ Shapiro 2012, 168.

on her head, and Ridgway has interpreted this figure as a caryatid rather than the earlier associations with a *hydrophoros* at a fountain house.¹² Ridgway also suggests that *korai* on the Acropolis in the Archaic period may have provided inspiration for both the Olive Tree pediment as well as the architect of the Erechtheion later.¹³

More recently, Connelly has argued for a reading of the female figure's cushion above her head as an indicator that she is a *kanephoros*, comparing her to a similar *kanephoros* depicted on one of the plaques from Pitsa,¹⁴ and Boardman has also interpreted her as a priestess.¹⁵ While Ridgway's suggestion bears little evidence from the Archaic acropolis in terms of a "pre-caryatid," both Connelly and Boardman are perhaps correct to relate the female figure to cult and ritual, given her position in the center of the pediment and the likelihood that the pediment belongs to a religious structure. There is also room within the structure for other figures, perhaps forming a small group of three or four, that have potentially been lost. The presence of landscape, too, seems to hold some symbolic weight. Thus the suggestion of a scene related to autochthony can be considered here more fully: as in the case of the Archaic votive plaques, the Olive Tree pediment may be a scene related to Kekrops and his daughters.¹⁶ Alternatively, they could very well be *arrephoroi*, ready to reenact the ritual of carrying objects up and down the North Slope.

Furthermore, the hip roof depicted on the pediment was nearly out of fashion at the time of the building's construction, according to Marconi,¹⁷ and similarly, the use of pseudo-isodomic masonry was unusual at this time as well.¹⁸ These architectural elements add an

¹² Ridgway 1977, 204.

¹³ Ridgway 1977, 205.

¹⁴ Connelly 2007, 124. Plaque from Pitsa: Athens, National Archaeological Museum 16464; see Neils 1996, fig. 8.1.

¹⁵ Boardman 1972, 70-71. See also the discussion in Hurwit 1999, 113.

¹⁶ As suggested by Shapiro 2008, 166-168.

¹⁷ Marconi 2007, 20.

¹⁸ Küllerich 1989, 6.

element of antiquity to the iconography, thus alluding to an older mythological scene depicted in the pediment. It is not so far-fetched, then, to picture this pediment both located in the space of the Acropolis and at the same time alluding to a ritual on the Acropolis. In this regard, the Olive Tree pediment would have functioned in much the same way as the landscape elements in late fifth century vase painting, such as the Meidian pyxis and the Eichenzell calyx-krater (**Catalogue 21 and 22**), where indications of landscape elements transported the viewer to the Acropolis and to the myths of autochthony and their relationship to Athenian topography. Given that the viewers of the pediment were already on the Acropolis as they witnessed this scene, the narrative becomes rather circular: a self-referential arrangement, I would argue, as it encouraged visitors to the Acropolis to consider the mythical and historic background of Athens' most important sanctuary. The olive leaves in particular would inspire a connection to a myth that took place in Athens' earliest history, the contest between Athena and Poseidon, which at its core reminded the Athenians of Athena's greatest gift to their people, the land.

The Periklean Building Program & The Parthenon

Plutarch attributed the building (and rebuilding) of Acropolis monuments to a sort of singular vision, funded by monies from the Delian League, and thus the Acropolis has often been credited to Perikles and the sculptor Pheidias.¹⁹ The "Periklean building program" is thought to have come to an end with the advent of the Peloponnesian War in the late 430s;²⁰ we have seen, however, how the Erechtheion carried on certain aspects of the Periklean tradition, and the concerns with history of the city of Athens, both mythological

¹⁹ For more information, see Hurwit (1999, 310f.), including translations of Plutarch's *Life of Perikles*.

²⁰ Camp 2001, 117.

and within recent memory, became even more pronounced, as witnessed on both the Erechtheion and the Temple of Athena Nike. These post-Persian monuments were the result of a collective identity of the Athenians with a vision of a visual iconography that reflected their sense of identity. As such, the concept of autochthony and Athenian citizen identity was a part of the planning and execution of monuments on the Acropolis, parallel to its development in vase painting.²¹ Moving from the small-scale vases of scenes of the presentation of Erichthonios to the large-scale visual narratives of architectural sculpture, this section seeks to give substance to the presence of autochthony in the various locales of the Acropolis. Not coincidentally, nearly all aspects of the Parthenon's architectural sculpture as well as its prominent cult statue can be linked in some way, overtly or subtly, to the concept of autochthony.

In the eyes of the Athenians, I argue, this use of architectural sculpture was deliberate. Moreover, it became a symbol of stability and identity for the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War in the decades after these monuments were built. The Parthenon in particular embodied many aspects of Athenian identity: the metopes, frieze, and pediments all visually engaged viewers to consider aspects of Athenian mythology and history, both present and past. Jenkins claims "one of the hallmarks of the Parthenon sculptures is the way they lead the eye from one to another, each figure or group of figures drawing energy from the previous and passing it on to the next."²²

As the largest temple in mainland Greece, the Parthenon surely made an indelible impression on the Athenian landscape. Making use of both the Doric and Ionic orders,²³ the

²¹ See Chapter 3.

²² Jenkins 2006, 80.

²³ Emerson (2007, 83) notes that the octastyle nature of the Parthenon is unusual for the Doric order, but so were the Temple of Artemis on Corcyra (c. 580 BCE) and as well as the Temple G at Selinunte, which was begun c. 520 BCE but never finished.

Parthenon is a slow revelation of styles as visitors move through its space. Born from the foundations of the Older Parthenon, it reused many elements from its predecessor.²⁴ As discussed by Pausanias (1.24.5-7),²⁵ the imagery of autochthony and Athenian identity is actually visible in nearly all aspects of the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon, including the frieze, pediments, and cult statue of Athena Parthenos and its base, almost rivaling the Erechtheion in its abundance of imagery related to the early myths of Athens and their place in contemporary Athenian society. The sculptures of the Parthenon also embody other themes common to Greek architectural sculpture, such as battles between the gods and giants, processional iconography, and the deeds of heroes, all of which bring Athens to the forefront of Greek superiority. In examining the themes of autochthony and Athenian ancestry and identity present in the Parthenon frieze, it is possible to gather a more complete picture of how the Athenians thought of their background and their history, and their place from and upon the land of Attica.

The Pediments of the Parthenon: East and West

The pediments of the Parthenon are perhaps the most visible aspect of the temple's architectural sculpture, both upon entrance to the Acropolis through the Propylaea as well as upon circling the temple. In Pausanias' discussion of the pediments (1.24.5),²⁶ he clearly identifies the narrative scenes: the birth of Athena was the subject of the east pediment of the temple, and on the west, Poseidon's quarrel with Athena over the land of Attica, an important theme in the history of establishing Athens' formative identity, was depicted. Pausanias' quick identification must have meant that the scenes were quite recognizable in

²⁴ Emerson (2007, 84) eloquently states that its "sensible economy resulted in a design triumph."

²⁵ Pausanias, however, is notably silent concerning the frieze. Its visibility has been much discussed; see Ridgway 1999, 17; Marconi 2009.

²⁶ Pausanias is the only ancient source to discussed the pediments. See Ridgway 1999, 16-17.

the second century. According to Ridgway, the Parthenon's pediments were in place by 433/2 BCE, the year the Parthenon was completed, and the two mythological narratives depicted on the east and west sides of the temple were related to Athens and Athena's shared mythological histories.²⁷

The East Pediment: Athena's Birth

Visitors to the Acropolis may have first encountered the west pediment to the Parthenon, but it was the east pediment that greeted them as they stepped towards the threshold of the temple (**Figures 72 and 73**). On the whole, the east pediment, rising above the main entrance to the Parthenon, had a considerably shorter lifespan than its western counterpart, since a number of figures were removed when the Parthenon was converted into a Christian church.²⁸ Yet the iconography of vase painting and Pausanias' description give a sense of how it might have looked. Although not the visually dominant side of the temple except upon entering from the east side of the Acropolis, the scene of Athena's birth depicted here was a monumental statement about the history of Athena's most important goddess.

The iconography of Athena's strange birth was already known from examples earlier in the sixth and fifth centuries in black-figure vase painting.²⁹ It has been suggested that viewers seeing the birth of Athena from Zeus' head within the sphere of the Periklean building program would recognize not only the story being told, but understand it as a "kind

²⁷ At 28.8 meters wide and 3.4 meters tall at the apex, the multiple larger-than-life figures are conventionally labeled with alphabetic letters. Their placement has been aided by early drawings by Jacques Carrey, William Gell, and others. See Ridgway (1981, 42) and Palagia 2005a, 226-230. Palagia's (1993, 60-61) Appendix is helpful for understanding the identification of each individual figure.

²⁸ See the discussion in Hurwit 1999, 293-295.

²⁹ See, for example, a black-figure kylix in the British Museum (B 424) (*BAPD* 301068; *ABV* 168, 169.3) and a black-figure amphora in Richmond (60.23) (*BAPD* 350434; *Paralipomena* 56.48TER). Cassimatis 1984 (*LIMC* s.v. Athena 334-380) includes all known examples.

of allegory that meant something like ‘science emerging from the cosmic mind.’”³⁰ The myth was known from multiple sources, including the *Homeric Hymn to Athena*, where the effects of her emergence into the world has strong consequences for the cosmos.³¹ In turn, the Parthenon illuminates this by utilizing the celestial figures of Helios and Selene in each corner of the pediment to bracket the scene, the ground line of the pediment acting as a virtual horizon line that paralleled the physical ground line below the temple’s stylobate.³²

Athena’s birth was also a subject known from literary sources such as Hesiod as well as tragedies.³³ Zeus’ act of giving birth to her has been seen as attempt to “consolidate his own power within the cosmos; the divine birth resulting in an inversion of typical male/female roles.”³⁴ Furthermore, in some readings, Hephaistos is also seen as a “midwife,” his role primarily set as an assistant in the birth.³⁵ In other instances, he is like Prometheus, in hostile opposition to Zeus as he delivers the blow to his head.³⁶ In any case, the two major players in the autochthony myth are both present in this scene. The presence of both Athena and Hephaistos in her birth perhaps also foreshadows the role of the two in the myth of autochthony that will come later.

The figures who attend the scene of Athena’s birth on the east pediment are positioned in a variety of poses, forming two symmetrical groups that face somewhat outward from the main scene, much the same as the grouping of the Olympian gods below on the east frieze. Some are in movement while others are seated, forming a dynamic group,

³⁰ Pollitt 1990, 22.

³¹ Deacy 2008, 26 compares the birth to an epiphany.

³² Palagia 2005a, 235.

³³ Including Aeschylus’ *Eumenides* and Euripides’ *Ion*, *Erechtheus*, and *Phoenician Women*. For the Euripidean plays that evoke Athena’s birth, see Leitao’s discussion (2012, 168-172).

³⁴ See Leitao 2012, 166.

³⁵ Deacy 2008, 21.

³⁶ Deacy 2008, 22.

and are mostly identified as various gods and goddesses.³⁷ Regardless of their identifications, it is important to note that they are attendants to Athena's birth, much as we see a variety of attendants in the scenes of Erichthonios' presentation to Athena. It is important to note that the central figures of the east pediment are in fact missing today; their identities are presumed based on Pausanias' account, and they may have reflected the iconography of contemporary vase painting.³⁸

The iconography of Athena's birth is comparable in many ways to that of Erichthonios' birth, whose presentation to Athena from Ge becomes the cornerstone of the Athenians' own "cosmos" of their homeland of Athens and Attica. If Athena's birth is to be viewed as a moment of epiphany, then Erichthonios' birth can be viewed in a similar manner as well.³⁹ It might be easy to write off the iconography of Athena's birth as irrelevant to the myth of autochthony, given Leitao's argument that fifth-century texts presented Athena's birth as a "hedge against matrilineal descent, autochthony, and promiscuous mating in favor of marriage and patrilineal descent."⁴⁰ Instead, however, we should view the birth of Athena as a complementary moment in Athenian history to Erichthonios' presentation.

Athena's birth shares a common theme with autochthony, in fact, in that it is concerned with descent and lineage in general, and as the patron goddess of Athens, her own birth forges a connection between the Athenians and Zeus as well. In contrast to Erichthonios' birth, however, Athena's comes from the heavens (Zeus), while Erichthonios' comes from the earth (Ge). The contrasting and yet complementary births solidify the

³⁷ For a full overview, see Palagia 2005a, 236-242.

³⁸ See Palagia (1993, 27-30) for various suggestions of arrangements. The birth of Athena was not well known before the sixth century BCE and seems to have gained momentum after the creation of the Parthenon's east pediment. See Brommer 1961. Palagia (2005b, 189) states that the iconography of Athena's birth was "revolutionized" by the east pediment, suggesting the strong influence that sculpture could have on vase painting. Williams (2013, 54f.) for an overview of the traditions for representing Athena's birth.

³⁹ See Platt (2011, 107) for the understanding of Athena's birth as an epiphany; also see Loraux 1993, 131.

⁴⁰ Leitao 2012, 173.

Athenians' place in the cosmos in their own autochthonous territory. Autochthony does not negate ancestry; in fact, both the births of Erichthonios and Athena promote the idea of figures closely linked to Athens' history as having unique and otherworldly births. The birth of Athena, in a prominent position on the Athenian Acropolis and the Parthenon, highlights the power of this myth in Athens' writing of her history in the mid-fifth century BCE.

The West Pediment: The Contest of Athena & Poseidon

The west pediment was the first image that visitors to the Acropolis encountered after entering through the Propylaia, and they immediately saw a scene central to Athens' history: the center of the composition portrayed the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the land of Attica (**Figure 74**).⁴¹ Such agonistic scenes were not uncommon in Greek architectural sculpture, as evidenced by the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, to name just one example.⁴² Herodotus is the earliest source for the contest between Athena and Poseidon, and perhaps he himself saw the pediments soon after their construction.⁴³ Apollodorus, on the other hand, gives the most comprehensive account of the struggle (3.14.1) noting that Kekrops was present, and Poseidon struck his trident where the salt spring (the "sea of Erechtheus") was produced, whereas Athena planted an olive tree, "which is still to be seen in the sanctuary of Pandrosos." The myth represented on the Parthenon is thus one that takes place on the Acropolis itself, and it has a close connection to the early myths of Athens.

Several figures common to the iconography of autochthony are present in the west pediment; Castriota sees these figures as witnesses to this scene as "primordial" or "original"

⁴¹ For the most recent analysis of the imagery of this myth, see Marx 2011.

⁴² See Spaeth 1991, 338.

⁴³ Shapiro 1998, 149.

inhabitants of Attica, several of whom had autochthonous origins.⁴⁴ Kekrops was almost certainly present in the west pediment as a judge in the contest between Poseidon and Athena, his antiquity making him a prime figure to adjudicate the first great *agon* of Athenian history.⁴⁵ Both Xenophon and Apollodorus mention that he was a judge in the contest, and an earlier example may be found in the Sophilos fragment examined in Chapter 3.⁴⁶ Figures B and C of the pediment, which have usually been identified as Kekrops and his daughter, connect these specific characters of autochthony to the early history of Athens (**Figure 75**). Hurwit notes that logically, Herse and Aglauros should be present as well.⁴⁷ Small-scale Roman copies of these statues from a temple found at Eleusis give a more complete picture of the originals.⁴⁸

It is worthwhile to note the trajectory of popularity of this myth and its relationship to autochthony, family relationships, and the Acropolis setting.⁴⁹ Although Binder suggested that the myth of Athena and Poseidon's contest dates to the decade of 470-460 BCE, the fragment by Sophilos examined by Sourvinou-Inwood would suggest that its iconography began far earlier.⁵⁰ Recent research has supported this in the form of a fragmentary Archaic pseudo-Panathenaic amphora from the Acropolis dating to about 540 BCE, suggesting a depiction of the contest between Athena and Poseidon.⁵¹ The myth may therefore have had an earlier inception than previously recognized, but its first true monumental form is still the

⁴⁴ Castriota 1992, 145.

⁴⁵ See Palagia (1992) 40.

⁴⁶ Xenophon *Mem.* 3.5.10 and Apollodorus *Bibl.* 3.14.1. For the Sophilos fragment, see Sourvinou-Inwood 2008 and **Catalogue 1**.

⁴⁷ Hurwit 2004, 129. Hurwit (2004, 130) also suggests that Kekrops' "rather insignificant son Erysichthon" might be present, but I will demonstrate elsewhere that his inclusion would not be so insignificant. The coils of the snake's tail, although carved separately, were certainly connected to the figure of Kekrops. See Ridgway 1981, 43.

⁴⁸ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 200. See Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, cat. 72. It has been suggested that the importance of the building at Eleusis (Temple F) was the reasoning behind the placement of copies of the Parthenon sculptures. See M. Giannopoulou in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 173.

⁴⁹ Hurwit (2004, 129) notes the Acropolis setting and its importance.

⁵⁰ Binder 1984, 15-22 and Sourvinou-Inwood 2008, 130

⁵¹ Marx 2011; Athens NM Acr. 923.

west pediment of the Parthenon.

More importantly, the family groupings on the west pediment of the Parthenon are of particular note. Spaeth's study of the west pediment proposed that an imaginary division between the left and right sides of the pediment placed the Athenian royal family on the left side, and the Eleusinian family on the right.⁵² Her suggestion was that family groupings, and the predominance of heroes, seemed to be the most plausible solution for the spectators of the pediment's main scene.⁵³ Hurwit also draws further parallel to the myths of the Erechtheion frieze, noting the prominence of women and children, which we observed in Chapter 4.⁵⁴ Both the contest of Athena and Poseidon and the autochthony myth share a number of parallels: Erichthonios' presentation to Athena is a gift from the earth, and the victory of Athena over Poseidon provides the Athenians with the gift of the land from which they are born. Both are core myths in the history of ancient Athens but also emphasize the effects of these gifts for the Athenian people.

In addition, a recent study by Jenifer Neils demonstrates the importance of this myth even into the late fifth century, after the Parthenon's construction. Neils proposes that the red-figure hydria found in Pella depicting the myth of Athena and Poseidon's struggle⁵⁵ found its way to Northern Greece as a burial urn for the poet Euripides, for whom the pot would have special resonance.⁵⁶ The hydria has often been used as an example for comparison in reconstructing the myth of the west pediment of the Parthenon.⁵⁷ Shapiro

⁵² Spaeth 1991.

⁵³ Spaeth 1991, 335. Spaeth's analysis is based on that of Furtwängler (1895, 458-463, followed by Carpenter 1932 and others; see Spaeth 1991, 337 n. 35) who proposed to see the family most associated with Athena on the left, and that of Poseidon on the right

⁵⁴ Hurwit 2004, 130.

⁵⁵ *BAPD* 17333. Pella, Archaeological Museum 80.514. See also Drogou 2004; Tiverios 2005 and 2009. Another red-figure hydria (relief) depicting the myth is in St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum P-1872.130 (KAB 6a) (*BAPD* 6988).

⁵⁶ Neils 2013, 610-611.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Palagia 1993 and Boardman 2000.

observes that this vessel is of particular note because the episode - both on the vase and on the west pediment of the Parthenon - would have drawn a correlation between the early epic struggle and the story, also rooted in myth and history, of Erechtheus' war with Eumolpos.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the struggle of Athena and Poseidon in the Parthenon west pediment also anticipates another struggle that would become visible on the Acropolis and in the literary tradition of the late fifth century: that of Poseidon and Eumolpos in Euripides' *Erechtheus*, which was noted by Clairmont.⁵⁹ The west pediment of the Parthenon is thus representative of familial relationships, connections to the gods, and the gift of the land of Attica to the Athenians, so closely tied to the autochthonous nature that they exhibited.

The Parthenon's Metopes

Situated below the pediments and wrapping around the entirety of the temple, the Parthenon's ninety-two metopes also include a number of mythological figures important for the study of autochthony and Athenian identity. The multiple mythological themes of each side of the Parthenon suggest that each grouping of metopes was thought of as a separate plane upon which to project narrative ideas, a number of which are related to Athenian history and mythology. Although each side had its own theme, together they were "united by the general idea of armed conflict."⁶⁰ Several of these themes were common to Greek and Athenian iconography already: Greeks fought Amazons on the west metopes, a theme that reoccurred on the exterior of the shield of Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon's interior,⁶¹ and the east side showed Greeks battling giants in a gigantomachy. Both short sets of

⁵⁸ Shapiro 1998, 384 n. 104.

⁵⁹ Erechtheus fr. 18 (65A). Clairmont 1971, 488. See also Carrara 1977, 54.

⁶⁰ Schwab 2005, 159.

⁶¹ Hurwit (2004, 124) notes the similarity between the Amazons' costume styles and that of the Persians, suggesting a parallel between the two.

metopes dealt with threats of invasion. On the north side, scenes from the Trojan War dominated, whereas the south - the side of the Parthenon that would have had the least amount of foot traffic⁶² - depicted mostly Greeks fighting centaurs, along with perhaps another theme, now lost to time (**Figure 76**).

Hurwit suggests that one possible theme of the missing south metopes may have been legends of early Athenian kings and heroes.⁶³ A similar proposal was made by Simon, who saw Butes as one of the figures – a character we know from the Erechtheion. Furthermore, the presence of the hero Theseus, a key player in the battles against the centaurs, would be an intriguing addendum to our understanding of this early hero's role in the developing iconography of fifth century Athens.⁶⁴ Whatever the south metopes represented, they may have had a link to Athenian history if they included such heroes as Butes and Theseus. Furthermore, Athena's inclusion throughout the program of the metopes, and indeed the entirety of the Parthenon, attests to her increasing presence in the understanding of Athenian mythological history. In addition, Athena was certainly a recurrent figure in the Parthenon metopes, surely present in the events of the Trojan war on the north metopes, in the Gigantomachy on the east metopes. This would have added to the multiplicity of images of the goddess already present on the Acropolis, and her long-standing importance in the Athenian pantheon of deities would be quite clear.

In the scenes of Amazonomachy on the west metopes, and perhaps in the Gigantomachy of the east side as well, some associations with autochthony can be made. To the west, the depiction was most likely the Athenian version of the Amazonomachy, which

⁶² Hurwit (2004, 126) notes how this also contributed to their fairly decent level of preservation.

⁶³ Hurwit 2004, 127. For other theories, see Robertson 1979, who saw less of an organized theme, but included Daidalos and Ikaros; Brommer 1967, also suggested a Centauromachy. Berger (1986, 92-93) provides a summation of many theories regarding the south metopes.

⁶⁴ Theseus' presence is discussed by Schwab 2005, 173-178.

took place after Theseus brought back the Amazon queen Antiope (or Hippolyte) from the north.⁶⁵ Castriota, for example, sees in the prevalence of images of Greeks fighting Amazons a “polarity between autochthony and aggression” in which Athenians were natural enemies of the invading culture.⁶⁶ Although the Parthenon was surely built with this “invading culture” of the Persians in mind, it must have held extra resonance with the invading Spartans as well during the Peloponnesian Wars. Tyrrell echoes a similar statement, seeing the presence of Athenians fighting Amazons in the west metopes as well as other images of the Amazonomachy, such as the shield of Athena Parthenos discussed below, as indicators of “paradigms of autochthony” and “avatars of the Athenian soil.”⁶⁷

The increase in depictions of Amazons around 450 BCE, before the Parthenon’s completion, may be a sign of anxieties over the increase in immigration experienced by the Athenians before Perikles’ Citizenship Law.⁶⁸ In this regard, the Parthenon metopes contribute to an on-going dialogue of the undulating presence of autochthony on the Acropolis, albeit in a different manner than seen before. They highlight themes common to the Athenian defense of her land while at the same time explore the mythical past of the city. As Schwab notes, each set of metopes “is given an Athenian emphasis in which the city, its heroes, its history, or its great protectress Athena is honored.”⁶⁹ Each metope, therefore, while perhaps not directly related to autochthony, served to augment the mythical past of the Athenians and her victories.

The Parthenon Frieze

In turning to the Parthenon frieze, we begin to encounter a number of complexities;

⁶⁵ See Schwab 2005, 178.

⁶⁶ Castriota 1992, 145.

⁶⁷ Tyrrell 1984, 126. Tyrrell (1984, 20) also contrasts the defeat of the Amazons in the west metopes to the victory of Athena in the pediment.

⁶⁸ Kennedy 2014, 64, n. 59. Kennedy cites Stewart 1995b and Patterson 1981 in support of her theory.

⁶⁹ Schwab 2005, 190.

as Neils describes it, it is the best-known but least well understood monument on the Acropolis.⁷⁰ Its physical character has no doubt influenced its nuanced meanings: the frieze is extremely long, for one, and allowed for an entire narrative to be displayed in one continuous sequence (**Figure 77**).⁷¹ There has been a great deal of debate about how visible the frieze was, and how much can be read into it.⁷²

Generally thought to depict an extended procession, the frieze displayed all aspects of human activity related to a festival, with musicians, animals meant for sacrifice, and people carrying ritual implements such as *phiai* and baskets. Starting from the southwest, where “the beginning of the story that the frieze has to tell”⁷³ is located, the viewer would move along the north or south sides of the Parthenon, culminating at the east frieze. In addition, along with horsemen and people forming a procession is the presence of the Olympian deities, mingling gods and mortals alike. Each side of the Parthenon had a different theme with an overall continuous narrative: the north included horsemen, chariots, musicians, and animals, and the south similar figures, all of whom moved from west to east, towards the central scene on the east frieze. This side of the Parthenon included deities, eponymous heroes, and women, whereas the west included more horsemen. The Parthenon frieze was thus the embodiment of the understanding of Athenian identity during the Classical period.

Most pertinent to our study of autochthony is the east frieze, which was located above the entrance to the temple. Here, the twelve Olympian gods are seated together, watching a central scene in which a young figure folds a peplos. Among them are Athena and Hephaistos, who are seated together (**Figure 78**). As in the Munich stamnos and other

⁷⁰ Neils 1996, 177.

⁷¹ 160 meters, or 524 feet, and about a meter in height.

⁷² Marconi 2009 engages with the visibility of the frieze.

⁷³ Harrison 1996, 198.

vases, Hephaistos' lameness is not immediately recognizable. Indeed, only the hint of a staff peaks out from under his arm as he sits. Their pairing on the Parthenon frieze may have reminded viewers of their most (in)famous child, Erichthonios, anticipating the child's birth and gift to the Athenians, and would have served as a reminder of the autochthonous nature of the Athenian race.

As part of the peplos scene, Athena, Hephaistos, and the other Olympian deities and mortals witness the folding of the peplos given to Athena Polias every four years as part of the Panathenaic festival (**Figure 79**). Although variations of interpretation regarding the iconography exist, the Panathenaic festival is typically the most accepted.⁷⁴ As Parker describes it, "this *aition*, probably the best known, associates the festival with primeval, autochthonous Athenian-ness," especially given Erechtheus' strong connection to the establishment of the festival.⁷⁵ In this regard, an association between the Panathenaia, autochthony, and Athenian identity can be ascertained on the elaborate and lengthy Parthenon frieze. Given the close associations of the Parthenon, the Acropolis, and the Panathenaic procession that culminated nearby, the conservative reading of the Parthenon's east frieze, along with the other sides of the Parthenon's exterior, is surely a comprehensive depiction of the happenings of Athens' most illustrious festival, the Panathenaia.

But this is not to say that autochthony was not present in the Parthenon frieze. The probable inclusion of the eponymous heroes (**Figure 80**) made two of the most important figures of autochthony, Kekrops and Erechtheus, present amongst the other tribes and the

⁷⁴ Amongst the varying interpretations of the Parthenon frieze, recent studies by Joan Connelly (1996 and 2014) have interpreted this scene instead as an illustration of Euripides' now largely fragmentary play *Erechtheus*. Connelly sought to see in the central scene a preparation for human sacrifice, that of the daughters of Erechtheus for the salvation of the city of Athens. But most scholars have rejected this idea, including Harrison 1996, who states that "the Parthenon frieze is not a drama; it is a pageant (211)." See most recently Neils and Schultz 2012, who in a footnote (202 n. 38) mention Erechtheus' presence in the Parthenon frieze as "not, however, sacrificing his daughters, as in Connelly 1996." The theory seems to have been and continues to be poorly received, despite its attractiveness.

⁷⁵ Parker 2005, 254.

gods witnessing this scene.⁷⁶ Evelyn Harrison saw in the ten groups on the east frieze the ten eponymous tribes of the Athenians; the sixth group she saw as the tribe Erechtheis, based on their adornment of leather corselets.⁷⁷ The presence of the eponymous heroes constitutes the civic role of heroes related to the political organization, instigated by Kleisthenes and forming the solid foundation of the understanding and arrangement of Athenian society.

Two other fragments of blocks from the north side of the frieze also stand out (**Figure 81**). A recent article by Jenifer Neils and Peter Schultz looks at blocks XI and XII from the north frieze, which depicted an *apobates* race.⁷⁸ Different from other teams in the *apobates* contest the nearly-nude figure who drives the chariot on these blocks gestures uniquely, with his left arm held up, and he is accompanied by a racing warrior, suggesting this group was especially significant.⁷⁹ Neils and Schultz propose a victorious figure in the *apobates* race, which took place in the Agora and culminated near the City Eleusinion,⁸⁰ at the heart of the Agora and a central point between the civic space of the Agora and the religious space of the Acropolis.

Neils and Schultz's main contribution to this study, however, is their identification of the victorious *apobates* as Erechtheus, the mature Athenian figure who was portrayed in diverse roles as an Athenian king, hero, and figure of both myth and history. He was said to be the original founder of the Panathenaia itself, so indeed he should be part of the Parthenon frieze's main subject.⁸¹ Neils and Schultz acknowledge the "both prominent and subtle roles" Erechtheus plays in the Parthenon's sculptural program, including his association with the Athena Parthenos' coiled serpent, his presence on the west pediment as

⁷⁶ See Mattusch (1994, 74) for thoughts about how the men were depicted on the Parthenon frieze.

⁷⁷ Harrison 1984, 232-233. See also Harrison 1979.

⁷⁸ Neils and Schultz 2012.

⁷⁹ Neils and Schultz 2012, 198.

⁸⁰ As discussed by Shear 2001, 313-314; see also Tracy and Habicht 1991, 198.

⁸¹ Mikalson 1976; Robertson 1985.

well as the east frieze, and other affiliations.⁸² The reading of Erechtheus as part of the *apobates* race of the north frieze, therefore, adds to our understanding of his role in early Athenian history as well as his incorporation into Athens' greatest festival. Like Athena, the hero of autochthony played multiple roles on the Acropolis, from victorious charioteer to savior of the city upon his death at the hands of Eumolpos. These multiple roles supported notions of autochthony and Athenian identity, which were embedded in a matrix of historical, mythological, and socio-cultural associations in the implementation and use of the Parthenon as a temple and focal point of the Acropolis.

The Athena Parthenos

The colossal image of Athena that stood within the Parthenon, nearly twelve meters high, was constructed by the elaborate chryselephantine method of gold and ivory built around a wooden armature.⁸³ Although the Classical, Pheidias statue of Athena Parthenos no longer exists, Roman-period versions of it do, including the miniature so-called Varvakeion Athena in Athens' National Archaeological Museum (**Figure 82**),⁸⁴ which, at just over a meter high, gives a good sense of how elaborate the full-size statue must have been.⁸⁵ Even less evidence survives for the base of the Parthenos, which will be discussed shortly: some cuttings in the floor of the temple remain, as well as a few blocks,⁸⁶ but for its sculpted surface, we must turn to several later sources for our knowledge of its narrative. Because of these multiple copies, however, we are able to construct a fairly realistic impression of what

⁸² Neils and Schultz 2012, 202.

⁸³ See Lapatin (2001, 63-79) for the intricacies of its technique.

⁸⁴ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 129. See also the so-called "Lenormant Athena," an unfinished Roman copy of the Athena Parthenos, also in the National Museum (NM 128). For a discussion of the Athena Parthenos and its reception, see Nick 2002 (cat. A 15 for the Varvakeion Athena and cat. A 14 for the Lenormant Athena)

⁸⁵ For various reconstructions of the Athena Parthenos, see Leipen 1971.

⁸⁶ See the discussion in Kosmopoulou 2002, 236-237.

the Athena Parthenos statue looked like in antiquity, and as a central focus of the Parthenon's purpose, what role the statue played in understanding aspects of Athenian religion on the Acropolis.

Ancient writers, including Pausanias (1.24.5-7), commented on her wondrous aspects and captivating appearance. He noted the exotic sphinx and griffins on her helmet, her tunic, and her gorgoneion, and that she carried a spear, with a shield lying at her feet. A nearby serpent was associated with Erichthonios, surely owing to the chthonic connection between the two.⁸⁷ Pliny, too, provides substantial information regarding the Parthenos (*Natural History* 36.18-19) with particular attention paid to Pheidias, and perhaps given his interest in unique materials and construction methods - he even notes the Lapiths and centaurs depicted on her sandals, the fine details of which must have been captivating.

At 26 cubits (39 feet) high, the Athena Parthenos filled the interior of the Parthenon to the point of overwhelming the space, giving the sense of an “otherworldly being” and even an epiphany.⁸⁸ This sentiment is echoed by Verity Platt, who explores the monumentality of the interior space of the Parthenon alongside the Parthenos statue, which she sees as on par with the Polias cult statue of the Erechtheion, both images fitting within a broader epiphanic sphere. The “divine presence” exhibited by the multiple coexistence of statues of Athena, Platt argues, “illustrates an active theological engagement with the many-stranded process of representing and apprehending divine form.” The Athena Parthenos functioned mainly as a monumental votive offering, an object to be seen (an *agalma*), in contrast to the statue of Athena Polias, which was a *xoanon*.⁸⁹ Certainly time and antiquity

⁸⁷ See Zafieropoulou in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 180.

⁸⁸ Lapatin 2005, 268.

⁸⁹ For more information, see Platt 2011, 83-91 on the Parthenos, and 92 on *xoana*. The idea that the Athena Parthenos was meant to be a votive offering, rather than a cult statue, is not new: see also Herington (1955, 37-38), Leipen (1971, 17), and Lapatin (2005, 282).

had something to do with this - the Parthenos, at the time it was built, was a new, gleaming statue, whereas the Polias was, by the Classical period, an image that was mythical, historical, and iconic.

Athena's shield, too, was decorated on both sides, with the Amazonomachy on the exterior (**Figure 83**) and the Gigantomachy on its interior, facing the goddess as she held it upright with her left hand.⁹⁰ Along with the depiction of the Battle of Lapiths and Centaurs, these decorative elements echoed narratives seen in the architectural sculpture of the Parthenon.⁹¹ The parallels between the giants and the earthborn Erichthonios are quite clear, although with different ultimate meanings: while the giants, born of the earth, are menaces to mankind, Erichthonios' birth from the earth brings benefits to all. Both the Amazonomachy and the Gigantomachy's compositions have been debated,⁹² aided in part by Roman copies that exist on a smaller scale in both shield form and relief form, as well as vase painting.⁹³ In general, scholars have devised a dynamic composition in which the battles radiate outwards from the center of the shield, both on the interior and the exterior.

Each of these elements comes together to demonstrate that the Athena Partheonos "reflected - or projected - the ideology of those guiding Athens in what we have come to call the 'Periklean Age.'"⁹⁴ What meanings these images carried in the years following the Parthenon's construction is also of considerable interest, and with that it is necessary to turn to the image most related to autochthony, the rectangular base that supported the cult image

⁹⁰ A copy of this exists in a smaller version in the so-called "Strangford Shield" in the British Museum, and others; see below, n. 93.

⁹¹ Neils (1995, 193) reflects on the parallels between repetition in various elements of the Parthenon.

⁹² See, for example, Harrison 1966 and Harrison 1981.

⁹³ Copies of the Parthenos shield on a smaller scale exist in such examples as one in the Patras Museum; see the illustration in Lapatin 2005, fig. 93. See also the series of Neo-Attic reliefs from the second century AD of Greeks fighting Amazons from Piraeus, for example Piraeus Archaeological Museum 2117. For vase painting, see, for example, an Attic red-figure volute krater from Ruvo now in Naples (Museo Archeologico Nazionale H 2883; *BAPD* 217517; *ARV*² 1338), which shows an intriguing curve, presumably that of the heavens and echoing that of a shield.

⁹⁴ Lapatin 2005, 267. See also Schiff 1973.

of Athena. Decorated with a narrative of the birth of Pandora, the frieze of the base would have served as a pendant to the Ionic frieze of the Erechtheion; both narratives related to autochthony and shifts in the conception of Athenian and Greek identity through momentous events.

Pandora Rises: The Base of the Athena Parthenos

Developed under Pheidias, the beginnings of figural statue bases for cult images coincided with the increasing number of divine images.⁹⁵ Pausanias' description of the base situates it squarely within a tradition of Pheidian birth scenes that were of interest to sculptors, and Pliny echoes Pausanias' statements regarding its narrative.⁹⁶ The base of the Athena Parthenos is of considerable interest for the study of autochthony as its themes echo many of those already explored in regard to Erichthonios. The myth of Pandora was known primarily from Hesiod, who in his description of Pandora's birth in both the *Theogony* (570-612) and the *Works and Days* (70-105) was chiefly concerned with the creation of a woman.⁹⁷ Pandora embodies many characteristics, similar to the multiple meanings of her name:⁹⁸ she is the first woman, primeval, a wife and mother of figures connected to primordial elements (Prometheus and Deukalion) and moreover, genealogically related to Hellen, ancestor of all Greeks. According to Palagia, Pandora is, then, the "progenitor of the Greek race."⁹⁹ In the fifth century, around the same time as images of the presentation of Erichthonios, her iconography was developed in Athenian material culture.¹⁰⁰

Two smaller versions of the Parthenos base survive today. One is a Hellenistic copy

⁹⁵ Kosmopoulou 2002, 111.

⁹⁶ See above for the passages from Pausanias and Pliny.

⁹⁷ See Leitao 2012, 45 n. 89.

⁹⁸ Pucci 1997, 97-98.

⁹⁹ Palagia 2000, 61.

¹⁰⁰ See Oppermann, *LIMC* s.v. Pandora.

from Pergamon in Berlin (**Figure 84**) and the other, a Roman copy found near the Pnyx.¹⁰¹ Each of these copies shows a row of quietly standing figures, not dissimilar to what may have appeared on the Hephaisteion's cult statue base discussed below, and quite possibly in line with some of the scenes on the frieze of the Erechtheion. In the Roman copy, Helios and Selene also frame the scene, similar to the east pediment of the Parthenon, which depicted Athena's own unusual birth. Pollitt understands their presence as a "special signature" of Pheidias related to the cosmology of Anaxagoras, "visible expressions not only of the new prosperity and political importance of classical Athens [and] of the spirit of intellectual inquiry that flourished under Pericles."¹⁰² In effect, the repetition of this motif exemplified the "emergence of *techné* within the framework and spirit of the new thought" of this time period. But Pandora's presence, and her birth, had other ramifications for the understanding of her place in the Athenian mythological tradition as well.

Pandora's birth is often treated as more of a creation than a typical birth, and in this regard she is similar to Erichthonios, in that her emergence into the world of men is marked by an unusual method.¹⁰³ Her birth was also attended by no fewer than twenty divinities on the base, according to the literary sources,¹⁰⁴ similar to the Parthenon's east frieze, where the gods come together to witness the peplos scene. The presence of divinities also accords well with Hesiod's description of Pandora's birth, in which gods and goddesses bestow upon her important gifts. Such a scene is reflected in a calyx-krater by the Niobid Painter of about 460-450 BCE,¹⁰⁵ slightly earlier than the Parthenon, and perhaps was present in the cult statue base of the Parthenon as well. The process of gift-giving is replicated in the

¹⁰¹ Berlin, Pergamonmuseum P24. The Roman copy of the Parthenos base from the Pnyx is part of the Lenormant Athena (Athens, NM 128); see Nick 2002, 239, cat. A 14 and taf. 18, 1.

¹⁰² Pollitt 1990, 22-23.

¹⁰³ See Loeb 1979, 142-164.

¹⁰⁴ Pausanias 1.24.7; Pliny, *Natural History* 36.18.

¹⁰⁵ *BAPD* 206951; London, British Museum E461.

mythological tradition surrounding autochthony: for example, Erichthionios is “given” from Ge to Athena as a gift for the Athenian people over whom she presides, and a similar theme was present also in the Arrephoria, which was based largely on a system of giving and exchange, as discussed below.

The meaning of Pandora’s representation embodies multiple associations, and it will be helpful to examine it from diverse perspectives, as well as its connection to autochthony. For one, Pandora’s depiction on the Parthenos base has been seen as a political statement, much like associated iconography of the Parthenon. Other readings contain a gendered perspective, the relationship of fate and choice, and the gods’ roles. For example, comparisons have been made between Pandora’s birth and its relationship to the Parthenos statue and Athena’s association with men.¹⁰⁶ She is also often seen as the “original dangerous gift” to mankind, as Deborah Lyons has recently explored in regards to Hesiod’s portrayal of her.¹⁰⁷

The negative connotations associated with Pandora have long perplexed scholars as to why she would be depicted on the Parthenos cult statue base. Generally, scholars try to associate her presence by linking her to other birth scenes, such as the birth of Erichthonios, with whom she shared the agency of the divine Athena and Hephaistos.¹⁰⁸ On a kylix by the Tarquinia Painter from about 460 BCE, for example, the two deities hold equal weight, flanking Anesidora (generally accepted as another name for Pandora).¹⁰⁹ Neils rightly points out that both Pandora and Erichthonios should be considered children of Hephaistos,¹¹⁰ although the circumstances of their births were quite different. Zeus instructed Hephaistos

¹⁰⁶ See the discussion in Osborne 1994, 87.

¹⁰⁷ Lyons 2012, 38f.

¹⁰⁸ See a summary in Loraux 1993, 114-115.

¹⁰⁹ *BAPD* 211449; London, British Museum D4. Connelly (2014, 281) states that Anesidora’s name “carries a distinctly chthonic connotation, since her gifts are sent up from below.”

¹¹⁰ Neils 2005, 43.

to forge Pandora from the earth, while Erichthonios was the result of Hephaistos' misaligned pursuit of Athena. What is striking about this contrast is again the relationship of Athena and Hephaistos: in Pandora's story, they work together to bring her into being. In Erichthonios' narrative, they are adversaries. Yet it is not unreasonable to suspect that they were both present in fifth century narratives of the two; the compositional similarities between the Tarquinia Painter's kylix and the stamnos in Munich (**Catalogue 9**) are of considerable importance. Pandora's story is therefore resonant with themes that are similar to the autochthonous origins of Erichthonios, including the role of the gods, an atypical birth, and the presence and role of Athena and Hephaistos. In addition, Pandora undergoes an *anodos*, much like Erichthonios', and this was often depicted in vase painting.¹¹¹

Despite the negative versions given by Hesiod, then, there is evidence that Pandora's birth had a positive spin on it by the mid-fifth century BCE. More recently, scholars such as Olga Palagia see her function on the Parthenos cult statue base as that of a "benign goddess," one who, like Athena, received sacrifices on the Acropolis, suggesting that she had a cult location there as well.¹¹² It is important to note that images of Pandora were few and far between before the Classical period; there is no certain iconography for her before the mid-fifth century BCE.¹¹³ Her birth is seemingly "recast as a native Athenian event" in the fifth century, according to Morris,¹¹⁴ akin to the manner in which the Athenians "adopted" Helen in the iconography of the cult statue of Rhamnous discussed later in this chapter. Her presence on the base of the Athena Parthenos cult statue becomes imperative for situating her iconography within the sphere of Acropolis and Athenian material. The iconography illustrates the Athenian adaptation of her myth to suit their own narrative modeling of her

¹¹¹ Loraux 1993, 115 n. 17; see also Bérard 1974, 161-164.

¹¹² Palagia 2000, 61-62, who cites Philochoros, *FGrH* 328 F 10.

¹¹³ See Hurwit 1995, 176.

¹¹⁴ Morris 1992, 330.

birth, based on traditional mythological sources but given a particular Athenian nature.

Hurwit points out more similarities between Pandora and Erichthonios, seeing her as a “parallel (to him)...the product of another (though even more unusual) collaboration.”¹¹⁵ Yet the creation of Erichthonios and the creation of Pandora are entirely different affairs, although both result in an *anodos*. For one, the agency of their individual creations is unique in each case. In the example of Erichthonios, the Athenian hero and king is the by-product of the tension between Athena and Hephaistos. Born from the earth, he is literally the result of the *agon* between god and goddess. Pandora, on the other hand, is the outcome of a far more harmonious collaboration, one that involved not only Athena and Hephaistos, but other lesser deities as well, including Hermes, Aphrodite, Peitho, and the Graces.

Pandora truly lives up to her name of recipient of all gifts, and Zeus’ order to Hephaistos to create her from earth and water demonstrates her close connection to the local soil and natural elements.¹¹⁶ The divine contributions that constitute her make-up - including fine garments, golden necklaces, and a gold crown - “turn her into something of a luxury object,”¹¹⁷ but her surface appearance subtly hides the other meanings associated with her. She is as much enhanced by what she wears in literary and artistic sources as Hephaistos is defined by what he does *not* wear in the stamnos in Munich (**Catalogue 9**). Adornment and nudity thus both function as costumes that accentuate Pandora’s objecthood and Hephaistos’ virility, respectively.¹¹⁸

Some sources argue for a gendered political reading of Pandora, in which she serves as the antithesis to male-dominated Athens.¹¹⁹ Kosmopoulou states that “a parallel operation

¹¹⁵ Hurwit 1995, 183.

¹¹⁶ Hesiod discusses this in both the *Theogony* (571-721) as well as the *Works and Days* (60-63).

¹¹⁷ Lyons 2012, 39. See also Brown 1997.

¹¹⁸ See the discussion of Pandora in Stewart 1997, 40-41, who sees Pandora’s clothing as concealing a threat: “man’s ‘natural’ state is nakedness; a woman must be clothed.”

¹¹⁹ See, for example, Hurwit 1995 and Zeitlin 1995.

of the same mythical event at various semantic levels is possible,” with average spectators and more learned audiences interpreting the imagery of the base in multivalent ways.¹²⁰ Such a statement seems applicable to the whole of the Parthenon, and in fact, the whole of the Acropolis as well. The iconography of sculpture, particularly the richly varied and ornate examples of the Parthenon and the Erechtheion, was the ideal medium through which to communicate a wide variety of messages, with at their core the themes of Athenian identity. Scholars have even gone so far as to propose an association between Pandora and the daughters of Erechtheus, seeing her birth as more of an apotheosis in which she is regarded as a sacrifice for the salvation of the city,¹²¹ but there is little in the iconography to actually suggest this. Instead, Pandora’s birth seems to be more of a gift than a sacrifice for the Athenians; she is a positive addition to the repertoire of Athenian iconography, similar to Erichthonios.

More recently, Platt has proposed a more subtle reading of Pandora’s entrance into the world of Athenian iconography. Pandora’s birth, she argues, is an “echo of the goddess’s birth on the Parthenon’s east pediment...an epiphanic (though mortal) parthenos generated by divine *technē*, who frames - even supports - the epiphanic (divine) parthenos generated by human *technē* who towers above.”¹²² This reading, which relies heavily on the creative powers of craftsmanship, acknowledges the hands of humans and gods alike in the creation of Pandora. Her epiphany, too, is physically in contrast to but also reminiscent of Erechtheus’ own descent into the earth in Euripides’ telling of the myth of his struggle with Eumolpos. Like Erichthonios, she is born from the earth; unlike Erechtheus, she is created from it, rather than consumed by it.

¹²⁰ Kosmopoulou 2002, 117.

¹²¹ Connelly 1996, 75.

¹²² Platt 2011, 112-113.

Pandora's birth provides substance, too, to the powers of Athena and Hephaistos, both of whom were present and gift-givers in Pandora's birth, just as they each contributed to the creation of Erichthonios. As Neils states, "these deities, Athena, Zeus, and Hephaistos, are the principal deities of the polis and, as such, occupy pride of place in the Parthenon's sculptural program, in the east pediment and in the center of its Ionic frieze."¹²³ They are central players not only in the pantheon of Olympian deities, but also in three of the main creation stories of the Athenians: Erichthonios, Pandora, and Athena herself. Gifts are central to Pandora's myth, and to Erichthonios' as well, and Pandora's presence may have served as a sort of anticipatory warning regarding the Athenian's grasp on their land and its tenuousness, of particular importance during the Peloponnesian War.¹²⁴ Pandora's status as a comparable figure to Erichthonios underscores the visual magnitude both figures exhibited in the iconography of the mid- to late-fifth century and its relationship to autochthony and Athenian identity.

The Parthenon: Conclusions

The iconography of the Parthenon contributes to a discussion of the visual dimensions of autochthony in a multitude of ways, including the presence of Pandora and the contest between Poseidon and Athena.¹²⁵ These are just two of the ways to view autochthony and Athenian identity within the temple's iconography; to this discussion should also be added the fragmentary south metopes, Athena's birth on the east pediment, and the civic nature of the eponymous heroes as one aspect of autochthony on the frieze,

¹²³ Neils 2005b, 44.

¹²⁴ Hurwit (1999, 245) makes a similar suggestion, that Pandora was a reminder that Athens "could still know irremediable evil, even disaster." In this regard, both she and Erichthonios are reminders of Athens' control over its land, soon to be threatened by the Spartan invasion.

¹²⁵ Shapiro 1998, 149.

alongside the grouping of Athena and Hephaistos. Other themes were more subtle: the battles with Amazons and giants, for example, reminded Athenians of their own positive earth-born roots, in contrast to the invasions from outside forces. What is also of importance, moreover, is the presence that these images continued to possess in the generation after their construction and in light of the Peloponnesian War. To them was then added the frieze of the Erechtheion, contributing another visual theme of autochthony and Athenian identity on the Acropolis.

A number of parallels between Athena and Hephaistos and Erichthonios and Pandora have been drawn here, noting their connections to the earth and autochthony, their parentage, and other aspects of the Athenian identification with their land. As Reeder points out, Hephaistos' role is particularly interesting, but "the important difference was that, whereas Hephaistos artfully fashioned the female progenitor of all women, he was regarded as the biological father of the Athenian male citizenry."¹²⁶ In multiple instances throughout the course of this study, we have seen how Hephaistos' presence was made known in the fifth century in increasingly important ways throughout the Athenian pantheon, and his presence on the Acropolis in multiple iconographies should be noted, along with the other aspects of repetition in regards to gifts and presentations by and for the gods, the role of Athena, and other aspects.

In a recent review of Joan Connelly's publication *The Parthenon Enigma* (2014), J.J. Pollitt sums up the conundrum regarding the Parthenon: "In the interpretive side of classical archaeology, scarcely anything can be said to be proven beyond all doubt."¹²⁷ Yet at the same time, we can easily see how much the Parthenon contributes to the study of autochthony. Although earlier in construction than the Erechtheion, it functioned as a second monument

¹²⁶ Reeder 1995, 264.

¹²⁷ Pollitt 2014, 2.

to the theme of autochthony on the Acropolis. Aligned in the space and time of the last decade of the fifth century BCE, however, the Parthenon and the Erechtheion together contributed a great deal to Athenian conceptions of identity, visually enunciating myths closely related to the Athenians' history, background, and mythology. Further research could add to this discussion by discussing the role of the Panathenaia in the understanding of autochthony, including its relationship to its founder, Erechtheus.

Other Aspects of Autochthony in the Landscape of the Acropolis

As we have seen, autochthony and the mythology of early Athens had a clear presence on the Acropolis from the Archaic period, including on the small architectural structure often referred to as the Olive Tree Pediment. Such connections to autochthony can also be found in smaller dedications made in the sanctuary, such as one of the earliest dedications to Poseidon on the Acropolis, a *perirrhanterion* found near the Erechtheion and dedicated to Poseidon Erechtheus,¹²⁸ which is dated to around 460-450 BCE. Poseidon and Erechtheus would continue to be conflated during the fifth century, evidenced most clearly in their joint worship in the Erechtheion.¹²⁹ No doubt this shared mythology was based on their connections to the earth, especially after the development of the myth of the contest between Athena and Poseidon as well as Euripides' *Erechtheus*, where the protagonist disappears into the Acropolis rock in his struggle with Eumolpos in order to save the city. Thus the mythological figures related to autochthony had a clear presence on the Acropolis even before the popularity of scenes of the presentation of Erichthonios grew as objects of

¹²⁸ According to Morris 1992, 324 n. 26. See Raubitschek (1949, 412-413, no. 384) as well as Garland 1992 (71, n. 3). "Poseidon Erechtheus" is, as Hurwit states (1999, 33), "as if the names were hyphenated, or as if the god had taken on the hero's name as an epithet."

¹²⁹ For a brief overview of their worship, see Mikalson 2010, 57-58. On the Erechtheion, see Chapter 4, p. 155.

iconography, dedication, and monumental narrative.

Examples of monumental architecture and architectural sculpture such as the Parthenon constitute a representative sample of the dominant themes on the Acropolis, including autochthony, birth, and Athenian identity. Of course, they are not the only examples, and surely many others existed on a smaller scale, for many of which we have only scant evidence. For example, Pausanias mentions seeing a large bronze group of Erechtheus fighting Eumolpus, legendary king of Eleusis and an important figure of Euripides’

Erechtheus, discussed in Chapter 2 (Paus. 1.27.4, ἔστι δὲ ἀγάλματα μεγάλα χαλκοῦ διεστῶτες <ἄνδρες> ἐς μάχην· καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἐρεχθέα καλοῦσι, τὸν δὲ Εὐμόλπον¹³⁰).

While no trace of this sculptural group survives today, Pausanias describes it as situated near the Temple of Athena Polias (aka, the Erechtheion), in the same region as the handmaid of the priestess of Athena Polias, Lysimache.¹³¹ Could this have marked the spot where Erechtheus defeated Eumolpos, disappearing into the earth, the opposite of the chthonic Erichthonios, who had his own place in the frieze of the Erechtheion?

Pausanias furthermore (1.22.3) wrote of a sanctuary of Ge Kourotrophos on the southern slopes of the Acropolis in which she was worshipped alongside Demeter Chloe, a union of deities that Jane Harrison sees as an alignment of mother goddesses.¹³² Literary sources attest that Erichthonios established a custom of presenting offerings to Kourotrophos first, with Ge being the “rich nurse of children (λιπαρὴ κουρότροφος).”¹³³ One fragment of evidence for Ge Kourotrophos on the Acropolis is an inscription dated to between the first century BCE and the first century CE. Discovered below the Nike Bastion,

¹³⁰ See Hurwit 1999, 282, as well as Korres 1994, 124.

¹³¹ Pausanias seems to be somewhat confused here when he says that “and yet those Athenians who are acquainted with antiquity must surely know that this victim of Erechtheus was Immaradus, the son of Eumolpus.” This perhaps simply represents a variant myth of the 2nd century CE. Elsewhere, Pausanias attributes this statue group to the famous mid-fifth century BCE sculptor Myron (9.30.1).

¹³² Harrison 1906, 82. See also Simon 1983, 69.

¹³³ Parker 2005, 426.

it identifies the location as the entrance to a *sekos* of Blaute and Kourotrophos. Other inscriptions refer to cult places of Ge Kourotrophos, or simply Kourotrophos, or a Kourotrophion.¹³⁴ Excavations by Dontas in this area of the Acropolis revealed a double *sekos* with finds dating to the Archaic period, including offerings to the Kourotrophos, whom Dontas connected to the goddess Aphrodite.¹³⁵ These multiple references to *kourotrophia*, however, are problematic, as they are not all specifically associated with Ge Kourotrophos, nor are we able to pin down the exact location of her nor her exact worship.¹³⁶ Yet Ge, in her form as a kourotrophos, may have had a stronger presence on the Acropolis than has been previously noticed, and her connection to Erichthonios' birth is also worthy of consideration.

In addition, of particular note is the siting of the Aglaurion, the place of worship for Aglauros, daughter of Erechtheus, which was attested in a variety of literary sources.¹³⁷ Although the Aglaurion is typically thought to have been situated on the north slopes of the Acropolis, the discovery of a third century BC inscription on the east slope as part of excavations by Dontas in the 1970s seems to support the idea that the Aglaurion should instead be situated on the east slope of the Acropolis at the formidable location of the large cave there.¹³⁸ In terms of iconography, however, not much remains to support this idea nor its potential relationship to autochthony.

Recently, however, a statue group of the fourth century BCE has been suggested to be a depiction of Erichthonios, held in the arms of Aglauros (**Figure 85**).¹³⁹ Besides the association with Erichthonios and Aglauros, this sculptural fragment has also been identified

¹³⁴ For all of these, see *IG* II² 4757, *IG* II² 4756, and *IG* I² 859.

¹³⁵ Dontas 1983.

¹³⁶ See Hadzisteliou Price 1978.

¹³⁷ Herodotus 8.53.2 and Pausanias 1.18.2.

¹³⁸ Dontas 1983; see especially 52-57 for the text, transcription, and autopsy of this inscription.

¹³⁹ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2202. The fragment was found in the Serpentzes fortification wall on the South Slope of the Acropolis in the late nineteenth century.

as a statue group of Ge Kourotrophos with a child. Could that child be Erichthonios as well? It is difficult to tell, but the statue group, apart from its differences in size, bears a striking similarity to the multiple women who hold children in their arms on the Erechtheion frieze. Scholars also wish to link the fragment to the orator Lycurgus, based on his ancestry as a member of the Eteoboutadai, whose founding father was Boutes.¹⁴⁰ Another possibility is that the sculpture may have once had a connection to the Sanctuary of Ge Kourotrophos, who had a nearby sanctuary on the south slope, according to Pausanias (1.22.3).¹⁴¹ Yet at the same time, a Lycurgan connection might be particularly interesting, given the date of the sculpture as well as Lycurgus' interests in the myths of the family of Erichthonios and Erechtheus. This could, indeed, be sculptural evidence of the presence of an interest in autochthony even into the fourth century BCE.¹⁴²

The Original Mystery Ritual: The Arrephoria

In turning to not another monument of the Acropolis, but to a ritual itself, this section looks at corresponding aspects between the concept of Athenian autochthony and the often-discussed but little-understood Athenian festival called the Arrephoria. A festival performed in the secret of darkness, the Arrephoria was chiefly celebrated by women and, in particular, young girls in the service of Athena. As in their preeminence in the Erechtheion's frieze, the role that women played on the Acropolis is indisputable, well represented in the iconography of the Erechtheion, the Parthenon, and the Temple of Athena Nike. In addition, Athenian women's roles in the religious life of their *polis* were clear, based on

¹⁴⁰ Kearns 1989, 152-153.

¹⁴¹ See the discussion by I. Mennenga in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 177.

¹⁴² See Chapter 2, p. 63-66.

literary, epigraphic, and artistic sources.¹⁴³ Athenian women and girls served as *kanephoroi* in the Panathenaic procession and as *arrhephoroi* in the religious ritual and festival referred to as the Arrephoria.¹⁴⁴ They were also responsible for the washing of Athena's peplos in the Plynteria, acted as priestesses of Athena on the Acropolis, and performed various other roles in the religious service of Athens.¹⁴⁵

Women's roles on the Acropolis and in the service of Athena cannot, therefore, be underestimated.¹⁴⁶ Their positions were carried out at various points in women's lives, attesting to the close connection among age, ritual, and service.¹⁴⁷ Despite being shrouded in mystery and unclear rites, one of the most important roles in which young girls were involved was their role in the Arrephoria. Although not the most famous or public of Athenian festivals, it had a strong potential relationship with autochthony. It was also a distinctly Athenian ritual that took clear advantage of Athens' topography, its meaning embedded in the act and actuality of the young girls' procession to and from the Acropolis. As the Arrephoria was celebrated in midsummer, Simon points out how this festival was different from other Athenian rites in that it was a private (and also deliberately secret) act, rather than a public display.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the purpose of the Arrephoria was certainly imbued with a sense of service in the religious sphere of the Athenians, helping to ensure the workings of the *polis* and of its worshippers.

The Arrephoroi were two young girls who, at the conclusion of their yearly service

¹⁴³ See most recently Connelly 2007.

¹⁴⁴ Parker (2005, 160 n. 14) discusses the -a ending of Arrephoria and other festivals; occasionally this ending is used in the feminine singular but also the neuter plural forms, designating an "oscillation" between singular ritual acts and regularly occurring festivals.

¹⁴⁵ Dillon (2002, 133-134) discusses evidence for the role of women in the Plynteria.

¹⁴⁶ For a helpful overview of the various ways that women served the cult of Athena, see Palagia 2008.

¹⁴⁷ See Dillon 2002, *passim*, for more information.

¹⁴⁸ Simon 1983, 39-40. On the timing of the festival, see *Etym. Magn.* 149.14: ἀρρηφόροι καὶ Ἀρρηφόρια· ἑορτὴ ἐπιτελουμένη τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν Σκιροφοριῶνι.

on the Acropolis, carried out an enigmatic ritual.¹⁴⁹ They were chosen each year by the Archon Basileus, as chief religious official, to undertake their rites, perhaps after a preliminary nomination by the Boule.¹⁵⁰ The primary literary sources for our knowledge of the Arrephoria are both Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and the ubiquitous Pausanias. The *Lysistrata* passage (lines 641-647) is short, but provides us with information about the continuity of young girls' roles in the service of several goddesses:

ἐπτά μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθύς ἡρρηφόρουν·
 εἴτ' ἀλετρις ἦ δεκέτις οὔσα τάρχηγέτι,
 καὶ χέουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίοις·
 κάκانهφόρουν ποτ' οὔσα παῖς καλὴ 'χουσ' ἰσχάδων ὄρμαθόν·

Once when I was seven I became an Arrephoros
 Then at ten I became a grain-grinder for the goddess.
 After that, wearing a saffron robe, I was a bear at Brauron.
 And as a lovely young girl I once served as a basket-bearer, wearing a string of figs.¹⁵¹

The *Lysistrata* thus gives evidence for the ages of the Arrephoroi: the female chorus sings the religious functions that they have undertaken as part of their upbringing by the city. When they begin, "Once when I was seven I became an Arrephoros," this age is, according to Parker, the "youngest possible age," as we know the chosen girls were between the ages of seven and eleven.¹⁵² The role of the Arrephoros was thus intrinsically tied to her age, and specifically to young girls, in addition to most likely their social status. Cantarella brings up the intriguing question of when these rites began, but no absolute conclusion, merely stating

¹⁴⁹ The word *Arrephoros*, according to Burkert (1985, 7) seems to suggest "dew carrier, with dew symbolizing both impregnation and new offspring. The festival's name, "Arrephoria," is sometimes referred to as the "Hersephoria," and thus connected with the dew (δρόςος) which we have already seen to be related to the daughters of Kekrops; see Boedeker (1984, 7), who sees the element herse- or arre- from *wers-.

¹⁵⁰ See Burkert 1966 as well as Parker (2005, 220), who summarizes the methods by which the girls were chosen based on their good birth. The changes in priests and priesthoods after Perikles' Citizenship Law, based on *genos* (see Lambert 2010), could have contributed to the emergence of this system in choosing the Arrephoria as well.

¹⁵¹ Translation by H. Foley in Fantham et al. 1995, 84.

¹⁵² Parker 2005, 219.

that “however far back in the history of Attica it is possible to take these rites.”¹⁵³ Therefore, it is a possibility that the ritual had a longstanding tradition in Athenian religious life.

It is also believed that the Arrephoroi had two roles: both to take part in the nocturnal rite, and to work on the weaving of Athena’s peplos.¹⁵⁴ Palagia and other scholars have argued that since the Arrephoroi were integral to the making of the peplos of Athena, they should be included in the peplos scene from the east frieze of the Parthenon; she sees the young figure helping the Archon Basileus with the peplos as an Arrephoros. Similar iconography can be found, according to Palagia, in two marble reliefs with the Graces and the Arrephoroi, who act as weavers, found on the Athenian Acropolis.¹⁵⁵ The participation of young girls in the ongoing ritualistic activity of the Acropolis is therefore clear, through the weaving, washing, and carrying of various ritualistic objects.

A second source for the Arrephoria, Pausanias (1.27.3), recounts the curious story of the Arrephoroi as he visits the Temple of Athena Polias and the nearby (adjacent) “temple” of Pandrosos:

ἃ δέ μοι θαυμάσαι μάλιστα παρέσχευ, ἔστι μὲν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντα<ς>
γνώριμα, γράψω δὲ οἷα συμβαίνει. παρθένοι δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος
οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἀρρηφόρους· αὗται χρόνον
μὲν τινα δίαταν ἔχουσι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς
δρῶσιν ἐν νυκτὶ τοιάδε. ἀναθεῖσαι σφισιν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἃ ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
ἰέρεια δίδωσι φέρειν, οὔτε ἡ διδοῦσα ὁποῖόν τι δίδωσιν εἰδυῖα οὔτε ταῖς
φερούσαις ἐπισταμέναις – ἔστι δὲ περίβολος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς καλουμένης
ἐν Κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ κάθοδος ὑπόγαιος
αὐτομάτη –, ταύτη κατίασιν αἱ παρθένοι. κάτω μὲν δὴ τὰ φερόμενα
λείπουσιν, λαβοῦσαι δὲ ἄλλο τι κομίζουσιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον· καὶ τὰς μὲν
ἀφιᾶσιν ἤδη τὸ ἐντεῦθεν, ἑτέρας δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παρθένους ἄγουσιν
ἀντ’ αὐτῶν·

I was much amazed at something which is not generally known, and so I will describe the circumstances. Two maidens dwell not far from the temple of Athena

¹⁵³ Cantarella 1987, 23.

¹⁵⁴ Dillon 2002, 57-60. Dillon believes that the weaving of Athena’s peplos was not completed by the Arrephoroi but by other women.

¹⁵⁵ Athens, Acropolis Museum 2554 and 3306. See Palagia in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 33-36.

Polias, called by the Athenians Bearers of the Sacred Offerings. For a time they live with the goddess, but when the festival comes round they perform at night the following rites. Having placed on their heads what the priestess of Athena gives them to carry - neither she who gives nor they who carry have any knowledge what it is - the maidens descend by the natural underground passage that goes across the adjacent precincts, within the city, of Aphrodite in the Gardens. They leave down below what they carry, and receive something else which they bring back covered up. These maidens they henceforth let go free, and take up to the Acropolis others in their place.¹⁵⁶

Pausanias' description immediately precedes his discussion of the statue group of Erechtheus fighting the Eleusinian Eumolpos. Ancient sources attest that young girls called the Arrephoroi lived on the Acropolis, most likely near the Erechtheion, in an area that had a long history of habitation. They performed their ceremony by night rather than during the day, and their mysterious route down the north slope of the Acropolis has been explained in a variety of ways, from being a "rite of passage" to one that has Bronze Age roots to one comparable to other fertility rites such as the Thesmophoria.¹⁵⁷ A recent argument by Robert Simms gives emphasis to the ritual's connection to Erichthonios and Erechtheus, concentrating on the vegetal qualities of Erechtheus' death and linking Erichthonios to snake-like figures that were carried in the ritual. Simms furthermore sees this linked to the timing of the festival in Skirophorion as the time period of plant growth, despite being at the height of summer.¹⁵⁸

Most scholars argue for a yearly cycle of servitude to the priestess of Athena Polias, while others seem to believe the service corresponded to the Panathenaia.¹⁵⁹ Certainly the Arrephoria had a correlation with the festivities of the Panathenaia; in particular, the girls who were Arrephoroi were also responsible for the weaving of Athena's peplos, which was

¹⁵⁶ Translation is from Jones 1978.

¹⁵⁷ See Simon 1983, 40f.

¹⁵⁸ Simms 2005.

¹⁵⁹ See Simon 1983, 40.

begun at the Chalkeia festival.¹⁶⁰ It seems as though the Arrephoria, Plynteria, Panathenaia, and Chalkeia, and possibly other festivals as well, were all connected to each other and did not exist independently, but cyclically worked together to give continuity to Athenian religious life.

What these objects were which the Arrephoroi carried in their nocturnal ritual has always been unclear; the Greek in Pausanias seems to be deliberately constructed as such. Scholars have thus tried to understand what the objects carried in the Arrephoria were: for example, a scholion to Lucian (Σ Λυψίων π. 276.15-17) refers to “secret sacred objects made from dough: imitations of snakes and of male genitals.”¹⁶¹ Whatever they were, they were concealed from view, both from the Arrephoroi themselves, as well as those who witnessed the ritual. Some evidence suggests that snakes played an integral part in the ritual; this is especially interesting given the correlation between the Arrephoria and the daughters of Kekrops, who were frightened to their deaths by the snakes in the basket containing Erichthonios.¹⁶²

The connection with women as containers is often seen as a metaphor related to fertility, as we examined briefly in Chapter 3. For the Arrephoria, the girls’ responsibility for carrying unknown contents in containers as a part of their ritual has been seen as an “honor” that was “intimately linked with the community’s own well-being.”¹⁶³ Versnel and others have tied these mysterious objects to the myth of the Kekropids, who opened the *kiste* entrusted to them by Athena against her instructions.¹⁶⁴ Other than that, we come up short in terms of literary sources for the actual ritual; most (admittedly later) sources play with the

¹⁶⁰ Parker 2005, 266.

¹⁶¹ Parker 2005, 221.

¹⁶² Robertson 1983, 257-258. Robertson (258) also points out the monthly ritual of offering a honey cake to Athena’s snake on the Acropolis.

¹⁶³ Reeder 1995, 198. See 195-199 for a summation of the correlation and metaphorical aspects of women and containers in other contexts, as well.

¹⁶⁴ Versnel 1990, 51. See also the discussion in Robertson 1983.

etymology of the word *arrephoros* and do not provide much additional information regarding the objects the girls carried.¹⁶⁵ Pausanias, our most complete source concerning the ritual, as usual tells us a great deal about the ritual's topographical locations and its procession. And as is also usual of him, multiple questions remain. Without visual representations of the ritual, the rite is even more obscure.

Scholars have long associated Aphrodite with the festival of the Arrephoria, as Pausanias mentions an "Aphrodite in the Gardens" in connection with the Arrephoria.¹⁶⁶ As a popular deity on the slopes of the Acropolis with various cult locations, Aphrodite was a strong presence in Athenian religious life. As Wycherley notes, it was there on the Acropolis slopes that she complemented Athena's role on the top of the rock.¹⁶⁷ Kadletz notes the difficulty of locating her sanctuary in Pausanias' passage, however, noting that ἐν τῇ πόλει generally refers to "on the Acropolis," or literally "in the city." The sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens is known to have been located on the Ilissos River, *extra muros*, and it was therefore "unlikely that the goal of the Arrephoroi could have been so far away."¹⁶⁸ Broneer instead believed that Pausanias simply was confused between the two sanctuaries of Aphrodite, one on the Acropolis and one on the Ilissos, and that he must have been referring to the one on the descent from the Acropolis.¹⁶⁹ Robertson argues against this idea, stating that Pausanias would refer to the "precinct in the city...if he meant the precinct of Eros and Aphrodite lying in plain sight almost directly below."¹⁷⁰ Yet Kadletz instead prefers to see the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens as unconnected to the ritual, that the goal of the Arrephoroi was to a location "near" this one, and the idea of Aphrodite as an

¹⁶⁵ For an overview of the terminology, refer to Robertson 1983, 244-250.

¹⁶⁶ See, for example, Broneer 1932.

¹⁶⁷ Wycherley 1978, 176.

¹⁶⁸ Kadletz 1982, 445. It is Pliny (*NH* 36.16) who situates the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens as outside the city walls.

¹⁶⁹ Broneer 1932, 54. For more on the sanctuaries of Aphrodite, see Dally 1997 and Rosenzweig 2004.

¹⁷⁰ Robertson 1983, 252.

associated deity with the ritual should be discarded.¹⁷¹ Disregarding the precise location of the Aphrodite in the Gardens sanctuary, Rosenzweig proposes that the goddess and Athena are “united in their mutual concern for the growth of the most important crop of Attica.”¹⁷² This statement bears a great deal of weight and encourages us to consider the Arrephoroi and their connection to the land of Athens and Attica, perhaps at the same time forging an association with autochthony.

In examining the material evidence related to the Arrephoria, we come up rather short as well. It is generally agreed that we should focus our efforts on the North slope of the Acropolis. For one, a dwelling place has been excavated in the vicinity of today’s Erechtheion.¹⁷³ A square, single-roomed building with a porch situated about twenty-five meters west to the Erechtheion has often been identified as the “House of the Arrephoroi,” or Building III. In addition, a stairway dating to the eleventh century BCE on the North slope has been linked to the Arrephoria festival, as it connected to the open-air court to the west of Building III. Had it been a part of the Arrephoria, could the ritual date back to the Bronze Age? Some scholars suggest that the Arrephoroi descended from the North slope here at this stairway to the Mycenaean fountain house below.¹⁷⁴ As Burkert writes, “...in place of the real fountain there was now a nocturnal descent to the depths.”¹⁷⁵ But, as Hurwit is quick to point out, despite its early identification as the “House of the Arrephoroi,” and how well the setting of it corresponds to what we know about the ritual, the exact evidence remains circumstantial.¹⁷⁶

As noted, the Arrephoria is often linked to the mythological narrative of the

¹⁷¹ Kadletz 1982, 446.

¹⁷² Rosenzweig 2004, 48.

¹⁷³ See Iacovides 1962.

¹⁷⁴ For an overview, see Robertson 1983, 242.

¹⁷⁵ Burkert 1985, 234.

¹⁷⁶ Hurwit 2004, 212.

daughters of Kekrops. The “secret things” carried by the Arrephoroi has been proposed by scholars to be a reference to the *kiste* held by the daughters of Kekrops, the narrative thus replicated in the ritual act. Versions of the myth differ as to the contents of the *kiste*, from Erichthonios with one or a pair of snakes, such as we saw on the British Museum pelike (**Catalogue 7**), or Erichthonios himself as a snake or an anguipede like the Kekropids’ father, Kekrops.¹⁷⁷ As Kearns notes regarding the Arrephoroi, “their occupations were mirrored in myth by those of the daughters of Kekrops.”¹⁷⁸ Both groups of young girls or women receive something; in the case of the daughters of Kekrops, their being entrusted with of the baby Erichthonios by Athena has tragic consequences. Larson notes, however, that the daughters of Kekrops, and in particular Aglauros, are better associated with the Plynteria festival than with the Arrephoria, based on the Thorikos calendar’s mention of deme sacrifices for Athena, Aglauros, and others during the Plynteria.¹⁷⁹

Yet still, evidence such as an inscription from the second century BCE (*IG II² 3472*) records dedications by the Arrephoroi, or their families, in service to “Athena and Pandrosos,” who Kearns points out is the good sister who obeys Athena’s instructions, unlike Herse and Aglauros.¹⁸⁰ Although the connection between the mythological figures and the ritual is not explicit, it is certain that it was subtle. The shrouded nature of the ritual is thus complicated by its very design. In looking at the Arrephoria from the perspective of the ritual rather than the object, we are able draw a number of conclusions as well as make several speculations. Most prominent among these is that the young girls carrying out this rite replicate a system of exchange. Whatever they carried, they move it from one place to

¹⁷⁷ For the discussion of the various myths, see Ogden 2013, 264-265. Apollodorus (3.14.6) is one ancient author who describes the chest as a *kiste*. See Lissarrague 1995, 92.

¹⁷⁸ Kearns 1998, 100.

¹⁷⁹ Larson 1995, 39-40.

¹⁸⁰ Kearns 1998, 101.

another, replacing it with another item or items, which they then carry back.

There is no doubt that Athenian women contributed much to the workings of their society. In the religious sphere, they were the primary bearers of ritualistic practice, be it in the sanctuary or at the tomb. The study of exchange in antiquity has long been recognized, but only recently has been applied to the Classical period; earlier research has concentrated largely on Bronze Age aspects of political and economic exchange¹⁸¹ as a social norm and determinant for relationships with other peoples. As it stands, the possibility that the Arrephoria is rooted in a much older cultural tradition could be worthy of further study. Gift-giving in the area of funerary ritual has recently been considered by Wendy Closterman, who considers the ways in which Athenian women were tasked with giving gifts to the dead as part of their contributions to the household and as a part of daily life.¹⁸²

A religious ritual like the Arrephoria can be viewed in a similar fashion: women, or in this case young girls, contributed to the workings of the *polis* in their gifts and exchange of objects as part of ritual activity. The emphasis on giving is clear in Pausanias' frequent use of the verb *δίδωμι* in his exegesis on the Arrephoria festival in regards to the objects given by the priestess of Athena to the girls (*δίδωσι*, *διδούσα*, and *δίδωσιν*, for example). Although the objects' physical aspects are unknown, and the value of their exchange is not clear, the very actions of the Arrephoroi instead constitute the meaning of the festival. In essence, what these objects were does not matter, but the rite of carrying them (almost in an act of *anodos*, in fact) and exchanging them for others is what is of importance in this ritual act. The replication of the myth of autochthony may very well have been a part of this ritual;

¹⁸¹ These are admittedly not religious in nature, but invoke a similar sense of the longstanding notions of interchange that permeate many aspects of ancient societies (political, social, religious, and cultural), and have provided inspiration for this avenue of study. For introductory bibliography, see Cline 1994 and Pullen 2010. Recently, see Steel 2013, especially Chapter 4, "Greeting Gifts and Competitive Gift Exchange."

¹⁸² Closterman 2014.

after all, the presentation of Erichthonios is also built on a system of gifts and exchange - Ge's gift of Erichthonios to Athena and, by extension, the Athenian people.

In viewing the rites of the Arrephoroi as a process of gift-giving and exchange, we notice certain patterns. Their actions are not random; like any gift, which Satlow states "is very carefully calibrated to its context," the Arrephoroi presumably followed a fixed pattern of exchange. Giving and exchange are also "embedded in a much wider web of relationships, contexts, and social expectations."¹⁸³ In addition, the girls themselves are active participants in the rite of exchange; Lyons, though not speaking directly of the Arrephoria, examines how women act as both objects and agents of exchange, and this can be applied to the young girls on the Acropolis.¹⁸⁴ As agents of exchange, the Arrephoroi replicate certain aspects of the story of Erichthonios. But in fact, they seem even more so to adhere to ideas that are omnipresent in the presentation of Erichthonios to the goddess Athena. As Ge entrusts the child Erichthonios to the care of Athens' patron goddess, so too are the objects carried by the Arrephoroi "given" to a place (perhaps the earth?) and something is received or exchanged in return. This system of exchange, though subtle, has embedded within it a sense of service and dedication to the gods, especially Athena.

Such a system of exchange is, in effect, a model of reciprocity, which Seaford defines as the "principle and practice of voluntary requital."¹⁸⁵ The notion of *keharis* in Greek religion suggests the giving of gifts or sacrifices in exchange for other returns; good favors and outcomes are an expected result of their gifts. Although commercial exchange is not always a part of *keharis*, we are able to view it today in terms of material culture.¹⁸⁶ Thus although firm

¹⁸³ Satlow 2013, 2. See also the volume edited by Gill, Postlethwaite, and Seaford (1998) for more information on reciprocity.

¹⁸⁴ Lyons 2012, 1.

¹⁸⁵ Seaford in Gill, Postlethwaite, and Seaford 1998, 1.

¹⁸⁶ See Parker 1998 for further study on *keharis*.

visual evidence for the Arrephoria is lacking, it is easy to picture the ways in which the ritual was embedded in the topography of the Acropolis and Athens, the role that young girls played in its performance, and the allusions to autochthony that it must have carried.

Family & Civic Matters: Prokne & Itys

Connections to Athenian family histories might also be found in an examination of the statue group of Prokne and Itys (**Figure 86**). “Restrained and quiet”¹⁸⁷ is the mood of the surviving statue group mentioned by Pausanias (1.24.3), blending elements of style of both the Erechtheions’ *korai* as well as the temple’s frieze, but is unknown where exactly on the Acropolis the group was set up. Hurwit, however, notes that the figure of Prokne “looks a lot like a Karyatid that has stepped down from the building and entered a myth.”¹⁸⁸ The story already has its roots in the ancestry of the Athenians, with Prokne, a daughter of Pandion (king and one of the Eponymous Heroes), whose marriage to the Thracian Tereus resulted in the child Itys. Known from Sophocles’ fragmentary *Tereus*, the myth involved the marriage of a foreigner to an Athenian, an act that contradicts the notions of Athenian citizenship which we have examined already, namely, in the context of Perikles’ Citizenship Law.¹⁸⁹ Tereus then raped and cut out the tongue of Prokne’s sister-in-law, Philomela, but her silence was not for long: she wove an account of the story for her sister to discover. In revenge, Prokne killed her son Itys and served him to Tereus. Although the myth exhibits many complexities beyond the discussion at hand, at its core are issues of motherhood, kin relationships, and settlement.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Barringer 2005, 167.

¹⁸⁸ Hurwit 1999, 206-207.

¹⁸⁹ See Fitzpatrick 2011 for an in depth analysis of Sophocles’ largely-lost play.

¹⁹⁰ Zacharia 2001.

Why this statue group, attributed to Alkamenes, was placed on the Acropolis has long perplexed scholars. The connection to autochthony in the genealogy of the main players is clear: Prokne was a daughter of Pandion, one of the early Athenian kings and one of the Eponymous Heroes depicted in the Athenian Agora and on the Parthenon frieze. Yet Prokne's actions are horrific and violent, and not something one would expect from an ideal Athenian woman.¹⁹¹ Barringer argues that the statue group of Prokne killing her son in revenge for her husband's violation of her sister Philomela would have had strong resonance with Athenian mothers whose sons were "sacrificed" to the cause of war with outside forces.¹⁹² This draws a parallel between contemporary historical events and the allure of the myth for its timely depiction, but does not fully answer the question of why it was placed on the Acropolis.

Ajootian, however, notes that these scenes of familial violence started to appear in Attic vase painting shortly after the reforms of Kleisthenes in the late sixth to early fifth centuries BCE.¹⁹³ Thus, the late fifth century date of the Prokne and Itys sculpture group also encourages an understanding related to this time period. Ajootian points out that the killing "is not reenacted" as in earlier vases, but instead focuses "on the mother's internal struggle," eliciting emotions related to the "impression of interior emotional activity."¹⁹⁴ Contemplative in nature, Alkamene's Prokne and Itys represents an anticipatory moment, much like the imagery of the daughters of Kekrops before they open the basket containing Erichthonios, or the revealing of Pandora. With its forthcoming tragic consequences, Prokne and Itys would have reminded viewers on the Acropolis of the necessity of sacrifice and the possibility of an unhappy or unexpected outcome.

¹⁹¹ Ajootian 2005, 226.

¹⁹² Barringer 2005.

¹⁹³ Ajootian 2005, 227.

¹⁹⁴ Ajootian 2005, 233-234.

The mother and child theme extended the idea present on the Acropolis already in the Erechtheion frieze and the Parthenon iconography, emphasizing the rock as the “site of Athenian origins.”¹⁹⁵ The actions of the Athenian Prokne become “a heroic role model for Athenian women,” because her actions save the city, regardless of self.¹⁹⁶ Räuchle understands this as an “uncompromising attitude” of vengeance and the restoration of honor; “both actions, as brutal as they may appear, are direct deductions of a radically formulated claim for and defense of autochthony and national purity.”¹⁹⁷ In a number of ways, they are reminiscent of Praxithea’s sacrifice for the salvation of her city in Euripides’ *Erechtheus*. With this in mind, the images of mothers on the Athenian Acropolis take on a more subtle dimension, on the one hand closely related to the idea of ancestry and kinship with the land of Athens, while on the other, emphasizing the necessity of sacrifice, despite its sometimes horrific consequences.

Victory & Identity: The Temple of Athena Nike

The culminating force of the importance of myth and history on the Acropolis in the late fifth century BCE is the Temple of Athena Nike, a monument which encourages us to consider a number of similarities with the Parthenon and, moreover, with the Erechtheion. As part of a sanctuary within a sanctuary, the temple, like the Erechtheion, was situated in a place with a long history dating to the Bronze Age, parts of which were preserved and displayed in the transformation of the space from fortification to sanctuary.¹⁹⁸ Although not directly related to autochthony, the Temple of Athena Nike enunciates a number of the themes of Athenian identity we have examined thus far. Like the Erechtheion, its

¹⁹⁵ Ajootian 2005, 236.

¹⁹⁶ Räuchle 2015, 17-18.

¹⁹⁷ Räuchle 2015, 18.

¹⁹⁸ See the discussion in Hurwit 1999, 75-79 and 209.

construction dates towards the end of the Periklean building program, and was quite lavish and complex.¹⁹⁹

In particular, its sculptural program highlights the multitude of ways the Athenians could illustrate myths related to the history of their identity and place in Attica (**Figure 87**). The four well-preserved friezes of the Ionic tetrastyle amphiprostyle temple depicted battles, both historical and mythological, while the pediments depicted the Amazonomachy and the Gigantomachy. To the south, a contemporary historical battle was depicted, most likely the Battle of Marathon. This would have been an unprecedented documentation of a historical event, relatively fresh in the minds of viewers, similar to the painting in the Stoa Poikile in the Athenian Agora.²⁰⁰ On the east frieze, an assembly of gods is shown. It has been suggested that this is an image of Athena's birth, which would have served as a pendant to the theme of the Parthenon's east pediment.²⁰¹ Alternatively, the east frieze's gathering of the gods could simply be a gathering place to honor Athena as "guarantor of victories," a central theme of the frieze's other sides and the temple as a whole.²⁰²

On the north and west sides of the temple, the two continuous friezes illustrated battles of Athenians against other Greeks, calling to mind the concerns of Athenian identity and the threat of invasion from other peoples close to their land. The west is debatable in terms of its narrative structure, and scholars are indecisive as to what its meaning was; theories have included mythological subjects as well as more historical ones.²⁰³ Recent research by Peter Schultz has attempted to bring the fragmentary and well-worn north frieze

¹⁹⁹ Like the Erechtheion, the Temple of Athena Nike was not listed as part of Plutarch's Periklean building program.

²⁰⁰ See Harrison 1972.

²⁰¹ See Palagia 2005b, especially 186-189.

²⁰² Hurwit 1999, 212.

²⁰³ See Palagia (2005b, 186-189), Felten (1984, 123-133), and Harrison 1997. Schultz (2009, 161 n. 11) states, however, that "because several warriors on the west frieze wear contemporary costume, the mythological interpretation does not convince." See also Pemberton 1972. Hurwit (1999, 212) also called for a contemporary reading of Peloponnesian War battle scenes.

to light. Schultz calls into question the ramifications of its creation during the Peloponnesian War, when the Temple of Athena Nike was constructed. Earlier scholars had called for a historical battle, that of Plataia, due to the depiction of a number of warriors and horses, including a chariot team.²⁰⁴ Schultz, however, returned to a theory of Evelyn Harrison, that the iconography of the north frieze depicted the battle of the Herakleidai near Athens in which Eurystheus was captured and killed.²⁰⁵ The mytho-historic battle, similar to that of Erechtheus and Eumolpos of Eleusis, was part of both the historic and tragic repertoire, most famously elaborated in Euripides' *Herakleidai*, produced around 430/429.²⁰⁶ If Mark's understanding of the temple's date of construction in the 420s is correct, with the frieze dated to 418, it allows us to situate the iconography of the north frieze to during the Peace of Nikias.²⁰⁷

For long, the Temple of Athena Nike has been understood as a prime example of the blending of history and myth in architectural narrative, or what Hurwit calls "history mythologized."²⁰⁸ Stewart sees the program of this temple as emblematic of the city of Athens, interweaving allegories of historical events and mythical narratives.²⁰⁹ It is thus representative of the late fifth century tendency to entwine contemporary history and distant myth, as we have already examined in the Erechtheion frieze and the Parthenon's sculptural program. At the height of the Peloponnesian War, then, these monuments illustrate the increasing concerns of the Athenians in understanding their mythical background as history. Furthermore, Schultz brings up the interesting point that in the blending of these shared iconographies, mythological and historical, the Athenians set up juxtapositions that both

²⁰⁴ This hypothesis was first put forward by Furtwängler 1895.

²⁰⁵ Harrison 1997.

²⁰⁶ For a summation of the play, see Schultz 2009, 142-147.

²⁰⁷ See Mark 1993.

²⁰⁸ Hurwit 1999, 212.

²⁰⁹ Stewart 1985.

enunciated their victories but also recognized the “darker cousins” of the uncertainty of the time.²¹⁰ Something similar must have been at work in the other monuments of the Acropolis that we have looked at, from the Erechtheion’s architectural sculpture to the statue group of Prokne and Itys. The recognition of Athens’ long history, victorious conquests, and impending decline all contributed to this multiplicity of form and meaning in the iconography of the Acropolis.

Autochthony in the Agora: The Temple of Hephaistos

The Athenian Agora had a strategic location, placed between the “two extremities of the city’s symbolic landscape, Acropolis and [the] *kerameikos* (**Figure 88**).²¹¹ Two monuments related to the themes of autochthony stand out here, although for very different reasons and meanings. The Temple of Hephaistos, in which the two “parents” of Erichthonios were worshipped jointly, displayed the presentation of Erichthonios prominently on its cult statue base in the interior of the temple. And, in the open center of the Agora, the civic dimensions of autochthony were displayed in the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes. This section discusses the importance of the autochthony myth and its characters for the civic center of Athens.

The excellent state of preservation of the Hephaisteion is due to its having been converted into a church in the fifth century CE, and it is the only temple on the Greek mainland that has a preserved roof and most of its architectural sculpture *in situ* today. Located in the northwest sector of the Athenian Agora, overlooking the center of Athenian political life, the Doric temple is an interesting case study, as it was constructed over a period

²¹⁰ Schultz 2009, 155.

²¹¹ Nimis 2007, 400.

of possibly as many as thirty-five years or more and reflects a variety of stylistic choices. The Hephaisteion therefore calls into question the shifting perspectives of form and style that occurred over the course of these decades of Athenian building activity, and was therefore a reflection of both trends in the Periklean building program as well as previous and successive decades, much like the Erechtheion. Moreover, its placement in an important location of Athens that was both civic and religious surely contributed to its visual dialogue, creating a sculptural program that has multiple embodied meanings.²¹²

The Hephaisteion's purpose, dedication, and decoration together also contribute to our study of autochthony in fifth century Athens, particularly in terms of our knowledge of its cult statue and cult statue base. Although little evidence for the cult statue and its sculpted base survives today, literary sources as well as Roman copies suggest that the Hephaisteion occupied an important position within our study of autochthony, as it was here that the narratives of Athena, Hephaistos, and Erichthonios were explicitly woven into the iconography of the temple's cult statue. Palagia, quoting Eratosthenes (Cat. 13), says that the Hephaisteion was built on the spot where Erichthonios sprang from the earth.²¹³ As Loraux points out, there is "a place for Erichthonios in the Hephaisteion," and Athena and Hephaistos are reunited in this location in a prominent manner.²¹⁴

Although the Temple of Hephaistos has often been referred to as the "Theseum," Wycherley and others seem to have laid this issue to rest, however, and the *communis opinio* of today identifies the temple instead as the Hephaisteion.²¹⁵ Pausanias remarked upon the temple as he made his way through the Agora in the second century CE (1.14.6), making no

²¹² See Barringer 2008, 109-110.

²¹³ Palagia 2000, 68.

²¹⁴ Loraux 1993, 126-127.

²¹⁵ For an overview of the debate, see Dinsmoor (1941, 1), as well as Wycherley 1959, 155. Koch 1955 and others have identified the temple as the Theseum.

comments about the exterior of the temple, just that it is “above the Kerameikos” (ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν), which we would situate on the Kolonos Agoraios hill. More intriguingly, Pausanias’ interest lay in the statues of Athena and Hephaistos located within the temple, “because I [he] knew the story of Erichthonios” (οὐδὲν θαῦμα ἐποιούμην τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίῳ ἐπιστάμενος λόγον·). For certain, Pausanias was referring to the cult statues of Athena and Hephaistos that were located within the temple’s interior.

On the exterior, the Hephaisteion’s Doric friezes were situated over the east and west porches, and depicted familiar themes of a battle; the east, showing deities and a possible battle scene has been debated,²¹⁶ while the west is thought to be a Centauromachy, respectively.²¹⁷ The metopes include labors of Theseus and Herakles, similar to the Athenian treasury at Delphi.²¹⁸ On the east facade of the temple, Herakles’ labors were depicted, and on the northeastern and southeastern sides of the temple, eight of Theseus’ labors were shown. As in the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, these metopes make multiple references to old and new heroes, Panhellenic and Athenian.

Together, as Barringer argues, these references to Athens’ heroic past and present provided a model to everyday visitors in the Agora as well as those connected with the shaping of democracy, participants involved in festivals, athletic and military events, craftsmen, and the like.²¹⁹ In short, the sculptural decoration of the Hephaisteion reached various audiences, carrying embodied meanings dependent on visitors’ backgrounds. In particular, like other contemporary Athenian monuments, its iconographic program spoke particularly strongly to an Athenian audience about Athenian identities, myths, and history,

²¹⁶ Most recently, Barringer (2009) has argued for a mytho-historical interpretation: the Athenian defeat of the inhabitants of Atlantis.

²¹⁷ Ridgway 1981, 85-88.

²¹⁸ For an overview of the metopes, see Ridgway 1981, 26-30. The metopes, still *in situ* today, are weathered by time and swiftly becoming less and less recognizable; see Barringer 2008, Chapter 3.

²¹⁹ See Barringer 2008.

ideas that would have still rung true during the subsequent generations and during the Peloponnesian War.

Themes of identity and especially autochthony carried over into the interior of the Hephaisteion, which was dominated primarily by a large statue of Athena and Hephaistos. Today, only two blocks of Eleusinian limestone that quite possibly belonged to the cult statues of Athena and Hephaistos survive (**Figure 89**).²²⁰ Dinsmoor notes that they are “smoothly dressed, in spite of the intractable nature of the stone,” which suggests that they had some purpose other than simply building blocks.²²¹ Dinsmoor provided a possible restoration for the base, assigning one block (the one with the cuttings) to the pedestal’s front and estimating that the length of the base would be about 3.086 m., placing the statue base towards the rear of the cella, as was typical of cult statue bases in the fifth century.²²²

Dinsmoor suggested that the crowning mouldings of the base may have been of Eleusinian limestone, or perhaps of Pentelic marble.²²³ Although difficult to confirm, the similarities between this block and the Eleusinian blocks from the frieze’s entablature, which also bear evidence of dowels, strongly suggest the presence of attached figures, for which a cult statue base is the most logical presumed use. The dowel holes would have most likely allowed for twelve figures to be attached, according to Barringer, and thus we can imagine a

²²⁰ Discovered by Orlandos in the east wall that replaced the apse of the Byzantine church that was constructed using the Hephaisteion’s structure. One (A) measures approximately 118 cm long by 50 cm high by 47 cm deep; the other, 121 cm long by 50 cm high by 43 cm deep. The blocks were removed and currently are positioned on the ground in the east end of the temple, along with a number of roof tiles, as depicted in the photograph.

²²¹ Dinsmoor 1941, 105. One of these blocks (A) has five cuttings for the attachment of dowels, measuring between 0.022 and 0.042 m in width, 0.027 and 0.060 m high, and 0.046 and 0.049 m in depth and located at varying points on the surface of the block. They are located between 0.255 and 0.305 m from the bottom of the dowel cutting to the bottom of the block, and have between 13 and 27 cm spacing between each. Each block also has a raised lip, indicating that the pedestal for the cult statues rested upon it; Dinsmoor found comparable parallels in the contemporary Temple of the Athenians on Delos and the Delphi tholos. See Dinsmoor 1941, 106 and 108. In addition, their sides show marks of *anathyrosis*, and each block bears cuttings for double-T clamps on each end.

²²² Dinsmoor 1941, 106-108. Dinsmoor used the blocks’ dimensions to come up with a hypothetical reconstruction of the base, although he could find no evidence for the actual width of the base.

²²³ Dinsmoor (1941, 108) suggests Eleusinian limestone.

scene similar to the birth of Pandora on the Parthenos cult statue, the presentation of Erichthonios on the Erechtheion frieze, or the peplos scene on the east frieze of the Parthenon.²²⁴

The two Eleusinian limestone blocks are generally assigned to the cult statue base, although some scholars, such as Delivorrias and Cooper, have disputed this.²²⁵ On one of the blocks, a number of cuttings bear a definite similarity to the cuttings for the fastening of marble figures that we find on the frieze of the Erechtheion. Frieze and cult statue base would thus represent two of the few examples of this method of frieze construction; the metopes from the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea are another example, although admittedly poorly preserved.²²⁶ In addition, comparisons have been made between the cult statue base and others in the “Pheidian tradition,” such as those from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, which was faced with Eleusinian limestone around a solid poros core.²²⁷ The cult statue base from the Hephaisteion finds parallels with the Birth of Pandora that was on the base of the Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon, and the Birth of Nemesis from the cult statue base at Rhamnous, as well.²²⁸

The general consensus is that the cuttings on the cult statue base once held figures that formed a composition in the Pheidian tradition.²²⁹ For the present moment, let us review the evidence for the cult statue base of the Hephaisteion. Two sources, both Roman (Cicero and Valerius Maximus), mention a statue of Hephaistos in Athens, attributed to

²²⁴ Barringer (2009, 118 n. 17) notes the possibility of twelve figures on the cult statue base of the Hephaisteion.

²²⁵ Cooper, for one, preferred to see the blocks as having migrated from Sounion and having a subsequent reuse in the temple, unrelated to a cult statue base for the Hephaisteion. Unfortunately, Cooper’s theory was never properly published and was only given as a lecture at the ASCSA in 1985. Cf. Kosmopoulou 2002 (140, n. 9) for bibliography. See also Delivorrias, *EAA* Suppl. 2.1, s.v. Alkamenes, 176.

²²⁶ Stewart 1977, 30-32, 57-58, and 62-66.

²²⁷ See Kosmopoulou (2002, 240-242) and Pausanias 5.11.8-10; Pausanias describes it as decorated with gilt figures affixed to the dark background and depicting the birth of Aphrodite.

²²⁸ Dinsmoor 1941, 109.

²²⁹ See the discussion in Kosmopoulou (2002, 126f.) and Palagia 2000.

Alkamenes, in addition to Pausanias' remarks.²³⁰ As Kosmopoulou rightly points out, however, all three literary sources most likely refer to the same monument, given the "rarity of temples and statues of Hephaistos."²³¹ In addition, beyond the two blocks assigned to the base, no sculpture from the base has been found, and we are left to rely on Roman copies of reliefs assigned to the Hephaisteion's cult statue base.

This did not stop scholars from postulating what was depicted on the base, however. Papaspyridi-Karouzou, using a Neo-Attic relief from the Louvre as well as the kylix by the Codrus Painter (**Catalogue 10**), made the first suggestion that the statue base depicted the birth of Erichthonios, and Athena and Hephaistos were grouped together in the cult statues because of this connection.²³² The Louvre relief used for the reconstruction of the cult statue base (**Figure 90**)²³³ is reminiscent of vase paintings that are contemporary with the Hephaisteion, but somewhat different in composition. In the center of the scene, Ge hands the infant Erichthonios to his (foster) mother, Athena. The figures are in the reverse positions that they normally are on the vases: Athena is on the left, and Ge is on the right. To the left of Athena, a seated male figure holding a staff and wearing a mantle with exposed chest has been identified as Zeus (and wrongly restored first as a woman).²³⁴

On the right, a female figure stands leaning against a cloth-covered pillar and overlooks the scene. According to Palagia, the restoration as a female is incorrect; instead, this figure should be Hephaistos.²³⁵ The inclusion of Zeus reminds us of the Munich stamnos (**Catalogue 9**), where Zeus is depicted on the opposite side of the vase, reinforcing the divine connection between Erichthonios, Hephaistos, and Zeus. Another Neo-Attic

²³⁰ Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.30 and Val. Max. 8.11.

²³¹ Kosmopoulou 2002, 127.

²³² See Papaspyridi-Karuzu 1954/55, and 83, Fig. 3 for a reconstruction drawing.

²³³ Louvre Ma 579.

²³⁴ Palagia 2000, 69.

²³⁵ Palagia 2000, 69.

relief in the Vatican replicates a similar scene (**Figure 91**), and has been joined by Delivorrias with other Neo-Attic fragments from Tivoli and Hadrian's Villa to form a reconstruction that includes Aphrodite.²³⁶ The multiple Roman copies of the cult statue from the Hephaisteion reflect the immediacy and power of the myth, although the Roman reliefs are unclear as to their purpose. Bérard points out that the cult statue base of the Hephaisteion also attests to the vitality of the symbol of autochthony, and it was a natural setting, both there and in the Erechtheion.²³⁷

Athena and Hephaistos were probably worshipped together in the Hephaisteion, as already noted; their respective roles in crafts meant that they were often brought together in one place and under similar guises, such as in the creation of Pandora found in Hesiod. Their cult statues in the Hephaisteion are referred to in an account (*IG I² 370/71*) that has been dated to the years 421/0 - 416/5 BCE. Based on this description, Harrison created a reconstruction that placed Athena on the left of the group's composition, Hephaistos on the right, and a large floral ornament between them, with a reconstruction of the cult statue base below (**Figure 92**). Given the large amount of tin mentioned in the building inscription, however, the cult statue and its base would have been far too large to fit inside the Hephaisteion.²³⁸ Harrison thus decided that the temple on Kolonos Agorais was not the Hephaisteion, and was instead the Temple of Artemis Eukleia, a monument which was discussed by Pausanias and said to have been dedicated from the spoils of Marathon.²³⁹ Her theory no longer holds much weight, however, and most scholars agree that the temple in the Agora is indeed the Temple of Hephaistos.²⁴⁰ As Olga Palagia suggests instead, perhaps

²³⁶ Vatican 1285. See Delivorrias 1997.

²³⁷ Bérard 1974, 37.

²³⁸ Personal communication with Margaret Miles.

²³⁹ Harrison 1977a, 139 n. 24. For more on the personification Eukleia, see Smith 2011, 71-72.

²⁴⁰ See, for example, Camp 1986, 82.

there were two bronze anthemia instead of just one;²⁴¹ this would have made them fit better within the space of the temple.

In all of the discussion of the Hephaisteion, a focus on Hephaistos' role in fifth century Athens should not be neglected. Irrespective of the location of Hephaistos' temple (and it is generally agreed that the well-preserved structure on the Kolonos Agoraios should belong to the god), his growing importance in fifth century architecture and iconography should still be addressed. The lame god's role as well as Athena's in the Chalkeia, for example, can be considered more in depth, as well as a fragmentary inscription dated to the year 421/0 BCE (*IG I² 84*) that is our best source for a connection to a festival of Hephaistos, suggesting the re-organization of the festival.²⁴² Although little is known about the festival, it may have included a torch race that began at the altar of Prometheus, near the Academy, and finished at the Hephaisteion.²⁴³

Throughout these various reconstructions, suppositions, and postulations, it is best to situate the Hephaisteion within the time period and place of its creation. Recently, Cruciani and Fiorini dated the beginning of the construction of the temple of the period of Kimon around 460 BCE.²⁴⁴ This is acceptable, and yet we know from records that the temple was not finished until the 420s BCE.²⁴⁵ Wyatt and Edmonson's study of the ceiling coffers of the temple shows that they were not put into place until much later.²⁴⁶ Thus, like the Erechtheion, the Hephaisteion exhibits a long period of construction, spanning multiple decades in which drastic changes in the Athenian empire occurred. And like the

²⁴¹ Palagia 2000, 57-59.

²⁴² See the discussion in Simon 1983, 51f.

²⁴³ Parker 2005, 472. For the ancient sources regarding the torch race, see Harpocration s.v. λ 3: λαμπάς. A recent study by Makris disassociates this inscription with the Hephaisteia, however, but it needs more study.

²⁴⁴ Cruciani and Fiorini 1998, 99f.

²⁴⁵ For an overview of the various debates prior to Cruciani/Fiorini and Wyatt/Edmonson, see Dinsmoor 1941, 150-151.

²⁴⁶ Wyatt and Edmonson 1984.

Erechtheion, the Hephaisteion also shows evidence of earlier habitation. Although little can be said about these remains, it is possible that they were also related to Hephaistos' worship.²⁴⁷ What is known, however, is that the temple's completion in the 420s BCE echoes that of the Erechtheion, although slightly earlier, and accords well with the development of Hephaistos' character, iconography, and worship during this time. It is clear that more study of Hephaistos' role in late fifth century Athens is needed. The evidence - architectural, iconographical, and textual - all points to an increase in the god's worship and status in the Late Classical period and his increased relationship to Athena, as well as his parallels with images of Erichthonios, autochthony, and ideas of the Athenians' relationship to their gods.

Civic Autochthony: The Eponymous Heroes Monument

At the same time as autochthony gained a foothold in the monumental architecture of the Acropolis and the Agora, the Agora also saw the earliest form of another monument related to autochthony, this one with political overtones. The Monument of the Eponymous Heroes, today located in a central part of the Agora, was a long platform upon which stood bronze statues of the ten eponymoi, the mythological kings and heroes who were representative of the tribes organized by Kleisthenes in 508/7 BCE.²⁴⁸ The monument functioned, too, as a sort of "bulletin board" for events and honors, and as such had a definitive communicatory aspect. While today the statues of the eponymoi themselves do not survive, a number of blocks from the monument are extant and Shear has provided a reconstruction (**Figure 93**).

²⁴⁷ Dinsmoor 1941, 125f. Recent research by Kathleen Lynch (paper presented at *CAMWS* in Boulder, CO, March 2015) has concluded that these finds must be disassociated from a pre-Hephaisteion.

²⁴⁸ Pausanias 1.5 identifies the monument and discusses the codification of the ten eponymoi. See Shear 1970 and Thompson and Wycherley (1972, 80f) for an archaeological synopsis.

Although there has been considerable debate as to when the Eponymous Heroes monument was first constructed, a version of it must have been present in the Agora by the 420s BCE, when the comic poet Aristophanes referred to such a monument in his *Peace*.²⁴⁹ The use of double-t clamps may help to support this notion,²⁵⁰ but an earlier structure had also been set up in the southwest corner of the Agora.²⁵¹ The extant archaeological remains today date to about 330 BCE and are located to the east of the Metroon, nearly parallel to it, and west of the Bouleuterion, central locales of record-keeping and the location of political meetings, respectively.²⁵² The original base of over sixteen meters long displayed bronze statues of the ten heroes of the Athenian tribes flanked by tripods on either end. Over time, this platform had figures added and subtracted, evidence of the malleability of monuments and the influence of political activity over the centuries.²⁵³

The Monument of the Eponymous Heroes, as it stood in the late fifth century Agora, may have constituted a revised and consolidated list of heroes, based on the account of Herodotus (8.44), and Morris sees their presence as a “contribution to the mythology of Attic kingship” in the fifth century.²⁵⁴ The initial construction of the monument, as well as the completion of the Hephaisteion, reflects some of the changes in the fifth century to the Agora as a place of political and religious importance.²⁵⁵ Naturally, among the ten original tribal heroes placed upon the monument, Kekrops and Erechtheus were included, as they represented the tribes of Erechtheis and Kekropis. What these statues looked like is

²⁴⁹ Aristophanes, *Peace* 1183. Mattusch (1994, 74) notes that statues of some of the Eponymous Heroes by Pheidias were made under Kimon in the 460s for the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, paid for by the spoils of Marathon.

²⁵⁰ Travlos 1971, 210.

²⁵¹ Camp 2001, 158.

²⁵² Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 53, 4) notes its location across from the Bouleuterion.

²⁵³ For example, Camp (2001, 166 and 168) notes that the base was extended in 307/6 BCE for Antigonos the One-eyed and his son Demetrios and then again to accommodate a statue of Ptolemy III Euergetes in 223 BCE for the tribe Ptolemais.

²⁵⁴ Morris 1992, 331.

²⁵⁵ For a discussion, see Shear 2007, especially 96-97.

unknown, however, and Travlos notes that ancient commentators on the monument seem to be more fixated on the bulletin board aspect of it than its statuary.²⁵⁶

Pausanias (1.5.5) names all ten original Eponymous Heroes in his description of the monument, although he does not describe what they look like, working on the presumption that the portraits of them were well known.²⁵⁷ It would not be too bold to suggest, however, that Erechtheus, placed first, may have resembled images of him on document reliefs of the fourth century, in which he was shown as a bearded male figure.²⁵⁸ Kekrops, placed seventh in the line-up, most likely did not have his snaky lower half, as seen in vase painting, and would have had a more anthropomorphic form.²⁵⁹ Loraux notes that in the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes, both Erechtheus and Kekrops would have lost their autochthonous connotations.²⁶⁰ Instead, they would have been depicted as political figures, emphasizing their civic roles in the same way that fourth century document reliefs did.

Jenkins also distinguishes between the Eponymous Heroes' presence in the Agora and elsewhere in Athens, such as on the Acropolis, where they were represented on the east frieze of the Parthenon.²⁶¹ Entirely human and devoid of their mythological associations, Kekrops and Erechtheus are not heroes of all of Athens here, but take on more political tones in their role as tribal ancestors. Regardless, their presence in the Agora attests to the long-standing associations of figures of autochthony with the ancestral history of the Athenians. It was an association that took on a new, more complex dimension in the last

²⁵⁶ Travlos 1971, 210.

²⁵⁷ Mattusch 1994, 76.

²⁵⁸ See, for example, examples in Lawton 1995 (with bibliography), 86-87, Cat. 8 (*IG I³ 375*, Louvre Ma 831 [the so-called "Choiseul Marble"]), and 92-93, Cat. 20 (*IG II² 1410*, Athens EM 7859). Harrison (1979, 71, 79) suggested that the bare feet of Erechtheus in the Choiseul Marble was indicative of his relationship to his mother, Ge.

²⁵⁹ On the red-figure kylix formerly in Malibu attributed to Douris from about 480 BCE (formerly J. Paul Getty Museum 84.AE.569, deaccessioned in 2007 to the Republic of Italy), Kekrops is also depicted without his snaky form.

²⁶⁰ Loraux 1993, 56. She bases this on Demosthenes' statement and Pausanias' description of the monument.

²⁶¹ Jenkins 1985, but disputed by Nagy 1992.

quarter of the fifth century, at the same time as we begin to witness new depictions of autochthony in the presentation of Erichthonios to Athena in vase painting. In addition, since each Athenian citizen was linked to a particular hero based on his tribe, it also established a concrete connection between inhabitants of various regions - city, coastal, and inland - of Attica in terms of their ancestral heritage.²⁶² Whether this notion would be attractive to certain residents and citizens of these areas is worthy of further exploration, but it helps to understand the imagery of the Eponymous Heroes in the topography of the Agora and their importance for wide regions of Attica.

*Beyond Athens: Family Identity in the Cult Statue Base
from the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous*

The interest in ancestry and lineages that so intrigued the Athenian mind in the fifth century BCE was not restricted to Athens and autochthony but spread outward to Attica as well, and branched out into other realms of interest in family structures and relationships. At the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, for example, a link to autochthony is already implied in Late Antique accounts that mark Erechtheus as a son of Nemesis,²⁶³ a notion that did not exist in Classical times but may not be so coincidental in the muddled mythologies of Late Antiquity. Nemesis, as a political personification and goddess, grew in popularity during the Peloponnesian War, similarly to the preponderance of sources related to Erichthonios and Erechtheus that came to be developed in greater depth and detail during this time.²⁶⁴

Rhamnous' proximity to Marathon led to the establishment of Nemesis' cult nearby; at

²⁶² The primary source for the understanding of the Attic tribal organization after Kleisthenes is Traill 1986.

²⁶³ See sources in Parker 2005, 407 n. 82. This is implied in a fragment of Callimachus' *Hecale* (fr. I Hollis; cf. A.S. Hollis, *ZPE* 93, 1992, 3).

²⁶⁴ See Karanastassis 1992 for more information on the cult of Nemesis as well as Shapiro 1993, 173-177. Smith (2011, 41-46) discusses the development of Nemesis as a personification.

Rhamnous, a temple was built to her in the later part of the fifth century BCE²⁶⁵ as a “belated thank-offering” for Nemesis’ help in expelling the Persians at Marathon a generation earlier.²⁶⁶

Debate has naturally ensued regarding the date and sculptor of the statue base and cult statue. Despinis first dated it to about 430 BCE, and then Petrakos suggested down-dating it the 420s.²⁶⁷ Part of this discussion was in the debate over the sculptor of the base; it has been variously attributed to Pheidias, Agorakritos, and Diodotos.²⁶⁸ Currently, the accepted attribution is that the cult statue and its base is the work of the hand of Agorakritos of Paros, a pupil of Pheidias, an attribution that is based largely on Pliny’s description in the *Natural History* (36.17-18). As such, the base fits squarely within the period of the Peloponnesian War, albeit rather earlier than the sculptural decoration of the Temple of Athena Nike and the Erechtheion.

Kosmopoulou notes that Rhamnous was unique in that it was “the only Attic deme in the fifth century to possess a celebrated cult image resting on a sculpted pedestal” of a caliber not unlike those found on Athens’ Acropolis and in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, although on a smaller scale. Rhamnous is also the only example where we possess both fragments of the cult statue in addition to the base, a rather rare occurrence in the Greek world.²⁶⁹ Consisting of a rectangular base composed of socle, die, and crowning courses, the Rhamnous base is similar to the Erechtheion frieze in its use of Eleusinian limestone; here, however, the bluish stone was used as the crowning element for the cult statue base. While

²⁶⁵ Probably in the 430s and perhaps into the 420s. Lapatin 1992, 107 and Miles 1989, who provides a complete reconstruction of the temple. Pausanias (1.33.2-3) discusses Rhamnous’ link to Marathon.

²⁶⁶ Palagia (2000, 62) and Shapiro 1993, 174. See Camp 2001, 112 for a discussion of the site.

²⁶⁷ Despinis 1971, Petrakos 1986.

²⁶⁸ See Lapatin (1992, 108 n. 3) for the various literary sources.

²⁶⁹ Kosmopoulou 2000, 130-131. The head of Nemesis = BM 1820.5-13.2. The apotheke at Rhamnous also possesses fragments of the body of the cult statue. The relief base was formerly in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens 203-214 and 4925-4986, amongst other fragments.

little remains of the entire cult statue today, the sculpted statue base discovered at Rhamnous adds a great deal to our knowledge of late fifth century sculpture and its themes.²⁷⁰ Petrakos provides a solid reconstruction of the extant, albeit sadly fragmentary, figures of the cult statue base, which wrapped around three of its sides (**Figure 94**).

Since Pausanias gave a detailed description of his visit to Rhamnous, he focused on the statue base at the Temple of Nemesis. From his account, we are able to ascertain the identities of the characters depicted upon its surface. In contrast to the fourteen figures that survive today, twelve are described by Pausanias, including nine females and three males whose order has been debated. Pausanias was not so much concerned with their original position on the base, but instead concentrates on the familial relationships between the characters. He comments on not only who is present, but also those who are absent, such as Orestes, who “is omitted because of his crime against his mother.”²⁷¹ Helen’s presence around 430 BCE on the cult statue base is, according to Shapiro, linked to her increasing cultic presence in Attica, given her link to Nemesis, who was best known as the mother of Helen to the Athenians.²⁷²

A Neo-Attic relief in Stockholm, discovered in Rome in 1763 (**Figure 95**), has been suggested to be a copy from the Rhamnous cult statue base, but only four figures are depicted in its single panel.²⁷³ These select four were originally on the front of the base on the left-hand side, and are placed in the original order described by Pausanias. At scale, they depict a bearded male wearing a himation with a youth next to him and two female figures. Although this establishes an individual grouping of figures unique to the Neo-Attic copy, it still gives a sense of how the figures were spaced in antiquity, and the ways in which they

²⁷⁰ Studies include Kallipolitis 1980, Petrakos 1981, and Petrakos 1986.

²⁷¹ As translated by Lapatin 1992, 110.

²⁷² Shapiro 2005, 53-54.

²⁷³ Stockholm, Nationalmuseum Sk 150. For an early study of this relief, see Kjellberg 1926.

turned in space, interacted with one another, and may have interacted with the viewer. At the center of the composition are Nemesis and Helen, the two main characters, and the other figures include both Spartan characters and local heroes from Rhamnous.²⁷⁴

As reconstructed by Petrakos (**Figure 96**), the cult statue base from Rhamnous depicts an unusual scene related to birth: that of Helen, who is introduced to her biological mother, Nemesis, by her foster mother, Leda. The subject is known from Pausanias, who clearly describes the figures on the base (Paus. 1.33.7-8). This may have been a scene related to war, one that was “only natural,” according to Olga Palagia, as parallels were often drawn between the historical, contemporary Persian wars and the mythical Trojan War.²⁷⁵ As a monument to the victory of the Persian Wars, it was as such an appropriate subject matter. Petrakos also argued for a visual depiction of local mythological figures,²⁷⁶ and this has been discussed at length by various other scholars such as Lapatin.²⁷⁷ Avramidou echoes Petrakos’ theories, comparing the narrative of the statue base to that of the kylix by the Codrus Painter (**Catalogue 10**) in terms of its plethora of local identities who are witness to mythological scenes, in particular here another important presentation.²⁷⁸

Both thematically and stylistically, however, the cult statue base from the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous represents an intriguing parallel not only to vase painting of the late fifth century, but to the Erechtheion frieze, slightly later in date, as well as other sculpted statue bases of the Pheidias circle.²⁷⁹ In the years after the Persian Wars, along with multiple building projects throughout Athens and Attica, the new temple and cult statue base of

²⁷⁴ The various possibilities are discussed by Lapatin 1992, Palagia 2000, Petrakos 1981, to name a few. Particularly contentious is the unknown fourth female figure on the base, who has been proposed to be Hermione, Oinoe, Klytemnestra, and Themis; see Karanastassis 1994 for an overview.

²⁷⁵ Palagia 2000, 62.

²⁷⁶ See Lapatin 1992, 112.

²⁷⁷ Lapatin 1992.

²⁷⁸ Avramidou 77-78.

²⁷⁹ These have been most recently reviewed by Avramidou 2011, 77-78. See also Palagia 2000.

Nemesis were dedicated at the deme of Rhamnous in northeast Attica. Pausanias mentions a block of marble brought by the Persians who mistakenly thought their victory to be imminent.²⁸⁰ It was from this block of marble that the cult statue of Nemesis and its base were carved, or so the story goes. The narrative that melds history and mythology together into the very fabric of the cult image of the statue base at Rhamnous.

Furthermore, as Lapatin points out, the scene on the front of the Rhamnous cult statue base does not depict Helen's actual birth, but rather her presentation to Nemesis by Leda.²⁸¹ It therefore does not fit precisely within the narratives of birth scenes so popular in the late fifth century, as discussed by Palagia.²⁸² This is actually quite similar to this project's reading of the birth of Erichthonios as the "presentation of Erichthonios," where he is given from Ge to Athena. The choice of moments for both scenes is not coincidental: in the scenes with Erichthonios, the moment marks the reception of the child, his transferal from earth-born to goddess-reared, an analogy for the protection that Athena offers to the Athenian people. Furthermore, although Palagia states that Helen's presentation "amounts to a virtual birth scene,"²⁸³ the iconography has deeper ramifications than that. Helen thus becomes a sort of Attic heroine, and my purpose here is to demonstrate the malleability of myth and mythological figures in the late fifth century BCE. Helen's story evolves, suiting the purpose of a local Athenian and Attic population, just as Erichthonios' story becomes more complex in the course of the fifth century.

While Lapatin rightly studies the relationship between both the base and the statue it carried, a methodology that is too often neglected, the base itself is still worthy of deeper study in its own right, and could open new avenue for the study of local Attic identity

²⁸⁰ Pausanias I.33.2.

²⁸¹ Lapatin 1992, 114.

²⁸² Palagia 2000.

²⁸³ Palagia 2000, 63.

outside of Athens during the Peloponnesian War. Although not directly related to autochthony, the cast of characters depicted on the cult statue base from Rhamnous is deeply concerned with family relationships, as witnessed simply by the way Pausanias' description plays out, almost as if it were a genealogical chart. This gives credence to the idea that the Athenians found the surface of the base, frieze-like in its design, to be the perfect stage for exploring the relationships between figures related in myth and family, much in the same way that the Erechtheion frieze does.

The Rhamnous cult statue base was surely designed as a reflection of the time period of its creation, and scholars have noted that it may involve references to the Peloponnesian War.²⁸⁴ Knittlmayer, for example, saw the goddess Nemesis not only as a figure of revenge and retribution, but, in situating her and her cult at Rhamnous in the context of the Peloponnesian War, as one who could be an influence towards *sophrosyne* and moderate behavior.²⁸⁵ If the base of the cult statue is also linked to the Peloponnesian War, it is both compositionally and stylistically similar to the layout of the Erechtheion frieze, and it also resembles the paratactic surface of vases such as the Meidian pyxis (**Catalogue 21**). Thematically, while the cult statue base of Nemesis from Rhamnous does not deal with the subject of autochthony *per se*, it does demonstrate a close concern with family relationships as well as the presence of personifications. Why Pausanias chose to discuss the iconography of this base and not the Erechtheion frieze is curious, but the relationships between the figures at Rhamnous must have been immediately clear to him.

²⁸⁴ Burn 1989. Shapiro has recently (2014, 357) suggested that it is easy to recognize the “political utility of this story at the very moment that Athens was preparing to go to war with Sparta, for it makes the claim that Helen...was in reality an Athenian, conceived at Rhamnous, by a goddess who was just now taking on a new prominence with the building of her temple.” See also Shapiro 2005, 53-54.

²⁸⁵ Knittlmayer 1999.

Conclusions: The Topographical Implications of Autochthony

While this chapter has focused largely on the monuments of the Acropolis, it takes into account aspects of Athenian identity that would have been important elsewhere in Athens and also in Attica. Many of these are tied to specific locales, be it the Acropolis, the Agora, or at Rhamnous. Citizens of Athens would have certainly moved from space to space for various purposes, be it to attend an election in the Agora, shop and dine, worship on the Acropolis, or any manner of day-to-day activities, as well as to participate in frequent rituals and religious acts. Encounters with autochthony and the iconography of Athenian identity would have been both subtle and obvious; images of the myths of Erichthonios on the Acropolis and the Agora would have been immediately recognizable, and other narratives of family relationships, such as Prokne and Itys or of Nemesis and Helen at Rhamnous, demonstrated a constantly-evolving conception of Athenian history and mythology. All of these myths came together in the last decades of the fifth century, offering stability and comfort in the midst of the Peloponnesian War and Athens' gradual loss of control of her own land.

In this chapter there is a greater understanding of just how deeply the concept of autochthony permeated the landscape of the Acropolis, Athens, and Attica. Further avenues of study could extend this analysis to a geographical perspective, considering how sight lines informed the iconography between the Acropolis and the Agora. The topography of the land surely influenced the Athenian understanding of autochthony, and vice versa; its melding into the very fabric of the city accentuated the power of this concept and its endurance. Thus the understanding of autochthony can move beyond simply the iconography of Erichthonios, encouraging viewers to consider a whole range of possibilities.

Alongside this comes the consideration of other aspects of Athenian identity and iconography, manifest in the depiction of new heroes (Theseus, for example) alongside new workings of old mythological figures such as Helen at Rhamnous. The themes of autochthony were visually woven into some of the most prominent religious and civic monuments of Late Classical Athens, including the Parthenon and the Hephaisteion, but also the Eponymous Heroes monument. Collectively, these monuments stand in contrast to vase painting in their scale and accessibility, but the treatment of the myth of autochthony remains similar, and the focus on Athenian identity becomes more pronounced as the decades of the fifth century passed.

CONCLUSIONS & FURTHER STUDY

“To become a homeland, a place requires topography. To understand how a place becomes a homeland, one must know its topography...topography is a process: it requires the persistent return to history, the systematic unearthing of ruins, the conscientious recovery of traditions, and generally, the reactivation of an inherited past.”¹

The visual dimensions of Athenian autochthony in the fifth century BCE gave life to an intriguing myth rooted in the earliest history of Athens. As a core aspect of the way Athenians identified themselves and their place in the land of Attica, autochthony served multiple roles. This project has sought to trace, both diachronically and thematically, the ways that autochthony and Athenian identity were depicted in the fifth century BCE, with a special focus on the visual iconographies embedded in the Athenian topography. It has attempted to balance literary sources with material culture, creating a harmonious interpretation of autochthony's effects in the latter part of the fifth century BCE in particular. I conclusively argue that autochthony in the last decades of the fifth century took on a complex nature that closely tied the Athenians to their land through the use of allusions to the landscape as well as the careful embodiment of autochthonous themes in the very topography of Athens itself. This is accomplished by a close analysis of a variety of sources, including literary, historical, vase painting, and architecture and architectural sculpture.

Autochthony is a concept ripe with the potential to be modeled into a variety of ideologies, depending on culture, time, and circumstances. With an understanding of how historians construed autochthony as a concept that was not unique to the Athenians, the wide-ranging potential for the manipulation of autochthony can be better understood. Placing it within the wide continuum of modern times provides a number of potential ways

¹ Leontis 1995, 3.

that autochthony can be studied in the future, particularly for the understanding of the formation of the modern Greek state. Such an approach would benefit from further exploration that is presently beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Furthermore, certain aspects of autochthony in the late fifth century BCE have not been thoroughly studied from the multiple angles of literary references and visual iconographies. In the decades after the Persian Wars, the concept of autochthony was modeled in such a way as to promote Athenian imperialistic claims and expansion. In the subsequent decades, however, as the threat of Spartan invasion encroached upon Attic territory, the Athenians once again turned to autochthony to solidify their understanding of their relationship to the land. This project seeks to bring together a variety of resources to provide a more comprehensive understanding of autochthony in the late fifth century. Beginning with themes of autochthony in the historical record, we learn how authors such as Herodotus and Thucydides looked at autochthony as a quintessential aspect of the makeup of certain peoples. Understanding autochthony under the umbrella of ethnicity and identity studies helps to situate it within the context of ideas about Greek ancestry and heritage. Thucydides in particular, while never speaking of autochthony straightforwardly, clearly had at the heart of his Funeral Oration a desire to enunciate the mentality of autochthony in the well-born aspects of Athens' fallen warriors.

The theme of autochthony was also an underlying current in the "patriotic plays" of Euripides, particularly the *Ion* and the *Erechtheus*. In looking at these tragedies in detail, aspects of Athenian identity and autochthony are revealed. Euripides clearly drew upon existing traditions that regarded the autochthonous nature of the Athenians in his exploration of the past, present, and future state of Athens and its citizen inhabitants. In the case of the *Ion*, the aspect of revelation is quite literal, as the progress of the play depends on

the deepening revelation of Ion's own identity, and his journey from the place where he lives (Delphi) to the place of his birth (Athens). For the *Erechtheus*, the fragmentary nature of the play is not a hindrance in the understanding of how autochthony could be understood in the context of the city and its need for salvation, no doubt inspired by the unremitting Peloponnesian War during the time in which it was produced. The strong female protagonists of the *Ion* and the *Erechtheus*, Kreousa and Praxithea, also form the nucleus of the two plays in asserting the importance of women in the myth of autochthony. The *Ion*'s chorus also accomplishes this, acting as a bridge between the lived reality of the tragedy on the stage and the myths inherent in their descriptions of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Studying this ekphrasis in light of the theme of autochthony could be a beneficial addendum to the understanding of autochthony's visual dimensions.

This project utilizes a wide range of material culture for the exploration of autochthony's visual forms. Foremost among these is a catalogue of the most prominent vase paintings that relate to autochthony, most of which depict scenes from the presentation of Erichthonios. I have recast this iconographic motif as a presentation scene rather than a birth, arguing that the transferal of Erichthonios from Ge to Athena should be read as a presentation scene, interweaving theories regarding gift-giving and exchange in Antiquity alongside Chapter 5's analysis of the Arrephoria. Another future avenue of research could go into more depth regarding the findspots of vases. With the exception of the Meidias pyxis in Athens (**Catalogue 21**), which was discovered in a funerary pyre near the Acharnaian Gates, many of the vases in this section are said to have come from Sicily, Southern Italy, and Etruria. A further question for study could entail an examination of the relationship of these locales to a seemingly strong Attic myth, one that may not appear at first glance to have an association with the Athenian version of autochthony. One example rich with the potential

for new readings is the fragmentary calyx-krater close to the Black Fury Painter in the J. Paul Getty Museum (**Catalogue 15**). Although generally thought to be a depiction of a tragedy recast in the land of Southern Italy, it may be fruitful to look at this vase in light of understandings of Greek colonization, and especially Athenian settlement, in territories beyond their homeland.

Hephaistos forms an important nexus within this dissertation, although almost unexpectedly. My analysis of vase paintings found that his presence in scenes of the presentation of Erichthonios was intriguing – after all, his attempted rape of Athena was something largely glossed over by the literary sources of the Classical period. Yet he is consistently revealed to be an important deity in the Greek pantheon, perhaps as a mid-fifth century BCE import from Lemnos by Miltiades, father of Kimon. I examine in depth, over the course of several chapters, Hephaistos' prominent role in vase painting and architectural sculpture in myths related to Athenian ancestry, identity, and autochthony. In the future, an extended study of Hephaistos' role in the sphere of Classical Athens would be ideal, particularly in relationship to his festivals and evidence for his worship.

The Erechtheion has provided the focus point for much of this research. A unique temple in style and form, it is seemingly born from the earth itself in its incorporation of earlier cult places on the Acropolis as well as its pronouncement of the landscape of the Acropolis. Furthermore, until now, the frieze has not been effectively tapped for its interpretive potential; the early theories of Ludwig Pallat have been well accepted and augmented with closer analysis. The addition of vases discovered in the last century, however, adds to this picture. Further work on the Erechtheion frieze in the form of drawings or digital reconstructions could be quite beneficial for a greater understanding of

the frieze's construction; this will only be possible with more access to the various fragments in storage and the time to study them closely.

Most importantly, the iconographic fabric of autochthony was woven together in Athens' topography and the placement of myths related to Athenian identity in the landscape of the city. In particular, in the second half of the fifth century BCE, Athens built upon and incorporated already existing structures into the elaborate so-called "Periklean building program," from which the Parthenon and other Acropolis monuments were constructed. Yet the creation of the Temple of Athena Nike, the Erechtheion, and the Hephaisteion all gave way to a new rendering of architectural sculpture. Thematically and stylistically complex, each of these monuments' iconographies gave weight not only to the concepts of Athenian identity but their placement within the landscape of Athens. Their close study from the perspective of the concept of autochthony is of considerable importance for understanding just how grounded, variable, and visible autochthony became in the Athenian topographical landscape.

In summary, autochthony clearly had a demonstrable place in the Athenian *polis*; this has been long known. By the late fifth century, however, it was firmly embedded in the topography of the Athenian land itself, a reciprocal arrangement that drew upon the integral components of the ancestral myth of the Athenians' origins, expanding it into a literary and visual *topos* that exhibited a strong presence in the heart of the ancient city. In encountering autochthony on a daily basis in the civic and religious spheres of Late Classical Athens, the Athenians could understand their ancestry and origins, but moreover, they were able to find comfort and persistence in their claim to their homeland. Through a thorough understanding of autochthony's relationship with the gods, especially Athena and Hephaistos, and with the heroes and early kings of Athens, including Erichthonios and

Erechtheus, the complex iconography that emerged solidified Athens' claim to the land from which they were said to have been born. Ironically, this assertion was not to last, given the victory of the Peloponnesian League in 404 BCE and the subsequent years of Athenian uncertainty and lack of political control. The city of images and the city of autochthony, however, persisted through a rich collection of iconography related to Athenian identity and their relationship to the land that they inhabited.

Appendix 1: Vases

- Bibliography includes all discussions of the vase known to me, but does not claim to be exhaustive
- *BAPD* # is given for all vases (as available), as well as *ABV* or *ARV*². Others (*Paralipomana*, *Addenda*, etc.) can be found using the *BAPD* reference
- All vases are Attic unless otherwise indicated

Catalogue 1 (Figure 1): Black-figure fragment of a skyphos-krater attributed to Sophilos. c. 590-580 BCE. Athens, Acropolis Museum 585a. Perhaps from the same vase as Catalogue 2

Subject: Two female figures and a male (Kekrops and his daughters?), inscription ΠΑΝΔΡΟΣΟΣ, remnants of a kerykeion (Hermes?)

Bibliography: *BAPD* 305076; *ABV* 40.17; *LIMC* s.v. Aglauros 4; Bakır 1981, 26, fig. 17, pl. 35, ill. 64, pl. 36, ill. 67-68; Shapiro 1989, 104-105, pl. 49c; Shapiro 1995b, 41, fig. 4; Shapiro 1998, fig. 1; Kilmer and Develin 2001, 26-27; Gourmelen 2004, fig. 1 (drawing); Sourvinou-Inwood 2008, pl. 8a; Alexandridou 2011, 63, cat. Akropolis 22

Catalogue 2 (Figure 2): Black-figure fragment of a skyphos-krater attributed to Sophilos. c. 590-580 BCE. Athens, Acropolis Museum 585b. Perhaps from the same vase as Catalogue 1

Subject: Horse, inscription ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ, male figure

Bibliography: *BAPD* 305077; *ABV* 40.18; Bakır 1981, 26, fig. 18, pl. 35, ill. 65; Shapiro 1989, 104-105, pl. 49c; Kilmer and Develin 2001, 26-27; Sourvinou-Inwood 2008, pl. 8b; Alexandridou 2011, 63, cat. Akropolis 22

Catalogue 3 (Figure 3): Black-figure votive pinax from the South Slope of the

Acropolis. c. 550 BCE. Athens, 1st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities NA
57.AK.2

Subject: Two female figures and a partially preserved male facing towards the right
(Kekrops and his daughters?)

Bibliography: Shapiro 2008, 169, fig. 8

Catalogue 4 (Figure 4 and 5): Black-figure white ground lekythos attributed to the
Ampurias Painter. c. 500-480 BCE. Palermo, Collezione Mormino 769

Subject: Kekrops, Hephaistos, Athena, and Ge, with the child Erichthonios (largely
missing)

Bibliography: *BAPD* 270; *LIMC* s.v. Ge 13, pl. 97; *CVA* Palermo Collezione Mormino
4, pl. 3.4-6; Bérard 1974, 36; Kron 1976, E1, pl. 1.1-3, K1; Brommer 1978, 21; Schefold and
Jung 1988, 67, figs. 64 and 65; Grabow 1998, pl. 34.K213; Gourmelen 2004, fig. 9 (drawing);
Crucas 2007, 75, figs. 5-6.

Catalogue 5 (Figure 6): Red-figure hydria attributed to the Oinante Painter. c. 470-
460 BCE. London, British Museum E 182 (GR 1837.6-9.54)

Subject: Presentation of Erichthonios, including Zeus, inscription ΟΙΝΑΝΘΕΚΑΛΕ

Bibliography: *BAPD* 206695; *ARV²* 580.2, 1615; *CVA* London, British Museum 6
(Great Britain 8), pl. 85.1a-b; *LIMC* s.v. Athena, 477, pl. 754; *LIMC* s.v. Ge 14; *LIMC* s.v.
Erechtheus 3; Cook 1940, 182-184, pl. 22; Metzger 1944-45, 330-332, fig. 12; Papaspyridi-
Karusu 1954-55, 82; Simon 1959, 51; Bérard 1974, 36-37, pl. 2, fig. 6; Kron 1976, E2, 56-58;
Neils 1983, 275, fig. 2; Mark 1984, 313, n. 119; Arafat 1990, pl. 12a; Gantz 1993, 236; Loraux
1993, viii, 135-136, pl. 3; Reeder 1995, 253-255, cat. 67; Mannack 2001, 20, fig. 3.6 (drawing);

Lewis 2002, 18, 221 n. 18; Castor 2006, 627 n. 9; Cruccas 2007, 76, fig. 8; Bundrick 2008, 327, fig. 17; Kennedy 2009, fig. 7; Avramidou 2011, 34; Räuchle 2015, 4-5, fig. 1

Catalogue 6 (Figures 7 and 8): Red-figure pelike fragments. c. 470-460 BCE.

Antikenmuseum, Universität Leipzig T654

Subject: Side A: Presentation of Erichthonios; Side B: overturned basket; hems and feet of several women

Bibliography: *BAPD* 206765; *ARV*² 585.35, 1660; Bérard 1974, pl. 1, fig. 3; Kron 1976, E3, pl. 2.1-2; Robertson 1983, 248; Brulé 1987, fig. 8, fig. 22; Shapiro 1995b, 46, figs. 19-20; Panvini and Giudice 2003, 133, table 4.8; Castor 2006, 626; Weiß 2013; Räuchle 2015, 20 n. 6

Catalogue 7 (Figures 9 and 10): Red-figure pelike attributed to the Erichthonios

Painter. c. 440-430 BCE. London, British Museum E 372 (GR 1864.10-7.125)

Subject: Side A: Athena and Erichthonios; Side B: two striding females

Bibliography: *BAPD* 216598; *ARV*² 1218.1; *LIMC* s.v. Aglauros, Herse Pandrosos 18; *LIMC* s.v. Athena 480; *LIMC* Erechtheus 36; Becatti 1960, 420, fig. 512; Hopper 1963, 3, pl. 1c; Hopper 1971, 53; Brommer 1973, 263, no. B7; Kron 1976, 71, 252, E28, pl. 7.3; Keuls 1985, 123, 125, fig. 107; Boardman 1989, 98 fig. 250a; Gantz 1993, 236-237; Reeder 1995, 257-258, cat. 69; Oakley 2009, 74, fig. 43

Catalogue 8 (Figures 11 - 12): Red-figure neck amphora by the Providence Painter. c.

460 BCE. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 158.

Subject: Side A: Hephaistos' pursuit of Athena; Side B: draped male figure with scepter

or thyrsos

Bibliography: *BAPD* 207370; *ARV*² 636.19, 1663; *LIMC* s.v. Athena 475; Cook 1940, 221, fig. 141 Shapiro 1998, 135, 138, fig. 7; Wescoat 2012, 183 n. 384

Catalogue 9 (Figures 13 – 16): Red-figure stamnos by the Painter of Munich 2413. 470-455 BCE. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung 2413.

Subject: Side A: Presentation of Erichthionios, with Hephaistos and Athena, two erotes flanking; Side B: Zeus enthroned holding libation, Nike, two erotes

Bibliography: *BAPD* 205571; *ARV*² 495; *CVA* Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 5 (Germany 20), pls. 252-255.1-2; *ThesCRA* VIII, pl. 46, cat. 89; *LIMC* s.v. Ge 16; *LIMC* s.v. Hephaistos 217; Greifenhagen 1957, 26, 72, figs. 21-24; Simon 1959, ill. 44; Bérard 1974, pl. 2, fig. 5; Kron 1976, E4; Schefold 1981, p. 53, figs 63-64; Kardara 1982, fig. 8; Simon 1985b, 71, 81 n. 50; Brulé 1987, fig. 3; Arafat 1990, pl. 13; Morris 1992, fig. 49; Robertson 1992, p. 177, figs. 186-187; Villing 1992, 94 n. 21; Reeder 1995, 255-256, cat. 68; Shapiro 2003, 89, fig. 3; Cruccas 2007, 77, fig. 9; Avramidou 2007, 34; Forsdyke 2012, 130, fig. 3; Kyrieleis 2012/2013, 71, fig. 15

Catalogue 10 (Figures 17 – 19): Red-figure kylix by the Codrus Painter. 440-430 BCE. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung Preussischer Kulturbesitz F 2537

Subject: Exterior, Side A: Presentation of Erichthonios; Exterior, Side B: Assembly of Athenian kings, daughters of Kekrops; Tondo: Eos and Kephalos

Bibliography: *BAPD* 217211; *ARV*² 1268.2, 1689; Bérard 1974, pl. 2, fig. 4; Kron 1976, E5, pl. 4.2, 5.2, K3; Metzger 1976, 298-302; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 92, cat. 201; Schefold 1981, 54, figs. 65-66; Brulé 1987, fig. 6; Beaumont 1995, fig. 4; Gourmelen 2004,

fig. 10; Reeder 1995, 258-260, no. 70; Deacy 2008, fig. 8 (drawing); Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 179, no. 75; Calame 2009, 124-126, fig. 3; Avramidou 2011, 7, 9, 102-103, figs. 2.1, 2.5-2.6, pl. 3a-c; Seifert 2011, pl. VI, ill. 12; Shapiro 2012, 182; Forsdyke 2012, 125, fig. 1-2, 128; Ogden 2013, fig. 7.3

Catalogue 11 (Figures 20 - 21): Ram's head red-figure rhyton attributed to the Triptolemos Painter and signed by Charinos as potter. c. 480-470 BCE. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 79.100

Subject: Symposium of Attic kings

Bibliography: *BAPD* 7537; Neils 1980, 221, 224-225, no. 37, ill. 151; Guy 1981; Shapiro 1981, 84-87, cat. 32 (cat. entry by J. Neils); Mayo 1985, 432, fig. 6; Schefold 1988, 67-68, figs. 66-67; Mattusch 1994, 77, fig. 5; Bundrick 2005, 81, fig. 49; Castor 2006, 627 n. 9; Ebbinghaus 2008, 149-151, fig. 2; Topper 2009, 14-16; Topper 2012, 23-27, fig. 10; Matheson 2014, 141-142, fig. 1

Catalogue 12 (Figures 22 – 25): Calyx-krater by the Nikias Painter (signed). c. 410 BCE. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 81.70

Subject: Side A: Presentation of Erichthonios (figures identified by inscriptions); Side B: Eos and Kephalos

Bibliography: *BAPD* 10158; *LIMC* s.v. Eos 124; *LIMC* s.v. Hephaistos 11, pl. 632; *LIMC* s.v. Erechtheus 11, pl. 632; Neils 1983, 277, fig. 7; Mayo 1985, 430, 432-433, figs. 8-10; Oakley 1987; Boardman 1989, 167, fig. 322; Arafat 1990, 52-53, 56-57, 188, no. 2.25, pl. 15; Carpenter 1991, 74, fig. 111; Reeder 1995, 260-262, cat. 71; Neils and Oakley 2003, 88, 143, 208, no. 6; Shapiro 1998, 142-144, figs. 14-15; Villing 2000, 366 fig. 5; Shapiro 2009b,

264, fig. 7; Avradmidou 2011, 34; Thomsen 2011, 11, 210-211, figs. 5, 90-91, cat. A67;
Richmond 2014, 251-252

Catalogue 13 (Figures 26 – 27): Red-figure calyx-krater in the manner of the Talos Painter. Late 5th century BCE. Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale di Palermo 2365

Subject: Side A: Presentation of Erichthonios; Side B: Eos and Kephalos

Bibliography: *BAPD* 217525; *ARV*² 1339.3; Cook 1940, 187-188, pl. 24; Papaspyridi-Karusu 1954-55, 82, fig. 36.3; Kron 1976, E7, pl. 4.1, K6; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 86, cat. 125; Villing 1992, 133, ill. 9; Reeder 1995, 262-264, cat. 72; Bundrick 2008, 326-327

Catalogue 14 (Figures 28 – 30): Red-figure rhyton by the Sotades Painter. c. 470-450 BCE. London, British Museum E 788 (1873.8-20.265)

Subject: Kekrops, Nike, two women, two goddesses with scepters, draped youth, satyr

Bibilography: *BAPD* 209465; *ARV*² 764.8; *CVA* London, British Museum 4, III.Ic.8, pl. 40.1a-d, 42.1a-c; *LIMC* s.v. Erysichthon II 5; *LIMC* s.v. Sphinx 2a; *LIMC* s.v. Kekrops 16; Kron 1976, K3; Hoffman 1994, 72-74, figs. 4.1-4.8; Shapiro 1995b, 45, figs. 14-18; Schefold 1988, 69, figs. 68-70; Boardman 1989, fig. 106; Williams 1992, fig. 10; Hoffmann 1997, 78, 81, 83-86, figs. 40, 42-47; Gourmelen 2004, fig. 16 (drawing); Aston 2011, 124, fig. 27; Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011, 97, fig. 41

Catalogue 15 (Figure 31): Red-figure fragment of a South Italian (Apulian) calyx-krater, close to the Black Fury Painter. c. 380s BCE. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.93

Subject: Kekrops and his daughters, Athena, Erysichthon

Bibliography: *BAPD* 1001902; *CVA* Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 3, 11-12, pl. (1316)

142.1-2; *LIMC* Erysichthon II 2, pl. 11, 6; *LIMC* s.v. Erechtheus 31; *LIMC* s.v. Erysichthon II 2; *LIMC* s.v. Kekrops 14; Neils 1983, 279 fig. 10; Simon 1983, 45-46, pls. 12, 2 and 13; Brulé 1987, fig. 14; Taplin 2007, 221-222, cat. 83; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 166, fig. 4

Catalogue 16 (Figures 32 – 33): Red-figure column-krater attributed to the Orchard Painter. c. 470-460 BCE. San Antonio Museum of Art 86.134G

Subject: Side A: Athenian punishing the daughters of Kekrops; Side B: Youth and two women

Bibliography: *BAPD* 6595; *LIMC* s.v. Erechtheus 29, pl 633; Shapiro 1981, 20-23, cat. 4; Shapiro 1995b, 43, fig. 11; Rosenzweig 2004, fig. 36; Cruccas 2007, 78 fig. 12; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 166 fig. 3

Catalogue 17 (Figures 34 - 35): Red-figure alabastron attributed to the Karlsruhe Painter. c. 470-460 BCE. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 17917

Subject: Athena moving to the right, pursuing Aglauros

Bibliography: *BAPD* 209099; *ARV*² 735.107; Schmidt 1968, 203, pl. 76.1-2; Shapiro 1995b, 44 figs. 12-13; Dillon 2002, 59-60; Badinou 2003, 215, no. A 335, pl. 118; Connelly 2007, 31-32; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 182-183, cat. 77

Catalogue 18 (Figures 36): Red-figure lekythos, Phiale Painter. c. 435-430 BCE. Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig BS 404

Subject: Athena moving to the left, pursuing Aglauros; snake between them

Bibliography: *BAPD* 376; *LIMC* s.v. Aglauros-Herse-Pandrosos 19; *CVA* Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 3, 54-55, pls. (341, 344, 346) 29.7-8/32.2-3, 34.4;

Schmidt 1968, pls. 73-74; Kron 1976, E29; Schefold 1981, 51, fig. 61; Oakley 1982, pl. 9c; Brulé 1987, fig. 17; Oakley 1990, 35, 83, fig. 13b, pl. 84; Reeder 1995, 253, cat. 66; Cruccas 2007, fig. 14; Oakley 2009, 74 fig. 42; Hutchinson 2011, 246, fig. 13.1; Ogden 2013, fig. 7.4

Catalogue 19 (Figure 37): Red-figure fragment of a vase. c. 450-440 BCE. Paris, Musée du Louvre 980.0820

Subject: Erichthonios emerging from a basket; fragment of female figure

Bibliography: *LIMC* s.v. Erechtheus 30; Oakley 1982; Brulé 1987, fig. 23

Catalogue 20 (Figures 38 – 40): Red-figure squat lekythos attributed to the Meidias Painter. c. 420-400 BCE. Cleveland Museum of Art, 82.142

Subject: Presentation of Erichthonios; female personifications; daughters of Kekrops

Bibliography: *BAPD* 10161; *LIMC* Attike 5; *CVA* Cleveland, Museum of Art 2, 35-37, fig. 5, pls. (1818-1820) 72.1-4, 73.1-2, 74.1-2; Neils 1983; Burn 1987, pl. 11, 12a-b; Neils 2001, 179 fig. 133; Rosenzweig 2004, 51-52, fig. 37a-c; Lorenz 2007, fig. 6.5; Neils 2007, 299, fig. 10; Franks 2009, 461 n. 14; Smith 2011, fig. 8.1, cat. VP 29

Catalogue 21 (Figures 41 – 45): Red-figure pyxis with lid. Attributed to the Meidias Painter or his workshop. From Athens, found in a pyre in a cemetery outside the Acharnaian Gates. c. 420-400 BCE. Athens, Archaeological Collection of III Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, A 8922

Subject: Body: Athena pursues daughters of Kekrops; Lid: presentation of Erichthonios (?); inscriptions for all figures

Bibliography: *BAPD* 44371; *LIMC* s.v. Eunoe 1; *LIMC* s.v. Pylios I 1; *LIMC* s.v.

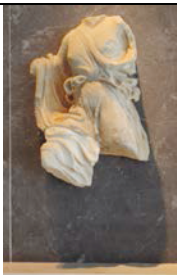
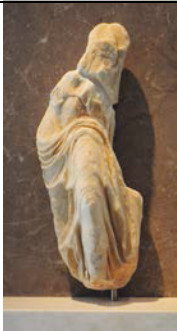

Soteria 2; *LIMC* s.v. Erechtheus 30a; *LIMC* s.v. Phylonoe IV 1; Alexandri 1976 30 pl. 35a; Shapiro 1986, 134-135; Burn 1987, 21-22; Oakley 1987, 127, n. 28; Parker 1987, 196 n. 40; Shapiro 1993, 37, 231, no. 4, fig. 4; Shapiro 1998, 144, 382, n. 85; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 162, 180-181, cat. 76; Smith 2011, 83, 162, cat. VP 31



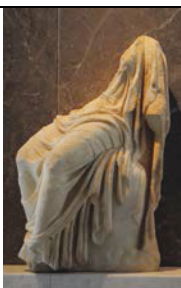


Catalogue 22 (Figures 46 – 48): Red-figure calyx-krater attributed to the Kekrops Painter. c. 410-400 BCE. Adolphseck, Museum Schloss Fasanerie, Hessische Hausstiftung AV 77



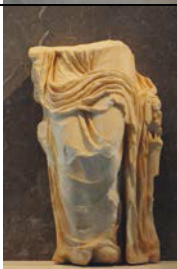

Subject: Athena with phiale, Kekrops with scepter, sheep, and phiale, Hephaistos





Bibliography: *BAPD* 217589; *ARV*² 1346.1; *CVA* Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 1, 32-36, pls. (524-526) 46, 47, 48.1-2; *LIMC* s.v. Erechtheus 10, pl. 403; *LIMC* s.v. Hephaistos 220; *LIMC* s.v. Europe I 218, pl. 175; *LIMC* s.v. Herakles 2310; *LIMC* s.v. Kekrops 9; *LIMC* s.v. Gorgo, Gorgones 177, pl. 175; *LIMC* s.v. Aglauros-Herse-Pandrosos 8; Bérard 1974, 37; Kron 1976, E11, pl. 5.1, K8; Neils 1983, 281, figs. 11-12; Schefold 1988, 152, fig. 190; Reeder 1995, 265-266, cat. 73; Lochin 2000; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 165, fig. 2a-b; Shapiro 2009b; Naiden 2013, 58 fig. 2.4; Smith 2011, fig. 9.1; Thomsen 2011, cat. A70; Kokkinou 2014, 250-251, fig. 3 & 4

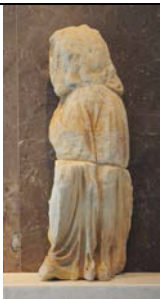



Appendix 2: Sculptural fragments from the Erechtheion



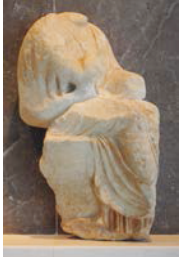

<u>Akr. Acc. #</u>	<u>Thumbnail</u>	<u>Identification</u>	<u>Pallat (1912)</u>	<u>Fowler in Paton et al. (1927)</u>	<u>Boulter (1970)</u>	<u>Additional Bibl.</u>	<u>Notes</u>
2825		Upper part of female figure running to the left/forward wearing chiton; "winged Nike type" (Casson 1921)	31, 4	4; fig. 151 (drawing of back)	Master I; pl. 1-2a & b	Casson 1921, 24; Trianti 1998, fig. 344	
1077		Female figure in front view	33, 17	78	Master I; pl. 3a & b; pl. 4a & b	Trianti 1998, fig. 382	"one of the finest fragments of the frieze" (Fowler 262)
284		Female torso in front view	284	58	Master I; pl. 5a; fig. 1		





2844		Fragment of a running female figure	33, 13	74	Master I; pl. 5b		
1209		Fragment of a female figure, torso in front view, wearing chiton and himation	32, 1	23	Master I; fig. 2		
1072		Seated female figure wearing chiton, girdle, and himation	31,13	13	Master II; pl. 6a & b; pl. 7a & b	Trianti 1998, fig. 373	
1238		Lower part of a seated female figure wearing chiton, kolpos, himation, and apoptygma, seated on rock (?)	31, 10	10	Master II; pl. 8a & b; pl. 9a & b	Trianti 1998, fig. 342; Koukouli 1967, fig. 96 [top right]	
1288		Lower part of two figures, one kneeling, the other standing	32, 27	49	Master II; pl. 10a & b	Trianti 1998, fig. 365	

1071		Two female figures moving to the right (Harrison: Pelias helped by his eldest daughter)	33, 16	77	Master III; pl. 11; pl. 12 a & b	Harrison 2002, pl. 36d; Trianti 1998, fig. 383; Ridgway 1981, fig. 62	
1076		Seated female figure leaning back in a chair	33, 24	85	Master III; pl. 13; pl. 14a & b; pl. 16b	Trianti 1998, fig. 380	
1239		Lower part of a female figure in front view wearing himation and kolpos rising from a chair (or half seated in or leaning against)	31, 17	18; fig. 152; fig. 153 (drawing)	Master III; pl. 15, pl. 16a		Athena? (Schoene); Zeus? (Casson 1921) Fowler (251) compares the kolpos to the base of Nemesis at Rhamnous
1237		Seated female wearing chiton and himation figure holding a boy on her lap	31, 11	11	Master III; pl. 17a & b; pl. 18a & b; fig. 3	Trianti 1998, fig. 349; Ridgway 1981, fig. 64	Said to have been found in front of North Portico (Fowler 249)







1073		A man and a kneeling youth	33, 5	66	Master IV; pl. 19a & b; pl. 20a & b	Holzmann 2000; Trianti 1998, fig. 374; Räuchle 2015, fig. 7; Ridgway 1981, fig. 61	Belongs to main building Composed of four parts
No acc. #		Lower part of a female figure standing beside a chair	1912, figs. 9-14	56	Master IV; pl. 21a & b; pl. 23b		Pillar-like leg of the chair is preserved
1075		Woman seated with a boy on her lap	33, 23	84	Master V; pl. 22; pl. 23a	Trianti 1998, fig. 354; Koukouli 1967, fig. 97 [left]; Räuchle 2015, fig. 5	Found in front of the North Portico Many suggestions: Kourotrophos, Demeter and Iacchus, Athena and Erichthonios, Pandrosus and Erichthonios
1201		Crouching female figure	32, 26	48; fig. 158	Master V; fig. 6	Trianti 1998, fig. 350	






1245; 2819		Standing female figure in front view	33, 15	76 (upper part); 76 (lower part)	Master VI; pl. 24a & b	Trianti 1998, fig. 371	Fowler suggests specific dowel holes into which it fit
1249		Fragment of a female figure moving to the right, wearing chiton and himation	32, 5	27; fig. 154 [back]	Master VI; fig. 7		
1251		Fragment of a female figure in front view	33, 18	79	Master VI; fig. 8		With 1198, perhaps the Charites? (Pallat)
Sir John Soane's Museum		Female figure running to the right		112	Master VII; pl. 25a-c		Not published before Fowler From frieze of North Portico Identified by Ashmole






1300		Fragment of a female figure in a himation	31, 7	7	unassigned; fig. 9		
1074		Lower part of female figure stepping forward, wearing a chiton and himation	31, 6	6	unassigned; pl. 26a & b	Trianti 1998, fig. 356	
2830; 2830a		Two fragments of a seated female figure facing right wearing a chiton and himation. Seated on a rounded seat.	31, 8	8	unassigned; pl. 27	Trianti 1998, fig. 351	
1234		Lower part of female figure seated on a rock, wearing chiton and himation	31, 12	12	unassigned; pl. 28b; fig. 10	Trianti 1998, fig. 368	






1078		Female figure seated on a rock	33, 26	87	unassigned; pl. 28a & b	Trianti 1998, fig. 355	
2843		Right breast and part of the raised upper arm of a female figure, wearing chiton and himation	32, 3	25	unassigned; fig. 11	Trianti 1998, fig. 362	
1291		Fragment of a female figure moving to the left, wearing a chiton	31, 5	5	unassigned; pl. 29b; fig. 12		
1284		Fragment of a female figure facing left, probably standing	31, 15	15	unassigned; figs. 13-14	Trianti 1998, figs. 363 & 381	






2820		Seated female figure facing right	33, 25	86	Unassigned; pl. 29a		
17056 [AS 158 (Agora)]		Fragment of right upper half of draped torso			unassigned; figs. 15-16	Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 4	From loose fill in the area between Wells A and C in Broneer's 1938 excavations
1293		Draped figure with omphalos in lap	33, 22	83	pl. 30; fig. 17 & 18	Leventi 2014 fig. 23; Trianti 1998, fig. 370	Roman (Boulter) Ge or Themis (Pallat) Apollo (Casson)
1263		Seated female figure on a rock		B	figs. 19 & 20	Not published before Fowler	Questionable frieze; possible traces of dowel hole? Not published before Fowler
17055 [AS 61 (Agora)]		Fragment of a draped figure			p. 24, fig. 21	Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 1	Possibly from North Porch (Glowacki 1995)





17059 [AS 123 (Agora)]		Fragment of right shoulder and arm of draped figure			p. 24, figs. 22, 23	Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 3	From a late pit east of the Church of the Metamorphosis of the Savior
17060 [AS 187 (Agora)]		Foot and drapery of standing female figure, possibly a child (?)			p. 24, fig. 24	Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 7	Built into the wall of a modern house north of the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite
17062 [AS 63 (Agora)]		Fragment of drapery from a moving figure			p. 24, fig. 25	Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 2	From modern fill northwest of the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite
17057 [AS 175 (Agora)]		Fragment of the neck and shoulder of a draped female figure			p. 24, fig. 26	Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 6	From Broneer's 1938 excavations, late fill west of Well A
17061 [AS 164 (Agora)]		Fragment of hanging drapery			p. 24, fig. 27	Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 5	From Broneer's 1938 excavations, area of Well B
1285		Upper part of female figure wearing thin chiton, seated	31, 18; 1935, p. 79	19		Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 10; Broneer 1933, 350, fig. 21; Broneer 1935, fig. 24; Pallat 1935, p. 137-138, fig. 24; Pallat 1935, p. 79	Also referred to as 1285, according to my permit from the New Acropolis Museum No inv. # according to Glowacki

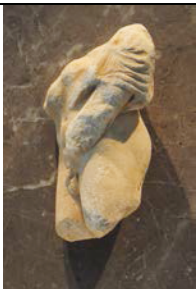



No inv. # (7236)		Lower part of female figure seated on rock	1935, p. 79			Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 9; Broneer 1933, 349-50, fig. 20; Pallat 1935, p. 79, 83, 125	According to Akr. Museum permit, this is no. 7236 Probably from the North Porch
13815		Upper part of female head	1935, p. 81-82		Fig. 4	Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 11; Broneer 1935, no. 12a, p. 138; fig. 25	From late fill at the northwest corner of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros – earth dumped from the Akr. Excavations? Possibly from the North Porch
No inv. # (now 13816)		Left foot	1935, p. 82			Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 12; Broneer 1935, no. 12b, fig. 26; Jacob 2014	<i>Non vidi</i> – being studied by Raphael Jacob (publ. 2014) Possibly from the North Porch
13817		Left foot	1935, p. 82			Broneer 1935, no. 12c, p. 138, fig. 26; Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 13	From late fill southeast of the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite Possibly from the North Porch
13818		Upper part of right arm with drapery	1935, p. 81, 83			Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 14; Broneer 1935, no. 12d, p. 127, fig. 27	From late fill above the ramp leading into the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite Probably from the North Porch

13819		Small fragment of drapery				Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 15; Broneer 1935, no. 12e, p. 139, fig. 27	Attribution to the frieze is not certain Found among marble chips in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros
13820		Fragment of draped figure in chariot				Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 16; Broneer 1935, no. 12f, p. 139, fig. 28, pl. I	Found southeast of the Peripatos inscription and just below cave Q
13821		Hind leg of horse on base	1935, p. 80, 83, 127-128			Glowacki 1995, Appendix A, no. 17; Broneer 1935, no. 12g, p. 139, fig. 28	Found in late fill directly above ramp leading into Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite Probably from North Porch
AS 196 (= Akr. 7236)		Corinthian helmet				Glowacki pl. 65a & b	Possibly from the North Porch; from mixed fill near the area of the so-called "Skyphos Sanctuary."
10265		Kourotrophos figure				Brouskari 1988, no. 1, pl. 15:1, 2	From the sekos (Brouskari 1988) Found in 1969 in the courtyard of the Kanellopoulos Museum






10266		Torso of a man				Brouskari 1988, no. 2, pl. 15:3, 4	From the sekos (Brouskari 1998) Found in 1969 in an old house south of the Church of St. Nikolaos
2824		Lower part of a seated female figure				Brouskari 1988, no. 3, pl. 16:1, 2	From the sekos (Brouskari 1998)
13392		Torso of a man (from North Porch)				Brouskari 1988 no. 4, pl. 16: 3-4; 17:1	North Porch (Brouskari 1988)
9356		Rock and drapery				Brouskari 1988 no. 5, pl. 17: 2	North Porch (Brouskari 1988)
9361		Rock and drapery				Brouskari 1988 no. 6, pl. 17: 3, 4	North Porch (Brouskari 1988)






6895		Piece of clothing and part of the right foot				Brouskari 1988 no. 7, pl. 17: 5	North Porch (Brouskari 1988)
9360		Peplophoros				Brouskari 1988 no. 8, pl. 18: 1-3	North Porch (Brouskari 1988)
7234		Folds of drapery				Brouskari 1988 no. 9, pl. 17: 6	North Porch (Brouskari 1988)
4895		Draped thigh				Brouskari 1988 no. 10, pl. 18: 4-5; 19: 1	North Porch (Brouskari 1988) Fits with Akr. 2825.
9357		Fragment of trunk of young nude man				Brouskari 1988 no. 11, pl. 19: 2	North Porch (Brouskari 1988)






13130		Fragment of the trunk of a horse				Brouskari 1988 no. 12, pl. 19:3	North Porch (Brouskari 1988)
9432		Right thigh of a man and genitals				Brouskari 1988 no. 13, pl. 19:4	North Porch (Brouskari 1988)
1133		Rear part of pair of horses facing left	1912, p. 178f. figs. 15-18	109			
1169	[no image]			H			Questionable frieze (Casson)
1195		Fragment of a draped male (?) in frontal view	33, 3	64			Belongs to main building






1196		Nude male in profile to left	34, 5	92			Holding a staff or spear (see Fowler p. 264)
1197		Torso of a nude male figure	33, 8	69			Belongs to main building
1198		Torso of a standing female figure in front view	33, 19	80		Koukouli 1967, fig. 97 [right]	With 1251, perhaps the Charites? (Pallat)
1199		Upper part of standing female figure wearing chiton, kolpos, apodygma	31, 19 a.	20			






1200		Standing male figure	33, 7	68			Belongs to main building
1202		Breast of female figure	32, 6	28; fig. 155 [back]		Trianti 1998, fig. 358	
1203		Fragment of lower portion of female figure	32, 30	52			
1204		Lower part of female figure	34, 3	90			
1205		Fragment of female figure's feet	32, 32	54		Trianti 1998, fig. 367	
1206		Left shoulder and upper arm of female figure	33, 10	71			




1208; 2821		Two fragments of a female figure	34, 1	88			
1216		Left shoulder of a female figure	33, 11	72		Trianti 1998, fig. 364	
1217		Part of left leg	34, 8	95			
1220		Knees, probably a female figure	32, 29	51			
1221		Female figure, mid-torso	32, 24	46			





1227		Torso of female figure wearing sleeveless chiton	32, 8	30			
No acc. #		Head of a female figure		57		Casson p. 175	Hole in head – for meniskos? Back of head is flat, so it belonged to the frieze
No acc. #		Left shoulder and part of breast of female figure		102			Formerly 4865 (see Fowler p. 266) Not published before Fowler
No acc. #	[no image]	Left arm of standing figure		D			Questionable frieze Not published before Fowler 1927
No acc. #		Foot		K			Found under Christian pavement of the southeast Erechtheion Not published before Fowler 1927
Berlin Mus.		Left human foot		103			Foot placed on rock Not published before Fowler






Berlin Mus.		Irregular fragment		104			Probably a piece of rock from the seat of a figure Scene from the right Not published before Fowler
Berlin Mus.		Hinder part of a horse in motion		110			Not published before Fowler
Berlin Mus.		Leg of an animal (horse?)		111			Not published before Fowler
Berlin Mus. 1768		Youthful female head		L		Schroeder, <i>Alkamenes-Studien</i> pl. II, fig. 5	
Fitzwilliam Mus.		Lower part of figure		98			Not published before Fowler From the cella Brought from Athens in 1840



1229		Standing nude male	33, 6	67			Pallat thought it was modern; Casson suggested Harmodius and Aristogeiton, along with Fowler no. 69 Belongs to the main building
1235		Two horses with chariot and nude male figure	34, 11	106		Trianti 1998, figs. 347-348; 376	Pallat (1912, 184) placed this fragment near the center of the eastern front
1236a		Right leg and foot behind a drum-like object		A		Casson 1921	
1236b		Breast and part of body of a horse	34, 10	105			Frieze of cella? (Pallat)
1239a		Torso of a male figure		F			





1240		Torso of female figure wearing sleeveless chiton	32, 9	31; fig. 156 [back]			
1241		Fragment of a draped limb	32, 11	33; fig. 157 [back]			Left elbow? (Pallat)
1242		Fragment of a male figure	34, 4	91			
1244		Lower part of female figure in a long chiton	32, 12	34		Trianti 1998, fig. 361	
1246		Female figure in front view	32, 16	38			





1247		Small fragment of drapery	32, 31	53			
1248		Fragment of seated man	33, 1	62		Trianti 1998, fig. 379	Belongs to main building
1250		Right shoulder and breast of female figure in sleeveless chiton	32, 4	26		Trianti 1998, fig. 357	
1255		Small fragment of a standing or walking female figure	34, 2	89			
1261		Figure in half profile to the right	32, 17	39			
1262		Lower part of female figure	34, 6	93			

1266		Wing with feathers		C		Casson 1921	Questionable frieze; Casson (1921) thought it belonged to 2825 (Fowler #4)
1269		Lower part of standing draped figure		E			Questionable frieze (Casson)
1270		Right shoulder and breast of female figure in ungirt chiton	32, 2	24			
1271		Abdomen and thigh of standing male figure		100		Jacob 2014	Not published before Fowler Joins with Akr. 7171, 4254, and 13816






1275		Fragment of a male (?)'s knees	33, 2	63			Belongs to main building
1280		Quadriga galloping to left	34, 13	108		Trianti 1998, fig. 341	
1281		Female figure seated to the right	33, 21	82		Trianti 1998, fig. 360	
1282		Fragment of a quadriga galloping to the left	34, 12	107		Trianti 1998, fig. 340	Western frieze of north portico
1283		Thighs of a female figure	32, 22	44			





1286		Lower part of female figure wearing himation	32, 13	35		Trianti 1998, fig. 343	
1287a		Thighs and waist of a female figure	32, 19	41			
1287b		Lower part of female figure	34, 9	96			
1290		Two fragments, abdomen, right leg to below the knee, female figure wearing chiton	31, 2	2		Y (Trianti 1998, Fig. 353)	
1292		Thigh and small part of left leg of male figure	32, 33	55			





1294		Lower part of a female figure clad in chiton	31, 3	3		Y (Trianti 1998, Fig. 352)	
1295		Female figure facing front, wearing long chiton and himation	31, 16	16			
1296		Fragment of lower body of figure wearing a cloak, seated towards the right	31, 9	9		Trianti 1998, fig. 366; Koukouli 1967, fig. 96 [top left]	
1297		Lower part of a female figure seated to the right	33, 20	81			Much damaged






1298		Lower part of a female figure in chiton with kolpos and apoxygma	32, 20	42			
1299		Left thigh and leg of draped figure	33, 9	70			Belongs to main building
1301	[no image]			I			Probably not from the frieze (Casson, Blegen, Hill)
1302		Fragment of lower waist and thighs of female figure	32, 21	43			Two drill holes for attachments, one in left thigh and other in lower abdomen
1304		Lower part of standing draped figure	31, 19 b.	21			



1305		Male figure, seated to the right	32, 25	47			
1306		Male figure, waist to knees	32, 23	45			
1307		Lower part of draped figure facing front	31, 16 (lower)	17			
2286 (?)	[no image]	Lower part of female figure, chiton, himation		p. 276		Casson	Missing; current no. 2286 is assigned to a different sculpture
2473		Lower part of draped female figure		99			Not published before Fowler “from the smaller series”
2627		Lower part of female figure	34, 7	94			Questionable frieze (Casson) based on scale

2818		Legs of a figure, seated and covered with cloak	33, 12	73			Small drill holes suggest deep-cut drapery
2822		Part of thigh and adjacent portions of standing figure, draped in himation	31, 1	1		Y (Trianti 1998, Figs. 377 & 379)	
2826		Female figure standing in front view	32, 18	40			
2829		Waist and right thigh of a female figure	33, 14	75		Trianti 1998, figs. 345 & 346 Leventi 2014 fig. 24	
2832		Small figure of a draped figure	32, 28	50			

2833		Lower part of female (?) figure wearing chiton and standing on a plinth	32, 14	36			
2834		Lower part of female figure wearing long chiton and standing on a plinth	32, 15	37			
2836		Fragment of male figure	33, 4	65			Belongs to main building
2837		Torso of female figure wearing chiton and himation	31, 20	22			

2839		Torso of male figure wearing himation	32, 10	32			
2842		Breast and shoulders of female figure	32, 7	29			
3143		Lower part of draped figure		G			“almost certain this does not belong to the frieze”
3277		Female figure		101			Not published before Fowler

3309		Lower body of female figure, standing in front view	31, 14	14			
4225		Left shoulder and part of breast of female figure		J			“may be from the frieze” Not published before Fowler
4861		Draped female figure seated or crouching	1912, 176f., figs. 3-8	97		Y (Trianti 1998, Fig. 369)	
3437 (NAM)		Left shoulder, wearing chiton and himation		59 (see p. 258)			Not published before Fowler
3438		Fragment of left shoulder		60			Not published before Fowler

3439		Right shoulder and breast of female figure		61		Y (Trianti 1998, Fig. 359)	Not published before Fowler
7332						Y (Trianti 1998, Fig. 372)	
8589		Kourotrophos figure				Trianti 1998, Fig. 375; Koukouli 1967, 133-148 pls. 89-98; Räuchle 2015, fig. 8	Daux 1968, 721 fig. 1 [drawing] Probably from the North Porch

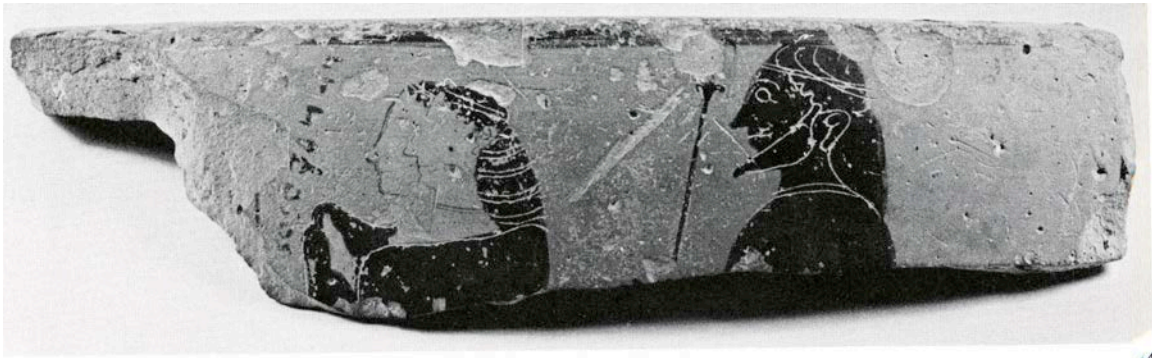


Figure 1: Catalogue 1



Figure 2: Catalogue 2



Figure 3: Catalogue 3



Figure 4: Catalogue 4



Figure 5: Catalogue 4 (drawing)



Figure 6: Catalogue 5



Figure 7: Catalogue 6



Figure 8: Catalogue 6

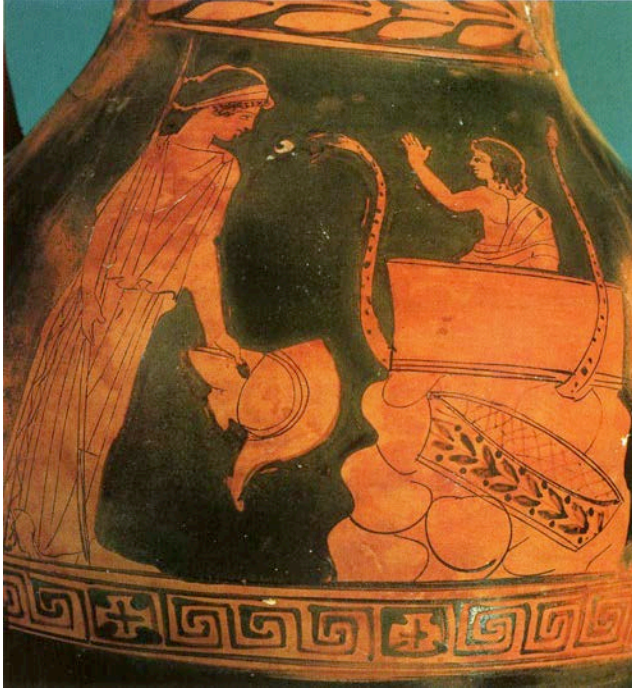


Figure 9: Catalogue 7 (Side A)



Figure 10: Catalogue 7 (Side B)



Figure 11: Catalogue 8 (Side A)

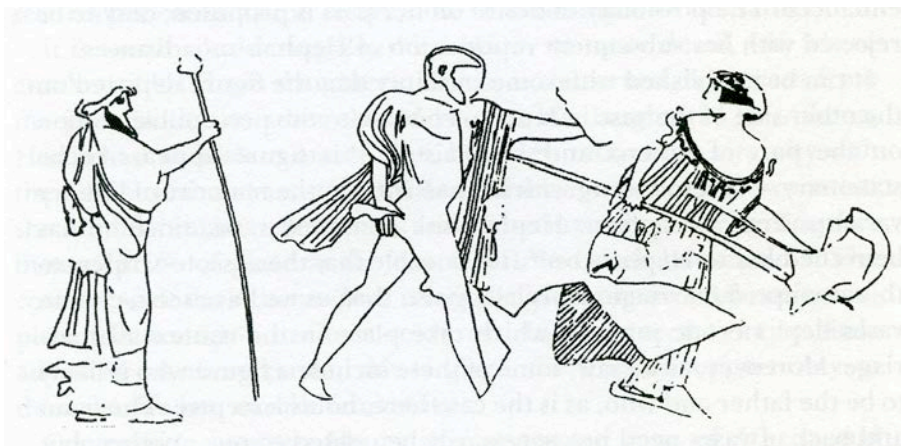


Figure 12: Catalogue 8 (drawing)



Figure 13: Catalogue 9 (Side A)

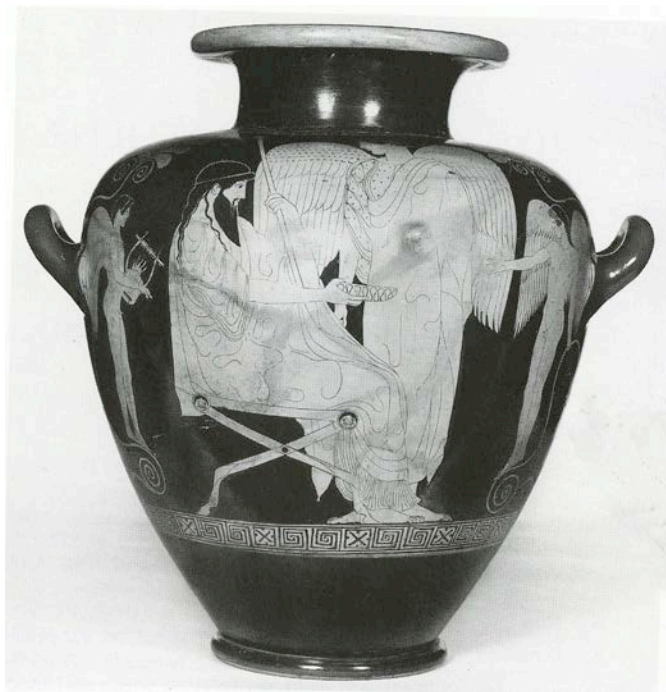


Figure 14: Catalogue 9 (Side B)



Figure 15: Catalogue 9 (Side A, left Eros)



Figure 16: Catalogue 9 (Side B, right Eros)



Figure 17: Catalogue 10 (Side A, exterior)



Figure 18: Catalogue 10 (Side B, exterior)



Figure 19: Catalogue 10 (tondo)



Figure 20: Catalogue 11



Figure 21: Catalogue 11 (roll-out photo detail)



Figure 22: Catalogue 12 (Side A)



Figures 23, 24, and 25: Catalogue 12 (details and Side B [center])



Figure 26: Catalogue 13 (Side A)



Figure 27: Catalogue 13 (Side B)



Figures 28 and 29: Catalogue 14

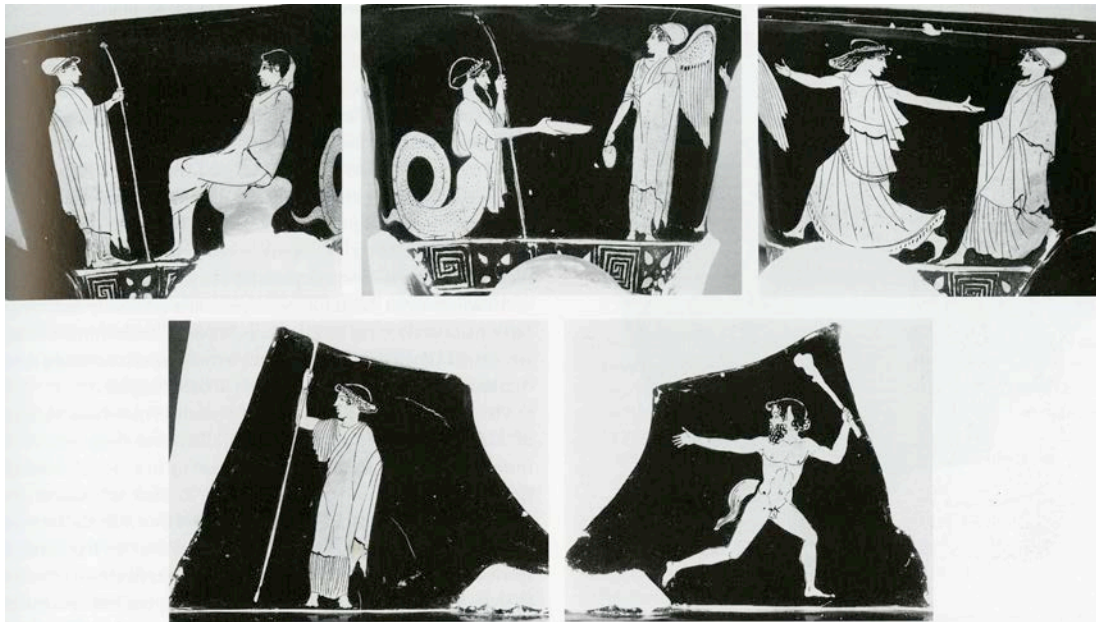


Figure 30: Catalogue 14 (roll-out photo details)



Figure 31: Catalogue 15

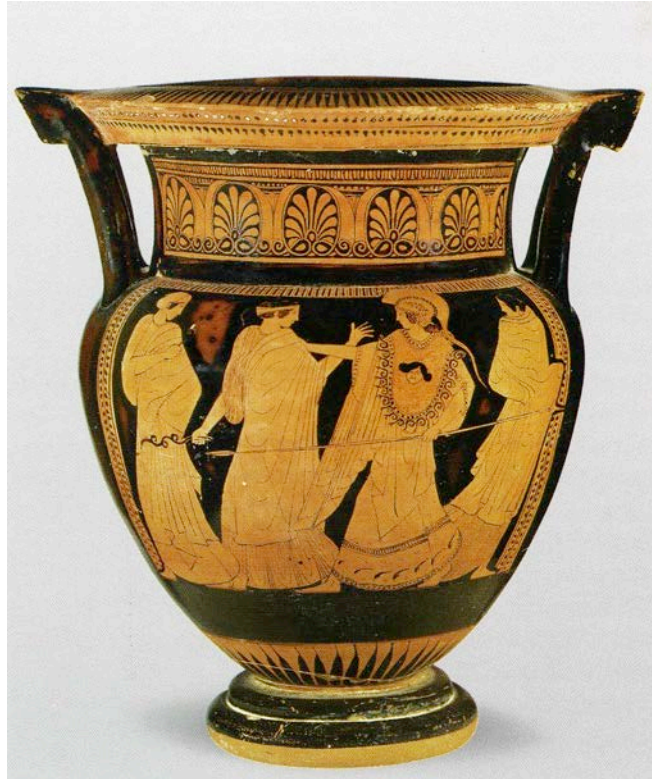


Figure 32: Catalogue 16 (Side A)



Figure 33: Catalogue 16 (Side B)



Figures 34 and 35: Catalogue 17 (Side A and Side B)



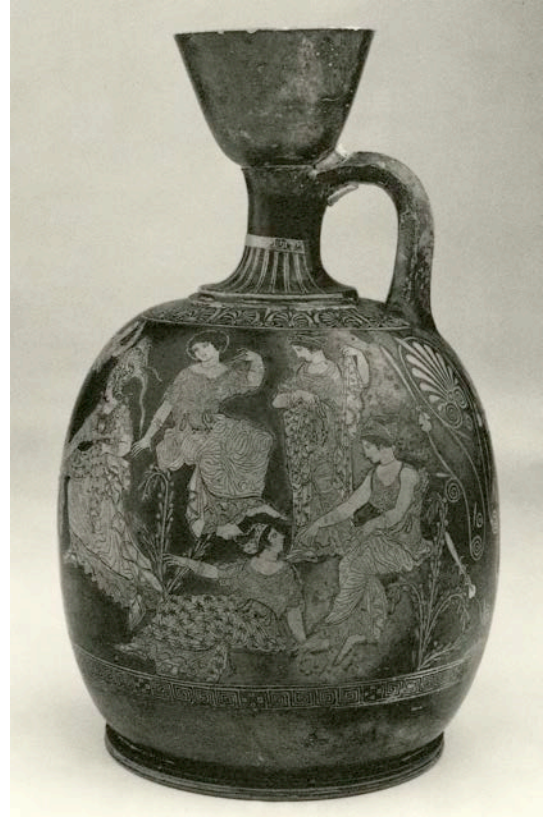
Figure 36: Catalogue 18



Figure 37: Catalogue 19



Figure 38: Catalogue 20



Figures 39 and 40: Catalogue 20



Figure 41: Catalogue 21 (body)



Figure 42: Catalogue 21 (detail, body)



Figure 43: Catalogue 21 (lid)



Figure 44: Catalogue 21 (lid [reconstruction drawing])

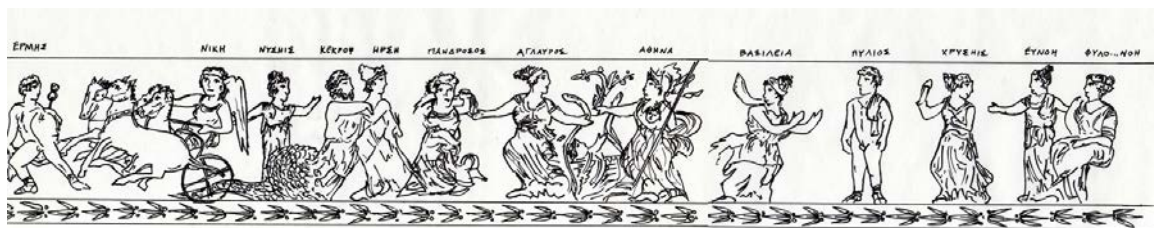


Figure 45: Catalogue 21 (body [reconstruction roll-out])



Figure 46: Catalogue 22 (Side A)



Figure 47: Catalogue 22 (Detail, Side A)



Figure 48: Catalogue 22 (Side B)

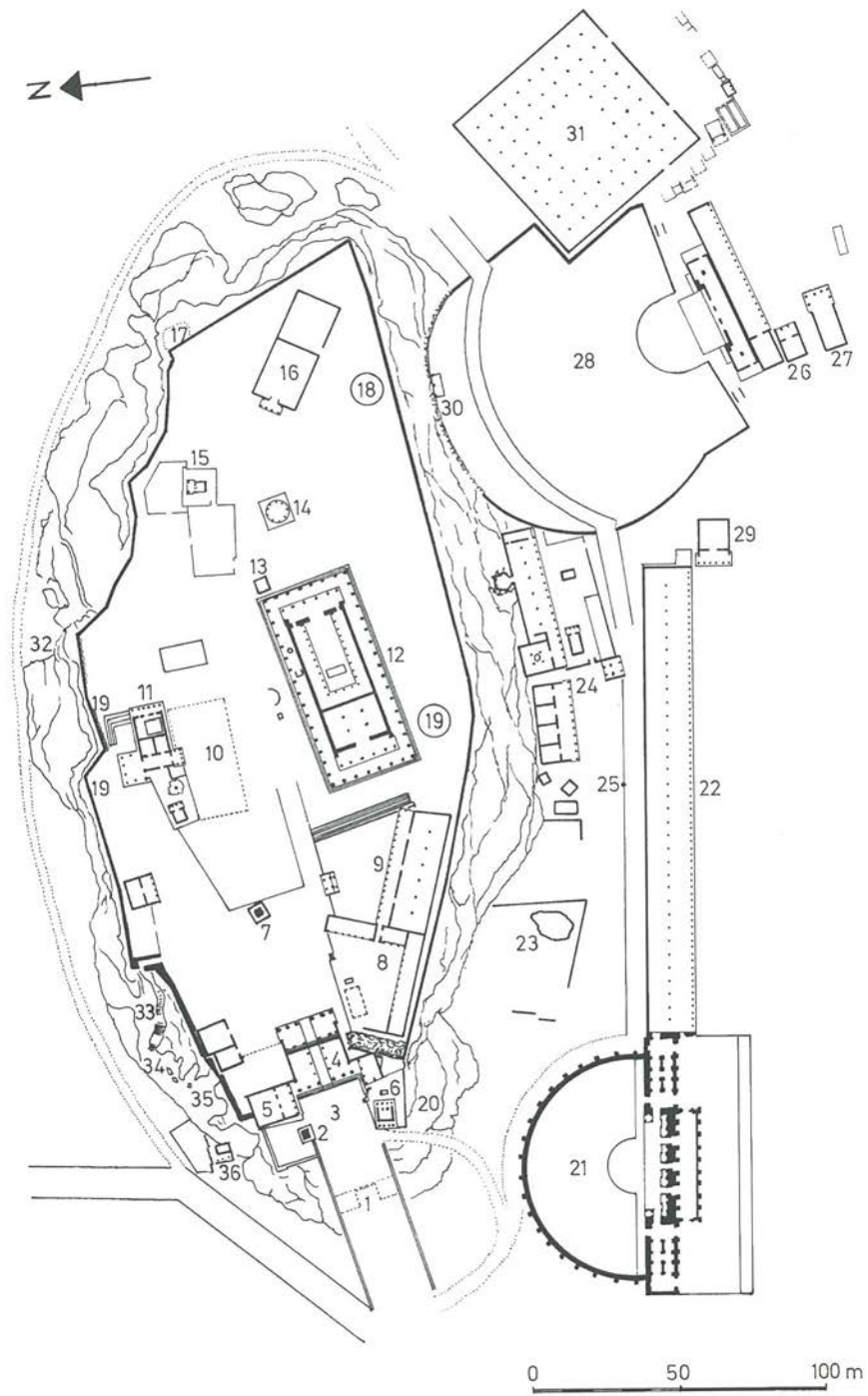


Figure 49: Map of the Acropolis c. 180 CE (#11 designates the Erechtheion)

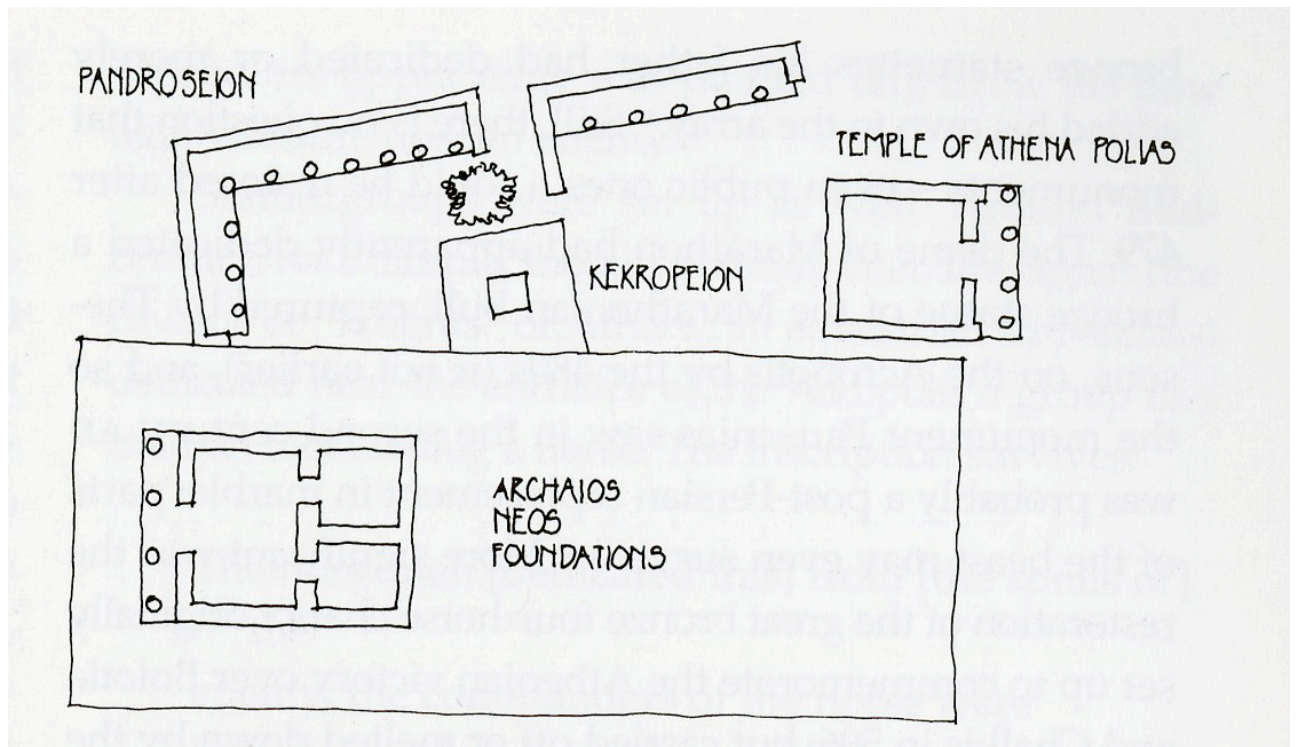


Figure 50: Tentative sketch plan by Jeffrey Hurwit of the Erechtheion area in the Early Classical period, c. 460 BCE

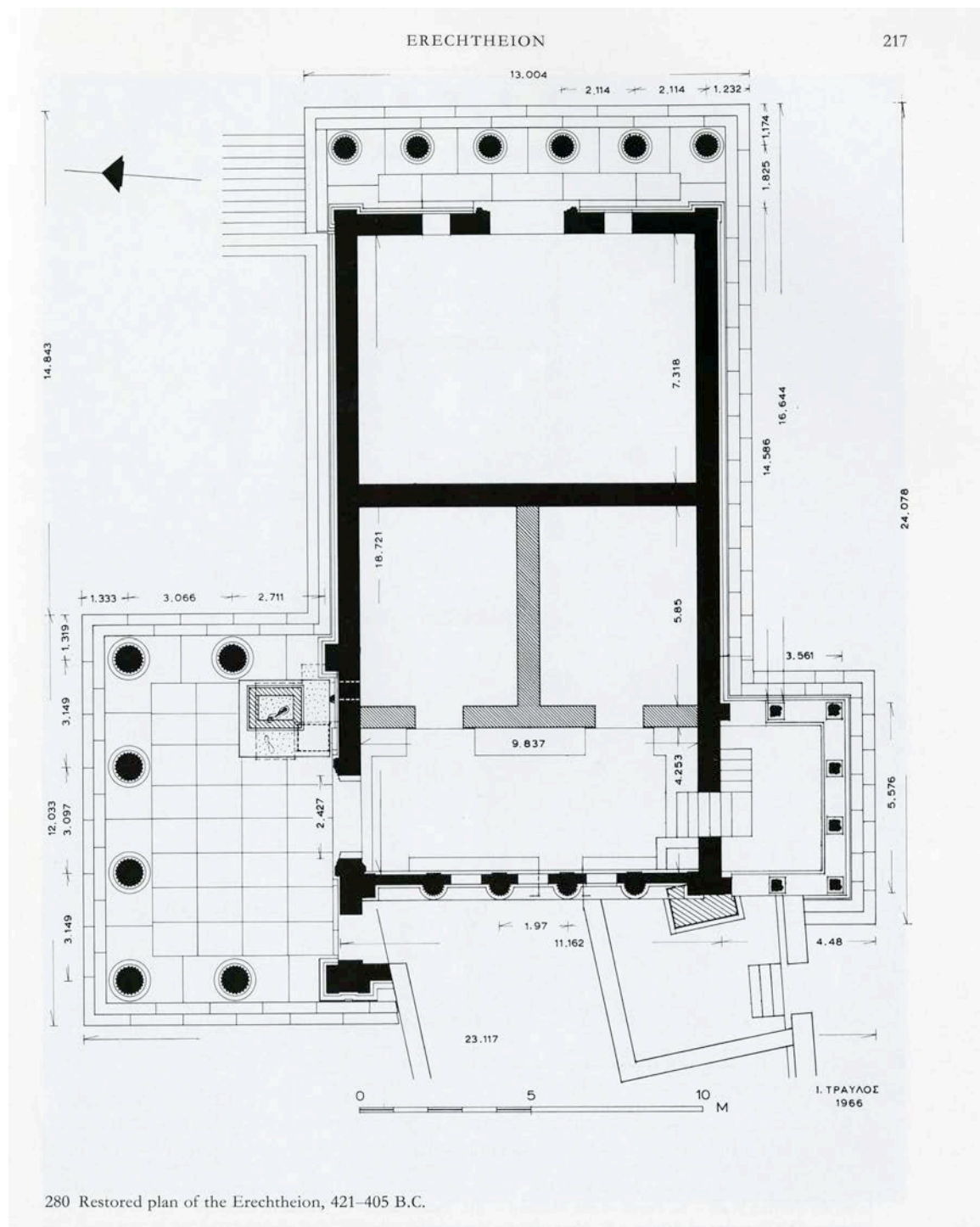
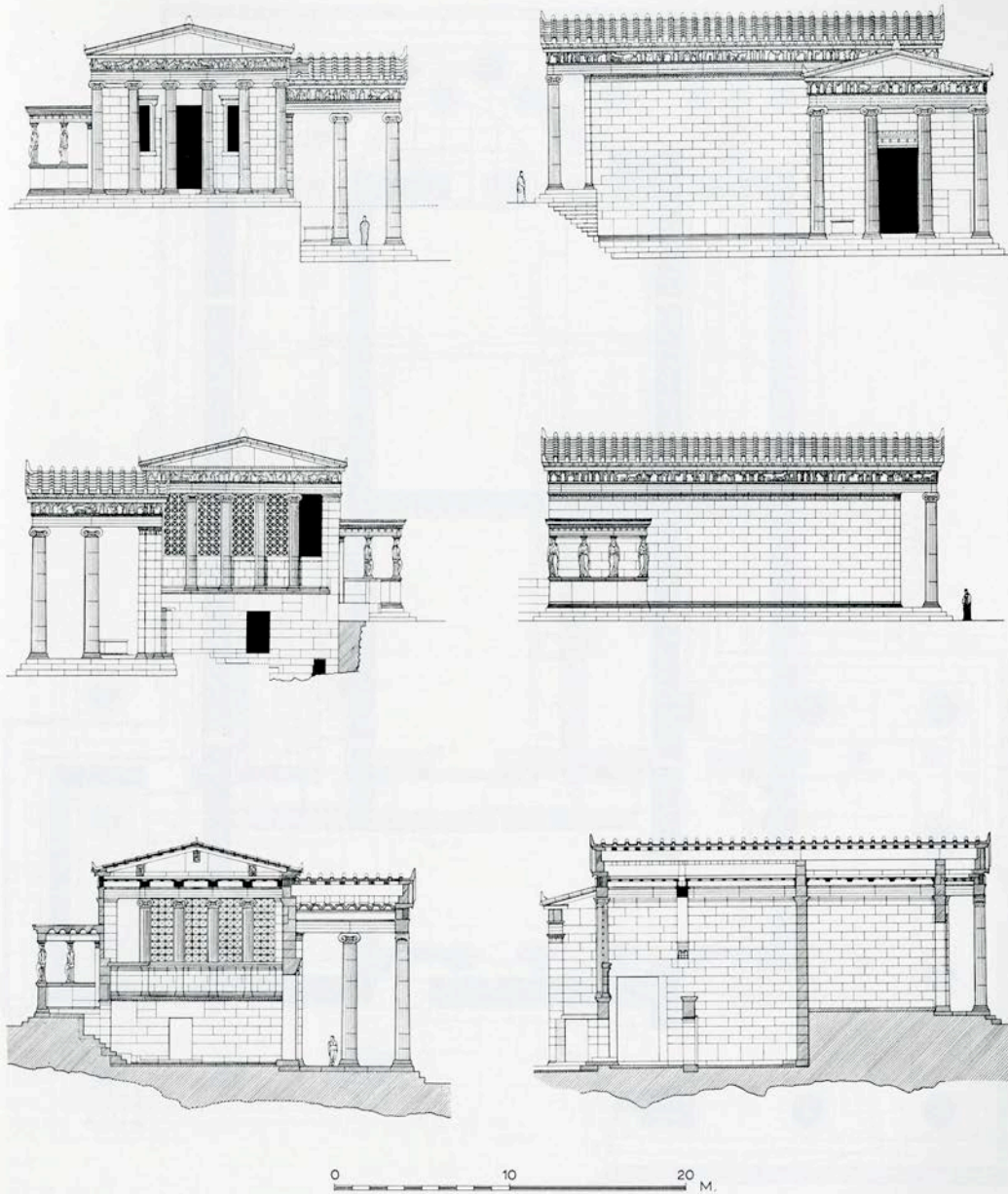
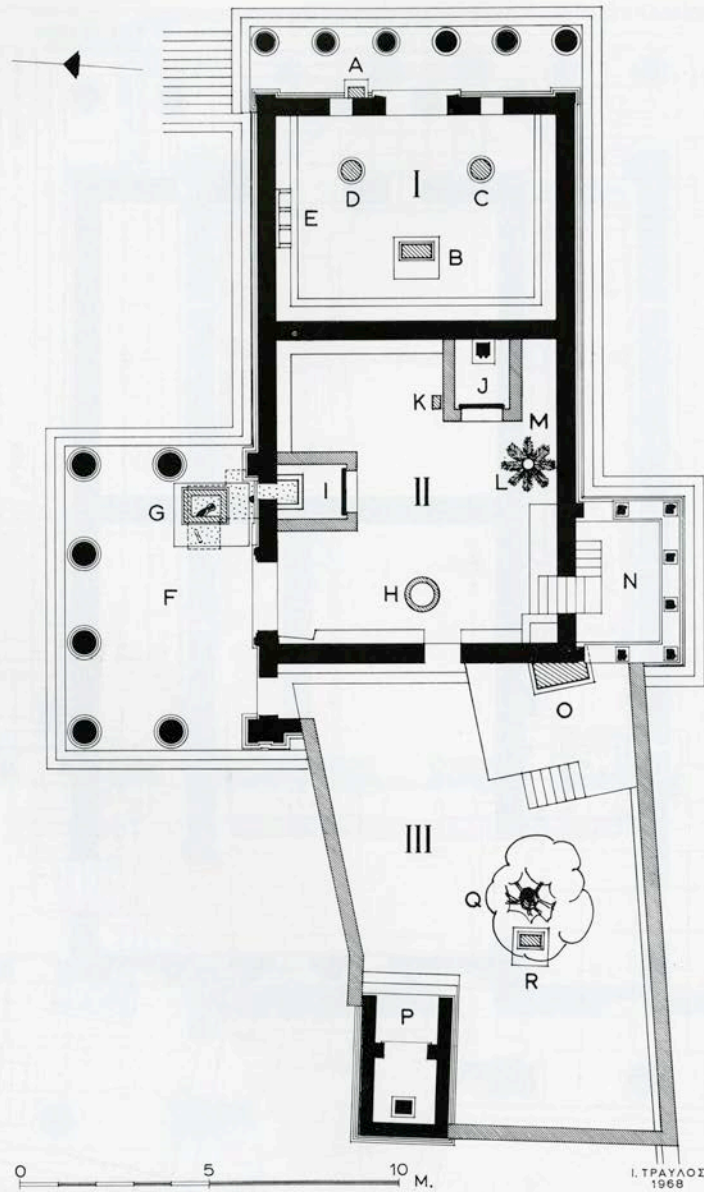


Figure 51: Plan of the Erechtheion, c. 421-405 BCE
(nb: the western cross wall lacks definite evidence)



278 Above: elevations of the four sides of the Erechtheion, restored. Below: transverse and longitudinal sections, restored. 421–405 B.C. Restored by G. P. Stevens.

Figure 52: Elevations of each side of the Erechtheion



281 Restored plan of the Erechtheion, 421–405 B.C.

I. Eastern section: A. Altar of Zeus Hypatos – B. Altar of Poseidon and Erechtheus – C. Altar of the Hero Boutes – D. Altar of Hephaistos – E. Thrones of the priests – II. Western section: F. North porch – G. Altar of Thyechoos; marks of the thunderbolt on the rock below – H. Prostomiaion, salt sea and the trident marks – I. Adyton for the tomb of Erechtheus and the sacred snake – J. Adyton or megaron for the wooden cult statue of Athena Polias – K. Wooden statue of Hermes – L. Kallimachos' lamp with eternal fire and bronze palm tree chimney – M. Booty from the Persian Wars – N. Porch of the Maidens – III. Pandroseion: O. Tomb of Kekrops – P. Temple of Pandrosos – Q. Olive tree of Athena – R. Altar of Zeus Herkeios.

Figure 53: Plan of the Erechtheion c. 421-405 BCE, showing the location of various cult places



Figure 54: The Erechtheion and its six *korai* (plaster casts *in situ*)



Figure 55: Display of the Erechtheion frieze in the New Acropolis Museum



Figure 56: Dowel holes in the entablature of the Erechtheion (North Porch) for the attachment of figures

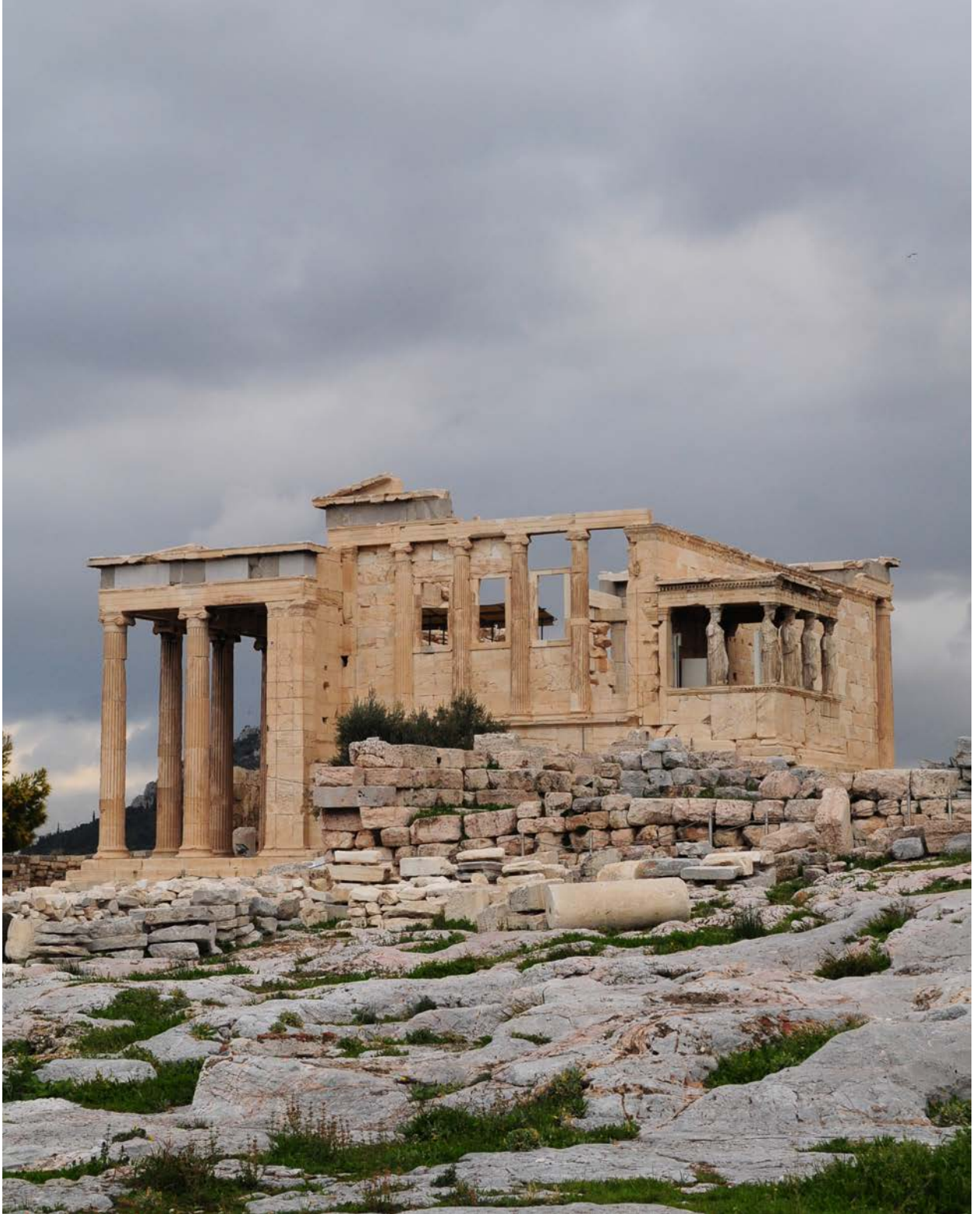


Figure 57: The Erechtheion from the west, showing the contrasting elements of Eleusinian limestone in the frieze



Figure 59: Akr. 1071, from the Erechtheion frieze



Figure 60: Akr. 1073, from the Erechtheion frieze



Figure 61: Akr. 1235, from the Erechtheion frieze



Figure 62: Akr. 13815, female head from the Erechtheion frieze



Figure 63: Akr. 13820, chariot fragment from the Erechtheion frieze



Figures 64 and 65: AS 196 (= Akr. 7236),
Corinthian helmet from the Erechtheion frieze



Figure 66: Akr. 1293, Figure with omphalos in lap,
from the Erechtheion frieze

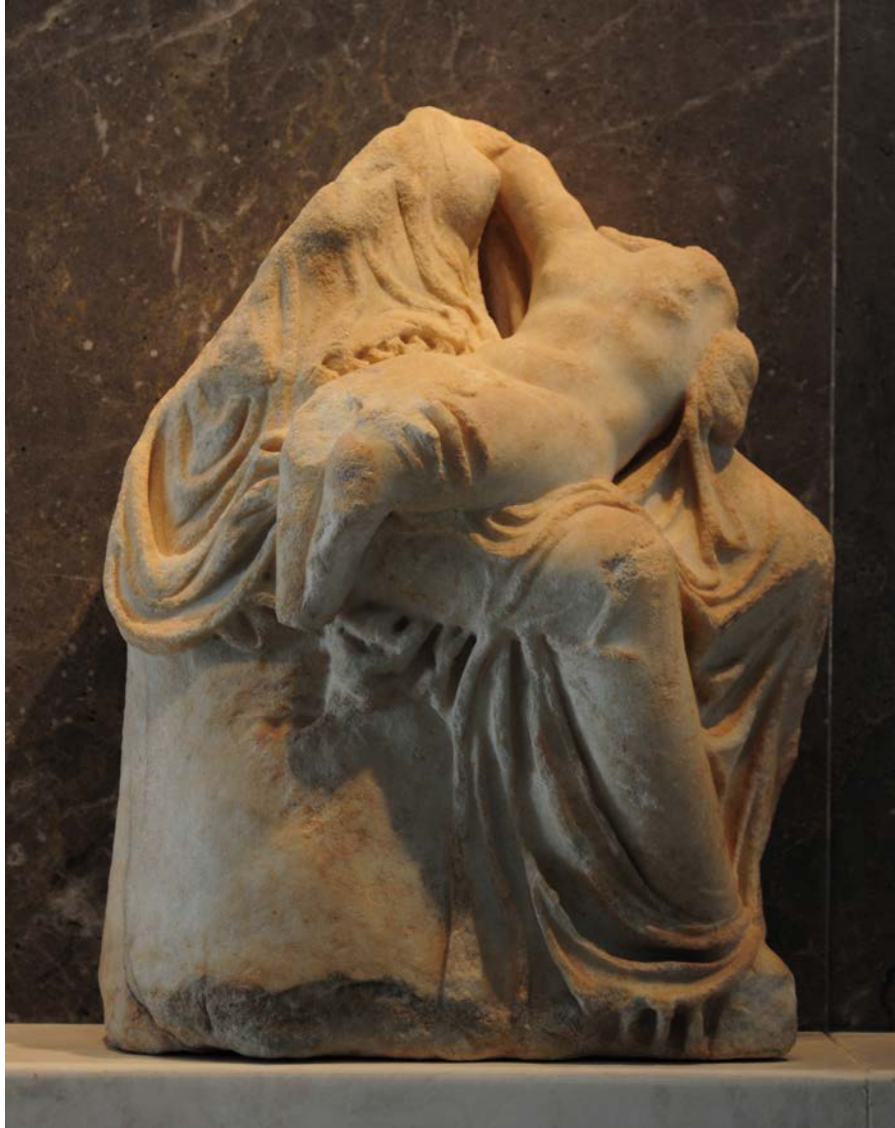


Figure 67: Akr. 1075, Female figure with a child in her lap,
from the Erechtheion frieze

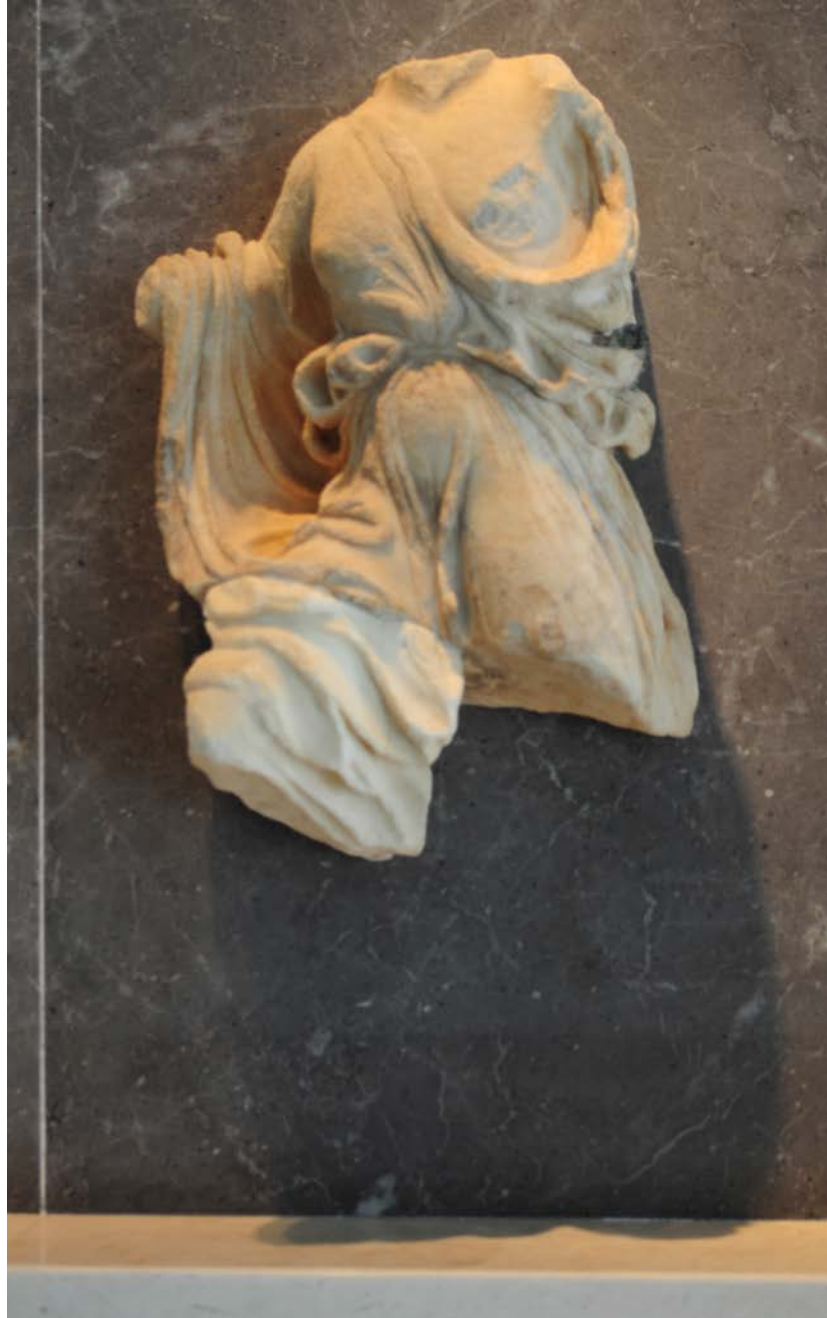


Figure 68: Akr. 2825, Female figure moving to the left,
from the Erechtheion frieze



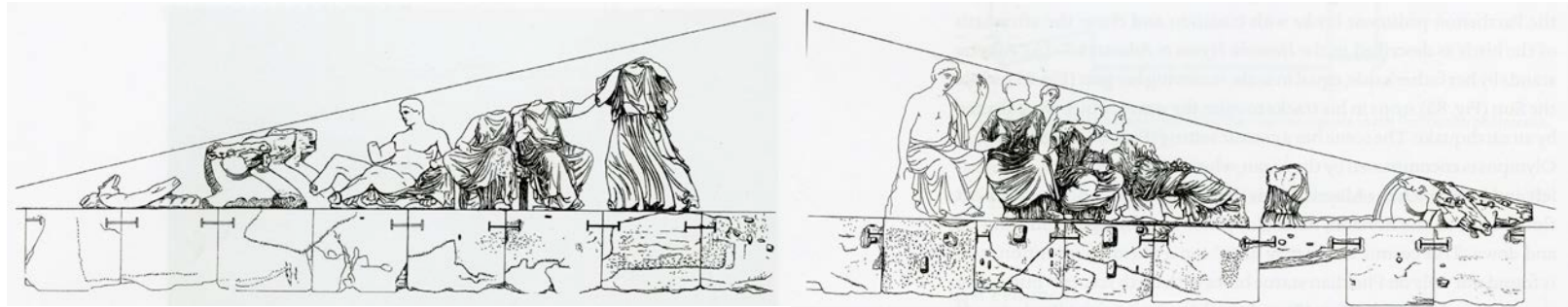
Figure 69: Akr. 1237, Female figure with child on lap,
from the Erechtheion frieze



Figure 70: Akr. 1196, Male figure, nude and in profile to the left, from the Erechtheion frieze



Figure 71: The “Olive Tree Pediment,” from the Athenian Acropolis



Figures 72 and 73: Reconstruction drawing of the East Pediment of the Parthenon

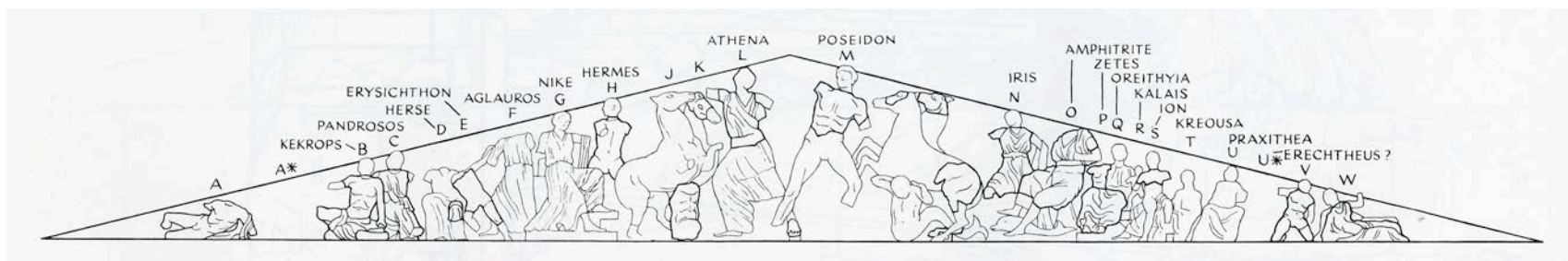


Figure 74: Reconstruction drawing of the West Pediment of the Parthenon, identifying figures



Figure 75: Figures B and C from the West Pediment of the Parthenon

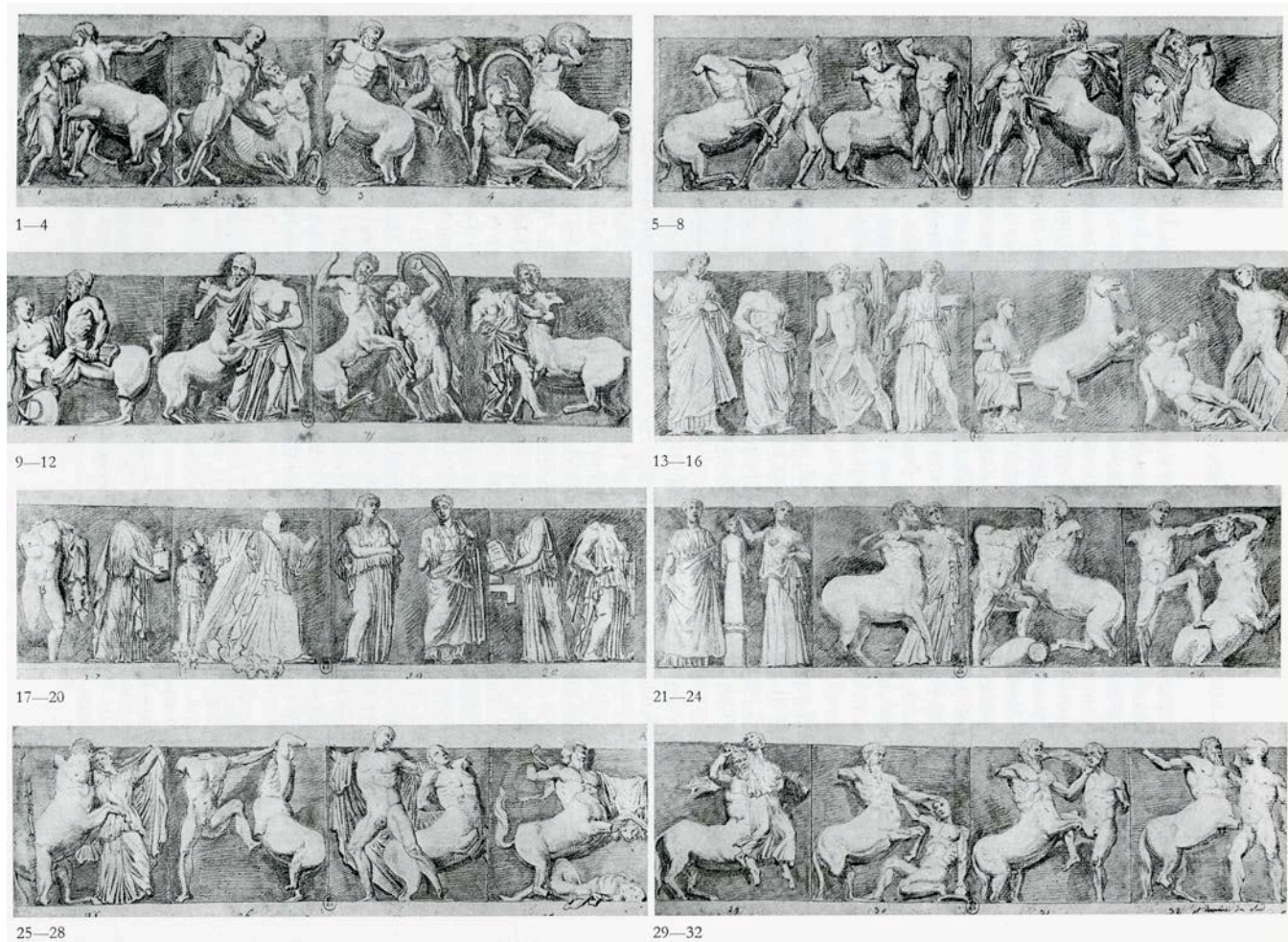


Figure 76: South metopes of the Parthenon, as drawn by J. Carrey in 1674

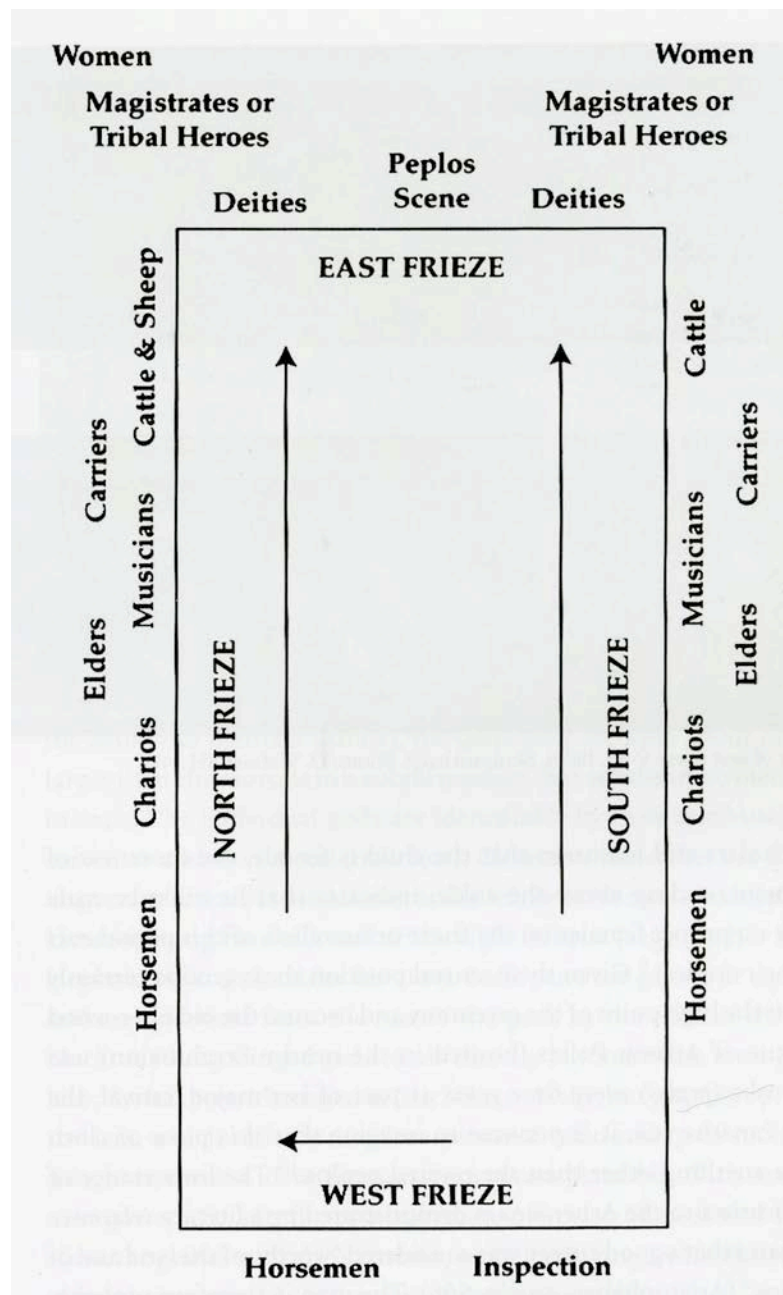


Figure 77: Themes of the Parthenon frieze



Figure 78: Athena and Hephaistos, from the east frieze of the Parthenon



Figure 79: The peplos scene from the east frieze of the Parthenon



Figure 80: Male figures, probably eponymous heroes, from the east frieze of the Parthenon



Figure 81: Parthenon frieze block North XII



Figure 82: The Varvakeion Athena



Figure 83: Evelyn Harrison's reconstruction of the exterior of the Athena Parthenos' shield



Figure 84: Hellenistic copy of the base of the Athena Parthenos



Figure 85: Fragment of a statue group of female figure and male infant



Figure 86: Statue group of Prokne and Itys by Alkamenes

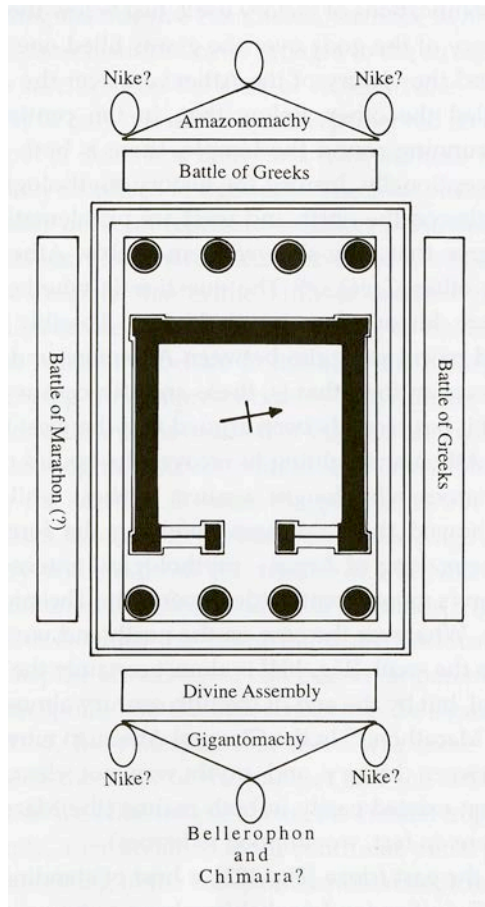


Figure 87: Sculptural program of the Temple of Athena Nike

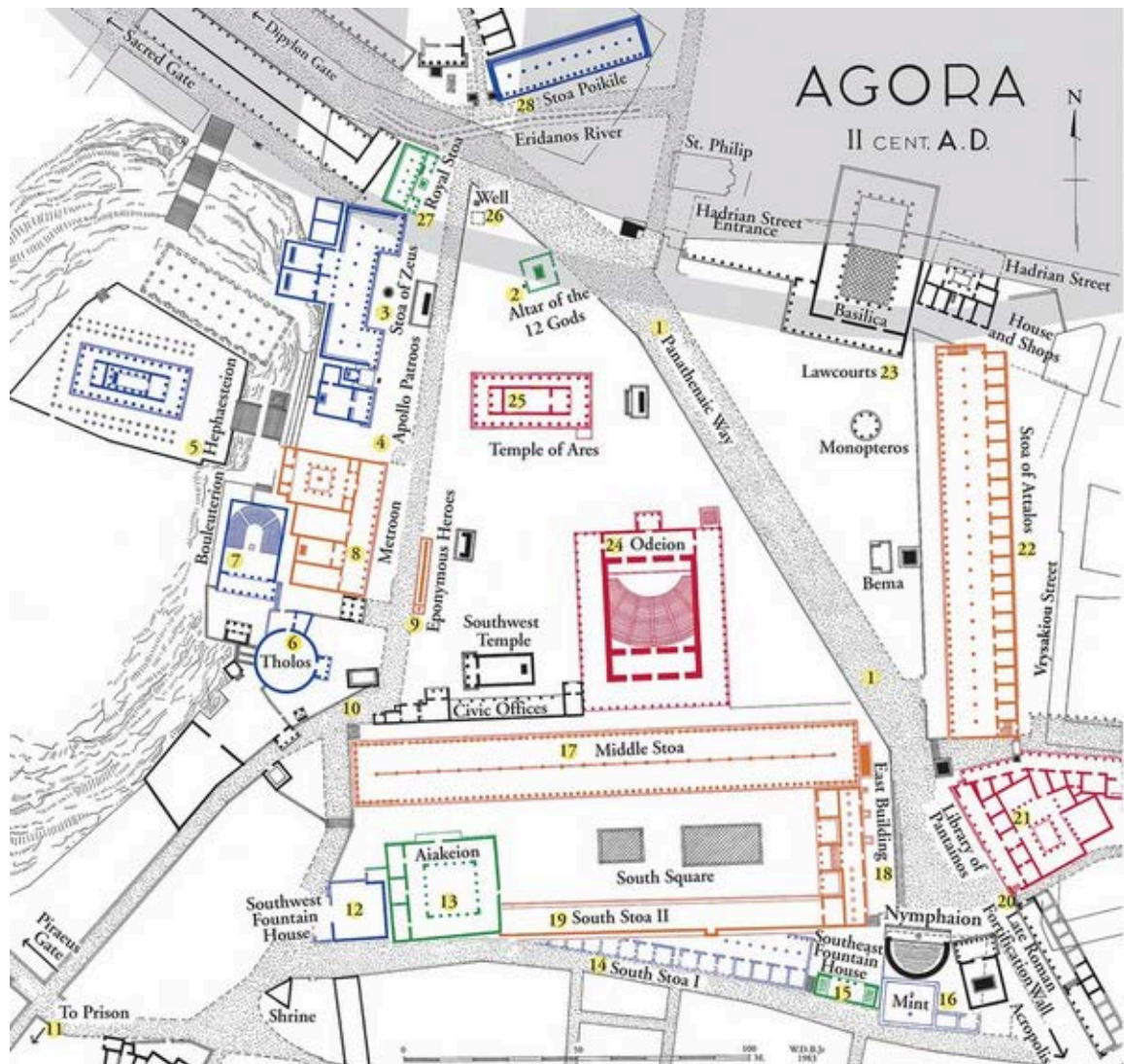


Figure 88: Map of the Athenian Agora, c. 150 CE



Figure 89: Blocks from the Hephaisteion's cult statue base



Figure 90: Neo-Attic relief with the Presentation of Erichthonios

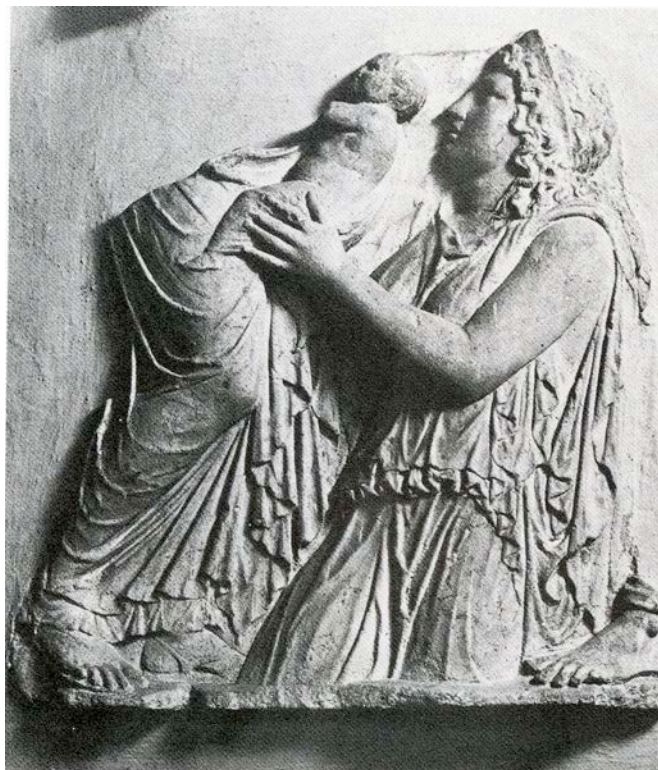


Figure 91: Fragment of a Neo-Attic relief with the Presentation of Erichthonios

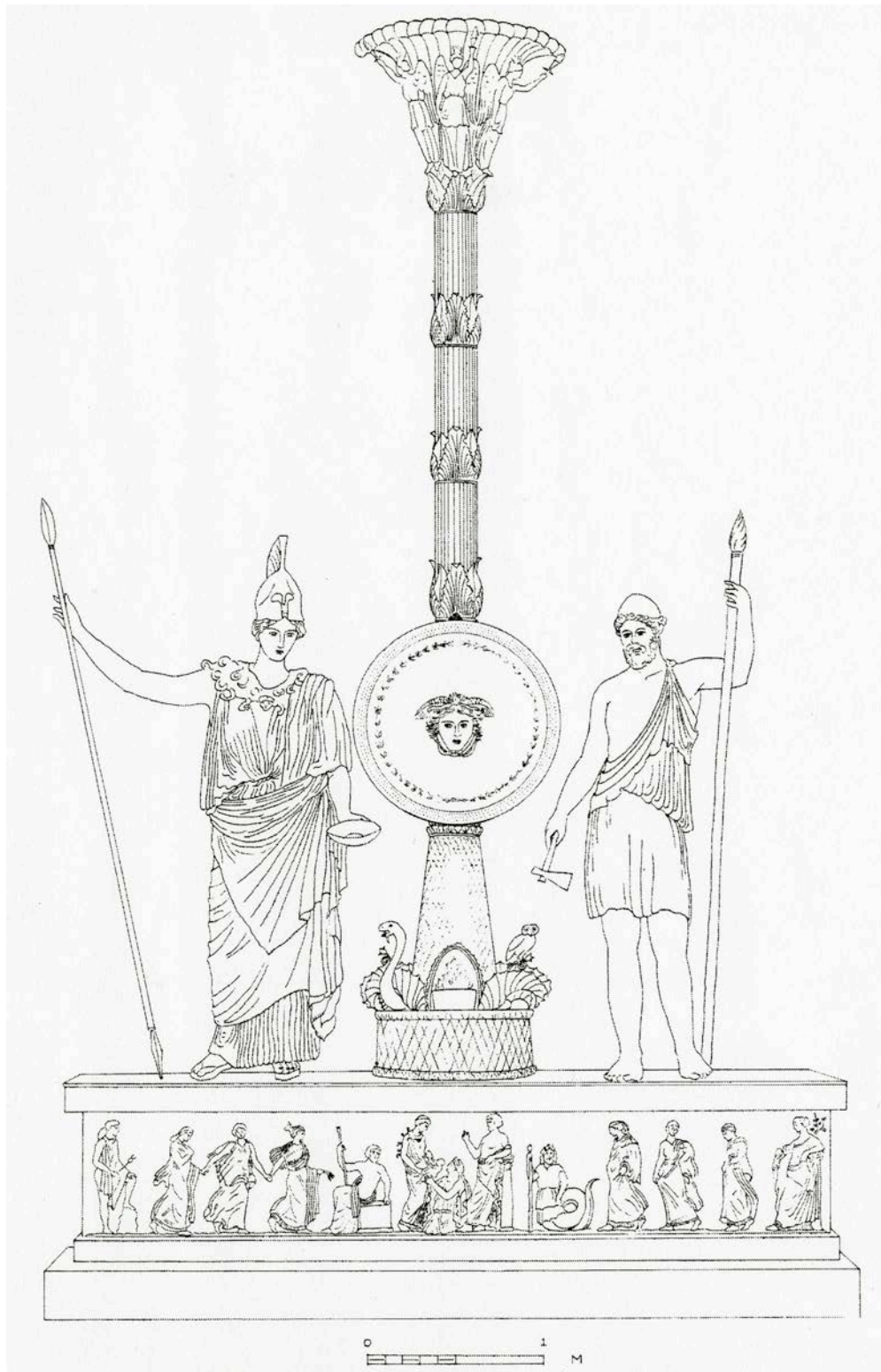


Figure 92: Evelyn Harrison's reconstruction of the cult statues and base from the Hephaisteion

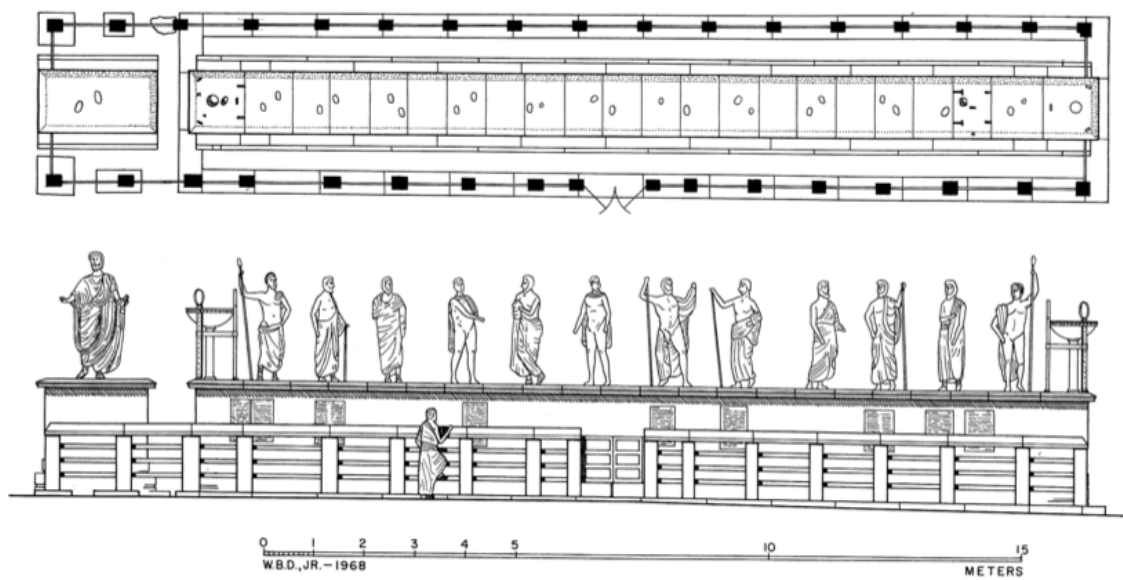


Figure 93: Reconstruction of the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the Agora



Figure 94: Extant blocks and fragments of the cult statue base from the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous

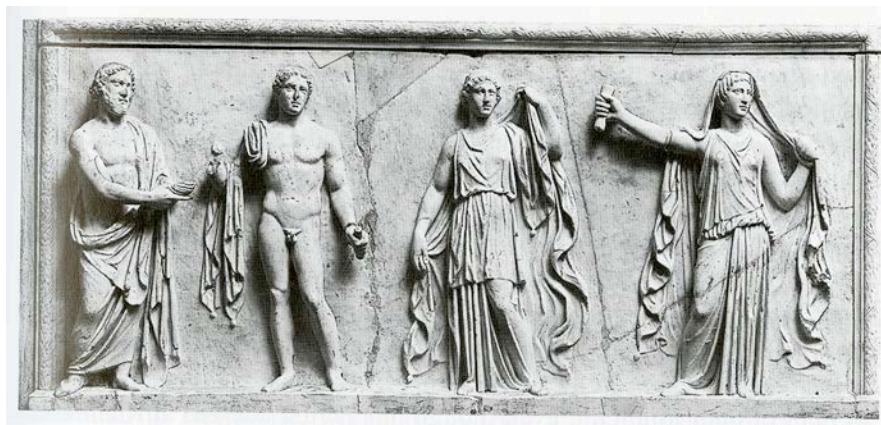


Figure 95: Neo-Attic relief based on the cult statue base from the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous

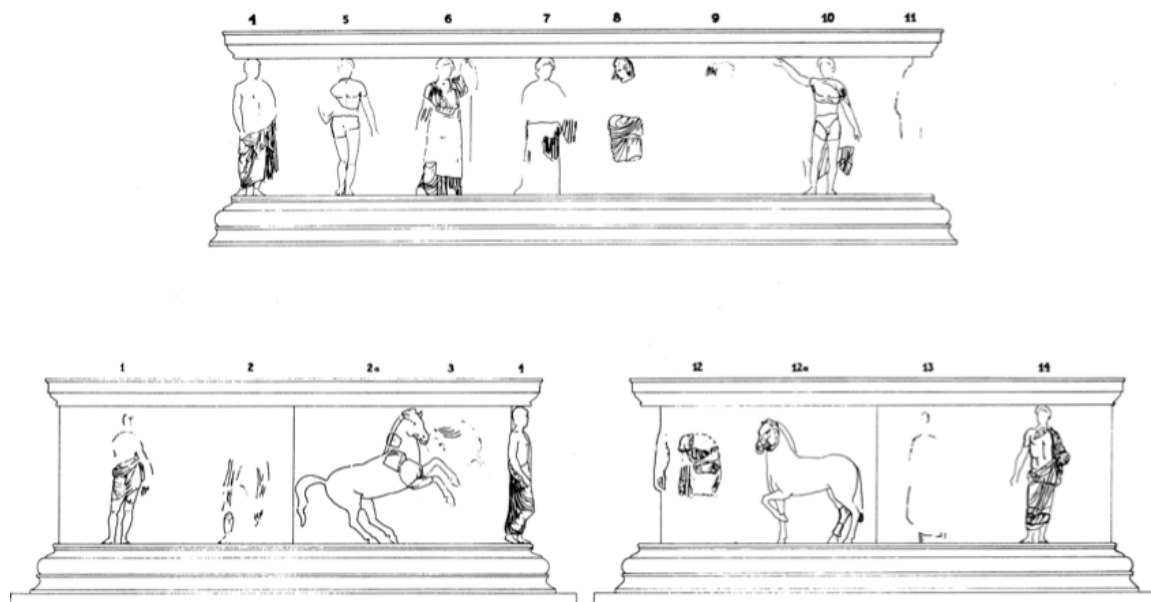


Figure 96: Petrakos' reconstruction of the cult statue base from the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous

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CURRICULUM VITAE

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Education

Doctor of Philosophy, History of Art, *Johns Hopkins University* (2007-2015)

Master of Arts, Classical Archaeology, *Florida State University* (2004-2007)

Bachelor of Fine Arts, with Honors, Painting and Art History, *Maryland Institute College of Art* (2000-2004)

Awards

Post-doctoral Fellowship in Data Curation for Visual Studies, *The University of Toronto*, awarded by the Council on Library and Information Resources and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (2015-2017)

Postgraduate Research Scholarship, *Onassis Foreigners' Fellowship Programme* (2016)

Summer Research Grant, *Program for the Study of Women, Gender, and Sexuality*, *Johns Hopkins University* (2014)

Gorham Phillips Stevens Fellowship, *The American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (2012-2013)

Graduate Fellowship for the Study of Pre-Modern Europe, *Singleton Center*, *Johns Hopkins University* (2011, 2013, and 2014)

Lord Scholarship, *The American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (2007)

Rankin Prize for Outstanding Postgraduate, *Florida State University* (2007)

Publications

"The Terrain of Autochthony: Shaping the Athenian Landscape in the Late Fifth Century B.C.E. In *The Routledge Handbook to Identity and the Environment in the Classical and Medieval Worlds*, edited by R.F. Kennedy and M. Jones-Lewis (in press, 2016)

Catalogue entries in *Heroes: Mortals and Myths in Ancient Greece*, exhibition catalogue, edited by Sabine Albersmeier. Baltimore: The Walters Art Museum (2009)

Catalogue entries in *Pergamon and the Art of the Hellenistic Kingdoms*, exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (forthcoming, 2016)

“Weaving the Chalkeia: Reconstruction and Ritual of an Athenian Festival,” in *Textiles and Cult in the Mediterranean Area in the First Millennium B.C.*, edited by Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louise Nosch, Oxbow Books (forthcoming, 2016)

Selected Presentations

“A Kimonian Hephaistos: The Lame God Refashioned in Fifth Century Athens.” *The Classical Association of the Middle West and South* 110th Annual Meeting, Waco (2014)

“Fashioning Autochthony: Recontextualizing the Erechtheion in the Late Fifth Century B.C.E.” *Archaeological Institute of America* 114th Annual Meeting, Seattle (2013)

“The Lame God Rises: Reflections on Hephaistos in 5th century B.C.E. Athens,” *American School of Classical Studies Tea Talk*, Athens (2013)

“Perpetuating the Past: Introspection and Retrospection in Archaistic Art in the Walters Art Museum,” *The Walters Art Museum*, Friends of the Ancient Collection (2012)

“The Chalkeia Festival and Athena Ergane,” *Archaeological Institute of America* 111th Annual Meeting, Anaheim (2010)

“The Image of the Charioteer in Funerary Art and Plato’s *Phaedrus*,” *The American Philological Association* 139th Annual Meeting, Chicago (2008)

Museum and Archival Experience

Graduate Curatorial Intern, *The J. Paul Getty Villa*, Department of Antiquities, Los Angeles (2014-2015)

Volunteer, *Agora Archives*, Athens, Greece (2013)

Volunteer, *Archives of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Greece (2010-2011, 2012-2013)

Graduate Assistant & Photographer, *Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum* (2011-2012)

Volunteer, *Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth*, Greece (2011)

Robert & Nancy Hall Curatorial Fellow, *The Walters Art Museum*, Baltimore (2008)

Intern, Research Assistant, & Docent, *The Walters Art Museum*, Baltimore (2003-2004)

Teaching Experience

Teaching Assistant, *Johns Hopkins University*. Courses in Classics & Film, Classical Greek Art, and Roman Art & Architecture (2009-2014)

Instructor, January Intersession, *Johns Hopkins University*. Mystery Cults of the Ancient World (2009) and Heroes in Greek Art (2009)

Graduate Instructor, *Florida State University*. Classical Mythology (2005-2007)

Teaching Assistant, *Florida State University*. Ancient Science and Medicine; Classical Mythology (2004-2005)

Archaeological Experience

Malthi Mapping and Digitalization Project, Greece (Photographer & Photogrammetry) (2015)

Mitrou Archaeological Project, Greece (Photographer) (2013)

Corinth Excavations, Greece (Area Supervisor) (2011)

Kenchreai Excavations, Greece (Trench Supervisor & Area Supervisor) (2008-2009)

Cetamura del Chianti, Italy (Trench Supervisor, Photographer, and Illustrator) (2005-2006)

Other Education

“Building a Digital Portfolio,” Digital Humanities Summer Institute, *George Mason University*, Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media (2015)

Student Associate Member, *The American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (2012-13)

Intensive Greek Courses, *Aristotle University* (Thessaloniki) and *The Athens Centre* (2012)

Regular Member, *The American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (2010-11)

Summer Epigraphical Course, *The British School at Athens* (2011)

Visiting Fellow, *Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg*, Germany (2010)

Epigraphy Summer Program, *The Ohio State University*, Center for Epigraphical and Paleographical Studies (2009)

Summer Session, *The American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (2007)